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LUCIAN

I
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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

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VOLUME VIII
INTRODUCTION

Lucian was born at Samosata in Commagene and calls himself a Syrian; he may or may not have been of Semitic stock. The exact duration of his life is unknown, but it is probable that he was born not long before 125 a.d. and died not long after 180. Something of his life-history is given us in his own writings, notably in the Dream, the Doubly Indicted, the Fisher, and the Apology. If what he tells us in the Dream is to be taken seriously (and it is usually so taken), he began his career as apprentice to his uncle, a sculptor, but soon became disgusted with his prospects in that calling and gave it up for Rhetoric, the branch of the literary profession then most in favour. Theoretically the vocation of a rhetorician was to plead in court, to compose pleas for others and to teach the art of pleading; but in practice his vocation was far less important in his own eyes and those of the public than his avocation, which consisted in going about from place to place
and often from country to country displaying his ability as a speaker before the educated classes. In this way Lucian travelled through Ionia and Greece, to Italy and even to Gaul, and won much wealth and fame. Samples of his repertory are still extant among his works—declamations like the Phalaris, essays on abstract themes like Slander, descriptions, appreciations, and depreciations. But although a field like this afforded ample scope for the ordinary rhetorician, it could not display the full talent of a Lucian. His bent for satire, which crops out even in his writings of this period, had to find expression, and ultimately found it in the satiric dialogue. In a sense, then, what he says is true, that he abandoned Rhetoric: but only in a very limited sense. In reality he changed only his repertory, not his profession, for his productions continued to be presented in the same manner and for the same purpose as of old—from a lecture-platform to entertain an audience.

Rightly to understand and appreciate Lucian, one must recognise that he was not a philosopher nor even a moralist, but a rhetorician, that his mission in life was not to reform society nor to chastise it, but simply to amuse it. He himself admits on every page that he is serious only in his desire to please, and he would answer all charges but that of dullness.
with an οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδη. Judged from his own stand-point, he is successful; not only in his own times but in all the ensuing ages his witty, well-phrased comments on life, more akin to comedy than to true satire, have brought him the applause that he craved.

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

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

M. Croiset, but it cannot be called entirely successful. The order in which they are to be presented in this edition is that of the best manuscript (Vaticanus 90), which, through its adoption in Rabe’s edition of the scholia to Lucian and in Nilén’s edition of the text, bids fair to become standard.

There are a hundred and fifty manuscripts of Lucian, more or less, which give us a tradition that is none too good. There is no satisfactory critical edition of Lucian except Nilén’s, which is now in progress. His text has been followed, as far as it was available, through the True Story. Beyond this point it has been necessary to make a new text for this edition. In order that text and translation may as far as possible correspond, conjectures have been admitted with considerable freedom: for the fact that a good many of them bear the initials of the translator he need not apologize if they are good; if they are not no apology will avail him. He is deeply indebted to Professor Edward Capps for reviewing his translation in the proof.
NOTE TO SECOND IMPRESSION.

It has not seemed necessary or advisable, in reprinting this volume, to revise the Greek text and critical notes in order to bring them into complete conformity with the plan announced in the second volume. For mistakes and infelicities that have been brought to my attention, I am especially indebted to Professor Paul Shorey and to Professor Frank Cole Babbitt.

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Chief manuscripts:—

γ group—
Vaticanus 90 (Γ), 9/10th century.
Harleianus 5694 (Ε), 9/10th century.
Laurentianus C. S. 77 (₱), 10th century.
Marcianus 434 (Ω), 10/11th century.
Mutinensis 193 (Ѕ), 10th century.
Laurentianus 57, 51 (L), 11th century (?).

β group—
Vindobonensis 123 (B), 11th century (?).
Vaticanus 1324 (U), 11/12th century.
Vaticanus 76 (P).
Vaticanus 1323 (Z).
Parisinus 2957 (N).

Principal editions:—
Florentine, of 1496, the first edition by J. Lascaris, from the press of L. de Alopa.
Hemsterhuys-Reitz, Amsterdam 1743, containing a Latin translation by Gesner, critical notes, variorum commentary and a word-index (C. C. Reitz, 1746).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lehmann, Leipzig 1822-1831, a convenient variorum edition which contains Gesner’s translation but lacks Reitz’s index.

Jacobitz, Leipzig 1836-1841, with critical notes, a subject-index and a word-index; it contains the scholia.

Jacobitz, Leipzig 1851, in the Teubner series of classical texts.

Bekker, Leipzig 1853.

Dindorf, Leipzig 1858, in the Tauchnitz series.

Fritzsche, Rostock 1860-1882, an incomplete edition containing only thirty pieces; excellent critical notes and prolegomena.

Sommerbrodt, Berlin 1886-1899, also incomplete, but lacking only fifteen pieces; with critical appendices.

Nilén, Leipzig 1906—, the new Teubner text, with very full critical notes, and part of the Prolegomena in a separate gathering; the text is to appear in eight parts, of which the first is out and the second in press.

Noteworthy English Translations:—

Francklin, London 1780.

Tooke, London 1820.

Fowler (H. W.) and Fowler (F. G.), Oxford 1905.


Mras, Die Ueberlieferung Lucians, Vienna, 1911.


Foerster, Lucian in der Renaissance, Kiel 1886.

Helm, Lucian und Menipp, Leipzig 1906.

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

PHALARIS

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

ΦΑΛΑΡΙΣ

Α

"Επεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὦ Δελφοί, ὁ ἡμέτερος δυνάστης Φάλαρις ἄξοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτον καὶ ύμῖν διαλεξομένους τὰ εἰκότα ύπέρ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ύπέρ τοῦ ἀναθήματος. ὄν μὲν οὖν ἑνεκα ἴκομεν, ταυτά ἐστιν· ἀ δέ γε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπέστειλεν τάδε."¹

'Εγώ, φησίν, ὦ Δελφοί, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς 'Ελλησι τοιούτος ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι ὅποιός εἰμι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄποιον ἢ παρὰ τῶν μισοῦντων καὶ φθονοῦντων φήμη ταῖς τῶν ἀγνοοῦντων ἀκοιτὶς παραδέδωκεν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλαύτων ἀλλαξάμην ἀν, μάλιστα δὲ παρ’ ύμῖν, ὅσοι ἠρεί τέ ἐστε καὶ πάρεδροι τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ μόνον ὑμᾶς σύνοικοι καὶ ὀμορφοῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ. ἤγοιμαι γὰρ, εἰ ύμῖν ἀπολογησάμην καὶ πείσαμι μάτην ὁμός υπεϊληφθαί, καί τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι δι’ ύμῶν ἀπολαλογημένος ἐσεσθαί. καλὸ δὲ ὃν ἐρῶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν μάρτυρα, ὅν οὐκ ἐν ἐν ἡ που παραλογίσασθαι καὶ γενεῖ λόγῳ παρα-

¹ τάδε Herwerden: not in MSS. Lacuna noted by E. Schwartz, Nilén.
Men of Delphi, we have been sent by our ruler Phalaris to bring your god this bull, and to say to you what should be said about Phalaris himself and about his gift. That is why we are here, then; and what he told us to tell you is this:

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

'Εγὼ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐν 'Ακράγαντι ἄν, 2 ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος εὗ γεγονὼς καὶ τραφείς ἐλευθερίως καὶ παιδείᾳ προσεσχηκώς, ἂν διετέλουν τῇ μὲν πόλει δημοτικὸν ἐμαυτὸν παρέχων, τοὺς δὲ συμπολιτευμένους ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, βίαιον δὲ ἡ σκαῖρων ἡ ὑβριστικὰν ἡ αὐθέκαστον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἐπεκάλει μου τῷ προτέρῳ ἐκείνῳ βίω. ἔπειθή δὲ ἐώρων τοὺς τάναντία μοι πολιτευμένους ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ ἐξ ἀπαντος τρόπου ἀπελεύει με ξητούντας—διήρητο δὲ ἡμῶν τὸτε ἡ πόλις—μίαν ταύτην ἀποφυγῆν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν εὐρισκον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀμα καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτηρίαν, εἰ ἐπιθέμενος τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκείνους μὲν ἀναστείλαιμι καὶ παύσαιμι ἐπιβουλεύοντας, τὴν πόλιν δὲ σωφρονεῖν καταναγκάσαμι καὶ ἱσαν γὰρ οὐκ ὁλίγοι ταύτα ἐπαινοῦντες, ἀνδρεῖς μέτριοι καὶ φιλοπόλιδες, οἳ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἦδεσαν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τὴν ἀνάγκην τούτοις οὖν 1 συναγωνισταῖς χρή- σάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἐκράτησα. 2

Τούντευθεν οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐτάραττον, ἀλλ᾽ 3 ύπῆκονοι, ἔγὼ δὲ ἤρχον, ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀστασίαστος ἦν. σφαγάς δὲ ἡ ἐλάσεις ἡ δημεύεσις οὐδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβεβουλευκότων εἰργαζόμην, καίτω ἀναγκαῖον οὖν 3 τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμᾶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δυναστείας

1 οὖν Nilén : not in MSS.
2 ἐκράτησα Herwerden : ἐκράτησα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως MSS.
3 οὖν Nilén : not in MSS.
course he cannot be tripped by fallacies and misled by falsehoods: for although mere men are no doubt easy to cheat, a god (and above all this god) cannot be hoodwinked.

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

'From that time on the others made no more trouble, but gave obedience; I ruled, and the city was free from party strife. Executions, banishments and confiscations I did not employ even against the former conspirators, although a man must bring
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μάλιστα. φιλανθρωπία γὰρ καὶ πραότητι καὶ τῷ ἡμέρῳ καὶ ἱσοτιμίᾳ θαυμασίως ἐγὼ ἠλπιζόμεν ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι προσάξεσθαι τούτους. εὐθὺς γοῦν τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ἐστείσμην καὶ διηλλάγημην, καὶ συμβούλους καὶ συνεστίλους ἐχρώμην τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ὁρῶν ὀλυγορίᾳ τῶν προεστώτων διεφθάρμενην, τῶν πολλῶν κλεπτῶν, μάλλον δὲ ἀρπαζόντων τὰ κοινὰ, ὦδῶν τε ἐπιρροαῖς ἀνεκτησάμην καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων ἀναστάσεσιν ἐκόσμησα καὶ τειχῶν περίβολῃ ἐκράτυσα καὶ τὰς προσόδους, ὡσαί ἦσαν κοιναί, τῇ τῶν ἐφεστῶτων ἐπιμελείᾳ ῥαδίως ἐπηύξησα καὶ τῆς νεολαίας ἐπεμελούμην καὶ τῶν γερόντων προύνουν καὶ τῶν δήμων ἐν θέαις καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ δημοθυνίαις διήγην, ὦβρεις δὲ παρθένων ἡ ἐφήβων διαφθοραί ἡ γυναικῶν ἀπαγωγαί ἡ δορυφόρων ἔπιτέμψεις ἡ δεσποτικῆς ἡ ἀπειλὴ ἀποτρόπαιά μοι καὶ ἀκούσαί ἦν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀφείναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ καταθέσαι τὴν δυναστείαν ἐσκοπούμην, ὅπως μόνον ἀσφαλῶς παύσαιτο ἄν τις ἐννοῶν, ἔπει τὸ γε ἀρχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα πρᾶπτεν ἔπαχθες ἦδη καὶ σὺν φθόνῳ καματηρὼν ἐδοκεὶ μοι εἶναι τὸ ὅπως μηκέτι τοιαῦτας τινῶς θεραπείας δεῖσται ἡ πόλις, τούτ' ἐξήτουν ἐτ. κἀγὼ μὲν ὁ ἀρχαῖος περὶ ταῦτα ἐίχομεν, οὶ δὲ ἦδη τء συνείσταντο ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἀποστάσεως ἐσκοπούντο καὶ συνωμοσίας συνεκρότουν καὶ ὑπλα ἠθροίζον καὶ χρήματα ἐπορίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ εἰς τὴν
himself to take such measures in the beginning of a reign more than at any other time. I had marvellous hopes of getting them to listen to me by my humanity, mildness and good-nature, and through the impartiality of my favour. At the outset, for instance, I came to an understanding with my enemies and laid aside hostility, taking most of them as counsellors and intimates. As for the city, perceiving that it had been brought to rack and ruin through the neglect of those in office, because everybody was robbing or rather plundering the state, I restored it by building aqueducts, adorned it with buildings and strengthened it with walls; the revenues of the state I readily increased through the diligence of my officials; I cared for the young, provided for the old, and entertained the people with shows, gifts, festivals and banquets. Even to hear of girls wronged, boys led astray, wives carried off, guardsmen with warrants, or any form of despotic threat made me throw up my hands in horror. I was already planning to resign my office and lay down my authority, thinking only how one might stop with safety; for being governor and managing everything began to seem to me unpleasant in itself and both burdensome and invidious. I was still seeking, however, to ensure that the city would never again stand in need of such ministrations. But while I in my simplicity was engaged in all this, the others were already combining against me, planning the manner of their plot and uprising, organizing bands of conspirators, collecting arms, raising money, asking the aid of men in neighbouring towns, and
ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΟΠΑΛΙΚΑ ΠΑΜΠΡΟΣ \ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΡΕΣΒΈΝΟΝΤΟ: Α ΜΈΝ ΓΆΡ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΜΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΕΙ ΛΗΦΘΕΪΝΗ, ΕΔΈΔΟΚΤΟ ΗΔΗ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΠΩΣ ΜΕ ΑΥΤΟΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΑ ΣΤΡΕΒΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΞΕΙΠΤΟΝ. ΤΟΥ ΜΈΝ ΔΗ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΠΑΘΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΙ ΦΩΡΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΆΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΕ Ο ΠΥΘΙΟΣ ΟΝΕΙΡΑΤΑ ΤΕ ΠΡΟΔΕΙΞΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΗΝΥΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΑ ΕΠΙΠΈΜΠΩΝ.

'ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΥΤΑΘΙΔΑ ΗΔΗ ΥΜΑΣ, Ο ΔΈΛΦΟΙ, ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ 5 ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΈΟΥΝ ΥΝΥ ΤΩ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΩ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΞΙΩ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΡΑΚΤΕΩΝ ΜΟΙ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΙ, ΟΤΕ ΑΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΣ ΩΛΥΓΟΝ ΔΕΙΝ ΛΗΦΘΕΙΣ ΕΞΗΤΟΥΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΩΝ. ΠΡΟΣ ΩΛΥΓΟΝ ΟΤΙ ΗΓΝΩΜΗ ΕΣ 'ΑΚΡΆΓΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΡ' ΕΜΕ ΆΠΟΔΗΜΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΆΠΕΙΛΑΣ ΆΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΠΑΤΕ ΤΙ ΔΕΙ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ; ΦΙΛΑΙΘΡΩΠΙΑ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΕΙΔΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΧΕΘΑΙ ΟΣΟΝ ΑΥΤΙΚΑ ΜΕΛΛΗΣΟΝΤΑ ΠΕΙΣΘΕΘΑΙ ΤΑ άΣΤΑΤΑ; ΜΆΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΓΥΜΝΗΝ ΗΔΗ ΥΠΈΧΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΣΦΑΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΦΗΛΤΑΤΑ ΕΝ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΙΣ ΟΡΑΝ ΆΠΟΛΥΜΕΝΑ; Η ΤΑ ΜΈΝ ΤΟΙΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΥ ΗΛΙΘΙΟΝ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΓΕΝΝΑΙΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΡΩΔΗ ΔΙΑΝΟΗΘΕΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΧΟΛΗΝ ΕΜΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΉΔΙΚΗΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΆΝΑΛΑΒΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΙΚΕΙΝΟΥΣ, ΕΜΑΝΤΩ ΔΕ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΟΝ ΆΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΧΕΙΝ; ΤΑΥΤ' ΟΙΔ' ΟΤΙ ΣΥΝΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΑΝ.

ΤΙ ΟΤΙΝ ΕΓΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΠΟΪΗΣΑΙ; ΜΕΤΑΣΤΕΙΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΤΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΔΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΛΕΓΧΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΑΖΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΦΩΣ ΕΞΕ- 6 ΑΙ ΜΕΣΟΙ: ΑΙ ΝΕΤΟΥ ΑΓΚΕΛΟΠΟΛΕΣ.
sending embassies to Greece, to the Spartans and the Athenians. What they had already resolved to do with me if they caught me, how they had threatened to tear me to pieces with their own hands, and what punishments they had devised for me, they confessed in public on the rack. For the fact that I met no such fate I have the gods to thank, who exposed the plot: above all, Apollo, who showed me dreams and also sent me men to interpret them fully.

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

Well, what did I do then? I summoned the men implicated, gave them a hearing, brought in the evidence, and clearly convicted them on each count;
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λέγξας ἐκαστα, ἐπεὶ μηδ’ αὐτοὶ ἐτι ἔξαρχοι ἦσαν, ἡμυνόμην ἀγανακτῶν τὸ πλέον οὐχ ὅτι ἐπεβεβουλεύμην, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μη εἰάθην ὅπι αὐτῶν ἐν ἔκεινῃ τῇ προαιρέσει μείναι, ἂν ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἔνεστησάμην. καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου φυλάττων μὲν ἐμαυτὸν διατελῶ, ἐκεῖνων δὲ τούς ἀεὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μοι κολάζων. εἰθ’ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἔμε τῆς ὁμότητος αὐτῶν ὁκέτει λογιζόμενοι παρὰ ποτέρου ἡμῶν ἢν ἡ πρώτῃ τούτων ἀρχῆ, συνελόντες δὲ τὰς μέσως καὶ ἐφ’ οίς ἐκολάζοντο τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτὰς ὑπ’ιόντο καὶ τὰς δοκούσας ἐν αὐταῖς ἀμότητας, ὁμοίων ὡς εἰ τις παρ’ ὑμῖν ἱεροσυλῶν τίνα ἱδῶν ἄπο τῆς πέτρας ῥυπτόμενον ἃ μὲν ἐτόλμησε μὴ λογίζοτο, ός νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν παρῆλθη καὶ κατέσπασε τὰ ἀναθημάτα καὶ τοῦ ξόανου ἡγαστο, κατηγοροῦντες ὑπεμείνατε ἀνθρωπον Ἐλληνα πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ—καὶ γὰρ οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως εἶναι λέγεται ἡ πέτρα—κολάζει τοιαύτη περιβαλεῖν. ἀλλ’, οἴμαι, αὐτοὶ καταγελάσεσθε, ἢν ταῦτα λέγῃ τις καθ’ ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπανέσσονται ὑμῶν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀσέβοντων ὁμότητα.

Τὸ δ’ ὅλον οἱ δὴμοι οὐκ ἐξετάζοντες ὑποῖος τις ὁ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφεστῶς ἐστίν, εἰτε δίκαιος εἰτε ἄδικος, αὐτό ἀπλῶς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὄνομα μισοῦσι καὶ τῶν τυραννῶν, κὰν Ἀκάκιος ἢ Μίνως ἢ Ῥαδάμανθος ή, ὁμοίως ἐξ ἀσπασίων ἀνελεῖν στενδοῦσιν, τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς αὐτῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς προσηγορίας τῷ ὁμοίῳ μίσει συμπεριλαμβάνοντες. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἀκούω καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἐλλησὶ πολλοὺς
and then, as they themselves no longer denied the charge, I avenged myself, angry in the main, not because they had plotted against me, but because they had not let me abide by the plan which I had made in the beginning. From that time I have continued to protect myself and to punish those of my opponents who plot against me at any time. And then men charge me with cruelty, forgetting to consider which of us began it! Suppressing all that went before, which caused them to be punished, they always censured the punishments in themselves and their seeming cruelty. It is as if someone among yourselves should see a temple-robber thrown over the cliff, and should not take into account what he had dared to do—how he had entered the temple at night, had pulled down the offerings, and had laid hands on the image—but should accuse you of great barbarity on the ground that you, who call yourselves Greeks and priests, countenanced the infliction of such a punishment on a fellow-Greek hard by the temple (for they say that the cliff is not very far from the city). Why, you yourselves will laugh at any man who makes this charge against you, I am sure; and the rest of the world will praise you for your severity towards the impious.

'Peoples in general, without trying to find out what sort of man the head of the state is, whether just or unjust, simply hate the very name of tyranny, and even if the tyrant is an Aeacus, a Minos or a Rhadamanthus they make every effort to put him out of the way just the same, for they fix their eyes on the bad tyrants and include the good in equal hatred by reason of the common title. Yet I hear that among you Greeks there have been many
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γενέσθαι τυραίνουσα σοφούς ὑπὸ φαύλω ὀνόματι
dοκοῦντι χρηστὸν καὶ ήμερον ἦθος ἑπιδεδειγμένοις,
ὡν ἐνίων καὶ λόγους εἶναι βραχεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὑμῶν
ἀποκειμένους, ἀγάλματα καὶ ἀναθήματα τῷ
Πυθίω.

Ὅποτε δὲ καὶ τοὺς νομοθέτας τῷ κολα-
στικῷ εἴδει τὸ πλέον νέμοντας, ὡς τῶν γε ἀλλῶν
οὐδὲν ὀφελοῦς, εἰ μὴ ὁ φόβος προσεῖ ἔλεπις
τῆς κολάσεως. ἦμιν δὲ τούτῳ πολλῷ ἀναγκαίο-
teron τοῖς τυράννοις, ὅσῳ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἕξηγοῦ-
μεθα καὶ μισοῦσι τε ἁμα καὶ ἐπιβουλεοῦσιν
ἀνθρώποις σύμεσμεν, ὑπὸν μηδὲ τῶν μορμολυκείων
ὀφελός τι ἦμιν γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ περὶ τῆς "Τόδρας
μῦθῳ τὸ πράγμα έσικεν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀν ἐκκόπτωμεν,
tοσοῦτο πλείους ἦμιν ἀναφύονται τοῦ κολάζειν
ἀφορμαί. φέρειν δὲ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ἀναφύομενον
ἐκκόπτειν ἅπε καὶ ἐπικαλεῖν νὴ Δία κατὰ τὸν
'Ιόλεων, εἰ μελλομεν ἐπικρατήσειν τὸν γὰρ ἀπαξ
εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπεσεῖν ἡναγκασμένον ὄμοιον χρὴ
tῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἢ φειδόμενον τῶν
πλησίων ἀπολογέναι. ὄλως δὲ, τίνα οἴσθε οὔτως
ἀγριον ἢ ἀνήμερον ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ὡς ἠδεσθαῖ
μαστυγοῦντα καὶ οἰμωγῶν ἀκούοντα καὶ σφατο-
mένους ὄρντα, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι τινὰ μεγάλην τοῦ κολά-
ζειν αἰτίαν; ποσάκις γοῦν ἑδάκρυσα μαστυγομένων
ἀλλῶν, ποσάκις δὲ θρησκεία καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τὴν
ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην ἀναγκάζομαι μείζω κόλασιν αὐτὸς
καὶ χρονιωτέραν ὑπομένων; ἀνδρὶ γὰρ φύσει μὲν
ἀγάθῳ, διὰ δὲ ἀνάγκην πικρῷ, πολὺ τοῦ κολά-
ζεσθαι τὸ κολάζειν χαλεπώτερον.
wise tyrants who, under a name of ill-repute have shown a good and kindly character; and even that brief sayings of some of them are deposited in your temple as gifts and oblations to Pythius.

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

1 The helper of Hercules in the story.
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Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπεῖν, ἐγὼ μεν, εἰ 9 αἱρεσίς μοι προτεθέει, πότερα βούλομαι κολάζειν τινὰς ἄδικος ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν, εὖ ἵστε ὡς οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἐλοίμην ἄν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ μηδὲν ἄδικοντάς κολάζειν. εἰ δὲ τις φαίη, Βούλει, ὁ Φάλαρι, τεθνάναι αὐτὸς ἄδικος ἢ δικαίως κολάζειν τοὺς ἐπὶ βούλους; τούτῳ βουλοίμην ἂν αὐθις γὰρ ἕμας, ὁ Δελφοῖ, συμβούλους καλῶ, πότερον ἀμεινον εἰναι ἄδικος ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἄδικος σώζειν τὸν ἐπὶ βεβουλεύκτος; οὐδεὶς οὕτως, οἴμαι, ἀνάφτος ἐστιν ὃς οὐκ ἄν προτιμήσειε ζην μᾶλλον ἢ σώζων τοὺς ἑχθροὺς ἀπολωλέναι. καίτοι πόσους ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων μοι καὶ φανερῶς ἐλήλεγ-μένων ὁμοίς ἔσωσα; οἶον ῎Ακανθὸν τοῦτον καὶ Τιμοκράτη καὶ Δεσιγόραν τὸν ἄδελφόν αὐτοῦ, παλαιὰς συνηθείας τῆς πρός αὐτοὺς μνημονεύσας.

"Οταν δὲ βουληθήτε τούμον εἰδέναι, τοὺς εἰσφοιτῶντας εἰς Ἀκράγαντα ξένους ἐρωτήσατε ὅποιος ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτοὺς εἰμι καὶ εἰ φιλανθρῶπος προσφέρομαι τοῖς καταίρονσιν, ὃς γε καὶ σκοποὺς ἐπὶ τῶν λαμένων ἔχω καὶ πευθήνας, τίνες οὗθεν καταπεπλευκασιν, ὃς κατ᾿ ἄξιαν τιμῶν ἀποτέμπι-ποιμ αὐτοὺς. ἦνοι δὲ καὶ ἑξεπιτήθης φοιτόσι παρ’ ἐμὲ, οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οὐ φεύγουσι τὴν συννοικίαν τὴν ἐμὴν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ πράγμα ὁ σοφὸς Πυθαγόρας ἦκεν ὁς ἦμας, ἀλλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἔμοι ἀκηκοῶς ἐπεί δὲ ἐπειράθη, ἀπήλθεν ἑπαμιών με τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐλεών τῆς ἁναγκαίας ὁμότητος. εἶτα οἴεσθε τὸν πρὸς τοὺς θυνεῖος φιλανθρωπον οὕτως ἂν πικρῶς 1 τοῖς

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

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

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁυν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολελόγημαι ὑμῖν, ἀληθῆ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἐπαίνου μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἢ μίσους ἄξια. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἀναθήματος καιρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι θέθην καὶ ὅπως τὸν ταύρον τούτον ἐκτησάμην, οὐκ ἔκδους αὐτὸς τῷ ἀνδριαντοποιῷ—μὴ γὰρ οὕτω μανείν, ὡς τοιούτων ἐπιθυμήσαι κτημάτων—ἀλλὰ Περίλαος ἦν τις ἡμεδαπός, χαλκεὺς μὲν ἀγαθός, πονηρός δὲ ἀνθρωπος. οὗτος πάμπολυ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης δυσμαρτηκὼς φέτος χαριεῖσθαι μου, εἰ καὶ τινὰ κόλασιν ἐπινοῆσειν, ὡς ἔξ ἀπαντὸς κολάζειν ἐπιθυμοῦντι. καὶ δὴ κατασκευάζεσθαι τὸν βοῦν ἢκέ μου κομίζων κάλλιστοι ἰδεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄκριβεστατον ἐκασμένων κινήσεως γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μυκηθμοῦ ἐδει μόνον πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἐμψυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν. ἵδων δὲ ἀνέκραγον εὐθύς, ἁξιόν τὸ κτήμα τοῦ Πυθίου, πεμπτεός ὁ ταῦρος τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δὲ Περίλαος παρεστῶς, Τί δ’ εἰ μάθοις, ἐφη, τὴν σοφίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν χρείαν ἦταν παρέχεται; καὶ ὃν ξας ἀμα τὸν ταύρον κατὰ τὰ νότα, Ἡν τινα, ἐφη, κολάζειν ἑθήλης, ἐμβιβάσασα εἰς τὸ μηχάνημα τοῦτο καὶ κατακλείσας προστίθεναι μὲν τοὺς αὐλοὺς τούσδε πρὸς τοὺς μυξωτηράς τοῦ βοῶς, πῦρ δὲ υποκαίειν κελεύειν, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰμώξεται καὶ βοήσεται ἀλήκτοις ταῖς δόξαις ἐχόμενος, ἡ βοη δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν μέλη σοι ἀποτελέσει οἶα λυγυρώτατα καὶ ἐπαυλήσει θρηνώδες καὶ μυκήσεται γονέωτατον, ὡς τὸν μὲν κολάζεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τέρπεσθαὶ μεταξὺ καταυλούμενου. ἐγὼ δὲ ὃς τοῦτο ἥκουσα, ἐμυσάχθην τὴν κακομηχανίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς.
PHALARIS I

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

'So much for what I had to say to you in my own behalf: it is true and just and, I flatter myself, merits praise rather than hatred. As for my gift, it is time you heard where and how I got this bull. I did not order it of the sculptor myself—I hope I may never be so insane as to want such things!—but there was a man in our town called Perilaus, a good metal-worker but a bad man. Completely missing my point of view, this fellow thought to do me a favour by inventing a new punishment, imagining that I wanted to punish people in any and every way. So he made the bull and came to me with it, a very beautiful thing to look at and a very close copy of nature; motion and voice were all it needed to make it seem actually alive. At the sight of it I cried out at once: "The thing is good enough for Apollo; we must send the bull to the god!" But Perilaus at my elbow said: "What if you knew the trick of it and the purpose it serves?" With that he opened the bull's back and said: "If you wish to punish anyone, make him get into this contrivance and lock him up; then attach these flutes to the nose of the bull and have a fire lighted underneath. The man will groan and shriek in the grip of unremitting pain, and his voice will make you the sweetest possible music on the flutes, piping dolefully and lowing piteously; so that while he is punished you are entertained by having flutes played to you." When I heard this I was disgusted with the wicked ingenuity of the fellow and hated the idea of the
καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐμίσησα τοῦ κατασκευάσματος καὶ οἰκεῖαν αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπέθηκα· καὶ, "Ἀγε ὃ, ἔφη, ὁ Περίλαος, εἰ μὴ κενὴ ἄλλως ὑπόσχεσις ταῦτά ἐστι, δείξον ἡμῖν αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς τέχνης καὶ μίμησας τοὺς βωύντας, ἢν εἰδῶμεν εἰ καὶ ἃ φης μέλη διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν φθέγγεται· πείθεται μεν ταῦτα ὁ Περίλαος, ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐνδόθη ἦν, κατακλείσας αὐτὸν πῦρ υφάπτειν ἐκέλευσο, Ἀπολάμβανε, εἰπὼν, τὸν ἄξιον μισθὸν τῆς θαυμαστῆς σου τέχνης, ἵνα διδάσκαλος τῆς μονικής προτος αὐτὸς αὐλής. καὶ ὁ μὲν δίκαια ἔπασχεν ὑπολαύσων τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐμηχανίας· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτι ἐμπυνοῦν καὶ ξύντα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξαιρεθῆηαι κελεύσασα, ὡς μὴ μιᾶςε τὸ ἔργον ἐναποθανὼν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἄταφον κατὰ κρημνῶν ῥίπτειν ἐκέλευσα, καθήρας δὲ τὸν βοῦν ἀνέπεμψα ὡμῖν ἀνατεθησόμενον τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ἐπιγράψαι γε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσα τὴν πᾶσαν διήγησιν, τοῦ ἀνατιθέντος ἐρῳ τοῦνομα, τὸν τεχνίτην τὸν Περίλαος, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τὴν ἐκεῖνον, τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐμῆν, τὴν πρέπουσαν τιμωρίαν, τα τοῦ σοφοῦ χαλκέως μέλη, τὴν πρὸτην πείραν τῆς μονικῆς.

'Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Δελφοὶ, δίκαια ποιήσετε θυσίαις μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μετὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, ἀναθέντες δὲ τὸν ταύρον ἐν καλῷ τοῦ ἱερῶν, ὡς πάντες εἰδεῖεν οἷος ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς ποιητοὺς εἰμὶ καὶ ὅτις ἀμύνομαι τὰς περιττὰς ἐς κακίαν ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν. ἵκανῷ γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δηλῶσαι μου τὸν τρόπον, Περίλαος κολασθείς καὶ ὁ ταύρος ἀναθείς καὶ μηκέτι φυλαχθεὶς πρὸς ἀλλῶν κολαζομένων αὐλήματα μηδὲ μελωδήσας ἀλλο ἐτὶ πλὴν μόνα τὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου μυκήματα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν μόνῳ
contrivance, so I gave him a punishment that fitted his crime. "Come now, Perilaus," said I, "if this is not mere empty boasting, show us the real nature of the invention by getting into it yourself and imitating people crying out, so that we may know whether the music you speak of is really made on the flutes." Perilaus complied, and when he was inside, I locked him up and had a fire kindled underneath, saying: "Take the reward you deserve for your wonderful invention, and as you are our music-master, play the first tune yourself!" So he, indeed, got his deserts by thus having the enjoyment of his own ingenuity. But I had the fellow taken out while he was still alive and breathing, that he might not pollute the work by dying in it; then I had him thrown over a cliff to lie unburied, and after purifying the bull, sent it to you to be dedicated to the god. I also had the whole story inscribed on it—my name as the giver; that of Perilaus, the maker; his idea; my justice; the apt punishment; the songs of the clever metal-worker and the first trial of the music.

'You will do what is right, men of Delphi, if you offer sacrifice in my behalf with my ambassadors, and if you set the bull up in a fair place in the temple-close, that all may know how I deal with bad men and how I requite their extravagant inclinations toward wickedness. Indeed, this affair of itself is enough to show my character: Perilaus was punished, the bull was dedicated without being kept to pipe when others were punished and without having played any other tune than the bellowings of its
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αυτῷ καὶ πείραν ἐλαβόν τῆς τέχνης καὶ κατέπαυσα τὴν ἁμοῦσον ἐκείνην καὶ ἅπανθρωπον ὁδήγη. καὶ τὰ μὲν παρόντα ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοὶ τῷ θεῷ ἀναθήσω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλάκις, ἐπειδὰν μοι παράσχη μηκέτι δείσθαι κολάσεων.

Ταῦτα μέν, ὁ Δελφοῖ, τὰ παρά τοῦ Φαλάριδος, ἀληθῆ πάντα καὶ οἷα ἐπράξθη ἐκαστα, καὶ δίκαιοι ἂν εἴημεν πιστεύεσθαι ύφ' ὑμῶν μαρτυρουντες, ώς ἂν καὶ εἰδότες καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῦ φεύγοις αὐν αἰτίαν ἔχοντες. εἰ δὲ δει καὶ δεσθήναι ὑπὲρ ἁνδρὸς μάτην ποιηρῷ δοκοῦντο καὶ ἁκοντος κολάξειν ἡμαγκασμένου, ἱκετεύομεν ὑμᾶς ἡμεῖς οἱ 'Ακραγαντῖνοι. Εὐληνες τε ὄντες καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δωριεῖς, προσέσθαι τὸν ἁνδρα δίλον εἶναι ἐθέλοντα καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δημοσία καὶ ἴδια ἐκαστον ύμῶν εὐ ποιησαι ὡρμημένον. λάβετε οὖν αὐτοῖ τὸν ταῦρον καὶ ἀνάβετε και εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ τε τῆς 'Ακράγαντος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος, καὶ μήτε ἡμᾶς ἀπράκτος ἀποπέμψῃ τε μήτε ἐκεῖνον υβρίσῃ τε τὸν θεόν ἀποστερήσῃ τε καλλίστον τε ἁμα καὶ δικαιοτάτον ἀναθήματος.

Οὔτε 'Ακραγαντῖνοι, ὁ ἁνδρας Δελφοῖ, πρό- 1

ζενοι οὐν οὔτε ἰδιόζενος αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος οὔτ' ἀλλην ἕχων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ εὐνοίας ἱδίαν αἰτίαν ἡ μελιούσης φιλίας ἐπίδα, τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἀκοῦσας τῶν ἥκοντων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτρια διεξόντων, καὶ τὸ εὐσεβές ἁμα καὶ τὸ 20
maker, and his case sufficed me to try the invention and put an end to that uninspired, inhuman music. At present, this is what I offer the god, but I shall make many other gifts as soon as he permits me to dispense with punishments.'

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

II

I am neither an official representative of the people of Acragas, men of Delphi, nor a personal representative of Phalaris himself, and I have no private ground at all for good-will to him and no expectation of future friendship. But after listening to the reasonable and temperate story of the ambassadors who have come from him, I rise in the
κοινή συμφέρον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Δελφοῖς πρέπον προορώμενος ἀνέστην παρανέσων ὑμῖν μήτε ὑβρίζειν ἀνδρα δυνάστην εὐσεβοῦντα μήτε ἀνάθημα ἢδι τῷ θεῷ καθωμολογημένον ἀπαλλατισθεῖν, καὶ ταύτα τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόμνημα εἰς ἀεὶ γενησόμενον, τέχνης καλλιστῆς καὶ ἐπινοιάς κακίστης καὶ δίκαιας κολάσεως. ἦγῳ μὲν ὦν 2 καὶ τὸ ἐνδοιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὅλως περὶ τοῦτον καὶ ἤμιν προθεῖναι τὴν διάσκεψιν, εἰ χρὴ δεχεσθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα ἢ ὑπίσω αὐθίς ἀποτέμπειν, ἀνόσιον ἢδι εἶναι νομίζω, μάλλον δὲ οὐδ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας ἀπολελοιπώναι οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλ’ ἡ ἱεροσυλία τὸ πράγμα ἐστὶ μακρὸ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπωτέρα, ὅσον τὸ τὰ ἢδι ἀνατεθέντα συλλὰν τὸ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἀνατιθέναι βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπειν ἀσεβέστερον.

Δέομαι δὲ ὑμῶν Δελφὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ὅν καὶ 3 τὸ ἴσον μετέχων τῆς τε δημοσίας εὐκλείας, εἰ φυλάττοιτο, καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας δόξης, εἰ εκ τῶν παρόντων προσγένοιτο, μήτε ἀποκλειεῖν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι μήτε τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ἀπαίτας ἀνθρώπων διαβάλλειν ὡς τὰ πεμπόμενα τῷ θεῷ συκοφαντοῦσαν καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δικαστηρίῳ δικαιώσεως τοὺς ἀνατιθέντας οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔτι ἀναθεῖναι τολμήσειν ἄν εἰδὼς οὐ προσηκομενον τὸν θεόν ὦ τι ἄν μὴ πρότερον Δελφοῖς δοκή. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύθιος τὴν δικαίαν ἢδι περὶ τοῦ 4 ἀναθήματος ψήφου ἤνεγκεν εἰ γοῦν ἐμῆσει τὸν Φάλαριν ἢ τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ ἐμφάστετο, ράδιον ἢν ἐν τῷ Ἱονίῳ μέσῳ καταδύσια αὐτὸ μετὰ τῆς ἀγούσης ὁλκάδος, ὁ δὲ πολὺ τοῦναντίον ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε δια-

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

A man of Delphi myself and an equal participant in our public good name if we maintain it and in our disrepute if we acquire it from the present case, I beg you neither to lock the temple to worshippers nor to give the world a bad opinion of the city as one that quibbles over things sent the god, and tries givers by ballot and jury. No one would venture to give in future if he knew that the god would not accept anything not previously approved by the men of Delphi. As a matter of fact, Apollo has already voted justly about the gift. At any rate, if he hated Phalaris or loathed his present, he could easily have sunk it in the middle of the Ionian sea, along with the ship that carried it. But, quite to the contrary,
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περαιωθῆμαι, ὡς φασί, παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ σῶς ἐς τὴν Κίρραν κατάραι. ὃ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι προσέται τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου οὕσεβειαν. χρῆ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνο ψηφισάμενος προσδείναι καὶ τὸν ταύρον τοιοῦτο τὸ ἄλλο κόσμῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ἐπεὶ πάντων ἂν εἴη τοῦτο ἀτοπώτατον, πέμψαντά τινα μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὕτω δῷρον θεῷ τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ψῆφον λαβεῖν καὶ μισθὸν κομίσασθαι τῆς οὕσεβειας τὸ κεκρίσθαι μηδὲ τοῦ ἀνατιθέναι ἅξιον.1

Ὅ μὲν τάναντία μοι ἐγνωκός, καθάπερ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ἀρτί καταπεπλευκός, σφαγάς τινας καὶ βίας καὶ ἀρπαγάς καὶ ἀπαγωγάς ἐπραγόθει τοῦ τυράννου μόνου οὐκ αὐτόπτης γεγεινόθη λέγων, ὃν ἠμεν ὄυδ' ἄχρι τοῦ πλοίου ἀποδεδημικότα. χρῆ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα μηδὲ τοῖς πεποιθέναι φασκουσιν πάνω πιστεύειν δυνημένοις—ἀδηλον γαρ εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν—οὐχ ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἃ μὴ ἐπιστάμεθα κατηγορεῖν. εἰ δὲ 7 οὖν τι καὶ πέπρακται τοιοῦτον ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τοῦτ' ὁ Δέλφοις ἀναγκαίον πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἀντὶ ἱερέων ἡδη δικασταὶ εἶναι ἅξιούμεν καὶ, δέον θύειν καὶ τάλλα θεραπεύειν τὸν θεόν καὶ συναντιθέναι εἰ πέμψεις τις, σκοποποῦντες καθῆμεθα εἰ τινες τῶν υπὲρ τῶν Ἰόνιων δικαίως ἢ ἄδικως τυραννοῦνται.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐχέτω ὅτι βούλεται: 8 ἧμῖν δὲ ἀναγκαίον, οἴμαι, τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν εἰδέναι, ὅπως τε πᾶλι διέκειτο καὶ ὅπως νῦν ἔχει καὶ τί ποιοῦσι λόγον ἔσται· ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐν κρημνοῖς

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

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

Let the situation of others be as it may: we, in my opinion, must needs realize our own situation—what it was of old, what it is now, and what we can do to better it. That we live on crags and cultivate
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te oikoumen autoi kai petras georhomyen, oux
"Omphron chrē perimeinein deilwsonta ἧμιν, all'
óran paréstai taúta. Kai ὅσον εἶπε τῇ γῇ, Batesi
lymphi einai syneîmen an, to δ' ieroun kai o Púthios kai
to chrístirion kai oi thúontes kai oi eússeboûntes,
taúta Delphón tâ pedia, taúta h prósoðos, en-
teûthen h eúporia, enuteûthen ai trophai—chrē gar
tállhēi prós ge hımâs autouē légein—kai to lego-
meunon upo tovν poinων, ἀσπαρτα ἧμιν kai anýrōta
fûtei tâ páunta ὑπὸ georhóf tōv theō, de ou
mónon tâ parâ tois "Ellhson àgathâ hēmômena
parêchei, all' eî ti en 'Yrôv̆n h̆ Lúdouis h̆ Pérsas
h̆ 'Asourious h̆ Foiniēiv h̆ 'Italiwōtai h̆ 'Uper-
boreois autous, páunta eis Delphous afiýv̆aĭtai. Kαι
tâ deûtera metâ tōν theōn ἧmeis timômētha ἕφ'
ápântων kai eûporoûmen kai eûdai mônômēmen
taúta to árchaiōn, taúta to mékri vûn, kai mē
ounsaîmēthā ge oûtw bieûntes.

Mémmetai de oudeis pòpote ψήφων ὑπὲρ anâ-
ðhimahtos par' ἧμιν λégeiðhēisan oude kowûnta
tinâ theōn h anatithēnai. Kai diâ toût', oîmâi, kai
autô eis ὑπερβολὴν ἦψεται to ʻiervoun kai ὑπερ-
plountei en tois anathýmasei. Dei toûnous mhē en to
parónti kainōtomeĭn mhên mhê părâ tâ pátria
nômou kathistánaí, φυλοκρινεῖν tâ anathýmata kai
rocks is something we need not wait for Homer to tell us—anyone can see it for himself.\footnote{"Rocky Pytho" is twice mentioned in the Iliad (2, 519; 9, 405). But Lucian is thinking particularly of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, toward the close of which (526f.) the Cretans whom Apollo has settled at Delphi ask him how they are to live; "for here is no lovely vine-land or fertile glebe." He tells them that they have only to slaughter sheep, and all that men bring him shall be theirs.} As far as the land is concerned, we should always be cheek by jowl with starvation: the temple, the god, the oracle, the sacrificers and the worshippers—these are the grain-lands of Delphi, these are our revenue, these are the sources of our prosperity and of our subsistence. We should speak the truth among ourselves, at any rate! "Unsown and untilled,"\footnote{Homer, Od. 9, 109; 123.} as the poets say, everything is grown for us with the god for our husbandman. Not only does he vouchsafe us the good things found among the Greeks, but every product of the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Persians, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, the Italians and even the Hyperboreans comes to Delphi. And next to the god we are held in honour by all men, and we are prosperous and happy. Thus it was of old, thus it has been till now, and may we never cease leading this life!

Never in the memory of any man have we taken a vote on a gift, or prevented anyone from sacrificing or giving. For this very reason, I think, the temple has prospered extraordinarily and is excessively rich in gifts. Therefore we ought not to make any innovation in the present case and break precedents by setting up the practice of censoring gifts and looking into the pedigree of things that are sent
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γεναλογεῖν τὰ πεμπόμενα, ὅθεν καὶ ἂφ' ὅτον καὶ ὁποία, δεξαμένους δὲ ἀπραγμόνως ἀνατιθέναι ὑπη-
ρετοῦντας ἀμφότερον, καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς εὐσέβεσιν.

Δοκεῖτε δὲ μοι, ὥς ἄνδρες Δελφοῖ, ἀριστα βου-
λεύσεσθαι1 περὶ τῶν παρόντων, εἰ λογίσαιςθε ὑπὲρ2 ὅσων καὶ ἡλίκιων ἑστὶν ἡ σκέψις, πρῶτον
μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἰ

αναθημάτων καὶ ἐθῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ θεσμῶν
παλαιών καὶ δόξης τοῦ μαντείου, ἐπείτα ὑπὲρ τῆς
πόλεως ὅλης καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῷ τε κοινῷ

ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ Δελφῷ, ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τῆς
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας ἡ κακοδόξια

tούτων γὰρ οὐκ ὁδικαὶ εἰ τι μεῖζον, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε,

ἡ ἀναγκαῖότερον ἡγίσαιςθε ἂν.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὅν τω βουλευόμεθα, ταῦτα ἑστὶν,

οὐ Φάλαιρις τύραννος εἶς οὐδ' ὁ ταύρος οὕτος οὐδὲ
χαλκὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες βασιλεῖς καὶ πάντες

dυνάσται, ὅσοι νῦν χρόνιται τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ χρυσὸς
cαὶ ἀργυρὸς καὶ ὥστε ἅλλα τίμια, πολλάκις

ἀνατεθησόμενα τῷ θεῷ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ

tὸν θεὸν ἑξετασθῆναι ξένων. τίνως οὖν ἕνεκα

μὴ ὁς ἄει μηδὲ ὡς πάλαι τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀναθη-

μάτων ποιήσωμεν; ἡ τί μεμφόμενοι τοῖς παλαιοῖς

ἐθεσίων καινοτομήσωμεν; καὶ ὃ μιθὲ πώποτε,

ἀφ' οὗ τῆς πόλιν οἰκώμεν καὶ ὁ Πύθιος χρᾶ καὶ ὁ
tρίποτις φθέγγεται καὶ ἢ ἰέρεια ἐμπνεύεται, γε-

γένεται παρ' ἡμῖν, νῦν καταστησόμεθα, κρίνεσθαι
cαὶ ἑξετάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀνατιθέντας; καὶ μὴν ἔξ

1 Βουλεύσεσθαι Reitz: Βουλεύσεσθαι MSS.
2 ὑπὲρ Sommerbrodt: πρῶτον ὑπὲρ MSS.
here, to see where they come from and from whom, and what they are: we should receive them and dedicate them without officiousness, serving both parties, the god and the worshippers.

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

This is what we are in consultation about, then: it is not Phalaris (a single tyrant) or this bull of bronze only, but all kings and all monarchs who now frequent the temple, and gold and silver and all other things of price that will be given the god on many occasions. The first point to be investigated should be the interest of the god. Why should we not manage the matter of gifts as we have always done, as we did in the beginning? What fault have we to find with the good old customs, that we should make innovations, and that we should now set up a practice that has never existed among us since the city has been inhabited, since our god has given oracles, since the tripod has had a voice and since the priestess has been inspired—the practice of trying and cross-examining givers? In consequence
ἐκεῖνου μὲν τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους, τοῦ ἀνέδην καὶ πάσιν ἔξειναι, ὅρατε ὅσων ἄγαθῶν ἐμπέπλησται τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀπάντων ἀνατιθέντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν εὑρίσκωμεν τῶν θεῶν. εἰ δ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς δοκιμαστὰς καὶ ἔξεταστὰς ἐπιστήσετε τοῖς ἀ ιθήμασιν, ὅκνω μὴ ἀπορήσῳσωμεν τῶν δοκιμασθησομένων ἔτι, οὔτεν ὑπομένοντος ὑπόδικου αὐτοῦ καθιστάναι, καὶ ἀναλίσκοντα καὶ καταδαπανῶντα παρ' αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων κινδυνεύων. ἡ τίνι βιωτόν, εἰ κριθήσεται τοῦ ἀνατιθέναι ἀνάξιος ἀνάξιος;
of that fine old custom of unrestricted access for all, you see how many good things fill the temple: all men give, and some are more generous to the god than their means warrant. But if you make yourselves examiners and inquisitors upon gifts, I doubt we shall be in want of people to examine hereafter, for nobody has the courage to put himself on the defensive, and to stand trial and risk everything as a result of spending his money lavishly. Who can endure life, if he is pronounced unworthy to make an oblation?
HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

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

Τῶν σοφῶν ἐκείνους μάλιστα ἐγωγέ φημι δεῖν 1 ἐπαίνειν, ὅποσοι μὴ λόγους μόνον δεξιοὺς παρέ- σχοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκάστων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργοὺς ὁμοίους τὰς τῶν λόγων ὑποσχέσεις ἐπι- στώσαντο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἰατρῶν ὦ γε νοῦν ἔχον ὦν τοὺς ἄριστα ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης ἐπεῖν δυναμένους μεταστέλλεται νοσῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πράξαι τι κατ' αὐτὴν μεμελητηκότας. ἀμείωνοι δὲ καὶ μουσικοῖς, οίμαι, τοῦ διακρίνειν ῥυθμοὺς καὶ ἀρμονίας ἐπι- σταμένου ὦ καὶ ψύλαι καὶ κιθαρίσαι αὐτὸς δυνά- μενος. τί γὰρ ἂν σοι τῶν στρατηγῶν λέγομι τοὺς εἰκότως ἄριστους κρίθεντας, ὦτι οὐ τάττειν μόνον καὶ παραίνειν ἢσαν ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ προ- μάχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ χειρὸς ἔργα ἐπιδεικνυ- σθαι; οἶον πάλαι μείν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, τῶν κάτω δὲ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ Πύρρου ἰσμεν γεγονότας.

Πρὸς δὴ τί ταῦτ’ ἐφη; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως 2 ἰστορίαν ἐπιδεικνυσθαί βουλόμενος ἐπεμνήσθην αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τῶν μηχανικῶν ἐκείνους ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, ὅποσοι ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ λαμπροὶ γενόμενοι καὶ μημόσυνα ὤμος τῆς τέχνης καὶ παραδείγματα 1 τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοὺς κατέλυσαν ἐπεὶ οὐ γε τοῖς λόγοις μόνοις ἐγγεγυμνασμένοι σοφισταὶ

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

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

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

ἀν εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἡ σοφοὶ καλοίντο. τοιοῦτον ἀκούομεν τὸν Ἀρχιμήδη γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Κυίδιον Σώστρατον, τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαίω χειρωσάμενον τὴν Μέμφιν1 ἀνευ πολιορκίας ἀποστροφῆ καὶ διαιρέσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὸν δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων τριήμερης καταφλέξαντα τῇ τέχνῃ, καὶ Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑποσχόμενος Κροίσῳ ἄβροχον διαβιβάσειν τὸν στρατόν ἐπινοία κατόπιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου μά νυκτὶ τὸν Ἀλων περιήγαγεν, οὐ μηχανικὸς οὗτος γενόμενος, σοφὸς δὲ καὶ ἐπινοήσαι καὶ συνείναι πθανώτατος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἐπειδὸν πάνω ἀρχαίοι, ὃς οὐ μόνον τεχνὴσασθαι τοῖς Ἀχαϊῶς τὸν ὕππουν, ἄλλα καὶ συγκαταβῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν λέγεται.

Ἐν δὴ τούτωι καὶ Ἰππίου τουτοῦ τοῦ καθ' ἰμάς μεμνῆσαί αξίουν, ἀνδρὸς λόγως μὲν παρ' ὅντινα βούλει τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγυμνασμένον καὶ συνεῖναι τα ὀξεῖς καὶ ἔρμηνεύσαι σαφεστάτου, τὰ δὲ ἐργα πολὺ τῶν λόγων ἀμείνῳ παρεχομένου καὶ τῆς τῆς τέχνης ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποπληροῦτος, οὐκ ἐν τοιαύταις μὲν ὑποθέσεσιν ἐν αἷς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρῶτοι1 γενέσθαι εὐτύχιστα, κατὰ δὲ τῶν γεωμετρικῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης, φασίν, εὐθείας τὸ τρίγωνον ἀκριβῶς συνισταμένου. καὶ τοῖς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἐκαστὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔργον ἀποτεμόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῳ εὐδοκιμήσας εἶναι τὶς ὅμως ἐδοξεῖν, ὁ δὲ μηχανικῶν τε ὧν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ γεωμετρικῶν, ἑτὶ δὲ ἄρμονικῶν καὶ μουσικῶν φαίνεται, καὶ ὅμως ἐκαστὸν τούτων ὅτως ἐντελῶς

1 Πτολεμαίω χειρωσάμενον τὴν Μέμφιν Palmer: Πτολεμαίων χειρωσάμενον καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν MSS. "took Ptolemy and Memphion.”

2 πρῶτοι E. Capps: not in MSS.

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

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

1 In other words, he has originality.
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δέκινοσιν ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἐπιστάμενος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀκτίνων καὶ ἀνακλάσεων καὶ κατόπτρων θεωρίαν, ἔτι δὲ ἀστρονομίαν, ἐν ἡ παίδας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἅπεφηνεν, οὐκ ὁλίγου χρόνου ἄν εἰη ἐπαινεῖν. ἀ δὲ ἐναγχὸς ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐργῶν 4 κατεπλάγην, οὐκ ὁκνησό εἰπεῖν κοινῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ὑπόθεσις κὰ τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίῳ πάνυ πολλῇ, βαλανεῖόν κατασκευῆ: ἡ 1 περίοιοι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ σύνεσις θαυμαστὴ.

Τόπος μὲν ἦν οὐκ ἑπίπεδος, ἀλλὰ πάνω προςάντις καὶ ὁρθιος, ὅν παραλαβὼν κατὰ θάτερα εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ταπεινών, ἵσπεδον θάτερων ἅπεφηνεν, κρηπίδα μὲν βεβαιοτάτην ἀπαντὰ τὸ ἐργὸ βαλόμενος καὶ θεμελίων θέσει τὴν τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἀσφάλειαν ἐμπεδωσάμενος, ὑψησί 3 δὲ πάνω ἀπότομοι καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν συνεχομένους τὸ ὅλον κρατυνάμενος τὰ δὲ ἔποικοδομηθέντα τῷ τι τοῦ τόπου μεγέθει σύμμετρα καὶ τῷ εὐλόγῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀρμοδιώτατα καὶ τῶν τῶν φῶτων λόγου φυλάττοντα. πυλῶν μὲν ὑψηλὸς ἀναβάσεις πλατείας ἐχὼν, ὑπτίας μάλλον ἡ ὁρθιας 4 πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἁνόιτων εὐμάρειαν εἰσίστατα δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδέχεται κοινὸς οἶκος εὐμεγέθης, ἴκανὴν ἑχὼν ὑπηρέταις καὶ ἀκολούθους διατριβήν, ἐν ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς τρυφὴν παρασκευασμένα οἰκήματα, 5 βαλανεῖω δ’ οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρεπωδέστατα, χαρίσσαι καὶ ψωτὶ πολλῷ καταλαμπόμεναι ὑποχωρή-

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

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

The entrance is high, with a flight of broad steps of which the tread is greater than the pitch, to make them easy to ascend. On entering, one is received into a public hall of good size, with ample accommodations for servants and attendants. On the left are the lounging rooms, also of just the right sort for a bath, attractive, brightly lighted.
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σεις. εἰτ' ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν οἶκος, περιττὸς μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, ἀναγκαῖος δὲ ὦς πρὸς τὴν τῶν εὐδαιμονεστέρων ὑποδοχήν. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκατέρωθεν διαρκείς τοὺς ἀποδυνομένους ἀποθέσεις, καὶ μέσος οἶκος ὑψεῖ τε υψηλότατος καὶ φωτὶ φαινομένος, ψυχρὸν ὑδάτων ἑχων τρεῖς κολυμβηθήριας, Δακαίνη λίθῳ κεκοσμημένος, καὶ ἐκόνες ἐν αὐτῷ λίθῳ λευκῷ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐργασίας, ἢ μὲν Ὄμειιας, ἢ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

'Εξελθόντας δὲ ὑποδέχεται ἡ ἡρέμα χλαίνομενος οἶκος οὐκ ἀπηνεῖ τῇ θέρμῃ προσαπαντῶν, ἐπιμήκης, ἀμφιστρόγγυλος, μεθ' ὄν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἶκος ἐν μάλα φαινόμενος, ἀλεάνθαται προσηνών παρεχόμενος, ἐκατέρωθεν εἰσόδους ἑχων Φρυγίω λίθῳ κεκαλωπισμένας, τοὺς ἀπὸ παλαιόστας εἰσιόντας δεχόμενος. εἰτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλος οἶκος οἰκών ἀπάντων κάλλιστος, στῆναι τε καὶ ἐγκαθίζεσθαι προσηνεστάτος καὶ ἐμβαθύναι ἄβλαβεστάτος καὶ ἐγκυκλίασθαι ὡφελιμότατος, Φρυγίων καὶ αὐτῶς εἰς ὀροφὴν ἄκραιν ἀποστήλβων. ἔξης δὲ ὁ θερμὸς ὑποδέχεται διάδρομος Νομαίδη λίθῳ διακεκαλλημένος. ὁ δὲ ἕνδον οἶκον κάλλιστος, φωτὸς τε πολλοῦ ἀνάμεστος καὶ ὡς πορφύρα διηνιθισμένος. τρεῖς καὶ ὦτος θερμὰς πυέλους παρέχεται.

Δουσιμένῳ δὲ ἐνεστὶ σοι μὴ τὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰκῶν αὕθις ἐπανεῖναι, ἄλλα ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δέ ἡ ἡρέμα θερμοῦ οἰκήματος, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπὸ φωτὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ πολλῇ τῇ ἐνδόν ἡμέρᾳ. ὑψη πρὸς τούτοις
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retreats. Then, beside them, a hall, larger than need be for the purposes of a bath, but necessary for the reception of the rich. Next, capacious locker-rooms to undress in, on each side, with a very high and brilliantly lighted hall between them, in which are three swimming-pools of cold water; it is finished in Laconian marble, and has two statues of white marble in the ancient technique, one of Hygieia, the other of Aesculapius.

On leaving this hall, you come into another which is slightly warmed instead of meeting you at once with fierce heat; it is oblong, and has a recess at each side. Next it, on the right, is a very bright hall, nicely fitted up for massage, which has on each side an entrance decorated with Phrygian marble, and receives those who come in from the exercising-floor. Then near this is another hall, the most beautiful in the world, in which one can sit or stand with comfort, linger without danger and stroll about with profit. It also is resplendent with Phrygian marble clear to the roof. Next comes the hot corridor, faced with Numidian marble. The hall beyond it is very beautiful, full of abundant light and aglow with colour like that of purple hangings. It contains three hot tubs.

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

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1 Or "long and rounded"; i.e., elliptical.
2 The writer does not mean that the room was hung with purple, but that the stone with which it was decorated was purple: perhaps only that it had columns of porphyry.
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ἀναλογα καὶ πλάτη τοῖς μὴ κεστὶ σύμμετρα καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλὴ χάρις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἐπανθεῖ· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καλὸν Πλίνδαρον, ἀρχιμένου ἐργον πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές. τούτῳ δὲ ἂν εἰγὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐγῆς μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ φέγγους καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν μεμηχανμένου. ὁ γὰρ σοφὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς Ἰππίας τὸν μὲν ψυχροδόχον οἶκον εἰς βορρᾶν προσκεχωρηκότα ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἢμοιον οὔδε τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἀέρος· τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺ τοῦ θάλπους δεσμένους νότῳ καὶ εὐρῷ καὶ ξεφύρῳ ὑπέθηκε. τί δὲ ἂν σοι τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγοιμι παλαιότατα καὶ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν ἰματιοφυλακοῦντων κατασκευᾶς ταχείαν ἐπιτι τὸ λουτρὸν καὶ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν ὀδὸν ἐχούσας τοῦ χρησίμου τε καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς ἐνεκα;

Καὶ μὴ μὲ ὑπολάβῃ τις μικρὸν ἐργον προθέμενον κοσμεῖν τῷ λόγῳ προαιρέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ καί ἐπιστήσαι κάλλους δείγματα, οὐ μικρὰς σοφίας ἐγωγε τίθεμαι, οἶον καὶ τόιδε τὸ ἐργὸν ὁ θαυμάσιος ἢμῖν Ἰππίας ἐπεδείξατο πάσας ἐξὸν τὰς βαλανεῖαν ἄρετας, τὸ χρήσιμον, τὸ εὐκαίριον, τὸ εὐφεγγές, τὸ σύμμετρον, τὸ τὸ τόπῳ ἱμοσμένον, τὸ τὴν χρείαν ἁσφαλῆ παρεχόμενον, καὶ προσέτι τῇ ἄλλῃ περινοίᾳ κεκοσμημένον, ἀφόδων μὲν ἀναγκαίων δυσὶν ἀναχωρήσειν, ἔξοδοις δὲ πολλαῖς τεθυρωμένον, ὥρῶν δὲ διττὰς δηλώσεις, τὴν μὲν δὲ οὐδατος καὶ μυκήματος, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἰλιῶν επιδεικνύμενον.

Ταῦτα ἰδόντα μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν πρέποντα ἐπαινοῦν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἀνοίητον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

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

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

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

¹Olymp. 6, 3. Pindar's ἀρχομένου (the beginning of your work) is out of place in this context.
άχαριστοι, μάλλον δὲ βασκάνου μοι εἶναι ἑδοξεῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργόν ἡμείς ἁμὴρ τῷ λόγῳ. εἰ δὲ θεὸς παράσχοι καὶ λούσασθαι ποτε, πολλοὺς οἶδα ἔξων τοὺς κοινωνήσουσι μοι τῶν ἐπαίνων.
ungrateful, even malignant, it seems to me. I for my part have done what I could to do justice both to the work and to the man who planned and built it. If Heaven ever grants you the privilege of bathing there, I know that I shall have many who will join me in my words of praise.
In Lucian's time it became the custom to introduce a formal piece of rhetorical fireworks with an informal talk, usually more or less personal. See A. Stock, *de prolaliarum usu rhetorico*, Königsberg, 1911. It is the general belief that the 'Dionysus' introduced Book ii. of the 'True Story.'
"Ὅτε ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπ’ Ἰνδοὺς στρατιάν ἤλασε 1
—κωλύει γὰρ οὐδέν, οἰμαί, καὶ μῦθον ύμῖν
dιηγήσασθαι Βακχικόν—φασὶν οὕτω καταφρονή-
sαι αὐτὸν τὰ πρῶτα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ,
ὡς καταγελάν ἐπιόντος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔλεειν τὴν
tόλμαν αὐτίκα μᾶλα συμπατηθησομένου ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐλεφαντῶν, εἰ ἀντιτάξαίτο. 1 ἤκονον γὰρ, οἰμαί, τῶν
σκοπῶν ἀλλοκότα ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ,
ἀγγελλόντων, ὡς ἦ μὲν φάλαγξ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λόχοι
γναῖκες εἶν ἐκφρονεῖ καὶ μερηνύει, κιττῷ
ἐστερμέναι, νεβρίδας ἐνημέρει, δοράτα μικρὰ
ἐχοῦσαι ἁσίδηρα, κιττοποιήτα καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τινὰ
πελτάρια κόηφα, βομβοῦντα, εἰ τις μόνον προσά-
ψαίτο—ἀσπίσει γὰρ έικαζον, οἰμαί, 2 τὰ τύμπανα—
ὁλίγους δὲ τινὰς ἀγρόκους νεανίσκους ἐνείναι, γυμ-
νοὺς, κόρδακα ὀρχομένους, οὐρὰς ἐχοῦσας, κεράσ-
τας, οία τοῖς ἄρτι γεννηθέσιν ἐρίφοις ὑποφύεται.
καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηλάτην αὐτὸν ἔφ’ ἀρματος ὀχεί-
ζαι παρδάλεως ὑπεξενγμένων, ἄγενευον ἀκριβῶς,
οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον τὴν παρειάν χνωὔτα, κερασσόρου,
βοτρύοις ἐστεφανωμένου, μίτρα τὴν κόμην ἀνα-

1 ἀντιτάξαίτο MSS. : ἀντιτάξατο Cobet.
2 οἰμαί Rothstein : καὶ MSS.
DIONYSUS

AN INTRODUCTION

When Dionysus led his host against the men of Ind (surely there is nothing to prevent my telling you a tale of Bacchus!), he was held at first in such contempt, they say, by the people there, that they laughed at his advance; more than that, they pitied him for his hardihood, because he was certain to be trampled under foot in an instant by the elephants if he deployed against them. No doubt they heard curious reports about his army from their scouts: “His rank and file are crack-brained, crazy women, wreathed with ivy, dressed in fawn-skins, carrying little headless spears which are of ivy too, and light targes that boom if you do but touch them”—for they supposed, no doubt, that the tambours were shields. “A few young clodhoppers are with them, dancing the can-can without any clothes on; they have tails, and have horns like those which start from the foreheads of new-born kids. As for the general himself, he rides on a car behind a team of panthers; he is quite beardless, without even the least bit of down on his cheek, has horns, wears a garland of grape clusters, ties up his hair with
οδεμένων, ἐν πορφυρίδι καὶ χρυσῇ ἐμβάδι· ὑπο-
στρατηγεῖν δὲ δύο, ἕνα μὲν τινα βραχύν, προ-
σβύτην, υπόπαχνυν, προγάστορα, μινόσιμον, ὡτα μεγάλα
ὀρθία ἔχουσα, ὑπότρομου, νάρθηκι ἐπερειδόμενον,
ἐπ' ὁνόμα τὰ πολλὰ ἱππεύοντα, ἐν κροκωτῷ καὶ
tοῦτον, πάνυ πιθανόν τινα συνταγματάρχην
αὐτοῦ ἐτεροῦν δὲ τεράστιον ἀνθρωπον, τράγῳ τὰ
νέρθεν ἐοικότα, κομίτην τὰ σκέλη, κέρατα ἔχουσα,
βαθυπώγωνα, ὀργίλον καὶ θυμικόν, θατέρα μὲν
σύριγγα φέροντα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ ράβδον καμπύλην
ἐπιημένου καὶ περικιρτωντά ὅλον τὸ στρατόπε-
δον, καὶ τὰ γύναια δὲ φοβείσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ σείειν
ἡμεμωμένας τὰς κόμας, ὀπότε προσίου, καὶ βοῶν
ἐνοῦ τοῦτο δ' εἰκάζειν καλείσθαι αὐτῶν τὸν
dεσπότην. τὰς δ' οὖν ποίμνας διηρπᾶσθαι ἤδη ὕπο
τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ διεσπάσθαι ἐτί ἔξωτα τὰ
θρέμματα: ὁμοφώγους γὰρ τινας αὐτας εἶναι.

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἀκού-
οντες ἐγέλων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ οὐδ' ἀντεπεξάγειν ἡ
παρατάπτεσθαι ἡξίουν, ἀλλ' εἴτερ ἄρα, τὰς
γυναικὰς ἐπαφήσειν αὐτοῖς, εἰ πλησίον γένοιτο, σφίζει
dὲ καὶ νικᾶν αἰσχρῶν ἐδόκει καὶ φονεύειν
γύναια μεμνήστα καὶ θηλυκτὴν ἄρχοντα καὶ
μεθύον σμικρὸν γερόντιον καὶ ἡμίτραγον στρατιώ-
tὴν ἄλλον1 καὶ γυμνήτας ὀρχηστάς, πάντας2
γελοίους. ἔτει δὲ ἤγγελτο πυρπολῶν ὁ θεὸς ἤδη
τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις αὐτάνδρους καταφλέγων
καὶ ἀνάπτων τὰς ὑλὰς καὶ ἐν βραχεί πάσαν τὴν
Ἰνδικὴν φλογὸς ἐμπεπληκῶς—ὄπλον γὰρ τι

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

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

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1 Silenus. 2 Pan.
Διονυσιακοί τὸ πῦρ, πατρὸφιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ—ἐνταῦθα ἡδή σπουδὴ ἀνελάμβανον τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπισάξαντες καὶ ἐγχαλιωώσαντες καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναθέμενοι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἀντετείχεσαν, καταφρονοῦντες μὲν καὶ τὸτε, ὄργιζόμενοι δὲ ὦμοι καὶ συντρίψασι σπεύδοντες αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν ἀγένειον ἐκείνου στρατηλάτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἐγένετο καὶ έδον ἀλλήλους, οὶ μὲν Ἰνδοὶ προτάξαντες τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπίγηγον τὴν φάλαγγα, ὁ Διόνυσος δὲ τὸ μέσον μὲν αὐτῶς ἐχε, τοῦ κέρας δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δεξίου μὲν ὁ Σιληνός, τοῦ εὐωμύμου δὲ ὁ Πᾶν ἤγουντο· λοχαγοὶ δὲ καὶ ταξιαρχοὶ οἱ Σάτυροι ἐγκαθιστήκεσαν· καὶ τὸ μὲν σύνθεμα ἄν ἄπασι τὸ εὐδικτυρίαν τὰ τύμπανα ἐπαταγεῖτο καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἑσήμαινε καὶ τῶν Σατύρων τῆς λαβών τὸ κέρας ἐπηύλει τὸ ὀρθιον καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ ὄνος ἐνυάλιον τι ὁγκήσατο καὶ αἱ Μαινάδες σὺν ὀλολυγῇ ἐνεπιήδησαν αὐτῶς δράκοντας ὑπεξωσμέναι κἂν τῶν θύρων ἄκρων ἀπογυμνοῦσαν τὸν σίδηρον. οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφανται αὐτῶν αὐτικὰ ἐγκλινάντες σὺν οὐδειν κόσμῳ ἐφευγον οὐδὲ ὄντος βέλους γενέσθαι ὑπομείναντες, καὶ τέλος κατὰ κράτος ἐκάλωκεσαν καὶ ἀιχμαλώτοι ἀπήγγειον ὑπὸ τῶν τέως καταγελωμένων, ἔρχον μαθόντες ὡς οὐκ ἔχρην ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀκοῆς καταφρονεῖν ξένων στρατοπέδων.
DIONYSUS

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

1 Zeus, the father of Dionysus, revealed himself to Semele, his mother, in all his glory, at her own request. Killed by his thunderbolt, she gave untimely birth to Dionysus, whom Zeus stitched into his own thigh and in due time brought into the world.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Allā tī prōs tōn Δίωνυσον ὁ Δίωνυσος 5 οὐτός; eίποι tis ἀν. ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσι—καὶ πρός Χαρίτων μή με κορυβαντιὰν ἡ τελέως μεθέειν ὑπολάβητε, eἰ τάμα εἰκάζω τοῖς θεοῖς—ὦμοιόν τι πάσχειν οἱ πολλοὶ πρῶς τοὺς καινοὺς τῶν λόγων τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἐκείνοις, οἷον καὶ πρῶς τοὺς ἐμοὺς: οἴόμενοι γὰρ σατυρικὰ καὶ γελοιὰ τινα καὶ κομικῇ κωμικὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούσεσθαι—τοιαύτα γὰρ 1 πε- πιστεύκασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὑπέρ ἐμοῦ—οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄφικνοῦται, ὡς οὐδὲν δέουν παρέχειν τά ὅτα κώμοις γυναικείοις καὶ σκιρτήμαισι σατυρικοῖς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔλεφάν- των, οί δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοιοῦτὸ τι ἤκουσες ἀμὴ τοῦ κινττοῦ σίδηρου εὑρόντες οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπαινεῖν τολμῶσι τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος τεθορυ- βημῷ. ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν ἐπαγγέλλομαι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἢν καὶ νῦν ὡς πρότερον ποτε τὴν τελετὴν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιδείξωσι πολλάκις καὶ ἀναμιμησθῶσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συμπόται κώμων κοινῶν τῶν τότε καρδῶν καὶ μὴ καταφρονήσωσιν τῶν Σατύρων καὶ Σιλήνων, πίωσι δὲ ἐς κόρου τοῦ κρατήρος τούτου, ἐτι βακχεύσειν 2 καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλάκις μεθ' ἡμῶν ἑρείν τὸ εὐοί. οὕτωι μὲν οὐν—ἐλεύθερον 6 γὰρ ἄκοι—ποιούστων ὅ τι καὶ φίλου.

'Εγὼ δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἤπειρ ἐτι ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐσμέν, ἐθέλω καὶ ἄλλο ύμῖν διηγήσασθαι τι τῶν ἐκείθεν, οὐκ

1 γὰρ (in two late MSS. only) A. M. H., making τοιαύτα | . . . ἐμοῦ parenthetical.
2 ἐτι Βακχεύσειν Schwartz: ἐμβακχεύσειν (or ἐκβ.) MSS.
DIONYSUS

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

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

1 οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον· ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μὴ προσήκουσα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις λέγοντων. Explained by Zenobius as said in the theatre, when poets began to write about Ajax and the Centaurs and other things not in the Dionysiac legend. See Ptolemy (τῆς ἑραι) i. p. 137.

2 The source of the anapaest κάμων κοινῶν τῶν τὸτε καὶ ὁ is unknown.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀπροσδιόνυσον οὐδ’ αυτό, οὐδ’ ὑπνοῦμεν ἀλλότριον. ἐν Ἰνδοῖς τοῖς Μαχαίοις, οἳ τὰ λαία τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἰ κατὰ ροῦν αὐτοῦ βλέποις, ἐπινεμόμενοι μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ὀκεανὸν καθήκουσιν, παρὰ τούτοις ἀλὸσος ἐστίν ἐν περιφράκτῳ, οὐ πάνω μεγάλῳ χωρίῳ, συνηρεβεῖ δὲ κιντὸς γὰρ πολὺς καὶ ἀμπέλου σύσκιον αὐτό ἀκριβῶς ποιοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα πηγαὶ εἰσὶ τρεῖς καλλίστου καὶ διεισδυστῶν ὦδατον, ἥ μὲν Σατύρων, ἡ δὲ Πανός, ἡ δὲ Σιληνοῦ. καὶ εἰδέρχονται εἰς αὐτὸ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἔφορτάζουτες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πίνουσι τῶν πηγῶν, οὐκ ἀπασόν ἄπαντες, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἴλικιαν, τὰ μὲν μειράκια τῆς τῶν Σατύρων, οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ τῆς Πανικῆς, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ οἱ κατ’ ἐμὲ.

"Α μὲν οὖν πάσχουσιν οἱ παῖδες ἐπειδὰν πίνωσιν, ἥ οίᾳ οἱ ἄνδρες τολμῶσι κατεχόμενοι τῷ Πανί, μακρὸν ἄν εἰη λέγειν: ἃ δ’ οἱ γέροντες ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν μεθυσθῶσιν τοῦ ὦδατος, οὐκ ἀλλότριον εἴπειν ἐπειδὰν πιή ὁ γέρων καὶ κατάσχῃ αὐτὸν ὁ Σιληνός, αὐτίκα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀφωνος ἐστι καὶ κυρηβαροῦντι καὶ βεβαπτισμένῳ εἰκεν, εἴτα ἄφιω φωνή τε λαμπρὰ καὶ θέγμα τορὸν καὶ πνεῦμα λυγρὸν ἐγγίγνεται αὐτῷ καὶ λαλίστατος ἐξ ἀφωνοτάτου ἐστίν, οὐδ’ ἄν ἐπιστομίσας παύσεις αὐτὸν μὴ οὐχὶ συνεχή λαλεῖν καὶ ῥῆσεις μακρὰς συνείρειν. συνετὰ μέντοι πάντα καὶ κόσμια καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ὄμηρον ἐκείνου ῥήτορα: μιφάδεσσι γὰρ ἐοικότα χειμερίσθη τιεξέρχονται, οὖν ἀποχρὴσει σοι κύκνοις κατὰ τὴν

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

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

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

ήλικίαν εἰκάσας αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ τεττυγώδες τι πυκνὸν καὶ ἐπίτροπον συνάπτονσιν ἀχρὶ βαθείας ἐσπέρας. τούτοις δὲ ἦδη ἀφεθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς μέθης σιωπῶσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνα- 
τρέχουσι. τὸ μέντοι παραδοξότατον οὐδέποτε 
εἴπον· ήν γὰρ ἄτελῆ ὁ γέρων μεταξὺ καταλίπῃ 
δυν διεξῆι τὸν λόγον, δύντοις ἠλίου κωλυθεῖς ἐπὶ 
πέρας αὐτῶν ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἐς νέωτα πιὸν αὐθὶς ἐκεῖνα 
συνάπτει ἃ πέρυσι λέγοντα ἡ μέθη αὐτὸν 
κατέλιπεν.

Ταύτα μοι κατὰ τὸν Μῶμον εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀπε- 
σκώφθω, καὶ μὰ τὸν Δῷ οὐκ ἄν ἔτι ἐπαγάγωι τὸ 
ἐπιμύθιον· ὅρατε γὰρ ἦδη καθ’ ὅ τι τὸ μῦθο 
ἔσικα. ὅστε ἥν μὲν τι παραταῦμεν, ἡ μέθη αὐτία· 
εἰ δὲ πινυτὰ δόξει τὰ λεγόμενα, ὁ Σιληνὸς ἀρα 
ἡν ἦλεως.
account of their age; but like cicadas, they keep up a constant roundelay till the afternoon is far spent. Then, when the fumes of the drink leave them at last, they fall silent and relapse into their old ways. But I have not yet told you the strangest part of it. If an old man is prevented by sunset from reaching the end of the story which he is telling, and leaves it unfinished, when he drinks again another season he takes up what he was saying the year before when the fumes left him!

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

AN INTRODUCTION
ΠΡΟΛΑΔΙΑ. ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Τὸν Ἡρακλέα οἱ Κελτοὶ ὤγμιον ὄνομάζουσιν 1 φωνῇ τῇ ἐπικεφαλίᾳ, τὸ δὲ εἴδος τοῦ θεοῦ πάνω ἀλλόκοτον γράφουσι. γέρων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ ἐσχάτον, ἀναφαλαυτιάς, πολύς ἀκριβῶς οἶσαι λοιπά τῶν τριχῶν, ὑπὸς τὸ δέρμα καὶ διακεκαυ-
μένος ἐς τὸ μελάντατον οἶοί εἰσιν οἱ θαλαττουργοὶ γέροντες· μᾶλλον δὲ Χάρωνα ἢ Ἰαπετοῦ τίνα τῶν ὑποταρτάριῶν καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι ἀν εἰκάσειας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτος ὄν ἔχει ὁμοίως τὴν σκευήν τὴν Ἡρακλέους καὶ γὰρ τὴν δι’ ὑπέραν ἐνηπτά τὴν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἔχει ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ τὸν γωρυτὸν παρῆρτηται, καὶ τὸ τόξον ἐντεταμένον ἢ ἀριστερὰ προδείκνυσιν, καὶ ὁ λος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶ ταὐτά γε. φύμην οὖν ἐφ’ 2 ὤβρει τῶν Ἑλληνίων θεῶν τοιαύτα παρανομεῖν τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐς τὴν μορφὴν τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀμυνομένους αὐτοῦ τῇ γραφῇ, ὅτι τὴν χώραν ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐπιῆλθεν λείαι ἑλαύνων, ὡπότε τὰς Γηρύνου ἀγέλας ξητῶν κατέδραμε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐσπερίων γενῶν. καίτοι τὸ παραδόξοτατον οὐδέπω ἐφη 3

1 Ἑλληνίων MSS., Herwerden: Ἑλλήνων Schwartz: Ἑλ-

ηνικῶν vulg.

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HERACLES

AN INTRODUCTION

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

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

τῆς εἰκόνος· ὁ γὰρ δὴ γέρων Ἦρακλῆς ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρώπων πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἔλκει ἐκ τῶν ὅτων ἀπαντας δεδεμέους. δεσμὰ δὲ εἶσιν οἱ σειραὶ λεπταὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἡλέκτρου εἰργασμέναι ὀρμοὶς ἐοικύται τοῖς καλλίστοις. καὶ ὁμος ὑπ’ οὕτως ἀσθενῶν ἀγόμενοι οὕτε δρασμὸν βουλεύουσιν, δυνάμενοι ἄν εὕμαρως, οὕτε ὅλως ἀντιτείνουσιν ἢ τοῖς ποσὶν ἀντερείδουσι πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἔξυππυιξωτας, ἀλλὰ φαίδροι ἐπονται καὶ γεγήθοτε καὶ τὸν ἀγοντα ἐπαινούτες, ἐπειγόμενοι ἀπαντες καὶ τῷ φθάνειν ἐθέλειν τὸν δεσμὸν ἐπιχαλῶντες, ἐοικότες ἀχθεοθησομένοις εἰ λυθής πονται. ὃ δὲ πάντων ἄτοποτῶταν εἰσὶν μοι ἐδοξεν, οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τοῦτο ἐπείνι οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὁ ζωγράφος ὀθεν ἐξύψειε ταῖς σειραῖς τὰς ἄρχας, ἐπεὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μὲν ἤδη τὸ ῥόπαλον, τῆς λαῖας δὲ τὰ τόξον ἐχυύνης, τρυπήσας τὸν θεοῦ τὴν γλώτταν ἀκραν ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐλκομένους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἐπέστραπται γε εἰς τοὺς ἀγομένους μειδιῶν.

Ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰστήκειν ὁρῶν καὶ εἰρήμαξον καὶ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἀγανακτῶν. Κελτὸς δὲ τις παρεστὼς οὐκ ἀπαίδευστος τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὡς ἐδείξειν ἀκριβῶς Ἑλλάδα φωνῆι ἀφεῖς, φιλόσοφος, οἴμαι, τὰ ἐπιχώρια, Ἑγώ σοι, ἐφα, δι εἶν, λύσω τῆς γραφῆς τὸ ἀλήγμα: πάνω γὰρ ταραττομένω ἐοικας πρὸς αὐτήν. τὸν λόγον ἡμείς οἱ Κελτοὶ οὐχ ὃσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἑλληνες Ἕρμηνοίομεθα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἦρακλεῖ αὐτοῦ εἰκάζομεν, ὅτι παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἢχορότερος οὕτος. εἰ δὲ γέρων πεποίηται, μὴ θαυμάσης· μόνος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐν γῆρα φιλεῖ ἐνεπελή ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἀκμήν, εἰ  

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

I had stood for a long time, looking, wondering, puzzling and fuming, when a Celt at my elbow, not unversed in Greek lore, as he showed by his excellent use of our language, and who had, apparently, studied local traditions, said: ”I will read you the riddle of the picture, stranger, as you seem to be very much disturbed about it. We Celts do not agree with you Greeks in thinking that Hermes is Eloquence: we identify Heracles with it, because he is far more powerful than Hermes. And don’t be surprised that he is represented as an old man, for eloquence and eloquence alone is wont to show its
ΤΟΙΟΤΑ ΜΕΝ Ο ΚΕΛΤΟΣ. ΕΜΟΙ ΔΕ ΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΥΡΟ ΠΑΡΟΔΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΣΚΟΤΟΥΜΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΜΑΝΤΟΝ, ΕΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΗΛΙΚΩΔΕ ΟΝΤΓ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΕΩΝ ΠΕΠΑΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΥΘΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΕΜΑΝΤΟΥ ΨΗΦΟΥ ΗΔΩΝΑΙ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΙ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΙ, ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΕΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΑΝΑΜΝΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΣ ΤΕΩΣ

1 ΤΗΝ ὙΠΑ Schwartz: τὴν ὑπὰ τὴν λειρίδεσσαν MSS.
2 ἘΛΚΕΙ: Hartman, Schwartz: ὁ λόγος ἘΛΚΕΙ MSS.
HERACLES

full vigour in old age, if your poets are right in saying ‘A young man hath a wandering wit’ \(^1\) and ‘Old age has wiser words to say than youth.’ \(^2\)

That is why your Nestor’s tongue distils honey, \(^3\) and why the Trojan counsellors have a voice like flowers \(^4\) (the flowers mentioned are lilies, if my memory serves). This being so, if old Heracles here drags men after him who are tethered by the ears to his tongue, don’t be surprised at that, either: you know the kinship between ears and tongue. Nor is it a slight upon him that his tongue is pierced. Indeed,” said he, “I call to mind a line or two of comedy which I learned in your country:

the talkative

Have, one and all, their tongues pierced at the tip. \(^5\)

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

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

\(^1\) Iliad 3, 108. \(^2\) Eur. Phoen. 530. \(^3\) Iliad 1, 249. \(^4\) Iliad 3, 152. \(^5\) Source unknown (Kock, Com. Att. Fragm., adesp. 398). \(^6\) Homer, passim.
μὲν γὰρ ἐδεδίειν, μή τινι ύμῶν δόξαμη κομιδῆ
μειοσκώδη ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ παρ᾽ ἡλικιαν
νεανιεύσθαι, κατὰ τις Ὁμηρικὸς νεανίσκος ἐπι-
πλήξειέν μοι εἰπὼν τὸ σή δὲ βή νέλυται, καὶ
χαλεπὸν γῆρας κατειληφέ σε, ἡπεδαίος δὲ νῦ τοι
θεράτων, βραδεῖς δὲ τοι ὕπποι, ἕς τοὺς πόδας
tούτω ἀποσκόπτων. ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀναμνησθὼ τοῦ
γεροντος ἐκείνου Ἡρακλέους, πάντα ποιεῖν προ-
ἀγοραί καὶ ὅνικαι δοῦμαι τοιαῦτα τολμῶν ἡλικιώτης
ἀν τῆς εἰκόνος. ὁστε ἵσχυς μὲν καὶ τάχος καὶ
κάλλος καὶ ὅσα σώματος ἀγαθὰ χαιρέτω, καὶ ὁ
Ἑρως ὁ σῶς, ὁ Τῇεια ποιητὰ, ἐσιδῶν μὲ ὑποπόλιον
τὸ 1 γενεῖον χρυσοφαένινον εἰ βούλεται πτερύγων
tαρσοῖς 2 παραπετέσθω, καὶ ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης οὐ
φροντεῖ. τῷ λόγῳ δὲ νῦν ἃν μάλιστα ἀνθρᾶν
καὶ ἀνθεῖν καὶ ἀκμάξειν καθ᾽ ὀραν εἰή καὶ ἔλκειν
τῶν ὅτιν ὅσος ἃν πλείστους δύνηται, καὶ τοξέους
πολλάκις, ὃς οὐδέν γε δέος μὴ κενωθεῖς λάθοι ἃ
γρηγορύως αὐτῶ.
Ὅρας ὅπως παραμυθοῦμαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ
τὸ γῆρας τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτολ-
μησα πάλαι νενεωλκημένου τὸ ἀκάτιον κατα-
στάσας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνώπιων ἐπισκευάσας αὐθὶς
ἀφεῖναι ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος. εἰὴ δ᾽, ὁ θεός, καὶ

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

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

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

οὔν ἐκ ῥακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει.
HERACLES

ye gods, to blow me fair, for now if ever do I need a breeze "that fills the sail, a good companion."

If anyone thinks me worthy, I would have him apply to me the words of Homer:

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

\[1\] *Odys.* 11, 7; 12, 149.  \[2\] *Odys.* 18, 74.
AMBER, OR THE SWANS

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

'Ηλέκτρου πέρι καὶ ύμᾶς δηλαδὴ ὁ μύθος 1 πέπεικεν, αἰγείρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ ποταμῷ δακρύειν αὐτὸ θηρνούσας τὸν Φαέθοντα, καὶ ἰδελφὰς γε εἴναι τὰς αἰγείρους ἐκείνας τοῦ Φαέθοντος, εἰτα ὄδυρομένας τὸ μετράκιον ἀλλαγῆναι ἐς τὰ δένδρα, καὶ ἀποστάζειν ἐτὶ αὐτῶν δάκρυνον δῆθεν τὸ ἥλεκτρον. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ αὐτῶς ἰκούων τῶν ποιητῶν ἄδοντων ἠπλικόν, εἰ ποτε γενοίμην ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ, ὑπελθὼν μίαν τῶν αἰγείρων ἐκπετάσας τὸ προκόλπιον ὑποδέξεσθαι τῶν δακρύων ὁλίγα, ὁς ἥλεκτρον ἔχοιμι. καὶ δὴ ὡς πρὸ πολλοῦ κατ' ἀλλο μὲν τὶ χρέος, 2 ἦκον δὲ ὅμως ἐς τὰ χωρία ἐκείνα, καὶ—ἐδει γὰρ ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τῶν Ἡριδανῶν—οὕτ' αἰγείρους εἶδον πάνυ περισκοπῶν ὤστε τὸ ἥλεκτρον, ἀλλ' οὔδε τούτομα τοῦ Φαέθοντος ὑδεσαν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἀναζητοῦντος γοῦν ἐμού καὶ διαπνυθανομένου, πότε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰγείρους ἀφιξόμεθα τὰς τὸ ἥλεκτρον, ἐγέλων οἱ ναῦται καὶ ἦξιον σαφέστερον λέγειν ὅ τι καὶ θέλομι: κἂν ς τῶν μύθων διηγούμην αὐτός, Φαέθοντα γενέσθαι 'Ηλίου παῖδα, καὶ τούτῳ ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐλθόντα αἰτήσαι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάσαι τὸ ἄρμα, ὡς ποιήσεις καὶ αὐτὸς μίαν ἡμέραν, τὸν δὲ δούναι, τὸν δὲ ὀπολέσθαι ἐκδιφρενθέντα, καὶ τὰς ἰδελφὰς αὐτοῦ
With regard to amber, you doubtless share the general belief in the story that poplars on the banks of the river Eridanus shed tears of it in grief over Phaethon; and that these poplars are the sisters of Phaethon, who out of sorrow for the boy were changed into trees and still drip tears—of amber! Such tales, when I heard them from the lips of the poets, made me expect that if ever I got to the Eridanus, by going underneath one of the poplars and holding out a fold of my cloak I could supply myself with amber by catching a few of their tears. As a matter of fact, I did visit those parts not long ago (on another errand, to be sure); and as I had to go up the Eridanus, I kept a sharp lookout, but neither poplars nor amber were to be seen. Indeed, the very name of Phaethon was unknown to the natives. At any rate, when I went into the matter and inquired when we should reach the poplars—"the amber-poplars,"—the boatmen laughed and asked me to tell them more plainly what I meant. So I told them the story: that Phaethon was the child of the Sun, and that on coming of age he asked his father to let him drive the car and "do just one day" himself; his father consented, and he was thrown from the car and killed. "And his sisters," said I, "out of
πενθούσας ἐνταῦθα ποι, ἐφην, παρ’ ύμιν, ἦναπερ καὶ κατέπεσεν, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ, αἰγείρους γενέσθαι καὶ δακρύειν ἔτι ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἥλεκτρον. Τις ταύτα σοι, ἐφασκοῦν, διηγήσατο ἀπατεών 3 καὶ ψευδολόγος ἀνθρώπος; ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἤμισον τινα ἐκπίπτοντα εἴδομεν οὔτε τὰς αἰγείρους ἃς φής ἔχομεν. εἰ δὲ ἦν τι τοιοῦτον, οὐεί ἡμᾶς δυσών ὀβολοῖν ἑνεκα ἐρέττειν ἄν ἡ ἐλκείν τὰ πλοία πρὸς ἐναυτίον τὸ ὕδωρ, οἷος ἔζηθ πλούτειν ἀναλέγοντας τῶν αἰγεί ὁν τὰ δάκρυα; τούτο λέχθειν οὐ μετρίως μοι καθίκετο, καὶ ἐσιώπησα αἰσχυνθεῖς, ὅτι παῖδιον τινὸς ὡς ἄληθως ἔργον ἐπεπόθειν πιστεύσας τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀπίθανα οὕτως ψευδομένοις, ὡς μηθεῖν ὑγίες ἀρέσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

Μιᾶς μὲν δὴ ταύτης ἐξπίδος οὐ μικρᾶς ἐψευσμένος ἡμώμην καθίκερο ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἥλεκτρον ἀπολωλεκὼς, ὡς γε ἤδη ἀνέπλαττον ὅσα καὶ οἷα χρήσομαι αὐτῷ. ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἄληθές ὄμην εὐρήσειν παρ’ αὐτοῖς, κύκνους πολλοὺς ἄδουτας ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁχθαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ αὕτες ἡρώτων τοὺς ναύτας—ἀνεπλέομεν γὰρ ἐτὶ—"Ἀλλἀ οὐ γε κύκνοι πηνίκα ὄμων τὸ λιγυρὸν ἐκεῖνο ἄδουσιν ἐφεστῶτες τῷ ποταμῷ ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν; φασὶ γοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος παρεδροὺς αὐτοὺς ὡστατας, ὡδικοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐνταῦθα ποι ἐς τὰ ὀρνεα μεταπεσεῖν καὶ διὰ τούτο ἄδειν ἐτὶ οὐκ ἐκλαθομένους τῆς μονυσικῆς. οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι, 5 Σὺ, ἐφησαν, ὡ ἀνθρωπε, οὐ παύσῃ τίμερον καταψευδόμενος τῆς χώρας ἤμων καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ; ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε πλέοντες καὶ ἐκ παῖδων σχεδὸν ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἡριδανῷ ὀλίγους μέν 76
AMBER, OR THE SWANS

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

Well, this was one great expectation that I was disappointed in; and I was as vexed as if I had let the amber slip through my fingers, for I was already imagining all the different uses which I should make of it. But the other story I thought I should find completely true there—the one about troops of swans that sing on the banks of the river. So I put a second question to the boatmen—for we were still on our way up. "But, how about your swans?" I asked. "At what time do they sing so melodiously, ranged along the river, on this side and on that? People say, at all events, that they were associates of Apollo, men with the gift of song, who somewhere in these parts changed into birds, and for that reason do not forget their music, but still continue to sing." With a burst of laughter they replied: "Why, man, aren't you ever going to stop telling lies about our country and our river? We are always on the water, and have worked on the Eridanus since we were children, almost; now and
κυκνους ἐνίστε ὅρῳμεν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ κράζουσιν οὕτω πάνυ ἁμονσον καὶ ἁσθενεῖς, ὡς τοὺς κόρακας ἢ τοὺς κολοινός Σειρίνας εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἄδοντων ἐκ ἦδυ καὶ οἴνω σὺ φίς οὐδὲ ὁναρ ἠκηκόαμεν ὡστε βαυμάζομεν πόθεν ταῦτα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο περὶ ἡμῶν.

Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαπατηθὴναι ἦστε πιστεύον-6 τας τοῖς πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον ἕκαστα αἰχμομένοις. ὡστε καγὼ νῦν δέδια ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μή ὑμεῖς ἀρτι ἀφυγμένοι, καὶ τοῦτο πρωτόν ἀκροασόμενοι ἡμῶν, ἡλεκτρὰ τινα καὶ κύκνους ἐλπίσαντες εὐρήσειν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, ἐπείτα μετ᾽ ὀλίγῳ ἀπέλθητε καταγελῶντες τῶν ὑποσχομένων ὑμῖν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ κειμῆλια ἐνεύαι τοῖς λόγοις. ἅλλα μαρτύρομαι, ὡς ἐμοῦ τοιαῦτα μεγαλαυχομένου περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν οὕτε ὑμεῖς οὕτε ἀλλος πω ἁκίκοκεν, οὐδ᾽ ἃν ἀκοφείειν ποτε. ἅλλοις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐντύχοις ἄν Ἡριδανοῖς τισι καὶ οἶς οὐκ ἡλεκτρον, ἅλλα χρυσὸς αὐτός ἀποστάζει τῶν λόγων, πολὺ τῶν κύκνων τῶν ποιητικῶν λυγυρωτέροις: τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ὀρᾶτε ἵδη ὄποιον ἀπλοίκον καὶ ἁμυθον, οὐδὲ τις φοβὴ πρόσεστιν. ὡστε ὅρα μὴ τοιοῦτό τι πάθης μεῖζω περὶ ἡμῶν ἐξίσας, οἴον τι πάσχουσιν οἱ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὑδατὶ ὀρόντες: οἴομεν γὰρ τηλικαύτα εἴναι αὐτά σὰ διεφάνεστο αὐτοῖς ἀνώθεν, εὐρυνομένης τῆς σκιάς πρὸς τὴν αὐγήν, ἐπειδὰν ἀνασπάσωσι, πολλῷ μικρότερα εὐρίσκοντες ἀνωνταί. ἤδη οὐν σοι προλέγω, ἐκχέας τὸ ὑδωρ καὶ ἀποκαλύψας τὰ μα φηδέν μέγα προσδοκήσῃς ἀνιμήσεσθαι, ἢ σαυτόν αἰτιώση τῆς ἐλπίδος.
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then we see a few swans in the marshes by the river, and they have a very unmusical and feeble croak; crows or daws are Sirens to them. As for the sweet song you speak of, we never heard it or even dreamed of it, so we wonder how these stories about us got to your people."

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

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

Ἡ μυῖα ἐστὶ μὲν οὐ τὸ ὁμολόγητον τῶν ὁρνέων, ὡς ἐμπίσκοι καὶ κόνωψη καὶ τοῖς ἔτι λεπτοτέρως παραβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐκεῖνον μεγέθει προὐχεῖ ὡς αὐτὴ μελίττης ἀπολείπεται. ἐπτέρωται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὃς τοῖς μὲν ἀπανταχόθεν κομὰν τοῦ σώματος, τοῖς δὲ ὥκυππεροις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας καὶ τέττιγας καὶ μελίττας ἐστὶν ὑμενόπτερος, τοσοῦτον ἀπαλώτερα ἔχουσα τὰ πτερὰ ὡς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐσθήτως ἢ Ἰνδική λεπτοτέρα καὶ μαλακωτέρα: καὶ μήν διήνθισται κατὰ τοὺς ταῦτας, εἴ τις ἄτενες βλέποι ἐς αὐτὴν, ὀπόταν ἐκπετάσασα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον πτερύσσεται. ἢ δὲ πτήσις οὔτε κατὰ τὰς νυκτερίδας εἰρεσία συνεχεῖ τῶν πτερῶν οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας μετὰ πηδήματος οὔτε ὡς οἱ σφῆκες μετὰ ἐρικίματος, ἀλλ' εὐκαμπτὴς πρὸς ὁ τι ἄν μέρος ὀρμήσῃ τοῦ ἀέρος. καὶ μήν κάκεινο πρόσεστιν αὐτῇ, τὸ μῆ καθ' ἱσυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀδῆς πέτεσθαι οὐκ ἀπηνοῦς οἷα κωνώπων καὶ ἐμπίδων, οὐδὲ τὸ βαρύβραμον τῶν μελιττῶν ἢ τῶν σφηκῶν τὸ

1 οὐ τὸ vulg.: οὕτω MSS.: οὐ τῶν σμικροτάτων ὁρνέων Nilén.

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THE FLY

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

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

foberon καὶ ἀπειλητικον ἐνδεικνυμένης, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ λιγυρωτέρα, ὡσον σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων αὐλοὶ μελιχρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο 3 σῶμα ἱ, μὲν κεφαλῇ λεπτότατα τῷ αὐχένι συνεχεῖαι καὶ ἐστὶν ἐὐπεριάγωγος, οὐ συμπεφυκυῖα ὡς ἢ τῶν ἀκρίδων ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ προπετεῖς, πολὺ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχοντες, στέρνων ἐυπαγές, καὶ ἐμπεφύκασιν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐντομῇ 1 οἵ πόδες οὐ κατὰ τοὺς σφίκας πάνυ ἐσφιγμένης. 2 ἡ γαστήρ δὲ ὁχύρωται καὶ αὐτῇ 3 καὶ θώρακε ἐοικεν ἡμᾶς πλατειᾶς καὶ φολίδας ἔχουσα. ἀμύνεται μέντοι οὐ κατὰ τοῦρ-

ροπύγων ὡς σφίξ καὶ μέλιττα, ἀλλὰ τῷ στόματι καὶ τῇ προβοσκίδι, ἢν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐλέφασι καὶ αὐτῇ ἐφούσα προνομεύει τε καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται καὶ προσφώνει κατέχει κοτυληδόνι κατὰ τὸ ἀκρον ἑοικυίαν. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς ὁδὸς προκύπτει, ὃ κεν-

τούσα πίνει τοῦ αἵματος—πίνει μὲν γάρ καὶ γά-

λακτος, ἢδυ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ αἷμα—οὐ μετὰ μεγάλης ὄδυνης τῶν κεντουμένων. ἐξάπους δὲ οὕσα τοῖς μὲν τέσσαρις βαδίζει μόνοις, τοῖς δὲ προσθίως δυσὶ καὶ ὀσα χερσὶ χρήται. ἦδοι ἀν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τεττάρων βεβηκυίαν ἐχουσάν τε ἐν τοῖν χεροῖν μετέ-

ωρον ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρωπίνως πάνυ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

Γίνεται δὲ αὖθις θυσίατη, ἀλλὰ σκώληξ 4 τὸ πρῶτον ἦτοι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἡ ἄλλων ἰατρομάκιαν ἕτα κατ' ὀλίγον πόδας διὰ κατά μέρους καὶ φύει τὰ πτερὰ καὶ ἐξ ἐρπετοῦ ὀρνεοῦ γίνεται καὶ κυοφορικὲ δὲ καὶ ἀποτίκτει σκώληκα μικρὸν τὴν μοῦν ὑστερον. σύντροφος δὲ ἀνθρώπως ὑπάρ-

1 τῇ ἐντομῇ Schwartz: not in MSS.
2 ἐσφιγμένη Schwartz: ἐσφιγμένοι MSS.
3 αὐτῇ A.M.H.: αὐτῇ MSS.

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

The fly is not born in the form which I have described, but as a maggot from the dead bodies of men or animals. Then, little by little, she puts out legs, grows her wings, changes from a creeping to a flying thing, is impregnated and becomes mother to a little maggot which is to-morrow's fly. Living
κοινα καὶ ὁμοδίαιοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι ἀπάντων γενεται πλήν ἐλαιόν θάνατος γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦτο πιείν. καὶ μέντοι ὄκυμορος οὕσα—πάνυ γὰρ ἐς στενὸν ὁ βίος αὐτῇ συμμεμέτρηται—τῷ φωτὶ χαίρει μάλιστα καὶ τοῦτῳ πολιτεύται: νυκτὸς δὲ εἰρήνην ἀγεί καὶ οὔτε πέτεται οὔτε ἄδει, ἀλλ' ὑπε-πτηχέ καὶ ἄτρεμει. σύνεσιν δὲ οὕ μικράν αὐτῆς 5 εἶπειν ἔχω, ὅποταν τὸν ἑπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον αὐτῇ τὸν ἀράχυνην διαδιδράσκῃ λοχῶντα τε γὰρ ἐπιτηρεῖ καὶ ἀντίον αὐτῷ ὥρα ἐκκλίνουσα τὴν ὀρμὴν, ὡς μὴ ἄλλοκοτο σαγηνευθεῖσα καὶ περι-πεσοῦσα ταῖς τοῦ θηρίου πλεκτάναις. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλκῆν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠμᾶς χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσ μεγαλοφωνώτατος τῶν πωιητῶν Ὁμηρος· τὸν γὰρ ἀριστον τῶν Ἑρώων ἐπαινέσαι ξητῶν οὐ λέοντι ἢ παρδάλει ἢ υἱ τὴν ἀλκῆν αὐτοῦ εἰκάζει, ἀλλὰ τῷ θάρσει τῆς μνίας καὶ τῷ ἀτρέστῳ καὶ λιπαρεῖ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ θράσως ἀλλὰ θάρσος φησίν αὐτῇ προσεῖναι. καὶ γὰρ εἰρ-γομένη, φησίν, ὰμως οὐκ ἀφίσταται, ἀλλ' ἐφίσταται τοῦ δήγματος. οὖτω δὲ πάνυ ἐπαινεῖ καὶ ἄσπάζε-ται τὴν μνίαν, ὡςτε οὐχ ἂπαξ οὔδ' ἐν ὀλίγοις μέμνηται αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις οὖτω κοσμεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ μυημονευμένην. ἄρτι μὲν τὴν ἀγελαίαν πτῆσιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ γάλα διέρχεται,1 ἄρτι δὲ τὴν

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

Iliad 16, 641: "They swarmed about the body like the flies That in the fold buzz round the milky pails."
in the society of man, on the same food and at the same table, she eats everything except oil: to taste this is death to her. Being the creature of a day—for life is meted out to her in very scant measure—she likes sunshine best and goes about her affairs in it. At night she keeps quiet and does not fly or sing, but hides away and is still. I can also mention her great intelligence in escaping her designing foe, the spider. She watches for him lurking in ambush, and is wary of him, turning aside from his attack, so as not to be captured by being ensnared and falling into the toils of the creature. Of her courage and bravery it is not for me to speak, but for Homer, the most mighty-mouthed of the poets; for when he seeks to praise the foremost of the heroes,¹ he does not compare his bravery to a lion's or a leopard's or a wild boar's, but to the fearlessness of the fly and the daring and insistency of her attack. He does not say that she is reckless, but fearless:² that even if she is kept away she does not desist but is eager to bite. So outspoken is he in his praise and fondness for the fly that he mentions her not merely once or twice but often; in consequence, references to her enhance the beauty of his poems. Now he describes her swarming flight after milk; now, when

¹ (Iliad 17, 570, Menelaus), into whose heart Athena "puts the boldness of the fly."
² The distinction (unknown to Homer) is between thrasos and tharsos.
'Αθηναῖ, ὄποτε τοῦ Μενέλεω τῷ βέλος ἀποκρούστα, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα ἐμπέσοι, εἰκάζων μητρὶ κηδομένῃ κοιμωμένου αὐτῆς τοῦ βρέφους, τὴν μυῖαν αὐθίνης ἐπεισάγη τῷ παραδείγματι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐπιθέτω καλλίστῳ αὐτῶς ἐκόσμησεν ἄδινας προσειπών καὶ τὴν ἀγέλην αὐτῶν ἥθη καλῶν.

Οὐτω δὲ ἴσχυρὰ ἔστιν, ὡς ὁ ἡμέρας τι δάκυῃ, 6 τιτρώσκει οὐκ ἄνθρωπον δέρμα μόνω, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοῶς καὶ ἱπποῦ, καὶ ἐλέφαντα λυπεῖ ἐς τὰς ῥυτίδας αὐτοῦ παρεἰσδυνόμενη καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς προνομαία κατὰ λόγον τοῦ μεγέθους ἁμύσσουσα. μύξεως δὲ καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ γάμων πολλή αὐταῖς ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ὁ ἄρρητος οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἀλεξτρονὰς ἐπιβάς εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐποχεῖται τῇ θηλείᾳ ἐπὶ πολὺ, κάκετην φέρει τῶν νυμφῶν, καὶ συμπέτονται τῶν ἐναέριον ἐκείνην μύξιν τῇ πτήσει μὴ διαφθείρουσαι. ἀποτμηθεῖσα δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν μῦρα ἐπὶ πολὺ ζῇ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐμπνεύσαις ἐστὶν.

"Ο δὲ μεγίστον ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει, 7 τοῦτο δὴ βούλομαι εἰπεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πλάτων μόνων αὐτὸ παριδεῖν ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς λόγῳ. ἀποθανοῦσα ἡ γὰρ μῦρα τέφρας ἐπιχυθεῖσις ἀνύσταται καὶ πάλαι- γενεσίᾳ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ βίος ἄλλος ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς γίνεται, ὡς ἀκριβῶς πεπείσθαι πάντας, ὅτι κάκεινον ἀθανάτος ἔστιν ἡ ψυχή, εἰ γε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα ἐπανέρχεται πάλιν καὶ γνωρίζει καὶ ἐπανιστήσεται τὸ σῶμα καὶ πέτεσθαι τὴν μυῖαν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐπαληθεύει τὸν περὶ Ἐρμοτίμου τοῦ Κλαξομενίου μῦθον, ὅτι πολλάκις ἀφείεσα αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή
Athena turns the arrow aside from Menelaus in order that it may not strike a vital spot; he likens her to a mother tending a sleeping child, and again introduces the fly into the comparison. Moreover, he has adorned them with fine epithets in calling them "clustering" and their swarms "hordes." So strong is the fly that when she bites she wounds the skin of the ox and the horse as well as that of man. She even torments the elephant by entering his wrinkles and lancing him with her proboscis as far as its length allows. In mating, love, and marriage they are very free and easy. The male is not on and off again in a moment, like the cock; he covers the female a long time. She carries her spouse, and they take wing together, mating uninterruptedly in the air, as everyone knows. A fly with her head cut off keeps alive a long time with the rest of her body, and still retains the breath of life. You may be sure I propose to mention the most important point in the nature of the fly. It is, I think, the only point that Plato overlooks in his discussion of the soul and its immortality. When ashes are sprinkled on a dead fly, she revives and has a second birth and a new life from the beginning. This should absolutely convince everyone that the fly's soul is immortal like ours, since after leaving the body it comes back again, recognises and reanimates it, and makes the fly take wing. It also confirms the story that the soul of Hermotimus of Clazomenae would often leave him and go away

1 *Iliad* 4, 130. 2 *Iliad* 2, 469.
ἀπεδήμηει καθ’ ἑαυτὴν, εἶτα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐπλήρου αὐθες τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀνύστα τὸν Ἐρμότιμον.
'Αργὸς δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ ἄνετος οὖσα τὰ ύπό τῶν 8 ἄλλων ποιούμενα καρποῦται καὶ πλήρης αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ τράπεζα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ αἰγες αὐτῆς ἀμέλη
γονταί, καὶ ἡ μέλιττα οὖχ ἦκιστα μυίας καὶ ἀνθρώπως ἐργαίζεται, καὶ οἱ ὠψοποιοὶ ταύτη τὰ ὁψα ἱδύουσι, καὶ βασιλέων αὐτῶν προγεύεται καὶ ταῖς τραπεζαῖς ἐμπερπιτοῦσα συνεστιᾶται αὐτοῖς καὶ συναπωλαύει πάντων. νεοττιαί δὲ 9 ἢ καλιάν οὖκ ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ πλάνητα τὴν πτήσιν κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπανηρη-
μένη, ὅπου ἀν τύχη ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καταληφθείσα, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐστίαν καὶ εὑνήν ποιεῖται. ύπὸ σκότῳ μέντοι, ὡς ἐφίη, οὖθεν ἐργαίζεται οὖθε ἄξιοι λανθάνειν τι πράττουσα, οὐδὲ ἤγειται τι ἀἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, ὁ ἐν φωτὶ δοξῶμενοι αἰσχυνει αὐτὴν.

Φησὶν δὲ ὁ μῦθος καὶ ἀνθρωπόν τινα Μυίαν 10 τὸ ἄρχαιον ηενέσθαι πάνω καλὴν, λάλων μέντοι
γε καὶ στομύλουν καὶ φιδικὴν, καὶ ἀντερασθήναι
γε τῇ Σελήνῃ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφοτέρας 1 τοῦ Ἐινδυμίωνος. εἰτ’ ἐπειδὴ κοιμώμενον τὸ μειρά-
κιον συνεχές ἐπίγειερεν ἐρεσχηλοῦσα καὶ ἄδουσα καὶ κομάζουσα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖ, τὸν μὲν ἀγανακτῆσαι,
τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ὀργισθείσαν εἰς τοῦτο τὴν Μυίαν
μεταβαλεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσι νῦν τοῖς κοιμω-
μένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ ὑπον φθονεῖν μεμημένην ἐτὶ τοῦ Ἐινδυμίωνος, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἀπαλοῖς; καὶ τὸ δῆμα δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπιθυμία οὖν ἄγριοτητος, ἀλλ’ ἔρωτός ἐστι ση-

1 κατὰ τὸ αὑτὸ ἀμφοτέρας: probably a gloss (Herwerden, Nilén).

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

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

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

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

μείον καὶ φιλανθρωπίας· ὡς γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀπο-
λαῦει καὶ τὸν κάλλους τι ἀπανθίζεται.

'Εγένετο κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ γυνή-τις
ὄμωνυμός αὐτή, ποιήτρια, πάνω καλὴ καὶ σοφή,
καὶ ἀλλη ἔταιρα τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐπιφανῆς, περὶ ἢς
καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς ποιητής ἑφή, ἡ Μυία ἔδακνεν αὐτὸν
ἀχρί τῆς καρδίας· οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ κωμικὴ χάρις
ἀπηξίωσεν οὐδὲ ἀπέκλεισε τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ τῆς
μυίας ὅνομα, οὐδ’ οἱ γονεῖς ήδοντο τὰς θυγατέρας
οὕτω καλοῦντες. ἦ μὲν γὰρ τραγῳδία καὶ σὺν
μεγάλῳ ἐπαίνῳ μέμνηται τῆς μυίας, ὡς ἐν τούτοις,

dεινὸν γε τὴν μὲν μυίαν ἒλκίμῳ σθένει
πηδᾶν ἐπ’ ἄνδρὼν σώμαθ’, ὡς πλησθῇ φόνου,
ἄνδρας δ’ ὀπλίταις πολέμιον ταρβεῖν δόρυν.

πολλὰ δ’ ἂν εἴχον εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ Μυίας τῆς
Πυθαγορικῆς, εἰ μὴ γυνώριμος ἢν ἄπασιν ἢ κατ’
αὐτὴν ἰστορία.

Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ μέγισται τινες μυίαι, ἄς
στρατιώτιδας οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ κύνας,
τραχύταται τὸν βόμβον καὶ τὴν πτησιν ὁκύταται,
αἱ γε καὶ μακροβιώταται εἰς καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος
ὅλου ἄστιοι διακαρπεροῦσιν ὑπεπτηχυίαι τοῖς
ὀρόφοις μάλιστα, ἐφ’ ὅν κάκειν θαυμάζειν ἄξιον,
ὅτι ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὰ θηλεῖδὼν καὶ τὰ ἄρρενων,
tion she can, and culls something of the bloom of beauty.

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

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

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

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

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

1 βαίνόμεναι καὶ Schwartz: not in MSS.
THE FLY

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

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

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

Δοκικάνως Νιγρίνῳ ευ πράττειν. Ἦ μὲν παροιμία φησίν, Γλαῦκα εἰς 'Αθήνας, ὡς γελοί-ον ὅν εἰ τις ἐκεῖ κομίζῃ γλαύκας, ὅτι πολλαὶ παρὰ αὐτοῖς εἰσίν. ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν δύναμιν λόγων ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ἐπείτα Νιγρίνῳ γράψας βιβλίον ἐπεμπόν, εἰχὼμην ἂν τῷ γελοίῳ γλαύκας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμπορευόμειος· ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνην σοι δηλώσαι τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἔθελο, ὅπως τε νῦν ἔχω καὶ ὅτι μὴ παρέργως εἶλημαι πρὸς τῶν σῶν λόγων, ἀποφεύγομι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου λέγοντος, ὅτι ἡ ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, ὁκνηροὶ δὲ το λελογισμένον ἀπεργύζοντας· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἡ ἀμαθία μοι μόνη τῆς τοιαύτης τόλμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἔρως αἰτίας. ἔρρωσο.

ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

'Ως σεμνὸς ἡμῖν σφόδρα καὶ μετέωρος ἔπαινε· λήθυθας. οὐ τοῖνυν προσβλέπειν ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἀξίοις οὐθ' ὁμιλίας μεταδίδως οὔτε κοινωνεῖς τῶν ὁμοίων λόγων, ἀλλ' ἀφινω μεταβέβλησαι καὶ ὅλως

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LETTER TO NIGRINUS

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

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

υπεροπτικὸ τιν ἐοικας. ἡδέως δὲ ἀν παρὰ σοῦ πυθομήν, ὦθεν οὔτως ἀτόπως ἔχεις καὶ τί τούτων αἴτιον.

Τί γὰρ ἄλλο γε, ὦ ἐταίρε, ἡ εὐτυχία;

Πῶς λέγεις;

'Οδοὺ πάρεργον ἦκω σοι εὐδαιμον τε καὶ μακάριος γεγενημένος καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἅπτο τῆς σκηνῆς ὅνομα, τρισόλβιος.

'Ηράκλεις, οὔτως ἐν βραχεῖ;

Καὶ μάλα.

Τί δὲ, τὸ μετὰ¹ τούτο, ἐστὶν ἐφ' ὅτω καὶ κομμᾶς; ἢν μὴ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ μόνῳ εὐφραινόμεθα, ἔχωμεν δὲ τι καὶ ἀκριβὲς εἰδέναι τὸ πᾶν ἀκόουσαντες.

Οὐ θαυμαστόν εἰναι σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς Δίος, άντὶ μὲν δούλου μὲ ἐλεύθερον, άντὶ δὲ πένητος ὃς ἀληθῶς πλούσιον, άντὶ δὲ ἀνοίητον τε καὶ τετυφωμένον γενέσθαι μετριώτερον;

Μέγιστον μὲν οὖν ἀτάρ οὔτω μανθάνω σαφῶς 2 ὡ τι καὶ λέγεις.

'Εστάλην μὲν εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως βουλόμενος ἰατρὸν ὀφθαλμὸν θεάσασθαι τινα· τὸ γὰρ μου πάθος τὸ ἐν τῇ ὀφθαλμῷ μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο.

Οἶδα τούτων ἑκαστα, καὶ νυξάμην σε τινι σπουδαίῳ ἐπιτυχεῖν.

Δόξαν οὖν μοι διὰ πολλοῦ προσεπέειν Νικρίνων τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ φιλόσοφον, ἐσθεν ἐξαναστάς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικόμην καὶ κόψας τὴν θύραν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσαγγειλαντός ἐκλιπθήν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰσώ καταλαμβάνω τὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ βιβλίον ἔχοντα,

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

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

B. Nothing but good fortune, my dear fellow.
A. What do you mean?
B. I have come back to you transformed by the wayside into a happy and a blissful man—in the language of the stage, “thrice blessed.”
A. Heracles! in so short a time?
B. Yes, truly.
A. But what is the rest of it? What is it that you are puffed up about? Let us enjoy something more than a mere hint: let us have a chance to get at the facts by hearing the whole story.
B. Don’t you think it wonderful, in the name of Zeus, that once a slave, I am now free! “once poor, now rich indeed”; once witless and befogged, now saner? ¹
A. Why, yes! nothing could be more important. But even yet I don’t clearly understand what you mean.
B. Well, I made straight for Rome, wanting to see an oculist; for I was having more and more trouble with my eye.
A. I know all that, and hoped you would find an able man.
B. As I had resolved to pay my respects to Nigrinus the Platonic philosopher, which I had not done for a long time, I got up early and went to his house, and when I had knocked at the door and the man had announced me, I was asked in. On

¹ Apparently a free quotation from some play that is lost. (Kock, adesp. 1419.)
πολλάς δὲ εἰκόνας παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν κύκλῳ κειμένας. προύκειτο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ πινάκιον τισι τῶν ἀπὸ γεωμετρίας σχημάτων καταγεγραμμένον καὶ σφαίρα καλάμου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς μύμηα ὡς ἐδόκει πεποιημένη. σφύδρα οὖν με 3 φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος ἥρωτα ὁ τι πράττοιμι. κάγω πάντα διηγησάμην αὐτῷ, καὶ δῆτα ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξιος εἶδεναι ὁ τι το πράττοι καὶ εἰ αὕθις αὐτῷ ἐγνωσμένον εἴη στέλλεσθαί τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

'Ο δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀρξάμενος, ὁ ἐταῖρε, περὶ τούτων λέγειν καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην διηγεῖσθαι τοσαύτην τινὰ μου λόγων ἀμ- βροσίαν κατεσκέδασεν, ὡςτε καὶ τὰς Σειρίνας ἐκείνας, εἰ τινες ἄρα ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὰς ἁγίόνας καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον λωτὸν ἄρχαῖον ἀποδείξαν οὕτω θεσπέσια ἐφθέγξατο. προϊχθῆ ὅρῳ αὐτὴν τε 4 φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαινέσας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐλευ- θερίαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν καταγελάσας, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ βασιλείας καὶ τιμῆς, ἔτι τε χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφυράς, τῶν πάνω περιβλεπτῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τέως δὲ κἀμοι δοκοῦντω, ἀπερ ἐγώγη ἀτενεὶ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῃ τῇ ψυχῇ δεξάμενος αὐτίκα μὲν οὐδὲ εἰχόν εἰκάσας ὁπερ ἐπεπόνθειν, ἀλλὰ παντοῖος ἐγνώμην· καὶ ἄρτι μὲν ἐλπιοῦμην, ἐληλεγμένων μοι τῶν φιλτά- των, πλούτου τε καὶ ἄργυρίου καὶ δόξης, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐδάκρυνον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καθηρημένοις, ἀρτί

1 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀρξάμενος Schwartz: ἀπαρξάμενος MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

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

"Among the Lotus-eaters fain to stay  
   And gather lotus, and forget their homes."

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de autà mèn èdòkei moi tæpeivà kai kataxèlæstà: èxhairon δ' aut óster 1 èk òoferon tìvos àeròs
tov βìovn toiv àrpòsth en ès àithrian te kai menà phòs
ánavblèpovn' óste dè, to kainostatov, tov ófthal-
muòn mèn kai òis peri autòn òsthevëias èpèlanthà-
vòmjwn, òn dè òuvìkìn óxìdèrkrèstètros kata mikron
ègùnòmijìn èvleìthjèn gàp tèwòs autòn tufòpòtòw-
san perifèròus. pròùwan dè ès tòde periríkèthjvn, 5
òster àrtìus hèmèn èpèkàleis: gàvòs te gàp ùpò tov
lògoun kai metèwrfòs èjìmi kai òlòs mikron oukètì
òudèn òpìnoù: dòkò gàp mou ómòiòn ti òpèpònthènai
pròs phìlosòfìàn, èlòntepèr kai òî 'Iìèòl pròs tov
òiùov légonçai pátheìn, òte pròòtòv èpìon autòn-
èpèròtòv gàp óntes fûseì piòntes èsùrìn òuòt
pòtòv autèkà màla èxeìbakhèènthsan kai di-
plasìwsù ùpò tov àkàràtòv èxeìmànìsìs. ouòt
sòi kai autòs ènòthos kai meðùwòn ùpò tòw lògòw
perìérkòmòs.

Kai ìjèn tòùto gev ou méðàèvèn, álìlà ènìfèn 6
tè kai sófromenèn èstìav. ègòw dè bìoulòmìjìn àv, 
eivùov te, autòw autòs àkoûsaj tòw lògòwò
òudè gàp ouèèfòvèn 2 autòw ouìwà thémìs, álîlwò te eì
kai filòs kai peri tà òmòia èspòudàkòwìs ó bìoulò-
menòs àkoûùeì eìjì.

Thàrrèi, dògathè: tòùto gàp tòi àpò tov 'Omhìrou,
spèùdònta kai autòw parakaleìs, kai eì ge mì
èfìòs, autòs ànu èdeìðhìn àkoûsaj mou òmòiòou-
ìmàrturà gàp se parasthèësthàì pròs tòw
pòllwò èthèlwò, òti ouìc lògòwò mòînòmòs: álîlwò

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

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

B. Cheer up, good soul! you spur a willing horse, as Homer says,¹ and if you hadn’t got ahead of me, I myself should have begged you to listen to my tale, for I want to have you bear witness before the world that my madness has reason in it. Then, too,

¹ Iliad 8, 293.
The Works of Lucian

te καὶ ἥδυ μοι τὸ μεμνησθαί αὐτῶν πολλάκις, καὶ ταύτην ἥδη μελέτην ἐποιησάμην· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς μη παρών τύχῃ, καὶ ούτω δὲς ἡ τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνακυκλῶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τὰ εἰρημένα. καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ἔρασται τῶν παιδικῶν οὐ παρόντων ἔργ᾽ ἄττα καὶ λόγους εἰρημένους αὐτοῖς διαμημονεύσω καὶ τούτοις ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἐξαπατώσι τὴν νόσουν, ὥς παρόντων σφίζον τῶν ἀγαπωμένων· ἐνιοῦ γονὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσλαλεῖν οἴονται καὶ ὡς ἄρτι λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁν τότε ἠκουσαν, ἰδοιταί καὶ προσάφαντες τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν παρεληλυθῶν σχολῆν οὐκ ἀγουσιν τοῖς ἐν ποιῶν ἀνιάσθαι· οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτῶς φιλοσοφίας οὐ παροῦσας τοὺς λόγους, οὐς τότε ἠκουσα, συναγερῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἀνατύλτων οὐ μικρῶν ἐχω παραμυθίαν, καὶ ὅλως καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει καὶ νυκτὶ πολλῇ φερόμενος, ἐς πυρσὸν τινα τοῦτον ἀποβλέπω, πᾶσι μὲν παρεῖναι τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πραττομένοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον εἰόμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀκοῦν αὐτοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς με λέγοντος· ἐνίστε δὲ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐνερείσω τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ μοι φαίνεται καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ ἱχος ἐν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς παραμένει· καὶ γὰρ τοι κατὰ τῶν κωμικῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐγκατέλιπεν τι κέντρον τοῖς ἀκοῦσιν.1

1 Cf. Eupolis (Kock, 94).

κράτιστος οὔτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν· ὅποτε παρέλθοι δ᾽, ἄσπερ ἀγαθὸ δρήμης, ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἦρει λέγων τοῖς βήτορας, ταχύν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δὲ γ᾽ αὐτῷ τῷ τάχει πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθειξέν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν· οὔτως ἐκήλει καὶ μένος τῶν ῥητόρων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροαμένοις.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

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

Παῦε, ὦ θαυμάστε, μακρὸν ἀνακρονόμενος καὶ λέγε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν ἥδη τὰ εἰρημένα· ὥς οὐ μετρίως με ἀποκιάεις περιάγων.

Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ οὕτω χρῆ ποιεῖν. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο, ὦ ἐταίρη—ήδη τραγικῶς ἢ καὶ νῦ Δία κωμικοὺς φαύλους ἕωρακας ὑποκρίτας, τῶν συριττομένων λέγω τούτων καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβαλλομένων, καίτοι τῶν δραμάτων πολλάκις εὖ ἐχόντων τε καὶ γενικηκότων;

Πολλοὺς οἶδα τοιούτους. ἀλλὰ τί τούτο;

Δέδοικα μή σοι μεταξὺ δόξῳ γελώνεις αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀτάκτως συνείρων, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας τὸν νοῦν διαφθείρων, κατὰ προαχθῆς ἡρέμα καὶ αὐτοῦ καταγρώναι τοῦ δράματος. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμόν, οὐ πάνυ ἄχθομαι, ἢ δὲ ὑπόθεσις οὐ μετρίως με λυπήσειν ἐοίκε συνεκπίπτουσα καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν μέρος ἀσχημονοῦσα. τούτῳ οὖν παρ’ ὅλου μέμυνοι μοι τὸν λόγον, ὡς ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς ἥμιν τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνεύθυνος καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς πόρρω ποι κάθηται, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλον τῶν ἐν θεάτρῳ πραγμάτων. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμαυτῷ σοι πείραν παιέχω, ὅποιος τίς εἰμὶ τῆς ἑνὸς ὑποκρίτης, οὐδὲν ἀγγέλου τὰ ἄλλα τραγικοῦ διαφέρων. ὥστε κἂν ἐνδεέστερον τι δοκῶ λέγειν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐστω πρόχειρον, ὡς ἀμεινὸν ἤμ, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ ποιητὴς ὑσσως διεξήγει· ἐμὲ δὲ κἂν ἐκσυρίττης, οὐ πάνυ τι λυπήσομαι.

1 μακρὸν S, and two late codices: μικρὸν the other MSS., usually rendered "Back water a bit."

2 ἢν καὶ ἄλλως MSS.: ἢ ὁ ἄγγελος Schwartz.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

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

B. I am afraid that, as you follow me, you may think that I present my lines ridiculously, hurrying through some of them regardless of metre, and sometimes even spoiling the very sense by my incapacity; and that you may gradually be led to condemn the play itself. As far as I am concerned, I don't care at all; but if the play shares my failure and comes to grief on my account, it will naturally hurt me more than a little. Please bear it in mind, then, all through the performance that the poet is not accountable to us for faults of this nature, and is sitting somewhere far away from the stage, completely unconcerned about what is going on in the theatre, while I am but giving you a chance to test my powers and see what sort of actor I am in point of memory; in other respects my rôle is no more important than that of a messenger in tragedy. Therefore, in case I appear to be saying something rather poor, have the excuse to hand that it was better, and that the poet no doubt told it differently. As for myself, even if you hiss me off the stage, I shan't be hurt at all.'
Τὸ ἔργον καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ῥητόρων νόμον πεπροοιμάστατι σοι ἔσικας γοῦν κάκεινα προσθήσειν, ὡς δὲ ὀλίγον τε ὑμῖν ἡ συννοσία ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς οὐδ’ αὐτός ἤκες πρὸς τὸν λόγον παρεσκευασμένος καὶ ὡς ἀμεινον εἰχεν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἀκούειν· σὺ γὰρ ὀλίγα καὶ ὁσα οἶνον τε ἢν, τυγχάνεις τῇ μνήμῃ συγκεκομισμένος. οὐ ταῦτ’ ἐρεῖν ἐμελλες; οὐδὲν οὐν αὐτῶν ἔτι σοι δεὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ νόμισον δὲ τοῦτον γε ἕνεκα πάντα σοι προείρησθαι ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ βοῶν καὶ κροτεῖν ἔτοιμος. ἤν δὲ διαμέλλης, μησισσικαϊσσῳ γε παρὰ τὸν ἄγωνα καὶ ὀξύτατα συρίξομαι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἃ σὺ διηλθές, ἐβουλόμην ἂν ἐφησθαῖ μοι, κάκεινα δὲ, ὅτι οὐχ ἔξης οὐδὲ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε, ῥήσιν τινα περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ· πάνυ γὰρ τοῦθ’ ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον οὐδ’ αὖ ἐκεῖνον περιθεὶς τοὺς λόγους, μὴ καὶ κατ’ ἄλλο τι γένωμαι τοῖς ὕποκριταῖς ἐκεῖνος ὁμοίος, οἵ πολλάκις ἡ Αγαμέμνονος ἡ Κρέοντος ἡ καὶ Ἡρακλέους αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ἀνειληφότες, χρυσίδας ἦμιφεσμένοι καὶ δεινῶν βλέποντες καὶ μέγα κεχιρότες μικρῶν φθέγγονται καὶ ἱσχὺν καὶ γυναικῶδες καὶ τῆς 'Εκάβης ἡ Πολυζένης πολὺ ταπεινότερον. ἢν οὖν μὴ καὶ αὐτός ἐλέγχωμαι πάνυ μείζον τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς προσωπεῖον περικείμενος καὶ τὴν σκευήν κατασχύñων, ἀπὸ γυμνοῦ σοι βούλομαι τοῦμον προσώπου προσλαλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συγκατασπάσω ποὺ πεσὼν τὸν ἥρωα ὑπ’ ὑποκρίνομαι.

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

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

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

1 Invoked as the god of orators.
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Καὶ μὴν παῦσομαι γε' πρὸς ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἦδη τρέψωμαι. Ἦ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν λόγων ἔπαινος ἦν Ἐλλαδὸς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι φιλοσοφία καὶ πενία σύντροφοι εἰσιν καὶ οὗτε τῶν ἀστῶν οὗτε τῶν ἠέρων οὐδένα τέρπονται ὑπὸντες, δῴ ᾧ τρυφὴν εἰσάγειν εἰς αὐτοὺς βιαζῆται, ἀλλὰ κἂν τις ἐφικῆται παρ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω διακείμενος, ἢρέμα τε μεθαρμοττοῦσι καὶ παραπαιδαγωγοῦσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς διαίτης μεθιστάσων.

Ἐμέμνητο γοῦν τινὸς τῶν πολυχρύσων, δς ἐλθὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ φορτικὸς ἀκολούθων όχλῳ καὶ ποικῇ ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ αὐτὸς μὲν ὠτὸ ξηλωτὸς εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς ἂν εὐδαίμων ἀποβλέπεσθαι τοῖς ὀ ᾧ ἀρὰ δυστυχεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ ἀνθρώπιον καὶ παιδεῖεν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτὸν οὐ πικρὸς οὐδ' ἀντικρυς ἀπαγορεύουσεν ἐν ἑλευθέρα τῇ πόλει καθ' ὄντινα τρόπου βούλεται μὴ βιοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐπεί κἀν τοὺς γυμνασίους καὶ λοντροῖς όχληροῖς ἦν θλίβων τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ στενοχωρῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶσι, ἢσυχὴ τις ἂν ὑπεφθέγγατο προσποιούμενος λαυθάνειν, ὃσπερ οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀποτείνων, Δέδοικε μὴ παραπόληται μεταξφ λουόμενος καὶ μὴν εὑρίμη νη μακρὰ κατέχει τὸ βαλανεῖον οὐδὲν οὐν δεὶ στρατοπέδου. ο de ἀκούων ἄει, μεταξφ ἐπαυδεύετο. την ἀ ἐσθῆτα τὴν πολυλήν καὶ τὰς πορφυίδας ἐκείνα ὑπέδυσαν αὐτὸν ἀστείως πάνιν τὸ ἀνθρό πο ἐπισκόπτουν τῶν χρωμάτων, Ἠ' ἔρη ἡδη λέγοντες καὶ, Πόθεν ὁ τα'ς οὕτως; καὶ, Τάχα τής μητρὸς έστων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ τὰ άλλα δὲ οὕτως

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

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

"Οτι δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται πεινάν ὀμολογοῦντες, ἐμέμνητο πρός με φωνῆς τινος, ὡν ἀκούσαι πάντων ἐφ' κοινῆ προεμένων εν τῷ ἁγώνι τῶν Παναθηναίων ληφθέντα μὲν γὰρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἁγεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἁγωνιθὲν, ὅτι βαπτὸν ἐχων ἰμάτιον ἀδεωρεί, τοὺς δὲ ἱδόντας ἀληθεῖαι τε καὶ παρατείσθαι καὶ τοῦ κύρικος ἀνείπωνος, ὅτι παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἐποίησεν εν τοιαύτῃ ἐσθήτι θεώμειος, ἀναβόησαι μὴ φωνῇ πάντας ὧσπερ ἐσκεμμένους, συγγνώμην ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τοιαύτᾳ γε ἀμπεχομένῳ: μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτόν ἔτερα.

Ταύτα τε οὖν ἐπήνει καὶ προσέτι τὴν ἔλευθερίαν τὴν ἵκει καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὸ ἀνεπιθυμον, ἠσυχίαν τε καὶ ἀπραγμοσῦνην, ἢ δὴ ἀφθονα παρ' αὐτὸις ἔστιν. ἀπεφαίνε γοῦν φιλοσοφίᾳ συνωδὸν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις διατριβήν καὶ καθαρὸν ἱδος φυλάξαι δυναμένην, σπουδαίῳ τε ἀνδρὶ καὶ πλούτου καταφρονεῖν πεπαιδευμένῳ καὶ τῷ πρός τὰ φύσει καλὰ ζῆν προαιρομένῳ τὸν ἐκεῖ βίον μάλιστα ἡρμοσμένον. ὥστε δὲ πλούτου ἐρὰ καὶ χρυσὸς κεκήληται καὶ πορφύρα καὶ δυναστεία μετρεῖ τὸ εὐδαιμον, ἀγενστος μὲν ἐλευθερίας, ἀπείρατος δὲ παρρησίας, ἀθέατος δὲ ἀληθείας, κολακεία τὰ πάντα καὶ δουλεία σιντροφος, ἢ ὥστε ἴδονὴ πάσην τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιτρέψας ταύτῃ μόνη λατρεύειν διέγγεικε, φίλος μὲν περιέργων τραπεζῶν, φίλος δὲ πότων καὶ ἀφροδίσιον, ἀνάπλεως γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ψευδολογίας,
the number of his rings, the over-niceness of his
hair, the extravagance of his life. So he was
disciplined little by little, and went away much
improved by the public education he had received.

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

Well, he praised all this, and also the freedom
there and the blamelessness of their mode of living,
their quiet and leisure; and these advantages they
certainly have in plenty. He declared, for instance,
that a life like theirs is in harmony with philosophy
and can keep the character pure; so that a serious
man who has been taught to despise wealth and
elects to live for what is intrinsically good will find
Athens exactly suited to him. But a man who
loves wealth and is enthralled by gold and measures
happiness by purple and power, who has not tasted
liberty or tested free speech or contemplated truth,
whose constant companions are flattery and servility;
a man who has unreservedly committed his soul to
pleasure and has resolved to serve none but her,
fond of extravagant fare and fond of wine and
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ἡ ὀστίς ἄκουσι τέρπεται κρουμάτων τε καὶ τερετισμάτων καὶ διεφθορώτων ἀσμάτων, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους πρέπειν τὴν ἐνταῦθα διατριβήν μεσταί γάρ αὐτοῖς τῶν φιλτάτων πᾶσαι μὲν ἄγιαι, πᾶσαι δὲ ἀγοραί. πάρεστι δὲ πάσαις πύλαις τὴν ἡδονὴν καταδέχεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ ὕφθαλμον, τοῦτο δὲ δὴ ὅτων τε καὶ ῥημῶν τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ λαίμου καὶ δή ἄφροδισίων· ὦφ' ἦς δὴ ἰέμενος ἀειπότε τε καὶ θελεὶς ἰεύματι πᾶσαι μὲν ἰανευρύνονται ὀδοὶ· συνεισέρχεται γὰρ μοιχεία καὶ φιλαργυρία καὶ ἐπιορκία καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο φύλον τῶν ἡδονῶν, παρασύρεται δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποκλυζομένης πάντωθεν αἰδώς καὶ ἁρτή καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῶν δὲ ἔρημος ο χώρος γενόμενος δίψης ἀεὶ πιμπράμενος ἁνθεὶ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀγρίαις ἐπιθυμίαις.

Τοιαύτην ἀπέφαυε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοσοῦτων διδάσκαλον ἁγαθῶν. ἐγὼ γοῦν, ἐφη, ὦτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαινεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος, πλησίον ποιν γενόμενος ἐπιστήμας ἐμαυτὸν λόγον ἀπήτουν τῆς δεύτερο τίμιες, ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου λέγων,

τίπτα αὐτ', ὥ δύστημε, λυπῶν φῶς ἡλίοιο, τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν ἐντυχίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἥλυθες, ὁφρα ἤδη τῶν ἐνταύθα πόρυβον, συκοφάντας καὶ προσαγορεύσεις ὑπερφάνους καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ κόλακας καὶ μιαφονίας καὶ διαθηκῶν προσδοκίας καὶ φιλίας ἐπιτλάστους; ἡ τί καὶ πράξειν διέγνωκας μήτ' ἀπαλλάττεσθαι μήτε χρήσθαι τοῖς καθεστῶσι δυνάμενοι:

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

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

1 A reminiscence of Aratus (Phaenom. 2): "And every human street and every square is full of the presence of God." 2 Odyss. 11, 93.
"Εκτορά ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βελέων, φασίν, ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ' αἴματος ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν οἴκουρεῖν εἰλόμην καὶ βίον τινὰ τοῦτον γυναικώδη καὶ ἅτολμον τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα προτιθέμενος αὐτῇ φιλοσοφία καὶ Πλάτωνι καὶ ἡλθέια προσλαλῶ, καὶ καθίσας ἐμαυτὸν ὀσπέρ ἐν θεάτρῳ μυριάνδρῳ σφόδρα πον μετέωρος ἐπισκοπῶ τὰ γυνόμενα, ιδύτω μὲν πολλὴν ψυχήν γυνωγιάν καὶ γέλωτα παρεχεῖν δυνάμενα, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ πείραν ἄνδρως ὡς ἀληθῶς βεβαίον λαβεῖν.

Εἰ γὰρ χρή καὶ κακῶν ἐπὶ υιόν εἴπειν, μὴ υπολάβῃς μειζὸν τι γυμνάσιον ἁρετῆς ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς δοκιμασίαν ἄλθεστέραν τῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβής; οὐ γὰρ μικρῶν ἀντισχεῖν τοσαύταις μὲν ἐπιθυμίαις, τοσοῦτοις δὲ θεάμασί τε καὶ ἀκούσασί πάντοθεν ἔλκουσί καὶ ἀντιλαμβανομένους, ἀλλὰ ἀτεχνῶς δεὶ τὸν Ὅδυσσέα μιμησάμενον παραπλεῖν αὐτὰ μὴ δεδεμένον τῷ χείρε—δειλὸν γὰρ—μηδὲ τὰ ὑδα κηρῷ φραξάμενον, ἀλλὰ ἀκούσατα καὶ λευμένον καὶ ἀληθῶς υπερφανον. ἔνεστι δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θαυμάσαι παραθεωροῦντα τὴν τοσαύτην ἀνοίαν, καὶ τῶν τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν καταφρονεῖν ὀρόωντα ὀσπέρ ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ πολυπροσώπῳ δράματι τὸν μὲν ἐξ οἰκέτου δεσπότην προίντα, τὸν δ' ἀντὶ πλουσίου πέντα, τὸν δὲ σατράπην ἐκ πένητος ἡ Βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ φίλον τούτου, τὸν δὲ ἐχθρόν, τὸν δὲ φυγάδα τούτο γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸ δεινοτάτον ἔστιν, ὧτι καίτοι μαρτυρομένης τῆς Τύχης παίζειν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

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

¹ Iliad 11, 163.
πράγματα καὶ ὁμολογούσης μὴ δὲν αὐτῶν ἐίναι βέβαιον, ὅμως ταῦτ' ὁσμέραι βλέποντες ὅρεγονται καὶ πλούτου καὶ δυναστείας καὶ μεστοὶ περίασι πάντες οὐ γινομένων ἐξερνοῦν.

"Ο δὲ δὴ ἐφην, ὃτι καὶ γελᾶν ἐν τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἔνεστι καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι, τοῦτο ἦδη σοι φράσω. πῶς γὰρ οὐ γελοῖοι μὲν πλούτοτες αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς πορφυρίδας προφαινόντες καὶ τοὺς δακτυλίους προτεινόντες καὶ πολλὰς κατηγοροῦντες ἀπειροκαλίαν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅτατον, τοὺς ἐνυγχάνοντας ἀλλοτριὰ φωνὴ προσαγορεύοντες, ἀγαπᾶν ἄξιοντες, ὃτι μόνον αὐτοὺς προσέβλεψαν, οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι περιμένοντες, οὐ πόρρωθεν οὖδ' ὡς Πέρσαις νόμοις, ἀλλὰ δεῖ προσελθόντα καὶ ὑποκύψαντα¹, τὴν ψυχὴν ταπεινώσαντα καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς ἐμφανίσαντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητι, τὸ στήθος ἢ τὴν δεξιὰν καταφιλεῖν, ξηλωτὸν καὶ περίβλεπτον τοῖς μηδὲ τοῦτος τυγχάνωσιν ὃ δ' ἐστηκέν παρέχων ἑαυτῶν εἰς πλεῖον χρόνον ἐξαπατώμενον. ἐπαίνῳ δὲ γε ταύτης αὐτοῦς τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας, ὃτι μὴ καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ἦμας προσιέντας.

Πολὺ δὲ τοῦτων οἱ προσιόντες αὐτοὶ καὶ ²² θεραπεύοντες γελοιότεροι, ὕνκτος μὲν ἐξανιστάμενοι μέσης, περιθέοντες δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποκλειόμενοι, κύνες καὶ κόλακες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἅκουεν ὑπομένοντες, γέρας δὲ τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης αὐτοῖς περίοδον τὸ φορτικὸν ἐκεῖνο δεῖπνον καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῶν συμ-

¹ ὑποκύψαντα Schwartz : ὑποκύψαντα καὶ πόρρωθεν MSS. : [καὶ ὑποκύψαντα] Nilón.
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of human affairs and admits that there is no stability in them, and in spite of the fact that men see this demonstrated every day, they still yearn for wealth and power, and go about every one of them full of unrealised hopes.

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

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

1 The nomenclator: his proper office was merely to present the guests to his master, but in reality he often received them in his master's stead.
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φορῶν, ἐν ᾧ πόσα μὲν ἐμφαγόντες, πόσα δὲ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμπιόντες, πόσα δὲ δῶν οὐκ ἔχρην ἀπολαλήψαντες ἢ μεμφύμενοι ¹ τὸ τελευταῖον ἢ δυσφοροῦντες ἀπίασιν ἢ διαβάλλοντες τὸ δείπνον ἢ ὑβριν ἢ μικρολογίαν ἐγκαλοῦντες. πλήρεις δὲ αὐτῶν ἐμοῦντων οἱ στενωποὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς χαμαι-

τυπεῖοις μαχομένων καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οἱ πλείονες αὐτῶν κατακλιθέντες ἰατροὶ παρέχουσιν ἀφορμὰς περιόδων ἐνιοὶ μὲν γὰρ, τὸ καινοταυ, οὐδὲ νοσείν σχολάζουσιν.

Εγὼ μέντοι γε πολὺ τῶν κολακευμένων ἔξω-

λεστέρους τοὺς κόλακας ὑπείληφα, καὶ σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι καθίστασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αἰτίουι· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν περιουσίαν θαυμά-

σωσιν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐπαινέσωσιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας ἐωθὲν ἐμπλήσωσιν καὶ προσελθόντες ὅσπερ δεσπότας προσείπωσιν, τί καὶ φρονίσειν ἐκεῖνοι εἰκός ἔστιν; εἰ δὲ γε κοινῷ δόγματι καὶ πρὸς ὅλον ἀπέσχοντο τῇς τῆς ἐθελοδομεῖας, οὐκ ἂν οἱ τοιχαντῖον αὐτοὺς ἔλθείν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῶν πτωχῶν δεομένους τοὺς πλουσίους, μὴ ἀθέατον αὐτὸν μηδ' ἀμάρτυρον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καταλιπεῖν μηδ' ἀνόΗντον τε καὶ ἄχρηστον τῶν τραπεζῶς τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῶν οἴκων τὸ μέγεθος; οὐ γὰρ οὕτω τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἐρώσιν ὡς τοῦ διὰ τὸ πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐχει, μηδὲν ὁφελος εἶναι περικαλλοῦς οἰκίας τῷ οἰκοῦντι μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰ θαυμάζοι. ἔχρην οὖν ταῦτη καθαρεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἑπευνώνιειν τὴν δυναστείαν ἐπιτειχί ῶ

¹ ἢ μεμφύμενοί MSS.: bracketed by Schwartz.

² δὴ Hemsterhuys: δὲ MSS.

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

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

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνδρᾶς ἱδιώτας καὶ ἀναφανδὸν τὴν ἀπαίδευσιαν ὁμολογοῦντας τὰ τοιαύτα ποιεῖν, μετριώτερον ἄν εἰκότως νομισθεῖν· τὸ δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιομένων πολλοῦσιν έτι τούτων γελοιότερα δρᾶν, τούτ' ἦδη τὸ δεινότατον ἔστιν. πῶς γὰρ οὐεί τὴν ψυχὴν διατεθεὶσθαί μοι, ὅταν ἰδὼ τούτων τινά, μάλιστα τῶν προβεβηκότων, ἀναμεμιμημένον κολάκων ὄχλῳ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξίας τινά δορυφοροῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δείπνα παραγγέλλουσι κοινολογούμενον, ἐπισημότερον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος οὔτα καὶ φανερώτερον; καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ἀγανακτῶ, ὅτι μὴ καὶ τὴν σκεφὴν μεταλαμβάνουσι, τὰ ἄλλα γε ὀμοίως ὑποκρίνομενοι τοῦ δράματος. ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοισι ἔργαζονται, τίνι τῶν καλῶν εἰκάσομεν; οὐκ ἐμφοροῦνται μὲν ἀπειροκαλότερον, μεθύσκονται δὲ φανερώτερον, ἐξενίστανται δὲ πάντων ὁστατοῖς, πλεῖον δὲ ἀποφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἁξιωθίως; οἱ δὲ ἀστείότεροι πολλάκις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσαντισχθησαν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν γελοῦν ἠγείτο· μάλιστα δὲ ἐμεμυθῇ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ φιλοσοφοῦντων καὶ τὴν ἁρετὴν ὁμιον ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προτιθέντων ἑργαστήρια γούν ἐκάλεί καὶ καπηλεία τὰς τούτων διατριβάς· ἡξίου γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτον καταφρονεῖν διδάξοντα πρὸ τῶν αὐτῶν παρέχειν ψηλότερον λημμάτων. ἀμέλει καὶ πράττων ταῦτα διετέλει, οὐ μόνον προῖκα τοῖς ἁξιωθὶ συνιδιατρίβοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἑπαρκῶν καὶ πάσης περιουσίας κατα-

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

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

All this, he thought, was ridiculous: and he made special mention of people who cultivate philosophy for hire and put virtue on sale over a counter, as it were: indeed, he called the lecture-rooms of these men factories and bazaars. For he maintained that one who intends to teach contempt for wealth should first of all show that he is himself above gain. Certainly he used to put these principles into practice consistently, not only giving instruction without recompense to all who desired it, but helping the needy and holding all manner of super-
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φρονῶν, τοσούτου δέων ὄρεγεσθαι τῶν οὐδὲν προσηκόντων, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φθειρομένων ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὥς ἐκαὶ ἄγρον οὐ πόρρω τῆς πολεως κεκτημένος οὐδὲ ἐπιβίναι αὐτοῦ πολλῶν ἑτῶν ἦξισθαι, ἀλλʼ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ εἶναι διωμολύνει, ταύτ' οἴμαι ὑπειλήφως, ὅτι τούτων φύσει μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐσμεν κύριοι, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ διαδοχῇ τῆς χρήσιν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀόριστον παραλαμβάνοντες ὁλυγοχρόνιοι δεσπόται νομιζόμεθα, καὶ πειθόν ἡ προθεσμία παρέκθη, τηνικαίτα παραλαβὼν ἄλλος άπολαμίει τοῦ ὁνόματος.

Οὐ μικρὰ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνα παρέχει τοῖς ξηλοῦν ἐθέλουσι παραδείγματα, τῆς τροφῆς τὸ ἀπέριττον καὶ τῶν γυμνασίων τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ αἰθέριον καὶ τῆς ἐσθίεσι τὸ μέτρον, ἐφ' ἀπασί δὲ τούτοις τῆς διανοίας τὸ ἡμισεμένου καὶ τὸ ἣμερον τοῦ τρόπου. παρῆνει δὲ τοῖς συνούσι μὴν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖν προθεσμίας ὀριζομένους ἐστάς ἢ πανηγύρεις, ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀρξομένους τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέουντα ποιῆσαι: ἥξιον γὰρ ἀμέλλητον εἶναι τὴν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὀρμὴν. δῆλος δὲ ἢν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κατεγνωκῶς φιλοσόφων, οὐ ταύτην ἁσκησιν ἀρετῆς ὑπελάμβανον, ἦν πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις καὶ πόνοις τοὺς νέους ἀντέχειν καταγυμνάσωσιν, τοῦτο μὲν ψυχρολούτειν ἕνωσι τοῖς πολλοῖς κελεύοντες, ἄλλου δὲ μαστιγοῦντες, οἱ δὲ χαριέστεροι καὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν καταξύνοντες. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ χρῆναι πολὺ πρότερον ἐν 27

1 ψυχρολούτειν E. Capps: οὐδείν (οὐ οὐ δεῖν) MSS.: θυραυλεῖν Schwacz: ἀνυποδητείν vulg.

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

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

1 Evidently a quotation: the source is unknown.
opinion that this hardness and insensibility should be created rather in the souls of men, and that he who elects to give the best possible education ought to have an eye to soul, to body, and to age and previous training, that he may not subject himself to criticism on the score of setting his pupils tasks beyond their strength. Indeed, he asserted that many die as a result of strains so unreasonable. I myself saw one student who, after a taste of the tribulations in that camp, had made off without a backward glance as soon as he heard true doctrine, and had come to Nigrinus: he was clearly the better for it.

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

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

1 A famous instance is the case of Petronius, who expressed his opinion of Nero in his will and made the emperor his executor.
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κελεύοντες συγκαταφλέγεσθαι τῶν παρὰ τὸν βίον τιμῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παραμένειν τινὰς οἰκέτας τοῖς τάφοις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατεφεῖν τὰς στήλας ἀνθεσίν, εὐίθεις ἐτί καὶ παρὰ τὴν τελευτην διαμένοντες. εἰκάζειν οὖν ἦξιον, τί πέπρακται τούτοις παρὰ τὸν βίον, εἰ τοιαύτα περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν βίον ἐπισκίπτοσιν τούτοις γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τὸ πολυτελὲς ὤψον ὄνομανεν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις μετὰ κρόκων τε καὶ ἀρωμάτων ἐκχέοντας, τοὺς μέσου χειμώνος ἐμπιπλαμένους ῥόδων καὶ τὸ σπάνιον αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν ἀγαπῶντας, τῶν δὲ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὡς εὐτελῶν ὑπερηφανοῦντας, τούτοις εἶναι τοὺς καὶ τὰ μύρα πίνοντας: οὐ καὶ μάλιστα διέσυρεν αὐτῶν, ὅτι μηδὲ χρῆσθαι ἵσασιν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύταις παραιομοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ὄρους συγχέουσι πάντοθεν, τῇ τρυφῇ παραδόντες αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πατεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τε καὶ κωμῳδίαις λεγόμενον, ἤδη καὶ παρὰ θύραν εἰσβιαζόμενοι. σολοκισμὸν ὁ φυν ἐκάλει τοὺς τῶν ἱδώνων.

'Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης κάκεινα ἔλεγεν, ἀτεχνῶς τοῦ Μώμου τὸν λόγον μιμησάμενος· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέμφητο τοῦ ταύρου τὸν δημιουργὸν θεόν οὐ προδέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ κέρατα, οὐτὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠτίατο τῶν στεφανομένων, ὅτι μὴ ἰσασι τοῦ στεφάνου τὸν τόπον· εἰ γὰρ τοι, ἐφη,

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

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

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

2 Poseidon: see Hermotimus, 20.
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τῇ πυσῃ τῶν ἵων τε καὶ ῥόδων χάρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥίῳ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι παρ' αὐτὴν ὃς οἰόν τε τὴν ἁναπνοὴν, ἣν ὡς πλεῖστον ἀνέστησαν τῆς ἡδονῆς.

Καὶ μὴν κακείνους διεγέλα τοὺς θαυμάσιον 33 τινα τὴν σπουδήν περὶ τὰ δείπνα ποιομένους χυμῶν τε ποικιλίας καὶ πεμμάτων περιεργαίας; καὶ γὰρ αὐ καὶ τούτους ἐφασκεν ὀλυγχρόνιον τε καὶ βραχείας ἡδονῆς ἔρωτι πολλὰς πραγματείας ὑπομένειν ἀπέφαινε γοῦν τεσσάρων δακτύλων αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα πάντα πονεῖσθαι τὸν πόνον, ἐφ' ὦσον ὁ μήκιστος ἀνθρώπου λαμίος ἔστιν' οὔτε γὰρ πρὶν ἐμφαγεῖν, ἀπολαύειν τι τῶν ἐωνημένων, οὔτε βρωθέντων ἱδίω γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολυτελεστέρων πλησιμονήν λοιπὸν οὖν εἶναι τὴν ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ γεγομένην ἡδονὴν τοσοῦτον ἀνείσθαι χρημάτων. εἰκότα δὲ πάσχειν ἐλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας τὰς ἀληθεστέρας ἡδονὰς ἀγνοοῦντας, οὐ ἀπασών φιλοσοφία χορηγὸς ἔστιν τοῖς πονεῖν προαιρομένοις.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις δρωμένων πολλὰ μὲν διεξῆτι, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπομένων, τὰς ύβρεῖς, τοὺς ἐπικειμένους τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ μικροῦ δειν ἐκφερομένους. ἐν δὲ τι καὶ μάλιστα μισεῖν ἐόκει, πολὺ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τούτο καὶ τοῖς βαλανείοις ἐπιχωριάζου προϊόντας γὰρ τινὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν δεῖ βοῶν καὶ παραγγέλλειν προορᾶσθαι τοῖς ποδοῖν, ἢν ὑψηλὸν τι ἢ κοιλὸν μέλλωσιν ὑπερβαίνειν, καὶ ὑπομμυρίσκειν αὐτοὺς, τὸ καίνότατον, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. δεινὸν οὖν ἐποιεῖτο,
and roses that they like," he said, "they certainly ought to put their garlands under their noses, as close as may be to the intake of the breath, so as to inhale the greatest possible amount of pleasure."

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

He had much to say about their behaviour in the baths—the number of their attendants, their offensive actions, and the fact that some of them are carried by servants almost as if they were corpses on their way to the graveyard. There is one practice, however, which he appeared to detest above all others, a wide-spread custom in the city and in the baths. It is the duty of certain servants, going in advance of their masters, to cry out and warn them to mind their footing when they are about to pass something high or low, thus reminding them, oddly enough, that they are walking! He was indignant,
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εἰ στόματος μὲν ἀλλοτρίου δειπνούντες μὴ δέον-ται μηδὲ χειρῶν, μηδὲ τῶν ὠτῶν ἀκούοντες, ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ υγιαίνοντες ἀλλοτρίων δεόνται προσυμένων καὶ ἀνέχονται φωνὰς ἀκούοντες δυστυχέσιν ἀνθρώπως προποίοσας καὶ πεπηρωμένως ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτὰ πᾶσχουσιν εν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἡμέρας μέσης καὶ οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτετραμμένοι·

Тαύτα τε καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα τοιαύτα διελθὼν 35 κατέταυσε τὸν λόγον. ἕγῳ δὲ τέως μὲν ἥκουσαν αὐτοῦ τεθητῶς, μὴ σωφρίσθη πεφοβημένοι· ἐπεδῆ δὲ ἐπαύσατο, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν Φαιάκων πάθος ἐπεπόνθει· πολὺν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον κεκλημένος· εἶτα πολλῇ συγχύσει καὶ ἱλίγγω κατειλημένος τοῦτο μὲν ἰδρῶτε κατερρέωμην, τοῦτο δὲ φθεγξασθαί βούλομενος εξέππιτόν τε καὶ ἀνεκοπτόμην, καὶ ἡ τε φωνὴ ἐξέλευτε καὶ ἡ γλώττα διμιᾶταν, καὶ τέλος ἑδάκρυνον ἀπορούμενος· οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἐπιτολῆς οὐδὲ ἔτυχεν ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος καθίκετο, βαθεία δὲ καὶ κάριος ἤ πληγὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλα εὐστόχως ἐνεχθεὶς ὁ λόγος αὐτὴν, εἰ οἶον τε εἰπέων, διέκοψε τὴν ψυχὴν· εἰ γὰρ τι δεῖ κἀκε ἣδη φιλοσόφων προσάγασθαί λόγων, ὦδε περὶ τούτων ὑπείληφα· δοκεῖ μοι ἀνδρὸς εὑροῦσι ψυχὴ μᾶλα σκοτῶς 36 τινι ἄπαλῳ προσεοικεῖαι. τοξόται δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὸν βίον καὶ μεστοὶ τὰς φαρέτρας ποικίλων τε καὶ παντοδαπῶν λόγων, οὐ μὴν πάντες εὐστοχα τοξεύσωμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν σφόδρα τὰς νευρὰς ἐπιτείναντες ἐντονώτερον τοῦ δέοντος ἀψιδαίσιν καὶ ἀπτούνται μὲν καὶ οὕτως οὐ μένει ἐν τῷ σκοτῷ, οὕτως ἔπο τῆς σφοδρότητος 1 οὕτως, Sommerbrodt: οὕτως τῆς ὀδοῦ MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

¹Odyss. 11, 333.
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διελθόντα καὶ παροδεύσαντα κεχηροῖαν μόνον τῷ τραύματι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέλιπτεν. Ἀλλοι δὲ πάλιν τούτοις ὑπεναιτώσι: ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀσθενείᾳ τε καὶ ἀτονίᾳ οὔδὲ εφικνεῖται τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν σκοπόν, ἀλλ’ ἐκλυθέντα καταπίπτει πολλάκις ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὀδοῦ. ἦν δὲ ποτὲ καὶ ἐφίκηται, ἀκρον μὲν ἐπιλύδην ἀπτεταί, βαθείαν δὲ οὔκ ἐργαζέται πληγήν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπ’ ἴσχυρᾶς ἐμβολῆς ἀπεστέλ-λετο. ὅστις δὲ ἄγαθος τοξότης καὶ τούτῳ ὁμοίος, πρῶτον μὲν ἀκριβῶς ὁφεταί τὸν σκοπόν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα μαλακός, εἰ μὴ στερρότερος τοῦ βέλους. ἠγινοῦται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀτρωτοὶ σκοποῦ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη, τηνικαύτα χρίσας τὸ βέλος οὔτε ἵν, καθάπερ τὰ Σκυθῶν χρίεται, οὔτε ὡπὸ, καθάπερ τὰ Κουρήτων, ἀλλ’ ἥρεμα δηκτικῷ τε καὶ γλυκεὶ φαρμάκῳ, τούτῳ χρίσας εὐτέχνως ἔτοξενες: τὸ δὲ ἑνεχθὲν εὕ μάλα ἐντόνως καὶ διακόψαν ἄχρι τοῦ διελθεῖν μένει τε καὶ πολύ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἀφίησιν, ὃ δὴ σκιδνάμενον ὅλην ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ψυχὴν περιερχεῖται. τοῦτο τοῖς καὶ ἠδοναὶ καὶ δακρύουσι μεταξὺ ἁκοῦντες, ὁπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπασχον, ἕσυχῃ ἀρα τοῦ φαρμάκου τῆς ψυχῆς περιθέουντος. ἔπαψε δ’ οὖν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ ἔπος ἐκεῖνο λέγειν, βᾶλλ’ οὖτως, αἱ κέν τι φῶς γένηται. ὅσπερ γὰρ ὦ τοῦ Φρυγίου αὐλοῦ ἁκοῦντες οὐ πάντες μαίνονται, ἀλλ’ ὁπόσοι αὐτῶν τῇ Ρέα λαμβάνονται, οὕτως δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλος ὑπομιμησκόνται τοῦ πάθους, οὕτω δὴ καὶ φιλοσόφοι ἁκοῦντες οὐ πάντες ἐνθεοῦ καὶ τραυματίας ἀπάσιμον, ἀλλ’ οἷς ὑπὴν τι ἐν τῇ φύσει φιλοσοφίας συγγενέσ.

1 εὐτέχνως Sommerbrodt: ἀτεχνῶς MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

¹ Iliad 17, 599. ² Iliad 8, 282.
'Ως σεμνὰ καὶ θαυμάσια καὶ θειὰ γε, ὁ 38 ἔταιρε, διελήλυθας, ἐλελήθεις δὲ με πολλῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἀμβροσίας καὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ κεκορεσμένος: ὡστε καὶ μεταξὺ σοῦ λέγοντος ἔπασχόν τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ πανσαμένου ἄχθομαι καὶ ἵνα δῆ καὶ κατὰ σε ἐἰπώ, τέτρωμαι· καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης: οἶσθα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῶν κυνῶν τῶν λυσσώντων δηχθέντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνοι λυσσώσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν τινὰς ἐτέρους εὐν τῇ μανίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαθώσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκφρονεῖς γίγνονται συμμεταβαίνει γὰρ τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἅμα τῷ δήγματι καὶ πολυγωνεῖται ἡ νόσος καὶ πολλὴ γίγνεται τῆς μανίας διαδοχή.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἢμῖν μανίαν ὁμολογεῖς;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, καὶ προσέτι δέομαι γέ σου κοινὴν τινὰ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπινοεῖν.

Τὸ τοῦ ἄρα Τῆλέφου ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν.

Ποιον αὐλέγεις;

Ἑπὶ τὸν τρώσαντα ἐλθόντας ἰᾶσθαι παρακαλεῖν.

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

B. Then you admit your madness?

A. Why, certainly; and more than that, I ask you to think out some course of treatment for us both.

B. We must do as Telephus did, I suppose.

A. What's your meaning now?

B. Go to the man who inflicted the wound and beg him to heal us!¹

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

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

"Εμελλεν ἄρα μηδὲ ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίος τὸ 1 παντάπασιν ἄμοιρος ἔσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἀξίων, ἄλλα καὶ σώματος ἁρετὴν ὑπερφυᾶ καὶ γνώμην ἀκρῶς φιλόσοφον ἐκφαίνειν1 λέγω δὲ εἰς τὸν Βοιώτιον Σώστρατον ἀναφέρων, ὅπως Ἡρακλέα οἱ "Ελληνες ἐκάλουν καὶ ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς Δημώνακτα τὸν φιλόσοφον, οὗς καὶ έίδον αὐτὸς καὶ ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα, θατέρω δὲ τῷ Δημώνακτι καὶ ἐπὶ μῆκιστον συνεγενόμην. περὶ μὲν οὗν Σωστράτου ἐν ἀλλῷ βιβλίῳ γέγραπται μοι καὶ δεδηλωται μέγεθος τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἵσχυος ὑπερβολῆ καὶ ἡ ὑπαίθρος ἐν τῷ Παρνασῷ δίαυτα καὶ ἡ ἑπίτρωπος ἐυνή καὶ τροφαὶ ὅρειοι καὶ ἐργα οὐκ ὑποδὰ τοῦ ὄνοματος ὅσα2 ἡ ληστὰς αἴρων ἐπραξεῖν ἡ ὁδοποιῶν τὰ ἅβατα ἡ γεφυρῶν τὰ δύσπορα. περὶ δὲ Δημώνακτος ἢδη δίκαιον λέγειν ἄμφοτέρες ἕνεκα, ὡς ἐκείνους τε διὰ μνήμης εἰη τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῷ γε κατ’ ἐμὲ καὶ οἱ γενναίοτατοι τῶν νέων καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφῶν ὁρμώντες ἔχοιεν μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἄρχαία μόνα τῶν παραδειγμάτων σφάς αὐτούς ρυθμίζειν, ἄλλα κάκω τοῦ ἡμετέρου βίου κανόνα προτίθεσαι καὶ ζηλοῦν ἐκείνον ἀριστον ὅν οἶδα ἐγὼ φιλοσοφῶν γενόμειον.

1 ἐκφαίνειν MSS. : ἐκφανεῖν Cobet.
2 ὅσα K. Schwartz : καὶ ὅσα MSS.
DEMONAX

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

¹ The treatise is lost. ² The nickname Heracles.
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*Ην δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος Κύπριος, οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν ὀσα εἰς ἀξίωμα πολιτικῶν καὶ κτῆσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τοῦτων ὑπερίνω γενόμενος καὶ ἀξιώσας ἐαυτὸν τῶν καλλίστων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὄρμησεν οὐκ 'Αγαθοβούλου μὰ Δ' οὐδὲ Δημη-τρίου πρὸ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ 'Επικτήτου ἐπεγειράτων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι μὲν συνεγένετο τούτοις καὶ ἐτὶ Τιμο-κράτει τῷ Ἡρακλεώτη σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ φωνῆν τε καὶ γνώμην μάλιστα κεκοσμημένων ἀλλ' ὁ γε Δημώναξ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦτων τινὸς, ὡς ἐφην, παρακληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ οἴκειας πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ὀρμῆς καὶ ἐμφύτου πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἤρωτος ἐκ παῖδων εὐθὺς κεκυνη-μένος ὑπερείδειν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἁγαθῶν ἀπάντων, ὅλον δὲ παραδόσα αὐτῶν ἐλευθερία καὶ παρρησία διετέλεσεν αὐτὸς τε ὁρθῶ καὶ ὕγιει καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτω ψυχῆς ἡρῴου καὶ τῶν ὀρόσι καὶ ἀκούοντι παράδειγμα παρέχων τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν ἄληθειαν, οὐ μὴν ἀνίστητοι ἑν ποσίν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς ταύτα ἠξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητάς σύντροφος ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐμέμνητο καὶ λέγειν ἥσκητο καὶ τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ προαιρέσεις οὐκ ἐπτ' ὅλγον οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀκρῷ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀψάμενος ἦπιστατο, καὶ τὸ σώμα δὲ ἐγεγυμναστὸ καὶ πρὸς καρτερίαν διεπετόνητο, καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐμεμελήκει αὐτῷ μηδενὸς ἄλλου προσδεῖ εἰναι ὡστε ἐτέλεσεν καὶ ἐμαθέν οὐκέτι ἐαυτῷ διαρκῶν, ἐκῶν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βίου πολυν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγου τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἐλλήνων καταλιπών.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ εἴδος οὐχ ἐν ἀποτελόμενος, 5 ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἐστι ταύτῳ καταμάξας οὐ πάνυ τι
DEMONAX

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

He did not mark out for himself a single form of philosophy but combined many of them, and never
Τὸ έξέφαινε τίνι αὐτῶν ἕχαρεν· ἐφεκτε ἔτο Σωκράτει μᾶλλον ἀκειώδθαι, εἰ καὶ τῷ σχῆματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ῥαστώνη τῷ Σινωπέα ζηλοῦν ἐδοξεῖν, οὐ παραχαράτων τὰ εἰς τὴν διαίταν, ὡς θαυμάζοιτο καὶ ἀποβλέποιτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων, ἀλλ' ὁμοδίαιτο ἄπασι καὶ πεξὸς ὦν καὶ οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον τῷφω κάτοχος συνήν καὶ συνεπολιτεῦτο, τίνι μὲν τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰρωνεῖαν οὐ προσιέμενοι, χάριτος δὲ Ἀττικῆς μεστὰ ἀποφαίνων τὰς συνουσίας, ὡς τοὺς προσομιλήσαντας ἀπίεναι μήτε καταφρονήσαντας ὡς ἀγεννοῦς μήτε τὸ σκυθρωτὸν τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἀποφεύγοντας, παιτοίους δὲ ὑπ' εὐφροσύνης γενομένους καὶ κοσμιώτερους παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φαινοτέρους καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐελπιδας. οὐδεπώποτε γοῦν ὁφθῇ κεκραγὼς ἡ ὑπερ-διατεινόμενος ἡ ἀγανακτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ δέοι, ἀλλά τῶν μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων καθιστέτο, τοῖς δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσι συνεγίνωσκει, καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἄξιον λαμβάνει τὰ μὲν νοσήματα ἑμένων, ὅργῃ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νοσοῦντας οὐ̂ χρωμένων ἤγειτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπον μὲν εἶναι τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν, θεοὺ δὲ ἡ ἀνδρὸς ἴσοθέου τὰ πταισθέντα ἐπανορθοῦν.

Τοιοῦτο δὴ βίῳ χρώμενος εἰς ἑαυτὸν μὲν οὖν ἐδείτο, φίλοις δὲ συνεπραττε τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐτυχεῖν δοκοῦντας αὐτῶν ὑπεμίμησεῖν ὡς ἐπ' ὀλυγοχρόνοις τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐπαιρομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἡ πεινῶν ὄδυρομένους ἢ φυγήν δυσχεραίνοντας ἢ γῆρας ἢ νόσον αἰτωμένους σὺν γέλωτι παρεμυθεῖτο, οὔχ ὀράντας δι' μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτῶς παύσεται μὲν τὰ ἀνιώτα.
DEMONAX

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

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

\footnote{1 Diogenes.}


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λήθη δὲ τις ἁγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἐλευθερία μακρὰ πάντας ἐν ὀλίγῳ καταλήψεται. ἐμελευ ἐδεικτίγιος τοῖς γυναικείοις, ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς σταδιάζοντας διαλλάττειν καὶ γυναῖξι πρός τοὺς γεγομήκότας εἰρήνην προτα- νεύειν· καὶ που καὶ δήμοις παρατηρομένοις ἐμμελῶς διελέχθη καὶ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἐπεισε ὑποργεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τὰ μέτρια.

Τοιούτος τις ἤν ὁ τρόπος τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῦ, πρᾶσι καὶ ἤμερος καὶ φανδρός· μόνον αὐτὸν ἴσχια φίλου νόσος ἡ θάνατος, ὥσ ἀν καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἁγαθῶν τὴν φιλίαν ἤγομένον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φίλος μὲν ἦν ἀπασί καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ὑμῖν οὐκ οἴκειον ἐνόμιζεν, ἀνθρωπόν γε ὑμᾶ, πλέον ἐν ἡ ἐλαττον ἔχαρε συνών ἐνώσεις αὐτῶν, μόνοις ἐξιστάμενοι ὑπόσοι ἁν ἔδοκεν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τὴν τῆς θεραπείας ἐπίτευγα διαμαρτά- νευν. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα μετὰ Χαρίτων καὶ Ἀφρο- δίτης αὐτῆς ἐπραττέν τε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἀεί, τὸ κομικὸν ἐκεῖνο, τὴν πειθῶν τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπικαθήσθαι.

Τοιγαροῦν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὡς τοις συμματα δήμος καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει ὑπερφυῶς ἐδαύμαζον αὐτοῦ καὶ διετέλουν ὡς τίνα τῶν κρειττόνων προσβλέποντες. καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ προσέκρουε τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ μᾶς ποὺ μεῖνον ἐν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς πλή- θεσιν ἐκτῆσατο ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησία καὶ ἐλευ- θερία, καὶ τινές ἐπ' αὐτῶν συνέστησαν Ἀνυτοί καὶ Μέλητοι τὰ αὐτὰ κατηγοροῦντες ἀπέρ κακεί- νου οἱ τότε, ὅτι οὔτε θύων ὀφθη πώποτε οὔτε ἐμνήθη μόνος ἀπάντων ταῖς Ἐλευσινίαις· πρὸς

1 πρὸ αὐτοῦ Α.Μ.Η.: not in MSS.
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oblivion of their fortunes, good and bad, and lasting liberty. He made it his business also to reconcile brothers at variance and to make terms of peace between wives and husbands. On occasion, he has talked reason to excited mobs, and has usually persuaded them to serve their country in a temperate spirit.

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

Hence all Athens, high and low, admired him enormously and always viewed him as a superior being. Yet in office he ran counter to public opinion and won from the masses quite as much hatred as his prototype ² by his freedom of speech and action. He too had his Anytus and his Meletus who combined against him and brought the same charges that their predecessors brought against Socrates, asserting that he had never been known to sacrifice and was the only man in the community uninitiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. In reply to this, with right good

¹ Eupolis, quoted in the note on "Nigrinus" 7.
² Socrates.
Τά έργα τού Λυκίου

Διάφορα και διάφορα τους οι οίκους της Κρήτης, τα διαφορετικά και διαφορετικά της Μάλης, όταν οι αρχαιολόγοι και καθαροί ιμάτιον ανάλαβον και παρελθόν είς τήν έκκλησίαν τά μεν ἐμμελώς, τά δέ καὶ τραχύτερον ἢ κατά τήν ἕαυτον προαίρεσιν ἀπελογήσατο. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ τεθυκέναι πώποτε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. Μὴ θαυμάσητε, ἐφι, διότι ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτὴ ἐθύσα, οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ σθαναί αὐτὴν τῶν παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ θυσιῶν ὑπελάμβανον. πρὸς δὲ θάτερον, τὸ τῶν μυστηρίων, ταύτην ἐφι ἔχειν αὐτίαν τοῦ μὴ κοινωνήσαι σφίσι τῆς τελετῆς, ὅτι, ἄν τε φαίλα ἵ τὰ μυστηρία, οὐ σωπηθέσται πρὸς τοὺς μηδέτεροι μεμυθημένους, ἀλλὰ ἀποτρέψει αὐτούς τῶν ὀργῶν, ἀν τε καλὰ, πᾶσιν αὐτὰ ἔξαγωρεύσει ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας. ὡστε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἦδη λίθους ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χειρὶς ἔχοντας πρόαυς αὐτῷ καὶ ἰδεὸς γενέσθαι αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ ὅπερ ἐκεῖνον ἄρξαμένους τιμᾶν καὶ αἰδεύσθαι καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα θαυμάζειν, καύτου εὔθυς ἐν ἁρχῇ τῶν πρὸς αὐτούς λόγων τραχύτερο ἐχρήσατο τῷ προσμίῳ. Ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφι Ἀθηναίοι, ἐμὲ μὲν ὀρῶντες ἐστεφανωμένου ὑμεῖς ἦδη κἂμε καταθύσατε, τὸ γὰρ πρότερον οὐκ ἐκαλλιερήσατε. Βούλομαι δὲ ἐνα παραθέσθαι τῶν εὔστοχως τε ἀμα καὶ ἀστείως ὑπὶ αὐτοῦ λεγεμένων ἄρξασθαι δὲ ἀπὸ Φαβωρίνου καλὸν καὶ ὁν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Φαβωρίνος ἀκούσας τιμῶς ὡς ἐν γέλωτι ποιῶτο τὰς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς μελῶν τὸ ἐπικεκλασμένον σφόδρα ὡς ἀγεννής καὶ γυναικεῖον καὶ φιλοσοφία ἡκιστα πρέπουν, προσελθοῦν ἤρωτα τὸν Δημώνακτα, τίς ἀν χλενάζοι τὰ αὐτοῦ. "Ανδρωπος,
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courage he wreathed his head, put on a clean cloak, went to the assembly and made his defence, which was in part good-tempered, in part more caustic than accorded with his scheme of life. Regarding his never having offered sacrifice to Athena, he said: “Do not be surprised, men of Athens, that I have not hitherto sacrificed to her: I did not suppose that she had any need of my offerings.” Regarding the other charge, the matter of the mysteries, he said that he had never joined them in the rite because if the mysteries were bad, he would not hold his tongue before the uninitiate but would turn them away from the cult, while if they were good, he would reveal them to everybody out of his love for humanity. So the Athenians, who already had stones in both hands to throw at him, became good-natured and friendly toward him at once, and from that time on they honoured, respected and finally admired him. Yet in the very beginning of his speech he had used a pretty caustic introduction, “Men of Athens, you see me ready with my garland: come, sacrifice me like your former victim, for on that occasion your offering found no favour with the gods!”

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

¹ An eunuch from Arles, of considerable repute as a sophist.
έφη, ούκ ευαπάτητα ἐχων τὰ ὅτα. ἐγκεκιμένου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ ἐρωτώντος, τίνα δὲ καὶ ἐφόδια ἐχων, ὁ Δημῶνας, ἐκ παιδείας εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ἦκεις; Ὁρχεῖς, ἐφη.

"Ἀλλοτε δὲ ποτε ὁ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ἠρώτα τὸν Δημώνακτα, τίνα αἱρεσιν ἀσπάζεται μᾶλλον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ; ὁ δὲ, Τίς γάρ σοι εἴπεν ὅτι φιλοσοφῶ; καὶ ἀπόων ἥδη παρ' αὐτοῦ μάλα ἢδυ ἐγέλασεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐρωτήσαντος, ἐφ' ὅτω γελᾷ, ἑκεῖνος ἐφη, Γελοών μοι εἶναι ἐδοξεί, εἰ σὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ πώγωνος ἀξίοις κρίνεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας αὐτὸς πώγωνα οὐκ ἐχων.

Τοῦ δὲ Σιδωνίου ποτὲ σοφιστοῦ Ἀθήνησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος καὶ λέγοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπαινόν τίνα τοιούτον, ὅτι πάσης φιλοσοφίας πεπείραται—οὐ χείρον δὲ αὐτὰ εἴπειν ἃ ἐλεγεν Ἥπειρος Ἀριστοτέλης με καλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀὐκειον, ἐψομαι· ἀν Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν, ἀφίξομαι· ἀν Ζήνων, ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ διατρίβῳ· ἄν Πυθαγόρας καλῇ, σιωπήσομαι. ἀναστάς οὖν ἐκ μέσων τῶν ἀκρωμένων, Οὕτος, ἐφη προσεπιπὼν τὸ ὄνομα, καλεὶ σε Πυθαγόρας.

Πύθωνος δὲ τινὸς τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ εὐπαράφων νεανίσκου ἄρα ἐρεσχηλοῦντος αὐτὸν καὶ προτείνοντος ἐρωτημα τι σοφιστικὸν καὶ κελεύοντος εἴπειν τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ τὴν λύσιν,"Εὖ, ἐφη, οἴδα, τέκνον, ὃτι περαίνει. ἄγανακτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἀμφιβολίας σκώμμιτι καὶ συμπειλήσαντος, Ἀὐτίκα σοι μάλα τὸν ἀνδρα
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man with an ear that is not easy to cheat," said he. The sophist kept at him and asked: "What qualifications had you, Demonax, to leave school and commence philosophy?" "Those you lack," he retorted.

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

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

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

1 Otherwise unknown.
2 Alluding to the Pythagorean vow of silence.
δείξω, ὦ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ἡρώτησεν, Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἑχεις;

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τις ἄθλητὴς καταγελασθεὶς ὑπὰ τὸν αὐτὸν, ὥστε ἐσθήτα ἀφθῆ ἀνθινὴν ἀμπεχόμενος ὅλον ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθω καὶ ἀκμα ἑρῆ, οἱ μὲν παρόντες ἡγαμάκτου ὡς αὐτὸς ἔκαστος τετυπημένος καὶ ἐβόων πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἰέναι, ὦ δὲ Δημώναξ, Μηδαμώς, ἑφή, ὦ ἄνδρες, πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἰατρόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτὲ καὶ χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον ὁδὸν βαδίζων εὐρεν, γραμματεῖον ἐν ἀγορᾷ προθεὶς ἦξοι τὸν ἀπολέσαντα, ὡστὶς εἴτε τοῦ δακτυλίου δεσπότης, ἤκειν καὶ εἰπόντα ὅλκην αὐτοῦ καὶ λίθον καὶ τύπον ἀπολαμβάνειν· ἤκειν ὡς τὸς μεθρακίσκος ὁραῖος αὐτὸς ἀπολωλεκέναι λέγων. ἔπει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγίες ἐλέγεν, Ἀπιθή, ἑφή, ὦ παί, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸν δακτύλιον φύλαττε, τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ ἀπολώλεκας.

Τὸν δὲ ἅπτῳ τῆς 'Ρωμαίου Βουλῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ὑίον αὐτῷ δείξας πάνω όραϊον, θηλυδρίαν δὲ καὶ διακεκλασμένον, Προσαγορεύει σε, ἑφη, ὦ ἐμὸς υἱὸς οὖτοσί, καὶ ὁ Δημώναξ, Καλός, ἑφη, καὶ σοῦ ἄξιος καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὅμοιος.

Τὸν δὲ Κυνικὸν τὸν ἐν ἀρκτοῦ δέρματι φιλοσοφοῦντα οὐχ Ὀνωρᾶτον, ὡσπερ ὠνομαζέτοι, ἀλλ' Ἀρκεσίλαον καλεῖν ἦξιον.

Ἑρωτήσαντος δὲ τινὸς, τῆς αὐτῷ ὅρος εὐδαιμονίας εἶναι δοκεῖ, μόνον εὐδαιμόνα ἑφη τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἑκείνου δὲ φήσαντος πολλοὺς ἐλευθεροὺς εἶναι, Ἀλλ' ἑκείνου νομιζὼ τὸν μήτε ἑλπίζων prods Cobet: ἐπὶ MSS. 2 τὸν Rothstein: not in MSS.
whereupon Demonax laughingly inquired: “Oh, you will send for your man, then?”

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

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

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

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

When a man asked him what he thought was the definition of happiness, he replied that none but a free man is happy; and when the other said that free men were numerous, he rejoined: “But I have
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ξοντά τι μήτε δεδιότα: ὡ δὲ, Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, τούτῳ τις δύνατο; ἀπαντες γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολὺ τούτοις δεδουλῶμεθα. Καὶ μὴν εἰ κατανοήσεις τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, εὕροις ἂν αὐτὰ ὅπειδος οὕτε φόβου ἀξία, παυσομένων πάντως καὶ τῶν ἁνικαν καὶ τῶν ἡδέων.

Περεγρίνου δὲ τοῦ Πρωτέως ἐπιτυμὸντος αὐτῷ, 21 ὅτε ἔγελα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσεπαιζε, καὶ λέγοντος, Δημᾶναξ, οὐ κυνᾶς, ἀπεκρίνατο, Περεγρίνε, ὅτι ἀνθρωπίζεις.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ φυσικὸν τινα περὶ τῶν ἀντίποδῶν 22 διαλεγόμενον ἀναστήσασα καὶ ἐπὶ φρέαρ ἀγαγῶν καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν τῷ ὑδατι σκιάν ἦρετο, Τοιοῦτος ἄρα τοὺς ἀντίποδας εἶναι λέγεις;

'Αλλὰ καὶ μᾶγον τινὸς εἶναι λέγοντος καὶ 23 ἐπωδᾶς ἔχειν ἴσχυρᾶς, ὡς υπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαντας ἀνάπεισθήναι1 παρέχειν αὐτῷ ὅπόσα βούλεται, Μὴ θανάμαξε, ἔφη καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὀμότεχνος εἰμί σοι, καὶ εἰ βούλει, ἐποὺ πρὸς τὴν ἁρτόπωλιν καὶ ὅσει μὲ διὰ μίας ἐπωδῆς καὶ μικροῦ τοῦ 2 φαρμάκου πείδοντα αὐτὴν δουναὶ μοι τῶν ἁρτων, αἰνυτόμενος τὸ νόμισμα ὡς τὰ ἵσα τῇ ἐποδῇ δυνάμενον.

'Επεὶ δὲ Ἡρόδης ὁ πάνυ ἐπένθετε τὸν 24 Πολυδεύκη πρὸ ὃρας ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἦξιον ὅχημα ζεύγυνσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππους παρίστασθαι ὡς ἀναβησομένοι καὶ δείπνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, προσελθῶν, Παρὰ Πολυδεύκους, ἔφη, κομίζω σοί

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

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

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

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

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

1 Peregrinus Proteus, of whose death and translation to a higher sphere Lucian has written in “The Passing of Peregrinus,” carried his ‘doggishness’ (Cynicism) to extremes.
2 Herodes Atticus. Polydeuces was a favourite slave.
καὶ οἰηθέντος δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ οἰηθέντος ὅτι κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις συντρέχει τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰπόντος, Τί οἶν, ὦ Δημώναξ, Πολυδεύκης ἄξιοι; Αἰτιάται σε, ἐφη, ὅτι μὴ ἤδη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπει.

'Ο δὲ αὐτὸς νῦν πενθοῦντι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἐπαινοῦντοι καὶ συνεχώρισαν προσελθών ἔλεγεν μάγος τε ἐναν καὶ δύνασθαι αὐτῷ ἄναγαγεῖν τοῦ παιδὸς τὸ εἶδωλον, εἰ μόνον αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσει μηδένα πῶποτε πεπενθηκότας· ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐνδοῖολάσαντος καὶ ἀποροῦντος—οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν τινὰ, οὐκ ἔπειτι τοιοῦτον—Εἰτ', ἐφη, ὦ γελοίε, μόνος ἀφόρτητα πάσχειν νομίζεις μηδένα ὀρῶν πένθους ἀμοιρον;

Καὶ μὴν κακείνων καταγελᾶν ἥξιον τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις πάνω ἀρχαίοις καὶ ἑκάστης ἐνόμαις ἵππομένων· εἰ δὲ γοῦν ἐρωτηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγου τινὰ καὶ ὑπεραττικῶς ἀποκρίθηντες, Ἐγὼ μὲν σε, ἐφη, ὦ ἐταῖρε, νῦν ἠρώτησα, σὺ δὲ μοι ὡς ἐπ' Ἀγαμέμνονοι ἀποκρίνη.

Εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς τῶν ἑταίρων, Ἀπίωμεν, Δημώναξ, εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιείον καὶ προσευκέωμεθα ὑπ' ὑπὸ τοῦ νῦν, Πάνυ, ἐφη, κωφὸν ἵγμι τὸν Ἀσκληπιίων, εἰ μὴ δύναται καντεῦθεν ἱμὸν εὐχωμένων ἀκούειν.

'Ἰδὼν δὲ ποτε δύο τινὰς φιλοσόφους κομμὴν ἀπαίδευτος ἐν ξητήσει ἐρίζοντας καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄτοπα ἐρωτώντα, τὸν δὲ οὖν πρὸς λόγον ἀποκρινόμενον, Οὐ δοκεῖ ὡμίν, ἐφη, ὦ φίλοι, ὦ μὲν ἐτερος τούτων τράγον ἀμέλεγεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ κόσκινον ὑποτιθέναι;

'Αγαθοκλέους δὲ τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ μέγα φρο-
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Herodes was pleased and thought that Demonax, like everyone else, was falling in with his humour; so he said: Well, what does Polydeuces want, Demonax?"

"He finds fault with you," said he, "for not going to join him at once!"

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

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

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

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

When Agathocles the Peripatetic was boasting
νοῦντος ὃτι μόνος αὐτὸς ἔστιν καὶ πρῶτος τῶν διαλεκτικῶν, ἔφη, Καὶ μὴν, ὁ Ἀγαθόκλεις, εἴ μὲν πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἴ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος.

Καθήγου δὲ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ, ὅποτε διὰ τῆς Ἐλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆς προσβεύσων τῷ πατρί, πολλὰ καταγέλαστα καὶ λέγοντος καὶ ποιοῦντος, ἑπειδὴ τῶν ἐταίρων τις ὅρων ταῦτα ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν μέγα κάθαρμα εἶναι, Μᾶ τὸν Δ', ἔφη ὁ Δημώναξ, οὐδὲ μέγα.

Καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ποτὲ τῶν φιλόσοφων ἴδων μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν μαθητῶν ἔξελαύνοντα—ἡδὲ δὲ ἀπῆς μετάπεμπτὸς ὡς ἐπὶ παιδεία τῷ βασίλει ἱσυνεσόμενος—Προσέρχεται, ἔφη, Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ οἱ Ἀργοναῦντα αὐτοῦ.

"Ἀλλού δὲ ποτὲ ἐρωμένου εἰ ἀθάνατος αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχή δοκεῖ εἶναι, Ἀθάνατος, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα.

Περὶ μέντοι Ἡρώδου ἐλεγεν ἀληθεύειν τὸν Πλάτωνα φάμενον, οὗ μίαν ἡμᾶς ψυχήν ἔχειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς Ῥήγαλλαν καὶ Πολυδεύκην ὡς ξώντας ἐστίν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μελετᾶν.

Εὐτόμησε δὲ ποτὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐρωτησαί 34 δημοσίᾳ τῆς προρρήσεως ἀκοῦσας, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀποκλείουσιν τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ τὴν τελετὴν αὐτοῖς καταστησαμένου Ἐὐμόλπου βαρβάρου καὶ Ὀρακὸς ὄντος.

"Εστι δὲ ποτὲ τπλεῖν μέλλοντι αὐτῷ διὰ 35 χειμῶνος ἔφη τις τῶν φίλων. Ὡς δέδοικας μὴ ἀνατραπέντος τοῦ σκάφους ύπὸ ἱχθύων κατα-
DEMONAX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Wife of Herodes.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

βρωθῆς; 'Αγνώμων ἃν εἶχεν, ἐφη, ὡς ὡν ὑπὸ ἰχθύων κατεδεσθήναι τοσοῦτος αὐτὸς ἰχθύς καταφαγὼν.

Ῥήγορε δὲ τινι κάκιστα μελετήσαντι συνέβου- 36 λευν ἄσκειν καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, 'Αεί ἐπὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγω, Εἰκότος τοῦν, ἐφη, τοιαῦτα λέγεις μωρῷ ἀκροατῇ χρώμενοι.

Καὶ μάντων δὲ ποτε ἴδων δημοσία ἐπὶ μισθῷ 37 μαντεύμενον, Οὐχ ὅρῳ, ἐφη, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπαιτεῖς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀλλάξαι τι δυνάμενος τῶν ἐπικεκλωσμένων, δόλιγον αἰτεῖς ὅποσον ἀν αἰτῆς, εἰ δὲ ὡς δεδοκται τῷ θεῷ πάντα ἐσται, τί σου δύναται ἡ μαντική;

Πρεσβύτου δὲ τινος Ἡρωμαίον εὐσωματοῦν- 38 τος τὴν ἐνόπλιον αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς πάτταλον ἐπιδειξαμένου καὶ ἐρομένου, Πῶς σοι, Δημώναξ, μεμαχηθαί ἐδοξά; Καλῶς, ἐφη, ἀν ξύλινον τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἔχης.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπόρους τῶν ἐρωτή- 39 σεων πάνυ εὐστόχως παρεσκεύαστο· ἐρομένου γὰρ τινὸς ἐπὶ χλευασμῶ, Ἐι χιλίας μιᾶς ξύλων καύσαιμι, ὦ Δημώναξ, πόσαι μναὶ ἀν καπνοῦ γένοιτο; Στήτουν, ἐφη, τὴν σποδόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν καπνὸς ἐσταί.

Πολυβίου δὲ τινος, κομιδῆ ἀπαιδεύτου ἀνθρώ- 40 που καὶ σολοίκου, εἰπόντος, 'Ο βασιλεὺς με τῇ Ἡρωμαίων πολιτείᾳ τετίμηκεν. Εἴθε σε, ἐφη, Ἐλληνα μᾶλλον ἢ Ἡρωμαίον πεποιήκει. 1

Ἰδὼν δὲ τινα τῶν εὐπαράφων ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτει 41 τῆς πορφύρας μέγα φρουρύτα, κύψας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ οὖς καὶ τῆς ἐσθίτος λαβόμενος καὶ δείξας,

1 πεποιήκει Bekker: πεποιήκεν MSS.
DEMONAX

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

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

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

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

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

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

On seeing an aristocrat who set great store on the breadth of his purple band, Demonax, taking hold of the garment and calling his attention to it,
То̀г̃о мέντοι πρό σοῦ πρόβατον ἐφόρει καὶ ἥν πρόβατον.

'Ἐπεὶ μέντοι λονύμενος ὄκυνησεν ἐς τὸ ὥδερ 42 ξέον ἐμβῆναι, καὶ ἥτιάσατό τις ὡς ἀποδειλιά-

σαντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτὸ πείσε-

σθαί ἐμελλον;

'Ἐρομένου δὲ τινος, Ποῖα νομίζεις εἶναι τὰ ἐν 43 Ἀιδοῦ; Περίμεινον, ἔφη, κἀκεῖθεν σοι ἐπιστελῶ.

'Αδμήτω δὲ τινι ποιητῇ φαύλῳ λέγοντι γεγρα-

φέναι μονόστιχον ἐπίγραμμα, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς διαθή-

καις κεκέλευκεν ἐπιγραφὴναι αὐτοῦ τῇ στῆλῃ—

οὗ χειρὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν,

Γαῖα λάβ' Ἀδμήτου ἐλυτρον, βῆ δ' εἰς θεὸν

αὐτὸς—

tyλάσας εἶπεν, Οὖν καλὸν ἔστιν, ὁ 'Αδμητε,

τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὡστε ἐβουλόμην αὐτὸ ἥδη ἐπι-

gεγράφθαι.

Ἰδὼν δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σκελῶν αὐτοῦ ὅια τοῖς 45

γέρουσιν ἔπεικὼς γίνεται, ἔρετο, Τῇ τοῦτο, ὁ

Δημώναξ: ὃ δὲ μειδίασας, Χάρων μὲ ἔδακεν, ἔφη.

Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Λακεδαιμώνιον τινα ἰδὼν τὸν

αὐτοῦ οἰκήτην μαστιγοῦντα, Παῦσαι, ἔφη, ὁμό-

τιμον σαυτοῦ τὸν δοῦλον ἀποφαίνων.

Δανάης δὲ τινος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δίκην 47

ἔχοντας, Κρίθητι, ἔφη, οὐ γὰρ εἰ Δανάη ἢ

Ἀκρισίον θυγάτηρ.

Μάλιστα δὲ ἐπολέμει τοῖς οὐ πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν 48

ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν φιλοσοφοῦσιν: ἕνα γοῦν ἱδὼν

Κυνικὸν τρίβωνα μὲν καὶ πήραν ἔχοντα, ἀντὶ δὲ
said in his ear: "A sheep wore this before you, and he was but a sheep for all that!"

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

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

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

"Earth, in thy bosom receive Admetus's husk; he's a god now!"

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

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

He saw a Spartan beating a slave, and said: "Stop treating him as your equal!" ¹

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

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

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

tίς βακτηριάς ὑπερού, καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι Ἀντισθένους καὶ Κράτητος καὶ Διογένους ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος, Μὴ ἴσωσθεν, ἐφη, σὺ γὰρ ῥήπερείδου μαθητὴς ὄν τυγχάνεις.

 muj méntoi πολλούς τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐώρα 49 κακομαχούντας καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐναγωγόν ἀντὶ τοῦ παγκρατιάδει, δάκρυσας, ὡς ἀπεικῶτος, ἐφη, τοὺς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς οἱ παρομαρτοῦντες λέοντας καλοῦσιν.

Ἀστείον δὲ κάκεινο αὐτοῦ καὶ δηκτικὸν ἀμα 50 τὸ πρὸς τῶν ἀνθυπατοῦ εἰρημένου ἢν μὲν γὰρ τῶν πιθομένων τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅλων. Κυνικοῦ δὲ τίνος ἐπὶ λίθων ἀναβάντος καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατηγοροῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς κιναίδιαν διαβάλλοντος, ἀγανακτήσας καὶ κατασπασθῆναι τὸν Κυνικὸν κελεύσας ἐμμελλεν ἢ ξύλους συντρίψειν ἢ καὶ φυγῇ ξημώσειν· ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν Ἰημώναξ τατατουχῶν παρατήρητο συγγνώμην ἔχειν αὐτὸς κατὰ τίνα πάτριου τοῦς Κυνικοῖς παρρησίαιν θρασυνομένον. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπατοῦ, Νῦν μὲν σοι ἀφίημι αὐτόν, ἀν δὲ ὑπερούς τοιούτων τι τολμήσῃ, τί παθεῖν ἄξιος ἐστίν; καὶ ὁ Δημώναξ, Δρωπακισθῆναι τότε αὐτῶν κέλευσον.

Ἀλλ' δὲ τινὶ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμα καὶ ἐθνους 51 τοῦ μεγίστου τὴν ἄρχην ἐμπιστευθέντι ἐκ βασιλείων ἐρμείων, πῶς ἀριστα ἄρξει; Ἀργγίτως, ἐφη, καὶ ἄλιγα μὲν λαλῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀκοῦν.

Ἐρμείων δὲ τινὶ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς πλακούντας 52 ἐσθίοι, ὡς ὁ ὁ ἐφη, τοῖς μωροῖς τὰς μελίσσας τιθέναι τὰ κηρία;
DEMONAX

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

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

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

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

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

† Perhaps an unknown Cynic; but the name may be used just for the sake of the pun, without reference to a definite person.
Πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ποικίλῃ ἀνδριάντα ἵδων τὴν χείρα ἀποκεκομμένων, ὅψε ἐφη Ἀθηναίους εἰκόνι χαλκῆ τετιμηκέναι τὸν Κυνέγειρον.
Καὶ μὴν καὶ 'Ρουφίνου τὸν Κύπριον—λέγω δὴ τὸν χωλὸν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου—ἵδων ἔπε πολὺ τοῖς περιπάτοις εἰδιατρίβοντα, Οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ἐφη, ἀναίσχυντότερον χωλοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε ὧν Ἑπίκτητος ἐπιτιμῶν ἀμα συνε- βούλευν αὐτῷ ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ παιδο-
ποίησασθαι—πρέπει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν τῇ φύσει—
ἔλεγκτικῶτατα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, Οὐκοῦν,
ὅ Ὀπίκτητε, δός μοι μίαν τῶν σαυτοῦ θυγατέρων.
Καὶ μὴν τὸ πρὸς 'Ερμῶν τὸν Ἀριστοτελίκον ἅξιον ἀπομυμηνεύσαι εἰδὼς γὰρ αὐτὸν παγ-
κάκιστον μὲν ἄντα καὶ μυρία κακὰ ἐργαζόμενον,
τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη δ' ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ διὰ στόματος
αὐτοῦ ταῖς δέκα κατηγορίαις ἔχοντα, Ἐρμῖνε,
ἐφη, ἀληθῶς ἅξιος εἰ δέκα κατηγοριῶν.
Ἀθηναίων δὲ σκεπτομένων κατὰ ξῆλον τὸν πρὸς 57
Κορινθίους καταστίσασθαι θέαν μονομάχων,
προελθὼν εἰς αὐτούς, Μὴ πρῶτερον ταῦτα, ὦ 
Ἀθηναίοι, ψηφίσησθε, ἄν μὴ τοῦ Ἑλέου τὸν
βασιλέα καθέλητε.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ποτὲ ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ 58
'Ἡλεῖοι εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐψηφίσαντο, Μηδαμῶς
τοῦτο, ἐφη, ὦ ἀνδρὲς 'Ἡλεῖοι, μὴ δοξήτε ὁνειδίζειν
τοῖς προγόνοις ύμῶν, ὅτι μὴ μέτε Σωκράτους μὴ
∆ισέγενος εἰκόνα ἀνατεθείκασιν.

1 δ' ἐπαινοῦντα A.M.H.; δὲ θαυμάζωνa Fritzche: Ἀριστο-
τέλη καὶ MSS., Nilén, who sets the comma after Ἀριστοτέλη.
DEMONAX

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

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

When Epictetus rebuked him and advised him to get married and have children, saying that a philosopher ought to leave nature a substitute when he is gone, his answer was very much to the point: “Then give me one of your daughters, Epictetus!” ²

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

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

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

¹ Brother of Aeschylus, who lost his hand at Marathon, and the Painted Porch was so called from a fresco by Polygnotus representing the battle.
² Epictetus was not married.
“Εκουσα δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε καὶ πρὸς τὸν . . . 59
tὸνοι νόμων ἔμπειρον ταῦτα λέγοντος, ὅτι
κινδυνεύουσιν ἀχρηστοὶ εἰναι οἱ νόμοι, ἂν τε
πονηροὶ οὐ τε ἁγαθοὶ γράφονται οἱ μὲν γὰρ
οὐ δεόνται νόμων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ νόμων οὐδὲν βελτίως
gίγνονται.
Τῶν δὲ Ὀμήρου στίχον ἔνα ἵδεν μάλιστα— 60
κάθαν' ὀμῶς ὁ τ' ἁργῆς ἀνήρ ὁ τε πολλὰ ἑοργῶς.
'Επήνει δὲ καὶ τὸν Θερσίτην ὡς Κυνικὸν τυια
δημηγόρον.
'Ερωτηθεὶς δὲ ποτε, τὶς αὐτῷ ἀρέσκοι τῶν 62
φιλοσόφων, ἐφη, Πάντες μὲν θαυμαστοὶ. ἐγὼ δὲ
Σωκράτη μὲν σέβω, θαυμάζω δὲ Διογένη καὶ φιλῶ
Ἀριστιππον.
'Εβίον δὲ ἐτῆ ολίγου δέοντα τῶν ἐκατὸν ἄνο-
σος, ἄλυσος, οὐδένα ἐνοχλήσας τι ἢ αἰτήσας,
φίλοις χρήσιμος, ἐχθρὸν οὐδένα οὐδετέρῳ ἐσχήκος:
καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτα ἐσχον πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἁθηναίοι
tε αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀπασα ή Ἐλλάς, ὡστε
παριώντε ὑπεξαίστασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας,
σωπῆν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρὰ πάντων. τὸ τελευταῖον
δὲ ἦδη ὑπέργηρος ὃν ἀκλητος εἰς ἡν τύχοι παριῶν
οἰκίαν ἐδείπνει καὶ ἐκάθευδε, τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων
θεοῦ τινα ἐπιφάνειαν ἤγομενον τὸ πράγμα καὶ
τινα ἁγαθὸν δαίμονα ἐπεληφθέαναι αὐτοῖς εἰς
τὴν οἰκίαν. παριώντα δὲ αἱ ἀρτοπώλιδες ἀνθείλ-
kou πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐκάστη ἠξιοῦσα παρ' αὐτῆς λαμ-
βάνειν τῶν ἄρτων, καὶ τοῦτῳ ἐντυχεῖαν ἐαυτῆς ἡ
dedeukia ὅπετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ παιδεὶς ὁπῶρας
προσέφερον αὐτῷ πατέρα ὀνομάζοντες. στάσεως 64

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

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

From Homer the one line he most frequently quoted was:

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

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

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

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

1 *Iliad* 9, 320.
τό ποτε Ἀθήνησι γενομένης εἰς ἡλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ φάνεις μόνον σιωπᾶν ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ ἱδὼν ἣδη μετεγνωκότας ὀυδέν εἰπὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπηλλάγη.

"Οτε δὲ συνήκεν οὐκέθ' οἷς τε ὁν αὐτῷ ἐπικουρεῖν, εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας τὸν ἐναγώνιον τῶν κηρύκων πόδα

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

καὶ πάντων ἀποσχόμενος ἀπῆλθεν τοῦ βίου φαιδρός καὶ οἰος ἡπὶ τοῦ ἐνυγχάνουσιν ἐφαίνετο. ὦλγον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐρομένου πινός, 66

Περὶ ταφῆς τι κελεύεις; Μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε, ἐφη· ἢ γὰρ ὄμη με θύψει. φαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, Τί οὖν; οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὅρνεος καὶ κατὶ βορᾶν προτεθήναι τηλικούτου ἄνδρός σώμα; Καὶ μὴν ὀυδὲν ἄτοπον, ἐφη, τοῦτο, εἰ μέλλω καὶ ἀποθανῶν ξώοις τις χρήσιμος ἐσεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπένθησαν, καὶ τὸν θάκον τὸν λύθην, ἐφ' οὐ εἰώθει ὅποτε κάμνου ἀναπαύεσθαι, προσεκύνου καὶ ἐστεφάνουν ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ ἄνδρός, ἡγούμενοι ιερὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸν λίθου, ἐφ' οὐ ἐκαθέζετο. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐκφορὰν οὐκ ἔστιν ὡστὶς οὐκ ἀπημηνήσην, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσοφῶν οὗτοι μέντοι ὑποδύντες ἐκόμιζον αὐτὸν ἀχρὶ πρὸς τὸν τάφον.

Ταῦτα ὄλγα πάνυ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀπεμνημονευσα, καὶ ἐστιν ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι λογίζεσθαι ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος ἄνηρ ἐγένετο.
DEMONAX

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

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

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

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

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

The concluding words of this piece show that, like Dionysus, Heracles, and Amber, it was the introduction to a lecture or a course of lectures.
Εἶτα Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ
Κύδωνο λουσασθαι καλὸν τε καὶ διανύῃ τὸν ποτα-
μὸν ἵδῳν καὶ ἁσφαλῶς βαθὺν καὶ προσημῶς ὀξὺν
καὶ νήξασθαι ἤδουν καὶ θέρους ἡρά ψυχρόν, ὡστε
καὶ ἐπὶ προδῆλῳ τῇ νόσῳ ἦν ἐνόσησεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ,
δοκεῖ μοι οὖν ἂν τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀποσχέσθαι. οἶκον
dὲ τις ἵδων μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον
καὶ φωτὶ φαίδροτατον καὶ χρυσῷ στιλπνότατον
καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθροτατον οὖν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειε
λόγους ἐν αὐτῷ διαθέσθαι, εἰ τύχων περὶ τούτους
dιατρίβων, καὶ ἐι ἐνδοκιμήσαι καὶ ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι
καὶ θεοὶ ἐμπλησαι καὶ ὃς ἐνι μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς
μέρος τοῦ κάλλους αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περι-
σκοπῆσαι ἁκρίβως καὶ θαυμάσαι μόνον ἀπεισὶ
κωφὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλογον καταλιπῶν, μήτε
προσειπὼν μήτε προσῳλήσας, ὡς περὶ τὸς ἄναυδος
ἡ ἁθόνῳ σιωπᾶν ἐγνωκός; Ἡράκλεις, οὐ φιλο-
kάλον τινὸς οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ εὑμορφάτα ἑρωτικοῦ
τὸ ἔργον, ἀγροικία δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀπειροκαλίᾳ καὶ
προσέτι γε ἀμοιβίᾳ, τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτῶν ἀπαξιῶν
καὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀποξενοῦν καὶ μὴ συνιέναι
ὡς ὅχι ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τὰ θεάματα νόμους ἰδιώταις
tε καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
ἀπόχρη τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο, ἰδεῖν μόνον καὶ περι-
βλέψαι καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ περιενεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς

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Alexander longed to bathe in the Cydnus on seeing that the stream was fair and clear, safely deep, agreeably swift, delightful to swim in and cool in the height of summer; even with foreknowledge of the fever which he contracted from it, I do not think he would have abstained from his plunge. Then can it be that on seeing a hall beyond compare in the greatness of its size, the splendour of its beauty, the brilliance of its illumination, the lustre of its gilding and the gaiety of its pictures, a man would not long to deliver speeches in it, if this were his business, to seek repute and win glory in it, to fill it with his voice and, as far as lay in him, to become part and parcel of its beauty? Or after looking it over carefully and admiring it, would he rather go away and leave it mute and voiceless, without according it a word of greeting or a particle of intercourse, as if he were dumb or else out of ill-will had resolved to hold his tongue? Heracles! such conduct would not be that of a connoisseur or a lover of beauty; it would be very vulgar, tasteless, even Philistine to despise what is sweetest, to reject what is fairest, and not to comprehend that in all that appeals to the eye, the same law does not hold for ordinary and for educated men. No, for the former it is enough to do the usual thing—just to see, to look about, to cast their eyes everywhere, to crane
καὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἡσθήναι δεῖ τοῦ μὴ ἀν δυνήθην ἄξιόν τι τῶν βλεπομένων εἶπείν, ὅστις δὲ μετὰ παιδείας ὅρα τὰ καλά, οὐκ ἂν, οἴμαι, ἀγαπήσειν ὤψει μόνη καρποσάμενος τὸ τερπνὸν οὐδὲ ἂν υπομείναι ἄφανος θεατής τοῦ κάλλους γενέσθαι, πειράσεται δὲ ὃς οἶνον τε καὶ ἐνδιατρίψαι καὶ λόγῳ ἀμείβασθαι τήν θέαν. ἦ δὲ ἀμοιβῇ οὐκ 3 ἐπαινοὺς τοῦ οἰκοῦ μόνον—τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἵσως ἐκείνῳ τῷ νησιώτῃ μειρακίῳ ἔπρεπε, τὴν Μενελάσιον οἰκίαν ὑπερεκπεπλήχθαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν αὐτῆς ἀπεικόζειν, ἅτε μηδὲν ἐν γῇ καλὸν τὸ ἀλλο ἑωρακότι—ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις συγκαλέσαντα λόγων ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι μέρος τοῦ ἐπαινοῦ καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο ἂν.

Καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὑπερήφανον, οἴμαι, οἴκοις ὁ κάλλιστος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν λόγου ἀναπεπταμένος καὶ ἐπαινοῦ καὶ εὐφημίας μεστὸς ὁν, ἡρέμα καὶ αὐτὸς ὦσπερ τὰ ἀντρα συνεπηχῶν καὶ τὸς λεγομένοις παρακολουθῶν καὶ παρατείνων τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοῖς ὑστάτοις τῶν λόγων ἔμβραδύνων, μάλλον δὲ ὡς ἂν τις εὐμαθὴς ἀκροατὴς διαμνημονεύων τὰ εἰρήμενα καὶ τὸν λέγοντα ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀντίδοσιν οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτά· οἶνον τι πάσχοσι πρὸς τὰ αὐλήματα τῶν ποιμένων αἱ σκοπταί ἐπαυλοῦσαί, τῆς φωνῆς ἐπαινούσης κατὰ τὸ ἀυλίτυπον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναστρεφούσης· οἱ δὲ ἱδὼν νομιζοῦσι παρθένον τινα εἶναι τὴν ἀμείβομένην τοὺς ἁδονας ἦ
their necks at the ceiling, to gesticulate and to take their joy in silence for fear of not being able to say anything adequate to what they see. But when a man of culture beholds beautiful things, he will not be content, I am sure, to harvest their charm with his eyes alone, and will not endure to be a silent spectator of their beauty; he will do all he can to linger there and make some return for the spectacle in speech. And such a return does not consist simply in praising the hall. No doubt it was fitting for Homer's island boy \(^1\) to be astounded at the house of Menelaus and to compare its ivory and gold to the beautiful things in heaven because he had never seen anything else on earth that was beautiful. But to speak here, to collect an audience of cultured men and show one's eloquence is also a form of praise.

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

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

βοῶντας, ἐν μέσοις ποι τοῖς κρημνοῖς κατοικοῦσαν καὶ λαλοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἐνυδοθεῖν.

'Εμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ καὶ συνεξαίρεσθαι οἶκου πολυτελεία ᾧ τοῦ λέγοντος γνώμη καὶ πρὸς τοῦς λόγους ἐπεγείρεσθαι, καθάπερ τι καὶ ὑποβαλ-λούσης τῆς θέας: σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰσρεῖ τι διὰ τῶν ὁφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καλόν, εἴτα πρὸς αὐτὸ κοσμῆσαι ἐκπέμπει τοὺς λόγους. ἢ τῷ μὲν Ἀχιλλεί πιστεύομεν τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὁπλών ἐπι-τείναι κατὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν τὴν ὀργὴν, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνέδυ αὐτὰ πειρόμενος, ἐπαρθήμαι καὶ πτερωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐπιθυμίαν, λόγου δὲ σπουδὴν μὴ ἐπιτείνεσθαι πρὸς κάλλη χωρίων; καίτοι Σωκράτει μὲν ἀπέχρησε πλάτανος εὐφυής καὶ πόα εὐθαλῆς καὶ πηγὴ διανύγης μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡλισσοῦ, κάνταυθα καθεζόμενος Φαίδρου τε τοῦ Μυρρινουσίου κατειρωνέτο καὶ τὸν Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου λόγον διήλεγχε καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἐκάλει, καὶ ἐπίστευν ἦδευν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημίαν συλληψομένας 1 τῶν περὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος λόγων, καὶ οὐκ ἥσχύνετο γέρων ἀνθρώπος παρακαλῶν παρ-θένους συνασομένας 2 τὰ παιδεραστικὰ. ἐς δὲ ὄψιν καλὸν χωρίων οὐκ ἂν οἴομεθα 3 καὶ ἀκλίτους αὐτὰς ἐλθεῖν.

Καὶ μὴν οὐ κατὰ γε σκιάν μόνην οὐδὲ κατὰ 5 πλατάνου κάλλος ἢ ὑποδοχή, οὐδὲ ἂν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡλισσῷ καταλιπῶν τὴν βασιλέως λέγης τὴν χρυσῆν ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολυτελείᾳ μόνη τὸ θαῦμα, τέχυν δὲ ἢ κάλλος ἢ τέρψις ἢ τὸ

1 συλληψομένας Nilén: συμπεριληψομένας MSS.
2 συνασομένας Schwartz: συνεσομένας MSS.
3 οἴομεθα Γ, Σ: οἰόμεθα Ω.

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THE HALL

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

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

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

1 Iliad, 19, 16; 384.  2 Plato, Phaedrus, 229 seq.  3 Herod. 7, 27.
σύμμετρον ἢ τὸ εὐρυθμὸν οὐ συνείργαστο οὐδὲ κατεμέμκτο τῷ χρυσῷ, ἀλλ’ ἢν βαρβαρικὸν τὸ θέαμα, πλοῦτος μόνον καὶ φθόνος τῶν ἱδονῶν καὶ εὐδαιμονισμὸς τῶν ἔχοντων ἐπαίνος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ προσῆν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμελε τοῖς Ἀρσακίδαις τῶν καλῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπιδεῖξεις οὐδ’ ἐφροντίζουν εἰ ἐπαίνεσονται οἱ θεαταί, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἐκπλαγήσονται. οὐ φιλόκαλοι γὰρ, ἀλλὰ φιλόπλουτοί εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. τούτων δὲ τοῦ οἴκου τὸ κάλλος οὐ κατὰ βαρβαρο-κούς τινας ὀφθαλμόν οὐδὲ κατὰ Περσικὴν ἀλα-ζονείαν ἢ βασιλικὴν μεγαλαυχίαν οὐδὲ πένητος μόνον, ἀλλὰ εὐφυὸς θεατοῦ δεόμενον καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῇ ὁμειρό τῇ κρίσις, ἀλλὰ τις καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπα-κολούθει τοῖς βλέπομένοις. 1

Τὸ γὰρ τῆς τε ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀπο-βλέπειν—κάλλιστον δὴ 2 αὐτῆς καὶ ποθεινότατον ἢ ἀρχῆ—καὶ τὸν ἡλιον υπερκύψαντα εὐθὺς ύποδέχε-θαι καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμπύλασθαι ἐς κόρον ἀναπταμένων τῶν θυρῶν [καθ’ 3 δι’ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ βλέποντα ἐποίουν οἱ παλαίοι], καὶ τὸ τοῦ μήκους πρὸς τὸ πλάτος καὶ ἁμφοῖν πρὸς τὸ ύψος εὐρυθμὸν καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ πρὸς ὠραν ἑκάστην εὐ ἔχον, πῶς οὐχ ἱδέα ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ἐπαίνων ἀξία;

Ἔτι δὲ θαυμάσειν ἃν τις καὶ τῆς ὁροφῆς ἐν 7 τῷ εὐμόρφῳ τῷ ἀπέριττον καὶ τῷ εὐκόσμῳ τῷ ἀνεπίληπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς τὸ εὔπρεπὲς

1 βλέπομένοι Seager: λεγομένοι MSS.
2 δὴ A.M.H.: δὲ MSS.
3 καθ’—παλαίοι "in the direction in which the ancients used to face their temples": a gloss on τὸ...ἀποβλέπειν. A. M. H.

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Anachronism; the possessors of the tree were the Achaemenid princes.
σύμμετρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τὰς χρείας ἐπίφθονον, ἀλλ’ ὀπόσον ἂν καὶ γυναικὶ σώφρονι καὶ καλῆ ἀρκέσῃ ἐπισιμότερον ἐγράφασθαι τὸ κάλλος, ἢ περὶ τῇ δειρῇ λεπτός τις ὅρμος ἢ περὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ σφενδόνη εὐφόρος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ὅτου ἐλλόβια ἢ πόρτη τις τῇ ταινίᾳ τὸ ἄφετον τῆς κόμης συνδέοισα, τοσοῦτον τῇ εὐμορφίᾳ προστιθείσα ὅσον τῇ ἐσθῆτι ἢ πορφύρα: αἱ δὲ γε ἐταίραι, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ ἀμορφότεραι αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὅλην πορφυρᾶν καὶ τὴν δειρῆν χρυσῆν πεποίηται, τῷ πολυτελεῖ θηρόμεναι τὸ ἐπαγγέλλον καὶ τὸ ἐνδέον τῷ καλῷ προσθέσει τοῦ ἐξώθεν τερπνοὶ παραμυθεύμεναι: ἤγονται γὰρ καὶ τὴν ὅλην αὐταῖς στιλπνοτέραν πανεῖσθαι συναπολάμπουσαν τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ τοῦ ποδὸς τὸ μὴ εὐπερίγραφον λήσειν ὑπὸ χρυσῷ σανδάλῳ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτὸ ἔρασμιότερον γενήσεσθαι τῷ φαεινοτάτῳ συνορῶμεν. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖναι μὲν οὕτως: ἢ δὲ γε σῶφρων χρυσῷ μὲν τὰ ἄρκοντα καὶ μόνον τὰ ἀναγκαία προσχρήται, τὸ δ’ αὐτῆς κάλλος οὐκ ἄν αἰσχύνοιτο, οἶμαι, καὶ γυμνῇ δεικνύουσα.

Καὶ τοίνυν ἢ τοῦτο τοῦ οἴκου ὀροφῆ, μάλλον δὲ κεφαλῆ, εὐπρόσωπος μὲν καὶ καθ’ εαυτὴν, τῷ χρυσῷ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον κεκόσμηται, εἰς ὅσον καὶ οὐρανὸς ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκ διαστήματος περιλαμπόμενοι καὶ ἐκ διαλέιμματος ἀνθῶν τῷ πυρί. εἰ δὲ γε πῦρ ἢν τὸ πᾶν, οὐ καλὸς ἂν, ἀλλὰ φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐδοξεῖ. ἵδοι δ’ ἂν τὰς οὐδ’ ἀργῶν ἑνταῦθα τὸν χρυσὸν οὐδὲ μόνον τοῦ τερποῦτος εἴνεκα τῷ λοιπῷ κόσμῳ συνεσπαρμένου, ἀλλὰ

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

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

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑψηλὰ καὶ κορυφαία τοῦ οἴκου τοιάδε, Ὁμήρου τινὸς δεόμενα ἐπαινέτου, ὡς αὐτὸν ἢ υψώροφον ὡς τὸν Ἐλένης θάλαμον ἢ αἰγλήντα ὡς τὸν Ἄλλαμπον εἴποι· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ τὰ τῶν τοίχων γράμματα καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων τὰ κάλλη καὶ τὸ ἐναργὲς ἐκαστὸν καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔαρος ὅψει καὶ λειμώνι δὲ εὐανθεῖ καλῶς ἃν ἔχοι παραβαλεῖν· πλὴν παρ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀπενθεῖ καὶ μαραίνεται καὶ ἀλλάττεται καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὸ κάλλος, τούτ' ἐὰν τὸ ἐαρ ἂν ἄδιον καὶ λειμῶν ἀμάραντος καὶ ἄνθος ἀθάνατον, ὥστε μόνης τῆς ὅψεως ἐφαπτομένης καὶ δρεπομένης τὸ ὅδυ τῶν βλεπομένων.

Τὰ δὲ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τις οὐκ ἂν ἑσθέει βλέπων ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν προσβυμηθείη καὶ παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν εἰν αὐτοῖς λέγειν, εἴδὼς αὐχώστον ὅν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν ὄρωμένων; ἑπαγωγοταῖον γὰρ τι ὅψεις τῶν καλῶν, οὐκ ἂπ' ἀνθρώπων μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπαντα ἄδιον ἃν οἷα ἀράμοι κατὰ πρανοῦς πεδίου καὶ μαλακοῦ, προσήνθῳς διχομένῳ τὴν βάσιν καὶ ἡρέμα ὑπείκοντος τῷ ποτὶ καὶ μὴ ἀ ντιτυποῦντος τῇ ὁπλῇ· ἀπαντὶ γοῦν τότε χρῆται τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ ὅλον ἑπίδους ἑαυτὸν τῷ τάχει ἀμιλλᾶται καὶ πρὸς τὸν πεδίον τὸ κάλλος. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἄρος ἀρχομένου πρὸς λειμωνὸ

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

Such is the top, the summit of the hall: it needs a Homer to praise it by calling it "high-ceiled" like the chamber of Helen\(^1\) or "dazzling" like Olympus.\(^2\) The rest of the decoration, the frescoes on the walls, the beauty of their colours, and the vividness, exactitude, and truth of each detail might well be compared with the face of spring and with a flowery field, except that those things fade and wither and change and cast their beauty, while this is spring eternal, field unfading, bloom undying. Naught but the eye touches it and culls the sweetness of what it sees.

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

\(^1\) \textit{Il.} 3, 423; \textit{Od.} 4. 121. \\
\(^2\) \textit{Il.} 1, 253; 13, 243; \textit{Od.} 20, 103.
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twna elthwv, otopte kai ta anth puroeisiv ou potevnotera monon, alla kai os an eipoi tis anthprotera kai tas bafas katharotera, tote kai ouitos ekptetasas ta pterata kai anadeixas to 3hliw kai tivn ourpan eparas kai pantothen autw peri-

sthasa epideikvntai ta anth ta auton kai to ehar twn pteron oster auton prokaloontos tov leimwvou ev tivn amyllan epistrofei goyn eauton kai periangi kai empopmeni tov kallev ote de kai thevmasiwteros faivnetai pro tivn anghnv allatommewn autw twn xromatow kai meta-

bainonton irsma kai prws eteron eumorfias eiados tretommewn. paseche de autw malista epi twn kuklwn, oue eπ akrois echeis tois pterois, iridos twos ekaston perithoushse o gar teos xalikos

hn, touto eglinaonta olignon xwrosis ofh, kai to ypto to 3hliw kvananvges, ei skiasisei, xlananges estin ouw metakosmei eis pro to phw ir
terwvsi. oti mev gar kai h thenata ikanv prokalexasathai kai eis epitumian eipipaspasiai

ev xalhnia faneisa, iste, kan mh eipw ote, ei kai pantapasin hiperiwtis kai apieroplos tis eih, pantow an ethelisei kai autos emvhnai kai periplwsvai kai polu apto tis ethv apostpasai, kai malista ei blepsei tivn mev auran kofohs epouriaouvsan tivn othv, tivn de vnaiv prosoenvos

tea kai leivos eπ akroin irsma diolisthvnousan twn xumatow.

Kai toinun kai toide tov oikou to kallos

iikanov kai parormhsei es logous kai legonata

epageirai kai pantata trpton eudokihhsai pura-
skeuasa. enw mev de toutous peithmai kai 3h
of spring goes to a field at the time when the blossoms which it puts out are not only lovelier, but, in a manner of speaking, more blossomy and brighter of hue; spreading his wings and showing them to the sun, lifting his tail and surrounding himself with it, he, too, displays his blossoms and the April of his wings, as if the field were challenging him to vie with it. At all events, he twists and turns and puts on airs with his beauty. Now and again he is a sight still more wonderful, when his colours change under the light, altering a little and turning to a different kind of loveliness. This happens to him chiefly in the circles that he has at the tips of his feathers, each of which is ringed with a rainbow. What was previously bronze has the look of gold when he shifts a little, and what was bright blue in the sun is bright green in shadow, so much does the beauty of his plumage alter with the light! For you know without my telling you that the sea has power to invite and provoke longing when it is calm. At such a time, no matter how much of a landsman and a lubber a man may be, he wants at all costs to get aboard ship and cruise about and go far from land, above all if he perceives the breeze gently swelling the canvas and the vessel sweetly and smoothly gliding along, little by little, over the crest of the waves. Certainly, then, the beauty of this hall has power to rouse a man to speech, to spur him on in speaking and to make him succeed in every way. I for my part am trusting in all this and have already
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πέπεισμαι καὶ ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐπὶ λόγοις παρελήλυθα ὀσπερ ὑπὸ ἵψης ἡ Ἑσιρής τῷ κάλλει ἐλκόμενος, ἐξπίδα οὐ μικράν ἔχων, εἰ καὶ τέως ἡμῶν ἄμοι, οἱ Ἰώνοι, καλοὺς αὐτοὺς φανείσθαι καθάπερ ἐσθήτη καλῇ κεκοσμημένους.

"Ετερος δὲ τις οὐκ ἄγεννης λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γενναῖος, ὃς φησὶ, καὶ μεταξὺ μου λέγοντος ὑπέκρουνε καὶ διακόπτειν ἐπειράτο τὴν ῥήσιν καὶ ἐπειδὴ πέπαιναι, οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγειν φησὶν με, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν, εἰ φάσκοιμι ἐπιτηδειότερον εἶναι πρὸς λόγους ἐπίδειξιν οἶκου κάλλος γραφῆ καὶ χρυσῆ κεκοσμημένων αὐτὸ γὰρ ποτὶ τούναντίου ἀποβαίνειν. μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ καθάπερ ἐν δικασταῖς ὑμῖν εἰπάτω, ὅτι λυσιτελέστερον ἢ γείται τῷ λέγοντι εὐτέλειαν οἶκον καὶ ἀμορφίαν. ἐμὸν μὲν ἀκηκόατε ἢδη λέγοντος, ὡστε οὐδὲν δέομαι δίς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν ἢδη λέγετω, κἀγὼ σιωπήσομαι καὶ πρὸς ὅλον αὐτὸ μεταστήσομαι.

"Αὐρές τοῦν δικασταί, φησιν ὁ λόγος, ὁ μὲν προεπτὼν ῥήτωρ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τόνδε τὸν οἶκον ἐπῆμεσε καὶ τῷ ἐαυτοῦ λόγῳ ἐκόσμησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ψόγου αὐτοῦ διεξελέυσεθαί, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου παραλελειμμένα προσθήσειν μοι δοκῶ. ὡς γὰρ ἄν υμῖν καλλίων φαινήται, τοσὸδε ὑπεναντίος τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος χρείᾳ δειχθῆσεται.

Καὶ πρῶτον γε ἐπειδῆ γυναικῶν καὶ κόσμου καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐκείνος ἐμνημόνευσεν, καμοὶ ἐπιτρέψατε χρήσασθαι τῷ παραδείγματι φημῖ γὰρ οὖν καὶ γυναιξὶ καλαῖς οὐχ ὅπως συλλαμβάνομαι.
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trusted in it; in coming to the hall to speak, I was attracted by its beauty as by a magic wheel or a Siren, for I had no slight hope that even if my phrases were homely before, they would seem beautiful if adorned, so to speak, in fine clothing.

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

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

"First, then, since he has mentioned women, jewelry and gold, permit me also to make use of the comparison. I assert that, far from contributing to the good looks of a beautiful woman, abundant
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βάνειν είς το εύμορφότερον, ἀλλά καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον τὸν πολύν, ὅποταν τὸν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐκαστὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν πολυ-
τελῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ χρόαν ἢ βλέμμα ἢ δειρῆν ἢ πῆχυν ἢ δάκτυλον, ὅ δὲ ταύτ
ἀφεῖς ἐς τὴν σαρδῷ ἢ τὸν σμάραγδον ἢ τὸν ὄρῳ
ἡ τὸ φέλιον ἀποβλέπῃ, ὡστε ἀχθοῖν τὰν ἐκότως
παρορωμένη διὰ τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἀγόντων σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν θεατῶν, ἀλλὰ πάρεργον αὐτῆς
ποιομένων τὴν θέαν. ὅπερ ἀνάγκη, οἷμαι, παθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν οὕτω καλοὶς ἐργοῖς λόγους
dεικνύοντα: λαυθάνει γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν
cαλῶν τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ ἀμαυρώτατα καὶ συναρπάζε-
tαι, καθάπερ εἰ λύχνου τις εἰς πυρκαιὰν μεγάλην
φέρων ἐμβάλλοι ᾧ μύρμηκα ἐπ’ ἐλέφαντος ἢ
καμήλου δεικνύοι. τούτῳ τέ οὖν 1 φυλακτέον τῷ
λέγοντι, καὶ προσέτι μὴ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῆς
ἐπιταράττῃ ται 2 ἐν οὕτως εὐφώνῳ καὶ ἡχήντι
οἰκῷ λέγων: ἀντιφθέγγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀντιφωνεῖ
καὶ ἀντιλέγει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπικαλύπτει τὴν βοήν,
οἷον τι καὶ σάλπτιγξ ἃς τὸν αὐλὸν, εἰ συναυλοῖεν,
ἡ τούς κελευστὰς ἢ θάλαττα, ὅποταν πρὸς κύμα-
tος ἢχον ἐπάδειν τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ θέλωσιν: ἐπικρατεῖ
γὰρ ἡ μεγαλοφωνία καὶ κατασιωπᾶ τὸ ἦττον.

Καὶ μὴν κάκεινο, ὅπερ ἐφὶ ὁ ἀντίδικος, ὡς
ἀρα ἐπεγείρει ὁ καλὸς οἶκος τῶν λέγοντα καὶ
προθυμότερον παρασκευάζει, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ ἐναν-
tίον ποιεῖν: ἐκπλήττει γὰρ καὶ φοβεῖ καὶ τῶν
λογισμὸν διαταράστει καὶ δειλότερον ἐργάζεται
ἐνθυμούμενον ὡς ἀπάντων ἐστίν αἰσχιστὸν ἐν

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

“As to the other point which my opponent made, that a beautiful hall spurs a speaker on and makes him more ambitious, I think it does the opposite. It dazzles and frightens him, disturbs his thought and makes him more timid, for he reflects that it is disgraceful beyond everything that his discourse
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εὐμόρφῳ χωρίῳ μὴ ὁμοίους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς λόγους. ἐλέγχων γὰρ οὕτως γε ὁ φανερότατος, ὥστερ ἄν ἐν τις πανοπλίαν καλῶν ἐνδοὺς ἐπείτα φεύγοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπισημότερος ἄν δειλὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν. τούτῳ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ λογισάμενος καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ῥήτωρ ἔκεινος εὐμορφίας ἐλάχιστον φροντίσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ παντελῶς ὥδρει φωτὶ ἑαυτῶν ἀπεικάσαι, ἵνα αὐτῷ παραδοξότερον φαίνησαι τῶν λόγων τὸ κάλλος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἁμφότερον ἐξετάσεως. ἄλλως τε ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν ἀσχολείσθαι περὶ τὴν θέαν καὶ τῆς φροντίδος τοῦ ἀκριβῆς ἐκλύειν τῆς ὅψεως ἐπικρατοῦσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν καλουσης καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσέχειν οὐκ ἐώσης. ὡστε τὸς μηχανὴ μὴ υἱὸς πάνω ἐλαττὸν ἔρειν αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς διατριβοῦσης περὶ τὸν τῶν ὁρμημένων ἔταίνοι;

'Εδ' ἀρε λέγειν ὅτι καὶ οἱ παρόντες αὐτοὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκροάσιν παρειλημμένοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοιοῦτον οἶκον παρέλθωσιν, ἀντὶ ἀκροατῶν θεαταὶ καθίστανται, καὶ οὐχ οὕτω Δημόδοκος ἢ Φῆμιος ἢ Θάμνως ἢ Ἀμφιὼν ἢ Ὀρφεύς τις λέγων ἔστιν, ὡστε ἀποσπᾶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θέας. ἀλλ' οὐν ἐκαστος, ἐπειδὰν μοῦν ὑπερβῆ τὸν οὐδόν, ἀθρόῳ τῷ καλλεὶ περιχυθεῖς λόγῳ, μὲν ἐκέγων ἢ ἀκροάσεως ἀλλής τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδυντὶ ἐοίκεν, όλος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὁρμημένους ἐστὶν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς τῶν παντελῶς τυφλῶς ὁν ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ὡσπερ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ ποιοῦτο τὴν ἀκροάσιν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιομαχον λόγων ἰσχὺς ἥψει ἄνταγωνίσσασθαι καὶ ὁ Σειρήνων μύθος

1 ἀλλῆς Schwartz: ἀλλ' MSS.

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

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

¹ Odysseus: II. 3, 219. ² II. 23, 430.
Τά περί τῶν Γοργώνων διδάξεις ἅν ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἐκήλουν τοὺς παραπλέοντας μελῳδοῦσαι καὶ κολακεύουσαι τοὺς ἁσμασιν καὶ καταπλεύσαντας ἐπὶ πολὺ κατείχον, καὶ ὅλως τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐδειτὸ τινος διατριβῆς, καὶ ποῦ τις αὐτὰς καὶ παρέπλευσε καὶ τοῦ μέλους παρήκουσε τὸ δὲ τῶν Γοργώνων κάλλος, ἀτε βιαιότατον τε ὁν καὶ τοῖς καρυμπτάτοις τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμιλοῦν, εὐθὺς εξίστη τοὺς ἴδαντας καὶ ἀφώνους ἐπολεῖ, ὥσ ὅ ὁ μῆθος βούλεται καὶ λέγεται, λίθινου ἐγνώντο υπὸ θαύματος. ὅστε καὶ ὁ υπερ τοῦ ταῦ λόγον ἔπε ρὸς υἱάς μικρὰν ἐμπροσθεν, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ εἰρήσω κομίζω καί ἄρε ἔκεινον ἐν τῇ ὕφει, οὐκ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ τερπνόν. καὶ εἰ γε τῆς παραστη- σάμενος τῆν ἄιθον ἦ τῶν κύκνων ἄδειν κελεύοι, μεταξὺ δὲ ἄδων τοὺς παραδείξει τοὺς σω- πῶντα, εὐ ὡδ ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον μεταβῆσται ἡ ψυχή μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσασα τοὺς ἔκεινων ἁσμασιν οὕτως ἀμαχῶν τι ἐὀικεν εἶναι ἢ δι' ὑφεον ἓδονή. καὶ ἔγωγε, εἰ βούλεσθε, μάρτυρα υἱῶν παραστήσομαι σοφὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς αὐτίκα μοι μαρτυρίσει ὡς πολὺ ἐπικρατέστερα ἐστὶ τῶν ἀκουμενῶν τὰ ὀρῶμεν. καὶ μοι σὺ ἦδον σὺς ἐρυξεν προσκάλει αὐτῶν Ἡρόδοτον Ἀλεξιον Ἀλικαρνασσάθεν καὶ καῖδι καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσε, μαρτυρεῖτώ παρελθῶν ἀναδέξασθε δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰαστὶ πρὸς υἱῶν λέγοντα ὡσπερ αὐτῷ ἔδοσ. Ἀληθεὰ τάδε ὁ λόγος υἱῶν, ἄνδρες δικασταί, μνημονεῖ καὶ οἱ πείθεσθε ὡσα ἂν λέγη τοις πέρι ὑψιν ἀκοῆς προτιμέων· ὡτα γὰρ τυχχάνει ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.
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the story of the Sirens with the one about the Gorgons. The Sirens charmed passing voyagers by making music and working on them with songs, and held them long when they put in. In short, their performance only exacted a delay, and no doubt one or another voyager went by them, neglecting their music. On the contrary, the beauty of the Gorgons, being extremely powerful and affecting the very vitals of the soul, stunned its beholders and made them speechless, so that, as the story has it and everyone says, they turned to stone in wonder. For this reason I count what my opponent said to you a moment ago about the peacock a plea for my side: surely his attractiveness is in his looks, not in his voice! If anybody should match a nightingale or a swan against him, letting them sing and showing the peacock silent while they were singing, I know well that your soul would go over to him, bidding a long farewell to their songs. So invincible, it seems, is the delight of the eyes! If you wish, I will produce you a witness in the person of a sage, who will testify on the spot that what one sees is far more effective than what one hears. Crier, summon in person Herodotus, son of Lyxus, of Halicarnassus. Since he has been so kind as to comply, let him take the stand and give his testimony. Suffer him to speak to you in Ionic, to which he is accustomed.

"'Master Point o' View telleth ye true herein. Believe whatso he sayeth to this matter, esteeming sight over hearing, for in sooth ears be less trusty than eyes.'" ¹

¹ Only the last clause is really Herodotean (I, 8, 3).
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'Ακούετε τοῦ μάρτυρος ἃ φησίν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα ἡ ὅψει ἀπέδωκεν; εἰκώτως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔπεα περισσεῖτα ἐστὶ καὶ οἴχεται ἀμα τῷ προελθέντι ἀποπτάμενα, ἢ δὲ τῶν ὀρωμένων τέρψις ἂεὶ παρεστῶσα καὶ παραμένουσα πάντως τὸν θεατὴν ὑπάγεται.

Πῶς οὖν οὗ χαλεπῶς τῷ λέγοντι ἀνταγωγιστὴς οἴκος οὕτω καλὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ὦν; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον οὐδέποτε φημί· ὑμεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ μεταξὺ λεγόντων ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὀροφὴν ἀπεβλέπτετε καὶ τοὺς τοίχους ἑαυτάμαξετε καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἐξητάζετε πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀποστρέφομενοι. καὶ μηδὲν αἰσχυνθήτε: συγγνώμη γάρ, εἰ τι άνθρώπων πεποίθατε, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς οὕτω καλὰς καὶ ποικίλας τὰς ὑποθέσεις, τῆς γὰρ τέχνης τὸ ἄκριβες καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ ὁφέλιμον ἐπαγωγὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ πεπαιδευμένων θεατῶν δεόμενον. καὶ ἦνα μή πάντα ἐκείσε ἀποβλέπητε ἡμᾶς ἀπολιπόντες, φέρε ὡς οἶνον τε γράψωμαι1 αὕτα ύμῖν τῷ λόγῳ· ἡσθήσεσθε γάρ, οἴμαι, ἀκούοντες ἃ καὶ ὀρῶντες θαυμάζετε. καὶ ὅσοι οὖν με καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐπινεσται καὶ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου προτιμήσατε, ὡς καὶ2 αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα3 ύμῖν τὴν ἴδιον. τὸ χαλεπὸν δὲ τοῦ τολμήματος ὀράτε, ἀνευ χρωμάτων καὶ σχιμάτων καὶ τόπου συστήσασθαι τοσάντας εἰκόνας· ψιλὴ γάρ τις ἡ γραφὴ τῶν λόγων.

1 γράψωμαι MSS.: γράψομαι Guyet.
2 ὡς καὶ Reitz; ὡς μὴ καὶ MSS. edd. since Jacobitz.
3 αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα MSS.: αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα edd. since Jacobitz, with two Renaissance codices and the first edition.
THE HALL

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

"Is not then a hall so beautiful and admirable a dangerous adversary to a speaker? But I have not yet mentioned the principal point. You yourselves, gentlemen of the jury, have been regarding the roof as we spoke, admiring the walls and examining the pictures, turning toward each of them. Do not be ashamed! It is excusable if you have felt a touch of human nature, especially in the presence of pictures so beautiful and so varied. The exactness of their technique and the combination of antiquarian interest and instructiveness in their subjects are truly seductive and call for a cultivated spectator. That you may not look exclusively in that direction and leave us in the lurch, I will do my best to paint you a word-picture of them, for I think you will be glad to hear about things which you look at with admiration. Perhaps you will even applaud me for it and prefer me to my opponent, saying that I have actually described the hall, and that I have made your pleasure double. But the difficulty of the task is patent, to represent so many pictures without colour, form or space. Word-painting is but a bald thing.
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Ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν οὖν εἰσιόντι 'Αργολικῷ μύθῳ ἀναμέμικται πάθος Αἰθιοπικὸν· ὁ Περσεύς τὸ κήτος φονεύει καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καθαίρει, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν γαμήσει καὶ ἀπεισών αὐτὴν ἀγωνίαν πάρεργον τούτῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργώνας πτήσεως. ἐν βραχεῖ δὲ πολλὰ ὁ τεχνίτης ἐμιμήσατο, αἰδώς παρθένον καὶ φόβον—ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ μάχην ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας—καὶ νεανίον τόλμαν ἔρωτικήν καὶ θηρίου ὠψὶν ἀπρόσμαχον καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπεισὶ πεφρίκος ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ δεδιττόμενον τῷ χώρατι, ὁ Περσεύς δὲ τῇ λαϊᾷ μὲν προδέικνυσι τὴν Γοργώνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ καθικνεῖται τῷ ξίφει καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄσον τοῦ κήτους εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν, ήδη λίθος ἐστὶν, τὸ δ’ ὄσον ἔμψυχον μένει, τῇ ἀρπῇ κόππηται.

'Εξῆς δὲ μετὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐτερον δράμα γέγραπται δικαίοτατον, οὐ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ὁ γράφεως παρ’ Εὐριπίδου ή Σοφοκλέους δοκεῖ μοι λαβεῖν έκείνο γὰρ ὀμοίαν ἐγγραψάν τὴν εἰκόνα, τῷ νεανίᾳ τῷ ἑταίρῳ Πυλάδης τε ὁ Φωκεύς καὶ 'Ὀρέστης δοκοῦν ἡδή τεθνάναι λαθόντ’ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια 2 παρελθόντες φονεύουσιν ἀμφοῦ τὸν Αἰγισθοῦν ἢ δὲ Κλιταμνήστρα ἡδή ἀνήρτηται καὶ ἐπ’ εὐνῆς τινος ἡμίγυμνος πρόκειται καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα, ἐκπεπληγμένοι τὸ ἔργον οἱ μὲν ὄσπερ βοῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς ὅπερ φύγωσι περιβλέπουσι. σεμνὸν δὲ τι ὁ γραφεύς ἐπευόμεν, τὸ μὲν ἀσέβες τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως δείξας μόνον καὶ ὡς ἡδη

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

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

¹ Cf. Claudian (Gigantom. 113), of a giant slain by Athena: pars moritur ferro, partes periere videndo. An echo of the same source?
² In the Electra of each. But this description is modelled on Sophocles (1424 ff.).
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πεπραγμένον παραδραμών, ἐμβραδύνωντας δὲ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐργασάμενος τῷ τοῦ μοιχοῦ φόνῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτο θεός ἐστιν εὐμορφός καὶ 24 μειράκιον ὁραίον, ἐρωτική τις παιδία· ὁ Βράγχος ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεξόμενος ἀνέχει λαγών καὶ προσ-παίζει τὸν κύνα, ὁ δὲ πηδησομένῳ ἔοικεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ύψος, καὶ Ἀπόλλων παρεστῶς μειδιᾶ τερ-πόμενος ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῷ παιδί παίζοντι καὶ πειρω-μένῳ τῷ κυνί.

'Επὶ δὲ τούτως ὁ Περσεύς πάλιν τὰ πρὸ 25 τοῦ κήτους ἐκεῖνα τολμῶν καὶ ἡ Μέδουσα τεμ-νομένη τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ σκέπονσα τὸν Περσέα· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἰργασταί, τὸ δὲ ἑργον οὐχ ἑώρακεν, πλὴν ἑπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς Γοργώνος τὴν εἰκόνα· οἴδε γὰρ τὸ πρόστιμον τῆς ἀλήθειας ὑφεσα.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν μέσον τοῦχον ἀνώ τῆς ἀντι-θύρου Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς πεποίηται, ἡ θεὸς λίθον λευκοῦ, τὸ σχῆμα οὐ πολεμιστήριον, ἀλλ’ οἶον ἀν γένοιτο εἰρήνην ἀγαύσης θεοῦ πολεμικῆς.

Εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ λίθος 27 αὕτη γε, ἀλλὰ γραφῆ πάλιν Ἡφαιστος ἔτην διόκει ἐρών, ἡ δὲ φεύγει, κακὸ τῆς διώξεως Ἐρυχθόνιος ἑγίνεται.

Ταύτην ἐπεταί παλαιά τις ἄλλη γραφῆ· Ὡρίων 28 φέρει τὸν Κηδαλίωνα τυφλὸς ὄν, ὁ δ’ αὐτῷ σημαίνει τὴν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὅδον ἐποχούμενος, καὶ ὁ Ἡλίος φανείς ἑώτα τὴν πύρωσιν, καὶ 29 ὁ Ἡφαιστος Αἰμανόθεν ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ ἑργον.

'Οδυσσεύς τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο δῆθεν μεμηνός, ἄτε 30

1 πλὴν Schwartz: τῷ MSS.
2 ἀντιθύρου Guyet (cf. ἡ παράθυρος): ἀντιθύρος MSS.
accomplished fact, and to represent the young men lingering over the slaying of the adulterer.

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

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

"In the middle of the wall, above the postern¹ is constructed a shrine of Athena. The goddess is of marble, and is not in harness but as a war-goddess would appear when at peace.

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

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

"Odysseus is next, feigning madness because

¹ Or perhaps "rear window."
² Mother Earth gave birth to him, not Athena.
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συστρατεύειν¹ τοῖς Ἀτρείδαις μὴ θέλων: πάρεισι δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ἡδή καλοῦντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ύποκρίσεως πιθανὰ πάντα, ἡ ἀπήρη, τὸ τῶν ύπεξευγμένων ἀσύμφωνον, ἡ ἁνοια² τῶν δρωμέων: ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὀμως τῷ βρέφειν Παλαμήδης γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ναυπλίου συνεῖς τὸ γυνόμενον, ἀρτάσας τὸν Τηλέμαχον ἀπείλει φονεύσειν πρόκωπον ἔχων τὸ ἕξιος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς μανίας ύπόκρισιν ὀργὴν καὶ οὕτως ἄνθυποκρίνεται. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς τὸν φόβον τοῦτον σωφρονεῖ καὶ πατηρ γύνηται καὶ λύει τὴν ύπόκρισιν.

Τοστάτη δὲ ἡ Μήδεια γέγραπται τῷ ξίλῳ 31 διακής, τὸ παίδε ύποβλέπουσα καὶ τι δεινῶν εἰνοοῦσα, ἔστεγεν: γοῦν ἡ ἐν τῷ ἕξιος, τῷ δ' ἄθλῳ καθήσθων γελῶντε, μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων εἰδότε, καὶ ταῦτα ὑφίστη τῷ ἕξιος ἐν ταῖς χερώι.

Ταύτα πάντα, ὁ ἀνδρες δικασταί, οὐχ ὀράτε ὅπως ἀπάγει μὲν τὸν ἀκροατήν καὶ πρὸς τὴν θέαν ἀποστρέφει, μόνον δὲ καταλείπει τὸν λέγοντα; καὶ ἔγγεργε διεξήλθον αὐτά, οὐχ ἔνα τὸν ἀντίδεικ τολμηρὸν ὑπολαβόντες καὶ θράσυν, εἰ τοῖς οὕτω δυσκόλοις ἐαυτὸν ἐκὼν φέρον ἐπέβαλεν, καταγραφέτε καὶ μισήσατε καὶ ἑπὶ τῶν λόγων ἐγκαταλίπητε, ἀλλ' ἔνα μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγωνισθε καὶ ὃς οἴον τε καταμύνοντες ἀκούσατε τῶν λεγομένων, λογιζόμενοι τοῦ πράγματος τὴν δυσχερειαν μόλις γὰρ ἄν οὕτω δυνηθείς οὐ δικασταῖς

¹ ἄτε συστρατεύειν Guyet, Gesner; ἄτε συστρατεύει MSS. (but συστρατεύει Z and correction in W).
² ἡ ἁνοια Schwartz: ἁγνοια MSS.

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he does not want to make the campaign with the sons of Atreus. The ambassadors are there to summon him. All the details of his pretence are true to life—the wagon, the ill-matched team,\(^1\) the folly of his actions. He is shown up, however, by means of his child. Palamedes, son of Nauplius, comprehending the situation, seize Telemachus and threatens, sword in hand, to kill him, meeting Odysseus' pretence of madness with a pretence of anger. In the face of this fright Odysseus grows sane, becomes a father and abandons his pretence.

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

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

\(^1\) He yoked an ass and an ox together.
άλλα συναγωνισταίς ύμων χρησάμενος μὴ παντά-πασιν ἀνάξιος τῆς τοῦ οἴκου πολυτελείας νομι-σθήναι. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀντιδίκου ταῦτα δέομαι, μὴ θαυμάσητε· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν οἴκον φιλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λέγοντα, ὡστὶς ἂν ἥ, βουλοίμην ἂν εὐδοκιμεῖν.
as supporters, not judges, it will be just barely possible for him to avoid being thought altogether unworthy of the splendour of the hall. Do not be surprised that I make this request in behalf of an adversary, for on account of my fondness for the hall I should like anyone who may speak in it, no matter who he is, to be successful."
MY NATIVE LAND

If this piece had not come down to us among the works of Lucian, nobody would ever have thought of attributing it to him.
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

"Οτι μὲν οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἦς πατρίδος, φθάνει προτεθρυμένοι. ἄρ' οὖν ἦδιον μὲν οὐδέν, σεμνότερον δὲ τι καὶ θειότερον ἄλλο; καὶ μὴν ὅσα σεμνὰ καὶ θεία νομίζονσιν ἀνθρώποι, τούτων πατρίς αὐτία καὶ διδάσκαλος, γεννησαμένη καὶ ἀναθρεψαμένη καὶ παιδευσαμένη. πόλεων μὲν οὖν μεγέθη καὶ λαμπρότητας καὶ πολυτελείας κατασκευῶν θαυμάζουσι πολλοί, πατρίδας δὲ στέργοντι πάντες· καὶ τοσοῦτον οὔδείς ἐξηπατήθη τῶν καὶ πάνυ κεκρατημένων ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν θέαν ἦδουης, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν παρ' ἄλλως θαυμάτων λήθην ποιήσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος. ὡστις μὲν οὖν σεμνύνεται πολύτης ὃν εὐδαιμονίους πόλεως, ἄγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τίνα χρῆ τιμῆν ἀπονέμειν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δῆλος ἐστὶν ἄχθόμενος ἄν, εἰ μετρωτέρας ἔλαχε τῆς πατρίδος· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦδιον αὐτό τιμῶν τὸ τῆς πατρίδος όνομα. πόλεις μὲν γὰρ παραβαλεῖν πειρωμένω προσήκει μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνόματι ὕψωσιν· ὅποιν ὄψεις ἐστὶ πόλεως, οὔδεῖς ἄν ἔλοιπο τῆς λαμπροτέραν εάσας τῆς πατρίδα, ἄλλ' εὐξαίτω μὲν ἄν εἶναι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ταῖς εὐδαιμοσῖ παραπλησίαν, ἔλοιπο δ' ἄν τῆν ὤποιανοῦν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἶ δίκαιοι τῶν παίδων.
MY NATIVE LAND

"Nothing sweeter than one's native land"\(^1\) is already a commonplace. If nothing is sweeter, then is anything more holy and divine? Truly of all that men count holy and divine their native land is cause and teacher, in that she bears, nurtures and educates them. To be sure, many admire cities for their size, their splendour and the magnificence of their public works, but everyone loves his own country; and even among men completely overmastered by the lust of the eye, no one is so misguided as to be forgetful of it because of the greater number of wonders in other countries. Therefore a man who prides himself on being citizen of a prosperous state does not know, it seems to me, what sort of honour one should pay his native land, and such an one would clearly take it ill if his lot had fallen in a less pretentious place. For my part I prefer to honour the mere name of native land. In attempting to compare states, it is proper, of course, to investigate their size and beauty and the abundance of their supplies; but when it is a question of choosing between them, nobody would choose the more splendid and give up his own. He would pray that it too might be as prosperous as any, but would choose it, no matter what it was. Upright children and good fathers do

\(^1\) *Odyssey* 9, 34.
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πράττομεν καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν πατέρων· οὔτε γὰρ νέος καὶ δὲς κἀγαθὸς ἄλλον ἀν προτιμήσαι τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε πατὴρ καταμελήσας τοῦ παιδὸς ἐτερον ἀν στέρξαι νέον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον γε οἱ πατέρες υἱκὼμενοι προσνέμουσι τοῖς παισίν, ὡστε καὶ κάλλιστοι καὶ μέγιστοι καὶ τοίς πάσιν ἀρίστα κεκοσμημένοι οἱ παῖδες άυτοῖς εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ὅστις δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἐστὶ δικαστὴς πρὸς τὸν νιόν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι πατρὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν.

Πατρίδος τοῖνυν τὸ ὄνομα πρῶτον οἰκείοτατον πάντων οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ τι τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκειότερον. εἰ δὲ τις ἀπονέμει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δικαίαν τιμήν, ὥσπερ καὶ οὐκόμος καὶ ἡ φύσις κελεύει, προσηκόντως ἄν τὴν πατρίδα προτιμήσαι καὶ γὰρ οἱ πατήρ αὐτὸς τῆς πατρίδος κτήμα καὶ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς πατὴρ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τούτων οἰκείοι πάντες ἀνωτέρω, καὶ μέχρι θεῶν πατρῶν πρόεισιν ἀναβιβαζόμενον τὸ ὄνομα. χαίρομεν καὶ θεοὶ πατρίσι καὶ πάντα μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐφορώσε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῶν ἠγούμενοι κτήματα πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἐφ᾽ ἦς δὲ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, προτιμᾶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασών πόλεων. καὶ πόλεις σεμιστεῖται θεῶν πατρίδες καὶ νήσοι θείοτεραι παρ᾽ αἰς ὑμεῖς γένεσις θεῶν. ἵερα γὰρ κεχαρισμένα ταῦτα νομίζεται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκαστος ἀφικόμενος ἱεροργὴ τόπους. εἰ δὲ θεοὶς τίμων τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα, πῶς οὐκ ἀνθρώπως γε πολὺ μᾶλλον; καὶ γὰρ εἴδε τὸν ἥλιον πρῶτον ἐκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς καὶ τούτον τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ κοινὸς ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἐκάστω νομίζεσθαι πατρῷ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ θέαν καὶ φωνῆς ἐνταῦθα ἦρξατο
just the same thing. A lad of birth and breeding would not honour anyone else above his father, and a father would not neglect his son and cherish some other lad. In fact, fathers, influenced by their affection, give their sons so much more than their due that they think them the best-looking, the tallest and the most accomplished in every way. One who does not judge his son in this spirit does not seem to me to have a father’s eyes. In the first place, then, the name of fatherland is closer to one’s heart than all else, for there is nothing closer than a father. If one pays his father proper honour, as law and nature direct, then one should honour his fatherland still more, for his father himself belonged to it and his father’s father and all their forbears, and the name of father goes back until it reaches the father-gods. Even the gods have countries that they rejoice in, and although they watch over all the abodes of man, deeming that every land and every sea is theirs, nevertheless each honours the place in which he was born above all other states. Cities are holier when they are homes of gods, and islands more divine if legends are told of the birth of gods in them. Indeed, sacrifices are accounted pleasing to the gods when one goes to their native places to perform the ceremony. If, then, the name of native land is in honour with the gods, should it not be far more so with mankind? Each of us had his first sight of the sun from his native land, and so that god, universal though he be, is nevertheless accounted by everyone a home-god, because of the place from which he saw him first. Moreover, each of us began to speak there, learning
τὰ ἐπιχώρια πρῶτα λαλεῖν μανθάνων καὶ θεοὺς ἐγνώρισεν. εἰ δὲ τις τοιαύτης ἐλαχε πατρίδος, ὡς ἔτερος δεηθήναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν μειζόνων παιδείαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἔχετω καὶ τούτων τῶν παιδευμάτων τῇ πατρίδι τῇ χάρινς οὐ γὰρ ἁν ἐγνώρισεν οὐδὲ πόλεως ὄνομα μὴ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα πόλιν εἶναι μαθών.

Πάντα δὲ, οἴμαι, παιδεύματα καὶ μαθήματα 7 συλλέγοντα  ἀνθρωποι χρησιμωτέρους ἀυτοὺς ὑπὸ τούτων ταῖς πατρίσι παρασκευάζοντες· κτῶνται δὲ καὶ χρήματα φιλοτιμίας ἐνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πατρίδος δαπανήματα. καὶ εἰκότως, οἴμαι δεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχαρίστος εἶναι τοὺς τῶν μεγίστων τυχόντας εὐεργεσίων. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τοῖς καθ᾽ ἑνά τις ἀπονέμει χάριν, ὥσπερ ἔστι δίκαιον, ἐπειδὰν εὐ πάθη πρὸς τινός, πολὺ μᾶλλον προσήκει τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς καθήκοσιν ἀμείβεσθαι· κακός εἴεσεμεν μὲν γὰρ γονέων εἰσὶ νόμοι παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσι, κοινῇ δὲ προσήκει πάντων μητέρα τὴν πατρίδα νομίζειν καὶ χαριστήρια τροφῶν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀυτῶν γνώσεως.

'Ομιθή δὲ οὔδες οὕτως ἀμνήμων τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς εὖ ἀλλὰ πόλει γενόμενος ἀμελεῖ, ἀλλὰ οὔ τε κακοπραγοῦντες εὖ ταῖς ἀποδημίαις συνεχῶς ἀνακαλοῦσιν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἡ πατρίς, οὔ τε εὐδαιμονοῦντες, ἀν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐ πράττοντες, τοῦτο γοῦν αὐτοῖς μέγιστον ἐνδεῖ νομίζοσιν τὸ μὴ τὴν πατρίδα οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐξευτελεῖν· ὁνείδος γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἐξευτελείας. καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀποδημίας χρόνον λαμπροὺς γενομένους ή διὰ χρημάτων κτήσιν ή διὰ τιμῆς δόξαν ή διὰ παί-
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first to talk his native dialect, and came to know the
gods there. If a man's lot has been cast in such a
land that he has required another for his higher
education, he should still be thankful to his fatherland
for these early teachings, for he would not have
known even the meaning of "state" if his country
had not taught him that there was such a thing.

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

No one was ever known to be so forgetful of
his country as to care nothing for it when he was
in another state. No, those who get on badly in
foreign parts continually cry out that one's own
country is the greatest of all blessings, while those
who get on well, however successful they may be in all
else, think that they lack one thing at least, a thing
of the greatest importance, in that they do not live
in their own country but sojourn in a strange land; for
thus to sojourn is a reproach! And men who during
their years abroad have become illustrious through
acquirement of wealth, through renown from office-
δειας μαρτυριαν ἡ δὲ ἀνδρείας ἐπαινον ἔστων ἰδεῖν
εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πάντας ἐπειγομένους, ὡς οὐκ ἂν
ἔν ἄλλοις βελτίωσιν ἐπιδειξαμένους τὰ αὐτῶν
καλά; καὶ τοσούτῳ γε μᾶλλον ἐκαστος σπεύδει
λαβέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ὥστε περ ἄν φαίνηται
μειζόνων παρ’ ἄλλοις ἡξιωμένως.
Ποθεινὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ νέοις ἡ πατρίς: τοῖς δὲ
ἡδῆ γεγορακόσιν ὅσῳ πλείου τοῦ φρονεῖν ἡ τοῖς
νέοις μέτεστι, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ πιλων ἐγχύνεται
πόθος τῆς πατρίδος: ἐκαστός γοῦν τῶν γεγορα-
κότων καὶ σπεύδει καὶ εὔχεται καταλύσαι τὸν
βίον ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἵν’ ὅθεν ἡρξατο βιοῦν,
ἐνταῦθα πάλιν καὶ τὸ σώμα παρακατάθηται τῇ
γῇ τῇ θρεψαμένῃ καὶ τῶν πατρών κοινωνήσῃ
τάφῳ: δεινὸν γὰρ ἐκαστῷ δοκεὶ ξενίας ἀλίσκε-
σθαι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ κειμένῳ γῇ.
"Ὅσον δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὰς πατρίδας
μέτεστι τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς γνησίους πολίτας μᾶθοι
tis ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦνες
καθάπερ νόθοι ραδίας ποιοῦνται τὰς μεταναστά-
σεις, τὸ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ὅνομα μὴτε εἰδότες μῆτε
στέργοντες, ἤγομενοι δ’ ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐπιτυ-
δείων εὐπορήσειν, μέτρων εὐδαιμονίας τὰς τῆς
γαστρός ἤδονας τιθέμενοι. οἷς δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἡ
πατρίς, ἀγαπῶσι τῇ γῆν ἐφ’ ἦς ἐγένοντο καὶ
ἐτράφησαν, καὶ ὀλίγην ἔχωσι, καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ
λεπτόγεων καὶ ἀποροζεὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπαινέσα τὴν
ἀρετήν, τῶν γε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀπορήσου-
σιν εὐκωμίων. ἀλλὰ καί ἰδομεν ἐτέρους σεμνυνο-
μένους πεδίους ἀνειμένοις καὶ λειμέσι φυτοῖς
παντοδαποῖς διελλημένοις, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τῆς

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

Even the young love their native land; but aged men, being wiser, love it more. In fact, every aged man yearns and prays to end his life in it, that there in the place where he began to live he may deposit his body in the earth which nurtured him and may share the graves of his fathers. He thinks it a calamity to be guilty of being an alien even after death, through lying buried in a strange land.

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

1 Cf. Thucydides 1, 1.
πατρίδος ἐγκωμίων οὐκ ἐπιλανθάνονται, τὴν δὲ ἱπποτρόφον ὑπερορώντες τὴν κουροτρόφον ἔπαινοι. καὶ σπεύδει τις εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, κἂν νησιώτης ἢ, κἂν παρ’ ἄλλοις εὐδαιμονεῖν δύνηται, καὶ διδομένην ἀθανασίαν οὐ προςήσται, προτιμῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος τάφον, καὶ ὁ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ καπνὸς λαμπρότερος ὄφθησται τοῦ παρ’ ἄλλοις πνύρος.

Οὕτω δὲ ἄρα τίμιον εἶναι δοκεῖ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἡ πατρίς, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ νομοθέτας ἵδοι τις ἄν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν ὡς χαλεπωτάτην ἐπιβεβλήκοτας τὴν φυγὴν τιμωρίαν. καὶ οὐχ οἱ νομοθέται μὲν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ πιστευόμενοι τὰς στρατηγίας ἑτέρως, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸ μέγιστὸν ἐστὶ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τοῖς παραταττομένοις, ὡς ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὡστὶς ἀν ἀκούσας τούτου κακὸς εἶναι θέλῃ ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν δειλὸν ἁνδρεῖον τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα.
merits of their own country, and pass over its fitness for breeding horses to praise its fitness for breeding men. One hastens to his native land though he be an islander, and though he could lead a life of ease elsewhere. If immortality be offered him he will not accept it, preferring a grave in his native land, and the smoke thereof is brighter to his eyes than fire elsewhere.¹

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

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

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

"Οναρ τι τούτο, λαμπρότατε Κυντιλλε, κελευσθεὶς προσφέρω σοι δώρον τοὺς μακροβίους, πάλαι μὲν τὸ ὦναρ ἴδων καὶ ἱστορήσας τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτε ἔτιθεσο τῷ δευτέρῳ σοῦ παιδὶ τοῦνομα: συμβαλείν δὲ οὐκ ἔχων τόνα ὁ θεὸς κελεύει μοι προσφέρειν σοι τοὺς μακροβίους, τότε μὲν εὐξάμην τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ μήκιστον ὡμᾶς βιῶναι σὲ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ παιδᾶς τοὺς σοὺς, τότῳ συμφέρειν νομίζων καὶ σύμπαντι μὲν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει, πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων αὐτῷ τε ἔμοι καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς: καὶ γὰρ κὰμοι τὸ ἄγαθὸν ἔδοκει προσημαίνειν ὁ θεὸς. σκεπτόμενος δὲ κατ’ ἕμαντὸν εἰς ἐννοιαν ἡλθον, εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνδρὶ περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντι ταῦτα προστάσσοντας κελεύειν προσφέρειν σοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης. ταῦτην ὅνων αἰσιωτάτην νομίζων τὴν τῶν σῶν γενεθλίων ἡμέραν δίδωμι σοι τοὺς ἱστορημένους εἰς μακρὸν γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι ἐν ὑμαινούσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὀλοκλήρῳ τῷ σώματι. καὶ γὰρ ἄν καὶ ὀφελὸς γένοιτο τὶ σοι ἕκ τοῦ συγγράμματος διπλῶν: τὸ μὲν εὐθυμία τις καὶ ἐπὶς ἁγαθῆ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μήκιστον δύνασθαι βιῶναι, τὸ δὲ διδασκαλία τις ἕκ παραδειγμάτων, εἰ ἐπιγνοῖς ὅτι ὁι μάλιστα ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τε σῶμα

1 ἐννοιαν Cobet: σῶμαν MSS.
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At the behest of a dream, illustrious Quintillus, I make you a present of the "Octogenarians." I had the dream and told my friends of it long since, when you were celebrating the naming of your second child. At the time, however, not being able to understand what the god meant by commanding me to "present you the octogenarians," I merely offered a prayer that you and your children might live very long, thinking that this would benefit not only the whole human race but, more than anyone else, me in person and all my kin; for I too, it seemed, had a blessing predicted for me by the god. But as I thought the matter over by myself, I hit upon the idea that very likely in giving such an order to a literary man, the gods were commanding him to present you something from his profession. Therefore, on this your birthday, which I thought the most auspicious occasion, I give you the men who are related to have attained great age with a sound mind and a perfect body. Some profit may accrue to you from the treatise in two ways: on the one hand, encouragement and good hopes of being able to live long yourself, and on the other hand, instruction by examples, if you observe that it is the men who have paid most
καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν, οὕτως δὴ εἰς μακρότατον γῆρας ἧλθον σὺν ψυχῇ παντελεῖ. Νέστορα μὲν οὖν 3 τὸν σοφότατον τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐπὶ τρεῖς παρατείνα γενεὰς "Ομήρος λέγει, ὅτι συνιστήσαν ἡμῶν γεγομενέμενον ἀριστα καὶ ψυχῆ καὶ σῶματι. καὶ Τειρεσίαν δὲ τὸν μάντιν ἡ τραγωδία μέχρις ἐξ γενεῶν παρατείνα λέγει. πιθανὸν δ' ἂν εἰη ἄνδρα θεοὶς ἀνακείμενον καθαρωτέρα διαίτη χρώμενον ἐπὶ μῆκιστον βιώναι. καὶ γένη δὲ ὀλα 4 μακρῶβια ἱστορεῖται διὰ τὴν διαίταν, ὡσπερ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ καλούμενοι ἰερογραμματεῖς, Ἀσσυρίων δὲ καὶ Ἄραβων οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν μύθων, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ καλούμενοι Βραχμάνες, ἄνδρες ἀκριβῶς φιλοσοφία σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ μάγοι, γένος τούτο μαντικόν καὶ θεοὶς ἀνακείμενον παρὰ τε Πέρσαις καὶ Πάρθοις καὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Χωρασμίοις καὶ Ἀρείοις καὶ Σάκαις καὶ Μήδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοὶ ἄλλοις βαρβάροις, ἐρρωμένοι τέ εἰς καὶ πολυχρόνιοι διὰ τὸ μαγεύειν διαίτωμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκριβέστερον. ἦδη δὲ 5 καὶ ἐθνὶ ὅλα μακροβιότατα, ὡσπερ Σήρας μὲν ἱστοροῦσι μέχρι τριακοσίων ζην ἔτων, οἱ μὲν τῷ ἑρεί, οἱ δὲ τῇ γῆ τῇ αἰτίαν τοῦ μακροῦ γήρας προστιθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ διαίτῃ ὑδροποτεῖν γὰρ φασί τὸ ἐθνὸς τούτο σύμπαν. καὶ Ἀθώτας δὲ μέχρι τριάκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐτῶν βιών ἱστορεῖται, καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐκατὸν ἐτή βιῶν λόγος, τούτους μὲν καὶ κριθίνῳ ἀρτῳ χρωμένους, ὡς ἀνυδροκίας τούτο φάρμακου ὡς ἴη φασί διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίταν καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς αἰσθήσεις ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀνθρώπους ἐρρωμένας εἶναι.

1 χρώμενον Mailv: χρώμενον τὸν Τειρησίαν MSS.
OCTOGENARIANS

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

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

Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τε τῶν μακροβίων 6
gενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀτινὰ φασινδός ἐπὶ πλεῖ-
στον διαγίγνεσθαι χρόνον, οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆν γῆν καὶ
tῶν ἀέρα, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν δίαιταν, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ ἄμφωρ.
ἔγιο εὖ ἂν σοι δικαίως τὴν ἐλπίδα ῥαδίαν 1
παράσχομι ἱστορίας ὦτι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ
cατὰ πάντα ἀέρα μακρόβιοι γεγόναυσιν ἄνδρες
οἱ γυμνοσίοι τοῖς προσήκουσι καὶ διαίτη τῇ
ἐπιτηδειοτάτῃ πρὸς ύψεις χρόμενοι. διαί-
ρεσιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν πρώτην κατὰ
τάπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἄνδρῶν, καὶ πρῶτον γέ σοι
tοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς ἄνδρας
ἱστορήσω, ὅν ἔνα ἡ 2 εὐσέβεστάτη μεγάλου
θεοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος τύχη εἰς τὴν τελεωτάτην
ἀγαγόδα τάξιν εὐεργέτηκε τὰ μέγιστα τὴν
οἰκουμένην τὴν ἔαυτου· οὔτω γὰρ ἂν ἀπιδῶν καὶ
οὐ τῶν μακροβίων ἄνδρῶν πρὸς τὸ ὁμοίον τῆς
ἐξεξαὶ καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐτοιμότερον ἐλπίσεις γῆρας
ύγιεινον καὶ μακρὸν καὶ ἀμα ἥλιωςας ἐργάσαιο
σαυτῷ τῇ διαίτῃ μέγιστόν τε ἁμα καὶ ὑγεινοτα-
tον βίον.

Πομπίλιος Νουμᾶς ὁ εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν 8
Ῥωμαίων βασιλέων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν θερα-
pείαν τῶν θεῶν ἀσχοληθεῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὁγδοϊκούτα
ἐτή βεβιωκέναι ἱστορεῖται. Σέρβιος δὲ Τουλλιος
Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὁγδοϊκούτα
ἐτή καὶ αὐτὸς βιῶσαι ἱστορεῖται. Ταρκυνίος δὲ
ὁ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς φυγαδευθεῖς καὶ

1 ῥαδίαν Schwartz: ῥαδίως MSS.
2 ἡ Marcilius, Mainis: καὶ MSS.

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

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

1 The man is unknown: the emperor has been thought to be Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and many another. The language, which suggests a period much later than Lucian, is so obscure that the meaning is doubtful.
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ἐπὶ Κύμης διατρίβων ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτη λέγεται στερρότατα βιῶσαι. οὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ Ῥω-μαίων βασιλεῖς, οῖς συνάψω καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βασιλεὰς τοὺς εἰς μακρὸν γῆρας ἀφικομένους καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐκάστους. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ σοι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς εἰς μήκιστον γῆρας ἀφικομένους προσαναγράψω, προσθεῖς ἃμα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ πλείστον βιῶσαντας ἀξιόλογος γὰρ ἔλεγχος ἡ ἱστορία τῶν διαβάλλειν πειρωμένων τὸν ἐνταῦθα ἀέρα, ὡστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρηστοτέρας ἔχειν τὰς ἔλπι-δας, τελείοις ἢ μὲν τὰς εὐχὰς ἔσσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ εἰς μήκιστον τε καὶ λυπαρὸν τὸν πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης δεσπότην γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι, τῇ ἐαυτοῦ οἰκουμένη διαρκέσοντα ἡ ἦδη καὶ γέροντα.

Ἀργανθώνιος μὲν οὖν Ταρτησσίων βασιλεὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ἐτη βιῶναι λέγεται, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς καὶ ὁ μελοποιὸς Ἀνακρέων ἂν λα δοῦτο μὲν μῦθος τις δοκεῖ. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Σικελίας τύραννος ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐτελεύτα, καθάπερ Δημοχάρης καὶ Τίμαιος ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἦρων τε ὁ Συρακουσίων τύραννος δύο καὶ ἐνενή-κοντα ἐτῶν γενόμενος ἐτελεύτα νός, βασιλεύσας ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτη, ὡσπερ Δημήτριος τε ὁ Καλλα-τιανὸς καὶ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν. Ἀτέας δὲ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς μαχόμενος πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τὸν Ἱστρον ποταμὸν ἐπεσεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτη γεγονός. Βάρδυλος δὲ ὁ Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλεὺς ἀφ’

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

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

1 Our author did not verify his references. Herodotus (1, 163) says one hundred and twenty, Anacreon (frg. 8) one hundred and fifty.
2 Timaeus, as quoted in Diodorus (21, 16, 5) said seventy-two.
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ίππου λέγεται μάχεσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππου πολέμῳ εἰς ἑνενήκοντα τελῶν ἔτη. Ὁρίζει δὲ Ὄδρυσόν βασιλεύσω, καθά φησι Θεόπομπος, δύο καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ἐτῶν ἐπελεύσθησαν. 'Αντίγονος 11 δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ μονόφθαλμος βασιλεύσων Μακεδόνων περὶ Φρυγίαν μαχόμενος Σελεύκῳ καὶ Λυσιμάχῳ τραύμασι πολλοῖς περιπεσὼν ἐπελεύσθησεν ἐτῶν ἕνως καὶ ὀγδοίκοντα, ὡσπερ ὁ συστρατευόμενος αὐτῷ Ἱερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ. καὶ Λυσιμάχος δὲ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σελευκον ἀπώλετο μάχη ἐτος ὀγδοίκοστὸν τελῶν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος. 'Αντίγονος δὲ, ὃς ὑδὶς 1 μὲν Ὑν Δημητρίῳ, νῦν δὲ 'Αντίγονον τοῦ μονοφθαλμοῦ, οὕτος τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη, ἐβίωσε δὲ ὀγδοίκοντα, ὡς Μηδείος τε ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ 'Αντίπατρος ὁ Ἰολάδου μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς καὶ ἐπιτροπεύσας πολλοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοίκοντα οὕτος ἕτη ζῆσας ἐπελεύστα τὸν βίον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Δάγον ὁ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν εὐδαιμονεστάτος βασιλέως Ἀιγύπτου μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν, τέσσαρα δὲ καὶ ὀγδοίκοντα βιώσας ἕτη ζῶν παρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ δύο ἑτῶν τῆς τελευτής Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ νῦι, Φιλαδέλφῳ δὲ ἐπίκλησιν, ὡστὶς διεδέξατο τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν ἄδελφῶν... 2 Φιλέταιρος δὲ πρῶτος μὲν ἐκτίησατο τὴν περὶ Πέργαμου ἀρχὴν καὶ κατέσχεν εὕνοχος ὧν, κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν βίον ὀγδοίκοντα ἑτῶν.

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

1 At least one word, perhaps more than one, has fallen out of the Greek text. Schwartz would read ἀδελφὴν γαμάω ("and married his sister"): my supplement is based on Justinus 16, 27: is (i.e. Ptolemy Soter) contra ius gentium minimō natu ex filis ante infirmitatem regnum tradiderat, eiusque rei rationem populo reddiderat.
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γενόμενοι. ᾿Ατταλος δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεῖς Φιλάδελφος, τῶν Περγαμηνῶν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεύων, πρὸς ὑπὲρ, καὶ Σκιπίων Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἥφικεν, δύο καὶ ὁγδοίκοντα ἑτῶν ἐξέλιπτε τῶν βιῶν. Μιθρι-
δάτης δὲ ὁ Πόντου βασιλεὺς ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Κτίστης Ἀντίγονον τῶν μονοφθαλμών φεύγων ἐπὶ Πόντου ἐπελεύσθησαν βιῶσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ὁγδοίκοντα, ὡσπερ Ῥεώνυμος ιστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς. ᾿Αριαράθης δὲ ὁ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεὺς δύο μὲν καὶ ὁγδοίκοντα ἐξήσθη ἔτη, ὡς Ῥεώνυμος ιστορεῖ ἐδυνάθη δὲ ἵσως καὶ ἔτη πλέον διαγενέσθαι, ἀλλʼ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Περδίκκαν μάχῃ ἕως ἑρημίες ἀνέσκολοπίσθη. Κύρος δὲ ὁ Ῥεσων βασιλεὺς ὁ παλαιός, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ Περσῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὄροι, ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὄροι τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον συγγράφασι συμφωνεῖσι ποιεῖ, ἐκατοτόνθη συγγραφεοῦς ἐξήθει μὲν ἔνα ἑκαστὸν τῶν φίλων, μαθῶν δὲ τῶν πλείστων διεφθαρ-
μένους ὑπὸ Καμβύς τοῦ νιέως, καὶ φάσκον-
τος Καμβύς κατὰ πρόστασιμα τὸ ἐκεῖνον ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, τὸ μὲν τῷ πρὸς τὴν ὁμότητα τοῦ νιέως διαβληθείς, τὸ δὲ τῷ ὑπὸ παρανοοῦντα αὐτὸν αἰτια-
σάμενος ἀθυμίασας ἐτελεύτα τῶν βιῶν. ᾿Αρτα-
ξέρξης ὁ Ροήμων ἐπικληθεῖς, ἀφʼ ὁν Κύρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐστρατεύσατο, βασιλεὺς ὁ νὰς Πέρσαις ἐπελεύσθη σὺν ἑτῶν ἐκομμένος, ὡς δὲ Δῶνων ἱστορεῖ, τεσσάρων καὶ ἑνενή-
κοντα. ᾿Αρταξέρξης ἀτέρος Πέρσων βασιλεὺς, ὁν φησὶν ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Χαρακηνὸς συγγραφεῖς βασιλεύειν, ἔτη τρία καὶ ἑνενήκοντα βιῶσι ἐπιβουλῆς τάδελφοῦ Γοσιθροῦ 232
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eighty. Attalus, called Philadelphus, also king of Pergamum, to whom the Roman general Scipio paid a visit, ended his life at the age of eighty-two. Mithridates, king of Pontus, called the Founder, exiled by Antigonus One-eye, died in Pontus at eighty-four, as Hieronymus and other writers say. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, lived eighty-two years, as Hieronymus says: perhaps he would have lived longer if he had not been captured in the battle with Perdiccas and crucified. Cyrus, king of the Persians in olden times, according to the Persian and Assyrian annals (with which Onesicritus, who wrote a history of Alexander, seems to agree) at the age of a hundred asked for all his friends by name and learned that most of them had been put to death by his son Cambyses. When Cambyses asserted that he had done this by order of Cyrus, he died of a broken heart, partly because he had been slandered for his son's cruelty, partly because he accused himself of being feeble-minded. Artaxerxes, called the Unforgetting, against whom Cyrus, his brother, made the expedition, was king of Persia when he died of illness at the age of eighty-six (according to Dinon ninety-four). Another Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who, Isidore the Characene historian says, occupied the throne in the time of Isidore's fathers, was assassinated at the age of ninety-three through the machinations of his brother Gosithras. Sinatroces,
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εδολοφοιήθη. Σινατρόκης δὲ ὁ Παρθυναῖων βα-
sileus ἐτος ογδοηκοστον ἡ ἡ γεγονός ὑπὸ Σα-
cαυράκων Σκυθῶν καταχθεὶς βασιλεύειν ἦρξατο kal ἐβασιλεύσειν ἔτη ἐπτα. Τιγράνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς, πρὸς ὧν Δοῦκουλλος ἐπο-
λέμησεν, πέντε καὶ ογδοηκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτα

νόσῳ. Ὀσπαυσίνης δὲ ὁ Χάρηκος καὶ τῶν 16
κατ᾽ Ἔρυθραν θάλασσαν τοπῶν βασιλεὺς πέντε
καὶ ογδοηκοντα ἐτῶν νοσήσας ἐτελεύτησεν.
Τύραιος δὲ ὁ μεθ᾽ Ὀσπαυσίνης τρίτος βασιλεύς
δύο καὶ ἐνενίκοντα βιούς ἔτη 1 ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ.
Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ μετὰ Τύραιον ἐβδομος βασιλεύς
Χάρακος ἐξ καὶ ογδοηκοντα ἐτῶν καταχθεὶς ὑπὸ
Πάρθων ἐβασιλεύσε. Καμνακίρης δὲ βασιλεὺς
Παρθυναῖων ἐξ καὶ ἐνενίκοντα ἐξησεν ἔτη.
Μασ-
σινίσσας δὲ Μαυρουνίων βασιλεὺς ἐνενίκοντα
ἐβίωσεν ἔτη. Ἀσανδρός δὲ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ ἀντὶ ἑθνάρχου βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς
Βοστόρου περὶ ἔτη ὑν ἐνενίκοντα ἴππομαχῶν καὶ πεξομαχῶν οὐδενὸς ἤπτων ἐφάνη· ὡς δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς
eαυτοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην 2 Σκριβωνίῳ προστιθεμένους
ἀποσχόμενος σιτίων ἐτελεύτησεν βιοὺς ἔτη τριά
καὶ ἐνενίκοντα. Γοαίσσος δὲ, ὡς φησιν Ἰσίδωρος ὁ
Χαρακηνός, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἡλικίας Ὀμάνων τῆς
ἀρωματοφόρου βασιλεύσας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἐκα-
tον γεγονός ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν νόσῳ.

Βασιλέας μὲν ὁν τοσούτους ἱστορίκασι μακρο-
βίους οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν. ἔτει δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφοι
καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντες, ἐπιμέλειαν
πῶς καὶ οὐτοὶ ποιούμενοι ἐαυτῶν, εἰς μακρὸν

1 ἔτη Schwartz: not in MSS.
2 τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην Guyet: τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ μάχῃ MSS.
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King of Parthia, was restored to his country in his eightieth year by the Sacauracian Scyths, assumed the throne and held it seven years. Tigranes, king of Armenia, with whom Lucullus warred, died of illness at the age of eighty-five. Hyspausines, king of Charax and the country on the Red Sea, fell ill and died at eighty-five. Tiraeus, the second successor of Hyspausines on the throne, died of illness at the age of ninety-two. Artabazus, the sixth successor of Tiraeus on the throne of Charax, was reinstated by the Parthians and became king at the age of eighty-six. Camnascires, king of the Parthians, lived ninety-six years. Massinissa, king of the Moors, lived ninety years. Asandrus, who, after being ethnarch, was proclaimed king of Bosphorus by the divine Augustus, at about ninety years proved himself a match for anyone in fighting from horseback or on foot; but when he saw his subjects going over to Scribonius on the eve of battle, he starved himself to death at the age of ninety-three. According to Isidore the Characene, Goæsus, who was king of spice-bearing Omania in Isidore's time, died of illness at one hundred and fifteen years.

These are the kings who have been recorded as long-lived by our predecessors. Since philosophers and literary men in general, doubtless because they too take good care of themselves, have attained old age,
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γῆρας ἦλθον, ἀναγράψωμεν καὶ τούτων τους ἱστοριμένους, καὶ πρώτους γε φιλοσόφους. Δημόκριτος μὲν Ἀβδηρίτης ἔτων γεγονὼς τεσσάρων καὶ ἔκατον ἀποσχόμενος τροφῆς ἐτελεύτα. Ἐνοψις δὲ ὁ μουσικός, ὁς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος, προσεχών τῇ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίᾳ ὑπὲρ τὰ πέντε τε ἐκατὸν ἐτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἐβίωσεν. Σόλων δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς καὶ Πιθακός, οὕτως τῶν κληθέντων ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἐγένοντο, ἐκατὸν ἐκαστὸς ἐξησεν ἐτῆ, Ζηήνων δὲ ὁ τῆς Στυϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀρχηγὸς ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα: ὅν φασιν εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προσπαίσαντα ἀναφθέγξασθαι, Τί με βοᾷς; καὶ ὑποστρέψαντα οὐκάδε καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τροφῆς τελευτάσαι τὸν βίον. Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Ζηήνως μαθητῆς καὶ διάδοχος ἐννέα καὶ ἐνενήκοντα οὗτος γεγονὼς ἐτη φῶμα ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους καὶ ἀποκαρτερών ἐπελθόντων αὐτῷ παρ’ ἐταίρων τινῶν γραμμάτων προσενεγκάμενος τροφῆς καὶ πράξεις περὶ ὅν ἦξίον οἱ φίλοι, ἀποσχόμενος αὐθίς τροφῆς ἐξελπτε τὸν βίον. Ἐνοφάνης δὲ ὁ Δεξίων μὲν νῦν, Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ μαθητῆς ἐβίωσεν ἐτη ἐν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα: Ἐνοφράτης δὲ Πλάτωνος μαθητῆς γεγομένων τέσσαρα καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα: Καρνείδης δὲ ὁ τῆς νεωτέρας Ἀκαδημίας ἀρχηγός ἐτη πέντε καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα: Χρύσιππος ἐν καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα: Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ Τίγριος Στυϊκὸς φιλόσοφος ὁκτὼ καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα: Πουσειδώνιος Ἀπαμεὺς τῆς Συρίας, νόμῳ δὲ Ῥόδιος,
I shall put down those whom there is record of, beginning with the philosophers. Democritus of Abdera starved himself to death at the age of one hundred and four. Xenophilus the musician, we are told by Aristoxenus, adopted the philosophical system of Pythagoras, and lived in Athens more than one hundred and five years. Solon, Thales, and Pittacus, who were of the so-called seven wise men, each lived a hundred years, and Zeno, the head of the Stoic school, ninety-eight. They say that when Zeno stumbled in entering the assembly, he cried out: "Why do you call me?" and then, returning home, starved himself to death. Cleanthes, the pupil and successor of Zeno, was ninety-nine when he got a tumour on his lip. He was fasting when letters from certain of his friends arrived, but he had food brought him, did what his friends had requested, and then fasted anew until he passed away. Xenophanes, son of Dexinus and disciple of Archelaus the physicist, lived ninety-one years; Xenocrates, the disciple of Plato, eighty-four; Carneades, the head of the New Academy, eighty-five; Chrysippus, eighty-one; Diogenes of Seleucia on the Tigris, a Stoic philosopher, eighty-eight; Posidonius of Apameia in Syria, naturalised in Rhodes, 1 Addressed to Pluto. According to Diogenes Laertius 7, 28 he said ἐπιχομασ τί μ’ αἰείς; ("I come: why din it in my ears?"); a quotation from a play called Niobe (Nauk, Trag. Gr. Fragm. p. 51).
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ϕιλόσοφος τε ὑμα καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεὺς τέσσαρα καὶ ὄγδοηκοντα. Κριτόλαος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ὑπὲρ δύο καὶ ὄγδοηκοντα. Πλάτων δὲ ὁ ἤρωτατος ἐν καὶ ὄγδοηκοντα. Ἀθηνόδωρος Σάνδωνος Ταρσεῦς Στωίκος, δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος ἐγένετο Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς οὖ ἦ Ἰαρσέων πόλις καὶ φόρων ἐκουφίσθη, δύο καὶ ὄγδοηκοντα ἐτή βιοὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τιμᾶς ὁ Ταρσέων δῆμος αὐτῷ κατ' ἐτος ἐκαστὸν ἀπονέμει ὡς ἡρώι. Νέστωρ δὲ Στωίκος ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ διδάσκαλος Καίσαρος Τιβερίου ἐτη δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. Ἐνοφὸν δὲ ὁ Γρύλλου ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐβίωσεν ἐτη. οὗτοι μὲν φιλόσοφοι οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ.

Συγγραφεὺς δὲ Κτησίβιος μὲν ἐτῶν ἐκατον καὶ τεσσάρων ἐν περιπάτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς ἱστορεῖ. Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ἐν πολέμωι γενόμενος καὶ πολλοῖς καμάτους ὑπομείνας καὶ τραύματα ἐξῆσεν ἐτη τέσσαρα καὶ ἐκατον, ὡς Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἱστοριῶν λέγει, καὶ θαυμάζει γε τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας ἅρτιον ὄντα ἐν ταῖς συνομίσας καὶ πάσι τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις, μμενὸς γενόμενον τῶν πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐλλιπή. Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Δέσβιος ὄγδοηκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος ὀμοίως ὄγδοηκοντα καὶ πέντε. Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἔξι καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὁ Κασανδρεὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτη λέγεται βεβιοκέναι, τῇ ἱστορίᾳ δὲ τέταρτον καὶ ὄγδοηκοστὸν ἐτος γεγονὼς ἥξετο συγγράφειν, ὡς

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

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

\(^1\) Not infrequently classed as a philosopher; cf. Quintilian 10, 1, 81 ff.
'Ρητώρων δὲ Γοργίας, ὃν τινες σοφιστὴν καλοῦσιν, ἤτη ἐκατὸν ὁκτὼ· τροφής δὲ ἀποσχόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν· ὃν φασίν ἔρωτηθέντα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μακρὸν γῆρος καὶ υγεινοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεις εἰπεῖν, διά τὸ μηδέποτε συμπεριενεχθῆναι ταῖς ἄλλοις εὐνώχαιας. Ἡσοκράτης ἦς καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ἐτη γεγονός τὸν πανηγυρικὸν ἔγραφε λόγον, περὶ ἐτη δὲ ἐνὸς ἀποδέοντα ἐκατὸν γεγονός ὡς ἑσθετο Ἀθηνάιοις ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχη νεικιμένους, ποτηρώμενος τὸν Εὐριπίδειον στίχον προηγέκατο εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφέρων,

Σιδώνιον ποτ ’ ἀστυ Κάδμος ἐκλιπὼν
καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὡς δουλεύσει Ἡ Εὐλλᾶς, ἐξέλυσε τοὺς βίου. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ῥήτωρ, θεοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ διδάσκαλος γενόμενος καὶ σὺν Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τῷ Ταρσεῖ φιλοσόφῳ παιδεύσας αὐτὸν, ἔξησεν ταύτα τῷ Ἀθηνοδώρῳ ἐτη οἰγοηκοντα δύο. Ποτάμων δὲ οὐκ ἀδοξὸς ῥήτωρ ἐτη ἑνενήκοντα.

Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς ράγα σταφυλῆς καταπιθὼν ἀπεπνύγη πέντε καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ζῆσας ἐτη. οὔτος ὑπὸ Ἰοφώτος τοῦ νείος ἐπὶ τέλει
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the work. Polybius, son of Lycortas, of Megalopolis, while coming in from his farm to the city, was thrown from his horse, fell ill as a result of it, and died at eighty-two. Hypsocrates of Amisenum, the historian, who mastered many sciences, lived to be ninety-two.

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

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

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

¹ From the prologue of the lost play Phrixus (frg. 816 Nauck).
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tou βίου παρανοίας κρινόμενος ἀνέγνω τοῖς δικασταῖς Οὐδέπον τον ἐπὶ Κολωνοῦ, ἐπιδεικνύμενος διὰ τοῦ δράματος ὅπως τὸν νοῦν ύγιαίνει, ὡς τοὺς δικασταῖς τὸν μὲν ύπερθαυμάζαι, καταψηφίσασθαι δὲ τοῦ νιῶν αὐτοῦ μανίαν. Κρατίνος δὲ ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητὴς ἐπτὰ ἓπος τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβίωσε, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου διδάξας την Πυτίνην καὶ νικήσας μετ' οὗ πολὺ ἐτελευτά. καὶ Φιλήμων δὲ ὁ κωμικός, ὁμίως τῷ Κρατίνῳ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτή βιοῦς, κατέκειτο μὲν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἄρεμῳ, θεασάμενος δὲ ὅνον τὰ παρεσκευασμένα αὐτῷ σύκα κατασθίοντα ὀρμήσε μὲν εἰς γέλωτα, καλέσας δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην καὶ σὺν πολλῷ καὶ ἄθροῷ γέλωτι εἰπὼν προσδούναι τῷ ὀνῷ ἀκράτου ροφεῖν ἀποπυγεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος ἀπέθανεν. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητής καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ ἐτὴ λέγεται βιῶναι. Ἀνακρέων δὲ ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητὴς ἐξησεν ἐτὴ πέντε καὶ ὀγδούκοντα, καὶ Στησίχορος δὲ ὁ μελοποιὸς ταῦτα, Σιμωνίδης δὲ ὁ Κεῖος ύπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα.

Γραμματικῶν δὲ Ἕρατοσθένης μὲν ὁ Ἀγ- λαοῦ Κυρηναῖος, δυν οὐ μόνον γραμματικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴν ἀν τις ὀνομάσειν καὶ φιλόσοφον καὶ γεωμέτρην, δύο καὶ ὀγδούκοντα ὁὔτος ἐξησεν ἐτη. καὶ Δικοῦργος δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης τῶν Δακεδαι- μονίων πέντε καὶ ὀγδούκοντα ἐτῆ ἔξισει ἰστορεῖται.

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

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

\(^1\) The same story is told of Chrysippus (Diog. Laert. 7 185).
Τοσούτους ἔδυνηθημεν βασιλέας καὶ πεπαλιδέας καὶ δευμένους ἀθροίσας ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπεσχόμην καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκησάντων μακροβίων ἀναγράψαι, τούτους σοι, θεῶν βουλομένων, ἱερώτατε Κυντιλλε, ἐν ἄλλῳ δηλώσομεν λόγῳ.
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These are the kings and the literary men whose names I have been able to collect. As I have promised to record some of the Romans and the Italians who were octogenarians, I will set them forth for you, saintly Quintillus, in another treatise, if it be the will of the gods.
A TRUE STORY

It is unfortunate that we cannot enjoy the full bouquet of this good wine because so many of the works which Lucian parodies here are lost. The little that remains of his originals has been gathered by A. Stengel (De Luciani Veris Historiis, Berlin 1911, from whom I cite as much as space permits).
ΑΛΗΘΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ 1

[ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ]

"Ωσπερ τοῖς ἀθλητικοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἀσχολούμενοι 2 οὐ τῆς εὐεξίας μόνον οὐδὲ τῶν γυμνασίων φροντίς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κατὰ καιρὸν γνωμονείας ἀνέσεως—μέρος γοῦν τῆς ἀσκήσεως τὸ μέγιστον αὐτὴν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν—οὔτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἑσπονδακόσιν ἡγούμαι προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων ἀνάγνωσιν ἀνιέναι τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπειτα κάματον ἄκμαιοτέραν παρασκευάζειν. γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἐμμελῆς ἢ ἀνάπαυσις 2 αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ὁμιλοῖεν, ἢ μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἁστείου τε καὶ χαρίντος ψυλῆς παρέξει τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν, ἀλλὰ τινα καὶ θεωρίαν οὐκ ἀμούσου ἐπιδείξεται, οἴον τι καὶ περὶ τῶν των συγγραμμάτων αὐτοὺς 3 φρονήσειν ὑπολαμβάνω· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ξένον τῆς υποθέσεως οὐδὲ τὸ χαρίν τῆς προαίρεσεως ἐπαγωγὸν ἐσται αὐτοῖς οὐδ', ὅτι ψεύσματα ποικίλα πιθανῶς τε καὶ ἐναλήθως ἐξεννύχαμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἱστορομένων ἐκαστὸν οὐκ ἄκωμοδῆτως ήνικταί πρὸς τινας

1 So the best MSS. (though some have ἀληθῶν) and Photius (cod. 166, 1 a). Ἀληθοῦς Ἴστορίας vulg.
2 ἀσχολούμενοι Ε', Nilén: ἡσπιμένοι other MSS.
3 αὐτοῖς Schwartz: not in MSS.
A TRUE STORY

BOOK I

Men interested in athletics and in the care of their bodies think not only of condition and exercise but also of relaxation in season; in fact, they consider this the principal part of training. In like manner students, I think, after much reading of serious works may profitably relax their minds and put them in better trim for future labour. It would be appropriate recreation for them if they were to take up the sort of reading that, instead of affording just pure amusement based on wit and humour, also boasts a little food for thought that the Muses would not altogether spurn; and I think they will consider the present work something of the kind. They will find it enticing not only for the novelty of its subject, for the humour of its plan and because I tell all kinds of lies in a plausible and specious way, but also because everything in my story is a more or less comical parody of one or
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tών παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ φιλοσόφων πολλά τεράστια καὶ μυθώδη συγγεγραφότων, ὅσα καὶ όνομαστὶ ἂν ἔγραφον, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτῷ σοι ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως φανεῖσθαι ἐμελλῶν * * * 2 Κτησίας ὁ Κτησιόχων ὁ Κνίδιος, οὗς 3 συνέγραψεν περὶ τῆς 'Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτῶς ὅ μήτε αὐτὸς ἐδειν μήτε ἄλλου ἀληθεύοντος ἥκουσεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἰαμβοῦλος περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ πολλά παράδοξα, γνώρισαν μὲν ἄπασι τὸ ψεῦδος πλασάμενος, ὥσπερ ἀτερπὴ δὲ ὁμώς συνθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ τούτους προελήμενοι συνέγραψαν ὡς δὴ τινάς ἑαυτῶν πλάνας τε καὶ ἀποδημίας, θηρίων τε μεγέθη ἰστοροῦντες καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑμότητας καὶ βίων καυνότητας. ἀρχηγὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς τοιαύτης βωμολογίας ὁ τοῦ Ὄμήρου Ὀδυσσεύς, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκίνουν διηγούμενος ἄνεμων τε δουλείαι καὶ μονοφθάλμους καὶ ἀμο- 
φάγους καὶ ἀγρίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους, ἐτὶ δὲ πολυκέφαλα ξίδα καὶ τὰς υπὸ φαρμάκων τῶν ἑταίρων μεταβολάς, οία πολλὰ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἵδιώτας ἀνθρώπων τους Φαίακας ἐτερατεύσατο. 
τούτως οὖν ἐντυχῶν ἄπασιν, τοῦ ψεῦσασθαι 4 μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τους ἁνδρας ἐμεμψάμην, ὄρας ἢ ἣν σύνηθες ὅν τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν υπυσχυν- 
μένοις· ἐκεῖνο δὲ αὐτῶν ἑθαύμασα, εἰ ἐνόμιζον 
λήσειν οὐκ ἀληθῆ συγγράφοντες. διόπερ καὶ 
αὐτὸς ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ἀπολιπεῖν τι σπουδᾶσας

1 συγγεγραφότων Γ, Ω: συγγεγραφότας Ζ.
2 Supply οἶον (Bekker), or the like.
A TRUE STORY, I

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

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

2 A slap at Plato's Republic (x. 614 a seq.), as the scholiast says.
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toîs meî' ëmâs, ëna µî' móûos àµoiros ò tîs èn tî'µvôthológeîn ëleuðheriás, èpeî µèî'dèn álîthèîs íòstôreîn èîçôn—òûðèn ãàp èpèpôî'nêîv àçîóloqîû—èpî tô ï'øvôdôs ètрапó'mhû polû tôvôn àlllôwv èûgnômômô-sîterôn kàvè èn ãàp ðè tôtût ålîthèiûsîo légôûn òtî ï'øvôdômåi. óútô ð' ån mûî dôkôî kai tôîn pàrâ tôvôn àlllôwv katîgnôriàv èkфygeîv àûtûs ômoloqôûv mèî'dèn álîthèîs légeîv. ãràfôî tôînûn pèrî òîn mû'tè èîdôn mû'tè èîpàbôn mû'tè pàp' àlllôwv ètpî-ôî'mhûv, ètî dè mû'tè èlûsî ôûntûs mû'te tôîn årç'hîn gènèstbâi dùnàmêîvôû. dîô dèî tôûs èntûgîhânîtôûs mèdâmôûs pîstèîvûs àûtûs.

'Ôrmîthèîs ãàp pòtô àpò 'Hraâklêîwv stîlîôû 5 kâî àfèî's eîs tôîn èstèpêîrîon õêkêanôûv ôûràw ånèmô tôû tôplûû èpòîouî'mhûv. aîtîà dè mûî tôîs âpôdêmîas kâî ùpòbêîsîs ë tôîs dîaîôîaîs pèrîèrgîa kai pàrûmâ- tôûs kàûîwû èpîôîmîâ kai tô bûûlêôstbâî mûbèîv tô tô tôlêôs èstîû tôû õêkêanôû kai tîîvîs ôî pèrân katoîkôûntê Ôûûhrôpôûî. tôûtôû gê tôî ànvêka pàmûpôlûa mêû sîtîa ènebàlômîhû, ìkàûôn dè kàî ùdôw ènebêêmîhû, pêntêîkoûntê dè tôûn èlûkìîwôûn pòrûspèînîsàmûû tôûn àûtûhî èmôî gûnôûmê èxôntûs, ètî dè kàî ôûplûû tôplû tôplêdôs pàrèskêvanìàmîhû kai kû'bêrvêîtîh tôûn àûristûn müsbôû mêgâlû pêîsàs pàrêlâbôn kai tôîn vàûû—ûkàtos dè ìhî—ûwû pùrûs mêgàûn kai bîaiûn tôplûû èkàràtûnîmîhû. èmêràn 6 ôûû kàî nûkta ôûràw pûlêûntê, ètî tôîs gîhûs ùpôfàîînomînîs ûû sfôdàra bîaiûs àûnhôîmêthâû, tôîs èpîôûûûûs'dè àmà ôîlîw àûîsçôûntê Ôû tê àûnêmôûs

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

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

\(^1\) Compare the protestations of Ctesias and of Antonius Diogenes (Phot. cod. 72, 49-50; 166, 109 b).
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ἐπεδίδου καὶ τὸ κύμα νυξάνετο καὶ ξόφος ἐπεγίνετο καὶ οὐκέτ', οὐδὲ στειλαὶ τὴν ὀδόνην δυνατὸν ἦν. ἐπιτρέψαντες οὖν τῷ πνεύμῳ καὶ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐχειμαζόμεθα ἦμερας ἐννέα καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, τῇ ὄγδοηκοστῇ δὲ ἁφνω ἐκλάμψαντος ἢλίου καθορῶμεν οὐ πόρρω νήσου ὕψηλην καὶ δασεῖαν, οὐ τραχεὶ περιποιημένη τῷ κύματι καὶ γὰρ ἦδη τὸ πολὺ τῆς ξάλης κατεπαύετο.

Προσσχότες οὖν καὶ ἀποβάντες ὡς ἂν ἐκ μακράς ταλαιπωρίας πολὺν μὲν χρόνου ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκείμεθα, διαναστάντες δὲ ὅμως ἀπεκρίναμεν ἠμῶν αὐτῶν τριάκοντα μὲν φύλακας τῆς νεός παραμένειν, εἰκοσί δὲ σὺν ἐμὸν ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ. προελθόντες δὲ 7 ὅσον σταδίους τρεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης δὲ ἔλης ὀρῶμεν τετ-facing page

isoner στήλην χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην, Ἕλληνικὸς γράμμασιν καταγεγραμμένην, ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἑκτετραμένους, λέγουσαν Ἀχρι τούτων Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἄφικοντο. ἢν δὲ καὶ Ἁρης δῶσιν ἐπὶ πέτρας, τὸ μὲν πλεθριαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον—ἐμὸν δοκεῖν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διονύσου, τὸ μικρότερον, θάτερον δὲ Ἡρακλέους. προσκυνήσαντες δὲ οὖν προῆμεν οὕτω δὲ πολὺ παρῆμεν καὶ ἐφιστάμεθα ποταμῷ οἴνου ρέοντι ὀμοίωτατον μάλιστα οἴστερ ὁ Χλός ἐστιν. ἀφθονον δὲ ἢν τὸ ῥέμα καὶ πολὺ, ὡστε ἐναχῳ καὶ ναυσίτηρον εἶναι δύνασθαι. ἐπήει οὖν ἠμῖν πολὺ μάλλον πιστεύειν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στῆλης ἐπιγράμματι, ὀρῶσι τὰ σημεῖα τῆς Διονύσου ἐπιδημίας. δόξαν δέ μοι

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

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

¹ This paragraph is based on Iambulus (Diod. 2. 55).
² Cf. Herod. 4, 82; a footprint of Hercules, two cubits long.
³ Cf. Ctesias (Phot. cod. 72, 46 a).
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καὶ ὅθεν ἀρχεται ὁ ποταμὸς καταμαθεῖν, ἀνήεν παρὰ τὸ ῥέμα, καὶ πηγὴν μὲν οὐδεμιᾶν εὕρον αὐτοῦ, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας ἀμπέλους, πλήρεις βοτρύων, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ρίζαν ἐκάστην ἀπέρρεη σταγών οἷνον διανυότι, ἀφ' ἂν ἐγίνετο ὁ ποταμός. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἱχθύς ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἴδειν, οἷνῳ μάλιστα καὶ τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὴν γεῦσιν προσευκό-τας. ἤμείς γοῦν ἀγρεύσαντες αὐτῶν τινας καὶ ἐμφαγόντες ἐμεθύσθημεν ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνατεμόντες αὐτοὺς ἐυρίσκομεν τρυγὸς μεστοὺς. ὥστερον μέν-τοι ἐπινοήσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἱχθύς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος παραμυγνύντες ἐκεράνυμεν τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς οὐνομαγίας.

Τότε δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεράσαντες ἦ δια-βατὸς ἦν, εὕρομεν ἀμπέλων χρῆμα τεράστιον τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὁ στέλεχος αὐτὸς εὐεργῆς καὶ παχὺς, τὸ δὲ ἄνω γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ὅσον ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων ἄπαντα ἔχουσα τέλεια—τοιαύτην παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν Δάφνην γράφουσιν ἀρτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταλαμβάνοντος ἀποδενδρομένην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δακτύλων ἄκρων ἔξεφύντο αὐτάς οἱ κλάδοι καὶ μεστοὶ ἦσαν βοτρύων. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐκόμων ἔλειξί τε καὶ φύλλως καὶ βοτρυσὶ. προσελθόντας δὲ ἡμᾶς ἠσπάζοντό τε καὶ ἐδεξιούντο, αἱ μὲν Δύσιν, αἱ δ' Ἰνδικήν, αἱ πλείσται δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν προϊέμεναι. καὶ ἐφίλουν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοῖς στόμασιν· ὁ δὲ φιληθεῖς αὐτικὰ ἐμέθυεν καὶ παράφορος ἦν. δρέπεσθαι μὲντοι οὐ παρεῖχον τοῦ καρποῦ, ἂλλ' ἤλγουν καὶ ἔβοιν ἀποστομένου. αἱ δὲ καὶ μάγνυσθαι ἢμῖν ἐπεθύμουν· καὶ δύο τινές τῶν ἐταίρων πλησιάσαντες αὐτάις οὐκέτι ἀπελύ-οντο, ἂλλ' ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐδέδεντο· συνεφύόντο
to find out where the river took its rise, and went up along the stream. What I found was not a source, but a number of large grapevines, full of clusters; beside the root of each flowed a spring of clear wine, and the springs gave rise to the river. There were many fish to be seen in it, very similar to wine in colour and in taste. In fact, on catching and eating some of them, we became drunk, and when we cut into them we found them full of lees, of course. Later on, we bethought ourselves to mix with them the other kind of fish, those from the water, and so temper the strength of our edible wine.

Next, after crossing the river at a place where it was fordable, we found something wonderful in grapevines. The part which came out of the ground, the trunk itself, was stout and well-grown, but the upper part was in each case a woman, entirely perfect from the waist up. They were like our pictures of Daphne turning into a tree when Apollo is just catching her. Out of their finger-tips grew the branches, and they were full of grapes. Actually, the hair of their heads was tendrils and leaves and clusters! When we came up, they welcomed and greeted us, some of them speaking Lydian, some Indian, but the most part Greek. They even kissed us on the lips, and everyone that was kissed at once became reeling drunk. They did not suffer us, however, to gather any of the fruit, but cried out in pain when it was plucked. Some of them actually wanted us to embrace them, and two of my comrades complied, but could not get away again. They were held fast by the part which had touched them, for it
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γὰρ καὶ συνερριζόμενο. καὶ ἡδη αὐτοῖς κλάδοι ἐπεφύκεσαν οί δέκτυλοι, καὶ ταῖς ἐλιξὶ περι-πλεκόμενοι ὅσον οὐδέπω καὶ αὐτοὶ καρποφορήσειν ἐμελλον. καταλυόμενς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ναῦν ἐφεύ-γομεν καὶ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι διηργοῦμεθα ἐλθόντες τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων τὴν ἰμπελομείζαν, καὶ δὴ λαβόντες ἀμφορέας τινὰς καὶ ὑδρευσάμενοι τε ἀμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰνισάμενοι καὶ αὐτοῦ πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἴδιος αὐλισάμενοι ἐσθεν ἀνήχθη-μεν οὐ σφόδρα βιαίως πνεῦματι.

Περὶ μεσημβρίαν δὲ οὐκέτι τῆς νῆσου φαινο-
μένης ἀφ'ων τυφών ἐπιγενόμενος καὶ περιδιψάς τὴν ναῦν καὶ μετεωρίσας ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους τρια-
κοσίουσι οὐκέτι καθήκεν εἰς τὸ πελάγος, ἀλλ' ἀνὼ 
μετέωρον ἔχειρητημένην ἀνέμος ἐμπέσαι τοῖς ἱστίοις 
εἴφερεν κολπόσας τὴν ὀθόνην. ἐπτὰ δὲ ἡμέρας 
καὶ τὰς ὕσσας νύκτας ἀεροδρομήσαντες, ὀγδόη 
καθορῶμεν γῆν τινα μεγάλην εν τῷ ἀέρι καθαπέρ 
νῆσον, λαμπραν καὶ σφαιροειδῆ καὶ φωτὶ μεγάλω 
καταλαμπτομένην προσευχῆσεντες δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ὀρμώμενοι ἀπεβημεν, ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ τὴν 
χώραν εὐρίσκομεν οἰκουμένην τε καὶ γεωργουμένην. 
ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθεν καθεωρῶμεν, νυκτὸς 
δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἐφαίνοντο ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ 
νῆσοι πλησία, αἱ μὲν μείζους, αἱ δὲ μικρότεραι, 
πυρὶ τὴν χροιὰν προσευκυνᾶν, καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις γῆ 
κάτω, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἔχουσα 
καὶ πελάγη καὶ ὕλας καὶ ὅρη. ταύτην οὖν τὴν 
καθ' ἡμῖν οἰκουμένην εἰκάζομεν.

Δόξαν δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἔτι πορρωτέρῳ προελθεῖν, 
συνελήφθημεν τοῖς Ἰππογύποις παρ' αὐτοῖς καλο-
μένοις ἀπαντῆσαντες. οἱ δὲ Ἰππόγυποι οὕτωι εἰσιν 
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had grown in and struck root. Already branches had grown from their fingers, tendrils entwined them, and they were on the point of bearing fruit like the others any minute. Leaving them in the lurch, we made off to the boat, and on getting there, told the men we had left behind about everything, including the affair of our comrades with the vines. Then, taking jars, we furnished ourselves not only with water but with wine from the river, encamped for the night on the beach close by, and at daybreak put to sea with a moderate breeze.

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

We determined to go still further inland, but we met what they call the Vulture Dragoons, and were arrested. These are men riding on large
καὶ καθάπερ ἵπποις τοὺς ὁμόεως χρώμενοι· μάθοι δ’ ἂν τις τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ἐντεῦθεν· νεὼς γὰρ μεγάλης φορτίδος ἰστοῦ ἐκαστοῦ τῶν πτερῶν μακρότερον καὶ παχύτερον φέρουσι. τούτως οὖν τοῖς Ἱπτομύσις προστέτακτι περιπετεμένοις τὴν γῆν, εἰ τις εὑρεθῇ γένος, ἀνάγειν ὡς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς συνλαβόντες ἀνάγουσιν ὡς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς εἰκάσας, Ἔλληνες ἀρα, ἐφη, ὑμεῖς, ὡ γένος; συμφθεῖσθων δὲ, Πῶς οὖν ἀφίκεσθε, ἐφη, τοσοῦτον ἀέρα διελθόντες; καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ πᾶν αὐτῷ διηγούμεθα· καὶ ὅσοι ἀρξάμενοι τὸ καθ’ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν διεξῆ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τούπομα Ἐνυδυμίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς καθεύδων ἀναρπασθεῖ ὅτε καὶ ἀφικόμενοι βασιλεύσει τῆς χώρας· εἰναι δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐκεῖνην ἔλεγε τὴν ἡμῖν κάτω φαινομένην σελήνην. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν τε παρεκελεύετο καὶ μηδείνα κάνωνυν ὑφοράσθαι· πάντα γὰρ ἡμῖν παρέσεσθαι δὲν δεόμεθα. Ἡν δὲ καὶ κατορθόσω, ἐφη, τῶν πόλεμον δὲ ἐκφέρω νῦν πρὸς τοὺς τὸν ἤλιον κατοικοῦντας, ὑπάντων εὐδαιμονεστάτα παρ’ ἐμοὶ καταβιώσεσθε. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡρόμεθα τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς· Ὁ δὲ Φαέθων, φησίν, ὁ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἤλιῳ κατοικούντων βασιλεύσ—οἰκεῖται γὰρ δὴ κακεῖνος
vultures and using the birds for horses. The vultures are large and for the most part have three heads: you can judge of their size from the fact that the mast of a large merchantman is not so long or so thick as the smallest of the quills they have.\(^1\) The Vulture Dragoons are commissioned to fly about the country and bring before the king any stranger they may find, so of course they arrested us and brought us before him. When he had looked us over and drawn his conclusions from our clothes, he said: “Then you are Greeks, are you, strangers?” and when we assented, “Well, how did you get here, with so much air to cross?” We told him all, and he began and told us about himself: that he too was a human being, Endymion by name, who had once been ravished from our country in his sleep, and on coming there had been made king of the land. He said that his country was the moon that shines down on us.\(^2\) He urged us to take heart, however, and suspect no danger, for we should have everything that we required. “And if I succeed,” said he, “in the war which I am now making on the people of the sun, you shall lead the happiest of lives with me.” We asked who the enemy were, and what the quarrel was about. “Phaethon,” said he, “the king of the inhabitants of the sun—for it is inhabited,\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) Cf. *Odyssey* 9, 322 f.

\(^{2}\) The story of Antonius Diogenes included a description of a trip to the moon (Phot. 111 a). Compare also Lucian’s own *Icaromenippus*.

\(^{3}\) Cf. Lactantius 3, 23, 41: “Seneca says that there have been Stoics who raised the question of ascribing to the sun a population of its own.”
ὁσπερ καὶ ἡ σελήνη—πολὺν ἤδη πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμεῖ χρόνον. ἦρξατο δὲ ἐξ αὐτίας τοιαύτης τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ τῇ ἐμῇ ποτὲ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους συναγαγὼν ἐβουλιζθην ἀποικίαν ἐς τὸν Ἑωσφόρον στείλαι, ὡντα ἔρημον καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κατοικούμενον δὲ τοῖς Φαέθων φθονίσας ἔκωλυσε τὴν ἀποικίαν κατὰ μέσον τῶν πόρων ἀπαντήσας ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰππομυρμήκων. τότε μὲν οὖν νικηθέντες—οὐ γὰρ ἤμεν ἀντίπαλοι τῇ παρασκευῇ—ἀνεχωρήσαμεν· νῦν δὲ βούλομαι αὕθις ἐξενεγκείν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀποστείλαι τὴν ἀποικίαν. ἦν οὖν ἐθέλητε, κοινωνίσατε μοι τὸν στόλον, γύπας δὲ υἱῶν ἐγὼ παρέξω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἕνα ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὀπλισιν· αὐρίον δὲ τοιησόμεθα τὴν ἐξοδον. Οὕτως, ἐφην ἐγὼ, γιαγνέσθω, ἐπειδὴ σοι δοκεῖ.

Τότε μὲν οὖν παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστιαθέντες ἐμείναμεν, ἐσθεν δὲ διαναστάντες ἐτασσόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ σκοτοὶ ἐσήμαινον πλησίον εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς δέκα μυριάδες ἐγένοντο ἀνευ τῶν σκευοφόρων καὶ τῶν μηχανοποιῶν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἔξων συμμάχων· τούτων δὲ ὀκτακισμύριοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππόγυποι, δισμύριοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Λαχανοπτέρων. ὅρνεον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ μέγιστον, ἀντὶ τῶν πτερῶν λαχάνοις πάντη λάσιον, τὰ δὲ ὄκυπτερα ἔχει θριακίνης φύλλοις μάλιστα προσεικότα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως οἱ Κεγχροβόλοι ἑτετάχατο καὶ οἱ Σκοροδομάχοι. ἦλθον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου σύμμαχοι, τρισμύριοι μὲν Ψυλλοτοξόται, πεντακισμύριοι δὲ Ἀνεμοδρόμοι· τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν Ψυλλοτοξόται ἐπὶ 262
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you know, as well as the moon—has been at war with us for a long time now. It began in this way. Once upon a time I gathered together the poorest people in my kingdom and undertook to plant a colony on the Morning Star, which was empty and uninhabited. Phaethon out of jealousy thwarted the colonisation, meeting us half-way at the head of his Ant Dragoons. At that time we were beaten, for we were not a match for them in strength, and we retreated: now, however, I desire to make war again and plant the colony. If you wish, then, you may take part with me in the expedition and I will give each of you one of my royal vultures and a complete outfit. We shall take the field to-morrow.” “Very well,” said I, “since you think it best.”

That night we stopped there as his guests, but at daybreak we arose and took our posts, for the scouts signalled that the enemy was near. The number of our army was a hundred thousand, apart from the porters, the engineers, the infantry and the foreign allies; of this total, eighty thousand were Vulture Dragoons and twenty thousand Grassplume-riders. The Grassplume is also a very large bird, which instead of plumage is all shaggy with grass and has wings very like lettuce-leaves. Next to these the Millet-shooters and the Garlic-fighters were posted. Endymion also had allies who came from the Great Bear—thirty thousand Flea-archers and fifty thousand Volplaneurs. The Flea-archers ride on great fleas,
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ψυλλών μεγάλων ἵππαξονται, οθέν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν. μέγεθος δὲ τῶν ψυλλῶν ὅσον δώδεκα ἑλέφαντες· οἱ δὲ Ἀνεμοδρόμοι πεζοὶ μὲν εἰσίν, φέρονται δὲ ἐν τῷ ἁέρι ἄνευ πτερῶν· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς φορᾶς τοιόσο. χιτώνας ποδήρεις ὑπεξωσμένου κολπώσαντες αὐτοὺς τῷ ἄνεμῳ καθάπερ ἵστια φέρονται ὅσπερ τὰ σκάφη. τὰ πολλὰ δ' οἱ τοιούτοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πελτασταῖ εἰσίν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Καπ-παδοκίαν ἀστέρων ἦξειν Στρονθβάλανοι μὲν ἐπτακισμύριοι, Ἰππογέραιοι δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι. τοῦτοις ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔθεσάμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκοντο. διόπερ οὐδὲ γράψαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησα· τεράστια γὰρ καὶ ἀπίστα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγετο.

Αὐτῇ μὲν ἡ τοῦ Ἑυδυμίωνος δύναμις ἦν. 14 σκευὴ δὲ πάντων ἡ αὐτῇ, κράνη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κυάμων, μεγάλοι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ κύαμοι καὶ καρτεροί· θώρακες δὲ φολιδωτοὶ πάντες θέρμων, τὰ γὰρ λέπι τῶν θέρμων συρράπτοντες ποιοῦνται θώρακας, ἀρρητοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ γίνεται τὸν θέρμον τὸ λέτος ὅσπερ κέρας· ἀσπίδες δὲ καὶ ξίφη οὐα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατακρός ἦν, ἐτάξαντο ὁδε· τὸ μὲν δεξίῳ κέρας εἶχον οἱ Ἰππόγυπτοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχων· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτοις ἤμεν· τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον οἱ Δαχα-νόπτεροι· τὸ μέσον δὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐκάστος ἐδόκει. τὸ δὲ πεζὸν ἦσαν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξακισ-χιλίας μυριάδας, ἐτάχθησαν δὲ ὦτως. ἀράχνας παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλοῖ καὶ μεγάλοι γίνονται, πολὺ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἐκαστὸς μείζων. τούτοις

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

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

¹ Compare the reticence of Herodotus (1, 193), Thucydides (3, 113, 6), and Tacitus (Germ. 46).
προσεταξεν διυφημαί τον μεταξ' της σελήνης καί
tou 'Εωσφόρου ἀερα. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐξειργά-
σαντο καὶ πεδίων ἐποίησαν, ἐπὶ τοῦτον παρέταξε
to πεζόν. ήγείτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νυκτέριων ὁ Εὐδιά-
vακτος τρίτος αὐτός.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τό μὲν εὐφώνυμοι εἶχον οἱ
Πολυμύρμηκες καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς Φαέθων θηρία
dὲ ἔστι μέγιστα, ὑπόπτερα, τοῖς παρ' ἕμων
μύρμηξι προσεοικότα πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους; ὁ
γὰρ μέγιστος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλέθρος ἦν. ἐμά-
χοντο δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
αὐτοὶ μάλιστα τοὺς κέρασιν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οὕτωι
εἶναι ἀμφὶ τὰς πέντε μυρίαδας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξίου
αὐτῶν ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Ἀεροκόρδακες, ὄντες καὶ
οὕτωι ἀμφὶ τὰς πέντε μυρίαδας, πάντες τοξόται
κόνωψι μεγάλοις ἐποχούμενοι; μετὰ δὲ τούτων
οἱ Ἀεροκόρδακες, ψιλοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ πεζοὶ, πλὴν
μάχιμοι γε καὶ οὕτωι: πόρρωθεν γὰρ ἐσφευδόνων
ραφανίδας ύπερμεγέθεις, καὶ ὁ βληθεὶς οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλί-
γον ἕντεχειν ἔδυνατο, ἀπέθνησε δὲ, καὶ δυσωδίας
tινὸς τῷ τραύματι ἐγγυμομένης: ἐλέγοντο δὲ
χρίειν τὰ βέλη μαλάχης ἰὼ. ἔχομενοι δὲ αὐτῶν
ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Καυλομύκητες, ὄπληται ὄντες καὶ
ἀγχέμαχοι, τὸ πλῆθος μύριοι ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Καυλο-
μύκητες, ὅτι ἀσπίδιοι μὲν μυκητίαις ἐχρῶντο,
δόρασι δὲ καυλίνοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσταράγων.
πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Κυνοβάλανοι ἔστησαν,
οὐς ἐπεμψαν αὐτῶν τῶν Σείριων κατοικουντες,
πεντακισχίλιοι, ἄνδρες, κυνοπρόσωποι ἐπὶ βαλά-

1 ἐπ' ὀλίγον Nilén: ὀλίγον Γ.
2 ἄνδρες Nilén: καὶ οὗτοι ἄνδρες MSS.

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

As to the enemy, on the left were the Ant Dragoons, with whom was Phaethon. They are very large beasts with wings, like the ants that we have, except in size: the largest one was two hundred feet long.¹ They themselves fought, as well as their riders, and made especially good use of their feelers. They were said to number about fifty thousand. On their right were posted the Sky-mosquitoes, numbering also about fifty thousand, all archers riding on large mosquitoes. Next to them were the Sky-dancers, a sort of light infantry, formidable however, like all the rest, for they slung huge radishes at long range, and any man that they hit could not hold out a moment, but died, and his wound was malodorous. They were said to anoint their missiles with mallow poison. Beside them were posted the Stalk-mushrooms, heavy infantry employed at close quarters, ten thousand in number. They had the name Stalk-mushrooms because they used mushrooms for shields and stalks of asparagus for spears. Near them stood the Puppycorns, who were sent him by the inhabitants of the Dog-star, five thousand dog-faced men who fight on the back of winged acorns.²

¹ Herodotus (3, 102) tells of ants bigger than foxes.
² Herodotus (4, 191) tells of dog-headed men and of headless men with eyes in their breasts.
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νων πτερωτῶν μαχόμενοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ κάκεινοι ὑστερίζειν τῶν συμμάχων οὗς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλά-ξιον μετεπέμπτετο σφενδονὴτας καὶ οἱ Νεφελοκέν-ταυροί. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὴς μάχης ἦδη κεκριμένης ἀφίκουτο, ὥς μήποτε ὁφελοῦν οἱ σφενδονὴται δὲ οὐδὲ ὄλως παρεγένουτο, διόσπερ φασίν ὑστερον αὐτοῖς ὀργισθέντα τὸν Φαέθοντα πυρπολήσαι τὴν χώραν.

Τοιαύτῃ μὲν καὶ ὁ Φαέθων ἐπήρει παρα-σκευή, συμμίξαντες δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεία ἤρθη καὶ ὄγκησαντο ἐκατέρων οἱ οὖνοι—τούτους γὰρ ἀντὶ σαλπιστῶν χρῶνται—ἐμάχοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἡλιωτῶν αὐτικα ἐφυγεν οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενον τοὺς Ἰππογύπους, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰσπέμεθα κτεῖνοντες· τὸ δεξίον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμετέρῳ εὐωνύμῳ, καὶ ἐπεξήλθον οἱ ’Αεροκώνωπες διώκοντες ἀχρὶ πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς. ἐνταῦθα δὲ κάκεινων ἐπιβοηθουντον ἐφυγον ἐγκλι-ναντες, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ εὐωνύμῳ σφῶν νεικιμένους. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς λαμ-πρᾶς γεγενημένης πολλοὶ μὲν ζώντες ἡλίσκοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνηρρύοντο, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἔρρει πολὺ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν, ὡστε αὐτὰ βάπτησθαι καὶ ἐρυθρὰ φαίνεσθαι, οὐ παρ’ ἕμιν δυομένον τοῦ ἡλίου φαίνεται, πολὺ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέ-σταζεν, ὡστε μὲ ἐκάζειν, μὴ ἄρα τοιοῦτον τινὸς καὶ πάλαι ἀνὸ γενομένου ’Ομηρος ὑπελαβεῖν αἴ-ματι ὕσαι τὸν Δία ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σαρπιδόνους θανάτω.

Ἀναστρέφαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως δύο τρό-παια ἐστήσαμεν, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀραχνῶν τῆς πεζομαχίας, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀερομαχίας ἐπὶ τῶν

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

This, then, was the array with which Phaethon came on. Joining battle when the flags had been flown and the donkeys on both sides had brayed (for they had donkeys for trumpeters), they fought. The left wing of the Sunites fled at once, without even receiving the charge of the Vulture Horse, and we pursued, cutting them down. But their right wing got the better of the left on our side, and the Sky-mosquitoes advanced in pursuit right up to the infantry. Then, when the infantry came to the rescue, they broke and fled, especially as they saw that the forces on their left had been defeated. It was a glorious victory, in which many were taken alive and many were slain; so much blood flowed on the clouds that they were dyed and looked red, as they do in our country when the sun is setting, and so much also dripped down on the earth that I wonder whether something of the sort did not take place in the sky long ago, when Homer supposed that Zeus had sent a rain of blood on account of the death of Sarpedon.\footnote{\textit{Il.} 16, 459.}

When we had returned from the pursuit we set up two trophies, one on the spider-webs for the infantry battle and the other, for the sky battle, on the clouds.
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νεφῶν. ἀρτὶ δὲ τούτων γινομένων ἡγγέλλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν οἱ Νεφελοκένταυροι προσελαύνοντες, οὗς ἔδει πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἔλθειν τῷ Φαέθοτῳ. καὶ δὴ ἐφαίλαντο προσιόντες, θέαμα παραδοξότατον, ἐξ ὑππων πτερωτῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συγκείμενον· μέγεθος δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ὄσον τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσοῦ ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐς τὸ ἁλον, τῶν δὲ ὑππών ὄσον νεώς μεγάλης φορτίδος. τὸ μέντοι πλήθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέγραψα, μή τῷ καὶ ἀπίστον δόξῃ—τοσοῦτον ἦν. ἤγείτο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ξρυσιακοῦ τοξότης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσθόντο τοὺς φίλους νευκημένους, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Φαέθοντα ἔπεμπον ἀγγελίας αὐθις ἐπιέναι, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαταξάμενοι τεταραγμένοι ἐπιπέπτουσι τοῖς Σελήνηταις, ἀτάκτως 1 περὶ τὴν διώξιν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα διεσκεδάσμενοι· καὶ πάντας μὲν τρέπουσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν βασιλεὰ καταδιώκουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὀρνέων αὐτοῦ κτείνουσιν· ἀνέσπασαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ κατέδραμον ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁραχῶν πεδίων ὑφασμένον, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ δύο τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐξώρισαν. ἤδη δὲ παρῆν καὶ ὁ Φαέθων καὶ αὐθὶς ἅλλα τρόπαια ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἵστατο.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπηγόρεμα ἐς τὸν ἠλιον αὐθημερὸν τὸ χεῖρο ὀπίσω δεθέντες ἁραχὼν ἀποκόμματι. οἱ δὲ πολυροκεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐγνωσάν τὴν πόλιν, ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀπετείχοσαν, ὥστε μικρὲς τὰς αὐγὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠλιοῦ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην διήκειν. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν διπλοῦν, νεφελωτὸν· ὥστε σαφῆς ἐκλειψὶς τῆς σελήνης ἐγεγόνει καὶ νυκτὶ διηνεκεὶ πᾶσα κατείχετο.

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

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

As for us, we were taken off to the sun that day, our hands tied behind our backs with a section of spider-web. The enemy decided not to lay siege to the city, but on their way back they built a wall through the air, so that the rays of the sun should no longer reach the moon. The wall was double, made of cloud, so that a genuine eclipse of the moon took place, and she was completely enshrouded.
πιεζόμενος δὲ τούτοις ὁ Ἔνδυμιών πέμψας ἱκέτευε καθαρεῖν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα καὶ μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν εἰς σκότῳ βιοτεύοντας, ὑπισχυέτο δὲ καὶ φόρους τελέσειν καὶ σύμμαχος ἔσεσθαι καὶ μηκέτι πολεμήσειν, καὶ ὄμηροις ἐπὶ τούτοις δοῦναι ἦθελεν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα γενομένης διὰ ἐκκλησίας τῇ προτεραίᾳ μὲν οὐδὲν παρέλυσαν τῆς ὀργῆς, τῇ ύπερείᾳ δὲ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τούτοις· κατὰ τάδε συνθήκας ἐποίησαντο Ἦλιώται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πρὸς Σεληνίτας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἐπὶ τῷ καταλύσαι μὲν τοὺς Ἦλιώτας τὸ διατείχισμα καὶ μηκέτι ἐς τὴν σελήνην ἑσβάλλειν, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ρητοῦ ἐκαστον χρήματος, τοὺς δὲ Σεληνίτας ἀφεῖναι μὲν αὐτούμονοι τούς γε ἄλλους ἕστέρας, ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς Ἦλιώταις, συμμαχεῖν δὲ τῇ ἄλληλοις, ἢν τις ἐπὶ θύρᾳ φόρου δὲ ὑποτελεῖν ἐκάστον ἔτους τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Σεληνίτων τῶν βασιλείων τῶν Ἦλιωτῶν ὅρους ἀμφορέας μυρίους, καὶ ὀμήρους δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν δοῦναι μυρίους, τὴν δὲ ἀποκλινὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἐσσόφορον κοινὴ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον· ἐγγράψαι δὲ τὰς συνθήκας στῆλη ἥλεκτρινη καὶ ἀναστήσαι εἰν μέσῳ τῷ ἀέρι ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις. ὁμοσαν δὲ Ἦλιωτῶν μὲν Πυρωνίδης καὶ Θερεύτης καὶ Ἀλόγιος, Σεληνιτῶν δὲ Νύκτωρ καὶ Μῆνιος καὶ Πολυλάμπης.

1 γε ἄλλους Γ: γε ἄλληλοις Ω. Not in other MSS. πλανητοῦ Schwartz.

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

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

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

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

That each country aid the other if it be attacked;

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

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

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

Attested under hand and seal.

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

1 Compare the Athenian-Spartan treaty, Thuc. 5, 18.
Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο· εὐθὺς δὲ τὸ τείχος καθήρειτο καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέδοσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα ἐς τὴν σελήνην, ὑπηντίαζον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἥπατοντο μετὰ δακρύων οἱ τε ἐταῖροι καὶ ὁ Ἐνυδμίων αὐτός. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦξιον μὲ 1 μείναι τε παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀποκίας, ὑπισχυόμενος δώσειν πρὸς γάμον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖς· γυναῖκες γὰρ οὐκ εἰς παρ' αὐτοῖς. ἔγγῳ δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἐπειθόμην, ἀλλ' ἦξιον ἀποπεμφθῆναι κάτω ἐς τὴν θάλατταν. ὥς δὲ ἔγνω ἄδινατον δὲν πείθειν, ἀποπέμπει ἡμᾶς ἐστιάζας ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας. 22 'Α δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διατρίβων ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ κατενόησα καὶ παράδοξα, ταῦτα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν. πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μῆ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρένων· γαμός γὰρ τοῖς ἄρρεσι χρῶνται καὶ οὕδε δύναμις γυναικὸς ὥς ἱσαί. μέχρι μὲν οὖν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν γαμεῖται ἐκαστός, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γαμεῖ αὐτός· κύουσι δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῇ νηδύι, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς γαστροκυνιμίαις· ἐπειδὰν ἄρα συλλάβῃ τὸ ἐμβρυον, παχύνεται ἡ κυνή, καὶ χρόνῳ ἑστεροῦ ἀνατεμόντες ἔξαγονυ νεκρά, θέντες δὲ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀνέμου κεχινὸτα ξωποιοῦσιν. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐκέθεθεν ἥκειν τῆς γαστροκυνιμίας τοῦνομα, ὅτι παρ' ἐκείνους ἀντὶ γαστρός κυνοφορεῖ. μείζον δὲ τούτου ἄλλο διηγήσομαι. γένος ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων οἱ καλοῦμενοι Δενδρῖται, γίνεται δὲ τὸν τρόπον τούτον. ὀρχὶν ἀνθρώπου τὸν δεξιὸν ἀποτεμόντες ἐν γῇ φυτευόμουν, ἐκ δὲ αὐτοῦ δεύδρον 1 μὲ Herwerden: not in MSS.
A TRUE STORY, I

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

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

\[1 \text{I.e. calf of the leg.}\]
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άναφύεται μέγιστον, σάρκινον, οίδον φαλλός· ἔχει δὲ καὶ κλάδους καὶ φύλλα· ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἐστὶ βάλανοι πηχυαιοί το μέγεθος· ἐπειδὰν ὁν πεπαυθώσειν, τρυγήσαντες αὐτὰς ἐκκολάπτουσιν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἰδοία μέντοι πρόσθετα ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐλεφάντινα, οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀὐτῶν ξύλινα, καὶ διὰ τούτων ὄχευοσι καὶ πλησιάζουσι τοῖς γαμέταις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ γηρᾶση ὁ ἀνθρώπος, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ καπνὸς διαλυόμενος ἀὴρ γίνεται. τροφὴ δὲ πᾶσιν ἢ αὐτῆς· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωσιν, βατράχους ὀπτῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων· πολλοὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ἄερι πετόμενοι· ὀπτωμένων δὲ περικαθεσθέντες ὅσπερ δὴ περὶ τράπεζαν κάπτουσι τὸν ἀναθυμωμένον καπνὸν καὶ ὑψωχοῦνται. σῖτῳ μὲν δὴ τρέφονται τοιοῦτοί· ποτὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀὴρ ἀποθλύμομενος εἰς κύλικα καὶ ύγρὸν ἀνεια ὅσπερ δρόσον. οὐ μὴν ἀπουροῦσιν γε καὶ ἀφο- δεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τέτρηνται ἦπερ ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ τὴν συνοισίαν οἱ παῖδες ἐν ταῖς ἐδραις παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἴγνυαις ὑμέρ τὴν γαστροκυνημίαν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ εἰσὶν τετριμένοι.

Καλὸς δὲ νομίζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢν ποῦ τις φαλακρὸς καὶ ἄκομος ἢ, τοὺς δὲ κομίτας καὶ μυσάττονται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κομίτων ἀστέρων τοῦ- ναυτίον τοὺς κομίτας καλοῦς νομίζουσιν· ἐπεδήμουν γὰρ τινὲς, οὗ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων διηγοῦντο. καὶ μὴν καὶ γένεια φύουσιν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὰ γόνατα. καὶ ὁμοίας ἐν τοῖς ποσῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰσίν μονοδάκτυλοι. υπὲρ δὲ τὰς πυγὰς ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν κράμβη ἐκπέφυκε μακρὰ ὅσπερ οὐρά, θάλλουσα ἐς ἀεὶ καὶ ὅπερν ἀναπύπτωντος οὐ

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Herod. 1, 202; 4, 75; Strabo 15, 1, 57.

\(^2\) The point of this is that κομήτης, whence our word comet, means long-haired.
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κατακλωμένη, ἀπομύττονται δὲ μέλι δρυ-μύτατον κἀπειδάν ἢ πονόσιν ἢ γυμνᾶσονται, γάλακτι πάν τὸ σῶμα ἱδροῦσιν, ὡστε καὶ τυρών ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πῆγυνσθαι, ὁλὸν τοῦ μέλιτος ἐπιστάζοντες. ἐλαιον δὲ ποιοῦνται ἀπὸ τῶν κρομμύων πάνω λιπαρών τε καὶ εὐώδες ὀστερ χῦρον. ἀμπέλους δὲ πολλὰς ἔχουσιν ὑδροφόρους· αἱ γὰρ ῥάγες τῶν βοτρύων εἰσίν ὀστερ χάλαζα, καὶ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπειδὰν ἐμπεσὼν ἀνεμος διασείση τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐκεῖνας, τότε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταπίπτει ἡ χάλαζα διαρραγέντων τῶν βοτρύων. τῇ μέντοι γαστὶ ὅσα πῆρα χρῶνται τιθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὅσων δέουσαν ἀνοικτῇ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ καὶ πάλιν κλειστῇ ἐστιν ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἀυτῇ φαίνεται, ἡ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι δασεία πᾶσα ἐντοσθε καὶ λάσιος ἐστιν, ὡστε καὶ τὰ νεογνά, ἐπειδὰν ῥίγος ἦ, ἐστὶν ταύτῃ ὑποδύειται.

Ἐσθής δὲ τοῖς μὲν πλούσιοις υάλινῃ μαλθακῇ, τοῖς πένησι δὲ χαλκῇ υφαντῇ· πολύχαλκα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία, καὶ ἐργάζονται τὸν χαλκὸν ὑδατι ἀποβρέζοντες ὀστερ τὰ ἐρία. περὶ μέντοι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οἶνος ἔχουσιν, ὅκνω μὲν εἴπειν, μή τίς μὲ νομίσῃ ψεῦδεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀπιστον τοῦ λόγου. ὁμως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρώτου ὀφθαλμῶν περιαρετοὺς ἔχουσι, καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος ἐξελὼν τοὺς αὐτοῦ φυλάττει ἐστ' ἀν δεηθῇ ἱδεῖν· οὕτω δὲ ἐνθέμενος ὅρα· καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἀπολέοντες παρ' ἄλλων χρησάμενοι ὁρῶσιν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ πολλοὶ ἀποθέτους ἔχουσιν,

1 ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν Schwartz: ἐντερον δὲ οὐδὲ ἦπαρ ἐν MSS.
2 πᾶσα omitted by Ω and Nilén.
3 ρίγος ἦ Nilén: ρύγωση MSS.
A TRUE STORY, I

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

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

¹ Lucian's glass clothing (φαλέση) is a punning parody on wooden clothing (ξύλίζη), i.e. cotton (Herod. 7, 65).
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οἱ πλούσιοι, τὰ ὅτα δὲ πλατάνων φύλλα ἐκτὸς αὐτοῖς πλήν γε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν βαλάνων ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μόνοι ξύλινα ἔχουσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλο 26 θαῦμα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἑθεασάμην κάτοπτρον μέγιστον κεῖται ὑπὲρ φρέατος οὐ πάνη βαθεός. ἀν μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ καταβῇ τις, ἀκούει πάντων τῶν παρ’ ἥμιν ἐν τῇ γῇ λεγομένων, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὸ κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέψῃ, πάσας μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἔδην ὅρα ὡσπερ ἐφεστῶς ἐκάστοις: τότε καὶ τούς οἰκείους ἐγὼ ἑθεασάμην καὶ πάσαν τὴν πατρίδα, εἰ δὲ κάκεινοι ἔμε ἑώρων, οὐκέτι ἔχω τὸ ἀσφαλές εἰπεῖν. ὡστὶς δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πιστεύει οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀν ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείσε ἀφίκηται, εἰςτει ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω.

Τότε δ’ οὖν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ 27 τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν, ἐμβαίνετε ἀνήχθημεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ δόρα ἔδοκεν ὁ Ἔνδυμιών, δύο μὲν τῶν ὑπάρχων χιτώνων, πέντε δὲ χάλκους, καὶ πανοπλίαν θερμίνην, ἅ πάντα ἐν τῷ κήτει κατέλυσον. συνέσπευσε δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰππογύπους χιλίους παραπέμψαντας ἀχρι σταθῶν πεντακοσίων. ἐν δὲ τῷ παράπλω πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας χώρας παρημεῖσαμεν, προσέσχομεν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἐσωφόρῳ ἄρτι συνοικίζο- μένῳ, καὶ ἀποβάντες ὑδρευσάμεθα. ἐμβαίνετε δὲ εἰς τὸν ξωδιάκον ἐν ἀριστερῷ παρῆμεν τὸν ἅλιον, ἐν χρόνῳ τὴν γῆν παραπλέοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἄπεβημεν καὶο ἄλλο σύκη ἐφῆκεν. ἐθεσόμεθα μέντοι τὴν χώραν εὐθαλῇ τε καὶ πλονα καὶ εὐνύδρον καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστὴν. ἱδόντες δ’ ἡμᾶς οἱ Νεφελοκέν- ταυροί, μισθοφοροῦντες παρὰ τῷ Φαέθοντι, ἐπέ-
stored up. For ears they have plane-leaves, except only the acorn-men, who have wooden ones. In the royal precincts I saw another marvel. A large looking-glass is fixed above a well, which is not very deep. If a man goes down into the well, he hears everything that is said among us on earth, and if he looks into the looking-glass he sees every city and every country just as if he were standing over it. When I tried it I saw my family and my whole native land, but I cannot go further and say for certain whether they also saw me. Anyone who does not believe this is so will find, if ever he gets there himself, that I am telling the truth.

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

1 Compare the story of the Graeae.
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πτησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, καὶ μαθοντες ἐνσπόνδους ἀνεχώρησαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰππόγυπτοι ἀπε- 
ληύθεσαν.

Πλεύσαντες δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νῦκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, 
περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀφικόμεθα ἐς τὴν Δυναύπολιν 
καλουμένην, ἦδη τὸν κάτω πλοῦν διώκοντες. ἦ 
δὲ πόλις αὐτὴ κεῖται μεταξὺ τοῦ Πλευάδων καὶ 
τοῦ 'Τάδων ἀέρος, ταπεινοτέρα μέντοι πολὺ τοῦ 
ζωδιακοῦ. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα 
εὑρομεν, λύχνους δὲ πολλοὺς περιθέουτας καὶ ἐν 
τῇ ἄγορᾷ καὶ περὶ τὸν λιμένα διατρίβουτας, τοὺς 
μὲν μικροὺς καὶ ὡσπερ πένητας, ὀλύγους δὲ τῶν 
μεγάλων καὶ δυνατῶν πάνυ λαμπροὺς καὶ περι-
φανεῖς. οἰκήσεις δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ λυχνεώνες ἵδια 
ἐκάστῳ πεποίητο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμάματα εἶχον, 
ὡσπερ οἱ ἀνθρώποι, καὶ φωνὴν προειμένον ἥκου-
μεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμὰς ἡδίκουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια 
ἐκάλουν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὠμοὶ ἑφοβούμεθα, καὶ οὕτε 
δειπνῆσαι οὕτε ὑπνῶσαί τις ἡμῶν ἐτόλμησαν. 
ἀρχεία δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πεποίηται, 
ἐνθα ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὀλίς κάθισα 
ὑμομαστὶ καλῶν ἔκαστον· δε ἀν μὴ ὑπακούσῃ, 
καταδικάσεται ἀποθανεῖν ὡς λιπῶν τὴν τάξιν· ὦ 
δὲ θάνατός ἐστι σβεσθῆναι. παρεστώτες δὲ ἡμεῖς 
ἐωρῶμεν τὰ γινόμενα καὶ ἤκουμεν ἀμα τῶν 
λύχνων ἀπολογουμένων καὶ τὰς αἰτίας λεγόντων 
διὰ ἅμεθράδυνον. ἐνθα καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λύχνον 
ἐγκόρησα, καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν κατ' 
οίκον ἐπινυσειμήν ὤπως ἔχοιεν· ὦ δὲ μοι ἄπαντα 
ἐκεῖνα διηγήσατο.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν νῦκτα ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ ἐμείναμεν, τῇ 
δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἁραντες ἐπλέομεν ἦδη πλησίον τῶν 
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flew up to the ship and then went away again when they found out that the treaty protected us. The Vulture Dragoons had already left us.

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

That night we stopped there, but on the next day we set sail and continued our voyage. By this time
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νεφῶν ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὴν Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν πόλιν ἱδόντες ἐθαυμάσαμεν, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέβημεν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ εἶτα τὸ πνεῦμα. βασιλεύειν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐλέγετο Κόρωνος ὁ Κοπτιφώνος. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμνή-σθην Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἁληθοῦς καὶ μάτην ἐφ’ οίς ἐγγραφεῖν ἀπιστοῦμένου. τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἠμέρα καὶ τὸν ὦκενικὸν ὄδη σαφῶς ἐωρώμεν, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν γε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄερι καὶ αὐταί δὲ πυρώδεις καὶ ύπερανγεῖς ἐφαντάζοντο. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ περὶ μεσημβρίαν μαλακῶς ἐνδιόντος τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ συνισκόντος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καθείθημεν.1 ὡς δὲ τοῦ ὑδάτος ἐφαύσαμεν, θαυμασίως ὑπερηδόμεθα καὶ υπερεχαίρομεν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εὐφροσύνην ἐποιούμεθα καὶ ἀποβάμετε ἐνιχώμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἐτυχε γαλήνη οὐσα καὶ εὐσταθοῦν τὸ πέλαγος.

"Εσοικε δὲ ἀρχῇ κακῶν μειζόνων γίνεσθαι πολλάκις ἢ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς δύο μόνας ἠμέρας ἐν εὖδια πλεύσαντες, τῆς τρίτης ὑποφαινούς πρὸς ἀνύσχοντα τῶν ἴλιων ἀφων ὀρῶμεν θηρία καὶ κῆπη πολλα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ἐν δὲ μέγιστον ἀπάντων ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων τὸ μέγεθος· ἐπῆε δὲ κεχρόγκαρ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ ταράττον τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφρῶ τι περικυξόμενον καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐκφαίνον πολυ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν φαλλῶν υψηλότερους, ὡξεῖς δὲ πάντως ὢσπερ σκόλοπας καὶ λευκοὺς ὢσπερ ἐλεφαντίνους. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τὸ ύστατον ἄλλη- λους προσεπώντες καὶ περιβαλώντες ἐμένομεν· τὸ

1 καθείθημεν Richards: κατέθημεν κατετέθημεν MSS.

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

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

1 The capital of Birdland in Aristophanes' play, The Birds.
2 On the size of these, see Lucian's Syrian Goddess, 28.
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dε ἦδη παρὴν καὶ ἀναρροφήσαν ἴμας αὐτῇ νῆ
κατέπιεν. οὐ μέντοι ἐφθη συναράξαι τοῖς ὀδούσιν,
ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀραιομάτων ἢ ναῦς ἐς τὸ ἐσω
dieξέπεσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνδοὺ ἦμεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
σκότος ὅν καὶ οὐδὲν ἑωρώμεν, ὥστερον δὲ αὐτοῦ
ἀναχαίνοντος εἴδομεν κύτος μέγα καὶ πάντη πλατὺ
καὶ ύψηλόν, ἰκανὸν μυριάνδρῳ πόλει ἐνοικεῖν.
ἐκεινό τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ἵχθῡ
καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ θηρία συγκεκομένα, καὶ πλοίων
ἰστία καὶ ἀγκυραί, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀστέα καὶ
φορτία, κατὰ μέσον δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ λόφου ἦσαν,
ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ἰλύσος ἦν κατέπινε συνιζάνουσα.
ὕλη γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ δεύδρα παινοῦται ἐπεφύκει
καὶ λάχανα ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ἐφέκει πᾶντα
ἐξεργασμένους. περίμετρον δὲ τῆς γῆς στάδιοι
dιακόσιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἢν δὲ ἰδεῖν καὶ
ὅρνεα θαλάττια, λάρους καὶ ἀλκυόνας, ἔπὶ τῶν
δεύδρων νεοττεῦόντα.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐδακρύμεν, ὥστερον
δὲ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἐταίρους τὴν μὲν ναῦν
ὑπεστρήξαμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν πυρεῖα συντρίψαντες
καὶ ἀνακαύσαντες δεῖπνον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
ἐποιούμεθα. παρέκειτο δὲ ἄφθονα καὶ παντο-
dαπὰ κρέα τῶν ἵχθυων, καὶ ὑδρὸν ἔτι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ
Ἐσωφόρου εἴχομεν. τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δὲ διαναστάντες,
eἰ ποτὲ ἀναχαίνοι τὸ κῆτος, ἑωρώμεν ἄλλοτε μὲν
ὄρη, ἄλλοτε δὲ μόνον τῶν οὐρανόν, πολλάκις δὲ
καὶ νῆσους καὶ γὰρ ἡθανόμεθα φερομένου αὐτοῦ
ὁξέως πρὸς πᾶν μέρος τῆς θαλάττης. ἐπεὶ δὲ

1 μεγάλοι καὶ μικρός Schwartz: μικρό MSS.
instant, and with a gulp swallowed us down, ship and all. He just missed crushing us with his teeth, but the boat slipped through the gaps between them into the interior. When we were inside, it was dark at first, and we could not see anything, but afterwards, when he opened his mouth, we saw a great cavity, flat all over and high, and large enough for the housing of a great city. In it there were fish, large and small, and many other creatures all mangled, ships' rigging and anchors, human bones, and merchandise. In the middle there was land with hills on it, which to my thinking was formed of the mud that he had swallowed. Indeed, a forest of all kinds of trees had grown on it, garden stuff had come up, and everything appeared to be under cultivation. The coast of the island was twenty-seven miles long. Sea-birds were to be seen nesting on the trees, gulls and kingfishers.¹

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

¹ This story of the whale is no longer considered a parody on Jonah's adventure, as there were other versions of the tale afloat in antiquity.
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ηδη έθαδες τη διατριβη ἐγενόμεθα, λαβών ἔπτα
tων ἐταίρων ἐβάδιζον ἐς την ὕλην περισκοπή-
σαθαι τα πάντα βουλόμενος. οὔπω δε πέντε
όλους διελθὼν σταδίους εὐρον ιερόν Ποσειδώνος,
ὡς ἐδίηλον ἡ ἐπιγραφή, καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ
τάφους πολλοὺς καὶ στήλας ἐπ’ αὐτῶν πλησίων
tε πηγήν ὕδατος διανυόν, ἐτι δε καὶ κυνὸς
ὕλακην ἥκοιομεν καὶ κατνῦς ἐφαίνετο πόρρωθεν
tαι καὶ ἐπαυλίν ἐκαξόμεν.  

Σπουδή οὐν βαδίζοντες ἐφιστάμεθα πρεσβύτη
cαὶ νεανίσκω μάλα προθύμων πρασιάν τινα ἐργα-
ζομένους καὶ ὧδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς
διοχετεύοντις ἢσθέντες οὐν ἁμα καὶ φοβηθέντες
ἐστημεν κάκεινοι δε ταυτὸ ἡμῖν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς πα-
θόντες ἀναύδου παρειστήκασιν χρόνῳ δε ο πρεσ-
βύτης ἐφι. Τίνες ἡμεῖς ἁρα ἐστέ, ὁ ἐξένοι; πότερον
τῶν ἐναλίων δαιμόνων ἡ ἄνθρωποι δυστυχεὶς ἡμῖν
παραπλῆσιοι; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἄνθρωποι ὅντες καὶ
ἐν γῇ τραφέντες ὑπὸ βαλάντιοι γεγόναμεν καὶ
συννηχόμεθα τῷ περιέχοντι τούτῳ θηρίῳ, οὑδ’
ο πάσχομεν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες τεθναίναι μὲν γὰρ
ἐκαξόμεν, ζην δε πιστεύομεν. πρὸς ταὐτα ἐγὼ
ἐπον. Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοι ἄνθρωποι, νείλυδες μὲν, ὁ
πάτερ, αὐτὴσκαφεὶ πρώην καταποθέντες, προήλ-
θομεν δε νῦν βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν τα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ὡς
ἐχει; πολλή γὰρ τις καὶ λάσιος ἐφαίνετο. δαιμόν
δε τις, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἡμαὶς ἠγανεν σε τα ὄνομαῦν
καὶ εἰσομένους στι μὴ μόνοι ἐν τῶδε καθείργεµα
τῷ θηρίῳ. ἀλλὰ φράσων γε ἡμῖν τὴν σαυτόν
τύχην, ὅστις τε ὄν καὶ ὅπως δεύρο εἰσῆλθες. ὃ
δε ου πρότερον ἐφή ἐρεῖν οὐδὲ πεῦσεσθαι παρ’
ἡμῶν, πρὶν ἕξιον τῶν παρῶντων μεταδοῦναι, καὶ
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wonted to our abiding-place, I took seven of my comrades and went into the forest, wishing to have a look at everything. I had not yet gone quite five furlongs when I found a temple of Poseidon, as the inscription indicated, and not far from it a number of graves with stones on them. Near by was a spring of clear water. We also heard the barking of a dog, smoke appeared in the distance, and we made out something like a farmhouse, too.

Advancing eagerly, we came upon an old man and a boy very busily at work in a garden which they were irrigating with water from the spring. Joyful and fearful at the same instant, we stopped still, and they too, probably feeling the same as we, stood there without a word. In course of time the old man said: “Who are you, strangers? Are you sea-gods, or only unlucky men like us? As for ourselves, though we are men and were bred on land, we have become sea-creatures and swim about with this beast which encompasses us, not even knowing for certain what our condition is—we suppose that we are dead, but trust that we are alive.” To this I replied: “We too are men, my good sir—newcomers, who were swallowed up yesterday, ship and all: and we set out just now with the notion of finding out how things were in the forest, for it appeared to be very large and thick. But some divinity, it seems, brought us to see you and to discover that we are not the only people shut up in this animal. Do tell us your adventures—who you are and how you got in here.” But he said he would neither tell us nor question us before giving us what entertainment he could command, and he
λαβὼν ἡμᾶς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν—ἐπεποίητο δὲ αὐτάρκη καὶ στιβάδας ἐνοφοδόμητο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξήρτισε—παραθεῖς δὲ ἦμιν λάχανα τε καὶ ἀκρόδρυα καὶ ἰχθύς, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐγχέας, ἐπειδὴ ἰκανῶς ἐκορέσθημεν, ἐπιυθάνετο ἄ πεπού-θοιμεν· καθὼς πάντα ἐξῆς διηγησάμην, τὸν τε χειμώνα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πλοῦν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὸ κήτος καταδύσεως.

'Ο δὲ ὑπερθανμάσας καὶ αὐτός ἐν μέρει τὰ καθ’ αὐτὸν διεξῆγε λέγων, Τὸ μὲν γένος εἰμὲ, ὦ ξένου, Κύπριος, ὀρμηθεὶς δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς πα-τρίδος μετὰ παιδός, ὄν ὅρατε, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν οἰκετῶν ἔπλεον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ποικίλον φόρτων κομί-ξων ἐπὶ νεώς μεγάλης, ἢν ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ κήτους διαλελυμένην ἵππως ἐωράκατε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν Σικελίας εὐτυχός διεπλέοσαμεν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀρ-πασθέντες ἄνεμῳ σφοδρῷ τρεταῖοι ἔς τὸν ὀκεανὸν ἀπηνέχθημεν, ἐνθα τῷ κήπει περιτυχόντες καὶ αὐτανάρθοι καταπόθεντες δύο ἡμεῖς μόνοι, τῶν ἀλ-λων ἀποθανόντων, ἐσώθημεν. δύσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶν δειμαίμεοι τούτοι τὸν βίον ξώμεν, λάχανα μὲν κηπεύοντες, ἰχθύς δὲ σιτούμενοι καὶ ἀκρόδρυα. πολλὴ δὲ, ὡς ὅρατε, ἡ ὡλη, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀμπέλους ἔχει πολλάς, ἄφ’ ὧν ἡδυτάτος οἶνος γεινάται· καὶ τὴν πηγὴν δὲ ἴσως εἶδες καλλίστων καὶ ψυχροτάτου ὕδατος. εὐνὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων ποιούμεθα, καὶ πῦρ ἄφθονον καίομεν, καὶ ὅρνεα δὲ θηρεύομεν τὰ εἰσπετό-μενα, καὶ ζῶντας ἰχθύς ἀγρεύομεν ἐξίοντες ἐπὶ τὰ βραχχία τὸν θηρίον, ἐνθα καὶ λουόμεθα, ὅπως ἐπιθυμήσωμεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ λίμνη οὐ πόρρῳ ἔστιν
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took us with him to the house. It was a commodious structure, had bunks built in it and was fully furnished in other ways. He set before us vegetables, fruit and fish and poured us out wine as well. When we had had enough, he asked us what had happened to us. I told him about everything from first to last—the storm, the island, the cruise in the air, the war and all the rest of it up to our descent into the whale.

He expressed huge wonder, and then told us his own story, saying: “By birth, strangers, I am a Cypriote. Setting out from my native land on a trading venture with my boy whom you see and with many servants besides, I began a voyage to Italy, bringing various wares on a great ship, which you no doubt saw wrecked in the mouth of the whale. As far as Sicily we had a fortunate voyage, but there we were caught by a violent wind and driven out into the ocean for three days, where we fell in with the whale, were swallowed up crew and all, and only we two survived, the others being killed. We buried our comrades, built a temple to Poseidon and live this sort of life, raising vegetables and eating fish and nuts. As you see, the forest is extensive, and besides, it contains many grape-vines, which yield the sweetest of wine. No doubt you noticed the spring of beautiful cold water, too. We make our bed of leaves, burn all the wood we want, snare the birds that fly in, and catch fresh fish by going into the gills of the animal. We also bathe there when we care to. Another thing, there is a
σταδίων εἴκοσι τὴν περίμετρον, ἵχθυς ἔχουσα παντοδαπούς, ἐν ὦ καὶ νηχόμεθα καὶ πλέομεν ἐπὶ σκάφους μικροῦ, ὁ ἐγὼ ναυπηγησάμην. ἔτη δὲ ἐστιν ἡμῶν τῆς καταπόσεως ταῦτα ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ᾗς φέρειν δυνάμεθα, οὐ δὲ 35 γείτονες ἡμῶν καὶ πάροικοι σφόδρα χαλεποὶ καὶ βαρεῖς εἰσῖν, ἀμικτοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ ἀγριοὶ. Ἡ γὰρ, ἐφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς εἰσίν ἐν τῷ κήτει; Πολλοί μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, καὶ ἄξενοι καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἄλλοκοτον τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐσπέρια τῆς ὕλης καὶ οὐραία Ταριχάνες οἰκοῦσιν, ἐθνος ἐγχελωπῶν καὶ καραβοπρόσωπον, μάχιμον καὶ θρασὺ καὶ ὁμοφάγουν τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐστέρας πλευρᾶς κατὰ τὸν δεξίων τοῖχον Τριτωνιομένητες, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐθρώπων έσοκτες, τὰ δὲ κάτω τοῖς γαλεώταις, ἤττον μέντοι ἄδικοι εἰσίν τῶν ἄλλων τὰ λαϊδ ἥ Καρκινόχειρες καὶ Θυννοκέφαλοι συμμαχίαι τε καὶ φίλιαι πρὸς ἕαντος πεποιημένου τὴν δὲ μεσογαίαν νέμονται Παγούριδαι καὶ Ψηττόποδες, γένος μάχιμον καὶ δρομικώτατον τὰ ἐφα δὲ, τὰ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι, τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἔρημα ἐστὶ, προσκλυζόμενα τῇ θαλάττῃ ὁμοῖος δὲ ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔχω φόροιν τοῖς Ψηττόποσιν ὑποτελῶν ἐκάστοτεν ἐτοὺς ὀστρεία πεντακόσια. τοιαύτῃ 36 μὲν ἡ χώρα ἐστίν ὕμας δὲ χρή ὅραν ὅπως δυνησόμεθα τοσοῦτοις ἐθνεῖς μάχεσθαι καὶ ὅπως βιοτεύσομεν. Πόσοι δὲ, ἐφην ἐγώ, πάντες οὕτωι εἰσίν; Πλείους, ἐφη, τῶν χιλίων. "Οπλα δὲ τῖνα ἐστίν αὐτοῖς; Οὐδέν, ἐφη, πλὴν τὰ ὡστὰ τῶν
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Lake not far off, twenty furlongs in circumference, with all kinds of fish in it, where we swim and sail in a little skiff that I made. It is now twenty-seven years since we were swallowed. Everything else is perhaps endurable, but our neighbours and fellow-countrymen are extremely quarrelsome and unpleasant, being unsociable and savage." "What!" said I, "are there other people in the whale, too?" "Why, yes, lots of them," said he; "they are unfriendly and are oddly built. In the western part of the forest, the tail part, live the Broilers, an eel-eyed, lobster-faced people that are warlike and bold, and carnivorous. On one side, by the starboard wall, live the Mergoats,\(^1\) like men above and catfish below: they are not so wicked as the others. To port there are the Crableaws and the Codheads, who are friends and allies with each other. The interior is inhabited by Clan Crawfish and the Solefeet, good fighters and swift runners. The eastern part, that near the mouth, is mostly uninhabited, as it is subject to inundations of the sea. I live in it, however, paying the Solefeet a tribute of five hundred oysters a year. Such being the nature of the country, it is for you to see how we can fight with all these tribes and how we are to get a living." "How many are there of them in all?" said I. "More than a thousand," said he. "What sort of weapons have they?" "Nothing but fishbones,"

\(^1\) According to Herodotus (2, 46), \(\mu\epsilon\nu\delta\eta\varsigma\) was Egyptian for goat; but there is nothing goatish in the Tritonomendetes as Lucian describes them.
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ιχθύων. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἑγώ, ἄριστα ἄν ἔχοι διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀτε οὕτω ἀνόπλοις αὐτοὺς ὀπλισμένους· εἰ γὰρ κρατήσομεν αὐτῶν, ἀδεῶς τὸν λοιπὸν βίον οἰκίσομεν.

"Εδοξέ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν παρεσκευαζόμεθα. αἰτία δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐμελλέν ἐσεθαι τοῦ φόρου ἡ οὐκ ἀπόδοσις, ἢδη τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνεστώσης. καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐπέμπτων ἀπαίτοῦντες τὸν δασμὸν· ὦ δὲ ὑπεροπτικῶς ἀποκρινάμενος ἀπεδίωξε τοὺς ἀγγέλους. πρῶτοι οὖν οἱ Ψηττόποδες καὶ οἱ Παγουρίδαι χαλεπαίνοντες τῷ Σκινθάρῳ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἑκαλεῖτο—μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου ἐπῆσαν. ἤμεις δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον 37 υποπτεύοντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ἀνεμένομεν, λόχον τινὰ προτάξαντες ἀνδρῶν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιπροείρητο δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐνέδρα, ἐπειδὰν ἰδῶσι παρεληλυθότας τοὺς πολεμίους, ἔπανιστασθαν· καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησαν. ἐπαναστάντες γὰρ κατόπιν ἐκοπτον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἤμεις δὲ αὐτοὶ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιπροείρητο δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀντες· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σκινθάρος καὶ ο πάς αὐτοῦ συνεστρατεύοντο· ὑπηντιώξομεν, καὶ συμμίξαντες θυμῷ καὶ ρώμη διεκινδυνεύομεν. τέλος δὲ τροπῆν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενοι κατεδιώξαμεν ἀχρὶ πρὸς τοὺς φωλεούς. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ἤμων δὲ εἰς, ὁ κυβερνήτης, τρίγλης πλευρα διαπαρεῖς τὸ μετάφρενον. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐπηνυλισάμεθα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τρόπαιον ἐστήσαμεν ράχιν ξηρὰν δελφίνος ἀναπήξαντες. τῇ υστεραίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αἰσθόμενοι παρῆσαν, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχουτες οἱ Ταριχάνες· ἥγειτο δὲ αὐτῶν Πηλαμος· τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον οἱ Θυννοκέ-
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he said. "Then our best plan," said I, "would be to meet them in battle, as they are unarmed and we have arms. If we defeat them, we shall live here in peace the rest of our days."

This was resolved on, and we went to the boat and made ready. The cause of war was to be the withholding of the tribute, since the date for it had already arrived. They sent and demanded the tax, and he gave the messengers a contemptuous answer and drove them off. First the Solefeet and Clan Crawfish, incensed at Scintharus—for that was his name—came on with a great uproar. Anticipating their attack, we were waiting under arms, having previously posted in our front a squad of twenty-five men in ambush, who had been directed to fall on the enemy when they saw that they had gone by, and this they did. Falling on them in the rear, they cut them down, while we ourselves, twenty-five in number (for Scintharus and his son were in our ranks), met them face to face and, engaging them, ran our hazard with strength and spirit. Finally we routed them and pursued them clear to their dens. The slain on the side of the enemy were one hundred and seventy; on our side, one—the sailing-master, who was run through the midriff with a mullet-rib. That day and night we bivouacked on the field and made a trophy by setting up the dry spine of a dolphin. On the following day the others, who had heard of it, appeared, with the Broilers, led by Tom Cod, on the right wing, the Codheads on the left, and the
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φαλοι, τὸ μέσον δὲ ὦ καὶ Καρκινόχειρε, οἱ γὰρ Ἡρωνομένητας τὴν ἁπαχθέν ἦγον οὐδετέροις συμμαχεῖν προαιρούμενοι. ἥμεῖς δὲ προσεπτήσαντες αὐτοῦς παρὰ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον συνεμίζαμεν πολλῇ βοᾷ χρώμενοι, ἀντίχει ἔκ τὸ κύτος ὁσπερ τὰ σπήλαια. τρεφᾶμενοι δὲ αὐτοῖς, ἀτε γυμνήτας ὑμνας, καὶ καταδύσαντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην τὸ λουτόν ἐπεκρατοῦμεν τῆς γῆς, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ 39 κήρυκας ἀποστείλαντες νεκροὺς τὲ ἀνήροι ὑποτὶ καὶ περὶ φίλιας διελέγοντο. ἥμιν δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει σπένδεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ υστεραίᾳ χωρίσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πάντας ἀρδημ ἐξεκόψαμεν πλὴν τῶν Ηρωνομενήτων. οὐκοὶ δὲ ὁς εἰδον τὰ γυμνεμα, διαδράντες ἐκ τῶν βραγχίων ἀφήκαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἥμεῖς δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπελθόντες ἐρμοὶ ὤντας τῶν πολεμίων τὸ λουτόν ἄδεως κατωκοῦμεν, τὰ πολλὰ γυμνασίως τε καὶ κυνηγεσίας χρώμενοι καὶ ἀμπελοθυγοῦντες καὶ τὸν καρπὸν συγκομιζομενοί τὸν ἐκ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ ὀλως ἐόκειμεν τοῖς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀφύκτῳ τρυφώσει καὶ λευμένοις.

Ἐναυτὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ μήμας ὁκτῶ τοῦτον δείγομεν τῶν τρόπων. τῷ δ' ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ πέμπτῃ ἱσταμένου, περὶ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ στόματος ἄνοιξιν — ἀπαξ γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ κατὰ τὴν ὀραν ἐκάστην ἐποίη τὸ κάτοι, ὡστε ἕμας πρὸς τὰς ἄνοιξις τεκμαίρεσθαι τὰς ὀρας — περὶ οὖν τὴν δευτέραν, ὥσπερ ἐφὲ, ἄνοιξιν, ἀφφω βοὴ τε πολλῇ καὶ δόρυβος ἴκουετο καὶ ὡσπερ κελεύσματα καὶ εἴρεσιν ταραχθέντες οὖν ἀνειρπύσαμεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ στάντες ἐνδοτέρω τῶν

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

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

¹ Compare the description of the sea-fight between Corinth and Corcyra in Thucydides 1. 48.
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όδώντων καθεωρώμεν ἀπάντων δὲν ἐγὼ εἶδον θεαμάτων παραδοξότατον, ἀνδρὰς μεγάλους, ὥσον ἰμισταδιαίους τὰς ἡλικίας, ἐπὶ νῆσον μεγάλων προσπλέοντας ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τριήρων. οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἀπίστοις ἔσοικότα ἱστορήσων, λέξω δὲ ὀμοι. νῆσιν ἤσαν ἐπιμήκεις μὲν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ ψηλαῖ, ὥσον ἐκατὸν σταδίων ἐκάστη τὸ περὶμετρον ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπλεον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων ἅμφι τοὺς εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατὸν τοῦτων δὲ οἱ μὲν παρ᾽ ἐκάτερα τῆς νῆσου καθήμενοι ἐφεξῆς ἐκωπηλάτουν κυπαρίττοις μεγάλαις αὐτοκλάδοις καὶ αὐτοκόμοις ὥσπερ ἐρημοίς, κατόπιν δὲ ἔτι τῆς πρύμνης, ὅς ἐδόκει, κυβερνήτης ἐπὶ λόφου ψηλοῦ εἰστήκει χάλκεου ἐχον πηδάλιον πεντασταδιαίον τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πρῷρας ὥσον τετταράκοντα ὁπλισμένοι αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, πάντα ἔοικότες ἀνθρώπωις πλὴν τῆς κόμης αὐτὴ δὲ πῦρ ἦν καὶ ἐκάστο, ὡστε οὐδὲ κορύδων ἔδεοντο. ἀντὶ δὲ ἱστίων ὃ ἀνέμοις ἐμπίπτον τῷ ὕλῃ, πολλῇ οὐσῃ ἐν ἐκάστῃ, ἐκόλπου τε ταύτην καὶ ἐφερε τὴν νῆσον ᾧ ἐθέλοι ὁ κυβερνήτης κελευστήσῃ δὲ ἐφειστήκει αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἄξεως ἐκινοῦντο ὥσπερ τὰ μακρὰ τῶν πλοίων.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον δύο ἑ τρεῖς ἐωρῶμεν, 41 ὥστε ἑ ἐφάνησαν ὥσον ἐξακόσιοι, καὶ διαστάντες ἐπολέμουν καὶ ἐνανυμάχουν. πολλαί μὲν οὖν ἀντίπρωροι συνηράσσοντο ἄλληλαις,
inside the teeth we saw the most unparalleled of all the sights that ever I saw—huge men, fully half a furlong in stature, sailing on huge islands as on galleys. Though I know that what I am going to recount savours of the incredible, I shall say it nevertheless. There were islands, long but not very high, and fully a hundred furlongs in circumference, on each of which about a hundred and twenty of those men were cruising, some of whom, sitting along each side of the island one behind the other, were rowing with huge cypress trees for oars—branches, leaves and all! Aft at the stern, as I suppose you would call it, stood the master on a high hill, holding a bronze tiller five furlongs in length. At the bow, about forty of them under arms were fighting; they were like men in all but their hair, which was fire and blazed up, so that they had no need of plumes. In lieu of sails, the wind struck the forest, which was dense on each of the islands, filled this and carried the island wherever the helmsman would. There were boatswains in command, to keep the oarsmen in time, and the islands moved swiftly under the rowing, like war-galleys.

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

1 Herodotus (2, 156) speaks of a floating island in Egypt.
2 Cf. II. 5, 4: “And tireless flames did burn on crest and shield.”
πολλαί δὲ καὶ ἐμβληθεῖσαι κατεδύνοντο, αἱ δὲ συμπλεκόμεναι καρτερῶς διηγωνιζόντο καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως ἀπελύνοντο· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτας τεταγμένοι πᾶσαν ἐπεδείκνυντο προθυμίαν ἐπιβάινοντες καὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἐξώγρει δὲ οὐδες. ἀντὶ δὲ χειρῶν σιδηρῶν πολύποδας μεγάλους ἐκδεδεμένους ἀλλήλους ἐπερρήτησαν, οἱ δὲ περιπλεκόμενοι τῇ ὑλῇ κατείχον τὴν νήσου. ἔβαλλον μέντοι καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον ὁστρέοις τε ἀμαξοπληθέσι καὶ σπόγγοις πλεθριαίοις. ἤγείτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολοκένταυρος, τῶν δὲ Θαλασσοπότης· καὶ μάγχη αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένητο, ὡς ἐδόκει, λείας ἕνεκα· ἐλέγετο γὰρ ὁ Θαλασσοπότης πολλὰς ἀγέλας δελφίνων τοῦ Αἰολοκένταυρου ἐληλακέναι, ὡς ἦν ἀκούειν ἐπικαλυόντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰ ὑόματα τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιβοωμένων. τέλος δὲ νικῶσιν οἱ τοῦ Αἰολοκένταυρος καὶ νήσους τῶν πολεμίων καταδύοσιν ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντίκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν καὶ ἄλλας τρεῖς λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πρύμναι κρουσάμεναι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινὸς διώξαντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐσπέρα ἤν, τραπόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια τῶν πλείστων ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ τὰ έαντῶν ἀνείλοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους κατέδυσαν νῆσοι ὑπὸ ἐλάττους τῶν ὑγδοήκοντα. ἐστησαν δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον τῆς υἱομαχίας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ κήτους μίαν τῶν πολεμίων νῆσον ἀνασταυρώσαντες· ἐκείνην μὲν οὐν τὴν χώκτα περὶ τὸ θηρίον ἡνισάντο ἐξάγαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπόγεια καὶ ἔτερον πελάον ὀρμούσαμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀγκύραις ἔχρωντο μεγάλαις ἐναλίναις καρτεραῖς. τῇ ὑστε-
were rammed amidships and sunk. Some, grappling one another, put up a stout fight and were slow to cast off, for those stationed at the bows showed all zeal in boarding and slaying: no quarter was given. Instead of iron grapnels they threw aboard one another great devilfish with lines belayed to them, and these gripped the woods and held the island fast. They struck and wounded one another with oysters that would fill a wagon and with hundred-foot sponges. The leader of one side was Aeolocentaur, of the other, Brinedrinker. Their battle evidently came about on account of an act of piracy: Brinedrinker was said to have driven off many herds of dolphins belonging to Aeolocentaur. We knew this because we could hear them abusing one another and calling out the names of their kings. Finally the side of Aeolocentaur won; they sank about a hundred and fifty of the enemy’s islands; and took three more, crews and all; the rest backed water and fled. After pursuing them some distance, they turned back to the wrecks at evening, making prizes of most of them and picking up what belonged to themselves; for on their own side not less than eighty islands had gone down. They also made a trophy of the isle-fight by setting up one of the enemy’s islands on the head of the whale. That night they slept on shipboard around the animal, making their shore lines fast to him and riding at anchor just off him; for they had anchors, large and strong, made of glass.\(^1\) On the following day they performed

\(^1\) Very likely a punning reference to some traveller’s account of wooden \((\epsilon νλιναις)\) anchors.
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ραία δὲ θύσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ κήτους καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους
θάψαντες ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπέπλεον ἱδάμενοι καὶ ὡσπερ
παίανας ἁδοντες. ταύτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νησο-
μαχίαν γενόμενα.

ΑΛΗΘΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ Β

Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο μηκέτι φέρων ἐγὼ τὴν ἔν
τῷ κήτει δίαίταιν ἄχθομενός τε τῇ μονῇ μηχανήν
tiva εξήτον, δὴ ἤς ἂν ἐξελθεῖν γένοιτο· καὶ τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον ἐδοξεῖ ἡμῖν διορύξασι κατὰ τὸν δεξίον
τούχον ἀποδρᾶναι, καὶ ἀρξάμενοι διεκόπτομεν·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ προελθόντες ὅσον πέντε σταδίους ὄψεν
ηνύμεν, τοῦ μὲν ὀρύγματος ἐπανσάμεθα, τὴν δὲ
ήλην καὺσαι διέγνωμεν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὸ κήτος
ἀποθάνειν· εἰ δὲ τούτῳ γένοιτο, ῥαδίᾳ ἔμελλεν
ἡμῖν ἐσεσθαι ἢ ἐξοδὸς. ἀρξάμενοι οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν
οὐραίων ἑκαίρων, καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἔσσας
νύκτας ἀνασθήτως εἰχε τοῦ καῦματος, ὑγίδῃ δὲ
καὶ ἐνάτη συνίεμεν αὐτοῦ νοσοῦντος· ἀργότερον
γοὺν ἄνεχασκεν, καὶ εἰ ποτε ἄναχάνοι, ταχὺ
συνέμεν. δεκάτη δὲ καὶ ἑυδεκάτῃ τέλεον ἀπενε-
κροῦτο ¹ καὶ δυσώδες ἦν· τῇ δωδεκάτῃ δὲ μόλις
ἐνενοήσαμεν ὡς, εἰ μὴ τις χανόντος αὐτοῦ ὑπο-
στηρίζειν τοὺς γομφίους, ὡστε μηκέτι συγκλείσαι,
κινδυνεύσομεν κατακλεισθέντες ἐν νεκρῷ αὐτῷ
ἀπολέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ μεγάλοις δοκοῖς τὸ στόμα
διερεῖσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐπεσκευάζομεν ὕδωρ τε ὡς

¹ ἀπενεκροῦτο Z, P, N, F; ἀπενεκρατοῖς GNS.
sacrifice on the whale, buried their friends on him, and sailed off rejoicing and apparently singing hymns of victory. So much for the events of the isle-fight.

BOOK II

From that time on, as I could no longer endure the life in the whale and was discontented with the delay, I sought a way of escape. First we determined to dig through the right side and make off, and we made a beginning and tried to cut through. But when we had advanced some five furlongs without getting anywhere, we left off digging and decided to set the forest afire, thinking that in this way the whale could be killed, and in that case our escape would be easy. So we began at the tail end and set it afire. For seven days and seven nights he was unaffected by the burning, but on the eighth and ninth we gathered that he was in a bad way. For instance, he yawned less frequently, and whenever he did yawn he closed his mouth quickly. On the tenth and eleventh day mortification at last set in and he was noisome. On the twelfth we perceived just in time that if someone did not shore his jaws open when he yawned, so that he could not close them again, we stood a chance of being shut up in the dead whale and dying there ourselves. At the last moment, then, we propped the mouth open with great beams and made our boat ready, putting aboard
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ἐνι πλεῖστον ἐμβαλλόμενοι καὶ τάλλα ἐπιτίθεια: κυβερνήσειν δὲ ἔμελλεν ὁ Σκίνθαρος.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν ἥδη ἐτεθνήκει. ἦμεις 2 δὲ ἀνελκύσαντες τὸ πλοῖον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων διαγαγόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὦδουτων ἐξάγαντες ἢρέμα καθήκαμεν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐπαναβάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νότα καὶ θύσαντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἡμέρας τε τρεῖς ἐπαυλισάμενοι —νημεία γὰρ ἦν—τῇ τετάρτῃ ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. ἐνθά δὴ πολλοῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας νεκρὸις ἀπηντώμεν καὶ προσωκέλλομεν, καὶ τὰ σώματα καταμετροῦντες ἑθαυμάζομεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἐπλέομεν εὐκράτῳ ἀέρι χρώμενοι, ἒπειτα Βορέου σφοδρῶς πυνεύσαντος μέγα κρύος ἐγένετο, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐπάγη τὸ πέλαγος, οὐκ ἐπιπολῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς βάθος ὅσον ἐς ἕξ1 ὀργυίας, ὥστε καὶ ἀποβάντας διαθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου. ἐπιμένοντος δὲ τοῦ πυνεύματος φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι τοιόνδε τι ἐπενοήσαμεν—ὁ δὲ τὴν γηνόμιην ἀποφασίσας ἦν ὁ Σκίνθαρος—σκάψαντες ἵππα ἐν τῷ ὕδατι σπὴλαιον μεγίστον ἐν τούτῳ ἐμείσαμεν ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, πῦρ ἀνακάινοντες καὶ σιτούμενοι τοὺς ἱχθύς εὐρίσκομεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνορύθμοντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ήδη ἐπέλευσε τὰ ἐπιτίθεια, προσελθόντες καὶ τὴν ναῦν πετυχώμεν ἀνασπέσαντες καὶ πετάσαντες τὴν θάλαν ἐσυρόμεθα ὡσπερ πλέοντες λείοις καὶ προσηνῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου διοικόθανοντες. ἡμέρα δὲ πέμπτη ἀλέα τε ἤδη καὶ ὁ πάγος ἐλύτο καὶ ὕδωρ πάντα αὖθις ἐγένετο.

Πυνεύσαντες οὖν ὅσον τριακοσίους σταδίους 3

1 ἐς ἕξ (i.e. 7) Schwartz: ἐς τετρακοσίας (i.e. 7), ἐπὶ τριακοσίας MSS.
all the water we could and the other provisions. Our sailing-master was to be Scintharus.

On the next day the whale was dead at last. We dragged the boat up, took her through the gaps, made her fast to the teeth and lowered her slowly into the sea. Climbing on the back and sacrificing to Poseidon there by the trophy, we camped for three days, as it was calm. On the fourth day we sailed off, and in so doing met and grounded on many of the dead from the sea-fight, and measured their bodies with amazement. For some days we sailed with a moderate breeze, and then a strong norther blew up and brought on great cold. The entire sea was frozen by it, not just on the surface but to a depth of fully six fathoms, so that we could leave the boat and run on the ice. The wind held and we could not stand it, so we devised an odd remedy—the proposer of the idea was Scintharus. We dug a very large cave in the water and stopped in it for thirty days, keeping a fire burning and eating the fish that we found in digging. When our provisions at last failed, we came out, hauled up the boat, which had frozen in, spread our canvas and slid, gliding on the ice smoothly and easily, just as if we were sailing. On the fifth day it was warm again, the ice broke up and everything turned to water once more.

After sailing about three hundred furlongs we
νήσῳ μικρᾷ καὶ ἔρημῃ προσηνέχθημεν, ἀφ' ἡς ὑδαρ λαβώντες—ἐπεκελοῦτει γὰρ ἥδη—καὶ δύο ταύρους ἀγρίους κατατοξεύσαντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. οἵ δὲ ταῦροι οὕτω τὰ κέρατα οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ὀσπερ ὁ Μῶμος ἥξιον. μετ' οὖ πολὺ δὲ εἰς πέλαγος ἐμβαίνομεν, οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ γάλακτος καὶ νήσος ἐν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο λευκὴ πλήρης ἀμφέλων. ὡς δέ ἡ νῆσος τυρός μέγατος συμπετηγώς, ὃς ὑστερον ἐμφαγώντες ἐμάθομεν, σταδίων εἶκοσι πέντε τὸ περίμετρον αἱ δὲ ἀμπελοὶ βοτρύων πλήρεις, οὐ μέντοι οὖν, ἀλλὰ γάλα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποθλίβοντες ἐπίνομεν. ἵστον δὲ ἐν μέση τῇ νῆσῳ ἀνωκοδόμητο Γαλατείας τῆς Νηρηίδος, ὡς ἐδίηλον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὁσον δ' ὅπων χρόνον ἐκεῖ ἐμείναμεν, ὥσιν μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ συτίον ἡ γῇ ὑπήρχεν, ποτὸν δὲ τὸ γάλα τὸ ἐκ τῶν βοτρύων. βασιλευέων δὲ τῶν χωρίων τούτων ἐλέγετο Τυρώ ἡ Σαλμωνέως, μετὰ τὴν ἐντεύθεν ἀπαλλαγην ταῦτην παρὰ τοῦ Ποσείδώνος λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμήν.

Μείναντες δὲ ἦμερας ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πέντε, τῇ ἐκτῇ ἐξωρμήσαμεν, αὔρας μὲν τινὸς παραπεμποῦσης, λειοκύμονος δὲ οὕσις τῆς θαλάττης. ὁγδοὶ δὲ ἦμερα πλέοντες οὐκέτι διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος, ἀλλ' ἡδὴ ἐν ἀλυκρῷ καὶ κυναέῳ ὑδατί, καθορόμεν ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πελάγους διαθέοντας, ἀπαντὰ ἡμῖν προσεοικότας, καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη, πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν μόνων ταῦτα γὰρ φέλλινα εἶχον, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο
ran in at a small desert island, where we got water—which had failed by this time—and shot two wild bulls, and then sailed away. These bulls did not have their horns on their head but under their eyes, as Momus wanted. Not long afterwards we entered a sea of milk, not of water, and in it a white island, full of grapevines, came in sight. The island was a great solid cheese, as we afterwards learned by tasting it. It was twenty-five furlongs in circumference. The vines were full of grapes, but the liquid which we squeezed from them and drank was milk instead of wine. A temple had been constructed in the middle of the island in honour of Galatea the Nereid, as its inscription indicated. All the time that we stopped in the island the earth was our bread and meat and the milk from the grapes our drink. The ruler of that region was said to be Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, who after departure from home received this guerdon from Poseidon.

After stopping five days on the island we started out on the sixth, with a bit of breeze propelling us over a rippling sea. On the eighth day, by which time we were no longer sailing through the milk but in briny blue water, we came in sight of many men running over the sea, like us in every way, both in shape and in size, except only their feet, which were of cork: that is why they were called Corkfeet, if 1 Momus suggested this in order that the animal might see what he was doing with his horns.

1 As *gala* is milk and *tyros* cheese, the goddess and the queen of the island are fitly chosen.
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Φελλόποδες. ἐθαυμάσαμεν οὐν ἰδόντες οὐ βαπτι-ζομένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπέρεχοντας τῶν κυμάτων καὶ ἰδεῶς ὀδοιποροῦντας. οί δὲ καὶ προσήχασαν καὶ ἰσπάζοντο ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνικῇ φωνῇ ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ εἰς Φελλῷ τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα ἐπείγεσθαι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος συνωδούσον ἡμῖν παραθέουσε, εἶτα ἀποτραπόμενοι τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐβάδιζον εὐπλοιαν ἡμῖν ἐπεξεύμενοι.

Μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ πολλάι υἱὸι ἐφαίνοντο, πλησίον μὲν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἢ Φελλῷ, ἐς ἢν ἐκεῖνοι ἐσπευδοῦν, πόλις ἐπὶ μεγάλου καὶ στρογγύλου φελλοῦ κατοικομένη, πόρωθεν δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε μέγισται καὶ ψηλόταται, καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνεκαίετο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν προῖραν μία πλατεία καὶ ταπεινή, στάδιον ἀπέχουσα οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων. ἢδη δὲ πλήσιόν ἤμεν, καὶ θαυμαστὴ τις αὐρα περιέπνευσεν ἡμᾶς, ἤδεια καὶ εὐώδης, οἶαν φησίν ὁ συγγραφέως Ἡρόδotos ἀπὸ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας. οἶον γὰρ ἀπὸ ρόδων καὶ ναρκήσσων καὶ ἀκαίνθων καὶ κρίνων καὶ ὅων, ἐπὶ δὲ μυρίνης καὶ δάφνης καὶ ἀμπελάνθης, τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸ ἢδον προσέβαλλεν. ἡσθέντες δὲ τῇ ὀσμῇ καὶ χρηστὰ ἐκ μακρῶν πόνων ἔλπισαντες κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἢδη πλησίον τῆς νύσσον ἐγινόμεθα. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ καθ-ευρόμενοι λιμένας τε πολλοὺς περὶ πᾶσαν ἄκλυ-στους καὶ μεγάλους, ποταμοὺς τε διανυγόντας ήρέμα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ λειμώνας καὶ ϊλας καὶ ὄρνεα μουσικά, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἥονων ἂδοντα, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων ἄηρ τε κοῦφος καὶ εὐπνοις περιεκέχυτο τὴν χώραν καὶ
am not mistaken. We were amazed to see that they did not go under, but stayed on the top of the waves and went about fearlessly. Some of them came up and greeted us in the Greek language; they said that they were on their way to Cork, their native city. For some distance they travelled with us, running alongside, and then they turned off and went their way, wishing us luck on our voyage.

In a little while many islands came in sight. Near us, to port, was Cork, where the men were going, a city built on a great round cork. At a distance and more to starboard were five islands, very large and high, from which much fire was blazing up. Dead ahead was one that was flat and low-lying, not less than five hundred furlongs off. When at length we were near it, a wonderful breeze blew about us, sweet and fragrant, like the one that, on the word of the historian Herodotus, breathes perfume from Araby the blest. The sweetness that met us was as if it came from roses and narcissi and hyacinths and lilies and violets, from myrrh and bay and vines in bloom. Delighted with the fragrance and cherishing high hopes after our long toils, we gradually drew near to the island at last. Then we saw many harbours all about it, large and unfretted by beating waves; transparent rivers emptying softly into the sea; meads, too, and woods and songbirds, some of them singing on the shore and many in the branches. A rare, pure atmosphere enfolded the place, and sweet breezes with their
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αὐτραὶ δὲ τινες ἤδειαι πνεύσασι ἡρέμα τῆν ὕλην διεσάλευσιν, ὡστε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κλάδων κινουμένουν τερπνὰ καὶ συνεχῆς μέλη ἀπεστρίζετο, ἐοικότα τοῖς ἐπὲ ἔρημίας αὐλῆμασι τῶν πλαγίων αὐλῶν. καὶ μὴν καὶ βοῆ σύμμικτος ἥκουσε ἀθροὺς, οὐ δορυβῶθης, ἀλλ' οἰα γένοιτ' ἀν ἐν συμποσίῳ, τῶν μὲν αὐλοῦντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπιδόντων, ἐνίων δὲ κροτοῦντων πρὸς αὐλόν ἢ κιθάραν. τούτως ἢ ἄπασι κηλούμενοι κατήχησομεν, ὁρμᾶσαντες δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἀπεβαίνομεν, τὸν Σκίνθαρον ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπολιπόντες. προίοντες δὲ διὰ λειμώνως εὐανθοῦς ἐνυγχάνομεν τοῖς φρουροῖς καὶ περιπόλοις, οἱ δὲ δήσαντες ἡμᾶς ἴδανος στεφάνουσ—οὕτος γὰρ μέγιστος παρ' αὐτοῖς δεσμός ἐστιν—ἀνήγον ὡς τὸν ἄρχοντα, παρ' ὄν δὴ καθ' ὄδον ἥκουσαμεν ὡς ἡ μὲν νήσος εἰς τῶν Μακάρων προσαγορευομένη, ἄρχοι δὲ ὁ Κρής 'Ραδάμανθυς. καὶ δὴ ἀναχθέντες ὡς αὐτῶν ἐν τάξει τῶν δικαζόμενων ἐστήμεν τέταρτοι. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πρώτη 7 δίκη περὶ Λιαντός τοῦ Τελαμώνος, εἴτε χρὴ αὐτῶν συνείναι τοῖς ἡρωσιν εἴτε καὶ μὴν κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν ὅτι μεμένοι καὶ ἑαυτῶν ὅπερκτοι. τέλος δὲ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων ἔγινω ὁ 'Ραδάμανθυς, νῦν μὲν αὐτῶν πιόμενον τοῦ ἐλλεβόρου παραδοθῆναι Ἰπποκράτει τῷ Κῶνο ἱατρῷ, ὑπτερον δὲ σωφρονίσατα μετέχειν τοῦ συμπόσιον. δευτέρα δὲ ἦν κρίσις ἐρωτική, Ὀῆσεως καὶ 8 Μενελάου περὶ τῆς Ἐλένης διαγωνιζομένων, ποτέρω χρὴ αὐτῆς συνοικεῖν, καὶ ὁ 'Ραδάμανθυς ἐδίκασε Μενελάος συνείναι αὐτῆς ἅτε καὶ τοσάτα πονησαντι καὶ κινδυνεύσαντι τοῦ γάμου ἐνεκατοντών Rohde: ἐπανοντων MSS.
blowing stirred the woods gently, so that from the moving branches came a whisper of delightful, unbroken music, like the fluting of Pandean pipes in desert places. Moreover, a confused sound could be heard incessantly, which was not noisy but resembled that made at a drinking-party, when some are playing, others singing and others beating time to the flute or the lyre. Enchanted with all this, we put in, anchored our boat and landed, leaving Scintharus and two of my comrades on board. Advancing through a flowery mead, we came upon the guards and sentinels, who bound us with rosy wreaths—the strongest fetter that they have—and led us inland to their ruler. They told us on the way that the island was the one that is called the Isle of the Blest, and that the ruler was the Cretan Rhadamanthus. On being brought before him, we were given fourth place among the people awaiting trial. The first case was that of Ajax, son of Telamon, to decide whether he should be allowed to associate with the heroes or not: he was accused of having gone mad and killed himself. At last, when much had been said, Rhadamanthus gave judgment that for the present he should be given in charge of Hippocrates, the Coan physician, to take the hellebore treatment,\(^1\) and that later on, when he had recovered his wits, he should have a place at the table of the heroes. The second case was a love-affair—Theseus and Menelaus at law over Helen, to determine which of the two she should live with. Rhadamanthus pronounced that she should live with Menelaus, because he had undergone so much toil and danger on account of his marriage: then too,

\(^1\) A remedy for madness; Hor. *Sat.* 2. 3. 82.
καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τῷ Θησεί καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι γυναῖκας, τήν τε Ἀμαζόνα καὶ τᾶς τοῦ Μίνωος θυγατέρας. τρίτη δ' ἐδικάσθη περὶ προεδρίας Ἀλέξανδρῳ 9
tε τῷ Φιλίππου καὶ τῷ Λυδίαντα τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ, καὶ ἔδοξε προέχειν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ θρόνος αὐτῷ ἐτέθη παρὰ Κύρον τὸν Πέρσην τὸν πρότερον. τέταρτον δὲ ἡμεῖς προσήχθημεν καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡρετο τί παθόντες ἔτι ξύντες ἰεροῦ χωρίου ἔπι-βαίνειμεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντα ἔξης διήγησάμεθα. οὕτω δὴ μεταστησάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσκέ-πτετο καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις ἐκοινοῦτο περὶ ἡμῶν. συνήδρευν δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἀπεφή-ναντο, τῆς μὲν φιλοπραγμοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀποδη-μίας, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνωμεν, δοῦναί τὰς ευθύνας, τὸ δὲ νῦν ῥητὸν χρόνον μεῖναντας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ συνδιαίρθηντας τοῖς ἡρωσιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ τὴν προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιδημίας μὴ πλέον μηνῶν ἐπτά.
Τούντεῦθεν αὐτομάτων ἡμῖν τῶν στεφάνων 11
περιρρόεντων ἐκλείμεθα καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠγόμεθα καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν Μακάρων συμπόσιον. αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα χρυσή, τὸ δὲ τείχος περίκειται σμαράγδινον. πῦλαι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐπτά, πᾶσαι μονόξυλοι κινναμόμονοι. τὸ μέντοι ἐδαφὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ ἐντός τοῦ τείχους γῆ ἐλεφαντίνην ναοὶ δὲ πάντων θεῶν βηρύλλου λίθου ψιδονημένοι, καὶ βωμοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέγιστοι μονόλιθοι ἀμεθύστινοι, ἐφ' ὃν ποιοῦσι τὰς

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Theseus had other wives, the Amazon and the daughters of Minos. The third judgment was given in a matter of precedence between Alexander, son of Philip, and Hannibal of Carthage, and the decision was that Alexander outranked Hannibal, so his chair was placed next the elder Cyrus of Persia. We were brought up fourth; and he asked us how it was that we trod on holy ground while still alive, and we told him the whole story. Then he had us removed, pondered for a long time, and consulted with his associates about us. Among many other associates he had Aristides the Just, of Athens. When he had come to a conclusion, sentence was given that for being inquisitive and not staying at home we should be tried after death, but that for the present we might spend a definite time in the island and share the life of the heroes, and then we must be off. They set the length of our stay at not more than seven months.

Thereupon our garlands fell away of themselves, and we were set free and taken into the city and to the table of the blessed. The city itself is all of gold and the wall around it of emerald. It has seven gates, all of single planks of cinnamon. The foundations of the city and the ground within its walls are ivory. There are temples of all the gods, built of beryl, and in them great monolithic altars of amethyst, on which they make their great

1 Hippolyta. 2 Ariadne and Phaedra.
3 Cf. Dialogues of the Dead, 25.
4 Lucian's city is not necessarily a parody on the New Jerusalem, though the scholiast so understood it.
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ἐκατόμβας. περὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἰεὶ ποταμὸς μύροι τοῦ καλλιστοῦ, τὸ πλάτος πῇχεων ἐκατὸν βασιλικῶν, βάθος δὲ πέντε,1 ὡστε νεῖν εὐμαρῶς. λουτρὰ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς οἶκοι μεγάλοι χαλάνοι, τῷ κίνναμώμῳ ἐγκαίομενοι ἀντὶ μέντοι τοῦ ὑδάτος ἐν ταῖς πυέλοις δρόσος θερμὴ ἔστιν. ἐσθήτι δὲ χρῶνται ἀραχνίους λεπτοῖς, πορφυρῶις. αὐτοὶ δὲ σώματα μεῖν οὐκ ἐχοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναφείς καὶ ἀσαρκοὶ εἰσίν, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ ἱδέαν μόνην ἐμφαίνουσιν, καὶ ἀσώματοι οὕτε ὤμοι συνεστάσιν καὶ κινοῦνται καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ φωνὴν ἀφάσιν, καὶ ὀλος ἐσοικε γυμνῆς ης ἡ ψυχή αὐτῶν περιπολείν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὀμοιότητα περικείμενην: εἰ γοῦν μὴ ἄσαρκος οὐ, οὐκ ἂν ἐξελέγξει ποθ' εἶναι σώμα τὸ ὀρόμενον· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡστερ κτιαὶ ὀρθαὶ, οὐ μέλαιναι. γηράσκει δὲ δυνεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἤς ἂν ἡλικίας ἐλθῃ παραμένειν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ νύξ παρ' αὐτοῖς γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα πάυν λαμπρά· καθά- περ δὲ τὸ λυκανγέα ἡδη πρὸς ἐω, μηδέπω ἀνατει- λαντος ἠλίου, τοιοῦτο φῶς ἐπέχει τὴν γῆν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὠραν μίαν ἵππαν τοῦ ἐτούς· αἰεὶ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔαρ ἄστι καὶ εἴς ἀνέμος πνεύμα παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ἔφυρος. ἦ δὲ χρώα πᾶσι μὲν ἄνθεσιν, πᾶσι δὲ φυτοῖς ἠμέροις τε καὶ σκιεροῖς τέθηλεν· αĩ μὲν γὰρ ἀμπελοὶ δωδεκάφοροι εἰσίν καὶ κατὰ μήνα ἐκαστὸν καρποφοροῦσιν· τὰς δὲ ῥοῖας καὶ τὰς μηλέας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὄπωραν ἐλεγον εἶναι τρισκαιδεκάφορον· ἐνὸς γὰρ μηνὸς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Μινῶου δίς καρποφορεῖν· ἀντὶ δὲ πυροῦ οἱ στάχυες

1 πέντε (i.e. e) Schwartz: not in MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

burnt-offerings. Around the city runs a river of the finest myrrh, a hundred royal cubits wide and five deep, so that one can swim in it comfortably. For baths they have large houses of glass, warmed by burning cinnamon; instead of water there is hot dew in the tubs. For clothing they use delicate purple spider-webs. As for themselves, they have no bodies, but are intangible and fleshless, with only shape and figure. Incorporeal as they are, they nevertheless live and move and think and talk. In a word, it would appear that their naked souls go about in the semblance of their bodies. Really, if one did not touch them, he could not tell that what he saw was not a body, for they are like upright shadows, only not black. Nobody grows old, but stays the same age as on coming there. Again, it is neither night among them nor yet very bright day, but the light which is on the country is like the gray morning toward dawn, when the sun has not yet risen. Moreover, they are acquainted with only one season of the year, for it is always spring there and the only wind that blows there is Zephyr. The country abounds in flowers and plants of all kinds, cultivated and otherwise. The grape-vines yield twelve vintages a year, bearing every month; the pomegranates, apples and other fruit-trees were said to bear thirteen times a year, for in one month, their Minoan, they bear twice. Instead of wheat-ears, loaves of bread all baked grow on the tops of the

1 Lucian makes a villainous pun here, contrasting hemeros (cultivated) with skieros (fond of darkness), as if the former word meant 'fond of daylight,' (hemera)
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ārtov ētoimov ἐπ’ ἀκρων φύουσιν ὁσπερ μύκητας. πηγαὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑδατος μὲν πέντε καὶ ἔξικοντα καὶ τριακόσια, μέλιτος δὲ ἅλλα τοσαῦτα, μύρον δὲ πεντακόσια, μικρότερα μὲντοι αὐταί, καὶ ποταμοὶ γάλακτος ἐπτὰ καὶ οἶνου ὀκτὼ.

Τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πεποίημεν· ταὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡλυσίῳ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ· λειμῶν δὲ ἐστιν κάλλιστος καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑλή παντοία πυκνή, ἐπισκιάζουσα τοὺς κατακείμενος. καὶ στρωμὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθῶν ὑποβεβλητοί, διακονοῦνται δὲ καὶ παραφέρουσιν ἕκαστα οἱ ἀνεμοί πλήν γε τοῦ οἴνοχεῖν· τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδὲν δένουτα, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ δένδρα περὶ τὸ συμπόσιον ύλινα μεγάλα τῆς διανυστάτης ύλου, καὶ καρπὸς ἐστὶ τῶν δένδρων τούτων ποτήρια παντοία καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς καὶ τὰ μεγέθη. ἔπειδὰν οὖν παρίῃ τις ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον, τρυγήσας ἐν ἡ καὶ δύο τῶν ἑκτωμάτων παρατίθεται, τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα οἴνου πλήρη γίνεται. οὔτω μὲν πίνουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν στεφάνων αἱ ἀγάδονες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ μουσικὰ ὄρνεα ἐκ τῶν πλησίον λειμῶν τοῖς στόμασιν ἀνθολογοῦντα κατανείφει ἀυτοὺς μετ’ ὁδῆς ὑπερ-πετόμενα. καὶ μὴν καὶ μυρίζονται ὅδε· νεφέλαι πυκναὶ ἀναστάσασαι μῦρον ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐπιστάσαι ὑπὲρ τὸ συμπόσιον ἱρέμα τῶν ἀνέμων ὑποθλιβόντων ύουσι λεπτὸν ὥσπερ δρόσουν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δεῖπνῳ μουσικῇ τε καὶ ὁδαῖς σχολάζουσιν ἂδεται δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ Ὥμηρον ἐπὶ μάλιστα· καὶ αὐτός δὲ πάρεστι καὶ συνευ-χεῖται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὅδυσσέα κατακείμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν χοροὶ ἐκ παιδῶν εἰσίν καὶ παρθένων.
halms, so that they look like mushrooms. In the neighbourhood of the city there are three hundred and sixty-five springs of water, as many of honey, five hundred of myrrh—much smaller, however—seven rivers of milk and eight of wine.

Their table is spread outside the city in the Elysian Fields, a very beautiful mead with thick woods of all sorts round about it, overshadowing the feasters. The couches they lie on are made of flowers, and they are attended and served by the winds, who, however, do not pour out their wine, for they do not need anyone to do this. There are great trees of the clearest glass around the table, and instead of fruit they bear cups of all shapes and sizes. When anyone comes to table he picks one or two of the cups and puts them at his place. These fill with wine at once, and that is the way they get their drink. Instead of garlands, the nightingales and the other song-birds gather flowers in their bills from the fields hard by and drop them down like snow, flying overhead and singing. Furthermore, the way they are scented is that thick clouds draw up myrrh from the springs and the river, stand over the table and under the gentle manipulation of the winds rain down a delicate dew. At the board they pass their time with poetry and song. For the most part they sing the epics of Homer, who is there himself and shares the revelry, lying at table in the place above Odysseus. Their choruses are of boys and girls, led

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εξάρχοντι δὲ καὶ συνάδουσιν Εὔνομός τε ὁ Δοκρός καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Δέσβιος καὶ Ἀνακρέων καὶ Στησί-χορός· καὶ γὰρ τούτον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐθεασάμην, ἥδι τῆς 'Ελένης αὐτῷ διηλλαγμένης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ οὕτω παύσωνται ἅδοντες, δεύτερος χορὸς παρέχεται ἐκ κύκνων καὶ χελιδόνων καὶ ἁπόδων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ οὕτω ἁσώσω, τότε ἥδη πᾶσα ἡ ὕλη ἐπαυλεῖ τῶν ἁνέμων καταρχόντων. μέγιστον δὲ δὴ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην ἐκεῖνο ἔχουσιν· πηγαῖ εἰσὶ δύο παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἡ μὲν γέλωτος, ἡ δὲ ἱδονή· ἐκ τούτων ἐκατέρας πάντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εὐωχίας πίνουσι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡδόμενοι καὶ γελώντες διάγουσιν.

Βουλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων οὐστινάς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐθεασάμην· πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἡμιθέους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰλιον στρατεύσαντας πλῆν γε δὴ τοῦ Δοκροῦ Ἀἰαντος, ἐκείνων δὲ μόνον ἐφασκον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁσεβῶν χώρῳ κολάζεσθαι, βαρβάρων δὲ Κύρους τα ἀμφότερος καὶ τὸν Σκύθην Ἀνάχαρσιν καὶ τὸν Ῥάκας Ζάμολξιν καὶ Νομάν τὸν Ἰταλιώτην, καὶ μὴν καὶ Δυκούργον τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Τέλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀνεν Περιάνδρου. εἰδον δὲ καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν Σωφρονίσκον ἀδολεσχοῦντα μετὰ Νέστορος καὶ Παλαμήδους· περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἥσαν Ἰάκινθος τε ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ὁ Θεσπίεως Νάρκισσος καὶ Ἰλας καὶ ἄλλοι καλοί. καὶ μοι ἐδοκεί ἐράν τοῦ Ἰάκινθου· τὰ πολλὰ γοῦν ἐκείνον διήλεγχεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ χαλεπαῖνειν αὐτῷ ὁ Ῥαδύμανθος καὶ
A TRUE STORY, II

and accompanied by Eunomus of Locri, Arion of Lesbos, Anacreon and Stesichorus. There can be no doubt about the latter, for I saw him there—by that time Helen had forgiven him.\(^1\) When they stop singing another chorus appears, composed of swans and swallows and nightingales, and as they sing the whole wood renders the accompaniment, with the winds leading. But the greatest thing that they have for ensuring a good time is that two springs are by the table, one of laughter and the other of enjoyment. They all drink from each of these when the revels begin, and thenceforth enjoy themselves and laugh all the while.

But I desire to mention the famous men whom I saw there. There were all the demigods and the veterans of Troy except Locrian Ajax, the only one, they said, who was being punished in the place of the wicked. Of the barbarians there were both Cyouses, the Scythian Anacharsis, the Thracian Zamolxis and Numa the Italian. In addition, there were Lycurgus of Sparta, Phocion and Tellus of Athens and the wise men, all but Periander. I also saw Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, chopping logic with Nestor and Palamedes; about him were Hyacinthus of Sparta, Narcissus of Thespiae, Hylas and other handsome lads. It seemed to me that Hyacinthus was his especial favourite, for at any rate he refuted him most. It was said that Rhadamanthus

\(^1\) Stesichorus had said harsh words of Helen, and was blinded by Castor and Pollux for his presumption. He recanted in a famous Palinode, of which some lines are still preserved (Plato, Phaedrus, 243), and so recovered his eyesight.
The Works of Lucian

...
was angry at Socrates and had often threatened to banish him from the island if he kept up his nonsense and would not quit his irony and be merry. Plato alone was not there: it was said that he was living in his imaginary city under the constitution and the laws that he himself wrote. The followers of Aristippus and Epicurus were in the highest favour among the heroes because they are pleasant and agreeable and jolly good fellows. Aesop the Phrygian was also there—they have him for a jester. Diogenes of Sinope had so changed his ways that he not only married Lais the courtesan, but often got up and danced and indulged in tomfoolery when he had had too much. None of the Stoics was there—they were said to be still on the way up the steep hill of virtue. With regard to Chrysippus, we heard tell that he is not permitted to set foot on the island until he submits himself to the hellebore treatment for the fourth time. They said that the Academicians wanted to come but were still holding off and debating, for they could not arrive at a conclusion even on the question whether such an island existed. Then too I suppose they feared to have Rhadamanthus judge them, as they themselves had abolished standards of judgment. It was said, however, that many of them had started to follow people coming thither, but fell behind through their slowness, being constitutionally unable to arrive at anything, and so turned back half-way.

These were the most conspicuous of those present. They render especial honours to Achilles and after him to Theseus. About love-making their attitude

1 See the Philosophers for Sale for another jest at Chrysippus' insanity.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

οὐτὸς φρονοῦσιν μίσηγονται μὲν ἀναφαίδον πάντων ὀρώντων καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄρρεσι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ: μόνος δὲ Σωκράτης διόμυντο ἢ μὴν καθαρῶς πλησίαζεν τοῖς νεώς· καὶ μέντοι πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν κατεγίνωσκον· πολλάκις γούν ὁ μὲν 'Τάκινθος ἢ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὠμολόγουν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἦρμεῖτο. αἱ δὲ γυναικὲς εἰσὶ πᾶσι κοινὰ καὶ οὐδὲς φθονεῖ τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Πλατωνικῶτατον· καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι τοῖς Βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἀντιλεγοντες.

Οὔπω δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέραι διεληλύθεσαν, 20 καὶ προσελθὼν ἐγὼ Ὄμηρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ, σχολῆς οὕσης ἀμφοίν, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπυθανόμην καὶ ο̣θέν εἰη 1. τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσέτι νῦν ζητεῖσθαί. ο̣ δὲ οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἐφασκεῖν ὡς οἱ μὲν Χῖν, οἱ δὲ Σμυρναῖοι, πολλοὶ δὲ Κολοφώνιοι αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἰναι μὲντοι γε ἐλεγεν Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ παρὰ γε τοῖς πολῖταις οὕχ. Ὄμηρος, ἀλλὰ Τυγράνης καλεῖσθαί· ὡστερον δὲ ὀμηρεύσας παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἀλλὰξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἠδενομένων στίχων ἐπηρώτων, εἰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἶεν γεγραμμένοι. καὶ ὃς ἐφασκε πάντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι. κατεγίνωσκον οὖν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον γραμματικῶν πολλὴν τὴν ψυχρολογίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἱκανῶς ἀπεκέριτο, πάλιν αὐτῶν ἥρωτων τί δή ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς μήνιδος τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐποιήσατο· καὶ ὃς εἶπεν οὕτως ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῷ μὴδὲν ἐπιτη- δεύσαντι. καὶ μὴν κάκειν ἐπεθύμουν εἰδέναι, εἰ προτέραν ἔγραψεν τὴν 'Οδύσσειαν τῆς Ἰλιάδος,

1 eιη Schwartz : eιη λέγων MSS.
is such that they bill-and-coo openly, in plain sight of everyone, without any discrimination, and think no shame of it at all. Socrates, the only exception, used to protest that he was above suspicion in his relations with young persons, but everyone held him guilty of perjury. In fact, Hyacinthus and Narcissus often said that they knew better, but he persisted in his denial. They all have their wives in common and nobody is jealous of his neighbour; in this point they out-Plato Plato. Complaisance is the universal rule.

Hardly two or three days had passed before I went up to Homer the poet when we were both at leisure, and questioned him about everything. "Above all," said I, "where do you come from? This point in particular is being investigated even yet at home." "I am not unaware," said he, "that some think me a Chian, some a Smyrniote and many a Colophonian. As a matter of fact, I am a Babylonian, and among my fellow-countrymen my name was not Homer but Tigranes. Later on, when I was a hostage (homeros) among the Greeks, I changed my name." I went on to enquire whether the bracketed lines had been written by him, and he asserted that they were all his own: consequently I held the grammarians Zenodotus and Aristarchus guilty of pedantry in the highest degree. Since he had answered satisfactorily on these points, I next asked him why he began with the wrath of Achilles; and he said that it just came into his head that way, without any study. Moreover, I wanted to know whether he wrote the Odyssey before the Iliad, as most people say: he said no.
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ψις οἱ πολλοὶ φασίν· ὁ δὲ ἤριεῖτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ
οὐδὲ τυφλὸς ἦν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν,
αὐτίκα ἡπιστάμην· ἐώρων γὰρ, ὡστε οὐδὲ πυθα-
νεσθαι ἐδεώμην. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε τούτο
ἐποίουν, εἰ ποτε αὐτῶν σχολὴν ἀγοῦτα ἐώρων
προσώπῳ γὰρ τι ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ δὲ προ-
θύμως πάντα ἀπεκρίνετο, καὶ μάλιστα μετὰ τὴν
δίκην, ἐπειδὴ ἐκράτησεν· ἦν γὰρ τις γραφὴ κατ’
αὐτὸν ἐπενθημέγενη ὕβρεως ὧπο Θερσίτου ἐφ’ οἷς
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἔσκωψεν, καὶ ἐνίκησεν ὁ
"Ομηρος' Οὐδοσέως συναγορεύστως.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἀφίκετο καὶ 21
Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ἐπτάκις ἀλλαγεῖς καὶ ἐν
tοσοῦτοις ξώοις βιοτεύσας καὶ ἐκτελέσας τῆς
ψυχῆς τὰς περίοδους. ἦν δὲ χρυσοῦς ὅλον τὸ
δεξιόν ἡμίτοιμον. καὶ ἐκρίθη μὲν συμπολιτευ-
σασθαι αὐτοῖς, ἐνεδοιάζετο δὲ ἐτὶ πότερον Πυθα-
γόραν ἢ Εὐφορβον χρῆν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν. ὁ μέντοι
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἠλθεν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς, περίεφθος καὶ
tὸ σώμα ὅλον ὀπτημένον· οὐ μὴν παρεδέχθη
cαίτοι πολλὰ ἱκετεύον.

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐνέστη ὁ ἄγων ὁ 22
παρ’ αὐτοῖς, τὰ Θανατούσια. ἡγωνοθέτει δὲ
Ἄχιλλευς τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Θησεῖς τὸ ἐβδομον.
τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μακρὸν ἄν εἰη λέγειν· τὰ δὲ
κεφάλαια τῶν πραχθέντων διηγήσομαι. πάλην
μὲν ἐνίκησεν Κάρανος 1 ὁ ἄφ’ Ἡρακλέους’ Ὀδυσσέα
περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καταγωνισάμενος· πυγμῇ δὲ
ἰση ἐγένετο Ἀρείου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, δς ἐν Κορίνθῳ
tέθαται, καὶ Ἐπειοῦ ἀλλήλοις συνελθόντων,
παγκράτιον δὲ οὐ τίθεται ἀθλα παρ’ αὐτοῖς. τὸν

1 Κάρανος Gronovius : Kápos MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

That he was not blind, as they say, I understood at once—I saw it, and so had no need to ask. Often again at other times I would do this when I saw him at leisure; I would go and make enquiries of him and he would give me a cordial answer to everything, particularly after the lawsuit that he won, for a charge of libel had been brought against him by Thersites because of the way he had ridiculed him in the poem, and the case was won by Homer, with Odysseus for his lawyer.

At about this time arrived Pythagoras of Samos who had undergone seven transformations, had lived in seven bodies and had now ended the migrations of his soul. All his right side was of gold. Judgment was pronounced that he should become a member of their community, but when I left the point was still at issue whether he ought to be called Pythagoras or Euphorbus. Empedocles came too, all burned and his body completely cooked,¹ but he was not received in spite of his many entreaties.

As time went on their games came round, the Games of the Dead. The referees were Achilles, serving for the fifth time, and Theseus for the seventh. The full details would make a long story, but I shall tell the principal things that they did. In wrestling the winner was Caranus, the descendant of Heracles, who defeated Odysseus for the championship. The boxing was a draw between Areius the Egyptian, who is buried at Corinth, and Epeius. For combined boxing and wrestling they offer no

¹ From his leap into the crater of Aetna.
ΤΟΙΤΟΥ ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΜΕΜΨΗΜΑΙ ΟΣΤΙΣ ΕΝΙΚΗΣΕΝ. ΠΟΙΗΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΗ ΜΕΝ ΆΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΥ ΕΚΡΑΤΕΙ ὈΜΗΡΟΣ, ΕΝΙΚΗΣΕΝ ΔΕ ὌΜΟΣ ὩΣΙΟΔΟΣ. ΤΑ ΔΕ ΆΘΛΑ ᾯΝ ΑΠΑΣΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΙΟΣ ΠΛΑΚΕΙΣ ΕΚ ΠΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΑΩΝΕΩΝ.

'ΑΡΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ὈΨΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΕΤΕΛΕΣΜΕΝΟΥ ἩΓΓΕΛΚΟΥΝΤΟ ΟΙ ἘΝ ΤΟ ΧΩΡΩ ΤΩΝ ἈΣΕΒΩΝ ΚΟΛΑΞΕΜΕΝΟΙ ἈΠΟΡΡΗΞΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ ΔΕΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΦΡΟΥΡΑΣ ἘΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΛΑΥΝΕΙΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΨΗΣΟΝ. ἩΓΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΑΡΙΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΝ ἈΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΣΙΡΙΝ ΤΟΝ ἈΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗ ΤΟΝ ᴴᴿΑΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΚΙΡΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΤΥΝΟΚῌΤΙΤΗΝ. ὩΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ᾯΚΟΥΣΕΝ Ὁ ΡΑΔΆΜΑΝΘΥΣ, ἘΚΤΑΣΕΙ ΤΟΥΣ ἩΡΩΑΣ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΣ ἩΡΟΥΣ· ἩΓΕΙΤΟ ΔΕ ΘΗΣΕΥΣ ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ἈΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΪΑΣ Ο ΤΕΛΑΜΩΝΙΟΣ ἩΔΗ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΜΙΞΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΜΑΧΟΥΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΕΝΙΚΗΣΑΝ ΟΙ ἩΡΩΕΣ, ΆΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΣΑΝΤΟΣ. ἩΡΙΣΤΕΥΕΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΞΙΟΥ ΤΑΧΘΕΩΣ, ΠΟΛΥ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ἡ ὩΤΕ ΖΩΝ ἘΠΙ ΔΗΛΙΩ ΕΜΑΧΕΤΟ. ΠΡΟΣΙΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΦΥΓΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ἈΤΡΕΠΤΟΣ ἮΝ· ἘΦ' ΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΞΗΡΕΘΗ ΑΥΤΩ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟΝ, ΚΑΛΟΣ ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΑΣΤΕΙΩ, ἘΝΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΚΑΛΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΥΣ ΔΙΕΛΕΓΕΤΟ, ΝΕΚΡΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΣΑΣ. ΣΥΝΛΑΒΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΙΚΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ 24 ΚΑΙ ΔΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ἈΠΕΠΕΜΨΑΝ ἘΤΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΚΟΛΑΣΘΗ-ΣΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ. ΕΞΙΡΑΦΕΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΑΧΗΝ ὉΜΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΙΟΥΣΙ ΜΟΙ ἘΔΟΚΕΝ ΤΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΚΟΜΙ-ΖΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡ' ἩΜῖΝ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ· ἈΛΛ' ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΛΛΟΝ ἈΠΟΛΕΞΑΜΕΝ. ἩΝ ΔΕ Η ἉΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΗ,

Νῦν δέ μοι ἐννέπε, Μόυσα, μάχην νεκών Ἡρώων.
prizes. In the foot-race I do not remember who won and in poetry, Homer was really far the best man, but Hesiod won. The prize in each case was a crown that was plaited of peacock feathers.

Hardly had the games been concluded when word came that those who were under punishment in the place of the wicked had burst their bonds, had overpowered their guard, and were advancing on the island: that they were under the leadership of Phalaris of Acragas, Busiris the Egyptian, Diomed of Thrace, and Sciron and Pityocamptes. When Rhadamanthus heard of this he mustered the heroes on the shore. They were led by Theseus, Achilles and Ajax, the son of Telamon, who by this time had recovered his wits. They engaged and fought, and the heroes won. Achilles contributed most to their success, but Socrates, who was stationed on the right wing, was brave, too—far more so than when he fought at Delium in his lifetime. When four of the enemy came at him he did not run away or change countenance. For this they afterwards gave him a special reward, a beautiful great park in the suburbs, where he used to gather his comrades and dispute: he named the place the Academy of the Dead. Arresting the losers and putting them in irons, they sent them off to be punished still more severely than before. An account of this battle was written by Homer, and as I was leaving he gave me the book to take to the people at home, but later I lost it along with everything else. The poem began:

This time sing me, O Muse, of the shades of the heroes in battle!
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tôte δ' οὖν κυάμους ἐψησαντες, ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐπειδὰν πόλεμον κατορθώσωσιν, εἰστιώντω τα ἑπτάκια καὶ ἑορτὴν μεγάλην ἤγον· μόνος δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ μετείχε Πυθαγόρας, ἀλλ' ἄσιτως πόρρῳ ἐκαθέζετο μυσαττόμενος τὴν κυνοφαγίαν.

Ἡδὴ δὲ μηνῶν ἕξε διεληλυθῶτον περὶ μεσοῦντα 25 τὸν ἐβδομον νεωτέρα συνίστατο πράγματα· Κινύρας ο τοῦ Σκινθάρου παῖς, μέγας δὲν καὶ καλός, ἦρα πολυν ἦδη χρόον τῆς Ἑλένης, καὶ αὐτῇ δὲ οὐκ ἄφανῆς ἦν ἑπιμανώς ἀγαπῶσα τὸν νεανίσκον· πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ διένευον ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ προύπινον καὶ μόνοι ἐξαιν- στάμενοι ἐπλαχώντο περὶ τὴν ὕλην. καὶ δὴ ποτὲ ὑπ' ἐρωτος καὶ ἀμηχανίας ἐβούλευσατο ὁ Κινύρας ἀρπάσας τὴν Ἑλένην· ἐδόκει δὲ κάκεινη ταῦτα— οἴχεσθαι ἀπόντας ἐς τινα τῶν ἐπικειμένων νῆσων, ἢτοι ἐς τὴν Φελλω ἢ ἐς τὴν Τυρόςσαν. συνω- μότας δὲ πάλαι προσειλήφθεσαν τρεῖς τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς θρασυτάτοις. τῷ μέντοι πατρὶ οὗκ ἐμήνυσε ταῦτα· ἦπιστατο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κωλυθησόμενος. ὥς δὲ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, ἐτέλουν τὴν ἐπίβουλὴν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ νῦξ ἐγένετο— ἐγὼ μὲν οὗ παρὴν ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιμώ- μενος—οἱ δὲ λαθόντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλαβόντες τὴν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνήχθεσαν. περὶ 26 δὲ τὸ μεσούνκτον ἀνεγρόμενος ὁ Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ ἐμαθεν τὴν εὐύνην κενήν τῆς γυναικὸς, βοήν τε ἰστῆ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν παραλαβόν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ραδάμανθων. ἡμέρας δὲ ὑποφαν- νοῦσης ἔλεγον οἱ σκοτοὶ καθορᾶν τὴν ναῦν πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν· οὕτω δὴ ἐμβιβάσας ὁ Ἱακάμανθιος
A TRUE STORY, II

But to return—they cooked beans,¹ as is their custom when they are successful at war, had a feast in honour of the victory and made a great holiday. Pythagoras was the only one who did not take part in it; he sat by himself and went dinnerless because he detested beans.

Six months had passed and it was about the middle of the seventh when sedition arose. Cinyras, the son of Scintharus, a tall and handsome lad, had long been in love with Helen, and it was no secret that she herself was madly enamoured of the boy. For instance, they often winked to one another at table, drank to each other and got up together and wandered about the wood. Well, one fine day through love and despair Cinyras determined to carry Helen off—she agreed to it—and go to one of the islands in the offing, either Cork or Cheesie. As accomplices they had long ago taken on three of the most reckless of my comrades; but Cinyras did not inform his father, for he knew that he would not let him do it. When they had come to a decision, they carried out their stratagem. It was at nightfall, and I was not on hand, as I chanced to be taking a nap under the table. Without the knowledge of the rest they carried Helen off and put to sea in haste. About midnight, when Menelaus woke up, and found that his wife was not in bed, he made a great stir and took his brother and went to King Rhadamanthus. But as day began to break the lookouts said that they saw the ship far out at sea. Then Rhadamanthus put fifty of the heroes aboard a

¹ An allusion to the Pyanepsia, the Athenian Beanfeast.
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πεντήκοντα τῶν ἡρώων εἰς ναῦν μονόξυλον ἀσφο- 
δελίνην παρήγγειλεν διόκειν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ προβυμίας 
ἐλαύνοντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν καταλαμβάνουσιν 
αὐτοῖς ἄρτι ἐς τὸν γαλακτόδη τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ τόπον 
ἐμβαίνοντας πλησίον τῆς Τυροέσσης· παρὰ το- 
ςοῦτον ἡλθον διαδράναι· καὶ ἀναδησάμενοι τὴν 
ναῦν ἀλύσει βοδίνη κατέπλευσα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἑλένη 
ἐδάκρυεν τε καὶ ἱσχύνετο κάνεκαλυπτετο, τοὺς 
δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κινύραν ἀνακρίνας πρότερον ὁ Ῥαδά- 
μανθυς, εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς συνύσασιν, ὡς 
οὐδένα εἰπόν, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν δήσας ἀπέπεμψεν 
ἐς τὸν τῶν ἁσβῶν χώρον μαλάχη πρότερον 
μαστυγωθέντας. ἔψηψαντο δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐμ- 
προβέσμοις ἑκπέμπειν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, τῆν ἐπιού- 
σαν ἡμέραν μόνην ἐπιμείναντας.

Ἐνταύθα δὴ ἐγώ ἐποτυχόμην τε καὶ ἐδάκρυον 
οία ἐμελλον ἀγαθὰ καταλιπτον αὐθις πλανηθή- 
σεθα. αὐτοὶ μέντοι παρεμβούντο λέγοντες οὐ 
πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν ὡς αὐτούς, καὶ 
μοι ἤδη εἰς τοῦτον θρόνον τε καὶ κλισίαν ἐπεδεί-
κυσαν πλησίον τῶν ἄριστων. ἐγὼ δὲ προσελθὼν 
τῷ Ραδαμάνθυν πολλά ἱκέτευον εἰπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα 
καὶ ὑποδεῖξαι μοι τὸν πλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν 
ἀφίξεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πολλὰ πρότερον 
πλανηθέντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ πρὸ σὸν 
οὐκέτι τῆς ἐπανόδου προσβείναι ἠθέλησεν· ἀλλὰ 
δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰς πλησίον νῆσους—ἔφαγοντο 
de πέντε τὸν ἁριθμὸν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐκτῇ πόρρωθεν— 
ταῦτας μὲν εἶναί ἔφασκεν τῶν ἁσβῶν, τὰς 
πλησίον, ἈΦ' ὧν, ἔφη, ἢδη τὸ πολὺ πῦρ ὀρᾶς 
καὶ ὀμενον, ἐκτῇ δὲ ἐκείνῃ τῶν ὑνείρων ἡ πόλις: 
μετὰ ταῦτην δὲ ἡ τῆς Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἀλλ'
ship made of a single log of asphodel and ordered them to give chase. Rowing with a will, they overtook them about noon, just as they were entering the milky place in the ocean near Cheesie—that is all they lacked of escaping! Securing the ship with a hawser of roses, they sailed home. Helen cried and hid her head for shame. As to Cinyras and the rest, first Rhadamanthus asked them if they had any other accomplices, and they said no; then he had them secured by the offending member and sent them away to the place of the wicked, after they had been first scourged with mallow. The heroes voted, too, that we be dismissed from the island before our time was up, remaining only till the next day.

Thereupon I began to cry aloud and weep because I had to leave such blessings behind me and resume my wanderings. But they cheered me up, saying that before many years I should come back to them again, and they even pointed out to me my future chair and couch, close to the best people. I went to Rhadamanthus and earnestly besought him to tell me what would happen and indicate my course. He said that I should reach my native land in spite of many wanderings and dangers, but refused to tell the time of my return. However, pointing out the islands near by—there were five in sight and a sixth in the distance—, “These,” said he, “are the Isles of the Wicked, here close at hand, from which you see all the smoke arising: the sixth yonder is the City of Dreams. Next comes the island of Calypso, but
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οὐδέπω σοι φαίνεται. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταύτας παραπλεύσεις, τότε δὴ ἀφίξῃ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἥπειρον τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ ὑφ’. ὑμὸν 1 κατοικουμένη ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὰ παθῶν καὶ ποικίλα ἔδην διελθὼν καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀμίκτοις ἐπιδημήσας χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἥξεις εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἥπειρον.

Τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, καὶ ἀναστάσας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μαλάχης ρίζαν ὁρεξέν μοι, ταύτῃ κελεύσας ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κυνύνοις προσεύχεσθαι παρῆνεσε δὲ εἰ καὶ ποτὲ ἀφικοίμην ἐς τὴν ἡγίν, μήτε πῦρ μαχαίρα σκαλεύειν μήτε θέρμως ἐσθείεν μήτε παιδί ὑπὲρ τὰ ὁκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῆ πλησιάζειν τούτων γὰρ ἀν μεμνημένου ἑπιδίδας ἔχειν τῆς εἰς τὴν νήσου ἀφίξεως.

Τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τῶν πλοῦν παρεσκευάσμην, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καίρος ἦν, συνειστιώμην αὐτοῖς. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἐλθὼν πρὸς Ὀμηρον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐθεήθην αὐτοῦ ποιήσαι μοι διστειχὸν ἐπίγραμμαι καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησεν, στήλην βηρύλλου λίθον ἀναστήσας ἐπέγραψα πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἦν τοιόνυν.

Δουκιανὸς τάδε πάντα φίλος μακάρεσσι θεοῦσιν εἰδέ τε καὶ πάλιν ἤλθε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. μείνας δὲ κακείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ 29 ἀνηγόμην τῶν ἡρώων παραπεμπόντων. ἐνθα μοι καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς προσελθὼν λάθρᾳ τῆς Πηνελόπης δίδωσιν ἐπιστολήν εἰς Ὀγνήαν τὴν νήσου Καλυψος κομίζειν. συνέπεμψε δὲ μοι ὁ Ῥαδάμανθις τὸν πορθμέα Ναῦπλιον, ἵν’ ἐὰν καταχθόμεν

1 ὑμὸν du Soul: ἡμὸν MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

you cannot see it yet. When you have sailed by these, you will finally come to the great continent opposite the one which your people inhabit. Then at last, after you have had many adventures and have travelled through all sorts of countries and lived among unfriendly men, in course of time you will reach the other continent."

With these words he plucked a root of mallow from the ground and handed it to me, telling me to pray to it in my greatest straits. And he advised me if ever I reached this country, neither to stir the fire with a sword-blade nor to eat lupines nor to make love to anyone over eighteen,¹ saying that if I bore these points in mind I might have good hopes of getting back to the island.

Well, I made preparations for the voyage, and when the time came, joined them at the feast. On the next day I went to the poet Homer and begged him to compose me a couplet to carve up, and when he had done so, I set up a slab of beryl near the harbour and had the couplet carved on it. It was:

One Lucian, whom the blessed gods befriend,
Beheld what’s here, and home again did wend.

I stayed that day, too, and put to sea on the next, escorted by the heroes. At that juncture Odysseus came to me without the knowledge of Penelope and gave me a letter to carry to Ogygia Island, to Calypso. Rhadamanthus sent the pilot Nauplius with me, so that if we touched at the

¹ The first is a real Pythagorean precept, or what passed for such (Plut. Mor. 12 e); the other two are parodies.
Τὸς νόσον, μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς συλλάβῃ ἄτε κατ' ἄλλην ἐμπορίαν καταπλέοντας.

ἔστε τού εὐώδη ἀέρα προϊόντες παρελημμένοι, αὐτίκα ἡμᾶς όσμῇ τε δεινῇ διεδέχετο οἶνον ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου καὶ πίττης ἀμα καὶ ἐτέχνων, καὶ κυῖσα δὲ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀφόρητος ὦσπερ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὅπτομένων, καὶ ὁ ἄρχοι σοφὲς καὶ ὀμιλιώδης, καὶ κατέστησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὅροσκο πίττήν ἤκοιμανυ τῷ μὲν καὶ μαστίγων ψόνῳ καὶ οἴμων ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν. τάδε μὲν οὖν 30 ἄλλως δὲ προσέχωμεν, ὡς δὲ ἐπεβημεν, τοιάδε ἦν κύκλῳ μὲν πάσα κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπόξυρος, πέτραις καὶ τράχωσι κατεσκληκυία, δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑδὼρ ἐνήν. ἀνερπύσαντες δὲ ὅμως κατὰ τοὺς κρημνοὺς προῆμεν διὰ τῶν ἀκανθώδων καὶ σκολόπων μεστήσ ἀτραποῦ, πολλὴν ἁμορφίαν τῆς χώρας ἔχουσθη. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔπι τὴν εἰρκτήν καὶ τὸ κολαστήριον, πρώτα μὲν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ τόπου ἐθαυμάζομεν τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐδαφὸς αὐτὸ μαχαίρας καὶ σκόλοψι πάντη ἐξηνθήκει, κύκλῳ δὲ ποταμοὶ περίερροο. ὥς μὲν βορβύρου, ὥς δὲ δεύτερος άματος, ὥς δὲ ἐγκορ βυσσός, πάνω μέγας ὤτος καὶ ἀπέρατος, καὶ ἔρρει ὦσπερ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐκματοῦτο ὦσπερ θάλαττα, καὶ ἱκθίους δὲ ἐίχεν πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν δαλοῖς προσεοικότας, τοὺς δὲ μικροὺς ἀνθραξὶ πεπυρωμένους. ἐκόλου τὸ δὲ αὐτὸς λυχνίσκους. εἶναί δὲ μία στενή διὰ πάνων ἡν, καὶ πυλώρος ἐφειστῆκε Τίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. παρελθόντες δὲ ὅμως τοῦ Ναυπλίου καθηγοῦμένου ἐφρώμεν κολαζομένους πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλέας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτας, διὸν ἐνίος καὶ ἐγνωρίζωμεν εἴδομεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Κινύραν καπνῷ ὑποτυφόμενον.
islands no one might arrest us, thinking we were putting in on another errand.

Forging ahead, we had passed out of the fragrant atmosphere when of a sudden a terrible odour greeted us as of asphalt, sulphur, and pitch burning together, and a vile, insufferable stench as of roasting human flesh: the atmosphere was murky and foggy, and a pitchy dew distilled from it. Likewise we heard the noise of scourges and the wailing of many men. The other islands we did not touch at, but the one on which we landed was precipitous and sheer on all sides; it was roughened with rocks and stony places, and there was neither tree nor water in it. We crawled up the cliffs, however, and went ahead in a path full of thorns and calthrops, finding the country very ugly. On coming to the enclosure and the place of punishment, first of all we wondered at the nature of the region. The ground itself was all sown with sword blades and caltrops, and around it flowed three rivers, one of mud, the second of blood and the inmost one of fire. The latter was very large, and impossible to cross: it ran like water and undulated like the sea, and it contained many fish, some similar to torches, and some, a smaller variety, to live coals. They called them candlefish. There was a single narrow way leading in, past all the rivers, and the warder set there was Timon of Athens. We got through, however, and with Nauplius for our conductor we saw many kings undergoing punishment, and many commoners too. Some of them we even recognized, and we saw Cinyras
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ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀπηρτημένοι. προσετίθεσαν δὲ οἱ περιγγηταὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐκάστων βίους καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἐφ' αἷς κολαξοῦσαν· καὶ μεγίστας ἀπασών τιμωρίας ὑπέμενοι οἱ ψευσάμενοι τι παρὰ τὸν βίον καὶ οἴ μὴ τὰ ἀληθῆ συγγεγραφότες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἦν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. τούτους οὖν ὤρον ἔγω χρηστὰς εἶχον εἰς τοῦτον τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ ψεύδος εἰπόντι συνηπιστάμην. ταχέως οὖν ἀναστρέψας 32 ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν—οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην φέρειν τὴν ὑφὶν—ἀστασάμενος τὸν Ναῦπλιον ἀπέπλευσα.

Καὶ μετ' ὀλόγου ἐφαινετο πλησίουν ἡ τῶν ὅνειρων νῆσος, ἀμυνταὶ καὶ ἀσαφῆς ἤδειν· εἰχε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τι τοὺς ὅνειρος παραπλησίων· ὑπεχώρει γὰρ προσιόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπέφευγε καὶ πορρωτέρω ὑπέβαινε. καταλαβότοις δὲ ποτε αὐτὴν καὶ ἐσπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν "Τπνον λιμένα προσαγορευόμενον πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἐλεφαντίων, ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεκτρύνων ἱερὸν ἐστιν, περί δειλῆν ὤψιν ἀπεβαινομεν" παρελθόντες δὲ ἐσ τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς ὅνειρος καὶ ποικίλους ἑωράμεν. πρῶτον δὲ βούλομαι περί τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ μιθὲν ἄλλης τυλί γέγραπται περὶ αὐτῆς, ὅσο δὲ καὶ μόνος ἐπεμνήσθη Ὁμήρος, οὐ πάνω ἀκριβῶς συνέγραψεν. κυκλῳ μὲν περὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὕλη 33 ἀνέστηκεν, τὰ δειδρα δὲ ἐστὶ μήκοινες ψηλαὶ καὶ μανδραγόραι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν πολύ τι πλῆθος νυκτερίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γίνεται ὁρνεον. ποταμὸς δὲ παραρρέει πλησίον ὁ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενος Νυκτίπορος, καὶ πηγαὶ δύο παρὰ τὰς πύλας· ὀνόματα καὶ ταύταις, τῇ μὲν
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triced up as aforesaid in the smoke of a slow fire. The guides told the life of each, and the crimes for which they were being punished; and the severest punishment of all fell to those who told lies while in life and those who had written what was not true, among whom were Ctesias of Cnidos, Herodotus and many more. On seeing them, I had good hopes for the future, for I have never told a lie that I know of. Well, I turned back to the ship quickly, for I could not endure the sight, said good-bye to Nauplius, and sailed away.

After a short time the Isle of Dreams came in sight close by, faint and uncertain to the eye. It had itself some likeness to a dream, for as we approached it receded and retired and retreated to a greater distance. Overtaking it at length and sailing into the harbour called Sleep, we landed near the ivory gates, where the sanctuary of the Cock is, about dusk, and on entering the city, we saw many dreams of all sorts. But first I desire to speak of the city itself, since no one else has written about it, and Homer, the only one to mention it at all, was not quite accurate in what he said.\(^1\) On all sides of it is a wood, in which the trees are tall poppies and mandragoras, and they have a great number of bats in them; for there is no other winged thing in the island. A river flows near which they call Sleep-walker, and there are two springs by the gates,\(^1\) *Odysseus* 19, 560 ff.
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Νήγρετος, τῇ δὲ Παννυχία. ὁ περίβολος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑψηλός τε καὶ ποικίλος, ἵριδι τὴν χρόαν ὀμοιότατος· τῦλαί μέντοι ἔπεισιν οὐ δύο, καθάπερ Ὀμηρος ἐφήκεν, ἀλλὰ τέσσαρες, δύο μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Βλακείας πεδίον ἀποβιλέπουσαι, ἦ μὲν σιδηρᾶ, ἢ δὲ ἐκ κεράμου πεποιημένη, καθ' ᾧ ἐλέγοντο ἀποδημεῖν αὐτῶν οὔ τε φοβερὸ καὶ φονικὸ καὶ ἀπειεῖς, δύο δὲ πρὸς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὴν θάλατ- ταν, ἦ μὲν κερατίνη, ἢ δὲ καθ' ἦν ἡμεῖς παρῆλθομεν ἐλεφαντίνη. εἰσιόριτε δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐστὶ τῷ Νυκτόρον—σέβομαι γὰρ θεῶν ταύτην μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἀλεκτρυώνα· ἐκείνῳ δὲ πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιηταί—ἐν ἀρι- στερᾷ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ὀπτον βασίλεια. οὕτως γὰρ δὴ ἀρχεὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς σατράπας δύο καὶ ὑπάρχους πεποιημένους, Ταραξίωνα τε τὸν Ματαιογένους καὶ Πλούτοκλέα τὸν Φαντασίωνος. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ πηγὴ τῆς ἐστιν, ἦν καλοῦσι Καρεδῶν καὶ πλησίον ναὸι δύο, Ἄπατης καὶ Ἀληθείας· ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἀδυτὸν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, οὔ προειστήκει προφητεύων Ἀντίφων ὁ τῶν ὁνείρων ὑποκριτής, ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ Ὀπτον λαχῶν τῆς τιμῆς. αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν ὁνείρων οὔτε φύσις οὔτε ἱδέα ἡ αὐτή, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν μακροὶ ἦσαν καὶ καλοὶ καὶ εὐειδεῖς, οἱ δὲ μικροὶ καὶ ἄμορφοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν χρύσει, ὡς ἐδόκουν, οἱ δὲ ταπεινοὶ τε καὶ εὐτελεῖς. ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πτερωτοὶ τίνες καὶ τερατώδεις, καὶ ἄλλοι καθάπερ ἐς πομπὴν διεσκευασμένοι, οἱ μὲν ἐσ βασιλέας, οἱ δὲ ἐς θεοὺς, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀλλα τοιαύτα κεκοσμημένοι. τολλοῦς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν, πάλαι παρ' ἤμιν ἐωρακότες, οὗ δὴ καὶ προσήσαν καὶ ἰστιπάξουτο
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named Soundly and Eight-hours. The wall of the city is high and parti-coloured, very like a rainbow in tint. The gates in it are not two, as Homer says, but four. Two face Slowcoach Plain, one of which is of iron and the other of earthenware; through these, it is said, the fearful, murderous, revolting dreams go out. The other two face the harbour and the sea, one of which is of horn and the other, through which we came in, of ivory. As one enters the city, on the right is the temple of Night, for the gods they worship most are Night and the Cock, whose sanctuary is built near the harbour. On the left is the palace of Sleep, who rules among them and has appointed two satraps or lieutenants, Nightmare, son of Causeless, and Rich, son of Fancy. In the centre of the square is a spring which they call Drowsimere, and close to it are two temples, that of Falsehood and that of Truth. There too is their holy of holies and their oracle, which Antiphon, the interpreter of dreams, presided over as prophet, having had this office from Sleep. As to the dreams themselves, they differ from one another both in nature and in looks. Some were tall, handsome and well-proportioned, while others were small and ugly; and some were rich, I thought, while others were humble and beggarly. There were winged and portentous dreams among them, and there were others dressed up as if for a carnival, being clothed to represent kings and gods and different characters of the sort. We actually recognised many of them, whom we had seen long ago at home. These came
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ος ἂν καὶ συνῆθεις ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς καὶ κατακομβασάντες πάντω λαμπρῶς καὶ δεξιῶς ἐξένιζον, τὴν τε ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν μεγαλοπρεπὴ παρασκευάζοντες καὶ ὑπυφυνοῦμενοι βασιλέας τε ποιήσει καὶ σατράπας. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀπήγγο ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπεδείκνυσιν καὶ αὐθημερὸν ἐπανήγγον. ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν τριάκοντα καὶ ἵσες νύκτας 35 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἑμείναμεν καθεύδοντες εὔωχούμενοι. ἐπειτα δὲ ἅψων βροντής μεγάλης καταρραγάσης ἀνεγρόμενοι καὶ ἀναθορώντες ἀνήχθημεν ἐπισιτισάμενοι.

Τριταῖοι δ' ἐκείθεν τῇ 'Ωγυνία νήσῳ προσχόντες ἀπέβαινομεν. πρότερον δ' ἔγω λύσας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνεγίνωσκον τὰ γεγραμμένα. ἤν δὲ τοιάδε 'Οδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ χαίρειν. Ἰσθι με, ὅσ τὰ πρῶτα ἐξέπλευσα παρὰ σοῦ τὴν σχεδίαν κατασκευασάμενος, ναναγία χρησάμενον μόλις υπὸ Δευκόθεας διασωθῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων χώραν, ὑφ' οὐν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποπεμφθείς κατέλαβον πολλοὺς τῆς γυμνικὸς μνηστήρας εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους τρυφώντας· ἀποκτείνας δὲ ἀπαντᾷς ὑπὸ Τηλεγόνου ύστερον τοῦ ἐκ Κύρκης μοι γενομένου ἀνηρέθην, καὶ ὑνὶ εἰμὶ ἐν τῇ Μακάρων νήσῳ πάντως μετανοοῦν ἐπὶ πολλαπλασίας τὴν παρὰ σοι διάσταταν καὶ τὴν ύπὸ σοῦ προτεινομένην ἀθανασίαν. ἢν οὖν κατὰ παραλαβόμεναι, ἀποδρᾶς ἀφίξομαι πρὸς σέ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου ἡ ἐπιστολή, καὶ περί ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἧσσωμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ προειλθὼν ὅλγον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης εὐφον τὸ σπῆλαιον τοιοῦτον οἰον 'Ομηρος εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτὴν ταλασιοὺργοῦσαν.
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up to us and greeted us like old acquaintances, took us with them, put us to sleep and entertained us very splendidly and hospitably. They treated us like lords in every way, and even promised to make us kings and nabobs. A few of them actually took us off home, gave us a sight of our friends and families and brought us back the same day. For thirty days and thirty nights we stopped with them and had a fine time—sleeping! Then of a sudden a great thunder-clap came; we woke up, sprang out of bed and put to sea as soon as we had laid in supplies.

On the third day out from there we touched at the island of Ogygia and landed. But first I opened the letter and read what was in it. It was:

"Odysseus to Calypso, greeting.

"Soon after I built the raft and sailed away from you I was shipwrecked, and with the help of Leucothea managed to reach the land of the Phaeacians in safety. They sent me home, and there I found that my wife had a number of suitors who were living on the fat of the land at our house. I killed them all, and was afterwards slain by Telegonus, my son by Circe. Now I am on the Isle of the Blest, thoroughly sorry to have given up my life with you and the immortality which you offered me. Therefore, if I get a chance, I shall run away and come to you." In addition to this, the letter said that she was to entertain us. On going a short way from the sea I found the cave, which was as Homer described it,¹ and found Calypso herself working wool. When

¹ *Odys. 5, 55 ff.*
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καὶ ἔπελεξατο, πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐδάκρυνεν, ἐπειτα δὲ παρεκάλει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ξένια καὶ εἰστία λαμπρῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ περὶ τῆς Πηνελόπης, ὅποια τε εἰς τὴν ὥριν καὶ εἰ σωφρονοὶ, καθάπερ Ὀδυσσέως πάλαι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκόμπαζεν καὶ ἦμεῖς τοιαύτα ἀπεκρινάμεθα, ἔξι ὅων εἰκάζομεν εὐφρανεῖσθαι αὐτήν.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἑόρος ἐκοιμήθημεν. ἦσθεν δὲ ἀνηγόμεθα σφοδρότερον κατίοντος τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ δὴ χειμασθέντες ἡμέρας δύο τῇ τρίτῃ περιπίπτομεν τοῖς Κολοκυνθοπειραταῖς. ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ εἰσίν οὕτω ἄγριοι ἐκ τῶν πλησίον νήσων ληστεύοντες τοὺς παραπλέοντας. τὰ πλοία δὲ ἔχουσι μεγάλα κολοκύθινα τὸ μῆκος πῆχεων ἐξίκοντα· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐξηράνωσι τὴν κολόκυθαν, κοιλάναντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξελόντες τὴν ἐντεριώνην ἐμπλέουσιν, ἵστοις μὲν χρώμενοι καλαμίνοις, αὗτὶ δὲ τῆς ὀθόνης τῷ φύλλῳ τῆς κολοκύνθης. προσβαλόντες οὖν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δύο πληρωμάτων ἐμάχοντο καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραμμάτιζον βάλλοντες αὖτι λίθων τῷ σπέρματι τῶν κολοκυνθῶν. ἀγχωμάλως δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ναυμαχόντες περὶ μεσημβριάν εἴδομεν κατόπιν τῶν Κολοκυνθοπειρατῶν προσπλέοντας τοὺς Καρυοναύτας. πολέμοι δὲ ἦσαν ἄλληλοι, ὡς ἐδειξαν ἐπεὶ γὰρ κάκεινοι ἴσθοτοι αὐτοὺς ἐπίσταναι, ἦμῶν μὲν ὀλυγόρησαν, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνους ἐναυμάχουν, ἦμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ ἐπάραντες τὴν ὀθόνην ἐφεύγομεν ὑπολιπόντες αὐτοὺς μαχαμένους, καὶ δὴ λοι ἦσαν κρατήσοντες οἱ Καρυοναύται ἄτε

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she had taken the letter and read it, she wept a long time at first, and then she asked us in to enjoy her hospitality, gave us a splendid feast and enquired about Odysseus and Penelope—how she looked and whether she was prudent, as Odysseus used to boast in old times.¹ We made her such answers as we thought would please her.

After that, we went back to the ship and slept beside it on the shore, and early in the morning we put to sea in a rising wind. We were storm-tossed for two days, and on the third we fell in with the Pumpkin-pirates. They are savages from the neighbouring islands who prey on passing sailors. They have large boats of pumpkin, sixty cubits long; for after drying a pumpkin they hollow it out, take out the insides and go sailing in it, using reeds for masts and a pumpkin-leaf for a sail. They attacked us with two crews and gave us battle, wounding many of us by hitting us with pumpkin-seeds instead of stones. After fighting for a long time on even terms, about noon we saw the Nut-sailors coming up astern of the Pumpkin-pirates. They were enemies to one another, as they showed by their actions; for when the Pumpkin-pirates noticed them coming up, they neglected us and faced about and fought with them. But in the meantime we hoisted our canvas and fled, leaving them fighting. It was evident that the Nut-sailors would win, as they were in greater

¹ Odys. 5, 201 ff.
καὶ πλείους—πεντε γὰρ εἶχον πληρώματα—καὶ ἀπὸ ἱσχυρότερων νεῶν μαχόμενοι τὰ γὰρ πλοῖα ὅν αὐτοὺς κελύφη καρύὼν ἡμίτομα, κεκενωμένα, μέγεθος δὲ ἐκάστου ἡμιτόμου εἰς μῆκος ὀργυιαὶ πεντεκαίδεκα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρύψαμεν αὐτοὺς, ἰώμεθα τοὺς τραυματίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ παν ἦμεν, ἢν τινα ἐπιβουλᾶς προσδεχόμενοι οὐ μάτην. οὖτω γοῦν ἐδεδύκει ὁ ἡλιόσ, καὶ ἀπὸ τινος ἐρήμου νῆσου προσήλαυν ἦμιν ὅσον εἰκοσι ἀνδρεῖς ἐπὶ δελφίων μεγάλων ὁχύμενοι, λῃσταί καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ δελφίνες αὐτοὺς ἔφερον ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ἀναπηδώντες ἐχρεμέτειξον ὦσπερ ἐπιτοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίων ἦσαν, διαστάντες οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐνθὲν ἐβάλλον ἡμᾶς σπίτιας ἥραις καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς καρκίνων. τοξεύοντων δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκοντίζοντων οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον, ἄλλα πρωθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν νῆσον κατέφυγον.

Περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον γαλήνης ὁυσῆς ἐλάθομεν προσκέλισαν ἄλκυνον καλιὰ παμ- μεγέθει σταδίων γοῦν ἦν αὕτη ἐξήκοντα τὸ περίμετρον. ἐπέπλευν δὲ ἥ ἄλκυνῖν τὰ φῶτα θάλ- πουσα οὐ πολὺ μεῖνο τὴς καλίας. καὶ ἡ ἀνα- πταμένη μικροῦ μὲν κατέδυσε τὴν ναῦν τῷ ἀνέμῳ τῶν πτερῶν. ὁχετο δ' ἦν φεύγουσα γορεάν τινα φωνήν προϊμείνη. ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑποφαινούσης ἐθεώμεθα τὴν καλίαν σχεδία μεγάλη προσεικυίαν έκ δένδρων μεγάλων συμ- πεφορημένην ἐπὶ τὴν καὶ φῶς πεντάκοσια, ἐκασ- τον αὐτῶν Χίου πίθου περιπληθέστερον. ἦδη μέντοι καὶ οἱ νεοτοι ἐνδόθεν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἕκροζον. πελέκεσιν γοῦν διακόψαντες ἐν τῶν 344
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numbers—they had five crews—and fought from stouterer ships. Their boats were the halves of empty nutshells, each of which measured fifteen fathoms in length.

When we had lost them from sight, we attended to the wounded, and thereafter we kept under arms most of the time, always looking for attacks. And we did not look in vain. In fact, the sun had not yet gone down when from a desert island there came out against us about twenty men riding on huge dolphins, who were pirates like the others. The dolphins carried them securely and plunged and neighed like horses. When they were close by, they separated and threw at us from both sides with dry cuttle-fish and crabs' eyes. But when we let fly at them with spears and arrows, they could not hold their ground, but fled to the island, most of them wounded.

About midnight, while it was calm, we unexpectedly ran aground on an enormous kingfisher's nest; really, it was sixty furlongs in circumference. The female was sailing on it, keeping her eggs warm, and she was not much smaller than the nest—in fact, as she started up she almost sank the ship with the wind of her wings. She flew off, however, uttering a plaintive cry. We landed when day began to break, and observed that the nest was like a great raft, built of huge trees. There were five hundred eggs in it, every one of them bigger than a Chian wine-jar, and the chicks were already visible inside them and were chirping. We cut open one

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ωῶν νεοττῶν ἄπτερον ἐξεκολάψαμεν εἰκοσὶ γυνῶν ἀδρότερον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέοντες ἀπείχομεν τῆς καλίας ὅσον σταδίους διακοσίους, τέρατα ἡμῖν μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐπεσήμανεν· οὐ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ χρήσικος ἁφῶν ἐπετεῦξατο καὶ ἀνεβόησεν, καὶ οὐ κυβερνήτης ὁ Σκύλθαρος φαλακρὸς ἦδη ὁ ψυχομυστής, καὶ τὸ πάντων δὴ παραδοξότατον, ὁ γὰρ ἴστος τῆς νεώς ἐξεβλάστησεν καὶ κλάδους ἀνεβύσσεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρῷ ἐκαρποφόρησεν, οὐ δὲ καρπὸς ἦν σύκα καὶ σταφυλὴ μέλανα, ὡσπον πέπειρος. ταῦτα ἱδόντες ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπαράχθημεν καὶ ἴσαρμαθα τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον τοῦ φαντάσματος. οὖπω δὲ πεντακοσίους σταδίους διελθόντες εἶδομεν ὕλην μεγάστην καὶ λάσιον πιτύων καὶ κυπαρίσσων. καὶ ἤμεῖς μὲν εἰκάσαμεν ἡπειροῦ εἴναι: τὸ δ’ ἦν πέλαγος ἀβυσσον ἀρρίζως δένδροις καταπεφυτευμένοι· εἰστήκει δὲ τὰ δένδρα ὑμώς ἄκινητα, ὅρθα καθάπερ ἐπιπλέοντα. πλησιάσαντες οὖν καὶ τὸ πάν κατανοήσαντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἰχόμεθα τὸ χρῆ δρᾶν· οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τῶν δένδρων πλεῖν δυνατὸν ἦν—πυκνὰ γὰρ καὶ προσεχὴ ὑπῆρχεν—οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἐδόκει μαρτέιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ μέγιστον δένδρον ἀπεσκόπουν τὰ ἐπέκεινα ὁπως ἔχοι, καὶ ἐώρων ἐπὶ σταδίους μὲν πεντήκοντα ἡ ὀλύνως πλεῖως τὴν ὕλην οὖσαν, ἐπείτα δὲ αὕθες ἐτερον ὠκεᾶνοι ἐκδεχόμενον. καὶ δὴ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀναθεμένοις

1 ἀπεσκόπουν vulg.: ἐπεσκόπουν Π, Nilén.
of the eggs with axes and took from the shell a featherless chick fatter than twenty vultures.

When we had sailed a distance of two hundred furlongs from the nest, great and wonderful signs manifested themselves to us. The gooseneck 1 suddenly grew feathers and started cackling, the sailing-master, Scintharus, who was already bald, became the owner of long hair, and what was strangest of all, the ship’s mast budded, branched, and bore fruit at the summit! The fruit consisted of figs and black raisin-grapes, which were not yet ripe. 2 On seeing this, we were disturbed, as well we might be, and offered a prayer to the gods on account of the strangeness of the manifestation. We had not yet gone five hundred furlongs when we saw a very large, thick forest of pines and cypresses. We thought it was land, but in reality it was a bottomless sea overgrown with rootless trees, in spite of which the trees stood up motionless and straight, as if they were floating. On drawing near and forming an idea of the situation, we were in a quandary what to do, for it was not possible to sail between the trees, they being thick and close together, nor did it seem easy to turn back. Climbing the tallest tree, I looked to see how things were on the other side, and I saw that the forest extended for fifty stades or a little more, and that another ocean lay beyond. So we resolved to lift the

1 In ancient ships the gooseneck was an ornament on the stem, or (as here) on the stern. Nowadays it is a device for fastening a spar to a mast.

2 A parody on the experience of the pirates who carried off Dionysus (Hymn. Hom. 7, 33).
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τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην τῶν δένδρων—πυκνὴ δὲ ἦν—ὑπερβιβάσας, εἰς δυναίμεθα, εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἑτέραν καὶ οὕτως ἐποιοῦμεν. ἐκδίσαντες γὰρ ἀυτὴν κάλω μεγάλω καὶ ἀνελθοῦσες ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα μόλις ἀνιμησάμεθα, καὶ θέντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων, πετάσαντες τὰ ἱστία καθάπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ ἐπλέομεν του ἀνέμου προσθοῦντος ἐπισυρόμενοι· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος ἐπεισῆλθε με—φησὶν γὰρ ποι κῶκείνοις.

Τούτων δὲ ὑλήντα διὰ πλὸν ἐρχομένουσιν.

Βιασάμενοι δὲ ὅμως τὴν ὕλην ἀφικόμεθα ἐς 43 τὸ ύδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ὅμοιὸς καθέντες τὴν ναῦν ἐπλέομεν διὰ καθαροῦ καὶ διανύουσιν ὑδατός, ἀχρὶ δὴ ἐπέστημεν χάσματι μεγάλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ὑδατος διεστῶτος γεγενημένῳ, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλάκις ὄρῳμεν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν γενόμενα διαχωρίσματα. ἡ μὲν οὖν ναῦς καθελόντων ἤρριν τὰ ἱστία οὐ ῥάδως ἐστὶ παρ’ ὅλγος ἐλθοῦσα κατενεχθῆναι. ὑπερκύψαντες δὲ ἧμεῖς ἐφῶρμεν βάθος ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων μίλα φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον· εἰστήκει γὰρ τὸ ύδωρ ὅσπερ μενερισμένων περιβλέποντες δὲ ὄρῳμεν κατὰ δεξιὰ οὐ πάντων πόρρωθεν γέφυραν ἐπεξευγμένην ὑδατός συμπτοῦντος τὰ πελάγη κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας θαλάττης εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν διαρρέοντος. προσελάσαντες οὖν ταῖς κόπταις κατ’ ἐκείνῳ παρεδράμονες καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγωνίας ἐπεράσαμεν οὕποτε προσδοκήσαντες.

Ἐντεύθεν ἡμᾶς ὑπεδέχετο πέλαγος προσημεῖ 44 καὶ νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, εὐπρόσιτος, συμφιλικομένη ἐνέμοντο δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνθρωποὶ ἀγριοὶ. Βουκέφαλοι,
ship on to the tree-tops, which were thick, and cross
over, if we could, to the farther side; and that is what
we did. We made her fast to a large rope, climbed
the trees and pulled her up with much ado. Setting
her on the branches and spreading our canvas, we
sailed just as if we were at sea, carried along by the
force of the wind. At that juncture a line of the
poet Antimachus came into my head; he says some-
where or other:

"And unto them their forest cruise pursuing."

We managed the wood in spite of everything
and reached the water. Lowering the ship again
in the same way we sailed through pure, clear
water, until we came to a great crevasse made by
the water dividing, like the cracks that one often
sees in the earth, made by earthquakes. Though
we got in the sails, the ship was slow to lose head-
way and so came near being engulfed. Peering over
the edge, we saw a precipice of fully a thousand
furlongs, most frightful and unnatural—the water
stood there as if cut apart! But as we looked about
us we saw on the right at no great distance a bridge
thrown across, which was of water, joining the
surfaces of the two seas and flowing from one to the
other. Rowing up, therefore, we ran into the stream
and by great effort got across, though we thought
we should never do it.

Then we came to a smooth sea and an island
of no great size that was easily accessible and was
inhabited. It was peopled by savages, the Bull-
heads, who have horns in the style that the
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κέρατα ἔχοντες, οἷον παρ' ἡμῖν τὸν Μινώταυρον ἀναπλάττουσιν. ἀποβάντες δὲ προσέμενυ ὑδρεύ-σόμενοι καὶ σιτία ληψόμενοι, εἰ ποθεν δυνηθεύ-μεν οὐκέτι γὰρ εἶχομεν. καὶ ὦδορ μὲν αὐτοῦ πλησίον εὕρομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφαινετο, πλὴν μυκηθρῶς πολὺς οὗ πόρρωθεν ἤκουστο. ὄξαντες οὖν ἀγέλην εἶναι βοῶν, κατ’ ὀλίγον προχωροῦντες ἐπέστημεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ ἱδόντες ἡμᾶς ἐδώκον, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν τῶν ἐταίρων λαμβάνοντιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποῖ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κατεφεύγομεν. εἰτὰ μέντοι πάντες ὀπλισάμενοι—οὐ γὰρ ἔδοκεν ἡμῖν ἀτιμωρήτους περιδεῖν τοὺς φίλους—ἐμπι-πτομεν τοῖς Βουκεφάλοις τὰ κρέα τῶν ἀνηρμένων διαιρομένως: φοβίσαντες δὲ πάντας διώκομεν, καὶ κτεινομέν γε ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἦπταν αὐτῶν δύο λαμβάνομεν, καὶ αὐθίς ὀπίσω ἀναστρέ-φομεν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχοντες. σιτίον μέντοι οὔδενε εὑρομεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι παρῆκαν ἀπο- σφάτειν τοὺς εἰλημμένους, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, ἄλλα δῆσας ἐφύλαττον αὐτοὺς, ἄχρι δὴ ἄφικοντο παρὰ τῶν Βουκεφάλων πρέσβεις ἀπαιτοῦντες ἑπὶ λύτρως τοὺς συνειλημμένους· συνίεμεν γὰρ αὐτῶν διανεύοντων καὶ γοερὸν τὶ μυκώμενων ὠσπέρ ἱκετευόντων. τὰ λύτρα δὲ ἢν τυρώ τολλοῖ καὶ ἰχθύες ξηροὶ καὶ κρόμμια καὶ ἐλαφοὶ τέτταρες, τρεῖς ἐκάστη πόδας ἔχουσα, δύο μὲν τοὺς ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ πρόσω συνεπεφύκεσαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπο-δόντες τοὺς συνειλημμένους καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιμείναντες ἀνήλθημεν.

'Ἡδη δὲ ἰχθύες τε ἡμῖν ἐφαινοῦτο καὶ ὄρνεα παρεπέτετο καὶ ἀλλ' ὀπόσα γῆς πλησίον οὐσις σημεῖα προφαίνεται. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ ἀνδρας.
Minotaur is represented at home. Landing, we went up country to get water and food if we could, for we no longer had any. Water we found close by, but there was nothing else to be seen, though we heard a great bellowing not far off. Thinking it was a herd of cattle, we went ahead cautiously and came upon the men of whom I spoke. On seeing us, they gave chase, and captured three of my comrades, but the rest of us made our escape to the sea. Then, however, we all armed ourselves—it did not seem right to let our friends go unavenged—and fell on the Bullheads while they were portioning out the flesh of the men they had slain. We put them all to flight and gave chase, killing about fifty and taking two alive: then we turned back to the ship with our prisoners. We found no food, though. The rest therefore urged that the captives be killed; I did not approve of this, however, but put them in irons and kept them under guard until ambassadors came from the Bullheads, asking for them and offering a ransom. We understood them because they made signs and bellowed plaintively as if in entreaty. The ransom was a number of cheeses, dried fish, onions, and four does, each of which had only three feet, for while they had two behind, the forefeet had grown together. In exchange for all this we surrendered the captives, and after stopping there a single day we put to sea.

Already we began to see fish, birds flew by and all the other signs that land was near made their appearance. In a little while we saw men who were
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εἴδομεν καὶνὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ναυτιλίας χρωμένους· αὐτοὶ γὰρ καὶ ναῦται καὶ νῆς ἦσαν. λέξιν δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ τοῦ τρόπου ὑπτυοι κείμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ύδατος ὀρθώσαντες τὰ αἴδοια—μεγάλα δὲ φέρουσιν—ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠδόνην πετάσαντες καὶ ταῖς χερσίν τους ποδεώνας κατέχουντες ἐμπίπτοντος τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔπλεον. ἀλλοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἐπὶ φελλῶν καθήμενοι ξεύξαντες δύο δελφίνας ἠλαυνόν τε καὶ ἠνύχουν· οἱ δὲ προϊόντος ἐπεσύροντο τοὺς φελλοὺς. οὗτοι ἦμας οὔτε ἡδίκουν οὔτε ἐφευγοῦν, ἀλλ' ἠλαυνοῦν ἄδεως τε καὶ εἰρηνικῶς τὸ εἴδος τοῦ ἠμετέρου πλοίου θαυμάζουντες καὶ πάντοθεν περισκοποῦντες.

Ἐσπέρας δὲ ἡδὴ προσήχθημεν νῆσῳ οὐ μεγάλη κατφκεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, ὥς ἐνομίζομεν, Ἐλλάδα φωνὴν προιμένων προσήκεν γὰρ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ ἡσπάζοντο, πάνυ ἑταιρικῶς κεκοσμημέναι καὶ καλὰς πάσαι καὶ νεάνιδες, ποδήρεις τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐπισυρόμεναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν νῆσος ἐκαλεῖτο Καβαλοῦσα,1 ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη Τίδαμαρδαία. λαβοῦσαι δ' οὖν ἡμᾶς αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκάστη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀπήγαγον καὶ ἤξον ἐποιεῖτο. ἐγὼ δὲ μικρὸν ἀποστάσιον—οὐ γὰρ χρηστὰ ἐμαντεύωμην—ἀκριβέστερον τε περιβλέπων ὀρὸς πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑστἀ καὶ κρανία κείμενα. καὶ τὸ μὲν βοῦν ἰστᾶναί καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους συγκαλεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀπλα χωρεῖν οὐκ εὐδοκίμαζον. προχειρισάμενος δὲ τὴν μαλάχην πολλὰ ἡμιχόμην αὕτη διαφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν παροίνων κακῶν· μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς ἥξενος διακονομενὸς εἴδον τὰ σκέλη ὡς γυναικός, ἀλλ' ὄνομα ὄπλας καὶ δὴ σπασάμενος τὸ ἅφος

1 Ἐκβαλοῦσα Γ, Nilén: Καβαλοῦσα, Schwartz, after Guyet.
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following a novel mode of sailing, being at once sailors and ships. Let me tell you how they did it: they lay on their backs on the water, hoisted their jury-masts, which are sizeable, spread sail on them, held the clews in their hands, and were off and away as soon as the wind struck them. Others came next who sat on corks and had a pair of dolphins hitched up, driving them and guiding them with reins; in moving ahead, the dolphins drew the corks along. They neither offered us harm nor ran away from us, but drove along fearlessly and peacefully, wondering at the shape of our boat and examining her from all sides.

In the evening we touched at another island of no great size. It was inhabited by women—or so we thought—who spoke Greek, and they came up to us, welcomed and embraced us. They were got up just like courtesans and were all beautiful and young, with tunics that swept on the ground. The island was called Witchery, and the city Watertown. Each of the women took one of us home with her and made him her guest. But I excused myself for a moment—I had misgivings—and on looking about rather carefully, saw many human bones and skulls lying there. To make an outcry, call my comrades together and arm ourselves did not seem best to me, but I fetched out my mallow and prayed to it earnestly that I might escape the ills that beset me. After a little while, as my hostess was waiting on me, I saw that her legs were not a woman's but those of an ass. Then I drew my sword, caught and bound

1 Both names are uncertain in the Greek.
ΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΟΥΝ ἘΠῚ ΝΑ῭Ν ΚΑΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ἈΠΕΠΛΕΥΣΑΜΕΝ. ΚΑῚ ἘΠΕΙ ᾿ΗΜΕΡΑ ΥΡΝΗΓΑΞΕ, ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ᾿ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ ἈΠΕΒΛΕΠΟΜΕΝ ΕΙΚΑΞΟΜΕΝ ΤΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ἈΝΤΙΠΕΡΑΣ ΤΗν ὑφ ἦμων οἰκουμένη κειμένην. προσκυνήσαντες δ’ οὖν καὶ προσευξάμενοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐσκοποῦμεν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει ἐπιβάσιν μόνον αὐθίς ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον αὐτοῦ καταλπείν, ἀνελθόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν πειράθηκαι τῶν ἐνοικούντων. ἐν ὁσὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλογιζόμεθα, χείμων σφοδρὸς ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ προσαράξας τὸ σκάφος τῷ αἰγιαλῷ διέλυσεν. ἤμεις δὲ μόλις ἐξενηξίμεθα τὰ ὑπλα ἐκαστὸς καὶ εἰ τῷ ἄλλῳ οἶδος τε ἦν ἀρπασάμενοι.

ΤΑῦΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΤΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΥἹΣ ΣΥΝΕΝΕΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΜΟΙ ἔΝ ΤΗ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ ΚΑῚ ΠΑΡÀ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΟΙΩΝ ἘΝ 354
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her and questioned her about the whole thing. Against her will she told me that they were women of the sea, called Asslegs and that they fed on the strangers that visited them. "When we have made them drunk," said she, "we go to bed with them and attack them in their sleep." On hearing this, I left her there tied up, and myself went up to the housetop and cried out and called my comrades together. When they had come, I told them everything, showed them the bones and led them in to the woman who was tied up, but she immediately turned to water and disappeared. Nevertheless I thrust my sword into the water as a test, and the water turned to blood.

With all speed we went back to the ship and sailed away. When the light of day began to show, we saw land and judged it to be the world opposite the one which we inhabit. After doing homage and offering prayer, we took thought for the future. Some of us proposed just to land and then turn back again, others to leave the boat there, go into the interior and see what the inhabitants were like. While we were debating this, a violent storm struck the boat, dashed it ashore and wrecked it, and we ourselves had much trouble in swimming out with our arms and anything else that we could catch up.

Thus far I have told you what happened to me until I reached the other world, first at sea, then
ταῖς νῆσοις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ
κήτει καὶ ἔπει ἐξήλθομεν, παρὰ τε τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ
toῖσ ὀνείροις καὶ τὰ τελευταία παρὰ τοῖς Βουκε-
φάλοις καὶ ταῖς Ὀινοσκελέαις, τὰ δὲ ἔπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἐν ταῖς ἔξης βιβλίοις διηγήσομαι.
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during my voyage among the islands and in the air, then in the whale, and after we left it, among the heroes and the dreams, and finally among the Bullheads and the Asslegs. What happened in the other world I shall tell you in the succeeding books.¹

¹ The biggest lie of all, as a disgruntled Greek scribe remarks in the margin!
SLANDER
ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

This essay is rhetoric pure and simple, and was probably written early in Lucian's career. It is famous because it contains a vivid description of a picture by Apelles, which was again translated into paint by Botticelli in "La Calunnia."
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΡΑΙΔΙΩΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΤΕΙΝ
ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗΙ

Δεινόν γε ἡ ἁγνοια καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰτία, ὥστερ ἁχλίν τινα καταχέουσα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀμαυρώσα καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ἐπηλυγμένουσα. ἐν σκότω γοῦν πλανωμένους πάντες ἔοικαμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τυφλοῖς ὠμοία πέπονθαμεν, τῷ μὲν προσπταίνοντες ἁλόγος, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαινοντες, οὐδὲν δεόν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλησίον καὶ παρὰ πόδας οὐχ ὀρῶντες, τὸ δὲ πόρρῳ καὶ πάμπολυ διεστηκὸς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦν δεδιστές καὶ ὅλως ἐφ’ ἐκόστον τῶν πραττομένων οὐ διαλείπομεν τὰ πολλὰ ὑλισθαίνοντες. τοιμάρτοι μυρίας ἣδος τοῖς πραγματειδασκάλοις ἀφομίας εἰς τὰ δράματα τὸ τοιοῦτο παρέσχεται, τοὺς Λαβδακίδας καὶ τοὺς Πελοπίδας καὶ τὰ τούτως παραπλήσσας σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἀναβαινοντων κακῶν εὑρὼν τις ἄν υπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καθάπερ υπὸ τραγικοῦ τινος δαίμονος κεχορηγημένα.

Δέγω δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἀποβλέπων, μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὰς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κατὰ τῶν συνηθῶν καὶ φιλῶν διαβολῶς, ὅπ’ ὅν ἡδῆ καὶ οικοὶ ἀνάστατοι γεγονασί καὶ πόλεις ἀρδήν ἀπολὼλαις,
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ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

It is really a terrible thing, is ignorance, a cause of many woes to humanity; for it envelops things in a fog, so to speak, and obscures the truth and overshadows each man's life. Truly, we all resemble people lost in the dark—nay, we are even like blind men. Now we stumble inexcusably, now we lift our feet when there is no need of it; and we do not see what is near and right before us, but fear what is far away and extremely remote as if it blocked our path. In short, in everything we do we are always making plenty of missteps. For this reason the writers of tragedy have found in this universal truth many and many a motive for their dramas—take for example, the house of Labdacus, the house of Pelops and their like. Indeed, most of the troubles that are put on the stage are supplied to the poets, you will find, by ignorance, as though it were a sort of tragic divinity.

What I have in mind more than anything else is slanderous lying about acquaintances and friends, through which families have been rooted out, cities have utterly perished, fathers have been driven mad

1 King of Thebes, father of Laius.
πατέρες τε κατὰ παίδων ἐξεμάνησαν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ κατὰ τῶν ὀμογενῶν καὶ παίδες κατὰ τῶν γεναμένων καὶ ἐρασταὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ φίλιαι συνεκόπησαν καὶ ὄρκοις ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὰς διαβολᾶς πιθανότητας. ὑπὸ δὲ ψωστὶ περιπτώμεν αὐταῖς, ὑποδείξας ἰβούλομαι τὸ λόγῳ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τίνος γραφῆς ὁποῖον τί ἐστιν ἢ διαβολή καὶ πόθεν ἀρχεται καὶ ὅποια ἐργάζεται.

Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀπελλῆς ὁ Ἐφέσιος πάλαι ταύτην προούλαβε τὴν εἰκόνα· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ οὕτως διαβληθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὡς μετεσχηκὼς Θεοδότα τῆς συνυμμοσίας ἐν Τύρῳ,—ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς ὦν ἔωράκει ποτὲ τὴν Τύρου οὐδὲ τὸν Θεοδόταν, ὡστὶς ἤν, ἐγνώσκει, ἢ καθ᾽ ὥσαν ἴκουε Πτολεμαῖον τινὰ ὑπαρχον εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπιτετραμμένον. ἀλλ᾽ ὁμως τῶν ἀντιτέχνων τις Ἀντίφιλος τούνομα ὑπὸ φθόνου τῆς παρὰ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ξηλοτυπίας κατείπεκ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὡς εἰς κεκοιμωνικῶς τῶν ὀλῶν καὶ ὡς θεώσατο τις αὐτοῦ ἐν Φοινίκῃ συνεστιώμενον Θεοδότα καὶ παρ᾽ ὁλον τὸ δεῖπνον πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν κοιμολογούμενον, καὶ τέλος ἀπεφηνε τὴν Τύρου ἀπόστασιν καὶ Πηλοσίου κατάληψιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀπελλοῦ συμβουλῆς γεγονέναι.

'Ο δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὡς ἄν καὶ τάλλα ὦν κάρτα καὶ φρενήρης τίς ὄν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν κολακείᾳ δεσποτικῇ τεθραμμένοις, οὕτως ἐξεκαύθη καὶ συνεταράξθη

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1 ὄρκοι Cobet: οἶκοι MSS.
2 ὑπὸ Herwerden: not in MSS.
3 κάρτα Gesner: πάνυ du Soul: κάρτα πάνυ MSS.

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against their children, brothers against own brothers, children against their parents and lovers against those they love. Many a friendship, too, has been parted and many an oath broken through belief in slander. In order, then, that we may as far as possible avoid being involved in it, I wish to show in words, as if in a painting, what sort of thing slander is, how it begins and what it does.

I should say, however, that Apelles of Ephesus long ago preempted this subject for a picture; and with good reason, for he himself had been slandered to Ptolemy on the ground that he had taken part with Theodotus in the conspiracy in Tyre, although Apelles had never set eyes on Tyre and did not know who Theodotus was, beyond having heard that he was one of Ptolemy's governors, in charge of affairs in Phoenicia. Nevertheless, one of his rivals named Antiphilus, through envy of his favour at court and professional jealousy, maligned him by telling Ptolemy that he had taken part in the whole enterprise, and that someone had seen him dining with Theodotus in Phoenicia and whispering into his ear all through the meal; and in the end he declared that the revolt of Tyre and the capture of Pelusium had taken place on the advice of Apelles.

Ptolemy, who in general was not particularly sound of judgment, but had been brought up in the midst of courtly flattery, was so inflamed and upset by this

1 The story is apocryphal, as Apelles must have been in his grave nearly a hundred years when Theodotus (not Theodotus) betrayed Ptolemy Philopator (219 B.C.).
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πρὸς τὴς παραδόξου ταύτης διαβολῆς, ὡστε μηδὲν τῶν εἰκότων λογισάμενος, μηδ’ ὅτι ἀντί-
τεχνος ἢν ὁ διαβάλλων μηδ’ ὅτι μικρότερος ἢ
κατὰ τηλικάντην προδοσίαν ἐξωγράφος, καὶ ταύτα
eὐ πεπονθῶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ’ ὄντων τῶν
ὄμοστέχυων τετιμημένος, ἀλλ’ οὔδε τὸ παράπαν
eἰ ἐξεπλευσεν 'Απελλῆς ὡς Τύρον ἐξετάσας,
εὐθὺς ἐξεμήνυεν ἐν θῶς ἐνεπιμπλα τὰ βασίλεια
tὸν ἀχάριστον κεκραγὼς καὶ τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ
sυναμώτην. καὶ εἰ γε μὴ τῶν συνελθημένων
tις ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντιφίλου ἤματι-
σχυντία καὶ τὸν ἄθλιον Ἀπελλῆν κατελεῖσας
ἐφ’ μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς κεκοιμωνηκέναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον,
ἀπετέμητο ἀν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ παραπελελαύκει
tῶν ἐν Τύρῳ κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς αὐτίος γεγονός.

'Ο μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος λέγεται αἰσχυν-
θήναι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὡστε τὸν μὲν Ἀπελλῆν
ἐκατὸν ταλῶντος ἐδωρήσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀντιφίλον
dούλευεν αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν. ὡ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς ὁν
παρεκινύνευσε μεμιμημένος τοιάδε τινι εἰκόνι
ἡμύνατο τὴν διαβολὴν. ἐν δὲξία τις ἂνὴρ κάθηται
τὰ ὅτα παμμεγέθη ἕχων μικροῦ δειν τῶς τοῦ
Μῖδου προσεοικότα, τὴν χείρα προτείνων πώρρω-
θεν ἐπὶ προσιουσία τῇ Διαβολῇ, περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν
ἐστάσι δύο γυναῖκες, 'Δυνοιά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ
Τπόληςις ἐτέρωθεν δὲ προσέρχεται ἡ Δια-
βολῆ, ἡμάιον ἐς ὑπερβολὴν πάγκαλον, ὑπό-
θερμον δὲ καὶ παρακεκινημένον, οἷον ἐς
τὴν λυτταν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν δεικνύοσα, τῇ μὲν ἄρι-
στερά διδα καιομένην ἔχουσα, τῇ ἐτέρᾳ δὲ νεανίαν
τινὰ τῶν τριχῶν σύρουσα τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντα

ἐξεμήνυεν Α.Μ.Η. : ἐὰνδε μηδενὶ MSS.
surprising charge that he did not take into account any of the probabilities, not considering either that the accuser was a rival or that a painter was too insignificant a person for so great a piece of treason—a painter, too, who had been well treated by him and honoured above any of his fellow-craftsmen. Indeed, he did not even enquire whether Apelles had gone to Tyre at all. On the contrary, he at once began to rave and filled the palace with noise, shouting "The ingrater," "The plotter," and "The conspirator." And if one of his fellow-prisoners, who was indignant at the impudence of Antiphilus and felt sorry for poor Apelles, had not said that the man had not taken any part whatever in the affair, he would have had his head cut off, and so would have shared the consequences of the troubles in Tyre without being himself to blame for them in any way.

Ptolemy is said to have been so ashamed of the affair that he presented Apelles with a hundred talents and gave him Antiphilus for his slave. Apelles, for his part, mindful of the risk that he had run, hit back at slander in a painting. On the right of it sits a man with very large ears, almost like those of Midas, extending his hand to Slander while she is still at some distance from him. Near him stand two women—Ignorance, I think, and Suspicion. On the other side, Slander is coming up, a woman beautiful beyond measure, but full of passion and excitement, evincing as she does fury and wrath by carrying in her left hand a blazing torch and with the other dragging by the hair a young man who stretches out his hands to heaven.
eis ton ouranon kai marturomeven tou thoeus. 

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1 tis 'Epiβouλη Burmeister : 'Επιβουλη tis MSS.
2 oιμαι Jacobs : kal MSS.
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and calls the gods to witness his innocence. She is conducted by a pale ugly man who has a piercing eye and looks as if he had wasted away in long illness; he may be supposed to be Envy. Besides, there are two women in attendance on Slander, egging her on, tiring her and tricking her out. According to the interpretation of them given me by the guide to the picture, one was Treachery and the other Deceit. They were followed by a woman dressed in deep mourning, with black clothes all in tatters—Repentance, I think, her name was. At all events, she was turning back with tears in her eyes and casting a stealthy glance, full of shame, at Truth, who was approaching.

That is the way in which Apelles represented in the painting his own hairbreadth escape. Come, suppose we too, if you like, following the lead of the Ephesian artist, portray the characteristics of slander, after first sketching it in outline: for in that way our picture will perhaps come out more clearly. Slander, then, is a baseless accusation, made without the cognizance of the accused and sustained by the uncontradicted assertion of one side. This is the subject of my lecture, and since there are three leading characters in slander as in comedy—the slanderer, the slandered person, and the hearer of the slander,—let us consider what is likely to happen in the case of each of them.¹

In the first place, if you like, let us bring on the star of the play, I mean the author of the slander. That he is not a good man admits of no doubt, I am

¹ This partition, derived from Herodotus (7, 10), is not at all strictly followed by Lucian in developing his theme.
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ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπός ἦστι, πάσιν οἴμαι γνώριμον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἀγαθὸς κακῶν αὐτίος γένοιτο τῷ πλη-
σίον, ἀλλ’ ἐστιν ἀγαθῶν ἄνδραν ἀφ’ ὧν εὐ ποιοῦσιν
αὐτοὶ τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ ἄφ’ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἄδι-
κούντες αἰτιώνται καὶ μισεῖσθαι παρασκευά-
ζοντιν, εὐδοκιμεῖν δόξαν εὐνοίας προσλαβόντες.

'Επειτα δὲ ὃς ἄδικοις ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ παράνομος 8
ἐστι καὶ ἁσβην καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐπιτήμιοι,
ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε
τὴν μὲν ἵσοτητα ἐν ἀπαντί καὶ τὸ μηδὲν πλέον
dικαιοσύνης έργα εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀνισόν τε καὶ
πλεονεκτικὸν ἄδικιάς; ὃ δὲ τῇ διαβολῇ κατὰ τῶν
ἀπόντων λάθρα χρώμενος πῶς οὐ πλεονέκτης
ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν ἀκροατὴν σφετεριζόμενος καὶ
προκαταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅτα καὶ ἀποφράττων
καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ παντελῶς ἅβατα κατα-
σκευάζων αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς διαβολῆς προεμπεπλη-
σμένα; ἐσχάτης ἄδικιάς τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὡς φαίην ἂν
καὶ οἱ ἁριστοὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν, οἶον ὁ Σόλων καὶ ὁ
Δράκων, ἐνορκὸν ποιησάμενοι τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ
ὀμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσθαι καὶ τὸ τῆς εὔνοιαν ἴσην
toῖς κρινομένοις ἀπονέμειν, ἀλλ’ ἂν ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου
λόγου παρατεθείς θατέρου χείρων ἢ ἀμείωνον ψαύχ-
πρὶν δὲ γε ἀντεξεῖται τὴν ἀπολογίαν τῇ κατη-
γορίᾳ, παντελῶς ἁσβήν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἕγγυσαντο
ἐσεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς
ἀγανακτῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς εἴποιμεν, εἰ τῷ κατηγορῶ
μετ’ ἀδείας ἄθελεν λέγειν ἐπιτρέποιμεν, ἀποφρά-
ξαντες δὲ τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ τὰ ὅτα ἢ τῷ στόματι
σιωπώντος ¹ καταψηφιζοίμεθα τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ

¹ Corrupt, and not yet satisfactorily emended. τῷ στόμα
σιωπώντος Halm.

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sure, because no good man would make trouble for his neighbour. On the contrary, it is characteristic of good men to win renown and gain a reputation for kind-heartedness by doing good to their friends, not by accusing others wrongfully and getting them hated.

Furthermore, that such a man is unjust, lawless, impious and harmful to his associates is easy to see. Who will not admit that fairness in everything and unselfishness are due to justice, unfairness and selfishness to injustice? But when a man plies slander in secret against people who are absent, is he not selfish, inasmuch as he completely appropriates his hearer by getting his ear first, stopping it up and making it altogether impervious to the defence because it has been previously filled with slander? Such conduct is indeed the height of injustice, and the best of the lawgivers, Solon and Draco, for example, would say so, too; for they put the jurors on oath to hear both sides alike and to divide their goodwill equally between the litigants until such time as the plea of the defendant, after comparison with the other, shall disclose itself to be better or worse. To pass judgment before weighing the defence against the complaint would, they thought, be altogether impious and irreligious. In truth, we may say that the very gods would be angry if we should permit the plaintiff to say his say unhampered, but should stop our ears to the defendant or silence him,\(^1\) and then condemn him.

\(^1\) The Greek is here corrupt. The translation merely gives the probable sense of the passage.
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κεχειρωμένοι ὡστε οὔ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ νόμιμον καὶ τὸ ὄρκον τὸν δικαστικὸν φαιν τις ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς. εἰ δὲ τῷ μὴ ἀξιώπιστὸν δοκοῦσιν οἱ νομοθέται παραινοῦντες οὕτω δικαίας καὶ ἁμερεῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις, ποιητήν μοι δοκῶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐπάγειν τῷ λόγῳ εὖ μάλα περὶ τούτων ἀποφηνάμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ νομοθετήσαντα. φησὶ δὲ,

μήτε δίκην δικάσης, πρὶν ἀμφῳ μύθῳν ἀκοῦσης.

ἡπίστατο γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ οὗτος ὡς πολλῶν οὕτων ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἄν τις Εὐροί χείρισται οὐδὲ ἀδικώτερον ἢ ἀκρίτους τινὰς καὶ ἁμόρρους λόγοι καταδιδήκασθαι. ὡπερ ἐξ ἀπαντος ὁ διαβάλλων ἐπιχειρεῖ ποιεῖν ἀκρίτου ὑπάγων τὸν διαβαλλόμενον τῷ τού ἀκούσοντος ὀργῇ καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίαν τῷ λαθραίῳ τῆς κατηγορίας παραιροῦμενος.

Καὶ γὰρ ἀπαρρησίαστος καὶ δειλὸς ἀπας ὁ τοιούτος ἀνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἐσ τούμφαιες ἄγων, ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ οἱ λοχώντες ἐξ ἀφανοὺς ποθεν τοξεύων, ὡς μηδὲ ἀντιτάξασθαί δυνατόν εἰναι μηδὲ ἀνταγωνίσασθαί, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ του πολέμου διαφθείρεσθαι, οἱ μέγιστον ἐστὶ σημείον τοῦ μηδὲν ὑγίες τούς διαβάλλομενος λέγειν. ἐπεὶ εἰ τίς γε τάληθη κατηγοροῦντι ἐαυτῷ συνεπίσταται, οὗτος, οἶμαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐλέγχει καὶ διευθύνει καὶ ἀντεξετάζει τῷ λόγῳ, ὡσπερ οὗτος ἄν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς νικᾶν δυνάμενος ἐνέδρα ποτὲ καὶ ἀπάτῃ χρῆσαι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.
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conquered by the first plea. It may be said, then, that slander does not accord with what is just and legal, and what the jurors swear to do. But if anybody thinks that the lawgivers, who recommend that verdicts be so just and impartial, are not good authority, I shall cite the best of poets in support of my contention. He makes a very admirable pronouncement —indeed, lays down a law—on this point, saying:¹

"Nor give your verdict ere both sides you hear."

He knew, I suppose, like everyone else, that though there are many unjust things in the world, nothing worse or more unjust can be found than for men to have been condemned untried and unheard. But this is just what the slanderer tries his best to accomplish, exposing the slandered person untried to the anger of the hearer and precluding defence by the secrecy of his accusation.

Of course, all such men are also cowardly enemies of free speech; they do nothing in the open, but shoot from some hiding-place or other, like soldiers in ambush, so that it is impossible either to face them or to fight them, but a man must let himself be slain in helplessness and in ignorance of the character of the war. And this is the surest proof that there is no truth in the stories of slanderers; for if a man is conscious that he is making a true charge, that man, I take it, accuses the other in public, brings him to book and pits himself against him in argument. No soldier who can win in fair fight makes use of ambushes and tricks against the enemy.

¹ Though this verse was frequently quoted in antiquity, its authorship was unknown even then, and it was variously attributed to Phocylides, Hesiod, and Pittheus. See Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii, p. 93.

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'Idoi δ' ἀν τις τοὺς τοιούτους μάλιστα ἐν τε βασιλέων αὐλαῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄρχόντων καὶ δυναστεύοντων φιλίας εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ἐνθα πολὺς μὲν ὁ φθόνος, μυρία δὲ ύπόνοιαι, πάμπολλαι δὲ κολακεῖσθαι καὶ διαβολῶν ὑποθέσεις· ὅποιον γὰρ ἀεὶ μείζονες ἐλπίδες, ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ φθόνοι χαλεπῶτεροι καὶ τὰ μίση ἐπισφαλέστερα καὶ αἱ ξιλοτυπίαι κακοτεχνέστερα. πάντες οὖν ἀλλήλους ὧς δὲδόρκασι καὶ ὁσπερ οἱ μονομαχοῦντες ἐπιτηροῦσιν εἰ ποῦ τι γυμνωθὲν μέρος θέασαι τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς εἶναι βουλόμενος παρωθεῖται καὶ παραγκωνίζεται τὸν πλησίον καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, εἰ δύνατο, ὑποστὰ καὶ ὑποσκελίζει. ἐνθα ὁ μὲν χρηστὸς ἀτεχνῶς εὐθὺς ἀνατέραται καὶ παρασέσυρται καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἁτίμως ἐξέστωται, ὃ δὲ κολακευτικότερος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας κακοθείας πιθανώτερος εὐδοκιμεῖ· καὶ ὅλως ὁ 1 φθάσας κρατεῖ· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ἄμηρον πάνω ἐπαληθεύοντο, ὅτι τοι

ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος καὶ τὸν κτανεοντα κατέκτα.
tοιγαροῦν ὡς οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τοῦ ἀγώνος ὄντος ποικίλας κατ’ ἀλλήλοις ὀδοὺς ἐπινοοῦσιν, ὃν ταχίστη καὶ ἐπισφαλεστάτη ἐστίν ἡ τῆς διαβολῆς, τὴν μὲν ἄρχην ἀπὸ φθόνον ἡ μίσους εὐέλπιδα 2 λαμβάνουσα, οἰκτρότερα δὲ καὶ πραγμακεία ἐπάγωσα τὰ τέλη καὶ πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἀνάπτεια.

Οὐ μένοι μικρὸν οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἔστι τούτο, ὡς ὅν τις ὑπολάβοι, ἀλλὰ πολλῆς μὲν τέχνης, οὐκ ὀλίγης δὲ ἀγχωνίας, ἀκριβοῦς δὲ τινος ἐπιμελείας

1 δ (not in best MSS.) is necessary to the sense.
2 εὐέλπιδα Herwerden: εὐέλπιδος MSS.

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For the most part, such men may be seen enjoying high favour in the courts of kings and among the friends of governors and princes, where envy is great, suspicions are countless, and occasions for flattery and slander are frequent. For where hope runs ever high, there envy is more bitter, hate more dangerous, and rivalry more cunning. All eye one another sharply and keep watch like gladiators to detect some part of the body exposed. Everyone, wishing to be first himself, shoves or elbows his neighbour out of his way and, if he can, slyly pulls down or trips up the man ahead. In this way a good man is simply upset and thrown at the start, and finally thrust off the course in disgrace, while one who is better versed in flattery and cleverer at such unfair practices wins. In a word, it is "devil take the hindmost!"; for they quite confirm Homer’s saying:

"Impartial war adds slayer to the slain."¹

So, as their conflict is for no small stake, they think out all sorts of ways to get at each other, of which the quickest, though most perilous, road is slander, which has a hopeful beginning in envy or hatred, but leads to a sorry, tragic ending, beset with many accidents.

Yet this is not an insignificant or a simple thing, as one might suppose; it requires much skill, no little shrewdness, and some degree of close study

¹ *Iliad* 18, 309.
δεόμενον· οὖ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα ἐβλαπτεν ἡ διαβολή, εἰ μὴ πιθανόν τινα πρόπον ἐγίνετο· οὐδ’ ἂν κατίσχυε τὴν πάντων ἱσχυρότεραν ἀληθειαν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ πιθανὸν καὶ μυρία ἀλλὰ παρεσκεύαστο κατὰ τῶν ἄκουοντων.

Διαβάλλεται μὲν οὖν ὡς τὸ πολὺ μάλιστα ὁ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τούτο τὸς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτοῦ ἐπίφθονος· ἀπαντεῖ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτοξίζονται καθάπερ τι κόλυμα καὶ ἐμπόδιον προσρώμενοι, καὶ ἐκαστὸς οἶεται πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐσέθαι τὸν κορυφαίον ἐκείνον ἑκκολορικήσας καὶ τῆς φιλίας ἀποσκευασάμενος. οὔτε τι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγώσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δρομέων γίγνεται· κακεὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς δρομεὺς τῆς ὑπολήγησος εὐθὺς καταπεσούσης μόνον τοῦ πρόσω ἐφιέμενος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀποτείνας πρὸς τὸ τέρμα καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖ τὴν ἐκπίθαι τῆς νίκης ἔχουν τὸν ἕπειδαι τῆς νίκης ἔχουν τὸν 1 πλησίον οὐδὲν κακούργει οὐδὲ τοῦ τῶν 2 κατὰ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς πολυπραγμονεῖ, ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἐκείνος καὶ ἀναθλὸς ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἀπογνώσος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τάχους ἐπιέδαι ἐπὶ τὴν κακοτεχνίαν ἑτράπετο, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἀπαντος σκοπεῖ, ὅπως τὸν πρέχοντα ἐπισχῶν ἡ ἐμποδίσας ἐπιστομεῖ, ὡς, εἰ τούτῳ διαμάρτοι, οὐχ ἂν ποτε νικήσαι δυνάμενος. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ ταῖς φιλίαις τῶν εὐδαιμόνων τοῦτον γίνεται· ὁ γὰρ προέχως αὐτίκα ἐπιβουλεύεται καὶ ἀφύλακτος ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς τῶν δυσμενῶν ἀνηρπάσθη, οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶνται καὶ φίλοι δοκοῦσιν ἐξ ὧν ἅλλους βλάπτειν ἔδοξαν.

Τὸ τε ἀξιόπιστον τῆς διαβολῆς οὐχ ὡς ἐτυχεν 13

1 τῶν Halm : τῶν MSS. 2 τῶν Capps : τοῦ MSS.

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For slander would not do so much harm if it were not set afoot in a plausible way, and it would not prevail over truth, that is stronger than all else, if it did not assume a high degree of attractiveness and plausibility and a thousand things beside to disarm its hearers.

Generally speaking, slander is most often directed against a man who is in favour and on this account is viewed with envy by those he has put behind him. They all direct their shafts at him, regarding him as a hindrance and a stumbling-block, and each one expects to be first himself when he has routed his chief and ousted him from favour. Something of the same sort happens in the athletic games, in foot-races. A good runner from the moment that the barrier falls\(^1\) thinks only of getting forward, sets his mind on the finish and counts on his legs to win for him; he therefore does not molest the man next to him in any way or trouble himself at all about the contestants. But an inferior, unsportsmanlike competitor, abandoning all hope based on his speed, resorts to crooked work, and the only thing in the world he thinks of is cutting off the runner by holding or tripping him, with the idea that if he should fail in this he would never be able to win. So it is with the friendships of the mighty. The man in the lead is forthwith the object of plots, and if caught off his guard in the midst of his foes, he is made away with, while they are cherished and are thought friendly because of the harm they appeared to be doing to others.

As for the versimilitude of their slander, calumniators are not careless in thinking out that point;

\(^1\) Races were started in antiquity by the dropping of a rope or bar.
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ἐπινοούσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἔργον δεδοικόσι τι προσώπηαι ὕπωδον ἢ καὶ ἀλλότριον. ὅσ γοῦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰ προσώπηα τῷ διαβαλλομένῳ πρὸς τὸ χείρον μεταβάλλοντες οὐκ ἀπιθάνους ποιοῦνται τὰς κατηγορίας, οἴον τὸν μὲν ἱατρὸν διαβάλλουσιν ὡς φαρμακεά, τὸν πλούσιον δὲ ὡς τύραννον, τῶν τυραννικῶν δὲ ὡς προδοτικῶν.

Ἐνίστε μέντοι καὶ ὁ ἀκροώμενος αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει τῆς διαβολῆς τὰς ἀφορμὰς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖνον τρόπον οἱ κακοżaθεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀρμοζόμενοι εὐστοχοῦσιν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ξηλότυπον αὐτὸν ὑπαίθριος, Διέευνες, φασί, τῇ γνωσκί σου παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ἄπιθον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστέναξε, καὶ Ἡ Ἑρατούκη πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ μάλα ἀπῆδος· καὶ ὅλως ἐρωτικὰ τίνες καὶ μοιχικαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰ διαβολαὶ· ἢν δὲ ποιητικὸς ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονή, Μὰ Δὶ ἐξελύσας σου Φιλόξενος τὰ ἐπὶ καὶ διέσυρε καὶ ἀμετρὰ ἐπεν αὐτὰ καὶ κακοσύνθετα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόθεουν ὡς ἄθεος καὶ ἀνόσιος ὁ φίλος διαβάλλεται καὶ ἡ τὸ θείον παραθούμενος καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀρνούμενος· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας εὐθὺς μύστη διὰ τοῦ ὠτὸς τυπείς διακέκαυται ὡς τὸ εἰκός καὶ ἀπέστραπται τὸν φίλον οὐ περιμείνας τὸν ἀκριβῆ ἔλεγχον. ὅλως γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπινοοῦσι καὶ λέγουσιν, ἀ μᾶλλον ἢσαίς ἐς ὄργην δυνάμενα προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἀκροώμενον, καὶ ἐνθα τρωτὸς ἐστὶν ἐκατός ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τοξεύουσι καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν ἐς αὐτὸ, ὡστε τῇ παραυτίκᾳ ὀργῇ τεταραγμένοι μικρὲς σχόλις ἀγεῖν τῇ ἐξετάσει τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ κἂν θέλῃ τις.
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all their work centres on it, for they are afraid to put in anything discordant or even irrelevant. For example, they generally make their charges credible by distorting the real attributes of the man they are slandering. Thus they insinuate that a doctor is a poisoner, that a rich man is a would-be monarch, or that a courtier is a traitor.

Sometimes, however, the hearer himself suggests the starting-point for slander, and the knaves attain their end by adapting themselves to his disposition. If they see that he is jealous, they say: "He signed to your wife during dinner and gazed at her and sighed, and Stratonice was not very displeased with him." In short, the charges they make to him are based on passion and illicit love. If he has a bent for poetry and prides himself on it, they say: "No, indeed! Philoxenus1 made fun of your verses, pulled them to pieces and said that they wouldn't scan and were wretchedly composed." To a pious, godly man the charge is made that his friend is godless and impious, that he rejects God and denies Providence. Thereupon the man, stung in the ear, so to speak, by a gadfly, gets thoroughly angry, as is natural, and turns his back on his friend without awaiting definite proof. In short, they think out and say the sort of thing that they know to be best adapted to provoke the hearer to anger, and as they know the place where each can be wounded, they shoot their arrows and throw their spears at it, so that their hearer, thrown off his balance by sudden anger, will not thereafter be free to get at the truth; indeed, however much a slandered man may want to defend himself, he will not let him do so, because he is

1 The reference is to Philoxenus, a poet of Cythera, who was sent to the quarries for refusing to praise the bad verses of Dionysius, Tyrant of Syracuse.
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ἀπολογεῖσθαι, μὴ προσίεσθαι, τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὃς ἀληθεῖ προκατειλημμένον.

'Άνυσμώτατον γὰρ τὸ ἐδος τῆς διαβολῆς τὸ ὑπεναντίον τῆς τοῦ ἄκοουντος ἐπιθυμίας, ὅποτε καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαῖῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐπικληθέντι ἐγένετό τις ὑπὸ διέβαλλε τὸν Πλατωνικὸν Δημήτριον, ὅτι ὦδωρ τε πίνει καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων γυναικεῖα οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις· καὶ εἶ γε μὴ κληθεῖς ἐσθεν ἐπίε τε πάνων ὅραντων καὶ λαβῶν ταραντινίδιον ἐκμυθαλίσε καὶ προσωρχήσατο, ἀποδώλει ὃν ὦς οὐχ ἦδόμενος τῷ βίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἄλλ' ἀντισοφιστῆς ὅν καὶ ἀντίτεχνος τῆς Πτολεμαίου τρυφῆς.

Παρὰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρῳ μεγίστῃ ποτὲ πασῶν ἦν διαβολῆ, εἰ λέγοιτο τις μὴ σέβεις μηδὲ προσκυνεῖς τοῦ 'Ἡφαιστίων· ὅπει γὰρ ἀπέθανεν 'Ἡφαιστίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωτος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐβουλήθη προσθεῖναι καὶ τοῦτο τῇ λοιπῇ μεγαλουργίᾳ καὶ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαι τὸν τετελευτηκότα. εὐθὺς οὖν νεός τε ἀνέστησαν αἱ πόλεις καὶ τεμένη καθιδρύετο καὶ βωμὸ καὶ θυσίαί καὶ ἔστασα τὸ καινὸ τούτω θεῷ ἐπετελοῦντο, καὶ ὁ μέγιστος ὅρκος ἦν ἀπασίων ἡφαιστίων. εἰ δὲ τις ἡ μειδάσεις πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα ἡ μὴ χαίνοιτο πάνω εὔσεβῶν, θάνατος ἐπέκειτο ἡ θυμία. ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὴν μειρακιώδη ταύτην τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐπιθυμίαν προσεξέκαιον εὐθὺς καὶ ἀνεξωπύρων ὄνειρα διηγοῦμενοι τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ἐπιφανείας τινὰς καὶ ιάματα προσαίττοντες αὐτῷ καὶ μαντείας ἐπι-

1 ἦν διαβολῇ, εἰ λέγοιτο Λ.Μ.Η.: ἢν διαβολῇ λέγοιτο, εἰ λέγοιτο MSS.

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prejudiced by the surprising nature of what he has heard, just as if that made it true.

A very effective form of slander is the one that is based on opposition to the hearer's tastes. For instance, in the court of the Ptolemy who was called Dionysus there was once a man who accused Demetrius, the Platonic philosopher, of drinking nothing but water and of being the only person who did not wear women's clothes during the feast of Dionysus. If Demetrius, on being sent for early the next morning, had not drunk wine in view of everybody and had not put on a thin gown and played the cymbals and danced, he would have been put to death for not liking the king's mode of life, and being a critic and an opponent of Ptolemy's luxury.

In the court of Alexander it was once the greatest of all slanderous charges to say that a man did not worship Hephaestion or even make obeisance to him—for after the death of Hephaestion, Alexander for the love he bore him determined to add to his other great feats that of appointing the dead man a god. So the cities at once erected temples; plots of ground were consecrated; altars, sacrifices and feasts were established in honour of this new god, and everybody's strongest oath was "By Hephaestion." If anyone smiled at what went on or failed to seem quite reverent, the penalty prescribed was death. The flatterers, taking hold of this childish passion of Alexander, at once began to feed it and fan it into flame by telling about dreams of Hephaestion, in that way ascribing to him visitations and cures and accrediting him with prophecies; and at last

1 Probably Ptolemy Auletes, father of Cleopatra, who styled himself "the new Dionysus."
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φημίζοντες: καὶ τέλος ἔθυνον παρέδρῳ καὶ ἀλεξικάκῳ θεόν. ο ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦλετο τε ἀκούων καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπίστευε καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνει ὡσανεὶ οὐ θεοῦ παῖς ὃν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῦς ποιεῖν δυνάμενος. πόσους τοίνυν οἰώμεθα τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον φίλων παρὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἐκείνου ἀπολαυσά τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος θειότητος, διαβληθέντας ὡς οὐ τιμῶσι τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐξειλαθέντας καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοίας ἐκπεσόντας; τότε καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Σάμιος ταξιαρχῶν παρ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ τιμώμενος παρ’ αὐτοῦ μικροῦ δεῖν συγκαθείρχθη λέοντι διαβληθεῖς ὦτι δακρύσει παρών τῶν Ἡφαιστίωνος τάφων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μὲν βοηθῆσαι λέγεται Περδίκκας ἐπομοσάμενος κατὰ πάντων θεῶν καὶ κατὰ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ὧτι ἐν κυνηγητοῖν οἱ φανέντα ἐναργῆ τῶν θεῶν ἐπισκῆψαι εἴπειν Ἀλέξανδρῳ φείσασθαι Ἀγαθοκλέους: οὗ γὰρ ὃς ἀπιστοῦντα οὐδὲ ὃς ἐπὶ νεκρῶ δακρύσαι, ἀλλὰ τῆς πάλαι συνήθειας μημονεύσατα.

Ἡ δ᾿ οὖν κολακεία καὶ ἡ διαβολὴ τότε μάλιστα χώραν ἔσχε πρὸς τὸ Ἀλέξανδρον πάθος συντιθεμένη: καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν πολιορκίᾳ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρημα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τοῦ τείχους προσάσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἦ ἄν ἀφύλακτον τι μέρος ἢ σαθρὸν αἰσθωνται ἢ ταπείνων, ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάση δυνᾶται χωροῦσιν ὡς βάστα παρεισδύναι καὶ ἔλεην δυνάμενοι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ διαβάλλοντες ὅ τι ἂν ἀσθενεῖς ἔδωσι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ υπόσαθρον καὶ εὐπέμβατον, τούτῳ προσβάλλουσι καὶ προσώγουσι

1 δ᾿ οὖν Α.Μ.Η.: γοῦν MSS.
they began to sacrifice to him as "Coadjutor" and "Saviour." Alexander liked to hear all this, and at length believed it, and was very proud of himself for being, as he thought, not only the son of a god but also able to make gods. Well, how many of Alexander's friends, do you suppose, reaped the results of Hephaestion's divinity during that period, through being accused of not honouring the universal god, and consequently being banished and deprived of the king's favour? It was then that Agathocles of Samos, one of Alexander's captains whom he esteemed highly, came near being shut up in a lion's den because he was charged with having wept as he went by the tomb of Hephaestion. But Perdiccas is said to have come to his rescue, swearing by all the gods and by Hephaestion to boot that while he was hunting the god had appeared to him in the flesh and had bidden him tell Alexander to spare Agathocles, saying that he had not wept from want of faith or because he thought Hephaestion dead, but only because he had been put in mind of their old-time friendship.

As you see, flattery and slander were most likely to find an opening when they were framed with reference to Alexander's weak point. In a siege the enemy do not attack the high, sheer and secure parts of the wall, but wherever they notice that any portion is unguarded, unsound or low, they move all their forces against that place because they can very easily get in there and take the city. Just so with slanderers: they assail whatever part of the soul they perceive to be weak, unsound and easy of access, bringing their siege-engines to bear on it

1 In this way they made him out the associate of Apollo.
τὰς μηχανὰς, καὶ τέλος ἐκπολιορκοῦσι μηδενὸς ἀντιταττομένου μηδὲ τὴν ἐφοδιον αἰσθομένου. εἰτ' ἐπειδὰν ἔντος ἀπαξ τῶν τεῖχῶν γένωνται, πυρπολοῦσι πάντα καὶ παῖουσι¹ καὶ σφάττουσι καὶ ἐξελαύνουσιν, οὐαί εἰκός ἀλισκομένης ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξηνδραποδισμένης ἔργα εἶναι.

Μηχανῆμα δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἡ τε ἀπάτη καὶ τὸ ψεύδος καὶ ἡ ἐπιορκία καὶ προσλιτάρησι καὶ ἀνασχυντία καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ῥαδιουργήματα. ἡ δὲ μεγίστη πασῶν ἡ κολακεία ἐστὶ, συγγενής, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδελφή τις οὕτα τῆς διαβολῆς. ούδ' ἄν ὅτι οὔτω γεννάδας ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδαμάντινον τεῖχος τῆς ψυχῆς προβεβλημένος, ὅς οὐκ ἂν ἐνδοίη πρὸς τὰς τῆς κολακείας προσβολάς, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπορυττούσης καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους υφαιρούσης τῆς διαβολῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς ταῦτα. ἐνδοθεὶ δὲ πολλαὶ προδοσίαι συναγωνιζοῦσαι τὰς χείρας ὀρέγουσαι καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπέτωσαι καὶ πάντα τρόπον τῇ ἀλώσει τοὺ ἀκούοντος συμπροθυμούμεναι. πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φιλοκαίνον, ὅ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπωις ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὸ ἀψίκορον, ἐπειτα δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἐπόμενον.² οὐ γὰρ οίδ' ὅτις ὑδόμεθα πάντες λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὐς λεγόμενα καὶ μεστὰ υπονοίας ἀκούοντες.³ οίδ' γαὰν τινας οὔτως ἤδεως γαργαλιξομένους τὰ ὠτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν διαβολῶν ὃσπερ τοὺς πτεροῖς κυκλόμενους.

¹ παίουσι: Basle ed. of 1563: καλουσι MSS.
² ἐκλήμενον? A.M.H.
³ Text Du Soul: λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς λεγόμενας καὶ μεστὰς ὑπονοίας ἀκούοντες (ἀκοὰς) MSS.: καὶ πρὸς τὰς λαθρηδὰ λεγόμενας καὶ μεστὰς ὑπονοίας ἀκοὰς Jacobitz.
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and finally capturing it, as no one opposes them or notices their assault. Then, when they are once within the walls, they fire everything and smite and slay and banish; for all these things are likely to happen when the soul is captured and put in bondage.

The engines that they use against the hearer are deceit, lying, perjury, insistence, impudence, and a thousand other unprincipled means; but the most important of all is flattery, a bosom friend, yes, an own sister to slander. Nobody is so high-minded and has a soul so well protected by walls of adamant that he cannot succumb to the assaults of flattery, especially when he is being undermined and his foundations sapped by slander. All this is on the outside, while on the inside there are many traitors who help the enemy, holding out their hands to him, opening the gates, and in every way furthering the capture of the hearer. First there is fondness for novelty, which is by nature common to all mankind, and a fastidious taste also; and secondly, a tendency to be attracted by startling rumours. Somehow or other we all like to hear stories that are slyly whispered in our ear, and are packed with innuendo: indeed, I know men who get as much pleasure from having their ears titillated with slander as some do from being tickled with feathers.
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Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων συμμαχοῦμενοι προσπέσωσι, κατὰ κράτος αἴροῦσιν, οἴμαι, καὶ οὐδὲ δυσχερῆς ἢ νίκη γένοιτ' ἂν μηδενὸς ἀντιπαραταττομένου μηδὲ ἄμυνομένου τὰς προσβολὰς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀκόουντος ἐκόντων ἑυδιόντος, τοῦ διαβαλλομένου δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἄγνοοῦντος· ὁσπερ γὰρ ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεως ἀλούσης καθεύδοντες οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι φονεύονται.

Καὶ τὸ παντών οἴκτιστον, ὦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδῶς τὰ γεγενημένα προσέρχεται τῷ φίλῳ φαιδρὸς ἀπε μηδὲν ἐαυτῷ φαύλου συνεπιστάμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη λέγει καὶ ποιεῖ, παντὶ τρόπῳ ὁ ἅθλιος ἐνηδρευμένος· ὃ δὲ ἢν μὲν ἐχὴ τι γενναίου καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ παρρησιαστικόν, εὐθὺς ἐξέρρηξε τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐξέχει, καὶ τέλος τὴν ἀπολογίαν προσείμενος ἔγνω μάτην κατὰ τοῦ φίλου παραξυμμένος. ἢν δὲ ἀγεννῆστερος καὶ ταπεινώτερος, προσίεται μὲν καὶ προσμειδὰ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀκροίς, μισεῖ δὲ καὶ λάθρα τοὺς ὀδόντας διαπρίει καί, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς φησί, βυσσοδομεύει τὴν ὀργὴν. ὅπῃ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οἴμαι ἀδικώτερον οὐδὲ δουλοπρεπέστερον, ἐνδακόντα τὸ χείλος ὑποτρέφειν τὴν χολήν καὶ τὸ μῆσον ἐν αὐτῷ κατάκλειστον αὐξεῖν ἐτέρα μὲν κεύοντα ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ δὲ λέγοντα καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον ἠλαρῷ καὶ κομικῷ τῷ προσώπῳ μάλα περιπαθῆ τις καὶ οὐ γέμουσαν τραγῳδίαν.

Μάλιστα δὲ τούτῳ πᾶσχονσιν, ἐπειδὰν πάλαι φίλος ὁ ἐνδιαβάλλων δοκῶν εἶται τῷ ἐνδιαβαλλομένῳ ποιῆται ὁμοίως· τότε γὰρ οὐδὲ φωνὴν
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Therefore, when the enemy falls on with all these forces in league with him, he takes the fort by storm, I suppose, and his victory cannot even prove difficult, since nobody mans the walls or tries to repel his attacks. No, the hearer surrenders of his own accord, and the slandered person is not aware of the design upon him: slandered men are murdered, just as sleeping men are murdered when a city is captured in the night.

The saddest thing of all is that the slandered man, unaware of all that has taken place, meets his friend cheerfully, not being conscious of any misdeed, and speaks and acts in his usual manner, when he is beset on every side, poor fellow, with lurking foes. The other, if he is noble, gentlemanly, and outspoken, at once lets his anger burst out and vents his wrath, and then at last, on permitting a defence to be made, finds out that he was incensed at his friend for nothing. But if he is ignoble and mean he welcomes him and smiles at him out of the corner of his mouth, while all the time he hates him and secretly grinds his teeth and broods, as the poet says,1 on his anger. Yet nothing, I think, is more unjust or more contemptible than to bite your lips and nurse your bitterness, to lock your hatred up within yourself and nourish it, thinking one thing in the depths of your heart and saying another, and acting a very eventful tragedy, full of lamentation, with a jovial comedy face.

Men are more liable to act in this way when the slanderer has long seemed to be a friend of the person slandered, and yet does what he does.

1 Homer; the word is frequent in the Odyssey (e.g. 9, 316; 17, 66).
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άκούειν ἔτι θέλουσι τῶν διαβαλλομένων ὡς τῶν ἀπολογουμένων, τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῆς κατηγορίας ἐκ τῆς πάλαι δοκούσης φιλίας προειληφότες. οúde τούτο λογιζόμενοι, ὅτι πολλαὶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις μίσους παραπίπτουσιν αἰτίας τοὺς ἀλλοὺς λανθάνουσαν· καὶ ἐνίοτε οἷς αὐτὸς τις ἐνοχὸς ἦστι, ταυτὶ φθάσας κατηγόρησε τοῦ πλησίον ἐκφυγεῖν οὕτω πειρώμενος τὴν διαβολὴν. καὶ ὅλως ἔχθρον μὲν οὗθεν ἀν τολμήσει διαβαλέν· ἀπίστως γὰρ αὐτῶθι ἡ κατηγορία πρόθηλον ἔχουσα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς δοκοῖς δὲ μάλιστα φίλους ἐπιχειροῦσι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας εὖνοιν εἴμφηναι προαιρούμενοι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ ἑκείων συμφέροντι οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἀπέσχοντο.

Εἰςὶ δὲ τινες οὐ κἂν μάθωσιν ὑστερον ἁδίκως 25 διαβεβλημένους παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς φίλους, ὡμως ἐπὶ αἰσχύνης ὃν ἐπίστευσαν οὐδὲ ἐτὶ προσίεσθαι οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν τολμῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ ἡδικημένοι, ὅτι μηδὲν ἁδικοῦντας ἐπέγινοσιν.

Τοιγαροῦν πολλῶν κακῶν ὁ βίος ἐπλήσθη ὑπὸ 26 τῶν οὕτω ῥάδιως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως πεπιστευμένων διαβολῶν. ᾧ μὲν γὰρ Ἀντεία
tεθναίης (φησίν), ὁ Προῖτ', ἢ κάκτανε Βελλερο- φόντηι,
ὅς μὲ ἐθελεν φιλότητι μιγῆμεναι οὐκ ἐθελοῦσῃ αὐτῇ προτέρα ἐπιχειρήσασα καὶ ὑπεροφθεῖσα.
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In that case they are no longer willing even to hear the voice of the men slandered or of those who speak in their behalf, for they assume in advance that the accusation can be relied on because of the apparent friendship of long standing, without even reflecting that many reasons for hatred often arise between the closest friends, of which the rest of the world knows nothing. Now and then, too, a man makes haste to accuse his neighbour of something that he is himself to blame for, trying in this way to escape accusation himself. And in general, nobody would venture to slander an enemy, for in that case his accusation would not inspire belief, as its motive would be patent. No, they attack those men who seem to be their best friends, aiming to show their good will toward their hearers by sacrificing even their nearest and dearest to help them.

There are people who, even if they afterwards learn that their friends have been unjustly accused to them, nevertheless, because they are ashamed of their own credulity, no longer can endure to receive them or look at them, as though they themselves had been wronged merely by finding out that the others were doing no wrong at all.

It follows, then, that life has been filled with troubles in abundance through the slanderous stories that have been believed so readily and so unquestioningly. Anteia says:

"Die, Proetus, or despatch Bellerophon,
Who offered me his love, by me unsought," 1

when she herself had made the first move and had

1 Homer, Iliad 6, 164.
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καὶ μικρὸν ὁ νεανίας ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν Χίμαιραν συμπλοκῆ διεφθάρη ἐπιτίμιον σωφροσύνης ὑποσχῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ξένου αἰδοὺς ὑπὸ μάχλου γυναικὸς ἐπιβεβουλευμένος. ή δὲ Φαίδρα, κάκεινη τὰ ὁμοία κατειποῦσα τοῦ προγόνου, ἐπάρατον ἐποίησε τὸν Ἰππόλυτον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν, ὥς θεοί, οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον εἰργασμένον.

Ναὶ, φήσει τις ἀλλ’ ἀξιόπιστός ἔστιν εἰνότε 27 ὁ διαβάλλων ἄνηρ τὰ τε ἄλλα δίκαιοι καὶ συνετῶς εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ ἔχρην προσέχειν αὐτὸν ἀτε μηδὲν ἀν τοιοῦτο κακουργήσαντι. ἀρ’ οὖν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐστὶ τις δικαιότερος; ἀλλ’ ὄμως κάκεινος συνεστή ἐπὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ συμπαρώξυνε τὸν δήμον, ἦς, φασίν, ἐκεῖνος πολιτικῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑποκεκυσμένος.1 δίκαιοι μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀριστείδης, ἀνθρωπος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ χολὴν εἰχε, καὶ ἤγαπα τινὰ καὶ ἐμίσει. καὶ εἶ ὅτι 28 ἀληθῆς ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Παλαμήδους λόγος, ὁ συνετῶτατος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστος τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ φθόνον φαίνεται συντεθείκως κατὰ ἀνδρὸς ὀμαίμον καὶ φίλου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κίνδυνον ἐκπεπλευκότος. οὕτως ἐμφυτον ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτία. τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἡ τὸν Σωκράτην λέγοι τὸν ἀδίκοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαβεβλημένον ὡς ἀσεβῆ

1 ὑποκεκυσμένος MSS. ὑπὸ κεκυσμένος Guyet. The construction is correctly explained in the scholia.

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been scorned. So the young man came near getting killed in the encounter with the Chimaera, and was rewarded for his continence and his respect for his host by being plotted against by a wanton. As for Phaedra, she too made a similar charge against her stepson and so brought it about that Hippolytus was cursed by his father\(^1\) when he had done nothing impious—good Heavens, nothing!\(^1\)

“Yes,” somebody will say, “but now and then the man who brings a personal charge deserves credence, because he seems to be just in all other matters and sensible also, and one would have to heed him, as he would never do such a scoundrelly thing as that.” Well, is there anyone more just than Aristides? But even he conspired against Themistocles and had a hand in stirring up the people against him, because, they say, he was secretly pricked by the same political ambition as Themistocles. Aristides was indeed just, in comparison with the rest of the world; but he was a man like anyone else and had spleen and not only loved but hated on occasion. And if the story of Palamedes is true, the most sensible of the Greeks and the best of them in other ways stands convicted of having, through envy, framed a plot and an ambush to trap a kinsman and a friend, who had sailed away from home to front the same peril as he\(^2\); so true is it that to err in this direction is inborn in all mankind. Why should I mention Socrates, who was unjustly slandered to the Athenians as an irreligious man and a traitor? or

\(^1\) Thesens: the story is told in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides.

\(^2\) Odysseus trapped Palamedes by getting a forged letter from Priam hidden in his tent and then pretending to discover it.
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καὶ ἐπίβουλοι; ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ τὸν Μιλτιάδην, τοὺς μετὰ τηλικαύτας νικαὶ ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὑπόπτους γενομένους; μνημία γὰρ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ σχέδου τὰ πλείστα ἦδη γρώμιμα.

Τῇ οὖν χρή καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν γε νῦν ἔχοντα

ἡ ἁρετής ἡ ἀληθείας ἀμφισβητούντα; ὅπερ, οἴμαι, καὶ Ὁμήρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Σειρήνων μύθῳ ἦν ἵππου παραπλεῖν κελεύσας τὸς ὀλεθρίους ταῦτα τῶν ἄκουσμάτων ἡδονᾶς καὶ ἀποφράττειν τὰ ὀφτα καὶ μὴ ἄνεδην αὐτὰ ἀναπτανύνειν τοῖς πάθει προελημμένοις, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστήσαντα ἀκριβῆ θυρωρὸς τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπασὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις τὰ μὲν ἀξία προσέσθαι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι, τὰ φαύλα δὲ ἀποκλείειν καὶ ἀπωθεῖν καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἤι γελοῖον τῆς μὲν οἰκίας θυρωροὺς καθιστάναι, τὰ ὀφτα δὲ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνεφγυμένα ἔδω. ἐπειδὰν τοῖνυν τοιαύτα προσῆκ τις λέγων, αὐτὸ ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ χρὴ τὸ πράγμα ἐξετάζειν, μήτε ἡλικίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ὀρῶντα μήτε τὸν ἄλλον βίον μήτε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγχίνοιαν. ὅσο γάρ τις πιθανότερος, τοσοῦτο ἐπιμελεστέρας δεῖται τῆς ἐξετάσεως. οὐ δεῖ τοῖνυν πιστεύειν ἀλλοτρία κρίσει, μᾶλλον ἐν μίσει τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἐξέτασιν φυλακτέον τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀποδόντα καὶ τῷ διαβάλλοντι τὸν φόνον καὶ ἐν φανερῷ ποιησάμενον τὸν ἐλεγχὸν τῆς ἐκατέρου διανοίας, καὶ μεσίν ὅτω καὶ ἀγατὰν τὸν δεδοκιμασμένον. πρὶν δὲ τοῦτο ποιησάι ἐκ τῆς πρώτῃς διαβολῆς κεκινημένον, Ἡράκλεις, ὁς
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Themistocles and Miltiades, both of whom, after all their victories, came to be suspected of treason against Greece? The instances are countless, and are already for the most part well known.

"Then what should a man do, if he has sense and lays claim to probity or truthfulness?" In my opinion he should do what Homer suggested in his parable of the Sirens. He bids us to sail past these deadly allurements and to stop our ears; not to hold them wide open to men prejudiced by passion, but, setting Reason as a strict doorkeeper over all that is said, to welcome and admit what deserves it, but shut out and drive off what is bad. For surely, it would be ridiculous to have doorkeepers to guard your house, but to leave your ears and your mind wide open. Therefore, when a man comes and tells you a thing of this sort, you must investigate the matter on its own merits, without regarding the years of the speaker or his standing, or his carefulness in what he says; for the more plausible a man is, the closer your investigation should be. You should not, then, put faith in another's judgment, or rather (as you would be doing), in the accuser's want of judgment,¹ but should reserve to yourself the province of investigating the truth, accrediting the slanderer with his envy and conducting an open examination into the sentiments of both men; and you should only hate or love a man after you have put him to the proof. To do so before that time, influenced by the first breath of slander—Heavens! how

¹ Literally, "in the accuser's hatred." To secure something like the word-play in the Greek, the sense had to suffer slightly.
μειρακιῶδες καὶ ταπεινῶν καὶ πάντων οὐ χὰκστὰ ἀδικοῦ. ἀλλὰ τούτων ἀπαντῶν αἰτιοῦ, ὤπερ ἐν 32 ἀρχῇ ἑφημεν, ἡ ἀγνοία καὶ τὸ ἐν σκότῳ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐκάστου τρόπου· ὥς εἴ ἦς θεῶν τις ἀποκαλύ-ψειεν ἡμῶν τοὺς βίους, οὐχ οἷον ἂν φεύγουσα ἐστὶ τὸ βάραθρον ἡ διαβολή χώραν οὐκ ἔχουσα, ὡς ἂν πεφωτισμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.
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childish, how base and, beyond everything, how unjust! But the cause of this and all the rest of it, as I said in the beginning, is ignorance, and the fact that the real character of each of us is shrouded in darkness. Hence, if some one of the gods would only unveil our lives, Slander would vanish away to limbo, having no place left, since everything would be illumined by Truth.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

SIGMA vs. TAU,
IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

This mock prosecution, probably not by Lucian, but much later than his time, is based upon the fact that in the Attic dialect many words originally written with double s came eventually to be pronounced and written with double t, and incidentally mentions words in which l has been substituted for r; g for k and l; z, x, and r for s, and t for d, th, and z. It cannot be adequately translated, for we have nothing of the sort in English.
ΔΙΚΗ ΣΤΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΤ ΣΙΓΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΑΤ ΤΙΟ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΤΑ ΦΩΝΗΕΣΙΝ

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου Φαληρέως, Πυσενίωνος ἐβδόμη ἱσταμένου, γραφὴν ἔθετο τὸ Σίγμα πρὸς τὸ Ταῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ Φωνηέντων βίας καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ἀρπαγῆς, ἀφηρήσθαι λέγων πάντων τῶν ἐν διπλῷ ταῦ ἐκφερομένων.]

Μέχρι μέν, δι Φωνηέντα δικασταί, ὅλιγα ἡδικοῦμην ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ Ταῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ καταίρωμος ἐνθα μὴ δεῖ, οὐ βαρέως ἐφερον τὴν βδάβην καὶ παρῆκουν ἑνία τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ τῆς μετριώτητος, ὡς ἤστε με φυλάσσοντα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συλλαβᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦκει πλεονεξίας τε καὶ ἀνωμίας, ὡςτε ἐθ' οἶς ἕσταξα πολλάκις οὐκ ἀγαπῶν, ἄλλ' ὡς ἴδῃ καὶ πλεῖον προσβιάζεται, ἀναγκαῖώς αὐτὸ εὐθύνω νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἁμφότερα εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν. δέος δὲ οὐ μικρὸν μοι ἑπὶ τούτοις τῆς ἀποθέλψεως ἐπέρχεται τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ· τοῖς γὰρ

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1 So in Γ: ΔΙΚΗ ΦΩΝΗΕΝΤΩΝ vulg. 2 Wanting in Ρ. 3 ἀνωμίας Lehmann, Herwerden, Sommerbrodt: ἀνολάς MSS. 4 ἄλλ' K. Schwartz: ἄλλ' (or word omitted) MSS. 5 τούτοις Herwerden: τοῖς (τῆς) MSS.

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SIGMA vs. TAU,
IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

[In the year that Aristarchus of Phalerum was archon, on the seventh day of the month Pyanepsion, Sigma brought suit against Tau before the seven Vowels for assault and robbery, alleging that he had stolen all the words that are pronounced with double tau.]

Vowels of the jury, as long as the wrongs that I underwent at the hands of this fellow Tau through his misusing my property and establishing himself where he had no business were but slight, I did not take the injury to heart, and I ignored some of the things that I heard because of the equable temper which, as you know, I maintain toward you and the other letters. But now that he has come to such a pitch of self-seeking and lawlessness that, not content with what I have repeatedly let pass in silence, he is trying to wrest still more from me, I am compelled to call him to account before you, who know both sides. Besides all this, I am more than a little afraid of my own ejection; for by making greater and
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προπεπραγμένοι αἰεὶ τί μεῖζον προστίθεν ἀρδην μὲ τής οἰκείας ἀποθλύψει χώρας, ὥς ὁλίγον δεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντα μηδὲ ἐν γράμμασιν ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ἐν ἵσῳ δὲ κεῖσθαι τοῦ ψόφου. 1

Δίκαιον οὖν οὐχ ὑμᾶς, οἱ δικαίζετε νῦν, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ γράμματα τῆς πείρας ἔχειν τινὰ φυλακῆν εἰ γὰρ ἔξεσται τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς καθ’ αὐτὰ τάξεως ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτρέψετε ὑμεῖς, ὅν χωρὶς οὐδὲν καθόλου τι γράφεται, οὐχ ὀρὀ τίνα τρόπον αἰ συντάξεις τὰ νόμμα, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐτάχθη τὰ κατ’ ἀρχάς, ἔξοσιν. ἄλλ’ οὗτε ὑμᾶς οἴμαι ποτε ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμελείας τε καὶ παραράσεως ἦξειν, ὡστε ἐπιτρέψαι τινὰ μὴ δίκαια, οὗτε, εἰ καθυφήσετε τοῦ ἀγώνα ὑμεῖς, ἐμοὶ παραλειπτέον ἐστὶν ἄδικομένον, ὡς εἴθε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεκόπησαν τὸτε αἰ τόλμας εὖθὺς ἀρξαμένων παρανομεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἄν ἐπολέμηση μέχρι νῦν τὸ Δάμβδα τῷ Ὀδίμφισιβητοῦν περὶ τῆς κισῆρεως καὶ κεφαλαργίας, οὗτε τὸ Γάμμα τῷ Κάππα διηγούντετο καὶ ἐς χεῖρας μικροῦ δεῖν ἠρχετο πολλάκις ἐν τῷ γναφεῖν ύπὲρ γναφιλλών, ἐπέπαυντο δ’ ἄν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Δάμβδα μαχόμενον, τὸ μόνος ἀφαιροῦμεν αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα παρακλέστον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δ’ ἂν ἠρέμει συγχύσεως ἀρχεσθαι παρανόμου· καλὸν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν μένειν

1 ψόφου Γ: φόβου ΩΣ.
greater additions to what he has already done he will altogether eject me from my own estate, so that if I keep quiet I shall scarcely count at all as a letter, and shall be no better than a hiss.

It is fitting, then, that you who are now on the jury and all the other letters, too, should be on your guard against his pernicious activity, for if anyone who wants to may work his way out of his own place into someone else’s, and if you Vowels, without whom nothing can be written that means anything, are going to permit this, I do not see how society is to keep the orthodox distinctions of rank which were fixed for it in the beginning. But I do not think you will ever reach such a pitch of negligence and carelessness as to permit anything unjust, and even if you do shirk your duty I cannot overlook my wrongs. If only the others had been thwarted in their audacity long ago, when they first began to be law-breakers! In that case, Lambda would not be at war with Rho, disputing the possession of pumice-stone (κίσηλις—κίσηρις) and headaches (κεφαλαλγία—κεφαλαργία), nor would Gamma be quarrelling with Kappa and again and again almost coming to blows with him at the fuller’s (γναφεῖον—κναφεῖον) over pillows (γνάφαλλα—κνάφαλλα), and he would have been prevented from fighting with Lambda, too, openly stealing from him with some difficulty (μόλις—μόγις) and slyly filching without any doubt (μάλιστα—μάγιστα); and the rest would also have refrained from beginning illegal confusion. Surely it is best for each of us to stay in the place which belongs to

1 The word μάλιστα may have been pronounced μάγιστα by the common people at some time or other. I know of no evidence that it was ever so written.
τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς ὑμῖν τοὺς νόμους τούτους διατυπώσας, εἴτε Κάδμους ὁ νησιώτης εἴτε Παλαμίδης ὁ Ναυπλίου,—καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἐννοεῖ προσάπτουσι τὴν προμήθειαν ταύτην—οὐ τῇ τάξει μόνον, καθ’ ἣν αἰ προεδρήσῃ βεβαιοῦνται, διώρισαν, τί πρῶτον ἔσται ἡ δεύτερος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιότητας, ὡς ἐκάστων ἑμῶν ἔχει, καὶ δυνάμεις συνείδον. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν, ὁ δικαστᾶς, τὴν μείζων δεδώκας τιμήν, ὥστε καθ’ αὐτὰ δύνασθε φθέγγεσθαι, ἡμιφώνοις δὲ τὴν ἐφεξῆς, ὅτι προσθήκης εἰς τὸ ἄκουσθήμα δεῖται: πασῶν δὲ ἐσχάτην ἐνόμισαν ἔχειν μόνον ἕννέα τῶν πάντων, οἷς οὐδὲ φωνὴ πρόσεστι καθ’ αὐτὰ. τὰ μὲν οὖν φωνήντα φυλάσσειν ἐσορκίσες τοὺς νόμους τούτους.

Τὸ δὲ γε Ταύ τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χείρων αὐτὸ ὥνομοις ρήματι ὃ καλεῖται, ὁ μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν δύο συνηλθοῦν ἁγαθοὶ καὶ καθήκοντες ὀραθήματος ἄλλη δίδοις ἐφεξῆς, ὅτι προσθήκης εἰς τὸ ἄκουσθήμα δεῖται: πασῶν δὲ ἐσχάτην ἐνόμισαν ἔχειν μόνον ἕννέα τῶν πάντων, οἷς οὐδὲ φωνὴ πρόσεστι καθ’ αὐτὰ. τὰ μὲν οὖν φωνήντα φυλάσσειν ἐσορκίσες τοὺς νόμους τούτους.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

him: to go where one has no right is the act of a law-breaker. The man who first framed these laws for us, be he the islander Cadmus or Nauplius' son Palamedes (and some attribute this provision to Simonides), did not determine which of us should be first and which second solely by putting us in the order in which our places are now fixed, but they also decided the qualities and powers that each of us has. To you, jurors, they gave the greatest honour, because you can be sounded by yourselves; to the Semivowels they gave the next highest, because they need something put with them before they can be heard; and they prescribed that the last place of all should belong to nine letters which have no sound at all by themselves.  

But this Tau here (I cannot call him by a worse name than his own), who, as Heaven is my witness, could not have made himself heard unless two of your number, Alpha and Upsilon, stout fellows and good to look on, had come to his aid—this Tau, I say, has had the audacity to injure me beyond all precedent in acts of violence, not only ousting me from my hereditary nouns and verbs, but banishing me likewise from conjunctions and prepositions all at once, so that I cannot stand his monstrous greed any longer. Where and how he began it, you shall now hear.

1 The story usually ran that Cadmus brought sixteen letters from Phoenicia to Greece, and that four were added to these by Palamedes and four more by Simonides (not the poet, but a physician of Syracuse). Cadmus is here called an islander because some versions of his story made him come from Tyre, not Sidon.

2 The Greek "mutes" are nine in number. Sigma, as a semivowel, claims higher rank.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Ἐπεδήμουν ποτὲ Κυβέλῳ,—τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ πολίχνιον 7 οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς, ἀποικοῦν, ὥς ἔχει λόγος, Ἀθηναίων—ἐπηγόμην δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτιστον ἸΡῷ, γειτόνων τὸ βέλτιστον κατηγόμην δὲ παρὰ κωμῳδίων των ποιητῶν. Λυσίμαχος ἐκαλεῖτο, Βοιώτιος μὲν, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γένος ἄνεκαθεν, ἀπὸ μέσης δὲ ἀξιῶν λέγεσθαι τῆς 'Αττικῆς: παρὰ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ξένῳ τῆς τοῦ Ταῦ τοῦτον πλεονεξίαν ἐφώρασα: μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὁλίγοις ἐπεχείρει, τέτταρα κατατομῶν καὶ τὰ ὁμοία ἐπισπῶμεν ὅπια ταῦτα λέγειν, ἀποστεροῦν μὲ τῶν συγγεγεννημένων καὶ συντεθραμμένων γραμμάτων, συνήθειαν φύμαν ἄν ὁ ιστόν ἦν μοι τὸ ἄκουσμα καὶ οὐ πάνι τι ἐδακνόμην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ὅποτε δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀρξάμενον ἐτόλμησε καττίτερον εἰπεῖν καὶ κάττυμα καὶ πίπταν, εἶτα ἀπερυθρίασαν καὶ βασιλίσσαν 3 βασιλιτταν ὅνομάζειν, οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτῶ καὶ πίμπραμαι δεδος μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ σύκα τύκα τῆς ὁμομάση. καὶ μοι πρὸς Διὸς ἀθυμοῦνται καὶ μεμοιρώμενος τῶν βοηθησόμενος σύγγραμται τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς: οὐ γὰρ περὶ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος,

1 τέτταρα κατατομῶν καὶ Α.Μ.Η., following Halm (τέτταρα καὶ) and the scholia: not in MSS.
2 Word-order (and καὶ for μοι after συγγεγενημένων) Α.Μ.Η.: τέτταράκοιτα λέγειν, ἀποστεροῦν με τῶν συγγεγενημένων μοι, συνήθειαν φύμαν συντεθραμμένων γραμμάτων, ἔτε . . . λέγειν, καὶ οἰστόν κ.τ.λ. ΜSS.
3 βασιλισσαν Α.Μ.Η., following K. Schwartz (την β.): not in MSS.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

Once I made a visit to Cybelus, which is rather an agreeable little village, settled, the story has it, by Athenians. I took with me sturdy Rho, the best of neighbours, and stopped at the house of a comic poet called Lysimachus, evidently a Boeotian by descent, though he would have it that he came from the heart of Attica. It was at that foreigner’s that I detected the encroachments of this fellow Tau. As long as it was but little that he attempted, venturing to mispronounce soun (τέσσαρα—τέτταρα) and forly (τεσσάρακοντα—τέτταράκοντα), and also to lay hands on lo-day (σήμερον—τήμερον), and the like and say they were his own, thus depriving me of my kith and kin among the letters, I thought it was just his way and could put up with what I heard, and was not much annoyed over my losses. But when he went on and ventured to mispronounce lin (κασσίτερον—καττίτερον) and shoe-leather (κάσσουμα—κάττυμα), and lar (πίσσα—πίττα), and then, losing all sense of shame, to miscall queens (βασίλισσα—βασίλιττα), I am uncommonly annoyed and hot about all this, for I am afraid that in course of time someone may miscall a spade! Pardon me, in the name of Heaven, for my righteous anger, discouraged as I am and bereft of partisans. I am not risking a trifling, every-day stake, for he is robbing me of acquaintances and companions among the letters. He snatched a blackbird, a talkative

1 Lysimachus is called a Boeotian because to say s for t was a characteristic of the Boeotian dialect.
2 An allusion to the English saying is here substituted for a similar allusion to its Greek equivalent, “to call a fig a fig” (tà σύκα σύκα ὄνομαξείν).
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αφαιρουμένω τῶν συνήθων καὶ συνεσχολακότων μοι γραμμάτων. 1 κίσσαν μου, λάλον ὁρνεον, ἐκ μέσων ὡς ἐπειτὶ τῶν κόλπων ἀρπάζαν κίτταν ὑνόμασεν ἀφείλετο δὲ μου φύσαν ἁμα νήσας τε καὶ κοσσύφοις ἀπαγορεύοντος 'Αρι-
στάρχου περίσπασε δὲ καὶ μελισσῶν οὐκ ὀλίγας· ἐπ' Ἀττικὴν δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἐκ μέσης αὐτῆς ἀνήρ-
pασεν ἀνόμως 'Ὑμησοῦν 2 ὡρόντων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλλών συλλαβῶν. ἀλλὰ τὶ λέγω ταῦτα; 9 Θεσσαλίας μὲ ἐξέβαλεν ὀλης Θετταλίαν ἄξιον
λέγειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκέκλεικέ μοι τὴν θάλασσαν ὀὔδε τῶν ἐν κήποις φεισάμενον σευτλίων, ὡς τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον μηδὲ πάσαλον μοι καταλιπεῖν.

"Ὅτι δὲ ἀνεζικακὸν εἰμὶ γράμμα, μαρτυρεῖτε μοι καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδέποτε ἐγκαλέσαντί τῷ Ζήτα σμάραγ-
don ἀποσπάσαντι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφελομένω Σμύρναι, μηδὲ τῷ Εἰ πᾶσαν παραβάντι συνθήκην καὶ τὸν συγγραφέα τῶν τοιούτων ἔχοντι Θουκυδίδην σύμμαχον τῷ μὲν γὰρ γείτονι μου Ὁδ νοσήσαντι συγγνώμη, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ φυτεύσαντὶ μοι τὰς μυρίνας καὶ πάισαντί μὲ ποτὲ ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας ἐπὶ κόρρης. κάγῳ μὲν τοιούτον. τὸ δὲ Ταῦ τοῦτο

σκοπώμεν ὡς φύσει βίαιον καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπά. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπέσχετο γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Δέλτα καὶ τὸ Θῆτα καὶ τὸ Ζήτα, μικ-

ροῦ δεῖν πάντα ἡδίκησε τὰ στοιχεῖα, αὐτά μοι κάλει τὰ ἀδικηθέντα γράμματα. ἀκούετε, Φωνή-

eυτα δικασταὶ, τοῦ μὲν Δέλτα λέγοντος· ἀφείλετο

1 γραμμάτων MSS. : χρημάτων du Soul.
2 'Ὑμησοῦν Herwerden: 'Ὑμηττῶν MSS.
creature, right out of my bosom, almost, and re-named it \( \kappa \varepsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha - \kappa \iota \tau \tau \alpha \); he took away my pheasant \( \phi \alpha \sigma \sigma \alpha - \phi \acute {\alpha} \tau \tau \alpha \) along with my ducks \( \nu \acute {\iota} \sigma \sigma \alpha i - \nu \acute {\iota} \tau \tau \alpha i \) and my daws \( \kappa \acute {\omicron} \sigma \sigma \nu \phi \acute {\omicron} - \kappa \acute {\omicron} \tau \tau \nu \phi \acute {\omicron} \), although Aristarchus forbade him; he robbed me of not a few bees \( \mu \acute {\epsilon} \lambda \iota \sigma \sigma \alpha - \mu \acute {\epsilon} \lambda \iota \tau \tau \alpha \), and he went to Attica and illegally plucked Hymessus \( \Upsilon \mu \epsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha \sigma - \Upsilon \mu \eta \tau \tau \sigma \) out of the very heart of her, in full view of yourselves and the other letters. But why mention this? He has turned me out of all Thessaly, wanting it called Thettaly, has swept me from the sea \( \theta \acute {\alpha} \lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma \alpha - \theta \alpha \lambda \alpha \tau \tau \alpha \) and has not even spared me the beets \( \sigma \epsilon \upiota \lambda \iota \alpha i a - \tau \epsilon \upiota \lambda \iota \alpha i a \) in my garden, so that, to quote the proverb, he hasn't even left me a peg \( \pi \acute {\alpha} \sigma \sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \sigma - \pi \acute {\alpha} \tau \tau \alpha \lambda \alpha \sigma \). That I am a much-enduring letter, you yourselves can testify, for I never brought Zeta to book for taking my emerald \( \sigma \mu \acute {\alpha} \rho \alpha \gamma \acute {\omicron} \sigma - \xi \mu \acute {\alpha} \rho \alpha \gamma \acute {\omicron} \sigma \) and robbing me utterly of Smyrna,\(^1\) nor Xi for overstepping every treaty \( \sigma \nu \theta \acute {\iota} \acute {\iota} \kappa - \xi \upsilon \theta \acute {\iota} \kappa \) with Thucydides the historian \( \sigma \nu \gamma \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \acute {\epsilon} \upsilon \sigma - \xi \nu \gamma \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \acute {\epsilon} \upsilon \sigma \) as his ally \( \sigma \acute {\omicron} \mu \mu \alpha \chi \alpha \sigma - \xi \acute {\omicron} \mu \mu \alpha \chi \alpha \sigma \). And when my neighbour Rho was ill I forgave him not only for transplanting my myrtles \( \mu \nu \rho \sigma \iota \nu \eta - \mu \nu \rho \acute {\omicron} \rho \iota \nu \eta \) into his own garden, but also for cracking my crown \( \kappa \rho \omicron \sigma \eta - \kappa \rho \omicron \rho \eta \) in a fit of insanity. That is my disposition, but this Tau—just see how bad-natured he is toward the others, too! To show that he has not let the rest of the letters alone, but has injured Delta and Theta and Zeta and almost all the alphabet, please call to the stand the injured parties in person. Listen, Vowels of the jury, to Delta, who says: "He robbed me of

\(^1\) Pronounced, as it is to-day, Zmyrna, but written usually with \( s \).
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μον τὴν ἐνδελέχειαν, ἐντελέχειαν ἀξίουν λέγεσθαι
παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους· τοῦ Θήτα δακρύνωτος
καὶ τῆς κεφάλης τὰς τρίχας τίλλοντος ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ
tῆς κολοκύνθης ἐστερήσθαι· τοῦ Ζήτα, τὸ σφυρίζειν
καὶ σαλπίζειν, ὅπως μηκέτ' αὐτῷ ἔξεινι μηδὲ γρύ-
ζειν. τίς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο; ἤ τίς ἔξαρκεσθεί
dίκη πρὸς τὸ πονηρότατον τούτι Ταῦ; 11

Τὸ δὲ ἄρα οὗ τὸ ὀμόφυλον τῶν στοιχείων μόνον
ἀδικεῖ γένος, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον
μεταβέβηκε τοπούν τὸν τρόπον· οὔ γὰρ ἐπι-
τρέπει γε αὐτοὺς καὶ' εὐθύνε σεβασθαί ταῖς γλώ-
σαίς· μᾶλλον δέ, ὦ δικασταί, μεταξὺ γὰρ με
πάλιν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα ἀνέμυνθησε περὶ
tῆς γλώσσης, καὶ 2 ταύτης με τὸ μέρος 3 ἀπήλασε
καὶ γλώττας ποιεῖ τὴν γλώσσαν. ὁ γλώσσης
ἀληθῶς νόσημα Ταῦ. ἀλλὰ μεταβηθῆσομαι πάλιν
ἐπ' ἐκείνο καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναγορεύσω ὑπὲρ
ὅν εἰς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖ· δεσμοῖς γὰρ τις
στρέβλοιν καὶ σπαράττειν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνὴν
ἐπιχερεῖ. καὶ ὁ μέν τι καλὸν ἵδων καλὸν εἰπεῖν
ἀυτὸ βούλεται, τὸ δὲ παρεισπεσοῦν ταλὸν εἰπεῖν
αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζει εἰν ἀπασι προεδρίαν ἔχειν ἀξίον
πάλιν ἐτέρους περὶ κλῆματος διαλέγεται, τὸ δὲ —
τλήμον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς — τλήμα πεποίηκε τὸ
κλῆμα. καὶ οὗ μόνον γε τοὺς τυχόντας ἀδικεῖ,
ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, ὦ καὶ γῆν καὶ
θάλασσαν εἰξαί φασί καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως
ἐκτίναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ
Κύρου αὐτὸν ὄντα Τύρων τινα ἀπέφηνεν.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὅσον ἐς φωνὴν ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖ: 12

1 δακρύνωτος K. Schwartz: κρούνωτος MSS.
2 καὶ A.M.H. : ὃτι καὶ MSS. 3 μιαρὸν Capps.

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endelechy, wanting it to be called entelechy against all the laws"; to Theta crying and pulling out the hair of his head because he has had even his pumpkin (κολοκύνθη—κολοκύντη) taken away from him, and to Ζeta, who has lost his whistle (συρίζεων—συρίτευν) and trumpet (σαλπίζεων—σαλπίττευν), so that he can’t even make a sound (γρύζεων—γρύττευν) any longer. Who could put up with all this, and what punishment could be bad enough for this out-and-out rascal Tau?

Not only does he injure his own kinsfolk of the alphabet, but he has already attacked the human race also; for he does not allow them to talk straight with their tongues. Indeed, jurymen—for speaking of men has suddenly put me in mind of the tongue—he has banished me from this member too, as far as in him lay, and makes glotta out of glossa. O Tau, thou very plague o’ the tongue! But I shall attack him another time and advise men of his sins against them, in trying to fetter their speech, as it were, and to mangle it. A man on seeing something pretty (καλόν) wants to call it so, but Tau interferes and makes him say something else (ταλόν),1 wanting to have precedence in everything. Again, another is talking about a palm-branch (κλάμα), but Tau, the very criminal (τλημων), turns the palm-branch into a crime (τλημα). And not only does he injure ordinary people, but even the Great King, in whose honour, they say, even land and sea give place and depart from their own natures—even he is plotted against by Tau, who instead of Cyrus makes him out something of a cheese (Κυρος—τυρός).

That is the way he injures mankind as far as their

1 One would expect a pun here, but ταλόν is not in the dictionaries.
ἔργῳ δὲ πῶς; κλάουσιν ἀνθρώποι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην ὀδύρουνται καὶ Κάδμῳ καταρώνται πολλάκις, ὅτι τὸ Ταῦ ἢ τὸ τῶν στοιχείων γένος παρῇμαγεν ὡς εἰρ τοῦτο σώματι φασί τοὺς τυράννους ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα ἐπεῖτα σχήματι τοιούτῳ ἔγινε τεκτήνας τὰς ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπ' αὐτά· ἀπὸ δὲ τὸ Ταῦ καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ πονηρῷ τὴν ποιημάν ἐπωνυμίαν συνελθεῖν. τούτων οὖν ἀπάντων ἔνεκα πόσῳ θανάτων τὸ Ταῦ ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζετε; ἐγὼ μὲν ἡμᾶς ὅτι παρὰ δικαῖος τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ τῷ σχῆματι τῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.  

1 δὲ Α.Μ.Η. : δὴ MSS.
2 MSS. add ὅ ὅτε σταυρὸς εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῦτο μὲν ἐδημιουργῆθη, ὅπλι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὄνομάζεται, excised by Sommerbrodt.
speech is concerned, but look at the material injury he has done them! Men weep and bewail their lot and curse Cadmus over and over for putting Tau into the alphabet, for they say that their tyrants, following his figure and imitating his build, have fashioned timbers in the same shape and crucify men upon them; and that it is from him that the sorry device gets its sorry name (stauros, cross). For all this do you not think that Tau deserves to die many times over? As for me, I hold that in all justice we can only punish Tau by making a T of him.¹

¹ I.e., by crucifying him, Greek crosses being usually T-shaped. MSS. add “for the cross owes its existence to Tau, but its name to man”; see critical note.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

The sub-title comes from the parallel that Lucian draws (in section 45) between this affair and the wedding breakfast of Peirithous, which ended in a hand-to-hand encounter between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. The piece is thought to be modelled on the *Symposium* of Menippus, the Cynic satirist.
ΣΤΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΛΑΠΙΘΑΙ

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Ποικίλην, ὁ Δυκίνης, διατριβήν φασι γεγενηθήσατι ὑμῖν χθές ἐν 'Αρισταινέτου παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ πινας λόγους φιλοσόφους εἰρήσθατι καὶ ἔριν οὖ σμικράν συστήναι ἐπ' αὕτοις, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐψεύδετο Χαρίνος, καὶ ἀχρὶ τραυμάτων προχωρήσαι τὸ πράγμα καὶ τέλος αἰματι διαλυθῆναι τὴν συνουσίαν.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ πόθεν, ὁ Φίλων, ἡπίστατο Χαρίνος ταῦτα; οὐ γὰρ συνεδείπνην μεθ' ἡμῶν.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Διονύκοι ἐφη τοῦ ἱστροῦ ἀκούσαι. Διόνικος δὲ καὶ αὐτός, οἴματι, τῶν συνυδείπνων ἦν.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μᾶλα: οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γε οὔδ' αὐτὸς ἀπασι παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ ὡσε μεσούσης σχεδοῦ ἤδη τῆς μάχης ἐπεστη ὅλην πρὸ τῶν τραυμάτων. ὥστε θαυμαζὼ εἰ τι σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἐδύνατο μὴ παρακολουθήσας ἐκεῖνος, ὥστε ἄρξαμένη ἐς τὸ αἷμα ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτοὶς ἡ φιλονεικία.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Τούγαρον, ὁ Δυκίνης, καὶ ὁ Χαρίνος αὐτός, εἰ 2 βουλομεθα τάληθι ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ὅπως ἐπράξῃ ἐκαστα, παρὰ σὲ ἡμᾶς ἢκειν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῶν

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PHILO

They say you had all kinds of sport yesterday, Lycinus, at the house of Aristaenetus, at dinner, and that several speeches on philosophy were made, out of which quite a quarrel arose. Unless Charinus was lying, the affair even ended in wounds and the party was finally broken up by the shedding of blood.

LYCINUS

Now how did Charinus know that, Philo? He did not dine with us.

PHILO

He said that Dionicus, the doctor, told him. Dionicus, I suppose, was one of the guests.

LYCINUS

Yes, to be sure; but even he was not there for all of it, from the very beginning: it was late and the battle was about half over when he came on the scene, a little before the wounds. So I am surprised that he could give a clear account of any of it, as he did not witness what led up to the quarrel that ended in bloodshed.

PHILO

True, Lycinus; and for that very reason Charinus told us, if we wanted to hear the truth of it and all the details, to come to you, saying that Dionicus
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Διόνικος γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν ὃς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ παραγένοιτο ἀπασί, σὲ δὲ ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς ἀν¹ ἀπομνημονεύσαι ἀτε μὴ παρέργως τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ′ ἐν σπουδῇ ἀκροώμενον, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ἑστὶν ἡμᾶς ἡδίστην ταύτην ἑστίασιν, ἢς οὐκ οἶδα τὶς² ἢδίων ἐμοιγε, καὶ μάλιστα ὃς νήφοντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ ἔξω βέλους ἑστιασόμεθα, εἴτε γέροντες ἑπαρώμησάν τι παρά τὸ δεῖπνον εἴτε νέοι, εἰπεῖν τε ὧσ ἡκιστα ἐχρήν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου προαχθέντες καὶ πρᾶξαι.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Νεανικώτερα ἡμᾶς, ὃς Φίλων, ἄξιοις ἐκφέρειν 3 ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπεξεῖναι διηγουμένους πράγματα ἐν οὐντῷ καὶ μέθη γενόμενα, δέον λήθην ποιήσασθαι αὐτῶν καὶ νομίζειν ἑκεῖνα πάντα θεοῦ ἔργα τοῦ Διονύσου εἶναι, ὡς οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ ὃργίας ἀτέλεστον καὶ ἀβάκχευτον· περιεἶδει. ὅρα οὖν μὴ κακοἰς ὑπὸ κακοίς τινῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τὸ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἑξετάζειν, ἃ καλὸς ἔχει ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καταληπτόν τὸν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. "μυσῶ" γὰρ, ἰθαντές καὶ ὁ ποιητικὸς λόγος, "μνάμονα συμπόταν." καὶ οὔδὲ ὁ Διόνικος ὁρθῶς ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν Χαρίνου ταῦτα ἑξαγορεύσας καὶ πολλῆν τὴν ἐσωκρασίαν κατασκεδάσσας ἄνδρῶν ϕιλοσόφων. ἐγὼ δέ, ἀπαγε, οὐκ ἂν τι τοιοῦτον εἴποιμι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Θρύπτῃ ταύτα, ὃς Λυκίων. ἀλλ᾽ οὔτι γε πρὸς 4 ἐμὲ οὔτω ποιεῖν ἑχρήν, διὸ ἀκριβῶς πολὺ πλέον

¹ ἀν Bekker: not in MSS.
² οὐκ οἶδα τὶς Bekker: οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἂν τὶς MSS.
himself had said that he was not there for all of it, but that you knew exactly what had happened and could actually recite the speeches, being, as you are, an attentive and not a careless listener to such discussions. So do hurry and give us this most delightful entertainment—for none, I am sure, could be more delightful, at least to me, especially as we shall enjoy a peaceful and bloodless entertainment, without intemperance and out of range of missiles, whether it was old men or young who misconducted themselves at dinner, led on by strong drink to do and say what they should not.

LYCINUS

It was rather a silly affair, Philo, and yet you want me to publish it abroad and tell what happened when heads were turned with wine, when it all should be forgotten and the whole business put down to a god—Dionysus, I mean, who scarcely permits anyone to remain uninitiated in his rites and a stranger to his revels. Don’t you think it rather bad form to enquire into such matters minutely? The proper thing is to leave them behind you in the dining-room when you go away. As you know, there is a saying from the poets: “I hate to drink with him that hath a memory.” And Dionicus did not do right, either, to blab it all to Charinus and besprinkle philosophers with the copious dregs of their stale cups. As for me—get out with you! I shan’t tell you anything of the kind!

PHILO

That is all put on, Lycinus. But you needn’t have acted that way with me, for I know very well that

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1 Author unknown : quoted also by Plutarch (Prooemium to Quaest. Sympos.). See also Index to Corpus Paroemiogr. Gr.
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έπιθυμοῦντά σε εἰπεῖν οίδα ἡ ἐμὲ ἀκούσαι, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς, εἰ ἀπορήσειας τῶν ἄκουσμόνων, κἂν πρὸς κίονά τινα ἢ πρὸς ἀνδρίαντα ἰδέως ἄν προσελθὼν ἐκχεῖα πάντα συνείρων ἀμυντὶ. εἰ γοῦν ἐθελήσω ἀπαλλάττεσθαι νῦν, ὦκ ἐάσεις με ἀνήκουν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξει 1 καὶ παρακολουθήσεις καὶ δεήσει. κἂν ᾧ θρύψοι πρὸς σὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει· καὶ εἰ γε δοκεῖ, ἀπίστως ἄλλον αὐτὰ πενθόμενοι, σὺ δὲ μὴ λέγε.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Μηδὲν πρὸς ὅργήν· διηγήσομαι γὰρ, ἐπείπερ οὕτως προθυμῆ, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐρείς.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐγὼ ἐπιλέλησμαι Δυκίνου, αὐτὸς σὺ ἁμεινὸν ποιήσεις αὐτὸ καὶ φθάσεις εἰπῶν ἀπασιν, ὅτε οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ δεήσει. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μοι πρῶτον εἰπὲ, τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Ζήμωνι ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα εἰστία ύμᾶς;

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξεδίδου αὐτὸς τὴν Κλεανθίδα τῷ Εὐκρίτου τοῦ δανειστικοῦ, τῷ φιλοσοφοῦντι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Παγκάλῳ νὴ Δία μειρακιω, ἀπαλῳ γε μὴν ἐτί καὶ οὐ πάνυ καθ' ὀραν γάμων.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλ' οὐκ εἴχεν ἄλλον ἑπτηθείστερον, οἶμαι. τούτου οὖν κόσμιον τε εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ πρὸς

1 ἔξει Fritzsche: ἔξεις (هةي) MSS.

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you are much more eager to talk than I to listen, and
I have an idea that if you had nobody to listen to
you, you would enjoy going up to a pillar or a statue
and pouring it all out in a stream, without a pause.
In fact, if I should wish to go away now, you would
not let me go untold, but would hold me and follow
me and entreat me. And now I am going to take
my turn at putting on. (Turns to another friend.) If
you like, let's go and find out about it from someone
else. (To Lyceinus.) You may keep your story to
yourself!

Lyceinus

Don't get angry! I will tell you, since you
are so anxious, but don't you tell a lot of people.

Philo

If I have not forgotten all I know of you, Lycinus,
you will do that better than I can, and you will
lose no time in telling everybody, so that I shan't be
needed. But first tell me one thing—was it to
celebrate the wedding of his son Zeno that
Aristaenetus entertained you?

Lyceinus

No, he was marrying his daughter Cleanthis to
the son of Eucritus the banker, the lad who is
studying philosophy.

Philo

A very good-looking lad, to be sure; still imma-
ture, though, and hardly old enough to be married.

Lyceinus

But he could not find anyone who suited him
better, I suppose. As this boy seemed to be
mannerly and had taken an interest in philosophy,
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φιλοσοφίαν ὄρμημένον, ἔτι δὲ μόνον ὑντα πλουσιω τῷ Ἐυκρίτῳ, προείλετο νυμφίον εξ ἀπάντων.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Οὐ μικρὰν λέγεις αὐτίαν τὸ πλούτειν τὸν Ἐυκριτον. ἀτὰρ οὖν, ὦ λυκίνε, τίνες οἱ δει-πυούντες ἦσαν;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοὺς τῇ ἀν σοι λέγοιμι; οί δὲ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας καὶ λόγων, οὐσπερ ἐθέλεις, οἴμαι, ἀκοῦσαι μάλιστα, Ζημόθεμις ἢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ Δέφιλος ὁ λαβύριν-θος ἐπίκλην, διδάσκαλος οὕτος ὁν τοῦ Ἀρισταιεῖτον νίεος τοῦ Ζήγωνος. τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου Κλεόδημος, οἷσθα τὸν στωμόλον, τὸν ἐλεγκτικόν, ξίφος αὐτῶν οἱ μαθηταί καὶ κοπίδα καλοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἐπικούρειος Ἔρμων παρῆν, καὶ εἰσελθόντα γε αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ὑπεβλέ-ποντο οἱ Στωίκοι καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ὡς τίνα πατραλοίαν καὶ ἑναγή μυσατ-τόμενοι. οὕτως μὲν αὐτῶν Ἀρισταιεῖτον φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις οὕτε παρεκέκληντο ἐπὶ δεύπνον καὶ ξύν αὐτῶς ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιάος καὶ ὁ ῶτωρ Διονυσόδωρος. διὰ δὲ τὸν νυμφίον τὸν Χαιρέαν ἦν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς συνειστιάτῳ διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν ὑν, σεμνός τις ἕδειν καὶ θεοπρεπὴς καὶ πολὺ τὸ κόσμον ἐπιφαίνων τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ἀναίων γοῦν οἱ πολλοὶ ὄνομαξοσοῦν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς γνώμης ἀποβλέποντες. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν, ὑπεξ-αισταντο πάντες αὐτῶ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο ὡς τίνα τῶν κρειττόνων, καὶ ὀλος ὁ θεός ἐπιδημία τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν ἢν ἦν οἱ θαυμαστὸς συμπαρών.

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and also as he was the only son of Eucritus, who is rich, he preferred him to all the rest as a husband for his daughter.

PHILO

You give a very good reason in saying that Eucritus is rich. But come, Lycinus, who were the people at dinner?

LVCINUS

Why should I tell you all of them? The philosophers and literary men, whom, I suppose, you are most eager to hear about, were Zenothemis, the old man of the Porch, and along with him Diphilus, whom they call "Labyrinth," tutor of Aristaenetus' boy Zeno. From the Walk there was Cleodemus—you know him, the mouthy, argumentative fellow, whom his pupils call "Sword" and "Cleaver." Hermon the Epicurean was there too, and as he came in the Stoics at once began to glower at him and turn their backs on him; it was clear that they loathed him as they would a parricide or a man under a curse. These men had been asked to dinner as Aristaenetus' own friends and associates, and also the grammarian Histiaeus and the rhetorician Dionysodorus. Then, too, on account of Chaereas, the bridegroom, Ion the Platonic philosopher, who is his teacher, shared the feast—a grave and reverend person to look at, with great dignity written on his features. Indeed, most people call him "Rule," out of regard for the straightness of his thinking. When he came in, they all arose in his honour and received him like a supernatural being; in short it was a regular divine visitation, the advent of Ion the marvellous.

1 The Porch: where Zeno the Stoic used to teach.
2 The Walk (περίπατος) in the Lyceum, where the Peripatetics had their meeting-place.
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Δέον δὲ ἠδη κατακλίνεσθαι ἀπάντων σχέδον παρόντων, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰσιόντων αἰ γυναίκες ὅλον τὸν κλιντήρα ἐκείνου ἐπέλαβον, οὐκ ὅλιγαί οὕσαί, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἡ νύμφη πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἐγκεκαλυμμένη, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν περιεχομένη· ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀντίθυρον ἡ ἄλλη πληθύς, ώς ἐκαστὸς ἀξίας εἶχε. κατ᾽ ἀντικρὺ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν πρῶτος ὁ Εὐκριτος, εἶτα Ἀρισταίνετος. εἶτα ἐνεδοιάζετο πότερον χρῆ πρότερον Ζηνόθεμιν τὸν Σταϊκὸν ἀτε γέροντα ἦ᾽ Ἑρμωνα τὸν Ἕπικουρείον, ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ γένους τοῦ πρῶτον ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀλλὰ ὁ Ζηνόθεμις ἔλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν· "Εἴ γὰρ με," φησίν, ὡς Ἀρισταίνετε, δεύτερον ἀξίες τούτοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν εἶπω, Ἕπικουρείου, ἀπειμὸν σοι τὸ συμπόσιον καταλιπτόν·" καὶ ἀμα τὸν παιδα ἐκάλει καὶ εξίοντι ἐφκεί. καὶ ὁ Ἑρμων, "'Εχε μὲν, ὁ Ζηνόθεμι, τὰ πρῶτα," ἔφη· "ἀτὰρ εἰ καὶ ὁ μηδέν τι ἔτερον, ἱερεὶ γε ὡς τὸ ὑπεξὶστάσθαι καλῶς εἴχεν, εἰ καὶ τοῦ Ἕπικουροῦ πάνυ καταπεφώνηκα·" "Ἐγέλασα," ἢ ὁ Ὁ Ζηνόθεμις, "Ἑπίκουρειον ἱερεῖα," καὶ ἀμα λέγων κατεκλίνετο καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ὦμως ὁ Ἑρμων, εἶτα Κλεόδημος ὁ Περιπατητικός, εἶτα ὁ Ἱων καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ὁ νυμφίος, εἴτ’ ἐγὼ καὶ παρ’ ἐμὲ ὁ Δίφιλος καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ζήνων ὁ μαθητής, εἶτα ὁ ρήτωρ Διονυσίδωρος καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιάος.

1 toutou τοῦ ἀνδρός MSS. : toutou, ἀνδρός Bekker.
2 eι καί MSS. : eι Fritzsche : καν?
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By that time we had to take our places, for almost everyone was there. On the right as you enter, the women occupied the whole couch, as there were a good many of them, with the bride among them, very scrupulously veiled and hedged in by the women. Toward the back door came the rest of the company according to the esteem in which each was held. Opposite the women, the first was Eucritus, and then Aristaenetus. Then a question was raised whether Zenothemis the Stoic should have precedence, he being an old man, or Hermon the Epicurean, because he was a priest of the Twin Brethren and a member of the leading family in the city. But Zenothemis solved the problem; "Aristaenetus," said he, "if you put me second to this man here,—an Epicurean, to say nothing worse of him,—I shall go away and leave you in full possession of your board." With that he called his attendant and made as if to go out. So Hermon said: "Take the place of honour, Zenothemis; but you would have done well to yield to me because I am a priest, if for no other reason, however much you despise Epicurus." "You make me laugh," said Zenothemis: "an Epicurean priest!" With these words he took his place, and Hermon next him, in spite of what had passed; then Cleodemus the Peripatetic; then Ion, and below him the bridegroom, then myself; beside me Diphilus, and below him his pupil Zeno; and then the rhetorician Dionysodorus and the grammarian Histiaeus.
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ΦΙΛΩΝ

Βασίλειον, ὁ Δυκίνη, μονοτῆκε τὸ τὸ συμπόσιον διηγήσασιν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πλείστων, καὶ ἔγγυε τὸν Ἀρισταίον ἐπανάλυο, ὅτι τὴν εὐκταίατήν ἐορτήν ἄγων τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἐστιν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἡξίωσεν, ὅ τι περ ὑπὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἔξ ἐκάστης αἱρέσεως ἀπανθισάμενος, οὐχὶ τοὺς μὲν, τοὺς δὲ οὖ, ἀλλὰ ἀναμίξει ἀπαντας.

ΔΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Εστι γὰρ, ὃ ἐταίρε, οὐχὶ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδείας μέλει αυτῷ καὶ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ βίου τούτως ξύνεσθιν.

Εἰστιώμεθα οὖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ παρεσκευάστον ποικίλα. πλὴν οὐδὲν οἴμαι χρή καὶ ταύτα καταριθμεῖσθαι, χυμοῦς καὶ πέμματα καὶ καρυκείας ἀπαντα γὰρ ἄφθονα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Κλεόδημος ἐπικύψας ἐς τὸν Ἰωνα, "‘Ὁρῆς," ἔφη, "τὸν γέροντα"—Ζηνόθεμεν λέγων, ἐπήκοον γὰρ—"ὅπως ἐμφορεῖτα τῶν ὄψων καὶ ἀναπέπλητταίται ζωμοῦ τὸ ἵματιον καὶ ὅσα τῷ παιδὶ κατόπιν ἐστώτι ορέγει λαυθάνειν οἰόμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐ μεμυμημένος τῶν μεθ' αὐτῶν; δείξον οὖν καὶ Δυκίνῳ ταύτα, ὥς μάρτυρας εἴη." ἔγω δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδεόμην δείξοντός μου τὸν Ἰωνος πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἔκ περιωτῆς ἑωρακὸς.

"Αμα δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κλεόδημος εἰρήκει καὶ ἐπεισε- ἐπαισεν ὁ Κυνικὸς Ἀλκιδάμας ἀκλήτος, ἐκεῖνο τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιχαριστησάμενος, "τὸν Μενέλαον αὐτόματον ἤκοντα." τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἀναί-
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

PHILO

Heavens, Lycinus, it's a learned academy, this dinner party that you are telling of! Philosophers almost to a man. Good for Aristaenetus, I say, because in celebrating the greatest festival day that there is, he thought fit to entertain the most learned men in preference to the rest of the world, and culled the bloom, as it were, of every school, not including some and leaving out others, but asking all without discrimination.

LYCINUS

Why, my dear fellow, he is not one of the common run of rich men; he is interested in culture and spends the better part of his time with these people.

Well, we dined peacefully at first, and were served with all sorts of dishes, but I don't suppose there is any need of enumerating them—the sauces and pastries and ragouts. There was everything, and plenty of it. Meanwhile Cleodemus bent over to Ion and said: "Do you see the old man?"—meaning Zenothemis: I was listening, you know. "How he stuffs himself with the dainties and has covered his cloak with soup, and how much food he hands to his attendant standing behind him! He thinks that the others do not see him, but he forgets the people at his back. Point it out to Lycinus, so that he can testify to it." But I had no need of Ion to point it out, for I had seen it all from my coign of vantage some time ago.

Just as Cleodemus said that, Alcidamas the Cynic romped in uninvited, getting off the commonplace joke about Menelaus coming of his own accord.\(^1\) Most of them thought he had done an impudent

\(^1\) Iliad 2, 408.
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σχείτα ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι καὶ ὑπέκρουν τὰ προχειρότατα, ὦ μὲν τὸ ἀφραίνεις Μενέλαε, ὦ ὅ

ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ Ἀτρείδη Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ,

καὶ ἄλλοι 1 ἄλλα πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν εὐστοχα καὶ

χαρίευτα ὑποτονθορύζοντες· ἐς μέντοι τὸ φανερὸν

οὐδὲις ἐτόλμα λέγειν ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ τὸν Ἁλκι-

δάμαντα, θῷν ἄγαθον ἀτεχνῶς οὐτα καὶ κρατικῷ-

τατον κυνῶν ἀπάντων, παρ᾽ ὦ καὶ ἄμεινον ἐδόκει

καὶ φοβερῶτατος ἦν ἀπασιν.

Ο ὃ Ἐρίσταῖνετος ἐπαιμέσας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε

θρόνον τινὰ λαβόντα καθίζεσθαι παρ᾽ Ἰστιαίον

τε καὶ Διονυσώδωρον. ὦ ὃ, "Απαγε," φησὶ, ἡνα

γυναικεῖοι λέγεις καὶ μαλακῶδο ἐπὶ θρόνον

καθίζεσθαι ἢ σκίμποδος, ὦσπερ ὑμῖς μαλακῆς

ταύτης εὐνῆς μικροῦ δεῖν ὑπτιο δικαιμένου

ἐστιάσθε πορφυρίδας ὑποβεβλημένου· ἐγὼ ὃ καὶ

ὀρθοστάδην δευτηνήσαιμε ἐμπεριπατῶν ἅμα τὸ

συμποσίως· εἰ δὲ καὶ κάμοιμι, χαμαί τὸν τρίβωνα

ὑποβαλόμενος 2 κείσομαι ἐπ᾽ ἀγκώνοις οἶον τὸν

Ηρακλέα γράφουσιν. "Οὐτὼς," ἐφ᾽ "γιγνέσθω," ὃ Ἐρί

σταῖνετος, "εἰ σοι ἤδιον." καὶ τὸ ἅπο τούτον

περιῶν ἐν κύκλῳ ὃ Ἀλκιδάμας ἐδείπνει ὦσπερ οἱ

Σκύθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄφθονωτερὰν νομὴν μετεξανιστά-

μενος καὶ τοῖς περιφέρουσι τὰ ὁψα μετεπιμεντῶν.

καὶ μέντοι καὶ στιτούμενος ἐνεργός ἦν ἄρετῆς πέρι

καὶ κακίας μεταξὺ διέξεως καὶ ἐς τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν

ἀργυρὸν ἀποσκωπτῶν ἤρωτα γοῦν τὸν Ἐρίσταῖ-

νετον, τί βούλονται αὐτῶ οἱ τοσάτται καὶ τηλι-

καῦται κύλικες τῶν κεραμέων ἰσον δυναμένων.

1 ἀλλοι Bekker: not in MSS.

2 ὑποβαλόμενος Jacobitz: ὑποβαλλόμενος MSS.

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thing, and they slyly retorted with the first thing they could think of, one growling under his breath, "Menelaus, thou'rt a fool!"; another: "But Agamemnon, Atreus' son, was sorely vexed," and others other remarks that, in the circumstances, were to the point and witty. But nobody dared to speak out, for they all feared Alcidamas, who was really "good at the war-cry," and the noisiest of all the Cynic barkers, for which reason he was considered a superior person and was a great terror to everybody.

Aristaenetus commended him and bade him take a chair and sit beside Histiaeus and Dionysodorus. "Get out with you!" said he, "What you tell me to do is womanish and weak, to sit on a chair or on a stool, like yourselves on that soft bed, lying almost flat on your backs while you feast, with purple cloths under you. I shall take my dinner on my feet as I walk about the dining-room, and if I get tired I'll lie on the floor, leaning on my elbow, with my cloak under me, like Heracles in the pictures they paint of him." "Very well," said Aristaenetus; "if you prefer it that way." Then Alcidamas began to circle about for his dinner, shifting to richer pasturage as the Scythians do, and following the orbits of the waiters. But even while he was eating he was not idle, for he talked of virtue and vice all the time, and scoffed at the gold and silver plate; for example, he asked Aristaenetus what was the use of all those great goblets when earthenware would do just as well. But he had begun to be a bore by

1 Iliad 7, 109.  
2 Iliad 1, 24.  
3 Like Menelaus: Iliad 2, 408.
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άλλη ἑκείνων μὲν ἦδη διενοχλοῦντα ἐπαυσεν ἐς τὸ παρὸν Ἀρισταῖνετος τῷ παιδὶ διανεύσας ἐνεμεγέθη σκύφοιν ἀναδύναι αὐτῷ ξωρότερον ἑγχέαντα καὶ ἐδόκει ἄριστα ἐπινευοηκέναι οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅσον κακῶν ἄρχην τὸ σκύφος ἑκεῖνος ἐνεδεδώκει. λαβών δὲ ἀμα ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἑσίγησε μικρὸν καὶ ἐς τοῦδαφος καταβαλὼν ἐαυτὸν ἑκεῖτο ἡμίγυμνος, ὡσπερ ἤπειλήκει, πήξις τὸν ἁγκώα ὅρθον, ἔχων ἄμα τὸν σκύφον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, οἷος ὁ παρὰ τῷ Φόλῳ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν γραφέων δείκνυται.

Ὡθὲ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους συνεχῶς περιεσφεβεῖτο ἡ κύλιξ καὶ φιλοτησία καὶ ὁμιλίαι καὶ φῶτα εἰσεκεκομίστω. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ἐγὼ τῶν παρεστώτα τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ παῖδα οἰνοχὸν ὅντα ὤραιον ἰδὼν ὑπομειδίῳντα—χρὴ γὰρ, οἴμαι, καὶ ὅσα πάρεργα τῆς ἐστιάσεως ἐπέπεν, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ τι πρὸς τὸ γλαφυρώτερον ἐπιράχθη—μᾶλα ἦδη παρεφύλαττον οὐκ καὶ μειδίάσεις. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ μὲν προσήλθεν ὡς ἀπολυπτόμενος παρὰ τοῦ Κλεοδήμου τὴν φιάλην, ὁ δὲ τὸν τε δάκτυλον ἀπέθλιψεν αὐτοῦ καὶ δραχμὰς δύο, οἴμαι, συνανέδωκε μετὰ τῆς φιάλης τὸ παις δὲ πρὸς μὲν τῶν δάκτυλον θλιβόμενον αὖθις ἐμειδίασεν, οὐ μὴν συνεῖδεν, οἴμαι, τὸ νόμισμα, ἡστε μὴ δεξαμένου ψόφον αὐτῷ δύο δραχμαὶ παρέσχον ἐκπεσοῦσαί, καὶ ἤρθριάσας ἀμφοῖ μᾶλα σαφῶς. ἦπορουν δὲ οἱ πλησίον οὐτίνος εἰς τὰ νομίσματα, τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς ἀρνομένου μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι, τοῦ δὲ Κλεοδήμου, καθ’ ὅν ὁ ψόφος ἐγένετο, μὴ προσποιουμένου τὴν ἀπόρριψιν. ἠμελήθη οὖν καὶ παρώφθη τοῦτο οὖν

1 διανεύσας Fritzche: δὲ νεύσας Ω.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

this time, so Aristaenetus put a quietus on him for
the moment by directing the waiter to give him a
big bowl and pour him out a stiffer drink. He
thought that he had had a good idea, little realising
what woes that bowl was destined to give rise to.
On taking it, Alcidamas kept quiet for a little while,
throwing himself on the floor and lying there half-
naked as he had threatened, with his elbow squared
under him and the bowl in his right hand, just as
Heracles in the cave of Pholus is represented by
the painters.

By this time the cup was going round continually
among the rest of the party, there were toasts and
conversations, and the lights had been brought
in. Meanwhile, noticing that the boy in attendance
on Cleodemus, a handsome cup-bearer, was smiling
(I must tell all the incidents of the feast, I suppose,
especially whatever happened that was rather good),
I began to keep special watch to see what he
was smiling about. After a little while he went up
to Cleodemus as if to take the cup from him, and
Cleodemus pressed his finger and gave him two
dracmas, I think, along with the cup. The boy
responded to the pressure of his finger with another
smile, but no doubt did not perceive the money, so
that, through his not taking it, the two drachmas
fell and made a noise, and they both blushed very
noticeably. Those near by them wondered whose
the coins were; for the lad said he had not dropped
them, and Cleodemus, beside whom the noise was
made, pretended that he had not let them fall. So
the matter was disregarded and ignored, since not
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τάνυ τολλὼν ἱδόντων πλὴν μόνου, ώς ἔμοι ἐδοξέ, τοῦ Ἀρισταίνετον. μετέστησε γὰρ τὸν παιδὰ μικρὸν ύστερον ἀφανῶς ὑπεξαγαγὼν καὶ τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ τινὰ παραστήναι διένευσε τῶν ἐξώρων ἱδῆ καὶ καρτέρων, ὅρεωκόμων τινὰ ἡ ἱπποκόμουν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὁδὲ πως ἐκεχωρίκει, μεγάλης ἄν 1 αἰσχύνης αἴτιον τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ γενόμενον, εἰ ἔφθη διαφωτήσαν εἰς ἀπαντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατέσβη αὐτίκα, δεξιῶς πάνυ τοῦ Ἀρισταίνετον τὴν παρουσίαν ἐνέγκαντος.

Ο Κυνικὸς δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας, ἐπεπώκει γὰρ ἱδῆ, 16 πυθόμενος ἠτις ἡ γαμομένη παῖς καλοῖτο,2 σιωτὴν παραγγείλας μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ὕποβλέψας ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, "Προπίνω σοι," ἐφη, "ὅ Kleaunthi, Ἡρακλέους ἄρχηγέτου." ὥς δὲ ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπαντες, "Ἐγελάσατε," εἶπεν, "ὁ καθάρματα, εἰ τῇ νύμφῃ προύπιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰμέτερον θεοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους; καὶ μὴν εὐ εἰδέναι χρῆ ὡς ἴν μὴ λάβῃ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸν σκύφον, οὐποτε τοιοῦτος ἄν ύδος αὐτῇ γένοιτο οἷς ἐγὼ, ἀτρεπτος μὲν ἀλκην, ἔλευθερος δὲ τῇ γυνώμην, τὸ σώμα δὲ οὕτω καρτέρος." καὶ ἀμα παρεγύμνου ἐαυτὸν μᾶλλον ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ αἰσχιστὸν. ἄδθις ἐπὶ τούτως ἐγέλασαν οἱ συμπόται, καὶ ὁ αἰγαιακτήσας ἐπανύστατο δρύμι καὶ παράφορον βλέπων καὶ δήλος ἴν οὐκέτι εἰρήνην ἄξων. τάχα δὲ ἄν τινος καθίκετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, εἰ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰσεκεκόμιστο πλακοὺς ἐυμεγέθης, πρὸς δὲ ἀποβλέψας ἰμερώτεροι ἐγένετο καὶ ἔληξε τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ ἐνεφορεῖτο συμπεριών. καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐμέθυνον 17

1 ἐν Bekker: not in MSS.
2 MSS. καλοῖτο (Ω) and ἐκαλεῖτο.
very many saw it except surely Aristaenetus, for he shifted the boy a little later on, sending him out of the room unobtrusively, and directed one of the full-grown, muscular fellows, a muleteer or stable-boy, to wait on Cleodemus. So the affair turned out in that way, whereas it would have caused Cleodemus great shame if it had been speedily noised about among the whole company instead of being hushed up on the spot by the clever manner in which Aristaenetus treated the silly performance.

The Cynic Alcidamas, who was tipsy by this time, enquired the name of the bride, and then, after calling for silence in a loud voice and fixing his eyes on the women, he said: "Cleantthis, I pledge you Heracles, my patron." Since everybody laughed at that, he said: "Did you laugh, you scum of the earth, that I gave the bride a toast to our god Heracles? I'd have you to know that if she doesn't accept the bowl from me, she will never have a son like me, invincible in courage, unfettered in intellect and as strong in body as I am," and with that he bared himself still more, in the most shameless way. Again the guests laughed at all this, and he got up in anger with a fierce, wild look, clearly not intending to keep the peace any longer. Perhaps he would have hit someone with his staff if just in the nick of time a huge cake had not been brought in; but when he set eyes on that, he became calmer, put away his wrath, and began to walk about and stuff himself. Most of the
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ηδη και βοης μεστὸν ἢν τὸ συμπόσιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονυσόδωρος ὁ ρήτωρ ἀντιρρήσεις ¹ τινὰς ἐν μέρει
dιεξῆς καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν κατόπιν ἐφεστῶτων
οἰκετῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἰστιαῖος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἔρραψοδει
ὑστερος κατακείμενος καὶ συνέφερεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ
tὰ Πινδάρον καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος, ὥς
ἐξ ἀπάντων μίαν ψωμῆν παγγέλουσιν ἀποτελείσθαι,
μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖα ὥσπερ προμαντεύομενος τὰ
méllonta,

σὺν δὲ ἕβαλον ρινοὺς.

καὶ

ἔνθα δὲ ἀρ' οἰμωγῆ τε καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν.
ὁ Ζηνόθεμης δ' ἀνεγίνωσκε παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς λαβῶν
λεπτόγραφον ² τι βιβλίων.

Διαλιπόντων δὲ ὀλίγον, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι, τῶν

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παρακομιζόντων τὰ ὅψα μηχανώμενος Ἀρισται-
νετος μηδ' ἐκεῖνον ἀτερπῆ τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι μηδὲ
κενὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν γελοτοποῖον εἰσέλθοντα εἰπεὶν
τι ἡ πράξαι γελοίον, ὡς ἐτι μᾶλλον οἱ συμπόται
diαχυθεῖεν. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἄμορφος τις ἐξυρημένοις
τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὀλίγας ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τρίχας ὀρθὰς
ἐχών, οὕτως ὄρχισσατο τε κατακλῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ
diaστέρισαν, ὡς γελοιότερος φανεῖ, καὶ ἀνάπτισσα
συγκροτῶν διεξήλθεν αἰγυπτιάζουν τῇ φωνῇ,
καὶ τέλος ἐπέσκωπτεν ἐς τοὺς παρόντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν

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άλλοι ἐγέλουν ὀπότε σκωφθεῖεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς

¹ ἀντιρρήσεις Geiz: αὐτοῦ ῥήσεις MSS. “his own speeches.”
² λεπτόγραφον Herwerden: λεπτόγραμμον MSS.
company were drunk by then, and the room was full of uproar. Dionysodorus the rhetorician was making speeches, pleading first on one side and then on the other, and was getting applauded by the servants who stood behind him. Histiaeus the grammarian, who had the place next him, was reciting verse, combining the lines of Pindar and Hesiod and Anaereon in such a way as to make out of them a single poem and a very funny one, especially in the part where he said, as though foretelling what was going to happen:

“They smote their shields together,” ¹

and

“Then lamentations rose, and vaunts of men.” ²

But Zenothemis was reading aloud from a closely written book that he had taken from his attendant.

When, as often happens, the service of the waiters was interrupted for a while, Aristaenetus planned to prevent even that period from being unenterprising and empty, and ordered the clown to come in and do or say something funny, in order to make his guests still merrier. In came an ugly fellow with his head shaven except for a few hairs that stood up straight on his crown. First he danced, doubling himself up and twisting himself about to cut a more ridiculous figure; then he beat time and recited scurrilous verses in an Egyptian brogue, and finally he began to poke fun at the guests. The rest laughed when they were made fun of, but when he took a fling at Alcidames in

¹ Iliad 4, 447.
² Iliad 4, 450. Ausonius' Cento Nuptialis, an epithalamium composed of tags from Vergil, illustrates Lucian's meaning perfectly.
τὸν Ἀλκιδάμαντα ὁμοίων τι ἀπέρριψε Μελιταιῶν κυνίδιον προσεπτῶν αὐτὸν, ἀγανακτήσας ἐκεῖνος—καὶ πάλαι δὲ δήλος ἢν φθορῶν αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι καὶ κατέχοντι τὸ συμπόσιον—อำนาจάς τὸν τρίβωνα προὐκαλεῖτό οἱ παγκρατιάζειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, κατοίκειν αὐτοῦ ἐφη τὴν βακτηρίαν. οὐτώ δὴ ὁ κακοδαίμων Σατυρίων—τοῦτο ἡρ ὁ γελωτοποίος ἐκαλεῖτο—συστάς ἐπαγκρατίαξε. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπερήφιστον ἢν, φιλόσοφος ἀνὴρ γελωτοποίῳ ἀνταιρόμενος καὶ παίων καὶ παιόμενος ἐν τῷ μέρει. οἱ παρόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡδοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλουν, ἀχρί ἀπηγορευσε παιόμενος ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ὑπὸ συγκροτημένου ἀνθρωποπίσκου καταγωνισθείς. γέλωσιν πολὺς ἐξεχύθη ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς.

'Ενταῦθα Διόνικος ἐπεισήλθεν ὁ ἱατρὸς οὗ πολὺ κατόπιν τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ἐβεβεβράδύκει δὲ, ὡς ἐφασκε, φρενίτιδι ἐαλωκότα θεραπεύων Πολυπρέποντα τοῦ αὐλητὴν. καὶ τι καὶ γελοῖον διηγήσατο· ἐφη μὲν γὰρ εἰσελθεῖν παρ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐχόμενον ἡδὴ τῷ πάθει, τὸν δὲ ταχέως ἀναστάντα ἐπικλείσαν τε τὴν θύραν καὶ εἰσιδίων σπασόμενον ἀναδόντα αὐτῷ τοὺς αὐλοὺς κελεύειν αὐλεῖν· ἐπεὶ ἔτει μὴ δύνατο, παίειν σκύτος ἔχοντα ἑστὶ υπτίας τὰς χείρας. τέλος οὖν ἐν τοσούτῳ κινδύνῳ ἐπινοήσας τοιοῦτοι· ἐς ἀγῶνα γὰρ προκαλεσάζατι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ρητῷ πληγῶν ἀριθμῷ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς αὐλήσατι πονήρως, μετὰ δὲ παραδοὺς¹ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐκεῖνο ὀδηγεῖτο δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σκύτος καὶ τὸ

¹ παραδοὺς Bekker: παραδόντα MSS.
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the same way, calling him a Maltese lapdog,¹ Alcidamas got angry: indeed, for a long time it had been plain that he was jealous because the other fellow was making a hit and holding the attention of the room. So, throwing off his philosopher's cloak, he challenged him to fight, or else, he said, he would lay his staff on him. Then poor Satyrion, for that was the clown's name, stood up to him and fought. It was delicious to see a philosopher squaring off at a clown, and giving and receiving blows in turn. Though some of onlookers were disgusted, others kept laughing, until finally Alcidamas had enough of his punishment, well beaten by a tough little dwarf. So they got roundly laughed at.

At that point Dionicus, the doctor, came in, not long after the fray. He had been detained, he said, to attend a man who had gone crazy, Polyprepon the flute-player; and he told a funny story. He said that he had gone into the man's room without knowing that he was already affected by the trouble, and that Polyprepon, getting out of bed quickly, had locked the door, drawn a knife, handed him his flutes and told him to begin playing; and then, because he could not play, had beaten him with a strap on the palms of his hands. At last in the face of so great a peril, the doctor devised this scheme: he challenged him to a match, the loser to get a certain number of blows. First he himself played wretchedly, and then giving up the flutes to Polyprepon, he

¹ The joke here lies primarily in the play on κύων (Cynic), but it should also be borne in mind that the Greek name Melite was given not only to the island of Malta, but to the deme in Athens in which the worship of Heracles, the patron of the Cynic sect, was localised.
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ξιφίδιον καὶ ἀπορρῆψαι τάχιστα διὰ τῆς φωτα-
γωγοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπαίθριον τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ
tοῦτον ἀσφαλέστερος ἦδη προσπαθαίων αὐτῶ
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς γειτνιῶτας, ὡς ὅν ἀναστα-
sάντων τὸ θύριον σωθῆναι αὐτός. ἔδεικνυ δὲ καὶ σημεῖα τῶν πληγῶν καὶ ἀμυχᾶς τινας ἐπὶ τοῦ
προσώπου.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Διόνυκος οὐ μείων εὐδοκιμήσας τοῦ
γελωτοποιοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ διηγήσει πλησίον τοῦ Ἱστι-
αιοῦ παραβύσας ἔαντον ἐδείπνει ὡσα λοιπά, οὐκ
ἀνευθεῖα τινὸς ἤμιν ἐπιταρσών, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω
χρήσιμοι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γεγενημένοις. παρελ-
θῶν γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον οἰκέτης παρ’ Ἐτοιμοκλέονς
tοῦ Στωϊκοῦ ἦκειν λέγων γραμματίδιον ἐχὼν
κελεύσαί οἱ ἐφὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἐν τῷ κοινῷ
ἀναγόντα εἰς ἐπίκου ἀπαγω ὅπίσω αὐθίς
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἐφέντος οὖν τοῦ Ἀρισταίνετον
προσέλθων πρὸς τὸν λύχνου ἀνεγίνωσκεν.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

'Ἡ πεν, ὁ Δυκίνη, τῆς νύμφης ἐγκώμιον ἢ
ἐπιθαλάμιον, οἰα πολλὰ ποιοῦσιν;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

'Ἀμέλει καὶ ἢμεῖς τοιούτοιν φήθημεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’
ἔγγυς ἦν τοῦτον. ἐνεγέγραπτο γὰρ

"Ἐτοιμοκλῆς φιλόσοφος Ἀρισταίνετῳ.

""Ὅπως μὲν ἐχώ πρὸς δείπνα ὁ παρεληλυθός
μοι βίοι ἄπας μαρτύριον ἂν γένοιτο, ὡς ὃς ὅση-
mέραι πολλῶν ἐνυχλούντων παρὰ πολύ σοῦ
πλούσιωτέρων ὃμως οὐδὲ πῶποτε φέρον ἐμαυτὸν

1 αὐτὸς Bekker: αὐτὸν MSS.
took the strap and the knife and threw them quickly out of the window into the open court. Then, feeling safer, he grappled with him and called the neighbours, who prised the door open and rescued him. And he showed the marks of the blows, and a few scratches on his face.

Dionicus, who had made no less of a hit than the clown, thanks to his story, squeezed himself in beside Histiaeus and fell to dining on what was left. His coming was a special dispensation, for he proved very useful in what followed. You see, a servant came into the midst of us, saying that he was from Hetoemocles the Stoic and carrying a paper which he said his master had told him to read in public, so that everybody would hear, and then to go back again. On getting the consent of Aristaenetus, he went up to the lamp and began to read.

PHILO

I suppose, Lycinus, that it was an address in praise of the bride, or else a wedding-song? They often write such pieces.

LYCINUS

Of course we ourselves expected something of the sort, but it was far from that: its contents were:

"Hetoemocles the philosopher to Aristaenetus."

"How I feel about dining out, my whole past life can testify; for although every day I am pestered by many men much richer than you are, nevertheless I am never forward about accepting, as I am familiar
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ἐπέδωκα εἰδῶς τούς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμποσίοις θορύβους καὶ παροινίας. ἐπὶ σοῦ δὲ μόνου εἰκότως ἀγανακτήσαι μοι δοκῶ, ὡς τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λιπαρῶς τεθεραπευμένος οὐκ ἥξιωσας ἐναριθμῆσαι κἂμε τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μόνος ἐγώ σοι ἀμοιρος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γειτόνων οἴκων. ἀνεθήματον ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ πλέον οὕτως ἀχαριστῶ φανέντι ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἡ εὐδαιμονία οὐκ ἐν ὑώς ἀγρίου μοῖρα ἡ λαγωνὴ ἡ πλακούντος, ἂ παρ' ἄλλοις ἀφθόνως ἀπολαύω τὰ καθήκοντα εἰδόσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τίμημον παρὰ τῷ μαθητῇ Παμμένει δειπνῆσαι πολυτέλες, ὡς φασί, δείπνουν δυνάμενος οὖκ ἐπένευσα ἱκετεύοντι, σοὶ ὁ ἀνόητος ἐμαυτὸν φυλάττων. οὐ 23 δὲ ἡμᾶς παραλιπῶν ἄλλους εὐώχεις, εἰκότως οὕτω γὰρ δύνασαι διακρίνειν τὸ βέλτιον οὐδὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν ἔχεις. ἀλλὰ οἶδα θεν μοι ταῦτα, παρὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου φιλοσοφῶν, Ζηνοθέμιδος καὶ Λαβυρίνθου, ὡς—ἀπείδη δὲ ἡ Ἁδράστεια—συλλογισμῷ ένι ἀποφράξαι ἄν μοι τάχιστα δοκῶ τὰ στόματα. ἢ εἰπάτω τοῖς αὐτῶν, τί ἐστι φιλοσοφία; ἢ τὰ πρῶτα ταῦτα, τί διάφερει σχέσις εξεως; ἢνα μὴ τῶν ἀπόρων εὖπω τι, κερατίναν ἢ σωρείτην ἢ θερίζοντα λόγον.

1 ἐπὶ MSS.: ἐν Fritsche, perhaps rightly.
with the disturbances and riotous doings at dinner-parties. But in your case and yours only I think I have reason to be angry, because you, to whom I have so long ministered indefatigably, did not think fit to number me among your friends: no, I alone do not count with you, and that too though I live next door. I am indignant, therefore, and more on your account than on my own, because you have shown yourself so thankless. For me, happiness is not a matter of getting a wild boar, a hare or a cake—things which I enjoy ungrudged at the tables of other people who know what is right. Indeed, today I might have had dinner with my pupil Pammenes (and a splendid dinner, too, they say), but I did not accede to his entreaties, saving myself for you, fool that I was. You, however, have given me the go-by and are entertaining others. No wonder, for you are even yet unable to distinguish between the better and the worse, and you have not the faculty of direct comprehension, either. But I know where all this comes from—those wonderful philosophers of yours, Zenothemis and the Labyrinth, whose mouths I could very soon stop, I know, with a single syllogism, Heaven forgive me for boasting! Just let one of them say what philosophy is, or, to go back to the elements, what is the difference between attribute and accident.¹ I shall not mention any of the fallacies like 'the horns,' 'the heap,' or 'the mower.'²

¹ More literally, ἐξις means a permanent state, σχέσις a transient state.
² The Stoics devoted a great deal of study to the invention and solution of fallacies. "The horns" ran thus: "All that you have not lost, you have; but you have not lost horns, ergo, you have them." In "the heap" the philosopher
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'Αλλά σὺ μὲν οὐναίο αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἂν μόνον 
τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος εἶναι οἶσω ῥάδιως 
τὴν ἀτιμίαν. καίτοι ὅπως μὴ ἐς ἐκεῖνην ἔχῃ 24 
καταφεύγειν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑστερον, ἐπιλαθέσθαι 
λέγων ἐν τοσοῦτῳ θορύβῳ καὶ πράγματι, δίς σε 
τήμερον προσηγόρευσα καὶ ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ 
ἐν τῷ ἀνακείσθω θύοντα ὑστερον. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τοῖς 
παροῦσιν ἀπολελόγημαι.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖπνον ἕνεκα ὀργίζεσθαι σοι δοκῶ, τὸ 25 
κατὰ τὸν Οἰνέα ἐννόησον ὃψει γὰρ καὶ τὴν 
Ἀρτέμιν ἀγανακτοῦσαν, ὅτι μόνην αὐτὴν οὐ 
παρέλαβεν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοὺς ἀλλοὺς 
θεοὺς ἐστιῶν. φησὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ὁμήρος 
ἀδέ πως:

ἡ λάθετ' ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησεν, ἀλάστο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ· 
καὶ Ἐὐριπίδης·

Καλυδών μὲν ἢδε γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονὸς 
ἐν ἀντιπόρθμοισ, πεδί’ ἔχουσ’ εὐδαίμονα.
καὶ Σοφοκλῆς·

σὺνός μέγιστον χρῆμ’ ἐπ’ Οἰνέως γύαι 
ἀνήκε Λητώς παῖς ἐκηβόλος θεά.

Ταῦτα σοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγα παρεθήκας, 26 
ὅπως μάθης οἶον ἀνδρὰ παραλιπῶν Δίφιλον 
ἔστις καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶ παραδέδωκας, εἰκότως·
"Well, much may your philosophers profit you! Holding as I do that only what is honourable is good, I shall easily stand the slight. But you need not think you can afterwards take refuge in the plea that you forgot me in all the confusion and bother, for I spoke to you twice to-day, not only in the morning at your house, but later in the day, when you were sacrificing at the temple of Castor and Pollux.

"I have made this statement to set myself right with your guests. But if you think that I am angry over a mere dinner, call to mind the story of Oeneus and you will see that Artemis herself was angry because she was the only one whom he had not asked to the sacrifice when he entertained all the rest of the gods. Homer puts it something like this:

Whether he forgot or would not, greatly was his soul at fault.¹

Euripides says:

This land is Calydon, lying over seas
From Pelops' isle; a land of fertile plains.²

And Sophocles:

A boar, a monstrous thing, on Oeneus' fields
Turned loose Latona's lass, who kills afar.³

"I bring to your attention only these few points out of many, so that you may learn what sort of man you have left out in favour of Diphilus, whom you entertain and have put in charge of your son. No proves that one grain of corn makes a heap; in "the mower," that a man who says he will mow a field will not and cannot mow it. Several other fallacies are illustrated in "Philosophers for Sale," ²². ¹ Iliad 9, 537. ² From the lost Meleager of Euripides. ³ From the lost Meleager of Sophocles.
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ηδός γάρ ἐστι τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ πρὸς χάριν αὐτῶ σύνεστιν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὸν ἢν ἐμὲ λέγειν τὰ τοιαύτα, κἂν¹ τι προσέθηκα, ὅπερ σὺ, εἰ θέλεις, παρὰ Ζωτύρω τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ἀν μάθοις ἁληθὲς ὁν. ἀλλὰ οὐ χρῆ ταράττειν ἐν γάμῳς οὐδὲ δια-βάλλειν ἄλλους, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν οὕτως αἰσχραίς αἰτίασι καὶ γὰρ εἰ Δῖφιλος ἄξιος δῦν ἥδη μαθητᾶς μου περιστάσας, ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ γε φιλοσοφίας αὐτῆς ἑνεκεν σιωπήσουμαι.

"Προσέταξα δὲ τῷ οἰκέτῃ τούτῳ, ἥν διδῶς αὐτῶ 27 µοῦραν τινα ἢ συνὸς ἢ έλάφου ἢ σησαμοῦντος, ὡς ἐµοὶ διακοµίσειε καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπολογία γένοιτο, µὴ λαβεῖν, µὴ καὶ δόξωµεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεποµφέναι." 

Τούτων, οὐ ἐταῖρε, ἀναγνωσκοµένων µεταξὺ 28 ἰδρῶς τε µου περιεχεῖτο ὑπ’ αἴδους, καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τοῦ λόγου, χανεῖν µου τὴν γην γηχόµην ὅρῳ τοὺς παρόντας γελώντας ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ καὶ µάλιστα ὁσοι γέςαν τῶν Ἐσομοκλέα, πολιών ἀνθρωπον καὶ σεµνὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα. ἐθαῦµαζον οὖν οίος ὁν διαλάθωι αυτοὺς ἐξαπατωµένους τῷ πῶγωνι καὶ τῇ τοῦ προσώπου ἐντάσει. ὁ γὰρ 'Ἀρισταί- νετος ἐδόκει µου οὐκ ἀμελέα παρίδειν² αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ οὔτοι’ ἀν ἐλπίσας κληθέντα ἐπινεύσαι οὐδ’ ἀν ἐµπαρασχεῖν ἐαυτῶν τοιούτῳ τινί· ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἄρχην πειράσθαι ἡξίου. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν ἐπαύσατο 29 ποτε ο οἰκέτῃς ἀναγνωσκῶν, τὸ µὲν συµπόσιον ἀπαν εἰς τοὺς ἀµφὶ τὸν Ζήµονα καὶ Δῖφιλον ἀπέ-βλεπε δεδοικότας καὶ ὀχριώντας καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ

¹ καὶ Fritzsche: καὶ ἐν MSS.
² MSS. παρίδειν (urged by Fritzsche) and περιδειν.
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wonder, for he is nice to the boy and is an indulgent tutor. If it were not beneath me to say such things, I might have told you something more, and if you wished you could find out from Zopyrus, the boy's attendant, that it is true. But it is wrong to make trouble at a wedding and to defame others, especially with charges so unseemly. Albeit Diphilus deserves it for having won two pupils away from me, I shall hold my tongue in deference to Philosophy herself.

"I have directed my servant, in case you offer him a portion of boar's flesh or venison or sesame-cake to bring to me as an excuse for not asking me to dinner, not to take it, for fear it may seem as though I sent him with that in view."

While all that was being read, my dear fellow, the sweat poured off me for shame, and to quote the saying, I prayed that the earth would swallow me when I saw the guests all laughing at every sentence, especially as many as knew Hetoemocles, a man with gray hair who looked to be high-minded. It was a marvel to me that such a man had hoodwinked them, deceiving them with his beard and the concentration expressed in his features. It was my notion that Aristaenetus had not carelessly overlooked him, but that, not thinking he would accept if invited, he, the philosopher, would not condescend to take part in such a festivity, and so thought best not to try him at all. When at last the slave stopped reading, the whole party looked at Zeno and Diphilus, who were frightened and pale, and by the distress in their faces
Τῶν προσώπων ἐπαληθεύοντας τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑτοιμοκλέους κατηγορηθέντα: οἱ Ἀρισταίνετος δὲ ἐτετάρακτο καὶ θορύβων μεστὸς ἦν, ἐκέλευε δ᾿ ὁμος πίνειν ἥμας καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο εὐ διατίθεσθαι τὸ γεγονός ὑπομειδιόν ἀμα, καὶ τὸν οἰκήτην ἀπέπεμψεν εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐπιμελῆσται τούτων. μετ᾿ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζήνων ὑπεξανέστη ἁφανῶς, τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ νεύσαντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ώς κελεύσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς.

'Ὁ Κλεόδημος δὲ καὶ πάλαι τινὸς ἀφορμῆς δεόμενος—ἐβούλετο γὰρ συμπλακήνα τοῖς Σταυρίκοις καὶ διερρήγματο ὡς ἔχουν ἀρχῆν εὐλογοῦν—τότε οὖν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον παρασχοῦσις τῆς ἔπιστολῆς, "Τοιαῦτα," ἔφη, "ἐξεργάζεται ὁ καλὸς Χρύσιππος καὶ Ζήνων ὁ θαυμαστὸς καὶ Κλεάνθης, ῥημάτια δύστηνα καὶ ἐρωτήσεις μόνον καὶ σχῆματα φιλοσοφοῦν, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ Ἐτοιμοκλῆς οἱ πλείστοι καὶ αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ ὅρατε ὅτις πρεσβυτικαί, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ὀλυνυς μὲν Ἀρισταίνετος, Ἐτοιμοκλῆς δὲ Ἀρτέμις, Ἡράκλεις, εὐφημα πάντα καὶ ἐορτῆ πρέπουν ἀλλὰ "Νέος Δί", ἐπεν ο Ἐρμων ὑπερκατακείμενος: "ἡγικόει γὰρ, οἶμαι, ὅπως ἐσκευάσῃ Ἀρισταινέτῳ ὦ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὡστε οὐκ ἄκαιρον ἐδόκει μεμνησθαι τοῦ Καλυδωνίου. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῆς Ἐστίας, ὦ Ἀρισταίνετε, πεμπτε ὃς τάχιστα τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, μή καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ὃσπερ ὁ Μελέαγρος ὑπομαρανθεὶς. καὶ τοιοῦ ὁδεῖν ἄν πάθοι δεινῶν ἀδιάφορα γὰρ ὁ Χρύσιππος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἥγειτο. "Χρυσίππου
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acknowledged the truth of the charges brought by Hetoemocles. Aristaenetus was perturbed and full of confusion, but he told us to go on drinking just the same and tried to smooth the business over, smiling as he did so; the servant he sent away with the words: "I will see to it." After a little while Zeno withdrew unobservedly, for his attendant directed him to go, as if at the bidding of his father.

Cleodemus had long been looking for an opportunity, as he wanted to pitch into the Stoics and was ready to burst because he could not find a satisfactory opening. But at last the letter gave him his cue, and he said: "That is what your noble Chrysippus does, and your wonderful Zeno and Cleanthes! They are nothing but miserable phrase-makers and question-mongers, philosophers in dress, but in all else just like Hetoemocles, most of them. And the letter—look how worthy of an elder! To cap all, Aristaenetus is Oeneus and Hetoemocles is Artemis! Good Lord! In excellent taste, all of it, and just the thing for a festive occasion!" "Yes," said Hermon, from his place above Cleodemus, "I suppose he had heard that Aristaenetus had a boar ready for the dinner, so that he thought it not inopportune to mention the boar of Calydon. Come, Aristaenetus, in the name of Hospitality send him a portion with all speed, for fear you may be too late and the old man may waste away like Meleager from hunger! Yet it would be no hardship to him, for Chrysippus held that all such things are of no import." 1

1 The Stoics divided the objects of human endeavour into three classes—the good, which were to be sought; the bad, which were to be shunned; and the indifferent, or unimportant, which were neither to be sought nor shunned.
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γάρ μέμνησθε ὑμεῖς,” ἐφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμις ἐπεγείρας ἑαυτόν καὶ φθεγξαμενὸς παμμέγεθες, ἡ ἀφ’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός οὐκ ἐννόμως φιλοσοφοῦντος Ἑστοιμοκλέους τοῦ γόρτος μετρεῖτε τὸν Κλεάνθην καὶ Ζήνωνα σοφοὺς ἀνδρας; τίνες ἐκ καὶ ὄντες ὑμεῖς ἐρεῖτε ταῦτα; οὐ σὺ μὲν τῶν Διοσκοῦρων ἥδη, ὁ Ὕρμων, τοὺς πλοκάμους περικέκαρκας χρυσοὺς ὄντας; καὶ δώσεις δίκην παραδοθεῖς τῷ δημῷ. σὺ δὲ τὴν Σωστράτου γυναίκα τοῦ μαθητοῦ ἐμοίχενες, ὁ Κλεόδημε, καὶ καταληψθεῖς τὰ αὐσχιστά ἐπάθεις. οὐ σιωπήσεσθε οὐν τοιαῦτα συνεπιστάμενοι εαυτοῖς;” “Ἀλλ’ οὐ μαστροπὸς ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γυναίκος,” ἢ δ’ ὁς ὁ Κλεόδημος, “ὁσπέρ σὺν, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐξου μαθητοῦ λαβὼν τούφόδιον παρακαταθήκας ἔπειτα ὥμοσα κατὰ τῆς Πολιάδος μὴ εἰληφέναι, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τέτταρι δραχμαῖς δανείζω, οὐδὲ ἄγχω τοὺς μαθητάς, ἢ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀποδόσαι τοὺς μισθοὺς.” “’Ἀλλ’ ἔκεινο,” ἐφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμις, “οὐκ ἀν ἐξαρνος γένοιο πρ’ οὐχὶ φάρμακον ἀποδόσθαι Κρίτωνι ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα.” καὶ ὁμα, ἐτυχε γὰρ πῖνων, ὀπόσον ἐτί λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ κύλικι, περὶ ἡμιν σχεδον, κατεσκέδασεν αὐτοῖν. ἀπέλαυνε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ιων τῆς γενομῆσεως, οὐκ ἀνάξιος ὁν. ο’ μὲν οὐν”Ερμων ἀπεξεύτε ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τον ἄκρατον προνευκαι καὶ τους παρόντας ἐμαρτύρετο, οἷα ἐπετύθηε. ὁ Κλεόδημος δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐξε χύλικα —ἐπιστραφεῖς προσέπτυσέ τε τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν καὶ τῇ ἁριστερᾷ τοῦ πώγωνος λαβόμενος ἐμελλε παίσεων κατὰ κόρρης, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἃν τὸν

1 τίνες Bekker: ὁτίνες MSS.
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"What, do you dare to mention the name of Chrysippus?" said Zenothen sis, rousing himself and shouting at the top of his voice. "Dare you judge Cleanthes and Zeno, who were learned men, by a single individual who is not a regular philosopher, by Hetoemocles the charlatan? Who are you two, pray, to say all that? Hermon, didn’t you cut off the hair of the Twin Brethren because it was gold? You’ll suffer for it, too, when the executioner gets you! And as for you, Cleodemus, you had an affair with the wife of your pupil Sostratus, and were found out and grossly mishandled. Have the grace to hold your tongues, then, with such sins on your consciences!"

"But I don’t sell the favours of my own wife as you do," said Cleodemus, "nor did I take my foreign pupil’s allowance in trust and then swear by Athena Polias that I never had it, nor do I lend money at four per cent. a month, nor throttle my pupils if they fail to pay their fees in time." "But you can’t deny," said Zenothenis, "that you sold Crito a dose of poison for his father!" And with that, being in the act of drinking, he flung on the pair all that was left in the cup, and it was about half full! Ion also got the benefit of his nearness to them, and he quite deserved it. Well, Hermon, bending forward, began wiping the wine from his head and calling the guests to witness what had been done to him. But Cleodemus, not having a cup, whirled about and spat on Zenothemis; then, taking him by the beard with his left hand, he was about to hit him in the face, and would

1 Antique statues with golden (or gilded) hair are mentioned not infrequently. In the "Timon" (4) Lucian alludes to the theft of the hair from the head of the famous statue of Zeus in Olympia.
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geronta, εἰ μὴ Ἄρισταίνετος ἐπέσχε τὴν χείρα καὶ ὑπέρβας τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν κατεκλίθη, ὡς διασταῖεν ὑπὸ διατείχισματι αὐτῶν εἰρήνην ἁγοντες.

Ἐν ὦσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, ποικῖλα, ὁ Φίλων, 34 ἐγὼ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐνενόουν, οἶον1 τὸ πρόχειρον ἐκεῖνο, ὡς οὐδὲν ὀφελος ἦν ἀρὰ ἐπίστασθαι τὰ μαθήματα, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ τὸν βίον ῥυθμίζοι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν περιττοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐώρων γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁφλισκάνοντας. ἔπειτα εἰσήγη με, μὴ ἀρὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενον ἄλληθὲς ἢ καὶ τὸ πεπαιδεύσθαι ἀπάγη τῶν ὀρθῶν λογισμῶν τούς ἐς μόνα τὰ βιβλία καὶ τὰς ἐν ἐκεῖνοις φροντίδας ἀτενεῖς ἀφορώντας: τοσοῦτον γοῦν φιλοσόφων παρόντων οὐδὲ κατὰ τύχην ἔνα τινὰ ἔξω ἁμαρτήματος ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐποίουν αἰσχρά, οἱ δ' ἐλεγον αἰσχίνοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἔτι ἀναφέρειν εἰχον τὰ γινόμενα λογιζόμενον οἷα ὁ Ἐστομοκλῆς ἁστυός ἐτι καὶ ἀποτος ἐγεγράφει. ἀνεστραπτὸ οὖν τὸ 35 πράγμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδιότα κοσμίως πάνυ ἑστιώμενοι οὔτε παρωνοῦντες οὔτε ἀσχημονοῦντες ἐφαίνοντο, ἀλλ' ἐγέλων μόνον καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν, οἷμαι, οὐς ἡ ἐθαμαξίαν οἴσμενοι τινας εἶναι ἑπὶ τῶν σχημάτων, οἱ σοφοὶ δὲ ἱσέλγανον καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο καὶ ὑπερεπείραμπλαντο καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ εἰς χείρας ἔσεσαν. ὁ θαυμάσιος δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας καὶ ἑσύρει2 ἐν τῷ μέσῳ οὐκ

1 οἶον Fritzsche: not in MSS.
2 καὶ ἑσύρει Buttmann: καὶ ἑσύρει MSS.: κἂν ἑσύρει Fritzsche.
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have killed the old man if Aristaenetus had not stayed his hand, stepped over Zenothemis and lain down between them, to separate them and make them keep the peace with him for a dividing-wall.

While all this was going on, Philo, various thoughts were in my mind; for example, the very obvious one that it is no good knowing the liberal arts if one doesn’t improve his way of living, too. At any rate, the men I have mentioned, though clever in words, were getting laughed at, I saw, for their deeds. And then I could not help wondering whether what everyone says might not after all be true, that education leads men away from right thinking, since they persist in having no regard for anything but books and the thoughts in them. At any rate, though so many philosophers were present, there really was not a single one to be seen who was devoid of fault, but some acted disgracefully and some talked still more disgracefully; and I could not lay what was going on to the wine, considering what Hetoemocles had written without having had either food or drink. The tables were turned, then, and the unlettered folk were manifestly dining in great decorum, without either getting maudlin or behaving disreputably; they simply laughed and passed judgement, perhaps, on the others, whom they used to admire, thinking them men of importance because of the garb they wore. The learned men, on the contrary, were playing the rake and abusing each other and gorging themselves and bawling and coming to blows; and “marvellous” Alcidamas even made water right there in the room, without showing
αϊδούμενος τὰς γυναίκας. καὶ ἐμοὶ ἔδοκει, ὡς ἂν ἄριστὰ τις εἰκάσεις, ὅμοιότατα εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ὅς περὶ τῆς Ἑρίδος οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ κληθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τοῦ Πηλέως τὸν γάμον γίνεται τῷ μήλῳ εἰς τὸ σύνδειπνον, ἀφ' οὐ τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ γεγενήθησαί. καὶ ὁ Ἐστιοκλῆς τοῦτον ἔδοκει μοι τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ὡσπερ τι μήλου οὐ μείω τῆς Ἡλιάδος κακὰ ἑξεργάσασθαι.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἅμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν καὶ Κλεόδημον φιλονεικοῦντες, ἐπεὶ μέσος αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐγένετο· ἄλλα, „Νῦν μὲν,“ ἐφη ὁ Κλεόδημος, „ίκανον, εἰ ἐλεγχθεῖπτε ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες, αὐρίον δὲ ἀμυνοῦμαι υμᾶς ὀντινα καὶ χρῆ τρόπον ἀπόκριναι μοι οὖν, ὁ Ζηνόθεμις, ἥ σὺ ἡ ὁ κοσμιώτατος Δήσιλος, καθ' ὁ τι ἀδιάφορον εἶναι λέγοντες τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτήσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλῳ· ἢ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀπαντῶν σκοπεῖτε ὡς πλεῖστον κτήσεσθε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἅμφὶ τούς πλουσίους ἀεὶ ἔχετε καὶ δανείζετε καὶ τοκογυλυφεῖτε καὶ ἐπὶ μισθῷ παιδεύετε, πάλιν τε αὐ τῇ τῇ ἱδρύῃ μισοῦντες καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καθηγοροῦντες αὐτὸ τὰ αἰσχρά ἱδρύης ἕνεκα ποιεῖτε καὶ πάσχετε, ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰ τις μὴ καλέσει εἰπὶ δεῖπνον· εἰ δὲ καὶ κληθεῖτε, τοσοῦτα μὲν ἐσθίοντες, τοσοῦτα δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπιδιδόντες”—καὶ ἀμα λέγων τὴν ὀθόνην περιστὰν ἐπεχείρει, ἢν οἱ παῖς εἰχέ τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος, μεστὴν ὦν σαν παντοδαιμόν κρεῶν, καὶ ἐμέλλει λύσας ἀπορρίπτειν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἄλλῳ ὁ
any respect for the women. It seemed to me that, to use the best possible simile, the events of the dinner were very like what the poets tell of Discord. They say, you know, that, not having been asked to the wedding of Peleus, she threw the apple into the company, and that from it arose the great war at Troy. Well, to my thinking Hetoemocles by throwing his letter into the midst of us like an Apple of Discord had brought on woes quite as great as those of the Iliad.

The friends of Zenothemis and Cleodemus did not stop quarrelling when Aristaenetus came between them. "For the present," said Cleodemus, "it is enough if you Stoics are shown up in your ignorance, but to-morrow I will pay you back as I ought. Tell me, then, Zenothemis, or you, Diphilus, you pattern of propriety, why it is that although you say money-getting is of no import, you aim at nothing in the world but getting more, and for this reason always hang about rich people and lend money and extort high interest and teach for pay; and again, why is it that although you hate pleasure and inveigh against the Epicureans, you yourselves do to others and suffer others to do to you all that is most shameful for pleasure's sake; you get angry if a man does not ask you to dinner, and when you are actually asked, you not only eat quantities but hand over quantities to your servants,"—and with that he tried to pull away the napkin that Zenothemis' slave was holding. It was full of meats of all kinds, and he intended to open it and throw its contents

1 The golden apple, for the fairest of the goddesses, was awarded to Aphrodite by Paris, who was paid for his decision by being given the love of Helen.

πάντες ἐπίνεσαν οἱ παρόντες, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρισταίνετὸν τε καὶ Ἕκριτον, ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τῆς ὑεθίας οὕτω γούν ἐλπίσαντες. καὶ μετῆλθε τε ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τότον εἰρήμην γεγενήθαι ἐλπίδας, καὶ ἀμα εἰσεκεκόμιστο ἡμῖν τὸ ἐντελὲς ὁνομαζόμενον δεῖτον, μια ὄρνυς ἐκάστῳ καὶ κρέας ὅς καὶ λαγών καὶ ἱθύς ἐκ ταγήνου καὶ σηταμοῦντες καὶ ὁσα ἐντραγεῖν, καὶ ἔξιν ἀποφέρεσθαι ταύτα. προύκειτο δὲ οὐχ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ποιμάκιον, ἀλλ' Ἀρισταίνετω μὲν καὶ Ἕκριτῳ ἐπὶ μιᾶς τραπέζης κοινῶν, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶ ἐκάτερον ἔχρην λαβείν. Ζηνοθέμιδι δὲ τῷ Στωίκῳ καὶ Ἐρμωνι τῷ Ἐπικουρείῳ ὀμοίως κοινῶν καὶ τούτωι εἰτα ἔξις Κλεοδήμῳ καὶ Ἰωνι, μεθ' οὐς τῷ νυμφίῳ καὶ ἐμοί, τῷ Διφίλῳ δὲ τὰ ἀμφοῖν, ὁ γὰρ Ζηνὼν ἀπεληλύθει. καὶ μέμνησο μοι τούτων, ὁ Φίλων, διότι δὴ ἐστὶ τι 1 ἐν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν λόγον.

1 τι Bekker: καὶ MSS. excised by Fritzsche.
on the ground, but the slave clung to it stoutly and did not let him. "Bravo, Cleodemus," said Hermon; "let them tell why they inveigh against pleasure when they themselves want to have more of it than the rest of mankind." "No," said Zenothemis, "but do you, Cleodemus, say why you hold that wealth is important." "No, that is for you to do!" This went on for a long while, until Ion, bending forward to make himself more conspicuous, said: "Stop, and if you wish I will put before you a topic for a discussion worthy of the present festal day, and you shall talk and listen without quarrelling, exactly as in our Plato's circle, where most of the time was passed in discussion." All the guests applauded, especially Aristaenetus and Eucritus, who hoped at least to do away with the unpleasantness in that way. Aristaenetus went back to his own place, trusting that peace had been made, and at the same time we were served with what they call the "Full Dinner"—a bird apiece, boar's flesh and hare's, broiled fish, sesame-cakes and sweetmeats; all of which you had leave to carry away. They did not put a separate tray in front of each of us, but Aristaenetus and Eucritus had theirs together on a single table, and each was to take what was on his side. In like manner Zenothemis the Stoic and Hermon the Epicurean had theirs together, and then Cleodemus and Ion, who came next, and after them the bridegroom and myself; Diphilus, however, had two portions set before him, as Zeno had gone away. Remember all this, Philo, please, because it is of importance for my story.
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Μεμνήσομαι δή.

ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Ο τούνων Ἰων, "Πρώτος οὖν ἄρχομαι," ἔφη, 39 "εἰ δοκεῖ," καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν, "Ἑξρῆν μὲν ἱσως," ἔφη, "τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν παρόντων περὶ ίδεών τε καὶ ἀσωμάτων εἴπειν καὶ ψυχῆς θανασίας. ἦνα δὲ μὴ ἀντιλέγοισί μοι ὅποσοι μὴ κατὰ ταύτα 1 φιλοσοφοῦσι, περὶ γάμων ἤρω τα εἰκότα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄριστον ἦν μὴ δεῖσθαι γάμων, ἀλλὰ πειθομένους Πλάτωνι καὶ Σωκράτει παιδεραστεῖν μόνοι γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀποτελεσθεῖεν ἀν πρὸς ἄρετήν· εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ γυναικεῖον γάμον, κατὰ τὰ Πλάτωνι δοκοῦντα κοινὰς εἶναι ἔχρην 2 τὰς γυναικας, ὡς ἔξω ζήλου εἶναι.

Γέλως ἐπὶ τούτους ἐγένετο ὡς οὐκ ἐν καὶ πρὸ 40 λεγομένους. Διονυσόδωρος δὲ, "Παῦσαί," ἔφη, "βαρβαρικὰ ἦμιν ἁδῶν, ποῦ γὰρ ἄν εὑρίσκοιμεν τὸν ζῆλον ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ παρὰ τίνι;" "Καὶ τὰ γὰρ φθέγγη, κάθαρμα;" εἶπεν ο Ἰων, 3 καὶ Διονυσόδωρος ἀντελοχορεῖτο τὰ εἰκότα. ἀλλ' ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιαῖος ὁ βέλτιστος, "Παῦσασθε," ἔφη. "ἐγὼ γὰρ ἦμιν ἐπιθαλάμιον ἀναγνώσομαι." καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀνεγάλωσκεν. ἦν γὰρ ταύτα, εἰ γε 41 μέμνησαι, τὰ ἐλεγεία:"

"Ἡ οὖν ποτ' ἄρ' ἦγ' 4 Ἀρισταίνετον ἐν μεγάροισι διὰ Κλεανθίς ἀνασσ' ἐπρέφετ' ἐνδυκέως,

1 ταύτα vulg: ταύτα MSS.
2 ἔχρην du Soul: ἐκεῖνων MSS.
3 Ἰων Schafer, Bekker: οἵμαι MSS.
4 ἔρ' ἦγ' MSS.: ἔρ' Dindorf.

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PHILO

I shall remember, of course.

LYCINUS

Well, Ion said: "Then I will begin first, if you like"; and after a little pause: "Perhaps with men of such distinction here we ought to talk of 'ideas' and incorporeal entities and the immortality of the soul; but in order that I may not be contradicted by all those who are not of the same belief in philosophy, I shall take the topic of marriage and say what is fitting. It were best not to need marriage, but to follow Plato and Socrates and be content with friendship: at all events only such as they can attain perfection in virtue. But if we must marry, we should have our wives in common, as Plato held, so as to be devoid of envy."

These remarks gave rise to laughter, because they were made out of season. But Dionysodorus said: "Stop your outlandish jabbering! Where can the word envy be found in that sense, and in what author?" ¹ "What, do you dare open your mouth, you scum of the earth?" said Ion, and Dionysodorus began to give him back his abuse in due form. But the grammarian Histiaeus (simple soul!) said: "Stop, and I will read you a wedding-song," and began to read. The verses were these, if I remember right:

O what a maiden in the halls
Of Aristaenetus
Her gentle nurture had, our queen
Cleanthis glorious!

¹ The rhetorician carps at Ion for using ἡλος in the sense of ἡλοτυπία, 'jealousy in love.'
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προύχουσ’ ἄλλων πασίων παρθενικάων, κρέσσων τῆς Κυθέρης ἢ’ ἁμα 1 τῆς Ἐλευνης. νυμφίε, καὶ σὺ δὲ χαίρε, κρατερῶν κράτιστε ἐφήβων, 2 κρέσσων Νιρής καὶ Θέτιδος παίδος. ἄμμες δ’ αὐθ’ ὕμιν τοῦτον θαλαμήιον ὕμνον ξυνὸν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέροις πολλάκις ἀσόμεθα.

Γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένου ἀνελέσθαι ἥδη τὰ παρακείμενα ἔδει, καὶ ἀνείλοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον καὶ Εὐκριτον τὴν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκάτερος κὰγὼ τὰμὰ καὶ ὁ Χαιρέας ὁσα ἐκείνῳ ἐκεῖτο καὶ Ἰων ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Κλεόδημος. ὁ δὲ Δίφιλος ἥξιον καὶ τὰ τῷ Ζήνωνι δὴ ἀπόντι 3 παραδοθέντα φέρεσθαι καὶ ἐλεγε μόνῳ παρατεθῆναι οἱ αὐτά καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διακόνους ἐμάχετο, καὶ αὐτέσπων τῆς ὄρνιθος ἐπειθημένοι ὥσπερ τὸν Πατρόκλου νεκρὸν ἀνθέλκοντες, καὶ τέλος ἐνικήθη καὶ ἄφικε πολὺν γέλωτα παρασχῶν τοὺς συμπόταις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἤγανάκτει μετὰ τούτο ὡς ἂν τὰ μέγιστα ἡδικημένοις.

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐρμώνα καὶ Ζηνόθεμον ἁμα 43 κατέκειντο, ὥσπερ εἰρηταί, ὁ μὲν ὑπεράνω ὁ Ζηνόθεμος, ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν· παρέκειτο δ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἵσα, καὶ ἀνείλοντο εἰρηνικῶς· ἡ

1 ἁμα Guyet: αὖt MSS.
2 Hopelessly corrupt: κράτιστε τεῶν συνεφήβων Dindorf.
3 ἀπόντι Hartman, Herwerden: ἀπόντι MSS.
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Superior to other maids
   As many as there be,
Than Aphrodite prettier
   And Helen eke is she.
To you, O groom, a greeting too,
   Most handsome of your mates
And handsomer than those of old
   Of whom Homer relates.
We unto you the song you hear
   Will sing repeatedly
To celebrate your wedding-day:
   It’s made for both you see!

That caused a laugh, as you can imagine; and then it was time to take what was set before us. Aristaenetus and Eucritus each took the portion in front of him: I took what was mine and Chaereas what was set before him, and Ion and Cleodemus did likewise. But Diphilus wanted to carry off not only his own but all that had been served for Zeno, who was away; he said that it had been served to him alone, and fought with the servants. They caught hold of the bird and tried to pull it away from each other as if they were tugging at the body of Patroclus, and at last he was beaten and let go. He made the company laugh heartily, especially because he was indignant afterwards, just as if he had been done the greatest possible wrong.

Hermon and Zenothemis were lying side by side, as I have said, Zenothemis above and Hermon below him. The shares served them were identical in all but one point, and they began to take them

1 The translator’s version is perhaps better than the original: it could not be worse.
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dė òrnis ἡ πρὸ τοῦ "Ερμωνος πιμελεστέρα, οὔτως, ὁμαι, τυχόν. ἐδεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάτερον. ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν ὁ Ζηνόθεμις — καὶ μοι, ὃ Φίλων, πάνω πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ὁμοί γάρ ἐμεν ἤδη τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν πραξθέντων — ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις, φημὶ, τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ὑφεις τὴν πρὸ τοῦ "Ερμωνος ἀνείλετο πιστέαν, ὡς ἔφην, οὖσαν: ὁ δ' ἀντεπελάβετο καὶ οὐκ εἰς πλεονεκτείν. Βοή τὸ ἐπὶ τούτως, καὶ συμπέσοντες ἐπαίον ἀλλήλους ταῖς ὀρνισὶν αὐταῖς ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα, καὶ τῶν πυγώνων ἐπελημμένου ἐπεκαλοῦντο Βοθθείν, ὁ μὲν τὸν Κλεόδημον ὁ "Ερμων, ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις Ἀλκιδάμαντα καὶ Διφιλον, καὶ συνισταντο οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκείνου πλὴν μόνου τοῦ "Ιωνος· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μέσον ἑαυτὸν ἐφύλαττεν. οἱ δ' ἐμάχοντο συμπλακέντες, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζηνόθεμις σκύφον ἀράμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης κείμενον πρὸ τοῦ Ἀριστανέτου ῥίπτει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρμωνα,

κάκείνου μὲν ἁμαρτε, παραὶ δὲ οἱ ἔτραπτεν ἄλλη, διεῖλε δὲ τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ κρανίον ἐς δύο χρηστῶ μόλα καὶ βαθεὶ τῷ πραὐματι. Βοή οὖν παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κατεπίθησαν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον αἰ πολλαί, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ μῆτηρ τοῦ μειρακίου, ἐπεὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐδε: καὶ ἡ νῦμφη δὲ ἀνεπίθησε φυβηθείσα περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἥριστευε τῷ Ζηνοθέμιδι συμμαχῶν, καὶ πατάξας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τοῦ Κλεοδήμου μὲν τὸ κρανίον, τοῦ Ἐρμωνος δὲ τὴν σιαγόνα ἐπέτριψε καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐνίους βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειροῦντας κατέτρωσεν· οὐ μὴν ἄπετράποτο ἐκείνοι, 456
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peaceably. But the bird in front of Hermon was the plumper, just by chance, no doubt. In that case too each should have taken his own, but at this juncture Zenothemis—follow me closely, Philo, for we have now reached the crisis of events—Zenothemis, I say, let the bird beside him alone and proceeded to take the one before Hermon, which was fatter, as I have said. Hermon, however, seized it also and would not let him be greedy. Thereat there was a shout: they fell on and actually hit one another in the face with the birds, and each caught the other by the beard and called for help, Hermon to Cleodemus, and Zenothemis to Alcidamus and Diphilus. The philosophers took sides, some with one, and some with the other, except Ion alone, who kept himself neutral, and they pitched in and fought. Zenothemis picked up a bowl that was on the table in front of Aristaenetus and threw it at Hermon,

And him it missed and went another way; but it cracked the crown of the bridegroom, inflicting a wound that was generous and deep. Consequently there was an outcry from the women, and most of them sprang to the battle-field, especially the lad's mother when she saw the blood; and the bride also sprang from her place in alarm over him. Meanwhile Alcidamas distinguished himself on the side of Zenothemis. Laying about him with his staff, he broke the head of Cleodemus and the jaw of Hermon, and he disabled several of the servants who were trying to rescue them. But the other

1 Cf. Iliad 11, 233.
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αλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλεόδημος ὅρθω τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος ἐξώρυττε καὶ τὴν ρίνα προσφύς ἀπέτραγεν, ὦ δὲ "Ἐρμων τὸν Δίφιλον ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἤκουν τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος ἅφηκεν ἐπὶ κεφαλήν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλιντήρος. ἐτρώθη δὲ καὶ Ἰστιαῖος ὁ γραμματικὸς διαλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπι- χειρῶν, λάξ, οἵμα, εἰς τοὺς ὀδύνας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεόδημον Δίφιλον εἶναι οἰγήντος. ἐκεῖτο γοῦν ὁ ἄθλιος κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ "Ομηρον "αἱμ' ἐμέων." πλὴν ταραχής γε καὶ δακρύων μεστὰ ἦν πάντα. καὶ αἱ μὲν γυναίκες ἐκώκυνον τῷ Χαϊρέα περιχυνθεῖσαι, . . . ὁ δὲ ἄλλοι κατέ- παυνον. μέγιστον δὲ ἦν ἄπαντων κακῶν ὁ Ἀλκι- δάμας, ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐτρέψατο, παῖων τὸν προστυχόντα· καὶ πολυλο ἄν, εὐ ᾗσθι, ἐπεσον εἰ μὴ κατέαξε τὴν βακτηρίαν. ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοίχον ὀρθῶς ἑφεστῶς ἐὼρων ἐκαστα οὐκ ἀνα- μυνὺς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου διδαχθείσας, ὡς ἐστιν ἐπισφαλεῖς διαλύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. Δαπίθας οὖν καὶ Κενταύρους εἶπε ἄν, εἰ εἴδες τραπέζας ἀνατρεπομένας καὶ αἴμα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ σκύ- φους ριπτομένους.

Τέλος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἀνατρέψας τὸ λυχνίον σκότος μέγα ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸ πράγμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μακρῷ χαλεπώτερον ἐγεγένητο· καὶ γὰρ οὐ ραδίως εὐπόρησαν φωτὸς ἄλλο πολλά ἐπράχθη καὶ ἕως ἐν τῷ σκότῳ. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν τις λύχνον

1 γοῦν A.M.H.: οἶν MSS.
2 Lacuna Gertz: οἶ δὲ ἄλλοι οἰκέται Fritzsche: οὶ δὲ ἄτρωτοι Bekker.
3 εἶπες ἄν, εἰ εἴδες Gertz: εἴδες ἄν MSS.

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side did not give way, for Cleodemus with a stiff finger gouged out the eye of Zenothemis and got him by the nose and bit it off, while as for Hermon, when Diphilus was coming to the support of Zenothemis he threw him head first from the couch. Histiaeus the grammarian was wounded, too, in trying to separate them—he was kicked in the teeth, I think, by Cleodemus, who supposed him to be Diphilus. At all events the poor fellow was laid low, "vomiting gore," as his own Homer says. The whole place, however, was full of noise and tears, and the women, gathered about Chaereas, were wailing, while the rest of the men were trying to quiet things down. Alcidamas was the greatest nuisance in the world, for when he had once routed his opponents he hit everybody that fell in his way. Many would have gone down before him, you may be sure, if he had not broken his staff. As for me, I stood by the wall and watched the whole performance without taking part in it, for Histiaeus had taught me how risky it is to try to part such fights. You would have said they were Lapiths and Centaurs, to see tables going over, blood flowing and cups flying.

At last Alcidamas knocked over the lamp-stand and brought on profound darkness, and as you can imagine, the situation became far worse, for it was not easy for them to provide more light, while on the other hand many dire deeds were done in the darkness. When some one finally came in with a
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ποτὲ κομίζων, κατελήφθη Ἦλκιδάμας μὲν τὴν αὐλητρίδα ἀπογυμνῶν καὶ πρὸς βίαν συνενέχθηναι αὐτῇ στουδάξων, Διονυσόδωρος δὲ ἄλλο τι γελοίον ἐφωράθη πεποιηκώς· σκύφος γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου ἐξαναστάντος αὐτοῦ. εἰτ' ἀπολογούμενος Ἦλων ἐφή ἀνελόμενον ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ δούναι αὐτῷ, ὅπως μὴ ἀπόλοιπο, καὶ ὁ Ἦλων κηδεμονίκως ἔλεγε τούτῳ πεποιηκέναι.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις διελύθη τὸ συμπόσιον τελευτήσαν ἐκ τῶν δακρυῶν αὕτως ἐς γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἦλκιδάμαντι καὶ Διονυσόδωρῳ καὶ Ἦλωι. καὶ οὐ τε τραυματίας φοράθην ἐξεκομίζοντο πονηρῶς ἔχοντες, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ προσβύτης ὁ Ζηνόθεμης ἀμφοτέραις τῇ μὲν τῆς μινός, τῇ δὲ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐπειλημμένος, βοῶν ἀπόλλυσθαι ύπ᾽ ἀλγηδόνων, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἔρμωνα καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὁντα—δύο γὰρ ὀδόντας ἐξεκέκοπτο—ἀντιμαρτύρεσθαι λέγοντα, "Μέμνησο μέντοι, ὁ Ζηνόθεμη, ὡς ὦκ ἀδιάφορον ἡγῇ τὸν πόνον" καὶ ὁ νυμφίος δὲ ἀκεσαμένου τὸ τραύμα τοῦ Διούκου ἀπήγετο ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ταινίαις κατελημένος τὴν κεφαλήν, ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀνατεθεῖς ἐφ' οὐ τὴν νύμφην ἀπάξειν ἐμελλε, πικρῶς ο ἄθλιος τῶν γάμους ἑορτάσας· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁ Διούκος ἐπεμελεῖτο δὴ τὰ δυνατά, καὶ καθευδόσωστε ἀπήγετο ἐμοῦτες ὁ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ὁ μέντοι Ἦλκιδάμας αὐτοῦ ἐμείνεν· οὐ γὰρ ἴδου πήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἔπει ἀπαξ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης πλαγίως ἐκάθευδε.
lamp, Alcidamas was caught stripping the flute-girl and trying to ravish her, while Dionysodorus was found to have done something else that was ridiculous, for as he got up a bowl fell out of the folds of his cloak. Then by way of clearing himself he said that Ion had picked it up in the confusion and had given it to him, so that it might not get lost; and Ion considerately said that he had done so.

Thereupon the dinner-party broke up. After the tears, it had ended in a new burst of laughter over Alcidamas, Dionysodorus and Ion. The wounded men were carried away in sorry condition, especially the old man Zenothemis, who had one hand on his nose and the other on his eye and was shouting that he was dying with pain, so that Hermon, in spite of his own sad plight (for he had had two teeth knocked out) called attention to it and said: "Just remember, Zenothemis, that you do consider pain of some consequence, after all!" The bridegroom, after his wound had been dressed by Dionicus, was taken home with his head wrapped in bandages, in the carriage in which he had expected to take away his bride; it was a bitter wedding that he celebrated, poor fellow! As for the rest, Dionicus did the best he could for them and they were taken off to bed, most of them vomiting in the streets. But Alcidamas stayed right there, for they could not turn the man out, once he had thrown himself down crosswise on the couch and gone to sleep.
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Τούτο σοι τέλος, ὦ καλὲ Φίλων, ἐγένετο τοῦ 48 συμποσίου, ἡ ἁμεινον τὸ τραγικὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐπειπεῖν,
pολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
pολλὰ δ᾿ ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοὶ,
kαὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ’ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη
ἀπροσδόκητα γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπέβη καὶ ταῦτα. ἐκεῖνὸ γε μὴν ¹ μεμάθηκα ἡδη, ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἀπρακτον ὁντα συνεστιάσθαι τοιούτως σοφοῖς.

¹ γε μὴν Bekker, Dindorf: μὴν not in MSS. : γε not in all MSS.
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Well, Philo, that was the end of the dinner-party: it would be better, though, to say at the close as they do in the plays of Euripides:

In many shapes appear the powers above,
And many things the gods surprise us with,
While those we look for do not come about.¹

For all of it, you know, was quite unexpected. This much, however, I have at last learned, that it is not safe for a man of peace to dine with men so learned.

¹ These lines occur at the close of the Alcestis, the Andromache, the Bacchae and the Helen, and, with a slight change, in the Medea.
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