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LUCIAN
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PREFACE

The new Teubner edition of these pieces has still not appeared and there is no adequate critical edition. In establishing a text I have had access to photostats of Vaticanus 90 (Γ) and Parisinus 2957 (N).

The trustees of the Loeb Classical Library have kindly passed on to me the unfinished preparatory work done for this volume by Professors Harmon and Rouse. I have used some of this material as a check and have occasionally adopted an expression from one or other of my predecessors.

I should like to thank especially Professor W. A. Laidlaw of Queen Mary College, University of London, who has checked the translation of most of the work; I have used several of his suggestions and am grateful for his help and encouragement.
LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME I


VOLUME II

The Downward Journey or The Tyrant—Zeus Catechized—Zeus Rants—The Dream or The Cock—Prometheus—Icaromenippus or The Sky-man—Timon or The Misanthrope—Charon or The Inspector—Philosophies for Sale.

VOLUME III

The Dead Come to Life or The Fisherman—The Double Indictment or Trials by Jury—On Sacrifices—The Ignorant Book Collector—The Dream or Lucian's Career—The Parasite—The Lover of Lies—The Judgement of the Goddesses—On Salaried Posts in Great Houses.

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.
LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

VOLUME V


VOLUME VI


VOLUME VII


VOLUME VIII

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

The Parthian War here referred to was that of A.D. 162–165 against Vologesus III. He defeated the Romans at Elegeia in 162, destroying the Roman legion; the Roman commander Severianus was killed in the fighting. However, he was driven back from the Syrian border by Lucius Verus. Avidius Cassius destroyed Babylon and Ctesiphon, and Statius Priscus took Artaxata, the Parthian capital. Lucian criticises the flock of petty historians who had rushed to chronicle the war. The work is ostensibly a letter to Philo, of whom nothing further is known, and was written before the end of the war—Lucian looks forward to the triumph still to be celebrated (ch. 31).
ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ

1. Αβδηρίταις φασὶ Λυσιμάχου ἢδη βασιλεύοντος ἐμπεσείν τι νόσημα, ὦ καλὲ Φιλων, τοιοῦτο πυρέττευν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα πανδημεῖ ἀπαντάς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὔθυς ἐρρωμένως καὶ λυτορεῖ τῷ πυρετῷ, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐβδομήν τοῖς μὲν αἶμα πολὺ ἐκ ῥυών ῥυέν, τοῖς δ' ἱδρῶς ἐπιγενόμενος, πολὺς καὶ οὕτως, ἔλυσεν τὸν πυρέτον. ἐς γελοίον δὲ τι πάθος περιώτα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἀπαντές γὰρ ἐς τραγωδίαν παρεκίμουν καὶ ἰαμβεῖα ἐφθέγγυντο καὶ μέγα ἐβόων· μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Εὐρυπίδου Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐμονύδουν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσέως ῥήσων εὖ μὲλεῖ 1 διεξῆσαν, καὶ μεστὴ ἢν ἡ πόλις ὥχρων ἀπάντων καὶ λεπτῶν τῶν ἐβδομαίων ἑκείνων τραγωδῶν,

οὗ δ' ὦ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀναβοώντων καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἀχρὶ δὴ χειμῶν καὶ κρύος δὲ μέγα γενόμενον ἔπαυσε ληροῦντας αὐτοὺς. αὐτίαν δὲ μοι δόκει τοῦ τοιούτου παρασχεῖν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ τραγῳδός, εὐδοκιμῶν τότε, μεσοῦντος θέρους ἐν πολλῷ τῷ φλογίῳ τραγῳδήσας αὐτοῖς τῇν Ἀνδρομέδαν, ὃς πυρέζαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναστάντας ύπεροῦν ἐς τὴν τραγῳδίαν παραλιθαίνειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐμφιλοχω-
HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

They say, my dear Philo, that in the reign of King Lysimachus the people of Abdera were smitten by an epidemic. These were its symptoms: at first every one of them fell ill of a fever, violent and obstinate right from the start; about the seventh day it was broken, in some cases by a copious flow of blood from the nostrils, in others by heavy sweating; but their minds were left in a ridiculous state; they all went mad with tragedy, shouting iambics and creating a din; and they mostly sang solos from Euripides' "Andromeda," rendering Perseus' speech in song; the city was full of these seventh-day tragedians, all pale and thin, roaring,

"Love, you tyrant of gods and men"

and the rest in a loud voice, hour after hour, day after day, until winter and a severe cold spell stopped their noise. Archelaüs the actor seems to me to blame for such goings on. He was popular then, and in the middle of summer in the blazing heat had played the "Andromeda" for them, so that most of them brought their fever away from the theatre with them, and later when they left their beds relapsed into tragedy;

1 Or "sang as a solo Andromeda's part in Euripides' play."

1 μέλει γ : μέρει β.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ρούσης τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Περσέως ἔτι σὺν τῇ Μεδούσῃ τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην περιπετεμένου.

2 Ὅς οὖν ἔν, φασίν, ἐν παραβαλεῖν, τὸ Ἀβδηριτικόν ἔκεινο πάθος καὶ νῦν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν πεπαυδεμένων περιελήλυθεν, οὐχ ἀστε τραγῳδείν —ἐλαττον γὰρ ἀν τούτο παρέπαινοι ἀλλοτρίους ἰαμβείους, οὐ φαύλους κατεσχημένου. ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὰ ἐν ποιει ταῦτα κεκινήτητ—ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τραύμα καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς νίκαι—οὔδεις ὡστε οὐχ ἱστορίαν συγγράψει· μᾶλλον δὲ Θουκυδίδια καὶ Ἡρόδοτοι καὶ Ἐξεφώντες ἦμῖν ἀπαντεῖς, καί, ὡς ἐσοκεν, ἀληθὲς ἢ ἔκεινο τὸ "Πόλεμος ἀπαντῶν πατήρ", εἰ γε καὶ συγγραφέας τοσοῦτος ἀνέφυσεν ὑπὸ μιᾶ τῇ ὁμῆ.

3 Ταῦτα τοιῶν, ὁ ψευτής, ὀρώντα καὶ ἀκούοντα με τὸ τοῦ Σινωπέως ἔκεινο εἰσῆλθην· ὅποτε γὰρ ὁ Φιλίππος ἐλέγετο ἡδή ἐπελαύνειν, οἱ Κοράνθιοι πάντες ἐταράπτοντο καὶ ἐν ἐργῳ ἔσαν, ὁ μὲν ὀπλα ἐπισκευάζων, ὁ δὲ λίθους παραφέρων, ὁ δὲ ὑποκοδομῶν τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἐπαλέγων ὑποστηρίζων, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν χρησίμων ὑποργῶν. ὁ δὴ Διογένης ὄρῳ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν εἶχεν ὁ τι καὶ πράττοι—οὔδεις γὰρ αὐτῶ εἰς οὕδεν ἔχρητο—διαξωσάμενος τὸ τριβῶνον σπουδὴ μάλα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκύλιε τῶν πίθουν, ἐν ὃ ἐτύγχανεν οὐκὼν, ἀνω καὶ κάτω τοῦ Κρανείου. καὶ τίνος τῶν συνήθων ἐρωμένου, Τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς, ὁ Διόγενες; Κυλίω, ἐφη, κάγω τὸν πίθον, ὡς μή μόνος ἄργειν δοκοίην ἐν τοσοῦτος ἐργαζομένοις.

1 A saying of Heraclitus.
HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

the "Andromeda" kept haunting their memory, and his Perseus with Medusa's head still flitted round everyone's brain.

To make as they say a comparison, that Abderite complaint has now taken hold of most of the literary world. They don't act tragedy—they would be less out of their wits if they were in the grip of other men's verses, not shoddy ones at that. No, ever since the present situation arose—the war against the barbarians, the disaster in Armenia and the run of victories—every single person is writing history; nay more, they are all Thucydideses, Herodotuses and Xenophons to us, and very true, it seems, is the saying that "War is the father of all things" since at one stroke it has begotten so many historians.

As I saw and heard all this, friend, I was reminded of the story of the man of Sinope. When Philip was said to be already on the march, all the Corinthians were astir and busy, preparing weapons, bringing up stones, underpinning the wall, shoring up a battlement and doing various other useful jobs. Diogenes saw this, and as he had nothing to do—nobody made any use of him—he belted up his philosopher's cloak and very busily by himself rolled the crock in which, as it happens, he was living up and down Cornel Hill. When one of his friends asked: "Why are you doing that, Diogenes?" he replied: "I'm rolling the crock so as not to be thought the one idle man in the midst of all these workers."
4 Κατός οὖν, ὦ Φίλων, ὡς μὴ μόνος ἄφωνος εἶν ἐν οὕτω πολυφῶνῳ τῷ καιρῷ μηδ’ ὀσπερ καμικὸν δορυφόρημα κεχνῶς σωμπῇ παραφερόμην, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον ὡς δυνατὸν μοι κυλίσας τὸν πίθον, οὐχ ὡστε 1 ἰστορίαν συγγράφειν οὐδὲ πράξεις αὐτὰς διεξεῖν — οὐχ οὕτως μεγαλότολμος ἐγὼ, μηδὲ τούτῳ δείσῃς περὶ ἐμοῦ. οἴδα γάρ, ἡλίκος ὁ κίνδυνος, εἰ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν κυλίοι τις, καὶ μάλιστα οἶδον τούμον τούτῳ πιθάκνι- νον οὐδὲ πάνυ καρτερῶς κεκεραμευμένον. δεησε γάρ αὐτίκα μᾶλα πρὸς μικρὸν τι λιθίδιον προσπαίσαντα συλλέγειν τὰ ὅστρακα.

Τι οὖν ἐγνωστάι μοι καὶ πῶς ἀσφαλῶς μεθέξω τοῦ πολέμου, αὐτὸς ἔξω βέλους ἐστώς, ἐγὼ σοι φράσω. “τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος” καὶ φροντίδων, ὅσι τῷ συγγραφεὶ ἔνεισιν, ἀνέξω ἐμαυτὸν εὗ ποιῶν. παραίνεσιν δὲ τινα μικρὰν καὶ ὑποθήκας ταῦτας ὀλίγας ὑποθήσομαι τοῖς συγγραφοῦσιν, ὡς κοινωνήσαμι αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκοδομίας, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἀκρῶ γε τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ πηλοῦ προσαφάμενος.

5 Κατόι οὖν παραινέσεως οἱ πολλοὶ δεῖν οἴονται σφίσιν 2 ἐπὶ τὸ πράγμα, οὗ μάλλον ἡ τέχνης τών ἐπὶ τὸ βαδίζειν ἡ βλέπειν ἡ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ῥάστον καὶ πρόχειρον καὶ ἀπαντὸς εἶναι ἰστορίαν συγγράψαι, ἣν τις ἐρμηνεύσαι τὸ ἐπελθὸν δύνηται. τὸ δὲ οἴσθα σοι καὶ αὐτός, ὦ ἑταίρε, ὡς οὐ τών εὔμεταχειρίστων οὐδὲ ραθύμως συντεθήναι δυναμέ- νων τούτ’ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’, εἰ τι ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἄλλο, πολλῆς τῆς φροντίδος δεόμενον, ἥν τις, ὡς ὁ

1 ὡστε add. Fritzche.
HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

So in my own case, Philo, to avoid being the only mute in such a polyphonic time, pushed about open-mouthed without a word like an extra in a comedy, I thought it a good idea to roll my barrel as best I could; not to produce a history or even merely chronicle the events—I'm not so bold as that: don't be afraid that I should go that far. I know the danger of rolling it over rocks, particularly a poorly baked little barrel like mine. Just as soon as it hits against a tiny piece of stone we shall have to pick up the pieces.

I shall tell you then what I have decided to do and how I shall take part in the war in safety, keeping well out of range myself. "From your spray and surge" and all the cares that attend the writer of history I shall keep myself aloof and rightly so. In fact, I shall offer a little advice and these few precepts to historians, so that I may share in the erection of their building, if not the inscription on it, by putting at any rate my finger-tip on the mortar.

Yet most of them think they don't even need advice for the job any more than they need a set of rules for walking or seeing or eating; no, they think it is perfectly simple and easy to write history and that anyone can do it if only he can put what comes to him into words. As to that, I'm sure you know as well as I do, my dear friend, that history is not one of those things that can be put in hand without effort and can be put together lazily, but is something which needs, if anything does in literature, a great deal of thought.

1 Homer, Od. xii, 198, describing the whirlpool of Charybdis.

2 παρανέσεως οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ἰδοντα σφίσαι β: παρανέσοι πολλοὶ δὲ ἰδοι ἐντες φησιν (σφίσαι Ε) γ.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἐσ Ἰαὶ κτήμα συντιθεῖν. οἶδα μὲν οὖν οὖ πάνυ πολλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψων, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἐπαχθῆς δόξων, καὶ μᾶλιστα ἀπόσως ἀποτελέσται ἣδη καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ δεδείκται ἡ ἱστορία. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπήνηται ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀκροασμένων, μανία ἢν εἶ ἡ 1 ἐλπίς, ὡς οἱ τοιοῦτοι μεταποιήσουσι ἡ μετεγγράψουσί τι τῶν ἀπαξ κεκυρωμένων καὶ ὁσπερ ἐς τὰς βασιλείους αὐλὰς ἀποκεμένων. οἷος δὲ ὑφ' χείρων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους εἰρήνηθαι, ὡς, εἰ ποτὲ πόλεμος ἄλλος συνταχῇ, ἡ Κελτόις πρὸς Γέτας ἡ Ἰνδοῖς πρὸς Βακτρίους (οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γε τολμήσειν ἀν τις, ἀπάντων ἡδὲ κεκυρωμένων) ἐχωσιν ἄμεινον συντιθέναι τὸν κανῶνα τούτον προσάγοντες, ἡντερ γε δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ὀρθὸς εἶναι: εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε τῶν αὐτῶν πήχει ὁσπερ καὶ νῦν μετροῦντων τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὁ ἰστρὸς δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἄνιασται, ἢν πάντες Ἀβδηρίται ἐκόντες Ἀνδρομέδαν τραγῳδῶσι.

6 Διπτοῦ δὲ οὖντο τοῦ τῆς συμβουλῆς ἔργου, τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἴρείσθαι, τὰ δὲ φεύγειν διδάσκει, φέρε πρῶτα εἰπωμεν ἀτινα φευκτέον τῷ ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντι καὶ ὡν μάλιστα καθαρευτέον, ἔπειτα οἷς χρώμενοι οὐκ ἄν ἁμάρτοι τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἐπὶ εὐθὺ ἀγούσης—ἀρχὴν τε οἶαν αὐτῶ ἄρκτεον καὶ τάξιν ἤτινα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφαρμοστέον καὶ μέτρον ἐκάστου καὶ ἢ σωπτέον καὶ οἷς ἐνδιατριπτέον καὶ ὅσα παραδραμεῖν ἄμεινον καὶ ὅπως ἔρμηνεύσαι αὐτὰ καὶ συναρμόσαι.

Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὠστερον. νῦν δὲ τὰς

1 μανία ἢν εἶ ἡ Fritzsche: μανία καὶ ἐλπίς Γ: μ' εἰ γε ἐλπίς Ν.
HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

if it is to be what Thucydides calls "a possession for evermore." Now I know that I shall not convert very many: some indeed will think me a great nuisance, particularly anyone whose history is already finished and has already been displayed in public. And if in addition he was applauded by his audience it would be madness to expect his sort to remodel or rewrite any part of what has once been ratified and lodged, as it were, in the royal palace. Nevertheless it is as well to address my remarks to them also so that if ever another war comes along, whether Celts against Getans or Indians against Bactrians (no one would dare to fight us—we've beaten everybody already), they may write better by applying this yard-stick if they think it accurate; if they don't, then they must use the same rule to do their measuring as now. The doctor will not be greatly annoyed if every man of Abdera¹ plays the "Andromeda" and is happy to do it.

Advice works in two ways: it teaches us to choose this and avoid that. So first let us say what the writer of history has to avoid, from what contaminations he must in particular be free; then what means he must use in order not to lose the right road that carries him straight ahead—I mean how to begin, how to arrange his material, the proper proportions for each part, what to leave out, what to develop, what it is better to handle cursorily, and how to put the facts into words and fit them together. These and kindred matters will come later. But

¹ The Abderites were proverbially simpletons.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

κακίας ἥδη εἶπωμεν, ὅπόσαι τοῖς φαύλως συγγράφονσιν παρακολουθοῦσιν. ἀ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ πάντων λόγων ἐστὶν ἀμαρτήματα ἐν τε φωνῇ καὶ ἀρμονία καὶ διανοία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀτεχνίᾳ, μακρὸν τε ἂν εἶν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως
7 οὐκ ἰδιον.1 ἀ δὲ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ διαμαρτάνουσι, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἂν εὑροῖς ἐπιτηρῶν, οἷα κάμοι πολλάκις ἀκροωμένω ἐδοξεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἂν ἀπασών αὐτοῖς ἀναπετάσῃ τὰ ὅτα. οὖκ ἀκαίρον δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύσαι ἕνα παραδείγματος ἑνεκα τῶν ἕδη οὕτως συγγεγραμμένων.

Καὶ πρῶτον γε ἐκεῖνο ἡλίκον ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἐπισκοπήσωμεν· ἀμελήσαντες γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἱστορεῖν τὰ γεγενημένα τοῖς ἐπαίνῳ ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνδιατριβοῦσιν τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ἐς υψόσ αἱροντες 2 τοὺς πολεμίους δὲ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου καταρρίπτοντες ἄγνοοιντες ὡς οὐ στενῷ τῷ ἱσθμῷ διώρισται καὶ διατετείχισται ἡ ἱστορία πρὸς τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ τὶ μέγα τείχος ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν ἡ τοῦτο, διὸ διὰ πασῶν ἑστὶ πρὸς ἀλληλα—ἐἰ γε τῷ μὲν ἐγκωμιάζοντι μόνον ἐνὸς μέλει, ὅπωςον ἐπανεῖσαι καὶ εὐφράναι τὸν ἐπανούμενον, καὶ εἰ ψευσαμένῳ ὑπάρχει τυχεῖν τῶν τέλους, ὄλγον ἂν φροντίσθων. ἥ δὲ οὐκ ἂν τὶ ψεύδος ἐμπεσόν ἡ ἱστορία, οὐδὲ ἀκαρπαῖον 3 ἀνάσχοιτο, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν ἀρτηρίαν ἰατρῶν παύμες φασι τὴν τραχείαν παραδεξασθαί ἂν τὶ ἂς αὐτὴν καταποθέν.

8 "Ετὶ ἄγνοεῖν ἐοίκασιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὡς ποιητικῆς

1 After ἰδιον MSS have κοινὰ γάρ, ὡς ἐφην, ἀπάντων λόγων ἐστὶν ἀρματήματα ἐν τε φωνῇ καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ: Rudolphus secal.

10
HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

now let us mention the vices which follow on the heels of shoddy historians. To recount the faults of diction, style, meaning and other marks of bad workmanship which are common to all literary genres would take a long time and not be peculiar to our present enquiry. But as to faults in historical writing, you will probably find by observation that they are of the same sort as I have noticed in many attendances at readings, especially if you open your ears to everyone. But it will not be out of place in the meantime to recall by way of example some of the histories already written in this faulty manner.

1. To begin with, let us look at this for a serious fault: most of them neglect to record the events and spend their time lauding rulers and generals, extolling their own to the skies and slandering the enemy's beyond all reserve; they do not realise that the dividing line and frontier between history and panegyric is not a narrow isthmus but rather a mighty wall; as musicians say, they are two diapasons apart—if indeed the encomiast's sole concern is to praise and please in any way he can the one he praises, and if he can achieve his aim by lying, little will he care! But history cannot admit a lie, even a tiny one, any more than the windpipe, as sons of doctors say, can tolerate anything entering it in swallowing.

Again, such writers seem unaware that history has

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2 \( \text{αὐροντες} \) N: \( \text{φέροντες} \) other MSS.
3 \( \text{ακαριαίον} \) E\(^2\): \( \text{ακαυρον} \) other MSS.
μὲν καὶ ποιημάτων ἄλλαι ύποσχέσεις καὶ κανόνες ἰδιοί, ἱστορίας δὲ ἄλλοι. ἐκεί μὲν γὰρ ἄκρατος 1 ἤ ἑλευθερία καὶ νόμος εἰς—τὸ δόξαν τῶν ποιητῶν. ἐνθεος γὰρ καὶ κάτοχος ἐκ Μουσῶν, καὶ ἐπτυν ύποπτέρων ἀρμα ζεύγαθαμ ἐδέλθη, καὶ εἴ οὐδαξ ἄλλος ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις ἄκρων θευσμένους ἀναβιβάσηται, φθόνοις οὐδεὶς. οὐδὲ ὄποταν ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μιᾶς σειρᾶς ἀναστάσες αἰωρῇ ὀμοί γήν καὶ θάλατταν, δεδίασι μὴ ἀπορραγεῖνης ἐκείνης συντριβῇ τὰ πάντα κατευκλῆντα. άλλα κἂν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπαινέσαυ θέλωσιν, οὐδεὶς οἱ κωλύσων Δί μὲν αὐτῶν ὀμοίον εἶναι τὴν κεφαλῆν καὶ τὰ ὄμματα, τὸ στέρνον δὲ τῷ ἄδελφῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ Ποσειδώνῳ, τὴν δὲ ζώνην τῷ Ἀρεί, καὶ ὅλως σύνθετον ἐκ πάντων θεῶν γενέσθαι δεὶ τὸν Ἀτρέως καὶ Ἀερόπης. οὐ γὰρ ἰκανὸς ὁ Ζεὺς οὐδὲ ο Ποσειδών οὐδὲ ο Ἀρῆς μόνος ἔκαστος ἀναπληρώσαι τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ. ἡ ἱστορία δὲ τὴν τινα κολακεῖαν τουαύτην προσλαβή, τί ἄλλο ἡ πεζὴ τις ποιητικὴ γίγνεται, τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας μὲν ἐκείνης ἐστερημένη, τὴν λοιπὴν δὲ τερατεῖαν γυμνὴν τῶν μέτρων καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐπιστημοτέραν ἐκφαινουσα; μέγα τοίνυν—μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπέρμεγα τοῦτο κακὸν—εἰ µὴ εἰδείς τὶς χωρίζειν τὰ ἱστορίας καὶ τὰ ποιητικῆς, ἄλλ' ἐπεισάγω τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὰ τῆς ἐτέρας κομμώματα—τὸν µύθον καὶ τὸ ἐγκάμον καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ὑπερβολάς—ὁσπερ ἄν εἰ τις ἀθλητὴν τῶν καρτερῶν τούτων καὶ κομιδή πρινόνιν ἄλουργοι περιβάλοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλω κόσμῳ τῶν ἑταιρικῶ καὶ φυκίον ἐντρίβοι καὶ ψυμίθουν τῷ

1 ἄκρατος Solanus: ἄκρατῆς MSS.
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aims and rules different from poetry and poems. In the case of the latter, liberty is absolute and there is one law—the will of the poet. Inspired and possessed by the Muses as he is, even if he wants to harness winged horses to a chariot, even if he sets others to run over water or the tops of flowers, nobody gets annoyed; not even when their Zeus swings land and sea together suspended from a single cord are they afraid it will break and everything fall and smash. If they want to praise Agamemnon there is no one to prevent his having a head and eyes like Zeus, a chest like Zeus' brother Poseidon, and a belt like Ares, and in general the son of Atreus and Aeneas must be a compound of all the gods for not Zeus nor Poseidon nor Ares alone is adequate to give the fullness of his beauty. But if history introduces flattery of that sort, what else does it become but a sort of prose-poetry, lacking indeed the high style of poetry, but showing the rest of poetry's sorcery without metre, and for that reason in a more conspicuous way? So it is a great deal—all too great a fault—not to know how to keep the attributes of history and poetry separate, and to bring poetry's embellishments into history—myth and eulogy and the exaggeration of both: it is as if you were to dress one of our tough, rugged athletes in a purple dress and the rest of the paraphernalia of a pretty light-o'love and daub and paint his face. Heavens!

1 Homer, Il. xx, 226, 4.
2 Homer, Il. viii, 248, 8.
3 Homer, Il. ii, 478, 4.
ΤΡΟΧΟΣ 

Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο θημί, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπανετεόν ἐν ἱστορίᾳ ἐνιοτε. ἀλλ’ ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι ἐπανετεόν καὶ μέτρον ἐπακτεόν τῷ πράγματι, τὸ μὴ ἐπαχθὲς τοῖς ύστερον ἀναγνωσμένοις αὐτά, καὶ ὅλως πρὸς τὰ ἐπειτα κανονιστέον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀπερ μικρὸν ύστερον ἐπιδείξομεν.

"Ὅσοι δὲ οἱνοῦν καλῶς διαιρεῖν εἰς δύο τὴν ἱστορίαν, εἰς τὸ τερπνὸν καὶ χρήσιμον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰσποιοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἐγκόμιον ἕς αὐτὴν ὡς τερπνὸν καὶ εὐφραῖνον τοὺς ἑντυγχάνοντας, ὅρας ὅσον τάληθος ἡμαρτήκασι; πρῶτον μὲν κιβδήλω τῇ διαιρέσει χρώμενοι· ἐν γὰρ ἔργον ἱστορίας καὶ τέλος, τὸ χρήσιμον, ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἄληθος μόνον συνάγεται. τὸ τερπνὸν δὲ ἄμεινον μὲν εἰ καὶ αὐτὸ παρακολούθησιεν—ὁσπερ καὶ κάλλος ἀθλητῇ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲν κωλύσει ἄφ’ Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι Νικόστρατον τὸν Ἰσιδότον, γεννάδαν ὅντα καὶ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἐκατέρων ἀλκιμώτερον, εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν αὐσχιστος ὁφθήναι εἰ ἡ ὁψιν, 'Αλκαῖος δὲ ὁ καλὸς ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀνταγωνιζότο αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐρώμενος, ὃς φασι, τοῦ Νικόστρατον ὑν. καὶ τοῖνυν ἡ ἱστορία, εἰ μὲν ἄλλως τὸ τερπνὸν παρεμπορεύσατο, πολλοὺς ἂν τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐπισπάσατο, ἄχρι δ’ ἂν καὶ μόνον ἔχῃ τὸ ἱδίον ἐντελές—λέγω δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας δήλωσιν—, ὄλγον τοῦ κάλλους φροντιεῖ.

9 Ἐπὶ κάκεινο εἰπεῖν ἀξίων ὅτι οὐδὲ τερπνὸν ἐν

1 ἀπεργάσαι τ' ἀν Fritzsche.
2 ἐραστᾶς a few inferior MSS: ἐργάτας βγ.
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how ridiculous you would make him look, shaming him with all that decoration.

I do not say that there is no room for occasional praise in history. But it must be given at the proper time and kept within reasonable limits to avoid displeasing future readers. In general such matters should be controlled with a view to what posterity demands; I shall treat of them a little later.

Now some think they can make a satisfactory distinction in history between what gives pleasure and what is useful, and for this reason work eulogy into it as giving pleasure and enjoyment to its readers; but do you see how far they are from the truth? In the first place, the distinction they draw is false: history has one task and one end—what is useful—and that comes from truth alone. As for what gives pleasure, it is certainly better if it is there incidentally—like good looks in an athlete; but if it isn’t there, there is still nothing to prevent Nicostratus, the son of Isidotus, a true blue and a stouter fellow than either of his rivals, from becoming "a successor of Heracles"¹ though he be ugly to look at, while his opponent is Alcaeus of Miletus, the handsome fellow who, they say, was loved by Nicostratus. So it is with history—if she were to make the mistake of dealing in pleasure as well she would attract a host of lovers, but as long as she keeps only what is hers alone in all its fullness—I mean the publication of the truth—she will give little thought to beauty.

Moreover, this too is worth saying: in history

¹ A title or quasi-title awarded for victory in both wrestling and the pancratium on the same day. Nicostratus was the seventh to do this (Pausanias, V, 21, 9-18). The young Quintilian saw him in his old age about A.D. 50 (Quint. II. 8, 14).
αὐτῇ τὸ κομιδὴ μυθώδες καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων μάλιστα πρόσαντες παρ᾽ ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀκούοντος, ἦν μὴ τὸν συρφητὸν καὶ τὸν πολὺν δήμον ἐπινοῆς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δικαστικῶς καὶ νὴ Δία συνοφαντικῶς προσέτη γε ἀκροασομένους, οὔς οὐκ ἂν τι λάθοι παραδραμόν, ὃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡρακλεῖ. ἐωρακέναι γάρ σε ποι εἰκὸς γεγραμμένον, τῇ Ὁμφάλῃ δουλεύουσα, πάνω ἀλλόκοτον σκευὴν ἐσκευασμένον, ἐκείνην μὲν τὸν λέοντα αὐτοῦ περιβεβλημένην καὶ τὸ ἔλιλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσαν, ὥς Ἡρακλέα δὴθεν οὐσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν κροκωτῷ καὶ πορφυρίδι ἔριμα ξαίνοντα καὶ παιόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Ὁμφάλης τῶν σανδάλιων. καὶ τὸ θέαμα αἰσχυστὸν, ἀφεστῶσα ἡ ἐσθῆς τοῦ σώματος καὶ μὴ προσιζάνουσα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀνδρώδες ἀσχημόνως καταθηλυνόμενον.

11 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔσως καὶ ταύτα σου ἐπαινέσωνται, οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι δὲν σὺ καταφρονεῖς μᾶλα ἢδυ καὶ ἐς κόρον γελάσονται, ὀρώντες τὸ ἀσύμφυλον καὶ ἀνάρμοστον καὶ δυσκόλλητον τοῦ πράγματος. ἐκάστου γὰρ δὴ ἵδιον τι καλὸν ἐστὶν: εἰ δὲ τούτο ἐναλλάξεις, ἀκαλλὴς τὸ αὐτό παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν γίγνεται. ἐώς λέγειν ὅτι οἱ ἐπαινοί ἐνὶ μὲν ἦσως ἰο

complete fiction and praise that is heavily biased on one side does not even give pleasure to an audience, if you leave out the common rabble and take note of those who will listen in the spirit of judges and indeed of fault-finders as well. Nothing will get past their scrutiny: their eyes are keener than Argus's and all over their body; they test each expression like a money-changer, rejecting at once what is false but accepting current coin that is legal tender and correctly minted. These are the people to keep in mind when you write history; do not give the slightest thought to the rest even if they burst themselves with applauding. But if you neglect them and sweeten your history beyond reason with stories and eulogies and the other kinds of flattery, you will make it like Heracles in Lydia. You have probably seen pictures of him as slave to Omphale, dressed in a most outlandish way: Omphale is wearing his lion's skin and carrying his club in her hand, as if she were Heracles for certain, while he has on a saffron and purple gown and is carding wool and getting rapped with Omphale's sandal. It's a shocking spectacle: the clothing hangs off his body and is ill-fitting, and his divine masculinity is disgracefully feminised.

The majority will possibly applaud you for this, but those few whom you despise will laugh delightedly till they are sated when they see the incongruity, lack of proportion, and loose structure of the work, for each part has its own peculiar beauty and if you alter that you make it ugly and futile. I need not say that
τερπνοί, τῶν ἐπανομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔπαχθείς, καὶ μάλιστα ἡν ὑπερφυεῖς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἔχωσιν, οίονας αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπεργᾶσυντα, τὴν εὐνοιαν τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐπανομένων θηρώμενοι καὶ ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἄχρι τοῦ πᾶσι προφανῆ τὴν κολακείαν ἐξεργάσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ τέχνην αὐτὸ δρᾶν ὦσαν οὐδ' ἔπισκιάζουσι τὴν θωπείαν, ἀλλ' ἐμπεσόντες ἄθροα πάντα καὶ ἀπίθανα καὶ γυμνὰ 12 διεξάσθων. "Ὡστ' οὐδὲ τυγχάνουσιν οὗ μάλιστα ἐφίενται: οἱ γὰρ ἐπανομένοι πρὸς αὐτῶν μισοῦσι μᾶλλον καὶ ἀποστρέφονται ὡς κόλακας, εὐ ποιοῦντες, καὶ μάλιστα ἡν ἀνδρώδεις τὰς γνώμας ὅσιν.

"Ὡσπερ 'Αλέξανδρος 'Αριστόβουλος μονομαχίαι γράψαντος 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Πώρον, καὶ ἀναγνώτος αὐτῶ τούτο μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον τῆς γραφῆς—ὡς τὰ γὰρ χαριεῖσθαι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν βασιλεί ἐπιφευδόμενος ἀριστείας τινὰς αὐτῶ καὶ ἀναπλάττοντων ἔργα μείζω τῆς ἀληθείας—λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον—πλέοντες δὲ ἑτύγχανον ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ 'Υδάστῃ—ἐρριψεν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἑπειπῶν. Καὶ σὲ δὲ οὕτως ἔχρην, ὡ 'Αριστόβουλε, τοιαύτα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μονομαχοῦντα καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐν ἀκοντίῳ φονεύοντα. καὶ ἐμελλέ γε οὕτως ἀγανακτήσεις ό 'Αλέξανδρος, ὃς γε οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιτεκτονος τόλμαν ἵνεσχετο, ὑποσχομένου τὸν 'Αθῶν εἰκόνα ποιήσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μετακοσμήσεις τὸ ὄρος ἐς ὁμοιότητα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ κόλακα εὕθως ἐπιγνοῦν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν οὐκὲτ' οὐδ' ἐς τὰ ἀλλα ὁμοίως ἔχρητο.

1 Madvig added 'Αλέξανδρος: ὤσπερ 'Αριστόβουλον μ. γράφαντος Ν: ω. 'Αριστόβουλος μ. γράφας Ε2Ω: ὤσπερ . . . γράψαντος om. ΓΕ1.
eulogies may be pleasing to one man, him who is praised, and annoying to others, especially if they contain monstrous overstatements, the kind that most people make when they seek favour from those who are praised, persisting until they have made their flattery obvious to everyone. They do not know how to do it with any skill nor do they cover up their obsequiousness; no, they rush at it laying it all on thick, so implausible and so naïve. So they do not get what they want most: those they praise hate them the more and turn their backs on them as toadies, and rightly so, especially if they are manly in spirit.

That is what happened to Aristobulus when he wrote of the single combat between Alexander and Porus; he read this particular passage in his work to Alexander thinking to give great pleasure to the King by ascribing falsely to him certain deeds of valour and inventing achievements too great to be true. They happened to be sailing on the River Hydaspes at the time, and Alexander took the book and threw it straight into the water with the remark: “You deserve the same treatment, Aristobulus, for fighting single-handed duels for my sake like that and killing elephants with one throw of the javelin.” Indeed it was certain that Alexander would be angry at such a thing—he had not put up with the effrontery of the engineer who had promised to fashion Athos into his portrait and shape the mountain to the King’s likeness. Alexander at once realised that the man was a flatterer and had no longer employed him.
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13 Ποῦ τοῖς τὸ τερπνὸν ἐν τούτοις, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ τις κομιδὴ ἀνόητος εἰη ὡς χαίρειν τὰ τουαύτα ἐπαινούμενος ὁν παρὰ πόδας οἱ ἐλεγχοι; ὡσπερ ὁι ἄμορφοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα γε τὰ γύναια τοῖς γραφεύοι παρακελευόμενα ὡς καλλίστας αὐτὰς γράφειν. οὗνται γὰρ ἀμείων ἑξειν τὴν ὁψιν, ἢν ὁ γραφεύς αὐταῖς ἐρήθημα τε πλεῖον ἐπανθίσῃ καὶ τὸ λευκὸν ἐγκαταμίξῃ πολὺ τῷ φαρμάκῳ.

Τοιούτιοι τῶν συγγραφόντων οἱ πολλοὶ εἰσι τὸ τήμερον καὶ τὸ ἱδιον καὶ τὸ χρειῶδες ὡ τι ἄν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπίτισσω θεραπεύντες, οὐς μυσεῖσθαι καλῶς εἰχεν, ἐς μὲν τὸ παρὸν κόλακας προδήλους καὶ ἀτέχνους ὄντας, ἐς τοῦτον δὲ ὑποπτὸν ταῖς ύπερβολαῖς τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν ἀποφαίνοντας. εἰ δὲ τὶς πάντως τὸ τερπνὸν ἤγειται καταμε- μίκθαι δεῖν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πάση, ἀλλὰ δὲ σὺν ἀληθεῖα τερπνά ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κάλλει τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἀμελήσαντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ μηδὲν προσήκοντα ἐπεισκυκλοῦσιν.

14 Ἠγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ διηγήσομαι ὑπόσα μέμνημαι ἐναγχος ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ συγγραφέων τινῶν, καὶ νὴ Δία ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ πρὸ τὴν ἀκοῦσας τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον πόλεμον διηγομένων. καὶ πρὸς Χαρῖτων μηδεῖς ἀπιστήσῃ τοῖς λεχθησομένοις· ὃτι γὰρ ἀληθή ἐστιν κἂν ἐπωμοσάμην, εἰ ἀστεῖον ἢν ὄρκον ἕντιθέναι συγγράμματι. εἰς μὲν τὶς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Μοῦσῶν εὐθὺς ἦξεταν παρακαλὼν τὰς θεὰς συνεφάσασθαι τοῦ συγγράμματος. ὅρας ὡς ἐμμελής ἢ ἄρχη καὶ περὶ πόδα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τῷ τουούτῳ εἰδει τῶν λόγων πρέπουσα; εἰτὰ μικρὸν ὑποβάς Ἀχιλλεί μὲν τὸν ἡμέτερον ἄρχοντα εἰκαζὲ, Θερσίτη δὲ τὸν
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Where then is the pleasure in this, unless a man is so utterly stupid as to enjoy praise that can be proved groundless there and then? Take the case of the ugly men and women, particularly women, who ask the painter to make them as beautiful as possible, thinking they will be better looking if the painter bedecks them with a richer red and mixes plenty of white into his pigment.

Most of our historians today are like that, courting private whim and the profit they expect from their history. One might well loathe them as blatant flatterers of no ability in their own time, while to posterity they make the whole business of written history suspect by their exaggerations. If anyone supposes that giving pleasure has to be mixed into all historical writing, there are other refinements of style that combine pleasure with truth. The run of historians neglect these and pile up tasteless incongruities one upon the other.

Well then, I'll tell you what I remember hearing some historians say recently in Ionia, and indeed only the other day in Achaïa, when they were describing this very war. And in the name of the Graces let no one disbelieve what I am going to say. I would swear to its veracity—if it were in good taste to attach an affidavit to an essay. One of them began straightway with the Muses, summoning the goddesses to help him with his work. You see how appropriate this opening was, how apt for historical writing, how suited to this type of book! Then a little further on he compared our general to Achilles, and the Persian King to Thersites, not understand-

1 τῇ ἀστροφῇ Aldinus: ἥ ἀστροφῇ MSS.
τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα, οὐκ εἶδός ὦ τι ὁ 'Αχιλλεύς ἀμείνων ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔκτοτα μᾶλλον ἡ Θερσίτην καθήρει, καὶ εἴ πρόσθε μὲν ἐφευγεν ἐσθλὸς τις,

ἐδίωκε δὲ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων.

εἰτ' ἐπήγεν ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ἐγκώμιον, καὶ ὡς ἄξιος εἶ ἰσγυγράψας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω λαμπρὰς οὐσας.

ηδὶ δὲ κατιῶν ἐπῆγε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν Μίλητον,

προστιθεὶς ὡς ἀμενον ποιοὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Ὁμήρου μηδὲν μηθοθέντος τῆς πατρίδος. εἰτ' ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ φρομίου ὑποσχεῖτο διαρρήκτην καὶ σαφώς,

ἐπὶ μείζον μὲν αἴρειν τὰ ἡμέτερα, τοὺς βαρβάρους δὲ καταπολεμήσει καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἂν δύνηται. καὶ

ήρξατό γε τῆς ἱστορίας οὕτως, αἰτία ἀμα τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἀρχῆς διεξιόν· "Ὁ γὰρ μιαρώτατος καὶ

κάκωστα ἀπολούμενος Οὐολόγεσσος ἥρξατο πολεμεῖν
d' αἰτίαν τουάνδε."
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ing that Achilles would have been a better name for him if he was killing a Hector rather than a Thersites and if a hero fled before,

" and one far greater pursued him." ¹

Then he brought in a bit of praise on his own account, telling how worthy he was to record such outstanding deeds. Now he was on his way home and praising his native Miletus, adding that this was an improvement on Homer, who had not mentioned his native land at all. Then at the end of this introduction he made a clear and explicit promise to glorify the achievements of our side and beat down the barbarians on his own with all his might. Then he began his narrative by relating the causes of the war in this way: "That cursed scoundrel Vologesus began the war for the following reason."

So much for him. Another, a keen emulator of Thucydides, modelling himself closely on his original, like him began with his own name—the most graceful of all beginnings, redolent of Attic thyme. Listen: "Crepereius Calpurnianus of Pompeiopolis wrote the history of the war between the Parthians and the Romans beginning at its very outset." ² After a beginning like that why should I tell you the rest—the sort of speech he made in Armenia (he brought in the Corcyrean orator ³ in person for that) or what sort of plague he brought down on the people of Nisibis who declined to take

¹ Homer, Il. xxii, 158. The quotation is not quite accurate.
² An adaptation of the opening sentence of Thucydides' History.
³ I.e., he took the speech from Thucydides I, 32, where the Corcyrean delegation addresses the Athenian assembly.
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to ἐστι τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰρουμένοις ἐπήγαγεν παρὰ Θουκυδίδου χρησάμενος ὀλον ἄρθην πλὴν μόνον τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ καὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῶν μακρῶν, ἐν οἷς οἱ τότε λοιμώξαντες φίλησαν; τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας ἦρξατο, ως τότε, \(^{1}\) καὶ ἐς Αἰγυπτον κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν, καὶ ἐν έκεινη γε ἐμείνεν εὗ ποιῶν. ἐγὼ γονὶν ἑπάττοντα ἐτι αὐτῶν καταλιπών τους ἀθλίους Ἀθηναίους ἐν Νισίβι ἀπῆλθον ἀκρίβως εἰδὼς καὶ ὅσα ἀπελθόντος ἐρεῖν ἐμελλεν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὶ καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιεικῶς πολὺ νῦν ἔστι, τὸ οἴεσθαι τούτ’ εἶναι τοῖς Θουκυδίνου έοικότα λέγειν, εὶ οἶλιον ἐντρέψας τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκείνου λέγοι τις.\(^{2}\) νὴ Δία κάκεινο ὦλιγου δεῖν παρέληπον· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς οὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀτλῶν καὶ τῶν μηχανημάτων ὡς Ῥωμαίοι αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσιν οὕτως ἀνέγραφεν, καὶ τάφρον ὡς ἐκείνοι καὶ γέφυραν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ μοι ἐννόησον ἕλικον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ ὡς Θουκυδίδη πρέπον, μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ Ἰταλιωτικὰ τάυτα ἐγκείσθαι, ὅπερ τὴν πορφύραν ἐπικουσμοῦντα καὶ ἐμπρέποντα καὶ πάντως συνάδοντα.

16 Ἀλλος δὲ τις αὐτῶν \(^{3}\) ὑπόμνημα τῶν γεγονότων γυμνὸν συναγαγὼν ἐν γραφῇ κομιδῇ πεζῶν καὶ χαμαπετέσ, οἶκον καὶ στρατιώτης ἀν τις τὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν ὑπογραφόμενος συνέθηκεν ἡ τέκτων ἡ κάπηλος τις συμπερινοστῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ. πλὴν

\(^{1}\) ως τότε Fritzsche: ὀστε MSS.

\(^{2}\) After τις, MSS have μικρὰ ράκια ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ἢν φαίης οὗ δὲ αὐτὴν: seecl. Dindorf. L. A. Post suggests ἐντρέψας (for ἐντρέψας) . . . οὐδέν Ἀττικὸν (or οὗ δὲ Ἀττικῆς) for οὗ δὲ αὐτὴν.

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the Roman side (he lifted that from Thucydides in its entirety except just for the Pelasgicum and the Long Walls where those who had at that time caught the plague had settled.\(^1\))? Then again it even "began in Ethiopia," as in Thucydides, then "descended into Egypt" and "the vast territory of the great King," where it stayed—and a good thing too! For my part I left him still burying his wretched Athenians at Nisibis and went away knowing just what he was going to say after I had gone. But this is quite a fashion just now, to suppose that you're following Thucydides' style if you alter what he says a little and write that. Oh, here is a point I almost left out: this same historian has called many arms and war-engines by their Latin names, as well as the words for ditch, bridge and so on. Imagine please the high quality of his history and how it suits Thucydides to have these Italic words mixed up with the Attic, adding a distinctive touch of colour like the toga's purple stripe—a perfect match!

Another of them has compiled a bare record of the events and set it down on paper, completely prosaic and ordinary, such as a soldier or artisan or pedlar following the army might have put together as a diary

\(^1\) Thuc. II, 47–54. References to Athenian topography were omitted.

\(^2\) aυτων edd.: aυτω N: aυτω Γ.
Τὸ Ιστορικόν τῶν Κοινών Ἰστοριών Παρθικῶν, καὶ ὑπεγέγραπτο ἐκάστη ὁ Ἀριθμός. καὶ ηῇ Δίᾳ καὶ τὸ προοίμιον ὑπέρψυχρον ἐποίησεν οὕτως συναγαγών· οίκειον εἶναι ἱατρῶν ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν, εἰ γε ὁ Ἀσκληπίως μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος νῦσ, Ἀπόλλων δὲ Μουσηγήτης καὶ πάσης παιδείας ἄρχων· καὶ ὁ ἄρξαμενος ἐν τῇ Ἰάδι γράφειν οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτικά μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν μετῆλθεν, ἣτρικὴν 1 μὲν λέγων καὶ πείρην καὶ οἰκόσα καὶ νοοῦν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ὁμοία ἴτα, τοῦ πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ πλείστα οἶα ἐκ τριῶν.2

17 Εἰ δὲ με δεἰ 3 καὶ σοφὸς ἀνδρὸς μνησθήναι, τὸ μὲν όνομα ἐν ἀφανεὶ κείσθω, τὴν γνώμην δὲ ἐρῶ καὶ τὰ πρῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ συγγράμματα, κρέιττων πάσης ἐλπίδος. ἐν ἄρχῃ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ προοίμου περίοδῳ συνήρωτησε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας λόγου πάνσοφον δεῖξαι σπείδων, ὅσ μὸνον ὅ τι σοφῶς πρέπει ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν. εἰτὰ μετὰ μικρὸν ἄλλος συλλογισμός, εἰτὰ ἄλλος· καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἀπαντὶ σχῆματι συνηρώτητο ἄττῳ τὸ προοίμιον. τὸ τῆς κοιλακείας ἐς κόρον, καὶ τὰ ἐγκύμων φορτικὰ καὶ κομιδῆ βωμολοχικά, οὐκ ἀσυλλόγιστα μέντοι, ἄλλα συνηρωτημένα κάκεινα.

1 ἡτρικὴν Solanus: ἱατρικὴν Γ: ἱατρεῖν Ν.
2 τριῶδου β: περιόδου γ.

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of daily events. However, this amateur was not so bad—it was quite obvious at the beginning what he was, and his work has cleared the ground for some future historian of taste and ability. The only fault I found was this: his headings were too pompous for the place his books can hold—“Callimorphus, surgeon of the Sixth Lancers, History of the Parthian War, Book so-and-so”—there followed the number of each book. Another thing, his preface was far too frigid: he put it like this: it was proper for a surgeon to write history, since Asclepius was the son of Apollo and Apollo was leader of the Muses and lord of all culture; also because, after beginning in Ionic, for some reason I can’t fathom he suddenly changed to the vernacular, using indeed the Ionic forms of “medicine,” “attempt,” “how many,” “diseases,” but taking the rest from the language of everyday, most of it street-corner talk.

If I have to mention a philosopher let his name remain unknown. I shall speak only of his general views and his recent writings in Corinth. They went beyond all expectation. Right at the beginning in the first sentence of his introduction he used dialectic on his readers in his eagerness to show off a very clever argument. This was to the effect that only the philosopher was fit to write history. Then a little later came one syllogism, then another. In short his introduction was sheer dialectic in every figure of the syllogism. His flattery was nauseating: his eulogies were vulgar and downright low; even they were syllogistic and dialectical in form. I certainly thought it in poor taste and not at all

3 $\mu\varepsilon\, \delta\varepsilon\iota\, \mathrm{NE}: \, \mu\varepsilon\, \lambda\varepsilon\iota\iota\, \Gamma$. 

4 "philosophical history"
καὶ μὴν κάκεινο φορτικὸν ἐδοξέν μοι καὶ ἥκιστα σοφῶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ πῶγωνι πολιῶ καὶ βαθεὶ πρέπον, τὸ ἐν τῷ προομίῳ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐξαιρετὸν τοῦτο ἔξει ὁ ἤμετερος ἄρχων, οὐ γε τὰς πράξεις καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἧδη συγγράφειν ἄξιον. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, εἴπερ ἀρα, ἥμων ἔδει καταλυπεῖν λογίζεσθαι ἢ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν.


19 Ἀλλος τοῖς ἀοίδημοι ἐπὶ λόγων δυνάμει Θουκυδίδη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίος ἡ ὅλιγω ἀμείωνι αὐτοῦ, πάσας πόλεις καὶ πάντα ὤρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐρμηνεύσας πρὸς τὸ σαφέστατον καὶ ἰαχυρότατον, ὡς ἠέτο. τὸ δὲ ἐς ἐχθρῶν κεφαλᾶς ὁ ἄλεξικακός τρέψειε τοσαύτη ψυχρότης ἐνῆν ὑπὲρ τὴν Κασπιακῆς χώνα καὶ τὸν κρυσταλλὸν τὸν Κελτικὸν. ἡ γοῦν ἀστῖς ἡ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὅλω βιβλίῳ μόνης ἐξηρμηνεύθη αὐτῷ, καὶ Γοργὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῆς ἐκ κυανοῦ καὶ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος καὶ ζώνη ἱροειδῆς καὶ δράκοντες ἐλικηδὸν καὶ βοστρυχηδὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Οὐλολογέσσου ἀναξυρίς ἡ ὁ χαλινὸς τοῦ ὑποῦ, Ἡράκλεις, ὁσαὶ μυριάδες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκαστὸν τοῦτων, καὶ οίδα ἡ Ὀσρόου κόμη, διανέοντος τὸν Τίγρητα, καὶ ἔς οἰον ἀντρον κατέφυγε, κυττοῦ καὶ μυρράνης καὶ δάφνης ἐς ταῦτα συμπεφυκότων καὶ 28
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becoming a philosopher and a long, grey beard to say, as he did in his introduction, that it will be a special distinction of our commander that even philosophers think fit to recount his deeds. Such a comment he should have left for us, if anybody, to think of and not made it himself.

Again it would not be right to omit the one who began as follows: "I come to speak of Romans and Persians," and a little later said: "The Persians were foredoomed to come to grief," and again: "It was Osroes, whom the Greeks call Oxyrhoeus" and many more things of this sort, all in Ionic. Do you see? He was like Crepereius, only Crepereius was a wonderful copy of Thucydides, this man of Herodotus.

Another, renowned for his powerful eloquence, was also like Thucydides or a little better. He described all cities, mountains, plains, and rivers in the most detailed and striking way, as he thought. May the Averter of Evil turn his detail and vigour against the enemy, so much frigidity was there in it, worse than Caspian snow and Celtic ice! For example, he only just got through his description of the emperor’s shield in a whole book, with its Gorgon on the boss, her eyes of blue, white, and black, her girdle like the rainbow, the ringlets and curls of her serpents. The trousers of Vologesus and the bit of his horse—Heavens! how many thousands of words on each, and his descriptions of Osroes’ hair as he swam across the Tigris, and the cave where he fled for safety, with its jungle of ivy, myrrh, and laurel making it completely
σύσκιον ἀκριβῶς ποιούντων αὐτό. σκόπει ως ἀναγκαία τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταῦτα, καὶ ὅπερ ἀνευ οὐκ ἂν ἦδεμεν 1 τι τῶν ἐκεῖ πρακτήνων.

20 Ὑπὸ γὰρ ἁσθενείας τῆς ἐν τοῖς χρησίμους ἢ ἀγνοίας τῶν λεκτεών ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν χωρίων καὶ ἀντρών ἐκφράσεις τρέπονται, καὶ ὅπως ἐς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα ἐμπέσωσιν ἐοίκαις οἰκέτῃ νεοπλούτω ἀρτί κληρονομήσαντι τοῦ δεσπότου, ὃς οὔτε τὴν ἔσθητα οὔδεν ὥς χρή περιβαλέοθαι οὔτε δειπνήσαι κατὰ νόμον, ἀλλ' ἐμπιθήςας, πολλάκις ὀρνίθων καὶ συνεών καὶ λαγών προκεμένων, ὑπερεμπίπλαται ἐτνούς τινὸς ἥ ταρίχους ἐστ' ἀν διαρραγῇ ἐσθίων. οὕτως δ' οὖν ὃν προείπον καὶ τραύματα συνέγραφεν πάνω ἀπίθανα καὶ θανάτους ἀλλοκότους, ὡς εἰς δάκτυλον τοῦ ποδὸς τὸν μέγαν τρωθεὶς τις αὐτίκα ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὃς ἐμβοήσαντος μόνον. Πρόσκοι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔξεκαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀριθμῷ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄρχοντων ἐπιστολαῖς ἐσεῦσατο. ἐπὶ γὰρ Εὐρώπῳ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἀποθανεῖν μυρίάδας ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἐξ πρὸς τοὺς διακοσίους, Ἁρμαίῶν δὲ μόνους δύο καὶ τραυματίας γενέσαθαι ἐννέα. ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις ἂν εἴθος ἀνάσχυτο.

21 Καὶ μήν κάκεινο λεκτέων οὐ μικρόν ὁν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ κομιδῆς Ἀττικὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀποκεκαθάρθαι τὴν φωνὴν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ἤξιωσεν οὕτως καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα μεταποιήσας τὰ Ἀρμαίων καὶ μεταγράψας ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὡς Κρόνιον μὲν Σατουρνίνον λέγειν, Φρόντιν δὲ τὸν Φρόντινα, Τιτάνιον δὲ τὸν Τιτιανὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ γελοιώτερα. ἔτι ὁ αὐτὸς
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dark. Think how essential this is to history: without it we should not have known what happened there!

Because of weakness in matters of importance or ignorance of what to say, they turn to this sort of description of scenery and caves; when they chance on a host of great doings they are like a newly-rich servant who has just inherited his master’s fortune: he knows neither how to dress nor how to take his meal in the proper way: no, he plunges in, when for instance birds and pork and hares are put before him, stuffing himself with a soup or kippers until he bursts from eating. Well, this man I mentioned described incredible wounds and monstrous deaths, how one man was wounded in the big toe and died on the spot, and how Priscus the general just gave a shout and twenty-seven of the enemy fell dead. And in the number slain he even contradicted the officers’ despatches with his false figures: at Europus, he said, the enemy lost 70,236 killed, while the Romans lost just two and had nine wounded. I do not think anyone in his senses would accept that.

There is another not unimportant matter: because he is an out-and-out Atticist and has purified his speech down to the last syllable, he thought fit to change the Latin names and use Greek forms—Kronios for Saturninus, Phrontis for Fronto, Titanios for Titianus, and others much more ridiculous.

1 ὁν ἄνευ οὐκ ἄν ἡδειμέν Fritzsche: om. ἄν Ν: ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ ἢδη μέν Γ.
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οὗτος περὶ τῆς Σενηριανοῦ τελευτῆς ἔγραφεν ὡς
οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄπαντες ἐξηπάτηνται οἰόμενοι ξίφει
τεθνάναι αὐτὸν, ἀποθάνου δὲ ὁ ἀνήρ συτίων
ἀποσχόμενος· τοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλυπότατον δόξαι
τὸν θάνατον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκεῖνο
πάν τριῶν οἶμαι ἥμερων ἐγένετο, ἀπόστιοι δὲ καὶ
ἐς ἐβδόμην διαρκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί—έκτος εἰ μὴ
τοῦθ' ὑπολάβοι τις, ὡς Ὁσρόης ἕιστήκει περι-
μένων, ἐστ' ἂν Σενηριανὸς λυμῷ ἀπόληται, καὶ
diὰ τούτο οὐκ ἔπηγε διὰ τῆς ἐβδομῆς.

22 Τοὺς δὲ καὶ ποιητικοὺς ὀνόμασαν, ὁ καλὲ Φίλων,
ἐν ἱστορίᾳ χρωμένους, ποῦ δ' ἂν τις θείη, τοὺς
λέγοντας, "ἐλέξε μὲν ἡ μηχανή, τὸ τείχος δὲ
πεσὸν μεγάλως ἐδούπησε," καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ
μέρει τῆς καλῆς ἱστορίας, "Ἔδεσσα μὲν δὴ οὕτω
τοῖς ὀπλοῖς περιεμαραγείτο καὶ ὠτοβος ἦν καὶ
κόναβος ἀπαίτα ἐκεῖνα" καὶ "ὁ στρατηγὸς
ἐμερμηρίζεν ὃ τρόπῳ μάλιστα προσαγάγω πρὸς
τὸ τείχος." εἶτα μεταξὺ οὕτως εὕτελὴ ὀνόματα
καὶ δημοτικὰ καὶ πτωχικὰ πολλὰ παρενεβέβυστο—
tὸ "ἐπέστειλεν ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης τῷ κυρίῳ,"
καὶ "οἱ στρατιῶται ἥγοραζον τὰ ἐγχρῆζοντα"
καὶ "ἤδη λελουμένοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγίνοντο" καὶ
τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὥστε τὸ πράγμα ἐνυσκὸς εἶναι τραγῳδῶ
τὸν ἐτέρον μὲν πόδα ἐπ' ἐμβάτου ὑψηλοῦ ἐπι-
βεβηκότι, ὥστε τὰ σανδάλω ὑποδεδεμένω.

23 Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλος ὁδις ἂν τὰ μὲν προοίμια
λαμπρὰ καὶ τραγικὰ καὶ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν μακρὰ
συγγράφοντας, ὡς ἐλπίσωι θαυμαστὰ ἡλίκα τὰ
μετὰ ταῦτα πάντως ἀκούσεσθαι, τὸ σῶμα δὲ αὐτὸ
tὸ τῆς ἱστορίας μικρὸν τι καὶ ἄγεννες ἐπαγαγόντας

1 Ὁσρόης Ν: Ὁσρόης τις Γ.
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Again, concerning the death of Severianus, this same man wrote that all the others had been deceived in supposing he perished by the sword—he died by fasting because he thought this the most painless way of dying. He was unaware that the whole business only took, say, three days while those who keep away from food generally last a week—unless one assumes that Osroes was standing about waiting for Severianus to die from hunger and for that reason did not attack during the week.

And where, my dear Philo, are we to put those who use poetic words in their history, who say “The siege-engine whirled, the wall fell with a big thud,” and again in another part of this fine work, “Edessa thus was girt with the crash of arms and all was clangour and alarum,” and “the general mused how best to attack the wall.” ¹ Then in the middle of this sort of thing he stuffed a lot of words that were cheap, vulgar, and mean—“the prefect sent His Majesty a despatch” and “the soldiers got themselves the necessaries” and “by now they’d had their baths and were hanging about” and so on. It’s as if a tragic actor had mounted a high buskin on one foot and had a sandal tied under the other.

Again, you may see others writing introductions that are brilliant, dramatic, and excessively long, so that you expect what follows to be marvellous to hear, but for the body of their history they bring on something so tiny and so undistinguished that it re-

¹ These writers use words with a poetical tradition from Homer, Hesiod and other poets.
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ός καὶ τοῦτο ἐνικέναι παιδίω, εἰ ποῦ Ἐρωτα εἶδες παίζοντα, προσωπεῖον Ἡρακλέους πάμμεγα Ἡ Τιτάνος περικείμενον. εὐθὺς γοῦν οἱ ἄκουσαντες ἐπιφθέγγυται αὐτοῖς τὸ Ὡδυνὲν ὄρος.

Χρῆ δὲ οἶμαι μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ ὅμοια τὰ πάντα καὶ ὀμόχροα εἶναι καὶ συνάδον τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα, ώς μὴ χρυσοῦν μὲν τὸ κράνος εἰη, θώραξ δὲ πάνυ γελοῖος ἐκ ρακῶν ποθεν ἦ ἐκ δερμάτων σαπρῶν συγκεκατυπένος καὶ ἡ ἁστίς οἰζωνή καὶ χοιρίνη περὶ ταῖς κινήμασι. ὦδες γὰρ ἂν ἄφθονος τοιούτως συγγραφέας, τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς νανώδει σύματα ἐπιτυθέντας· ἄλλους αὖ ἐμπαλιν ἀκέφαλα τὰ σώματα εἰσάγοντας—ἀπροοιμίαι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων· οἱ καὶ προσέταριζονται τὸν Ξενοφώντα οὕτως ἀρξάμενον, "Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος παῖδες γίγνονται δύο," καὶ ἄλλους τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐκ εἴδότες ὡς δυνάμει τνά προοίμια ἐστὶ λεληθότα τούτοις πολλούς, ὡς εἰν ἄλλους δείξομεν.

24 Καίτοι ταῦτα πάντα φορητά ἐστι, ὅσα ἡ ἐρμηνείας ἡ τῆς ἄλλης διατάξεως ἀμαρτήματα ἐστών· τὸ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους αὐτοὺς προεξεπαθεὶ οὐ παρασάγγας μόνον ἄλλα καὶ σταθμοὺς ὀλούς, τίνι τῶν καλῶν ἔσκειν; εἰς γοῦν οὕτως ῥαθύμως συνήγαγε τὰ πράγματα, οὔτε Σύρῳ τινὶ ἐντυχών οὔτε τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ κουρείῳ ¹ τὰ τοιαῦτα μυθολογούντων ἄκουσας, οὔτε περὶ Ἐὐρώπου λέγων οὕτως ἔφη, "Ἡ δὲ Ἐὔρωπος κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ σταθμοὺς δύο τοῦ Ἐὐφρά-

¹ τῶν ἐπὶ κουρείῳ Fritzche: τῷ ἐπὶ κουρίῳ Γ: τῶν ἐπὶ κουρείων Ν.

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seems a child, some Cupid— you may have seen one playing and putting on a huge mask of Heracles or a Titan. The audience there and then are calling out to them “a mountain was in labour.”

In my opinion the right way to do it is not like this: there must be a general uniformity, a unity of colour, and the body must be in proportion with the head, so that when you get a golden helmet the breast-plate is not a silly patchwork of rags or rotten hides with a wicker-work shield and pigskin greaves. You can see plenty of writers like that, who put the head of the Colossus of Rhodes on the body of a dwarf. Then again others produce bodies without any heads—works lacking an introduction that begin at once with the narrative; in support they quote Xenophon, where he begins “Darius and Parysatis had two sons,” and other old writers, not knowing that there are such things as virtual prefaces unrecognised by most people; we shall demonstrate this elsewhere.

Yet we can put up with all these things as far as they are faults of expression and arrangement of material; but to misplace localities even, not just by parasangs but by whole days’ marches, what fineness of style does that resemble? One man, for example, who had never met a Syrian nor even heard as they say “barber-shop gossip” about such things, assembled his facts so carelessly that when speaking of Europus he said: “Europus is situated in Mesopotamia, two days’ journey from the Euphrates; it was colonised

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1. Little slave-boys were called “Cupids.”
2. The opening of the *Anabasis.*
3. I.e., prefaces by function not by form.
Τον ἀπέχουσα, ἀπώκισαν δὲ αὐτήν Ἐδεσσαῖοι." καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν πατρίδα τὰ Σαμώσατα ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῶ βιβλίῳ ἀράμενος ὁ γενναῖος αὐτῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ τείχεσι μετέθηκεν ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, ὡς περιφρεῖσθαι αὕτην ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρως τῶν ποταμῶν, ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν χρῶ παραμειβομένως καὶ μονον- ουχὶ τοῦ τείχους ψαυώντων. τὸ δὲ καὶ γελοῖον εἰ σοι νῦν, ὦ Φίλων, ἀπολογοίμην ὡς οὐ Παρθαναῖων οὐδὲ Μεσοποταμίτης σοι ἐγώ, οἱ μὲ φέρων ὁ θαυμαστὸς συγγραφεὺς ἀπώκισε.

25 Ἡ Δία κάκεινο κομίδη πιθανὸν περὶ τοῦ Σενηριανοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἐπεν ἐπομοσάμενος, ἢ μὴν ἀκοῦσαί τινος τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαφυ- γόντων· οὔτε γὰρ ξίφει ἐθέλησαι αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν οὔτε φαρμάκον πιεῖν οὔτε βρόχον ἄφασθαι ἀλλὰ τινα θάνατον ἐπινοῆσαι τραγικόν καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ ξενιζοντα: τυχεῖν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα παμμεγέθη ἐκπώματα ὑάλινα τῆς καλλίστης ὑάλου, ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ἐγνωστο, κατάξαντα τὸν μέγισ- τον τῶν σκύψων ἐν τῶν θραυσμάτων χρήσασθαι εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν ἐνεμόντα τῇ ὑάλῳ τῶν λαιμῶν. οὕτως οὐ ξιφίδιον, οὐ λογχάριον εὑρεν ὡς ἀνδρείός

26 γε αὐτῷ καὶ ἱρωϊκός ὁ θάνατος γένοιτο. Εἴπτ ἐπειδὴ Θουκυδίδης ἐπιτάφιον τινα ἐπε τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ πολέμου ἐκείνου νεκροῖς καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγήσατο χρῆναι ἐπείπειν τῷ Σενηριανῷ. ἀπασι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν οὐδὲν αἰτίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ κακῶν τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἡ ἀμμαλλα. θάψας οὖν τὸν Σενηριανὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀναβιβάζεσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον Ἀφράνιον τινα Σίλωνα ἐκατόνταρχον ἀνταγωνιστὴν Περικλέους ὃς τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα
by men of Edessa."

Even this was not enough for him: my own birthplace, Samosata, this fine writer in the same book lifted, acropolis, walls and all, and transplanted to Mesopotamia, so as to surround it by both rivers, which passed close to it on either side and almost touched the walls. How ridiculous, Philo, if I were now to argue a proof with you that I am not a Parthian or from Mesopotamia, where this wonderful historian has taken and transplanted me!

By Zeus, that, too, is a highly plausible story the same fellow told about Severianus, taking his oath that he heard it from a man who had survived this very action: he said that Severianus did not want to die by the sword nor take poison nor hang himself, but thought of a dramatic death, strange and novel in its boldness: he happened to have huge drinking-glasses of the finest crystal, and when he had decided to die at all costs he broke the largest of the bowls and used one of the pieces to kill himself by cutting his throat with the glass. As if there were no dagger, no javelin to be found to bring him a manly and heroic death! Then since Thucydides made a funeral speech over the first to die in that famous war he thought he too ought to make a speech over Severianus. For all of them vie with Thucydides, who was in no way responsible for our troubles in Armenia. So after burying Severianus in magnificent style he makes a centurion, an Afranius Silo, mount the tomb as a rival to Pericles; his rhetoric was so strange and so ex-

1 Europus was actually situated on the Euphrates itself, on the farther shore from Mesopotamia.

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ἐπερρήτορευσεν αὐτῷ ὠστε με νὴ τὰς Χάριτας πολλὰ πάνυ δακρύσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος καὶ μάλιστα ὅποτε ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ Ἄφρανίος ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ λόγου δακρύσων ἀμα σὺν οἷομοιῇ περιπαθεῖ ἐμέμνητο τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐκείνων δείπνων καὶ προπόσεων, εἰτα ἐπέθηκεν Αἰάντειον τινα τὴν κορωνίδα· ὁπασάμενος γὰρ τὸ ξίφος, εὐγενῶς πάνυ καὶ ὡς Ἄφρανίον εἰκὸς ἦν, πάντων ὁρώντων ἀπέσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ—οὐκ ἀνάξιος ὃν μὰ τὸν Ἐννάλιον πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀποθανεῖν εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐρητορέουεν. καὶ τούτῳ ἔφη ἱδόντας τοὺς παρόντας ἀπαντας θαυμάσαι καὶ ὑπερεπαινέσαι τὸν Ἄφρανίον. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἅλλα μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεγίγνωσκον μονονυχί ζωμῶν καὶ λοπάδων μεμημένου καὶ ἑπιδακρύνοντος τῇ τῶν πλακούντων μνήμῃ, τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα ἠτίασάμην, ὅτι μὴ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ διδάσκαλον τοῦ δράματος προαποσφάξας ἁπέθανε. 27 Πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἅλλους ὀμοίους τούτους ἔχων σοι, ὃ ἐταίρη, καταριθμήσασθαι, ὅλιγων ὅμως ἐπιμνηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ὑπόσχεσιν ἦδη μετελεύσομαι, τῇ συμβουλῇ ὅπως ἄν ἀμείνον συγγράφοι τις. εἰςι γὰρ τινές, οἱ τὰ μεγάλα μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἄξιομημόνευτα παραλείποντος ἢ παραθέουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἴδιωτείας καὶ ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ἄγνοιας τῶν λεκτέων ἡ σωπητέων τὰ μεκρότατα πάνυ λιπαρῶς καὶ φιλοπόνως ἐρμηνεύουσιν ἐμπραδύνοντες, ὦσπερ ἂν εἰ τις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐν Ὁλυμπία τὸ μὲν ὅλον κάλλος τοσοῦτο καὶ τοιοῦτο ὅν μὴ βλέποι μηδὲ ἐπαινοιή μηδὲ τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσων ἐξηγοῦτο, τοῦ ὑποποδίου δὲ τὸ τε εὐθυρεγῆς καὶ τὸ ἐξεστὸν θαυμάζων καὶ τῆς κρηπίδος τὸ εὐρυθμον, καὶ ταῦτα πάνυ μετὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος διεξιών.
aggerated that by the Graces I just cried and cried with laughing, especially when this orator Afranius at the end of his speech wept and with doleful lamentation reminded us of those expensive dinners and pledges! His last flourish was after Ajax: he drew his sword and with true nobility, as was proper for an Afranius, slew himself on the tomb in the sight of all—by the God of Havoc he deserved to die long before for making such a speech. All the onlookers, he said, when they saw this were amazed and praised Afranius to the skies. For my part I voted against him on every count for just stopping short of recalling the soups and shell-fish and weeping over the memory of the pancakes, but I blamed him most for dying without first cutting the throat of the historian who staged the show.

I could count off many more writers like these, my friend, but I shall name just a few before turning to my other undertaking, my advice how to write history better. There are some who leave out or skate over the important and interesting events, and from lack of education, taste, and knowledge of what to mention and what to ignore dwell very fully and laboriously on the most insignificant happenings; this is like failing to observe and praise and describe for those who do not know it the entire grandeur and supreme quality of the Zeus at Olympia, and instead admiring the "good workmanship" and "good finish" of the footstool and the "good proportions" of the base, and developing all this with great concern.
Εγώ γούν ἤκουσά των τὴν μὲν ἐπ' Ἐυρώπῳ μάχην ἐν οὖν ὠλοις ἐπτὰ ἐπεσι παραδραμόντος, εἴκοσι δὲ μέτρα ἦ ἐτὶ πλείω ὤδατος ἀναλωκότος ἐς ψυχρὰν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῶν προσήκουσαν διήγησιν ὡς Μαῦρος τις ἵππεὺς Μαυσάκας τοῦνομα ὑπὸ δύσους πλανώμενος ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη καταλάβοι Σύρους των τῶν ἁγροίκων ἄριστον παρατιθημένους καὶ ὁτι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκεῖνοι φοβηθεὶεν αὐτῶν, εἰτα μέντοι μαθόντες ὡς τῶν φίλων εἰη κατεδέξαντο καὶ εἰστίασαν· καὶ γὰρ τυχανοὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδεδήμηκοτα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Μαυρών, ἄδελφοι αὐτῶ ἐν τῇ γῇ στρατευομένου. μῦθοι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο μακροὶ καὶ διηγηθεὶες ὡς θηράσειεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Μαυρουσίᾳ καὶ ὡς ἵδοι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συννεμομένους καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ λέοντος ὀλγου δεῖν καταβρωθεῖη καὶ ἥλικους ἱχθὺς ἐπράτατο ἐν Καυσαρείᾳ. καὶ ὁ θαυμαστὸς συγγραφεὺς ἀφεὶς τὰς 1 ἐν Εὐρώπῳ γιγνομένας σφαγᾶς τοσάντας καὶ ἐπελάσεις καὶ σπονδὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ φυλακάς καὶ ἀντιφυλακάς ἄχρι βαθείας ἐσπέρας ἑφειστῆκεν ὀρῶν Μαλχίωνα τὸν Σύρον ἐν Καυσαρείᾳ σκάρους παμμεγέθειας ἄξιοις ὑνούμενοι. εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦς κατέλαβεν, τάχι αὐτὶ καὶ συνεδείπνει μετʼ αὐτοῦ ἦδη τῶν σκάρων ἐσκευασμένων. ἀπερ εἰ μὴ ἐνεγέραπτο ἐπιμελῶς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μεγάλα ἂν ἡμεῖς ἡγονηκότες ἦμεν, καὶ ἡ ξημία Ῥωμαίοις ἀφόρητος εἰ Μαυσάκας ὁ Μαῦρος διψὼν μὴ εὑρεν πιεῖν ἄλλη ἀδειπτος ἐπανήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καίτοι πόσα ἀλλὰ μακρῷ ἀναγκαίοτερα ἐκὼν ἐγὼ νῦν παρήμι. ὡς καὶ αὐλητρὶς ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κόμης αὐτοῖς καὶ ῾ως δώρα ἄλληλοις ἀντέδοσαν, ὁ Μαῦρος μὲν τῷ Μαλχίωνι λόγχην, ο̣
For instance, I myself heard a man cover the Battle of Europus in less than seven complete lines, but he spent twenty or even more measures of the water-clock on a frigid description that was of no interest to us of how a Moorish horseman, Mausacas by name, was wandering over the mountains because he was thirsty and found some Syrian country-folk setting out their lunch; at first they were afraid of him, but then when they found he was one of their friends they welcomed him and gave him food; for one of them happened to have been abroad and visited Mauretania, as a brother of his was campaigning in that country. Long stories and digressions followed as to how he had gone hunting in Mauretania and how he had seen many elephants grazing together at one spot and how he was almost eaten by a lion and how big the fish were he bought in Caesarea. And our famous historian forgot the great killings, charges, imposed truces, guards, and counter-guards at Europus, and until late evening stood watching Malchion the Syrian buying huge wrasses cheap in Caesarea. If night had not come down he might have dined with him when the wrasses were cooked. If this had not been painstakingly included in the history we should have missed some important details and it would have been an intolerable loss to the Romans if Mausacas, the Moor, had not found a drink when he was thirsty but returned to the camp supperless. Yet how much else far more essential am I willingly leaving out at this point! How a flute-girl came to them from the neighbouring village, how they exchanged gifts, the Moor giving to Malchion a spear

1 ἀφείς τὰς Ν: ἐφιστὰς Γ.
2 τάχ’ ἄν Schaefer: τάχα MSS,
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dὲ τῷ Μανσάκα πόρτην, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς ἐπ' Εὐρώπως μάχης αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ κεφάλαια. τουγάρτωι εἰκότως ἂν τις εἴποι τοὺς τοιούτους τὸ μὲν ρόδον αὐτὸ μὴ βλέπειν, τὰς ἀκάνθας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς παρὰ τὴν ὅιζαν ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκόπεῖν.

29 "Ἀλλος, ὁ Φίλων, μάλα καὶ οὗτος γελοίος, οὐδὲ τὸν ἔτερον πόδα ἐκ Κορίνθου πόποτε προβεβηκὼς οὐδ' ἀχρὶ Κεγχρεῶν ἀποδημήσας, οὔτι γε Συρίαν ἦ Ἀρμενίαν ἵδων, ὡδὲ ἥξετο—μέμινημαι γάρ—:" Ωτα δῆθαλμών ἀπιστότερα. γράφω τοίνυν ἃ εἴδον, οὐχ ἂ ἥκουσα." καὶ οὗτος ἀκριβῶς ἀπάντα ἐντάξει ὅστε τοὺς δράκοντας ἐφε τῶν Παρθυνᾶων (σμειὼν δὲ πλήθους τούτο αὐτοῖς—χιλίους γὰρ οἶμαι ὁ δράκων ἀγει) ζῶντας δράκοντας παμμεγέθεις εἶναι γεννωμένους ἐν τῇ Περσίδι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτος δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπὶ κοντῶν μεγάλων ἐκδεδεμένους ψηλοὺς ἀιωρεῖθαι καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐπελαυνόντων δέος ἐμποιεῖν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπειδὰν ὁμοῦ ὅσι 1 λύσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐπαφιάσα τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀμέλει πολλοῦς τῶν ἡμετέρων οὕτω καταποθῆκαι καὶ ἄλλους περισσευραθέντων αὐτοῖς ἀποτυνηθῆναι καὶ συγκλασθῆναι· ταῦτα δὲ ἐφεστῶς οὔαν αὐτός, ἐν ἄσφαλει μὲντοι ἀπὸ δένδρων ψηλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν σκοπῆν.· καὶ εἰ γε ἐποίησε μὴ ὁμοίως χωρῆσας τοῖς θηρίοις, ἑπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς οὕτω θαυμαστῶν συγγραφέα νῦν εἶχομεν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ ἐργασάμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκινδύνευσε πολλὰ καὶ ἐτράφθη περὶ Σοῦραν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρανείου δῆλον ὅτι βαδίζων ἐπὶ τὴν Λέρναν. καὶ ταῦτα Κορινθίων ἀκούοντων ἀνεγίγνω-ˈ

1 ὁσι Cobet: ἵσι MSS (Ἡνωσι Γ).
and he giving Mausacas a buckle, and many other similar incidents, the high-spots of the Battle of Europus! To sum up, one might rightly say that such people do not look at the rose itself, but accurately observe its thorns that grow along the stem.

Another man, my dear Philo, is also quite ridiculous: he had never set a foot outside Corinth nor even left home for Cenchreae; he had certainly not seen Syria or Armenia; yet he began as I recall as follows: "Ears are less trustworthy than eyes. I write then what I have seen, not what I have heard." And he has seen everything so keenly that he said that the serpents of the Parthians (this is a banner they use to indicate number—a serpent precedes, I think, a thousand men), he said that they were alive and of enormous size; that they are born in Persia a little way beyond Iberia; that they are bound to long poles and, raised on high, create terror while the Parthians are coming on from a distance; that in the encounter itself at close quarters they are freed and sent against the enemy; that in fact they had swallowed many of our men in this way and coiled themselves around others and suffocated and crushed them. He himself had been an eyewitness of this, he said, making his observations, however, in safety from a tall tree. He was quite right in not meeting the beasts at close quarters: we should not now have such an excellent historian, who off-hand did great and glorious deeds in this war; for he faced many a battle and was wounded near Sura, obviously in a walk from Cornel Hill to Lerna. He read all this to an audience of Corinthians who knew for a fact that he had not
σκευ τῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότων ὦτι μηδὲ κατὰ τοῖχον γεγραμμένον πόλεμον ἐωράκει. ἀλλ’ οὔδε ὅταν ἔκεινός γε ὢδει οὔδε μηχανήματα οἷά ἔστιν οὔδε τάξεων ἡ καταλογισμῶν ὄνοματα. πάνυ γούν ἐμελεν αὐτῷ πλαγιάν μὲν φάλαγγα τὴν ἐπὶ κέρως, ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ λέγειν τὸ ἐπὶ μετώπου ἀγείν.

30 Εἶς δὲ τις βελτιστός ἀπαντᾷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τέλος τὰ πεπραγμένα ὡς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ, ὡς ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὡς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ, τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι, τὰ ἐν Μηδίᾳ, πεντακοσίωσιν οὔδ’ ὅλοις ἑπεις περιλαβῶν συνέτρυψε καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἱστορίαν συγγεγραφέαν φησί. τὴν μέντοι ἐπιγραφὴν ὅλιγον δεῖν μακροτέραν τοῦ βιβλίου ἐπέγραφεν, "Ἀντιοχιανοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερούκου"—δόλιχον γὰρ που οἶμαι ἐν παισὶ νενίκηκεν—"τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ ἐν Μηδίᾳ νῦν Ῥωμαίοις πραχθέντων ἀφήγησοι.

31 "Ἡδὴ δ’ ἐγὼ τινὸς καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα συγγεγραφότος ἠκουσα, καὶ τὴν λήψιν τὴν Οὐδολογέσσου καὶ τὴν Ὀσρόου σφαγῆν—ὡς παραβλήθησεται τῷ λέοντι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσι τὸν τριπόθητον ἥμιν θρώμβουν. οὔτω μαντικῶς ἀμα ἔχων ἐσπευδὸν ἢδη πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς γραφῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλυν ἢδη ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ὡκισε μεγέθει τε μεγίστην καὶ κάλλει καλλίστην. ἐτὶ μέντοι ἐπισκοπεῖ καὶ διαβουλεύεται εἰτὲ Νίκαιαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης χρὴ ὀνομάξεσθαι εἰτὲ Ὀμόνοιαν εἰτὲ Εἰρηνίαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐτὶ ἀκριτον καὶ ἀνώνυμος ἥμιν ἡ καλὴ πόλις ἐκείνη λήρου πολλοῦ καὶ κορύζης συγγραφικῆς γέμουσα.

1 φάλαγγα τὴν ἐπὶ κέρως Fritzschο: τὴν φάλαγγα ἐπὶ κέρως MSS.
2 μετώπου Ν: τόπου Γ.
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even seen a battle painted on a wall. In fact he had no knowledge of what weapons or engines were like or of the words "regiments" or "muster-rolls." A lot he cared if he spoke of a movement in column as a transverse battle-line and a frontal movement in line as a movement in column!

One fine historian compressed all that had happened from beginning to end in Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, by the Tigris, in Media into less than five hundred lines, incomplete at that, and after this says he has composed a history. Yet the title that he attached to it is almost longer than the book: "A description of recent exploits of Romans in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Media, by Antiochianus the victor sacred to Apollo"—I suppose he has once been winner in the long foot race in the boys’ competition.

I have heard of one who even included the future in his history: the capture of Vologesus, the killing of Osroes—how he was going to be thrown to the lions and, to cap everything, the triumph we have longed for so much,—in such a prophetic state was he as he hastened to the end of his composition. Why he even founded a city in Mesopotamia, outstanding in size, and of unsurpassed beauty. He is still considering and taking thought, however, whether he should call it Nicaea, after the victory, or Concord or Peacetown. It is still undecided and we have no name for that beautiful city full of copious nonsense and historical drivel. He has promised to write of
32 Τοιαύτα πολλά ὑπὸ ἀπαθευσίας ληροῦσι, τὰ μὲν ἀξιόρατα οὔτε ὀρῶντες οὐτ’ εἰ βλέποιεν καὶ ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἐπινοοῦντες δὲ καὶ ἀναιπάστοντες ὁ τι κεν ἐπ’ ἀκαίριαν γλῶσσαν, φασίν, ἐλθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν βιβλίων ἐτὶ σεμνυνόμενοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς, καὶ γὰρ αὐ καὶ αὖτα παγγέλοιοι: “τοῦ δεῖνος Παρθικών νυκῶν τοσάδε” καὶ αὐ. “Παρθιὸς πρῶτον, δεύτερον”, ὡς Ἀττιὸς δῆλον ὦτι. ἄλλος ἀστειότερον παρὰ πολὺ—ἀνέγνων γάρ—“Δημητρίου Σαγαλασσέως Παρθονικικά” ** 1 οὐδ’ ὡς ἐν γέλωτι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐπισκὼπῳ τὰς ἐστορίας οὕτω καλᾶς οὕσας, ἄλλα τοῦ χρησίμου ἔνεκα. ὡς οὕτις ἀν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα φεύγῃ πολὺ μέρος ἦδη ἐς τὸ ὀρθῶς συγγράφειν οὕτος προείληφεν, 2 μᾶλλον δὲ ὄλγων ἐτὶ προσδεῖται, εἰ γε ἄληθες ἐκεῖνο φησίν ἡ διαλεκτική ὥς τῶν ἁμέσων ἡ θατέρου ἁροις τὸ ἐτερον πάντως ἀντεισάγει.

33 Καὶ δὴ τὸ χωρίον σοι, φαίνει τις ἀν, ἀκριβῶς ἀνακεκάθαρται καὶ αἱ τε ἀκανθαὶ ὅποσαι ἤσαν καὶ

1 Ω comments “ἐλλείπει τι”.
2 προείληφε Fritzsch: προείληφεν MSS.
future happenings in India and the circumnavigation of the outer sea—and this is not just a promise; the introduction to his "Indian History" is already done, and the Third Legion, the Celts, and a small detachment of Moors have all crossed the River Indus with Cassius. What they are going to do and how they will receive the charge of the elephants, our wonderful historian will tell us before very long by letter from Muziris\(^1\) or the Oxydraci.

This is the sort of nonsense they talk in floods through their lack of schooling. They neither see what is worth looking at nor, if they did see it, have they the ability to give it suitable expression. They invent and manufacture whatever "comes to the tip of an unlucky tongue," as they say, and pride themselves in the number of their books and in particular on the titles, which again are completely ridiculous: "So-and-so's Parthian victories in so many books"; and again: "Parthis I and II," like "Atthis" of course. Someone else did it much more stylishly—I have read it myself—"The Parthonicica of Demetrius of Sagalassus". . . .\(^2\) not to make fun of them and pour scorn on histories so fine but with a practical end in view. For whoever avoids these faults and their like has already mastered a great part of what makes correct historical writing, or, rather, needs but little more, if logic is right when it says that to abolish one of two direct opposites is to establish the other instead.

Well now, someone will say, you have carefully cleared your ground and cut out all the thorns and

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\(^1\) Mangalore (Cranganore?)
\(^2\) There is a gap in the MSS here.
bátoi ἐκκεκομμέναι εἰσὶν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἑρείπαι ἡδη ἐκπεφόρηται, καὶ εἰ τι τραχύ, ἡδη καὶ τούτο λειόν ἐστιν, ὅστε οὐκοδόμηι τι ἡδη καὶ αὐτός ὡς δεῖξῃς ὦκ ἀνατρέψαι μόνον τὸ τῶν ἄλλων γεννάδαις ὥν ἄλλα τι καὶ αὐτός ἐπινόησαι δεξιόν καὶ δ’ οὐδεὶς άν, ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ ὁ Μώμος, μομήσασθαι δύνατο.

34 Φημὶ τούν τὸν ἀριστα ἰστορίαν συγγράφοντα δύο μὲν ταῦτα κορυφαίοτατα οὐκοθεν ἕχοντα ήκειν, σύνεσιν τε πολιτικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐρμηνευτικὴν, τὴν μὲν ἀδιδακτὸν τι τῆς φύσεως δῶρον, ἡ δύναμις δὲ πολλὴ τῇ ἀσκήσει καὶ συνεχεῖ τῷ πόνῳ καὶ ζῆλῳ τῶν ἀρχαίων προσγεγενημένη ἐστώ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄτεχνα καὶ οὐδέν έμοῦ συμβουόλου δεόμενα· οὐ γὰρ συνετοὺς καὶ οξεῖς ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς μὴ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως τοιούτους φησί τοῦτο ἡμῖν τὸ βιβλίον. ἐπεὶ πολλοῦ, μάλλον δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἢν 1 ἢν άξιον, εἰ μεταπλάσαι καὶ μετακοσμήσαι τὰ τηλικαύτα ἡδύνατο ἢ ἐκ μολύβδου χρυσοῦ ἀποφήναι ἢ ἄργυρον ἐκ κασσίτέρου ἢ ἀπὸ Κόνωνος Τίτορμον ἢ ἀπὸ Λεωτροφίδου Μίλωνα εξεργάσασθαι.

35 Ἀλλὰ ποῦ τὸ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τὸ τῆς συμβουλῆς χρήσιμον; οὐκ ἐσ ποιήσων τῶν προσόντων, ἄλλ’ ἐσ χρήσων αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν. οἰὸν τι ἀμέλει καὶ Ἰκκος καὶ Ἰρόδικος καὶ Θέων καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος γυμναστής ὑπόσχοντο ἢν σοι οὐ τὸν 2 Περδίκκαν παραλαβόντες—εἰ δὴ οὔτος ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς μητριαῖς ἐρασθεῖ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κατεσκληκώς,

1 So Fritzsche: ἢν appears after πολλοῦ in N and is omitted in γ.

48
HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

brambles, and all the debris has been carried away and all the rough places are now smooth, so now build something yourself to show you are good not only at overturning other peoples' edifices but at thinking out something clever yourself which no one, not even Momus,\(^1\) could censure.

I maintain then that the best writer of history comes ready equipped with these two supreme qualities: political understanding and power of expression; the former is an unteachable gift of nature, while power of expression may come through a deal of practice, continual toil, and imitation of the ancients. These then need no guiding rules and I have no need to advise on them; my book does not promise to make people understanding and quick who are not so by nature. It would be worth a good deal—everything rather—if it could remodel and transform things to that extent, or make gold out of lead or silver from tin, or manufacture a Titormus from a Conon or a Milo from a Leotrophides.\(^2\)

Then where is technique and advice helpful? Not for the creation but for the appropriate employment of qualities. For instance, Iccus, Herodicus, Theon, and the other trainers would not promise you to take on Perdicas—if indeed he and not Antiochus, the

\(^1\) Momus was a literary personification of fault-finding—he appears in Lucian's *Zeus Rants*, Loeb, vol. ii, p. 119.
\(^2\) Conon and Leotrophides were little men, Titormus and Milo of great size and strength.
αλλα μη Ἀντίοχος ο τοῦ Σελεύκου —ἀποφαίνειν Ὀλυμπιονίκην καὶ Θεαγένει τῷ Θασίῳ ἡ Πολυ-
δαμαντὶ τῷ Σκοτουσσαίῳ ἀντίπαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν
dοθεῖσαι ὑπόθεσιν εὐφυὰ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς
gυμναστικῆς παρὰ πολὺ ἀμείνω ἀποφαίνειν μετὰ
tῆς τέχνης. ὡστε ἀπέστω καὶ ἴμων τὸ ἔπιθυμον
tοῦτο τῆς ὑποσχέσεως εἰ τέχνην φαμὲν ἐφ’ οὐτω
μεγάλῳ καὶ χαλεπῷ τῷ πράγματι εὐρηκέναι· οὐ
gὰρ ἐντυνοῦν παραλαβόντες ἀποφαίνειν συγγραφέα
φαμέν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φύσει συνετῶ καὶ άριστα πρὸς
lógous ἡσκημένω ὑποδείξειν οἶδοὺς τινας ὀρθάς
(εἰ δὴ τουαῖτα φαινονται) αἰς χρώμενοι θάττων
ἀν καὶ εὐμαρέστερον τελέσειν ἄχρι 2 πρὸς τὸν
36 σκοτῶν. καίτοι οὐ γὰρ ἀν φαίνῃς ἀπροσδεῇ τῶν
συνετῶν εἶναι τῆς τέχνης καὶ διδασκαλίας ὁν ἄγνοεῖ·
ἐπεὶ κἀν ἐκθαρὰς μη μαθών καὶ ηὑλει καὶ πάντα
ἀν ἡπίστατο· νῦν δὲ μη μαθών οὐκ ἂν τι αὐτῶν
χειρουργήσεις, ὑποδείξαντος δὲ τινος ῥάστα τε
ἀν μάθιοι καὶ εὐ μεταχειρίσαστο ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ.
37 Καὶ τοῖνυν καὶ ἴμων τοιοῦτός τις ὁ μαθητής νῦν
παραδεδόσθω—συνείναι τε καὶ εἰπέιν οὐκ ἄγενής,
ἀλλ’ ὡξι δεδορκῶς, οἷος καὶ πράγμασι χρήσασθαι
ἀν εἰ ἐπιτραπείη, καὶ γνώμην στρατιωτικῆν ἀλλὰ
μετὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίαν στρατηγικῆν
ἐχειν, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ γεγονός ποτε
καὶ γυμναζόμενος ἡ ταπτομένους στρατιώτων
ἐὐφρακὸς καὶ ὀπλα εἰδῶς καὶ μηχανήματα, ἔτι δὲ 3
καὶ τί ἐπὶ κέρως καὶ τί ἐπὶ μετώπου, πῶς οἱ λόχοι,
pῶς οἱ ἰππεῖς καὶ πόθεν καὶ τί ἔξελαύνειν ἡ πε-

1 Geist: after Σελεύκου MSS have Στρατονίκης έκεινης.
2 Lang: MSS have καὶ after ἄχρι.
3 ἔτι δὲ Burmeister: ἔνα MSS.
son of Seleucus, is the one who fell in love with his stepmother and wasted away because of it—and make him an Olympic victor, a rival to Theagenes the Thasian, or Polydamas of Scotussa, but only that if they were given a subject inclined by nature to receive athletic training they would by their technique make him much better. So let me too not suffer this reproach when I make my promise and say that I have discovered a technique in a matter so important and so difficult, for I do not promise to take on anyone you like and make him an historian; no, merely to demonstrate to a man who is intelligent by nature and well trained in expressing himself certain direct routes (if indeed that is what they appear to be) which if he will use them will help him more quickly and more easily to the attainment of his goal. You would not say that the intelligent man has no need of technique and instruction where he is ignorant—otherwise he would play the lyre, blow the pipe, and understand everything without learning. As it is, he could not do any of this without first learning, and with someone to guide him he will learn most easily and perform them well for himself.

So give us now a student of this kind—not without ability to understand and express himself, keen-sighted, one who could handle affairs if they were turned over to him, a man with the mind of a soldier combined with that of a good citizen, and a knowledge of generalship; yes, and one who has at some time been in a camp and has seen soldiers exercising or drilling and knows of arms and engines; again, let him know what "in column," what "in line" mean, how the companies of infantry, how the cavalry, are manoeuvred, the meaning of "deploy" and "in-
ριελαύνειν, καὶ ὅλως οὐ τῶν κατοικιδίων τις οὐδ᾽ οἶος πιστεύειν μόνον τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν.

38 Μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν πάντων ἐλεύθερος ἐστὶν τῆς γνώμης καὶ μήτε φοβείσθω μηδένα μήτε ἐλπίζέτω μηδέν, ἐπεὶ ὁμοίως ἐστιν τοῖς θαυμάσιοις δικασταῖς πρὸς χάριν ή πρὸς ἀπέκθειαν ἐπὶ μυθῳ δικαζόουσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴ μελέτω αὐτῶ μήτε Φίλιππος ἐκκεκομμένος τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπὸ Ἀστέρος τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου τοῦ τοξότου ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος οἷος ἦν δεικθήσεται μήτ᾽ εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνιάσεται ἐπὶ τῇ Κλέιτου σφαγῇ ώμῶς ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ γενομένῃ, εἰ σαφῶς ἀναγράφοιτο οὐδὲ Κλέων αὐτῶν φοβήσει μέγα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δυνάμενος καὶ κατέχων τὸ βῆμα, ὡς μὴ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὀλέθριος καὶ μανικός ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἦν. οὐδὲ ἡ σύμπασα πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢν τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ κακὰ ἰστορῆ καὶ τὴν Δημοσθένους λήψῃ καὶ τὴν Νικίου τελευτήν καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἐδύψων καὶ οἶον τὸ ὑδωρ ἔπινον καὶ ὡς ἐφονεύσαντο πῦντες οἱ πολλοί. ἠγήσεται γάρ—ὅπερ δικαίοτατον—ὑπ᾽ οὐδένος τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων αὐτῶς ἔχειν τὴν αἰτίαν ἣν τὰ δυστυχῶς ἡ ἀνοῆτως γεγενημένα ὡς ἐπράξθη διηγηθῆ—οὐ γάρ ποιητῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μηνυτῆς ἦν. ὁστε καὶ καταναμαχῶνται τότε οὐκ ἐκείνος ὁ καταδύων ἐστὶ καὶ φεύγωσιν οὐκ ἐκείνος ὁ διώκων, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐξασθαι δέον παρέλιπεν. 1 ἐπεὶ τοῦ γε εἰ σωπήσας αὐτὰ ἡ πρὸς τούναντίον ἐπὶν ἐπανορθώσας ἐδύνατο, ὅστον ἦν ἐνι καλάμῳ λεπτῷ τὸν Ἰουκυδίδην ἀνατρέψαι μὲν τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιτολαῖς παρατείχομεν, καταδύσαι δὲ τὴν Ἐρμοκράτους τριήρη καὶ τὸν κατάρατον Γύλππον διαπεῖραι 2

1 παρέλιπεν Solanus: μὴ τι παρέλιπεν β: παρέλιπον Γ.
vest ", in short not a stay-at-home or one who must rely on what people tell him.

Above all and before everything else, let his mind be free, let him fear no one and expect nothing, or else he will be like a bad judge who sells his verdict to curry favour or gratify hatred. He must not be concerned that Philip has had his eye put out by Aster of Amphipolis, the archer at Olynthus—he must show him exactly as he was. Nor must he mind if Alexander is going to be angry when he gives a clear account of the cruel murder of Clitus at the banquet. Neither will Cleon with his great power in the assembly and his mastery of the platform frighten him from saying that he was murderous and lunatic: nor even the entire city of the Athenians if he records the disaster of Sicily, the capture of Demosthenes, and the death of Nicias, the thirst of the troops, the sort of water they drank, and how most of them were slain as they drank it. For he will think quite rightly that no man of sense will blame him if he gives an account of unlucky or stupid actions—he has not been responsible for them, he has merely told the tale. So that if they are ever defeated in a sea-fight it is not he who sank them and if they run away it is not he who drives them on, unless he neglected to say a prayer when he ought. Surely if by ignoring them or reversing them he could set them right, it would have been very easy for Thucydides with one insubstantial pen to overturn the counter-wall at Epipolae, and sink the trireme of Hermocrates, to transfix that cursed man Gylippus in the
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μεταξὺ ἀποτακτικόντα καὶ ἀποταφρεύοντα τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ τέλος Συρακοσίους μὲν ἐς τὰς λιθοτομίας ἐμβαλείν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους περιπλεῖν Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν πρῶτων τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἑλπίδων. ἀλλ’ οἶμαι τὰ μὲν πραχθέντα οὔδε Κλωδὼ ᾧ ἐτί ἀνακλώσειεν οὔδε Ἀτροπος μετα-39.πρέσευε. Τοῦ δὴ συγγραφέως ἔργον ἐν—ὡς ἐπράξῃ εἰπεῖν. τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ ἂν δύνατο ἀχρὶ ἃν ἡ φοβηταὶ Ἀρταξέρξην ἰατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡν ἢ ἐλπίζῃ καίδυν πορφυρῶν καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ἵππον τῶν Νισαίων λημεσθαί μισθὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπαίνων. ἀλλ’ οὐ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸ ποιήσει, δίκαιος συγγραφεύς, οὔδε Θουκυδίδης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ μισή τινας πολὺ ἀναγκαίοτέρον ἠγήσεται τὸ κοινὸν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειν περὶ πλείων ποιήσεται τῆς ἐχθρᾶς, κἂν φιλὴ ὠμος οὐκ ἀφεξεται ἀμαρτά-νουτος.

40 Ἔν γάρ, ὡς ἐφην, τοῦτο ἱδίων ἱστορίας, καὶ μόνη θυτέον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, εἰ τὶς ἱστορίαν γράφων ἢ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀμελητεύον αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅλως πῆχυς εἰς καὶ μέτρον ἀκριβεῖς, ἀποβλέπειν μὴ εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀκούοντας ἀλλ’ εἰς τοὺς μετὰ τὰτα συνεσομένους τοῖς συγγράμμασιν. εἰ δὲ τὸ παραυ-τίκα τις θεραπεῦοι, τῆς τῶν κολακευόντων μερίδος εἰκότως ἂν νομισθείη, οὔς πάλαι η ἱστορία καὶ έξ ἁρχῆς εὐθὺς ἀπέστραπτο, οὐ μείον ἡ κομμωτικήν ἡ γυμναστική. Ἀλεξάνδρου γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο ἀπομνημονεύσωμι ὅσ Ἡδέως ἃν, ἐφη, πρὸς ὅλιγον ἀνεβίων, ὧ Ὀνησίκριτε, ἀποθανῶν ὡς μάθουμι ὅπως ταύτα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τότε ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν.

1 Ὀνησίκριτε Solanus: -κρατες MSS.
act of blocking the roads with walls and ditches, and finally to throw the Syracusans into the stone-quarries while the Athenians sailed round Sicily and Italy as Alcibiades had first hoped. No, when what is done is done I fancy that even Clotho could not un-spin their destiny or Atropus change their course. The historian's sole task is to tell the tale as it happened. This he cannot do as long as he is afraid of Artaxerxes when he is his physician or hopes to get a purple cufta, a gold necklet, and a Nisaean horse as a reward for the eulogies in his work. No Xenophon (a just historian), no Thucydides will do that. On the contrary, even if he personally hates certain people he will think the public interest far more binding, and regard truth as worth more than enmity, and if he has a friend he will nevertheless not spare him if he errs.

This, as I have said, is the one thing peculiar to history, and only to Truth must sacrifice be made. When a man is going to write history, everything else he must ignore. In short, the one standard, the one yardstick is to keep in view not your present audience but those who will meet your work hereafter. Whoever serves the present will rightly be counted a flatterer—a person on whom history long ago right from the beginning has turned its back, as much as has physical culture on the art of make-up. For example they record this remark of Alexander's: "I should be glad, Onesicritus," he said, "to come back to life for a little while after my death to dis-

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1 Clotho and Atropus were Fates. Clotho ("Spinster") spun the thread of life, Atropus ("Nevertum") severed it. There is a play on the names in the Greek.
2 A Median garment with sleeves.
3 Referring to Ctesias of Cnidus. He spent seventeen years at court and wrote a history of Persia.
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ei dé nún autá épainoúsi kai áspáξontai, μὴ θαυμάζης: οἶονται γὰρ οὐ μικρῷ τινὶ τῶν δελεάτι τούτω ἀνασπάσειν ἐκαστὸς τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν εὕνοιαν. Ὁμήρῳ γοῦν, καίτοι πρὸς τὸ μυθάδες τὰ πλείστα συγγεγραφῆτί ύπέρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ἥδη καὶ πιστεύειν τινὲς ύπάγονται, μόνον τούτῳ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀληθείας μέγα τεκμήριον τιθέμενοι ὦτι μὴ περὶ ζώντως ἔγραφεν· οὐ γὰρ εὐρύκουσιν οὔτως ἐνεκα ἐφεύβετ' αὐ.

41 Τοιοῦτος οὖν μοι ὁ συγγραφέως ἔστω—ἄφοβος, ἀδέκαστος, ἐλεύθερος, παρρησίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος, ὅς ὁ κωμικός φησί, τὰ σύκα σύκα, τὴν σκάφην δὲ σκάφην ὅνομάσων, οὐ μίσει οὐδὲ φιλία τι 1 νέμων οὐδὲ φειδόμενος 2 ἡ ἐλεων ἡ αἰσχυνόμενος ἡ δυσωπούμενος, ἵσος δικαστής, εὖνους ἀπασιν ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ θατέρῳ τι ἀπονείμαι πλεῖον τοῦ δεόντως, ξένοις ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ ἄπολις, αὐτόνομος, ἀβασιλευτός, οὐ τί τῶδε ἡ τῶδε δόξει λογιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τι πέπρακται λέγων.

42 'Ο δ' οὖν Θουκυδίδης εὐ μάλα τοῦτ' ἐνομοθέτησεν καὶ διέκρινεν ἄρτην καὶ κακίαν συγγραφικὴν, ὀρῶν μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενον τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μοῦσας κληθήναι αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία. κτήμα τε 3 γὰρ φησὶ μάλλον ἐσ ἀεὶ συγγράφειν ἦπερ ἐς τὸ παρόν ἀγωνίσμα, καὶ μὴ τὸ μυθάδες ἀσπάζεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν γεγενημένων ἀπολεῖπεν τοῖς ὑστερον. καὶ ἐπάγει τὸ χρῆσιμον καὶ ὁ τέλος ἀν τις εὐ φρονῶν ὑπόθοιτο ἱστορίας, ὥς εἰ ποτε καὶ αὕθες τὰ ὀμοια καταλάβοι, ἔχοιεν,

1 τι add. Fritzsche.
2 φειδόμενος ΝΩΕ: φιλούμενος ΠΓ.
3 κτήμα τε Solanus: κτήματα MSS.
cover how men read these present events then. If now they praise and welcome them do not be surprised: they think, every one of them, that this is a fine bait to catch my goodwill.” Homer indeed in general tended towards the mythical in his account of Achilles, yet some nowadays are inclined to believe him; they cite as important evidence of his truthfulness the single fact that he did not write about him during his lifetime: they cannot find any motive for lying.

That, then, is the sort of man the historian should be: fearless, incorruptible, free, a friend of free expression and the truth, intent, as the comic poet¹ says, on calling a fig a fig and a trough a trough, giving nothing to hatred or to friendship, sparing no one, showing neither pity nor shame nor obsequiousness, an impartial judge, well disposed to all men up to the point of not giving one side more than its due, in his books a stranger and a man without a country, independent, subject to no sovereign, not reckoning what this or that man will think, but stating the facts.

Thucydides laid down this law very well: he distinguished virtue and vice in historical writing, when he saw Herodotus greatly admired to the point where his books were named after the Muses. For Thucydides says that he is writing a possession for evermore rather than a prize-essay for the occasion, that he does not welcome fiction but is leaving to posterity the true account of what happened. He brings in, too, the question of usefulness and what is, surely, the purpose of sound history: that if ever again men find themselves in a like situation they may be

¹ Aristophanes, on the dubious authority of Tzetzes (see Kock, Comic, Graec. Fragm. III, p. 451).
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φησὶ, πρὸς τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἀποβλέποντες εὖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐν ποσί. 1

43 Ἐὰν τὴν μὲν γνώμην τουαῦτην ἔχων ὁ συγγραφέας ἤκέτω μοι, τὴν ἐφ᾽ ὑμνήμα'tι καὶ τὴν τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἱσχὺν, τὴν μὲν σφοδρὰν ἑκείνην καὶ κάρχαρον καὶ συνεχὴ ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ ἀγκύλη ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ τὴν ἄλλη τῆς ῥητορείας δεινότητα μὴ κομιδὴ τεθημένος ἀρχέοθω τῆς γραφῆς, ἄλλ' εἰρήνευκώτερον διακείμενος. καὶ ὁ μὲν νοῦς σύστοιχος ἐστι καὶ πυκνός, ἡ λέξεις δὲ σαφῆς καὶ πολιτική, οἷα ἐπισημότατα δηλοῦν τὸ ὑποκειμένον.

44 Ὅσο γὰρ τῇ γνώμη τοῦ συγγραφέως σκοποὺς ὑπεδέμεθα παρρησίαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ αὐτοῦ εἰς σκοπὸς ὁ πρῶτος, σαφῶς δηλώσαι καὶ φανότατα ἐμφανίσαι τὸ πράγμα, μήτε ἀπορρήτους καὶ εξω πάτου ὀνόμασι μῆτε τοῖς ἀγοραίοις τούτους καὶ κατηλικοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς συνεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ πεπαιδευμένους ἐπαινέσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ σχήματι κεκοσμηθῶν ἀνεπαχθέσαι καὶ τὸ ἀνεπιθήδευτον μάλιστα ἔχουσιν, ἔτει τοῖς κατηρτυμένοις τῶν ζωμῶν εὐκότας ἀποφαίνει τοὺς λόγους.

45 Καὶ ἡ μὲν γνώμη κοινωνεῖται καὶ προσαπτέσθω τι καὶ ποιητικῆς παρ' ὅσον μεγαληγόρος καὶ διηρμένη καὶ ἑκεῖνη, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅπως παρατάξας καὶ μάχαις καὶ ναυμαχίαις συμπλέκηται, δεῖρε γὰρ τοῦτο ποιητικοῦ τῶν ἀνέμου ἐπουράνιων τὰ ἀκάτια καὶ συνδιοίσοντος ύψηλῆν καὶ ἑπὶ ἀκρῶν τῶν κυμάτων τὴν ναῦν. ἡ λέξεις δὲ ὅμως ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκέτω, τῷ μὲν κάλλει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν λεγομένων συνεπαιρμένη καὶ ὡς ἐν μάλιστα ὁμοιομομένη, ξενίζουσα δὲ μηδ' ὑπέρ 58
able, he says, from a consideration of the records of
the past to handle rightly what now confronts them.
That then is the sort of mind the historian should
have, please, when he comes along. Now as to his
language and power of expression, he need not show
at the beginning of his work a well-whetted profi-
ciency in that vehement, incisive style that you know,
packed with periods, and intricate with logical reason-
ing or other features of clever rhetoric. No, his tone
should be more pacific, his thought coherent and well-
knit, his language exact and statesmanlike, of a kind
to set forth the subject with the utmost clarity and
accuracy.

For just as we set free expression and truth-
fulness as the target for the historian’s mind, so for
his language this should be the first aim: to set forth
the matter exactly and to expound it as lucidly as
possible, using neither unknown or out-of-the-way
words nor that vulgar language of the market-place,
but such as ordinary folk may understand and the
educated commend. Then, let figures adorn the
work that give no offence and in particular appear
unlaboured; otherwise he makes language seem like
highly-seasoned sauces.

Let his mind have a touch and share of poetry,
since that too is lofty and sublime, especially when he
has to do with battle arrays, with land and sea fights;
for then he will have need of a wind of poetry to fill
his sails and help carry his ship along, high on the
crest of the waves. Let his diction nevertheless keep
its feet on the ground, rising with the beauty and
greatness of his subjects and as far as possible re-
sembling them, but without becoming more un-

\[\text{\footnotesize{1 ποσί one late MS: πόλεσι(ν) other MSS.}}\]
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tὸν καυρὸν ἐνθουσιώδα. κινδύνων γὰρ αὐτῇ τότε
ὁ μέγιστος ἐπαρκινήσαι καὶ κατενεχθῆναι ἐς τὸν
τῆς ποιητικῆς κορύβαντα, ὥστε μάλιστα πειστέον
τηνικάντα τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ σωφρονητέον, εἰδῶτας
ὡς ἵπποτυφία τις καὶ ἐν λόγοις πάθος οὐ μικρὸν
γίγνεται. ἀμεινὸν οὖν ἐφ᾽ ἰπποῦ ὀχυμένη τότε
τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν πεζῇ συμπαραθεῖν, ἐχομένην
tοῦ ἐφιππίου ὡς μὴ ἀπολείποιτο τῆς
φορᾶς.

46 Καὶ μήν καὶ συνθήκη τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐκράτῳ
καὶ μέσῃ χρηστέου, οὔτε ἄγαν ἀφιστάντα καὶ
ἀπαρτῶντα—τραχύ γάρ—οὔτε ῥυθμῷ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον
ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ συνάπτοντα· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐπαίτιον,
tὸ δὲ ἀγέδες τοῖς ἀκούοντι.

47 Τὰ δὲ πράγματα αὐτὰ οὖχ ὡς ἐτυχε συνακτέον,
ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφως καὶ ταλαπώρως πολλάκις περὶ
tῶν αὐτῶν ἀνακρίναντα, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν παρόντα
καὶ ἑφορῶντα, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς ἀδεκαστότερον
ἐξηγούμενοις προσέχοντα καὶ οὕς εἰκάσειεν ἄν τις
ηκίστα πρὸς χάριν ἢ ἀπέχθειεν ἢ
προσθήσειν τοῖς γεγονόσιν. κάνταύθα ἢδη καὶ
στοχαστικός τις καὶ συνθετικός τοῦ πιθανωτέρου

48 ἑστώ. καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀθροίσῃ ἀπαντὰ ἢ τὰ πλείστα,
πρῶτα μὲν ὑπόμνημα τὶ συνυφανέτω αὐτῶν καὶ
σῶμα ποιείτω ἀκαλλές ἐτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον· εἶτα
ἐπιθεὶς τὴν τάξιν ἐπαγέτω τὸ κάλλος καὶ χρωνύτω
τῇ λέξει καὶ σχηματιζέτω 2 καὶ ῥυθμιζέτω.

49 Καὶ ὅλως ἐουκέτω τότε τῷ τοῦ Ὀμήρου Διὸ ἄρτι
μὲν τὴν τῶν ἵπποπόλων Ἐρηκῶν γῆν ὀρῶντι, ἄρτι

1 κινδύνων . . . ὁ μέγιστος Fritzche: κινδύνων . . . μέγιστον
Δι: κινδύνων . . . μέγιστον N: κινδύνος . . . μέγιστος U;

60
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familiar or carried away than the occasion warrants. For then its greatest risk is that of going mad and being swept down into poetry’s wild enthusiasm, so that at such times above all he must obey the curb and show prudence, in the knowledge that a stallion’s pride in literature as in life is no trifling ailment. It is better, then, that when his mind is on horseback his exposition should go on foot, running alongside and holding the saddle-cloth, so as not to be left behind.

Again, in putting words together one should cultivate a well-tempered moderation, without excessive separation or detachment—for that is harsh—and not, as most people, almost link them by means of rhythm; the latter deserves our censure, the former is unpleasant to the audience.

As to the facts themselves, he should not assemble them at random, but only after much laborious and painstaking investigation. He should for preference be an eyewitness, but, if not, listen to those who tell the more impartial story, those whom one would suppose least likely to subtract from the facts or add to them out of favour or malice. When this happens let him show shrewdness and skill in putting together the more credible story. When he has collected all or most of the facts let him first make them into a series of notes, a body of material as yet with no beauty or continuity. Then, after arranging them into order, let him give it beauty and enhance it with the charms of expression, figure, and rhythm.

In brief let him be then like Homer’s Zeus, looking now at the land of the horse-rearing Thracians, now at

2 σχηματιζέτω Solanus: χρηματιζέτω MSS.
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dè tìn Mvsòw—kàtà tautà ¹ γάρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρτι μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἱδία ὀράτω καὶ δηλοῦτω ἡμῖν οἷα ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ ἄφι ύπηλοῦ ὀρῶντι, ἀρτι δὲ τὰ Περσῶν, εἶτ' ἀμφότερα εἰ μάχοντο. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ παρατάξει μὴ πρὸς ἐν μέρος ὀράτω μηδὲ ἐς ἐνα ἱππέα ἡ πεζόν—εἰ μὴ Βρασίδας τις εἴη προπηδῶν ἡ Δημοσθένης ἀνακόπτων τὴν ἑπίβασιν. ἀλλὰ ² ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὲν τὰ πρώτα, καὶ εἰ τι παρεκελεύσαντο, κάκεινο ἀκηκοῦσθω, καὶ όπως καὶ ἦτιν γνώμη καὶ ἐπινοία ἑταξαν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναμιχθὼς, κοινὴ ἔστω ἡ θέα, καὶ ζυγοστατεῖτω τότε ὡσπερ ἐν τριτάνῃ τὰ γυνόμενα καὶ συνδιδικέτω καὶ συμμεμβεῖτω. καὶ πάσι τούτοις μέτρων ἑπέστω, μὴ ἐς κόρον μηδὲ ἀπευροκάλως μηδὲ νεαρῶς, ἀλλὰ ραδίως ἀπο- λυέσθω. καὶ στήσας ἐνταῦθα ποὺ ταύτα ἐπ' ἑκείνα μεταβαίνετω, ἡν κατεπείγη· εἰτα ἐπανύτω λυθεῖς, ὅπόταν ἑκείνα καλή· καὶ πρὸς πάντα σπευδέτω καὶ ὡς δυνατὸν ὀμοχρονεῖτω καὶ μετα- πετέσθω ἀπ' Ἀρμενίας μὲν εἰς Μηδίαν, ἐκείθεν δὲ ρουξήματι ἐνι εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰτα εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὡς μηδενὸς καρφο ἀπολείποιτο.

50 Μάλιστα δὲ κατόπτρῳ ἐοικύλαν παρασχέσθω τὴν γνώμην ἄθολω καὶ στιλπνῷ καὶ ἀκριβεῖ τὸ κέντρον καὶ όποίας ἂν δέχηται τὰς μορφὰς τῶν ἔργων τοιαῦτα καὶ δεικνύων αὐτά, διάστροφον δὲ ἡ παράξρουν ἡ ετερόσχημον μηδὲν. οὐ γὰρ ὡσπερ οἱ ρήτορες ³ γράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν λεξηθησόμενα ἑστὶν καὶ εἰρήσεται· πέπρακται γὰρ ἥδη· δεὶ δὲ

¹ tauta early editions: tauta MSS.
² alla add. Fritzsche.
³ ρήτορες.
the Mysians’ country—in the same way let him look now at the Roman side in his own way and tell us how he saw it from on high, now at the Persian side, then at both sides, if the battle is joined. In the engagement let him not look at a single part or a single cavalryman or foot soldier—unless it be a Brasidas leaping forward or a Demosthenes beating off his attempt to land; but first, the generals (and he should have listened to any exhortations of theirs), the plan, method, and purpose of their battle array. When the battle is joined he should look at both sides and weigh the events as it were in a balance, joining in both pursuit and flight. All this should be in moderation, avoiding excess, bad taste, and impetuosity; he should preserve an easy detachment: let him call a halt here and move over there if necessary, then free himself and return if events there summon him; let him hurry everywhere, follow a chronological arrangement as far as he can, and fly from Armenia to Media, from there with a single scurry of wings to Iberia, then to Italy, to avoid missing any critical situation.

Above all, let him bring a mind like a mirror, clear, gleaming-bright, accurately centred, displaying the shape of things just as he receives them, free from distortion, false colouring, and misrepresentation. His concern is different from that of the orators—what historians have to relate is fact and will speak for itself, for it has already happened: what is required is ar-

1 Homer, Il. xiii, 4-5.
2 During the Athenian occupation of Pylos, 425 B.C. (Thuc. IV, 11-12).
3 Georgia, not Spain.

3 οἱ ῥήτορες Fritzsche: τοῖς ῥήτοραί MSS.
τάξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτά. ὡστε οὐ τι εἶπωσι ζητητέον αὐτοῖς ἀλλ’ ὅπως εἰποσιν. ὅλως δὲ, νομιστέον τὸν ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντα Φειδία χρῆναι ἢ Πραξιτέλει ἐοικέναι ἢ Ἄλκαμένει ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐκεῖνω—οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνοι χρυσὸν ἢ ἀργυρὸν ἢ ἐλέφαντα ἢ τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην ἐποίουν, ἀλλ’ ἢ μὲν ὑπήρχε καὶ προὔπεμβεβλητο Ἡλείων ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἢ Ἀργείων πεπορισμένων, οί δὲ ἐπλαττοῦν μόνον καὶ ἐπριοῦν τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ ἑξεον καὶ ἐκόλλων καὶ ἐρρύθμιζον καὶ ἐπήνθυζον τῷ χρυσῷ, καὶ τοῦτο ἢν ἢ τέχνη αὐτοῖς ἐς δέον οἰκονομίσασθαι τὴν ὕλην.

51 Τοιοῦτο δὴ τι καὶ τὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἔργον—eis καλὸν διαθέσαν τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ eis δύναμιν ἐναργεστάτα ἐπιδείξαν αὐτά. καὶ ὅταν τίς ἀκρο-ώμενος οἴηται μετὰ ταύτα ὅραν τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐπαυνῆ, τότε δὴ τότε ἀπηκρίβωται καὶ τὸν οἰκείον ἐπαυνὸν ἀπείληφε τὸ ἔργον τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας Φειδία.

52 Πάντων δὲ ἦδη παρεσκευασμένων καὶ ἀπρο-ομίαστον μὲν ποτε πονήσεται τὴν ἄρχὴν, ὁπόταν μὴ πάνυ κατεπείγῃ τὸ πράγμα προδιοικήσα-σθαί τι ἐν τῷ προομίω. δυνάμει δὲ καὶ τότε φροιμίω χρῆσεται τῷ ἀποσαφοῦντι περὶ τῶν λεκτῶν.

53 Ὁπόταν δὲ καὶ φροιμαίζηται, ἀπὸ δυὸν μόνον ἀρξηται, οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ βήτορες ἀπὸ τριῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς εὐνοίας παρεῖς προσοχὴ καὶ εὐμάθειαν εὐπορήσει τοὺς ἀκοῦσα. προσέξουσι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἢν δείξῃ ως περὶ μεγάλων ἢ ἀναγκαίων ἢ οἰκείων ἢ χρησίμων ἐρεῖ. εὐμαθῆ δὲ καὶ σαφῆ τὰ ύστερα πονῆσε τὸς αὐτίας προεκτιθέμενος καὶ

54 περιορίζων τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν γεγενημένων. τοιοῦ-
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arrangement and exposition. So they must look not for what to say but how to say it. In brief, we must consider that the writer of history should be like Phidias or Praxiteles or Alcamenes or one of the other sculptors—they certainly never manufactured their own gold or silver or ivory or their other material; no, their material was before them, put into their hands by Eleans or Athenians or Argives, and they confined themselves to fashioning it, sawing the ivory, polishing, glueing, aligning it, setting it off with the gold, and their art lay in handling their material properly.

The task of the historian is similar: to give a fine arrangement to events and illuminate them as vividly as possible. And when a man who has heard him thinks thereafter that he is actually seeing what is being described and then praises him—then it is that the work of our Phidias of history is perfect and has received its proper praise.

After all his preparations are made he will sometimes begin without a preface, when the subject matter requires no preliminary exposition. But even then he will use a virtual preface to clarify what he is going to say.

Whenever he does use a preface, he will make two points only, not three like the orators. He will omit the appeal for a favourable hearing and give his audience what will interest and instruct them. For they will give him their attention if he shows that what he is going to say will be important, essential, personal, or useful. He will make what is to come easy to understand and quite clear, if he sets forth the causes
τοις προοίμιοις οἱ ἀριστοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων ἐξήγαστο. ᾳ Ῥόδοτος μὲν, ὡς μὴ τὰ γενόμενα ἐξήγη ὁ χρόνως γένηται, μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὄντα καὶ ταῦτα νίκας Ἑλληνικὰς δηλοῦντα καὶ ἦττας βαρβαρικὰς. Θουκυδίδης δὲ, μέγαν τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλπίσας ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογῶσαν καὶ μείζω τῶν προγεγενημένων ἐκεῖνον τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ γὰρ παθήματα ἐν αὐτῷ μεγάλα ξυνέβη γενέσθαι.

55 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ προοίμιον, ἀνάλογον τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡ μηκυνόμενον ἡ βραχυνόμενον, ἐναφῆς τε ἡ καὶ ἐνάγωγος ἐστώ ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν μετάβασις. ἀπαν γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας διήγησις μακρὰ ἐστὶν. ὥστε ταῖς τῆς διήγησις ἀρεταῖς κατακεκοσμήσων, λείως τε καὶ ὁμαλῶς προϊσάκα καὶ αὐτῇ ὁμοίως ὥστε μὴ προὔχειν μηδὲ κολαίνεσθαι· ἐπείτα τὸ σαφὲς ἐπανθεῖτω, τῇ τε λέξῃ, ὡς ἐφη, μεμηχανημένον καὶ τῇ συμπεριπλοκῇ τῶν πραγμάτων. ἀπόλυτα γὰρ καὶ ἐντελῆ πάντα ποιῆσει, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεργασάμενος ἐπάξει τὸ δεύτερον ἐχόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλὺσεως τρόπων συνημμοσμένον ὡς μὴ διακεκόφθαι μηδὲ διηγήσεως πολλὰς εἶναι ἀλλήλαις παρακειμένας, ἀλλ' ἄει τῷ πρῶτῳ τὸ δεύτερον μὴ γειτνιάν μόνον, ἀλλά καὶ κοινωνεῖν καὶ ἀνακεκράσθαι κατὰ τὰ ἀκρα.

56 Τάχος ἐπὶ πᾶσι χρήσιμον, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰ μὴ ἀπορία τῶν λεκτέων εἰη· καὶ τούτω πορίζεσθαι χρὴ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνομάτων ἡ ῥημάτων ὅσον ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων—λέγω δὲ, εἰ παραθέοις

1 τε Schaefer: δὲ N: om. Γ.
and outlines the main events. The best historians have written prefaces of this sort: Herodotus, writing history to preserve events from time's decay, great and glorious as they were, telling of Greek victories and barbarian defeat; Thucydides too, with his expectation that the war would be great, more memorable, and more important than any that had gone before; and in fact the sufferings in that war were considerable.

After the preface, long or short in proportion to its subject matter, let the transition to the narrative be gentle and easy. For all the body of the history is simply a long narrative. So let it be adorned with the virtues proper to narrative, progressing smoothly, evenly and consistently, free from humps and hollows. Then let its clarity be limpid, achieved, as I have said, both by diction and the interweaving of the matter. For he will make everything distinct and complete, and when he has finished the first topic he will introduce the second, fastened to it and linked with it like a chain, to avoid breaks and a multiplicity of disjointed narratives; no, always the first and second topics must not merely be neighbours but have common matter and overlap.

Rapidity is everywhere useful, especially if there is no lack of material; and one must look to the subject matter to provide this rather than to the words and phrases—I mean, if you run quickly over small and

2 τῇ τε λέξει, ὡς MSS but τῇ τε δεξίως Γ: τε om. N.
3 τῷ πρῶτῳ τὸ δεύτερον Fritzsche: τὸ πρῶτον τῷ δευτέρῳ MSS.
57 Μάλιστα δὲ σωφρονητέον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὄρων ἢ τειχῶν ἢ ποταμῶν ἐρμηνείαις ὡς μὴ δύναμιν λόγων ἀπειροκάλως παρεπιδεύκνυσθαι δοκοῖς καὶ τὸ σαυτοῦ ὅραν παρεῖς τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλ' ὅλογον προσαμάμενος τοῦ χρησίμου καὶ σαφοὺς ἐνεκα μεταβήσῃ ἐκφυγὼν τὸν ἴξον τὸν ἐν τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπασαν λυχνεῖαν, οἷον ὥρας ¹ καὶ "Ομηρος ὁ ² μεγαλόφρων ποιεῖ· καίτοι ποιητής ὃς παραθεὶ τὸν Τάνταλον καὶ τὸν Ἰξίωνα καὶ τὸν Τιτυνον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. εἰ δὲ Παρθένως ἡ Ἐὔφορίων ἡ Καλλίμαχος ἔλεγεν, πόσος ἄν οἷον ἐπει ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ χείλος τοῦ Τάνταλον ἦγαγεν· εἰτὰ πόσος ἄν Ἰξίωνα ἑκύλεσε. μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ Θουκυδίδης αὐτὸς ἀλίγα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ εἴδει τοῦ λόγου χρησάμενος σκέψιν ὅπως εὐθὺς ἀφιστάται ἡ μηχάνημα ἐρμηνεύσοσ ἡ πολυροκίας σχῆμα δηλώσας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρείωτε ὅν ἡ Ἐπιπολὼν ³ σχῆμα ἡ Συρακοσίων λιμένα. ὡταν μὲν γὰρ τὸν λοιμὸν διηγήσαται καὶ μακρὸς εἶναι δοκῇ, σὺ τὰ πράγματα ἐννόησον· εἴη γὰρ οὕτω τὸ τάχος καὶ ὡς φεύγοντος ὁμώς ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τὰ γεγενημένα πολλὰ ὄντα.

¹ ὥρας Jacobitz: ὥρας τι MSS.
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less essential things, while giving adequate treatment to matters of importance; indeed, a great deal should even be omitted. When you feast your friends and all is ready you do not for that reason in the middle of all your pastries, fowl, oysters, wild boars, hare, and choice fish cutlets, serve up salt fish and pease-porridge because, that, too, is at hand—you will ignore the humbler fare.

You need especial discretion in descriptions of mountains, fortifications, and rivers, to avoid the appearance of a tasteless display of your word-power and of indulging your own interests at the expense of the history; you will touch on them lightly for the sake of expediency or clarity, then change the subject, avoiding the limed twig set there and all temptation of this sort, as you see Homer doing in his greatness of mind: poet though he is he runs by Tantalus, and Ixion and Tityus and the rest. But if Parthenius or Euphorion or Callimachus were the narrator, think how many words he could have used to carry the water to Tantalus' lips! How many to set Ixion whirling! Take Thucydides himself: he makes little use of this sort of writing, and see how quickly he gets away when he has been describing an engine or explaining a necessary and useful plan of investment, or the plan of Epipolae, or the harbour of Syracuse. When he appears long-winded in his account of the plague just think of the facts and you will realise his rapidity and how the pressure of events holds him as he tries to get away.

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2 ὅ F and edd. : ὡς other MSS.
58 "Ην δὲ ποτε καὶ λόγους ἐροῦντα τινα δεήση εἰσ-άγειν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐοικότα τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ πράγματι οἰκεία λεγέσθω, ἐπείτα ώς σαφέστατα καὶ ταῦτα. πλὴν ἐφείταί σοι τότε καὶ ῥητορεύσαι καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα.

59 Ἐπανοι μὲν γὰρ ἡ ψόγοι πάνυ πεφεισμένοι καὶ περισσεκαμένοι καὶ ἀσυκοφάντητοι καὶ μετὰ ἀποδείξεων καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ μὴ ἀκαίρου, ἐπεὶ ἔξω τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκεῖνο τέσσαρα εἴσιν, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Θεοπόμπου οἰτίναν ἔξεσι φιλαπεχθημόνως κατηγο-ροῦντι τῶν πλεῖστων καὶ διατριβὴν ποιομένω τῷ πράγμα ὡς κατηγορεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ ἱστορεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα.

60 Καὶ μὴν καὶ μύθος εἰ τις παρεμπέσοι, λεκτέως μὲν, οὗ μὴν πιστωτέος πάντως, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ θετέος τοῖς ὅπως ἀν ἐθέλσων εἰκάσουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ. σὺ δ' ἀκίνδυνος καὶ πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἐπιρ-ρεπέστερος.

61 Τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐκεῖνον μοι μέμνησο—πολλάκις γὰρ τούτῳ ἔρω—καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον ὅρῶν γράφε ὡς οἱ νῦν ἐπανέστονται σε καὶ τιμῆσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἐστοχασμένοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπείτα μᾶλλον σύγγραφε καὶ παρ' ἐκεῖνων ἀπαίτει τὸν μισθὸν τῆς γραφῆς, ώς λέγηται περὶ σοῦ, "ἐκεῖνος μὲντοι ἐλεύθερος ἀνήρ ἢ καὶ παρρησίας μεστός, ὁυδὲν οὔτε κολακευτικὸν οὔτε δουλοπρέπεις ἀλλ' ἀλῆθεια ἐπὶ πάσιν." τοῦτ', εἰ σωφρονοὶ τις, ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς νῦν ἐλπίδας θεῖτο ἄν, οὔτως ἀληθοχρονίους οὖσας.

62 ὃ ῥας τῶν Κνίδιων ἐκείνων ἀρχιτέκτονα οἷον ἐποίησεν; οἰκοδομήσας γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Φάρῳ ἐποίησεν. 1 μεστὸς ΦGH* edd.: μυθός ΓΝ and others.
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If a person has to be introduced to make a speech, above all let his language suit his person and his subject, and next let these also be as clear as possible. It is then, however, that you can play the orator and show your eloquence.

Eulogy and censure will be careful and considered, free from slander, supported by evidence, cursory, and not inopportune, for those involved are not in court, and you will receive the same censure as Theopompus, who impeached nearly everybody in a quarrelsome spirit and made a business of it, to the extent that he was a prosecutor rather than a recorder of events.

Again, if a myth comes along you must tell it but not believe it entirely; no, make it known for your audience to make of it what they will—you run no risk and lean to neither side.

In general please remember this—I shall repeat it time and again—: do not write with your eye just on the present, to win praise and honour from your contemporaries; aim at eternity and prefer to write for posterity: present your bill for your book to them, so that it may be said of you: “He was a free man, full of frankness, with no adulation or servility anywhere, but everywhere truthfulness.” That, if a man were sensible, he would value above all present hopes, ephemeral as they are.

Do you know what the Cnidian architect did? He built the tower on Pharos, the mightiest and most
πύργων, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργων ἀπάντων, ὡς πυρσεύουτο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ναυτιλλομένους ἐπὶ πολὺ τής θαλάττης καὶ μη καταφέροντο ἐς τήν Παραιτοῦνα, παγχάλεπον, ὡς φασίν, οὕσαν καὶ ᾧψκτον ἐν τις ἐμπέσοι ἐσ τὰ ἐρματα. οἰκοδομήσας οὖν τὸ ἔργον ἐνδοθέν μὲν κατὰ τῶν λίθων τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐπέγραψεν, ἐπιχρίσας δὲ τιτάνω καὶ ἐπι- καλύψας ἐπέγραψε τούνομα τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος, εἰδώς, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο, πάνυ ὅλιγον χρόνον συνεκπεσοῦμενα μὲν τῷ χρίσματι τά γράμματα ἐκφανησόμενον δέ, "Σῶστρατος Δεξιφάνους Κνί- διος θεοῖς σωτῆρσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλωϊζομένων." οὕτως οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὸν τότε καὶ ὅδε τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον τὸν ὅλιγον ἐώρα, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸν νῦν καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ, ἀχρὶ ἃν ἐστήκη ὁ πύργος καὶ μὲν ἄουτοῦ ἢ τέχνη.

63 Χρῆ τούνων καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν οὖτω γράφεσθαι σὺν τῷ ἀληθεὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐλπίδα ἦπερ σὺν κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἢδυ τοῖς νῦν ἐπανουμέ- νοις. οὖτος οὐκ Καὶ στάθμη ἱστορίας δικαίας. καὶ εἰ μὲν σταθμήσονται τινες αὐτῇ, εὖ ἃν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς δέον ἥμιν γέγραπται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, κεκυλίσται ο πῖθος ἐν Κρανείῳ.

1 ᾧψκτον Solanus: ᾧψευκτον MSS.
HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

beautiful work of all, that a beacon-light might shine from it for sailors far over the sea and that they might not be driven on to Paraetonia, said to be a very difficult coast with no escape if you hit the reefs. After he had built the work he wrote his name on the masonry inside, covered it with gypsum, and having hidden it inscribed the name of the reigning king. He knew, as actually happened, that in a very short time the letters would fall away with the plaster and there would be revealed: "Sostratus of Cnidos, the son of Dexiphanes, to the Divine Saviours, for the sake of them that sail at sea." Thus, not even he had regard for the immediate moment or his own brief life-time: he looked to our day and eternity, as long as the tower shall stand and his skill abide.

History then should be written in that spirit, with truthfulness and an eye to future expectations rather than with adulation and a view to the pleasure of present praise. There is your rule and standard for impartial history. If there will be some to use this standard it will be well and I have written to some purpose. If not, well I have rolled my crock on Cornel Hill! ¹

¹ See pages 4–5.
THE DIPSADS

A description of some curious fauna of the Libyan desert leads to flattery. The piece is introductory.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΨΑΔΩΝ

1 Τῆς Λιβύης τὰ νότια ψάμμος ἔστιν βαθεία καὶ γῆ διακεκαμμένη, ἔρημος ἐπὶ πολύ, ἀκριβῶς ἀκαρπος, πεδινὴ ἀπασα, οὐ χλόην οὐ πόαν οὐ φυτὸν οὐχ ὑδωρ ἔχουσα, ἣ εἰ ποῦ ἄρα ἐν κοίλοις συνεστηκός ὦτοι ὀλίγου λεύμανον, παχὺ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δυσώδες, οὐδὲ πάνυ διψῶντι ἄνθρωπων πότιμον. ἀόικητος γοῦν ἐστὶ διὰ ταύτα: ἢ πῶς γὰρ ἂν οἰκοῖτο ἀνήμερος οὕτω καὶ ἑξῆρα καὶ ἄφορος οὖσα καὶ πολλῷ τῷ αὐχμῷ πιεζομένῃ; καὶ τὸ θαλπός δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἄρη κομιδὴ πυρώδης καὶ φλογερὸς ὡν καὶ ἡ ψάμμος ὑπερζέουσα παντελῶς ἄβατον τὴν χώραν τίθησι.

2 Γαράμαντες μόνοι πρόσοικοι ὄντες, εὐσταλὲς καὶ κοῦφον ἔθνος, ἄνθρωποι σκηνίται, ἀπὸ θῆρας τὰ πολλὰ ζῶντες, ἔνστε οὕτων ἐσβάλλουσα θηράσοντες ἁμφὶ τροπὰς τὰς χειμερινὰς μάλιστα, ὠπὰντα τὸν θεὸν τηρήσαντες, ὡπὸτε τὸ πολὺ τοῦ καύματος σβεσθείη καὶ ἡ ψάμμος νοτιοθείη καὶ ἀμηγέπη βατὰ γένοιτο. ἡ θῆρα δὲ ἐστὶν ὅνων τοῖς ἀγρίων καὶ στροβῶν τῶν μεγάλων χαρὰ τούτων καὶ πιθήκων μάλιστα καὶ ἑλεφάντων ἐνίστε. ταύτα γὰρ μόνα διαρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ δῆμος καὶ ἀνέχεται ἐπὶ πολὺ ταλαιπωροῦμενα ὑπὸ πολλῷ καὶ ὄξει τῷ ἡλίῳ. καὶ ὁμοὶ οἱ Γαράμαντες ἐπειδὰν τὰ σιτία καταναλώσωσιν ἀπερ ἔχοντες ἀφίκοντο, ἀπελαύνουσιν ὅπίσω εὐθὺς δεδιότες μὴ σφίσων ἡ ψάμμος.
The south of Libya is deep sand and parched earth, desert for the most part, completely infertile, all flat land, devoid of green shoots and grass and growing things and water, except perhaps for a standing pool left by the rain—and this is turbid and stinking, unfit even for a very thirsty man to drink. For this reason the country is uninhabited—for who could live in a land so wild, arid, and barren, oppressed by continual drought? The very heat of the sun, the downright fiery hotness of the air, and the temperature of the seething sand make the country completely inaccessible.

Only the Garamantes live near by—a slim, agile race, tent-dwellers, living for the most part by hunting. They sometimes cross into the country on hunting forays, generally about the time of the winter solstice, after waiting for rain, when most of the heat has abated and the sand, now damp, can be trodden after a fashion. They hunt for wild asses and the ostrich, monkeys a great deal, and an occasional elephant. Only these animals can stand the thirst and endure for long periods the pressure of the great fierceness of the sun. Nevertheless, as soon as the Garamantes exhaust the food they have brought with them they drive for home, for fear that the sand
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀναφλεγείσα δύσβατος καὶ ἀπορος γένηται, εἶτα ὥσπερ ἐντὸς ἄρκυνων ληφθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλυνται μετὰ τῆς ἀγρας. ἀφυκτα γὰρ ἑστίν ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἀναστάσας τὴν ῥυμάδα καὶ τάχιστα ἔηράνας τὴν χώραν ὑπερζέῃ, ἀκμαιοτέραν τὴν ἀκτίνα προσβαλῶν ἀτε πρὸς τὴν νοτίδα παρατεθηγμένην· τροφὴ γὰρ αὐτή τῷ πυρί.

3 Καὶ τοῦτα πάντα ὅποσα ἔπον—τὸ θάλπος, τὸ δύσος, ἡ ἐρημία, τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαβεῖν—ὑπόν ύμῶν δυσχερή εἶναι δόξει τοῦ λεχθη-σομένου, καὶ διὸ τὸ φευκτέα πάντως ἡ χώρα ἐκείνη, ἐρπετὰ γὰρ ποικίλα μεγέθη τε μεγίστα καὶ πληθεὶ πάμπολλα καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλόκοτα καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἁμαχα ἐπινέμεται τῆν γῆν, τὰ μὲν ὑποβρύ-χα, φωλεύοντα ἐν μυχῷ τῆς ψάμμου, τὰ δὲ ἄνω ἐπιπολάζοντα—φύσαλοι καὶ ἁπτίδες καὶ ἔχιδναι καὶ κεράσται καὶ βούπρηστεις καὶ ἀκοντίαι καὶ ἀμφίσβαιναι καὶ δράκοντες καὶ σκορπίων γένος δίπτων, τὸ μὲν ἔτερον ἐπίγειον τι καὶ πεζόν, υπέρμεγα καὶ πολυσφόνυν, θάτερον δὲ ἐναέριον καὶ πτηνόν, υμενόπτερον δὲ οἷα ταῖς ἀκρίσις καὶ τέττιξε καὶ νυκτερίς τὰ πτερά. τοιαῦτα ὅρια πολλὰ ἐπιπετόμενα οὐκ εὐπρόσιτον ἀπεργάζεται τὴν Λιβύην ἐκείνην.

4 Τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἐρπετῶν δεινότατον δὲν ἡ ψάμμος τρέφει ἡ δυσόκας ἑστίν, ὅφις οὐ πάνω μέγας, ἔχιδνη ὅμοιος, τὸ δήγμα βίας, τὸν ἰὸν παχύς, ὀδύνας μὲν ἁλήκτους ἐπάγων εὐθὺς· ἐκκαίει τε γὰρ καὶ σήπει καὶ πῆμπρασθαί ποιεῖ, καὶ βοῶσιν ὥσπερ ἐν πυρᾷ κείμενοι. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα κατα-

1 ἀκρίσι Bochart: ικτὶς MSS.
THE DIPSADS

may heat up again and become difficult and impassable and they and their spoil perish together as though caught in a trap. There is certainly no escape if the sun draws off the moisture and becomes excessively hot—it soon parches the land. Its rays are made keener by the wet and are all the more intense, wetness being fuel to the fire.

Yet all the points I have mentioned—the heat, the lack of water, the desert, the infertility—will seem to you less unbearable than what I am going to describe, something that makes that country to be completely avoided. Crawlers of many kinds, of enormous size and in vast numbers, monstrous in shape and deadly poisonous, live in the country. Some of them live underground hiding in holes in the sand; others crawl on the surface—puff-adders, asps, vipers, horned snakes, ox-beetles, darters, double-ended snakes, pythons, and two kinds of scorpions—a big multi-jointed one that crawls on the ground, and a winged one that flies, though its wings are of membrane like those of locusts, cicadas, and bats. The number of these flying, winged creatures make that part of Libya difficult of access.

But the most terrible reptile of all that the sand breeds is the dipsad, a snake not particularly big, resembling a viper. Its bite is strong and its poison is thick, causing immediate and lasting pain. It burns and corrodes and sets on fire and its victims scream as if lying on a pyre. But what is
πονοῦν καὶ κατατρύχον αὐτοῦς ἐκεῖνο ἔστιν, ὁμώνυμον πάθος τῷ ἔρπετῷ. διψῶσι γὰρ εἰς ὑπερβολήν, καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὁσωπερ ἄν πάνωσι, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ὅρεγονται τοῦ ποτοῦ· καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πολὺ πλέον ἐπιτείνεται αὐτοῖς. οὐδ' ἂν σβέσειάς ποτε τὸ δύσος, οὔδ' ἢν τὸν Νείλον αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν Ἰστρον ὄλον ἐκπειν παράσχει, ἀλλὰ προσεκκαύσειας ἑπάρδων τὴν νόσον, ὅσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἐλαίῳ πῦρ κατασβεννύοι. λέγουσιν ἵπτρῳν παῖδες ἐκεῖνη τὴν αἴτιαν εἶναι, παχὺν τὸν ἰὸν ὄντα ἐπείτα δενόμενον τῷ ποτῷ ὄξυκίνητον γίγνεσθαι, ὑγρότερον ὡς τὸ εἰκός καθιστάμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαχεύμονον.

5 Ἔγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδένα τούτῳ πεπονθότα εἶδον, μηδὲ, ὥς θεοί, ἵδοιμι οὖτω κολαξόμενον ἀνθρωπόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπέβην τῆς Λιβύης τὸ παράπαν εὐ ποιῶν. ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τι ἤκουσα, ὅ μοι τῶν ἐταίρων τις ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ στήλης ἀνεγνωκέναι ἀνδρὸς οὖτως ἀποθανόντος. ἐκ Λιβύης ἐφη ἄπιων ἐς Λέγυπτον παρά τὴν μεγάλην Σύρτιν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλως. ἐνθα δὴ τάφῳ ἐντυχεῖν παρὰ τὴν ἡδόνα ἐπὶ αὐτῶ τῷ κλύσματι, καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι δηλοῦσαν τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὸν τρόπον κεκολαφθαί γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀνθρωπὸν μὲν τινα οἶον τὸν Τάνταλον γράφουσιν ἐν λίμυν ἐστῶτα καὶ ἀρνόμενον τοῦ ἔδατος, ως πίοι δῆθεν, τὸ θηρίον δὲ—τὴν διψάδα—ἐμπεφυκός αὐτῷ περιεπειράσθαι τῷ ποδὶ, καὶ τινὰς γυναῖκας ὑδροφορούσας ἀμα πολλὰς καταχείν τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτοῦ· πλησίον δὲ ώς κεῖσθαι ὅλα τῶν στρουθῶν ἐκείνων οὐς ἔφην

1 προσεκκαύσειας L. A. Post; προσεκκαύσεις MSS.
THE DIPSADS

particularly wearing and exhausting is indicated by the reptile's name. Its victims suffer agonies of thirst, and, strangest of all, the more they drink the greater is their craving for water—their longing increases enormously. It is impossible ever to quench their thirst. Even if you gave them the Nile itself or the whole Ister to drink, you would only add to the burning by watering the disease—like trying to quench a fire with oil. The doctors say that this is because the thick poison flows more easily when wetted by drinking and becomes more liquid, naturally enough, and so spreads over a greater area.

I myself never saw anyone so affected and I pray I may never see a human being tormented in this way; but then I have never set foot in Libya, I am glad to say. I have heard of an inscription which one of my friends said he himself had read on the tombstone of a man who had died in this way. He said that on a journey from Libya to Egypt his route passed the great Syrtis gulf, the only way he could go. There on the shore right by the water's edge he found a grave with a stone on it revealing the manner of death. There was a man carved on it looking like Tantalus in the paintings, standing in a lake and scooping up water, obviously to drink it, with the animal, a dipsad, wound round his foot clinging tight; a number of women were fetching water and pouring it over him together. Nearby lay eggs of the ostriches

1 Dipsad means "the thirst-causing one."
Τηρᾷν τοὺς Γαράμαντας· γεγράφθαι δὲ πρὸς τοῦπ'γραμμα—οὐ χείρον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ εἴπειν,

Τοῦτα παθόντι οἶμαι καὶ Τάνταλον αἶθοπος ὦν μηδαμὰ κοιμήσαι δυσλέγην οδύνην.
καὶ Δαναόϊο κόρας τοῖον 1 πίθον ὦκ ἀναπλήσαι
αἰὲν ἐπαντλοῦσας ὕδροφόρῳ καμάτῳ.

ἐτὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τέταρτα ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν ὑδῶν, καὶ ὡς ἀναμούμενος αὐτὰ ἐδήχθη, ἄλλ' ὦκέτι με-

7 Συκλεγοῦσι δὲ ἄρα τὰ ψά καὶ ἐσπουδάκασι περὶ αὐτὰ οἱ περίοικοι, οὐχ ὡς φαγεῖν μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ
σκεύεσι χρώνται κενώσαντες καὶ ἐκπώματα ποιοῦν-
tαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι κεραμεύσιν διὰ τὸ
ψάμμον εἶναι τὴν γῆν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα εὑρεθεῖν,
καὶ πῖλοι γίγνονται δύο ἐκ τοῦ ψῶν ἕκαστον· τὸ
γὰρ ἡμίτομον ἐκάτερον ἀποχρῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλὸς
8 ἐστὲν. ἔκει τοῖν ἁλοχῶσιν αἱ δυσάδες παρὰ τὰ
ψά, καὶ ἔπειδὰν προσέλθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ τῆς
ψάμμον ἐξερπύσασαι δάκνουσι τὸν κακοδαίμονα·
ὁ δὲ πάσχει ἐκεῖνα τὰ μικρὸν ἐμπρόσθεν εἰρημένα
πίνων ἀεὶ καὶ μάλλον δυσῶν καὶ πιμπλάμενος
ουδέποτε.

9 Ταῦτα οὖ μὰ Δία πρὸς Νίκαινδρον τὸν ποιητὴν

φιλοτιμούμενος διεξῆλθον, οὐδ' ὅπως ὑμεῖς μάθοιτε
ὡς οὐκ ἀμελὲς γεγένηται μοι φύσεις τῶν Λιβυκῶν
ἐρπετῶν εἰδέναι. ἵπτρῶν γὰρ ἂν μάλλον ὁ ἔπαινος
ἐή, οἷς ἀνάγκῃ εἰδέναι ταῦτα ὅς καὶ ἀμώνασθαι
αὐτὰ μετὰ τῆς τέχνης ἔχοιεν. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκῶ—
καὶ πρὸς φιλίου μὴ δυσχεράνθη τὴν εἰκόνα
θηρώδη οὐσαν—ὁμοίων τι καὶ αὐτὸς παθεῖν πρὸς
82
THE DIPSADS

which I said the Garamantes hunted. There was also the inscription, which I may as well add:

Such were the sufferings, methinks, of Tantalus too, Never to still hot venom’s racking thirst, Such the jar Danaïd maids ne ’er filled, Though ever drawing water with unending toil of carrying.

There are four more lines about the eggs and how he was bitten as he took them, but I can no longer remember them.

The neighbouring tribes collect these eggs and prize them, not only for eating. They use the empty shells for utensils and make cups from them (they cannot work in earthenware because the earth is all sand). Any big egg they come across is made into two caps, either half being big enough to fit a man’s head. It is there then that the dipsads lie in wait hard by the eggs. When someone approaches they creep out of the sand and bite the poor fellow. Then follow the torments I mentioned just now—continual drinking, increasing thirst without relief.

It is certainly not to rival Nicander the poet that I have given these details, nor to let you see that I have not neglected the natural history of the reptiles of Libya. Doctors would win more approbation for this—they have to know these things so that they can use their skill to resist the disease. No, I think I feel towards you—in the name of friendship do not resent the comparison from animals—as those who are

1 Nicander’s poem, Theriaca, is an account of snakes and other poisonous creatures and gives remedies for their bites.

1 καὶ Δαναοῖο κόρας τοίον edd. : τὰς τὸν MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

υμᾶς οἷον ἐκεῖνοι πάσχουσι πρὸς τὸ ποτὸν οἱ δηχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς δυσάδος. ὅσω γὰρ ἂν ἔπι πλέον παρῖσ, ἔτοις μᾶλλον ὅρεγομαι τοι τράγματος, καὶ τὸ δύσος ἀσχετον ὑπεκκαίεται μοι, καὶ ἔοικα οὖδ᾽ ἐμπλησσεθαί ποτε τοῦ τοιοῦτον ποτοῦ. μάλα εἰκότως. ποῦ γὰρ ἂν οὖτῳ διειδεῖ τε καὶ καθαρῶ ὑδατι ἐντύχουμι; ἄστε σύγγνωτε εἰ δηχθείς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδίστω τούτῳ καὶ ὑγιεινοτάτῳ τῷ δήγματι ἐμφοροῦμαι χανδὸν, ὑποθείς τῷ κρονῷ τῆς κεφαλῆς. εἰ ἡ μόνον μὴ ἐπιλιπεῖν τὰ παρ᾽ ύμῶν ἐπιρρέοντα μηδὲ χυθείσαν τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κεχηνότα ἔτι καὶ δυσῶντα καταλιπεῖν. ὣς δίψους γε ἓνεκα τοῦμοῦ πρὸς ύμᾶς οὔδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυε πίνειν ἅει· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα, κόρος οὐδεὶς τῶν καλῶν.
THE DIPSADS

bitten by the dipsad feel towards drinking: the oftener I appear before you the more I long to do so; thirst unquenchable inflames me and I think I shall never be sated with such drink. How could it be otherwise? Where else could I find water so transparent and pure? Forgive me then if my soul too has been bitten with this most sweet and health-giving bite and I dip my head into the spring and take my fill with open mouth. I only pray that your flowing streams may never fail nor your ready, eager listening ever be spilt me while I am still agape and still athirst. As far as my thirst goes, my thirst for you, nothing could stop me drinking for ever. As the wise Plato says, there is never too much of what is fine.
SATURNALIA

A dialogue between Cronus and Lucian in the guise of Priest of Cronus leads to the giving of laws to govern conduct at the Saturnalia, Cronus’s own festival. Subsequent correspondence between Cronus and Lucian and Cronus and the Rich clears up some points of a practical nature.
ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΡΟΝΟΝ

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

1 "Ω Κρόνε, οὐ γὰρ ἐσικας ἀρχεῖν τὸ γε νῦν εἶναι καὶ σοὶ τέθυται καὶ κεκαλλιέρηται παρ’ ἦμων, τί ἂν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτήσας λάβοιμι παρὰ σοῦ;

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν σε καλῶς ἔχει ἐσκέφθαι ο τι σοι εὐκτέον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μάντιν ἀμα ἐθέλεως εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, εἰδέναι τι σοι ἥδιον αἰτεῖν. ἔγω δὲ τὰ γε δυνατὰ οὐκ ἀνανεύσω πρὸς τὴν εὐχήν.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Ἀλλὰ πάλαι ἐσκεμμαί. ἔρω γὰρ τὰ κοινὰ ταυτὶ καὶ πρόχειρα—πλοῦτον καὶ χρυσὸν πολὺν καὶ ἁγρῶν ἐσπότην εἶναι καὶ ἄνδράποδα πολλὰ κεκτήσθαι καὶ ἐσθήτας ἐπανθεῖς καὶ μαλακᾶς καὶ ἁγγυρον καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὀπόσα τίμια. τούτων οὖν, ὃ ἀριστε Κρόνε, δίδου μοι, ὢς τι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπολαύσαι τῆς σῆς ἄρχης μηδὲ ἀμοιρὸν εἶναι μόνον αὐτὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

2 Ὁρᾶσ; οὐ κατ’ ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἦττησας. οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν διανέμειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἦστε μὴ ἄχθου, εἰ ἄτυχήσεις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ αἴτει παρὰ τοῦ Δίος,

1 εὐκτέον Γ: εὐκταῖον other MSS.
2 ἁγρῶν Courier: ἄνδρῶν MSS.
A CONVERSATION WITH CRONUS

PRIEST

Cronus, you seem to be king just now, and it is you to whom we have offered sacrifices and we have received favourable omens. Now, what precise return for these rites would you give me if I asked?

CRONUS

In this case the proper procedure is for you to have made your own decision what to pray for, unless you expect your king to be a diviner as well and know what request would please you. As far as lies within my power I shall not deny your prayer.

PRIEST

My decision was made a long time ago. I shall ask for the usual, obvious things—wealth, a lot of gold, to be lord of an estate, to own many slaves, clothing, bright-coloured and soft, silver, ivory, and everything else that is worth something. Grant me some part of this, my dearest Cronus, so that I too may profit from your reign, and may not spend my whole life as the only one who gets no benefit.

CRONUS

There! That request is beyond me. It is not mine to distribute things of that sort. So don’t be discontented if you don’t get them, but ask Zeus
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ὅποταν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἡ ἀρχὴ περιέλθη μετ’ ὄλιγον. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς παραλαμβάνω τὴν δυναστείαν. ἐπτὰ μὲν ἡμερῶν ἡ πᾶσα βασιλεία, καὶ ἤν ἐκπρόθεσμος τούτων γένωμαι, ἰδιώτης εὐθὺς εἰμὶ καὶ ποιν τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἰς ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἐπτὰ σπουδαῖον μὲν οὐδὲν οὔδὲ ἀγοραῖον διοικήσασθαι μοι συγκεχώρηται, πίνειν δὲ καὶ μεθύειν καὶ βοᾶν καὶ παίζειν καὶ κυβεύειν καὶ ἀρχοντας καθιστάναι 1 καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας εὐωχεῖν καὶ γυμνὸν ἄδειν καὶ κροτεῖν ὑποτρέμοντα, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὑθείσθαι ἀσβόλῳ κεχρισμένον τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῦτα ἐφείται μοι ποιεῖν. τὰ μεγάλα δὲ ἐκεῖνα, τῶν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὁ Ζεὺς διαδίδωσιν οἷς ἐν ἔθελῃ.

ἹΕΡΕΥΣ

3 'Αλλ' οὖν ἐκεῖνος, ὁ Κρόνε, ραδίως καὶ προχείρως. ἐγὼ γ’ οὖν ἡδη ἀπηγόρευκα αὐτῶν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἔπατεν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰγίδα ἐπισείων καὶ τὸν κεραυνὸν ἑπανατεινόμενος δρμὼ ἐνορῶν ἐκπλήττετο τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. ἦν δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐπινεύσῃ τινὶ καὶ πλουσίον ποιῆ, πολὺ τὸ ἀκροτὸν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ἐνίοτε καὶ συνετοὺς ἀφεῖς ὁ δὲ παμπονήροις τε καὶ ἀνοητοὺς ἀνδράσι περιῄε τὸν πλοῦτον, μαστιγίας ἢ ἀνδρογύνοις τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν. πλην τὰ γε σοὶ δυνατὰ ἐθέλω εἰδέναι τίνα ταῦτα ἔστω.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

4 Οὐ μικρὰ ὅλως οὖν δια παντάπασιν εὑκαταφρόνητα ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐξετάζεσθαι τῆς συμπάσης ἀρχῆς— εἰ μὴ σοί γε μικρὸν δοκεῖ τὸ νικᾶν κυβεύοντα
when the sovereignty comes round to him, as it will do presently. I take over the kingship on set terms. My entire reign is for seven days; the moment this period is over I am a private citizen and, I suppose, one of the common herd. But during the seven days I have agreed to conduct no business whatever, not even in the market. What I may do is drink and be drunk, shout, play games and dice, appoint masters of the revels, feast the servants, sing stark naked, clap and shake, and sometimes even get pushed head-first into cold water with my face smeared with soot. Such great gifts as wealth and gold Zeus distributes to whomsoever he pleases.

PRIEST

But even Zeus, Cronus, is not ready or open-handed in his gifts. At any rate I've shouted for them till I'm worn out, yet he doesn't listen at all. No, he shakes his aegis and brandishes his thunderbolt with a fierce stare and terrifies those who bother him. If ever he does nod assent to anyone and make him rich, there is a great lack of discrimination about it. He sometimes passes over the good and wise and lavishes riches on wicked and stupid people, most of them criminals and effeminate. But the things you can do—these are what I want to know.

CRONUS

They are not entirely of no importance or altogether contemptible when judged in relation to the power of my entire empire—unless you think it

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1 καθιστάναι Halm: καθιστάν F: καθιστάθαι ΓΝ.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσ τὴν μονάδα κυλισμένον τοῦ κύβου σοι τὴν ἐξάδα ὑπεράνω ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν ἐσ κόρον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ἐπεστισαντο, ὅσ ἱλεως καὶ φορὸς ὁ κύβος ἐπινέεσει: οἱ δὲ ἐμπαλιν γυμνοὶ ἑξενήξαντο συντριβέντος αὐτῶς τοῦ σκάφους περὶ οὐτω μικρῷ ἔρματι τῷ κύβῳ. καὶ μὴν καὶ πιεῖν ἐσ τὸ ἦδιστον καὶ ὑδικώτερον ἄλλον δόξαι ἕσαι 1 ἐν τῷ συµποσίῳ καὶ διακονοµένων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐσ τὸ ύδωρ ἐµπεσείν— τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦτον τῆς ἀδεξίου διακονίας—σὲ δὲ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι καλλινικον καὶ τάθλα φέρεσθαι τὸν ἀλλάντα—ὁρᾶς ἥλικον τὸ ἁγαθόν; ἐτι καὶ βασιλέα μόνον ἐφ’ ἀπαντῶν γενέσθαι τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ κρατήσαντα, ὡς μῆτε ἐπιταχθεῖς γελοῖα ἐπιτάγματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιτάττειν ἔχουσι, τῷ μὲν αἰσχρόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀναβοῆσαι, τῷ δὲ γυμνὸν ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ ἀράµενον 2 τὴν αὐλητρίδα τρὶς τὴν οἰκίαν περιελθείν—πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα δεήγματα μεγαλοδωρίας τῆς ἐµῆς; εἰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀληθῆ μηδὲ βέβαιον γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην βασιλείαν αὐτιάσει, ἄγνωμον ποιήσεις ὀρῶν αὐτοῦ ἔμε τὸν ταῦτα διανέμομεν τὸνυχρὸν τὴν ἄρχην ἔχοντα. τούτων δ’ οὖν ἂ μοι δυνατὰ δοῦναι, τῶν πεπτῶν, τοῦ ἄρχειν, τοῦ ἄδειν καὶ τῶν ἀ κατηριδημησάμην, θαρρῶν ἀπειρίζει, ὄσ ἐμοῦ πρὸς οὐδὲν δεδειξομένου σε τῇ αἰγίδι καὶ τῷ κεραυνῷ.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

5 Ἀλλ’, ὁ Τιτάνων ἁριστε, τῶν μὲν τοιούτων οὐ δέομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀλλ’ ἐκείνῳ μοι ἀπόκριναι, ὁ μάλιστα ἐπόθουν εἰδέναι, καὶ μοι ἦν εἰπής αὐτό, ἴκανήν

1 ἕσαι one late MS.: ἁμα other MSS.
trivial to win at dice, and when others are rolling singles always to be turning up sixes yourself. At any rate many men have got themselves more than enough to eat in this sort of way, men to whom the die will give a gracious and generous nod. Then again, there are those who have swum out to safety without a stitch of clothing when their ship has foundered on the die's tiny reef. Again, to drink the most delightful drinks, to be acclaimed a better singer in your cups than the next man, to see the others who serve at table with you thrown into the water as the penalty for their clumsy service while you are proclaimed victor and win the sausage as prize—do you see what a blessing that is? Again, to become sole king of all with a win at the knuckle-bones, so that you not only escape silly orders but can give them yourself, telling one man to shout out something disgraceful about himself, another to dance naked, pick up the flute-girl, and carry her three times round the house—surely this is proof of my generosity? And if you criticise this kingdom as not real or lasting you will be unreasonable when you know that I myself who dispense these blessings have the sovereignty for only a short time. So do not hesitate to ask for any of these things which I can give you: gaming, lordship of the feast, singing and all that I have enumerated, in the assurance that I shall not in any circumstances frighten you with the aegis and the thunderbolt.

PRIEST

Why, best of Titans, I need nothing like that. But answer me this—I have longed to know, and

\[ ^2 \text{καὶ ἀράμενον Ν: παράμενον Γ.} \]
Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκείνο, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταὐτά ἐστιν ἃ περὶ σοῦ ἄκοιμεν, ὡς κατήσθιες τὰ γεννώμενα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐρᾶς, ἔκεινη δὲ ὑφελομένη τὸν Δία λίθον ὑποβαλλομένῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ βρέφους ἔδωκε σοι καταπιέστιν, δὲ δὲ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἀφικόμενον ἐξήλασε σε τῆς ἁρχής πολέμῳ κρατήσας, εἶτα ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον φέρων ἐνέβαλε πεδήσας αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἄπαν, ὁπόσον μετὰ σοῦ παρετάττετο.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ
Εἰ μὴ ἐορτῆν, ὡς ὦντος, ἦγομεν καὶ μεθύεων ἐφείτο καὶ λοιδορείσθαι τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ἐγνως ἂν ὃς ὀργίζεσθαι γοῦν ἐφείται μοι, τοιάτα ἐρωτήσας, οὐκ αἰδεσθεὶς πολιοῦν ὦτω καὶ πρεσβύτην θεόν.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ
Κἂν ὁταῦτα, ὦ Κρόνε, οὐ παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ φημι, ἀλλ' Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὄμηρος, ὁκνὼ γὰρ λέγεω ὦτι καὶ οἱ ἀλλοί ἄπαντες ἄνθρωποι σχεδὸν ταῦτα πεπιστεύκασι περὶ σοῦ.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ
6 Οἴει γὰρ τὸν ποιμένα ἐκείνον, τὸν ἀλαζόνα, ὑγίες τι περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰδέναι; σκόπει δὲ οὕτως.

1 λοιδορείσθαι Ν: δωρείσθαι Γ.
SATURNALIA

if you tell me it will be an adequate return for the sacrifice and I release you from future debts.

Cronus

Just ask what you want. I shall answer if I happen to know.

Priest

This first: whether what we often hear about you is true, that you ate up Rhea’s children, but she put Zeus out of the way, substituting a stone for you to swallow down instead of the child; then, when he grew up, he beat you in war and drove you from the sovereignty; he took you to Tartarus, put fetters on you and all the allies who sided with you, and threw you in.

Cronus

If it were not festival-time, my man, and if you weren’t allowed to get drunk and cheek your masters with impunity, you would have found out that I’m allowed to be angry at any rate—asking such questions and showing no respect for a grey-haired old god like me!

Priest

Now I don’t say this on my own, Cronus. Hesiod and Homer say so; I’m not sure that I should tell you that the rest of mankind too believes pretty much the same about you.

Cronus

Do you imagine that that shepherd, that impostor, has any sound knowledge of me? Look at it this
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"έσθ' ὁστις ἄνθρωπος (οὔ γὰρ θεὸν ἔρω) ὑπομείνειν ἃν ἐκών αὐτὸς καταφαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα, εἰ1 μή τις Θεόστης ὢν ἀσεβεῖ ἄδελφῳ περιπεσὼν ἦσθιε; καὶ εἰ τοῦτο μανεῖ, πῶς ἀγνοήσει λίθον ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐσθίων, εἰ μὴ ἀνάλγητος εἰπ' τοὺς ὄδόντας; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐπολεμήσαμεν οὔτε ὁ Ζεὺς βία τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐκόντος δὲ μου παραδόντος αὐτῶ καὶ ὑπεκόσταντος, ἀρχεῖ.2 οτί μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πεπέδημαι οὔτε ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ εἰμί, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅρᾶς οἶμαι εἰ μὴ τυφλὸς ὥσπερ Ὄμηρος εἶ.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

7 Τί παθῶν δέ, ὦ Κρόνε, ἀφήκας τὴν ἀρχήν;

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

'Εγώ σοι φράσω. τὸ μὲν ὄλων, γέρων ἡδὴ καὶ ποδαγρὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ὄν. διὸ καὶ πεπεδήθησαί με οἱ πολλοὶ εἰκασαν. οὐ γὰρ ἡδυνάμην διαρκείν πρὸς οὕτω πολλῆν τὴν ἀδικίαν τῶν νῦν, ἀλλ' ἄει ἀναθείν ἐδεί άνω καὶ κάτω τὸν κεραυνὸν διηρμένον τοὺς ἐπιόρκους ἡ ἱεροσύλους ἡ βιαίος καταφλέγοντα, καὶ τὸ πράγμα πάνω ἐργώδεις ἢ καὶ νεανικόν. ἐξέστην οὖν εὗ ποιῶν τῷ Διί. καὶ ἀλλος δὲ καλὸς ἔχειν ἐδόκει μοι διανεῖμαντα τοῖς παισών οὕς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν εὐωχεῖσθαι τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ' ἱσυχίας οὔτε τοῖς εὐχομένοις χρηματίζόντα οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν τάναντα αὐτοῦντων ἐνοχλοῦμενον οὔτε βροντῶντα ἡ ἀστράπτοντα ἡ χάλαζαν

1 εἰ μή τις Θ. ἣν ἀσεβεῖ ἄδελφῳ περιπεσὼν ἦσθιε καὶ τοῦτο γ' ἃν εἰπ' Χ. Β.: εἰ . . . ἤν ἀσεβεῖ περιπεσών κἀν τοῦτο γ' ἃν εἰπ' Ν. εἰ . . . ἤν ἀσεβεῖ ἄδελφῳ (ἄδελφων Α Ω) περιπεσών εἰσίςκε καὶ τοῦτο μανεῖ Γ.Α.Ω.: Η. ὅν Jacobitz: καὶ εἰ Mras.

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way: would any man (I will not say god) put up with eating his own children of his own free will, unless he were some Thyestes fallen foul of an impious brother? Suppose he were as mad as this; then how would he fail to recognise he was eating a stone and not a child, unless he had no feeling in his teeth? No, there was no fighting, nor does Zeus rule his empire by force; I handed it to him and abdicated quite voluntarily. That I am neither in chains nor in Tartarus I suppose you see for yourself, unless you are as blind as Homer.

PRIEST

Why ever did you let the sovereignty go, Cronus?

CRONUS

I will tell you. In brief it was because I was old and gouty owing to my years. That is why people suppose that I had been put into chains. I hadn't the strength to deal with all the injustice of the present generation, but I had to run up and down with my thunderbolt at the ready, setting fire to perjurers, temple-robbers, or men of violence; the whole business was very strenuous and needed a young man's energy. So I abdicated, thank goodness, in favour of Zeus. Besides, I thought it a good idea to divide the kingdom between my sons, and for myself to spend most of my time in quiet enjoyment of the good things of life, not engaged with people making vows or annoyed by those who make contradictory requests, neither thundering nor lightening nor

2 τὴν ἄρχην... ἄρχει Γ: τὴν ἄρχην ἀφεῖλετο... ἄρχειν Ν.

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διαδέχεται ουσίαν ἀναγκαζόμενον· ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτικῶν τινα τούτον ἰδίωτον βίων διάγω ξωρότερον πίνων τό νέκταρ, τῷ Ἰαπετῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἡλικιώταις προσμυθολογῶν· ὁ δὲ ἄρχει μυρία ἕξων πράγματα. πλὴν ὅλιγας ταύτας ἡμέρας ἐφ' οίς εἰπόν ὑπεξελέσθαι μοι ἔδοξε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνω τὴν ἄρχην, ὡς ὑπομνήσαιμι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἴός ἦν ὁ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ βίος, ὥστε ἀσπορα καὶ ἀνήρτοτα πάντα ἐφύετο αὐτοῖς, οὐ στάχνεις, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμος ἄρτος καὶ κρέα ἐσκευασμένα, καὶ ὁ ὁίνος ἔρρει ποταμηδὸν καὶ πηγαί μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος· ἀγαθὸι γὰρ ᾧσαν καὶ χρυσοὶ ἄπαντες. αὐτῇ μοι ἡ αἰτία τῆς ὀλυνχρονίου ταύτης δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἀπανταχοῦ κρότος καὶ ὕδη καὶ παιδιὰ καὶ ἱσοτιμία πάσι καὶ δούλοις καὶ ἐλευθεροίσ. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δούλος ἦν.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

8 Ἡγὼ δὲ, ὦ Κρόνε, καὶ τοῦτο εἶκαζον τὸ 1 εἰς τοὺς δούλους καὶ πεδότριβας 2 φιλάνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μυθοῦ ἐκείνου ποιεῖν σε τιμῶντα τοὺς τὰ ὠμοία πάσχοντας, ἀτε καὶ αὐτὸν δουλεύοντα, μεμνημένον τῆς πέδης.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Οὐ παύσῃ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ληρῶν;

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

 bật λέγεις, καὶ παύσομαι. πλὴν ἔτι μοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀπόκριναι. τὸ πεπτεύειν σύνηθες ἥν τοῖς ἐπὶ σοῦ ἀνθρώποις;

1 τὸ add Jacobitz.
SATURNALIA

having to throw hail occasionally. No, I live this pleasant life of an old man, drinking stiff nectar and chatting with Iapetus and my other cronies, and Zeus is king with all the worry. Nevertheless I thought it best to filch these few days on the terms I mentioned, and I take over the sovereignty again to remind mankind what life was like under me, when everything grew for them without sowing and without ploughing—not ears of wheat, but loaves ready-baked and meats ready-cooked. Wine flowed like a river, and there were springs of honey and milk; for everyone was good, pure gold. This is the reason for my short-lived dominion, and why everywhere there is clapping and singing and playing games, and everyone, slave and free man, is held as good as his neighbour. There was no slavery, you see, in my time.

PRIEST

Well, Cronus, I had assumed from the story that this humanity you showed to slaves and those in chains was to do honour to men whose sufferings had been like your own, since you yourself had been a slave and you were remembering your chains.

CRONUS

Oh, stop that silly talk.

PRIEST

You are right. I will stop. But answer me another question. Was it customary for men to gamble in your time?

2 πεδότριβας two late MSS.: παιδοτριβας other MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα, οὐ μὴν περὶ ταλάντων γε καὶ μυριάδων ἀσπερ ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ καρών το τέμεγιστον, ως μὴ ἀνδρῶς θητηθέντα μηδὲ δακρύειν ἂεὶ ἄσιτον ὄντα μόνον τῶν ἄλλων.

ἹΕΡΕΥΣ

Εὗ γε ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦντες. ὅπερ τίνος γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἐπέτευνον αὐτὸι διόχρυσοι ὄντες; ως ἐγγυε καὶ μεταξὺ λέγοντὸς σου τοιόνδε τι ἐνενόησα· εἰ τις ἐνα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων τῶν χρυσηλάτων ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερον τοῦτον βίον ἀγαγών ἔδειξε τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐα ἔπαθεν ἂν ὁ 1 ἄθλιος υπ' αὐτῶν; διεπάσαντο γὰρ ἄν αὐτὸν εἰ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπιδραμόντες ὕσπερ τὸν Πενθέα ἢι Μαυνάδες ἢι Θρᾶτται τὸν Ὀρφέα ἢ τὸν Ἡλκταίανα ἢι κύνες, περὶ τοῦ μεῖζον ἀπενέγκασθαι τὸ μέρος πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκαστὸς ἀμιλλῶμενοι, οἱ γε οὔδε ἐφταζόντες ἐξῳ τοῦ φιλοκερδοὺς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον οἱ πολλοὶ πεποίηνται τὴν ἑορτήν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν ἀπέρχονται ληστεύοντες ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ τοὺς φίλους, οἱ δὲ σοὶ τε λοιδοροῦνται, οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ τοὺς κύβους 2 συντρίβουσιν ἀναιτίους ὄντας αὐτοῖς ὧν ἐκόντες ποιοῦσιν. ἀτἀρ εἰπὲ μοι καὶ τόδε: τί δὴ ποτὲ ἀβρὸς ὦτω θεὸς ὃν καὶ γέρων ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸ ἀτερπέστατον, ὅποτε ἡ χιών ἔπεχε τὰ πάντα καὶ ὁ βορρᾶς πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐ πέπηγεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύου καὶ τὰ δένδρα ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ καὶ ἄφυλλα καὶ οἱ λευκῶνς ἀμορφοὶ καὶ ἀπυνθηκότες καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπικεκυφότες ὑσπερ οἱ πάνε γεγρακότες, ἀμφὶ τὴν κάμινον οἱ πολλοὶ, τηνικάντα 100
Certainly. But not for talents and thousands of drachmas as you do. No, nuts were the highest stake. Then there was no heart-break if a man was beaten, or floods of tears because he alone had lost the price of a meal.

How wise they were! What could their stakes be when they were pure gold themselves? But while you were talking I thought of something: suppose one of your men of beaten gold had been brought into our world for everyone to see, what a bad time the poor wretch would have had at people's hands! They would have certainly rushed at him and torn him limb from limb, as the Maenads tore Pentheus, the Thracians Orpheus, and the dogs Actaeon, vying with each other to carry off the biggest piece. Not even at festival-time are they free from greed for gain. Indeed most of them have made your festival a source of revenue. Some of them go off and rob their friends at the banquet; others revile you when they ought not and smash the dice, which are certainly not responsible for what they do of their own free will. But tell me this as well: why, when you are such a soft-living god and old at that, have you chosen the most unpleasant time of the year, when the snow covers everything, the North wind is strong, everything is frozen, trees are withered and bare and leafless, fields are ugly and without bloom, and men are bent like old, old men, most of them hard by the

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1 ο' add. Jacobitz. 2 κυβέρνους Γ.
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εορτάζεις; οὐ γὰρ πρεσβυτικός γε ὁ καιρὸς οὐδὲ ἐπιτήδειος τοῖς τρυφῶσι.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Πολλά μὲ ἀνακρίνεις, ὦ οὖτος, ἥδη πίνειν δέον. παρήρησαι γοῦν μου χρόνον τῆς ἐορτῆς οὐκ ὀλίγον οὐ πάνω ἀναγκαῖα μοι ταῦτα προσφιλοσοφῶν. ὥστε νῦν μὲν ἄφες αὐτά. εὐωχάμεθα δὲ ἥδη καὶ κροτῶμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἥδη ζώμεν, εἰτὰ πεπεύωμεν ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ καρύνων καὶ βασιλέας χειροτονῶμεν καὶ πεθαρχῶμεν αὐτοῖς. οὖτω γὰρ ἄν τὴν παροιμίαν ἐπαληθεύσαμι, ἡ φησι παλύμπαιδας τοὺς γέροντας γίγνεσθαι.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Ἀλλὰ μὴ δύνατο δυσῶν πιεῖν, ὦ Κρόνε, ὦτῷ μὴ ταῦτα αἱ λέγεις ἡδέα. ὥστε πίνωμεν. ἰκανὰ γὰρ ἀποκέρυσαι καὶ τὰ πρῶτα. καὶ μοι δοκῶ γραψάμενοι εἰς βιβλίον ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν συνουσίαν ἢ τε αὐτὸς ἡρώτησα καὶ σὺ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεως ἀπεκρίνω παρέξειν ἀναγνώσας τῶν φίλων, ὅσοι γ' ἐπακούσαι τῶν σῶν λόγων ἄξιοι.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣΟΛΩΝ

10 Καὶ λέγει Κρονοσόλων ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ νομοθέτης τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐορτήν.

Α μὲν τοὺς πένητας χρὴ ποιεῖν, αὐτοῖς ἔκεινος ἐπεμψά ἄλλο βιβλίον, ἐγγράψας, καὶ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐμμενοῦσι κάκεινοι τοῖς νόμοις, ἡ αὐτικά ἑνοχοὶ ἔσονται τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις, ἡ κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων μεγάλα ὄρισται.

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stove? The season is not good for the old or for lovers of easy living.

CRONUS

You are asking me a lot of questions, my man, when I ought to be already drinking. In fact you’ve robbed me of quite a bit of my festival with all these completely unnecessary speculations. So let them be for now and let us enjoy ourselves, clap hands, and live on freedom’s terms at this festival-time. Then let’s dice in the old way for nuts, vote for our kings and obey them. So I will prove the truth of the proverb which says that for old men there comes a second childhood.

PRIEST

Well, Cronus, never may anyone who doesn’t approve of what you say be able to get a drink when he is thirsty! Then let us drink! Your first answer was quite enough. I think I shall write down this conversation of ours in a book, both what I asked and what you so kindly answered, and I’ll give it to my friends to read, at any rate those who deserve to hear what you have said.

CRONOSOLON

Thus says Cronosolon,¹ priest and prophet of Cronus, and giver of laws for his festival.

What the poor must do I have written in another book and sent to them, and I am well assured that they will abide by the laws, or else they will at once be liable to the severe penalties appointed for disobedience.

¹ Named after Solon, lawgiver of Athens.
Γραμμέν δὲ, ὥς πλούσιοι, ὁρᾶτε πῶς μὴ παρα
νομήσητε μηδὲ παρακούσητε τῶν ὑπὸντων προσταγ-
μάτων. ὡς ὁστὶς ἂν οὕτω μὴ ποιήσῃ, ἵστω οὕτως
οὐκ ἐμοῦ νομοθέτου ἀμελήσων ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸν
Κρόνον αὐτὸν, οὐ με προείλετο νομοθετήσαι ἐσ
τὴν ἐορτὴν οὐκ ὄναρ ἐπιστάσαι, ἀλλὰ πρῶην ἐγγρηγο-
ροτε ἐναργῆς συγγενόμενος. ἦν δὲ οὐ πεδήτης
οὐδὲ αὐχμοῦ πλέως, οἴον αὐτὸν οἱ ζωγράφοι παρὰ
τῶν λήρων τῶν ποιητῶν παραδεξάμενοι ἐπιδείκνυ-
ται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἄρπην εἶχεν πάνω τεθηγμένην.
τὰ δ’ ἀλλὰ φαιδρός τε ἦν καὶ καρτέρος καὶ
βασιλικὸς ἐνεσκεύαστο. μορφὴν μὲν τοιόεις ὡφθη
μοι, ἀ δὲ εἶπε, πάνω θεσπέσια καὶ ταῦτα, προειρή-
σθαι ύμῖν ἀξια.

11 Ἡδὼν γὰρ μὲ σκυθρωπόν, ἐπὶ συννοίας βαδίζοντα,
ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἢν θεόν, ἐγνώ αὐτίκα τῆν αὐτίαν
tῆς ἐπίπεδος τις ἑστὶ μοι, καὶ ὦς τὴν πενιάν
δυσχεραῖνουμι οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὄραν μονοχίτων·
καὶ γὰρ κρύος καὶ βορρᾶς πολὺς καὶ κρύσταλλοι
καὶ χιών· ἐγὼ δὲ ἡκίστα ἐπεφράγμην πρὸς αὐτά·
ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς πάνω πλησιαζοῦσης
ἐώρων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παρασκευαζόμενους ὡς
θύσωσι καὶ εὐωχίσωσι, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ οὐ πάνω
ἐορτᾶσιμα ὄντα. καὶ δὴ προσελθὼν ὅπισθε καὶ
τοῦ ὑτός μου λαβόμενος καὶ διασείας, ὡσπερ
μοι προσπελάξειν 1 εἰσώθε, Τί ταῦτα, ἐφη, ὦ
Κρονοσόλων, ἀνωμένων ὑοικᾶς; Οὐ γὰρ ἀξιον,
ἐφην, ὦ δέσποτα, ἵναν καταράτους μὲν καὶ
μιαροὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερπλουτουῦτας καὶ μόνους
τρυφῶντας ὅρω, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν
πεπαιδευμένων ἀπορία καὶ ἁμηχανία σύνεσμεν;
ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ σύ, ὦ δέσποτα, θέλεις παύσαι ταῦτα καὶ
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But you who are rich, see that you do not transgress the law or hear these commands amiss. Whoever acts otherwise, let him know that it is not I, the lawgiver, whom he slightes, but he does injury to Cronus himself, who has appointed me lawgiver of his festival, appearing before me in no dream, but conversing with me in bodily shape the other day when I was fully awake. He was not in fetters, nor was he shabby, as the painters show him, following the ravings of the poets. No, he had his sickle full-whetted; he was all radiance and strength, and his garb was that of a king. Such was his appearance when he was seen by me. What he said equally showed his divinity and may be told you by way of preface.

Seeing me morose and walking deep in thought, he knew at once, as became a god, the reason for my grief, namely that I was cross because of my poverty, having but a single cloak, not enough for the season; for it was cold with a strong north-wind, ice and snow, and I had little defence against these things; and then since the festival was almost at hand, I saw other people getting ready their sacrifices and feasts, and I had little that makes for festival-time. Well, he came up from behind, took me by the ear, and shook me (his usual way of accosting me), and said: "Why are you looking so downhearted, Cronosolon?" "Haven't I every reason, master, when I see disgusting and filthy rogues unbelievably rich and alone leading a comfortable life, while I and many another educated man know poverty and despair as companions? But even you, master, won't put a stop to these things and make a more equitable

1 προσπελάζειν Guyet: προσεικάζειν MSS.
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μετακοσμήσαι πρὸς τὸ ἱσόμοιρον. Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ἐφη, οὐ ῥάδιον ἀλλάττευς ὁπόσα ἐκ Κλωθοῦς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μοιρῶν πάσχετε, ἃ δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς, ἐπανορθώσομαι ύμῖν τὴν πενίαν. ἢ δὲ ἐπανόρθωσις ἢδὲ ἐστώ. ίθι, ὁ Κρονοσόλων, καὶ γράψων μοι νόμους τινάς, ἃ χρή πράττειν εὖ τῇ ἐορτῇ, ὡς μὴ καθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πλοῦσιοι ἐορτάζοιεν, κοινωνοῦειν δὲ ύμῖν τῶν ἄγαθῶν. 'Αλλ' οὐκ οἶδα, ἐφην.

12 Ἐγώ, ἢ δ' ὄς, διδάξομαι σε· κάτα ἀρξάμενος ἐδίδασκεν. εἶτα ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἡπιστάμην. Καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτοῖς, ἐφη, ὅτι ἦν μὴ τοῦτο ποιώσι, μὴ 1 μάτην ἐγὼ τὴν ἀρπὴν ταύτην ὀξεῖαν περιφέρω, ἡ γελοῖος ἂν εἶχα τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἐκτομίαν πεποιηκὼς τὸν Οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ πλοῦσίους μὴ εὐνοχίζων, ὅποσοι ἂν παρανομήσωσιν, ὡς ἀγείροιεν τῇ μητρὶ σὺν αὐλοῖς καὶ τυμπάνοις βάκχηλοι γενόμενοι. ταῦτα ἥπειλησεν. ὡστε καλῶς ἔχει ύμῖν μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς θεσμοὺς.

1. NOMOI PRÔTOI

13 Μηδένα μηδὲν μήτε ἄγοραῖον μήτε ὕδιον πράττειν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐορτῆς ἢ ὁσα ἐς παιδιὰν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ θυμηδίαν· ἤψοποιοῦ μόνοι καὶ πεμματουργοὶ ἐνεργοὶ ἐστώσαιν.

'Ἰσοτιμία πᾶσιν ἐστὼ καὶ δούλοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις καὶ πένησι καὶ πλοῦσίοις.

'Οργίζεσθαι ἢ ἀγανακτεῖν ἢ ἄπειλεῖν μηδὲν ἐξέστω.

Λογισμοῦς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων Κρονίους λαμβάνειν μηδὲ τοῦτο ἐξέστω.

1 μὴ add. Solanus.

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arrangement.” “Generally speaking,” he said, “it’s not easy to change the lot that Clotho and the other Fates assign you, but as far as the needs of the festival go I shall set your poverty right. This is how I shall do it: go, Cronosolon, and write me laws on conduct during the festival, so that the rich may not keep private festival but share their good things with you.” “I do not know the laws,” I said. “I will instruct you,” said he, and he set to. Then, when I had learnt them all, he said, “And tell them that if they are disobedient it’s not for nothing that I carry this sharp sickle here—I should be a fool to have castrated my own father, Uranus, and yet not make eunuchs of the rich who break my laws, making them servants of the Great Mother ¹ and collectors for her, complete with flutes and cymbals.” That was his threat. So you had better not transgress his ordinances.

1. FIRST LAWS

No one is to do any business, public or private, during the festival, except what pertains to sport, luxurious living and entertainment: cooks and confectioners alone shall work.

Let every man be treated equal, slave and freeman, poor and rich.

No one may be ill-tempered or cross or threaten anybody.

No one may audit accounts during the festival of Cronus.

¹ Cybele.
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Μηδεὶς τὸν ἄργυρον ἢ τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐξεταζέτω μηδὲ ἀναγραφέτω ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ μηδὲ γυμναζέσθω κρονίους μηδὲ λόγους ἀσκεῖν ἢ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, πλὴν εἰ τινὲς ἀστείοι καὶ φαιδροὶ σκώμμα καὶ παιδιάν ἐμφαίνοντες.

2. NOMOI ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΙ

14 Πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἐορτῆς οἱ πλούσιοι γραφόντων μὲν- ἔσ πινάκιον ἐκάστου τῶν φίλων τούνομα, ἔχοντων δὲ καὶ ἄργυριον ἑτοιμὸν ὡς τῶν κατ' ἐτος προσιόντων τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἐσθήτα τῆς ὀψεως τὴν περιττὴν καὶ ὡς παχυτέρα ἢ κατ' αὐτοὺς κατασκευήν, καὶ τῶν ἄργυρῶν οὐκ ὅλγα. ταῦτα μὲν πρόχειρα ἔστω.

Τῇ δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἐορτῆς καθάρσιον μὲν τι περι- φερέσθω καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελαυνέσθω ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μικρολογία καὶ φιλαργυρία καὶ φιλοκερδία καὶ ὡς τοιαύτα ἄλλα σύνοικα τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν.

Ἔπειδὰν δὲ καθαρὰν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξεργάσωνται, θυόντων Διὸ πλουτοδότη καὶ Ἐρμῆ δῶτορι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μεγαλοδώρῳ.

Ἑτὰ περὶ δεύλην ὄψιν ἀναγνωσκέσθω μὲν 15 σφίσι τὸ φιλικὸν ἐκεῖνο πινάκιον. κατανείμαντες δὲ αὐτοὶ κατ' αξίαν ἐκάστῳ πρὶν ἥλιον δύνα τεμπόντων τοῖς φίλοις. οἱ δὲ ἀποκομίζοντες μὴ πλείους τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, οἱ πιστότατοι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἂν ἰδοὺ πρεσβύτατοι. ἐγγραφάσθω δὲ ἐς γραμ- μάτιον οὐ τὸ τὸ πεμπόμενον καὶ ὡς μὴ ἀμφότεροι ὑποπτεύοιες τοὺς διακομίζοντας. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ οἰκεῖαι μίαν κύλικα ἐκαστος πιόντες ἀποτρε- χόντων, ἀπαιτούντων δὲ μηδὲν πλέον. Τοῖς πεπα- 108
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No one may inspect or list his silver or clothing during the festival, nor take part in athletics, nor practise public-speaking, nor deliver lectures, except wits and jolly fellows purveying jokes and entertainment.

2. SECOND LAWS

Long before the festival the rich shall write on a tablet the name of each of their friends, and shall hold in readiness the cash value of a tenth of their yearly income, any surplus clothing they possess, furniture too crude for them, and a good proportion of their silver. They shall keep this ready at hand.

On the day before the festival a purificatory sacrifice shall be carried round, and they shall purge their houses of meanness, avarice, greed, and all such vices that dwell with most of them.

When they have purified the house, they shall sacrifice to Zeus the Giver of Wealth, Hermes the Bestower, and Apollo of the Great Gifts.

Then in the late afternoon, that list of friends shall be read to them. They shall divide the gifts according to each man’s worth, and before sunset send them to their friends. The bearers shall not exceed three or four, the most trustworthy of their servants, well advanced in years. The nature and quantity of what is sent shall be written on a slip, that neither party may suspect the bearers. Each servant shall drink one cup and then run off and make no more demands. To men of letters double quantities shall
Δευμένοις διπλάσια πάντα πεμπέσθω· άξιον γάρ διμοιρίτας εἶναι. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς δόρους λεγόμενα ὡς μετρώτατα καὶ ὀλίγιστα ἔστω. ἐπαχθὲς δὲ μηδείς μηδὲν συνεπιστελλέτω μηδὲ ἐπαινεῖτω τὰ πεμπόμενα.

Πλούσιος πλοῦσιω μηδὲν πεμπέτω μηδὲ ἐστιάτω Κρονίοις ὁ πλούσιος τὸν ἱσότημον. τῶν εἰς τὸ πεμβήναι προχειρισθέντων φυλασσέσθω μηδὲν μηδὲ μετάνοια εἰσίτω ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ.

Εἶ τις πέρυσιν ἀποδημῶν δι’ αὐτὸ ἀμοιρος κατέστη, ἀπολαμβανέτω κάκεινα.

Διαλυόντων δὲ οἱ πλοῦσιοι καὶ χρέα ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων τῶν πενήτων καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον, οὕτως ἂν καὶ τούτῳ ὀφείλοντες καταβαλέιν μὴ ἔχωσι. καὶ ὅλως, πρὸ πολλοῦ μελέτω αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι ὅτου μάλιστα δέονται.

16 'Απέστω δὲ καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων μεμιμοιρία, καὶ τὸ πεμβὴν ὁποῖον ἂν ἢ, μέγα δοκεῖτω. οὗν ἀμφοτέρους ἡ λαγὼς ἢ ὄρνις παχεῖα Κρονίων δῷρον μὴ δοκεῖτω, μηδὲ τάς Κρονικάς δωρεὰς εἰς γέλωτα φερέτωσαν.

'Αντιπεμπέτω δὲ ὁ πένης τῷ πλοῦσιῳ ὁ μὲν πεπαιδευμένος βιβλίων τῶν παλαιῶν, εἰ τί εὐφήμον καὶ συμποτικὸν, ἡ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα ὁποῖον ἂν δύνηται, καὶ τούτῳ λαμβανέτω ὁ πλούσιος πάνυ φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ λαβῶν ἀναγινωσκέτω εὖθύς. Ἡν δὲ ἀπωθηται ἡ ἀπορρίψῃ, ἵστω τῇ τῆς ἀρτικ φαίη ἐνοχος ὁν, κἂν πέμψῃ ὡς ἔχρην. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν στεφάνους, οἱ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ χόνδρους πεμπόντων.

'Ἡν δὲ πένης ἐσθῆτα ἡ ἀργυρον ἡ χρυσὸν παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν πέμψῃ πλοῦσιῷ, τὸ μὲν πεμφθὲν ἔστω
be sent; they deserve a double share. The messages with the gifts shall be as modest and brief as possible. No one shall send an odious message with them, or cry up what is sent.

Rich man shall not send to rich man or at Cronus's festival entertain anyone of equal standing. He shall keep nothing of what is already prepared for sending, nor change his mind about a gift.

Anyone who the year before missed his share through absence shall be given it now as an extra gift.

The rich shall pay debts for their impecunious friends (including their rent if they owe this too and cannot pay). In general they shall make it their business to know long beforehand what is their greatest need.

Those who receive shall not complain, but think the gift, whatever it is, generous. A jar of wine, a hare, or a plump bird shall not be reckoned a gift for Cronus's festival, nor shall Cronian gifts be laughed at.

In return the poor scholar shall send the rich man any pleasant, convivial, old book he may have, or a work of his own, the best he can. The rich man shall receive this gift with a glad countenance and then read it at once. If he rejects it or throws it away, he shall know that he is liable to what the sickle threatens, even if what he sends is adequate. The other poor recipients shall send garlands of flowers or grains of frankincense.

If a poor man sends clothing or silver or gold beyond his means to a rich man, his gift shall be de-
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dημόσιον καὶ καταπραθεὶν ἐμβαλλέσθω εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ Κρόνου, ὡς δὲ πένης ἐς τὴν ύστεραίαν πληγάς παρὰ τοῦ πλουσίου λαμβανότω τῷ νάρθηκι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐλάττους διακοσίων καὶ πεντῆ-κοντα.

3. NOMOI ΣΥΜΠΟΤΙΚΟΙ

17 Λουέσθαι μὲν ὅποταν τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐξάπουν ἢ, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ κάρνα καὶ πεσοὶ ἐστωσαν. Κατακείσθω ὅπου ἂν τὺχῃ ἐκαστος. ἄξιωμα ἢ γένος ἢ πλοῦτος ὃλιγον συντελεῖτω ἐς προ-νομίν.

Οἶνου τοῦ αὐτοῦ πίνειν ἀπαντασ, μηδ' ἐστω πρόφασις τῷ πλουσίῳ ἢ στομάχοι ἢ κεφαλῆς ὀδύνη, ὃς μόνον δι' αὐτὴν πίνειν τοῦ κρείττονος. Μοῖρα κρεῶν κατ' ἱσον ἀπασιω. οἱ διάκονοι πρὸς χάριν μηδὲν μηδὲν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ βραδυνέτωσαν μηδὲ παραπεμπέσθωσαν ἐστ' ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, ὅπόσα χρῆ ἀποφέρειν. μηδὲ τῷ μὲν μεγάλα, τῷ δὲ κομίδη μικρά παρατιθέσθω, μηδὲ τῷ μὲν ὁ μηρός, τῷ δὲ ἡ γνάθος συνός, ἀλλ' ἱσότης ἐπὶ πάσιν.

18 Ὁ οἶνοχόος ἰξὺ δεδορκέτω ἐκ περιωπῆς ἐς ἐκαστον, καὶ ἐλαττὸν ἐς τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ἐπ' ἰξύτερον ἀκονέτω, καὶ κύλικες παντοῖαι. καὶ ἐξέστῳ παρέχειν, ἢν τις ἑθέλῃ, φιλοτησίαν. πάντες πάσι προπινέτωσαν, ἢν ἑθέλωσι, προπινόντος τοῦ πλουσίου. μὴ ἐπάναγκες ἐστοι πίνειν, ἢν τις μὴ δύνηται.

'Ες τὸ συμπόσιον μήτε ὀρχηστὴν μήτε κυθαρισ-

1 kατ’ Schaefer: καὶ Π: om. N.
clared public property and sold, the money going into the treasury of Cronus; and the poor man on the next day shall receive from the rich man strokes on his hands with a cane to the number of not less than two hundred and fifty.

3. LAWS FOR BANQUETS

The time for bathing shall be when the shadow of the sundial is six feet long; before the bath there shall be nuts and gaming.

Each man shall take the couch where he happens to be. Rank, family, or wealth shall have little influence on privilege.

All shall drink the same wine, and neither stomach trouble nor headache shall give the rich man an excuse for being the only one to drink the better quality.

All shall have their meat on equal terms. The waiters shall not show favour to anyone, but shall neither be too slow nor be dismissed until the guests choose what they are to take home. Neither are large portions to be placed before one and tiny ones before another, nor a ham for one and a pig's jaw for another—all must be treated equally.

The man who pours the wine shall keep a sharp eye on each guest from a vantage-point; he shall pay less attention to his master, and his ears shall be sharper than usual. The cups shall be of all kinds. It shall be permissible to pass a loving-cup, if desired. Everyone shall drink to everyone else, if desired, when the rich man has set the example. No one shall be made to drink if he cannot.

It shall not be permissible for anyone who wishes it
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t'hn aútoús āgein ārτι μανθάνοντα ἡν τις ἑθήλη.
Σκώμματος μέτρον ἔστω τὸ ἄλυπον ἐπὶ πάσιν.
Πεττευτώσαν ἐπὶ καρὺων. ἡν τις ἐτ' ἀργυρή λειψάνη, ἄσιτος ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἔστω.
Καὶ μενέτω καὶ ἀπίτω ἐκαστος, ὅποταν βουληταί.
Ἐπάν δὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὁ πλούσιος εὐσεβής, διακονοῦντο καὶ οἱ φίλοι σὺν αὐτῷ.
Τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐκαστον τῶν πλούσιων ἐγγράβαντα ἐς χαλκήν στήλην ἔχειν ἐν μεσαίατῳ τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ ἀναγινωσκέτω.
δεὶ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἔστ' ἄν αὐτῇ ἡ στήλη μένῃ, οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε λοιμὸς οὔτε πυρκαία οὔτε ἀλλο χαλεπὸν οὔδεν εἰσείσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦς. ἡν δὲ ποτὲ—ἀπερ μὴ γένοιτο—καθαρεθῆ, ἀποτρόπαιον οία πείσονται.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΚΡΟΝΙΚΑΙ

1. ΕΓΩ ΚΡΟΝΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

19 Ἐγεγράφειν μὲν ἦδη σοι καὶ πρότερον δηλῶν ἐν οἷς εἰην καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ πενίας κινδυνεύομεν μόνος ἀμοιρὸς εἶναι τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἡν ἐπήγγελκας, ἐτὶ καὶ τοῦτο προσθείς—μέμνημαι γάρ—ἀλογώτατον εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἡμῶν ὑπερπλουτεῖν καὶ τρυφάν οὐ κοινωνοῦντας ὧν ἐχουσι τοῖς πενεστέροις, τοὺς δὲ λιμῶ διαφθείρεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα Κρονίων ἐνεστώτων.
ἐτεί δὲ μοι τὸτε οὔδεν ἀντεστείλας, ἡγησάμην δὲν αὕτθ ἀναμνήσαί σε τῶν αὐτῶν. ἐχρήν γάρ
σε, ὧ ἄριστος Κρόνε, τὸ ἄνισον τοῦτο ἀφελόντα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀπατεὶ καταθέντα ἐπειτα

1 L. A. Post proposes ἀλλ' ἀρτι μανθάνοντα.
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to introduce into the banquet a dancer or lyre-player who is still learning.
Jesting shall be limited in all cases to what is inoffensive.
All gambling shall be for nuts. If anyone gambles for money he shall go without food for the next day.
Each guest shall stay and go as he likes.
When a rich man gives a banquet to his servants, his friends shall aid him in waiting on them.
Every rich man shall inscribe these laws on a slab of bronze and keep it in the centre of his hall, and read them. And it must be realised that as long as this slab shall last neither famine nor plague nor fire nor any other harm shall come to their house. May it never be taken down! For if it is, Heaven avert what is in store for them!

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CRONUS

1. MYSELF TO CRONUS—GREETINGS!

I wrote to you earlier telling you what my position was and how my poverty made it likely that I alone should have no share in the festival which you proclaimed, adding this, I remember, that it was most unreasonable for some of us to have too much wealth and live in luxury and not share what they have with those who are poorer than they while others are dying of hunger, and that too when the festival of Cronus is near. Since you sent no reply then, I have thought it necessary to remind you of it again. You ought, my dear Cronus, to have abolished this inequality, made the good things accessible to everyone, and
κελεύειν ἐορτάζειν. ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχομεν, μῦρμηξ ἢ κάμηλος, ὡς ἡ παρομία φησί. μᾶλλον δὲ τραγικὸν ὑποκριτὴν ἐννόησον θατέρῳ μὲν τοῖς ποδοῖς ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ βεβηκότα, οἶδα εἰσὶ τραγικὸν ἐμβάται, δ' ἔτερος ἀνυπόδητος ἔστω. εἰ τούνιν βαδίζου οὖτως ἔχων, ὃ ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ ἀρτὶ μὲν ψηλῷ, ἀρτὶ δὲ ταπευω ἑγενέσθαι, καθ' ὅποτερον ἢν πόδα προβαίην. τοσοῦτον καὶ τῷ βίῳ ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνισον· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑποδησάμενοι ἐμβάτας τῆς τύχης χορηγούσης ἐντραγῳδοῦσιν ἡμῖν, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ πεζῇ καὶ χαμαί βαδίζομεν δυνάμενοι ἢν, εἰ δ' ἰσθι, μὴ χεῖρον αὐτῶν ὑποκρίνεσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν, εἰ τις καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνεσκεύασε παραπλησίως ἐκεῖνοι.

20 Καίτοι ἄκοιν τῶν ποιητῶν λεγόντων ὡς τὸ παλαιὸν οὐ τοιώθη ἤν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πράγματα σοῦ ἐτὶ μοναρχοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν γ' ἀστρός καὶ ἀνήρτως ἐφεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀγαθά, δεῖπνον ἐτοιμον ἐκάστῳ ἢς κόρον, ποταμοὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν οἶνον, οἱ δὲ γάλα, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ μελὰ ἐρρεον. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους φασὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χρυσοὺς εἶναι, πενίαν δὲ μὴδὲ τὸ παράπαν αὐτοῖς πλησιάζειν. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὔδὲ μόλυβδος ἢν εἰκότως δοκοῦμεν, ἀλλ' εἰ τι καὶ τούτου ἄτιμότερον, ἡ τροφὴ δὲ μετὰ πόνων τοῖς πλείστοις, ἡ πενία δὲ καὶ ἀπορία καὶ ἀμηχανία καὶ τὸ οίμοι καὶ τὸ πόθεν ἢν μοι γένοιτο καὶ ὃς τῆς τύχης πολλὰ τοιώθα παρὰ γούν ἡμῶν τοῖς πένησι.

Καὶ ἢττον ἂν, εἰ ἴσθι, ἦνιωμεθα ἢν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ τοὺς πλούσιους ἐωρῶμεν τοσαύτῃ εὐδαμονίᾳ συνόντας, οἱ τοσοῦτον μὲν χρυσόν, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀργυρὸν ἐγκλεισάμενοι, ἐσθήτας δὲ ὅσας ἐγοντες, ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ ζεύγη καὶ συνοικίας καὶ ἀγροὺς,
then bid the festival begin. As we now are it is a case of "ant or camel", as the saying has it.¹ Better still, imagine a tragic actor with one foot on something high, like a tragic buskin, and let the other be unshod. Now if anyone were to walk like this you can see he would have to be up in the air at one moment and down again at the next according to whichever foot he is putting forward. Inequality in human life is the same: some put on the buskins which our producer Luck supplies and strut the human stage, but the rank and file of us go unshod on the earth below, though we could play a part and stride the boards no worse than they, you may be sure, if anyone had decked us out like them.

Indeed I hear the poets saying that things were not like that in old times when you were still lord. No, the earth produced its good things for the folk without sowing and without ploughing, an ample meal ready to each man's hand; the rivers flowed some with wine, some with milk, and others again with honey. And, above all, they say the men themselves were gold and poverty was nowhere near. As for us, we could not even be thought of as lead, but something meaner, if such there be; and for most of us food is won with toil; and poverty, want, and helplessness, and "alas!", and "how can I get it?", and "oh, what bad luck!" and such exclamations are plentiful, at least among us poor.

We should be less distressed about it, you may be sure, if we did not see the rich living in such bliss, who, though they have such gold, such silver in their safes, though they have all that clothing and own slaves and carriage-horses and tenements and farms,

¹ i.e. there are only the very rich or the very poor.
πάμπολλα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκαστα κεκτημένοι οὕχ ὅπως μετέδοσαν ἡμῖν ποτε αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὗδὲ προσβλέπειν
21 τοὺς πολλοὺς αξιοῦσι. ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μάλιστα ἀπο-
πνίγει, ὦ Κρόνε, καὶ αφόρητον ἡγούμεθα τὸ πράγμα,
tὸν μὲν ἐφ' ἀλυργίδων κατακείμενον τοσοῦτοι ἀγαθοὶς ἐντρυφάν ἐρυγγάνοντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνόν-
tων εὐδαμονιζόμενον ἂεὶ ἐορτάζοντα, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ
toulos ὁμοίους ὅνειροπολεῖν, εἰ ποθεν ὀβολοὶ τέσσαρες
gένοντο, ὡς ἔχομεν ἄρτων γοῦν ἢ ἄλφιτων ἐμπεπλησμένοι καθεύδειν κάρδαμον ἡ θύμων ἡ
κρόμμυν ἐπιτρωγοντες. ἡ τούν ταῦτα, ὦ Κρόνε,
ἀλλάττειν καὶ μεταποιεῖν ἐς τὸ ἱσοδιάτου, ἡ τὸ
ὕστατον, αὐτούς γε ἐκείνους κελεύει τοὺς πλου-
τίους μὴ μόνον ἀπολαύει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ
μεδίμνων τοσοῦτων χρυσίου χοίνικά γε ἡμῶν
πάντων κατασκεδάσαι, ἀπὸ δὲ ἵματίων ὁσα κἂν
ὑπὸ σητῶν διαβρωθέντα οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀνιάσειε.
tαῦτα γοῦν πάντως ἀπολλύμενα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
χρόνου διαφθαρησόμενα ἡμῖν δοῦναι περιβαλέσθαι
μᾶλλον ἡ ἐν ταῖς κοίταις καὶ κίσταις εὐρώτι
πολλῷ κατασκήνων.
22 Καὶ μὴν καὶ δειπνίζειν ἐκαστον ἄρτι μὲν
tέσσαρας, ἄρτι δὲ πέντε τῶν πενήτων παραλαμβά-
nοντας, μὴ μέντοι ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον τῶν δεῖπνων,
ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ δημοτικότερον, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑσθήνη ἐμέχεων
ἀπαντας καὶ μὴ τὸν μὲν ἐμφορεύσας τῶν ὦμων
cαὶ τὸν οἰκέτην περιμένεις ἐστώντα, ἐστ' ἂν
ἀπαγορεύσῃ ἑσθίων, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐλθόντα, ἐτὶ
παρασκευαζομένων ὡς ἐπιβάλουμεν τὴν χεῖρα,
παραμείβεσθαι δείξαντα μόνον τὴν λοπάδα ἡ
 ödeν ἐστὶ τοῦ πλακοῦντος τὸ λοιπὸν. μηδὲ
ἐσκομισθέντος υὸς διανέμοντα τῶ μὲν δεσπότῃ
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each and all in large numbers, not only have never shared them with us, but never deign even to notice ordinary people. This is what sticks in our throats most of all, Cronus, and we think it an intolerable thing for such a man to lie in his purple clothes and gorge himself on all these good things, belching, receiving his guest's congratulations, and feasting without a break, while I and my sort dream where we can get four obols to be able to sleep after a fill of bread or barley, with cress or thyme or onion as a relish. So either, Cronus, change the situation and give us instead of our present lot an equal share in life, or, at the very least, bid these rich men stop their solitary enjoyment of the good things and out of all their bushels of gold throw down a measure for us all, and out of their clothing give us what would be no loss to them even if it were eaten by moths—it will be completely destroyed and ruined by time in any case—, and tell them to give it us to wear before letting it rot in their boxes and chests with mould everywhere.

Tell them, moreover, to invite the poor to dinner, taking in four or five at a time, not as they do nowadays though, but in a more democratic fashion, all having an equal share, not one man stuffing himself with dainties with the servant standing waiting for him to eat himself to exhaustion, then when this servant comes to us he passes on while we are still getting ready to put out our hand, only letting us glimpse the platter or the remnants of the cake. And tell him not to give a whole half of the pig when it's brought in, and
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Paratidéna to ἡμίτομον ὄλον σὺν τῇ κεφαλῇ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ὀστὰ φέρειν ἐγκεκαλυμμένα. προειπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰνοχόοις μὴ περιμένειν, ἐστ' ἀν ἐπτάκις αὐτής πιεῖν ἡμῶν ἐκαστος, ἀλλὰ ἦν ἀπαξ κελεύῃ, αὐτίκα ἐγχέαι καὶ ἀναδοῦναι μεγάλην κύλικα ἐμπλησμένους ὦστε τῷ δεσπότῃ. καὶ τὸν οἶνον δὲ αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς συμπόταις. ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι—ἡ ποῦ γὰρ γεγράφθαι τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, τὸν μὲν ἀνθοσμίου μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γλεύκους διαρρήγνυσθαι τὴν γαστέρα;

23 Ἡν ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσης καὶ μετακοσμήσης, ὁ Κρόνε, βίων μὲν τὸν βίον, ἐορτὴν δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐσθι πεποιηκὼς, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐορταζόντων, ἡμεῖς δὲ καθεδούμεθα εὐχόμενοι, ἐπειδὰν λουσάμενοι ἦκωσι, τὸν παῦδα μὲν αὐτὸις ἀνατρέψαντα τὸν ἀμφορέα καταξαί, τὸν μάγειρον δὲ τὸν ζωμὸν κησώσαι καὶ ἐπιλαθόμενον τὸ τάριχος μὲν ἐς τὴν φακὴν 1 ἐμβαιν. 2 τὴν κύνα δὲ παρεισπεσοῦσαν τὸν τε ἄλλαντα ὀλον καταφαγεῖν, περὶ ταλλα τῶν οἴσοποιών ἐχόντων, καὶ τοῦ πλακοῦντος τὸ ἡμοῦ τὸν δὲ ὑν καὶ τὸν ἔλαφον καὶ τὰ δελφάκια μεταξὺ ὁπτώμενα τὸ ὁμοιον ποιεῖν, ὅπερ Ὅμηρος περὶ τῶν 'Ηλίου βοῶν φησὶ—μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἐρπεῖν μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀναπτηδήσαντα φεύγειν εἰς τὸ ὀρος αὐτοὶς ὀβελοῖς· καὶ τὰς ὅρνεις δὲ τὰς παχείας, καὶ τοῖς ἀπεροῦς ἡδη οὐσας καὶ ἐσκευασμένας, ἀναπτημένας οἴχεσθαι καὶ ταύτας, ὡς μὴ μόνοι ἀπολαῦσουεν αὐτῶν.

1 φακὴν one late MS. : κεφαλὴν other MSS.

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the head as well, to his master, bringing the others bones covered over. And tell the wine-servers not to wait for each of us to ask seven times for a drink but on one request to pour it out and hand it to us at once, filling a great cup as they do for their master. And let the wine be one and the same for all the guests—where is it laid down that he should get drunk on wine with a fine bouquet while I must burst my belly on new stuff?

If you correct and adjust this, Cronus, you will have made living really living and your festival a real festival. If not, let them have their festival, and we shall sit on our haunches praying that when they have come from the bath the boy will turn up the wine-jar and break it over them, that the cook will burn the soup and in a fit of absent-mindedness put the fish in the pudding, and that the dog will rush in and eat up all the sausage, while the scullions are busy with the other preparations, and half the cake as well; that while the pork and the venison and the sucking-pigs are being cooked they may do what Homer says Helius's cattle did—1—or rather not only just crawl, but jump up and rush to the mountain, spits and all; and that their plump birds, although already plucked and prepared for serving, should take wing and go off likewise, so that they may not enjoy them by themselves.

1 Homer, Od. xii, 395.
24 Ὅ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀνιᾶσει, τὸ μὲν χρυσὸν μύριμκάς τινας οἶδος τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς ἀνορύττοντας ἐκ τῶν θεσαυρῶν ἐκφέρειν νῦκτωρ ἐστὶν ὁ δήμοσιον· τὴν ἐσθητὰ δὲ ὀλυγωρία τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν κοσκινυδόν διατετρήθησαί ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων μυῶν, ὅς σαγηνῆς θυναυτικὴς μηδὲν διαφέρειν· παίδας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ὧραίους καὶ κομήτας, οὕς Ὑπακύπθοις ἡ Ἀχιλλέας ἡ Ναρκίσσος ὁ νομολάζουσι, μεταξὺ ὁρέγοντας σφύσι τὸ ἐκπώμα φαλακροῦς γίγνεσθαι ὑπορρεούσης τῆς κόμης καὶ πάγωνα φύειν ὦξιν, οἰοὶ εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς κωμω-δίαις οἱ σφηνοπώγωνες, καὶ τὸ 1 παρὰ τοὺς κροτά-φοις πάνυ λάσιοι καὶ κάρτα ἐκκεντοῦν, τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ λεῖον καὶ γυμνὸν εἶναι. ταῦτα καὶ πλεῖω τούτων εὐξαίμηθ᾽ ἃν, εἰ μὴ θέλωσι τὸ ἀγαν φιλαυτον τοῦτ᾽ ἀφέντες ἐστὶν κοινὸν πλούτειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι ἦμιν τῶν μετρίων.

2. ΚΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΤΩΙ ΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

25 Τί ταῦτα ληρεῖς, ὦ οὖτος, ἐμοὶ περὶ τῶν παρόν-των ἐπιστέλλων καὶ ἀναδασμὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιεῖν κελεύων; τὸ δὲ ἐτέρου ἂν εἴη, τοῦ νῦν ἄρχοντος. θαυμάζω γὰρ εἰ μόνος τῶν ἀπάντων ἀγνώσσεις ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν πάλαι βασιλεὺς ὄν πέπαυμαι τοῖς παισὶ διανείμας τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖται. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ταῦτα μέχρι πεττῶν καὶ κρῶτου καὶ ὠδῆς καὶ μέθης, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ πλέον ἦμερῶν ἐπτά. ὡστε περὶ τῶν μειζόνων ἀ φής—ἀφελεῖν τὸ ἀνισον καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοίας ἦ

1 τὸ add. Schmieder.
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This in particular will cause them trouble: we shall pray for their gold to be dug up from its hiding-places by ants like those of India and carried off by night to the public treasury; and that their clothing through neglect of those in charge should be riddled like a sieve by those fine creatures the mice, to be just like a tunny net; and that their pretty, long-haired pages whom they call Hyacinth or Achilles or Narcissus, just as they are handing them the cup should go bald and have their hair fall out and sprout a pointed beard, like the wedge-shaped beards in the comedy, and have the part around their temples become very hairy and exceedingly prickly, and the area between them smooth and bare. All this and more we shall pray for if they will not give up their excessive selfishness and keep their wealth for everybody's good and give us a moderate share.

2. CRONUS TO HIS VERY DEAR ME—
GREETINGS!

Why do you talk this nonsense, my man, sending me letters about the way things are and telling me to make a redistribution of property? That task would belong to someone else, your present ruler. I'm surprised that you are the only one who doesn't know that I stopped being king a long time ago when I apportioned my sovereignty to my sons, and that such things are Zeus's special concern. This rule of mine doesn't go beyond dicing, hand-clapping, singing, and getting drunk, and then it's for no longer than seven days. So, as to the more important matters you mention—removing inequality and
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πένεσθαι ἡ πλουτεῖν ἀπαντας—ὁ Ζεὺς ἂν χρηματίσειν ύμῖν.

Εἰ δὲ τί τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐορτής ἀδικοῖτο τις ἡ πλεονεκτότο, ἐμὸν ἂν εἰη δικᾶζειν. καὶ ἐπιστέλλω δὲ τοῖς πλουσίοις περὶ τῶν δείπνων καὶ τοῦ χοίνικος τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ τῶν ἐσθήτων, ὡς καὶ ύμῖν πέμποιεν ἐς τὴν ἐορτήν. δίκαια γὰρ ταύτα καὶ ἥξια αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, ὡς φατέ, εἰ μὴ τί εὐλογον 26 ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ταύτα λέγειν ἔχουσιν. τὸ δὲ ὅλον, ἵστε οἱ πέντες ὑμεῖς ἐξηπατημένοι καὶ ὑμῖν ὅρθως δοξάζοντες περὶ τῶν πλουσίων, οἱ γε πανευδαιμόνια αὐτούς οἴεσθε εἰναι καὶ μόνους ἥδιν τινα βιοῦ τὸν βίον, ὅτι δειπνεῖν τε πολυτελῶς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι οἴνου ἤδεος καὶ παισίν ὕραιος καὶ γυναιξίν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ ἐσθήσι μαλακάις χρήσοντα.

τὸ δὲ πάνυ ἀγνοεῖτε ὁποῖον ἐστὶν. αἱ τε γὰρ φροντίδες αἱ περὶ τούτων οὐ μικρὰί, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη ἐπαγρυπνεῖν ἐκάστοις, μή τι οἱ οἰκονόμοις βλακεύσας ἡ ὑφελόμενος λάθη, μὴ ὁ οἶνος ὄξυνθη, μὴ ὁ σῖτος φθειρὶ ἔση, ἡ ἡ ληστή ὑφέληται τὰ ἐκπώματα, μὴ πιστεῦσθαι τοῖς συκοφάνταις ὁ δῆμος λέγουσι τυραννεῖν αὐτὸν ἐθέλειν. ταύτα δὲ πάντα οὐδὲ τὸ πολλοστὸν ἂν εἰη μέρος τῶν ἀνιῶτων αὐτοὺς. εἰ γοῦν ἡπίστασθε τοὺς φόβους καὶ τὰς μερίμνας ἃς ἔχουσι, πάνυ ἂν ύμῖν φευκτέον ὁ πλοῦτος 27 ἐδοξεῖν. ἐπεί τοι οἶει με αὐτὸν οὕτως ἂν ποτε κορυβαντίσασα, ως εἰ καλὸν ἢν τὸ πλούτειν καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἀφέντα ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ παραχωρήσαντα ἄλλοις καθήσαθαί ἰδιωτέοντα καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἄλλω ταττόμενον; ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ ταύτα εἰδὼς, ἀ τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ ἄρχουσι προσεῖναι ἀνάγκη, ἀφήκα τὴν ἄρχην εὗ ποιῶν.
all being poor or rich together—Zeus might deal with you.

But any injustice or selfishness in the festival it would be for me to judge. In fact I am sending to the rich about the dinners and the measure of gold and the clothing, telling them to send you some for the festival. It is just and proper for them to do this, as you say, unless they can bring some reasonable argument against it. But in general you must realise that you poor people have been deceived and have a false view of the rich. You think that they are completely happy and they alone live a life that's pleasant, because they can have expensive dinners, get drunk on sweet wine, mix with pretty boys and women, and wear soft clothing. You have no idea what the truth of it is. In the first place these things bring no little worry: they are compelled to keep a watchful eye on every detail so that the steward doesn't get away with any carelessness or theft, that the wine doesn't go sour, that the corn isn't swarming with weevils, that a burglar doesn't steal the drinking-cups, or the people believe the rabble-rousers when they say the rich man wants to be a tyrant. All these things, moreover, would not make up the tiniest fraction of their troubles. If you had only known the fears and worries they have, you would have thought wealth something to be avoided at all costs. Do you really think that if wealth and kingship were a fine thing I should have been mad enough to let them go and hand them over to others, to sit quietly in private life and put up with orders from another? No, I knew about all this host of troubles which rich men and rulers have to endure, and I gave up my empire, and a good thing too.
28 Καὶ γὰρ ἂ ν ἐ ποτινῶ ἐ πρός με, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ὑῶν καὶ πλακοῦντων ἐ μφορουμένους 1 ἐν τῇ ἑ ρτῇ, σκέψαι ὡποῖά ἐ στὶ. ἐ πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρόν ἡ ὅ ὐ καὶ οὐκ ἀ ναρων ἵ σως ἐ κάτερον αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ 2 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐ μπαλιν ἀ ναστρέφεται τὸ πράγμα. ἐίτα ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐτε καρηβαροῦντες ἀ νασταίητ' ἂν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὁσπερ ἐ κεῖνῳ ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης οὐτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἀ γαν πλησμονῆς δυσώδες τι καὶ καπνωδέςτερον ἐ ρυγγάνοντες. οἱ δὲ τούτων τε ἀ πολανύουσι καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἡ παιὼν ἡ γυναῖξιν ἡ ὅπως ἂν ὁ τράγος κελεύῃ συναναφυρέντες ἡ φλόγη ἡ περιπνευμονίαν ἡ ὑδερον οὐ χαλεπῶς συνελέξαντο ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τρυφῆς. ἡ τίνα ἂν αὐτῶν ῥάδιως δεῖξαι δύναι μὴ πάντως ὡ χρὸν ὄντα πολὺ τὸ νεκρῶδες ἐμφαίουντα; τίνα δὲ ἐς γῆρας ἀ φικόμενον τοῖς αὐτοῦ ποσῖν, ἀλλα μὴ φοράδην ἐπὶ τεττάρων ὀχούμενον, ὀλόχρυσον μὲν τὰ ἔξω, κατάρραφον δὲ τὰ ἑ νδον, ὁσπερ αἱ τραγικαὶ ἐσθήτες ἐκ ῥάκων πάνυ ἐ υτελῶν συγκεκατυμέναι; 3 υμεῖς δὲ ἱξθύων μὲν ἄγευστοι καὶ ἀστεῖοι, ποδάγρας δὲ ἡ περιπνευμονίας οὐχ ὀράθ' ὅτι καὶ τούτων ἀπειρόν ἐστε, ἡ εἰ τι κατ' ἀλλήν τινὰ αἰτίαν συμβαίνει; καὶ τοῦ ὀυδ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι ἡ ὅδυ 4 ἐ στίν αὐτό καθ' ἡ μέραν καὶ πέρα τοῦ κόρου ἐσθίειν τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἠδοίς ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐ τω λαχάνων καὶ θύμου ὀρεγομένους ἐ νίοτε, ὁσπερ οὐδὲ σὺ τῶν λαγών καὶ ὑῶν.

29 Ἐκῷ λέγειν ὁσα ἀλλὰ λυπεῖ αὐτοὺς—ὑδὲ ἀκόλαστος ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ οἰκέτου ἐ ρώσα ἡ ἐρῶμενος πρὸς ἀνάγκην μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς ἡδονῆν συνών. καὶ ὅλως

1 After ἐμφορουμένουs Aldinus has ὕμας δὲ κάρδαμον ἡ θύμον ἡ κρόμμου ἐπιτρώγοντας ἐν τῇ ἑ ρτῇ.
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Take the noisy complaints you made to me just now, that they gorged on pork and cakes in the feasting—what do they amount to? Both of them are perhaps sweet and not disagreeable for the moment, but in the aftermath the matter is turned right round. Then, whereas you will get up on the next day without the headache their drinking gives them and the foul, smoky belching from over-fullness, they not only have the pleasure of all this but having spent most of the night in debauchery with boys or women or in any way their lechery takes them, without difficulty they pick up consumption or pneumonia or dropsy from their excessive indulgence. Again, would you find it easy to point out one of them who was not absolutely pale, looking very much like death? Or one who reached old age on his own feet and not carried on four men’s backs, all gold on the outside, but with his inside cobbled like the costumes in tragedy, patched up out of quite worthless rags? You paupers never taste or feed on fish, true enough, but don’t you see that you’ve no acquaintance with gout or pneumonia either, or of anything else that they catch for some other reason? Yet even they themselves don’t find it pleasant eating this food every day beyond what they want of these dishes; no, you’ll see them sometimes with a better appetite for vegetables and thyme than even you have for hare and pork.

I say nothing of the other things that worry them—a licentious son, a wife in love with a servant, a loved one who yields because he has to and not because he

2 πρὸς δὲ τὰ Halm: ὡς δὲ MSS.
3 συγκεκατημέναι Solanus: συγκεκομμέναι MSS.
4 ἠδύ Guyet: ἐτὶ MSS.
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πολλά ἐστιν ἀπερ ὑμεῖς ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν χρυσὸν ὀρᾶτε αὐτῶν μόνον καὶ τὴν πορφύραν, καὶ ἣν ἵδητε ποτὲ ἐξελαύνοντας ἐπὶ λευκοῦ ἔξυγους, κεχήνατε καὶ προσκυνείτε, εἰ δὲ ὑπερεωρᾶτε αὐτῶν καὶ κατεφρονείτε καὶ μήτε ἐπεστρέφεσθε πρὸς τὴν ἀργυρὰν ἀρμάμαξαν μήτε μεταξὺ διαλεγομένων εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ δακτυλίῳ σμάραγδον ἀφεωρᾶτε καὶ τῶν ἔματίων παραπτόμενοι τὸ μαλακὸν ἑθαυμάζετε, ἀλλ’ εἰάτε καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς πλούτεῖν, εἰ ἵστε, αὐτοὶ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἱόντες ἐδέοντο συνδειπνείν, ὡς ἐπιδειξαντο ὑμῖν τὰς κλῖνας καὶ τὰς τραπέζις καὶ τὰ ἐκπώματα, ὥν οὐδὲν ὀϕέλος, εἰ ἀμάρτυρος

30 ἡ κτήσις εὐη. τά γέ τοι πλείστα εὑροῖτε ἃν αὐτοὺς ὑμῶν ἐνεκα κτωμένους, οὐχ ὁπως αὐτοὶ χρήσωνται, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ὑμεῖς θαυμάζοιτε.

Ταῦτα ὑμᾶς παραμυθοῦμαι εἰδὼς τὸν βίον ἐκάτερον, καὶ ἄξιον ἐορτάζειν ἐνθυμομένους ὅτι μετ’ ὀλίγων ἀπαντας δεησει ἀπεναν ἐκ τοῦ βίου κακείνους τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ ὑμᾶς τὴν πενίαν ἀφέντας. πλὴν ἐπιστελω γε αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ ὑπεσχόμην, καὶ οἴδ’ ὅτι οὐκ ὀλγωρήσουσι τῶν ἐμῶν γραμμάτων.

3. ΚΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

31 Οἱ πένθες ἐναγχος ἐπεστάλκασι μοι αἰτιώμενοι ὑμᾶς μὴ μεταδίδοναι σφῶν ὅν ἔχετε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἥξιον με κοινὰ πάντι ποιεῖν τάγαθα καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐκαστον αὐτῶν ἐχεῖν. δύσαιον γὰρ εἰναι ἰσοτιμίαν καθεστηκέναι καὶ μὴ τῷ μὲν πλέον, τῷ δὲ μηδ’ ὅλως μετείναι τῶν ἢδέων. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐφὴν ἀμείνον σκέψασθαι τὸν Δία, περὶ
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wants. Altogether there's a great deal you don't know of—you only see their gold and purple, and whenever you see them riding out behind a white team you gape and do obeisance to them. Now if you ignored and despised them and neither turned to look at their silver carriage nor during conversation glanced at the emerald in their ring and touched their dress in admiration at its softness, but let them be rich for themselves alone, you may be quite sure they would come to you of their own accord and beg you to dine with them so that they might show you their couches and tables and cups, which are no use if people don't see that they're yours. In fact most of what they have you would find they get on your account, not for their own use, but to impress you poor people.

This, then, is the advice I give you, knowing both ways of life as I do. And it is right that during the festival you should remember that after a little time you must all depart from life, the rich giving up their wealth and you your poverty. But I shall write to them as I promised and I know they will not despise my words.

3. CRONUS TO THE RICH—GREETINGS!

The poor have recently written me complaining that you don't let them share what you have, and, to be brief, they asked me to make the good things common to all and let everyone have his bit. It was right, they said, for there to be equality and not for one man to have too much of what is pleasing while another goes without altogether. I replied that Zeus would see to that better than I, but with regard
δὲ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὃν ἀδικεῖσθαι ὄντος κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐώρων ἔπ' ἐμὲ καθήκουσαν τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ ὑπεσχόμεν γράφειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

"Εστι δὲ ἄπερ ἄξιοισι ταῦτα μέτρια, ὡς ἔμοι ἐδοξεῖ. πῶς γὰρ, φασί, ῥιγοῦντες τοσοῦτον κρύει καὶ λιμῷ ἐχόμενοι προσέτι ἑορτάζουμεν ἃν; εἰ τούν ἐθέλουμε κάκεινος μετέχειν τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐκέλευσόν με ἀναγκάσαι ὑμᾶς ἐσθῆτων τε ὧν ἐξετε μεταδοῦναι αὐτοῖς, εἰ τινὲς περιτται καὶ παχύτεραι ἥ καθ’ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου ολίγον ἐπιστάξαι αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα, φασί, ποιήσετε, μηδὲ ἀμφισβητεῖν ὑμῖν ἐτὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δίος, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπειλοῦσί προσκαλέσασθαι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀναδασμόν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ πρῶτον δίκας ὁ Ζεὺς προθη. ταῦτα ἐστὶν οὐ πάνιν χαλεπὰ ὑμῖν ἄπο τοσοῦτον ἀ καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχετε.

32 Νὴ Δία καὶ τῶν δείπνων πέρι, ὡς συνδεπνοῖεν ὑμῖν—καὶ τούτο προσθείναι ήξίοις τῇ ἑπιστολῇ, ὡς νῦν γε μόνους ὑμᾶς τρυφᾶν ἐπικλεισαμένους τὰς θύρας, εἰ δὲ ποτε κάκεινων τυώς ἐστιάν διὰ μακροῦ ἐθελήσετε, πλέον τοῦ εὐφραίνοντος ἐνείναι τὸ ἀνιαρὸν τῶν δείπνων, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ’ ὑβρεὶ αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι—οἷον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μή τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴνου συμπίνειν, Ἡράκλειος, ὡς ἀνελεύθερον. καὶ καταγιγνώσκειν αὐτῶν ἑκείνων ἄξιον, ὅτι μὴ μεταξὺ ἀναστάντες οἴχονται ὅλον ὑμῖν τὸ συμπόσιον καταλειπόντες. ἀλλ’ οὔδε ἐς κόρον ὃμως φασὶ πίνειν. τοὺς γὰρ οὐνοχόους ὑμῶν ὧσπερ τοὺς Ὀδυσσέως ἑταίρους κηρῷ βεβύσθαι τὰ 3πτα. τά μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα οὕτως αἰσχρὰ ἐστιν, ὡστε ὁκνώ λέγειν, ἀ περὶ τῆς νομῆς τῶν κρεών αἰτιῶνται καὶ

1 μηδὲ Jacobitz: μὴτε MSS.
to the present and the injustices they suppose they suffer at festival-time I saw that here judgment was in my hands. I promised to write to you.

Now these requests seem to me to be reasonable. "How," they say, "can we, shivering in this extreme cold and in the grip of famine, keep festival as well?" So if I wanted them too to share in the festival, they bade me compel you to give them a share of any clothing you have above your needs or any too coarse for you, and to sprinkle on them a little of your gold. If you do that, they say, they will not even argue with you before Zeus any more about your possessions. Otherwise they threaten a summons for redistribution of property just as soon as Zeus begins his cases. These things are not at all difficult for you to grant out of all that you are rightly blessed with.

Oh yes, the dinners and their dining with you—they asked me to add this to my letter, that at present you gorge alone behind locked doors, and, if ever at long intervals you are willing to entertain any of them, there is more annoyance than good cheer in the dinner, and most of what happens is done to hurt them—that business of not drinking the same wine as you, for instance—goodness! how ungenerous that is! They themselves might well be condemned for not getting up and going during the proceedings and leaving the banquet entirely to you. But they say that even so they do not drink their fill, for your cup-bearers, like Odysseus's companions, have had their ears stuffed with wax. The rest is so disgraceful that I hesitate to mention their complaints of the way the meat is apportioned and

1 Homer, *Od.* xii, 173 ff.

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tῶν διακόνων, ύμῶν μὲν παρεστώτων ἐστ' ἄν ὑπερεμφορηθήτε, ἐκείνους δὲ παραθεόντων, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά τοιαύτα μικροπρεπῆ καὶ ἥκιστα ἐλευθέρους πρέποντα. τὸ γοῦν ἥδιστον καὶ συμποτικῷ τέρον ἡ ἰσοτιμία ἐστί, καὶ ὁ ἰσοδαιτής 1 τοῦτον ἐνεκα ἥγεται ύμῶν τῶν συμποσίων, ὥς τὸ ἴσον ἀπαντεῖ ἐχοιεν.

33 Ὅρατε οὖν ὅπως μηκέτι ύμᾶς αὐτίσωνται, ἄλλα τιμήσωσι καὶ φιλήσωσι τῶν ὀλίγων τούτων μεταλαμβάνοντες· ὃν ύμῶν μὲν ἡ δαπάνη ἀνεπαίσθητος, ἐκείνους δὲ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς χρείας ἡ δόσις αἰείμνηστος. ἄλλως τε οὐδ' ἂν οὐκεῖν δύνασθε τὰς πόλεις μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ πενήτων συμπολιτευόμενοι καὶ μυρία πρὸς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ύμῶν συντελούντων, οὔδ' ἂν ἔχοιτε τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ύμῶν τὸν πλοῦτον, ἣν μόνοι καὶ ἴδια καὶ ὑπὸ σκότω πλουτήση. ἱδέτωσαν οὖν πολλοὶ καὶ θαυμασάτωσαν ύμῶν τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ προπινώντων μισιοτησίας, μεταξὺ πίνοντες περισκοπεῖτοσαν τὸ ἐκπωμα καὶ τὸ βάρος ἱστώσαν αὐτοὶ διαβαστάσαντες καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ ἀκρίβες καὶ 2 τῶν χρυσῶν ὄσος, ὅσ ἐπανθεὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. πρὸς γὰρ τῶν χρηστῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀκούει καὶ τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔξω γενήσεσθε. τὸς γὰρ ἄν φθονήσεις τῷ κοινωνοῦντι καὶ διδόντι τῶν μετρίων; τὸς δ' οὖν ἂν εὐξαίτο εἰς τὸ μὴκίστον διαβιώναι αὐτὸν ἀπολαυόντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν; ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, ἀμάρτυρος μὲν ἡ εὐδαιμονία, ἐπίφθονος 34 δὲ ὁ πλοῦτος, ἀνήδης δὲ ὁ βίος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁμοίως ἦδυ, οἶμαι, μόνον ἐμπίπλασθαι, ἕστερ τοὺς λέοντας φασί καὶ τοὺς μονούς τῶν λύκων,

1 ἰσοδαιτής Gesner: ἰσοδαιτής MSS.
how the servants stand beside you until you are full to bursting, but run past them. There are many more like complaints of meanness, complaints that bring little credit to gentlemen. In fact the pleasantest thing, more in keeping with conviviality, is equality, and a controller of the feast presides over your banquets just so that all can have an equal share.

See to it then that they don’t accuse you any more, but respect and like you for their share in these few things; the expense is nothing to you, but they will never forget that you gave in time of need. Besides, you could not even live in your cities if the poor were not your fellow-citizens and did not contribute in thousands of ways to your happiness; and you would have no one to admire your wealth if you were rich in isolation, privately, and in obscurity. So let many see and admire your silver and your tables, and when you are pledging friendship let them, while they are drinking, examine the cup and estimate the weight themselves, determine the accuracy of the story told on it and the amount of gold that adorns the work. For as well as being called good and kindly you will stop being envied by them. For who would envy the man who goes shares and gives what is fair? And who would not pray for him to live as long as possible in the enjoyment of his blessings? As you are now, your happiness has no witness, your riches are begrudged you, and your life is unpleasant. It certainly cannot, I am sure, be as pleasant to have your fill by yourselves, as they say lions and lone wolves do, as to mix with clever

2 καὶ add. Guyet.
καὶ συνόντας δεξιοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάντα χαρίζεσθαι πειρωμένοι, οἱ πρῶτα μὲν οὐ κωφὸν καὶ ἄφωνον τὸ συμπόσιον ἐάσουσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐν μύθοις συμποτοκοῖς καὶ σκώμμασιν ἀνεπαχθέσι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ποικίλαις συνέσονται, οἶμαι διατριβαὶ ἦδισται, φίλαι μὲν Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, φίλαι δὲ Χάρισιν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀπανταῖς ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν διηγούμενοι ὑμῶν τὴν δεξιότητα ψυχεῖσθαι παρασκευάσον. ταῦτα πολλοῦ πρίασθαι καλῶς εἶχεν.

35 Ἐπεὶ ἐρήσομαι ὑμᾶς, εἰ μύοντες οἱ πένητες βαδίζοιεν—ὑποθώμεθα γὰρ οὔτως—οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς ἥνιασεν οὐκ ἔχοντας οἷς ἐπιδείξιοσθε τὰς ἀλουργείς ἐσθήτας καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθοῦντων τὸ πλῆθος ἢ τῶν δακτυλίων τὸ μέγεθος; ἐὼ λέγειν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλᾶς καὶ μίση παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἀναγκάζον ἐγγίγνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἣν μόνοι τρυφᾶν ἑθέλητε. ἀ μὲν γὰρ εὐξασθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ἀπειλοῦσιν, ἀποτρόπαια, μηδὲ γένοιτο εἰς ἀνάγκην αὐτοὺς καταστῆναι τῆς εὐχῆς. ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἄλλαντων γεύσεσθε οὔτε πλακοῦντος ἢ εἰ τι λεύμαν τῆς κυνός, ἡ φακὴ δὲ ὑμῶν σαπέρδην ἐντετικότα ἔξει, ὃς δὲ καὶ ἐλαφὸς ὅπτωμενοι μεταξὶ δραμοῦν βουλεύσουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀπτανείου ἐς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ὅρνοις ψύττα κατατείνασα ἀπτέροι καὶ αὐταὶ παρ’ αὐτοὺς τῶν πένητας ἐκπετῆσονται. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ ὠραίστατοι τῶν οἰνοχῶν φαλακροὶ ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῦ χρόνου υμῶν γενήσονται, ἐπὶ καταγότι καὶ ταῦτα τῷ ἄμφορεῖ.

Πρὸς τάδε βουλεύσεθα ἃ καὶ τῇ ἐορτῇ πρέποντα γένοιτ’ ἂν καὶ υμῶν ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ ἐπικοουφιζεῖτε πολλὴν τὴν 1 πενίαν αὐτοῖς ἂπ’ ὀλίγου τελέσματος φίλους οὐ μεμπτοὺς ἔξοντες.

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fellow and those who try in every way to please. In the first place they will not allow your banquet to be deaf and dumb. No, their company means convivial stories, harmless jests, and all sorts of expressions of friendship; these are the pleasantest sorts of pastimes, dear to Dionysus and Aphrodite, dear too to the Graces. Then they will talk to everyone next day of your sociability and get you liked. And this is rightly worth a great deal.

I will ask you something. Let us suppose the poor went about with their eyes shut; wouldn’t you be cross when you had no one to show your purple clothes, your thronging attendants, the size of your rings? I leave aside the plots, the hatred you must stir up in the poor against you if you choose to enjoy your luxury alone. Terrible are the curses they threaten to utter against you. May they never be constrained to utter them! For then you will taste neither sausages nor cakes, except what the dog may have left, your lentil-soup will have salt-fish dissolved in it, your boar and deer while they’re being roasted will plan escape from the oven to the hills, and your birds, wingless though they be,—shoo there!—they will be flying at full stretch to the homes of the selfsame poor. And worst of all, the prettiest of your wine-servers will turn bald all at once, and that after breaking your jar.

Well, then, make plans that befit the festival and are safest for you. Lighten their great poverty for them, and at slight cost you will find friends who are far from despicable.

1 ῥή add. Jacobitz.
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4. OI ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΙ ΤΩI ΚΡΟΝΩI ΧΑΙΠΕΙΝ

36 Πρός γὰρ σὲ οἱεὶ μόνον ύπὸ τῶν πενήτων ταύτα γεγράφθαι, ὦ Κρόνε, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἦδη ἐκκεκώφηται πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβοῶντων καὶ αὐτὰ δὴ ταύτα τὸν ἀναδασμὸν ἀξιοῦντων γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτιωμένων τὴν τε εἰμαρμένην ὡς ἀνίσον τὴν νομὴν πεποιημένην καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπὶ μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς μεταδίδοναι ἀξιοῦμεν; ἀλλ’ οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος, ἄτε Ζεὺς ὄν, παρ’ οἴστισιν ἡ αὐτία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακούει αὐτῶν τὰ πολλά. σοὶ δὲ ομοὶ ἀπολογησόμεθα, ἐπείπερ ἄρχεις γε νῦν ἡμῶν.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντὰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαβόντες ἀ γέγραφας, ὡς καλὸν ἐπικουρεῖν ἀπὸ πολλῶν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ ὡς ἦδιον συνεῖναι καὶ συνευκεισθῆναι τοῖς πένησιν, ἀεὶ διετελοῦμεν οὕτω ποιοῦντες ἱσοδίαιτοι καθεστῶτες, ὡς ἀν μηδὲ τὸν συνδάτην

37 αὐτὸν αὐτιάσασθαι τι. οἱ δὲ ὄλγων ἐν ἄρχῃ δεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπαξ αὐτοῖς ἀνεπετάσαμεν τὰς θύρας, οὐκ ἀνέσαν ἄλλα ἐπ’ ἄλλους αὐτοῦντες. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντα εὐθὺς μηδὲ πρὸς ἔπος λαμβάνοιεν, ὀργὴ καὶ μίσος καὶ πρόχειροι αἱ βλασφημίαι. κἂν εἰ τι ἐπιμεύδοιτο ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ οἱ γε ἀκοῦοντες ἐπίστευον ἃν ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἴδοσιν ἐκ τοῦ συγγεγονέναι. ὥστε δυὸν θάτερον, ἡ μὴ διδόντα ἐχθρὸν εἶναι πάντως ἐδει ἡ πάντα προϊμενον αὐτίκα μάλα πένεσθαι καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦντων καὶ

38 αὐτὸν εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέτρια. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις αὐτοῖς ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ ἐμπλησθαί καὶ γαστρίζεσθαι καὶ αὐτοί, ἐπειδὰν πλεῖον τοῦ
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4. THE RICH TO CRONUS—GREETINGS!

Do you really think that you are the only one written to by the poor in this vein, Cronus? Isn't Zeus already quite deaf from the din of their demands for just that, a redistribution of wealth, and of their charges against fate for inequality in distribution and against us for not considering giving them any share? But he, being Zeus, knows who is to blame, and for that reason takes no notice of most of their complaints. Nevertheless we shall defend ourselves to you, since you are our lord at present.

We for our part have set before us all you have written—that it was a fine thing to succour the needy out of our plenty, and that it was more agreeable to mix and feast with the poor. This is what we always used to do, putting ourselves on an equal footing with them so that not even our guest himself could find anything to complain of. Now in the beginning they said that they asked for very little, but once we had opened our doors to them they never stopped making demand after demand; and if they didn't get it all immediately and on demand then there was bad temper and ill-feeling, and maledictions came readily enough. And if they told a lie about us then those who heard them believed them, for they supposed their knowledge to be accurate because they had been with us. So we had the choice either not to give and inevitably be their enemies or to throw everything away and be straightway very poor and enter the ranks of the beggars ourselves. Now all the rest isn't so bad compared with these very dinners you mention. For themselves they do not care so much about filling their bellies, but when they've
ικανοῦ ἐμπίσωσιν, ἡ παιδὸς ὑφαίνον μεταξὺ ἀναδόν-
tος τὸ ἐκτίμα ένυξαν τὴν χεῖρα ἡ παλλακὴ ἡ
γαμετὴ γυναικὶ ἐπεχειρήσαν. εἶτα κατεμέσαντες
tοῦ συμποσίου ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν λουδοροῦνται ἡμῖν
κατελθόντες, ὡς ἐδύψησαν καὶ ὡς λιμῷ συνήσαν
διηγοῦμενοι. καὶ εἰ σοι ταῦτα καταψεύδεσθαί
αὐτῶν δοκοῦμεν, τὸν ὑμέτερον παράσιτον ἀναμ-
νήσθητι τὸν Ἰξίονα, ὃς ἀξιωθεὶς κοινῆς τραπέζης,
ἀξίωμα ἔχων ἵσον ἡμῖν, τῇ Ἡρᾷ μεθυσθεῖς
ἐπεχείρει ὁ γενναῖος.

39 Ταῦτ’ ἑστὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅφ’ ὃν ἡμεῖς
ἐβουλευσάμεθα πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἡμε-
tέρας ἔνεκεν μηκέτι ἐπιβατόν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν τὴν
οἰκίαν. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ σοῦ συνθοῦντο μετρίων δεήσεσθαι,
ὡσπερ νῦν φασί, μηδὲν δὲ ψυχριστικὸν ἐν τοῖς
συμποσίωις ἐργάσεσθαι, κοινωνοῦντων ἡμῖν καὶ
συνδειπνοῦντων τοῦτοι τῇ ἀγαθῇ. καὶ τῶν ἰματίων,
ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, πέμψομεν καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου ὀπὸν
οἶν τε καὶ προσδαπανήσωμεν, καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν
ἐλλείψομεν. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀφέμενοι τοῦ κατὰ
tέχνην ὁμιλεῖν ἡμῖν φίλοι ἀντὶ κολάκων καὶ
παρασίτων ἐστωσαν. ὡς ἡμᾶς γε οὐδὲν ἂν
αἰτιάσαι κάκεινων τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων.
drunk more than enough they either nudge the hand of a pretty page when he gives the cup back to them or make attempts on your mistress or your wedded wife. Then, after being sick all over the dining-room, next day back at home they abuse us, saying that they were thirsty and well acquainted with starvation. If you think these are lies we are telling against them, remember your own parasite, Ixion, who was granted a place at the common board and enjoyed equality of rank with you, the gods. Yet he, fine fellow that he was, got drunk and made attempts on Hera.

It's this sort of thing that makes us determine not to let them in the house again, for our own safety's sake. But if they were to make an agreement with you to be moderate in their demands, as they now say they are, and refrain from bad behaviour during banquets, then let them join us and dine with us, and good luck to them! Furthermore we shall send some of our clothing, as you direct, and spend as much gold as we can as well, and altogether we shan't be found wanting in anything. And let them in their turn cease to be artful in their dealings with us and be friends instead of toadies and spongers. You will find no fault in us if they will do what they ought.
HERODOTUS OR AËTION

An introduction delivered before a Macedonian audience. The central theme is the description of a painting by Aëtion, a contemporary of Alexander the Great.
1 Ἡροδότου εἰθε μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μμῆσασθαι δυνατὸν ἦν. οὐ πάντα φημὶ ὅσα προσήν αὐτῷ (μείζον γὰρ εὐχῆς τοῦτό γε) ἄλλα κἂν ἐν ἐκ τῶν ἀπάντων—οἶον ἡ κάλλος τῶν λόγων ἡ ἀρμονίαν αὐτῶν ἡ τὸ οἰκεῖον τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ προσφυές ἡ τῆς γνώμης τὸ περιττὸν ἡ ὅσα μυρία καλὰ ἐκεῖνος ἄμα πάντα συλλαβῶν ἔχει πέρα τῆς εἰς μίμησιν ἐλπίδος. ἃ δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς συγγράμμασιν καὶ ώς πολλοῦ ἄξιος τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἀπασίν ἐν βραχεὶ κατέστη, 1 καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ καὶ ἄλλος ἂν μμησάμεθα.

Πλεύσας γὰρ οὕκοθεν ἐκ τῆς Καρίας εὐθὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσκοπεῖτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα καὶ ἀπραγμονέστατα ἐπίσημος καὶ περιβόητος γένοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ συγγραμμάτια. τὸ μὲν οὖν περνοστοῦντα νῦν μὲν Ἀθηναίοις, νῦν δὲ Κορινθίοις ἀναγινώσκειν ἡ Ἀργείεος ἡ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ μέρει, ἔργῳδες καὶ μακρὸν ἡγεῖτο εἶναι καὶ τριβὴν οὐ μικρὰν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἔσεθαι, οὐκουν ἦξιον διασπάν τὸ πράγμα οὐδὲ κατὰ διάφερσιν οὕτω κατ’ ὀλίγον ἁγείρειν καὶ συλλέγειν 2 τὴν γνώσιν, ἐπεβούλευε δέ, εἰ δυνατὸν εὖ, ἀθρόους ποιο λαβεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπαντᾶς. ἐνίσταται οὖν

1 So Burmeister: ὡς πολλαχῶς τοῖς Ἑλ. . . . κατέστη Γ1: γνώριμος in marg. after βραχεὶ Γ2: ὡς πολλαχῶς τοῖς Ἑλ. ἐν βραχεὶ κατέστη Ν.

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HERODOTUS OR AËTION

I wish it were possible to imitate Herodotus's other qualities too. I do not mean all and everyone (this would be too much to pray for) but just one of them—whether the beauty of his diction, the careful arrangement of his words, the aptness of his native Ionic, his extraordinary power of thought, or the countless jewels which he has wrought into a unity beyond hope of imitation. But where you and I and everyone else can imitate him is in what he did with his composition and in the speed with which he became an established man of repute throughout the whole Greek world.

As soon as he sailed from his home in Caria straight for Greece, he bethought himself of the quickest and least troublesome path to fame and a reputation for both himself and his works. To travel round reading his works, now in Athens, now in Corinth or Argos or Lacedaemon in turn, he thought a long and tedious undertaking that would waste much time. The division of his task and the consequent delay in the gradual acquisition of a reputation did not appeal to him, and he formed the plan I suppose of winning the hearts of all the Greeks at once if he

2 So Graevius: ἀγείρων καὶ συλλέγων MSS.
'Όλυμπια τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος τοῦτὸ ἐκεῖνο ἦκειν οἱ νομίσασ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐ μάλιστα ἐγλύκετο, πλῆθουσαν τηρήσας τὴν πανήγυριν, ἀπανταχόθεν ἦδη τῶν ἀρίστων συνελευμένων, παρελθὼν ἐν τὸν ὁπισθόδομον οὐθετήν, ἀλλ’ ἀγωνιστὴν Ὄλυμπίων παρεῖχεν ἐαυτὸν ἠδὼν τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλῶν τοὺς παρόντας, ἀχρὶ τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθήναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτὰς οὔσας.

2 Ὡδὴ οὖν ἀπαντεῖς αὐτοῦ ἦδεσαν πολλῶι μᾶλλον ἡ τοὺς Ὄλυμπιονίκας αὐτούς. καὶ οὐκ ἔστων ὅστις ἀνήκοος ἢν τοῦ Ἡρόδοτον ὄνοματος—οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἀκουσάντες ἐν Ὅλυμπίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἡκόντων πυνθανόμενοι: καὶ εἰ ποὺ γε φανεῖ γιὸν, ἐδείκνυτο ἄν τῷ δακτύλῳ, Οὕτος ἐκεῖνος Ἡρόδοτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰς μάχας τὰς Περσικὰς Ἰαστὶ συγγεγραφῶς, ὃ τὰς νίκας ἡμῶν ὑμνήσασ. τοιαῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἀπέλαυε τῶν ἱστοριῶν, ἐν μᾶ συνόδων πάνθημον τινα καὶ κοινῆν ψήφον τῆς Ἑλλάδος λαβὼν καὶ ἀνακηρυχθεῖς ὑμῖν υφ’ ἐνός μᾶ Δία κήρυκος, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀπάσῃ πόλει, οὐδὲν ἐκαστος ἢν τῶν πανηγυριστῶν.

3 Ὡσπερ ύστερον κατανοήσαντες, ἐπίτομον τινα ταύτην ἄδον ἐς γνῶσιν, Ἰππίας τε ὁ ἐπιχώριος αὐτῶν σοφιστῆς καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Χίος καὶ Πώλος ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ λόγους ἔλεγον ἀεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν, ἀφ’ ὧν γνώριμοι ἐν βραχεὶ ἐγίγνοντο.

4 Καὶ τί σοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐκεῖνους λέγω σοφιστὰς καὶ συγγραφέας καὶ λογογράφους ὅπου τὰ τελευταία ταῦτα καὶ Ἀετίωνα φασι τὸν ζωγράφον 144
HERODOTUS OR AÉTION

could. The great Olympian games were at hand, and Herodotus thought this the opportunity he had been hoping for. He waited for a packed audience to assemble, one containing the most eminent men from all Greece; he appeared in the temple chamber, presenting himself as a competitor for an Olympic honour, not as a spectator; then he recited his *Histories* and so bewitched his audience that his books were called after the Muses, for they too were nine in number.

By this time he was much better known than the Olympic victors themselves. There was no one who had not heard the name of Herodotus—some at Olympia itself, others from those who brought the story back from the festival. He had only to appear and he was pointed out: "That is that Herodotus who wrote the tale of the Persian Wars in Ionic and celebrated our victories." Such were the fruits of his *Histories*. In a single meeting he won the universal approbation of all Greece and his name was proclaimed not indeed just by one herald but in every city that had sent spectators to the festival.

The lesson was learnt. This was the short-cut to glory. Hippias the sophist was a native of the place, and he and Prodicus from Ceos and Anaximenes from Chios and Polus from Acragas and scores of others always gave their recitations in person before the assembled spectators and by this means soon won reputations.

But why need I mention those old sophists, historians, and chroniclers when there is the recent story of Aétion the painter who showed off his
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

συγγράφαντα τὸν Ῥωξάνης καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμον εἰς Ὄλυμπιαν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντα τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπιδείξασθαι, ὥστε Προξενίδαν Ἑλλανοδίκην τὸτε ὄντα ἧσθέντα τῇ τέχνῃ γαμβρὸν ποιῆσασθαι τὸν Ἀετίωνα;

5 Καὶ τὸ ταύμα ἐνή τῇ γραφῇ αὐτοῦ, ἤρετό τις, ὡς τὸν Ἑλλανοδίκην δὲ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐπιχωρῶν τῷ Ἀετίωνι συνάφασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν γάμον; ἔστω ἡ εἰκὼν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, κἂνω εἶδον ὅστε καὶ σοὶ ἄν εἰπεῖν ἔχουμι. βαλαμὸς ἐστὶ περικαλλὴς καὶ κλίνῃ νυμφικὴ, καὶ ἡ Ῥωξάνη κάθηται πάγκαλῶν τι χρήμα παρθένου ἡ γῆν ὅρῳσα, αἰδουμένη ἐστῶτα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἑρωτες δὲ τινες μειδιώντες: ὃ μὲν κατόπιν ἐφεστῶς ἀπάγει τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν καλύπτραν καὶ δείκνυοι τῷ νυμφῶι τῆν Ῥωξάνην, ὁ δὲ τις μάλα δουλικῶς ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ σανδάλιον ἐκ τοῦ ποδός ὡς κατακλύνοιτο ἡδῆ, ἄλλος τῆς χλανίδος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπειλημμένος, Ἑρως καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐλκεὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Ῥωξάνην πάνυ βιαῖως ἐπισπώμενος. ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτός μὲν στέφανον τινα ὁρέγει τῇ παιδί, πάροχος δὲ καὶ νυμφαγωγὸς Ἡφαιστίων συμπάρεστι δᾶδα καιομένην ἕχων, μειρακίω πάνυ ὀραίω ἐπερειδόμενος—Ὑμέναιος οἷμαι ἐστιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπεγέγραπτο τοῦνομα). ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος ἄλλοι Ἑρωτες παίζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δύο μὲν τὴν λόγχην αὐτοῦ φέροντες, μμούμενοι τοὺς ἀχθοφόρους ὅποτε δοκοὺν φέροντες βαροῦντο· ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἐνα τινα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος κατακείμενοι, βασιλεὰ δῆθεν καὶ αὐτόν, σύρουσιν τῶν ἀχάνων τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐπειλημμένοι· εἰς δὲ δὴ ἐς τὸν θύρακα ἐσελθὼν ὑπτιοῦν κείμενον λοχῶντι 146
picture of *The Marriage of Roxana and Alexander* at Olympia? Proxenides, one of the chief judges there at that time, was delighted with his talent and made Aëtion his son-in-law.

You may well wonder at the quality of his work that induced a chief judge of the games to give his daughter in marriage to a stranger like Aëtion. The picture is actually in Italy; I have seen it myself and can describe it to you. The scene is a very beautiful chamber, and in it there is a bridal couch with Roxana, a very lovely maiden, sitting upon it, her eyes cast down in modesty, for Alexander is standing there. There are smiling Cupids: one is standing behind her removing the veil from her head and showing Roxana to her husband; another like a true servant is taking the sandal off her foot, already preparing her for bed; a third Cupid has hold of Alexander’s cloak and is pulling him with all his might towards Roxana. The king himself is holding out a garland to the maiden and their best man and helper, Hephaestion, is there with a blazing torch in his hand, leaning on a very handsome youth—I think he is Hymenaeus (his name is not inscribed). On the other side of the picture are more Cupids playing among Alexander’s armour; two of them are carrying his spear, pretending to be labourers burdened under a beam; two others are dragging a third, their king no doubt, on the shield, holding it by the handgrips; another has gone inside the corslet, which is lying breast-up on the ground—he seems to

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1 God of marriages.

2 Botticelli copied this motif in his *Mars and Venus* in the National Gallery, London.
6 Οὐ παλιά δὲ ἄλλως ταύτα ἐστὶν οὐδὲ περιείργασται ἐν αὐτοῖς ο Ἀετίων, ἀλλὰ δηλοὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὸν ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔρωτα, καὶ ὅτι ἄμα καὶ Ἦρωσίς ἤρα καὶ τῶν ὅπλων οὐκ ἐπελέηστο. πλὴν ἄλλ' ἢ γε εἰκῶν αὐτῆ καὶ ἄλλως γαμηλίων τι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλθείας διεφανῆ ἔχουσα, προμνησμένη τῷ Ἀετίῳν τὴν τοῦ Προξενίδου θυγατέρα. καὶ ἀπῆλθε γῆμας καὶ αὐτὸς, πάρεργον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμων, ὑπὸ νυμφαγωγῶ τῷ βασιλεί, μισθὸν εἰκασμένου γάμου προσλαβῶν ἀληθῆ γάμον.

7 Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν (ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον) ἤκανεν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τῆν πανήγυριν ἠγείτο καὶ συγγραφέα θαυμαστὸν δείξαι τοῖς Ἔλλησι τὰς Ἕλληνικὰς νῖκας διεξιόντα, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι διεξήλθεν. ἐγὼ δὲ—καὶ πρὸς Φιλίου μῆ με κορυβαντιὰν ὑπολάβητε μηδὲ τὰμὰ εἰκάζειν τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι, Ἰτεως ὁ ἄνὴρ—ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε ὅμου παθεῖν φήμη αὐτῶ. οτε γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἑσκόπουν ὁ τι μοι χρηστέου τῷ πράγματι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔρως οὔτος ἢν ἀπασον ὑμῶν γνωσθῆναι καὶ ὅτι πλείστοις Μακεδώνων δείξαι τὰμὰ· τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν περιοῦντα τηνικάτα τοῦ ἔτους συγγίγνεσθαι τῇ πόλει ἐκάστῃ οὐκ εὐμαρές ἐφαίνετο, εἰ δὲ τηρῆσαιμι τὴν ὑμῶν τὴν σύνοδον, εἶτα παρελθῶν ἐς μέσον δείξαιτο τὸν λόγον, ἐς δέον οὔτως ἀποβήσεσθαι μοι τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς.

8 Αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ἡδη συνεληλύθατε, ὁ τι περ ὁφελος ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως, αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπάντων Μακεδόνων, καὶ ὑποδέχεται πόλις ἡ ἀρίστῃ οὖσα 148
be lying in ambush to frighten the others when they drag the shield past him.

All this is not needless triviality and a waste of labour. Aëtion is calling attention to Alexander's other love—War—, implying that in his love of Roxana he did not forget his armour. A further point about the picture itself is that it had a real matrimonial significance of quite a different sort—it courted Proxenides' daughter for Aëtion! So as a by-product of his *Alexander's Wedding* he came away with a wife himself and the King for best-man. His reward for his marriage of the imagination was a real-life marriage of his own.

Herodotus then (to return to him) thought the Olympic festival a suitable shop-window for showing the Greeks such a wonderful historian of the Greek victories as himself. As for me—and in the name of the God of Friendship do not think me mad or that I am comparing my works to his, bless him—I declare that my case and his are alike. When I first came to live in Macedonia, I wondered what should be policy. My dearest wish was to become known to you all and to show off my works to as many in Macedonia as I could; but to go round visiting each city in person at that time of the year seemed an arduous undertaking, whereas I thought that if I took the occasion of this present festival of your nation and made my appearance and gave my lecture then, my prayers must surely be answered.

Here you are then gathered together, the cream of every city, the very epitome of all Macedonia, in the country's finest city, so different, thank good-

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1 So Marcilius and Solanus: MSS. om. νίκας: δειξαί τοῖς Ἐλληνικᾶς διεξιόντας Γ.
ou katα Πίσαν μα Δι' ουδε την κειθι στενοχωριαν και σκηνας και καλυβας και πνιγος. oι τε αυ πανηγυρισται ου συρφετωδης οχλος, άθλητων μαλλον φιλοθεαμονες, εν παρεργω οι πολλοι τον 'Ηροδοτον τιθεμενοι, αλλα ρητωρων τε και συγγραφεων και σοφιστων οι δοκιμωται—οσον ου μικρον ήδη, μη τοιμον παρα πολυ ενδεεστερον φαινηται των 'Ολυμπιων. αλλ' ήν μεν υμεις Πολυδαμαντι ή Γλαυκω ή Μιλων παραθεωρητε με, κομιδη υμιν δοξω θρασυς άνθρωπος ειναι. ήν δε πολυ εκεινων άπαγαγοντες την μνημην επ' εμαυτου μονον άποδυσαντες ίδητε, ταχ' αν ου πανυ μαστιγώσιμος υμιν δοξαμι. ως εν γε τηλικουτω σταδιω ικανων έμοι γουν και τουτο.
ness, from Pisa with its lack of space, its tents and huts, its stifling heat; nor is my audience a vulgar mob more keen on seeing athletics, most of them thinking Herodotus of secondary importance. No, there are the finest orators, historians, and rhetoricians—no small matter indeed that my arena should not seem far inferior to Olympia. Compare me with Polydamas, Glaucus, and Milo, and I know that you will judge me imprudent. But remember them less and strip me and look at me as I am, and then perhaps you will not find me altogether deserving of the whip. My arena being what it is, I should not find even this judgment unsatisfactory.
ZEUXIS OR ANTIOCHUS

An introduction, as appears from the last paragraph. A disquisition on novelty serves to introduce accounts of a painting by Zeuxis (fl. c. 400 B.C.) and the 'Elephant Battle' between Antiochus Soter and the Galatian invaders of Asia Minor (276 B.C.).
ΖΕΥΞΙΣ Η ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ

1  "Ἐναγχοσ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν δεῖξας τὸν λόγον ἀπήεων οἴκαδε, προσίστησις δὲ μοι τῶν ἀκηκοότων πολλοὶ (κωλύει γὰρ οὔδὲν οἶμαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς φίλους ἢδη ὄντας ὑμᾶς λέγειν)—προσίστησις οὖν ἐδεξιόυντο καὶ θαυμάζουσιν ἐώκεσαν. ἐπὶ πολὺ γοῦν παραμαρτοῦντες ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ἐβάζον καὶ ἐπήνουν ἄχρι τοῦ 1 καὶ ἐρυθριάν με, μὴ ἀρα πάμπολυ τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀπολείποιμην. τὸ δ’ οὖν κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἦν, καὶ πάντες ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπεσημαίνοντο, τὴν γνώμην τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἔζεν οὖσαν καὶ πολὺν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν νεωτερισμὸν. μάλλον δὲ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν ἄμεινον ἀπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεφθέγγοντο. 2 ""Ὡς τῆς καινότητος. Ἡράκλεις, τῆς παραδοξολογίας. εὐμήχανος ἀνθρωπος. οὔδὲν ἂν τις εἴποι τῆς ἑπινοίας νεαρωτερον." οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐκεκυηντο δηλαδή ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκροάσεως. ἡ τίνα γὰρ ἂν αἰτίαν εἶχον ψεύδεσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔεν άνθρωπον, οὐ πάντα πολλὴς αὐτοῖς φρουτίδος ἀξιον τὰ ἄλλα;

2  Πλὴν ἐμὲ γε (εἰρήςεται γάρ) οὐ μετρίως ἦνια ὁ ἐπαίνος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπειδῆ ποτὲ ἀπελθόντων κατ’ ἐμαυτόν ἐγενόμην ἐκεῖνα ἐνενόουν· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μόνον χάριν τοῖς ἐμοὶ ἐνεστών, ὅτι μὴ συνήθη μηδὲ κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν βαδίζει τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὄνομάτων δὲ ἄρα καλῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον 154
ZEUXIS OR ANTIOCHUS

Recently I was on my way home after lecturing to you, when a number of my recent audience met me (I see no objection to telling you a story like this now that you and I are friends)—they met me, then, and after greeting me gave some indication of approval. They accompanied me for some distance, vying in noisy praise until I blushed for shame at the thought that I fell far short of their praises. The substance of their approbation, which all alike emphasised, was the strangeness of the thought in my composition and the degree of freshness it displayed. It would be better to quote verbatim: "What novelty! What marvellous paradoxes! How inventive he is! The freshness of thought is beyond compare!" They continued in this strain. They had clearly been taken with the lecture—I don't suppose they could have any reason for telling lies and flattering a stranger as they did, one who had no other reason for claiming their attention.

To be honest, however, their praise caused me considerable annoyance, and when they had gone and I was left alone, I reflected as follows: "So this is the only attraction in my writings, that they are unconventional and keep off the beaten track, while good vocabulary, conformity to the ancient canon,

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1 τοῦ Jacobs and Schaefer: που MSS.
2 ἐπεφθ. Fritzsche: ἀπεφθ. MSS.
κανόνα συγκειμένων ἡ νοῦ ὁξέος ἡ περινοίας τινὸς ἡ χάρις ἡ ἄρμονία ἡ τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἀπασί, τοῦτων δὲ πόρρω ἅσως τούμον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρέντες αὐτὰ ἔκεινα ἐπήνουν μόνον τὸ κανὸν τῆς προαίρεσεως καὶ ἰξειΐζων. ἔγω δὲ ὁ μάταιος ὄψην, ὅποτε ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπανοεῖν, τάχα μὲν τι1 καὶ αὐτὸ τούτῳ προσάγεσθαι αὐτοὺς. ἀληθὲς γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου, καὶ τὴν νέαν ὁδὴν κεχαρισμένην ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἀκούονσιν. οὐ μὴν τοιούτον γε οὐδὲ2 ὅλον τῇ καινότητι νέμειν ἥξιόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ὑσπερ ἐν προσθήκης μοῖρα συνεπικοσμεῖν τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπανοῦν συντελεῖν καὶ αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐπανοῦμενα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκούοντων εὐφημούμενα ἔκεινα εἶναι. ὡστε οὐ μετρίως ἐπηρμημην καὶ ἐκινδύνευον πιστεύον αὐτοῖς ἔνα καὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν παρομίαιν ἀνθρακεῖ ἡμῶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ἥσιν, καὶ ὄλιγον δὲ ὅμοιον ὑμετατοποιοῦ τινὸς ἐπανοῦν ἐπανείσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν.

3 Ἐθέλω γοῦν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦ γραφέως διηγησασθαί. οἱ Ζεῦξις ἐκεῖνος ἀριστος γραφέων γενόμενος τὰ δημώδη καὶ τὰ κοινά ταῦτα οὐκ ἐγραφέν, ἡ ὡσα πάνιν ὅλιγα, ἦρως ἡ θεοῦ ἡ πολέμους, αἰεὶ δὲ καινοποιεῖν ἐπειράτο καὶ τῷ ἀλλόκοτον ἄν καὶ ξένον ἐπινόησας ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς τέχνης ἐπεδείκνυτο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τολμήμασι καὶ θήλειαν Ἰπποκένταυρον οἱ Ζεῦξις οὗτος3 ἐποίησεν, ἀνατρέφουσαν γε προσέτι παιδίω Ἰπποκένταυρῳ διδύμῳ κομμή κητίων. τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης ἀντιγραφός ἐστι νῦν Ἀθηνῆσι πρὸς αὐτὴν

1 μὲν τι Fritzsche: μέντοι MSS.
2 οὐδὲ Jacobitz: οὐτε MSS.

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penetration of intellect, power of perception, Attic grace, good construction, general competence, perhaps have no place in my work. Otherwise they would not have ignored these qualities and praised only the novel and strange element in my style. I, fool that I was, had thought when they rose in approbation that perhaps this particular feature too had some attraction for them—I remembered the truth of Homer’s remark¹ that the new song takes the fancy of an audience; but I did not think to attribute so much—indeed all of it—to novelty, but supposed novelty to be a kind of additional ornament making some contribution indeed to the approbation of my work, the audience’s real praise and commendation, however, going to those other qualities. As a result my elation overstepped its bounds—to think I nearly believed them when they called me unique and in a class apart in Greece and other flatteries of this kind. In the words of the proverb, my treasure turned out ashes, and their approval is not much different from that which they would give a conjurer.

I want to give you an example from a painter. Zeuxis, that pre-eminent artist, avoided painting popular and hackneyed themes as far as he could (I mean heroes, gods, wars); he was always aiming at novelty, and whenever he thought up something unheard-of and strange he showed the precision of his craftsmanship by depicting it. Among the bold innovations of this Zeuxis was his painting of a female Hippocentaur, one moreover that was feeding twin Hippocentaur children, no more than babies. There is a copy of this picture now at Athens made with

¹ *Od.* i, 352.

³ *οὕτως* Hartmann: *αὐτῶς* MSS. (om. Bodl.).
Τὸ αρχέτυπον δὲ αὐτὸ Σύλλας ὁ Ῥωμαῖών στρατηγὸς ἔλεγετο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς 'Ἰταλίαν πεπομφέναι, εἰτα περὶ Μαλεάν οἴμαι καταδύσης τῆς ὀλκάδος ἀπολέσθαι ἀπαντᾷ καὶ τὴν γραφῆν. πλὴν ἄλλα τὴν γε εἰκόνα τῆς εἰκόνος εἶδον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὡς ἄν ὅς τε ὦ δείξω τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία γραφικὸς τις ὡς, ἄλλα πάντες μέμνημαι οὗ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἱδών ἐν τινος τῶν γραφέων 'Αθήνης. καὶ τὸ ὑπερθαυμάσας τότε τὴν τέχνην τάχ’ ἄν μοι καὶ νῦν πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον δηλώσαι συναγωνίσαιτο.

4 Ἅπι χλόης εὐθαλοῦς ἡ Κένταυρος αὐτῇ πεποίηται ὅλῃ μὲν τῇ ἱππῳ χαμαι κειμένη, καὶ ἀποτέταται εἰς τούπίσιον ἦς τόδε γυναίκειών ὅσον αὐτῆς ἥρεμα ἐπεγγήρειται 1 καὶ ἐπ’ ἅγκωνός ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ πόδες οἱ ἐμπροσθεν συκέτι καὶ οὕτως ἀποτάθην, οὗν ἑπὶ πλευράν κειμένης, ἅλλ’ ὃ μὲν ὀκλάζοντι ξοικεῖν ὡν κατάλοιπος ὑπεσταλμένη τῇ ὀπλῇ, ὃ δὲ ἑμπαλών ἑπανίστατα καὶ τοῦ ἑδάφους ἀντιλαμβάνεται, οἷοί εἰσιν ἱπποὶ πειρόμενοι ἀναπηδάν. τοῖν νεογνοῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄνω ἔχει αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἁγκάλαις καὶ τρέφει ἀνθρωπικῶς ἐπέχουσα τοῖς γυναικείοις μαστοῖν, τὸ δ’ ἐτερον ἐκ τῆς ἱπποῦ θηλάζει ἐς τὸν πωλικὸν τρόπον. ἀνω δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος οὗν ἄπο τῶν σκοτῆς Ἰπποκένταυρος τις, ἀντ’ ἐκείνης δηλαδὴ τῆς τὰ βρέφη ἀμφοτέρωθεν τιθνομένης, ἐπικύπτει γελῶν οὐχ ὅλος φανόμενος, ἅλλ’ ἐς μέσον τὸν ἱππον, λέοντος σκύμνου ἀνέχων τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν αἰωρῶν, ὡς δεδίκαιον σὺν παίδια τὰ βρέφη.

1 ἐπεγγήρεται Jacobitz: ἐπεγείρεται Bodl.: ἐπήγγερται MSS. [ἐπείγερται ? Γ]

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strict accuracy from the original. Sulla, the Roman commander, was said to have sent off the original with his other trophies to Italy, but I suppose the ship then sank off Malea\(^1\) with the loss of all its cargo, including the painting. However that may be, I saw the copy of the painting and will describe it to you as far as I can, though I am certainly no artist. I remember it quite well, as I saw it not long ago in the house of a painter in Athens. The intense admiration I felt at the time for the craftsmanship will perhaps help me in my endeavour to give you a full description.

The Centaur herself is depicted lying on fresh young grass with all the horse part of her on the ground. Her feet are stretched behind her. The human part is slightly raised up on her elbows. Her fore-feet are not now stretched out, as you might expect with one lying on her side; one foot is bent with the hoof drawn under like one who kneels, while the other on the other hand is beginning to straighten and is taking a grip on the ground, as is the case with horses striving to spring up. She holds one of her offspring aloft in her arms, giving it the breast in human fashion; the other she suckles from her mare's teat like an animal. Towards the top of the picture, apparently on some vantage point, is a Hippocentaur, clearly the husband of her who is feeding her children in two ways. He is leaning down and laughing. He is not completely visible, but only to a point halfway down his horse body. He holds aloft in his right hand a lion's whelp, suspending it above his head to frighten the children in his fun.

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\(^{1}\) Cape Malea, in the southern Peloponnese.
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5 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῆς γραφῆς, ἐφ’ ὅσα τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἦμῖν οὐ πάντῃ ἐμφανῆ ὄντα τὴν ὅλην ἔχει ομοι δύναμιν τῆς τέχνης—οἶνον τὸ ἀποτείναι τὰς γραμμὰς ἐς τὸ εὐθύτατον καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων ἀκριβῆ τὴν κράσιν καὶ εὐκαίριον τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ποιήσασθαι καὶ σκιάζαι ἐς δέον καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν τῶν μερῶν πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ἱσότητα καὶ ἀρμονίαν—γραφέων παίδες ἐπανούντων, οἷς ἔργον εἰδέναι τὰ τουάτα. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα ἐπήνεσο, ὅτι ἐν μᾶ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ὑποθέσει πουκάμισο τὸ περιττὸν ἐπεδείξατο τῆς τέχνης, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ποιήσας πάντῃ φοβερὸν καὶ κομμή ἀγρίων, σοβαρὸν τῇ χαίτῃ, λάσιον τὰ πολλὰ οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἰππὸν αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ κατὰ στέρνον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὅμοιο ἐπὶ πλείστου, 1 τὸ βλέμμα, καίτου γελώντος, θηριώδες ὅλον ὅρειόν τι καὶ ἄνημερον.

6 Τοιοῦτον μὲν ἐκείνου. τὴν θήλειαν δὲ ἰππὸν τε 2 τῆς καλλίστης, οἷα μάλιστα αἰ Θετταλαί εἰσιν, ἀδμῆτε ἐτὶ καὶ ἀβατοῖ, τὸ δὲ ἄνω ἡμίτομον γυναικὸς πάγκαλον ἐξω τῶν ὄτων ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα σατυρώδη ἐστὶν αὐτῇ. καὶ ἡ μιξὶς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρμογὴ τῶν σωμάτων, καθ’ 3 δ’ συνάπτεται καὶ συνδεῖται τῷ γυναικείῳ τῷ ἰππικόν, ἡρέμα καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόως μεταβαίνουσα καὶ ἐκ προσαγωγῆς τρεπομένη λανθάνει τὴν ὤμον ἐκ θατέρου εἰς τὸ ἐτέρον ὑπαγομένη. τῶν νεογνῶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ 3 ὅμοιων ἀγρίων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπαλῷ ᾳδῇ φοβερῶν, καὶ τοῦτο θαυμαστόν οἶον ἐδοξέ μοι, καὶ ὅτι παιδικῶς

1 So Rothstein: ἄλλα καὶ καθ’ ἐτερον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ έξάραις αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὅμοιος ἐπὶ πλείστον MSS.: ἰππὸν σοβαρὸν ἀγρίων κομμή λάσιον τῇ χαίτῃ στέρμων τε καὶ ὅμοιος Bodl.

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The other qualities, not completely discernible by the eye of an amateur like myself, nevertheless display the whole power of his craftsmanship—such things as precision of line, accuracy in the blending of colours, taste in application of the paint, correct use of shadow, good perspective, proportion, and symmetry. But let the sons of artists appreciate these points, men who make it their business to know them. For my part I praised Zeuxis for this in particular, that in one and the same subject he has shown his extraordinary craftsmanship in so many ways. His husband is completely frightening and absolutely wild; he has a proud mane, being almost completely covered in hair—not only the horse part of him but his human chest as well and especially his shoulders, and his glance, although he is laughing, is altogether savage, wild, and of the hills.

Such then is the husband. The horse part of the female he made is most beautiful, with a strong resemblance to Thessalian fillies when they are still untamed and virgin. The top half is that of a very beautiful woman, apart from the ears, which alone of her features are those of a satyr. The union and junction of bodies whereby the horse part is fused with the woman part and joined to it is effected by a gradual change, with no abrupt transition; the eye, as it moves gradually from one to the other, is quite deceived by the subtle change. In the case of the young, their babyhood is wild and already fearsome in its gentleness—I thought this a wonderful touch. I admired too the very babylike way in

\[\text{zu} \text{ t} \text{e} \text{ Fritzsche} : \text{ ye MSS.}\]
\[\text{êt} \text{ v} \text{t} \text{o} \text{ n} \text{νπίων Granovius} : \text{ ètv} \text{tv} \text{v} \text{νπίων MSS.}\]
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μάλα πρὸς τὸν σκῦμνον τοῦ λέοντος ἀναβλέπουσι, μεταξὺ τῆς θηλῆς ἐκάτερος ἐπειλημμένοι ἐν χρῷ τῇ μητρὶ προσιστάμενοι.

7 'Αυτὰ δ' οὖν ἐπιδειξάμενος ὁ Ζεῦξις αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ὀρῶντας ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἔβοι—ἡ τί γὰρ ἂν ἐποιοῦν καλλίστων θεάματι ἐντυγχάνοντες; ἐπήγγουν δὲ μᾶλιστα πάντες ἀπέρ κἀμὲ πρὸν ἑκεῖνοι, τῆς ἐπινοίας τὸ ἐξένοι καὶ τὴν γνώμην τῆς γραφῆς ὡς νέαν καὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεῖν ἄγνώστα οὐσαν. ὡςτε ὁ Ζεῦξις συνεις ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀσχολεῖ ἢ υπόθεσις καὶ οὐσα καὶ ἀπάγει τῆς τέχνης, ὡς ἐν παρέγρω τίθεσθαι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν πραγμάτων," Ἀγε δή, ἑφη, ὁ Μικύων, πρὸς τὸν μαθητήν, περίβαλε ἥδη τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἀράμενοι ἀποκομίζετε οἴκαδε. οὐτοὶ γὰρ ἤμων τὸν πηλὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπανοῦσι, τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν 2 εἴ καλῶς ἔχει καὶ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, οὐ πολὺν ποιοῦνται λόγου, ἀλλὰ παρευδοκίμει τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἔργων ἡ τῆς υποθέσεως καινοτομία.

8 Ὄ μὲν οὖν Ζεῦξις οὖτως, ὄργιλότερον ἰσός, Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ σωτήρ ἐπικληθεῖς καὶ οὕτως ὁμοίων τι παθεὶν λέγεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας μάχῃ. εἰ βουλέσθη, διηγήσομαι καὶ τοῦτο, ὅποιον ἔγενετο. εἰδὼς γὰρ τούτους ἀλκίμους ὄντας καὶ πλήθει παμπόλλοις ὀρῶν καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα καρτερὸς συναραυῖαν καὶ ἐπὶ μετόπων μὲν προσπίζοντας τοὺς χαλκοθωράκας αὐτῶν, ἐς βάθος δὲ ἐπὶ τεττάρων καὶ εἰκοσὶ τεταγμένους ὀπλίτας, ἐπὶ κέρως δ' ἐκατέρωθεν τὴν ἰππον δισμυρίαν οὖσαν,

1 ἄγνώστα οὖσαν Fritzche: ἦττον ἐτί οὖσαν ΓΧΜ: ἥγγοι-μένην οὖσαν N.

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which both young were looking up at the lion cub as they sucked at the nipple, holding close and nestling against their mother.

Zeuxis thought that this picture would send his viewers into raptures over his skill when they saw it. They certainly applauded it—what else could they do when they met a sight so lovely to gaze upon? But everyone's warmest praise went to the points they praised in me too just recently; it was the strangeness of the idea, and the freshness of the sentiment of the work, quite unprecedented, that struck them.

So when Zeuxis saw that the novelty of the subject was taking their attention and distracting them from the technique of the work, and that the accuracy of detail was taking second place, he said to his pupil: "Come on, Micio, cover up the picture and all of you pick it up and take it home. These spectators are praising only the mere clay of my work, but as to the effects of light, they do not worry much whether they are beautiful and skilfully executed, and the novelty of the subject goes for more than the accuracy of its parts."

That is what Zeuxis said, not without some feeling perhaps. Antiochus—the one called the Saviour—is said to have had a similar experience in the battle against the Galatians. If you agree I'll tell you this story too. He knew that they were bold fighters and saw that there were many of them, and that their phalanx was compact and firm, with their bronze-clad warriors in the van and heavy-armed troops in the rear to a depth of twenty-four ranks, and that on either flank there were 20,000 cavalry,

2 τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν Γ: τῶν δ’ἐφ’ ὅτε Ν.
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ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μέσου τὰ ἀρματα ἐκπηδήσεσθαι μέλλοντα δρεπανηφόρα ὑγοδήκοντα καὶ συνωρίδας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δις τοσαῦτας, ταῦτα ὅρων πάντων πονηρὰς εἴχε τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὡς ἀμάχων ὄντων ἐκεῖνων αὐτῶ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ δι' ὀλίγου τῆς στρατιάς ἐκείνης παρασκευασθείσης οὐ μεγαλωσεὶ οὐδὲ κατ' ἄξιον τοῦ πολέμου ἀφίκετο κομιδῇ ὀλίγους ἁγνῶν, καὶ τούτων πελαστικὸν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ψυλικὸν. οἱ γυμνήτες δὲ ὑπὲρ ἦμαυ τῆς στρατιάς ἦσαν. ὥστε ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἤδη σπένδεσθαι καὶ τινα εὐπρεπῆ διάλυσιν εὐρίσκεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου.

9 Ἀλλὰ Θεοδότας ὁ Ῥόδιος, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος καὶ τακτικῶν ἐμπειρὸς, οὐκ εἴα παρὼν ἄθυμειν. καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκκαίδεκα ἐλέφαντες τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ. τούτων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Θεοδότας τέως μὲν ἔχειν ὡς οἰὼν τε κατακρύψαντα, ὡς μὴ κατάδηλοι εἶνεν ὑπερφαύνομενοι τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἑπειδὰν δὲ σημῆν οὐ σαλπιγκτῆς καὶ δῇς συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἤναν καὶ ἡ ἱππὸς ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπελαύνηται καὶ τὰ ἀρματα οἱ Γαλάται ἀνοίξαντες τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διαστήσαντες ἐπάρφωσεν, τότε ἀνὰ τέτταρας μὲν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἄπανταν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῖς ἐπεῦσαν, τοὺς ὠκτὼ δὲ ἀντεταφεῖναν τοῖς ἀρματηλάταις καὶ συνωρίασταις. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο γένοιτο, φοβηθήσονται αὐτῶν, ἐφ', οἱ ἱπποὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας αὕθις ἐμπεσοῦνται φεύγουντες.

10 καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἠδόντες ἐλέφαντα οὔτε αὐτοὶ Γαλάται οὔτε οἱ ἱπποὶ αὐτῶν οὕτω πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὁμεσίς ἔσταράθησαν, ὥστε πόρρω ἐτὶ τῶν θηρίων ὄντων ἐπεὶ μόνον τετριγότων ἦκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὁδόντας ἔδων ἀποστιλβοῦντας ἐπισημότερον ὡς ἄν ἐκ μέλανος 164
while in the centre were eighty scythed chariots and twice as many two-horse chariots ready to make a sally. Antiochus then thought little of his chances of defeating such an invincible array. His own force had been hurriedly prepared and was not impressive or strong enough for the engagement. He had very few men, mostly targeteers and light-armed troops—light infantry made up over half of his force. Consequently he thought it prudent to make an immediate truce and to come to some honourable arrangement for putting an end to the war.

He had with him, however, Theodotas of Rhodes, a fine soldier and skilful tactician, and this man's presence restored his confidence. Now Antiochus had sixteen elephants, and Theodotas told him to keep them hidden as much as possible so they should not be seen towering above the troops; on the signal for battle just when the fighting was to start and the troops to come to grips and the enemy's cavalry charged, the Galatians would open their phalanx and stand aside to let the chariots through; at that moment a group of four elephants should be sent against the cavalry on either flank, the remaining eight attacking the scythed and two-horse chariots. Such a movement, said Theodotas, would frighten their horses and turn them back in flight against the Galatian ranks. So it turned out. Neither the Galatians themselves nor their horses had previously seen an elephant and they were so confused by the unexpected sight that, while the beasts were still a long way off and they could only hear the trumpet, ing and see their tusks gleaming all the more brightly against their bodies dark all over and their trunks
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toû pantaí sómata kai tá proonómiáis ós 'es áρpaγήν úperaúrouménas, prín ἦ τὸ τόξευμα εξικνεύσαν, εκκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμω ἔφευγον, oi méν πεζοὶ περιπερόμενοι ὑπὲ ἄλληλων τοῖς δοράσιοι καὶ συμπατούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς εἶχον ἐμπεσόντων ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὰ ἀρματα δὲ, ἀναστρέψαντα καὶ ταῦτα ἐμπαλιν εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους, οὐκ ἀναμωτὶ διεφέρετο ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Ὄμηρον, "δίφροι δ ἀνεκυμβαλίαζον." oi ἱπποὶ δε ἐπείπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστὸ τὸ εὐθὺ ὀδοῦ ἀπετρέποντο οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν ἑλεφάντων, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀποβαλόντες "κεῖν ὅχεα κροτάλιζον" τέμνοντες νὴ Δία καὶ διαμιᾶντες τοῖς δρέπάνους εἰ τινὰς τῶν φίλων καταλάβοιεν. πολλοὶ δὲ ὡς ἐν ταράχῳ τοσοῦτῳ κατελαμβάνοντο. ἐίποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑλέφαντες συμπατούντες καὶ ἀναρριπτοῦντες ταῖς προνόμαιας ὡς ψυσ καὶ συναρπάζοντες καὶ τοῖς ὀδοὺς περιπείροντες, καὶ τέλος οὕτοι κατὰ κράτος παραδίδοσι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν νίκην.

11 Οἱ Γαλάται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου γενομένου, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλαμβάνοντο, πλὴν πάνυ διὰ τὸ ὀπόσοι ἐφθασαν εἰς τὰ ὅρη ἀναφυγόντες, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ὅσοι σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ ἦσαν, ἐπαινύζοντας καὶ προσόντας ἀλλο ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνέδουν τὸν βασιλέα καλλίνικον ἀναβοῶντες. ὁ δὲ καὶ δακρύσας, ὡς φασιν, Αἰσχυνώμεθα, ἔφη, ὃ στρατιῶται, οἱς ἡ σωτηρία ἐν ἐκκαίδεκα τούτους θηρίοις ἐγένετο· ὡς εἰ μὴ τὸ καών τοῦ θεάματος ἐξέπληξε τοὺς πολέμους, τῖ ἀν ἦμεις ἴμην πρὸς αὐτοὺς; ἐπὶ τε τῷ τροπαίῳ κελεῦει ἀλλο μηδὲν, ἑλεφαντὰ δὲ μόνον ἐγκολάψαι.

12 "Ὡρα τοῖνν με σκοπεῖν μή καὶ τοῦ μόνου ὀμοίουν ἡ
raised like hooks, they turned and fled in a disorderly rout before they were within bowshot. Their infantry were impaled on each other’s spears and trampled underfoot as they were, by the cavalry, which came riding into them. The chariots too turned back against their own men and broke their ranks, not without bloodshed—in the words of Homer “the chariots clattered as they overturned.”¹ Once the horses had veered from their straight course in their fear of the elephants, they threw off their drivers and the “empty chariots rattled on,”² actually tearing and cutting with their scythes any of their own men in their path. Many men were caught since there was utter confusion. The elephants followed, trampling on them, tossing them aloft in their trunks, snatching and piercing them with their tusks, and in the end these animals had presented Antiochus with an overwhelming victory.

The Galatians lost many killed in the great slaughter. The rest were taken prisoner, except for a very few who escaped to the mountains in time. Antiochus’s Macedonian contingent raised the Paean and gathering round him crowned him “king of glorious victory” with acclamation. Antiochus is said to have wept as he addressed his troops. “Men,” he said, “we owe our lives to these sixteen animals; so let us rather feel shame. For if the strangeness of what they saw had not thrown the enemy into confusion, what should we have been compared with them?” Then he ordered them to decorate the trophy with a carved elephant and nothing else.

It is time for me to consider whether my army is

¹ Homer, Il. xvi, 379. ² Homer, Il. xi, 160.
τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἄξιον μάχης. ἔλεφαντες δὲ τινες καὶ ξένα μορμολύκεα πρὸς τοὺς ὄρωντας καὶ θαυματοποιών ἄλλως· ἐκεῖνα γοῦν ἐπανοοῦσι πάντες. οἷς δὲ ἐγὼ ἐπεποίθειν, οὐ πάντα ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν θῆλειν Ἱπποκένταυρος γεγραμμένη, τούτο μόνον ἐκπλήττονται καὶ ὡσπερ ἔστι, καὶ νῦν καὶ τεράστιον δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μάτην ἄρα τῷ Ζεύξιδι πεποίηται; ἀλλ’ οὐ μάτην—γραφικὸν γὰρ ὑμεῖς καὶ μετὰ τέχνης ἐκαστα ὀρατε. εἴη μόνον ἄξια τοῦ θεάτρου δεικνύειν.

1 τὰ μὲν . . . μάχης om. ΓΩΦ: τὰ μὲν ἄξια μάχης NXM: ἄξιον Mras.
ZEUXIS OR ANTIOCHUS

like that of Antiochus—in general inadequate for the fight, but with some elephants, some queer hobgoblins to see, and some conjuring tricks. It is these qualities at any rate that everyone praises. The things I had confidence in are of no account at all to them. They marvel only because a female Hippocentaur has been painted, and they think it novel and portentous, as indeed it is. The rest of Zeuxis's work was wasted, I suppose. But no, not wasted—you are real artists and examine each detail with craftsmen's eyes. My only hope is that my show may be worthy of its audience.
A SLIP OF THE TONGUE
IN GREETING

An apology to a patron for a slip of the tongue gives an opportunity for a disquisition on the three forms of greeting: “Joy to you,” “Health to you,” and “Do well.” For Lucian’s sensitivity to niceties of diction see *The Mistaken Critic* (Loeb, vol. V, pp. 371 ff., with Harmon’s introduction).
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΣΕΙ ΠΤΑΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ

1 Χαλεπών μὲν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα δαίμονός τυνς ἐπήρειαν διαφυγείν, πολὺ δὲ χαλεπώτερον ἀπολογιάν εὑρεῖν παραλόγου καὶ δαίμονίου πταίσματος, ἀπερ ἀμφοτέρα νῦν ἐμοὶ συμβέβηκεν, ὅς ἀφικόμενος παρὰ σε, ὡς προσείπομι τὸ ἐωθινὸν, δέον τὴν συνήθη ταύτης φωνῆς ἀφεῖναι καὶ χαίρειν κελεύειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἐπιλαθόμενος ὑγιαίνει σε ήξίουν, εὐφημον μὲν καὶ τούτο, οὐκ ἐν καρφῷ δὲ ὡς οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἔω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτω ἐυθὺς ἵδιον τε καὶ ἡρυθρῶν καὶ παντοίος ἥν ὑπὸ ἀπορίας, οἱ παρόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν παραπάιειν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οἱ δὲ ληρεῖν ψὴ ήλικίας, οἱ δὲ χθεσινῆς κραυγάλης ἀνάμεστον ἐτὶ φωνὸ το με ἐναι, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα σὺ ἐπιεικῶς ἤγεγκας τὸ γεγονός οὐδ' ὅσον ἄκρῳ τῷ μειδιάματι ἐπισημηνάμενον τῆς γλώττης τῆς διαμαρτίας. ἐδοξέων οὖν μοι καλῶς ἔχεν παραμυθεῖν τινὰ ἐμαυτῷ συγγράψω, ὡς μὴ πάνυ ἀνιώμην ἐπὶ τῷ πταίσματι μηδ' ἀφόρητον ἡγοῦμην, εἰ πρεσβύτης ἄνηρ τοσοῦτον ἀπεσφάλην τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτων μαρτύρων. ἀπολογίας μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔδει οἶμαι ὑπὲρ γλώττης εἰς οὗτως εὐφημον εὐχὴν ὀλυσθούσης.

2 Ἀρχόμενος μὲν οὖν τῆς γραφῆς πᾶν ἀπόρω ἐντεύξονται ὑμὴν τῷ προβλήματι, προϊόντι δὲ
A SLIP OF THE TONGUE IN GREETING

It is difficult for a mortal to avoid the caprice of some power on high, but it is much more difficult to find a defence for a silly slip sent by some such heavenly power. Both of these misfortunes have now happened to me. When I came to you to give you the morning greeting, I ought to have used the usual expression "Joy to you," but like a golden ass I blundered and said "Health to you," a pleasant enough greeting, but not suitable—it is not for the morning. As soon as I had said it I was all sixes and sevens. I began to sweat and went pink. Some of the company thought it a slip—naturally enough; others thought that I had become a fool in my old age, or that it was a hangover from yesterday's drinking. You took it very well, though—not a trace of a smile to mark my slip of the tongue. So I thought it a good idea to write something to comfort myself, so as not to be too upset over my slip, or think it intolerable if I, an old man, had fallen so far from what was proper before so many witnesses. I don't think an apology was necessary for a tongue that slipped into a wish so pleasant.

When I began to write, I thought that I was taking on an impossible task, but as I went on I found
πολλά προφάνη τὰ λεκτεά. οὐ μὴν πρότερον ἐρῶ αυτά, ἣν μὴ περὶ τοῦ χαίρειν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐ πράττειν καὶ τοῦ ύγιαίνειν προείπω τὰ εἰκότα.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ χαίρειν ἀρχαία μὲν ἢ προσαγόμενας, οὐ μὴν ἐωθινὴ μόνον οὖδὲ ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐντεύξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἰδόντες ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον αὐτό, ὡς τὸ

χαῖρ', ὡς δυνάστα τῆς ὑπὸς Τιμυνθίας.
καὶ μετὰ τὸ δείπνον ἐς λόγους ἦδη παροιμίους τρεπόμενοι, ὡς τὸ

χαῖρ', Ἀχιλεῦ, διατὸς μὲν ἑτοῖς οὐκ ἐπιδεεῖς,
"Οδύσσευς ὅποτε τὴν ἐπεσταλμένην πρεσβείαν αὐτῷ ἔρρητόρευεν. καὶ ἦδη ἀπίοντες παρ' ἀλλή-

χαῖρετ', ἐγώ δ' ὑμιν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι
θυττός.

ἴδιος δὲ καίρος οὔδεις ἀπενενέμητο τῇ προσρήσει,
οὐδὲ ὡς νῦν μόνος ὁ ἐωθινός, ὅποι γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαισίων καὶ ἀπευκτοτάτων οἳμως ἔχρωντο αὐτῇ,
ὡς ὁ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Πολυνείκης ἦδη τελευτῶν τον
βίον,

καὶ χαῖρετ', ἦδη γὰρ με περιβάλλει σκότος.
καὶ οὐ μόνον φιλοφροσύνης αὐτοῖς ἦν τοῦτο

1 Homer, Il. ix, 225.
A SLIP OF THE TONGUE IN GREETING

plenty to say. But before I tell you this, let me say a few suitable words about these greetings "Joy to you," "Do well," and "Health to you."

"Joy to you" is the ancient greeting, not however confined to the morning or to the first meeting, but they used it whenever they first caught sight of one another, as in

"Joy to you, you lord of this Tirynthian land,"
and after dinner when they were ready to talk over their wine, as in

"Joy to you, Achilles, there is no lack
Of meat for all alike."  
when Odysseus was declaring to him his embassy's mission. They used it also when they took their leave, as in

"Joy to you! No longer mortal know me now,
To you a god divine."  
This greeting was not reserved for a special time, as now only for morning. Indeed even on the most unwelcome and inauspicious occasions they used it nevertheless, as in Euripides when Polynices at the end of his life says

"Joy to you! For now does darkness gird me round."  
It was not just a sign for them of friendly feeling, but also of dislike and final parting. For example, to bid "Joy to it and a long one" meant that they washed their hands of it.

2 A verse of Empedocles.
3 Euripides, Phoenissae, 1453.
3 
Πρώτος δ' αυτὸ Φιλιππίδης ὁ ἡμεροδρομὴς λέγεται ἀπὸ Μαραθώνος ἀγγέλλων τὴν νίκην εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καθημένους καὶ πεφρον- 
τικότας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέλους τῆς μάχης. Χαιρετε, νικῶμεν, καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν συναποθανεῖν τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ καὶ τῷ χαίρειν συνεκπνεῦσαι. ἐν ἐπιστολῇ δὲ 
ἀρχῆ Ἐκλέων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος δημαγωγὸς ἀπὸ Σφακ-
τηρίας πρῶτον χαίρειν προθήκηκεν εὐαγγελιζόμενος 
τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐκείθεν καὶ τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν 
ἀλώσιν. καὶ ὁμοίς γε 1 μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ Νικίας ἀπὸ 
Σικελίας ἐπιστέλλων ἐν τῷ ἄρχαῖῳ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν 
dιέμεινεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀρξόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων.

4 ' Ἀλλ' ὁ θαυμαστὸς Πλάτων, ἀνὴρ ἄξιόπιστος 
νομοθέτης τῶν τοιούτων, τὸ μὲν χαίρειν κελεῦν 
καὶ πάνυ ἀποδοκιμάζει ὡς μοχθηρὸν ὃν καὶ οὐδὲν 
σπουδαῖον ἐμφαίνον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμιστές 
διάκειμένοις σύμβολον, καὶ ἐπιστέλλων γε τῷ 
Διονυσίῳ αὐτίκα αὐτόν, ὅτι ποιῶν ἐστὶ τῶν 
Ἀπόλλων χαίρειν τῶν θεῶν προσεῖπεν ὡς ἀνάξιον 
tοῦ Πυθίου καὶ οὐχ ὅπως θεοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώ-

5 'Ο μὲν γε θεσπέσιος Πυθαγόρας, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν 
αὐτὸς ἴδιον ἦμῖν καταλιπεῖν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἥξιωσεν, 
οὐκ ὁκέλλω 2 τῷ Λευκανῷ καὶ Ἀρχύται καὶ τοῖς 
ἄλλοις ὀμιληταῖς αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρεσθαι, οὔτε τῷ 
χαίρειν οὔτε τῷ εὖ πράττειν προφέρει, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ 
tοῦ ὑγιαίνειν ἀρχεσθαι ἐκελευν. ἀπαντεῖ γοῦν οἱ 
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλληλοι ἐπιστελλόντες ὅποτε σπουδαίον

1 καὶ ὁμοίως γε Seager: καὶ ὅλως καὶ Γ: καὶ ὅλως καὶ γε Ν: καὶ ὅλως γε Α.

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A SLIP OF THE TONGUE IN GREETING

Philippides, the one who acted as courier, is said to have used it first in our sense when he brought the news of victory from Marathon and addressed the magistrates in session when they were anxious how the battle had ended; “Joy to you, we’ve won,” he said, and there and then he died, breathing his last breath with that “Joy to you.” Cleon the Athenian demagogue also began his letter from Sphacteria with “Joy to you,” when he gave the good news of the victory there and the capture of the Spartiates. However after him Nicias in his despatches from Sicily followed the old practice and began right away with the matter in hand.

The admirable Plato himself, a most sound authority on such matters, altogether rejected the use of “Joy to you” as bad and pointless. He substitutes “Do well,” which implies a good state of both body and soul. In a letter to Dionysius he censures him for greeting Apollo with “Joy to you” in his poem to the god; it is unworthy of the Pythian, he says, and not even for men of taste is it becoming, let alone gods.

The divine Pythagoras chose not to leave us anything of his own, but if we may judge by Ocellus the Leucanian and Archytas and his other disciples, he did not prefix “Joy to you” or “Do well,” but told them to begin with “Health to you.” At any rate all his school in serious letters to each other began straightway with “Health to you,” as a greet-

1 424 B.C., during the Peloponnesian War.
2 Ep. III, 315B.
ΤΙ ΓΡΑΦΟΙΕΝ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΝ ΕΥΘΟΣ ΕΝ ΆΡΧΗ ΠΑΡΕΚΕΚΛΕΥΩΝΤΟ
ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟ ΨΥΧΗ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ ΑΡΜΟΔΙΩΤΑΤΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΛΩΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΙΔΗΦΟΣ ΤΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ
ΑΓΑΘΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΓΕ ΤΡΙΠΛΟΥΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΡΙΓΩΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΔΙ'
ΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΕΝΤΑΓΡΑΜΜΟΝ, ΩΣ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ
ΟΜΟΔΟΞΟΥΣ ΕΧΡΩΝΤΟ, ΥΓΙΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΩΝΟΜΑΖΕΤΟ,
ΚΑΙ ΌΛΩΣ ΗΓΟΥΝΤΟ Τῂ ΜΕΝ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΝ ΤΟ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΝ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ 1 ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ Τῂ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΝ ΟΥΤΕ
Τῂ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΝ. ΕΙΣΙ ΔΕ ΟΙ
ΚΑΙ ΣΗΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΤΥΝ, ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΌΡΚΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ,
Η ΤΟΝ ΕΝΤΕΛΗ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΝ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΙ, 2 ΗΔΗ 3
ΚΑΙ ΥΓΙΕΙΑΣ ΆΡΧΗΝ ΕΚΑΛΕΣΑΝ. ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΛΑΟΣ
ΕΣΤΙ.

ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΥΣ ΛΕΓΩ, ΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ
'ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ ΠΑΝΟ ΧΑΙΡΩΝ Τῂ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΗΝ
ΗΔΟΝΗΝ ΠΡΟ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΣΠΟΥ-
ΔΙΟΤΕΡΑΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙΣ (ΕΙΣΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΟΛΙΓΑΙ)
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΤΑΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΝ
ΕΥΘΟΣ ΕΝ ΆΡΧΗ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΤΕΙ; ΠΟΛΥ Δ' ΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΗ
ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΗ ΆΡΧΑΙΑ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ ΕΥΡΟΥΣ ΤΟ
ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΕΥΘΟΣ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ. ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ
ΟΥΛΕ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΣΑΦΩΣ ΠΡΟΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΝ
ΕΧΕΙ. Ο ΔΕ 'ΑΛΕΞΗΣ,

Ω ΔΕΣΠΟΘ', ΥΓΙΑΙΝ', ΩΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΛΗΛΥΘΑΣ·

Ο ΔΕ 'ΑΧΑΙΟΣ,

ΗΚΩ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΩΣ ΝΕΙΝΑ, ΣΩ Δ' ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕ ΜΟΙ.

1 το εδ... χαίρεν one late MS.: other MSS. om.
2 ἀποτελεί Marcilius: ἀποτελεῖν MSS.
A SLIP OF THE TONGUE IN GREETING

ing most suitable for both body and soul, encompassing all human goods. Indeed the Pentagram, the triple intersecting triangle which they used as a symbol of their sect, they called “Health.” In short they thought that health included doing well and joy, but that the converse did not altogether hold. Some of them called the Quaternion, their most solemn oath, which made for them the perfect number, the Beginning of Health. Philolaus, for example.

But why quote the ancients when there is Epicurus? He certainly enjoyed joy, and chose Pleasure as the chief good. In his more serious letters (there are not many of these) and in those to his dearest friends he generally began straightway with “Health to you.” In tragedy too and in Old Comedy you will often find “Health” said straightway first. The greeting

“Good health and joy be yours” 2

clearly puts health before joy. Alexis says

“Good health, my lord! At long last you are here,”

and Achaeus

“I come in dreadful case, but health I wish to you,”

1 The sum of the first four integers, i.e.

\[ 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10. \]

2 Homer, Od. xxiv, 402.

3 ἦδη Marcilius: οί δὲ MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

καὶ ὁ Φιλήμων,

αἵτω δ' ύψειαν πρῶτον, εἰτ' εὐπραξίαν,

τρίτον δὲ χαίρειν, εἰτ' ὀφείλειν μηδενὶ.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σκόλιον γράφας, οὐ καὶ Πλάτων

μέμνηται, τι καὶ οὐτός φησιν; Ἤγιαίειν μὲν

ἀριστον, τὸ δεύτερον καλὸν γενέσθαι, τρίτον δὲ

πλούτειν, τοῦ χαίρειν δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη,

ίνα σοι μὴ 1 τὸ γνωριμώτατον ἐκεῖνο καὶ πάσι διὰ

στόματος λέγω,

ὕψεια, προσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σεῦ ναιομι τὸ

λειπόμενον

βιωτᾶς.

ὡστε εἰ προσβίστη ἐστὶν ὑψεία, καὶ τὸ ἔργον

αὐτῆς τὸ ύψαίνειν προτακτέον τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν.

7 Μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ τε ποιητῶν καὶ συγγρα-

φέων καὶ φιλοσόφων καταδείξαι σοι ἔχων, προ-

τιμώντων τὸ ύψαίνειν, τούτο μὲν παραιτήσομαι,

ὡς μὴ εἰς ἀπευρκαλίαν τινὰ μειρακιώδη ἐκπέσῃ

μου τὸ σύγγραμμα καὶ κινδυνεύωμεν ἄλλω ἡλι-

κρούειν τὸν ἧλιον, ὀλίγα δὲ σοι τῆς ἀρχαίας

ἰστορίας ὀπόσα μέμνημαι οἰκεία τῷ παρόντι

προσγράψαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον.

8 "Ὅτε Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχην ἀγωνιε-

σθαί εμελλεν, ὡς Ἑυμένης ὁ Καρδιανὸς 2 ἐν τῇ

πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολὴ λέγει, ἐὼθεν εἰσελθὼν

eis tēn skhen aŭtōn d' Ἡφαιστίων, eit' ἐπιλαθόμε-

νος εἰτε ταραχθεῖς ὡσπερ ἑγὼ εἰτε καὶ θεοῦ τῶν

toûtō kataanagkásonos, tautōn eμοί ἐφη, Ἐγίαυνε,

βασιλεύ, καιρὸς ἥδη παρατάττεσθαι. ταραχθέντων

1 μὴ add. Fritzsche.
A SLIP OF THE TONGUE IN GREETING

and Philemon

"First I beg good health, and second doing well, Thirdly to have joy, and last to owe no debts."

What does the writer of that drinking-song which Plato mentions say? "Good health is best, then good looks, third wealth," and he never mentions joy at all. I need hardly mention that most familiar piece of all which everybody quotes,

"I'd live with thee, O Health, chief of the gods Through all the mortal life that's left to me." 2

Then if health is the chief of the gods, her work—the enjoyment of good health—is to be preferred to other blessings.

I could show you thousands of other passages in the poets and historians and philosophers which put health first, but I shall beg to be excused, or my writing will be guilty of the bad taste of an adolescent, and only knock one nail out with another. But a few things from ancient history I remember are to the point, and I may as well add them for you.

Just before the Battle of Issus, as Eumenes of Cardia says in his letter to Antipater, Hephaestion came early into Alexander's tent. He blundered or was confused (as I was) or was driven to it by some god when he gave my greeting: "Health to you, king," he said, "it is already time to set the battle-

1 Plato, Gorgias, 7. The scolium is quoted in full by Athenaeus, Deipn., xv, 40.
2 Attributed to Ariphron of Sicyon, Ath., Deipn., xv, 63.

2 Kap'ianos Solanus: Σαρδιανός MSS.
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dε τῶν παρόντων πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς προσαγορεύσεως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπ’ αἴσθους ἐκθανόντος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Δέχομαι, ἐπεὶ, τὴν κληδόνα. τὸ γὰρ σῶσοι ἐπανήξειν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡδή μοι ὑπέσχηται.

9 Ἀντίσχος δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ ὅτε τοῖς Γαλάταις συνάπτειν ἐμέλλειν, ἔδοξεν ὅναρ ἐπιστάντα οἱ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύειν σύνθημα πρὸ τῆς μάχης παραδούναι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ υγιαύνειν, καὶ ύπὸ τοῦτο τῶ 1 συνθήματι τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην νίκην ἐνίκησεν.

10 Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Δάγου Σελεύκῳ ἐπιστέλλων σαφῶς ἀνέστρεψε τὴν τάξιν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς υγιαύνειν αὐτοῦ προσεπτών, ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔρρωσθαι ὑπογράψας τὸ χαῖρειν, ὡς Διονυσίδωρος δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ συναγαγὼν φησιν.

11 Ἀξιον δὲ καὶ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἡπειρώτου μνησθήναι, ἀνδρὸς μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὰ δεύτερα ἐν στρατηγίαν ἐνεγκαμένου καὶ μυρίας τροπάς τῆς τύχης ἐνεγκόντος. οὕτως τοῖς ἀεὶ θεοῖς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύμων καὶ ἀνατιθέσι οὐδεπότε ἡ νίκην ἢ βασιλείας ἄξιωμα μεῖζον ἢ εὐκλείαν ἢ πλούτου ὑπερβολὴν ἣττησε παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τούτῳ ἡχετο, υγιαύνειν, ὡς ἐστὶν τοῦτ’ ἔχει, ῥαδίως αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων προσγενησομένων. καὶ ἀριστα ὁμίας εὐφόρον, λογιζόμενος ὅτι οὐδὲν ὀφέλος τῶν ἀπάντων ἁγαθῶν, ἐστὶν τοῦ ὑγιαύνειν μόνον ἀπῇ.

12 Ναί, φησίν τις, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκάστον καιρὸς ἵδιος ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἀποδεικται, 2 σὺ δὲ τοῦτον ἐναλλάξας, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐσφάλης, 3 ὄμως τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ οὐκ ἂν ἔξω εἴης τοῦ ἡμαρτηκέναι, ὡσπερ 182
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line." The others present were upset by the strange address, and Hephaestion almost died for shame. But Alexander said, "I accept the omen. It has now promised us a safe return from the battle."

When Antiochus Soter was about to engage the Galatians, he dreamed he saw Alexander standing by him, who told him to give the army the password "Health" before the battle, and under that word he won his amazing victory.

Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, when writing to Seleucus clearly reversed the usual order by putting "Health to you" at the beginning of his letter, and at the end "Joy to you" instead of wishing him strength. Dionysodorus who collected his letters tells us this.

Then Pyrrhus of Epirus also is worthy of mention. As a general he was second only to Alexander and endured a myriad changes of fortune. In all his prayers to the gods and sacrifices and offerings he never asked them for victory or increased kingly dignity or glory or excessive wealth; his prayer was for this thing alone—good health; he was sure that if he had this he would easily get all the rest. I think he was right when he considered that all the blessings in the world are worth nothing when health is the one thing he hasn't got.

Yes, someone will say, we have assigned the proper time for each phrase, but you have switched it; and even if you have done nothing else wrong, you have still in all justice made a slip; you’ve put a

1 τῶ add. Cobet.
2 ἀποδεικται τὰ χα ἄν εἴπῃ τις. σὺ δὲ ... N.
3 ἔσφαλτα Bekker: ἐφησθα MSS.

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ἀν εἰ τις περὶ τῇ κνήμῃ τὸ κράνος ἢ περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς κνημίδας ἐπιδήσατο. Ἀλλ’, ὁ βέλτιστε, φαίνει ἂν καγώδιο πρὸς αὐτούν, εἰκότως ἂν ταῦτα ἔλεγες, εἰ τις ὅλως καίρος ἢν ὑγείας μὴ δεόμενος, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἔσθεν καὶ μεθοῦσις ἡμέρας καὶ νῦκτωρ ἂεὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖν ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχοντι καὶ πολλὰ πράττοντι ύμῖν, ὅσοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ δείσθε τοῦ σώματος. ἐτι δὲ ὃ μὲν χαίρε εἰπὼν μόνον εὐφήμω τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔχρησατο, καὶ ἐστὶν εὐχή το πράγμα, ὁ δὲ ὑγιαίνειν παρακελεύομενος καὶ χρήσιμον τι ὁμοιοὶ καὶ ὑπομμηνήσκει τῶν πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν συντελεύτων, καὶ οὐ συνεύχεται μόνον ἄλλα καὶ παραγγέλλει.

13 τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐντολῶν βιβλίων, ὃ ἀεὶ παρὰ βασιλέως λαμβάνετε, τοῦτο πρῶτον ύμῖν ἐστὶ παράγγελμα, τῆς ὑγείας τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; καὶ μᾶλ' εἰκότως: ὅδεν γὰρ ἂν εἰς ὁφελός ύμῶν πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ οὕτω διακειμένων. ἄλλα καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ, εἰ τι καγώδι τῆς Ῥωμαίων φωνῆς ἐπαίνῳ, τοὺς προσαγορεύοντας ἀντιδεξιούμενοι τῷ τῆς ὑγείας ὀνόματι πολλάκις ἀμείβεσθε.

14 Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα εἰπὼν οὐχ ὃς ἐκ προνοίας ἀφελῶν μὲν τὸ χαίρειν, ἐπιτυγχανόμενος ὑμῖν, ἀρτ' αὐτοῦ εἰπέων τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, ἄλλ' ὡς τοῦτο μὲν ἀκων παθῶν—ἡ γελοῖος γ' ἢν ἢν ἐξεύξων καὶ τοὺς καίρους τῶν προσαγορεύοντας ἐναλλάττων. χάριν δὲ ὁμολογῶ τοῦς θεοὺς, ὅτι μοι τὸ σφάλμα εἰς ἄλλο μακρῷ αἰσιώτερον περιετράπη καὶ εἰς τὸ ἁμενον παρώλσθον, καὶ τάχα τῆς Ἡγείας ἢ Ἀσκληπιοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπυώκα τοῦτο ἐπράξθη δι' ἐμοῦ σοι τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ὑπισχυομένον· ἑπεὶ ἐγώγει 184
helmet on your shins and greaves on your head. Oh, yes, my good sir, I would answer, that would be reasonable if there were any time at all when health wasn’t needed; as it is you always need health—morning, noon, and night—, especially you magistrates and busy men who depend so much on your bodily vigour. "Joy to you" is only an auspicious beginning, a prayer in fact. "Health to you" is positive and useful; it reminds you of what makes for good health; it is a warning as well as a prayer. Now in the book of instructions you always get from the emperor, isn’t the first injunction to you to take care of your health? And rightly so. You would not be of much use otherwise. Indeed you yourselves, if I know any Latin, also often return the word "Health"¹ when you shake hands.

In saying all this I did not want deliberately to discard "Joy to you" and put "Health" in its place; this was an accident—it would be ridiculous for me to surprise you all by changing the usual times of the greetings. I am grateful to heaven that my slip was a switch into something much more auspicious and slid into something better. Perhaps the goddess Health or Asclepius himself inspired me on purpose to promise you health through me. I could certainly never have done it without a god’s inter-

¹ In Latin "Salve."
πώς ἂν αὐτὸ ἐπαθοῦν ἀνευθείᾳ μηδέπω πρότερον ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βιῶ ταραχθεὶς ὀμοίων;

16 Ἐπὶ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος ἀπολογίαν εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔξενον, εἰ πάνυ ἑσπονδακῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄριστοις ύπὸ σοῦ γνωρίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἀγαν ἐπιθυμίας εἰς τούναντίον διαταραχθεὶς ἐνεπεσον. τάχα δ’ ἂν τινα ἐκπλήξει τῶν κατ’ ὀρθὸν λογισμὸν καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος, ὃν οἱ μὲν προῳδοῦντες, οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς προσαγωγῆς ῥεῦσες μη μένοντες. οὖν δ’ εὖ οἶδ’ ὃτι κἂν οἱ ἄλλοι εἰς ἄνοιαν ἡ ἀπαίδευσίαν ἡ παραφροσύνη ἀναφέρωσι τὸ πράγμα, αἰδοῦς αὐτὸ σύμβολον καὶ ἀφελείας ἐποίησον καὶ ψυχῆς μὴδὲν ἀγοραίον καὶ ἐντεχνὸν ἐχούσης. ὡς τὸ γε πάνυ ταραρλέον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὡς πόρρῳ θρασύτητος καὶ ἀναισχυντίας ἔστών. καὶ ἐμοιγε ἐἵνε ἡμὲν μὲν τοιοῦτο σφάλλεσθαι, εἰ δὲ συμβαίη, πρὸς εὐφημίαν αὐτὸ τρέπεσθαι.

17 Ἔπὶ γοῦν τοῦ πρώτου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοιοῦτε τι λέγεται γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν ἔτυχε δίκην τινὰ δικάσια ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀπολύσας ἐγκλήματος τοῦ μεγίστου ἁδίκως συκοφαντούμενον ἀνθρωπών; ὁ δὲ χάριν ὀμολογῶν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, Χάριν οἴδα σοι, ἐφή, ὡ αὐτοκράτορ, ὅτι κακῶς καὶ ἁδίκως ἐδίκασας καὶ τῶν περί Σεβαστοῦ ἀγανακτησάντων καὶ διασπάσασθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐθελοῦν των. Παῦσαςας χαλεπαῖντες, οἰκεῖν ὑφη, οὐ γὰρ τὴν γλώτταν αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα τὴν γνώμην ἐξετάζειν ἤξιον. οἰκεῖος μὲν οὔτως, οὐ δ’ εἴε τὴν γνώμην

1 τῶν … λογισμῶν Sommerbrodt: τῶν … λογισμῶν Γ: τὴν … λογισμὼν Ν: τῆς λογισμῶν (? sic) Ε.

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vention, when I was never confused like this before in a long life.

But, if I must make a human apology for what has happened, there is nothing strange, if a fervent desire for your good opinion in all that is best was too strong and in my utter confusion I stumbled into the opposite effect. A man might also be startled away from proper deliberation by the crowd of soldiers pushing their way to the front or not waiting their turn in presenting their petitions. But I know that you at any rate have taken the affair as a sign of modesty and simplicity and a mind undebased and unsophisticated, even if the others referred it to ignorance or bad training or idiocy. Excessive boldness in such matters is not far off audacity and shamelessness. May I never make such a slip, or, if I do, may I happen on some lucky phrase!

Indeed they say that something like this happened to the first Augustus. It happened that he had decided a certain case correctly and acquitted a defendant who had been unjustly prosecuted on a most serious charge. The man acknowledged his gratitude in a loud voice: "Thank you, Emperor, for your bad and unjust judgment!" Augustus's courtiers were furious and would have torn him to pieces, but the emperor said, "Calm your anger. It is his meaning, not his words, that you must consider." That was his answer, but if you look at my
σκέψαιο, πάνυ εύνουν ευρήσεις, εἴτε τὴν γλώτταν, εὐφημος καὶ αὐτή.

19 "Εοικα δ' ἐνταῦθα ἦδη γενόμενος εἰκότως ἄλλο τι φοβήσεσθαι, μὴ τις δόξω ἐξεπίτηδες ἡμαρτηκέναι, ὡς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ταύτην συγγράψαμι. καὶ εἴῃ γε, ὦ φιλτάτε Ἀσκληπιεί, τοιοῦτον φανήναι τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὴ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξεως ἀφορμὴν εἶναι δοκεῖν.
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meaning, the intention, you’ll see, was good; if at my words, they too were auspicious.

Having now reached this point, I think I may reasonably be afraid of something else: some may think the slip deliberate, a pretext for writing this defence. May my composition, dearest Asclepius, be such that all may see it as a starting point of a display, not as a defence.
A SLIP OF THE TONGUE.

[Text not legible due to image quality]
APOLOGY FOR THE
"SALARIED POSTS IN GREAT HOUSES"

Lucian, now in an administrative position in the Civil Service in Egypt, defends himself against the charge of hypocrisy. His earlier essay (Loeb, vol. III, pp. 411 ff.) had attacked the life of educated men who took paid employment in the houses of the rich.
ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ

1 Πάλαι σκοπῶ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, ὡς καλὴ Σαβίνε, ἀτινά σοι εἰκὸς ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν ἀναγνώτα ἡμῶν τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μυσθῶν συνόντων βιβλίων· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄγελαστὶ διεξήεις αὐτὸ καὶ πάντα μοι πρόδηλον. ᾧ δὲ μεταξύ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐλέγετο, ταῦτα νῦν ἐφαρμότευν ξητῶ τοῖς ἀνεγνωσμένοις, εἰ τοῖνυν μὴ κακῶς ἐγὼ μαντικὴν, δοκῶ μοι ἀκούειν σου λέγοντος. Ἐιτὰ τὸν αὐτὸς ταῦτα γεγραφῶς καὶ κατηγορίαν οὕτω δεινὴν κατὰ τοῦ τοιούτου βίου διεξελθῶν, ἔπειτα πάντων ἐκλαθόμενος, ὀστράκου, φησι, μεταπεσόντος ἐκών ἑαυτῶν φέρων ἐς δουλείαν οὕτω περιφανῆ καὶ περίβλεπτον ἐνσέσεικεν; πόσοι Μίδαι καὶ Κροῖσοι καὶ Πακτώλοι ὅλοι μετέπεισαν αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὴν ἐκ παίδων φίλην καὶ σύντροφον ἐλευθερίαν, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἦδη τῷ Αἰακῷ γενόμενον καὶ μονονοχεί τὸν ἐτερον πόδα ἐν τῷ πορθμεῖν ἔχοντα παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἐλκέσθαι καὶ σύρεσθαι 1 καθάπερ ὑπὸ κλοῦ τινιχρυσῷ τῶν αὐχένα δεθέντα; οἷα ἐστὶ τῶν τρυφῶντων πλουσίων τὰ σφιγγία καὶ τὰ κουράλλια; πολλῆ γοῦν ἡ διαφωνία τοῦ νῦν βίου πρὸς τὸ σύγγραμμα καὶ τὸ ἅνω τοὺς ποταμοὺς

1 φέρεσθαι Ν.
APOLOGY FOR THE "SALARIED POSTS IN GREAT HOUSES"

I have long been wondering, my dear Sabinus, what it probably occurred to you to say now that you have read my essay on "Salaried Posts in Great Houses." It is quite certain that you had a good laugh when you read it; but I am trying now to fit the detailed and general comments you made to the text. If I am any good at divination, I think I can hear you saying: "To think that anyone could write that and work up such a devastating indictment against that sort of life, then, when the die falls the other way up, completely forget it and himself of his own free will rush headlong into a slavery so manifest and conspicuous! How many Midases and Croesuses and whole Pactoluses have persuaded him to throw away his liberty, the object of his care and companion of his nurture since childhood? Already within sight of Aeacus himself, with one foot almost in the ferry-boat he lets himself be dragged and pulled along as though by a golden collar fastened round his throat! What bracelets and necklaces the idle rich must have! There is much inconsistency here between his present life and his essay—"rivers

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χωρεῖν καὶ ἀνεστράφθαι τὰ πάντα καὶ παλινῳδεῖν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον· τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης μά Δ’ οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπ’ Ἰλίω γενομένων, ἀλλ’ ἔργω ἀνατριπτόμενων τῶν λόγων καλῶς πρότερον εἰρή

σθαι δοκοῦντων.

2 Τάυτα μὲν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ὡς τὸ εἰκός λέλεκταί σοι. ἐπάξεις δὲ ἰσως καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ἐιμβου-

λήν τινα τοιαύτην οὐκ ἀκαίρον, ἀλλὰ φιλικήν καὶ οἰω σοι χρηστῷ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ πρέπουσαν. ἣν μὲν οἰν κατ’ ἁξίαν ὑπὸδος τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον ὑποκρίνωμαι, εὐ ᾧ ἦμιν ἔχοι καὶ τῷ Λογίῳ 

θύσομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ σὺ προσθῆσεις τὰ ἐνδεόντα. ὥρα τούτων μετασκευάσαντας ἦμας τὴν 

σκηνήν ἐμὲ μὲν σιωπᾶν καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι τεμνόμενον 

καὶ καϊόμενον, εἰ δέοι, ἐπὶ σωτηρία, σὺ δ’ ἐπιπάτ-

τειν τῶν φαρμάκων καὶ τὴν σμίλην ἁμα πρόχειρον 

ἐχοντα καὶ τὸ καυτήριον διάπυρον. καὶ δὴ 

παραλαβῶν τὴν ῥήτραν σὺ ταύτα πρὸς μὲ ὁ 

Σαβίνος ἦδη λέγεις.

3 Πάλαι μὲν, ὃ φιλότης, ὡς εἰκός; εὐδοκίμηται 

σοι τουτὶ τὸ σύγγραμμα καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πλῆθει 

δειχθέν, ὡς οἱ τότε ἀκροασάμενοι δηγοῦντο, καὶ 

ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ὀπόσοι ὁμιλεῖν 

αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν ἥξισαν. ἡ τε γὰρ τῶν 

λόγων παρασκευὴ ὑμειτῇ καὶ ἡ ἱστορία πολλῇ 

καὶ ἐμπειρία τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὅτι ἐκαστα 

σαφῶς ἐλέγετο, καὶ, τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι χρήσιμα 

πᾶσιν ἤν καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις, ὡς τῇ 

ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας σφάς αὐτοὺς εἰς δουλείαν ὑπάγουσιν. 

ἐπεὶ δὲ σοι μετέδοξε βελτίω ταύτα εἶναι 1 τὴν μὲν

1 So Fritzche : εἶναι καὶ MSS.
flowing uphill' and 'the world upside down' and 'recantation for the worse,' not for a Helen indeed, or what happened at Troy; no, here in very fact are your words turned upside down, although they seemed well enough before."

That's what you said to yourself, I've no doubt. Perhaps you will offer me some such advice, not untimely, but friendly, and becoming to an honest philosopher like yourself. If I put your mask on and answer properly, all will be well for us, and we shall sacrifice to the God of Reason. If not, well, you will add what is lacking. Well then it is time for us to change the scene; I must keep quiet and endure your cutting and cautery if need be for survival's sake; you must apply the ointment and at the same time have the knife ready and the cauterising iron red-hot. Now you, Sabinus, take the word and thus you now address me:

"My dear friend, your essay, as is right, has long been admired, both before a great crowd at its first appearance, as those who then heard it told me, and privately among educated people who have not hesitated to use and handle it. The style could not be censured, its content was ample and showed a knowledge of the world; it was clear in detail and, most important of all, it was useful for everybody and particularly for the educated, to save them falling into servitude through ignorance. Now all is changed; this course seems better to you, to bid

1 The poet Stesichorus recanted his attack on Helen of Troy.
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ἀλλὰ μηδέ ἄλλῳ παράσχῃς τῶν τὸν παρόντα σου βιῶν ὀρώντων ἐπελθεῖν τὰ γεγραμμένα, εὔχου δὲ Ἐρμῆ τῷ χθονίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀκηκο-ότων πρότερον πολλήν λήθην κατασκεδάσαι, ἡ δόξεις τὸν τοῦ Κορνθίου μοθὸν 1 τι πεποιθέναι, κατὰ σαυτοῦ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης γεγραφῶς τὸ βιβλίον. μὰ γὰρ τὸν Δ᾽ ὅνυ ὅρῳ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἢτις ἂν εὐπρόσωπός σοι γένοιτο πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦτας, καὶ μάλιστα, ἣν σὺν γέλωτι αὐτὸ ποιώσων ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν συγγραφέα δουλεύοντα ὀρώντες καὶ ἐκόντα ὑποτιθέντα τὸν ἀρχέα τῷ ἔγγῳ. οὐκ ἀπεικότα γ᾽ οὐν λέγοιεν ἂν, εἰ λέγοιεν ἦτοι ἄλλῳ του γεναιόν ἀνδρός εἶναι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ σὲ τὸν κολοίν ἀλλοτρίος πτεροῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι. ἡ εἴπερ σὸν ἐστὶν, ὑμοιὰ σε τῷ Ἐλλαίθῳ ποιεῖν, ὅσ πικρότατον κατὰ μοιχῶν θείς τοῖς Κροτωνίαταις νόμον καὶ θαυμαξόμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτός ἐάλῳ μοιχεύσων τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. περὶ πόδα τοῖνυ καὶ σὲ τὸν Ἐλλαίθον ἐκείνον εἶναι φαίη τις ἂν. μᾶλλον δὲ πολὺ μετριώτερος ἐκείνος, ἔρωτι μὲν ἀλοῦς, ὡς ἐφασκεν ἀπολογοῦμενος, ἐκὼν δὲ μάλα εὐσφυγώς ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἄλλομενος, καὶ τοῦ ἑλεοῦντων αὐτὸν ἦδη Κροτονιατῶν καὶ ἐνδιδόντων φυγεῖν, εἰ βούλοιτο. τὸ δὲ σὸν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀτοπώτερον, ἀκριβοῦντος 196
freedom good-bye for ever, and to follow that sordid verse

'Where gain is, be a slave beyond your nature.'

Take care no one hears you reading it again; keep written copies out of the way of anyone who sees your present life, and pray Hermes down below to sprinkle plenty of Lethe on those who have already heard it. Otherwise you will be like the man in the Corinthian story, a Bellerophon who wrote the book against yourself. Indeed I don't see what answer you can make to give you a good face before your accusers, especially if they are laughing at you and praise the essay and its freedom while they see the writer himself enslaved and willingly putting his neck under the yoke. It would be reasonable enough, at least, if they said that someone else was the noble author, and you were a jackdaw strutting in borrowed plumes; or, if it is yours, that you were another Salaethus who made a most severe law against adultery at Croton and was admired for it, but shortly afterwards was himself caught seducing his brother's wife. It would be said that you were exactly that Salaethus—no, he was much more restrained than you; love caught him, as he said in his defence, and he jumped readily and bravely into the fire, although the people of Croton now pitied him and granted him exile if he preferred. But your case is much more shocking; you gave a precise description

Bellerophon carried a letter requesting his execution. Hom., ll. vi, 155 sqq.

So Γ: τῷ ... μύθοι ταῦτα τι N.
μὲν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τῆς τοῦ τοιούτου βίου δουλοπρεπειαν καὶ κατηγοροῦντος εἰ τις εἰς πλούσιον τινὸς ἐμπεσών καὶ καθείρξας ἐαυτὸν ἀνέχοιτο μυρία τὰ δυσχερὰ πάσχων καὶ ποιῶν, ἐν γήρᾳ δὲ ἵστατός καὶ σχέδον ἥδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐδὸν οὕτως ἀγεννὴ λατρείαν ἐπανηρμένου καὶ μονονοχῆ καὶ ἐμπομπεύοντος αὐτῆ. ὅσῳ γοῦν πᾶσιν ἡ ἐπισημοτερος εἶναι δοκεῖς, τοσοῦτῳ καταγελαστότερος ἂν δόξειας εἶναι ἀντιφωνοῦντος τοῦ νῦν βίου τῷ βιβλίῳ.

5 Καὶ τοῖς νεί καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ κατηγορίαν ἡμείς μετὰ τῆς θαυμαστῆς τραγῳδίαν λέγουσαν

μισῷ σοφιστήν, ὡστε οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφὸς;

οὕς ἀπορήσουσι δὲ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες καὶ ἄλλων παραδειγμάτων ἐπὶ σε, ἂλλ' οἱ μὲν τοῖς τραγικοῖς ὑποκριταῖς εἰκάσουσιν, οἱ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς σκηνῆς Ἀγαμέμνων ἔκατος αὐτῶν ἢ Κρέων ἢ αὐτὸς Ἡρακλῆς εἰσώ, ἔξω δὲ Πώλος ἢ Ἀριστόδημος ἀποθέμενοι τὰ προσωπεία γίγνονται ὑπόμισθοι τραγῳδοῦντες, ἔκπιπτοντες καὶ συμπτόμενοι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μαστιγοῦμενοι τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν τῷ θεάτρῳ δοκῇ. ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ τοῦ πιθήκου πεποιθέναι σε φήσουσιν ὃν Κλεοπάτρα τῇ πάνυ φασὶ γενέσθαι ἐκεῖνον γὰρ διδαχθέντα τέως μὲν ὀρχείσθαι πάνω κοσμίως καὶ ἐμμελῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ θαυμαξέσθαι μένοντα ἐν τῷ σχήματι καὶ τὸ πρέπον φυλάττοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄδουσι καὶ αὐλοῦσι συγκυνούμενον ὕμεναιον, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδὲν ἰσχάδα οἶμαι ἡ ἀμύγδαλον πόρρω κεμένη, μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα τοῖς αὐλοῖς καὶ ρυθμοῖς καὶ ὀρχήσασθαι συναρπάσαντα κατατρώ-198
in your essay of the slavishness of a life of that sort and added your condemnation of the thousand unpleasant things a man suffered and did once he fell into a rich man's power and put himself in chains, yet in extreme old age you chose such an ignoble service when you were almost over the threshold into death, and furthermore you all but plumed yourself on entering that service. At any rate the more distinguished a person everyone thinks you, the more ridiculous you will seem if your present life contradicts your essay.

"However, why need I look for a new charge against you when that splendid tragedy says:

'I hate a wiseacre who's not wise for himself.'

Your accusers will find plenty more examples to quote against you. Some will compare you to tragic actors, on stage each an Agamemnon, Creon, or Heracles himself, but with their masks off a Polus or Aristodemus; playing a part for money, hissed and whistled off the stage, and sometimes some of them are flogged, if the audience wishes. Others will say you are like the monkey which they say the famous Cleopatra owned; it was trained to dance most elegantly and in time, and was much admired as it kept up a part, behaving in a seemly fashion as it accompanied the singers and flautists of the bridal procession. But when he saw a fig, I suppose, or an almond some way off on the ground, then good-bye to flutes and rhythms and

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1 πᾶσιν Μ: φᾶσιν or φασίν other MSS.
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gεων, ἀπορρίφαντα, μᾶλλον δὲ συντρίφαντα τὸ πρόσωπον. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, φαίειν ἁν, οὐχ ὑποκριτής, ἀλλὰ ποιήσῃ τῶν καλλίστων καὶ νομοθέτης γενόμενος ὑπὸ ἀιχάδος ταυτησὶ παραφανείσης ἥλεγχθης πίθηκος ὁν καὶ ἀπὸ ἄκρου χείλους φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ἐτερα μὲν κεύθων ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ δὲ λέγων ὡς εἰκότως ἂν τινα ἐπὶ σοῦ εἴπειν ὅτι ἂ λέγεις καὶ ἔφ’ οἷς ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἄξιοῖς, χείλεα μὲν σοῦ ἐδίδεν, ὑπερφήν ἄν αὐχμώσαν καταλέλουσεν. τούγαρον παρὰ πόδας εὐθὺς ἔτυσας ἂκην, προπετῶς μὲν θρασυνάμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων χρείας, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ μονονοχί ὕπὸ κήρυξιν ἐξομοσάμενοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. καὶ ἐὼκεὶ ἡ Ἀδράστεια τότε κατόπιν ἐφεστῶσα σοι εὐδοκιμοῦντι ἐφ’ οἷς κατηγόρεις τῶν ἄλλων, καταγελᾶν ὡς ἂν θεὸς εἰδυία τὴν μέλλουσάν σοι ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολὴν καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸν κόλπον πτύσας πρότερον ἡξίους κατηγορεῖν τῶν διὰ ποικίλας τινὰς τύχας τοιαύτα πράττειν ὑπομενόντων. εἰ γοῦν ὑποθοῦτό τις τῷ λόγῳ τῶν Αἰσχύνην μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Τιμάρχου κατηγορίαν αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι καὶ φωραθήναι τά ὅμοια πάσχοντα, πόσον ἂν οἴει παρὰ τῶν ὅρωντων γενόσθαι τὸν γέλωτα, εἰ Τίμαρχον μὲν ἡδύμυνεν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ’ ὤραν ἡμαρτημένοις, αὐτὸς δὲ γέρων ἤδη τοιαύτα εἰς εαυτὸν παρενόμει; τὸ δ’ ὅλον ἔκεινω τῷ φαρμακοπώλῃ ἔοικας δὲ ἀποκηρύττων βηχῶς φάρμακον καὶ αὐτίκα καταπαύσεις τοὺς πάσχοντας ὑποχνούμενοι αὐτὸς μεταξὺ σπώμενος ὑπὸ βηχῶς ἐφαίνετο.

1 Hom., II. ix, 313. 2 Homer, II. xxiii, 495. 3 Nemesis.
dances! he grabbed and ate it up after pulling off his mask and even tearing it up. You then, they would say, were not a mere actor, but a poet of the noblest sentiments and a lawgiver; but when this fig appeared you were shown up a monkey, with philosophy on your lips, ‘hiding one thing in your heart, while saying another.’ So it may be fairly said against you that what you say and the matters for which you ask to be praised ‘wet your lips, but leave the palate dry.’ So retribution has followed close. You rushed headlong to attack human needs, then a little later forswore your freedom in what was almost a public proclamation. If Adrasteia stood behind you when your accusations were winning your reputation, she must have laughed, knowing as a god would what a turncoat you were going to be; you couldn’t have spat in your bosom, she would think, before thinking fit to accuse those who were driven to do this sort of thing by fortune’s fickleness. Suppose for argument’s sake that after Aeschines had made his accusation against Timarchus he had been caught doing just the same, in the very act, don’t you think those who saw it would have roared with laughter at this fellow who censured Timarchus for the sins of youth, and committed the same crimes himself in his old age? In short you seem just like that drug-seller who was advertising cough medicine and promising immediate relief to sufferers, while he himself was racked by a cough as he talked for all to see.”

4 To avert nemesis.
5 Aeschines was impeached by Timarchus, and brought a countercharge of debauchery against him. This made it illegal for Timarchus to undertake any prosecution.
Ταύτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα πολλὰ ἐτερὰ εἶποι τις ἂν οἷος σὺ κατηγορῶν ἐν οὕτως ἀμφιλαφεῖ τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ μυρίας τὰς ἀφορμὰς παρεχομένη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἦδη σκοπῶ ἦντινα καὶ τράπωμαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν. ἀρα μοι κράτιστον, ἐθελοκακήσαντα καὶ τὰ νῦτα ἐπιστρέφαντα καὶ ἄδικεῖν οὖκ ἀρνούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν κουην ἐκείνην ἀπολογίαν καταφυγεῖν,—λέγω δὲ τὴν Τύχην καὶ Μοῖραν καὶ Ἐιμαρμένην—καὶ παρατείσθαι συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι τοὺς ἑπιτιμάωντας εἰδότας ὡς οὐδενὸς ἦμεῖς κύριοι, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τινος κρείττωνος, μᾶλλον δὲ μιᾶς τῶν προερημένων ἀγόμεθα οὐχ ἐκόντες, ἀλλ’ ἀναίτιον παντάπασιν ὄντες ὅν ἂν λέγωμεν ἢ ποιωμεν; 1 ἢ τοῦτο μὲν κομιδῇ ἰδιωτικόν, καὶ οὐδ’ ἂν σὺ με, ὡ φιλότης, ἀνάσχοι τοιαύτην ἀπολογίαν προϊσχόμενον καὶ συνήγορον τὸν Ὀμηρον παραλαμβάνοντα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπὶ ῥαφιῶν δοῦντα,

Μοῖραν δ’ οὐτινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν 2 καὶ τὸ

γενομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μῆτηρ.

9 Εἰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀφεῖς τὸν λόγον ὡς οὐ πάνυ ἀξιόπιστον ἐκεῖνο λέγομι, μήτε ὑπὸ χρημάτων μήτε ὑπ’ ἄλλης τινὸς ἔλπιδος τοιαύτης δελεασθεῖς ὑποστήναι τὴν παροῦσαν συνουσίαν, ἄλλα τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ ἄνδρείαν καὶ μεγαλόνοιον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θαυμάσας ἐθελήσαι κοινωνῆσαι πράξεων τῷ τοιούτῳ, δέδοικα μὴ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιφερομένῃ κατηγορίᾳ κολακείας αἰτίαν 3 προσλαβὼν κατά

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This and a lot more of the sort could be said by a prosecutor like you in a case with such scope and countless opportunities for criticism. But now I am wondering to what defence I should turn. Is it best to play the coward, turn my back, and admit my wrong-doing, taking refuge in the universal defence, Fortune, Fate, Destiny? Shall I ask pardon from my critics, who know that we have no control and are driven by a mightier power, especially one of those just mentioned? Shall I say we do not wish it, but have no responsibility at all for what we say or do? Surely this is a very vulgar excuse, and, my good friend, you would not let me use any such defence or call in Homer as an advocate and chant his:

“No man, say I, ever escaped Fate.”

and again,

“Spun the thread at his birth, the day his mother bore him.”

But if I abandoned this argument as quite unconvincing and said this that I was not hooked by money or any such expectation when I formed the present association, but that I admired my patron’s intelligence and courage and elevation of thought and wished to share the fortunes of such a man, I fear that besides the accusation being brought against me I

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1 Homer, II. vi, 488. 2 Homer, II. xx, 128.

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1 So Γ²: om. ἄν Γ¹: ἄν λ. ἦ π. N.
2 So F and Homer: ἀνδρῶν εἶναι other MSS.
3 So F: πρὸς ... αἰτίαν om. Γ: δέδοικα μὴ καὶ ταύτα ἐλέγχωμαι προσλαβῶν N.
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eúρίσκωμαι ἡλίω, φασίν, ἐκκρούων τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ μεῖζονι γε τὸν σμικρότερον, ὅσῳ κολακεία τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κακῶν τὸ δουλοπρεπέστατον εἶναι —καὶ ταύτη χείριστον— νενόμισται.

10 Τι οὖν ἄλλο, εἰ μήτε ταύτα μήτε ἐκεῖνα λέγειν δοκεῖ, ὑπόλοιπον ἔστιν ἡ ὁμολογεῖν μηδὲ ἐν ύγίεσ εἰπεῖν ἔχειν; μία μοι ἵσως ἐκεῖνη ἁγκυρά ἐτὶ ἄβροχος, ὀδύρεσθαι τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν νόσον καὶ μετὰ τούτων τὴν πενίαν πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναπείθουσαν ὡς ἐκφύγοι τις αὐτήν. καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ οὖκ ἀκαίρως ἵσως καὶ τὴν τοῦ Εὐρυπίδου Μήδειαν παρακαλέσαι παρελθοῦσαν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἰαμβεῖα μικρὸν αὐτὰ παρῳδήσασαν:

καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά, πενίᾳ δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Θεόγνιδος κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω, τίς οὖν οἶδεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦντος καὶ ἐς βαθυκὴτεα πόντων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μιπτεῖν καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ἡλιβάτων, εἰ γε 1 μέλλει τις οὕτως ἀποδράσεσθαι τὴν πενίαν;

11 Ταύτα μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἃ τις ἄν ὡς ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀπολογήσασθαι ἔχωι, οὐ πάνυ εὐπρόσωπον ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν. οὐ δὲ μοι θάρρει, ὃ ἐταῖρε, ὡς οὔδεν τούτων ἐμοῦ χρησμότοι. μὴ γὰρ τοσούτος ποτε λιμὸς καταλάβοι τὸ Ἀργος ὡς τὴν Κυλλάραβιν 2 σπείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. οὐδὲ ἢμεῖς οὕτως πένητες εὐλόγου ἀπολογίας ὃς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τὰ τοιαῦτα κρησφύγετα πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ μοι ἐκεῖνο ἐννόησον, ὡς πάμπολυ διαφέρει, ἐς

1 So Fritzsche: κρ. γε ἡλ. εἰ μέλλει MSS. (μέλλει F).
2 Κυλλάραβιν Graevius: σκυλλάραβιν ΤΝ.
may be accused of flattery, and find myself knocking out a nail with a nail, as they say, and a small one with a big one at that, since flattery is considered the most servile—and therefore the worst—of all the vices.

Well then, if I am pleased with neither line of defence, am I driven to agree or to confess that I have no honourable argument? Perhaps I have still one anchor left on board, to complain of old age and disease and poverty as well, which persuades one to do or endure anything to get away from it. In such a case perhaps it is not untimely to call on Euripides’ Medea to come and say in my defence those iambic lines, parodied a little:

"I know the evil that I’m going to do,
But poverty is stronger than my plans." 1

I do not quote the Theognis passage, but everybody knows it, where he thinks it not improper for men to throw themselves from lofty crags into the deep yawning sea with its monsters, if one can escape poverty in that way. 2

Such are the pleas one might bring in defence in such a case as this, none of them pretty. But don’t be afraid, my friend, I’m not going to use any of them. May there never be such a famine at Argos that they try to sow the gymnasium at Cyllarabis, and may I never be so destitute of a reasonable defence that in my need I look for refuges of this sort against the accusation. But realise this: there is a very great

1 Euripides, Medea, 1078, with “passion” for “poverty.”
Τὸ δὲ ὅλον οὐ τοὺς μισθαρνοῦντας ἀπαντάς ἐγὼ φαύλῳ βίῳ συνεῖναι ἐφασκον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπὶ προφάσει παιδεύεσσις δουλεύοντας ὑκτειρον. τούτι δὲ, ὥ ἔταιρε, τὸ ἡμέτερον πρᾶγμα παντάπασιν ἐτεροῦν ἐστιν, εἰ γε τὰ μὲν οἰκοι ἴσοτιμα ἡμῖν, δημοσίᾳ δὲ τῆς μεγίστης.
difference between entering a rich man’s house as a hireling, where one is a slave and endures what my essay describes, and entering public service, where one administers affairs as well as possible and is paid by the Emperor for doing it. Consider every detail and examine it for yourself. You will find the two lives two octaves apart, to use a musical phrase, and as like each other as lead and silver, bronze and gold, anemone and rose, monkey and man. You are paid in both cases and are under a master’s orders, but there is a world of difference. In the one case the slavery is obvious, and those who enter on these conditions are not much different from slaves, whether bought or bred at home, while those who handle public business and make themselves of service to states and whole provinces cannot rightly be criticised merely because they are paid, or be brought down to the same level of general denunciation. Otherwise you must post-haste abolish all offices of this kind: neither administrators of all the provinces nor governors of cities nor commanders of corps or whole armies will please since they are paid for their work. No, you must not, I fancy, overturn everything because of an isolated example, or lump all wage-earners together.

In short I did not say that all wage-earners lived a mean and petty existence: no, it was those in private houses who endured slavery under the pretext of education that I pitied. My present situation, my friend, is altogether different. My private standing is not reduced, and in public life I take a share and

\[1 \text{ τοσαύτα Fritzche: τοσαύτα MSS.} \]
13 Ἡθέλω γοῦν ἐκ περιττοῦ χρησάμενος τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὁμόσε χωρήσας τῷ ἐπιφερομένῳ ἐγκλήματι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ δὴ φημὶ σοι μηδένα μηδὲν ἀμισθὶ ποιεῖν, οὔτ' ἂν τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα πράττοντας εὔπης, ὅπου μηδὲ βασιλέως αὐτὸς ἀμισθὸς ἐστιν. οὐ φόρους λέγω οὔτε δασμοὺς, ὅποιοι παρὰ τῶν ἁρχομένων ἐπέτειοι φοιτῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔστι βασιλεῖ μισθὸς μέγιστος ἐπαινοῦ καὶ ἡ παρὰ πάσιν εὐκλεία καὶ τὸ ἐπί ταῖς ὑεργεσίαις προσκυνεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰκόνες δὲ καὶ νεῶ καὶ τεμένη, ὅπόσα παρὰ τῶν ἁρχομένων ἔχουσι, μισθοὶ καὶ ταύτα εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν φροντίδων καὶ προνοιάς, ἡν ἐκφέρονται προσκοποῦντες ἀεὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ βελτίων ποιοῦντες. ὡς δὴ μικρὰ μεγάλους εἰκάζειν, ἡν ἐθέλησ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σωροῦ κορυφῆς ἐφ' ἐκαστὸν τούτων ἀφ' ὅν σύγκειται καταβαί—
play my part in the mightiest of empires. If you consider the matter you will realise that my personal responsibility in this administration of Egypt is not the least important—the initiation of court-cases and their arrangement, the recording of all that is done and said, guiding counsel in their speeches, keeping the clearest and most accurate copy of the president's decisions in all faithfulness and putting them on public record to be preserved for all time; and my salary not from any private person, but from the emperor, and it is no small one at that, many talents in fact. For the future I have no small hopes, if what is likely comes about—the supervision of a province or some other imperial service.

So I am willing to be bolder than I need be, to close with the charge against me, and to advance beyond defence. Moreover I say to you that no one does anything without pay, not even if you instance those at the head of things, for not even the emperor himself is unpaid. I do not mean tributes and taxes that come in every year from his subjects; no, the king's most important reward is praise, universal fame, reverence for his benefactions, statues and temples and shrines bestowed on him by his subjects—all these are payment for the thought and care which such men evidence in their continual watch over the common weal and its improvement. To compare small with great, if you will begin at the top of the heap and descend to each of its component parts, you
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... nein, öfiei oti megéthei kai sýmikrótttei diálláttomeven tòvñ ákrotátwon, tā d' alla músthofóroi ómouws ápantès.

14. Ei mév ouv toútvn étebeíkein tòvν vòmov µhθéna µhθéna práttein, énocoç òn eìkótwv édókoν tì paránomía, eì de toùtv mév ouédamoû tòvβeβlìov λèlektau µoi, χρη de tòvñ ágαthòv àndra énergòv einai, tì an allo ès déova autòw xρòto, ἡ φίλοi συμπονωνν πρòs tò βèλτιστα καν τòv µèsw υπαί- θριοσ πείραν αυτòv δìdoi swore eìche πίστεωs και σποudhèς και ευνοίας πρòs tò éγκεχειρισména, ὡς µη τò 'Ωmērıkôn ékeíno "étwswvñ áxhòs árhoũρh" eïw;

15. Pρò de tòvñ ólwv meυmìswaì xρη toûvns épitimíwv- taz oti ou sofìw οντη µoi—eì de tis kai allòs èstì pòu sofós—épitimíswouvsìv allà tòvñ èk tòvν πòllou δήmov, λόγou µèv âskhßanta kai tà métra épainoumênov ép' autòis, pròs de tòvñ ákraν ékeínhu tòvñ koruβfaiwv árètēv ou πànw geγμυνασμénov, kai µà Dì' ouv' éptì toùtvw ânàssthai moì áξioun, oti µhθè òllfhv ègw yovn èntetúkhka tìn tòvν sofòv ypòsçexwv àppoluhlè- roûnti. soû µeνtòi kai vàmuássamû an épitimíwntûs µou tòvν yvvi bìwv, eì ge épitimísws, òn prò pòllou ÿ'deis éptì ῥètorikh ðèmsia meγístas músthoforàs èneγkàmewn, ópòte káta ðeαν tòu èstepríon 'Okeanou kai tìn Kèltikhv âma èptiws ènêtvxhes ÿmûn tòis meγalómísthous tòvñ sofìstòwn ènàρìμhou- mévous.

Tàutà sou, ω ètaiρe, kaiτoi év μυrìas tâis

1 Homer, Il. xviii, 104.
will see that we differ from those at the top in size, but that in other respects we are all wage-earners alike.

Now if I had laid down a law that no one must do any work, I would rightly be thought guilty of breaking it; but if this was nowhere said in my essay, but rather that a good man ought to be active, how better could he employ himself than to work with his friends for the best ends and in full view under the open sky to let his loyalty, seriousness of purpose, and good will in his undertakings be put to the test, so that he may not be "a useless burden to the earth" 1 in Homer's words?

Above all, those who censure me must remember that it is not a wise man—if such there be anywhere—whom they will censure but one from the common people, one who has trained himself in words and received moderate praise for them, but one completely unpractised in that acme of the virtues that the cream of men display. And surely I ought not to be grieved even on this account, for I at any rate have met no other who fulfilled the promise of wisdom. However I should be surprised if you were to condemn me for my present life—you knew me long ago when I was commanding the highest fees for the public practice of rhetoric, at the time when you went to see the Western Ocean and the lands of the Celts and met me: my fees were as high as those of any professor.

This then, my friend, is the defence which I offer
ἀσχολίαις ὡν ὃμως ἀπελογησάμην, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ
θέμενος τὴν λευκήν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ πλήρη μοι
ἐνεχθήναι· ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοὺς ἄλλους, κἂν συνάμα
πάντες κατηγορῶσιν, ἵκανον ἃν εἴη μοι τὸ σοῦ
φροντίς Ἰπποκλείδη.
APOLOGY

to you, busy though I am with countless tasks, thinking it of prime importance to secure my full acquittal at your hands. As for the rest, even if they all condemn me unanimously, I shall be content to quote "Hippoclides doesn't care." ¹

¹ A proverb from the story in Herodotus, vi, 127–129.
HARMONIDES

An appeal to a patron for support. The story of Harmonides and Timotheus gives point to the inevitable flattery.
ΑΡΜΟΝΙΔΗΣ

1 'Αρμονίδης ὁ αὐλητὴς ἦρετό ποτε Τιμόθεον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ὄντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὃ Τιμόθεε, πῶς ἂν ἐνδοξός γενοῦμην ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ; καὶ τί ποιοῦντα εἰσονταί με οἱ Ἑλληνες ἄπαντες; τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα εὖ ποιῶν ἑδιδάξω με ἥδη, ἀρμόσασθαι τὸν αὐλὸν ἐς τὸ ἄκριβες καὶ ἐμπνεύς ἐς τὴν γλωσσίδα λεπτὸν τι καὶ ἐμμελές καὶ ὑποβάλλειν τοὺς δακτύλους εὐαφῶς ὑπὸ πυκνῆ τῇ ἀρσεί καὶ θέσει καὶ βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ σύμφωνα εἶναι 1 τὰ μέλη πρὸς τὸν χορὸν καὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας ἐκάστης διαφυλάττειν τὸ ἱδίον, τῆς Φρυγίου τὸ ἐνθεον, τῆς Λυδίου τὸ Βακχικόν, τῆς Δωρίου τὸ σεμνόν, τῆς Ἰωνικῆς τὸ γλαφφυρόν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα ἐκμεμάθηκα παρά σοι· τὰ μέγιστα δὲ καὶ ὃν ἕνεκα ἐπεθύμησα τῆς αὐλητικῆς, οὐχ ὑρὼ πῶς ἂν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς μοι προσγένοιτο, ἢ δόξα ἢ παρά τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπίσημον εἶναι ἐν πλήθεσι καὶ δείκνυσθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ, καὶ ἦν ποὺ φανὼ, εὐθὺς ἐπιστρέφεσθαι πάντας εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ λέγειν τοῦνομα, οὗτος 'Αρμονίδης ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀριστος αὐλητής, ὁσπερ ὡτε καὶ σὺ, ὃ Τιμόθεε, τὸ πρῶτον ἐλθὼν οἴκοθεν ἐκ Βοωτίας ὑπηύλησας τῇ Πανδονίδι καὶ ἐνίκησας 2 ἐν τῷ Άιαντί τῷ ἐμμαχεί, τοῦ ὁμονύ- μου 3 σοι ποιήσαντος τὸ μέλος, οὔτεις ἦν ὃς

1 εἶναι Macleod: εἶναι MSS.
HARMONIDES

HARMONIDES the pipe-player once asked Timotheus, who was his teacher. "Tell me, Timotheus, how can I become famous in the art? What must I do to become known to all the Greek world? You have already (and I thank you) taught me the rest of the art: I mean, to tune the pipe accurately, to blow lightly and harmoniously into the mouthpiece, to fit the fingers with easy touch to the full rise and fall of the music, to step in rhythm, to direct the music harmoniously in the direction of the dancers, and to master the peculiarities of each mode—the frenzy of the Phrygian, the excitement of the Lydian, the dignity of the Dorian, the elegance of the Ionian. All this I have learnt from you. But the most important matter—the reason for my interest in the art of pipe-playing—I don't see how pipe-playing will ever bring me to it. I mean universal fame, being noticed in a crowd, being pointed at, and on putting in an appearance anywhere having everyone turn towards me and say my name, 'That is Harmonides the outstanding piper'; just as when you too, Timotheus, first left your home in Boeotia and accompanied the Daughter of Pandion and won the victory in the Ajax Mad, playing the music your namesake had written for you, every single person

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3 ὀμωνύμων Manilius: ὀμώνυμόν MSS.
τήνομα, Τιμόθεου ἐκ Θηβῶν. ἀλλ’ ἐνθα ἂν καὶ νῦν φανῆς, συνθέουσιν ἐπὶ σε πάντες ὃσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν γλαύκα τὰ ὀρνεά. ταῦτ’ ἐστίν δι’ ἄπερ ἡμᾶς ἀυλήσθη γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅν πεπόνηκα τὸν πόνον τὸν πόλιν· ἔπει τὸ γε αὐλεῖν αὐτὸ ἄνευ τοῦ ἑνδοξοῦ εἶναι δι’ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην ἀγνώστω μοι προσγενόμενον, οὐδ’ εἴ Μαρσύας ἡ Ὁλυμπος γενήσεσθαι μέλλοιμι λανθάνων. ούδεν γὰρ ὀφελος ἀπορρήτου, φασὶ, καὶ ἀφανὸς τῆς μουσικῆς. ἀλλὰ σὺ, ἐφη, καὶ ταύτα παιδεύσομε, ὅπως μοι χρηστεύω κάμαντῳ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, καὶ σοι δίστην εἰσομαι τὴν χάριν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλήσει καὶ, τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ αὑτῆς.

2 Ἀποκρίνεται οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Τιμόθεος, Ἀλλ’, ὃ Ἀρμονίδη, ἔρας μὲν, ἐφη, εἰ ἵσθι, οὐ μικρὸν πράγματος, ἐπαίνου καὶ δόξης καὶ ἐπίσημος εἶναι καὶ γιγανώσκεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλιν, τούτῳ δὲ εἴ μὲν σύνως πῶς ἐστὶ τὰ πλῆθη παρόν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἑθελος πορίζεσθαι, μικρὸν ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ οὐδὲ σύνως ἄπαντες εἰσονται σε. τοῦ γὰρ ἂν εὑρεθείη ἡ θέσιν ἡ στάδιον σύνως μέγα, ἐν φάσιν αὐλήσεις τοῖς Ἑλλησιν; ὡς δὲ ποιήσομαι γνωθήσῃ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας ἀφίξῃ τῆς εὐχῆς, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο ὑποθήσομαι σοι· σὺ γὰρ αὐλεῖ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θέατρα ἐνίοτε, ἀτὰρ ὀλίγον μελέτω σοι τῶν πολλῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐπίτομος καὶ ῥάστα ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν ἄγουσα ἢδε ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλαδὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ ὀλίγους αὐτῶν ὅσιον κορυφαίον καὶ ἀναμφιλόγως θαυμαστοί καὶ ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα πιστοὶ, εἰ τούτοις, φημί, ἐπιδείξασθα τὰ αὐλήματα καὶ οὕτω ἐπαινέσου-
HARMONIDES

knew your name, Timotheus of Thebes. Whenever you appear there now, everyone flocks round you like birds around an owl. This was my reason for wanting to become a pipe-player and undertaking the hard training. I shouldn't consider taking up pipe-playing for its own sake without its attendant reputation, and if I were to remain in obscurity. No, not even if I were to be an unknown Marsyas or Olympus. It's no use, they say, if musical skill is to be secret and kept hidden. But teach me this as well, how to do some good to myself as well as our art and I shall feel doubly grateful to you—for the pipe-playing and, most important of all, for the glory it confers."

Timotheus replied, "You must realise, Harmonides, that it is no small thing that you're in love with—praise and reputation, distinction and being known to the public—, but if this is what you want—to be able to go into crowds in this way and to be pointed out—, it will be a long business, and not even then will you be known to everyone. Where would you find a theatre or stadium big enough to play to all the Greeks? But I'll suggest a way of becoming known to them and attaining your hopes in all their fullness: play the pipe sometimes in theatres as well yet take but little notice of the crowd. This is the easiest short cut to a reputation. For if you choose only the best of Greece and of these just the few at the top, men of undisputed genius and reliable judgment, if, I say, you show off your pipe-pieces to them and they praise you, then you can think your—"
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ta' se, apaiv 'Ellhosi vómize ήδη γεγενήθαι
gnôrmios én oútω braisei. kai to prágma òra
pòs sountíthme: ei 'gár ou's ápantes ísasoi kai ou's
thetaimázousin, ou'toi dè elavntai se aulhtê̂n euðókí-
mon ónta, tî suî déi tòw polûwv, ou' ge pântos
ákolouthísoun toîs ãmeinov kri'nav duvamévous;
ogár toî polûs òutos lewos, aútoî mën ãgnousoi
tá bêltwv, bânauvoi ou'tes ou' polloi autòv,
ôntua ò' av iô prou'xontes èpavnèsws, piou'tóusoi
mή ãn állogos èpavnèthnai tou'ton. òoste èpavnè-
sousoi kai aútoî. kai 'gár ou'n kai en toûs ágnwsoi
ou'm polloi theatai ísasoi 1 krotôsai pote kai
sûrisai, krînousi dè êppà ̂ h pènte ̂ h òsoi dêh.
3 Tavta ò mën 'Armonoîdhs ouk èfðh poùgesa.
metaëv 'gár aulwv, fassî, òte òo pròwton ãgwni-
zeto, filotimôteron èmfusow ènapètpensse tô
aulw kai ásteftâwos én tî skhnh ápethane òo
autô kai pròwton kai ùstatov aulîsas én toûs
Dionvsoiws.
'O méntoi tou' Tîmotheou lògos ouk aulhetaîs
ou'de 'Armonoîdhs mûn ou eirhôsai mou dokei, allâ
pâsiv òsoi dôshs ðréngontai dêmôtswv tî èpideikyn-
menou, tou' parâ tòw polllwn èpâîwv deîmenv.
ègwh ou'n ôpôte kai autôs ènênôsun tâ òmîa
pèi tòw èmavtoû kai èçhtov òpws ãn tâxîsta
gnwseînh pâsiv, tòu Tîmotheou lògos èpêmmenos
eskopoùmen òstis ò árstos eîh tòw en tî póleî
kai òtov piou'tôusousoi ou' álloi kai òs ãnti pàntov
ârkeseiên ãn. ou'tow dè ára sv èmellès òmîn
fâ'nêsthai tôv dikaîw lògow, ò tî per tô kefâlaiwn
ârêthîs âpâshts, ò gnîmîn, fassî, kai ò orðôs
kanîw tôw toioûtwv. ei dè sou deîzami tâmâ
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self a man of repute in the eyes of all the Greeks after this short trial. Do you see what my plan does for you? Suppose that those whom everyone knows and admires recognise that you are a piper of ability, then you can ignore the crowd—they will always follow men of superior judgment. This great mass doesn't recognise quality for itself—most of them are low, vulgar fellows—but when acclaim is won from men of standing, they all believe it is due and reasonable, and they too will acclaim. The truth, you see, is that even when watching competitions plenty of spectators know how to clap at the end and hiss, but judgment is the prerogative of the odd half dozen.”

Harmonides did not have time to carry out these instructions. The story goes that during his first attempt at winning the pipe competition, his competitive blowing was so keen that he blew his last breath on his pipe and died on the stage uncrowned: his one Dionysiac performance was his first and his last.

It seems to me that Timotheus's principle applies not only to pipe-playing and Harmonides but to all those who look for fame by making a public exhibition of themselves, aiming at the applause of the crowd. Take my own case. When I was contemplating something similar for myself and was looking for the quickest means of acquiring a general reputation, I took Timotheus's advice. I looked for the best man in the city, the one everybody else would believe, the one who would suffice for all. You alone could reasonably be seen as the man, you the sum of all excellence, the measure, as they say, and model of accuracy in all such matters. To show you

1 ἵσασι one late MSS. : εἰσι(ν) other MSS.
καὶ οὖ ἐπανέσειασ αὐτά—εἰς γὰρ οὕτω φανήσειςθαι—, καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ πέρας ἤκειν με τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐν μᾶ ψήφῳ τὰς ἀπάσας λαβόντα. η τίνα γὰρ ἂν πρὸ σοῦ ἐλόμενος οὐχὶ παραπαίειν ἂν δικαίως νομισθεῖν; ὡστε λόγῳ μὲν ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀναρρύθησομεν τὸν κύβον, τὸ δ' ἁληθὲς ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ τοὺς ἀπανταχόθεν ἀνθρώπους συγκαλέσας ἐσ κοινὸν θέατρον ἐπιδεικνυόμην τοὺς λόγους. ἔθλον γὰρ ὡς καθ' ἐνα τε καὶ συνάμα πάντων συνειλεγμένων μόνος αὐτὸς ἀμείνων ἄν ἦσθα. οἱ μὲν γε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστου μίαν ψήφον φερόντων, ἔκεινοι μόνοι ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν δύο ἐφερον, σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ τὰς τῶν γερόντων προσέτι, καὶ ὅλως ἀπάντων ὁ πολυψηφότατος ἐν παιδείᾳ σὺ γε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσῳ τὴν λευκὴν ἀεὶ καὶ σώζουσαν φέρεις, δ' καὶ θαρρεῖν με ἐν 1 τῷ παρόντι ποιεῖ διὰ γε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμηματος καὶ πάνιν δικαίως ἄν φοβηθέντα, κάκεινο δὲ νὴ Δία προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸ θαρρεῖν ποιεῖ, τὸ μὴ παντάπασι ἀλλότρια τὰμὰ εἶναι σοι, ὃς πόλεως γε 2 ἐκείνης εἶμι, ἦν πολλάκις εὐ ἐποίησας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰδίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον κοινῇ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἐθνος. ὡστε ἦν που καὶ νῦν ἔμοι ἐς τὸ χείρον ῥέπωσον αἱ ψήφοι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐλάττους ὅσιν αἱ ἀμείνων, σὺ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς προστιθέεις ἀναπλήρου τὸ ἐνδέουν παρὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα οἰκεῖον σοι δοκεῖτο.

4 Καὶ γὰρ οὔδε ἐκείνῳ μοι ἰκανόν, εἰ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν πρότερον, εἰ ἐνδοξος ἦδη ἐγὼ, εἰ

1 μὲ ἐν Jacobitz: μὲν Γ: μὲ other MSS.  
2 γε Fritzsche: τε MSS.
my work and for you to give it your praise—if only that could be!—then indeed would I have attained the fullness of my desire, winning the votes of all through that of you alone. Whom could I prefer to you without being rightly considered out of my wits? It could be said that I would be staking everything on one man, but in reality it is as if I had assembled the whole population in one theatre as audience for my words. For the plain fact is that by yourself you would be a better judge than the whole assembly taken singly or together. Now the kings of Sparta alone had two votes each, the rest had one: but you carry the weight of ephors and council as well, and in short in the field of culture you have a block vote that outvotes all. Most important of all you always hold the casting vote that secures an acquittal. This gives me courage at the present time, for I might well be nervous—my presumption is so great. There is in all truth an additional reason for my confidence: my interests are not altogether alien to you, inasmuch as I am a native of a city that has often been a beneficiary of your good will, both in specific acts of kindness and generally in company with the rest of the nation. So if at the present time the voting is going against me in the count and the favourable votes are in a minority, like Athena give your casting-vote and make up the deficiency in your own person, and let the credit be yours for setting the matter right.

It is not enough for me that many may have expressed admiration before, that I may have some

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1 Orestes was acquitted by Athena’s casting vote; see Aeschylus, Eumenides.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπαινοῦνται πρὸς τῶν ἀκουσάντων οἱ λόγοι. πάντα ἔκεινα ὑπηνέμια οὐείρατα, φασὶ, καὶ ἐπαίνων σκιαὶ. τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐν τῷ παρόντι δειχθῇσται: οὗτος ἀκριβὴς ὁρος τῶν ἐμῶν, οὐδὲν ἀμφίδοξον ἔτι οὐδ' ὡς ἂν τις ἐνδοιάσειεν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀριστον κατὰ παιδείαιν δεήσει νομίζεσθαι, σοὶ γε δόξαν, ἡ πάντων—εὐφημεῖν δὲ χρῆ πρὸς οὗτω μέγαν ἄγωνα χωροῦντα. δόξαιμεν γὰρ, ὡς θεοὶ, λόγου ἄξιοι καὶ βεβαιώσατε ἡμῖν τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαίνον, ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν θαρροῦντας ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς παρεῖναι. πάν γὰρ ἦδη στάδιον ήττον φοβερὸν τῷ Ὀλύμπια τὰ μεγάλα νεκρικότι.
reputation already, that my works are praised by those who have heard them—all this is empty show, as they say, a mere shadow of approval. Now the truth will appear; this is the strict measure of my work. There will henceforth be no doubt, no hesitation. I must be judged now either supreme in the field of literature, for this is your verdict, or of all men—but I must utter no word of ill omen now that I am entering on such a mighty contest. Heaven grant me your approval and confirmation of my reputation! Then for the future I shall face the world with a brave heart. Any other stadium already holds less terror for the man who has won the great prizes of Olympia.
Lycinus attacks Hesiod, and through him all poets who make similar claims, for claiming to prophesy the future.
ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΣΙΟΔΟΝ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1 Ἂλλα ποιητὴν μὲν ἄριστον εἶναι σε, ὦ Ἡσίοδε, καὶ τούτῳ παρὰ Μούσῶν λαβεῖν μετὰ τῆς δάφνης αὐτὸς τε δεικνύεις ἐν οἷς ποιεῖς—ἐνθεα γὰρ καὶ σεμνὰ πάντα—καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν οὕτως ἔχειν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀπορήσαι ἄξιον, τί δήποτε προειπών ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ ὡς διὰ τούτῳ λάβοις τὴν θεσπέσιον ἐκείνην άδήν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὅπως κλείοις καὶ ἴμνοις τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ θεσπίζοις τὰ ἐσόμενα, θάτερον μὲν καὶ πάνυ ἐντελῶς ἔξενήγοχας θεῶν τε γενέσεις διηγούμενος ἄχρι καὶ τῶν πρῶτων ἐκείνων, χάοις καὶ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔρωτος—ἐτὶ δὲ γυναικῶν ἀρετᾶς καὶ παραμένεις γεωργικᾶς, καὶ οὐσα περὶ Πλειάδων καὶ οὐσα περὶ καιρῶν ἄρτον καὶ ἄμητον καὶ πλοῦτο καὶ ὅλας τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων· θάτερον δὲ καὶ ὁ χρησμότερον ἢν τῷ βίῳ παρὰ πολὺ καὶ θεῶν δωρεάς μᾶλλον ἐοικός—λέγω δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων προαγόρευσιν—, οὐδὲ τὴν ἄρχην ἐξαπέφηνας, ἄλλα τὸ μέρος τοῦτο πᾶν λήθη παραδεδωκας οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς ποιήσεως ἡ τὸν Κάλχαντα ἡ τὸν Τήλεμον ἡ τὸν Πολύειδον ἡ καὶ Φινέα μυθίσμενος οἶ μηδὲ παρὰ Μούσῶν τούτων τυχόντες ὅμως προεθέσπιζον καὶ οὐκ ὥσκων χρᾶν τοῖς δεομένοις.

2 "Ὡστε ἀνάγκη σοι τῶν τριῶν τούτων αἰτίων μᾶ γε πάντως ἐνέχεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐφεύσω, εἰ καὶ πικρὸν
That you are the best of poets, Hesiod, and that Muses gave you this honour along with the laurel, you yourself prove from your poetry, where all is inspired and stately, and we believe it's true. But one thing puzzles us. You claim on your own behalf that you had received that divine song from heaven so that you might sing the praises of the past and prophesy the future. Now the one task you accomplished fully enough in your account of the birth of the gods up to those primeval beings Chaos, Earth, Heaven, and Love; again you told of virtuous women and gave advice to farmers—what the Pleiades mean, the right times for ploughing, reaping, sailing, and all the rest. But your second intention, far more useful to life and more akin to divine gifts—prophecy of the future I mean—, you did not even begin. No, you let the whole subject be forgotten and nowhere in your poetry have you followed the example of Calchas or Telemus or Polyidus or even Phineus, who did not even receive this gift from Muses but prophesied all the same and never hesitated to give oracles to those who asked.

So you must be assuredly liable to one of these three charges: either you were lying; to put it
eἰπεῖν, ὃς ὑποσχομένως σοι τῶν Μούσων καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγειν δύνασθαι: ἡ ἄι μὲν ἐδοσαν ὕστερ ὑπέσχοντο, οὐ δὲ ὑπὸ φθόνον ἀποκρύπτεις καὶ ὑπὸ κόλπον φυλάττεις τὴν δωρεὰν οὐ μεταδίδους αὐτῆς τοὺς δεομένους. ἡ γέγραπται μὲν σοι καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, οὐδὲπω δὲ αὐτὰ τῷ βίῳ παραδεδωκες οὐκ οίδα εἰς ὃν καιρὸν τινα ἄλλων ταμιεύμενος τὴν χρήσιν αὐτῶν. ἑκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὔδε τολμήσαμι ἃν εἰπεῖν, ὡς αἱ Μοῦσαι δύο σοι παρέξειν ὑποσχόμεναι τὸ μὲν ἐδοσαν, ἐξ ἡμισείας δὲ ἀνεκαλέσαντο τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν—λέγω δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων γνώσιν—καὶ ταῦτα προτέραν αὐτῆς ἐν 3 τῷ ἐπει ὑπεσχημέναι. Ταῦτα οὖν παρὰ τίνος ἄλλου, Ἡσίοδε, ἢ παρ’ αὐτοῦ σοῦ μάθοι τις ἂν; πρέποι γὰρ ἂν, ὕστερ οἱ θεοὶ “δωτῆρες éαών” εἰσίν, οὐτω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν, τοῖς φίλους καὶ μαθηταῖς αὐτῶν, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας ἔξηγείσθαι περὶ ὃν ἑστε καὶ λύων ἡμῖν τὰς ἀπορίας.

ΗΣΙΟΔΟΣ

4 Ἐνθὰ μὲν μοι, ὅ βέλτιστε, ῥαδίαν ἀπόκρισιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι σοι περὶ ἀπάντων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐστὶν τῶν ἐρραψῳδημένων ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἱδιὸν ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Μουσῶν, καὶ ἔχρην σε παρ’ ἐκείνων τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν τε εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν παραλελειμμένων ἀπαιτεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἰδιὰ ἡπιστάμην—λέγω δὲ τοῦ νέμειν καὶ ποιμαίνειν καὶ ἔξελαύνειν καὶ βδάλλειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀσα ποιμένων ἐργά καὶ μαθήματα—δίκαιος ἂν ἐν ἁπλη ἀπολογεῖσθαι· αἱ θεαὶ δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν δωρεὰς οἷς τε ἂν ἑθέλωσι καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσον ἂν οἰωνται καλῶς ἔχειν μεταδίδοσιν.

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A CONVERSATION WITH HESIOD

harshly, when you said that the Muses promised you power to foretell the future; or they kept their promise, but out of spite you are keeping their gift hidden in your pocket and not sharing it with those who ask; or you have written a great deal on the subject, but not yet given it to the outside world, preserving its use for some or other special occasion. I wouldn't dare say this, that the Muses promised you two things and gave you one, breaking half their promise—knowledge of the future I mean—especially when they promised this first in your work. Who but you yourself could tell us this, Hesiod? As the gods are "givers of goods," ¹ so it is proper for you poets, their friends and disciples, to expound in all sincerity the knowledge you have and free us from our perplexity.

HESIOD

My fine friend, there is an easy answer to it all. I could say that nothing that I composed belonged to me personally, but to the Muses, and you should have asked them for an account of what was put in and what left out. But for what I knew for myself—tending, herding, driving, milking, and the other practices and lore of shepherds—I would be rightly accountable; but the goddesses give their gifts to whom they will and for as long as they think it proper.

¹ Homer, Od. viii, 325.
ΤΟΙΟΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΤΩΝ ἔστο ΛΕΠΤΟΤΑΤΟΝ ἈΚΡΙΒΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ἈΠΑΙΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΥΛΛΑΒΙῈΝ ἘΚΑΣΤΗΝ ἘΝΤΕΛῈ ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΤΑ ΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΑ, ΚΑῚ Εἲ ΤῸ ΣΤΗ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ ΔΡΟΜῈ ΠΑΡΑΡΡΥΕΝ ΛΆΘῈ, ΠΙΚΡῈΣ ΤΟῦΤΟ ἘΞΕΤΑΖΕΙΝ, ἈΛΛῈ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ ΌΤΙ ΠΟΛΛᾲ ΗῈΜΕΙΣ ΚΑῚ ΤᾲΝ ΜΕΤΡΩΝ ΕἲΝΕΚΑ ΚΑῚ ΤῈΣ ΕΥΦΑΝΙῈΣ ἘΠΕΜΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝ· Τᾲ ΔΕ ΚΑῚ ΤῸ ἘΠΟΎ ΑὐΤῸ ΠΟΛΛᾲΚΙΣ ΛΕΙᾲ ΌΝΤΑ ΟὐῈ ΌΙΔῈ ὈΠῈΣ ΠΑΡΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ. ΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΙΎΣΤΟΝ ὍΝ ἘΧΟΜΕΝ ἈΓΑΘᾲΝ ἈΦΑΙΡΗ ἩΜᾲΣ—ΛΕΓῈ ΔΕ ΤΗῈΝ ἘΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ ΚΑῚ ΤῈΝ ΤῸ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ἘΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ, ΚΑῚ Τᾲ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛᾲ ΟὐῈ ὌΡᾲ ὍΣΑ ΤῈΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΛᾲ, ΣΚΙΝΔΑΛΙΜΟUS ΔΕ ΚΑῚ ΑΚΑΝΘᾲΣ ΤῈΝᾲ ἘΚΛΕΓΕΙΣ ΚΑῚ ΛΑΒΑΣ ΤῈΝ ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΙᾲ ΞΗΤΕΙΣ. ἈΛΛῈ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΤΑῦΤΑ ΟΥ ΟὐΔΕ ΚΑῚ ΕΜΟ῔ ΜΟΝΟΥ, ἈΛΛᾲ ΠΟΛΛῈ ΚΑῚ ΑΛΛῈ Τᾲ ΤΟῦ ὈΜΟΤΕΧΝΟΥ ΤΟῦ ΕΜΟ῔ ὉΜΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΚΙΝΖΟΥΣΙ ΛΕΠΤᾲ ΟŬΤῈ ΚΟΜΙΔῈ ΚΑῚ ΜΑΛΙΣΤᾲ ΜΙΚΡᾲ ἈΤΤᾲ ΔΙΕΞΙΟΝΤΕΣ. Εἲ ΔΕ ΚΑ⿻ ΧΡῈ ὍΜΟΣΕ ΧΩΡΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΤῈΝ ΑΙΤΙᾲ ΤῈΝ ὈΡΘΟΤΑΤῈΝ ἈΠΟΛΟΓΙᾲΝ ἈΠΟΛΟΓΗΣΑΘΑΙ, ἈΝΑΓΝΩΘΙ, Ὅ ΟŬΤΟΎ, Τᾲ ὉἘΡΓᾲ ΜΟΥ ΚΑῚ ΤᾲΣ ὩΜΕΡΑΎ. ΕΙΣῈ ΓΑΡ ὍΣΑ ΕΝ ΤῸῈ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΙ ΤΟῦΤῈ ΜΑΝΤΙΚᾲΝ ἈΜΑ ΚΑῚ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚᾲΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΘΕΣΠΙΣΤΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΤᾲΣ ἈΠΟΒΆΣΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΔΗΛΟΥΝΤΑ ΤᾲΝ ΤΕ ὈΡΘᾲΣ ΚΑῚ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΙΡῸΝ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑῚ ΤᾲΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΕΛΕΙΜΜΕΝΩΝ ΤᾲΣ ΞΗΜΙᾲΣ. ΚΑῚ ΤῸ 5 ὌΜΟΙῈ ΔΕ ΟὐῈ ἈΠΟΡΗΣΩΝ ΠΡΟΎ ΣΕ ΚΑῚ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚᾲΝ ἈΠΟΛΟΓΙᾲΣ. 1 ΟΥ ΓΑΡ, ΟΙΜΑΙ, ΧΡΗ ΠΑΡᾲ ΤᾲΝ ΠΟΙΗΤῶΝ ἘΣΤῸ ΛΕΠΤΟΤΑΤΟΝ ἈΚΡΙΒΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ἈΠΑΙΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΥΛΛΑΒΙῈΝ ἘΚΑΣΤῈΝ ἘΝΤΕΛῈ ΠΑΝΤῈΣ ΤΑ ΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΑ, ΚΑῚ ΕΙ ΤῸ ΣΤΗ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ ΔΡΟΜῈ ΠΑΡΑΡΡΥΕΝ ΛΆΘῈ, ΠΙΚΡῈΣ ΤΟῦΤΟ ἘΞΕΤΑΖΕΙΝ, ἈΛΛῈ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ ΌΤΙ ΠΟΛΛᾲ ΗῈΜΕΙΣ ΚΑῚ ΤᾲΝ ΜΕΤΡῈΝ ΕἄΝΕΚΑ ΚΑ二是 ΕΥΦΑΝΙῈΣ ἘΠΕΜΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝ· Τᾲ ΔΕ ΚΑ二是 ΤῸ ἘΠΟΎ ΑὐΤῸ ΠΟΛΛᾲΚΙΣ ΛΕΙᾲ ΌΝΤΑ ΟὐῈ ΌΙΔῈ ὈΠURRENTkas ΠΑΡΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ. οὐ δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ὁν ἔχομεν ἀγαθῶν ἀφαίρη ἡμᾶς—λέγω δὲ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἔξουσίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐχ ὀρᾶς οίσα τῆς ποιήσεως καλά, σκινδαλίμους δὲ καὶ ἀκάνθας τυνάς ἐκλέγεις καὶ λαβᾶς τῇ συκοφαντίᾳ ξητεῖς. ἅλλα οὐ μόνος ταῦτα οὐδὲ κατ’ ἐμοὺ μόνου, ἄλλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ τοῦ ὀμοτέχνου τοῦ ἐμοῦ Ὁμήρου κατακινζουσὶ λεπτὰ οὕτω κομιδῆ καὶ μάλιστα μικρὰ ἀττὰ διεξίοντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ χρῆ ὁμόσε χωρῆσαντα τῇ αἰτίᾳ τῆς ὀρθοτάτης ἀπολογίαν ἀπολογήσασθαι, ἀνάγνωθι, ὦ οὗτος, τὰ Ἐργὰ μου καὶ τὰΣ ὩΜΕΡΑΣ. εἰσῄ γὰρ οίσα ἐν τῷ ποιήματι τούτῳ μαντικῶς ἀμα καὶ προφητικῶς προτεθέσπισταί μοι τὰς ἀποβάσεις προδηλοῦντα τῶν τε ὀρθῶς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πραττομένων καὶ τῶν παραλελειμμένων τὰς ξημίας. καὶ τὸ ὀίσεις δ’ ἐν φορμῷ, παῦροι δὲ σε θηρήσονται, καὶ πάλιν οίσα ἀγαθὰ περιέσται τοῖς ὀρθῶς γεωργοῦν χρησιμωτάτη ἀν 2 τῷ βίῳ μαντικῆ νομίζοιτο.

1 ἀπολογίας γ: ἀστυλογίας β.
Nevertheless I shall not fail to defend my poetry against you. It is not, I think, proper to examine poetry in minute detail, nor to demand complete perfection down to every syllable of what is said, nor again to criticise bitterly any unconscious oversight in the flow of the composition. No, you must realise that we include much for the sake of both metre and euphony, and often the verse itself has somehow let in some things, they fit so smoothly. But you are robbing us of our greatest possession—I mean freedom and poetic licence. You are blind to the other beauties of poetry, and pick out a few splinters and thorns and seek out handles for captious criticism. You are not alone in this, nor am I the only victim. Many others pick the poetry of my fellow-craftsman Homer utterly to pieces, pointing out similar niggling details, the merest trifles. Well, if I have to come to grips with the charge, and make a clear-cut defence, read my Works and Days, my man. You will see how much, like a real seer and prophet, I foretold in that poem, predicting the outcome of right and timely action and the penalties of neglect. Remember my

"you will carry it in a basket, and few there'll be to admire" \(^1\)

and again the blessings that follow right farming—this should be thought a prophecy most useful for living.

\(^1\) Works and Days, 482; i.e., "your harvest will be poor."

\(^2\) \(\dot{\alpha}v\) Dindorf; \(\dot{\epsilon}v\) MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

7 Τούτο μὲν οὖν, ὦ θαυμαστὲ Ἡσίοδε, καὶ πάνυ ποιμενικὸν εἰρηταί σοι, καὶ ἐπαληθεύειν ἑοικας τὴν τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπίπνοιαν ἐν αὐτὸς οὐδ' ἀπολογείσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπών δυνάμενος. ἦμεις δὲ οὐ ταύτην τὴν μαντικὴν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν περιεμένομεν· ἐπεὶ τὰ γε τοιαῦτα πολὺ μαντικῶτεροι ἦμῶν οἱ γεωργοὶ, καὶ ἀριστὰ μαντεύσαντ' ἂν ἦμων περὶ αὐτῶν—ὅτι ὑσαντὸς μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐθαλῆ ἔσται τὰ δράγματα, ἡν δὲ αὐχμὸς ἐπιλάβη καὶ δυσκύσωσιν αἰ ἄρουρα, οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μη οὐκε λιμὸν ἐπακολουθήσαι τῷ δύσει αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅτι οὐ μεσοῦντος θέρους χρῆ ἀροῦν, ἢ οὐκ ἃν τι ὀφελος γένοιτο εἰκῇ ἐκθεστῶν τῶν σπερμάτων οὐδὲ ἄμαν χλωρὸν ἔτι τὸν στάχνων, ἢ κενὸν εὐρεθήσεται τὸν καρπὸν. οὐ μὴν οὖν ἔκεινο μαντείας δεῖται, ως ἢν μὴ καλύψῃ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ θεράπων μακέλλην ἔχων ἐπιφορῇ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῖς, καταπτήσεται τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ προκατεδεῖται τὴν ἀπασαν τοῦ θέρους ἐλπίδα.

8 Τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παρανέσεις μὲν καὶ ὑποθήκας λέγων οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμαρτάνοι, μαντικῆς δὲ πάμπολυ ἀποδείκνυ οἱ δοκεῖ, ὡς τὸ ἔργον τὰ ἁδηλα καὶ οὐδαμὴ οὐδαμῶς φανερά προγνωσκεῖν—ὡσπερ τὸ τῷ Μίνωϊ προειπεῖν ὅτι ἐν τῶ τοῦ μέλιτος πίθων ὁ παῖς ἔσται αὐτῷ ἀπορερενγένος, καὶ τὸ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς προμηνύσαι τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ὀργῆς τὴν αὐτίαν καὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ ἐτεὶ ἀλώσεσθαι τὸ Ἰλιον. ταύτα γὰρ ἡ μαντική. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰ τις αὐτῇ ἀνατιθείη, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι

1 ἐπίπνοιαν N: ἐπίπνοιαν Γ.Α.
2 πολλοὶ Γ.
A CONVERSATION WITH HESIOD

LYCINUS

In that, my admirable Hesiod, there speaks the true shepherd; you seem to be truly inspired by the Muses, when you yourself cannot even make a defence of your verse. But this is not the prophecy we expected from you and the Muses. In that sort of thing the farmers are much better prophets than you poets. They can foretell such things excellently to us: for instance, that after rain the crops will flourish, while in the time of drought when the fields are thirsty, you can do nothing to prevent famine following their thirst; that you must not plough in the middle of summer; that it is no good scattering seed at random or cutting the corn when it is still green, or you will find the ear empty. Nor is there any need whatever to prophesy this, that unless you cover up the seed and your man pulls soil over with a hoe, down will fly the birds and eat up all your summer’s hope in advance.

One could not go wrong in giving such precepts and admonitions, but they seem to me very far from prophecy. Prophecy’s task is to know in advance what is unknown and altogether beyond perception—for example, to foretell to Minos that his son ¹ will be smothered in the jar of honey, and forewarn the Achaeans of the reason for Apollo’s anger and that Troy will be captured in the tenth year. That is prophecy. If such things as you mention are to

κἀμὲ μάντιν λέγων. προερώ γὰρ καὶ προθεσπιῶ καὶ ἄνευ Κασταλίας καὶ δάφνης καὶ τρίποδος Δελφικοῦ ὅτι ἂν γυμνὸς τοῦ κρύους περινοστῇ τις, ὑντὸς προσέτι ἡ χαλαξῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡπίαλος οὐ μικρὸς ἐπιπεσεῖται τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ, τὸ ἐτὶ γε τούτον μαντικώτερον, ὅτι καὶ θέρμη μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς τὸ εἰκός ἐπιγενήσεται· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὅν γελοῖον ἂν εἴη μεμνήσθαι.

9 Ὡστε τὰς μὲν τουαύτας ἀπολογίας καὶ μαντείας ἀφες. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὁ εἰρήκας ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἵσως παραδέχεσθαι ἄξιον, ὡς οὔδεν ἦδειοθα τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ τις ἐμπνοια δαιμόνιος ἐνεποίει σοι τὰ μέτρα, οὐ πάνυ οὔδε ἐκεῖνῃ βέβαιος οὖσα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ μὲν ἐπετέλει τῶν ὑπεσχημένων, τὰ δ’ ἀτελῆ ἀπελίμπανεν.
be ascribed to it, I too must be called a prophet without a moment's delay. Even without Castalia and the laurel and the Delphic tripod, I will foretell and predict that if a man walks about naked in time of frost, with rain and hail falling as well, he will catch a chill and not a slight one, and, what is even more prophetic, a fever will in all probability follow; and so on—it would be ridiculous to mention all that I could foretell.

Then away with such pleas and prophecies! But that point you made at the beginning, perhaps that can be admitted, that you knew nothing of what you said; it was some divine inspiration filled you with your verses, and not so very reliable at that, or it would not have kept part of what it promised and left the rest unfulfilled.
THE SCYTHIAN
OR THE CONSUL

Lucian, now in Macedonia, appeals to a father and son for their patronage and, as in Harmonides, tells a traditional story to point the flattery. For another story of Anacharsis the Scythian see his Anacharsis (Loeb, vol. IV, pp. 1 ff.).
ΣΚΥΘΗΣ Η ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΣ

1 Οὐ πρῶτος Ἀνάχαρσις ἀφίκετο ἐκ Σκυθίας Ἀθήνας παιδείας ἐπιθυμία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Τόξαρις πρὸ αὐτοῦ, σοφὸς μὲν καὶ φιλόκαλος ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων φιλομαθὴς τῶν ἀρίστων, οἰκοί δὲ οὐ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ὡν οὐδὲ τῶν πιλοφορικῶν, ἀλλὰ Σκυθῶν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ δημοτικῶν, οἴοι εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ ὀκτάποδες καλούμενοι, τούτο δὲ ἔστι, δύο βοῶν δεσπότην εἰναί καὶ ἀμάξης μίας. οὗτος ο Τόξαρις οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθεν ἐτε ὀπίσω ἐς Σκύθας, ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν ἀπέθανεν, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἥρως ἐδοξεν καὶ ἐντέμνουσιν αὐτῷ Ξένῳ Ἰατρῷ οἱ Ἀθηναιοὶ· τοῦτο γὰρ τούνομα ἥρως γενόμενος ἐπεκτῆσατο. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπωνυμίας καὶ ἄνθ' ὅτον ἐς τοὺς ἥρως κατελέγη καὶ τῶν Ἀσκληπιιδῶν, εἰς ἐδοξεν, οὐ χείρον ἴσως διηγήσασθαι, ὡς μάθητε οὐ Σκύθαις μόνον ἐπιχώριον ὅν ἀπαθανατίζειν καὶ πέμπειν παρὰ τὸν Ζάμολξην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἔξειναι θεσποιεῖν τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

2 Κατὰ τὸν λοιμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἐδοξεν ἦ Ἀρχιτέλους γυνῆ, Ἀρειπαγίτου ἄνδρός, ἐπιστάντα ὁ τὸν

1 πρῶτος edd.: πρῶτον MSS.

1 Literally "those who wear the πιλος," or felt cap, a mark of rank among the Scythians.
THE SCYTHIAN OR THE CONSUL

Anacharsis was not the first to come from Scythia to Athens out of a longing for Greek culture. Before him there was Toxaris, a wise man, who loved beauty and was eager in pursuit of the best styles of living. At home he was not a member of the royal family or of the aristocracy; he belonged to the general run of the people—called “eight feet” in Scythia, meaning the owner of two oxen and a cart. This Toxaris never went back to Scythia, but died in Athens, where not long after his death he came to be considered a hero, and the Athenians sacrifice to him as “The Foreign Physician”—this was the name they gave him when they made him a hero. The reason for this designation, and the events which brought about his enrolment among the heroes, and his reputation as one of the sons of Asclepius are perhaps worth relating. Then you may see that to confer immortality on someone and send him to Zamolxis is a custom not of the Scythians only—it is also possible for Athenians to deify Scythians in Greece.

At the time of the great plague the wife of Archetiles the Areopagite dreamed that the Scythian

2 The Thracian Getae regarded Zamolxis (or Zalmoxis) as the only true god; they believed in the immortality of the soul and looked on death as “going to Zamolxis.” See Herodotus iv, 94, and Harmon’s note, vol. V, pp. 430 f.

3 430–429 B.C.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Σκύθην κελεύσαι εἰπεῖν Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι παύσονται τῷ λοιμῷ ἐχόμενοι, ἣν τοὺς στενωποὺς οὖν πολλῷ ραίνωσι. τούτῳ συχνάκις γενόμενον—ου γὰρ ἠμέλησαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀκούσαντες—ἐπανοεῖν μηκέτι λοιμώττειν αὐτούς, εἴτε ἀτμοῦς τινας πονηροὺς ὃ ὦνσι σβέσας τῇ ὀδυμῇ, εἴτε ἀλλὸ τι πλέον εἰδὼς ὃ ἦρως ὁ Τόξαρις, ἀτε ἰατρικὸς ἦν, συνεβούλευσεν. ὃ δ᾽ οὖν μισθὸς τῆς ἱάσεως ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποδίδοται αὐτῷ λευκὸς ἱππός καταθυμεῖνος ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι, θεῖν ἐδείξειν ἡ Δειμαινείτη προσελθόντα αὐτόν ἐντειλαθαι ἐκείνα τὰ περὶ τοῦ οἴνου. καὶ εὐρέθη κεῖθε ὁ Τόξαρις τεθαμμένος τῇ τε ἐπιγραφῇ γνωσθεῖς, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσα ἐτί ἐφαίνετο, καὶ καλίστα, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ Σκύθης ἀνήρ ἐγκεκόλαπτο, τῇ λαῷ μὲν τόξον ἔχων ἐντεταμένον, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ βιβλίων, ὡς ἐδόκει. ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἰδοῖς ἂν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἦμισιν καὶ τὸ τόξον ὄλον καὶ τὸ βιβλίον: τὰ δὲ ἀνω τῆς στήλης καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ χρόνος ἡδη ἐλυμήνατο ποῦ. ἔστιν δὲ οὗ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διπύλου, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν ἀπιόντων, οὐ μέγα τὸ χῶμα καὶ ἡ στήλη χαμαι: πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐστετπαί γε ἀεί, καὶ φασὶ πυρεταινοντάς τινας ἡδη πεπαινοθα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὰ τοῦ Δί᾽ οὐδὲν ἀπίστον, ὃς ὅλην ποτὲ ἱάσατο τὴν πόλιν.

3 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔπερ ἔνεκα ἐμνήσθην αὐτοῦ, ἔση μὲν ἐτί ὁ Τόξαρις, ὁ Ἀνάχαρις δὲ ἄρτι καταπεπλευκὸς ἀνήρ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, οὐ δὴ ἔσον καὶ βάρβαρος οὐ μετρίως τεταραγμένος ἐτί τὴν γνώμην, πάντα ἂγνοιων, ψοφοδῆς πρὸς τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἔχων ὁ τι χρήσατο ἑαυτῷ. καὶ γὰρ συνέι
Toxaris stood by her side and bade her tell the Athenians that they would be released from the grip of the plague if they sprinkled their alleyways liberally with wine. The Athenians took notice of what she told them and carried out frequent sprinklings with the result that the plague stopped— the smell of the wine may have dispersed some noxious vapours, or the hero Toxaris, being a medical man, may have had some other special knowledge when he gave his advice. In any case to this day payment for his cure is still offered to him—a white horse, sacrificed on his tomb. Dimaenete said he came from there when he gave her the instructions about the wine, and Toxaris was found buried there, being recognised by the inscription, though it was no longer all visible, and more especially by a carving of a Scythian on the pillar; in the figure's left hand was a strung bow, in his right what looked like a book; even now you may still see more than half of it, including all the bow and the book; the upper half of the pillar including the face has been worn away in the course of time; it is situated not far from the Dipylon, on the left as you go towards the Academy; the mound is quite small and the pillar lies on the ground; nevertheless it is always garlanded and the story is that the hero has cured several sufferers from fevers—this is not surprising indeed since he once cured the whole city.

My reason for mentioning the story was this: Toxaris was still alive when Anacharsis, who had recently put in at Piraeus, went up to Athens. A stranger and a foreigner he experienced considerable confusion of mind, for everything was strange and there were the many sounds which frightened him;
καταγελώμενος υπὸ τῶν ὀρῶντων ἐπὶ τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον οὐδένα εὑρισκεν, καὶ ὅλως μετέμελεν αὐτῷ ἡδὴ τῆς ὀδοῦ, καὶ ἐδέδοκτο ἰδόντα μόνον τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ πόδα εὐθὺς ὁπίσω χωρεῖν καὶ πλοῖω ἐπιβάντα πλεῖν αὕθης ἐπὶ Βοστόρον, ὥσεν οὐ πολλῇ ἐμελλεν αὐτῷ ὁδὸς ἔσεσθαι οὐκάδε ἐς Σκύθας. οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ Ἀναχάριδι ἐνυγχάνει δαίμων τις ἁγάθος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ Τόξαρις ἦδη ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡ στολὴ αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσατο πατριώτις ὁσσα, εἶτα μέντοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐμελλε καὶ αὐτὸν γνώσεσθαι τῶν Ἀναχάρων ἀτε γένους τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι Σκυθῶν. ὁ Ἀναχάρις δὲ πόθεν ἀν ἐκεῖνον ἔγνω ὁμοεθνῆ ὄντα, Ἐλληνωτὶ ἐσταλμένον, ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένον 1 τὸ γένειον, ἂζωστον, ἁσίδηρον, ἡθη στωμύλον, αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐνα τῶν αὐτοχθόνων; οὔτω μετεπεποίητο ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου.

4 'Ἀλλὰ Τόξαρις Σκυθιστὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν, Οὐ σὺ, ἐφη, Ἀνάχαρις ὁν τυγχάνεις ὁ Δαυκέτου; ἐδάκρυσεν ύπ' ἢδονῆς ὁ Ἀνάχαρις, ὅτι καὶ ὁμόφωνον εὐρήκει τινά, καὶ τούτον εἰδότα ὅστις ἦν ἐν Σκύθαις, καὶ ἦρετο, Σὺ δὲ πόθεν οἴσθα ἡμᾶς, ὅ ἐξε; Καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐφη, ἐκεῖθεν εἴμι παρ' ὑμῶν, Τόξαρις τοῦνομα, οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὡστε καὶ ἐγνώσθαι ἄν σοι κατ' αὐτό. Μῶν, ἐφη, οὐ Τόξαρις εἰ περὶ οὐ ἐγὼ ἢκουσα ὡς τις Τόξαρις ἔρωτι τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν Σκυθία καὶ παιδιά νεογνῆ οἴχοιτο ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ νῦν διατρίβων κείθη τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄριστων; Ἐγὼ, ἐφη, ἐκείνος εἴμι, εἰ τις καμοῦ λόγος ἐτὶ παρ' ὑμῖν. Οὐκοῦν, ἢ δ' ὅσ ὁ Ἀνάχαρις, μαθητήν 244
he did not know what to do with himself; he saw that people who saw him laughed at his dress; he met no one who spoke his language, and altogether he was already sorry he had made the trip. He decided just to see Athens and then immediately to retrace his steps and embark for the voyage back to the Bosporus, from where his journey home to Scythia would be quite short. While Anacharsis was in this frame of mind a good angel appeared to him when he was already in the Ceramicus, in fact it was Toxaris. Toxaris had been first attracted by the familiar cut of his Scythian dress and then was bound to recognise Anacharsis himself quite easily as he was of very noble stock and one of the leading men of Scythia. But Anacharsis had no means of recognising Toxaris as a fellow-countryman, with his Greek garb, his shaven chin, his lack of belt or sword, his fluency of speech—one of the real Attic aborigines; so much had time changed him.

Toxaris addressed him in Scythian. "Are you not perchance Anacharsis the son of Daucetas?" he asked. Anacharsis wept for joy at having found one who spoke his tongue and knew who he was back home in Scythia. "How is it that you know me, my friend?" he asked. "I myself am from your country. My name is Toxaris; no aristocrat, so you wouldn’t recognise it." "Surely you’re not the same Toxaris as the one who, as I heard, out of love for Greece left his wife and young children in Scythia and went to Athens and now spends his life there honoured by the men of rank?" "I am that man," he said, "if there is still some word of me at home." "Well," said Anacharsis, "you may know that I am

\[1\text{ So E: } \varepsilon \nu \chi. \kappa. \upsilon \varepsilon \xi \nu r \eta \mu \varepsilon \nu \nu \Gamma : \upsilon \varepsilon \xi \nu r \eta \mu \varepsilon \nu (\text{om. } \varepsilon \nu \chi. \kappa.) \text{ N.} \]
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σου ἵσθι με γεγενημένον καὶ ξηλωτὴν τοῦ ἐρωτὸς ὄν ἡράσθης, ἦδεῖν τὴν 'Ελλάδα, καὶ κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμπορίαν ταύτην ἀποδημήσας. ἦκω σοι μυρία παθῶν ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου ἑθνεσιν, καὶ εἰ γε μὴ σοι ἐνέτυχον, ἐγνωστὸ ἦδη πρὶν ἡλιον δύναι, ὡπίσω αὐθις ἐπὶ ναῦν κατιέναι· οὕτως ἐτεταράγμην ἥνα καὶ ἄγνωστα πάντα ὅρων. ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀκινάκου καὶ Ζαμόλξιδος, τῶν πατρών ἧμιν θεῶν, σὺ με, ὦ Τόξαρι, παραλαβόν ἐξενάγησον καὶ δείξον τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν Ἀθήνησιν, εἶτα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἐλλάδι, νόμων τε τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ ἄνδρῶν τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἤδη καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ βίον αὐτῶν καὶ πολιτείαν, δι᾽ ἀπερ σὺ τε κἀγὼ μετὰ σὲ τοσαύτην ὅδον ἥκομεν, καὶ μὴ περιώδης ἁθέατον αὐτῶν ἀναστρέψοντα.

5 Τούτο μὲν, ἐφη ὦ Τόξαρι, ἦκιστα ἐρωτικὸν εἴρηκας, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς ἐλθὼντα οὐχεσθαι ἀπιόντα. πλὴν ἄλλα θάρρει. οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ὡς φῆς, ἀπελθοίς οὐδὲ ἂν ἀφείη σε διδώσῃ η ἁύσις· οὐκ οὕτως ὀλίγα τὰ θέλητα ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ἄνενους, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἐπιλήψεται σου, ὡς μῆτε γυναῖκος ἐτι μῆτε παίδων, εἰ σοι ἦδη εἰσί, μεμνήσαι. ὡς δ᾽ ἂν τάχιστα πᾶσαν ἰδοῖς τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,1 μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ὅλην καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων καλά, ἐγὼ ὑποθήσομαι σοι. ἐστὶ σοφὸς ἄνηρ ἐνταῦθα, ἑπιχώριος μὲν, ἀποδημήσας δὲ μᾶλα πολλὰ ἐσὲ τὰ Ἀσίαν καὶ ἔστε Ἀγγυπτόν καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἄνδρων συγγενόμενος, τὰ ἄλλα οὖ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κομιδή πένης. ὀφει γέροντα οὕτω δημοτικῶς ἐσταλμένον. πλὴν διὰ

1 τὴν τῶν 'Ἀθ. Kilburn: τὴν 'Ἀθ. ΓΜ: πόλιν τῶν 'Ἀθ. other MSS.

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a disciple and a convert to your longing to see Greece. This was why I left home and came on this journey. My adventures among the peoples on the way have been past telling, and if I had not met you I should have gone back again to my ship before sunset as I had decided; I have been in such a state of confusion, with everything so strange and novel to my eyes. Now by our native gods Acinaces\(^1\) and Zamolxis I ask you, Toxaris, to take me with you and be my guide and show me the best of what there is in Athens and then in the rest of Greece—their finest laws, their greatest men, their customs, assemblies, their way of life, their constitution. It was to see all this that you, and I after you, made our long journey. Do not let me go back without seeing it all.”

“Your words,” said Toxaris, “betray little affection if you mean to come to the very doors and then go back again. Cheer up now! You won’t go away, in the way you suggest, and the city will not readily let you go: she has more charms than that to captivate the stranger. She will grip your heart so tightly that you will not remember wife or children, if you have any, any more. Now I’ll show you the quickest way of seeing the whole city of Athens and more—all Greece and the glories of the Greek nation. There is a certain wise man in Athens. He is Athenian by birth but has travelled abroad widely to Asia and Egypt and has mixed with the cream of mankind. But for all that he is not one of the rich; actually he is quite poor. You’ll see he is an old man dressed in very humble fashion. Nevertheless he is held in great honour for his wisdom and other qualities. As

\(^1\) The Persian sword.
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gε την σοφίαν καὶ την ἄλλην ἀρετήν πάνυ τιμῶσιν αὐτόν, ὡστε καὶ νομοθέτη χρώνται πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ἀξιόυσι κατὰ τὰ ἐκείνου προστάγματα βιοῦν. εἰ τούτον φίλον κτήσασι καὶ μάθοις ὅδος ἀνήρ ἔστι, πάσαν νόμιμε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχειν καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἥδη ἂν εἴδέναι τῶν τῆς ἀγαθῶν· ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν οἱ τι ἂν μείζον σοι καλὸν χαρίσασθαι δυναύμην ἡ συντήσας ἐκείνῳ.

6 Μὴ τοίνυν μέλλωμεν, ἐφη, ὦ Τόξαρι, ὦ Ἀνάχαρ- σις, ἀλλὰ με λαβὼν ἄγε παρ' αὐτόν. ἀτὰρ ἐκεῖνο δέδοι, μὴ δυσπρόσδοκα καὶ ἐν παρέργῳ θηταῖ σου τὴν ἐντεύξιν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἦμῶν. Εὐφημεί, ἢ δ' ὅσ, ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ μέγιστα χαριεῖσθαι μοι δοκῶ ἀφορμήν παρασχῶν τῆς ἐσενον ἄνδρα εὐποίας. ἐπον μόνον· εἴσῃ γὰρ ὅσῃ πρὸς τὸν Σένον ἡ ἀἰδῶς καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἐπιείκεια καὶ χρηστότητι, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ δαίμονα οὗτος αὐτὸς ἦμιν πρόσεισιν, ὡ ἐπὶ συν- νοίας, ὡ λαλῶν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ ἀμα προσειπῶν τὸν Σόλωνα, Τοῦτο σοι, ἐφη, δῶρον μέγιστον ἦκῳ ἄγων, ξένον ἄνδρα φιλίας δεόμενον. Σκύθης δὲ ἔστι τῶν παρ' ἦμιν εὐπατριδῶν, καὶ ὅμως τάκει πάντα ἀφεῖς ἢκει συνεσομενὸς ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ κάλ- λιστα ὅφομενοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καγὼ ἐπίτομον τινα ταύτην ἐξεύρον αὐτῷ, ὡπός ῥάστα καὶ αὐτὸς μάθοι πάντα καὶ γνώριμος γένοιτο τοῖς ἀρίστοις· τοῦτο δ' ἢ σοι προσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν. εἰ τοίνυν ἐγώ Σόλωνα οἶδα, οὔτω ποιῆσεις καὶ προξενήσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ πολύτην γνήσιον ἀποφανείς τῆς Ἑλλά- δος. καὶ ὅπερ σοι ἐφην μικρὸν ἐμπρόσθεν, ὦ Ἀνάχαρσι, πάντα εὐρακας ἥδη Σόλωνα ἴδων· τοῦτο αἱ Ἀθῆναι, τοῦτο ἡ Ἑλλάς· οὐκέτι ξένος σὺ γε, πάντες 1 σε ᾿Ισασι, πάντες σε φιλοῦσι. 248
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a result they employ him to frame laws for the government of the city and are resolved to live in accordance with his ordinances. Make him your friend, get to know what sort of man he is, and you will find all Greece in him, and know already the sum of her glories. I could do you no greater favour than to introduce you to him."

"Let us not delay then, Toxaris," said Anacharsis, "take me with you to him, though I'm afraid of one thing, that he may be difficult to approach and not consider your representations on my behalf as of any importance." "Hush now," replied Toxaris, "I fancy I shall be showing him a great kindness by giving him the chance to show good-will to a stranger. You just follow on. You'll see his reverence for Zeus the God of Strangers as well as his general goodness and kindness. Well, that's a piece of luck! Here he is coming in our direction, that fellow deep in thought, the one muttering to himself." He addressed Solon at once: "I've come," he said, "with the greatest of gifts for you, a stranger in need of your friendship. He is one of our Scythian nobility, but that hasn't prevented him from leaving all his possessions there to visit you men of Greece and to see the fairest things that Greece can offer. I've discovered a short way of enabling him to see everything easily in person and to become known to the cream of your nation: this was to bring him to you. If I know Solon, you'll do this and look after him and make him a true son of Greece. Anacharsis, as I told you just now, having seen Solon you have seen everything: here is Athens, here is Greece; you're no longer a stranger, everybody knows you, everybody

1 οὐ γε, πάντες Fritzche: οὐμπάντες MSS.
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tηλικούτων ἦστι τὸ κατὰ τὸν πρεσβύτην τοῦτον. ἀπάντων ἐπιλήσῃ τῶν ἐν Σκυθίᾳ συνόν αὐτῷ. ἔχεις τῆς ἀποδημίας τὰ ἄθλα, τοῦ ἐρωτος τὸ τέλος. οὔτός σοι ὁ Εὐληπτικὸς κανὼν, τοῦτο δείγμα τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῆς Ἀττικῆς. οὔτω τὸν γίγνεσθαι ὡς εὐδαιμονεστατὸς ὑπὲρ οὐκ τεύχει Σόλων καὶ φίλων χρήσῃ αὐτῷ.

8 Μακρὸν ἄν εἰς διηγήσασθαι, ὅπως μὲν ἦσθι ὁ Σόλων τῶν δύρων, οἷα δὲ εἶπεν, ὡς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν συνήσαι, ὁ μὲν παιδεὺν καὶ διδάσκαλων τὰ κάλ-

λιστα, ὁ Σόλων, καὶ φίλον ἀπαίτησι ποιῶν τὸν Ἀνάχαρσι καὶ προσάγων τοῖς Ἐλλήνων καλοῖς καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐπιμελοῦμενος, ὅπως ἦδιστα διατρίβη 

1 ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι, ὃ δὲ τεθητὶς τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲ τὸν ἔτερον πόδα ἐκὼν εἶναι ἀπολειπόμενος. ὥς γοῦν ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ὁ Τόξαρις, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀπαίτη

τῃ ἐγνώ ἐν ἀκαρεί καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν γνώριμος καὶ ἐτυμαῖ τὸ ἐκεῖνον. οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἦν Σόλων ἐπαίνων, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς νομοθέτη ἐπείδοντο καὶ ἐφίλουν οὐς ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάζοι καὶ ἐπιστευοῖν ἀρίστους ἀνδρας εἶναι. τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἐμψυχή 

μόνον βαρβάρων Ἀνάχαρσις, δημοποίητος γενόμενος, εἰ χρὴ Θεοξένων πιστεύει καὶ τοῦτο ἱστοροῦντι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἀνέστρεψεν οἱμαῖ ἐς 

Σκύθας, εἰ μὴ Σόλων ἀπέθανεν.

9 Βούλεσθε οὖν ἐπαγάγω ἣδη τῷ μύθῳ τὸ τέλος, ὡς μὴ ἀκέφαλος περινοστοῦ; ὥρα γοῦν εἰδέναι οὕτως μοι εἶνεκα ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐκ Σκυθίας καὶ 

Τόξαρις τὰ νῦν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἦκεν ἐτί καὶ 

Σόλωνα γέροντα ἄνδρα ἐπαγομένῳ Ἀθήνηθεν.

1 διατρίβη Graevius: διαπρέψη N: διαπρέςει Π.
loves you. Such is the quality of this old man. In his company you will forget everything you left in Scythia. Here is the reward of your voyaging abroad, the end of your passionate longing. Here for you is the measure of Greece, here a specimen of Attic philosophy. Just realise how blessed you are to meet Solon, and to meet him as a friend."

It would be a long business to tell how Solon was pleased by the gift, what he said, and how they kept company afterwards, Solon, the educator, instilling the noblest lessons, making Anacharsis friends with everyone, introducing him to the noblest Greeks, and looking after him in every way, so that his time in Greece might pass most pleasantly, and Anacharsis, in admiration of Solon's wisdom, unwilling to leave his side for a moment. So just as Toxaris had promised him, from one person, Solon, he quickly learnt everything, became known to everyone, and won respect through him. For Solon's praise carried no small weight, and in this too men obeyed him as a lawgiver, and they made friends with those to whom he showed respect, accepting them as men of worth. In the end, if we are to believe Theoxenus, who tells this story as well about him, Anacharsis alone of barbarians was even initiated into the mysteries after being made an Athenian citizen; nor I fancy would he have returned to Scythia, had not Solon died.

Would you like me to complete my story so that it should not roam about in a headless condition? It's high time to find out what Anacharsis and Toxaris from Scythia are still doing here at this time in Macedon bringing old Solon with them from Athens.
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φημὶ δὴ ὁμοίων τι καὶ αὐτὸς παθεῖν τῷ Ἀναχάρσιδι—καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μὴ νεμεσήσῃτε μοι τῆς εἰκόνος, εἰ βασιλικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐμαυτὸν εἰκασα· βάρβαρος μὲν γὰρ κάκεινος καὶ οὐδὲν τι φαίης ἀν τοὺς Σύρους ἡμᾶς φαυλοτέρους εἶναι τῶν Σκύθων, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἴσποου τἀμα ἐς τὴν ὁμοιότητα, κατ’ ἑκεῖνα δὲ, ὅτε γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα ὑμῶν τῇ πόλει, ἐξεπλάγην μὲν εὐθὺς ἰδὼν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῶν ἐμπολιτευμένων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν καὶ λαμπρότητα πάσαν. ὡστε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπεθῆπεν πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρκουν τῷ θαύματι, οἶδ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ὁ νησιώτης ἑκεῖνος νεανίσκος ἐπέπονθε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Μενελάου οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐμελλὼν οὕτω διαστῆσθαι τὴν γνώμην ἰδὼν πόλιν ἀκμάζουσαν ἀκμῇ τοσαύτη καὶ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν ἑκεῖνον

ἀνθοῦσαν ἀγαθοῖς πάσιν οἷς θάλλει πόλις.

Οὐτω δὴ ἔχων ἐσκοπούμην ἡδὴ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δείξαι τῶν λόγων ὑμῖν πάλαι ἐδέδοκτο. τίσι γὰρ ἀν ἄλλοις ἐδείξα σωπῇ παροδεύσας τηλικάυτὴν πόλιν; ἐξήρουν γὰρ, οὐδὲ ἀποκρύψοιμαι τάληθες, οὕτως οἱ προὔχοντες εἶεν καὶ οἷς ἂν τις προσελθὼν καὶ ἐπιγραψάμενος προστάταις συναγωνισταῖς χρῶτο πρὸς τὰ ὅλα. ἐνταῦθα μοι οὐχ εἰς, ὡσπερ τῷ Ἀναχάρσιδι, καὶ οὕτως βάρβαρος, ὁ Τόξαρις, ἀλλὰ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ μόνον οὐ ταῖς 1 αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἔλεγον· ὃ ξένε, πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι χρηστοὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ ἀνὰ τήν πόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀλλαχόθι τοσοῦτος εὐροῖς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, δύο δὲ μάλιστα ἐστον ἡμῖν ἄνδρε ἄριστω, γένει μὲν

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Well, my own situation is like that of Anacharsis—and please do not resent my likening myself to a man of regal stature, for he too was a barbarian, and no one could say that we Syrians are inferior to Scythians. It isn’t on grounds of royalty that I compare my situation with his, but rather because we are both barbarians. For when I first came to live in your city, I was utterly terrified as soon as I saw its size, its beauty, its high population, its power and general splendour. For a long time I was struck with wonder at these things and could not take in the spectacle—just as when the young man from the islands came to the house of Menelaus. How could I help feeling like this when I saw the city at such a peak of excellence and, as the poet says,

"Blossoming with all good things whereby a city flourisheth."

In this plight then I was already considering what steps I should take next. I had some time since decided to show you something of my oratory, for who else would deserve it if I had passed by such a city in silence? To tell the truth, I enquired who were the leading citizens and who might be approached and enlisted as patrons and general supporters. My case was better than that of Anacharsis—he had but one patron, Toxaris, and that one a barbarian, while I have many, and what is more they have all told me the same thing in about the same words: "There are many good and knowledgeable persons in our city, friend—nowhere else will you find such quality—, but we have two men of outstanding merit,

1 Telemachus: Homer, Od. iv, 71.

1 ῥαῖσ add. Jacobitz.
καὶ ἀξιῶματι πολὺ προὐχοντε ἀπάντων, παιδεία δὲ καὶ λόγων δυνάμει τῇ Ἀττικῇ δεκάδι παραβάλ- λοις ἃν. ἥ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου εὐνοια πάνυ ἐρωτικὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τούτη γίγνεται, ὅ τι ἂν οὗτοι ἐθέλωσιν. ἐθέλουσι γὰρ ὃ τι ἂν ἄριστον ἤ τῇ πόλει. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χρηστότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἔξενους φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὸ ἐν μεγέθει τοσοῦτο ἀνεπίθεθον καὶ τὸ μετ’ εὐνοίας οἰκείας οἰκόμενον καὶ τὸ πράον καὶ τὸ εὑπρόσοδον αὐτὸς ἂν ἄλλοις διηγήσαι τι προεραθεὶς μικρὸν ύστερον.

11 Καὶ ὡς μάλλον θαυμάσης, μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας ἐστών, νῦός καὶ πατήρ, ὁ μὲν, εἰ τινα Σόλωνα ἢ Περικλέα ἢ Ἀριστείδην ἐπινοεῖς, ὁ δὲ νῦός καὶ ὁφθεῖς μὲν αὐτίκα ἐπάξεται 1 σε, οὕτω μέγας ἐστὶ καὶ καλὸς ἀρρενωπὴ τινα τὴν εὐμορ- φίαν· εἰ δὲ καὶ φθέγξατο μόνον, οἰχήνεται σε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄτων ἀναδησάμενος, τοσαύτην Ἀφρο- δίτην ἔπι τῇ γλώττῃ ὁ νεανίσκος ἔχει. ἦ γε τοι πόλις ἀπασα κεχηρότες αὐτοῦ ἀκούοντι σ, ὅταν δημηγορήσων παρέλθῃ, ἐποῦν φασί τους τότε Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Κλεινίου πεποιθέναι, παρ᾽ ὅσον τοῖς μὲν οὐκ εἰσ μακρὰν μετεμέλησε τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὃν ἡράσθησαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, τοῦ- τον δὲ ἢ πόλις οὐ φιλεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰδεύσατι ἤδη ἄξιοι, καὶ ὅλως ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῶν δημόσιον ἀγαθόν ἔστω καὶ μέγα ὀφέλος ἀπασιν, ἀνὴρ οὕτως. εἰ δὴ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ δέξαμαι σε καὶ φίλον πονήσαιτο, πᾶσαν ἔχεις τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπισεισάχθη νη τῆς ἡμέρας, τοῦτο μόνον, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐνδοιάσημα τὰ σὰ. ταῦτα νη τὸν Δίο ἀπαντεῖν

1 ἐπάξεται Valcken and Dobree: ἀπάξεται MSS.
2 χρῆ τῆς ΤΝ: χρηστῆν Ε Ὑ.
pre-eminent in birth and reputation, and in culture and oratorical power comparable to the Ten Attic Orators. They enjoy the devoted respect of the people, and their word is law. They wish whatever is best for the city. Their goodness, their kindness towards strangers, their freedom from censure, eminent though they be, their kindly courtesy, their gentleness and ease of access, these qualities you yourself will tell to others when you have presently made trial of them.

"To excite your wonder still more, they belong to one and the same household. They are in fact father and son. The father you may imagine to be a Solon, a Pericles, or an Aristides, while the son will win your heart as soon as you see him, so tall is he and handsome with his manly grace; and let him but speak and he will leave you with your ears enchained, such charm is there in the young man's tongue. Whenever he comes forward to speak in public the entire city listen to him open-mouthed—it is the story of the Athenians and the son of Clinias over again with this difference: the Athenians quite soon repented of their affection for Alcibiades, while here there is not only love for the young man but a ready reverence already and in short the well-being and happiness of our state are summed up in this one man. If he and his father were to take you in and make you their friend, then the whole city is yours. Let them but lift a finger and any doubts you may have will be no more." This by Zeus (if I must
έλεγον (εἰ χρή καὶ ὅρκον ἐπάγεω τῷ λόγῳ), καὶ μοι ἦδη πειρωμένω τὸ πολλοστὸν τῶν προσόντων εἰρηκέναι ἔδοξαν.1 "οὐχ ἔδρασ τοίνυν οὐδ’ ἀμβο- λᾶς ἔργον," ὡς ὁ Κεῖός φησιν, ἀλλὰ χρή πάντα μὲν κάλων κινεῖν, πάντα δὲ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, ὡς φίλοι ἡμῖν τοιοῦτοι γένουτο· ἣν γὰρ τούτο ὑπάρξῃ, εὐδία πάντα καὶ πλοῦς οὐρίος καὶ λειοκύμων ἡ θάλαττα καὶ ὁ λιμὴν πλησίον.

1 ἔδοξαν Graevius: ἔδοξα MSS.
swear to it) is what all told me, and by my experience already it is clear that they told me but a fraction of the truth. "Then sit no more and brook no more delay," as the Ceian\(^1\) says. No, I must pull every rope, do and say everything to make such men my friends; if that is once attained, then ahead there is nothing but calm weather, a fair wind, a sea barely rippling, and a harbour near at hand.

HERMOTIMUS OR CONCERNING THE SECTS

Lucian's longest work and his most sustained attack on the philosophical schools. Hermotimus, a keen pupil of the Stoic school, is put through the mill of a Socratic inquisition on the subject of his motives and expectations in attending the school. The Sceptic wins and Hermotimus resolves to put aside his philosophical pretensions and enjoy the best way of living—that of the ordinary man.

Although on the whole an interesting presentation of the Sceptic's skill at undermining the structure of philosophical idealism, the flow of the dialogue is marred for the modern reader by passages where the obvious is laboured at inordinate length.

For Lucian's respect for the life of the ordinary man see also his Menippus (Loeb, vol. IV, pp. 71 ff.).
ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΝ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1 "Οσον, ὃ Ἕρμοτιμε, τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ βαδίσματος σπουδῆ τεκμήρασθαι, παρὰ τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐπειγομένω ἔοικας. ἐνενόεις γοῦν τι μεταξὺ προϊὼν καὶ τὰ χείλη διεσάλευες ἱρέα υποτον-θορύζων καὶ τὸν χείρα ὡδὲ κάκεισε μετέφερες ἄσπερ τινὰ ῥήσιν ἐπὶ ἑαυτοῦ διατιθέμενος, ἐρώτημα δὴ τὶ τῶν ἄγκυλων συντιθείς ἡ σκέμμα σοφιστικὸν ἀναφροτίζων, ὡς μηδὲ ὁδὸ βαδίζων σχολήν ἁγοι, ἀλλ' ἐνεργὸς εἶ ἂεὶ σπουδαῖον τῷ πράττον καὶ ὁ πρὸ ὁδοῦ σοι γένοιτ' ἂν ἐς τὰ μαθήματα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Νὴ Δί', ὃ Λυκίνε, τοιοῦτο τῷ τῆν γαρ χθιζὴν συνουσίαν καὶ ἂ εἰπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄνεπεμπαζόμην ἐπιὼν τῇ μυὴν ἕκαστα. χρή δὲ μηδένα καυρὸν οἶμαι παριέναι εἰδότας ἄλληθες ὅν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κώνου ἱατροῦ εἰρημένον, ὡς ἀρα "βραχὺς μὲν ὁ βίος, μακρὴ δὲ ἡ τέχνη." καίτοι ἐκεῖνος ἱατρικῆς πέρι ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, εὐμαθεστέρον πράγματος· φιλοσοφία δὲ καὶ μακρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνέφικτος, ἂν μὴ πάνυ τις ἐγρηγορῶς ἀτενές ἂεὶ καὶ γοργόν ἀποβλέπῃ ἐς αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸ κυνύνευμα οὐ περὶ μικρῶν—ἡ ἄθλιον εἶναι ἐν τῷ πολλῷ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν

1 Hippocrates.
HERMOTIMUS OR CONCERNING
THE SECTS

LYCINUS

To judge from your book, Hermotimus, and the speed of your walk, you seem to be hurrying to your teacher. You were certainly thinking something over as you went along; you were twitching your lips and muttering quietly, waving your hand this way and that as though you were arranging a speech to yourself, composing one of your crooked problems or thinking out some sophistical question; even when you are walking along you must not take it easy, but be always busy at some serious matter which is likely to help your studies.

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, certainly, that is about it, Lycinus; I was going over yesterday's lecture and what he said to us, running through the points in my mind. We must, I think, never lose an opportunity, for we know the truth of what the Coan Doctor ¹ said: “Life is short, but Art is long.” He was speaking of medicine of course, which is easier to learn; philosophy is unattainable even over a long period, unless you are very much awake all the time and keep a stern eye on her. The venture is for no mere trifle—whether to perish miserably in the vulgar rabble of
Τὰ μὲν ἄθλα, ὡ 'Ερμότιμε, θαυμάσια ἡ λίκα εἰρηκας. οἶμαι γε μὴν οὐ πόρρω σε ἐίναι αὐτῶν, εἰ γε χρή εἰκάζειν τῷ τε χρόνῳ ὅπόσον φιλοσοφεῖς καὶ προσέτι τῷ πόνῳ οἶον μοι οὐ μέτριον ἐκ πολλοῦ ήδη έχειν δοκεῖς. εἰ γάρ τι μέμνημαι, σχεδὸν εἶκοσιν ἐτη ταύτα ἐστιν ἀφ' οὗ σε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦντα εὐρακα, ἡ παρὰ τοὺς διδασκάλους φοιτῶντα καὶ ὃς τὸ πολὺ ἐς βιβλίον ἐπικεκυφότα καὶ ὑπομνήματα τῶν συνουσιῶν ἀπογραφόμενον, ὠχρὸν αἰ ὑπὸ φροντίδων καὶ τὸ σώμα κατεσκληκτότα. δοκεῖς δὲ μοι ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ὅναρ ποτὲ ἀνέναι σεαυτόν, οὕτως ὅλος εἰ ἐν τῷ πράγματι. ταύτ' οὖν σκοπουμένῳ μοι φαίνῃ ὅνκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπιλήψεθαι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, εἰ γε μὴ λέληθας ἡμᾶς καὶ πάλαι αὐτῇ συνών.

ἘΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πόθεν, ἢ Λυκίνε, ὡς νῦν ἄρχομαι παρακύπτειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν; ἢ δ' Ἰρετή πάνυ πόρρω κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον οἰκεί καὶ ἐστιν ὁ οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν μακρός τε καὶ ὄρθιος καὶ τρηχύς, ἴδρωτα οὐκ ὄλιγον ἐχών τοῖς ὀδοιπόροις.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐχ ἤκανά οὖν ἱδρωταί σοι, ὡ 'Ερμότιμε, καὶ ὡδοιπόρηται;

ἘΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὗ, φημί· οὖδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἕκώλυε με πανευδαίμονα εἶναι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρῷ γενόμενον. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἄρχόμεθα ἐτί, ὡ Λυκίνε.
HERMOTIMUS

the common herd or to find happiness through philosophy.

LYCINUS

That is a very wonderful prize, Hermotimus, and I fancy you are near winning it, to judge by the time you spend on your philosophical studies and also the considerable energy you seem to have devoted for so long. If I remember, it must be nigh on twenty years that I have seen you doing nothing but going to the teachers, and usually bent over a book and writing notes on the lectures, always pale and wasted with studying. I suppose even your dreams give you no rest, you are so wrapped up in it. So, when I consider this, I feel that you will not be long in reaching happiness, unless it has been your companion for years and we have missed seeing it.

HERMOTIMUS

How can that be, Lycinus? I am just beginning to get a glimpse of my way there. Virtue, says Hesiod,\(^1\) lives far away, and the path to her is long and steep and rough, with plenty of sweat for travellers.

LYCINUS

Have you not sweated and travelled enough, Hermotimus?

HERMOTIMUS

No, I tell you. I couldn’t be other than perfectly happy if I were at the top. At this moment I am still beginning, Lycinus.

\(^1\) Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 289.
ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

3 Ἀλλὰ τὴν γε ἀρχὴν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἡσίοδος ἦμισθος τοῦ παντὸς ἐφη εἶναι, ὥστε κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἀνοδὸν ἥδη λέγοντες εἶναι σε οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοιμεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδέπω οὐδὲ τούτο. πάμπολυ γὰρ ἂν ἥμων ἠμνυτο.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλὰ ποῦ γὰρ σε φῶμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τυγχάνειν ὄντα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ κάτω ἐτί, ὃς Λυκίνη, ἀρτι προβαίνειν βιαζόμενον. ὀλισθηρὰ δὲ καὶ τραχεία καὶ δεῖ χειρά ὀρέγοντος.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ὁ διδάσκαλός σοι τούτῳ ἴκανὸς ποιήσαι ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀκροῦ καθάπερ ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου Ζεὺς χρυσὴν τινα σειρὰν καθεὶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ λόγους, ὅφ', ὅπερ σε ἀνάσπα δηλαδὴ καὶ ἀνακοφίζει πρὸς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶς πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀναβεβηκὼς.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Αὐτὸ ἐφησθα, ὃς Λυκίνη, τὸ γιγνόμενον. ὃσον γοὺν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πάλαι ἀνεστάσμην ἂν 1 καὶ συνὴν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν ἐτὶ ἐνδεί.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

4 Ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν χρή καὶ θυμὸν ἐχεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἔσ τὸ τέλος τῆς ὁδοῦ ὀρ vôντα καὶ τὴν ἀνω εὐθαμονίαν,

1 αὐν Fritzche : ανω MSS.

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HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

But this same Hesiod says that the beginning is half-way there,¹ so that we should not wrong you if we said that you were half-way up.

HERMOTIMUS

No, not even that yet. That would be a great achievement.

LYCINUS

Well, where on the road may we put you?

HERMOTIMUS

Still down in the foothills, Lycinus, though lately struggling on. It is slippery and rough and needs a hand to help.

LYCINUS

Your teacher can do that: he can let down his own teaching from the top like Zeus's golden rope in Homer,² and clearly pull and lift you up to himself and Virtue. He made the climb long ago.

HERMOTIMUS

That is just what happens, Lycinus. As far as he is concerned I should have been pulled up long ago and been in their company. But my share still falls short.

LYCINUS

Be brave now and keep cheerful. Look to the end of the journey and the happiness up there, especially

¹ Hesiod, Works and Days, 40.
² Homer, Il. viii, 19.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνου ἐξυπροθυμουμένου. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τῖνα σοι ἐλπίδα ὑποφαίνει ὡς δὴ πότε ἀναβησομένῳ; εἰς νέωτα εἰκάζειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἐσεσθαί σε, οἶον μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ ἀλλὰ ἡ Παναθήναια;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Ολίγον φής, ὦ Λυκίνε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλ' ἐς τὴν ἐξῆς ὀλυμπιάδα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ τούτῳ ὀλίγον ἡς πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἁσκησιν καὶ εὐδαμονίας κτῆσιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μετὰ δύο μὲν δὴ ὀλυμπιάδας πάντως; ἡ πολλὴν γ' ἂν ὑμῶν ῥαθυμίαν καταγνωρίζῃ τις εἰ μηδ' ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ δύνασθε, ὅσον τρὶς ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπελθεῖν εἴτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ῥάδιον, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὑθείαν μηδ' ἂεὶ βαδίζοι τις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου ἔθνεσι περιπλανώμενοι. καὶ τοῖς πόσω τινὶ βουλεύει υψηλότεραν καὶ λισσότεραν θώμεν εἰναι τὴν ἄκραν, ἐφ' ἡς ὑμῶν ἡ Ἀρετῆ οἰκεῖ, τῆς Ἀόρνου ἐκείνης, ἣν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

5 Οὐδὲν ὄμοιον, ὦ Λυκίνε, οὐδ' ἔστι τὸ πράγμα τοιοῦτον ὁ ὄν σὺ εἰκάζεις, ἡς ὀλίγων χρόνων κατεργασθῆναι καὶ ἀλώναι, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίοι Ἀλέξανδροι προσβάλλοσι. ἔπει πολλοὶ ἃν οἱ ἀνιόντες ἤσαν. νῦν δὲ ἐνάρχονται μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι μάλα

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HERMOTIMUS

since he is as keen as you are. But when does he suggest you may hope to come up? Did he suggest next year to reach the top—after the other Mysteries, say, or the Panathenaea?

HERMOTIMUS

Too soon, Lycinus.

LYCINUS

Next Olympiad, then?

HERMOTIMUS

Too soon again for a training in virtue and the winning of happiness.

LYCINUS

After two Olympiads, surely? Or shall we accuse you of excessive sloth, if you cannot succeed in all that time? You could easily make three journeys from Gibraltar to India and back in that time, even if you did not go straight without breaking your journey, but made excursions occasionally to visit the nations on the way. But this summit where your Virtue lives—how much higher and smoother are we to put it than Aornos which Alexander stormed in a few days?

HERMOTIMUS

Nothing like, Lycinus, Your comparison is wrong; it cannot be won or captured in a short time, even if innumerable Alexanders attack it. Many would climb it, if it could. As it is, a fair number make a very strong beginning and travel part of the way,

1 \textit{λυσοστέραν} Ε Η \textit{Γ}: \textit{δισσοστέραν} \textit{Γ}\textsuperscript{1}N.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ερρωμένως καὶ προσέρχονται ἐπὶ ποσόν, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πάνυ ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὕδων γένονται πολλοὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους καὶ δυσχερέσων ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀποδυσπετοῦν τε καὶ ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀσθμαίνοντες καὶ ἰδρώτι βρόμενοι, οὐ φέροντες τῶν κάματον. οὕτως δ᾿ ἀν εἰς τέλος διακαρτηρήσωσιν οὕτω πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ τὸ ἀπ᾿ ἐκείνου εὐδαιμονοῦσιν θαμάσιον τινα βίον τὸν λοιπὸν βιοῦντες, οἴδον μύρμηκας ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἐπισκοποῦντες τινας τοὺς ἄλλους.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Παπαῖ, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, ἦλικος ἡμᾶς ἀποφαίνεις οὐδὲ κατὰ τοὺς Πυγμαίους ἐκείνους, ἀλλὰ χαμαιπετεῖς παντάπασιν ἐν χρῷ τῆς γῆς. εἰκότως—ὑψηλὰ γὰρ ἡδη φρονεῖς καὶ ἀνωθεν ἡμεῖς δὴ ὁ συρφετὸς καὶ οὕτω χαμαῖ ἐρχόμενοι ἐσμὲν, μετὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς προσευξόμεθα ὑπερνεφέλους γενομένους καὶ ἀνελθόντας οἱ πάλαι σπεύδετε.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο καὶ ἀνελθεῖν, ὁ Λυκίνε. ἀλλὰ πάμπολυ τὸ λοιπὸν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

6 "Ομοὶ οὐκ ἔφησθα ὡς, ὅς χρόνῳ περιλαβεῖν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδ’ αὐτὸς γὰρ οἶδα, ὁ Λυκίνε, τάκριβες. εἰκάζω μέντοι οὐ πλεῖον τῶν εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, μεθ’ ἀ πάντως ποὺ ἐπὶ τῶ ἀκρῶ ἐσόμεθα.

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HERMOTIMUS

some very little, some more; but when they get half-way and meet plenty of difficulties and snags, they lose heart and turn back, gasping for breath and dripping with sweat; the hardships are too much for them. But all who endure to the end arrive at the top, and from then on are happy having a wonderful time for the rest of their life, from their heights seeing the rest of mankind as ants.

LYCINUS

Goodness, Hermotimus! How small you make us, not as big as pygmies! Utter groundlings crawling over the earth’s surface. It’s not surprising—your mind is already away up above; and we, the whole trashy lot of us ground-crawlers, will pray to you along with the gods, when you get above the clouds and reach the heights to which you have been hastening for so long.

HERMOTIMUS

Oh, may I really get up there, Lycinus! But a great deal remains to be done.

LYCINUS

But you have not said how long, to give it a date.

HERMOTIMUS

I don’t know myself exactly, Lycinus. Not more than twenty years at a guess. After that I shall surely be on the top.

1 χαμαίπετεις παντάπασι N: χαμαὶ παντόπασιν G: χαμαὶ πάντα παθεῖν other MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἡράκλεις, πολὺ λέγεις.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ γὰρ περὶ μεγάλων, ὦ Δυκῖνε, οἱ πόνοι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τούτῳ μὲν ἵσως ἀληθὲς. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν ὁ ἴδιος τοσαύτα πότερον ὁ διδάσκαλος σοι καθυπέσχετο, οὐ μόνον σοφός, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαντικὸς ὥν ἡ χρησμολογίας τις ἡ ὁσοι τὰς Χαλδαίων μεθόδους ἐπίστανται; φασὶ γοῦν εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ σὲ γε εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδήλῳ, εἰ βιώσῃ μέχρι πρὸς τὴν ἁρετὴν, τοσοῦτος πόνους ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἦμεραν οὐκ εἰδότα εἰ σὲ πλησίον ἤδη τοῦ ἄκρου γενόμενον τὸ ἤρεμον ἐπιστάν καταστάσει λαβόμενον τοῦ ποδός ἐξ ἀτελοῦς τῆς ἐλπίδος.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

"Απαγε. δύσφημα γὰρ ταῦτα, ὦ Δυκῖνε. ἀλλ' εἰ τί βιώναι ὡς μίαν γοῦν ἦμεραν εὐδαιμονίᾳ σοφὸς γενόμενος.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ ἰκανὴ σοι ἀντὶ τῶν τοσοῦτων καμάτων ἡ μία ἦμέρα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

"Εμοὶ μὲν καὶ ἀκαρσαῖον ὅπόσον ἰκανόν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

7 Τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄνω ὧν εὐδαιμόνα καὶ τοιάῦτα ὡς πάντα χρῆν ὑπομείναι δὴ αὐτὰ πόθεν ἔχεις εἰδέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸς πὼ ἀνελήλυθας.

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HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

Good Heavens! As long as that!

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, Lycinus; my struggles are for great prizes.

LYCINUS

Perhaps so. But those twenty years—has your teacher promised you that length of life? If he has he must be more than a wise man—a prophet, or an oracle-monger, or an expert in Chaldean lore, as well—they say that they know this sort of thing. For, if it is not certain that you will live to reach Virtue, it is quite unreasonable to take all this trouble and wear yourself out night and day, not knowing whether Fate as you near the top will come and pull you down by the foot with your hopes unfulfilled.

HERMOTIMUS

Away with you! That, Lycinus, is blasphemy. May I live to enjoy happiness through wisdom for just one day!

LYCINUS

Would that repay you for all your labours—just one day?

HERMOTIMUS

For me even a moment is enough.

LYCINUS

How can you know that up there there is a happiness and the like worth enduring everything to attain? You yourself have not yet been up there, I suppose?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Αλλα τῷ διδασκάλῳ πιστεύω λέγοντι. ο δὲ πάνυ οὐδὲν ἀτε ἀκρότατος ἢδη ὃν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ελεγε δὲ πρὸς θεῶν ποία τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ τίνα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐκεῖ; ἢ που τινὰ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὕδωνας ἀνυπερβλήτους;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εὐφήμεις, ὦ ἑταῖρε. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἁρετῇ βίον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλα τίνα φησὶ τάγαθα εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἔξεων πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐλθόντας;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πάντα ἐπίστασθαι βεβαιῶς πεπεισμένον ἢ ἐκαστα ἐχει. πλούτους δὲ καὶ δόξας καὶ ὕδωνας καὶ ὅσα τοῦ σώματος ταῦτα πάντα κάτω ἀφείκεν 1 καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος ἀνέρχεται, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Οἰτῇ κατακαυθέντα θεόν γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀποβαλὼν ὄποσον ἀνθρώπειον εἰχε παρά τῆς μητρός καὶ καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον φέρων τὸ θεῖον ἀνέπτατο ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς διευκρινηθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ οὗτοι δὴ ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινὸς πυρὸς ἀπαντὰ ταῦτα περιαρεθέντες ὃ τοῖς ἀλλοὶ θαυμαστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοξάζοντες, ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρον εὐδαιμονοῦσι πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ

1 ἀφείκεν Mras: ἀφηκεν; Γ: ἀφεῖς G: ἀφηκε(ν) other MSS.

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HERMOTIMUS

I believe what my teacher says. He is already right at the top and knows very well.

LYCINUS

What in Heaven’s name did he say about conditions there? What did he say this happiness there was? Some sort of riches, I suppose, and glory, and pleasures beyond compare?

HERMOTIMUS

Hush, friend! These have nothing to do with the life in Virtue.

LYCINUS

If not these then, what does he say are the good things which those who complete their training will get?

HERMOTIMUS

Wisdom, courage, beauty itself, justice itself, the sure certainty of knowing everything as it really is. Riches and glories and pleasures and bodily things are all stripped off the climber and left down below before he makes his ascent. Think of the story of Heracles when he was burned and deified on Mount Oeta: he threw off the mortal part of him that came from his mother and flew up to heaven, taking the pure and unpolluted divine part with him, the part that the fire had separated off. So philosophy like a fire strips our climbers of all these things that the rest of mankind wrongly admires; they climb to the top and are happy; they never even remember
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ηδονῶν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μεμνημένοι ἔτι, καταγελώντες
de τῶν οἰομένων ταύτα εἶναι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

8 Νη τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, τὸν ἐν Ὀἰνὴ
ἀνδρεία καὶ εὐδαίμονα λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν. πλὴν
ἀλλὰ τόδε μοι εἶπέ, καὶ κατέρχονται ποτὲ ἐκ τῆς
ἀκρας (ἡν ἐθελήσωσι) χρησάμενοι τοῖς κάτω ἃ
καταλελοίπασιν; η ανάγκη ἀπαξ ἀνελθόντας
αυτοὺς μένει καὶ συνεῖναι τῷ ἁρετῇ πλούτου καὶ
dόξης καὶ ηδονῶν καταγελώντας;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ὁ Λυκίνε, ἀλλ' ὅσ ἂν ἀπο-
telesthē πρὸς ἁρετήν οὕτε ὀργῇ οὕτε φόβῳ οὕτ',
ἐπιθυμίαις ὁ τοιοῦτος ἃν δουλεύοι ὁ οὐδὲ λυπόιτο
οὐδὲ ὅλως πάθος ἐτί τοιοῦτον πάθοι ἃν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μην εἰ γε με δεὶ μηδὲν ὀκνήσαντα εἰπεῖν
tάληθές—ἀλλ' εὐφημεῖν χρῆ οἵμαι μηδὲ ὃσιον
eῖναι ἐξεταζείν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν γιγνόμενα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ἀλλ' εἰπὲ ὦ τι καὶ λέγεις.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ορα, ὁ ἑταῖρε, ὡς ἑγώγε καὶ πάνυ ὀκνῶ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ μη ὀκνεῖ, ὁ γενναίε, πρὸς γε μόνων ἐμὲ
λέγων.

1 δουλεύοι Guyet: δουλεύσοι G: δουλεύσῃ M: δουλεύῃ other
MSS.

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HERMOTIMUS

wealth and glory and pleasures any more, and they laugh at those who believe them to be real.

LYCINUS

By Heracles on Oeta, Hermotimus, you tell a brave and happy tale about them! But tell me this: do they ever come down from their hill-top (if that is their wish), to make use of what they have left down here below? Or must they stay there once they are up and live in Virtue's company, laughing at wealth and glory and pleasures?

HERMOTIMUS

That is not all, Lycinus. A man who is perfected in Virtue can never be a slave to anger or fear or lusts; he will not know grief and in short he will not experience feelings of this sort any longer.

LYCINUS

Well, if I must speak the truth without fear—but I had better keep quiet, I suppose; it would not be pious to question what wise men do.

HERMOTIMUS

Not at all. Please say what you mean.

LYCINUS

Look, friend, how afraid I am!

HERMOTIMUS

Don't be afraid, good Lycinus. You are speaking to me alone.

\textsuperscript{2} ἦ Γ : ἐὰν N.
Τὰ μὲν τοῖνυν ἄλλα, ὡς Ἐρμότιμε, διηγομένῳ σοι παρειπόμην καὶ ἐπίστευν οὕτως ἔχειν, σοφοὺς τε γίγνεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ δικαίους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· καὶ πως ἐκηλούμην πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ὅποτε δὲ καὶ πλούτου ἐφήσθα καταφρονεῖν σφᾶς καὶ δόξης καὶ ἡδονῶν καὶ μήτε ὁργίζεσθαι μήτε λυπεῖσθαι, πάνυ ἐνταῦθα (μόνῳ γὰρ ἐσμέν) ἐπέστην ἀναμυνθείς ὁ πρῶτος εἶδον ποιοῦντα—βούλει φῶ τινα; ἦ ἴκανον καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ ὀνόματος;

ἘΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Μηδαμῶς, ἄλλα καὶ τούτο εἶπε ὅστις ἦν.

ἈΥΚΙΝΟΣ
Διδάσκαλος αὐτός οὕτως ὁ σῶς—ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα αἰδοὺς ἄξιος καὶ γέρων ᾗδη ἐς τὸ ὑστατον.

ἘΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Τί οὖν δὴ ἐποίει;

ἈΥΚΙΝΟΣ
Τὸν ἐγένον οἷσθα τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην ὃς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνεφιλοσόφηει αὐτῷ μαθητής ὄν, τὸν ξανθὸν, τὸν ἔριστικόν;

ἘΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Οἶδα οὖν λέγεις· Δίων αὐτῷ τοῦνομα.

ἈΥΚΙΝΟΣ
Ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ τὸν μισθὸν οἶμαι μή ἀπεδίδου κατὰ καυρόν, ἀπῆγαγε παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐναγχός περιθείς γε αὐτῷ θοιμάτιον περὶ τὸν
HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

Well, I followed and believed most of what you said, Hermotimus, that they become wise and brave and just and so on; in a way your description held me in a sort of spell. But when you said they despised riches and glory and pleasures and were not angry or grieved, there (we are alone) I came to a stop. I remembered something I saw a certain person doing the other day—shall I name him? Or is it enough to leave him anonymous?

HERMOTIMUS

Not at all. Please tell me who he was.

LYCINUS

This very teacher of yours—in general he deserves respect and is now quite old.

HERMOTIMUS

What was he doing?

LYCINUS

You know the stranger from Heraclea who has studied philosophy under him a long time, the one with yellow hair, a quarrelsome fellow?

HERMOTIMUS

I know the man you mean. He’s called Dion.

LYCINUS

That is the man. Well! it seems he didn’t pay his fee on time, and the other day your teacher in a temper pulled the man’s cloak round his neck and
τράχηλον καὶ ἐβόα καὶ ὑργίζετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν 
συνήθων τινὲς ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι ἀφείλοντο τὸν 
νεανίσκον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, εὖ ἵσθι προσφύς 
ἀν ἀπέτραγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν βίνα ὁ γέρων, οὕτως ἡγανάκτει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

10 Πονηρὸς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἂν καὶ ἄγνώμων, ὁ 
Λυκίνης, περὶ τὰς ἀποδόσεις· ἐπεὶ τοὺς γε ἄλλους 
οῖς δανεὶζει πολλοὺς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτό πω 
διατέθεικεν. ἀποδιδόσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ καιρὸν 
tοὺς τόκους.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί δε, ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδῶσων, ὁ μακάριε, μέλει τι 
αὐτῷ καθαρθέντι ἢδη ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας καὶ μηκέτι 
tῶν ἐν τῇ Οὐτῇ καταλελειμμένων δεομένων;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οἰεὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἐαυτοῦ χάριν ἐκεῖνος περὶ τὰ 
τοιαύτα ἐσπούδακεν; ἀλλ’ ἔστιν αὐτῷ παιδία 
νεογνὰ ὃν κήδεται μὴ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καταβιώσωσι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δέον, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, ἀναγαγεῖν κάκειν ἐπὶ τὴν 
ἀρετήν, ὡς συνενδαμονοῖεν αὐτῷ πλούτου καταφρο-
nοῦντες.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

11 Οὐ σχολή μοι, ὁ Λυκίνης, περὶ τούτων διαλέγε-
σθαι σοι· σπεύδω γὰρ ήδη ἀκροάσασθαι αὐτοῦ, μὴ 
καὶ λάθω τελέως ἀπολειφθεῖς.

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shouted and dragged him off to the magistrate. If some friends of the young fellow had not come between them and pulled him from his grasp, the old man would certainly have taken hold of him and bitten his nose off, he was so angry.

HERMOTIMUS

That fellow has always been a senseless rogue when it comes to paying his debts, Lycinus. My master has never yet treated any of the others to whom he lends money like that and there are many of them. But they pay the interest on time.

LYCINUS

And if they don't, my dear Hermotimus? Does it matter, when he is now already purified by philosophy and no longer needs what he has left behind on Oeta?

HERMOTIMUS

Do you think it is for himself that he has made this fuss? No, he has young children and he is concerned lest they spend their lives in want.

LYCINUS

He ought, Hermotimus, to lead them too up the path to Virtue, so that they can despise wealth and be happy with him.

HERMOTIMUS

I haven't time, Lycinus, to talk with you about this; I'm in a hurry to hear his lecture, or I may be left completely behind before I know it.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Θάρρει, ὄγαθε. τὸ τῆμερον γὰρ ἐκεχειρία ἐπήγγελται. ὦστε ἐγὼ ἀφίημι σοι ὅσον ἔτι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ὅδοις αὐτὸν, εἰ γε χρὴ πιστεύειν τῷ προγράμματι. πινάκιον γὰρ τι ἐκρέματο ὑπὲρ τοῦ πυλῶνος μεγάλους γράμμασι λέγον "Τῆμερον οὗ συμφιλοσοφεῖν." ἐλέγετο δὲ παρ' Εὐκράτει τῷ πάνω δειπνήσας χθὲς γενέθλια θυγατρός ἐστιντὶ πολλά τε συμφιλοσοφήσαι ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ πρὸς Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου παροξυνθήναι τι καὶ ἀμφισβητῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ ὃν ἐκείνοι εἴωθαν ἀντιλέγειν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοῖς. ὑπὸ τε οὖν τῆς κραυγῆς πονήρως τὴν κεφαλὴν διατεθήναι καὶ ἱδρῶσα μάλα πολλὰ ἐς μέσας νύκτας ἀποταθέησης, ὡς φασί, τῆς συνουσίας. ἡμα δὲ καὶ πεπώκει οἶμαι πλέον τοῦ ἴκανοῦ τῶν παρόντων ὡς εἰκός φιλοτησίας προπινότων καὶ ἑδεδειπνήκει πλέον ἡ κατὰ γέροντα: ὦστε ἀναστρέψας ἥμεσε τε ὡς ἐφασκον πολλὰ καὶ μόνον ἀριθμῷ παραλαβῶν τὰ κρέα ὃποσα τῷ παυδὶ κατόπιν ἐστῶτι παραδεδώκει καὶ σημινάμενος ἐπιμελῶς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου καθεύδει μηδένα εἰσδέχεσθαι παραγγείλας. ταῦτα δὲ Μίδα ἤκουσα τοῦ οἰκέτου αὐτοῦ διηγομένου τισὶ τῶν μαθητῶν, οἳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέστρεφον μάλα πολλοὶ.
HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

Cheer up, old man! A truce has been proclaimed today. I can save you what still remains of your journey.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean?

LYCINUS

That you won't find him now, if we can believe the notice; a little board was hanging on the gate with "No Philosophy Lecture Today" on it in large letters. They said that he had dinner yesterday at the house of the great Eucrates, who was throwing a party for his daughter's birthday. He talked a lot of philosophy during the party and grew cross with Euthydemus the Peripatetic, disputing their usual arguments against the Stoics. The party, they say, stretched out till midnight and the din brought on a wretched headache and made him sweat a good deal. At the same time he had drunk too much, I fancy, in the general toasting and had dined too well for his age; so when he got back home, it was said, he was very sick. He waited only to count carefully and lock up the pieces of meat he had given to the servant who had stood behind him at table, and has been sleeping ever since, having given orders to let no one in. I heard his servant Midas telling this to some of his pupils who were themselves just coming away, quite a crowd.
The Works of Lucian

Ermotimos

12 ἔκρατησε δὲ πότερος, ὡς Λυκῶν,ὁ διδάσκαλος ἦ ο Ἐνθύδημος; εἶ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔλεγεν ὁ Μίδας.

Akinos

Τὰ μὲν πρῶτα φασιν, ὡς Ἕρμοτιμε, ἀγχώμαλα σφίσι γενέσθαι, τὸ δ᾽ οὖν τέλος τῆς νίκης καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐγένετο καὶ παρὰ πολὺ ὀ πρεσβύτης ὑπερέσχε. τὸν γοῦν Ἐνθύδημον ὅδε ἀναμωτε φασιν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τραύμα παμμέγεθες ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀλαζῶν ἦν καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸς καὶ πείθεσθαι οὐκ ἔθελεν οὖθε παρείχε φάδιον αὐτον ἐλέγχεσθαι, ὁ διδάσκαλος σου ὁ βέλπιστος ὅν εἶχε σκύφον Νεστόρειόν τινα καταφέρει αὐτοῦ πλησίον κατα-κειμένου, καὶ οὕτως ἔκρατησεν.

Ermotimos

Εὗ γε. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως ἔχρην πρὸς τοὺς μή ἐθέλοντας εἶκειν τοῖς κρείττοσιν.

Akinos

Ταυτὶ μὲν, ὡς Ἕρμοτιμε, πάνυ εὔλογα. ἦ τί γὰρ παθῶν Ἐνθύδημος ἄνδρα γέροντα παρώξυνεν ἀόργητον καὶ θυμῳ ἱείττονα, σκύφον οὕτω 13 βαρὺν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοντα; ἀλλὰ, σχολὴν γὰρ ἀγομεν, τί οὐ διηγῇ μοι ἑταίρῳ ὃντι δὲ τρόπον ῥμήθης τὸ πρῶτον φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς, εἴ δυνατὸν ἔτι, συναντιστροφη ὑμῖν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἱρξάμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀποκλείσετε μὲ δηλαδὴ φίλοι οἴντες.

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HERMOTIMUS

Who won the argument, Lycinus, my teacher or Euthydemus? Did Midas say anything to this effect?

LYCINUS

At first, it seems, they were level, but in the end victory was on the side of you Stoics, and the old man was well in front. At any rate they say that Euthydemus didn’t get away unscathed: he was badly wounded in the head. You see he was pretentious and argumentative and wouldn’t be convinced and didn’t show himself ready to take criticism, so your excellent teacher hit him with a cup as big as Nestor’s\(^1\) which he had in his hand (he was lying quite near him), and so he won.

HERMOTIMUS

Well done! That’s just how to treat those who won’t give way to their betters!

LYCINUS

Very reasonable, Hermotimus. What possessed Euthydemus to irritate an old man so placid and a master of his temper, who had such a heavy cup in his hand? But now we have time to spare why don’t you tell a friend how you first took up philosophy? I myself, if it is still possible, could then begin there and join you all on the road. You are my friends and of course won’t shut me out.

1 For Nestor’s cup, see Homer, \(Iliad\) xi, 636.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εἴ γὰρ ἐθελήσεις, ὦ Λυκίνε, οὐ χρείας ὃς ὅν διοίσεις τῶν ἄλλων. παῖδας εὐ ὤσθι οἰνήσῃ ἀπαντας ὡς πρός σέ, τοσοῦτον ὑπερφρονήσεις αὐτὸς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἰκανὸν, εἰ μετὰ ἐκκοσιν ἔτη γενέσθαι οἰός τε εἴην ¹ τοιοῦτος οἶδος σὺ νῦν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀμέλει. καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ σὲ γεγονὼς ἡρξάμην φιλοσοφεῖν τετπαρακοντοῦτης σχεδον—ὁπόσα οἶμαι σὺ νῦν γέγονας.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοσαῦτα γὰρ, ὦ Ἐρμότιμε. ὡστε τὴν αὐτὴν ἁ γε λαβὼν καμὲ—δίκαιον γὰρ. καὶ πρῶτον γε μοι τοῦτο εἰπέ: διδοτε ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς μανθάνουσιν ἢν τι μὴ ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι δοκῇ αὐτοῖς, ἡ οὐκ ἐφίετε τοῦτο τοῖς νεωτέροις;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ πάνω. σὺ δὲ, ἥν τι βούλῃ, ἔρωτα μεταξὺ καὶ ἀντιλέγε. ῥάνον γὰρ ἂν οὕτω μᾶθωις.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εὖ γε—νὴ τὸν Ἐρμῆν, ὦ Ἐρμότιμε, αὐτὸν οὐ ¹ ¹ ἐπώνυμος ὃν τυγχάνεις. ἀτὰρ εἰπέ μοι, μία τις ὁδὸς ἔστιν ἢ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἄγουσα ἢ τῶν Στωϊκῶν ὑμῶν; ἡ ἀλήθη ἐγὼ ἥκουν ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ των ἐσίν;

¹ γενέσθαι οἶός τε εἴην Mras: γενοίμην G C: γενέσθαι other MSS.

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HERMOTIMUS

I wish you would, Lycinus! You will soon see how much better you will be than the rest of mankind. Children you will think them all, mere children compared with you with your intellect so superior.

LYCINUS

Good enough, if after twenty years I could be as you are now.

HERMOTIMUS

Don’t worry. I myself was about your age when I began to study philosophy, about forty—as old as you are now I imagine.

LYCINUS

Exactly that, Hermotimus. So take and lead me too along the same path—that would be only right. First of all tell me this: do you allow learners to argue if they disagree with something, or is this not allowed to the young?

HERMOTIMUS

No, it is not allowed at all. But you, if you like, may ask questions and make criticisms as we go along. You will learn more easily that way.

LYCINUS

Good, Hermotimus—by Hermes who gives you your name. Now tell me, is there one way only to philosophy, the one you Stoics follow? I have heard there are many other schools as well. Is that right?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μάλα πολλοί—Περιπτατητικοί καὶ Ἐπικούρειοι καὶ οἱ τῶν Πλάτωνα ἐπιγραφόμενοι, καὶ αὖ Διογένους ἄλλοι τυνὲς καὶ Ἀντισθένους ζηλωταῖ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ ἔτι πλεῖος.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀληθῶς ταῦτα: πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ. πότερον δὴ, ὡς Ἐρμότιμε, τὰ αὐτὰ οὔτοι λέγουσιν ὡς διάφορα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ πάνυ διάφορα.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Τὸ δὲ γε ἀληθῆς οἷμαι πάντως ποὺ ἐν ἡν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὗ πάντα διάφορά γε ὄντα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

15 Ἰθι δὴ, ὡς φιλότης, ἀπόκριναι μοι τῷ τότε πιστεύσας τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε ἦεις φιλοσοφήσων πολλῶν σοὶ θυρῶν ἀναπεπταμένων παρεῖς σὺ τὰς ἄλλας εἰς τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν ἤκες καὶ δι' ἑκείνης ἥξιόν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρετὴν εἰσίεναι ὡς δὴ μόνης ἀληθοῦς οὔσης καὶ τὴν εὐθείαν ἐπιδεικνυόσης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰς τυφλὰ καὶ ἀνέξοδα φερομένων; τίνι ταῦτ' ἐτεκμαίρου τότε; καὶ μή μοι τὸν νῦν δὴ τοῦτον σεαυτὸν ἐννοεῖ, τὸν εἴτε ἡμίσοφον εἴτε σοφὸν ἤδη τὰ βελτίως κρίνειν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ οὕτως ἀπόκριναι ὁποῖος τότε ἥσθα ἰδιώτης καὶ κατὰ τὸν νῦν ἐμέ.
HERMOTIMUS

Very many—the Peripatetics, Epicureans, those who take Plato as their patron, others also, the devotees of Diogenes and Antisthenes, Pythagoreans, and more besides.

LYCINUS

True, there are many. Is what they say the same, Hermotimus, or different?

HERMOTIMUS

Quite different.

LYCINUS

At all events, one of their systems, I suppose, is true? They can’t all be true if they differ.

HERMOTIMUS

No, they can’t.

LYCINUS

Now be a true friend and tell me this: when you first set out to study philosophy, many doors were open to you; you passed by the others and came to the Stoic door; you deigned to enter through that door on the way to Virtue, thinking it the only true one which revealed the straight path; the rest led into blind alleys. Now what was your reason for this? What at that time made you certain? Please do not think of yourself as you are now, for, half-wise or wise, you can now make better judgments than most of us. Answer as the layman you then were and I am now.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ συνήμη ὃ τι σοι τοῦτο βούλεται, ὦ Λυκῖνε.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μήν οὐ πάνι ἀγκύλον ἡρόμην. πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων φιλοσόφων, οἶδον Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Ἀντισθένους καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων, τοῦ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι εἰσιν, τῷ σοὶ πιστεύσας τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰςας, εἴ ἀπάντων δὲ προελόμενος ἀπέρ προήρησαι, ἀξιοὶς κατὰ ταῦτα φιλοσοφεῖν; ἄρα καὶ σὲ ὥσπερ τὸν Χαιρεφῶντα ὁ Πύθιος ἐξέπεμψε ἐπὶ τὰ Στυίκῶν ἀρίστους ἐξ ἀπάντων προσεπτῶν; ἔθος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἄλλον ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο εἴδος φιλοσοφίας προτρέπειν τὴν ἄρμόττουσαν οἶμαι ἐκάστῳ εἰδότι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Αλλ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐδὲ ἡρόμην περί γε τούτων τὸν θεόν.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πότερον οὐκ ἄξιον θείας συμβουλίας ἡγούμενος αὐτὸ ἢ ἰκανὸς ὑπὸ αὐτὸς εἶναι ἐλέσθαι τὸ βέλτιον κατὰ σαυτὸν ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Ομηρν γάρ.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

16 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς διδάσκοις ἃν τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὅπως διαγνωστέοιν ἡμῶν εὐθὺς ἐν ἄρχῃ, τίς ἡ ἀρίστη φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀληθεύουσα καὶ ἣν ἂν τῆς ἐλοιποῦ παρεῖς τὰς ἄλλας.

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HERMOTIMUS

HERMOTIMUS

I don’t see your point, Lycinus.

LYCINUS

My question was not very complicated really. There have been many philosophers—Plato, Aristotle, Antisthenes, and your own predecessors, Chrysippus, Zeno, and the rest. Now, what persuaded you to leave the rest alone and choose to base your studies on the particular one you did? Did Apollo send you back from Delphi, like Chaerephon, with his word that the Stoic school was best of all and you should go there? He has a habit of sending different people to different philosophies; he knows the one that suits each person best, I suppose.

HERMOTIMUS

It wasn’t like that, Lycinus. I never even asked Apollo about it.

LYCINUS

Did you think it not worth consulting the god about, or did you think you could make the better choice on your own without his help?

HERMOTIMUS

I did think so.

LYCINUS

Well then, please teach me this first, how, right at the beginning, we can distinguish the best, the true philosophy, the one we must choose, leaving aside the others.

1 Chaerephon asked the oracle who was the wisest mortal and he was directed to Socrates.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Εγώ σοι φράσω. ἐώρων τοὺς πλείστους ἐπ' αὐτὴν ορμῶντας ὡστε εἰκαζον ἀμείων εἶναι αὐτὴν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πόσω τινὶ πλείουσ τῶν 'Επικουρείων ἡ Πλατωνικῶν ἡ Περιπατητικῶν; ἡρίθμησας γὰρ αὐτῶς δηλαδὴ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Αλλ' οὐκ ἡρίθμησα ἐγώγε, εἰκαζον δέ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Ὡς οὐκ ἔθελες διδάξαι με ἀλλ' ἐξαπατᾶς, ὅσ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκασμοὶ φῆς καὶ πλῆθει κρίναι ἀποκρυπτόμενος λέγειν πρὸς με τάληθες.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ὥς Λυκίνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢκουν ἀπάντων λεγόντων ὡς οἱ μὲν 'Επικουρεῖοι γλυκὺθυμοι καὶ φιληδονοὶ εἰσώ, οἱ Περιπατητικοὶ δὲ φιλόπλουτοι καὶ ἑριστικοὶ τινες, οἱ Πλατωνικοὶ δὲ τετύφωνται καὶ φιλόδοξοι εἰσὶ, περὶ δὲ τῶν Στωϊκῶν πολλοὶ ἐφασκόν ὅτι ἄνδρώδεις καὶ πάντα γιγνώσκουσι καὶ ὄτι ὁ ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὁδὸν μόνος βασιλεὺς, μόνος πλοῦσιος, μόνος σοφὸς καὶ συνόλως ἄπαντα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

17 Ὅλον δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς σὲ ἄλλοι δηλαδὴ περὶ αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖνοι ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐπίστευοσ ἐπανοῦσι τὰ αὐτῶν.

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HERMOTIMUS

I will tell you. I saw that most people took to this one, so I guessed it was the best.

LYCINUS

How many more Stoics are there than Epicureans or Platonists or Peripatetics? You obviously took a count of them as in a show of hands.

HERMOTIMUS

I didn’t count. I made an estimate.

LYCINUS

So you are not prepared to teach me. You are cheating when you tell me you decide such a matter by guesswork and weight of numbers. You’re hiding the truth from me.

HERMOTIMUS

It wasn’t just that, Lycinus. I also heard everybody saying that the Epicureans were sensual and lovers of pleasure, that the Peripatetics loved riches and wrangling, and that the Platonists were puffed up and loved glory. But a lot of people said that the Stoics were manly and understood everything and that the man who went this way was the only king, the only rich man, the only wise man, and everything rolled into one.

LYCINUS

These were obviously other people’s opinions on the schools. You wouldn’t have simply believed the respective adherents when they praised their own schools.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς, ἄλλα ὦι ἄλλοι ἔλεγον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀντίδοξοι οὐκ ἔλεγον ὡς τὸ εἰκός. 1

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ γάρ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἱ δ' ἄρα ἴδιωται ταύτα ἔλεγον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Ορᾶς ὅπως αὖθις ἔξαπατὰς με καὶ οὐ λέγεις τάληθές· ἄλλ' οἶει Μαργύτη διαλέγεσθαι τινι, ὡς πιστεύσαι ὅτι 'Ερμότιμος, ἀνὴρ συνετός, ἔτη τότε γεγονός τετταράκοντα, περὶ φιλόσοφιᾶς καὶ φιλο-

σόφων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἴδιωταις ἐπίστευσεν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων λεγόμενα ἐποιεῖτο τὴν αἱρεσιν τῶν κρειττόνων. ἄξιῶ οὐ γὰρ πιστεῦσαι σοι 2 τοιαύ-

τα λέγοντι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

18 'Αλλ' οἶδα, ὦ Δυκίνε, οὐχὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μονον ἐπίστευν ἄλλα καὶ ἐμαυτῷ. ἐώρων γὰρ αὐτοὺς κοσμίως βαδίζοντας, ἀναβεβλημένους εὐσταλῶς, ὡς ἐπιτίθοντας ἄεί, ἄρρενωποὺς, ἐν χρώ κοινίας τοὺς πλείστους, οὐδέν ἄβρον οὐδ' αὐτ' αὖ πάνω ἐσὶ τὸ ἀδιάφορον ὑπερεκπίπτον ὡς ἐκπληκτὸν εἶναι καὶ

1 After ὡς τὸ εἰκός MSS. have οὖτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοσοφοῦντες: del. Solanus.

2 So Fritzsche: κρειττόνων ἄξιων. οὐ γὰρ πιστεῦσαι σοι (πιστεῦσαι τι G) MSS.

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HERMOTIMUS

HERMOTIMUS
Certainly not; these were other people's opinions.

LYCINUS
Not their rivals' opinions, I suppose?

HERMOTIMUS
No.

LYCINUS
Laymen's opinions?

HERMOTIMUS
Yes.

LYCINUS
You see how once again you are cheating me and not telling the truth. You think you are talking with some Margites \(^1\) who is ready to believe that Hermotimus, an intelligent man forty years of age, on philosophy and philosophers believed the opinions of laymen and made his choice of the better creed accordingly. I refuse to believe you when you say things like that.

HERMOTIMUS
But you know, Lycinus, I did rely on myself as well as others. I used to see the Stoics walking with dignity, decently dressed, always thoughtful, manly in looks, most of them close-cropped; there was nothing effeminate, none of that exaggerated indifference which stamps the genuine crazy Cynic.

\(^1\) A proverbial fool, the hero of a comic epic attributed to Homer.
κυνικῶν ἄτεχνῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου καταστήματος, ὃ δὴ ἄριστον ἀπαντεῖ εἶναι φασιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αρ' οὖν κάκεινα εἴδες ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἄ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔλεγον αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι τὸν σὸν διδάσκαλον, ὃ 'Ερμότιμε, πράττοντα; οἶδον δανεῖ-ζοντας καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντας πικρῶς καὶ φιλονείκως πάνυ ἐρίζοντας ἐν ταῖς ἔξυνουσίαις καὶ τὰ ἅλλα ὁσα ἐπιδείκνυται; ἦ τούτων ὁλίγον σοι μέλει, ἄχρι ἃν εὐσταλῆς ἡ ἀναβολὴ καὶ ὁ πώγων βαθὺς καὶ ἐν χρῷ ἡ κουρά; καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρα ἐχωμεν τούτοι κανόνα καὶ στάθμην ἀκριβῆ τῶν τοιοῦτων, ὡς 'Ερμότιμος φησι, καὶ χρὴ ἀπὸ σχημάτων καὶ βαδισμάτων καὶ κουράς διαγνώσκεν τοὺς ἁρίστους, ὃς δ' ἀν μὴ ἔχῃ ταύτα μηδὲ σκυθρωπὸς ἡ καὶ φροντιστικὸς τὸ πρόσωπόν, ἀποδοκιμαστέος 19 καὶ ἀποβλητέος; ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ καὶ ταύτα, ὃ 'Ερμότιμε, παίζεις πρὸς με πειρώμενοι εἰ ἐξαπα-τώμενος συνίημι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Διὰ τί τοῦτ' ἐφησθα;"}

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Οτι, ὡγαθέ, ἀνδριάντων ταύτην ἐξέτασιν λέγεις τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων. παρὰ πολὺ γοῦν ἐκείνου εὐσχημονέστεροι καὶ τὰς ἀναβολὰς κοσμιώτεροι, Φείδιον τινὸς ἡ 'Αλκαμένου ἡ Μύρωνος πρὸς τὸ εὔμορφοτατον εἰκάσαντος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὦτι μάλιστα χρὴ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους, τὶ ἂν πάθοι τις, εἰ τυφλὸς ὑπὶ ἐπιθυμοῦῃ φιλοσοφεῖν; τῶ διαγνῷ τὸν τὴν ἀμείων προαιρέσων προηγημένον οὔτε σχῆμα οὔτε βαδίσμα ὅραν δυνάμενος; 294
HERMOTIMUS

They seemed in a state of moderation and everyone says that is best.

LYCINUS

Did you see them behaving also as I said just now I saw your master behaving, Hermotimus? I mean lending money and making bitter demands to be repaid, quarrelsome and most contentious in conversations and generally behaving themselves as they usually do? Or is this of little importance to you, so long as the dress is decent, the beard long, and the hair close-cropped? Then this is to be our strict rule and law for the future in these matters according to Hermotimus: we are to distinguish the best men by their appearance, their walk, and their hair, and whosoever has not these signs and does not look sulky and meditative is to be spurned and rejected! You're surely making fun of me, Hermotimus; you're trying to see if I can spot the catch.

HERMOTIMUS

Why do you say that?

LYCINUS

Because, my dear friend, this test of yours from appearances is for statues. They at any rate are much more prepossessing and comely in their dress, if a Phidias or Alcamenes or Myron has made them in the most handsome style. But if these are the surest, critical tests, what would a blind man do if he wanted to take up philosophy? How does he recognise the one who has made the better choice—he can see neither bearing nor gait?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Αλλ' ἐμοιγε οὐ πρὸς τυφλοὺς ὁ λόγος, ὦ Λυκίνε, οὔτε μοι μέλει τῶν τοιούτων.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Εχρῆν μὲν, ὦ χρηστὲ, κοινὸν τι τὸ γνώρισμα εἶναι τῶν οὗτω μεγάλων καὶ ἁπασὶ χρησίμων. πλὴν εἰ δοκεῖ, οἱ μὲν ἐξω ἡμῖν φιλοσοφίας μενέτω- σαι οἱ τυφλοὶ, ἐπείπερ μηδὲ ὀρῶσι—καίτοι ἁναγκαίον ἦν τοῖς τοιούτοις μάλιστα φιλοσοφεῖν ὡς μὴ πάνυ ἄχθουντο ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ. οἱ δὲ δὴ βλέποντες καὶ πάνυ ὀξυδερκεῖς ὃςι τί ἄν δύναυτο συνιδεῖν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπό γε τῆς 20 ἐξωθεν ταύτης περιβολῆς; ὃ δὲ βούλομαι εἰπεῖν τοιόνδε ἐστὶν. οὐχ ὅτι τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐρωτὶ προσήκεις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἦξίους ἀμείων γίγνεσθαι ἐς τὰ τῆς γνώμης;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πῶς οὖν οἶον τέ σοι ἤν ἀφ' ὑπέφθυσα ἐκεῖνων τῶν γνωρισμάτων διοραὶ τῶν ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντα ἡ μῆ; οὐ γὰρ φίλει τὰ τοιαῦτα οὗτῳ διαφαίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἐν ἀφανεὶ κείμενα, λόγοι καὶ συνουσίαι ἁναδεικνύμενα καὶ ἔργοις τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὤψε μόλις. ο γοῦν Μώμος ἀκήκοας οἶμαι ἀτινα ἡτιάσατο τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ· εἰ δὲ μῆ, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀκουε. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ μόθος ἔρισαι Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἡφαιστον εὐτεχνίας πέρι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ποσειδῶνα ταῦρον ἀναπλάσαι, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ οἰκίαν ἐπινοῆσαι, ὃ Ἡφαιστος δὲ ἀνθρωπον ἀρα 296
HERMOTIMUS

My argument is not addressed to the blind, Lycinus, and I have no interest in them.

LYCINUS

But, my good sir, there should be some accepted criterion in matters so important and valuable to everyone. However, if you prefer, let the blind keep clear of philosophy since they cannot see—yet they of all people really should take up philosophy: then they would not be completely overwhelmed by their misfortune. Well then, those who can see: however sharp-sighted they may be, what can they detect of the qualities of the soul from this outer covering? What I wish to say is this: was it not love of the mind of these men that attracted you to them, and didn’t you expect to be improved in your mental powers?

HERMOTIMUS

Most certainly.

LYCINUS

Then how could you distinguish the true philosopher from the false by the marks you mentioned? Such things are not usually shown in that way; they are secret and not visible, showing themselves in conversation and discussion and corresponding action, and then only with difficulty and after a long period. You have heard, I suppose, what faults Momus found in Hephaestus; if not I’ll tell you. The story goes that Athena, Poseidon, and Hephaestus were quarrelling over which of them was the best artist. Poseidon modelled a bull, Athena designed a house, while Hephaestus, it seems, put together a man.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

συνεστήσατο, καὶ ἐπεὶ περ ἐπὶ τὸν Μώμον ἦκον ὄνπερ δικαστὴν προελθοντο, θεασάμενος ἐκεῖνος ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄτινα ἤτιάσατο περιττὸν ἂν εἰθ λέγειν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δέ τοῦτο ἐμέμψατο καὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπέπληξε τὸν "Ἡφαίστον διότι μὴ καὶ θυρίδας ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον, ὡς ἀναπετασθεισῶν γνώριμα γίγνεσθαι ἀπασίν ἡ βουλεύται καὶ ἐπινοεῖ καὶ εἴ ¹ ψευδεῖ η ἀληθεύει. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἂτε ἀμβλυώττων οὕτω περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διενοεῖτο, σὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Δυνκέα ἦμῖν δέδορκας καὶ ὅρας τὰ ἐνδον ὡς έοικε διὰ τοῦ στέρνου καὶ ἀνέφικται σοι τὰ πάντα, ὡς εἰδέναι μὴ μόνον ἡ βουλεύται καὶ ἡ γιγνώσκει ἐκαστὸς ἄλλα καὶ πότερος ἀμείων ἦ χεῖρων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Παίζεις, ὦ Δυκίνε. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ θεὸν εἰλόμην 21 καὶ οὐ μεταμέλει μοι τῆς αἱρέσεως. ἰκανὸν δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς γοῦν ἐμέ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ομος οὐκ ἂν εἰποις, ὦ ἑταῖρε, καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ, ἄλλα περιόψει με παραπολόμενον ἐν τῷ πολλῷ συρφετῷ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδὲν γάρ σοι ἀρέσκει ὡς ἂν εἰπώ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ, ὡγαθέ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐθέλεις εἴπειν ὅποιον ἂν μοι ἀρέσειν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν σὺ ἐκὼν ἀποκρύπτῃ καὶ φθονεῖς ἦμῖν ὡς μὴ ἐξ οὖν γενοίμεθα σοι φιλοσοφήσαντες, ἐγώ πειράσομαι ὅπως ἂν οἶός 298
they came to Momus, whom they had appointed judge, he examined the work of each. What faults he found in the other two we need not say, but his criticism of the man and his reproof of the craftsman, Hephaestus, was this: he had not made windows in his chest which could be opened to let everyone see his desires and thoughts and if he were lying or telling the truth. Momus, of course, being shortsighted, held such notions about men, but you have better sight than Lynceus and, it seems, see through the chest to what is inside, and everything is revealed to you, and you know not only what each man wants and thinks, but also who is better or worse.

HERMOTIMUS

You are joking, Lycinus. I chose with God's help and I have no regrets. I at any rate am satisfied.

LYCINUS

But will you not tell me too, my friend? Or will you leave me rotting among the vulgar rabble?

HERMOTIMUS

Nothing I say pleases you.

LYCINUS

Not so, my good sir; you refuse to say anything to please me. So, since you are deliberately keeping me in the dark and you grudge me the chance of becoming as good a philosopher as you are, I shall

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1 e' Solanus from one late MS. : ʰ other MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

te ὄ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἐξευρεῖν τὴν ἀκριβὴ περὶ
tούτων κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην αἴρεσιν.
ἀκοῦε δὲ καὶ σὺ, εἰ βουλεῖ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Αλλὰ βούλομαι, ὦ Λυκίνε. ἵσως γὰρ τι γνώ-
ριμον ἐρεῖς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Σκόπει δὴ καὶ μὴ καταγελάσης, εἰ παντάπασιν
идиωτικός ἀναζητῶ αὐτὸν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὕτως,
ἐπεὶ μὴ σὺ ἐθέλεις σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν εἰδῶς
ἀμενον.

22 Ἐστω δὴ μοι ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ τοιοῦτι τι οἶνον πόλις
τις εὐδαίμονας ἔχουσα τοὺς ἐμπολιτευομένους (ὡς
φαίη ἂν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ σὸς ἐκεῖθεν ποθεν ἄφιγμέ-
νος), σοφοὺς ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον, ἄνδρείους ἀπαντας,
δικαίους, σωφρονας, ὀλίγον θεῶν ἀποδέοντας.
οὶ δὲ πολλὰ γίγνεται παρ’ ἡμῖν—ἀρπαζόντων καὶ
βιαζομένων καὶ πλεονεκτούντων—οὐδὲν ἂν ἴδοις,
φαίνε, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει τολμώμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐν
εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ ἔμπολιτεύονται, μαλ’ εἰκότως·
ἄ γαρ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οὐμαι τὰς στάσεις καὶ
φιλονεικίας ἐγείρει καὶ ὄν ἕνεκα ἐπιβουλευοῦσιν
ἀλλήλοις, ταῦτα πάντα ἑκποδῶν ἐστὶν ἐκείνοις.
οὐ γὰρ οὔτε χρυσίον ἐτὶ οὔτε ἠδονάς οὔτε δόξας
ὁρῶν ὡς διαφέρεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι
τῆς πόλεως ἐξεληλάκασον αὐτὰ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα
ἡγησάμενοι ἔμπολιτεύεσθαι. ὡστε γαληνὸν τινα
καὶ πανευδαίμονα βίον βιοῦσιν ἐκν ἐνομία καὶ
ἰσότητι καὶ ἐλευθερία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς.

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HERMOTIMUS

try as well as I can to find out for myself the true test for these matters and the safest choice to make. Now please listen to me.

HERMOTIMUS

I am willing, Lycinus. Perhaps you will say something important.

LYCINUS

Then give me your attention and don't mock me if my investigation is altogether that of a layman; it can't be helped when you will not explain more precisely although you know better.

Virtue then seems to me like a city whose inhabitants are happy (as your teacher, who has come from there, wherever it may be, would say), outstanding in their wisdom, all of them brave, just, prudent, almost gods. All those things that you find here—robbery, violence, cheating—they say you would find none of them ventured in that city; no, they live together in peace and harmony naturally enough; for what, I suppose, in other cities produces strife and discord, plot and counter-plot, is entirely absent. They do not any longer look on gold, pleasures, or glory as things to quarrel about—they drove them from the city long ago, thinking them unnecessary to their common life. So they live a calm and perfectly happy life with good government, equality, freedom, and the other blessings.
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ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

23 Τί οὖν, ὦ Δυκίνε; οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπαντᾷς ἐπιθυμεῖν πολίτας γίγνεσθαι τῆς τοιαῦτης πόλεως μήτε κάματον ὑπολογιζομένους τὸν ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ μήτε πρὸς τὸ μῆκος τοῖς χρόνοι ἀπαγορεύοντας, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἀφικόμενοι ἐγγραφήσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νῇ Δίᾳ, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, πάντων μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦτω σπουδαστέον, τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν ἀμελητέον, καὶ μήτε πατρίδος τῆς ἐνυπάθθα ἐπιλαμβανομένης πολυν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μήτε παιδών ἢ γονέων ὅτω εἰσὶν ἐπικατεχόντων καὶ κλαυθμωριζομένων ἐπικλάσθαι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν κάκεινος παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδὸν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐθέλοιν ἢ μὴ δύναντο, ἀποσεισάμενον αὐτοὺς χωρεῖν εὐθὺ τῆς πανευδαιμόνος ἐκείνης πόλεως καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπορρίπαντα τὸ ἰμάτιον εἰ τοῦτο ἐπειλημμένοι κατερύκοιεν, ἐσσούμενον ἐκείσε—οὐ γὰρ δέος μὴ σὲ τις ἀποκλείσῃ καὶ γυμνὸν ἐκείσε ἦκοντα.

24 Ἡδὴ γὰρ ποτε καὶ ἀλλοτε προσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἦκουσα διεξίοντος ὅπως τὰ ἐκεῖ πράγματα ἔχοι, καὶ με προϋτρεπεν ἔπεσθαι οἱ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν· ἠγήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ ἠλθόντα ἐγγράψει καὶ φυλέτην ποιήσεσθαι καὶ φαραγías μεταδώσειν τῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡς μετὰ πάντων εὐδαμονοίην. "ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην" ὑπ' ἀνοίας καὶ νεότητος τότε, πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα σχεδὸν ἔτῶν· ἱσως γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰ ἦδη ἀμφὶ τὰ προάστεια καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἦν. ἐλεγε δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ γε μέμνημαι, ἀλλά τε πολλὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ 1 τάδε, ὡς

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HERMOTIMUS

Well then, Lycinus, isn't it right for everyone to long for citizenship of a city like that, and neither to think of the toils of the journey nor give up because of the time it takes, if once they get there they too are going to be enrolled as citizens and share in the city's life?

LYCINUS

Yes, indeed, Hermotimus, this we must strive for above everything, and all else we must ignore. If our native country here lays claim to us, we must take scant notice, and if any children or parents we may have cling to us weeping, we shall not give way. No, first and foremost we shall urge them to follow the same road. If they will not, or cannot, we must shake them off and make straight for that all-happy city, throwing off our very cloak should they hold on to it to drag us back as we hurry there—for there is no fear of being shut out, even if you come there naked. On another occasion before this I have heard an old man telling how things were there and urging me to follow him to the city; he would guide me himself and enrol me on my arrival, make me a fellow-tribesman and let me share his clan, so that I might be happy with all the others. "But I would not listen"¹ at that time through folly and youth (it was about fifteen years ago); perhaps by now I should have been in the very suburbs, even by the gates. He told me much about the city, if I remember, and in particular this, that all the inhabitants

¹ A verse quotation.

¹ καὶ δὴ καὶ Schaefer: καὶ ἡδὴ καὶ MSS.
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ξύμπαντες μὲν ἐπήλυδες καὶ ἔνοι εἶεν, αὐθιγενὴς
de οὐδὲ εἰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι
πολλοὺς καὶ δούλους καὶ ἀμόρφους καὶ μικροὺς
καὶ πένητας, καὶ ὅλως μετέχει τῆς πόλεως τὸν
βουλόμενον· τὸν γάρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ
tιμημάτων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐγγραφὴν οὖθ' ἀπὸ
σχημάτων ἡ μεγέθους ἡ κάλλους οὖθ' ἀπὸ γένους
tοῦ τῶν λαμπρῶν ἐκ προγόνων, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν οὐδὲ νομίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀποχρήν δ' ἐκάστῳ
πρὸς τὸ πολίτην γενέσθαι σύνεσιν καὶ
eπιθυμίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ πόνων καὶ τὸ λιπαρὸς
καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐνδοῦν μηδὲ μαλακισθῆναι πολλοῖς
toῖς δυσχερέσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, ὡς
ὁστις ἂν ταῦτα ἐπιδείξηται καὶ διεξέλθῃ πορεύομενος
ἀχρι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτίκα μάλα πολίτην
ὀντα τοῦτον ὡστις ἂν ἤ καὶ ἱσότιμον ἀπασί· τὸ
δὲ χείρων ἡ κρείττων ἡ εὐπατρίδης ἡ ἀγεννής ἡ
dούλος ἡ ἐλεύθερος οὐδὲ ὅλως εἶναι ἡ λέγεσθαι ἐν
tῇ πόλει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

25 Ὁρᾶς, ὡς Λυκίνε, ὡς οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ περὶ
μικρῶν κάμνω πολίτης ἐπιθυμῶν γενέσθαι καὶ
-ajaxos οὐτω καλῆς καὶ εὐδαιμόνων πόλεως;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς, ὡς Ἕρμότιμε, τῶν αὐτῶν σοι
ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὃ τι ἂν μοι πρὸ τούτων εὐξαίμην
γενέσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν πλησίον ἢν ἡ πόλις καὶ
φανερὰ ἰδεῖν ἀπασί, πάλαι ἂν, εὐ ἰσθι, μηδὲν
ἐνδοιάσας αὐτὸς ἢν εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπολιτεύμην
ἂν ἐκ πολλοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατε, σύ τε καὶ
Ὡσίδος ὁ Ῥαψώδος, πάνω πόρρω ἀπώκισται,
were aliens and foreigners, not one was a native; there were even many barbarians among the citizens, as well as slaves, cripples, dwarfs, and paupers—in a word anyone who wanted to take part in the city; for property, apparel, height, good looks, family, brilliant ancestry, were not required by law for enrolment; on the contrary, they gave no place in their customs to them; no, intelligence, a desire for what is good, industry, perseverance, a refusal to give in or be weakened by the many hardships encountered on the way, were enough for a man to become a citizen; whoever showed these qualities and kept on going all the way to the city was a citizen there and then equal to them all; inferior or superior, noble or common, bond or free, simply did not exist and were not mentioned in the city.

HERMOTIMUS

You see then, Lycinus, that my labour is not in vain or for trifles, if I desire to be myself a citizen of a city so fair and happy.

LYCINUS

Yes, Hermotimus, and I myself am in love with the same things and there is nothing I would pray for more. If the city had been near at hand and visible to everyone, you can be sure that long since, without a moment's hesitation, I myself should have entered in and been a citizen this long time, but, since, as you say, you and the poet Hesiod, it has been built at a very

\[1 \text{ τοῦ τῶν λαμπρῶν Fritzche: οὖτω λαμπρῶν Γ: οὐδὲ λαμπρῶν Ν.}\]

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ἀνάγκη ζητεῖν ὁδὸν τε τὴν ἁγουσαν ἐπ’ αὐτὴν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἄριστον. ἦν οὐκ οἶει σὺ χρήναι οὕτω ποιεῖν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ πῶς ἀν ἄλλως ἔλθοι τις;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι καὶ φάσκειν εἰδέναι πολλὴ ἀφθονία τῶν ἡγεμονείων. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἔτοιμοι παρεστάσιν αὐτόχθονες ἐκεῖθεν ἐκαστὸς εἶναι λέγοντες. ὅδος γε μὴν οὐ μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ φαίνεται ἄλλα πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοραι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλληλας ἀρματί. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια, ἦ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐω φέρειν έοικεν, ἦ δὲ τις ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκτοὺς, καὶ ἄλλη εὐθὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας, καὶ ἢ μὲν διὰ λεμὼν καὶ φυτῶν καὶ σκιάς εὐνοὺς καὶ ἠδεία οὐδὲν ἀντίτυπον ἡ δύσβατον ἔχουσα, ἦ δὲ πετρόδης καὶ τραχεῖα πολὺν ἦλιον καὶ δίψος καὶ κάματον προφαίνουσα. καὶ ὅμως αὕτη πᾶσαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἄγεν λέγονται μιᾶν οὐσαν ἐς τὰ ἑναντιώτατα τελευτῶσαι.

26 Ἔνθα δὴ μοι καὶ ἡ πάσα ἀπορία ἑστίν. ἐφ’ ἣν γὰρ ἄν ἐλθὼν αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὴν ἄρχὴν τῆς ἀτραποῦ ἐκάστης ἐφεστὼς ἐν ἐς εἰσόδῳ μᾶλα τις ἀξιόπιστος ὅρεγει τε τὴν χείρα καὶ προτρέπει κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπίεναι, λέγων ἐκαστος αὐτῶν μόνος τὴν εὐθείαν εἰδέναι τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους πλανάσθαι μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐληλυθότας μήτε ἄλλως ἡγησάσθαι δυναμένους ἀκολουθήσαντας. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀφίκωμαι, κάκεινον τὰ ὁμοια ὑπισχνεῖται περὶ

1 So Fritzche: ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ΓΝ: ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Seager.
2 ἐκάστης Jensius: ἐκαστος MSS.
HERMOTIMUS

great distance, we must look for the path that leads there and the best guide to follow. Don’t you agree that we must do this?

HERMOTIMUS

How else could one go there?

LYCINUS

Well, as regards making promises and saying that they know, there are plenty of would-be guides. Many are standing ready, each one saying he is a native of that city. But no one and the same road is to be seen. There are many different ones not at all like each other: one seems to lead to the west, another to the east, another to the north, a fourth straight towards the south; one goes through meadows and gardens and shady spots—a well-watered, pleasant road with nothing to block the way or make hard-going; another is rocky and rough, promising much sun and thirst and exhaustion. Nevertheless all these roads are said to lead to the city, although there is but one city, while they have their ends in the opposite parts of the globe.

All my difficulty lies here. For, whichever of them I approach, a man who stands at the beginning of each path at the entrance, a very trustworthy person, stretches out his hand, and urges me to go off along his road, and each one of them says that he alone knows the direct route and that the others are astray, since they have neither gone there themselves nor followed others able to lead them. If I go to his neighbour, he makes similar promises
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tῆς αὐτοῦ ὀδοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κακίζει, καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως καὶ ἔξης ἀπαντεῖ. τὸ τε τοῖνυν πλῆθος τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τὸ ἀνόμοιον αὐτῶν οὐ μετρίως ταράττει με καὶ ἀπορεῖν ποιεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὑπερδιατεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστοι ἐπανοῦντες. οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ἢντων τραπόμενος ἢ τῷ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀκολουθήσας ἀφικοῦμην ἃν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

27 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε ἀπολύσω τῆς ἀπορίας. τοῖς γὰρ προῳδοιπορηκόσιν, ὦ Λυκίνε, πιστεύσασι οὐκ ἂν σφαλείης.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τίςι λέγεις; τοῖς κατὰ ποίαν ὀδὸν ἐλθοῦσιν; ἢ τίνι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀκολουθήσασιν; αὕθις γὰρ ἠμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπορον ἐν ἄλλῃ μορφῇ ἀναφαίνεται ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας μετεληλυθός.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς τοῦτο φῆς;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Οτι ὁ μὲν τῆν Πλάτωνος τραπόμενος καὶ συνοδοιπορήσας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνην ἐπανέστηκι δήλον ὅτι, ὁ δὲ τῆν Ἐπικούρου, ἐκείνην, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλην, σοῦ δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν. ἢ πῶς γὰρ, ὦ Ἐρμότιμε; οὐχ οὕτως;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ τοῖνυν ἀπελυσάς με τῆς ἀπορίας, ἄλλ' ἐτι ὁμοίως ἅγνω τῷ μᾶλλον χρῆ πιστεύσαι τῶν 308
about his own road and vilifies the others. The man next to him acts similarly, and so do they all in turn. The number of roads, then, and the differences between them, and especially the way the guides over-strain themselves, each sect praising its own, worries me immoderately and makes me uncertain. I don’t know which way to turn or which one to follow to reach the city.

**HERMOTIMUS**

I will free you from your uncertainty. Trust those who have made the journey before, Lycinus, and you cannot go wrong.

**LYCINUS**

Whom do you mean? Which road did they go? Which of the guides did they follow? The same uncertainty appears to us in another guise shifting from events to persons.

**HERMOTIMUS**

What do you mean?

**LYCINUS**

That the man who took Plato’s path and had him for travelling-companion will obviously praise Plato’s route, and so with Epicurus’s and the rest and you with yours. What about it, Hermotimus? Is that not so?

**HERMOTIMUS**

Of course.

**LYCINUS**

Then you have not freed me from my uncertainty. I am just as much in the dark which of the travellers
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ὁδοιπόρων. ὅρω γὰρ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὸν
tὸν ἡγεμόνα μᾶς πεπειραμένον καὶ ἐκεῖνην
ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ λέγοντα ὡς αὐτὴ μόνη ἀγεί ἐπὶ
tὴν πόλιν. οὐ μέντοι ἔχω εἰδέναι εἰ ἀληθῆ φήσων.
ἀλλ’, ὅτι μὲν ἀφίκται πρὸς τι τέλος καὶ εἶδέ τινα
πόλιν δώσω αὐτῷ ἵσως, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνην εἶδεν ἣν
ἐχρήν ἐν ἣ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ πολιτεύσασ-
thαι, ἦ δέον 1 εἰς Κόρινθον ἔλθειν, δ’ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα
ἀφικόμενος οὐεται Κόρινθον ἐωρακέναι, ἀδηλὸν
ἔμοι γοῦν ἔτι—οὐ γὰρ πάντως ὦ τινα πόλιν ἢδῶν
Κόρινθον εἶδεν, εἰ γε οὐ μόνη πόλις ἐστὶν ἢ
Κόρινθος. δ’ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα εἰς ἀπορίαν με
καθίστησιν, ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶν—τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι πᾶσα
ἀνάγκη μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀληθὴν ὁδὸν· καὶ γὰρ ἢ
Κόρινθος μία ἐστὶν, αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι πανταχόσε μᾶλλον
ἡ εἰς Κόρινθον ἀγούσων, εἰ μὴ τις οὕτω σφόδρα
παραπάτησι ὡς οἰεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἄναρβορείους καὶ
tὴν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἀγούσαν εἰς Κόρινθον στέλλειν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ πῶς οἶδον τε, ὦ Λυκίνε; ἄλλη γὰρ ἀλλαχόσε
ἀγεί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

28 Οὐκοῦν, ὦ καλὲ Ἔρμοτιμε, οὐ μικρᾶς δὲι
βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν ὅδῶν τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων,
οὐδὲ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομεν—ἐνθα ἂν
ἡμᾶς οἱ πόδες φέρωσιν, ἐκεῖσε ἀπίμην· ἐπεὶ
λήσομεν οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Κόρινθον ἀγούσης τὴν
ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἡ Βάκτρων ἀπίστευτε. οὐδὲ γὰρ
οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνο καλῶς ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ ἐπιτρέπειν ὡς
tάχα ἀν τὴν ἀρίστην ἐλομένους, εἰ καὶ ἄνευ

1 ἦ δέον Solanus: ήδεως MSS.
to trust. For I see that each of them and the guide himself have tried only one way, and he praises that one and says that it alone leads to the city. But I cannot know whether he is speaking the truth. That he has reached some destination and has seen some city or other, I will perhaps grant him. But whether he has seen the one he should have seen (that in which you and I want to live) or whether, when he should have gone to Corinth, he has arrived at Babylon and thinks he has seen Corinth, I still do not know—certainly not everyone who has seen a city has seen Corinth, if Corinth is not the only city. What particularly makes me uncertain is this—my knowing that only one road can possibly be the right one. Only one road is the Corinth road, and the other roads lead anywhere except to Corinth, unless a man is so much out of his wits as to think that both the road to the Hyperboreans and the road to India lead to Corinth.

HERMOTIMUS

How could that be, Lycinus? Different roads lead to different places.

LYCINUS

Well then, my dear Hermotimus, no little deliberation is needed when we choose roads and guides, and we shall not act according to the saying and go off wherever our feet take us; in that way we shall be going off on the road to Babylon or Bactra instead of the road to Corinth without realising it. It is by no means sound to trust to fortune and hope we shall perhaps take the best road, if we start out on
"Εξετάσεως ὁρμήσαμεν ἐπὶ μίαν τῶν ὀδών ἡμερ-ναοῦν. δύνατον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τούτο γενέσθαι, καὶ ἵσως ποτὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἡμᾶς δὲ γε περὶ τῶν οὕτω μεγάλων οὐκ οἴμαι δεῖν παραβόλως ἀναρριπτεῖν οὐδὲ ἐς στενὸν κομιδῆ κατακλείειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐπὶ ῥητός, ὡς ἡ παρομία φησὶ, τὸν Ἁγαίον ἡ τὸν Ἰόνιον διαπλεῦ-σαι θέλοντας, ὅτε οὐδὲ αἰτιασάμεθ᾽ ἄν εὐλόγως τὴν τύχην, εἰ τοξεύουσα καὶ ἀκοντίζουσα μὴ πάντως ἐτυχε τάληθος ἐνὸς ὄντος ἐν μυρίοις τοῖς ψεύδεσιν, ὅπερ οὐδὲ τῷ Ὀμηρικῷ τοξότῃ ὑπῆρξεν, ὃς δὲν τὴν πελεάδα κατατοξεύσαι, ὅ δὲ τὴν μὴρ ῥυθὸν ἐνέτεμεν· ὁ Τεῦκρος οἴμαι. ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺ ἐκεῖνο εὐλογώτερον τῶν πολλῶν τρωθήσεσθαι καὶ περιπεσεῖσθαι τῷ τοξεύματι ἐλπίζειν ἡ πάντως ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐν εἴ ἀπάντων. ὃ δὲ κύνδυνος ὅτι οὐ μικρός, εἰ ἄντι τῆς ἑπ᾽ εὐθὺ ἀγούσης ἐς τῶν πεπλανημένων μίαν ἁγνοοῦντες ἐμπέσοιμεν, ἐλπί-ζοντες ἀμείων οἱρήσεσθαι τὴν τύχην ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, εἰκάζειν οἴμαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀναστρέψαι ἐτι καὶ ἀνασωθήναι ὅπερ ῥαδιόν, ἣν ἀπαξ ἐπιδῶ τις αὐτὸν τῇ πνεοῦσῃ ἓ τὰ ἀπόγεια λυσάμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ πελάγει διαφέρεσθαι ναυτῶντα ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ δεδιότα καὶ καρηβαροῦντα ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου, δεόν εἴ ἄρχης πρὶν ἐκπλεύσαι αναβάντα ἐπὶ σκοπὴν τίνα σκέψασθαι εἰ ἐπίφορον ἔστι καὶ οὔρον τὸ πνεῦμα τοῖς Κόρινθῳ διαπλεῦσαι ἑθέλουσι, καὶ νὴ Διὰ κυβερνήτην ἕνα τὸν ἁριστὸν ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ ναῦν εὐπαγῇ οἴαν διαρκέσαι πρὸς τηλικοῦτον κλύδωνα.

1 πνεούσῃ Solanus: πλεούσῃ MSS.
one or the other without enquiry. It is possible for even that to happen, and perhaps at some period of time’s long history it has already happened; but in a matter of such importance I think we ought not to run such a reckless risk or confine hope entirely within narrow bounds, ready as the proverb says to sail the Aegean or Ionian seas on a mat; then we should have no right to accuse fortune, if with her arrows and spears she did not altogether hit the one thing that is true among the many that are not. Even Homer’s archer did not succeed in that—when he should have shot the dove he cut the string; Teucer I think it was.¹ No, there was much more reason to expect one of the many others to be wounded and fall foul of the arrow than that particular one out of them all. The risk is not slight, if in ignorance we rush into one of the by-ways instead of the straight route in the hope that fortune will make a better choice on our behalf—I think you see that. For still to turn round and come back again in safety is no easy matter once a man casts off his mooring lines and surrenders himself to the wind; he must be tossed about on the sea, usually sick and frightened and with a bad head from the swell, whereas he ought in the first place, before he sailed out, to have climbed up to some look-out and seen whether the wind was fair and favourable for those who wanted to sail over to Corinth, and indeed he ought to have selected the very best navigator and a sound ship able to withstand such a heavy sea.

¹ Homer, Ἰ. xxiii, 867.
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ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

29 Ὅτω γε ἂμεινον, ὁ Λυκῖνε, παρὰ πολύ. πλὴν ὁδὰ γε ὧτι ἀπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ περιελθὼν οὐκ ἄλλοις ἀν εὑροις οὔτε ἡγεμόνας ἂμεινοὺς οὔτε κυβερνήτας ἐμπειροτέρους τῶν Σττωικῶν, καὶ ἡν ἐθελήσῃ γε ἀφικέσθαι ποτὲ εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, ἐκείνοις ἔψη κατὰ τὰ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος ἵχνη προῖών. ἄλλως δὲ ἀδύνατον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὕρας τούτο ὅς κοινὸν, ὁ Ἀρμότιμε, εἰρηκας; εἴποι γὰρ ἂν αὕτῳ καὶ ὁ τῷ Πλάτωνι ἐξοδοιπορῶν καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐπόμενος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν με εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον εἰ μὴ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἐκαστός. ὥστε ἡ πᾶς πιστεύει χρή (ὀπερ γελοιότατον), ἡ ἀπιστεῖν ὁμοίως. μακρῷ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄχρι ἂν εὑρωμεν τὸν ἁληθῆ.¹

30 Ἡπεὶ φέρε, εἰ καθάπερ νῦν ἔχω, ἀγνοῶν ἐτι ὧστις ἕξ ἀπάντων ἐστίν ὁ ἁληθεύων, ἐλούμην τὰ ὑμετέρα σοι πιστεύσας, ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ, ἀτὰρ μόνα γε τὰ τῶν Σττωικῶν εἰδότι καὶ μίαν ὁδὸν ὀδοιπορή- σαντι ταύτην. ἑπείτα θεών τις ἀναβιώναι ποιήσειε Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ περιστάντες ἐρωτώμεν με ἡ καὶ νη Δι' ἐς δικαστήριον ἀγαγότες ὠβρεως ἐκαστὸς δικάζοιντο λέγοντες, Ὡβελτιστε Λυκῖνε, τὶ παθὼν ἡ τίνι ποτὲ πιστεύσας Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνα προετίμησας ἡμῶν, πρεσβυτέρων ὄντων παρὰ πολύ, χθές καὶ πρῶην γενομένους, μήτε λόγου μεταδοὺς ἡμῖν μήτε πειραθεὶς ὄλως ὄν

¹ So Fritzsche: τάληθη ὑποσχούμενον (om. ὑποσχ. G) MSS.

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HERMOTIMUS

HERMOTIMUS

That is the better way, Lycinus, by far. Yet I know that if you made a round tour of them all you would find no others who were better pilots or more experienced navigators than the Stoics; and, if you want to reach Corinth some day, you will follow them, treading the tracks of Chrysippus and Zeno. No other way is possible.

LYCINUS

Do you see, Hermotimus, how universal is that assertion you have made? Plato’s fellow-traveller, Epicurus’s follower, and the rest of them, would say the same, every one of them, that I could not go to Corinth without his company. So I must either believe them all alike (which is ridiculous) or disbelieve them all alike. The latter is by far the safest course until we discover the true one.

Come now, suppose that I, just as I am, still ignorant which of them all has the truth, should choose your way, putting my trust in you, a friend, but one who knows only the way of the Stoics and has travelled by this road alone; then suppose one of the gods brought Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and the rest, back to life, and they stood round me and put questions to me, or even, by Zeus, brought me into court and sued me each and every one of them for maltreatment, saying: “My good Lycinus, what was the matter with you? Who persuaded you to give Chrysippus and Zeno preference over us, who are older by far than they? They were born only yesterday, or the day before, and you have given us no chance to speak, and you have put nothing of what we say to the test.” Supposing they said this,
φαμέν; εἰ ταῦτα λέγοιεν τί ἂν ἀποκριναίμην αὐτοῖς; ἡ ἔξαρκεσει μοι ἂν εἴπω ὅτι 'Ερμοτίμω
ἐπείσθην φίλῳ ἄνδρι; ἀλλὰ φαίεν ἂν, οἶδ᾽ ὅτι, Ἡμεῖς, ὁ Λυκῖνε, οὖκ ἴσμεν τὸν Ἐρμότιμον
tοῦτον ὡς τοσὶ ποτὲ ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἠμᾶς. ὅστε
οὐκ ἔχρην ἀπάντων καταγγελῶσκειν οὐδὲ ἐρήμην ἠμῶν καταδίαταν ἄνδρι πιστεύσαντα μίαν ὁδὸν
ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ἦσσις ἀκριβῶς
kατανοήσαντι. οἱ δὲ γε νομοθέται, ὁ Λυκῖνε,
οὐχ οὖτω προστάττουσι τοῖς δικασταῖς ποιεῖν
οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου μὲν ἀκοῦειν, τὸν δὲ ἐτερον οὐκ
ἐὰν λέγειν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀ οἶται ξυμφέρειν, ἀλλ᾽
ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσθαι, ὡς ραῖν ἀντεξετάζοντες
tοὺς λόγους εὐρίσκοιες τάληθεν τε καὶ ψευδῆ, καὶ
ἡ γε μὴ οὖτω ποιώσων ἐφίεναι δίδωσιν ὁ νομὸς
eἰς ἐτερον δικαστήριον.

31 Τοιαῦτα ἄττα εἰκὸς ἐρεῖν αὐτοὺς. ἡ τάχ᾽ ἂν
tις αὐτῶν καὶ προσέροιτο με, Εἰπέ μοι, λέγων,
ὁ Λυκῖνε, εἰ τις Ἀθιόψ χεπέωποτε ἄλλους
ἀνθρώπους ὕδων, οἰοὶ ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ
ἀποδεδημηκέναι τὸ παράπαν, ἐν τινι συλλόγω
τῶν Ἀθιόπων διαχυρίζοντο καὶ λέγοι μηδαμῶθι
tῆς γῆς ἄνθρωπος εἶναι λευκοῦς ἡ ἕανθους μηδὲ
ἀλλο τι ἡ μέλανας, ἀρα πιστεύοι ταύτων, ἴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν;
ἡ εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
Ἀθιόπων, Σὺ δὲ δὴ πόθεν ταῦτα, ὁ θρασύτατε,
οἴσθα; οὐ γὰρ ἀπεδήμησας παρ᾽ ἠμῶν οὐδαμόσε
οὐδὲ εἰδες νὴ Δία τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅποιά ἐστι.
φαίην ἂν ἔγογε δίκαια ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν πρεσβύτην.
ἡ πῶς ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, συμβουλεύεις;
HERMOTIMUS

how could I answer them? Or will it be enough if I say that I was persuaded by Hermotimus, a friend of mine? Their answer I know would be: "We, Lycinus, do not know this Hermotimus, whoever he is, and he does not know us either. So you had no right to condemn us all and give a judgment in default against us through relying on a man who is acquainted with only one way in philosophy, and even that perhaps not fully. Lawgivers, Lycinus, do not instruct judges to adopt this procedure, or to give one party a hearing and not allow the other to speak on its own behalf what it thinks is to its own advantage. No, they say that both sides must be given an equal hearing, so that by comparing the opposing arguments they may be assisted in discovering the true and the false, and if they do not adopt this procedure the law allows an appeal to another court."

Such or something like it is the argument they would use. Or one of them perhaps would even put an additional question to me: "Tell me this, Lycinus: suppose an Ethiopian, a man who had never seen other men like us, because he had never been abroad at all, should state and assert in some assembly of the Ethiopians that nowhere in the world were there any men white or yellow or of any other colour than black, would he be believed by them? Or would one of the older Ethiopians say to him: 'Come now, you are very bold. How do you know this? You have never left us to go anywhere else, and indeed you have never seen what things are like among other peoples?'" I for my part would say that the old man had asked a fair question. Or what do you advise, Hermotimus?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὔτω. δικαίοτατα γὰρ ἐπιπλήξαι δοκεῖ μοι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε, ὦ Ἐρμότιμε. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἡμεῖς τὸ τοῦτο οὐκέτ’ οἶδα εἰ ὑμοῖς καὶ σοὶ δόξει. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦτο πάνυ δοκεῖ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὸ ποιον;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

32 Ἔπαξεὶ δηλαδὴ ὁ ἄνὴρ καὶ φήσει πρὸς με ὡδὲ πως, ὁ Ἀνάλογον τοῦν, ὁ Δυκῆς, κεῖσθω τις ἡμῖν τὰ Στωικῶν μόνα εἰδῶς, καθάπερ ὁ σῶς φίλος οὐτος ὁ Ἐρμότιμος, ἀποδημήσας δὲ μηδεπώ- ποτε μήτε ἐστιν Πλάτωνος μήτε παρὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον μήτε ὀλοις παρ’ ἄλλων τινά. εἰ τοίνυν λέγουν μηδέν ὀὕτω καλὸν εἶναι μηδ’ ἀληθεὶς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷα τὰ τῆς Στοάς ἐστι καὶ ἡ ἐκείνη φησίν, οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως θρασύς εἶναι δόξειν σοι περὶ πάντων ἀποφανόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν εἰδῶς, ὑδεπώποτε εἰς Αἰθιοπίας τὸν ἔτερον πόδα προελθὼν; τί βούλει ἀποκρίνωμαι αὐτῷ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὸ ἀληθέστατον ἐκεῖνο δηλαδὴ, ὅτι ἡμεῖς τὰ μὲν Στωικῶν καὶ πάνυ ἐκμανθάνομεν ὡς ἂν κατὰ ταῦτα φιλοσοφεῖν ἄξιοῦντες, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα. ὦ γὰρ διδάσκαλος κάκεινα μεταξὺ διέξεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνατρέπει γε αὐτὰ προσθείς αὐτός.

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HERMOTIMUS

I agree. His rebuke seems to me very just.

LYCINUS

To me as well, Hermotimus. But I do not know that you will similarly agree with what follows. To me this too seems to be very just.

HERMOTIMUS

What?

LYCINUS

The fellow will certainly go on and say to me something like this: "Let us make a comparison, Lycinus, and posit a man who knows only the Stoic tenets, like this friend of yours, Hermotimus; he has never gone abroad to Plato's country or stayed with Epicurus or in short with anyone else. Now, if he said that there was nothing in these many lands as beautiful or as true as the tenets and assertions of Stoicism, would you not with good reason think him bold in giving his opinion on all, and that when he knows only one, and has never put one foot outside Ethiopia?" What answer do you think I should give him?

HERMOTIMUS

This very true one, of course: that we do learn Stoicism very thoroughly indeed, since we think fit to pursue this branch of philosophy, but we are not unacquainted with what the others say. For our teacher explains all that to us as he goes along, and knocks it down with his own comments.
33 Ἡ νομίζεις ἐνταῦθα οἰωπήσεσθαι ἢμῶν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ἐρμότιμον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀναγελάσαντας ἃν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὦλα ποιεῖ, ὦ Λυκίνε, ὦ ἐταῖρός σου ὦ Ἐρμότιμος; ἄξιοὶ τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις περὶ ἦμῶν πιστεύει καὶ οἴεται τοιαῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα ὅποια ἃν ἐκεῖνοι φῶσιν ἢ οὐκ εἰδότες ἢ κρυπτόμενους τάληθες; οὐκοῦν ἢν τινα καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἤδη ἀσκούμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἀγώνος λακτίζοντα εἰς τὸν ἁέρα ἢ πὺς κενὴν πληγήν τινα καταφέροντα ὡς τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν δῆθεν παιόντα, εὖβης ἀνακηρύξει αὐτὸν ἀγωνοθέτης ὃν ὃς ἀμαχόν τινα ἢ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οἰήσεται ῥάδια εἶναι καὶ ἁσφαλῆ τὰ νεανιέματα οὐδενὸς ἀνταυρομένου αὐτῶ, τῆν δὲ νίκην τηνικαῦτα κρίνεσθαι ὅποταν καταγωνίσηται τὸν ἀντίπαλον αὐτὸν καὶ κρατήσῃ ὁ δὴ ἀπαγορεύσῃ, ἀλλὰ δὲ οὔ; μὴ τοῖνυν μηδὲ Ἐρμότιμος ἂφι ὅν ὁ οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ σκιαμαχῶσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπόντας οἰέσθω κρατεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα εἶναι ὡς ἀνατρέπεσθαι ῥαδίως. ἔπει τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁμοίον ἃν εἰς τοῖς τῶν παιδίων οὐκοδομήμασιν ἃ κατασκευάσαστε ἐκεῖνοι ἁσθενῇ εὐθὺς ἀνατρέπουσιν, ἡ καὶ νὴ Δία τοῖς τοξεύειν μελετῶσιν, οἱ κάρφη τυά συνδήσαντες, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ πήξαντες οὐ πόρρω προθέμενοι στοχάζονται ἀφίεντες, καὶ ἢν τῦχοσι ποτὲ καὶ διαπείρωσι τὰ κάρφη ἀνέκραγον εὐθὺς ὡς τι μέγα ποιήσαντες, εἰ διεξελήλυθεν αὐτοῖς τὸ βέλος διὰ τῶν φρυγάνων. ἀλλοὶ οὐ Πέρσαι γε οὕτω ποιοῦσιν οὔδὲ Σκυθῶν ὁσοὶ τοξόται, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ κυώμενοι ἃφ' ἵππων ὃς τὸ πολὺ τοξεύουσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ 320
Well, do you suppose that at this point the adherents of Plato and Pythagoras and Epicurus and the rest will keep quiet, and not laugh out loud and say to me: "What is your friend Hermotimus doing, Lycinus? He thinks it right to believe what our opponents say about us, and supposes our views to be whatever they say they are, although they either are ignorant of the truth or conceal it. So, if he sees some athlete training before his match, kicking into the air, or punching at empty space as though he were striking his opponent, he will, if he is referee, straightway proclaim him as unbeatable, will he? Or will he consider these romps easy and devoid of risk when he has no antagonist, and adjudge him the winner only when he has overcome and beaten his opponent in the flesh and the latter gives in, and not otherwise? So do not let Hermotimus suppose from the shadow-boxing his teachers practise against us in our absence that they are strong or that our tenets are such as can be easily overthrown. For such a fabrication would be like the houses which children make: they have built them weak in structure and knock them over at once; or again indeed like men practising archery who make bundles of twigs, then fix them up on a pole which they set up at no great distance in front of them, and taking aim let fly. If ever they score a hit and pierce the twigs, they at once give a shout as though they have done something great, because their shaft has gone right through their collection of sticks. But this is not what the Persians do nor the Scythian archers. No, in the first place they themselves are usually on moving horses when they shoot, and
τὰ τοξευόμενα κινείονται ἀξιούσιν οὐχ ἕστώτα οὐδὲ
περιμένοντα τὸ βέλος ἑστ’ ἃν ἐμπέσῃ, ἀλλὰ
διαδιδράσκοντα ὃς ἐνι μάλιστα. θηρία γέ τοι ὅσ
τὸ πολὺ κατατοξεύουσι, καὶ ὀρνίθων ἔνοι τυγχά-
νουσιν. ἦν δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ σκόποι δέῃ πειραθῆναι
τοῦ τόνου τῆς πληγῆς, ἔυλον ἀντίτυπον ἢ ἀσπίδα
ὡμοβούνῃ προβεμενοι διελαύνουσιν, καὶ οὕτως
πιστεύουσι κα̃ν δι’ ὀπλων σφίγχτες τοὺς
οἴστοὺς. εἰπε τοίνυν, ὦ Λυκῶν, παρ’ ἥμων
Ἐρμοτίμω ὁτι οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ φρύγανα
προβεμενοι κατατοξεύουσιν, εἰτά φαειν ἀνδρῶν
ὠπλισμένων κεκρατηκέναι, καὶ εἰκόνας ἥμων
 γραφάμενοι πικτεύουσι πρὸς ἐκεῖνας, καὶ κρατή-
σαντες ὡς τὸ εἰκός ἥμων κρατεῖν οἴστου.
ἀλλὰ
φαίμεν ἃν ἐκαστός πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
ἐκεῖνα, ἀ φησί περὶ τοῦ Ἐκτόρος, ὅτι
οὐ γὰρ ἐμῆς κόρυθος λεύσοσιν μέτωπων.

ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐν τῷ μέρει ἔκαστος.

Ο Πλάτων δ’ ἃν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ διηγήσασθαι τι
tῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὡς ἃν εἴδως τὰ πλείστα τῷ
γὰρ Συνακουσίῳ Γέλωνι φασὶ δυσώδες εἶναι τὸ
στόμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολὺ διαλαθεῖν αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς
τολμώντος ἐλέγχειν τύραννον ἄνδρα, μέχρι δὴ
τινα γυναίκα ἔγαιναν συνενεχθεῖσαν αὐτῶ τολμῆσαι
καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅπως ἔχοι. τὸν δὲ παρὰ τὴν γυναίκα
ἐλθόντα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ὄργιζεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήγισε
πρὸς αὐτὸν οἶδως μάλιστα τὴν δυσωδίαν, τὴν δὲ
παρατείνεσθαι συγγνώμην ἔχειν αὐτῷ. ὑπὲρ γὰρ
τοῦ μὴ πεπειράσθαι ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς μηδὲ ὀμηλῆσαι
πλησίον ὀιηθῆναι ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἀνδράςι τοιούτῳ τι
ἀποπνεύν τοῦ στόματος. καὶ ὁ Ἐρμοτῖμος τοιγα-

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secondly, they think that the targets should be moving too, not stationary and waiting for the impact of the shafts, but running about as fast as possible. They generally use wild animals as their targets, and some of them hit birds. If ever they want to test the impact of the shot on the target, they set up a hard-wood board or a raw-hide shield to pierce, and in that way they gain confidence that their arrows can even penetrate armour. So tell Hermotimus from us, Lycinus, that his teachers are setting up collections of sticks to shoot at and then saying that they have bested armed men; and that they are sparring with painted dummies which look like us, and when, as is natural, they have had the better of them they think they have the better of us. To them each of us would quote the words of Achilles about Hector:

‘My helmet’s front they do not see.’”  

This is what they all say, each in his turn.

Plato, I fancy, would add one of those stories from Sicily (he knows most of them): Gelo of Syracuse is said to have had bad breath and to have been for a long time ignorant of the fact as no one dared to criticise a tyrant, until a certain foreign woman with whom he had to do dared to tell him how it was. He went to his wife in a rage because she had not told him, although she of all people knew of the bad odour. She begged him to pardon her, for, never having had experience of another man or having been at close quarters with one, she supposed that the mouths of all men had breath like that. “So, Hermotimus,”

1 Homer, Il. xvi, 70.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ροὸν ἀτε μόνοις τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς ἐξουν, φαίη ἂν ὁ Πλάτων, εἰκότως ἀγνοεῖ ὅποια τῶν ἄλλων τὰ στόματά ἐστιν. ὁμοιὰ δ’ ἂν καὶ Χρύσιππος εἶποι ἡ ἐτὶ πλείω τούτων, εἰπέρ λυπῶν αὐτὸν ἀκριτόν ἐπὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ὄρμησαμι πιστεύσας τινὶ τῶν μόνω Πλάτωνι ὄμιληκότων. ἐνὶ τε λόγῳ ἐνυέλων φημι, ἀρχὶ ἂν ἄδηλον ἦ τίς ἀληθῆς ἔστι προαίρεσις ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μηδεμίαν αἱρεῖσθαι. ὦβρις γὰρ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

35 Ὄ Λυκίνε, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας, Πλάτωνα μὲν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Ἐπίκουρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτρεμεῖν ἐάσωμεν· οὐ γὰρ κατ’ ἐμὲ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς. νῦ δὲ, ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ, ἐφ’ ἥμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξετάσωμεν, εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ φιλοσοφίας πράγμα οἷον ἐγώ φημι αὐτὸ εἶναι. Αἰθίοπος δὲ γε ἦ τὴν Γέλωνος γυναῖκα τί ἐδει καλεῖν ἐκ Βυρακουσῶν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλ’ ἐκείνοι μὲν ἀπίτωσαν ἐκποδῶν, εἰ σοι δοκοῦσί περίττοι εἶναι πρὸς τὸν λόγον. σύ δὲ λέγε ἡδῆ. θαυμαστὸν γὰρ τι ἔρειν ἐοικας.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Δοκεῖ μοι, ὥ Λυκίνε, καὶ πάνυ δυνατὸν εἶναι μόνα τὰ τῶν Στωϊκῶν ἐκμαθόντα εἰδέναι τάληθες ἀπὸ τούτων, κἂν μὴ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεξέλθῃ τις ἐκμαθής ἡ ἐκάστα. οὕτωσι δὲ σκοπεῖ· ἦν τις λέγῃ πρὸς σέ μόνον τοῦτο ὡς αἱ δύο δυάδες τὸν τέτταρα ἀριθμὸν ἀποτελοῦσιν, ἀρα δεήσει περι-

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Plato might say, "since he mixes only with Stoics, naturally does not know what other people's mouths are like." Chrysippus could say the same or go even further, if I were to leave him unexamined and go over to Platonism, relying on one of those who had conversed with Plato alone. In short, then, I say that, as long as it is uncertain which creed of philosophy is true, choose none. For choice of one would be misconduct towards the others.

In Hestia's name, Lycinus, let us leave Plato and Aristotle and Epicurus and the others undisturbed, for I am no match for them. Let us, you and me, enquire into it by ourselves, whether the pursuit of philosophy is as I say it is. As for Ethiopians and Gelo's wife, why did you have to call her from Syracuse into the discussion?

Why, let them take themselves off, if they seem to you to be superfluous to the discussion. You do the talking now. You look as though you are going to say something wonderful.

It seems to me quite possible, Lycinus, by thorough study of the Stoic doctrines alone, to know the truth from them, even if one does not pursue those of the others and make a thorough study of them in detail. Look at it this way: if someone tells you merely that two twos make the number four, will you have to go about questioning all the other mathematicians to
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ιόντα σε πυθάνεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ὁσοὶ ἀριθμητικοὶ μὴ τις ἄρα εἰς πέντε ἢ ἐπτὰ λέγων αὐτὰς εἶναι; ἢ αὐτίκα εἰδείης ἃν ὅτι ὁ ἀνήρ ἄληθῆ λέγει;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Αὐτίκα, ὃ 'Ερμότιμε.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί ποτ' οὖν ἄδυνατον εἶναι σοι δοκεῖ, ἐντυγχάνοντα τινὰ μόνοις τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς λέγουσι τάληθη πείθεσθαι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ μηκέτι δεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδότα ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε τὰ τέτταρα πέντε γένοιτο, οὔδ' ἂν μυρίῳ Πλάτωνες ἢ Πυθαγόραι λέγωσιν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

36 Οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος, ὃ 'Ερμότιμε. τὰ γὰρ όμολογοῦμενα τοῖς ἀμφισβητουμένοις εἰκάζεις, πάμπολυ αὐτῶν διαφέροντα. ἢ τί ἂν φαίης; ἔστων ὥτων ἐντετύχηκας λέγοντι τὰς δύο δυάδας συντεθείσας τὸν ἐπτὰ ἢ ἐνδεκα ἀριθμὸν ἀποτελεῖν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ ἔγωγε. ἢ μαίνοιτ' ἂν ὁ μὴ τέτταρα χυμβαίνει λέγων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί δὲ, ἐντετύχηκας πώποτε (καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων πειρῶ ἀληθεύειν) Στωϊκῷ τινὶ καὶ Ἐπικουρείῳ μὴ διαφερομένους περὶ ἀρχῆς ἢ τέλους;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς.

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HERMOTIMUS

see if there may not perhaps be one of them who makes it five or seven? Or would you know at once that this man is speaking the truth?

LYCINUS

At once, Hermotimus.

HERMOTIMUS

Why then does it seem to you to be impossible for a man when he meets only Stoics who speak the truth to believe them and have no further need of the others in his knowledge that four could never be five, even if thousands of Platos and Pythagorases say so?

LYCINUS

That is not to the point at all, Hermotimus. You are comparing what is admitted to what is in dispute, although they differ enormously. Or what would you say? Have you met anyone who says that by putting together two twos he makes the number seven or eleven?

HERMOTIMUS

Not I. But anyone would be mad who said the answer was not four.

LYCINUS

Well then, have you ever met (and by the Graces try to be truthful) any Stoic and Epicurean who did not differ about principles and ends?

HERMOTIMUS

In no way.
"Ορα τοίνυν μή πώς με παραλογίζῃ, ὦ γενναῖε, καὶ ταῦτα φίλων ὄντα. ξητούντων γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐτίνες ἀληθεύουσιν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, σὺ τοῦτο προαρτάσας ἕδωκας φέρων τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς λέγων ὡς οὕτωι εἰσών οἱ τὰ δίς δύο τέτταρα τιθέντες, ὅπερ ἅδηλον εἰ οὕτως ἔχει. φαίην γὰρ ἂν οἱ Ἔπικούρειοι ἡ Πλατωνικοί σφας μὲν οὕτω ξυνιθέναι, ὡμᾶς δὲ πέντε ἦ ἐπτὰ λέγειν αὐτὰ. ἣ οὐ δοκοῦσί σου τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὅποταν ὑμεῖς μὲν μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν ἥγησθε εἶναι, οἱ Ἔπικούρειοι δὲ τὸ ἦδυ; καὶ ὅταν ὑμεῖς λέγητε σώματα εἶναι ἀπαντα, ὁ Πλάτων δὲ νομίζῃ καὶ ἀσώματον τι ἐν τοῖς ὑδαίν εἶναι; ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἕφην, πλεονεκτικῶς πάνυ τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον συλλαβῶν ὡς ἀναμφί- λόγως ὀδίῳ τῶν Στωϊκῶν δίδως αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ τοι ἀντιλαμβανομένων τῶν ἄλλων καὶ λεγόν- των αὐτῶν τοῦτο εἶναι, ἕθα δὴ κρίσεως μάλιστα οἶμαι δεῖ. ἂν μὲν οὖν πρόδηλον γένηται τοῦτο ὡς Στωϊκῶν ἔστι μόνων τὰ δίς δύο τέτταρα ἥγεισθαι, ὥρα σωτῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἄρχι δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο πέρι διαμάχωνται, πάντων ὁμοίως ἀκουστεῖν ἦ εἰδέναι ὅτι πρὸς χάριν δικάζειν δόξομεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

37 Οὐ μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Δύκινε, ξυνιέναι πῶς βούλομαι εἰπεῖν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν σαφέστερον χρή λέγειν εἰ ἑτεροίόν τι ἄλλα μὴ τοιοῦτον φῆσεις.

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HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

Make sure then that you are not somehow cheating me, my good sir, and that though I am your friend. For, while we are enquiring who has the truth in philosophy, you have prematurely seized on the answer and taken it and assigned it to the Stoics, when you say that they are the ones who make twice two equal four, although it is not clear that this is so. For the Epicureans and the Platonists would say that they get this result, while you Stoics call it five or seven. Or do you not think that this is what they are doing when you think that only the beautiful is good, while the Epicureans say it is pleasure? And when you say that all things are corporeal, while Plato thinks that there is an incorporeal element in what exists? No, as I said, you very arrogantly lay hold of the bone of contention as being the undisputed property of the Stoics, and give it to them to possess; and yet, when the others are asserting rival claims and saying that it is theirs, then, I think, there is every need for a judgment. If it becomes quite clear then that it is the privilege of the Stoics alone to think that twice two are four, it is time for the rest to be quiet. But as long as they contest this very claim, we must give a hearing to all alike, or realise that we shall be thought to be giving a biased judgment.

HERMOTIMUS

It seems to me, Lycinus, that you do not understand what I mean.

LYCINUS

Then you must speak more clearly, if your argument is to be different from what I say.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Εἰςη αὐτίκα οἰόν τι λέγω. θώμεν γάρ τινας
dῦο ἐσεληλυθέναι ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἦ ἐς τοῦ
Διονύσου τὸ ἱερόν, εἰτα μέντοι φιάλην τινὰ τῶν
ἱερῶν ἀπολωλέναι. δεήσει δὴ ποιν ἀμφοτέρους
ἐρευνηθήναι αὐτοὺς ὀπότερος ὑπὸ κόλπου ἐχει τὴν
φιάλην.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ
Καὶ μάλα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
"Εχει δὲ πάντως ὁ ἐτερος.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ
Πῶς γὰρ οὖ, εἰ γε ἀπόλωλεν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Οὐκοῦν ἃν παρὰ τῷ προτέρῳ εύρησα αὐτήν,
οὐκέτι τὸν ἐτερον ἀποδύσεις. πρόδηλον γὰρ ὡς
οὐκ ἐχει.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ
Πρόδηλον γάρ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Καὶ εἰ γε μὴ εὑρομεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ προτέρου
κόλπῳ ὁ ἐτερος πάντως ἐχει, καὶ οὔδὲν ἐρεύνης
οὔδε οὕτως δει.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ
"Εχει γάρ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν εἰ εὑρομεν ἦδη παρὰ τοῖς
Στωϊκοῖς τὴν φιάλην, οὐκέτι ἐρευνᾶν τοὺς ἄλλους
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HERMOTIMUS

You will learn at once what I mean. Let us suppose that two persons have entered the Asclepieum or the sanctuary of Dionysus, and that subsequently one of the sacred chalices is missing. It will without doubt be necessary to search both of them to find out which one of the two has the chalice in his clothing.

LYCINUS

Very true.

HERMOTIMUS

One of them surely has it.

LYCINUS

Of course, if it has disappeared.

HERMOTIMUS

And if you discover it on the first, you will not strip the other. It will be quite clear that he has not got it.

LYCINUS

Quite clear.

HERMOTIMUS

And if we were not to find it in the first one’s clothing, the second man surely has it, and there is in this case too no need of a search.

LYCINUS

Yes, he has it.

HERMOTIMUS

So too in our case. Suppose we find the chalice already in the hands of the Stoics, we shall not bother to search the others, since we have what we have
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀξιώσομεν ἔχοντες ὃ πάλαι ἐξητούμεν. ἡ τίνος γὰρ ἂν ἐνεκα ἔτι κάμνοιμεν;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

38 Οὐδὲνος, εἴ γε εὑροίτε καὶ εὐρόντες ἔχοντες εἰδέναι ὃς ἐκείνῳ ἦν τὸ ἀπολωλός, ἡ ὠλος γνώριμον ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα. νῦν δὲ, ὦ ἐταῖρε, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ δύο εἰσών οἱ παρελθόντες ἐς τὸν νεόν, ὡς ἀναγκαίον εἶναι τὸν ἐτερον αὐτοῖν τὰ φώρια ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μάλα πολλοὶ τινες, εἰτα καὶ τὸ ἀπολόμενον αὐτῷ ἀδήλαν ὁ τι ποτὲ ἐστιν, εἰτε φιάλη τις ἡ σκύφος ἡ στέφανος. ὅσοι γοῦν ἰερεῖς, ἄλλος ἄλλο εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς ὕλης αὐτῆς ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν χαλκοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀργύρου, οἱ δὲ χρυσοῦ, οἱ δὲ κασσιτέρου εἶναι αὐτῷ φάσκον-σιν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἀπαντᾷς ἀποδύσαι τοὺς εἰσελ-θόντας, εἴ βούλει εὑρεῖν τὸ ἀπολωλός. καὶ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐδύνατε εὕρης φιάλην χρυσῆν, ἐτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σοι ἀποδυτέον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Διὰ τί, ὦ Λυκίνε;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Οτι ἀδήλαν εἴ φιάλη τὸ ἀπολόμενον ἦν. εἴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογηθεῖ, ἄλλ' οὔτι γε χρυσῆν ἀπαντέσ φασιν εἶναι τῷν φιάλην. εἴ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα γνώριμον γένοιτο ὡς φιάλη ἀπόλοιτο χρυσῆ, καὶ σύ παρὰ τῷ πρῶτῳ εὑροῖς φιάλην χρυσῆν, οὐδὲ οὔτω παύση διερεύνομενοι τοὺς ἄλλους: οὐ γὰρ δῆλον ποι εἰ αὐτή ἦν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡ οὖκ οἷει πολλὰς φιάλας εἶναι χρυσὰς;"
HERMOTIMUS

been looking for for a long time. Why should we trouble further?

LYCINUS

There is no reason, if you really find it and once having found it you can know that that is what was missing, or if you can with certainty recognise the sacred object. But in this case, my friend, those first of all who go into the temple are not two, so that one of the two must have the loot, but very many; and secondly just what the missing object is is not clear—whether it is a chalice or a cup or a garland. All the priests give different accounts of it and do not agree even about the very stuff it is made of: some say it is of copper, others of silver, others of gold, yet others of tin. So you must strip all the visitors, if you want to find the missing article. For, if you find a golden chalice straightway on the first, you must nevertheless strip the others as well.

HERMOTIMUS

Why, Lycinus?

LYCINUS

Because it is not clear that it was a chalice that was missing. And even if this be admitted by everyone, then they do not all agree that the chalice is golden. And if it is well known that a gold cup is missing, and you find a gold cup on the first man, you would not even so refrain from searching the rest—it would not be clear I suppose whether that was the one belonging to the god. Or do you not think that there are many chalices made of gold?
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ЕРМОТИМОС

"Εγώγε.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δεῖσει δὴ ἐπὶ πάντας λέναι ἐρευνώντα καὶ τὰ παρὰ ἐκάστῳ εὐρεθέντα πάντα εἰς μέσον καταθέντα εἰκάζειν ὃ τι ποτὲ αὐτῶν πρέποι ἃν θείον κτήμα οἴεσθαι.

39 Καὶ γὰρ αὖ τὸ τὴν πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρεχόμενον τούτῳ ἑστιν, ὅτι ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἀποδυθησομένων ἔχει τι πάντως, ὃ μὲν σκύφου, ὃ δὲ φιάλην, ὃ δὲ στέφανον, καὶ ὃ μὲν ἐκ χαλκοῦ, ὃ δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ, ὃ δὲ ἄργυρον. εἰ δὲ ὃ ἔχει, τούτῳ ἱερόν ἑστιν, οὐδέπω δῆλον. πᾶσα τοῖνυν ἀνάγκη ἀπορεῖν ὅτι τίνα ἱερόσυλον ἐίπης, ὅπου γε καὶ εἰ πάντες τὰ ὅμοια εἴχον ἀδηλὸν ἢ καὶ οὔτως ὡστις ὃ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ υφηρημένος—ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἱδιωτικά ἔχειν. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐν ἑστιν οἷμαι τὸ ἀνεπίγραφον εἶναι τὴν ἀπολομένην φιάλην (θῶμεν γὰρ φιάλην ἀπολωλέναι), ὅς εἰ γε ἐπεγέγραπτο τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἢ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἢττον ἃν ἐκάμνομεν καὶ εὐρόντες τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην ἐπεταύμεθ' ἃν ἀποδύοντες καὶ ἑνοχλοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους. οἷμαι δὲ σε, ὡς Ἑρμότιμε, καὶ ἀγώνας ἢδη γυμνικοὺς ἑωρακέναι πολλάκις.

ЕРМОТИМΟΣ

Καὶ ὅρθως οἰεὶ. πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ πολλαχόθι.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Η οὖν ποτὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἀθλοθέτασ αὐτοὺς ἐκαθέξου;
HERMOTIMUS

You, of course.

LYCINUS

You will have to go to everyone in your search, put together all that you find on each, and guess which one is likely to be the property of the god.

For this is where your great difficulty lies: each of those whom you will strip has surely something—one a cup, another a chalice, another a garland, and each of these may be of bronze, gold, or silver. And it is still not clear whether that which each man has is the holy object. So you have every reason to hesitate about whom to accuse of temple-robbery. In this case, even if all had similar objects, even so it would be uncertain who had stolen the property of the god—for these articles may be private property too. The sole reason for our ignorance, I suppose, is that the missing chalice has no inscription (assuming that it is a chalice), since if it had been inscribed with the name of the god or the person who had made the dedication we should have had less difficulty, and when we had found the inscribed chalice we should stop stripping and troubling the others. I think, Hermotimus, that you have often watched athletic contests?

HERMOTIMUS

You think rightly. Many a time, in many places.

LYCINUS

Now, have you ever sat near the judges themselves?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Νὴ Δία, ἐναγχὸς 'Ολυμπίασιν ἐπὶ τὰ λαϊὰ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν, Ἐνανδρίδου τοῦ Ἡλείου θέαν μοι προκαταλαβόντος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις· ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ ἐγγὺθεν ἀπαντὰ ὅραν τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλανοδικαῖς γιγνόμενα.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἶσθα οὖν καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς κληροῦσιν οὕτως ὄτινι χρῆ παλαίειν ἡ παγκρατιάζειν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οἶδα γάρ.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅκουν ἀν ἀμεινοῦν οὐ εἶποις ὡς ἐγγὺθεν ἰδών.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐπὶ Ἦρακλέους ἀγωνοθετοῦντος φύλλα δάφνης . . .

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μὴ μοι τὰ πάλαι, ὥ 'Ερμότιμε, ἃ δὲ εἶδες ἐγγὺθεν, ἐκεῖνα λέγε.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Κάλπις ἀργυρὰ πρόκειται ἵππα τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔς ταύτην ἐμβάλλονται κλῆροι μικροί, ὕστερα δὴ κυαμιαίοι τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπιγεγραμμένοι. ἐγγράφεται δὲ ἐς δύο μὲν ἄλφα ἐν ἐκατέρω, ἐς δύο δὲ τὸ βῆτα, καὶ ἐς ἀλλοὺς δύο τὸ γάμμα καὶ ἕξις κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἢν πλείους οἱ ἄθληται ὅσι, δύο αἰεὶ κλῆροι τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα ἔχοντες. προσελθὼν δὴ τῶν ἄθλητῶν ἐκαστὸς προσευξάμενος τῷ Διὶ

1 ἀν add. Jacobitz.

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HERMOTIMUS

Yes, indeed. Recently at Olympia I sat to the left of the National Judges. Euandridas of Elis reserved me a seat among his fellow-citizens, for I wanted to see everything that happened among the judges from near at hand.

LYCINUS

Well, do you know this too—how they draw lots for the pairs in the wrestling or the pancratium?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, I know.

LYCINUS

Then, since you have seen it from near at hand, you could give a better account of it than I.

HERMOTIMUS

In former times, when Heracles was judge, bay-leaves . . .

LYCINUS

Don't tell me about former times, Hermotimus, but what you saw from near at hand.

HERMOTIMUS

A silver urn dedicated to the god is placed before them. Into this are thrown small lots, the size of beans, with letters on them. Two are marked alpha, two beta, two gamma, and so on in the same way, if there are more competitors, two lots always having the same letter. Each of the competitors comes up, offers a prayer to Zeus, puts his hand into the urn,
καθείς τὴν χειρὰ ἐς τὴν κάλπην ἀνασπᾷ τῶν κλῆρων ἑνα καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνουν ἔτερος, καὶ παρεστὼς μαστυγοφόρος ἔκάστῳ ἀνέχει αὐτοῦ τὴν χειρὰ οὐ παρέχων ἀναγνώρα  ὦ τι τὸ γράμμα ἔστὶν ὦ ἀνέσπακεν. ἀπάντων δὲ ἦδη ἐχόντων ὦ ἀλυτάρχης οἶμαι ἃ τῶν Ἐλλανοδικῶν αὐτῶν εἰς (οὐκέτι γὰρ τοῦτο μέμνημαι) περιών ἐπισκοπεῖ τοὺς κλῆρους ἐν κύκλῳ ἐστῶτων καὶ οὕτως τὸν μὲν τὸ ἀλφα ἔχοντα τῷ τὸ ἔτερον ἀλφα ἀνεσπακότι παλαίειν ἡ παγκρατίαξεν συνάπτει, τὸν δὲ τὸ βῆτα τῷ τὸ βῆτα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ὁμογράμμους κατὰ ταύτα. οὕτω μὲν, ἦν ἀρτιω  ὦσιν οἱ ἀγωνισταὶ, οἶον 1 ὦκτῳ ἦ τέτταρες ἦ δώδεκα, ἦν δὲ περιττοί, πέντε ἐπτὰ ἐνένεα, γράμμα τι περιττὸν ἐνι κλήρῳ ἐγγραφέν συμβάλλεται αὐτοῖς, ἀντίγραφον ἄλλο οὐκ ἔχον. ὅσ δ’ ἂν τοῦτο ἀνασπάσῃ ἐφεδρεύει περιμένων ἔστ  ἃν ἐκεῖνοι ἀγωνισώνται· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τὸ ἀντίγραμμα. καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο οὐ μικρά τις εὐτυχία τοῦ ἄθλητοῦ, τὸ μέλλειν ἀκμήτα τοῖς κεκμηκὸσι συμπεσεῖσθαι.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

41 Ἐχ ἀτρέμας. τοῦτον γὰρ ἐδεόμην μάλιστα. οὐκοῦν ἐνεά ὄντες ἀνεσπάκασιν ἀπαντεῖς καὶ ἔχονσι τοὺς κλῆρους. περιῶν δὴ (βούλομαι γὰρ σε Ἐλλανοδικὴν ἀντὶ θεσοῦ ποιήσαι) ἐπισκοπεῖς τὰ γράμματα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον οἶμαι μάθους ἃν ὡς τὸ ἐφεδρός ἔστων, ἦν μὴ ἔπι πάντας ἐλθήσ καὶ συζευξῆς αὐτοὺς.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς, ὦ Λυκίνε, τοῦτο φῆς;

1 οἶον β, ὅλον γ.
HERMOTIMUS

and picks up one of the lots. After him another does the same. A policeman stands by each one and holds his hand, not letting him read what the letter is which he has drawn. When all now have their own, the chief police officer, I think it is, or one of the National Judges themselves (I don’t remember now) goes round the competitors, who are standing in a circle, and inspects their lots. In this way he matches one who has alpha to the one who has drawn the other alpha for the wrestling or the pancratium. Similarly he matches the two betas, and the others with the same letter in the same way. This is what he does if the contestants are even in number—eight or four or twelve, for instance—but if they are odd—five or seven or nine—he throws in with the rest a lot marked with an odd letter which has no duplicate. Whoever draws this is given a bye and stands out until the rest have competed, for he has no corresponding letter. This is no small boon to the competitor—the opportunity to come fresh against tired opponents.

LYCINUS

Stop there. This is just what I wanted. Now, suppose they are nine in number and they have all drawn and are holding their lots. You go round (I want to make you a National Judge instead of a spectator) and inspect the letters. I fancy you will not learn in advance who has been given a bye, unless you go to every one of them and pair them.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean by this, Lycinus?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αδύνατόν ἦστιν εὐθὺς εὑρεῖν τὸ γράμμα ἑκείνο τὸ δηλοῦν τὸν ἐφεδρον, ἢ τὸ μὲν γράμμα ἵσως ἃν εὑροῖς, οὐ μὴν εἶση γε εἰ ἐκείνος ἦστιν. οὐ γὰρ προείρηται ὅτι τὸ Κ ἢ τὸ Μ ἢ τὸ Ι ἦστιν τὸ χειροτονοῦν τὸν ἐφεδρον. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῷ Α ἑντύχης, ζητεῖς τὸν τὸ ἑτερον Α ἑχοντα καὶ εὑρών ἑκείνους μὲν ἢδη συνεξευξάς, ἑντυχὼν δὲ αὕτω τῷ βῆτα τὸ ἑτερον βῆτα ὅπου ἦστιν ζητεῖς, τὸ ἀντίπαλον τῷ εὑρεθέντι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως, ἄχρι ἂν ἑκείνοις σοι περιλειφθῇ ὁ τὸ μόνον γράμμα ἑχὼν τὸ ἀνανταγώνιστον.

ἘΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

42 Τί δ' εἰ ἐκείνω πρῶτῳ ἡ δευτέρω ἑντύχοις,1 τί ποιήσεις;

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ σοὶ ὁ 'Ελλανοδίκης έθέλω εἰδέναι ὁ τι καὶ πράξεις, πότερον αὐτίκα ἑρεῖς ὅτι οὕτως ἦστιν ὁ ἐφεδρος, ἡ δεύσει ἐπὶ πάντας ἐν κόκλῳ ἐλθόντα ἰδεῖν εἰ ποὺ αὐτῷ γράμμα ὁμοίων ἦστιν; ὥσ εἰ γε μὴ τοὺς πάντων κλήρους ἱδοις οὐκ ἂν μάθοις τὸν ἐφεδρον.

ἘΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Δυκίνε, ραδίως ἀν μάθοιμ. ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἐννέα ἶν τὸ Ε εὑρὼ πρῶτον ἡ δεύτερον, οἶδα ὅτι ἐφεδρὸς ὁ τούτῳ ἱκὼν ἦστί.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πῶς, ὦ 'Ἐρμότιμε;

1 ἑντύχοις Belinus : ἑντύχης MSS.

340
It is impossible immediately to find that letter which gives you the bye, or perhaps you could find the letter, but you will certainly not know if it is that one, for there is no prior declaration of kappa or mu or iota as the letter which chooses the bye. When you find alpha, you look for the competitor who has the other alpha, and, when you find him, you have already paired them. Then again, when you come on beta, you look for the other beta, the counterpart of the one you have found, and so with all of them, until you are left with the competitor who has the only letter that has no counterpart.

What if you come on this one first or second, what will you do?

It is not what I shall do. You are the National Judge, and I want to know what you will do. Will you say at once that this man is given a bye, or will you have to go round them all, to see whether there is somewhere a corresponding letter? If you did not look at the lots of everyone, you would not discover who had the bye.

Oh, I should know quite easily, Lycinus. In the case of nine competitors, if I find epsilon first or second, I know that the one holding this lot is the one who has the bye.

How, Hermotimus?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὕτως. τὸ Α δύο αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν καὶ τὸ Β ὁμοίως δύο, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ τεττάρων ὄντων οἱ μὲν τὸ Γ, οἱ δὲ τὸ Δ πάντως ἀνεσπάκασιν καὶ ἀνήλωται ἦδη ἐσ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὀκτὼ ὄντας τὰ τέτταρα γράμματα. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι μόνον ἂν οὔτω περιττὸν εἴη τὸ ἐξῆς γράμμα τὸ Ε, καὶ οὐτὸ ἀνεσπάκως ἐφεδρὸς ἐστί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πότερον ἐπαινέσω σε, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, τῆς συνε-σεως, ἦ θέλεις ἀντείπω τὰ γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα ὁποὶα ἂν ἦ; ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Νη Δία. διαποροῦ μέντοι ὃ τι ἂν εὐλογον ἀντειπεῖν ἔχοις πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

43 Σὺ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐξῆς πάντων γραφομένων γραμμάτων εἴρηκας, οἶον πρῶτον τοῦ Α, δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ Β καὶ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν, ἄχρι ἂν ἐς ἐν αὐτῶν τελευτήσῃ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀθλητῶν· καὶ διδωμὶ σοι Ὄλυμπίασω οὕτω γίγνεσθαι. τί δὲ, εἰ ἐξελόντες ἀτάκτως πέντε γράμματα ἔξ ἀπάντων, τὸ Χ καὶ τὸ Σ καὶ τὸ Ζ καὶ τὸ Κ καὶ τὸ Θ, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ τέτταρα διπλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν κλήρων τῶν ὀκτὼ γράφομεν, τὸ δὲ Ζ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνάτου, δὴ καὶ δηλοῦν ἐμελλέν ἥμων τὸν ἐφεδρον, τί ποιήσεις πρῶτον εὐρῶν τὸ Ζ; τῷ διαγνώσῃ ἐφεδρὸν ὀντα τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτό, ἦν μὴ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐλθὼν εὐρής οὐδὲν αὐτῶ συμφωνοῦν; οὐ γὰρ εἴχεσ ὡσπερ νῦν τῇ τάξει αὐτῶν τεκμαίρεσθαι.
HERMOTIMUS

HERMOTIMUS

In this way: two have alpha, and similarly two have beta. Of the remaining four, two have surely drawn gamma and two delta, and four letters have already been used up for eight competitors. So it is clear that only the next letter, epsilon, could be odd, and he who has drawn this one gets the bye.

LYCINUS

Shall I praise you for your intelligence, or would you like me to explain the different view I have of the matter?

HERMOTIMUS

Certainly. But I fail to see what reasonable answer you can give to such an argument.

LYCINUS

You have spoken as if the letters are definitely written in order—I mean alpha first, beta second, and so on through the alphabet, until the number of competitors is completed at one of them. I grant that this is so at Olympia. But suppose we choose five letters completely at random—chi, sigma, zeta, kappa, and theta—and we write four of these twice on eight lots, but the zeta only on the ninth, which is going to show us the bye. What will you do if you find the zeta first? How can you pick out the competitor who holds it as the man for the bye, without going to all the others and finding no letter to correspond to it? You cannot, as you were just now, be sure from the alphabetical order.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Δυσαπόκριτον τούτο ἐρωτᾶς.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

44 Ἐδώ δὴ καὶ ἐτέρως τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπισκόπησον. τί γὰρ εἰ μηδὲ γράμματα γράφομεν ἐπὶ τῶν κλῆρων ἀλλὰ τινα σημεῖα καὶ χαρακτήρας, οὐδὲ πολλὰ Ἀγνύπτιοι γράφουσιν ἀντὶ τῶν γραμμάτων—κυνοκεφάλους τινὰς καὶ λεοντοκεφάλους ἀνθρώπους; ἤ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐάσωμεν, ἐπείπερ ἀλλόκοτα ἑστί. φέρε δὲ τὰ μονοειδῆ καὶ ἀπλὰ ἐπιγράψαμεν ὡς οἷον τε εἰκάσαντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ δυοὶ κλήρου, δύο ἦπτους ἐπὶ δυοῖν καὶ ἀλεκτρώνας δύο καὶ κύνας δύο, τῷ δὲ ἑνάτῳ λέων ἑστω τοῦπίσημον. ἢν τοῖς τῶ γενετοφόρῳ τούτῳ κλήρῳ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐντύχῃς, πόθεν ἔξεις εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὔτός ἑστιν ὁ τὸν ἐφεδρον ποιῶν, ἢν μὴ παραθεωρήσῃς ἀπαντας ἐπιῶν εἴ τις καὶ ἀλλος λέοντα ἔχει;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ ἔχω ὁ τι σοι ἀποκρίνωμαι, ὦ Λυκίνε.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

45 Εἰκότως· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐπρόσωπων ὕδεῖν. ὡστε ἢν ἐθέλωμεν ἢ τὸν ἐχοντα τὴν ἱερὰν φιάλην εὑρεῖν ἢ τὸν ἐφεδρον ἢ τὸν ἄριστα ἠγγομένον ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν πόλην ἐκείνην τὴν Κόρινθον, ἐπὶ πάντας ἀναγκαίως ἀφιξόμεθα καὶ ἐξετάσομεν ἅκρως πειράμενοι καὶ ἀποδύνντες καὶ παραθεωροῦντες. μόλις γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τάληθες ἐκμάθοιμεν. καὶ εἰ γε τις μέλλοι σύμβουλος μοι ἀξίόπιστος ἐσεσθαι φιλοσοφίας πέρι ἡντινα φιλοσοφητέων, 344
HERMOTIMUS

HERMOTIMUS
What you ask is difficult to answer.

LYCINUS
Come now, look at the same question in another way. Suppose we wrote no letters on the lots, but signs and symbols, such as the many that the Egyptians use instead of letters—dog- and lion-headed men. What then? No, let us not use them, queer creatures that they are. No, let us write down simple, uniform symbols with as good a likeness as we can: human beings on two lots, two horses for another two, two cocks and two dogs, and for the ninth let the picture be a lion. Now, if at the beginning we find this lot with the picture of a lion, how will you be able to say that this is the one that gives the bye, unless you go to them all and compare whether another also has a lion?

HERMOTIMUS
I can give you no answer, Lycinus.

LYCINUS
Of course not; there is no plausible answer. So, if we wish to find either the man who has the sacred chalice or the bye or the man who will best lead us to that city of Corinth, we shall of necessity go to everyone and make our research, trying them carefully, and stripping and comparing. And it will be only with difficulty that we shall find the truth by this means, and if anyone is likely to give me trustworthy advice on which philosophy to pursue, only
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

οὗτος ἂν εἰη μόνος ὁ τὰ ὑπὸ πασῶν αὐτῶν λεγόμενα εἰδῶς, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἀτελεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσαιμι αὐτοῖς, ἐστ’ ἂν καὶ μιᾶς ἀπείρατοι ὦσι—τάχα γὰρ ἂν ἦ ἀρίστη ἐκείνη εἰη. οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰ τις παραστησάμενος καλὸν ἀνθρωπὸν λέγοι τούτον εἶναι καλλιστὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, πιστεύσαιμεν ἂν 1 αὐτῷ, ἣν μὴ εἰδῶμεν ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐωρακεν. ἵσως μὲν γὰρ καὶ οὗτος καλὸς, εἰ δὲ πάντων καλλιστὸς οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι εἰδέναι μὴ ἰδῶν ἀπάντας. ἦμεῖς δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον καλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καλλιστοῦ δεόμεθα: καὶ ἦν μὴ τοῦτο εὑρὼμεν, οὐδὲν ἦμῖν πλέον πεπράχθαι ἡγησόμεθα. οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσομεν ὑποωδήποτε καλὸν ἐντυγχόντες, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἀκροτατὸν ζητοῦμεν κάλλος, ὅπερ ἀνάγκῃ ἐν εἶναι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

46 Ἠληθῆ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί οὖν; ἔχεις μοι τινα εἰπεῖν ἀπάσης ὁδοῦ πεπειραμένον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ὃς τά τέ ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ἐπίκουρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα εἰδῶς τελευτῶν μίαν εἰλετο ἐξ ἅπασῶν ὁδῶν ἄλθηθε τε δοκιμάσας καὶ πείρα μαθῶν ὡς μόνη ἄγει εὐθὺ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας; εἰ γὰρ τινα τοιοῦτον εὑροίμεν, πανσόμεθα πράγματα ἐξοντες.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ ράδιον, ὦ Λυκίνε, τοιοῦτον ἀνδρὰ εὑρεῖν.

1 ἂν add. Jacobitz.
HERMOTIMUS

that man who knows what they all say will be he; the rest will fall short, and I would not put my trust in them, as long as they are unacquainted with even one philosophy—that one might be the best. If someone were to produce a handsome man and say that he was the most handsome of all men, we should certainly not believe him, unless we knew that he had seen all men. This man may well be handsome, but whether the most handsome of all he could not know, since he has not seen them all. And we are looking, not just for something beautiful, but for the most beautiful; and if we do not find it, we shall not think that we have made any progress. For we are not going to be content with any chance beauty. No, we are looking for the supreme beauty, and of that there can only be one.

HERMOTIMUS

True.

LYCINUS

Well then, can you name me a man who has tried every path in philosophy, who knows what Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Epicurus, and the rest, say, and, finally, has chosen one path out of them all, has proved it genuine, and has learnt by experience that it alone leads straight to happiness? If we found such a person we should stop worrying.

HERMOTIMUS

It would not be easy to discover such a person.
Τι δὴ οὖν πράξομεν, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε; οὐ γὰρ ἀπαγορευτέον οἶμαι ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς ἡγεμόνος τοιοῦτον ἐσ γε τὸ παρὸν εὐποροῦμεν. ἄρα τὸδε πάντων κρατιστὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον, αὐτὸν ἐκαστὸν ἀρξάμενον διὰ πάσης προαιρέσεως χωρίσαι καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι ἀκριβῶς τὰ ὑπὸ πάντων λεγόμενα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

"Εσίκευν ἀπό γε τούτων. πλὴν ἐκείνῳ μή ἐναντίον ἕν ὁ μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἔλεγες, ὡς οὐ ράδιου ἐπιδόντα ἐαυτὸν καὶ πετάσαντα τὴν οἴδον ἀναδραμεῖν αὕτης. πῶς γὰρ οἴον τε πᾶσας ἐπελθὲνταί τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, ὡς φής, κατασχεθη-σομένως;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Εγὼ σοι φράσω. τὸ τού Θησέως ἐκείνῳ μιμη-σόμεθα καὶ τὶ λίνον παρὰ τῆς τραγικῆς Ἀριάδνης λαβόντες ἐσίμεν ἐς τὸν λαβύρινθον ἐκαστον, ὡς ἔχειν ἀπραγμόνως μηνυόμενοι αὐτὸ εξίέναι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὸς ἀν οὖν ἡμῖν Ἀριάδνη γένοιτ' ἂν ἦ πόθεν τοῦ λίνου εὐπορήσομεν;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Θάρρει, ὃ ἐταϊρε. δοκῶ γὰρ μοι εὑρηκέναι οὕτως ἔχωμεν οὕτως εξέλθομεν ἃν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τι οὖν τούτο ἐστιν;

1 οὐ γὰρ ἀπ. Seager ὦκ ἂν ἀπ. MSS.
HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

Then what shall we do, Hermotimus? I do not think that we ought to give up because we have no such guide at the moment. Is it not the best and safest plan for everyone at the beginning to make his own way through every system and examine carefully the doctrines of each?

HERMOTIMUS

That seems to follow. But we must watch lest we meet this stumbling-block in what you said a little before. When we have once committed ourselves and spread the sail, it is not easy to return. How can we travel all the paths, if we are to be held fast in the first, as you say?

LYCINUS

I will tell you. We will copy that stratagem of Theseus and take a thread from Ariadne in the play, and then enter every labyrinth. So, by winding it up we shall have no difficulty in getting out.

HERMOTIMUS

Then who will be our Ariadne? And where shall we get our thread?

LYCINUS

Never fear, my friend. I think I have discovered what to hold on to, if we are to get out.

HERMOTIMUS

Well, what?
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὔκ ἔμοι ἔρω ἄλλα τινος τῶν σοφῶν, τὸ "νῆφε καὶ μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν". Ἡν γὰρ μὴ ῥᾳδίως πιστεύωμεν ἀκούστος ἄλλα δικαστικῶς αὐτὸ ποιώμεν ἀπολυπόντες καὶ τοῖς ἔξης λόγον, ἵσως ἂν εὐμαρῶς τοὺς λαβυρίνθους ἐκφύγομεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εὐ λέγεις, καὶ τοῦτο ποιώμεν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

48 Ἐἰν. ἔπὶ τίνα δὴ αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐλθομεν ἂν; ἡ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν διοίσει; ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀφ’ ὀτονοῦν οἶον ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου ἡν οὔτω τύχῃ, πόσῳ ἀν χρόνω οἰόμεθα ἐκμαθεῖν τὰ Πυθαγόρου ἀπαντα; καὶ μὴ 1 μοι ἐξαίρει καὶ τὰ πέντε ἕτη ἑκεῖνα τὰ τῆς σιωπῆς· σὺν δ’ οὖν τοῖς πέντε ἰκανὰ τριάκοντα οἴμαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄλλα πάντως γε εἰκοσι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Θώμεν οὕτως.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εἶτα ἔξης τῷ Πλάτωνι θετέον δηλαδὴ τοσαῦτα ἑτερα, ἔτι μὴ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει οὐκ ἐλάττων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ γάρ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Χρυσίππῳ δὲ γε οὐκέτι ἐρήσομαι σε πόσα. οἶδα γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκούσας ὅτι τετταράκοντα μόνιμα ἰκανά.

1 μὴ U: om. other MSS.
HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

I will tell you—it is not mine, it comes from one of the sages: "Keep sober, and remember to disbelieve." For, if we are not prepared to believe everything we hear, but rather to act like judges and let the next man have his say, perhaps we may escape the labyrinths with ease.

HERMOTIMUS

Good, let us do this.

LYCINUS

Well then, which path should we travel first? Or will this make no difference? Let us begin anywhere—with Pythagoras, for instance. If we do this, how long do we suppose we shall spend in learning all the doctrines of Pythagoras? Please do not leave out those five years of silence. Including the five years I suppose thirty years will be enough, or certainly a minimum of twenty.

HERMOTIMUS

Let us assume so.

LYCINUS

Following that, we must obviously give the same number to Plato, and not less to Aristotle.

HERMOTIMUS

No, not less.

LYCINUS

For Chrysippus, I shall not ask you how many. I know from what I have heard you say that forty will hardly suffice.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὔτως.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Εἶτα ἔξῆς Ἡπικούρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὡς δὲ οὖ πολλὰ ταῦτα τίθημι, ἐκεῖθεν μάθοις ἂν, ἣν ἐννοήσης ὅσιον ὀγδοηκοντούτεις εἰσὶ Στωϊκοὶ ἦς Ἡπικούρειοι ἦ Πλατωνικοὶ ὀμολογοῦντες μὴ πάντα εἰδέναι τὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ αἱρέσεως ἔκαστος, ὡς μηδὲν εἴδειν σφών ἐς τὰ μαθήματα. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ Χρυσιππὸς γε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων φαίειν ἂν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὁ Σωκράτης οὐδὲν φαυλότερος αὐτῶν, δὲ ἐκεκράγει πρὸς ἀπαντας οὐχ ὅπως μὴ πάντα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὅλως εἰδέναι τι ἡ τοῦτο μόνον ὅτι οὐκ οἶδεν. λογισώμεθα οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· εἶκοσι τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ ἐτίθεμεν, εἰτα Πλάτωνι τοσαύθ' ἐτερα, εἶτα ἔξῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις. πόσα δὴ 1 οὖν ταῦτα συντεθέντα ἐν κεφαλαίῳ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ δέκα μόνας θέιμεν τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ὑπὲρ διακόσια, ὁ Λυκίνε.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Βουλεῖ οὖν ἀφαιρομεν τὸ τέταρτον, ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἰκανὰ εἶναι, ἡ τὸ ἦμισυ ὅλον;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

49 Ἄυτὸς ἂν εἴδεις ἄμενοι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅρῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἂν καὶ οὔτω διὰ πασῶν εξέλθοιεν ἐκ γενετῆς εὐθὺς ἀρξάμενοι.

1 δὴ Bekker: δ' MSS.
Just so.

Then Epicurus in his turn, and the rest. You can realise that I do not put these figures too high, when you consider the number of Stoics, Epicureans, and Platonists, who are octogenarians, but who admit, each and every one, that they do not know all the teachings of their own sect, so as to have a thorough knowledge of its doctrines. If they did not admit it, then Chrysippus and Aristotle and Plato would, and even more would Socrates, a man not one whit their inferior: he used to shout out to the whole world not only that he did not know everything, but that he knew absolutely nothing, or only this one thing—that he did not know. Let us count them up from the beginning: we gave twenty to Pythagoras, the same to Plato, and to all the others the same. What would the total be if we assume only ten philosophical sects?

More than two hundred years, Lycinus.

Shall we take off a quarter, and make a hundred and fifty years enough, or a whole half?

You would know better than I. I see this: few would get through them all even on this reckoning, if they began right from the day they were born.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί ἂν 1 οὖν πάθοι τις, ὡ 'Ερμότιμε, εἰ τοούτον ἐστι τὸ πράγμα; ἢ ἀνατρεπτέον ἕκεινα τὰ ἥδη ὠμολογημένα—ώς οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο ἐκ πολλῶν τὸ βέλτιστον μὴ οὐχὶ πειραθεὶς ἀπάντων; ὃς τὸν γε ἀνευ πείρας αἱρούμενον μαντεῖα μᾶλλον ἡ κρίσει τάληθες ἀναξιοθοῦντα. οὐχ οὕτως ἐλέγομεν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ναί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πᾶσα τούνων ἀνάγκη ἐπὶ τοούτον βιῶναι ἥμας, εἰ μέλλομεν εὑ τε αἰρήσεσθαι ἀπάντων πειραθέντες καὶ ἐλόμενοι φιλοσοφήσειν καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντες εὐδαιμονήσεως. πρὶν δὲ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, ἐν σκότῳ φασίν ὀρχοῦμεθ᾽ ἂν οἷς ἂν τύχωμεν προσπαίωντες καὶ ὤ τι ἂν πρῶτον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλθη, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ζητοῦμεν ὑπολαμβάνοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τάληθες. εἰ δὲ καὶ εὐρομέν ἄλλως κατὰ τινα ἀγαθὴν τύχην περιπεσόντες αὐτῷ, οὐχ ἐξομεν βεβαιῶς εἰδέναι εἰ ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶν ὁ ζητοῦμεν. πολλὰ γάρ ἐστὶν ὅμοια αὐτοῖς, λέγοντα ἐκαστὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι τάληθέστατον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

50 ᾪ Λυκίνε, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως εὐλογα μὲν δοκεῖσ μοι λέγειν, ἀτὰρ—εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθες—οὐ μετρίως ἀνιάσ με διεξών αὐτὰ καὶ ἀκριβολογούμενος οὐδὲν δένων. ᾲσως δὲ καὶ ἔοικα οὐκ ἐπ' ἄγαθῳ ἐξεληλυθέναι τήμερον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐντετυχη-

1 ἂν add. Bekker.

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LYCINUS

If that is the case, Hermotimus, what can we do? Must we go back on what we have already agreed—that no one can choose the best out of so many without trying them all? We agreed that to choose without putting to the test was to seek the truth more by divination than by judgment. Is that not what we said?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes.

LYCINUS

Then there is every necessity for us to live all that time, if we are going first to make a good choice when we have made trial of them all, then to practise philosophy after we have made our choice, and finally to be happy after we have practised our philosophy. Until we do this we shall be dancing in the dark, as they say, and whatever we happen to stumble on, and whatever comes first into our hands, we shall assume to be what we are after because of our ignorance of the truth. In any case even if by some good fortune we happen to fall over the truth, we shall not be able to know for sure if it is what we are after. There are many things much alike, each claiming to be the real truth.

HERMOTIMUS

I feel, Lycinus, that what you say is reasonable, but—and I shall be honest—you annoy me a great deal by this detailed examination and your unnecessary precision. It may be that it has done me no good in leaving home today and then meeting you.
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κέναι σοι, ὃς με πλησίον ἥδη τῆς ἐλπίδος ὄντα εἰς ἀπορίας φέρων ἐμβεβληκας ἀδύνατον ἀποφαίνων τῆς ἀληθείας τῆν εὑρεσιν ἐτῶν γε τοσοῦτων δεομένην.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν, ὃ ἐταῖρε, πολὺ δικαιότερον μέμφου ἄν τῷ πατρί σου Μενεκράτει καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἦτις 1 ποτὲ ἐκαλεῖτο (οὐ γὰρ οἶδα), ἡ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῇ φύσει ἡμῶν ὅτι σε μὴ κατὰ τὸν Τιθυωνὸν πολυετῆ καὶ μακρόβιον ἔθεσαν, ἀλλὰ περιέγραψαν μὴ πλεῖω βιώναι τὸ μήκιστον ἐτῶν ἕκατὸν ἀνθρωπον ὄντα. ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ σοῦ σκεπτόμενος εὑρον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ἀποβάν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ὑβριστῆς ἂεὶ σὺ, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὃ τι παθῶν μισεῖς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἀποσκώπτεις.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ω Ἐρμότιμε, ἦτις μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐστὶν ώμεῖς ἂν ἀμείνων εἰποῦτε οἱ σοφοί, σὺ τε καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ γε τοσοῦτον οἶδα, ὡς οὐ πάνω ἡδεία ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀκούονσιν, ἀλλὰ παρευδοκιμεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ ψεῦδους παρὰ πολὺ. εὐπροσωπότερον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦδον, ἡ δὲ ἄτε μηδὲν κίβδηλον ἑαυτῇ συνειδικα μετὰ παρρησίας διαλέγεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄχθονται αὐτῇ. ἵδον γε τοι, καὶ οὐ νῦν ἀχθῇ μοι τάληθες ἐξευρόντι περὶ τούτων μετὰ σοῦ καὶ δηλώσαντι οἷων ἔρωμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ, ὡς οὐ πάνω ραδίων.

1 ἦτις β: εἰ τις γ.
HERMOTIMUS

I was already near the fulfilment of my hopes, but you have thrown me into difficulties with your demonstration that the search for truth is impossible since it needs all those years.

LYCINUS

Surely it would be much fairer, my friend, to blame your father, Menecrates, and your mother, whatever her name was (I do not know) or before them our human natures for having made you (unlike Tithonus) of few years and short life, and for decreeing a hundred years as the longest life for man. All I did was with your help to consider and discover the conclusions of the argument.

HERMOTIMUS

That is not so. You always lord it over us. I don’t know what makes you hate philosophy and mock philosophers.

LYCINUS

What truth is, Hermotimus, you wise men can say better than I—you and your master I mean. For myself I know thus much: truth is not all pleasant to listen to; in estimation it is far outfamed by falsehood. Falsehood presents a fairer face, and is therefore more pleasant, while truth knows no deceit and speaks with freedom to men, and for this they take offence. Look at us: you now take offence with me for discovering the truth of these matters with your help and showing that what you and I are in love with is not easy at all. Suppose you had happened to be

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ὡσπερ εἰ ἀνδριάντος ἔρων ἐτύγχανες καὶ φοι
tεύξεσθαι ύπολαμβάνων ἀνθρώπον εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ
kατιδὼν ὡς λίθος ἡ χαλκὸς εἰῇ ἐμήνυσα πρὸς σε
ὑπ' εὐνοίας ὅτι ἀδυνάτων ἐρᾶς, καὶ τότε δύσνοιν
ἐμὲ εἶναι ὑπὸ ἄν σαυτῷ διότι σε οὐκ εἰὼν ἐξαπα-
tᾶσθαι ἀλλόκοτα καὶ ἀνέλπιστα ἐλπίζοντα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

52 Οὐκοῦν τούτο, ὦ Λυκῖνε, φῆ, ὡς οὖ ὕλοσοφη-
tέου ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ χρῆ ἀργία παραδιδόντας αὐτοὺς
ἴδιώτας καταβιώναι;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ ποῦ τούτο ἡκουσας ἐμοῦ λέγοντος; ἔγὼ
γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὡς οὖ φιλοσοφητέου φημί, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ
φιλοσοφητέου ὄδοί τε πολλαὶ εἰσὶν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν
ἐκάστη καὶ ἀρετῆν ἅγειν φάσκουσαι, ἢ δ' ἀλήθης
ἐν αὐταῖς ἄδηλος, ἀκριβῆ ποιήσασθαι τὴν διαίρεσιν.
ἀδύνατον δὲ γε ἡμῖν ἐφαινέτο πολλῶν προτεθέντων
ἐλέσθαι τὸ ἀριστὸν εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πάντα ίοι τις πειρώμε-
νος. εἰτά πως μακρὰ ἡ πείρα ωφθη. σοὶ δὲ πῶς
ἀξιοῖς; αὖθις γὰρ ἔρησόμαι—ὅτω ἃν πρῶτῳ
ἐντύχῃς, τούτῳ ἐφή καὶ συμφιλοσοφήσεις κάκεινος
ἔρμαιον ποιήσεται σε;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

53 Καὶ τί σοι ἀποκριναίμην ἃν ἔτι, ὥς οὔτε αὐτῶν
tινα κρίνειν οἶδον τε εἶναι φῆς, ἢν μὴ φούνκος ἐτῇ
βιώσῃ πάντας ἐν κύκλῳ περιῶν καὶ πειρώμενοι
οὔτε τοῖς προπεπειραμένοις πιστεύειν ἄξιοῖς οὔτε
τοῖς πολλοῖς ἑπαυνοῦσιν καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν;

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HERMOTIMUS

in love with a statue and, thinking it to be human, hoped to win it, and suppose I saw it was stone or bronze and told you out of friendship that your love was impossible, you would in that case too think that I was an enemy, because I had not let you be deceived when you hoped for what was monstrous and beyond your reach.

HERMOTIMUS

Then this is what you say, Lycinus, that we must not study philosophy, but give ourselves up to idleness and live out our lives as laymen?

LYCINUS

When have you heard me say that? What I say is not that we must not study philosophy, but that since we must, and as there are many paths to philosophy and each one claims that it leads to virtue, and the true one is not clear, we must be careful in our choice. But with so many before us we saw it was impossible to choose the best unless we were to visit and test every path. Then the trial was seen to be somewhat lengthy. Now what do you think? I will ask you again—will you follow the first guide you light on and join him in his study while he takes you for a lucky gift from heaven?

HERMOTIMUS

What answer could I give you now, when you say that no one can judge for himself, unless he lives as long as a phoenix and goes the full round testing all the philosophers, and when you do not see fit to trust those who have made the test before you or the many who give their praise and their testimony?
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ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τίνας φής τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰδότος καὶ πεπειραμένους ἀπάντων; εἰ γάρ τις τοιούτος ἔστιν, ἰκανὸς ἐμοιγε καὶ εἴς, καὶ οὐκέτι πολλῶν δεήσει. ἦν δὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας λέγης, οὐδὲν τι τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν προσάζεται με πιστεύειν ἀχρὶ ἂν ἡ μηδὲν ἡ ἐν εἰδότες περὶ ἀπάντων ἀποφαίνωνται.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μόνος δὲ σὺ τάληθες κατείδες, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀνόητοι ἀπαντεῖς ὅσοι φιλοσοφοῦσιν.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καταψευδή μου, ὥ 'Ερμότιμε, λέγων ὡς ἐγὼ προτίθημι πη ἐμαυτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἡ τάττω ὅλως ἐν τοῖς εἰδόσι, καὶ οὐ μνημονεύεις ὡν ἐφην, οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι τάληθες ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους διατευμόμενος ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάντων αὐτὸ ἀγνοεῖν ὀμολογῶν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

54 'Αλλ', ὥ Δυκίνε, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας ἐλθεῖν χρήναι καὶ πειραθῆναι ὡν φασί καὶ τὸ μη ἂν ἄλλως ἐλέσθαι τὸ βέλτιον ἡ οὕτωσ, εὐλογον ἕκες, τὸ δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ ἐκάστη τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἀποδιδόναι, παγγέλοιον, ὥσπερ οὐχ οἶον τε ὅν ἂν ὑ λίγων καταμαθεῖν τὰ πάντα. ἔμοι δὲ καὶ πάνυ ράδιον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐ πολλῆς διατριβῆς δεόμενον. φασί γε τοι τῶν πλαστῶν τινα, Φειδίαν οἶμαι, οὕνεκα μόνον λέοντος ἱδόντα ἢ ἐκείνου ἀναλεογίσθαι, ἢ λίκος ἂν ὁ πᾶς λέων γένοιτο κατ'
HERMOTIMUS

LYCINUS

Who are these many who know and have tested them all? If any such person really exists, one is quite enough for me, and there will be no need of many. But if you mean those who do not know, the number of them will in no way induce me to trust them, as long as they make declarations about all the systems when they know nothing or only one.

HERMOTIMUS

You alone have seen the truth, all the others who study philosophy are fools.

LYCINUS

You wrong me, Hermotimus, when you say that I somehow put myself before other people or in general rank myself in some way with those who know. You do not remember what I said. I did not maintain that I knew the truth more than other people. No, I admitted that like all men I was ignorant of it.

HERMOTIMUS

Well, Lycinus, the obligation to go round them all, making trial of what they say, and the superiority of this method of choosing are perhaps reasonable, but it is quite ridiculous to spend so many years on each test, as if it were not possible to get a thorough knowledge of the whole from a scrutiny of a small part. This sort of thing seems to me to be quite easy, needing little time. At least, they say that some sculptor (Phidias, I think) saw only the claw of a lion and from it estimated the size of the whole animal on the assumption that it was modelled on the
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άξιαν τοῦ ὄνυχος ἀναπλασθεῖς. καὶ σὺ δὲ, ἢν τίς σοι χεῖρα μόνην ἀνθρώπου δείξῃ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα κατακαλύψας, εἶσῃ, οἶμαι, αὐτίκα ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ἐστί τὸ κεκαλυμμένον, κἂν μὴ τὸ πάν σῶμα ὑδης. καὶ τοῖνυν τὰ μὲν κεφαλαίωθη ὃν ἀπαντεῖς λέγουσιν, ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ μορίῳ ἡμέρας, τὸ δὲ ὑπερακριβές τούτο καὶ μακρὰς τῆς ἐξετάσεως δεόμενον οὐ 1 πάνυ ἀναγκαῖον ἐς τὴν αἰρέσιν τοῦ βελτίωνος, ἀλλ' ἐστι κρῖναι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

55 Παπαί, ὃ 'Ερμότυμε, ὡς ἀσχυρὰ ταῦτα εἴρηκας ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν ἀξιῶν τὰ ὅλα εἰδέναι. καίτοι ἐγὼ τὰ ἔναντία ἀκόουσας μέμνημαι ὡς ὃ μὲν τὸ ὅλον εἰδὼς εἰδεῖήν ἅν καὶ τὸ μέρος, ὃ δὲ μόνον τὸ μέρος οὐκέτι καὶ τὸ ὅλον. οὕτως καὶ μοι τόδε ἀπόκριναι, ὁ Φειδίας ἂν ποτὲ ἰδὼν ὄνυχα λέοντος ἐγνώ ἂν ὅτι λέοντός ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἑωράκειν ποτὲ λέοντα ὅλον; ἦν τὸ ἀνθρώπου χεῖρα ἰδὼν ἔσχες ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ μὴ πρότερον εἰδὼς μηδὲ ἑωράκως ἀνθρώπου; τί σιγᾶς; ἦν βούλει ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνωμαι ὑπέρ σοῦ τὰ γε ἀναγκαία ὅτι οὐκ ἂν εἰχες; ὅστε κυνυνεύει ὁ Φειδίας ἀπρακτος ἀπεληλυθέναι μάτην ἀναπλάσας τὸν λέοντα: οὖν ἐν γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ὧππαι 2 λέγων. ἦ πῶς ταῦτα ἑκείνοις ὁμοία; τῷ μὲν γὰρ Φειδία καὶ σοὶ οὖν ἂν ἄλλο τοῦ γνωρίζειν τὰ μέρη αἴτιον ἢ ἦν ἦ τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ ὅλον—ἀνθρώπων λέγω καὶ λέοντα ἐν

1 οὐ εدد.: καὶ MSS.
2 ὧππαι anon. conjecture: ὃ παῖ MSS.

1 I.e., irrelevant. Epigenes of Sicyon, a tragic poet, is said to have been upbraided by his audience for introducing into 362
same scale as the claw. You too, if you were shown only the hand of a man, the rest of the body being hidden, would, I suppose, know at once that the hidden figure was a human being, even though you did not see the whole body. So in a fraction of a day it is easy to acquire a good knowledge of the essential points of all the systems, and this precise enquiry which calls for lengthy research is quite unnecessary for choosing that which is preferable. No, you can make a judgment from samples.

LYCINUS

Goodness, Hermotimus, how sure you sound when you affirm that you can know the whole from the parts! And yet I remember hearing just the opposite, that if you know the whole you know the part as well, while if you know only the part, you cannot then know the whole as well. Tell me this: would Phidias when he saw the lion’s claw ever have known that it belonged to a lion, if he had never seen a whole lion? If you saw a human hand, could you have said that it belonged to a man if you had not previously known or seen a man? Why do you not answer? Am I to give the only possible answer for you, that you could not have said it? It looks as though Phidias has retired unsuccessful and has modelled his lion in vain; clearly he is saying what has nothing to do with Dionysus! Or what comparison is there? Both Phidias and you yourself had no other means of recognising the parts than your knowledge of the whole—I mean the whole man the worship of Dionysus themes which had nothing to do with the god.
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φιλοσοφία δὲ, οίνον τῇ Στωίκῳ, πῶς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑδοὺς; ἥ πῶς ἂν ἀποφαίνω 
ὡς καλὰ; οὐ γὰρ οἴσθα τὸ ὅλον οὗ μέρη ἐκεῖνα ἐστὶν.

56 ὁ δὲ φής, ὅτι τὰ κεφάλαια ῥάδιον ἀκούσαι ἀπάσης φιλοσοφίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ μορίῳ ἡμέρας (οἶν 
ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τέλη καὶ τί θεοὺς οἶονται εἰναι, 
τί ψυχήν, καὶ τίνες μὲν σώματα πάντα φασὶ, τίνες 
δὲ καὶ ἀσώματα εἶναι ἀξιοῦσι, καὶ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἠ 
ηδονήν, οὐ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον 
τίθενται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα) οὔτωσι μὲν ἀκούσαντας 
ἀποφήμασθαι ῥάδιον καὶ ἔργον οὔδὲν: εἰδέναι δὲ 
ὁσίοις ὁ τάληθῆ λέγων ἐστίν, ὁρὰ μὴ οὐχὶ μορίον 
ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ἀλὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν δέσται. ἥ τι 
γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παθόντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐκατον-
τάδας καὶ χιλιάδας βιβλίων ἐκαστὸς συγγεγράφα-
σω, ὡς πείσανεν οἶμαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ ὀλίγα 
ἐκεῖνα καὶ ὁ σοι δοκεῖ ρίδια καὶ εὐμαθῆ; νῦν 
δὲ μάντεως οἶμαι δεῖσει σοι κανταῦθα πρὸς τὴν 
αἴρεσιν τῶν κρειττόνων, εἰ μὴ ἀνέχῃ τὴν διατριβὴν 
ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἔλεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἀπαντᾷ καὶ ὅλον 
ἐκαστὸν κατανοήσας. ἐπίτομος γὰρ αὐτῇ γένουτ 
ἂν, οὐκ ἔχουσα περιπλοκὰς οὐδ’ ἀναβολάς, εἰ 
μεταστειλάμενοι τὸν μάντιν ἀκούσας τῶν κεφα-
λαίων ἀπάντων σφαγίαζου ἑφ’ ἐκάστοις. ἔπαι-
λάξει γὰρ σὲ τὸ θεοὶ μυρίων πραγμάτων δεῖξας ἐν 
τῷ τοῦ ᾿Ιερείου ἕπατι ἀτινὰ σοι αἰρετέον.

57 Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ἀλλῳ τι ἀπραγμονέστερον 
ὑποθήσομαι σοι, ὡς μὴ ᾿Ιερέα καταθύμηστα 
καὶ θυσίας τῶ 2 ἐμῆ ᾿Ιερέα τινὰ τῶν μεγαλομίσθων 
παρακαλῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐς καλπὶν ἐμβαλὼν γραμμάτων

1 ἐκάστοις edd.: ἐκάστης MSS.

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HERMOTIMUS

and lion; and in a philosophy (the Stoic, for instance) how can you by knowing a part see the rest as well? How can you prove the rest beautiful? You see, you do not know the whole of which they are parts.

As to your contention that it is easy in a small part of a day to hear the essentials of all philosophies (I suppose you mean their principles and ends, their views of the gods and the soul, who say that everything is corporeal, who assert that immaterial things also exist, the fact that some identify "pleasure," others "the beautiful" with goodness and happiness, and so on), after a hearing of this sort it is easy and no trouble to state the facts; but to know which is the one that is telling the truth will surely require not part of a day but many days. If not, why on earth have they all written books by the hundreds and thousands on these very subjects, to prove the truth, I suppose, of these very parts, those few parts, which you think easy and soon learnt? Here too, I fancy, you will have need of a prophet to help you choose the best, unless you spend time on accurate selection and make a personal and detailed study of all and everything. It would certainly be a short cut with no complications or delays if you sent for a prophet, listened to the essentials of them all, and sacrificed for each one: the god will save you a great deal of trouble if he reveals in the victim's liver the choice you must make.

I will, if you like, suggest another, less troublesome way, without this slaughter of victims or sacrifice to anybody or calling in one of these expensive priests: put some tablets into a pitcher with the name

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{2} θυσιάζης τῷ Lehmann : θυσιάζη τῷ N : θυσίας ζητῶν Π.} \]
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐχοντα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐκάστου τοῦνομα κέλευ
παίδα—τῶν ἀνήβων ἀμφιθαλῆ τινα—προσέλθόντα
πρὸς τὴν κάλπων ἀνελέσθαι ὃ τι ἂν πρῶτον ὑπὸ
tὴν χείρα ἐλθη τῶν γραμματίων, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
κατὰ τὸν λαχόντα ἐκεῖνον ὅστις ἂν ἥ φιλοσόφει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

58 Ταυτὶ μὲν, ὃ Λυκίνε, βωμολοχικὰ καὶ οὐ κατὰ
σε. σὺ δὲ εἰπέ μοι. ἢδη ποτὲ οἶνον ἐπρώ αὐτός;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα πολλάκις.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

"Ἀρ' οὖν περιήγεις ἀπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς ἐν τῇ
πόλει κατήλους ἀπογευόμενος καὶ παραβάλλων
καὶ ἄντεξετάζων τοὺς οίνους;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Χρὴ γὰρ οἷμαι σοι τῷ πρώτῳ χρηστῷ καὶ αξίω
ἐντυχόντι ἀποφέρεσθαι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ ἀπό γε τοῦ ὀλίγου ἐκείνου γεύματος εἶχες
ἀν εἰπεῖν ὅποιος ἄπας ὁ οἶνος ἐστιν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εἶχον γάρ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εἴ δὲ δὴ ἐλεγες προσελθὼν τοῖς κατήλοις,
'Επειδὴ κοτύλην πρίασθαι βούλομαι, δότε μοι, ἃ
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of each of the philosophers on them, and tell a boy—a young lad with both parents living—to go to the pitcher and pick out whichever tablet he first touches with his hand; then all you have to do is to study the philosophy of the one whose lot he has picked.

HERMOTIMUS

This is mere burlesque and not like you. Now you tell me: have you ever bought wine yourself?

LYCINUS

Of course, many a time.

HERMOTIMUS

Then did you go round all the wine-merchants of the city in turn, tasting and comparing and judging the wines?

LYCINUS

Not at all.

HERMOTIMUS

I think that you must take away the first wine you come to that is good and satisfactory.

LYCINUS

Certainly.

HERMOTIMUS

Could you have said from that brief tasting what was the quality of the whole?

LYCINUS

Yes.

HERMOTIMUS

If you had approached the wine-merchants and said: "I wish to buy half a pint of wine; each of
Πέτας, ἑκτείν ὅλον ἐκατόσ ὑμῶν τὸν πίθον, ὡς διὰ πάντως ὑπεξελθὼν μάθομι ὅστις ἀµείνῳ τὸν ὁλόν ἔχει καὶ θευν μοι ὅνητεον. εἰ ταῦτα ἔλεγες, οὐκ ἂν οἴει καταγελάσασι σοι ἀυτούς, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνοχλοής τάχα ἂν καὶ προσχέαι τοῦ ὕδατος;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ
Οἴμαι ἑγώγε καὶ δίκαιά γ' ἂν πάθομι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Κατὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ. τί δεῖ ἐκπειν τὸν πίθον δυναμένους γε ἅπ' ὅλιγον τοῦ γεύματος εἰδέναι ὑποίον τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ
59 Ὡς ὀλισθηρὸς εἶ, ὡ 'Ερµότιµε, καὶ διαδιδάσκεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. πλὴν ἄλλα ὄνητάς γε οἰόμενός γὰρ ἐκπεφευγέναι ἐς τὸν αὐτόν κύρτον ἐµπέπτωκας.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ
Πῶς τούτο ἐφῆς;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ
"Οτι αὐθοµολογούµενον πράγµα λαβῶν καὶ γνῶριµον ἀπασὶ τὸν οἶνον εἴκαζεις αὐτῷ τὰ ἀνοµοίτατα καὶ περὶ δὲν ἀµφισβητοῦσιν ἀπαντεῖς ἀφανῶν οὐν. ὥστε ἑγώγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν καθ' ὅ τι σοι ὁµοιὸς φιλοσοφία καὶ οἶνος, εἰ µὴ ἁ ἀρα κατὰ τούτο µόνον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀποδίδονται τὰ µαθήµατα ὡσπερ οἱ κάπηλοι—κερασάµενοι γε οἱ πολλοί καὶ δολώσαντες καὶ κακοµετροῦντες.

1 εἰ µὴ Lehmann: εἳ MSS.: εἳ, εἰ µὴ Solanus.
you give me, please, the whole jar to drink, so that when I have drained it all I may learn who has the better wine and who is to receive my custom"—if you had said this, do you not think that they would have laughed at you, and if you troubled them further, you might have had a jug of water poured on you?

LYCINUS

I do think so, and I should deserve it.

HERMOTIMUS

Apply the same consideration to philosophy. Why drain a butt when the tasting of a little can indicate the quality of the whole?

LYCINUS

How slippery you are, Hermotimus! And how you glide through my fingers! But you have helped us: you thought you had got away, but you have fallen into the same net.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean?

LYCINUS

You take an object which is quite self-evident and which is known to everyone, wine, and you compare to it things that are unlike and the object of universal dispute, they are so uncertain. I certainly cannot say how in your view philosophy and wine are comparable, except perhaps at this one point that philosophers sell their lessons as wine-merchants their wines—most of them adulterating and cheating and
oútwsi dé ἔπισκοπήσωμεν ὃ τι καὶ λέγεις: τὸν οἶνον φης τὸν ἐν τῷ πίθῳ ὄλον αὐτὸν αὐτῷ ὁμοιὸν εἶναι, καὶ μὰ Διὸ ὁδέν ἀτοπον. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τις γεύσαιτο ἀρνυσάμενος ὄλγον ὅσον αὐτοῦ, εἰσεσθαι αὐτίκα ὁποῖος ἀπας ὁ πίθος ἐστίν, ἀκόλουθον καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἔγωγε τι ἀντείπον. ὀρα δὴ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο: φιλοσοφία καὶ οἱ φιλο-
σοφοῦντες οἶνον ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ σὸς, ἀρα ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει ὁσιμέραι καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀλλὰ ἄλλοτε; πολλὰ γάρ ἔστι, πρόδηλον, ὃ ἐταίρε. ὃ ὁυκ ἂν εἰκοσιν ἔτη 1 παρέμενες αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα περινοστῶν καὶ περιπλανώμε-
νος, εἴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐλεγεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπέχρη ἂν σοι καὶ ἀπαξ ἀκούσαντι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

60 Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πῶς οὖν οἶνον τὲ σοι ἢν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον γεύ-
ματος εἰδέναι τὰ πάντα; οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ γε,
ἀλλὰ ἂεὶ ἑτερα καὶνὰ ἐπὶ καινοῖς ἐλέγετο, οὐχ
ὡσπερ ὁ οἶνος ὁ αὐτὸς ἢν. ὡστε, ὡ ἐταίρε, ἢν
μὴ ὅλον ἐκπίθης τὸν πίθον, ἄλλως μεθύων περίει. 2
ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἐν τῷ πυθμένι δοκεῖ μοι ὁ θεὸς
κατακρύψαι τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀγαθὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τρύγα
αὐτῆς. δεχέσι ὃν ὅλον ἐξαντλησαι ἐς τέλος, ἢ
οὕσποτ’ ἄν εὕροις τὸ νεκτάρεον ἐκεῖνο πόμα, οὐ
πάλαι δυσῆν μοι δοκεῖς. σὺ δὲ οἰεὶ τὸ τουοῦτον
αὐτὸ εἶναι, ὡς εἰ μόνον γεῦσαι αὐτοῦ καὶ σπάσαις
μικρὸν ὅσον, αὐτίκα σε πάνσοφον γενησόμενον

1 εἰκοσιν ἔτη Solanus: εἰκὸς ἔτω MSS.
HERMOTIMUS

giving false measure. Now let us examine your logic. You say that all the wine in a butt is the same, the whole measure; that is certainly not unreasonable. Now if you care to draw ever so little of it and take a taste, you say you would know at once the quality of the whole butt; this too follows and I would not deny it. Look at what comes next: do philosophy and these who, like your teacher, study philosophy say the same things to you on the same topics every day, or different things on different days? It is quite clear, my friend, that there are many different topics; you would not have stayed with him twenty years like an Odysseus in your wanderings and journeying, if he had said the same things all the time, but you would have been satisfied with one hearing.

HERMOTIMUS

Of course.

LYCINUS

Then how could you have known the whole from just the first taste? There were not the same, but always new things being said on new subjects, unlike wine, which is always the same. So, my friend, unless you drink the whole butt, your tipsiness has been to no purpose; god seems to me to have hidden the good of philosophy right down at the bottom beneath the very lees. You will have to drain it all to the end or you will never find that divine drink for which I think you have long thirsted. But you imagine it to be such that, if you were but to taste and draw just a drop, you would at once become all-

\^{2} \text{\textit{άλλως μεθύων περιέχει}} \text{Fritzsche: καὶ \textit{άλλως μεθύων περιέχει}} \text{MSS.}
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όσπερ φασίν ἐν Δελφοῖς τὴν πρόμαντιν, ἐπειδὰν πίη τοῦ ἱεροῦ νάματος, ἔνθεον εὐθὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ χράν τοῖς προσιόυσιν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχειν έοικε· σὺ γ᾽ οὐν ἢπερ ἦμισυ τοῦ πίθου ἐκπετεικώς ἔναρχεσθαι ἐτὶ ἐλεγες. ὀρα τοῖνυ μὴ τῶδε μᾶλλον φιλοσοφία ἐοικεν· ο μὲν γὰρ πίθος ἐτὶ μενέτω σοι καὶ ο κάπηλος, ἐνέστω δὲ μὴ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ πανσπερμία τις, πυρὸς ὑπεράνω καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον κύαμοι, εἰτα κριθαί καὶ ὑπὸ ταῦτας φακοί, εἰτα ἐρέβινθοι καὶ ἀλλα ποικίλα. πρόσει δὴ σὺ ὕψησασθαι ἐθέλων τῶν σπερμάτων, καὶ ὃς ἀφελῶν τοῦ πυροῦ, ὑπερ ἦν, ἀνέδωκε σοι δεῖγμα ἐς τὴν χειρα, ὡς ἰδοις, ἄρα οὖν ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν εἰς ἐκεῖνο ἀποβλέπων εἰ καὶ οἱ ἐρέβινθοι καθαροὶ καὶ οἱ φακοὶ εὐτακεῖς καὶ οἱ κύαμοι οὐ διάκενοι;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὗ τοίνυν οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίαν ἀφ᾽ ἐνὸς ὃν φήσει τις τοῦ πρώτου, μάθοι ἂν ἀπασαν ὁποία ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τι ἔστοι ὡσπερ ἦν οἶνος, ὢπερ σὺ αὐτῆς ἀπεικάζεις ἄξιων ὁμοίαν εἶναι τῷ γεύματι, τὸ δὲ ἐτεροίον τι ὀφθη οὐ παρέργου τῆς ἐξετάσεως δεόμενον. οἶνον μὲν γὰρ φαύλον πρίασθαι ἐν δυοὶ ὀβολοῖν ὁ κύανος, αὐτῶν δὲ τινα ἐν τῷ συρφετῷ παραπολεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐφησα, οὐ μικρὸν εἶναι κακὸν. ἀλλως τε ὃ μὲν οἶλον ἄξιων ἐκπειν τὸν πίθον, ὡς κοτύλην πρίατο, ἦμισασθαί ἄν τὸν κάπηλον οὕτως ἄπιθανα γευόμενος, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν τοιοῦτο πάθοι, ἀλλὰ 372
wise, as, they say, the prophetess at Delphi becomes inspired as soon as she drinks of the sacred spring and gives her answers to those who consult the oracle. But it seems it is not so: you had drunk over half the butt, and you said that you were still at the beginning. Perhaps philosophy is more like this: still keep your butt and your dealer, but no wine; rather take an assortment of cereals—wheat on top, then beans, then barley, and, beneath the barley, lentils, then chick-peas, and other kinds of seeds as well. You come in wishing to buy some of the cereals. He has taken out a pinch of the wheat from where the wheat was and has given you a sample in your hand to examine. Now could you say by looking at that sample whether the peas were pure, the lentils tender, and the beans not completely empty?

**HERMOTIMUS**

Not at all.

**LYCINUS**

Then neither could you learn the nature of all philosophy from the first thing someone says. For it is not really one substance like the wine to which you compare it, claiming that it is like the sample. No, we have seen that there is variation in it, for which a cursory examination will not do. If you buy bad wine you risk a couple of pence, but to rot in the common herd oneself, as you said in the beginning, is very serious. Besides, to insist on drinking the whole butt in order to buy half a pint is to cause loss to the wine-merchant with your unbelieving tasting. But in philosophy there would be no such loss. No, however much you drink, the butt
καν ὅτι πάμπολλα πίης, ουδὲν τι ἐλάττων ὁ πίθος γίγνεται οὐδὲ ζημιώσεται ὁ κάπηλος. ἐπιρρέει γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παρομίαν τὸ πράγμα ἑξαντλούμενον ἐς τὸ ἐμπαλὶ ἢ τῶν Δαναίδων πίθος. ἔκεινος μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐμβαλλόμενον οὐ συνείχεν, ἀλλὰ διέρρει εὐθύς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦν ἀφέλης τι, πλεῖον τὸ λοιπὸν 62 γίγνεται.

Ἐθέλω δὲ σοι καὶ ἄλλο ὀμοιον εἶπεῖν φιλοσοφίας περὶ γεύματος, καὶ μή με νομίσῃς βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς ἢν εἶπω ὅτι φαρμάκων ὀλεθρίω ἐοίκεν, οἶον κωνείω ἢ ἁκονίτω ἢ ἅλω τῶν τοιούτων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα, ἐπείπερ θανατηφόρα ἔστίν, ἀποκτείνειεν ἂν, εἰ τις ὀλίγον ὅσον ἀκαριαίον ἀποξύσασ αὐτῶν ἀκρὶ τῷ ὄνυχι ἀπογεύσατο· ἀλλὰ ἦν μὴ τοσοῦτον ὅσον χρή, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ξύν οῖς, οὔκ ἂν ἀποθάνοι τὸ προσενεκάμενος· σοῦ δὲ ἥξιοις τούλαχιστον ἐξαρκείν, ὡς ἀποτελέσατι τὴν τοῦ ὅλου γνώσιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

63 Ἐστὼ ταῦτα ὡς βούλει, Λυκίνε. τί οὖν; ἐκατὸν χρῆ ἐτη βιῶναι καὶ τοσαῦτα υπομεῖναι πράγματα; ἡ οὖκ ἂν ἅλλως φιλοσοφήσαιμεν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς Ερμότιμε· καὶ δεινὸν οὐδὲν, εἰ γε ἀληθῆ ἑλεγες ἐν ἄρχῃ, ὡς ὁ μὲν βίος βραχύς, ἢ δὲ τέχνη μακρή. νῦν δὲ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὁ τι παθῶν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ μὴ αὐθημεροῦ ἡμῖν πρὶν δύναι ἡλιον Χρύσιππος ἡ Πλάτων ἡ Πυθαγόρας γένοιο.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Περιέρχῃ με, ὡ διώκε, καὶ συνελαύνεις ἐς στενὸν οὐδὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοὶ δεινὸν παθῶν, ὑπὸ φθόνου 374.
HERMOTIMUS

is just as full and the wine-merchant will not suffer loss. For, in the words of the proverb, the more you draw the fuller it becomes. The case is the reverse of the butt of the Danaïdae that would not hold what was put into it but let it run away at once. Take some away from philosophy, however, and what is left increases.

But I want to tell you another, similar thing, about sampling philosophy, and do not think that I am being blasphemous about it if I say that it is like a deadly poison—hemlock, for example, or aconite, or some other such. Not even they, deadly though they are, will kill, if you scrape off a tiny piece with the tip of your nail and taste that. No, if the quantity, method of consumption, and mixture are wrong, you can take it and not die. You claimed, however, that the tiniest piece was quite enough to give you a complete knowledge of what the whole was like.

HERMOTIMUS

Granted, Lycinus. What next? Must we live a hundred years and have all that trouble? Is there no other way of studying philosophy?

LYCINUS

No, Hermotimus. Nor need we complain if what you said at first is true: that life is short and art is long. And now I don’t understand why you are distressed if you cannot become a Chrysippus or a Plato or a Pythagoras today before sunset.

HERMOTIMUS

You hedge me round, Lycinus, and drive me into a corner, although I have done you no harm. Clearly
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δηλαδή, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν προῦκοπτον ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι, σὺ δὲ ὀλιγώρησας ἑαυτοῦ τηλικοῦτος ὁν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἶσθ' οὖν ὁ δράσεις; ἐμοὶ μὲν ὁσπερ κορυ-βαντιῶντι μὴ πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ληρεῖν, σὺ δὲ ὡς ἔχεις προχώρει ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆς ὅδου καὶ πέραινε κατὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς σοι δεδογμένα περὶ τούτων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Ἀλλ' οὖκ ἐὰς σὺ βίαιος ὡν αἱρεῖσθαι τι, ἦν μὴ πειραθῶ ἀπάντων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν εὖ εἰδέναι χρή ὡς οὖκ ἂν ποτὲ ἄλλο εἴπομι. βίαιον δὲ λέγων ἐμὲ ἀναίτιον δοκεῖς μοι κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αἰτιάσονοι,1 αὐτὸν, ἐστ' ἂν μὴ ἑτερός σοι λόγος συμμαχήσας ἀφέληται τῆς βίας, ἥδη ἀγόμενον. ἰδοὺ γέ τοι καὶ τάδε πολλῷ βιαίότερα φαίη ἂν σου ὁ λόγος. σὺ δὲ ἐκείνου παρεῖς ἐμὲ ἵσως αἰτιάσῃ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὰ ποιά; θαυμάζω γάρ, εἰ τι ἄρρητον κατα-λέειπται αὐτῷ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

64 Οὐχ ἰκανόν εἶναι φησὶ τὸ πάντα ἱδεῖν καὶ διεξελθεῖν δι’ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔχειν ἡδὴ ἐλέεσθαι τὸ βέλτιστον, ἀλλ' ἐτι τοῦ μεγίστου ἐνδεῖν.

1 αἰτιάσοθαι Jacobitz: αἰτιάσοθαι MSS.
HERMOTIMUS

you are doing this from spite, because I have made progress in my studies while you have neglected yourself—at your age too.

LYCINUS

Do you know what? Take no notice of my ravings, but leave me to my silly chatter, and you go on your way as you are and finish what you decided to do in the first place.

HERMOTIMUS

You are so compulsive that you do not let me make any choice unless I try them all.

LYCINUS

Well, you may be sure that I shall never say anything else. When you call me compulsive you seem to me to be blaming the innocent, as the poet says; 1 for I myself, as long as no other argument comes to your aid to release you from the compulsion, am at present a helpless captive. But look, the argument is going to bring much greater pressure to bear on you, but perhaps you will ignore that and blame me.

HERMOTIMUS

How? I should be surprised if it had anything left to say.

LYCINUS

It says that to inspect and to investigate everything is not sufficient to give you the power to choose the best. No, the most important thing is still lacking.

1 Homer, Il., 11, 654.
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ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τίνος τούτου;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Κριτικῆς τυφο, ὁ θαυμάσιε, καὶ ἐξεταστικῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ νοῦ ὀξέος καὶ διαινοιας ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἀδεκάστου, οἷαν χρῆ εἶναι τῆν περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων δικάσουσαν, ἥ μάτην ἂν ἀπαντά ἐωραμένα ἐή. ἀποδοτέον οὖν φησι καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ χρόνον οὐκ ὠλέγον καὶ προθέμενον ἀπαντα ἐῖς μέσον αἱρείσθαι διαμέλλοντα καὶ βραδύνοντα καὶ πολλάκις ἐπισκοποῦντα, μήτε ἡλικίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἐκάστου μήτε σχῆμα ἡ δόξαν ἐπὶ σοφία αἴδουμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας αὐτὸ ποιοῦντα, οἶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ δικάζουσιν, ὡς μὴ ἐς τοὺς λέγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ λέγομεν ἀποβλέποιεν. καὶ τὸτ' ἡδη ἐξέσται σοι βεβαιῶς ἐλομένω φιλοσοφεῖν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μετὰ τὸν βίον φῆς· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων βίος ἐξαρκέσειν ἀν ὡς ἐπὶ πάντα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκαστὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐπιδεῖν καὶ ἐπιδόντα κρίναι καὶ κρίναντα ἐλέσθαι καὶ ἑλόμενον φιλοσοφη-σαι, μόνως γὰρ ἂν 1 οὕτως εὐρεθήναι φῆς ταληθές, ἀλλως δὲ οὐ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

65 Ὄκνῳ γάρ σοι εἶπεῖν, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, ὅτι οὐδὲ τούτῳ πω ἱκανόν, ἀλλ' ἐτι μοι δοκοῦμεν λεληθέναι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἰόμενοι μὲν τι εὐρηκέναι βέβαιων, εὐρόντες δὲ οὐδέν, ὡσπερ οἱ ἀλιεύοντες πολλάκις καθέντες τὰ δίκτυα καὶ βάρους τινὸς αἰσθόμενοι

1 ἀν L. A. Post: δὴ MSS.
HERMOTIMUS

HERMOTIMUS

What is that?

LYCINUS

My dear sir, a critical, examining faculty, a quick wit, and a keen and impartial intellect. You must have this to make a judgment on matters of this kind, or you will have looked at everything in vain. The argument says that not a little time is to be allowed in a matter like this and everything put before you; you are not to rush ahead, but go slowly and make frequent inspections before you choose, having no regard for the age of each speaker, nor for his dress, nor for his reputation for wisdom. No, you must imitate the court of the Areopagus, which sits in judgment at night in the dark, so that it has no regard for who is speaking, but only for what is said. Then it is that you will be able to make a sound choice and practise philosophy.

HERMOTIMUS

You mean after death. From what you have said no man would live long enough to study everything and observe accurately every detail, and then, after observation, judge, and, after judging, choose, and after choosing practise philosophy; for this is the only way, you say, in which the truth could be discovered.

LYCINUS

I hesitate to tell you, Hermotimus, that even this is not enough. No, I think we deceived ourselves when we thought we had found safety: we have found no safety at all. We are like fishermen who often when they have let down their nets feel some-
ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ μανθάνω τί σοι τὰ δίκτυα ταῦτα βουλεταῖν· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ μὲ περιβάλλεις αὐτοῖς.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν πειρῶ διεκδύνατί σοι θεῶ γὰρ οἷσθα νεῶν, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος· ἐγὼ γὰρ κἂν ἐφ' ἀπαντας ἐλθομεν πειρώμενοι καὶ τοῦτο ἑργασώμεθα ποτε, οὐδέπω οὐδέ τούτο δῆλον ἔσεσθαι νομίζω, εἰ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει τὸ ξητούμενον ἡ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀγνοοῦσιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί φής; οὔδέ τούτων τις πάντως ἔχει;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ἄδηλον. ἦ σοι ἀδύνατον δοκεῖ ἀπαντας ψεύδεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἄλθεῖς ἄλλο τι εἶναι πρὸς μηδένος αὐτῶν πιθευμένον;"

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

66 Πῶς οἶον τε;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὔτως· ἔστω γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄλθης ἀριθμὸς ἡμῖν εἰκοσιν, οἶον, κνάμους τις εἰκοσιν ἐς τὴν χεῖρα λαβῶν, ἐπικλεισάμενος ἐρωτάτω δέκα τωμᾶ, ὁπόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ κύσμοι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ 380
HERMOTIMUS

thing heavy, and so haul in expecting a huge catch of fish; then when they are tired with their pulling they see a stone or a jar packed with sand. I am afraid we have hauled up something like that.

HERMOTIMUS

I don't know what these nets of yours mean: you have certainly caught me in them.

LYCINUS

Then try to get out. If anybody knows how to swim, you do—thanks to god's help. Now, even if we go round all the sects making our tests, and eventually complete our enquiry, I don't think it will even yet be certain whether any one of them has what we are looking for, or whether all alike are ignorant of it.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean? Not one of them?

LYCINUS

It is debatable. Do you think it impossible that all are wrong, and that the truth may be something different, something which none of them has yet found?

HERMOTIMUS

How could that be possible?

LYCINUS

In this way. Suppose our true number to be twenty. Now let someone take twenty beans in his hand, and then close it and ask any ten people how many beans he has in his hand. Suppose one man
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eἰκάξοντες ὁ μὲν ἕπτα, ὁ δὲ πέντε, ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα λεγέτωσαν, ὁ δὲ τις δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ ὀλος ἄλλος ἄλλον τινὰ ἀριθμόν. ἐνδέχεται μὲντοι καὶ κατὰ τύχην τινὰ ἀληθεύσαι, ἢ γάρ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ναί.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τούτο ἄδυνατον, ἀπαντας ἄλλον ἄλλους ἀριθμοὺς εἰπεῖν, τούς ψευδεῖς καὶ οὐκ ὄντας, μηδένα δέ αὐτῶν φάναι ὅτι εἰκοσιν ὁ ἄνηρ κυάμως ἔχει. ἦ τι φής;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ ἄδυνατον.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Κατὰ ταύτα τούων ἀπαντες μὲν οἱ φιλοσο-

φοῦντες τὴν εὐδαμονίαν ζητοῦσιν ὅποιον τι ἔστι, καὶ λέγουσιν ἄλλος ἄλλο τι αὐτὴν εἶναι, ὁ μὲν ἡδονήν, ὁ δὲ τὸ καλὸν, ὁ δὲ ὅσα ἔτερὰ φασὶ περὶ αὐτῆς. εἰκὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτων ἐν τι εἶναι τὸ εὐδαμον, οὐκ ἀπεικός δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι παρ᾽ αὐτὰ πάντα. καὶ ἐσκαμεν ἡμεῖς ἀνάπαλν ἢ ἔχρην, πρὶν τὴν ἄρχην εὑρεῖν, ἔπειγεσθαι πρὸς τὸ τέλος. ἔδει δ᾽ οἷμαι πρῶτον φανερὸν γενέσθαι ὅτι ἐγνω-

σταί τάληθες καὶ πάντως ἔχει τις αὐτὸ εἰδὼς τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων. εἴτε μετὰ τούτο τὸ ἐξῆς ἂν ἦν ζητήσαι, ὦ πειστέον ἔστιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

"Ωστε, ὦ Λυκίνε, τούτο φής, ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἂν διὰ πάσης φιλοσοφίας χωρήσωμεν, οὐδὲ τότε πάντως ἐξομεν τάληθες εὑρεῖν.

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guesses seven, another five, another thirty, some other ten or fifteen, in short every one differently; nevertheless it is possible for someone by some chance to guess the truth, isn’t it?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes.

LYCINUS

Yet it is not at all impossible for everyone to guess different numbers and for all these numbers to be wrong and untrue, and for not one of them to say that the man has twenty beans. Do you agree?

HERMOTIMUS

It is not impossible.

LYCINUS

In the same way, then, all those who study philosophy are trying to find out what happiness is, and each one says it is something different—pleasure, beauty, and all the other things they say about it. Very likely one of these things is happiness, but it is not unlikely that it is something quite different from every one of them. We seem to have gone in the wrong direction, hastening to the end before we have found the beginning. We should first, I think, have ascertained that the truth has been discovered, and that one or other of the philosophers really has knowledge of it. Then the next step would be to find out whom to believe.

HERMOTIMUS

This is what you are saying, then, Lycinus, that even if we go through all philosophy, we shall not even then really be able to discover the truth.
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ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μὴ ἐμὲ, Ἴγαθέ, ἑρώτα, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον αὕθις αὐτῶν· καὶ ἵσως ἄν ἀποκρίνατο σοι ὅτι οὐδέπω, ἐστ’ ἄν ἄδηλον ἢ εἰ ἐν τι τοῦτων ἐστίν ὃν οὖτοι λέγουσιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

67 Οὐδέποτε ἂρα ἐξ ὧν σὺ φῆς εὑρίσωμεν οὐδὲ φιλοσοφήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ δεῖσε ἡμᾶς ἵδιώτην τινὰ βίον ζῆν ἀποστάντας τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν. τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει γε ἐξ 1 ὧν φῆς, ἀδύνατον εἶναι φιλοσοφῆσαι καὶ ἀνέφικτον ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὅτι. αξιός γὰρ τὸν φιλοσοφήσεως μέλλοντα ἐλέσθαι πρῶτον φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἀρίστην, ἢ δὲ αἴρεσις οὕτως σοι ἐδόκει μόνως ἀκριβὴς ἄν γενέσθαι, εἰ διὰ πάσης φιλοσοφίας χωρήσαντες ἐλοίμεθα τὴν ἀληθεστάτην.

εἶτα λογιζόμενος ἑτῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὅποσος έκάστη ἰκανός, ὑπερεξεπιπτεῖς ἀπομηκύνων τὸ πράγμα ἐσ γενεᾶς ἄλλας, ὡς ὑπερήμερον γίγνεσθαι τάληθες τοῦ έκάστου βίου. τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ οὐκ ἀνενδοίαστον ἀποφαίνεις, ἄδηλον εἶναι λέγων εἴτε εὑρήταυ πρὸς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων παλαι τάληθες εἴτε καὶ μή.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Σὺ δὲ πώς, ὦ 'Ερμότιμε, δύναιο ὁν ἐπομο- σάμενος εἰπεῖν ὅτι εὑρήταυ πρὸς αὐτῶν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Εγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὁμόσαμι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ τοι πόσα ἄλλα παρεῖδον ἐκών σοι ἑξετάσεως μακρᾶς καὶ αὐτὰ δεόμενα;

1 εξ add. edd.

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LYCINUS

Don't ask me, my good sir. Again, ask the argument. Perhaps it would answer you that we cannot as yet discover the truth, as long as it is uncertain whether truth is one of the things they say it is.

HERMOTIMUS

From what you say we shall never find it or be philosophers. We shall have to give up philosophy and live a layman's life. At least it follows from what you say that philosophy for a human being is impossible and unattainable. For you say that whoever is going to practise philosophy must first choose the best philosophy, and the choice would be correct in your view only if the truest were chosen after going through the whole field. Then you calculated the number of years required for each and went beyond all bounds, stretching it to cover several generations, so that the search for truth exceeded any man's lifetime. Finally you show that even this is not beyond doubt when you say it is not certain whether any of the old philosophers found the truth or not.

LYCINUS

Could you, Hermotimus, guarantee on oath that they have found it?

HERMOTIMUS

No, I could not.

LYCINUS

Yet how many other things have I purposely omitted which call for long examination!
Τὰ ποία;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ ἀκούεις τῶν Στωϊκῶν ἢ 'Επικουρείων ἢ Πλατανικῶν εἶναι φασκόντων τοὺς μὲν εἶδέναι τοὺς λόγους ἐκάστους, τοὺς δὲ μὴ, καίτοι τὰ γε ἀλλα πάνυ ἀξιοπίστους ὑντας;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

'Αληθῆ ταῦτα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τὸ τοίνυν διακρῖναι τοὺς εἰδότας καὶ διαγνώναι ἀπὸ τῶν οὐκ εἰδότων μὲν, φασκόντων δὲ, οὐ σοι δοκεῖ πάνυ ἐργώδες εἶναι;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δεῦσε τοίνυν σὲ, εἰ μέλλεις Στωϊκῶν τὸν ἀριστον εἴσεσθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πάντας, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἔλθεῖν καὶ πειραθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀμεῖν προστήσασθαι διδάσκαλον, γυμνασάμενον γε πρότερον καὶ κριτικὴν τῶν τοιούτων δύναμιν πορισάμενον, ὡς μὴ σε λάθη ὁ χείρων προκριθείσ. καὶ σὺ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο ὅρα ὅσον δεῖ τοῦ χρόνου, οὐ ἐκὼν παρῆκα δεδιως μὴ συ ἀγανακτήσῃ, καίτοι τὸ γε μέγιστον τε ἁμα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, λέγω δὴ τοῖς ἀδήλοις τε καὶ ἀμφιβόλοις, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστων οἶμαι. καὶ μόνη σοι αὕτη πιστῇ καὶ βέβαιοις ἐλπὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τε καὶ εὑρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλη δὲ οὖδ' ἥτισούν ἦ τὸ κρίνειν δύνασθαι καὶ χωρίζειν ἀπὸ 386
HERMOTIMUS

HERMOTIMUS

What sort of things?

LYCINUS

Don’t you hear some of the Stoics or Epicureans or Platonists say that, while some of them know all the doctrines, others do not, although in other respects they are quite reliable?

HERMOTIMUS

True enough.

LYCINUS

Then do you not think it a very laborious business to separate and differentiate those who know from those who do not know but say they know?

HERMOTIMUS

Very.

LYCINUS

Then if you are going to know the best Stoic you must go and make trial of most of them if not all, and take the best as your teacher, first training yourself and acquiring the power of criticism in such matters, to prevent your preferring inadvertently an inferior one. Just think how much time it needs! I left this out on purpose not to annoy you, and yet in matters of this sort I think it is the one most important requirement in such matters—I mean where there is uncertainty and doubt. And this is the only sure and firm hope you have for truth and its discovery. There is no hope whatsoever apart from the ability to judge and separate the false from the true, and like assayers of silver to distinguish the
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tῶν ἠλθὼν τὰ ψευδὴ υπάρχειν σοι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀργυρογνώμονας διαγιγνώσκειν ἃ τε δόκιμα καὶ ἀκίβδηλα καὶ ἀ παρακεκομμένα, καὶ εἴ ποτε τοιαύτην τινὰ δύναμιν καὶ τέχνην πορισάμενος ἤεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν λεγομένων· εἰ δὲ μὴ, εὖ ἵσθι ὡς οὐδὲν κωλύσει σε τῆς ρινὸς ἐλκεσθαι υφ᾽ ἐκάστων ἡ θαλλὼ προδειχθέντι ἀκολουθεῖν ὡσπερ τὰ πρόβατα· μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ ἐπιτραπεζίῳ ὑδατὶ ἐοικώς ἔσῃ, ἐφ᾽ ὃ τί ἄν μέρος ἐλκύσῃ σὲ τις ἀκρῷ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἁγόμενος, ἢ καὶ ἡ Δία καλάμῳ τυλὶ ἐπ᾽ οὐχὶ παραποταμίᾳ πεφυκότι καὶ πρὸς πάν τὸ πνεύον καμπτομένω, κἂν μικρά τις αὐρὰ διαφυσήσασα διασαλεύσῃ αὐτόν.

69 Ὅσ εἴ γε τίνα εὐροις 1 διδάσκαλον, ὃς ἀποδεί-

ξεως πέρι καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διακρί-

σεως τέχνην τινὰ εἰδὼς διδάξει εἰς, παύσῃ δηλαδὴ 

πράγματα ἔχων. αὐτίκα γάρ σοι τὸ βέλτιστον 

φανεῖται καὶ τάληθες ὑπαχθὲν τῇ ἀποδεικτικῇ 

ταύτῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τὸ ψευδὸς ἐλεγχθήσεται, καὶ 

σὺ βεβαίως ἠλόμενος καὶ κρίνας φιλοσοφήσεις 

καὶ τὴν τριπόθητον εὐδαμονίαν κτησάμενος 

βιώσῃ μετὰ αὐτῆς ἀπαντά συλλήβδην ἔχων τᾶγαθα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εὖ γε, ὃ Λυκίνε. παρὰ πολὺ γάρ ταῦτα ἄμεινω 

καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐ μικρᾶς ἐχόμενα λέγεις, καὶ ἐπηχεῖς, ὡς έοικεν, ἡμῖν ἄνηρ τις τοιοῦτος, διαγιγνωστικὸς 

tε καὶ διακριτικὸς ποιήσων ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ μέγιστον 

ἀποδεικτικοὺς· ὡς τὰ γε μετὰ ταῦτα ῥάδια ὡθη 

καὶ ἀπράγμονα καὶ οὐ πολλῆς διατριβῆς δεόμενα. 

καὶ ἔγγυς ὡθη χάριν οἰδά σοι ἐξευρότι σύντομον 

tινα ταύτην ἡμῖν καὶ ἀρίστην ὀδὸν.

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sound and genuine metal from the counterfeit. Were you to come to your examination of the doctrines with some such power and skill, all would be well; if not, you can be sure that nothing will save you from being dragged by the nose by them all or from following a leafy branch in front of you as sheep do; you will be like water spilt on a table, running whithersoever someone pulls you by the tip of his finger, or indeed like a reed growing on a river bank, bending to every breath of wind, however slight the breeze that blows and shakes it.

So find a competent teacher to give you instruction in demonstration and the art of distinguishing matters in dispute, and you will certainly find an end to your difficulties. At once the best will be clear to you, truth and falsehood will be proved under the scrutiny of this art of demonstration, and you will make a sound choice, and having made your judgment you will practise philosophy, and you will have won your thrice-desired happiness and live with her, possessing all good things in one package.

HERMOTIMUS

Well done, Lycinus! What you say is far better and full of great hopes. We must look for a man, it seems, who will make us able to judge and to distinguish and able in the highest degree to prove a case. What follows will be easy now and no trouble, and it will not need much time. Now I am indeed grateful to you for finding this excellent short-cut for us.

1 εὐροις Belinus: εὖρης MSS. (εὖρεις Γ).
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ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν οὐδέπω χάριν ἃν μοι εἰδείης εἰκότως οὐδὲν γὰρ σοι ἐξευρηκὼς ἐδείξα, ὡς ἐγγυτέρω σε ποιήσει τῆς ἐλπίδος, τὸ δὲ πολὺ πορρωτέρω γεγόναμεν ἢ πρότερον ἤμεν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς παρομιαζομένους "πολλά μοχθήσαντες ὦμοιως ἐσμέν.""
LYCINUS

No, you certainly have no reason to be grateful to me yet. I have discovered and told you nothing to bring you nearer to your hope. In fact we are much farther away than we were before, and as the proverb has it "a deal of toil and we're where we were."

LYCINUS

What do you mean? This seems to me a hurtful and pessimistic statement.

LYCINUS

Because, my good friend, even if we find someone who professes knowledge of the art of demonstration and the ability to teach it to another, we shall not, I fancy, believe him at once, but look for someone else who can determine if the first man is speaking the truth. And even if we find this one, we are still not clear whether our arbiter knows how to distinguish the man whose judgment is correct or not, and for him too I fancy we shall need another arbiter. For how could we ourselves know how to choose the one able to judge best? Do you see how this goes on to infinity and cannot stop and be arrested? For you will see that all the proofs you can find are disputable and have no certainty. Most of them try to compel our belief on a basis of assumptions equally open to dispute, while the rest tack the most obscure and quite unrelated speculations on to self-evident truths and then say that the latter prove the former, as if a man thought to prove the existence of gods because we see their altars. So, Hermotimus, we seem to
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οἶδ' ὅπως καθάπερ οἱ ἐν κύκλῳ θέοντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄρχην καὶ ἀπορίαν ἐπανεληθάμεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

71 Οἶα μὲ εἰργάσω, ὦ Λυκίνε, ἄνθρακάς μοι τὸν θησαυρὸν ἀποφήνας, καὶ ὡς ἐοικεν ἀπολείταί μοι τὰ τοσαῦτα ἔτη καὶ ὁ κάματος ὁ πολὺς.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλ', ὦ 'Ερμότημε, πολὺ ἔλαττον ἀνιάση, ἣν ἐννοήσης ὅτι οὐ μόνοις ἔξω μένεις τῶν ἐλπισθέντων ἁγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν περὶ ὅνου σκίας μάχονται οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες. ἢ τὶς ἄρα δύνατο δι' ἐκεῖνων ἀπάντων χωρῆσαι ὧν ἔφην; ὅπερ ἀδύνατο καὶ αὐτῶς λέγεις εἶναι. ὅν ὃς ὁμοίων μοι δοκεῖς ποιεῖν ὤσπερ εἰ τις δακρύοι καὶ αἰτιῶτο τὴν τύχην, ὅτι μὴ δύνατο ἀνελθεῖν ἐσ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἢ ὅτι μὴ βύθιος ὑπόθυσ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Κύπρον ἀναδύσεταί, ἢ ὅτι μὴ ἀρθεῖς πτηνὸς αὐθήμερον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς Ἰνδόως τελεί. τὸ δ' αὐτίν οὖς λύπης, ὅτι ἡπίκει, οἷμαι, ἢ ὅναρ ποτὲ ἱδὼν τοιοῦτον ἢ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἀναπλάσας, οὐ πρότερον ἑξετάσας εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἐχεῖται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν. καὶ δὴ καὶ σέ, ὃ ἔταιρε, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὀνειροπολοῦντα νῦξας ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπονύ ἐκθορεῖν ἐποίησεν· εἰτὰ ὀργίζῃ αὐτῷ ἐτι μόλις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίγων καὶ τὸν ὑπνὸν οὐ ῥάδιως ἀποσείμενον ὡφῆνης ὧν ἔωρας. πάσχοις ὃς αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ τὴν κενὴν μακαρίαν ἐαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττοντες, ἣν μεταξὺ πλούτουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ θησαυροὺς ἀνορύττουσιν καὶ βασιλεύουσιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαιμονοῦσι—οἶα
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have run round in a circle and come back to our starting-point and the self-same difficulty.

HERMOTIMUS

Look at what you have done to me, Lycinus. You have shown my treasure to be nothing more than ashes, and all these years and heavy toil are lost in all likelihood.

LYCINUS

Well, Hermotimus, you will not be nearly so hurt if you remember that you are not the only one left outside the hoped-for blessings. No, all those who study philosophy are, as it were, wrangling over the shadow of an ass. Who could go through all that process I described? Even you yourself say that it is impossible. And now you seem to me to be acting like a man who wept and blamed fortune because he could not go up to heaven or dive deep into the sea off Sicily and come up at Cyprus, or fly like a bird from Greece to India in one day. His disappointment was due, I fancy, to expectations following a dream on some such subject or an invention of his imagination without prior enquiry whether his wishes could be fulfilled and were humanly possible. You too, my friend, have had many wonderful dreams, and the argument has poked you in the ribs and made you jump up out of your sleep. Then while your eyes are scarcely open you are angry with it, and you cannot easily shake off sleep for delight in what you have seen. Those who fabricate an unreal blessedness for themselves have just the same experience, surrounded by wealth, digging up treasure, kings, heaven-blest for some other reason—all this the
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πολλά ἡ θεὸς ἐκείνη ῥαδιουργεῖ, ἡ Εὐχή, μεγαλόδωρος οὐσα καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγουσα, καὶ πτηνὸς θέλη τις γενεάθαι, κἀν κολοσσιάος τὸ μέγεθος, κἀν ὀρὴ ὅλα χρυσὰ εὐρύσκειν. ἦν τοῖνυν ταῦτα ἐννοοῦσιν αὐτοὶ ὁ παῖς προσελθὼν ἔρηται τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οἷον ὁθὲν ἄρτους ὑμητέον ἢ ὁ τι φατέον πρὸς τὸν ἀπαιτοῦντα τοῦνοικίον ἐκ πολλοῦ περιμένοντα, οὕτως ἄγανακτοῦσιν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρομένου καὶ παρενοχλήσαντος ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀπαντά ἑκεῖνα τάγαθα καὶ ὅλιγου δέουσι τὴν βίων τοῦ παῦδος ἀποτραγεῖν.

72 Ἀλλὰ σύ, ὁ φιλότης, μη πάθης αὐτὸ πρὸς ἐμὲ, εἰ σε θησαυροὺς ἀνορύττοντα καὶ πετόμενον καὶ τινας ἐννοίας ὑπερφυεῖς ἐννοοῦντα καὶ τινας ἐλπίδας ἀνεφίκτους ἐλπίζοντα φίλος οὐ περιεδον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ὀνείρῳ ἡδεῖ μὲν ἵσως, ἀτὰρ ὀνείρῳ γε συνόντα, διαναστάντα δὲ ἀξίω πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ὁ σε παραπέμψει ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα φρονοῦντα. ἐπεὶ ὅ γε νῦν ἐπράττες καὶ ἐπενόεις, οὐδὲν τῶν Ἰπποκενταύρων καὶ Χυμαίρων καὶ Ποργόνων διαφέρει, καὶ ὁσα ἀλλὰ ὀνειροὶ καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ γραφεῖς ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες ἀναπλάττουσιν οὗτε γενόμενα πώποτε οὗτε γενέσθαι δυνάμενα. καὶ ὁμοὶς ὁ πολὺς λεῖς πιστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ κηλιοῦνται ὀρῶντες ἢ ἀκούοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸ ἔξανα καὶ ἀλλόκοτα εἶναι.

73 Καὶ σὺ δὴ μιθοποιοῦ τινος ἀκούσας ὡς ἐστὶν τις γυνὴ ὑπερφυής τὸ κάλλος, ὑπὲρ τὰς Χάριτας αὐτὰς ἡ τὴν Οὐράνιαν, 1 μὴ πρῶτον ἔξετάσας εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγει καὶ εἰ ἔστι που τῆς γῆς ἢ ἀνθρώπος

1 After Οὐράνιαν MSS. have eivai: del. Jacobitz.

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goddess Wishing easily manages, great in her gifts and never saying "no," whether you want to fly, to be as big as a Colossus, to discover whole mountains of gold; and if a slave interrupts their reverie with a question on day-to-day necessities—with what he is to buy bread, what he is to say to the landlord who has been waiting ever so long with a demand for the rent—they are so angry with him for taking all those good things away with his troublesome questions that they come near to biting off his nose.

But, my dear friend, do not feel like that towards me, if I, a friend, did not let you spend all your life in a dream, albeit a sweet one, digging up treasure, flying, inventing extravagant visions, and hoping for what was beyond reach, or if again I tell you to get up and carry out your daily tasks and adopt a course that will keep your mind in future on the trivialities of the common life. For what you have recently been working at and planning is no different from Hippocentuars and Chimaeras and Gorgons and all the other images that belong to dreams and to poets and painters with their artistic licence—fancies that have never existed and can never exist. Nevertheless the vast majority of mankind believe them and they are enchanted when they see or hear things of this sort, because they are strange and monstrous.

You too have heard from some storyteller of a woman of surpassing beauty, beyond the Graces themselves or Heavenly Aphrodite; and, although you had not first asked whether he was telling the truth and whether this woman existed anywhere
αὐτή, ἢ πας εὐθὺς, ὁσπερ φασὶ τὴν Μήδειαν εξ ὠνείρατος ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ Ἦάσωνος. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα σε πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπηγάγετο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ, ὅπόσοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σοι εἰδώλου ἔρωσι, τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς γέ μοι εἰκάζοντι φαίνεται, τὸ τὸν λέγοντα ἐκεῖνον περὶ τῆς γυναῖκός, ἑπείπερ ἐπιστεύθη τὸ πρῶτον ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἀκόλουθα ἐπάγεν· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐωρᾶτε μόνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἴλκεν ώμᾶς τῆς ρινός, ἑπείπερ ἀπάξ τὴν πρώτην λαβήν ἐνεδώκατε αὐτῶ, καὶ ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγαπομένην δι᾽ ὅς ἐλεγεν εὐθείας ὅδοι. Ῥᾶδα γὰρ, οὕμα, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ οὐδεὶς ώμῶν ἐτί ἐπιστρεφόμενος εἰς τὴν εἰσοδον ἐξῆταζεν εἰ ἀληθῆς ἐστιν καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐλαθεν καθ᾽ ἢν οὐκ ἔχρην εἰσελθῶν, ἀλλ’ ἡκολούθει τοῖς τῶν προσδεικτῶν ἰχνεια, καθάπερ τὰ πρόβατα πρὸς τὸν ἥγουμενον, δέον ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν εὐθὺς σκέψασθαι, εἴπερ εἰσιτητέον.

74 Ὁ δὲ φημι, σαφέστερον ἄν μάθοις, ἢν τι τοιοῦτον ὅμοιον παραθεωρήσῃς αὐτῷ· λέγοντος γὰρ τῶν τῶν μεγαλοτόμων τοῦτων ποιητῶν, ὡς γένοιτο ποτε τρικέφαλος καὶ ἐξάχειρ ἀνθρώπος, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ταῦτα ἀπραγμόνως ἀποδέξῃ μὴ ἐξετάσοι εἰ δυνατῶν, ἄλλα πιστεύσας, εὐθὺς ἀκόλουθος ἂν ἐπάγοι τὰ λοιπά, ὡς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ αὐτὸς ἑξέχεν ἔξ καὶ ὅτα ἔξ καὶ ἱωνᾶς τρεῖς ἁμα ἡφίει καὶ ἠσθιεν διὰ τριῶν στομάτων καὶ δακτύλους τρία-κοντα ἑχεν, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐκαστος ἡμῶν δέκα ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσί· καὶ εἰ πολεμεῖν δέου, αἱ τρεῖς μὲν χεῖρες ἐκάστη πέλτην ἡ γέρρον ἡ ἀσπίδα ἑίχων, αἱ τρεῖς δὲ ἡ μὲν πέλεκυν κατέφερεν, ἡ δὲ λόγχην ἡφίει, ἡ δὲ τῷ ἐἴφει ἐχρήτο. καὶ τῖς ἐτὶ 396
in the world, you fell in love with her at once, as they say Medea fell in love with Jason from a dream. But what above all brought you to this love—and has brought all who are in love with the same vision as you—was, I should guess, this: when he had told you about the woman and his first sketch had won your belief, he proceeded to fill in the details. You looked at nothing else, and so, when once you had let him get the first grip, he dragged you all by the nose and led you to the beloved by what he said was a straight path. The rest, I fancy, was easy: not one of you turned back to the entrance and enquired whether it was the true one and whether he had made a mistake and should not have entered; no, you followed in the steps of those who had made the journey before you, like sheep following their leader, although you should have considered at the entrance right at the beginning whether you ought to enter in there.

You will see better what I mean if you consider this analogy: suppose one of these daring poets were to say that there was once a man with three heads and six hands, and suppose that you facilely accepted this without asking if it were possible, just believing, he would at once follow it up by filling in the details appropriately—six eyes, six ears, three voices coming from three mouths, each taking food, and thirty fingers, unlike us with our ten on two hands; and, if he had to go to war, three hands held three shields—light, oblong, or round—, and three brandished axe, spear, and sword. Who would disbelieve these details now—details which are consistent with
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αὐν ἀποιστήσειε ταῦτα λέγοντι αὐτῷ; ἀκόλουθα γὰρ τῇ ἀρχῇ, περὶ ἃς ἔχρην εὐθὺς σκοπεῖν εἴτε παραδεκτέα 1 καὶ εἰ συγχωρητέα οὕτως ἔχειν. ἂν δὲ ἀπαξ ἐκείνα δῶς, ἔπηρει τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ οὕτως οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὑπόκειτο ῥάδιον, ἐπείπερ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ὁμοία ἦστιν τῇ συγχωρητείσῃ ἀρχῇ, ἀπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς πάσχετε. ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ ἔρωτος καὶ προθυμίας οὐκ ἔξετάσσετε τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐσωδον ἐκάστην ὅπως ὑμῖν ἔχει, προχωρεῖτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκολούθιας ἐλκόμενοι, οὐκ ἐννοοῦντες εἰ τι γένοιτο ἀν ἀκόλουθον τι αὐτῷ καὶ ψεῦδος ὁν· οἶον, εἰ τις λέγοι τὰ δὲ πέντε ἐπὶ εἶναι καὶ σὺ πιστεύεσσις αὐτῷ μὴ ἀριθμήσας ἐπὶ σαυτοῦ, ἐπάξει δηλαδὴ ὅτι καὶ τετράκις πέντε τετταρεσκαίδεκα πάντως ἑστὶ καὶ μέχρι ἂν ὅτου ἐθελήσῃ. οὐ καὶ ἡ θαυμαστὴ γεωμετρία ποιεῖ—κάκειν γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀλλόκοτὰ τινα ἀιτήσατα αἰτήσαςα καὶ συγχωρηθήσαι αὐτῇ ἄξιώσαςα οὐδὲ συνίηται δυνάμενα—σημεῖα τινα ἁμερῆ καὶ γραμμάς ἀπλατεὶς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπὶ σαθρῶς τοῖς θεμελίως τούτοις οἰκοδομεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ αξίως εἰς ἀπόδεξις ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἀπὸ ψευδοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁρμωμένη.

75 Κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν καὶ ὑμεῖς δόντες τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ποιητικὴς ἐκάστης πιστεύετε τοῖς ἔξης καὶ γνώρισμα τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῶν τῆν ἀκολούθιαν ἧγεῖσθε εἰναι ψευδῆ οὐσαν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν ὑμῶν ἐναποθησκοῦν ταῖς ἐλπίσι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν ταλθῆς καὶ καταγγέλων τῶν ἐξαπατησάντων ἐκεῖνων, οἱ δὲ καὶ αἴσθωνται ἐξηπατημένοι διέ ποτε γέροντες ἡδη γενόμενοι, ὁκνοῦσιν ἀναστρέφειν αἴδουμενοι εἰ δεήσει τηλικοῦτος αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐξομολογήσασ-

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the first outline? It was there that you ought to have seen whether it was credible or acceptable thus. Once you admit the premises the rest comes flooding in; you will never stay its course, and disbelief is difficult now, for what follows is consistent in the way it follows the agreed premises. This has happened to you all. Because of your love and enthusiasm you made no enquiry into the conditions at each entrance. You go forward led by the consistency of what came after, not considering that things may be consistent and false. Suppose for instance you were to believe someone who said that twice five is seven and did not count for yourself, he will clearly go on to say that four times five is certainly fourteen, and so on, as long as he likes. This is what that marvellous geometry does—in the beginning it presents certain monstrous postulates and demands that we consent to them though they cannot exist—for instance points without parts, lines without breadth, and so on—and on these rotten foundations it erects its structure and claims to demonstrate truths, in spite of the fact that it starts from a false beginning.

Draw the comparison: you philosophers grant the premises of the various systems and then believe everything that follows, supposing that the consistency you find, false though it is, is a proof of its essential truth. Then some of you die in your hopes before they perceive the truth and condemn their deceivers, while others, even if they see too late that they have been deceived, are old men already, and hesitate to turn back out of shame, for

1 παραδεκτέα Cobet: δεκτέα MSS.
θαὶ ὅτι παιδῶν πράγματα ἔχοντες οὐ συνήσαν· ἀστε ἐμμένουσιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι τὰ παρόντα καὶ ὀπόσους ἄν δύνωνται προτρέπουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτά, ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνοι ἐξηπατημένοι ὡσιν ἀλλὰ ἐξωσι παραμνῆθαν τὸ καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τὰ ομοία παθεῖν αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ αὐ κἀκεῖνο ὅρμων, ὅτι ἶν τάληθες εἰπὼσιν οὐκέτι σεμνοὶ ὢσπερ νῦν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς δόξουσιν οὐδὲ τιμήσονται ομοίως. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἐκόντες εἰποῦσι εἰδότες, ἀφ’ οἷς έκπεσόντες ομοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξουσιν. ολίγοις δ’ ἂν πάνυ ἐντύχοις ὑπ’ ἀνδρείας τολμῶσι λέγειν ὅτι ἐξηπάτηνται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποτρέπειν τῶν ομοίων πειρωμένους. εἰ δ’ οὖν τινι τοιούτῳ ἐντύχοις, φιλαλήθη τε κάλει τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ δίκαιον καί, εἰ βούλει, φιλόσοφον οὐ γαρ ἂν φθονήσαι τούτῳ μόνῳ τοῦ ὅνόματος. οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἤ οὐδέν ἄληθὲς ίσσοι οἰόμενοι εἰδέναι ἢ εἰδότες ἀποκρύπτονται ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ αἰσχύνης καὶ τοῦ προτιμᾶσθαι βούλεσθαι.

76 Καίτοι πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀπαντὰ μὲν ἅ ἐφην, ἐάσωμεν αὐτοῦ καταβαλόντες καὶ λήθη τες ἐστω αὐτῶν ὢσπερ τῶν πρὸ Ἐυκλείδου ἄρχοντος πραχθέντων. ὑποθέμενοι δὲ ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν ορθὴν εἶναι τὴν τῶν Στωικῶν, ἄλλην δὲ μηδ’ ἡμῖν τιναύν, ἕως ἂν ἐφικτῇ αὐτῇ καὶ δυνατῇ ἐστιν, ἥ μάτην κάμνουσιν ὀπόσοι ἐφένται αὐτῆς. ταῦτα μὲν γαρ ὑποσχέσεις ἀκούω θαυμαστάς τινας, ἥλικα εὐδαιμονίσουσιν οἱ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἐλθόντες, μόνοις γὰρ τούτους πάντα συλλαβόντας ἐξειν τὰ τῶ ὄντι ἀγαθά. τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ σὺ ἂν

1 ἀν add. Jacobitz.
fear that in their old age they have to acknowledge that they did not know that they were playing children's games; so they stick to it out of shame, and praise their lot and turn as many as they can into the same course so that they may not be the only ones who are swindled, but that a multitude of others in the same state as themselves may be a consolation to them. They realise moreover this, that if they speak the truth they will no longer be revered above the many as now, nor receive the same honour. No, they would not be ready to speak the truth, knowing as they do the heights from which they will fall to the state of ordinary mortals. You will certainly find very few brave enough to admit that they have been deceived and to turn away others from a similar attempt. If, then, you meet such a one, call him a lover of truth, honest, and just, and, if you like, a philosopher; for to him alone I would not begrudge the name. As for the rest, either they have no knowledge of the truth, though they think they have, or they know it and hide it from cowardice and shame and the wish to be highly honoured.

However, in Athena's name let us forget all that I have said and let it drop, let it pass into oblivion like all history before Euclid's archonship.¹ Let us assume that this philosophy of the Stoics and no other is right, and see whether it is attainable and possible, or if those who desire it labour in vain. For I hear that it makes wonderful promises of the happiness in store for those who attain its height, for they alone will take and possess every true good. You may know the answer to the next question better

¹ The year 403–402 B.C. when the democracy was re-established in Athens and an amnesty went into effect.
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άμεινον εἰδείης, εἰ τινὶ ἐντετύχηκας τοιούτως Στωϊκῶ τῶν ἄκρων, οἴω μὴν λυπεῖσθαι μὴθ υφὶ ἡδονῆς καταστάσθαι μὴτε ὄργηζοθαί, φθόνου δὲ κρείττοι καὶ πλοῦτον καταφρονοῦντι καὶ συνόλως εὐδαιμον. ὁποίον χρῆ τὸν κανόνα εἶναι καὶ γνώμονα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν βίου—ὁ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ μικρότατον ἐνδεών ἀτελής, κἀὶ πάντα πλείω ἔχῃ—εἰ δὲ τούτο ὦχι, οὐδέπω εὐδαιμον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

77 Οὐδένα τοιούτον εἶδον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εὖ γε, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, ὅτι οὐ ζεύδη ἐκώς. εἰς τί δ᾽ οὐν ἀποβλέπων φιλοσοφεῖς, ὅταν ὃρᾶς μὴτε τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν σοῦ μὴτε τὸν ἐκείνου μὴτε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μηδ οἷς εἰς δεκαγωνίαν ἀναγάγης μηδένα αὐτῶν σοφῶν ἀκριβῶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐδαιμόνα γεγενημένον; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ὀρθῶς εἴποις ὡς ἀπόχρη κἂν πλησίον γένη τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ὀφελος· ὦμοιῶς γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ ὀδοῦ ἑστιν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ ὃ τε παρὰ τὴν θύραν ἔξω ἑστῶς καὶ ὁ πόρρω· διαλλάττοιεσ δ᾽ ἂν, ὃτι μάλλον οὕτος ἀνασεται ὄρων ἐγγύθεν οὕων ἐστέρηται. εἶτα ἴνα πλησίον γένη τῆς εὐδαιμονίας (δῶσω γὰρ τοῦτό σοι) τοσαῦτα ποιεῖς κατατρύχων σειατόν, καὶ παραδεδράμηκε σε ὁ βίος ὁ τοσοῦτος ἐν ἀκηδίᾳ κἀὶ καμάτῳ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας κἀτω γενευκότα· καὶ εἰσαθῇς ποιήσεις, ὡς φής, ἀλλὰ ἐίκοσιν ἐτῇ τουλάχιστον, ἵνα ὀγδοηκοντούτης γενόμενος (εἰ τις ἐγγυνητής ἐστί σοι ὃτι βιώσῃ τοσαῦτα) ὀμως 402
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than I—have you ever met a Stoic, one of the top men, of a type that feels no pain, one who is not dragged down by pleasure, who is never angry, but rises above envy, despises wealth, and is perfectly happy? Our canon and measure of the virtuous life must be like that—for if he fall short in the least thing he is imperfect, even if he has more of everything—and if he is not like that, he is not yet happy.

HERMOTIMUS

I have never seen such a man.

LYCINUS

Good for you, Hermotimus! You do not tell deliberate lies. Then what have you in view as a philosopher, when you see neither your teacher nor his teacher nor his predecessor even back to the tenth generation truly wise and therefore happy? For it would not be right for you to say that it is enough if you come near to happiness—that is of no use: a man standing by the door is as much outside the threshold and in the open as one a long way off, the difference being that the former will be more annoyed because he has a near view of what he cannot have. Then just to get near happiness (this I will grant you) you take all that trouble, wearing yourself out, and so much of your life has slipped away in torpor and weariness, slumped in sleeplessness; and you will labour on, as you say, for at least another twenty years, so that when you are eighty (have you a guarantee of living so long?) you may be one of those who are not yet

1 τοιούτῳ Στωϊκῷ τῶν ἄκρων Fritzsche: Στωϊκῷ τοιούτῳ ἐς (or καὶ) τῷ ἄκρῳ (or τῷ ἄκρον) MSS.
ΤΗΣ ἐν τοῖς μηδέπω εὐδαιμονοῦσιν—εἰ μὴ μόνος οἱ τευξεσθαὶ τοῦτον καὶ αἰρήσειν διώκων ὃ πρὸ σοῦ μᾶλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἁγαθοὶ καὶ ὑκύτεροι παρὰ πολὺ διώκοντες οὐ κατέλαβον.

78 Ἄλλα καὶ κατάλαβε, εἴ δοκεῖ, καὶ ἔχε ὅλον συλλαβών· τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον οὐχ ὃ ὅ τι ποτ’ ἂν εἰ ὁ τάγαθον, ὡς ἀντάξιον δοκεῖν τῶν πόνων τῶν τοσοῦτων. ἐπειτὰ ἐς πόσον ἔτι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀπολαύσεις αὐτοῦ γέρων ἡδὴ καὶ πάντος ἡδέος ἐξωρού ἃν καὶ τὸν ἔτερον πόδα φασίν ἐν τῇ σορῷ ἔχων; εἴ μὴ τι ἐς ἄλλον, ὡ γενναίε, βίων προγυμνάζεις ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐς ἐκεῖνων ἑλθὼν ἁμεινὸν διαγάγοις, εἰδὼς ὡντινα τρόπον χρή βιοῦν ὁμοίον ὡς εἴ τις ἐς τοσοῦτον σκευάζοι τε καὶ εὐτρεπίζοι ὡς δειπνήσων ἁμεινὸν ἀχρὶ ἂν λάθη ὑπὸ λιμόν διαφθαρέις.

79 Ἄλλα μὴν οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνό πω κατανενόηκας οἷμαι ὡς ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ ἐν ἔργοις δήποτ’ ἐστίν, ὅποι ἐν τῷ δίκαια πράπτειν καὶ σοφὰ καὶ ἀνδρεία, ὡμεῖς δὲ (τὸ δὲ ὡμεῖς ὅταν εἴπω, τοὺς ἀκροὺς τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων φημί) ἀφέντες ταῦτα ζητεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ῥημάτω τύπῃ ἡμεῖς καὶ συλλογισμῶς καὶ ἀπορίας καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τούτοις διατρίβετε, καὶ ὁι ἂν κρατή ἐν αὐτοῖς καλλίνικος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ. ἀφ’ ὃν οἷμαι καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον τουτοῦθεν θαυμάζετε γέροντα ἄνδρα, ὅτι τοὺς προσομιλοῦντας ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίστησι καὶ οἶδεν ὡς χρὴ ἐρέσθαι καὶ σοφίσασθαι καὶ πανοργῆσαι καὶ ὡς ἄφικτα ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἀφέντες—οὕτος δὲ ἢν περὶ τὰ ἔργα—περὶ τὸν φλοιὸν ἁσχολεῖσθε τὰ φύλλα καταχέοντες ἀλλήλων

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happy—unless you think that you alone will reach and grasp in your pursuit that which very many good and far swifter men have pursued before you and failed to catch.

Well, catch it then, if you wish: grasp and hold all of it; but in the first place I do not see what good could ever be supposed to compensate for all these efforts. Then what time will you have left to enjoy it, old man as you will be, too far gone for pleasure, and with one foot in the grave, as they say? Unless, my noble friend, you are putting in training for a future life, so that you can live it better when you get there, knowing how to live like a man preparing and training himself for a better dinner for such a long time that before he knows it he is dead of hunger.

Moreover, you have never realised, I suppose, that virtue lies in action, in acting justly and wisely and bravely. While all of you (by "you" I mean the philosophers at the top) neglect these things, and are studying how to find and compose your wretched texts and syllogisms and problems. You spend most of your lives on this, and whoever wins in this race is your Conquering Hero. That, I fancy, is why you admire this teacher of yours, the old man, because he reduces his pupils to perplexity and knows how to question and quibble and cheat and throw into inextricable confusion. So you just throw away the fruit—which has to do with works—and busy yourselves with the husk, in your discussions throwing
ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις. ἦ γὰρ ἅλλα ἐστὶν ὁ πράττετε, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, πάντες ἐσθενεῖ εἰς ἔσπέραν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ, ἅλλα ταῦτα.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ἡ οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ ὅρθως τις φαίη τὴν σκιὰν ὑμᾶς θηρεύειν ἐάσαντας τὸ σῶμα ἦ τοῦ ὄφεως τὸ σύφαρ ἀμελήσαντας τοῦ ὀλκοῦ; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὦμοιον ποιεῖν ὦσπερ εἰ τις ἐσ ὦμον ὦδωρ ἐκχέας ὑπέρῳ σιδηρῶ πτέττοι ¹ πράττειν ἀναγκαῖον τι καὶ προῦργον οἶκομενος, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἂν ἀποβάλη φασὶ τοὺς ὦμους πτέττων, ¹ ὦδωρ ὦμοῖος τὸ ὦδωρ μένει;

80 Καὶ μοι δὸς ἐνταῦθα ἡδὴ ἐρέσθαι σε εἰ ἐθέλους ἂν ἔξω τῶν λόγων τὰ ἅλλα ἐοικέναι τῷ διδασκάλῳ, οὔτω μὲν ὄργιος, οὔτω δὲ μικρολόγος, οὔτω δὲ φιλόνεικος ὃν καὶ φιλήδονος νῇ ΔInterruptedException: ¹ Ἐρμότιμε; θέλεις διηγήσομαι ὁ πρώην ἧκουσα ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας τινὸς λέγοντος ἀνδρὸς πάνυ γεγηρακότος, ὃ πάμπολλοι τῶν νέων ἐπὶ σοφία πλησιαζοῦσιν; ἀπαίτῶν γὰρ παρὰ τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν τὸν μισθὸν ἡγανάκτει, λέγων ὑπερήμερον εἶναι καὶ ἐκπρόθεσμον τοῦ ὀφλήματος, ὃν ἔδει πρὸ ἐκκαίδεκα ἠμερῶν ἐκτετείκειν τῇ ἐνή καὶ νέα; οὗτο γὰρ συνθέσθαι.

81 Καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἡγανάκτει, παρεστῶς ὁ θείος τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἄγροικος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἰδιώτης ὁς πρὸς τὰ ὕμετερα, Πέπαυσο, ἐπεν, ὡς θαυμάσιες τὰ ¹ πτέττωι ... πτέττων C, G: πτήττωι ... πτήττων Ἐ; πλήττωι ... πλήττων Ν.

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the leaves over each other. Isn’t that what you all do, Hermotimus, from dawn till dusk?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, just that.

LYCINUS

Then wouldn’t it be right to say that you forget the substance and hunt the shadow, or ignore the crawling serpent and hunt the slough? Yes, and that you are like a man pouring water into a mortar and braying it with an iron pestle who thinks that he is doing essential and productive work, not knowing that although you bray your arms off, as they say, water is still water?

Now here let me ask you if, leaving aside his talk, you would care to be like your teacher. Would you care to be so irritable, so mean, so quarrelsome, yes, and so fond of pleasure, even if people don’t think it? Why don’t you speak, Hermotimus? Shall I tell you what I heard the other day from a very old man who spoke in defence of some philosophy or other? Quite a number of young men keep him company to learn his wisdom, and he was in a temper as he demanded payment from one of his pupils, saying that it was overdue and that the day had gone by: the debt ought to have been paid sixteen days before on the last day of the month, according to the agreement.

During this show of temper, the young man’s uncle came up to him. He was a countryman—a mere layman to you philosophers. “Good heavens! Stop saying you’ve been cheated of a fortune because

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2 τι σιγάς Graevius: τι ου γε MSS.
καὶ τοὺς γείτονος Ἑχεκράτους τὴν θυγατέρα συναρπάζας παρθένον οὖσαν διεφθείρειν καὶ ὀλίγου δύκην ἐφυγε 1 βιαίων, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ ταλάντῳ ὄνησάμην τὸ πλημμέλημα παρὰ πέντης ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Ὁχεκράτους. τὴν μητέρα δὲ πρῶην ἐρράπισεν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐλάβετο ὑπὸ κόλπου ἐκκομιζόντος τὸν κάδον, ὡς ἦχοι συμβολὰς οἴμαι καταθέναι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὀργὴν καὶ θυμὸν καὶ ἀναισχυντὶαν καὶ ἐς τόλμαν καὶ ψεύδος μακρῷ τιν ἂμευον εἴχε περνὼν ἡ νῦν. καίτοι ἐθουλόμην ἂν αὐτὸν ἐσ ταῦτα ὠφελήσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ μᾶλλον ἦπερ ἐκεῖνα εἰδέναι, ἀ καθ ἑκάστην ἠμέραν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν δεσμένον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον διεξέρχεται, ὡς κροκόδειλος ἦρπασε παιδίον, καὶ ὑπέσχηται ἀποδώσειν αὐτὸ, ἂν ἀποκρίνηται ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ἦδ' ὁ τι, ἢ ὃς ἀναγκαῖον ἔστω ἡμέρας οὕσις μὴ νῦκτα εἶναι. εὐνοεῖ δὲ καὶ κέρατα ἡμῖν ὁ γενναῖος ἀναφύει οὐκ ἦδ' ὅπως περιπλέκων τὸν λόγον. ἡμεῖς δὲ γελόμεν ἐπὶ τοῦτοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐπιβυσσάμενος τὰ ὅτα μελετᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔξεις τινὰς καὶ σχέσεις καὶ καταλήψεις καὶ φαντασίας καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὀνόματα διεξιῶν. ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὡς καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔστω ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων περιοίκηκεν, οἶδον ξύλων καὶ λύθων καὶ ζῴων ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ἀτμοτάτων. καὶ τῆς γε μητρὸς ἐρωμένης αὐτὸν τὶ ταῦτα ληρεῖ, καταγελάσας αὐτῆς, 408
we bought some pretty talk from you and haven’t paid you the balance yet. In any case you still have what you sold to us: your capital of knowledge is not reduced. And what about my hopes in sending the young man to you in the first place? You’ve made him no better—he carried off my neighbour Echecrates’ daughter, a virgin, and raped her. He only just missed a summons for assault, but I paid a talent to Echecrates, who is a poor man, in recompense for his crime. The other day he thrashed his mother because she caught him carrying off the wine jar under his coat—his contribution, I suppose, to the wine-feast. As for passion and anger and shamelessness and recklessness and lying, he was far better last year than he is now. Yet I would have liked him to be helped by you in this sort of thing, rather than have all that knowledge which every day at dinner he parades at us, though we’ve no need of it: how a crocodile carried off a young lad, and promised to give him back if his father answered some question or other; or how when it’s day it can’t be night. Sometimes our fine gentleman even makes horns grow out of our heads, he twists our words so.\footnote{εφυγε Reitz: εφυγον MSS.} We laugh at all this, especially when he stops up his ears and does his practice and says over to himself his ‘states’ and ‘conditions’ and ‘comprehensions’ and ‘images,’ and a string of other names like these. We hear him say that God is not in heaven but pervades everything—sticks and stones and beasts right down to the meanest. And when his mother asks him why he talks such nonsense, he laughs at

\footnote{“Have you stopped beating your wife?” is the modern equivalent of the ancient “Have you lost your horns?”}
'Ἀλλὰ ἦν τὸν λήρον τούτον, ἐφη, ἐκμάθω ἀκριβῶς, οὔδὲν κωλύσει με μόνον πλούσιον μόνον βασιλέα εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνδράποδα καὶ καθάρματα νομίζεσθαι ὃς πρὸς ἐμὲ.

82 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰπόντος, ὁ φιλόσοφος ὅρα οίαν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, ὡς πρεσβυτικῆν. ἐφη γάρ, Ἀλλ′ εἰ γε μὴ ἐμοὶ ἐπλησίαζεν οὗτος, οὐκ οἶχε μακρὰ χεῖρω ἣν αὐτὸν ἐξεργάσασθαι ἤ καὶ νὴ Δία ἵσως τῶν δημῶν παραδεδόθαι; ὡς νῦν γε χαλινὸν τινα ἐμβέβληκεν αὐτῷ ἡ φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ πρὸς ταύτην αἴδως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετριώτερός ἐστιν ύμῖν καὶ φορητός ἐστι. φέρει γάρ τινα αἰσχύνην αὐτῷ, εἰ ἀνάξιοις φαίνοιτο τοῦ σχῆματος καὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος, ἃ δὴ παρακολουθοῦντα παιδαγωγεῖ αὐτόν. ὡστε δίκαιος ἔν εἰς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ βελτίων ἀπέφηνα, μισθὸν παρ’ ύμῶν λαβεῖν, ἄλλ’ οὖν ἐκείνων γε ἃ μὴ δεδρακεν αἰδούμενος φιλοσοφίαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ αἳ τίθην τοιάδε λέγουσι περὶ τῶν παιδίων, ὡς ἀπιτητεύον αὐτοῖς ἐς διδασκάλου καὶ γάρ ἂν μηδέπω μαθεῖν ἀγαθὸν τι δύνωνται, ἄλλ’ οὖν φαίλον οὐδὲν ποιήσουσιν ἐκεῖ μένοντες. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀποπλῆσαι μοι δοκῶ, καὶ οὖντα ἂν ἐθέλης τῶν εἰδότων τὰ ήμέτερα, ἤκε μοι ἐς αὐρίον παραλαβῶν ὢσει τε ὡς ἐρωτᾶ καὶ πῶς ἀποκρίνεται καὶ ὅσα μεμάθηκεν καὶ ὅσα ἦδθι ἀνέγνωκε βιβλία περὶ ἀξιωμάτων, περὶ συλλογισμῶν, περὶ καταλήψεως, περὶ καθηκόντων καὶ ἄλλα ποικίλα. εἰ δὲ ἡ τὴν μητέρα ἔτυπτεν ή παρθένους συνήρπαζε, τί ταύτα πρὸς ἐμέ; οὐ γὰρ παιδαγωγὸν με ἐπεστήσατε αὐτῷ.

83 Τοιαῦτα γέρων ἀνθρωπος ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας ἔλεγε. σὺ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν φαίης, ὁ Ἐρμότιμε, ἵκανον

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HERMOTIMUS

her and says: 'If I learn this "nonsense" properly, there will be nothing to stop me being the only rich man, the only king, and the rest slaves and scum compared with me.'"

This is what the man said. Now hear the philosopher's reply, Hermotimus, the answer of experience: "If he had not come to me, don't you think he would have done much worse, and even perhaps have faced the public executioner? As it is, philosophy and his regard for philosophy have put a bit in his mouth, and so he is more moderate and still tolerable. For it brings some shame on him if he shows himself unworthy of that dress and name, things which accompany him and serve as a tutor. So I deserve my pay from you, if not for any improvement I have made, at any rate for what out of respect for philosophy he has not done. Nurses too say as much, that little children must go to school: if they are still too young to learn anything good, at any rate they will be out of mischief while they are there. No, in general I think I have done what I had to do. Come tomorrow and bring along anyone you like who knows our teaching, and you will see how he asks questions and gives answers, how much he has learnt and how many books he has read already on axioms, syllogisms, comprehensions, properties, and all sorts of things. If he has beaten his mother or carried off girls, what is that to me? You didn't make me his chaperon.'"

This was the defence of philosophy that the old man gave. Would you too agree, Hermotimus, that
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eînai òς διὰ τοῦτο φιλοσοφοίμεν, οἵς μηδεν τῶν φαυλοτέρων πράττομεν; ἡ ἐπ’ ἄλλαις ἐλπίσων ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλοσοφεῖν ἥξιομεν, οὐχ ὃς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κοσμιώτεροι εύημεν περινοστούντες; τί οὖν οὐκ ἀποκρίνη καὶ τοῦτο;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί δέ ἄλλο ἡ στι καὶ δακρύσαι ὄλγου δέω; ἐς τοσοῦτό μου καθίκετο ὁ λόγος ἀληθῆς ὡν, καὶ ὀδύρομαι, ὅσον ἀθλιος χρόνον ἀνάλωκα καὶ προσέτι μισθούς οὐκ ὄλγους τελῶν ἀντὶ τῶν πόνων. νων γὰρ ὅσπερ ἐκ μέθης ἀνανήφων ὁρῶ οἰα μὲν ἐστιν ὃν ἦρων, ὁπόσα δὲ πέπονθα διὰ ταῦτα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

84 Καὶ τί δεὶ δακρύσων, ὁ χρηστὲ; τὸ γὰρ τοῦ μυθοῦ ἐκείνου πάνυ συνετόν, οἶμαι, ὅν Λίσωπος διηγείτο. ἐφ’ ἡ γὰρ ἀνθρωπόν τινα ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθεξόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν κυματωγὴν ἀριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα, σφαλέντα δὲ καὶ ἄχθεσθαι καὶ ἀνιάσθαι, ἄχρι τῇ τὴν κερδώ παραστάσαν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, Τί, ὃ γενναίε, ἄνια τῶν παρελθόντων ἑνεκα, δέον τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενον ἀριθμεῖν ἀμελήσαντα ἐκείνων; Καὶ σὺ τοῖς, ἐπείπερ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ, ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἂν ἀμείνων ποιήσαις βύον τε κοινῶν ἀπασι βιοῦν ἂξιῶν καὶ συμπολιτεύσῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλόκοτον καὶ τετυφωμένον ἐλπίζων, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχυνῆ, ἂνπερ εἰ φρονῆς, εἰ γέρων ἀνθρωπος μεταμαθήσῃ καὶ μεταλυρήσῃς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.

85 ταῦτα πάντα, ὁ φιλότης, ὃπόσα εἴπον, μὴ με νομίσῃς κατὰ τῆς Στοὰς παρεσκευασμένον ἡ ἔχθραν τινὰ ἐξαιρετον πρὸς Στωϊκοὺς ἐπανηρμέ-
HERMOTIMUS

it is enough that we study philosophy in order to keep out of mischief? Or was it with other hopes that we thought it worth while to study philosophy in the first place, not so that in our goings and comings we should present a fairer face than the layman? Why do you not answer this as well?

HERMOTIMUS

Only because I could almost weep. Your argument is true, and I'm driven to this: I'm in anguish at the time I've wasted like a fool, and at all the money I've paid for my labours, too. I was drunk and now I am sober and am seeing just what it was that I loved and what I have gone through for it.

LYCINUS

Why tears, honest friend? There's a deal of sense, I think, in that fable of Aesop's where a man sits on the shore by the water's edge to count the waves. When he fails he is hurt and takes it badly, until the Fox comes up to him and says: "Why are you worrying about those that have gone, my noble sir? Let them go and begin your count from here." And so with you; since that is your view, you will do better in the future to make up your mind to join in the common life. Share in the city life of everyday, and give up your hopes of the strange and puffed-up. You will not be ashamed, if you are wise, to learn afresh in your old age and make a change for the better. In all that I have said, my dear friend, do not think that I have directed my argument against the Stoa, or that I have some special hatred for the Stoics. No, it applied to all alike. I should
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νον εἴρηκέναι, ἄλλα κοινὸς ἐπὶ πάντας ὁ λόγος.
τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πρὸς σὲ εἰςον ἂν, εἰ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἢ Ἀριστοτέλους ἥρησο τῶν ἄλλων ἁκρίτων ἐρήμην καταγγοὺς. νῦν δὲ ἔπει τὰ Στωϊκῶν προετίμησας, πρὸς τὴν Στοάν ἀποτετάσθαι ὁ λόγος ἔδοξεν οὕτω ἐξαιρετον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

86 Εὖ λέγεις· ἀπεμι γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὡς μεταβαλούμην καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σχῆμα. ὡς εἶν τὴν ὑδηραν ὑψεῖ τὴν κληρικὴν λάσιον καὶ βαθὺν ὑπεί δίαντι καὶ ἀνασαμένην, ἀλλ' ἄνετα πάντα καὶ ἐλεύθερα. τάχα δὲ καὶ πορφυρίδα μεταμφιάσομαι, ὡς εἰδεῖν ἀπαντής ὅτι μηκέτι μοι τῶν λήρων ἐκείνων μέτεστιν. ὡς εἴθε γε καὶ ἐξεμέσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἀπαντὰ ἐκεῖνα, ὅτι τὴν ἱκουσα παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εὖ ἵσθι, οὐκ ἂν ὡκυσα καὶ ἐλέβορον πιείν διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ ἐμπαλὶ γὰρ ἡ Ἑρώτιππος, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐτὶ νοήσαιμι ὃν φασιν. σοὶ δ' οὐν ὡς μικρὰν ὄραν οἶδα, ὡς Λυκίνε, ὅτι με παραφερόμενον ὑπὸ θολοῦ τῶν χειμάρρου καὶ τραχέως, ἐπιδιδόντα ἐμαυτὸν καὶ κατὰ ῥοῦν συρ-ρέοντα τῷ ὑδατι, ἀνέσπασας ἔπιστάς, τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν τοῦτο, θεὸς ἐκ μηχανής ἐπιφανείς. δοκῶ δὲ μοι οὖν ἄλογως ἂν καὶ ἕυρησασθαι τὴν κεφαλῆν ὑστερο τοῦ ἄναγιν ἀποσωθέντες ἐλεύθεροι, ἀτε καὶ σωτηρία τῇμερον ἄξων ἐσαυτὴν ἀχλίν ἀποσεισάμενος τῶν ὁμάτων. φιλοσόφων δὲ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν κἂν ἄκων ποτὲ ὄδη ἀβαδίς ἐντύχω, οὕτως ἐκτραπήσομαι καὶ περιστήσομαι ὑστέρω τοὺς λυττώντας τῶν κυνῶν.

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HERMOTIMUS

have said the same to you if you had chosen the school of Plato or Aristotle and condemned the rest without a trial. As it is, you have given pride of place to the Stoics, and so the argument has seemed to be directed against the Stoa, although it had no particular grudge against it.

HERMOTIMUS

You are right. I am going away to do just that—to make a change—of dress as well. You will soon see me without this big, shaggy beard. I shall not punish my daily life, but all will be liberty and freedom. Perhaps I shall even put on purple, to show everybody that I’ve no part in that nonsense now. Could I but spew out all that I have heard from them! I can tell you that I would not flinch from drinking hellebore, for the opposite reason to Chrysippus—to remember their doctrines no more. So it is no small favour that I owe you, Lycinus: you came and pulled me out when I was being carried away by a rough, turbid torrent, giving myself to it and going with the stream. You were a “God from the machine,” as in the play. I think I might well shave my head like free men who are saved from shipwreck, to give thanks for salvation today now that I have had so heavy a mist shaken off my eyes. If in the future I ever meet a philosopher while I am walking on the road, even by chance, I will turn round and get out of his way as if he were a mad dog.

1 ἄξων N; ἄξευ Γ.
2 ὧδω Fritzsche: εὖ ὧδω MSS.
TO ONE WHO SAID,
"YOU’RE A PROMETHEUS IN WORDS"

A short piece on the blending of dialogue and comedy into a new genre, with a hint of pride at Lucian’s achievement in effecting the marriage.
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΑ, ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ
ΕΙ ΕΝ ЛОΓΟΙΣ

1 Ούκοιν Προμηθέα με εἰναὶ φής; εἰ μὲν κατὰ
tοῦτο, ὃ ἄριστε, ὡς πηλίων κάμοι τῶν ἔργων
ὀντων, γνωρίζω τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ φημὶ ὁμοίος εἰναι
αὐτῷ, οὐδ᾽ ἀναίνομαι πηλοπλάθος ἀκούειν, εἰ καὶ
φαυλότερος ἐμοὶ ὁ πηλὸς οἶος ἐκ τριόδου, βόρβορος
τις παρὰ μικρόν. εἰ δὲ ὑπερεπαινὸν τοὺς λόγους
ὡς δῆθεν εὐμηχάνους ὄντας τὸν σοφώτατον τῶν
Τιτάνων ἐπιφημίζεις αὐτοῖς, ὅρα μὴ τις εἶρωνεῖαν
φῇ καὶ μυκτήρα ὦν τὸν Ἀττικὸν προσεῖναι τῷ
ἐπαίνῳ. ἦ πόθεν γὰρ εὐμηχανὸν τοῦμόν; τίς δὲ
ἡ περιττὴ σοφία καὶ προμήθεια ἐν τοῖς γράμμα-
σιν; ὡς ἐμουγε ἰκανόν εἰ μὴ πάνυ σοι γηίνα
ἔδοξεν μηδὲ κομιδὴ ἄξια τοῦ Καυκάσου. καίτοι
πόσω δυκαιότερον ὑμεῖς ἂν εἰκάζοιοθε τῷ Προμηθεῖ,
ὅποσοι ἐν δίκαιας εὐδοκιμεῖτε ἐξὸν ἀληθεία πιούμε-
νοι τοὺς ἀγώνας. ζῶα γοῦν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐμφύχα
ὑμῖν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τὸ θερμὸν αὐτῶν
ἐστι διάπυρον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἂν
εἰῇ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐνὶ 1 διαλλάττοιτε, ὅτι μὴ 2 ἐκ
πηλοῦ πλάττετε ἀλλὰ χρυσὰ υμῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ
πλάσματα.

1 μὴ N: μὲν γ': μὴ ἐνὶ Fritzscche.
TO ONE WHO SAID "YOU’RE A PROMETHEUS IN WORDS"

So you say I am a Prometheus? If by this, my friend, you mean that my works like his are of clay, I accept the comparison and agree that I am like him. I don’t object to being called a clay-worker, even if my mud is rather dirty stuff from a road-junction, little better than filth. But if you are over-praising my words, implying that they are well wrought and graciously assigning the name of the wisest of the Titans to them, you may find that people will detect irony and an Attic sniff in your praise. In what way is my work well wrought? What superlative wisdom and Promethean foresight is there in my writings? I am quite content if you thought them not too earthy, not quite worthy of the Caucasus. Yet how much more just would it be to compare to Prometheus all you people who win fame by fighting real battles in the courts! What you do is truly alive and breathing and, yes, its heat is that of fire.\(^1\) This too is from Prometheus with the sole difference that what you fashion is not clay but in many cases your fictions are golden.

\(^1\) Prometheus stole fire and gave it to mortals.

\(^2\) \(\mu\eta\delta\) MSS. : \(\mu\eta\) Reitz.
ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΥ ΠΑΡΙΩΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΟΙΑÙΤΑ ΤΩΝ ἈΚΡΟΑΣΕΩΝ ἘΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΑ ΑΤΤΑ ἘΠΙΔΕΙΚΝΥΜΕΘΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ὌΛΟΝ ἘΝ ΠΗΛΩ, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ἘΦΗΝ ΜΥΚΡΟΝ ἘΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ, Ἡ ΠΛΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΟΡΟΠΛΆΘΟΙΣ. ΤΑ Δ’ ἈΛΛΑ ΟΥΤΕ ΚΙΝΗΣΟΙ ὌΜΟΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΔΕΙΓΜΑ ΤΙ, ἈΛΛ’ ΤΕΡΙΣ ἈΛΛΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΆΓΜΑ. ΩΣΤΕ ΜΟΙ ἘΝΘΥΜΕΙΘΑΙ ἘΠΕΙΣΙ ΜΗ ἍΡΑ ΟΥΤΩ ΜΕ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΑ ΛΕΓΕΙΣ 1 ΕΙΝΑΙ ὩΣ Ο ΚΩΜΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΛΕΩΝΑ· ΦΗΣΙΝ ΔΕ, 2 ΟÏΣΘΑ, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟÙ.

ΚΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΩΣ ἘΣΤΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑ ΠΡΆΓΜΑΤΑ.

ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΔΕ ἈΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΥΤΡΕΑΣ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΝΟΙΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΆΝΤΑΣ ὈΣΟΙ ΠΗΛΟΥΡΓΟΙ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΑΣ ἈΠΕΚΆΛΟΥΝ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΗΛΟΝ Ἡ ΚΑΙ 3 ΤΗΝ ἘΝ ΠΥΡΙ ΟΪΜΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΚΕΥΩΝ ὈΠΤΗΣΩΝ. ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΓΕ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΒΟÙΛΕΤΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ Ὁ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΩΣ, ΠΆΝΥ ΕΥΣΤΟΧΩΣ ἈΠΟΤΕΤΩΞΕΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ἈΤΤΙΚΗΝ ΔΡΜΥΤΗΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΚΩΜΜΑΤΩΝ, ἘΠΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΘΡΥΠΤΑ ἩΜῈΝ ΤΑ ἝΡΓΑ ᾽ΩΣΠΕΡ ἘΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΤΑ ΧΥΤΡΙΔΙΑ, ΚΑΙ ΜΥΚΡΟΝ ΤΙΣ ΛITYΟΝ ἘΜΒΑΛΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΡΙΦΕΙΕΝ ἈΝ ΠΆΝΤΑ. 4

3 ΚΑΙΤΟΙ, ΦΑΙῈ ΤΗΣ ἈΝ ΠΑΡΑΜΙΘΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ, ΟΥ ΤΑÙΤΑ ΕΙΚΑΣΕ ΣΕ 5 ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙ, ἈΛΛΑ ΤΟ ΚΑΙΝΟΥΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΤΟ ἘΠΑΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙ ΆΛΛΟ ἈΡΧΕΥΠΟΝ ΜΕΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ, ᾽ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΟΣΚΟ ὈΝΤΩΝ ΆΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΤΕΩΣ ἘΝΝΟΗΣΑΣ ΑΥΤΟÙS ἈΝΕΠΛΑΣΕΝ, ΤΟΙΑÙΤΑ ζΩΑ ΜΟΡΦΩΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΜΗΣΑΣ ὩΣ ΕΥΚΙΝΗΤΑ ΤΕ ΕΙῈ ΚΑΙ ΦΘΗΝΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΕΝΤΑ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ὍΛΟΝ ἈΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟÙS ἭΝ, ΣΥΝΕΙΡΓΑΣΕΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ Ἡ ἈΘΗΝΑ ἘΜΠΝΕΟΥΣΑ ΤΟΝ ΠΗΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ἘΜΨΥΧΑ ΠΟΙΟÙΣΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ

1 λέγεις Schaefer: λέγοις MSS.

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'YOU'RE A PROMETHEUS IN WORDS'

We however who come before a crowd and offer our lectures, such as they are, show you a few figurines, and our modelling is entirely in mud as I said just now, like that of doll-makers. In general there is no movement in them that corresponds to life nor any indication of breathing. No, the whole business is empty enjoyment and play. So it's occurring to me to wonder whether you are calling me Prometheus as the comic poet called Cleon Prometheus. He says of him, you remember,

"Cleon's a Prometheus after the event."

The very Athenians used to call potters and oven-workers and all workers in clay "Prometheuses," in jest at the clay or even perhaps the way they burn their products in the furnace. If your "Prometheus" means that, you have hit the mark well with an Attic pungency of wit, since our works too are as fragile as their pots—throw a little stone and you would smash the lot.

Yet someone might console me by saying "It was not in these respects that he compared you to Prometheus. No, he was praising your originality in following no exemplar, just as Prometheus at a time when no men existed fashioned them from his imagination, when he gave shape and form to such living creatures that they might move easily and be graceful to see. He was the master-craftsman, though Athena helped by breathing into the mud and

2 δὲ add. Dindorf.
3 πηλὸν εἶναι N: πηλὸν εἶναι Γ: ἦ καὶ Lehmann.
4 ἁν πάντα Jacobs: ἄπαντα MSS.
5 εἰκασέζε Dindorf: εἰκάσαυ MSS.


1. Τὰ πλάσματα. ὁ μὲν ταύτα ἀν εἶποι, πρὸς γε ἕν τὸ εὐφημότατον ἐξηγούμενος τὸ εἰρημένον, καὶ ὅσως οὕτος ὁ νοῦς ἦν τῷ λελεγμένῳ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἰκανόν, εἰ κανοποιεῖν δοκοῖν, μηδὲ ἔχοι τις λέγειν ἀρχαιότερον τι τοῦ πλάσματος οὐ τοῦτο ἀπόγονόν ἔστιν. ἄλλα εἰ μὴ καὶ χάριν φαίνοιτο, αἰσχυνοῦμην ἂν, εὐ ἱσθι, ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ξυμπαθῆς ἂν ἀφανίσαιμι. οὐδ' ἂν ὑφελησεῖν αὐτῷ, παρὰ γούν ἐμοί, ἡ καινότης, μὴ οὐχὶ συντετρίφθαι ἀμορφον ὑπερέχειν ἄξιος ἂν εἶναι 2 μοι δοκῶ ὑπὸ ἐκκαίδεκα γυπὼν κεί- 

2. πομφᾶς, οὐ συνείς ὡς πολὺ ἀμορφότερα τὰ μετὰ 

3. τοῦ ἐκένου αὐτὸ 3 πεπονθότα.

4. Πτολεμαίος γούν 4 ὁ Λάγου δύο κανά ἐς Ἀἰγυπτον ἀγων, κάμηλον τε Βακτριανήν παμ- 

5. μέλαιναν καὶ δίχρωμον ἄνθρωπον, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἠμίτομον αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς μέλαν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἐς ὑπερβολὴν λευκόν, ἐπ' ἱσθις δὲ μεμερισμένον, ἐς τὸ θεάτρον συναγαγών τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίους ἐπεδείκ- 

6. νυτο αὐτοῖς ἀλλα τε πολλὰ θεάματα καὶ τὸ 

7. τελευταῖον καὶ ταύτα, τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὸν ἠμίλευκον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄτετο ἕκπληξειν τῷ 

8. θεάματι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν κάμηλον ἐφοβηθησαν καὶ ὅλιγον δεῖν ἐφυγον ἀναθορώντες, καὶ θυσία 

9. πᾶσα ἐκεκόσμητο καὶ ἀλουργίδι ἐπέστρωτο καὶ ὁ 

10. χαλινὸς ὁ λιθοκόλλητος, Δαρείου τινὸς ἡ Καμβύ- 

11. σου ἡ Κύρου αὐτοῦ κειμήλιον. πρὸς δὲ τὸν 

12. ἄνθρωπον οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐγέλων, οἱ δὲ τινες ὡς 

13. ἐπὶ τέρατι ἐμυσάστουν. ὡστε ὁ Πτολεμαίος 

14. συνείς ὅτι οὐκ εὐδοκημεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ θαυμάζεται 

15. ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀἰγυπτίων ἡ καινότης, ἀλλὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς 

16. 1 γε Reitz: τε MSS.

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making the models live.” That is what he might say, putting at least a gracious interpretation on your words, and perhaps that was what you meant. Yet I am not at all satisfied to be thought an innovator with no older model to father this work of mine. No, if it were not thought graceful as well, I should certainly be ashamed of it, believe me, and trample it under foot and destroy it. The originality would be no help, as far as I am concerned, to prevent the ugly thing’s being obliterated. If I didn’t think this, I should consider it right to have sixteen vultures tear me for not understanding how much uglier are the things which suffer this when they are combined with novelty.

Take an example. Ptolemy the son of Lagus brought two novelties to Egypt—a completely black Bactrian camel and a man of two colours, half jet-black and half dazzlingly white, the colours equally divided. He assembled the Egyptians in the theatre, where he put on a lot of other shows for them and lastly this, the black camel and the half-white man, thinking to amaze them by the spectacle. The spectators however took fright at the camel and all but jumped up and ran away—and that though the camel was adorned all over with gold and draped in sea-purple and the bridle was set with gems, the treasure of some Darius or Cambyses or Cyrus himself. As for the man, most of them laughed, but some were disgusted as at a monstrosity. So when Ptolemy realised that he got no credit in their eyes and the Egyptians did not admire the novelty but

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2 eīναι add. Schaefer.
3 aὐτὰ πεποιθότα or πεποιθότα MSS.: aὐτὸ Marcilius.
4 So Seager: οὖν MSS.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tο εὕρημον καὶ τὸ εὔμορφον κρίνουσι, μετέστησεν αὐτὰ καὶ 1 ὁ εὐκάτει διὰ τιμῆς ὅγεν ὡς πρὸ τοῦ. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν κάμηλος ἀπέθανεν ἀμελουμένη, τὸν ἀνθρώπον δὲ τὸν διττὸν Θέσπιδι τῷ αὐλητῇ ἐδωρήσατο καλῶς αὐλήσαντι παρὰ τὸν πότον.

5 Δέδοικα δὲ μὴ καὶ τούμον κάμηλος ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις ἦ, οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐτί αὐτῆς θαυμάζωσι 2 καὶ τὴν ἀλουργίδα, ἐπει οὔδε τὸ ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν καλλίστοιν συγκείσθαι, διαλόγου καὶ κωμῳδίας, οὔδε τοῦτο ἀπόχρη εἰς εὐμορφίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡ μῖξις ἐναρμόνιος καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύμμετρον γίγνοιτο. ἔστι γοῦν ἐκ δύο καλῶν ἀλλόκοτον τὴν ἐξυνθήκην εἶναι, οἶνον ἔκεινο τὸ προχειρότατον, ὁ ἵπποκένταυρος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φαῖς ἐπέραστον τι ζῶον τούτι γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱβριστότατον, εἰ χρή πιστεύειν τοῖς ζωγράφοις ἐπιδεικνυμένοι τὰς παροιμίας καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτῶν. τί οὖν; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐμπαλιν γένοιτ' ἂν εὐμορφὸν τι ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν ἀρίστοιν ἰνυντεθέν, ὥσπερ εἰς οἶνον καὶ μέλιτος τὸ ἐξαναφότερον ἢδιστον; φημὶ ἐγγυγε. οὐ μὴν περί γε τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχω διατείνεσθαι ὡς τοιοῦτων ὄντων, ἀλλὰ δέδια μὴ τὸ ἐκατέρου κάλλος ἡ μῖξις συνέφθειρεν.

6 Ὡν πάντων γοῦν συνῆθη καὶ φίλα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν ὁ διάλογος καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, εἰ γε ὁ μὲν οἴκοι καθ' ἑαυτόν καὶ νὴ Δία ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις μετ' ὅλιγων τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποίειτο, ἢ δὲ παραδοῦσα τῷ Διονύσῳ ἑαυτὴν θεάτρῳ ὦμιλε καὶ ἐνυπναῦζε καὶ ἐγελωτοποιεῖ καὶ ἐπέσκυπτε καὶ ἐν πρὸς αὐλῶν ἑνίοτε καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀναπαύστοις μέτρους ἐποχουμένη τὰ πολλά. τοὺς δὲ 3 τοῦ διαλόγου ἐταῖρους ἐχλεύαζε φροντιστάς καὶ μετεωρόλεσχας.
set more store on beauty of form and line, he sent them away and esteemed them no longer as before. The camel died through neglect, and the half-and-half man he presented to Thespis the pipe-player for playing prettily at a carousel.

I am afraid that my work too is a camel in Egypt and people admire its bridle and its sea-purple, since even the combination of those two very fine creations, dialogue and comedy, is not enough for beauty of form if the blending lacks harmony and symmetry. The synthesis of two fine things can be a freak—the hippocentaur is an obvious example: you would not call this creature charming, rather a monstrosity, to go by the paintings of their drunken orgies and murders. Well then, can nothing beautiful come from the synthesis of two things of high quality, as the mixture of wine and honey is exceedingly pleasant? Yes, certainly. But I cannot maintain that this is the case with my two: I'm afraid that the beauty of each has been lost in the blending.

Dialogue and comedy were not entirely friendly and compatible from the beginning. Dialogue used to sit at home by himself and indeed spend his time in the public walks with a few companions; Comedy gave herself to Dionysus and joined him in the theatre, had fun with him, jested and joked, sometimes stepping in time to the pipe and generally riding on anapaestes. Dialogue's companions she

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1 After καὶ MSS. have τὸν ἄνθρωπον: see Lehmann.
2 Marcilius: θαυμάζουσι MSS.
3 δὲ add. Bekker.
ΤΑ ΤΟΙΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΟΥΣΑ. ΚΑΙ ΜΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΑΡΕΣΩΝ 1 ΕΠΕΠΟΙΗΤΟ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΩΠΤΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΟΥΝΣΙΑΚΗΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΧΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ, ΑΡΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΕΡΟΒΑΤΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΔΕΙΚΝΥΟΥΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΦΕΛΑΙΣ ΞΥΝΟΝΤΑΣ, ΑΡΤΙ ΔΕ ΨΥΛΛΩΝ ΠΗΓΗΜΑΤΑ ΔΙΑΜΕΤΡΟΥΝΤΑΣ, ΩΣ ΔΗΘΕΝ ΤΑ ΆΕΡΙΑ ΛΕΠΤΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ. Ο ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕ ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙΤΟ ΤΑΣ ΣΥΝΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ. ΩΣΤΕ, ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ, ΔΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΣΩΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΆΡΜΟΝΙΑΝ, ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΒΑΡΥΤΑΤΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΟΜΩΣ ΕΤΟΛΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΣΗΜΕΝ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΑ ΞΥΝΑΓΑΓΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΥΝΑΡΜΟΣΑΙ ΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΙΘΟΜΕΝΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΥΜΑΡΩΣ ΑΝΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΝ.

7 ΔΕΔΙΑ ΤΟΙΝΩΝ ΜΗ ΑΘΗΣ ΟΜΟΙΩΝ ΤΙ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΩΝ ΣΩ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΩΝ ΦΑΙΝΩΜΑΙ ΤΟ ΘΗΛΥΤΩΝ ΆΡΡΕΝΕ ΕΓΚΑΤΑΜΙΞΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΑΥΤΟ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΨÙΧΩΝ. ΜΑΛΛΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤ' ΆΛΛΟ ΤΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΣ ΑΝ ΦΑΝΕΙΝ, 2 ΕΞΑΠΑΤΩΝ ΙΣΩΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΚΟΥΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΘΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΕΚΑΛΥΜΜΕΝΑ ΤΗΙ ΠΙΜΕΛΗ, ΓΕΛΩΝΤΑ ΚΩΜΙΚΩΝ ΨÙΧΟΥ ΣΕΜΝΟΤΗΤΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ. ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΕΠΤΙΚΗΣ—ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΛΕΠΤΙΚΗΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ—ΑΠΑΓΕ. ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΟΝΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΙΠΟΙΣ ΕΝΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΙΣ. Η ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΕΚΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΝ; ΕΙ ΜΗ ΑΡΑ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕ ΘΕΛΑΘΕΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΙΣΠΟΚΑΜΠΟΥΣ 3 ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΓΕΛΑΦΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΤΕΒΕΙΚΩΣ. ΠΛΗΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΙ ΑΝ ΠΑΘΟΜΙ; ΕΜΜΕΝΕΤΕΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΟΙΣ ΑΠΑΣ ΠΡΟΕΙΛΟΜΗΝ· ΕΠΕΙ ΤΟ ΓΕ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ 'ΕΠΙΜΗΘΕΩΣ ΈΡΓΟΝ, ΟΥ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΩΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ.

1 So some late MSS.: προέλευσιν by.
2 So Mras after Bekker, Fritzsche, Reitz: μη καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο some MSS.: καὶ ἐξαπατῶν (sic) Γ.
3 So Solanus: πιτυκάμπτας MSS.
mocked as "Heavy-thinkers", "High-talkers", and suchlike. She had one delight—to deride them and drown them in Dionysiac liberties. She showed them now walking on air and mixing with the clouds, now measuring sandals for fleas—her notion of heavenly subtleties, I suppose! Dialogue however took his conversations very seriously, philosophising about nature and virtue. So, in musical terms, there were two octaves between them, from highest to lowest. Nevertheless I have dared to combine them as they are into a harmony, though they are not in the least docile and do not easily tolerate partnership.

Well, I am afraid that I in my turn may seem to have acted something like your Prometheus in mixing female with male and may be charged with that; or rather that I may seem a Prometheus in another respect—in deceiving my listeners perhaps by giving them bones covered in fat, comic jests under philosophic solemnity. For as to theft (he is the god of theft), away with that charge! this alone you could not say was in my works. Whom could I steal from? Unless someone has invented such fish-horses and goat-stags independently without my knowing. But what could I do? I must abide by what I chose once and for all. To change one's plan is the work of Epimetheus, not Prometheus.

1 In the Clouds of Aristophanes.
2 See Hesiod, Theogony 537 ff.
3 I.e., Afterthought, not Forethought.
THE SHIP OR THE WISHES

A satire on the folly of human wishes. As in Plato's Republic, a visit to Piraeus leads to general discussion, with Lycinus, unlike Socrates, confining himself to an attack on the views of his companions. For a discussion on the "Isis" and her trip see L. Casson's article in Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. 81 (1950), and B. S. J. Isserlin's note, T.A.P.A., vol. 86 (1955), with Casson's reply, ibid. 87 (1956).
ΠΛΟΙΟΝ Η ΕΥΧΑΙ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1 Όυκ ἐγὼ ἐλεγον ὅτι θάττων τοὺς γύπας ἔωλος νεκρὸς ἐν φανερῷ κείμενος ἡ θεάμα τι τῶν παράδοξων Τιμόλαον διαλάθοι, κἂν εἰς Κόρινθον δέοι ἀπνευστὶ θέοντα ἀπεναι διὰ τοῦτο; οὗτῳ φιλοθεάμῳ σὺ γε καὶ ἄσκονος τὰ τοιαῦτα.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Τι γὰρ ἐδει ποιεῖν, οὗ Λυκίνε, σχολὴν ἁγοντα πυθόμενον οὔτως ὑπερμεγέθη ναῦν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου ἐς τὸν Πειραιά καταπεπλευκέναι μίαν τῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἐς Ἰταλίαν σιταγωγών; οἶμαι δὲ καὶ σφώ, σὲ τὲ καὶ Σάμιππον τούτον, μὴ κατ᾽ ἀλλο τι ἐξ ἀστεος ἦκειν ἢ ὁψομένους τὸ πλοῖον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία, καὶ Ἄδειμαντος ὁ Μυρρινοῦσιος εἴπετο μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπου νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ἀποπλανηθεῖς ἐν τῷ πλῆθει τῶν θεάτων. ἀχρὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς νεώς ἁμα ἠλθομεν καὶ ἀνώντες ἐσ αὐτὴν, σὺ μὲν, οἴμαι, Σάμιππε, προῆις, μετὰ σὲ δὲ ὁ Ἄδειμαντος ἦν, εἰτ᾽ ἐγὼ μετ᾽ ἐκείνον ἔχομενος αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέρας, καὶ με διὰ τῆς ἀποβάθρας ὅλης παρέπεμψε χειραγωγῶν ὑποδεδεμένων ἀνυπόδητος αὐτὸς ἐν, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ οὐκέτι αὐτὸν εἶδον οὔτε ἐνδὸν οὔτε ἐπεὶ κατεληλύθαμεν.

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LYCINUS

Didn’t I say that it was easier for vultures to miss a stinking corpse in the open than for Timolaus to miss an odd sight, even if he had to run off to Corinth for it without a pause for breath? You are so fond of shows, and so determined in such matters.

TIMOLAUS

What should I have done, then, Lycinus, having nothing to do, and hearing that such a huge boat, exceptionally large, had put into Piraeus, one of the Egyptian grain ships on its way to Italy? I fancy that you two, you and Samippus here, have come from Athens for exactly the same reason, to see the ship.

LYCINUS

That is so, and Adimantus of Myrrinous¹ came along with us, but I don’t know where he is now; he has wandered off in the crowd of spectators. Until we reached the ship and went aboard, you, I think, Samippus, were in front, and then came Adimantus, and next I myself, holding on to him with both hands; he led me by the hand all the way up the gangway—I had shoes on, he was barefoot—but then I didn’t see him again either on board or when we came back to the shore.

¹ A deme in Attica.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

2 Οίσθα οὖν, ὦ Λυκίνε, ὃποιον ἡμᾶς ἀπέλιπεν; ὁπότε, ὦ μαί, τὸ ὁφραῖον ἐκείνῳ μειράκιον ἐκ τῆς θαλάμης προῆλθε τὸ τὴν καθαρὰν ὁδόν ἐνδεδυκός, ἀναδεδεμένον ἐς τούπίσω τὴν κόμην ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ μετώπου ἀπηγμένην. εἰ τοῖς ἐγὼ Ἀδείμαντον οἶδα, οἶμαι, γλαφυρὸν οὖτω θέαμα ἐκεῖνος ἴδων μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ναυτηγῷ περιηγομένῳ τῷ πλοῖον παρέστηκε δακρύων, ὥσπερ εἰσώθη. ταχῦδακρυς γὰρ ὁ ἀνήρ ἐστὶν εὐρωτικά.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν οὖ πάνυ καλὸς, ὦ Σάμιππε, ὁ μειρακίσκος ἐδοξέ μοι, ὡς ἂν καὶ Ἀδείμαντον ἐκπλήξα, ὦ τοσοῦτοι Ἀθήνας καλοὶ ἔπονται, πάντες ἑλεύθεροι, στωμάλαι τὸ φθέγμα, παλαίστρας ἀποπνέοντες, οἷς καὶ παραδιαρέσου τού ἄγενες. οὔτος δὲ πρὸς τῷ μελάγχρως εἶναι καὶ πρόχειλός ἐστι καὶ λεπτὸς ἄγαν τοῦν σκέλοιν, καὶ ἔθηγγετο ἐπισεσυμένον τι καὶ συνεχὲς καὶ ἐπίτροχον, Ἐλληνιστὶ μὲν, ἐς τὸ πάτριον δὲ τῷ ψόφῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τόνῳ, ἡ κόμη δὲ καὶ ἐς τούπίσω ὁ πλόκαμος συνεσπειραμένος οὖν ἑλεύθερον 1 φησιν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

ΤΙΜΟЛАΟΣ

3 Τοῦτο μὲν εὐγενείας, ὦ Λυκίνε, σημεῖον ἔστιν Αἰγυπτίοις 2 ἡ κόμη. ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ ἑλεύθεροι παῖδες ἀναπλέκονται ἐςτε πρὸς τὸ ἐφηβικόν, ἐμπαιν ἢ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, οἷς ἐδόκει καλὸν εἶναι κομῶν τοὺς γέροντας ἀναδομένους κρωβύλουν ὑπὸ τέττιγι χρυσῷ ἀνειλημένον.

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SAMIPPUS

Do you know at what point he left us, Lycinus? I think it was when that pretty lad came out of the hold, the one in pure white linen, with his hair tied back over both sides of his forehead. If I know Adimantus, I think that when he saw that dainty sight he bade a long farewell to the Egyptian shipwright who was showing us round the ship, and just stood there, weeping as usual. He’s quick at tears when Cupid’s about.

LYCINUS

Well, Samippus, the young lad didn’t seem to me very pretty, not enough to excite Adimantus at any rate. He has a crowd of beauties following him in Athens, all of them free-born, full of chatter, and breathing wrestling-schools; it wouldn’t be ignoble even to weep in their presence. This fellow is not only dark-skinned, but thick-lipped and too thin in the leg. He spoke in a slovenly manner, one long, continuous prattle; he spoke Greek, but his accent and intonation pointed to his native-land. His hair coiled in a plait behind shows he is not freeborn.

TIMOLAUS

This is a sign of high birth in Egypt, Lycinus. All the free-born boys plait it until they come of age; it’s just the opposite to our ancestors, who thought it comely for old men to fasten up their hair in a knot, with a golden cicada-brooch to hold it.

1 ελευθερος Solanus: ελευθέριον MSS.
2 Αιγυπτιως Ω: Αιγυπτιας ΤΝ.
ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ
Εὕ γε, ὦ Τιμόλαε, ὅτι ἡμᾶς ἀναμμήνησκεῖς τῶν Θουκυδίδου συγγραμμάτων, ἀ ἐν τῷ προοίμῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἡμῶν τρυφῆς εἶπεν ἐν τοῖς Ἰωσίων, ὅποτε οἱ τότε συναπωκίσαν.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ
4 Ἀτάρ, ὦ Σάμιππε, νῦν ἀνεμνήσθην, ὅποθεν ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη Ἀδείμαντος, ὅτε παρὰ τὸν ἴστον ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔστημεν ἀναβλέποντες, ἀριθμοῦντες τῶν βυρσῶν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ θαυμάζοντες ἀνίόντα τὸν ναῦτην διὰ τῶν κάλων, εἶτα ἐπὶ τῆς κεραίας ἄνω ἀσφαλῶς διαθέοντα τῶν κεραιάκων ἐπειλημμένου.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ
Εὕ λέγεις. τί δ' οὖν χρῆ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς; ἐν- ταύθα καραδόκειν αὐτόν, ἡ ἑθέλεις ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἑπάνειμι ἐς τὸ πλοῖον;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ
Μηδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ προῖμεν. εἰκός γὰρ ἡδη πα- ρελημνυθέναι ἐκεῖνον ἀποσοβοῦντα ἐς τὸ ἁστυ, ἐπεὶ μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν ἐδύνατο. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' οἴδε τὴν ὁδὸν Ὁδείμαντος, καὶ δέος οὐδὲν μὴ ἀπολειφ- θεῖς ἡμῶν ἀποβουκοληθῇ.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ
'Οράτε, μὴ σκαίνυ ἡ φίλου ἀπολυπόντας αὐτούς ἀπιέναι. βαδίζωμεν δ' οἷς, εἰ καὶ Σαμίππῳ τούτῳ δοκεῖ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ
Καὶ μάλα δοκεῖ, ἡν πως ἀνεφυγών ἐτι τὴν 5 παλαίστραν καταλάβωμεν. ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ λόγων,
THE SHIP OR THE WISHES

SAMIPPUS

Good, Timolaus; you remind me of Thucydides, where he writes in the introduction to his work about our ancient luxury among the Ionians, when the people of that time went away to found colonies together.¹

LYCINUS

Oh, now I remember where Adimantus left us, Samippus: when we stood a long time by the mast, looking up and counting the layers of hide, and marvelling at the sailor going up among the shrouds and then running quite safely along the yardarm up there holding on to the ropes.

SAMIPPUS

Good! Then what must we do now? Wait for him here? Or would you like me to go back again to the ship?

TIMOLAUS

Oh, no, let us go on. He has probably already passed us, rushing off to the city, when he couldn’t find us again. In any case Adimantus knows the road, and there is no danger of his going astray if we desert him.

LYCINUS

Isn’t it rather churlish to go off and leave a friend? But let us walk on all the same, if Samippus agrees.

SAMIPPUS

Certainly; we may find the gymnasium still open. Incidentally, what a huge ship! A hundred and

¹ Thucydides I, vi.
Ηλίκη ναῦς, εἶκοσι καὶ ἐκατὸν πῆχεων ἔλεγε ὁ ναυτηγός τὸ μῆκος, εὖρος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ τέταρτον μάλιστα τοῦτον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐς τὸν πυθέμα, ἦ βαθύτατοι καὶ τὸν ἀντλον, ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. τὰ δ’ ἀλλα ἡλίκος μὲν ὁ ἴστος, ὡσην δὲ ἀνέχει τὴν κεραίαν, οὐο δὲ προτόνω συνέχεται, ὡς δὲ ἡ πρύμνα μὲν ἐπανεστηκεν ἢρέμα καμπύλη χρυσοῦν χηνίσκον ἐπικεμένη, καταντικρύ δὲ ἀνάλογον ἡ πρώρα ὑπερβέβηκεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἀπομηκυνομένη, τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς νεὼς θεον ἔχουσα τὴν Ἰσον ἐκατέρωθεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος κόσμος, αἱ γραφαὶ καὶ τοῦ ἴστοι τὸ παράσεοι πυραινέσ, καὶ πρὸ τούτων αἱ ἄγκυραι καὶ στροφεῖα καὶ περιαγωγεῖς καὶ αἱ κατὰ 1 τὴν πρύμναν ἀυκήσεις θαμμάσια πάντα μοι ἐδοξεν. καὶ τὸ τῶν ναυτῶν πλῆθος στρατοπέδῳ ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ τοσοῦτον ἄγεων σῖτον, ὡς ἰκανὸν εἶναι πάσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἁττικῇ ἐνιαύσιοι πρὸς τροφῆν. κακείνα πάντα μικρὸς τις ἀνθρωπόσκος γέρων ἡ ἐσωξεν ὑπὸ λεπτῇ κάμακι τὰ τηλικαίτα πηδάλια περιστρέφων. ἐδείχθη γὰρ μοι ἀναφαλαντιὰς τις, οὐλός, Ἡρων, οἶμαι, τοῦνομα.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Θαυμάσιος τὴν τέχνην, ὡς ἔφασκον οἱ ἐμπλέοντες, καὶ τὰ θαλάττια σοφὸς ὑπὲρ τὸν Πρωτέα. 7 ἦκούσατε δὲ ὅπως δεύρω κατήγαγε τὸ πλοῖον, οὐλα ἐπαθον πλέοντες ἡ ὡς ὁ ἀστήρ αὐτοὺς ἔσωσεν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ, ὁ Τιμόλας, ἄλλα νῦν ἢδεως ἂν ἀκούσαμεν.

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twenty cubits long, the ship-wright said, and well over a quarter as wide, and from deck to bottom, where it is deepest, in the bilge, twenty-nine. Then, what a tall mast, what a yard to carry! What a fore-stay to hold it up! How gently the poop curves up, with a little golden goose below! And correspondingly at the opposite end, the prow juts right out in front, with figures of the goddess, Isis, after whom the ship is named, on either side. And the other decorations, the paintings and the topsail blazing like fire, anchors in front of them, and capstans, and windlasses, and the cabins on the poop—all very wonderful to me. You could put the number of sailors at an army of soldiers. She was said to carry corn enough to feed all Attica for a year. And all this a little old man, a wee fellow, has kept from harm by turning the huge rudders with a tiny tiller. He was pointed out to me—a man with receding curly hair. Hērōn was his name, I believe.

TIMOLAUS

He was wonderful at his job, those aboard said: wiser than Proteus at things to do with the sea. Did you hear how he brought the ship here, what happened to those on board, and how they were saved by a star?

LYCINUS

No, Timolaus, but I'd very much like to.

1 *katâ* Seager: *μετâ* MSS.
ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

'Ὁ ναύκληρος αὐτὸς διηγεῖτό μοι, χρηστός ἀνήρ καὶ προσομιλήσαι δεξιός. ἐφη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φάρου ἀπάραντας οὐ πάνω βιαίως πνεύματι ἐβδομαίους ιδεῖν τὸν Ἀκάμαντα, εἰτα ξεφύρου αὐτιπνεύσαντος ἀπενεχθῆναι πλαγίους ἄχρι Σιδώνος, ἐκείθεν δὲ χειμῶνι μεγάλῳ περιπεσόντας δεκάτη ἐπὶ Χελιδόνεας διὰ τοῦ Αὐλώνος ἐλθεῖν, ἐνθα δὴ παρὰ 8 μικρὸν ὑποβρυχίους δύναι ἀπαντας. οἶδα δὲ ποτε παραπλεύσας καὶ αὐτὸς Χελιδόνεας ἠλίκων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνύστατος τὸ κύμα, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν λίβα, ὅποταν ἐπιλάβῃ καὶ τοῦ νότου. κατ' ἐκείνο γὰρ δὴ συμβαίνει μερίζεσθαι τὸ Παμφύλιον ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκιακῆς θαλάττης, καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἀτέ ἀπὸ πολλῶν ῥευμάτων περὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων σχιζόμενος—ἀπόξυροι δὲ εἰσὶ πέτραι καὶ ὀξεῖαι παραθηγομέναι τῷ κλύσματι—καὶ φοβερωτάτην ποιεῖ τὴν κυματωγὴν καὶ τὸν ἤχον μέγαν, καὶ τὸ κύμα 9 πολλάκις αὐτῷ ἱσομέγεθες τῷ σκοπέλῳ. τοιαῦτα καὶ σφάς καταλαβεῖν ἔφασκεν ὁ ναύκληρος ἐτι καὶ νυκτὸς οὔσης καὶ ξόφου ἀκριβοῦς. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰμωγὴν αὐτῶν ἐπικλασθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς πῦρ τε ἀναδείξαι ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκίας, ὡς γνωρίσοι τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον, καὶ τινα λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα Διοσκοῦρων τὸν ἔτερον ἐπικαθήσαι τῷ καρχησίῳ καὶ κατευθύναι τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὰ λαϊά ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἢδη τῷ κρημνῷ προσφερομένην. τούντευθεν δὲ ἀπαξ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐκπεσόντας διὰ τοῦ Ἀιγαίου πλεύσαντας ἐβδομηκοστῇ ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου ἡμέρα πρὸς ἄντιος τοὺς ἐσησίας πλαγιάζοντας ἐς Πειραιᾶ χθὲς καθορμίσασθαι τοσοῦτον ἀποσυρέντας ἐς τὸ
The captain himself told me—a good man, and good company. When they left Pharos, he said, the wind was not very strong, and they sighted Acamas in seven days. Then it blew against them from the west, and they were driven abeam to Sidon. After Sidon a severe storm broke and carried them through Aulon to reach the Chelidonenses on the tenth day. There they were all nearly drowned. I myself have sailed by the Chelidonenses, and I know the size of the waves there, especially in a sou’westerly gale with a touch of south; this, you see, happens to be where the Pamphylian and Lycian seas divide. The swell is driven by numerous currents and is split on the headland—the rocks are knife-edged, razor-sharp at the sea’s edge. So the breakers are terrifying and make a great din, and the wave is often as high as the cliff itself. This is what the captain said they found when it was still night and pitch dark. But the gods were moved by their lamentations, and showed fire from Lycia, so that they knew the place. One of the Dioscouri 1 put a bright star 2 on the masthead, and guided the ship in a turn to port into the open sea, just as it was driving on to the cliff. Then, having now lost their course, they sailed across the Aegean beating up with the trade winds against them, and yesterday, seventy days after leaving Egypt, they anchored in Piraeus, after being driven

1 Castor and Pollux, guides to mariners.
2 St. Elmo’s Fire.
κάτω, οὖς ἔδει τὴν Κρήτην δεξιάν λαβόντας ὑπὲρ τὴν ¹ Μαλέαν πλεύσαντας ἤδη εἶναι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία, θαυμάσιον τινα φής κυβερνήτην τὸν Ἡρωνα ἣ τοῦ Νηρέως ἡλικιώτην, ὃς τοσοῦτον 10 ἀπεσφαλῆ τῆς ὀδοῦ. ἀλλὰ τί τούτο; οὔκ Ἀδείμαντος ἐκείνος ἐστὶ;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, Ἀδείμαντος αὐτός. ἐμβοήσωμεν οὖν. Ἀδείμαντε, σὲ φημὶ τὸν Μυρρινοῦσιον τὸν Στρομβίχον.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δυεῖν θάτερον, ἡ δυσχεραίνει καθ' ἡμῶν ἡ ἐκκεκώφωται. Ἀδείμαντος γάρ, οὔκ ἄλλος τίς ἐστὶ. Πάνυ ἦδη σαφῶς ὅρω, καὶ θοιμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ βάδισμα ἐκεῖνο, καὶ ἐν χρῷ ἡ κορά. ἐπιτείνωμεν δὲ ὀμῶς τὸν περίπατον, ὡς καταλάβωμεν αὐτόν. ἦν μὴ τοῦ ἰματίου λαβόμενοι σε ἐπιστρέψωμεν, ὡς Ἀδείμαντε, οὐχ ὑπακούσει ² ἡμῶν βοῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φροντίζοντι ἐοικας ἐπὶ συννοίας τῶν οὐ μικρὸν οὖ δε ἐυκαταφρόνητον πράγμα, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἀνακυκλών.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Οὐδέν, ὡς Λυκῶν, χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ μὲ κενὴ τις ἐννοια μεταξὺ βαδίζοντα ὑπελθοῦσα παρακοῦσαι ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν ἀτένες πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπαντὶ τῷ λογισμῷ ἀποβλέποντα.

¹ τὴν Reitz: τὸν MSS.
² ὑπακούσει Jacobitz: ὑπακούσεις MSS.
so far downwind. They should have kept Crete to starboard, and sailed beyond Malea so as to be in Italy by now.

LYCINUS

Upon my word, that's an amazing pilot you speak of, this Heron, as old as Nereus, who went so far astray. But what's this? Is that not Adimantus?

TIMOLAUS

So it is; Adimantus himself. Let's give him a shout, Adimantus! You! Of Myrrinous! Strombichus's son!

LYCINUS

Well, either he's annoyed with us or he's gone deaf. It's certainly Adimantus and no other. I see him now quite plainly—his cloak, his walk, his close-crop. Let's put on speed, anyhow, and catch him up. We shall have to pull you back by your cloak, Adimantus; you take no notice when we shout. You seem thoughtful, as though you're turning over something serious and important in your mind.

ADIMANTUS

Nothing bothersome, Lycinus; an empty notion came into my head as I was walking along and made me deaf to your shouting, I was so wrapped up in my thoughts.

1 The old man of the sea.
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ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τίς αὐτή; μή γὰρ ὁκνήσῃς εἰπεῖν, εἰ μή τίς ἐστι τῶν πάνυ ἀπορρήτων. καίτοι ἐτελέσθημεν, ὡς οἶδα, καὶ σιγάν 1 μεμαθήκαμεν.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

'Αλλ' αἰσχύνομαι ἔγωγε εἰπεῖν πρὸς ύμᾶς. οὕτω γὰρ μειρακιώδες ύμῖν δόξει τὸ φρόντισμα.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μῶν ἐρωτικὸν τί ἐστιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀμυντος ὑμῖν ἔξαγορεύσεις, ἄλλα ὑπὸ λαμπρὰ τῇ δαδί καὶ αὐτοῖς τετελεσμένοις.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Οὐδέν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τοιοῦτον, ἄλλα τινα πλοῦτον ἐμαυτῶ ἀνεπλαττόμην, ὣν κενὴν μακαρίαν οἱ πολλοὶ 2 καλοῦσιν, καὶ μοι ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς περιουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐπέστητε.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

12 Οὐκοῦν τὸ προχειρότατον τοῦτο, κοινὸς 'Ερμᾶς φασί, καὶ ἐς μέσον κατατίθει φέρων τὸν πλοῦτον. ἄξιον γὰρ ἀπολαύσαι τὸ μέρος φίλους ὑμνας τῆς 'Αδειμάντου τρυφῆς.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

'Απελεύθην μὲν ύμῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐπιβάσει, ἑπεὶ σέ, ὦ Λυκίνε, κατέστησα ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές. περιμετροῦντος γάρ μου τῆς ἀγκύρας τὸ πάχος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου ύμείς ἀπέστητε. 13 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὅμως τὰ πάντα ἡρόμην τινὰ τῶν ναυτῶν, ὑπόσχην ἀποφέρει ἡ ναῦς τῷ δεσπότῃ ὡς

1 σιγάν Solanus: σὲ γ'ἀν MSS.
THE SHIP OR THE WISHES

LYCINUS

What was it? Don’t be shy, unless it’s completely forbidden to tell it. We’ve been initiated, as you know, and learnt to hold our tongues.

ADIMANTUS

I’m ashamed to tell you. You will think it such a childish idea.

LYCINUS

Nothing to do with love, is it? You certainly won’t be telling it to the unenlightened! We too have been initiated, under a torch which was blazing!

ADIMANTUS

Nothing of that kind, my dear fellow. It was just a dream of wealth—what everybody calls “empty bliss”, and you caught me at the height of my fortune and luxury.

LYCINUS

Well, that’s very simple. Share your luck, as they say; bring your wealth and pool it. His friends should enjoy their part of Adimantus’s luxury.

ADIMANTUS

I was separated from you as soon as we were on board, Lycinus, after bringing you there safely. I was measuring the width of the anchors when you went off somewhere. All the same I looked at everything and then asked one of the sailors what

2 πολλοὶ ΓΝΩ: παλαιοὶ other MSS.
ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

14 Οὐκοῦν, δὲ γενναίε, λαβόμενος μου ἄπαγε πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὡς τινα περατήν ἢ καταποντισθήν, ὅσ τηλικοῦτον νανάγιον εἶργασμαί, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐς τὸ ἀστυν. ἀλλὰ ὅρᾳ ὅπως παραμυθήσομαι σου τὸ πταῖσμα. πέντε γάρ, εἰ βούλει, καλλίω καὶ μεῖζω τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίου πλοίου ἡδὴ ἔχε, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον οὐδὲ καταδύναι δυνάμενα, καὶ τάχα σοι πεντάκις ἐξ Ἀιγυπτίου κατ’ ἑτος ἐκαστον σιταγωγείτωσαν σιταγωγίαιν, εἰ καὶ, ὃ ναυκλήρων ἄριστε, δῆλος εἰ ἀφόρητος ἢμῖν τότε γενησόμενος. ὡσ γὰρ ἐτὶ ἐνὸς πλοίου τοῦτοι δεσπότης ὥν παρῆκουε βοῶντων, εἰ πέντε κτήσαιο

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di to polu kat’ eastos ekaston tin miophorion. de mou, Dwódeka, ebh, ’Attiká tάlanta, eis pros toulláxistou tin logízounto. tounteudhn ouv épaiv-wn élogizómen, ei tis ethwn tin navn afw evmhn poýseien einai, oion av, ws euídaemna bioù épebíosa ev poiw tous filous kai épilwéwn éniste mên autós, éniste de oikéatas ektémpwv. eita ek tów dwódeka ekeínnw talaítwv oikían te hdn w kodomhsmámhn en épikairow mikron úper tin Povkílhn, tin parà ton ’Iwsson ekeínhn tinin patrón aféis, kai oikéatas wnoýmhn kai ésthítas kai zevyhn kai ñppous. nuni de hdn kai ñpleon αφ' apanthwv euídaemnizómenos twv épiatwv foberos tois nautais kai mononouchi basileús nomizómenos. éti de mou ta kata tin navn euθetízonti kai es lyména pórrwthn apobléptomt enístas, ò Lukíne, kateduvas ton plouton kai antrépsiæ ev ferómenon to skáfos ouríw tòs evyhs pneúmati.
income the ship brought in to its owner in an average year. "A minimum of twelve Attic talents," he replied. Then I went back on shore and mused on what a happy life I should have had if of a sudden some god had made the ship mine: I would have helped my friends, and sailed in her myself sometimes, and sometimes sent my servants. Then with some of the twelve talents I had already built myself a house in a good spot just above the Painted Arcade, giving up the family house by the Ilissus; and I was buying servants and clothes and carriages and horses. Just now I was at sea, the envy of the passengers and the terror of the crew; they thought me almost a king. I was still settling her affairs and gazing at the harbour in the distance when you turned up, Lycinus. You sank my wealth and capsized my bark just when she was sailing well before the fair wind of my wish.

LYCINUS

Well, my noble sir, arrest me and take me off to the general as a pirate or a rogue who tipped you overboard and made such a wreck of her—and that on shore on the road from Piraeus to town. But look, I'll make amends for my mistake: take here and now, if you will, five ships better and bigger than the Egyptian and, best of all, unsinkable. Let them bring perhaps five times the cargo of corn from Egypt every year, even if, most glorious of shipowners, you then become unbearable to us, as you clearly will. When you still owned this one ship you couldn't hear our shouts, and if you get five more, all three-masters

1 In Athens.
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πρὸς τούτῳ τριάρμενα πάντα καὶ ἀνώλεθρα, οὐδὲ ὦμει δηλαδὴ τοὺς φίλους. οὐ μὲν οὖν εὐπλοεῖ, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ καθεδούμεθα τοὺς 1 εἰς Αἰγύπτου ἡ Ἰταλίας καταπλέοντας ἀνακρίνοντες, εἰ ποι τὸ μέγα Ἀδειμάντου πλοῖον τὴν Ἑσίὼν τις εἶδεν.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

15 Ὄρας; διὰ τούτῳ ὑκύνου εἰπεῖν ἄ ἐνενόουν, εἰδῶς ὅτι ἐν γέλωτι καὶ σκώμματι ποιήσεσθέ μου τὴν εὐχήν. ὥστε ἐπιστὰς μικρόν, ἐστι ἂν ὑμεῖς προχωρήςστε, ἀποπλευσόμαι πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς. πολὺ γὰρ ἁμεινον τοῖς ναῦταις προσλαεῖν ἡ υφ' ὑμῶν καταγελάσθαι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ἐπεὶ συνεμβήσομεθα σοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστάντες.2

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ υφαίρησον τὴν ἀποβάθραν προεισελθῶν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς γε προσνηξόμεθα ὑμῖν. μὴ γὰρ οἰοῦν σοι μὲν εἶναι ῥάδιον τηλικαύτα πλοῖα κτάσθαι μήτε πριαμένω μήτε ναυπηγησαμένω, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ αἰτήσομεν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ἀκμῆται δύνασθαι νεών; καίτοι πρότην 3 καὶ ἐς Αἰγύπτων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἑνοδίας τελετῆν, οἶνοθα, ἐν ἥλικῳ σκαφιδίω πάντες ἀμα οἱ φίλοι τεττάρων ἑκαστος ὀβολῶν διεπλεύσαμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἑδυσχέραινες ἡμᾶς συμπλέοντας, νῦν δὲ ἄγανακτεῖς, εἰ

1 So Dindorf: καὶ τοῦ MSS.
2 ἐπιστάντες Guyet: ὑποστάντες MSS.
3 πρώτην Jacobs and Lobeck: πρώτων MSS.
and indestructible too, you'll obviously not even see your friends. A good voyage to you, good friend! We shall sit in Piraeus and ask new arrivals from Egypt or Italy if anyone has seen Adimantus's big ship the "Isis" anywhere.

ADIMANTUS

You see? That's why I hesitated to tell you what I was thinking. I knew that you would laugh and make fun of my wish. So I'll stay with you a little until you go on, and then sail away again on my ship. It's much better to talk to sailors than be laughed at by you.

LYCINUS

Don't do that. We'll stay too and go on board with you.

ADIMANTUS

Then I shall go on board first and pull up the gangway.

LYCINUS

Well, we shall swim to you. Surely you don't imagine that it's easy for you to get ships of that size without buying or building them, while we will not ask the gods to grant us the power to swim many miles without getting tired? Besides, two days ago we sailed over to Aegina to the rites of Our Lady of the Crossroads,¹ you know, in a little boat, all friends together at four obols each. You didn't object at all to our sailing with you. But now do you resent our going on board with you, and are you embarking

¹ Enodia, Hecate.
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συνεμβησόμεθα σοι, καὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν προεισελθῶν ἀφαιρεῖς; ὑπερμαζᾶς γάρ, ὡς Ἀδείμαντε, καὶ ἐς τὸν κάλπον οὐ πτύεις, οὐδὲ οἶδα οὕτως ἢν ναυκληρεῖς. οὔτως ἐπηρέ σε ἡ οἰκία ἐν καλῷ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομηθείσα καὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων το πλῆθος. ἀλλ' ὄγαθέ, πρὸς τῆς Ἰσιδος κἂν τὰ Νευλῶα ταῦτα ταρίχη τὰ λεπτὰ μέμνησο ἡμῖν ἁγεῖν ἀπ' Ἁιγύπτου ἡ μύρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κανώπου ἡ Ἴβιν ἐκ Μέμφιδος, εἰ δὲ ἡ ναῦς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τῶν πυραμίδων μίαν.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

16 Ὠ. Αλίς παιδιάς, ὡς Λυκίνε. ὄρας, ὡς ἐρυθριάν Ἀδείμαντον ἐποίησας πολλῇ τῷ γέλωτι ἐπικλύσας τὸ πλούτῳ, ὡς ὑπέραντλον εἶναι καὶ μηκέτι αὐτέχειν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιρρέον;

Καὶ ἐπείπερ ἐτι πολὺ ἡμῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστίν πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ, διελόμενοι τετραχή τὴν ὁδὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλοντας ἐκάστῳ 1 σταδίοις αὐτῶμεν ἀπερ ἄν δοκῆ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. οὔτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ τε κάματος λάθοι καὶ ἀμα εὐφρανούμεθα ὡσπερ ἡδίστω ὀνείρατι ἐκουσίῳ περιπεσόντες, ἐφ' ὅσον βουλόμεθα, εὖ ποιήσοντι ἡμᾶς παρ' αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ ἐστω 2 τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐχῆς, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ πάντα ὑποκείσθωσαι παρέξοντες, εἰ καὶ τῇ φύσει ἀπίθανα ἐσται. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπιδείξεις ἐσται τὸ πράγμα ὅστις ἄν ἄριστα χρήσατο τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ εὐχῇ, δηλώσει γὰρ οἶος ἂν καὶ πλούτησας ἐγένετο.

1 ἐκάστῳ Fritzsche confirmed by Γ ἐκάστῳ (sic): ἐκαστος other MSS.

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first and taking the gangplank away? You’re too full of beans, Adimantus, and you don’t spit in your bosom,¹ and you don’t remember who you are, you shipowner. You’re so elated with your house, well situated as regards the city, and your crowd of retainers. But, my good friend, in the name of Isis remember to bring us those delicate pickled Nile fish from Egypt, perfume from Canopus, or an ibis from Memphis, and one of the Pyramids—if the ship can carry it.

TIMOLAUS

That’s enough joking, Lycinus. Look how you’ve made Adimantus blush and overwhelmed his ship in a flood of laughter so that she’s waterlogged and can’t keep the sea out any more.

Now we’ve still some way to go to the city, so let us divide the journey into four, and each of us in his allotted furlongs ask the gods for whatever he wants. In this way we shan’t notice the journey and at the same time we shall enjoy ourselves with a pleasant dream of our own choosing to bless us as long as we desire. Each one may decide the measure of his wish, and the gods may be supposed to grant it all, even if it is in essence improbable. Best of all it will show who would use his wealth and wish best, for it will show what sort of a man he would have been if he had been rich.

¹ Against bad luck.

² ἔστω add. Fritzsche.
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ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

17 Καλῶς, ὥς Τιμόλαος, καὶ πείθομαι σοι καὶ ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς καλῇ, εὐξομαι ἀπερ ἂν δοκῇ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 'Αδείμαντος βούλεται, οὐδὲ ἐρωτᾶν οἷμαι; ὥς γε δῆ ἐν τῇ νη ὁ τῶν ἑτερον πόδα ἔχει. χρῆ δὲ καὶ Ῥυκίνῳ δοκεῖν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλὰ πλουτῶμεν, εἰ τούτο ἁμείνοι, μὴ καὶ βασκαίνειν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς εὐτυχίαις δοκῶ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Τῆς γοῦν πρώτος ἀφέται;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Σὺ, ὥς 'Αδείμαντε, εἶναι μετὰ σὲ οὕτωσι Σάμιππος, εἶτα Τιμόλαος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀλίγον ὅσον ἡμιστάδιον τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Δισύλου ἐπιλήψομαι τῇ εὐχῇ, καὶ τούτῳ ὃς οἴνον τε παραδραμὼν.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

18 Οὐκοὖν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσομαι τῆς νεώς, ἀλλ', ἐπείπερ ἔξεστιν, ἐπιμετρήσω τῇ εὐχῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἕρμης ὁ κερδῶς ἐπινευσάτω ἀπάσιν. ἐστώ γὰρ τὸ πλοίον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ἐμὰ καὶ ὁ φόρτος οἱ ἐμποροὶ αἱ γυναῖκες οἱ ναῦται καὶ ἄλλο εἰ τῇ ἰδίστου κτημάτων ἀπάντων.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Δέληθας σεαυτὸν ἔχων ἐν τῇ νη.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Τὸν παιδὰ φῆς, ὥς Σάμιππε, τὸν κομήτην. κάκεινος οὖν ἐστὼ ἐμὸς. ὅποσος δὲ ὁ πυρὸς

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SAMIPPUS

Good, Timolaus. I agree. When the time comes I shall wish for what I want. I don’t think we need even ask Adimantus if he is willing—he has one foot in the ship as it is. But Lycinus must agree.

LYCINUS

Well, if it’s better so let us be rich. I’m not going to be envious amid your universal good-fortune.

ADIMANTUS

Well, who’ll be first?

LYCINUS

You, Adimantus; then, after you, Samippus here; then Timolaus. I’ll take about the last half-furlong before the Dipylon for my wish, even though I run through it as quickly as I can.

ADIMANTUS

Well, I shan’t desert my ship even now. Indeed I’ll add to my prayer since I’m allowed. May Hermes Lord of Profit give his consent to all! May the ship and all in her be mine—cargo, merchants, women, sailors, and every sweetest treasure in the world!

SAMIPPUS

You’ve forgotten something that you have on board.

ADIMANTUS

You mean the boy, Samippus, the one with long hair. May he be mine too! And let her cargo of
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ἐνδον ἐστὶν, οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἄπας χρυσίων ἐπίσημον γενέσθω, τοσοῦτοι δαρεικοὶ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

19 Τί τούτο, ὃ 'Αδείμαντε; καταδύσαται σοι τὸ πλοῖον, οὗ γὰρ ἵσον βάρος πυροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑσαρίθμου χρυσίου.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Μὴ φθόνει, ὃ Λυκίνε, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν εἰς σὲ παρέλθῃ ἡ εὐχή, τὴν Πάρνηθα ἐκείνην, εἰ θέλεις, ὅλην χρυσῆν ποιήσας ἔχε, καὶ γώ σιωπήσομαι σοι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ ἁσφάλειας τούτῳ ἔγγυη τῆς σῆς ἐποιησάμην, ὅς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι ἀπαντᾷς μετὰ τοῦ χρυσίου. καὶ τὰ μὲν υἱετερα μέτρια; τὸ μειράκιον δὲ τὸ ὄραϊον ἀποπνιγήσεται ἄθλιον νεὰν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Θάρρει, ὃ Λυκίνε. οἱ δελφῖνες γὰρ αὐτὸ ὑπο‐
δύντες ἐξοίσουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ἡ νομίζεις κυθαρω‐
δόν μὲν τινα σωθήναι παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπολαβέσθ' 
τὸν μυθὸν ἀντὶ τῆς φώδης καὶ νεκρὸν τι ἄλλο
παιδίον ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐπὶ δελφίνος ὁμοίως 
προσκομισθήναι, τὸν δὲ 'Αδειμάντου οἰκέτην τὸν 
νεώνητον ἀπορήσεων δελφίνος ἐρωτικοῦ;

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Καὶ σὺ γὰρ, Τιμόλαο, μμὴ Λυκίνε καὶ ἐπιμετ‐
ρεῖς τῶν σκωμμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσηγητῆς αὐτὸς 
γενόμενος;

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wheat be changed entirely to minted gold, all darics.

LYCINUS

What’s this, Adimantus? Your ship will sink. The weight of wheat and an equivalent volume of gold is not the same.

ADIMANTUS

Don’t grudge it, Lycinus. When you come to your wish, make Parnes there, if you want, all of gold and have it so. I shan’t say a word.

LYCINUS

I was thinking of your own safety, to avoid the loss of all hands with the gold. Indeed your prayer is moderate, but your pretty boy, poor wretch, will drown, not knowing how to swim.

TIMOLAUS

Cheer up, Lycinus. The dolphins will swim up under him and carry him to shore. A lyre-player\(^1\) was saved by them and received the reward of his song, and the body of another boy\(^2\) was taken in the same way to the Isthmus on a dolphin’s back, so do you think Adimantus’s newly-bought servant will be in want of a loving dolphin?

ADIMANTUS

You’re copying Lycinus, Timolaus. You’re piling up the quips. It was your idea, you know.

\(^1\) Arion. \(^2\) Melicertes.
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TIMOLAOS

20 "Αμείουν γὰρ ἣν πιθανώτερον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ τινα θησαυρὸν ὑπὸ τῇ κλίνῃ ἀνευρεῖν, ὥς μὴ πράγματα ἔχουσ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου μετατιθεῖς χρυσίον ἐς τὸ ἀστυν.

ADEIMANTOS

Εὐ λέγεις, καὶ ἀνορωρυχῶ θησαυρός ὑπὸ τὸν 'Ἐρμήν τὸν λίθινον, ὥς ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, μεδίμνου χίλιοι ἐπισήμου χρυσίον. εὐθὺς οὖν κατὰ τὸν 'Ησίοδον οἶκος τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς ἃν ἐπισημότατα οἰκοΐν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀστυ πάντα ἀνησάμην ἥδη πλὴν ὥσα θύμον καὶ λίθοι, καὶ ἐν 'Ελευσίνι ὥσα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ περὶ τὸν 'Ιαθμὸν ὀλίγα τῶν ἀγώνων ἔνεκα, εἰ ποτε δὴ τὰ Ἰσθμια ἐπιδημή- σαμι, καὶ τὸ Σικυώνιον πεδίον, καὶ ὅλως εἰ ποῦ τι ἡ συνηρεφὲς ἡ ἐνυδρον ἡ εὐκαρπον ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι, πάντα ἐν ὀλίγῳ 'Αδειμάντου ἐσται. ὁ χρυσὸς δὲ κοῖλος ἡμῖν ἐμφαγεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐκπώματα οὐ κοῦφα ὡς τὰ 'Εχεκράτους, ἀλλὰ διτάλαντον ἐκαστον τῆν ὁλκήν.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

21 Εἰσα πῶς ὁ οἰνοχόος ὁρέξει πλῆρες οὕτως χαρᾶ ἐκπώμα; ἡ συ δέξῃ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀμογητὶ ὡς σκύ- φον, ἀλλὰ Σισύφειον τι βάρος ἀναδιδόντος;

ADEIMANTOS

"Ἀνθρωπε, μὴ μοι ἁνάλυε τὴν εὐχήν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰς τραπέζις ὅλας χρυσὰς ποιῆσομαι καὶ τὰς κλίνας χρυσάς, εἰ δὲ μὴ σιωπήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτοὺς.

1 So Γ: om. θύμον N: ὅσα ἱσθμοὶ καὶ πυθοὶ ΛΩ.
2 μοι Fritzsche: με MSS.
3 τὰς add. Halm.

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TIMOLAUS

Better make it more credible and find some treasure under your bed. Then you won’t have trouble in transferring the gold from the ship to Athens.

ADIMANTUS

You’re quite right. Let treasure be dug up under the stone Hermes that’s in my court, a thousand bushels of minted gold. Then immediately a house, as Hesiod says,¹ first, that I may be housed most splendidly. I have already bought up all the land round the Acropolis, except for the thyme and stones, and the sea-front at Eleusis, and a few acres round the Isthmus for the games, in case I want to see them there, and the plain of Sicyon. In short every thickly-shaded, well-watered, or fruitful spot in Greece will soon belong to Adimantus. Let us have gold plate to eat from, and goblets—not light-weight pieces like those of Echecrates, but two talents each in weight.

LYCINUS

Then how will the cup-bearer serve a full goblet as heavy as that? And how will you take it from him without an effort? It won’t be a cup he offers, but a weight as heavy as Sisyphus’s rock!²

ADIMANTUS

Man, don’t pick my wish to pieces. I’ll make my tables of solid gold too and my couches of gold and, if you don’t keep quiet, my servants as well.

¹ Works and Days, 405.
² Sisyphus was condemned to roll a rock up to the top of a hill, from where it eternally rolls back again.
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ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ορα μόνον μὴ ὄσπερ τῷ Μίδα καὶ ὁ ἄρτος σοι καὶ τὸ ποτὸν χρυσὸς γένηται καὶ πλούτων ἄθλιος ἀπόλη λυμῷ διαφθαρεῖς πολυτελεῖ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

22 Τὰ σὰ ρυθμεῖσι πιθανότεραν, ὦ Λυκίνε, μετ’ ὀλίγον, ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς αὐτῆς. ἐσθῆς ἐπὶ τούτους ἀλουργίσ καὶ ὁ βίος οἰς ἄβροτατος, ὕπνος ἐφ’ ὅσον ἡδίστος, φιλῶν πρόσοδοι καὶ δεήσεις καὶ τὸ ἀπαντᾶς ὑποπτήσεων καὶ προσκυνεῖν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐωθεν πρὸς ταῖς θύρας ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιπατήσοντες, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Κλεαῖνετος καὶ Δημόκριτος οἱ πάνω, καὶ προσελθοῦσι γε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εὐσεβεθήναι ἀξιοῦσι θυρωρᾶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐφεστῶτες, εὐμεγέθεις βάρβαροι, προσαραζάτωσαν ἐς τὸ μέτωπον εὐθὺ τὴν θύραν, οὐαῦν αὐτοὶ πουόσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὅπόταν δόξη, προκύψας ὄσπερ ὁ ἡλίος ἐκεῖνων μὲν οὐδ’ ἐπιβλέψομαι 1 ἐνίους, εἰ δὲ τις πένης, οὗς ἄν ἐγὼ πρὸ τοῦ θησαυροῦ, φιλοφρονήσομαι τοῦτον καὶ λουσάμενον ἥκειν κελεύσω τὴν ὥραν ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀποπνιγήσονται οἱ πλούσιοι ὀρῶντες ὁχήματα, ἱπποὺς καὶ παῖδας ὕμειρους ὅσον δισχίλιοισ, ἐξ ἀπάσης ἥλικιας ὁ τι περὶ τὸ ἀνθρώποταν. εἶτα δείπνα ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ— εὔτελῆς γὰρ ὁ ἄργυρος καὶ οὐ κατ’ ἐμὲ—, τάριχος μὲν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, οἶνοι δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ἔλαιοι δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας καὶ τοῦτο, μέλι δὲ ἤμετρον τὸ ἄπυρων, καὶ ὃπα πανταχόθεν καὶ σὺς καὶ λαγώς, καὶ ὤσα πτηνά, ὅρνις ἐκ Φάσιδος καὶ ταῦς ἐξ Ἰνδίας καὶ ἀλεκτρυών ὁ Νομαδικός· οἱ δὲ σκευάζοντες ἐκαστα σοφίσται τίνες περὶ πέμματα καὶ χυμοὺς ἔχοντες.
THE SHIP OR THE WISHES

LYCINUS

Take care you don't become a Midas and have your bread and drink turned to gold, and wretched in your riches perish, destroyed by a famine of super-abundance.

ADIMANTUS

You'll arrange your affairs more convincingly, Lycinus, when you make your requests in a moment. To go on, my dress will be of purple and my life the height of luxury, my sleep the sweetest possible. Friends will come and ask for favours and they'll all bow down and grovel. Some of them will be walking up and down by my doors from dawn, among them Cleaenetus and Democritus, those great men, and, when they come and demand to be let in first, seven porters will stand there, tall barbarians, who will slam the door right in their faces, as they now do themselves. When I think fit I shall look out, like the rising sun. Some of them I shall not even look at, but if there is a poor man there, as I was before my treasure, I shall show him favour and bid him bathe and come back to dinner at the right time. But the others, the rich, will choke with envy when they see my carriages and horses and pretty slave-boys, two thousand of them, the flower of every age. Then dinners on gold—silver is cheap and unworthy of me—a pickled fish from Spain, wine from Italy, oil from Spain, as well, our own fresh Attic honey, meat from all parts—boar, and hare, and a variety of game-birds: a pheasant from Phasis, a peacock from India, and a guinea cock: and my several cooks will be experts in sweetmeats and sauces. If I demand a cup or a bowl

1 ἐπιβλέψομαι Pflugk: ἐπιβλέψομι MSS.
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εἰ δὲ τινι προπλοιμι σκύφον ἡ φιάλην αἰτήσας, ὁ
24 ἐκπιών ἀποφερέτω καὶ τὸ ἐκπωμα. οἱ δὲ νῦν
πλούσιοι πρὸς ἔμε Ἰροι δηλαδὴ ἀπαντες, καὶ
οὐκέτι τὸ ἄργυρον πινάκιον ἡ τὸν σκύφον ἐπιδείξε-
tαι Διόνυκος ἐν τῇ πομπῇ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν
ὅρα τοὺς οὐκέτας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄργυρων ἑσοτερικῶς.
tῇ πόλει δὲ ταῦτα έξαίρετα παρέ
ἐμοῦ ὑπήρξεν ἄν, αἰ μὲν διανομαὶ κατὰ μήνα
ἐκαστὸν δραχμαὶ τῷ μὲν ἀστῶ ἐκατόν, τῷ δὲ
μετοίκῳ ἦμους τούτων, δημοσία δὲ ὅποιος τὸ ἄργυρον ἱστοὺς καὶ
θέατρα καὶ βαλανεία, καὶ τῇ θάλατταν ἄχρι πρὸς
τὸ Δίπυλον ἤκειν κάνταυθα που λιμένα εἶναι
ἐπαχθέντος ὁνύγματι μεγάλῳ τοῦ ὦδατος, ὡς τὸ
πλοῖον μον πλησίον ὁμοιώς καταφάνες ἐν ἐκ τοῦ
25 Κεραμεικοῦ. τοῖς φίλοις δὲ ὑμῖν, Σαμίππῳ μὲν
εἰκοσὶ μεδίμνους ἕπισήμου χρυσίον παραμετρήσαι
tὸν οἰκονόμον ἐκέλευσα ἂν, Τιμολάῳ δὲ πέντε
χοίνικας, Λυκίνῳ δὲ χοίνικα, ἀπομειαγμένην καὶ
tαυτὴν, ὅτι λάλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπισκώπτει μον τὴν
eὐχὴν. τούτων ἐβουλόμην βιών τῶν βίων πλούτων
ἐς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τρυφῶν καὶ πάσαις ἡδοναῖς
ἀφθόνως χρώμενος. εἰρήκα, καὶ μοι ὁ Ἐρμῆς
τελεσιουργήσεις αὐτά.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

26 Ὅλοθα σὺν, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, ὥς πάνυ σοι ἀπὸ
λεπτῆς κρύκης ὁ πᾶς οὕτως πλοῦτος ἀπήρτηται,
kαὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνη ἀπορραγῇ, πάντα οἴχεται καὶ
ἀνθρακὲς σοι ὁ θησαυρὸς ἐσται;

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Πῶς λέγεις, ὦ Λυκίνε;
and pledge a guest, let him drink and take the cup away with him. The rich men of today are clearly all Iruces\(^1\) compared to me. Dionicus will never again show his little silver platter or cup in the procession, especially when he sees that my servants use so much silver. For the city this would be my allocation: by way of doles, a hundred drachmas to every citizen per month, half of this to a resident alien; and for the general public theatres and baths to beautify the city; the sea brought up to the Dipylon and a harbour in that region with water brought up by a deep canal, so that my ship may anchor near by in full view of the Ceramicus. For you, my friends, I’d have told the steward to make an allotment of minted gold: twenty bushels for Samippus, five quarts for Timolaus, and one quart for Lycinus levelled off with a strickle at that, because he’s a babbler and makes fun of my prayer. This is the life I wish to live, extravagant in wealth and luxury, enjoying every pleasure in fullest measure. I have spoken, and may Hermes bring it to fulfilment!

**Lycinus**

Do you know, Adimantus, by what exceedingly thin thread all this wealth is hanging? If it snaps, then all is gone and your treasure will be ashes.\(^2\)

**Adimantus**

What do you mean, Lycinus?

\(^1\) Irus, the beggar in the Odyssey.

\(^2\) Proverbial.

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\(^1\) MSS: \(χρυσό\) Warmington (v. ch. 23, init.).

\(^2\) δημοσία \(\ddot{e} \ddot{e} \ddot{o} \ddot{o} \) Fritzsche: \(δημόσια \ddot{e} \ddot{e} \ddot{e} \ddot{s} \ddot{a} \ddot{k} \ddot{a} \ddot{l} \ddot{l} \ddot{o} \ddot{s} \) (om. \(\ddot{o} \ddot{o} \)) MSS.
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ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Οτι, ὁ ἀριστε, ἄδηλον ὅποσον χρόνον βιώσει 1 πλούτων. τίς γὰρ οἶδεν εἰ ἔτι παρακειμένης σοι τῆς χρυσῆς τραπέζης, πρίν ἐπιβαλείν τὴν χείρα καὶ ἀπογεύσασθαι τοῦ ταῦ ἦ τοῦ Νομάδος ἀλεξτρόνος, ἀποφυσήσας τὸ ψυχίδιον ἀπεὶ γυψὶ καὶ κόραξε πάντα ἐκεῖνα καταλιπτῶν; ἦ ἔθελεις καταρθημήσομαι σοι τοὺς μὲν αὑτικὰ πρὶν ἀπολαθῆσαι τοῦ πλούτου ἀποθανόντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ξῶντας ἀποστερθέντας ὅν εἶχον ὑπὸ τινος βασκάνου πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δαίμονος; ἀκούεις γὰρ ποι τὸν Κροῖ-σον καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτην πολὺ σου πλουσιωτέρους γενομένους ἐκπεσόντας ἐν βραχεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν 27 ἀπάντων. ἵνα δὲ σοι καὶ τούτους ἀφῶ, τὸ γε 2 ύποτίνειν ἐχέγγυον οἰεὶ σοι γενήσεσθαι καὶ βέβαιον; ἦ ὅπις ὀρᾶς πολλοὺς τῶν πλουσίων κακοδαμόνως διάγοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ βαδίζειν συναμένους, ἐνίους δὲ τυφλοὺς ἦ τῶν ἐντοσθείδων τι ἀλγοῦντας; ὅτι μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἂν ἐλοι πλούτων δίς τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον ὡμοία πάσχειν Φανομάχω τῷ πλουσίῳ καὶ θηλύνεσθαι ὡς ἐκεῖνος εὐ οἶδα, κἂν μὴ ἐπιτής. ἐὼ λέγειν ὅσας ἐπιβουλᾶσ μετὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ 3 λῃστὰς καὶ φθόνον καὶ μίσος παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν. ὀρᾶς οἰνῶν σοι πραγμά- των αἰτιός ὁ θησαυρὸς γίγνεται;

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

‘Αεὶ σὺ μοι, ὁ Λυκίνε, ὑπεναντίος: ὅστε οὐδὲ 4 τὴν χούνικα ἐτή λήψῃ ἐς τέλος μου τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπη- ρεάζων.

1 βιώσει Dindorf: βιώσεις MSS.
THE SHIP OR THE WISHES

LYCINUS

That, my fine friend, you don’t know how long you will live with your wealth. Who knows that when your golden table is beside you, before you can put out your hand and sample the peacock or your guinea cock, you will not breathe out your little bit of soul and be gone, leaving all that for vultures and ravens? Would you like me to run through for you those who died at once before they had a chance to enjoy their wealth, or some who even though they lived on were robbed of what they had by some spirit malignant in such matters? You have heard, I suppose, of Croesus and Polycrates who became much richer than you and lost all their good things in a moment. But, to let them go, do you think that you will have sure and certain good health? Don’t you see that many rich men live unhappy lives through some affliction—some unable even to walk, some blind, some with internal trouble? You would not accept twice the wealth if the effeminacy of the wealthy Phanomachus went with it, I’m sure, even if you deny it. I say nothing of the plots and robberies and envy and hatred by the mob that go with riches. Do you see how much trouble your treasure causes?

ADIMANTUS

You’re always against me, Lycinus. Very well, you won’t get even a quart, as you’ve abused my wish to the end.

2 τὸ γε Guyet: τότε MSS.
3 καὶ edd.: ἦ MSS.
4 οὐδὲ Fritzsche: οὔτε (or οὐ) MSS.
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ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τούτο μὲν ἣδη κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν πλουσίων ἀναδύῃ καὶ ἀνακαλεῖς τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἣδη ὁ Σάμιππος εὐχόυ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

28 Ἐγὼ δὲ—ἡπειρώτης γάρ εἰμί, Ἀρκάς ἐκ Μαντινείας, ὡς ἵστε—ναῦν μὲν οὐκ αἰτήσω μοι 1 γενέσθαι, ἢ γε τοῖς πολίταις ἐπιδείξασθαι ἀδύνατον, οὐδὲ μικρολογήσομαι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς θησαυροὺς αἰτῶν καὶ μεμετρημένον χρυσίων. ἀλλὰ δύνανται γὰρ πάντα οἱ θεοὶ, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἶναι δοκοῦντα, καὶ ὁ νόμος τῆς εὐχῆς ὅν Τιμόλαος ἔθηκε φήσας μηδὲν ὁκνεῖν αἰτεῖν, ὡς ἐκεῖνων πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνανεώτων. αἰτῶ δὴ βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι οὗ ὦ τοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου ἡ Πτολεμαῖος ἡ Μιθριδάτης ἡ εἰ τις ἄλλος εἶκεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ πατρὸς ἤρξεν, ἀλλὰ μοι τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ ληστείας ἀρξαμένῳ ἔταιροι καὶ συνωμόται ὅσον τριάκοντα, πιστοὶ μάλα καὶ πρόθυμοι, γενέσθωσαν, εἶτα κατ' ὁλίγον τριακόσιοι προσόντες ἢμῖν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλω, εἰτα χίλιοι καὶ μετ' οὗ πολύ μύριοι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰς πέντε μυριάδας ὀπλιτικῶν, ἔππεις δὲ ἄμφι τοὺς πεντακυκλίους.

29 Ἐγὼ δὲ χειροτονητὸς ὡφ' ἀπάντων προκριθείς ἁρχῶν, ἀριστος εἶναι δόξας ἀνθρώπων ἠγείσθαι καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι. ὡς τούτῳ γε αὐτῷ ἦδυ, μείζων 2 εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἢ τε ἄρετὴ προχειρισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἁρχῶν, οὐ κληρονόμον γενόμενον ἄλλου πονήσαντος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν· ἐπεὶ τῷ Ἀδεμάντῳ θησαυρῷ παρα-

1 αἰτήσω μοι Courier: αἰτήσομαι MSS.

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LYCINUS

There you are. Just like most rich men, backing out and calling off your promises. Now give us your wish, Samippus.

SAMIPPUS

I’m from the mainland, an Arcadian from Mantinea as you know, so I shan’t ask for a ship. I could not show it off to my fellow-citizens, and I shan’t be niggardly with the gods and ask for treasure and measured gold. The gods can do anything, even what seems to be quite stupendous, and the rule of wish which Timolaus laid down was not to hesitate to ask for anything, on the assumption that they will not say no. Well, I ask to be made a king, but not a king like Alexander, Philip’s son, or Ptolemy or Mithridates or any of those who inherited their kingdom from a father. No, let me begin as a brigand with about thirty sworn companions, men absolutely trustworthy and full of spirit. Then let them grow by degrees to three hundred, a thousand, and soon ten thousand, until the total is some fifty thousand heavy infantry and about five thousand horse. I shall be elected chief by all, because they think me the most able leader and administrator. This very fact is sweet—to be greater than other kings, because I’ve been elected commander by the army on merit, and not inherited the kingdom after someone else has done the work—that would be like Adimantus’s

\[ \text{Sommerbrodt: } \hat{o} \delta \nu \mu e \iota \zeta \omicron \text{ MSS.} \]
πλῆσιον τὸ τοιοῦτο, καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὅλῳ ὀμοιον ἡδυ, ὡσπερ ὅταν ἰδῇ τις αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ 1-κτησάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Παπαί, ὁ Σάμιππε, οὕδεν μικρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων σὺ γε ἃς ταῖς ἀσπίδας τοσαύτης ἀριστοὶ δὴ πρόκριθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πεντακισμυρίων. τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν ἡ Μακτύνεια θαυμαστὸν βασιλέα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔλελήθη αὐτρέφουσα. πλὴν ἀλλὰ βασίλευε καὶ ἤγοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ διακόσμης τὸ τε ἵππικόν καὶ τοὺς ἀνέρας τοὺς ἀσπιδιώτας. ἔθελω γὰρ εἰδέναι ὅλας τὰς τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἡ ἐπὶ τῖνας ἀθλίους πρῶτον ἀφίξεσθε.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

30 Ὅκουν, ὁ Λυκίνη, μᾶλλον δέ, εἶ σοι φίλον, ἀκολούθει μεθ' ἡμῶν. ἵππαρχον γὰρ σε τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἀποφανῶ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν τιμῆς, ὁ βασιλεύ, χάριν οἴδα σου καὶ ὑποκύψας ἐστὸ Περσικὸν προσκυνῶ σε περιαγαγὼν εἰς τοῦπίσω τὸ χεῖρο τιμῶν τὴν τιάραν ὁρθὴν οὖσαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα. σὺ δὲ τῶν ἔρρωμεν τοῦτων τινὰ ποιήσον ἵππαρχον. ἐγὼ γὰρ σοι δεινῶς ἀφίππος εἰμι καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐπέβην ἵππου ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ. δέδια τοῖχων μῆ τοῦ σαλπιγκτοῦ ἐποτρύνουσος καταπεσοῦν ἐγώγει συμπατηθῶ ἐν τῇ τύρβῃ υπὸ τοσαύταις ὀπλαῖς, ἡ καὶ θυμοειδῆς ὃν ὁ ἵππος ἐξενέγκῃ με τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακῶν ἐς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡ 464.
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treasure and not so gratifying as when you see that you have won power by your own effort.

LYCINUS

Goodness, Samippus! This is no small demand. You've asked for the essence of every good there is, to have fifty thousand men choose you as most able to command a force like that. What a wonderful king and general Mantinea had bred and didn't know it! Never mind! Be king and lead your soldiers and muster your cavalry and your heroic shield-bearers. I want to know where you are going with an army of that size from Arcadia and who will be your first unhappy victims.

SAMIPPUS

Listen, Lycinus, or better still come with us if you like. I'll make you a cavalry officer in the fifty thousand.

LYCINUS

Well, I'm grateful for the honour, your majesty. I bow my head in Persian style and do obeisance sweeping my hands behind me, honouring your upright turban and your diadem. But make one of these mighty men your cavalry officer. I'm dreadfully bad at horses and never sat on a horse in my life before. I'm afraid that when the trumpet blows for action I'll fall off and be trampled on by all those hooves in the throng; or the horse may be spirited and take the bit between its teeth and carry me right

\[1\] αὐτοῦ Reitz: αὐτοῦ MSS.
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dείησει καταδεδήναι με πρός τὸ ἐφίππιον, εἰ μέλλω μενεῖν ¹ τε ἀνω καὶ ἔξεσθαι τοῦ χαλινοῦ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

31 Ἡγώ σοι, ὦ Σάμιππε, ἡγήσομαι τῶν ἱππεῶν, Λυκῶνος δὲ τὸ δεξιόν κέρας ἐχέτω. δίκαιως δὲ ἂν εὑρη τυχεῖν παρὰ σοι τῶν μεγίστων τοσοῦτος σε μεδίμνοις δωρησάμενοι ἐπισήμου χρυσίον.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Καὶ αὐτοῦς ἐρώμεθα, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, τοὺς ἱππέας, εἰ δεξιονὶ ἀρχοντα σε σφών γενόθηκαί. ότω δοκεῖ, ὦ ἱππεῖς, Ἀδείμαντον ἱππαρχεῖν, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Πάντες, ὦς ὀρᾶς, ὦ Σάμιππε, ἐχειροτόνησαν.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

'Αλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἄρχε τῆς ἱππού, Λυκῶνος δὲ ἐχέτω τὸ δεξιόν. οὕτως δὲ Τιμόλαος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τετάξεται. ἤγὼ δὲ κατὰ μέσον, ὡς νόμος βασιλεύσω 32 τῶν Περσῶν, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ συμπαρώσω.² προϊόμεν δὲ ἢδη τὴν ἐπὶ Κορίνθου διὰ τῆς ὁρεινῆς ἐπευξάμενοι τῷ βασιλείῳ Δις. καπεδαν τὰς τῆς Ἐλλάδι πάντα ἦδη χειρωσώμεθα—οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἐναντιωθησόμενος ἢμῖν τὰ ὀπλα τοσοῦτος οὖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκούστι κρατοῦμεν—ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τους ἱπποὺς εἰς τὰς ἅπαγγελὺς ἐμβιβάσατο—παρεσκεύασταί δ' ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς καὶ σῖτος ἰκανὸς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα διαρκῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα—διαβάλωμεν ³ τὸν Ἁλκαίον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν, εἶτα

¹ μενεὶν Lehmann: μένειν MSS.

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among the enemy; or I shall have to be tied to the saddle if I’m going to stay up and hold the reins.

ADIMANTUS

I’ll lead your cavalry, Samippus. Let Lycinus have the right wing. I deserve the best from you in return for all those bushels of minted gold I gave you.

SAMIPPUS

Let us ask the cavalry personally, Adimantus, if they will have you as commander. Gentlemen of the cavalry, those in favour of Adimantus as cavalry officer, raise your hands.

ADIMANTUS

They’ve voted unanimously, you see, Samippus.

SAMIPPUS

Well, you command the cavalry and let Lycinus have the right. Timolaus here shall take the left. I shall be in the centre as the law lays down for Persian kings when they are with their troops. Let us now advance to Corinth over the hills after a prayer to Royal Zeus; and when we have conquered all of Greece—we shall have no opposition to our enormous numbers and have an easy victory—we shall embark on triremes, putting the cavalry on horse-transports—enough corn and sufficient boats and everything else is ready at Cenchreae—let us cross the Aegean to

2 αὐτοὶ συμπαρῷοι Ω: αὐτοὶ συμπαρ (sic) Γ: αὐτοὶ συμπαρ-εδρεύειν αὐτοῖς βουλονται τινας Ν.
3 διαβάλωμεν: Dindorf and Bekker: διαλάβωμεν MSS.
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ἐκεῖ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσαντες καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀτειχίστους λαβόντες βαδίσως ἄρχοντας ἀπολιπόντες προχωρῶμεν ἐπὶ Συρίας διὰ Καρίας, ἔτα Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Πισιδῶν καὶ τῆς παραλίου καὶ ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίας, ἀχρὶ 1 ἄν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀφικώμεθα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

33 Ἐμὲ, ὃ βασιλεὺς, εἰ δοκεῖ, σατράτην τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατάλυπε. δειλὸς γὰρ εἰμὶ καὶ τῶν οἴκων πολὺ ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἄν ἦδεως ὑπομεναμι. σὺ δὲ ἔοικας ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Παρθιναίων ἐλάσειν μάχως φύλα καὶ τὴν τοξικὴν ἐυστοχα. ὡστε ἄλλω παραδοὺς τὸ δεξιόν ἔμε Ἀντίπατρόν τινα ἔσσον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, μή με καὶ διαπείρῃ τις οἰστῷ ἀθλιον βαλὼν ἐς τὰ γυμνὰ περὶ Σοῦσα η Βάκτρα ἡγούμενον σοι τῆς φάλαγγος.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

'Αποδιδράσκεις, ὃ Λυκίνε, τὸν κατάλογον δειλὸς ὄν. ὁ δὲ νόμος ἀποτετμῆσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰ τις λιπῶν φαύνοιτο τὴν τάξιν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ήδη ἔσμεν καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξευκταί καὶ κατόπιν ὄποσα διεληλύθαμεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει καὶ πάντα ὑπάρχου κατέχουσιν ὅπ' ἐμοὶ ἐκάστῳ ἔθνει ἐπεισαχθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπίασι τὴν Φοινίκην ἡμῖν εν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην εἶτα καὶ τὴν

34 Ἀγγυππον προσαξόμενοι, σὺ πρῶτος, ὃ Λυκίνε, διάβανε τὸ δεξιόν ἄγων, εἶτα ἐγὼ καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ ὁ Τιμόλαος. ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τὸ ἐπικικὸν ἄγε σὺ, ὃ Ἀδείμαντε. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς Μεσσοποταμίας οὐδεὶς ἀπήντηκεν ἡμῖν πολέμος, ἀλλὰ ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἀνθρωποὶ 2 ἐνεχείρισαν, καὶ

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Ionia. There let us sacrifice to Artemis and capture the cities easily—they are unwalled—leave governors behind, and press on to Syria through Caria first, then Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cilicia (both coast and hill areas), until we reach the Euphrates.

LYCINUS

Please, your Majesty, leave me behind as satrap of Greece. I’m a coward and I couldn’t bear to go far away from things at home. You seem to be pushing on to the Armenians and Parthians, warlike nations, good shots with the bow. So give the right wing to someone else and leave me in Greece like an Antipater. I don’t want anyone to stick me with an arrow hitting some exposed part of my poor body when I’m leading your phalanx near Susa or Bactra.

SAMIPPU S

You’re deserting the levy, Lycinus, you coward. It’s the law to cut the head off anyone seen leaving the ranks. But now that we are at the Euphrates, the river has been bridged and all is safe in the rear and I’ve put prefects over each tribe to keep control of everything. Others meanwhile will go off for us to win over Phoenicia and Palestine and afterwards Egypt too. You cross first, Lycinus, with the right wing, then I, and Timolaus after me; last of all, Adimantus, bring the cavalry. Throughout Mesopotamia not an enemy has met us. They surrendered themselves and their strongholds quite voluntarily.

1 Alexander left him in Macedon.

1 ἄχρι Jacobitz : ἄχρις MSS.
2 ἄνθρωποι Fritzche : ἄνθρωποι MSS.
επὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι παρήλθομεν εἰς τὸ εἶσον τῶν τεῖχων καὶ ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ περὶ Κτησιφῶντα διατρίβων ἤκουσε τὴν ἐφοδιαῖν, εἶτα εἰς Σελεύκειαν παρελθὼν παρασκευάζεται ἵππεας τὴν πλείστους μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ τοξῶν καὶ σφενδονῆς. ἀπαγγέλλουσι δ' οὖν οἱ σκοποὶ ἀμφι τὰς ἐκατόν ἦδη μυριάδας τοῦ μαχίμου συνειλέχθαι καὶ τοῦτων εἴκοσι ἵπποτοξό- τας, καίτοι οὔπω ὁ Ἀρμένιος πάρεστιν οὔτε οἱ κατὰ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν οἰκοῦντες οὔτε οἱ ἀπὸ Βάκτρων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλησίων καὶ προαστείων τῆς ἄρχης οὔτω μακρίως τοσαῦτας μυριάδας κατέλεξε.1 καὶ πρὸς οὖν ἥδη σκοπεῖν ἴμας ὁ τι χρή ποιεῖν.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

35 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν φήμη δείν ἴμας τὸ πεζόν ἀπειναῖ
tὴν ἐπὶ Κτησιφῶντος, ἴμας δὲ τὸ ἵππικον αὐτοῦ
μὲν εν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα διαφυλάξοντας.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

'Αποδειλιὰς καὶ σύ, ὁ Ἀδείμαντε, πλησίον τοῦ
κυδίνου γενόμενος; σοι δὲ τί δοκεῖ, ὦ Τιμόλαε;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

'Απάση τῇ στρατιᾷ βαδίζεων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους,
μηδὲ περιμένειν ἐστ', ἂν ἄμεινον παρασκευάζων
πανταχόθεν τῶν συμμάχων προσγενομένων, ἀλλ' ἕως
ἐστὶ καθ' ὅδον εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπιχειρῶμεν
αὐτοῖς.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὗ λέγεις. σὺ δὲ τί, ὦ Λυκίνε, δοκιμάζεις;

1 κατέλεξε Pellet: κατέαξε MSS.
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We came against Babylon unexpectedly and entered the walls and held the city. The King was busy at Ctesiphon when he heard of our approach. Then he came to Seleucia, and is summoning and making ready all the cavalry he can and bowmen and slingers. The scouts report about a million already mustered under arms, including two hundred thousand mounted archers. Yet the Armenians are not yet here nor those from the Caspian Sea nor the men from Bactra, only those from near at hand and the suburbs of the empire. See how easily he mustered all those thousands. Now it’s time for us to consider what to do next.

ADIMANTUS

I say you infantry must be off on the road to Ctesiphon while we cavalry stay here to guard Babylon.

SAMIPPUS

Are you playing the coward too, Adimantus, now you’re close to danger? What do you think, Timolaus?

TIMOLAUS

March against the enemy with your entire army and don’t wait until the arrival of allies from all around makes them better prepared. No, let us attack the enemy while they are still on the march.

SAMIPPUS

Good! What’s your opinion, Lycinus?
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ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Εγώ σοι φράσω. ἐπειδή κεκμήκαμεν συντόνως ὀδεύοντες, ὅποτε κατήμεμεν ἔωθεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ νῦν ἦδη τριάκοντα ποὺ σταδίους προκεχωρήκαμεν καὶ ὁ ἦλιος πολὺς, κατὰ μεσημβρίαν γὰρ ἦδη μάλιστα, ἐνταῦθα που ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλαίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατετραμμένης 1 στήλης καθισάντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, ἐίτα οὔτως ἀναστάντας ἀνύειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς τὸ ἁστυ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὖ γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, ὦ μακάριε, εἶναι δοκεῖς, ὅσ ἀμφὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐν τοσούτοις στρατιώταις κάθησαί περὶ τοῦ πολέμου διασκοποῦμενος;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εὖ γε 2 ὑπέμνησας. ἐγώ δὲ νήφειν ᾠκην καὶ ὑπάρ ἀποφανεῖσθαι 3 τὴν γνώμην.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

36 Πρόσμεν δή, εἰ σοι δοκεῖ. καὶ ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔσσεσθε μηδὲ προδώσετε τὸ πάτριον φρόνημα. ἦδη γὰρ που καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιλαμβάνουσιν. ὥστε τὸ μὲν σύνθημα ἡστῶ Ἐνυάλιος. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὰν σημαίη ὁ σολπυγκτής, ἀλαλάξαντες καὶ τὰ δόρατα κρούσαντες πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπείγεσθε συμμύξας 4 τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῶν τοξευμάτων, ὡς μηδὲ πληγᾶς λαμβάνωμεν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς διδόντες. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς χεῖρας ἦδη συνεληλύθαμεν, τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον καὶ ὁ Τιμόλαος ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς Μῆδους ὄντας, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐμὲ ἵσοπαλον

1 ἀνατετραμμένης Gesner: ἀναγεγραμμένης MSS.
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LYCINUS

I will tell you. We are tired with our hard travelling to Piraeus this morning, and now we have already done thirty stades I suppose, and the sun is hot—it's about midday. Let's go over to the olives and sit on that overturned stone there and have a breather. Then when we're recovered we complete the rest of the way to the city.

SAMIPPUS

Bless you! Do you think you are still at Athens? You're stationed on the plain near Babylon outside the walls, one of a mighty army, in a council of war.

LYCINUS

Thanks for the reminder. I thought I was sober and that the idea I was expressing was wideawake.

SAMIPPUS

We'll go on then, if you don't mind. Be good soldiers in danger and don't betray our native spirit! The enemy are coming on now, I fancy. So let Enyalius\(^1\) be our watchword! When the trumpeter gives the signal, raise the battle-cry, crash your spears against your shields, charge and get to grips with 'em! Get under their arrows! Don't let them shoot us down at long range! Now we're at close quarters and Timolaus and the left have routed those against them—Medes they are. There's no

\(^1\) The God of War.

\(^2\) εὐ γε add. Dindorf.
\(^3\) So Bekker: καὶ οὗ παρὰ τὸ φανεῖσθαι MSS.
\(^4\) συμμίζαι Jacobitz: συμμίζαι MSS.
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ετι, Πέρσαι γάρ εἰσι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἢ δὲ ἵππος ἀπασά τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἡμῶν ἐλαύνουσιν, ὥστε, ὦ Δυκῖνε, αὐτὸς τε ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνου καὶ τοῖς μετὰ σαυτοῦ παρακελευόν δέχεσθαι τὴν ἐπέλασιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

37 "Ω τῆς τύχης. ἐπ' ἐμὲ γὰρ οἱ ἵππεις ἅπαντες καὶ μόνος ἐπιτήδειοι αὐτοῖς ἔδοξα ἐπελαύνεσθαι. καὶ μοι δοκῶ, ἣν βιάζωνται, αὐτομολήσειν προσ-δραμῶν ἐσ τὴν παλαιστραν ἐτι πολεμοῦντας ὡμᾶς καταλιπόν.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς. κρατεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ σὺ Ἡ δὴ τὸ μέρος. ἐγώ δέ, ὡς ὅρας, καὶ μονομαχὴς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. προκαλεῖται γὰρ με καὶ ἀναδύναι πάντως αἰσχρόν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία καὶ τετρῶση αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς αὐτοῦ. βασιλικὸν γὰρ καὶ τὸ τρωθῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς μαχόμενον.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὗ λέγεις. ἐπιτόλαιον μέντοι 1 τὸ τραύμα καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὰ φανερὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν οὐλὴν ύστερον ἁμορφὸν γενέσθαι. πλὴν ἄλλα ὅρας ὅπως ἐπελάσεις μὴ πληγῇ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν ἤπον διέπειρα τὴν λόγχην ἀφεῖς, εἰτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν καὶ ἀφελῶν τὸ διάδημα βασιλεὺς Ἡ δὴ γέγονα προσκυνούμενος ὑφ' ἁπάντων; 38 οἱ βάρβαροι προσκυνεῖτωσαν. ὡμῶν 2 κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον ἁρξὼ εἰς στρατηγὸς ὀνομαζόμενος.

1 μέντοι Bekker: μέν σοι (or μοι) MSS.
decision yet in my sector—they’re Persians here and the king’s with them. All the barbarian horse are charging our right. So show your quality, Lycinus, and encourage your men to receive the charge!

LYCINUS

Oh, what luck! All the cavalry are charging against me, and they’ve thought me alone worth attacking. Well, if they press me hard, I fancy I shall desert and run away to the gymnasium and leave you behind still fighting your war.

SAMIPPUS

Don’t do that! You are already mastering them on your side. Now, as you see, I am going to fight the king in single combat. He is challenging me, and to refuse would be absolutely disgraceful.

LYCINUS

Yes, and you’ll be wounded by him in a moment. It’s a royal privilege to be wounded fighting for your empire.

SAMIPPUS

You are right. Still, it’s only a slight wound and not in an exposed place, so the scar won’t disfigure me afterwards. But did you see how I charged him and ran him through and his horse too with one throw of my spear, and then cut off his head and stripped him of his diadem and now I am the Great King with everyone doing obeisance? Let the barbarians do obeisance! You I’ll rule in Greek manner under the

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2 ῥυῶν Solanus: ῦμῖν MSS.
39 Πέπαυσο ἳδη, ὦ Σάμμππς. καιρὸς γὰρ σὲ ἡδῆ μὲν νενικηκότα τηλικαύτην μάχην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι εὐσχείσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια—ἐκστάσις γὰρ οἶμαι σοι ἡ ἀρχή—Τιμόλαον δὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει εὐχεσθαι ὀπερ ἄν ἔθελῃ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Τί δ’ οὖν, ὦ Λυκίνε; οὕτα σοι ἠτήσθαι δοκῶ;

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Παρὰ πολὺ, ὡ θαυμασίωτας βασιλέων, ἐπιπονώτερα καὶ βιωτέρα τῶν Ἀδειμάντου, παρ’ ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐτρύφα διτάλαντα χρύσα ἐκπώματα προπίνων 3 τοῖς συμπόταις, σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτρώσκου μονομαχῶν καὶ ἐδεδείκες καὶ ἔφροντιζες νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἠμέραν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ σοι τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων φοβερὰ ἦν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπιβουλαὶ μυρίαι καὶ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν συνόντων καὶ μίσος καὶ κολακεία, φίλος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀληθής, ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ δέος ἀπαντεῖ η πρὸς τὴν ἑλπίδα εὑνοῦ δοκοῦντες εἶναι. ἀπόλαυσις μὲν γε οὐδὲ ὁναρ τῶν ἡδέων, ἄλλα δόξα μόνη καὶ πορφυρὶς χρυσῷ ποικήλη καὶ ταινίᾳ λευκῇ περὶ τῶν μετώπων καὶ δορυφόροι προϊόντες, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα κάματος ἄφορητος καὶ ἀγδία

1 After ὁμορος MSS. have ἴδη: del. Fritzsche.
2 So Jacobitz: παραπόλυ MSS.
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title of sole commander. Then think how many cities I shall find and name after myself, and how many I shall storm and destroy that have been insolent to my empire! Of all men I’ll punish that rich Cydias in particular: he used to be my neighbour; he encroached on my property little by little and drove me from my land.

LYCINUS

That’s enough, Samippus. Now you’ve won your big fight it’s time for your victory-feast in Babylon— I think your empire is six stades long. It is the turn of Timolaus now to wish for whatever he wants.

SAMIPPPUS

Well, but, Lycinus, what do you think of my wish?

LYCINUS

Much more laborious and violent, most glorious Majesty, than Adimantus’s. He lived in luxury and bestowed on his fellow-drinkers golden cups of two talents weight each. You were wounded in single combat and were afraid and anxious night and day— you had not only your enemies to fear, but thousands of plots and envy from those around you and hatred and flattery: not one true friend did you have, but all feigned goodwill for fear or hope. You had not even a phantom enjoyment of your pleasures, only the appearance, purple embroidered with gold, a white ribbon on your brow, and bodyguards to go before you, but otherwise intolerable hardship and

3 ἀποτίνων Gesner and Cobet: προτεινόμενος (or προτείνων) MSS.
πολλή, καὶ ἡ χρηματιζεὶς δεῖ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔκοψιν ἡ δικάζειν ἡ καταπέμπτεν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπιτάγματα, καὶ ἦτοι ἀφέστηκε τι έθνος ἡ ἐπελαύνουσι τινες τῶν ἔξω τῆς ἀρχῆς. δεδέναι οὖν δεῖ πάντα καὶ ύφορᾶθαι, καὶ ὅλως ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπὸ σεαυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι.

40 καὶ γάρ οὖν καὶ τόδε πῶς οὐ ταπεινών, ὅτι καὶ νοσείς τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ ὁ πυρετὸς οὖ διαγιγνώσκει σε βασιλεὰ ὅντα οὖθ' ὁ θάνατος δεδεί τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάτης, ὅποταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, ἀγεί οἰμώδουτα οὐκ αἰδοῦμενος τὸ διάδημα; σὺ δὲ ὁ οὔτως ψηλὸς καταπεσὼν ἀνάσπαστος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδὸν ἀπεὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἴσοτιμος ἐλαυνόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀγέλη τῶν νεκρῶν, χῶμα ψηλὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ στήλην μακρὰν ἡ πυραμίδα εὐγραμμον τὰς γωνίας ἀπολιπότων, ἐκτρόβεσμα καὶ ἀνεπαίσθητα φιλοτιμήματα. εἰκόνες δὲ ἐκεῖναι καὶ νεώ,1 οὐς ἀνιστάσων αἱ πόλεις θεραπεύονσι, καὶ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα πάντα κατ' ὁλίγον ὑπορρεί καὶ ἀπεισών ἀμελοῦμενα. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπὶ πλείστον παραμένη, τὰς ἐς ἀπόλαυσις ἀναισθήτω αὐτῶ γενομένω; ὅρας οἷα μὲν ἐς ζωὸν ἔξεις πράγματα δεδῶς καὶ φροντίζων καὶ κάμνων, οἷα δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλαγὴν ἔσται;

41 Ἀλλ' ἦδη σὸν αἴτειν, ὡ Τιμόλαε, καὶ ὅπως ὑπερβαλὴ τούτους, ὅσπερ εἰκός ἄνδρα συνετὸν καὶ πράγμασιν χρησίματα εἰδότα.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Σκόπει γοῦν, ὡ Λυκίνε, εἰ τι ἐπιλήψιμον εὗ-ξομαι καὶ ὁ τι ἄν εὐθύνη τις δυνηθείη. χρυσὸν

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much unpleasantness. Then you must do business with missions from your enemies or pass judgments or send instructions to your subjects; some tribe has revolted or some foreign state is invading. You must fear and suspect everything, and in fine everyone will count you happy except your own self. Besides, it is humiliating that sickness will come to you as to ordinary folk and fever will not set you apart as a king: Death has no fear of your bodyguard, but comes when he will and takes you moaning with no respect for your diadem. From what a height you will fall when, jerked from your royal throne, you depart by the same road as the common crowd, all equal as you are driven in the herd of the dead. Above ground you will leave behind a high mound and a lofty tombstone or a pyramid with inscribed corners, honours too late for you to see. Those statues and temples which cities erect to flatter you, and your great name, all will soon disappear unnoticed and be gone, neglected. But if all remains as long as may be, what enjoyment will now come to one who is beyond feeling? Do you see what further troubles you will have in life from fear, anxiety, and labour, and what will remain with you after you depart?

But now it's your turn to make your request, Timolaus. See that you outdo them—as we expect from an intelligent man of the world.

TIMOLAUS

Well, Lycinus, see if my wish will be open to censure or possible correction. Gold, treasures and

\[^{1} \text{veω Guyet: veωs MSS.}\]
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μὲν οὖν καὶ θησαυροὶς καὶ μεδίμνους νομίζοματος ἡ βασιλείας καὶ πολέμους καὶ δείματα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως 1 διέβαλε, οὐκ αἰτήσομαι. ἀβέβαια γὰρ ταῦτα γε καὶ πολλὰς τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς ἔχοντα καὶ πλέον τοῦ ἱδέος τὸ ἀναρόν ἐν αὐτοῖς

42 ἡν. ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐντυχόντα μοι δοῦναι δακτυλίους τινὰς τοιούτους τὴν δύναμιν, ἐνα μὲν ὡστε αἰεὶ ἐρρώσθαι καὶ υγιαίνειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀτρωτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαθῆ, ἔστερον δὲ ὡς μὴ ὀράσθαι τὸν περιθέμενον, οἷος ἢν ὁ τοῦ Γύγου, τὸν δὲ τινα ὡς ἰαχύειν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρας μυρίους καὶ ὁ τι ἂν ἄχθος ἀμα μυρίοις κινησίᾳ μόλις δύναντο, τοῦτο ἐμὲ ῥαδίως μόνον ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἐτι δὲ καὶ πέτεσθαι πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀρθέντα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εἶναί μοι δακτυλίων τινα. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐς ὑπὸν καταστὰν ὁπόσους ἂν ἐθέλω καὶ ἀπασάν θύραν προσώτειν μοι ἀνοίγεσθαι χαλωμένου τοῦ κλείθρου καὶ τοῦ μοχλοῦ ἀφαιρουμένου, ταῦτα ἀμφότερα εἰς δακτυλίους δυνάσθω.

43 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἄλλος τις ἑστὼ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁ ἡδιστὸς, ως ἐράσμιον εἶναι μὲ περιθέμενον παῖν τοῖς ὁραίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ δήμοις οἷοι καὶ μηδένα εἶναι ἀνέραστον καὶ ὅτω μὴ ποθεινότατος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀνὰ στόμα, ὡστε πολλὰς γυναίκας οὐ φεροῦσας τὸν ἑρώτα καὶ ἀναρτάν ἑαυτᾶς καὶ τὰ μειράκια ἐπιμεμηνέναι μοι καὶ εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἐι τινα καὶ μόνον προσβλέψαμι αὐτῶν, εἰ δ’ ὑπερορῶν, κάκεινα ὑπὸ λύτης ἀπολλύσθω, καὶ ὅλως ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὑάκινθον ἡ Ὀλαν ἡ Φάωνα τὸν Χίον

44 εἶναι με. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἔχειν μὴ ἀλυγχρόνων ὄντα μηδὲ κατὰ μέτρον ζῶντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης βιοτῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐτη χίλια νέον ἐκ νέου γιγνόμενον

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bushels of coin, kingdoms, wars and fears for empire you have rightly censured—I shall not ask for them. They are insecure, full of plots and give more grief than pleasure. I want Hermes to meet me and give me a set of rings with certain powers: one is to keep the body always strong and healthy, invulnerable and free from disease, another to make the wearer invisible like the ring of Gyges,¹ a third to make me stronger than thousands of men and able easily to carry by myself a weight that thousands together could hardly move, and another to lift me flying far above the earth—let me have a ring for this as well. Then a ring to put anyone I want to sleep and open every door as I approach, releasing bolts and bars—let one ring do both. But in particular let me have one more, the most delightful of all, one that when I wear it will make the pretty boys and women and whole peoples fall in love with me—no one will fail to love me and think me desirable: I shall be on every tongue. Many women will hang themselves in despair, boys will be mad for me and think themselves blessed if I but glance at one of them, and pine away for grief if I ignore them. Just let me be better than Hyacinthus or Hylas or Phaon the Chian.² All these let me have and not for a short time: for I shall not live the measure of human life but for a thousand years, renewing my youth and always casting off

¹ The story is told in Plato, Republic II, 359d ff.
² Handsome young men of ancient myth.

¹ à eikótws MSS.: à del. Bekker.
διαβιώναι ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπτακαὶδεκα ἐτη ἄει ἀποδουμένων τὸ γῆρας ὡσπερ οἱ ὦφεις. οὐδὲν γὰρ δείησει με ταῦτα ἐχοντα· πάντα γὰρ ἐμὰ ἡν ἂν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐσ οἴσον ἀνοίγειν τε τὰς θύρας εὐνάμην καὶ κοιμίζειν τοὺς φύλακας καὶ ἀθέατος εἶναι εἰσιων. εἰ δὲ τι ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἡ Ἐπερβορείους θέαμα παράδοξον ἡ κτῆμα τίμιον ἡ ὁσα ἐμφαγεῖν ἡ πιεῖν ἑδέα, οὐ μεταστειλάμενος, ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπιπετόμενος ἀπέλαυνον ἀπάντων ἐς κόρον. καὶ ἐπεὶ γρηὺς ὑπόπτερον θηρίον ἡ φοίνιξ ὄρνεον ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀθέατον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐώρων ἃν, καὶ τὰς πηγὰς δὲ τὰς Νείλου μόνος ἂν ἠπιστάμην καὶ οἴσον τής γῆς ἀοίκητον, καὶ εἰ τυνες ἀντίποδες ἡμῖν οἰκοῦν τὸ νότιον τῆς γῆς ἡμίτομον ἐχοντες. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀστέρων φύσιν καὶ σελήνης καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡλίου βαδίως ἐγνων ἂν ἀπαθῆς ὁν τῷ πυρί, καὶ τὸ πάντων ἠδιστον, αὐθημερον ἀγγείλαι ἐς Βαβυλώνα, τίς ἐνίκησεν Ὁλυμπια, καὶ ἀριστήσαντα, εἰ τύχοι,1 ἐν Συρίᾳ δειπνήσαι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. εἰ δὲ τις ἐχθρὸς εἰη, ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς πέτρον ἐμβαλόντα τῇ κεφαλῇ, ὠς ἐπιτετρίφθαι τῷ κρανίῳ, τοὺς τε αὐ φίλους εὑ ποιεῖν ἐπιχέαντα κοιμώμενοι αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσίον. καὶ μὴν εἰ τις ὑπερόπτης εἰη τῇ τύραννος πλουσίος ύβρισθῆς, ἀράμενος αὐτὸν ὀσον ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι ἄφηκα φέρεσθαι κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν. τοῖς παιδικοῖς δὲ ὀμιλεῖν ἀκωλύτως ἂν ἐξῆν 2 εἰςωντα ἀθέατον κοιμώσαντα ἀπαντας ἀνευ ἐκείνων μόνων. οἶον δὲ κάκειν ἡν, τοὺς πολεμοῦντας ἐπισκοπεῖν ἐξω βέλους ὑπεραιωρούμενον; καὶ εἰ δόξειε μοι, προσθέμενος ἂν τοῖς ἡττημένοις κοιμίσας τοὺς κρατοῦντας νικᾶν παρεῖχον τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀνα- 482
old age about every seventeen years, as a snake sloughs its skin. While I have all this I shall want for nothing: all that others own would be mine as long as I could open doors, put watchmen to sleep, and pass in myself unseen. Whatever remarkable sight there were in India or beyond the North Wind, whatever precious possession, whatever dainty morsel or pleasant drink, I should not send for them, but fly there myself and enjoy them all to satiety. That winged beast the griffin or the Phoenix bird in India may be unseen by others, but I should see it: I alone would know the source of the Nile and how much of the earth is uninhabited and if people live head-downwards in the southern half of the world. Again I should know the nature of the stars and the moon and the sun itself without trouble, being insensitive to fire; sweetest pleasure of all, on the self-same day I should give Babylon the name of the Olympic victor, and after breakfast perhaps in Syria dine in Italy. If I had an enemy I could pay him out by dropping a stone on his head unseen and cracking his skull: my friends I could help by pouring gold on them as they slept. Then if there was a haughty person or a rich and bullying tyrant, I could pick him up and throw him down the cliffs twenty furlongs off. I could meet my darlings without let or hindrance: I'd go in unseen and put everyone to sleep but them alone. What a wonderful thing, aloft and out of arrow-shot, to spy on embattled armies and, if I wished, to support the vanquished and send the victors to sleep and to give victory to

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1 τύχοι ND: τύχοιμε other MSS.
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στρέψασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς. καὶ τὸ ὅλον, παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦμην ἃν τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίων καὶ πάντα ἐμὰ ἡν καὶ θεὸς ἐδόκουν τοῖς ἄλλοις. τούτῳ ἡ ἀκρα εὐδαιμονία ἐστὶ μήτε ἀπολέσθαι μήτε ἐπι- βουλευθῆναι δυναμένη, καὶ μάλιστα μεθ' ύγειάς 1

45 ἐν μακρῷ τῷ βίῳ. τί αὖ αὐτιάσαιο, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τῆς εὐχῆς;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐδέν, ὦ Τιμόλαε. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἕναν- τιοῦσθαι ἄνδρι πτηνῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μυρίους τὴν ἰσχῦν, πλὴν ἅλλα ἐκεῖνο ἐρήσομαι σε, εἰ τινὰ ἄλλων εἰδεῖς ἐν τοσούτως ἐθνεσιν, ὡσα ὑπερέπτης, γέροντα ἡδὴ ἄνδρα οὕτω παρακεκυκνηκότα τὴν γνώμην, ἐπὶ δακτυλίων μικροῦ ὅχούμενον, ὥρη ὃλα κινεῖν ἀκρω τῷ δακτύλῳ δυνάμενον, ἐπέραστον πᾶσι, καὶ ταῦτα φαλακρὸν ὄντα καὶ τὴν ρίνα σημόν; ἀτὰρ εἰπέ μοι καὶ τόδε, τί δὴ ποτε οὐχ εἰς δακτύλιος ἀπαντά ταῦτα δύναται σοι, ἅλλα τοσοῦτος περιμμένος βαδιῆ τὴν ἁριστῆς πεφορτισμένος κατὰ δάκτυλον ἐνα; μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπερπαῖει ὁ ἀριθμός, καὶ δεήσει καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν συνεπιλαβεῖν. καίτοι ἐνὸς τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου προσδεῖ, ὃς 2 περιθέμενον σε παύσει μωραίνοντα τὴν πολλὴν ταῦτην κόρυζαν ἀποξύσας. ἦ τούτο μὲν καὶ ὁ ἐλλέβορος ἴκανος ποιήσαι ξυρότερος ποθεῖς;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

46 Ἀλλὰ πάντως, ὦ Λυκῖνε, καὶ αὐτὸς εὖ ἔθη τῇ ἡδὶ ποτὲ, ὥσ ἂν μᾶθωμεν ὧν αὐτής ἑσεῖς ἄνεπιληπτα καὶ ἄνέγκλητα ὁ συκοφαντῶν τοὺς ἄλλους.

1 ύγειάς Jacobitz: ύγειάς MSS.
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fugitives turned back from their flight. In a word I should make human life my plaything, all things would be mine and I would be thought by all others a god. This is the supreme bliss which cannot be destroyed or schemed against, being particularly accompanied by health in a long life. What fault can you find in my wish, Lycinus?

LYCINUS

None, Timolaus. It isn’t safe to oppose a winged man stronger than ten thousand. But I will ask you this: did you see in all those tribes you flew over any other old man so out of his mind, carried by a little ring and able to move whole mountains with his finger-tip, loved by everyone, even though he was bald and snub-nosed? But tell me this: why cannot just one ring do all this for you? Why must you go about weighed down by such a load of rings on one finger of your left hand? There are too many, and your right hand must take its share. Yet there is one more ring you most certainly need to put on, one which will stop your fooling and wipe away all this drivel. Or perhaps a stronger dose of hellebore than usual will be adequate?

TIMOLAUS

Well now it’s your turn to wish, Lycinus. Let us see what you who cavil against everybody else can find to ask that no one can censure or pull to pieces.

2 προσδει δεις edd.: πρὸς διὸς MSS.
ΤΗΕ WORKS ΟF ΛUCΙΑΝ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλ' ού δέομαι εὐχής ἐγώ. ἦκομεν γὰρ ὅ πρὸς τὸ Δίπυλον, καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος οὔτος Σάμιππος ἀμφί Βαβυλώνα μονομαχῶν, καὶ σὺ, ὡ Τιμόλαε, ἀριστῶν μὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ, δειπνῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔμοι ἐπιβάλλουσι σταδίοις κατεχρήσασθε καλῶς ποιοῦντες. ΄άλλως τε οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην πλουτήσας ἐπ' ὀλίγον ύπηνέμοι τυν πλοῦτον ἀνάσθαι μετ' ὀλίγον ψιλὴν τὴν μάζαν ἑσθίων, οὐ δύος πείσεσθε μετ' ὀλίγον, ἐπειδὰν ἡ εὐδαμονία μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ὁ πολὺς πλοῦτος οἶχηται ἀποστάμενος, αὐτοὶ δὲ καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν θησαυρῶν τε καὶ διαδημάτων ὦσπερ ἢ ἡδίστου ὀνείρατος ἀνεγρόμενοι ἀνόμοια τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας εὐρίσκετε ὦσπερ οἱ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ύποκρινόμενοι τραγῳδοῖ ἐξελθόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου λυμώττοντες οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ ὀλίγου Ἀγαμέμνονες οίντες Ἦ Κρέοντες. λυπήσεσθε οὖν, ὡς τὸ εἴκός, καὶ δυσάρεστοι έσεσθε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ μάλιστα σὺ, ὡ Τιμόλαε, ὅποταν δέ τι σε τὸ αὐτὸ παθεῖν τῷ Ἰκάρῳ τῆς πτερώσεως διαλυθείσῃς καταπεσόντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χαμαί βαδίζειν ἀπολέσαντα τοὺς δακτυλίους ἐκείνους ἀπαντας ἀπορρυντάς τῶν δακτύλων. ἔμοι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἰκανὸν ἄντι πάντων θησαυρῶν καὶ Βαβυλώνος αύτῆς τὸ γελάσαι μάλα ἡδέως ἐφ' οἷς ύμεῖς ἦτήσατε τοιοῦτος οὖσι, καὶ ταῦτα φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαινοῦντες.
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LYCINUS

I don't need a wish. Look, we've reached the Dipylon, and our excellent Samippus is in single combat over Babylon, you, Timolaus, are breakfasting in Syria and dining in Italy, and you have used up my share of road, for which I'm grateful. Besides I should not like to be rich for a little while with dream-treasure, and then be cross when there was soon but plain barley-cake to eat. That's what you'll find soon when your happiness and your great wealth take wings and are gone and you have to come back from your treasures and your diadems just as you are, like sleepers awaking after a pleasant dream, and you find how different things are at home, like tragic actors who play the part of kings and for the most part starve when off the stage, although just now they were Agamemnons or Creons. So you'll be sorry, in all probability, and displeased with things at home, especially you, Timolaus, when you suffer the fate of Icarus and your wings dissolve, and falling from heaven you must walk on earth, having lost all those rings which have slipped off your fingers. Instead of all your treasures and Babylon itself I have what is enough for me—a good laugh at the sort of thing that you have asked for, for all that you praise philosophy.
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**DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION**

London
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LUCIAN

K. Kilburn, ed.