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LUCIAN
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LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

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VOLUME II

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VOLUME IV

Anacharsis or Athletics—Menippus or The Descent into Hades—On Funerals—A Professor of Public Speaking—Alexander the False Prophet—Essays in Portraiture—Essays in Portraiture Defended—The Goddess of Surrye.
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VOLUME VII


VOLUME VIII

Soloecista—Lucius or the Ass—Amores—Halcyon—Demosthenes—Podagra—Ocypus—Cynicus—Philopatris—Chariademus—Nero.
NOTE

In the constitution of this volume *Peregrinus*, *Fugitivi*, and *Toxaris*, which in Vat. 90 (Γ') follow *Abdicatus*, are placed before *Saltatio*; i.e. at the beginning of the volume instead of the end. *Amores*, which in that MS. follows *Astrologia*, is omitted here for inclusion in Volume VII, and *Pro Imaginibus*, which follows *Amores*, has already been published in Volume IV, following *Imagines*.

In editing the Greek Text, rotographs of Γ and N have been used throughout, except for the *Peregrinus*, now lacking in N. Rotographs of U, P, and Z have been used for the pieces contained in those MSS.: for *Astrology*, Z; for *The Parliament of the Gods*, P and Z (but Z has only the prephisma); for *The Tyrannicide and Disowned*, U and Z.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

THE PASSING OF PEREGRINUS

An account of the life and death of a Cynic philosopher who for a time in his early life went over to Christianity, practising it to the point of imprisonment under a very tolerant administration, and after returning to Cynicism became in his old age so enamoured of Indic ideas and precedents that he cremated himself at Olympia, just after the games of A.D. 165, even as Calanus had done at Susa in the presence of Alexander the Great and as Zarmarus had done at Athens, after initiation into the mysteries, in the presence of Augustus.

Writing soon after the event, of which he was a witness, Lucian makes his main theme the story of what went on at Olympia. The earlier life of Peregrinus is portrayed incidentally in a speech attributed by Lucian to someone whose name he did not know, but clearly made by Lucian himself (p. 8, n. 2).

Lucian believes himself to be exposing a sham, whose zeal was not at all for truth but only for applause and renown. Many notable modern critics, including Zeller, Bernays, Croiset, and Wilamowitz, dissent from his interpretation, discerning in the man an earnest seeker after truth; for to them thirst for glory is not an adequate explanation of his final act. This point of view hardly embodies sufficient recognition of the driving force of that motive with Greeks, and particularly Greeks of the second century (Nock, Conversion, p. 201). Greek writers recognised it as a possible explanation of the behaviour of Calanus and of Zarmarus. In this case, Lucian not only knew the man but knew others who knew him: for instance, Demonax. Assuredly, the interpretation that he gives is not his alone. Perhaps it is not so far wrong after all. Certainly there are authentic features in it, like the attempt of Proteus to get back the inheritance he had previously renounced and bestowed upon his native city, which make it impossible to see in him the “earnest and steadfast man” that Aulus Gellius thought him.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΕΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣ

Δουκιανὸς Κρονίων εὖ πράττειν.

1 Ὁ κακοδαίμων Περεγρίνος, ἡ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔχαιρεν ὀνομάξων ἐαυτόν, Πρωτέως, αὐτὸ δὴ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ Πρωτέως ἔπαθεν· ἀπαντά γὰρ δόξης ένεκα γενόμενοι καὶ μισθίας τροπὰς τραπόμενοι, τὰ τελευταία ταῦτα καὶ πῦρ ἐγένετο· τοσοῦτοι ἃρα τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς δόξης ἐξετο. καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἀπηνθράκωται σοι ὁ βέλτιστος κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, παρ’ ὅσον δὲ μὲν κἂν διαλαθεῖν ἐπει-

This piece is wanting in N and several other MSS. because it was in the Index Librorum Prohibitorum. It has been edited separately by Lionello Levi, with the readings of eight MSS., chief of which are Γ, Χ (Pal. 73), and Μ (Par. 2954).

1 The greeting hero employed (its sense might perhaps be more adequately rendered by “Good issues to all your doings”) marks Cronius as a Platonist. Lucian himself (Lapsus, 4) ascribes its origin to Plato, and he employs it in addressing the philosopher Nigrinus (I, p. 98). A Platonist named Cronius is more than once mentioned by Porphyry, but to identify the two would contribute next to nothing to our knowledge of either.

2 Cf. Aulus Gellius, XII, 11: philosophum nomine Peregrinum, cui postea cognomentum Proteus factum est, virum gravem et constantem, etc. Lucian calls him Peregrinus Proteus in Demonax, 21 (I, p. 156), but simply Proteus the Cynic in adv. Indoct., 14 (III, p. 192), and he is Proteus to
THE PASSING OF PEREGRINUS

Best wishes from Lucian to Cronius.¹

Unlucky Peregrinus, or, as he delighted to style himself, Proteus,² has done exactly what Proteus in Homer did.³ After turning into everything for the sake of notoriety and achieving any number of transformations, here at last he has turned into fire; so great, it seems, was the love of notoriety that possessed him. And now your genial friend has got himself carbonified after the fashion of Empedocles, except that the latter at least tried to escape

the Philostrati (cf. Vit. Soph. II, 1, 33 and for the elder Philostratus the title of his lost work Proteus the Cynic; or, the Sophist), to Tatian (Orat. ad Graecos, 25), and to Athenagoras (Legat. de Christian., 26). The name Peregrinus is used in Aulus Gellius, VIII, 3, Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIX, 1, 39, Tertullian ad Martyres, 4, and Eusebius, Chron., Vol. II, p. 170, Schöne. From the passage in Gellius cited above we can infer only that he did not hear the sobriquet Proteus when he was in Athens. The manner of its employment by Lucian is sufficient evidence that it did not originate with Lucian, or after the death of Peregrinus. It was probably applied to him towards the close of his career. That it bears a sense very like what Lucian attributes to it is clear from Maximus of Tyre, VIII, 1. In § 27 Lucian professes to have heard that he wanted to change it to Phoenix after his decision to immolate himself.

³ The transformations of the sea-god in his effort to escape from Menelaus, who wanted to consult him, are told in the Odyssey, IV, 454–459.
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rāθη ἐμβαλὼν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας, ὁ δὲ γεννάδας οὖτος, τὴν πολυανθοσποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πανηγύρεων τηρήσας, πυρὰν ὃ ἐὰν μεγίστην νήσας ἐνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μαρτύρων, καὶ λόγους τινὰς ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἥμερῶν τοῦ τολμήματος.

2 Πολλὰ τοῖνυν δοκῶ μοι ὅταν σε γελῶντα ἐπὶ τῇ κορύξῃ τοῦ γέροντος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦω βοῶντος οἶα σε εἰκός βοᾶν, "Ὡς τῆς ἁβελτερίας, ὡ τῆς δοξοκοπίας, ὡ—" τῶν ἄλλων ἀ λέγειν εἰὼθαμεν περὶ αὐτῶν. ὅ μὲν οὖν πόρρῳ ταῦτα καὶ μακρῷ ἀσφαλέστερον, ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πρότερον ἐν πολλῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀκροατῶν εἰπὼν αὐτά, ἐνίων μὲν ἀχθομένων, ὅσοι εὐαυτομαζόν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τοῦ γέροντος. ἦσαν δὲ τινὲς οὗ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐγέλων ἐπὶ αὐτῶ. ἀλλ' ὅλγου δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Κυνικῶν ἐγὼ σοι διεσπάσθην ὡσπερ ὁ Ἀκταίων ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἦ ὁ ἀνεφιάς αὐτοῦ ὁ Πενθεῦς ὑπὸ τῶν Μαινάδων.

3 Ἡ δὲ πᾶσα τοῦ πράγματος διασκευὴ τοιάδε ἦν. τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν οἰσθα οἷός τε ἦν καὶ ἡλίκα ἐτραγῶδει παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον, ὑπὲρ τὸν Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπει τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἡλίου ἀφικόμην, διὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἀνίων ἑπήκουν ἀμα Κυνικοῦ τινὸς μεγάλη καὶ τραχεία τῇ φωνῇ τὰ συνῆθη ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τριῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιβωμένου καὶ ἀπασώ ἀπαξαπλῶς λοιδορομένου. εἶτα κατέληξεν αὐτῷ η βοὴ ἐς τὸν

1 ἁνὶδὼν Sommerbrodt.: αὐτῶν MSS.

2 "Up" means to Olympia (cf. § 31).
THE PASSING OF PEREGRINUS

observation when he threw himself into the crater, while this gentleman waited for that one of the Greek festivals which draws the greatest crowds, heaped up a very large pyre, and leaped into it before all those witnesses; he even addressed the Greeks on the subject not many days before his venture.

I think I can see you laughing heartily at the old man's drivelling idiocy—indeed, I hear you give tongue as you naturally would: "Oh, the stupidity! Oh, the vainglory! Oh"—everything else that we are in the habit of saying about it all. Well, you are doing this at a distance and with far greater security, but I said it right by the fire and even earlier in a great crowd of listeners, angering some of them—as many as admired the old man's fool-hardiness; but there were others beside myself who laughed at him. However, I narrowly missed getting torn limb from limb for you by the Cynics just as Actaeon was by his dogs or his cousin Pentheus by the Maenads.

The complete mise en scène of the affair was as follows. You know, of course, what the playwright was like and what spectacular performances he presented his whole life long, outdoing Sophocles and Aeschylus. As for my part in it, as soon as I came to Elis, in going up by way of the gymnasium I overheard a Cynic bawling out the usual street-corner invocations to Virtue in a loud, harsh voice, and abusing everyone without exception. Then his harangue wound up with Proteus, and to the best

1 Of Aetna; it was said that the manner of his death remained unknown until the mountain cast up one of his golden sandals.
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Πρωτέα, καὶ ὃς ἂν οἶδε τε ὃ πειρᾶσομαι σοι αὕτα ἐκεῖνα ἀπομνημονεύσαι ὡς ἐλεγεῖτο. οὐ δὲ γνωριεῖς δηλαδή, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς παραστάς βοῶσιν.

4 "Πρωτέα γὰρ τις," ἐφη, "κενοδοξὸν τολμᾶ λέγειν, ὃ γῆ καὶ ἥλιον καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ πατρῷ 'Ηράκλεις—Πρωτέα τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ δείξασθαν, τὸν τῇ πατρίδι ἀνέντα πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐκβλήθεντα, τὸν τοῦ 'Ηλίου ἐπισημότερον, τὸν αὐτῷ ἀνταγωνίσασθαι τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ δυνάμενον; ἀλλ' ὅτι διὰ πυρὸς ἐξέγειν τοῦ βιῶν διέγεικεν εαυτόν, εἰς κενοδοξίαν τυνὲς τούτῳ ἀναφέρουσι; οὐ γὰρ 'Ηρακλῆς οὕτως; οὐ γὰρ 'Ασκληπιός καὶ Διόνυσος κεραυνῷ; οὔ γὰρ τὰ τελευταῖα Ἑμιπεδοκλῆς εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας;"

5 Ὅς δὲ ταύτα εἴπεν ὁ Θεαγένης—τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ κεκραγὼς ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο—ἥρόμην τινὰ τῶν παρεστώτων, "Τί βούλεται τὸ περὶ τοῦ πυρὸς, ἦ τι 'Ηρακλῆς καὶ 'Εμπεδοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Πρωτέα;" ο δὲ, "Οὐκ εἰς μακράν," ἐφη, "καῦσει εαυτὸν ὁ Πρωτεύς Ὀλυμπίασιν." "Πῶς," ἐφην, "ἡ τινὸς ἑνεκα;" εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο λέγειν, ἐβόα δὲ ὁ Κυνικός, ὥστε ἀμῆλαν ἣν ἀλλον ἀκοῦειν. ἐπηκουν οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπαντλοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ

1 The cases of Dionysus and Asclepius were not quite parallel. Zeus could not have Asclepius raising the dead, and so transferred his activities to a higher sphere by means of the thunderbolt. It was Semele, the mother of Dionysus, whom his other bolt carbonised; but as it certainly effected, even if only incidentally, the translation of Dionysus, and as one of the epigrams in the Anthology (XVI, 185) similarly links Dionysus with Heracles as having achieved immortality by fire, it is hard to see why so many editors have pruned...
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of my ability I shall try to quote for you the very words he said. You will find the style familiar, of course, as you have often stood near them while they were ranting.

"Does anyone dare," he said, "to call Proteus vainglorious, O Earth, O sun, O rivers, O sea, O Heracles, god of our fathers!—Proteus, who was imprisoned in Syria, who renounced five thousand talents in favour of his native land, who was banished from the city of Rome, who is more conspicuous than the sun, who is able to rival Olympian Zeus himself? Because he has resolved to depart from life by way of fire, are there people who attribute this to vainglory? Why, did not Heracles do so? Did not Asclepius and Dionysus,¹ by grace of the thunderbolt? Did not Empedocles end by leaping into the crater?"

When Theagenes ²—for that was the bawler's name—said that, I asked a bystander, "What is the meaning of his talk about fire, and what have Heracles and Empedocles to do with Proteus?" "Before long," he replied, "Proteus is going to burn himself up at the Olympic festival." "How," said I, "and why?" Then he undertook to tell me, but the Cynic was bawling, so that it was impossible to hear anyone else. I listened, therefore, while he flooded the exuberance of Theagenes by excising mention of Dionysus from his remarks. Cf. Parl. of the Gods, 6 (p. 425).

² We learn elsewhere in this piece that Theagenes lived in Patras and had property worth fifteen talents, obtained by lending money. Bernays (Lucian und die Kyniker, pp. 13–18) is very likely right in thinking this to be the man whose death in Rome is described by Galen (Meth. Med., 13, 15: X, 909 Kühn), but he makes rather too much of that passage as an endorsement of Theagenes.
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θαυμαστάς τινας ύπερβολάς διεξίοντος κατὰ τοῦ Πρωτέως: τὸν μὲν γὰρ Συνωπέα ἡ τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ Ἀντισθένη οὔδε παραβάλλειν ἥξιον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ’ οὔδε τὸν Σωκράτη αὐτὸν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Δία ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμιλλαν. ἐίτα μεντοὶ ἐδοξέν αὐτῷ ἱσοὺς πως φυλάξαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὕτω κατέπαυε τὸν 6 λόγον: "Δύο γὰρ ταῦτα," ἔφη, "ὁ βίος ἀριστα δημιουργήματα θεάσατο, τὸν Δία τὸν 'Ολυμπιον καὶ Πρωτέα: πλάσται δὲ καὶ τεχνίται, τοῦ μὲν Φειδίας, τοῦ δὲ ἡ φύσις. ἀλλὰ νῦν εἴ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς τὸ ἁγαλμα τοῦτο οἰχήσεται, ὁχούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός, ὀρφανοὺς ἦμας καταλιπτον." ταῦτα ξυν πολλῷ ἱδρώτι διεξελθὼς ἐδάκρυε μάλα γελοῖος καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἐτίλλετο, ὑποφειδόμενος μὴ πάνω ἐλκειν' καὶ τέλος ἀπήγγελκαν αὐτὸν λύζοντα μεταξὺ τῶν Κυνικῶν τινές παραμυθούμενοι.

7 Μετὰ δὲ τούτον ἄλλος εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνει, οὐ περιμείνας διαλυθήναι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλὰ ἐπ’ αἰθομένους τοὺς προτέρους ἑρεῖοις ἐπέχει τῶν σπονδῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἑπὶ πολὺ ἐγέλα καὶ δῆλος ἦν νεόθεν αὐτῷ δρών: εἰτα ἥρζητο ὡδὲ πως: "Ἐπεὶ οἱ κατάρατος Θεαγένης τέλος τῶν μιαρωτάτων αὐτοῦ λόγων τὰ 'Ἡρακλείτου δάκρυα ἐποίησατο, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου γέλωτος ἄρξομαι." καὶ αὕτης ἐγέλα ἑπὶ πολὺ, ῥόστε καὶ ἦμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἑπὶ τὸ ὀμοίον

1 Diogenes.
2 Evidently the Cynic had spoken from a high place (perhaps the portico of the gymnasium) to which the new speaker now ascends. What Lucian has previously said (§ 2), together with his failure here to say a word about the identity
us with the rest of his bilge-water and got off a lot of amazing hyperbole about Proteus, for, not deigning to compare him with the man of Sinope, or his teacher Antisthenes, or even with Socrates himself, he summoned Zeus to the lists. Then, however, he decided to keep them about equal, and thus concluded his speech: "These are the two noblest masterpieces that the world has seen—the Olympian Zeus, and Proteus; of the one, the creator and artist was Phidias, of the other, Nature. But now this holy image is about to depart from among men to gods, borne on the wings of fire, leaving us bereft." After completing this discourse with copious perspiration, he shed tears in a highly ridiculous way and tore his hair, taking care not to pull very hard; and at length he was led away, sobbing as he went, by some of the Cynics, who strove to comfort him.

After him, another man went up at once, not permitting the throng to disperse, but pouring a libation on the previous sacrificial offerings while they were still ablaze. At first he laughed a long time, and obviously did it from the heart. Then he began somewhat after this fashion: "Since that accursed Theagenes terminated his pestilential remarks with the tears of Heraclitus, I, on the contrary, shall begin with the laughter of Democritus." And again he went on laughing a long time, so that he

or personality of the author of these remarks, puts it beyond doubt that the "other man" is Lucian himself, and that he expects his readers to draw this inference. The device is so transparent that its intent can be regarded only as artistic. It is employed also in *The Eunuch*, 10 (p. 341). Somewhat similar is his borrowing a Prologue from Menander to speak for him in *The Mistaken Critic* (p. 379).
8 ἐπεσπάσατο. εἶτα ἐπιστρέφας ἑαυτὸν, ""Ἡ τί γὰρ ἄλλο," ἔφη, "ω ἄνδρες, χρή ποιεῖν ἀκούοντας μὲν οὕτω γελοῖων ρήσεων, ὀρῶντας ἀνδρας γέροντας δοξαρίου καταπτύσσον ἑνεκα μονονουχί κυβιστώντας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ; ὡς δὲ εἰδείητε οἰόν τι τὸ ἀγαλμά ἐστι τὸ καυθησόμενον, ἀκού- σατέ μου ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραφυλάξαντος τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ἑπιτήρησαντος. ἐνα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπωθανόμην καὶ οὐς ἀνάγκη ἢν ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι αὐτῶν.

9 Τὸ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ δημούρ- γημα, ὦ τοῦ Πολυκλείτον κανών, ἔπει εἰς ἄνδρας τελείων ἕρετο, ἣν Ἀρμενία μοιχεύων ἀλοῦσ μάλα πολλάς πληγάς ἐλαβεν καὶ τέλος κατὰ τὸν τίγγος ἀλόμενος διέφυγε, ῥαβανίδη τὴν πυγήν βεβυσμένος. εἴτα μειράκιον τι ὦραῖον διαφθείρας τρυσχιλίων ἐξωνήσατο παρὰ τῶν γονέων τοῦ παιδός, πεινῆτων ὄντων, μή ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρμοστὴν ἀπαχθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας.

10 "Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐάσεις μοι δοκῶν πηλὸς γὰρ ἐτι ἀπλαστος ἢν καὶ οὐδέπω ἑνελὲς ἀγαλμα ἢμῖν δεδημοὐργητο. ἀ δὲ τὸν πατέρα ἐδρασεν καὶ πάνυ ἀκοῦσαι ἀξίων καὶ τοὺς πάντες ἵστε, καὶ ἀκηκόατε ὡς ἀπέπνυε τὸν γέροντα, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη ἢδη γηρῶντα. εἴτα ἐπειδὴ τὸ πράγμα διεβεβόητο, φυγὴν ἑαυτοῦ καταδικάσας ἐπλανάτο ἄλλοτε ἅλλην ἁμείβων.

1 ἀκούοντας ... ὀρῶντας Γ: ἀκούοντα ... ὀρῶντα XMF.

The proportions of the statue of a naked youth carrying a spear (the Doryphoros), made by Polyclitus, were analysed.
drew most of us into doing likewise. Then, changing countenance, he said, "Pray, what else, gentlemen, are we to do when we hear utterances so ridiculous, and see old men all but standing on their heads in public for the sake of a little despicable notoriety? That you may know what manner of thing is this 'holy image' which is about to be burned up, give me your ears, for I have observed his character and kept an eye on his career from the beginning, and have ascertained various particulars from his fellow-citizens and people who cannot have helped knowing him thoroughly.

"This creation and masterpiece of nature, this Polyclitan canon,¹ as soon as he came of age, was taken in adultery in Armenia and got a sound thrashing, but finally jumped down from the roof and made his escape, with a radish stopping his vent. Then he corrupted a handsome boy, and by paying three thousand drachmas to the boy's parents, who were poor, bought himself off from being brought before the governor of the province of Asia.

"All this and the like of it I propose to pass over; for he was still unshapen clay, and our 'holy image' had not yet been consummated for us. What he did to his father, however, is very well worth hearing; but you all know it—you have heard how he strangled the aged man, unable to tolerate his living beyond sixty years. Then, when the affair had been noised abroad, he condemned himself to exile and roamed about, going to one country after another.

by the sculptor himself in a book called the Canon, and universally accepted as canonical for the male figure.
"" ""Οτεπερ καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν σοφίαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξέμαθεν, περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην τοῖς ἱερεύσι καὶ γραμματεύσιν αὐτῶν ἐγγεγυμένοις, καὶ τί γάρ; ἐν βραχεί παίδας αὐτούς ἄπεφηνε, προφήτης καὶ 1 διασάρχης καὶ ἐνυγγυγεύς καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὄν, καὶ τῶν βίβλων τὰς μὲν ἔξηγεῖτο καὶ διεσάφει, πολλὰς δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ συνεγραφεί, καὶ ως θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι γ'δοῦντο 2 καὶ νομοθέτη ἐχρῶντο καὶ προστάτην ἐπεγράφοντο, μετὰ 3 γοὺν ἐκείνον ὄν 4 ἐτι σέβουσι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὡς καὶνήν ταύτην 5 τελετὴν εἰσήγην ἐς 6 τὸν βίον."

"" Τότε δὴ καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πρωτεύς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ ὅμως ἄξιωμα περιεποίησεν πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς βίον καὶ τὴν τερατείαν καὶ δοξοκόπιαν ὃν ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὤν ἐδέδετο, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συμφορὰν ποιοῦμενοι τὸ πράγμα πάντα ἐκίνουν ἐξαρπάσαι πειράμενοι αὐτὸν. ἐτ’, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ ἦν ἄδύνατον, ἡ γε ἄλλῃ θεραπεία πάσα ὑπὸ παρέργως ἀλλὰ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίνετο· καὶ ἐσθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὅραν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γράδια χήρας τινᾶς καὶ παιδία ὅρφανά, οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθευνον ἐνδοὺ μετ’ αὐτοῦ διαφθείραντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας. ἔτα δειπνὰ ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο, καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος Περεγρῖνος· ἐτι γάρ τούτῳ ἐκάλείτο—καὶ νὸις Σωκράτης υπ’ αὐτῶν ὀνομάζετο.

1 καὶ ὜Φ: not in ΓΧ.
2 ἔδοῦντο Cobet, Fritzsche: ἔγοντο MSS.
3 ἐπεγράφοντο, μετὰ Cobet: ἐπέγραφον· τὸν μέγαν MSS.
"It was then that he learned the wondrous lore of the Christians, by associating with their priests and scribes in Palestine. And—how else could it be?—in a trice he made them all look like children; for he was prophet, cult-leader, head of the synagogue, and everything, all by himself. He interpreted and explained some of their books and even composed many, and they revered him as a god, made use of him as a lawgiver, and set him down as a protector, next after that other, to be sure, whom they still worship, the man who was crucified in Palestine because he introduced this new cult into the world.

"Then at length Proteus was apprehended for this and thrown into prison, which itself gave him no little reputation as an asset for his future career and the charlatanism and notoriety-seeking that he was enamoured of. Well, when he had been imprisoned, the Christians, regarding the incident as a calamity, left nothing undone in the effort to rescue him. Then, as this was impossible, every other form of attention was shown him, not in any casual way but with assiduity; and from the very break of day aged widows and orphan children could be seen waiting near the prison, while their officials even slept inside with him after bribing the guards. Then elaborate meals were brought in, and sacred books of theirs were read aloud, and excellent Peregrinus—for he still went by that name—was called by them 'the new Socrates.'

1 The sense of the unemended text here is "protector; that great man, to be sure, they still worship," etc.

4 δύ Harmon: not in MSS.
5 ταύτα ΙΧ.
6 ἐπὶ ΙΧ.
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13 "Καὶ μὴν κάκ ¹ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων ἦστιν ὃν ἦκὼν τινες, τῶν Χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, βοηθήσοντες καὶ συναγορεύσοντες καὶ παραμυθησόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀμήχανον δὲ τι τὸ τάχος ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐπειδὰν τι τοιοῦτον γένηται δημόσιον· ἐν βραχεῖ γὰρ ἀφειδοῦσι πάντων. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Περεγρίνῳ πολλὰ τότε ἦκεν χρήματα παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ πρόσοδον οὐ μικρὰν ταῦτῃ ἐποιήσατο. ² πεπείκασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὀλον ἀθάνατον ἔσχεθαί καὶ βιώσεθαί τὸν ἅτι χρόνον, παρ’ ὁ καὶ καταφρονοῦσιν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόσαν οἱ πολλοί. [ἐπείτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες έιν ἄλληλων, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσωνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον έκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτὸν ³ προσκυνῶσιν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς έκεῖνον νόμους βιώσων καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν ἀπάντων έξ ἵσης καὶ κοινα ἡγοῦνται, ἀνευ τινὸς ἄκριβους πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι. ἦν τοῖν παρέλθῃ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόνης καὶ τεχνίτης ἀνθρωπος καὶ πράγμασιν χρήσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλουσίους εν βραχεὶ εγένετο ἴδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανῶν.

14 "Πλὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Περεγρίνος ἀφεὶθη ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος, ἄνδρὸς φιλοσοφία χαίροντος,

¹ κάκ Jacobitz, Dindorf: καὶ MSS.
² ἐποιήσατο X² (Faber): ἐποιήσαντο X¹, cett.
³ αὐτῶν X, Sommerbrodt: αὐτῶν ΙΜ.
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"Indeed, people came even from the cities in Asia, sent by the Christians at their common expense, to succour and defend and encourage the hero. They show incredible speed whenever any such public action is taken; for in no time they lavish their all: So it was then in the case of Peregrinus; much money came to him from them by reason of his imprisonment, and he procured not a little revenue from it. The poor wretches have convinced themselves, first and foremost, that they are going to be immortal and live for all time, in consequence of which they despise death and even willingly give themselves into custody, most of them. Furthermore, their first lawgiver persuaded them that they are all brothers of one another after they have transgressed once for all by denying the Greek gods and by worshipping that crucified sophist himself and living under his laws. Therefore they despise all things indiscriminately and consider them common property, receiving such doctrines traditionally without any definite evidence. So if any charlatan and trickster, able to profit by occasions, comes among them, he quickly acquires sudden wealth by imposing upon simple folk.

"However, Peregrinus was freed by the then governor of Syria, a man who was fond of philosophy. Aware of his recklessness and that he

1 From the wording of this sentence the allusion is so obviously to Christ himself that one is at a loss to understand why Paul, let alone Moses, should have been suggested. For the doctrine of brotherly love cf. Matt. 23, 8: πάντες δὲ ἴμελεῖς ἰδελφοί ἐστε.

2 The Roman governor of the province of Syria is meant. Identification is impossible because the date of the imprisonment of Peregrinus cannot be fixed.

15
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ός συνεϊς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δέξατ᾽ ἄν ἀποθανεῖν ὡς δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολέτοι, ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τῆς κολάσεως ὑπολαβὼν ἄξιον. ὃ δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανελθὼν καταλαμβάνει τὸ περὶ τοῦ πατρῴου φόνου ἔτι φλεγμαίνον καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπανατευνομένους τὴν κατηγορίαν. διήρπαστο δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κτημάτων παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνοι ὑπελείποντο οἱ ἄγροι ὅσον εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα. ἦν γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα οὐσία τριάκοντα ποὺ ταλάντων ἀξία ἦν ὁ γέρων κατέλιπεν, οὐχ ὡσπερ ὁ παγγέλιος Θεαγένης ἔλεγε πεντακισχιλίων· τοσοῦτον γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ πᾶσα τῶν Παριανῶν πόλις πέντε σὺν αὐτῇ τὰς γειτνίωσας παραλαβοῦσα πραθεὶ ἢν αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ βοσκήμασιν καὶ ἔτι λοιπῇ παρασκευῇ.

15 Ἄλλο 'ἔτι γε ἡ κατηγορία καὶ τὸ ἑγκλῆμα θερμὸν ἦν, καὶ ἐώσει οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπαναστήσειςθαί τις αὐτῷ, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δήμος αὐτὸς ἡγανάκτει, χρηστὸν, ὡς ἐφασιν οἱ ἱδόντες, γέροντα πενθοῦντες οὖτως ἀσεβῶς ἀπολωλότα. ὃ δὲ σοφὸς οὐτος Πρωτεύς πρὸς ἀπαντὰ ταῦτα σκέψασθε οἶνον τι ἐξεύρεν καὶ ὅπως τὸν κύνδυνον διέφυγεν. παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Παριανῶν—ἐκόμα δὲ ἦδη καὶ τρίβωνα πυναρὸν ἡμπείχετο καὶ πήραν παρῆρτητο καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἦν, καὶ ὅλως μάλα τραγικῶς ἐσκεύαστο—τοιούτος οὖν ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφεῖναι ἐφ᾽ τὴν οὐσίαν ἦν ὁ μακαρίτης.
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would gladly die in order that he might leave behind him a reputation for it, he freed him, not considering him worthy even of the usual chastisement.¹ Upon returning to his home, he found that the matter of his father's murder was still at fever heat and that there were many who were for pressing the charge against him. Most of his possessions had been carried off during his absence, and only his farms remained, amounting to fifteen talents; for the entire property which the old man left had been worth perhaps thirty talents, not five thousand as that utterly ridiculous Theagenes asserted. Even the entire city of Parium,² taking along with it the five that are its neighbours, would not fetch that much, including the men, the cattle, and all the rest of their belongings.

"However, the charge and complaint was still aglow, and it was probable that before long somebody would appear against him; above all, the people themselves were enraged, mourning over a good old man (as he was called by those who had seen him) so impiously slain. But observe what a plan our clever Proteus discovered to cope with all this, and how he escaped the danger. Coming before the assembly of the Parians—he wore his hair long by now, dressed in a dirty mantle, had a wallet slung at his side, the staff was in his hand, and in general he was very histrionic in his get-up—manifesting himself to them in this guise, he said that he relinquished to the

¹ "The usual chastisement" (Allinson's phrase) was scourging.
² A small (but not really so contemptible) Greek town on the Hellespont, site of a Roman colony since Augustus. See Sir W. Leaf, Strabo on the Troad, pp. 80-85.
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πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλυτεν δημοσίαν εἶναι πᾶσαν.
τοῦτο ὡς ἦκουσεν ὁ δῆμος, πένθες ἄνθρωποι καὶ
πρὸς διανομὰς κεχηρότες, ἀνέκραγον εὐθὺς ἐνα
φιλόσοφον, ἕνα φιλόπατρῳ, ἕνα Διογένους καὶ
Κράτητος ζηλωτὴν. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ ἐπεφίσμεντο,
καν εἰ τις ἐπιχειρήσειν μεμηθεὶ τοῦ φόνου,
λίβοις εὐθὺς ἐβάλλετο.

16 "Ἐξῆλε οὖν τὸ δεύτερον πλανησόμενοι, ἵκανα
ἐφόδια τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἑχων, ὧφ' ἄν δορυφοροῦ-
μενος ἐν ἀπασιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινὰ
οὕτως ἐβόσκετο· εἶτα παρανομήσας τι καὶ ἐς
ἐκεῖνους—ὡφθη γάρ τι, ὡς οἴμαι, ἔσθιων τῶν
ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς—οὐκέτι προσιμένων αὐτὸν ἀπο-
ρούμενος ἐκ παλινωδίας ἀπαιτεῖν ὡςτο δεῖν παρὰ
τῆς πόλεως τὰ κτήματα, καὶ γραμματεῖον ἐπίδους
ἡξίου ταῦτα κομίσασθαι κελεύσαντος βασιλέως.
εἶτα τῆς πόλεως ἀντιπροσβεβουμένης οὐδὲν ἐπρά-
χθη, ἀλλ' ἐμμένειν ἐκελεύσθη οἷς ἅπαξ διέγνω
μηδενὸς καταναγκάσαντος.

17 "Τρίτη ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀποδημίᾳ εἰς Ἀγυπτὸν
παρὰ τὸν Ἀγαθόβουλον, ἵναπερ τῇν θαυμαστήν
ἐσκηνὶ διησκεῖτο, ἐυρόμενος μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς
τὸ ἡμίσυ, χριόμενος δὲ πηλῷ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐν
πολλῷ δὲ τῶν περιεστώτων δήμῳ ἀναφλῶν το

1 The phrase is F. D. Allinson's.

2 In Acts 15, 29 the apostles and the elder brethren pre-
scribe abstaining "from sacrifices offered to idols, and from
blood, and from things strangled" (ἐιδολόθυτα καὶ αἷμα καὶ
πρικτὰ). Probably what Lucian has in mind is pagan sacri-
ficial meats. This may be just a guess, from the way he
puts it; but if so, it is highly plausible on account of the
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state all the property which had been left him by his father of blessed memory. When the people, poor folk agape for largesses, heard that, they lifted their voices forthwith: 'The one and only philosopher! The one and only patriot! The one and only rival of Diogenes and Crates!' His enemies were muzzled, and anyone who tried to mention the murder was at once pelted with stones.

"He left home, then, for the second time, to roam about, possessing an ample source of funds in the Christians, through whose ministrations he lived in unalloyed prosperity. For a time he battened himself thus; but then, after he had transgressed in some way even against them—he was seen, I think, eating some of the food that is forbidden them—they no longer accepted him, and so, being at a loss, he thought he must sing a palinode and demand his possessions back from his city. Submitting a petition, he expected to recover them by order of the Emperor. Then, as the city sent representatives to oppose the claim, he achieved nothing, but was directed to abide by what he had once for all determined, under no compulsion from anyone.

"Thereafter he went away a third time, to Egypt, to visit Agathobulus, where he took that wonderful course of training in asceticism, shaving one half of his head, daubing his face with mud, and demonstrating what they call 'indifference' by erecting his notorious indifference of the Cynics towards what they ate. Peregrinus may have signalised his relapse to Cynicism by sampling a "dinner of Hecate" at the cross-roads.

3 In Demonax, 3, Lucian alludes to Agathobulus as one of those with whom Demonax had studied. The teacher of Peregrinus was therefore reputable as well as famous.
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αίδοιον καὶ τὸ ἀδιάφορον ηὲ τοῦτο καλούμενον ἐπιδεικνύμενος, εἶτα παῖων καὶ παιόμενος νάρθηκε εἰς τὰς πυγάς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ νεανικότερα θαυματοποιών.

18 "Εκεῖθεν δὲ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ἐπὶ Ἰταλίας ἐπλευσεν καὶ ἀποβὰς τῆς νεώς εὐθὺς ἐλοιδορεῖτο πᾶσι, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεί, πραότατον αὐτὸν καὶ ἥμερωταν εἰδῶς, ὥστε ἄσφαλῶς ἑτόλμα: ἐκείνω γάρ, ως εἰκός, ὀλίγον ἔμελεν τῶν βλασφημῶν καὶ οὐκ ἥξιον τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποδυόμενον τινα κολάζειν ἐπὶ ῥήμασί καὶ μάλιστα τέχνην τινὰ τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι πεποιημένον. τούτω δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς δόξης ηὐξάνετο, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἱδιώταις, καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπονοιᾷ, μέχρι δὴ ὃ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτετραμένος ἀνήρ σοφὸς ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἀμέτρως ἐντρυφῶντα τῷ πράγματι, εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν τοιούτου φιλοσόφου. πλὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτο κλεινὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ στόματος ἦν ἀπασιν, ὁ φιλόσοφος διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἄγαν ἔλευθερίαν ἐξελάθεις, καὶ προσῆλαυνε κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ Μουσώνῳ καὶ Δίων καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐν περιστάσει τοιαύτη ἐγένετο.

19 "Οὐτώ δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθὼν ἀρτι μὲν Ἡλείοις ἐλοιδορεῖτο, ἀρτὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπείθεν ἀντάρασθαι ὡπλὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀρτὶ δὲ ἀνδρα παιδείᾳ καὶ ἀξιώματι προύχοντα, διότι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὖ ἐποίησεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ

2 Ἰταλίας ΓΧ: Ἰταλίαν MF, edd.
3 τὴν ΧΘ: τὸν ΓΜ.
yard amid a thronging mob of bystanders, besides giving and taking blows on the back-sides with a stalk of fennel, and playing the mountebank even more audaciously in many other ways.

"From there, thus equipped, he set sail for Italy and immediately after disembarking he fell to abusing everyone, and in particular the Emperor, knowing him to be mild and gentle, so that he was safe in making bold. The Emperor, as one would expect, cared little for his libels and did not think fit to punish for mere words a man who only used philosophy as a cloak, and above all, a man who had made a profession of abusiveness. But in our friend's case, even from this his reputation grew, among simple folk anyhow, and he was a cynosure for his recklessness, until finally the city prefect, a wise man, packed him off for immoderate indulgence in the thing, saying that the city had no need of any such philosopher. However, this too made for his renown, and he was on everybody's lips as the philosopher who had been banished for his frankness and excessive freedom, so that in this respect he approached Musonius, Dio, Epictetus, and anyone else who has been in a similar predicament."

"Coming at last to Greece under these circumstances, at one moment he abused the Eleans, at another he counselled the Greeks to take up arms against the Romans, and at another he libelled a man outstanding in literary attainments and position because he had been a benefactor to Greece in many

1 The allusion is to that variety of "indifferent" action (i.e. neither good nor bad) ascribed to Diogenes himself by Dio Chrysostom VI, 16–20 (pp. 203–204 R).

2 Antoninus Pius.

ἡ ὀλυμπία καὶ ἔπαυσε δύσει ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς πανηγυριστάς, κακῶς ἦρομεν ὡς καταβηλύνατα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, δέον τοὺς θεατὰς τῶν ὀλυμπίων διακαρτηρεῖν δυσώντας καὶ νὴ Δία γε καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ σφόδρων τῶν νόσων, αἱ τέως διὰ τὸ ἐξηρὸν τοῦ χωρίου ἐν πολλῷ τῷ πλῆθει ἐπεπόλαξον. καὶ ταῦτα ἔλεγε πίνων τούτων ὦδατος.

"Ὦς δὲ μικρὸι κατέλευσαν αὐτῶν ἐπιδραμόντες ἄπαντες, τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Δία καταφυγὼν ὁ 20 γενναίος εὑρετο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐξῆς ὀλυμπιάδα λόγον τινά διὰ τεττάρων ἔτων συνθεῖσι τῶν διὰ μέσου ἑξήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἔπαινον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ ὦδωρ ἐπαγαγόντος καὶ ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦτο φυγῆς.

"Ἡδὴ δὲ ἀμελούμενος ὃς ἄπαντων καὶ μηκέθο κόμωσε περίβλεπτος ὡς—ἔωλα γὰρ ἦν ἄπαντα καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν ἐδύνατο ἐφ’ ὁτι ἐκπλήξει 1 τοὺς ἐντυχάνοντας καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπειν ποιήσει, οὔπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δριμῶν τινά ἔρωτα ἔρων ἐτύγχανεν—τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο τόλμημα ἐβουλεύσατο περὶ τῆς πυρᾶς, καὶ διέδωκε λόγον ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐθὺς ἀπ’ ὀλυμπίων τῶν 21 ἐμπροσθεν ὃς ἐς τούπιδιν καύσων ἐαυτὸν. καὶ νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαυματοποιεῖ, ὡς φασὶ, βόθρον

1 ἐκπλήξει ΜF, odd.: ἐκπλήξει ηχ.
ways, and particularly because he had brought water to Olympia and prevented the visitors to the festival from dying of thirst, maintaining that he was making the Greeks effeminate, for the spectators of the Olympic games ought to endure their thirst—yes, by Heaven, and even to lose their lives, no doubt, many of them, through the frequent distempers which formerly ran riot in the vast crowd on account of the dryness of the place! And he said this while he drank that same water!

When they almost killed him with stones, mobbing him with one accord, he managed to escape death at the moment by fleeing to Zeus for sanctuary (stout fellow!), and afterwards, at the next Olympiad, he gave the Greeks a speech which he had composed during the four years that had intervened, praising the man who had brought in the water and defending himself for running away at that time.

"At last he was disregarded by all and no longer so admired; for all his stuff was stale and he could not turn out any further novelty with which to surprise those who came in his way and make them marvel and stare at him—a thing for which he had a fierce craving from the first. So he devised this ultimate venture of the pyre, and spread a report among the Greeks immediately after the last Olympic games that he would burn himself up at the next festival. And now, they say, he is playing the mountebank over that very thing, digging a pit,

1 The man was the famous Herodes Atticus. For the aqueduct built by him at Olympia see Frazer's Pausanias, Vol. IV, pp. 72 ff. Philostratus (Vit. Soph. II, 1, 33) records that Herodes was often berated by Proteus, to whom on one occasion he hinted that it might at least be done in Greek.
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ορύττων καὶ ξύλα συγκομίζων καὶ δεινήν τινα τὴν καρτερίαν ὑποσχυνόμενος.

"Ἐξρήν δὲ, οἶμαι, μάλιστα μὲν περιμένειν τὸν θάνατον καὶ μή δραπετεύειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου. εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντως διέγνωστό οἱ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, μή πυρὶ μηδὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας τούτος χρῆσθαι, ἅλλ᾽ ἐτερὸν τινα θανάτου τρόπον, μυρίων ὄντων, ἐλόμενον ἑπελθεὶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὡς Ἡράκλειόν τι ἀσπάζεται, τι δὴ ποτε οὐχὶ κατὰ συγὴν ἐλόμενος ὁρὸς εὐδενδρὸν ἐν ἕκεινῳ ἔαυτὸν ἐνέπρησεν μόνος, ἕνα τινὰ οἶον Θεαγένη τοῦτον Φιλοκτήτην παραλβὼν; ὃ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπία τῆς πανηγύρεως πληθοῦσης μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὁπτῆσει ἐαυτόν, οὐκ ἀνάξιος ὄν, μᾶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, εἰ γε χρὴ κἀγὼν ὁμολογιας καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους δίκας διδόναι τῶν τολμημάτων. καὶ κατὰ τὸν πάντως ὅπερ δρᾶν αὐτὸ ἔσκεν, ὃν ἐξερήν πάλαι ἐς τὸν τοῦ Φαλάριδος ταῦταν ἐμπεσόντα τὴν ἄξιαν ἀποτετικέναι, ἅλλὰ μὴ ἀπαξ θανόντα πρὸς τὴν φλόγα ἐν ἄκαρεί

1 ἐλεύθερον Γ.

1 Thanks to Paul Graindor, the date of the Olympiads mentioned in connection with Peregrinus can now be determined. He has deduced from the apparent ages of the children represented in the exedra erected by Herodes on the completion of his aqueduct that this took place in A.D. 153 (Herode Atticus et Sa Famille, pp. 87-88). His deduction finds support in the text of Lucian as soon as we recognise that Lucian is talking about four different Olympiads, not three. The first is that on which Peregrinus criticised the aqueduct, which will be the year of its completion, A.D. 153. At the next (τὴν ἐξῆς, A.D. 157) he withdrew his criticism. The Olympiad just after which he announced his intention of cremating himself need not and cannot be identical with

24
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collecting logs, and promising really awesome fortitude.¹

"What he should have done, I think, was first and foremost to await death and not to cut and run from life; but if he had determined to be off at all costs, not to use fire or any of these devices out of tragedy, but to choose for his departure some other form of death out of the myriads that there are. If, however, he is partial to fire as something connected with Heracles, why in the world did he not quietly select a well-wooded mountain and cremate himself upon it in solitude, taking along only one person such as Theagenes here for his Philoctetes?² On the contrary, it is in Olympia, at the height of the festival, all but in the theatre, that he plans to roast himself—not undeservedly, by Heracles, if it is right for parricides and for atheists to suffer for their hardinesses.³ And from that point of view he seems to be getting about it very late in the day; he ought long ago to have been flung into the bull of Phalaris ⁴ to pay the fitting penalty instead of opening his mouth to the flames once for all and expiring in a trice. For the one of A.D. 157; it is called by the speaker the last, or previous (τὴν ἐμπροσθεν), and the text clearly implies a lapse of time. It must therefore be the one of A.D. 161. Then comes the fourth, on which the cremation took place, dated by Eusebius in A.D. 165.

² Philoctetes had helped Heracles to cremate himself on Mt. Oeta by kindling the pyre for him.

³ As the cremation actually took place at Harpina, two miles away from Olympia, and on the day after the festival closed, it may be that religious scruples (cf. § 26) caused Peregrinus to modify an original plan which involved its taking place at Olympia itself while the festival was in progress.

⁴ See Phalaris I, 11–12 (Vol. I, pp. 17 ff.).
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tεθνάναι. καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τόδε οἱ πολλοὶ μου λέγουσιν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀρτέρος ἄλλος θανάτου τρόπος τοῦ διὰ πυρός· ἀνοίξαι γὰρ δεῖ μόνον τὸ στόμα καὶ αὐτῖκα τεθνάναι.

22 "Τὸ μέντοι θέαμα ἐπινοεῖται, ονείμαι, ὡς σεμνῶν, ἐν ἑρῴ χωρίω καίσμενος ἀνθρώπως, ἐνθα μηδὲ θάπτειν ὅσιον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποθνήσκοντας. ἀκούετε δὲ, οἴμαι, ὡς καὶ πάλαι θέλων τις ἐνδοξὸς γενεσθαι, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄλλου τρόπου οὐκ εἶχεν ἐπίτυχεῖν τούτου, ἐνέπρησε τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν νεών. τοιοῦτον τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπινοεῖ, τοσοῦτος ἔρως τῆς δόξης ἐντέτηκεν αὐτῷ.

23 "Καίτως φησίν ὅτι ύπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸ δρᾶ, ὡς διδάξειν αὐτοῦς θανάτου καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν τοῖς δεινοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἑδεῶς ἂν ἐροίμην οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἄλλ' ὑμᾶς, εἰ καὶ τοὺς κακοῦργους βούλουσθε ἂν μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ γενεσθαι τῆς καρτερίας ταύτης καὶ καταφρονεῖν θανάτου καὶ καύσεως καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων δειμάτων. ἄλλ' οὖκ ἂν εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι βουλήθειτε. πῶς οὖν ὁ Πρωτεύς τούτῳ διακρινεὶ καὶ τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ὠφελήσει, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς οὐ φιλοκυνδυνοτέρους καὶ τολμηροτέρους ἀποφανεῖ;" 

24 "Καίτως δυνατὸν ἐσττὼ ἐς τούτῳ μόνους ἀπαντησεῖσθαι τοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὠφελιμὸν ὀφομένους τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὑμᾶς δ' οὖν αὖθις ἐρήσομαι, δέξαιοθ' ἂν ὑμῶν τοὺς παῖδας ξηλωτᾶς τοῦ τοιοῦτον γενεσθαι; οὖκ ἂν εἴποιτε. καὶ τί τοῦτο ἡρόμην,

¹ Herostratus, in 356 B.C. The Ephesians sought to defeat his object by forbidding anyone for all time to mention his name (Valerius Maximus, VIII, 14, 5). The prohibition,
people tell me that no other form of death is quicker than that by fire; you have only to open your mouth, and die forthwith.

"The spectacle is being planned, I suppose, as something awe-inspiring—a fellow getting burnt up in a holy place where it is impious even to bury the others who die. But you have heard, no doubt, that long ago a man who wished to become famous burned the temple of Ephesian Artemis, not being able to attain that end in any other way.¹ He himself has something similar in mind, so great is the craving for fame that has penetrated him to the core.

"He alleges, however, that he is doing it for the sake of his fellow men, that he may teach them to despise death and endure what is fearsome. For my part, I should like to ask, not him but you, whether you would wish malefactors to become his disciples in this fortitude of his, and to despise death and burning and similar terrors. No, you would not, I am very sure. How, then, is Proteus to draw distinctions in this matter, and to benefit the good without making the bad more adventurous and daring?

"Nevertheless, suppose it possible that only those will present themselves at this affair who will see it to their advantage. Once more I shall question you: would you desire your children to become imitators of such a man? You will not say so. But why did I ask that question, when even of his disciples them-

which very likely was accompanied by a curse, was far from ineffective, for nearly all ancient authors who mention the story, including Cicero and Plutarch, omit the name just as Lucian does.

27
Τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ζηλώσειν ἦν; τὸν γούν. Θεαγένη τοῦτο μάλιστα αἰτιάσατο ἂν τις, ὅτι τάλλα ζηλῶν τάνδρος οὐχ ἔπεται τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ συνοδεύει παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὥσ φησιν, ἀπιόντι, δυνάμενος ὃν βραχεῖ πανευδαίμων γενέσθαι συνεμπεσών ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν ἑς τῷ πῦρ.

"Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ρᾴμα καὶ βάκτρῳ καὶ τρίβωνι ὁ ζῆλος, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἁσφαλῆ καὶ βάδια καὶ παντὸς ἐν εἴη, τὸ τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον χρὴ ζηλῶν καὶ πυρὰν συνβέντα κορμῶν συκίων ώς ἐν μάλιστα χλωρῶν ἐναποτυμνῆναι τῷ κατωφθομῇ τῷ πῦρ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐ μόνον Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἁσκληπιοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱεροσύλων καὶ ἀνδροφόνων, οὐδ᾽ ὅριν ἐστίν ἡ καταδίκη αὐτῷ πᾶσχοντας. ὥστε ἁμείνον τῷ διὰ τοῦ κατηχοῦντο. ἤδιον γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν ἂν μόνων γένοιτο.

25 Ἀλλὰς τε ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς, εἴπερ ἀρὰ καὶ ἐτόλμησέν τι τοιοῦτο, ὅπο νόσου αὐτὸ ἐδρασεί, ὅπο τοῦ Κενταυρείου αἵματος, ὥσ φῆσιν ἡ τραγῳδία. κατεσθιόμενος οὐτός δὲ τῶν αἰτιῶν ἐνεκεν ἐμβάλλει φέρων ἐαυτῶν ἐἰς τὸ πῦρ; ἦ νῦ Δῆ, ὅπως τὴν καρτερίαν ἐπιδείξηται καθάπερ οἱ Βραχιάνες ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡγίασεν Θεαγένης εἰκάζει, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνόν καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς εἶναι τινὰς μωροὺς καὶ κενοδόξους ἀνθρώπους. ὦμος δ᾽ οὗν κἂν ἐκεῖνοι μιμεῖσθων ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐμπηδοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πῦρ, ὡς Ὅμηρος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρῳ κυβερνήτῃς ἐδὼν Κάλανον καμίμενον φησιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὰν νήσωσι, πλησίον παραστάταις ἀκίνητοι

1 γούν Bekker: οὐν MSS.
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selves not one would imitate him? In fact, the thing for which one might blame Theagenes most of all is that although he copies the man in everything else, he does not follow his teacher and take the road with him, now that he is off, as he says, to join Heracles; why, he has the opportunity to attain absolute felicity instanter by plunging headlong into the fire with him!

"Emulation is not a matter of wallet, staff, and mantle; all this is safe and easy and within anyone's power. One should emulate the consummation and culmination, build a pyre of fig-wood logs as green as can be, and stifle one's self in the smoke of them. Fire itself belongs not only to Heracles and Asclepius, but to doers of sacrilege and murder, who can be seen enduring it by judicial sentence. Therefore it is better to employ smoke, which would be peculiar and belong only to you and your like.

"Besides, if Heracles really did venture any such act, he did it because he was ailing, because the blood of the Centaur, as the tragedy tells us, was preying upon him; but for what reason does this man throw himself bodily into the fire? Oh, yes! to demonstrate his fortitude, like the Brahmins, for Theagenes thought fit to compare him with them, just as if there could not be fools and notoriety-seekers even among the Indians. Well, then, let him at least imitate them. They do not leap into the fire (so Onesicritus says, Alexander's navigator, who saw Calanus burning), but when they have built their pyre, they stand close beside it motionless and en-

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3 ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς MSS.: corrected by Jacobitz.
3 αὐτῶν τ., Faber: ἐαυτόν ΓΩΧΜΦ.
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ἀνέχονται παροπτώμενοι, εἰτ’ ἐπιβάντες κατὰ σχῆμα καίονται, οὖδ’ ὅσον ὀλίγον ἐντρέψαντες ¹ τῆς κατακλίσεως.

"Οὗτος δὲ τὶ μέγα εἰ ἔμπεσον τεθνήξεται συναρπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς; οὐκ ἄπτ’ ἐλπίδος μὴ ἀναπηδήσασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμίφλεκτον, εἰ μὴ, ὅπερ φασί, μηχανήσεται βαθείαν γενέσθαι καὶ

26 ἐν βόθρῳ τὴν πυραν. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ μεταβαλέσθαι ² φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ τινα ὀνειρατα διηγείσθαι, ὡς τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ ἔωντος μιᾶς ἱερὸν χωρίον. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖτω τούτου γε ἕνεκα: ἐγὼ γὰρ διομοσαίμην ἂν ὅ μὴν μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἀγανακτήσειν, εἰ Περεγρῖνος κακῶς ³ ἀποθάνοι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βάδιον αὐτῶ ἐτ’ ἀναδύναι. οἱ γὰρ συνόντες κόινος παρομώσων καὶ συνωθοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὑπεκάουσιν τὴν γυνῆς, οὐκ ἔωντες ἀποδειλαν: ὅν εἰ δύο συγκαταστάσας ἐμπέσοι εἰς τὴν πυραν, τοῦτο μόνον χάριν τὸν ἐργάσαιτο.

27 "Ἡκουν δὲ ὡς οὐδὲ Πρωτεύς ἔτι καλείσθαι ἀξιοῖ, ἀλλὰ Φοίνικα μετωνόμασεν ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι καὶ φοίνικ, τὸ Ἰνδικὸν ὄρνεον, ἐπιβαίνειν πυρᾶς λέγεται πορρωτάτῳ γῆρως προβεβηκός. ἀλλὰ καὶ λογοποιεῖ καὶ χρησμοὺς τινας διεξεισών παλαιώς ἰή, ὡς χρεων εἰτ’ ⁵ δαίμονα νυκτοφύλακα γενέσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ δῆλος ἐστὶ βωμῶν ἦδη ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀναστήσεσθαι ἐλπίζων.

¹ ἐκτρέψαντες Faber, accepted by Jacobitz, Bekker, Dindorf, Fritzsche. But cf. Fugit. ⁷; also Schmid, Atticismus, I, 393, citing Hist. Conscr. 15, Pseudol., 7, 14. The genitive depends on ὀλίγον.

² μεταβαλέσθαι X², F², edd., mistaking the meaning.

³ κακῶς MSS. (except κακὸς X¹): κακὸς κακῶς Fritzsche.

30
dure being toasted; then, mounting upon it, they cremate themselves decorously, without the slightest alteration of the position in which they are lying.

"In this man's case, what great thing will it be if he tumbles in and dies in the sudden grip of the fire? It is not beyond expectation that he will jump out half consumed, unless, as they say, he is going to see to it that the pyre is deep down in a pit. There are people who say that he has even changed his mind, and is telling certain dreams, to the effect that Zeus does not permit pollution of a holy place. But let him be assured on that score; I would take my oath to it that no one of the gods would be angry if Peregrinus should die a rogue's death. Moreover, it is not easy for him to withdraw now; for his Cynic associates are urging him on and pushing him into the fire and inflaming his resolution; they will not let him shirk it. If he should pull a couple of them into the fire along with him when he jumps in, that would be the only nice thing about his performance.

"I have heard that he no longer deigns to be called Proteus but has changed his name to Phoenix, because the phoenix, the Indian bird, is said to mount a pyre when it is very far advanced in age. Indeed, he even manufactures myths and repeats certain oracles, ancient, of course, to the purport that he is to become a guardian spirit of the night; it is plain, too, that he already covets altars and expects to be imaged in gold.

1 See above, p. 25, and n. 3.

4 ἀν Jacobitz: ἐτυάσεται X, perhaps right.
5 εἴη Bekker: εἶναι MSS.
28 "Καὶ μὰ Δία οὐδὲν ἀπεικός ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς ἀνοίτοις εὐρεθήσεθαί τινας τοὺς καὶ τεταρταῖων ἀπηλλάχθαι δι’ αὐτοῦ φήσοντας καὶ νῦκτωρ ἐντευχηκέναι τῷ δαίμονι τῷ νυκτοφύλακι. οἱ κατάρατοι δὲ οὗτοι μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ χρηστήριον, οἵμαι, καὶ ἄδυτον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ μηχανήσονται, διότι καὶ Πρωτεύς ἐκεῖνος ὁ Δίος, ὁ προπόντως τοῦ ὄνοματος, μαντικὸς ἢν. μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἡ μὴ καὶ ἰερέας αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι μαστίγων ἡ καυτηρίων ἡ τινος τοιαύτης τερατογίας, ἡ καὶ νὴ Δία τελετὴν τινα ἐπὶ αὐτῶ συστήσεσθαι νυκτέριον καὶ δαδουχών ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ.

29 "Θεαγένης δὲ ἐναγχος, ὡς μοι τις τῶν ἑταίρων ἀπήγγειλεν, καὶ Σίβυλλαν ἔφη προειρηκέναι περὶ τούτων καὶ τὰ ἔπη γὰρ ἀπεμνημόνευν·

" Άλλ’ ὁπόταν Πρωτεύς Κυνικῶν ὄχ’ ἀριστος ἀπάντων
Σηνὸς ἑριγδούπου τέμενος κάτα πῦρ ἀνακαύσας ἐσ φλόγα πηδήσας ἐλθῆ ἐσ μακρὸν "Ολυμποῦν,
δὴ τὸ τέτο πάντας ὄμως, οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοσαν,
νυκτιπόλον τιμῶν κέλομαι ἥρωα μέγιστον
σύνθρονον Ἡφαιστῶ καὶ Ἡρακλῆ ἄνακτι.

30 "Ταύτα μὲν Θεαγένης Σίβυλλας ἀκηκοέναι φησίν. ἐγὼ δὲ Βάκιδος αὐτῶ χρησμὸν ὑπὲρ

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1 Athenagoras reports that Parium, where Peregrinus was born, cherished a statue of him from which oracles were derived (Leg. de Christ., 26).
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"By Zeus, it would be nothing unnatural if, among all the dolts that there are, some should be found to assert that they were relieved of quartan fevers by him, and that in the dark they had encountered the guardian spirit of the night! Then too these accursed disciples of his will make an oracular shrine, I suppose, with a holy of holies, at the site of the pyre, because the famous Proteus, son of Zeus, the progenitor of his name, was given to soothsaying. I pledge my word, too, that priests of his will be appointed, with whips or branding-irons or some such flummy-diddle, or even that a nocturnal mystery will be got up in his honour, including a torch festival at the site of the pyre.

"Theagenes, as I have been told by one of my friends, recently said that the Sibyl had made a prediction about all this; in fact, he quoted the verses from memory:

But when the time shall come that Proteus, noblest of Cynics,
Kindleth fire in the precinct of Zeus, our Lord of the Thunder,
Leapeth into the flame, and cometh to lofty Olympus,
Then do I bid all alike who eat the fruit of the ploughland
Honour to pay unto him that walketh abroad in the night-time,
Greatest of spirits, thronéd with Heracles and Hephaestus.

"That is what Theagenes alleges he heard from the Sibyl. But I will quote him one of the oracles of
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toútvn épw· φησίν δὲ ο Ὅακις οὐτω, σφόδρα ευ ἐπειπῶν,

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν Κυνικὸς πολυώνυμος ἐς φλόγα πολλήν
πεδήσῃ δόξης ὑπ' ἐρινύι θυμὸν ὀρινθεῖς,

τὶ ὡμῖν δοκεῖ, ἀνδρε; ἄρα φαυλότερος χρησμολογός ο Βάκις τῆς Σιβύλλης εἶναι; ἀστε ὤρα τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς τούτοις ὁμιληταῖς τοῦ Πρωτέως περισκοπεῖν ἐνθα ἠαυτοὺς ἐξαιρώσουσιν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν καύσιν καλοῦσιν.

31 'Ιττ' εἰπόντος ἀνεβόησαν οἱ περιστώτες ἀπαντεῖς, "Ἡθη καλέσθωσαν ἄξιοι τοῦ πυρὸς." καὶ ο μὲν κατέβη γελῶν, "Νέστορα δ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἱαχῆ," τὸν Θεαγένη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἦκουσεν τῆς βοῆς, ἦκεν εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐκεκράγει καὶ μυρία κακὰ

1 Lucian gives the Cynic a Roland for his Oliver. Bacis was a title rather than a name, and in early Greece prophets who bore it were little less numerous than the Sibyls. Naturally it was a convenient tag for a spurious oracle, whether composed with fraudulent intention or, as often in Aristophanes, for fun.

2 Below (§ 33), Proteus speaks of being "commingled with the ether."
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Bacis dealing with these matters. Bacis expresses himself as follows, with a very excellent moral:

Nay, when the time shall come that a Cynic with names that are many
Leaps into roaring flame, soul-stirred by a passion for glory,
Then it is meet that the others, the jackals that follow his footsteps,
Mimic the latter end of the wolf that has taken departure.
But if a dastard among them shall shun the might of Hephaestus,
Let him be pelted with stones forthwith by all the Achaeans,
Learning, the frigid fool, to abjure all fiery speeches,
He that has laden his wallet with gold by the taking of usance;
Thrice five talents he owns in the lovely city of Patras.

What do you think, gentlemen? That Bacis is a worse soothsayer than the Sibyl? It is high time, then, for these wondrous followers of Proteus to look about for a place in which to aerify themselves—for that is the name they give to cremation.”

When he had said these words, all the bystanders shouted: “Let them be burned right now; they deserve the flames!” And the man got down again laughing; but “Nestor failed not to mark the din:” I mean Theagenes. When he heard the shouting he came at once, took the platform, and fell to

3 Iliad, XIV, 1.
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dieξήει περὶ τοῦ καταβεβηκότος· οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ὅστις ἐκεῖνος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκαλεῖτο. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀφεῖς αὐτοῦ διαρρηγνύμενον ἀπῆειν ὀψόμενος τοὺς ἁθλητάς· ἦδη γὰρ οἱ Ἕλλανδίκαι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἐν τῷ Πλεθρίῳ.

32 Ταῦτα μὲν σοι τὰ ἐν Ἡλιδι. ἔπει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικόμεθα, μεστὸς ἢν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τῶν κατηγοροῦντων Πρωτέως ἢ ἐπαινοῦντων τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ, ὡστε καὶ εἰς χείρας αὐτῶν ἠλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἄχρι δὴ παρελθὼν αὐτὸς ὁ Πρωτεύς μυρίω τῷ πλήθει παραπεμπόμενος κατόπιν τοῦ τῶν κηρύκων ἁγώνος λόγους τινὰς διεξήλθεν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν βίον τε ὡς ἐβίω καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς ἐκινδύνευσεν διηγούμενος καὶ ὅσα πράγματα φιλοσοφίας ἑνέκα ὑπέμεινεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰρημένα πολλὰ ἢν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀλίγων ἦκουσα ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν περιστώτων. εἶτα φοβηθεῖς μὴ συντριβεῖν ἐν τοσαύτῃ τύρβῃ, ἔπει καὶ πολλοὺς τοῦτο πάσχοντας ἐώρων, ἀπῆλθον μακρὰ χαῖρειν φράσας θανατιῶντι σοφιστῇ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἑαυτοῦ πρὸ τελευτῆς διεξιότυν.

33 Πλὴν τὸ γε1 τοσοῦτον ἐπήκουσα· ἐφί γὰρ βούλεσθαι χρυσῷ βίω χρυσῆν κορώνην ἐπιθεῖναι· χρῆναι γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλείως βεβιωκότα Ἡρακλείως ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ἀναμιχθῆναι τῷ αἰθέρι. "Καὶ ὧφελῆσαι," ἐφί, "βούλομαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

1 τὸ γε Gronovius: τότε MSS.
ranting and telling countless malicious tales about the man who had just got down—I do not know what that excellent gentleman’s name was. For my part, I left him splitting his lungs and went off to see the athletes, as the Hellanodicae were said to be already in the Plethrium.¹

Well, there you have what happened at Elis; and when we reached Olympia, the rear chamber ² was full of people criticising Proteus or praising his purpose, so that most of them even came to blows. Finally, Proteus himself appeared, escorted by a countless multitude, after the contest of the heralds, and had somewhat to say about himself, telling of the life that he had led and the risks that he had run, and of all the troubles that he had endured for philosophy’s sake. His speech was protracted, though I heard but little on account of the number of bystanders. Afterwards, fearing to be crushed in such a throng, because I saw this happening to many, I went away, bidding a long farewell to the sophist enamoured of death who was pronouncing his own funeral oration before his demise.

This much, however, I overheard; he said that he wanted to put a tip of gold on a golden bow; ³ for one who had lived as Heracles should die like Heracles and be commingled with the ether. “And I wish,” said he, “to benefit mankind by showing them the

¹ According to Pausanias (VI, 23, 2), a place in the Gymnasium of Elis where the officials of the games (Hellanodicae) determined by lot the matching of the athletes.

² Of the temple of Zeus; as it was open at the end, it formed a sort of portico. Cf. Runaways, 7; Herodotus, 1.

³ Pandarus the Trojan (Iliad, IV, 111) put a tip of gold on the bow he had fashioned of horn. The golden bow (βιόφ) of Peregrinus is his life (βίόφ).
deίξας αυτοίς δόν χρῆ τρόπον θανάτου καταφρονεῖν πάντας οὖν δεῖ μοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Φιλοκτῆτας γενέσθαι." οἷ τέκνον τοῦς "Ελλησιν," οἳ δὲ ἀνδρωδέστεροι ἐκεκράγεσαν "Τέλει τὰ δεδογμένα," ὑπὸ δὲν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μετρίως θορυβηθῆ ἐλπίζων πάντας ἐξεσθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ προσέσθαι τῷ πυρί, ἀλλὰ ἄκοντα δὴ καθέ- ξειν ἐν τῷ βίῳ. τὸ δὲ "Τέλει ¹ τὰ δεδογμένα," πάνυ ἀδόκητον αὐτῷ προσπεσὸν ψυχὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐποίησεν, καίτοι ἡ ἐνεκρικὼς τὴν χροῖν ἔχοντι, καὶ νῇ Δία καὶ ὑποτρέμειν, ὥστε κατέ- παυσε τὸν λόγον.

34 Ἕγὼ δὲ, εἰκάζεις, οἶμαι, πῶς ἐγέλων: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔλεειν ἄξιον ἢν οὐτως δυσέρωτα τῆς δόξης ἀνθρωπον ὑπὲρ ἀπαντας ὅσαι τῇ αὐτῇ Ποιήθη ἐλαύνοντα. παρεπέμπετο δὲ ὅμως ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἐνεφορεῖτο τῆς δόξης ἀποβλέπων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θαυμαζόντων, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὁ ἄθλιος ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν σταυρῶν ἀπαγομένοις ἦ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου ἐχομένους πολλῷ πλείους ἐπονταί.

35 Καὶ δὴ τὰ μὲν Ὄλυμπια τέλος εἶχεν, κάλλιστα Ὅλυμπίων γενόμενα ὅν ἐγώ εἶδον, τετράκις ἄδη ὅρων. Ἕγὼ δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἢν εὐπορῆσαι σχήματος ἀμα ² πολλῶν ἐξίοντων—ἄκων ὑπελειπόμην. οὐ δὲ αἰὲ ἀναβάλλομενος νῦκτα τὸ τελευταῖον προερήκει ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν καῦσιν. καὶ μὲ τῶν ἐταίρων τινῶν παραλαβόντος περὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἐξαναστὰς ἀνὴρει εὕθυ τῆς Ἀρτινης, ἐνθα ἢν ἡ πυρά. στάδιοι πάντες οὔτοι εἰκοσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ᾽Ολυμπίας κατὰ τὸν ¹ τὸ δὲ τέλει Fritzsche: τὸ δὴ τελεῖ MSS. (δὲ X²).
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way in which one should despise death; wherefore all men ought to play Philoctetes to me.” The more witless among the people began to shed tears and call out: “Preserve your life for the Greeks!” but the more virile part bawled “Carry out your purpose!” by which the old man was immoderately upset, because he hoped that all would cling to him and not give him over to the fire, but retain him in life—against his will, naturally! That “Carry out your purpose” assailing him quite unexpectedly caused him to turn still paler, although his colour was already deathly, and even to tremble slightly, so that he brought his speech to an end.

You can imagine, I expect, how I laughed; for it was not fitting to pity a man so desperately in love with glory beyond all others who are driven by the same Fury. Anyhow, he was being escorted by crowds and getting his fill of glory as he gazed at the number of his admirers, not knowing, poor wretch, that men on their way to the cross or in the grip of the executioner have many more at their heels.

Soon the Olympic games were ended, the most splendid Olympics that I have seen, though it was then the fourth time that I had been a spectator. As it was not easy to secure a carriage, since many were leaving at the same time, I lingered on against my will, and Peregrinus kept making postponements, but at last had announced a night on which he would stage his cremation; so, as one of my friends had invited me to go along, I arose at midnight and took the road to Harpina, where the pyre was. This is quite twenty furlongs from Olympia as one goes past

2 ἀμα ΜΦ: ἀλλὰ ΓΧ.
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ιππόδρομον ἀπιόντων πρὸς ἑω. καὶ ἔπει τάχιστα ἀφικόμεθα, καταλαμβάνομεν πυρὰν νευματικήν ἐν βόθρῳ ὁσον ἐσ ὅργυιάν το βάθος. δὰδες ἢσον τὰ πολλά καὶ παρεβέβυστο τῶν φρυγάνων, 36 ὃς ἀναφθείη τάχιστα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτελεν—ἐδει γὰρ κάκεινην θεάσασθαι τὸ κάλ- λιστον τοῦτο ἔργον—πρόεσιν ἐκείνων ἐσκευα- μένος ἐσ τὸν ἅι τρόπον καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ τὰ τέλη τῶν κυνῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ γεννάδας ὁ ἐκ Πατρῶν, δάδα ἔχων, οὐ φαύλος δευτεραγωνιστής. ἐδαδ- φορεί δὲ καὶ ὁ Πρωτεύς. καὶ προσελθόντες ἀλλος ἄλλαχόθεν ἀνήθαν τὸ πῦρ μέγιστον ἀτε ἀπὸ δάδων καὶ φρυγάνων. ὃ δὲ—καὶ μοι πάνυ ἠδή πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν—ἀποθέμενος τὴν πήραν καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον καὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἐκεῖνο ρόπαλον, ἐστῇ ἐν ὅθονη ρυπώση ἀκριβῶς. εἶτα ἦτε λιβανω- τόν, ὡς ἐπιβάλοι ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἀναδόντος τίνος ἐπέβαλεν τε καὶ εἶπεν ἐς τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἀποβλέ- πων—καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ 2 πρὸς τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἢν, ἡ μεσημβρία—"Δαίμονες μητρῶοι καὶ πατρῶοι, δεξασθὲ με εὑμενεῖς." ταῦτα ἐπιὼν ἐπήδησεν ἐς τὸ πῦρ, οὐ μὴν ἐωρᾶτο γε, ἀλλὰ περισσεχθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς ἡρμενῆς. 37 Ἀδήις ὅρῳ γελώντα σε, ὃ καλὲ Κρόνιε, τὴν

1 βόθρῳ Fritzsche: βάθαi MSS.
2 τοῦτ' αὐτῷ Harmon: τοῦτο τὸ ΓΧ1MF: τοῦτο τῶν Χ² (Fritzscho). Cf. below, c. 39.

1 C. R. Lanman (in Allinson, Lucian: Selected Writings, p. 200) thus explains the mystic allusion to the South: "It is to be noted that Yama—the first man who died and found out for all men the pathway 'to a distant home, a dwelling-place secure'—conducts souls to the 'Blessed Fathers' in
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the hippodrome towards the east. As soon as we arrived, we found a pyre built in a pit about six feet deep. It was composed mostly of torchwood, and the interstices filled with brush, that it might take fire quickly. When the moon was rising—for she too had to witness this glorious deed—he came forward, dressed in his usual fashion, and with him the leaders of the Cynics; in particular, the gentleman from Patras, with a torch—no bad understudy. Proteus too was bearing a torch. Men, approaching from this side and that, kindled the fire into a very great flame, since it came from torchwood and brush. Peregrinus—and give me your close attention now!—laying aside the wallet, the cloak, and that notable Heracles-club, stood there in a shirt that was downright filthy. Then he requested incense to throw on the fire; when someone had proffered it, he threw it on, and gazing towards the south—even the south, too, had to do with the show¹—he said: "Spirits of my mother and my father, receive me with favour." With that he leaped into the fire; he was not visible, however, but was encompassed by the flames, which had risen to a great height.

Once more I see you laughing, Cronius, my the south, the region of the Manes. See Atharvaveda 18, 3, 13; 4, 40, 2. So the monthly offerings (prāddhās) to the Manes are performed in such a way that they end in the south (Manu’s Laws, 3.214). The invoking of the ὅλμονες is in accord with Hindu thought; e.g. the liturge in Hiran-yakešin’s Grhya-sūtra, 2, 106 (see F. Max Müller’s Sacred Books of the East, XXX, p. 226), after inviting the Manes, sprinkles water towards the south, saying: ‘Divine waters, send us Agni.’ The νεκράγγελοι and νερτεροδρόμοι in 41 may be an echo of Yama’s messengers that has reached Lucian. See Atharvaveda 18, 2, 27 and H. C. Warren’s Buddhism in Translations, pp. 225-262.”
καταστροφήν τοῦ δράματος. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μητρώους μὲν δαίμονας ἐπιβοῶμενον μᾶ τὸν Δ' οὐ σφόδρα ἢτιώμην· ὅτε δὲ καὶ τοὺς πατρώους ἐπεκαλέσατο, ἀναμνησθεὶς τῶν περὶ τοῦ φόνου εἰρημένων οὐδὲ κατέχειν ἥδυνάμην τὸν γέλωτα. οἱ Κυνικοὶ δὲ περιστάντες τὴν πυρὰν οὐκ ἐδάκρυν μὲν, σιωπῆ δὲ ἐνεδείκνυτο λύπην τινὰ εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὀρῶντες, ἀχρι δὴ ἀποπνυγεῖς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, "Ἀπώμεν," φημὶ, "ὁ μάταιοι ὑμῖν γὰρ ἢδυ τὸ θέαμα ὑπτημένον γέροντα ὑπὲρ κύσης ἀναπτυμπλαμένους πονηρᾶς. ἦ περιμένετε ἐστὶ ἂν γραφεῖς τις ἐπελθὼν ἀπεικάσῃ ὑμᾶς οἷος τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ἑταίροις τῷ Σωκράτει παραγράφοσιν;" ἔκεινοι μὲν οὖν ἡγανάκτον καὶ ἠλοιδορουῦντό μοι, ἐνοι δὲ καὶ ἔπι τάς βακτηρίας ἦξαν. εἶτα, ἐπειδῆ ἥπειλησα ἐξαρπάσας τινὰς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ὡς ἂν ἐποιεῖν τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ἐπαύσαντο καὶ εἰρήνην ἤγον.

38 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπαινων ποικίλα, ὃ ἔταρε, πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐνενόουν, τὸ φιλόδοξον οἶον τί ἔστω ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὡς μόνος οὕτως ὁ ἔρως ἀφικτός καὶ τοῖς πάνω θαυμαστοῖς εἶναι δοκοῦν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνῳ τάνδρι καὶ τάλλα ἐμπλήκτως καὶ ἀπονενομένοις βεβιωκότι καὶ οἷς ἀναξίως τούτων πυρὸς. ἐῖτα ἐνετύχανον 2 πολλοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ὡς θεάσαντο καὶ αὐτοῖ· θόντο γὰρ ἐπὶ καταλήψεις ζῶντα αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ δὲ τῇ προτεραίᾳ διεδέδοτο ὡς πρὸς ἀνύψωσον τῷ ηλίῳ ἀσπασάμενος, ὦσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς Βραχμάνδας φασὶ ποιεῖν, ἐπιβιβάζεται 3 τῆς πυρᾶς. ἀπέστρεφον

1 ποικίλα ὃ , FritzScho: ποικίλως ΓΧΜΦ.
urbane friend, at the dénouement of the play. For my own part, when he called upon the guardian spirits of his mother, I did not criticise him very strongly, but when he invoked those of his father as well, I recalled the tales that had been told about his murder, and I could not control my laughter. The Cynics stood about the pyre, not weeping, to be sure, but silently evincing a certain amount of grief as they gazed into the fire, until my gorge rose at them, and I said: "Let us go away, you simpletons. It is not an agreeable spectacle to look at an old man who has been roasted, getting our nostrils filled with a villainous reek. Or are you waiting for a painter to come and picture you as the companions of Socrates in prison are portrayed beside him?" They were indignant and reviled me, and several even took to their sticks. Then, when I threatened to gather up a few of them and throw them into the fire, so that they might follow their master, they checked themselves and kept the peace.

As I returned, I was thinking busily, my friend, reflecting what a strange thing love of glory is; how this passion alone is unescapable even by those who are considered wholly admirable, let alone that man who in other respects had led a life that was insane and reckless, and not undeserving of the fire. Then I encountered many people coming out to see the show themselves, for they expected to find him still alive. You see, on the day before it had been given out that he would greet the rising sun, as, in fact, they say the Brahmans do, before mounting the pyre.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2} ἐνετύγχανον XMF: ἐτύγχανον Γ.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3} ἐπιβήσεται ΓΧ: ἐπιβῆσεσθαι Μ.}\]
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δ' οὖν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν λέγων ἥδη τετελέσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οἷς μὴ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν 1 περισσούδαστον ἤν, κἂν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν τόπον καὶ τι λείψανον καταλαβάνειν τοῦ πυρὸς.

"Ενθα δὴ, ὃ ἑταίρε, μυρία πράγματα εἶχον ἀπασι διηγούμενος καὶ ἀνακρίνουσιν καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐκπυθανομένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἵδοιμι τινα χαρίεντα, ψιλὰ ἄν ὠσπερ σοι τὰ πραξάντα διηγούμην, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βλάκας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν κεχνότας ἐτραγώδουν τι παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ, ὡς ἐπειδῆ ἄνηφθη μὲν ἡ πυρά, ἐνεβαλεν δὲ φέρων ἐαυτὸν ο Πρωτεύς, σεισμοῦ πρότερον μεγάλου γενομένου σὺν μυκηθμῶ τῆς γῆς, γυψί ἀναπτάμενος ἐκ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς οίχαυτο ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρωποστὶ 2 μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ λέγων

" ἔλιπον γὰν, βαινώ δ' ἐς "Ολυμπον."

ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐτεθήσεαν καὶ προσεκύνουν ὑποφρίττοντες καὶ ἀνέκρινον με πότερον πρὸς ἐω ἡ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἐνεχθεὶς ὁ γυψί ἐγώ δὲ τὸ ἐπελθόν ἀπεκρινάμην αὐτοῖς.

40 Ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ἐπέστην τινὶ πολιῶν ἀνδρὶ καὶ νὴ τὸν Δι' ἀξιοπίστω τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ πώγωνι καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σεμνότητι, τὰ τε ἅλλα διηγομένῳ περὶ τοῦ Πρωτέως καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὸ καυθῆναι θεάσατο αὐτὸν ἐν λευκῇ ἐσθῆτι μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν, καὶ νῦν ἀπολίποι περιπατοῦντα φαιδρὸν ἐν τῇ ἐπταφῶν στοῖ κοτίνῳ τε ἐστεμμε

1 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ X²: ταὐτὸ IΧ¹MF.
2 ἀνθρωποστὶ Harmon: ἀνθρωπίν; MSS.

1 At the death of Plato and of Augustus it was an eagle; in the case of Polycarp, a dove.
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Well, I turned back most of them by saying the deed had been done already, those to whom it was not in itself highly desirable to see the actual spot, anyhow, and gather up some relic of the fire.

In that business, I assure you, my friend, I had no end of trouble, telling the story to all while they asked questions and sought exact information. Whenever I noticed a man of taste, I would tell him the facts without embellishment, as I have to you; but for the benefit of the dullards, agog to listen, I would thicken the plot a bit on my own account, saying that when the pyre was kindled and Proteus flung himself bodily in, a great earthquake first took place, accompanied by a bellowing of the ground, and then a vulture, flying up out of the midst of the flames, went off to Heaven, saying, in human speech, with a loud voice:

"I am through with the earth; to Olympus I fare."

They were wonder-struck and blessed themselves with a shudder, and asked me whether the vulture sped eastwards or westwards; I made them whatever reply occurred to me.

On my return to the festival, I came upon a grey-haired man whose face, I assure you, inspired confidence in addition to his beard and his general air of consequence, telling all about Proteus, and how, since his cremation, he had beheld him in white raiment a little while ago, and had just now left him walking about cheerfully in the Portico of the Seven Voices, wearing a garland of wild olive. Then on

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2 This was a portico on the east side of the Altis which had a sevenfold echo (Pausan., V, 21, 17; Pliny, XXXVI, 100).
voν. εἰτ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσι προσέθηκε τὸν γύτα, διομυ-μενος ἢ μὴν αὐτὸς ἐωρακεναι ἀναπτάμενον ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς, ὅν ἐγὼ μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἀφήκα πέτεσθαι καταγελώντα τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ βλακωκῶν τὸν τρόπον.

41 Ἐννόει τὸ λοιπὸν οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γενή-σεθαι, ποίας μὲν οὐ μελίτται ἐπιστήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, τίνας δὲ τέττιγας οὐκ ἐπάσεσθαι, τίνας δὲ κορώνας οὐκ ἐπιπτήσεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδου τάφον, καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα. εἰκόνας μὲν γὰρ παρά τε Ἡλείων αὐτῶν παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων, οἷς καὶ ἐπεστάλκεναι ἔλεγεν, αὐτίκα μᾶλα οἶδα πολλὰς ἀναστησομένας. φασὶ δὲ πᾶσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμψαι αὐτὸν, διαθήκας τινὰς καὶ παρανέσεις καὶ νόμους· καὶ τινὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρεσβευτὰς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐχειροτόνησεν, νεκραγγέλους καὶ νερτεροδρόμους προσαγορεῦσαι.

42 Τοῦτο τέλος τοῦ κακοδαίμονος Πρωτέως ἐγένετο, ἀνδρός, ὡς βραχεῖ λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μὲν οὐδεπώποτε ἀποβλέψαντος, ἐπὶ δόξῃ δὲ καὶ τῷ παρά τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνῳ ἀπαντα εἰπόντος ἅεὶ καὶ πράξαντος, ὡς καὶ εἰς πῦρ

1 ἐπιστήσεσθαι MF: ἐπιστήσασθαι ΓΧ.
2 ἐπέσεσθαι Wyttenbach: ἐπάγεσθαι ΓΧΜ.
3 ἔλεγεν du Soul, ἐλέγετο Fritzsche; but ἔλεγεν is right. Proteus presumably said it in his speech. Cf. ἐχειροτόνησεν

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top of it all he put the vulture, swearing that he himself had seen it flying up out of the pyre, when I myself had just previously let it fly to ridicule fools and dullards.

Imagine what is likely to happen in his honour hereafter, how many bees will not settle on the place, what cicadas will not sing upon it, what crows will not fly to it, as they did to the tomb of Hesiod, and so forth! As to statues, I know that many will be set up right soon by the Eleans themselves and also by the other Greeks, to whom he said he had sent letters. The story is that he despatched missives to almost all the famous cities—testamentary dispositions, so to speak, and exhortations and prescriptions—and he appointed a number of ambassadors for this purpose from among his comrades, styling them "messengers from the dead" and "underworld couriers."  

So ended that poor wretch Proteus, a man who (to put it briefly) never fixed his gaze on the verities, but always did and said everything with a view to glory and the praise of the multitude, even to the

1 See Pausanias (IX, 38, 3): when Orchomenus was afflicted by a plague, the Delphic priestess told its people that their only salvation was to bring there from Naupactus the bones of Hesiod, and that a crow would show them the tomb. Her words were borne out by the event.

2 In the letters of Ignatius he recommends to the Church of Smyrna the election of a special messenger, styled "ambassador of God" (θεοπρεσβευτής: ad Smyrn., 11) or "courier of God" (θεοδρόμος: ad Polyc., 7), to be sent to Syria. The verbal coincidence is notable (cf. Lightfoot), and seems to indicate a knowledge of these letters, but on the part of Peregrinus, not Lucian.

... προσαγορεύσας below. What he then said was later expanded by others (φασί).
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άλεσθαί, οτε μηδὲ ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἐπαίνων ἐμελλεῖν ἀναίσθητος αὐτῶν γενόμενοι.

43 "Εν ἐτὶ σοι προσδιηγησάμενοι παύσομαι, ὡς ἔχης ἐπὶ πολὺ γελάν. ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ πάλαι οἶνθα, εὐθὺς ἀκούσας μου ὅτε ἦκὼν ἀπὸ Σύρίας διηγούμην ὃς ἀπὸ Τρωάδος συμπλεύσαμι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τε ἀλλήν τὴν ἐν τῷ πλῷ τρυφήν καὶ τὸ μειράκιον τὸ ὦρατον ὃ ἐπεισε κυνίζειν ὡς ἔχοι τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ ὃς ἐπεὶ ταραχθεῖμεν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ γνόφου καταβάντος καὶ κύμα παμμέγεθες ἐγείραντος ἐκώκυς μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ὁ θαυμαστὸς καὶ θανάτου κρείττων εἶναι δοκῶν. ἀλλὰ μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς, πρὸ ἐννέα σχεδὸν που ἡμερῶν, πλείον, οἶμαι, τοῦ ἰκανοῦ ἐμφαγών ἡμεσέν τε τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἐάλω πυρετῷ μᾶλα σφοδρῷ. ταῦτα δὲ μοι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἰατρὸς διηγήσατο μετακληθεῖσιν ὡς ἐπισκοπήσεις εἰς αὐτόν. ἐφη οὖν καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν χαμαί κυλώμενον καὶ τὸν φλογον ὅφεροντα καὶ ψυχρον αὐτοῦντα πάνυ ἐρωτικός, ἐαυτὸν δὲ μὴ δούναι. καίτοι εἰπεῖν ἐφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃς εἰ πάντως θανάτον δέοιτο, ἦκεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτόματον, ὡστε καλώς ἔχειν ἐπεσθαυ μηδὲν τοῦ πυρὸς δεόμενον τὸν δ' αὐ φάναι, "Ἀλλ' οὖν ὠμοίως ἐνδοξος ὁ τρόπος γένοιτ' ἀν, πάσιν κοινὸς ὄν.”

1 διηγούμην Γ: διηγουμένου MF. Łowi cites Χ (his P1) both for the same reading as Γ, and for ἦκον . . . διηγομένου.
2 ἐπεὶ ταραχθεῖμεν Μeiser: ἐπιταραχθείμεν ΓΧ: ἐπιταραχθεῖ μὲν MF.
3 Αἰγαίῳ Μ2: ἡγῶν Μ1ΓΓΧ. The conjecture, if it is one, is right. Things are always happening in “mid-Aegean” with Lucian (Dial. Mar. 8, 2; 10, 1). Mras rightly sets
THE PASSING OF PEREGRINUS

extent of leaping into fire, when he was sure not to enjoy the praise because he could not hear it.

I shall add one thing more to my story before I stop, in order that you may be able to have a good laugh. For of course you have long known that other tale of mine, as you heard it from me at once, when on my return from Syria I recounted how I sailed from the Troad in his company, and about his self-indulgence on the voyage, and the handsome boy whom he had persuaded to turn Cynic that he too might have an Alcibiades, and how, when we were disturbed during the night in mid-Aegean by a tempest that descended and raised an enormous sea, this wondrous person who was thought to be superior to death fell to wailing along with the women! Well, a short time before his end, about nine days, it may be, having eaten more than enough, I suppose, he was sick during the night and was taken with a very violent fever. This was told me by Alexander the physician, who had been called in to see him. He said that he found him rolling on the ground, unable to stand the burning, pleading very passionately for a drink of cold water, but that he would not give it to him. Moreover, he told him, he said, that Death, if he absolutely wanted him, had come to his door spontaneously, so that it would be well to go along, without asking any favour from the fire; and Proteus replied: "But that way would not be so notable, being common to all men."

aside Levi's interpretation of ὀρν as meaning lutta d'amore, but his own defence of it as meaning "discrimen" does not properly reckon with the context. The archetype had a peculiar pointed ω, frequently confused with αι and νι, and these with it.
45 Ταύτα μὲν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐγκεχρισμένον, ὡς ἀποδακρύσει τῷ δριμεῖ φαρμάκῳ. ὅρας; οὐ πάνυ τοὺς ἀμβλυωποῦντας ὁ Λιάκος παραδεχεῖται. ὅμοιον ὡς εἶ τις ἐπὶ σταυρὸν ἀναβῇ-σεσθαι μέλλων τὸ ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ πρόσπταισμα θεραπεύοι. τί σου δοκεῖ ὁ Δημόκριτος, εἰ ταύτα εἶδε; κατ’ ἄξιαν γελάσαι ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ; καὶ τοι πόθεν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον γέλωτα; σοὶ δ’ οὖν, ὡς φιλότης, γέλα καὶ αὐτός, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούῃς θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν.
That is Alexander's story. And I myself not many days previously saw him smeared with ointment in order that the sharp salve might relieve his vision by making him shed tears. Do you get the idea? Acacus is reluctant to receive people with weak eyes! It is as if a man about to go up to the cross should nurse the bruise on his finger. What do you think Democritus would have done, had he seen this? Would not he have laughed at the man as roundly as he deserved? And yet, where could he have got that much laughter? Well, my friend, you may have your laugh also, particularly when you hear the rest of them admiring him.
THE RUNAWAYS

A comic dialogue in three scenes attacking sham philosophers: Peregrinus, the rabble of low fellows masquerading as Cynics, and one of them whom he dubs "Cantharus" (Scarabee), describing him as settled at Philippopolis in Thrace in the company of two other runaway slaves and the errant wife of a former host of his.

This is assuredly an outgrowth of the hot dispute about the character and motives of Peregrinus which broke out even before he leaped into the flames and for months afterwards must have raged wherever Greek was spoken. Lucian, deeply involved in it from the first, finds the Cynic advocates of their new saint so obnoxious that he wishes to make a direct attack on them. He wants to bring in Peregrinus, but must do it with care, not only to avoid cutting into the field of his Peregrinus (by now either out or certainly in preparation), but above all to prevent Cantharus and his fellows from escaping the direct issue. His solution is clever. We gather that the death of their holy man, far from being regarded in Heaven as the proper Heraclean ending of a Heraclean life, is a stench in the nostrils of Zeus, who knows no more than Apollo what it is all about. Nobody so much as calls Proteus a philosopher, and Philosophy was not even there when it happened. He is clearly linked with the false philosophers of whom she complains; but only by innuendo, and indignation finds nothing solid to lay hold of.

The dialogue is constructed with unusual attention to the dramatic effects of suspense and surprise. Philosophy's vigorous flailing of the Cynic pack is delayed with obvious purpose, and the devastating onslaught on Cantharus is masked to the last possible moment. In handling the search for him, however, Lucian's technique is not quite perfect, since he lets us think at first that it has no definite objective. Also, towards the end the lines themselves do not always make it clear who speaks them—a matter in which Lucian is generally very resourceful (A. R. Bellinger, Yale Classical Studies, I [1928], pp. 3-40). Either he was hasty or he had not yet attained his later facility.

The dialogue was written late in 165 or early in A.D. 166, almost certainly in Philippopolis.
ΔΡΑΠΕΤΑΙ

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

1 Ἀλήθη ταύτα φασίν, πάτερ, ὡς ἐμβάλοι τις φέρων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ κατέναντι Ὀλυμπίων, ἥδη πρεσβύτης ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀγεννής θαυματοποιῶς τὰ τοιάντα; ἡ Σελήνη γὰρ ἡμῖν διηγείτο, αὕτη ἐωρακέναι καιόμενον λέγουσα.

ΖΕΤΣ

Καὶ πάνυ ἀλήθη, ὦ Ἄπολλων ὡς μή ποτὲ γενέσθαι ωθελεν.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

Ὁὔτω χρηστὸς ὁ γέρων ἢν καὶ ἀνάξιος ἐν πυρὶ ἀπολωλέναι;

ΖΕΤΣ

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἵσως ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πολλὴν τὴν ἄηδιαν μέμνημαι ἀνασχόμενος τότε ὑπὸ κύνης πονηρᾶς, οἶαν εἰκὸς ἀποφέρεσθαι ὑπτωμένων ἄνθρωπεῖων σωμάτων. εἰ γοῦν μὴ εἰς τὴν Ἀρα-βίαν ὡς εἶχον εὔθυς ἀπιῶν ωχόμην, ἀπολώλειν

1 The Olympic games were timed to come at the full of the moon, and the cremation took place at moon-rise (Peregr., 36).
2 By dividing Apollo's question and emphasising the negative in the second part, the translation seeks to reproduce the ambiguity of Zeus's reply, which in the Greek is sufficiently
THE RUNAWAYS

APOLLO

Is the report true, father, that someone threw himself bodily into the fire, in the very face of the Olympic festivities, quite an elderly man, not a bad hand at such hocus-pocus? Selene told me, saying that she herself had seen him burning.¹

ZEUS

Yes, quite true, Apollo. If only it had never happened!

APOLLO

Was the old man so good? Was he not worthy of a death by fire?

ZEUS

Yes, that he was, very likely.² But my point is that I remember having had to put up with a great deal of annoyance at the time on account of a horrid stench such as you might expect to arise from roasting human bodies. In fact, if I had not at once gone straight to Araby, I should have come to a sad end, subtle to have misled more than one scholar into the notion that Zeus (and therefore Lucian) is praising Peregrinus. Nothing could be farther from his (or Lucian’s) real thought, that the fellow deserved death. The ambiguity is of course deliberate, to foil and annoy “Scarabee” and his sort; cf. below, § 7.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

άν, εὖ ἵσθι, ἀτοπία τοῦ καπνοῦ: καὶ ὁμως ἐν
tosasthē eunodia kai afthovia twv arwmatwn
cai en libanwttw pampopllw molis ai rines epilo-
thésoi mou kai apomathèin hèlou tìn khlida
ëkeínhn tòs òsmhès, allà kai nòn òlignon déw
vautiàn úpomnhsheis àvthès.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

2 Τί δὲ βουλόμενος, ὁ Ζεῦ, τοιαῦτα εἰργασταί
éautòn; ἢ τί τὸ ἄγαθὸν, ἀπανθρακωθὴναι ἐμ-
pesónta eis tìn pvraí:

ΖΕΤΣ

Τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἄν, ὁ παῖ, φθάνοις καὶ Ἐμ-
pedokei̇ prò autòn églyalówn, òs ès toûs krate-
̄rapas ἥλατο kai autòs èn Sikelía.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

Μελαγχολίαν τινά δευτήν λέγεις. ἀτὰρ οὗτός
γε τίνα ποτὲ ἀρα τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τῆς ἐπιθυμίας;

ΖΕΤΣ

Αὐτοῦ σοι λόγον ἐρῶ ὃν ἔλεξε πρὸς τὴν πανή-
gurw, ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς
3 τελευτῆς. ἔφη γάρ, εἰ γε μέμνημαι—ἀλλὰ
tís autì σπουδὴ πρόσειυ τεταραγμένη καὶ δα-
κρύουσα, πάνιν ἄδικουμενὴ έοικυία; μάλλον δὲ
Φιλοσοφία ἔστιν, καὶ τούνομά γε τούμον ἐπιβοάται
σχετλιάξουσα. τί, ὁ θύγατερ, δακρύεις; ἢ τί ἀπολε-
pouása tòv biōn ἐλήλυθας; ἀρα μὴ οἶ ἰδιώται
αὐθίς ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι σοι ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν, ὅτε
56
THE RUNAWAYS

you may depend on it, from the awfulness of the reek. Even as it was, amid all that fragrance and abundance of sweet scents, with frankincense in profusion, my nostrils hardly consented to forget and unlearn the taint of that odour; why, even now I almost retch at the memory of it!

APOLLO

What was his idea, Zeus, in doing that to himself, or what was the good of his getting incinerated by jumping into the blazing pyre?

ZEUS

Well, that criticism, my boy, you had better address first to Empedocles, who himself sprung into that crater in Sicily.

APOLLO

A terrible case of melancholia, that! But this man—what reason in the world did he have for wanting to do it?

ZEUS

I will repeat for you a speech of his own, which he delivered to the assembled pilgrims, defending himself before them for putting an end to himself. He said, if my memory serves me—But who is this woman coming up in haste, excited and tearful, like someone suffering great wrongs? Stay, it is Philosophy, and she is calling upon me by name, in bitterness of spirit. Why the tears, my daughter? Why have you left the world and come here? Surely it cannot be that the common sort have once again combined against you as before, when they put
τὸν Σωκράτην ἀπέκτειναν ὑπὸ Ἀνύτου κατηγορηθέντα, εἶτα φεύγεις διὰ τούτο αὐτοὺς;

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ
Οὔδὲν τοιοῦτον, ὥς πάτερ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, ὁ πολὺς λεώς, ἐπήγαγον καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἦγον, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θαυμάζοντες μὲ καὶ μονονοχί προσκυνοῦντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ σφόδρα ξυνίσαν ὅν λέγομι. οἱ δὲ—πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι;—οἱ ξυνήθεις καὶ φίλοι φάσκοντες εἶναι καὶ τούνομα τούμον ὑποδομοῦν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲ τὰ δεινότατα εἴργασαντο.

ΖΕΤΕ
4 Οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἐπιβουλήν τινα ἐπιβεβουλεύκασί σοι;

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ
Οὔδαμὼς, ὥς πάτερ, οἱ γε ξυνηδίκηται μοι καὶ αὐτοί.

ΖΕΤΕ
Πρὸς τῶν οὖν ἦδίκησαι, εἰ μήτε τοὺς ἴδιότας μήτε τοὺς φιλοσόφους αἴτια;

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ
Εἰσίν τινες, ὥς Ζεῦ, ἐν μεταχμίῳ τῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα καὶ βλέμμα καὶ βάδισμα ἡμῖν ὁμοιοὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐσταλμένοι· ἀξιοῦσι γοῦν ὅπ' ἐμοὶ τάπτεσθαι καὶ τούνομα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἑπιγράφονται, μαθηταί καὶ ὁμιληταί καὶ θιασῶται ἡμῶν εἶναι λέγοντες.
THE RUNAWAYS

Socrates to death through a charge brought by Anytus, and that you are fleeing from them for that reason?

PHILOSOPHY

Nothing of the sort, father. On the contrary, they—the multitude—spoke well of me and held me in honour, respecting, admiring, and all but worshiping me, even if they did not much understand what I said. But the others—how shall I style them?—those who say they are my familiars and friends and creep under the cloak of my name, they are the people who have done me the direst possible injuries.

ZEUS

Have the philosophers made a plot against you?

PHILOSOPHY

By no means, father. Why, they themselves have been wronged in common with me!

ZEUS

At whose hands, then, have you been wronged, if you have no fault to find either with the common sort or with the philosophers?

PHILOSOPHY

There are some, Zeus, who occupy a middle ground between the multitude and the philosophers. In deportment, glance, and gait they are like us, and similarly dressed; as a matter of fact, they want to be enlisted under my command and they enroll themselves under my name, saying that they are my pupils, disciples, and devotees. Nevertheless, their
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ο διός δὲ παμμίαρος αὐτῶν, ἀμαθίας καὶ θράσους καὶ ἀσελγείας ἀνάπλεως, ὦβρις οὐ μικρὰ καθ' ἡμῶν. ὑπὸ τούτων, ὡ πάτερ, ἥδυκημένη πέ-φευγα.

ΖΕΤΣ

5 Δεῦνα ταῦτα, ὦ θύγατερ. ἄλλα τί μάλιστα ἥδικηκασί σε;

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

Σκόπει, ὡ πάτερ, εἰ μικρά. σὺ γὰρ κατιδὼν τὸν βίον ἄδικας καὶ παρανομίας μεστὸν ἀτε ἀμαθία καὶ ὦβρει ξυνόντα καὶ ταραττόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, κατελήγοντα τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ὑπὸ τῇ ἁγνοῖα ἑλαυνόμενον ἐμὲ κατέπεμμας, ἐντειλάμενος ἐπιμελήθηναι ὡς παύσαντο μὲν ἄδικοιενες ἄλληλοις καὶ βιαζόμενοι καὶ δουλεῖ τοῖς θηρίοις βιοῦντες, ἀναβλέπαντες δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄλθείηαν εἰρηνικώτερον ἐμεπιλεύοντο. ἐφης γοῦν πρὸς με καταπέμπων, "Α μὲν πράττουσιν οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ ὡς διακεινται ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμαθίας, ὦ θύγατερ, καὶ αὐτή ὁρᾶσ. ἐγὼ δὲ (ἔλεω γὰρ αὐτοὺς) σέ, ἴ τὴν μόνην ἰάσασθαι ἀν τὰ γεγονόμενα οἶμαι, προκρίνας ἐξ ἀπάντων ἡμῶν πέμπων ἰασομένην."

ΖΕΤΣ

6 Οἴδα πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τότε. σὺ δε τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη λέγε, ὅπως μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο σε καταπταμένην τὸ πρῶτον, ἀτινα δὲ νῦν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πέπονθαι.

1 The expression is unusual, and possibly wrong. Various conjectures are πολλὰ καὶ τοιαῦτα, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, and (Capps) ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα. Perhaps πολλὰ κατ' αὐτά (i.e. τὰ γεγονόμενα)?

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THE RUNAWAYS

abominable way of living, full of ignorance, impudence, and wantonness, is no trifling outrage against me. It is they, father, who have inflicted the wrongs that have made me flee.

ZEUS

This is a sad state of affairs, daughter. But in just what way have they wronged you?

PHILOSOPHY

See for yourself, father, whether the wrongs are trifling. When you observed that the life of man was full of wrongdoing and transgression because stupidity and high-handedness were ingrained in it, and disturbed it, you pitied humanity, harried as it was by ignorance, and therefore sent me down, enjoining me to see to it that they should stop wronging each other, doing violence, and living like beasts; that they should instead fix their eyes on the verities and manage their society more peaceably. Anyhow, you said to me in sending me down: "What men do and how they are affected by stupidity, daughter, you see for yourself. I pity them, and so, as I think that you alone might be able to cure what is going on, I have selected you from among us all and send you to effect the cure."

ZEUS

I know I said a great deal at the time, including all this. But go on and tell me what followed, how they received you when you flew down for the first time and what has befallen you now at their hands.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

"Hixα μέν, ὃ πάτερ, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς "Ἑλλήνας εὐθύς, ἀλλὸ ὅπερ ἐδόκει μοι χαλεπώτερον τοῦ ἠργου εἶναι, τὸ βαρβάρους παιδεύειν καὶ διδάσκειν, τοῦτο πρῶτον ἥξιον ἐργάσασθαι: τὸ ᾿Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ εἰών ὡς ῥάστα ὑποβαλέσθαι οἶον τε καὶ τάχιστα, ὡς γε ὁμην, ἐνδεξόμενον τὸν χαλινὸν καὶ ὑπαχθησόμενον τῷ ζυγῷ. ορμήσασα δὲ εἰς Ῥνδοὺς τὸ πρῶτον, ἔθνος μέγιστον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίω, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπεισα καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐμοὶ συνεῖναι, ὡστε καὶ γένος ὅλον, οἱ Βραχμάνε, τοῖς Νεχραίοις καὶ ῬΞυδράκαις ὁμορον, οὕτω πάντες ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ τάττονται καὶ βιοῦσιν τε κατὰ τὰ ἥμιν δοκοῦντα, τιμώμενοι πρὸς τῶν περιοίκων ἀπάντων, καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσι παράδοξον των τοῦ θανάτου τρόπον.

ΖΕΤΩ

7 Τοὺς γυμνοσοφιστὰς λέγεις. ἄκοις γοῦν τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ πυρὰν μεγίστην ἀναβάντες ἀνέχονται καιόμενοι, οὐδὲν τοῦ σχῆματος ἢ τῆς καθέδρας ἐντρέποντες. ἀλλ’ ὁ μέγα τοῦτον ἐναγχος γοὺν καὶ ῬΟλυμπίασιν τὸ ὁμοίον ἐγὼ εἶδον γενόμενον, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ σὲ παρεῖναι καιόμενον τότε τοῦ γέροντος.

1 οἶον τε after ὑποβαλέσθαι Mras: after χαλινὸν MSS.
2 τε Fritzsche: γε MSS.
THE RUNAWAYS

PHILOSOPHY

When I sped off, father, I did not head for the Greeks straightway, but as it seemed to me the more difficult part of my task to educate and instruct the foreigners, I decided to do that first; the Greek world I let be, as possible to subject very easily and likely (I thought so, anyhow) to take the bridle and submit to the harness very soon. Making for the Indians to begin with, the most numerous population in the world, I had no difficulty about persuading them to come down off their elephants and associate with me. Consequently, a whole tribe, the Brahmans, who border upon the Nechraei and the Oxydracae, are all enlisted under my command and not only live in accordance with my tenets, honoured by all their neighbours, but die a marvellous kind of death.

ZEUS

You mean the gymnosophists. Anyhow, I am told, among other things about them, that they ascend a very lofty pyre and endure cremation without any change in their outward appearance or their sitting position. But that is nothing much. Just now, for example, at Olympia I saw the same sort of thing done, and very likely you too were there at the time when the old man was burned.

1 The Nechraei are not mentioned elsewhere, unless, as Fritzsche suggests, they are the Nereae of Pliny (Nat. Hist., VI, 76). The Oxydracae made themselves famous by their resolute opposition to the invasion of Alexander; they lived in the Punjab.

2 A generic name given by the Greeks to the holy men of India who lived naked.

3 Apparently a correction of Peregrinus, where (p. 30) the position is spoken of as "lying."
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

Οὐδὲ ἀνήλθον, ὦ πάτερ, εἰς Ὄλυμπιάν δέει τῶν καταράτων ἐκείνων οὐχ ἔφην, ὅτι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐώρων ἀπίόντας, ὡς λοιπόν ἔρισαντο τοῖς ξυνελημνθόσι καὶ βοής τὸν ὁπισθόδομον ἐμπλήσωσιν ὑλακτοῦντες, ὥστε οὐδὲ εἶδον ἐκεῖνον ὅπως ἀπέθανεν.

8 Μετὰ δ᾽ οὖν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν εῦθὺς, εἶτα εἰς Ἀγγυστον κατέβην, καὶ ξυγγενομένη τοῖς ἱερεύσι καὶ προφήταις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ θεῖα παυδεύσασα ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀπῆρα Χαλδαίοις καὶ μάγοις μυήσουσα, εἶτα εἰς Σκυθίαν εἰκείθεν, εἶτα εἰς Θράκην, ἐνθα μοι Εὐμολπόσι τε καὶ Ὀρφεύς συνεγενέσθην, οὕς καὶ προαποστείλασα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὸν μὲν ὡς τελέσειν αὐτοὺς, τὸν Εὐμολπόν—ἐμεμαθήκει γὰρ τὰ θεῖα πάρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπαντᾷ—τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐπάδων προσβιβάζοι τῇ μουσικῇ, κατὰ πόδας εὐθὺς εἰσῆλθαν.

9 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὖθὺς ἐλθοῦσαν οὕτε πάνυ ἡσπάσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες οὕτε ὅλως ἀπέκλεισαν· καὶ ὅλιγον δὲ προσομλοῦσα ἐπτα ἐκ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐταῖρος καὶ μαθητὰς προσηγαγόμην, καὶ ἄλλον εὗ Σάμου καὶ ἄλλον εὗ Ἐφέσου καὶ Ἀδηρόθεν ἄλλου, ὅλιγος παντόπασιν.

10 Μέθ' οὖς τὸ σοφιστῶν φύλον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως μοι παρενεφύετο, οὕτε ζηλοῦν τὰμὰ ἐς βάρος

1 δ' οὖν Jacobitz: γοῦν MSS.

1 The word is chosen because specially appropriate to Cynic “dogs.”
2 The seven were the Seven Sages, who as listed by Plato in the Protagoras (343 a) were Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of 64
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PHILOSOPHY

I did not even go to Olympia, father, for fear of those detestable fellows whom I spoke of, since I saw many of them taking their way there in order to upbraid the assembled pilgrims and fill the back room of the temple with the noise of their howling. Consequently, I did not see how he died.

But to resume—after the Brahmans I went direct to Ethiopia, and then down to Egypt; and after associating with their priests and prophets and instructing them in religion, I departed for Babylon, to initiate Chaldeans and Magi; then from there to Scythia, and then to Thrace, where I conversed with Eumolpus and Orpheus, whom I sent in advance to Greece, one of them, Eumolpus, to give them the mysteries, as he had learned all about religion from me, and the other to win them over by the witchery of his music. Then I followed at once on their heels.

Just at first, on my arrival, the Greeks neither welcomed me very warmly nor shut the door in my face outright. But gradually, as I associated with them, I attached to myself seven companions and pupils from among them all; then another from Samos, another from Ephesus, and one more from Abdera—only a few in all.

After them, the Sophist tribe somehow or other fastened themselves to my skirts. They were neither profoundly interested in my teaching nor Mytilene, Bias of Priene, Solon of Athens, Cleobulus of Lindos, Myson of Chenae, and Chilon of Sparta; but Periander of Corinth was often included instead of Myson. The three whom Philosophy acquired later were Pythagoras of Samos, Heraclitus of Ephesus, and Democritus of Abdera.

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οὔτε κομιδὴ ἀπάδον, ἀλλ' οἶνον τὸ Ἰπποκενταύρων
gένος, σύνθετόν τι καὶ μικτὸν 1 ἐν μέσῳ ἀλα-
ζονείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας πλαζόμενον, οὔτε τῇ
ἀγνοια τέλεον προσεχόμενον οὔτε ἥμᾶς ἀτενέσι
τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καθοράν δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' οἶνον
λημώντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμβλυώττευν ἀσαφές τι καὶ
ἀμυδρὸν ἥμων εἰδωλον ἡ σκιὰν ἐνίοτε ἱδόντες
αὖ· οἱ δὲ ὄντο ἄκριβῶς πάντα κατανενοηκέναι
ὁθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ ἁχρεῖος ἐκείνῃ καὶ περιττή
σοφία καὶ, ὡς αὐτοὶ ὄντο, ἀπρόσμαχος ἀνεβλε-
γετο, αἱ κομψαὶ καὶ ἀποροι καὶ ἀτοποί ἀποκρίσεις
καὶ δυσέξοδοι καὶ λαβυρινθῶδεις ἔρωτήσεις.

11 εἶτα κωλυόμενοι καὶ ἑλεγχόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἑταῖρων
τῶν ἑμῶν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ συνιστάντο ἐπ' αὐτοῖς,
καὶ τέλος δικαστηρίους ὑπῆργον καὶ παρεδίδοσαν
πισμένους τοῦ κωνείου. ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν ἓσω τότε
φυγεῖν εὐθὺς καὶ μηκέτι ἀνέχεσθαι τῆν συνοι-
σίαν αὐτῶν· νῦν δὲ Ἀντιοθένης με καὶ Διογένης
καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν Κράτης καὶ Μένιππος οὗτος
ἐπείσαν ὠλίγον ὅσον ἐπιμετρήσαι τῆς μονῆς,
ὡς μήποτε ὦφελον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα ἐπεπόνθειν
ὕστερον.

ΖΕΤΣ

12 Οὐδέπω μοι λέγεις, ὁ Φιλοσοφία, τίνα ἡδίκησαι,
ἀλλὰ ἁγανακτεῖσι μόνον.

1 μικτὸν Ν: μικρὸν ΓΒ.
altogether at variance, but like the Hippocentaur breed, something composite and mixed, astray in the interspace between quackery and philosophy, neither completely addicted to ignorance nor yet able to keep me envisioned with an intent gaze; being purblind, as it were, through their dim-sightedness they merely glimpsed at times an indistinct, dim presentment or shadow of me, yet thought they had discerned everything with accuracy. So there flared up among them that useless and superfluous "wisdom" of theirs, in their own opinion invincible—those clever, baffling, absurd replies and perplexing, mazy queries. Then, on being checked and shown up by my comrades, they were indignant and combined against them, at length bringing them before courts and handing them over to drink the hemlock. I ought perhaps at that time to have fled incontinently, no longer putting up with their company; but Antisthenes and Diogenes, and presently Crates and Menippus, you know, persuaded me to mete them out an additional modicum of delay. O that I had not done so! for I should not have undergone such sufferings later.

ZEUS

You have not yet told me what wrongs have been done you, Philosophy; you merely vent your indignation.

1 "This" Menippus, not because Lucian thinks of him as attending Philosophy in her return to Heaven, or still less because he is carelessly adapting something by Menippus in which that was the case (Helm), but simply because when Lucian wrote these words Menippus enjoyed among the reading public a high degree of popularity, to which by this time Lucian himself had contributed significantly.
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ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

Καὶ μὴν ἀκοῦε, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἥλικα ἑστὶν. μαρανγόρω, τι θνητόν κι ὡς τὸ πολὺ δουλικὸν καὶ θητικόν, οὐ δεῦσιν νημίφθη εἰ πᾶδων ὁπ’ ἀσχολίας· ἐδούλευε γὰρ ἡ ἐθήτευν ἡ ἄλλας τινὰς τέχνας οίας εἰκὸς τούς τοιοῦτος ἐμάνθανεν, σκυτευέων ἡ τεκταίνειν ἡ περὶ πλυνός ἔχειν ἡ ἑρικὸς ἑανείν, ὡς ἑυρηγὰ εἰς ταῖς γυναιξὶν καὶ εὐμύρυτα καὶ κατάγοντο εὐμαρῶς ὅποτε ἡ κρόκην ἐκεῖναι στρέφοιεν ἡ μίτον κλώθουεν. τοιαῦτα τοῖνυν ἐν παϊσὶ 1 μελετῶντες οὐδὲ ὅνομα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔδεσαν. ἔτει δὲ εἰς ἄνδρας τελεὶ ἦραντο καὶ κατείδων τὴν αἰδῶ, ὡσ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἑστὶν τοῖς ἑταῖροις τοῖς ἑμοὶς, καὶ ὡς ἀνέχονται οἱ ἄνδρωποι τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτῶν καὶ χαίρουσιν θεραπεύομενοι καὶ συμβουλεύονοι πείθονται καὶ ἐπιτιμῶντων ὑποπτήσουσι, ταῦτα πάντα τυραννίδα οὐ μικρὰν ἱγούντο εἰναι.

13 Τὸ μὲν δὴ μανθάνειν ὅσα τῇ τοιαύτῃ προαιρέσει πρόσφορα μακρὸν ἦν, μάλλον δὲ κομίδῃ ἄδουντον, αἱ τέχναι δὲ γλύσχαι, καὶ συν πόνῳ καὶ μόνῃ ἓκανα παρέχειν ἑδυνατό. ἐνίοτος δὲ καὶ ἡ δουλεία βαρύ καὶ (ὡσπερ οὖν ἑστὶν) ἀφόρητον ἐφαινετο. ἔδοξε δὴ σκοπούμενοι τὴν ὑστάτην ἀγκουραν, ἦν ἰεραν οἱ ναυτιλλόμενοι φασιν, καθεύναι, καὶ ἐτὶ τὴν βελτίστην ἀπόνοιαν ὀρμήσαντες, ἐτὶ τε καὶ τόλμαν καὶ ἄμαθιαν καὶ ἀναισχυντίαν προσπαρακαλέσαντες, αὔτερ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα συναγωνίζονται, καὶ λοιδορίας κανάς 2 ἕκμελετήσαντες,

1 παῖς N: πᾶς ΓΜΗΧΒC.
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PHILOSOPHY

But do listen, Zeus, and hear how great they are. There is an abominable class of men, for the most part slaves and hirelings, who had nothing to do with me in childhood for lack of leisure, since they were performing the work of slaves or hirelings or learning such trades as you would expect their like to learn—cobbling, building, busying themselves with fuller's tubs, or carding wool to make it easy for the women to work, easy to wind, and easy to draw off when they twist a yarn or spin a thread. Well, while they were following such occupations in youth, they did not even know my name. But when they began to be reckoned as adults and noticed how much respect my companions have from the multitude and how men tolerate their plain-speaking, delight in their ministrations, hearken to their advice, and cower under their censure, they considered all this to be a suzerainty of no mean order.

Now to learn all that is requisite for such a calling would have been a long task, say rather an impossible one. Their trades, however, were petty, laborious, and barely able to supply them with just enough. To some, moreover, servitude seemed grievous and (as indeed it is) intolerable. It seemed best to them, therefore, as they reflected upon the matter, to let go their last anchor, which men that sail the seas call the "sacred" one; ¹ so, resorting to good old Desperation, inviting the support, too, of Hardihood, Stupidity, and Shamelessness, who are their principal partisans, and committing to memory novel terms of abuse, in order to have them at hand and at their

¹ Nowadays known as the "sheet" anchor.
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ώς πρόχειροι εἶναι καὶ ἀνὰ στόμα, ταύτας μόνας ἁγμοβολάς ἔχοντες—ὅρας ὅποια πρὸς ἕφοδια;—σχηματίζουσιν καὶ μετακοσμοῦσιν αὐ-τοὺς εὐ μάλα εἰκότως καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ, οἴον τι ἀμέλει ο Ἀἰσωπός φησι ποιήσαι τὸν ἐν τῇ Κύμη ὅνον, ὁς λεοντὴν περιβαλόμενος καὶ τραχύ ὀγκώμενος ἥξιον λέων καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι· καὶ ποῦ τινες καὶ ἥσαν ἵσως οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ.

14 Τὰ δ’ ἡμέτερα πάνυ ῥάστα, ὡς οἴσθα, καὶ ἐς μύμησιν πρόχειρα—τὰ προφανῆ λέγω—καὶ οὐ πολλῆς τῆς πραγματείας δεὶ τριβώνιον περιβαλέ-σθαι καὶ πήραν ἐξαρτήσασθαι καὶ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχειν καὶ βοᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀγκάσθαι ἡ ὕλακτεῖν, καὶ λοιποὺς ἑπιστεύσας ἡγας τὴν ἀσφάλειαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ μηδὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ παθεῖν ἢ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα αἴδως παρέξεων ἔμελλεν. ἡ ἐλευθερία δὲ πρόχειρος ἄκοντος τοῦ δεσπότου, κἂν εἰ βουλοῦτο ἀπάγειν, παταχθησομένου τῷ ξύλῳ. καὶ τὰ ἀλ-φιτα οὐκέτ’ ὅλγα οὔδε ὡς πρὸ τοῦ μᾶζα ψιλῆ, τὸ δὲ ὅμων οὐ 1 τάριχος ἢ θύμον, ἀλλὰ κρέα παντοδαπὰ καὶ οἶνος οἶνος ἢδιστος, καὶ χρυσίων παρ’ ὅτοι ἄν ἐθέλωσι· δασμολογοῦσι γὰρ ἐπιφοι-τώντες ἢ, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασίν, ἀποκείρουσιν τὰ πρό-βατα, δώσειν τε πολλοὺς οἶνονται 2 ἡ αἰδοὶ τοῦ σχῆματος ἡ δέ εἰ τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι κακῶς.

15 Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ κάκεινο εἰώρων, οἶμαι, ὡς ἐξ οἰσων καταστήσαται τοῖς ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦσιν, οὔδε τις ὁ δικάσων καὶ διακρινών τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσται, ἢν μόνον τὰ ἔξω ἢ ὀμοια. ἄρχην γὰρ οὔδε τῶν

1 οὖ ΝΓ 1 , εδδ.: ἡ Θ 2 .

2 ο/apt ού ο Μ.
tongue's end, with these as their only countersigns (you perceive what a rare equipment it is for philosophy), they very plausibly transform themselves in looks and apparel to counterfeit my very self, doing, I vow, the same sort of thing that Aesop says the jackass in Cyme did, who put on a lion skin and began to bray harshly, claiming to be a lion himself; and no doubt there were actually some who believed him!

What characterises us is very easily attainable, as you know, and open to imitation—I mean what meets the eye. It does not require much ceremony to don a short cloak, sling on a wallet, carry a staff in one's hand, and shout—say rather, bray, or howl, and slang everyone. Assurance of not suffering for it was bound to be afforded them by the usual respect for the cloth. Freedom is in prospect, against the will of their master, who, even if he should care to assert possession by force, would get beaten with the staff. Bread, too, is no longer scanty or, as before, limited to bannocks of barley; and what goes with it is not salt fish or thyme but meat of all sorts and wine of the sweetest, and money from whomsoever they will; for they collect tribute, going from house to house, or, as they themselves express it, they "shear the sheep"; and they expect many to give, either out of respect for their cloth or for fear of their abusive language.

Moreover, they discerned, I assume, the further advantage that they would be on an equal footing with true philosophers, and that there would be nobody who could pass judgment and draw distinctions in such matters, if only the externals were similar. For, to begin with, they do not even
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ἐλεγχον δέχονται, ἢν ἔρηται τις οὕτωσι κοσμίως καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς βοῶσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀναφεύγουσι, τὴν λουδορίαν, καὶ πρόχειρον τὸ ξύλον. καὶ ἢν μὲν τὰ ἐργα ἡμῶν, οἱ λόγοι πολλοί, ἢν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων κρίνειν ἐθέλη, τὸν βίον ἄξιοῦσι σκοπεῖν.

16 Τοιγαροῦ ἐμπέπλησται πάσα πόλις τῆς τοιαύτης ῥαδιουργίας, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Διογένη καὶ Ἀντισθένη καὶ Κράτητα ἐπιγραφομένων καὶ ὧπο τῷ κυνὶ ταττομέων, οἷο τὸ μὲν χρήσιμον ὅποσον ἐνεστὶ τῇ φύσει τῶν κυνῶν, οἴον τὸ φυλακτικὸν ἡ οἰκουρικὸν ἡ φιλοδέσποτον ἡ μημονικόν, ουδαμῶς ἐξηλώκασιν, ὡλακήν δὲ καὶ λυχνείαν καὶ ἀρπαγήν καὶ ἀφροδίσια συχνὰ καὶ κολακείαν καὶ τὸ σάνειν τῶν διδόντα καὶ περὶ τραπέζας ἔχειν, ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἐκπεπονήκασιν.

17 "Ὅμει τοῖς μετὰ μικρὸν οἷα ἔσται. οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἀπαντεῖς ἀναπηδήσαντες ἔρχομαι τὰς τέχνας εἰάσουσι ὅταν ὅρωσι σφάς μὲν, πονοῦντας καὶ κάμνοντας ἐωθεν ἐς ἑσπέραν ἐπικεκυφότας τοῖς ἐργοῖς, μόνος ἀποζώντας ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης μισθαρνίας, ἀργοῦς δὲ καὶ γόητας ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἀπασιν ἁφθόνοις βιοῦντας, αἰτοῦντας μὲν τυραννικῶς, λαμβάνοντας δὲ προχείρως, ἀγανακτοῦντας δὲ, εἴ μὴ λάβοιεν, οὐκ ἐπαυνοῦντας δὲ, οὐδ' εἰ λάβοιεν. ταῦτα ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀτεχνως τὸ μέλι αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ στόματα ἐσρεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

18 Καὶ ἦττον ἀν δεινὸν τὸ πράγμα ἢν, εἰ τοιοῦτοι ὄντες μηδὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀλλο εξύβριζον· οἱ δὲ, μάλα
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tolerate investigation if you question them ever so temperately and concisely; at once they begin shouting and take refuge in their peculiar citadel, abusiveness and a ready staff. Also, if you ask about their works, their words are copious, and if you wish to judge them by their words, they want you to consider their lives.

Consequently, every city is filled with such upstarts, particularly with those who enter the names of Diogenes, Antisthenes, and Crates as their patrons and enlist in the army of the dog. Those fellows have not in any way imitated the good that there is in the nature of dogs, as, for instance, guarding property, keeping at home, loving their masters, or remembering kindnesses, but their barking, gluttony, thievishness, excessive interest in females, truckling, fawning upon people who give them things, and hanging about tables—all this they have copied with painful accuracy.

You shall see what will happen presently. All the men in the workshops will spring to their feet and leave their trades deserted when they see that by toiling and moiling from morning till night, doubled over their tasks, they merely eke out a bare existence from such wage-earning, while idle frauds live in unlimited plenty, asking for things in a lordly way, getting them without effort, acting indignant if they do not, and bestowing no praise even if they do. It seems to them that this is 'life in the age of Cronus,' and really that sheer honey is distilling into their mouths from the sky!

The thing would not be so dreadful if they offended against us only by being what they are. But although outwardly and in public they appear very

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Fritzsche reads καὶ λήσεων ἔλπισωσιν. But Lucian is thinking of incidents like that in his Symp., 15 (I, p. 426).

1 There is here an allusion to “Searabees”; see below, § 30.
2 Paris.
3 Plato, Republ., V, 459 e.

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reverend and stern, if they get a handsome boy or a pretty woman in their clutches or hope to, it is best to veil their conduct in silence. Some even carry off the wives of their hosts, to seduce them after the pattern of that young Trojan, pretending that the women are going to become philosophers; then they tender them, as common property, to all their associates and think they are carrying out a tenet of Plato's, when they do not know on what terms that holy man thought it right for women to be so regarded. What they do at drinking-parties, how intoxicated they become, would make a long story. And while they do all this, you cannot imagine how they berate drunkenness and adultery and lewdness and covetousness. Indeed you could not find any two things so opposed to each other as their words and their deeds. For instance, they claim to hate toadying, when as far as that goes they are able to outdo Gnathonides or Struthias; and although they exhort everyone else to tell the truth, they themselves cannot so much as move their tongues except in a lie. To all of them pleasure is nominally an odious thing and Epicurus a foeman; but in practice they do everything for the sake of it. In irascibility, pettishness, and proneness to anger they are beyond young children; indeed, they give no little amusement to onlookers when their blood boils up in

4 Gluttonous parasites of the New Comedy. Struthias, whose name is evidently connected with the greediness of the sparrow, figures in the Toady (Colax) of Menander. The play in which Gnathonides appeared is unknown, but Gnatho ("Jowl") is mentioned by Plutarch to exemplify a typical parasite (Symp., VII, 6, 2), and in utilising part of the Toady for his Eunuchus Terence changed the name of the chief rôle from Struthias to Gnatho.
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χολή, πελιδνοὶ δὲ τὴν χροὶν βλέπωνται, ἵταμὼν τι καὶ παράφορον δεδορκότες, καὶ ἀφροῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἰοῦ, μεστὸν αὐτοῖς ἦ τὸ στόμα.

20 Μὴ σὺ γε κεθὺ τύχοις, ὅτε ὁ μιαρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐκχείτα βόρβορος, "Χρυσίων μὲν ἡ ἀργύριον, Ἡράκλεις, οὐδὲ κεκτήσατι ἀξίω· ὅβολος ἑκάνος, ὡς θέρμους πριαίμην· ποτὸν γὰρ ἡ κρήνη ἡ ποταμὸς παρέξει." καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον αἰτοῦσιν οὐκ ὄβολοις οὐδὲ δραχμὰς ὀλίγας, ἀλλὰ πλοῦτοι ὀλοὺς, ὥστε τῖς ἐμποροὺς τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρτου ἐμπολῆσειν ἀν ὅσον τούτοις φιλοσοφία ἐς χρηματισμὸν συντελεῖ; εἰτ᾽ ἐπειδὰν ἑκάνως συλλέξωνται καὶ ἐπισυνίσωνται, ἀπορρύθματε ἐκεῖνο τὸ δύστηρον τριβώνων ἀγροὺς ἐνίστε καὶ ἐσθήτας τῶν μαλθακῶν ἐπρίαντο καὶ παιδας κομῆτας καὶ συνοικίας ὀλας, μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες τῇ πήρᾳ τῇ Κράτητος καὶ τῷ τρίβων τῷ Ἀντισθένους καὶ τῷ πίθῳ τῷ Διογένους.

21 Οἱ ἴδιῶται δὲ ταῦτα ὅρωντες καταπτύουσιν ἡδὴ φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀπαντᾶς εἶναι τοιοῦτοις οἶονται κἀμὲ τῆς διδασκαλίας αἰτιώνται, ὡστε πολλοῦ ἡδὴ χρόνου ἀδύνατον μοι γεγένηται κἂν ἐνα τινὰ προσαγαγέσθαι αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς Πηνελόπης ἐκεῖνο πάσχων ὀπόσον γὰρ δὴ ἐγὼ ἐξυφήνω, τοῦτο εὖ ἀκαρεῖ αὕθις ἀναλύεται. ἡ Ἀμαθία δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀδικία ἐπιγελώσων, ὅρωςαι ἀνεξέργαστον ἡμῖν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀνήνυτον τὸν πόνον.

1 ἀξίω Ν: ἀξίων ΓΜΗΧΒΟ.
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them for some trivial reason, so that they look livid in colour, with a reckless, insane stare, and foam (or rather, venom) fills their mouths.

And "may you never chance to be there" when that vile filth of theirs is exuded! "As to gold or silver, Heracles! I do not want even to own it. An obol is enough, so that I can buy lupines, for a spring or a stream will supply me with drink." Then after a little they demand, not obols nor a few drachmas, but whole fortunes. What shipman could make as much from his cargoes as philosophy contributes to these fellows in the way of gain? And then, when they have levied tribute and stocked themselves up to their heart's content, throwing off that ill-conditioned philosopher's cloak, they buy farms every now and then, and luxurious clothing, and long-haired pages, and whole apartment-houses, bidding a long farewell to the wallet of Crates, the mantle of Antisthenes, and the jar of Diogenes.

The unschooled, seeing all this, now spit scornfully at philosophy, thinking that all of us are like this and blaming me for my teachings, so that for a long time now it has been impossible for me to win over a single one of them. I am in the same fix as Penelope, for truly all that I weave is instantly unravelled again; and Stupidity and Wrongdoing laugh in my face to see that I cannot bring my work to completion and my toil to an end.

1 The words are those of Circe to Odysseus, alluding to Charybdis (Odyssey, XII, 106).
2 The story of Penelope's web is told several times in the Odyssey; II, 93–110; XIX, 138–156; XXIV, 129–146.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ZETΣ

22 Οία, ὦ θεοί, πέπονθεν ἡμῖν ἡ Φιλοσοφία πρὸς τῶν καταράτων ἐκείνων. ὥστε ὃρα σκοπεῖν ὃ τι καὶ πρακτέον ἢ ὅπως αὐτοῦς μετελευστέον. ὃ μὲν γὰρ κεραυνὸς ἀπάγει μιὰ πληγῇ καὶ ὅ θάνατος ταχῦς.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

'Εγώ σοι, ὦ πάτερ, ὑποθήσομαι μισῶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶς ἥδη τοὺς ἀλαζόνας ἀμούσους ὄντας, ὕπερ τῶν Μουσῶν ἀγανακτῶν. κεραυνοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἢ τῆς σῆς δεξιᾶς οὐδαμῶς ἐκείνου ἄξιον, τὸν Ἐρμῆν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα, εἶ δοκεῖ, τῆς κολά- σεως κατάπεμψω ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς, ὅσ τε ἡ περὶ λόγους ἔχων καὶ αὐτῶς τάχιστα εἰσέται τοὺς τε ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ. εἶτα τούς μὲν ἐπαινέσεται, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οἱ δὲ κολασθήσονται ὡς τοὺς ἑκείνῳ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν δοκῆ.

ZETΣ

23 Εὗ λέγεις, ὦ Ἀπολλων. ἄλλα καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀμα καὶ τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἀπίτε ὃς τάχιστα εἰς τὸν βίον. τρισκαίδεκατον γοῦν ἄθλον οἶκον τοῦτον οὐ σμικρὸν ἐκτελέσειν, ἡν ἐκκόψῃς μιαρὰ οὔτω καὶ ἀναίσχυντα θηρία.

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Καὶ μὴν ἰμεινὸν ἥν, ὦ πάτερ, τὴν κόπρον ἐκκαθάραι αὖθις τὴν Αὐγέου ἢ τούτοις συμπλέ- κεσθαι. ἀπίσθως δὲ ὦμως.

1 σοι Fritzche: τοι MSS.
THE RUNAWAYS

ZEUS

- Ye gods! what treatment our dear Philosophy has had from those scoundrels! It is high time, then, to see what is to be done and how they are to be punished. Well, the thunderbolt despatches at a single blow, and the death is a swift one.

APOLLO

I will offer you a suggestion, father, for I myself have come to detest the knaves; the Muses mean nothing to them, so I am indignant on behalf of the Nine. Those fellows are by no means worthy of a thunderbolt or of that right hand of yours. Send Hermes down to get after them, if you think best, with unlimited powers in the matter of their punishment. As he himself is interested in argumentation, he will very soon know those who are genuine students of philosophy and those who are not. Then he will commend the former, naturally, and the latter will be punished as he sees fit in the circumstances.

ZEUS

A good idea, Apollo. But you go too, Heracles; take along Philosophy herself and all be off, as quickly as you can, to the world. Bear in mind that you will be doing a thirteenth labour of no mean order if you exterminate such pestilential, shameless beasts.

HERACLES

On my word, father, I should have preferred to clean out the muck of Augeas once more, rather than to get involved with these creatures. Let us be off, however.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

"Ακουσα μέν, ἀκολουθητέον δὲ κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πατρί.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

24 Κατίωμεν, ὃς κἂν ὀλίγους αυτῶν ἐπιτρήψωμεν σήμερον. ποιαν δὲ χρή τραπέζοι, ὃ Φιλοσοφία; οὐ γὰρ οἷον ὅπου εἰσίν. ἣ πρόδηλον οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδi;

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

Οὐδαμῶς, ἢ πάνυ ὀλίγου, ὃσοι ἀρθῶς ϕιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὃ 'Ερμη. οὕτως δὲ οὐδὲν Ἀττικῆς πενίας δεόνται, ἀλλ' ἕνθα πολὺς χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ὄρυττεται, ἐκεῖ που ἥγητεοι εἰσίν ἡμῖν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὐκοῦν εὑθὺ τῆς Θράκης ἀπιτέον.

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Εὑ λέγεις, καὶ ἤγησομαι γε ύμῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ. οἶδα γὰρ τὰ Θρακῶν ἀπαντά, συχνάκις ἐπέλθων. καὶ μοι τὴν ἁδῇ τραπώμεθα.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ποιαν λέγεις;

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

25 Ὅρατε, ὃ 'Ερμη καὶ Φιλοσοφία, δύο μὲν ὁρὴ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα ὁρῶν ἀπάντων (Αἵμος ἔστιν τὸ μείζον, ἢ καταντικρύ δὲ Ὀρδότη) πεδίον δὲ ὑποπεπταμένον πάμφορον, ἀπὸ τῶν προπόδων ἐκατέρων εὑθὺς ἀρξάμενον, καὶ τῶν 80
THE RUNAWAYS

PHILOSOPHY

I do not want to go with you, but I must, in accordance with father's orders.

HERMES

Let us be going down, so that we may exterminate at least a few of them to-day. What direction should we take, Philosophy? You know where they are. In Greece, no doubt?

PHILOSOPHY

Not by any means, or only a few, those who are genuine students of philosophy, Hermes. These others have no use for Attic poverty; we must look for them in some quarter where much gold or silver is mined.

HERMES

Then we must make straight for Thrace.

HERACLES

Quite right, and indeed I will show you the way, as I know the whole of Thrace from repeated visits. So, if you please, let us now take this direction.

HERMES

What direction do you mean?

HERACLES

Do you see two ranges, Hermes and Philosophy, the highest and most beautiful of all mountains (the higher is Haemus, the one opposite is Rhodope), and a plain of great fertility outspread beneath them, beginning at the very foothills of each? Also,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

λόφους τρεῖς πάνω καλοὺς ἀνεστηκότας, οὐκ ἀμόρφους τὴν τραχύτητα, οἶνον ἀκροπόλεις πολλὰς τῆς ὑποκειμένης πόλεως. καὶ ἡ πόλις γὰρ ἠδὴ φαίνεται.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Νὴ Δι', ὁ Ἡράκλεις, μεγίστῃ καὶ καλλίστῃ ἀπασῶν· πόρρωθεν γοῦν ἀπολάμπει τὸ κάλλος. καὶ τις καὶ ποταμὸς μέγιστος παραμεῖβεται, πάνυ ἐν χρῶ ψαύων αὐτῆς.

ἩΡΑΚΛΗΣ

"Εβρος μὲν οὖτος, ἢ δὲ πόλις ἔργον Φιλίππου ἐκείνου. καὶ ἥμεις ἥδη πρόσχειοι καὶ ὑπονε-φελοί. ¹ ὡστε ἐπιβαίνωμεν ἀγαθὴ τύχη.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

26 Ὄτῳ γινέσθω. τί δ' οὖν χρῆ ποιεῖν, ἢ πῶς ἡ τηρία ἐξιχνευτέον;

ἩΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Τοῦτο μὲν σοὶ ἥδη ἔργον, ὁ Ἐρμὴ· κῆρυξ γὰρ εἶ, ὡστε οὐκ ἀν φθάνοις κηρύττων.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὐδὲν τούτο χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε ὁνόματα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι αὐτῶν. σὺ οὖν, Φιλοσοφία, λέγε ὦστινας ὁνομαστέον, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα προσέτι.

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

Οὐδὲ αὐτὴ μὲν οἶδα τὸ σαφὲς οἴτινες ὁνομά-ξονται διὰ τὸ µὴ ἐγγεγενήσθαί ποτε αὐτοῖς· ἀπὸ δ' οὖν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἢν ἔχουσι περὶ τὰ κτή-

¹ ὑπονεφελοί edd.: ἐπινέφελοι MSS.
² ἢ πῶς Bekker: ἤπως MSS.
three very beautiful eminences standing up, not so rough as to be shapeless? They look like multiple citadels belonging to the city beneath them. For the city, too, is now in sight.

HERMES

Yes, by Zeus, Heracles, the greatest and loveliest of all cities! In fact, its beauty is radiant from afar. And also, a very large river flows past it, coming quite close to it.

HERACLES

That is the Hebrus, and the city was built by the famous Philip. We are now close to earth and the clouds are above us, so let us make a landing, with the blessing of Heaven.

HERMES

Very well. But what is to be done now? How are we to track the beasts out?

HERACLES

That is up to you, Hermes; you are a crier, so be quick and do your office.

HERMES

Nothing hard about that, but I do not know their names. Tell me, Philosophy, what I am to call them, and their marks of identification as well.

PHILOSOPHY

I myself do not know for certain what they are called, because of my not having had anything to do with them ever. But to judge from the craving for

1 Philippopolis.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ματα, οὖκ ἂν ἀμάρτως προσκαλῶν Κτήσωνας ᾧ Κτησίππους ᾧ Κτησικλέας ᾧ Εὐκτήμονας ᾧ Πολυκτήτους.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

27 Εὖ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ τίνες οὗτοι εἰσιν ᾧ τί περισκοποῦσιν καὶ αὐτοί; μάλλον δὲ καὶ προσίασιν καὶ τι καὶ ἔρεσθαι θέλουσιν.

ΑΝΗΡ

'Αρ' ἂν έχοιτε ἡμῖν, ὡ άνδρες, εἶπεῖν, ἢ σὺ, ὡ βελτίστη, εἰ τινὰς τρεῖς γόητας ἀμα εἴδετε καὶ τινὰ γυναῖκα ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένην εἰς τὸ Δακωνικὸν, ἀρρενωπὴν καὶ κομιδὴ ἀνδρικήν;

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

Παπαί, τὰ ἡμέτερα οὗτοι ζητοῦσιν.

ΑΝΗΡ

Πῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα; δραπέται γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπαντεῖς. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν γυναίκα μάλιστα μέτιμεν ἢνδραποδισμένην πρὸς αὐτῶν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Εἰσεσθε δὴ 1 καὶ 2 ὁ τι καὶ ζητοῦμεν αὐτούς. τὸ νῦν δὲ ἀμα κηρύττωμεν.

Εἰ τις εἶδεν 2 ἄνδράποδον Παφλαγονικὸν τῶν ἀπὸ Σινώπης βαρβάρων, ὄνομα τοιοῦτον οἶον ἀπὸ κτημάτων, ὑπωχρόν, ἐν χρῶ κούριαν, ἐν γενείω βαθεί, πήραν ἕξημενον καὶ τριβώνιον ἅμπεχό-

1 δὴ Gesner: δὲ MSS.
2 εἶδεν Fritzsché: not in MSS.
riches which they have, you will not make any mistake if you call them Richman or Richmews or Richrenown or Goodrich or Richards.

HERMES

Right you are.—But who are these people and why are they too looking about them? However, they are coming up and want to ask a question.

HUSBAND

Could you tell us, gentlemen, or you, kind lady, whether you have seen three rogues together, and a woman with her hair closely clipped in the Spartan style, boyish-looking and quite masculine?

PHILOSOPHY

Aha! They are looking for our quarry!

HUSBAND

How yours? Those fellows are all fugitive slaves, and for my part I am particularly in search of the woman, whom they have kidnapped.

HERMES

You will soon find out why we are in search of them. But at present let us make a joint proclamation.

"If anyone has seen a Paphlagonian slave, one of those barbarians from Sinope, with a name of the kind that has 'rich' in it, sallow, close-cropped, wearing a long beard, with a wallet slung from his shoulder and a short cloak about him, quick-

1 As a Cynic, the man should wear his hair long; but we are informed that he has Stoic leanings (§ 31).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μενον, ὅργιλον, ἄμουσον, τραχύφωνον, λοίδορον, μηνύειν ἐπὶ ῥητῷ αὐτῶν.

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Α

28 Ἀνόμοιον, ὥστε οὗτος, ὁ κηρύττεις· ὡς ἐκείνω γε ὄνομα ἦν παρ' ἐμοὶ Κάνθαρος, καὶ ἐκόμα δὲ καὶ τὸ γένειον ἐτίλλετο καὶ τέχνην τὴν ἐμὴν ἥπιστατο· ἀπέκειρεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ γναφείῳ καθήμενος ὁπόσον περιττὸν τοῖς ἑματίοις τῶν κροκύδων ἐπανθεὶ.

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

'Εκείνος αὐτὸς ἐστιν, ὁ οἰκέτης ὁ σός, ἀλλὰ νῦν φιλοσόφῳ ἔσικεν ἀκριβῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιγνάφας.  

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Α

"Ο τῆς τόλμης, ὁ Κάνθαρος φιλοσοφεῖ, φησίν, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς λόγος.  

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Β

'Αμέλει ἀπαντάς ἀνευρήσομεν· ἐννίησον γὰρ, ὡς φησίν, αὕτη.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

29 Τίς δ' οὗτος ἄλλος ὁ προσιῶν ἐστιν, ὁ Ὁράκλεις, ὁ καλός, ὁ τὴν κιβάραν;

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

'Ὀρφεὺς ἐστιν, σύμπλος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐμὸς, ἡδίστος κελευστῶν ἀπάντων· πρὸς γοῦν τὴν ὄθην αὐτοῦ ἡκιστα ἐκάμνομεν ἐρέττοντες. χαῖρε,

1 αὐτὸν. || Ἀνόμοιον, ὃ Harmon: αὐτοῦ-μου. || νοῦ MSS.
2 ἐπιγνάφας Γ²Χ²ΗΒΑ: ἐπιγράφας ΓΧ¹Ν.
3 In Γ the double point (:) indicating a change of speaker follows φησίν, not λόγος.

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tempered, uneducated, harsh-voiced, and abusive, let him give information for the stipulated reward."

FIRST SLAVE-OWNER

Your proclamation does not tally, man! His name when I had him was Scarabee; furthermore, he wore his hair long, kept his chin hairless, and knew my trade. It was his business to sit in my fuller's shop and shear off the excessive nap that makes cloaks fuzzy.

PHILOSOPHY

That is the very man, your slave; but now he looks like a philosopher, for he has given himself a thorough dry-cleaning.

FIRST SLAVE-OWNER (to Second and Third)

The impudence of him! Scarabee is setting up for a philosopher, she says, and we do not enter into his speculations at all!

SECOND SLAVE-OWNER

Never mind, we shall find them all, for this woman knows them, by what she says.

HERMES

Who is this other person coming up, Heracles, the handsome man with the lyre?

HERACLES

It is Orpheus, my shipmate on the Argo, the most tuneful of all chanteymen. Indeed, as we rowed to his singing, we hardly grew tired at all.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ὁ ἀριστεὶ καὶ μουσικῶτατε Ὄρφεὺ. οὐκ ἐπιλέλησαι γάρ ποι Ἦρακλέους.

ОРФΕΤΣ

Νὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς γε, ὁ Φιλοσοφία καὶ Ἡράκλεις καὶ Ἐρμή. ἀλλὰ καίρος ἀποδίδοναι τὰ μῆντρα, ὥς ἐγὼνε πάνιν σαφῶς ὄν ζητεῖτε οἶδα.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὐκοῦν δεῖξον, ὃ παῖ Καλλιόπης, ἐνθα ἐστὶν χρυσίου γάρ οὐδέν, οἶμαι, δὲν σοφὸς ὥν.

ОРФΕΤΣ

Εὖ φήσ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν δεῖξαιμ' ἂν ὡμίν ἐνθα οἰκεῖ, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ ἂν, ὡς μὴ κακῶς ἀκούομι πρὸς αὐτοῦ· μιαρὸς γάρ εἰς ὑπερβολῇ καὶ μόνον τοῦτο ἔκμεμελεῖτηκεν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Δεῖξον μόνον.

ОРФΕΤΣ

Αὐτὴ πλησίον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπειμι ὡμίν ἐκποδῶν, ὡς μηδ' ἴδομι αὐτοῦ.

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

30 Ἐπίσχεσ. οὐ γυναικὸς ἐστὶ φωνῇ ῥαβῳδούσης τι τῶν Ὁμήρου;

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Νὴ Δία· ἀλλ' ἀκούσωμεν ὃ τι καὶ λέγει.
THE RUNAWAYS

Good-day to you, Orpheus, best of men and first of musicians. Surely you have not forgotten Heracles.

ORPHEUS

A very good-day to you also, Philosophy, Heracles, and Hermes. But the time has come to pay your reward, since I am very well acquainted with the man for whom you are looking.

HERMES

Then show us where he is, son of Calliope, for you have no need of gold, I take it, being a wise man.

ORPHEUS

You are right. I will show you the house where he lives, but not the man himself, so as not to be slanged by him. He is excessively foul-mouthed; that is the only thing he has thoroughly mastered.

HERMES

Only show us.

ORPHEUS

Here it is, close by. I am going away from your neighbourhood, so that I may not even see him.

PHILOSOPHY

Hold! Is not that the voice of a woman, reciting something of Homer's?

HERMES

Yes, surely; but let us hear what she is saying.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΓΤΝΗ

'Ἐξηρὸς γάρ μου κείνος ὄμως Ἀΐδαο πύλησιν, ὃς χρυσὸν φιλέει μὲν ἐνί φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὐκοῦν τὸν Κάνθαρον σοι μυστέον.

ΓΤΝΗ

ζεινοδόκον κακὰ ἰέχεν, ὃ κεν φιλότητα παράσχη.

ΑΝΗΡ

Περὶ ἐμοὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔπος, οὗ τὴν γυναῖκα ὀχέτο ἀπάγων διότι αὐτὸν ὑπεδεξάμην.

ΓΤΝΗ

Οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὀμματὶ ἔχων, κραδίην δὲ ἐλάφῳοι, οὔτε ποτ̣' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμος οὔτ' ἐνί βουλῆ, Θερσίτ' ἀκριτόμυθε, κακῶν πανάριστε κολοιών μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὗ κατὰ κόσμον, ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεύσων.

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Α

Εἰκότως τῷ καταράτῳ τὰ ἐπη.

1 δραπετίς (N) edd. prior to Bekker.
2 μυστέον: ζεινοδόκον Γ, thus giving (by the double point) ζεινοδόκον . . . παράσχη to the Wife. Other MSS. and all previous editions give these words to Hermes, reading μυστέον δὲ ζεινοδόκον.
3 τῷ καταράτῳ Harmon: τοῦ καταράτου MSS.
THE RUNAWAYS

WOMAN
Hateful to me that man, no less than the portals of Hades,
Who in his heart loves gold, and yet maintains that he does not.¹

HERMES
Then you must needs hate Scarabeo!

WOMAN
Ever his host he abuseth, if anyone showeth him kindness.²

HUSBAND
That verse refers to me, for he went off with my wife because I took him in.

WOMAN
Heavy with wine, dog-eyed, with the timid heart of a roe-deer,
Never of any account in the fray or in giving of counsel,
Loose-mouthed fool, Thersites, of evil jackdaws the foremost
Idle strife with kings to promote in no spirit of order!³

FIRST SLAVE-OWNER
The verses just fit the scoundrel!

¹ Iliad, IX, 312 (= Odyssey, XIV, 156) and 313, which reads ὃς χ’ ἔτερον μὲν κεῦθη ἐνί φιεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη.
² Iliad, III, 354, with a slight change, ῥέξεν for ῥέξατι.
³ Iliad, I, 225; II, 202, 246 (the close is Lucian’s: Homer has λυγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητῆς), and 214.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΓΥΝΗ

Πρόσθε κύνων, ἵππευ τέλευ, μέση δὲ χίμαιρα
dεινον ἀποπνείουσα τρίτον κυνὸς ἀγρίουν 1 ὀρμήν.

ANHP

31 Οἷμοι, γύναι, δος πέπονθασ ὑπὸ κυνῶν τοιούτων. 
φασὶ δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ κυεῖν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Θάρρει, Κέρβερον τίνα τέξεται σοι Ἡ Γημονήν, ὥς ἔχοι ὁ Ἡρακλῆς οὗτος ἀβδίς πόνον. ἀλλὰ καὶ προῆσιν, ὡστε οὐδὲν δει κόπτειν τὴν θύραν.

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Α

"Ἐχω σε, ὦ Κάνθαρε. νῦν σωπᾶς; φέρ' ἰδωμεν ἀτινὰ σοι Ἡ πῆρα ἔχει, θέρμους ἵσως Ἡ ἄρτον τρύφος. 2 οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλὰ ζώνην χρυσίου."

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Μὴ θαυμάσης. Κυνικὸς γὰρ ἐφασκεν εἶναι τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ Χρυσίππειος ἀκριβῶς ἐστὶν. 3 τοιγαροῦν Κλεάνθην οὐκ

1 ἀγρίου Fritzsche: ἀγρίου MSS.
2 Γ has double points after ἔχει and τρύφος, but the fact that μὴ θαυμάσης is addressed to one person favours running the speech on rather than (e.g.) giving θέρμους . . . τρύφος to ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Β.
3 Double point in Γ.
THE RUNAWAYS

WOMAN

Dog in the fore-parts, aye, and a lion behind; in the middle a she-goat,
Shedding the terrible reek of the third dog’s furious onslaught!¹

HUSBAND

Dear me, wife! how outrageously you have been treated by all those dogs! It is even said that they have lined her.

HERMES

No fear, you will soon have her bringing into the world a Cerberus or a Geryon, to make more work for Heracles here.²—But they are coming out, so there is no need to knock at the door.

FIRST SLAVE-OWNER

I’ve got you, Scarabee! Now you have nothing to say, have you? Come, let us see what your wallet has in it, lupines, no doubt, or a crust of bread. No, by Zeus! A purse of gold!

HERACLES

Don’t be surprised! Formerly, in Greece, he claimed to be a Cynic, but here he reveals himself in his true colours as a Chrysippean. Therefore you

¹Iliad, VI, 181 and 182 with liberal alterations. The original is: Πρόσθε λέων, δηπεθέν δέ δράκων, μέση δέ χιμαίρα δεινόν ἀποπνεύονα πυρὸς μένος αὐθομένον.
²The progeny of three Cynics is expected to have three heads, like the dog Cerberus, whom Heracles, as his eleventh labour, brought up from Hades, or three bodies, like Geryon, whose cattle Heracles lifted as his tenth labour.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

eis makron auton ofei kremisetai gar apó tou pòngwos ouden mparos own.

DESPOTHE B

32 Sui de, ò kake, oú Lekuvthwn oumòs drapetis tngxánies; ou mév ouv allous. ò toû gelwtoû. eita tí ouk an génvito; kai Lekuvthwn filosophféi.

ERMH

'O trítos de ouden adéspotoû òmín estîn;

DESPOTHE G

Oúdámous, all' dé desvntis égô ekòn afíymi auton ápolwleînai.

ERMH

"Oti ti;

DESPOTHE G

"Oti deuvòs ton uposáthron estîn. to dé ónoma Mupópnonouv auton ékaloûmen.

ERMH

'Hrakleis alezikake, akoueis; épeita píra kai báktrov.—kai autós ápolaðe tîn gnvaika ou.

THE RUNAWAYS

shall soon see him a Cleanthes, for he is going to be hung up by the beard because he is such a villain.¹

SECOND SLAVE-OWNER

And you, scoundrel! are you not Pomander, who ran away from me? Nobody else! O how you make me laugh! After that, what cannot happen? Even Pomander a philosopher!

HERMES

This third fellow—has he no master among you?

THIRD SLAVE-OWNER

Yes, I am his master, but even so, I gladly consign him to perdition!

HERMES

Why?

THIRD SLAVE-OWNER

Because he is a fearful sort of rotter. The name we used to call him was Stinkadore.

HERMES

Heracles, deliver us! do you hear that? And then wallet and staff! Here, you! (to HUSBAND) Take away your wife, yourself!

¹ Lucian is playing on names here. When Scarabee was a Cynic, he had gone to the "dogs." Now, as a devotee of gold, he can only be styled a Chrysippian; ergo a Stoic. It may be that Lucian is japing at something in the history of Cleanthes with his talk about beards and hanging, but there is no evidence except a late scholium on Longaevi, 19, which says that Cleanthes died of starvation or strangulation. Anyhow, hanging Scarabee up by the beard will certainly make a "Famous Posy" of him.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ANHP

Μηδαμώς. οὐκ ἂν ἀπολάβοιμι βιβλίον μοι τῶν παλαιῶν κυνούσαν.

ERMHE

Πῶς βιβλίον;

ANHP

"Εστιν τι, ὃ ἁγαθέ, Τρικάρανος βιβλίον.

ERMHE

Οὐδέν ἄτοπον, ἔπει καὶ Τριφάλης.¹

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

33 Σὸν, ὃ Ἐρμῆ, δικάζειν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο.

ERMHE

Οὖτω μοι δοκεῖ, ταύτην μὲν, ἣν μηδὲν τέρας μηδὲ πολυκέφαλον τέκνη, οὐχεσθαί παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν ‘Ελλάδα, τῶ δύο δὲ τούτω δραπετίσκω παραδοθέντε τοῖν δεσπόταιν μανθάνειν ἃ πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν μὲν ἀποτλύνειν τὰς ῥυπώσας τῶν ὠθονῶν, τὸν Ληκυθίωνα, τὸν Μυρόπνουν δὲ αὕτης ἀκεῖσθαι τῶν ῤιατίων τὰ διερρωγότα, μαλάχη γε πρότερον μαστιγωθέντε.² ἔπειτα καὶ

¹ MSS. add ὅ (not in N) τῶν κωμικῶν εἰς, which I excise as a patent gloss, and a mistaken one.
² μαστιγωθέντε De Jong: μαστιγωθέντα MSS.

¹ The book called Three-Headed was an attack on Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, attributed to Theopompus (cf. below, p. 409) but probably written by Anaximenes.
² The Triphales of Aristophanes, supposed to have been a scurrilous satire on Alcibiades.

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THE RUNAWAYS

HUSBAND

Never in the world! I don't care to take her away with an old book under her apron.

HERMES

Book? What do you mean?

HUSBAND

My dear fellow, there is a book called Tricipitine.¹

HERMES

Nothing surprising in that, as there is one called Triphallic.²

PHILOSOPHY

It is for you, Hermes, to give judgement now.

HERMES

This is my decision. As for the woman, to insure against her bringing into the world anything portentous or many-headed, she shall go back to Greece to live with her husband. This pair of runaway slaves shall be turned over to their masters and continue to learn their former trades; Pomander to wash dirty linen, Stinkadore once again to mend torn cloaks; but first they shall both be beaten with mallows.³ Finally, this fellow (to scarabee)

³ This meant a good caning, for the mallow that is meant is the kind that according to Theophrastus "grows tall and becomes tree-like" and "becomes as great as a spear, and men accordingly use it as a walking-stick" (Lavatera arborea; see Sir A. Hort's Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants (L.C.L.), Vol. I, p. 25, and Vol. II, p. 463). But probably its prescription by Lucian in this and other similar cases is due in part at least to the implication of "softness" in the name.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

touton paraqophiai tois pittwtais, ous apoloito paratillomenos tâ prôta, rywpôi proseti kai
ynaikeia tî pîtt, etâ es tôn Aîmon anaxhênta
ynwov epî tîs xînous menev yumpypodisymenov
tw pôde.

KANETAPOS

Feû twv kakwv, otoûi, papppapaiâx

DESPOTHE A

Tî touto parentîthas twv tragikwv sou4 dial-
lögwn; allâ akolouthei parâ tws pittwtais
êdê, apodusâmenos ye prôterov tîn leontîn,
wîs gnwsthês ònous òn.

4 oou Î: ou other MSS. oou is right; the "dialogues" of
Cantharurus are his "diatribes."
shall be turned over to the pitch-plasterers, so that he may be murdered by having his hair pulled out, and with filthy, nasty pitch, besides; then he shall be taken to the summit of Haemus and left standing there naked in the snow with his feet tied together.

SCARABEE

Ah, woe is me! Oh, oh! Alackaday!

FIRST SLAVE-OWNER

Why are you lugging in that quotation out of those melodramatic discourses of yours? Come along with me to the pitch-plasterers now; but first strip off that lion skin, that you may be known for the ass that you are.
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

A conversation between Toxaris, a Scythian, and Mnesippus, a Greek, on the subject of friendship. Toxaris explains that the memory of Orestes and Pylades is honoured in Scythia despite the havoc they wrought there because the Scythians regard them as models of loyal friendship, which they hold in the highest esteem. The Greeks, he thinks, are better nowadays at praising than at practising it. To settle the question of superiority, Mnesippus tells five stories of Greek loyalty, and Toxaris five of Scythian: all are declared on oath to be authentic and recent happenings. The outcome, however, can only be a draw because no umpire has been appointed, and the two swear friendship with each other.

The stories, then, are the thing, and the dialogue is just a framing-tale in which to display them. Its time is present. Toxaris, therefore, has nothing but the name in common with the Toxaris whom Lucian in his Scythian (Vol. VI) represents to have come to Athens before Anacharsis and to have received worship there after death as the Hero-Physician. Yet this Toxaris too has visited Athens and lived long among the Greeks. The dialogue takes place somewhere in Hellas, but the scene is not definitely fixed. The manner of the allusion to Athens in § 21 seems to exclude that city. The diction of the piece suggests a relatively early date. It may have been written about A.D. 163 in Asia.

The oaths of Toxaris and Mnesippus attest Lucian's mastery of the stock devices of a story-teller rather than the authenticity of his tales. Most of his stories, both Scythian and Greek, are probable enough to be founded on fact. Several are notably romantic, and were probably either made up by Lucian or borrowed from current romances, in which the hero usually had a friend as well as a sweetheart (cf. A. Calderini, Caritone di Afrodisia, pp. 104-106). In the matter of Scythia his dependence on literary sources has been indicated by Rostovtzeff (Skythien und der Bosporus, pp. 96-99), who has pointed out that his background is realistic and plausible in its general effect, but inaccurate in historical and geographic details, and argues that he drew extensively upon Greek novels with a Scythian plot.
ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ Η ΦΙΛΙΑ

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

1 Τί φής, ὦ Τόξαρι; θύετε Ὀρέστη καὶ Πυλάδην ὑμεῖς οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι πεπιστεύκατε αὐτούς;

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Θύομεν, ὦ Μνήσιππε, θύομεν, οὐ μὴν θεοὺς γε οἱ ὁμοει νεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Νόμος δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἀνδράσων ἀγαθοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν θύειν ὑσπερ θεοῖς;

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔορτα ὅς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν τιμῶμεν αὐτούς.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Τί θηρῶμενοι παρ’ αὐτῶν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπ’ εὐμενεία θύετε αὐτοῖς, νεκροῖς γε οὐσίν.

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TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

MNESIPPUS

What about it, Toxaris? Do you Scythians sacrifice to Orestes and Pylades, and have you come to believe that they are gods?

TOXARIS

We sacrifice, Mnesippus, we sacrifice; not, however, because we think them gods, but good men.¹

MNESIPPUS

Is it your custom to sacrifice to good men when they are dead, as if they were gods?

TOXARIS

Not only that, but we honour them with festivals and pilgrimages.

MNESIPPUS

What do you crave from them? For surely it is not to gain their grace that you sacrifice to them, in view of the fact that they are dead.

¹ The existence of a cult of Orestes and Pylades in Scythia is not otherwise attested, and is credible only in a limited sense, as a local development of Greek hero-worship; see below, on the Oresteum, § 6.
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ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Οὐ χείρον μὲν ᾗς, εἶ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἡμῖν εὕμενεις εἶεν. ὦν μὴν ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀμενον οἴομέθα πράξεν μεμυμένοι τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ τιμῶμεν ἀποθανόντας, ἡγούμεθα γὰρ οὕτως ἃν ἡμῖν πολλοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοὶς ἐθελήσαι γενέσθαι.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

2 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁρθῶς γιγνώσκετε. Ὄρεστην δὲ καὶ Πυλάδην τίνος μάλιστα θαυμάσαντες ἱσοθέους ἐπούσασθε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπήλυδας ὑμῖν ὄντας καὶ τὸ μέγιστον πολεμίους; οἱ γε, ἐπεὶ σφάς ναναγία περιπεσόντας οἱ τότε Σκύθαι συλ- λαβόντες ἀπήγον ὡς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καταθύσοντες, ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς δεσμοφύλαξι καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐπικρατήσαντες τὸν τε βασιλέα κτείνοντο καὶ τὴν ἔρειαν παραλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀρτέ- μιν αὐτὴν ἀποσυλῆσαντες ὕχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καταγελάσαντες τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν. ὥστε εἰ διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶτε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐκ ἂν θάνοιτε

1 ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς N.

1 Both here and below in § 6 Lucian omits as self-understood the point that Orestes discovers the priestess to be his sister Iphigenia, previously thought to have perished at Aulis under the sacrificial knife.

2 In the point that this version of the story makes the Greeks escape by overpowering the Scythians and killing Thoas, their king, it differs significantly both from Euripides in the Iphigenia among the Taurians and from Sophocles in the Chryses, in which Thoas was killed, to be sure, but only after they had somehow got away and he had overtaken them at “Sminthe,” whose ruler, Chryses, turning out to be the son of Agamemnon and Chryses, and so the half-brother of Orestes and Iphigenia, aids them to kill their pursuer.

Elsewhere in extant ancient literature the Lucianic version
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

TOXARIS

Well, we should be none the worse off, perhaps, if even the dead should be gracious to us. However, we think it will be better for the living if we do not forget men of high achievement, and we honour them after death because we consider that in this way we can get many to wish to become like them.

MNESIPPUS

In that matter, to be sure, your judgement is sound. But as regards Orestes and Pylades, on just what ground did you so admire them, that you have put them on a parity with the gods, and that too when they were trespassers upon your soil and—what is most significant—enemies? Why, when the Scythians of that day seized them after their shipwreck and dragged them off intending to sacrifice them to Artemis, they set upon the keepers of their prison, overpowered the watch, and not only slew the king but carried off the priestess, nay even kidnapped Artemis herself, and then went sailing away, after having made a mock of the Scythian commonwealth. So if that is why you honour those

is found only in Servius and in accounts derived from him (Serv. in Aen., II, 216; cf. [Hyginus], 261, and Mythogr. Val., II, 202). It may have been the accepted version of the cult of Diana at Aricia (Preller, Robert), but cannot be of Latin origin. It is surely the early version, effaced in the literary tradition by the influence of Euripides, but perpetuated (as early myths often were) in art through a painting by some famous Hellenistic master, later reflected not only in Graeco-Roman sarcophagus-reliefs but in the murals of some Graeco-Scythian Oresteum (§ 6). Lucian's knowledge of it may safely be ascribed to an allusion to those murals in the literary source from which he derives the curious mixture of fact and fiction in § 6.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πολλοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοὺς ἐξεργασάμενοι. καὶ τούντευθεν αὐτοὶ ἦδη πρὸς τὰ παλαιὰ σκοπεῖτε; εἰ καλῶς ἔχει ὑμῖν πολλοὺς ἐς τὴν Σκυθίαν Ὀρέστας καὶ Πυλάδας καταίρειν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖτε τάχιστα ἀν ὦτως ἀσεβεῖς αὐτοῖ καὶ ἁθεοὶ γενέσθαι, τῶν περιλοίπων θεῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀποξενωθέντων. εἰτ’, οἶμαι, ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀπάντων τοὺς ἐπ’ ἐξαγωγὴν αὐτῶν ἥκοντας ἄνδρας ἐκθείασετε καὶ ἱεροσύλους ὑμῶν οὕσων ἡθείος ὑστετε ὑμῖν θεοῖς.

3 Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀντὶ τούτων Ὀρέστην καὶ Πυλάδην τιμᾶτε, ἅλλ’ εἴπε, τί ἄλλο, ὁ Τόξαρι, ἀγαθον ὑμᾶς εἰργάσαντο ἀνθ’ ὅτου, πάλαι οὐθεοὺς εἰναι δικαιώσαντες αὐτοῦς, νῦν τὸ ἐμπαλιν θύσαντες αὐτοῖς θεοὺς νενομίκατε, καὶ ἱερείοις ὀλίγου δεῖν τότε γενομένους ἱερεῖα νῦν προσάγετε; γελοῖα γὰρ ἀν ταῦτα δόξει καὶ ὑπεναντία τοῖς πάλαι.

ΤΟΕΑΡΙΣ

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ὁ Μνήσιππε, γενναία τῶν ἁνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἡ κατέλεξας. τὸ γὰρ δύο ὄντας οὕτω μέγα τολμημα τολμῆσαι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπάραντας ἐκπλεῦσαι ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἀπείρατον ἐτί τοῖς Ἑλληνοῖς ὄντα πλην μόνω τῶν ἐπὶ τὴς Ἀργοῦς ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα στρατευσάντων, μὴ καταπλαγέντας μῆτε τοὺς μύθους τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτῶ 3 μήτε τὴν προσηγορίαν καταδεισάντας ὦτι ἄξενος ἐκαλεῖτο, οἷα, οἶμαι, ἀγρίων

1 οὕσων ἹΝΒ: not in M(C)A.
2 εἴπε, τί ἄλλο Schmieder: εἴπερ τι ἄλλο MSS.
3 ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Seager: ἐν αὐτῷ MSS.
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heroes, you will very soon produce many like them! Draw the conclusion for yourselves in the light of what happened of old whether it is desirable for you that many an Orestes and Pylades should descend upon Scythia. To me it seems that very soon, under those conditions, you would become irreligious yourselves, yes, godless, after the remainder of your gods had been similarly shipped out of the country to foreign parts. And then, I suppose, in place of the whole company of gods, you will deify the men who came to obtain them for export and will sacrifice to the robbers of your temples as gods!

If that is not why you honour Orestes and Pylades, do tell me, Toxaris, what other benefit have they done you to bring it about that although formerly you deemed them anything but gods, now, on the contrary, you have made them pass for gods by sacrificing to them, and you now bring victims to men who at that time very nearly became victims? This conduct, you know, might be thought ridiculous and inconsistent with that of former times.

TOXARIS

As a matter of fact, Mnesippus, even these actions that you have described evince nobility in those men. That two should dare so bold a deed; that they should sail so far from their own country as to cruise out into the Pontus (still unexplored by any of the Greeks except the force that fared upon the Argo to Colchis) undismayed either by the fables regarding it or by its name through any terror inspired by the fact that it was called "Inhospital" (I suppose because savage peoples dwelt
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εθνῶν περιοικούντων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤλωσαν, οὕτως ἄνδρείς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι καὶ μὴ ἀγαπῆσαι εἰ διαφεύγονται ἕν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τιμωρησαμένους τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ὦβρεως καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμίν ἀναλαβόντας ἀποπλεύσαι, πῶς ταῦτα οὐθαυμαστά καὶ θείας τινὸς τιμῆς ἄξια παρὰ πάντων ὅποιοι ἄρετὴν ἐπανοίγουν; ἀτὰρ οὐ ταῦτα ἑμεῖς Ὁρέστῃ καὶ Πυλάδῃ ἐνιδόντες ἤρωσιν αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

4 Λέγοις άν ᾦδη ὁ τι τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ θείον ἄλλο ἐξειργάσαντο· ἐπεὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ πλῷ καὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πολλοὺς ἀν σοι θεοτέρους ἑκείνων ἀποδείξαμι, τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Φοίνικας αὐτῶν, οὐκ εἰς τὸν Πόντον οὐδὲ ἄχρι τῆς Μαυστίδος καὶ τοῦ Βοσσόρου μόνον ἐσπλέοντας, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ βαρβαρικῆς θαλάττης ναυτιλλομένους· ἀπασαν γὰρ οὕτοι ἀκῆν καὶ πάντα αἰγιαλῶν, ὃς εἴπειν, διερευνησάμενοι καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔτος ὅπε τοῦ μετοπώρου εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπανίσαυρον. οὕς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον θεοὺς νόμιζε, καὶ ταῦτα κατήλλους καὶ ταριχοπώλας, εἰ τύχοι, τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ὄντας.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

5 "Ἀκοῦε δή, ὦ θαυμάσιε, καὶ σκόπει καθ' οὕτως ἑμεῖς οἱ βάρβαροι εὐγνωμονέστερον ὑμῶν περὶ τῶν ἄγαθῶν ἄνδρῶν κρίνομεν, εἰ γε ἐν Ἀργεῖ μὲν καὶ Μυκήναις οὐδὲ τάφον ἐνδοξον ἐστὶν ἑδεῖ·

1 διαφεύγονται M, edd.: διαφυλάξονται other MSS.
2 ἐπὶ τῷ πλῷ Fritzche; ἐν τῷ πλῷ MSS.

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all about it); \(^1\) that after their capture they faced the situation so courageously, and were not content simply to make their escape but punished the king for his insolence and took Artemis with them when they sailed away—why is not all this admirable and worthy of divine honour in some sort from all who praise manhood? Yet that is not what we see in Orestes and Pylades, to treat them as heroes.

MNESIPPUS

Please go on and say what else they did that is imposing and godlike; since as far as concerns their voyage and their foreign travel I could point you many who are more godlike than they—the merchant traders, and particularly the Phoenicians among them, who not only sail into the Pontus or as far as Lake Maeotis and the Cimmerian Bosporus,\(^2\) but cruise everywhere in Greek and foreign waters; for these fellows comb every single shore and every strand, you may say, each year before returning late in the autumn to their own country. On the same principle, you should account them gods, even though most of them are pedlars and, it may be, fishmongers!

TOXARIS

Listen then, you amazing fellow, and learn how much more generously than you Greeks we barbarians judge good men. In Argos and Mycenae there is not even a respectable tomb of Orestes or

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\(^1\) According to Apollodorus (Strabo, VII, 298–299) the Pontus was at first called *Axeinos* ("In hospitable") because of its storminess and the ferocity of the tribes that surrounded it; later, after the Ionian settlements on its coast, it was called *Euzeinos* ("Hospitable"). Pindar knows both names (*Pyth.*, IV, 203; *Nem.* IV, 49).

\(^2\) The Sea of Azov and the Straits of Kertsch.
"Nothing could be more natural than for some Graeco-Scythian city in South Russia (Crimea?) to have had an Oresteum like this, with a set of murals commemorating the exploits of Orestes and Pylades. Indeed, the existence of the paintings is practically guaranteed by two considerations: they represent a version of the story of Orestes among the Taurians that is not known to us prior to Lucian except in art; and that version, involving as it does his killing of the king, is not likely to have been preferred to the Euripidean by Lucian for his present purpose, if the paintings were imaginary. Here there seems to be a core of fact which Lucian can have derived only from some previous writer; and we may perhaps also safely believe that the deified heroes obtained sufficient prestige among the native part of the population of

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Pylades to be seen, but among us a temple has been assigned them, to both together, as was reasonable since they were comrades, and sacrifices are offered them, and all sorts of honours besides. The fact that they were not Scythians but foreigners is no hindrance to their having been accounted good men and their being cherished by the foremost Scythians; for we do not enquire what country proper men come from, nor do we bear a grudge if men who are not friendly have done noble deeds; we commend what they have accomplished and count them our own in virtue of their achievements.

What especially impressed us in these men and gains our commendation is this: it seemed to us that as friends they, surely, had proved themselves the best in the world, and had established precedents for everyone else in regard to the way in which friends should share all their fortunes. All that they went through in each other’s company or for each other’s sake our ancestors inscribed on a tablet of bronze which they set up in the Oresteum; and they made it the law that the first study and lesson for the city and its environs to gain them a Scythian name (Korakoi: § 7 end). Compare the Herodotean tale (IV, 103) of the worship of Iphigenia among the Taurians. This kernel of fact, however, has been enveloped in a hull of fiction by transporting the sanctuary to a mythical Scythian capital without a name and making it the focus of a great national cult of friendship—a happy conceit in view of the custom of swearing “blood-brotherhood” (§ 37), but sheer fiction none the less. It is perhaps possible that Lucian drew the fact from some Hellenistic historian and supplied the fiction himself; but it is more likely that he found both already combined in his source, and connected with one or more of the tales of Scythian friendship that he puts into the mouth of Toxaris (cf. especially p. 173, n. 2).
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toûto máthιma kai paideuma tois paui tois sfetérois einai thn sthli thn taun kai ta êp autíth gégramména diámmuneúthai. Íthton yòti touvou'm' an¹ ekastos autón epiláthito toú patroú h tá 'Orestov kai Pvládov práxeis ágnoíseievo.

'Alla kai ev tw peri bólo twv nev tà autá ópósa h sthli deíloí grafaíê úpo tovvn palaiówn eikasómena deíkuntau, pléwov 'Orestovs àma twv filov, eiça ev tois krmnvois diapharéieitous autón² thís neívs suüelleménoise kai pro's thn tivsían para-skeuasménois, kai h 'Ifigéneia ἡδη katárxeie autów. katantikry dé evi toú étérou toícho ἡδη ekedudúkws tà desmá gérraptaei kai fronéoun thn Òsantv kai pollous allous tovwn Skuthv, kai télos apopiéontes, èxountes thn 'Ifigéneian kai thn theón. ói Skuthaí dé allous épilambánontai toú skáfous ἡδη pléontos, ékkrémenúmenoi twv ptedalíwv kai épavabaíneoiv peiròmenou: eít' ouðen ánúvantas oí mên autón tramaítai, oí dé kai dée tw toutou, apovnìchoíntai pro's thn yhén. ènva dê kai málißta índo tis án opósin úper allhjwv evnoian épedeíkynpto, év th pro's toús Skuthas sümplkèi. peptoìkhein gar o grafeús ekáteron ámeleuneta mèn twv kath' éautov polémiws, ámnuómewn dé toús épiferomóneous thaterw kai pro èkeínon ápantán peiròmenon tois toxeúmasin kai par' ouðen tibémewn ei apodáneítais swasa tov filon kai thn ép' èkeínon feroiméven thlihyn proaripása tw éautov swmati.

7 'Thn dê tosqáutthn evnoian autón kai thn ev tois deinois koivnínas kai to pístov kai filétairoun

¹ toûvou'm' án Stallbaum: toûvoma MSS.
their children should be this tablet and the memorising of all that had been written upon it. In point of fact, every one of them would sooner forget the name of his own father than fail to know the achievements of Orestes and Pylades.

But in the temple close, too, the very same matters that are set forth on the tablet are to be seen represented in paintings by the ancients; Orestes voyaging with his friend, and then, after his ship had been destroyed on the rocks, his arrest and preparation for the sacrifice; Iphigenia is already consecrating them. Opposite this, on the other wall, he is depicted as just out of his fetters, slaying Thoas and many more of the Scythians. Finally, they are sailing off, with Iphigenia and the goddess; the Scythians meanwhile are vainly laying hold of the ship, which is already under way, hanging to the rudders and trying to get aboard; then, unable to accomplish anything, they swim back to land, some of them because they are wounded, others for fear of that. It is just there that one may see how much good-will they displayed in each other's interest; I mean, in the engagement with the Scythians. For the artist has portrayed each of them paying no heed to the foemen opposite himself, but encountering those who are assailing the other, trying to meet their missiles in his stead, and counting it nothing to die if he saves his friend and intercepts with his own body the stroke that is being directed at the other.

That great good-will of theirs, that common front amid those perils, that faithfulness and comradely

\[2 \text{ αὐτῶν NB.}\]
καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ βέβαιον τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρωτος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπινα ταῦτα ὠφθημεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τινὸς γνώμης βελτίων ἥ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους, οἱ μέχρι μὲν κατ’ οὕρον ὁ πλοῦς εἶν τοῖς φίλοις, ἀγανακτοῦσιν εἰ μὴ ἐπ’ ἱστης κοινωνήσουσιν τῶν ἡδέων, εἰ δὲ τι καὶ μικρὸν ἀντιπυεύσειν οὐκ ὁμονοι μονοὺς τοῖς κυν-δύνους ἀπολιπόντες. καὶ γὰρ οὗν καὶ τὸδε ὅπως εἰδής, οὐδὲν Σκύθαι φιλίᾳ μεῖζον οὐνται εἶναι, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐφ’ ὅτι ἂν τις Σκύθης μᾶλλον σεμνύναυτον ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ συμπονήσαι φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ κοινωνήσαι τῶν δεινῶν, ὡσπερ οὐδὲν ὀνείδος μείζον παρ’ ἦμῖν τοῦ προδότην φιλίας γεγενήσθαι δοκεῖν. διὰ ταῦτα Ὀρέστην καὶ Πυλάδην τιμῶμεν, ἀρι-στοὺς γενομένους τὰ Σκυθῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ διενεγκόντας, ὁ πρώτον ἡμεῖς ἀπάντων θαυμάζο-μεν, καὶ τούνομα ἐπὶ τούτους αὐτῶν ἐθεμεθα Κοράκους καλεῖσθαι. τούτῳ δὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ ὡσπερ οὐ εἰ τις λέγοι "φίλιοι δαίμones."

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

8 Ὡ Τόξαρι, οὐ μόνον ἀρα τοξεύειν ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν Σκύθαι καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμείνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρήσιν εἰπεῖν ἀπάντων πιθανότατοι. ἐμοὶ γοῦν τέως ἄλλως γυγνώσκοντι ἤδη καὶ αὐτῷ δίκαια ποιεῖν δοκεῖτε οὕτως Ὀρέστην καὶ Πυλάδην ἐκθειάσαντες. ἐλελήθεις δὲ με, ὦ γεν- ναῖε, καὶ γράφευς ἀγαθὸς ὅν. πάνυ γοῦν ἑναργῶς

1 Previous editions throw τοῖς φίλοις with what follows, by setting the comma before it.

2 Text NB: other MSS. repeat τι after μικρόν.
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

love, that genuineness and solidity of their affection for one another were not, we thought, of this world, but marked a spirit too noble for these men about us of the common sort, who, as long as the course of their friends is with the wind, take it ill if they do not give them an equal share in all their delights, but if even a slight breath sets against them, they bear away, entirely abandoning them to their perils. For I would have you know this also—Scythians think that there is nothing greater than friendship, and there is not anything upon which a Scythian will pride himself more than on aiding a friend and sharing his dangers, just as there is no greater disgrace among us than to bear the name of having played false to friendship. That is why we honour Orestes and Pylades, because they practised best what Scythians hold good, and excelled in friendship, an achievement which we admire before all things else; in token whereof we have given them the name of Korakoi to go by, which in our language is as much as to say "guiding spirits of friendship."

MNESIPPUS

Toxaris, it has turned out that Scythians are not only good archers and better than all others in warfare, but the most convincing of all peoples at making speeches. Anyhow, I, who formerly had a different opinion, now myself think you do right in thus deifying Orestes and Pylades. And I had failed, my accomplished friend, to grasp the fact that you are also a good painter. Very animated indeed was the sketch

8 ἀντιπνεύσειν Ὡ : ἀντιπνεύσει Α ἀντιπνεύση ὩΜ and ᾿Γ, in an erasure; ᾿Γ¹ must have written -ει.
4 Κονάχος ᾿C²Α² (v over ρ, χ over κ).
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επεδειξας ἡμῖν τὰς ἐν τῷ Ὄρσετείῳ εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν μάχην τῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἄλληλων τραύματα. πλὴν ἄλλ' οὐκ ψήθην ἣν οὕτω ποτὲ περισσοτέραν εἶναι φιλίαν ἐν Σκύθαις· ἄτε γὰρ ἄξενος 1 καὶ ἀγρίους οὔτας αὐτοὺς ἔχθρα μὲν άεὶ συνεῖναι καὶ ὄργη καὶ θυμῷ, φιλίαν δὲ μὴδὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπαναρείσθαι, τεκμαιρόμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσμεν καὶ ὁτι κατεσθίονσι τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθανόντας.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

9 Εἰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡμεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δικαιότεροι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς γονέας καὶ ὀσιώτεροί ἐσμέν, οὐκ ἄν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φιλιτίμηθειν πρὸς σέ. ὅτι δὲ οἱ φίλοι οἱ 2 Σκύθαι πολὺ πιστότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλῶν εἶναί καὶ ὅτι πλείων φιλίας λόγος παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ παρ' ὑμῖν, βαδίον ἐπιδείξαι· καὶ πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴ πρὸς ἀχθηδόνα μοι ἀκούσης ἦν εἰπὼ τί ὁν κατανενόηκα πολὺν ἡδὴ χρόνον ὑμῖν συγγινόμενος.

Τῆς γάρ μοι δοκεῖτε τοὺς μὲν περὶ φιλίας λόγους ἄμεινον ἄλλων ἄν εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι, τάργα δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον οὐ κατ' ἄξιαν τῶν λόγων ἐκμελετῶν, ἄλλ' ἀπόχρη ὑμῶν ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτῆν καὶ δείξαι ἥλικον ἀγαθόν ἐστιν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς χρείαις προδόντες τοὺς λόγους δραπετεύετε οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκ μέσων τῶν ἔργων. καὶ ὅποταν ὑμῖν οἱ τραγῳδοὶ τὰς τοιαύτας φιλίας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκηνήν ἀναβιβα-

1 ἁξένος du Soul: ἁξένος MSS.
2 οἱ Bekker: not in MSS.

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that you drew for us of the pictures in the Oresteum, of the fighting of your heroes, and the wounds that each bore for the other. However, I should not have expected friendship to be so highly cherished among the Scythians, for as they are inhospitable and uncivilised I thought that they always were well acquainted with hatred, anger, and bad humour but did not enter into friendship even with their closest kin, judging by all that we hear about them, and especially the report that they eat their dead fathers! \footnote{Alluded to also in *Funerals*, 21 (IV, p. 126). Cf. Herodotus, IV, 26 (of the Issedones), and I, 216 (of the Massagetae).}

**TOXARIS**

Whether we are in general not only more just than the Greeks towards our parents but more reverential is a question which I would rather not debate with you at present. But that Scythian friends are far more faithful than Greek friends and that friendship matters more with us than with you is easily demonstrated; and in the name of your Gods of Greece, do not listen to me with displeasure if I mention one of the observations which I have made after having lived with your people for a long time now.

It seems to me that you Greeks can indeed say all that is to be said about friendship better than others, but not only fail to practise its works in a manner that befits your words,—no, you are content to have praised it and shown what a very good thing it is, but in its times of need you play traitor to your words about it and beat a hasty retreat, somehow or other, out of the press of deeds. And whenever your tragedians put friendships of this kind on
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santès deiknúsws épainete kai épikrotoitéte kai
kivdeunousw autòis úpér allèlwv oì polloi
kai épidakrúste, autòi de oudein azìon épainou
úpér twn filwv parékesvai tolmàte, alì' èn
tou filos deîtheis tûch, autíka màla wòster tà
onèrata oìxontai ùmìv ekpodoùv àpoptámenai aì
pollai èkeinai tragwìdias, toìs kenvoì toùtous kai
koufói prosowpeíous èsoiktas ùmàs apolipousai,
à dihyména
1 tò stóma kai pammégèthes kekhvàta
oude tò smikrótaton phèggetai. èmèis dé èm-
palw: òsw gar ðè leupòméba èn toìs peri filías
lógois, tosoútov èn toìs èrgous autìhs pleonkto-
mev.

10 È' ð' òvn 2 dokei, ouòw vàn poòmen. tòus mé'
palaious filous åtremein èsasomev, eì tìnas è
eì meís è ùmeís tòw vàlai katariðmeinè chevme;
èpei kata ge tòuto pleonktoité ìn, polloûs kai
àxioiostous màrturas toûs poutàs parêkìmenoi
tìn 'Axihlews kai Patróklou filian kai tìn
Thèsew kai Peiríðou kai tòn vàllw ètaireían
èn kalìstous èpesi kai metroiòs rafwdoûntas
òlìgous dé tìnas proxeirísmenoi tòn kathè èmàs
autòs kai tà èrgha autòwn diheqàsemenv, ègù
mevn tà Skhthikà, ou dé tà 'Ellhnikà, òpòteros
3 ãn èn toûtous krateî kai ìmeinion paràskhtai
tòuì filous, autòs te nevnikèkìs èstai kai tìn
autòù anakhrúgei, kalìstovn àngòva kai, sevmó-
tatovn àngwviasmenos. òs èghwe polû òndion ìn

1 dihyména Coraës: dihyména MSS.
2 ð' òwn Dindorf: yovn MSS.
3 'Ellhnikà, kai òpòteros MSS. Bekker's excision of kai

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the stage and exhibit them to you, you bestow praise and applause, yes, even tears upon them, most of you, when they face danger for each other’s sake; yet you yourselves dare not come out with any praiseworthy deed for the sake of your friends. On the contrary, if a friend happens to stand in need of anything, those many tragic histories take wing and vanish from your path on the instant, like dreams, and leave you looking like those empty, silent masks which, for all their open mouths, widely agape, do not utter even the slightest sound. We are your opposites; for we have as much the better of you in praetising friendship as we fall short of you in talking about it.

If you like, then, let us do this; let us leave the friends of former times to rest in peace, whomsoever, I mean, of the ancients either we or you are able to enumerate; for there, to be sure, you would outdo us by citing many trustworthy witnesses, your poets, who have rehearsed in the most beautiful of epic lines and lyric verses the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus and the comradeship of Theseus, Peirithous, and all the rest. Instead, let us take up just a few of our own contemporaries and recount their deeds, I for the Scythian side, you for the Greek; then whichever of us wins in this by bringing out better examples of friendship shall not only be adjudged victor himself but shall be allowed to name his country in the proclamation, inasmuch as he will have taken part in a right glorious and noble contest. For my own part, I think I would
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μοι δοκῶ μονομαχῶν ἦττηθεὶς ἀποτμηθῆναι τὴν δεξιὰν, ὅπερ ἦττης 1 Σκυθικῆς ἐπιτίμιον ἔστων; ἡ χεῖρῶν ἄλλον κατὰ φιλίαν κεκρίσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνως, Σκύθης αὐτὸς ἄεν.

ΜΝΗΕΙΠΠΟΣ

11 Ἕστων μὲν, ὥς Τόξαρι, οὗ φαίλου τὸ ἔργον ἀνδρὶ οὐφ σοὶ πολεμιστὴ μονομαχήσαι, πάνω εὐστόχους καὶ τεθηγμένους παρεσκευασμένω τοὺς λόγους. οὗ μὴν ἀγενῶς γε οὐτῶς καταπροδοὺς ἐν βραχεὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπαν ὑποχωρήσομαι σοι καί γὰρ ἢν εἰπ πάντειν ὑπὸ δυὸν μὲν ἐκείνων ἦττηθήναι τοσούτους τῶν Σκυθῶν ὁπόσους οἳ τε μῦθοι δηλοῦσι καὶ οἰ ύμετέραι παλαιαί γραφαὶ, ἀς μικρῷ πρὸσθεν εὐ μάλα ἐξετραγῶθησας, Ἑλλήνας δὲ πάντας, τοσαῦτα ἔθνη καὶ τοσαῦτας πόλεις, ἐρήμην ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀλῶναι. εἰ γὰρ τούτω γένοιτο, οὗ τὴν δεξιὰν ὅσπερ ύμεῖς ἄλλα τὴν γλώτταν ἀποτμηθήσαι καλὸν. πότερον δὲ ὡρίσθαι χρῆ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἡμῖν τῶν φιλικῶν τούτων πράξεων, ἡ ὁπόσῳ ἀν τις πλείους ἔχῃ λέγειν, τοσούτω εὐπορώτερος ἄν δόξειν πρὸς τὴν νίκην;

ΤΟΧΑΡΙΣ

Οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ὃρίσθω μὴ ἐν τῷ πλήθει αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος, ἀλλ' εἰ ἀμείνους καὶ τομῷτεραι φαινοῦντο αἰ σαὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὕσι, καιρῷ τερα δῆλον ὅτι ἐργάσονται μοι τραύματα 2 καὶ θάττουν ἐνδώσων πρὸς τὰς πληγάς.

1 ἦττης Bekker: τῆς MSS.
2 τὰ τραύματα N.
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

much rather be defeated in single combat and have my right hand cut off, which is the penalty for defeat in Scythia, than to be pronounced inferior to anyone else in the matter of friendship, and above all to a Greek, when I am myself a Scythian.

MNESIPPUS

It is no mean undertaking, Toxaris, to engage in single combat with a man-at-arms like yourself, equipped with very accurate and well-sharpened shafts of speech. Nevertheless, I shall not so ignobly betray of a sudden the whole Greek cause as to yield you the field. It would be shocking if, when they two defeated as many Scythians as are indicated by the stories and by those ancient paintings in your country which you described with such histrionic expressiveness a little while ago, all the Greeks, including so many peoples and so many cities, should lose by default to you alone. If that should take place, it would be fitting for me to be docked, not of my right hand, as your people are, but of my tongue. But ought we to set ourselves a limit to the number of these exploits of friendship, or should we hold that the more of them a man can tell, the better off he is as regards the victory?

TOXARIS

By no means; let us prescribe that the victory does not in this case reside with the greater numbers. No, if yours turn out to be better and more telling than mine, though equal in number, they will obviously inflict more serious wounds upon me and I shall succumb to your blows more quickly.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὑλεγεις, και ὄρισθωσαν ὅπόσαι ἵκαναί. πέντε ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἔκατέρῳ. 1

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Κάμοι δοκεῖ, πρότερος δὲ λέγε, ἀλλ' ἐπομο- σάμενος ἐ μὴν ἀληθῆ ἑρεῖν: ἀλλως γὰρ ἀνα- πλάττειν 2 τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ πάνυ χαλέπτων καὶ ὁ ἐλεγχὸς ἀφανῆς, εἰ δὲ ὀμόσειας, οὐχ ὀσοῦν ἀπιστεῖν.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

''Ομούμεθα, εἰ τὶ καὶ ὅρκου δεῖν νομίζεις, τίς δὲ σοι τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν ἄρ' ἵκανός; ο Φίλιος:

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Καὶ μάλα: ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὁμοῦμαι σοι ἐν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ λόγῳ.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

12 Ἴστω τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος, ἢ μὴν ὄπόσα ἀν λέγω πρὸς σὲ ἡ αὐτὸς εἶδὼς ἢ παρ' ἀλλων ὄπόσον οἶδον τε ἡν δὲ ἀκριβείας ἐκπυνδανόμενος ἑρεῖν, μηδὲν παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπιτραγῳδῶν. καὶ πρῶτην γε σοι τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους καὶ Δευτίον φιλᾶν διηγήσομαι, ἀοίδιμον ἐν τοῖς ἰωσὶ γενομένην.

"Ἀγαθοκλῆς γὰρ οὗτος ὁ Σάμιος οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐγένετο, ἀριστος μὲν πρὸς φιλᾶν, ὡς ἐδείξεν, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀμείνων Σαμίων τῶν πολλῶν οὗτε ἐσ τὸ γένος οὗτε ἐσ τὴν ἄλλην περιουσίαν. Δευτίον.

1 ἔκατέρῳ Ν: ἔκατέρως ΓΜΒΚ,
2 ἀναπλάττειν Harmon: ἄν πράττειν MSS. (ἀν omitted in A), plάττειν odd.
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

MNESIPPUS
You are right, so let us settle how many will do. Five, I should think, for each.

TOXARIS
I think so too; and you may speak first, after taking oath that you will assuredly tell the truth. Merely to make up such tales is not at all hard, and there is no obvious means of disproof. But if you should take your oath, it would not be right to disbelieve you.

MNESIPPUS
We shall do so, if you really think an oath is at all essential. But which of our gods will satisfy you? Zeus Philios?

TOXARIS
Yes indeed; and I will take the oath of my own country for you when I myself speak.

MNESIPPUS
Well then, as Zeus Philios is my witness, I solemnly swear that whatever I shall tell you I will say either from my own knowledge or from information obtained of others with all the accuracy that was possible, without contributing any dramaturgy on my own part. And the first friendship of which I shall give you an account is that of Agathocles and Deinias, which has become far-famed among the Ionians.
Agathocles of Samos, to whom I refer, lived not long ago, and was peerless in friendship, as he proved, but otherwise not at all superior to the general run of Samians either in family or in means.
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δὲ τῷ Δύσωνος Ἐφεσίων φίλος ἐκ παιδών ἦν. δὲ Δευτιας ἔπλουτε ἀρα εἰς ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς νεόπλουτον ὄντα, πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους εἰχε περὶ έαυτόν, ίκανοὺς μὲν συμπειν καὶ πρὸς ἱδονὴν συνειναι, φιλίας δὲ πλείστων ὅσον ἀποδέοντας.

Τέως μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις καὶ ο Ἅγαθοκλῆς ἐξητάζετο, καὶ συνὴν καὶ συνείπων αὐτὸς οὐ πάνυ χαίρων τῇ τοιαύτῃ διατρῆθη, καὶ ο Δευτιας οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐντιμότερον εἰχεν τῶν κολάκων. τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ προσέκρουε τὰ πολλὰ ἐπιτιμῶν, καὶ φορτικὸς ἐδόκει ὑπομιμνήσκων αἰτί τῶν προγόνων καὶ φυλάττειν παραγγέλλων ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν καμάτων ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶ κητασκόνος κατέλυπεν, ὃς τε διὰ ταύτα οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς κάμους ἀπήγγει ἐτι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ μόνος μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐκώμαζε, λανθάνειν πειρώμενοι τὸν Ἅγαθοκλέα.

13 Καὶ δὴ ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν κολάκων ἐκείνων ὁ ἄθλιος ἀναπείθεται ὡς ἐρφή αὐτοῦ Χαρίκλεια Δημώνακτος γυνή, ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πρώτου Ἐφεσίων τὰ πολιτικά· καὶ γραμματεῖα τε εἰσεφότα παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῶ καὶ στέφανοι ἡμιμαραντοί καὶ μηλά τινα ἀποδεδηγμένα καὶ ἀλλὰ ὁπόσα αἱ μαστροποί ἐπὶ τοὺς νέους μηχανῶνται, κατά μικρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεχνῶμεναι τοὺς ἐρωτας καὶ ἀναφλέγουσι τὸ πρότον ἐρᾶσθαι νομίζοντας (ἐπαγωγότατον γὰρ τούτο γε, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς καλοῖς εἶναι οἰομένοις), ἀχρὶ ἃν λάθωσιν εἰς τὰ δίκτυα ἐμπεσόντες.

Ἡ Χαρίκλεια δὲ ἦν ἀστειον μὲν τι γυναιον,

1 Δύσωνος A: Δυσώνος ΙΝΒ. In § 15 all but Ν read Δύσωνος.
2 τοῖς νέοις ἐπιμηχανῶνται (C)A. But cf. ἐπὶ τούτῳ μεμχανηθαί, Dial. Mer., 4, 2.

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He and Deinias, the son of Lyson, of Ephesus, were friends from their boyhood. But Deinias turned out to be enormously rich; and as was natural in one whose wealth was new, he had many others about him who were well enough as boon companions and agreeable associates, but as far as could be from friends.

Well, for a time Agathocles was put to the test among them, associating with them and drinking with them, though he took little pleasure in that kind of pastime; and Deinias held him in no higher esteem than his toadies. But at length Agathocles began to give offence by rebuking him frequently, and came to be considered a nuisance by reminding him always of his ancestors and admonishing him to keep what his father had acquired with much labour and left to him. Consequently Deinias no longer even took him along when he caroused about the town, but used to go alone with those others, trying to escape the eye of Agathocles.

In course of time those flatterers persuaded the poor fellow that Charicleia was in love with him. She was the wife of Demonax, a distinguished man, foremost among the Ephesians in public affairs. Notes from the woman kept coming into his house; also, half-faded wreaths, apples with a piece bitten out, and every other contrivance with which go-betweens lay siege to young men, gradually working up their love-affairs for them and inflaming them at the start with the thought that they are adored (for this is extremely seductive, especially to those who think themselves handsome), until they fall unawares into the net.

Charicleia was a dainty piece of femininity, but
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έταιρικόν δὲ ἐκτόπως καὶ τοῦ προστυχόντος ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰ πάνυ ἐπ’ ὀλίγῳ ἐθελήσειε τις· καὶ εἰ προσίδοι τις μόνον, εὔθυς ἐπένευε, καὶ δέος οὐδὲν ἦ μὴ πη¹ ἀντείποι Χαρίκλεια. δεινὴ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ τεχνίτις παρ’ ἤντινα βούλει τῶν ἐταιρῶν ἐπισπάσασθαι ἔραστὴν καὶ ἀμφίβολον ἔτι δεύτερον ὑποποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐνεχόμενον ἦδη ἐπιτείναι καὶ προσεκαῦσαι ἅρτι μὲν ὅργῃ, ἅρτι δὲ κολακεία, καὶ μετὰ μικρῶν ὑπερομίας καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄτερον ἀποκλίνειν δοκεῖν, καὶ ὁλη τυνεκεκρότητο ἀπαντὰχόδεν ἡ γνη καὶ πολλὰ μηχανήματα παρεσκεύαστο κατὰ τῶν ἔραστῶν.

14 Ταύτην οὖν τότε οἱ Νευίου κόλακες παραλαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπεκωμάδουν, συνωθοῦντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἐρωτα τῆς Χαρίκλειας. ἡ δὲ πολλοὺς ἦδη νέους ἐκτραχῆλίσασα καὶ μυρίους ἔρωτας ὑποκρυμμένη καὶ ὁικοὺς πολυταλάντους ἀνατρέψασα, ποικίλον τι καὶ πολυγυμναστὸν κακὸν, παραλαβοῦσα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπλοῖκον καὶ ἀπειροῦν τῶν τοιούτων μηχανημάτων νεανίσκον οὐκ ἄνθηκεν ἐκ τῶν ὀνόμων, ἀλλὰ περιέχουσα πανταχόθεν καὶ διαπείρασα, ὅτε ἦδη παντάπασιν ἐκράτει, αὐτὴ τε ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ τῷ κακοδαίμονι Νευία μυρίων κακῶν αἰεί ἐγένετο.

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον εὐθὺς ἔκεινα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καθεὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα, συνεχῶς ³ πεμπομένη τὴν ἄβραν, ὡς ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπηγρύπνησε καὶ τέλος ὡς

¹ μὴ πη Γ¹Β²: μὴ ποι Γ² (οἱ in erasure) B¹N; μὴ τι C, edd. Cf. Lexiph., 11.
² καὶ Γ¹NB: not in A.

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outrageously meretricious, giving herself to anyone who happened to meet her, even if he should want her at very little cost; if you but looked at her, she nodded at once, and there was no fear that Charicleia might perhaps be reluctant. She was clever too, in every way, and an artist comparable with any courtesan you please at alluring a lover, bringing him into complete subjection when he was still of two minds, and when at last he was in her toils working him up and fanning his flame, now by anger, now by flattery, soon by scorn and by pretending to have an inclination for someone else. She was every bit of her thoroughly sophisticated, that woman, and plentifully armed with siege-engines to train upon her lovers.

This, then, was the ally whom Deinias’ toadies at that time enlisted against the boy, and they constantly played up to her lead, unitedly thrusting him into the affair with Charicleia. And she, who already had given many young fellows a bad fall, who, times without number, had played at being in love, who had ruined vast estates, versatile and thoroughly practised mischief-maker that she was—once she got into her clutches a simple youngster who had no experience of such enginery, she would not let him out of her talons but encompassed him all round about and pierced him through and through, until, when at last she had him wholly in her power, she not only lost her own life through her quarry but caused poor Deinias misfortunes without end.

From the very first she kept baiting him with those notes, sending her maid continually, making out that she had cried, that she had lain awake,

3 αυνεχῶς Ν: καὶ αυνεχῶς Ί, vulg.
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ἀπάγξει ἐαυτὴν ἡ ἀθλία ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἦς δὴ ὁ μακάριος ἐπείσθη καλὸς εἶναι καὶ ταῖς Ἐφεσίων γυναιξὶ περιπόθητος, καὶ ποι συνηνέχθη πολλὰ
15 ἰκετεύεις. τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἢδη βᾶον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀλώσεσθαι ἐμελλεν ὑπὸ γυναῖκὸς καλῆς καὶ πρὸς ἤδονήν τε ὁμιλήσαι ἐπισταμένης καὶ ἐν καρφῷ ἀκρυσαι καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐλεεινῶς ύποστενάξαι καὶ ἀπίνοτος ἢδη λαβέσθαι καὶ εἰσελθόντι προσδραμεῖν καὶ καλλωπίζεσθαι ὡς ἀν μάλιστα ἄρέσειε, καὶ ποι καὶ ἄνοι καὶ κιθάρισαι.

Οἰς ἀπασι κατὰ τὸν Δεινίον ἑκέχρητο, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἥσθετο ποιηρὸς ἔχοντα καὶ διάβροχον ἢδη τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ τακερὸν γεγενημένου, ἄλλο ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπενόει καὶ τὸν ἄθλιον ἀπώλιυς. κύριων τε γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ σκῆπτεται —ἰκανὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο βλάκα ἐραστὴν προσεκτυρώσαι—καὶ οὐκέτι ἐφοίτη πρὸς αὐτὸν, φυλάττεσθαι ὑπὸ τάνδρος λέγουσα πεπυσμένου τὸν ἔρωτα.

Ὁ δὲ οὐκέτι οἶδος τε ἦν φέρειν τὸ πράγμα, οὐδὲ ἤνείχετο μὴ ὁρῶν αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ ἔδακρυ καὶ τοὺς κόλακας εἰσέπεμπεν καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς Χαρικλείας ἑπεβοάτο καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περιβαλὼν αὐτῆς—ἐπεποίητο δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ—ἐκώκυς, καὶ τέλος καταβαλὼν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τοῦδαφος ἐκυλίνδετο καὶ λύττα ἦν ἀκριβῆς τὸ πράγμα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ δῶρα οὐ κατὰ μῆλα καὶ στεφάνους ἀντεδίδοτο αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ συνοικία ὅλαι καὶ ἄγροι καὶ θεραπαναι καὶ ἐσθήτες εὐανθεῖς καὶ χρυσῶν ὑπόσον ἐθελήσειε. 1

1 ἐθελήσειε Α: ἐθελήσει ΓΝΒΜ.
and at last that she would hang herself for love, poor girl, until the blessed simpleton became convinced that he was handsome and adored by the women of Ephesus, and of course made a rendezvous after many entreaties. After that, naturally, it was bound to be an easy matter for him to be captured by a beautiful woman, who knew how to please him with her company, to weep on occasion, to sigh piteously in the midst of her conversation, to lay hold of him when he was at last going away, to run up to him when he came in, to adorn herself in the way that would best please him, and of course to sing and to strum the lyre.

All this she had brought into play against Deinias; and then, when she discerned that he was in a bad way, having by that time become thoroughly permeated with love and pliable, she employed another artifice to complete the poor boy's undoing. She pretended to be with child by him (this too is an effective way to fire a sluggish lover); moreover, she discontinued her visits to him, saying that she was kept in by her husband, who had found out about their affair.

Deinias was now unable to bear the situation and could not endure not seeing her. He wept, he sent his toadies, he called upon the name of Charicleia, he embraced her statue (having had one of marble made for him), he wailed; at last he flung himself on the ground and rolled about, and his condition was absolute insanity. Naturally, the gifts which he exchanged for hers were not on a par with apples and wreaths, but whole apartment-houses, farms, and serving-women, gay clothing, and all the gold that she wanted.
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Καὶ τὶ γάρ; ἐν βραχεὶ ὁ Λύσωνος οἶκος, ὁνομάστοτατος τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ γενόμενος, ἐξήντητο 16 ἥδη καὶ ἐξεκεκένωτο. ἔτα, ὡς ἦδη ἄδος ἤν, ἀπολυποῦσα αὐτὸν ἄλλον τινὰ Κρήτα νεανίσκον τῶν ὑποχώσων ἑθῆρα καὶ μετέβαινεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἦρα ἦδη αὐτοῦ, κάκεινος ἐπίστευεν.

'Αμελούμενος οὖν ὁ Δευνίας οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς Χαρικλείας μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κολάκων (κάκεινοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Κρήτα ἦδη τὸν ἐρώμενον μετελήλυθεσαν) ἔρχεται παρὰ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα καὶ πάλαι εἰδότα ὡς ἔχοι πονηρῶς τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ, καὶ αἰδούμενος τὸ πρῶτον ὦμος διηγεῖτο πάντα—τὸν ἔρωτα, τὴν ἀπορίαν, τὴν ὑπερφιάν τῆς γυναικὸς, τὸν ἀντεραστήν τὸν Κρήτα, καὶ τέλος ὡς οὐ βιώσεται μὴ οὖχι συνών τῇ Χαρικλείᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκαίρων εἶναι νομίσας ἐν τούτῳ ἀπομνημονεύειν τῷ Δευνίᾳ διότι οὐ προσίτεο μόνον αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων ἄλλα τοὺς κόλακας αὐτοῦ προετοιμασάτος, ἦν μόνον εἶχεν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν ἐν Σάμῳ ἀπεμπολήσας ἤκεν αὐτῷ τὴν τιμήν κομίζων, τρία τάλαντα.

Ἀλλών δὲ ὁ Δευνίας οὐκ ἀφανῆς εὔθυς ἢν τῇ Χαρικλείᾳ καλὸς ποθεὶν αὐθις γεγενημένος, καὶ αὐθις ἢ ἅβρα καὶ τὰ γραμματεία, καὶ μέμψη ὅτι μὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἀφίκετο, καὶ οἱ κόλακες συνέθεον ἐπικαλαμησόμενοι, ὠρὼντες ἐδώδιμον 17 ἐτὶ οὕτα τὸν Δευνία. ὃς δὲ ὑπεσχετὸ ἦξειν παρ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἰκε περὶ πρῶτον ὑπνὸν καὶ ἐνδοῦ ἢν, ὁ Δημώνας, ὁ τῆς Χαρικλείας ἀνήρ, εἶτε ἄλλως αἰσθόμενος εἶτε καὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος τῆς γυναικὸς

1 συνθήματος Β: συνθέματος Γ: συνθήκης Ν.
Why make a long story of it? In a trice the estate of Lyson, which had been the most famous in Ionia, was completely pumped out and exhausted. And then, when at last he was drained dry, she left him, pursued another gilded youth from Crete, and went over to him; now she loved him, and he put faith in it.

Neglected not only by Charicleia but by the toadies, for they too had now gone over to the Cretan whom she loved, Deinias sought out Agathocles, who had long known that things were going badly with him. Though overcome with shame at first, nevertheless he told the whole story—his passion, his desperate straits, the woman’s disregard, the Cretan rival—and in conclusion said that he would not remain alive if he could not have Charicleia. Agathocles thought it unseasonable at that moment to remind Deinias that he used never to be glad to see him, and him only, of all his friends, but used always to give preference to his toadies in those days. So he sold all that he had, the house that he had inherited in Samos, and came back bringing him the price, three talents.

When Deinias received this, it was at once patent to Charicleia that in some way he had once more become handsome. Again the maid, and the notes, and reproof because he had not come for a long while; and the toadies came running up to dangle a line for him, seeing that Deinias was still good for a meal. But when he had promised to come to her, had actually come, in the early hours of the night, and was inside the house, Demonax, the husband of Charicleia, whether through accidental detection of him or through arrangement with his wife—both
(Άμφω γὰρ λέγεται) ἐπαναστᾶς ὅσπερ ἐκ λόχου τὴν τε αὑλειον ἀποκλείειν ἐκελευν καὶ συλλαμβάνει τὸν Δευίαν, πῦρ καὶ μάστιγας ἀπειλῶν καὶ ξίφος ὡς ἐπὶ μοιχὸν σπασάμενος.

'Ὁ δὲ συνιδὼν οὐ κακῶν ἢν, μοχλὸν των πλησίων κείμενον ἀρπάσας αὐτὸν τε ἀποκτείνει τὸν Δημῶνακτα, πατάξας εἰς τὸν κρόταφον, καὶ τὴν Χαρίκλειαν, οὐ μᾶς πληγῇ ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μοχλῷ πολλάκις καὶ τῷ ξίφει τοῦ Δημῶνακτος ύστερον, οὶ δ' οἰκεῖαι τέως μὲν ἐστήκεσαν ἁφωνοι, τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκπεπληγμένοι, εἰτὰ πειρώμενοι συλλαμβάνειν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπήθει μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους, ἐκείνου μὲν ἐφευγον, ὁ Δευίας δὲ ύπεξέρχεται τηλικοῦτον ἔργων εἰργασμένος.

Καὶ τὸ μέχρι τῆς ἔως παρὰ τῷ Ἀγαθοκλῆι διέτριβεν, ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οἱ τι άποβήσεται σκοποῦντες ἔωθεν δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρῆσαν—Ἡδὴ γὰρ τὸ πράγμα διεβεβότητο—καὶ συλλαβόντες τὸν Δευίαν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν έξαρνον ὅτα μὴ οὐχὶ πεφονευκέναι, ἀπάγουσι παρὰ τὸν ἀρμοστὴν δὲ ήρμοζε τὴν Ἀσίαν τότε. δὲ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀναπέμπει αὐτὸν καὶ μετ' οὖ πολὺ κατεπέμφθη δ ὁ Δευίας εἰς Γυραρόν νῆσον τῶν Κυκλάδων, ἐν ταύτῃ φεύγειν εἰς ἀεὶ τεταγμένοι ὑπὸ βασιλέως.

18 ὁ δὲ Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ τάλλα μὲν συνὴν καὶ συναπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ συνευηλθέν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον μόνος τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνεδέχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ήδη ἐφευγεν ὁ Δευίας, οὐδὲ τότε ἀπελείφθη τοῦ ἑταίρου, καταδικάσας δὲ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ διέτριβεν ἐν Γυράρῳ καὶ συνέφυγεν.

1 ύπεξέρχεται NB: ύπέρχεται ΡC, εξέρχεται Μ.
stories are told—springing out upon him as if from ambush, gave orders to lock the outer door and to seize Deinias, threatening him with burning and scourging and coming at him with drawn sword, as an adulterer.

Perceiving what a calamitous situation he was in, Deinias seized a bar that lay near and killed not only Demonax himself, striking him on the temple, but also Charicleia, not with one blow in her case, but by striking her first with the bar again and again and afterwards with the sword of Demonax. The servants stood speechless in the meantime, dazed by the suddenness of the thing; then they tried to seize him, but when he made at them too with the sword, they fled, and Deinias made good his escape in spite of his monstrous deed.

The time that remained until dawn he spent with Agathocles in going over all that had happened and considering what would come of it in future. At dawn the magistrates appeared, for by then the thing had been noised abroad; they arrested Deinias, who himself did not deny that he had committed the murders, and brought him before the governor who then administered Asia. He sent him to the Emperor, and before long Deinias was committed to the island of Gyaros, one of the Cyclades, condemned by the Emperor to live there in perpetual exile.

Agathocles alone of all his friends kept with him, sailed with him to Italy, went to the trial with him, and failed him in nothing. Moreover, when at length Deinias went into exile, he did not desert his comrade even then, but of his own accord sentenced himself to live in Gyaros and share his exile; and
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αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ παντάπασιν ἦτορον τῶν ἀναγκαίων, παραδοὺς ἐαυτὸν τοῖς πορφυρεῖσι συγκατεδύετο καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ τούτου ἀποφέρων ἔτρεφε τὸν Δεινίαν καὶ νοσήμαν τα τε ἐπὶ μήκιστον θεράπευσε καὶ ἀποθανόντος οὐκετί ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἥθελησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔμεινεν αὐσχυνόμενος καὶ τεθνεῖτα ἄπολυτοι τῶν φίλον.

Τούτῳ σοι ἔργον φίλου Ἠλληνος οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γενόμενοι ἐτή γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ πέντε ἦδη διελήλυθεν ἀφ' οὗ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐν Γυάρῳ ἀπέθανεν.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Καὶ εἰδε γε, ὦ Μνήσιππε, ἀνώμοτος ὑιν ταῦτα ἔλεγες, ἵνα καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἂν ἐδυνάμην αὐτοῖς: οὔτω Σκυθικὸν τινα φίλον τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα τοῦτον διηνήσω, πλὴν οὐ ¹ δέδια μὴ τινα καὶ ἄλλον ὁμοιον εἰπης αὐτῷ.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

19 Ἀκούε τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι, ὦ Τόξαρι, Εὐθύδικον τὸν Χαλκιδέα. διηγεῖτο δὲ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ Σιμύλος ὁ ναύκληρος ὁ Μεγαρίκος, ἐπομοσάμενος ἢ μὴν αὐτὸς ἐωρακέναι τὸ ἔργον. πλεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας Ἀθήνας περὶ δύσιν Πλειάδος συλλογισμοῦς τυνὰς ἄνθρωπος κομίζων, ἐν δὲ τοῦτοι εἶναι τὸν Εὐθύδικον καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Δάμωνα, Χαλκιδέα καὶ τοῦτον, ἐταίρον αὐτοῦ· ἠλικιώτας δὲ εἶναι, τὸν μὲν Εὐθύδικον ἐρρωμένον καὶ καρτέρον, τὸν δὲ Δάμωνα ὑπωχρόν καὶ ἀσθενικόν, ἀρτι εἴ νόσου μακρᾶς, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἀνιστάμενον.

¹ οὗ Bekker: οὖν B. Not in other MSS.
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when they were completely in want of necessities, he joined the purple-fishers, dived with them, brought home what he earned by this, and so supported Deinias. Besides, when the latter fell ill, he took care of him for a very long time, and when he died, did not care to return again to his own country, but remained there in the island, ashamed to desert his friend even after his death.

There you have the deed of a Greek friend which took place not long ago; I hardly think five years have passed since Agathocles died in Gyaros.

TOXARIS

I do wish, Mnesippus, you had told this story without taking an oath, so that I might have been able to disbelieve it, for this Agathocles whom you have described is very much of a Scythian friend. However, I have no fear that you will be able to name any other like him.

MNESIPPUS

Listen then, Toxaris, to the tale of another, Euthydicus of Chalcis. It was repeated to me by Simylus, the sea-captain of Megara, who took his solemn oath that he himself had seen the deed. He said that he was making a voyage from Italy to Athens at about the season of the setting of the Pleiades, carrying a miscellaneous collection of passengers, among whom was Euthydicus, and with him Damon, also of Chalcis, his comrade. They were of the same age, but Euthydicus was vigorous and strong, while Damon was pale and sickly, just convalescing, it seemed, from a prolonged illness.
"Αχρι μὲν οὖν Σικελίας εὕτυχῶς διαπλεύσαν ἔφη ο Σεμύλος σφᾶς· ἐπεί δὲ τὸν πορθμὸν διαπεράσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἦδη τῷ Ἰονίῳ ἔπλεον, χειμῶνα μέγιστον ἐπιπεσείν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί ἂν τις λέγοι, τρικυμίας τινὰς καὶ στροβίλους καὶ χαλάζας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα χειμῶνος κακά; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦδη σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν Ζάκυνθον εἶναι ἀπὸ ψιλῆς τῆς κεραίας πλέοντας, ἔτι καὶ σπείρας τινὰς ἐπισυρμένους, ὡς τὸ ρόθιον ἐπιδέχεσθαι τῆς ὀρμῆς, περὶ μέσας νύκτας οἶον ἐν τοσοῦτο σάλῳ ναυτιάσαντα τὸν Δάμωνα ἑμεῖν ἐκκεκυφότα 1 ἐς τὴν βάλασαν· ἔτι, οἴμαι, τῆς νεώς βιαωτέρον ἐς ὁ ἐκέκυφει μέρος ἐπικλίθεσθαι καὶ τοῦ κύματος συναπώσαντος, ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὐδὲ γυμνὸν τὸν ἄθλιον,2 ὡς ἂν καὶ βάζον δύνασθαι νεῖν. εὐθὺς οὖν βοάν πυγόμενον καὶ μόγις έαυτὸν ὑπέρεχοντα τοῦ κλύδωνος.

20 Τὸν δὲ Εὔθυδικον, ὡς ἥκουσε—τυχεῖν δὲ γυμνὸν ἐν τῇ εὐνὴ οὖντα—ῥύσαι έαυτὸν ἐς τὴν βάλασαν καὶ καταλαβόντα τὸν Δάμωνα ἢδη ἀπαγορεύοντα—φαίνεσθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ταῦτα τῆς σελήνης καταλαμπούσας—συμπαρανῆχεσθαι καὶ συγκουφίζειν, σφᾶς δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν καὶ ἑλεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ, μεγάλω τῷ πνεύματι ἑλαυνομένους. πλὴν ἐκεῖνα γε ποιῆσαι, φελλοῦς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς ἀφεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τινῶς, ὡς ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπονήξιον, εἰ τινὶ αὐτῶν περιτύχοιες, καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν αὐτὴν οὐ μικρῶς οὐδαν.

1 ἐκκεκυφότα Harmon: εὐ ἐγκεκυφότα Γ, ἐγκεκυφότα other MSS.
2 τὸν ἄθλιον: only N has the article.
As far as Sicily they had made a fortunate passage, said Simylus; but when they had run through the straits and in due time were sailing in the Adriatic itself, a great tempest fell upon them. Why repeat the many details of his story—huge seas, cyclones, hail, and all the other evils of a storm? But when they were at last abreast of Zacynthos, sailing with the yard bare, and also dragging hawsers in their wake to check the fury of their driving, towards midnight Damon became seasick, as was natural in weather so rough, and began to vomit, leaning outboard. Then, I suppose because the ship was hove down with greater force towards the side over which he was leaning and the high sea contributed a send, he fell overboard head-first; and the poor fellow was not even without his clothes, so as to have been able to swim more easily. So he began at once to call for help, choking and barely able to keep himself above the water.

When Euthydicus, who happened to be undressed and in his bunk, heard him, he flung himself into the sea, got to Damon, who was already giving out (all this was visible at a long distance because the moon was shining) and helped him by swimming beside him and bearing him up. The rest of them, he said, wanted to aid the men and deplored their misfortune, but could not do it because the wind that drove them was too strong; however, they did at least something, for they threw them a number of pieces of cork and some spars, on which they might swim if they chanced upon any of them, and finally even the gang plank, which was not small.

1 Zante.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Ἐννόησον τοῖνυν πρὸς θεῶν ἦντινα ἂν τις ἄλλην ἐπίδειξιν ἐπιδείξατο εὐνοίας βεβαιοτέραν πρὸς ἄνδρα φίλον ἐν νυκτὶ ἐκπεσόντα εἰς πέλαγος οὕτως ἠγιμαμένων ἡ κοινωνήσας τοῦ θανάτου; καὶ μου ἐπ' ὀφθαλμῶν λαβὲ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν τῶν κυμάτων, τὸν ἤχον τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπικλωμένου, τὸν ἀφρὸν περιζέουτα, τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν, εἰτὰ ἀποπνυγμένον ἐκεῖνον καὶ μόγις ἀνακύπτοντα καὶ τὰς χειρᾶς ὀρέγοντα τῷ ἑταίρῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐπιπηδῶντα εὐθὺς καὶ συννέοντα καὶ δεδίότα μὴ προαπόληται 1 αὐτοῦ ὁ Δάμων. οὕτω γὰρ ἄν μάθουσι ὡς οὐκ ἀγεννηθεὶς οὐ καὶ τοῖτον φίλον τὸν Εὐθύδικον διηγησάμην.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

21 Πότερον δὲ ἀπόλυσαν, ὥς Μνήσιππε, οἱ ἄνδρες, ἡ τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ παραλόγου σωτηρία ἐγένετο; ὡς ἔγγυην οὐ μετρίως δέδουκα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Θάρρει, ὥς Τόξαρι, ἐσώθησαν, καὶ ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν εἰσιν Ἀθήνησιν ἄμφως ϕιλοσοφοῦντες. ὅ μὲν γὰρ Σιμύλος ταῦτα μόνα εἶχε λέγειν ἃ ποτε εἶδε τῆς νυκτὸς, τὸν μὲν 2 ἐκπίπτοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐπιπηδῶντα καὶ νηχομένους ἐς δος ἐν νυκτὶ καθορὰν ἐδύνατο. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Εὐθῦδικον αὐτοὶ διηγοῦντα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον φελλοῖς τοὺς περιπεσόντας ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ τούτων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀπονήχεσθαι πονηρῶς, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἀποβάθραν ἱδόντας ἦδη πρὸς ἐως προσνήξασθαι τε αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιβάντας εὐμαρῶς προσενεχθῆναι τῇ Ζακύνθῳ.

1 προαπόληται vulg.: προαπολεῖται GNB.

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TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

Think now, in the name of the gods! what firmer proof of affection could a man display towards a friend who had fallen overboard at night into a sea so wild, than that of sharing his death? I beg you, envisage the tumult of the seas, the roar of the breaking water, the boiling spume, the night, the despair; then one man strangling, barely keeping up his head, holding his arms out to his friend, and the other leaping after him at once, swimming with him, fearing that Damon would perish first. In that way you can appreciate that in the case of Euthydicus too it is no common friend whom I have described.

TOXARIS

Did the men lose their lives, Mnesippus, or were they unaccountably saved, somehow? I am very concerned about them.

MNESIPPSUS

Never fear, Toxaris; they were saved and are now at Athens, both of them, studying philosophy. Simylus, to be sure, could only tell this tale about what he had once seen in the night—the one falling overboard, the other leaping after him, and both swimming as long as he could distinguish them in the darkness. But the sequel was told by Euthydicus himself. In the beginning they came upon some corks on which they supported themselves and kept afloat uncomfortably, but afterwards, seeing the gang plank at last, towards daybreak, they swam to it and then, after climbing upon it, easily drifted to Zacynthos.

\[^{a} \text{ τὸν μὲν N: not in \Gamma\nu(C)\nu.}\]

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22. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων οὐ φαύλους ὅντας, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἄν εἴποιμι, ἀκούσον ἦδη τρίτων ἀλλοι οὐδὲν τι χείρονα αὐτῶν.

Εὐδαμίδας Κορίνθιος 'Αρεταῖος τῷ Κορινθίῳ καὶ Χαρίζενω ¹ τῷ Σικυωνίῳ φίλοις ἐκέχρητο εὐπόροις οὕσι πενέστατος αὐτὸς ἄν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθνησκε, διαθήκας ἀπέλιπε τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἱσως γελοίους, ² σοὶ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ τοιαύτη δόξον ποιήσων ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ φιλίᾳ τιμῶντι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρωτεύων ἀμιλλωμένω: ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, "Ἀπολείπω Ἀρεταῖῳ μὲν τὴν μητέρα μου τρέψειν καὶ γνηροκομεῖν, Χαρίζενῳ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα μου ἐκδούναι μετὰ προικὸς ὑπόσθην ἃν πλεῖστην ἑπι- δοῦναι παρ' αὐτῶν δύνηται"—ἡν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ μήτηρ πρεσβύναι καὶ θυγάτριον ὄραιον ἢδη γάμου— "ἡν δὲ τι ἀτέροις αὐτῶν ἐν τοσοῦτοι πάθη, τὴν ἑκείνου μερίδα," φησίν, "ἐχέτω ὁ ἔτερος." τούτων ἀναγνωσθεισῶν τῶν διαθήκων οἱ τὴν πενίαν μὲν εἰδότες τοῖς Εὐδαμίδᾳ, τὴν φιλίαν δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἢν αὐτῷ ἀγνοοῦντες ἐν παιδίᾳ τὸ πράγμα ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οὐδέσι οὕτως οὐ γελῶν ἀπηλλάττετο, "Οἶον Ἀρεταῖος καὶ Χαρίζενος οἱ εὐδαίμονες κλήρον διαδέχονται," λέγοντες, "εἴπερ ἀποτίσουσιν Εὐδαμίδα καὶ ζῶντες αὐτὸι κληρονομή- σονται υπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ."  

23. Οἱ κληρονόμοι δὲ οὓς ταύτα κατελέειπτο, ὡς ἦκουσαν, ἦκον εὐθὺς διαιτῶντες τὰ ἐκ τῶν διαθήκων. ὦ μὲν οὖν Χαρίζενος πέντε μόνας ἡμέρας ἐπιβιοῦ ἁπέθανεν, ὡς Ἄρεταῖος ἀριστος κληρονόμων γενόμενος τὴν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν

¹ Χαρίζενω BN: Χαρίζενος Μ(Ο)Α. Similarly just below; but Χαρίζενος without variants further on, and in § 23.

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After these friends, who were by no means despicable, I should say, let me tell you now of a third who was not a bit inferior to them.

Eudamidas of Corinth had formed friendships with Aretaeus of Corinth and Charixenus of Sicyon, who were both rich, while he was extremely poor. When he died, he left a will which very likely appeared ridiculous to everyone else, but I hardly think it will seem so to you, since you are a good man, a worshipper of friendship, and a competitor for the first prize in it. It was set down in the will: "I leave to Aretaeus my mother to support and cherish in her old age, and to Charixenus my daughter to bestow in marriage with the largest dowry that he can give her out of his own means" (besides an aged mother he had also a daughter, already marriageable); "and if anything should befall either of these men in the meantime, his interest is to go to the other." When this will was read, all who knew of the poverty of Eudamidas but were unaware of the friendship which he had with the men considered the thing a joke, and every one of them went away laughing. "What a fine fortune Aretaeus and Charixenus, the lucky fellows, are coming into," said they, "if they must pay out money to Eudamidas and have the dead man inherit from them while they themselves are still alive!"

The heirs to whom these legacies had been left, on hearing of it, came at once to administer the will. Charixenus, to be sure, outlived his friend only five days; but Aretaeus proved himself the best of legatees. Assuming both his own interest and the

2 γελοίους ΡΝΒ: γελοίας ΣΑ.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐκείνου μερίδα παραλαβῶν τρέφει τε τοῦ Εὐδαμίδα τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκδεδωκεν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων πέντε ὅν εἶχεν δύο μὲν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρί, δύο δὲ τῇ τοῦ φίλου ἐπιδούσι, καὶ τὸν γάμον γε αὐταῖν ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἦξιωσε γενέσθαι.

Τί σοι δοκεῖ, ὥς Τόξαρι, ὁ Ἀρεταῖος οὗτος; ἄρα φαίλων παράδειγμα φιλίας παρεσχῆσθαι τοιαύτα κληρονομήσας καὶ μὴ προδοῦς τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ φίλου; ἦ τίθεμεν καὶ τούτον ἐν ταῖς τελείαις ψήφοις μίαν τῶν πέντε εἶναι;

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν καλὸς1 ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Εὐδαμίδαν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἑθαύμασα τοῦ θάρσους ὃ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλοις. ἐθήλου γὰρ ὡς καὶ αὐτός ἂν τὰ ὁμοιά ἐπραξέν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐν διαθήκαις ταύτα ἑνεγέραττο, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἦκεν ἂν ἀγραφός κληρονόμος τῶν τοιούτων.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

24 Ἐν λέγεις. τέταρτον δὲ σοι διηγήσομαι Ζηνόθεμων τῶν Χαρμόλεως 2 Μασσαλίηθεν.

'Εδείχθη δέ μοι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ προσβεθοῦντι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, καλὸς ἄνήρ καὶ μέγας καὶ πλούσιος, ὡς ἐδόκειν παρεκάθητο δὲ αὐτῶ γυνὴ ἐπὶ ζεύγους ὀδοιποροῦντι τά τε ἄλλα εἰδεχθῆς καὶ ἔγρα τὸ ἡμιον τὸ δεξιόν καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένην, παλλώβητον τι καὶ ἀπρόσιτον μορμολυκεῖον. εἶτα ἐπεὶ ἑθαύμασα εἰ καλὸς οὗτος καὶ ὦραῖος ὥσ παροχούμενην τοιαύτην αὐτῷ γυναῖκα,

1 καλῶς ΓΒ.
2 Χαρμόλεως Β: Χαρμόλεως Ν, Χαρμόλεου Γ(Σ)Α.

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other's, he supported Eudamidas' mother and also
not long ago portioned his daughter off, giving, out
of five talents that he had, dowries of two talents to
his own daughter and two to his friend's; moreover,
he thought fit that they should both be married on the
same day.

What is your opinion, Toxaris, of this man
Aretaeus? Has he set a bad example of friendship
in accepting such legacies and not playing false to his
his friend's last will? Or shall we put him down
among those definitely elected as one of the five?

TOXARIS

Yes, he too is noble; but to me Eudamidas is far
more wonderful for the confidence he had in his
friends. He made it plain that he himself would have
done likewise for them; indeed, he would not have
hung back if it had not been set down in a will, but
would have presented himself before all the rest as
an heir to such bequests by intestate succession.

MNESIPPOS

You are quite right.—As the fourth I shall tell you
of Zenothemis, son of Charmolaus, of Massilia.

He was pointed out to me in Italy when I was
there as an ambassador of my country, a handsome,
tall man, and a wealthy one, it seemed. His wife sat
beside him as he passed through the street on a
chariot; not only was she repulsive in general, but
her right side was shrivelled and the eye wanting—
a hideously disfigured, unapproachable nightmare.
Then, when I expressed my surprise that he, a
handsome and attractive man, could endure to have
such a woman riding at his side, the person who
ο δείχας αυτὸν διηγείτο μοι τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου ἀκριβῶς εἰπὼς ἑκαστά: Μασσαλιώτης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν.

"Μενεκράτει γάρ," ἐφη,"τῷ πατρὶ τῆς δυσμόρφου ταύτης φίλος ἦν ὁ Ζηνόθεμος, πλουτοῦντι καὶ τυμωμένῳ ὁμότιμος ἄν. χρόνω δὲ ὁ Μενεκράτης ἀφηρέθη τὴν οὐσίαν εἰκ καταδίκης, ὅτεπερ καὶ ἄτιμος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξακοσίων ὡς ἀποφηνάμενος γνώμην παράνομον. οὔτω δὲ οἱ Μασσαλιώται κολάζομεν," ἐφη, "εἰ τις παράνομα γράψειεν. ἐλυπεῖτο οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ, ἐπεὶ ἐκ πλούσιου πένης καὶ εἰς ἐνδόξου ἄδοξος ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐγένετο· μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἦν θυγάτηρ αὐτῆ, ἐπίγαμος ἦδη καὶ ὁκτωκαὶδεκαέτις οὔσα, ἦν οὔδε μετὰ πάσης τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς ἦν πρὸ τῆς καταδίκης ἐκέκτητο ἥξισεν ἁν τῖς τῶν γε εὐγενῶν καὶ πενήτων ῥαδύς παραλαβεῖν, οὔτως κακοδαίμονα οὔσαν τῇ ὁμοί. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ καταπίπτειν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην αὐξανομένην.

"Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ζηνόθεμον ἀπωδύρετο, 'Θάρρει,' ἐφη, 'ὡ Μενέκρατες, οὔτε γάρ ἀπορήσεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἡθυγάτηρ σοι άξιον τοῦ γένους τινα εὑρίσθει νυμφίον.' καὶ ταῦτα ἀμα διεξιῶν λαβόμενος αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἦγεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν τε οὐσίαν πολλὴν οὔσαν ἐνείματο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δείπνον παρασκευασθῆναι κελεύσας εἰσίτα τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸν Μενεκράτη, ὡς δή των ἐταίρων πεπεικώς ὑποστῆναι τῆς κόρης τὸν γάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεδείπνητο αὐτοῖς καὶ

1 καὶ ΓΒ. It is needed, for she was marriageable at an earlier age than eighteen.
2 εὐγενῶν Γ: ἄγενῶν B, vulg. (ἀγενῶν Ν).
had pointed him out told me what had made the marriage obligatory. He was accurately informed about it all, for he too was a Massaliote.

"Menecrates," he said, "the father of the misshapen woman yonder, had a friend, Zenothemis, who, like himself, was wealthy and distinguished. In course of time Menecrates had his property confiscated by judicial sentence, when he was disfranchised by the Six Hundred for presenting an unconstitutional measure. That," said he, "is the punishment we Massaliotes inflict whenever anyone proposes an unconstitutional enactment. Menecrates was distressed, of course, by the condemnation itself, since in a moment he had become poor instead of rich and dishonoured instead of honoured; but most of all he was worried about this daughter, who was then marriageable, and eighteen; but even with all the wealth which her father had possessed before his condemnation, no well-born man, though poor, would readily have agreed to accept her, so unfortunate was she in her appearance. It was said, too, that she had attacks of the falling sickness when the moon was waxing.

"When he was lamenting these misfortunes to Zenothemis, the latter said: 'Never fear, Menecrates; you shall not lack what you need, and your daughter will find a husband worthy of her lineage.' As he spoke, he grasped him by the hand, took him home, and shared his great wealth with him. Also, he ordered a dinner prepared and invited his friends, including Menecrates, to a wedding-feast, pretending to have persuaded one of his comrades to promise to marry the girl. When their dinner was over and
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έσπεισαν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐνταῦθα δὴ μεστὴν αὐτῶ τὴν φιάλην προτινας, 'Δέδεξο,' εἶπεν, 'Ὄ Μενέκρατες, παρὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ φιλοτησίαν ἀξομαί γὰρ ἐγώ τῆμερον τὴν σὴν θυγατέρα Κυδιμάχην τὴν προῖκα δὲ πάλαι εἰληφα, τάλαντα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι:' τοῦ δὲ, 'Ἀπαγε,' λέγοντος, 'μὴ σὺ γε, ὃ Ζηνόθεμι: μὴ οὕτω μανείν ως περιδεῖν σε νέον καὶ καλὸν ὡντα κόρη αἰσχρᾶ καὶ λεωβημένη συγκαταζευγνύμενον, ὦ δὲ, ταῦτα διεξίοντος, ἀράμενος τὴν νύμφην ἀπήει εἰς τὸν θάλαμον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον προῆλθεν διακορήσας αὐτὴν.

"Καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου σύνεστιν ὑπεραγαγὼν καὶ 26 πάντη ὡς ὅρᾶς περιαγόμενος αὐτὴν. καὶ οὐχ ὅπως αἰσχύνεται τῷ γάμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνονομένω ἔοικεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ως καταφρονεῖ μὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι καλῶν ἡ αἰσχρῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ δόξης, ἀφορᾷ δὲ ἐσ τὸν φίλου καὶ τὸν Μενεκράτη, οὐδὲ οἶεται χείρω πρὸς φιλίαν ύπὸ τῆς ψήφου τῶν ἐξακοσίων γεγονέναι.

"Πλὴν ἤδη γε τούτων οὕτως αὐτῶν ἡμείσιατο ἡ τύχη. παιδίον γὰρ πάγκαλον ἐκ τῆς αἰσχίστης αὐτῶ ταύτης ἐγένετο, καὶ πρῶην γε, ἐπεὶ ἀράμενος αὐτὸ εἰσεκόμισεν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον θαλλὼ ἐστεμμένον καὶ μέλανα ἀμπεχόμενον, ως ἐλεεινότερον φανείη ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάππου, τὸ μὲν βρέφος ἀνεγέλασε πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ συνεκρότει τῷ χείρε, ἡ βουλή δὲ ἐπικλασθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸ ἀφίησι τῷ Μενεκράτει τὴν καταδίκην 146
they had poured the libation to the gods, at that moment Zenothemis held out to him his cup, full of wine, and said: 'Accept, Menecrates, the loving-cup from your son-in-law, for I shall this day wed your daughter Cydimache; her dowry I received long ago, amounting to twenty-five talents.' The other said: 'No, no, Zenothemis, do not! May I never be so mad as to suffer you, who are young and handsome, to make a match with an ugly, disfigured girl!' But while he was saying this, Zenothemis picked up the girl bodily and went into his chamber, from which he returned presently, after having made her his wife.

"From that time on he has lived with her, cherishing her beyond measure and taking her about with him everywhere, as you see. Not only is he unashamed of his marriage, but indeed seems to be proud of it, offering it as proof that he thinks little of physical beauty or ugliness and of wealth and glory, but has high regard for his friend, for Menecrates, and does not believe that the latter's worth, as regards friendship, was lessened by the vote of the Six Hundred.

Already, however, Fortune has requited him for this conduct. He has had a beautiful boy by this ugly woman; and besides, only recently, when the father took the child in his arms and brought him into the Senate-house wreathed with leaves of olive and dressed in black, in order that he might excite greater pity on behalf of his grandfather, the baby burst into laughter before the senators and clapped his two hands, whereupon the senate, softened by him, set the condemnation aside in favour of Menecrates, so that he is now in full possession of his rights
καὶ ἥδη ἐπίτιμός ἐστι, τηλικούτως συνηγόρω χρησάμενος πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον." Τοιαύτα ὁ Μασσαλιώτης ἔλεγεν τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν εἰργάσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φίλου, ὡς ὅρας, οὐ μικρὰ οὐδὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀν Ὁκυθῶν γενόμενα, οἱ γε κἂν τὰς παλλακὰς ἀκριβῶς τὰς καλλιστὰς ἐκλέγεσθαι λέγονται.

27 Λουπὸς ἢμῖν ὁ πέμπτος, καὶ μοι δοκῶ οὐκ ἀλλὸν ἔρειν Δημητρίου τοῦ Σουνίεως ἐπιλαθόμενος. Συνεκπλεύσας γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀἰγυπτον ὁ Δημήτριος Ἀντιφίλω τῷ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, ἐταίρῳ ἐκ παῖδων ὁμί καὶ συνεφήβῳ, συνήν καὶ συνεπαιδεύτο, αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἀσκησιν τὴν Κυνικῆν ἀσκούμενος ὑπὸ τῷ Ῥοδίῳ ἐκείνῳ σοφιστῇ, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίφιλος ἰατρικῆν ἁρὰ ἐμελέτα. καὶ δὴ ποτε ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος ἐτυχεν ὡς τὴν Ἀἰγυπτον ἠποδημῶν κατὰ θέαν τῶν πυραμίδων καὶ τοῦ Μέμνωνος. ἦκουε γὰρ ταύτας ύστηλας οὕσας μὴ παρέχεσθαι σκιάν, τὸν δὲ Μέμνονα βοῶν πρὸς ἀνατέλλοντα τὸ ἡλιον. τοὐτῶν ἐπιθυμήσας Δημήτριος, θέας μὲν τῶν πυραμίδων, ἀκροάσεως δὲ τοῦ Μέμνωνος, ἀναπεπλεύκει κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἑκτὸν ἦδη μῆνα, ὁμήχασαντα πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τὸ βάλτος ἀπολυτῶν τὸν Ἀντίφιλον.

28 Ὅ δὲ ἐν τοσοῦτω συμφορᾶ ἐχρήσατο μάλα γευναίον τῶν φιλον δεομένην. οἰκέτης γὰρ αὐτοῦ, Σύρος καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, ἱεροσύλων τοῖς κοινωνήσας συνευθυλθέν τε αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Ἄνουβίδειουμ

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1 There is no need to supply ἄνω (Hartman). The back-country (χώρα), Egypt, was a thing apart from Alexandria. In the report of a trial held at Alexandria occurs the statement: "Her brother is in Egypt, but will come soon" (Hunt, Select Papyri (L.C.L.), II, No. 263, l. 27; cf. l. 32).
and privileges through employing so tiny an advocate to present his case to the members in session."

Such are the deeds which, according to the Massaliote, Zenothemis performed for his friend; as you see, they are not trivial, or likely to have been done by many Scythians, who even in the matter of concubines are said to be careful to select the most beautiful.

We have the fifth remaining, and I do not purpose to forget Demetrius of Sunium and tell of anyone else.

Demetrius sailed to Egypt with Antiphilus of Alopece, his friend from boyhood and comrade in their military training. There they lived and studied together; he himself followed the Cynic school of philosophy under that sophist from Rhodes,\(^1\) while Antiphilus for his part studied medicine. Well, one time Demetrius happened to have gone into Egypt to see the pyramids and the statue of Memnon, for he had heard that the pyramids, though high, cast no shadow, and that Memnon utters a cry to the rising sun. Eager, therefore, to see the pyramids and to hear Memnon, Demetrius had cruised off up the Nile six months before, leaving behind him Antiphilus, who feared the journey and the heat.

In the meantime the latter met with a calamity which required a very staunch friend. His slave, Syrus by name and Syrian by nationality, joined certain temple-robbers, and entered the temple of

\(^1\) It has been suggested that this may have been Agathobulus (cf. p. 19, n. 3), but with little to go on except that Agathobulus must have been teaching Cynicism in Alexandria at about the time which this tale presupposes for the Rhodian sophist. It is hardly safe to assume that he cannot have had any rivals.
καὶ ἀποσυνθῆσαντες τὸν θεὸν χρυσᾶς τε φιάλας δύο καὶ κηρύκιον, χρυσῶν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ κυνοκεφάλους ἀργυροὺς καὶ ἄλλα τουαῦτα, κατέθεντο πάντα παρὰ τῷ Σύρῳ. εἶτ' ἐμπεσόντες—ἐάλωσαν γάρ τι ἀπεμπολῶντες—ἀπαντα εὐθὺς ἔλεγον στρεβλοῦμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ, καὶ ἄγομενοι ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ 'Ἀντιφίλου, καὶ τὰ φώρια ἐξέφερον ὑπὸ κλίνη τυλὶ ἐν σκοτεινῷ κείμενα. ὦ τε οὖν Σύρος ἔδεδετο εὐθὺς καὶ ὁ δεσπότης αὐτοῦ 'Ἀντιφίλος, οὗτος μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ ἀκρωμενὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀναισθηθεῖς. ἔβοθει δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τέωσ ἑταῖροι ἀπεστρέφοντο ὡς τὸ 'Ἀνουβίδειον σεσυληκότα καὶ ἁσέβημα αὐτῶν ἠγοῦντο εἶναι εἰ συνεπόν ποτε ἡ συνεισήλθον ἀντὶ. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν, δύο οἵτινες, ἀπαντὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας συσκευασάμενοι ὕψωντο φεύγοντες.

29 Ἐδεδετο οὖν ὁ ᾧλιος 'Ἀντιφίλος πολὺν ἡνὶ χρόνον, ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἦσαν κακοῦργοι ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ μιαρῶτατος εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεσμῶν Ἀιγύπτιος, δευσιδαίμων ἀνθρώπος, ἦσον χαρεισθαί καὶ τιμωρήσει τῷ θεῷ βαρὺς τῷ 'Ἀντιφίλῳ ἐφεστώς. εἶ δ' ἀπολογοῦτό ποτε, λέγων ὡς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἰργασται, ἀναίσχυντος ἐδόκει καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐμισεῖτο. ὑπενώσει τοιογροῦ ἢν καὶ τονηρῶς εἴχεν οἶκος εἰκὸς χαμαὶ καθεύδοντα καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲ ἀποτείνειν τὰ σκέλη δυνάμενον ἐν τῷ ἔξω κατακεκλεμένας τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρας ὁ κλοῖος ἦρκει καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα χεῖρ πεπεδημένη, εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἐδει ὅλον κατα-

1 Cf. Tyrann., 5: ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἀναστῶν.
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Anubis with them. They robbed the god of two golden libation-bowls, a caduceus, also of gold, some dog-headed figures of silver, and other such matters, all of which they left in trust with Syrus. Then, after their imprisonment (for they were taken when they tried to sell something), they at once told everything when they were broken on the wheel, came under escort to the house of Antiphilus, and fetched out the stolen goods, which were lying under a bed in a dark corner. Consequently Syrus was confined at once, and with him his master, Antiphilus, who was actually seized while he listened to a lecture by his teacher. Nobody came to his assistance; on the contrary, even his erstwhile friends turned their backs upon him on the ground that he had robbed the Anubideum and considered it an act of impiety on their own part if they had ever drunk or eaten with him. Moreover, the two remaining servants bundled up everything in the house and made off.

Poor Antiphilus therefore remained in confinement for a long time, regarded as the most villainous of all the malefactors that there were in the prison, and the Egyptian keeper, a superstitious fellow, thought to gratify and avenge his god by exercising his authority over Antiphilus with a heavy hand. Whenever he defended himself, saying that he had not done anything of the sort, he was thought brazen-faced, and was detested much more for it. Consequently, he sickened at length and was ill, as might be expected in view of the fact that he slept on the ground and at night could not even stretch out his legs, which were confined in the stocks. By day, to be sure, the collar was sufficient, together with manacles upon one hand; but for the night he had to be fully secured by his
dedésthai. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἡ δυσοσμία καὶ τὸ πνῖγος, ἐν ταύτῃ πολλῶν δεδεμένων καὶ ἑστενοχωρημένων ¹ καὶ μόλις ἀναπνεόντων, καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου ὁ ψόφος καὶ ὑπὸς ὀλίγος—ταῦτα πάντα χαλέπα ἢν καὶ ἀφόρητα οἰῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνων ἀήθει καὶ ἀμελετήτω πρὸς οὕτω σκληρῶν τὴν δίαιταν.

30 Ἅπαγορεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲ σίτου αἱρεῖσθαι θέλοντος, ἀφικνεῖται ποτὲ καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, οὔθὲν εἴδὼς τῶν ἡδη γεγενημένων. καὶ ἑπειδὴ ἐμαθεν, ὡς εἶχεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον δρομαῖος ἐλθὼν, τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐισεδέχθη, ἐσπέρα γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ πάλαι κεκλεικὼς τὴν θύραν ἐκάθευδε, φρουρεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις παρακελευσάμενος· ἑσθὲν δὲ εἰσέρχεται πολλὰ ἱκετεύσας. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐξῆτε τὸν Ἀντίφιλον ἄδηλον ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ περιών ἀνεσκοπεῖτο καθ’ ἔκαστον τῶν δεδεμένων, ὡσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ τούς οἰκείους νεκροὺς, ἡδη ἐώλων ὄντων, ἀναζητούντες ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν. καὶ εἰ γε μὴ τούνομα ἐβόησεν, Ἀντίφιλον Δευνομένους, κἀν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἦγνωσέν ἀν ὀστίς ἦν, τοσοῦτον ἤλλακτο ὑπὸ τῶν δεινῶν. ὡς δὲ τὴν φωνὴν αἰσθόμενος ἀνεβόησεν καὶ προσιόντος διαστέλλας τὴν κόμην καὶ ἀπάγων τοῦ προσώπου αὐχμηρᾶν καὶ συμπεπιλημένην ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν ὀστίς ἦν, ἀμφοὶ μὲν αὐτίκα πίπτουσιν ἱλιγγιάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ θέᾳ.

Χρόνῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν Ἀντίφιλον ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ σαφῶς ἔκαστα ὡς εἶχεν ἐκπυθόμενος παρ’ αὐτοῦ θαρρεῖν τε παρακελευτεῖ τε καὶ διελὼν τὸ τριβώνιον τὸ μὲν ἡμισὶ αὐτὸς

¹ ἑστενοχωρουμένων ΜCA.
bonds. Moreover, the stench of the room and its stifling air (since many were confined in the same place, cramped for room, and scarcely able to draw breath), the clash of iron, the scanty sleep—all these conditions were difficult and intolerable for such a man, unwonted to them and unschooled to a life so rigorous.

He was giving up the struggle and refusing even to take food when Demetrius came back, knowing nothing of what had happened until then. As soon as he found out, he set off, just as he was, straight for the prison at a run. At that time, however, he was not admitted, for it was evening and the keeper had long ago locked the door and gone to sleep, after directing his servants to keep watch; but in the morning he obtained admission by vehement entreaty. After entering he made a long search for Antiphilus, who had become unrecognisable through his miseries. He went about examining each of the prisoners just as people do who seek out their own dead among the altered bodies on battle-fields. Indeed, had he not called his name aloud, "Antiphilus, son of Deinomenes," he would not for a long time have known which was he, so greatly had he been changed by his dire straits. But Antiphilus, hearing his voice, cried out; and, as Demetrius approached, he parted his long hair, all unkempt and matted, drew it away from his face, and so disclosed his identity. At once both fell in a faint at the unexpected sight.

After a time Demetrius brought both himself and Antiphilus to their senses, and ascertained from him definitely how everything stood. Then he bade him have no fear, and tearing his short cloak in two, put
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ἀναβάλλεται, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐκείνω δίδωσιν, ἀεὶχε πιναρὰ καὶ ἐκτετρυχωμένα ράκη περισσά-
ςας. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου πάντα τρόπον συνὴν ἐπιμελουμένοις αὐτοῦ καὶ θεραπευόντες παραδοὺς
γὰρ ἐαυτὸν τοῖς ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἐμπόροις ἐσθεν εἰς μέσην ἥμεραν οὐκ ὤλγον ἀπέφερεν ἄχθοφορῶν.
ἐκ' ἐπανελθῶν ἄν ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου, μέρος μὲν τοῦ
μισθοῦ τῷ δεσμοφύλακι καταβαλὼν τιθασόν αὐτῷ
καὶ εἰρήνηκον ἀπειργάζετο αὐτόν, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ
εἰς τὴν τοῦ φίλου θεραπείαν ἱκανῶς αὐτῷ διήρκει.
καὶ τὰς μὲν ἥμερας συνὴν τῷ Ἀντιφίλῳ παρα-
μυθούμενος, ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦς καταλάβοι, ὤλγον πρὸ
tῆς θύρας τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου στιθαδίων τι ποιησά-
μενος καὶ φύλλα ὑποβαλόμενος ἀνεπαύετο.

Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οὕτω διήγουν, εἰσίαν μὲν
ὁ Δημήτριος ἀκωλύτως, βάου δὲ φέρων τὴν
32 συμφορὰν ὁ Ἀντιφίλος. ὑστέρον δὲ ἀποθανόντωσ
ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ λῃστοῦ τινος ὑπὸ φαρμάκων,
wὸς ἐδόκει, φυλακῇ τε ἅκριβῆς ἐγένετο καὶ οὐκέτι
παρήηει εἰς τὸ οἴκημα οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν δεομένων. ἕφ
οἷς ἀπορῶν καὶ ἀνώμενος, οὐκ ἔχων ἄλλως
παρεῖναι τῷ ἑταίρῳ, προσαγγέλλει ἐαυτὸν ἐλθὼν
πρὸς τὸν ἀρμοστὴν, ὡς εἰπ' ἱκεκοινωνήκως τῆς
ἐπὶ τὸν "Ἀνουβίν ἐπιβουλῆς.

'Ως δὲ τούτο εἶπεν, ἀπήγετο εὖθὺς εἰς τὸ δεσμο-
τήριον, καὶ ἄχθεις παρὰ τὸν Ἀντίφιλον τοῦτο
γοῦν μόλις, πολλὰ ἰκετεύσας τὸν δεσμοφύλακα,
ἐξειργάσατο παρ' αὐτοῦ, πλησίον τῷ Ἀντι-
φίλῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτῶ κλούω δεδέσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ
καὶ μάλιστα ἐδειξε τὴν εὔνοιαν ἥν εἶχε πρὸς
αὐτόν, ἀμελῶν μὲν τῶν καθ' ἕαυτὸν δεινῶν
1 δεομένων G. Hermann: λεγομένων C: λελυμένων ΓΜΝΒ.
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On one of the halves himself and gave the remainder to Antiphilus, after stripping from him the filthy, worn-out rags that he was wearing. From that time forth, too, he shared his life in every way, attending and cherishing him; for by hiring himself out to the shipmen in the harbour from early morning until noon, he earned a good deal of money as a stevedore. Then, on returning from his work, he would give part of his pay to the keeper, thus rendering him tractable and peaceful, and the rest sufficed well enough for the maintenance of his friend. Each afternoon he remained with Antiphilus, keeping him in heart; and when night overtook him, he slept just in front of the prison door, where he had made a place to lie and had put down some leaves.

For some time they carried on in this way, Demetrius coming in without hindrance and Antiphilus bearing his misfortune more lightly. But later, after a certain brigand had died in the prison (by poison, it was thought) a close guard was instituted, and not one of those who sought admission could enter the gaol any longer. Perplexed and distressed over this situation, as he had no other way to be with his comrade, he went to the governor and incriminated himself, alleging that he had been an accomplice in the attempt upon Anubis.

When he had made that statement, he was haled straight to prison, and on being brought in with Antiphilus, he managed with difficulty, by dint of urgent entreaties addressed to the warden, to obtain from him one concession, at least—that of being confined near Antiphilus and in the same set of irons. Then indeed, more than any other time, he displayed the affection which he had for him, neglecting his own
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(καίτοι ἐνόσισε καὶ αὐτὸς), ἐπιμελοῦμενος δὲ ὁπως ἐκεῖνος μάλιστα καθευδῆσει καὶ ἦττον ἀνιάσεται: ὡστε ῥάνον ἑφερον μετ´ ἀλλήλων κακοπαθοῦντες.

33 Χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε τι προσπεσον ἔπαινεν ἐτὶ πλέον αὐτοὺς δυστυχοῦντας. εἰς γὰρ τῶν δεδεμένων, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅθεν ρίνης εὐπορήσας καὶ συνωμότας πολλοὺς τῶν δεσμωτῶν προσλαβῶν, ἀποπρίει τε τὴν ἁλυσιν ἢ ἐδέδεντο ἔξης, τῶν κλοιῶν εἰς αὐτὴν διειρομένων, καὶ ἀπολύει ἀπαντας: οὐ δὲ ἀποκτείνατε εὐμαρῶς ὀλίγους οὔτας τοὺς φύλακας ἐκπηδῶσιν ἀθρόοι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τὸ παραυτίκα ἑνθὰ ἐδύναντο ἑκαστὸς διασπαρέντες ύστερον συνελήφθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ. ὁ Δημήτριος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀντίφιλος κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν, καὶ τοῦ Σύρου λαβόμενοι ἦδη ἀπιόντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, μαθῶν ὁ τὴν Λέγυπτον ἐπιτετραμμένος τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπεμψεν τοὺς διωξόμενους, μεταστειλάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἀπέλυσε τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐπαινέσας ὦτι μόνοι οὐκ ἀπέδρασαν.

'Αλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι γε ἡγάπησαν οὕτως ἀφιέ-μενοι, ἐβόα δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ δεινὰ ἐποίει, ἀδικεῖσθαι σφάς οὐ μικρὰ εἰ δόξους κακοῦργοι οὗτε ἐλέω ἢ ἐπαίνῳ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδράναι ἀφείσθαι· καὶ τέλος ἡνάγκασαν τὸν δικαστὴν ἀκριβῶς τὸ πράγμα ἐξετάσαι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐμαθεν οὗδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ καὶ πάνιν θαυμάσας, ἀφίησι παραμυθησάμενος 156
adversities (though he himself had fallen ill) but taking care that Antiphilus should sleep as well as possible and should suffer less distress. So they bore their discomforts more easily by sharing them with each other.

In time an accident occurred which relieved them from further misfortune. One of the men in irons, having somehow obtained possession of a file and enlisted many of the prisoners in a plot, cut the chain to which they were all attached in a row, with their fetters strung upon it, and so set them all free; whereupon they easily killed the guards, who were few, and escaped together. Well, those others scattered at once, going wherever each one of them could, and afterwards were arrested, most of them. Demetrius and Antiphilus, however, remained where they were, and seized Syrus just as he was about to go. When daylight came, as soon as the prefect of Egypt learned what had happened, he sent men to hunt down the others, but summoned Demetrius and his friend and freed them from imprisonment, praising them because they alone did not run away.

They were not the men, however, to be content with being released in that way. Demetrius cried out and made a great stir, saying that grave injustice was being done them, since it would be thought that they were criminals, and were being released by way of mercy or commendation because they had not run away; and at length they forced the magistrate to undertake an accurate investigation of the affair. When he discovered that they were not guilty, he commended them, expressing very great admiration for Demetrius, and in dismissing them consoled with them over the punishment which they had undergone.
'Επί τῇ κολάσει ἳν ἥνεσχοντο ἁδίκως δεθέντες, καὶ ἕκατερον δωρησάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ, δραχμαῖς μὲν μυρίαις τὸν Ἀντίφιλον, δὲς τοσαῦτας δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον.

34 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίφιλος ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Αἰγύπτω ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δισμυρίας ἐκεῖνως καταλεῖπτων ὢχετο ἀπίων εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν παρὰ τοὺς Βραχμάνας, τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίφιλον, ὡς συγγνωστός ἂν εἰκότως νομίζοιτο ἥδη ἀπολιπτῶν αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς δείσθαι τῶν χρημάτων, ἐστ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἢ ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἀρκεῖσθαι ὁλίγους δυνάμενος, οὔτε ἐκεῖνως ἔτι δεῖν φίλου, εὐμαρῶν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων γεγενημένων.

Τοιοῦτοι, οἱ Ῥάξαρι, οἱ Ἠληνεῖς φίλοι. εἰ δὲ μὴ προδιεβεβλήκεις ἥμᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ βήμασι μέγα φρονοῦντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀν σοι τοὺς λόγους διεξήλθον, πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς δύνας, οὐς δ' Ἰδομήν τοι εἰπεν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπολογούμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντίφιλον δὲ, καὶ δακρύων προσέτι καὶ ἱκετεύων καὶ τὸ πάν ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν ἀναδεχόμενος, ἀρχὶ μαστιγούμενος ὁ Σύρος ἀμφοτέρους ἀφίησιν αὐτοὺς.

35 Ἔγω μὲν οὖν τούτους ὁλίγους ἀπὸ πλειώνων, οὐς πρώτους ἡ μνήμη υπέβαλε, διηγησάμενοι σοι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βεβαίους φίλους. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου σοι τὴν ῥήτραν παραδίδωμι· σὺ δὲ ὅπως μὴ χείρους ἑρείς τοὺς Σκύθας, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ τούτων ἀμείνους, αὐτῷ σοι μελήσει, εἰ τι καὶ τῆς δεξιὰς πεφροντικὸς, ὡς μὴ ἀποτιμηθείης αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ χρὴ ἄνδρα ἀγαθον εἶναι· ἐπεὶ καὶ γελοῖα ἂν πάθους Ὀρέστην μὲν καὶ
through their unjust imprisonment and presented each of them with a gift out of his own pocket, Antiphilus with ten thousand drachmas and Demetrius with twice as much.

Antiphilus is still in Egypt, but Demetrius left his own twenty thousand to his friend and went away to India, to join the Brahmans, merely saying to Antiphilus that he might fairly be held excusable for leaving him now; for he himself would not want the money as long as he remained what he was, able to content himself with little, and Antiphilus would not need a friend any longer, since his circumstances had become easy.

That, Toxaris, is what Greek friends are like. If you had not previously calumniated us as priding ourselves greatly upon words, I should have repeated for you the very speech, a long one and a good one, that Demetrius made in the court-room, not defending himself at all but only Antiphilus; weeping, moreover, and imploring, and taking the whole thing upon himself until Syrus under the lash exonerated both of them.

I have told you these few instances out of a greater number (the first that my memory supplied), of friends that were good and true; and now, dismounting from my steed, I yield the word henceforth to you. How you are to make out that your Scythians are not worse, but much better than these men, will be your own look-out, if you are at all concerned about your right hand, for fear of having it cut off. But you must show yourself a man of prowess, for you would put yourself in a laughable position if, after your very expert laudation of Orestes and
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Πυλάδην πάνω σοφιστικῶς ἐπαινέσας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Σκυθίας φαύλος ῥήτωρ φαινόμενος.¹

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Εὖ γε, Ὅ Μνήσιτπε, ὅτι καὶ παροτρύνεις με πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ἄσπερ οὐ πάνω σοι μέλον εἰ ἀποτμηθεῖς τῇ γλώτταν κρατήσεις ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. πλὴν ὑρξομαί γε ἥδη, μηδὲν ἄσπερ σὺ καλλυλογησάμενος· οὐ γὰρ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἔργα ὑπερφθέγγηται τοὺς λόγους. προσδοκήσῃς δὲ μηδὲν τουοῦτο παρ' ἥμων οἶα σὺ διεξελήλυθας, ἐπαινῶν εἰ τὶς ἀπροικὸν ἔγημεν αἰσχρὰν γυναῖκα ἥ εἰ τῷς ἀργύριον ἐπέδωκε γαμομεμένη φίλου ἀνδρὸς θυγατρὶ δύο τάλαντα, ἥ ² καὶ νῇ Δί' εἰ τὸς παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν διδησόμενον ἔπι προδήλῳ τῷ μικρὸν ύπερευνοὺς λυθῆσεσθαι πάνω γὰρ εὐτελῆ ταῦτα καὶ μεγαλουργὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς 36 ἥ ἀνδρεῖον ἐνι οὐδέν. ἐγὼ δὲ σοι διηγήσομαι φόνους πολλοὺς καὶ πολέμους καὶ θανάτους ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων, ἵν' εἰδῆς ὡς παιδία τὰ ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν παρὰ τὰ Σκυθικὰ ἐξετάζεσθαι.

Καίτοι οὔδε ἀλόγως αὐτὸ πεπόνθατε, ἀλλὰ εἰκότως τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα ἐπαινεῖτε· οὔδὲ γὰρ οὔδε εἰσὶν ὑμῖν ἀφομαὶ ὑπερμεγέθεις πρὸς ἐπι- δείξειν φιλίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθείᾳ βιοῦσιν, ὡςπερ οὔδ' ἂν ³ ἐν γαλήνῃ μάθους εἰ ἄγαθὸς ὁ κυβερνήτης ἐστί· χειμῶνος γὰρ ἐστὶς σοὶ πρὸς τὴν διάγνωσιν. παρ' ἥμων δὲ συνεχεῖς οἱ πόλεμοι, καὶ ἡ ἐπελαύνουμεν ἄλλοις ἡ ὑποχωροῦμεν ἐπιόντας ἡ συμπε-

¹ φαινόμενος ГВ: γενόμενος NCA.
² ἥ Lehmann: not in MSS.
³ ἂν Geist: not in MSS.

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Pylades, you should reveal yourself a poor spokesman on behalf of Scythia.

TOXARIS

Well done, Mnesippus! You are giving me encouragement for my speech, as if it did not matter at all to you whether you get the worst of it in our dispute and have your tongue docked. However, I shall begin at once, without any display of fine words such as you have made; for that is not a Scythian habit, especially when the deeds speak louder than the words. And do not expect from us anything like what you told of when you commended a man if he married an ugly wife without a dowry, or if he gave money to the amount of two talents to the daughter of a friend on her marriage, or even, by Zeus, if he allowed himself to be imprisoned when it was obvious that he would soon be released; for those are very paltry matters, and there is nothing of greatness or bravery in them. I shall tell you of many deeds of blood and battles and deaths for the sake of friends, that you may know the achievements of your people to be child's play in comparison with those of the Scythians.

Yet it is not unaccountable that this is so with you Greeks, but natural for you to praise these trivial matters; for you lack, you entirely lack momentous occasions for the display of friendship, living as you do in profound peace. Just so in calm weather a man cannot tell whether his sailing-master is good; he will need a storm to determine that. With us, however, wars are continuous, and we are always either invading the territory of others, or withdrawing before invaders, or meeting in battle over
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37 Πρότερον δὲ σοι εἶπεῖν βούλομαι ὅν τρόπον ποιούμεθα τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν πότων, ὥσπερ ἤμεῖς, οὐδὲ εἰ συνεφηβὸς τις ἡ γείτων ἐκ, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τινὰ ἱδομεν ἄγαθόν ἄνδρα καὶ μεγάλα ἐργάσασθαι δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπαντεῖσ ὁπεὐδόμεν, καὶ ὁπερ ἤμεῖς ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, τοῦτο ἤμεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν φίλων ποιεῖν ἄξιοομεν, ἐπὶ πολὺ μνητευόμενοι καὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ πράττοντες ὡς μὴ διαμαρτάνομεν τῆς φιλίας μηδὲ ἀπόβλητοι δόξωμεν εἶναι. καὶ ο>()->ναῖς προκριθεῖσ τις ἡ ἄθις φίλος ἤ, συνθῆκαι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὅρκος ὁ μέγιστος, ἡ μὴ καὶ βιώσεσθαι μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι, ἦν δὲ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐτέρου τοῦ ἐτερον καὶ οὗτο ποιοῦμεν. ἄφ' οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνεμόντες ἀπαξ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐνσταλάξωμεν τὸ αἶμα εἰς κύλικα καὶ τὰ ἕιφη ἀκρὰ βάφαντες ἁμα ἀμφότεροι ἐπιοχόμενοι πίωμεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦμας διαλύσειν ἂν. ἔφειται δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἀχρὶ τρώων ἕτος συνθῆκας εἰσίναι. ὡς ὅστις ἂν πολυφιλος ἦ, ὀμοίως ἢμῖν δοκεῖ ταῖς κοιναις ταύταις καὶ μοιχευμέναις γνωαίζει, καὶ οἰόμεθα οὔκεθ' ὀμοίως ἰσχυρὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλίαν εἶναι, πρὸς πολλὰς εὐνοίας διασφεδεῖσαν.

38 Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Δανδάμιδος πρώην γενο-

1 ἂν Struve: not in MSS.

1 Cf. Herodotus, IV, 70, who, however, makes no reference to the point that both drink from the same cup at the same
pasturage or stolen cattle, where need for good friends is greatest; and for that reason we cement our friendships as strongly as we can, thinking this to be the only irresistible and unconquerable weapon of war.

First of all, I wish to tell you how we make our friends. Not through boon-companionship, as you do, nor because a man has been a comrade of ours in military training or a neighbour. No, when we see a brave man, capable of great achievements, we all make after him, and we think fit to behave in forming friendships as you do in seeking brides, paying them protracted court and doing everything in their company to the end that we may not fall short of attaining their friendship or be thought to deserve rejection. And when a man has been singled out and is at last a friend, there ensue formal compacts and the most solemn of oaths that we will not only live with one another but die, if need be, for each other; and we do just that. For, once we have cut our fingers, let the blood drip into a cup, dipped our sword-points into it, and then, both at once, have set it to our lips and drunk, there is nothing thereafter that can dissolve the bond between us.¹ We are permitted at most to enter into three such compacts, since a man of many friends resembles, we think, promiscuous women with their lovers, and we consider that his friendship is no longer of the same strength when it has been split up into a multitude of loyalties.

I shall begin with the affair of Dandamis, which

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μένων. ο γάρ Δάνδαμος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σαυρομάτας συμπλοκῇ, ἀπαχθέντος αἰχμαλώτου Ἀμιζώκου τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ—μάλλον δὲ πρότερον ὁμοῦμαί σοι τὸν ἥμετερον ὅρκον, ἐπει καὶ τούτο ἐν ἀρχῇ διωμολογῆσάμην· οὐ μὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀνεμον καὶ τὸν Ἀκινάκην, οὐδὲν πρὸς σέ, ὡς Μνήσιππε, ψεύδος ἐρῶ περὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν Σκυθῶν.1

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ πάνυ σοι ὁμοῦντος ἐδεώμην· σὺ δὲ ὁμοῦς εὐ ποιῶν οὐδένα θεῶν ἐπωμόσω.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Τί σοι λέγεις; οὐ σοι δοκοῦσίν ὁ Ἀνεμος καὶ ὁ Ἀκινάκης θεοὶ εἶναι; οὕτως ἄρα ἡγνώθησας ὅτι ἀνθρώποις μείζον οὐδέν ἔστιν ζωῆς τε καὶ θανάτου; ὅποταν τοίνυν τὸν Ἀνεμον καὶ τὸν Ἀκινάκην ὁμοιόμεναν, ταῦτα ὁμοίωμαν ὡς τὸν μὲν ἀνεμον ζωῆς αἰτίων διὰ, τὸν ἀκινάκην δὲ ὅτι ἀποθνῄσκειν ποιεῖ.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν εἰ διὰ γε τοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλος ἂν ἔχοιτε πολλοὺς θεοὺς οἶνος ὁ Ἀκινάκης ἐστί, τὸν Ὀιστόν καὶ τὴν Λόγχην καὶ Κώνειον καὶ Βρόχον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ποικίλος γὰρ οὕτος ὁ θεὸς ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἀπείρους τὰς ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν παρέχεται ἀγούσας ὀδοὺς.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Ὅρας τοῦτο ὡς ἐριστικὸν ποιεῖς καὶ δικαίκων, ὑποκρούων μεταξὺ καὶ διαφθείρων μου τὸν λόγον; ἐγὼ δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἤγων σοι λέγοντος.

1 οἰκιδών ΓΝΒΜ: οἰκιδικών (C)A vulg. Cf. § 9, οὶ φίλοι οἱ Σκύθαι.
2 τῶν θεῶν C.

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happened recently. In our engagement with the Sauromatae, when Amizoces had been taken prisoner, his friend Dandamis—but stay! first let me take my oath for you in our way, since that also was part of the agreement that I made with you in the beginning. I swear by Wind and Glaive that I shall tell you no falsehood, Mnesippus, about Scythian friends.

MNESIPPUSS  
I scarcely felt the need of your swearing, but you did well to avoid taking oath by any god!

TOXARIS  
What is that you say? Do you not think Wind and Glaive are gods? Were you really so unaware that there is nothing more important to mankind than life and death? Well then, when we swear by Wind and Glaive, we do so because the wind is the source of life, and the glaive the cause of death.¹

MNESIPPUSS  
Well, really, if that is the reason, you could have many other such gods as Glaive is—Arrow, Spear, Poison, Halter, and the like; for this god Death takes many shapes and puts at our disposal an infinite number of roads that lead to him.

TOXARIS  
Don't you see how it smacks of sophists bickering and lawyers in court for you to act this way, interrupting and spoiling my story? I kept still while you were talking.

¹ Herodotus alludes to Scythian sword-worship (IV, 62), but says nothing of their worshipping the wind, which Rostovtzeff takes to be an invention of Lucian's.
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ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

'Αλλ' ούκ αὖθις γε, ὦ Τόξαρι, ποιήσω τοῦτο, πάνω γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἐπετίμησας· ὅστε θαρρῶν τὸ γε ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγε, ὡς μηδὲ παρόντος ἐμοῦ τοῖς λόγοις, οὕτω σιωπήσομαι σοι.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

39 Τετάρτη μὲν ἦν ἡμέρα τῆς φιλίας Δανθάμιδι καὶ 'Αμμάνηνος, ἀφ' οὖ τὸ ἄλληλων αἷμα συνεπεπώ-κεσαν· ἦκον δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν Σαυρομάται μυρίους μὲν ἰππεύων, οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ τρῖς τοσοῦτοι ἐπεληλυθέναι ἐλέγοντο. οἶα δὲ οὐ προϊόδομένοις τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐπιπεσόντες ἕπετο μὲν τρέπουσι, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν μαχίμων κτείνουσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ξώντας ἀπάγουσι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἔφθη διανηξάμενος εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐνθα ἡμῖν τὸ ἡμῖν τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ μέρος τῶν ἀμαξῶν ἦν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐσκηνώσαμεν τότε, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δόξαν τοῖς ἀρχιπλάνοις ἡμῶν, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ὀχθας τοῦ Ταναϊδος.

Εὖθυς οὖν ἦ τε λεία περιηλαύνετο καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα συνείχετο καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διήρπαζον καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας κατελαμβάνοντο, αὐτάνδρους τὰς πλείστας ἀλισκομένας, καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ὑβρίζοντες τὰς παλλακίδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας· 40 ἡμείς δὲ ἡνιώμεθα τῷ πράγματι. ο δὲ 'Αμμάνηνος ἀγόμενος—ἐαλώκει γὰρ—ἐβοᾷ τὸν φίλον ὀνομαστί, κακῶς δεδεμένος, καὶ ὑπεμίμησεν τῆς κύλικος

1 ἐπεισπεσόντες C.
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

MNESIPPUS

I won't do it again, anyhow, Toxaris, for you were quite right in your reproof. Therefore, you may proceed confidently, as if I were not even here while you are talking, so silent shall I be for you.

TOXARIS

The friendship of Dandamis and Amizoces was three days old, counting from the time when they drank each other's blood, when the Sauromatae descended upon our country with ten thousand horse; and the foot came over the border, it was said, in thrice that number. As our people had not foreseen their attack, they not only routed us completely when they fell upon us, but slew many of the fighting men and took the rest prisoners, except one or another who succeeded in swimming over to the other side of the river, where we had half our encampment and part of the wagons; for that was the way in which we had pitched our tents at the time, since for some reason unknown to me it had seemed good to the leaders of our horde—on both banks of the Tanais.¹

At once they began to round up the cattle, secure the prisoners, plunder the tents, and seize the wagons, taking most of them with all their occupants and offering violence to our concubines and wives before our very eyes; and we were distressed over the situation. But as Amizoces was being dragged away—for he had been taken—he called upon his friend by name because of his disgraceful captivity

¹ This dates the tale's origin at a time when the Scythians and the Sauromatae, or Sarmatians, faced each other on opposite sides of the Don, as Rostovtzeff has pointed out.
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καὶ τοῦ ἀξιοματο. ὡς ἀκούσας ὁ Δάνδαμις οὐδὲν ἔτι μελλήσας ἀπάντων ὀρώντων διανόηκεται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ οἱ μὲν Σαυρομάται διηρμένοι τοὺς ἀκοντας ὤρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς κατακεντήσουντες, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα τὸ "Ζίριν." 1 τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τις εἰπη, οὐκέτι φονεύεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ δέχονται αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ λύτρους ἥκοντα.

Καὶ δὴ ἀναχθεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἀπήτευ τὸν φίλον, ὁ δὲ λύτρα ἤτει· μὴ γὰρ προήσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ μεγάλα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λάβοι. 2 ὁ Δάνδαμις δὲ, "Ἀ μὲν εἰχον," φησίν, "ἀπαντα διήρπασται υφ' ύμων, εἰ δὲ τι δύναμαι γυμνὸς ὑποτελέσαι, ἐτοιμὸς ὑποστηναι ύμῖν, καὶ προσταττε ὁ τι ἂν θέλης. εἰ βούλει δὲ, ἐμὲ ἀντὶ τούτου λαβὼν 3 κατάχρησαι πρὸς ὁ τι σοι φίλον." ὁ δὲ Σαυρομάτης, "Οὐδέν," ἐφη, "δὲι ὁλον κατέχεσθαι σε, καὶ ταύτα Ζίριν ἥκοντα, οὐ δὲ ἦν ἔχεις μέρος καταβαλῶν ἄγων τὸν φίλον." ἦρετο ὁ Δάνδαμις ὁ τι καὶ βούλεται λαβεῖν· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἤτησεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτικα παρέσχεν ἐκκόπτειν αὐτοὺς· καπεδή ἐξεκέκκοπο καὶ ἤδη τὰ λύτρα εἰχον οἱ Σαυρομάται, παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀμιζώκην ἐπανήει ἐπερειδόμενοι αὐτῶ, καὶ ἀμα διανησάμενοι ἀπεσώθησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

41 Τοῦτο γενόμενον παρεμβήσατο ἀπαντὰς Σκύθας καὶ οὐκέτι ἤττᾶσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ὀρώντες ὅτι τὸ

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1 τὸ Ζίριν Schmiededer; τὸ ζηριν C; τὸν ζηριν Γ; τὸν ζηριν N; τὸν ζηριν B. Below (Ζίριν ἥκοντα) the same variations in spelling occur. The corruption of τὸ to τὸν arose from knowing, or guessing (from the context below), that Ζίριν was a masculine noun.

2 λάβοι N: λάβῃ ΓΒΣ. 3 λαβὼν NB: not in ΓΜ(Ϲ)Α.

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and reminded him of the cup and the blood. When Dandamis heard that, without an instant's hesitation, under the eyes of everyone he swam over to the enemy. The Sauromatae rushed at him with brandished javelins, intending to spear him to death, but he called out "Zirin." If anyone says that, he is not killed by them, but is received as coming to offer ransom.¹

On being brought up to the leader, he demanded his friend back, but the man asked for ransom; he would not let him go, he said, unless he got a great deal for him. Dandamis replied: "All that I had has been carried off by your people; but if in any way I can make payment as I stand, I am ready to proffer it to you. Lay on me whatever command you will; if you like, take me in his place and use me as you please." The Sauromatian answered: "There is no need for you to put yourself completely in our power, especially when you come as Zirin; pay part of what you possess, and take away your friend." Dandamis asked what he would have; whereupon the other demanded his eyes, and at once he allowed them to be put out. When that had been done and the Sauromatae had their ransom, taking Ami-zoces, he set off for home leaning upon him, and by swimming across together they got back to us in safety.

This occurrence heartened all the Scythians, and they no longer thought themselves beaten, seeing

¹ It is clear from the use of the word Zirin below that it does not mean "ransom" or "ransomer," and cannot be connected with late Persian Zer, "gold," as Vasmer suggests (Iranier in Südrussland, p. 39). It must denote something like "brother," "friend," "envoy."
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μέγιστον ἡμῖν τῶν ἁγαθῶν οὐκ ἀπήγαγον οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ' ἐτι ἦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ ἁγαθὴ γνώμη καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πίστις. καὶ τοὺς Σαυρομάτας δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐ μετρίως ἐφόβησε, λογιζομένους πρὸς οίους ἄνδρας ἐκ παρασκευῆς μαχοῦνται, εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄπροσδοκητῷ τότε ὑπερέσχον. ὅστε νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπολυπόντες τὰ πλείοτα τῶν βοσκημάτων καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐμπρήσαντες ὕποντο φεύγοντες. οἱ μὲν οἱ Ἀμιζώκης οὐκέτι ἤνεγκετο βλέπειν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τυφλῷ τῷ Δανδάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τυφλώσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀμφότεροι κάθηται ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν δημοσίᾳ μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς τρεφόμενοι.

42 Τὶ τοιοῦτον, ὁ Μνήσιππε, ύμεῖς ἔχοιτε ἃν εἴπειν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλους σοι δέκα δοῦ τις ἐπὶ τοῖς πέντε καταροθήσασθαι, ἀνωμότους, εἰ βούλειν, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ἐπυμεύδου αὐτοῖς; καὶ τοῖς ἐγὼ μὲν σοι γυμνὸν τὸ ἐργὸν διηγησάμην. εἰ δὲ σὺ τυνα τοιοῦτον ἐλεγες, εὑ οἶδα, ὅποσα ἄν κομιᾶ ἐγκατέμιξας τῷ λόγῳ, οἷα ἐκείνευν ὁ Δάνδαμις καὶ ὡς ἐτυφλοῦτο καὶ ἅ εἴπεν καὶ ὡς ἔπανηκεν καὶ ὡς ὑπεδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἐπευφημοῦντες οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ἀλλὰ ὅποια ύμεῖς μηχανᾶσθαι εἰσθάτε πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν.

43 Ὅταν οὖν ὁ Μνήσιππε, καὶ ἄλλους ἰσότιμους, Βελίτταν, Ἀμιζώκου τοιοῦτον ἀνεψιόν, ὅς ἐπεί κατασταθέντα ἐκ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ὑπὸ λέοντος εἶδε Βάσθην τὸν φίλον (ἀμα δὲ ἐτυχον θηρῶντες) καὶ ἦδη ὁ λέων περιπλακεῖς αὐτῷ ἐνεπεφύκει τῷ λαμῷ καὶ τοῖς

1 ἐτι Paetzolt: ὅτι MSS.
2 δ' oūν Jacobitz: γοῦν MSS.

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that the greatest of all our treasures had not been
carried off by the enemy, but we still had among us
staunch resolution and loyalty to friends. Further-
more, the Sauromatae were daunted more than a
little by that same thing, when they considered what
manner of men they were about to face in pitched
battle, even though in the surprise attack for the
moment they had obtained the upper hand. So
when night had fallen, abandoning most of the flocks
and herds and firing the wagons, they vanished in
flight. Amizoces, however, could not bear to have
his own sight when Dandamis was blind, but put out
his eyes with his own hands; and now both of them
sit idle, maintained with every show of honour at
public expense by the Scythian folk.

What similar deed, Mnesippus, could you mention,
even if you were allowed to enumerate ten more
instances over and above your five, unsupported
by oath, if you liked, so that you might adorn them
with plenty of fiction? Then too, I have told you the
naked facts; but if you were describing anyone
like that, I know very well how many embellish-
ments you would intersperse in the story, telling
how Dandamis pleaded, how he was blinded, what he
said, how he returned, how he was received with
laudation by the Scythians, and other matters such as
you Greeks are in the habit of manufacturing to
gratify your hearers.

But let me tell you about another man equally
honoured, Belitta, cousin of that same Amizoces.
He saw that his friend Basthes had been dragged
off his horse by a lion (it chanced that they were
hunting together), and already the lion, lying upon
him, had fastened upon his throat and was tearing him
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ὅνυξιν ἐσπάρασσε, καταπηθήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιπίπτει κατόπιν τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ περιέστα, πρὸς ἐαυτὸν παροξύνων καὶ μετάγων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀδόντων μεταξὶ διείρων τοὺς δακτύλους καὶ τὸν Βάσθην, ὡς οἶνον τε ἦν, ὑπεξελεῖν πειρώμενος τοῦ δήγματος, ἀχρὶ δὴ ὁ λέων ἀφεῖς ἐκείνων ἤμιθυμητά ἦδη ἐπὶ τὸν Βελύτταν ἀπεστράφη καὶ συμπλακεῖς ἀπέκτεινε κάκεινον· ὁ δὲ ἀποθησίκων τὸ γοῦν τοσοῦτον ἐφθη πατάξας τῷ ἀκινάκη τὸν λέοντα εἰς τὸ στέρνον ὡστε ἀμα πάντες ἀπέθανον, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔθαψαμεν αὐτοὺς δύο τάφους ἀναχώσαντες πλησίον, ἔνα μὲν τῶν φίλων, ἔνα δὲ καταντικρὺ τοῦ λέοντος.

44 Τρίτην δὲ σοι διηγήσομαι, ὦ Μνήσιππε, τὴν Μακέντου φιλίαν καὶ Λογχάτου καὶ Ἄρσακόμα. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρσακόμας οὗτος ἡράσθη Μαξαίας τῆς Λευκάνωρ, τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Βοσπόρῳ, ὅποτε ἐπρέσβευεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δασμοῦ ὃν ὁ Βοσπορανὸς ἀεὶ φέροντες ἡμῖν τότε ὅδη κρίτου μὴν ὑπερήμεροι ἐγεγένητο. ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ οὖν ἵδων τὴν Μαξαίαν μεγάλην καὶ καλῆν παρθένων ἡρα καὶ πονηρῶς εἰχὲ. ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν φόρων

1 Μακέντου N, and so in N throughout.
2 K. G. P. Schwartz proposed setting this sentence after the one that here, as in the MSS., follows it. That would indeed greatly improve the sequence of thought, but is highly unsatisfactory from the palaeographical standpoint. The disturbance is probably a consequence of the abridgement to which Lucian subjected the story.
with his claws. Springing to the ground, he attacked the animal from behind and tried to draw him away, provoking him, diverting his attention, inserting his fingers between his teeth, and endeavouring in every possible way to extract Basthes from the grip of his jaws, until at last the lion left Basthes half-dead and turning upon Belitta, seized and killed him. In dying, however, he at least succeeded in stabbing the lion in the breast with his sword, so that they all died together, and in burying them we made two barrows in close proximity, one for the friends and one facing it for the lion.¹

The third friendship of which I shall tell you, Mnesippus, is that of Macentes, Lonchates, and Arsacomas. This Arsacomas fell in love with Mazaea, the daughter of Leucanor, who had become king in Bosporus,² when he was there on a mission regarding the tribute which is regularly paid us by the people of Bosporus but at that time was more than two months overdue. Well, at the banquet he caught sight of Mazaea, a tall and beautiful girl, instantly fell in love with her and was hard hit. The matter of the contributions had been settled

¹ This tale, with its lion (in South Russia, about A.D. 150!) and the poetic justice of the animal's entombment, distinctly suggests a literary source, perhaps an epigram.
² History knows no king of Bosporus named Leucanor, nor any Eubiotus, set down below as his illegitimate brother and successor (§ 51). In a fragment of a Greek romance, however, of which the plot is laid in Scythia (Papiri della Società Italiana, VIII, 981) there is a character, evidently a ruler, named Eubiotus, and Rostovtzeff points to this as evidence that Lucian's tale, itself a miniature romance, is drawn from some historical novel (Skythien und der Bosporus, p. 98). I have noted in it several passages which seem to be abridgements of a more detailed story.
διεπέρακτο ἥδη, καὶ ἐχρηματίζειν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ εἰστία, ἥδη αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπων. ἔθος δὲ ἐστιν ἐν Βοστόρῳ τοὺς μνηστήρας ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ αἰτεῖν τὰς κόρας καὶ λέγειν οἰτίνες δόντες ἁξιοῦσι κατα- 

dexhēnai ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐτυχον ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ πολλοὶ μνηστήρες παρόντες, βασιλεῖς καὶ βασιλέων παῖδες. καὶ 1 Τιγραπάτης ἦν ὁ Λαξῶν 
dυνάστης καὶ Ἀδύρμαχος ὁ Μαχλυνής ἄρχων καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ. δὲν ὁ τῶν μνηστήρων ἐκαστον, 

προσαγγείλαντα ἐαυτὸν διότι μνηστευσόμενος ἦκει, 

dευπνεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κατακείμενον ἐφ’ ἄνυχίας. 

ἐπὰν δὲ παύσωνται δειπνοῦντες, αἰτήσαντα φιάλην 

ἐπισπείσαι κατὰ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ μνηστευεσθαι τὴν 

παίδα πολλὰ ἐπαινοῦντα ἑαυτὸν, ὅς τις ἡ γένους 

ἡ πλοῦτον ἡ δυνάμεως ἔχει.2

45 Πολλῶν οὖν κατὰ τόνδε τῶν νόμων σπειραντῶν 

καὶ αἰτήσαντων καὶ βασιλείας καὶ πλούτους 

καταριθμησαμένων τελευταῖος ὁ Ἀρσακόμας αἰτή-

σας τὴν φιάλην οὐκ ἔσπεισεν, οὐ γὰρ ἔθος ἦμῖν 

ἐκχεῖν τὸν οἶνον, ἀλλὰ ὑβρίς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἰς 

tὸν θεῷ πιῶν δὲ ἀμυντί, "Δός μοι," εἶπεν, 

"ὢ βασιλεὺς, τὴν θυγατέρα σου Μαξαίαν γυναῖκα 

ἐχειν πολὺ ἐπιτηδειστέρῳ τούτων ὑπὶ ὀπόσα γε 

ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τοῖς κτήμασι." τοῦ δὲ Δευκά-

νορος θαυμάσαντος— ἡπίστατο γὰρ πένητα τὸν 

Ἀρσακόμαν καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν πολλῶν— καὶ ἐρωμένου, 

"Πόσα δὲ βοσκήματα ἡ πόσας ἀμάξας ἔχεις, ὡς 

Ἀρσακόμα ; ταῦτα γὰρ ύμεῖς πλουτεῖτε," ""Ἀλλ' 

οὐχ ἀμάξας," ἐφη, "ἐχω οὐδὲ ἀγέλας, ἀλλ' εἰσί μοι 

δύο φίλοι καλοὶ καὶ ἄγαθοι οἶνοι οὐκ ἀλλῷ Σκυθῶν." 

1 ὁν καὶ Hartman; perhaps right. 

2 ὃς τις . . . ἔχει C: δοτίς . . . ἔχοι GNB.
already, and the king was giving him audience and entertaining him in connection with his dismissal. It is customary, however, in Bosporus for suitors to bespeak brides at dinner and tell who they are that they should think themselves worthy of acceptance, and at this time it chanced that many of them were at the banquet, kings and the sons of kings; Tigrapates the dynast of the Lazi was there, and Adyrmachus, the ruler of Machlyene, and many others. Each of the suitors, after announcing that he has come to propose, must then take dinner, lying in his place among the others, in silence; but when they have finished dinner, he must call for a goblet of wine, pour a drink-offering upon the table, and sue for the girl's hand, commending himself freely according to his standing in family or wealth or power.

Many, therefore, in accordance with this usage had poured their libation, made their request, and enumerated their kingdoms and treasures. Then, last of all, Arsacomas asked for the cup. He did not make libation, for it is not our custom to pour out our wine; on the contrary, we hold that to be an offence to the god. Instead, he drank it out at a single draught, and said: "O King, give me your daughter Mazaea for my wife, since I am a much better match than these men, at least in point of wealth and property." Leucanor was surprised, for he knew that Arsacomas was poor and just an ordinary Scythian, and he asked: "How many cattle and how many wagons have you, Arsacomas, since they constitute the wealth of your people?" "Why," said he, "I own no wagons or herds, but I have two noble friends, such as no other Scythian has."
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Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐγελάσθη ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ παρώφθη καὶ μεθύειν ἐδοξέν, ἐσθέν δὲ προκριθεὶς τῶν ἄλλων Ἀδύρμαχος ἐμελλεν ἀπάξειν τὴν νύμφην

46 παρὰ τὴν Μαϊώτιν ἐς τοὺς Μάχλυας. 1 ὁ δὲ 'Ἀρσακόμας ἐπανελθὼν οὐκάδε μηνύει τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἀτιμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ γελασθεὶς ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, πένθις εἶναι δόξας. "Καίτοι," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ διηγησάμην αὐτῷ τὸν πλοῦτον ὁπόσος ἐστίν μοι, ὡμᾶς, ὁ Λογχάτα καὶ Μακέντα, καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν ὑμετέραν, πολὺ ἁμείνω καὶ βεβαιότεραν τὴν Βοστορανῶν δυνάμεως. ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα διεξίοντος ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐχλευάζεν καὶ κατεφρόνει, Ἀδυρμάχῳ δὲ τῷ Μάχλιῳ παρέδωκεν ἀπάγειν τὴν νύμφην, ὅτι χρυσᾶς τε 2 φιάλας ἐλέγετο ἔχειν δέκα καὶ ἁμάξας τετρακλίνους ὑγδοήκοντα καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βοῖς πολλοὺς. οὕτως ἀρα προετήμησεν ἄνδρῶν ἁγαθῶν βοσκήματα πολλὰ καὶ ἐκπώματα περίεργα καὶ ἁμάξας βαρείας.

"'Εγὼ δὲ, ὁ φίλοι, δι' ἀμφότερα ἀνώμαι καὶ γὰρ ἐρῶ τῆς Μαξαίας, καὶ ἡ ὕβρις εἰς τοσοῦτοι ἀνθρώποις οὐ μετρίως μον καθίκετο. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ὡμᾶς ἐπ' ἑαυτῆς ἡδυκήσατι το γὰρ τρίτον μετὴν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν 3 τῆς ἀτιμίας, εἴ γε οὕτω βιοῦμεν ὡς ἀφ' οὐ συνελημέθαμεν εἰς ἀνθρωπος ὄντες καὶ τα αὐτὰ ἀνώμαενοι καὶ τα αὐτὰ χαίροντες." "Οὐ μόνον," ἔπειπεν ὁ Λογχάτης, "ἀλλὰ ἐκαστός ἡμῶν ὅλος ὑβρισται, ὅποτε οὐ τοιαῦτα ἔπαθες." 47 "Πῶς οὖν," ὁ Μακέντης ἔφη, "χρησόμεθα τοῖς παροῦσι;" "Διελώμεθα," ἔφη ὁ Λογχάτης,

1 Text INBCM1; cf. § 52 fin. The reading ἐς τὴν Μαϊώτιν παρὰ τοὺς Μαχλύας bases only on M3.
2 τὲ Fritzscho: γ' MSS.
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Well, at the time they laughed at him on account of this remark and ignored him, thinking that he was drunk; Adyrmachus was preferred, and in the morning was to take away his bride along Lake Maeotis to the Machlyans. But Arsacomas returned home and informed his friends how he had been dishonoured by the king and laughed at in the banquet because he was considered poor. "And yet," said he, "I told him what riches I possess in you two, Lonchates and Macentes, and that your devotion was better and more lasting than sovereignty over the people of Bosporus. But in spite of my saying this, he ridiculed and contemned us, and gave the maiden to Adyrmachus the Machlyan to take away, because he was said to own ten golden goblets, eighty four-bunk wagons, and many sheep and cattle. So far above brave men did he value great flocks and herds, artistic drinking-cups, and heavy wagons.

"Now for my part, my friends, I am doubly distressed, for not only do I love Mazaea but this insult in the presence of so many men has affected me deeply. And I think that you also have been equally injured, for a third of the disgrace belonged to each of us, since we live in the understanding that from the time when we came together we have been but as one man, distressed by the same things, pleased by the same things." "Not only that," Lonchates added, "but each of us is completely disgraced in your suffering such treatment."

"How, then, shall we handle the situation?" said Macentes. "Let us divide the task between

3 ημῶν NB: ύμῶν ΓΑ.
"τὸ ἔργον· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπισχνούμαι Ἀρσακόμα τὴν κεφαλὴν κομεῖν τὴν ¹ Δευκάνωρος, σὲ δὲ χρῆ τὴν νῦμφην ἔπανάγειν αὐτῷ." "Οὕτως ² γινεσθῶ," ἐφη: "σὺ δὲ, ὁ Ἀρσακόμα, ἐν τοσούτῳ—εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ πολέμου τὸ μετὰ τούτο δεήσειν—ήμας αὐτοῦ περιμένον συνάγειρε καὶ παρασκεύαξε ὁπλα καὶ ἵππους καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν δύναμιν ὡς πλείστην. ῥάστα δ’ ἂν πολλοὺς προσαγάγοις αὐτός τε ἀγαθὸς ὦν καὶ ήμῖν οὐκ ὄλγων ὄντων οἰκεῖων, μᾶλιστα δὲ εἰ καθέξοι ἐπὶ τῆς βύρσης τοῦ βοῶς." ἔδοξε ταύτα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐχώρει ὡς εἶχεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου, ὁ Λογχάτης, ὁ Μακέντης δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μάχλουας, ἢπότης ἐκάτερος, ὁ δὲ Ἀρσακόμας οἰκοὶ μένων τοῖς τε ἦλκιώταις διελέγετο καὶ ὅπλιζε δύναμιν παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βύρσης ἐκαθέζετο.

Τὸ δὲ ἐθος ἦμῖν τὸ περὶ τῆς βύρσας οὕτως ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν ἀδικηθεῖς τις πρὸς ἔτερον, ἀμώνασθαι βουλόμενος, ἢδη καθ’ ἐαυτὸν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος ὦν, βοῦν ἐρεύσας τὰ μὲν κρέα κατακόψας ἦψησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκπετάσας χαμάι τὴν βύρσαν κάθηται ἐπ’ αὐτῆς, εἰς τοῦπίσω παραγαγὼν ³ τὸν χείρα ὀσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἁγκόων δεδεμένοι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἦμῖν ἡ μεγίστη ἱκετηρία. παρακεμένων δὲ τῶν κρεῶν τοῦ βοῶς προσόντες οἱ οἰκεῖοι καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὁ βουλόμενος μοῦραν ἐκατόσ τας λαβὼν ἐπιβᾶς τῇ βύρσῃ τὸν δεξίον πόδα ὑπισχνεῖται κατὰ δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν πέντε ἵππεις παρέξειν ἁσίτους καὶ ἀμίσθους, ὁ δὲ δέκα, ὁ δὲ πλείους, ὁ δὲ ὅπλιτας

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¹ τὴν ΓΝΒ: τοῦ (C)A.
² οὕτω NB: not in ΓΜ(C)A.
us," Lonchates replied; "I engage to bring Arsacomas the head of Leucanor, and you must fetch his bride home to him." "Very well," said the other; "and in the meantime, Arsacomas, as it is likely that we shall presently need to take the field and go to war, you, awaiting us here, should collect and make ready arms, horses, and a very large force. You might very easily enlist many, since you yourself are brave and we have plenty of relatives, and it would be especially easy if you should sit on the ox-hide." Those plans were approved, and Lonchates, just as he was, made straight for Bosporus, while Macentes headed for the Machlyans, both of them mounted. Arsacomas, remaining at home, held conferences with his comrades and armed a force recruited from his relatives; then at last he sat upon the hide.

Our custom in the matter of the hide is as follows. When a man who has been wronged by another wishes to avenge himself but sees that by himself he is not strong enough, he sacrifices a bull, cuts up and cooks the meat, spreads the hide out on the ground, and sits on it, with his hands held behind his back like a man bound by the elbows. That is our strongest appeal for aid. The meat of the bull is served up, and as the man's kinsmen and all else who wish approach, each takes a portion of it, and then, setting his right foot upon the hide, makes a pledge according to his ability, one that he will furnish five horsemen to serve without rations or pay, another ten, another still more, another foot-soldiers, heavy-

\[\textit{\textsuperscript{3}}\text{\varphi\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\omega\nu} \text{ NB, Suidas: } \textit{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{\varphi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu} \text{ GA. Cf. \textit{Nav.}, 30.}\]
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η¹ πεζούς ὅποσονς ἂν δύνηται, ο δὲ μόνον ἐαυτὸν, ὁ πενέστατος. ἀθροίζεται οὖν² ἐπὶ τῆς βύρσης πολὺ πλῆθος ἐνώτε, καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο σύνταγμα βεβαιώτατον τὲ ἐστὶ συμμείναι καὶ ἀπρόσμαχον τὸ ἐχθρὸς ἀτε καὶ ἐνορκὸν οὖν· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιβηναι τῆς βύρσης ὅρκος ἐστίν.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρσακόμας ἐν τούτοις ἦν, καὶ ἦθροισθησαν αὐτῶ ἔπεισι μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντακισ-χιλίους, ὀπλῖται δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ συναμφότεροι δισμύριοι. ο δὲ Λογχάτης ἀγνοούμενος παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον προσέρχεται τῷ βασιλεῖ διοικουμένῳ τι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ φησὶν ἥκει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἴδια δὲ αὐτῶ μεγάλα πράγματα κομίζων. τοῦ δὲ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, "Οι μὲν Σκύθαι," φησίν, "τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἁξιοῦσιν, μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς νομέας ὑμῶν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἄλλα μέχρι τοῦ πράξων νέμειν· τοὺς δὲ λῃστάς οὐς αἰτιάσθε ὡς κατατρέχοντας ὑμῶν τὴν χώραν οὐ φασίν ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης ἐκπέμπεσθαι, ἄλλα ἴδια ἔκαστον ἐπὶ τῶ κέρδει κλωπεύειν· εἰ δὲ τὶς ἀλίσκοιτο αὐτῶν,² σὲ κύρων εἶναι κολάζειν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοι 50 ἐπεστάλκασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ μηνύω ⁴ σοι μεγάλην ἐφοδιόν ἐσομένην ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὑπ' Ἀρσακόμα τοῦ Μαριάντα,

¹ ἦν τοῦ Σουλ: not in MSS.
² οὖν Ηακιβίτζ: γενέν MSS.
³ αὐτῶν B: i.e., αὐτῶν σὲ, and so Bekker and Dindorf.
⁴ μηνύσω NA.

1 Lucian is our only authority for this curious custom; the allusions to it in Suidas and the paraenemiographi (Gaisford, Bodl. 355, Coisl. 207; Leutsch, Append. II, 80, Apostol. 180
armed or light-armed, as many as he can, and another simply himself, if he is very poor. So a very large force is sometimes raised on the hide, and such an army is especially dependable as regards holding together and very hard for the enemy to conquer, since it is under oath; for setting foot on the hide is an oath.\footnote{1}

Arsacomas, then, was thus engaged; and he raised some five thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, heavy-armed and light-armed together. Lonchates in the meantime entered Bosporus unrecognised, approached the king while he was attending to a matter of government, and said that he came with a message from the Scythian commonwealth, but also in his private capacity brought him important news. When he was bidden to speak, he said: "The Scythians make one of their ordinary, every-day requests, that your herdsman shall not encroach upon the plain but shall graze only as far as the stony ground; and they say that the cattle-lifters whom you charge with overrunning your country are not sent out by order of the state but steal for profit, each on his own account; if any one of them should be captured, you have full authority to punish him. That is their message. But on my own part, I give you notice that a great attack upon you is about to be made by Arsacomas, the son of VII, 75) are mere quotations from Lucian, and Gilbert Cognatus' mysterious reference to "Zenodotus" and "the ox of the Homolotti" derives (by way of Erasmus, Adagia: "Bos Homolottorum") from Zenobius, II, 83: βοῦς ὁ Μολοττωρίων! That the Molossian custom of cutting up (but not eating) an ox in connection with making treaties has nothing to do with the Scythian usage is clear from the more detailed explanation of it in Coisl. 57 (Gaisford, p. 126).
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"Επρέσβευε πρώην παρὰ σὲ καὶ, οἶμαι, διότι αἰτήσας τὴν θυγατέρα οὐκ ἔτυχε παρὰ σοῦ, ἀγανακτεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βύρσης ἐβδόμην ἤμεραν ἦδη κάθηται καὶ συνήκται στρατός οὐκ ὀλίγος αὐτῷ."

"Ἡκουσα," ἐφη ὁ Λευκάνωρ, "καὶ αὐτὸς ἀθροίζεσθαι δύναμιν ἀπὸ βύρσης, ὅτι δ' ἑφ' ἠμᾶς συνίσταται καὶ ὅτι Ἁρσακόμας ὁ ἑλαύνων ἐστὶν ἡγνώσων." "Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σὲ," ἐφη ὁ Δογχάτης, "ἡ παραοκενή. ἔμοι δὲ ἔχθρος ὁ Ἁρσακόμας ἐστί, καὶ ἀχθεῖν διότι προτιμῶμαι αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν γερατέρων καὶ ἀμείνων τὰ πάντα δοκῶ εἶναι εἰ δὲ μοι ὑπόσχοι τὴν ἔτεραν σοι θυγατέρα Βαρκέτων, οὐδὲ 1 τὰ ἄλλα ἀναζώ ύμῶν ὄντι, οὐκ εἰς μακράν σοι ἥξω τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κομίζων."

"Ὑπισχνοῦμαι," ἐφη ὁ βασίλευς, μάλα περιδής γενόμενος. ἔγνω γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὅργης τῆς Ἁρσακόμα τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ, καὶ ἄλλως ὑπέπτησεν ἀεὶ τοὺς Σκύθας.

"Ὁ δὲ Δογχάτης, "Ὅμοσον," ἐπεν, "ἡ μὴν φυλάξεως τὰς συνθήκας, μηδὲ ἀπαρνήσεσθαι τότε ἦδη, τούτων γενομένων." 2 καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀνατείνως εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἤθελεν ὀμνύειν, "Μὴ σὺ γε ἐνταῦθα," ἐπεν, "μὴ καὶ τις ὑπίδηται τῶν ὀρὸντων ἑφ' ὅτι ὀρκωμοτοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀρεως τούτι εἰσελθόντες, ἐπικλεισάμενοι τὰς θύρας ὀμνύωμεν, ἀκουσάτω δὲ μηδεῖς εἰ γάρ τι

1 οὐδὲ Fritzsche: οὔτε MSS.
2 Punctuation Bekker's and mine: ἀπαρνήσεσθαι τότε ἦδη τούτων γενομένων καὶ ἐπεὶ vulg. Bekker set the full stop after γενομένων; I have added the comma after ἦδη.

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Mariantes, who came to you recently on a mission, and—no doubt because he asked you for your daughter and did not obtain his request from you—is incensed; he has been sitting on the hide for six days now, and has collected a great host.”

“I myself,” said Leucanor, “had heard that a force was being raised on the hide, but did not know that it is being formed against us or that Arsacomas is the organiser of it.” “Why,” said Lonchates, “the preparations are directed at you in person. But Arsacomas is no friend of mine, bearing a grudge against me because I am held in higher regard by our dignitaries and considered in all respects a better man. If you will promise me your other daughter, Barcetis, since even on other grounds I am not unworthy of alliance with you, before long I will come and bring you his head.” “I promise,” said the king, who had become thoroughly alarmed because he recognised the just ground for the anger of Arsacomas in connection with his proposal of marriage; and besides, he stood in perpetual dread of the Scythians.

Lonchates replied: “Swear that you will keep the agreement, and will not go back on your word then, when the thing is done.” When the king lifted his hands toward Heaven and was in purpose to swear, the other said: “Not here, for fear that some onlooker may suspect the reason of our oath. No, let us enter the sanctuary of Ares yonder and lock the doors before we swear; and let nobody hear us!

1 It should not be inferred that it has taken Lonchates all this time to reach the city and its king. As the king has heard of the Scythian mustering before Lonchates sees him, it is evident that there was some delay, whether accidental or deliberate.
In the story as it came to Lucian, Lonchates and Macen-tes, before parting, must have arranged that the latter was to wait at some point (perhaps where their routes diverged) until the former should return with the news of his success. It would have been fatal to the plot against the king to have Adyrmachus bring to the city a false report of the king’s death before Lonchates was able to strike. Besides, a
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If Arsacomas should get any knowledge of this, I am afraid that he may initiate the war by making a victim of me, as he is already surrounded by a large band." "Let us enter," responded the king. "Gentlemen, withdraw as far as possible, and let no one present himself in the temple who is not summoned by me."

When they had entered and the guardsmen had withdrawn, Lonchates drew his sword, clapped one hand over the king's mouth, that he might not cry out, and stabbed him in the breast. Then he cut off his head and carried it out with him under his cloak, keeping up, as he did so, a pretended conversation with him and saying that he would return speedily, as if he had been sent by the king to fetch something. Getting in this way to the place where he had left his horse tied, he mounted and rode off to Scythia. There was no pursuit of him, since the Bosporans remained long in ignorance of what had happened, and when they did find out about it, they fell to squabbling over the throne.

That, then, is what Lonchates did, and so fulfilled his promise to Arsacomas by giving him the head of Leucanor. As for Macentes, while on his way he had heard what had happened in Bosporus, and when he reached the Machlyans was the first to report to them the tidings of the king's death,¹ adding: "And the city, Adyrmachus, calls you to the throne, as his son-in-law; so you yourself must ride on ahead and take over the government, appear-

week or more (p. 183 and note) has elapsed before Macentes reaches the Machlyans, yet he returns in less than forty-eight hours, riding night and day, to be sure; but with the horse carrying double and therefore obliged to rest frequently.
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ἀρχήν, τεταραγμένοις τοὺς πράγμασιν ἐπιφανεῖς, ἡ κόρη δὲ σοι κατόπιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν ἐπέσθω· ἵνα ὑπὸ τούτων προσάξεις Βοσπόραν τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἱδόντας τὴν Λευκάνορος θυγατέρα. ἐγὼ δὲ Ἁλανός τὲ εἶμι καὶ τῇ παιδὶ ταυτῇ συγγενῆς μητρόθεν· παρ’ ἡμῶν γὰρ οὖσαν τὴν Μάστειραν ἥγαγετο ὁ Λευκάνωρ. καὶ νῦν σοι ἦκω παρὰ τῶν Μάστειρας ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Ἁλανία παρακελευμένων ὧτι τάχιστα ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ μὴ περι- ἱδεῖν ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐυβιοτὸν περιέλθουσαν τὴν ἀρχήν, ὃς ἀδελφός ὑπὸ νόθος Λευκάνορος Σκύθαις μὲν ἀεὶ φίλος ἐστίν, Ἁλανοῖς δὲ ἀπέχθεται.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἐλεγεν ὁ Μακέντης ὁμόσκευος καὶ ὁμόγλωττος τοῖς Ἁλανοῖς ὁν· κοινὰ γὰρ ταῦτα Ἁλανοῖς καὶ Σκύθαις, πλὴν ὅτι ὦ τά πάντα κομώδων οἱ Ἁλανοὶ ὀσπέρ οἱ Σκύθαι. ἀλλὰ ὁ Μακέντης καὶ τούτο εἰκαστο αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποκεκάρκει τῆς κόμης ὄποσον εἰκὸς ἦν ἐλαύνον κομάν τὸν Ἁλανὸν τοῦ Σκύθου. ὥστε ἐπιστεύετο διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐδόκει 2 Μάστειρας καὶ Μαζαίας συγγενής εἶναι.

52 "Καὶ νῦν," ἔφη, "ο Ἑυδύρμαχος, ἐλαύνειν τε 3 ἐτοιμός ἄμα σοι ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, ἦν ἐθέλησι, μένειν τε, εἰ δέοι, καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἄγειν." "Τούτο," ἔφη, "καὶ μᾶλλον," το Ἑυδύρμαχος, "ἐθελήσωμ' ἄν, ἀφ' αἵματος ὅντα σε Μαζαίαν ἄγειν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἄμα ἦμιν ἦς ἐπὶ Βόσπορον, ἢπεὶ ἐνι πλείους

1 ὡς Α.: for ἐσ cf. Herodotus III, 140.
2 καὶ ἐδόκει not in Α.
3 τε Ν (Bekker): not in other MSS:

1 Abridgement seems to enter here; for the fact that Eubiotus is the illegitimate brother of Leucanor does not in 186
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ing suddenly in the midst of things while they are unsettled; but the girl must follow you in your wagon-train, for in that way it will be easier for you to win over the common people in Bosporus, after they have seen the daughter of Leucanor. For myself, I am an Alan, and also related to the girl through her mother, since Masteira, whom Leucanor married, was of our people; and I come to you now on the part of Masteira’s brothers in the country of the Alans, who urge you to ride with all speed to Bosporus and not to let the government go over to Eubiotus, who being the illegitimate brother of Leucanor, is always friendly to the Scythians and detests the Alans.”

Macentes was able to say this because he wore the same dress and spoke the same tongue as the Alans. These characteristics are common to Alans and Scythians, except that the Alans do not wear their hair very long, as the Scythians do. Macentes, however, had made himself resemble them in this also, and had docked his hair by as much as an Alan’s would probably be shorter than a Scythian’s. Therefore he was believed, and was thought to be a relative of Masteira and Mazaea.

“Now then, Adyrmachus,” said he, “I am ready to ride with you to Bosporus, if you wish, or to remain, if necessary, and conduct the girl.” “That,” said Adyrmachus, “is what I should like better—that as you are of her blood, you should conduct Mazaea. For if you go with us to Bosporus, we should gain itself adequately account for his attitude toward the Scythians and the Alans. Was his mother a Scythian, or perhaps a Sarmatian? At this time he is living among the Sarmatians (§ 54).
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ἀν γενοίμεθα: εἰ δὲ μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἄγωις, ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν γένουι.

Ταῦτα ἐγκατείδισεν καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῆλαυνεν παραδοὺς τῷ Μακεντῇ ἄγεον τὴν Μαζαίαν παρθένον ἐτὶ οὕδαν. ὁ δὲ ἦμερας μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἤγεν αὐτήν, ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦξ κατέλαβεν, ἀναθέμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἐτεθεραπεύκει δὲ ἐνα σφίσιν ἄλλον ἱππέα ἐπεσθαί—ἀναπηδῆσας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκέτι παρὰ τὴν Μαιώτων ἢλαυνεν, ἀλλ' ἀποτραπόμενος εἰς τὴν μεσόγειαν ἐν δεξιᾷ λαβὼν τὰ Μιτραίων ὅρη, διαναπαύσας μεταξὺ τὴν παίδα, τριταῖος ἐτέλεσεν ἐκ Μαχλύων ἐσ. Σκύθας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱππος αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο 53 τοῦ δρόμου, μικρὸν ἐπιστάσας ἀποθνῄσκει, ὁ δὲ Μακεντῆς ἐγχείρισας τὴν Μαζαίαν τῷ Ἀρσακόμα, "Δέδεξο," εἶπεν, "καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν.

Τοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ θεάματος καταπλαγέντος καὶ χάριν ὀμολογοῦντος, "Παῦε," ἐφὶ ὁ Μακεντῆς, "ἄλλον με ποιῶν σεαυτοῦ τὸ γάρ χάριν ἐμοὶ ὀμολογεῖν ἐφ' ὅς ἔπραξα τούτους τοιώνδε ἐστὶν ὕστερ ἂν εἰ 1 ἡ ἀριστερὰ μου χάριν εἰδείη τῇ δεξιᾷ διότι τρωθεῖσαν ποτὲ αὐτὴν ἐθέραπευσε καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἐπεμελήθη καμνοῦσης. γελοῖα τούν τὰ καὶ ἤμεις ἂν ποιοίμεν εἰ πάλαι ἀναμιθέντες καὶ ὡς οἴον τε ἂν ἐνα συνελθόντες ἐτί μέγα νομίζομεν εἶναι εἰ τὸ μέρος ἦμῶν ἐπραξὲ τι χρηστὸν ὕπερ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος.

1 ei Guyet: not in MSS.

1 Macentes comes alone; this single horseman is therefore presumably a Machlyan, and hostile. What, then, becomes of him? Only implications enlighten us. For some reason Macentes does not do the obvious thing—kill him at night.
but a single horseman; but if you should conduct my wife, you would be as good as many.”

That was put into effect, and he rode off, leaving it to Macentes to conduct Mazaea, who was still a maid. And he did indeed escort her upon her wagon during the day; but when night overtook them, he set her upon his horse—he had seen to it that only one other horseman should attend them—himself leaped to his seat, and instead of continuing to ride along the shore of Lake Maeotis, turned off into the interior, taking on his right the mountains of the Mitracans. Stopping only at intervals to allow the girl to rest, on the third day he succeeded in reaching Scythia from Machlyene; his horse, on ceasing to run, stood still for a moment and fell dead, while Macentes, delivering Mazaea to Arsacomas, said: “Accept from me also the fulfilment of my promise!”

Arsacomas was amazed at the unexpectedness of that sight, and tried to express his gratitude, but Macentes said: “Stop making me a different person from yourself! To express gratitude to me for what I have done in this is just as if my left hand should be grateful to my right for ministering to it when it had been wounded and taking care of it fondly while it was weak. So with us—it would be ridiculous if, after having fused ourselves together long ago and united, as far as we could, into a single person, we should continue to think it a great thing if this or that part of us has done something useful in behalf of the whole body; for it and take his horse. Either he eludes them, or they elude him; and instead of following them, he posts ahead to overtake Adyrmachus with the news (§ 54).
υπέρ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔπραττεν, μέρος δὲν τοῦ ὅλου εὕπασχοντος.”

Οὕτως μὲν ὁ Μακέντης ἐφη τῷ Ἀρσακόμα 54 χάριν ὁμολογήσαντι. ὁ δὲ Ἀδύρμαχος ὡς ἦκουσε τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, εἰς μὲν τὸν Βόσπορον οὐκέτι ἤλθεν—ἡδη γὰρ Ἐὐβίοτος ἤρχεν, ἐπικληθεῖς ἐκ Σαυροματῶν, παρ' οἷς διέτριβεν—εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπανελθὼν καὶ στρατιῶν πολλὰς συναγαγὼν διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς εἰσέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ ὁ Ἐὐβίοτος οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καὶ οὕτος εἰσέπεσεν ἄγων πανδημεί μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, Ἀλανοῦς δὲ καὶ Σαυρομάτας ἐπικλήτους ἐκατέρως διωμυρίους. ἀναμέιγαν τε τὰ στρατεύματα ὁ Ἐὐβίοτος καὶ ὁ Ἀδύρμαχος, ἐνεέα μυριάδες ἄπαντες ἐγένοντο καὶ τούτων τὸ τρίτον ἱπποτοξόται.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ—καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶς μετέσχον τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτοῖς, ἐπιδοῦσ ἐν τῇ βύρσῃ τότε ἱππεάς αὐτοτελεῖσ ἐκατόν—οὐ πολλὰ ἔλαττον τῶν τρισμυρίων σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἁθροισθέντες ὑπεμένομεν τὴν ἔφοδον· ἐστρατήγηε δὲ ὁ Ἀρσακόμας καὶ ἐπειδὴ προσίόντας εἴδομεν αὐτοὺς, ἀντεπήγομεν, προεπαφέντες τὸ ἱππικόν. γενομένης δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ μάχης καρτερᾶς ἐνεδίδου ἦδη τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ παρερρήγυντο ἡ φάλαγξ, καὶ τέλος εἰς δύο διεκόπη τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἄπαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπέφευγεν, οὐ πάνω σαφῶς ἠττημένον, ἀλλ' ἀναχώρησις ἐδόκει ἡ φυγὴ οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Ἀλανοὶ ἔτολμοι ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκειν. τὸ δὲ ἢμισυ, ὅπερ καὶ ἔλαττον, περισχόντας οἱ Ἀλανοὶ καὶ Μάχλυες ἐκοπτῶν παντοχόθεν ἀφθόνως ἀφιέντες τῶν ὁίστων καὶ ἄκοντῶν,
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was working in its own behalf as a part of the whole organism to which the good was being done."

This, then, was the reply of Macentes to Arsacomas when he expressed his gratitude. But when Adyrmachus heard of the stratagem, instead of going on to Bosporus, inasmuch as Eubiotus had been summoned from the Sauromatae, with whom he was living, and was already on the throne, he returned to his own country, and after assembling a great army, advanced through the hill-country into Scythia. Eubiotus, too, presently made an incursion with his Greeks in full force and allied levies of Alans and Sauromatae numbering twenty thousand from each. After Eubiotus and Adyrmachus had combined their armies, they amounted in all to ninety thousand, a third of them mounted archers.

For our part (and I say our, because I myself took part in their expedition, having offered on the hide at that time a hundred self-supporting horsemen) we had raised not much less than thirty thousand, including the horsemen, and were awaiting their onset; our commander was Arsacomas. When we saw them coming on, we marched forward to meet them, sending our horsemen out in advance. After a long and hard-fought battle, our side in time began to give ground, the phalanx began to break, and at last the entire Scythian force was cut in two. One part began to withdraw, but it was not at all certain that they were beaten; indeed, their flight was considered a retreat, for even the Alans did not venture to pursue them any distance. The other, smaller part was surrounded by the Alans and Machlyans, who were hammering it from all sides, loosing arrows and javelins without stint; so that
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ὡστε πάνυ ἐπονοῦντο ἦμων οἱ περιεσχημένοι, καὶ ἦδη προῖνετο οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ὀπλα.

55 Ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ Λογχάτης καὶ ὁ Μακέντης ἔτυχον οὕτε καὶ ἐτέτρωντο ἦδη προκινδυνεύοντες, ὁ μὲν στυρακίῳ εἰς τὸν μηρόν, ὁ Λογχάτης, ὁ Μακέντης δὲ πελέκει εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κοντῷ εἰς τὸν ὄμον. ὅπερ αἰσθόμενος ὁ 'Αρσακόμας, ἐν ἦμιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄν, δεινὸν ἡγησάμενός εἰ ἀπεισὶ καταλπῶν τοὺς φίλους, προσβαλῶν τοὺς μύσπας τῷ ὑππῷ ἐμβοήσας ἤλαυνε διὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν κοπίδα διηρμένοι, ὡστε τοὺς Μάχλυκας μηδὲ ψυχήν τοῦ βόθιον τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διαμεθέντες ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ διεξέλθειν.

'Ο δὲ ἀνακτησάμενος τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾷ παρακαλέσας ὀρμήσεν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ἀδύρραχον καὶ πατάξας τῇ κοπίδι παρὰ τὸν αὐχένα μέχρι τῆς ζώνης διέτεμεν. πεσόντος δὲ ἐκείνου διελύθη τὸ Μαχλυῖκον ἢπαν, καὶ τὸ Ἀλανικὸν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ, καὶ οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡστε ἐκρατοῦμεν εἰς ὑπαρχῆς ἥμεις καὶ ἐπεξήλθομεν ἃν ἐπὶ πολὺ κτείνοντες, εἰ μὴ νῦς τὸ ἔργον ἀφελέτο.

Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιφύσαν ἴκεται παρὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἢκοντες ἐδέοντο φιλίαν ποιεῖσθαι, Βοστοροναὶ μὲν υποτελέσεων διπλάσιον τὸν δασμὸν ὑπισχυοῦμενοι, Μάχλινες δὲ ὀμήρους δῶσεν ἔφασαν, οἱ Ἀλανοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἑφόδου ἐκείνης Συνδιανοὺς ἦμῖν χειρώσασθαι ὑπέστησαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διεστῶτας, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπείσθημεν, δόξαν πολὺ πρότερον.
those of us who had been surrounded were suffering severely, and the rank and file were already throwing away their arms.

Lonchates and Macentes happened to be in this part, and had already received wounds from fighting in the front ranks, Lonchates in the thigh with the spike of a spear-butt, Macentes on the head with an axe and on the shoulder with a javelin. When Arsacomas, who was with us others, perceived that, thinking it would be dreadful if he should go away and abandon his friends, he put spurs to his horse, gave a great shout, and charged among the enemy with uplifted battle-axe, so that the Machlyans could not even face the fury of his wrath but separated and allowed him to go through.

He encouraged his friends and rallied all the others, then rushed at Adyrmachus, struck him at the base of the neck with his axe, and clove him to the belt. Upon his fall they gave way—the whole Machlyan force first, the Alans not long afterwards, and the Greeks next. So we had the upper hand once more, and might have pursued them for a long distance, killing them, if night had not ended the business.

On the next day men came to us as suppliants from the enemy and asked us to make friends; the Bosporans promised to pay us twice as much tribute, the Machlyans said that they would give hostages, and the Alans to make up for that attack undertook to help us by subduing the Sindians, who had revolted some time previously. On those terms we assented, but only after the approval of Arsacomas

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1 στυρακίῳ εἰς Fritzsche: τυρακτωθεὶς MSS.
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'Αρσακόμα καὶ Δογχάτη, καὶ ἐγένετο εἰρήνη ἑκείνων πρυτανεύόντων ἐκαστα.
Τοιαῦτα, ὁ Μνῆσιππε, τολμῶσιν ποιεῖν Σκύθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

56 Πάνω τραγικά, ὁ Τόξαρι, καὶ μῦθοι ὅμοιοι καὶ ἱλεως μὲν ὁ Ἀκινάκης καὶ ὁ Ἀνεμός εἶνεν, οὗς ὁμοςα: εἰ δ’ οὖν 1 τις ἀπιστοῖ ἀυτοῖς, οὐ πάνω μεμπτὸς εἶναι δόξειν ἄν.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

'Ἀλλʼ ὅρα, ὁ γενναῖε, μὴ φθόνος ύμῶν ἡ ἀπιστία ἥ. πλὴν οὐκ ἐμὲ ἀποτρέψεις ἀπιστῶν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰπεῖν ἃ οἶδα ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν γενόμενα.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Μὴ μακρὰ μόνον, ὁ ἄριστε, μηδὲ οὕτως ἀφέτοις χρώμενος τοῖς λόγοις. ὡς νῦν γε, ἀνω καὶ κάτω τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ τὴν Μαχλυανήν 2 διαθέων καὶ εἰς τὸν Βόσπορον ἀπιῶν, εἰτ’ ἐπανιῶν, πάνω μου κατεχρῆσω τῇ σιωπῇ.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

Πειστέον καὶ ταῦτά σοι νομοθετοῦντι καὶ διὰ βραχέων λεκτέων, μὴ καὶ κάμης ἡμῖν τῇ ἀκοῇ 57 σύμπερινοιτῶν. μάλλον δὲ ἄκουσον ἐμοί αὐτῶ οἶα φíλος, Σισίνης τούνομα, υπηρέτησεν.

1 δ’ οὖν Fritzsche: γοῦν MSS.
2 Cf. Μαχλυανή in § 34.

1 Macentes would seem to have died of his wounds, though Lucian does not say so. It may be noted, too, that although
and Lonchates had been given; and when the treaty of peace was made, they negotiated the details.

Such are the deeds, Mnesippus, that Scythians dare to do for their friends.

MNESIPPUS

They are very dramatic, Toxaris, and quite like fables. May Glaive and Wind, by whom you swore, be good to me, but really, if one were to disbelieve them, one would not seem very open to criticism.

TOXARIS

But see to it, my gallant adversary, that your disbelief is not jealousy! Nevertheless, I am not the man to let your disbelieving me deter me from telling you other such deeds that I know to have been done by Scythians.

MNESIPPUS

Only don’t let them be too protracted, my excellent friend, and don’t use such an unembarrassed flow of speech; for as it is, by running hither and thither through Scythia and Machlyene, and by going off to Bosporus and then coming back again, you have taken very liberal advantage of my silence.

TOXARIS

In this too I must obey your dictates; I must speak briefly so that I shall not have you getting completely tired out by following me all about with your attention. No, rather let me tell you how I myself was assisted by a friend named Sisinnes.

the Sauromatians contributed 20,000 men to the invading force, we hear nothing of their part either in the battle or in the settlement.
"Οτε γὰρ Ἀθήναζε ἀπῆεν οἰκοθεν ἐπιθυμία παιδείας τῆς Ἕλληνικῆς, κατέπλευσα εἰς "Ἀμαστρών τὴν Ποντικήν. ἐν προσβολῇ δὲ ἐστὶν τοῖς ἀπὸ Σκυθίας προσπλέουσιν, ἃ πόλις. εἰπετο δὲ ὁ Σισίνης ἐστάρος ἐκ παιδός ὄν. ήμεῖς μὲν οὖν καταγωγήν τυν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι σκεφάμενοι κάκ τοῦ πλοίου ἐς αὐτὴν μετασκευασάμενοι ἡγοράζομεν, οὐδὲν πονηρὸν ὑφορώμενοι: ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ κλάπτεσ τινες ἀνασπά- σαντες τὸ κλείστρον ἐκφέρουσιν ἀπαντα, ὡς μὴ ἔσε ἐς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν διαρκέσοντα καταλιπεῖν.

'Επανελθόντες οὖν οἰκάδε καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς μαθόντες, δικάζεσθαι μὲν τοῖς γείτοσι πολλοῖς ὀδαίν ἢ τῶν ἔξων οὐκ ἐδοκιμάζομεν, δεδιότες μὴ συκοφανταί δόξωμεν τοῖς πολλοῖς λέγοντες ὡς ὑφείλετο ἡμῶν τις δαρείκους τετρακοσίους καὶ ἐσθήτα πολλήν καὶ δάπιδας τινας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα 58 ὁπόσα εἴχομεν. ἐσκοπούμεθα δὲ περὶ τῶν παρόν- των ὁ τι πράξομεν, ἀποροι παντάπασιν ἐν τῇ ἄλλοδαπῇ γενόμενοι. κάμοι μὲν ἐδόκει ὡς εἰχον αὐτοῦ παραβύσαντα ἐς τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ ἀκινάκην ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ βίου πρὶν ἀγεννές τι ὑποστήναι λιμῷ ἢ δίφει πιεσθέντα, ὁ δὲ Σισίνης παρεμβείτο καὶ ἰκέτευεν μηδὲν τοιοῦτο ποιεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπινοήσεις οθεν ἐξομεν ἰκανῶς τὰς τροφὰς.

Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐξῆλα ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος παρεκο- μισεν καὶ ἤκεν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἐπισκεύασμενοι· ἐσθεν δὲ περιῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴδε προπομπῆν２ τινα, ὡς ἐφη, γενναίων καὶ καλῶν νεανίσκων.

1 πλέουσιν Ἀ.
2 προπομπῆν Γ: πομπῆν N cett. Note ὡς ἐφη.
When I was going away from home to Athens by reason of my desire for Greek culture, I put in at Amastris, on the Black Sea; the city is a port of call for those sailing this way from Scythia, not far distant from Carambis. I was accompanied by Sisinnes, who had been my companion from childhood. After looking out a lodging near the port and transferring our effects to it from the vessel, we went shopping, without suspecting any mischief. In the meantime thieves pried the door open and carried off everything, so as not to leave even enough to suffice for that day.

When we returned home and found out what had happened, we did not think it best to proceed against the neighbours, who were numerous, or against our host; fearing that we should be accounted blackmailers in public opinion if we said that someone had robbed us of four hundred darics, a great deal of clothing, some rugs, and all the other things that we had. So we discussed the situation to see what we should do, now that we had become absolutely penniless in a strange country. My own thought was to plunge my sword into my side forthwith, and make my exit from life before enduring any unseemly experience under the pressure of hunger or thirst, but Sisinnes encouraged me and begged me not to do anything of that sort, for he himself would discover a means of our having enough to live on.

That day, therefore, he carried lumber in from the port and came back with supplies for us which he had procured with his wages. But the next morning, while going about in the market-place he saw a sort of procession, as he put it, of high-spirited,
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59 Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ πονηρῶς τὸ μεταξὺ ἀποζήσαντες, ἐνστάσης ἦδη τῆς θεᾶς έθεώμεθα καὶ αὐτοί· παραλαβὼν γὰρ μὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τερτοῦν τί καὶ παράδοξον θέαμα τῶν Ἔλληνικῶν ἄγει εἰς τὸ θέατρον. καὶ καθίσαντες ἐωράωμεν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θηρία κατακοντιζόμενα καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν διωκόμενα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπους διεδέμενος ἀφιέμενα, κακούργους τινὰς, ὡς εἰκάζομεν. ἔπει δὲ εἰσῆλθον οἱ μονομάχοι καὶ τινὰ παραγαγὼν ὁ κήρυξ εὔμεγέθη νεανίσκον εἶπεν, ὡστε ἢν ἐθέλῃ τοῦτῳ μονομαχήσαι, ἤκειν εἰς τὸ μέσον δραχμὰς ληφόμενον μυρίας μισθὸν τῆς μάχης, ἐνταῦθα ἐξανίσταται ὁ Σισίνης καὶ καταπηδήσας ὑπέστη μαχεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ὀπλὰ ἤτει, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν λαβὼν, τὰς μυρίας ἐμοὶ φέρων ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ "Εἰ μὲν κρατήσαμι, ὁ Τόξαρι," εἶπεν, "άμα ἀπιμέν ἐχοντες τὰ ἁρκοῦντα, ἢν δὲ πέσω, θάψας με ὑποχώρει ὑπίσω ἐς Σκύθας."

60 Ἡγὼ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκώκυνον, ὃ δὲ λαβὼν τὰ ὀπλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ περιεδήσατο, τὸ κράνος δὲ οὐκ ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γυμνῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς καταστάς ἐμάχετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τιτρωσκεται αὐτός, καμπύλω τῷ ξίφει ὑπομηθεὶς τὴν ἵγνυαν, ὡστε αἶμα ἔρρει πολὺ. ἡγὼ δὲ προετθηκεν ἢδη τῷ δέει. ὅραστερον δὲ ἐπιφερό-

1 οὐκ ἐπέθηκεν K. F. Hermann: οὐ κατέθηκεν MSS.
handsome young men. These had been enrolled to fight duels for hire and were to settle their combats on the next day but one. Well, he found out all about them, and then came to me, saying: "Toxaris, you need not call yourself a poor man any longer; on the day after to-morrow I shall make you rich."

Those were his words; accordingly, we eked out a wretched existence during the interval, and when at length the spectacle began we were there looking on, for taking me with him on the pretext of going to see a Greek show that would be enjoyable and novel, he had brought me to the theatre. We took our seats, and first we saw wild beasts brought down with javelins, hunted with dogs, and loosed upon men in chains—criminals, we conjectured. Then the gladiators entered, and the herald, bringing in a tall youth, said that whoever wanted to fight with that man should come forward, and would receive ten thousand drachmas in payment for the encounter. Thereupon Sisinnes arose, and, leaping down, undertook to fight and requested arms. On receiving his pay, the ten thousand drachmas, he promptly put it in my hands, saying: "If I win, Toxaris, we shall go away together, with all that we need; but if I fall, bury me and go back to Scythia."

While I was lamenting over this, he was given his armour and fastened it on, except that he did not put on the helmet but took position bareheaded and fought that way. He himself received the first wound, an under-cut in the back of the thigh, dealt with a curved sword, so that blood flowed copiously. For my part, I was already as good as dead in my fright. But he waited until his opponent rushed
μενον τηρήσας τὸν ἀντίταλον παίει εἰς τὸ στέρνον καὶ διήλασεν, ὡστε αὐτίκα ἐπεπτώκει πρὸ τοῦ ποδοῦν ἀυτοῦ. ὃ δὲ κάμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματός ἐπεκάθιζε τῷ νεκρῷ, καὶ μικρὸ δὲν ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ προσδραμὼν ἀνέστησα καὶ παρεμνησάμην. ἔπει δὲ ἀφεῖται ἥδη νενικηκός, ἀράμενος αὐτὸν ἐκόμισα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ θεραπευθεὶς ἐπέζησε μὲν καὶ ἔστι μέχρι νῦν ἐν Σκύθαις, γῆμας τὴν ἐμὴν ἄδελφήν· χωλὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὄμως ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος.

Τούτῳ, ὦ Μνήσιππε, οὐκ ἐν Μάχλυσι οὐδὲ ἐν Ἁλανίᾳ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι καὶ ἀποστείσθαι δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ πάρειων Ἀμαστριανῶν μεμνημένοι τὴν μάχην ἕτερον. 61 Πέμπτον ἔτι σοι τὸ Ἀβαύχα ἐργον διηγησάμενον παῦσομαι. ἤκεν ποτε οὕτως ὁ Ἀβαύχας εἰς τὴν Βορυσθενίτων πόλει ἐπαγόμενος καὶ γυναῖκα, ἢς ἡρα μάλιστα, καὶ παιδία δύο· τὸ μὲν ἐπιμαστὸς, ἄροιν, τὸ δὲ ἐτερον, ἡ κόρη, ἐπτέτος ἦν, συναπεδήμει δὲ καὶ ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ, Γυναίκης, οὕτως μὲν καὶ νοσῶν ἀπὸ τραύματος ὁ ἐτέρωτο κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ὑπὸ λιθῶν ἐπιπέσοντων σφίσταν διαμαχόμενος γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑλαύνεται εἰς τὸν μηρόν, ὡστε οὕδε ἐστάναι ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀδύνης. νῦκτωρ δὲ καθευδόντων—ἐτυχον δὲ ἐν ὑπερφῶ των οἰκοῦντες—πυρκαϊὰ μεγάλη ἐξανισταμέναι καὶ πάντα περικλείετο καὶ περείχεν ἡ φλοξ ἀπανταχόθεν τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐνταύθα δὴ ἄνεγρομένος ὁ Ἀβαύχας καταληπτῶν τὰ παιδία κλαυθμορίζομενα

1 τὴν μάχην ἘΝΒ: τῆς μάχης ΜΑ.
upon him too confidently; then he stabbed him in the breast and ran him through, so that on the instant he fell at his feet. Himself labouring under his wound, he sat down upon the body and his life almost left him, but I, running up, revived and inspired him. When at length he was dismissed as victor, I picked him up and carried him to our lodgings. After long treatment he survived and still lives in Scythia, with my sister as his wife; he is lame, however, from his wound.

That, Mnesippus, did not happen either in Machlyene or among the Alans, so as to be unattested and possible to disbelieve; there are many Amastrians here who remember the fight of Sisinnes.

As the fifth, I shall tell you the deed of Abauchas, and then I shall stop. Once upon a time this man Abauchas came to the city of the Borysthenites, bringing his wife, of whom he was exceptionally fond, and two children, one of whom, a boy, was a child in arms, while the other, a girl, was seven years old. There came with him also a companion of his, Gyndanes, who was ill of a wound which he had received on the way from robbers who had attacked them. In fighting with them he had got a thrust in the thigh, so that he could not even stand for the pain of it. During the night, as they slept—they chanced to be living in an upper story—a great fire broke out, every avenue of escape was being cut off, and the flames were encompassing the house on all sides. At that juncture Abauchas woke up; abandoning his crying children, shaking off his wife

1 Olbia.
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καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκκρεμανυμένην ἕποςεισάμενος καὶ σώζειν αὐτὴν παρακελευσάμενος, ἀράμενος τὸν ἑταίρον κατῆλθεν καὶ ἔφη διεκπαίδας καθ' ὅ μηδὲπω τελέως ἀπεκέκαυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς. ἡ γυνή δὲ φέρουσα τὸ βρέφος εἶπετο, ἀκολουθεῖν κελεύσασα καὶ τὴν κόρην. ἦ δὲ ἡμίφλεκτος ἀφείσα τὸ παιδίον ἐκ τῆς ἀγκάλης μόλις διεπήδησε τὴν φλόγα, καὶ ἥ παις σὺν αὐτῇ, παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθοῦσα κάκειν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ὢνείδατον τις ὑστερον τὸν Ἀβαύχαν διότι προδοῦσα τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ δὲ Γυνδάνην ἐξεκομίσετο, "Ἀλλὰ παῖδας μὲν," ἔφη, "καὶ αὐτίς ποιήσασθαι μοι ράδιον, καὶ ἄδηλον εἰ ἀγαθὸν ἐσονται οὐτοὶ φίλον δὲ οὐκ ἃν εὐρομὴ ἄλλον ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τινοῦτον οἶος Γυνδάνης ἐστίν, πείραν μοι πολλὴν τῆς εὐνοίας παρεσχημένος."

62 Εὐφηκά, ὁ Μνήσππε, ἀπὸ πολλῶν πέντε τούτοις προχειρισάμενος. ἦδη δὲ καιρὸς ἂν εἰ λεγαρίσθαι ὑπότερον ἡμῶν ἢ τὴν γλώτταν ἢ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀποτετμηθαί δεοί. τίς οὖν ὁ δικάσων ἐστίν;

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Οὐδὲ εἰς ὅ γὰρ ἐκαθίσαμεν τινα δικαστὴν τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλ' οἷσθα δ' ἐπείστωθεν; ἑπεὶδὴ νῦν ἁσκοτα τετοξεύκαμεν, αὐθίς ἐλομενοι διατηκὴν ἄλλους ἐπὶ ἑκεῖνω εὑπομεν φίλους, εἶτα δὲ ἂν

2 ἂν Geist: not in MSS.
3 δράσώμεν Γ: δράσομεν other MSS.

1 The reasoning of Abachas on this point is suspiciously like that ascribed to Seleucus Nicator by Lucian in the
as she hung upon him and urging her to save herself, he carried his comrade down and managed to burst through at a place which the fire had not yet completely burned away. His wife, carrying the baby, followed, telling the girl too to come along. Half-burned, she let the child fall from her arms and barely leaped through the flames, and with her the little girl, who also came very near losing her life. When someone afterwards rebuked Abauchas for abandoning his wife and children but bringing out Gyndanes, he said: “Why, I can easily have other children, and it was uncertain whether these would be good for anything, but I could not in a long time find another friend like Gyndanes, who has given me abundant proof of his devotion.”

I have finished, Mnesippus, the story of these five, whom I have selected out of many. And now it is perhaps time to decide which of us is to have either his tongue or his right hand cut off, as the case may be. Who, then, will be our judge?

MNESIPPUS

No one at all; for we did not appoint any judge of the debate. But do you know what we ought to do? Since this time we have shot into the void, let us some other day choose an umpire and in his presence tell of other friends; then, whichever of us

Goddess of Syria (18: Vol. IV, p. 364), to Antigone by Sophocles (Antig. 905–912), and to the wife of Intaphernes by Herodotus (III, 119). We cannot, however, be entirely certain in the case of Abauchas that it derives from the Herodotean story. There are parallels from India (in the Ramayana and in the Jatakas: Hermes, XXVIII, 465) and from Persia: ibid., XXIX, 155); cf. also, for modern Syria, A. Goodrich-Freer, Arabs in Tent and Town, p. 25.
ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΟΘΗΛΙΑΣ ΛΥΤΙΟΥ

...καὶ οὖτω ποιῶμεν.

...οἷς κύλικος ἐκεῖνης ἦν πίνετε, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε τοιαύτα οὐκ ἀνάγκης ἄλλα γνώμης δεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ.
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

gets beaten shall at that time have his tongue cut off if it be I, or his right hand if it be you. Or, if that is crude, inasmuch as you have resolved to extol friendship and I myself think that men have no other possession better or nobler than this, why should not we ourselves make an agreement with each other to be friends from this instant and remain so for ever, content that both have won and thereby have obtained magnificent prizes, since instead of a single tongue or a single right hand each of us will get two, and what is more, two pairs of eyes and of feet; in a word, everything multiplied by two? For the union of two or three friends is like the pictures of Geryon that artists exhibit—a man with six hands and three heads. Indeed, to my mind Geryon was three persons acting together in all things, as is right if they are really friends.

TOXARIS

Good! let us do so.

MNESIPPUS

But let us not feel the need of blood, Toxaris, or any sword to confirm our friendship. This conversation of ours just now and the similarity of our ideals are far more dependable sureties than that cup which your people drink, since achievements like these require resolution rather than compulsion, it seems to me.

1 Text N: κάλλιον εἶναι τινα οὐχὶ ΓΒΑ.
2 δοκεῖν Hartman: δοκεῖ MSS.
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ΤΟΞΑΡΙΣ

'Επαινῶ ταῦτα, καὶ ἠδη ὰμεν φίλοι καὶ ξένοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν σὺ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ εἰ ποτε ἐσ τὴν Σκυθίαν ἀφίκου.

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν, εὗ ἵσθι, οὐκ ἂν ὅκνῆσαιμι καὶ ἐτὶ πορρωτέρῳ ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μέλλω τοιούτοις φίλοις ἐντεύξεσθαι οἷος σὺ, ὡς Τοξαρι, διεφάνης ἦμιν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων.
TOXARIS, OR FRIENDSHIP

TOXARIS

I approve all this; so let us now be friends and each the other's host, you mine here in Hellas and I yours if ever you should come to Scythia.

MNESIPPUS

Truly you may be very sure that I shall not hesitate to go even farther if I am to meet such friends as you, Toxaris, have clearly shown me that you are, by what you have said.
THE DANCE

An encomiastic treatise, set in a frame of dialogue. The Cynic Crato, who has no manner of use for pantomimic dancing or those who go to see it, is converted by Lycinus.

In that form of dancing, a dramatic plot was enacted by a masked and costumed dancer, supported by an actor (p. 271, n. 3). The dancer’s lines were spoken for him by someone else. There was also a chorus, and, for accompaniment, the flute and the syrinx, with various instruments of percussion, including the “iron shoe” (p. 285, n. 2). The name pantomime, denoting properly the dancer, not the dance, and coined in Italy, according to Lucian (§ 67), is eschewed by Lucian and the other Atticists, who speak simply of "dancers." Inscriptions show a cumbersome official designation voicing a claim to affinity with tragedy (τραγικῆς ἔρωθμοι κινήσεως ὑποκριτῆς, see L. Robert, Hermes, LXV [1930], 106-122). The art was sometimes called "tragic" dancing (Athen., I, 20), but not by Lucian, who, moreover, does not let himself in for the error that it was invented by Bathyllus and Pylades (Athen., l.c.; Zosimus, I, 6), but represents only that it began to attain perfection under Augustus.

Vastly popular, it invited notice from rhetoricians as well as philosophers. Aristides issued an invective against it, now lost, but in good part recoverable from quotations in the reply of Libanius (cf. Mesk, Wiener Studien, XXX [1908], 59-74). Lucian knew the book of Aristides, then quite new, but elected not to reply to it directly. His dialogue was probably written, as D. S. Robertson has indicated, at Antioch in 162-165 A.D., when the Emperor Verus was there, in compliment to him because of his interest in dancers (Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway, p. 180; cf. L. Robert, cited above). The treatment is on traditional lines, especially in respect of its emphasis upon gods, heroes, and nations who have practised or patronized the art, and poets and philosophers who have sanctioned it; compare, for instance, The Parasite, and Astrology. It is not meant to be taken too seriously, in this part above all.
ΠΕΡΙ ΟΡΧΗΣΕΩΣ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1 Ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν, ὦ Κράτων, δεινὴν τινα ταύτην κατηγορίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ, οἷμαι, παρεσκευασμένος κατηγόρηκας ὀρχήσεων ἓν τε καὶ αὐτῆς ὀρχηστικῆς, καὶ προσέτι ἡμῶν γε τῶν χαίροντων τῇ τοιαύτῃ θέα ὡς ἐπὶ φαύλῳ καὶ γυναικεῖοι πράγματι μεγάλην σπουδὴν ποιουμένων, ἄκουσον ὅσον τοῦ ὀρθοῦ διημάρτηκας καὶ ὡς λέληθας σεαυτὸν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀγαθῶν κατηγορῶν. καὶ συγγνώμη σοι εἰ εἴξ ἀρχής βίως αὐχμηρῶς συζῶν καὶ μόνον τὸ σκληρόν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος ὑπ' ἀπειρίας αὐτῶν κατηγορίας ἄξια εἶναι νενόμικας.

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

2 Ἀνὴρ δὲ τὶς ὅν ὀλως ἕν τε παιδεία σύντροφος καὶ φιλοσοφία τὰ μέτρια ὡμιληκῶς, ἀφέμενος, ὦ Λυκίνε, τοῦ περὶ τὰ βελτίω σπουδάζειν καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς συνεῖναι κάθηται καταυλουμένος, θηλυδρίαν ἀνθρωπον ὅρων ἐσθῆσι μαλακαῖς καὶ ἁσμασιν ἀκολόστοις ἐναβρυνόμενον καὶ μιμούμενοι ἐρωτικὰ γύναια, τῶν πάλαι τὰς μαχλοτάτας, Φαίδρας καὶ Παρθενόπας καὶ Ὀρνόπας τινὰς,
THE DANCE

LYCINUS

Well, Crato, this is a truly forceful indictment that you have brought, after long preparation, I take it, against dances and the dancer’s art itself, and besides against us who like to see that sort of show, accusing us of displaying great interest in something unworthy and effeminate; but now let me tell you how far you have missed the mark and how blind you have been to the fact that you were indicting the greatest of all the good things in life. For that I can excuse you if, having been wedded to a rude creed from the first and considering only what is hard to be good, through unacquaintance with it all you have thought that it deserved indicting.

CRATO

Who that is a man at all, a life-long friend of letters, moreover, and moderately conversant with philosophy, abandons his interest, Lycinus, in all that is better and his association with the ancients to sit enthralled by the flute, watching a girlish fellow play the wanton with dainty clothing and bawdy songs and imitate love-sick minxes, the most erotic of all antiquity, such as Phaedra and Parthenope and

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2 ὀλὼς Γ (interlinear, abbreviated) Vat. 87: ὅ λῴσε Γ¹ vulg. (ὁ omitted in N). Cf. καὶ οὐδεὶς ὀλὼς εἴδε, Gallus, 29.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπὸ κρούμασιν καὶ τερετίσμασι καὶ ποδῶν κτύπῳ, καταγέλαστα ὡς ἀληθῶς πράγματα καὶ ήκιστα ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ οἷῳ σοὶ πρέποντα; ὥστε ἔγγυον πυθόμενον ὡς ἐπὶ τοιαύτη θέα σχολάζοις, οὖν ἡδέσθην μόνον ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμιάθην εἰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐκλαθόμενος κάθησαι τὸ ὁμοιον πεποιῆσας τοὺς τὰ ὅτα πτερὰ κυμμένους, καὶ ταῦτα μυρίων ἄλλων ὄντων ἀκουσμάτων καὶ θεαμάτων σπουδαίων, εἰ τούτων τις δεότου; τῶν κυκλίων 1 αὐλητῶν καὶ τῶν κιθάρας τὰ ἐννομα προσανώτων, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς σεμνῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς φαινορτάτης κωμῳδίας, ἀπερ καὶ ἐναγώνα εἴναι ἥξιωται.

3 Πολλῆς οὖν, ω γενναίε, τῆς ἀπολογίας σου δεῖσει πρὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους, εἰ βούλει μη παντάπασιν ἐκκεκρίσθαι καὶ τῆς τῶν σπουδαίων ἀγέλης ἔξεληλάσθαι. καίτοι τὸ γε ἀμεινὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐστων, οὕμαι, ἀρνήσει τὸ πᾶν ἱάσασθαι καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀμολογεῖν τι τοιοῦτον παρανομήσθαι σοι. πρὸς δὲ οὖν τοῦποιν ὅρα ὅπως μὴ λάθης ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ πάλαι Λυδῆ τις Ἡ Βάκχη γενόμενος, ὀπερ οὐ σὸν ἄν ἐγκήλμα εἰη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

1 κυκλίων N: κυκλι ὁν Γ (i.e., space left and accent omitted because of variant reading in original): κυκλικῶν (ECA) vulg. Cp. § 26 αὐλητὰς κυκλίους.

1 Parthenope, the beloved of Metiochus the Phrygian, was the heroine of a lost romance; on the extant fragment, see New Chapters in the Hist. of Greek Lit., III, 238-240. Rhodope is probably the Thracian mentioned below in § 51, who married Haemus, her brother; they insolently likened themselves to Zeus and Hera, and were turned into the mountains known by their names.
Rhodope,¹ every bit of this, moreover, accompanied by strumming and tootling and tapping of feet?²—a ridiculous business in all truth, which does not in the least become a freeborn gentleman of your sort. So for my part, when I learned that you give your time to such spectacles, I was not only ashamed on your account but sorely distressed that you should sit there oblivious of Plato and Chrysippus and Aristotle, getting treated like people who have themselves tickled in the ear with a feather, and that too when there are countless other things to hear and see that are worth while, if one wants them—flute-players who accompany cyclic choruses, singers of conventional compositions for the lyre,³ and in especial, grand tragedy and comedy, the gayest of the gay; all these have even been held worthy to figure in competitions.

You will need, therefore, to do a great deal of pleading in your own defence, my fine fellow, when you confront the enlightened, if you wish to avoid being eliminated absolutely and expelled from the fold of the serious-minded. And yet the better course for you, I suppose, is to mend the whole matter by pleading not guilty and not admitting at all that you have committed any such misdemeanour. Anyhow, keep an eye to the future and see to it that you do not surprise us by changing from the man that you were of old to a Lyde or a Bacche. That would be a reproach not only to you but to us, unless, follow-

² See p. 285, n. 2, below.
³ The reference is to the citharoedi, soloists who played their own accompaniment on the lyre; of their songs, called nomes, the Persians of Timotheus is the only surviving specimen.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ήμων, εἰ μὴ σε κατὰ τὸν 'Οδυσσέα τοῦ λωτοῦ ἀποσπάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς συνήθεις διατριβὰς ἐπανά-
ξομεν πρὸν λάθης τελέως υπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Ἐκείνην κατεσχημένος. καὶ τοι τῶν μοῦν ἐπεβούλευον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θηροῦ ἐδέησαν πρὸς τὸν παράπλουν αὐτῶν· σὺ δὲ καὶ δὴ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔοικας ὅλος δεδουλῶσθαί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

4 Παπά, ὁ Κράτων, ὡς κάρχαρὸν τινά ἔλυσας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸν σαῦτον κύνα. πλὴν τὸ γε παράδειγμα, τὴν τῶν Δωτοφάγων καὶ Σειρήνων εἰκόνα, πάνυ ἀνομοιότατην μοι δοκεῖς εἰρηκέναι διὶ πέπωθα, παρὶ ὅσον τοῖς μὲν τοῦ λωτοῦ γευσαμένοις καὶ τῶν Σειρήνων ἀκούσασιν ὀλέθρος ἢν τῆς τε ἐδωδῆς καὶ τῆς ἀκροάσεως τοῦπτιμίου, ἔμοι δὲ πρὸς τῷ τῆς ἱδωνήν παρὰ πολὺ ἕδων πεφυκέναι καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀγαθὸν ἀποβέβηκεν· οὕ γάρ εἰς λήπην τῶν οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐς ἀγνωσίαν τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν περι-
σταμαι, ἀλλ' εἰ χρῆ μηδὲν ὀκνήσαντα εἰπεῖν, μακρὸ πινυτώτερος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίω διορατι-
κώτερος ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου σοι ἐπανελήλυθα. μᾶλλον δὲ, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν καλὸν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦτο ἱδὼν τὸ θέαμα "τερψάμενος νεῖται καὶ πλειόνα εἰδῶς."

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

'Ἡράκλεις, ὁ Δυκίνε, οἷα πέπονθας, ὃς οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμυνυμένω ἔοικας.
τὸ γοῦν δεινότατον τοῦτῳ ἔστιν, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἰάσεως τινὰ ἠμῖν ὑποθαύνεις ἐλπίδα, ἐπαινεῖν τολμῶν τὰ ὁυτῶς αἰσχρὰ καὶ κατάπτυστα.

1 πεφηνέναι ΓΝΕ².
ing the example of Odysseus, we can pull you away from your lotus and fetch you back to your wonted pursuits before you unwittingly fall quite under the spell of these Sirens in the theatre. But those other Sirens assailed only the ears, so that wax alone was needed for sailing past them; you, however, seem to have been subjugated from top to toe, through the eyes as well as the ears.

LYCINUS

Heavens, Crato, what sharp teeth there are in this dog of yours that you have let loose on us! But as for your parallel, the simile of the Lotus-Eaters and the Sirens, it seems to me quite unlike what I have been through, since in the case of those who tasted the lotus and heard the Sirens, death was the penalty for their eating and listening, while in my case not only is the pleasure more exquisite by a great deal but the outcome is happy; I am not altered into forgetfulness of things at home or ignorance of my own concerns, but—if I may speak my mind without any hesitancy—I have come back to you from the theatre with far more wisdom and more insight into life. Or rather, I may well put it just as Homer does: he who has seen this spectacle "Goes on his way diverted and knowing more than aforetime." ¹

CRATO

Heracles, Lycinus! How deeply you have been affected! You are not even ashamed of it all but actually seem proud. In fact, that is the worst part of it: you do not show us any hope of a cure when you dare to praise what is so shameful and abominable.

¹ Odyssey, XII, 188.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

5 Εἰπὲ μοι, ὃ Κράτων, ταυτὶ δὲ περὶ ὀρχήσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γυνομένων ἰδῶν πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐπιτημᾶς, ἢ ἀπείρατος ὄν τοῦ θεάματος όμως αἰσχρὸν αὐτὸ καὶ κατάπτυστον, ὡς φής, νομίζεις; εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴδες, ἐξ ἵσον ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ γεγένησαι. εἰ δὲ μή, ὃρα μὴ ἄλογος ἡ ἐπιτήμησις εἰναί σου δόξῃ καὶ θρασείᾳ, κατηγοροῦντος ὄν ἀγνοεῖς.

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

'Ετι γὰρ τούτῳ μοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἡν, εὖ βαδεί τούτῳ τῷ πῶγωνι καὶ πολιᾷ τῇ κόμῃ καθήσασθαι μέσον ἐν τοῖς γυναικῶι καὶ τοῖς μεμηνόσων ἐκείνων θεαταῖς, κροτούντα τε προσέτι καὶ ἑπαίνους ἀπρεπεστάτους ἐπιβοῶντα ὀλέθρῳ τινὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς οὔδὲν δέον κατακλωμένῳ.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Συγγνωστά σου ταύτα, ὃ Κράτων, εἰ δὲ μοι πεισθείης ποτὲ καὶ ὅσον πείρας ἑνέκα παράσχοις σεαυτὸν ἀναπετάσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐκ ἀνάσχοι ἂν μὴ οὐχὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων θέαν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ καταλαμβάνων οθὲν καὶ οἷεὶ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἀκούσῃ ἀπαντά.

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

Μὴ ὤρας ἂ ἀρα ἱκοῖμην, εἰ τι τοιοῦτον ἀνασχοί-μην ποτὲ, ἐστ᾿ ἂν δαςὰ τε εἰην τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὸ

1 μοι λοιπὸν C; but cf. Pseudol., 13 πάνυ γοῦν τοῦτ᾿ ἐστὶ τὸ λοιπὸν.

2 ὤρας ἂ: ὤρασων cett. (but E by the second hand, in an erasure): ὀρασων Jacolitz. The same variations occur else-where: Dial. Deor., 6, 5 ὤρας ἂ; ὤρασων cett.; Dial. Mer., 216
THE DANCE

LYCINUS

Tell me, Crato, do you pass this censure upon dancing and what goes on in the theatre after having seen it often yourself, or is it that without being acquainted with the spectacle, you nevertheless account it shameful and abominable, as you put it? If you have seen it, you have put yourself on the same footing with us; if not, take care that your censure does not seem unreasonable and overbold when you denounce things of which you know nothing.

CRATO

Why, is that what was still in store for me—ewith beard so long and hair so grey, to sit in the midst of a parcel of hussies and a frantic audience like that, clapping my hands, moreover, and shouting very unbecoming words of praise to a noxious fellow who doubles himself up for no useful purpose?

LYCINUS

This talk is excusable in your case, Crato. But if you would only take my word for it and just for the experiment’s sake submit, with your eyes wide open, I know very well that you could not endure not to get ahead of everyone else in taking up an advantageously placed seat from which you could see well and hear everything.

CRATO

May I never reach ripeness of years if I ever endure anything of the kind, as long as my legs are hairy and my beard unplucked! At present I

10, 3 ὤρας FZ, ὤραιον PN. Cf. Menander, Peric., 131, and Phasma, 43 (references for which I am very grateful to Edward Capps).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γένειον ἀπαράτιλτος· ὃς νῦν γε καὶ σὲ ἡδὴ ἐλεῶ τελέως ἡμῶν ἐκβεβακχευμένον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

6 Βούλει οὖν ἀφέμενος, ὡς έταϊρε, τῶν βλασφη-

μῶν τοῦτων ἀκούσαι μοῦ τι περὶ ὀρχήσεως

λέγοντος καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν, καὶ ὡς οὐ

tερπνὴ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕφελμός ἐστιν τοῖς θεω-

μένοις, καὶ ὁσα παιδεύει καὶ ὁσα διδάσκει, καὶ

ὡς ῥυθμίζει τῶν ὀρώντων τὰς ψυχὰς, καλλίστοις

θεάμασιν ἐγγυμνάζουσα καὶ ἀρίστοις ἀκούσμασιν

ἐνδιατρίβουσα καὶ κοινὸν τὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος

cάλλος ἐπιδεικνυμένη; τὸ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ μουσικῆς

cαὶ ρυθμοῦ ταῦτα πάντα ποιεῖν οὐ ψόγοι ἀν αὐτῆς

ἀλλ’ ἐπαινὸς μᾶλλον εἶη.

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖ πάνυ σχολὴ μεμηνότος ἀνθρώπων

ἀκροάσθαι τὴν νόσον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπαινοῦντος. οὐ
de εἰ βούλει λήρον τινα κατασκεδάσαι μοῦ,

естественнομος φιλικὴν ταύτην λειτουργίαν ὑποστήναι

καὶ παρασχεῖτα ὅτα, καὶ ἀνευ κηροῦ παρακούειν

tῶν φαύλων δυνάμενος. ὥστε ἡδὴ σιωπήσομαι

σοι, καὶ λέγε ὅποσα ἐθέλεις ὃς μηδὲ ἀκούοντός

tων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

7 Εὖ γε, ὡς Κράτων, καὶ τοῦτον ἐδεόμην μάλιστα.

eἰσῃ γὰρ μετ’ ὀλίγον 1 εἰ λήρος εἰναι σοι δὸξεί
tά λεχθησόμενα. καὶ πρῶτον γε ἐκεῖνο πάνυ

ἡγοηκέναι μοι δοκεῖς, ὡς οὐ νεώτερον τὸ ὅς

ὀρχήσεως ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο ἐστιν οὔδε χθές καὶ

πρώην ἀρξάμενον, οἷον κατὰ τοὺς προπάτορας

1 μετ’ ὀλίγον Friztche: κατ’ ὀλίγον MSS.
THE DANCE

quite pity you; to the dismay of the rest of us, you have become absolutely infatuated!

LYCINUS

Then are you willing to leave off your abuse, my friend, and hear me say something about dancing and about its good points, showing that it brings not only pleasure but benefit to those who see it; how much culture and instruction it gives; how it imports harmony into the souls of its beholders, exercising them in what is fair to see, entertaining them with what is good to hear, and displaying to them joint beauty of soul and body? That it does all this with the aid of music and rhythm would not be reason to blame, but rather to praise it.

CRATO

I have little leisure to hear a madman praise his own ailment, but if you want to flood me with nonsense, I am ready to submit to it as a friendly service and lend you my ears, for even without wax I can avoid hearing rubbish. So now I will hold my peace for you, and you may say all that you wish as if nobody at all were listening.

LYCINUS

Good, Crato; that is what I wanted most. You will very soon find out whether what I am going to say will strike you as nonsense. First of all, you appear to me to be quite unaware that this practice of dancing is not novel, and did not begin yesterday or the day before, in the days of our grandparents, for instance, or in those of their grandfathers. No,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ημῶν ἡ τοὺς ἐκεῖνων, ἀλλ’ οἱ γε τάλθεστατα ὀρχήσεως πέρι γενεαλογοῦντες ἀμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν ἔλων φαίνειν ἄν σοι καὶ ὀρχήσων ἀναφύναι, τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐκεῖνῳ Ἐρωτὶ συναναφανεῖσαν. ἦ γον ἀρχεῖα τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς τῶν πλανήτων συμπλοκῇ καὶ εὔρυθμος αὐτῶν κοινωνία καὶ εὕτακτος ἀρμονία τῆς πρωτογόνου ὀρχήσεως δείγματα ἐστών. κατ’ ὀλίγον δὲ αὐξανο-μένη καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐκ προσθήκης τυγχάνουσα, νῦν ἐοικέν ἐστὶν ἀκροτάτων ἀποτελε-λέσθαι καὶ γεγενηθαι πουκίλον τι καὶ παναρ-μόνον καὶ πολύμουσον ἄγαθόν.

8 Πρώτον δὲ φασιν Ἦρεαν ἠσθείσαν τῇ τέχνῃ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μὲν τοὺς Κορυβαντας, ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ τοὺς Κορυβας ὀρχεύσαντα κελεύσαι, καὶ οὐ τὰ μέτρα ἁνατο τῆς τέχνης αὐτῶν, οἷς ἀνατροχοῦμενοι διεσώσαντα αὐτῇ τὸν Δία, ὥστε καὶ ὑστέρα εἰκότως ἄν ὁ Ζεὺς ὀφείλειν ὀμολογούν αὐτοῖς, ἐκφυγὼν διὰ τήν ἐκεῖνων ὀρχήσων τοὺς πατρίως ὀδόντας. ἐνόπλιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ὀρχήσως ἦν, τὰ ξύφη μεταξὺ κροτούντων πρὸς τάς ἁπτίδας καὶ πηδώντων ἐνθεὸν τί καὶ πολεμικόν.

1 That is to say, the Hesiodean, cosmogonic Eros, elder brother of the Titans, not Aphrodite’s puny boy.

2 The Corybantes, mentioned frequently by Lucian, are to him male supernatural beings (Timon, 41), alien denizens of Olympus like Pan, Attis, and Sabazius (Icarom., 27; cf. Parl. of the Gods, 9), whom Rhea attached to herself because they too were crazy; in her orgies, one cuts his arm with a sword, another runs about madly, another blows the Phrygian horn, another sounds some instrument of percussion (Dial. Deor., 12, 1; cf. Tragodopod., 38). He does not ascribe to them any regular dance, or confuse them with the Curetes, as others often did.
THE DANCE

those historians of dancing who are the most veracious can tell you that Dance came into being contemporaneously with the primal origin of the universe, making her appearance together with Love—the love that is age-old. In fact, the concord of the heavenly spheres, the interlacing of the errant planets with the fixed stars, their rhythmic agreement and timed harmony, are proofs that Dance was primordial. Little by little she has grown in stature and has obtained from time to time added embellishments, until now she would seem to have reached the very height of perfection and to have become a highly diversified, wholly harmonious, richly musical boon to mankind.

In the beginning, they say, Rhea, charmed with the art, ordered dances to be performed not only in Phrygia by the Corybantes but in Crete by the Curetes, from whose skill she derived uncommon benefit, since they saved Zeus for her by dancing about him; Zeus, therefore, might well admit that he owes them a thank-offering, since it was through their dancing that he escaped his father’s teeth. They danced under arms, clashing their swords upon their shields as they did so and leaping in a frantic, warlike manner.

3 This is Lucian’s only mention of the Curetes. His account of their dance agrees with representations in ancient art (cf. Kekulé-von Rohden, Archit. röm. Tonreliefs, Pl. 25) as well as with the description of Lucretius (II, 629–639), who had seen it performed by mimic Curetes in the train of the Great Mother. Lucian’s use of the past tense (ἡρ) suggests not only that his knowledge of them came from books but that he thought the dance obsolete. That, however, can hardly have been the case, for we have now a cletic hymn invoking (Zeus) Kouros, discovered at Palaecastro in Crete, which probably belongs to the cult with which the Curetes
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Μετὰ δὲ, Κρητῶν οἱ κράτιστοι ἐνεργῶς ἐπιτη-
δεύσαντες αὐτὸ ἀριστοὶ ὀρχησταὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐχ
οἱ ἰδιώται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλικῶτεροι καὶ
πρωτεύειν ἄξιοντες. Ὅ γοῦν ὁ Ὁμήρος τὸν
Μηριόνην, οὐκ αἰσχύνει βουλόμενος ἀλλὰ κοσμήσαι,
ὀρχηστὴν προσείπεν, καὶ οὕτως ἀρα ἑπίσημος ἤ
καὶ γνώριμος ἀπαύνῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀρχηστικῇ ὡς τε οὐχ
οἱ Ἑλλήνες μόνον ταῦτα ἡπίσταντο περὶ αὐτοῦ
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Τρῶες αὐτοῖ, καὶ τοιούτους ὄντες:
ἐώρων γάρ, οἴμαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῦ
κουφότητα καὶ εὐρυθμίαν, ἢν ἐξ ὀρχήσεως ἐκέκτησε.
φησιν δὲ τὰ ἔπη ὅδε πώς:

Μηριόνη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὀρχηστὴν περ ἐόντα
ἐγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε.

καὶ ὁμικοὶ οὐ κατέπαυσαν αὐτὸν· ἀτε γὰρ ἡσκη-
μένους ἐν τῇ ὀρχηστικῇ, ὑδάωσ, οἴμαι, διεδιδρασκεν
τὰς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἀφέσεις τῶν ἀκοντίων.

Πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἠρώων εἰπεῖν
ἐχων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγυμνασμένους καὶ τέχνην
τὸ πράγμα πεποιημένους, ἵκανον ἡγοῦμαι τὸν
Νεοπτόλεμον, Ἀχιλλέως μὲν παῖδα ὄντα, πάνυ δὲ
διαπρέπαν τὸν ὀρχηστικὴ καὶ ἐδὸς τὸ κάλ-
λιστον αὐτῇ προστεθεικότα, Πυρρίχιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
κεκλημένου· καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς, ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ
παιδὸς πυνθανόμενος, μᾶλλον ἔχαιρεν, οἴμαι,
ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀλκῇ αὐτοῦ. τοὐ-

γαροῦν τὴν Ἰλιον, τέως ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν, ἢ
The Dance

Thereafter, all the doughtiest of the Cretans practised it energetically and became excellent dancers, not only the common sort but the men of princely blood who claimed leadership. For example, Homer calls Meriones a dancer, not desiring to discredit but to distinguish him; and he was so conspicuous and universally known for his dancing that not only the Greeks but the very Trojans, though enemies, were aware of this about him. They saw, I suppose, his lightness and grace in battle, which he got from the dance. The verses go something like this:

"Meriones, in a trice that spear of mine would have stopped you,
Good as you are at the dance." ¹

Nevertheless, it did not stop him, for as he was well versed in dancing, it was easy for him, I suppose, to avoid the javelins they launched at him.

Although I could mention many others among the heroes who were similarly trained and made an art of the thing, I consider Neoptolemus sufficient. Though the son of Achilles, he made a great name for himself in dancing and contributed to it the variety which is most beautiful, called Pyrrhic after him; and upon hearing this about his son, Achilles was more pleased, I am sure, than over his beauty and all his prowess. So, though till then Troy had been

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¹ *Iliad*, XVI, 617–618.
Since Neoptolemus was also called Pyrrhus, it was inevitable that the invention of the Pyrrhic dance should be ascribed to him. According to Archilochus (Fr. 190 Bergk), he originated it when he danced for joy over killing Eurypylus. That Achilles was more pleased to hear of this than when Odysseus told him of his son’s beauty and bravery (Odyssey, XI, 505–540) is known to us only from Lucian, as also the real reason for the fall of Troy. Lucian’s persiflage derives especial point from the fact that by this time the Pyrrhic had become anything but a war-dance. Athenaeus does not hesitate to call it Dionysiac (XIV, 631a) and compare it with the cordax.

2 This statement is decidedly unorthodox. Others say that the Spartans derived their war-dances from Castor and
impregnable, his skill in dancing took it and tumbled it to the ground.\footnote{1}

The Spartans, who are considered the bravest of the Greeks, learned from Pollux and Castor to do the Caryatic, which is another variety of dance exhibited at Caryae in Lacedaemon,\footnote{2} and they do everything with the aid of the Muses, to the extent of going into battle to the accompaniment of flute and rhythm and well-timed step in marching; indeed, the first signal for battle is given to the Spartans by the flute. That is how they managed to conquer everybody, with music and rhythm to lead them.

Even now you may see their young men studying dancing quite as much as fighting under arms. When they have stopped sparring and exchanging blow for blow with each other, their contest ends in dancing, and a flute-player sits in the middle, playing them a tune and marking time with his foot, while they, following one another in line, perform figures of all sorts in rhythmic step, now those of Pollux, and that Castor gave them a fine martial tune, the Kastoreion. It remained for Lucian to ask us to imagine the horse-tamer and his pugilistic twin, with basket-like contrivances on their heads, facing each other demurely and executing on tip-toe the graceful figures of the dance performed in honour of Artemis by the maidens of Caryae—the famous Caryatides! What these figures looked like is well known to us from ancient reliefs (cf. G. H. Chase, Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery, Pl. III, No. 53, and the Albani relief in F. Weege, Der Tanz in der Antike, Fig. 52). Sculptural representations of the Caryatides in their statuesque poses, functioning as architectural supports, were so frequent that the name was extended to other similar figures just as it is now when it is applied to the Attic "Maidens" of the Erechtheum porch.
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11 καὶ Ἀφροδίτη φίλα. τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὸ ἀσμα ὁ μεταξὺ ὁρχούμενοι ἁδουσιν Ἀφροδίτης ἐπικλήσις ἐστιν καὶ Ἑρώτων, ὡς συγκωμαξοιεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνορχοῦτο. καὶ θάτερον δὲ τῶν ἀσμάτων—δύο γάρ ἀδεται—διδασκαλίαν ἔχει ὡς χρῆ ὀρχεῖσθαι. "Πόρρω" γάρ, φασίν, "ὢ παῖδες, πόδα μετάβατε καὶ κωμάξατε βέλτιον,"

toutέστιν ἁμεινον ὀρχήσασθε.

"Ομοία δὲ καὶ οἱ τον ὀρμον καλούμενον ὀρχυ-

12 μενοι ποιοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ ὀρμος ὀρχησίς ἐστιν κομή ἐφήβων τε καὶ παρθένων, παρ' ἑνα χορευόντων καὶ ὡς ἄληθως ὀρμω ἑοικότων· καὶ ἤγείται μὲν ὁ ἐφηβος τὰ νεανικά ὁρχούμενοι καὶ ὅσοι ὀστρον ἐν τολέμω χρῆσται, ἡ παρθένοι δὲ ἔπεται κοσμίως τὸ θῆλυ χορεύνει διδάσκονσα, ὡς εἶναι τὸν ὀρμον ἐκ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας πλεκόμενον. καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὀρχησίς ἐστιν.

13 "Α δὲ "Ομηρός υπὲρ Ἀριάδνης ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι πεποίηκεν καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ ἐν αὐτῇ Δαίδαλος ἦσκησεν ὡς ἀνεγνωκότι σοι παρίημι, καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστάς δὲ τοὺς δύο οὗ τε γεκεὶ ὁ ποιητῆς κυβιστη-

τήρας καλεῖ, ἡγομένους τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἄ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀσπίδι δέλγει: "Κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον," ὡς τι κάλλιστον τοῦτο τοῦ Ἡφαιστου ἐμπούσαντος τῇ ἀσπίδι. τοὺς μὲν γάρ Φαίακας

1 κωμάξατε Ρ²: κωμάξατε Ρ¹ vulg.
2 γυμνοπαιδίαι Moursius: γυμνοποδίαι MSS.
3 ἐδίνεον N (du Soul): ἐδίνεον cett.

1 We have no knowledge of these two songs from any other sources. Lucian's quotation from the second is given among the Carmina Popularia by Bergk (17) and Diehl (22).
war and presently those of the choral dance, that are dear to Dionysus and Aphrodite. That is why the song which they sing while dancing is an invocation of Aphrodite and of the Loves, that they may join their revel and their dances. The second of the songs, moreover—for two are sung—even contains instruction how to dance: "Set your foot before you, lads," it says, "and frolic yet more featly,"¹ that is, dance better.

The same sort of thing is done by those who dance what is called the String of Beads. That is a dance of boys and girls together who move in a row and truly resemble a string of beads. The boy precedes, doing the steps and postures of young manhood, and those which later he will use in war, while the maiden follows, showing how to do the women's dance with propriety; hence the string is beaded with modesty and with manliness. In like manner their Bareskin Plays are dancing.²

Taking it that you have read what Homer has to say about Ariadne in "The Shield," and about the chorus that Daedalus fashioned for her,³ I pass it by; as also the two dancers whom the poet there calls tumblers, who lead the chorus, and again what he says in that same "Shield": "Youthful dancers were circling"; which was worked into the shield by Hephaestus as something especially beautiful.⁴ And that the Phaeacians should delight in dancing

² Very little is known about the Spartan "Bareskin Plays" except that they included processional choruses of naked youths which competed with each other in dancing and singing, in a place called the Chorus, near the agora.
³ Iliad, XVIII, 593.
⁴ Iliad, XVIII, 605-606.
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καὶ πάνυ εἴκοσί ἦν ὀρχήσει χαῖρειν, ἄβροὺς τε ὄντας καὶ ἐν πάση εὐδαιμονίᾳ διατρίβοντας. δ’
γοῦν Ὁμήρος τούτῳ αὐτῶν μάλιστα θαυμάζοντα
πεποίηκε τὸν Ὁδυσσέα καὶ τὰς μαρμαρυγᾶς τῶν
ποδῶν θεώμενον.

14 ʼΕν μὲν γε Θεσσαλία τοσοῦτον ἐπέδωκεν τῇς
ὀρχηστικῆς ἢ ἀσκησις, ὥστε τοὺς προστάτας καὶ
προαγωνιστὰς αὐτῶν προορχηστήρας ἐκάλουν,
καὶ δηλοῦσι τοῦτο αἱ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐπιγραφαὶ
οὐς τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἀνίστασαν. “Προὔκρινεν”
γάρ, φασίν,1 “προορχηστήρα ἡ πόλις.” καὶ ἄδησι,
“Εἰλατίωνι τὰν εἰκόνα ὁ δâμος εὖ ὀρχησαμένω
τὰν μάχαν.”

15 Ἕω λέγειν, ὅτι τελετὴν οὐδεμιᾶν ἀρχαιῶν
ἐστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως, Ὁρφέως δηλαδὴ καὶ
Μουσαίον καὶ τῶν τότε ἀρίστων ὀρχηστῶν κατα-
στησαμένων αὐτὰς, ὡς τι κάλλιστον καὶ τοῦτο
νομοθετησάντων, σὺν ρυθμῷ καὶ ὀρχήσεωι μνεῖσθαι.
ὅτι δ’ οὕτως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὅργνα σιωπᾶν ἄξιον τῶν
ἄμυντων ἑνεκα, ἑκείνῳ δὲ πάντες ἄκοοὺσιν,
ὅτι τοὺς ἔξαγορεύοντας τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχεῖσθαι
λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ.

16 Ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ γε οὐδὲ αἱ θυσίαι ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως
ἀλλὰ σὺν ταύτι καὶ μετὰ μουσικῆς ἐγίγνοντο,
παίδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ὑπ’ αὐλῶ καὶ κιθάρα οἱ
μὲν ἔχορευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἀριστοὶ προκρι-

1 φησὶ C, edd.

Odyssey, VIII, 256–258.
2 No such inscriptions are known to us, and I fear there is

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was very natural, since they were people of refinement and they lived in utter bliss. In fact, Homer has represented Odysseus as admiring this in them above all else and watching "the twinkling of their feet."^1

In Thessaly the cultivation of dancing made such progress that they used to call their front-rank men and champions "fore-dancers." This is demonstrated by the inscriptions upon the statues which they dedicated in honour of those who showed prowess in battle. "The citie," they say, "hath esteemed him fore-dancer;" and again, "To Eilation the folk hath sett up thys ymage for that he danced the bataille well."^2

I forbear to say that not a single ancient mystery-cult can be found that is without dancing, since they were established, of course, by Orpheus and Musaeus, the best dancers of that time, who included it in their prescriptions as something exceptionally beautiful to be initiated with rhythm and dancing. To prove that this is so, although it behoves me to observe silence about the rites on account of the uninitiate, nevertheless there is one thing that everybody has heard; namely, that those who let out the mysteries in conversation are commonly said to "dance them out."

At Delos, indeed, even the sacrifices were not without dancing, but were performed with that and with music. Choirs of boys came together, and while they moved and sang to the accompaniment of flute and lyre, those who had been selected from among them as the best performed an interpre-

little likelihood that the soil of Thessaly will ever confirm the testimony of Lycinus.
That the "hyporchematic" style of dancing was interpretative, which in Lucian's description of it is only implicit, is expressly stated by Athenaeus (I, 15 τ). In previously referring to it as "dance accompanying song" (τὴν πρὸς φιλήν ὀρχησίαν), he seems to agree with Lucian in the point that its performers do not themselves sing. Elsewhere in his work (XIV, 631 c) he gives a definition (from Aristocles) that is diametrically opposed: "when the chorus dances singing." But this is connected with a highly theoretical classification.
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tative dance. Indeed, the songs that were written for these choirs were called Hyporchemes (interpretative dances), and lyric poetry is full of them.¹

Yet why do I talk to you of the Greeks? Even the Indians, when they get up in the morning and pray to the sun, instead of doing as we do, who think that when we have kissed our hand the prayer is complete, face the sunrise and welcome the God of Day with dancing, posturing in silence and imitating the dance of the god; and that, to the Indians, is prayer and dance and sacrifice all in one. So they propitiate their god with those rites twice each day, when it begins and when it declines.

The Ethiopians, moreover, even in waging war, do it dancing, and an Ethiopian may not let fly the shaft that he has taken from his head (for they use the head in place of a quiver, binding the shafts about it like rays) unless he has first danced, menacing the enemy by his attitude and terrifying him in advance by his prancing.²

Since we have spoken of India and of Ethiopia, it will repay us to make an imaginary descent into Egypt, their neighbour. For it seems to me that the ancient myth about Proteus the Egyptian means nothing else than that he was a dancer, an imitative of dances under six heads, three of which are dramatic (tragic, comic, satyric) and three lyric (pyrrhic, gymnopaedic, hyporchematic). As we know that gymnopaedic choruses "danced singing," it seems pretty clear that the definition of "hyporchematic" has been incorrectly transmitted in the text.

² Heliodorus in the Aethiopica (IX, 19) goes into greater detail. Cf. also H. P. L'Orange, Symbolae Osloenses XII (1934), 105–113, who calls attention to representations of Roman auxiliaries with arrows bound to their heads in the frieze of the Arch of Constantine.
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ἀνθρωπον καὶ πρὸς πάντα σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι δυνάμενον, ὡς καὶ ὑδατός ὑγρότητα μιμεῖσθαι καὶ πυρὸς ὀξύτητα ἐν τῇ τῆς κινήσεως σφοδρότητι καὶ λέοντος ἀγριότητα καὶ παρδάλεως θυμὸν καὶ δένδρου δόνημα, καὶ ὅλως ὃ τι καὶ θελήσειν. ὃ δὲ μύθος παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὸ παραδοξότερον τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ διηγῆσατο, ὡς γυνομένον ταῦτα ἀπερ ἐμμεῖτο. ὅπερ δὴ καὶ τοῖς νῦν ὄρχουμένοις πρόσεστιν, ἵδοις τ' ἀν ὅνοι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν καίρον ὁ κέμεσι διαλλατ-

20 Ἐπὶ τούτοις δίκαιον μηδὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὀρχήσεως ἀμυνομεῖν, ἢν οἱ εὐγενεστατοὶ αὐτῶν τῷ πολεμικώτατῷ τῶν θεῶν Ἀρεί, οἱ Σάλιοι καλοῦμενοι (ἰερωσύνης δὲ τούτο ὄνομα), ὀρχοῦνται.

21 σεμνοτάτην τε ἀμα καὶ ἱερωτάτην. Βιθυνὸς δὲ μύθος, καὶ οὗτος οὐ πάνυ τῶν Ἰταλιώτικῶν ἀλ- ἱστρίων, φησίν τόν Πρίαπον δαίμονα πολεμιστήν, τῶν Τιτάνων οἶμαι ἐνα ἣ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων τούτῳ ἔργῳ πεποιημένον, τὰ ἐνόπλια παιδεύειν, παραλαβόντα παρά τῆς Ἡρας τόν Ἀρη, παῖδα μὲν ἔτι, σκληρὸν δὲ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου ἀνδρικὸν, μὴ πρότερον ὀπλομαχεῖν διδάξαι πρὸν τελειόν ὀρχηστὴν ἀπειργάσατο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω καὶ μιθοὺς αὐτῶ παρὰ τῆς Ἡρας ἐγένετο, δεκάτην.

1 τόν καίρον Urban: τόν αὐτῶν καίρον MSS.

2 φησίν Harmon: οἱ (οῖς) MSS. The relative, a gloss, has displaced the verb, which itself, when abbreviated, often makes trouble; cf. p. 238, n. 1, below.

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fellow, able to shape himself and change himself into anything, so that he could imitate even the liquidity of water and the sharpness of fire in the liveliness of his movement; yes, the fierceness of a lion, the rage of a leopard, the quivering of a tree, and in a word whatever he wished. Mythology, however, on taking it over, described his nature in terms more paradoxical, as if he became what he imitated. Now just that thing is characteristic of the dancers to-day, who certainly may be seen changing swiftly at the cue and imitating Proteus himself. And we must suppose that in Empusa, who changes into countless forms, some such person has been handed down by mythology.¹

Next in order, it is proper that we should not forget that Roman dance which the best-born among them, called Salii (which is the name of a priesthood), perform in honour of Ares, the most bellicose of the gods—a dance which is at once very majestic and very sacred. And a Bithynian story, not very divergent, moreover, from those current in Italy, says that Priapus, a warlike deity, one of the Titans, I suppose, or one of the Idaean Dactyls who made a business of giving lessons in fencing, had Ares put into his charge by Hera while Ares was still a boy, though hard-muscled and immoderately virile; and that he did not teach him to handle weapons until he had made him a perfect dancer. Indeed, for this he even got a pension from Hera, to receive

¹ Empusa, one of Hecate’s associates, used to frighten people by appearing suddenly out of dark places in one horrid form or another; she seems to have been particularly given to manifesting herself with legs like those of an ass.
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ἀεὶ τῶν ἐκ πολέμου περιγιγνομένων τῷ "Ἀρεί παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν.

22 Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Διονυσιακὰ καὶ Βακχικὰ οἷμαι σε μὴ περιμένειν ἐμοῦ ἀκούσαι, ὅτι ὄρχησις ἐκεῖνα πάντα ἦν. τριῶν γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν γενικωτάτων ὀρχήσεων, κόρδακοι καὶ σικινύδος καὶ ἐμμελείας, οἱ Διονύσου θεράποντες οἱ Σάτυροι ταύτας ἐφευρόντες ἢ, ἀυτῶν ἐκάστην ύπόμοιαν, καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ὁ Διόνυσος, φασίν, Ἡρηνοῦς καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Ἀνδρόν ἐξειρώσατο καὶ φύλον ὑπὸ τῶν μάχημον τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας κατωρχήσατο.

23 Ὅστε, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ὥρα μὴ ἀνόσιον ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἐπιτηδεύματος θείον τε ἁμα καὶ μνησικοῦ καὶ τοσοῦτος θεοὺς ἐσπουδασμένου καὶ ἐπὶ τιμῆς αὐτῶν δρωμένου καὶ τοσάρτην τέρψιν ἁμα καὶ παιδείαν ὠφέλιμον παρεχομένου.

Ἐπιμάζω δὲ σου κάκεινο, εἶδως Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσίοδου μάλιστα ἐραστὴν ὁντα σε (αὖθις γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπάνεμι), πῶς ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι ἐκείνοις τολμᾶς πρὸ τῶν πάντων ὄρχησιν ἐπαινοῦσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὁμήρος τὰ ἕδιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καταλέγων, ὑπὸ καὶ φιλότητα καὶ μολπὴν καὶ ὄρχησιν, μόνην ταύτην ἀμύμωνα ὑπόμαζεν, προσμαρτυρήσας τῇ Δίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἡδώ τῆς μολπῆς, ἀπερ ἄμφοτερα τῇ ὄρχηστικῇ πρόσεστον, καὶ ὥδη γλυκερὰ καὶ ὄρχησμός ἀμύμων, ὅν

1 φασίν Harmon: δὲ ΓΩΦ: not in EN.
2 αὐτοῦ Madvig: αὐτοῦ Ἕ Βατ. 87: αὐτοῖς ΓΝ (ΕΩΣ).
3 παιδίαν ΝΕ².
4 ὄρχησμός Λ.

1 This Bithynian myth of Priapus is not recorded elsewhere, but as it is known that Priapus was held in high honour there, it may well be that he was associated with Ares and that armed dances played a part in the cult.
from Ares in perpetuity a tenth of all that accrued to him in war.¹

As to the Dionysiac and Bacchic rites, I expect you are not waiting for me to tell you that every bit of them was dancing. In fact, their most typical dances, which are three in number, the Cordax, the Sicinnis, and the Emmeleia, were invented by the attendants of Dionysus, the Satyrs, who named them all after themselves,² and it was by the exercise of this art, they say, that Dionysus subdued the Tyrrhenians, the Indians, and the Lydians, dancing into subjection with his bands of revellers a multitude so warlike.

Therefore, you amazing fellow, take care that it isn’t impious to denounce a practice at once divine and mystic, cultivated by so many gods, performed in their honour, and affording at once amusement and profitable instruction in such degree!

Another thing surprises me in you, since I know that you are a great lover of Homer and Hesiod—I am going back, you see, to the poets once more—how you dare contradict them when they praise dancing above all things else. When Homer enumerated all that is sweetest and best—sleep, love, song, and dance³—it was this alone that he called “blameless,” and what is more, he ascribes sweetness to song; but both these things pertain to the dancer’s art, both dulcet song and blameless

² The drama belonged to Dionysus, and each form of it had its typical dance, that of tragedy being the Emmeleia, that of comedy the Cordax, and that of the satyr-play the Sicinnis (Ath., I, 20 ἐ; cf. below, § 26). That they were named from satyrs seems to be Lucian’s own idea, though the Sicinnis was sometimes said to owe its name to its Cretan or barbarian inventor.
³ *Iliad*, XIII, 636 ff.
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σὺ νῦν μωμᾶσθαι ἐπινοεῖς. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ μέρει τῆς ποιήσεως:

"Αλλαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς πολεμῆια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ δ’ ὀρχηστῶν τε καὶ ἱμερόσεσαν ἀοιδὴν.

ἱμερόσεσα γὰρ ὃς ἀληθῶς ἢ μετ’ ὀρχησεως ὑδὴ καὶ δῶρον θεῶν τοῦτο κάλλιστον. καὶ ἐσκευὲν εἰς δύο δηρηκάς ὁ Ἐμηρὸς τὰ πάντα πράγματα, πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην, τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου μόνα ταῦτα

24 ὡς κάλλιστα ἀντιτεθεικέναι. ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος, ὃν παρ’ ἀλλού ἀκοῦσας ἀλλ’ ἰδὼν αὐτὸς ἐσκευὲν εὐθὺς ὀρχουμένας τὰς Μοῦσας, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν ἔπων τοῦτο περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μέγιστον ἐγκώμιον δηγεῖται, ὡς "περὶ κρήνην ιοείδεα πόσο’ ἀπαλοίσων ὀρχεύνται," τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν βωμὸν περιχορεύονσαι.

'Αλλά σὺ μὲν, ὃ γενναίε, μονονοχὶ θεομαχῶν

25 ὥπρίζεις εἰς τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν· ὁ Σωκράτης δὲ, σοφώτατος ἀνήρ, εἰ γε πιστευτέον τοῦτο περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντε τῷ Πυθίῳ, ὃ μόνον ἔπιθει τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκμαθεῖν αὐτὴν ἡξίου, μέγιστον νέμων ἐυρυθμία καὶ εὐμονοία καὶ κυνῆσει ἐμελεῖ καὶ εὐσχημοσύνη τοῦ κινουμένου καὶ οὐκ ἱδεῖτο γέρων ἀνήρ ἐν τῶν σπουδαίωτάτων μαθημάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἱγούμενος εἶναι. καὶ ἐμελλὲν γε ἐκείνοις περὶ ὀρχηστικῆς οὐ μετρίως σπουδάσοσαί, ὅσ γε καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὃκιν και μανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ διδασκάλεια τῶν αὐθητρίδων ἐφοίτα καὶ παρ' ἑταίρας γυναικὸς οὐκ ἀτηξίου

1 Ἀπονέμων Σ.

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1 Ιλιαδ., Xlll, 730, 731. But after ὀρχηστῶν Lucian substitutes for ἐτέρῳ κῖθαρι καὶ ἀοιδῆν the close of Odyssey, I, 421.

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dancing—which you now take it into your head to blame! And again, in another part of his poetry:

One man getteth from God the gift of achievement in warfare,

One, the art of the dance, and song that stirreth the heart-strings.

Singing combined with dancing does in truth stir the heart-strings, and it is the choicest gift of the gods. Also, it appears that in classifying all activities under two heads, war and peace, Homer has set off against those of war these, and these only, as peerless. As for Hesiod, who was not told by someone else about the dancing of the Muses but saw it himself at break of day, he begins his poem by saying about them as the highest possible praise that they “dance with delicate footfall about the violet waters,” circling round the altar of their sire.

In spite of this, my high-spirited friend, you insult dancing almost to the point of quarrelling with the gods; and yet Socrates (the wisest of men, if we may believe Apollo, who said so) not only commended it but wanted to learn it, attributing the greatest value to observance of rhythm and music, to harmonious movement and to gracefulness of limb; and he was not ashamed, aged as he was, to consider it one of the most important subjects of study. He would, of course, be uncommonly enthusiastic over dancing, since he did not hesitate to study even what was trivial, and not only used to attend the schools of the flute-girls, but did not

2 The Theogony.
3 In the Symposium of Xenophon (II, 15–16) Socrates commends dancing as an exercise, and expresses a desire to learn figures that he has just seen. Cf. Diog. Laert., II, 5, 15.
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σπουδαίον τι ἀκούειν, τῆς Ἀσπασίας. καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνος ἁρτὶ ἀρχομένην ἑώρα τότε τὴν τέχνην καὶ οὐδέπω εἰς τοσοῦτον κάλλος διηρθωμένην. εἰ δὲ τοὺς νῦν ἐπὶ μέγιστον αὐτὴν προαγαγόντας ἐθεάτο, εὖ οἶδα, πάντων ἂν ἐκείνος γε ἀφέμενος μόνω τῷ θεάματι τούτῳ τὸν νῦν ἂν προσείχεν καὶ τοὺς παιδᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο τι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐδιδάξατο.

26 Δοκεῖς δὲ μοι, ὅταν κωμῳδίαν καὶ τραγῳδίαν ἐπαινῆς, ἐπιλεληθαί οὐ καὶ ἐν ἐκατέρα ἐκείνων ὀρχήσεως ἱδίον τι εἶδος ἔστιν, οἷον τραγικὴ¹ μὲν ἢ ἐμμελεία, κωμῳδικὴ δὲ ὁ κόρδαξ, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τρίτης,² σικιννίδος, προσλαμβανομένης. ἔπει δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ προετίμησας τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὴν τραγῳδίαν καὶ κωμῳδίαν καὶ αὐλητᾶς κυκλίους καὶ κυθαρῳδίαν, ἐναγώνια ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σεμνὰ προσειπών, φέρε νῦν ἀντεξετάσωμεν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν αὐλῶν, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τῆς κυθάρας παρῶμεν: μέρη γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ὑπηρεσίας καὶ ταῦτα.

27 Τὴν τραγῳδίαν δὲ γε ἀπὸ τοῦ σχῆματος πρῶτον καταμάθωμεν οἷα ἔστιν, ὡς εἰδεχθὲς ἀμα καὶ φοβερὸν θέαμα εἰς μήκος ἀρρυθμὸν ἡσκημένος ἀνθρωπος, ἐμβάταις ψηλοῖς ἐποχούμενος, πρόσωπον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀνατενόμενον ἐπικειμένος καὶ στόμα κεχηρὸς πάμμεγα ὡς καταπιόμενος τοὺς θεατὰς. ἐὼ λέγειν προστερνίδια καὶ προ-

¹ τραγικὴ, and κωμῳδικὴ ΦΣ: τραγική, and κωμῳδική ΓΕΦΝ.
² τρίτης Σ: τρίτη ΓΕΦΝ.
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disdain to listen to serious discourse from Aspasia, a courtesan. Yet the art was just beginning when he saw it then, and had not yet been elaborated to such a high degree of beauty. If he could see those who now have advanced it to the utmost, that man, I am sure, dropping everything else, would have given his attention to this spectacle alone; and he would not have had his young friends learn anything else in preference to it.

Again, it seems to me that when you praise comedy and tragedy, you have forgotten that in each of them there is a special form of dance; that is to say, the tragic is the Emmeleia and the comic the Cordax, though sometimes a third form, the Sicinnis, is included also. But since at the outset you gave greater honour to tragedy and comedy and cyclic flute-players and singing with the lyre than to the dance, calling these competitive and therefore grand—come, let us now compare each one of them with the dance. And yet, suppose we omit the flute, if you do not mind, and the lyre, since they are parts of the dancer's paraphernalia.

As far as tragedy is concerned, let us form our first opinion of its character from its outward semblance. What a repulsive and at the same time frightful spectacle is a man tricked out to disproportionate stature, mounted upon high clogs, wearing a mask that reaches up above his head, with a mouth that is set in a vast yawn as if he meant to swallow up the spectators! I forbear to speak of pads for

1 See Plato, Menexenus, 235 e and 249 c; Xen., Oecon., III, 14.
2 The Sicinnis, though regarded as the characteristic dance of the satyr-play, was sometimes presented in comedy.
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gastridia, prosothēn kai épitechnēn pachyēta prospoiouμeneos, os μη του μήκους ή ἀρρυθμία ἐν λεπτῷ μᾶλλον ἐλέγχουτο· εἴτ' ἐνδοθεν αὐτὸς κεκραγώς, ἐαυτὸν ἀνακλῶν καὶ κατακλῶν, ἐνίοτε καὶ περιάδων τὰ ιαμβεῖα καὶ, τὸ δὴ αἰσχυστὸν, μελωδῶν τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ μόνης τῆς φωνῆς ὑπεύθυνον παρέχων ἐαυτῶν· τὰ γάρ ἄλλα τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐμέλησεν πρὸ πολλοῦ ποτε γενομένοις. καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἄνδρομάχη τις ἢ Ἕκάβη ἔστιν, φορητὸς ἡ ὠδὴ· ὅταν δὲ Ἦρακλῆς αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν μονωδή, ἐπιλαθόμενος αὐτοῦ καὶ μήτε τὴν λεοντὴν αἰδεσθεῖς μήτε τὸ ῥόπαλον ὃ περίκειται, σολοκικίων ευ φρονῶν εἰκότως φαίη ἀν τις τὸ πράγμα.

28 καὶ γὰρ αὐτ' ὀπερ ἐνεκάλεις τῇ ὀρχηστικῇ, τὸ ἄνδρας ὄντας μιμεῖοι γυναῖκας, κοινὸν τοῦτο καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας ἐγκλήμα

29 γυναίκες. ἡ κωμῳδία δὲ καὶ τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν τὸ καταγέλαστον μέρος τοῦ τερπνοῦ αὐτῆς νενόμικεν, οί Δάων καὶ Τιβείων καὶ μαγείρων πρόσωπα.

Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ σχῆμα ὡς μὲν κόσμον καὶ εὐπρεπές οὐκ ἔμε χρῆ λέγειν, δήλα γὰρ τοῖς μὴ τυφλοῖς ταῦτα· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον αὐτὸ ὡς καλ-

30 πόλλος τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βοῶντας. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτός ἵδον καὶ ὤρχοιντο· εἴτ' ἐπειδῆ

1 oί αὐτοῖ N (Seager, Struve): but Fritzsche was right in objecting. Cf. infra, ἀλλοις αὐτοῖς ὑπάδειν.

1 I.e., it is in art what a solecism is in grammar.

2 Names of slaves in comedy.

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the breast and pads for the paunch, wherewith he puts on an adscititious, counterfeit corpulence, so that the disproportion in height may not betray itself the more conspicuously in a slender figure. Then too, inside all this, you have the man himself bawling out, bending forward and backward, sometimes actually singing his lines, and (what is surely the height of unseemliness) melodising his calamities, holding himself answerable for nothing but his voice, as everything else has been attended to by the poets, who lived at some time in the distant past. To be sure, as long as he is an Andromache or a Hecuba, his singing can be tolerated; but when he enters as Heracles in person and warbles a ditty, forgetting himself and taking no shame either for the lion-skin that he is wearing or for the club, a man in his right mind may properly term the thing a solecism.¹ And by the way, the charge you were bringing against the dance, that men imitate women, would be a common charge against both tragedy and comedy. Indeed, in them the female parts outnumber the male! Moreover, comedy accounts the ridiculousness of the masks themselves as part of what is pleasing in her; for example, the masks of Davuses and Tibiuses,² and of cooks.

On the other hand, that the appearance of the dancer is seemly and becoming needs no assertion on my part, for it is patent to all who are not blind. His mask itself is most beautiful, and suited to the drama that forms the theme; its mouth is not wide open, as with tragedy and comedy, but closed, for he has many people who do the shouting in his stead. In the past, to be sure, they themselves both danced and sang; but afterwards, since the
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κινουμένων τὸ ἁσθμα τὴν ωδὴν ἐπετάραττεν, ἀμεινον ἔδοξεν ἀλλοὺς αὐτοῖς ὑπάθεν.

31 Αἰ δὲ ὑποθέσεις κοιναὶ ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ οὐδὲν τι διακεκριμέναι τῶν τραγικῶν αἱ ὀρχηστικαί, πλὴν ὅτι ποικιλώτεραι αὐταὶ καὶ πολυμαθέστεραι καὶ μυρίας μεταβολὰς ἔχουσαι.

32 Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐναγώνιος ἡ ὀρχήσις, ἐκείνην εἰναι φημι αὐτίαν, τὸ δόξαι τοῖς ἀγωνοθέταις μεῖζον καὶ σεμνότερον τὸ πράγμα ἡ ὦστε εἰς ἐξέτασιν καλεῖσθαι. ἐὼ λέγειν ὅτι πόλις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους ἡ ἀρίστη, καὶ τούτῳ ὦσπερ τι κόσμημα τῷ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀγώνι προστέθεικεν.

33 Εὐθὲλω δὲ σοι ἐνταῦθα ἦδη ἀπολογήσασθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παρελειμμένων τῷ λόγῳ παμπόλλων οντων, ὡς μὴ δόξων ἄγνοιας ἡ ἄμαθίς παράσχωμαι. οὐ γάρ με λέηθεν ὅτι πολλοὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν περὶ ὀρχήσεως συγγεγραφότες τὴν πλεῖστην διατριβὴν τῆς γραφῆς ἐπούνσατο πάντα τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὰ εἰδῆ ἐπεξίοντες καὶ ὅνοματα αὐτῶν καταλέγοντες καὶ οἷα ἐκάστη καὶ ὑφ’ ὠτὸν εὐρέθη, πολυμαθίας ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν ἡγούμενοι παρέξεων. ἐγὼ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα φιλοτιμιάν ἀπειρό-καλὸν τε καὶ ὑψιμαθὴ καὶ ἐμαυτῷ ἀκαίρων οἶομαι 34 εἶναι καὶ διὰ τούτο παρίμη. ἐπειτα δὲ κάκεινο σε ἀξιῶν ἐννοεῖν καὶ μεμνήσθαι, ὅτι μοι νῦν οὐ πᾶσαν ὀρχήσουν πρόκειται γενεαλογεῖν, οὐδὲ τούτον τὸν σκοπὸν ὑπεστησάμην τῷ λόγῳ, ὀρχήσεων

1 The allusion is to Naples and to the important games instituted there by Augustus in 2 a.d., on which see R. M. Geer, “The Greek Games at Naples,” Transactions of the
panting that came of their movement disturbed their singing, it seemed better that others should accompany them with song.

The themes of tragedy and the dance are common to both, and there is no difference between those of the one and those of the other, except that the themes of the dance are more varied and more un-hackneyed, and they contain countless vicissitudes.

If the dance does not feature in contests, I maintain that it is because the governors of the games thought the thing too important and too grand to be called into competition. I forbear to mention that a city in Italy, the fairest that belongs to the Chalcidian race, has added it, by way of embellishment, to the games that are held there.¹

At this point I should like to defend the numerous omissions in my account, that I may not create an impression that I lack sense or learning. I am not unaware that many before our time who have written about the dance have made it the chief matter of their essays to enumerate all its forms and list their names, telling what each is like and by whom it was discovered, thinking to make a display of wide learning thereby. But for my own part, first and foremost, I think that to be zealous about these things is tasteless, pedantic, and as far as I am concerned, out of place, and for that reason I pass them over. Besides, I want you to understand and remember that the topic which I have proposed for myself at present is not to give the history of every form of the dance, and I have not taken it upon myself as the aim of my discussion to enumerate

Independent Etheries, VII (1891), especially p. 19 in regard to the inclusion of pantomimic contests.
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όνόματα καταριθμήσασθαι, πλὴν ὅσων ἐν ἀρχῇ ὀλίγων ἐπεμνήσθην τὰς γενικωτέρας αὐτῶν προ- χειρισάμενος: ἀλλὰ τὸ γε ἐν τῷ παρόντι μοι κεφάλαιῳ τοῦ λόγου τούτο ἐστιν, τὴν νῦν ὀρχήσων καθεστῶσαν ἐπανέσαι καὶ δεῖξαι ὅσα ἐν αὐτῇ τερπνὰ καὶ χρήσιμα περιλαβοῦσα ἔχει, οὐ πάλαι ἀρξαμένη ἐς τοσοῦτο κάλλος ἐπιδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν Σεβαστὸν μάλιστα.

Αἱ μὲν γὰρ πρῶται ἐκεῖναι ὀσπερ τινὲς ρίζαι καὶ θεμέλιοι 1 τῆς ὀρχήσεως ᾔσαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνθὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν τελευτατὸν καρπὸν, ὀσπερ 2 νῦν μάλιστα ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀποτετέλεσται, τούτον 3 οὖν ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος διεξέρχεται, παρεῖς τὸ θερμανστρίζειν καὶ γέρανον ὀρχείσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς μηδὲν τῇ νῦν ταύτῃ ἐτὶ προσήκοντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ Φρύγιον τῆς ὀρχήσεως εἴδος, τὸ παροῖνον καὶ συμποτικόν, μετὰ μέθης γιγνό- μενον ἀγροίκων πολλάκις πρὸς αὐλήμα γυναικεῖον ὀρχουμένων σφόδρα καὶ καματηρὰ 4 πηδήματα, καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ ταῖς ἀγροικίαις ἐπιπολάζοντα, 5 ὕπ’ ἀγνοίας παρέλιπον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μηδὲν ταύτα τῇ νῦν ὀρχήσει κοινωνεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις τὰ μὲν τινα εἴδη ἐπανεῖ ταύτης, τὰ δὲ πάνυ ἀπαξιοῖ, διαιρῶν αὐτὰ ἐς τε τὸ τερπνὸν καὶ

1 θεμέλιο C, contrary to Lucianic usage.
2 ὀσπερ ΕΦΩ N²: ὀσπερ ΓΝ¹: ὀσπερ (C)A.
3 τοῦτον οὖν Γ¹: τοῦτο νῦν Γ², other MSS.
4 σφόδρα καὶ καματηρὰ EN: καὶ omitted in other MSS. Cf. Hist. Conscr. 43.
names of dances, except for the few that I mentioned at the outset, in touching upon the more characteristic of them. No, at present anyhow, the chief object of my discussion is to praise the dance as it now exists and to show how much that is pleasurable and profitable it comprises in its embrace, although it did not begin to attain such a height of beauty in days of old, but in the time of Augustus, approximately.¹

Those early forms were roots, so to speak, or initial stages, of the dance; but the flowering of it and the consummate fruition, which precisely at this moment has been brought to the highest point of perfection—that is what our discussion treats of, omitting the Tongs and the Crane-dance ² and so forth as no longer having anything to do with the dancing of to-day. And as to that "Phrygian" form of the dance, the one that accompanied wine and revelry, performed amidst drunkenness, generally by peasants who executed, to the music of flutes played by women, violent and trying gambols still prevalent in the country districts, that too I have not omitted out of ignorance but because those gambols have nothing to do with our present dance. As you know, Plato in the Laws praises certain forms of the dance, but strongly condemns certain others, dividing them with reference to what is

¹ See Athenaeus I, 20 d, where Bathylus and Pylades are given as its inventors, on the authority of Aristonicus.
² The Tongs seems to have involved the performance of entrechats (Eustathius on Odys., VIII, p. 1161). The Crane-dance was said to have been first danced about the altar at Delos by Theseus and his companions, imitating the escape from the Labyrinth (Pollux, IV, 101).
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to χρήσιμον καὶ ἀπελαύνων αὐτῶν τὰ ἀσχημονεστερα, προτιμῶν δὲ καὶ θαυμάζων θάτερα.

35 Καὶ περὶ μὲν αὐτῆς ὀρχήσεως τοσαῦτα: τὸ γὰρ πάντα ἐπεξείωντα μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον ἀπειρόκαλον. ἂ δὲ τὸν ὀρχηστὴν αὐτὸν ἤχειν χρῆ καὶ ὅπως δεῖ ἥσκησθαι καὶ ἀ μεμαθηκέναι καὶ οἷς κρατύνειν τὸ ἔργον, ὡδὴ σοι δείεμι, ὡς μάθης οὐ τῶν ῥαδῶν καὶ τῶν εὐμεταχειρίστων οὕσαν τὴν τέχνην, ἀλλὰ πάσης παιδεύσεως ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀφικνουμένην, οὐ μουσικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥυθμικῆς καὶ μετρικῆς, καὶ τῆς σης φιλοσοφίας μάλιστα, τῆς τε φυσικῆς καὶ τῆς ἡθικῆς. τὴν γὰρ διαλεκτικὴν αὐτῆς περιεργίαν ἀκαίρον αὐτῆς νενώμικεν. οὐ μὴν οúde δὴτορικῆς ἀφέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης μετέχει, καθ’ ὅσον ἢθους τε καὶ πάθους ἐπιδεικτικῆ ἔστω, ὃν καὶ οἱ βῆτορες γλίχονται. οὐκ ἀπήλλακται δὲ καὶ γραφικῆς καὶ πλαστικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν ταύταις εὐρυθμίαις μάλιστα μμουμενή σφαίρεται, ὡς μηδὲν ἀμείνω μήτε Φειδίαν αὐτῆς μήτε Ἀπελλῆν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

36 Πρὸ πάντων δὲ Μνημοσύνην καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς Πολύμνιαν ἰλεων ἤχειν αὐτῆς πρόκειται, καὶ μεμνήσθαι πειρᾶται ἀπάντων. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ τῶν Ὀμηρικὸν Κάλχαντα τὸν ὀρχηστὴν εἰδέναι χρῆ “τά τ’ ἐόντα τά τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρὸ τ’ ἐόντα,” ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν διαλανθάνειν,1 ἀλλ’ εἶναι πρόχειρον τὴν μνήμην αὐτῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς ύποσχέσεως,2 μμητικὴ τὶς ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη καὶ δεικτικὴ καὶ τῶν ἐννοηθέντων ἐξαγορευτικὴ καὶ

1 διαλαθεῖν C, but cf. § 76.
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pleasurable and profitable and rejecting the more unseemly sorts, but valuing and admiring the rest.¹

About the dance itself, let this suffice; for it would be tasteless to prolong my discussion by taking up everything. What qualifications the dancer on his part ought to have, how he should have been trained, what he should have studied, and by what means he should strengthen his work, I shall now set forth for you, to show you that Dance is not one of the facile arts that can be plied without pains, but reaches to the very summit of all culture, not only in music but in rhythm and metre, and especially in your own favourite, philosophy, both physics and ethics. To be sure, Dance accounts philosophy’s inordinate interest in dialectics inappropriate to herself. From rhetoric, however, she has not held aloof, but has her part in that too, inasmuch as she is given to depicting character and emotion, of which the orators also are fond. And she has not kept away from painting and sculpture, but manifestly copies above all else the rhythm that is in them, so that neither Phidias nor Apelles seems at all superior to her.

Before all else, however, it behoves her to enjoy the favour of Mnemosyne and her daughter Polymnia, and she endeavours to remember everything. Like Calchas in Homer, the dancer must know “what is, and what shall be, and was of old,”² so thoroughly that nothing will escape him, but his memory of it all will be prompt. To be sure, it professes in the main to be a science of imitation and portrayal, of revealing what is in the mind and making intelligible

¹ Laws, VII, 814 e-816 c.
² Iliad, I, 70.
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τῶν ἀφανῶν σαφηνιστικῆ, καὶ οπερ ὁ Θουκυδίδης περὶ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐφὶ ἐπαινῶν τὸν ἄνδρα, τούτῳ καὶ τῷ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ἀκρότατον ἄν ἐγκώμιον εἶη, γνώναι τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι αὐτὰ· ἐρμηνευῖν δὲ νῦν τὴν σαφῆνειαν τῶν σχημάτων λέγω. ἢ δὲ πᾶσα τῷ ἔργῳ χορηγία ἢ παλαιὰ ἱστορία ἐστίν, ὡς προεῖπον, καὶ ἢ πρόχειρος

37 αὐτῆς μνήμη τε καὶ μετ’ εὐπρεπείας ἐπιδείξεις· ἀπὸ γὰρ χάος εὐθὺς καὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἀρξάμενον ἥρη αὐτῶν ἀπαντα ἐιδέναι ἄχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίαν.

Τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ διαστήματι περιωρίσθω ἡμῖν ἢ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ πολυμαθία καὶ τὰ διὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἵστω, Οὐρανοῦ τομῆν, Ἀφροδίτης γονᾶς, Τιτάνων máχην, Δίως γένεσιν, Ρέας ἀπάτην, λίθου ὑποβολήν, Κρόνου δεσμό, τῶν τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν κλήρον. εἶτα ἕξῆς Γιγάντων ἐπανάστασιν, πυρὸς κλοπῆν, ἄνθρωπων πλάσιν, Προμηθέως κόλασιν, Ἕρωτος ἵσχυν ἐκατέρου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Δήλου πλάνην καὶ Δητοὺς ὑδίνας καὶ ἐμφότερου Σ.

1 Thucydides, II, 60.
2 The compendium of mythology that follows is notable not only for its brevity but for its arrangement on geographical lines, which is unique, and I think was adopted by Lucian as an aid to memory, since the passage was clearly composed off-hand and very little retouched. He must have thought of it not only as displaying his own command of mythology and knowledge of what Pindar calls "the short road" in story-telling, but as a help to dancers, libretto-writers, and audiences, and incidentally of interest to the latter as a memory-test (cf. True Story, I; The Dead Come to Life, 6; Mistaken Critic, 6). This is certainly the way in which most of its
what is obscure. What Thucydides said of Pericles in praising the man would also be the highest possible commendation of a dancer, "to know what is meet and express it;" and by expressing I mean the intelligibility of his postures. But his whole accoutrement for the work is ancient story, as I have said, and the prompt recollection and graceful presentation of it. Beginning with Chaos and the primal origin of the world, he must know everything down to the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian.

Let this be the range we prescribe for the dancer's learning, and let him know thoroughly all that lies within it: the castration of Uranus, the begetting of Aphrodite, the battle of the Titans, the birth of Zeus, the stratagem of Rhea, the substitution of the stone, the fetters of Cronus, the casting of lots among the three brothers. Then, in order, the revolt of the Giants, the theft of fire, the fashioning of man, the punishment of Prometheus, the power of the two Erotes; and after that, the errancy of Delos, the

readers will want to use it now. Those who, perhaps from interest in it as a dancer's repertory, wish to study it and find the notes given here and the further hints in the Index insufficient to their purpose should make use of Sir J. G. Frazer's Apollodorus (L.C.L.), which will make it all plain sailing.

3 Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, for their respective dominions.

4 The allusion is not to the making of Pandora, but to the legend of the moulding of man out of earth and water by Prometheus, with the help of Athena, who supplied the breath of life: see Lucian's Prometheus, 1, and 11-17; A Literary Prometheus, 4; and Frazer on Apollodorus I, 7, 1, to whose references add Callimachus, Fr. 87 and Fr. 133 Schn. (Mair [L.C.L.], pp. 292, 310). It took place at Iconium in Lycaonia; cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἰκόνιον.

5 The ancient cosmogonic Eros of § 7, and the son of Aphrodite.
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Πύθωνος ἀναίρεσιν καὶ Τιτυνοῦ ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς γῆς εὐρισκόμενον πτήσει τῶν ἀετῶν.

39 Δευκαλίωνα ἐπὶ τούτους, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἐπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου ναναγίαν, καὶ λάρνακα μίαν λείψανον τοῦ ἄνθρωπινον γένους φυλάττουσαν, καὶ ἐκ λίθων ἄνθρωπους πάλιν. εἶτα Ἦακχον σπαραγμόν καὶ Ἡρας δόλον καὶ Σεμέλης κατάφλεξιν καὶ Διονύσου ἀμφοτέρας τὰς γονάς, καὶ ὅσα περὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ὅσα περὶ Ἡφαιστον καὶ Ἔριξθονίου, καὶ τὴν ἔρα την περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ Ἀλιρρόδιον καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἐν Ἀρείω πάγω κρίσιν, καὶ ὅλως τὴν Ἀττικῆς πάσαν μυθολογίαν ἐξαρέτως δὲ τὴν Δήμητρος πλάνην καὶ Κόρης εὑρεσιν καὶ Κελεόου ξενίαν καὶ Τριπτολέμου γεωργίαν καὶ Ἰκαρίου ἀμπελουργίαν καὶ τὴν Ἡριγόνης συμφοράν, καὶ ὅσα περὶ Βορέου καὶ ὅσα περὶ Ὀμείθνας καὶ Θησέως καὶ Αἰγέως: ἔτι δὲ τὴν Μηδείας ὑποδοχήν καὶ αὕθις ἐσ Πέρσας φυγήν καὶ τὰς Ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρας καὶ τὰς Πανδίνος, ἀ τε ἐν Ὑπαρχή ἐπαθὼν καὶ ἐπραξαν. εἶτα ὁ Ἀκάμας καὶ ὁ Φυλίδας καὶ ἡ προτέρα δὲ τῆς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγή καὶ ἡ στρατεία τῶν Διοσκούρων

1 ἄνθρωπείου Κ.

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1 Two eagles let fly by Zeus, one from the east, the other from the west, met at Delphi; the Navel-stone (Omphalos) marked the spot, the centre of the earth, and had two eagles of gold set up by it (Pindar, Pyth., 1V, 6, with the scholia; Frazer, Pausanias, Vol. V, pp. 314-315).

2 Dionysus Zagreus (Sabazius), son of Persephone, was dismembered by the Titans, boiled in a cauldron, and eaten; Zeus swallowed his heart. He was reborn as Iacchus.
travail of Leto, the killing of Pytho, the plot of Tityus, and the discovery of earths' central point by the flight of the eagles.\(^1\)

Next comes Deucalion, with the great shipwreck of life in his time, and the single ark conserving a remnant of the human race, and men created afresh from stones. Then the dismemberment of Iacchus,\(^2\) the trick of Hera,\(^3\) the burning of Semele, the double birth of Dionysus, the story of Athena and the story of Hephaestus and Erichthonius, the rivalry for Attica, Halirrhothius and the first trial on the Areopagus, and in a word, Attic mythology complete; but particularly the wandering of Demeter, the finding of Core, the visit to Celeus, the husbandry of Triptolemus; the vine-planting of Icarius, and the sad fate of Erigone; the story of Boreas, of Oreithyia, of Theseus and Aegeus. Also, the reception of Medea and her later flight to Persia, the daughters of Erechtheus, and the daughters of Pandion, with what they suffered and did in Thrace. Then Acamas, Phyllis,\(^4\) the first rape of Helen, the campaign of the Dioscuri against the city, the fate

\(^3\) Inducing Semele to beg Zeus to come to her in all his majesty.

\(^4\) The Thracian princess Phyllis hanged herself because her lover, one of the sons of Theseus, did not return to her. As the story is usually told, the lover was Demophon (Apoll., \textit{Epit.}, vi, 16–17; Ovid, \textit{Heroides}, ii). Another version, however, gave that part to Acamas (Aeschines, II, 31), and that is probably Lucian's intention here. But it is also possible that he expects us to supply from memory the name of Demophon in connection with that of Phyllis, and to associate with that of Acamas his affair with Laodice, daughter of Priam, who came to him self-invited (Lycophron, \textit{Alex.}, 496), and later, at the fall of Troy, gave him Munitus, the son she had borne him, and was herself swallowed up by the earth.
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ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ Ἰππολύτου πάθος καὶ Ἡρα-
κλειδῶν κάθοδος· Ἀττικᾶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα εἰκότως
ἀν νομίζοιτο.

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγα πάνυ δείγματος
ἐνεκα ἐκ πολλῶν τῶν παραλειμμένων διήλθον.

41 έξης δὲ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ Νῖσος καὶ Σκύλλα καί
πορφυρῶς πλόκαμος καὶ Μίνωος πόρος καὶ περὶ
tὴν ευεργείν ἄχαριστία. οἷς έξης ὁ Κυθαιρῶν
καὶ τὰ Θηβαίων καὶ Λαβδακιδῶν πάθη καὶ Κάδμου
ἐπιθημία καὶ βοῶς οἰκλασὶ καὶ ὄφεως οἴδοντες καὶ
Σπαρτῶν ἀνάδοσις καὶ αὕθης τοῦ Κάδμου εἰς
δράκοντα μεταβολή καὶ πρὸς λύραν τείχισις καὶ
μανία τοῦ τειχοποιοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ
tῆς Νιόβης ἡ μεγαλαυχία καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πένθει
συγκαὶ τὰ Πενθέως καί Ἀκταίων καὶ τὰ
Οἰδίποδος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς σὺν τοῖς ἄθλοις αὐτοῦ
ἀπασω καὶ ἡ τῶν παίδων σφαγῆ.

42 Εἴθ' ἡ Κόρινθος πλέα καὶ αὐτὴ μύθων, τὴν
Γλαύκην καὶ τὸν Κρέοντα ἔχουσα, καὶ πρὸ αὐ-
tῶν τὸν Βελλεροφόντην καὶ τὴν Σθενέβουαν καὶ
Ἁλίου μάχην καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
tῆν Ἀθάμαντος μανίαν καὶ τῶν Νεφέλης παῖδων
ἐπὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆν διαέριον φυγήν, . . . Ἰνοῦς
καὶ Μελικέρτου υποδοχήν.

1 καὶ τὴν Ἰνοῦς Bekker, but more than that has been lost.
No lacuna in MSS.

1 Minos tied her to the stern of his ship and dragged her
in its wake. In representing this as an "expedient," Lucian
of Hippolytus, and the return of the Heracleidae; for all this may properly be considered Attic.

These Athenian tales that I have run over are a very few by way of example out of the many that have been omitted. And next comes Megara, with Nisus and Scylla, the purple lock, the expedient of Minos, and his ingratitude towards his benefactress.\(^1\) To these succeed Cithaeron, with all that befell the Thebans and the house of Labdacus; the advent of Cadmus, the heifer's taking ground, the serpent's teeth, and the emergence of the Sown Men; further, the transformation of Cadmus into a serpent, the rising of the walls to the music of the lyre, the madness of the wall-builder,\(^2\) the boastfulness of his wife Niobe, and her grief-stricken silence, the story of Pentheus and of Actaeon, the story of Oedipus, Heracles with all his labours, and the murder of his children.

Then comes Corinth, also full of myths, since she has Glauce and Creon, and before them Bellerophon and Stheneboea, and the quarrel between Helius and Poseidon;\(^3\) afterwards, the madness of Athamas, the flight of the children of Nephele through the air on the back of the ram, and the reception of Ino and Melicertes.\(^4\)

seems to be thinking of it as Minos' way of carrying out a previous bargain with Scylla to "take her with him," or the like. So Tarpeia bargained with the Sabines for what they had on their arms, expecting their bracelets; but they crushed her with their shields.

\(^{1}\) Amphion, who went mad of grief over the slaying of his and Niobe's children by Apollo and Artemis.

\(^{2}\) For the possession of Corinth; Briareus, as mediator, awarded the Isthmus to Poseidon, Aero-Corinth to Helius.

\(^{3}\) In Corinth, as the sea-divinities Palaemon and Leucothea.
43 'Επὶ τούτοις τὰ Πελοπίδῶν καὶ Μυκήναι καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν, Ἰναχος καὶ Ἰὼ καὶ ὁ φρουρὸς αὐτῆς 'Αργος καὶ Ἀτρέυς καὶ Θνέατης καὶ Ἀερόπη, καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἄρινον καὶ Πελοπείας γάμος καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος σφαγή καὶ Κλυταμήστρας τιμωρία· καὶ ἔτι πρὸ τούτων ἡ τῶν ἐπτὰ λοχαγῶν στρατεία καὶ ἡ τῶν φυγάδων γαμβρῶν τοῦ Ἀδράστου ὑποδοχὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χρησμὸς καὶ ἡ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφία καὶ Ἁντιγόνης διὰ τάυτα καὶ Μενοικέως ἀπώλεια.

44 καὶ τὰ ἐν Νεμέα δέ, ἡ 'Ὑμπύλη καὶ Ἀρχέμορος, ἀναγκαίωτα τῷ ὀρχηστῇ μυημονεύματα· καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν εἰσέται τὴν Δανάης παρθένον καὶ Περσέως γένεσιν καὶ τὸν ἑπὶ τῶν Γοργόνων ἄθλον αὐτῷ προηρημένον, ὃ οἰκεία καὶ ἡ Αἰθιοπικὴ δυνάμεις, Κασσιέπεια καὶ Ἀνδρομέδα καὶ Κηφεὺς, οὐς καὶ ἀστροὺς ἐγκατέλεξεν ἡ τῶν μετὰ τάυτα πίστις. κακείνα δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα τὰ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Δαναοῦ εἰσέται καὶ τὴν ἐπιθαλάμου ἐπιβουλὴν.

45 Οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἡ Δακεδαίμων τοιαῦτα παρέχεται, τὸν 'ῌκινθον καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀντεραστὴν Ζέφυρον καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν δίσκων τοῦ μειρακίου σφαγῆ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀιματὸς ἄνθος καὶ τὴν ἐν

1 Peleopias MSS.
2 So (Klutehýstromas) Γ: other MSS. -μν-.

2 One of Adrastus’ daughters was to wed a boar, the other a lion. Tydeus had a boar for his shield-device, Polynices a lion.
Next is the story of the descendants of Pelops, with Mycenae and what happened there, and previously—Inachus, Io, and her warder Argus; Atreus, Thyestes, Aerope, and the golden lamb; the defloration of Peleopeia;¹ the slaying of Agamemnon, and the punishment of Clytemestra. Even before that, the expedition of the Seven Captains, with Adrastus' reception of the exiles who became his sons-in-law, and the oracle about them,² the refusal to bury the fallen, and the death of Antigone and Menoeceus on that account. Also what happened on Nemean soil, the story of Hypsipyle and Archemorus, is very essential for the dancer to remember.³ And from an earlier time he will know the enforced virginity of Danae, the birth of Perseus, and the quest of the Gorgons which he assumed. Related to this is the Ethiopian tale of Cassiopea, Andromeda, and Cepheus, who have been placed in the roll of constellations by the faith of men of after time. And he will also know that ancient tale of Aegyptus and Danaus, and the bride-night plot.

Sparta, too, affords not a few stories of this sort:⁴ Hyacinthus, and Apollo's rival, Zephyrus; the lad's slaying with the discus, the flower that came from the blood, and the word of woe (AI) that is written

³ Just why it should be so essential is not very obvious. The infant Archemorus was killed by a dragon when his nurse Hypsipyle left him at a spring in order to point out the way to Thebes to the army of the seven chieftains. But Lucian's remark may have been called forth by the thought of Hypsipyle's earlier history as queen of Lemnos—her killing her husband and saving her father, and her love for Jason.

⁴ One wonders whether Lucian's omission of the story of Leda is careless or intentional.
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αὐτῷ αἰάζουσαν ἐπιγραφήν, καὶ τὴν Τυνδάρεων ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν Δίως ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ κατ᾽ Ἀσκλη-
pion ὄργῃν. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Πάριδος ἐξενισμὸν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγήν μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μῆλῳ
46 κρίσιν. νομιστεόν γὰρ τῇ Σπαρτιατικῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιακὴν συνήθναι, πολλὴν οὕσαν καὶ
πολυπρόσωπον· καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν γοῦν τῶν ἐκεί
πεσόντων δράμα τῇ σκηνῇ πρόκειται· καὶ μεμνη-
σθαί δὲ 1 τούτων δεῖ μάλιστα, 2 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς
εὐθὺς ἀχρὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόστοις γεγενημένων καὶ
τῆς Αἰνείου πλάνης καὶ Διδοῦς ἐρωτος.

Ὡν οὐκ ἄλλοτρια καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην
dράματα καὶ τὰ ἐν Σκυθία τῷ ἡρώι τετολμη-
μένα. οὐκ ἀπωδᾶ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦτων, ἄλλα
τοῖς Ἰλιακοῖς συγγενῆ; Ἀχιλλεῦς ἐν Σκύρῳ
παρθένεως καὶ Ὀδυσσέως μανία καὶ Φιλοκτή-
tου ἐρημία, καὶ ὅλως ἡ πάσα Ὀδύσσεως πλάνη
cαὶ Κίρκη καὶ Τηλέγονος καὶ Ἡ Αἰόλου τῶν ἄνε-
μων δυναστεία καὶ τὰ ἀλλα μέχρι τῆς τῶν μνηστή-
ρων τιμωρίας· καὶ πρὸ τοῦτων ἡ κατὰ Παλαμῆ-
dους ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ ἡ Ναυπλίου ὀργὴ καὶ ἡ Αἰαντος
μανία καὶ ἡ θατέρου ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ἀπώλεια.

1 δὲ ΤΕΘΩΑ: δέον N, δεῖ vulg.
2 δεὶ µάλιστα Harmon: δεῖ µάλιστα MSS. Many editors
punctuate δεῖ, µάλιστα, but µάλιστα cannot be taken with
what follows.

1 The tale is told by Lucian in Dialogues of the Gods, 16
(14), and there too the scene is laid in Sparta; cf. Apoll.,
III, 10, 3. It figured also among the tales of Northern
Greece (Apoll., I, 3, 3).
2 Dido's story essentially as it was told in the Greek of
Tinaeus may still be read in the Latin of Justin (XVIII, 4–6);
but Aeneas played no part in it. His introduction into it
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on it. Also the resurrection of Tyndareus, and Zeus's anger at Asclepius over it. Further, the entertainment of Paris and the rape of Helen, after his judgement in the matter of the apple. For we must recognise that there is a connecting bond between Spartan story and that of Troy, which is copious and full of parts to play; in fact, for each person who fell there, a drama offers itself to the theatre. These themes must be kept in mind above all others, from the time of the rape straight through to what happened in the "Home-farings," with the wandering of Acneas and the love of Dido.

The dramas that centre upon Orestes, including that hero's adventures in Scythia, are not alien to all this; and what went before is not incongruous, either, but akin to the story of Troy—the virgin life of Achilles in Scyros, the madness of Odysseus, the marooning of Philoctetes, and, in general, the whole wandering of Odysseus, including Circe, Telegonus, Aeolus' sway over the winds, and all the rest of it, to the punishment of the suitors. Also, preceding this, the plot against Palamedes, and the wrath of Nauplius, the madness of Ajax, and the death of the other Ajax among the rocks.

cannot be traced further back than Naevius. It probably came to Lucian by way of Vergil, from whom, however, it is hardly likely that he derived it at first hand.

Telegonus, the son of Circe and Odysseus, does not appear in the Odyssey, but was the hero of a late sequel to it, the Telegony. Its content is reflected in an abstract by Proclus (Evelyn White, Hesiod, etc. [L.C.L.], p. 530) and in Apoll., Epit., VII, 34-37. In stating that its author represented Telegonus as Odysseus' son by Calypso, Eustathius is manifestly in error, for the part played by Circe in the conclusion of the story makes it certain that Circe was his mother.
47 "Εχει πολλάς καὶ Ἡλις ἀφορμᾶς τοὺς ὀρχεῖσθαι πειρωμένους, τὸν Ὀλυμπόμον, τὸν Ἡμέρηλον, τὸν Κρόνον, τὸν Δία, τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγωνιστάς. πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ κατ' Ἀρκαδίαν μυθολογία, Δάφνης φυγή, Καλλιστοῦς θηρίωσις, Κενταύρων παρουσία, Πανὸς γοναί, Ἀλφειοῦ ἔρως καὶ ὕφαλος ἀποδημία.

48 Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἀφίκῃ τῷ λόγῳ, πάμπολλα κακείθεν ἡ ὀρχησις ἐρανίζεται, τὴν Εὐρώπην, τὴν Πασιφάην, τοὺς ταύρους ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν λαβύρινθον, τὴν Ἀριάδνην, τὴν Φαῖδραν, τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων, τὸν Δαίδαλον, τὸν Ἰκαρον, τὸν Γλαύκον, τὴν Πολυδοῦ μαντικὴν, τὸν Τάλων, τὸν Χαλκοῦν τὴς Κρήτης περιπολοῦν. καὶ εἰς Αἰτωλίαν μετέλθης, κακεὶ πολλὰ ἡ ὀρχησις καταλαμβάνει, τὴν Ἀλθαίαν, τὸν Μελέαγρον, τὴν Ἀταλάντην, τὸν δαλόν, καὶ ποταμόν καὶ Ἡρακλέους πάλην καὶ Σευρήνων γένεσιν καὶ Ἐχινάδων ἀνάδοσιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν μανιὰν Ἀλκμαιονος οἴκησιν· εἶτα Νέσσον καὶ Δηϊανείρας ξηλοπτιαν, ἕφ’ ἥ τὴν ἐν Οἰνίᾳ πυράν.

50 Ἐχει καὶ Ὡρᾶκη πολλὰ τῷ ὀρχησομένῳ ἀναγκαία, τὸν Ὀρφέα, τὸν ἐκείνου σπαραγμόν καὶ τὴν λάλον αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆν τὴν ἐπιπλέουσαν τῇ

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1 Probably the wrestling match between Cronus and Zeus, by which Zeus won possession of Olympia, is meant here rather than the games in which the gods competed under the presidency of Zeus (Paus., V, 7, 10), or the wrestling match between Zeus and Heracles (Lyc., 39–43), or the games held by Heracles, in which the competitors were his contemporaries (Pindar, Ol., X, 60–75).

2 The Minotaur, and the bull that fathered him.

3 Clearly Lucian has in mind the legend that made them daughters of Earth (Eur., Hel., 168), engendered of the blood.
Elis too has many subjects for those who essay the dance—Oenomaus and Myrtilus, Cronus and Zeus, and the first contestants in the Olympic games;¹ and the Arcadian mythology also is copious—the flight of Daphne, the transformation of Callisto into a wild beast, the drunken riot of the Centaurs, the birth of Pan, the love of Alpheus, and his journey into foreign parts beneath the sea.

Indeed, even if you go to Crete in fancy, the dance garners very many contributions from there—Europe, Pasiphae, both the bulls,² the labyrinth, Ariadne, Phaedra, Androgeos, Daedalus and Icarus, Glaucus and the soothsaying skill of Polyidus, and Talus, the bronze roundsman of Crete. Or if you cross over to Aetolia, there too the dance finds a great deal—Althea, Meleager, Atalanta, the brand, the wrestling-match between Heracles and the river (Achelous), the birth of the Sirens,³ the emergence of the Echinades,⁴ and the settlement of Alcmæon there after his madness; then Nessus, and the jealousy of Deianeira, and, consequent upon it, the pyre in Oeta.

Thrace also has much that is essential to one who intends to dance—Orpheus, his dismemberment and his talking head that voyaged on the lyre;⁵ that dropped from the wound of Achelous, inflicted by Heracles through breaking off one of his horns (Libanius, Progymn., 4).

¹ Five of the Echinades were nymphs, turned into islands for their failure to invite Achelous to a sacrifice. A sixth, Perimele, was a maiden who was thrown into the sea by her father because she had given herself to Achelous; in answer to Achelous' prayer, Poseidon changed her into an island. So, at all events, says Ovid (Met., VIII, 577-610).

² The story of the head of Orpheus is told by Lucian in The Ignorant Book-Collector, 11-12 (Vol. III, pp. 188 ff.).
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λῦρα, καὶ τὸν Αἴμον καὶ τὴν Ὀρδόπην, καὶ τὴν
52 Δυκούργου κόλασιν. καὶ Θεσσαλία δὲ ἔτι 1 πλεῖων
παρέχεται, τὸν Πελίαν, τὸν Ἰάσονα, τὴν Ἀλκηστίνα,
tὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα νέων στόλον, τὴν Ἀργώ,
53 τὴν λάλον αὐτῆς τρόπων, τὰ ἐν Δήμων, τὸν Αἰήτην,
tὸν Μηδείας ὄνειρον, τὸν Ἀφύρτου σπαραγμόν καὶ
tὰ ἐν τῷ παράπλω γενόμενα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν
Πρωτεύλαον καὶ τὴν Λαοδάμειαν.
54 Καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβής, πολλὰ κάκει
dράματα: ἡ γὰρ Σάμος εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ Πολυκράτους
πάθος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ μέχρι Περσῶν
πλάνη, καὶ τὰ ἔτι ἄρχαιοτερα, ἡ τοῦ Ταυτάλου
φλυαρία καὶ ἡ παρ’ αὐτῶ θεῶν ἑστίοσι καὶ Ἡ
Πέλοπος κρεουργία καὶ ὁ ἐλεφάντινος ὦμος
αὐτοῦ.
55 Καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δὲ ὁ Ἡραδανὸς καὶ Φαέθων καὶ
αὐγειρο ἀδελφᾷ θρηνοῦσαι καὶ ἥλεκτρον δακρύον-
56 σαι. εἶσεται δὲ τὸ θεότος καὶ τὰς Ἑσπερίδας καὶ
τὸν φουρόν τῆς χρυσῆς ὀπώρας δράκοντα καὶ
τὸν Ἀτλαντὸς μόχθον καὶ τὸν Γηρυόνην καὶ τὴν
57 ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἐλασιν τῶν βοῶν. οὐκ ἄγνοήσει
1 ἔτι vulg.: ἐπὶ ΓΕΦΝΩΑ.

1 Apollonius of Rhodes (III, 616–682) describes at some
length a dream of Medea's, shortly after the arrival of Jason,
to the effect that he came to win her, that she helped him
with the oxen; that she was chosen to arbitrate the strife
that arose, and decided in Jason's favour; whereupon her
parents clamoured, and she awoke. Since this dream is
not traditional, its inclusion in Lucian's list is perhaps to be
explained by assuming that he knew of its actual use as a
pantomimic theme.
Haemus and Rhodope; the punishment of Lycurgus; and Thessaly affords still more—Pelias, Jason, Alcestis, the expedition of the fifty youths, the Argo and her talking keel, the incidents at Lemnos, Aeëtes, the dream of Medea,¹ the dismemberment of Apsyrtus, the happenings of the cruise, and after that, Protesilaus and Laodameia.

If you cross the sea again to Asia, there are many dramas there—Samos, at the outset, with the fate of Polycrates and his daughter’s wanderings, extending to Persia,² and the stories that are still older—the loquaciousness of Tantalus, the feast of the gods at his house, the butchering of Pelops, and his shoulder of ivory.

In Italy, moreover, we have the Eridanus, and Phaethon, and the poplars that are his sisters, mourning and weeping amber. And a man of the sort I have in mind will know about the Hesperides, too, and the dragon that guards the golden fruit, and the toil of Atlas, and about Geryon, and the lifting of his cattle from Erytheia. And

¹ This allusion is puzzling. Nothing about the daughter of Polycrates is known to us except that she foretold her father’s death through a dream (Herod., III, 124). Since Herodotus tells also how Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, went to Egypt as an exile, earned the gratitude of Darius, who was serving there as a guardsman, by giving him a cloak which Darius coveted and sought to buy, and later, after the death of Polycrates, visited Susa and obtained from Darius his restoration to Samos and establishment as ruler of the island, it has been thought that Lucian has been guilty of confusing the brother with the daughter. But Lucian was a little too well acquainted with Herodotus (and the world with the story of Syloson’s cloak) to make this quite credible. A gap in the text here is easily possible, but it may also be that Hellenistic imagination gave the daughter a romantic history which dancers had selected for portrayal.

²
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de καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς μεταμορφώσεις ἀπάσας, ὅσοι ἐς δένδρα ἡ θηρία ἡ ὄρνεα ἡλάγησαν καὶ ὅσαι ἐκ γυναικῶν ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο, τὸν Καινέα λέγω καὶ τὸν Τειρεσίαν καὶ τοὺς τουιοῦτους.

58 Καὶ ἐν Φοινίκῃ δὲ Μῦρραν καὶ τὸ Ἀσσύριον ἐκεῖνο πένθος μεριζόμενον, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσεταί, καὶ τὰ νεώτερα δὲ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἔτολμηθη ὑπὸ τῆς 'Αντιπάτρου καὶ παρὰ Σε-

59 λεύκω 2 ἐπὶ τῷ Στρατονίκης ἐρωτ. τὰ γὰρ Ἀιγυπτίων, μυστικότερα ὅντα, εἰσεται μέν, συμ-βολικότερον δὲ επιδείξεται τὸν Ἐταφον λέγω καὶ τὸν Ὀσιριν καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὰ ζώα μεταβολάς.

Πρὸ πάντων δὲ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἐρωτας αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δίος καὶ εἰς ὅσα ἐαυτὸν μετασκεύασεν

60 εἰσεται, καὶ 3 τὴν ἐν "Αἰδοὺ ἀπασαν τραγῳδίαν καὶ τὰς κολάσεις καὶ τὰς ἑφ' ἐκάστη αἰτίας καὶ τὴν Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἀχρὶ τοῦ Ἀιδοὺ ἐταιρείαν.

61 συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὔδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ποιητῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς τραγῳδίας λεγομένων ἀγνοήσει.

1 ὅσοι Bekker: ὅσαι MSS.
2 Σελεύκω Harmon: Σελεύκου MSS.
3 μετασκεύασεν εἰσεται, καὶ Harmon: μετασκεύασεν. εἰσεται de καὶ MSS.

1 Caeneus and Tiresias are coupled also in Gallus, 19. On Caeneus, a woman who at her own request was changed by Poseidon into a man, see especially Sir J. G. Frazer’s note on Apoll., Epit., I, 22.

2 Mother of Adonis, called Smyrna by Apollodorus (III, 14, 4); cf. Ovid, Met., X, 298–518.

3 The words πένθος μεριζόμενον, which I have translated "dissevered woe," seem to me to be certainly sound, and to reflect the identification of Adonis with Osiris then current, the piecemeal recovery of his dismembered body (with, no 262
he will not fail to know all the fabulous transformations, the people who have been changed into trees or beasts or birds, and the women who have turned into men; Caeneus, I mean, and Tiresias, and their like.\footnote{1}

In Phoenicia he will know about Myrrha\footnote{2} and that Syrian tale of dismembered woe,\footnote{3} as well as the more recent happenings that followed the establishment of Macedonian rule, the bold deeds of Antipater as well as those at the court of Seleucus over the affections of Stratonice.\footnote{4} Since Egyptian tales are somewhat mystic, he will know them, but will present them more symbolically; I mean Epaphus and Osiris and the transfigurations of the gods into their bestial forms.

Before all else, however, he will know the stories of their loves, including the loves of Zeus himself, and all the forms into which he changed himself, and also the whole show in the realm of Hades, with the punishments and the reasons for each, and how the comradeship of Peirithous and Theseus brought them even to Hades. To sum it up, he will not be ignorant of anything that is told by Homer and Hesiod and the best poets, and above all by tragedy.

doubt, renewed mourning over every part), and in particular, the coming of the head to Byblus; see Lucian’s Dea Syria, 7 (IV, p. 344). The phrase is very similar to the λακιστών μορόν ("piecemeal doom") which Lucian quotes (from a lost tragedy) in the Piscator 2 (III, p. 3), and may have been suggested by it. On “Assyrian” for Syrian, see the Index.

\footnote{4} The allusion to Antipater is inexplicable, unless it is to the son of Cassander, who murdered his mother (Justin., XVI, 1, 1). The story of Antiochus’ love for Stratonice, the wife of his father, Seleucus Nicator, its detection by a physician, and the father’s resignation of wife and kingdom to his son is a favourite with Lucian, and is told in Dea Syria, 17–18 (IV, pp. 360 ff.).
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'Taúta pánu ólýga ék polllón, múlllon dè ápeíraov tò plēthos, éxeîov tâ kefalaiwdéstera kate-
leîa, tâ allâ tois te poûtais âdeîn âfeîs kai
tois órkhstais autois deixnîas kai soi proseeu-
rískeun kath' ómooîttta tîn proieirhímênov, âper
âpanta próxeira kai prós tîn kairîn ékastov tîf
órkhstî proopeporismêna kai protetamêmêna
keîsthaî anagkaîon.

62 'Epei dê múmptikós éstî kai kwnîmasî tâ ádó-
meva deixen ùpicaîntai, anagkaîon autô, óper
kai tois rîtoroi, safînîesiv aîskeiîn, òs ékastov
tôn deixunmêmênov òp' autôi dêloûsathai mhdeîvôs
êsýngêtou dêomênov, allî óper efê ó Puthikîs
xîrsmîs, deî tîn teûmêmên órkhson kai kowfôu
suineîa kai mh laléontos tîu órkhstou akôveîn.

63 "O dê kai Dêmíttrîon tûn Kûnikôn pâthîn legon-
sîv. epei gar kai autôs òmouâ soi kattîgorîe tîs
órkhstikîs, légyw toû aûlou kai tîn súriggyw
kai tîn kîtpow pârereghîn tî tîn órkhstîn einai,
mhdeîn autôn prôs tî drâmâ suîteloûnta, kînuû-
mevou dê álgonon allîs kînhsî kai màtauov,
oûdeîv autî nûî prooîntos, tîn dê ántrôpou
 tôis perî tî prâgma goûteumêmîn,1 ésaîtî
sîrîkî kai proswpeîw eûprêpêî, aûlou te kai
tereiîmasî kai tî tîn âdîntwv eûfôvîa, oîs
kosmeîsathai mhdeîv dîn tî tîu órkhstou prâgma,
ô tôte kata tîn Nêrâna eûdokîmów órkhstîs, ouî

1 goûteumêmîn ð vulg.: goûteumêmîn GÊF1 ÏNA.

That given to Croesus, Herod., I, 47; there was, of course,
no reference to dancing in it. The maid of Pytho vaunted her
knowledge of the number of the sands and the measure of the
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THE DANCE

These are a very few themes that I have selected out of many, or rather out of an infinite number, and set down as the more important, leaving the rest for the poets to sing of, for the dancers themselves to present, and for you to add, finding them by their likeness to those already mentioned, all of which must lie ready, provided and stored by the dancer in advance to meet every occasion.

Since he is imitative and undertakes to present by means of movements all that is being sung, it is essential for him, as for the orators, to cultivate clearness, so that everything which he presents will be intelligible, requiring no interpreter. No, in the words of the Delphic oracle,\(^1\) whosoever beholds dancing must be able "to understand the mute and hear the silent" dancer.

That is just what happened, they say, in the case of Demetrius the Cynic. He too was denouncing the dance just as you do, saying that the dancer was a mere adjunct to the flute and the pipes and the stamping, himself contributing nothing to the presentation but making absolutely meaningless, idle movements with no sense in them at all; but that people were duped by the accessories of the business—the silk vestments, the beautiful mask, the flute and its quavers, and the sweet voices of the singers, by all of which the dancer's business, itself amounting to nothing at all, was embellished. Thereupon the dancer at that time, under Nero, sea and her ability to understand the mute and hear the silent, before demonstrating her power by replying to the test-question "What is Croesus now doing" with the answer that she could smell turtle and lamb boiling in a bronze pot with a lid of bronze. That response, we are told, hit the mark.

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ασύνετος, ως φασιν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸς ἄλλος ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μνήμη καὶ κινήσεως κάλλει διενεχκών, ἐδεύῃ τὸν Δημήτριον εὐγνώμονεστάτην, οἷμαι, τὴν δέσιν, ἰδείν ὁρχοῦμενον, ἑπείτα κατηγορεῖν αὐτὸν· καὶ ὑπέσχετο γε ἄνευ αὐλοῦ καὶ ἀσμάτων ἐπιδείξεσθαι αὐτῷ. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησεν· ἦσυχιαν γὰρ τοῖς τε κτυποῦσι καὶ τοῖς αὐλοῦσι καὶ αὐτῷ παραγγέλας τῷ χορῷ, αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἕαυτοῦ ὑρχήσατο τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἀρεος μουχείαν, Ἡλιον μνύόντα καὶ Ἡφαιστον ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἀμφοτέρους, τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν Ἀρη, σαγηνεύοντα, καὶ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας θεοὺς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ αἴδουμένην μὲν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ὑποδεδουκότα 1 δὲ καὶ ἰκετεύοντα τὸν Ἀρη, καὶ ὡσα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτη πρόσεστιν, ὡστε τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπερησθέντα τοῖς γυνομένοις τούτων ἐπανοῦ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν μέγιστον τῷ ὀρχηστῇ· ἀνέκραγε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀνεφθέγξατο, "Ἀκοῦω, ἄνθρωπε, ἀ ποιεῖσ· οὐχ ὁρῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσίν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν."

64 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Νέρωνα ἐσμεν τῷ λόγῳ, βουλομαί καὶ βαρβάρου ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ γενόμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ μέγιστος ἐπανος ὀρχηστικῆς γένοιτ' ἀν. τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου βαρβάρων βασιλικὸς τις ἀνθρωπὸς κατὰ τῷ χρέος ἤκων ὡς τὸν Νέρωνα ἔθεσε μετά τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐκείνων οὕτω σαφῶς ὀρχοῦμενον ὡς καίτοι μὴ ἐπακούοντα τῶν ἄδομένων—ἡμεῖλλην γάρ τις ὡν ἐτύγχανεν—συνεῖναι ἀπάντων. καὶ

1 ὑποδεδουκότα Γ¹Ε.
in high repute, who was no fool, they say, and excelled, if ever a man did, in remembrance of legends and beauty of movement,¹ made a request of Demetrius that was very reasonable, I think—to see him dancing and then accuse him; he promised, indeed, to perform for him without flute or songs. That is what he did; enjoining silence upon the stampers and flute-players and upon the chorus itself, quite unsupported, he danced the amours of Aphrodite and Ares, Helius tattling, Hephaestus laying his plot and trapping both of them with his entangling bonds, the gods who came in on them, portrayed individually, Aphrodite ashamed, Ares seeking cover and begging for mercy, and everything that belongs to this story,² in such wise that Demetrius was delighted beyond measure with what was taking place and paid the highest possible tribute to the dancer; he raised his voice and shouted at the top of his lungs: “I hear the story that you are acting, man, I do not just see it; you seem to me to be talking with your very hands!”

Since we are under Nero in fancy, I wish to tell the remark of a barbarian concerning the same dancer, which may be considered a very great tribute to his art. One of the barbarians from Pontus, a man of royal blood, came to Nero on some business or other, and among other entertainments saw that dancer perform so vividly that although he could not follow what was being sung—he was but half Hellenised, as it happened—he understood every-

¹ Probably the first of the several famous dancers who took Paris as their stage name, of whom the emperor, some said, was so jealous that he put him to death (Suetonius, Nero, 54).
65 Ἡ δὲ πλείστη διατριβὴ καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ὀρχήστικῆς ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἔστων, ὡς ἔφην, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορος ἐπιτηδευμένη, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς τὰς καλομενὰς ταῦτας μελέτας διεξιόθην· οὔδεν γοὺς καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον ἐπανοῦμεν ἢ τὸ 2 ἐσκέναι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις προσώποι καὶ μὴ ἀπωδὰ εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα τῶν εἰςαγομένων ἀριστέων ἡ τυραννοκτόνων ἡ πενήτων ἡ γεωργῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ τούτων τὸ ἰδιὸν καὶ τὸ ἐξαίρετον δείκνυσθαι.

66 Ἑδέλω γοὺς σοι καὶ ἅλλον βαρβάρου ρήσων ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπεῖν. ἰδὼν γὰρ πέντε πρόσωπα τῷ ὀρχηστῇ παρεσκευασμένα—τοσούτων γὰρ μερῶν τὸ δράμα ἦν—ἐξῆτε, ἕνα ὀρών τὸν ὀρχηστήν, τίνες οἱ ὀρχησόμενοι καὶ ὑποκρινοῦμεν τὰ λοιπὰ προσωπεῖα ἐέν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθέν ὅτι αὐτὸς 3 ὑποκρινεῖται καὶ ὑπορχήσεται τὰ πάντα, "Ἐλεηθείς," ἔφη, "ὡς βέλτιστε, σῶμα μὲν τούτο ἐν, πολλὰς δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχων."

1 oikéav MSS, corrected by Jacobitz.
2 Text Madvig: οἶδε(ν) γοὺς καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον ἐπανοῦμένη τὸ ἰδιὸν MSS.

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thing. So when it came to be time for him to go back to his own country, Nero, in saying good-bye, urged him to ask for anything that he wanted, and promised to give it him. "If you give me the dancer," said he, "you will please me mightily!" When Nero asked, "What good would he be to you there?", he replied, "I have barbarian neighbours who do not speak the same language, and it is not easy to keep supplied with interpreters for them. If I am in want of one, therefore, this man will interpret everything for me by signs." So deeply had he been impressed by that disclosure of the distinctness and lucidity of the mimicry of the dance.

The chief occupation and the aim of dancing, as I have said, is impersonating, which is cultivated in the same way by the rhetoricians, particularly those who recite these pieces that they call "exercises"; for in their case also there is nothing which we commend more highly than their accommodating themselves to the rôles which they assume, so that what they say is not inappropriate to the princes or tyrant-slayers or poor people or farmers whom they introduce, but in each of these what is individual and distinctive is presented.

In that connection I should like to tell you something that was said by another barbarian. Noticing that the dancer had five masks ready—the drama had that number of acts—since he saw but the one dancer, he enquired who were to dance and act the other rôles, and when he learned that the dancer himself was to act and dance them all, he said; "I did not realise, my friend, that though you have only this one body, you have many souls."

3 ὁ αὐτὸς Ν, edd.
67 Taúta mèn ὁ βάρβαρος. οὐκ ἀπεικότως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰταλιώται τὸν ὀρχηστὴν παντόμιμον καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δρωμένου σχεδόν. καλὴ γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ παραίνεσις ἐκείνη, τό, "ὦ παῖ, ποντίον θηρὸς πετραίου νόον ἔχων ¹ πάσας πολίεσσιν ὡμήλει," καὶ τῶν ὀρχηστῆς ἀναγκαία: καὶ δεῖ προσφύντα τοῖς πράγμασιν συνοικεῖοιν ² ἐαυτὸν ἐκάστῳ τῶν δρωμένων.

Τὸ δὲ ὅλον ηῆθα καὶ πάθη δείξειν καὶ ὑποκρινεῖσθαι ἡ ὀρχησίς ἐπαγγέλλεται, νῦν μὲν ἔρωτα, νῦν δὲ ὄργιζόμενον τινα εἰςάγουσα, καὶ ἅλλον μεμηνότα καὶ ἅλλον λελυπημένον, καὶ ἅπαντα ταύτα μεμετρημένως. τὸ γοῦν παραδοξότατον, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀρτι μὲν Ἀθάμας μεμηνὼς, ἀρτι δὲ Ἰνῳ φοβουμένη δείκνυται, καὶ ἅλλοτε Ἀτρέως ὁ αὐτὸς, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν Θυέστης, εἰτα Αἴγυπθος ἢ Ἀερόπτη καὶ πάντα ταύτα εἰς ἀνθρωπόσ ἐστιν.

68 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἅλλα θεάματα καὶ ἀκούσματα ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἔργου τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἔχειν. ἡ γὰρ αὐλός ἐστιν ἡ κιθάρα ἡ διὰ φωνῆς μελωδία ἡ τραγικὴ δραματουργία ἡ κωμικὴ γελωτοποιία. ὁ δὲ ὀρχηστὴς τὰ πάντα ἔχει συλλαβῶν, καὶ ἐνεστὶν πουκίλην καὶ παμμηνῆ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν, αὐλόν, σύριγγα, τοδῶν κτύπου, κυμβάλου ψόφου, ὑποκριτῶν εὐφωνίαν, ψόντων ὁμοφωνίαν.

¹ ἔχων ΓΦNEA: ἵσχων vulg. The quotation is inexact, and less complete than in Athen., XII, 513 c: ὁ τέκνον, ποντίον θηρὸς πετραίου χρωτί μάλιστα νόον, προσφέρων πάσας πολίεσσιν ὡμήλει.

² συνοικεῖοιν vulg.: συνοικεῖν MSS.
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Well, that is the way the barbarian viewed it. And the Greeks of Italy quite appropriately call the dancer a pantomime, precisely in consequence of what he does. That poetical precept, "My son, in your converse with all cities keep the way of the sea-creature that haunts the rocks," is excellent, and for the dancer essential; he must cleave close to his matters and conform himself to each detail of his plots.

In general, the dancer undertakes to present and enact characters and emotions, introducing now a lover and now an angry person, one man afflicted with madness, another with grief, and all this within fixed bounds. Indeed, the most surprising part of it is that within the selfsame day at one moment we are shown Athamas in a frenzy, at another Ino in terror; presently the same person is Atreus, and after a little, Thyestes; then Aegisthus, or Aerope; yet they all are but a single man.

Moreover, the other performances that appeal to eye and ear contain, each of them, the display of a single activity; there is either flute or lyre or vocal music or tragedy's mummery or comedy's buffoonery. The dancer, however, has everything at once, and that equipment of his, we may see, is varied and comprehensive—the flute, the pipes, the tapping of feet, the clash of cymbals, the melodious voice of the actor, the concord of the singers.

1 The name signifies one who mimics everything.
2 Pindar, Fr. 43 (173) Schroeder; the reference is to the cuttle, which was supposed to take protective colouring to match its background. Cf. Theognis, 215–218.
3 The actor (there seems to have been but one) supported the dancer by assuming secondary rôles like the "Odysseus" mentioned below (p. 285). Cf. also p. 394, n. 1, and p. 402, n. 1.

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"Ετι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θατέρου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔργα ἐστίν, τὰ μὲν ψυχής, τὰ δὲ σώματος· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀρχήσει ἀμφότερα συμμέμκται. καὶ γὰρ διανοίας ἐπίδειξιν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἔχει καὶ σωματικής ἀσκήσεως ἐνέργειαν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἡ σοφία τῶν δρωμέων καὶ τὸ¹ μηδὲν ἔξω λόγον. Δεσβώνας γοὺν ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, ἀνήρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς, χειρισόφους τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς ἀπεκάλει καὶ ἤει ἐπὶ τὴν θεᾶν αὐτῶν ὡς βελτίων ἀναστρέψων ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου. Τιμοκράτης δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ ἰδών ποτε ἀπαξ, οὐκ ἔξεπιτηθεὶς ἐπιστάς, ὀρχηστὴν τὰ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντα, "Ὀιον με," ἔφη "θεάματος ἂ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν αἴδως ἀπεστήρηκεν."

70 Εἰ δὲ ἐστιν ἀληθῆ ἃ περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ Πλάτων λέγει, τὰ τρία μέρη αὐτῆς καλῶς ὁ ὀρχηστὴς δείκνυσιν, τὸ θυμικὸν ὅταν ὄργανον ἐπιδείκνυται, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν ὅταν ἔρωτας ὑποκρίνηται, τὸ λογιστικὸν ὅταν ἐκαστὰ τῶν παθῶν χαλιναγωγῆ τούτο μὲν γε ἐν ἄπαντι μέρει τῆς ὀρχήσεως καθαπέρ ς ἡ ἀφὴ ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεις παρέστηται.κάλλους δὲ προνοῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀρχήσεων εὐμορφίας, τί ἄλλο ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐπαληθεύει, τὸ κάλλος ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ μέρος τρίτον ἤγουμενον τάγαθοῦ καὶ τούτο εἶναι; ἥκουσα δὲ τινὸς καὶ περιττότερόν τι νεανιευμένου

¹ τὸ Ν only.
² κατέσπαρται Α.

¹ Because of their extensive use of gestures. For the word see also Rhet. Praec., 17 (Vol. IV, p. 157), where it is recommended by the sophist, and Lexiph., 14 (p. 312 of this volume), where it is used by Lexiphanes.
² Republic, IV, 436-441.
Then, too, all the rest are activities of one or the other of the two elements in man, some of them activities of the soul, some of the body; but in dancing both are combined. For there is display of mind in the performance as well as expression of bodily development, and the most important part of it is the wisdom that controls the action, and the fact that nothing is irrational. Indeed, Lesbonax of Mytilene, a man of excellent parts, called dancers "handiwise,"¹ and used to go to see them with the expectation of returning from the theatre a better man. Timocrates, too, his teacher, one day, for the sole and only time, came in by chance, saw a dancer ply his trade and said: "What a treat for the eyes my reverence for philosophy has deprived me of!"

If what Plato² says about the soul is true, the three parts of it are excellently set forth by the dancer—the orgilous part when he exhibits a man in a rage, the covetous part when he enacts lovers, and the reasoning part when he bridles and governs each of the different passions; this last, to be sure, is disseminated through every portion of the dance just as touch is disseminated through the other senses.³ And in planning for beauty and for symmetry in the figures of the dance, what else does he do but confirm the words of Aristotle, who praised beauty and considered it to be one of the three parts of the chief good? ⁴ Moreover, I have heard a man express an excessively venturesome opinion

³ Touch was considered not only a separate faculty, but an element in the activity of the other four senses, each of which was regarded as based in some sort upon physical contact; for the method of explanation see Lucretius, IV, 324–721.

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υπέρ τῆς τῶν ὀρχηστικῶν προσωπείων σιωπῆς, ότι καὶ αὐτὴ Πυθαγορικὸν τι δόγμα αἰνίττεται.

71 "Ετι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν μὲν τὸ τερπνόν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον ὑπισχυμένων, μόνη ὀρχησία ἀμφότερον; καὶ πολὺ γε τὸ χρήσιμον ὑφελμότερον ὅσῳ μετὰ τοῦ τερπνοῦ γίγνεται, πόσῳ γαρ τούτῳ ὄραν ἰδίου ἡ πυκτεύωντας νεανίσκους καὶ αἴματι ἱερόνων, καὶ παλαιότατος ἄλλως ἐν κόνει, οὐς ἡ ὀρχησία πολλάκις ἀσφαλέστερον ἀμα καὶ εὐμορφότερον καὶ τερπνότερον ἐπιδείκνυται. τὴν μὲν οὖν γε σύντονον κίνησιν τῆς ὀρχηστικῆς καὶ στροφᾶς αὐτῆς καὶ περιαγωγῆς καὶ πηδήματα καὶ ὑπτισμοὺς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τερπνά εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ὁρῶσιν, τοῖς δὲ ἐνεργοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ὑγιεινότατα: γυμνασίων γὰρ τοῦ κάλλιστον τε ἀμα καὶ εὐρυθμότατον τοῦτο φαίνην ἂν ἔγγογε εἶναι, μαλὰττον μὲν τὸ σῶμα καὶ κάμπτον καὶ κούφιζον καὶ εὔχερὲς εἶναι πρὸς μεταβολὴν διδάσκον, ἵσχυν τε οὔ μικρὰν περιποιοῦν τοῖς σώμασιν.

72 Πῶς οὖν οὐ παναρμόνιον τι χρῆμα ὀρχησίας, θήγουσα μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἅσκοῦσα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τέρπουσα δὲ τοὺς ὄρωντας, διδάσκουσα δὲ πολλὰ τῶν πάλαι ὑπ' αὐλοῖς καὶ κυμβάλοις καὶ μελῶν εὐρυθμία καὶ κηλήσει διὰ τε ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἄκοις; εἰτ' οὖν ὁ φωνῆς εὐμοίριαν ἥτητις, ποῦ ἄν ἄλλαχοθι εὖροις, ἡ ποιῶν πολυφωνότερον ἀκουσμα ἡ ἐμμελέστερον; εἰτε αὐλοὶ καὶ σύριγγος τὸ λιγυρώτερον,

1 εἰτ' οὖν Fritzsche: ει' γοὖν MSS.
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about the silence of the characters in the dance, to the effect that it was symbolic of a Pythagorean tenet.¹

Again, some of the other pursuits promise to give pleasure and others profit, but only the dance has both; and indeed the profit in it is far more beneficial for being associated with pleasure. How much more delightful it is to see than young men boxing, astream with blood, and other young men wrestling in the dust! Why, the dance often presents them in a way that is less risky and at the same time more beautiful and pleasurable. As to the energetic movement of the dance, its twists and turns and leaps and back-flung poses, they are really not only pleasurable to the spectators, but highly healthful for the performers themselves. I should call it the most excellent and best balanced of gymnastic exercises, since besides making the body soft, supple and light, and teaching it to be adroit in shifting, it also contributes no little strength.

Then why is not dancing a thing of utter harmony, putting a fine edge upon the soul, disciplining the body, delighting the beholders and teaching them much that happened of old, to the accompaniment of flute and cymbals and cadenced song and magic that works its spell through eye and ear alike? If it is felicity of the human voice that you seek, where else can you find it or what can you hear that is more richly vocal or more melodious? If it is the high-pitched music of the flute or of the syrinx,

¹ Cf. Athenaeus, I, 20 d, speaking of the dancer Memphis: "He discloses what the Pythagorean philosophy is, revealing everything to us in silence more clearly than those who profess themselves teachers of the art of speech."
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άλις καὶ τούτων ἐν ὀρχήσει ἀπολαύσαι σοι πάρεστιν. ἔως λέγειν ὡς ἀμείνων τὸ ἡθος ὀμιλῶν τῇ τουαύτη θέα γενήσῃ, ὅταν ὅρας 1 τὸ θεάτρον μισουν μὲν τὰ κακῶς γιγνόμενα, ἐπιδακρύνον δὲ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, καὶ ὅλως τὰ ἡθνὶ τῶν ὄρωντων παιδαγωγοῦν.

73 ὁ δὲ ἐστὶ μάλιστα ἔπι τῶν ὀρχηστῶν ἐπαινεῖσαι, τοῦτο ἡθν. ἐρωτῶ τὸ γὰρ ἢχον τε ἀμα καὶ ὑγρώτητα τῶν μελῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν ὅμοιως παράδοξον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ ὡς εἰ τις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡρακλέους τὸ καρτερὸν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἄβρον δεκνίοι.

74 Ἔθελω δὲ ἡθν. καὶ ὑποδείξαυτο καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ὁποῖον χρὴ εἶναι τὸν ἀριστον ὀρχηστήν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι. καὶ τῇ μὲν ψυχῇ προεῖπον τὰ πλεῖστα: μνημονικὸν τὸ γὰρ εἶναι 2 καὶ εὐφύα καὶ συνετόν καὶ δέξιον ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ καιροῦ μάλιστα ἐστοχάσθαι φημὶ δεῖν αὐτοῦ. οὕτω δὲ κριτικὸν τὸ ποιημάτων καὶ ἀσμάτων καὶ μελῶν τῶν ἀρίστων διαγνωστικὸν καὶ τῶν κακῶς πεποιημένων ἠλεγκτικὸν. τὸ δὲ σώμα κατὰ τὸν Πολυκλείτου κανόνα ἡθν. ἐπιδείξειν μοι δοκώ. μήτε γὰρ ψυχῆς ἀγαν ἐστῶ ταῦτα καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου ἐπιμήκης μήτε ταπεινὸς καὶ ναυώδης τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐμμετροῦ ἀκριβῶς, οὕτε πολύσαρκος, ἀπίθανον γὰρ, οὕτε λεπτὸς ἐς ὑπερβολήν. σκελετώδες τούτῳ καὶ νεκρικόν.

75 Ἔθελω γοῦν σοι καὶ δήμου τινὸς οὐ φαύλου τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπισημαίνεσθαι βοᾶς εἰπεῖν. οἱ γὰρ Ἀντιοχεῖς, εὐφυεστάτη πόλις καὶ ὀρχησυ μάλιστα πρεσβεύουσα, οὕτως ἐπιτηρεῖ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἵκαστα, ὅσα μηδένα μηδὲν αὐτῶν

1 ὅρας μὲν τὸ ΓΝΕΑ. 2 εἶναι Harmon: not in MSS.
in the dance you may enjoy that also to the full. I forbear to mention that you will become better in character through familiarity with such a spectacle, when you see the assembly detesting misdeeds, weeping over victims of injustice, and in general schooling the characters of the individual spectators. But let me tell you in conclusion what is particularly to be commended in our dancers: that they cultivate equally both strength and suppleness of limb seems to me as amazing as if the might of Heracles and the daintiness of Aphrodite were to be manifested in the same person.

I wish now to depict for you in words what a good dancer should be like in mind and in body. To be sure, I have already mentioned most of his mental qualities. I hold, you know, that he should be retentive of memory, gifted, intelligent, keenly inventive, and above all successful in doing the right thing at the right time; besides, he should be able to judge poetry, to select the best songs and melodies, and to reject worthless compositions. What I propose to unveil now is his body, which will conform to the canon of Polyclitus. It must be neither very tall and inordinately lanky, nor short and dwarfish in build, but exactly the right measure, without being either fat, which would be fatal to any illusion, or excessively thin; for that would suggest skeletons and corpses.

To illustrate, I should like to tell you about the cat-calls of a certain populace that is not slow to mark such points. The people of Antioch, a very talented city which especially honours the dance, keep such an eye upon everything that is done and said that nothing ever escapes a man of them. When
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dialanvthánein. mikroú men yára orkhstotoú eisell-
thontos kai tov 'Ektoarà orkhouménon miai fwnh
pántes anebóhsan, "Ω, 'Astrnáax, 'Ektoor dé
pou;" allote dé pote mhkióstou tivós upér to
mértro órkhésthai tov Kapanéa épixeiroúntos kai
prosbaállev tois Thébaíon teixhsh, "Τ pérbhthi,
êphsan, " to teihshos, oudeîn sou dei klhmacos."
kal epi tov paxeos dé kai pimeleous orkhstotoù
pthán megála peirwmenou, "Deómetha," êphasis,
"feei ai téis thumelh." to dé énuptwv và pánw
lepttw epebóshsan, "Kalwbw exe," ws vosowtw.
toufwn ou tov geloiou énkeka èpemn'hshnh,3 all'
wos idh sti kai dhmiou oloí megálhnh spoudhnh
épouhsantw epi tì orkhstikh, ws rhthmizwv và
kalà kai và aikhrâ authhs dynathai.

77 Eukíntwos dé to métà toûto pántwvs èstw kai
to sómma leluménwv te áma kai sympetnhwos,
wos luyísesthai te òthi kairós kai sunestânw
78 karthrwos, ei toufou déoi. óti dé ouk àptllaktai
órhshis kai tìs ènaghwniws xeromomías allà metéxei
kai twn 'Ermod kai Poludeúkous kai 'Hrakléous
en ñlahshai kalwn ïdios àn èkásth twn mhmshewn
épishwv.

'Hprodótiv men ow và tà déi ommwv fainómena
pistótera einai twn ótwv dokei. orkhshai dé kai
tà ótwv kai ófhalwv prósesthn. oufòw dé
79 thelégho órkhshis woste và èrwvn tis eis và to theátrwv
parélhthoi, èswfrophshth òdwn ñsà èrwos kàkà
tèlh. kai lúthi èkòmenos èzérhethai tov theátrwv

1 ã Harmon: òs MSS. só Fritzsche, òd' Bekker.
2 feei ai ΓΩ: feei daì E, pefeiðeiw NA.
3 èpemn'hshnh ΓE.
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a diminutive dancer made his entrance and began to play Hector, they all cried out in a single voice, "Ho there, Astyanax! where is Hector?" On another occasion, when a man who was extremely tall undertook to dance Capaneus and assault the walls of Thebes, "Step over the wall," they said, "you have no need of a ladder!" And in the case of the plump and heavy dancer who tried to make great leaps, they said, "We beg you, spare the stage!" On the other hand, to one who was very thin they called out: "Good health to you," as if he were ill. It is not for the joke's sake that I have mentioned these comments, but to let you see that entire peoples have taken a great interest in the art of dancing, so that they could regulate its good and bad points.

In the next place, the dancer must by all means be agile and at once loose-jointed and well-knit, so as to bend like a withe as occasion arises and to be stubbornly firm if that should be requisite. That dancing does not differ widely from the use of the hands which figures in the public games—that it has something in common with the noble sport of Hermes and Pollux and Heracles, you may note by observing each of its mimic portrayals.

Herodotus says that what is apprehended through the eyes is more trustworthy than hearing;¹ but dancing possesses what appeals to ear and eye alike. Its spell, too, is so potent that if a lover enters the theatre, he is restored to his right mind by seeing all the evil consequences of love; and one who is in the clutch of grief leaves the theatre in brighter mood,

¹ Herodotus, I, 8.
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φαϊδρότερος ὁσπερ τι φάρμακον ληθεδανόν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν νηπιενθές τε καὶ ἄχολον πιῶν. σημειῶν δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα οἰκείοτάτος καὶ τοῦ γνωρίζειν ἐκαστὸν τῶν ὀρώντων τὰ δεικνύμενα τὸ καὶ δακρύειν πολλάκις τοὺς θεατάς, ὁπόταν τι οἰκτρὸν καὶ ἐλέεινον φαίνεται. ἢ μὲν γε Βακχική ὀρχήσεις ἐν Ἰωνία máλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη, καίτοι σατυρικὴ οὔσα, οὕτω κεχείρωται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὅστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἐκαστοὶ καιρὸν, ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων, κάθηται δὲ ἡμέρας τιτάνας καὶ κορύβαντας καὶ σατύρους καὶ βουκόλους ὀρώντες. καὶ ὀρχοῦνται γε ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενεστάτοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἐκαστῇ τῶν πόλεων, οὐχ ὡς άιδούμενοι ἄλλα καὶ μέγα φρόνοιντες ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι μάλλον ἡπερ ἐνευγενείας καὶ λειτουργίαις καὶ ἀξιώμασι προγονικοῖς.

80 Ἡπει δὲ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐφη τὰς ὀρχήσεικάς, ἀκοῦε καὶ τὰς κακίας αὐτῶν. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐν σῶματι ἡδὴ ἐδειξά, τὰς δὲ τῆς διανοίας οὕτως ἐπιτηρεῖν, οἷμαι, δύναις ἄν. πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἀμαθίας—ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἀπανταῖς εἶναι σοφοῦς—καὶ σολοκίας δεινὰς ἐν τῇ ὀρχῆσει ἐπιδείκνυνται, οἱ μὲν ἄλογα κινουμένοι καὶ μηδὲν, ὡς φασί, πρὸς τὴν χορήν, ἐτερὰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ποὺς, ἐτερὰ δ’ ὁ ρυθμὸς λέγει· οἱ δὲ εὐρυθμα μὲν, τὰ πράγματα δὲ μετάχρονα ἢ πρόχρονα, οἵον ἐγὼ ποτὲ ἰδὼν μέμνημαι. τὰς γὰρ Δίος γονᾶς ὀρχούμενος τις καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου τεκνοφαγίαν παρωρχεῖτο ἡπερ Fritzsche: μάλλον περ ἡ MSS.

1 μάλλον ἡπερ
as if he had taken some potion that brings forgetfulness and, in the words of the poet, "surecase from sorrow and anger." 1 An indication that each of those who see it follows closely what is going on and understands what is being presented lies in the fact that the spectators often weep when anything sad and pitiful reveals itself. And certainly the Bacchic dance that is especially cultivated in Ionia and in Pontus, although it is a satyr-show, nevertheless has so enthralled the people of those countries that when the appointed time comes round they each and all forget everything else and sit the whole day looking at titans, corybantes, satyrs, and rustics. Indeed, these parts in the dance are performed by the men of the best birth and first rank in every one of their cities, not only without shame but with greater pride in the thing than in family trees and public services and ancestral distinctions.

Now that I have spoken of the strong points of dancers, let me tell you also of their defects. Those of the body, to be sure, I have already set forth; those of the mind I think you will be able to note with this explanation. Many of them, through ignorance—for it is impossible that they should all be clever—exhibit dreadful solecisms, so to speak, in their dancing. Some of them make senseless movements that have nothing to do with the harp-string, as the saying goes; for the foot says one thing and the music another. Others suit their movements to the music, but bring in their themes too late or too soon, as in a case which I remember to have seen one time. A dancer who was presenting the birth of Zeus, with Cronus eating his children,

1 Odyssey, IV, 221.
tas Thueostou symphoras, tw omoiw parhymenous. kal allos tihn Semelhn upokrumemenos balloomenan tw keparuni tihn Plaiychn auti eikaize metaagene-
steraan odsan. all' oik ap' ge twn toioutwn orkhstwn orkhseous autis, oimai, katasagnwsteneon oude to ergon auto mioseteon, all' tous mel, wosper eisivn, amatheis nomosteon, epainetevon de
tous enomous ka kalata rhymon ths tchnhs ikanous ekastata drwntas.

81 "Olous de ton orkhsthn dei pantachdeven aptekry-
bwshai, ws eina to paj eufrumon, euromorphon,
symmetron, autw autw eoukos, asukofantu, anepilhpton, mhdawos ellptes, ek twn aristwn
kekramenon, tas evthymseis oxvn, thn pайдiwn baidwn, tas enoias anthropinon malista. o goyn
epainos autw toj an gynoito entelh par thw
theaton otan ekastos twn orwntwn gywria th
autw, mallo de wosper en katoptrw tw orkhsthe1
ekaton blypti kai d passhein autos kai d poiei
eisxein toto gar oude kathein eaxtois oi
anthropoi vph idoneis dynantai, all' athetai pros
tw epainon ekeontai, tas ths eaxtoj psuchis
ekastos eikonas oreuntes kai autous gywri'ontes.
atekhw gar to Delphikon ekeino to Gywthi seauton
ek ths theas authois perigynetai, kai aperekontai
apo tou theatroj a te chrh aibreishei kai a feygein
mewathekotes kai a proteron ygnousin didaxheintes.

1 Text E2: wosper en katoptrw orkhsthe E1GA: wosper katop-
ptrw tw orkhsthe N.

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went off into presenting the misfortunes of Thyestes because the similarity led him astray. And another, trying to enact Semele stricken by the thunderbolt, assimilated her to Glauce, who was of a later generation. But we should not condemn the dance itself, I take it, or find fault with the activity itself on account of such dancers; we should consider them ignorant, as indeed they are, and should praise those who do everything satisfactorily, in accordance with the regulations and the rhythm of the art.

In general, the dancer should be perfect in every point, so as to be wholly rhythmical, graceful, symmetrical, consistent, unexceptionable, impeccable, not wanting in any way, blent of the highest qualities, keen in his ideas, profound in his culture, and above all, human in his sentiments. In fact, the praise that he gets from the spectators will be consummate when each of those who behold him recognises his own traits, or rather sees in the dancer as in a mirror his very self, with his customary feelings and actions. Then people cannot contain themselves for pleasure, and with one accord they burst into applause, each seeing the reflection of his own soul and recognising himself. Really, that Delphic monition "Know thyself" realises itself in them from the spectacle, and when they go away from the theatre they have learned what they should choose and what avoid, and have been taught what they did not know before.

1 The reason for confusing the two parts lay in the fact that both were burned to death, since Glauce perished by the poisoned robe which Medea sent her.

2 Compare Astrology 2, where the same argument (borrowed from Plato's Gorgias, 456 d–457 e) is employed in defence of astrology.
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82 Γίνεται δέ, ώσπερ ἐν λόγοις, οὕτω δέ καὶ ἐν ὀρχήσει ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν λεγομένη κακοζηλία ύπερβαίνοντων τὸ μέτρον τῆς μμήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δεόντος ἐπιτεινόντων, καὶ εἰ μέγα τι δεῖξαι δεόι, ύπερμέγεθες ἐπιδεικνυμένων, καὶ εἰ ἀπαλόν, καθ’ ύπερβολὴν θηλυνομένων, καὶ τὰ ἀνδρώδη ἄχρι τοῦ ἀγρίου καὶ θηριώδους προαγόντων.

83 Οἶνον ἑγὼ ποτε μέμνημαι ἰδὼν ποιοῦντα ὀρχηστὴν εὐδοκιμοῦντα πρότερον, συνετῶν μὲν τὰ ἄλλα καὶ θαυμάζοντα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ ἢτιν, τύχῃ εἰς ἀσχήμωνα ὑπόκρισιν δι’ ὑπερβολὴν μμῆσεως ἐξοκείλαντα. ὀρχούμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἀἰαντα μετὰ τήν ἦτταν εὐθὺς μαυσομένου, εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπερεξέπεσεν ὡστε οὐχ ὑποκρίνασθαι μανίαν ἄλλα μαίνεσθαι αὐτὸς εἰκότως ἀν τινι ἐδοξεῖν. ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν τῷ σιδηρῷ ὑποδήματι κτυποῦντων τὴν ἐσθήτα κατέρρηξεν, ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν ὑπαυλοῦντων τὸν αὐλὸν ἁρπάσας τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς πλησίον ἑστῶτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μέγα φρονούντος διείλε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατενεκών, καὶ εἰ γε μὴ ὁ πῖλος ἀντέσχεν καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπεδέξατο, ἀπωλὸλει ἄν ὁ κακοδαίμων Ὀδυσσεύς, ὀρχηστῇ παραπαίνει περιπεσοῦν. ἄλλα τὸ γε θέατρον ἄπαν συνεμεμήνει τῷ Ἀἰαντὶ καὶ ἐπίδων καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας ἀνερρίπτουν, οἱ μὲν

1 Compare with this story that told of Pylades by Macrobius (Sat., II, 7, 16): cum in Hercule furente prodisset et non nullis incessum histrioni convenientem non servare videretur, deposita persona ridentes increpuit μωροῖ, μαυσομένον ὀρχοῦμεν. hac fabula et sagittas iecit in populum.

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As in literature, so too in dancing what is generally called "bad taste" comes in when they exceed the due limit of mimicry and put forth greater effort than they should; if something large requires to be shown, they represent it as enormous; if something dainty, they make it extravagantly effeminate, and they carry masculinity to the point of savagery and bestiality.

Something of that sort, I remember, I once saw done by a dancer who until then had been in high esteem, as he was intelligent in every way and truly worth admiring; but by some ill-luck, I know not what, he wrecked his fortunes upon an ugly bit of acting through exaggerated mimicry.\(^1\) In presenting Ajax going mad immediately after his defeat, he so overleaped himself that it might well have been thought that instead of feigning madness he was himself insane; for he tore the clothes of one of the men that beat time with the iron shoe,\(^2\) and snatching a flute from one of the accompanists, with a vigorous blow he cracked the crown of Odysseus, who was standing near and exulting in his victory; indeed, if his watch-cap had not offered resistance and borne the brunt of the blow, poor Odysseus would have lost his life through falling in the way of a crazy dancer. The pit, however, all went mad with Ajax, leaping and shouting and flinging up their garments;

\(^2\) A shoe with heavy sole, originally of wood, but by Lucian’s time of iron (cf. Libanius, *pro saltatoribus*, 97), called in Greek κρούπεζα, in Latin *scrupeda* or *scabellum*, was worn by the flute-player or (as here) by a person specially assigned, the *scabellarius*, to mark the time for the dancer and the singers. An illustration of a flute-player wearing the *scabellum*, from a mosaic in the Vatican, will be found in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, s.v. *scabellum* (Fig. 6142).
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συρφετώδεις καὶ αυτὸ τοῦτο ἰδιῶται τοῦ μὲν εὐσχήμωνος οὐκ ἐστοχασμένοι οὐδὲ τὸ χείρον ἢ τὸ κρείττον ὀρῶντες, ἀκραν δὲ μύσην τοῦ πάθους τὰ τοιαῦτα οἴμομεν εἶναι: οἱ ἀστείο- 

τεροὶ δὲ συνιέντες μὲν καὶ αἰδοῦμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς γυνομένοις, οὐκ ἐλέγχοντες δὲ σωπῇ τὸ πράγμα, 

τοῖς δὲ ἔπαινοις καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀνοιαν τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἐπικαλύπτοντες, καὶ ἄκριβῶς ὀρῶντες ὅτι οὐκ Ἀιαντὸς ἀλλὰ ὀρχηστοῦ μανίας τὰ γεγονόμα 

ἡν. οὐ γὰρ ἄρκεσθεὶς τούτοις ο γενναῖος ἀλλὸ 1 

μακρῷ τούτου γελοιότερον ἔπραξε: καταβὰς 

γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δῦο ὑπατικῶν μέσος ἐκαθέζετο, πάνω δεδιότων μή καὶ αὐτῶν τινα ὀσπερ κρίνων μαστιγώση λαβὼν. 

Καὶ τὸ πράγμα οἱ μὲν ἔθαμμαζον, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, οἱ 

dὲ ὑπώπτευον μὴ ἀρα ἐκ τῆς ἀγαν μμήσεως 

εἰς τὴν τοῦ πάθους ἄληθειαν ὑπηνέχθη. καὶ 

84 αὐτὸν μέντοι φασιν ἀναιήμαντα οὕτως μετανοῆσαι 

ἔφ' οἷς ἐποίησεν ὅστε καὶ νοσῆσαι ὑπὸ λύπης, 

ὡς ἄληθῶς ἐπὶ μανία κατεγνωσμένον. καὶ ἔδηλωσε 

gε τοῦτο σαφῶς αὐτὸς· αὐτοῦντων γὰρ αὕθε 

τῶν στασιωτῶν 2 αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀιαντὸ ὀρχήσασθαι 

αὐτοῖς, παραίτησάμενος, “Τὸν ὑποκριτήν,” ἔφη 3 

πρὸς τὸ θέατρον, “ἰκανὸν ἔστιν ἄπαξ μανήν.” 

μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰνίασεν ὁ ἀνταγωνιστής καὶ 

ἀντίτεχνος· τοῦ γὰρ ὀμοίου Ἀιαντὸς αὐτῷ γρα- 

φέντο οὕτω κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως τὴν μανίαν 

1 ἀλλὸ Jacobitz: ἀλλὰ MSS. (ἀλλὰ . . . γελοιότερα Ν). 

2 συστασιωτῶν ΕΝ. 

3 παραίτησάμενος, “Τὸν ὑποκριτήν,” ἔφη Harmon: παρα- 

οίτηςάμενος τὸν ὑποκριτήν ἔφη MSS.
for the riff-raff, the absolutely unenlightened, took no thought for propriety and could not perceive what was good or what was bad, but thought that sort of thing consummate mimicry of the ailment, while the politer sort understood, to be sure, and were ashamed of what was going on, but instead of censuring the thing by silence, they themselves applauded to cover the absurdity of the dancing, although they perceived clearly that what went on came from the madness of the actor, not that of Ajax. For, not content with all this, our hero did something else that was far more laughable. Coming down among the public, he seated himself among the senators, between two ex-consuls, who were very much afraid that he would seize one of them and drub him, taking him for a wether!

The thing caused some to marvel, some to laugh, and some to suspect that perhaps in consequence of his overdone mimicry he had fallen into the real ailment. Moreover, the man himself, they say, once he had returned to his sober senses, was so sorry for what he had done that he really became ill through distress and in all truth was given up for mad. Indeed, he himself showed his repentance clearly, for when his supporters asked him to dance Ajax for them once more, begging to be excused, he said to the audience, “For an actor, it is enough to have gone mad once!”¹ What irked him most was that his antagonist and rival, when cast for Ajax in the same rôle, enacted his madness so discreetly

¹ The point is that only a philosopher like Chrysippus may go mad more than once. Lucian delights in alluding to the story that Chrysippus took the hellebore treatment three times (True Story, II, 18; Philosophies for Sale, 23).
Τάδυτά σοι, ὀ φιλότης, ολίγα ἐκ παμπόλλων παρέδειξα ὀρχήσεως ἔργα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ὡς μὴ πάνυ ἀχθοῖο μοι ἐρωτικῶς θεωμένων αὐτά, εἰ δὲ βουληθεῖσα κοινωνήσαί μοι τῆς θέας, εὗ ὀλίγα ἐγὼ πάνυ ἀλωσόμενον σε καὶ ὀρχηστομανήσοντά γε προσέτι. ᾿ωστε οὐδὲν δεήσομαι τὸ τῆς Κήρκης ἐκεῖνο πρὸς σὲ εἰπεῖν, τὸ

θαυμά μ' ἔχει ὡς οὕτι πιὼν τάδε φάρμακ', ἑθέλχθης,

θελήσῃ γάρ, καὶ μὰ Δ' οὐκ ὄνου κεφαλὴν ἢ
συνός καρδίαν ἐξεις, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν νόσος σοι ἐμπεδώ-
τερος ἐσται, σὺ δὲ ὑφ' ἱδονῆς οὐδὲ ὀλίγον τοῦ
κυκεώνος ἄλλω μεταδώσεις πιεῖν. ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ
"Ομηρος περὶ τῆς 'Ερμοῦ ῥάβδου τῆς χρυσῆς λέγει,
ὅτι καὶ "ἀνδρῶν ὀμματα θέλγει" δι' αὐτῆς

ὡν ἑθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὐτέ καὶ ὑπνώντας ἐγείρει,

τοῦτο ἀτεχνῶς ὀρχήσης ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ ὀμματα
θέλγουσα καὶ ἐγρηγορέναι ποιοῦσα καὶ ἐπεγείρουσα
τῆν διάνοιαν πρὸς ἐκαστα τῶν δρῳμένων.

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

Καὶ μὴν ἦδη ἐγὼ, ὦ Δυκάνε, πείθομαι τέ σοι καὶ ἀναπεπταμένα ἔχω καὶ τὰ ὀντα καὶ τὰ ὀμματα. καὶ μέμνησό γε, ὦ φιλότης, ἔπειδαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἧς, κἀμοὶ ¹ παρὰ σαυτῷ θέαν καταλαμβάνειν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκεῖθεν σοφώτερος ἡμῶν ἔπανοιος.

¹ κἀμοὶ Ν: καὶ μοι ΠΕΑ.

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and sanely as to win praise, since he kept within the bounds of the dance and did not debauch the his-trionic art.

These, my friend, are but a few out of manifold achievements and activities of the dance, and I have given you a glimpse of them in order that you may not be highly displeased with me for viewing them with ardent eyes. If you should care to join me in looking on, I know very well that you will be wholly enthralled and will even catch the dancer-craze. So I shall not need to say to you what Circe said:

"Wonder holds me to see that you drained this draught unenchanted."\(^1\)

For you will be enchanted, and by Zeus it will not be any donkey's head or pig's heart that you will have, but your mind will be more firmly established and you will be so enraptured that you will not give even a tiny bit of the brew to anyone else to drink. Homer says, you know, of the golden wand of Hermes that he "charmeth the eyes of men" with it,

"Whomsoever he wishes, and others he wakes that are sleeping."\(^2\)

Really, dancing does just that: it charms the eyes and makes them wide awake, and it rouses the mind to respond to every detail of its performances.

CRATO

Upon my word, Lycinus, I have come to the point of believing you and am all agog, ear and eye alike. Do remember, my friend, when you go to the theatre, to reserve me a seat at your side, in order that you may not be the only one to come back to us wiser!

\(^1\) _Odyssey_, X, 326.  
\(^2\) _Ibid._, V, 47 f.
LEXIPHANES

LEXIPHANES ("Word-flaunter"), whose enthusiasm for Attic diction is equalled by his want of ideas, of schooling, and of taste, has his jacket soundly dusted by his friend Lycinus. The piece is sufficiently similar to the Professor of Public Speaking to have given rise to the idea that it is aimed at the same man, and that Lexiphanes is Pollux, the lexicographer (cf. IV, p. 133). To the argument of E. E. Seiler against this view (which was not that of Ranke), two points may be added, which seem to settle the matter. The "namesake of the sons of Zeus and Leda" cannot be Lexiphanes because "fifteen, or anyhow not more than twenty, Attic words" with which to besprinkle his speeches suffice him (IV, p. 155), whereas Lexiphanes revels in rarities and glories in the obscurity of his style. Moreover, Lexiphanes is so thoroughly addicted to this jargon of his that he uses it even in conversation. How, then (unless we assume that Lucian's castigation reformed him), can he ever have written in a style as normal as that of the Onomasticon?

Curiously enough, the cult of rare words is not conspicuous in the Greek prose of the time, but in the Latin, with Fronto as its most ardent devotee. The Atticists so tempered zeal with discretion that nothing comparable to the extravagances of Lexiphanes is to be found outside of the pages of Athenaeus (III, 97 c : Gulick, I, p. 419), where Cynulus takes Ulpian to task for just this sort of thing, adverts upon Pompeianus of Philadelphia as a bird of the same feather, and implies a wider circle by alluding to "the Ulpianean sophists." This is certainly the group to which our man belonged (cf. c. 14). The time is right—just right if Ulpian was the father of the famous jurist; and these people not only use the selfsame jargon (see the notes for the parallels), but employ it even in conversation. Seiler's contention that Lexiphanes is Pompeianus is highly probable but not wholly certain because it is impossible to fix the extent to which the vocabulary of the "Ulpianaeans" was common stock.

A conspicuous feature of Lucian's parody of Lexiphanes is the use of words no longer generally employed in the old sense but in a new and very different one, so that double meanings result. Adequate translation therefore is often quite impossible, for the lack of an equivalent expression.
ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

1 Λεξιφάνης ὁ καλὸς μετὰ βιβλίου;

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

Νῃ Δί, ὦ Ανκίνε, γράμμα ἐστίν τητινὸν τι τῶν ἐμῶν κομιδῆι νεοχμὸν.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ηδη γάρ τι καὶ περὶ αὐχμῶν ἡμῖν γράφεις;

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

Οὐ δήτα, οὔδὲ αὐχμὸν εἶπον, ἄλλα ὤρα σοι τὸ ἀρτιγραφὲς οὖτω καλεῖν. οὐ δὲ κυψελόβυστα ἔοικας ἔχειν τὰ ὀτα.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Σύγγνωθι, ὦ ἑταίρε: πολὺ γάρ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ τὸ νεοχμὸν μετέχει. ἄλλ' εἰπέ μοι, τίς ὦ νοῦς τῷ συγγράμματι;

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

'Ἤντισυμποσιάζω τῷ Ἀρίστωνος ἐν αὐτῷ.

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1 With τητινὸν cf. τῆτες, ascribed to Pompeianus of Philadelphia in Athenaeus, III, 98 b.

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LEXIPHANES

LYCINUS

Lexiphanes, the glass of fashion, with a book?

LEXIPHANES

Yes, Lycinus; ’tis one of my own productions of this very season, quite recent.

LYCINUS

Why, are you now writing us something indecent?

LEXIPHANES

No, forsooth, and I did not say indecent. Come, it is full time you learned to apply that word of mine to things newly indited. It would seem that your ears are stopped with wax.

LYCINUS

Excuse me, my friend. Between indecent and recent there is a great deal in common. But tell me, what is the theme of your work?

LEXIPHANES

I am counter-banqueting the son of Aristo in it.

2 Lucian pretends to confuse νεοχύμος (recent, novel) with ἀνχύμος (drought)—an equivogue quite impossible, I think, to reproduce exactly in English.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ Ἀρίστωνες· σὺ δὲ ὁσον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμποσίου τὸν Πλάτωνα μοι ἔδοξας λέγειν.

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

Ὀρθῶς ἀνέγνως. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον ὡς ἄλλω παντὶ ἀνόητον ἂν ἦν.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ὄλιγα μοι αὐτοῦ ἀνάγνωθι τοῦ βιβλίου, ὅπως μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπολειποῦμην τῆς ἐστιάσεως· νέκταρος γάρ τινος ἔοικας οἰνοχοήσεων ἡμῖν ἂπ' αὐτοῦ.

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

Τὸν μὲν εἴρωνα πεδοὶ κατάβαλε· σὺ δὲ εὔπορα ποιήσας τὰ ὤτα ἡδὴ ἄκουε. ἀπέστω δὲ ἡ ἐπιβύστρα ἡ Κυψέλης.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Λέγε θαρρῶν, ὡς ἔμοιγε οὔτε Κυψέλος τις οὔτε Περιανδρός ἐν τοῖς ὅσιν κάθηται.

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

Σκόπει δὴ μεταξὺ, ὅπως διαπεραίνομαι, ὁ Δυκίνε, τὸν λόγον, εἰ εὔαρχὸς τέ ἐστι καὶ πολλὴν τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ εὐλεξίς, ἐτι δὲ εὐώνυμος.

1 τε Jacobitz: γε MSS.

1 Lycinus is quoting a famous mixed metaphor in Homer (Iliad, I, 598 and IV, 3, with the scholia) and implies that he expects Lexiphanes to regale him similarly.
LEXIPHANES

LYCINUS

There are many "Aristos," but to judge from your "banquet" I suppose you mean Plato.

LEXIPHANES

You rede me right, but what I said would have been caviare to the general.

LYCINUS

Well then, you must read me a few passages from the book, so that I shan't miss the feast entirely. I dare say you will properly "wine us with nectar" out of it.¹

LEXIPHANES

Suppress Master Irony, then, and make your ears permeable before you give them to me. Avaunt with the obturations of Dame Cypselis!²

LYCINUS

Say your say confidently, for no Cypselus nor any Periander³ has taken up lodgings in my ears.

LEXIPHANES

Consider withal how I carry myself in the book—whether it has a good entrance, a rich display of good discourse and composure,⁴ and good store of egregious words.

¹ The name Cypselis (Waxy) is coined from cypselé (ear-wax).
² Periander comes in because he too was a Cypselid.
³ For εὐλεγίς cf. A Professor of Public Speaking, 17 (IV, p. 157).
"Εσικε τοιούτος είναι σος γε ὄν. ἀλλ' ἀρξαί ποτέ.

"Εἷτα δειπνήσομεν," ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Καλλικλῆς, "εἷτα τὸ δελινὸν περιδινησόμεθα ἐν Ἀνκιά, νῦν δὲ ἥδη καίρος ἐστιν χρίσθαι τὸ ηλιοκαίες καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἶλην θέρεσθαι καὶ λουσαμένους ἄρτοσι-τεῖν· καὶ ἥδη γε ἀπιτητέα. σὺ δὲ, ὦ παί, στλεγ-
γίδα μοι καὶ βύρσαν καὶ φωσώνια καὶ ῥύμματα ναυστολεῖν ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον καὶ τουπλιουτρον κομίζειν' ἔχεις δὲ χαμάζε pare ta tηn ἐγγυνοθήκην δυ' ὁβολ. σὺ δὲ τι καὶ πράξεις, ὥ Λεξίφανες,

"Κάγω," ἢν δὲ ἔγω, "τρίπαλαι λουτιώ.

1 Literally, "dancing on wine-skins."
LEXIPHANES

LYCINUS

It is sure to have that, being yours. But do begin now.

LEXIPHANES

(reads)

"Then we shall dine," quoth Callicles, "and then, at eventide, fetch a turn in the Lyceum; but now it is high season to endue ourselves with sunburn and tepify ourselves in the calid ambient, and after laving, to break bread. We must away forthwith. My lad, convoy me my strigil, scrip, diapers, and purgaments to the bath-house, and fetch the where-withal. 'Tis on the floor, mark you, alongside the coffer, a brace of obols. And you, Lexiphanes, whatever shall you do? Shall you come, or tarry yet a while hereabouts?"

"I too," said I, "am yearning to ablute these ages past, for I am ill-conditioned, susceptible behind from riding pillion on a mule. The muleteer kept me going, though he himself was jigging it hot-foot. But even in the country I was not unassiduous, for I found the yokels caroling the harvest-home; some of them, too, were preparing a grave for my father. After I had assisted them in the engraving and for a brief space shared the handiwork of the dikers, I dispersed them on account of the cold and because they were getting burned (in severe cold, you know, burning ensues). For myself, I got about the simples, found prickmadam growing among them, exhumed sundry radishes, garnered ehervils and potherbs, and bought groats. But the meads were not yet redolent enough for travelling by shank's

2 Cf. Athen., 98 b, καύματα, meaning "frosts" (Pompeianus).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

δως αυτοποδητι βαδίζειν—ανατεθείς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀστρά-
βην ἐδάρην τὸν ὀρρον. καὶ νῦν βαδίζω τε ὀδυνηρῶς
καὶ ἰδίω θαμά καὶ μαλακῶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ δέομαι
διανέοναι ἐν τῷ ύδατι ἐπὶ πλέιστον. χαίρω δὲ
μετά κάματον ἀπολούμενον. ἀποθερεύομαι οὖν καὶ
αὐτὸς ὡς 1 τὸν παῖδα, διὸ εἰκὸς ἦ παρὰ τῇ λεκ-
θοπώλιδι ἦ παρὰ τῷ γούμμαπολώλῃ με περιμένειν;
καίτοι προηγόρευτο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὰ γέληγ 2 ἀπαντᾶν.

'Αλλ' εἰς καίρον οὖντοσι αὐτὸς ἐμπολήσας γε,
ὡς ὀρῶ, πυριάτην τε τινα καὶ ἐγκρυφίας καὶ
γήτεια καὶ φύκας 3 καὶ οἶβον τουτοῖ καὶ λωγάνων
καὶ τοῦ βοῶς τὸ πολυπτυχων ἐγκατον καὶ φῶκτας.
Εὔ γε, ὂ 'Απτικῶν, ὦτι μου ἀβατον ἐποίησας τὸ
πολὺ τῆς όδος." "'Εγω δὲ," ἦ δ' ὅς, "σύλλος,
ὅ δέσποτα, γεγένθησα σε περισσῶν. σὺ δὲ τοῦ
χθὲς ἐδείπνεις; μῶν παρὰ 'Ονομακρίτω; " "Οὐ,
μὰ Δι' ἴν δ' ἐγώ, " 'ἀλλ' ἀγρόνδε 4 φύσις ψυττα
κατατείνας: οἶσθα δὲ ὡς φιλαγρός εἰμι. ἦμεις δὲ
'ισως ὤμεθε με λαταγεῖν κοττάβους. ἀλλ' εἰσιων
ταῦτα τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡδύνει καὶ τὴν κάρδοπον
σμήν, ὡς θριακίνας μάττοτε ἧμιν. ἐγὼ δὲ
ζηραλοιψήσω ἀπελθῶν.'

"Καὶ ἦμείς," ἦ δ' ὅς ὁ Φιλίνος, "ἐγώ τε καὶ
'Ονομαρχός καὶ 'Ελλάνικος οὖντος ἐφόμεθα· καὶ
γάρ ὁ γνώμων σκιάζει μέσην τὴν πόλον, καί

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1 ὡς Gesner: not in MSS.
2 γέληγ Meursius: σέλγη MSS.
3 φύκας is right: cf. Aristotle, Hist. An., 6, 13, ὁ φύκης.
4 ἀγρόνδε N: ἀγρόν γε ΓΕΑ.

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1 The form διανέοναι may be referred either to νέω (swim
back and forth) or to νεύω (beckon back and forth, exchange
"becks and nods").

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mare; so I mounted the pillion and had my rump excoriated. Now I walk excruciatingly, I perspire amain, my flesh is very weak, and I want to play about in the water no end. I delight in the prospect of dissolution after toil. Therefore I shall betake myself incontinently to my urchin, who belike attends me at the pease-porridge woman's or the frippery, although he was forewarned to turn up at the comfit-shop.

"In the nick of time, however, here he is himself, and I see he has chaffered beestings-pudden, ash-cake, chibbals, hakot, nape of beef—mark you!—dewlap, manyplies, and lamb's fries. Good, Attic! You have made most of my journey invious." "For my part," quoth he, "I have got squinny, master, keeping an eye out for you. Where were you dining yesterday? With Onomacritus, prithee?" "Nay, gadzooks," quoth I: "I made off to the countryside, helter-skelter. You know how I adore rusticating. The rest of you no doubt supposed that I was playing toss-pot. But go you in and relish all of this; also cleanse the kneading-trough, that you may work us up some lettuce-loaf. I myself shall be off and bestow upon myself an inunction sans immersion." 3

"We," quoth Philinos, "I and Onomarchus and Hellanicus here, shall have after you, for the style shadows the middle of the bowl, and it is to be

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2 The Attic contraction of ἀπολούμενος to ἀπολούμενος produces identity of form with the future of ἀπόλλυμαι. Cf. Athen., 97 ε (Ulpian); 98 λ (Pompeianus).

3 Not a "dry-rub," but a "rub-down" without a previous bath.

4 Of the sundial.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

déos μὴ ἐν λουτρῷ ἀπολογούσωμεθα κατόπιν τῶν Καρμάντων ἡ μὲν... τοῦ σύρφακος βύζην ὁστῖζο-

mevoi." καὶ ὁ 'Ελλάνικος ἔφη, "'Εγὼ δὲ καὶ δυσωπῶ καὶ γὰρ τὰ κόρα μοι ἐπιτεθολωσθον καὶ

σκαρδαμύττω θαμὰ καὶ ἀρτίδακρυς εἰμὶ καὶ τὰ ὀμματά μοι φάρμακα καὶ δέομαι 'Ἀσκληπιάδου τινὸς ὀφθαλμοσόφου, ὃς ταράξας καὶ ἐγχέας μοι φάρμακον ἀπερυθριάσαί τε ποιήσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ μηκέτι τι ηλιαλέους εἶναι μηδὲ διερὸν βλέ-

pev.'

Ποιαῦτα ἄττα διεξιόντες ἀπαντείς οἱ παρόντες ἀπήμεμεν κατευθύνετε ἦκομεν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἀποστημένοι ἢδη, ὁ μὲν τὸς ἀκροχειρισμῷ, ὁ δὲ τραχυλσῷ καὶ ὀρθόπάλῃ ἔχρητο, ὁ δὲ λίπα χρισάμενος ἐλυγίζετο, ὁ δὲ ἀντεβάλλε τῷ κωρύκῳ, ὁ δὲ μολυβδάνας χερμαδίους δράγδην εἶχων ἔχειροβόλει. ἔται συντριβέντες καὶ ἄλληλοι κατα-

ντισάμενοι καὶ ἐμπαίζαντες τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ Φιλίνοις ἐν τῇ θερμῇ πυέλῳ καταιοηθέντες ἐξήμειν· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τὸ ψυχρόβαψες κάρα δελφινί-

σαντες παρένευον ὑποβρύχιοι θαυμασίως.

'Αναστρέμαντες δὲ αὐθίς ἅλλος ἅλλοις ἅλλα ἐδραῖ-

μεν. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑποθισάμενος ἐξύμην τὴν κεφαλήν τῇ ὀδοντωτῇ ἐξύστα: καὶ γὰρ οὐ κηπίον ἅλλα

σκάφιον ἐκεκάρμην, ὲς ἀν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ

1 Γαρμάντων Meineke (Hesych., Et. Magn.). But the word is very likely from Μαρικᾶς (Herodian in Et. Magn.), meaning κίναδος (Hesych. s.v. μαρικάν), or, perhaps more accurately, παῦλος; for the declension Μαρικᾶς, Μαρικάντος cf. Herodian, Ἡ, 636, 26 Lentz. Hence Γαρμᾶς (or Γαρίμᾶς) is apparently a degradation of Καρμᾶς. The Παράμαντες in Libya have nothing to do with this; cf. Lucian, Ἰσπα. 2.

2 δράγδην Harmon: αὐτήν MSS.
Lexiphanes feared that we may lave in the leavings of the bargashes, along with the scum, in a jostle.” Then said Hellanicus: “I look askew, for my dollies are obfuscate, I nictitate full oft, and I am lachrymose; mine eyes want drugging, I require some scion of Aesculapius, sage in ophthalmotherapy, who will compound and decant a specific for me, and so effect that my ruddy optics may be decoloured and no longer be rheumatic or have a humorous cast.”

Discoursing in this wise, all those of us present were gone. When we came to the gymnasium, we despoiled ourselves. One exercised himself at wrestling with shoulder-holds, another with neck-holds, standing; one sleeked himself with unguent and essayed eluding grasps; one countered the wind-bag, one, grasping leaden sows, whipped his arms about. Then, once we were dressed down and had backed each other, and used the gymnasium for our sport, Philinus and I imbibed ourselves in the hot pool and emerged, while the rest, beducking their sconces in the cold plunge, swam about subaquaneous in wondrous guise.

Upon reversion, we imbusied ourselves with this, that or t'other. I myself indued my boots, dressed my scalp with a tined card, for I had got shorn with the “bowl” cut, not the “bush”; for not long

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1 He exercised with the “punching-bag.”
2 To Lexiphanes, συντριβέντες is an allusion to the “rub-down” previous mentioned; but others would infer from it that somebody had cracked their crowns for them. Cf. Athen., 98 a (Pompeianus).
3 The regular word for comb (κτεῖς or κτένον) was not elegant enough for Lexiphanes.
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κόννον καὶ τὴν κορυφαίαν ἀποκεκομηκώς· ἄλλος ἐθερμοτράγει, ὁ δὲ ἦμει τῶν νῆστων, ὁ δὲ ἀραίας ποιῶν τὰς ῥαφανίδας ἐμυστιλάτο τοῦ ἵγθυροῦ ζωμοῦ, ἄλλος ἦσθιεν φαυλίας, ὁ δὲ ἐρρόφει τῶν κριθῶν.

6 Κατειδή καιρός ἦν, ἐπ’ ἀγκώνοις ἐδειπνοῦμεν· ἐκείτο δὲ καὶ ὀκλάδια καὶ ἀσκάντας. τὸ μὲν δὴ δεῖπνον ἦν ἀπὸ συμφορῶν. παρεσκεύαστο δὲ πόλλα καὶ ποικίλα, δίχηλα ύεια ¹ καὶ σχελίδες καὶ ἱττριαία καὶ τοκάδος ὅσ τὸ ἐμβρυοδόχον ἐντερον καὶ λοβὸς ἐκ ταγήνου καὶ μυττωτὸς καὶ ἀβυρτάκη καὶ τοιαῦτα τίνες καρυκεῖα καὶ θρυμματίδες καὶ θρία καὶ μελιτοῦται. ² τῶν δὲ ύποβρυχίων τὰ σελάχια πόλλα καὶ ὅσα ὀστράκινα τὸ δέρμα καὶ τεμάχη Ποντικά τῶν ἐκ σαργάνης καὶ κωπαῖδες καὶ ὅρνις σύντροφος καὶ ἀλεκτρυών ἤδη ἀπωδὸς καὶ ἴχθυς ἦν παράσιτος· καὶ οἶν δὲ ὅλον ἰπνοκαὶ εἰχομεν καὶ βῶς λειπογνώμονος κωλὴν. ἄρτοι μέντοι ἦσαν σιφαῖοι, οὐ φανταλι, καὶ ἄλλοι νουμήνιοι, ύπερήμεροι τῆς ἐορτῆς, καὶ λάχανα τὰ τε ύπόγεια καὶ τὰ ύπερφυῆ· οἶνος δὲ ἦν οὐ γέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπὸ βύρσης, ἦδη μὲν ἰγλευκῆς, ἀπεπτοί δὲ ἐτί.

7 Ποτήρια δὲ ἐκείτο παντοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς δελφίδος ³

¹ Text edd.: πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι (καὶ) δίχηλαι ύειαι MSS.
² μελιτοῦται Jacobitz: μελιτοῦται MSS. (μελιτοῦται Ε²).
³ δελφίδος (suggested by Coraës) Ρ²: δελφίδος Ρ¹: δελφίνιδος Ε (in erasure) N, vulg.
ago my chaps and crown had been displumed.\(^1\) Someone else was gobbling lupines, another was vomiting his jejunity, another was diminishing radishes and sopping up a mess of fishy pottage, another was eating flummery,\(^2\) and yet another en-gorging barley brose.

When the time was ripe, we dined on our elbows. Both faldstools and truckles were at hand. The dinner was picked up;\(^3\) many different viands had been made ready, pig's trotters, spareribs, tripe, the caul of a sow that had littered, panned pluck, spoon-meat of cheese and honey, shallot-pickle and other such condiments, crumpets, stuffed fig-leaves, sweets. Of submarine victuals, too, there were many sorts of selacian, all the ostraceans, cuts of Pontic tunny in hanapers, Copaic lassies,\(^4\) vernacular fowl, muted chanticleers, and an odd fish—the parasite. Yes, and we had a whole sheep barbecued, and the hind-quarter of an edentulous ox. Besides, there was bread from Siphae, not bad, and novilunar buns, too late for the fair, as well as vegetables, both underground and over grown. And there was wine, not vetust, but out of a leathern bottle, dry by now but still crude.

Drinking-cups of all kinds stood on the dresser,

\(^1\) Apparently the "bush" cut required a good head of hair, but did not need to be combed. Both styles had been for centuries out of fashion in Lexiphanes' day.

\(^2\) In the Greek the food is different (queen olives), but the name carries a similar suggestion of rubbish.

\(^3\) The phrase \(\hat{\alpha} \pi \delta \omega \nu \mu \phi \omicron \omicron \omicron \nu\) to Lexiphanes meant "off contributions" (of the individual guests), but to anyone else in his day it meant "off catastrophes."

\(^4\) Copaic eels.
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τραπέζης, ὁ κρυψιμέτωτος καὶ τρυῆλης Ἑντορονγὴς εὐλαβῆ ἔχων τὴν κέρκον καὶ βομβυλὸς καὶ δειροκύπελλον καὶ γηγενὴ πολλὰ Οἰα Θηρικλῆς ὑπτα, εὐρυχαδῆ τε καὶ ἄλλα εὐστομα, τὰ μὲν Φωκακῆθεν, τὰ δὲ Κνιδόθεν, πάντα μέντοι ἄνεμοφόρητα καὶ ύμενόστρακα. κυμβία δὲ ἦν καὶ φιαλίδες καὶ ποτήρια γραμματικά, ὡστε μεστὸν ἦν τὸ κυλικείον.

8 ὁ μέντοι ἱππολέβης ὑπερπαφλάζων ἐς κεφαλὴν ἦμῖν ἐπέτρεπε τοὺς ἄνθρακας. ἐπένομεν δὲ ἀμυστὶ καὶ ἦδη ἀκροθώρακες ἦμεν· εἰτ’ ἔχρομεθα βακχάριδι καὶ εἰσεκύκλησε τις ἦμῖν τὴν ποδοκτύπην καὶ τριγωνίστριαν· μετὰ δὲ ὁ μέν τις ἐπὶ τὴν κατῆλιφα ἀναρριχησάμενος . . . ἐπιφόρημα ἐξήτει, δ ὁ ἀν ἤκινδα ἐπαιζεν, ἀλλος ἔρρικνοῦτο σὺν γέλωτι τὴν ὀσφύν.

9 Καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ λειουμένου εἰσεκώμασαν ἦμῖν αὐτεπάγγελτοι Μεγαλώνυμος τε ὁ δικοδίφης καὶ Χαίρεας ὁ χρυσοτέκτων ὁ κατὰ νότου ποικύλος καὶ ὁ ὠτοκάταξις Εὐδημος. καὶ ὡρὰ ἡρόμην αὐτούς, τι

1 τρυῆλης Fritzsche (Hesychius): but this necessitates changing ἔχουν to ἔχουσα. τρυῆλης Ω vulg., τρυῆλης Γ’Ε, τρυῆλης Ν, τρυῆλης Α.
2 Lacuna in MSS: 12 letters long in Γ, 5–6 in Ε.

1 This is said to be the only reference to Mentor in extant Greek literature. The scholia allude to him as a maker of glassware, but various allusions in Latin writers from Cicero to Juvenal and Martial (especially Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXIII, 147) make it clear that he was a silversmith whose productions were highly esteemed as antiques in Cicero’s time. When and where he lived is not indicated.

2 Thericles seems to have been a Corinthian potter, contemporary with Aristophanes (Athen., XI, 470). His name became attached to certain shapes, and even to imitations
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your brow-hider, your Mentor-made dipper with a convenient tail-piece, your gurgler, your long-necker, many "earth-borns" like what Thericles used to bake, vessels both ventricose and patulous, some from Phocaeaeawards, other some from Cnidos way, all airy trifles, hymen-thin. There were also boats, chalices, and lettered mugs, so that the cupboard was full.

The calefactor, however, slopped over on our heads and delivered us a consignment of coals. But we drank bottoms up and soon were well fortified. Then we endued ourselves with baccharis, and someone trundled in the girl that treads the mazy and juggles balls; after which, one of us, scrambling up to the cockloft, went looking for something to top off with, whilst another fell to thrumming and another laughingly wriggled his hips.

Meantime, after lavation, came rollicking in to us, self-invited, Megalonymus the pettifogger, Chaereas the goldworker, he with the back of many colours, and Eudemus the broken-ear. I asked of these shapes in metal, made at Athens and Rhodes (Athen. XI, 469 B). Cicero (in Verrem, II, 4, 38) speaks of certain cups that are called Thericleian, made by the hand of Mentor with supreme craftsmanship.

By ἀνεμοφόρητα Lexiphanes means "light enough to blow away," but might be taken to mean "wind-blown." Cf. ἀφόρητα, p. 307, n. 5.

Cups with an inscription; Athenaeus, XI, 466 c (Gulick V, 56).

According to Athen., III, 98 c, the name ἵπνολέβης was used by the "Ulpianean Sophists" for the apparatus for heating water which the Romans called a μιλιάριον.

The word ἐπιφόρημα means at once coverlet and (in Ionic) dessert.

Chaereas' back bore the stripes of the lash; Eudemus was a pugilist with "cauliflower" ears.
παθόντες ὀψε ἥκοιεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Χαιρέας, "Ἐγώ," ἦ δ' ὦς, "λήρον τινα ἐκρότουν καὶ ἐλλόβια καὶ πέδας τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐπιδειπνιον ἀφίγμαι." "Ἐγώ δὲ," ἦ δ' ὦς ὁ Μεγαλώνυμος, "περὶ ἄλλα εἶχον· ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἄδικος ἡ ἁμέρα, ὡς ἰστε, καὶ ἄλογος· ὡς ἂν οὖν ἐχεγλωττίας ὀυσθα ὀυτε ῥησιμετρεῖν εἶχον οὔτε ἡμερολεγόν προσῳδρονομεῖσθαι. 1 πυθόμενος δὲ ὦτι ὁ στρατηγὸς ὅπτος ἑστιν, λαβὼν ἄχρηστα ἰματια εὐητρίᾳ καὶ ἀφόρητα υποδήματα ἐξέφρησα ἐμαυτὸν.

10 "Εἰτ' εὐθὺς ἐντυγχάνω δαδοῦχῳ τε καὶ ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρρητοποιοῖς Δεινίαν σύρουσιν ἁγδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐγκλημα ἔπαγοντας ὅτι ὠνόμαζεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ταῦτα εὐ εἰδῶς ὅτι ἐξ οὕτως σωσιώθησαν, ἄνωνυμοι τε εἰς καὶ οὐκέτι ὀνομαστοὶ ὡς ἂν ἱερώνυμοι ἣδι γεγενημένοι."

"Οὐκ οἶδα," ἦν δ' ἐγώ, "ὅν λέγεις τὸν Δεινίαν· αἰκάλλει 2 δ' οὖν με τοῦνομα." "Ἔστιν," ἦ δ'

1 προσῳδρονομεῖσθαι Harmon, from πρὸς ύδαρνομεῖσθαι ῥ; ὡς ύδρονομεῖσθαι other MSS.
2 αἰκάλλει Bekker: ἐκάλει MSS.

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1 For ἄδικος ("unjust") as applied to a day in the sense that court was not held on it, cf. Athen. 98 b (Pompeianus).
2 Both the verbs of the original (rendered "palaver" and "solicit") refer to pleading in court and carry allusions to the custom of timing pleas by the water-clock. One of them (ῥησιμετρεῖν) is ridiculed in the Mistaken Critic, 24 (p. 400).
them what possessed them to come late. Quoth Chaereas: "I was forging trumpery for my daughter, balls and chains, and that is why I have come in on top of your dinner." "For my part," quoth Megalonymus, "I was about other matters. The day was incapable of justice, as ye wit, and incompetent for pleading; wherefore, as there was a truce of the tongue, I was unable either to palaver or, as is my diurnal habit, to solicit. Learning that the magistrate was being grilled in public, I took an unvalued cloak, of sheer tissue, and priceless boots, and emitted myself.

Forthwith I hit upon the Torch-bearer and the Hierophant, with the other participants in unutterable rites, haling Deinias neck and crop to the office, bringing the charge that he had named them, albeit he knew right well that from the time when they were hallowed they were nameless and thenceforth ineffable, as being now all Hieronymuses."  

"I do not know," said I, "the Deinias that you mention, but the name intrigues me." "A clove-

3 Lexiphanes would be understood to mean "roasted," but what he really meant was "visible." Cf. Athen., 98 A (Pompeianus).
4 For ἀχρηστα, usually "useless," in the sense "unused," cf. Athen., 98 A (Pompeianus), 97 E (Ulpian).
5 In the Greek, ἄφορητα ("unbearable") in the sense "unworn," cf. Athen., 98 A (Pompeianus).
6 Those of the Eleusinian Mysteries.
7 The adjective "of hallowed name" was itself used as a name. Unintentionally, Lexiphanes suggests that they have changed their names.
8 No doubt because the name deinias was given to a variety of drinking pot (Athenaeus, XI, 467 D–E).
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ός, "ἐν τοῖς σκηραφείοις ἐγκαψικήδαλος ἀνθρωπος τῶν αὐτοληκύθων καὶ τῶν αὐτοκαβδάλων, ἂει κουριῶν, ἐνδρομίδας ὑποδούμενος ἡ βαυκίδας, ἀμφιμᾶσχαλον ἔχων." "Τί οὖν," ἦν δ' ἐγώ, "ἐδωκεν ἀμηγέτη δίκην ἡ λαξ πατήσας ψχετο;"
"Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνος γε," ἦ δ' οὐς, "ὁ τέως σαυλούμενος, ἡ ἐμπέδος ἐστίν ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς κατοί ἀτιμαγελοῦντι καρπόδεσμα τε αὐτῷ περιθείς καὶ περιδέραιον ἐν ποδοκάκαις καὶ ποδοστράβαις ἐποίησεν εἰναι. ὥστε ἐνδέσμος ὑπὸ ὑπέβδυλλέν τε ὁ κακοδαίμων ἕπο τοῦ δέους καὶ πορδαλέος ἦν καὶ χρῆματα ἀντίψυχα διδόναι ἡθελεν." 11 "Εμὲ δὲ," ἦ δ' οὖς ὁ Ἐυδημος, "ὑπὸ τὸ ἀκροκνεφές μετεστέλατο Δαμασίας ὁ πάλαι μὲν ἄθλητής καὶ πολυνίκης, νῦν δὲ ἥδη ὑπὸ γῆρως ἐξαθλοῦ ὃν ὀίσθα τὸν χαλκοῦν τὸν ἐστώτα ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. καὶ τὰ μὲν πιττῶν τὰ δὲ εἶναι διετέλεσεν, ἐξομείων γὰρ ἐμμελε τῆμερον εἰς ἄνδρος τῆς θυγατέρα καὶ ἥδη ἕκαλυπεν αὐτὴν. εἶτα Τερμέριον τι κακὸν ἐμπεσον διεκομφή τῇ ἐορτήν ὁ γὰρ υἷος αὐτοῦ ὁ Δίων, οὐκ ὡδ' ἐφ' ὀτὶ λυπθείς, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοσεχθρία σχέθεις, ἀπῆγξεν ἐαυτόν, καὶ εὖ ἵστε, ἀπωλώλει ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάσα ἀπηγχονίασ τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρέλυσα τῆς ἐμβροχῆς, ἐπὶ

1 ἐγκαψικήδαλος ΕΝ: ἐγκαψικήδαλος Γ, ἐγκαψικίδαλος Π, ἐγκαψικίδαλος edd. The second part of the word (ἀπάξ λεγόμενον) is clearly from κίδαλον, not κίδαλον.
2 σαυλούμενος Seiler; αὐλούμενος MSS.
3 τὸν is excised by Headlam and Herwerden, but to do that, I think, is to retouch Lucian's picture of Lexiphanes.
4 διετέλεσεν Seiler: διετέλεσα MSS.
5 Τερμέριον N (Cobet): μερμέριον ΤΕΑ.
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gulping haunter of gaming-houses,” quoth he; “one of those bezonians, those joculators, a curlicocks, wearing lace boots or pantoffles, with manches to his shirt.” 1 “Well,” said I, “did he in some wise pay the piper; or did he take himself off after setting his heel upon them?” “Verily,” said he, “that fellow, the whilom swaggerer, is now ensconced; for, notwithstanding his relucation, the magistrate decked him out with wristlets and a necklace and lodged him in the bilboes and the stocks. Wherefore, being impounded, the sorry wretch fusted for fear, and trumped, and was fain to give weregelt.” 2

“I,” quoth Eudemus, “was summoned as it grew crepuscular by Damasias the quondam athlete and champion, now out of the lists for eld—the brazen image, you know, in the square. 3 He was hard at it a-plucking and a-singeing, for he intended to marry off his daughter to-day and was busking her. Then a Termerian 4 misadventure befell that cut short the gala day. Distraught over I know not what, or more likely overtaken by divine detestation, his son Dion hung himself, and, depend upon it, he would have been undone if I had not been there to slip the noose and relieve him of his coil. Squatting on my

1 The word here used for boots (ἐνδρομιδας) had another meaning—a kind of woman’s cloak.

2 In my opinion χρήματα ἄντιψιχα is misused here, for it means “blood-money,” or weregelt, rather than “ransom.”

3 Out of compliment to him as a champion, his statue was set up in the square.

4 What a “Termerian misfortune” was, the ancients themselves do not seem to have known, except that it was a great one, and that “Termerian” was derived from a name—according to Suidas, that of a tyrant’s keep in Caria, used as a prison.
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πολύ τε ὁκλάξ παρακαθήμενος ἐπένυσσον  

τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, βαυκαλῶν καὶ διακωδωνίζων, μή πη ἐτὶ συνεχῆς εἰ ἡ τὴν φάρυγγα. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα ὄνησαν ἐκεῖνο ἦν, ὅτι ἀμφότεραι κατασχῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀκρα διεπίσσα.

12 "Μῶν ἐκεῖνον," ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ, "φῆς Δίωνα τὸν καταπύγονα καὶ λακκοσχέαν, τὸν μύρτωνα καὶ σχινοτρώκταν νεανίσκον, ἀναφλώντα καὶ βλιμάζοντα, ἦν τινα πεώδη καὶ πόσθωνα αἰσθηταί; μίνθων ἐκεῖνος γε καὶ λαικόλεος." "Ἀλλὰ τοῖ γε τὴν θεόν," ἦ δ’ ὅς ὁ Εὐδημὸς, "θαυμάσας— Ἀρτεμίς γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ αὐλῇ, Σκοπάδεον ἐργον—ταύτη προσπεσόντες ὦ τε Δαμασίας καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, πρεσβύτης ἡ δὴ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πολιάς ἀκριβῶς, ἴκετευν ἔλεησαι σφάς. ἦ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπένευσεν, καὶ σώσ ἦν, καὶ νῦν Θεόδωρον, μᾶλλον δὲ περιπάνω Ἀρτεμίδωρον ἔχονσι τὸν νεανίσκον. ἀνέθεσαν οὖν αὐτῇ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ βέλη καὶ τόξα, ὅτι χαίρει τούτοις· τοξότις γὰρ καὶ ἐκμόλος καὶ τηλέμαχος ἢ Ἀρτεμίς.

13 "Πίνωμεν οὖν," ἦ δ’ ὅς ὁ Μεγαλώνυμος, "καὶ γάρ καὶ λάγυνον τούτοι παρηβηκότος ἦκω ὑμῖν κομίζον καὶ τυρῷ προφαλίδας  

καὶ ἐλαίας χαμαπτετείς—φυλάττω δ’ αὐτὰς υπὸ σφραγίνων ὀριστῆδεστοίς—καὶ ἄλλας ἐλαίας νευστάς καὶ πήλινα

1 ἐπένυσσον Ν.: ἐπένυσσον ΓΕ.: ἐπινύσσων Ω.
3 προφαλίδας Seiler: τρυφαλίδας MSS.

1 Eudemus means to convey the idea that he undid the noose and attempted to relieve the man, but his language is so open to misunderstanding that it suggests quite the
hunkers beside him for a long time, I jobbed him, titillating and sounding him lest perchance his windpipe still hang together. But what helped most was that I confined his extremes with both hands and applied pressure.”

“Prithee,” quoth I, “dost mean that notable Dion, the slack-pursed libertine, the toothpick-chewing aesthete, who strouts and gropes if ever he sees anyone that is well hung? He is a scapegrace and a rutter.” “Well,” said Eudemus, “Damasias in amaze invoked the goddess—they have an Artemis in the middle of the hall, a Scopadean masterpiece—and he and his wife, who is now elderly and quite lyart-pollled, flung themselves upon her and besought her to pity them. She at once inclined her head, and he was well; so that now they have a Theodore or rather, manifestly an Artemidore in the young man. So they have made offerings of all sorts to her, including bows and arrows, since she takes pleasure in these; for Artemis is a good bowyer, she is a Far-darter, a very Telemachus.”

“Let us be drinking, then,” quoth Megalonymus, “for I am come bringing you this senile flagon, green cheese, windfallen olives—I keep them under wormscriven seals—and other olives, soured, and opposite—that his aim was rather to undo the unhappy subject of his ministrations.

2 With a punning allusion to Athena Polias.
3 “Gift-of-God.”
4 “Gift-of-Artemis.”
5 As an “archeress” (but toxotis was also an arrow-window) Artemis was not only, like her brother, a Far-darter, but a Far-fighter (Telemachus).
6 Since in worm-eaten wood the “galleries” are never identical in pattern, sections of it were very suitable for use as seals; but in the day of Lexiphanes only an antiquarian is likely to have possessed one.
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tauti potërria, δευστρακα, ευπυνδάκωτα, ως εξ αυτων πίνοιμεν, και πλακοῦντα εξ εντέρων κρω-βυλώδη την πλοκήν. συ δ’, δ παί, πλέων μου του ύδατος ἑγχει, ως μη καραβαρεῖν ἀρξαίμην κατά σοι τού παιδοβοσκόν καλῶ ἐπὶ σε· ιστε γαρ ως ὅδυνωμαι και διέμπιλον ἑχω την κεφαλήν. μετά

14 δὲ τον ποτὸν συνυθλήσομεν οτα 1 καὶ ἀττ’ ἐωθαμεν· οὐ γαρ ἄκαρον δηποὺθεν ἐν οἴνῳ φλυεν.

"Ἐπαινῶ τοῦτο," ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ, "καὶ γὰρ ὅτι περ ὀφελὸς ἐσμέν τῆς ἀττικίσεως ἀκρον." "Εὐ λέ-γεις," ἦ δ’ ὦ ὁ Καλλικλῆς: "τὸ γὰρ ἐρεσχῖλεν ἀλλήλους συννάκις λάλης θηγάνη γίγνεται." "Ἐγὼ δέ," ἦ δ’ ὦ ὁ Εὐδήμος—"κρύος γὰρ ἐστιν—ἡδιον ἀν εὐξωροτέρῳ ὑποστυκνάζομι· καὶ γὰρ χειμοθνής εἰμι, καὶ χλανθεῖς ἡδιον ἃν 2 ἀκούομι τῶν χειρεσο-φων τούτων, τοῦ τε αὐλητοῦ καὶ τῆς βαρβιτωδοῦ." 15 "Τί ταυτα ἐφησθα, ὁ Εὐδήμε;" ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ: "ἀλογίαν ἡμῖν ἐπιτάττεις ως ἀστόμοις οὖς καὶ ἀπεγλώττισμένοις; ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ γλῶττα τε ἡδη λογά καὶ δὴ ἀνθρόπην γε ὡς ἀρχαιολογήσων ὑμῖν καὶ κατανύψων ἀπὸ γλώττης ἀπαντάς. ἀλλά σὺ τὸ ὁμοιν εἰργάσω με ὥσπερ εἰ τὶς ὀλκάδα τριάρμενον ἐν οὐρίῳ πλέουσαι, ἐμπεπνευματω-μένου τοῦ ἀκατίου, εὐφοροῦσαν τε καὶ ἀκροκυ-ματοῦσαν, ἐκτὸς τινας ἀμφιστόμους καὶ ἰσχάδας σιδηρᾶς ἀφεῖς καὶ ναυσιπέδας ἀναχαιτίζου τοῦ δρόμου τὸ ῥόθιον, φθόνῳ τῆς εὐνεμίας."

1 συνυθλήσομεν οτα edd.: συνυθλησόμενοι MSS. (οι om. Ν.).
2 ἃν Jacobitz: not in MSS.

1 Cf. Dancing, 69 (p. 272), and the note there.
these earthen cups of cockle-shell, stanchly bottomed, for us to drink out of, and a cake of chitterlings braided like a topknot. My lad, pour in more of the water for me, that I may not begin to have a head, and then call your keeper to come for you. You know that I have my pains and keep my head invested. And now that we have drunk, we shall gossip according to our wont, for in good sooth it is not inopportune to prate when we are in our cups.

"I approve this," said I, "and why not, for we are the sheer quintessence of Atticism." "Very true," quoth Callicles, "for quizzing each other incessantly is a whet to loquacity." "As to me," said Eudemus, "since it is brumal I had liefer fence myself with stiffer drink. I am starved with cold, and when I am warmed I would fain hear these handiwise folk, the flute-player and the harper."

"What was that you said, Eudemus?" said I. "Do you enjoin alogy upon us as if we were inarticulate and elinguid? My tongue is already pregnant with utterance, and in sooth I set sail in the intent to archaise with you and wash you up with my tongue, one and all. But you have treated me as if a three-masted vessel were sailing before the wind with full kites, running easy and spooming over the billows, and then someone, letting go double-tongued refrainers, pigs of iron, and bowers, were to curb the impetuosity of her course, begrudging her the fair wind."

2 In view of the fact that to the Greeks Hector was a "holder," Lexiphanes can cause us to imagine that hero performing new and strange feats.

3 For ἵσχας ("fig") used, in the sense "holder," to apply to an anchor, cf. Athen., 99 c–d, where it is attributed to Sophocles (Fr. 761 Pearson).
"Οὐκοῦν," ἦ δ' ὅς, "οὐ μὲν, εἰ βούλει, πλεῖ καὶ
νεῖ καὶ θεὶ κατὰ τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπόγειος
πίνων ἀμα ἄσπερ ὁ τοῦ 'Ομήρου Ζεὺς ἦ ἀπὸ
φαλάκρων ἦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρουρανίας ὀφομα διαφέρο-
μενόν σὲ τε καὶ τὴν ναϊν πρύμνηθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἀνέμου κατουρουμένην."

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

16 "Αλις, ὦ Δεξίφανες, καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ ἀναγνώ-
σεως. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἢδη μεθὺ ω σοι καὶ ναυτῶ
καὶ ἢν μὴ τάχιστα ἕξεμέσῳ πάντα ταῦτα ὀπόσα
διεξελήλυθας, εὐ ἱσθι, κορυβαντίασει μοι δοκῶ
περιβομβούμενος ὑφ' ὧν κατεσκέδασάς μοι όνο-
μάτων. καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον γελάν ἐπήει μοι
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πάντα ὁμοία
ἣν, ἠλέουν σε τῆς κακοδαίμονίας ὀρῶν εἰς λαβύ-
ρινθον ἀφυκτον ἐμπεπτωκότα καὶ νοσουντα νόσον
τὴν μεγίστην, μάλλον δὲ μελαγχολῶντα.

17 Ζητῶ οὖν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ὅποθεν τὰ τοσαῦτα κακά
συνελέξω καὶ ἐν ὀπόσῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὅποι κατα-
κλείσας εἶχες τοσοῦτον ἐσμὼν ἀτόπων καὶ διαστρό-
φων ὄνομάτων, ὅν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐποίησας, τὰ
δὲ κατορωρυγμένα ποθὲν ἀναστὼν κατὰ τὸ
ιαμβεῖον

οἶλοι θνητῶν ἐκλέγων τὰς συμφοράς.

toσoῦτoν βόρbορον συνερανίσας κατήντλησάς μου
μηδεν se δευνον εἰργασμένον. δοκεῖς δὲ μοι
μήτε φίλον τινὰ ἢ οἰκεῖον ἢ εὑνον ἔχειν μήτε
ἀνδρὶ ἐλευθέρω χώποται καὶ παρρησίαν ἁγοντι

1 ὑπὸ Ν: ἀπὸ other MSS. 2 Source unknown.
LEXIPHANES

"Well, then," quoth he, "you, if you like, may sail and swim and course over the main, but I from off the land, with a drink at my elbow, like Homer's Zeus, shall look upon you either from a bald cop or the pitch of heaven as you drive and the wind gives your vessel a saucy fairing from astern."

LYCINUS

Enough, Lexiphanes, both of the drinking-party and of the reading. I am already half-seas-over and squeamish, and if I do not very soon jettison all this gallimaufry of yours, depend upon it, I expect to go raving crazy with the roaring in my ears from the words with which you have showered me. At first I was inclined to laugh at it all, but when it turned out to be such a quantity and all of a sort, I pitied you for your hard luck, seeing that you had fallen into a labyrinthine maze from which there was no escaping and were afflicted with the most serious of all illnesses—I mean, were as mad as a hatter.

I have been quietly wondering from what source you have culled so much pestilential stuff, and how long it took you, and where you locked up and kept such a swarm of outlandish distorted expressions, of which you made some yourself and resurrected others from the graves in which they lay buried somewhere. As the verse puts it,

Plague take you, that you garner mortal woes, such a mess of filthy bilge water did you get together and fling over me, when I had done you no harm at all. You seem to me not only to be destitute of friends and relatives and well-wishers but never to have fallen in with an independent man practising frank-
18 Ἀλλ' εἰς καλὸν γὰρ τουτοῖς Σώπολιν ὅρῳ τῶν ἰατρῶν προσώπων, φέρε τοῦτῳ ἐγχειρίσαστες σε καὶ διαλεξθέντες ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου ᾠδοὶ τινάς σοι εὐρώμεθα· συνέτος γὰρ ἄνηρ ¹ καὶ πολλοὺς ἠδή παραλαβὼν ὠσπερ σὲ ἠμιμανεῖς καὶ κορυξόντας ἀπῆλλαξεν ἐγχέας φάρμακον. χαίρε, Σώπολις καὶ τουτοῖς Λεξίφανης παραλαβῶν ἔταφρον, ἦς οἶσθα, ἤμιν ὄντα, λήρω δὲ νῦν καὶ ξένη περὶ τὴν φαύτην νόσῳ ἤξυνόντα καὶ κινδυνεύοντα ἢδη τελέως ἀπολω-
λέναι σώσον ενὶ γέ τῷ τρόπῳ.

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

19 Μὴ ἐμε, Σώπολι, ἀλλὰ τουτοῖς Δυκίνοι, ὅς περιφανῶς μακκοὰ καὶ ἄνδρας πεφρευκομένους ὀλισθογνώμονεὶς οἴεται καὶ κατὰ τὸν Μυησάρχου τὸν Σάμιον σιωπήν καὶ γλωτταργίαν ήμῖν ἐπι-
βάλλει. ἀλλὰ μὰ τὴν ἀναίσχυντον Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸν μέγαν θηριομάχον Ἰρακλέα οὐδ' ὅσον, τοῦ γρῦ καὶ τοῦ φεῖ φροντιούμεν αὐτὸν· ὀπτεύομαι γοὺν μηδὲ ὅλως ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ. ἔσικα δὲ καὶ ρωυαλήσειν ² τοιαῦτα ἐπιτιμῶντες ἀκουόνων.

¹ ἄνηρ MSS.: corr. Dindorf.
² ρωυαλήσειν Gesner: ρωναυτήσειν MSS.
ness, who by telling you the truth might have relieved you, dropsical as you are and in danger of bursting with the disease, although to yourself you appear to be in good point and you consider your calamity the pink of condition. You are praised by the fools, to be sure, who do not know what ails you; but the intelligent fittingly pity you.

But what luck! here I see Sopolis the physician drawing near. Come now, suppose we put you in his hands, have a consultation with him about your complaint, and find some cure for you. The man is clever, and often before now, taking charge of people like yourself, half crazed and full of drivel, he has relieved them with his doses of medicine. —Good-day to you, Sopolis. Do take charge of Lexiphanes here, who is my friend, as you know, and at present has on him a nonsensical, outlandish distemper affecting his speech which is likely to be the death of him outright. Do save him in one way or another.

LEXIPHANES

Not me, Sopolis, but this man Lycinus, who is patently maggoty and thinks that well-furnished heads want wits, and imposes silence and a truce of the tongue upon us in the style of the son of Mnesarchus, the Samian. But I protest, by bashless Athena and by mighty Heracles, slayer of ferines, I shan't bother even a flock or a doit about him! In fact I abominate meeting him at all, and I am fit to snort when I hear him pass such censure. Any-

1 Pythagoras; in Philosophies for Sale, 3 (II, 454) Lucian alludes to the five years of silence which he imposed on his pupils.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

καὶ ἦδη γε ἀπείμυ παρὰ τὸν ἐταίρον Κλεινίαν, ὅτι πυνθάνομαι χρόνου ἦδη ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι αὐτῶ τῆν γυναῖκα καὶ ταύτην νοσεῖν, ὅτι μὴ τεί. ὦστε οὐκέτι οὐδ’ ἀναβαίνει αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ἅβατος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἔστιν.

ΣΩΠΟΛΙΣ

20 Τί δὲ νοσεῖ, ὦ Λυκίνε, Λεξιφάνης;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Αὐτὰ ταῦτα, ὦ Σώπολι. οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅλα φθέγγεται; καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς νῦν προσομιλοῦντας καταλίπων πρὸ χιλίων ἡτῶν ἡμῖν διαλέγεται διαστρέφων τὴν γλώτταν καὶ ταύτη τὰ ἀλλόκοτα συντιθεῖς καὶ σπουδὴν ποιοῦμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ὦς δὴ τι μέγα ὑπ’ εἰ τι ξενίζοι καὶ τὸ καθεστηκὸς νόμισμα τῆς φωνῆς παρακόπτω.

ΣΩΠΟΛΙΣ

Μὰ Δὲ οὖ μικράν τινα λέγεις τήν νόσουν, ὦ Λυκίνε. βοηθητέα γοῦν τῷ ἀνδρὶ πάση μηχανῇ καὶ—κατὰ θεὸν γὰρ τῶν χολῶντων τὰν φάρμακον τοὐτὺ κερασάμενος ἀπῆλθεν, ὥς πῦών ἐμέσεσε—φέρε πρῶτος αὐτὸς πίθι, ὦ Λεξιφάνε, ὥς γυής ἡμῖν καὶ καθάρδο γένοιο, τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν λόγων ἀτοπίας κενωθεῖς. ἀλλὰ πείσθητι μοι καὶ πίθι καὶ βάρων ἔση.

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

Οὐκ οἶδ’ ὦ καὶ δράσετε με, ὦ Σώπολι, σὺ τε καὶ Λυκίνος, πιπίσκοντες τουτού τοῦ φαρμάκου. δέδοικα γοῦν μὴ πῶμα ἐνοικίματο μοι τοῦτο τῶν λόγων τὸ πόμα.

1 χολῶντων ἰ (Cobet): χολωτῶν N vulg.
2 πτῶμα N, edd. But πώμα is used by Loxiphanes in the sense of “lid,” πόμα as Attic for “drink.”
how, I am this moment going off to my comrade Cleinias's because I am informed that for some time now his wife is irregular \(^1\) and out of sorts by reason of wanting issue, so that he no longer even knows her; she is unapproachable and uncultivated.

**Sopolis**

What ails him, Lycinus?

**Lycinus**

Just that, Sopolis! Can't you hear how he talks? Abandoning us, who converse with him now, he talks to us from a thousand years ago, distorting his language, making these preposterous combinations, and taking himself very seriously in the matter, as if it were a great thing for him to use an alien idiom and debase the established currency of speech.

**Sopolis**

By Zeus, it is no trivial disorder you tell of, Lycinus. The man must be helped by all means. As good luck would have it, I came away with this medicine, made up for an insane person, so that by taking it he might throw off his bile. Come, you be the first to take it, Lexiphanes, that we may have you cured and cleansed, once you have rid yourself of such impossible language. Do obey me and take it, and you will feel better.

**Lexiphanes**

I don't know what you and Lycinus mean to do to me, Sopolis, plying me with this drench. Indeed, I fear your draught may chill my vocabulary.

\(^1\) As applied to a woman ἥς ἐπεσχημένα τὰ γυναικεῖα, ἀκάθαρτος is accredited in Athen., 98, to "this word-chasing sophist"; i.e. Pompeianus, according to Casaubon. Cf. 97 f.
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ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Πίθι καὶ μὴ μέλλε, ὡς ἀνθρώπινα ἤδη φρονοίης καὶ λέγοις.

ΛΕΞΙΦΑΝΗΣ

'Ιδοὺ πείθομαι καὶ πίομαι. φεῦ, τί τούτο; πολὺς ὁ βορβορυγμός. ἐγγαστρίμυθον τινα ἐοικα πεπωκέναι.

ΣΩΠΟΛΙΣ

21 Ἀρξαὶ δὴ ἐμεῖν. βαβαί. πρῶτον τούτῳ τὸ μῶν, εἶτα μετ’ αὐτὸ ἐξελήλυθεν τὸ κατὰ, εἶτα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἢ δ’ ὅσ καὶ ἀμηγέτη καὶ λώστε καὶ δηποῦθεν καὶ συνεχές τὸ ἀττα. βίασαι δ’ ὅμως, καὶ κάθες εἰς τὴν φάρυγγα τοὺς δακτύλους. οὐδέπω τὸ ἱκταρ ἐμήμεκας οὐδὲ τὸ σκορδινάσθαι οὐδὲ τὸ τευτάζεσθαι οὐδὲ τὸ σκύλλεσθαι.1 πολλὰ ἔτι ὑποδέδυκε καὶ μεστὴ σοι αὐτῶν ἡ γαστήρ. ἀμεινον δὲ, εἰ καὶ κάτω διαχωρήσεις ἀν ἐνια. ἡ γοῦν σιληπορδία μέγαν τὸν ψόφον ἐργάσεται συνεκπεσοῦσα μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

'Αλλ’ ἤδη μὲν καθαρὸς οὔτοι πλὴν εἰ τι με-μένηκεν ὑπόλουπον ἐν τοῖς κάτω ἐντέροις. σὺ δὲ τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν, ὡ Λυκίνε, μεταπαί-δενε καὶ δίδασκε ἃ χρῆ λέγειν.

1 σκύλλεσθαι N: σκύλλεσθαι ΓΕΑ.
LEXIPHANES

LYCINUS

Drink without delay, that at last you may be human in thought and speech.

LEXIPHANES

There, I obey and drink. Oh me, what is this? The bombilation is vast! I would seem to have swallowed a familiar spirit.\(^1\)

SOPOLIS

Begin now to lighten yourself. Aha! First, this "prithee," then after it "eftsoons" has come up; then on their heels his "quoth he" and "in some wise," and "fair sir," and "in sooth," and his incessant "sundry." Make an effort, however; put your fingers down your throat. You have not yet given up "instanter" or "pandication" or "divagation" or "spoliation." Many things still lurk in hiding and your inwards are full of them.\(^2\) It would be better if some should take the opposite course. Anyhow, "vilipendency" will make a great racket when it comes tumbling out on the wings of the wind.

Well, this man is now purged, unless something has remained behind in his lower intestines. It is for you next, Lycinus, to take him on, mending his education and teaching him what to say.

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\(^1\) Cf. i Sam. (in the Septuagint, i Kings) 28, 8.

\(^2\) Some of these words (λώστε, ἰκταρ, σκορδινάσθαι, τευτάζεσθαι, σκύλλεσθαι) have not been used by Lexiphanes in this present exhibition of his powers. Compare the list in A Professor of Public Speaking, 16: τὸ ἀττα καὶ κάτα καὶ μῶν καὶ ἀμηγέπη καὶ λώστε.
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ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

22 Οὕτω ποιήσομεν, ὡς Σώπολι, ἐπειδὴ πιερ ἢμιν προωδοποίηται τὰ παρὰ σοῦ· καὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸ λοιπὸν, ὡς Λεξίφανες, ἡ συμβουλὴ. εἰπερ ἢρ ἐθέλεις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ λόγους κἂν τοὺς πλήθεσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα πάντα φεύγει καὶ ἀποτρέπου, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων ποιητῶν καὶ ὑπὸ διδασκάλους αὐτοὺς ἀναγνωστὶ μετίθι ἐπὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας, καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων φωνῇ συντραφεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Πλάτωνος ἐν καρφῷ μετίθι, πολλὰ καὶ τῇ καλῇ κωμῳδίᾳ καὶ τῇ σεμνῇ τραγῳδίᾳ ἐγγεγυμνασμένος παρὰ γὰρ τούτων ἀπαντά τὰ κάλλιστα ἀπανθισάμενος ἐστὶ τις ἐν λόγοις· ὡς νῦν γε ἐλελήθησε σαυτὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλατωμένους ἐσικώς, κεχρωσμένος μὲν τῇ μίλτῳ καὶ τῷ κυνῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐνδοθὲν πὴλνὸς τε καὶ εὐθρυπτος ὁν

23 Ἕαν ταῦτα ποιῆσ, πρὸς ὅλιγον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαιδευσία ἐλεγχον ὑπομείνας καὶ μὴ αἰδεσθεὶς μεταμαθάνων, βαρβαρῶν ὁμιλήσεις τοὺς πλήθεσιν καὶ οὐ καταγελασθῆσθαι ὡσπερ νῦν οὐδὲ διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ τῷ χείρῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐστὶ, Ἕλληνα καὶ Ἀττικὸν ἀποκαλοῦντων σε τὸν μηδὲ βαρβάρων ἕν τοῖς σαφεστάτοις ἀριθμεῖσθαι ἄξιον. πρὸ πάντων δὲ ἐκεῖνο μέμνησό μοι, μὴ μιμεῖσθαι τῶν ὅλιγον πρὸ ἡμῶν γενομένων σοφιστῶν τὰ φαιλοτατα μηδὲ περιεσθεῖν ἐκεῖνα ὡσπερ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα καταπατεῖν, ζηλοῦν δὲ τὰ ἀρχαία τῶν παραδειγμάτων. μηδὲ σε θελγέτωσαν αἰ ἀνεμώναι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀθλητῶν νόμον ἡ στερρὰ σοὶ τροφή συνῆθης ἔστω, μάλιστά

1 βαρβάρων Gronovius: βάρβαρον MSS.
LEXIPHANES

LYCINUS

That I will, Sopolis, since you have cleared the way for me, and the advice which will follow is to your address, Lexiphanes. If you really desire to be genuinely praised for style and to have a great name among the public, avoid and shun all this sort of thing. After beginning with the best poets and reading them under tutors, pass to the orators, and when you have become familiar with their diction, go over in due time to Thucydides and Plato—but only after you have first disciplined yourself thoroughly in attractive comedy and sober tragedy. When you have garnered all that is fairest from these sources, you will be a personality in letters. Before, you had unconsciously become like the images shaped for the market by the modellers of figurines, coloured with red and blue on the surface, but clay on the inside, and very fragile.

If you do this, abiding for a time the reproach of illiteracy and feeling no shame to mend your knowledge, you will address the public confidently and will not be laughed at as you are now, or talked about in an uncomplimentary manner by our best people, who dub you "the Greek" and "the Athenian" when you do not deserve to be numbered even among the most intelligible of barbarians. Before all else, however, please remember not to imitate the most worthless productions of the Sophists who lived only a little before our own time, or to go nibbling at that stuff as you do now—tread that sort of thing underfoot and copy the ancient models only. And do not let yourself be enticed by the wind-flowers of speech, but follow the custom of the athletes and habituate yourself
δὲ Χάρισι καὶ Σαφηνείᾳ θύε, ὅν πάμπολυ λίαν 24 νῦν ἀπελεύσθη. καὶ ὁ τύφος δὲ καὶ ἡ μεγαλαιχία καὶ ἡ κακοθεία καὶ τὸ βρεγθέσθαι καὶ λαρυγγίζειν ἀπέστω, καὶ τὸ διασιλλαίνειν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὔσθαι ὅτι πρῶτος ἔση αὐτὸς, ἢν τὰ πάντων συκοφαντῆς.

Καὶ μὴν κάκεινο οὐ μικρόν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἀμαρτάνεις, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον τὰς διανοίας τῶν λέξεων προπαρεσκευασμένος ἐπείτα κατακοσμεῖς τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι, ἀλλὰ ἢν ποὺ ῥῆμα ἐκφυλὸν εὐρηκή ἢ αὐτὸς πλασάμενος οἰηθῆς εἶναι καλῶν, τοῦτω ζητεῖς διάνοιαν ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ ζημίαν ἡγή, ἃν μὴ παραβύσῃς αὐτὸ ποὺ, κἂν τῷ λεγομένῳ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ, οἶον πρώην τὸν θυμάλωπα ὁ υἱὸς εἶδως ὁ τι σημαίνει, ἀπέρρυψας οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδιώται πάντες ἐπεθῆσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ξένου πληγόντες τὰ ὁτα, οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφότερος, καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἐγέλων.

25 Τὸ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον ἐκείνῳ ἔστω, ὅτι ὑπεράττικοι εἶναι ἄξιῶν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἄπηκριβωμένος τοιαῦτα ἔνα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα, ἐγκαταμιγνύεις τοῖς λόγοις ὁ μηδὲ παῖς ἄρτι μανθάνων ἀγνοῆσευν ἄν· οἶον ἐκείνα πώς οἶει κατὰ γῆς δῦναι ἡγχόμην ἄκουσιν οὖν ἐπιδεικνυμένον, ὅτε χιτώνιον μὲν καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ψων λέγεσθαί, δουλάρια δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρρενας τῶν ἀκολούθων ἀπεκάλεις, ἃ τίς οὐκ οἴδεν ὅτι χιτώνιον μὲν γυναικὸς ἔσθης, δουλάρια

1 θυμάλωπα Guyet: οὐμάλωπα MSS.
2 ἄν Jacobitz: not in MSS.
to solid nourishment. Above all, sacrifice to the Graces and to Clearness; you are very remote from them at present! As for vanity, boastfulness and malice, blustering and bawling, away with them, and with girding at the works of all others and thinking that you yourself will be first if you carp at the achievements of everyone else.

Yes, and there is also this fault which you have, not a slight one, but rather the greatest possible: you do not prepare your thoughts in advance of your words and subsequently dress them out in the parts of speech, but if you find anywhere an outlandish expression or make one up yourself and think it pretty, you endeavour to fit the thought to it and think yourself damaged if you cannot stuff it in somewhere, even if it is not essential to what you are saying. For example, the other day, without even knowing what “scintilla” meant, you tossed it off when it had no relation at all to the subject, and the vulgar to a man were dazed when its unfamiliarity struck their ears, but the well-informed laughed, not only at you but at your admirers.

What is most ridiculous of all is that although you want to be more than Attic and have meticulously shaped your diction after the most antiquated pattern, some (or rather, most) of the expressions which you intermingle with what you say are such that even a boy just beginning school would not fail to know them. For instance, you can’t think how I prayed for the earth to swallow me as I listened to the exhibition you made of yourself when you thought that “shift” meant a man’s garment also, and used “slatterns” of male servants when who does not know that a shift is a female
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

de tā thēlea kaloūsin; kai ālla polū touτων
profanéstera, oioν tō ippatō kai tō ἀπαντώμενος
kai tō kathestheis, oude metoukikā tīs 'Athenaiōn
phvnhς. ἡμεῖς oude poiητᾶs ἐπαινοῦμεν touτs
kataγλωττα 1 γράφοντας poiήμata. tā de sā,
ōs peζa mētrois paraβάλλειν, kathāper ὁ Δωσιάδα
Bwmοs ān eι̂ n kai ī tou Lυκόφρωνος 'Aλεξάνδρα,
kai eī tīs ētī touτων tīn phvnhν kakeδamoi-
νέστeros.

"Ἀν ταῦτα ξηλώσης καὶ μεταμάθης, ἀριστα
βεβουλευμένος ὑπὲρ σεμυτοῦ ἔση· ἢν δὲ λάθης
ἄδης εἰς τὴν λυχνειάν κατολισθῶν, ἐμοὶ μὲν
ἀποτεπλήρωται ἡ παραίνεσις, σοῦ δὲ σεμυτοῦ
αιτιάσῃ, ἂν γε καὶ ξυνής χείρων γενόμενος.

1 κατάγλωττα Meineke: κατὰ γλώτταν MSS.

1 ἐπέτετο ("flew") should have been used instead of ἰππατο; cf. Lobeck's Phrynichus, p. 324, and Lucian, Soloeicista, 48 (Vol. VIII). But Lucian himself has the condemned form sometimes; e.g., Vol. III, p. 392, twice.

2 The active, ἀπαντῶν, should have been employed, not the middle, which is poetic according to Phrynichus (p. 288).
garment and that only women are called slatterns? And there were other things far more obvious than these, like "flopped"¹ and "meeting up"² and "setting,"³ which are not even naturalised in the Attic tongue. We do not praise even poets who compose poems that are all full of rare words, but your compositions, if I might compare prose to verse, would be like the "Altar" of Dosiadas, the "Alexandra" of Lycophron, and whatever else is still more infelicitous in diction than those works.⁴

If you imitate the men of whom I have spoken and if you repair your education, you will have planned the best possible course for yourself, but if you unwittingly slip back into your preciosity, I at least have done my part in advising you and you may blame yourself, if indeed you are conscious of deterioration.

³ Forms like καθεσθεῖς are called "outlandish" (ἐκφυλον) by Phrynichus (p. 269) and in the Soloeicista, 63; but cf. Lucian, True Story, I, 23, περικαθεσθέντες.
⁴ For the Altar of Dosiadas see Edmonds, Greek Bucolic Poets, p. 506. Lycophron’s Alexandra (A. W. Mair) is in one volume with Callimachus and Aratus in the L.C.L.
THE EUNUCH

A maliciously satirical account of a competition for one of the chairs in philosophy established at Athens, along with a chair in rhetoric, by Marcus Aurelius. The chairs in philosophy were apportioned to four sects only—Platonic, Stoic, Epicurean, and Peripatetic. That there were two chairs for each of these sects, not merely one, is clear from the statement that this vacancy is due (c. 3) to the death of one of the two Peripatetics (τῶν Περιπατητικῶν οἶμαι τῶν ἕτερων). Each chair carried a stipend of 10,000 drachmas. The first appointment in rhetoric (Theodotus) was made by the emperor himself; those in philosophy were committed to Herodes Atticus, who, however, cannot have made any nominations after the first, as the chairs were established in November, 176 A.D., and the death of Herodes can hardly be dated later than 178 A.D. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lucian speaks of selection by a jury of prominent Athenians.

It is not probable that the incident occurred before 179 A.D., and it may easily have been much later. The dialogue was undoubtedly written at the time, and at Athens. The names given to the competitors are fictitious, and nothing is known that affords any ground for conjecture as to the identity of either one.
ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΣ

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

1 Πόθεν, ὦ Λυκίνε, καὶ τι γελῶν ἡμῖν ἀφίξαι; ἀεὶ μὲν γὰρ φαιδρὸς ὦν τυγχάνεις, τοῦτε δὲ πλέον τοῦ συνήθους εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, ἐφ’ ὅτῳ μηδὲ κατέχει δυνατός εἶ τὸν γέλωτα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Εξ ἀγορᾶς μὲν ἦκω σοι, ὦ Πάμφιλε· τοῦ γέλωτος δὲ αὐτίκα κοινωνὸν ποιήσομαι σε, ἣν ἀκούσης οία δίκη δικαζομένη παρεγενόμην, φιλόσοφων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐριζόντων.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς γελοιοῦν λέγεις, τὸ φιλοσοφοῦντας δικάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, δέον, εἰ καὶ τι μέγα εἰη, κατ’ εἰρήνην ἐν σφίσι διαλύεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

2 Πόθεν, ὦ μακάριε, κατ’ εἰρήνην ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ γε ξυμπεσόντες ὅλας ἀμάξας βλασφημῶν κατεσκέδασαν ἀλλήλων, κεκραγότες καὶ ὑπερδιατεινόμενοι;

1 καὶ τι Herwerden: ἦ τι MSS.
THE EUNUCH

PAMPHILUS

Where have you been, Lycinus, and what are you laughing at, I should like to know, as you come? Of course, you are always in a good humour, but this appears to me to be something out of the ordinary, as you cannot restrain your laughter over it.

LYCINUS

I have been in the Agora, I'd have you know, Pamphilus; and I shall make you share my laughter at once if you let me tell you what sort of case has been tried in my presence, between philosophers wrangling with each other.

PAMPHILUS

Well, what you have already said is laughable, in all truth, that followers of philosophy should have it out with one another at law, when they ought, even if it should be something of importance, to settle their complaints peaceably among themselves.

LYCINUS

Indeed, you blessed simpleton! Peaceably! They! Why, they came together at full tilt and flung whole cartloads of abuse upon each other, shouting and straining their lungs enough to split them!
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Ἡ ποι, ὦ Λυκίνη, περὶ τῶν λόγων διεφέροντο τὰ συνήθη ταῦτα, ἐτερόδοξοι τυγχάνοντες;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐτεροίον τι τούτο ἦν' ὁμόδοξοι γὰρ ἀμφω καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων. δίκη δὲ ὅμως συνειστήκει καὶ δικασταὶ ψηφοφοροῦντες ἦσαν οἱ ἄριστοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ σοφῶτατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἄν ἄν τὶς ἡδέσθη παρὰ μέλος τι φθεγξάμενος, οὐχ ὅπως ἔσ τοσαυτὴν ἀναισχυντίαν τραπόμενον.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν λέγουσ νῦ ηδῆ ὅ το κεφάλαιον τῆς δίκης, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδείν ὅ τι σοὶ τὸ κεκινηκός εἶ ὅ τὸν τοσοῦτον γέλωτα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

3 Συντέτακται μὲν, ὃ Πάμφιλε, ὡς οἶδα, ἐκ βασιλέως μυσθοφορά τις οὐ φαίλῃ κατὰ γένη τοῖς φιλοσοφοῖς, Στυῳκοὶς λέγω καὶ Πλατωνικοῖς καὶ Ἐπικουρείοις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου, τὰ ἱσα τούτως ἀπασιν. ἔδει δὲ ἀποθανόντος αὐτῶν τινος ἄλλον ἀντικαθίστασθαι δοκιμασθέντα ψήφῳ τῶν ἀρίστων. καὶ τὰ ἄθλα οὐ βοείῃ τις ἦν, κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν, οὐδὲ ἰερεῖν, ἄλλα μῦρια κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ συνείναι τοῖς νέοις.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Οἶδα ταῦτα: καὶ τινὰ φασὶν αὐτῶν ἑναγχὸς ἀποθανεῖν, τῶν Περιπατητικῶν οἶμαι τὸν ἐτερον.

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THE EUNUCH

PAMPHILUS

No doubt, Lycinus, they were bickering about their doctrines, as usual, being of different sects?

LYCINUS

Not at all; this was something different, for they were of the same sect and agreed in their doctrines. Nevertheless, a trial had been arranged, and the judges, endowed with the deciding vote, were the most prominent and oldest and wisest men in the city, in whose presence one would have been ashamed even to strike a false note, let alone resorting to such shamelessness.

PAMPHILUS

Then do please tell me at once the point at issue in the trial, so that I may know what it is that has stirred up so much laughter in you.

LYCINUS

Well, Pamphilus, the Emperor has established, as you know, an allowance, not inconsiderable, for the philosophers according to sect—the Stoics, I mean, the Platonics, and the Epicureans; also those of the Walk, the same amount for each of these. It was stipulated that when one of them died another should be appointed in his stead, after being approved by vote of the first citizens. And the prize was not “a shield of hide or a victim,” as the poet has it,1 but a matter of ten thousand drachmas a year, for instructing boys.

PAMPHILUS

I know all that; and one of them died, they say, recently—one of the two Peripatetics, I think.

1 Homer, Iliad, XXII, 159.
LATKINOS

Αὐτὴ, ὁ Πάμφιλε, ἡ Ἑλένη ὑπὲρ ἦς ἐμονομάχουν πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ ἄχρι γε τούτου γελοῖον οὐδὲν πλὴν ἔκεινο ἰσως, τὸ φιλοσόφους εἶναι φάσκοντας καὶ χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν ἐπείτα ὑπὲρ τούτων ὡς ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνευόντης καὶ ἱερῶν πατρίδων καὶ τάφων προγονικῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Καὶ μήν καὶ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο γέ ἐστιν τοῖς Περιπατητικοῖς, τὸ μὴ σφόδρα καταφρονεὶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ τρίτον τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῦτο οἷεσθαι.

LATKINOS

Ὡρθῶς λέγεισ. φασὶ γὰρ οὖν ταῦτα, καὶ κατὰ 4 τὰ πάτρια ἐγύνετο αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἦδη ἀκοῦε.

Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐκείνου ἡγοῦντο. δύο δὲ μᾶλιστα ἦσαν οἱ ἀμφίριστοι αὐτῶν, Διοκλῆς τε τὸ πρεσβύτης—οἴσθα δὲν λέγω, τὸν ἑριστικὸν—καὶ Βαγώας ὁ εὐνοῦχος εἶναι δοκῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν λόγων προγονισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκάτερος τῶν δογμάτων ἐπεδέδεικτο καὶ ὅτι τοῦ 3 Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνως δοκοῦντων εἶχετο. καὶ 5 μὰ τὸν Δῖο ὁδέτερος αὐτῶν ἀμείνων ἦν. τὸ δ’ οὖν τέλος τῆς δίκης ἐς τοῦτο περιέστη. ἀφέμενος γὰρ ὁ Διοκλῆς τοῦ δεικνύαν τα αὐτοῦ μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸν Βαγώαν καὶ διελέγχειν ἐπειράτο μάλιστα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Βαγώας ἀντεξῆταξε τὸν ἐκείνου βίον.

1 πλὴν Harmon: ἦν MSS. ἦ Urban.
THE EUNUCH

LYCINUS

That, Pamphilus, is the Helen for whom they were meeting each other in single combat. And up to this point there was nothing to laugh at except perhaps that men claiming to be philosophers and to despise lucre should fight for it as if for imperilled fatherland, ancestral fanes, and graves of forefathers.

PAMPHILUS

Yes, but that is the doctrine of the Peripatetics, not to despise wealth vehemently but to think it a third "supreme good."

LYCINUS

Right you are; they do say that, and the war that they were waging was on traditional lines. But listen now to the sequel.

Many competitors took part in the funeral games of the deceased, but two of them in particular were the most favoured to win, the aged Diocles (you know the man I mean, the dialectician) and Bagoas, the one who is reputed to be a eunuch. The matter of doctrines had been thrashed out between them already, and each had displayed his familiarity with their tenets and his adherence to Aristotle and his placita; and by Zeus neither of them had the better of it. The close of the trial, however, took a new turn; Diocles, discontinuing the advertisement of his own merits, passed over to Bagoas and made a great effort to show up his private life, and Bagoas met this attack by exploring the history of Diocles in like manner.

2 ἐκεῖνο ἢ μετὰ Urban: ἐκεῖνος ως MSS.
3 τοῦ Fritzsch: τῶν MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Εἰκότως, ὁ Λυκῖνε· καὶ τὰ πλείω γε τοῦ λόγου περὶ τούτου μᾶλλον ἔχρην εἶναι αὐτοῖς· ὡς ἔγαγε, εἰ δικάξων ἑτύγχανον, ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸ πλεῖον διατρίβαται ἂν μοι δοκῶ, τὸν ἀμείουν βιοῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς προχειρότερον ξητῶν καὶ οἰκείοτερον τῇ νίκῃ νομίζων.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

6 Εὕ ῥέγεις, καμὲ ὀμόψηφον ἐν τούτῳ ἔχεις. ἔπει δὲ ἄλις μὲν εἶχον βλασφημῶν, ἄλις δὲ ἐλέγχων, τὸ τελευταῖον ἢδη ὁ Διοκλῆς ἔφη μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν θεμιτὸν εἶναι τῷ Βαγώᾳ μεταποιεῖσθαι φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἀριστεῖων εὐνούχων ὑπ’ ὑπ’ ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοιούτους οὐχ ὅπως τούτων ἀποκελεῖσθαι ἥξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων συλλόγων, δυσοίωνοι τοῖς ἀποφαινόντος καὶ δυσάντητον θέαμα, εἰ τις ἐωθεν ἐξεύθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἵδοι τοιούτον τινα. καὶ πολὺς ἢν ὁ περὶ τούτου λόγος, οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα εἶναι τὸν εὐνοῦχον λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τι σύνθετον καὶ μικτὸν καὶ τερατώδες, ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Καὶ νῦν γε τὸ ἑγκλήμα φής, ὁ Λυκῖνε, καὶ ἢδη γελᾶν καὶ αὐτός, ὁ ἐταιρεῖ, προάγομαι τῆς παραδόξου ταύτης κατηγορίας ἀκούμων. τι δ’ οὖν ἄτερος; ἄρα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγαγεν, ἡ τι πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπεὶν ἐτόλμησεν;

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THE EUNUCH

PAMPHILUS

Naturally, Lycinus; and the greater part, certainly, of their discussion ought rather to have centred upon that. For my own part, if I had chanced to be a judge, I should have dwelt most, I think, upon that sort of thing, trying to ascertain which led the better life rather than which was the better prepared in the tenets themselves, and deeming him more suitable to win.

LYCINUS

Well said, and you have me voting with you in this. But when they had their fill of hard words, and their fill of caustic observations, Diocles at length said in conclusion that it was not at all permissible for Bagoas to lay claim to philosophy and the rewards of merit in it, since he was a eunuch; such people ought to be excluded, he thought, not simply from all that but even from temples and holy-water bowls and all the places of public assembly, and he declared it an ill-omened, ill-met sight if on first leaving home in the morning, one should set eyes on any such person. He had a great deal to say, too, on that score, observing that a eunuch was neither man nor woman but something composite, hybrid, and monstrous, alien to human nature.

PAMPHILUS

The charge you tell of, Lycinus, is novel, anyhow, and now I too, my friend, am moved to laughter, hearing of this incredible accusation. Well, what of the other? Held his peace, did he not? Or did he venture to say something himself in reply to this?
7 Tà μὲν πρώτα ὑπ' αἴδοις καὶ δειλίας—οἴκειον γὰρ αὐτός τὸ τοιοῦτον—ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐσιώπα καὶ ἡμιθρία καὶ ἰδίων φανερὸς ἦν, τέλος δὲ λεπτὸν τι καὶ γυναικεῖον ἐμφθεγξάμενος οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἔφη τὸν Διοκλέα φιλοσόφιας ἀποκλείοντα εὐνοῦχον ὄντα, ἢς καὶ γυναῖξι μετείναι καὶ παρήγγειλτο Ἀσπασία καὶ Διοτίμα καὶ Θαργηλία συνηγορήσοντι αὐτῷ, καὶ τις Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς εὐνοῦχος ἐκ Πελασγῶν τελῶν, ὁλύγον πρὸ ἡμῶν εὐδοκιμῆσας ἐν τοῖς Ἔλλησι. ὁ Διοκλῆς δὲ κάκειον αὐτὸν, εἰ περίην καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων μετεποιεῖτο, εἰρήξει 3 ἂν οὐ καταπλαγεῖς αὐτῷ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξαν· καὶ τινὰς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεμνημόνευε λόγους καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὑπὸ τρὶς Στωϊκῶν καὶ Κυνικῶν μάλιστα εἰρημένους πρὸς τὸ γελοίοτερον ἐπὶ τῷ ἄτελεῖ τοῦ σώματος.

8 Ἐν τούτοις ἦν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἡ διατριβή· καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦδη τοῦ σκέμματος τοῦτο ἐτύγχανεν, εἰ δοκιμαστέος εὐνοῦχος ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν παραγγέλλων 5 καὶ νέων προστασίαιν ἐγχειρισθῆναι

1 ἐκ πελασγῶν τελῶν marginal in GE: ἐκ κελτῶν GE, vulg.
2 εἰ περίην ΩΓ: εἰ περὶ ἤν ΩΓ cett.
3 εἰρήξει Γ: εἰρήξεν vulg. For the hiatus cf. διατριβὴν ἂν, § 5.
5 παραγγέλλων Γ1: παραγγέλλειν ΝΓΕ2: παρελθὼν Ε1Ω: παρέλθειν Ω margin, late hand.
At first, through shame and cowardice—for that sort of behaviour is natural to them—he remained silent a long while and blushed and was plainly in a sweat, but finally in a weak, effeminate voice he said that Diocles was acting unjustly in trying to exclude a eunuch from philosophy, in which even women had a part; and he brought in Aspasia, Diotima, and Thargelia to support him; also a certain Academic eunuch hailing from among the Pelasgians, who shortly before our time achieved a high reputation among the Greeks. But if that person himself were alive and advanced similar claims, Diocles would (he said) have excluded him too, undismayed by his reputation among the common sort; and he repeated a number of humorous remarks made to the man by Stoics and Cynics regarding his physical imperfection.

That was what the judges dwelt upon, and the point thenceforward at issue was whether the seal of approval should be set upon a eunuch who was proposing himself for a career in philosophy and requesting that the governance of boys be committed to him. One the Socratic wrote about her, the sophist Hippias spoke of her as beautiful and wise, and Aspasia is said to have taken her as a pattern. Diotima is the priestess of Mantinea to whom, in Plato's Symposium, Socrates ascribes the discourse on love which he repeats to the company. Subsequent mention of her seems to derive from that passage, and it is possible that Plato invented her.

2 The allusion is to Favorinus of Arles, known to us from Philostratus and especially from Aulus Gellius. Part of his treatise on exile has been recovered recently from an Egyptian papyrus and published by Medea Norsa and Vitelli.

3 Among the Cynics was Demonax; see Lucian's Demonax, 12 and 13 (I, pp. 150 ff.).
ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΧΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥΜΟΙΡΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ ΔΕΙΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ, ΠΩΓΩΝΑ ΒΑΘΩΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΙΟΥΜ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝΘΑΝΕΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΑΞΙΟΠΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΠΟΝΤΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΥΡΙΑΙΣ ΑΣ ΧΡΗ ΠΑΡΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΦΕΡΕΣΘΑΙ; ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΚΗΛΩΝ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙΝ ΠΕΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΑΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ, ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΑΠΟΚΕΚΟΦΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΦΙΒΟΛΟΝ ΤΙ ΖΩΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΟΡΩΝΑΙΣ, ΑΙ ΜΗΤΕ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑΙΣ ΜΗΤΕ ΚΟΡΑΞΙΝ ΕΝΑΡΒΗΜΟΘ-ΤΟ ΑΝ, ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΗΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΡΙΣΙΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΣ 1 ΨΥΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΝΩΜΗΣ ΕΞΕΤΑΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΤΑΡΝΕΩΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΧΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ. ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΟΛΜΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΙΘΕΝΑΙ Ο ΒΑΓΩΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ, ΩΣ ΠΟΛΥ ΕΠΙΤΗ- ΔΕΙΟΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΝΕΟΙΣ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΔΕΞΑΘΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑ ΠΑΘΕΙΝ ΑΝ ΩΣ ΔΙΑΦΘΕΙΡΩΝ ΤΑ ΜΕΙΡΑΚΙΑ. ΕΤΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΓΕΛΕΙΟΝ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΣΚΩΦΘΗ, ΧΑΡΕΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ, ΩΣ ΓΟΥΝ ΦΕΤΟ, ΠΡΟΣΕΡΡΥΨΕΝ. "ΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΠΟ ΠΩ- ΓΝΩΝΟΣ," ΕΦΗ, "ΒΑΘΕΟΣ ΚΡΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟ- ΦΟΥΝΤΑΣ, ΤΟΝ ΤΡΑΓΟΝ ΑΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΚΡΙΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ."

1 ἄλλα τῆς Harmon: ἄλλη ἀληθῶν MSS.
2 ο θεμιστοκλής NG² (marginal).
said that presence and a fine physical endowment should be among the attributes of a philosopher, and that above all else he should have a long beard that would inspire confidence in those who visited him and sought to become his pupils, one that would befit the ten thousand drachmas which he was to receive from the Emperor, whereas a eunuch was in worse case than a cut priest, for the latter had at least known manhood once, but the former had been marred from the very first and was an ambiguous sort of creature like a crow, which cannot be reckoned either with doves or with ravens. The other pleaded that this was not a physical examination; that there should be an investigation of soul and mind and knowledge of doctrines. Then Aristotle was cited as a witness to support his case, since he tremendously admired the eunuch Hermias, the tyrant of Atarneus, to the point of celebrating sacrifices to him in the same way as to the gods. Moreover, Bagoas ventured to add an observation to the effect that a eunuch was a far more suitable teacher for the young, since he could not incur any blame as regards them and would not incur that charge against Socrates of leading the youngsters astray. And as he had been ridiculed especially for his beardlessness, he despatched this shaft to good effect—he thought so, anyhow: "If it is by length of beard that philosophers are to be judged, a he-goat would with greater justice be given preference to all of them!"

At this juncture a third person who was present—his name may remain in obscurity—said: ¹ "As a matter of fact, gentlemen, if this fellow, so smooth

¹ The anonymous speaker may safely be considered the writer himself, as in the Peregrinus; cf. p. 8, n. 2.
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tο φώνημα γυναικείος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐνοῦχω ἐοικῶς εἰ ἀποδύσατο, πάνυ ἄνδρειος ὑμῖν φανεῖται· εἰ δὲ μὴ ψεύδονται οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες, καὶ μοιχὸς ἐάλω ποτὲ, ὡς ο ἄξων φησίν, ἄρθρα ἐν ἀρθροίς ἔχων. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐς τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἀναφυγὼν καὶ τοῦτο κρησφύγετον εὐρόμενος ἀφείθη, ἀπιστησάντων τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τῶν τότε δικαστῶν ἀπὸ γε τῆς φανερᾶς ὧσεως· νῦν δὲ καὶ παλινωδῆσαί μοι δοκεῖ τὸν προκειμένου μισθὸν ἑνεκα.

11 Τούτων δὴ λεγομένων παρὰ πάντων μὲν γέλως ἐγίγνετο, ως τὸ εἰκός. Βαγώς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐταράττετο καὶ παντοῖος ἦν, ἐς μυρία τρεπόμενος 1 χρώματα καὶ ψυχρῶ τῷ ἱδρώτι βεόμενος, καὶ οὔτε συγκατατίθεσθαι τῷ περὶ 2 τῆς μοιχείας ἐγκλήματι καλῶς ἔχειν ὥστε οὔτε ἄχρειον αὐτῷ τὴν κατηγορίαν ταύτην ἐς τὸν παρόντα ἀγῶνα ἥγειτο εἶναι.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ

Γελοία, ὁ Λυκίνε, ως Ἀλκὶδᾶς ταῦτα καὶ ἔοικεν οὗ τὴν τυχόσαν ὑμῖν διατριβὴν παρεσχῆσθαι. τὸ δ’ οὖν τέλος τί ἐγένετο καὶ πῶς ἐγνώσαν ύπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ δικασταί;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

12 Οὐχ ὁμοψηφοὶ πάντες ἦσαν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἥξιοιν ἀποδύσαντας αὐτὸν ὠσπερ τοὺς ἀργυρωνήτους ἐπισκοπεῖν εἰ δύναται 3 φιλοσοφεῖν τὰ γε πρὸς τῶν ὄρχεων· οί δὲ ἔτι γελοιοτέρον μεταστελλαμένους τινὰς τῶν ἐξ οὐκήματος γυναικῶν κελεύειν αὐτὸν συνεῖναι καὶ ὑπνεῖν, καὶ τινὰ τῶν δικαστῶν τὸν

1 τρεπόμενος N (Bekker): τραπόμενος GE.
2 peri not in ΩΝ.
3 δύναται Γ’Ν: δύνατο (EC) vulg.

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of jowl, effeminate in voice, and otherwise similar to a eunuch, should strip, you would find him very masculine. Unless those who talk about him are lying, he was once taken in adultery, *commissis membris*, as the table of the law says. At that time he secured his acquittal by resorting to the name of eunuch and finding sanctuary in it, since the judges on that occasion discredited the accusation from the very look of him. Now, however, he may recant, I suppose, for the sake of the pelf that is in view."

Upon those remarks everyone began to laugh, as was natural, while Bagoas fell into greater confusion and was beside himself, turning all colours of the rainbow and dripping with cold sweat. On the one hand, he did not think it seemly to plead guilty to the charge of adultery; yet, on the other, he thought that this accusation would not be without its usefulness for the case then in progress.

**PAMPHILUS**

This is truly laughable, Lycinus, and must have given you uncommon diversion. But what was the outcome, and how did the judges decide about them?

**LYCINUS**

They were not all of the same opinion. Some thought they ought to strip him, as is done with slaves, and determine by inspection whether he had the parts to practise philosophy. Others made the suggestion, even more ridiculous, that they should send for some women out of bawdy-houses and bid him consort with them and cohabit; and that one of the judges, the eldest and most trustworthy,
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πρεσβύτατον τε καὶ πιστότατον ἐφεστώτα ὃραν εἰ φιλοσοφεῖ. μετὰ δὲ ἔπει πάντας ὁ γέλως κατείχε καὶ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ τὴν γαστέρα ἦλγει βρασσόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐγνωσάν ἀναπόμπημον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκπέμψαι τὴν δίκην.

13 Καὶ νῦν ἄτερος μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπί- δειξιν, ὡς φασί, γυμνάζεται καὶ παρασκευάζεται καὶ κατηγορίαν συγκροτεῖ καὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς μοιχείας ἐγκλήμα ὑποκινεῖ, ἐναντιώτατον αὐτῷ καὶ οὗτος κατὰ τοὺς φαύλους τῶν ῥήτόρων τούτῳ ποιῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας τὸν ἀντίδικον ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καταλέγων. τῷ Βαγώα δὲ ἔτερα, ὡς φασί, μέλει καὶ ἀνδριάζεται τὰ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχει τὸ πράγμα καὶ τέλος κρατήσειν ἐλπίζει ἡν ἐπίδειξι ὡς οὐδὲν χείρων ἐστὶν τῶν τὰς ἱπποὺς ἀναβαίνοντων ὄνων. αὕτη γὰρ, ὧν ἔταιρε, φιλοσοφίας ἁρίστη κρίσις ἔστειλε εἶναι καὶ ἀπώδειξις ἀναντιλεκτος. ὥστε καὶ τὸν νῦν—ἔτι δὲ μοι κομιδὴ νέος ἐστὶν—εὐξαίμην ἃν οὐ τὴν γνώμην οὐδὲ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐτοιμὸν ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ἔχειν.
THE EUNUCH

should stand by and see whether he could practise philosophy! Then, as all were overcome by laughter and every man of them had a sore belly from shaking with it, they decided to refer the case to the highest court and send it to Italy.

Now, one of the pair is training, they say, for a demonstration of his eloquence, making his preparations, and composing an accusation. Moreover, he is delicately putting forward the charge of adultery again, thereby acting in direct contradiction to himself, like a bad lawyer, and enrolling his opponent among fully enfranchised males through his accusation. As to Bagoas, he, they say, has different concerns, assiduously demonstrating his powers, keeping his case in hand, and, in sum, hoping to win if he can show that he is not a bit inferior to a jack at service. This, my friend, is apparently the best criterion of devotion to wisdom, and an irrefutable demonstration. Consequently, I may well pray that my son (who is still quite young) may be suitably endowed for the practise of philosophy with other tools than brain or tongue.
ASTROLOGY

A mock eulogy of judicial astrology, put into the mouth of some ancient worthy who used the Ionic dialect, almost certainly Democritus, the peer of Herodotus in Ionic prose style and the author, according to Cicero (de Divin., I, 42), of a treatise on extispicy. The thing is so clever that it has duped almost everyone, including myself (I, ix), into taking it in earnest and proclaiming it spurious. Its Lucianic origin, however, is apparent if one looks closely enough. Orpheus, elsewhere in Lucian given a leading part in the introduction of philosophy (p. 65) and of dancing (p. 229) into Greece, is here the promulgator of astrology—but not "unto elucidation." Odysseus in the lower world is so eager to hear what Tiresias may have to say that he "endures to see his mother's shadow athirst," no doubt like to die of it, even as Tantalus (Funerals, 8 : IV, 116). The novel assumption that different peoples of Egypt worship different signs of the Zodiac serves to explain not only the animal shapes of their gods—a topic to which Lucian mischievously keeps recurring (cf. pp. 431 f., and III, 168), but the taboo upon fish to which, with Herodotean reticence as to its reason, he alludes in the Godesse of Surrye, 14 (IV, 356). The same fondness for rationalizing myths with a twinkle in his eye, which elsewhere turns not only Proteus but Empusa into pantomimic dancers (pp. 231 f.), here asserts itself with complete abandon, in an astrological sense, even to the point of including Pasiphae among the adepts. And when sheer love of story-telling seduces him into repeating a favourite tale, that of Phaethon, his style betrays him utterly (cf. Amber, and Dialogues of the Gods, 25).

It is only mock eulogy, but still, in spite of the fun in it, not quite meant as satire or parody. It is primarily a sophistical literary exercise of the same nature as the first and second Phalaris, in which the fun is incidental—a Lucianic "parergy." To get something of the effect, the translation is intended to carry a suggestion of Sir Thomas Browne as he appears in the Vulgar Errors.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΙΗΣ 1

1  Ἀμφὶ τε οὐρανοῦ ἀμφὶ τε ἀστέρων ἡ γραφὴ, οὐκ αὐτῶν ἀστέρων οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ πέρι οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλὰ μαντείας καὶ ἀληθείας, ἢ δὴ ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἔρχεται. δὲ δὲ μοι λόγος οὐκ ὑποθημοσύνην ἔχει οὔτε διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγγελλεί, ὡς ταύτην τὴν μαντεσοῦν διενεκέτοι, ἀλλὰ μέμφομαι ὑκόσοι σοφοὶ ἔστησα τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ἔπασκέουσι καὶ παῖσι 2 τοῖς ἑωτῶν ἀπηγέονται, μεύνην δὲ ἀστρολογίην οὔτε τιμέουσιν οὔτε ἐπασκέουσιν. καὶ ἡ μὲν σοφία παλαιὴ οὐδὲ νέον ἐστὶν ἀπίκετο, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐργοὶ ἄρχαίων βασιλέων θεοφιλέων. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀμαθὴ καὶ ἰαθύμη καὶ προσετέ μισοπονία κεῖνουί τε ἀντί. ἔστοι φρονέουσι καὶ εὐθ' οὖν ἀνδράσιν ἐπικυρέωσιν ψευδεα μαντευμένοις, ἀστρών τε καθηγορέουσιν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀστρολογίαν μισέουσιν, οὔτε μὲν οὔτε ὑγία οὔτε ἀληθέα νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ λόγον ψευδέα καὶ ἀνεμώλον, οὐ δικαίως, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, 4 φρονέοντες οὔτε γὰρ τέκτονος ἁδρήν τεκτοσύνης αὐτῆς ἀδικία, οὔτε αὐλητέω ἀμοιβή μουσικῆς ἀσοφία, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἁμαθὲς τῶν τεχνῶν, ἐκάστη 5 ἐν ἑωτῇ σοφί.  

1 ἀστρολογίας MSS.  
2 παισὶ du Soul: πᾶσα MSS.
This treatise concerneth heaven and the stars, yet not the stars themselves nor heaven itself, but the auspiciall verity that from them assuredly entereth into the life of man. My discourse containeth not counsell, nor proffereth instruction how to ply this auspiciall art, but my aim is to chide those learned men who cultivate and expose unto their disciples all other studies, but neither esteem nor cultivate astrology. Although the science is ancient, not come to us newly, but the creation of divinely favoured kings of antiquity, yet men of these daies, through ignorance, supinity, and dislike of labour, hold opinions repugnant unto theirs, and when they encounter men that make false prognostickes, they impeach the stars and contemne astrology itself, which they consider neither sound nor veridicall but a vain and idle fiction; wherein, as I think, they judge unjustly. For a wright's unskillfullness argueth not the wright's art in error, nor a piper's untunefullness the art of musick devoid of sense. Rather are they ignorant of their arts, and each of these in itself rationall.¹

¹ For the argument, cf. The Dance, 80.

² μαντευομένωις ΕΩΝ: -όμενοι ΓΖ.
³ δοκέειν ΕΝ.
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3 Πρῶτον μὲν ὁν Ἀἰθιόπες τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἀνθρώπου κατεστήσαντο. αὐτή δὲ αὐτέοις τὰ μὲν ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἑθνεος—καὶ γὰρ τάλα τῶν ἄλλων σοφῶτεροι Αἰθιόπες—τὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκήσου ἡ εὐμοιρίη. αἱ ἢ γὰρ σφέας εὐδή καὶ γαληναὶ περικέαται, οὐδὲ τῶν τοῦ ἔτεος προπέων ἀνέχονται, ἀλλ’ ἐν μιᾷ ὡρῇ οἰκέουσιν. ἵδοντες δὲ πρῶτα τὴν σεληναίην οὐκ ἐς πάμπαν ὦμοίην φαινομένην, ἀλλὰ πολυειδεά τε γιγνομένην καὶ ἐν ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ μορφῇ τρεπομένην, ἔδοκεν αὐτέοις τὸ χρῆμα θωύματος καὶ ἀπορίας ἄξιον. ἐνθὲν δὲ ἐξήτεοντες εὗρον τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν, ὅτι οὐκ ἴδιον τῇ σεληναίη τὸ φέγγος, ἀλλὰ οἱ παρ᾽ ἡλίου ἐρχεται. εὗρον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τὴν φορήν, τοὺς δὴ πλάνητας ἡμεῖς καλόμενην—μοῦνοι γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων κινεοῦται—φύσιν τε αὐτῶν καὶ δυναστείην καὶ έργα τὰ ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτελέουσιν. ἐν δὲ καὶ οὐνόματα αὐτέοις ἐπέθεσαν, οὐκ οὐνόματα, ὅκως ἔδόκεον, ἀλλὰ σημῆνα.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁν Ἀἰθιόπες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐπέβλεψαν, μετὰ δὲ γείτονων οὐσίων Αἰγυπτίωσιν ἀτελέα τὸν λόγον παρέδοσαν, Αἰγυπτίοι δὲ παρὰ σφέων ἐκδεξάμενοι ἤμεργεα τὴν μαντικὴν ἐπὶ μέζον ἣγειραν, μέτρα τε τῆς ἐκάστου κινήσου ἐσημήναντο καὶ ἐτέων ἁριθμὸν καὶ μηνῶν καὶ ὦρεων διετάξαντο. καὶ μηνῶν μὲν σφίσι μέτρον ἡ

1 σὺν MSS.

1 In Lucian’s day current theory ascribed the origin of astronomy to the Egyptians. We must applaud his insight in favouring the Ethiopians, since Diodorus (III, 2, 1; doubtless on good authority) records that they were the first men,
It was the Aethiopians that first delivered this doctrine unto men. The ground thereof was in part the wisdom of that nation, the Aethiopians being in all else wiser than all men; but in part also the benignity of their clime, since clear skyes and calm weather ever invest them, and they are not subjected to the vicissitudes of the yeere, but live in onely one season. Therefore when they discerned, first of all, that the moon hath not perpetually the same appearance, but carrieth a various aspect and changeth into divers figures, they accounted the thing good reason for wonder and empuzzlement. In consequence they sought and found the cause thereof, that the lustre of the moon is not her own but cometh to her from the sun. And they determined also the course of the other stars, which we call planets or wanderers because they alone of all the stars do move; also their nature and potency, and the works that are brought to pass by each of them. Also, they ascribed names unto them, that yet were not names, as they seemed, but symboles.

All which the Aethiopians observed in the skye, and afterwards they transmitted their doctrine incompleat to the Aegyptians their neighbours. And the Aegyptians, deriving from them the auspiciall art but half consummated, advanced it; and they indicated the measure of each planet's motion, and determined the numericall extension of yeares and moneths and hours. The moneths they measured by that they first taught people to worship the gods, that the Egyptians were their colonists, and that most of the Egyptian institutions were Ethiopian. And if, as we read in the Platonic Epinomis and in Macrobius (Comm. in Cic. Somn. Scip., I, 21, 9), the climate of Egypt is conducive to the study of the heavens, that of Ethiopia, naturally, would be far more so.
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σεληναίη καὶ ἡ ταύτης ἀναστροφή ἐγένετο, ἔτεος 6 δὲ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἥλιου περιφορος. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐμῆσαντο πολλὰς μέζων ποτέων· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τού παντὸς ἥρος καὶ ἀστέρων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλανέων τε καὶ εὐσταθέων 1 καὶ οὐδαμὰ κινεομένων δυόδεκα μοίρας ἐτάμοντο τοῖς 2 κινεομένουσι, καὶ οἰκία . . 3 ζῶα ἐόντα ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐσ ἄλλην μορφὴν μεμμεῖται, τὰ μὲν ἐνάλια, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τὰ δὲ θηρῶν, τὰ δὲ πτηνῶν, τὰ δὲ κτηνῶν.

7 Ἀπὸ τέω δὴ καὶ ἑρὰ τὰ Ἀιγύπτια πολυεδέα ποιέται· οὐ γὰρ πάντες Ἀιγύπτιοι ἐκ τῶν δυὸ—
δεκα μοιρῶν πασέων ἐμαυτένυντο, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλοις καὶ μοίρησαν ἐχρέοντο, καὶ κρίνον μὲν σέβουσιν ὁκόσοι ἐσ κρίνον ἀπέβλεπον, ἰχθύας δὲ οὐ σιτέονται ὁκόσοι ἰχθύας ἐπεσημήναντο, οὔδε τράγον κτείνοντο ὅσοι αἰγόκερων ἤδεσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ ἄλλα ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἱλάσκονται. οὐ μὴν καὶ ταῦρον ἐσ τιμὴν τοῦ ἡρίου ταῦρον σεβίζονται, 
καὶ δ Ἀπίς αὐτοῖς χρήμα ἱερότατον τὴν χώρην ἐπινέμεται καὶ οἱ ἐκεὶ μαντήριον γε 4 ἀνατιθέασιν ἱμηήν τῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ ταῦρον μαντικῆς.

8 Οὐ μετά πολλὸν δὲ καὶ Λίβυες ἐπέβησαν τοῦ ἱάοις: καὶ γὰρ τὸ Λιβύων μαντήριον τὸ ᾿Αμμωνος, καὶ τούτο ἐσ τὸν ἥρα καὶ ἐσ τὴν τοῦτον σοφίην

1 εὐσταθέων: Florentine ed. (1496): εὐπαθεῶν MSS.
2 εν τοῖς MSS.: εν excised by Jacobitz.
3 Laecuna in Γ (9 letters) Ε (12-14). Probably οἰκία = οἶκον; i.e., planetary houses, cf. οἰκοδεσποτέουσι, § 20. Read καὶ οἰκία οὐνόμασαν, τὸ δ᾽ εἶδος ζῶα ἐόντα.
4 γε Ν: τὸ ΓΕΩΖ.
the moon and her cycle, the year by the sun and his revolution. And they devised other inventions much greater than these. For they divided the entire skye and the other stars that are inerrant and fixed, and do never move, into twelve segments for such as move: which they styled "houses," although they resemble living creatures, each patterned after the figure of a different kind, whereof some are sea-monsters, some humans, some wild beasts, some volatiles, some juments.

For this reason, indeed, the Aegyptian deities are portrayed in various aspects. For it is not to be supposed that all Aegyptians were wont to draw prognosticks from all the twelve signs; but some had one sign in use, others another. The ram is reverenced by those who looked up unto Aries, fish is not eaten by those who attached signality unto Pisces, the goat is not slain by those who had knowledge of Capricorn, and the other creatures are severally venerated by other folk. Assuredly the bull too is adored in honour of the celestial Taurus, and Apis, esteemed by them an object of the utmost sanctity, depastureth their land, and they that inhabit it vouchsafe him an oracle in token of the auspiciality of Taurus.

Not long after, the Libyans also espoused the science; for the Libyan oracle of Ammon was founded in regard of the heavens and his knowledge thercof;

1 In accrediting the invention of the signs of the Zodiac to the Egyptians, our author is at one with his contemporaries (cf. Macrobius, loc. cit.), but in deriving from these signs the animal forms of the Egyptian gods, and in connecting the fish-taboo in that country with the constellation Pisces he presents the results of original research.
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In the Goddesse of Suryne (2) Lucian is similarly minded as to Babylonian claims of priority in religion; and in the Runaways Philosophy goes successively to India, Ethiopia, Egypt, Babylon, and Greece.

It seems better established that Atlas was the first astronomer; cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disp., V, 3, 8, and Vergil, Aen., I, 740. He taught the doctrine of the sphere to Heracles, and the fact that Heracles introduced it into Greece underlies
whence they represent Ammon with a ram's head. And the Babylonians came to know all these things, even before the others, as they themselves say; but I think that the science reached them long afterward.¹

As for the Greeks, they learned not a whit of astrology either from the Aethiopians or from the Aegyptians. It was Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus and Calliope, that first declared these matters unto them, but not at all plainly, nor did he bring the science forth unto illucidation but unto ingannation and pious fraude, such being the humour of the man.² For he made a harp and exposed his mystick rites in poesy and his theology in song; and the harp, that had seven chords, discoursed the harmony of the errant spheres. It was by investigating and ventilating these matters that he enchanted and enthralled all creatures; for he regarded not that harp of his nor yet concerned himselfe with other musick, but this was the mightie harp of Orpheus,³ and to honour these things, the Greeks set apart a station in the heavens and numerous stars are denominated Orpheus his harp.

If ever you see Orpheus pictured in mosaick stones or in pigment, he sitteth in the centre, in the simili-

the story of the golden apples of the Hesperides—so, at all events, says Diodorus. Orpheus, however, was no doubt a very active person in many ways; e.g. in connection with philosophy (Runaways, 8) and very likely dancing (Dance, 15), and the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (pp. 241, 271, 274 Jan.), Lucian's contemporary, agrees with him that the lyre of Orpheus had seven strings to match the number of the planets and played the harmony of the spheres.

³ The thought is that the planets form the only musical instrument and render the only music in which Orpheus, as primarily an astronomer, had any real interest.
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χερσον ἐχων τὴν λύρην, ἀμφὶ δὲ μν ᾱδα μυρία ἑστηκεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ταῦρος καὶ ἀνθρωπός καὶ λέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκαστον. εὖτ' ἀν ἐκεῖνα τὰ θης, μέμνησό μοι τούτεων, κοίη ἐκείνου ἀοιδῆ, κοίη δὲ καὶ ἡ λύρη, κοίος δὲ καὶ ταῦρος ἡ ὁκοίος λέων Ὁρφεός ἐπαίοιον. ἄν δὲ τὰ λέγω αὕτη γνώις, οὐ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ δέρκει ἑκαστὸν τούτεων.

11 Δέγουσι δὲ Τειρεσίην ἀνδρὰ Βοιώτιον, τοῦ δὴ κλέος μαντοσίνης πέρι πολλὸν ἀείρεται, τούτου τὸν Τειρεσίην ἐν Ἑλλησον εἰπείν ὅτι τῶν πλανεομένων ἀστέρων οἱ μὲν θῆλες οἱ δὲ ἄρρενες ἔντετε οὐκ ἦνα ἐκτελέοισιν. τῷ καὶ μὴν διφνέα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀμφίβιον Τειρεσίην μυθολογεόουσιν, ἄλλοτε μὲν θῆλυν ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄρρενα.

12 Ἀτρέως δὲ καὶ Θεόστεω περὶ τῇ πατρώῃ βασιλείᾳ φιλονεικεόντων ἢδη τοῖς Ἑλλησον ἀναφαίδον ἀστρολογίας τε καὶ σοφίας τῆς οὐρανίας μάλιστ' ἔμελεν, καὶ τὸ ξυνὸν τῶν Ἁργείων ἄρχειν ἐγνωσαν ἐωυτῶν ὅστις τοῦ ἐτέρου σοφίην προφερεστερος. ἐνθα δὴ Θεόστῃς μὲν τὸν κρῶν σφέων τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σημενάμενος ἐπεδειξεν, ἀπὸ τέω δὴ ἄρνα χρύσεων Θεόστῃ γενέσθαι μυθολογεόουσιν. Ἀτρέως δὲ τοῦ ἰέλιον περὶ καὶ τῶν ἀντολέων αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐπονήσατο, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς ὀμοίην φορὴν ἰέλιος τε καὶ ὁ κόσμος κινέοτα, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀντίξοον ἄλληλοις ἀντιδρομέουσιν, καὶ

1 ἄλλοις omitted in all MSS. except C.
2 Ἀτρέως MSS.

1 Here again we have “independent thought.” A widely variant explanation of the myth had previously been offered by Cephalio (cf. J. Malalas, Chron., p. 40, 1, in the Bonn edition), according to which Tiresias was a student of 356
tude of one that sings, holding in his hands the harp, and about him stand numberless creatures, among which a bull, a man, a lion, and others after their kind. When you see these, bethink you, pray, what his song was, what his harp, and what the bull or the lion that giveth ear to him. And if you would know the originalls that I speak of, you may behold each of them in the heavens.

They say, moreover, that Tiresias, a Boeotian man, whose fame as touching prophecie is greatly cried up, declared unto the Greeks that of the errant stars some are masle, some female, and that they do not engender like effects; wherefore they fable that Tiresias himself was bisexous and amphibious, now masle, now female.¹

When Atreus and Thyestes contended for the throne of their fathers, even then, it is plain, the Greeks set great store by astrologie and celestial lore; and the commonwealth of Argos determined that which ever of them was more excellent than the other in this lore should bear rule. Thereupon Thyestes indicated and made manifest unto them the Ram in the heavens, in consequence whereof they fable that Thyestes had a golden lamb. But Atreus declared the doctrine of the sun and its risings, that the sun and the First Movable ² do not course in the same direction, but rowle contrariwise to one another

medicine who concerned himself with the mysteries of parturition.

¹ The firmament, or orb, of the fixed stars. This was thought of as revolving from East to West. The sun participated, to be sure, in its motion, but had a contrary motion of his own, which was compared to that of an ant walking on the rim of a moving wheel in the direction contrary to the wheel’s motion.
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13 'Εγώ δὲ καὶ περὶ Βελλεροφόντεω τοιάδε φρονέω: πτηνὸν μὲν οἱ γενέσθαι ὡς ἰππον οὐ μάλα πεῖθομαι, δοκέω δὲ μων ταύτην τὴν σοφίαν μετέποντα ὑψηλά τε φρονεόντα καὶ ἀστροσοφικάς ὑπερείστηκα αὐτῷ τῷ ἐγένετο.

14 Ἡσα δὲ μοι καὶ ἐς Φρίξον τὸν Ἀθάμαντος εἰρήσθω, τὸν δὴ κριῶ χρυσέω δι’ αἰθέρας ἐλάσαι μυθέονται. ναὶ μέντοι καὶ Δαίδαλον τὸν Ἀθηναίον ἔτι ἡ ἱστορίη, δοκέω γε μὴν οὐκ ἐξω ἀστρολογίης, ἀλλὰ οἱ αὐτῶς μᾶλλον ἔχρησατο καὶ παίδι τῷ ἐωστοῦ κατηγήσατο. ἤκαρος δέ, νεότητι καὶ ἀτασθαλῆ χρεόμενος καὶ οὐκ ἐπεικτὰ διζήμενος ἀλλὰ ἐς πόλον ἀρβηθεὶς τῷ νῷ, ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ παντὸς ἀπεσφάλη τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐς πέλαγος κατηγέχθη ἀβύσσων πρηγμάτων, τὸν Ἐλληνας ἀλλος μυθολογέωσιν καὶ κόλπον ἔτι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ διδῇ τῇ θαλάσσῃ Ἰκάριον εἰκὴ καλέουσιν.

16 Τάχα δὲ καὶ Πασιφάς, παρὰ Δαίδαλον ἄκούσασα ταῦτα τε πέρι τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀστροσοφικῶς φαινομένου καὶ αὐτῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἐς ἑρωτα τοῦ λόγου ἀπίκειτο,

1 ὡς not in N.
2 μεθέποντα MSS.
3 μὴν G. Hermann: μὴ MSS. δὲ μὐ?  
4 πόλον edd.: πολλὸν MSS.

1 Previous authors left this topic to Lucian “incomplete.” That Atreus owed his kingship to his discovery of the retrograde motion of the sun was known not only to Polybius (XXXIV, 358
and that which now seemeth his setting, being a setting of the First Movable, is a rising of the sun. At his saying this, the men of Argos made him their king, and great renown for learning became his.¹

Concerning Bellerophon also I am of this opinion: that he had a volatile as horse I do not at all believe, but conceive that he pursued this wisdom and raised his thoughts on high and held conversation with the stars, and thus ascended unto heaven by means not of his horse but of his wit.

The same may be said of Phrixus, the son of Athamas, that is fabled to have ridden through the ayr upon a golden ram. And certainly of Daedalus the Athenian; although his story be strange, yet methinks it is not without relation unto astrology, but rather he practised it constantly himself and taught it unto his son. But because Icarus was governed by youth and audacity, and sought not the attainable but let his minde carry him into the zenith, he came short of truth and defected from reason and was precipitated into a sea of unfathomable perplexities. But the Greeks tell an idle myth of him and loosely call a golfe of their sea Icarian after his name.

Doubtless Pasiphae also, hearing from Daedalus of the Bull that appeareth amongst the constellations and of Astrology itself, fell in love with the doctrine; beginning) but even to Sophocles and Euripides, according to a commentator on Aratus (Achillens: Maass, Comm. in Arat., p. 28). It remained for Lucian to point out that Thyestes was an astronomer also, the discoverer of the constellation Aries, and to add a touch of paradox to the other doctrine with his suggestion that inasmuch as the sun’s proper motion is from West to East, he is really going upward, and therefore rising, when he sets, and downward, or setting, when he rises.
17 Εἰσιν δὲ οἳ καὶ κατὰ μέρεα τὴν ἐπιστήμην διελόντες ἐκαστοι αὐτῶν ἄλλα ἐπενοησαντο, οἳ μὲν τὰ ἔσ τὴν σεληναίην, οἳ δὲ τὰ ἔσ Δία, οἳ δὲ τὰ ἔσ ἥλιον συναγείραντες, δρόμου τε αὐτῶν πέρι.

18 καὶ 1 κινήσιος καὶ δυνάμιος. καὶ Ἡνδυμίων μὲν
19 τὰ ἔσ τὴν σεληναίην συνετάξατο, 2 Φαέθων δὲ τοῦ ἥλιου δρόμον ἐτεκμήρατο, οὐ μὲν γε ἀτρεκέως, ἀλλ’ ἀτελέα τὸν λόγον ἀπολυτῶν ἀπέθανεν. οἳ δὲ τάδε ἀγνοεόντες Ἡλίου παίδα Φαέθοντα δοκέουσιν καὶ μύθον ἐπ’ αὐτέως οὐδαμὰ πιστὸν διηγέονται.

ἐλθόντα γὰρ μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἡλίου τὸν πατέρα αἰτεῖν τὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἄρμα ἥνιοχεῖν, τὸν δὲ δούναι τε οἳ καὶ ὑποθέσαθαι τῆς ἐπιπαίης τὸν νόμον.

ὁ δὲ Φαέθων ἐπειδὴ ἀνέβη τὸ ἄρμα, ἥλικη καὶ ἀπειρὴ ἄλλοτε μὲν πρόσγειος ἥνιοχεῖ, ἄλλοτε δὲ πολλὸν τῆς γῆς ἀπαιωροῦμενός τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώποις κρύος τε καὶ θάλπος οὐκ ἀνασχέτων διέφθειρεν. ἐπὶ τοῦ δὴ τὸν Δία ἀγανακτέοντα βαλείν πρηστήρι Φαέθοντα μεγάλῳ. πεσόντα δὲ μὲν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ περιστάσαι πένθος μέγα ἐποίεον, ἐστε μετέβαλον τὰ εἰδέα, καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν αὐγειροὶ καὶ τὸ ἥλεκτρον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δάκρυν σταλάονσιν. οὐχ οὖτω ταῦτα ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ὅσιον αὐτῶι πειθεσθαι, οὐδὲ Ἡλίου παίδα ἐποιήσατο, οὐδὲ ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ ἀπέθανεν.

1 καὶ Soager: not in MSS.
2 διετάξατο Ζ(ΩC).
whence they derive the belief that Daedalus con-joined her in wedlock with the bull.\textsuperscript{1}

Again, there be those who, dissecting the science into parts, have made different discoveries, some collecting the particulars of the moon, some those of Jupiter, and some those of the sun, concerning their course and motion and potency. So Endymion established the motions of the moon,\textsuperscript{2} so Phaeton inferred the course of the sun; yet not strictly, but left the theory incompleat at his death. Ignorant of this, men believe that Phaeton was Helius his son, and they relate a story of him that is not at all credible. Going, say they, unto Helius, his father, he asked to drive the car of light; whiche he suffered him to do, and also instructed him in the manner of its governance. But when Phaeton mounted the car, because of youth and inexpertness he drove now close to earth, now at a vast remove; and men were being destroyed both by cold and by heat that passed endurance. Thereupon, Jupiter in wrath smote Phaeton with a great bolt of lightning. After his fall his sisters surrounding him made great dole until they transmuted themselves, and now they are trees of black poplar and distil amber over him in place of tears. These things were not so, and it consisteth not with piety to believe in them; Helius begat no son, and no son of his perished.

\textsuperscript{1} The reader will not fail to note how neatly this explanation of the Pasiphae myth puts a colophon upon Lucian’s masterly treatment of the flight-legends, which is entirely his own.

\textsuperscript{2} We are indebted to Germanicus, in his commentary on Aratus, for the information that Mnaseas of Sicyon credited Endymion with the discovery of the course of the moon. Having found the key to the flight-legends, it was easy for Lucian to supply a pendant to Endymion in Phaethon.
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20 Δέγουσιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Ἡλλήνες πολλὰ μυθώδεα, τοίσι ἐγὼ οὐ μᾶλα τι πείθομαι. κἂς γὰρ δὴ ὅσιον πιστεῦσαι παῖδα Αἰνείην τῆς Ἀφροδίτης γενέσθαι καὶ Διὸς Μίνω καὶ Ἀρεός Ἀσκάλαφον καὶ Ἀυτόλυκον Ἑρμέω; ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω έκαστος αὐτέων θεοφιλὲς ἐγένοντο καὶ σφίσι γεινομένους ¹ τῷ μὲν Ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, τῷ δὲ ὁ Ζεύς, τῷ δὲ ὁ Ἀρης ἐπέβλεψαν. οὐκόσι γὰρ δὴ ἀνθρώπου εὖ ἐν τῇ γενεῇ ταύτῃ ² οἴκοδεσποτέουσιν, οὕτω οὐκ ἔσχες, τοῖς ἕως τοις ἕως τοῖς ἕως οἱ Χρόνις καὶ μορφήν καὶ ἔργα καὶ διανοίγην, καὶ βασιλεύς μὲν ὁ Μίνως Διὸς ἡγεομένου, καλὸς ⁴ δὲ Αἰνείης Ἡ Ἀφροδίτης βουλήσει ἐγένετο, κλέπτης δὲ Ἀυτόλυκος, ἢ δὲ οἱ κλεπτικῇ εἰς Ἡ Ἑρμέω ἀπίκετο.

21 Οὐ μὲν ὃν οὖδὲ τὸν Κρόνου Ζεὺς ἔδησεν οὖδε ἐς Τάρταρον ἔρριψεν οὖδὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἐμῆσατο οὐκόσα ἀνθρωποί νομίζουσιν, ἄλλα φέρεται γὰρ ὁ Κρόνος τὴν ἐξω φορήν πολλῶν ἀπ᾽ ἡμέων καὶ οἱ νωθρη τῇ κίνησι καὶ οὐ ρηιδῆ τοῖς ἀνθρώπουσιν ὀρέεσθαι. διὸ δὴ μὲν ἐστάναι λέγουσιν ὅκως πεπεθημένουν. τὸ δὲ βάθος τὸ πολλὸν τοῦ ἱέρος Τάρταρος καλέεται.

22 Μάλιστα δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ομήρου τοῦ ποιητῶς καὶ τῶν Ἡσιόδου ἐπέειν μάθοι ἀν τις τὰ πάλαι τοῖς ἀστρολογέουσιν ὀμοφωνέοντα. εὐτ᾽ ἀν δὲ τὴν σειρὴν τοῦ Διὸς ἀπηγέηται καὶ δοὺ Ἡλίου τὰς

² ταύτῃ omitted in N.
³ ικέλους K. G. P. Schwartz: ικέλα MSS.
⁴ καλὸς E²N: ἀλλος ΓΕ¹ΩΣ.
⁵ δ' Fritzsche: not in MSS.

¹ Homer, in the Iliad, VIII, 18–26: Zeus, boasting of his strength, says that if a golden chain should be let down from
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But the Greeks relate many other fabulosities—which I do not credit at all. For how doth it consist with piety to believe that Aeneas was the son of Venus, Minos of Jupiter, Ascalaphus of Mars, or Autolycus of Mercury? Nay, these were each and all divinely favoured, and at their birth one of them was under the regard of Venus, another of Jupiter, another of Mars. For what powers soever are in their proper houses at the moment of birth into this life, those powers like unto parents make men answerable to them in all respects, in complexion, in figure, in workes, and in humour. So Minos became a king because Jupiter was in his ascendancy, Aeneas fair by the will of Venus, and Autolycus a thief, whose theevery came to him from Mercury.

Moreover, it is not true, neither, that Jupiter put Saturn in chains or threw him into Tartarus or otherwise mistreated him as men credit. Nay, Saturn moveth in the extream orbe, far away from us, and his motion is sluggish and not easy to be apprehended ocularly by human kind, whence they say that he holdeth still as if fettered; and the vast abyss of the ayr is called Tartarus.

'Tis chiefly from the verses of Homer the poet and of Hesiod that we may learn that antiquity holdeth with the astrologers. When he describeth the chain of Jupiter and the kine of the Sun, which I con-

heaven and all the other gods and goddesses should lay hold of it, they could not pull him down, but he could pull them up, along with the earth and the sea, fasten the chain about the peak of Olympus, and leave everything hanging. Socrates in the Theaetetus, 153 A, says that by the golden chain Homer means nothing else than the sun; others, according to Eustathius (695, 9), took him to mean the orbits of the planets.
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βόας, τὰ δὴ ἐγὼ ἦματα εἶναι συμβάλλομαι, καὶ τὰς πόλιας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδῃ Ἡφαιστος ἐποίησατο καὶ τὸν χορὸν καὶ τὴν ἀλωὴν . . . τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὁκόσα ἦσ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρεος τὴν μοιχείην λέλεκται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐμφανέα ὦκ ἀλλοθεν ἦ ἐκ τῆς τῆς σοφίας πεποιημένα· ἢ γὰρ δὴ ὃν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἀρεος ὁμοδρομῆ τὴν Ὀμηροῦ ἁοιδήν ἀπεργάζεται. ἐν ἀλλοις δὲ ἐπει τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστου αὐτῶν διωρίσατο, τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ μὲν εἴπών,

ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' ἐμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμῳ τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου,

ταῦτα δ' Ἀρηθ θοῦ καὶ Ἀθῆνη πάντα μελῆσει.

23 Ὅπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἱδόντες μάλιστα μαντηθήσαν ἔχρεοντο καὶ οὐ πάρεργον αὐτὴν ἐποιέοντο, ἄλλ' οὔτε πόλιας ὁκιζον οὔτε τείχεα περιεβάλλοντο οὔτε φόνους ἐργάζοντο οὔτε γυναικας ἐγάμεον, πρὶν ἂν δὴ παρὰ μάντεων ἀκοῦσα ἐκαστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ μαντήματα αὐτέοισι οὐκ ἑξώ ἀστρολογίας ἦν, ἄλλα παρὰ μὲν Δελφοῖς παρθένος ἔχει τὴν προφητείαν σύμβολον τῆς παρθένου τῆς σύμφωνη, καὶ δράκων ὑπὸ τῶν τρίτοδι. φθέγγεται ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοίσιν ἀστροὺς δράκων φαίνεται, καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις δὲ μαντήμα τοῦ Ἄπολλωνος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἥριδων Διδύμων ὀνομάζεται.

1 βόας Barnes: bolās MSS.
2 Lacuna Harmon: not indicated in MSS.

1 Odyssey, XI, 104 ff.; XII, 260 ff.
2 Iliad, XVIII, 490 (the cities); 561 (the vineyard); 590 (the chorus). Following these words there appears to be a break in the text which very probably has deprived us of 364
ceive to be daies, and the cities that Vulcan made upon the shield, and the choir, and the vineyard. All that he hath said of Venus and of Mars his passion, is also manifestly composed from no other source than this science. Indeed, it is the conjunction of Venus and Mars that createth the poetry of Homer. And in other verses he distinguished the duties of each, saying unto Venus,

"Nay, be it thine to control the delightsome duties of wedlock,"

and anent those of warfare,

"These shall all be the care of impetuous Mars and Minerva."

Discerning all these things, the ancients had divination in very great use and counted it no parery, but would found no cities, invest themselves with no ramparts, slay no men, wed no women, untill they had been advised in all particulars by diviners. And certainly their oracles were not aloof from astrology, but at Delphi a virgin hath the office of prophet in token of the celestial Virgin, and a serpent giveth voice beneath the tripod because a Serpent giveth light among the stars, and at Didymi also the oracle of Apollo hath its name, methinks, from the heavenly Twins.

Lucian's allegorical explanation. It is easy to see that the chorus would be the planetary song and dance (cf. _Dance_, § 7), but the astronomical significance of the cities and the vineyard is just a bit obscure.

3 _Iliad_, V, 429, 430.

4 Modern philology soberly rejects the happy thought that Didyma (Didymi) owes its name to the constellation Didymi (Gemini), and explains that the name is Carian, like Idyma, Sidyma, Loryma, etc. (Bürchner, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.).
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24 Οὐτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι χρήμα ἱρώτατον ἢ μαντοσύνη ἐδόκεεν, ὡστε δὴ Ὅδυσσεϊς ἐπειδὴ ἐκαμεν πλανεόμενος, ἐθελήσας ἀτρεκεῖς ἀκούσαι περὶ τῶν ἐωτοῦ πρηγμάτων, ἐς τὸν Ἀέθιν ἄπικετο, οὐκ ὁφρα ἴδη νέκυασ καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον ἀλλ᾽ ἐς λόγους ἔλθειν Τειρεσίη ἐπιθυμέων. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἦλθεν ἐνθα οἱ Κύρκη ἔσήμηνεν καὶ ἔσκαψεν τὸν βόθρον καὶ τὰ μῆλα ἔσφαξεν, πολλῶν νεκρῶν παρεόντων, ἐν τοίσι καὶ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐωτοῦ, τοῦ αἴματος πιεῖν ἐθελόντων οὐ πρότερον ἐπήκεν 1 οὐδενί, οὐδὲ αὐτῇ μητρί, πρὶν Τειρεσίην γεύσασθαι καὶ ἐξαναγκάσαι εἰπεῖν οἱ τὸ μαντήμου· καὶ ἀνέσχετο διψῶσαν ὅρεων τῆς μητρὸς τὴν σκύην.

25 Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ Λυκόργος τὴν πολιτείαν πᾶσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διετάξατο καὶ νόμον σφίσων ἐποιήσατο μηδαμά . 2 μηδὲ ἐς πόλεμον προχωρεῖν πρὶν τὴν σεληναίην πλῆρα γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἵσθην ἐνόμιζεν 3 εἶναι τὴν δυναστείαν αὐξανομένης τῆς σεληνάιης καὶ ἀφανιζομένης,

26 πάντα δὲ υπ᾽ αὐτῇ διουκέσθαι. ἀλλὰ μοῦνοι ἂρκάδες ταῦτα οὐκ ἐδέξαντο οὐδὲ ἔτιμησαν ἀστρολογίην, ἀνοιχῇ δὲ καὶ ἁσοφίη 4 λέγουσιν καὶ τῆς σεληναίης ἐμμεναι προγενέστεροι.

27 Οἱ μὲν ὁν ὑπ᾽ ἡμῶν οὐτω κάρτα ἤσαν φιλομάντιες, οἱ δὲ νῦν, οἱ μὲν αὐτέων ἀδύνατα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἀνθρώποις τέλος εὑρασθαι μαντικῆς· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι μν οὔτε πιστὴν οὔτε ἀληθέα, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἄρεα ἢ τὸν Δία ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡμέων ἕνεκα κινεσθαι,

1 ἐπήκεν Bekker: ἀφηκεν MSS.
2 Lacuna in Γ (12 letters) E (9 letters). A word like ἐξελαινέευς has fallen out.
3 ἐνόμιζεν du Soul: ἐνόμιζου MSS.

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So firmly did they believe divination a thing most sacred, that when Ulysses, wearied of wandering, took a phansie to learn the truth as touching his affaires, he went off unto Hell, not "to behold dead men and a land that is joyless," but because he would come to speech with Tiresias. And when he was come to the place whereunto Circe directed him, and had dug his pit and slain his sheep, although many dead that were by, and amongst them his own mother, were fain to drink of the blood, he suffered none of them, not even his very mother, until he had wet the throstle of Tiresias and constrained him to deliver the prophecy, verily enduring to behold his mother's shadow athirst.

For the Spartans, Lycurgus drew from the skye his ordering of their whole polity and made it their law never to leave their country, even to go to the wars, before the moon should be at her full, for he conceived that the potency of the moon is not the same when she waxeth and when she waneth, and that all things are subject unto her sway. The Arcadians, however, and none but they, would have naught of this and yeelded no honour unto astrologie; and in their folly they affirm that they are older than the moon.

Whereas our forbears were so mightily enamoured of divination, among this generation there be some who say that it is an impossibility for mankind to conceive a useful purpose of astrologie. It is neither credible, say they, nor truthful, and Mars and Jupiter do not move in the skye for our sake, but are nothing

1 Odyssey, XI, 94.

4 ἄσαφης ΓΕΝ.
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άλλα τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων οὐδεμίην ὑρην ἔκεινοι ποιεονται οὐδ' ἐστιν αὐτέοις πρὸς τάδε κοινωνίη, κατ' αφέας δὲ χρείῃ τῆς περιφορῆς ἀναστρέφονται. ἄλλοι δὲ ἀστρολογίην ἀφευδέα μὲν, ἀνωφελεὰ δὲ εἶναι λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ μαντοσύνη ἀλλάσσεσθαι οκόσα τῇς μοῖρης δοκεοντα ἐπέρχεται.

29 Ἔγω δὲ πρὸς τάδε ἀμφω ἐκείνα ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀστέρες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὴν σφετέρην εἰλεονται, πάρεργον δὲ σφίσι τῆς κινήσεως τῶν κατ' ἡμέας ἐκαστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται. ἦ θέλεις ἵππον μὲν θέοντος καὶ ὅρνιθων καὶ ἀνδρῶν κινεομένων λίθους ἀνασαλεύεσθαι καὶ κάρφεα δονέος δύο τῶν ἀνέμων τοῦ δρόμου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ δίνῃ τῶν ἀστέρων μηδὲν ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι; καὶ ἐκ μὲν ὅλην πυρὸς ἀπορροή ἐς ἡμέας ἐρχεται, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ δι' ἡμέας καὶ τι οὐδὲ οἱ μέλει τοῦ ἡμετέρου θάλπεος, ἀστέρων δὲ οὐδεμίην ἀπορροῆν δεχόμεθα; καὶ καίντι τῇ ἀστρολογίᾳ τὰ μὲν φαίλα ἐσθλὰ ποιήσαι ἀδύνατα ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἀλλὰξαι τι τῶν ἀπορρεόντων πρηγμάτων, ἄλλα τοὺς χρεομένους τάδε ὠφελέει· τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ εἰδότας ἀπεξόμενα 2 πολλοὶ ἀπόπροσθεν εὐφρανέει, τὰ δὲ φαίλα εὐμαρεώς δέχονται· οὐ γὰρ σφίσιν ἀγνοεούσιν ἐπέρχεται, ἀλλ' ἐν μελέτῃ καὶ προσδοκίᾳ ῥηίδια καὶ πρηέα ἤγειται. τάδε ἀστρολογίας πέρι ἐγών ὑπολαμβάνων.

1 κλονεομένων Ω.Ζ. 2 ἀφεξόμενα MSS.
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at all solicitous of the affairs of men, wherewith they have naught in common, but accomplish their courses independently, through a necessitude of revolving. And others affirm that astrologie, although not untruthful, is unprofitable, insomuch as divination will not alter that which draweth nigh by decree of the fates.¹

To both these opinions I may answer that although the stars do verily absolve their own course in the skye, none the less as a parergy or incidental of their motion each event among us cometh to pass. Or will you have it that although if a horse run or birds or humans move, pebbles are flung up and strawes set astir by the wind of their motion, yet the gyration of the stars bringeth naught else to pass? And that whereas from a little fire an effluxion cometh to us, although the fire burneth not for our sake at all and is not a whit solicitous that we be warmed, yet from the stars we receive no effluxion whatever?

Furthermore, astrologie is indeed impotent to convert bad into good, or to effect mutation in any of the effluents, yet is it profitable to those that employ it, in so much as the good, when they know that it is to come, delighteth them long beforehand, while the bad they accept readily, for it cometh not upon them unawares, but in vertue of contemplation and expectation is deemed easie and light. That is my opinion in the matter of astrology.

¹ Among those who so argue is Lucian’s Cyniscus in Zeus Catechized, 12–14 (II, 76 f).
A personal attack resembling the Professor of Rhetoric and the Ignorant Book-Collector, but outdoing both of them in savagery. Its motive was not so much to show up a vicious citizen as to avenge a personal insult. In passing the man, Lucian had expressed his opinion of him loudly enough to be overheard (which was doubtless his intention). He used a word that as an epithet was obsolete, and not conspicuously sanctioned by good use. Consequently, the man laughed, and ridiculed his language, which was a fatal mistake; for Lucian, always sensitive about his diction, as witness his On a Slip of the Tongue in Salutation (Vol. VI), was thereby provoked to pay him back with interest.

For raw, unsparing satire like this, Lucian had plenty of precedent not only in the iambics of Archilochus and Semonides, to which, with the scasons of Hipponax, he himself alludes, and in Old Comedy, but in melic poetry (not only Timoereon of Rhodes, but Anacreon). Of its use in the orators, where it conspicuously serves ulterior purposes, Aeschines against Timarchus is the classic example. After the orators it was the Cynics, particularly the street-corner type, who kopt the tradition of outspokenness alive; Lucian's Demonax is full of illustrations.

That the name of Lucian's victim was Timarchus is, I think, an erroneous assumption from the nickname Atimarchus that was given him at Athens (§ 27; see the note there). He had been an actor and a teacher, and was then a sophist. A Syrian by birth, he had lived in Antioch, Egypt, Italy, and Greece. The piece was written soon after the incident occurred, apparently in Ephesus, where the sophist was then living. There is nothing in its content to fix its date.
ΤΕΤΑΟΑΟΝΣΤΗΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΦΡΑΔΟΣ

1 Ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἡγνόεις τοῦνμα τὴν ἀποφράδα παντὶ που δῆλον. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἢτιῶ βάρβαρον εἶναι με τὴν φωνὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, εἰπόντα ὑπὲρ σοῦ ὅσ ἀποφράδι ὀμοιος εἶης (τὸν γὰρ τρόπον σου νή Δία μὲμνημαι εἰκάσας τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἡμέρᾳ), εἶ μὴ καὶ παντάπασι ἀνήκους ἥθα τοῦ ὄνοματος; ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀποφράδα οἳ τι καὶ βούλεται εἶναι διδάξω σε μικρὸν ύστερον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ἐκεῖνο ἦδη σοι λέγω, ὅτι τέτιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας, εἴπερ τινὰ ποιητὴν ἰάμβων ἄκουες Ἀρχιλόχου, Πάριον τὸ γένος, ἄνδρα κομιδῆ ἐλεύθερον καὶ παρρησία συνόντα, μηδὲν ὀκνοῦντα ὀνειδίζεων, εἶ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα λυπῆσεις ἐμελλε

1 So ΓΕΜ: κατὰ τιμάρχου added in Γ (marg.) Ν. περὶ τῆς ἀποφράδος ἡ κατὰ τιμάρχου ΚΦ. In the alternative form of the title, κατ’ Ἀτιμάρχου may be what was originally intended. Cf. § 27, n.

1 As Lucian explains below (12–13), an apophras hêmera, or “nefandous day,” like a dies nefastus among the Latins, was a day of ill-omen on which no courts were held and no business affairs transacted. But the fact that a day can be called apophras does not in itself justify calling a man apophras, particularly as the word is of the feminine gender; and that is
THE MISTAKEN CRITIC, OR A DISCOURSE ON THE WORD NEFANDOUS

That you did not know the word nefandous is surely clear to everyone. When I had said of you that you were like a nefandous day—for I well remember comparing your character to a day of that kind—how could you, with reference to that word, have made the stricture that I was barbarous in my speech, unless you were wholly unacquainted with it? I shall teach you presently what nefandous means; but I say to you now what Archilochus once said: “You have caught a cicada by the wing.”

Have you ever heard of a writer of iambic verses named Archilochus, a Parian by birth, a man absolutely independent and given to frankness, who did not hesitate at all to use insulting language, no matter how much pain he was what Lucian obviously did (cf. § 16, and especially § 23). It might have been defended by citing the comedian Eupolis (Fr. Incert., 32 M., 309 K.): “On going out, I chanced to meet a wight nefandous (ἀνθρωπος ἀποφράς) with a fickle eye.” Either Lucian did not know the passage, or perhaps he thought that to reply in that way would be too like a Lexiphanes. Anyhow, he elected to infuriate his critic and divert his public by being transparently disingenuous and mendacious, and entirely evading the real issue. What his talk of “comparing” amounts to is commented on in the note on § 16.

2 Bergk, frg. 143.
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τοὺς περιπετεῖς ἐσομένους τῇ χολῇ τῶν ἱάμβων αὐτοῦ. ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς πρὸς τινὰς τῶν τοιούτων ἀκούσας κακῶς τέττιγα ἐφη τὸν ἀνδρα εἰληφέ-ναι τοῦ πτεροῦ, εἰκάζων ἐαυτὸν τῷ τέττιγι φ' Ἀρχίλοχος φύσει μὲν λάλω δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀνάγκης, ὃπόταν δὲ καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ ληφθη, γεγωνό-τερον βοώτη. "Καὶ σὺ δή," ἐφη, "ὦ κακό-δαιμον ἄνθρωπε, τί βουλόμενος ποιητήν λάλον παροξύνεις ἐπὶ σειλτὸν αἰτίας ζητοῦντα καὶ ὑποθέσεις τοῖς ἱάμβωις;"

2 Ταῦτα σοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπειλῶ, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία τῷ Ἀρχίλοχῳ εἰκάζων ἐμαυτὸν—πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ ἰδίω—σοὶ δὲ μυρία συνειδῶς ἱάμβων ἄξια βεβιωμένα, πρὸς ἂ μοι δοκεῖ οὐδ' ἄν ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος αὐτός διαρκέσαι, προσπαρακλέσας καὶ τὸν Σιμω-νίδην καὶ τὸν Ἰππώνακτα συμποιεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόντων σοι κακῶν, οὔτω σὺ γε παΐδας ἀπέφηνας ἐν πάσῃ βδελυρίᾳ τὸν Ὀρόδο-κίδην 1 καὶ τὸν Λυκάμβην καὶ τὸν Βοῦταλον, τοὺς ἔκεινων ἱάμβως. καὶ ἐοικὲ θεῶν τις ἐπὶ χεῖλος ἀγαγεῖν σοι τότε τὸν γέλων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποφράδι λεχθείση, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν Σικυθῶν καταφανέστερος γένοιο κομιδῆ ἀπαίδευτος ὃν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἄγνοι, ἀρχὴν δὲ εὐλογον παρά-σχοις τῶν κατὰ σοῦ λόγων ἀνδρὶ ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ

1 Ὀροδοκίδην ΓΕ: Ὀροδοκίδην Ν: Ὀροδοκίδην edd.

1 See G. L. Hendrickson, "Archilochus and Catullus," Class. Philol. (1925), 155–157. With the aid of Catullus 40, he is able to identify the poem from which Lucian quotes with the one from which we have the fragment addressed to
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going to inflict upon those who would be exposed to the gall of his iambics? Well, when he was abused by someone of that type, he said that the man had caught a cicada by the wing, likening himself, Archilochus, to the cicada, which by nature is vociferous, even without any compulsion, but when it is caught by the wing, cries out still more lustily. "Unlucky man," said he, "what is your idea in provoking against yourself a vociferous poet, in search of motives and themes for his iambics?" 1

In these same terms I threaten you, not likening myself to Archilochus (how could I? I am far indeed from that!), but aware that you have done in your life hundreds of things which deserve iambics. Even Archilochus himself, I think, would not have been able to cope with them, though he invited both Simonides 2 and Hipponax to take a hand with him in treating just one of your bad traits, so childish in every sort of iniquity have you made Orodocides and Lycambes and Bupalus, 3 their butts, appear. Probably it was one of the gods who brought the smile to your lips on that occasion at my use of the word nefandous, in order that you might become more notorious than a Scythian for being absolutely uneducated and ignorant of these obvious matters of common knowledge, and that you might afford a reasonable excuse for attacking you to an independent

"Father Lycambes" (Bergk, 88), and to reconstruct part of the context.

2 Of Amorgos; his name is sometimes spelt Semonides, but not in the MSS of Lucian.
3 Orodocides was evidently the butt of Semonides; this is the only reference to him, and the name is not wholly certain (Horodoecides N). Lycambes was satirised by Archilochus, and Bupalus by Hipponax.
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οὐκοθέν σε ἀκριβῶς εἰδότι καὶ μηδὲν ὑποστελλομένων τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα ἐξευτείν, μᾶλλον δὲ κηρίδοις, ἀ πράττεις νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἦμεραν ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τοῖς πρὶν ἐκεῖνοις.

3 Καὶ τοις μάταιοι ἰσως καὶ περίπτων ἐν παῖδειας νόμω παρρησιαζεσθαι πρὸς σέ, οὕτω γὰρ ἂν αὐτός ποτὲ βελτίων γένου πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ κάνθαρος μεταπεισθείς ἂν μηκέτι τουαίτα κυλιν-δεῖν, ἀπαξ αὐτοῖς συνήθης γενόμενος, οὐτ’ εἶναι τινα νομίζω τὸν ἁγνοοῦντα ἐτι τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ τολ-μώμενα καὶ τὰ γέρων ἀνθρωπός ἐς ἑαυτὸν παρα-νομεῖς. οὐχ οὕτως ἀσφαλῆς οὐδὲ ἀφανῆς βδελυρὸς εἶ: οὐδὲ δεὶ τινος τοῦ ἀποδύσωντος τὴν λεοντην, ὡς φανερὸς γένουσα καυχήλιος ὡν, εἰ μή τίς ἁρὰ ἐξ Ἄπερβορέων ἄρτι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἠκούς ἢ ἐς τοσοῦτο Κυμαῖος εῦη ὡς μὴ ἰδῶν εὐθὺς εἰδέναι ὄνων ἀπάντων ὑβριστότατον σε ὀντα, μὴ περιμεῖναι ὁγκωμένου προσέτι ἄκουεν. οὕτω πάλαι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ καὶ παρὰ πᾶς καὶ πολλάκις κεκήρυκται τὰ σά, καὶ δόξαν οὐ μικράν ἔχεις ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀριφράδην, ὑπὲρ τὸν Συβαρίτην Ἡμιθέωνα, ὑπὲρ τὸν Χίων ἐκείνον Βάσταν, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις σοφοῖν.

Ῥητέον δὲ ὁμως, εἰ καὶ ἐωλα δόξω λέγειν,

1 ὑποστελλομένου Α.
2 Μίσθωνα MSS., corrected by du Soul from adv. Ind., 23. But N has ἡμῖν θέων there; and possibly the name was Μίθων, a nickname. Cf. Lex. 12.

1 On the habits of the tumble-bug, or dung-beetle, see the beginning of the Peace of Aristophanes.
3 Ariphrades was an Athenian whom Aristophanes pilloried for perverted relations with women. The Sybarite Hemitheon
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man who knows you thoroughly from home and will not refrain from telling—I should say, heralding abroad—all that you do by night and by day even now, in addition to those many incidents of your past.

And yet it is idle, no doubt, and superfluous to deal frankly with you by way of education; for in the first place you yourself could never improve in response to my censure, any more than a tumble-bug could be persuaded not to roll those balls of his any longer, when once he has become used to them.1 In the second place, I do not believe that anyone exists who still is ignorant of your brazen performances and of the sins that you, an old man, have committed against yourself. You are not to that extent secure or unobserved in your iniquity. There is no need of anyone to strip away your lion's skin that you may be revealed a donkey, unless perhaps someone has just come to us from the Hyperboreans, or is sufficiently Cymaean2 not to know, as soon as he sees you, that you are the most unbridled of all asses, without waiting to hear you bray. Your doings have been noised abroad so long a time, so far ahead of me, so universally and so repeatedly; and you have no slight reputation for them, surpassing Ariphrades, surpassing the Sybarite Hemitheon, surpassing the notorious Chian, Bastas, that adept in similar matters.3

Nevertheless, I must speak of them, even if I shall (or Minthon; see the critical note) is alluded to as the author of an obscene book in the Ignorant Book-Collector, 23 (III, 203) and perhaps also in Ovid (Trist., II, 417: qui composuit nuper Sybaritica), but the name is not given there. Bastas was a nickname applied to Democritus of Chios, a musician, by Eupolis in the Baptae (Fr. 81 Kock).
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4 ὃς μὴ αἰτίαν ἔχομι μόνος αυτὰ ἀγνοεῖν. μᾶλλον
dὲ παρακλητέος ἦμιν τῶν Μενάνδρου προλόγων
εῖς, ὃ Ἐλεγχος, φίλος Ἀληθείας καὶ Παρρησία
θεός, οὐχ ὁ ἀσημότατος τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν
ἀναβαινόντων, μόνοις ὑμῖν ἔχθρος τοῖς δεδίσι τὴν
γλώτταν αὐτοῦ, πάντα καὶ εἰδότος καὶ σαφώς
dιεξόντος ὅποσα ὑμῖν σύνοιδεν. χάριν γοῦν τοῦτο
gένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ θελήσειν ἦμιν προευπληθών
οὗτος διηγήσασθαι τοῖς θεαταῖς σύμπαντα τοῦ
dράματος τοῦ λόγου.

"Ἀγε τοίνυν, ὃ προλόγων καὶ δαμόνων ἀριστε
Ἐλεγχε, ὥς ὅπως σαφῶς προδιαξῆς τοὺς
ακούοντας ὡς ὅ μᾶτην οὐδὲ φιλαπεχθημόνως οὐδ
ἀνίπτως ποσὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐπὶ τόνδε τοῦ
λόγου ἀπηντήκαμεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἰδιῶν τι ἀμυνόμενοι
καὶ τὰ κοινά, μισοῦντες τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ βδε-
λυρίᾳ. ταῦτα μόνα εἰπὼν καὶ σαφῶς προδιηγησά-
μενος ἑλέως ἀπίθι ἐκποδῶν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἦμιν κατά-
λυπε. μμησόμεθα γὰρ σὲ καὶ διελέγξομεν τὰ πολλά,
ὡς παρρησίας γε 1 καὶ ἀληθείας ἕνεκα μηδὲν ἂν 2
αιτιάσασθαι σε. μήτε δὲ ἐμὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπανέσθης,
ὡ φιλτατε Ἐλεγχε, μήτε τὰ ἐκεῖνῳ προσόντα
προεκχέψης αὐτῶς. οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον θεῶ ὑντὶ ἐπὶ
στόμα σοι ἐλθεῖν τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὗτω καταπτύστων
λόγους.

5 "Ὁ γὰρ σοφιστῆς οὗτος εἶναι λέγων" (ὁ
πρόλογος ἦδη φησίν ταῦτα) "ἐσ Ὅλυμπίαν ποτὲ

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1 γε Fritzsche: τε MSS.
2 μηδὲν ἂν De Jong, and possibly Γ¹: μηδένα Γ², cett.

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1 We do not know the play in which Exposure appeared as prologue and have no other information in the matter.

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seem to be telling stale news, in order that I may not bear the blame of being the only one who does not know about them. But no! We must call in one of Menander’s Prologues, Exposure, a god devoted to Truth and Frankness, by no means the least notable of the characters that appear on the stage, disliked only by you and your sort, who fear his tongue because he knows everything and tells in plain language all that he knows about you.¹ It would indeed be delightful if he should prove willing to oblige us by coming forward and telling the spectators the entire argument of the play.

Come then, Exposure, best of prologues and divinities, take care to inform the audience plainly that we have not resorted to this public utterance gratuitously, or in a quarrelsome spirit, or, as the proverb has it, with unwashen feet,² but to vindicate a grievance of our own as well as those of the public, hating the man for his depravity. Say only this, and present a clear exposition, and then, giving us your blessing, take yourself off, and leave the rest to us, for we shall copy you and expose the greater part of his career so thoroughly that in point of truth and frankness you can find no fault with us. But do not sing my praises to them, Exposure dear, and do not prematurely pour out the bald truth about these traits of his; for it is not fitting, as you are a god, that the words which describe matters so abominable should come upon your lips.

"This self-styled sophist" (Prologue is now speaking) "once came to Olympia, purposing to deliver

¹ Zenobius, I, 95: "going up to the roof with unwashed feet"; unexplained by the paroemiographers or Suidas. It must have to do with the use of the roof as a sleeping-place.
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ἡκε λόγον τινὰ πρὸ πολλοῦ συγγεγραμμένον ἐπιδειξόμενος τοῖς πανηγυρισταῖς. ἦν δὲ ὑπόθεσις τῷ συγγράμματι ὁ Πυθαγόρας κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τίνος Ἀθηναίων, οἷμα, μετέχειν τῆς Ἑλευσινικῆς τελετῆς ὡς βάρβαρος, ὧτι ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς ὁ Πυθαγόρας πρὸ τοῦ τοτὲ καὶ Ἐὐφορβὸς γεγονότα. έτύγχανεν δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν Αἰσιόπου κολούνα συμφορητώς ὡν ἐκ ποικίλων ἀλλοτρίων πτερῶν. βουλόμενος δὴ μὴ ἔωλα δόξαι λέγει, ἀλλ' αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου, δεῖται τῶν συνήθων τυνὸς (ἣν δὲ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἔκεινος, ἀμφὶ δίκες ἔχων τὰ πολλὰ) ἑπειδὰν αἰτήσῃ τινὰς ὑποθέσεις τοῖς λόγοις, τὸν Πυθαγόραν αὐτῷ προσέλθαμεν καὶ οὕτως ἄνηρ ἔποιήσας, καὶ συνέπεσε τὸ θεάτρον ἀκούειν τὸν ὑπέρ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου ἔκεινον λόγον. ⁶ ἦν δὴ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ μὲν πάνω ἀπίθανος ἐν τῇ ὑποκρίσει, συνείρων οἷον εἰκὸς ἐκ πολλοῦ ἑσχεμομένα καὶ μεμελετημένα, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἡ ἀνασχυντία . . ³ οὐσα ἐπῆμυνε καὶ χειρὰ ὤρεγεν καὶ συνηγονύζετο αὐτῷ. γέλων δὲ πολὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀκούουντων καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν Πατρέα ἐκεῖνον μεταξὺ ἀποβλέποντες ὑπεδήλουν ὡς οὐ λέληθε συμπράξας αὐτῷ τὴν ῥαδιουργίαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ γνωρίζοντες τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἀκρόασιν διετέλεσαν ἐν τούτῳ μόνον ἔργον ἔχοντες, ἄλληλων περὶδόμενοι ὅπως μνήμης ἔχουσι ⁴ πρὸς τὸ διαγιγνώσκειν ὅτου ἐκαστόν ἦν τῶν ἄλλων πρὸ

¹ áνηρ MSS., corrected by Jacobitz.
² Text ΓΕΝ: τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου ἔκεινων λόγων MFA.
³ Lacuna G. Hermann: not indicated in MSS. πάρουσα Headlam, θεὸς οὕσα Cobet.
⁴ ἔχουσι MF: ἔχωσι ΓΕΝΑ.
to those who should attend the festival a speech which he had written long before. The subject of his composition was the exclusion of Pythagoras (by one of the Athenians, I suppose) from participation in the Eleusinian mysteries as a barbarian, because Pythagoras himself was in the habit of saying that before being Pythagoras he had once been Euphorbus.\(^1\) In truth, his speech was after the pattern of Aesop's jackdaw, cobbled up out of motley feathers from others. Wanting, of course, to have it thought that he was not repeating a stale composition but making up offhand what really came from his book, he requested one of his familiars (it was the one from Patras, who has so much business in the courts) to select Pythagoras for him when he asked for subjects to talk about. The man did so, and prevailed upon the audience to hear that speech about Pythagoras. In the sequel, he was very unconvincing in his delivery, glibly reciting (as was natural) what he had thought out long before and learned by heart, no matter how much his shamelessness, standing by him, defended him, lent him a helping hand, and aided him in the struggle. There was a great deal of laughter from his hearers, some of whom, by looking from time to time at that man from Patras, indicated that they had not failed to detect his part in the improvisation, while others, recognising the expressions themselves, throughout the performance continued to have that as their sole occupation, testing each other to find out how good their memories were at distinguishing which one of those sophists who achieved fame a little before our time for their

\(^1\) Euphorbus was one of Homer's Trojans. See Lucian's *Cock*, 13, 17, and 20 (II, pp. 204–214).
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ημῶν εὐδοκιμησάντων ἐπὶ ταῖς καλουμέναις μελέταις σοφιστῶν.

7 "Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἀπασὶ καὶ ὁ τὸν λόγον τόνδε συγγράφας ἦν ἐν τοῖς γελῶσι καὶ αὐτός. τί δ' οὖκ ἐμελλεν γελᾶν ἐφ' οὕτω περιφανεὶ καὶ ἀπιθάνῳ καὶ ἀναισχύντω τολμήματι; καὶ πως (ἐστιν δὲ ἀκρατῆς γέλωτος) ο μὲν τὴν φωνὴν ἐντρέψας ἐς μέλος, ὡς ἠθετο, θρῆνον τινα ἔπηύλει τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ, ὁ δὲ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, ὅνον κυθαρίζειν πειρώμενον ὀρῶν ἀνεκάγχασε μάλα ἦδυ, ὁ ποιητής οὗτος ὁ ἐμὸς. ὁ δὲ εἶδεν ἐπιστραφεῖς. τοῦτο ἐξεπολέμωσαν αὐτοὺς, τὸ τέναγχος ἐνθένδε.1 ἦν μὲν ἡ τοῦ ἀρχῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης νουμηνίας τρίτη, ἐν ἧ οἱ Ὁρμαῖοι κατὰ τι ἀρχαῖον εὐχονταὶ τε αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπαντος τοῦ ἐτους εὐχάς τινας καὶ θύουσι, Νομιᾶ2 τοῦ βασιλέως καταστησαμένου τὰς ἱερουργίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ πεπιστεύκασιν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ μάλιστα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ χρηματίζειν τοῖς εὐχομένοις. ἐν τοιαύτῃ τοῖνυν ἐῳρτῇ καὶ ἱερομηνίᾳ ὁ τότε γελάσας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τῷ ὑποβολλαίῳ Πυθαγόρᾳ ἰδὼν προσιόντα τὸν κατάπτυστον καὶ ἀλαζόνα, τῶν τὰλλοτρίων λόγων ὑποκρυτὴν (ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀσέλγειαν καὶ μαρίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἄ ποιεῖν ἐλέγετο καὶ ἄ ποιῶν κατειληπτό) "Ωρα ἡμῖν," ἐφ' ἐρόο τινα

1 The text is that of N, interpreted by adding a comma after αὐτοὺς and writing τὸ τέ for τότε. The full stop is set after ἐναγχος in GA(MFE) and previous editions. But ἐνθένδε makes an awkward anacoluthon with what follows (hence ἐνθέν δὲ ΓΑ); moreover, τότε ἐναγχος is neither idiomatic (hence the omission of τότε in MF) nor consistent with τοτε (6) and τοῦ πάλαι ἐκείνου γέλωτος (8).

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so-called "exercises" was the author of each expression.

"Among all these, among those who laughed, was the writer of these words. And why should not he laugh at a piece of cheek so manifest and unconvincing and shameful? So, somehow or other, being one who cannot control his laughter, when the speaker had attuned his voice to song, as he thought, and was intoning a regular dirge over Pythagoras, our author, seeing an ass trying to play the lyre, as the saying goes, burst into a very melodious cachinnation, and the other turned and saw him. That created a state of war between them, and the recent affair sprang from it. It was the beginning of the year, or rather, the second day after the New Year, the day on which the Romans, by an ancient custom, make prayers in person for the entire year and hold sacrifices, following ceremonies which King Numa established for them; they are convinced that on that day beyond all others the gods give ear to those who pray. Well, on that festival and high holiday, the man who burst out laughing then in Olympia at the suppositious Pythagoras saw this contemptible cheat approaching, this presenter of the speeches of others. It happened that he knew his character, too, and all his wantonness and unclean living, both what he was said to do, and what he had been caught doing. So he said to

1 New Year's Day is called in the Greek "the great New-Moon-Day." The day of the festival on which the incident occurred was January third (a.d. III non. Ian.) For the vow of the consuls on that day, two gilded bulls for the health of the Imperial family, see Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium, pp. 100-102.

2 θύουν Νομα Cobet (Νομα vulg.): θύουν αμα MSS.
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tων ἑταίρων, ἑκτρέπεσθαι τὸ δυσάντητον τοῦτο θέαμα, δε φανεὶς ἔοικε τὴν ἡδίστην ἦμέραν ἀποφράδα ἦμῖν ποιήσεων.

"Τοῦτ’ ἀκούσας ὁ σοφιστὴς τὴν ἀποφράδα ὡς τι ἔξον καὶ ἀλλότριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅνομα ἐγέλα εὐθὺς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ πάλαι ἐκείνου γέλωτο ἦμῖνετο, ὡς γοῦν ὤμετο, καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντασ ἔλεγεν, Ἀποφράς, τί δὲ τοῦτό ἑστι; καρπός τις ἡ βοτάνη τις ἡ σκεῦος; ἀρα τῶν ἐσθιομένων ἡ πινομένων τί ἐστιν ἀποφράς; ἐγὼ μὲν οὔτε ἦκούσα πώποτε οὔτ' ἂν συνείην ποτε ο’ τι καὶ λέγει."

9 ταῦτ’ ὁ μὲν ὤμετο κατὰ τοῦτον διεξεῖναι καὶ πολὺν ἐπῆγε τῇ ἀποφράδι τῶν γέλων. ἐλελήθη οἱ δὲ κατ’ αυτοῦ τὸ ὑστατον τεκμηρίου ἀπαδευσίας ἐκφέρων. ἔπὶ τούτω τὸν λόγον τόνδε συνέγραψεν ὁ ἐμὲ προεισπέμψας ὑμῖν, ὡς δείξει τὸν αὐῶν μον σοφιστήν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνοιοῦντα καὶ ὁπόσα καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ τῶν κατηλέων εἰδεῖν."

10 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἑλεγχος, ἐγὼ δὲ—ἡ δὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς παρείληφα τοῦ δράματος τὰ λοιπὰ—δύκαιος ἂν εἴην τα ἐκ τοῦ Δελφικοῦ τρίποδος ἡ δὴ λέγειν, οἷα μὲν σοῦ τὰ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, οἶα δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, οἶα δὲ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἶα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φοινίκῃ καὶ Συρίᾳ, εἶτα ἔξης τὰ ἐν Ἐλλάδι καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσι τὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νῦν, ἁπέρ κεφαλαιωδέστατα τῆς ἀπονοίας τῆς σῆς καὶ

1 δ’ Guyet: not in MSS.

"Exposure," however devoted to Truth and Frankness, here indulges in prevarication so obvious that its purpose is
one of his friends: 'We must give a wide berth to this ill-met sight, whose appearance is likely to make the most delightful of all days nefandous for us.'

"On hearing that, the sophist at once laughed at the word nefandous as if it were strange and alien to the Greeks, and paid the man back, in his own estimation, at least, for the laughter of that former time, saying to all: 'Nefandous! What, pray, is that? A fruit, or a herb, or a utensil? Can it be something to eat or drink? For my part I have never heard the word, and should never be able to guess what it means.' He thought he was directing these remarks at our friend, and he subjected 'nefandous' to a great deal of laughter; but he had unwittingly brought against himself the uttermost proof of his want of education. Under these circumstances he who sent me in to you in advance has written this composition to demonstrate that the renowned sophist does not know expressions common to all the Greeks, which even men in the workshops and the bazaars would know."

Thus far Exposure. In my own turn (for I myself have now taken over the rest of the show), I might fittingly play the part of the Delphic tripod and tell what you did in your own country, what in Palestine, what in Egypt, what in Phoenicia and Syria; then, in due order, in Greece and Italy, and on top of it all, what you are now doing at Ephesus, which is the extremity of your recklessness and the culminating clearly to exasperate Lucian's victim rather than to impose upon his public. To say that a man's appearance would make the day apophras is not saying that he was "like that kind of day," let alone calling him apophras. See the note on § 1, above, and that on § 16, below.
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κορυφή καὶ κορωνίς τοῦ τρόπου. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παρομίαν Ἰλιεῦς ὄν τραγῳδοὺς ἐμυσθώσας,
καὶ χρόνος ἤδη σοι ἀκούειν τὰ σαυτοῦ κακά. μᾶλλον
δὲ, ταῦτα μὲν μηδέπω, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀποφράδος
πρότερον.

Εἴπε γὰρ μοι, πρὸς πανδήμου καὶ Γενετυλλίδων
καὶ Κυβήβης, 1 πῇ σοι μεμπτὸν καὶ γέλωτος
ἀξιόν τοῦνομα εἶναι ἐδοξεῖν ἡ ἀποφράς; νη Δι',
οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῶν Ἕλληνων ἱδιον, ἀλλὰ ποθὲν ἐπεισ-
κωμάσαι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Κέλτους ἡ Ὄρακας
ἡ Σκύθας ἐπιμεξίας, οὐ δὲ—ἀπαντα γὰρ οἶοθα τὰ
tῶν Ἀθηναίων—ἐξέκλεισας τοῦτο εὐθὺς καὶ ἐξε-
κήρυξας τοῦ Ἕλληνικοῦ, καὶ ὁ γέλως ἐπὶ τούτω,
ὁτι βαρβαρίζω καὶ ἐνεῖξω καὶ ὑπερβαίνω τοὺς
ὄρους τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς.

Καὶ μὴν τί ἀλλο ὦτως Ἀθηναίωι ἐπιχώριον
ὡς τοῦτο τοῦνομα, φαίνει ἂν ὦ γε σοῦ μᾶλλον
τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰδότες: ὥστε θάττων ἂν Ἕρεχθέα καὶ
τὸν Κέκροπα ξένους ἀποφήνας καὶ ἐπήλυδας τῶν
Ἀθηνῶν ἡ τῆς ἀποφράδας δεῖξειας οὐκ οἰκεῖαν καὶ

1 κυβήβης MSS. (κυβίκης Γ').

1 If people of Troy attend tragedies, they are bound to hear
about the misfortunes of the Trojans.
2 Genetyllis was originally a goddess of childbirth. Hesychius
says that she resembled Hecate, received sacrifices of dogs,
point and crowning glory of your character. Now that, in the words of the proverb,⁠¹ you who live in Troy have paid to see tragedians, it is a fitting occasion for you to hear your own misadventures. But no! not yet. First about that 'nefandous.'

Tell me, in the name of Aphrodite Pandemus and the Genetyllides² and Cybebe, in what respect did you think the word nefandous objectionable and fit to be laughed at? Oh, because it did not belong to the Greeks, but had somehow thrust its way in among them from their intercourse with Celts or Thracians or Scyths; wherefore you—for you know everything that pertains to the Athenians—excluded it at once and banished it from the Greek world, and your laughter was because I committed a barbarism and used a foreign idiom and went beyond the Attic bounds!

"Come now, what else is as well established on Athenian soil as that word?" people would say who are better informed than you about such matters. It would be easier for you to prove Erechtheus and Cecrops foreigners and invaders of Attica, than to show that 'nefandous' is not at home and indigenous in Attica. There are many things which they designate in the same way as everybody else, but they, and they alone, designate as nefandous a day which is vile, abominable, inauspicious, useless, and like you. There now! I have already taught you in passing what they mean by nefandous!

and was of foreign origin. But in Attica, where she was worshipped in the temple of another similar divinity, Colias, the identities of the two were apparently so thoroughly merged that they could both be called either Genetyllides or Coliades, and both were more or less blended with Aphrodite.
"Отаυ μήτε αἱ ἀρχαὶ χρηματίζωσι μήτε εἰσαγώ-
γιμοι αἱ δίκαι ἢι μήτε τὰ ιερὰ ιερουργηταὶ μὴθ'
διλως τι τῶν αἰσών τελῆται, αὐτὴ ἀποφρᾶς ἡμέρα.
13 ενομίσθη δε τοῦτο ἄλλοις ἔπ' ἄλλαις αἵτίαις:
ἡ γὰρ ἤττηθέντες μάχαις μεγάλαις ἐπειτὰ ἔτοξαν
ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεπόν-
θεισαν ἀπράκτους καὶ ἀκύρους τῶν ἐννύμων
πράξεων εἶναι, ἥ καὶ ἡ Δία—καίτοι ἀκαίρον
ίσως καὶ ἐξωρὸν γε ἡδη, γέροντα ἄνδρα μεταπαι-
δεύειν καὶ ἀναδιδάσκειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, μηθὲ τὰ πρὸ
tουτῶν εἰδότα. πάνυ γοῦν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ λοιπόν,
κἂν ἐκμάθησι αὐτὸ, πάν ἡμῖν εἰδῶς ἔσῃ: τόθεν,
ὡ οὕτως; τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἀγνωῆσαι συγγνώμη
ὁπόσα ἐξω τοῦ πολλοῦ πάτου καὶ ἄδηλα τοῖς
ἰδιώταις, τὴν ἀποφράδα δε οὐδὲ βουληθεῖσι ἃν ἄλλως
εἴποις· ἐν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ μόνον ἀπάντων τοῦνομα.
14 'Εστω, φησί τις, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ὄνο-
μάτων τὰ μὲν λεκτέα, τὰ δ' οὐ, ὅποσα αὐτῶν μὴ
συνηθῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς μὴ ταράττομεν τὰς ἀκοὰς
καὶ τυτρώσκοιμεν τῶν συνόντων τὰ ὑτα. ἐγὼ δὲ,
ὡ βέλτιστε, πρὸς μὲν σὲ ἵσως ταῦτα περὶ σοῦ
εἴπων ἡμαρτον· ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἥ κατὰ Παφλα-
γόνων ἡ Καππαδοκῶν ἢ Βακτρίων πάτρια διαλέγε-
σθαι σοι, ὡς 1 ἐκμάθης τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ σοὶ
ἐκούειν ἥ 2 ἡδέα. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ἑλληνοὶ οἶμαι
καθ' Ἑλλάδα γλώσταν συνεῖναι χρῆ. εἶτα καὶ τῶν
Ἀττικῶν κατὰ χρόνους τινὰς πολλὰ ἐντρεψάντων

1 ὡς du Soul: ἔως MSS.
2 ἡ Jacobitz: not in MSS.
THE MISTAKEN CRITIC

When official business is not transacted, introduction of lawsuits is not permissible, sacrifice of victims is not performed, and, in general, nothing is done that requires good omens, that day is nefandous. The custom was introduced among different peoples in different ways; either they were defeated in great battles and subsequently established that those days on which they had undergone such misfortunes should be useless and invalid for their customary transactions, or, indeed—but it is inopportune, perhaps, and by now unseasonable to try to alter an old man's education and reinstruct him in such matters when he does not know even what precedes them. It can hardly be that this is all that remains, and that if you learn it, we shall have you fully informed! Nonsense, man! Not to know those other expressions which are off the beaten path and obscure to ordinary folk is pardonable; but even if you wished, you could not say nefandous in any other way, for that is everyone's sole and only word for it.

"Well and good," someone will say, "but even in the case of time-honoured words, only some of them are to be employed, and not others, which are unfamiliar to the public, that we may not disturb the wits and wound the ears of our hearers." My dear sir, perhaps as far as you are concerned I was wrong to say that to you about yourself; yes, yes, I should have followed the folk-ways of the Paphlagonians or the Cappadocians or the Bactrians in conversing with you, that you might fully understand what was being said and it might be pleasing to your ears. But Greeks, I take it, should be addressed in the Greek tongue. Moreover, although even the Athenians in

1 That is, he lacks even the rudiments of an education.
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τῆς αὐτῶν φωνῆς, τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ὄνομα διετέλεσεν οὔτως ἂει καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων αὐτῶν λεγόμενον.

15 Εἶπον ἂν καὶ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν κεχρημένους τῷ ὄνόματι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτῃ σε διαταραξέων ἐμελ- λον, ξένα σοι καὶ ἄγνωστα ποιητῶν καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ συγγραφέων ὄνόματα διεξίων. μάλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἐγὼ σοι τοὺς εἰπόντας ἔρω, πάντες γὰρ ἰσαίων, ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι ἕνα τῶν πάλαι δείξας ὦ κεχρημένων τῷ ὄνόματι, χρυσοῦς, φασίν, ἐν Ὠλυμπία στάθητι.1 καίτοι ὅστις γέρων ὦν καὶ ἀφήλης τὰ τοιαύτα ἀγνοε. δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ὧτι Ἀθήναι πόλις ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Κόρινθος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ Σπάρτῃ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μὴ εἰδέναι.

16 Δοιπότις ἰσως ἐκεῖνο σοι λέγειν, ὡς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἤδεις, τὴν δὲ χρήσιν αὐτοῦ ἄκαιρον ἦτιάσω. φέρε δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου πρὸς σε ἀπολογήσομαι τὰ εἰκότα, σὺ δὲ προσέχει τὸν νοῦν, εἰ μὴ πάνω ὅλιγον σοι μέλει τοῦ μηδὲν εἰδέναι. οἱ πάλαι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπέρριψαν ἐς τοὺς σοι ὁμοίους ἐκαυτοὶ τοὺς τότε—HELLAN γὰρ καὶ τότε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, βδελυροὶ τυντες ἐς τὰ ἡθη καὶ μιαρὶ καὶ κακοήθεις τὸν τρόπον—καὶ ὁ μὲν κόθορον τῶν εἴπεν, εἰκάσας αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον ἀμφίβολον ὄντα τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑποδήμασιν, ὦ δὲ λύμην,2 ὃτι τὰς ἐκκλησίας θορυβώδης ρήτωρ ὑπεταρράττεν, ὦ δὲ ἐβδόμην, ὃτι ἔστερ οἱ παῖδες ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις


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course of time have made many changes in their speech, this word especially has continued to be used in this way always and by all of them.

I should have named those who have employed the word before our time, were I not certain to disturb you in this way also, by reciting names of poets and rhetoricians and historians that would be foreign to you, and beyond your ken. No, I shall not name those who have used it, for they are known to all; but do you point me out one of the ancients who has not employed the word and your statue shall be set up, as the saying goes, in gold at Olympia. Indeed, any old man, full of years, who is unacquainted with such expressions is not, I think, even aware that the city of Athens is in Attica, Corinth at the Isthmus, and Sparta in the Peloponnese.

It remains, perhaps, for you to say that you knew the word, but criticised the inappropriate use of it. Come now, on this point too I shall respond to you fittingly, and you must pay attention, unless not knowing matters very little to you. The ancients were before me in hurling many such taunts at the like of you, each at the men of their day; for in that time too there were, of course, dirty fellows, disgusting traits, and ungentle dispositions. One man called a certain person "Buskin," comparing his principles, which were adaptable, to that kind of footwear; another called a man "Rampage" because he was a turbulent orator and disturbed the assembly, and another someone else "Seventh Day" because he acted in the assemblies as children do on the

\[2\] λύμην Harmon: λυπάντω MSS. except A, which has λυπάδην.
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κάκεινος εν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπαιζεν καὶ διεγέλα
καὶ παιδίαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου.
μὴ δῶς οὖν κάμοι, πρὸς Ἀδώνιδος, εἰκάσαι
παμπόνηρον ἀνδρώτον, ἀπάσῃ κακία σύντροφον,
ἡμέρα δυσφήμω καὶ ἀπαισίω;

17 Ἡμείς δὲ καὶ τοὺς χωλοῦς τῷ δεξιῷ ἐκτρεπό-
μεθα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἐωθεν ἰδομεν αὐτοὺς· καὶ
εἰ τις βάκηλον ἡ εὐνοῦχον ἵδιον ἡ πίθηκον εὐθὺς
ἐξὼν τῆς οἰκίας, ἐπὶ πόδα ἀναστρέφει καὶ ἐπανέ-
χεται, οὐκ ἀγαθὰς μαντευόμενος τὸς ἐφημέρους
ἐκεῖνας ἑπάξεις ἐσεθαι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πονηρῶ τῷ
πρώτῳ καὶ δυσφήμω κληδονίσματι. ἐν ἠρχῇ δὲ
καὶ ἐν θύραις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐξόδῳ καὶ ἐωθεν
τοῦ ἀπαντος ἐτούς εἰ τις ἰδοι κίναιδον καὶ ἀπό-
ρητα ποιοῦντα καὶ πάσχοντα, ἐπίσημον ἐπὶ τούτῳ
καὶ ἀπερωγότα, καὶ μονονοχί τούνομα τῶν
ἔργων αὐτῶν ὄνομαξόμενον, ἀπατεώνα, γόντα,
ἐπιορκαν, ὀλεθρον, κύφωνα, βάραθρον, μὴ φύγῃ
μηδ' εἰκάσῃ τούτον ἀποφράδι ἡμέρα;

18 Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ σὺ τοιοῦτος; οὐκ ἂν ἔξαρνος γένοιο,
εἰ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀνδρείαν οἶδα τὴν σὴν, ὡς γε καὶ μέγα
φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μοι δοκεῖς, ὅτι μὴ ἀπόλλυται

1 ἑφ' ἡμέρας ἐκείνης Herwerden.

1 The nickname “Buskin” was given to Theramenes.
“Seventh Day” cannot be identified, and the other nickname
is corrupted in the Greek text.
2 Stripped of its manifest disingenuousness (for comparison
includes both simile and metaphor, and the use of simile
would have been entirely unexceptionable), this amounts to
defending what he said as a legitimate use of metaphor,
like calling a man “Buskin.” The argument would be valid
if he had called the man “Apophras hèmera!” But since
we may safely say that he addressed him or spoke about him
seventh day of the month, joking and making fun and turning the earnestness of the people into jest.\(^1\)

Will you not, then, in the name of Adonis, permit me to compare an utterly vile fellow, familiar with every form of iniquity, to a disreputable and inauspicious day?\(^2\)

We avoid those who are lame in the right foot, especially if we should see them early in the morning; and if anyone should see a cut priest or a eunuch or a monkey immediately upon leaving the house, he returns upon his tracks and goes back, auguring that his daily business for that day will not be successful, thanks to the bad and inauspicious omen at the start. But in the beginning of the whole year, at its door, on its first going forth, in its early morning, if one should see a profligate who commits and submits to unspeakable practices, notorious for it, broken in health, and all but called by the name of his actions themselves, a cheat, a swindler, a perjurer, a pestilence, a pillory, a pit,\(^3\) will not one shun him, will not one compare him to a nefandous day?

Well, are you not such a person? You will not deny it, if I know your boldness; indeed, it seems to me that you are actually vain over the fact that you simply as "apophras," the examples are not parallel, despite the speciousness of "hebdomas" ("Seventh Day"), formally identical with "apophras." The one locution, however, is metaphor, because "day" is understood; in the other, that is not the case, and instead of metaphor what we have to do with is an application of the adjective grammatically incorrect and really justifiable only by pleading previous use—which might have been done by adducing Eupolis (see § 1, note).

\(^3\) That is to say, approximately, a whipping-stock, a gallows-bird; hurling into a pit was a form of capital punishment in many cities of Greece.
σοι ἡ δόξα τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ πάσιν δήλος εἰ καὶ 
περιβότητος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁμόσ εὐχόμεναι καὶ 
ἀρνήσατο μὴ τοιοῦτος εἶναι, τίσι πιστὰ ἔρεις; 
τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς σοὶς (ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι 
δίκαιον); ἀλλὰ ἦσασιν ἐκεῖνοι τὰς πρώτας σου 
τροφάς, καὶ ὡς παραδοῦσε σεαυτοῦ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ 
ἐκεῖνοι στρατιώτη συμπεριεθείρου πάντα υπηρε-
τῶν, ἄχρι δὴ σε, τὸ τοῦ λόγου τούτο, ῥάκος 
pολυσχιδὲς ἐργασάμενος ἐξέωσεν. κάκεινα μέμηνυ-
tαι, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἀ πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ἐνεανεύου, 
τοῖς ὀρχησταις ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ συνταγματάρχης 
ἀξιῶν εἶναι. οὐδεὶς γοῦν πρὸ σοῦ ἃν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς 
τὸ θέατρον οὐδ' ἂν ἐμήνυσεν ὃ τι τοῦνόμα τῷ δρά-
ματι, ἀλλὰ σὺ κοσμίως πάνυ, χρυσάς ἐμβάδας 
ἐξὼν καὶ ἐστήτα τυραννικήν, προεισεπέμπου ἐν-
μένειαν αὐτήσων παρὰ τοῦ θεάτρου, στεφάνους 
κομίζων καὶ κρότω ἀπιών, ὡδὴ τιμώμενος πρὸς 
αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ῥήτωρ καὶ σοφιστὴς· καὶ διὰ 
τούτο ἣν πύθωνται ποτὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ σοῦ 
ἐκεῖνοι, τούτο δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας, "δύο 
μὲν ἥλιον ἔραν" δοκοῦσι, "δισσάς δὲ Ὀῆβας;" 
καὶ πρόχειρον ἅπασιν εὐθὺς τὸ "Ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε, 
καὶ μετ' ἐκείνα;" τοιγάρτοι καὶ αὐτῶς εὖ 
ποιῶν οὐκ ἐπιβαίνεις τὸ παράπαν οὐδ' ἐπιχωριᾶζε 
αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ φεύγεις ἐκὼν πατρίδα οὗτε χείμα 
κακὴν οὗτε θέρει ἀργαλέαν, ἀλλὰ καλλίστην καὶ

1 This man played parts like that of the Odysseus who, 
as we are told in The Dance, § 83, had his head broken by the 
pantomimic dancer who was enacting Ajax gone mad. Such 
parts did not involve dancing (cf. ὑποκρίνων, above), but 
were not silent—a point made perfectly clear by another allu-
sion to them in § 25 of this piece. Three of the roles in which
have not lost the glory of your exploits, but are conspicuous to all and have become notorious. If, however, you should offer opposition and should deny that you are such a person, who will believe what you say? The people of your native city (for it is fitting to begin there)? No, they know about your first source of livelihood, and how you gave yourself over to that pestilent soldier and shared his depravity, serving him in every way until, after reducing you to a torn rag, as the saying goes, he thrust you out. And of course they remember also the effrontery that you displayed in the theatre, when you acted secondary parts for the dancers and thought you were leader of the company. Nobody might enter the theatre before you, or indicate the name of the play; you were sent in first, very properly arrayed, wearing golden sandals and the robe of a tyrant, to beg for favour from the audience, winning wreaths and making your exit amid applause, for already you were held in esteem by them. But now you are a public speaker and a lecturer! So those people, if ever they hear such a thing as that about you, believe they see two suns, as in the tragedy, and twin cities of Thebes, and everyone is quick to say, "That man who then—, and after that—?" Therefore you do well in not going there at all or living in their neighbourhood, but of your own accord remaining in exile from your native city, thought it is neither "bad in winter" not "oppressive in summer," but the fairest and

Lucian's butt appeared are named there; Ninus, Metiochus, and Achilles. See the note on that passage.

2 Euripides, Bacchae, 913.

3 It was therefore unlike Ascra, the home of Hesiod, which was both. Works and Days, 640.
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μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ ἄπασῶν· τὸ γὰρ ἐλέγχεσθαι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ μεμνημένοις τῶν πάλαι ἐκεῖνων συνείναι βρόχος ὡς ἄληθῶς ἐστι σοι, καίτοι τὶ ταῦτα ληρῶ; τίνα γὰρ ἂν αἰδεσθείης σὺ; τί δὲ ἂν ἀίσχρον ἡγήσαιο τῶν ὅστιστῶν; πυνθάνομαι δὲ καὶ κτήματα εἶναι σοι μεγάλα παρὰ αὐτοῖς, τὸ δύστημον ἐκεῖνο πυργίων, ὡς τὸν τοῦ Σινωπεῶς πίθον τὴν Διὸς αὐλὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτό.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ πολίτας οὐδαμὴ οὐδαμῶς ἂν μεταπείσειας μὴ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀπάντων βδελυγματοῦν σε ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐκιδέος κοινῶν ἀπάση τῇ πόλει· τάχα δὲ ἂν τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ προσόλαβοις ὀμοψήφους, εἶ λέγουσι μηδὲν ποηρὸν μηδὲ ἐπαιτίων βεβιῶσθαι σοι. Ἡράκλεις, ἡ μὲν 'Ἀντιόχεια καὶ τοῦργον αὐτὸ εἴδεν, ὅτε τὸν Ταρσόθεν ἰκοντα ἐκεῖνον νεανίσκον ἀπαγαγῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναδέρειν αὐτὰ αἰσχρὸν ἐσως ἐμοὶ. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἰσασὶ γε καὶ μέμνημαι οἱ τότε ὑμῖν ἐπιστάντες καὶ σὲ μὲν ἐς γόνυ συγκαθήμενον ἱδόντες, ἐκεῖνον δὲ οἶθα δὲ τι καὶ ποιοῦντα, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπιλήσμων τις εἶ.

'Ἀλλ᾽ οἱ ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἰσως ἀγνοοῦσί σε, ἕκαστος ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκεῖνα προς ὑποδεξάμενοι φεύγοντα ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἶπον, ὅτι τῶν ἑμαυτών κατῆλθον διωκόμενον, παρ᾽ ὃν ἐσθήτας πολυτελεὶς πριάμενος ἐφόδια εἶχες. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐλάττω σοι ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια σύνοιδεν, οὐδὲ μὰ Δῶ ἐχρὴν δευτέραν τῆς Ἀντιόχειας κεκρίσθαι αὐτὴν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τε ἀκολογία γυμνοτέρα καὶ ἡ αἰσχροφρία σοι

1 ἀγνοοῦσοι Δ.
THE MISTAKEN CRITIC

largest of all the cities in Phoenicia. To be put to the proof, to associate with those who know and remember your doings of old, is truly as bad as a halter in your sight. And yet, why do I make that silly statement? What would you consider shameful, of all that goes beyond the limit? I am told that you have a great estate there—that ill-conditioned tower, to which the jar of the man of Sinope 1 would be the great hall of Zeus!

In view of all this, you can never by any means persuade your fellow-citizens not to think you the most odious man in the world, a common disgrace to the whole city. Could you, though, perhaps win over the other inhabitants of Syria to vote for you if you said that you had done nothing bad or culpable in your life? Heracles! Antioch was an eye-witness of your misconduct with that youth from Tarsus whom you took aside—but to unveil these matters is no doubt shameful for me. However, it is known about and remembered by those who surprised the pair of you then and saw him doing—you know what, unless you are absolutely destitute of memory.

Well, perhaps people in Egypt do not know you, who received you when, after those marvellous performances of yours in Syria, you went into exile for the reasons which I have mentioned, pursued by the clothiers, from whom you had bought costly garments and in that way obtained your expense-money for the journey. But Alexandria knows you to be guilty of offences just as bad, and should not have been ranked second to Antioch. No, your wantonness there was more open and your licentiousness more insane, your

1 More familiar to us as the tub of Diogenes.
ἐκεῖ ἐπιμανεστέρα καὶ τούνομα ἐπὶ τούτοις μείζον καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν ἀκάλυπτος ἡ κεφαλὴ.

Εἰς μόνος ἂν ἐπίστευσέ σοι ἐξάρνω γινομένω μηδὲν τοιοῦτο εἰργάσθαι καὶ βοηθὸς ἂν κατέστη, ὁ τελευταῖος μισθοδότης, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Ῥωμαίων. τούνομα δὲ αὐτὸ δῶσεις ἀποσωπήσαι μοι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς πάντας εἰδότας ὅτι λέγω. ἐκεῖνος τούς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀπόσα ἔτη ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ τολμηθέντα ὑπὸ σοῦ, τί χρῆ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἤνικα σὲ κατέλαβε τοῦ μειρακίου τοῦ οἰνοχόου τοῦ Ὀινοπίωνος ἐν γόνασι κείμενον, τί οἷει; ἐπίστευσεν ἂν σοι μὴ εἶναι τοιοῦτον, αὐτὸ ὅρων τὸ ἔργον; οὐκ, εἴ γε μὴ παντάπασιν τυφλὸς ὦν. ἀλλὰ ἐδήλωσεν τὴν γνώμην αὐτίκα ἐξελάσας τῆς οἰκίας καὶ καθάρσιόν γε, ὡς φασί, περιενθεῖραν ἐγκών ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ ἐξοδῷ. Ἀχαϊα μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰταλία πᾶσα ἐμπέπλησται τῶν σῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς ἑπ' αὐτοῖς δόξης καὶ ὠναίῳ γε τῆς εὐκλείας. ὡστε πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ἐγὼγε τὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νῦν πραττόμενα ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐκείνο λέγω, ὅπερ ἀληθέστατον, ὡς ὁ ἐθάυμαζον εἰ τὰ πρώτα σου ἡδεισαν. καίτοι καινὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς γυναίκας προσέμαθες.

23 Οὐ περὶ πόδα σοῦν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ, εἰπὲ μοι, ἀποφράδα ὀνομάζεσθαι; ἀλλὰ τί, πρὸς Διὸς, καὶ φιλήσαι τῷ στόματι προσέτι ἄξιώσεις ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔργοις; τούτῳ γοῦν τὸ ὑβριστότατον ποιεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς οὗ ἦκιστα ἐχρῆν, καὶ τοὺς ὀμιλητὰς, οἳ ἴκανα ἦν ἐκείνα μόνα τὰ κακὰ τοῦ σοῦ στόματος ἀπολαύσω, τὸ βάρβαρον τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸ τραχύ τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ ἀκρίτου, τὸ ἄτακτον,

1 ὡς cod. Longolii: τῶς ΓΕΝΑ.
reputation for these things was greater, and your head was uncloaked under all circumstances.¹

There is only one person who would have believed you if you denied having done anything of the sort, and would have come to your assistance—your latest employer, one of the first gentlemen of Rome. The name itself you will allow me to withhold, especially in addressing people who all know whom I mean. As to all the liberties taken by you while you were with him that he tolerated, why should I speak of them? But when he found you in the company of his young cup-bearer Oenopion,—what do you think? Would he have believed you? Not unless he was completely blind. No, he made his opinion evident by driving you out of his house at once, and indeed conducting a lustration, they say, after your departure. And certainly Greece as well as Italy is completely filled with your doings, and your reputation for them, and I wish you joy of your fame! Consequently, to those who marvel at what you are now doing in Ephesus, I say (and it is true as can be) that they would not wonder if they knew your early performances. Yet you have learned something new here having to do with women.

Does it not, then, fit such a man to a hair to call him nefandous? But why in the name of Zeus should you take it upon yourself to kiss us after such performances? In so doing you behave very offensively, especially to those who ought least of all to be so treated, your pupils, for whom it would have been enough to get only those other horrid boons from your lips—barbarity of language, harshness of voice, indistinctness,

¹ Cf. Petronius, 7: operui caput.
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to pάntη άμουσον, καὶ τά τοιαύτα: φιλέσαι δέ
σε ἐπὶ τούτοις μή γένοιτο, ὥ illumination. ἀσπίδα
μᾶλλον ἡ ἔχιδναν φιλέσαι ἄμεινον. δήμαμα ἐκεί
tό κυνόνευμα, καὶ ἄλγημα, καὶ ὁ ιατρός εἰσκληθείς
ἐπήμυνεν: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ σοῦ φιλήματος καὶ τοῦ
ιοῦ ἐκεῖνου τίς ἂν ἡ ιεροὶς ἡ βωμοὶς προσέλθοι;
tίς δὲ ἂν θεὸς ἐπακούσειεν ἐτι εὐχομένου; πόσων
περιπραντηρίων, πόσων ποταμῶν δεῖ;

24 Καὶ τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ἂν κατεγέλας τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ'
ὀνόμασί καὶ ῥήμασιν, ἔργα τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικάντα
ἐργαζόμενος. καίτοι ἔγνω μὲν ἀποφράδα μὴ εἰδὼς
ησυχοῦν ἢν μᾶλλον, οὐχ ὅπως εἴπὼν ἁρνηθείην
ἀν. σὲ δὲ οὖδεις ἤτισάστο ἡμῶν βρωμολόγους
λέγοντα καὶ τροπομάσθλητας καὶ ῥήσιμετρεῖν
καὶ ἀθηνίω 1 καὶ ἀνθοκρατεῖν καὶ σφενδικίζειν καὶ
χειροβλημάθαι. 2 κακῶν κακῶς σε ὁ λόγιος Ἐρμῆς
ἐπιτρίψιειν αὐτοῖς λόγοις. ποῦ γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν
βιβλίων εὐρίσκεις; ἔν γωνία που τάχα τῶν
ἰαλέμων τινὸς ποιητῶν κατορωφυγέμενα, εὐρωτος
καὶ ἄραχνων μεστά, ἡ που ἐκ τῶν Φιλανιδοὺς Δέλ-
tῶν, ἃς διὰ χειρὸς ἔχεις. σοῦ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ σοῦ
στόματος ἄξια.

1 After ἀθηνίω MSS. have to Ἀθηνῶν ἐπιθυμῶ, omitted in ed. Flor., 1496.
2 χειροβλήμαθαι MSS., corrected by Cobet.

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1 Except for rhesimeter (to speak for a measured time, as in court), which Lucian's Lexiphanes uses (Lex., 9), these words are found only here. Their meaning is:

- bromologous: stench-mouthed.
- tropomasthletes: oily-mannered fellows.
- athenio: to yearn for Athens.
confusedness, complete tunelessness, and the like, but to kiss you—forfend it, Averter of Ill! Better kiss an asp or a viper; then the risk is a bite and a pain which the doctor cures when you call him. But from the venom of your kiss, who could approach victims or altars? What god would listen to one's prayer? How many bowls of holy water, how many rivers are required?

And you, who are of that sort, laughed at others in the matter of words and phrases, when you were doing such terrible deeds! For my part, had I not known the word nefandous, I should have been ashamed, so far am I from denying that I used it. In your own case, none of us criticised you for saying "bromologistes" and "tropomasthletes" and "to rhesimeter," and "Athenio," and "anthocracy" and "sphendicise" and "cheiroblime."¹ May Hermes, Lord of Language, blot you out miserably, language and all, for the miserable wretch that you are! Where in literature do you find these treasures? Perhaps buried somewhere in the closet of some composer of dirges, full of mildew and spiders' webs, or from the Tablets of Philaenis,² which you keep in hand. For you, however, and for your lips they are quite good enough.

anthocracy: apparently, rule of the "flower"; i.e., the select few.

sphendicise: to sling, very likely in the sense, to throw.

cheiroblime: to handle.

¹ The Tablets of Philaenis are frequently mentioned as an ars amatoria. An epigram by Aeschrion (Anth. Pal., VII, 345) says that it was not written by the woman whose name it bore, but by the sophist Polycrates. The book is therefore of the time of Polycrates, the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

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"Επεί δὲ τοῦ οτόματος ἐμνήσθην, τι φαίνης ἂν, εἰ σὲ ἡ γλώττα ἐς δικαστήριον προσκαλεσαμένη 1—θῶμεν γὰρ οὖτως—ἀδικήματος καὶ 2 τὸ μετριώτατον ὑβρεώς διώκοι, λέγουσα '.Expressions σε, ὡ ἀχάριστε, πένητα καὶ ἀπορον παραλαβοῦσα καὶ βιον δεόμενον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐποίησα, νῦν μὲν Νίνων, νῦν δὲ Μητίοχου, εἶτα μετὰ μικρὸν Ἀχιλλέα τιθείσα· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ παιδας συλλαβίζειν διδάσκοντα μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἐμφύσκον· ἢδὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τούτους λόγους ὑποκρινόμενον σοφιστὴν εἶναι δοκεῖν ἐποίησα καὶ τὴν μηδὲν προσήκουσαν δὸξαν περιήλθα. τὶ τοῖνυν τηλικοῦτο ἔχων ἐγκαλεῖν τοιαύτα με διατίθης καὶ ἐπιτάξτεις ἐπιτάγματα ἂσχιστα καὶ ὑπογίας καταπτύστους; οὐχ ίκανά μοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔργα, ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐπιρρεκέιν καὶ τοὺς τοσοῦτοις ὕθλους καὶ λήρους διαντλεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν βόρβορον τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ἔμειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νυκτὸς τὴν κακοδαίμονα σχολὴν ἄγειν ἕας, ἀλλὰ μόνη σοι πάντα ποιώ καὶ πατοῦμαι καὶ μαίνομαι,3 καὶ ἀντὶ γλώττης ὁσα καὶ χειρί χρήσθαι διέγνωκας καὶ ύστερ ἀλλοτρίαν ὑβρίζεις καὶ ἐπικλύζεις τοσοῦτος κακοίς. λαλεῖν μοι ἔργον ἐστὶ μόνων, τὰ δὲ τοιαύτα ποιεῖν καὶ πᾶσχειν ἄλλοις μέρει προστέτακται. ὦς ὥφελε καὶ με τὴν ύστερ τῆς Φιλομήλας ἐκτεμεῖν. μακαριώ·

1 προσκαλεσαμένη Bekker: προκαλεσαμένη MSS.
2 καὶ Fritzche: η MSS.
3 μαίνομαι Benedictus: μαίνομαι MSS.

1 As Ninus, the legendary king of Assyria, he supported a dancer in the rôle of Semiramis, enacting a plot presumably based on the Greek Ninus Romance (text and translation of 402
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Now that I have mentioned lips, what would you say if your tongue, summoning you to court, let us suppose, should prosecute you on a charge of injury and at the mildest, assault, saying: "Ingrate, I took you under my protection when you were poor and hard up and destitute of support, and first of all I made you successful in the theatre, making you now Ninus, now Metiochus, and then presently Achilles. After that, when you taught boys to spell, I kept you for a long time; and when at length you took to delivering these speeches of yours, composed by other people, I caused you to be considered a sophist, attaching to you a reputation which had nothing at all to do with you. What charge, then, have you to bring against me, so great that you treat me in this way, imposing disgraceful tasks and abominable services? Are not my daily tasks enough, lying, committing perjury, ladling out such an amount of silliness and twaddle, or (I should say) spewing out the nastiness of those speeches? Even at night you do not allow me, unlucky that I am, to take my rest, but unaided I do everything for you, am abused, defiled, treated deliberately like a hand rather than a tongue, insulted as if I were nothing to you, overwhelmed with so many injuries. My only function is to talk; other parts have been commissioned to do such things as those. Oh if only someone had cut me out, like the tongue of Philomela. More blessed

the fragments in S. Gaselee, Daphnis and Chloe [L.C.L.]; cf. R. M. Rattenbury, New Chapters in the Hist. of Greek Lit., III, pp. 211-223). Opposite to his Metiochus the Phrygian, the dancer played Parthenope; see The Dance, § 1. His Achilles was very likely that hero on Scyros, disguised as a girl, with the dancer taking the part of the king's daughter whom he beguiled, Deidameia; cf. p. 257.
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terai gōvν mοi aί γλώτται τῶν tα tέκνα kατεδη-
dοκότων.”

26 Πρόσ θεών, ἦν λέγη ταῦτα ἡ γλώττα, ἰδίων
αὐτή φωνήν λαβοῦσα καὶ τὸν πώγωνα συνήγορον
ἐπικαλεσαμένη, τί ἂν ἀποκρίναις αὐτῇ; ἔκεινα
dῆλον ὅτι ἄ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γλαύκον ἐναγχός εὐρήται
σοι ἐπὶ πεπραγμένῳ ἡδὴ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰτιώμενον,
ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐνδοξὸς ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ γνώριμος
ἀπασὶ γεγένησαι, πόθεν ἂν οὐτῶ περιβόητος ἐπὶ
τοῖς λόγοις γενόμενος; ἀγαπητὸν δὲ ὀπωσοῦν
κλεινὸν καὶ ονομαστὸν εἶναι. ἔτα καταριθμῆσεις

27 τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οὐκ ἡγανάκτεις, ἐν Συρίᾳ μὲν
Ῥοδοδάφυς κληθεῖς, ἐφ᾽ ὃ δὲ, νη τὴν Ἀθηναὶ,
αἰσχύνομαι διηγεῖσθαι, ὡστε τὸ γε ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ
ἀσαφεῖς ἐτί ἐστω.: ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ δὲ Φραγμός,
ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας τοῦ πώγωνος, οἶμαι, ὅτι ἐνυττε
μεταξύ: ἐτί γὰρ ἔξυρει αὐτὸν: ἐν 'Αιγύπτῳ δὲ
Συνάγχη, πρόδηλον τούτο: μικρὸν γοῦν φασιν
ἀποπνυγήναι σε ναύτῃ τινὶ τῶν τριαμένων ἐντυ-
χόντα, δὲ ἐμπεσὼν ἀπέφραξε σοι τὸ στόμα.
Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ βέλτιστοι αἰνηματῶδες οὐδὲν,
ἀλλὰ γράμματος ἐνὸς προσθήκη τιμήσαντες σε
'Ατίμαρχον ὠνόμαζον: ἐδει γὰρ κάκειον τι
περιττότερον προσεῖναι σοι. ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δὲ, βαβαί,

1 καταριθμῆσεις Lehmann: καταριθμῆσειν MSS.

1 Timarchus is the man whom Aeschines castigated for his
vices in an extant speech. From the wording of this passage
it has been very generally inferred that the name of Lucian's
butt was Timarchus. That, however, would be a singular
THE MISTAKEN CRITIC

in my sight are the tongues of parents who have eaten their children!"

In Heaven’s name, if your tongue should say that, acquiring a voice of its own, and getting your beard to join in the accusation, what response would you make? The reply, manifestly, which you made recently to Glaucus when he rebuked you just after a performance, that by this means you had speedily become famous and known to everyone, and how could you have become so notorious by making speeches? It was highly desirable, you said, to be renowned and celebrated in any way whatsoever. And then you might tell it your many nicknames, acquired in different nations. In that connection I marvel at it that you were distressed when you heard ‘nefandous’ but were not angry over those names. In Syria you were called Rhododaphne; the reason, by Athena, I am ashamed to tell. So as far as lies in me, it will still remain a mystery. In Palestine, you were Thorn-hedge, with reference, no doubt, to the prickling of your stubbly beard; for you still kept it shaved. In Egypt you were called Quinsy, which is clear. In fact, they say you were nearly throttled when you ran afoul of a lusty sailor who closed with you and stopped your mouth. The Athenians, excellent fellows that they are, gave you no enigmatic name but called you Atimarchus, honouring you with the addition of a single letter because you had to have something that went even beyond Timarchus. And in Italy—my word! you got that epic nickname of coincidence, which would surely have called for especial emphasis. All that Lucian intends to convey, I think, is that the Athenians did not nickname the man Timarchus as they might have done, but went a step further and styled him Atimarchus.
Των Χωρίων ἔκεινο ἐπεκλήθη, ὁ Κύκλωψ, ἐπειδὴ ποτὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄρχαίαν διασκεύην παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ῥαβδώσαι καὶ σὺ τὴν αἰσχροργίαν ἔπεθύμησας. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔκεισο μεθ' ὃν ἡδή, κισσύβιον ἑχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, βυνητῶν Πολύφημος, νεανίας δὲ ύπόμυσθος ὅρθον ἑχων τὸν μοχλὸν εὖ μάλα ἥκονημένον ἐπὶ σὲ Ὑδυσσεύς τις ἔπηει ὡς ἐκκόψαι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν.

κάκεινον μὲν ἀμαρτε, παραὶ δὲ οἱ ἐτράπετ' ἐγχοσ, αἰχμὴ δ' ἐξεσύθη 1 παρὰ νεῖατον ἄνθερεῶνα.

(καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀτοπον ὑπὲρ σοῦ λέγοντα ψυχρολογεῖτο.) σὺ δὲ ὁ Κύκλωψ, ἀναπετάσας τὸ στόμα καὶ ὁς ἐνι πλατύτατον κεχηνώσ, ἢνείχου τυφλοῦμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γνάθον, μᾶλλον δὲ ύστερ ἡ Χάρυβδις αὐτοῖς ναύταις καὶ πηδαλίας καὶ ἰστίοις ὅλων ξητῶν καταπιεῖν τὸν Οὐτών. καὶ ταῦτα ἔωρον καὶ ἄλλοι παρόντες. εἰτά σοι ἐσ τὴν ύπεραίαν μία ἡν ἀπολογία ἡ μέθη καὶ ἐς τὸν ἄκρατον ἀνέφευγεν. 2

28 Τουσότους δὴ καὶ τοσούτους ὀνόμασι πλουτῶν αἰσχύνη τὴν ἀποφράδα; πρὸς θεῶν εἰπέ μου, τι πάσχεις ἐπειδὰν κάκεινα λέγωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, λεσβιάζεις σε καὶ φουκίζεις; ἥρα καὶ ταῦτα ὑστερ τὴν ἀποφράδα ἁγνοεῖς καὶ οἰεὶ τάχα που ἐπαινεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν; ἡ ταῦτα μὲν διὰ τὸ σύντροφον οἶσθα, τὴν ἀποφράδα δὲ ὡς ἁγνώτα μόνην ἀτιμάζεις καὶ ἀποκλείεις τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ὀνομάτων; τοιγαροῦν οὗ μεμπτάς ἢμῖν τίνεις τὰς δίκας, ἀλλὰ μέχρι καὶ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος

1 ἐξεσύθη Ν: ἐξελύθη ΓΕΑ.
2 ἀνέφευγες Ν: ἐνέφευγες Γ(ΕΑ).
Cyclops, because once, over and above your old bag of tricks, you took a notion to do an obscene parody on Homer’s poetry itself, and while you lay there, drunk already, with a bowl of ivy-wood in your hand, a lecherous Polyphemus, a young man whom you had hired came at you as Odysseus, presenting his bar, thoroughly made ready, to put out your eye;

"And that he missed; his shaft was turned aside. Its point drove through beside the jawbone’s root.”

(Of course it is not at all out of the way, in discussing you, to be silly.) Well, you as the Cyclops, opening your mouth and setting it agape as widely as you could, submitted to having your jaw put out by him, or rather, like Charybdis, you strove to engulf your Noman whole, along with his crew, his rudder, and his sails. That was seen by other people present. Then the next day your only defence was drunkenness, and you sought sanctuary in the unwatered wine.

Rich as you are in these choice and numerous appellations, are you ashamed of ‘nefandous’? In the name of the gods, tell me how you feel when the rabble call you names derived from Lesbos and Phoenicia? Are you as unacquainted with these as with ‘nefandous,’ and do you perhaps think they are praising you? Or do you know these through old acquaintance, and is it only ‘nefandous’ that you scorn as unknown and exclude from your list of names? Consequently, you are paying us a penalty which cannot be considered inadequate; no, your notoriety

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1 The first line of this cento from the Iliad is XIII, 605 combined with XI, 233; the second is V, 293.
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The quaint conceit that with a trident all three might be despatched at a blow undoubtedly embellished a rhetorical "exercise" like Lucian's own Tyrannicide or Disowned.

On the book entitled Tricaranus ("Tricipitine," or "Three-Headed") see p. 96, n. 9.
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extends even to the women's quarters. Recently, for instance, when you had the hardihood to seek a match in Cyzicus, that excellent woman, who had very thoroughly informed herself in every particular said: "I do not care to have a man who needs one."

Then, being in such case, you bother about words, do you, and laugh, and insult other people? Not without reason, for we could not all use expressions like yours. How ever could we? Who is so greatly daring in language as to ask for a trident instead of a sword to use on three adulterers, as you did? Or to say of Theopompus, in passing judgement on his Tricaranus, that he had razed the outstanding cities single-handed with a three-pronged book? And again, that he had plied a ruinous trident upon Hellas, and that he was a literary Cerberus. Why, the other day you even lighted a lantern and went peering about, for some "brother," I suppose, that had got astray. And there are other examples beyond counting, which it is not worth while to mention, except for one that was heard and reported. A rich man, I gather, and two poor men were on bad terms. Then, in the middle of the story, speaking of the rich man, you said: "He killed \( \theta \alpha \tau \varepsilon \rho \omicron \omicron \nu \) (meaning one of the two, instead of saying \( \tau \omicron \nu \varepsilon \tau \rho \omicron \omicron \nu \)); and when those present laughed, as was natural, by way of correcting and undoing your slip you said: "No, not that; he killed \( \varepsilon \tau \rho \omicron \omicron \nu \)"! Your old-time slips I pass over, your use of the dual in speaking of three months, of \( \alpha \nu \nu \nu \varepsilon \mu \alpha \) (for \( \nu \nu \nu \varepsilon \mu \alpha \), windlessness), of \( \pi \varepsilon \tau \omicron \mu \alpha \) (for \( \pi \varepsilon \tau \omicron \mu \alpha \), I fly), of \( \epsilon \kappa \chi \nu \nu \epsilon \nu \) (for \( \epsilon \kappa \chi \nu \epsilon \nu \), to pour out), and all the other fine flowers that adorn your compositions.

\(^3\) Cerberus had three heads.
"A μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἐλαυνόμενος ποιεῖς, Ἀδράστεια φίλη, οὐκ ἂν τινὶ οὐνειδίσαμι. συνγνώστα γοῦν εἰ τις λιμῶ πιεζόμενος παρακαταθήκας παρ’ ἄνδρος πολίτου λαβών εἶτα ἐπιώρκησεν ἢ μὴν μὴ παρειληφέναι, ἢ εἰ τις ἀνασχυντὸς αὐτεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ προσαυτεὶ καὶ λωποδυτεὶ καὶ τελωνεῖ. οὗ δὴ λέγω ταῦτα: φθόνος γὰρ οὐδεῖς εξ ἀπαντος ἀμύνεσθαί τὴν ἀπορίαν. εκεῖνο δὲ οὐκέτι φορητὸν, τένητα σε ἀντα ἵνα μονὰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἡδονὰς ἐκχεῖν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀνασχυντίας περιγυγνόμενα. πλὴν ἐν1 γέ τι καὶ ἐπανεσθαι μοι δώσεις, πάνω ἀστείως ὑπὸ σοῦ πηπραγμένον, ὅποτε τοῦ Τισίου τὴν τέχνην οἴσθα ὡς τὸ δυσκόρακος ἔργον αὐτὸς ἐποίησας, ἐξαρτᾶσας τοῦ ἀνοίτου εκεῖνου πρεσβύτου χρυσοὺς τριάκοντα, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸν Τισίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ βιβλίου πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίας ἐξέτισε κατασοφισθείς.

31 Πολλά ἔτι ἔξων εἰπεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐκών ἀφόημι σοι, εἰκεῖνο δὲ μόνον προσλέγω, πράττε μὲν ταῦτα ὅπως σοι φίλον καὶ μὴ παύσαιο τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐς ἑαυτὸν παροικον, εἰκεῖνο δὲ μηκέτι, ἄπαγε· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐστίν αὐτὸς τὰ ταῦτα διατιθέντας καλεῖν καὶ φιλοτησίας προπίνειν καὶ ὅψων τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέσθαι. ἄλλα μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐστιν τὸ ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους, φιλήματα, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀποφράδα σοι ἐργασαμένους τὸ στόμα. καπειδήπερ ἀπαξ φιλικῆς παραι-

1 ἐν Bekker: εἰ MSS.

1 Apparently, Lucian's hero had sold to the old man as "Tisias' Handbook" a work on rhetoric which he had himself forged. Both Tisias and his master Corax, the founder of

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THE MISTAKEN CRITIC

As to what you do under the impulsion of poverty—by our Lady of Necessity! I cannot censure a single act. It can be overlooked, for example, if a man in the pinch of hunger who has received moneys entrusted to him by a man of his own city subsequently takes a false oath that he received nothing; or if a man shamelessly asks for gifts—begs, in fact—and steals and plies the trade of publican. That is not what I am talking about; for there is nothing invidious in fending off destitution by every means. But it goes beyond what is endurable when you, a poor man, pour the proceeds of your shamelessness into such indulgences only. However, you will permit me to praise one thing, anyhow, that very pretty performance of yours when you yourself—and you know it—composed the "Tisias' Handbook," that work of an ill-omened crow, thus robbing that stupid old man of thirty gold pieces; for because of Tisias' name he paid seven hundred and fifty drachmas for the book, gulled into it by you.¹

I have still a great deal that I might say; but I willingly forego the rest for you, adding only this: do as you like in everything else and do not cease to indulge in such maudlin behaviour at your own expense, but not that one thing—no, no! It is not decent to ask people who so act to the same table, to share a cup with them, and to partake of the same food. And let there be none of this kissing after lectures, either, especially with those who have made 'nefandous' apply to you not long before. And inasmuch as I have already begun to give friendly advice, rhetoric, were said to have written handbooks. This production, purporting to be by Tisias, was really the work of an ill-omened Korax (crow), thievish as such birds always are.
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νέσεως ἡρξάμην, κακείνα, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀφελε, τὸ μῦρῳ χρίσθαι τὰς πολίας καὶ τὸ πιττοῦσθαι μόνα ἐκείνα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ νόσος τις ἐπείγει, ἀπαν τὸ σῶμα θεραπευτέον, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν νοσεῖς τοιοῦτο, τί σοι βούλεται καθαρὰ καὶ λείᾳ καὶ ὀλισθηρὰ ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ μηδὲ ὀρᾶσθαι θέμις; ἐκεῖνο σοι μόνον σοφόν, αἱ πολιαὶ καὶ τὸ μηκέτι μελαίνεσθαι, ὡς προκάλυμμα εἴεν τῆς βδελυρίας. φείδον δὴ αὐτῶν πρὸς Δίος κἀκ τοῦτῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺ πώγωνος αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ μαινὴς ἔτι μηδὲ ὑβρίσης. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐν νυκτὶ γε καὶ σὺν σκότῳ, τὸ δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, ἄπαγε, κομιδὴ ἄγριον καὶ θηρίωδες.

32 Ὅρας, ὡς ἁμεινὸν ἦν σοι ἀκίνητον τὴν Καμά-ριναν ἔχων, μηδὲ καταγελᾶν τῆς ἀποφράδος, ἡ σοι ἀποφράδα τὸν βίον ὅλον ἐργάσεται; ἡ ἐτὶ προσδεῖ τινος; ὡς τὸ γε ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε ἐλλεῖψει, οὐδέπω γοῦν οἴσθα ὡς ὅλην τὴν ἁμαξαν ἐπεστάεω, δέον, ὁ παιπάλημα καὶ κίναδος, ὑποπτήσειν εἰ τις ἀνήρ δασὺς καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μελάμ-πυγος δριμὺ μόνον εἰς σὲ ἀποβλέψεις. Ἰοῦς ἦδη καὶ ταῦτα γελάσῃ, τὸ παιπάλημα καὶ τὸ κίναδος, ὁσπερ τινὰ αὐνίγματα καὶ γρίφους ἀκοῦσας, ἄγνωστα γάρ σοι τῶν σῶν ἔργων τὰ ὀνόματα.

1 κίναδος Guyet, here and below: κίναδος MSS., except ἰ in the second instance.
have done, if you please, with perfuming your grey hair, and depilating only certain parts; for if some ailment is besetting you, your whole body should be attended to, but if nothing of that sort ails you, what is the point of your making parts hairless, smooth, and sleek which should not even be seen? One thing only is prudent in you, your grey hairs, and that you no longer dye them, so that you can have them to cloak your iniquity. Spare them, in Heaven's name in this point also, and particularly your beard, too; do not defile or mistreat it any longer. If you must, let it be at night and in darkness; but by day—no, no!—that is absolutely uncivilised and beastly.

Do not you see that it would have been better for you to “leave Camarina undisturbed,”¹ and not to laugh at the word nefandous, which is going to make your whole life nefandous? Or is something more still required? As far as in me lies, it shall not remain wanting. To be sure, you are not yet aware that you have brought down the whole cartload on top of you, though you ought to grovel, you glozing varlet, if a man with hair on him, a swart-breech² (to use the good old phrase) were simply to look at you sourly. Perhaps you will even laugh at that, too—that “glozing varlet”—as if you had heard something enigmatic and riddling; for you do not know the words for your actions. So you now have

¹ The inhabitants of Camarina in Sicily, though warned by Delphi not to disturb the lagoon, also called Camarina, which flanked the city, drained it nevertheless. By so doing, they weakened their defences and brought about their city’s fall.

ὁστε ὥρα ἢδη καὶ ταῦτα συκοφαντεῖν, εἰ μὴ τριπλῇ καὶ τετραπλῇ σοι ἡ ἀποφράς ἐκτέτικεν. αἰτίω δὲ οὖν σεαυτόν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὡς γὰρ ὁ καλὸς Εὐριπίδης λέγει: εἰσὶν ἀχαλίνων στομάτων καὶ ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀνομίας τὸ τέλος δυστυχία γίγνεται.
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an opportunity to libel these expressions also, in case "nefandous" has not paid you out, three or four times over. Anyhow, blame yourself for everything. As that pretty wit Euripides used to say, of curbless mouths and folly and lawlessness the end is mischance.¹

¹ Bacchae, 386 ff., loosely quoted, without attention to metre; καὶ ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀνομίας is substituted for ἀνόμου τ' ἀφροσύνας, and γίγνεται is added.
THE PARLIAMENT OF THE GODS

This brief comic dialogue records the proceedings of an assembly on Olympus in which steps are taken to purge the celestial roster of aliens and interlopers. It has been called a sequel to *Zeus Rants* because in that dialogue (§ 42: II, 154) the caustic remarks of the infidel Damis about the odd gods worshipped in various parts of the world force Zeus to admit that Momus had been right in expecting all this to cause trouble one day, and to promise that he would try to set everything straight. It is to be noted, however, that in the *Parliament of the Gods* there is not only no allusion, direct or indirect, to *Zeus Rants*, but no suggestion that this purgation of the body politic has any relation to hostile criticism on earth. The connection, therefore, is not remarkably close. It is too bad that Lucian has left us no record of the subsequent proceedings before the committee on credentials. An account of the appearance of Mithras would have been particularly welcome.
ΘΕΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ

ΖΕΤΣ
1 Μηκέτι τονθορύζετε, ὥθεοι, μηδὲ κατὰ γωνίας συστρεφόμενοι πρὸς οἷς ἰ’allήλοις κοινολογεῖσθε, ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰ πολλοὶ ἀνάξιοι μετέχουσιν ἡμῖν τοῦ συμποσίου, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ἀποδεδοται περὶ τούτων ἐκκλησία, λεγέτω ἕκαστος ἐς τὸ φανερόν τὰ δοκοῦντα οἱ καὶ κατηγορεῖτω. σὺ δὲ κήρυττε, ὥ 'Ερμη, τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ ἕκ τοῦ νόμου.

ΕΡΜΗΣ
"Ακοῦε, σίγα. τὶς ἀγορεύειν βουλεῖται τῶν τελείων θεῶν οἷς ἐξεστὶν; ἡ δὲ σκέψις περὶ τῶν μετοίκων καὶ ξένων.

ΜΩΜΟΣ
'Εγὼ ὁ Μώμος, ὥ Ζεῦ, εἰ μοι ἐπιτρέψειας εἰπεῖν.

ΖΕΤΣ
Τὸ κήρυγμα ἡδὴ ἐφύησιν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ δεύσει.2

1 πρὸς οἷς ΠΡ, cf. Gall. 25: πρὸς τὸ οἷς Ν.
2 δεύσει Γ: δεύσῃ ΡΝ.
THE PARLIAMENT OF THE GODS

ZEUS

No more murmuring, Gods, or gathering in corners and whispering in each other's ears because you take it hard that many share our table who are not worthy. Now that a public meeting upon this question has been authorised, let each declare his opinion openly and bring his charges. Hermes, make the proclamation required by law.

HERMES

Hear ye! Silence! Among the gods of full standing, entitled to speak, who desires to do so? The question concerns resident aliens and foreigners.

MOMUS

I, Momus here, Zeus, if you would let me speak.

ZEUS

The proclamation itself gives permission, so that you will have no need of mine.
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ΜΩΜΟΣ

2 Φημι τοίνυν δεινα ποιεῖν ἐνίοις ἡμῶν, οίς οὐκ ἀπόχρη θεοὺς ἡμῶν, ἐνεργησθαίτε, ἀλλ’, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ θεραπεύετε αὐτῶν ἵστιμοι ἡμῖν ἀποφανοῦσιν, οὐδὲν μέγα οὐδὲ νεανικὸν οἴονται εἰργάσθαι. ἂξιῶ δέ, οὐ Ζεῦ, μετὰ παρρησίας μοι δοῦναι εἶπεῖν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως δυναίμην, ἄλλα πάντες με ἵσασιν ὡς ἐλεύθερος εἰμί τὴν γλώτταν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄν κατασωπήσαμι τῶν οὐ καλῶς γιγνομένων. διελέγχω γὰρ ἀπαντά καὶ λέγω τὰ δοκοῦντα μοι ἐς τὸ φανερὸν οὕτε δεδώς τυ ὑπ’ αἰδοὺς ἑπικαλύπτων τὴν γνώμην. ὡστε καὶ ἐπαχθής δοκῶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ συκοφαντικὸς τὴν φύσιν, δημοσίως τις κατήγορος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπονομαζόμενος. πλὴρ’ ἄλλ’ ἐπείπερ ἔξεστι καὶ κεκήρυκται καὶ οὐ, οὐ Ζεῦ, διδώς μετ’ ἐξουσίας εἶπεῖν, οὐδὲν ὑποστελάμενος ἐρῶ.

3 Πολλοὶ γὰρ, φημι, οὐκ ἄγαπῶντες ότι αὐτοὶ μετέχουσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἄχυροι καὶ εὐσυνοηοῦνται ἐπ’ ἰσης, καὶ ταύτα θνητοὶ εἰς ἦμοσειας ὑπέρεται καὶ διασώστας τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνήγαγον ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ παρενέργησαν, καὶ νῦν ἔπ’ ἰσης διανομᾶς τε νέμοιται καὶ θυσιῶν μετέχουσι, οὐδὲ καταβαλόντες ἡμῖν τὸ μετοίκιον.

ΖΕΤΣ

Μηδὲν αἰνιγματῶδες, ὥς Μῶμε, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς καὶ διαρρήδην λέγει, προστιθεὶς καὶ τοῦνομα, νῦν γὰρ ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀπέρριπται σοι ὁ λόγος,

1 θεοὶς Bekker. 2 αὐτοὺς N. 3 αἰνιγματῶδες N: αἰνιγματωδῶς GR, cett.

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MOMUS

Well then, I say that some of us behave shockingly; it is not enough for them that they themselves have become gods instead of men, but unless they can make their very attendants and servants as good as we are, they do not think they have done anything important or enterprising. And I beg you, Zeus, to let me speak frankly, for I could not do otherwise. Everybody knows how free of speech I am, and disinclined to hush up anything at all that is ill done. I criticize everybody and express my views openly, without either fearing anyone or concealing my opinion out of respect, so that most people think me vexatious and meddling by nature; they call me a regular public prosecutor. However, inasmuch as it is according to law, and the proclamation has been made, and you, Zeus, allow me to speak with complete liberty, I shall do so, without any reservations.

Many, I say, not content that they themselves take part in the same assemblies as we and feast with us on equal terms, and that too when they are half mortal, have lugged up into heaven their own servants and boon-companions and have fraudulently registered them, so that now they receive largesses and share in sacrifices on an equal footing without even having paid us the tax of resident aliens.

ZEUS

Let us have no riddles, Momus; speak in plain and explicit language, and supply the name, too. As it is, you have flung your statement into the midst of us
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ως πολλοὺς εἰκάζειν καὶ ἐφαρμόζειν ἄλλοτε ἄλλον
tois λεγομένοις. χρη δὲ παρρησιασθὴν ὠντα μηδὲν
ὀκνεῖν λέγειν.

ΜΟΜΟΣ

4 ἔθ γε, ὦ Ζεύ, ὅτι καὶ παροτρύνεις με πρὸς
tὴν παρρησίαν· ποιεῖς γὰρ τοῦτο βασιλικὸν ὡς
ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγαλόφρον, ὡστε ἢρῳ καὶ τούνομα:
ὁ γάρ τοι γενναιότατος οὗτος Διὸνυσος ἡμιάνθρωπος
ὡν, οὐδὲ Ἑλλην μητρόθεν ἄλλα Συροφοίνικός
τυνος ἐμπόροιν τοῦ Κάδμου θυγατριδοῦς, ἐπείπερ
ἡξιῶθη τῆς ἀθανασίας, οἷος μὲν αὐτὸς ἔστιν
οὐ λέγω, οὐτε τὴν μίτραν οὐτε τὴν μέθην οὐτε
tὸ βαδισμα· πάντες γάρ, οἶμαι, ὅρατε ὡς θῆλυς
καὶ γυναικεῖος τὴν φύσιν, ἡμιμανῆ, ἀκρατοῦ
ἐωθὲν ἀποπνέων· ὃ δὲ καὶ ὅλην φατρίαν 1 ἐσεπούρησεν
ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἐπαγόμενος πάρεστι
καὶ θεοὺς ἀπέφηνε τὸν Πάνα καὶ τὸν Σιληνὸν
καὶ Σατύρους, ἀγροίκους των καὶ αὐπόλους τοὺς
πολλοὺς, σκιρτητικοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς μορφὰς
ἀλλοκότους· ὡν ὁ μὲν κέρατα ἔχων καὶ ὅσον ἐξ
ἡμισειάς ἐς τὸ κάτω αἰγὶ έουσὼς καὶ γένειον βαθὺ
cαθεμένοις ὄλγον τράγον διαφέρων ἐστίν, ὃ δὲ
φαλακρὸς γέρων, σιμὸς τὴν ῥίνα, ἐπὶ ὅνοι τὰ
πολλὰ ὑχούμενος, Λυδὸς οὕτος, οἱ δὲ Σάτυροι
όξεις τὰ ὑτα, καὶ αὐτοῖ φαλακροί, κεράται,
oc τοῖς ἄρτι γεννηθεῖσων ἐρίφοις τὰ κέρατα
ὑποφύεται, Φρύγες τινὲς οἳτε. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ
οὐρὰς ἀπαντες. ὅρατε ο الأمريν ἡμῖν θεοὺς ποιεῖ
ὁ γεννάδας;

1 φατρίαν ΓΝΠ: φατρίαν (MCA) vulg., incorrectly for
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all, so that many are making guesses and applying your remarks now to one and now to another. Being an exponent of frankness, you must not stick at saying anything.

MOMUS

It is splendid, Zeus, that you actually urge me to frankness; that is a truly royal, high-souled action. Therefore I shall give the name. It is this peerless Dionysus, who is half human; in fact, on his mother's side he is not even Greek, but the grandson of a Syrophoenician trader named Cadmus. Inasmuch as he has been honoured with immortality, I say nothing of the man himself—either of his hood or of his drunkenness or of his gait; for you all, I think, see that he is womanish and unmanly in his character, half crazy, with strong drink on his breath from the beginning of the day. But he has foisted upon us a whole clan; he presents himself at the head of his rout, and has made gods out of Pan and Silenus and the Satyrs, regular farm-hands and goat-herds, most of them—capering fellows with queer shapes. One of them has horns and looks like a goat from the waist down, and wears a long beard, so that he is not much different from a goat. Another is a bald- pated gaffer with a flat nose who usually rides on a donkey. He is a Lydian. The Satyrs are prickleared, and they too are bald, with horns like those that bud on new-born kids; they are Phrygians, and they all have tails. D'ye see what sort of gods he is making for us, the bounder?
5 Εἶτα θαυμάζομεν εἰ καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὀρῶντες οὕτω γελοίους θεούς καὶ τεραστίους; εἰ δὲ γὰρ λέγειν ὃτι καὶ δύο γυναῖκας ἀνήγαγεν, τὴν μὲν ἐρωμένην οὓςαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν Ἀριάδνην, ἂς καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐγκατέλεξε τῷ τῶν ἄστρων χορῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἰκαρίου τοῦ γεωργοῦ θυγατέρα. καὶ ὁ πάντων γελοιότατος, ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸν κύνα τῆς Ἡραγόνης, καὶ τοῦτον ἀνήγαγεν, ὅσι μη ἀνώτω ἢ παῖς εἰ μὴ ἔξει ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὸ ἔστιν ἡκεῖν καὶ ὅπερ ἡγάπα κυνίδιον. ταύτα οὐχ ὑβρίς οὕτω δοκεῖ καὶ παρουσία καὶ γέλως; ἀκούσατε δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλοις.

ΖΕΤΕ

6 Μηδὲν, ὁ Μῶμε, εἰπῆς μήτε περὶ Ἀσκληπίου μήτε περὶ Ἡρακλέους· ὁρῶ γὰρ οἱ φέρη τῷ λόγῳ. οὕτω γὰρ, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ιαται καὶ ἀνιστησιν ἐκ τῶν νόσων καὶ ἔστων "πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων," ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς υἱὸς ὃς ἐμὸς οὐκ ὁλίγων πόνων ἐπράτο τὴν ἀθανασίαν. ὥστε μὴ κατηγόρει αὐτῶν.

ΜΟΜΟΣ

Σωπησόμαι, ὁ Ζεῦ, διὰ σέ, πολλὰ εἰπεῖν ἐχων. καίτοι εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐτι τὰ σημεῖα ἐχουσί τοῦ πυρός. εἰ δὲ ἐξῆν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν σέ τῇ παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι, πολλὰ ἄν εἶχον εἰπεῖν.

1 Erigone; her dog Maera guided her to the spot where Icarius lay buried. He had been slain by drunken shepherds to whom he had given wine that Dionysus had taught him how to make. After her suicide Erigone became Virgo, and Maera, it would seem from Lucian's κυνίδιον, Procyon (Canis
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And then we wonder that men despise us when they see such laughable and portentous deities! I omit to mention that he has also brought up two women, one his sweetheart Ariadne, whose very head-band he has admitted into the starry choir, and the other the daughter of Icarius the farmer! And what is most ridiculous of all, Gods, even Erigone’s dog—that too he has brought up, so that the little maid shall not be distressed if she cannot have in heaven her pet, darling doggie! Does not all this look to you like insolence, impudence, and mockery? But let me tell you about others.

ZEUS

Say nothing, Momus, about either Asclepius or Heracles, for I see where you are heading in your speech. As far as they are concerned, one of them is a doctor who cures people of their illnesses and is “as good as a host in himself,” whilst Heracles, though my own son, purchased his immortality at the cost of many labours; so do not denounce them.

MOMUS

I shall hold my tongue, Zeus, for your sake, although I have plenty to say. Indeed, if there were nothing else, they still carry the marks of fire! And if it were permissible to employ free speech about yourself, I should have plenty to say.

Minor). No doubt it is Momus’ indignation about the dog that accounts for his failure to mention Icarius’ introduction into the heavens as Boötes.

2 Iliad, XI, 514, alluding to Machaon.
3 Heracles cremated himself, and Asclepius was struck by lightning. Cf. p. 6, n. 1.
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ZETE

Καὶ μὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔξεστιν μάλιστα. μῶν δ' οὖν καὶ μὲν ἔχεις διώκεις;

ΜΝΜΟΣ

'Εν Κρήτῃ μὲν οὐ μόνον τότε ἀκοῦσαι ἔστω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο τι περὶ σοῦ λέγουσιν καὶ τάφον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι πείθομαι οὔτε Ἀχαίων Αἰγιεύσιν ὑποβολμαῖον σὲ εἶναι φα-7 σκούσιν. ἀ δὲ μάλιστα ἐλεγχθήναι δεῖν ἠγούμαι, ταῦτα ἔρω.

Τὴν γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχὴν τῶν τοιούτων παρανομη-μάτων καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ νοθευθῆναι ἠμῶν τὸ ἐξυνέδριον σύ, ὦ Ζεῦ, παρέσχες θυνταις ἐπιμι-γνύμενος καὶ κατὰν παρ' αὐτάς ἐν ἀλλοτε ἀλλῷ σχήματι, ὡστε ἡμᾶς δεδιέναι μή σε καταθύσῃ τις ἐυλαβῶν, ὀπόταν ταῦρος ἂς, ἢ τῶν χρυ-σοχῶν τις κατεργάσηται χρυσὸν ὄντα, καὶ ἀντὶ Διὸς ἢ ὁρμος ἢ ψελιον ἢ ἐλλόβιον ἠμῶν γένη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἐμπέπληκας γε τῶν οὐρανῶν τῶν ἠμιδέων τούτων. οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἀλλῳ εἰπομι. καὶ τὸ πράγμα γελοιώτατον ἔστων, ὀπόταν τῆς ἀφιν ἀκούσῃ ότι ὁ Ἑράκλῆς μὲν θεὸς ἀπεδείχθη, ὁ δὲ Εὐρυσθεὺς, ὦς ἐπέταττεν αὐτῷ, τέθνηκεν, καὶ πλησίον Ἑράκλεος νεὼς οἰκέτου ὄντος καὶ Εὐρυσθέως τάφος τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἐν Θήβαις Διόνυσος μὲν θεὸς, ὦ δ' ἀνεψιοι αὐτοῦ

1 Zeus was not only born in Crete, but buried there, in more than one place. His critics in Lucian several times refer to this fact (Timon, 4; Zeus Rants, 45). Lucian very
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ZEUS

I assure you, about me it is quite permissible. But you are not prosecuting me as an alien, are you?

MOMUS

Well, in Crete not only that may be heard, but they tell another story about you and show people a tomb. However, I put no faith either in them or in the Achaeans of Aegium, who assert that you are a changeling. But I do intend to speak of one thing that in my opinion ought by all means to be censured.

It was you, Zeus, who began these illegalities and caused the corruption of our body politic by cohabiting with mortal women and going down to visit them, now in one form, now in another. It has gone so far that we are afraid that someone may make a victim of you if he catches you when you are a bull, or that some goldsmith may work you up when you are gold, and instead of Zeus we may have you turning up as a necklace or a bracelet or an earring. However that may be, you have filled heaven with these—demi-gods! I do not care to put it otherwise. And it is a very ridiculous state of things when one suddenly hears that Heracles has been appointed a god, but Eurystheus, who used to order him about, is dead; and that the temple of Heracles, who was a slave, and the tomb of Eurystheus, his master, stand side by side; and again, that in Thebes Dionysus is a likely means the place that was pointed out to R. Pashley in 1834 as the tomb of Zeus, on Mt. Juktas; see A. J. Cook's Zeus, I, 157–163. The Achaean version of the birth of Zeus which made him out a changeling is not mentioned elsewhere, but plenty of places gave him other fathers than Cronus, which amounts to the same thing.
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8 'Αφ' οὖ δὲ ἀπάξ σύ, ὡ Ζεῦ, ἀνέῳξας τοῖς τοιούτοις τὰς θύρας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θυντάς ἐτράπον, ἀπαντες μεμιμηταί σε, καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἄρρενες μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ αἰσχυστὸν, καὶ αἰ θήλειαθεοί. 1 τὰς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδεν τὸν Ἀγχίσθην καὶ τὸν Τιθωνὸν καὶ τὸν Ἐνδυμίῳνα καὶ τὸν Ἱασίωνα 2 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους: ὡστε ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ. μακρὸν γὰρ ἂν τὸ διελέγχειν γένοιτο.

ΖΕΤΣ
Μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ Γανυμήδους, ὡ Μῶμε, εὔπης: χαλεπανῶ γὰρ εἰ λυπήσεις τὸ μειράκιον ὀνειδίσας ἐς τὸ γένος.

ΜΩΜΟΣ
Οὐκοῦν μηδὲ περὶ τοῦ ἄετοῦ εἶπω, ὅτι καὶ οὖτος ἐν τῷ οὐρανώ ἐστιν: ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου σκῆπτρου καθεξὸμενός καὶ μονονοχί ἐπὶ κεφαλήν. 9 σοὶ νεοττεύων, θεὸς εἶναι δοκῶν; ἥ καὶ τούτων τοῦ Γανυμήδους ἕνεκα ἐάσομεν;

'Αλλ' ὅ 'Αττης γε, ὡ Ζεῦ, καὶ ὁ Κορύβας καὶ ὁ Σαβάζιος, πόθεν ἦμῖν ἐπεισεκυκλήθησαν οὖτοι,

1 θήλεια θεοὶ Mrns: θήλεια θεὰl NH, θεὰl τΡ vulg.
2 Ἱασίωνα Guyet: Ἱάσονα, Ἱάσωνα MSS.

1 All three were own cousins of Dionysus, being sons of other daughters of Cadmus; Pentheus of Agave, Actaeon of Autonoe, and Learchus of Ino. Learchus was killed by his father Athamas.

2 In Icuromenippus, 27 (II, 312) a similar list of "alien gods of doubtful status" is given, in which, besides Pan, Attis, and Sabazius, we find the Corybantes. For Lucian's conception of them, see the note on The Dance, 8 (p. 220, n. 2). Here only one Corybas is remarked in the sacred precincts.

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god, but his cousins Pentheus, Actaeon, and Learchus were of all mankind the most ill-fated.¹

From the moment that you, Zeus, once opened our doors to such as they and turned your attention to mortal women, everyone else has copied you, and not the male sex alone but—what is most unseemly—even the goddesses. Who does not know about Anchises, Tithonus, Endymion, Iasion, and the rest of them? So I think I shall omit those incidents, for it would take too long if I were to pass censure on them.

ZEUS

Say nothing about Ganymede, Momus, for I shall be angry if you vex the little lad by disparaging his birth.

MOMUS

Then am I not to speak of the eagle, either, and say that he too is in heaven, where he sits upon your royal sceptre and all but nests on your head, passing for a god? Or must I omit him also, for the sake of Ganymede?

But Attis at all events, Zeus, and Corybas² and Sabazius³—how did they get trundled in upon us?

Does Lucian think of him as that one who was slain by the others (Clem. Alex., Protr., II, 19), and so as the central figure of the cult?

³ Sabazius was the centre of a wide-spread and important mystery-religion, which merged with that of Dionysus (Zagreus). He is frequently represented sitting in the palm of a great hand opened in a gesture like that of benediction (thumb and first two fingers extended), see Cook’s Zeus, I, 390, Fig. 296. Multitudes of attributes always surround him, and the bull, the ram, and the snake figured in his cult. On initiation, a snake was passed through the clothing of the initiate, and “snake through the bosom” is said to have been the pass-word (Clem. Alex., Protr., III, 15, 1).
3 Lucian recognises that the Getae were not Scythians but Thracians in Icaromenippus, 16, and that Zamolxis belongs to the Thracians in True Story, II, 17, and Zeus Rants, 44. On the other hand, the god is styled Scythian in The Scythian, 1 and 4, and in the passage before us, though he is ascribed to
Or Mithras yonder, the Mede, with his caftan and his cap, who does not even speak Greek, so that he cannot even understand if one drinks his health? The result is that the Scythians—the Getae among them—seeing all this have told us to go hang, and now confer immortality on their own account and elect as gods whomsoever they will, in the selfsame way that Zamolxis, a slave, obtained fraudulent admission to the roster, getting by with it somehow or other.¹

All that, however, is as nothing, Gods.—You there, you dog-faced, linen-vested Egyptian, who are you, my fine fellow, and how do you make out that you are a god, with that bark of yours?² And with what idea does this spotted bull of Memphis³ receive homage and give oracles and have prophets? I take shame to mention ibises and monkeys and billy-goats and other creatures far more ludicrous that somehow or other have been smuggled out of Egypt into heaven. How can you endure it, Gods, to see them worshipped as much as you, or even more? And you, Zeus, how can you put up with it when they grow ram's horns upon you?⁴

the Getae, they are represented as Scythian. Perhaps these two pieces are earlier than the others, and earlier than Toxaris, where Zamolxis is not mentioned. Zamolxis obtained his "fraudulent registration" by hiding in a cave and not appearing for four years, according to Herodotus (IV, 95). Strabo (VII, 5), who says that he was counsellor to the king, who connived at the fraud, adds that he was followed by a continuous succession of such gods; and to these Lucian must be alluding when he speaks of their electing gods.

¹ Anubis.
² Apis.
³ Zeus Ammon.
11 Αἰσχρὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα φῆς τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἀγιοιπτίων· ὄμως δ’ οὐν, ὡ Μῶμε, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν αἰνίγματα ἔστιν, καὶ οὐ πάνυ χρῆ καταγελᾶν ἀμύητον οὖν.

ΜΟΜΟΣ

Πάνυ γοῦν μυστηρίων, ὡ Ζεῦ, δεὶ ἡμῖν, ὡς εἰδέναι θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς, κυνοκεφάλους δὲ τοὺς κυνοκεφάλους.

ΖΗΤῂΣ

"Εὰ, φημὶ, τὰ περὶ Ἀγιοιπτίων· ἄλλοτε γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἐπισκεψόμεθα ἐπὶ σχολῆς. σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγε.

ΜΟΜΟΣ

12 Τὸν Τροφάνιον, ὡ Ζεῦ, καὶ ὁ μάλιστα μὲ ἀποτρίγει, τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον, ὃς ἐναγοῦσ ἀνθρώπον καὶ μητρολόγου 1 νίδος ἔννα μαντεῖται ὁ γενναῖος ἐν Κηλκία, πευδόμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γοητεύων τούν δυοίν ὀβολοιν ἐνεκα. τοιγαροῦν οὐκέτι σὺ, ὡ "Ἀπολλον, εὐδοκιμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἡδη πᾶς λίθος καὶ πᾶς βωμὸς χρήσμωδεῖ, ὃς ἀν ἐλαίω περιχυθῇ καὶ στεφάνους ἔχῃ καὶ γόητος ἀνδρὸς εὐπορήσῃ, οἰοὶ πολλοί εἶσιν. ἡδῆ καὶ ὁ Πολυδάμαντος τοῦ ἅλητον ἀνδριᾶς ὅτατ τοὺς πυρέττοντας ἐν

1 μητρολοίου N, edd.
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ZEUS

All these points that you mention about the Egyptians are in truth unseemly. Nevertheless, Momus, most of them are matters of symbolism and one who is not an adept in the mysteries really must not laugh at them.

MOMUS

A lot we need mysteries, Zeus, to know that gods are gods, and dogheads are dogheads!

ZEUS

Never mind, I say, about the Egyptians. Some other time we shall discuss their case at leisure. Go on and name the others.

MOMUS

Trophonius, Zeus, and (what sticks in my gorge beyond everything) Amphilochus, who, though the son of an outcast and matricide,\(^1\) gives prophecies, the miscreant, in Cilicia, telling lies most of the time and playing charlatan for the sake of his two obols. That is why you, Apollo, are no longer in favour; at present, oracles are delivered by every stone and every altar that is drenched with oil and has garlands and can provide itself with a charlatan—of whom there are plenty. Already the statue of Polydamas the athlete heals those who have fevers in Olympia,

\(^1\) Alemaeon, son of Amphiaraus; he slew his mother Eriphyle, fled from Argos in frenzy, and never returned.
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"Olympia and the Theagévous in Thásos, and "Ektori thýous in 'Ilíw and Proustías in Katantikrú in Xerxenés. ἀφ’ oú δ’ oúν τοσσοῦτο γεγόναμεν, ἐπιδέδωκε μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπιρκία καὶ ἱεροσυλία, καὶ ὀλος καταπεφρονήκασιν ἡμῶν—εὐ̂ ποιοῦντες.

13 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν νόθων καὶ παρεγγράπτων. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ξένα ὀνόματα πολλὰ ἡδὴ ἀκούων οὐτε ὄντων τινῶν παρ’ ἦμῶν οὔτε συστήναι ὀλος δυναμένων, πάνυ, ὡ Ζεὔ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων γελῶ. ἡ ποῦ γάρ ἑστιν ἡ πολυθρύλητος ἀρετή καὶ φύσις καὶ εἰμαρμένη καὶ τύχη, ἀνυπο- στατα καὶ κενὰ πραγμάτων ὀνόματα ὑπὸ βλακῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπινοηθέντα; καὶ ὅμως αὐτοσχέδια ὄντα οὔτω τοὺς ἀνοήτους πέπει- κεν, ὡστε οὐδεὶς ἦμῶν οὔδε θύειν βούλεται, εἰδῶς ὅτι, κἂν μυρίας ἐκατομμύρια παραστήσῃ, ὅμως τὴν τύχην πράξουσαν τὰ μεμοριαμένα καὶ ἂ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκάστῳ ἐπεκλώσθη. ἦδεως ἃν οὐν ἐρōιμην σε,

1 Polydamos, a gigantic pancratias, was said to have killed lions with his bare hands and stopped chariots at full speed by laying hold of them. Pausanias (VI, 5, 1) mentions his statue at Olympia, made by Lysippus, but does not speak of its healing the sick. But about the Thasian statue of Theagenes, who won 1400 crowns as boxer, pancratias, and runner, and was reputed to be a son of Heracles, we hear not only from Pausanias (VI, 11, 6—9) but from Oenomans (in Euseb., Praep. Evang., V, 34, 6—9) and Dio Chrysostom in his Rhodiaeus (XXXI, 95—97). After his death, when an enemy whipped the statue at night, it fell on him and killed him; so it was tried for murder, and flung into the sea.
and the statue of Theagenes does likewise in Thasos;¹ they sacrifice to Hector in Troy and to Protesilaus on the opposite shore, in the Chersonese. So, ever since we became so numerous, perjury and sacrilege have been increasing, and in general they have despised us—quite rightly.

Let this suffice on the subject of those who are base-born and fraudulently registered. But there are many outlandish names that have come to my ears, of beings not to be found among us and unable to exist at all as realities; and over these too, Zeus, I make very merry. Where is that famous Virtue, and Nature, and Destiny, and Chance? They are unsubstantial, empty appellations, excogitated by those dolts, the philosophers. All the same, artificial as they are, they have so imposed upon the witless that nobody is willing to do as much as sacrifice to us, knowing that though he offer ten thousand hecatombs, nevertheless "Chance" will effect what is "fated" and what has been "spun" for every man from the beginning. So I should like

vests then failed, and after the reason had been elicited from Delphi, the statue, miraculously recovered by fishermen in their net, was set up where it had stood before, and sacrifices were thereafter offered before it "as to a god." Pausanias adds that he knows that Theagenes had many other statues both in Greece and in "barbarian" parts, and that he healed sicknesses and received honours from the natives of those places. A very similar tale about the statue of another Olympic victor, the Locrian Euthycles, previously known only from Oenomaus (ibid., 10–11), can now be traced to the Iambi of Callimachus (Diegeseis, ed. Vitelli-Norsa, i, 37–ii, 8). And in Lucian's Lover of Lies, 18–20 (III, 346, ff.) there is an amusing account of activities imputed to the statue of Pellichus, a Corinthian general.
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ο Ζεύ, εἰ ποι έιδες ή ἄρετήν ή φύσιν ή εἰμαρμένην; οτι μὲν γὰρ αἱ καὶ σὺ ἀκούεις ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς, οἶδα, εἰ μὴ καὶ κωφός τις εἰ, ὡς βοώντων αὐτῶν μὴ ἐπαίειν.

Πολλὰ ἔτι ἔχων εἰπεῖν καταπαύσω τῶν λόγων ορῶ γοῦν πολλοὺς ἀχθομένους μοι λέγοντι καὶ συρίττοντας, ἐκείνους μάλιστα ὡς καθήσατο ἡ παρρησία τῶν λόγων. πέρας γοῦν, εἰ ἐθέλεις, ο Ζεύ, ψήφισμά τι περὶ τούτων ἀναγνώσομαι ἡδή εὐγγεγραμμένον.

ΖΕΤΣ

"Ἀνάγνωσθι οὐ πάντα γὰρ ἀλόγως ἡτίασω, καὶ δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπισχείν, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄν γίγνηται.

ΜΟΜΟΣ

"Ἀγάθη τύχη. Ἐκκλησίας ἐννόμου ἀγομένης ἐβδόμη ἱσταμένου ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπρυτάνευε καὶ προῆ-δρευε Ποσειδῶν, ἐπεστάτει Ἀπόλλων, ἐγραμ-μάτευε Μώμος Νυκτὸς καὶ ὁ Ὕπνος τῆς γνώμης εἶπεν.

1 οἴδα N, ἐδ.: oίδας ΓΡ.
2 εὶ vulg.: εστίν ΓΡΝ.
3 Ψήφισμα MSS.
4 ἐβδόμη Metageiτουνων ἱσταμένου γ2 only; probably by conjecture.

1 Obtaining from fourth-century Athens a formula for decrees of the senate and people, Olympus has filled in the blanks as best it could. At Athens, the name of a phyle, or tribe, would go in the first blank of the preamble, as "exercising the prytany"; but Olympus has no tribes, and anyhow Zeus should come first. So his name is set down there. The next two offices might now be crossed off; for as Zeus presides 436
to ask you, Zeus, if you have anywhere seen either Virtue or Nature or Destiny. I know that you too are always hearing of them in the discussions of the philosophers, unless you are deaf, so as not to be able to hear them screaming.

I still have plenty to say, but I will bring my speech to an end, for I notice that many are annoyed with me for my remarks, and are hissing, particularly those who have been touched to the quick by my frankness. To conclude, then, with your consent, Zeus, I shall read a motion on this subject which has already been committed to writing.

ZEUS

Read it, for not all your criticisms were unreasonable, and we must put a stop to most of this, so that it may not increase.

MOMUS (reads)

"With the blessing of Heaven! In a regular session of the assembly, held on the seventh of the month, Zeus presiding, Poseidon first vice-president, Apollo second vice-president, Momus, son of Night, recorder, the following resolution was proposed by Sleep:

at assemblies, there is no function left for the proedros, or chairman of the board of presidents, and the office of epistatès, or chairman of the prytanies, is already filled, since Zeus can hardly be "exercising the prytany" in any other capacity. However, there are the blanks!—and Poseidon, second in the Olympian hierarchy, will do all the better for proedros if it is a sinecure, while the duties actually performed by Apollo as Zeus' right-hand man and more or less of a factotum, are not too dissimilar to those of an Athenian epistatès in the fourth century B.C. These problems solved, the remaining blanks were easy to fill."
'Επειδή πολλοὶ τῶν ξένων, οὐ μόνον Ἑλληνες ἀλλὰ καὶ βάρβαροι, οὐδαμῶς ἄξιοι οὖντες κοινωνεύν ἦμιν τῆς πολιτείας, παρεγγραφέντες οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως καὶ θεοὶ δοξάντες ἐμπεπλήκασι μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς μεστὸν εἶναι τὸ συμπόσιον ὄχλου ταραχώδους πολυγλώσσων τινῶν καὶ ἐγγυ κλύδων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλέοιτε δὲ ἡ ἁμβροσία καὶ τὸ νέκταρ, ἀντε μνάς ἰδίῃ τὴν κοτύλην εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πινόντων· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αὐθαδείας παρωσάμενοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς τε καὶ ἀληθεῖς θεοὺς προεδρίας ἦξιώκασιν αὐτοὺς παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ προτιμάσθαι θέλουσι.

15 Δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ξυλλεγήναι μὲν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ Ὁλύμπῳ περί τροπάς χειμερινάς, ἐλέοντε καὶ ἐπιγνώμονας τελείους θεοὺς ἐπτὰ, τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Κρόνου, τέτταρας δὲ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν Δία· τούτους δὲ τοὺς ἐπιγνώμονας αὐτοὺς μὲν καθέξοθαι ὁμόσαντας τοῖς νόμιμοι ὀρκον τὴν Ἐσύγα, τὸν Ἐρμήν καὶ κηρύζατα ἐνυγγαγεῖν ἀπαντας ὁσοὶ ἄξιοι ξυντελεῖν ἐς τὸ ἐνυνδριον, τοὺς δὲ ήκειν μάρτυρας ἐπαγομένους ἐνωμότους καὶ ἀποδείξεις τοῦ γένους· τοὺν τεῦθεν δὲ οἱ μὲν παρέτωσαν καθ' ἑνα, οἱ δὲ ἐπιγνώμονες ἐξετάζοντες ηθεοῦς εἰναι ἀποφανοῦνται η καταπεμψουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ήρία καὶ τὰς θῆκας τὰς προγονικὰς. ην δὲ τὶς ἐλαὶ τῶν ἀδοκίμων καὶ ἀπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγνωμόνων ἐκκριθέντων ἐπιβαίνων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον ἐμπέσειν τούτον.

16 Ἐργάζεσθαι δὲ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκαστὸν, καὶ μήτε

1 δεδόχθω MSS.
"Whereas many aliens, not only Greeks but barbarians, in nowise worthy of admission to our body politic, by obtaining fraudulent registration in one way or another and coming to be accounted gods have so filled heaven that our festal board is packed with a noisy rabble of polyglot flotsam; and whereas the ambrosia and the nectar have run low, so that a cup now costs a mina, on account of the vast number of drinkers; and whereas in their boorishness they have thrust aside the ancient and genuine gods, have claimed precedence for themselves, contrary to all the institutions of our fathers, and want to be pre-eminently honoured on earth: therefore

"Be it resolved by the senate and the commons that a meeting of the assembly be convoked on Olympus at the time of the winter solstice; that seven gods of full standing be chosen as deputies, three to be from the old senate of the time of Cronus, and four from the Twelve, including Zeus; that these deputies before convening take the regular oath, invoking the Styx; that Hermes by proclamation assemble all who claim to belong to our body; that these present themselves with witnesses prepared to take oath, and with birth-certificates; that they then appear individually, and the deputies after investigation of each case either declare them to be gods or send them down to their sepulchres and the graves of their ancestors; and that if any one of those who shall fail of approval and shall have been expelled once for all by the deputies be caught setting foot in heaven, he be thrown into Tartarus;

"And be it further resolved that each ply
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τὴν Ἀθηναίην ἱάσθαι μήτε τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν χρησμώδειν μήτε τὸν Ἀπόλλων τοσαυτα μόνον
ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τι ἐπιλεξάμενον μάντιν ἢ κιθαρῳ-
δὸν ἢ ἰατρὸν εἶναι. τοῖς δὲ φιλοσόφοις προεπεῖν μὴ ἀναπλάττειν κενὰ ὁνόματα μηδὲ ληφεῖν περὶ
18 ὁν ὑμῖν ἰσασιν. ὅπωσι δὲ ἡ ὅτι ναὼν ἢ θυσίων ἡξιώθησαν, ἐκείνων μὲν καθαρεθήναι τὰ ἀγάλ-
ματα, ἐνεθήναι δὲ ἢ Δίος ἢ Ἡρας ἢ Ἀπόλλωνος
ἡ τῶν ἀλλων τινός, ἐκείνως δὲ τάφον χώσαι τὴν
πόλιν καὶ στήλην ἐπιστῆσαι ἀντί βωμοῦ. ἦν δὲ
της παρακούσῃ τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ μὴ ἐθέλησῃ
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιγνώμονας ἔλθεῖν, ἐρήμην αὐτοῦ κατα-
διατησάτωσαν.

Τούτῳ μὲν ὑμῖν τὸ ψῆφισμα.

ΖΕΤΣ

19 Δικαιώτατον, ὁ Μώμης· καὶ ὅτι δοκεῖ, ἀνατε-
νάτω τὴν χειρά· μᾶλλον δὲ, οὗτω γυγνέσθω,
πλείους γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐσονται οἱ μὴ χειροτονη-
σοντες. ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἀπίτε· ὅπως ποιοῦν ἡ
Ἐρμής, ὡκετε κομίζοντες ἐκαστος ἐναργῇ ἡ
gνωρίσματα καὶ σαφεἰς τὰς ἀποδείξεις, πατρὸς
όνομα καὶ μητρός, καὶ θεν καὶ ὅπως θεὸς ἐγένετο,
καὶ φυλὴ καὶ φράτορας. ὡς ὅστις ἄν μὴ ταῦτα
παράσχειται, οὐδὲν μελῆσει τοῖς ἐπιγνώμονας εἰ
νεὼν τις μέγαν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἔχει καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι
θεόν αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν.

1 μόνον not in N. Equivalent to ἐνα ὄντα.
2 κενὰ Par. 2956; κανά ΓΝΠΖΑ. Cf. § 13.
3 υμῖν ΓΡ: ἦμῖν ΖΝ (but N gives τοῦτο . . . ψῆφισμα to Zeus, wrongly).
4 χειροτονησοντες Ζ (apparently by correction) odd.: -σοντες
ΓΡΝ.

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his own trade; that Athena shall not heal the sick or Asclepius give oracles or Apollo combine in himself so many activities; he shall select one and be either seer or singer or physician; that the philosophers be warned not to make up empty names or talk nonsense about matters of which they know nothing; that in the case of those who already have been vouchsafed temples or sacrifices, their images be pulled down and those of Zeus or Hera or Apollo or one of the others be substituted; but the city shall raise a funeral-mound for them and set a gravestone upon it instead of an altar; that if anyone shall fail to comply with this proclamation and shall be unwilling to appear before the deputies, judgement by default shall be rendered against him."

There you have the resolution.

**ZEUS**

It is most equitable, Momus; so let everyone who is in favour of the resolution hold up his hand—but no! I declare it carried, as those who will not vote for it will be the majority, I know. Well, you may go now; but when Hermes makes the proclamation, present yourselves, and let each of you bring unmistakable means of identification and clear proofs—his father’s name and his mother’s, why and how he became a god, and his tribe and clan. For if anyone shall fail to put all this in evidence, it will make no difference to the deputies that he has a huge temple on earth and that men believe him to be a god.

__5 kai oi IZ: kai ei oi NP.__
THE TYRANNICIDE

This piece and the next are typical productions of the rhetorical school, where fictitious cases, often highly imaginative and improbable, were debated. The themes were common property, transmitted from one rhetorician to another. The one that underlies this declamation, outlined in the argument which precedes it, was later employed by Libanius (Or. VII) and still later by Choricius (XXVI). Erasmus, who was the author of the Latin translation of *Tyrannicide* and *Disowned* in its original form, wrote in Latin a companion-piece to *Tyrannicide*, a mock pleading in opposition to it, which is to be found in several of the old editions of Lucian.

If Lucian abandoned rhetoric at forty, as he says in the *Double Indictment* (32: III, 142), both these declamations should be early works. Of the two, *Tyrannicide* seems the earlier, as *Disowned* more closely approximates the style of his maturity.
ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΚΤΟΝΟΣ

'Ανήλθέν τις ες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀποκτείνων τὸν τύραννον· αὐτὸν μὲν οὐχ εὗρεν, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνας κατέλιπε τὸ ξίφος ἐν τῷ σώματι. ἐλθὼν ὁ τύραννος καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἰδὼν ἤδη νεκρὸν τῷ αὐτῷ ξίφει ἕαυτὸν ἀπεκτείνεν. αὐτεὶ ὁ ἀνελθὼν καὶ τὸν τοῦ τυράννου υἱὸν ἀνελὼν γέρας ὡς τυραννοκτόνος.

1 Δύο τυράννους ἀποκτείνας, ὁ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μᾶς ἠμέρας, τὸν μὲν ἤδη παρηθηκότα, τὸν δὲ ἀκμάζοντα καὶ πρὸς διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἑτοιμότερον, ἦκώ μίαν ὁμοιότατος αὐτῆς ὄνομα δωρεὰν μόνος τῶν πώποτε τυραννοκτόνων πληγῇ μᾶ ὑπὸ πονηροὺς ἀποσκευασμένος καὶ φονεύσας τὸν μὲν παῖδα τῷ ξίφει, τὸν πατέρα δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν φιλοστοργία. ὁ μὲν οὖν τύραννος ἀνθ' ὑπ' ἐποίησεν ἱκανὴν ἤμιν δέδωκε τιμωρίαν, ξόν μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ἔπιδων προανηρρημένον παρὰ τὴν τελευτὴν, τελευταίον δὲ ἱμακασμένος, τὸ παραδοξότατον, αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τυραννοκτόνος. ὁ παῖς δὲ ὁ ἐκείνου τέθνηκεν μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ὑπηρέτησε δὲ μοι καὶ ἀποθανὼν πρὸς ἄλλον φόνον, ξὼν τὸν μὲν συναδικῶν τῷ πατρί, μετὰ θάνατον δὲ πατροκτονήσας, ὡς ἐδύνατο.

1 Ξὼν Jensius: Ξώντι MSS.
THE TYRANNICIDE

A man went to the Acropolis to slay the tyrant. He did not find him, but slew his son and left his sword in the body. When the tyrant came and saw his son already dead, he slew himself with the same sword. The man who went up and slew the tyrant's son claims the reward for slaying the tyrant.

Two tyrants, gentlemen of the jury, have been done to death by me in a single day, one already past his prime, the other in the ripeness of his years and in better case to take up wrongdoing in his turn. Yet I have come to claim but one reward for both, as the only tyrant-slayer of all time who has done away with two malefactors at a single blow, killing the son with the sword and the father by means of his affection for his son. The tyrant has paid us a sufficient penalty for what he did, for while he still lived he saw his son, prematurely slain, in the toils of death, and at last (a thing incomparably strange) he himself was constrained to become his own executioner. And his son not only met death at my hands, but even after death assisted me to slay another; for though while he still lived he shared his father's crimes, after his death he slew his father as best he might.

1 The form of procedure posited is analogous to dokimasia at Athens. The claimant's right to the reward offered by the state has been challenged by one of his fellow-citizens, and the authorities have referred the question to a jury. The adversary, as plaintiff, has already spoken.
2 Την μὲν οὖν τυραννίδα διπάσας εἰμὶ ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ ξίφος διὰ τὰντα έιργασταὶ ἐμὸν, τὴν δὲ τάξιν ἐνήλιξα τῶν φόνων καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐκανονόμησα τῆς τῶν πονηρῶν τελευτῆς, τὸν μὲν ἱσχυρότερον καὶ ἀμύνασθαι δυνάμενον αὐτὸς ἀνελὼν, τὸν γέροντα δὲ μόνῳ παραχωρήσας τῷ ἔφει.

3 Ἡγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ περιττότερον τι ἐπί τούτοις ὑμῖν γενῆσθαι μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν καὶ δωρεᾶς ἐξίσους τοῖς ἄνθρωποις, ὡς ἂν οὖ τῶν παρόντων ἀπαλλάξας ὑμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν ἔλπιδος, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν βέβαιον παρασχῶν, οὐδενὸς παραλειμμένου ¹ κληρονόμοις τῶν ἀδικημάτων· μεταξὺ δὲ κινδυνεύω τοσάντα κατορθώσας ἀγέραστος ἀπελθεῖν παρ’ ὑμῶν καὶ μόνος στερέσθαι τῆς παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἀμοίβης, οὗς διεφύλαξα.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀντιλέγων οὕτως δοκεῖ μοι οὗ κηδόμενος, ὡς φησί, τῶν κοινῶν αὐτὸ ² ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι λελυπημένοι καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι τὸν ἐκείνου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτὸν γεγενημένου. ὡμεῖς δὲ ἀνάσχεσθε μοι, ὡς ἄνδρεσι δικασταί, πρὸς ὅλον τὰ ἐν τῇ τυραννίδῃ καὶ περ εἰδῶς ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς διηγομένου· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος οὗτω μάθοι ἂν τῆς εὐφρενότητας τῆς ἐμῆς, καὶ αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον εὑρεθήσετε λογιζόμενοι ὃν ἀπηλλάγητε.

Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἄλλους τοῖς ἦδη συνεβή πολλάκις, ἀπλὴν καὶ ἡμεῖς τυραννίδα καὶ μίαν δουλείαν ὑπεμείναμεν, οὐδὲ ἐνὸς ὑπηνέκαμεν ἐπιθυμίαν δεσπότου, ἄλλα μόνοι τῶν πώποτε τὰ ὁμοία δυστυχησάντων δύο ἀνθ’ ἐνὸς τυράννους εἰχομεν

¹ περιλειμμενον N (K. G. P. Schwartz).
² αὐτὸ Shorey: τὸ αὐτὸ Γ: τοῦτο BNZUC.

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THE TYRANNICIDE

It was I, then, who put an end to the tyranny, and the sword that accomplished everything was mine. But I inverted the order of executions, and made an innovation in the method of putting criminals to death, for I myself destroyed the stronger, the one capable of self-defence, and resigned the old man to my unaided sword.

It was my thought, therefore, that I should get for this a still more generous gift from you, and should receive rewards to match the number of the slain, because I had freed you not only from your present ills, but from your expectation of those that were to come, and had accorded you established liberty, since no successor in wrongdoing had been left alive. But now there is danger that after all these achievements I may come away from you unrewarded and may be the only one to be excluded from the recompense afforded by those laws which I maintained.

My adversary here seems to me to be taking this course, not, as he says, because of his concern for the interests of the state, but because of his grief over the dead men, and in the endeavour to avenge them upon the man who caused their death. On your part, however, gentlemen of the jury, bear with me for a moment while I recount the history of their tyranny, although you know it well; for then you can appreciate the greatness of my benefaction and you yourselves will be more exultant, thinking of all that you have escaped.

It is not as it has often before been with others; it is not a simple tyranny and a single slavery that we have endured, nor a single master's caprice that we have borne. Nay, of all those who have ever experienced such adversity we alone had two masters
καὶ πρὸς διττὰ οἱ δυστυχεῖς ἀδικήματα διηροῦμεθα. μετριώτερος δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἦν παρὰ πολὺ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ἢπιώτερος καὶ πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ἀμβλύτερος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας βραδύτερος, ὡς ἂν ἦδη τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ μὲν σφοδρότερον τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐπεχούσης, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἱδουνῶν ὀρέξεις χαλιναγωγοῦσης. καὶ πρὸς γε τῆν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἄκων προσήχθαι ἐλέγετο, οὐ πάνω τυραννικὸς αὐτὸς ὄν, ἀλλ’ εἰκὼν ἐκεῖνω· φιλότεκνος γὰρ ἐσ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐγένετο, ὦς ἐδείξεν, καὶ πάντα ὁ παῖς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεῖνω ἐπείθετο καὶ ἦδικε ὁσα κελεύοι καὶ ἐκόλαξεν οὐς προστάτων καὶ πάντα ὑπηρέτει, καὶ ὅλως ἐτυραννεῖτο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόροις τῶν τοῦ παιδὸς ἑπιθυμῶν ἦν.

5 'Ὁ νεανίας δὲ τῆς μὲν τιμῆς παρεχώρει καὶ ηλικίαν ἐκεῖνω καὶ μόνου ἐξίσιτατο τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνόματος, τὸ δ’ ἐργον τῆς τυραννίδος καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πιστὸν καὶ ἀσφαλές ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παρείχε τῇ δυναστείᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἀπόλαυσιν μόνος ἐκαρποῦτο τῶν ἀδικημάτων. ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ τοὺς δορυφόρους συνέχων, ὁ τὴν φρουρὰν κρατῶν, ὁ τοὺς τυραννομένους φοβῶν, ὁ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐκκόπτων, ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοὺς ἑφήβους ἀναστῶν, ὁ ἐνυβρίζων τοὺς γάμους. ἐκεῖνω αἱ παρθένοι αἰνήγοντο, καὶ εἰ τινὲς σφαγαὶ καὶ εἰ τινὲς φυγαὶ καὶ χρημάτων ἀφαίρεσις καὶ βάσανοι καὶ ὑβρεῖς, πάντα ταῦτα τολμήματα ἦν νεανίκα. ὁ γέρων δὲ ἐκεῖνω ἦκολούθει καὶ

1 φοβῶν Jacobitz: ἐκκόπτων MSS. Cf. n. 2.
2 ἐκκόπτων Jacobitz: φοβῶν MSS.
instead of one and were torn asunder, unlucky folk! between two sets of wrongs. The elder man was more moderate by far; less acrimonious in his fits of anger, less hasty in his punishments, and less headlong in his desires, because by now his age was staying the excessive violence of his impulses and curbing his appetite for pleasures. It was said, indeed, that he was reluctantly impelled to begin his wrongdoings by his son, since he himself was not at all tyrannical but yielded to the other. For he was excessively devoted to his children, as he has shown, and his son was all the world to him; so he gave way to him, did the wrongs that he bade, punished the men whom he designated, served him in all things, and in a word was tyrannised by him, and was mere minister to his son's desires.

The young man conceded the honour to him by right of age and abstained from the name of sovereignty, but only from that; he was the substance and the mainspring of the tyranny. He gave the government its assurance and security, and he alone reaped the profit of its crimes. It was he who kept their guardsmen together, who maintained their defences in strength, who terrorised their subjects and extirpated conspirators; it was he who plucked lads from their homes, who made a mockery of marriages; it was for him that maids were carried off; and whatever deeds of blood there were, whatever banishments, confiscations of property, applications of torture, and outrages—all these were a young man's emprises. The old man followed him and shared his

\[3 \, \text{ἐκεῖνῳ Struvo: ἐκεῖνος MSS.}\]
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συνηδίκει καὶ ἐπήνει μόνον τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδικήματα, καὶ τὸ πράγμα ἤμιν ἀφόρητον καθειστήκει· ὅταν γὰρ αἱ τῆς γνώμης ἐπιθυμίαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίαν προσλάβωσιν, οὐδένα δρον ποιοῦν- ταί τῶν ἀδικήματων.

6 Μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐλύπει, τὸ εἰδέναι μακράν, μάλλον δὲ ἀίδιον, τὴν δουλείαν ἐσομένην καὶ ἐκ διαδοχῆς παραδοθησομένην τὴν πόλιν ἄλλην ἀλλῳ δεσπότῃ καὶ ποιημῶν ἱληρονόμημα γενησόμενον τὸν δήμον· ὡς τοὺς γε ἄλλους οὐ μικρὰ τις ἐλπὶς αὐτή, τὸ λογίζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν "Ἀλλ᾽ ἢδη παύσεται," "Ἀλλ᾽ ἢδη τεθυν- ἔστα καὶ μετ᾽ ὅλιγον ἑλεύθεροι γενησόμεθα." ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνων δὲ οὔδεν τοιοῦτον ἠλπίζετο, ἀλλὰ ἐωρῶ- μεν ἢδη ἐτοιμὸν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. τοι- γαρούν οὔδ᾽ ἐπιχειρεῖν τις ἔτολμα τῶν γενικῶν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐμοὶ προαιρομένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέγνωσο τον παντάπασιν ἡ ἑλευθερία καὶ ἅμαχὸς ἡ τυραννίς ἐδόκει, πρὸς τοσοῦτος ἐσομένης τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως.

7 Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔμε ταῦτα ἐφόβησαν οὔδε τὸ δυσχερές τῆς πράξεως λογισάμενος ἀπώκησαν οὔδε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπεδείλασα, μόνος δὲ, μόνος πρὸς οὕτως ἴσχυρᾶν καὶ πολλῆς τυραννίδα, μάλλον δὲ οὐ μόνος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους ἀνήει τοῦ συμ- μέμαχεόμενον καὶ τὸ μέρος συντετυρανοκτονη- κότος, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν τὴν τελευτὴν ἔχων, ἀλλαξόμενος δὲ ὅμως τὴν κουρήν ἑλευθερίαν τῆς σφαγῆς τῆς ἐμῆς. ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ φρούρᾳ καὶ τρεφάμενος οὐ βαδίσω τοὺς δορυφόρους καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα κτείνων καὶ τὸ ἀνθιστάμενον πᾶν διαφθείρων ἐπὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τῶν ἐργῶν ιέμην, ἐπὶ τὴν μονὴν τῆς τυραννίδος ἵσυν,
wrongdoing, and had but praise for his son's misdeeds. So the thing became unendurable to us; for when the desires of the will acquire the licence of sovereignty, they recognise no limit to wrongdoing.

What hurt us most was to know that our slavery would be long, nay unending, that our city would be handed down by succession from despot to despot, and that our folk would be the heritage of villains. To other peoples it is no slight comfort to think, and to tell one another, "But it will stop soon," "But he will die soon, and in a little while we shall be free.' In their case, however, there was no such comfort; we saw the successor to the sovereignty already at hand. Therefore not one of the brave men who entertained the same purpose as myself even ventured to make an attempt. Liberty was wholly despaired of, and the tyranny was thought invincible, because any attempt would be directed against so many.

This, however, did not frighten me; I did not draw back when I estimated the difficulty of the achievement, nor play the coward in the face of danger. Alone, alone, I climbed the hill to front the tyranny that was so strong and many-headed—yet, not alone but with my sword that shared the fray with me and in its turn was tyrant-slayer too. I had my death in prospect, but sought to purchase our common liberty with the shedding of my own blood. I met the first guard-post, routed the guardsmen with no little difficulty, slew whomsoever I encountered, destroyed whatsoever blocked my path. Then I assailed the very forefront of my tasks, the sole

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1 πονηρῶν Dindorf: πονηρῶ ΓNZU: πονηρῶν C.

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8  Καὶ ἡ μὲν τυραννὶς ἡδὴ καθήρητο, καὶ πέρας εἰχὲ μοι τὸ τόλμημα, καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου πάντες ἤμεν ἐλεύθεροι, ἐλείπετο δὲ γέρων ἐτι μόνος, ἄνοπλος, ἀποβεβληκὼς τοὺς φύλακας, ἀπολωλεκὼς τὸν μέγαν ἐκείνον ἐαυτοῦ ἀδροφόρον, ἐρημος, οὐδὲ γενναίας ἐτι χειρὸς ἄξιος. Ἐνταῦθα τοῖνυν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλογιζόμην: "Πάντ’ ἔχει μοι καλῶς, πάντα πέπρακται, πάντα κατώρθωσαί. τίνα ἂν ὁ περίλοιπος κολασθεὶς τρόπον; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάξιος ἐστι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δεξιᾶς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπ’ ἐργῷ λαμπρῷ καὶ νεανίκῳ καὶ γενναίῳ ανθρημένος,1 κατασχίνων κάκεινήν τινα σφαγήν ἄξιον δὲ τίνα δεῖ ζητῆσαι δῆμου, ἀλλαγὴν συμφορᾶς,2 μηδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν κερδαίνῃ. ἰδέτω, κολασθῆτω, παρακείμενον ἐχέτω τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο τὰ λοιπὰ ἐντέλλομαι." ταῦτα βουλευσάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκποδῶν ἀπηλλαττόμην, δ’ ὃς ἐκ θρίσκοντος, διεπράξατο καὶ ἐτυραννοκτόνησεν καὶ τέλος ἐπέθηκε τῷ ἐμῷ δράματι. 9 Πάρεμι οὖν κομίζων ὑμῖν τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ θαρρεῖν ἢδη προκηρύσσων ἀπαντᾷ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εὐαγγελιζόμενος. ἢδη οὖν ἀπολαύσετε τῶν ἐργῶν τῶν ἐμῶν. κενὴ μὲν, ὡς ὀράτε, πονηρῶν ἦ

1 ἀνθρημένος Γ (late hand) vulg.; ἀνθρημένω ΓUNZBC.
2 ἀλλαγὴν συμφορᾶς Harmon: ἀλλὰ μὰ τὴν συμφορᾶν GBN: ἀλλ’ ἤμα τὴν συμφορᾶν Z: ἀλλὰ μετά τὴν συμφορᾶν UC. The corruption appears to come from glossing ἀλλαγὴν as ἀλλαγμα
strength of the tyranny, the cause of our calamities. I came upon the warden of the citadel, I saw him offer a brave defence and hold out against many wounds; and yet I slew him.

The tyranny, therefore, had at last been overthrown, my undertaking had attained fulfilment, and from that moment we all were free. Only an old man still remained, unarmed, his guards lost, that mighty henchman of his gone, deserted, no longer even worthy of a valiant arm.

Thereupon, gentlemen of the jury, I thus reasoned with myself; "All has gone well for me, everything is accomplished, my success is complete. How shall the survivor be punished? Of me and my right hand he is unworthy, particularly if his slaying were to follow a glorious, daring, valiant deed, dishonouring that other mortal thrust. He must seek a fitting executioner, a change of fate, and not profit by having the same one. Let him behold, suffer his punishment, have the sword lying at hand; I commit the rest to him." This plan formed, I myself withdrew, and he, as I had presaged, carried through with it, slew the tyrant, supplied the ending to my play.

I am here, then, to bring you democracy, to notify all that they may now take heart, and to herald the glad tidings of liberty. Even now you are enjoying the results of my achievements. The acropolis, as you see, is empty of malefactors, and nobody issues

by writing μα over ηρ; in consequence of which those two letters were mistakenly admitted into the text, as often happens in the Lucianic tradition.

8 τδ A, editors since Jacobitz. But see § 20.
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ακρόπολις, ἐπιτάττει δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμᾶν ἔξεστι καὶ δικάζειν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα γεγένηται δὲ ἔμε υἱῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν τόλμαν τὴν ἐμὴν, κάκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐκείνου φόνου, μεθ' ὅν οὐκέτι ζην πατήρ ἐδύνατο. ἀξίω δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τούτως τὴν ὀφειλομένην δοθήναι μοι παρ' υἱῶν δωρεάν, οὐ φιλοκερδὴς οὔδε μικρόλογος τις ὣν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετεῖν προηρμένος, ἀλλὰ βεβαιωθῆναι μοι βουλόμενος τὰ κατορθώματα τῇ δωρεᾷ καὶ μὴ διαβληθῆναι μηδὲ ἄδοξον γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν ἐμὴν ὡς ἀτελῆ καὶ γέρως ἀναξίαν κεκριμένην.

10 Οὕτως δὲ ἀντιλέγει καὶ φησίν οὐκ εὐλογον ποιεῖν με τιμᾶσθαι θέλοντα καὶ δωρεὰν λαμβάνειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τυραννοκτόνον οὐδὲ πεπράχθαι μοι τι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' ἐνεῖμι τὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷ ἐμῷ πρὸς ἀπαίτησιν τῆς δωρεᾶς. πουθάνομαι τούςν αὐτοῦ, "Τί λοιπὸν ἀπαιτεῖσ παρ' ἡμῶν; οὐκ ἡβουλήθην; οὐκ ἄνηλθον; οὐκ ἐφόνευσα; οὐκ ἠλευθέρωσα; μή τις ἐπιτάττει; μή τις κελεύει; μή τις ἀπειλεῖ δεσπότης; μή τίς με τῶν κακούρ-γων διέφυγεν; οὐκ ἂν εἴποις. ἀλλὰ πάντα εἰρήνης μεστὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἐλευθερία σαφῆς καὶ δημοκρατία βέβαιος καὶ γάμοι ἀνύ-βριστοι καὶ παῖδες ἀδεεῖς καὶ παρθένοι ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ ἐφορτάζουσα τὴν κοινὴν εὐτυχίαν ἡ πόλις. τίς οὖν δ' τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίος; τίς ο' ἐκεῖνα μὲν παύσας, τὰ δὲ παρεσχημένος; εἰ γὰρ τίς ἑστι πρὸ ἐμοῦ ¹ τιμᾶσθαι δίκαιος, παραχωρῷ τού

¹ πρὸ ἐμοῦ Gesner: τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ MSS., except Z (τῶν πάντων πρὸ ἐμοῦ).
orders; you may bestow honours, sit in judgement, and plead your cases in accordance with the laws. All this has come about for you through me and my bold deed, and in consequence of slaying that one man, after which his father could no longer continue in life. Therefore I request that you give me the reward which is my due, not because I am greedy or avaricious, or because it was my purpose to benefit my native land for hire, but because I wish that my achievements should be confirmed by the donative and that my undertaking should escape misrepresentation and loss of glory on the ground that it was not fully executed and has been pronounced unworthy of a reward.

This man, however, opposes my plea, and says that I am acting unreasonably in desiring to be honoured and to receive the gift, since I am not a tyrant-slayer, and have not accomplished anything in the eyes of the law; that my achievement is in some respect insufficient for claiming the reward. I ask him, therefore: "What more do you demand of me? Did I not form the purpose? Did I not climb the hill? Did I not slay? Did I not bring liberty? Does anyone issue orders? Does anyone give commands? Does any lord and master utter threats? Did any of the malefactors escape me? You cannot say so. No, everything is full of peace, we have all our laws, liberty is manifest, democracy is made safe, marriages are free from outrage, boys are free from fear, maidens are secure, and the city is celebrating its common good fortune. Who, then, is responsible for it all? Who stopped all that and caused all this? If there is anyone who deserves to be honoured in preference to me, I yield the guerdon, I resign the
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gift. But if I alone accomplished it all, making the venture, incurring the risks, going up to the citadel, taking life, inflicting punishment, wreaking vengeance upon them through one another, why do you misrepresent my achievements? Why, pray, do you make the people ungrateful towards me?

"Because you did not slay the tyrant himself; and the law bestows the reward upon the slayer of a tyrant!" Is there any difference, tell me, between slaying him and causing his death? For my part I think there is none. All that the lawgiver had in view was simply liberty, democracy, freedom from dire ills. He bestowed honour upon this, he considered this worthy of compensation; and you cannot say that it has come about otherwise than through me. For if I caused a death which made it impossible for that man to live, I myself accomplished his slaying. The deed was mine, the hand was his. Then quibble no longer about the manner of his end; do not enquire how he died, but whether he no longer lives, whether his no longer living is due to me. Otherwise, it seems to me that you will be likely to carry your enquiry still further, to the point of carping at your benefactors if one of them should do the killing with a stone or a staff or in some other way, and not with a sword.

What if I had starved the tyrant out of his hold and thus occasioned the necessity of his death? Would you in that case require me to have killed him with my own hand, or say that I failed in any respect of satisfying the law, even though the malefactor had been done to death more cruelly? Enquire into one thing only, demand this alone, disturb yourself about this alone, whether any one of the villains is left, any
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φόβου η τί ὑπόμνημα τῶν συμφορῶν; εἰ δὲ καθαρὰ πάντα καὶ εἰρηνικά, συκοφαντοῦντός ἐστιν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων χρώμενον ἀποστερεῖν ἑθέλειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπονημένοις δωρεῖν.

12 Ἐγώ δὲ καὶ τούτο μέμνημαι διηγορευμένον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις (ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν δουλείαν ἐπιλέῃσσαι τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰρημένων) αἰτίας θανάτου εἴναι διττάς, καὶ εἰ τις μὴ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπεκτείνει μηδὲ τῇ χειρὶ ἔδρασεν τὸ ἔργον, ἤνάγκασεν δὲ καὶ παρέσχεν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ φόνου, τὰ ἵσα καὶ τούτον ἀξίοι ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἀντικολά-ξεσθαι—μάλα δικαίως ὡς γὰρ ἡβούλευτο τὸ πεπραγμένον ἴσον ⁴ γίνεσθαι τῷ τῆς ἀδείας καὶ περιττῇ λοιπὸν ἡ ἐξέτασις τοῦ τρόπου τῆς σφαγῆς.

Εἴτε τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἀποκτείναντα κολάζειν ὡς ἀνδροφόνον δικαίως καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀφεῖσθαι θέλεις, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτω τρόπον εὗ πεποιηκότα τὴν πόλιν οὐ τῶν ὄμοιῶν ἄξιοσεις τοῖς εὐεργέ-13 ταῖς; οὔδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἂν ἔχοις λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπλῶς αὐτὸ ἔπραξα, ἡκολούθησε δὲ τὶ τέλος ἄλλως χρηστόν, ἐμοῦ μὴ θελήσαντος. τί γὰρ ἐτί ἐθελεῖν τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου πεφονευμένον; τί δὲ κατέλυσον τὸ ἔφος ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ, εἰ μὴ πάντως τὸ ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ προεμαντεύμην; ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ τούτῳ φῆς, ὡς οὐ τύραννος ὁ τεθνεὼς ἢν οὔδε

¹ χρώμενον Dindorf: χρωμένον MSS.
² δὲ N: not in ΠΖΒ.
³ καὶ Harmon: ἦ MSS. All editions follow the Florentine: διττάς, εἰ τις αὐτὸς ἀπεκτείνειΝ. The clause εἰ . . . ἀπεκτείνειν is not in ΠΝζΒΦΑ, and its admission creates asyndeton below (τὰ ἵσα, etc.).

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expectation of fearfulness, any reminder of our woes. If everything is uncontaminated and peaceful, only a cheat would wish to utilise the manner of accomplishing what has been done in order to take away the gratuity for the hard-won results.

I remember, moreover, this statement in the laws (unless, by reason of our protracted slavery, I have forgotten what is said in them), that there are two sorts of responsibility for manslaughter, and if, without taking life himself or doing the deed with his own hand, a man has necessitated and given rise to the killing, the law requires that in this case too he himself receive the same punishment—quite justly, for it was unwilling to be worsted by his deed through his immunity. It would be irrelevant, therefore, to enquire into the manner of the killing.

Can it, then, be that you think fit to punish as a murderer one who has taken life in this manner, and are not willing under any circumstances to acquit him, yet when a man has conferred a boon upon the city in the same way, you do not propose to hold him worthy of the same treatment as your benefactors? For you cannot even say that I did it at haphazard, and that a result followed which chanced to be beneficial, without my having intended it. What else did I fear after the stronger was slain, and why did I leave the sword in my victim if I did not absolutely prefigure exactly what would come to pass! You have no answer, unless you maintain that the dead man was not a tyrant and did not have that

* ήσον γίνεθαι τῷ τῆς ἀδείας (i.e., διὰ τὴν ἀδείαν) Harmon: ήσον γίνεθαι (γενέσθαι Ν) τῷ τῆς ἀδείας MSS. ήσον is a Renaissance conjecture. ήσον γίνεθαι τῷ τῆς αἰτίας Markland.
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tαύτην εἶχε τὴν προσηνορίαν, οὔτε δωρεᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλάς, εἰ ἀποθάνου, ἥδεως ἃν ύμεῖς ἑδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἶποις.

Εἶτα τοῦ τυράννου ἐπονομαζόμενον ἡ τῆν αἰτίαν παρασχόντι τῆς σφαγῆς οὐκ ἀποδώσεις τὴν δωρεάν; ὡ τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης. μελεί δὲ σοι, πῶς ἄπέθανεν, ἀπολαύοντι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἥ τον τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀποδεδωκότα περιττότερον τι προσαπαίτεῖς; "Καῖτοι ὦ γε νόμος," ὡς φῆς, "τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐξετάζει τῶν πεπραμένων, τὰ διὰ μέσου δὲ πάντα ἐὰ καὶ οὐκέτι πολυπραγμονεῖ." τι γὰρ; οὔχι καὶ εἰ δὲ ἐξελάσασα τις τύραννον ἡ τιμητὴν ἐλαβεν τυραννοκτόνον; καὶ μάλα δικαίως: ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ κάκεινος ἀντὶ δουλείας παρέσχεται. τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγενημένον οὐ φυγῇ οὔτε δευτέρας ἐπαναστάσεως ἐλπίς, ἀλλὰ παντελῆς καθαίρεσις καὶ πανωλθερία πάντος τοῦ γένους καὶ πιξόθεν τὸ δεινὸν ἀπαν ἐκκεκομιμένον.

14 Καὶ μοι πρὸς θεῶν ἡ ὕδη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐς τέλος, εἰ δοκεῖ, πάντα ἐξετάσατε, εἰ τὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν νόμον παραλείπεται καὶ εἰ ἐνδεί τὶ τῶν προσεύχεται ὁφειλόντων τυραννοκτόνων. πρώτα μὲν δὴ γνώμην προϋπάρχειν χρή γενναίαν καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ πρὸ τῶν κοινῶν κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλουσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων θανάτῳ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν σωτηρίαν ὑπηρεμοίην ἄρ' οὖν πρὸς τούτο ἐνεδέχασα, ἐμαλακίσθην, ἡ προελάμβανος τῶν διὰ μέσου κινδύνων ἀπώκησα; οὐκ ἂν εἴποις. μένε τοῖνοι ἐπὶ τούτου

1 πεφονομένου ἀνεληλυθότος MSS.
2 οὐχι καὶ Seager: καὶ οὐχί MSS.
3 τῶν NG (late corr.): τούτων Γ¹A, τοῦ τῶν ZUB.
4 προελάμβανος ῬUNZB(C)A: προειδομένος (F) ed. Flor. προειδομένος recent edd. Cf. Abd., 11.
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name; and that the city would not have been glad to make many presents on his account if he should lose his life. But you cannot say so.

Can it be that, now the tyrant has been slain, you are going to refuse the reward to the man who caused his death? What pettiness! Does it concern you how he died, as long as you enjoy your liberty? Do you demand any greater boon of the man who gave back your democracy? "But the law," you say, "scrutinises only the main point in the facts of the case, ignoring all the incidentals and raising no further question!" What! was there not once a man who obtained the guerdon of a tyrannicide by just driving a tyrant into exile? Quite rightly, too; for he bestowed liberty in exchange for slavery. But what I have wrought is not exile, or expectation of a second uprising, but complete abolition, extinction of the entire line, extirpation, root and branch, of the whole menace.

Do, in the name of the gods, make a full enquiry, if you like, from beginning to end, and see whether anything that affects the law has been left undone, and whether any qualification is wanting that a tyrant-slayer ought to have. In the first place, one must have at the outset a will that is valiant, patriotic, disposed to run risks for the common weal, and ready to purchase by its own extinction the deliverance of the people. Then did I fall short of that, play the weakling, or, my purpose formed, shrink from any of the risks that lay ahead? You cannot say so. Then confine your attention for a moment to this

1 The allusion is to Harmodius, who slew Hipparchus, the brother of the tyrant Hippias.
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έτι μόνον καὶ νόμιζε τοῦ θελήσαι μόνον καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι ταῦτα, εἰ καὶ μὴ χρηστὸν ἀποβεβήκει, ἐκ γε τῆς γνώμης αὐτῆς καταστάντα με γέρας ἀξιῶν ὡς εὐεργέτην λαμβάνειν. ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖ δυνηθέντος, ἀλλού δὲ μετ' ἐμὲ τετυραννοκτονηκότος, ἀλογον, εἰπέ μοι, ἡ ἀγνώμον ἢν παρασχεῖν; καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἐλεγον, ""Ἀνδρες, ἐβουλόμην, θέλησα, ἑπεχείρησα, ἑπειράθην τῆς γνώμης μόνης 1 ἁξίος εἰμι τιμᾶσθαι," τί ἂν ἀπεκρίνω τότε;

15 Νῦν δὲ οὖ τοιτό φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνήλθον καὶ ἐκυιδύνευσα καὶ μυρία πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νεανίσκου σφα- 
γῆς ἐπόνησα. 2 μὴ γὰρ οὐτω βάστων μηδὲ εὐχερές ὑπολάβητε εἰναι τὸ πράγμα, φοροῖν ὑπερβήναι καὶ δορυφόρων κρατήσαι καὶ τρέψασθαι τοσοῦ- 
τος μόνον, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ τυρα- 
νοκτονία καὶ το κεφάλαιον τῶν ἔργων τοῦτό ἐστιν. 
οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτός γε ὁ τύραννος μέγα καὶ δυσάλωτον 
καὶ δυσκατέργαστον ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ φονοϊντα 
καὶ συνέχοντα τὴν τυραννία, ἢ τις ἂν νικήσῃ, 
πάντα οὐτός κατώρθωσεν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλον. 
τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τῶν τυραννῶν προελθεῖν 3 οὐκ ἂν ὑπήρξε 
μοι, μὴ οὐχὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς φυλάκων καὶ δορυ- 
φόρων ἀπάντων κεκρατηκότε κάκεινως ἀπαντὸς 
προενικηκότε. οὐδὲν ἔτι προστίθημι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ 
τούτων αὖθις μὲνων φυλακῆς ἐκράτησα, δορυ- 
φόρους ἐνίκησα, τὸν τύραννον ἀφύλακτον, ἀνοπλὸν, 
γυμνὸν ἀπέδωκα. τιμῆς ἁξίος ἐπὶ τούτως εἰναι 
σοι δοκῶ, ἢ ἔτι ἀπαιτεῖσ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν φόνον;

1 ἑπειράθην τῆς γνώμης μόνον MSS.: corrected by du 
Soul.
2 ἐπόνησα Wytenbach: ἑποίησα MSS.
3 προελθεῖν ΙΝΖ: προσελθεῖν UB.

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point, and imagine that simply on account of my willing and planning all this, even if the result had not been favourable, I presented myself and demanded that in consequence of the intention itself I should receive a guerdon as a benefactor. Because I myself had not the power and someone else, coming after me, had slain the tyrant, would it be unreasonable, tell me, or absurd to give it me? Above all, if I said: “Gentlemen, I wanted it, willed it, undertook it, essayed it; simply for my intention I deserve to be honoured,” what answer would you have made in that case?

But as things are, that is not what I say; no, I climbed the acropolis, I put myself in peril, I accomplished untold labours before I slew the young man. For you must not suppose that the affair was so easy and simple—to pass a guard, to overpower men-at-arms, to rout so many by myself; no, this is quite the mightiest obstacle in the slaying of a tyrant, and the principal of its achievements. For of course it is not the tyrant himself that is mighty and impregnable and indomitable, but what guards and maintains his tyranny; if anyone conquers all this, he has attained complete success, and what remains is trivial. Of course the approach to the tyrants would not have been open to me if I had not overpowered all the guards and henchmen about them, conquering all these to begin with. I add nothing further, but once more confine myself to this point: I overpowered the outposts, conquered the bodyguards, rendered the tyrant unprotected, unarmed, defenceless. Does it seem to you that I deserve honour for that, or do you further demand of me the shedding of his blood?
16 Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ φόνον ζητεῖς, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐνδεί, οὐδὲ ἀναίμακτός εἰμι, ἀλλ' εἰργασμαὶ μεγάλην καὶ γενναίαν σφαγῆν νεανίσκου ἀκμάζοντος καὶ πᾶσι φοβεροῖ, δὲν ἀνεπιβούλευτος κάκεινος ἦν, ὦ μόνω ἐθάρρει, ὅς ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἦρκει δορυφόρων. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἄξιος, οὐ δότος, δωρεάς, ἀλλὰ ἀτύμος ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτοις γένωμαι; τί γὰρ, εἰ δορυφόρον ἔνα, τί δ' εἰ υπηρέτην τινὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἀπέκτεινα, τί δ' εἰ οἰκέτην τίμην, οὐ μέγα ἄν ἐδοξεν καὶ τοῦτο, ἀνελθόντα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὀπλοῖς φόνον τινὸς ἐργάσασθαι τῶν τοῦ τυράννου φίλων; νῦν δὲ καὶ τὸν πεφονεμένον αὐτὸν ἰδέ. οὐδ' ἦν τυράννος, μᾶλλον δὲ τυράννος χαλεπώτερος καὶ δεσπότης ἀπαραίτητος καὶ κολαστής ωμότερος καὶ ὑβριστὴς βιαστέρος, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, κληρονόμος τῶν ὦλων καὶ διάδοχος καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ παρατείναι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας συμφορᾶς δυνάμενος.

17 Βούλει τοῦτο μόνον πεπράχθαι μοι, ξῆν δὲ ἐτί τὸν τυράννον διαπεφευγότα; γέρας δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰτῶ. τί φατέ; οὐ δώσετε; οὐχὶ κάκεινον υψωράσθε; οὐ δεσπότης; οὐ βαρύς; οὐκ ἀφόρητος ἦν;

Νῦν δὲ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ ἐννοῆσατε: ὁ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἐμοὶ, τοῦτο ως ἐνή ἄριστα διεπραξάμην, καὶ τὸν τυράννον ἀπέκτεινα ἐτέρῳ φόνῳ, οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ πληγῇ μιᾷ, ὅπερ εὐκταίοτατον ἦν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτοις ἀδικήμασι, ἀλλὰ λύτη προβασανίσας πολλῆ καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς δείξας τὰ φιλτατα ὀικτρῶς προκείμενα, νῦν ἐν
But even if you require bloodshed, that is not wanting either, and I am not unstained with blood; on the contrary, I have done a great and valiant deed in that I slew a young man in the fullness of his strength, terrible to all, through whom that other was unassailed by plots, on whom alone he relied, who sufficed him instead of many guardsmen. Then am I not deserving of a reward, man? Am I to be devoid of honours for such deeds? What if I had killed a bodyguard, or some henchman of the tyrant, or a valued slave? Would not even this have seemed a great thing, to go up and slay one of the tyrant's friends in the midst of the citadel, in the midst of arms? But as it is, look at the slain man himself! He was a tyrant's son, nay more, a harsher tyrant, an inexorable despot, a more cruel chastiser, a more violent oppressor; what is most important, he was heir and successor to everything, and capable of prolonging vastly the duration of our misery.

Suppose, if you will, that this was my sole achievement—that the tyrant has made his escape and is still alive. Well and good, I demand a guerdon for this. What do you all say? Will you not vouchsafe it? Did you not view the son, too, with concern? Was he not a despot? Was he not cruel, unendurable?

As it is, however, think of the crowning feat itself. What this man requires of me I accomplished in the best possible way. I killed the tyrant by killing someone else, not directly nor at a single blow, which would have been his fondest prayer after misdeeds so monstrous. No, first I tortured him with profound grief, displayed full in his view all that was dearest
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Ἠλικία, εἰ καὶ πονηρόν, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ ἀκμάζοντα καὶ ὁμοιόν τῷ πατρί, αἴματος καὶ λύθρου ἐμπεπλησμένον. ταῦτ' ἔστι πατέρων τὰ τραύματα, ταῦτα ξίφη δικαίων τυραννοκτόνων, οὗτος θάνατος ἄξιος ὤμων τυράννων, αὕτη τιμωρία πρέπουσα τοσούτοις ἀδικήμασιν· τὸ δ' εὐθὺς ἀποθανεῖν, τὸ δ' ἀγνοῆσαι, τὸ δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο θέαμα ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔχει τυραννικῆς κολάσεως ἄξιον.

18 Οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόσαν, δ' οὗτος, οὐκ ἠγνόσαν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς, ὅσην ἐκεῖνοι εὑνοικα πρὸς τὸν οὐν εἴχεν καὶ ως οὐκ ἂν ἠξίωσεν ἐπιβιώσαι οὐδ' ὄλγον αὐτῷ χρόνον. πάντες μὲν γὰρ πατέρες ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς παιδας τοιοῦτοι, δ' δὲ καὶ περιπτοτέρον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἴχεν, εἰκότως, ὅρων μόνον ἐκεῖνον κηδεμόνα καὶ φύλακα τῆς τυραννίδος καὶ μόνον προκυδουνούντα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῇ ἀρχῇ παρεχόμενον. ὡστε εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν εὐθὺς ἐπιστάμην τεθνηξόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ λογιούμενον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐτὶ τοῦ ζῆν όφελος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀσφαλείας καθηρημένης. ἀπαντὰ τοῖνυν αὐτῷ ἄθροα περιέστησα, τὴν φύσιν, τὴν λύπην, τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν, τὸν φόβον, τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων: ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρησάμην τόσα συμμάχου καὶ πρὸς τὴν τελευταίαν ἐκείνην σκέψιν κατηνάγκασα. ἀπέθανεν ύμῖν ἀτεκνός, λελυπημένος, ὀδυρόμενος, δακρύων, πεπνηκός πένθος ὀλγυχρόνου μὲν, ἀλλ' ἰκανὸν πατρὶ, καὶ τὸ δεινότατον, αὐτὸς

1 τὸ δ' εὐθὺς ἀγνοῆσαι MSS.: εὐθὺς excised by Fritzsche.
2 τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἘΒΥΖ: τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων Ν: τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδας χρόνων (C)ADF, edd.—plausible, but conjectural, for more is missing. Supply approximately
to him lying exposed in pitiable case, a son in his youth, wicked, to be sure, but in the fullness of his strength and the image of his sire, befouled with blood and gore. Those are the wounds of fathers, those the swords of tyrannicides who deal justly, that is the death deserved by savage tyrants, that the requital befitting misdeeds so great. To die forthwith, to know nothing, to see no such spectacle has in it nothing worthy of a tyrant's punishment.

For I was not unaware, man—I was not unaware, nor was anyone else, how much love he had for his son, and that he would not have wanted to outlive him even a little while. To be sure, all fathers no doubt have such feelings toward their children; but in his case there was something more than in the case of others; naturally, for he discerned that it was his son who alone cherished and guarded the tyranny, who alone faced danger in his father's stead, and gave security to his rule. Consequently I knew that he would lay down his life at once, if not through his love, then at all events through his despair, considering that there was no profit in life now that the security derived from his son had been abolished. I encompassed him, therefore, with all manner of toils at once—his nature, his grief, his despair, his misgivings about the future; I used these allies against him, and forced him to that final decision. He has gone to his death childless, grief-stricken, in sorrow and in tears, after mourning but a little while, it is true, yet long enough for a father; gone (and that is most horrible) by his own

éπίδας πονηρᾶς. τούτοις οἷον. This is the reading followed in the translation.

2 πρὸς Pellet: περὶ MSS., perhaps a variant on ἐπὶ above.
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υφ’ αὐτοῦ, ὅσπερ θανάτων οἰκτιστος καὶ πολλάχια
χαλεπώτερος ἢ ἐι ὑπ’ ἄλλου γίγνοτο.

19 Ποῦ μοι τὸ ξίφος; μὴ τις ἄλλος τοῦτο γνωρίζει; μὴ τινος ἄλλου ὅπλον τοῦτο ἦν; τίς αὐτὸ ἐς τήν ἄκροπολιν ἀνεκόμισε; πρὸ τοῦ τυράννου τίς ἐχρήσατο; τίς αὐτὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ἀπέστειλεν; ὃ ξίφος κοινωνὸν καὶ διάδοχον τῶν ἐμῶν κατορθωμάτων, μετὰ τοσοῦτος κυδύνους, μετὰ τοσοῦτος φόνους ἁμελούμεθα καὶ ἀνάξιοι δοκούμεν δωρεάς. εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦτο τὴν τιμὴν ᾦτουν παρ᾽ ὕμιῶν, εἰ γὰρ ἔλεγον, ἃ Ἀνδρεις, ἀποθανεῖν ἑθελήσαντι τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ ἀνόπλῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ κατελήμμενῳ ξίφος τούτῳ ἐμὸν ὑπηρέτησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐλευθερίας συνήργησε πάντη, τοῦτο ἡ τιμὴς τε καὶ δωρεάς ἀξίων νομίσατε,” δεσπότην οὐτως δημοτικοῦ κτήματος οὐκ ἦν ἡμείσαθε; οὐκ ἦν ἐν τοῖς εὐρύγεταις ἀνεγράψατε; οὐκ ἦν τὸ ξίφος ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνεθήκατε; οὐκ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θεῶν κάκεινο προσεκυνήσατε;

20 Νῦν μοι ἐννοήσατε οἷα πεποιηκέναι εἰκὸς τοῦ τυράννου, οἷα δὲ εἰρήκεναι πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ φονεύσατο καὶ τυρωσκόμενος πολλοῖς τραύμασιν ἐς τὰ φανερά τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἂν μᾶλιστα λυπήσειν ἔμελλον τὸν γεγονότο, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς πρωτῆς θέας διασπαράξειν, ὡς ἂν ἀνεβόθησεν οἰκτρὸν, ἐπιβοώμενος τὸν γεγονότον οὐ βοηθόν οὐδὲ σύμμαχον—ἔδει γὰρ πρεσβύτην ὄντα καὶ ἀσθενῆ—ἀλλὰ θεατὴν τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπηλλαττήμην ποιήσας μὲν τῆς ὀλης

1 τίς N, cod. Graevii: not in other MSS.
2 πάντη Guyet: pânti MSS.
3 τοῦ ΓΖ.
hand, the most pitiable of deaths, far more bitter than as if it should come about at the hand of another.

Where is my sword? Does anyone else recognise this? Was this any other man's weapon? Who carried it up to the citadel? Who preceded the tyrant in its use? Who commissioned it against him? Good sword, partner and promoter of my successes, after so many perils, after so many slayings, we are disregarded and thought unworthy of a reward! If it were for the sword alone that I sought the meed of honour from you—if I were pleading: "Gentlemen, when the tyrant wished to die and at the moment found himself unarmed, this sword of mine served him and did its part in every way towards the attainment of liberty—account it worthy of honour and reward," would you not have requited the owner of a possession so valuable to the state? Would you not have recorded him among your benefactors? Would you not have enshrined the sword among your hallowed treasures? Would you not have worshipped it along with the gods?

Now then, imagine, I beg you, what the tyrant no doubt did and what he said before his end. When I sought to slay the son and wounded him again and again in those parts of his body which could be seen, that so I might grieve the parent most, that so I might rend his heart through the first sight, he raised a doleful cry, calling his parent to him, not to aid him or share the conflict—for he knew him to be old and weak—but to behold his own calamities. Before I slipped away, I had myself composed the

* γὰρ not in ΠΖ.
τραγωδίας γεγενημένος, καταληπτών δὲ τῷ ὑπο-
κριτῇ τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ τὴν σκηνήν καὶ τὸ ξίφος
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ δράματος· ἐπιστὰς δὲ ἐκείνος
καὶ ἰδὼν ύδων ὅν εἶχεν μόνον ὀλίγον ἐμπνέοντα,
ἡμαγμένον, ἐμπεπλησμένον τοῦ φόνου καὶ τὰ
τραύματα συνεχῇ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ καίρια, ἀνεβόησεν
τούτο. "Τέκνον, ἀνηρήμεθα, πεφονεύμεθα, τετυ-
ραννοκτονήμεθα, τοῦ ὁ σφαγεύς; τίνι με τηρεῖ;
tίνι με φυλάττει διὰ σοῦ, τέκνον, προανηρρίμενον;
ἡ μή τι ὡς γέροντος ὑπερφρονεῖ, καὶ τῇ βραδυτήτι,
kολάζειν δέον, καὶ παρατείνει μοι τὸν φόνον καὶ
μακροτέραν μοι τὴν σφαγὴν ποιεῖ;" 21
Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἐξήτει τὸ ξίφος· αὐτὸς γὰρ
ἀνοπλὸς ἦν διὰ τὸ πάντα τῷ παιδὶ θαρρεῖν. ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἐνεδέχεσθαν, πάλαι δὲ ἦν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ
tούτῳ προπαρεσκευασμένον καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον
tόλμημα καταλειμμένον. ἀποσπάσας δὴ τῆς
σφαγῆς καὶ τοῦ τραύματος ἔξελων τὸ ξίφος
φησί, "Πρὸ μικροῦ μὲν με ἀπέκτεινας, νῦν δὲ
ἀνάπαυσον, ξίφος· πατρὶ νενοῦτι παραμύθιον
ἐλθε καὶ πρεσβυτικῇ κερὶ δυστυχώς συνα-
γώνισα. ἀπόσφαξον, τυραννοκτόνησον καὶ τοῦ
πενθεῖν ἀπάλλαξον. εἴθε πρῶτος σοι ἐνέτυχον,
eἴθε τὴν τάξιν προύλαβον τοῦ φόνου. ἀπέθανον
ἀν, ἀλλ' ὡς 1 τύραννος μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐτι νομίζων
ἐξειν ἐκδικον· νῦν δὲ ὡς ἀτεκνός, νῦν δὲ ὡς οὐδὲ
φονέως εὐπορῶν." Καὶ ταῦτα ἀμα λέγων ἐπήγε
τὴν σφαγὴν τρέμων, οὐ δυνάμενος, ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν,
ἀσθενῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ τολμη-
ματος.

1 ὡς du Soul: ἦ ὡς MSS.
THE TYRANNICIDE

whole plot of the tragedy, but had left to the actor the body, the stage-setting, the sword, and the remainder of the play. When the other made his appearance and saw his only son with but little breath in him, bloodied, covered with gore, his wounds close together, numerous, and vital, he raised this cry: "My child, we are destroyed, assassinated, fallen victims to the tyrant-slayer! Where is the executioner? For what purpose is he keeping me, for what purpose reserving me, now that I am already destroyed through you, my child? Or is it perhaps that he contemns me as an old man, and also by his dilatoriness (since I must be punished) protracts my death and makes my execution longer?"

With these words he sought a sword; for he was unarmed on account of his complete reliance upon his son. But that too was not wanting; long beforehand, that too had been provided by me and left behind for the bold deed that was to come. So, withdrawing the sword from the victim, plucking it from the wound, he said: "A little while ago you gave me death; now give me repose, O sword. Come to console a mourning father; lighten the task of an aged hand beset by adversity; let my blood; be tyrant-slayer to me; quit me of my woe. Had I but encountered you first! had I but inverted the order of deaths! I should have perished; but simply as tyrant—but thinking still that I should have an avenger, while now I die as one who is childless, as one who can hardly so much as find a man to take his life!" Thereupon he hastened his despatch, trembling, incapable, craving it, to be sure, but lacking the strength to serve his bold purpose.
22 Πόσαι κολάσεις ταύτα; πόσα τραύματα; πόσοι θάνατοι; πόσαι τυραννοκτονίαι; πόσαι δωρεάι; καὶ τέλος ἐωράκατε πάντες τὸν μὲν νεανίαν προκείμενον, οὐδὲ μικρὸν οὐδ’ εὐκαταγώνιστον ἔργον, τὸν πρεσβύτην δὲ αὐτῷ περικεχυμένον καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἀμφοῖν ἀνακεκραμένον, τὴν ἐλευθέριον ἑκεῖνην καὶ ἐπινίκιον σπονδήν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ξίφους τοῦ ἔμοι, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ξίφος ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφοτέρων, ἐπιδεικνύμενον ὡς οὐκ ἀνάξιον γεγένηται τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ μαρτυρόμενον ὅτι μοι πιστῶς διηκονήσατο. τοῦτο ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ γενόμενον μικρότερον ἦν· νῦν δὲ λαμπρότερον ἐστι τῇ καυνότητι. καὶ ὁ μὲν καθελὼν τὴν τυραννίδα πάσαν εἰμὶ ἐγὼ· μεμέρισται δὲ ἐς πολλοὺς τὸ ἔργον ὑστερ ἐν δράματι· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐγὼ ὑπεκρινᾶμην, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ὁ παις, τὰ τρίτα δὲ ὁ τύραννος αὐτός, τὸ ξίφος δὲ πᾶσιν ὑπηρέτησεν.
THE TYRANNICIDE

How many punishments were there in all this? How many wounds? How many deaths? How many tyrant-slayings? How many rewards? And at the end you have all seen not only the young man exposed in death (no slight accomplishment or easy to achieve), but the old man prostrate upon him, you have seen the blood of both intermingled (that thank-offering for liberty and for victory), and the havoc of my sword; aye, the sword itself between them both, evincing that it has not been unworthy of its owner and testifying that it served me faithfully. Had this been done by me, it would be less of an achievement; but now it is more splendid by reason of its novelty. It is I, to be sure, who overthrew the entire tyranny; but the performance has been distributed among many people as in a play; the leading part was played by me, the second by the son, the third by the tyrant himself, and the sword served all.
DISOWNED

The fictitious case which underlies this declamation is outlined in the argument that precedes the text. An earlier treatment of the same theme is to be found in the Controversiae of Seneca Rhetor (IV, 5). In the Lucianic piece, the speaker's references to his stepmother constitute a notable example of sustained irony as a rhetorical device.
ΑΠΟΚΗΡΥΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ

'Αποκηρυχθείς τις ιατρικῆς ἐξέμαθεν. μανέντα τὸν πατέρα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένον λασάμενος φαρμάκου δόσει ἀνελήφθη αὖθις ἐς τὸ γένος. μετὰ ταῦτα μεμηριάν τὴν μητρικὴν ιάσασθαι κελευόμενος . . . ἀποκηρύσσεται.  

1 Οὐ καὶ νὰ μὲν ταῦτα, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐδὲ παράδοξα τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι γεγονόμενα, οὐδὲ νῦν πρῶτον τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀργίζεται, ἀλλὰ πρόχειρος οὕτος ὁ νόμος αὐτῶ καὶ συνήθως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀφικνεῖται τὸ δικαστήριον. ἐκεῖνο δὲ κανότερον νῦν δυστυχῶ, ὥστε ἡγκλημα μὲν ἰδίου οὐκ ἔχω, κινδυνεῦω δὲ τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης εἰ μὴ πάντα δύναται πείθεσθαι τούτῳ κελεύνοντι, οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἄν ἀτοπώτερον, θεραπεύεικεν ἐκ προστάγματος, οὐκὲθ' ὡς ἡ τέχνη δύναται, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ πατὴρ βούλεται; ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἰατρικὴν καὶ τοιοῦτον τι ἔχειν

1 κελευόμενος ἀποκηρύσσεται ΓΝUBC. The lacuna is variously filled by conjectural supplements: μη βουλόμενος ZM: καὶ μη βουλόμενος διὰ τὸ λέγειν μὴ δύνασθαι B marg.; καὶ λέγων μη δύνασθαι s, edd.

2 τὰ Γ2(Fritzscbe): not in other MSS.

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1 The words in italics are supplied to give the approximate sense of those lost in the Greek text.
2 The law permitting a father to disown his son, and the court before which his complaint had to be presented. No
DISOWNED

A son who had been disowned studied medicine. When his father became insane and had been given up by the other doctors, he cured him by administering a remedy, and was again received into the family. After that, he was ordered to cure his stepmother, who was insane, and as he refused to do so, he is now being disowned again.¹

There is nothing novel or surprising, gentlemen of the jury, in my father’s present course, and this is not the first time that he has displayed such anger; on the contrary, he keeps this law always in readiness and resorts to this court by habit.² There is, however, something of novelty in my present plight, in that I am under no personal charge, but am in jeopardy of punishment on behalf of my profession because it cannot in every particular obey his behests. But what could be more absurd than to give treatment under orders, in accordance, not with the powers of the profession, but with the desires of my father? I could wish, to be sure, that medical science had a remedy

certain case of disownment at Athens is known; but Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Arch., II, 26) says that provisions for it were included in the codes of Solon, Pittacus, and Charondas, there is one in Plato’s Laws (XI, 928 D; it involves a family council), and Egyptian documents attest it. P. M. Meyer, in publishing one of them (Juristische Papyri, No. XI) cites Cod. Just., VIII, 46, 6: abdicatio, quae Graeco more ad alienandos liberos usurpatur et apoceryxis dicebatur, Romanis legibus non comprobatur.
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φάρμακον ὁ μὴ μόνον τούς μεμηνότας ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως ὀργιζομένους παύειν ἐδύνατο, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ νόσημα ἰασαίμην. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς μανίας αὐτῶ τελευν πέπαυται, τὰ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἐπιτείνεται, καὶ τὸ δεινότατον, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀπασιν σωφρονεῖ, κατ᾿ ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦ θεραπεύσαντος μόνου μαίνεται. τὸν μὲν οὖν μισθὸν τῆς θεραπείας ὅρατε οἶδιν ἀπολαμβάνω, ἀποκηρυττόμενος ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ πάλιν καὶ τοῦ γένους ἀλλοτριούμενος δεύτερον, ὡσπερ διὰ τοῦτ᾿ ἀναληφθεῖς πρὸς ὁλίγον ἐν ἀτιμότερος γένωμαι πολλάκις ἐκπεσὼν τῆς οἰκίας.

2 Ἔγω δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς δυνατοῖς οὐδὲ 1 κελευσθήναι περιμένων πρῶην γοῦν ἄκλητος ἦκον ἔπὶ τὴν βοὴθείαν. ὅταν δὲ τῇ τελεώς ἀπεγνωσμένον, οὐδ᾿ ἐπιχειρεῖν βούλομαι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης εἰκότως καὶ ἀτολμότερός εἰμι. λογίζομαι γὰρ οἷα πάθομι ἀν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποτυχῶν, οὔ οὐδὲ ἀρξάμενος τῆς θεραπείας ἀποκηρύττομαι. ἀχθομαι μὲν οὖν, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐπὶ τῇ μητριᾷ χαλεπῶς ἑξούσῃ (χρηστῇ γὰρ ἦν) καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ δι᾿ ἐκείνην ἀνιωμένῳ, τὸ ἀποκηρύττωσι τῶν, ἐπὶ ἐμαυτῷ ἀπευθεῖν δοκούντι καὶ ἀ προστάτωμα ὑπογρηγείν οὐ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐν ὑπερβολῆ τῆς νόσου καὶ ἀσθενεῖαν τῆς τέχνης. πλὴν οὐ δίκαιον οἶμαι ἀποκηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἁμὴ δύναται ποιεῖν μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποσχομένου.

3 Δι᾿ ὁς μὲν οὖν αἰτίας καὶ πρότερον ἀπεκήρυξε μὲ ῥάδιον συνιδεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων. ἔγω δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνας μὲν, ὡς οἴομαι, ἰκανῶς τῷ μετὰ

1 οὐδὲ ΟΓβ: οὐδὲν ΓΝΖ(ΒΓ).
DISOWNED

of such sort that it could check not only insanity but unjust anger, in order that I might cure my father of this disorder also. As things are, his madness has been completely assuaged, but his anger is growing worse, and (what is hardest of all) he is sane to everyone else and insane towards me alone, his physician. You see, therefore, what fee I receive for my attendance—I am disowned by him once more and put away from my family a second time, as if I had been taken back for a brief space merely that I might be more disgraced by being turned out of the household repeatedly.

For my part, in cases which can be cured I do not wait to be summoned; on the previous occasion, for instance, I came to his relief uncalled. But when a case is perfectly desperate, I am unwilling even to essay it. And in respect to this woman I am with good reason even less venturesome, since I take into consideration how I should be treated by my father if I were to fail, when without having so much as begun treating her I am disowned. I am indeed pained, gentlemen of the jury, at my stepmother's serious condition (for she was a good woman), at my father's distress on her account, and most of all at my own apparent disobedience and real inability to do the service which is enjoined upon me, both because of the extraordinary violence of the illness and the ineffectiveness of the art of healing. I do not think, however, that it is just to disown a man who declines at the outset to promise what he cannot perform.

The charges on which he disowned me before can be readily understood from the present situation. To those charges I have made a sufficient answer, I
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ταῦτα βίω ἀπελογησάμην, καὶ ταῦτι δὲ ὁ νῦν ἐγκαλεῖ ὡς ἂν ὦς τε ὁ ἀπολύσομαι, μικρὰ δὲν διηγησάμενος τῶν ἐμῶν.

Ὁ γὰρ δυσάγωνος καὶ δυσπειθὴς ἐγὼ, ὁ κατὰ σχύνῳ τοῦ πατέρα καὶ ἀνάξια πρᾶττων τοῦ γένους, τότε μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα βοῶντι καὶ διατείνομένω ὀλίγα χρήναι ἀντιλέγειν φῶμην. ἀπελθῶν δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ἐνόμιζόν μοι δικαστήριον ἐσεθαί μέγα καὶ ψήφον ἀληθῆ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον καὶ τὸ φαίνεσθαι πάμπολυ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγκλημάτων ἐκεῖνων ἀφεστήκοτα καὶ περὶ τὰ κάλ- λιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐσπουδάκοτα καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις συνόντα. προεωρώμην δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτο τι καὶ ὑπώπτευον ἡδή 1 ὡς οὐ σφόδρα καθεστήκοτος πατρὸς 2 ἀδίκως ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ ἐγκλήματα φευδή καθ' νίῳ συντιθέναι καὶ ἤσάν τινες οἱ μανίας ἁρχὴν ταῦτα εἶναι νομίζοντες καὶ ἀπειλήν καὶ ἀκροβο- λισμὸν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπιπεσομένου τοῦ κακοῦ, μίσος ἀλογον καὶ νόμον ἀπηνὴ καὶ βλασφημίας προχείρους καὶ δικαστήριον σκυθρώπων καὶ βοῦν καὶ ὀργήν καὶ ὅλους χολῆς μεστὰ πάντα. διὸ δὴ τάχα μοι καὶ ἱατρικῆς δεήσεων ποτὲ προσεδόκων.

4 Ἀποδημήσας οὖν καὶ τοῖς εὐδοκιμωτάτοις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἱατρῶν συγγενώμενος καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ προθυμίᾳ λυπάρει χρησάμενος ἐξε- μαθὼν τὴν τέχνην. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ καταλαμβάνω τὸν πατέρα σαφῶς ἡδὴ μεμηνότα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

1 ἡδὴ Pellet: μὴ δὴ MSS.
think, by my subsequent life, and these accusations which he now brings I shall dispose of to the best of my ability; but first I shall tell you a little about my position.

I who am so difficult and disobedient, who so disgrace my father and act so unworthily of my family, on the former occasion thought it behoved me to make little opposition to him when he was making all that clamour and straining his lungs. On leaving the house, I expected to have a grand jury and a true verdict in my subsequent life, with its disclosure that I was at a very great remove from those offences with which I had been charged by my father, that I had devoted myself to the noblest of pursuits, and that I was frequenting the best company. I foresaw, too, something like this, suspecting even then that it indicated no great sanity in a father to be angry unjustly and to concoct false accusations against a son. And there were those who held all that to be the beginning of madness, the hostile demonstration and skirmish-fire of the disease that was soon to fall upon him—the insensate hatred, the cruel law, the ready abusiveness, the grim tribunal, the clamour, the anger, and in general the atrabiliousness which impregnated the whole proceedings. Therefore I expected that perhaps I should some day need a knowledge of medicine.

I went abroad, then, studied with the most famous physicians in foreign parts, and by dint of great labour and insistent zeal thoroughly mastered the art. On my return I found my father by then defin-
ἐπιχωρίων ἱατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένον, οὐκ ἐστὶ βάθος ὀρνώτων οὐδ' ἀκριβῶς φυλοκρινοῦντων τὰς νό- σους. πλὴν ὅπερ γε εἰκὸς ἢν ποιεῖν χρηστὸν νῖόν, οὔτε ἐμνησικάκησα τῆς ἀποκηρύξεως οὔτε μετάπεμπτος γενέσθαι περιέμενα. οὐδε γὰρ εἰχὼν τι αὐτῶν ἱδίων ἐγκαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκείνα ἢν ἀλλότρια τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ ὡσπερ ἐφην ἡδη, τῆς νόσου. παρελθὼν οὖν ἀκλητος οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰασάμην. οὐ γὰρ οὐτω ποιεῖν ἔθος ἐστὶν. ἦμων οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἡ τέχνη παραίνει, ἀλλὰ πάντων πρῶτον τούτῳ διδασκόμεθα συνορᾶν εἴτε ἱάσιμον ἐστὶ τὸ νόσημα εἴτε ἀνήκεστον καὶ ὑπερβεβηκός τοὺς ὅρους τῆς τέχνης. καὶ τηνικά, ἡ μὲν εὐμετα- χείριστον ἢ, ἐπιχειροῦμεν καὶ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἐσφερόμεθα σῶσαι τῶν νοσουντα. ἦν δὲ κεκρατηκὸς ἡδη καὶ νεικηκὸς τὸ πάθος ἰδωμεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἰρχὴν προσαπτόμεθα, νόμων τῶν παλαιων τῶν προπατόρων τῆς τέχνης ἱατρῶν φυλάττοντες, οἴ φασι μὴ δείν εἰπιχειρεῖν τοὺς κεκρατημένους.

Ἰδὼν οὖν τὸν πατέρα ἐτι ἐντὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐχ ὑπερ τῆν τέχνην, ἐπὶ πολὺ τηρήσας καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσας έκαστα επεχείρουν ἡδη καὶ τὸ φάρμακον τεθαρρηκότως ἐνέχεον, καίτοι πολλοί τῶν παρόντων ὑπόπτευον τὴν δόσιν καὶ τὴν ἱάσιν διέβαλλον καὶ πρὸς κατηγορίας παρευκένα-5 ζοντο. παρὴν δὲ καὶ ἡ μητρικὰ φοβουμένη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσα, οὐ τῶι μισεῖν ἐμὲ, ἀλλὰ τῷ δεδεῖναι καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι πονηρῶς ἐκείνον διακεί- μενον. ἦπιστατο γὰρ μόνη τὰ πάντα συνούσα καὶ

1 φυλοκρινοῦντων Γ'UN: φυλοκρινοῦντων Z(BC); cf. Phal. II, 9.
itively insane and given up by the local physicians, who had not profound insight and could not accurately distinguish different forms of disease. Yet I did as was natural for an upright son to do, neither cherishing a grudge because of my being disowned, nor waiting to be sent after; for I had no fault to find with him personally, but all those offences were of extraneous origin and, as I have said already, peculiar to the disease. So I came without being called, but did not begin the treatment at once. It is not our custom to do so, and the art of medicine does not recommend that course; we are taught first of all to observe whether the disease is curable or irremediable and beyond the limits of medical skill. Then, if it is manageable, we put our hands to it and make every effort to save the patient; but if we see that the ailment already has the upper hand and is victorious, we do not touch it at all, observing an ancient law of the progenitors of the art of medicine, who say that one must not lay hand to those who are overmastered.¹

Since I saw that my father was still within hope and his ailment not beyond professional skill, after long observation and accurate investigation of all details I set my hand to it at last and compounded my remedy confidently, although many of those present were suspicious of my prescription, critical of my treatment of the case, and ready to bring charges against me. My stepmother was present also, panic-stricken and distrustful, not because she hated me but because she was fearful and well aware that he was in a bad way; she knew it because she alone associated exclusively with him and lived side by

¹ Hippocrates, de Arte, 3.
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ομοδίαιτος τῇ νόσῳ. πλῆν ἄλλ᾿ ἔγγυς οὐδὲν ἀποδεικνύει—Ἡπιστάμην γὰρ οὐ ψευσομένα μὲ τὰ σημεῖα οὐδὲ προδώσουσαν τὴν τέχνην—ἐπήγον τὴν ἱασών ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, καίτοι κάμοι τίνα τῶν φίλων συνεβούλευον μή θρασύνεσθαι, μή καὶ διαβολὴν τινα μεῖξον ἐνέγκη μοι τὸ ἀποτυχεῖν ὡς ἀμυνομένῳ τὸν πατέρα φαρμάκω καὶ μνησικακήσαντι ὧν ἐπεπόνθειν ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, σῶσος μὲν οὕτος εὐθὺς ἵναι ἐσωφρόνει πάλιν καὶ πάντα διεγίγνωσκέναι· οἱ παρόντες δὲ θαῦμαζον, ἐπήνει δὲ καὶ ἡ μητρυία καὶ φανερὰ πάσων ἵνα χαίρουσα κάμοι εὐδοκιμοῦντι κακεύνω σωφρονοῦντι. οὕτος δ᾿ οὖν (μαρτυρεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔχων) μήτε μελλήσας μήτε σύμβουλον τινα περὶ τούτων προσλαβών, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πάν ἥκουσε τῶν παροντῶν, ἐλευνὲ ἡν τὴν ἀποκήρυξιν, νῦν δὲ εἶ ὑπαρχῆς ἐποιεῖτό με, σωτήρα καὶ ἐνεργείτην ἀποκάλων καὶ ἀκριβῆ πεῤῥαν εἰληφέναι ὀμολογῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθὲν ἐκείνων ἀπολογούμενος. τοῦτο γενόμενον εὐφραίνει μὲν πολλοὺς, ὅσοι παρῆσαν χρηστοὶ, ἐλύτει δὲ ἐκείνους ὅσους ἀποκήρυξες νῦν ήδῶν ἀναλήψεως. εἶδον γοῦν τὸτε οὐ πάντας ὁμοίως ἡδομένους τῷ πράγματι, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς τινος καὶ χρόνιν τρεπομένην καὶ βλέμμα τεταραγμένον καὶ πρόσωπον ὄργισμένον, ὅδιν ἐκ φθόνον καὶ μίσους γίνεται.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐν εὐφροσύναις καὶ 6 θυμηδίαις ἦμεν, ἀλλήλους ἀπειληφότες· ἡ μητρυία δὲ μετὰ μικρὸν εὐθὺς νοσεὶν ἠρῴατο νόσον, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, χαλεπὴν καὶ παράλογον· ἀρχό-
side with his disorder. Nevertheless, without any timidity (for I knew that the symptoms would not cheat me or the medical art betray me) I applied the treatment at the nick of time for the attempt, although some of my friends advised me not to be overbold for fear that failure bring upon me a more serious imputation of avenging myself upon my father with poison, having conceived a grudge against him for what I had suffered at his hands.

To sum it up, he became well at once, recovered his sanity, and was thoroughly in command of his faculties. Those present were amazed, and my stepmother was full of praise, making it plain to all that she was delighted with my success and his sanity. And as for my father here (for I am able to testify on his behalf) without delay and without asking any advice in this matter, as soon as he had heard the whole story from those who were there, he annulled the disownment and made me his son once more, calling me his saviour and benefactor, admitting that he had tested me thoroughly, and defending himself for his former charges. This event gave joy to many, the men of rectitude who were there, and pain to those who preferred the disownment of a son to his resumption. I saw, anyhow, at the time that not all were equally pleased with the affair, but at once one or another showed changed colour, disturbed eyes, and an angry face, such as comes from jealousy and hatred.

Well, we were rejoicing and making merry, as was natural, since we had regained each other, when after a short time my stepmother suddenly began to be afflicted, gentlemen of the jury, with an ailment which was severe and unusual. I observed the
muon γὰρ εὐθὺς τὸ δευτὸν παρεφύλαξα. 1 οὐ γὰρ ἀπλοὺν ουδὲ ἐπιπόλαιον τῆς μανιάς τὸ εἴδος, ἀλλὰ τι παλαιὸν ὑποικουροῦν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κακον ἀπέρρηξε καὶ ἐς τούμφανες ἐξενίκησε. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα ἢμῖν ἐστὶ σημεία τῶν ἀνιάτως μεμηνῶν, ἐν δὲ ἐκεῖνο καίνον ἐπὶ τῆς γυναι- κὸς ταύτης παρεφύλαξα: πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἰμερωτέρα καὶ πραιτά ἐστὶ καὶ παρόντων εἰρήνην ἂγει ἡ νόσος, ἂν δὲ τινα ἱατρὸν ἤδη καὶ τούτ’ ἀκούσῃ μόνον, κατ’ ἐκείνου μάλιστα παρο- ξύνεται, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ πονηρῶς καὶ ἀνηκέστως ἔχειν ἐστὶ τεκμήριον.

Ταύτα ὅρων ἔγω μὲν ἡνιώμην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ὢκτειρὸν ἄξιαν οὕσαν καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον
7 δυστυχοῦσαν. ο πατήρ δὲ ὑπὸ ἱδιωτείας (οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν οὔτε ἀρχὴν τοῦ κατέχοντος κακοῦ οὔτε τὴν αἰτίαν οὔτε τὸ μέτρον τοῦ πάθους) ἐκέλευεν ιᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ ὁμοιὸν ἐκχέαε φάρμακον, οἶεται2 γὰρ ἐν εἶναι μανίας εἴδος καὶ μίαν τὴν νόσου καὶ τάρρωστιμα ταύτων καὶ παραπλησίαν τὴν θεραπεῖαν δεχόμενον.3 ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὅπερ ἀληθε- στατον, ἀδύνατον εἶναι φημὶ σώζεσθαι τὴν γυναίκα καὶ ἠττήσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ὁμολογώ, ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ ὀργίζεται καὶ φησὶν ἐκόντα καθυφιέσθαι καὶ προδίδοναι τὴν ἀνθρωπον, ἐγκαλῶν ἐμοὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς τέχνης. καὶ πάσχει μὲν σύνηθες τοῖς λυπουμένους· ὀργίζονται γοῦν ἀπαντες τοῖς μετὰ παρρησίας τάλθη λέγουσιν. πλὴν ἔγονε ὡς ἂν οἶός τε ὡ δικαιολογηθῇσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τέχνης.

1 παρεφύλαξα (CM)AF : παρεφυλάξατο ΙΝΖUB.
2 οἶεται ΓΥΖCM : φητο BN, edd.
affliction constantly from the moment when it began. Her form of insanity was not simple or superficial; some trouble of long ago, lurking in the soul, had broken out and won its way into the open. We have, of course, many symptoms of incurable madness, but in the case of this woman I have observed one that is novel; towards everyone else she is very civil and gentle, and in their presence the disease is peaceful, but if she sees any physician and simply hears that he is one, she is beyond all things exasperated against him, and this in itself is proof that her condition is bad and incurable.

Seeing this, I was distressed and pitied the woman, who was worthy of it and unfortunate beyond her deserts. My father, in his inexperience (for he does not know either the origin of the trouble that holds her in its grip, or its cause, or the extent of the infirmity), bade me treat her and give her the same medicine; for he thinks that madness has but one form, that the ailment is simple, and that her illness is identical with his, permitting the same treatment. When I say what is as true as true can be, that it is impossible to save his wife and confess that I am worsted by the disorder, he is indignant and angry, and says that I am deliberately shirking and giving the woman up, thus making the ineffectiveness of the art of medicine a reproach against me. He does, indeed, what is habitually done by people who are offended; all are angry at those who speak the truth in frankness. In spite of that, I shall plead to the best of my ability against him, not only for myself but for my art.

a ἐνδεχόμενον ΒΟ.
8 Καὶ πρῶτον γε ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀρξομαι καθ’
όν οὐτός με ἀποκηρύξαι βούλεται, ὥς εἰδὴ οὐκ ἔθελον
όμοιαν οὐσαν αὐτῷ νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον την
ἐξουσίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπασι, ὡς πάτερ, ὁ νομοθέτης
οὐδὲ πάντας νίεας οὐδὲ ὀσάκις ἂν ἔθελον ἀποκηρύττειν
συγκεκώρηκεν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ πάσαις αἰτίαις, ἀλλ’ ὁσπερ τοῖς
πατράσιν τὰ τιθικαίτα ὁργίζεσθαι ἑφῆκεν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν
παιδῶν προνόησαι, ὡς μή ἀδίκως αὐτὸ πάσχωσιν, καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο οὐκ ἐλευθέραν ἑφῆκε γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲ ἄκριτον
tὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ’ ἔς δικαστήριον ἕκάλεσε καὶ
dοκιμαστάς ἐκάθισε τοὺς μήτε πρὸς ὁργὴν μήτε
dιαβολὴν τὸ δίκαιον κρινοῦντας. ῥῇδε γὰρ πολλοῖς
πολλάκις ἄλογος αἰτίας ὀργῆς παρισταμένας,
καὶ τὸν μὲν ψευδεὶ τινι διαβολὴ πειθόμενον,
τὸν δὲ οἰκέτῃ πιστεύοντα ἡ γυναικὸς ἕξθρῳ. οὐκοῦν
ἡγείτο ἄδικαςτον γίγνεσθαι τὸ πράγμα οὐδ’ ἐς
ἐρήμης τοὺς παιδας εὖθὺς ἐλίσκεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὕδωρ ἐγχειται καὶ λόγος ἀποδίδοται καὶ ἀνεξε-
tαστον οὐδὲν καταλείπεται.

9 Ἑπεὶ τοῖνυν ἔξεστιν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐγκαλεῖν
μόνον ὁ πατὴρ κύριος, τοῦ κρίναι δὲ εἰ εὐλογα
αἰτιᾶται ὡμεῖς οἱ δικάζοντες, αὐτὸ μὲν ὁ μοι
ἐπιφέρει καὶ ἐὰν ὧν ἀγανακτεῖ μηδέπω σκοπεῖτε,
πρότερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔξετάσατε, εἰ ἔτι δοτέον
ἀποκηρύττειν αὐτῷ ἀπαξ ἀποκηρύξαντι καὶ χρησα-
mένω τῇ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐξουσία καὶ ἀποπληρῶ-
sαντι τῆς πατρικῆς ταύτην δυναστείαν, εἰτ’

1 διαβολὴν ΓΤΝ(B): πρὸς διαβολὴν ZCMF.
DISOWNED

First, I shall begin with the law under which he wishes to disown me, in order that he may discover that his power is now no longer what it was before. The lawgiver, father, has not permitted all to exercise the privilege of disownment, or upon all sons, or as often as they choose, or upon all manner of grounds. On the contrary, just as he has conceded to fathers the right to exercise such anger, just so he has made provision in behalf of sons, that they may not suffer it unjustly; and for that reason he has not allowed the punishment to be inflicted freely or without trial, but has ordered men to be summoned to court and empanelled as investigators who will not be influenced either by anger or by malice in determining what is just. For he knew that many people on many occasions are obsessed by senseless reasons for anger; that one believes a malicious falsehood, while another relies upon a servant or an unfriendly female. It was not his idea, therefore, that the thing should go untried or that sons should at once lose their case by default. Water is measured,¹ a hearing is given, and nothing is left uninvestigated.

Accordingly, since it is within your powers, since my father controls only the charge, and you who sit in judgement control the decision whether his accusation is reasonable, do not yet consider his specific allegation against me and the ground of his present indignation, but first examine that other point, whether he should still be allowed to disown a son when, after once for all disowning him, using the privilege that derives from the law and exercising to the full this paternal suzerainty, he has subsequently

¹ Time for speaking is apportioned to each side by the water-clock (κλέφυδρα).
αὕθεις ἀναλαβόντι καὶ λύσαντι τὴν ἀποκήρυξιν. ἕγω μὲν γὰρ ἀδικώτατον εἶναι φημὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀπεράντους γίνεσθαι καὶ τῶν παιδῶν τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ πολλὰς τὰς καταδίκας καὶ τὸν φόβον αἴδιον καὶ τὸν νόμον ἄρτι μὲν συνοργίζεσθαι, μετὰ μικρον δὲ λύσεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ὅμως ἵσχυρὸν εἶναι, καὶ ὅλως ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφεσθαι τά δίκαια πρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ καιρὸν δοκοῦν πατράσσει. ἄλλα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄξιον ἐφιέναι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντι συναγανακτεῖν καὶ κύριον τῆς τιμωρίας ποιεῖν τὸν γεγεννηκότα. ἦν δὲ ἀπαξ ἀναλώσῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ καταχρήσθη τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἐμπλησθῇ τῆς ὀργῆς, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναλάβῃ, χρηστὸν εἶναι μεταπεισθεῖς, ἐπὶ τούτων ἀνάγκη μένεις καὶ μηκέτι μεταπηθᾶν μηδὲ μεταβουλεύεσθαι μηδὲ μεταποιεῖν τὴν κρίσιν.

Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὸν γεγεννηθέντα πονηρὸν ἡ χρηστὸν ἀποβήσεσθαι οὔδεν, οἷμα, γνώρισμα ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἀναξίους τοῦ γένους παραιτεῖσθαι συγκεχώρησαι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγνόους ἀναθρεψαμένους. ὥστε τοῦ μὴ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἄλλη ἐπ' ἐξουσίας αὐτὸς τὸν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ δοκιμάσαις ἀναλάβῃ, τὸς ἐτὶ μηχανῇ μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἡ τὸν ἐτὶ χρῆσις ὑπόλοιπος τοῦ νόμου; φαίη γὰρ ἄν πρὸς τῇ νομοθέτῃς, "Εἰ πονηρὸς οὗτος ἦν καὶ τοῦ ἀποκτηνοῦντος ὑπερήφανος ἄξιος, τί παθῶν ἀνεκάλεις; τί δ' αὐθείς ἐπανηγείρεις ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν; τί δ' ἐλευθερός γὰρ ἦσθα καὶ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα κύριος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐντρυφῶν σοι δοτέουν

1 καὶ Γ' UZN: κατὰ (C)A, not in F.
3 τοῦ N(CM): τότῳ Γ' UZB.
taken him back again and annulled the disownment. I say that such a thing is most unjust—for punishments, precisely in the case of children, to be interminable, their condemnations numerous, and their fear eternal; for the law at one moment to share the prosecutor’s anger, only soon afterward to relax, and then again to be as severe as before; in a word, for justice to be altered this way and that to conform to the momentary opinion of fathers. No, the first time it is right to give the parent free rein, to share his anger with him, to make him arbiter of the punishment; but if, once for all, he expends his privilege, makes full use of the law, satisfies his anger, and then afterwards takes back his son, persuaded that he deserves it, he must abide by it, and not keep shifting, changing his mind, and altering his decision.

When that son was born there was no way, of course, to ascertain whether he would turn out to be bad or good, and on that account the privilege of repudiating children who are unworthy of their family has been allowed to their parents, since they determined to bring them up at a time when they were unaware of this. When, however, under no constraint but able to do as he pleases, a man himself, of his own motion and after putting his son to the test, takes him back, what pretext for change of mind remains, or what further recourse to the law? The legislator would say to you: “If he was bad and deserved to be disowned, what made you ask him back? Why did you readmit him to your house? Why did you nullify the law? You were free and at liberty not to do this. Surely it cannot be conceded that you should make sport of the laws and that

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"ἀφ᾽ εαυτοῦ Schaefer: ἥφ᾽ εαυτοῦ MSS."
tois nomois oude pros tas sas metabolas synageithai tasa dikasthria, oude arti men lysothai arti de kurious einai tois nomous kai tois dikastas kathithai martinatas, mallon de upiretas, twn soi dokounwn, oste mene kolazontas oste de diallappontas, opotan sou dokhi. apax gegevnikas, apax anatetrafas, apax kai to apokhrentew anta toutwv exeis, kai tote, hiv dikaiws autou pouiein dokhi. to d' apauston touto kai aidion kai polu radion 1 mezi ou hidi tis patrikis estin eixousias."

11 Mh de', pros Dios, o andres dikasta, synxwrisiste autwi ekoisouin tin analhpin petopimeno kai lysanti tin gnwson tou palai dikasthriou kai akurwastai tin organi authis tin 2 autin timwriaan anakalein kai epit tin eixousian tin patrikin anatrefein, hiv eiswros xidha kai eidos h prothesia kai monow toutw akuros kai prodedanpatimena. orate gar pou kai en tois allous dikasthrious ws apo men twn klerwv lachontwv dikastan, hiv tis didikov ouhtai gegevnotai tin krisin, didowin o vnomos es eteron efeinei dikasthriov. hiv de tines ekontes autoi sunwthnai dikasthas kai proelomevoi epitrefwswsin diat dawn, ouketi. ois gar ezin mide tin arkhin emenein, 3 ei toutous tis authairus tois eleneto, stergenai esti dikaios tois enwswmenois. ouw de kai su, on ezin mhekit analamvanein eis anaxios 4 edokei touto genous, touton eis xriston enwswmenos einai palin aneili-

1 polu radion GI: polu kai radion other MSS.; cf. Dial. Mer., 9, 3, polu afroptos.
2 authis epit tin MSS.: epit excised by Fritzsche.

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the courts should be convened to suit your changes of mind, that the laws should be relaxed one moment and enforced the next and the jurors sit to register, or rather to execute, your decisions, inflicting a penalty at one time, bringing you together at another, as often as it shall please you. You begat him once for all, you brought him up once for all, and have once for all, in return for this, the power to disown him, and then only if you are held to be doing it justly. This persistence, this interminability, this prodigious casualness is beyond the legal right of a father. In Heaven’s name, gentlemen of the jury, do not permit him, once he has effected the reinstatement of his own free will, set aside the decision of the former court, and nullified his anger, to reinvoke the same penalty and to recur to the right of a father when its term by now is over and done with, inoperative in his case alone because it is already used up. You perceive, surely, that in all courts where jurors are drawn by lot, if a man thinks that the verdict is unjust, the law allows him to appeal from them to another tribunal; but if people have themselves of their own accord agreed upon jurors and willingly committed the arbitrament to them, that is not then the case. For there was no need to consult them at all; but if a man has selected them of his own choice, he ought to remain content with their decision. So it is with you: a son who seemed to you unworthy of his lineage need never have been taken back, but one whom you have pronounced good and taken

3 The sense seems to require ἐπιτρέψαι.
4 εἰ ἄνάξιος N: εἰ μὴ ἄνάξιος other MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φας, οὐκέτι ἀποκηρύττεσθαι ἔξεις· ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιος ἄθις παθεῖν ταῦτα, ὡς αὐτοῦ σοι μεμαρτύρηται καὶ χρηστὸς ἦδη ἀνωμολογήται· ἀμετανόητον οὖν τὴν ἀνάληψιν καὶ τὴν διαλαγήν βέβαιον εἶναι προσήκει μετὰ κρίσιν οὕτω πολλήν καὶ δύο δικαστήρια, ἐν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἐφ' οὐ παρητῆσθω, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σὸν, ὅτε μετεβουλεύσω καὶ ἀναδαστῶν ἐποίησας· τὰ πρότερον ἐγνωσμένα λύσας βεβαιοῖς τὰ μετ' έκείνα βεβουλευμένα. μένε τοιῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τελευταίων καὶ φύλαττε τὴν σαυτοῦ κρίσιν· πατέρα σε εἶναι δεί· τούτῳ γὰρ ἔδοξέ σοι, τούτ' ἔδοκιμας, τούτ' ἐκύρωσας.

12 Ἔγγος μὲν οὖν εἰ μὴ φύσει παῖς ἦν, θέμενος δὲ ἀποκηρύττεσθαι ἡθελές, ἐξείνα τά σοι ωφίν, ὡς γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ποιεῖν δυνατόν ἦν, τούτῳ ἀδικον λύειν ἀπαξ γενόμενον. τον δὲ καὶ φύσει καὶ αὖθις προαιρέεσθαι καὶ γνώμη ἐσπευσθεὶσθαι, πῶς εὐλογον αὖθις ἀπεισέθαι καὶ πολλάκις τῆς μιᾶς οἰκείοτητος ἀποστερεῖν; εἰ δ' οἰκέτης ὃν ἐτύγχανον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πονηρὸν οἰόμενος ἐπέδησας, μεταπεισθείς δὲ ὡς οὖδὲν ἡδίκουν εὐθεύθερον αὖθις εἶναι, ἢ τά σοι πρὸς καυρὸν ὀργισθέντι αὖθις ἐξῆν ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ δουλεῖαν ἐπανάγεν; οὐδαμῶς. τά γὰρ τοιαῦτα βέβαια καὶ διὰ παντὸς κύρια ὑπάρχειν οἱ νόμοι ἄξιοιον.

Ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μηκέτι ἐξείναι· τούτῳ ἀποκηρύττεσθαι δὲν ἀπαξ ἀποκηρύζασθαί εκὼν ἀνέλαβεν

13 ἐτι πολλὰ εἰπεῖν ἔχων ὀμοις παύσομαι. σκέφισθε δὲ ἦδη ὄντων ὑπόται καὶ ἀποκηρύζεις. καὶ οὖ δὴ

1 μὲν Ν(BCM): μὲν εἰ ΓΖ, μὲνει U.
2 MSS. have με either after ὑπότα (A) or after ἀποκηρύζεις: it is better out.

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back again you will not thereafter be able to disown; for you yourself have borne witness that he does not deserve to undergo this again, and have acknowledged that he is good. It is fitting, therefore, that his reinstatement should be irrevocable and the reconciliation binding after deliberation so oft-repeated, and two sessions of court, one (the first) in which you repudiated him, the other (your own) when you changed your mind and undid it. By setting aside the earlier decision you have guaranteed your later determination. Abide, then, by your latest purpose and maintain your own verdict; you must be a father, for that is what you decided, what you approved, what you ratified.

Even if I were not your own son, but adopted, and you wished to disown me, I should not think you could; for what it was possible not to do at all, it is unjust to undo once it has taken place. But when a son has been got by birth, and then again by choice and decision, how is it reasonable to put him away again and deprive him repeatedly of that single relationship? If I happened to be a slave, and at first, thinking me vicious, you had put me in irons, but on becoming convinced that I was not a wrong-doer you had let me go and set me free, would it be in your power, if you became angry on occasion, to bring me back into the same condition of slavery? By no means, for the laws require that such pacts should be permanent and under all circumstances valid.

Upon the point that it is no longer in his power to disown one whom he has once disowned and then of his own accord taken back I still have much to say; nevertheless, I shall make an end. But consider what manner of man he will now be disowning. I do
ποι τούτο φημι, ὡς τότε μὲν ἴδιωτην, νῦν δὲ ἰατρόν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄν πρὸς τοῦτο ἡ τέχνη συναγω-νίσαιτο· οὐδ’ ὅτι τότε μὲν νέον, νῦν δὲ ἄγη καὶ προβεβηκότα καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδίκησαι ἂν παρὰ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχοντα· μικρὸν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ τοῦτο. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡδικημένος, ἡς ἄν ἔγωγε φαίνῃ, ἀλλ’ οὔτε εὐ πεπωθὼς παρη-τεῖτο τῆς οἰκίας, νῦν δὲ σωτῆρα ἐναγχος καὶ εὐρηγε-τὴν γεγενημένον. οὐ τι γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀχαριστότερον, σωθέντα δι’ ἐμὲ καὶ τηλικοῦτον κύδυνον διαπε-φυγότα τοῖς τοιούτοις εὐθὺς ἀμείβεθαί, τῆς θεραπείας ἐκείνης οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντα, ἀλλ’ οὔτω ράδιως ἐπιλεξθεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημίαν ἐλαύνειν τὸν ἐφθασθέντ’ ἂν δικαίως ἐφ’ οἷς ἄδικως ἐξεβέβλητο, μὴ μόνοι δ’ οὐ μηνοικακήσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώσαντα καὶ σωφρονεῖν παρασκευά-σαντα;

14 Οὐ γὰρ σμικρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐδὲ τὸ τυχόν εὖ πεποιηκὼς αὐτόν, ὃμως τῶν τοιούτων νῦν ἄξιοῦμαι. ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ οὗτος ἄγνοεῖ τὰ τότε, πάντες ὑμεῖς ὅπετ οἶα ποιοῦντα αὐτόν καὶ πα-σχοντα καὶ ὅπως διακείμενον ἐγὼ παραλαβῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωκότων, τῶν δὲ οἰκείων φευγόντων καὶ μηδὲ πλησίον προσεῖναι τολμώντων, τοιοῦτον ἀπέφηνα ὡς καὶ κατηγορεῖν δύνασθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων διαλέγεσθαι. μᾶλλον δὲ, ὅρας, ὦ πάτερ, τὸ παράδειγμα· τοιοῦτον ὦντα σε παρ’ ὀλίγον οἶα νῦν ἡ γυνὴ ἐστιν, πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν φρόνησιν ἐπανήγαγον. οὐ δὴ δικαίων τοιαύτην μοι γενέσθαι ἀντ’ ἐκείνων τὴν ἀμοιβὴν

1 δ’ οὗ ed. Flor., οὗ MSS.
not mean that then I was but a layman, whereas now I am a physician, for my profession would avail me nothing in this respect. Nor that then I was young, whereas now I am well on in years and derive from my age the right to have it believed that I would do no wrong; for that too is perhaps trivial. But at that time, even if he had suffered no wrong, as I should maintain, yet he had received no benefit from me when he excluded me from the house; whereas now I have recently been his saviour and benefactor. What could be more ungrateful than that, after he had been saved through me and had escaped so great a danger, he should at once make return in this way, taking no account of that cure; nay, should so easily forget and try to drive into loneliness a man who, when he might justly have exulted over those who had unjustly cast him out, not only had borne him no grudge but actually had saved his life and made him sound of mind?

It is no trifling or commonplace benefit, gentlemen of the jury, that I have conferred upon him; and yet I am accounted worthy of treatment like this. Although he himself does not know what happened then, you all know how he acted and felt and what his condition was when, taking him in hand after the other doctors had given up, while the members of the family were avoiding him and not venturing even to approach him, I made him what you see him, so that he is able to bring charges and argue about the laws. Stay! you can see your counterpart, father; you were nearly as your wife is now, when I brought you back to your former sanity. Truly it is not just that I should receive such a recompense for it, or that
οὐδὲ κατ’ ἐμοῦ σε μόνου σωφρονεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ μη μικρὰ ἦν ἐμοῦ εὐηργήτησαι, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὃν ἐγκαλεῖς δῆλον ἔστιν· ὅν 1 γὰρ ὦς ἐν ἐγχάριν ὁδηγεῖς καὶ συμπονηρῶς ἔχουσαν ὦκ ιῶμενον μυσεῖς, πῶς οὖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὅτι σε τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπηλλαξα ὑπεραγαπᾶς καὶ χάριν ὁμολογεῖς, τῶν οὕτω δεινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοις; σὺ δὲ, ὅπερ ἀγνωμονεστατον, σωφρονήσας εὐθὺς ἐσ ἰδιαστήμιον ἄγεις καὶ σεσωσμένος κολάξεις καὶ ἑπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκείνο μῖσος ἀνατρέχεις καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἁναγινώσκεις νόμον. καλὸν γοῦν τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδίδως τῇ τέχνη καὶ ἄξιας ἀμοιβᾶς τῶν φαρμάκων ἐπὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν ὑγιαῖν ὁμούν.

15 Ἰμεῖσ δὲ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταῖ, τὸν εὐεργήτην τούτῳ κολάξειν ἐπιπρέπετε καὶ τὸν σώσαντα ἐξελαίνει καὶ τὸν σωφρονίσαντα μυσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀναστήσαντα τιμωρεῖσθαι; οὐκ, ἂν γε τὰ δίκαια ποιήτε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ μέγιστα νῦν ἁμαρτάνων ἑτύγχανον, ἂν μοί τις ὦ μικρὰ προσφειλομένη χάρις, ἂν ἂν ἀποβλέποντα τοῦτον καὶ ἂν μεμημένον καλῶς ἐξε τῶν μὲν παρόντων καταφρονεῖν, δὶ ἐκεῖνα δὲ πρόχειρον τὴν συγγνώμην ἔχειν, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ τηλικαῦτη τις ἡ εὐεργεσία τυχάνοι ὡς πάντα ὑπερπαίειν τὰ μέτα ταῦτα. ὅπερ οἶμαι καμοὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ὑπάρχων, ἃν ἔσωσα, καὶ ὃς τοῦ βίου παντός χρεώστης ἐστὶ μοι, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν καὶ τὸ συνεῖναι παρέσχημαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἢδη ἀπεγνώκεσαν καὶ ἠττοὺς εἶναι ὁμολόγουν τῆς νόσου.

16 Τούτῳ γὰρ μείζῳ οἶμαι ποιεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν εὐερ- 1 ὅν Ν: ὃς ΓΥΖΒ.
you should employ your reason only against me. That I have done you no little good is clear from the very charges which you bring; you hate me because I do not cure your wife when she is at the end of everything and in an utterly wretched plight. Since I freed you from a similar condition, why are you not far rather overjoyed and thankful to have been liberated from a state so terrible? Instead, and it is most ungrateful—you no sooner recover your sanity than you bring me to court and after your life has been saved, seek to punish me, reverting to that old-time hatred and citing the self-same law. It is a handsome fee, in truth, that you pay in this manner to the art of healing, and a fitting price for your medicines, to employ your sanity only to attack your physician!

Will you, gentlemen of the jury, empower this man to punish his benefactor, to banish his saviour, to hate the one who made him sane, to take vengeance on the one who set him on his feet? Not if you do what is just. For if I were really now guilty of the greatest offences, there was no slight gratitude owing me previously; keeping this in sight and in mind, he would have done well to ignore the present and to be prompt to forgive for the sake of the past, especially if the benefaction were so great as to overtop everything subsequent. That, I think, is true of mine toward this man, whom I saved, who is my debtor for the whole of his life, to whom I have given existence, sanity, and intelligence, and that at a time when all the others had finally given up and were confessing themselves defeated by the malady.

My benefaction, I think, is the greater because,
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gεσίαν, ὃς οὐτὲ νῦν ὃν τότε οὐτε ἀναγκαίαν τῆς θεραπείας ἔχων αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ ἔλευθερος καθεστώς καὶ ἀλλότριος, τῆς φυσικῆς αἰτίας ἀφειμένοις, ὅμως οὐ περιείδον, ἀλλ’ ἐθελοντῆς, ἀκλήτος, αὐτεπαγγελτός ἦκον ἔβοβησα, προσελπάρησα, ἰασάμην, ἀνέστησα, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐμαυτῷ διεφυλάξα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποκηρύξεως ἀπελογησάμην, καὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ τὴν ὀργὴν ἔπαυσα, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἔλυσα τῇ φιλοστοργίᾳ, καὶ μεγάλῃ σευργεσίας τὴν ἐς τὸ γένος ἐπάνοδον ἐπριάμην, καὶ ἐν οὕτως ἐπισοφαλεὶ καίρῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πίστιν ἐπεδειξάμην, καὶ μετὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐμαυτὸν ἐσεποίησα, καὶ γνήσιος νῦν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀνεφάνην.

Πόσα γὰρ οἶδες παθεῖν με, πόσα καμάν παρόντα, ὑπηρετοῦντα, καιροφυλακοῦντα, νῦν μὲν εἰκοντα τῇ τοῦ πάθους ἀκμῇ, νῦν δὲ τὴν τέχνην ἐπάγοντα πρὸς ὁλίγον ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ κακοῦ; ἔστων δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων τούτων ἐν τῇ ἱατρικῇ τὸ ἐπισφαλέστατον τούς τοιούτους ἱάσθαι καὶ πλησιάζειν οὕτω διακειμένοις. ἐς γὰρ τοῖς πλησίον πολλάκις ἀφίασι τὴν λύτταν, ἐπιζέσαντος τοῦ πάθους. καὶ ὅμως πρὸς οὗτον τούτων ἀπώκητος οὗτε ἀπεδειλάσα, συνὼν δὲ καὶ πάντα τρόπων ἀντεξεταξόμενος τῇ νόσῳ τὸ τελευτάτον ἐκράτησα τῷ φαρμάκῳ.

17 Μὴ γὰρ τούτ’ ἀκούσας εὐθὺς ὑπολάβῃ τις
"Ποῖος δὲ ἡ πόσος ὁ κάματος ἐγχέι τῷ φάρμακῳ;"
pολλὰ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου γενέσθαι δεῖ, καὶ προοδοποιῆσαι τῇ πόσει καὶ προπαρασκευάσαι ῥάδιον 500
although I was not his son at that time and had no imperative reason to take the case but was free and independent, having been released from the responsibility imposed by nature, nevertheless I was not indifferent but came voluntarily, unsummoned, on my own initiative; I gave my assistance, lavished my attentions, brought about a cure, and set my father on his feet, preserving him for myself, pleading my own cause against his disownment, stilling his anger by my friendliness, annulling the law by my love, purchasing by a great benefaction my re-entrance into the family, demonstrating my loyalty to my father at a crisis so dangerous, bringing about my own adoption with the help of my profession, and proving myself a legitimate son in his time of dire need.

What do you suppose my sufferings were, what my exertions, to be with him, to wait upon him, to watch my opportunity, now yielding to the full force of the ailment, now bringing my professional skill to bear when the disorder abated a little? And truly, of all these duties that are included in medical science, the most dangerous is to treat such patients and to approach people in that condition, for often they loose their frenzy upon those who are near them, when their ailment has become severe. And yet none of these considerations made me hesitant or faint-hearted. I joined battle with the disease and measured myself against it in every way, and so at last prevailed by means of my remedy.

Let no one, hearing this, be quick to remark: "What sort of feat is it, and how great, to give a remedy?" Many things must precede this; one must prepare the way for the medicine, make the
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ές ἤσιν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης ἐξεσ λόγοις κενόντα καὶ ἵσχυσιντα καὶ ὄς χρή τρέφοντα καὶ κυνόντα ἐς ὅσον χρήσιμον καὶ ὑπνούς ἐπινοοῦντα καὶ ἡρεμίας μηχανώμενον, ἀπερ οἱ μὲν ἀλλο τι νοσοῦντες ῥαδίως πεισθεὶν ἢν, οἱ μεμνότες δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ νοῦ δυσάγωνοι καὶ δυσηνώ- χητοι καὶ τῷ ἱατρῷ ἐπισφαλεῖς καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ δυσκαταγώνιστοι. ὅταν γοῦν πολλάκις οἴησιμεν 1 ἡδη πλησίον γενέσθαι τοῦ τέλους καὶ ἐλπίσωμεν, ἐμπεσόν τι μικρὸν ἀμάρτημα ἐπακμάσαντος τοῦ πάθους ἀπαντά ῥαδίως ἐκεῖνα ἀνέτρεψε καὶ ἐνεπόδισε 2 τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ τὴν τέχνην διέ- σφηλε.

18 Τὸν οὖν ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομεμειγκότα καὶ οὕτω χαλεπῶ νοσήματι προσπαλαίσαντα καὶ πάθος ἐπάντων παθῶν τὸ δυσαλωτότατον νενικήκότα ἐτι τούτω ἀποκηρύττετε ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὡς βουλεταί ἐρμηνεύειν κατ’ εὐεργέτου συγχωρήσαι, καὶ τῇ φύσει πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἐάσετε;

Ἐγὼ τῇ φύσει πειθόμενος, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, σῶζω καὶ διαφυλάττω τὸν πατέρα ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ἄδικῇ: οὕτως 3 δὲ τὸν εὐεργετήκότα παιδα τοῖς νόμοις, ὡς φησιν, ἀκολουθῶν διαφθείρει καὶ τοῦ γένους ἀποστέρει. μυστικώς οὕτος, ἐγὼ φιλοπάτωρ γίγνομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν φύσιν ἀστάξωμαι, οὕτος τὰ τῆς φύσεως παροπᾶ καὶ 4 καθυβρίζει δίκαια. 5 ὡς πατρὸς μισοῦντος ἄδικως· ὡς παιδὸς φιλοῦντος ἄδικωτερον. ἐγκαλὼ γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ, τοῦ

1 οἴησιμεν W. A. Hirschig: πονήσωμεν MSS.
2 ἐνεπόδισε NC: ἐνεπόδισε Γ'UZ ctt.
body easy to cure, and take thought for the patient’s whole condition, purging him, reducing him, nourishing him with the proper foods, rousing him as much as is expedient, planning for periods of sleep, contriving periods of solitude. Those who have any other sickness can readily be persuaded to consent to all this, but the insane because of their independence of spirit are hard to influence and hard to direct, dangerous to the physician, and hard to conquer by the treatment. Often when we think we are near the goal at last and become hopeful, some trivial slip, occurring when the illness has reached its height, easily overturns everything that has been done, hampers the treatment, and thwarts our skill.

When a man has endured all this, has wrestled with an illness so serious, and has conquered the ailment of all ailments most difficult to master, will you empower the plaintiff to disown him again, permit him to interpret the laws in any way he will against a benefactor, and allow him to fight with nature?

I, obeying nature, save and preserve my father for my own sake, gentlemen of the jury, even if he wrongs me; but that father, following, he says, the laws, ruins the son that has done him a benefit, and deprives him of his family. He is his son’s enemy, I am my father’s friend. I cherish nature, he slights and insults her just claims. To think of a father who hates his son unjustly! To think of a son that loves his father still more unjustly! For I bring it as a charge
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patròs ἀναγκάζοντος, ὦτι μισοῦμενος οὗ δέον
φιλῶ καὶ φιλῶ πλέον ἢ προσήκειν. καίτοι γε ἡ
φύσις τοῖς πατράσιν τοὺς παύσας μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
παισίν τοὺς πατέρας ἐπιτάττει φιλεῖν. ἀλλ' οὗτος
ἐκών καὶ τοὺς νόμους παρορά,1 οἳ τοὺς οὐδὲν
ηδικηκότας παύδας τῷ γένει φιλόττουσιν, καὶ
tὴν φύσιν, ἢ τοὺς γεννήσαντας ἐλκεῖ πρὸς πόθον
tῶν γεγενημένων πολύν. οὐχ οἷς μείζους
ἀρχὰς εὐνοίας ἔχων πρὸς ἔμε μείζονα τὰ δικαία
μοι τῆς εὐνοίας ἐσφέρει καὶ ἐπιδίδοσιν, ἢ τὸ γε
ἐλαττον ἐμὲ μιμεῖται καὶ ξηλοὶ τοῦ φίλτρου:
ἀλλ', οἷμοι τῆς συμφορᾶς, προσέτι καὶ μισεῖ
φιλοῦντα καὶ ἀγαπῶντα ἐλαύνει καὶ ἐνεργετοῦντα
ἀδικεῖ καὶ ἀσπαζόμενον ἀποκηρύττει, καὶ τοὺς
φιλόπαιδας νόμους ὡς μισόπαιδας καὶ ἐμὸν
μεταχειρίζεται. ὥ μάχης ἢν ἐσάγεις, πάτερ, τοῖς
νόμοις κατὰ τῆς φύσεως.

19 Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς θέλεις: κακῶς
ἐρμηνεύεις, ὦ πάτερ, καλῶς κειμένους τοὺς
νόμους. οὐ πολεμεῖ φύσις καὶ νόμος ἐν ταῖς
εὐνοίαις, ἀλλ' ἀκολουθοῦν ἄλλ' ἤλλοις ἐνταῦθα καὶ
συναγωνίζονται τῇ λύσει τῶν ἀδικημάτων. ὑβρί-
ζεις τὸν ἐνεργέτην, ἀδικεῖς τὴν φύσιν. τί καὶ
tοὺς νόμους συναδικεῖς τῇ φύσει; οὐς καλοὺς
καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλόπαιδας εἶναι θέλοντας οὐ
συγχωρεῖς, καθ' ἐνὸς παιδὸς ὡς κατὰ πολλῶν
κινῶν πολλάκις καὶ ἠσυχάζειν οὐκ ἔως ἐν ταῖς
τιμωρίαις τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν παίδων πρὸς τοὺς
πατέρας εὐνοίας ἠσυχάζειν ἐθέλοντας, καίτοι
γε ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ δὲν ἠμαρτηκόσιν μὴδὲ κειμένους.
καὶ μὴν οἴ γε νόμοι καὶ ἀχαριστίας δικάζεσθαι

1 parorâ omitted in GZ.
against myself, since my father constrains me to do so, that I who am hated love when I should not and love more than I ought. Yet it is nature’s behest that fathers love their sons more than sons their fathers. He, however, deliberately slights even the laws, which preserve for the family sons who have done no wrong, as well as nature, who draws parents into great affection for their children. It cannot be said that, having exceptional grounds for good-will towards me, he pays me exceptional dues of good-will and runs the measure over, or that at least he imitates and rivals me in my love; no, alas! he even hates one who loves him, repels one who cherishes him, injures one who helps him, and disowns one who clings to him. Aye, though the laws are kindly to children, he employs them against me as if they were unkindly. Ah, what a conflict you wish to precipitate, father, between the laws and nature!

 Truly, truly, this matter is not as you will have it to be. You ill interpret the laws, father, for they are well made. Nature and law are not at war in the matter of good-will; they go hand in hand there, and work together for the righting of wrongs. You mistreat your benefactor; you wrong nature. Why wrong the laws, as well as nature? They mean to be good, and just, and kindly to children, but you will not allow it, inciting them repeatedly against one son as if his name were legion, and not suffering them to rest contented with punishments when they are willing to rest contented with demonstrations of filial affection; and yet they were not made, surely, as a menace to those who have done no wrong. Indeed, the laws permit suit to be brought on the charge of ingratitude against persons who do
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didóasen kata tòv tòv euergetas μη ἀντευποιούντων. ο ν δε προς τω μη ἀμείβεσθαι και ἐπ' αυτοῖς οις πέπονθε
kolázein ἀξίων, σκέψασθε εἰ τινα υπερβολὴν ἔδυκιας ἀπολέουσεν.

'Ως μὲν οὖν οὔτε ἀποκηρύττεμεν ἐτι τούτω εξεστὶ ἡδη τὴν πατρικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀποπληρώσατι καὶ χρησαμένων τοῖς νόμοις, οὔτε ἄλλως
dικαίων εὐεργέτην ἐς τὰ τηλικάῦτα γεγενημένον ἀπωθείσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκίας παρατείσθαι, ικανῶς,
20 οἶμαι, δέδεκται. ἡδη δε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἔλθωμεν τῆς ἀποκηρύξεως καὶ τὸ ἐγκλημα
ἐξετάσωμεν ὁποῖον ἔστω. ἀνάγκη δε αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀναδραμεῖν τοῦ νομοθέτου ίνα
gár σοι τουτο πρὸς ὅλων δώμεν, τὸ ἐξεῖναι ὁσάκις ἃν θέλης ἀποκηρύττεν, καὶ κατὰ γε τοῦ
εὐεργέτου προσέτει τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην συγχωρήσωμεν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οἶμαι, οὔδε ἐπὶ πάσαις αἰτίαις
ἀποκηρύξεις. οὔδε τοὐθ' ὁ νομοθέτης φησιν,
ο τι ἄν τὺχῃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτιασάμενος, ἀποκηρυττέτω, καὶ ἀπόχρηθε θελήσαι μόνον καὶ μέμψασθαι.
ti gár Çn edei dikasthriov ; ἀλλ' ἐν ύμιν 2 ποιεῖ
touto, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, σκοπεῖν εὑτε ἐπὶ μεγά-
λοις καὶ δικαίοις ὁ πατήρ ὀργίζεται εὑτε καὶ μη.
oükouν touto ἡδη εξετάσατε. ἄρξομαι δε ἀπό
tōn metà τὴν μανίαν εὑθύς.

1 ois ed πέπονθε (MF) edd.
2 ἐν ύμιν Harmon (ἐφ' ύμιν Madvig): ύμιν MSS. (ὑμᾶς N).

1 The existence of a law making ingratitude (ἀχαριστία) actionable was part of the accepted tradition of the Greek
rhetorical schools (Sopater in Walz, Rhetores Graeci, VIII, 175 and 239; Cyrus, ibid., 391; cf. Seneca, de Benef., III, 6, 1). For
its existence outside the schools the evidence is conflict-

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not help those who have helped them. But when a man, besides failing to render like for like, even deems it right to inflict punishment in return for the very benefits that he has received, think whether there is any exaggeration of injustice which he has overlooked!

That it is neither possible for him to disown a son after having already once for all exhausted his paternal right and made use of the laws, nor yet just to thrust away one who has shown himself so great a benefactor and exclude him from the house has been, I think, sufficiently established. Therefore let us now come to the ground of disownment and let us see what the nature of the charge is. It is necessary to recur once more to the intent of the lawgiver; for, suppose we grant you briefly the right to disown as often as you wish and also concede you this right even against your benefactor, you are not to disown casually, I take it, or for any and every cause. The lawgiver does not say that the father may disown for any reason that he may chance to allege—that it is enough just to express the wish and find a fault. Else why should we need a court? No, he commits it to you, gentlemen of the jury, to consider whether the father's anger is based upon just and sufficient grounds or not. This, then, is what you should now look into. And I shall begin with what immediately followed his insanity.

The name of the action is included in the list given by Pollux, VIII, 31, and Valerius Maximus (V, 3, ext. 3) says that Athens had such a law. On the other hand, Xenophon puts into the mouth of Socrates (Mem., II, 2, 13; cf. Cyrop. I, 2, 7) the statement that Athens took no cognisance of ingratitude except toward parents, and Seneca (loc. cit.) says that no nation except the Macedonians had a law against it.
Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα τῆς σωφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς λύσις ἦν τῆς ἀποκηρύξεως, καὶ σωτηρ καὶ ἐνεργείης καὶ πάντα ἦν ἐγώ. καὶ οὐδὲν, οἴμαι, τούτοις ἐγκλῆμα προσεύναι ἐδύνατο. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ, τί τῶν πάντων αὐτίκα; τίνα θεραπείαν, τίνα ἐπιμέλειαν ὑιὸν παρῆκα; πότε ἀπόκοιτος ἐγενόμην; τίνας πότους ἀκαίρους, τίνας κώμους ἐγκαλεῖς; τίς ἀσωτία; τίς πορνοβοσκὸς ὑβρισταί; τίς ἤτιάσατο; οὐδὲ εἰς. καὶ μὴν τὰ τοῦ ἐστὶν ἐφ’ οἷς μάλιστα ὁ νόμος ἀποκηρύττειν ἐφήσον.

"Αλλὰ νοσεῖν ἥρξατο ἡ μητριώδα." τί οὖν; ἐμοὶ τοῦτ' ἐγκαλεῖς καὶ νόσου δίκην ἀπαιτεῖς; 22 "οὖ," φησίν. ἀλλὰ τί; "θεραπεύειν προστατόμενος οὐ θέλεις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἄξιος ἄν εἰς ἀποκηρύξεως ἀπειθῶν τῷ πατρί." ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν οἷα προστάττοντι αὐτῷ ὑπακούειν οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπειθεῖν δοκῶ πρὸς ὅλιγον ὑπερθήσομαι: πρότερον δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐκεῖνὸ φημι, ὡς οὐ πάντα προστάττειν οὔτε τοῦτ' ἠδίσων ὁ νόμος οὔτ' ἔμοι τὸ πείθεσθαι πᾶσιν πάντως ἀναγκαίον. ἐν δ' οὖν τοῖς τῶν προσταγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀνεύθυνα ἑστων, τὰ δὲ ὅργης καὶ τιμωρίας ἄξια. ἐὰν νοσῆσαι αὐτός, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀμελῶ. ἐὰν τῶν καὶ οἰκὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κελεύῃς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅλιγωρῶ. ἐὰν τὰ καὶ ἀγρὸν ἐπισκοπεῖν προστάττῃς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅκνωπάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐλόγους ἔχει τὰς προφάσεις καὶ τὰς μέμψεις πατρικάς. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐφ’ ἥμιν ἑστων τοῖς παισίν, ὡντα τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων χρήσεως, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μηδὲν οὐ πατὴρ αὐτὸς ἀδικοῖτο. ἔπει τοῦ ἂν τῷ γραφέιν

1 τῷ γραφέιν (MC)A, od. Flor.: τῶ γράφειν ΠUZNB.
The first act of his sanity was to set aside the disownment, and I was a saviour, a benefactor, all in all to him. No charge, I take it, could go with that. And as to what followed, what do you censure in all of it? What service, what attention proper to a son did I omit? When did I sleep away from home? Of what ill-timed carouses, of what riotous revels do you accuse me? What licentiousness has there been? What pander have I assaulted? Who has filed any charges? Nobody at all. Yet these are the deeds for which the law especially sanctions disownment.

"No, but your stepmother began to be ill." Well, do you accuse me of that, and demand satisfaction for the illness? "No," he says. What, then? "That when you are ordered to treat her, you do not consent; and on that account would merit disownment for disobeying your father." Deferring for a moment the question what sort of orders on his part, when I cannot obey them, cause me to be considered disobedient, I first assert simply that the law does not allow him to issue all orders, and that I am not obliged to obey all orders under all circumstances. In the matter of commands, sometimes disobedience is unexceptionable, sometimes it justifies anger and punishment. If you yourself are ill, and I am indifferent; if you bid me manage the household, and I am neglectful; if you direct me to oversee the estate, and I am indiligent—all this and the like of it affords reasonable grounds for a father's censure. But these other matters are within the discretion of us children, belonging as they do to our callings and the exercise of them; particularly if the father himself is in no way wronged. For
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23 Τὸ δὲ τῆς ιατρικῆς ὅσω σεμνότερὸν ἔστω καὶ τῷ βίῳ χρησιμώτερον, τοσούτῳ καὶ ἐλευθεριώτερον εἶναι προσήκει τοῖς χρωμένοις, καὶ των προνομίαν ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην δίκαιον τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς χρήσεως, ἀναγκάζεσθαι δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ προστάτεσθαι πράγμα ἔρων καὶ θεῶν παίδευμα καὶ ἀνθρώπων σοφῶν ἐπιτήδευμα, μηδ' ὑπὸ δουλεῖαν γενέσθαι νόμον μηδ' ὑπὸ ψῆφον 1 καὶ τιμωρίαν δικαστηρίου, μηδ' ὑπὸ φόβον 2 καὶ πατρὸς ἀπελήν καὶ ὄργην ἰδιωτικῆν. ὡστε καὶ εἰ τούτῳ σοι σαφῶς οὕτως καὶ διαρρήθην ἔλεγον, "Οὐ βοῦλομαι οὐδὲ θεραπεύω δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐμαυτῷ μόνῳ τὴν τέχνην οἶδα καὶ πατρὶ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἄπασιν ἰδιώτης εἶναι βοῦλομαι," τίς τύχαινος οὕτω βίαιος ὡς ἀναγκάσασι αὐτὸ καὶ ἄκοντα χρῆσθαι τῇ τέχνῃ; τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἱκετείας καὶ δεήσεων, οὐ νόμοις καὶ ὀργαῖς καὶ δικαστηρίοις υπάγειν, οἶμαι, προσήκει: πείθεσθαι τὸν ἱατρὸν χρῆ, οὐ κελεύεσθαι: βούλεσθαι, οὐ φοβεῖσθαι: ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν οὐκ ἄγεσθαι, ἐκόντα δὲ ἐρχόμενον ἴδεσθαι. 3 πατρικῆς δὲ ἀνάγκης ἀμοίρως ἡ τέχνη. 4

1 ψῆφον K. G. P. Schwarz: φόβον MSS.
2 φόβον K. G. P. Schwarz: ψῆφον MSS.
3 εὐχόμενον ἱδέσθαι Ῥ1Ζ1.

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really, if a scribe's father gives him the order, "Write this, my boy, not that," or a musician's father, "Play this tune, not that," or a copper-smith's father, "Forge things like this, not like that," would anyone put up with his disowning his son because the son does not exercise his calling in accordance with the views of the father? No one, I think.

In the case of the medical profession, the more distinguished it is and the more serviceable to the world, the more unrestricted it should be for those who practise it. It is only just that the art of healing should carry with it some privilege in respect to the liberty of practising it; that no compulsion and no commands should be put upon a holy calling, taught by the gods and exercised by men of learning; that it should not be subject to enslavement by the law, or to voting and judicial punishment, or to fear and a father's threats and a layman's wrath. Consequently, if I were to say to you, as clearly and expressly as this: "I am unwilling to give treatment, and I do not do so, although I can; my knowledge of the profession is for my benefit alone and my father's, and to others I wish to be a layman," what tyrant so high-handed that he would constrain me to practise my calling against my will? Such things should, in my opinion, be amenable to entreaties and supplications, not to laws and fits of anger and courts: the physician ought to be persuaded, not ordered; he ought to be willing, not fearful; he ought not to be haled to the bedside, but to take pleasure in coming of his own accord. Surely his calling is exempt from paternal compulsion in view of the fact that

4 ἀμοιρος ἀτελῆς ἢ τέχνη MSS. ἀτελῆς is clearly a gloss.
ὁπον γε τοὶς ἰατροῖς καὶ δημοσίᾳ αἱ πόλεις τιμᾶς καὶ προεδρίας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ προνομίας διδόσων.

24 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπλῶς ἂν εἶχον εἶπεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης, εἰ καὶ σοὶ διδαξαμένου με καὶ πολλὰ ἐπιμεληθέντος καὶ ἀναλώσαντος ὡς μάθοιμι πρὸς μίαν ὀμως θεραπείαν ταῦτην, δυνατὴν οὖσαν, ἀντέλεγον. νυνὶ δὲ κάκεινον ἐννόησον, ὡς πανταπασιν ἄγνωμον ποιεῖς οὐκ ἔων με χρῆσθαι μετ᾽ ἐλευθερίας ἐμῷ κτήματι. ταῦτην ἐγὼ τὴν τέχνην οὐχ υίὸς οὐν σος ἐξέμαθον οὔδε τῷ σῷ νόμῳ ὑποκείμενος, καὶ ὀμως αὐτὴν μεμάθηκα σοι—καὶ πρῶτος αὐτῆς ἀπολέλαυσας—οὔδεν παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν ἔχων. τίνα διδάσκαλον ἐμισθώσω; τίνα φαρμάκων παρασκευήν; οὐδ’ ἤτυναοῦν ἄλλα πενόμενοι ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορούμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων ἔλεοομενος ἐπαιδευόμην, καὶ μοι τοιαῦτα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ὕν πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν ἐφόδια, λύτη καὶ ἐρήμη καὶ ἀπορία καὶ μίσος οἰκείων καὶ ἀποστροφὴ συγγενῶν. ἀντὶ τούτων τοῖσιν χρῆσθαι μοι τῇ τέχνῃ ἄξιοῖς καὶ δεσπότης εἶναι θέλεις τῶν ὅτ’ οὐκ ἤσθα δεσπότης πεπορισμένοις; ἀγάπα εἰ τί σε καὶ πρότερον ἐκὼν οὐ προσφείλων εὐ ἐποίησα, μηδεμίαν μηδε τότε τοῦτο χάριν ἀπαίτεισθαι δυνάμενος.

25 Οὐ δὴ δεὶ τὴν εὐποίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάγκην ἐστὸ λοιπὸν μοι γενέσθαι, οὔδε τὸ ἐκόντα εὐεργετῆσαι ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἀκοντα κελεύεσθαι κατατηναί, οὔδε ἔθος ὑπάρξαι τοῦτο, τὸ ἀπαξ τινὰ ἰασάμενον πάντας ἐσ ἂεὶ θεραπεύειν ὀπόσους ἀν ὅθεραπευθεῖς θέλη ἐπεὶ δεσπότας ἰν οὕτως καθ’ ἡμῶν εἰήμεν τοὺς

1 τότε Ν: τὸ ΓΖUBC (του Φ).

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physicians have honours, precedence, immunities, and privileges publicly bestowed on them by states. This, then, is what I might say without circumlocution in behalf of my profession if you had had me taught and had been at much pains and expense that I might learn, and I were nevertheless reluctant to undertake this one cure, which was possible. But as things stand, consider how absolutely unreasonable a thing you are doing in not allowing me to use my own possession freely. I did not learn this profession while I was your son or subject to your jurisdiction, and yet I learned it for you (aye, you were the first to profit by it) though I had no help from you towards learning it. What teacher did you furnish money for? What supply of drugs? None at all. No, poor as I was, in want of necessities, and pitied by my teachers, I got myself educated, and the assistance towards learning which I had from my father was grief, loneliness, poverty, the hatred of my family, and the aversion of my kinsmen. In return for this, do you now think fit to utilize my profession and wish to be master of all that I acquired when you were not my master? Be content if I have already done you a good turn of my own accord, without previous indebtedness to you, for then as now nothing could have been required of me as an expression of gratitude.

Surely my act of kindness should not become an obligation for the future, nor should the fact that I conferred a benefit of my own free will constitute a reason that I should be ordered to do it against my will; neither should it become customary that once a man has cured anybody, he must for ever treat all those whom his former patient wishes him to treat. Under those conditions we should have elected our
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θεραπευομένους κεχειροτονηκότες καὶ μισθὸν τὸ δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ πάντα κελεύουσιν ὑπηρετεῖν προσδεδωκότες, ὥς τὰ γένοιτ' ἀν ἄδικώτερον; διὸτι σε νοσήσαντα χαλεπῶς ὀὔτως ἀνέστησα, διὰ τὸ τοῦτο νομίζεις ἐξείναι σοι καταχρῆσθαί μου τῇ τέχνῃ;

26 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν εἶχον ἂν λέγειν, εἰ καὶ δυνάτα μὲν οὕτως προσέταττεν, ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ πάντως ἀπαίρητο διὸ ἐπὶ ἀνάγκην ὑπῆκουσον. νῦν δὲ ἦδη σκέφθη καὶ οἶδ᾽ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα. "Επει γὰρ ἐμὲ ἱάσων," φησίν, "μεμηνότα, μέμηνεν δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ὁμοία πάσχει"—τοῦτο γὰρ οἴεται—
καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἀπέγνωσται, δύνασαι δὲ σὺ πάντα ὡς ἐδειξας, ἵς καὶ ταύτην καὶ ἀπάλλατε ἦδη τῆς νόσου." τοῦτο δὲ, οὕτωσι μὲν ἀπλῶς άκούσαι, πάνω εὐλογον ἂν δοξειεν, καὶ μάλιστα ἰδιώτη καὶ ἀπείρῳ ἱστρικῆς. εἰ δὲ μου ἀκούσατε ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης δικαιολογοῦμένου, μάθοιτ' ἂν ὡς οὕτε πάντα ἢμῖν δυνάτα ἐστιν οὐθ' αἱ τῶν νοσημάτων φύσεως παραπλήσιοι οὕτ' ἵασις ἢ αὐτὴ οὕτε φάρμακα τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ πάντων ἱσχυρά, καὶ τὸ τῇ ἐστιν ὅλον ὡς πάμπολυ τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι τι τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι διαφέρει. ἀνάσχεσθε δὲ μου τὰ περὶ τούτων φιλοσοφοῦντος, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρόκαλον μηδὲ ἐξαγώνιον μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἢ ἀκαίρου ἡγησησθε τὸν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγον.

27 Πρῶτα μὲν δὴ σωμάτων φύσεως καὶ κράσεως οὖχ αἱ αὐταί, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων

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patients to be our masters, paying them, too, by playing slave to them and executing all their orders. What could be more inequitable than this? Because I restored you to health in this way when you had fallen severely ill, do you think that you are therefore empowered to abuse my skill?

That is what I might have said if what he enjoined upon me were possible, and I were refusing to obey him in absolutely everything, and under compulsion. But as things are, consider now what his commands are like. "Since you have cured me," says he, "from insanity, since my wife too is insane and has the same symptoms" (for so he thinks), "and has been given up by others in the same way, and since you can do everything, as you have shown, cure her too and free her forthwith from the disorder." That, to hear it so simply put, might seem very reasonable, particularly to a layman, inexperienced in matters of medicine. But if you will listen to my plea on behalf of my profession, you will discover that all things are not possible to us, that the natures of ailments are not alike, that the cure is not the same or the same medicines effective in all cases; and then it will be clear that there is a great difference between not wishing to do a thing and not being able. Suffer me to indulge in scientific discourse about these matters, and do not consider my discussion of them tactless, beside the point, or alien and unseasonable.

In the first place, the natures and temperaments of human bodies are not the same, although they are

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1 προσδεδωκότες Wesseling's marginalia: προσδεδωκότες MSS.
2 ἀκούσωτε ed. Flor.: ἀκούσεται Γ, ἀκούσετε NZUB.

v. v.
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συνεστάναι ὁμολογῶνταί, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν
τὰ δὲ τῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἠλαττον μετέχει. καὶ λέγω
τοῦτο ἐτί περὶ τῶν ἀνδρείων, ὡς οὐδὲ ταῦτα
πᾶσιν ἢ ὀμοια ὦ ὦ τῇ κράσει ὦ τῇ συντάσσει.
διάφορα δὴ καὶ μεγέθει καὶ εἴδει ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ
νοσήματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ μὲν εὐάτα
εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν ἀναπεπταμένα,
τὰ δὲ τέλεον ἀπεγνωσμένα καὶ ράδιως ἄλισκόμενα
καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὑπὸ τῶν νοσήματων λαμβανό-
μένα. τὸ τοινυν οἶεσθαί πάντα πυρετὸν ἢ πᾶσαν
φθόγην ἢ περιπλευμονίαν ἢ μανίαν μίαν καὶ τὴν
αὕτην οὔσαν τῷ γένει ὀμοιαν ἐπὶ παντὸς εἶναι
σώματος, οὐ σωφρονοῦντων οὐδὲ λελογισμένων
οὐδὲ τὰ τουαῦτα ἐξητακότων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων;
ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν μὲν τῶ νέοι δάδοιν ἱάσθαι, ἐν δὲ
τῶ δὲ οὐκέτι. ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ πυρὸν ἢ τὸν
αὐτοῦ ἐς διαφόρους χώρας ἐμβάλης, ἀλλος μὲν
ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ καὶ βαθείᾳ καὶ ποτιζομένῃ καὶ
ἐυθλίῳ καὶ εὐηνέμῳ καὶ ἐξειργασμένῃ ἀναφέσται,
ἐυθαλῆς οἶμαι καὶ εὔτροφος καὶ πολύχους καρπός,
ἀλλος δὲ ἐν ὁρει καὶ ὑπολίθῳ γηδίῳ, ἀλλος δὲ
ἐν δυσθλίῳ, ἀλλος δὲ ἐν ὑπωρείᾳ, καὶ ὅλους διαφό-
ρως καθ’ ἐκάστους τόπους. οὐτω δὲ καὶ τὰ
νοσήματα παρὰ τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τόπους ἢ
εὔφορα καὶ εὔτροφα ἢ ἐλάττω γίγνεται. τοῦτο
τοίνυν ὑπερβας ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὅλον ἀνεξέταστον
καταλιπὼν ἄξοι πᾶσαν μανίαν τὴν ἐν ἀπαντὶ
σώματι ὀμοιαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἱσθν.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτους τοσοῦτοι οὕσω, ὅτι τὰ γνώμαι-
κεῖα σώματα πάμπολυ τῶν ἀνδρείων διαφέρει πρὸς

1 μᾶλλον N vulg.: omitted in ΓΖUB(C)A.
2 διάφορα δὴ ΓΖ: διάφορα γὰρ δὴ NUB.
admittedly composed of the same elements, but some contain more, or perhaps less, of this, others of that. And I say further that even the bodies of males are not all equal or alike either in temperament or in constitution. So it is inevitable that the diseases which arise in them should be different both in intensity and in kind, and that some bodies should be easy to cure and amenable to treatment, while others are completely hopeless, being easily affected and quickly overcome. Therefore, to think that all fevers or consumptions or inflammations of the lungs or madnesses, if of one and the same kind, are alike in all bodies is not what one expects of sound-minded, sensible men who have investigated such matters. No, the same ailment is easy to cure in this person but not in that. Just so, I take it, with wheat; if you cast the same seed into different plots of ground, it will grow in one way in the ground that is level, deep-soiled, well watered, blessed with sunshine and breezes, and thoroughly tilled, yielding a full, rich, abundant harvest, no doubt, but otherwise in a stony farm on a mountain, or in ground with little sun, or in the foothills; to put it generally, in different ways according to the various soils. So too diseases become prolific and luxuriant or less so through the soils which receive them. Omitting this point and leaving it entirely uninvestigated, my father expects all attacks of insanity in all bodies to be alike and their treatment the same.

In addition to these important distinctions, it is easy to grasp the fact that the bodies of women differ very widely from those of men, both in respect to

\[^3\] καὶ Fritzsche: ἦ MSS.
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tε νόσου διαφόραν καὶ πρὸς θεραπείας ἐλπίδα ἥ
ἀπόγνωσιν βάδιον καταμαθεῖν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν εὐπαγή καὶ εὔτονα, πόνοις καὶ κινήσεσιν
καὶ υπαιθρίῳ διαίτῃ γεγυμναμένα, τὰ δὲ ἐκλυτα καὶ
ἀσυμπαγή, ἐνσκιατροφημένα 1 καὶ λευκά αἵματος
ἐνδείᾳ καὶ θερμοῦ ἀπορία καὶ ὑγροῦ περιττοῦ 2
ἐπίρροια. εὐαλωτότερα τοίνυν τῶν ἀνδρείων καὶ
ταῖς νόσοις ἐκκείμενα καὶ τὴν ἱασιν οὐ περιμέ-
νοντα καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς μανίας εὐχερέστερα· ὥτε
γὰρ πολὺ μὲν τὸ ὀργίλον καὶ κοῦφον καὶ ὄξυ-
κίνητον ἔχουσαι, οὐλίγην δὲ τὴν τοῦ σῶματος αὐτοῦ
dύναμιν, βάδίως ἐστὶ πάθος τοῦτο κατολισ-
θάνουσιν.

29 Οὐ δίκαιον τοίνυν παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν τὴν ὀμοίαν
ἐπ’ ἄμφοτερ θεραπείαις ἀπαιτεῖν, εἰδότας ὅσ πολὺ
tοῦν μέσως, βίως παντὶ καὶ πράξεσιν ὀλίας καὶ
πάσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς κεχωρισμένων.
ὅταν τοίνυν λέγησιν ὧτι μέμνην, προστίθει καὶ
ὅτι γυνὴ οὖσα μέμνην, καὶ μὴ σύγχει πάντα ταῦτα
tῷ τῆς μανίας ὑπάγων ὀνόματι ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ
dοκοῦτι, ἄλλα χωρίσας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, 3
τῇ φύσει, τὸ δυνατὸν ἐφ’ ἐκάστοτο σκόπει. καὶ
gὰρ ἡμεῖς, ὅπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων εἰπὼν μέμνη-
μαι, τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐπισκοποῦμεν, φύσιν σῶματος
tοῦ νοσοῦντος καὶ κράσιν, καὶ τῶν πλείονος
μετέχει, καὶ εἰ θερμότερον ἣ ψυχρότερον, καὶ 4

1 ἐνσκιατροφημένα U: ἐν σκιᾶ τροφημένα Γ; cf. Plut. Mor. 476 ε. ἐν σκιᾷ τραφημένα B, ἐν σκιᾷ τετραφημένα N, ἐσκιατραφη-
μένα Z1: ἐσκιατροφημένα CMF vulg.

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the dissimilarity of their diseases and in respect to one’s hopefulness or despair of a cure. For the bodies of men are well-knit and sinewy, since they have been trained by toils and exercises, and by an open-air life; but those of women are weak and soft from being reared indoors, and white for lack of blood, deficiency of heat, and an excessive supply of the moist humour. They are therefore more susceptible than those of men, prone to diseases, intolerant of medical treatment, and above all, more liable to attacks of insanity; for since women have much bad temper, frivolity, and instability, but little physical strength, they easily fall into this affection.

It is not right, then, to ask of the physicians the same treatment for both, when we know that there is a great gulf between them, dissociated as they have been from the very first in their entire mode of life, and in all their activities and all their pursuits. So when you say “It is a case of insanity,” add, “insanity in a woman,” and do not confuse all these variations by subsuming them under the title of insanity, which seems always one and the same thing, but distinguish them, as is right, in their nature and see what can be done in each case. That is what we do, for, as I remember telling you in the beginning of my speech, the first thing that we consider is the constitution and temperament of the patient’s body, what quality predominates in it, whether it is inclined to be hot or cold, whether it is

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2 \( \text{περιττοῖο} \) omitted in Z'CMF.
3 \( \text{ἐστὶ δίκαιον} \) Hemsterhuys: \( \text{ἐστίν καὶ ὅν ΓΝΣC (ἐστὶ ΝΖC)} \); \( \text{ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν UB vulg.} \)
4 \( \text{kαι ed. Flor.: η MSS.} \)
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\[\text{άκμαζον ἡ παρηβηκός, καὶ μέγα ἡ μικρόν, καὶ πιμελές ἡ ὀλιγόσαρκον, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ ὅλως ἂν τις αὐτὰ προεξετάσῃ, πάνυ ἄξιόπιστος ἂν εὑρῇ ἀπογιγνώσκων τι ἡ ὑποχυνομένος.}

30 Ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς μανίας αὐτῆς μυρία εἶδη ἐστίν καὶ παμπόλλας ἔχει τὰς αἰτίας καὶ οὐδὲ τὰς προσηγοριὰς αὐτὰς ὁμοίας· οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα παρανοεῖν καὶ παραπαίειν καὶ λυττᾶν καὶ μεμηνέναι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα τοῦ μᾶλλον ἡ ἄττον ἐχεσθαι τῇ νόσῳ ὑπόματά ἐστιν. αἰτίαι τε τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἄλλαι, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἔτεραι, καὶ τῶν ἁνδρῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν νέοις ἄλλαι, τοῖς δὲ γεγηρακόσιοι διάφοροι, οἴον νέοις μὲν πλῆθος ἡ ἀ πολυ, γέροντας δὲ καὶ διαβολὴ ἀκαίρως καὶ ὀργὴ ἀλογίως πολλάκις κατ᾽ ὀικείων ἐμπεσοῦσα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διετάραξεν, εἰς κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐς μανίαν περιέτρεψεν. γυναικῶν δὲ πολλὰ καθικνεῖται καὶ ῥαδίως ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐπάγεται, μάλιστα δὲ μίσος κατά τινος πολὺ ἡ φθόνος ἡ ἐχθρῶς εὐτυχοῦσιν ἡ λύτη τις ἡ ὀργὴ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ταῦτα ὑποτυφόμενα καὶ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἐντρεφόμενα μανίαν ἀποτελεῖ.

31 Τοιαῦτα σοι, ὦ πάτερ, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ πέπονθεν καὶ ἵσως τι λελύπηκεν αὐτὴν ἐναγχὸς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείνη ἐμίσει. πλὴν ἔχεται γε καὶ ὅπικ ἂν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὑπ’ ἱατροῦ θεραπευθῆναι δύνατο· ὡς εἰ γε ἄλλος τις ὑπόσχοιτο, εἰ τις ἀπαλλάξεις, μίσει τότε ὡς ἀδικοῦντα ἐμέ· καὶ μὴν κάκεινον;

1 This word, which has perhaps elicited more conjectures than any other in Lucian, is right. Its use as a synonym of πληθώρα, though not recognised in the dictionaries, is abundantly documented in Galen; e.g., De San. Tuenda, IV, 2, 13: τοῦ τοιούτου πλῆθους δ ἡ καὶ πληθώραν ὑνομάζουσι.
vigorous or senile, tall or short, fat or lean, and everything of that sort. In short, if a man examines into these matters to begin with, he will be very trustworthy when he expresses any doubt or makes any promise.

To be sure, of madness itself there are countless varieties, with many causes and even dissimilar names; for perversity, eccentricity, delirium, and lunacy are not the same thing, but are all names that signify whether one is more or less in the grip of the disease. The causes, too, are of one sort with men, another with women, and even among men they are of one sort with the young and different with the aged; for instance, with the young usually excess of humours, whereas in the case of the old, groundless prejudice and insensate anger against members of the family, attacking them frequently, disturbs them at first, then gradually deranges them to the point of insanity. Women are affected by many things which easily incline them to this ailment, especially by excessive hatred of someone, or jealousy of an enemy who is prospering, or grief of some sort, or anger; these passions, slowly smouldering and acquiring strength in a long lapse of time, produce madness.

That, father, is what has happened to your wife, and it may be that something has grieved her recently, for she, of course, hated nothing at all. However that may be, she has a seizure, at all events, and in the circumstances cannot be cured by a physician. If anyone else should engage to do it, if anyone should relieve her, you may then hate me as offending

2 οὐδένα (C)A, perhaps right.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

32 Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς, ὃς πάτερ, οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ πάνυ σοι τετηρηκὼς λέγω—οὐ ποτε βάον ἔξει, καὶ μυριάκις πίη τοῦ φαρμάκου. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπικεφεῖν οὐκ ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἀποτυχεῖν με κατεπείγεις καὶ κακοδοξία περιβαλεὶς θέλεις. έασον ύπὸ τῶν ὅμοτέχων φθονείσθαι. εάν δὲ με ἀποκηρύξῃς πάλιν, ἐγὼ μὲν καίτοι πάντων ἔρημος γενόμενος οὐδὲν κατὰ σοῦ δεινῶν εὐδοσμαίν. τι δ' ἂν, ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτο, αὕτης ἡ νόσος ἐπανέλθη; φιλεὶ γὰρ πῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐρεθίζομενα παλαιῷ δρομεῖν. τι με πρᾶξαι δεῖσει; θεραπεύσω μὲν εὖ ἵσθι καὶ τότε καὶ οὐ ποτε λείψω τὴν τάξιν ἂν τοὺς παίδας ἐτάξειν ἡ φύσις, οὐδὲ τοῦ γένους τὸ ἐπ' ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιλήσομαι. εἶτ' ἂν σωφρονήσῃς, αὕτης ἀναλαμβάνειν πώποτε πιστεῦσαι με δεῖ; ὅρας; ἦδη καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐπισταὶ τὴν νόσον καὶ

1 ταῦτα Z(MFC) edd.: ταῦτα ΓUNB.
2 τάχ' ἂν οὖν Jacobitz: τάχα οὖν ΓUNBAZ, τάχα ἂν Z1M.

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against you. Indeed, father, I shall not hesitate to say further that even if her case were not so wholly desperate, but some hope of saving her still were in sight, even then I should not have undertaken her case lightly or ventured to prescribe for her out of hand, fearing mischance and the slanderous tongues of the common sort. You are aware that everybody thinks that all stepmothers entertain some hatred of their stepsons, even if they are good women, and that in this they suffer from a sort of insanity affecting women in common. Perhaps someone would have suspected, if the ailment had gone badly and the remedies had not been effective, that the treatment had been malevolent and treacherous.

As regards your wife, father, the case stands thus, and I tell you so after careful observation—she will never be better, even if she takes medicine a thousand times. For that reason it is not proper to make any attempt, unless you are trying to force me into sheer failure and wish to give me a bad name. Let me continue to be envied by my fellow-practitioners! If, however, you disown me again, I certainly, though totally alone in the world, will not pray that any adversity may befall you; but what if (Heaven forfend!) your affliction returns once more? Somehow it often happens that such afflictions, under irritation, do recur. What shall I be required to do? I will treat you even then, you may be sure, and shall never desert the post which Nature has commanded sons to hold, nor ever, so far as in me lies, forget my origin. And then, if you recover your mind, may I expect you some day to take me back again? Look! even now by these actions of yours you are bringing on the disorder and provoking the


υπομνήσκεις τὸ πάθος. χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἐκ
tηλικούτων κακῶν ἀνασφάλας διατείνη καὶ βοᾶς,
kai τὸ μέγιστον, ὀργίζῃ καὶ πρὸς μῦσος τρέπῃ
καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀνακαλεῖς. οἴμοι, πάτερ, ταῦτα
ἤν σου καὶ τῆς πάλαι μανίας τὰ προοίμια.
ailment. You have only just recovered from that terrible plight, and yet you strain your lungs shouting; more than that, you are angry, you take to hatred, and you invoke the laws. Ah, father, that is the way your former seizure began!
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