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LUCIAN
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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—declaimations 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.
INTRODUCTION

with an ὀ Ὀφροντὶς 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 Halycon, 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 followed in the best manuscripts, which, through its adoption in Rabe’s edition of the scholia to Lucian and in Nilén’s edition of the text, bids fair to become standard.

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

Vaticanus 90 (Γ).
Harleianus 5094 (E).
Laurentianus C. S. 77 (Φ).
Martianus 434 (Ω).
Vindobonensis 123 (B).
Mutinensis 193 (S).
Vaticanus 1324 (U).
Laurentianus 57, 51 (L).

Principal editions:—

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

Francklin, London 1780.
Tooke, London 1820.
Fowler (H. W.) and Fowler (F. G.), Oxford 1905.

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.
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.
ἈΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ

ΦΑΛΛΡΙΣ

Δ

"Εσπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, διὸ Δελφοῖ, ὁ ἡμέτερος δυνάστης Φάλλρις ἄξοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ταύρον τούτον καὶ ὑμῖν διαλεξομένους τὰ εἰκότα ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἑκείνου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματος. δόξα μὲν οὖν ἐνεκα ἦκομεν, ταῦτα ἔστω· ἢ δὲ γε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέστειλεν τάδε·

Εγώ, φησίν, διὸ Δελφοῖ, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς Ἑλληστὶ τοιούτῳ ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι ὁποῖος εἰμι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὁποῖον ἡ παρὰ τῶν μισοῦντων καὶ φθονοῦντων φήμη ταῖς τῶν ἀνυούντων ἀκοαῖς παραδέδοκεν, ἀντὶ τῶν πάντων ἀλλαξαίμην ἂν, μάλιστα δὲ παρ’ ὑμῖν, ὅσοι ἑρότι τε ἐστε καὶ πάρεδροι τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ μόνον οὐ σύνοικοι καὶ ὁμωρόφιοι τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ, εἰ ὑμῖν ἀπολογησίαμην καὶ πείσαμι μᾶτην ὁμός ὑπειλήφθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ δι’ ὑμῶν ἀπολογησιμένου ἐσεσθαι. καλὸν δὲ ὁ ἐρῶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτὸν μάρτυρα, ὅπως ὑμᾶς ἐνι δὴ ποῦ παραλογίσασθαι καὶ ψευδεὶ λόγῳ παρα-

1 τάδε Herwerden: not in MSS. Lacuna noted by F. 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.
ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΆΓΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΝ, 2 ἉΛΛ' ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΣ ἈΛΛΟΣ ΕΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΦΕΙΣ ἘΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗΚΩΣ, ΑΕΙ ΔΙΕΤΈΛΟΥΝ ΤΗ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΕΧΩΝ, ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΣΥΜΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΕΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΡΙΟΝ, ΒΙΑΙΟΝ ΔΕ Η ΣΚΑΙΟΝ Η ΥΒΡΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ Η ΑΥΒΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΠΕΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΟΥ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΒΙΩ. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΕ ΕΟΡΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΑΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΜΟΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΑΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΡΩΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΕΙΩΝ ΜΕ ξΗΤΟΥΝΤΑ —ΔΥΗΡΗΤΟ ΔΕ ΗΜΟΥ ΤΟΤΕ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ—ΜΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ἈΠΟΦΥΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ἌΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΕΥΒΙΣΚΟΝ, ΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΆΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ, ΕΙ ΕΠΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗ ΑΡΧΗ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΕΙΛΑΙΜΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΣΑΙΜΙ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ, ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΔΕ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ ΚΑΤΑΝΑΓΚΑΣΑΙΜΙ ΚΑΙ ΉΣΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΚ ὉΛΥΓΟΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΑΙΝΟΥΝΤΕΣ, ἍΝΔΡΕΣ ΜΕΤΡΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΔΕΣ, ΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΝΩΜΗΝ ΥΔΕΣΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΟΥΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΑΙ ΧΡΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΡΑΔΙΟΙ ΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΑ.2

ΤΟΥΝΤΕΒΕΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΕΤΑΡΡΑΤΟΝ, ΆΛΛ' 3 ὙΠΗΚΟΟΝ, ΕΙΓΟ ΔΕ ἩΡΧΟΝ, Ἡ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΔΕ ἈΣΤΑΣΙΑΣΤΟΣ ΗΝ. ΣΦΑΓΑΣ ΔΕ Ἡ ΕΛΑΣΕΙΣ Ἡ ΔΗΜΕΥΣΕΙΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΒΕΘΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΚΟΤΩΝ ΕΙΡΓΑΖΟΜΗΝ, ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΤΑ ΤΟΙΑΤΑ ΤΟΛΜΑΝ ΕΝ ἉΡΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΣΤΕΙΑΣ

1 οὖν Nilén: not in MSS.
2 έκρατησα Herwerden: έκρατησα τής επιχειρήσεως MSS.
3 οὖν Nilén: not in MSS.
PHALARIS I

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

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

'From that time on the others made no more trouble, but gave obedience; I ruled, and the city was free from party strife. Executions, banishments and confiscations I did not employ even against the former conspirators, although a man must bring
μάλιστα. φιλανθρωπίᾳ γὰρ καὶ πράότητι καὶ τῷ ἡμέρῳ καὶ ἱστομίας θαυμασίως ἐγὼ ἠλπίζον ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι προσάξεσθαι τούτους. εὖθὺς γοῦν τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ἐσπείραμεν καὶ διηλλάγμην, καὶ συμβουλούμενοι καὶ συνεστίοις ἐχρώμην τοὺς πλείστοις αὐτῶν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ὅρον ὀλιγωρία τῶν προεστῶτων διεφθαρμένη, τῶν πολλῶν κλεπτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀρπαζόντων τὰ κοινά, ὑδάτων τε ἐπιρροής ἀνεκτήσαμεν καὶ οἰκοδομιμάτων ἀναστάσεως ἐκόσμησα καὶ τειχῶν περιβολῆ ἐκράτυνα καὶ τὰς προσόδους, ὅσαι ἦσαν κοιναί, τῇ τῶν ἐφεστῶτων ἐπιμελείας ῥαδίως ἐπηρύξησα καὶ τῆς νεολαίας ἐπεμελοῦμην καὶ τῶν γερόντων προύνουν καὶ τὸν δήμον ἐν θέας καὶ διανομᾶς καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ δημοθυνίαις δύηγον, ὦ θείες δὲ παρθένῳ ἐφήβῳ διαφθοραὶ ἤ γυναικῶν ἀπαγωγαὶ ἢ δορυφόρων ἐπιπέμψεις ἢ δεσποτικὴ τῆς ἀπειλῆ ἀποτρόπαια μοι καὶ ἀκούσαι ἦμ. ἦδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ καταθέσθαι τὴν δυναστείαν ἐσκοπούμην, ὅπως μόνον ἄσφαλῶς παύσασθαι ἂν τις ἐννοῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ἄρχειν αὐτὸ καὶ πάντα πράττειν ἐπαχθῆς ἦδη καὶ σὺν φθόνῳ καματηρῶν ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι· τὸ δ' ὅπως μηκέτι τοιαύτης τινὸς θεραπείας δεῖσται ἢ πόλις, τοῦτ' ἐξήτουν ἔτι. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὁ ἀρχαῖος περὶ ταύτα εἴχον, οἱ δὲ ἦδη τε συνισταντο ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἀποστάσεως ἐσκοποῦντο καὶ συνημοσίας συνεκρότουν καὶ ὅπλα ἤθροιζον καὶ χρῆματα ἐπορίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ εἰς τὴν 6.
himself to take such measures in the beginning of a reign more than at any other time. I had marvellous hopes of getting them to listen to me by my humanity, mildness and good-nature, and through the impartiality of my favour. At the outset, for instance, I came to an understanding with my enemies and laid aside hostility, taking most of them as counsellors and intimates. As for the city, perceiving that it had been brought to rack and ruin through the neglect of those in office, because everybody was robbing or rather plundering the state, I restored it by building aqueducts, adorned it with buildings and strengthened it with walls; the revenues of the state I readily increased through the diligence of my officials; I cared for the young, provided for the old, and entertained the people with shows, gifts, festivals and banquets. Even to hear of girls wronged, boys led astray, wives carried off, guardsmen with warrants, or any form of despotic threat made me throw up my hands in horror. I was already planning to resign my office and lay down my authority, thinking only how one might stop with safety; for being governor and managing everything began to seem to me unpleasant in itself and, when attended by jealousy, a burden to the flesh. I was still seeking, however, to ensure that the city would never again stand in need of such ministrations. But while I in my simplicity was engaged in all this, the others were already combining against me, planning the manner of their plot and uprising, organizing bands of conspirators, collecting arms, raising money, asking the aid of men in neighbouring towns, and sending embassies
"Ελλάδα παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐπρεσβεύοντο· ἢ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰ ληφθεὶν, ἐδέδοκτο ἢδη αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅπως μὲ αὐτοχειρία διασπάσεσθαι ἢπείλον καὶ ὡς κολάσεις ἔπεινον, δημοσία στρεβλοῦμενοι ἐξεῖπτον. τοῦ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν παθεῖν τοιοῦτον οἱ θεοὶ αὐτοῖς φωράσαντες τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ μάλιστα γε ὁ Πύθιος ὀνείρατά τε προδείξεις καὶ τοὺς μηνύσοντας ἐκαστὰ ἐπιπέμπων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἦδη ύμᾶς, ὁ Δελφοί, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅ αὐτοῦ δέος νῦν τῷ λογισμῷ γενομένους ἀξίοι περὶ τῶν τότε πρακτέων μοι συμβουλεύσαι, ὡτε ἀφύλλακτος ὅλγον δεῖν ληφθεῖς ἐξήτων τινὰ σωτηρίαν περὶ τῶν παρόντων. πρὸς ὅλγον οὖν τῇ γυνώμῃ ἐς Λκράγαντα παρ᾽ ἐμὲ ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ ἱδόντες τὰς παρασκευὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἁκοῦσαντες ἑκατεῖ τί δεὶ ποιεῖν; φιλανθρωπία χρήσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔτι καὶ φείδεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι ὅσον αὐτίκα μελλῆσοντα πεῖσεσθαι τὰ ὑστάτα; μάλλον δὲ γυμνὴν ἦδη ὑπέχειν τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ τὰ φίλτατα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅραν ἀπολύμενα; ἢ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα πάνω ἤλθίον τινὸς εἶναι, γενναίας δὲ καὶ ἁνδρόδη διανοθέντα καὶ χολήν ἐμφρόνοις καὶ ἡδικημένου ἁνδρὸς ἀναλαβόντα μετελθεῖν ἐκεῖνος, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων τὴν ἐς τὸ ἐπίδον ἀσφάλειαν παρασχεῖν; ταῦτ’ ὀιδ’ ὅτι συνεβουλεύσατε ἄν.

Τί οὖν ἔγω μετὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησα; μεταστελεῖν 6 λάμενος τοὺς αὐτούς καὶ λόγου μεταδοῦς αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους παραγαγὼν καὶ σαφῶς ἐξε- 1 δεῖ MSS.: ἔδει Cobet.
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;
λέγεται έκαστα, ἐπεὶ μηδ’ αὐτοὶ ἐτι ἔξαρνοι ἥσαν, ἡμυνόμεν ἀγανακτῶν τὸ πλέον ὅχι ὅτι ἐπεβεβουλεύμην, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ εἰάθην ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ προαιρέσει μείναι, ἂν εἴ άρχης ἐνεστησάμην. καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ ἑκείνου φυλάττων μὲν ἐμαυτὸν διατελώ, ἑκείνων δὲ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μοι κολάζων. εἰδ’ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐμὲ τῆς ὁμότητος αἰτιώνται οὐκέτι λογιζόμενοι παρὰ ποτέρου ἡμῶν ἢ ἡ πρώτη τούτων ἀρχῇ, συνελόντες δὲ τὰς μέσος καὶ ἐφ’ οἷς ἐκολάζοντο τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτὰς ἦτιώντο καὶ τὰς δοκούσας εἰν αὐταῖς ὁμότητας, ὠμοιον ὡς εἰ τις παρ’ ύμιν ἱεροσυλῶν τινα ἵδον ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ριπτόμενον ἢ μὲν ἐτόλμησε μὴ λογίζειν, ὡς νῦκτωρ ἔτο τὸ ἱερὸν παρῆλθε καὶ κατέσπασε τὰ ἁναδήματα καὶ τοῦ ἔδαυν Ἡγατο, κατηγοροῦσ’ ἔτο ύμων πολλῆν τὴν ἀγριότητα, ὅτι "Ελληνες τε καὶ ἱερὸ εἶναι λέγοντες ὑπερεῖναι ἄνθρωπον" Ἐλληνα πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ —καὶ γὰρ οὗ πάνεν πόρρω τῆς πόλεως εἶναι λέγεται ἢ πέτρα—κολάσει τοιαύτῃ περιβαλεῖν. ἀλλ’, οἱμαι, αὐτοὶ καταγελάσασθε, ἡν ταῦτα λέγῃ τις καθ’ ύμων, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπανείσονται ύμῶν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβούστων ὁμότητα.

Τὸ δ’ ὅλον οἱ δῆμοι οὐκ ἐξετάζοντες ὀποῖος 7 τις ὁ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφεστὼς ἐστιν, εἴτε δίκαιος εἴτε ἄδικος, αὐτὸ ἀπλῶς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὅνομα μισοῦσι καὶ τὸν τύραννον, κάν Αἰακὸς ἢ Μίνως ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ, ὁμοίως ἐς ἀπαντῶ ἀνελεῖν σπεύδουσιν, τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς αὐτῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέμενοι, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς προσηγορίας τῷ ὁμοίῳ μίσει συμπεριλαμβάνοντες. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἄκοον καὶ παρ’ ύμιν τοῖς "Ελληνες πολλοὺς
PHALARIS I

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

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

γενέσθαι τυράννους σοφοὺς ὑπὸ φαύλων ὄνοματι
dοκοῦντι χρηστῶν καὶ ἡμεροὺ ἦθος ἐπιδεδειγμένους,
ὅποι εἰναὶ καὶ λόγους εἰναὶ βραχεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὑμῶν
ἀποκειμένους, ἀγάματα καὶ ἀναθήματα τῷ
Πυθίω.

'Ορατε δὲ καὶ τοὺς νομοθέτας τῷ κολα-
στικῷ εἴδει τὸ πλέον νέμοντας, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων
οὐδὲν ὀφελός, εἰ μὴ ὁ φόβος προσείη καὶ ἐπίς
tῆς κολάσεως. ἦμιν δὲ τούτο πολλῷ ἀναγκαῖο-
tερον τοῖς τυράννοις, ὅσον πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἔξηγού-
μεθα καὶ μισούσι τε ἄμα καὶ ἔπιβουλεύουσιν
ἀνθρώποις σύνεσιν, ὅπου μηδὲ τῶν μορμολυκείων
ὄφελός τι ἦμιν γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ περὶ τῆς "Τῆδρας
μύθῳ τὸ πράγμα ἐσοκεν. ὅσο γὰρ ἂν ἐκκόπτωμεν,
tοσοῦτον πλέον ἦμιν ἀναφύονται τοῦ κολάζειν
ἀφορμαῖ. φέρειν δὲ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ἀναφύομενον
ἐκκόπτειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐπικαίειν ηῇ Δίᾳ κατὰ τὸν
Ἰόλεων, εἰ μέλλομεν ἐπικρατῆσιν. τὸν γὰρ ἀπαξ
εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπεσεῖν ἡναγκασμένον ὅμοιον χρῆ
tῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἡ φειδόμενον τῶν
πλησίον ἀπολυλέναι. ὅλως δὲ, τίνα οἰεσθε οὗτος
ἀγριον ἡ ἀνήμερον ἀνθρώπον εἶναι ὡς ἦδεσθαι
μαστυγοῦντα καὶ οἰμωγῶν ἄκογοντα καὶ σφαττο-
μένους ὅρωντα, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι τινα μεγάλην τοῦ κολά-
ζειν αἰτίαν; ποσάκις γοῦν ἐδάκρυσα μαστυγομένου
ἀλλων, ποσάκις δὲ βρηκὼν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τήν
ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην ἀναγκάζομαι μείζων κόλασιν αὐτὸς
καὶ χρονωτέραν ὑπομένων; ἀνδρὶ γὰρ φύσει μὲν
ἀγαθῷ, διὰ δὲ ἀνάγκην πικρῷ, πολὺ τοῦ κολά-
ζεσθαι τὸ κολάζειν χαλεπώτερον,
wise tyrants who, under a name of ill-repute have shown a good and kindly character; and even that brief sayings of some of them are deposited in your temple as gifts and oblations to Pythius.

You will observe that legislators lay most stress on the punitive class of measures, naturally because no others are of any use if unattended by fear and the expectation of punishment. With us tyrants this is all the more necessary because we govern by force and live among men who not only hate us but plot against us, in an environment where even the bugaboos we set up do not help us. Our case is like the story of the Hydra: the more heads we lop, the more occasions for punishing grow up under our eyes. We must needs make the best of it and lop each new growth—yes, and sear it, too, like Iolaus,\(^1\) 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.
Εἰ δὲ δὲι μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ ἄρεσίς μοι προτεθείη, πότερα βούλομαι, κολάζειν τινὰς ἀδίκως ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν, εὖ ἵστε ὡς οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἐλοίμην ἄν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν. εἰ δὲ τις φαίη, Βούλιε, ὃ Φάλαρι, τεθνάναι αὐτὸς ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως κολάζειν τοὺς ἐπιβούλους; τοῦτο βουλαίμην ἂν αὑθίς γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ὃ Δελφοί, συμβούλους καλῶ, πότερον ἀμείων εἶναι ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἀδίκως σάζειν τὸν ἐπιβεβούλευκότα; οὐδεὶς οὕτως, οἶμαι, αὐνόστος ἔστιν ὃς οὐκ ἂν προτιμήσει ἐξὶν μᾶλλον ἢ σῶζον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολολέναι. καὶ τοῖς πόσοις ἔγὼ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων μοι καὶ φανερῶς ἐλπισμένοις ἡμῶς ἐσώσα; οἶον Ἀκανθόν τούτων καὶ Τιμοκράτη καὶ Δεωγόραν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, παλαιᾶς συνθελείς τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ μνημονεύσας.

"Ὅταν δὲ βούληθητε τοὺμὸν εἰδέναι, τοὺς εἰσφοιτῶντας εἰς Ἀκράγαντα ξένους ἐρωτήσατε ὅποιος ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτοὺς εἰμι καὶ εἰ φιλανθρώπως προσφέρομαι τοῖς καταίρουσιν, ὃς ἔμε καὶ σκοποῦσί ἐπὶ τῶν λιμένων ἔχω καὶ πενθῆμας, τῖνες θεν καταπεπλευκασίν, ὁς καὶ ἄξιαν τιμῶν ἀποτέμπομι αὐτοὺς. ἕνοι δὲ καὶ ἑξεπίτηδες φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμὲ, οἱ σοφῶτατοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καὶ οὐ φεύγουσι τῆς συνοισίαν τῶν ἐμῆν, ὡστερ ἀμέλει καὶ πρόφην ὃ σοφὸς Πυθαγόρας ἢκεν ὡς ἰμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκωσί ἐπειδὲ ἐπειράθη, ἀπήλθεν ἐπαινῶν μὲ τῇς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐλεοῦν τῆς ἀναγκαίας ὁμότητος. εἰτα οἶεσθε τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὁδεῖονες φιλανθρωπον οὕτως ἄν πικρῶς ὁ τοὺς

1 ἀν πικρῶς Herwerden: ἀδίκως MSS.
PHALARIS I

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

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολελόγημαι 11 ὑμῖν, ἀληθῆ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἔπαινον μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἡ μίσους ἢξια. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἀναθήματος καίρος ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι οἴεν καὶ ὅπως τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτον ἐκτησάμην, οὐκ ἔκδους αὐτὸς τῷ ἄνδριαντοποιῷ—μὴ γὰρ οὐτὸ μανεῖν, ὡς τοιοῦτον ἐπιθυμήσαι κτημάτων—ἀλλὰ Περίλαος ἢν τις ἤμεδαπός, χαλκεύς μὲν ἄγαθός, ποιηρός δὲ ἀνθρωπός. οὕτως πάμπολυ τῆς ἐμῆς ἕμως ἦμων ἰσμαρτηκὼς θέτο χαριεῖσθαι μοι, εἰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κόλασιν ἐπινοοῦσαι, ὡς ἐξ ἀπαιτοῦ κολάζειν ἐπιθυμοῦντε. καὶ δὴ κατασκευάζεις τὸν βοῦν ἤκε μοι κομίζων κάλλιστον ἰδεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένου· κινήσεως γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μυκηθημοῦ ἐδεί μόνον πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἐμφυχεῖν εἶναι δοκεῖν. ἢδον δὲ ἀνέκραγον εὐθὺς, ἄξιον τὸ κτήμα τοῦ Πυθίου, πεμπτέος οἱ ταῦρος τῷ θεῷ. ὃ δὲ Περίλαος παρεστῶ, Τι δὲ εἰ μάθωσ, ἔφη, τὴν σοφίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν χρείαν ἢν παρέχεται; καὶ ἀνοίξας ἅμα τὸν ταῦρον κατὰ τὰ νότα, Ἡν τινα, ἔφη, κολάζειν ἐθέλησι, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς τὸ μηχάνημα τούτο καὶ κατακλείσας προστίθεναι μὲν τοὺς αὐλοὺς τούσδε πρὸς τοὺς μυξωτήρας τοῦ βοὸς, πῦρ δὲ ὑποκαλεῖν κελεύειν, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰμώξεται καὶ βοησεῖται ἀλήκτος ταῖς ὄνωπις ἔχομενοι, ἡ βοη δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν μέλῃ σοι ἀποτελέσει οἷα ξυγρώτατα καὶ ἐπαυλήσει θρηνώδες καὶ μυκήσεται γοερώτατον, ὡς τὸν μὲν κολάζεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τέρπεσθαι μεταξὺ καταυλούμενον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅς τοῦτο 12 ἠκουσα, ἐμυσάχθην τὴν κακομηχανίαν τοῦ ἄνδρος 16
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 οἰκείαν αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπέθηκα· καὶ, Ἀγε δή, ἔφην, ὁ Περίλας, εἰ μὴ κενὴ ἄλλως ὑπὸ σχεσις ταύτα ἐστι, δεῖξον ἥμων αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς τέχνης καὶ μένησαι τοὺς βοῶντας, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν εἰ καὶ ἁ φής μέλη διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν φθέγγεται. πείθεται μὲν ταύτα ὁ Περίλαος, ἐγὼ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐνδοῦ ἦν, κατακλείσας αὐτὸν πῦρ ὑφώπτειν ἐκέλευον, Ἀπολάμβανε, εἰπών, τὸν ἄξον μισθὸν τῆς θαμμαστῆς σου τέχνης, ἵνα ὁ διδάσκαλος τῆς μουσικῆς πρῶτος αὐτὸς αὐλήσῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν δίκαια ἐπασχείν ἀπολαύων τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐμηχανίας· ἐγὼ δέ ἐτι ἐμπνεοῦν καὶ ἐξώντα τὸν ἄνδρα ἔξαιρισθήμαι κελεύσας, ὡς μὴ μιᾶνει τὸ ἐργον ἐναποθαλάνων, ἐκείνον μὲν ἀταφίνα κατὰ κρημνῶν ῥίπτειν ἐκέλευσα, καθήρας δὲ τὸν βοῦν ἀνέπεμψα ὑμῖν ἀνατεθησόμενον τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπιμερᾶς γε ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσά την πᾶσαν διήγησιν, τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος ἐμοῦ τούνομα, τὸν τεχνίτην τὸν Περίλαον, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνον, τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐμὴν, τὴν πρέπουσαν τιμωρίαν, τὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ χαλκέως μέλη, τὴν πρῶτην πείραν τῆς μουσικῆς.

Τμεῖς δέ, ὁ Δελφοὶ, δίκαια ποιήστε θύσαι μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μετὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, ἀναθέντες δὲ τὸν ταῦρον ἐν καλῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ὥς πάντες εἶδειν ὅπως ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς εἰμὶ καὶ ὅπως ἁμύνομαι τὰς περιττὰς ἐς κακίαν ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν. Ἰκανὸν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δηλώσαί μου τὸν τρόπον, Περίλαος κολασθεῖς καὶ ὁ ταῦρος ἀνατεθεῖς καὶ μηκέτι φυλαχθεῖς πρὸς ἄλλων κολαζομένων αὐλήματα μηδὲ μελαδόχησας ἀλλό ἐπὶ 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
αὐτῷ καὶ πείραν ἐλαβον τῆς τέχνης καὶ κατέπαυσα τὴν ἄμουσον ἐκείνην καὶ ἅπανθρωπον ὕδηγ. καὶ τὰ μὲν παρόντα ταῦτα παρ’ ἐμοῦ τῷ θεῷ ἀναθήσω δὲ καὶ ἅλλα πολλάκις, ἐπειδὴν μοι παράσχη μηκέτι δεῖσθαι κολάσεων.

Ταῦτα μὲν, ὁ Δελφοῖ, τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Φαλάριδος, ἀληθῆ πάντα καὶ οἷα ἐπράξθη ἑκαστα, καὶ δίκαιοι ἦν εἰθης μιστοῦς θαυματουργοτες, ὡς ἄν καὶ εἰδότες καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι νῦν αἰτίαν ἔχοντες. εἰ δὲ δεὶ καὶ δειπθήναι ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος μάτην ποιησοῦν δοκοῦντος καὶ ἄκουντος κολάζων ἁναγκασμένου, ἱκετεύομεν ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἰδίνης τε ὁντες καὶ τὸ ἄρχαιον Δωρείς, προσέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα φίλον εἰναι ἑκατοντα καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δημοσία καὶ ἰδία ἕκαστον ὑμῶν εὐ ποιήσαι ὁρμησίων. λάβετε οὖν αὐτὸ τὸν ταύρον καὶ ἀνάβετε καὶ εὔξασθε ὑπὲρ της Ἀκράγαντος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος, καὶ ἤθετε ἡμᾶς ἀπράκτους ἀποστέμψητε μῆτε ἐκείνου υβρίσης μῆτε τὸν θεὸν ἀποστερήσητε καλλίστου τε ἀμα καὶ δικαιοτάτου ἀναθήματος.

Οὕτε Ἀκραγαντίνων, ὁ ἄνδρες Δελφοῖ, πρόξενοι δι' οὕτε ιδιόξενοι αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος οὕτ' ἀλλην ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἡ θυγατέρα οἶδαν αἰτίαν ἡ μελλούσης φιλίας ἐλπίδα, τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἄκουσας τῶν ἥκοντων παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτρια διεξιόντων, καὶ τὸ εὑσεβὴς ἀμα καὶ τὸ 20
maker, and his case sufficed me to try the invention and put an end to that uninspired, inhuman music. At present, this is what I offer the god, but I shall make many other gifts as soon as he permits me to dispense with punishments.'

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

II

I am neither an official representative of the people of Acragas, men of Delphi, nor a personal representative of Phalaris himself, and I have no private ground at all for good-will to him and no expectation of future friendship. But after listening to the reasonable and temperate story of the ambassadors who have come from him, I rise in the
κοινή συμφέρον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Δελφοῖς πρέπον προσορώμενος ἀνέστην παραινέσων ὑμῖν μῆτε ὑβρίζειν ἄνδρα δυνάστην εὐσεβοῦστα μῆτε ἀνάθημα ὅθη τὸ θεὸ καθωμολογημένον ἀπαλλοτριών, καὶ ταῦτα πρὶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόμνημα εἰς ἀεὶ γενησόμενον, τέχνης καλλίστης καὶ ἐπινοίας κακίστης καὶ δικαίας κολάσεως, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν 2 καὶ τὸ ἐνδοιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὅλως περὶ τοῦτον καὶ ἡμῖν προθείνανε τὴν διάσκεψιν, εἰ χρὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα ἢ ὑπὸσω ἀνθιε ἀποτέμπως, ἀνόσιον ἡδῆ εἶναι νομίζω, μάλλον δὲ οὔθε ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας ἀποκλειόηθεν οὐδέν γὰρ ἀλλ' ἡ ἱεροσυλία τὸ πράγμα ἐστὶ μακρῷ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπώτερα, ὅσον τοῦτ ἡ ἡδῆ ἀνατεθένη συλάν τὸ μῆδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἀνατιθέναι βουλομένους ἐπιτρέπεις ἀσεβέστερον.

Δέομαι δὲ ὑμῶν Δελφῶς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νῦν καὶ 3 τὸ ἃνων μετέχων τῆς τε δημοσίας εὐκλείας, εἰ ψυχαίτοι, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτής δόξης, εἰ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων προσγένοιτο, μήτ' ἀποκλειέω τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι μῆτε τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους διαβάλλειν ὡς τὰ πεμπόμενα τῷ θεῷ συνκοφαντοῦσαν καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δικαστηρίῳ δοκιμάζουσαν τοὺς ἀνατιθέντας· οὐδέσ γὰρ ἐτι ἀναθεῖναι τολμήσειν ἂν εἰδῶς οὐ προσηγορεύοντο τὸν θεὸν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ πρότερον Δελφοῖς δοκῇ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πῦθος τὴν δικαίαν ἡδῆ περὶ τοῦ 4 ἀναθήματος ψήφου ἤγγεικεν· εἰ γοῦν ἐμύσει τὸν Φάλαριν ἢ τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ ἐμυσάττετο, ῥάδιον ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰούνιο μέσῳ καταδύσαι αὐτὸ μετὰ τῆς ἄγοι- σῆς ὀλκάδος, ὃ δὲ πολὺ τούτων ἐν εὔδαι τε δια-

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

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

A man of Delphi myself and an equal participant in our public good name if we maintain it and in our disrepute if we acquire it from the present case, I beg you neither to lock the temple to worshippers nor to give the world a bad opinion of the city as one that quibbles over things sent the god, and tries givers by ballot and jury. No one would venture to give in future if he knew that the god would not accept anything not previously approved by the men of Delphi. As a matter of fact, Apollo has already voted justly about the gift. At any rate, if he hated Phalaris or loathed his present, he could easily have sunk it in the middle of the Ionian sea, along with the ship that carried it. But, quite to the contrary,
περαιωθήναι, ὁσ φασί, παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ σῶσ ἐς τὴν Κίρραν κατὰραί. ὁ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι προσίται 5 τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου εὐσέβειαν. χρῆ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ ψηφισμένους προσβείναι καὶ τὸν ταύρον τουτούλ τῷ ἀλλῷ κόσμῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ἐπεὶ πάντων ἂν εἴη τοῦτο ἀτοπώτατον, πέμψαντά τινα μεγαλοπρεπές οὐτω δῶρον θεῷ τὴν καταδικά-
ξουσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ψήφου λαβεῖν καὶ μισθὸν κομί-
σασθαι τῆς εὐσέβειας τὸ κεκρίσθαι μηδὲ τοῦ ἁνα-
τιθέναι ἄξιον. 1

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τάναντια μοι ἐγνωκώς, καθάπερ ἐκ 6 τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ἄρτῳ καταπεπλευκώς, σφαγίας τινας καὶ βίας καὶ ἀρπαγίας καὶ ἀπαγωγῶς ἑτραγόδει τοῦ τυράννου μονοῦ ὅλον αὐτόπτης γεγενήσθαι λέγων, ὃν ἴσμεν οὐδ’ ἄχρι τοῦ πλοίου ἀποδεδημηκότα. χρῆ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα μηδὲ τοῖς πεπουθέναι φάσκουσιν πάνω πιστεύειν διηγο-
μένοις—ἀδηλον γὰρ εἰ ἄληθῆ λέγουσι—οὖν ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἐ μη ἐπιστάμεθα κατηγορεῖν. εἰ δ’ 7 οὖν τι καὶ πέπρακται τοιοῦτον ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τούτ’ οὐ Δελφοῖς ἀναγκαῖοι πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἀντὶ ιερέων ἢδη δικασταὶ εἰναι ἄξιούμεν καὶ, δέον θύειν καὶ τάλλα θεραπεῦειν τὸν θεόν καὶ συνανατε-
θέναι εἰ πέμψεις τις, σκοπούντες καθήμεθα εἰ τινὲς τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰώνιον δικαίως ἢ ἁδίκως τυραννοῦνται.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐχέτω ὅτι βούλεται. 8 ἡμῖν δὲ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷμαι, τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν εἰδέναι, ὅπως τε πάλαι διέκειτο καὶ ὅπως νῦν ἔχει καὶ τί ποιοῦσι λέγον ἔσται· ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐν κρήμνοις

1 ἄξιον Herwerden: ἄξιος 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
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

te oikeýmen autóí kai pétres georgróyme, óvχ
"Oμηρον χρή periménei dhlásoúnta hímín, álλ
órån páresstai taúnta. kai óson épl tή γῆ, báthẹ
limφ áeí svnníme nán, tò d' ierón kai ó Púthos kai
tó chrístêsmon kai oi ñúontes kai oi evseboíntes,
taúta Délfoun tά peðía, taúta h prósoðos, èn-
tevthé h èvporía, èntevthén aí trófaí—χrh h gàr
tálhth prós ge h múas autóns légeiv—kai tó legy-
mevon úpto tón poiteitón, áspartá hímín kai ánýrōta
fústai tά pánnte úpto georgrφ tò ñthen, ós ou
múmon tά pará toís "Eklhseis ánagá h giýmónema
paréchei, álλ eí tì en Fruži n h Ludoís h Pērsai
h Åsọryio h Fóuvi-ad h İtalio-tai h Tper-
boresioi autóns, pánnte eis Délfous kýkneítaí. kai
tά deútera metá tón ñthen h múes tímómeba υφ'
apántan kai evporóúmen kai evdaímovóúmen-
taúta tó ärchaín, taúta tó méχri nín, kai mú
pauσai mebh gê ouw boíntes.

Mémnetai ðe ouèdeis pwóto te vũfóu úper án-
thēmatos par' hímín anadótheistan ouède koλyðenta
tiná thýein h anatíbênai. kai dia toút', oímai, kai
autó eis úperbolh ŋūxeitaí tó ierón kai úper-
ploúntei en toís ánathēmasi math. deî toínun múd' en tφ
parónti kai nóto téwí mnhdè mnhdè pará tά pátria
ñołow kathistánai, fylókriweí tά ánathēmatat kai
PHALARIS II

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

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

\(^1\) "Rocky Pytho" is twice mentioned in the \textit{Iliad} (2, 519; 9, 405). But Lucian is thinking particularly of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, toward the close of which (526ff.) 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.

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

γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πεπόμενα, οὖν καὶ ἂν ὄτου καὶ ὅποια, δεξαμένους δὲ ἀπραγμόνως ἀνατιθέναι ὑπη-

1. Дοκεῖτε δὲ μοι, ὁ Ἀνδρέας Δελφῶν, ἀρίστα βου-

λεύσεσθαι1 περὶ τῶν παρόντων, εἰ λογίσασθε

ὑπὲρ 2 ὁσῶν καὶ ἥλικων ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις, πρῶτον

μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ θυσίων καὶ

ἀναθημάτων καὶ ἔθους ἀρχαίων καὶ θεσμῶν

παλαιῶν καὶ δόξης τοῦ μαντείου, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ τῆς

πόλεως ὅλης καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῷ τε κοινῷ

ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδία ἐκάστῳ Δελφῶν, ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τῆς

παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους εὐκλείας ἢ κακοδοξίας

τούτων γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ τι μεῖξον, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε,

ἡ ἀναγκαίωτερον ἡγησαίοις ἡν.

Περὶ ξενοῦ συν ὅν βουλεύομεθα, ταῦτα ἐστὶν,

οὐ Φάλαιρις τύραννος εἰς οὐδ' ὁ ταύρος οὐτος οὐδὲ

χαλκός μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες βασίλειασ καὶ πάντες

dυνάσται, ὅσοι νῦν χρῶνται τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ χρυσὸς

καὶ ἀργυρὸς καὶ ὁσιά ἄλλα τίμια, πολλάκις

ἀνατιθημόμενα τῷ θεῷ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ

τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξετασθήναι αξίων. τίνος οὖν ἐκεῖκα

1. βουλεύσεσθαι Reitz: βουλεύσθαι MSS.

2. ὑπὲρ Sommerbrodt: πρῶτον ὑπὲρ MSS.
PHALARIS II

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

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

This is what we are in consultation about, then: it is not Phalaris (a single tyrant) or this bull of bronze only, but all kings and all monarchs who now frequent the temple, and gold and silver and all other things of price that will be given the god on many occasions. The first point to be investigated should be the interest of the god. Why should we not manage the matter of gifts as we have always done, as we did in the beginning? What fault have we to find with the good old customs, that we should make innovations, and that we should now set up a practice that has never existed among us since the city has been inhabited, since our god has given oracles, since the tripod has had a voice and since the priestess has been inspired—the practice of trying and cross-examining givers? In consequence
€κείνου μὲν τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους, τοῦ ἀνέδην καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι, ὅρατε ὅσοιν ἰγαθὼν ἐμπέπλησται τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀπάντων ἀνατιθέντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑπάρχονσαν δύναμιν ἐνώπιων δωρουμένων τὸν θεόν. εἰ δ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς δοκιμαστὰς καὶ ἑξεταστὰς 13 ἐπιστήσετε τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν, ὅκινω μὴ ἀπορήσωμεν τῶν δοκιμασθησομένων ἕττο, οὐδὲνός ὑπομένοντος ὑπόδικον αὐτὸν καθιστάναι, καὶ ἀναλίσκοντα καὶ καταδαπανῶντα παρὰ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων κινδυνεύειν. ἢ τίς βιωτῶν, εἰ κριθήσεται τοῦ ἀνατιθέναι ἅναξιος:
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" (eephrasis) 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.
ΠΠΙΑΣ Η ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝ

Τῶν σοφῶν ἐκείνους μᾶλιστα ἐγωγέ φημὶ δεῖν ἐπαινεῖν, ὅπωσοι μὴ λόγους μόνον δεξιούς παρέσχοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκάστων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργοις ὁμοίους τὰς τῶν λόγων ὑποσχέσεις ἐπιστώσαντο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἱατρῶν ὃ γε νοῦν ἔχων οὗ τοὺς ἄριστα ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης εἰπεῖν δυναμένους μεταστέλλεται νοσῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρᾶξαι τι καὶ αὐτὴν μεμελετηκότας. ἀμείων δὲ καὶ μουσικός, οἴμαι, τοῦ διακρίνειν ῥυθμοὺς καὶ ἀρμονίας ἐπισταμένον ὁ καὶ ψάλαι καὶ κιθαρίσαι αὐτὸς δυνάμενος. τί γὰρ ἂν σοι τῶν στρατηγῶν λέγομι τοὺς ἐικότως ἄριστους κριθέντας, ὡς οὗ τάττειν μόνον καὶ παραίνειν ἤσαν ἄγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ χειρὸς ἔργα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι; οἷον πάλαι μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, τῶν κάτω δὲ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Πύρρον ἱσμεν γεγονότας.

Πρὸς δὴ τί ταῦτ’ ἔφην; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως ἡ ἱστορία ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος ἔπεμψε θεόν αὐτῶν, ἀλλʼ ὡς καὶ τῶν μηχανικῶν ἐκείνων ἑξιον θαυμάζειν, ὅπωσοι ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ λαμπρῷ γενόμενοι καὶ μνημόσυνα ὁμοῦ τῆς τέχνης καὶ παραδείγματα1 τοῖς μετ’ αὐτούςκ ατέλιπον ἐπεί οἳ γε τοῖς λόγοις μόνοις ἐγγεγυμνασμένοι σοφίσταί

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
Δώ εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἢ σοφοὶ καλοίντο. τοιοῦτον ἀκούομεν τὸν Ἀρχιμήδη γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Κνίδιον Σώστρατον, τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαίῳ χειρώσαμενον τὴν Μέμφιν ᾧ ἀνευ πολιορκίαν ἀποστροφή καὶ διαίρεσε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὸν δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων τριήρεις καταφλέξαντα τῇ τέχνῃ. καὶ Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑποσχόμενος Κροίσῳ ἀβροχον διαβεβάσεν τοῦ στρατῶν ἐπινοία κατόπιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου μᾶ ὑκτί τὸν ᾧ Λυκρος περιήγαγεν, οὐ μηχανικὸς οὗτος γενόμενος, σοφὸς δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμη καὶ συνείναι πιθανότατος, τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἑπειοῦ πάνυ ἄρχαίον, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τεχνῆσασθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν Ἡππον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκαταβήναι αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν λέγεται.

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἰππίου τούτου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς μεμνήσθαι ἄξιον, ἀνδρὸς λόγοις μὲν πάρ' ὄντων βούλει τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν γεγυμνασμένου καὶ συνείναι τε θέος καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι σαφεστάτου, τὰ δὲ ἔργα πολὺ τῶν λόγων ἀμείνῳ παρεχομένου καὶ τῆς τέχνης ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποπληροῦντος, οὐκ ἐν τοιαύταις μὲν ὑποθέσεσιν ἐν αῖσι οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν πρῶτοι ἑμένοις, καὶ εὑρίσκασθαι εὐτύχησιν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν γεωμετρικῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τῆς δοξάσεις, φασίν, εὐθείας τὸ πρῶτον ἄκριβος συνισταμένου. καὶ τοῦ ἅπαν έκαστος ἐν τῇ τῆς ἑπιστήμης ἔργῳ ἀποτελομένως ἐν ἑκείνῳ εὐδοκιμήσας εἶναι τῷ ὅμως ἐδοξεῖν, ὁ δὲ μηχανικῶν τέ ὁν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ γεωμετρικῶν, ἐτι δὲ ἄρμον καὶ μουσικῶν φαίνεται, καὶ ὅμως έκαστον τούτων οὕτως ἐνετέλως

1 Πτολεμαίῳ χειρώσαμεν τὴν Μέμφιν Palmer: Πτολεμαίον χειρώσαμεν καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν MSS. "took Ptolemy and Memphis."
2 πρῶτοι E. Capps: not in MSS.
HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

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

Among these men Hippias, our own contemporary, deserves mention. Not only is he trained as highly in the art of speech as any of his predecessors, and alike quick of comprehension and clear in exposition, but he is better at action than speech, and 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.\(^1\) Moreover, whereas each of the others marked off some one department of science and sought fame in it, making a name for himself in spite of this delimitation, he, on the contrary, is clearly a leader in harmony and music as well as in engineering and geometry, and yet he shows as

\(^1\) In other words, he has originality.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

deίκνυσιν ός ἐν αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπιστάμενος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀκτίνων καὶ ἀνακλάσεων καὶ κατόπτρων θεωρίαν, ἔτι δὲ ἀστρονομίαν, ἐν ᾗ παῖδας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέφηνεν, οὐκ ὁλόγον χρόνον ἄν εἴη ἐπανείν. ἀ δὲ ἐναγχος ἱδὼν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων 4 κατεπλάγην, οὐκ ὄκινος εἰπεῖν κοινὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ὑπόθεσις καὶ τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βιοὶ πὰνο πολλὴ, βαλανείων κατασκευῆ. ἡ ¹ περίοια δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ σύνεσις θαυμαστή.

Τόπος μὲν ἦν οὐκ ἐπίπεδος, ἀλλὰ πὰνο προσάντης καὶ ορθίος, ὅν παραλαβὼν κατὰ θάτερα εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ταπεινών, ἵσσοπεδον θάτερον ² θατέρῳ ἀπέφηνεν, κρηπίδα μὲν βεβαιοτάτην ἀπαντεῖ τῷ ἔργῳ βαλόμενος καὶ θεμελίων θέσει τὴν τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἀσφάλειαν ἐμπεδωσάμενος, ύψεσι ³ δὲ πάνω ἀποτόμως καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν συνεχομένους τὸ ὅλον κρατυνάμενος: τὰ δὲ ἐποικοδομηθέντα τῷ τε τοῦ τόπου μεγέθει σύμμετρα καὶ τῷ εὐλόγῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἁρμοδιώτατα καὶ τῶν τῶν φῶτων λόγων φιλάττοντα. πυλῶν μὲν ἕψηλὸς ἀναβά- ⁵ σεις πλατείας ἔχων, ὑπτίας μᾶλλον ἡ ορθίας ⁴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνιόντων εὐμάρειαν εἰσίν ταῦτα δὲ τούτου εκδέχεται κοινὸς οἴκος εὐμεγέθης, ἰκανὴν ἔχων ὑπηρέταις καὶ ἀκολούθους διατρήθην, ἐν άριστερά δὲ τὰ ἐς τρυφὴν παρασκευασμένα οἰκήματα, βαλανείω δ’ οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρεπωδέστατα, χαρι- εσσαὶ καὶ φωτὶ πολλῷ καταλαμμόμεναι ὑποχωρή-

¹ ή E. Schwartz: not in MSS. ² θάτερον E. Schwartz: not in MSS. ³ ύψει MSS.: ἄψει Pellet and du Soul. ⁴ ὑπτίας, ορθίας E. Schwartz: ὑπτίας, ορθίος 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 refraction and mirrors, or in astronomy, in which he made his predecessors appear children, but I shall not hesitate to speak of one of his achievements which I recently looked upon with wonder. Though the undertaking is a commonplace, and in our days a very frequent one, the construction of a bath, yet his thoughtfulness and intelligence even in this commonplace matter is marvellous.

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

The entrance is high, with a flight of broad steps of which the tread is greater than the pitch, to make them easy to ascend. On entering, one is received into a public hall of good size, with ample accommodations for servants and attendants. On the left are the lounging-rooms, also of just the right sort for a bath, attractive, brightly lighted
σεις. εἰτ' ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οίκος, περιττὸς μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ λούτρον, ἀναγκαῖος δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῶν εὐδαιμονεστέρων ὑποδοχὴν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκατέρωθεν διαρκεῖς τοῖς ἀποδωμένοις ἀποθέεσις, καὶ μέσος οίκος ὤψει τε ὑψηλότατος καὶ φωτὸς φαινότατος, ψυχροῦ ὑδατος ἔχων τρεῖς κολυμ-βήθρας, Δακαίνη λίθῳ κεκοσμημένος, καὶ εἰκόνες ἐν αὐτῷ λίθον λευκοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐργασίας, ἡ μὲν 'Τιγείας, ἡ δὲ 'Λασκληπτοῦ.

'Εξελθόντας δὲ ὑποδέχεται ἡρέμα χλαίνομενος οίκος οὐκ ἠπνεῖ τῇ θέρμῃ προαπαντῶν, ἑπτάχρησις, ἀμφιστρόγγυλος, μεθ' ὑπὸ ἐν δεξιῶν οίκος εὐ μάλα φαινότα, ἀλείψασθαι προσηνῆς παρεχόμενος, ἐκατέρωθεν εἰσόδους ἔχων Φρυγίως λίθῳ κεκαλλωπισμένας, τοὺς ἀπὸ παλαιόστας εἰσόντας δεχόμενος. εἰτ' ἐπὶ τοῦτω ἀλλοις οίκοις οἰκῶν ἀπάντων κάλλιστος, στῆναι τε καὶ ἐγκαθί-ξεσθαι προσηνέστατος καὶ ἐμβραδύναι ἀβλαβε-στατος καὶ ἐγκυλίσασθαι ὧφελμῶτατος, Φρυγίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ὀροφήν ἄκραν ὑποστήλβων. ἐξής δὲ ὁ θερμός ὑποδέχεται διαδρόμος Νομάδι λίθῳ δια-κεκαλλωμένος. ὁ δὲ ἐνδον οίκος κάλλιστος, φωτὸς τε πολλοῦ ἀνάμεστος καὶ ὁς πορφύρα διηθισμένος. τρεῖς καὶ οὕτος θερμῶς πυέλους παρέχεται.

Δουσαμένῳ δὲ ἐνεστὶ σοι μὴ τὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰκῶν αὕθεις ἐπανείνα, ἀλλὰ ταχεία τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δι' ἡρέμα θερμοῦ οἰκήματος, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπὸ φωτὸς μεγάλῳ καὶ πολλή τῇ ἐνδον ἡμέρᾳ. ὑψη πρὸς τοῦτος
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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 an apse at each side. Next it, on the right, is a very bright hall, nicely fitted up for massage, which has on each side an entrance decorated with Phrygian marble, and receives those who come in from the exercising-floor. Then near this is another hall, the most beautiful in the world, in which one can sit or stand with comfort, linger without danger and stroll about with profit. It also is refulgent 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 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.
άνάλογα καὶ πλάτη τοῦς μήκεσι σύμμετρα καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῆ χάρις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἐπανθεικαὶ γὰρ τὸν καλὸν Πίνδαρον, ἀρχομένου ἔργον πρόσωπον χρῆ θέμεν τηλαυγῆς. τούτῳ δὲ ἀν εἰ ἐκ τῆς αὐνής μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ φέγγους καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν μεμηχανημένου. ὁ γὰρ σοφός ὥς ἀληθῶς Ἰππίας τὸν μὲν ψυχροδόχον οἴκον εἰς βορράν προσκεχωρηκότα ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἀμοίρον οὐδὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἀέρος τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς τοῦ θάλπους δεσμένους νότῳ καὶ εὐρῳ καὶ ἥξυρῳ ὑπέθηκεν. τι δὲ ἂν σοι τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγομι 8 παλαιόστρας καὶ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν ἰματιοφυλακοῦντων κατασκευᾶς ταχείαν ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν καὶ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν ἐνδοῦ ἔχουσας τοῦ χρήσιμου τε καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς ἔνεκα;

Καὶ μὴ με ὑπολάβῃ τις μικρὸν ἔργον προθεμένοι κοσμεῖν τῷ λόγῳ προαιρεῖσθαι: τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ αὐτῶ καταίγεσαι κάλλους δείγματα, οὐ μικρὰς σοφίας ἔγονε τίθεμαι, οἷον καὶ τόδε τὸ ἔργον ὁ θαυμάσιος ἢμῖν Ἰππίας ἐπεδείξατο πάσας ἔχων τὰς βαλανίας ἀρετάς, τὸ χρήσιμον, τὸ εὐκαίρου, τὸ εὐφεγγές, τὸ σύμμετρον, τὸ τὸ ἡρμοσμένον, τὸ τὴν χρείαν ἀσφαλῆ παρεχόμενον, καὶ προσέτῃ τῇ ἀλλη περινοῖ κεκοσμημένον, ἀφόδων μὲν ἀναγκαῖα δυσών ἀναχωρήσεις, ἐξόδους δὲ πολλὰς τεθυρωμένον, ὡρῶν δὲ διττὰς δηλώσεις, τὴν μὲν δὲ ὑδατος καὶ μυκήματος, τὴν δὲ δὲ ἢλιον ἐπιδεικύμενον.

Ταῦτα ἰδόντα μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν πρέποντα ἐπαινοῦν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἀνοήτου 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 northward, though it does not lack a southern exposure; whereas he faced south, east, and west the rooms that require abundant heat. Why should I go on and tell you of the exercising-floors and of the cloak-rooms, which have quick and direct communication with the hall containing the basin, so as to be convenient and to do away with all risk?

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

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

¹ Olymp. 6, 3. Pindar's ἀρχομένω (the beginning of your work) is out of place in this context.
ἀχαρίστου, μᾶλλον δὲ βασκάνου μοι εἶναι ἑδοξέν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τῶν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν ἥμεν ψάμην τῷ λόγῳ. εἰ δὲ θεὸς παράσχοι καὶ λούσασθαί ποτε, πολλοὺς οἶδα ἣμυν τοὺς κοινωνήσοντάς 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.
DIONYSUS

AN INTRODUCTION

In Lucian's time it became the custom to introduce a formal piece of rhetorical fireworks with an informal talk, usually more or less personal. See A. Stock, *de prolataiorum usu rhetorico*, Königsberg, 1911. It is the general belief that the 'Dionysus' introduced Book ii. of the 'True Story.'
"Οτε ο Νίκωνος ἐπ’ Ἰνδοὺς στρατιάν ἔλασεν—κωλύει γὰρ οὖνεν, οἴμαι, καὶ μῦθον ὄμων διηγήσασθαι Βακχικῶν—φασὶν οὖτω καταφρονήσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ πρῶτα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ, ὡστε καταγελαῖν ἐπιόντος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐλεεῖν τὴν τὸλμαν αὐτίκα μᾶλα συμπαθηθησομένου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, εἰ ἀντιτάξατο. Ηκουνο γὰρ, οἴμαι, τῶν σκοτῶν ἀλλόκοτα ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀγγελλόντων, ὡς ἡ μὲν φάλαγξ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ λόχοι γυναῖκες εἰεν ἐκφρονες καὶ μεμηνιαί, κυπρὸν ἐστεμμένας, νεβρίδας ἐνημμένας, δοράτα μικρὰ ἔχουσαι ἀσίδηρα, κυττάποιντα καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τινας τελτάρια κοῦφα, βομβοῦντα, εἰ τις μόνον προσά-ψαίτο—ἄστις γὰρ εἰκαζόν, οἴμαι, τὰ τύμπανα—οἶγος δὲ τινας ἀγροικοὺς νεανίσκους ἐνείνας, γυμνοὺς, κόρδακα ῥοχυμένους, οὐρὰς ἔχοντας, κεράσ-τας, ὅλα τοὺς ἀρτι γεννηθείσιν ἔρίφους ὑποφύεται. καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηλάτην αὐτὸν ἐφ’ ἀρματος ἰχθι- σθαι παρδάλεον ὑπεξενημένου, ἀγένειον ἄκριβῶς, οὖν ἐπ’ ἀλάγω τὴν παρειαν χυνοῦντα, κερασφόρον, βοτρύων ἐστεφανωμένον, μήτρα τὴν κόμην ἀνα-

1 ἀντιτάξατο MSS. : ἀντιτάξατο Cobet.
2 οἴμαι 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

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δεδεμένου, ἐν πορφυρίδι καὶ χρυσῇ ἐμβάδι: ὑποστρατηγεῖν δὲ δύο, ἕνα μεῖν τινα βραχύν, πρεσβύτην, ὑπόπαχυν, προγάστορα, ῥυνόσιμον, ὅτα μεγάλα ὀρθιὰ ἔχοντα, ὑπότρομον, νάρθηκι ἐπερειδόμενον, ἐπὶ οἴνον τὰ πολλὰ ἵππεύοντα, ἐν κροκωτῷ καὶ τούτον, πάνω πιθανόν τινα συνταγματάρχην αὐτοῦ· ἐτερον δὲ τεράστιον ἀνθρώπον, τράγῳ τὰ νέρθεν ὑσικότα, κομψήν τὰ σκέλη, κέρατα ἔχοντα, βαθυπόγωνα, ὄργυλον καὶ θυμικόν, θατέρα μὲν σύριγγα φέροντα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ ράβδον καμπύλην ἐπηρμένου καὶ περισκιρτῶντα ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὰ γύναια δὲ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ σείειν ἣνεμωμένας τὰς κόμας, ὅποτε προσίοι, καὶ βοῶν εὐοι· τούτο δὲ εἰκάζειν καλεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὸν δεσπότην. τὰς δὲ οὖν ποίμνας διερπᾶσθαι ἤδη ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ διεσπάσθαι ἐτὶ ξόντα τὰ θρέμματα· ἁμοφάγους γὰρ τινὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι.

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἀκού-3 οντες ἐγέλων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀντεπεξέγειν ἢ παρατάπτεσθαι ἡξίουν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρα, τὰς γυναίκας ἐπαφῆςειν αὐτοῖς, εἰ πλησίον γένοιτο, σφίσι δὲ καὶ νικᾶν αἰσχρὸν εἴδοκει καὶ φονεύειν γύναια μεμηνότα καὶ θηλυμίτρην ἄρχοντα καὶ μεθύνου σμικρὸν γερόντων καὶ ἡμίπεραγον στρατιωτὴν ἄλλον ¹ καὶ γυμνῆτας ὀρχιστάς, πᾶντας ² γελοίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠγγέλτο πυρπολῶν ὁ θεὸς ἤδη τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις αὐτάντρος καταφλέγον καὶ ἀνάπτου τὰς ὑλὰς καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰνδικήν φλογὸς ἐμπεπληκός—ἀπλοῦν γάρ τι

¹ ἡμίπεραγον στρατιωτὴν ἄλλον Harmon: ἡμίστρατοτην ἄλλον MSS.: ἡμίπεραγον ἄλλον Hartmann: ἡμίσον τραγοειδῆ ἀνθρώπον Schwartz. ² πᾶντας 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.
Διονυσιακὸν τὸ πῦρ, πατρὸν αὐτῷ κάκ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ—ἐνταῦθα ἤδη σπουδὴ ἀνελάμβανον τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπισάξαντες καὶ ἐγχαλλοῦσαντες καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναθέμενοι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀντεπεξῆσαν, καταφρονοῦσας μὲν καὶ τότε, ὁργίζομενοι δὲ ὁμως καὶ συντρίψαι σπεύδοντες αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν ἄγενειον ἔκεινον στρατηλάτην. ἔπει δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο καὶ εἴδον ἄλλης, οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοὶ προτάξαντες τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπῆγον τὴν φάλαγγα, ὁ Δίονυσος δὲ τὸ μέσον μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχε, τοῦ κέρως δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δεξιῶ τοῦ Ἐληφνός, τοῦ εὐωνύμου δὲ ὁ Πᾶν ἔγοντο· λοχαγοί δὲ καὶ ταξιαρχοί οἱ Σάτυροι ἐγκαθεστήκεσαν· καὶ τὸ μὲν σύνθημα ἦν ἀπασί τὸ εὐοῖ. εὐθὺς δὲ τὰ τύμπανα ἐπαταγεῖτο καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα τὸ πολέμικὸν ἐσῆμαινε καὶ τῶν Σατύρων τις λαβὼν τὸ κέρας ἐπηύλει τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἐληφνοῦ ὄνος ἑννάλιον τι ὀγκήσατο καὶ αἱ Μαινάδες σὺν ὀλολυγῇ ἐνεπάθησαν αὐτοῖς ὅρμος ὑπεζωσμέναι καὶ τῶν θύρων ἄκρων ἀπογυμνοῦσαι τὸν σίδηρον. οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτῶν αὐτίκα ἐγκλίναντες σὺν οúdeις κόσμῳ ἔφευγον οὐδὲ ἐντὸς βέλους γενέσθαι ὑπομείναντες, καὶ τέλος κατὰ κράτος ἑαλώκεσαν καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπήγοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τέως καταγελώμενων, ἔργῳ μαθόντες ὡς οὐκ ἔχρην ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀκοῆς καταφρονεῖν ἕξενων στρατοπέδων.
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.
'Αλλὰ τί πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ὁ Διόνυσος 5 οὗτος; έποιει τις αὖ. ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσι—καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μή με κορυβαντίαν ἢ τελέως μεθύειν ύπολάβητε, εἰ τὰμὰ εἰκάζω τοὺς θεοῖς—ὁμοίον τι πάσχειν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς καυνούς τῶν λόγων τοὺς Ἰνδοῖς ἐκεῖνοι, οἴκω καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοῖς· οἵμενοι γὰρ σατυρικὰ καὶ γελοιά τίνα καὶ κομιδῆ κωμικὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀκούσεσθαι—τοιαῦτα γὰρ 1 πε- πιστεύκασιν, οὐκ οἴδ’ ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτῶι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῖ —οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν ἄρχην ἀφικνοῦνται, ὡς οὔδεν δέον παρέχειν τὰ ὁτα κώμοις γυναικεῖοις καὶ σκιρ- τήμασι σατυρικοῖς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάν- των, οἱ δὲ ὅσι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο τῇ ἡκούντες ἄντι τοῦ κιττοῦ σίδηρον εὑρόντες οὐδ’ οὕτως ἐπαινεῖν τολμᾶσι τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος τεθορυ- βημένοι. ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν ἐπαγγέλλομαι αὐτῶι, ὅτι ἦν καὶ νῦν ὁς πρότερον ποτε τὴν τελετὴν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιδεῖν πολλάκις καὶ ἀναμνησθῶσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συμπόται κώμοις κοινῶν τῶν τότε καρφῶν καὶ μὴ καταφρονήσωσιν τῶν Σατύρων καὶ Σιληνῶν, πίσσω δὲ ἐσὶ κόρον τοῦ κρατήρος τούτου, ἐτὶ βακχεύσει 2 καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλάκις μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἔρειν τὸ εὐοὶ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν—ἐλεύθερον 6 γὰρ ἀκοή—ποιοῦντων ὁ τι καὶ φίλον.

'Εγὼ δέ, ἐπειδὴ πέρ ἐτί ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐσμέν, ἐθέλω καὶ ἄλλο ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι τι τῶν ἐκείθεν, οὐκ

1 γὰρ (in two late MSS. only) Δ. Μ. Η., making τοιαῦτα
2 ἐτὶ βακχεύσει Schwartz: ἐμβακχεύσει (or ἐκβ.) MSS.
"But what has your Dionysus to do with Dionysus?" someone may say.¹ 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"² and do not despise my Satyrs and Sileni, but drink their full 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 οὔδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον· ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μὴ προςήκοντα τῶις ὑποκειμένωις λέγοντας. 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 Paroemiographi Graeci i. p. 137.
² The source of the anapaest κάμων κοινών τῶν τότε καιρῶν is unknown.
ἀπροσδιόνυσον οὖν αὐτό, οὖν ὄν ποιοῦμεν ἀλλότριον. ἐν Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς Μαχλαίους, οἱ τὰ λαλᾶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τοπαμοῦ, εἰ κατὰ ροῦν αὐτοῦ βλέποις, ἐπισεμόμενοι μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ὁκεανὸν καθήκουσι, παρὰ τούτως ἄλογος ἐστὶν ἐν περιφράκτῳ, οὖ πάνυ μεγάλῳ χωρίῳ, συνήρεψε ἐδ' κιντὸς γὰρ πολὺς καὶ ἀμπελοῦσα σύσκιον αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς ποιοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα πηγαὶ εἰσὶ τρεῖς καλλίστον καὶ διειδεστάτον ὕδατος, ἢ μὲν Σατύρων, ἢ δὲ Πανός, ἢ δὲ Σιλήνου. καὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς αὐτὸ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἑστράζοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πίνουσι τῶν πηγῶν, ὅχι ἀπασῶν ἀπαντεῖς, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡλικίαν, τὰ μὲν μειράκια τῆς τῶν Σατύρων, οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ τῆς Πανικῆς, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Σιλήνου οἱ κατ' ἐμὲ.

"Α μὲν οὖν πάσχομεν οἱ παῖδες ἐπειδὰν 7 πῶσιν, ὅ οἶα οἱ ἄνδρες τολμῶσι κατεχόμενοι τῷ Πανί, μακρὸν ἂν εἰη λέγειν· ἀ δ' οἱ γέροντες ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν μεθυσθῶσι τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐκ ἀλλότριον εἰπεῖν· ἐπειδὰν πη ὁ γέρων καὶ κατάσχη αὐτὸν ὁ Σιλῆνος, αὐτίκα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀφωνός ἐστὶ καὶ καρυβδοῦντι καὶ βεβαπτισμένῳ ἑοικεν, εἶτα ἠφινο φωνῇ τε λαμπρᾷ καὶ φθέγμα τορών καὶ πνεύμα λυγυρὸν ἐγγύγηται αὐτῷ· καὶ λαλίστατος ἔξ ἀφωνότατον ἐστὶν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιστομίσας παύσεις αὐτὸν μὴ οὐχί συνεχὴ λαλεῖν καὶ ῥήσεις μακρᾶς συνείρειν. συνετὰ μέντοι πάντα καὶ κόσμια καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ὀμήρου ἐκείνου ρήτορα· νιφάδεσσι γὰρ ἐοικότα χειμερίσει διεξέρχονται, οὖν ἀποχρήσει σοι κύκνοις κατὰ τὴν

1 Σατύρων E. Capps: Σατύρων 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 flow of language, a distinct utterance, a silvery voice, and is as talkative as he was mute before. Even by gagging him you couldn’t keep him from talking steadily and delivering long harangues. It is all sensible though, and well ordered, and in the style of Homer’s famous orator:¹ for their words fall “like the snows of winter.” You can’t compare them to swans on

¹ Odysseus: Il. 3. 222, where he and Menelaus are compared.
Ηλικίαν εἰκάσαι αυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ τεττυγώδες τι πυκνὸν καὶ ἐπίτροχον συνόπτουσιν ἄχρι βαθείας ἐστέρας. τούτωνευθεῖν δὲ ἡδή ἀφεθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς μέθης σιωπῶσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνατρέχουσι. τὸ μὲντοι παραδοξότατον οὐδὲπω εἰποῦν ἢν γὰρ ἀτελὴ ὁ γέρων μεταξὺ καταλίπη διέξει τὸν λόγον, δύντος ἡλίου κολυθείς ἐπὶ πέρας αὐτὸν ἐπεζελθεῖν, ἐς νέωτα πιῶν αὐθίνε ἐκεῖνα συνάπτει ἢ πέρυσι λέγοντα ἢ μέθη αὐτοῦ κατέλυσεν.

Ταῦτά μοι κατὰ τὸν Μῶμον εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀπε- σκότθω, καὶ μὰ τὸν Δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐπαγάγομευ τὸ ἐπιμύθιον ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ἡδῆ καθ’ ὅ τι τῷ μῶθῃ έοικα. ὅστε ἢν μὲν τι παραπαίωμεν, ἢ μέθη αὐτία: εἰ δὲ πινυτὰ δόξει τὰ λεγόμενα, ὁ Σίληνὸς ἀρα ἢν Ἴλεως.
account of their age; but like cicadas, they keep up a constant roundelay till the afternoon is far spent. Then, when the fumes of the drink leave them at last, they fall silent and relapse into their old ways. But I have not yet told you the strangest part of it. If an old man is prevented by sunset from reaching the end of the story which he is telling, and leaves it unfinished, when he drinks again another season he takes up what he was saying the year before when the fumes left him!

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

AN INTRODUCTION
ΠΡΟΔΑΛΙΑ. ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Τὸν Ἦρακλέα οἱ Κελτοὶ Ὄγμουν ὁνομάζουσι 1 φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ, τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ πάνω ἀλλόκοτον γράφουσι. γέρων ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἀναφαλαντίας, πολίδος ἀκριβῶς ὃσιοι λοιπαὶ τῶν τριχῶν, ρυσός τὸ δέρμα καὶ διακεκαυ-μένος ὡς τὸ μελάντατον οἷοι εἰσίν οἱ θαλαττουργοὶ γέροντες, μᾶλλον δὲ Χάρωνα ἢ Ἰαπετῶν τινα τῶν ὑποταρταρίων καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι ἀν εἰκάσεις. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτος ὃν ἔχει ὃμοιος τὴν σκεφήν τὴν Ἡρακλέους καὶ γὰρ τὴν διφθέραν ἐνήπται τὴν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἔχει ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ τὸν γωρυτὸν παρήρηται, καὶ τὸ τόξον ἐντεταμένον ἢ ἀριστερὰ προδείκνυσιν, καὶ ὅλος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶ ταύτα γε. ὄμων οὖν ἐφ' 2 ύβρει τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ἱθεῖν τοιαύτα παρανομεῖν τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐς τὴν μορφὴν τὴν Ἡρακλέως ἀμυνομένους αὐτῶν τῇ γραφῇ, ὅτι τὴν χώραν ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθεν λείαν ἔλαινον, ὅποτε τὰς Γηρυόνου ἁγέλας ξητῶν κατέδραμε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐσπερίων γενών. καίτοι τὸ παραδοξότατον οὐδέπω ἐφ' ἂν 3

1 Ἑλληνῶν MSS., Herwerden: Ἑλληνῶν Schwartz: Ἔλ-ληνων uulg.
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.
τῆς εἰκόνος· ὁ γὰρ δὴ γέρων Ὁρακλῆς εἰκώνιον ἀνθρώπων πάμπολυ τι πλῆθος ἔλκει ἐκ τῶν ὅτων ἀπαντας δεδεμένους. δεσμὰ δὲ εἶσιν οἱ σειραὶ λεπταὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἥλεκτρον εἰργασμέναι ὤρμοις ἐοικυνίαι τοὺς καλλόστοις. καὶ ὦμως ὑφ’ οὗτως ἀσθενῶν ἀγόμενοι οὔτε δρασμὸν βουλεύοντας, δυνάμενοι ἁν εὔμαρος, οὔτε ὅλως ἀντιτείνουσιν ἢ τοῖς ποσῶν ἀντερείδουσι πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐξυπτιάζοντες, ἀλλὰ φαινόρι ἐπονταὶ καὶ γεγηθότες καὶ τὸν ἀγοντα ἐπαυνοῦντες, ἐπειγόμενοι ἀπαντες καὶ τῷ φθάνειν ἐθέλειν τὸν δεσμὸν ἐπιχαλῶντες, ἐοικότες ἀχθεσθησσόμενοι εἰ λυθήσονται. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον εἶναι μοι ἠδοξεῖν, οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τούτο εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὁ ἱωγράφος θεῖον ἐξάγειν ταῖς σειραῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς, ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς μὲν ἢδη τὸ ῥόπαλον, τῆς λαιᾶς δὲ τὸ τόξον ἔχονσιν, τρυπῆσας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν γλώτταν ἄκραν ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐκκομένους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἐπέστραπταί γε εἰς τοὺς ἀγομένους μειδίων.

Ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰστήκειν ὅρων καὶ 4 θαυμάζω καὶ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἀγανακτῶν. Κελτὸς δὲ τὰς παρεστῶς οὐκ ἀπάδευτος τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὡς ἐδειξεν ἀκριβῶς Ελλάδα φωνῆν ἀφιείς, φιλοσοφος, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐπικώρια, Ἐγὼ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ ξένε, λύσω τῆς γραφῆς τὸ ἀξίομα: πάνω γὰρ ταραττομένω ἐοικας πρὸς αὐτὴν. τὸν λόγον ἡμεῖς οἱ Κελτὸι οὐχ ὡσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ’ Ἑλληνες Ἐρμῆν οἰόμεθα εἶναι, ἀλλ’ Ἡρακλεὶ αὐτὸν εἰκάζομεν, ὅτι παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ἠχυρότερον οὕτος. ει δὲ γέρων πεποίηται, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· μόνος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐν γήρᾳ φιλεῖ ἐντελῆ ἐπιδεικνυόμενος καὶ ἀκμην, εἴ

1 τὰς ἀρχὰς Schwartz: τὰς τῶν δεσμῶν ἀρχὰς 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 uncultured from our standpoint, as he showed by his accurate use of Greek, and no doubt a scholar from the native standpoint, said: "I will read you the riddle of the picture, stranger, as you seem to be very much disturbed about it. We Celts do not agree with you Greeks in thinking that Hermes is Eloquence: we identify Heracles with it, because he is far more powerful than Hermes. And don't be surprised that he is represented as an old man, for eloquence and eloquence alone is wont to show its
ΤΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΗ ΥΜΩΝ ΟΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ, ΌΤΙ ΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΩΝ ὙΠΟΛΟΓΗΡΩΝ ΦΡΕΝΕΣ ΗΨΕΘΟΝΤΑΙ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΓΗΡΑΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΙ ΛΕΞΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΣΟΦΩΤΕΡΟΝ. ΟΥΤΟ ΥΓΕ ΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΥ ΥΜΩΝ ἈΠΟΡΡΕΙ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΛΩΤΤΗΣ ΤΟ ΜΕΛΙ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ἈΓΟΡΗΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΩΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΌΠΑ ΑΦΙΑΣΙΝ ΕΥΑΝΘΗ ΤΙΝΑ ΛΕΙΡΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΙ, ΕΙ ΥΓΕ ΜΕΜΝΗΜΑΙ, ΤΑ ΑΝΘΗ. ΩΣΤΕ ΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΌΤΩΝ ἘΚΔΕΔΕΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΛΩΤΤΑΝ Ο ΓΕΡΩΝ ΟΥΤΟΣ ὍΡΑΚΛΗΣ ἘΛΚΕΙ, ΜΗΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΣ ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΌΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΗΛΩΤΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΗΓΕΝΙΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΥΒΡΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΝ, ΕΙ ΤΑΥΤΗ ΤΕΤΡΥΨΤΑΙ ΜΕΜΝΗΜΑΙ ΓΟΥΝ, ΕΦΗ, ΚΑΙ ΚΟΜΙΚΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΙΑΜΒΕΙΟΝ ΠΑΡ’ ΥΜΩΝ ΜΑΘΩΝ, ΤΟΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΛΑΛΟΥΣ ΕΞ ΑΚΡΟΥ Η ΓΗΛΩΤΤΑ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΕΤΡΥΨΤΗΜΕΝΗ. ΤΟ Δ’ ΌΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΤ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ὍΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΘΑ ΕΞΕΡΓΑΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΙΘΟΙ ΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΒΙΑΣΑΣΘΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΥΓΕ ΒΕΛΗ ΑΥΤΟΤΟΙ ΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ, ΟΙΜΑΙ, ΟΞΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΤΟΧΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΧΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΨΥΧΑΣ ΤΙΤΡΩ-ΣΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ ΓΟΥΝ ΤΑ ἘΠΗ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΦΑΤΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ.

ΤΟΣΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ Ο ΚΕΛΤΟΣ. ΕΜΟΙ ΔΕ ΉΝΙΚΑ ΠΕΡΙ 7 ΤΗΣ ΔΕΥΡΟ ΠΑΡΟΔΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ἘΣΚΟΠΟΥΜΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΜΑΝΤΟΥΝ, ΕΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΗΛΙΚΩΔΕ ΟΝΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΕΩΝ ΠΕΠΑΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΘΘΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΕΜΑΝΤΟΥ ΨΗΦΟΝ ΔΙΔΩΝΑΙ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΙ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΙΣ, ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΕΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΑΝΑΜΝΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΣ ΤΕΩΣ

1 ὍΡΑ Σchwartz: ὍΡΑ Σchwartz: ΤΗΝ ὍΡΑ ΤΗΝ ΛΕΙΡΙΔΕΣΣΑΝ ΜΩΣ.
2 ἘΛΚΕΙ: Hartman, Schwartz: ὍΛΟΟΣ ἘΛΚΕΙ ΜΩΣ.
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

μὲν ὑπὲρ ἑδεδείειν, μὴ τινι ὑμῶν δόξαμι κομμιδῆ μειρακιώδη ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν νεανικόσ τεῖσθαι, κατὰ τις Ὄμηροις νεανισκόσ ἐπιπληξεῖν μου εἶπων τὸ σή δὲ βίῃ λέλυται, καὶ χαλεπῶν γῆρας κατεῖλθη ἰε, ἕπεδαιν δὲ νῦ τοι θεράπων, βραδεῖς δὲ τοι ἵπποι, έστο τοὺς πόδας τούτο ἀποσκόπτων. ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ τοῦ γέροντος ἐκείνου Ὅμηροις, πάντα ποιεῖν προάγομαι καὶ οὐκ αἰδοῦμαι τοιαύτα τοιμῶν ἡμικυτής ἃν τῆς εἰκόνος. ὡστε ἴσχὺς μὲν καὶ τάχος καὶ 8 κάλλος καὶ οὕσα σώματος ἀγαθὰ χαρέτω, καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ σὸς, ὃς Τῆς ποιητά, ἐσιδῶν με ὑποπόλοιον τὸ γένειον χρυσοφαέννων ἐν βούλεται πτερύγων ταρσοῖς 2 παραπέτεσθω, καὶ Ὅμηροις τοῦ φροντεῖ. τῷ λόγῳ δὲ νῦν ἀν μάλιστα ἁνηθῶν καὶ ἀνθεῖν καὶ ἀκμάξειν καθ᾽ ὅραν εἴη καὶ ἐλκεῖν τῶν ὅτων ὅσους ἄν πλείστους δύνηταί, καὶ τοξεύειν πολλάκις, ὃς οὐδέν γε δέος μὴ κενωθεῖς λάθοι ὁ γνωριτός αὐτῷ.

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

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

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

οἷην ἐκ βακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπυγονίδα φαίνει.
HERACLES

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

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

¹ Odysse. 11, 7; 12, 149. ² Odysse. 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

'Ηλέκτρον πέρι καὶ ύμᾶς δηλαδή ο μύθος 1 πέπεικεν, αἰγείρους ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ηριδανῷ ποταμῷ δακρύειν αὐτὸ θρηνούσας τὸν Φαέθοντα, καὶ ἄδελφάς γε εἶναι τὰς αἰγείρους ἐκείνας τοῦ Φαέθοντος, εἴτε ὀδυρομένας τὸ μειράκιον ἀλλαγῆι ἐς τὰ δένδρα, καὶ ἀποστάζειν ἐτι αὐτῶν δάκρυνον δῆθεν τὸ ἡλεκτρον. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ αὐτὸς ἁκούων τῶν ποιητῶν ἀδόντων ἠπιπτον, εἶ ποτε γενοίμην ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ηριδανῷ, ὑπελθὼν μίαν τῶν αἰγείρων ἐκπετάσας τὸ προκόπτιον ὑποδέξηται τῶν δακρύων ὀλύγα, ὡς ἡλεκτρον ἐχοίμι. καὶ δὴ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν τὸ χρέος, 2 ἢκον δὲ ὦμος ἐς τὰ χωρία ἐκείνα, καὶ—ἐδεὶ γὰρ ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν 'Ηριδανόν—οὐτ' αἰγείρων εἶδον πάνω περισκοπῶν οὔτε τὸ ἡλεκτρον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούνομα τοῦ Φαέθοντος ἤδεσαν οἱ ἐπι-χώριοι. ἀναζητοῦντος γοῦν ἐμοῦ καὶ διαπυθανωμένου, πότε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰγείρους ἀφιξόμεθα τὰς τὸ ἡλεκτρον, ἐγέλων οἱ ναῦται καὶ ἠξίουν σαφεστρον λέγειν ὃ τι καὶ θέλομι: κάγῳ τὸν μύθον διηγούμην αὐτοῖς, Φαέθοντα γενέσθαι 'Ηλίου παῖδα, καὶ τούτον ἡ ἕλκιαν ἐλθόντα αἰτήσαται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλασαι τὸ ἅρμα, ὡς ποιήσειε καὶ αὐτὸς μίαν ἦμέραν, τὸν δὲ δοῦναι, τὸν δὲ ἀπολέσθαι ἐκδιφρενθέντα, καὶ τὰς ἄδελφὰς αὐτοῦ
AMBER, OR THE SWANS

With regard to amber, you doubtless share the general belief in the story that poplars on the banks of the river Eridanus shed tears of it in grief over Phaethon; and that these poplars are the sisters of Phaethon, who out of sorrow for the boy were changed into trees and still drip tears—of amber! Such tales, when I heard them from the lips of the poets, made me expect that if ever I got to the Eridanus, by going underneath one of the poplars and holding out a fold of my cloak I could supply myself with amber by catching a few of their tears. As a matter of fact, I did visit those parts not long ago (on another errand, to be sure); and as I had to go up the Eridanus, I kept a sharp lookout, but neither poplars nor amber were to be seen. Indeed, the very name of Phaethon was unknown to the natives. At any rate, when I went into the matter and inquired when we should reach the poplars—"the amberpoplars,"—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 που, ἐφην, παρ' ὑμῖν, ἵναπερ καὶ κατέπεσεν, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ, αἰγείρους γενέσθαι καὶ δακρύειν ἔτι ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἑλεκτρον. Τίς ταῦτά σοι, ἐφασκον, διηγήσατο ἀπατεών 3 καὶ ψευδολόγος ἀνθρωπος; ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἡμιοχόν τινα ἐκκινητον οὔτε τὰς αἰγείρους ἄσ φῆς ἔχομεν. εἰ δὲ ἦν τι τοιοῦτον, οἷς ἡμᾶς δυοῦν ὀβολοῖν ἔνεκα ἐρέθτειν ἄν ἡ ἐλκείν τὰ πλοῖα πρὸς ἐναντίον τὸ ὕδωρ, οἷς ἐξῆν πλούτειν ἀναλέγοντας τῶν αἰγείρων τὰ δάκρυα; τότε λεχθὲν οὐ μετρίως μου καθίκετο, καὶ ἐσωπήσα αἰσχυνθείς, ὅτι παιδίου τινὸς ὡς ἄλθος ἔργων ἐπετόθειν πιστεύσας τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀπίθανα οὕτως ψευδο-μένοις, ὡς μηδὲν ύγίες ἀρέσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

Μείζον δὲ ταύτης ἐπίδοσιν οὐ μικρᾶς ἐφευσμένος ἡμώμην καθάπερ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἑλεκτρον ἀπολωλεκτός, ὅσ η ἡ ἐνέπλαττον ὡς καὶ οἷα χρήσομαι αὐτῷ. ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ πάνιν ἄλθεῖς 4 ώμην εὐρήσειν παρ' αὐτοῖς, κύκνους πολλοὺς ἄδωτας ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ αὕθιοι ἡρώτων τοὺς ναῦτας—ἀνεπλέομεν γὰρ ἔτι—Ἀλλ' οἳ γε κύκνοι πηνίκα ὑμῖν τὸ λυγρὸν ἐκεῖνο ἄδοουν ἐφεστώτες τῷ ποταμῷ ἐνθεὺν καὶ ἐνθεὺν; φασὶ γοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος παρέδρους αὐτοὺς ὄντας, ὀδίκους ἀνθρώπους, ἐνταῦθα που ἐς τὰ ὄρνεα μεταπεσεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄδειν ἔτι οὐκ ἐκλα-θομένους τῆς μουσικῆς. οἳ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι, ἦ Σύ, ἐφησαν, ὡς ἀνθρωπε, οὐ παύσῃ τήμερον καταψευδόμενος τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ποτα-μοῦ; ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ πλέοντες καὶ ἐκ παίδων σχεδὸν ἑργαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἡριδανῷ ὄλγους μὲν 76
sorrow turned into poplars somewhere in this neighbourhoood 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
κύκνους ἐνίοτε ὀρῶμεν ἐν τοῖς ἑλεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ κράξουσιν οὗτοι πάνυ ἄμοισον καὶ ἀσθενεῖ, ὡς τοὺς κόρακας ἢ τοὺς κολοιοὺς Σειρήνας εἶναι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἄδοντων δὲ ἦδι καὶ οἶον σὺ φῆς οὐδὲ ὅναρ ἀκηκόαμεν· ὥστε θαυμάζομεν πόθεν ταῦτα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο περὶ ἡμῶν.

Πολλὰ τοιαύτα ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἐστὶ πιστεύοντας τοῖς πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον ἔκαστα ἐξηγουμένοις. ὡστε κάγω νῦν δέδια ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἂρτι ἀφιγμένοι, καὶ τούτο πρῶτον ἀκροασόμενοι ἡμῶν, ἠλεκτρά τίνα καὶ κύκνους ἐλπίσαντες εὐρήσειν παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἐπευτα μετ’ ὀλίγον ἀπέλθητε καταγελώντες τῶν ὑποσχομένων ὑμῖν τοιαύτα πολλὰ κεμήλια ἐνείναι τοῖς λόγοις. ἄλλα μαρτύρομαι, ὥστε μὲν τοιαύτα μεγαλαυχουμένου περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν αὐτῆς ὑμεῖς οὔτε ἀλλος τῶ ἀκήκοεν, οὐδὲ ἂν ἀκούσειεν ποτε. ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐντύχοις ἢ Ἡριδανοῦς τισι καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἠλεκτρον, ἄλλα μαρτύρομαι ἀποστάζει τῶν λόγων, πολύ τῶν κύκνων τῶν πουητικῶν λυγρωτέρων· τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ὅρατε ἥδη ὅποιον ἀπλοὶκόν καὶ ἀμυθόν, οὐδὲ τῆς ὁδὴς πρόσεστιν. ὡστε ὅρα μὴ τοιοῦτο τι πάθης μεῖζῳ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐλπίσας, οἶν τι πάσχονσιν οῖ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὑδατὶ ὁρῶντες· οἱ μὲν εἰσέλθοντες ὑπὸ τῆς διεραίνειν αὐτοῖς ἄνωθεν, εὐρυνομένης τῆς σκιᾶς πρὸς τὴν αὐγήν, ἐπείδαν ἀναστάσσει, πολλῷ μικρότερα εὐρύσκοντες ἀνιώνται. ἥδη οὖν σοι προλέγω, ἐκχέας τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀποκαλύψας τὰμὰ μηδὲν μέγα προσδοκήσῃς ἀνιμήσεσθαι, ἢ σαντον αἰτίασῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος.
then we see a few swans in the marshes by the river, and they have a very unmusical and feeble croak; crows or daws are Sirens to them. As for the sweet song you speak of, we never heard it or even dreamed of it, so we wonder how these stories about us got to your people."

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

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

'Η μύη στι μὲν οὐ τὸσομικροτάτων τῶν ὀρνέων, οὗ έμπισε καὶ κώνωψι καὶ τοίς ἔτι
λεπτοτέρως παραβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων
μεγέθει προὔχει οὐκ οὐτή μελίττης ἀπολείπεται.
ἐπτέρωται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς
τοῖς μὲν ἄπανταχόθεν κομᾶν τοῦ σώματος, τοῖς
dὲ ὀκυπτέρως χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἄκριδας
καὶ τέττυγας καὶ μελίττας ἐστὶν ὑμενόπτερος,
tοσοῦτον ἀπαλώτερα ἔχουσα τὰ πτερὰ οὗν τῆς
Ἐλληνικῆς ἐσθήτος ἢ Ἰνδικῆ λεπτοτέρα καὶ
μαλακωτέρα· καὶ μὴν διήνθισται κατὰ τοὺς
ταῦνας, εἰ τις ἀτενεῖς βλέποι ἐς αὐτήν, ὅποταν
ἐκπετάσασα πρὸς τὸν ἑλίου πτερύσσηται. η
δὲ πτῆσις οὔτε κατὰ τὰς νυκτερίδας εὑρεσία
συνεχεῖ τῶν πτερῶν οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἄκριδας μετὰ
πηδήματος οὔτε ὅσι σφῆκες μετὰ ῥοϊζημάτως,
ἀλλ' εὐκαμπτής πρὸς ὃ τι ἀν μέρος ῥμῆσθη τοῦ
ἀέρος. καὶ μὴν κάκεινο πρόσεστιν αὐτῇ, τὸ μὴ
καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μετ' φόδης πέτεσθαι οὐκ
ἀπηνοῦσιν οἶα κωνόπων καὶ ἐμπίδων, οὔνδὲ τὸ
βαρύβρομον τῶν μελιττῶν ἢ τῶν σφηκῶν τὸ

1 οὐ τὸ vulg.: οὕτω MSS.: οὐ τῶν σμικροτάτων ὀρνέων
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 ὅρμεα)," which is illogical. Perhaps ἀετὸς should be written.
φοβερον καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἐνδεικνυμένης, ἀλλὰ τοσούτων ἔστι λυγμωτέρα, ὅσον σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων αὖλοι μελιχρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο 3 σῶμα ἢ μὲν κεφαλῇ λεπτότατα τῷ αὐχένι συνέχεται καὶ ἔστιν εὐπεριάγγος, οὐ συμπεφυκών ὡς ἡ τῶν ἄκριδων. ὃθ’ ἀφαλμοὶ δὲ προπετεῖς, πολὺ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχοντες· στέρνου εὐπαγές, καὶ ἐμπεφύ-κασιν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐντομῇ 1 οἱ πόδες οὐ κατὰ τοὺς σφήκας πάνιν ἐσφιγμένη. 2 ἡ γαστήρ δὲ ὀξύρωτα καὶ αὐτῇ 3 καὶ θώρακι ἐοικεν ἵππως πλατείας καὶ φολίδας ἔχουσα. ἀμύνεται μέντοι οὐ κατὰ τούρ-

τοπόγοιον ὡς σφήκε καὶ μελίττα, ἀλλὰ τῷ στόματι καὶ τῇ προβοσκίδι, ἣν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐλέφασι καὶ αὐτῇ ἔχουσα προνομεύει τε καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται καὶ προσφύσα κατέχει κοτυληδόνι κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον ἑοικυίαν. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς ὀδοὺς προκύπτει, ὃ κεν-

tούσα πίνει τοῦ αἰματος—πίνει μὲν γὰρ καὶ γά-

λακτος, ἦδυ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ μελίττα—οὐ μετὰ μεγάλης ὄδυνος τῶν κεντομένων. ἔξαπον δὲ οὖσα τοῖς μὲν τέσσαρι βαδίζει μόνος, τοῖς δὲ προσβίως δυσὶ καὶ ὅσα χερσι χρηται. ἱδος ἂν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τεττάρων βεβηκυίαι ἔχουσάν τι ἐν τοῖς χερῶν μετέ-

ωρον ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρωπίνωσ πάνι καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς.

Γίνεται δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς τοιαύτη, ἀλλὰ σκόληξ 4 τὸ πρῶτον ἦτοι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἡ ἄλλων ζώων ἀποθανόντων· εἶτα κατ’ ὀλγον πόδας τε ἐκφέρει καὶ φύει τὰ πτερὰ καὶ εἰς ἐρπετοῦ ὅρνεον γίνεται καὶ κυοφορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀποτίκτει σκόλης μικρὸν τὴν μυῖαν ὑστερον. σύντροφος δὲ ἀνθρώπως ὑπάρ-

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

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THE FLY

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

The fly is not born in the form which I have described, but as a maggot from the dead bodies of men or animals. Then, little by little, she puts out legs, grows her wings, changes from a creeping to a flying thing, is impregnated and becomes mother to a little maggot which is to-morrow's fly. Living
χοῦσα καὶ ὠμοδιαίτος καὶ ὠμοτράπεζος ἀπάντων
γεύεται πλὴν ἑλαίου· θάνατος γὰρ αὐτῇ τούτῳ
πιεῖν. καὶ μέντοι ὠκύμορος οὔσα—πάνυ γὰρ ἐς
στενῶν ὁ βίος αὐτῇ συμμεμέτρηται—τῷ φωτὶ
χαίρει μάλιστα καὶ τούτῳ πολιτεύεται· νυκτὸς δὲ
eἰρήνην ἔγει καὶ οὔτε πέτεται οὔτε ἄδει, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲ-
πτηκε καὶ ἀτρέμει. σύνεσιν δὲ οὐ μικρὰν αὐτῆς ὁ
eἰπεὶν ἔχω, ὅποταν τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον
αὐτῆ τὸν ἀράχνην διαδιδράσκῃ· λοχῶντα τε γὰρ
ἐπιτηρεῖ καὶ ἀντίον αὐτῷ ὀρᾷ ἐκκλίνουσα τὴν
ὄρμην, ὡς μὴ ἀλίσκοιτο σαγηνευθεῖσα καὶ περι-
πεσοῦσα ταῖς τοῦ θηρίου πλεκτάναις, τὴν μὲν
γὰρ ἀνδρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλκήν αὐτῆς οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἁρῆ
λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ὃς μεγαλοφωνότατος τῶν ποιητῶν
"Ομηρος· τὸν γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἡρώων ἐπαινέσαι
ξητῶν οὐ λέοντι ἡ παρδάλει ἢ ἦ τὴν ἀλκήν αὐτοῦ
eἰκάζει, ἀλλὰ τῷ θάρσει τῆς μυίς καὶ τῷ ἀτρέστῳ
καὶ λιπαρεῖ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ θράσος
ἀλλὰ θάρσος φησίν αὐτῇ προσείναι. καὶ γὰρ εἰρ-
γομένη, φησίν, ὡμος οὐκ ἄφισταται, ἀλλ’ ἐφίεται
tοῦ δήματος. οὗτῳ δὲ πάνω ἐπανεῖ καὶ ἀπάξε-
tαι τὴν μυίαν, ὅστε οὐχ ἀπαξ οὔδ’ ἐν ὀλίγοις
μέμνηται αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις οὗτοι κοσμεῖ τὰ
ἐπὶ μημονευμένη. ἀρτὶ μὲν τὴν ἀγελαίαν
πτῆσιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ γάλα διέρχεται,1 ἀρτὶ 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."
THE FLY

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

\(^1\) (\textit{Iliad} 17, 570, Menelaus), into whose heart Athena "puts the boldness of the fly."

\(^2\) The distinction (unknown to Homer) is between \textit{thrasos} and \textit{tharsos}. 

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'Αθηναῖον, ὅποτε τοῦ Μενέλεω τὸ βέλος ἀποκρούεται, ὡς μὴ ἔπι τὰ καριώτατα ἐμπέσοι, εἰκάζων μητρὶ κηδομένη κοιμωμένου αὐτή τοῦ βρέφους, τὴν μνών αὐθίς ἐπεισάγει τῷ παραδείγματι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐπιθέτῳ καλλίστω αὐτῶς ἐκόσμησεν ἀδινὰς προσεπῶν καὶ τὴν ἀγέλην αὐτῶν ἔδην καλῶν.

Ὅτω δὲ ἰσχυρά ἔστιν, ὅσθ' ὅποταν τι δάκυν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπικείμενος δέρμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοῶς καὶ ἵππον, καὶ ἐλέφαντα λυπεῖ ἐς τὰς ῥυτίδας αὐτοῦ παρεισδυμένη καὶ τῇ αὐτής προνομαία κατὰ λόγον τοῦ μεγέθους ἀμύσουσα. μέξεως δὲ καὶ ἄφροδισῶν καὶ γάμων πολλῆ αὐταῖς ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ὁ ἄρρητον οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἀλεξητοῦνας ἐπιβᾶς εὐθὺς ἀπεπήγδησεν, ἀλλ' ἐποχεῖται τῇ θηλείᾳ ἐπὶ πολύ, κάκεινη φέρει τὸν νυμφίον, καὶ συμπέτονται τὴν ἐναέριον ἐκείνην μέξιν τῇ πτήσει μὴ διαφθείρονται. ἀποτμηθεῖσα δὲ τὴν κεφαλήν μνώτα ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐμπυγνώς ἔστιν.

"Ο δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει, τοῦτο δὴ βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πλάτων μόνον αὐτὸ παριδεῖν ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς λόγῳ. ἀποθανοῦσα γὰρ μνώτα τέφρας ἐπιχυθείσης ἀνίσταται καὶ παλυγγενεσία τις αὐτή καὶ βίος ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπαρχῆς γίνεται, ὡς ἀκριβῶς παπείθεσθαι πάντας, ὅτι κακεῖνων θάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή, εἴ  γε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα ἐπανέρχεται πάλιν καὶ γνωρίζει καὶ ἐπανίστησι τὸ σῶμα καὶ πέτεσθαι τὴν μνώτα ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐπαληθεῖν τὸν περὶ Ἐρμοτίμου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου μόδον, ὡς πολλάκις ἀφεῖσα αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή.
THE FLY

Athena turns the arrow aside from Menelaus in order that it may not strike a vital spot, he likens her to a mother tending a sleeping child, and again introduces the fly into the comparison.\(^1\) Moreover, he has adorned them with fine epithets in calling them "clustering" and their swarms "hordes."\(^2\)

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 ἀυθες τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀνίστα τὸν Ἐρμότιμον.

Ἄργος δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀνετὸς οὐσά τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ποιούμενα καρποῦται καὶ πλήρης αὐτὴ πανταχοῦ τράπεζα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἄγιες αὐτὴ ἀμέληγονται, καὶ ἡ μέλητα σὺν ήκιστα μυῖαις καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐργάζεται, καὶ οἱ ὠφοποιοὶ ταύτῃ τὰ οὐσα ἡδύνουσιν, καὶ βασιλέων αὐτῶν προγενέται καὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἐμπεριπατοῦσα συνεστιᾶται αὐτοῖς καὶ συναπολαύει πάντων. νεοττιάν δὲ ἡ καλιάν οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ πλάνητα τὴν πτήσιν κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπανηρμένη, ὅπου ἄν τύχῃ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καταληφθεῖσα, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐστίναν καὶ εὐνήν ποιεῖται. ὑπὸ σκότῳ μέντοι, ὡς ἐφὴν, οὐδὲν ἐργάζεται οὐδὲ ἄξιοι λανθάνειν τι πράττουσα, οὐδὲ ἤγεϊται τι αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, ὁ ἐν φωτὶ δρόμενον αἰσχυνεῖ αὐτὴν.

Φησὶν δὲ ὁ μῦθος καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν τινα Μυίαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον γενέσθαι πάνυ καλὴν, λάλουν μέντοι γε καὶ στωμύλον καὶ φυκίνην, καὶ ἀντεραθήναι γε τῇ Σελήνῃ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφοτέρας 1 τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος. εἰτ ἐπειδὴ κοιμώμενον τὸ μειράκιον συνεχές ἐπήγειρεν ἐρεσχηλοῦσα καὶ ἄδουσα καὶ κωμάζουσα ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, τὸν μὲν ἀγανακτῆσαι, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ὀργισθεῖσαν εἰς τούτο τὴν Μυίαν μεταβαλεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσι νῦν τοῖς κοιμώμενοι αὐτὴν τοῦ ὑπὸν φθονεῖν μεμημένην ἐτι τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἀπαλοῖς καὶ τὸ δήμα δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἰματος ἐπιθυμία οὐκ ἀγριότητος, ἀλλ' ἔρωτός ἐστι ση-

1 κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφοτέρας: probably a gloss (Herwerden, Nilén).
THE FLY

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

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

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

¹ The story explains the word μυια, "fly," as having been originally the name of a girl.
μείον καὶ φιλανθρωπίας· ὡς γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀπολαύει καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τι ἀπανθίζεται.

'Εγένετο κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ γυνῆ τις 11 ὁμόνυμος αὐτῇ, ποιήτρια, πάνυ καλή καὶ σοφή, καὶ ἄλλη ἔταφρα τῶν 'Αττικῶν ἐπιφανῆς, περὶ ἣς καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς ποιητῆς ἔφη, ἡ Μυία ἐδακνεύν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς καρδίας· οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ κωμικὴ χάρις ἀπηξίωσεν οὐδὲ ἀπέκλεισε τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ τῆς μυίας ὄνομα, οὔτε οἱ γονεῖς ἦδοντο τὰς θυγατέρας οὕτω καλοῦντες. ἦ μὲν γὰρ τραγῳδία καὶ σὺν μεγάλῃ ἐπαίνῳ μέμνηται τῆς μυίας, ὡς ἐν τούτοις,

δεινῶν γε τὴν μὲν μυίαν ἀλκίμῳ σθένει
πηδῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σώμαθ', ὡς πλησθῇ φόνου,
ἀνδρας δ' ὀπλίτας πολέμου ταρβεῖν δόρυ.

πολλὰ δ' ἂν εἶχον εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ Μυίας τῆς
Πυθαγορικῆς, εἰ μὴ γνώριμος ἦν ἀπασιν ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν ἱστορία.

Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ μέγισταὶ τινες μυίαι, ὃς 12
στρατιώτεις οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κύνας,
τραχύταται τῶν βόμβων καὶ τῆς πτῆσιν ὁκύταται,
αἱ γε καὶ μακροβιώταται εἰσι καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος
ἄλοχον ἄσιτοι διακαρτεροῦσιν ὑπεπτηχυναι τοῖς
ὄροφοις μᾶλιστα, ἐφ' ὃν κάκεινο θαυμάζειν ἄξιον,
ὅτι ἁμφότερα, καὶ τὰ θηλείων καὶ τὰ ἀρρένων,
THE FLY

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

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

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

I could also say a great deal about Muia, the 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.
δρόσιν καὶ βαινόμεναι καὶ βαίνοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει κατὰ τὸν Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης παιδα τῶν μικτῶν τῆς φύσις καὶ διττῶν τὸ κάλλος. πολλὰ δ’ ἐτι ἔχων εἰπεῖν καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον, μὴ καὶ δόξῳ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐλέφαντα ἐκ μνίας ποιεῖν.

1 βαινόμεναι 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

Λουκιανὸς Νυγρῖνῳ εὖ πράττειν. Ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησίν, Γλαύκα εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὡς γελοῖον ὅν ἐῖ τις ἐκεῖ κομίζοι γλαύκας, ὅτι πολλὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἰσίν. ἔγω δ’ ἐἰ μὲν δύναμιν λόγων ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ἔπειτα Νυγρῖνῳ γράψαι βιβλίον ἔπεμπτον, εἰχόμην ἀν τῷ γελοίῳ γλαύκας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμπορευόμενος· ἔπει δὲ μόνην σοι δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἑθέλω, ὅπως τε νῦν ἐχω καὶ ὅτι μὴ παρέργῳς εἰλημμαι πρὸς τῶν σῶν λόγων, ἀποφεύγομι ἀν εἰκότως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου λέγοντος, ὅτι ἡ ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, ὀκνηροῦ δὲ τὸ λεσογισμένον ἀπεργάζεται· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὖν ἡ ἀμαθία μοι μόνη τῆς τοιαύτης τόλμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἔρως αἰτίος. ἔρρωσο.

ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

‘Ως σεμνὸς ἦμᾶς σφόδρα καὶ μετέωρος ἐπανε- 1 λῆλυθας. οὐ τοῖνυν προσβλέπειν ἡμᾶς ἐτι ἀξιοῖς οὐθ’ ὀμιλίας μεταδίδωσιν οὐτε κοινωνεῖς τῶν ὀμοίων λόγων, ἀλλ’ ἄφω μεταβεβλησάς καὶ ὅλως
LETTER TO NIGRINUS

Best wishes to Nigrinus from Lucian!

The proverb says “An owl to Athens!” meaning that it would be ridiculous for anyone to bring owls there, because they have plenty in the city. If I wanted to display my command of language, and were sending Nigrinus a book written for that purpose, I should be exposing myself to ridicule as a genuine importer of owls. But it is only my state of mind which I wish to reveal to you, how I feel now, and how deeply I have been moved by your discourse. So I may fairly be acquitted even of the charge contained in Thucydides’ saying\(^1\) that ignorance makes men bold, but discourse\(^2\) 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.”
ΤΙ γὰρ ἄλλο γε, ὡ ἐταῖρε, ἡ εὐτυχία; Πῶς λέγεις; Οδοὺ πάρεργον ἢκω σοι εὐδαίμων τε καὶ μακάριος γεγενημένος καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ὅνομα, τρισολβίως. Ἡράκλεις, οὖτως ἐν βραχεῖ; Καὶ μάλα.
Τι δὲ, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἔστιν ἐφ’ ὅτῳ καὶ κομᾶς; ἵνα μὴ ἐν κεφαλαῖῳ μόνῳ εὐφραινόμεθα, ἔχω- μεν δὲ τι καὶ ἀκριβές εἰδέναι τὸ πᾶν ἁκούσαντες. Οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς Δίως, ἀντὶ μὲν δούλου με ἐλεύθερον, ἀντὶ δὲ πένητος ὡς ἀληθῶς πλούσιον, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀνοίχτου τε καὶ τετυ- φωμένου γενέσθαι μετριώτερον;
Μέγιστον μὲν οὖν ἀτὰρ οὖτω μανθάνω σαφῶς ὅ τι καὶ λέγεις.
Ἐστάλην μὲν εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως βουλόμενος ἰατρὸν ὀφθαλμὸν θεάσασθαι τινα· τὸ γὰρ μοι πάθος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο.
Οἶδα τούτων ἔκαστα, καὶ ηὐξάμην σὲ τινι σπουδαῖῳ ἐπιτυχεῖν.
Δόξαν οὖν μοι διὰ πολλοῦ προσευτεῖν Νυμφὴν τὴν Πλατωνικὴν φιλόσοφον, ἐσθεν ἐξαναστάς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικόμην καὶ κοψας τὴν θύραν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσαγγείλαντος ἐκλήθην· καὶ παρελθὼν εἰσώ καταλαμβάνω τὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ βιβλίον ἐχοντα,

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

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

B. Nothing but good fortune, my dear fellow.
A. What do you mean?
B. I have come back to you transformed by the wayside into a happy and a blissful man—in the language of the stage, "thrice blessed."
A. Heracles! in so short a time?
B. Yes, truly.
A. But what is the rest of it? What is it that you are puffed up about? Let us enjoy something more than a mere hint: let us have a chance to get at the facts by hearing the whole story.

B. Don't you think it wonderful, in the name of Zeus, that once a slave, I am now free! "once poor, now rich indeed"; once witless and befogged, now saner?  
A. Why, yes! nothing could be more important. But even yet I don't clearly understand what you mean.

B. Well, I made straight for Rome, wanting to see an oculist; for I was having more and more trouble with my eye.
A. I know all that, and hoped you would find an able man.

B. As I had resolved to pay my respects to Nigrinus the Platonic philosopher, which I had not done for a long time, I got up early and went to his house, and when I had knocked at the door and the man had announced me, I was asked in. On

1 Apparently a free quotation from some play that is lost. (Kock, adesp. 1419.)
πολλὰς δὲ εἰκόνας παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν κύκλῳ κειμένας. προύκειτο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ πινάκιον τοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ γεωμετρίας σχημάτων καταγεγραμμένον καὶ σφαίρα καλάμου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς μέμημα ὡς ἔδοκεν πεποιημένη. σφόδρα οὖν με 3 φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος ἥρωτα ὁ τι πράττοιμι. κἂν χάνει πάντα διηγησάμην αὐτῷ, καὶ δὴ ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἑξίουν εἰδέναι ὁ τι τε πράττοι καὶ εἰ αὕτις αὐτῷ ἐγνωσμένον εἰη στέλλεσθαι τὴν ἑπὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος.

"Ὁ δὲ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀρξάμενος, ὁ ἔταιρε, περὶ τούτων λέγει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διηγεῖσθαι τοσαύτην τινὰ μου λόγων ἀμβροσίαν κατεσκέδασεν, ὡστε καὶ τὰς Σειρῆνας ἐκεῖνας, εἰ πιστεύεις ἅρα ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὰς ἀγάδόνας καὶ τὸν Ὀμήρου λοιπὸν ἀρχαίον ἀποδείξας. οὕτω θεσπέσια ἐφθέγξατο. προήχθη γὰρ αὐτῇ τε 4 φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαινέσατο καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων νομιζόμενων ἀγαθῶν καταγελάσασι, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ βασιλείας καὶ τιμῆς, ἔτη τὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφύρας, τῶν πάνω περιβλέπτων τοῖς πολλοῖς, τέως δὲ κάμοι δοκοῦντων. ἀπερ ἔγωγε ἀτενεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη τῇ ψυχῇ δεξάμενος αὐτίκα μὲν οὐδὲ εἰχὼν εἰκάσαι ὁπερ ἐπετόθειν, ἀλλὰ παντοῖος ἐγνώριμην καὶ ἀρτὶ μὲν ἐλυπούμην, ἐπηλεγμένων μοι τῶν φιλτάτων, πλούτου τε καὶ ἀρχηγίου καὶ δόξης, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐδάκρυν ὡς αὐτοῖς καθηρημένοις, ἀρτι

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

Beginning to talk on these topics and to explain his position, my dear fellow, he poured enough ambrosial speech over me to put out of date the famous Sirens¹ (if there ever were any) and the nightingales² and the lotus of Homer.³ A divine utterance! For he went on to praise philosophy and the freedom that it gives, and to ridicule the things that are popularly considered blessings—wealth and reputation, dominion and honour, yes and purple and gold—things accounted very desirable by most men, and till then by me also. I took it all in with eager, wide-open soul, and at the moment I couldn’t imagine what had come over me; I was all confused. Then I felt hurt because he had criticised what was dearest to me—wealth and money and reputation,—and I all but cried over their downfall;

¹ 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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dε αυτά μὲν ἐδόκει μοι ταπεινὰ καὶ καταγέλαστα· ἔχαριον δὲ αὐ τὸςπερ ἡσοφεροῦ τινος ἄερος τοῦ βίου τοῦ πρὸσθεν ἐς αἰθρίαν τε καὶ μέγα φῶς ἀναβλέπον· ὡστε δὴ, τὸ καινότατον, τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ μὲν καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσθενείας ἐπελανθανόμην, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὄξυδερκέστερος κατὰ μικρὸν ἔγνυόμην· ἐλεληθεύειν γὰρ τέως αὐτὴν τυφλώττουσαν περιφέρων. προὶ δὲ ἐς τὸ τὸδε περιήχθην, 5 ὅπερ ἀρτίως ἕμων ἐπεκάλεις· γαιρός τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ μετέφορός εἰμι καὶ ὁλὼς μικρὸν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶ· δοκῶ γὰρ μοι ὃμοιον τι πεποιθέναι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, οἶνοντερ καὶ οἶ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τῶν οἶνων λέγονταί παθεῖν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐπιον αὐτῶν· θερμότεροι γὰρ ὄντες φύσει πιόντες ἴσχυρὸν οὕτω ποτὸν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐξεβακχεύθησαν καὶ δι- πλασίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτους ἐξεμάνυσαν. οὕτω σοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιθεος καὶ μεθύων ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων περιέρχομαι.

Καὶ μὴν τούτῳ γε οὐ μεθύεις, ἀλλὰ νῆφειν 6 τε καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἐστιν. ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν, εἰ οἶνον τε, αὐτῶν ἀκοῦσα τῶν λόγων οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ φθονεῖν 2 αὐτῶν οἷμαι θέμις, ἀλλὰς τε εἰ καὶ φίλος καὶ περὶ τὰ ὃμοια ἐσπονδακὼς ὁ βουλό- μενος ἀκούειν εἰη.

Θάρρει, ἡγαθεί τούτῳ γὰρ τοι τὸ τοῦ Ὠμήρου, σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτῶν παρακαλεῖς, καὶ εἰ γε μὴ ἔφθης, αὐτῶς ἂν ἐδεήθην ἀκοῦσαι μου διηγομένου· μάρτυρα γὰρ σε παραστήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς τολλοὺς ἔθελο, ὅτι οὐκ ἂλογος μαίνομαι: ἀλλας

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

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

B. Cheer up, good soul! you spur a willing horse, as Homer says,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 WORLDS OF LUCIAN

te kal ήδυ μοι το μεμνήσθαι αυτών πολλάκις,
kai ταύτην ήδη μελέτην ἐποιησάμην ἐπεὶ κάν
tis μὴ παρον τύχη, καὶ οὔτω δίς ή τρίς τῆς
ημέρας ἀνακυκλώ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τὰ εἰρημένα. καὶ ἦ
όσπερ οἱ ἑρασταὶ τῶν παιδικῶν οὐ παρόντων
ἐργ' ἄττα καὶ λόγους εἰρημένους αὐτοῖς διαμη-
μονεύουσι καὶ τούτως ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἐξαπατῶσι
tὴν νόσον, ὡς παρόντων σφίσει τῶν ἀγαπωμέ-
νων—ἐνοι γοῦν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσκλαλεῖν οἴονται
cal ὡς ἅρτη λεγομένου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὃν τότε
ἡκουσαν, ἡδονταὶ καὶ προσάψαντες τὴν ψυχὴν
tῆς μνήμης τῶν παρεληλυθότων σκολῆν οὐκ
ἀγούσιν τοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνιᾶθαί—οὐτω δὴ καλ
αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας οὐ παροῦσας τοὺς λόγους, οὐς
τότε ἡκουσα, συναγείρων καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἀνα-
τυλέττων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχω παραμυθίαν, καὶ ὅλως
καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει καὶ νυκτὶ πολλῇ φερόμενος,
ἐς πυρσὸν τινα τούτων ἀποβλέπω, πάσι μὲν
παρεἶναι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πραττόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα
ἐκεῖνον οἰόμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ ὀσπερ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ τὰ
αὐτὰ πρὸς με λέγοντος ἔνοιτε δὲ, καὶ μάλιστα
ὅταν ἐνερέουσι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ
μοι φαίνεται καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ο ἡχος ἐν ταῖς
ἀκοαῖς παραμένει καὶ γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν
ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐγκατέλιπεν τὶ κέντρον τοῖς ἀκοούσιν.1

1 Cf. Eupolis (Kook, 94).

κράτιστος οὖτος ἐγένετ' ἄνθρωπων λέγειν·
ὅπως παρέλθοι δ', ὀσπερ ἄγαθοι δρομῆς,
ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἦρει λέγων τοὺς βήταρας,
tαχὺν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δὲ γ' αὐτῷ τῷ τάχει
πειθὼ τις ἐπεκαθίζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χειλεσιν
οὗτως ἐκήλει καὶ μάνος τῶν βήταρων
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκοομένοις.
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, δ’ θαυμάσσε, μακρὸν ἁνακρονόμενος καὶ λέγει ἐζ’ ἀρχής ἀναλαβὼν ἡδή τὰ εἰρημένα· ὥς ὁμετρίως με ἀποκναίεις περιάγων.

Εὐ λέγεις, καὶ οὗτοι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνο, δ’ ἐταϊρεῖ—ἡδή τραγικόν ἡ καὶ νὴ Δία κωμικοῦς φαύλους ἐσχάτας ὑποκριτῶς, τῶν συριστομένων λέγω τούτων καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὸ τελευταίον ἐκβαλλομένων, κατ’ αὐτό τῶν δραμάτων πολλάκις εὐχόντων τε καὶ νεκρονομένων;

Πολλοὺς οἶδα τοιούτους. ἄλλα τί τούτο;

Δέδοικα μή σοι μεταξὺ δόξω γελοίως αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀτάκτως συνείρων, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας τῶν νοῦν διαφθειρών, κάτα προσαχθῆς ἥρεμα καὶ αὐτοῦ καταγωνών τού δράματος. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμον, οὐ πάνυ ἁχθομαι, ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις οὐ μετρίως με λυπήσεις ἐοικες συνεκπίπτουσα καὶ τὸ ἔμον μέρος ἄσχημονοῦσα. τούτ’ οὖν παρ’ ὅλου μέμνησό μοι τὸν λόγον, ὡς ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς ἥμων τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνευθυνός καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς πόρρω ποι κάθηται, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλουν τῶν ἐν θεάτρῳ πραγμάτων. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐμαυτοῦ σοι πείραν παρέχω, ὅποιος τίς εἰμι τὴν μυήμαν ὑποκριτῆς, οὐδὲν ἀγγέλου τὰ ἄλλα τραγικοῦ διαφέρων. ὥστε καὶ ἐνδεέστερον τι δοκοῦ λέγειν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐστὶν πρόχειρον, ὡς ἀμείνων ἦν, καὶ ἄλλως 2 οὗ ποιητῆς ἀσώς διεξήγει· ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἐκσυνρίττης, οὐ πάνυ τι λυπήσομαι.

1 μακρὸν 8, and two late codices: μικρὸν the other MSS., usually rendered "Back water a bit."
2 ἦν καὶ ἄλλως MSS.; ἦ δ’ ἄγγελος Schwartz, 108
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!
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Ως εὖ γε νη τὸν Ἐρμῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ῥητόρων νόμον πεπροσωπίασται σοι: ἐνικας γοῦν κάκεινα προσθήσειν, ὡς δι' ὅλγου τε ὑμῖν ἐς συννουσία εὐγένετο καὶ ὡς οὐδ' αὐτῶς ἤκει πρὸς τὸν λόγον παρασκευασμένος καὶ ὡς ἄμεινον εἶχεν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἀκούειν: σὺ γὰρ ὅλγα καὶ ὅσα οἶδα τε ἢν, τυγχάνεις τῇ μνήμῃ συγκεκομισμένος. οὐ ταῦτ' ἔρειν ἔμελλες; οὐδὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ἔτι σοι δεῖ πρὸς ἐμὲ νόμισον δὲ τούτον γε ἐνεκα πάντα σοι προερήσθαι: ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ βοῶν καὶ κροτείν ἐτοίμος. ἢν δὲ διαμέλλῃς, μυθισκακήσω γε παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ὃς τάτα συρήξομαι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἂς διηλθεῖν, ἐβουλόμην ἂν εἰρήσθαι μοι, κάκεινα δὲ, ὅτι οὐχ ἔζησ οὐδὲ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε, ῥησίν τινα περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ· πάνυ γὰρ τοῦθ' ἢμῖν ἀδύνατον οὖν αὐτ' ἐκείνῳ περιθεῖς τοὺς λόγους, μή καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι γένομαι τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς ἐκεῖνους ὅμοιος, οὐ πολλάκις ἡ Ἀγαμήμονος ἡ Κρέοντος ἡ καὶ Ἡρακλέους αὐτῶν πρόσωπον ἀνειληφότες, χρυσίδας ἡμφιεσμένοι καὶ δεινὸν βλέποντες καὶ μέγα κεχηρότες μικρὸν φθέγγονται καὶ ἵσχυν καὶ γυμνώδες καὶ τῆς Ἐκάβης ἡ Πολυζένης πολὺ τσεπωντερον. ἢν οὖν μή καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλέγχωμαι πάνυ μεῖξον τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς προσωπεῖον πέρικειμένος καὶ τῇ σκευῆν κατασχύσων, ἀπὸ γυμνοῦ σοι βοῦλομαι τούμου προσώπου προσλαλεῖν, ἵνα μή συγκαταστάσω που πεσὼν τὸν ἤρωα δὲν ὑποκρίνομαι.

Οὕτως ἀνήρ οὔ παύσεται τῇμερον πρὸς με πολλῆ τῇ σκηνῇ καὶ τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ χρόμενος.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

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

¹ Invoked as the god of orators.
καὶ μὴν παύσομαι γε· πρὸς ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἢδη τρέψομαι. ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν λόγων ἐπαινος ἦν Ἐλλάδος καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄνθρωπων, ὡς φιλοσοφία καὶ πενία σύντροφοι εἰσὶν καὶ οὕτε τῶν ἀστῶν οὕτε τῶν ξένων οὐδένα τέρπονται ὅροινες, δὲ ἂν τρυφὴν εἰσάγειν εἰς αὐτοὺς βιαζηται, ἀλλὰ κἂν τις ἀφίκηται παρ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω διακειμενος, ἥρεμα τε μεθαρμόττουσι καὶ παραπαίδαγωγοῦσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς διαίτης μεθιστᾶσιν.

Ἐμέμητο γοῦν τινος τῶν πολυχρύσων, δὲ ἐλθὼν Ἀθηναίες μᾶλ' ἐπίσημος καὶ φορτικὸς ἀκολούθων ὥχλῳ καὶ ποικιλῇ ἔσθητι καὶ χρυσῷ αὐτὸς μὲν ὅπετο ζηλωτὸς εἰναι πάσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς ἂν εὐδαίμων ἀποβλέπεσθαι τοῖς ὅ ἁρα δυστυχεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ παιδεύειν ἐπεξείρουν αὐτὸν οὐ πικρῶς οὖδ' ἀντικρις ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐν ἔλευθερα τῇ πόλει καθ' ὄντινα τρόπον βούλεται μὴ βιοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ λουτροῖς ὅχλησι ἦν θλίβων τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ στενοχωρῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἥσυχη τις ἂν ὑπεφθέγγατο προσποιούμενος λαυθάνειν, ὅσπερ οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑκεῖνον ἀποτείνων, Δέδοικε μὴ παραπόληθαι μεταξὺ λούομενος· καὶ μὴν εἰρήνη γε μακρὰ κατέχει τὸ βαλανεῖον· οὐδὲν οὖν δεῖ στρατοπέδου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούων ἂεί, μεταξὺ ἐπαιδεύετο· τῆς δὲ ἐσθήτα τῆς ποικίλῃ καὶ τᾶς πορφυρίδας ἑκεῖνας ἀπέδυσαν αὐτὸν ἀστείως πάνυ τὸ ἄνθρωπον ἐπισκόποντες τῶν χρωμάτων, Ἀερ. ἦδη, λέγοντες, καὶ Πόθεν ο τῶς οὕτως; καὶ, Τάχα τῆς μητρῶς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ οὕτως

1 ἂεί R. Helm: & ἢν MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

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

...οί τῶν δακτυλίων τὸ πλῆθος ὡς κάμνη τὸ περιέργον ἣ τῆς διαίτης τὸ ἀκόλουστον ὡς κατὰ μικρόν ἐσωφρονίσθη καὶ παρὰ πολὺ βελτίων ἀπῆλθε δημοσία πεπαιδευμένος.

"Ὅτι δ’ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται πεινών ὀμολογοῦντες, ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς με ψυχής τινος, ὡς ἀκοῦσαι πάντων ἐφ’ κοινῆ προεμένων ἐν τῷ ἀγώνι τῶν Παναθηναίων ληφθέντα μὲν γὰρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄγεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀγωνισθην, ὡς θανατόν ἠκούσα τῇ καὶ παρατείσθαι τῷ κύριοις ἀνεπίκτοτοι, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἔποίσθεν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἑσθήτῳ θεώμενοι, ἄναβοσθαι μὲν φωνὴ πάντας ὀσπέρ ἐσκεμμένους, συγγνώμην ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τοιαύτᾳ γε ἀμπεχομένῳ μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτοῦ ἔτερα.

Ταῦτα τε οὖν ἐπήχει καὶ προσέτε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὸ ἀνεπίθεθον, ἵσυγχαν τε καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἃ δὴ ἀφθονα παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν. ἀπέφαυε γοῦν φιλοσοφία συνωδήν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις διατριβῆν καὶ καθαρὸν ἔδος φυλάξαι δυναμένην, σπουδαῖο τε ἄνδρι καὶ πλούτου καταφρονεῖν πεπαιδευμένω καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὰ φύσει καλὰ ἐν ἐν τρυπείρημένη τὸν ἐκεῖν βίων μάλιστα ἡμοσμένον. ὡστε δὲ πλούτου ἐρᾷ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκήληται καὶ πορφύρα καὶ δυναστεία μετρεῖ τὸ εὐδαιμον, ἀγευματος μὲν ἔλευθερίας, ἀπείρατος δὲ παρρησίας, ἀθέατος δὲ ἀληθείας, κολακεία τὰ πάντα καὶ δουλεία σύντροφος, ὡστε ἡδονή πάσαν τὴν ψυχην ἐπιτρέψας ταῦτῃ μόνῃ λατρεύειν διέγνωκε, φίλος μὲν περιέργων τραπεζῶν, φίλος δὲ πότων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, 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 he had a coloured cloak to see the show. Those who saw it were sorry for him and tried to beg him off; and when the herald proclaimed that he had broken the law by wearing such clothing at the games, they all cried out in one voice, as if by pre-arrangement, to excuse him for being in that dress, because, they said, he had no other.

Well, he praised all this, and also the freedom there and the blamelessness of their mode of living, their quiet and leisure; and these advantages they certainly have in plenty. He declared, for instance, that a life like theirs is in harmony with philosophy and can keep the character pure; so that a serious man who has been taught to despise wealth and elects to live for what is intrinsically good will find Athens exactly suited to him. But a man who loves wealth and is enthralled by gold and measures happiness by purple and power, who has not tasted liberty or tested free speech or contemplated truth, whose constant companions are flattery and servility; a man who has unreservedly committed his soul to pleasure and has resolved to serve none but her, fond of extravagant fare and fond of wine and
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἡ ὀστίς ἄκοινον τέρπεται κρουμάτων τε καὶ
teretisiμάτων καὶ διεθθρότων ἁσμάτων, τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις πρέπειν τὴν ἐνταύθα διατρῆθην
μεστάι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν φιλτάτων πᾶσαι μὲν ἄγνιαί, πᾶσαι δὲ ἄγοραῖ: πάρεστι δὲ πᾶσαις
πύλαις τὴν ἠδουήν καταδέχεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν δὲ
ὁφθαλμῶν, τοῦτο δὲ δὲ ὦτων τε καὶ ρεμῶν, τοῦτο
dὲ καὶ διὰ λαμοῦ καὶ δὲ ἀφροδισίων ὑφ' ἥς δὴ
ῥεούσης ἀενάω τε καὶ θολερῷ ῥεύματι πᾶσαι μὲν
ἀνευρύνονται ὅδοι: συνεισέρχεται γὰρ μοιχεία καὶ
φιλαργυρία καὶ ἐπιφροκία καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο φύλον
tῶν ἠδουῶν, παρασύρεται δὲ τῇς ψυχῆς ὑποκλυζο-
μένης πάντοθεν αἰδῶς καὶ ἄρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ
tῶν δὲ ἔρημος ὁ χώρος γενόμενος δύψης ἀεὶ
πιμπράμενος ἃνθεὶ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἄγριαίς
ἐπιθυμίαις.

Τοιαύτην ἀπέφαινε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοσούτων
didáskakon ἄγαθῶν. ἔγὼ γοῦν, ἐφὶ, ὅτε τὸ
17 πρῶτον ἐπανήγειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος, πλησίον ποὺ
γενόμενος ἐπιστήσας ἐμαυτὸν λόγον ἀπήτων
τῆς δεύρο ἀφίξεως, ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ τοῦ Ὄμηρον
λέγων.

τίπτ' αὐτ', ὃ δύστημε, λυπῶν φάος ἥλιοιο,
tῆς Ἐλλάδα καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίαν ἐκεῖνην καὶ τῆν
ἐλευθερίαν, ἡλυθες, ὄφρα ὅδης τὸν ἐνταύθα
θόρυβον, συκοφάντας καὶ προσαγορεύσεις ὑπερη-
φάνους καὶ δειπνα καὶ κόλακας καὶ μαοφονίας
καὶ διαθηκῶν προσδοκίας καὶ φίλλας ἐπιπλάστους;
ἡ γὰρ πράξειν διέγνωκας μήτ' ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
μήτε χρήσθαι τοῖς καθεστώσι δυνάμενοι;

1 πιμπράμενος Α.Μ.Η.: πιμπλάμενος MSS.
women, full of trickery, deceit and falsehood; a man who likes to hear twangling, 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.
Οὐτω δὴ βουλευσάμενος καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Ζεύς τὸν ἕκτορα ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βελέων, φασίν, ἐκ τ᾽ ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ᾽ αἵματος ἐκ τε νυκτί κλαίνοντ᾽ ἐκ τῶν τούτων οἰκουρεῶν εἰλόμην καὶ βίον τινά τούτων γυναικώδη καὶ ἀτόλμων τῶς πολλῶς δοκοῦντα προτιθέμενος αὐτῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ Πλάτωνι καὶ ἀληθεία προσλαμβάνω καὶ καθισας ἐμαυτὸν ὃς ἀπείρον ἐν θεότρῳ, νυκτερίδης σφόδρα ποιμέν, ὃς ἐπίκοπος τὰ γυμνόμενα, τούτῳ μὲν πολλὴν ψυχαγωγίαν καὶ γέλωτα παρέχειν δυνάμενα, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ πείραν ἀνδρός ὡς ἀλήθειός ἐξαιρεῖν οὐκ ἐξετάζων.

Εἰ γὰρ χρῆ καὶ κακῶν ἐπαινὸν εἰπεῖν, μὴ ὑπολάβης μείζον τι γυμνάσιον ἄρετῆς ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς δοκιμασίαν ἄλθεστέραν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐντάθα διατριβῆς· οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἀντισχεῖν τοσαύτως μὲν ἐπιθυμίαις, τοσοῦτοι δὲ θεάμασί τε καὶ ἀκούσμασί πάντοθεν ἔλκουσί καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἄτεχνῶς δεῖ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μμησάμενον παραπλεῖν αὐτὰ μὴ δεδεμένον τῷ χείρῳ—δειλὸν γὰρ—μηδὲ τὰ ὅτα κηρῷ φραξάμενον, ἀλλὰ ἀκούσμα ταὶ λευμένοι καὶ ἀληθῶς ὑπερήφανον. ἑνεστὶ δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θαυμάζαι παραπλεύοντα τὴν τοσαύτην ἀνοιαν, καὶ τῶν τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν καταφρονεῖν ὁρῶντα ὃς ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ πολυπροσώπῳ δράματι τὸν μὲν ἐξ οἰκέτου δεσπότην προῖστα, τὸν δὲ ἀντὶ πλουσίου πένητα, τὸν δὲ σατράπην ἐκ πένητος ἢ βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ φίλον τούτου, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρόν, τὸν δὲ φυγᾶδα· τούτῳ γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸ δεινότατον ἔστιν, ὅτι καὶ τοι μαρτυρομένης τῆς Τύχης παίζεων 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 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 roles, 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 ὑμολογούσης μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἰναι ἱερὸν, ὅμως ταῦθ᾿ ὅσημέρα τίς ἑρμηνευτεῖς ὀφέγγονται καὶ πλούτου καὶ δυναστείας καὶ μεστοὶ περίασι πάντες οὐ γινομένων ἐλπίδων.

"Ὁ δὲ ἐφη, ὅτι καὶ γελάν ἐν τοῖς γυναι-
κεῖνοις ἑνεστὶ καὶ πυγμαχοῦσθαι, τοῦτο ἦδη σοι
θράσο. πῶς γὰρ οὐ γελοῖοι μὲν πλούτοινας
αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς πορφυρίδας προφαίνοντες καὶ τοὺς
dικτυλίους προτεινούσας καὶ πολλὴν καθηγο-
ροῦντες ὑπειροκαλίαν, τὸ δὲ καινότατον, τοὺς
ἐντυγχάνοντας ἄλλοτριά φωυὴ προσαγορεύοντες,
ἀγαπᾶν ἠξιοῦντες, ὅτι μονον αὐτοὺς προσέβλε-
ψαν, οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι περιμε-
νοντες, οὐ πόρρωθεν οὗδ᾿ ὡς Πέρσαι νόμοις, ἀλλὰ
δεὶ προσελθόντα καὶ ὑποκύψαντα, τὴν ψυχὴν
tαπεινώσαντα καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς ἐμφανίσαντα
τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὀμοιότητι, τὸ στήθος ἢ τὴν
dεξιὰν καταφλείν, ἔλατον καὶ περίβλεπτον τοῖς
μηδὲ τούτων τυγχάνουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐστηκεν παρέχων ἕαυτον
eἰς πλεῖον χρόνον ἔξαπατόμενον. ἐπανύφε δὲ γι
ταύτης αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας, ὅτι μὴ καὶ τοῖς
στόμασιν ἡμᾶς προσένεται.

Πολὺ δὲ τούτων οἱ προσιόντες αὐτοὶ καὶ 22
θεραπεύοντες γελοιότεροι, νυκτὸς μὲν ἔξανιστά-
μενοι μέσης, περιθέοντες δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν
πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποκλείομενοι, κύνες καὶ
κόλακες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκοῦειν ὑπομένουντες.
γέρας δὲ τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης αὐτοῦς περιόδου τὸ
φορτικὸν ἐκεῖνο δειπνοῦν καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοῖν συμ-

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

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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, 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,

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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.
ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ ἐνὶ πώλα μὲν ἐμφαγόντες, πόσα δὲ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμπιόντες, πόσα δὲ ὅν οὐκ ἔχρην ἀπολαλήσαντες ἢ μεμφόμενοι ¹ τὸ τελευταῖον ἢ δυσφόρουντες ἀπίασιν ἢ διαβάλλοντες τὸ δείπνου ἢ ὑβρίν ἢ μικρολογίαν ἐγκαλούντες. πλήρεις δὲ αὐτῶν ἐμούντων οἱ στενωποὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς χαμαίτυπως μαχομένους καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν κατακλιθέντες ἰατροὶ παρέχουσιν ἀφορμὰς περίοδον ἐνιοὶ μὲν γὰρ, τὸ καινοτάτων, οὐδὲ νοσεῖν σχολάζουσιν.

Εγὼ μέντοι γε πολὺ τῶν κολακευομένων ἐξω- 23 λεστέρους τοὺς κόλακας ὑπείληφα, καὶ σχέδουν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι καθίστασθαι τῆς ὑπερήφανίας αὐτῶν· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν περιουσίαν θαυμάσωσι καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἑπανεύσωσι καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας ἔωθεν ἐμπλήσωσιν καὶ προσελθόντες ὅσπερ δεσπότας προσέπωσίν, τί καὶ φρονήσεων ἐκείνων εἰκός ἔστιν; εἰ δὲ γε κοινῷ δόγματι καὶ πρὸς ὀλόγον ἀπέσχοντο τῆς δὲ τῆς ἐθελοδουλείας, οὐκ ἂν οἶει τοῦνατον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῶν πτωχῶν δεομένους τοὺς πλουσίους, μὴ ἄθεατον αὐτῶν μηδὲ ἀμάρτυρον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καταλυτεῖν μηδὲ ἀνόητον τε καὶ ἄχρηστον τῶν τραπεζῶν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῶν οἰκῶν τὸ μέγεθος; οὐ γὰρ οὕτω τοῦ πλοῦτειν ἔρασιν ὡς τοῦ διὰ τὸ πλοῦτειν εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ² ἔχει, μηδὲν ὁφελος εἰναι περικαλλοῦς οἰκίας τῷ οἰκούντι μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐξαφαντός, εἰ μή τις αὐτὰ θαυμάζοι. ἔχρην οὖν ταύτη καθαρεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπευνοῦσιν τὴν δυναστείαν ἐπιτείχειαν

¹ ἢ μεμφόμενοi 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 neglectfulness. They fill the side-streets, puking and fighting at the doors of brothels, and most of them go to bed by daylight and give the doctors a reason for making their rounds. Not all, though; for some—would you believe it?—haven't even time to be ill!

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

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνδρας ἰδιώτας καὶ ἀναφανδὴν τὴν 24 ἀπαιδευσίαν ὁμολογούντας τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, μετριώτερον ἄν εἰκότως νομισθεὶς τὸ δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων πολλοὺς¹ πολλῷ ἐτὶ τούτων γελοιότερα δράν, τούτ' ἦδη τὸ δεινοτάτον ἐστὶ. πῶς γὰρ οὐεὶ τὴν ψυχήν διατεθείσθαι μοι, ὅταν ἰδὼ τούτων τινά, μάλιστα τῶν προβεβηκτῶν, ἀναμεμνημένον κολάκων ὄχλῳ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξίας τινὰ δορυφοροῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα παραγγέλλουσι κοινολογούμενον, ἐπισημότερον δὲ τῶν ἅλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὅντα καὶ φανερώτερον; καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ἄγανακτῶ, ὅτι μὴ καὶ τὴν σκευὴν μεταλαμβάνουσι, τὰ ἄλλα γε ὁμοίως ὑποκρινόμενοι τὸν δράματος. ἂ μὲν 25 γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμπόσιοις ἐργάζονται, τίνι τῶν καλῶν εἰκάσομεν; οἴκε ἐμφαροῦνται μὲν ἀπειροκαλότερον, μεθύσκονται δὲ φανερώτερον, ἔξανιστανται δὲ πάντων ὑστατοί, πλεῖος δὲ ἀποφέρει τῶν ἅλλων ἄξιούσιν; οἱ δὲ ἀστειότεροι πολλάκις αὐτῶν καὶ ἂσαι προῆχθησαν.

Καὶ ταύτα μὲν ὦν γελοῖα ἤγειτο· μάλιστα δὲ ἐμέμνητο τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ φιλοσοφοῦντων καὶ τὴν ἄρετὴν ὄψιν ὃπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προτιθέντων ἐργαστηρία γοῦν ἐκάλει καὶ καπηλεία τὰς τούτων διατριβὰς· ἢξίου γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτον καταφρονεῖν διδάξειται πρῶτον αὐτῶν παρέχειν ὑπηλότερον λημμάτων. ἀμέλει καὶ πράττων ταῦτα διετέλει, οὐ 26 μόνον προίκα τοῖς ἄξιούσις συνδιατρίβοις, ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν καὶ πάσης περιουσίας κατα-

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

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

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

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φρονῶν, τοσούτοι δέον ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν οὐδὲν προσηκόντων, ὡστε μηδὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φθειρομένων ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὡς γε καὶ ἀγρόν οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς πόλεως κεκτήμένος οὐδὲ ἐπιβῆναι αὐτοῦ πολλῶν ἑτῶν ἥξισθην, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἅρχην αὐτοῦ εἶναι διωμόλογη, ταύτ' οἷμαι ὑπειληφώς, ὅτι τούτων φύσει μὲν οὐδενός ἐσμεν κύριοι, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ διαδοχῇ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀόριστον παραλαμβάνοντες ὠλυγοχρόνοις δεσπόται νομιζόμεθα, κατειδαν ἡ προθεσμία παρέλθη, τηνικαύτα παραλαβῶν ἄλλος ἀπολαῦει τοῦ ὄνόματος.

Οὐ μικρὰ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνα παρέχει τοῖς ξηλοῦν ἐθέλουσι παραδείγματα, τῆς τροφῆς τὸ ἀπέρμττων καὶ τῶν γυμνασίων τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ αἰδέσιμον καὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος τὸ μέτριον, ἐφ' ἀπασι δὲ τούτους τῆς διανοίας τὸ ἡρμοσμένον καὶ τὸ ἡμερον τοῦ τρόπου. παρῄνει δὲ τοῖς συνοῦσι μήτ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὅπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖν προθεσμίας ὀριζομένους ἐορτᾶς ἢ πανηγύρεις, ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀρξομένους τοῦ μὴ ψευσαθαι καὶ τοῦ τὰ δεόντα ποιῆσαι. ἥξιον γὰρ ἁμέλλεντον εἶναι τὴν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὀρμήν. δῆλος δὲ ἢν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κατεγγυώνοις ψιλοσόφων, οἱ ταύτην ἀσκησιν ἁρετῆς ὑπελάμβανον, ἢν πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις καὶ τόνοις τοὺς νέους ἀντέχειν καταγιμνάσωσιν, τούτῳ μὲν ψυχρολούτειν ἢν πολλοὶ κελεύουστε, ἄλλοι δὲ μαστυγούστε, οἱ δὲ χαριεστέροι καὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν καταξύνουστε. ἤγειτο γὰρ χρὴν πολὺ πρότερον ἐν

1 ψυχρολούτειν E. Capps: οὔδείν (οὐδὲίν) MSS.: θυραυλείν
Schwartz: 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,"¹ the majority recommending cold baths, though some whip them, and still others, the more refined of their sort, scrape the surface of their skin with a knife-blade. It was his

¹ Evidently a quotation: the source is unknown.
ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ στέρρου τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαθές κατασκευάσαι, καὶ τὸν ἀριστα παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους προαιρομένου τοῦτο μὲν ψυχῆς, τοῦτο δὲ σῶματος, τοῦτο δὲ ἡλικίας τε καὶ τῆς πρότερου ἀγωγῆς ἐστοχάσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τὰ παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιτάπτων ἐλέγχωται· πολλοὺς γούν καὶ τελευτῶν ἔφασκεν οὕτως ἀλόγως ἐπιταθέντας· ἔνα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, ὃς καὶ γευσάμενος τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκείνους κακῶν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα λόγων ἀληθῶν ἐπήκουσεν, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ δήλος ἦν ραῖν διακείμενος.

Ἡ δὲ τούτων ἀποστάσεων τῶν ἄλλων αὐθεσ 29 ἀνθρώπων ἐμέμνησαι καὶ τᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς διεξῆκεν καὶ τὸν ὀδισμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰμιόχων εἰκόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱππῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς περὶ τούτων διαλόγους· πολλὴ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡ ἱππομανία καὶ πολλῶν ἢδη σπουδαίου εἶναι δοκοῦντω ἐπειληπταί.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτέρου δράματος ἦπτετο τῶν 30 ἀμφὶ τὴν νέκυιάν τε καὶ διαθήκας καλυπτομένων, προστίθεις ὅτι μέναν φωνὴν οἱ Ἐρωμαῖον παιδεῖς ἀληθῆ παρ᾽ ὅλου τῶν βίων προϊόντα, τὴν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις λέγων, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολαῦσωσέ τῇς σφετέρας ἀληθείας. ἓ δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ γελῶν προῄρθη, ὦτε καὶ συγκατορύπτεις έαυτοῖς ἀξιούσι τὰς ἀμαθίας καὶ τὴν ἀναληψίαν ἔγγραφον ὀμολογοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔσθήτας έαυτοῖς
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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.¹ I could not help interrupting him with laughter when he said that they want to fill their graves with their follies and leave their stupidity on record, inasmuch as some of them leave instructions

¹ A famous instance is the case of Petronius, who expressed his opinion of Nero in his will and made the emperor his executor.
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κελεύοντες συγκαταφλέγεσθαι τῶν παρὰ τὸν βίον τιμῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παραμένειν τινὰς οἰκέτας τοῖς τάφοις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στέφειν τὰς στῆλας ἀνθέσιν, εὐχέσιας ἄτι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τελευτὴν διαμένοντες. εἰκάζειν οὖν ἥξιον, τί πέπρακτα τούτους παρὰ τὸν βίον, εἰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν βίον ἐπισκήπτουσι τούτους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τὸ πολυτελὲς ὄψιν ὀνομαζόντας καὶ τὸν όνομαν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις μετὰ κρόκων τε καὶ ἀρομάτων ἐκχέοντας, τοὺς μέσον χειμῶνος ἐμπιπλαμένους ῥόδων καὶ τὸ σπάνιων αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν ἀγαπώντος, τῶν δὲ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὡς εὐτελῶν ὑπερηφανοῦντας, τούτους εἶναι1 τοὺς καὶ τὰ μύρα πίνονται δὲ καὶ μάλιστα διέσυρεν αὐτῶν, ὅτι μηδὲ χρὴσθαι ἱσασιν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ κἂν ταύταις παρανοοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ὄρους συγχέουσι, πάντοθεν τῇ τρυφῇ παραδόντες αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πατεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐν ταῖς τραχωδίαις τε καὶ κομμάδαις λειχόμενον, ἢδη καὶ παρὰ θύραν εἰσβιαζόμενοι. σολοκισμὸν2 οὖν ἐκάλει τούτο τῶν ἧδονῶν.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς γυνῆς κάκεινα ἔλεγεν, 32 ἀτεχνῶς τοῦ Μόμου τὸν λόγον μιμητάμενος· ὥς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέμφετο τοῦ ταύρου τὸν δημουργὸν θεόν οὐ προθέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τά κέρατα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤτιμο τῶν στεφανουμένων, ὅτι μὴ ἱσσαὶ τὸν στεφάνου τὸν τόπον· εἰ γάρ τοι, ἔφη,

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 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 πυθῇ τῶν ἵων τε καὶ ρόδων χαϊρονσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥινὶ μάλιστα ἔχοντι αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι παρ’ αὐτὴν ὡς σῴν τε τὴν ἀναπνοὴν, ἵν’ ὡς πλείστουν ἀνέστων τῆς ἰδονῆς.

Καλὶ μὴν κακείνους διεγέλα τοὺς θανμάσιον 33 τινα τὴν σπουδῆν περὶ τὰ δεύτπα ποιουμένους χυμῶν τε ποικιλίας καὶ πεμμάτων περιεργάσιος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ τούτους ἔφασκεν ὀλυγχρονίου τε καὶ βραχείας ἰδονῆς ἔρωτι πολλάς πραγματείας ὑπομένειν ἀπέφαυνε γοῦν τεσσάρων δακτύλων αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα πάντα πονεῖσθαι τὸν πόνον, ἐφ’ ὅσους ὁ μήκεστος ἀνθρώπου λαιμὸς ἐστὶν’ οὔτε γὰρ πρὶν ἐμφαγεῖν, ἀπολαύειν τι τῶν ἐωπομένων, οὔτε βρωθέντων ἡδὸν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολυτελεστέρων πλησμονῆν· λοιπὸν οὖν εἶναι τὴν ἐν τῇ παρὸδῳ γεγυμόμενην ἰδονήν τοσούτων ἄνευσθαι χρημάτων. εἰκὸτα δὲ πάσχειν ἐλεγείν αὐτοὺς ὑπ’ ἀπαίδευσιας τὰς ἀληθεστέρας ἰδονὰς ἀγνοοῦντας, δι’ ἀπασῶν φιλοσοφία χαρηγός ἐστίν τοὺς πονεῖν προαιρομένους.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις δρομένων πολλά μὲν διεξῆν, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπομένων, τὰς ὑβρείς, τοὺς ἐπικεκλέμιους τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐκφρομένους. ἐν δὲ τι καὶ μάλιστα μισεῖν ἐφ’κειν, πολὺ δ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς βαλανείοις ἐπιχωριάζον προϊόντας γὰρ τινας τῶν οἰκετῶν δὲ βοῶν καὶ παραγγέλλειν προοράσθαι τοῖς ποδῶι, ἢν ὕψηλον τι ἢ κοῦλον μέλλωσιν ὑπερβαίνειν, καὶ ὑπομμηνήσκειν αὐτοὺς, τὸ καινότατον, 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-breadths, the extent of the longest human throat. "Before eating," said he, "they get no good out of what they have bought, and after eating, the sense of fulness is no more agreeable because it derives from expensive food; it follows, then, that it is the pleasure of swallowing which has cost them so dear." And he said that it served them right for being uneducated and consequently unfamiliar with the truer pleasures, which are all dispensed by philosophy to those who elect a life of toil.

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

Ταῦτα τε καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα διελθὼν κατέπαυσε τὸν λόγον. ἕγῳ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦκουν αὐτοῦ τεθητός, μὴ συμπίσιγα περοβημένος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπαύσατο, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν Φαιάκου πάθος ἐπεπόνθευν· πολὺν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον ἐσὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεβλέπον κεκηλημένος· εἶτα πολλὴ συγχύσει καὶ ἰλόγγο κατειλημένος τοῦτο μὲν ἱδρώτι κατερρέομην, τοῦτο δὲ φθέγξασθαι βουλόμενος ἐξέπτυτον τε καὶ ἀνεκαπτόμην, καὶ ἡ τε φωνὴ ἐξέλειπε καὶ ἡ γλῶττα διημάρτανε, καὶ τέλος ἐδάκρυν ἀπορούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐντυπολῆς οὐδὲς ἐνυχεῖν ἥμῶν ὁ λόγος καθίκετο, βαθεία δὲ καὶ καύριος ἡ πληγὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλα εὐστόχος ἐνεχθεὶς ὁ λόγος αὐτήν, εἰ οἶνον τε εἰπεῖν, διέκοψε τὴν ψυχήν· εἰ γὰρ τε δεῖ καμὲ ἡ ἡδιοσφόφοις προσάφασθαι λόγων, ὁδὲ περὶ τούτων ὑπείληφα· δοκεῖ μοι ἄνδρὸς εὐφυοῦς ψυχῆς μᾶλλον σκοπῆ 36 τινι ἀπαλᾷ προσεοικεῖαν. τοξόται δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὸν βίον καὶ μεστοὶ τὰς φαρέτρας ποικίλων τε καὶ παντοδαπῶν λόγων, οὐ μὴν πάντες εὐστοχα τοξεύοσιν, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν σφόδρα τὰς νευρὰς ἀπετείναντες ἐντούτοις τοῦ δέοντος ἁφιᾶσιν καὶ ἀππονται μὲν καὶ οὕτωι, τὰ δὲ βέλη αὐτῶν οὐ μενεὶ ἐν τῷ σκοπῷ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδρότητος

1 οὕτωι, Sommerbrodt: οὕτω τῆς ὓδου 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 Phaecians of old,\(^1\) for I stared at him a long time spellbound. Afterwards, in a great fit of confusion and giddiness, I dripped with sweat, I stumbled and stuck in the endeavour to speak, my voice failed, my tongue faltered, and finally I began to cry in embarrassment; for the effect he produced in me was not superficial or casual. My wound was deep and vital, and his words, shot with great accuracy, clove, if I may say so, my very soul in twain. For if I too may now adopt the language of a philosopher, my conception of the matter is that the soul of a well-endowed man resembles a very tender target. Many bowmen, their quivers full of words of all sorts and kinds, shoot at it during life, but not with success in every case. Some draw to the head and let fly harder than they should: though they hit the target, their arrows do not stick in it, but owing to

\(^{1}\) Odys. 11, 333.
διελθόντα καὶ παροδεύσαντα κεχηρινὰν μόνον τῷ τραύματι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέλυσεν. ἂλλοι δὲ πάλιν τούτως ὑπεναιτώς· ὑπὸ γάρ ἀσθενείας τε καὶ ἀτονίας οὐδὲ ἐφικνεῖται τὰ βέλη αὐτῶς ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν σκοπόν, ἀλλ’ ἐκλυθέντα καταπέπτετε πολλάκις ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὠδοῦ· ἢν δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐφίκηται, ἀκρον μὲν ἐπιλέγην ἀπτεται, βαθειὰν δὲ οὐκ ἐργάζεται πληγήν· οὐ γάρ ἄμεθυστὸς ἐμβολῆς ἀπεστέλλετο. ὅστις δὲ ἄγαθος τοξότης καὶ τούτῳ ὅμοιος, πρώτους μὲν ἄκριβῶς ὄψεται τὸν σκοπόν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα μαλακός, εἰ μὴ στερρότερος τοῦ βέλους· γῆγνουνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀτροτοι σκοποὶ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταύτα ἐδή, τηνυκαύτα χρίσας τὸ βέλος οὔτε ἕδ, καθάπερ τὰ Σκυθῶν χρίσει, οὔτε ὅπως, καθάπερ τὰ Κουρήτων, ἀλλ’ ἡρέμα δηκτικὸ τε καὶ γηλυκεῖ φαρμάκῳ, τούτῳ χρίσας εὐτέχους ἐτόξευσε· τὸ δὲ ἐνέχθην εἰ μᾶλα ἐντόνως καὶ διακόμην ἄχρι τοῦ διελθεῖν μὲνεί τε καὶ πολὺ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἀφίσσειν, ὅ δὴ σκιδνάμενον ὄλην ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ψυχὴν περιέρχεται. τούτῳ τοι καὶ ἤδονται καὶ δακρύσουσι μεταξὺ ἀκούοντες, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπασχον, ἡσυχὴ ἀμα τοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν ψυχὴν περιβέοντος. ἐπήξει δ’ οὖν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπος ἐκεῖνο λέγειν· βάλλ’ οὔτως, αἱ κέν τι φῶς γένησαι. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ Φρυγίου αὐλοῦ ἀκούοντες οὐ πάντες μαίνονται, ἀλλ’ ὁπόσοι αὐτῶν τῇ Ἑρα λαμβάνονται, οὔτοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλος ὑπομιμησκονται τοῦ πάθους, οὔτω δὴ καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκούοντες οὐ πάντες ἐνθεοῦ καὶ τραυματίαι ἀπλάσιων, ἀλλ’ οῖς ὑπῆρ τι ἐν τῇ φύσει φιλοσοφίας συγγενέσι.
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 Seythians nor in vegetable poison like those of the Curetes, but in a sweet, gently-working drug, and then shoots with skill. The arrow, driven by just the right amount of force, penetrates to the point of passing through, and then sticks fast and gives off a quantity of the drug, which naturally spreads and completely pervades the soul. That is why people laugh and cry as they listen, as I did—of course the drug was quietly circulating in my soul. I could not help quoting him the well-known line: "Shoot thus, if so thou mayest prove a salvation!" 2 Not everyone who hears the Phrygian flute goes frantic, but only those who are possessed of Rhea and are put in mind of their condition by the music. In like manner, naturally, not all who listen to philosophers go away enraptured and wounded, but only those who previously had in their nature some secret bond of kinship with philosophy.

1 Iliad 17, 599.  
2 Iliad 8, 282.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Ως σεμνὰ καὶ θαυμάσια καὶ θειὰ γε, ὦ 38 ἑταῖρε, διελήλυθας, ἐλελήθεις δὲ με πολλῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἀμβροσίας καὶ τοῦ λατοῦ κεκορεσμένος. ὡστε καὶ μεταξὺ σοῦ λέγοντος ἔπασχόν τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ πανσαμένου ἄχθομαι καὶ ἵνα δὴ καὶ κατὰ σὲ εἶπω, τέτρωμαι· καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης· οἶσθα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῶν κυνῶν τῶν λυσσώντων δηχθέντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνοι λυσσῶσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν τιναις ἑτέρους ἐν τῇ μανίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαθῶσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκφρονεὶς γίγνονται· συμμεταβαλὼν γὰρ τι τοῦ πάθους ἀμα τῷ δῆγματι καὶ πολυγονεῖται ὣ νόσος καὶ πολλῆ γίγνεται τῆς μανίας διαδοχή.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἢμῖν μανίαν2 ὡμολογεῖς;
Πάνω μὲν οὖν, καὶ προσέτι δέομαι γέ σου κοινὴν τινα τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπινοεῖν.
Τὸ τοῦ ἄρα Τηλέφου ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν.
Ποῦν αὖ λέγεις;
Ἐπὶ τὸν τρώσαντα ἐλθόντας ἰὰσθαι παρακαλεῖν.

1 ἑτέρους Schmieder: ἑτέρους καὶ αὐτοὶ MSS.
2 μανίαν Α.Μ.Η.: ἔραν MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

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

B. Then you admit your madness?

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

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

A. What's your meaning now?

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

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

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 βίως τὸ παντάπασιν ἀμοιρος ἔσεσθαι ἄνδρῶν λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματος ἀρετὴν ὑπερβυνά καὶ γνώμην ἄκρος φιλόσοφον ἐκφαίνειν1 λέγω δὲ εἰς τὸν Βοιώτιον Σωστράτου ἀναφέρων, διὸ Ἡρακλέα οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐκάλουν καὶ φώντο εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς Δημώνακτα τὸν φιλόσοφον, οὐδὲ καὶ εἰδὼν αὐτὸς καὶ ἱδὼν ἑθαύμασα, θατέρῳ δὲ τῷ Δημώνακτῳ καὶ ἔπι μῆκιστον συνεγενόμην. περὶ μὲν οὖν Σωστράτου ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ γέγραπται μοι καὶ δεδηλωται μέγεθος τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχύος ὑπερβολή καὶ ἡ ὑπαιθρός ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ δίωται καὶ ἡ ἐπίστονος εὐνή καὶ τροφαὶ ὀρειοὶ καὶ ἐργα οὐκ ἀποδέε τοῦ ὀνόματος ὀσὰ2 ἡ ληστὰς αἵρων ἐπραξεν ἢ ὀδοποιὸν τὰ ἀβατα ἢ γεφυρῶν τὰ δύσπορα. περὶ δὲ Δημώνακτος ἦδη δικαίους λέγειν ἀμφοῖν ἐνεκα, ὡς ἐκείνος τε διὰ μνήμης εἰη τοῖς ἀρίστοις τὸ γε κατʼ ἐμὲ καὶ οἱ γενναῖοιταὶ τῶν νέων καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὀρμῶντες ἐχοιεν μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἄρχαὶα μόνα τῶν παραδειγμάτων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥυθμίζειν, ἀλλὰ κακὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου βίου κανόνα προτίθεσαι καὶ ξηλοῦν ἐκείνον ἀρίστον ἰὸν οἶδα ἐγὼ φιλοσόφους γενόμενον.

1 ἐκφαίνειν MSS.: ἐκφαγεῖν Cobet.
2 ὀσὰ K. Schwartz: καὶ ὀσα 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, and have described his size and excessive strength, his open-air life on Parnassus, his bed that was no bed of ease, his mountain fare and his deeds (not inconsistent with his name) 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.
Ην δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος Κύπριος, οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν 3 ὁσα εἰς ἀξίωμα πολιτικὸν καὶ κτήσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τούτων υπεράνω γενόμενος καὶ ἄξιόως ἐαυτὸν τῶν καλλίστων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁμηρησεν οὐκ Ἀγαθοβουλοῦ μᾶ Δί, οὐδὲ Δημη-
τρίου πρὸ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ Ἐπικτήτου ἑπεγειράντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι μὲν συνεγένετο τούτοις καὶ ἐτὶ Τιμο-
κράτει τῷ Ἡρακλεώτῃ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ φωνήν τε καὶ ψυχόμην μίλιστα κεκοσμημένος. ἀλλ’ ὅγε Δημώναξ
οὐχ ὑπὸ τούτων τινός, ὥσ ἐφη, παρακληθεῖς, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ οἰκείας πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ὀρμῆς καὶ ἐμφύτου
πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἔρωτος ἐκ παῖδων εἰθὺς κεκωπη-
μένος ὑπερείδεσθον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀγαθῶν
ἀπάντων, ὅλων δὲ παραδόυσι ἑαυτὸν ἔλευθερία καὶ
παρρησία διετέλεσεν αὐτός τε ὅρθω καὶ ψυχὲ καὶ
ἀνεπιλήπτῳ βίῳ χρώμενος καὶ τοῖς ὀρῶσι καὶ
ἀκούσα σαράνταμα παρέχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην
καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀλῆθειαν. οὐ μὴν 4
ἀνίπτως γε ποσίν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς ταῦτα
ζεύγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιηταῖς σύντροφος ἐγένετο καὶ
τῶν πλείστων ἐμέμνηντο καὶ λέγειν ἡσυχίον καὶ
τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφία προσαρέσεις οὐκ ἐπὶ ὁλίγον
οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν παρομίαν ἀκρῷ τῷ δακτύλῳ
ἀφάμενος ἡπίστατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἐγεγύμναστο καὶ
πρὸς καρτερίαν διεπετόντο, καὶ τὸ ὅλων
ἐμεμειχεῖ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀλλὰ προσδεδέ ἐναἰ-
ωστε ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐμαθεὶ οὐκέτι ἑαυτῷ διαρκῶν, ἐκὼν
ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βίου πολὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον τοῖς
ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλυτῶν.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ εἶδος οὐχ ἐν ἀποτελέσματος, 5
ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἐς ταύτῳ καταμέξας οὐ πάντα τι

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DEMONAX

He was a Cypriote by birth, and not of common stock as regards civic rank and property. Nevertheless, rising above all this and thinking that he deserved the best that life offers, he aspired to philosophy. It was not at the instigation of Agathobulus or his predecessor Demetrius or Epictetus, though he studied with all these men and with Timocrates of Heraclia besides, a wise man of great sublimity in thought as well as in language. As I was saying, however, Demonax was not enlisted in the cause by any of these men, but even from his boyhood felt the stirring of an individual impulse toward the higher life and an inborn love for philosophy, so that he despised all that men count good, and, committing himself unreservedly to liberty and free-speech, was steadfast in leading a straight, sane, irreproachable life and in setting an example to all who saw and heard him by his good judgment and the honesty of his philosophy. You must not conceive, however, that he rushed into these matters with unwashed feet, as the saying goes: he was brought up on the poets and knew most of them by heart, he was a practised speaker, his acquaintance with the schools of philosophy was not secured either in a short time or (to quote the proverb) “with the tip of his finger,” he had trained his body and hardened it for endurance and in general he had made it his aim to require nothing from anyone else. Consequently, when he found out that he was no longer sufficient unto himself, he voluntarily took his departure from life, leaving behind him a great reputation among Greeks of culture. He did not mark out for himself a single form of philosophy but combined many of them, and never
εξεφαίνε τών αυτών ἐχαίρεν· ἐφεκε δὲ τῷ Σωκράτει μᾶλλον οἰκείωσθαι, εἰ καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τού βίου ραστώνη τῶν Συνωπέα ζηλοῦν ἐδοξεῖν, οὐ παραχαράττων τὰ εἰς τὴν δίαιταν, ὁς θαυμάζωτο καὶ ἀποβλέποιτο ύπὸ τῶν ἐνυγχανόντων, ἀλλ’ ὁμοδιάιτο ἀπασὶ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος1 δὲν καὶ οὐδ’ ἔπ’ ὀλίγον τύφῳ κάτοχος συνήν καὶ ξυνεπολιτεύετο, τήν μὲν τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰρωνείαν οὐ προσέμενος, χάριτος δὲ Ἀττικής μεστὰς ἀποφαίνον τὰς συνομο-σίας, ὡς τοὺς προσομιλήσαντας ἀπιέναι μήτε καταφρονήσαντας ὡς ἀγενοῦς μήτε τὸ σκυθρωτὸν τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἀποφεύγοντας, παντοῦ δὲν ὑπ’ εὐφροσύνης γενομένους καὶ κοσμιωτέρους παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φαινοτέρους καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐκλ-πιδας. οὐδεπῶπτε γοῦν ὅφθη κεκραγὼς ὃ ἦν ὑπερδιατείνεμος ἢ ἄγανακτῶν, οὔ δ’ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ δέοι, ἄλλα τῶν μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων καθήπτετο, τοῖς δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσι συνεγίνωσκεν, καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα παρὰ τῶν ἵστερον ἥξιον λαμβάνειν τὰ μὲν νοσήματα ἱωμένων, ὀργῇ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νοσοῦντας οὐ χρωμένων· ἴγειτο γὰρ ἄνθρώπου μὲν εἶναι τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν, θεοῦ δὲ ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἱσοθέου τὸ πταισθέντα ἐπανορθοῦν.

Τοιοῦτο δὴ βίω χρωμένος εἰς ἑαυτὸν μὲν 8 οὐδενὸς ἐδείτο, φίλοις δὲ συνέπραττε τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνυχεῖν δοκοῦντας αὐτῶν ὑπεμίμη-σκεν ὡς ἐπ’ ὀλιγοχρονίσιοι τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐπαιρομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἢ πενίαιν ὄδυρομένους ἢ φυγήν δυσχεραίνουσας ἢ γήρας ἢ νόσου αὐτωμένους σὺν γέλωτι παρεμιθεῖτο, οὐχ ὀρκώντας ὅτι μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτοῖς παύσεται μὲν τὰ ἀνιῶντα,

1 ὁμοτράπεζος Nil. : τεξῆς MSS.
DEMONAX

would quite reveal which one he favoured. Probably he had most in common with Socrates, although he seemed to follow the man of Sinope\(^1\) in dress and in easy-going ways. He did not, however, alter the details of his life in order to gain the wonder and attract the gaze of men he met, but led the same life and ate the same food as everyone else, was not in the least subject to pride, and played his part in society and politics. He did not cultivate the irony of Socrates; his conversations were full of Attic charm, so that his visitors, on going away, did not feel contempt for him because he was ill-bred or aversion to his criticisms because they were gloomy, but were beside themselves for joy and were far better, happier and more hopeful of the future than when they came. He never was known to make an uproar or excite himself or get angry, even if he had to rebuke someone; though he assailed sins, he forgave sinners, thinking that one should pattern after doctors, who heal sicknesses but feel no anger at the sick. He considered that it is human to err, divine or all but divine to set the fallen on their feet.

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

\(^1\) Diogenes.
λήθη δὲ τις ἁγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἐλευθερία μακρὰ πάντας ἐν ὅλης καταληψεται. ἔμελεν δὲ 9 αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς στασιάζοντας διαλέττειν καὶ γυναῖξι πρὸς τοὺς γεγαμηκότας εἰρήνην πρωτα- νεύεις καὶ που καὶ δήμοις παρατημόμενοι ἐμμελῶς διελέχθη καὶ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἐπεισεν ὑποτρήπτες τῇ πατρίδι τὰ μέτρια.

Τοιούτος τις ἦν ὁ τρόπος τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῦ, πρᾶσος καὶ ἡμερος καὶ φαιδρός μόνον 10 αὐτὸν ἤνια φίλου νόσος ἢ θάνατος, ὥσ ἂν καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπως ἁγαθῶν τῆς φιλίας ἡγούμενον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φίλος μὲν ἦν ἀπασι καὶ οὐκ ἔστω ὅτι εἰς οὐκ ὁδεῖον ἐνόμιζαν, ἀνθρωπόν γε ὑμα, πλέον δὲ ἢ ἔλαττον ἐχαίρε συνῶν ἐνίος αὐτῶν, μόνοις ἐξιστάμενος ὁπόσοι ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπιστῆς διαμαρτά- νειν. καὶ πάντα ταύτα μετὰ Χαρίτων καὶ Ἀφρο- δίτης αὐτῆς ἔπραττέν τε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἂν, τὸ κωμικὸν ἐκεῖνο, τῇ πειθώ τοὺς χείλεσιν αὐτὸν ἐπικαθήσθαι.

Τοιγαροῦν καὶ Ἀθηναῖων ὅ τε σύμπας δήμος 11 καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει ὑπερφυὸς ἑθαύμαζον αὐτὸν καὶ διετέλον ὡς τινα τῶν κρειττῶν προσβλέποντες. καὶ τοι ἄρχῃ προσέκρουν τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ μᾶςις οὐ μεῖον τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ1 παρὰ τοῖς πλή- θευς ἐκτῆσατο ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ ἐλευ- θερίᾳ, καὶ τώς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν συνεστήσαν Ἀνυντοὶ καὶ Μέλητοι τὰ αὐτὰ κατηγοροῦντες ἀπερ κάκει- νον οἱ τότε, ὅτι οὔτε θύμῳ ὁφθή πώποτε οὕτε ἐμνήθη μόνοσ ἁπάντων ταῖς Ἔλενεσινίαις· πρὸς

1 πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ἀ.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.
άπερ ἀνδρείωσ μάλα στεφανωσάμενος καὶ καθαρὸν ἰμάτιον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς, τὰ δὲ καὶ τραχύτερον ἥ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαιρεσιν ἀπελογησατο' πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ τεθυκέναι πῶς τῇ Ἁθηνᾷ, Μὴ θαυμάσητε, ἐφη, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῆς ἔθυσα, οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι αὐτὴν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ θυσίῶν ὑπελάμβανον. πρὸς δὲ θάτερον, τὸ τῶν μυστηρίων, ταῦτην ἐφη ἔχειν αἴτιαν τοῦ μὴ κοινωνῆσαι σφίσι τῆς τελετῆς, ὅτε, ἃν τε φαύλα ή τὰ μυστήρια, οὐ σιωπήσεται πρὸς τοὺς μηδέπω μεμυημένους, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέψει αὐτοὺς τῶν ὅργιων, ἃν τε καλά, πάσιν αὐτὰ ἄξαγορεύσει ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας. ὡστε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἥδη λύθουσ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς χεροῖς ἔχοντας πράων αὐτῷ καὶ ἱλεως γενέσθαι αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἑκείνου ἀρξαμένους τιμῶν καὶ αἰδεύοναι καὶ τα τελευταία θαυμάζειν, καίτοι εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγων τραχύτερον ἐχρήσατο τῷ προοιμίῳ. Ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφη Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐμὲ μὲν ὄρωντες ἐστεφανωμένου ὑμείς ἥδη καὶ καταθύσατε, τὸ γὰρ πρότερον οὐκ ἐκαλληρήσατε.

Βούλομαι δὲ ἔνια παραθέσαθαι τῶν εὐστόχως τε ἀμα καὶ ἀστέως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων ἁρξασθαι δὲ ἀπὸ Φαβωρίνου καλὸν καὶ ὅν πρὸς ἑκείνου εἶπεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Φαβωρίνος ἀκούσας τῶν ὡς ἐν γέλωτι ποιοῦτο τὰς ὀμιλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς μελῶν τὸ ἐπικεκλασμένον σφόδρα ὡς ἄγεννες καὶ γυναικεῖον καὶ φιλοσοφία ἥκιστα πρέπον, προσελθὼν ἥρωτα τὸν Δημώνιοκτα, τις ὑπὸ χλευάζοι τὰ αὐτοῦ. Ἀνθρωπος,
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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 Favorinus and what he said to him. When Favorinus was told by someone that Demonax was making fun of his lectures and particularly of the laxity of their rhythm, saying that it was vulgar and effeminate and not by any means appropriate to philosophy, he went to Demonax and asked him: "Who are you to libel my compositions?" "A

1 An eunuch from Arles, of considerable repute as a sophist.
ἀλλοτε δὲ ποτὲ ὁ ἀυτὸς προσελθὼν ἦρώτα τὸν Δημώνακτα, τίνα αἱρεσὶν ἀσπάζεται μᾶλλον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ· ὁ δὲ, Τίς γὰρ σοι εἰπέν ὅτι φιλοσοφῶ; καὶ ἀπιῶν ἢδη παρ' αὐτοῦ μάλα ἢδ' ἐγέλασεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐρωτήσαντος, ἐφ' ὅτι γελᾷ, ἐκεῖνος ἐφη, Γελοίον μοι εἰναι ἐδοξεῖν, εἰ σὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ πόγγωνος ἄξιοίς κρίνεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας αὐτὸς πώγωνα ὑπὸ ἔχων.

Τοῦ δὲ Σιδωνίου ποτὲ σοφιστοῦ 'Ἄθηνασιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος καὶ λέγοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔπαινον τίνα τοιοῦτον, ὃτι πάσης φιλοσοφίας πεπείραται —οὐ χείρον δὲ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν ἃ ἐλεγεν· 'Εὰν 'Ἀριστοτέλης με καλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ Δύκειον, ἔψομαι· ἀν Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ακαδημίαν, ἀφίξομαι· ἀν Ζήνων, ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ διατρίφῳ· ἀν Πυθαγόρας καλῇ, σιωπήσομαι. ἀναστάς οὖν ἐκ μέσων τῶν ἄκρωμένων, ὤντος, ἐφη προσειπών τὸ ὄνομα, καλεῖ σε Πυθαγόρας.

Πύθωνος δὲ τινὸς τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ εὐπαρυφων νεανίσκου ὀραίου ἔρεσχηλοῦντος αὐτὸν καὶ προτείνοντος ἐρώτημα τι σοφιστικὸν καὶ κελεύοντος εἰπεῖν τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ τὴν λύσιν, 'Εν, ἐφη, οἶδα, τέκνον, ὃτι περαίνει· ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἀμφιβολίας σκῶματι καὶ συναπειλήσαντος, Αὐτίκα 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, ὁ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ἧρωτησεν, Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἔχεις;

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τις ἀθλητής καταγελασθεὶς ὑπ’ 16 αὐτοῦ, ὥστις ἐσθήτα ὀφθη ἀνθινὴ ἀμπεχόμενος Ὁλυμπιονίκης ὁν, ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κε- φαλὴν λίθῳ καὶ αἷμα ἔρρηκ, οἱ μὲν παρόντες ἠγανάκτουν ὡς αὐτὸς ἔκαστος τετυπημένος καὶ ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπατον λέναι, ὣς ὁ Ἰατρός Μηδαμός, ἐφη, ὃ ἄνδρες, πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπατον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸν ἰατρόν.

Ἑπεῖ δὲ ποτε καὶ χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον ὅδ’ 17 βαδίζον εὑρεν, γραμματείον ἐν ἠγορᾷ προβεῖς ἥξιον τὸν ἀπολέσαντα, ὥστε εἴῃ τοῦ δακτυλίου δεσπότης, ἤκειν καὶ εἰπόντα ὠλκήν αὐτοῦ καὶ λίθον καὶ τύπου ἀπολαμβάνειν ἤκειν ὁν τις μειράκισκος ὁραίος αὐτὸς ἀπολωλεκέναι λέγων. ἐπεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν υγιές ἔλεγεν, Ἀπιθι, ἐφη, ὃ παῖ, καὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ δακτύλιον φύλαττε, τούτον γὰρ οὐκ ἀπολώλεκες.

Τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τῆς Ἀθήνης 18 νίον αὐτὸ δείξας πάνυ ὁραίον, θηλυδρίαν δὲ καὶ διακεκλασμένοι, Προσαγορεύει σε, ἐφη, ὃ ἐμὸς νῖος οὕτωι, καὶ ὁ Δημώνας, Καλός, ἐφη, καὶ σοῦ ἢξιος καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὤμοιος.

Τὸν δὲ Κυνικὸν τὸν ἐν ἄρκτου δέρματι φιλόσο- 19 φοῦτα οὐχ Ὀμωρᾶτον, ὡσπρ’ ὁνομάζετο, ἀλλ’ Ἀρκεσίλαον καλεῖν ἥξιον.

Ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τινος, τῆς αὐτοῦ ὅρος εὐδαι- μονίας εἶναι δοκεῖ, μόνον εὐδαιμόνια ἐφη τὸν ἐλευθερον ἐκείνου δὲ φήσαντος πολλοὶς ἐλευθέ- ρους εἶναι, Ἄλλ’ ἐκείνου νομίζω τὸν μήτη ἔλπι- 20

1 kalóς MSS. kalós Schwartz.
whereupon Demonax laughingly inquired: "Oh, you will send for your man, then?"

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

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

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

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

When a man asked him what he thought was the definition of happiness, he replied that none but a free man is happy; and when the other said that free men were numerous, he rejoined: "But I have
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ζοντά τι μήτε δεδιότα· ο δέ, Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, τοῦτό τις δύναιτο; ἀπαντες γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολὺ τούτοις δεδουλώμεθα. Καὶ μὴν εἰ κατανοήσεις τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, εὗροις ἂν αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐπίδος οὔτε φόβου ἄξια, παυσομένων πάντως καὶ τῶν ἁνικαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἢδέων.

Περεγρίνου δὲ τοῦ Προτέως ἐπιτυμῶντός αὐτῷ, 21 ὅτι ἐγέλα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσε- παίζε, καὶ λέγοντος, Δημώναξ, οὐ κυνᾶς, ἀπε- κρίνατο, Περεγρίνει, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίζεις.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ φυσικόν τινα περὶ τῶν ἀντιπόδων 22 διαλεγόμενον ἀναστήσας καὶ ἐπὶ φρέαρ ἀγαγών καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν τῷ ύδατι σκιάν ἢρετο, Τοιούτους ἄρα τοὺς ἀντιπόδας εἶναι λέγεις;

'Αλλὰ καὶ μάγου τινὸς εἶναι λέγοντος καὶ 23 ἐπιφάνες ἔχειν ἰσχυρᾶς, ός ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαντας ἀναπεισθήναι 1 παρέχειν αὐτῷ ὡς ὅπσα βούλεται, Μὴ θαύμαζε, ἔφη' καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁμότεχνός εἰμί σοι, καὶ εἰ βούλει, ἐποὺ πρὸς τὴν ἀρτόπωλων καὶ ὅψει με διὰ μιᾶς ἐπιφάνης καὶ μικρῷ τοῦ 2 φαρμάκου πείθοντα αὐτὴν δούναι μοι τῶν ἁρτῶν, αἰνυ- τόμονος τὸ νόμισμα ὡς τὰ ἱσα τῇ ἐπιφή δυνάμενον.

'Επεὶ δὲ 'Ἡρώδης ὁ πάνυ ἐπένθει τὸν 24 Πολυδεύκη πρὸ ὧρας ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἥξιον ὅχημα ξεύγνυσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποψὶς παρίστασθαι ὡς ἀναβησομένῳ καὶ δείπνου παρασκευάζεσθαι, προσελθὼν, Παρὰ Πολυδεύκους, ἔφη, κομίζω σοί

1 ἀναπεισθήναι Schwartz: ἀναπειθεῖν 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.
πινα ἐπιστολήν. ἦσθέντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ οἰηθέντος ὧτι κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀλλοῖς συντρέχει τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰπόντος, Τί οὖν, ὦ Δημόναξ, Πολυδεύκης ἄξιοι; Λιτιάται σε, ἔφη, ὃτι μὴ ἤδη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπει.

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς υἱὸν πενθοῦντι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ 25 ἑαυτὸν καθαίρειν προσελθὼν ἐλεγεν μάγος τε εἶναι καὶ δύνασθαι αὐτῷ ἀναγαγεῖν τοῦ παιδός τὸ εἴδωλον, εἰ μόνον αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινας ἀνθρώπους ὅνομάσει μηδένα πώποτε πεπενθηκότας: ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐνδοιάσαντος καὶ ἀποροῦντος—οὐ γὰρ εἰχέν τινα, οἶμαι, εἰπὲ ἐν τοιούτῳ—Ἐἰτ', ἔφη, ὦ γελοίε, μόνος ἄφορητα πᾶσχει νομίζεις μηδένα ὅρων πένθους ἁμοροῦ;

Καὶ μὴν κακείνων καταγελᾶν ἡξίου τῶν ἐν 26 ταῖς ὁμολαίαις πάνω ἀρχαίοις καὶ ξένοις ὄνομασι χρωμέναι· ἐν γοῦν ἐρωτηθέντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγου τινά καὶ ὑπεραττικός ἀποκριθέντι, Ἡγώ μὲν σε, ἔφη, ὦ ἐταίρε, νῦν ἥρωτησα, σὺ δὲ μοι ὡς ἐπ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀποκρίνη.

Εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, Ἀπίωμεν, 27 Δημόναξ, εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιείον καὶ προσευχόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ νιῶν, Πάνω, ἔφη, κοφῶν ἡγή τὸν Ἀσκληπιον, εἰ μὴ δύναται καντεῦθεν ἡμῶν εὐχομένων ἁκόνειν.

Ἰδὼν δὲ ποτὲ δύο τινὰς φιλοσόφους κομιδῆ 28 ἀπαιδεύτως ἐν ζητήσει ἐρίζοντας καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄτοπα ἑρωτώντα, τὸν δὲ οὐδὲν πρὸς λόγου ἀπο- κρινόμενον, Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ φίλοι, ὦ μὲν ἔτερον τούτων τράγων ἀμέλειειν, ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ κόσκινον ὑποτιθέναι;

Ἀγαθοκλέους δὲ τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ μέγα φρό- 29
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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 Polydences want, Demonax?" "He finds fault with you," said he, "for not going to join him at once!"

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

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

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

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

When Agathocles the Peripatetic was boasting
νοῦντος ὅτι μόνος αὐτὸς ἦστιν καὶ πρῶτος τῶν διαλεκτικῶν, ἤφη. Καὶ μήν, ὁ Ἀγαθόκλεις, εἰ μὲν πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος.

Κεθήγου δὲ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ, ὅποτε διὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆλθε προσβεύσων τῷ πατρί, πολλὰ καταγέλαστα καὶ λέγοντος καὶ ποιοῦντος, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐταίρων τις ὀρῶν ταύτα ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν μέγα κάθαρμα εἶναι, Μὰ τὸν Δῆ', ἤφη ὁ Δημόναξ, οὐδὲ μέγα.

Καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ποτε τὸν φιλόσοφον ἴδων μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν μαθητῶν ἔξελαινοντα— ἦδι δὲ ἀπῆλθε μετάπεμπτος ὡς ἐπὶ παίδεια τῷ βασιλείᾳ συνεσόμενος—Προσέρχεται, ἤφη, Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ οἱ Ἀργοναύται αὐτὸν.

Ἀλλου δὲ ποτε ἐρομένου εἰ ἀθάνατος αὐτῷ ἢ ψυχὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι, Ἀθάνατος, ἤφη, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα.

Περὶ μέντοι Ἡρώδου ἔλεγεν ἀληθεύειν τὸν Πλάτωνα φάμενον, οὔ μιαν ἡμᾶς ψυχὴν ἔχειν, οὔ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς Ῥῆγιλλαν καὶ Πολυδεύκην ὡς ζῶντας ἐστίναν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μελετᾶν.

Ἐτόλμησε δὲ ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἑρωτῆσαι δημοσίᾳ τῆς προρρήσεως ἀκοῦσεις, διὰ τίνα αὐτίνα ἀποκλείουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν τῆν τελετὴν αὐτοῖς καταστησαμένου Εὐμόλπου βαρβάρου καὶ Ὀρακός ὄντος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε πλείν μέλλοντι αὐτῷ διὰ χειρῶν ἔφη τις τῶν φίλων. Οὐ δέδοικας μὴ ἀνατραπέντος τοῦ σκάφους ὑπὸ ἰχθύων κατα-
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that he was first among the logicians—that there was no other, he said: "Come now, Agathocles; if there is no other, you are not first: if you are first, then there are others."

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Alluding to Apollonius of Rhodes and his poem on the Argonauts, and implying that this was another quest of the Golden Fleece.
² Wife of Herodes.
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βρωθῆς: Ἀγνώμων ἃν εἴη, ἔφη, ὅκυρων ὑπὸ ἰχθύων κατεδεσθήναι τοσοῦτος αὐτὸς ἰχθὺς καταφαγῶν.

Ῥήτορι δὲ τινι κάκιστα μελετήσαντι συνεβοῦ- 36 λευν ἀσκεῖν καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, Ἄλει ἐπὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγω, Εἰκότως τοίνυν, ἔφη, τοιαῦτα λέγεις μωρῷ ἀκροατῇ χρώμενος.

Καὶ μάντιν δὲ ποτε ἴδων δημοσία ἐπὶ μισθῶ 37 μαντευόμενον, Οὐχ ὅρῳ, ἔφη, ἔφ γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπαιτεῖς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἄλλαξαι τι δυνάμενος τῶν ἐπικεκλωσμένων, ὅλον αὐτές ὄπόσον ἂν αὐτῆς, εἴ δὲ ὡς δέδοκται τῷ θεῷ πάντα ἐσται, τί σοι δύναται ἡ μαντική?

Πρεσβύτου δὲ τινὸς Ῥωμαίου εὐσωματοῦν- 38 τος τὴν ἐνόπλιον αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς πάτταλον ἐπιδειξαμένου καὶ ἐρομένου, Πῶς σοι, Δημώναξ, μεμαχήσασθαι ἐδοξά; Καλῶς, ἔφη, ἂν ἔλλισσαι τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἔχης.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπόρους τῶν ἑρωτή- 39 σεων πάνω εὐστόχως παρεσκεύαστο· ἐρομένου γὰρ τινὸς ἐπὶ χλεανισμῷ. Εἰ χιλίας μνᾶς ἔλλισσαν καύσαμι, ὁ Δημώναξ, πόσαι μνῖ πάντω δεινοῦ γένοιτο; Στήσον, ἔφη, τὴν σποδόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν κατόπος ἐσται.

Πολυβίου δὲ τινὸς, κομιδῆ ἀπαιδεύτου ἄνθρω- 40 που καὶ σολοίκου, εἰπόντος, Ὁ βασιλεὺς με τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία τετίμηκεν. Εἶδε σε, ἔφη, Ἑλληνα μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίον πεποίηκε. 1

Ἰδὼν δὲ τινα τῶν εὐπαροῦφων ἐπὶ τῷ πλάτει 41 τῆς πορφύρας μεγά φρονοῦντα, κύψας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ οὖς καὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος λαβόμενος καὶ δεῖξας,

1 πεποίηκε Bekker: πεποίηκεν MSS.

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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,
Τοῦτο μέντοι πρὸ σοῦ πρόβατον ἔφορει καὶ ἦν πρόβατον.

Ἐπεὶ μέντοι λονόμενος ὄκυνησεν ἐς τὸ ὦδωρ 42 ζέων ἐμβηναι, καὶ ἥτιάσατο τις ὅς ἀποδειλιά-
ςαντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτὸ πείσε-
σθαι ἐμελλὼν;

Ερωμένου δὲ τινὸς, Ποία νομίζεις εἶναι τὰ ἐν 43 "Αἰδοῦ; Περίμεινον, ἐφη, κακεἰθέν σοι ἐπιστελῶ.

Ἀδμήτῳ δὲ τινὶ ποιητῇ φαύλω λέγοντι γεγρα-
φέναι μονόστιχον ἐπίγραμμα, διότι ἐν ταῖς διαθή-
καις κεκέλευκεν ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτοῦ τῇ στήλῃ—
οὐ χεῖρον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν,

Γαῖα λάβ᾽" Ἀδμήτου ἐλυτρον, βῆ δ᾽ εἰς θεοῦ

αὐτὸς—

γελάσας εἶπεν, Οὔτω καλῶν ἐστιν, ὃ "Ἀδμητε,
τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃστε ἐβουλόμην αὐτὸ ἥδη ἐπι-

γεγράφθαι.

Ἰδὼν δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σκελῶν αὐτοῦ οἷα τοῖς 45
γέρουσιν ἐπιεικῶς γίνεται, ἤρετο. Τί τοῦτο, ὃ
Δημώναξ; ὃ δὲ μειδιάσας, Χάρων με ἔδακεν, ἐφη.

Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιον τινα ἵδων τῶν 46
αὐτοῦ οἰκέτην μαστιγοῦσα, Παῦσαι, ἐφη, ὀμό-

τιμον σαντοῦ τὸν δοῦλον ἀποφαίνων.

Δανάης δὲ τινὸς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δίκην 47
ἐχούσης, Κρίθητι, ἐφη, οὐ γὰρ εἰ Δανάη ἡ
Ἄκρισιον θυγάτηρ.

Μάλιστα δὲ ἐπολέμει τοῖς οὐ πρὸς ἄλληθειν 48
ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἕνα γοῦν ἢδῶν
Κυνικὸν τρίβωνα μὲν καὶ πήραν ἐχοῦτα, ἀντὶ δὲ
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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 tomb-
stone. 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.
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τῆς βακτηρίας ύπερον, καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι 'Αντισθένους καὶ Κράτητος καὶ Διογένους ἔστι ξηλωτῆς, Μὴ ψεύδου, ἐφη, σὺ γὰρ Ὁπερείδου μαθητής ὄν τυχάνεις.

'Επει μὲντοι πολλοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐδρὰ 49 κακομαχοῦντας καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐναγώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν δάκνοντας, Οὐκ ἀπεικότως, ἐφη, τοὺς υἱῶν ἀθλητὰς οἱ παρομαρτοῦντες λέοντας καλοῦσιν.

'Αστείον δὲ κάκεινο αὐτοῦ καὶ δηστεικὸν ἁμα 50 τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀνθυπατον εἰρημένου· ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν πιττουμένων τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅλον· Κυνικοῦ δὲ τινος ἐπὶ λίθου ἀναβάντος καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν κατηγοροῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς κιναιδίαν διαβάλλοντος, ἀγανακτήσας καὶ κατασπασθῆναι τῶν Κυνικοῦ κελεύσας ἐμελλεν ἡ ξύλοις συντρίψειν ᾧ καὶ φυγῇ ξημώσειν· ἄλλ' ὦ γε Δημώναξ παρατυχόν παρηγεῖτο συγγρύμην ἐχειν αὐτὸ κατὰ τινα πάτριοι τῶν Κυνικοῆς παρρησίαν θρασυνομένη. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, Νῦν μὲν σοι ἀφίημι αὐτὸν, ἂν δὲ ύπερον τοιοῦτον τι τολμήσῃ, τί παθεῖν ἄξιος ἐστιν; καὶ οἱ Δημώναξ, Δρωπακισθῆναι τὸτε αὐτὸν κέλευσον.

'Αλλὰ δὲ τινι στρατοπέδῳ ἁμα καὶ ἔθνους 51 τοῦ μεγίστου τὴν ἄρχην ἐμπιστευθέντι ἐκ βασιλεῶς ἐρωμένῳ, τῶς ἀριστα ἄρξει; 'Αργητῶς, ἐφη, καὶ ὅλγα μὲν λαλῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ἄκοιν.

'Ερωμένῳ δὲ τινι εἰ καὶ αὐτός πλακοῦντας 52 ἔσθιοι, Οὔει οὖν, ἐφη, τοῖς μωροῖς τὰς μελίσσας τιθέναι τὰ κηρία;
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 eat honey-cakes?" he replied: "What! do you think the bees lay up their honey just for fools?"

1 Perhaps an unknown Cynic; but the name may be used just for the sake of the pun, without reference to a definite person.
Πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ποικίλῃ ἀνδριάντα ἵδων τὴν χεῖρα 53 ἀποκεκομμένων, ὁψὲ ἐφη Ἀθηναίους εἰκόνι χαλκὴ τετεμηκέναι τὸν Κυνέγειρον.

Καὶ μήν καὶ Ῥουφίνου τὸν Κύπριον— λέγω 54 δὴ τὸν χωλόν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου— ἱδὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς περιπάτοις ἐνδιατρίβοντα, Οὐδὲν ἔστων, ἐφη, ἀναισχυντότερον χωλοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε ὁ Ἐπίκτητος ἐπιτιμῶν ἄμα σινε-βούλευεν αὐτῷ ἀγαγέοντι γυναῖκα καὶ παιδο-ποήσασθαι— πρέπειν γὰρ καὶ τούτο φιλοσόφοι ἀνδρὶ ἔτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καταλιπέν τῇ φύσει— ἐλεγκτικῶτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὀύκοι, ὃ Ἐπίκτητε, δός μοι μέν τῶν σαυτοῦ θυγατέρων.

Καὶ μήν τὸ πρὸς Ἕρμινον τὸν Ἀριστοτελικὸν 56 ἄξιον ἀπομηνυμενεύσαν εἰδὼς γὰρ αὐτὸν παγ-κάκιστον μὲν ὄντα καὶ μυρίᾳ κακὰ ἐργαζόμενον, τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη δ' ἐπαινοῦντα 1 καὶ διὰ στόματος αὐτοῦ τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας ἔχοντα, Ἕρμινε, ἐφη, ἀληθῶς ἄξιος εἰ δέκα κατηγορῶν.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ σκεπτομένων κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν πρὸς 57 Κορινθίους καταστήσασθαι θέαν μονομάχων, προελθὼν εἰς αὐτοὺς, Μὴ πρῶτον ταῦτα, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ψηφίσσετε, ἀν μὴ τοῦ Ἔλεου τὸν βωμὸν καθέλητε.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ὁλυμπίαν ποτὲ ἐλθόντε αυτῷ 58 Ἡλείοι εἰκόνα χαλκὴν ἐψιφίσαντο, Μηδαμᾶς τοῦτο, ἐφη, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἡλείοι, μὴ δῶξητε υἱείς τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ὅτε μήτε Σωκράτους μήτε Διογένους εἰκόνα ἀνατεθείκασιν.

1 ὁ ἐπαινοῦντα Δ.Μ.Η.: δὲ θαυμάζοντα Fritzche: Ἀριστο-τέλη καὶ MSS., Nilén, who sets the comma after Ἀριστοτέλη.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Brother of Aeschylus, who lost his hand at Marathon, and the Painted Porch was so called from a fresco by Polygnotus representing the battle,
"Ἡκουσα δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε καὶ πρὸς τὸν ... 59 τὸν τῶν νόμων ἔμπειρον ταῦτα λέγοντος, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν ἄχρηστοι εἶναι οἱ νόμοι, ἄν τε πονηροὶ ἂν τε ἀγαθοῖς γράφωνται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ δέονται νόμων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ νόμων οὐδὲν βελτίως ἴχνονται.

Τῶν δὲ Ὀμήρου στίχον ἑνα ἦδεν μάλιστα— 60 κάθαν' ὁμῶς ὦ τ' ἀεργός ἀνὴρ ὦ τε πολλὰ ἐοργάς.

'Επήνευ δὲ καὶ τὸν Θερσίτην ὡς Κυνικὸν τινα 61 δημηγόρον.

'Ερωτήθησι δὲ ποτε, τίς αὐτῷ ἀρέσκοι τῶν 62 φιλοσόφων, ἔφη, Πάντες μὲν θαυμαστοί· ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτη μὲν σέβω, θαυμάζω δὲ Διογένη καὶ φιλῶ Ἀρίστιππον.

'Εβίου δὲ ἑτη ὀλίγον δέοντα τῶν ἐκατόν ἁνο- 63 σος, ἀλυπος, οὐδένα ἐνεχλήσας τι ἡ αἰτήσας, φίλοις χρήσιμος, ἐχθρόν οὐδένα οὐδεπώποτε ἐσχήκως· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτα ἔσχουν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀπασά ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡστε παρίόντι ὑπεξανίστασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας, σιωπὴν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρὰ πάντων. τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ ἴδη ὑπέργηρος δόν ἀκλητός εἰς ἣν τύχοι παριῶν. οἰκίαν ἐδείπνει καὶ ἐκάθευδε, τῶν ἐνοικούντων θεοῦ τινα ἐπιφάνειαν ἤγομένων τὸ πράγμα καὶ τίνα ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα εἰσεληλυθέναι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. παριόντα δὲ αἰ ἀρτοπώλιδες ἀνθείλ- κοι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐκάστη ἄξιοῦσα παρ' αὐτῆς λαμ- βάνειν τῶν ἄρτων, καὶ τοῦτο εὐτυχίαν ἐαυτῆς ἢ δεδωκυδὲ ζῆτο. καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς ὅπωρας προσέφερον αὐτῷ πατέρα ὁμομάζοντες. στάσεως 64

1 πρὸς τὸν ... τὸν Α.Μ.Η.: πρὸς τὸν MSS.
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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.
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dé pote Ἀθήνης γενομένης εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ φανεῖς μόνον σιωπαν ἐποίησεν αὐτούς· ὃ δὲ ἰδὼν ἦδη μετεγνωκότας οὐδὲν εἰπὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπηλλάγη.
"Οτε δὲ συνήκεν οὐκέθα οἶός τε ὁν αὐτῶ ἐπικουρεῖν, εἰπών πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας τὸν ἐναγώνιον τῶν κηρύκων πόδα

Λήγει μὲν ἄγων τῶν καλλίστων ἄθλων ταμίας, καὶ ρός δὲ καλεῖ μηκέτι μέλλειν,

καὶ πάντων ἀποσχόμενος ἀπῆλθεν τοῦ βίου φαινός καὶ οἷς ἄεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐφαίνετο. ὁλίγον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ἔρομένου τινός, 66 Περὶ ταφῆς τί κελεύεις; Μή πολυπραγμονεῖτε, ἔφη· ἡ γὰρ ὁμήρα μὲ θάψει. φαμένου δὲ ἐκεῖνου, Ἰτί σου; οὐκ αἰσχρόν ὅρνεοι καὶ κυστὶ βορᾶν προτεθήναι τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρός σῶμα; Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, ἔφη, τὸ ὡς, εἰ μέλλω καὶ ἀποθανόν σοῦ, τοι τῆς χρήσιμος ἔσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν τοῖς 67 Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν δημοσία μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἔτι πολὺ ἐπένθησαν, καὶ τὸν θάκον τοῦ λίθουν, ἔφοιτο εἰσώθει ὁπότε κάμμοι ἀναπαύεσθαι, προσεκύνου καὶ ἐστεφάνους ἐς τιμήν τοῦ ἄνδρός, ἤγουμεν οἱ εἰρον εἰναι καὶ τὸν λίθουν, ἔφοιτο ἐκαθέζετο. ἔπι μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐκφορὰν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, καὶ μᾶλλος τῶν φιλοσοφῶν οὗτοι μέντοι ὑποδύντες ἐκόμιζον αὐτῶν ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν τάφον.

Ταῦτα ὀλίγα πάνω ἐκ πολλῶν ἀπεμνημόνευσα, καὶ ἐστιν ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖς ἀναγινώσκοντι λογιζόμεθα ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ 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.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΤ ΟΙΚΟΤ

Εἴτε Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ 1
Κύδῳ λούσασθαι καλόν τε καὶ διανυγή τὸν ποτα-
μὸν ἱδὼν καὶ ἄσφαλῶς βαθὺν καὶ προσημῶς ὄξυν
καὶ νῆσασθαι ἱδύν καὶ θέρους ὑρα ὕψιρόν, ὡστε
καὶ ἑπὶ προδήλῳ τῇ νόσῳ ἄν ἐνύσῃ ἰν ἀπ' αὐτού,
δοκεῖ μοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀποκέχεσθαι οἶκον
δὲ τὰς ἱδῶν μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον
καὶ φωτὶ φαιδρότατον καὶ χρυσῷ στιλπνότατον
καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειε
λόγους ἐν αὐτῷ διαθέσεις, εἰ τῦχοι περὶ τούτους
διατρίβων, καὶ ἑνευδοκίμησαι καὶ ἕλλαμπρώσθαι
καὶ βοής ἐμπλήσαι καὶ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς
μέρος τοῦ κάλλους αὐτοῦ γενέτεθαί, ἄλλα περι-
σκοπήσας ἀκριβῶς καὶ θαυμάσας μόνον ἀπειρο
κωφὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλογον καταλαβῶν, μὴτε
προσεπτῶν μὴτε προσομήλησας, ὡσπερ τις ἀναυδὸς
ἡ φθόνος σιωπᾶν ἐγνωκός; Ἡράκλεις, οὔ φιλο-
κάλου τινὸς οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ εὐμορφότατα ἐρωτικῷ
τὸ ἔργον, ἀγροκία δὲ πολλή καὶ ἀπειροκαλία καὶ
προσέτι γε ἁμουσία, τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτὸν ἀπαξιοῦν
καὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀποξενοῦν καὶ μὴ συνιέναι
ὡς οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τὰ θεάματα νόμος ἱδίωταις
tε καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
ἀπόχρη τὸ κοινὸν τούτο, ἰδεῖν μόνον καὶ περι-
βλεψαι καὶ τὸ ὀφθαλμὸν περιενεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς
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THE HALL

Alexander longed to bathe in the Cydnus on seeing that the stream was fair and clear, safely deep, agreeably swift, delightful to swim in and cool in the height of summer; even with foreknowledge of the fever which he contracted from it, I do not think he would have abstained from his plunge. Then can it be that on seeing a hall beyond compare in the greatness of its size, the splendour of its beauty, the brilliance of its illumination, the lustre of its gilding and the gaiety of its pictures, a man would not long to compose speeches in it, if this were his business, to seek repute and win glory in it, to fill it with his voice and, as far as lay in him, to become part and parcel of its beauty? Or after looking it over carefully and admiring it, would he rather go away and leave it mute and voiceless, without according it a word of greeting or a particle of intercourse, as if he were dumb or else out of ill-will had resolved to hold his tongue? Heracles! such conduct would not be that of a connoisseur or a lover of beauty; it would be very vulgar, tasteless, even Philistine to despise what is sweetest, to reject what is fairest, and not to comprehend that in all that appeals to the eye, the same law does not hold for ordinary and for educated men. No, for the former it is enough to do the usual thing—just to see, to look about, to cast their eyes everywhere, to crane
τὴν ὄροφὴν ἀνακύψει καὶ τὴν χείρα ἐπισέεσαι καὶ καθ’ ἥσυχαν ἔσθησαι δέει τοῦ μή ἢν δυνηθῆναι ἀξίων τι τῶν ἑλεομένων εἰπεῖν, ὡστὶς δὲ μετὰ παιδείας ὁρὰ τὰ καλὰ, οὐκ ἂν, οἴμαι, ἀγαπησειεν ὅψει μόνης καρπωσάμενος τὸ τερπνὸν οὐδ’ ἂν ὑπομείναι ἀφανὸς θεατὴς τοῦ κάλλους γενέσθαι, πειράσεται δὲ ὡς οἶνον τε καὶ ἐνιατρῶσαι καὶ λόγον ἀμείψασθαι τὴν θέαν. ἦ δὲ ἀμοιβὴ οὐκ ἔπαινος τοῦ ὁἰκον μόνον—τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἵσος ἐκεῖνο τῷ νησιώτῃ μειρακίῳ ἔπρεπε, τὴν Μενελάου οἰκίαν ὑπερκπεπλήκθαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλὰ τὸν ἔλεφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν αὐτῆς ἀπεικαζειν, ἀτε μηδὲν ἐν γῇ καλὸν τι ἄλλο ἑωρακότι—ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους συγκαλέσαντα λόγων ἐπὶδείξιν ποιήσασθαι μέρος τοῦ ἔπαινου καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο ἂν.

Καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὑπερήξιστον, οἴμαι, οἴκων ὁ κάλλωστος ὡς ὑποδοχὴν λόγων ἀναπεπταμένος καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ εὐφημίας μεστὸς ὄν, ἤρεμα καὶ αὐτῶς ὀσπερ τὰ ἄντρα συνεπηκχῶν καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις παρακολουθῶν καὶ παρατείνων τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοῖς υστάτοις τῶν λόγων ἐμβραδύνων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς ἂν τις εὐμαθὴς ἀκροατὴς διαμνημονεύων τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ τὸν λέγοντα ἐπαίνοι καὶ ἀντίδοσιν οὐκ ἄμοισον ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτά; οἶνον τι πάσχουσι πρὸς τὰ αὐλήματα τῶν ποιμένων αἶ σκοπεῖ ἐπαυλοῦσαι, τῆς φωνῆς ἐπαινούσης κατὰ τὸ ἀντίτυπον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναστρεφοῦσης· οἱ δὲ ἰδιώται νομίζοντες παρθένον τινὰ εἶναι τὴν ἀμειβομένην τοὺς ἀδοντας ἥ
THE HALL

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

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

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

βοώντας, ἐν μέσους ποὺ τοῖς κρημνοῖς κατοικοῦσαν καὶ λαλοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἐνδοθεν. Ἕμοι γοῦν δοκεῖ καὶ συνεξαίρεσθαι οἶκου 4 πολυτελεία ἢ τοῦ λέγοντος γνώμη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἐπεγείρεσθαι, καθάπερ τι καὶ ὑποβαλλούσης τῆς θέας σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰσρεῖ τι διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καλῶν, εἴτε πρὸς αὐτὸ κοσμῆσαι ἐκτέμπετε τοὺς λόγους. ἦ τῷ μὲν Ἀχιλλεῖ πιστεύομεν τῇ ὀψιν τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιτείναι κατὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν τῇ ὀργῇ, καὶ ἔπει ἐνέδυ αὐτὰ πειρόμενοι, ἑπερθῆναι καὶ πτερωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἑπιθυμίαν, λόγου δὲ σπούδην μὴ ἐπιτείνεσθαι πρὸς κάλλη χωρίων; καίτοι Σωκράτει μὲν ἀπέκρησε πλάτανος εὐφυῆς καὶ πόα εὐθαλῆς καὶ πηγή διανυγής μικρὸν ἑπὶ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ, κανταύθα καθεξόμενος Παῦδρου τε τοῦ Μυρρινοῦσίου κατειρωνεύτο καὶ τὸν Δυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου λόγου διηλεγγχε καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἐκάλει, καὶ ἐπιστευεῖ ἢξειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν συλληψιμένας 1 τῶν περὶ τού ἐρωτος λόγων, καὶ οὐκ ἡχυνυτο γέρων ἀνθρωπος παρακάλων παρθένους συνασομένας 2 τὰ παιδεραστικά. ἐς δὲ οὕτω καλῶν χωρίων οὐκ ἄν οἰόμεθα 3 καὶ ἀκλήτους αὐτάς ἐλθεῖν;

Καὶ μὴν οὐ κατά γε σκιὰν μόνην οὐδὲ κατὰ 5 πλατάνου κάλλος ἢ ὑποδοχή, ὦδ' ἄν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰλισσῷ καταλιπῶν τὴν βασιλείας λέγεις τὴν χρυσῆν ἔκεινης μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολυτελείᾳ μόνῃ τῷ θαῦμα, τέχνη δὲ ἡ κάλλος ἡ τέρψις ἡ τῷ

1 συλληψιμένας Nilén: συμπεριληψιμένας MSS.
2 συνασομένας Schwartz: συνεσομένας MSS.
3 οἰόμεθα Г, С: οἰόμεθα Ω.

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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 like-
ness of itself the words that it sends out. In the
case of Achilles, the sight of his armour enhanced
his anger at the Trojans, and when he put it on to
try it, he was inspired and transported with the lust
of battle.¹ Then are we to believe that the passion
for speech is not enhanced by beautiful surround-
ings? 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.² May we not
suppose that they would come to a place as beautiful
as this, even without an invitation?

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

¹ Iliad, 19, 16; 384. ² Plato, Phaedrus, 229 seq.
³ Herod. 7, 27.
σύμμετρον ἢ τὸ εὕρημον οὐ συνείργαστο οὐδὲ κατεμέμκτο τῷ χρυσῷ, ἀλλ’ ἤν βαρβαρικὸν τὸ θέαμα, πλούτος μόνον καὶ φθόνος τῶν ἱδόντων καὶ εὐδαιμονισμὸς τῶν ἔχοντων ἔπαινος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ προσήν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμελε τοῖς Ἀρσακίδαις τῶν καλῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπιδείξεις οὐδὲ ἐφρόντιζον εἰ ἐπαινέσονται οἱ θεαταὶ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκπλαγήσονται. οὐ φιλόκαλοι γὰρ, ἀλλὰ φιλόπλουτοι εἰσίν οἱ βάρβαροι. τούτου δὲ τοῦ οἶκου τὸ κάλλος οὐ κατὰ βαρβαρικοὺς τινας ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐδὲ κατὰ Περσικὴν ἀλαξοείαν ἢ βασιλικὴν μεγαλανχίαν οὐδὲ πένητος μόνον, ἀλλὰ εὐφυοῦς θεατοῦ δεόμενον καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῇ ὤψιν ἡ κρίσις, ἀλλὰ τις καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπακολουθεῖ τοῖς βλεπομένοις.  

Τὸ γὰρ τῆς τε ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀποβλέπειν — κάλλιστον δὴ αὑτῆς καὶ ποθεινότατον ἡ ἀρχὴ — καὶ τὸν ἦλιον ὑπερκύψαντα εὐθὺς ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμπίπλασθαι ἐς κόρον ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν θυρῶν [καθ’ ὄ καὶ τὰ ιερὰ βλέπουντα ἐποίουν οἱ παλαιοὶ].  

καὶ τὸ τοῦ μήκους πρὸς τὸ πλάτος καὶ ἀμφοῖν πρὸς τὸ ύψος εὐρύθμον καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ πρὸς ὅραν ἐκάστην εὐέχον, πῶς οὐχ ἤδεα ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια;  

Εἰτὶ δὲ θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις καὶ τῆς ὄροφῆς ἐν τῇ εὐμόρφῳ τὸ ἀπερίττον καὶ τοῦ εὐκόσμῳ τὸ ἀνεπίληπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς τὸ εὐπρεπὲς  

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

\(^1\) Anachronism; the possessors of the tree were the Achaemenid princes.
σύμμετρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ ¹ τὰς χρεῖας ἐπίφθονον, ἀλλ’ ὀπόσον ἂν καὶ γνωστὶ σώφρονι καὶ καλῷ ἀρκέσῃ ἐπισημότερον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ κάλλος, ἢ περὶ τῇ δειρῇ λεπτός τις ὁρμὸς ἢ περὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ σφενδόνῃ εὐφορὸς ἢ ἐν τοῖς ὦτοις ἐλλόβια ἢ πόρπη τις ἢ ταινία τὸ ἄφετον τῆς κόμης συνδέουσα, τοσοῦτον τῇ εὐμορφίᾳ προστιθεῖσα ὅσον τῇ ἐσθήτῃ ἢ πορφύρᾳ: αἱ δὲ γε ἐταῖραι, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ ἀμορφότεραι αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα ὅλην πορφυρᾶν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν χρυσῆν πεποίηται, τῷ πολυτελεῖ θηρώμεθα τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ τὸ ἐνδέουν τῷ καλῷ προσθέσει τοῦ ἕξωθεν τερπνὸν παραμυθούμεναι· ήγοῦνται γὰρ καὶ τὴν ὀλένην αὐταῖς στιλπνοτέραν φανεῖσθαι συναπολάμπουσαν τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ τοῦ ποδός τὸ μῆ εὐπερίγραφον λήσειν ὑπὸ χρυσῷ σανδάλῳ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτὸ ἔρασμωτέρον γενήσεσθαι τῷ φανερότατῳ συνορώμενον. ἀλλ’ ἔκειναι μὲν οὕτως· ἢ δὲ γε σώφρων χρυσῷ ² μὲν τὰ ἄρκοντα καὶ μόνον τὰ ἀναγκαῖα προσχρίται, τὸ δ’ αὐτῆς κάλλος οὐκ ἂν αἰσχύνοντα, οἴμαι, καὶ γυμνὴ δεικνύουσα.

Καὶ τοίχων ἢ τούδε τοῦ οίκου ὀροφῆς, μᾶλλον 8 δὲ κεφαλῆς, εὐπρόσωπος μὲν καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὴν, τῷ χρυσῷ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον κεκόσμηται, ἐς ὁσον καὶ οὐρανὸς ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκ διαστήματος περιλαμπόμενος καὶ ἐκ διαλείμματος ἀνθόν τῷ πυρί. εἰ δὲ γε πῦρ ἦν τὸ πᾶν, οὐ καλὸς ἂν, ἀλλὰ φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν. Ἡδοὶ δ’ ἂν τις οὐδ’ ἄργῳ ἐνταῦθα τῶν χρυσοῦν οὐδὲ μόνον τοῦ τέρποντος εἶνεκα τῷ λουτῷ κόσμῳ συνεσπαρμένον, ἄλλα

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

lavish, but only in such degree as would suffice a modest and beautiful woman to set off her beauty—a delicate chain round her neck, a light ring on her finger, pendants in her ears, a buckle, a band that confines the luxuriance of her hair and adds as much to her good looks as a purple border adds to a gown. It is courtesans, especially the less attractive of them, who have clothing all purple and necks all gold, trying to secure seductiveness by extravagance and to make up for their lack of beauty by the addition of extraneous charms; they think that their arms will look whiter when they are bright with gold, and that the unshapeliness of their feet will escape notice in golden sandals, and that their very faces will be lovelier when seen together with something very bright. This is the course they follow; but a modest girl uses only what gold is sufficient and necessary, and would not be ashamed of her beauty, I am sure, if she were to show it 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 αὐγήν τινα ἦδειαν ἀπολάμπτει καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὅλον ἐπιχρώνυμι τῷ ἐρυθήματι· ὅποταν γὰρ τὸ φῶς προσπεσόν ἐφάγῃται καὶ ἀναμιχθῇ τῷ χρυσῷ, κοινὸν τὰ ἀπαστράπτουσι καὶ διπλασίαν τοῦ ἐρυθήματος ἐκφάνωσι τὴν αἰθρίαν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑψηλὰ καὶ κορυφαία τοῦ οἴκου 9 τοιάδε, ὃμιᾷ τινὸς δεόμενα ἐπαινέτου, ἦν αὐτὸν ἢ ὑψώροφον ὡς τὸν 'Ελένης θάλαμον ἢ αὐγήλευτα ὡς τὸν 'Ολυμπον εἴποι· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ τὰ τῶν τοῖχων γράμματα καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων τὰ κάλλη καὶ τὸ ἐναργής ἐκάστου καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τὸ ἄληθὲς ἔαρος ὄψιν καὶ λεμόνιν δὲ εὐανθεὶ καλὸς ἄν ἔχοι παραβαλεῖν· πλὴν παρ’ ὅσον ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀπανθεῖ καὶ μαραίνεται καὶ ἀλλάττεται καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὸ κάλλος, τούτῳ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἁδιὸν καὶ λεμῶν ἀμάραντος καὶ ἀνθὸς ἀθάνατον, ἀτε μόνης τῆς ὄψεως ἐφαπτομένης καὶ δρεπομένης τὸ ἡδὺ τῶν βλεπομένων.

Τὰ δὴ τοσάτα καὶ τοιαύτα τὸς οὐκ ἄν 10 ἦσθεὶ πικέρων ἢ τὶς οὐκ ἄν προσβιβασθῇ καὶ παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγειν, εἰδὼς αἰσχρότεν ὃν ἀπολευθήσει τῶν ὄρωμένων; ἐπαγωγότατον γὰρ τῇ ὄψιν τῶν καλῶν, οὐκ ἓπ’ ἀνθρώπων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅππος ἦδιον ἂν οἶμαι δρόμοι κατὰ πρανούς πεδίου καὶ μαλακοῦ, προσημός δεχομένον τὴν βάσιν καὶ ἱέρεμα ὑπείκοντος τῷ ποδὶ καὶ μὴ ἀντιτυπώντος τῇ ὁπλῇ· ἄπαντι γοῦν τότε χρῆται τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ ὅλον ἐπιδύος ἑαυτὸν τῷ τάχει ἀμμαλλάται καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κάλλος. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἦρος ἀρχομένου πρὸς λειμῶνα 11

1 ἔαρ and ἀνθὸς Schwartz: τὸ ἔαρ, τὸ ἀνθὸς MSS.
THE HALL

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

Such is the top, the summit of the hall: it needs a Homer to praise it by calling it “high-ceiled” like the chamber of 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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τινα ἐλθὼν, ὅποτε καὶ τὰ ἀνθή πρόεισιν οὐ ποθεινότερα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἄν εἶποι τις ἀνθηρότερα καὶ τὰς βαφὰς καθαρότερα, τότε καὶ οὕτως ἐκπετάσας τὰ πτερὰ καὶ ἀναδείξας τὸ ἡλίον καὶ τὴν οὐράνι ἐπάρας καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτῷ περιστήσας ἐπιδείκνυται τὰ ἁυθντὰ τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔαρ τῶν πτερῶν ὀσπερ αὐτὸν προκαλοῦντος τοὺς λευκῶν ἐς τὴν ἄμμλλαν· ἐπιστρέφει γοῦν ἐαυτὸν καὶ περιάγει καὶ ἐμπομπεύει τῷ κάλλει· ὅτε δὴ καὶ θαυμασιότερος φαίνεται πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν ἀλλαττομένων αὐτῶν τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ μεταβαινόντων ἡρέμα καὶ πρὸς ἔτερον εὐμορφίας ἔδος τρεπομένων· πάσχει δὲ αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν κύκλων, οὐς ἐπ᾽ ἄκροις ἔχει τοὺς πτεροὺς, ἵνα διός τινος ἐκαστον περιθεούσης· ὃ γὰρ τέως χαλκὸς ἦν, τούτο ἐγκλίναστος ὁλόγον χρυσὸς ὁφθη, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ κυνανυγεῖ, εἰ σκιασθείη, χλοανυγεὶ ἐστι· οὕτω μετακοσμεῖται πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἦ πτέρωσις. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἰκανὴ προκαλέσασθαι καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπιστάσασθαι ἐν γαλήνῃ φανείσα, ἵστε, κἂν μὴ εἶπον· ὅτε, εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ἰπειρώσης καὶ ἀπειρόπλους τις εἴη, πάντως ἄν ἐθελήσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβηναί καὶ περιπλέουσα καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποσπάσαι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ βλέποι τὴν μὲν αὐραν κοῦφος ἐπουριάζουσαν τὴν ὠθήμην, τὴν δὲ ναῦν προσηνοῦσε τε καὶ λείως ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων ἡρέμα διολίσθανουσαν τῶν κυμάτων.

Καὶ τούνν καὶ τούδε τοῦ οἶκου τὸ κάλλος ἰκανὸν καὶ παρορμήσαι εἰς λόγους καὶ λέγοντα· ἐπεγείραι καὶ πάντα τρόπων εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρασκευάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τούτως πείθομαι καὶ ἦδη.
THE HALL

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 blossomly 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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πέπεισμαί καὶ ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐπὶ λόγοις παρελθῆλυθα ὁσπερ ὑπὸ ἴναγος ἡ Σειρήνος τῷ κάλλει ἐλκύμενος, ἐλπίδα οὖ μικρὰν ἔχων, εἰ καὶ τέως ἦμιν ἀμορφοὶ ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι, καλοὺς αὐτοὺς φανεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἐσθῆτι καλῆ κεκοσμημένους.

"Εστερος δὲ τις οὐκ ἁγενῖνης λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γενναῖος, ὡς φησι, καὶ μεταξὺ μου λέγοντος ὑπέκρουε καὶ διακόπτειν ἐπειράτο τὴν ρήσιν καὶ ἐπειδή πέπαυμαι, οὐκ ἁληθὰ ταῦτα λέγειν φησὶ με, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν, εἰ φάσκομι ἐπιτηδειότερον εἶναι πρὸς λόγον ἐπίδειξιν οἰκὸν κάλλος γραφῆ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένον· αὐτὸ γὰρ που τοῦναντίον ἀποβαίνειν. μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς παρελθὼν οἱ λόγοι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καθάπερ ἐν δικασταῖς ὑμῖν εἰπάτω, ὅτι λυσιτελέστερον ἡγεῖται τῷ λέγοντι εὐθελείαν οἰκὸν καὶ ἀμορφίαν. ἔριον μὲν ἀκηκόατε ἢδη λέγοντος, ὡστε οὐδὲν δέομαι διὸς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν εἴπειν, ὥ δὲ παρελθὼν ἢδη λεγέτω, κάγῳ σιωπήσομαι καὶ πρὸς ὅλον αὐτῷ μεταστῆσομαι.

"Αυτῷ τοῖς δικασταὶ, φησὶν οἱ λόγοι, ὥ μὲν προειπῶν ῥήτωρ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τόνδε τὸν οἶκον ἐπῆνεσε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῷ λόγῳ ἐκόσμησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσοῦτον δὲν ψόγον αὐτοῦ διεξελεύσεθαι, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου παραλειμμένα προσθήσειν μοι δοκῶ· ὅσω γὰρ ἄν ὑμῖν καλλίων φαίνεται, τοσοῦτε ὑπεναντίος τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος χρείᾳ δειχθῆσεται.

Καὶ πρῶτον γε ἐπειδὴ γυναικῶν καὶ κόσμου καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐκείνος ἐμπνεύσειν, κἀμοι ἐπιτρέψατε χρήσασθαι τῷ παραδείγματι· φημὶ γὰρ οὐν καὶ γυναιξὶ καλαῖς οὐν ὅπως συλλαμβ.
THE HALL

gusted 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 ἐς τὸ εὐμορφότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον τὸν πολὺν, ὅπωταν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐκαστὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐκπλαγείς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ χρώαν ἢ βλέμμα ἢ δειρὴν ἢ πῆχυν ἢ δάκτυλον, ὦ δὲ ταύτ’ ἀφεῖς ἐς τὴν σαρδῆ ἢ τὸν σμάραγδον ἢ τὸν ὄρμον ἢ τὸ ψέλλον ἀποβλέπῃ, ὅστε ἀχθοῦτο ἀν εἰκότως παραρμένῃ διὰ τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἀγώντων σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν θεατῶν, ἀλλὰ πάρεργον αὐτῆς ποιομένων τὴν θέαν. ὅπερ ἀνάγκη, οἴμαι, 16 παθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν οὗτος καλοῖς ἔργοις λόγους δεικνύοντα: λανθάνει γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν καλῶν τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ ἀμαυρωτάται καὶ συναρπάζεται, καθάπερ εἰ λύχνων τις εἰς πυρκαϊὰν μεγάλην φέρων ἐμβάλλει ἢ μύρμηκα ἐπ’ ἐλέφαντος ἢ καμήλου δεικνύο. τούτῳ τε οὐν 1 φυλακτέον τῷ λέγοντι, καὶ προσετὶ μὴ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῆς ἐπιταράττηται 2 ἐν οὗτος εὐφώνῳ καὶ ἡχήντι οὐκ ἐργοὶ λέγων· ἀντιφθέγγυς γὰρ καὶ ἀντιφωνεῖ καὶ ἀντιλέγει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑπικαλύπτει τὴν βοήν, οἷον τι καὶ σάλπυγξ δρὰ τὸν αὐλόν, εἰ συναυλοῖεν, ἢ τοὺς κελευστὰς ἢ θάλαττα, ὅπωταν πρὸς κύματος ἡchan ἐπίδειν τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ θέλωσιν· ἐπικρατεῖ γὰρ ἡ μεγαλοφωνία καὶ κατασιωπᾶ τὸ ἦττον.

Καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο, ὅπερ ἐφῆ ὁ ἀντίδικος, ὡς 17 ἄρα ἐπεγείρει ὁ καλὸς οἶκος τὸν λέγοντα καὶ προθυμότερον παρασκευάζει, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ ἐναντίον ποιεῖν· ἐκπλήττει γὰρ καὶ φοβεῖ καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν διαταράττει καὶ δειλότερον ἐργάζεται ἐνθυμούμενον ὡς ἀπάντων ἐστὶν αἰσχυστὸν ἐν

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

"As to the other point which my opponent made, that a beautiful hall spurs a speaker on and makes him more ambitious, I think it does the opposite. It dazzles and frightens him, disturbs his thought and makes him more timid, for he reflects that it is disgraceful beyond everything that his discourse
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eυμόρφον χωρίς μὴ ὀμοίους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς λόγους. ἐλέγχων γὰρ οὕτως γε ὁ φανερώτατος, ὥσπερ ἂν ἐν τῖς πανυπερήνων καλὴν ἐνδῶς ἑπειτα φεύγω τρός τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπισημότερος δὲν δεῖλος ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων. τοῦτο δὲ μοι δοκεῖ λογισάμενοι καὶ οἱ τού Ὀμήρου ῥήτωρ ἐκεῖνος εὐμορφίας ἐλάχιστον φροντίσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ παντελῶς άιδρει φωτὶ ἕαυτὸν ἀπεικάσαι, ἦν αὐτῷ παραδοξότερον φαινηταὶ τῶν λόγων τὸ κάλλος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀμορφότερον ἐξετάσεως. ἄλλως τε ἀνάγκη πάσα καὶ τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν ἁσχολεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν θέαν καὶ τῆς φροντίδος τὸ ἀκριβῆς ἐκλύειν τῆς ὅψεως ἐπικρατοῦσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν καλοῦσης καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσέχειν οὐκ ἑώσῃς. ὡστε τὰς μηχανῆς μη οὐχὶ πάντως ἔλαττον ἐρεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς ψυχῆς διατρίβουσης περὶ τῶν τῶν ὅρωμένων ἔπαινον;

Εὖδι γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ οἱ παρώντες αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν παρειλημμένοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοιοῦτον οἶκον παρέκλησιν, ἀντὶ ἀκροατῶν θεαταὶ καθίστανται, καὶ οὐχ οὕτω Δημόδοκος ἢ Φήμιος ἢ Θάμυρις ἢ Λυμφίων ἢ Ὁρφεὺς τις λέγων ἑστίν, ὡστε ἀποστάσας τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θέας· ἀλλ’ οὖν ἑκαστος, ἐπειδὰν μόνον ὑπέρβη τὸν οὐδόν, ἀθρόῳ τῷ κάλλει περιχυθεῖσι λόγοις μὲν ἐκεῖνων ἢ ἀκροάσεως ἄλλης ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφοῦ πρὸς οὕτω πρὸς τοὺς ὅρωμένους ἑστίν, εἰ μὴ τούχας τις παντελῶς τυφλῶς ὅν ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ὅσπερ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ ποιοῦτο τῇ ἀκρόασιν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιόμαχον λόγων ἰσχὺς δέρει ἀνταγωνίσασθαι καὶ ὁ Σειρῆνων μύθος

1 ἄλλης Schwartz: ἄλλ’ MSS.
THE HALL

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

"I forbear to say that even those who are present and have been invited to the lecture become spectators instead of hearers when they enter such a hall as this, and no speaker is enough of a 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.
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παρατεθεῖς τῷ περὶ τῶν Γοργώνων διδάξειν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκήλουν τοὺς παραπλέοντας μελόδοισαι καὶ κολακεύουσαι τοῖς ἄσμασιν καὶ καταπλεύσαντας ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχον, καὶ ὅλως τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐδειτό τινος διατριβῆς, καὶ ποὺ τις αὐτὰς καὶ παρέπλευσε καὶ τοῦ μέλους παρῆκουσε· τὸ δὲ τῶν Γοργώνων κάλλος, ἀτε βιαιότατόν τε ἄν καὶ τοῖς καιρωτάτοις τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμλούν, εὐθὺς ἐξίστη τοὺς ἱδόντας καὶ ἄφωνους ἐποίει, ὥς δὲ ὁ μῦθος βούλεται καὶ λέγεται, λίθινοι ἐγώγνυντο ὑπὸ θαύματος. ὡστε καὶ ὅτε τοῦ ταῦτα λόγου εἶπε πρὸς ὑμᾶς μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ εἰρήσθαι νομίζω· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἐν τῇ ὅψει, σὺν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ τερπνόν. καὶ εἰ γε τὶς παραστη-

σάμενος τὴν ἀθόδον ἡ τὸν κύκνου ἄδειν κελεύοι, μεταξὺ δὲ ἄδοντος παραδείξει τὸν ταῦτα σω-

πῶντα, εὔ ὁδὸν ὅτι ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνον μεταβήσεται ἡ ψυχή μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσασα τοῖς ἐκεῖνον ἄσμασιν ὑπὸς ἄμαχον τι ἐοίκεν εἶναι ἡ δὲ ὅψεως ἡδονή. καὶ Ἠγώγγε, εἰ βούλεσθε, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παραστήσωμαι σοφὸν ἄνδρα, ὅς αὐτίκα μοι μαρτυρῆσαι ὅς πολὺ ἐπικρατέστερά ἐστι τῶν ἀκομμένων τὰ ὀρόμενα. καὶ μοι σὺ ἦδη ὁ κήρυξ προσκάλει αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτον Δύξον Ἀλικαρνασῖθεν καὶ προτείδις καλὸς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσε, μαρτυρεῖτω παρελθὼν ἀναδέξασθε δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰαστί πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγουτα ὡσπερ αὐτῷ ἔθος.

Ἀληθείᾳ τάδε ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, μυθεῖται καὶ οἱ πείθεσθε ὡς ἂν λέγη τουτέως πέρι οὐν ἀκοὴς προτιμέων· ὡτα γὰρ τυχγάνει ἐόντα ἀπίστοτερα ὀφθαλμῶν.
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 Only the last clause is really Herodotean (I, 8, 3).
'Ακούετε τοῦ μάρτυρος ἡ φήσιν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα τῇ ὄψει ἀπέδωκεν; εἰκότως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστα οὕτως περισσώτα ἐστὶ καὶ οἴχεται ἀμα τῷ προελθὲιν ἀποπτάμενα, ἡ δὲ τῶν ὧρωμένων τέρπισι ἀεὶ παρεστῶσα καὶ παραμένουσα πάντως τὸν θεατὴν ὑπάγεται.

Πῶς οὖν ὁ χαλεπὸς τῷ λέγοντι ἀνταγω-

νιστῆς οἶκος οὕτω καλὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ὁ ὄν; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον οὐδέπω φημῶν γῆς ὑμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ μεταξὺ λεγόντων ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὤροφὴν ἀπεβλέπετε καὶ τοὺς τοίχους ἑθαυμά-

ζετε καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἐχθητάζετε πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀποστρεφόμενοι. καὶ μηδὲν αἰσχυνθήτε: συν-

ηγούμη γάρ, εἰ τι ἀνθρώποιν πεπόνθητε, ἀλλὰ στὶ καὶ πρὸς οὕτω καλὸς καὶ ποικίλας τὰς ὑποθέσεις. τῆς γὰρ τέχνης τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ ὁφέλιμον ἐπαγωγὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ πεπαιδευμένους θεατῶν δεόμενον. καὶ ἦν μὴ πάντα ἐκείνῳ ἀποβλέπετε ἡμᾶς ἀπολυπόντες, χάρε ὡς οὕτω τὸ γράφωμαι 1 αὐτὰ ὑμῖν τῷ λόγῳ ἧσθήσατε γὰρ, οἷμαι, ἀκούόντες ἢ καὶ ὠρώντες ἑθαυμάζετε. καὶ ἦσαν ἀν καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπαινέ-

ζατε καὶ τοῦ ἀντιδικοῦ προτιμῆσατε, ὡς καὶ 2 αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα 3 ὑμῖν τῷ ἡλικϊν. τὸ χαλεπὸν δὲ τοῦ τολμήματος ὀρᾶτε, εὐ χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ τόπου συστή-

σαθαι τοσαύτας εἰκόνας. ψιλὴ γάρ τις ἡ γραφή τῶν λόγων.

1 γράφωμαι MSS.: γράφωμα Guyet.
2 ὡς καὶ Reitz: ὡς μή καὶ MSS. edd. since Jacobitz.
3 αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα MSS.: αὐτὸν ἐπιδεί-

ξαντος καὶ διπλασιάσαντος edd. since Jacobitz, with two Ren-

naissance codices and the first edition.

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"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, nil he.

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

Ἐν δὲξιὰ μὲν οὖν εἰσιόντι Ἀργολικῷ μύθῳ 22 ἀναμέμβαται πάθος Διθιοπικόν· ὁ Περσεύς τὸ κῆτος φονεύει καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καθαίρει, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν γαμήσει καὶ ἀπεισώ αὐτὴν ἄγων· πάρεργον τούτο τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργόνας πτήσεως. ἐν βραχεῖ δὲ πολλὰ ὁ τεχνήτης ἐμμήσατο, αἰδῶ παρθένου καὶ φόβου—ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ μάχην ἀνώθεν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας—καὶ νεανίον τόλμαν ἑρωτικὴν καὶ θηρίου ὄψιν ἀπρόσμαχον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεσεν πεφρικός ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ δεδιττόμενον τῷ χύσματι, ὁ Περσεύς δὲ τῇ λαϊᾷ μὲν προδικινών τὴν Γοργόνα, τῇ δὲξιᾷ δὲ καθικνεῖται τῷ ἐξευκαὶ τὸ μὲν ὅσον τοῦ κήτους εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν, ἦδη λίθος ἐστίν, τὸ δ’ ὅσον ἐμψυχον μένει, τῇ ἀρπή κόπτεται.

Ἐξῆς δὲ μετὰ τήνδε τὴν εἰκόνα ἔτερον δράμα 23 γέγραπται δικαιότατον, οὐ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ὁ γραφεὺς παρ’ Ἑυριπίδου ἢ Σοφοκλείου δοκεῖ μοι λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ἀμόιαν ἐγραφαί τὴν εἰκόνα. τὸ νεανία τῷ ἐταύρῳ Πυλάδης τε ὁ Φωκεύς καὶ Ὁρέστης δοκόν ἦδη τεθνάναι λαθῶν’ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια 2 παρελθόντε φονεύοντον ἀμφοῦ τὸν Αὐγισθόν’ ἢ δὲ Κληταιμήστρα ἦδη ἀνήργηται καὶ ἐπ’ εὐνήσις τινος ἡμώγυμνος πρόκειται καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα ἐκτελημένη τὸ ἐργον οἱ μὲν ὀσπερ ὑπὸν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς ὅπτη φύγωσι περιβλέπουσι. σεμνὸν δὲ τῷ ὁ γραφεὺς ἐπενόησεν, τὸ μὲν ἀσεβές τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως δείξας μόνον καὶ ὅσ ἦδη

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

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Claudian (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.).
πεπραγμένων παραδραμών, ἐμβραδύνοντας δὲ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐργασάμενος τῷ τοῦ μοιχοῦ φόνῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτο θεός ἐστιν εὔμορφος καὶ 24 μειράκιον ὅραϊον, ἐρωτική τις παιδιά· ὁ Βράγχος ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεξόμενος ἀνέχει λαγών καὶ προσπαίζει τὸν κύνα, ὁ δὲ πηδησομένω ἐσκεφτεὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ύψος, καὶ Ἀπόλλων παρεστῶς μειράκι τερπόμενος ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῷ παιδὶ παῖζοντι καὶ πειρῶμένῳ τῷ κυνί.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως ὁ Περσέας πάλιν τὰ πρὸ 25 τοῦ κήτους ἐκεῖνα τολμῶν καὶ ἡ Μέδουσα τεμνομένη τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ σκέπτουσα τὸν Περσέα· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τὸλμαν εἰργασται, τὸ δὲ ἔργων ὅγε ἔώρακεν, πλὴν 1 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστίδος τῆς Γοργών τῆς εἰκόνα· οἶδε γὰρ τὸ πρόστιμον τῆς ἀλήθους ὁφείσω.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν μέσον τοῖχον ἄνω τῆς ἀντι- 26 θύρου 2 Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς πεποίηται, ἡ θεὸς λίθου λευκοῦ, τὸ σχῆμα οὐ πολεμιστήριον, ἀλλ' οἶον ἀν γένουτο εἰρήνην ἀγούσης θεοῦ πολεμικῆς.

Εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ λίθος 27 αὐτὴ γε, ἀλλὰ γραφὴ πάλιν· "Ἡφαιστος αὐτὴν διώκει ἐρῶν, ἡ δὲ φεύγει, κὰκ τῆς διώξεως Ἐρυξόνιος γλυγεται.

Ταύτη ἐπεται παλαιά τις ἄλλη γραφὴ· Ὡρίων 28 φέρει τὸν Κηδαλίωνα τυφλὸς ὄν, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει τὴν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὅδον ἐποχούμενος, καὶ ὁ "Ηλιος φανεῖς ἱάται τὴν πήρωσιν, καὶ 29 ὁ "Ἡφαιστος Δημοκρέει ἑπισκοπεῖ τὸ ἔργων.

'Οδυσσεύς τὸ μετὰ τούτο δήθεν μεμηνώς, ἀτε 30

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

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} Or perhaps "rear window."

\textsuperscript{2} Mother Earth gave birth to him, not Athena.
ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΥΕΙΝ

1 τοῖς Ἀτρείδας μὴ θέλων· πάρεισι
dὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ἢδη καλοῦντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς
υποκρίσεως πιθανὰ πάντα, ἡ ἀπήγη, τὸ τῶν
υπεξευγμένων ἀσύμφωνον, ἡ ἀνοια 2 τῶν δρωμένων.
εἴλεγχεται δὲ ὁμοι ὁ βρέφει· Παλαμῆδης γὰρ
ὁ τοῦ Ναυπλίου συνείς τὸ γυνόμενον, ἀρπάσας
τὸν Τηλέμαχον ἀπειλεῖ φονεύσειν πρόκωπον
ἐχον τὸ ἕιφος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς μανίας ὑπό-
κρισιν ὁργήν καὶ οὐτός ἀνθυποκρίνεται. ὁ δὲ
Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς τὸν φόβον τοῦτον σωφροῦνε
καὶ παντρὴ γύνευε καὶ λύει τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

31 "Τοῦτῃ δὲ ἡ Μηδεία γέγραπται τῷ ξήλῳ
dιαικάς, τῷ παῖδε ὑποβλέπουσα καὶ τι δεινὸν
ἐννοοῦσα· ἐχει γοῦν ἦδη τὸ ἕιφος, τὸ δὲ ἀθλίω
καθήσθων γελώντε, μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων εἰδότε,
καὶ τάντα ὡρῶντε τὸ ἕιφος ἐν ταῖς χειροῖς.

32 Ταῦτα πάντα, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐχ
ὁρᾶτε ὅπως ἀπάγει μὲν τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ πρὸς
tὴν θέαν ἀποστρέφει, μόνων δὲ καταλείπει τὸν
λέγοντα; καὶ ἔγωγε διεξέλθον αὐτά, οὐχ ἦν τὸν
ἀντίδικον τολμηρῶν ὑπολαβόντες καὶ θρασύν, εἰ
tοῖς οὕτω δυσκόλως εἰσαυτὸν ἐκὼν μέρων ἐπέβαλεν,
καταγώντε καὶ μισήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων
ἐγκαταλήπτητε, ἀλλʼ ἦν μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγω-
γήσθε καὶ ὡς οἷον τε καταμύνοντες ἀκούσατε τῶν
λεγομένων, λογιζόμενοι τοῦ πράγματος τὴν δυσχέ-
ρειαν· μόνης γὰρ αὐτοῦ δυνηθείῃ οὐ δικασταίς

1 ἀτε εὐστρατεύσει Guyet, Gesner: ἀτε εὐστρατεύει MSS.
2 ἡ ἀνοια Schwartz: ἀνοια MSS.
THE HALL

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

"Last of all Medea is pictured aflame with jealousy, looking askance at her two boys with a terrible purpose in her mind—indeed, she already has her sword—while the poor children sit there laughing, unsuspicous 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 συναγωνισταῖς ὑμῖν χρησάμενος μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνάξιος τῆς τοῦ οίκου πολυτελείας νομισθήναι. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀντιδίκου ταῦτα δέομαι, μὴ θαυμάσητε. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ τῶν οίκου φιλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λέγοντα, ὅστις ἂν ἦ, βουλοίμην ἂν εὐδοκιμεῖν.
THE HALL

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 οὖν γλύκιον ἦς πατρίδος, φθάνει 1 προτεθρυλημένον. ἀρ' οὖν ἦδιον μὲν οὖδέν, σεμνότερον δὲ τι καὶ θειότερον. ἄλλο; καί μὴν ὁσα σεμνὰ καὶ θεία νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τούτων πατρίς αἰτία καὶ διδάσκαλος, γεννησαμένη καὶ ἀναθρεψαμένη καὶ παιδευσαμένη. πόλεων μὲν οὖν μεγέθη καὶ λαμπρότητας καὶ πολυτελείας κατασκευῶν θαυμάζουσι πολλοὶ, πατρίδας δὲ στέργουσι πάντες· καὶ τοσοῦτον οὖδεὶς ἐξηπατήθη τῶν καὶ πάνυ κεκρατημένων ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν θέαν ἡδονῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν παρ' ἄλλως θαυμάτων λήθην ποιήσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος. ὡστε μὲν οὖν σεμνύνεται πολίτης ὅν εὐδαι- μονος πόλεως, ἄγνοιεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τίνα χρή τιμῆν ἀπονέμειν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δήλος ἐστιν ἀχθόμενος ἢν, εἰ μετριωτέρας ἐλαχεῖ τῆς πατρίδος· ἔμοι δὲ ἦδιον αὐτὸ τιμᾶν τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὅνομα. πόλεις μὲν γὰρ παραβαλεῖν πειρωμένῳ προσήκει μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁμόν ἀφθονίαν· ὅπου δ' αἴρεσις ἐστὶ πόλεων, οὐδεὶς ἢν ἔλουτο τὴν λαμπροτέραν εάσας τὴν πατρίδα, ἀλλ' εὐξάιτο μὲν ἄν εἶναι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ταῖς εὐδαιμοσὶ παραπλησίαν, ἔλουτο δ' ἄν τὴν ὁποιανόν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι τῶν παίδων 3

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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

\(^1\) *Odysseus*. 9, 34.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πράττουσιν καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν πατέρων οὔτε γὰρ νέος καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀλλὸν ἀν ἐπιτιμῶσαι τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε πατὴρ καταμελήσας τοῦ παιδὸς ἐτερῶν ἀν στέρξαι νέον, ἀλλὰ τοσούτὸν γε οἱ πατέρες νικόμενοι προσνέμουσι τοῖς παισίν, ὡστε καὶ κάλλιστοι καὶ μέγιστοι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀρίστα κεκοσμημένοι οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκούσιν. ὡστὶς δὲ μὴ τοιούτος ἔστι δικαστὴς πρὸς τοῦ νεὸν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι πατρὸς ὀφθαλμὸς ἔγειν.

Πατρίδος τοῦν τὸ ὄνομα πρῶτον οἰκείοτάτουν 4 πάντων οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ τι τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκείοτερον. εἰ δὲ τις ἀποκόμει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δικαλαν τιμὴν, ὡστε καὶ ὁ νόμος καὶ ἡ φύσις κελεύει, προσηκόντως ἀν τὴν πατρίδα προτιμήσαι καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸς τῆς πατρίδος κτήμα καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς πατὴρ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τούτων οἰκεῖοι πάντες ἀνωτέρω, καὶ μέχρι θεῶν πατρῴων πρόεισιν ἀναβιβαζόμενοι τὸ ὄνομα. χαίρομει καὶ θεοὶ 5 πατρίς καὶ πάντα μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐφορῶσι τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῶν ἡγούμενοι κτήματα πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἄφ' ἃς δὲ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, προτιμᾶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν πόλεων. καὶ πόλεις σεμιότεραι θεῶν πατρίδες καὶ νῦσσι θειότεραι παρ' αἷς υμνεῖται γένεσις θεῶν. ἱερὰ γοῦν κεχαρισμένα ταῦτα νομίζεται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκαστὸς ἀφικόμενος ἱερογρηγύ τόπους. εἰ δὲ θεοὶς τίμωσι τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα, πῶς οὐκ ἀνθρώποις γε πολὺ μᾶλλον; καὶ γὰρ 6 εἰδε τὸν ἥλιον πρῶτον ἐκαστὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς καὶ τούτον τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ κοινὸς ἑστιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκάστῳ νομίζεσθαι πατρῷ διὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θέαν καὶ φωνῆς εὐταῦθα ἥρξατο

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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 ἑπιχώρια πρῶτα λαλεῖν μανθάνων καὶ θεοὺς ἐγνώρισεν. εἰ δὲ τις τοιαύτης ἐλαχε πατρίδος, ὡς έτέραις δεηθήμει πρὸς τὴν τῶν μειζόνων παιδείαν, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐχέτω καὶ τούτων τῶν παιδευμάτων τῇ πατρίδι τῇ χάριν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγνώρισεν οὐδὲ πόλεως ὅνομα μὴ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα πόλιν εἶναι μαθῶν.

Πάντα δὲ, οἶμαι, παιδεύματα καὶ μαθήματα 7 συμπέσαν αὐτοῖς κρησμωτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ταῖς πατρίσι παρασκευάζοντες· κτόνται δὲ καὶ χρήματα φιλοτιμίας ἐνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἰσαπανίματα. καὶ εἰκότως, οἶμαι· δεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἁχαρίστως εἶναι τοὺς τῶν μεγίστων τυχόντας ἐνεργείοις. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοῖς καθ’ ἑνα τῶν ἀπονέμει χάριν, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, ἐπειδὰν εὐ πάθη πρὸς τίνος, πολὺ μᾶλλον προσήκει τῇ πατρίδα τοῖς καθήκουσιν ἀμεῖβεσθαί· κακώσεως μὲν γὰρ γονέων εἰσὶ νόμοι παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσι, κοινῆν δὲ προσήκει πάντων μητέρα τῆς πατρίδα νομίζειν καὶ χαριστήρια τροφῶν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν γνώσεως.

Ὡφθη δὲ οὖν ὡς ἄ μυνήμων τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς ἐν ἀλλη πόλει γενόμενος ἀμελείν, ἀλλ’ οἰ τε κακοπραγόντες ἐν ταῖς ἀποδημίαις σύνεχὸς ἀνακαλοῦσιν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ πατρίς, οἳ τε εὐδαιμονοῦντες, ἀν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐ πράττωσιν, τοῦτο γονὺν αὐτοῖς μέγιστον ἑυδέος νομίζουσιν τὸ μὴ τὴν πατρίδα οἶκεῖν, ἀλλὰ ξενιτεύειν· ὅνειδος γὰρ τὸ τῆς ξενιτείας. καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀποδημίαις χρόνον λαμπροὺς γενομένους ἢ διὰ χρημάτων κτήσειν ἢ διὰ τιμῆς δόξαν ἢ διὰ παλ-
first to talk his native dialect, and came to know the
gods there. If a man's lot has been cast in such a
land that he has required another for his higher
education, he should still be thankful for these early
teachings, for he would not have known even the
meaning of "state" if his country had not taught
him that there was such a thing.

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

No one was ever known to be so forgetful of
his country as to care nothing for it when he was
in another state. No, those who get on badly in
foreign parts continually cry out that one's own
country is the greatest of all blessings, while those
who get on well, however successful they may be in all
else, think that they lack one thing at least, a thing
of the greatest importance, in that they do not live
in their own country but sojourn in a strange land; for
thus to sojourn is a reproach! And men who during
their years abroad have become illustrious through
acquirement of wealth, through renown from office-
δείας μαρτυρίαν ἢ δι’ ἀνδρείας ἐπαίνον ἐστίν ἰδεῖν εἰς τὴν πατριδὰ πάντας ἐπευγομένους, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλοις βελτίωσιν ἐπιδειξάμενος τὰ αὐτῶν καλά· καὶ τοσοῦτῳ γε μᾶλλον ἐκαστὸς σπεύδει λαβέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ὃσπερ ἂν φαίνηται μειξόνων παρ’ ἄλλοις ἤξιωμένος.

Ποθεινὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ νέοις ἡ πατρίς· τοῖς δὲ 9 ἡδὴ γεγηρακόσιω ὅσῳ πλείον τοῦ φρονεῖν ἡ τοῖς νέοις μέτεστι, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ πλείον εὐγίνεται πόθος τῆς πατρίδος· ἐκαστὸς γοῦν τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ σπεύδει καὶ εὔχεται καταλύσαι τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἵν’ ὄθεν ἦρξατο βιοῦν, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρακατάθηται τῇ θρεψαμένῃ καὶ τῶν πατρίδων κοινωνίῃ τάφων· δεινὸν γὰρ ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ ξενίας ἀλλοκεσθαι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, ἐν ἄλλοτριά κειμένῳ γῇ.

"Ὅσον δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὰς πατρίδας 10 μέτεστιν τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς γυναικεῖς πολίταις μάθοι τις ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπήλυμες καθάπερ νόθοι βαδίας ποιοῦνται τὰς μεταναστά- σεις, τὸ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ὅνομα μᾶτε εἰδότες μῆτε στέργοντες, ἤριζομενοὶ δ’ ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐπιτη- δείων εὐπορήσειν, μέτρου εὐδαιμονίας τὰς τῆς γαστρός ἕδονὰς τιθέμενοι. οἰς δὲ καὶ μὴν ἡ πατρίς, ἀγαπῶσι τὴν γῆν ἐφ’ ἣς ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐτράφησιν, καὶ ἀλήθεον ἔχωσι, καὶ τραχείαν καὶ λεπτόγεον· καὶ ἀπορᾶσι τῆς γῆς ἑπανέσαι τὴν ἄρετήν, τῶν γε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀπορήσου- σιν ἐγκωμίων. ἀλλὰ κἂν ἰδοσίν ἐτέρους σεβασμο- μένους πεδίους ἀνειμένους καὶ λεμόσι φυτῶις παντοδαποῖς διειλημένους, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τῆς
MY NATIVE LAND

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

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

How much affection real, true citizens have for their native land can be learned only among a people sprung from the soil. Newcomers, being but bastard children, as it were, transfer their allegiance easily, since they neither know nor love the name of native land, but expect to be well provided with the necessities of life wherever they may be,1 measuring happiness by their appetites! On the other hand, those who have a real mother-country love the soil on which they were born and bred, even if they own but little of it, and that be rough and thin. Though they be hard put to it to praise the soil, they will not lack words to extol their country. Indeed, when they see others priding themselves on their open plains and prairies diversified with all manner of growing things, they themselves do not forget the

1 Cf. Thucydides 1, 1.
πατρίδος ἐγκωμίων οὐκ ἐπιλαμβάνονται, τὴν δὲ ἱπποτρόφου ὑπερορόωντες τὴν κουροτρόφου ἔπαινοις. καὶ σπεύδει τις εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, κἂν 11 νησιώτης ἢ, κἂν παρ’ ἄλλοις εὐδαιμονεῖν δύνηται, καὶ διδομένην ἀθανασίαν ὡς προσήκει, προ- τιμῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος τάφον, καὶ ὁ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ κατιόν λαμπρότερος ὁθονήσεται τοῦ παρ’ ἄλλοις πυρὸς.

Οὕτω δὲ ἅρα τίμιον εἶναι δοκεῖ παρὰ πάσιν 12 ἡ πατρίς, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ νομοθέτας ἱδοι τις ἃν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν ὡς χαλεπω- τάτην ἐπιβεβληκότας τὴν φυγήν τιμωρίαν. καὶ οὐχ οἱ νομοθέται μὲν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ πιστευό- μενοι τὰς στρατηγιλιὰς ἄτέρως, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸ μεγίστον ἐστὶ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τοῖς παραταττομένοις, ὡς ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτῶς ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν ἀκούσας τούτου κακὸς εἶναι θέλῃ: ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν δειλὸν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὅνομα.
merits of their own country, and pass over its fitness for breeding horses to praise its fitness for breeding men. One hastens to his native land though he be an islander, and though he be able to enrich himself elsewhere. If immortality be offered him he will not accept it, preferring a grave in his native land, and the smoke thereof is brighter to his eyes than fire elsewhere.¹

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

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

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

"Όναρ τι τοῦτο, λαμπρότατε Κύντιλλε, κελευ-σθείς προσφέρω σοι δόρων τοὺς μακροβίους, πάλαι μὲν τὸ ὄναρ ἰδὼν καὶ ἱστορήσας τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτε ἑτίθεσο τῷ δευτέρῳ σου παιδί τοῦνομα: συμβαλεῖν δὲ οὖν ἔχων τίνας ὁ θεὸς κελεύει μοι προσφέρειν σοι τοὺς μακροβίους, τότε μὲν εὐξάμην τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ μῆκιστον ὡμᾶς βιῶναι σὲ τε αὐτῶν καὶ παιδας τοὺς σούς, τούτω συμ-φέρειν νομίζων καὶ σύμπαντι μὲν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώ-πων γένει, πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἄπαντων αὐτῷ τε ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς· καὶ γὰρ κὰμοι τὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐδόκει προσημαίνειν τὸν θεόν. σκεπτόμενος δὲ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἐννοιαν ἡλθον, εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἄνδρὶ περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντι ταῦτα προστάσσονται κελεύειν προσφέρειν σοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, ταῦτην οὐν αἰσιοτάτην νομίζουν τὴν τῶν σῶν γενεθλίων ἑμέραν δίδωμι σοι τοὺς ἱστορημένους εἰς μακροῖν γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι ἐν ύπαινονυσία τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ολοκλήρῳ τῷ σώματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὄφελος ἐγένοιτο τῷ σοι ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος διπλοῦν· τὸ μὲν εὐθυμία τις καὶ ἐλπὶς ἀγαθὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μῆκιστον δύνασθαι βιῶναι, τὸ δὲ διδασκαλία τις ἐκ παραδειγμάτων, εἰ ἐπιγνοίης ὅτι οἱ μάλιστα ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τε σῶμα

1 ἐννοιαν Cobet: σύννοιαν MSS.
OCTOGENARIANS

At the behest of a dream, illustrious Quintillus, I make you a present of the "Octogenarians." I had the dream and told my friends of it long since, when you were christening your second child. At the time, however, not being able to understand what the god meant by commanding me to "present you the octogenarians," I merely offered a prayer that you and your children might live very long, thinking that this would benefit not only the whole human race but, more than anyone else, me in person and all my kin; for I too, it seemed, had a blessing predicted for me by the god. But as I thought the matter over by myself, I hit upon the idea that very likely in giving such an order to a literary man, the gods were commanding him to present you something from his profession. Therefore, on this your birthday, which I thought the most auspicious occasion, I give you the men who are related to have attained great age with a sound mind and a perfect body. Some profit may accrue to you from the treatise in two ways: on the one hand, encouragement and good hopes of being able to live long yourself, and on the other hand, instruction by examples, if you observe that it is the men who have paid most
καὶ κατὰ ψυχήν, οὕτω δὴ εἰς μακρότατον γῆρας ἦλθον σὺν ὑγείᾳ παντελεῖ. Νέστορα μὲν οὖν 3 τὸν σοφότατον τῶν 'Αχαίων ἐπὶ τρεῖς παρατείναι γενεάς ὁ Ομήρος λέγει, ὃν συνίστησιν ἦμῶν γεγυμνασμένον ἀριστα καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι. καὶ Τειρεσίαν δὲ τὸν μάντιν ἡ τραγῳδία μέχρις ἐξ γενεάς παρατεῖναι λέγει. πιθανὸν δὲ ἂν εἴη ἄνδρα θεοῖς ανακείμενον καθαρωτέρα διαίτη χρώμενον ἑπὶ μήκιστον βιῶναι. καὶ γένη δὲ ὅλα 4 μακροβία ἱστορεῖται διὰ τὴν διὰταν, ὡσπερ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ καλούμενοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, Ἀσσυρίων δὲ καὶ 'Αράβων οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν μύθων, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ καλοῦμενοι Βραχμῆνες, ἄνδρες ἀκριβῶς φιλοσοφία σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ μάγοι, γένος τούτο μαντικὸν καὶ θεοῖς ανακείμενον παρὰ τε Πέρσαις καὶ Πάρθοις καὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Χωρασμίοις καὶ 'Αρείοις καὶ Σάκαις καὶ Μῆδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις, ἐφρωμένοι τέ εἰσί καὶ πολυχρόνοι διὰ τὸ μαγευεν διαιτώμενοι καὶ αὐτὸι ἀκριβέστεροι. ἦδη δὲ 5 καὶ ἔθνη ὅλα μακροβιώτατα, ὡσπερ Σῆρας μὲν ἱστοροῦσι μέχρι τριακοσίων ζῆν ἑτὼν, οἱ μὲν τῷ ἀέρι, οἱ δὲ τῇ γῇ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μακροῦ γῆρος προστιθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ διαίτῃ ύδροποτεῖν γάρ φασι τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο σύμπαν. καὶ Ἀθωτας δὲ μέχρι τριάκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἑτῶν βιῶν ἱστορεῖται, καὶ τὸς Χαλδαίους ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐκατὸν ἐτη. βιῶν λόγος, τούτους μὲν καὶ κριθίνῳ ἄρτῳ χρωμένους, ὡς ὀξυδορκίαι τοῦτο φάρμακον οἷς γέ φασι διὰ τὴν τοιούτην διαίτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐρρωμένας εἶναι.

1 χρώμενον Madvig: χρώμενον τὸν Τειρσίαν MSS.
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: and he tells us that he was splendidly trained in mind and in body. Likewise Teiresias the seer outlasted six generations, tragedy says: 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; Odyss. 3, 245. 2 The source is unknown.
ΤΟΙΟΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΡΟΒΙΩΝ 6
ΓΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ, ΑΤΙΝΑ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΌΣ ΕΠΙ ΠΛΕΙ-
ΣΤΟΝ ΔΙΑΓΩΝΙΣΘΑΙ ΧΡΩΝΟΝ, ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΥΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΝ ΆΕΡΑ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΙΤΑΝ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΆΜΦΩ.
ΕΓΩ δ' ΑΝ ΣΟΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΠΙΔΑ ΡΑΔΙΑΝ
ΠΑΡΑΣΧΟΙΜΕ ΙΣΤΟΡΗΣΑΣ ΩΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΥΓΗΝ
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΆΕΡΑ ΜΑΚΡΟΒΙΟΙ ΓΕΓΩΝΑΣΙΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΣ
ΟΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΙΤΗ ΤΗ
ΕΠΙΤΗΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΥΓΕΙΑΝ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ. ΔΙΑΙ-
ΡΕΣΙΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ
ΤΑΠΙΤΗΘΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΙ ΣΟΙ
ΤΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΚΟΥΣ ΑΝΔΡΑΣ
ΙΣΤΟΡΗΣΩ, ΔΝ ΕΝΑ Η ΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΗ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΤῌΧΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΛΕΩΤΑΤΗΝ
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ΟΙΚΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ. ΟΥΤΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΑΠΙΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΣΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΡΟΒΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΟΜΟΙΟΝ ΤΗς
ΕΞΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΤῌΧΗΣ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΕΙΒΑ ΥΓΗΡΟΣ
ΥΓΙΕΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑ ΧΗΛΩΣΑ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΟ
ΣΑΝΤΟ ΤΗ ΔΙΑΙΤΗ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΑΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΥΓΙΕΙΝΟΤΑ-
ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ.
ΠΟΜΠΙΛΙΟΣ ΝΟΜΜΑΣ ΟΙ ΕΥΔΙΑΙΜΟΝΕΣΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ 8
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ΡΩΜΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΑ ΟΥΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑ
ΕΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΒΙΩΣΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΕΙΤΑΙ. ΤΑΡΚΝΙΝΟΣ ΔΕ
Ο ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΥΓΑΘΕΝΘΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ

1 Ῥαδίαν Schwartz : Ῥαδίως MSS.
2 Η Marcellus, Maimus : καλ 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.¹ 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.
ἐπὶ Κύμης διατρίβων ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη λέγεται στερρότατα βιώσαι. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν Ὀρομαίων βασιλεῖς, οῖς συνάψω καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βασιλέας τοὺς εἰς μακρὸν γῆρας ἀφικομένους καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐκάστους. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ σοι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ὀρομαίων τοὺς εἰς μήκιστον γῆρας ἀφικομένους προσαναγράψω, προσθεὶς ἀμα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἑλλάδαν ἐπὶ πλείστον βιώσαντας· ἀξιόλογος γὰρ ἔλεγχος ἡ ἱστορία τῶν διαβάλλειν πειρωμένων τὸν ἐνταῦθα ἄερα, ὡστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρηστότερα ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας, τελείους ἡμῖν τὰς εὐχὰς ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ εἰς μήκιστον τε καὶ λιπαρὸν τὸν πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης δεσπότην γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι, τῇ ἐαυτῷ οἰκομένῃ διαρκέσοντα, ἣ νη ἔρρεντα.

Ἀργανθώνοις μὲν οὖν Ταρτησσίων βασιλεύς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιώναι λέγεται, ὡς Ἡρόδωτος ὁ λογοποιὸς καὶ ὁ μελοποιὸς 'Ἀνακρέων' ἄλλα τούτο μὲν μῦθός τις δοκεῖ. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Σικελίας τύραννος ἐτὼν ἐνενήκοντα ἐτελεύτα, καθάπερ Δημοκάρης καὶ Τίμαιος ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἰέρων τε ὁ Συρακούσιος τύραννος δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτὼν γενόμενος ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, βασιλεύσας ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη, ὡσπερ Δημήτριός τε ὁ Καλλατιανός καὶ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν. Ἀτέας δὲ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς μαχόμενος πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τὸν Ἰστροῦ ποταμὸν ἐπεσευ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη γεγονός. Βάρδυλος δὲ ὁ Ἡλλυριώταν βασιλεὺς ἀφ' 1 διαρκέσοντα Η, variant in B: βασιλεύοντα other MSS.
2 Text Schwartz, and correction in Γ: ἐνενήκοντα πέντε (i.e. 7) τελευτᾷ MSS.
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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

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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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νπποι λέγεται μάχεσθαι εν τῷ πρὸς Φιλίππου
πολέμῳ εἰς ἑνεκήκοντα τελῶν ἔτη. Τήρησι δὲ
'Οδρυσῶν βασιλεὺς, καθά φησι Θεόπομπος, δῦο
καὶ ἑνεκήκοντα ἐτῶν ἑτελεύτησεν. 'Αντίγονος
δὲ ο Φιλίππου ο μονόφθαλμος βασιλεύων Μακε-
δόνων περὶ Φρυγίαν μαχόμενον Σελεύκῳ καὶ
Λυσιμάχῳ τραύμασι πολλοῖς περιπέτειών ἑτελεύ-
τησεν ἑτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ ὄγδοῖκοντα, ὡσπερ ὁ συστρα-
τευόμενος αὐτῷ Ἱερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ. καὶ Λυσιμάχος
δὲ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σελεύκου
ἀπώλετο μάχῃ ἔτος ὀγδοίκοστὸν τελῶν, ὡς ὁ
αὐτὸς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος. 'Αντίγονος δὲ, ὃς εἰς
μὲν ἔν Δημητρίου, νῦν δὲ 'Αντίγονοι τοῦ μονοφ-
θάλμου, οὕτως τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Μακε-
δόνων ἑβασίλευσεν ἐτη, ἐβίωσε δὲ ὄγδοῖκοντα, ὡς
Μήδειος τε ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς. ὁμοίως
δὲ καὶ 'Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ἰολάου μέγιστον δυνατῶς
καὶ ἐπιτροπεύοις πολλοὺς, Μακεδόνων βασιλέας
ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδόηκοντα οὕτως ἔτη ξήσας ἑτελεύτα τὸν
βίον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ο Δάγου ο τῶν καθ' αὐτῶν
εὐδαιμονέστατος βασιλέως Ἀγνύπτου μὲν
ἐβασίλευσεν, τέσσαρα δὲ καὶ ὄγδοῖκοντα βιώσας
ἔτη ξῶν παρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ δῦο ἐτῶν τῆς
teleυτῆς Πτολεμαίων τῷ νῦι, Φιλαδῆλφῳ δὲ
ἐπικλησιν, ὡστὶς διεδέξατο τὴν πατρίων βασιλείαν
ἄδελφῶν... ² Φιλέσταιρος δὲ πρῶτος μὲν ἐκτήσατο
τὴν περὶ Πέργαμον ἀρχὴν καὶ κατέσχεν εὐνούχοις
 dõiν, κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν βίον ὄγδοηκοντα ἑτῶν

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

¹ At least one word, perhaps more than one, has fallen out of the Greek text. Schwartz would read ἀδελφὴν γαμῶν ("and married his sister"); my supplement is based on Justinus 16, 27: is (i.e. Ptolemy Soter) contra ius gentium minimo natu ex filiis ante infirmitatem regnum tradiderat, eiusque rei rationem populo reddiderat.
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gενόμενος. ὁ Ἀτταλος δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος,
tῶν Περγαμηνῶν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς, πρὸς δὲ
καὶ Σκυπίων Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἀφικέτο, δύο
καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν ἔξελπο τῶν βίων. Μιθρι-
δάτης δὲ ὁ Πόντου βασιλεὺς ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς
Κτίστης Ἀντίόχου τὸν μονόφθαλμον φεύγων ἐπὶ
Πόντου ἐτελεύτησεν βιώσας ἐτη τέσσαρα καὶ
ὁγδοήκοντα, ὡσπερ Ἰερώνυμος ἵστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι
συγγραφεῖς. Ἀριαράθης δὲ ὁ Καππαδοκῶν
βασιλεὺς δύο μὲν καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα ἔξησεν ἐτη,
ὡς Ἰερώνυμος ἵστορεῖ· ἐδυνῆθη δὲ ᾗς καὶ ἐπὶ
πλέον διαγενέσατι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Περδίκκαν
μάχῃ ζωγρηθεῖς ἄνεσικολοπίαθη. Κύρος δὲ ὁ
Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ παλαιός, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ
Περσῶν καὶ Ἀσσυρῶν ὄροι, ὅς καὶ Ὁνησίκριτος ὁ
τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον συγγράφας συμφωνεῖν δοκεῖ,
ἐκατοντοῦτης γεγόμενος ἔξητει μὲν ἐνα ἑκαστὸν
τῶν φίλων, μαθῶν δὲ τοὺς πλεῖστοις διεθθαρ-
μένους ὑπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ νῦς, καὶ φάσκον-
tος Καμβύσου κατὰ πρόσταγμα τὸ ἐκεῖνον ταῦτα
πεποιηκέναι, τὸ μὲν τὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁμότητα τοῦ νῦν
διαβληθεῖς, τὸ δὲ τὶ ὡς παρανοοῦτα αὐτών αἰτια-
σάμενος ἀθυμήσας ἐτελεύτα τῶν βίων. Ἀρτα-
ξέρξης ὁ Μνημῶν ἐπικληθεὶς, ἔφυν Κύρος ὁ
ἀδελφὸς ἐστρατεύσατο, βασιλεύων ἐν Πέρσαις
ἐπτελεύτησεν νόσῳ ἔξη καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν γεγό-
μενος, ὡς δὲ Δίνων ἵστορεῖ, τεσσάρως καὶ ἐνενή-
κόντα. Ἀρταξέρξης ἐτερος Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁν
φησιν ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ
Χαρακηνὸς συγγραφεὺς βασιλεύειν, ἐτη τρία καὶ
ἐνενήκοντα βιοὺς ἐπιβουλὴ τάδελφου Γωσίθρου
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eighthy. Attalus, called Philadelphus, also king of Pergamus, to whom the Roman general Scipio paid a visit, put an end to his own life at eighty-two. Mithridates, king of Pontus, called the Founder, exiled by Antigonus One-eye, died in Pontus at eighty-four, as Hieronymus and other writers say. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, lived eighty-two years, as Hieronymus says: perhaps he would have lived longer if he had not been captured in the battle with Perdiccas and crucified. Cyrus, king of the Persians in olden times, according to the Persian and Assyrian annals (with which Onesicritus, who wrote a history of Alexander, seems to agree) at the age of a hundred asked for all his friends by name and learned that most of them had been put to death by his son Cambyses. When Cambyses asserted that he had done this by order of Cyrus, he died of a broken heart, partly because he had been slandered for his son's cruelty, partly because he accused himself of being feeble-minded. Artaxerxes, called the Unforgetting, against whom Cyrus, his brother, made the expedition, was king of Persia when he died of illness at the age of eighty-six (according to Dinon ninety-four). Another Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who, Isidore the Characene historian says, occupied the throne in the time of Isidore's fathers, was assassinated at the age of ninety-three through the machinations of his brother Gosithras. Sinatroces,
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εδολοφονήθη. Σινατρόκης δὲ ὁ Παρθυαῖων βασιλεὺς ἦτος ὁ γονηκοστὸν ἡδὴ γεγονός ύπὸ Σακαυράκου Σκυθῶν καταχθεῖς βασιλεύεων ἡμετο καὶ ἐβασιλεύσεν ἐτη ἕπτα. Τυράννης δὲ ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς, πρὸς ὄν Δοῦκουλλος ἐπολέμησεν, πέντε καὶ ὁγονήκουτα ἑτῶν ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ. 'Τσπανσίνης δὲ ὁ Χάρηκος καὶ τῶν 16 κατ᾽ 'Ερυθρᾶν θάλασσαν τόπων βασιλεύες πέντε καὶ ὁγονήκουτα ἑτῶν νοσήσας ἐτελεύτησεν. Τύραιος δὲ ὁ μεθ᾽ 'Τσπανσίνης τρίτος βασιλεύσας δύο καὶ ἐνενήκουτα βιοὺς ἐτῇ ἕτελευτά νόσῳ. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ μετὰ Τύραιον ἐβδόμος βασιλεύσας Χάρακος ἐξ καὶ ὁγονήκουτα ἑτῶν καταχθεῖς ύπὸ Πάρθων ἐβασιλεύσε. Καμνακίρης δὲ βασιλεύς Παρθυαῖων ἐξ καὶ ἐνενήκουτα ἐξῆσεν ἐτη. Μασσυῖος δὲ Μαυρουσίων βασιλεύς ἐνενήκουτα ἐβίωσεν ἐτη. Ἄσανδρος δὲ ὁ υπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντὶ ἐθνάρχου βασιλεύεις Βοσπόρου περὶ ἐτη ὁν ἐνενήκουτα ἱππομαχοῦν καὶ πεζομαχῶν οὐδενὸς ἡττῶν ἐφάνης ὡς δὲ ἔωρα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ύπὸ τὴν μάχην 2 Ἀκροβούρῳ προστιθεμένους ἀποσχόμενοι συνών ἐτελεύτησεν βιοὺς ἐτη τρία καὶ ἐνενήκουτα: Γοαισος δὲ, ὁς φησίν Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Χαρακηνός, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἡλικίας ὁμάνων τῆς ἀρωματοφόρου βασιλεύσας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν γεγονῶς ἑτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν νόσῳ.

Βασιλέας μὲν οὐν τοσοῦτοι ἱστορῆκασι μακροβίους οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφοι 18 καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντες, ἐπιμέλειαι πως καὶ οὔτοι ποιούμενοι ἑαυτῶν, εἰς μακρὸν

1 ἔτη Schwartz : not in MSS.
2 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ύπὸ τὴν μάχην Guyet : τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴ μάχη 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. Tiræus, the second successor of Hyspausines on the throne, died of illness at the age of ninety-two. Artabazus, the sixth successor of Tiræus on the throne of Charax, was reinstated by the Parthians and became king at the age of eight-six. Camnascires, king of the Parthians, lived ninety-six years. Massinissa, king of the Moors, lived ninety years. Asandrus, who, after being ethnarch, was proclaimed king of Bosporus by the divine Augustus, at about ninety years proved himself a match for anyone in fighting from horseback or on foot; but when he saw his subjects going over to Scribonius on the eve of battle, he starved himself to death at the age of ninety-three. According to Isidore the Characene, Goaesus, who was king of spice-bearing Omania in Isidore's time, died of illness at one hundred and fifteen years.

These are the kings prior to our time who are said to have lived long. Since philosophers and literary men in general, doubtless because they too take good care of themselves, have attained old age,
γῆρας ἤλθον, ἀναγράψομεν καὶ τούτων τοὺς ἱστορημένους, καὶ πρῶτους γε φιλοσόφους. Δημόκριτος μὲν Ἄβδηρίτης ἔτων γεγονός τεσσάρων καὶ ἐκατόν ἀποσχόμενος τροφῆς ἔτελεύτα. Ἐνοφίλος δὲ ὁ μουσικός, ὁς φησίν Ἀριστοκέφος, προσσχῶν τῇ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίᾳ ὑπὲρ τὰ πέντε καὶ ἐκατόν ἔτη Ἀθηνᾶς ἐβίωσεν. Σόλων δὲ καὶ Θαλής καὶ Πυττακός, οὕτως τῶν κληθέντων ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἐγένοντο, ἐκατόν ἐκαστὸς ἦσεν ἐτη, Ζήνων δὲ ὁ τῆς Σταϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀρχηγὸς ὡκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοτα: ὃν φασὶν εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προσπαίσαντα ἀναφθέγγασθαι, Τί με βοᾷς; καὶ ὑποστρέψαντα οἶκαδὲ καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τροφῆς τελευτήσαι τῶν βίων. Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Ζήνωνος μαθητής καὶ διάδοχος ἐννέα καὶ ἐνενήκοτα οὕτος γεγονός ἐτη φῦμα ἐσχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους καὶ ἀποκαρτερῶν ἐπελθόντων αὐτῷ παρ' ἑταίρων τινῶν γραμμάτων προσενεκάμενος τροφῆν καὶ πράξας περὶ ὄν ἦξιον οἱ φίλοι, ἀποσχόμενος αὖθις τροφῆς ἐξελπτε τῶν βίων. Ἐνοφάνης δὲ ὁ Δεξίων μὲν 20 ύλος, Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ μαθητής ἐβίωσεν ἐτη ἐν καὶ ἐνενήκοτα: Ἐνοκράτης δὲ Πλάτωνος μαθητής γενόμενος. τέσσαρα καὶ ὁγδοῆκοντα: Καρνεάδης δὲ ὁ τῆς νεωτέρας Ἀκαδημίας ἀρχηγός ἐτη πέντε καὶ ὁγδοῆκοντα: Χρύσιππος ἐν καὶ ὁγδοῆκοντα: Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σελευκεύς ἀπὸ Τύρριος Σταϊκὸς φιλόσοφος ὡκτῶ καὶ ὁγδοῆκοντα: Ποσειδώνιος Ἀπαμεύς τῆς Συρίας, νόμῳ δὲ Ὁρδίου.
OCTOGENARIANS

I shall put down those whom there is record of, beginning with the philosophers. Democritus of Abdera starved himself to death at the age of one hundred and four. Xenophilus the musician, we are told by Aristoxenus, adopted the philosophical system of Pythagoras, and lived in Athens more than one hundred and five years. Solon, Thales, and Pittacus, who were of the so-called seven wise men, each lived a hundred years, and Zeno, the head of the Stoic school, ninety-eight. They say that when Zeno stumbled in entering the assembly, he cried out: "Why do you call me?"¹ 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. Xenophon, son of Dexinus and disciple of Archelaus the physicist, lived ninety-one years; Xenocrates, the disciple of Plato, eighty-four; Carneades, the head of the New Academy, eighty-five; Chrysippus, eighty-one; Diogenes of Seleucia on the Tigris, a Stoic philosopher, eighty-eight; Posidonius of Apameia in Syria, naturalised in Rhodes,

¹ Addressed to Pluto. According to Diogenes Laertius 7, 28 he said ἔρχομαι τῇ μ΄ αὖς; ("I come: why did it in my ears?"); a quotation from a play called Niobe (Nauck, Trag. Gr. Fragm. p. 51).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φιλόσοφος τε ἀμα καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς τέσσαρα καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα. Κριτόλαος ὁ Περιπατη
tικὸς ὑπὲρ δύο καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα. Πλάτων δὲ 21 ὁ ἰερώτατος ἐν καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα. Ἀθηνόδωρος
Σάνδωνος Ταρσεύς Σταῦκος, ὃς καὶ διδάσκαλος ἐνέγερτο Καύσαρος Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ, ὑφ' ὦ ὁ
Ταρσέων πόλις καὶ φόρων ἐκουφισθή, δύο καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα ἔτη βιοῦ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τιμᾶς ὁ Ταρσέων δῆμος αὐτῷ κατ' ἐτος ἐκαστον ἀπονέμει ὡς ἡρωί. Νέστορ δὲ Σταῦκος ὕπο Ταρσοῦ διδάσκαλος Καύσαρος
Τιβερίου ἐτη δύο καὶ ἑνενήκοντα. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὁ Γρύλλου ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑνενήκοντα ἐβίωσεν ἐτη
οὐτοι μὲν φιλοσόφων οἳ ἐνδοξοι.

Συγγραφέων δὲ Κτησίβιος μὲν ἐτῶν ἑκατόν καὶ
tεσσάρων ἐν περιπάτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς Ἀπολλο
δώρως ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς ἱστορεί. Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ἐν
πολέμοις γενόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς καμάτους ὑπομεί
νας καὶ τραύματα ἔξησεν ἐτη τέσσαρα καὶ ἑκατόν,
ἂν Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας
ἱστορίων λέγει, καὶ θαυμάζει γε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς
μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας ἁρτίου ὀντα ἐν ταῖς
συνουσίαις καὶ πάσι τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις, μυθενὸς
γενόμενον τῶν πρῶς υφελειαν ἐλληπῆ. Ἐλλάνικος
ὁ Δέσβιος ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ Φερεκύδης
ὁ Σύριος ὁμοίως ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε. Τίμαιος
ὁ Ταυρωμενίτης ἐξ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα. Ἀριστόβουλος
dὲ ὁ Κασανδρεὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑνενήκοντα ἔτη λέγεται
βεβιωκέναι, τὴν ἱστορίαν δὲ τέταρτον καὶ ὁγδοήκο
νοστὸν ἐτος γεγονὸς ἥρξατο 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 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.
αὐτὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς πραγματείας λέγει. Πολύβιος δὲ ὁ Δυκόρτα. Μεγαλοπολίτης ἀγρόθεν ἀνελθὼν ἀφ' ἵππου κατέπεσεν καὶ ἐκ τούτου νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν ἐτῶν δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, Ἀνυκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀμισηνὸς συγγραφεὺς διὰ πολλῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος ἔτη δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα.

Ῥητόρων δὲ Γοργίας, ὅν τινες σοφιστὴν 23 καλοῦσιν, ἔτη ἤη̇ τροφῆς δὲ ἀποσχόμενος ἔτελευ- τησεν· ὃν φαίνω ἐρωτηθέντα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μακροῦ γῆρος καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθή- σεις εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε συμπεριενεχθήναι ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐώχιαις. Ἰσοκράτης εἶ καὶ ἐνενή- κοντα ἐτή γεγονός τοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ ἔγραφε λόγον, περὶ ἔτη δὲ ἐνὸς ἀποδέοντα ἐκατόν γεγονός ὡς ἧσθενο Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαλανδρίου μάχῃ νεκρικοῖς, ποτιμόμενος τὸν Εὐρυπίδειον στίχον προηγόκατο εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνα- φέρων,

Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἀστυ Κάδμος ἐκλιπὼν·
καὶ ἐπευπὼν ὡς δουλεύσει ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἤξελπε τοῦ βιοῦ. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ῥήτωρ, θεοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστὸν διδάσκαλος γενόμενος καὶ σὺν Ἀθηνοκόμῳ τῷ Ταρσεῖ φιλοσόφῳ παρεύσας αὐτὸν, ἤξησεν ταῦτα τῷ Ἀθηνοδόρῳ ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα δύο. Ποτάμων δὲ ὡς ἄδοξος ῥήτωρ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα.

Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς ὑμνεί σταφυλῆς 24 καταπιθῶν ἀπεπνήγη πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ζήσας ἔτη. ὁὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἰοφώντος τοῦ νιέος ἐπὶ τελεί
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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).
τοῦ βίου παρανοίας κρινόμενος ἀνέγων τὸς δικασταῖς Οἰδίπουν τὸν ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ, ἐπιδεικνύμενος διὰ τοῦ δράματος ὅπως τὸν νουὶ ὑγιαίνει, ὡς τοὺς δικαστὰς τὸν μὲν ὑπερθαυμάσαι, καταψηφίσασθαι δὲ τοῦ νιῶν αὐτοῦ μανίαν. Κρατίνος δὲ ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητὴς ἔπτα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβίωσε, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου διδάξας τὴν Πυτίνην καὶ νικήσας μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτα. καὶ Φιλήμων δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς, ὁμοίως τῷ Κρατίνῳ ἔπτα καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοῦς, κατέκειτο μὲν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἱρεμῶν, θεασάμενος δὲ ὅνον τὰ παρεσκευασμένα αὐτῷ σύκα κατεσθίοντα ἀφριησε μὲν εἰς γέλωτα, καλέσας δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην καὶ σὺν πολλῷ καὶ ἄθροῖ γέλωτι εἰπὼν προσδούναι τῷ ὠνρ αἰρᾶτο ροφεῖν ἀποτυπωγεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος ἀπέθανεν. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἔπτα ἔτη λέγεται βιῶναι. Ἀνακρέων δὲ ὁ τῶν μελῶν 26 ποιητῆς ἔξησεν ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοίκοντα, καὶ Στηγίχορος δὲ ὁ μελοποιὸς ταῦτά, Συμμωνίδης δὲ ὁ Κεῖος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα.

Γραμματικῶν δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης μὲν ὁ Ἀγ- 27 λαοῦ Κυρηναῖος, διὰ τὸ μόνον γραμματικῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ποιητὴν ἄν τις ὄνομάσεων καὶ φιλόσοφον καὶ γεωμέτρην, δύο καὶ ὀγδοίκοντα, τοῖς ἐξησεν ἔτη. καὶ Λυκούργος δὲ ὁ νυμβοῦσας τῶν Δακεδαλ- μοίων πέντε καὶ ὀγδοίκοντα ἔτη ζῆσαι ἱστορεῖται.

1 ἔπτα Ν, vulg.: τέσσαρα other MSS., Schwartz.
2 ὁ κωμικὸς MSS.: κωμικὸς Schwartz.
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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 ἐδυνηθημεν βασιλέας καὶ πεπαι- 29
dευμένους ἄθροίσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπεσχόμην καὶ
Ῥωμαίων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰταλίαν οἰκησάντων
μακροβίων ἀναγράψαι, τούτους σοι, θεῶν βουλο-
μένων, ἱερώτατε Κυνίτιλλε, 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

[ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ]

"Ωσπερ τούς ἀθλητικοὺς καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἀσχολουμένοις ὅτε τῆς εὐεξίας μόνον οὐδὲ τῶν γυμνασίων φροντίς ἦστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κατὰ καιρὸν γυμνομένης ἀνέσεως—μέρος γοῦν τῆς ἀσκήσεως τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν—οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐσπονδακόσιν ὡγούμαι προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σπουδαιότερῶν ἀνάγωσιν ἀνέναι τῇ διάνοιᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπειτὰ κάματον ἀκμαίοτέραν παρασκευάζειν. γένοιτο δὲ ἂν ἐμμελῆς ἡ ἀνάπαυσις ἀυτοῖς, εἰ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ὁμολόγειν, ἀ μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείου τε καὶ χαρίεντος ψυλὴν παρέξει τήν ψυχαγωγίαν, ἀλλὰ τινὰ καὶ θεωρίαν οὐκ ἀμοιβαίον ἐπιδείξεται, οἷον τι καὶ περὶ τών ὑπολαμβανόντων τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτῶν φρονήσειν ὑπολαμβάνον, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ἐξένο τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὐδὲ τὸ χαρίεν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐπαγωγὴν ἔσται αὐτοῖς οὐδ’ ὅτι ψεύσματα ποικίλα πιθανῶς τε καὶ ἐναιλιηθῶς εἰκονιστὶ τιμήσω τοῖς τῶν ἱστορούμενων ἑκατον ὁκτωμορφητῶς ἦνικται πρὸς τινὰς

1 So the best MSS. (though some have ἀληθῶν) and Photius (cod. 166, 1 a). Ἁληθῶς Ἰστορίας vulg.
2 ἀσχολουμένοις Γ, Νίλεν: ἡσκημένοις other MSS.
3 αὐτοῦς 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
τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ φιλοσόφων πολλὰ τεράστια καὶ μυθόδη συγγεγραφότων, οὕς καὶ ὄνομαστὶ ἂν ἔγραφον, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτῷ σοι ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως φανεῖσθαι ἐμελλον. 

2 Κτησίας ὁ Κτησιόχου ὁ Κυίδιος, ὃς συνέγραψεν περὶ τῆς Ἰσδῶν χώρας καὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἁ μήτε αὐτὸς εἶδεν μήτε ἄλλον ἀληθεύοντος ἡκουσεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἰαμβούλος περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ πολλὰ παράδοξα, γνώριμων μὲν ἀπασι τὸ ψεύδος πλασάμενος, οὐκ ἀτερπῇ δὲ ὅμως συνθεῖς τὴν ύπόθεσιν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις προελάμβανοι συνέγραψαν ὡς δὴ τινὰς ἑαυτῶν πλάνας τε καὶ ἀποδημίας, θηρίων τε μεγάθη ἱστορούντες καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁμότητας καὶ βιῶν καινότητας. ἄρχηγος δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς τοιαύτης βιομολογίας ὁ τοῦ Ὀμηροῦ Ὀδυσσεύς, τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἀλκάνων δηγούμενος ἀνέμων τε δουλείαν καὶ μονοθάλμους καὶ ὠμοφάγοις καὶ ἀγρίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους, ἢτι δὲ πολυκέφαλα ξώα καὶ τὰς υπὸ φαρμάκων τῶν ἐταίρων μεταβολὰς, οἷα πολλὰ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἱδιώτας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς Φαίακας ἐτερατεύσατο. τούτοις οὖν ἐντυχὼν ἀπασιν, τοὺς ψεύσασθαι 4 μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τοὺς ἁνδρας ἐμεμψάμην, ὅρων ἢδη σύνθεις ὑπὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπεχυνμένοις ἐκεῖνο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐθαύμασα, εἰ ἐνόμιζον λήσειν οὐκ ἀληθῆ συγγράφουντες. διόπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ἀπολιπεῖν τι σπουδάσας

1 συγγεγραφότων Γ, Ω.: συγγεγραφότας Ζ.
2 Supply οἶν (Bekker), or the like.
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.¹ Many others, with the same intent, have written about imaginary travels and journeys of theirs, telling of huge beasts, cruel men and strange ways of living. Their guide and instructor in this sort of charlatanry is Homer's Odysseus, who tells Alcinous and his court about winds in bondage, one-eyed men, cannibals and savages; also about animals with many heads, and transformations of his comrades wrought with drugs. This stuff, and much more like it, is what our friend humbugged the illiterate Phaeacians with! Well, on reading all these authors, I did not find much fault with them for their lying, as I saw that this was already a common practice even among men who profess philosophy.² I did wonder, though, that they thought that they could write 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 (Bibl., cod. 168, 111 b) the fountain-head of Lucian's tale.

² A slap at Plato's Republic (x. 614 a seq.), as the scholiast says.
τοῖς μεθ’ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἁμοιρὸς ὁ τῆς ἐν τῷ μυθολογεῖν ἐλευθερίας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀληθῆς ἱστορεῖν εἶχον—οὔδὲν γὰρ ἐπεπόνθειν ἀξίολογον—ἐπὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐτραπόμην πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων εὐγνώμονεςτερον κἂν ἐν γὰρ ὁτὸ ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεῦδομαι. οὖτω δ’ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὸς ἠμολογῶν μηδὲν ἀληθῆς λέγειν. γράφω τοῖς περὶ ὃν μήτε εἰδὸν, μήτε ἔπαθον μήτε παρ’ ἄλλων ἐπιθυμημένῳ, ἐτι δὲ μῆτε ὅλως ὄντων μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι δυναμένῳ. διὸ δεῖ τοὺς ἐντυχάνοντας μηδαμῶς πιστεύειν αὐτοὺς.

'Ομηρθείς γὰρ ποτε ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν 5 καὶ ἄφεις εἰς τὸν ἐσπέριον ὥκεανον οὐρίῳ ἀνέμῳ τὸν πλοῦν ἐπιούμην. αἵτια δὲ μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ ὑπόθεσις ἡ τῆς διανοίας περιεργὰ καὶ πραγμάτων καίνων ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τι τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν τοῦ ὥκεανοῦ καὶ τίνες οἱ πέραν κατοικοῦσες ἀνθρώποι. τούτου γε τοῖς ἕνεκα πάμπολλα μὲν συτία ἐνεβαλόμην, ἴκανον δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐνεθέμην, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν ἡλκιωτῶν προσεποιησάμην τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅπλων πολὺ τι πλῆθος παρεσκευασάμην καὶ κυβερνήτῃ τὸν ἀριστον μισθῷ μεγάλῳ πείσας παρέλαβον καὶ τὴν ναῦν—ἀκατός δὲ ἦν—όσος πρὸς μέγαν καὶ βίαιον πλοῦν ἐκρατησάμην. ἦμέραν 6 οὖν καὶ νύκτα οὐρίῳ πλέοντες ἔτι τῆς γῆς ὑποφαίνομένης οὐ σφόδρα βιαίως ἀνηγόμεθα, τῆς ἐπιούσης δὲ ἀμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ὃ τε ἀνέμος
A TRUE STORY, I

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

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

1 Compare the protestations of Ctesias and of Antonius Diogenes (Phot. cod. 72, 49-50; 166, 109 b).
ἐπεδίδου καὶ τὸ κύμα ηὐξάνετο καὶ ξόφος ἐπεγίνετο καὶ οὐκέτ’ οὔδὲ στείλα τὴν θόνυν δυνατόν ἦν. ἐπιτρέψαντες οὖν τῷ πνέοντι καὶ παραδόντες ἑαυτούς ἐχεμαζόμεθα ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ ἐβδομή-
κοντα, τῇ ὁγδοηκοστῇ δὲ ἀφὺ ἐκλάμψαντος ἡλίου καθόρμουν οὐ πόρρῳ νῆσον υψηλών καὶ δασεῖαν,
οὐ τραχεὶ περιηχουμένη τῷ κύματι καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὸ πολὺ τῆς ξύλης κατεπαύετο.

Προσχόντες οὖν καὶ ἀποβάντες ὡς ἂν ἐκ μακρᾶς ταλαιπωρίας πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκείμεθα, διαναστάντες δὲ ὁμοίς ἀπεκρίναμεν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τριάκοντα μὲν φύλακας τῆς νεώς παραμένειν, εἰκοσι δὲ σὺν ἐμὸι ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ προελθόντες δὲ 7 ὅσον σταδίους τρεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης δι’ ὑλὴς ὁρῶμεν τινα στήλην χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην, Ἐλλη-
νικοῖς γράμμασιν καταγεγραμμένην, ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκτετριμμένοις, λέγουσαν "Αχρί τούτων Ἡρα-
κλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἀφίκοντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ έχθη δύο πλησίον ἐπὶ πέτρας, τὸ μὲν πλεθριαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἑλαττὸν—ἐμὸι δοκεῖν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διονύσου, τὸ μικρότερον, θάτερον δὲ Ἡρακλέοις. προσκυνη-
σαντες δ’ οὖν προῆμεν οὔπω δὲ πολὺ παρῆμεν καὶ ἐφιστάμεθα ποταμῷ ὃνοιν ἑρέων ὁμοίοτατον μάλιστα οἴσσερ ὁ Χῖος ἔστων. ἅφθονον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἰδίμα καὶ πολὺ, ὅστε ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ ναυσίπορον εἶναι δύνασθαι. ἐπήει οὖν ἡμῶν πολὺ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης ἐπιγράμματι, ὁρῶσι τὰ σημεῖα τῆς Διονύσου ἐπιδημίας. δόξαν δὲ μοι
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 Heracles, two cubits long.
³ Cf. Ctesias (Phot. cod. 72, 46 a).
καὶ οὖν ἀρχεται ὁ ποταμὸς καταμαθεῖν, ἀνήειν παρὰ τὸ ρέμα, καὶ πηγὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εὑρὼν αὐτοῦ, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας ἀμπέλους, πλήρεις βότρυων, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ρίζαν ἐκάστην ἀπέρρει σταγών οἴνον διανυγόν, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐγίνετο ὁ ποταμὸς. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἱχθὺς ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἱδεῖν, οἰνῳ μᾶλιστα καὶ τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὴν γεύσιν προσεικοῖτας: ἡμέΐς γοῦν ἀγρεύσαντες αὐτῶν τινας καὶ ἐμφαγόντες ἐμεθύσημεν· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνατεμόντες αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκομεν τρυγὸς μεστοῦς. ὡστερον μέντοι ἐπινοήσαντες τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἱχθὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος παραμυγνύντες ἐκεράννυμεν τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς οἰνοφαγίας.

Τότε δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεράσαντες ἦ δια- 8 βατὸς ἦν, εὕρομεν ἀμπέλουν χρῆμα τεράστιον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὁ στελεχὸς αὐτὸς εὐερής καὶ παχύς, τὸ δὲ ἄνω γυναικεῖς ἤσαν, ὡς εἰ τῶν λαγώνων ἄπαντα ἐχοῦσαι τέλεια—τοιαύτην παρ’ ἡμῖν τὴν Δάφνην γράφουσιν ἄρτο τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταλαμβάνοντος ἀποδευδρουμένην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δακτύλων ἄκρων ἐξεφύοντο αὐταῖς οἱ κλάδοι καὶ μεστοὶ ἤσαν βότρυων. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐκόμων ἔλεξε τε καὶ φύλλους καὶ βότρυσι. προσελθότας δὲ ἡμᾶς ἤσπαζοντο τε καὶ ἐδεξιόντο, αἱ μὲν Δύδιοι, αἱ δ’ Ἰνδικῆ, αἱ πλεῖστα δὲ τὴν Ἐλλάδα φωνὴν προϊέμεναι. καὶ ἐφίλουν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοῖς στόμασιν· ὁ δὲ φιλήθεις αὐτίκα ἐμέθυνε καὶ παράφορος ἦν. δρέπεσθαι μέντοι οὐ παρεῖχον τοῦ καρποῦ, ἀλλ’ ἠλέγον καὶ ἐβάλον ἀποστομένου. αἱ δὲ καὶ μᾶγνυσθαι· ἡμῖν ἐπεθύμουν· καὶ δύο τινές τῶν ἑταῖρων πλησιάσαντες αὐταῖς οὐκέτι ἀπελύ- οντο, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐξέδεντο· συνεφύστω.
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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 συνερριμέντο. καὶ ἢδη αὐτοῖς κλάδοι ἐπεθεύκεσαν οἱ δάκτυλοι, καὶ ταῖς ἐλιξὶ περιπλεκόμενοι ὅσον οὐδέπω καὶ αὐτοὶ καρποφορήσειν ἔμελλον. καταλιπόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ναῦν ἐφεύγομεν καὶ τοῖς ἀπολειφθέεσιν διηγούμεθα ἐλθόντες τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τῆν ἄμπελομείζαν, καὶ δὴ λαβόντες ἀμφορέας τινὰς καὶ ὑδρευσάμενοι τε ἀμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰνισάμενοι καὶ αὐτοῦ πλησίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἁύνος αὐλοσάμενοι ἔσθεν ἀνήχη-μεν οὖ σφόδρα βιαῖῳ πνεύματι.

Περὶ μεσημβρίαν δὲ οὐκέτι τῆς νήσου φαινομένης ἀφὼν τυφών ἐπιγενόμενος καὶ περιδινήσας τὴν ναῦν καὶ μετεωρίσας ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους τριακοσίους οὐκέτι καθήκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀλλὰ ἄνω μετέωρον ἐξηρτημένην ἀνέμος ἐμπέσων τοῖς ἱστίοις ἔφερεν κολπώσας τὴν ὅθόνην. ἐπτὰ δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἔσας νύκτας ἀεροδρομώσαντες, ὡγδόν καθορόμεν γῇν τινα μεγάλην ἐν τῷ ἄερι καθάπερ νήσου, λαμπρὰν καὶ σφαιροειδή καὶ φωτὶ μεγάλῳ καταλαμπμομένην προσευχέθεντες δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ ὀρμισάμενοι ἀπέβημεν, ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ τὴν χώραν εὐρύσκομεν οἰκουμένην τε καὶ γεωργομένην. ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθεν καθεωρώμεν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἐφάνοντο ἠμῶν καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ νήσοι πλησίον, αἱ μὲν μείζονες, αἱ δὲ μικρότεραι, πυρὶ τὴν χροῖαν προσεοικύαι, καὶ ἄλλῃ δὲ τις γῆ κάτω, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἔχουσα καὶ πελάγη καὶ ὤλας καὶ ὅρη. ταῦταν οὖν τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν οἰκουμένην εἰκάζομεν.

Δόξαν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐτί πορρωτέρω προελθεῖν, 11 συνελήφθημεν τοὺς Ἰππογύπτους παρ’ αὐτοῖς καλούμένους ἀπαντήσαντες. οἱ δὲ Ἰππόγυπτοι οὐτοὶ εἰσιν 258
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, spurn 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
ἀνδρεὶς ἐπὶ γυνῶν μεγάλων ὅχούμενοι καὶ καθάπερ ἱπποί τοῖς ὄρνεοις χρώμενοι· μέγαλοι γὰρ οἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ὡς ἔπιπαν τρικέφαλοι. μάθοι δ’ ἂν τις τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ἐντεῦθεν· νεῶς γὰρ μεγάλης φορτίδος ἵστοι ἐκαστὸν τῶν πτερῶν μακρότερον καὶ παχύτερον φέρουσι. τούτοις οὖν τοῖς Ἡπ- πογύποις προστετακται περιπετεμένους τὴν γῆν, εἰ τις εὑρεθῇ ἥξιος, ἀνάγειν ὡς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς συλλαβόντες ἀνάγουσιν ὡς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ θεασίμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς εἰκάσας, Ἐλληνες ἄρα, ἐφη, ὑμεῖς, ὁ ἥξιος; συμφησάντων δὲ, Πῶς οὖν ἄφικεσθε, ἐφη, τοσοῦτον ἄέρα διελ- θόντες; καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ πᾶν αὐτῷ διηγοῦμεθα· καὶ ὁς ἄφικεσθε τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἡμῶν διεξῆνει, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπος δὲν τούνομα Ἐνδυμίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς καθεύδων ἀναρπασθεί ποτὲ καὶ ἄφικεσθε βασιλεύσει τῆς χώρας· εἶναι δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ἔλεγε τὴν ἡμῶν κάτω φανομένην σελήνην. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν τε παρεκελεύετο καὶ μιθέναι κάνωνον ὑφορᾶσθαι· πάντα γὰρ ἡμῖν παρέσεσθαι δὲν δεόμεθα. Ἡν δὲ καὶ κατορ¬ θόσω, ἐφη, τὸν πόλεμον ὅν ἐκφέρω νῦν πρὸς τοὺς τὸν ἡλιοῦ κατοικοῦντας, ἀπάντων εὐδαιμονίστατα παρ’ ἐμοὶ καταβιώσεσθε. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡρομεθα τίνες εἰς τοὺς πολέμιους καὶ τὴν αὐτῖν τῆς διαφορᾶς· Ὅ δὲ Φαέθων, φησίν, ὁ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἡλιῷ κατοι¬ κοῦντων βασιλεύσ—οἰκεῖται γὰρ δὴ κάκεινος
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. Odyss. 9, 322 f.
² The story of Antonius Diogenes included a description of a trip to the moon (Phot. 131a). 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."

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όσπερ καὶ ἡ σελήνη—πολὺν ἦδη πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμεῖ χρόνον. ἦξατο δὲ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁρχῇ τῇ ἐμῇ ποτὲ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους συναγαγὼν ἐβοουλήθην ἀποικίαν ἐς τὸν Ἐοσφόρου στεῖλαι, ὡντα ἔρημον καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κατοικοῦμενον· ὁ τοῦν Φαέθων φθονήσας ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἀποικίαν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον ἀπαντήσας ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰππομυρμήκων. τότε μὲν οὖν νυκταίρετε—οὐ γὰρ ἦμεν ἀντίπαλοι τῇ παρασκευῇ—ἀνεχώρησαμεν· νῦν δὲ βουλομαι αὐθις ἐξενεχεῖν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν ἀποικίαν. ἦν οὖν ἐθέλητε, κοινωνήσατέ μοι τοῦ στόλου, γύπας δὲ ἤμων ἐγὼ παρέξω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνα ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὀπλισσώ αὐρίου δὲ ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἔξωθο. Οὔτως, ἐφην ἐγώ, γυνεῖσθω, ἐπειδὴ σοι δοκεῖ.

Τότε μὲν οὖν παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστιαθέντες ἐμείναμεν, 13 ἐσθεν δὲ διαναστάντες ἐτασσόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμανον πλησίον εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς δέκα μυριάδες ἐγένοντο ἄνευ τῶν σκευοφόρων καὶ τῶν μηχανοποιῶν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων συμμάχων τούτων δὲ ὀκτακισμύριοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππόγυποι, δισμύριοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Λαχανοπτέρων. ὄρνευον δὲ καὶ τούτό ἐστι μέγιστον, ἀντὶ τῶν πτερῶν λαχανίως πάντη λάσιων, τὰ δὲ ὀκύπτερα ἔχει θριακίνησις φύλλοις μάλιστα προσεικότα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως οἱ Κεχροβόλοι ἐτετάχατο καὶ οἱ Σκοροδομάχοι. ἦλθον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου συμμαχών, 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,
ψυλλῶν μεγάλων ἰππάζονταί, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν· μέγεθος δὲ τῶν ψυλλῶν ὅσον δώδεκα ἐλέφαντες· οἱ δὲ 'Ανεμοδρόμοι πεζοὶ μὲν εἰσιν, φέρονται δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄερι ἀνευ πτερῶν· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς φοράς τοιόσοδε. χιτῶνας ποδήρεις ὑπεξωσμένους κολπώσαντες αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀνέμῳ καθάπερ ἵστια φέρονται ὡσπερ τἄ σκάρφῃ. τὰ πολλὰ δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πελτασταὶ εἰσιν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ὑστέρων ἡξειν Στρουθοβάλανοι μὲν ἑπτακισίῳρυιοι, Ἰππογέρανοι δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι. τούτους ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔθεασάμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτο. διότι οὐδὲ γράψαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἔτολμησα· τεράστια γὰρ καὶ ἀπίστα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγετο.

Αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ τοῦ Ἐυδυμίωνος δύναμις ἐν 14 σκευῇ δὲ πάντων ἡ αὐτή· κράνη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κυάμων, μεγάλοι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς οἱ κύαμοι καὶ καρτεροί. θώρακες δὲ φολιδωτοί πάντες θέρμων, τὰ γὰρ λέπη τῶν θέρμων συρράπτοντες ποιοῦνται θώρακας, ἀρρηκτον δὲ ἐκεῖ γίνεται τοῦ θέρμου τὸ λέπος ὡσπερ κέρας. ἀστίδες δὲ καὶ ξίφη ὁια τὰ Ἐλληνικά. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν, ἐτάξαντο ὅδε τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον οἱ Ἰππόγυπται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχων· καὶ ἥμεις ἐν τούτως ἦμεν· τὸ δὲ ευόνυμον οἱ Δαχανοπτεροί· τὸ μέσον δὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἑκάστοις ἐδόκει. τὸ δὲ πεζον ἦσαν μὲν ἄμφι τὰς ἔξακισ-χιλίας μυρίάδας, ἐτάξιν οἵος δὲ οὐτοίς. ἀράχναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι γίνονται, πολὺ τῶν Κυκλάδων νῆσων ἑκάστος μείζων. τούτοις
A TRUE STORY, I

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).
προσέταξεν διυφήναι τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς σελήνης καὶ τοῦ Ἑωσφόρου ἀέρα. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐξειργά-


σαντο καὶ πεδίον ἐποίησαν, ἔπὶ τούτου παρέταξε


tὸ πεζὸν· ἤγειτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νυκτερίων ὁ Εὐδια-


νακτος τρίτος αὐτῶς.


Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εἶχον οἱ 16


Ἰππομύρμηκες καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῶις Φαέθων· θηρία

dὲ ἐστὶ μέγιστα, ὑπόπτερα, τοῖς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν


μύρμηξὶ προσεοικότα πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους· ὁ


γὰρ μέγιστος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλεθρὸς ἤν. ἐμά-


χοντο δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ


αὐτοὶ μάλιστα τοῖς κέρασιν· ἐλέγοντο δὲ οὕτωι


eἶναι ἀμφὶ τὰς πέντε μυριάδας. ἔπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ


αὐτῶν ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Ἀεροκώνωπες, ὄντες καὶ


οὕτωι ἀμφὶ τὰς πέντε μυριάδας, πάντες τοξύται


κόνωψι μεγάλοις ἐποχούμενοι· μετὰ δὲ τούτους


οἱ Ἀεροκόρδακες, ψυλλοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ πεζοὶ, πλὴν


μάχιμοι γε καὶ οὕτωι· πόρρωθεν γὰρ ἐσφενδόνων


ῥαφανίδας ὑπερμεγέθεις, καὶ ὁ βληθεὶς οὐδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλί-


γον 1 ἀντέχειν εὐνύτως, ἀπέθυμηκε δὲ, καὶ ὑποδόιας


tινὸς τῷ τραύματι ἐγγυνομένης· ἐλέγοντο δὲ


χρίειν τὰ βέλη μαλάχης ἰδ. ἔχομενοι δὲ αὐτῶν


ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Καυλομύκητες, ὄπληται ὄντες καὶ


ἀγχέμαχοι, τὸ πλήθος μύριον ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Καυλο-


μύκητες, ὅτι ἀσπίσι μὲν μικητίναις ἐχρώντο,


dόρασὶ δὲ καυλίνους τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπαράγων.


πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Κυνοβάλανοι ἐστησαν,


οὐς ἐπεμψαν αὐτῶι οἱ τῶν Ἐσίριων κατοικοῦντες,


πεντακισχίλιοι, ἀνδρεῖς 2 κυνοπρόσωποι ἐπὶ βαλά-


1 ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον Νιλέν: ὀλίγον Π.

2 ἀνδρεῖς Νιλέν: καὶ οὕτωι ἀνδρεῖς MSS.
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 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.
νων πτερωτῶν μαχόμενοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ κάκεινο
ὑστερίζειν τῶν συμμάχων οὐς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλα-
ξίου μετεπέμπετο σφενδονήτας καὶ οἱ Νεφελοκέν-
tαυροί. ἀλλὰ ἐκείνοι μὲν τῆς μάχης ήδη κεκριμένης
ἀφίκοντο, ὥς μήποτε ὡφελοῦ ὦ σφενδονήται δὲ
οὐδὲ ὅλως παρεγένοντο, διὸπερ φασίν ὑστερον
αὐτοῖς ὀργισθέντα τὸν Φαέθοντα πυρπολήσαι τὴν
χώραν.
Τοιαύτῃ μὲν καὶ ὁ Φαέθων ἐπήγει παρα-
σκευῇ. συμμίξαντες δὲ ἐπειδή τὰ σημεία ἡρθη
καὶ ὁγκύσαντο ἐκατέρων οἱ ὄνοι—τούτοις γὰρ
ἀντὶ σαλπιστῶν χρῶνται—ἐμάχοντο. καὶ τὸ
μὲν εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἡλιωτῶν αὐτίκα ἐφυγεν οὐδὲ
εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενον τοὺς Ἰππογύπους, καὶ ἡμεῖς
εἰπόμεθα κτείνουτε: τὸ δεξιὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκράτει
τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ εὐώνυμον, καὶ ἐπέξηλθον οἱ
Ἀεροκώνωτες διώκοντες ἀχρὶ πρὸς τοὺς πεζούς.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ κάκεινων ἐπιβοηθοῦντων ἐφυγον ἐγκλι-
ναντες, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεὶ ἰσθοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ
εὐώνυμῳ σφῶν νεικημένους. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς λαμ-
πρᾶς γεγενημένης πολλοὶ μὲν ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο,
pολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνηροῦντο, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἔρρει πολὺ
mὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν, ὡστε αὐτὰ βάπτεσθαι καὶ
ἐρύθρᾳ φαίνεσθαι, οία παρ' ἡμῖν δυομένου τοῦ
ἄλλου φαίνεται, πολὺ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέ-
σταζεν, ὡστε με εἰκάζειν ὁ Ὀμήρος ὑπελάβειν αἴ-
ματι ὑσαι τὸν Δία ἐπὶ τῶν Σαρπιδώνοις θανάτῳ.
Ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως δύο τρό-
παια ἐστήσαμεν, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀραχνῶν τῆς
πεζομαχίας, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀερομαχίας ἐπὶ τῶν
A TRUE STORY, I

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

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

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

¹ ll. 16, 459.
νεφῶν. ἅρτη δὲ τούτων γινομένων ἡγγέλλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν σκόπων οἱ Νεφελοκένταυροι προσέλαυνον, οὕς ἔδει πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐλθεῖν τῷ Φαέθοντι. καὶ δὴ ἐφαίνοντο προσίωντες, θέαμα παραδοξότατον, εἰς ὑππων πτερωτῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συγκείμενον. μέγεθος δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ὡς τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσοῦ ἢ ἡμισείας ἢ τὸ ἄνω, τῶν δὲ ὑππων ὡς κείσαι μεγάλης φορτίδος. τὸ μέντοι πλήθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄνεγραψα, μή καὶ ἀπιστον δύξη—τοσοῦτον ἦν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ τοῦ ἔριδικον τοξότης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠθοντο τοὺς φίλους νευκημένους, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Φαέθοντα ἐπέμπουν ἡγείλαν αὐθίς ἐπιέναι, αὐτοῖ δὲ διαταξάμενοι τεταραγμένοι ἐπιτίπτουσι τοὺς Σεληνίτας, ἀτάκτως ἐπειδὴ τῇ δίωξι καὶ τῇ λάφυρᾳ διεσκεδάζοντο καὶ πάντας μὲν τρέπουσιν, αὐτοῖ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καταδιώκουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὀρνεῶν αὐτοῦ κτείνουσιν. ἀνέσπασαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ κατέδραμον ἀπαν τῷ ἀρχιτόν πεδίον ὡφασμένον, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ δύο τινας τῶν ἔταιρων ἐξώγρησαν. ἦδη δὲ παρῆν καὶ ὁ Φαέθων καὶ αὐθίς ἀλλα τρόπαια ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἑστατο. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπηγόμεθα ἐς τῶν ἦλιον αὐθημεροῦν τῷ χείμερο ὑπὸ συνεχείς ἀραχνῶν ἀποκομματί. οἱ δὲ πολυρεκεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἑγνώσαν τὴν πόλιν, ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ τὸ μετέχειν τοῦ ἀέρος ἀπετείλησαν, ὅστε μηκέτι τὰς αὐγὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦλιον πρὸς τὴν σελήνην διήκειν. τὸ δὲ τείχος ἦν διπλοῦν, νεφελωτὸν ὅστε σαφῆς ἐκλειψεις τῆς σελήνης ἐγεγόνει καὶ νυκτὶ διηνεκεῖ 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 overran 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
πειξόμενος δὲ τούτοις ὁ Ἐυδυμίων πέμψας ίκέτευεν καθαίρεϊν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα καὶ μὴ σφάς περιορᾶν ἐν σκότῳ βιοτεύοντας, ὑπισχυέτο δὲ καὶ φόρους τελέσειν καὶ σύμμαχος ἔσεσθαι καὶ μηκέτι πολεμήσειν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἐπὶ τούτους δοῦναι ἥθελεν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα γενομένης δίς ἐκκλησίας τῇ προτεραιᾷ μὲν οὐδὲν παρέλυσαν τῆς ὀργῆς, τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ δὲ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τούτως· κατὰ τάδε συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο Ἡλιώται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πρὸς Σεληνίτας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἐπὶ τῷ καταλῦσαι μὲν τοὺς Ἡλιώτας τὸ διατείχισμα καὶ μηκέτι ἐς τὴν σελήνην ἐσβάλλειν, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἵμαλωτοὺς ρήτοι ἐκαστὸν χρήματος, τοὺς δὲ Σεληνίτας ἀφεῖναι μὲν αὐτονόμους τοὺς γε ἄλλους¹ ἀστέρας, ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς Ἡλιώταις, συμμαχεῖν δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ ὁλῇ, ἢν τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόρῳ δὲ ὑποτελεῖν ἐκαστὸν ἔτους τῶν βασιλεία τῶν Σεληνίτων τῷ βασιλεὶ τῶν Ἡλιώτων δρόσου ἀμφορέας μυρίους, καὶ ὁμήρους δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν δοῦναι μυρίους, τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἐωσφόρον κοινὴ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον· ἐγγράψαι δὲ τὰς συνθήκας στῆλὴ ἠλεκτρίνη καὶ ἀναστήσαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἀέρι ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις. ὁμοίως δὲ Ἡλιώτων μὲν Πυραυλίδης καὶ Θερεῖτης καὶ Φλόγιος, Σεληνίτων δὲ Νύκτωρ καὶ Μήνιος καὶ Πολυλάμπης.

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

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

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

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

That each country aid the other if it be attacked;

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

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

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

Attested under hand and seal.

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

¹ Compare the Athenian-Spartan treaty, Thuc. 5, 18.
Τοιαύτη μεν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο· εὐθὺς δὲ τὸ τείχος καθηρεῖτο καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέδοσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα ἐς τὴν σελήνην, ὑπηντίαξον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο μετὰ δακρύων οὐ τε ἐταίροι καὶ ὁ Ἐνδυμίων αὐτός. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἥξιον μὲ 1 μείναι τε παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ κοινονεῖν τῆς ἀποικίας, ὑπεσχυόμενος δόσειν πρὸς γάμον τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ παῖδα· γυναῖκες γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἐπειθόμην, ἀλλ’ ἥξιον ἀποτεμφθήναι κάτω ἐς τὴν θάλατταν. ὡς δὲ ἔγνω οὐδένατον ὑμν πείθειν, ἀποτείμητε ἡμᾶς ἐστιάσας ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας. 22

"Α δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διατρίβων ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ κατενόησα καὶ παράδοξα, ταῦτα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν. πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρρενων· γάμοις γὰρ τοῖς ἄρρεσι χρῶνται καὶ οὐδὲ οὐρα ἡμνῶς ὑπάρχει ἴσας. μέχρι μὲν οὖν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἐτῶν γαμεῖται ἑκαστος, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γαμεῖ αὐτοῖς· κύουσι δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῇ νησίῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς γαστροκηνημίαις· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ συλλάβῃ τὸ ἐμβρυον, παχύνεται ἡ κυρία, καὶ χρόνῳ ύστερον ἀνατεμόντες ἐξάγουσι νεκρά, θέντες δὲ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνεμον κεχυνότα ξυποουόσιν. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐκείθεν ἦκειν τὴς γαστροκηνημίας τοῦμα, ὅτι παρ’ ἐκείνοις ἀντὶ γαστρὸς κυνοφορεῖ. μεῖζον δὲ τούτου ἄλλο δημηγόροις. γένος ἐστὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἁνθρώπων οἱ καλούμενοι Δεινδρίται, γίνεται δὲ τὸν τρόπον τούτον. ὄρχην ἁνθρώπου τὸν δεξίον ἀποτεμόντες ἐν γῇ φυτεύουσιν, ἐκ δὲ αὐτοῦ δενδρον

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 I.e. calf of the leg.
ἀναφύεται μέγιστον, σάρκινων, οἰνον φαλλός· ἔχει δὲ καὶ κλάδους καὶ φύλλα· ὁ δὲ καρπός ἐστι βάλανοι πηχυαίοι τὸ μέγεθος. ἔπειδάν οὖν πεπαυθόσων, τρυγήσαντες αὐτὰς ἐκκολάπτουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἰδοία μέντοι πρόσθετα ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔλεφάντινα, οἱ δὲ πέντες αὐτῶν ξύλινα, καὶ διὰ τούτων ὑχεύουσι καὶ πλησιάζουσι τοῖς γαμέταις τοῖς ἕαυτῶν. ἔπειδαν δὲ γηράσῃ ὁ 23 ἀνθρωπός, οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκει, ἀλλ' ὀσπέρ καπνὸς διαλυόμενος ἐὴρ γίνεται. τροφὴ δὲ πᾶσιν ἡ αὐτή· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πῦρ ἀνακάυσωσιν, βατράχως ὑπάτωσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων πολλοὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶσιν ἐν τῷ ἁέρι πετόμενοι· ὑπτωμένων δὲ περικαθεσθέντες ὀσπέρ δὴ περὶ τράπεζαν κάπτουσι τὸν ἀναθυμιώμενον καπνὸν καὶ ἐξωγούνται. σίτῳ μὲν δὴ τρέφονται τοιούτῳ· ποτὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἀὴρ ἀποθλιβόμενος εἰς κύλικα καὶ ὑγρὸν ἀνείς ὀσπέρ δρόσου. οὕ ἁποροῦσιν γε καὶ ἄφο- δεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τέτρημεν ήπερ ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ τὴν συνουσίαν οἱ παἰδεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἑδραῖς παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἱγνώσις ὑπὲρ τὴν γαστροκυνημᾶς ἐκεῖ γάρ εἰσὶν τετρημένοι.

Καλὸς δὲ νομίζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ποῦ τις φαλακρὸς καὶ ἅκομος ή, τοὺς δὲ κομῆτας καὶ μυσάττονται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κομητῶν ἀστέρων τοὺ- ναντίον τοὺς κομῆτας καλοὺς νομίζουσιν· ἐπεδήμουν γὰρ τίνες, οἱ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνουν διηγοῦντο. καὶ μὴν καὶ γένεια φύσισιν μικρὰν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἱγνώστα. καὶ ὄνυχας ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰσίν μονοδάκτυλοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰς πυρὰς ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν κράμβη ἐκπέφυκε μακρὰ ὀσπέρ οὐρά, θάλλουσα ἐς ἄει καὶ ὑπτίον ἀναπίπττοντος 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, snuff up the rising smoke and gorge themselves.¹ This is the food they eat, and their drink is air, which is squeezed into a cup and yields a liquid like dew. They are not subject to calls of nature, which, in fact, they have no means of answering. Another important function, too, is not provided for as one would expect, but in the hollow of the knee.

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

¹ Cf. Herod. 1, 202; 4, 75; Strabo 15, 1, 57.
² The point of this is that κοιμότης, whence our word comet, means long-haired.
κατακλωμένη, ὀπομύττονται δὲ μέλι δρυ-μύτατον καπειδὰν ἦ πονῶσιν ἢ γυμνάζωνται, γάλακτι πάν τὸ σῶμα ἰδροῦσιν, ὡστε καὶ τυροῦς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πήγνυσθαι, ὅλων τοῦ μέλιτος ἐπιστάζαντες· ἐλαιον δὲ ποιοῦνται ἀπὸ τῶν κρομμύων πάνυ λιπαρῶν τε καὶ εὐώδες ὡσπερ μύρων. ἀμπέλους δὲ πολλὰς ἔχουσιν ύδροφόρους· οἱ γὰρ βάγες τῶν βοτρύων εἰσίν ὡσπερ χάλαζα, καὶ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπειδὰν ἐμπεσόν ἁνεμος διασεῖσθη τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐκείνας, τότε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταπίπτει ἡ χαλάζα διαρράγηστοι τῶν βοτρύων. τῇ μέντοι γαστρὶ ὅσα πίρα χρῶνται τιθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὅσων δέονται· ἀνοικτῇ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὐτὴ καὶ πάλιν κλειστῇ ἐστιν· ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἡ αὐτῇ φαίνεται, ἢ τούτῳ μόνον, ὅτι δασεία πᾶσα ἐντοσθὲ καὶ λάσιος ἐστιν, ὡστε καὶ τὰ νεογνά, ἐπειδὰν ρίγος ἡ, ἐς ταύτην ὑποδύεται.

Ἔσθης δὲ τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις υαλίνη μαλθακή, τοῖς πένησι δὲ χαλκή ὑφαντή· πολύχαλκα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία, καὶ ἐργάζονται τῶν χαλκῶν ὑδατὶ ἀποβρέζαντες ὡσπερ τὰ ἔρια. περὶ μέντοι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οἶνος ἔχουσιν, ὅκινό μὲν εἰτεῖν, μὴ τίς με νομίζῃ ψεύδεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀπιστὸν τοῦ λόγου. ὀμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρώτους ὀφθαλμοὺς περιαρετοὺς ἔχουσι, καὶ ὁ Βουλόμενος ἐξελὼν τοὺς αὐτοῦ φιλάττει ἐστὶν ἀν δεήθη ἰδεῖν· οὖτω δὲ ἐνθέμενος ὑπρᾶ: καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἀπολέσαντες παρ’ ἄλλων χρησάμενοι ῥώσιν. εἰσὶ δ’ οὐ καὶ πολλοὶ ὑποθέτους ἔχουσιν,

1 ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν Schwartz: ἐντερων δὲ οὐδὲ ἡπαρ ἐν MSS.
2 πᾶσα omitted by Α and Nilén.
3 ρίγος ᾧ Nilén: ρίγωση MSS.
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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 (σαλίνη) is a punning parody on wooden clothing (ξυλίνη), i.e. cotton (Herod. 7, 65).
οἱ πλούσιοι. τὰ δὲ πλατάνων φύλλα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πλῆν γε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν βαλάνων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μόνοι ξύλων ἔχουσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλῳ 26 θαύμα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἑθεασάμην· κάτωπτρον μέγιστον κεῖται ὑπὲρ φρέατος οὐ πάνυ βαθέος. ἀν μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ καταβῇ τις, ἀκούει πάντων τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ λεγομένων, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὸ κάτωπτρον ἀποβλέψῃ, πάσας μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἐθνὴ ὅρα ὁσπερ ἐφεστῶς ἐκάστους· τότε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐγὼ ἑθεασάμην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρίδα, εἰ δὲ κακεῖνοι ἐμὲ ἑώρων, οὐκέτι ἔχω τὸ ἀσφαλές εἰπεῖν. ὅστις δὲ ταύτα μὴ πιστεύει οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀν ποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖσε ἄφικηται, εἰσεται ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω.

Τότε δ᾽ οὖν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ 27 τοὺς ἁμφ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἐμβάντες ἀνήχθησαν ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἔδωκεν ὁ Ἐνδυμίων, δύο μὲν τῶν υαλίνων χυτῶν, πέντε δὲ χαλκοὺς, καὶ πανοπλίαν θερμίνην, ἃ πάντα ἐν τῷ κήτει κατέλιπον. συνέπεμψε δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰππογύπους χίλιους παραπέμψων ἅχρι σταδίων πεντακοσίων. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρά- 28 πλοὶ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας χώρας παρημείψαμεν, προσέσχομεν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἐσσφόρῳ ἅρτι συνοικίζο- μένῳ, καὶ ἀποβάντες ὑδρευσάμεθα. ἐμβάντες δὲ εἰς τὸν φιδιακὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρήμενεν τὸν ἡλίον, ἐν χρόνῳ τῆς γῆς παραπλέοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβημεν καίτοι πολλὰ τῶν ἐταῖρων ἐπιθυμοῦντων, ἀλλὰ ὁ ἄνεμος οὐκ ἐφίκευ. ἐθεώμεθα μέντοι τὴν χώραν εὔθαλη τε καὶ πλονα καὶ εὐνυδρον καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστῆν. Ἰδόντες δ᾽ ἡμᾶς οἱ Νεφελοκέν- ταυροί, μισθοφοροῦντες παρὰ τῷ Φαέθοντι, ἐπέ-
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stored up. ¹ For ears they have plane-leaves, except only the acorn-men, who have wooden ones. In the royal purlieus I saw another marvel. A large looking-glass is fixed above a well, which is not very deep. If a man goes down into the well, he hears everything that is said among us on earth, and if he looks into the looking-glass he sees every city and every country just as if he were standing over it. When I tried it I saw my family and my whole native land, but I cannot go further and say for certain whether they also saw me. Anyone who does not believe this is so will find, if ever he gets there himself, that I am telling the truth.

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

¹ Compare the story of the Graecae.
πτησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, καὶ μαθῶντες ἐνσπούδους ἀνεχώρησαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰππόγυπτοι ὑπε- 29 ληλύθεσαν. Πλεύσαντες δὲ τὴν ἑπειούσαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, περὶ ἐστέραν ἀφικόμεθα ἐς τὴν Δυνχύπολιν καλουμένην, ἦδη τὸν κάτω πλοῦν διώκοντες. ἢ δὲ πόλις αὐτὴ κεῖται μεταξὺ τοῦ Πλεύδων καὶ τοῦ Τάδων ἅφες, ταπεινοτέρα μέντοι πολὺ τοῦ ξωδιακοῦ. ἀποβίαντες δὲ ἀνθρωπὸν μὲν οὐδένα εὕρομεν, λύχνους δὲ πολλοὺς περιθέοντας καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸν λιμένα διατρίβοντας, τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς καὶ ὁσπερ πένητας, ὄλγους δὲ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ δυνατῶν πάνω λαμπροὺς καὶ περι- φανεῖς. οἰκήσεις δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ λυχνεῶν ἱδία ἐκάστῳ πεποίητο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄνοματα ἔχον, ὁσπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ φωνὴν προερέμων ἤκοιομεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἡδίκουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένων ἐκάλουν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡμοι ἐφοβοῦμεθα, καὶ οὔτε δειπνήσαμεν οὔτε ὕπνωσαμεν τις ἡμῶν ἔτολμησεν. ἀρχεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πεποίηται, ἐνθα ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὅλης κάθηται ὀνομαστὶ καλῶν ἐκαστον· δὲ δ ἄν μὴ ὑπακούσῃ, καταδικάζεται ἀποθανεῖν ὡς λεπτὸν τὴν τάξιν· ὁ δὲ θάνατός ἐστι σβεσθήμα. παρεστώτες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἑωρόμεν τὰ γνώμενα καὶ ἱκόνομεν ἀμα τῶν λύχνων ἀπολογομένων καὶ τὰς αἰτίας λεγόντων δι᾽ ἂς ἐβράδυνον. ἔνθα καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λύχνον ἐγνώρισα, καὶ προσεπτῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν κατ’ αἰκὸν ἐπινυθανόμην ὅπως ἔχοιεν· ὁ δὲ μοι άπαντα ἐκεῖνα διηγήσατο. Ἴην μὲν οὖν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ ἐμείλαμεν, τῇ δὲ ἑπιούσῃ ἀραντες ἐπλέομεν ἦδη πλησίον τῶν 282
flew up to the ship and then went away again when they found out that the treaty protected us. The Vulture Dragoons had already left us.

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

That night we stopped there, but on the next day we set sail and continued our voyage. By this time
νεφών· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὴν Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν πόλιν ἱδόντες ἐθαυμάσαμεν, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέβημεν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὸ πνεῦμα. Βασιλεύειν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐλέγετο Κόρωνος ὁ Κοττυφίωνος. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμνήσθην Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ μάτην ἐφ οἷς ἔγραφεν ἀπίστου-μένου. τρίτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἦμέρας καὶ τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἦδη σαφῶς ἑωρῶμεν, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν γε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι· καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ πυρόδεις καὶ ύπερανυγεῖς ἐφαυτάζοντο. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ περὶ μεσημβρίαν μαλακῶς ἐνυδάτωσα τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ συνικάμωσα τὰ τὴν βάλαταν καθεδήμημεν.1 ως δὲ τοῦ ὦδατος ἑφαύσαμεν, θαυμασίως ὑπερη-νδόμεθα καὶ ὑπερεχάρομεν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐυφροσύνην ἑποιούμεθα καὶ ἀποβάντες ἐνηχόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἑτυχε γαλήνη ὀνόμα καὶ εὐσταθοῦν τὸ πέλαγος.

"Εστι δὲ ἄρχῃ κακῶν μειζόνων γίνεσθαι πολλάκις ἡ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεὶς δύο μόνας ἡμέρας ἐν εὐδίᾳ πλεύσαντες, τῆς τρίτης ὑποφαινούσης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἴλιον ἀφίω ὀρώμεν θηρία καὶ κήπη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ἐν δὲ μέγιστον ἀπάντων ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων τὸ μέγεθος· ἐπειδ' ἐκείνος καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ τραήτων τὴν βάλαταν ἄφρο τε περικλυζόμενον καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐκφαίνον τολὺ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν διαφοράς ὑψιλοτέρους, ἀξιῶς δὲ πάντας ὑσπερ σκόλοπας καὶ λευκοὺς ὑσπερ ἐλεφαντίνους. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τὸ ὦστατον ἀλλή-λους προσεπόντες καὶ περιβαλόντες ἐμένομεν· τὸ

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

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

¹ The capital of Birdland in Aristophanes' play, The Birds.
² On the size of these, see Lucian's Syrian Goddess, 28.
δὲ ἢδη παρῆν καὶ ἀναρροφήσαν ἡμᾶς αὐτῇ υἱὰ κατέπιεν. οὐ μέντοι ἐφθη συναράξαι τοῖς ὀδούσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων ἡ ναῦς ἐσ τὸ ἔσω διεξέπεσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνδόω ἤμεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 31 σκότος ἦν καὶ οὐδέν ἐωρῶμεν, ὑστερον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀναχανόντος εἶδομεν κύτως μέγα καὶ πάντη ἁλατί καὶ ὕψηλον, ἰκανὸν μυριάνδρῳ πόλει ἐνοικεῖν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ἵχθυες καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ θηρία συγκεκομμένα, καὶ πλοιών ἑστία καὶ ἄγκυρας, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὅστεα καὶ φορτία, κατὰ μέσον δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ λόφοι ἤσαν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ἠλύος ἦν κατέπινε συνιδόνυσα. ὅλη γοῦν ἐπ τοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα ἐπεφύκει καὶ λάχανα ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ἐφέκε πάντα ἕξεργασμένοις περίμετρον δὲ τῆς γῆς στάδιον διακόσιον καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἦν δὲ ἱδεῖν καὶ ὅρνεα θαλάττια, λάρους καὶ ἀλκυόνας, ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων νεοτεύνοντα.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἑδακρύμευς, ὑστερον 32 δὲ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἑταίρους τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὑπεστηρίξαμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ πυρεία συντρίψαντες καὶ ἀνακαύσαντες δείπνουν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐποιοῦμεν. παρέκειτο δὲ ἄφθονα καὶ παντο- δαπὰ κρέα τῶν ἵχθυών, καὶ ὑδωρ ἔτη τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ὁσσόρου εἶχομεν. τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δὲ διαναστάνταις, εἰ ποτὲ ἀναχάνω τὸ κήτος, ἐωρῶμεν ἀλλοτε μὲν ὄρη, ἀλλοτε δὲ μόνον τὸν ὀὐρανόν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ νῆσους: καὶ γὰρ ἡ σθενούμεθα φερομένου αὐτοῦ ὄξεως πρὸς πᾶν μέρος τῆς θαλάττης. ἐπεὶ δὲ

1 μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ Schwartz : μικροὶ 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 we finally tired of this

¹ This story of the whale is no longer considered a parody on Jonah's adventure, as there were other versions of the tale afloat in antiquity.
ἡδὴ θάδες τῇ διατριβῇ ἐγενόμεθα, λαβῶν ἐπτὰ τῶν ἑταῖρων ἐβαδίζον ἐς τὴν ἔλην περισκοπή-
σασθαί τὰ πάντα βουλόμενος. οὔπω δὲ πέντε ὠλοὺς διελθῶν στάδιος εὗρον ἱερὸν Ποσειδώνος,
ὡς ἐδήλου ἡ ἐπιγραφή, καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ τάφους πολλοὺς καὶ στήλας ἐπ’ αὐτῶν πλησίον
τε πηγῆν ὑδατος διαγυνοῦ, ἄτι δὲ καὶ κυνὸς ὑλικὴν ἰκούμεν καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο πόρρωθεν
καὶ τινα καὶ ἐπαυλιν ἐκάζομεν.

Σπουδή οὖν βαδίζοντες ἐφιστάμεθα πρεσβύτη
cαι νεανίσκοι μᾶλα προθύμως πρασιάν τινα ἐργα-
ζομένοι καὶ ὑδαρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς
diochetευουσιν ὕσθεντες οὖν ἡμα καὶ φοβηθέντες
ἐστήμεν. κακεῖνοι δὲ ταῦτα ἦμιν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς πα-
θόντες ἄνανδοι παρειστήκεσαν ὁ ἑρότησε δὲ ὁ πρεσ-
βύτης ἔφη. Τίνες ἦμεις ἀρα ἐστέ, ὁ ξένοι; πότερον
τῶν ἐναλιῶν δαμόνων ἡ ἄνθρωποι δυστυχεὶς ἦμιν
παραπλήσιοι; καὶ γαρ ἦμεις ἄνθρωποι ὅτες καὶ
ἐν γῇ τραφέντες νῦν θαλάττιοι γεγοναμεν καὶ
συννηχόμεθα τῷ περιέχοντι τούτῳ θηρίῳ, οὐδ’
ὁ πάσχομεν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες τεθύναι μεν γὰρ
ἐκάζομεν, ζην δὲ πιστεύομεν. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐγὼ
ἐποιο. Καὶ ἦμεις τοι ἄνθρωποι, νεηλυδες μέν, ὁ
πάτερ, αὐτῷ σκάφει πρόνη καταποθέντες, προῆλ-
θομεν δὲ νῦν βουλομενοι μαθεῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ὡς
ἐχειν πολλὴ γάρ τις καὶ λάσιος ἐφαίνετο. δαῖμον
δὲ τίς, ὁς ἐοικεν, ἡμᾶς ἤγαγεν σε τὸ ψυμένους
καὶ εἰσομένους ὅτι μὴ μονοὶ ἐν τῷ καθείργεθα
τῷ θηρίῳ· ἀλλὰ φράσων γε ἡμῖν τὴν σαυτοῦ
τύχην, ὁστὶς τε ὁν καὶ ὅπως δεύρο εἰσῆλθες. ὁ
dὲ οὐ πρότερον ἐφη ἐρεῖν οὐδὲ πεὺσεσθαι παρ’
ἡμῶν, πρὶν ξενίων τῶν παρόντων μεταδοῦναι, καὶ
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pastime I took seven of my comrades and went into the forest, wishing to have a look everything. I had not yet gone quite five furlongs when I found a temple of Poseidon, as the inscription indicated, and not far from it a number of graves with stones on them. Near by was a spring of clear water. We also heard the barking of a dog, smoke appeared in the distance, and we made out something like a farmhouse, too.

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

'Ο δὲ ὑπερθαυμάσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν μέρει τὰ καθ’ 34 αὐτὸν διεξῆς λέγων. Το μὲν γένος εἰμὶ, ὁ ἤένοι, Κύπριος, ὁμοθεῖος δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ παιδός, ὅν ὅρατε, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν οἰκετῶν ἔπλεον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ποικίλου φόρτον κομίζων ἐπὶ νεώς μεγάλης, ἦν ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ κῆτος διαλελυμένην ἱσος ἐωράκατε. μέχρι μὲν ὦν Σικελίας εὐτυχῶς διεπλεύσαμεν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἄρ- πασθέντες ἀνέμῳ σφοδρῷ τριταῖοι ἐς τὸν ὥκεανον ἀπηνέχθημεν, ἔθνα τῷ κῆτε περιτυχόντες καὶ αὐτανδροὶ καταποθέντες δύο ἡμέρας μόνοι, τῶν ἄλ- λων ἀποθανόντων, ἐσῶθημεν. θάφαντες δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ποσείδονι δειμάμενοι τοινοῦ τῶν βίων ζῶμεν, λάχανα μὲν κηπεύμενοι, ἱχθύς δὲ σιτούμενοι καὶ ἥκροδρυα. πολλὴ δὲ, ὥς ὅρατε, ἡ ὤλη, καὶ μὴ καὶ ἀμπέλους ἐχεὶ πολλὰς, ἀφ’ ὅν ἢδυτατος οἶνος γεννᾶται καὶ τὴν πηγὴν δὲ ἱσος εἰδετε καλλίστου καὶ ψυχροτάτου ύδατος. εὐνὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων ποιούμεθα, καὶ πῦρ ἄφθουν καίομεν, καὶ ὅρνεα δὲ θηρεύομεν τὰ εἰςπετο- μενα, καὶ ξώντας ἱχθύς ἀγρεύομεν ἐξιώντες ἐπὶ τὰ βραγχία τοῦ θηρίου, ἔνθα καὶ λούομεθα, ὅπως ἐπιθυμήσωμεν. καὶ μὴ καὶ λίμνη οὗ πόρρω ἐστὶν

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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
στάδιων εύκοσι τήν περίμετρον, ἵθις ἔχουσα παντοδαποῦς, ἐν ἦ καὶ νηχύμεθα καὶ πλέομεν ἐπὶ σκίφους μικροῦ, ὅ εὖγω ναυπηγησόμην. ἔτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τῆς καταπόσεως ταῦτα ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡσς φέρειν δυνάμεθα, οὐ δὲ γείτονες ἡμῶν καὶ πάροικοι σφόδρα χαλεποὶ καὶ βαρεῖς εἰσιν, ἀμικτοὶ τε ὁντες καὶ ἄγριοι. Ἡ γὰρ, ἐφην ἔγω, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ κῆτε; Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, καὶ ἄξενοι καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλόκοτοι τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστέρια τῆς ὑλῆς καὶ σύραια Ταριχάνες οἰκούσιν, ἔθνος ἐγκελυσώτων καὶ καραβοπρόσωπόν, μάχιμον καὶ θρασύ καὶ ὠμοφάγον τά δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας πλευρᾶς κατὰ τῶν δεξιῶν τοῦ Τριταυμενίδητες, τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀνθρώποις εἰκότες, τά δὲ κάτω τοῖς γαλεώταις, ἴττον μέντοι ἄδικοι εἰσὶν τῶν ἄλλων τὰ λαία δὲ Καρκινόχειρες καὶ Θυννοκέφαλοι συμμαχῶμεν τε καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένοι· τὴν δὲ μεσόγαιαν νέμονται Παγουρίδαι καὶ Ψηττόπωδες, γένος μάχιμον καὶ δρομικότατοι· τά ἐφα δέ, τα πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι, τα πολλὰ μὲν ἔρημα ἐστιν, προσκλυζομένα τῇ θαλάττῃ· ὦμως δὲ ἔγω ταῦτα ἔχω φόρον τοῖς Ψηττόποσιν ὑποτελῶν ἐκάστου έτους ὀστρεια πεντακόσια. τοιαύτη 36 μὲν ἡ χώρα ἐστίν· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ ὁρᾶν ὅπως δυνησόμεθα τοιούτοις ἐδνεσι μάχεσθαι καὶ ὅπως βιοτεύσομεν. Πόσοι δὲ, ἐφην ἔγω, πάντες οὕτοι εἰσιν; Πλέον, ἐφη, τῶν χιλιῶν. ὁπλα δὲ τίνα ἐστίν αὐτοῖς; Οὐδέν, ἐφη, πλὴν τὰ ὅστά 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 are cannibals. On one side, by the starboard wall, live the Mergoats,¹ like men above and catfish below: they are not so wicked as the others. To port there are the Crabclaws 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), μέρος was Egyptian for goat; but there is nothing goatish in the Tritonomenades as Lucian describes them.
ιχθύων. Ὅποιον, ἐφην ἐγώ, ἀριστὰ δὲν ἔχω διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς, άτε οὕσιν ἀνόπλους αὐτοὺς ὁπλισμένους· εἰ γάρ κρατήσομεν αὐτῶν, ἅδε ἄν τὸν λοιπὸν βίον οἰκήσομεν.

Ἐδοξὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν παρε- 
σκευαζόμεθα. αὐτία δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐμελλεν ἐσε- 
σθαι τοῦ φόρου ἢ οὐκ ἀπόδοσις, ἡδη τῆς προδεσμίας 
ἐνεστώσης, καὶ δὴ ὁ μὲν ἑπεμπὸν ἀπαίτοντες 
tὸν δασμὸν· ὁ δὲ ὑπεροπτικὸς ἀποκρινάμενος, 
ἀπεδώξε ὑμᾶς ἀγγέλους. πρῶτοι οὖν ὁ Ψητ- 
tόποις καὶ ὁ Παγουρίδαις χαλεπαίνοντες τῷ 
Σκίνθαρῳ—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκάλεστο—μετὰ πολλοῦ 
θαρύβου ἐπήκειαν, ἤμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον 
ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ἀνεμένομεν, λόχον 
tινὰ προτάξαντε ἀνδρῶν πέντε καὶ ἐκεῖσθι 
προεύριτο δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ, ἔπειδὰν ἰδοὺ 
pαρεληλυθότας τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπανίστασθαι 
καὶ οὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν. ἐπαναστάντες γὰρ κατόπιν 
ἔκοπτον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἤμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ πέντε καὶ ἐκεῖσθι 
tὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες—καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σκίνθαρος καὶ ὁ 
παῖς αὐτοῦ συνεστρατεύοντο—ὑπηντιάζομεν, καὶ 
συμμίκαντες θυμὸ καὶ ῥόμη διεκδικύεσομεν.
τέλος δὲ τροπὴν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενοι καταδιώξαμεν 
ἀχρι πρὸς τοὺς φωλεοὺς. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μέν 
pολεμίων ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ἦμῶν δὲ εἶσ, 
ὁ κυβερνήτης, τρύγλης πλευρὰ διαπαρεῖς τὸ 
μετάφρενον. ἐκείνην μὲν οὕν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ 
τὴν τύχα ἐπηνισάμεθα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τρόπαιον 
ἐστίσαμεν ράχιν ἐπὶ πολυφόνοις ἀνατίθεσατε. 
tῇ ὑπεραγαίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αἰσθόμενοι παρῆσαν, 
τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες οἱ Ταρίχανες—ἡγεῖτο 
dὲ αὐτῶν Πήλαμος—τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον οἱ Θυννοκέ-
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 Scinthurus—for that was his name—cane 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 Scinthurus 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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φαλοί, τὸ μέσον δὲ οἱ Καρκινόχειρες· οἱ γὰρ Ἰριτωνομενήτες τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤτοι συνειδότεροι συμμαχεὶν προαιρούμενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ προαιροτήσαντες αὐτοῦς παρὰ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον συνεμίζαμεν πολλῇ βοᾷ χρώμενοι, ἀντίχειρας δὲ τὸ κύτος ὅσπερ τὰ σπὶλαια. τρεψάμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἀτε γυμνῆται ὄντας, καὶ καταδιώξαντες ἐς τὴν ὤλην τὸ λοιπὸν ἑπεκρατούμεν τῆς γῆς, καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ 39 κήρυκας ὑποστείλαντες νεκροὺς τῇ ἀνηρρύθως καὶ περὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο· ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔδοκεν στένασθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ύστερᾳ χωρήσαντες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς πάντας ἀρδὴν ἔξεκοψαμεν πλὴν τῶν Ἰριτωνομενήτων. οὗτοι δὲ ὅσι οἱ γεινόμενα, διαδράμαντες ἐκ τῶν δραγχίων ἀφήκαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπελθόντες ἔρημου ἤθελαν τῶν πολεμίων τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεώς κατωκοῦμεν, τὰ πολλὰ γυμνασίους τε καὶ κυνηγεσίους χρώμενοι καὶ ἀμπελουργοῦντες καὶ τὸν καρπὸν συγκομιζόμενοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ ὅλως ἐφκειμένοι τοῖς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀφύκτῳ τρυφῶσι καὶ λελυμένοις.

Ἐναυτὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ μῆνας ὡκτὸ τούτον διήγομεν τοῦ τρόπου. τῶν δὲ ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ πέμπτῃ 40 ἱσταμένου, περὶ τὴν δεύτεραν τοῦ στόματος ἀνοίξεως — ἀπαξ γὰρ δὴ τούτο κατὰ τὴν ὀραν ἐκάστην ἐποίει τὸ κύτος, ὡστε ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς ἀνοίξεις τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς ὀρασις — περὶ οὖν τὴν δεύτεραν, ὅσπερ ἐφην, ἀνοίξων, ἄφων βοή τε πολλῆ καὶ θόρυβος ἦκουστο καὶ ὅσπερ κελεύσματα καὶ εἰρεσίαι ταραχθέντες οὖν ἀνειρπύσαμεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ στάντες ἐνδοτέρω τῶν

1 κύτος Wesseling: κύτος MSS.
Crabelaws 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 Corecyra in Thucydides 1. 48.
οδόντων καθεωρώμεν ἀπάντων δὲν ἐγὼ εἶδον θεαμάτων παραδοξάτατον, ἄνδρας μεγάλους, ὥσον ἡμισταδιαίους τὰς ἥλικιας, ἐπὶ νήσων μεγάλων προσπλέοντας ὦσπερ ἐπὶ τρυπήρων. οἴδα μὲν οὖν ἀπίστους ἔοικότα ἱστορήσων, λέξω δὲ ὁμος. νήσοι ἦσαν ἐπιμήκεις μὲν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ ὑψηλαὶ, ὥσον ἐκατόν σταθῶν ἐκάστης τὸ περίμετρον ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπλεον τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἔκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν· τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς νήσου καθῆµενοι ἐφεξῆς ἐκωπηλάτουν κυπαρίστους μεγάλας αὐτοκλάδους καὶ αὐτοκόμοις ὦσπερ ἐρετμοῖς, κατόπιν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης, ὡς ἐδόκει, κυβερνήτης ἐπὶ λόφου ύψηλου εἰστήκει χάλκεον ἔχων πιθάλιον πεντασταδιαίον τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πρόφασις ὅσον τετταράκοντα ὁπλισµένοι αὐτῶν ἐµάχοντο, πάντα ἐοικότες ἄνθρώπως πλὴν τῆς κόµης· αὐτὴ δὲ πῦρ ἦν καὶ ἐκατό, ὡστε οὐδὲ κορύθων ἐδέοντο. ἄντι δὲ ιστίων ὁ ἄνεµος ἐµπίπτων τῇ ὑλῇ, πολλῇ ὁµηρῇ ἐν ἐκάστῃ, ἐκόλοπτο τε ταύτῃ καὶ ἐφερε τὴν νῆσον ἦ ἐθέλοι ὁ κυβερνήτης· κελευσθῆς δὲ ἐφειστῆκει αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρεσίαν ὄξεως ἐκινοῦντο ὦσπερ τὰ μακρὰ τῶν πλοίων.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον δὺ ἢ τρεῖς ἔωρῳμεν, 41 ὦστερον δὲ ἐφάνησαν ὅσον ἐξακόσιοι, καὶ διαστάντες ἐπολέµουν καὶ ἐναυμάχουν. πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν ἀντίπροφοι συνηράσσοντο ἀλλήλαις,
A TRUE STORY, I

inside the teeth we saw the most unparalled 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. Il. 5, 4: "And tireless flames did burn on crest and shield."
πολλαί δὲ καὶ ἐμβληθεῖσαι κατεδάφυτο, αἱ δὲ συμπληκόμεναι καρτερῶς διηγοῦντο καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως ἀπελύνοντο· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρόρασ τεταγμένου πᾶσαν ἐπεδείκυντο προθυμίαινεπιβαίνοντες καὶ ἀναίροιντες· ἐξώγχει δὲ οὐδεὶς. ἀντὶ δὲ χειρῶν σιδηρῶν πολύτοδας μεγάλους ἐκδεδεμένους ἀλλήλους ἐπερρίπτον, οἱ δὲ περιπληκόμενοι τῇ ἕλῃ κατείχον τὴν νήσον. ἔβαλλον μέντοι καὶ εἴτερωσκον ὀστρέοις τε ἁμαζοπληθέσι καὶ σπόγγοις πλεθριαίοις. ἤγειτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Λιολοκένταυρος, τῶν δὲ Θαλασσοπότης καὶ μάχη αὐτοῖς ἐνεγένητο, ὡς εἴδοκε, λεῖας ἐνεκα· ἔλεγετο γὰρ ὁ Θαλασσοπότης πολλὰς ἀγέλας δελφίνων τοῦ Λιολοκενταύρου ἐληλακέωμαι, ὡς ἦν ἀκούειν ἐπικαλούσετο ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰ νόματα τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιβοσμένων. τέλος δὲ νυκτὸς οἱ τοῦ Λιολοκενταύρου καὶ νῆσος τῶν πολεμίων καταδύοντοι ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν καὶ ἄλλας τρεῖς λαμβάνοντοι αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πρύμναι κρουσάμεναι ἐφευγον. οἱ δὲ μέχρι τῶν διώξαντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐσπέρα ἢν, τραπόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ναῶν τῶν πλείστων ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀνείλοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέδυσαν νῆσοι οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν οὐδοήκοντα. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον τῆς νησομαχίας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ κύτως μίαν τῶν πολεμίων νῆσων ἀνασταρώσαντες. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα περὶ τὸ θηρίον ἡμίλισαντο ἐξάσθαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἀπόγεια καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγκυρῶν πλησίον ὀρμούσαμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀγκύραις ἐχρώμτο μεγάλαις ἕκλαίναις καρτεραῖς. τῇ ύστε-
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 grapnelts 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 (ξυλώνας) anchors.
Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μηκέτι φέρων ἐγὼ τὴν ἐν 1 τῷ κῆπει διάων ἁχθόμενός τε τῇ μονῇ μηχανήν τίνα ἐξήτουν, δ'I ἃν ἐξελθεῖν γένοιτο· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδοξεῖν ἥμων διορύξασθαι κατὰ τὸν δεξιῶν τοῖχον ἀποδράναι, καὶ ἀρξάμενοι διεκόπτομεν· ἐπείδη δὲ προελθόντες ὅσον πέντε σταδίους οὐδὲν ἤμοιμε, τοῦ μὲν ὁρύγματος ἑπαυσάμεθα, τὴν δὲ ὑλὴν καῦσαι διέγνωμεν· οὕτω γὰρ ἃν τὸ κῆπος ἀποθανεῖν· εἰ δὲ τούτῳ γένοιτο, ῥαδία ἐμελλεῖν ἥμων ἔσεσθαι ἡ ἔξοδος. ἀρξάμενοι οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐραίων ἑκαίομεν, καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἵσας νύκτας ἀναισθήτως εἴχε τὸν καύματος, ὅγδον δὲ καὶ ἑνάτη συνέμεθα αὐτοῦ νοσοῦντος· ἀργύτερον γοῦν ἄνεχασκεν, καὶ εἰ ποτὲ ἀναχάνω, ταχὺ συνέμενεν. δεκάτη δὲ καὶ ἐνδεκάτη τέλεον ἀπενεκρύτο 1 καὶ δυσώδες ἦν· τῇ δωδεκάτη δὲ μόλις ἐνεούσαμεν ὡς, εἰ μὴ τις ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τούτο ὑποστηρίζειν τοὺς γομφίους, ὡστε μηκέτι συγκλείσαι, κινδυνεύσωμεν κατακλεισθέντες ἐν νεκρῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ μεγάλους δοκοῖς τὸ στόμα διερείσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐπεσκενύζομεν ὑδρ ὃς

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

BOOK II

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

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν ἦδη ἐτεθνήκει. ἠμεῖς δὲ ἀνελκύσαντες τὸ πλοῖον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων διαγαγόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀδόντων ἐξάψαντες ἥρεμα καθήκαμεν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐπαναβάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νῆτα καὶ θύσαντες τῷ Ποσειδώνι αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ πρόπαιον ἡμέρας τε τρεῖς ἐπαυλισάμενοι—νηνεμία γὰρ ἦν—τῇ τετάρτῃ ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. ἑνὸς δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας νεκρῶς ἀπηντώμεν καὶ προσωκέλλομεν, καὶ τὰ σώματα καταμετροῦντες ἐθαναμάζομεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ἐπέλεομεν εὐκράτῳ ἄρι χρώμειον, ἔπειτα βορέου σφοδροῦ πνεύσαντος μέγα κρύος ἐγένετο, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐπάγη τὸ πέλαγος, οὐκ ἐπιπολήσατο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσ βάθος ὅσον ἐς ἔξι ὀργυίας, ὡστε καὶ ἀποβάντας διαθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου. ἐπιμένοντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι τοιόνδε τί ἑπευνησάμεθα—ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀποφηγόμενος ἦν ὁ Σκίνθαρος—σκάψαντες γὰρ ἐν τῷ ύδατι σπήλαιον μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ ἐμείναμεν ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, πῦρ ἀνακαίνοτες καὶ συνουμένοι τοὺς ἰχθύς· εὐρίσκομεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνορύττοντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦδη ἐπέλευσε τα ἐπιτήδεια, προελθόντες καὶ τὴν ναῦν πεπηγώναν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ πελάςαντες τὴν ὀδόννῃ ἐσυρόμεθα ὅσπερ πλέοντες λείως καὶ προσηνοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου διολισθάνοντες. ἡμέρα δὲ πέμπτη ἀλέα τε ἦν ἦδη καὶ ὁ πάγος ἐλυτέο καὶ ὑδρ πάντα αὔθες ἐγένετο.

Πλεύσαντες οὖν ὅσον τριακοσίους σταδίους 3

1 ἐς ἔξι (i.e. 5) Schwartz: ἐς τετρακοσίας (i.e. 7), ἐπὶ τριακοσίας MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

all the water we could and the other provisions. Our sailing-master was to be Scintharus.

On the next day the whale was dead at last. We dragged the boat up, took her through the gaps, made her fast to the teeth and lowered her slowly into the sea. Climbing on the back and sacrificing to Poseidon there by the trophy, we camped for three days, as it was calm. On the fourth day we sailed off, and in so doing met and grounded on many of the dead from the sea-fight, and measured their bodies with amazement. For some days we sailed with a moderate breeze, and then a strong norther blew up and brought on great cold. The entire sea was frozen by it, not just on the surface but to a depth of fully six fathoms, so that we could leave the boat and ran 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
ΤΗΣ ΔΟΤΡΩΝ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΠΕΡΙΦΟΡΩΝ, ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΟΤΡΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ, ΜΕΤΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ \XETETE ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΑΜΠΕΛΩΝ. Ως ΚΑΙ Η ΝΗΡΙΩΤΙΚΗ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ, ΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΟΙ ΘΑΛΑΣΟΙ ΠΛΗΡΕΙΣ, ΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΙ ΟΙ ΝΗΡΙΩΤΙΚΗ, ΩΣ \ ΕΙΔΗΣ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ. ΩΣΟΥ ΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΕΚΕΙ ΕΜΕΙΝΑΜΕΝ, ΩΙΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΙΟΝ Η ΓΗ ΥΨΗΡΧΕΙ, ΠΟΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΓΑΛΑ ΤΟ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ \ ΒΟΤΡΩΝ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΛΕΓΕΤΟ ΤΥΡΩΝ Η ΣΑΛΜΩΝΕΩΣ, ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΤΕΥΘΕΝ \ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΘΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΒΘΟΥΣΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΝ.

ΜΕΛΙΝΑΤΕΣ ΔΕΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΝΗΡΙΩ ΠΕΝΤΕ, ΤΗ 4 ΕΚΤΗ ΕΞΩΡΗΣΑΜΕΝ, ΑΥΡΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΠΕΜΠΟΥ- ΣΗΣ, ΛΕΙΟΚΥΜΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ. ΩΓΟΝ \ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΠΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΓΑΛΑΚΤΟΣ, ΑΛΛ \ ΗΔΗ ΕΝ ΆΛΜΙΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΑΝΕΡ ΥΔΑΤΙ, ΚΑΘΟΡΙΜΕΝ ΆΝ- ΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΥΣ ΑΙΔΘΕΟΝΤΑΣ, ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΗΜΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΙΚΟΣΤΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΓΕΘΗ, ΠΛΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΔΩΝ ΜΟΝΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΓΑΡ ΦΕΛΛΙΝΑ ΕΙΧΟΝ, ΑΥΡ ΟΥ ΔΗ, ΟΙΜΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΛΟΥΝΤΟ
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.\footnote{Momus suggested this in order that the animal might see what he was doing with his horns.} 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.\footnote{As galea is milk and tyros cheese, the goddess and the queen of the island are fitly chosen.}

After stopping five days on the island we started out on the sixth, with a bit of breeze propelling us over a rippling sea. On the eighth day, by which time we were no longer sailing through the milk but in briny blue water, we came in sight of many men running over the sea, like us in every way, both in shape and in size, except only their feet, which were of cork: that is why they were called Corkfeet, if I
Φελλόποδες. ἔθαυμάσαμεν οὖν ἰδόντες οὐ βαπτι-
ζομένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπέρεχοντας τῶν κυμάτων καὶ
ἰδεῶς ὁδοιποροῦντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ προσήχασαν καὶ
ὅσπάζοντο ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνικῆ φωνῆ· ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ
εἰς Φελλὼ τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα ἐπέγενον. μέχρι
μὲν οὖν τινὸς συνωδοιπόρους ἡμῶν παραθέοντες,
eἶτα ἀποτραπόμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐβάδιζον εὐπλοιαν
ἡμῶν ἐπευξάμενοι.

Μετ’ ὁλυγον δὲ πολλαὶ νήσοι ἐφαίνοντο, πλη-
σίον μὲν εὖ ἀριστερῶν ἡ Φελλὼ, ἐς ἕν ἐκείνου
ἔστενδον, πόλις ἐπὶ μεγάλου καὶ στρογγύλου
φελλοῦ κατοικούμενη· πόρρωθεν δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον
ἐν δεξιὰ πέντε μέγισται καὶ ύψηλόταται, καὶ πῦρ
πολὺ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἀνεκαίετο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρόβαν
μία πλατεία καὶ ταπεινή, στάδιους ἀπέχουσα 5
οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων. ἦδη δὲ πλησίον
ἡμεν, καὶ θαυμαστὴ τις αὖρα περιέπνευσεν ἡμᾶς,
ἡδεια καὶ εὐώδης, οὖν φησίν ὁ συγγραφέως Ἅρ-
ρόδοτος ἀπόζειν τῆς εὐδαιμονος Ἀραβίας. οἷν
γὰρ ἀπὸ βόδων καὶ ναρκίσσων καὶ ὑακίνθων
καὶ κρίνων καὶ ἵων, ἔτι δὲ μυρρίνης καὶ
dάφνης καὶ ἄμπελανθῆς, τοιούτου ἡμῶν τὸ ἢδι
προσέβαλλεν. ἦσθεντες δὲ τῇ ὁσμῇ καὶ χρυστὰ
ἐκ μακρῶν πόνων ἐπίσαστες καὶ ὁλύγον ἦδη
πλησίον τῆς νήσου ἐγνώμεθα. ἦνθα δὴ καὶ καθ-
εωρᾶμεν λιμένας τε πολλοὺς περὶ πάσαν ἄκλω-
στους καὶ μεγάλους, ποταμοὺς τε διανυγόντες εξιέντας
ἡρέμα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔτι δὲ λειμόνας καὶ
ὕλας καὶ ὄρνεα μουσικά, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὕδων
ἔδοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων· ἀὑρ τε
κούφος καὶ εὐπνοις περιεκέχυτο τὴν χώραν· καὶ

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am not mistaken. We were amazed to see that they did not go under, but stayed on the top of the waves and went about fearlessly. Some of them came up and greeted us in the Greek language; they said that they were on their way to Cork, their native city. For some distance they travelled with us, running alongside, and then they turned off and went their way, wishing us luck on our voyage.

In a little while many islands came in sight. Near us, to port, was Cork, where the men were going, a city built on a great round cork. At a distance and more to starboard were five islands, very large and high, from which much fire was blazing up. Dead ahead was one that was flat and low-lying, not less than five hundred furlongs off. When at length we were near it, a wonderful breeze blew about us, sweet and fragrant, like the one that, on the word of the historian Herodotus, breathes perfume from Araby the blest. The sweetness that met us was as if it came from roses and narcissi and hyacinths and lilies and violets, from myrrh and laurel and vines in bloom. Delighted with the fragrance and cherishing high hopes after our long toils, we gradually drew near to the island at last. Then we saw many harbours all about it, large and unfretted by beating waves; transparent rivers emptying softly into the sea; meads, too, and woods and songbirds, some of them singing on the shore and many in the branches. A rare, pure atmosphere enfolded the place, and sweet breezes with their

\[3, 113.\]
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

αύραι δέ τινες ἦδειαν πνεύσαι ἥρέμα τὴν ὑλὴν διεσίλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κλάδων κινουμένων τερπνὰ καὶ συνεχῆ μέλη ἀπετυρίζετο, ἐσοκότα τοῖς ἔπ’ ἐρημίας αὐλήμασι τῶν πλαγίων αὐλῶν. καὶ μὴν καὶ βοή σύμμικτος ἦκούετο ἄδρους, οὐ θορυβώδις, ἀλλ’ οία γένουτ’ ἂν ἐν συμποσίῳ, τῶν μὲν αὐλοῦντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπαδόντων, ἕνων δὲ κροτοῦντων πρὸς αὐλὸν ἢ κιθάραν. τούτοις 6 ἀπασί ηλεύμενοι κατήχηθημεν, ὀρμίσαντες δὲ τὴν ναὸν ἀπεβαίνομεν, τῶν Σκίνθαρον ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐταΐρων ἀπολεπόντες. προίόντες δὲ διὰ λευ-
μώνος εὐανθοῦς ἐνυγχάνομεν τοῖς φρουροῖς καὶ
περιπόλοις, οἱ δὲ δήσαντες ἡμᾶς ῥοδίνοις στε-
φάνοις—οὕτος γὰρ μέγιστος παρ’ αὐτοῖς δεσμὸς
ἐστὶν—ἀνήγγον ὡς τὸν ἄρχοντα, παρ’ ὅν δὴ καθ’
όδον ἡκούσαμεν ὡς η μὲν νῆσος εἰς τῶν Μακάρων
προσαγορευομένη, ἀρχοι δὲ ὁ Κρής Ῥαδάμανθος.
καὶ δὴ ἄναχθέντες ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν τάξει τῶν δικα-
ζομένων ἐστημεν τέταρτον. ἢν δὲ ἡ μὲν πρώτη 7
δίκη περὶ Ἀλαντος τοῦ Τελαμόνος, εἶτε χρὴ
αὐτὸν συνεῖναι τοῖς ἡρωσιν εἴτε καὶ μῆ’ 
κατη-
γορεῖτό δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃτι μεμήνοι καὶ ἐαυτῶν ἀπε-
kτόνοι. τέλος δὲ πολλῶν ρήθεντων ἐγνω ὁ
Ῥαδάμανθος, νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν πιῶμεν τοῦ ἐλλε-
βόρου παραδοθῆναι Ἰπποκράτει τῷ Κόρῳ Ιατρῷ,
ὕστερον δὲ σωφρονήσαντα μετέχειν τοῦ συμπο-
σίου. δευτέρα δὲ ἦν κρίσις ἐρωτικῆ, Θησέως καὶ 8
Μενελάου περὶ τῆς Ἐλένης διαγωνιζομένων,
ποτέρῳ χρήνται συνοικεῖν, καὶ ὁ Ῥαδάμανθος
ἐδίκασε Μενελάῳ συνεῖναι αὐτῆν ἄτε καὶ τοσάτα
πονήσαντι καὶ κινδυνεύσαντι τοῦ γάμου ἕνεκα,

1 ἐπαδόντων Rohde: ἐπαινοῦντων MSS.
blowing stirred the woods gently, so that from the moving branches came a whisper of delightful, unbroken music, like the fluteing 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, after taking a dose of hellebore,\(^1\) he should be given in charge of Hippocrates, the Coan physician, and that later on, when he had recovered his wits, he should have a place at the table of the heroes. The second case was a love-affair—Theseus and Menelaus at law over Helen, to determine which of the two she should live with. Rhadamanthus pronounced that she should live with Menelaus, because he had undergone so much toil and danger on account of his marriage: then too,

\(^1\) A remedy for madness; *Hor. Sat.* 2. 3. 82.
καὶ γὰρ αὐ τῷ Θησεί καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι γυναῖκας, τὴν τε Ἀμαζόνα καὶ τὰς τοῦ Μίνωος θυγατέρας. τρίτη δ’ ἐδικάσθη περὶ προεδρίας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ τῷ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀννίβα τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ, καὶ ἐδοξεὶ προέχειν ὦ Ἀλεξάνδρος, καὶ βρόντος αὐτῷ ἐτέθη παρὰ Κύρον τὸν Πέρσην τὸν πρῶτον. τέταρτοι δὲ ἡμεῖς προσήχθημεν καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦρετο τὰ παθόντες ἔτι ξόντες ἱερὸν κρόνον ἐπιβαίνειν ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντα ἐξής διηγησάμεθα. οὕτω δὴ μεταστησάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσκέπτετο καὶ τοῖς συνεδρίων ἐκοινώτερον περὶ ἡμῶν, συνηδρευον δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. ὅσ δὲ ἐδοξεὶ αὐτῷ ἀπεφηναντο, τής μὲν φιλοπραγμοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνωμεν, δοῦναι τὰς εὐθύνας, τὸ δὲ νῦν ρητὸν χρόνον μείναντας ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ καὶ συνδιαιτηθέντας τοῖς ἦρωσιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἐταξαν δὲ καὶ τὴν προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιδημίας μὴ πλέον μηνών ἑπτά.

Τούντεῦθεν αὐτομάτων ἡμῶν τῶν στεφάνων περιρρέοντων ἐλευθερευθαί καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡγόμεθα καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν Μακάρων συμπόσιον. αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις πάσα χρυσή, τὸ δὲ τεῖχος περίκειται σμαράγδιον πῦλαί δὲ εἰσὶν ἑπτά, πᾶσαι μονόξυλοι κινναμόμυλοι, τὸ μέντοι ἐδαφὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεῖχους γῆ ἐλεφαντήνης ναοὶ δὲ πάντων θεῶν βηρύλλου λίθον φυκοδορμημένου, καὶ βωμοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέγιστοι μονόλιθοι ἰμεθύστινοι, ἐφ’ ὅν ποιοῦσι τὰς
Theseus had other wives, the Amazon\textsuperscript{1} and the daughters of Minos.\textsuperscript{2} The third judgment was given in a matter of precedence between Alexander, son of Philip, and Hannibal of Carthage, and the decision was that Alexander outranked Hannibal, so his chair was placed next the elder Cyrus of Persia.\textsuperscript{3} We were brought up fourth; and he asked us how it was that we trod on holy ground while still alive, and we told him the whole story. Then he had us removed, pondered for a long time, and consulted with his associates about us. Among many other associates he had Aristides the Just, of Athens. When he had come to a conclusion, sentence was given that for being inquisitive and not staying at home we should be tried after death, but that for the present we might stop a definite time in the island and share the life of the heroes, and then we must be off. They set the length of our stay at not more than seven months.

Thereupon our garlands fell away of themselves, and we were set free and taken into the city and to the table of the blessed. The city itself is all of gold and the wall around it of emerald.\textsuperscript{4} It has seven gates, all of single planks of cinnamon. The foundations of the city and the ground within its walls are ivory. There are temples of all the gods, built of beryl, and in them great monolithic altars of amethyst, on which they make their great

\textsuperscript{1} Hippolyta. \textsuperscript{2} Ariadne and Phaedra. \textsuperscript{3} Cf. \textit{Dialogues of the Dead}, 25. \textsuperscript{4} Lucian's city is not necessarily a parody on the New Jerusalem, though the scholiast so understood it.
ékatómβας.  περὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥεῖ ποταμὸς μῦρον
tοῦ καλλίστου, τὸ πλάτος πῆχεων ἐκατὸν
βασιλικῶν, βάθος δὲ πέντε, ὁστε νεῖν εὐμαρὸς.
λοντρὰ δὲ ἔστων αὐτοῖς οἶκοι μεγάλοι ύλινοι, τῷ
καναμώμῳ ἐγκακόμενοι· ἀντὶ μέντοι τοῦ ὤδατος
ἐν ταῖς πυέλοις δρόσος θερμὴ ἔστων. ἐσθήτη δὲ
χρύονται ἀραχνίοις λεπτῶι, πορφυροῖς. αὐτοὶ
dὲ σώματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναφεῖσ καὶ
ἀσαρκοί εἰσιν, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ ἱδέαν μόνην ἐμφαίνου-
σιν, καὶ ἀσώματοι δύνατε ὅμως συνεστάσιν καὶ
κινήνται καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ φωνὴν ἀφιᾶσι, καὶ
ὁλως ἐοικε γυμνή· τὶς ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν περιπολεῖν
tὴν τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητα περικειμένη· εἰ γοῦν
μὴ ἀφαιτό τις, οὐκ ἂν ἐξελέγξει μὴ εἶναι σῶμα
tὸ ὤδοντον· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡστερ σκιαὶ ὀρθαὶ, οὐ
μέλαιναι. γηράσκει δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὃς ἂν
ἡλικίας ἔλθῃ παραμένει. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ νῦς παρ᾽
αὐτοῖς γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα πάνυ λαμπρά· καθά-
περ δὲ τὸ λυκανγεῖς ἤδη πρὸς ἑώ, μηδὲπω ἀνατε-
λατός ἡλίου, τοιοῦτο φῶς ἐπέχει τὴν γῆν. καὶ
μέντοι καὶ ὀραν μίαν ἰςασιν τοῦ ἐτού· αἰεὶ γὰρ
παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔστὶν καὶ εἰς ἀνεμος πινεὶ παρ᾽
αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰέφυρος. ἦ δὲ χώρα πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθεσιν, 13
πᾶσι δὲ φυτοῖς ἡμέροις τε καὶ σκιεροῖς τέθηλεν·
αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμπελοὶ δωδεκάφοροι εἰσὶν καὶ κατὰ
μῆνα ἐκαστὸν καρποφοροῦσιν· τὰς δὲ ροιᾶς καὶ
tὰς μηλέας καὶ τὴν ἅλλην ὀπώραν ἔλεγον εἶναι
τρυσκαίδεκάφοροι· ἐνος γὰρ μηνὸς τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς
Μινώου διὸς 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.1 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)!
Τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἔξω τής πόλεως πεποίησαν ὑπὲρ τῷ Ἡλυσίῳ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ. Λειμῶν δὲ ἐστὶν κάλλιστος καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑλή παντοῖα πυκνή, ἐπισκιάζουσα τοὺς κατακείμενους. καὶ στρωμίην μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁνθῶν ὑποβέβληται, διακοινοῦνται δὲ καὶ παραφέρουσιν ἕκαστα οἱ ἁνεμοί πλήν γε τοῦ οἰνοχοειν τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδὲν δέονται, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ δένδρα περὶ τὸ συμπόσιον ὑάλινα μεγάλα τῆς διανυστάτης ὕδαλ, καὶ καρπός ἐστὶν τῶν δένδρων τούτων ποτήρια παντοῖα καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς καὶ τὰ μεγέθη. ἐπειδὰν οὖν παρίη τις ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον, τρυγήσας ἐν ἡ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐκπαράτων παρατίθεται, τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα οὖν πλήρη γίνεται. οὐτῷ μὲν πίνουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν στεφάνων αἱ ἁγιόνες καὶ τὰ ἁλλὰ τὰ μονοκά ὅρνεα ἐκ τῶν πλήσιον λειμώνων τοῖς στόμασιν ἁνθολογοῦντα κατανείφει αὐτοὺς μετ’ ὁδῆς ὑπερ-πετόμενα. καὶ μὴν καὶ μυρίζονται ὅδε νεφέλαι πυκνὰ ἀνασπάσασαι μύροιν ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἔπιστάσαι ὑπὲρ τὸ συμπόσιον ἡρέμα τῶν ἁνέμων ὑποθλιβότων ὑουσι λεπτῶν ὑστερ δρόσων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δεῖπνῳ μονοκῆτε καὶ φίδαις σχολάζουσιν ἁδεταὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ Ὀμήρου ἐπὶ μάλλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πάρεστι καὶ συνενω-χεῖται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ὅδυσσεα κατακείμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν χοροὶ ἐκ παίδων 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
ἐξάρχοντι δὲ καὶ συνύδουσιν Εὐνομός τε ὁ Δοκρὸς καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Ἀνακρέων καὶ Στησί-χορος· καὶ ὅρο τοῦτον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐθεασάμην, ἦδη τῆς ιΕλένης αὐτῶ διηλλαγμένης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ οὕτω παύσωσιν ἅδωτες, δεύτερος χορὸς παρέρχεται ἐκ κύκων καὶ χελιδόνων καὶ ἀγδώνων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ οὕτω ἁσσάσιν, τότε ἦδη πᾶσα ἡ ᾿Υλή ἔπαιλει τῶν ἀνέμων καταρχόντων. μέγιστον δὲ δὴ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην ἐκείνο ἔχουσιν πηγαί ἐθάλα παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἤ μὲν γέλωτος, ἢ δὲ ἱδονή. ἐκ τοῦτον ἐκατέρας πάντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εὐοχίας πίνουσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἠδόμενοι καὶ γελώντες διάγοσιν.

Βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων οὐστινας παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐθεασάμην· πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἡμιθέους καὶ τοὺς ἔπὶ ᾿Ιλιον στρατεύσαντας πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ Δοκροῦ Αἰαντος, ἐκείνον δὲ μόνον ἐφασκον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁσεβῶν χόρῳ κολάζοσθαι, βαρβάρων δὲ Κύρους τε ἀμφοτέρους καὶ τὸν Σκύθην ᾿Ανάχαρσιν καὶ τὸν ᾿Ιράκα Σάμολξιν καὶ Νομᾶν τὸν ᾿Ιταλιώτιν, καὶ μὴν καὶ Δυκοῦργον τὸν Δακεδαμίον καὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Τέλλου τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους, καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἄνευ Περιάνδρου. εἶδον δὲ καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν Ἵφιστόσκου ἀδολεσχοῦτα μετὰ Νέστορος καὶ Παλαμίδους· περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἦσαν ᾿Ιάκωβος τε ὁ Δακεδαμίονος καὶ ὁ ᾿Αθηναῖος Νάρκισσος καὶ ᾿Ηλίας καὶ ἄλλοι καλοὶ. καὶ μοι ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν τῷ ᾿Ηλίῳ τα πολλὰ γούν ἐκείνον διήλεγεν. ἐλέγητο δὲ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῶ ὁ ᾿Ραδάμανθος καὶ
and accompanied by Eumomus of Locris, Arion of Lesbos, Anaacreon and Stesichorus. There can be no doubt about the latter, for I saw him there—by that time Helen had forgiven him. When they stop singing another chorus appears, composed of swans and swallows and nightingales, and as they sing the whole wood renders the accompaniment, with the winds leading. But the greatest thing that they have for ensuring a good time is that two springs are by the table, one of laughter and the other of enjoyment. They all drink from each of these when the revels begin, and thenceforth enjoy themselves and laugh all the while.

But I desire to mention the famous men whom I saw there. There were all the demigods and the veterans of Troy except Locrian Ajax, the only one, they said, who was being punished in the place of the wicked. Of the barbarians there were both Cyruses, the Scythian Anacharsis, the Thracian Zamolxis and Numa the Italian. In addition, there were Lycurgus of Sparta, Phocion and Tellus of Athens and the wise men, all but Periander. I also saw Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, chopping logic with Nestor and Palamedes; about him were Hyacinthus of Sparta, Narcissus of Thebes, 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 Rhadamantus

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

ὅπειρηκέναι πολλάκις ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς
νῆσου, ἱνα φλυαρῇ καὶ μὴ ἐθέλῃ ἄφεις τήν εἰρω-
νείαν εὐωχεῖσθαι. Πλάτων δὲ μόνος οὐ παρῆν,
ἀλλ’ ἐλέγετο αὐτός ἐν τῇ ἀναπλασθείσῃ ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ πόλει οἰκεῖν χρώμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ
tοῖς νόμοις οἷς συνέγραψεν. οἱ μὲντοι ἁμφ’
Ἀριστίππον τε καὶ Ἐπίκουρον τὰ πρῶτα παρ
αὐτοῖς ἐφέροντο ἤδεις τε ἄντες καὶ κεχαρισμένοι
καὶ συμπτωκτάτοι. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Λίσσωπος ὁ
Φρύξ: τοῦτον δὲ ὅσια καὶ γελωτοποιοῦ χρώνται.
Διωγένης μὲν γε ὁ Σιωπεύς τοσοῦτον μετέβαλεν
τοῦ τρόπου, ὡστε γῆμαι μὲν ἐταίραιν τὴν Δαίδα,
ἄρχεισθαι δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὸ μέθης ἀνιστάμενον
καὶ παροινεῖν. τῶν δὲ Στωῖκῶν οὐδές παρῆν,
ἐτι γὰρ ἐλέγοντο ἀναβαίνειν τὸν τῆς ἁρετῆς
ὅρθιον λόφον. ἦκονομεν δὲ καὶ περὶ Χρυσίππου
ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον αὐτῷ ἐπιβήναι τῆς νῆσου θέμως,
πρὶν τὸ τέταρτον ἐαυτοῦ ἔλλεβορίσῃ. τοὺς δὲ
Ἀκαδημαίκους ἔλεγον ἐθέλειν μὲν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπέχειν
dὲ ἔτι καὶ διασκέπτεσθαι: μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτό
πω καταλαμβάνειν, εἰ καὶ νῆσος τῆς τουαίτη
ἐστὶν. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ραδαμάνθυος,
ομεῖ, κρίσιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ἀτε καὶ τὸ κρυπτήριον
αὐτοὶ ἄνηρηκότες. πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφασκὸν
ὁρμηθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἀφικνομένοις ὑπὸ
νωθείας ἀπολείπεσθαι μὴ καταλαμβάνοντας καὶ
ἀναστρέφειν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ.

Οὔτοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν πα-
ρόντων. τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτον Θησέα. περὶ δὲ συνυποίας καὶ ἀφροδισίων
A TRUE STORY, II

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

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

1 See the Philosophers for Sale for another jest at Chrysippus' insanity.
οὐτω φρονοῦσιν μᾶςγονταὶ μὲν ἀναφανδὸν πάντων ὀρῶντων καὶ γνωσὶς καὶ ἀρρεςι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς τούτο αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ· μόνος δὲ Σωκράτης διώμυντο ἢ μὴν καθαρῶς πλησιάζειν τοῖς νέοις· καὶ μέντοι πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν κατεγίγνουσι: πολλάκις γυνὴν ὁ μὲν 'Τάκινθος ἢ ὁ Νάρκισσος ἠμολόγουν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἠρπείτο. αὐτὲ δὲ γυναῖκες εἰσὶ πᾶσι κωναὶ καὶ οὐδὲς φθονεῖ τῷ πλησίῳ, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ περὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον Πλατωνικῶτατοι· καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι τοῖς βουλομένουις οὐδέν ἀντιλέγουσι. Οὔπω δὲ διὸ ἡ τρεῖς ἡμέραι διεληλύθεσαν, 20 καὶ προσελθὼν ἔγω 'Ομήρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ, σχολής ὀψης ἁμφότεροι, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπινευμῶν καὶ οὕτων εἰς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσετε νῦν ἔγειραν. ὁ δὲ οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἄγνωστῳ ἔφασεν ὡς οἱ μὲν Χῖον, οἱ δὲ Σμυρναῖοι, πολλοὶ δὲ Κολοφώνιοι αὐτῶν νομίζουσιν εἶναι μέντοι γε ἔλεγεν Βασιλεύοις, καὶ παρὰ γε τοῖς πολίταις οὐχ."Ομήρος, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνης καλεῖσθαι· ὀστερον δὲ ὁμηρεύσας παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ἀλλὰξε τὴν προσηγορίαν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁθετομένων στίχων ἐπηρώτων, εἰ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον εἰεν γεγραμμένοι. καὶ δὲ ἔφασκε πάντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι. κατεγίγνουσιν οὖν τῶν ἁμφὶ τῶν Ζηνόδοτος καὶ Ἀρισταρχον γραμματικῶν πολλήν τὴν ψυχρολογίαν. ὥσπερ δὲ ταῦτα ἰκανὸς ἀπεκέκρυτο, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἡρώτων τι δὴ ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς μὴνδος τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ δὲ εἰπεν οὕτως ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐπιπη- δένσαντι. καὶ μὴν κάκειν ἐπεθύμουν εἴδεναι, εἰ προτέραν ἐγγραψεν τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, 1 εἰς Schwartz : εἰς λέγων MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

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

Hardly two or three days had passed before I went up to Homer the poet when we were both at leisure, and questioned him about everything. "Above all," said I, "where do you come from? This point in particular is being investigated even yet at home." "I am not unaware," said he, "that some think me a Chian, some a Smyrniote and many a Colophonian. As a matter of fact, I am a Babylonian, and among my fellow-countrymen my name was not Homer but Tigranes. Later on, when I was a hostage (homerōs) among the Greeks, I changed my name." I went on to enquire whether the bracketed lines had been written by him, and he asserted that they were all his own: consequently I held the grammarians Zenodotus and Aristarchus guilty of pedantry in the highest degree. Since he had answered satisfactorily on these points, I next asked him why he began with the wrath of Achilles; and he said that it just came into his head that way, without any study. Moreover, I wanted to know whether he wrote the Odyssey before the Iliad, as most people say: he said no.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ός οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν· ο ἐς ἦρειτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ
οὐδὲ τυφλὸς ἤ, ε καὶ αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν,
αὐτίκα ἡπιστώμην· ἐώρων γάρ, ὡστε οὖδὲ πυριθα-
νεσθαι ἐδεύμην. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἅλλοτε τούτο
ἐποίουν, εἰ ποτε αὐτῶν σχολήν ἄγοντα ἐώρων
προσιῶν γὰρ τι ἐπυπναόμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ δὲ προ-
θύμος πάντα ἀπεκρίνετο, καὶ μάλιστα μετὰ τὴν
dίκην, ἕπειδή ἐκράτησεν· ἦν γὰρ τις γραφὴ κατ'
αὐτοῦ ἐπεννημεύμη θυβρεώς ὑπὸ Θερσίτου ἐφ' ὦς
αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἔσκοψεν, καὶ ἐνίκησεν ὁ
"Ὁμήρος Ὁδυσσέως συναγορεύντος.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἀφίκετο καὶ
Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ἐπτάκις ἀλαξεῖς καὶ ἐν
τοσοῦτοις ἔροις βιοτεύσας καὶ ἐκτελέσας τῆς
ψυχῆς τὰς περιόδους. ἦν δὲ χρυσοῦς ὅλων τὸ
δεξιόν ἡμίτομον. καὶ ἐκρίθη μὲν συμπολιτεύ-
σασθαι αὐτοῖς, ἐνεδοιαζότε καὶ ἐτὶ πότερον Πυθα-
γόραν ἡ Εὐφορβίου χρῆ αὐτῶν ὄνομαζειν. ὁ μέντοι
Ἐμπεδοκλής ἠλθεν μὲν καὶ αὐτός, περίεφθος καὶ
τὸ σῶμα ὅλων ὄπτημένως· οὐ μὴν παρεδέχθη
καίτοι πολλὰ ἢκετεύν.

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐνέσχη ὁ ἀγὼν ὃ
παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὰ Θανατούσια. ἦγινοθεῖτε δὲ
Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Ὁησεὺς τὸ ἔβδομον.
τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μακρὸν ἄν εἰς λέγειν· τὰ δὲ
κεφάλαια τῶν πραχθέντων διηγήσομαι. πάλην
μὲν ἐνίκησεν Κάρανος ὁ ἄφ' Ἡρακλέους Ὁδυσσέα
περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καταγωγισάμενος· πυγμῆ δὲ
ἱση ἐγένετο Ἀρείου τοῦ Λυγυπτίου, ὃς ἐν Κορίνθῳ
τέθαται, καὶ Ἐπειοῦ ἄλληλοις συνελθόντων.
παγκρατίου δὲ οὐ τίθεται ἄθλα παρ' αὐτοῖς. τὸν

1 Κάρανος Gronovius: Κάρος MSS.
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.
μέντοι δρόμον οὐκέτι μέμνημαι ὡστὶς ἐνίκησεν. ποιητῶν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἄληθεία παρὰ πολὺ ἐκράτει Ὀμήρος, ἐνίκησεν δὲ ὁμοίς Ἡσίοδος. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦν ἀπασὶ στέφανοι πλακεῖς ἐκ πτέρων ταυωέων.

'Αρτι δὲ τοῦ ἁγώνος συντετελεσμένου ἡγγέλ- λοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τῶν ἁσεβῶν κολαζό- μενοι ἀπορρήξαντες τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐπικρατήσαντες ἠλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἦγείσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν Φίλαρήν τε τὸν Ἀκραγαντίων καὶ Βούσιριν τὸν Λιγύπτιον καὶ Διομήδη τὸν Θράκα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Σκύρων καὶ Πιτνοκάμπτην. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἦκουσεν ὁ Ραδάμανθις, ἐκτάσσει τοὺς ἥρωας ἐπὶ τῆς νῆσος· ἠγείτο δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς καὶ Λίσας ὁ Τελαμώνιος ἤδη σώφρονών καὶ συμμίξαντες ἐμάχουτο, καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ ἥρωες, Ἀχιλλεύς τὰ πλείστα κατορθώσαντος. ἡρίστευσε δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐπὶ τῷ δεξίῳ ταχθεὶς, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁτε ζῶν ἐπὶ Δηλώ ἐμάχετο. προσιόντων γὰρ τεταρτῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἔφυγε καὶ τὸ πρόσω- 

πον ἀτρεπτὸς ἦν· ἐφ' οίς καὶ ύστερον ἐξηρέθη 

αὐτῷ ἀριστείον, καλὸς τε καὶ μέγας παράδεισος 

ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθα καὶ συγκαλὼν τοὺς ἔταρφους 

dιελέγετο, Νεκρακαδημιάν τὸν τόπον προσα- 

γορεύσας. συλλαβόντες οὖν τοὺς νευκηκέννους 

καὶ δήσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον κολαζθη- 

σομένους. ἐγγαψεν δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν μάχην 

"Ομήρος καὶ ἀπιστεύσε τοὺς βιβλία κομί- 

ζειν τοῖς παρ' ἤμιν ἀνθρώποις· ἄλλο ύστερον καὶ 

tαύτα μετά τῶν ἄλλων ἀπωλέσαμεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ 

ἀρχὴ τοῦ ποιήματος αὐτῆ, 

Νῦν δὲ μοι ἐννεπε, Μοῦσα, μάχην νεκύων 

ηρώων.
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 but kept his face to the front. For this they afterwards gave him a special reward, a beautiful great park in the suburbs, where he used to gather his comrades and dispute: he named the place the Academy of the Dead. Arresting the losers and putting them in irons, they sent them off to be punished still more severely than before. An account of this battle was written by Homer, and as I was leaving he gave me the book to take to the people at home, but later I lost it along with everything else. The poem began:

This time sing me, O Muse, of the shades of the heroes in battle!
τότε δ’ οὖν κυάμους ἐψήφαντες, ὥσπερ παρ’ αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐπειδῶν πόλεμον κατορθώσωσιν, εἰστιῶντο τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ ἔστήν μεγάλην ἤργον μόνος δὲ αὐτῆς οὖ μετείχε Πυθαγόρας, ἀλλ’ ἄστιος πόρρῳ ἐκαθέξετο μυστατόμενος τὴν κυαμοφαγίαν.

Ἡδὲ δὲ μηνῶν ἔξε διεληλυθότων περὶ μεσοῦντα 25 τὸν ἐβδομον νεώτερα συνιστάτο πράγματα. Κινύρας ο ὁ τοῦ Σκινθάρου παῖς, μέγας ὦν καὶ καλὸς, ἤρα πολὺν ἢδη χρόνον τῆς Ἀθήνης, καὶ αὐτή δὲ οὖκ ἄφανῆς ἢν ἐπιμανῶσ ἀγαπώσα τὸν νεανίσκον πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ διένευον ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ προὕπινοι καὶ μόνοι ἐξαισθάνεμοι ἐπιλαύνοντο περὶ τὴν ὑλήν. καὶ δὴ ποτὲ ὑπ’ ἔρωτος καὶ ἀμηχανίας ἐβουλεύσατο ο ὁ Κινύρας ἀρπάζας τὴν Ἀθήνην—ἐδόκει δὲ κάκειν ταύτα—οὐχεσθαί ἀπίστως ἐς τινα τῶν ἐπικειμένων ἴησων, ἢτοι ἐς τὴν Φελλών ἢ ἐς τὴν Τυρόσεσσαν. συνωμότας δὲ πάλαι προσειλήφεσαν τρεῖς τῶν ἔταιρων τῶν ἐμῶν τους βρασυτάτους. τῷ μέντοι πατρὶ οὖκ ἐμήνυσε ταύτα· ἤπίστατο γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κωλυθησόμενος. ως δὲ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, ἐπέλουν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ νῦξ ἠγένετο—ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ παρῆν ἐτύχχανον γὰρ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιμώμενος—οἱ δὲ λαϑόντες τους ἄλλους ἀναλαβόντες τὴν Ἀθήνην ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνήχθησαν. περὶ 26 δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἀνεγρόμενος ὁ Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ ἐμαθεί τὴν εὐηχνὴ κεφαλὴν τῆς γυναικός, βοήν τε ἱστῃ καὶ τῶν ἄδελφῶν παραλαβόν ήλθε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Ῥάδάμανθον. ἡμέρας δὲ ὑποφαίνουσι ἐλεγον οἱ σκοτοὶ καθορὰν τὴν ναῦν πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν· οὔτω δὴ ἐμβιβάσας ὁ Ῥάδάμανθος

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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 rape Helen—she agreed to it—and go to one of the islands in the offing, either Cork or Cheesie. As accomplices they had long ago taken on three of the most reckless of my comrades; but Cinyras did not inform his father, for he knew that he would not let him do it. When they had come to a decision, they carried out their stratagem. It was at nightfall, and I was not on hand, as I chanced to be taking a nap under the table. Without the knowledge of the rest they carried Helen off and put to sea in haste. About midnight, when Menelaus woke up, and found that his wife was not in bed, he made a great stir and took his brother and went to King Rhadamanthus. But as day began to break the lookouts said that they saw the ship far out at sea. Then Rhadamanthus put fifty of the heroes aboard a

¹ An allusion to the Pyanepsia, the Athenian Beanfeast.
πεντήκοντα τών ήρωων εἰς ναῦν μονώζυλου ἀσφο-
δελίων παρήγγειλεν διάκειν, οἰ δὲ υπὸ προδημίας
ἐλαύνοντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν καταλαμβάνοντον
αὐτούς ἄρτι ἐς τὸν γαλακτώδη τοῦ ἀκεανοῦ τόπον
ἐμβαίνοντας πλησίον τῆς Τυροέσσης. παρὰ το-
σοῦτον ἦλθον διαδράναι καὶ ἀναδησάμενοι τὴν
ναῦν ἀλύσει ῥοδίην κατέπλεον. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἑλένη
ἐδάκρυες τε καὶ ἥσχυνετο κἀνεκαλύπτετο, τοὺς
δὲ ἅμφι τῶν Κινύραν ἄνακρινας πρότερον ὁ Ῥαδά-
μανθυς, εἰ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς συνίσκαοι, ὡς
οὐδένα εἶπον, ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων δήσας ἀπέπεμψεν
ἐς τὸν τῶν ἅσβον χώρον μαλάχη πρότερον
μαστυγώβθεντας. ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ ἦμας ἐμ-
προδέσμως ἐκτέμπειν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, τὴν ἐπιοῦ-
σαν ἡμέραν μόνην ἐπιμείναντας.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἐποτυνώμην τε καὶ ἐδάκρυον
οἷών ἐμελλὼν ἀγαθὰ καταλυτῶν αἰθίως πλανηθη-
σέσαν. αὐτοὶ μέντοι παρεμπυθοῦντο λέγοντες οὐ
πολλῶν ἠτῶν ἄφιεσθαι πάλιν ὡς αὐτούς, καὶ
μοι ἦδη εἰς τοῦποιον θρόνον τε καὶ κλισίαν ἐπεδεί-
κυσαν πλησίον τῶν ἀρίστων. ἐγὼ δὲ προσελθὼν
τῷ Ῥαδαμάνθυ νομελῶν ἱκέτευον εἰπέων τὰ μέλλοντα
καὶ ὑποδείξαι μοι τὸν πλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἐφασκεν
ἀφίεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πολλὰ πρότερον
πλανηθέντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ χρόνον
οὐκέτι τῆς ἐπανόδου προσθείναι ἤθελησεν· ἄλλα
δὴ καὶ δεικνύς τὰς πλησίον νῆσους—ἐφαινοῦτο
δὲ πέντε τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐκτῇ πόρρωθεν—
tαύτας μὲν εἶναι ἐφασκεν τῶν ἅσβον, τὰς
πλησίον. Ἀφ’ οὖν, ἐφη, ἦδη τὸ πολὺ πῦρ ἀρὰς
καἰμένου, ἐκτῇ δὲ ἐκείνη τῶν ὀνείρων ἡ πόλις;
μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ τῆς Καλυφοῦς νῆσος, ἀλλ’

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ship made of a single log of asphodel and ordered them to give chase. Rowing with a will, they over-
took 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
οὔδέτω σοι φαίνεται. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταύτας παραπλεύσης, τότε δὴ ἄφιξῃ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἦπειρον τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ ύφ’ ὕμων ἑκατοκοιμενήν ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὰ παθῶν καὶ ποικίλα ἐθνῆ διελθῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀμάκτων ἐπιδημήσας χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἦξεις εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἦπειρον.

Τοσάυτα έπευ, καὶ ἀναστάσας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μαλάχης ρίζαν ὁρεξέν μοι, ταύτη κελεύσας ἐν τοῖς μεγίστους κινδύνους προσεύχεσθαι: παρήνεσε δὲ εἰ καὶ ποτὲ ἄφικοίμην ἐς τῇνδε τὴν γῆν, μήτε πῦρ μαχαίρα σκαλέυεις μήτε θέρμους ἐσθήεις μήτε παιδὶ ύπὲρ τὰ ὀκτωκαΐδεκα ἔτη πλησίασέν τούτων γὰρ ἄν μεμνημένον ἐλπίδας ἔχεις τῆς εἰς τὴν νήσου ἄφιξεως.

Τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τῶν πλοίων παρεσκευασμένα, καὶ ἐπεῖ καρμὸς ἦν, συνειστικῆς ἄντοις. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἐλθὼν πρὸς Ὀμηρον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐδείην αὐτοῦ ποιήσας μοι δίστηχον ἐπίγραμμα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησεν, στῆλην βηρύλλου λίθου ἀναστήσας ἐπέγραψε πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἦν τοῖνος·

Δουκιανὸς τάδε πάντα φίλος μακάρεσσο θεοίσιν εἰδὲ τε καὶ πάλιν ἢλθε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

μείνας δὲ κακείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἀνηγόμην τῶν ἡρώων παραπεμπότων. ἐνθα μοι καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς προσελθὼν λάθρα τῆς Πηνελόπης δίδασιν ἐπιστολήν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν τὴν νήσου Καλυψοῖ κομίζειν. συνεπεμψε δὲ μοι ὉΡαδάμανθευς τῶν πορθμέα Ναύπλιον, ἵν’ ἐὰν καταχθώμεν

1 ὅμων du Soul; ἑμῶν 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, 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 8); the other two are parodies.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ές τὰς νήσους, μηδείς ἡμᾶς συλλάβῃ ὑτε κατ ἄλλην ἐμπορίαν καταπλέοντας.

Έπει δὲ τὸν εὐώδη ἄερα προϊόντες παρελημθὲν, αὐτίκα ἡμᾶς ὀσμὴ τε δεινὴ διεδέχετο ὁλον ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου καὶ πίπτης ἁμα καιομένων, καὶ κυίας δὲ ποιηρά καὶ ἀφόρητος ὄσπερ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὀπτωμένων, καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ ἥπερ δρόμος καὶ ἀμφιλόδης, καὶ κατέστατεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δρόσου πιττίνη· ἠκούομεν δὲ καὶ μαστίγων ψόφων καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν. ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλαις οὐ προσέχομεν, ἥς δὲ ἐπέβημεν, τοιάδε ἦν κύκλω μὲν πάσα κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπόξυρος, πέτραις καὶ τράχαις κατασκευαγμένα, δύναν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑδωρ ἐνήν ἀνερπότεντες δὲ ὦμος κατὰ τοὺς κρημνών προῆκεν διὰ τῶν ἀκανθώδους καὶ σκυλύπων μεστῆς ἀτραποῦ, πολλὴν ἀμορφίαν τῆς χώρας ἑγοῦσας. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρκτήν καὶ τὸ κολαστήριον, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ τόπου ἐδομάζομεν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔδαφος αὐτὸ μαχαίραις καὶ σκόλοψι πάντῃ ἐξηνθήκει, κύκλῳ δὲ ποταμοὶ περιέρρεον, ὁ μὲν βορβόρον, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος αἵματος, ὁ δὲ ἐγνὸν πυρός, πάνω μέγας οὖτος καὶ ἀπέρατος, καὶ ἔρρει ὄσπερ ὑδωρ καὶ ἐκματοῦτο ὄσπερ θάλαττα, καὶ ἱχθὺς δὲ εἰγένε μολόντος, τοὺς μὲν δαλοῖς προσεικότας, τοὺς δὲ μικροὺς ἀνθραξί πεπυρωμένους· ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτοὺς λυχνίσκους. εἰσόδος δὲ μία στενὴ διὰ πάντων ἦν, καὶ πυλῶρος ἐφειστήκει Τίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. παρελθόντες δὲ ὦμος τοῦ Ναυτιλίου καθηγούμενον ἐφόρομεν κολαζομένους πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλέας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἰδιωτάς, διὰ εὐνόους καὶ ἐγνωρίζομεν· εἴδομεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Κινύραν κατνυψόντα 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 calthrops, and around it flowed three rivers, one of mud, the second of blood and the inmost one of fire. The latter was very large, and impossible to cross: it ran like water and undulated like the sea, and it contained many fish, some similar to torches, and some, a smaller variety, to live coals. They called them candlefish. There was a single narrow way leading in, past all the rivers, and the 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
ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀπηρτημένων. προσετίθεσαν δὲ ὁ περιηγηταὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐκώστων βίους καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτιας ἐφ' αὖς κολάζονται καὶ μεγάστας ἀπασών τιμωρίας ὑπέμενοι οἱ ψευσάμενοι τι παρὰ τὸν βίου καὶ οἱ μὴ τὰ ἄλληθη συγγεγραφότες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἤν καὶ Ηρόδοτος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ. τούτους οὖν ὁ ῥῶν ἐγὼ χρηστάς εἶχον εἰς τούτῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὗδεν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ ψεύδος εἰπόντι συνηπιστάμην. ταχέως οὖν ἀναστρέφας 32 ἐπὶ τὴν ναϊν—οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην χεῖριν τὴν ὄψιν—ἀποσάμενος τῶν Ναύπλιων ὑπέπλευσα.
Καὶ μετ' ὅλων εὑραίνετο πλησίον ἢ τῶν οὐνείρων ὕψους, ἀμυνδρὰ καὶ ἰσαφίας ἰδεῖν· εἰ χε δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τι τοῖς οὐνείροις παραπλήσιοι· ὑπεχώρει γὰρ προσιόντων ἡμὸν καὶ ὑπέφευγε καὶ πορρωτέρω ὑπέβαινε. καταλαβόντες δὲ ποτὲ αὐτὴν καὶ εἰσπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰστιον χμένα προσαγορευόμενον πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἑλεφαντίων, ἦ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξιτυώνος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν, περὶ δεῖλην ὅψιν ἀπεβαίνομεν· παρελθόντες δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολυλούς οὐνείρους καὶ ποικίλους ἔωρομεν. πρῶτον δὲ βούλομαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰπέων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄλλοι τινὶ γέγραπται περὶ αὐτῆς, διὸ δὲ καὶ μόνος ἐπεμνήσθη ὁ Ὀμηρός, οὐ πάνω ἄκριβῶς συνέγραψεν. κύκλῳ μὲν περὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑλὴ 33 ἀνέστηκεν, τὰ δενδρὰ δὲ ἐστὶ μῆκων ὑψηλοί καὶ μανδραγόραι καὶ ἔπ' αὐτῶν πολὺ τι πλῆθος νυκτερίδων· τούτῳ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ νύσιῳ γίνεται ὄρνεον. ποταμὸς δὲ παραρρέει πλησίον ὃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενος Νυκτύπορος, 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 *Odyssey* 19, 560 ff.
Νύγρετος, τῇ δὲ Παννυχίᾳ, ὁ περίβολος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑψηλὸς τε καὶ ποικίλος, ἵματι τὴν χρύαιν ὁμοίωτατος, πολλαι μέντοι ἐπεισιν οὐ δύο, καθάπερ ὁμηρος εἰρήκεν, ἀλλὰ τέσσαρες, δύο μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Βλακείως πεδίων ἀποβλέπονται, ἡ μὲν σιδήρα, ἡ δὲ ἐκ κεραίων πεποιημένη, καθ’ ἄς ἐλέγοντο ἀποδημεῖν αὐτῶν οἱ τε φοβεροὶ καὶ φοινκοὶ καὶ ἀπίνεις, δύο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Λυμένα καὶ τὴν θάλατ- ταν, ἡ μὲν κεραίη, ἡ δὲ καθ’ ἧν ἴμηες παρῆλθομεν ἐλεφαντίνη. εἰσίν τινι δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν δεξιῶ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ Νυκτόφον—σέβομαι γὰρ θεὸν τάυτην μιᾶν στα καὶ τὸν Ἀλεκτροῦνα, ἐκείνου δὲ πλησίον τοῦ Λυμένα τῷ ἱερῷ πεποίηται—ἐν ἀρι- στερᾷ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἰππου βασίλεια. οὕτος γὰρ δὴ ἀρχεῖ παρ’ αὐτῶς σατράπας δύο καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν πεποιημένοις, Ταραξάωνι τε τὸν Ματαιογένους καὶ Ἡλουτοκλέα τὸν Φαντασῖνος. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ πηγή τῆς ἐστιν, ἥν καλοῦσι Καρεότιν καὶ πλησίον ναοί δύο, Ἀπάτης καὶ Ἀληθείας. ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἀδυτὸν ἐστιν αὐτῶς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, οὐ προειστήκησι προφητεύων Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τῶν ονείρων ὑποκρίτης, τάυτης παρὰ τοῦ Ἰππου λαχῶν τῆς τιμῆς. αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν ονείρων οὕτε φύσις οὕτε ἰδέα ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν μακρό ἦσαν καὶ καλοὶ καὶ εὐειδεῖς, οἱ δὲ μικροὶ καὶ ἅμορφοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν χρύσειοι, ὡς ἑδόκουν, οἱ δὲ ταπεινοὶ τε καὶ εὐτελεῖς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν αὐτῶσι καὶ πτερωτοί τινες καὶ τερατώδεις, καὶ ἄλλοι καθάπερ ἐσ πομπὴν διεσκευασμένοι, οἱ μὲν ἐσ βασιλέας, οἱ δὲ ἐσ θεοὺς, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀλλα τοιαῦτα κεκοσμημένοι. πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν, πάλαι παρ’ ἥμιν ἐωρακότες, οἱ δὴ καὶ προσήσαν καὶ ἰσπάζοντο.
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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
ὁς ἄν καὶ συνήθεις ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς καὶ κατακομμάσαντες πάνω λαμπρῶς καὶ δεξίως ἐξέσειζον, τὴν τε ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρασκευάσαντες καὶ ὑπισχυόμενοι βασιλέας τε ποιήσειν καὶ σατράτας. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀπήγον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ αὐθημερῶν ἐπανήγομεν. ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν τριάκοντα καὶ ὥσα νύκτας 35 παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἐμείναμεν καθεύθυντες εὐωχούμενοι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἄφινα βροντῆς μεγάλης καταρραγείσης ἀνεγρόμενοι καὶ ἀναθορόντες ἀνήχθημεν ἐπισιτισάμενοι.

Τριταῖοι δ’ ἐκείθεν τῇ Ὀμυγίᾳ νῆσῳ προσχόντες ἀπεβαίνομεν. πρότερον δ’ ἔγω λύσας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνεγράφοςκον τὰ γεγραμμένα. ἴνα δὲ τοιάδε· Ὅδυσσεύς Καλυψός χαίρει. Ἡσθι με, ὅσ τὰ πρῶτα ἔξεπλευσα παρὰ σοῦ τὴν σχεδίαν κατασκευασάμενος, ναναγία χρησάμενον μόλις ὕπο Δενκοθέας διασωθήμει εἰς τὴν τῶν Φαλάκων χώραν, ὅφ’ ὃν ἔσ τὴν οἰκείαι ἀποπεμφθεῖς κατέλαβον πολλοὺς τῆς γυναικὸς μνηστήρας ἐν τοῖς ἱματέροις τριφώντας· ἀποκτείνας δὲ ἄπαντας ὅπο Τηλεγάνου ὑστερον τοῦ ἐκ Κήρκης μοι γενομένου ἀνηρέθην, καὶ νῦν εἰμι ἐν τῇ Μακάρων νῆσῳ πάνω μετανοῶ ἐπὶ τῷ καταλιπεῖν τὴν παρὰ σοῦ δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεινομένη ἅθανασίαν. ἴνα οὖν καιροῦ λάβομαι, ἀποδρασ ἄφιξομαι πρὸς σέ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου ἡ ἐπιστολή, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ξενισθῶμεν. ἔγω δὲ προελθὼν ὅλγον 36 ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης εὗρον τὸ σπῆλαιον τοιοῦτον ὅτον Ὁμηρος εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτὴν ταλασιουργοῦσαν.
up to us and greeted us like old acquaintances, took us with them, put us to sleep and entertained us very splendidly and hospitably. They treated us like lords in every way, and even promised to make us kings and nabobs. A few of them actually took us off home, gave us a sight of our friends and families and brought us back the same day. For thirty days and thirty nights we stopped with them and fared finely—in our sleep! Then of a sudden a great thunder-clap came; we woke up, sprang out of bed and put to sea as soon as we had laid in supplies.

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

"Odysseus to Calypso, greeting.

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

\(^1\) *Odyss. 5, 55 ff.*
δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἠλάβεν καὶ ἐπελέξατο, πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐδάκρυεν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ παρεκάλει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ἐξείδει καὶ εἰστία λαμπρῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὑδυσσέως ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ περὶ τῆς Πηνελόπης, ὅποια τε εἰ ἦν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ εἰ σωφρονοῦ ἡ καθάπερ Ὑδυσσέως πάλαι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκόμματο· καὶ ἠμεῖς τοιαύτα ἀπεκρινάμεθα, εἰ δὲν εἰκάζομεν εὐφρανεῖσθαι αὐτὴν.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκοιμήθημεν. ἦσθεν δὲ ἀνηγόμεθα σφιδρότερον κατιόντως τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ δὴ χειμάσθεντες ἡμέρας δύο τῇ τρόπῃ περιπλώττομεν τοῖς Κολοκυνθοπειραταῖς. ἀνθρώποι δὲ εἰσὶν οὕτωι ἁγιοι έκ τῶν πλησίων νήσων ληστεύοντες τοὺς παραπλέοντας. τὰ πλοῖα δὲ ἔχουσι μεγάλα κολοκύθθωνα τὸ μῆκος πῆχεων ἐξήκοντα· ἐπειδάν γὰρ ἔξρανοισι τὴν κολόκυθαν, κοιλάναντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξελόντες τὴν ἐντεριώνῃ ἐμπλέουσιν, ἵστοις μὲν χρώμενοι καλαμίνους, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ὀθόνης τῷ φύλλῳ τῆς κολοκύνθης. προσβαλόντες οὖν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δύο πληρωμάτων ἐμάχοντο καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραμμάτιζον βάλλοντες ἀντὶ λίθων τῷ στέρματι τῶν κολοκυνθῶν. ἀγχομάλως δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ναυμαχοῦντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἴδομεν κατόπιν τῶν Κολοκυνθοπειρατῶν προσπλέοντας τοὺς Καρυοναύτας. πολέμοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς ἐδείξαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ κωκεῖνοι ἦσθοντο αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἡμῶν μὲν ὑλωγόρησαν, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔναυμάχουν. ἠμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσίωτῳ ἐπάραντες τὴν ὀθόνην ἐφεύγομεν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτοὺς μαχομένους, καὶ δὴ λοι ἦσαν κρατήσοντες οἱ Καρυοναύται ἀτε
she had taken the letter and read it, she wept a long time at first, and then she asked us in to enjoy her hospitality, gave us a splendid feast and enquired about Odysseus and Penelope—how she looked and whether she was prudent, as Odysseus used to boast in old times.\(^1\) We made her such answers as we thought would please her.

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

\(^1\) *Odys.* 5, 21 ff.
καὶ πλείους—πέντε γὰρ εἴχον πληρώματα—καὶ ἀπὸ ἵσχυρότερων νεῶν μαχόμενοι τὰ γὰρ πλοία ἦν αὐτοῖς κελύφη καρύων ἡμῶτομα, κεκενωμένα, μέγεθος δὲ ἐκάστου ἡμιτόμου εἰς μήκος ὀργυιαλ πεντεκαίδεκα.

Ἔπει δὲ ἀπεκρύψαμεν αὐτούς, ἱώμεθα τοὺς τραυματίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ παν ἦμεν, ἀμεί τινας ἐπιβουλὰς προσδεχόμενοι οὐ μάτην. οὐπω γούν ἐδεδύκει ὁ ἔλιος, καὶ ἀπὸ 39 τῶν ἐρήμου νήσου προσήλαινον ἦμιν ὁσον εἰκοσι ἄνδρες ἔπι δελφίνων μεγάλων ὁχυρώμενοι, λῃσταὶ καὶ οὐτοί καὶ οἱ δελφῖνες αὐτοὺς ἔφερον ἀσφάλως, καὶ ἀναπηδώντες ἐχρεμέτιξον ὡσπερ ἤπτοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν, διαστάντες οἱ μὲν ἐνθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐνθεν ἐβαλλον ἡμᾶς στηπίας ξηραὶς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς καρκίνων. τοξευόντων δὲ καὶ ἠμῶν καὶ ἀκομαζόντων οὔκέτι ύπέμενον, ἀλλὰ πρωθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν νῆσον κατέφυγον.

Περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον γαλήνης οὕςχης 40 ἑλάθομεν προσοκείλαντες ἀλκυόνοις καλαὶ παρμεγέθεν σταδίων γούν ἦν αὐτῇ εξήκοντα τὸ περίμετρον. ἐπέπλεεν δὲ ἡ ἀλκυὼν τὰ ραθαλποῦσα οὐ πολὺ μείων τῆς καλαὶς. καὶ δὴ ἀναπταμένη μικροῦ μὲν κατέδυσε τὴν ναῦν τῷ ἀνέμῳ τῶν πτερῶν. ὥχετο δ' οὖν φεύγοντα γοεράν τῶν φωνῆς προιμένη. ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡμέρας ἦδη ὑποφαϊνούσης ἐθεώμεθα τὴν καλαῖς σχεδία μεγάλη προσευκίαν ἐκ δενδρῶν μεγάλων συμπερημένην. ἐπῆν δὲ καὶ φὰ πεντακόσια, ἔκαστον αὐτῶν Χίου πίθου περιπληθέστερον. ἦδη μέντοι καὶ οἱ νεοτοι ἐνδοθεν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἐκρωζον. πελέκεσαν γούν διακόψαντες ἐν τῶν
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numbers—they had five crews—and fought from stouter ships. Their boats were the halves of empty nutshells, each of which measured fifteen fathoms in length.

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

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

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλεόντες ἀπείχομεν τῆς καλλίας ὡς σαρκίσθαι διακοσίως, τέρατα ἡμῖν μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐπεσίμανεν· ὦ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώμην χρυσίκοσι ἀφίων ἐπετερύξατο καὶ ἀνεβόθσεν, καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης ὁ Σκίνθαρος φαλακρὸς ἦδη ὃν ἀνεκό-
μησεν, καὶ τὸ πάντων δὴ παραδοξότατον, ὦ γὰρ ἵστος τῆς νεοῦ ἐξεβλάστησεν καὶ κλάδους ἀνε-
φυσεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρῷ ἐκαρποφόρησεν, ὃ δὲ καρπὸς ἦν σῦκα καὶ σταφυλὴ μέλαινα, οὕτω πέτειρος. ταῦτα ἰδόντες ὡς εἰκός ἐταράχθημεν καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοθείς τοῖς θεοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον τοῦ
φαντάσματος. οὕτω δὲ πεντακοσίους σταδίους διέλθοντες εἴδομεν υλὴν μεγίστην καὶ λάσιον πιτύων καὶ κυπαρίστων. καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰκάσαμεν ἡπειρον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἦν πέλαιος ἄβυσσον ἀργίζως δένδροις καταπεφυτεμένοι· εἰστήκει δὲ τὰ δένδρα ὁμοίως ἀκίνητα, ὥθα καθάπερ ἐπιπλέοντα. πλη-
συώσαντες οὖν καὶ τὸ πᾶν κατανοήσαντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἰχόμεθα τί χρή δρᾶν· οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τῶν δένδρων πλεῖν δυνατὸν ἦν—πυκνὰ γὰρ καὶ προσεχῇ ὑπήρχει—οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἑδόκει ῥάδιον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνελθὼν ἔπι τὸ μέγιστον δένδρον ἀπεσκόπουν τὰ ἐπέκεινα ὅπως ἔχοι, καὶ ἐώρου ἐπὶ σταδίους μὲν πεντήκοντα ἡ ὀλύνιφ πλείους
τὴν υλὴν οὕσιν, ἐπειτα δὲ αὖθις ἐτερον ὁκεανὸν ἑκδεχόμενον. καὶ δὴ ἑδόκει ἡμῖν ἀναθεμένους

1 ἀπεσκόπου vulg.: ἀπεσκόπου Γ, 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\textsuperscript{1} suddenly grew feathers and started cackling, the sailing-master, Scinthurus, 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{2} A parody on the experience of the pirates who carried off Dionysus (Hymn. Hom. 7, 38).
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τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην τῶν δένδρων—πυκνὴ δὲ ἦν—ὑπερβεβιάσαι, εἰ δυναίμεθα, εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἐτέραν· καὶ οὕτως ἐποιοῦμεν. ἐκδίδομες γὰρ αὐτὴν κάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἄνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα μόλις ἀνιμησάμεθα, καὶ θέντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων, πετάσαμες τὰ ἱστία καθάπερ ἐν βαλάττῃ ἐπλέομεν τοῦ ἀνέμου προσθοῦντος ἐπισυρόμενοι· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔτος ἐπεισῆλθε με—φησὶν γὰρ ποινοὺς κακείνους.

Τοῖς δ᾽ υλήσετα διὰ πλάον ἐρχομένοισιν.

Βιασάμενοι δὲ ὁμοὶ τὴν ὠλην ἀφικόμεθα ἐς 43 τὸ ὦδωρ, καὶ πάλαιν ὁμοίως καθέντες 1 τὴν ναῦν ἐπλέομεν διὰ καθαροῦ καὶ διανυκτὸς ὕδατος, ἀχρὶ δὴ ἐπέστημεν χάσματι μεγάλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος διεστώτος γεγενημένῳ, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλάκις ὄρῳμεν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν γενόμενα διαχωρίσματα. ἡ μὲν οὖν ναῦς καθελόντων ἠμῶν τὰ ἱστία οὐ βαδίως ἔστη παρ᾽ ὀλόγον ἐλθοῦσα κατενεχθήναι. ὑπερκύψαντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐωρῶμεν βάθος ὅσον σταδίῳν χιλίων μίαλοις φοβοῦν καὶ παράδοξον εἰστήκει γὰρ τὸ ὦδωρ ὡστερ μεμερισμένον· περιβλέποντες δὲ ὄρῷμεν κατὰ δεξιὰ οὐ πάνω πόρρωθεν γέφυραν ἐπεξευγμένῃ ὕδατος συνάπτουσα τὰ πελάγη κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας θαλάττης εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν διαρρέοντος· προσελάσαντες οὖν ταῖς κώπαις κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο παρεδράμομεν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγωνίας ἐπεράσαμεν οὕτωτε προσδοκῆσαντες.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς ὑπεδέχετο πέλαγος προσηνέχεις 44 καὶ νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, εὐπρόσιτος, συνοικουμένη· ἐνέμοντο δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνθρώποι αἴχριοι, Βουκέφαλοι,

1 καθέντες Cobet: κατακαθέντες MSS.
ship on to the tree-tops, which were thick, and cross over, if we could, to the farther side; and that is what we did. We made her fast to a large rope, climbed the trees and pulled her up with much ado. Setting her on the branches and spreading our canvas, we sailed just as if we were at sea, carried along by the force of the wind. At that juncture a line of the poet Antimachus came into my head; he says somewhere or other:

"And unto them their forest cruise pursuing."

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

Then we came to a smooth sea and an island of no great size that was easily accessible and was inhabited. It was peopled by savages, the Bull-heads, who have horns in the style that the
κέρατα ἔχοντες, οἶνον παρ’ ἡμῶν τῶν Μινώταυρον ἰματιστοῦσιν. ἀποβάντες δὲ προῆςμεν ύδρευ-
σόμενοι καὶ συνία ληψόμενοι, εἰ ποθεὶν δυνηθεί-
μεν ὀυκέτι γὰρ εἴχομεν. καὶ ὤδωρ μὲν αὐτοῦ
πλησίων εὕρομεν, ἀλλὰ δὲ οὐδέν ἐφαίνετο; πλὴν
μυκηθῆς πολὺς οὐ πάρρωθεν ἕκομεν. δόξαντες
οὐν ἀγέλην εἶναι βοῶν, κατ’ ὅλγον προχωροῦντες
ἐπέστημεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ ἱδόντες ἡμᾶς
ἐδόκουν, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν τῶν ἑταίρων λαμβάνουσιν,
οἱ δὲ λουπών πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κατεφύγομεν.
εἶτα μέντοι πάντες ὀπλισάμενοι—οὐ γὰρ ἔδοκει
ἡμῖν ἀτυμορήτως περιδεῖν τοὺς φίλους—ἐμπι-
πτομεν τοῖς Βουκεφάλοις τὰ κρέα τῶν ἀνηρμένων
διαρρομένους· φοβῆσαντες δὲ πάντας διόκομεν,
καὶ κτεινομένεις γε ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ξόντας
αὐτῶν δύο λαμβάνομεν, καὶ αὕθης ὤπίσω ἀναστρέ-
φομεν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχοντες. σιτίον μέντοι
οὐδὲν εὑρομεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι παρῆμον ἀπο-
σφάττειν τοὺς εἰλημμένους, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔδοκιμαζον,
ἀλλὰ δήσας ἐφύλαττον αὐτοὺς, ἀξρι δὴ ἀφίκοντο
παρὰ τῶν Βουκεφάλων πρέσβεις ἀπαίτούντες ἐπὶ
νυστροι τοὺς συνειλημμένους· συνίεμεν γὰρ αὐτῶν
διανεῦόντων καὶ γοερῶν τι μυκωμένων ὡσπερ
ἰκετεύοντων. τὰ λύτρα δὲ ἦν τυροὶ πολλοὶ καὶ
ιχθύες ξηροὶ καὶ κρόμμια καὶ ἔλαφοι τέταρτες,
τρεῖς ἐκάστη πόδας ἔχουσα, δύο μὲν τοὺς ὤπισω,
οἱ δὲ πρὸσω συνεπέφυκεςν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ-
δόντες τοὺς συνειλημμένους καὶ μίαν ἦμέραν
ἐπιμείναντες ἀνήχθημεν.
Ἡδη δὲ ἱχθύες τε ἡμῶν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ὀρνεά 45
παρεπέτετο καὶ ἂλλ’ ὤπόσα γῆς πλησίον οὖσις
σημεία προφαίνεται. μετ’ ὅλγον δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας

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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
Εἰδομεν καυνῶ το τρόπω ναυτιλίας χρωμένους· αύτοῖς γὰρ καὶ νάυται καὶ νῆες ἦσαν. λέξω δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ τῶν τρόπων ὑπνοῖον κείμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀδατος ὀρθώσαντες τὰ αἰδοῖα—μεγάλα δὲ θέρουσιν—ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀθόνην πετάσαντες καὶ ταῖς χερσίν τοὺς πο- δεώνας κατέχοντες ἐμπυπτούντος τοῦ ἀνέμου ἐπλεον. ἄλλοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἐπὶ φελλοῦ καθίμενοι ἥττανει ζεύξαντες δύο δελφῖνας ἦλαννον τε καὶ ἦλιοχών- οῖ δὲ προϊόντα ἐπευρόντο τοὺς φελλοὺς. οὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς οὕτε ἡδίκοις οὕτε ἐφευγον, ἀλλ' ἦλαννον ἅδεως τε καὶ εἰρηνικῶς τὸ εἴδος τοῦ ἠμετέρου πλοίου θαυμάζοντες καὶ πάντοθεν περισκο- ποῦντες.

Ἡπέρας δὲ ἡδή προσήχθημεν νήσῳ οὐ με- γάλη πατρικεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, ὡς ἐνομί- ζομεν, 'Ελλάδα φωνήν προημένων προσήρισαν γὰρ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ ἰσπαζόντο, πάνυ ἔταιρικῶς κεκοσμημέναι καὶ καλὰ πάσαι καὶ νεάνιδες, ποδήρες τοὺς χιτώνας ἐπισυρόμεναι. ἦ μὲν οὖν νῆσος ἐκαλεῖτο Καβαλοῦσα,1 οἶ δὲ πόλις αὐτή 'Τδαμαρδία. λαβοῦσαι δὲ οὐν ἡμᾶς αἰ γυναίκες ἐκάστη πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ἀπήγγει καὶ ξένου ἐποιεῖτο. ἔγγο δὲ μικρὸν ἀποστάς—οὐ γὰρ χρηστὰ ἐμαυτενω- μην—ἀκριβέστερόν τε περιβλέπων ὀρῷ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀστᾶ καὶ κρανία κείμενα. καὶ τὸ μὲν βοήν ἱστάναι καὶ τοὺς ἔταιρους συγκαλεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον. προχειρισάμενος δὲ τὴν μαλάχην πολλὰ ἡνύχομην αὐτῇ διαφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων λαχῶν, μετ' ὅλυνον δὲ τῆς ξένης διακοινομένης εἰδον τὰ σκέλη οὐ γυναικὸς, ἀλλ' οὖν οὕπλας· καὶ δὴ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος

1 'Εκβαλοῦσα Γ, Nilén : Καβαλοῦσα, Schwartz, after Guyet.
following a novel mode of sailing, being at once sailors and ships. Let me tell you how they did it: they lay on their backs on the water, hoisted their never-mind-whats, which are sizeable, spread sail on them, held the clews in their hands, and were off and away as soon as the wind struck them. Others came next who sat on corks and had a pair of dolphins hitched up, driving them and guiding them with reins; in moving ahead, the dolphins drew the corks along. They neither offered us harm nor ran away from us, but drove along fearlessly and peace-fully, wondering at the shape of our boat and examining her from all sides.

In the evening we touched at another island of no great size. It was inhabited by women—or so we thought—who spoke Greek, and they came up to us, welcomed and embraced us. They were got up just like courtezans and were all beautiful and young, with tunics that swept on the ground. The island was called Witchery, and the city Watertown. 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.
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συλλαμβάνω τε αυτὴν καὶ δήσας περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀνέκρινον. ἦ δὲ, ἄκουσα μὲν, ἐσπευν δὲ ὦμος, αυτὰς μὲν εἶναι θαλαττίους γυναῖκας Ὄνοσκελέας προσαγορευομένας, τροφὴν δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ξένους. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ, ἔφη, μεθύσωμεν αὐτοὺς, συνευνήθεισαι κοιμῳμένοις ἑπιχειροῦμεν. ἄκουσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνην μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέλυσαν δεδεμένην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνελθὼν ἔπι τὸ τέγος ἔβοων τε καὶ τοὺς ἑταῖρους συνεκάλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, τὰ πάντα ἐμῆνουν αὐτοῖς καὶ τά τε ὅστα ἐδείκνυον καὶ ἶγγον ἔσω πρὸς τὴν δεδεμένην ἦ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑδὼρ ἐγένετο καὶ ἀφανῆς ἦν. ὦμος δὲ τὸ ξίφος εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καθῆκα πειρώμενος τὸ δὲ ἄιμα ἐγένετο.

Ταχέως οὖν ἐπὶ ναῦν κατελθόντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ὑπηύγαζε, τὴν τε ἡπειρον ἀπεβλέπομεν εἰκάζομεν τε εἶναί την ἀντιπέρας τῇ ύφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένη κειμένην. προσκυνήσαντες δ' οὖν καὶ προσευξάμενοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἑσκοποῦμεν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει ἐπιβάσις μόνον αὐθις ὅπλοι ἀναστρέφειν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον αὐτοῦ καταλιπείν, ἀνελθόντας δὲ ἐσ τὴν μεσόγαιαν πειραθῆναι τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων. ἐν ὁσφ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλογιζόμεθα, χειμῶν σφοδρὸς ἐπιτεσσάριν καὶ προσαράξας τὸ σκάφος τῷ αὐγιαλῷ διέλυσεν. ἤμεις δὲ μόλις ἐξενηξάμεθα τὰ ὅπλα ἑκαστος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο οἶος τε ἦν ἀρπασάμενοι.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μέχρι τῆς ἐτέρας γῆς συνενεχθέντα μοι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πλοίων 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 νήσοις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κήπει καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐξῆλθομεν, παρὰ τε τοῖς ἤρωσι καὶ
tοῖς ὀνείροις καὶ τὰ τελευταία παρὰ τοῖς Βουκε-
φάλοις καὶ ταῖς Ὀνοσκελέαις, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς βιβλίοις διηγήσομαι.
A TRUE STORY, II

during my voyage among the islands in the air, then in the whale, and after we left it, among the heroes and the dreams, and finally among the Bullheads and the Asslegs. What happened in the other world I shall tell you in the succeeding books.¹

¹ The biggest lie of all, as a disgruntled Greek scribe remarks in the margin!
SLANDER

ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

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

Δεινόν γε ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτία, ὅσπερ ἄγλυν τῶν καταχέουσα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀμαύρωσα καὶ τὸν ἑκάστου βίον ἐπιλυγάζουσα. ἐν σκότῳ γοῦν πλανομένοις πάντες ἐσίκαμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τυφλοῖς ὁμοῖα πέπονθαμεν, τῷ μὲν προσπταίνομεν ἀλόγως, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντες, οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλησίον καὶ παρὰ πόδας οὐχ ὀρῶντες, τὸ δὲ πόρρω καὶ πάμπολυ διεστηκὸς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦν δεδιότες: καὶ ὅλως ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν πραττόμενων οὐ διαλείπομεν τὰ πολλὰ ὀλισθαίνοντες. τοιχάρτοις μυρίας ἡδὶ τοῖς τραγῳδωδεσκάλοις ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὰ δράματα τὸ τοιοῦτο παρέσχεται, τοὺς Δαβδακίδας καὶ τοὺς Πελοπίδας καὶ τὰ τούτων παραπλήσια: σχεδοῦ γὰρ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἀναβαίνοντων κακῶν εὐροί τις ἀν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγνοιας καθάπερ ὑπὸ τραγικοῦ τινος δαίμονος κεχωρηγημένα.

Δέγο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἀποβλέπων, μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὰς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κατὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ φίλων διαβολάς, ὡς δὲν ἥδη καὶ οἷκοι ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι καὶ πόλεις ἀρδην ἀπολούσας.
SLANDER

ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

It is really a terrible thing, is ignorance, a cause of many woes to humanity; for it envelops things in a fog, so to speak, and obscures the truth and overshadows each man’s life. Truly, we all resemble people lost in the dark—nay, we are even like blind men. Now we stumble inexcusably, now we lift our feet when there is no need of it; and we do not see what is near and right before us, but fear what is far away and extremely remote as if it blocked our path. In short, in everything we do we are always making plenty of missteps. For this reason the writers of tragedy have found in this universal truth many and many a motive for their dramas—take for example, the house of Labdacus,\(^1\) the house of Pelops and their like. Indeed, most of the troubles that are put on the stage are supplied to the poets, you will find, by ignorance, as though it were a sort of tragic divinity.

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

\(^1\) King of Thebes, father of Laïus.
πατέρες τε κατὰ παιδῶν ἐξεμάνησαν καὶ ἀδελφοί κατὰ τῶν ὄμογενῶν καὶ παίδες κατὰ τῶν γενναμένων καὶ ἔρασται κατὰ τῶν ἑρωμένων. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ φιλίαι συνεκόπησαν καὶ ὄρκοι συνεχύθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὰς διαβολὰς πιθανότητος. ἵναν ός ἦκιστα περιπλῶτομεν αὐταῖς, ὑποδείξαι βούλομαι τῷ λόγῳ καθάπερ εἰπὼ των γραφῆς ὅποιόν τι ἐστιν ἡ διαβολή καὶ πόθεν ἀρχεται καὶ ὅποια ἐργάζεται.

Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἅπελλῆς ὁ Ἑφέσιος πάλαις ταύτην προφάσαις τὴν εἰκόνα· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ οὗτος διαβληθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον ὡς μετασχηματισθεὶς ἡθὸντα τῆς συνωμοσίας ἐν Τύρῳ,—ὁ δὲ Ἅπελλῆς ὁμός ἐφράκει ποτὲ τὴν Τύρου οὐδὲ τὸν ἡθὸντα, ὅστις ἦταν ἐγκινοσκευ, ἡ καθ᾽ ὅσον ἦκουυ Πτολεμαίου τινὰ ὑπαρχὼν εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπιτετραμμένον. ἦλθ᾽ ὁμοὶ τῶν ἀντιτέχνων τις Ἀντίφιλος τούνομα ὑπὸ φθόνου τῆς παρὰ βασιλεί τιμῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ξιλοτυπίας κατείπεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον ὡς εἰπὲ κεκοιμηθηκὼς τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὡς θεάσατο τις αὐτοῦ ἐν Φοινίκῃ συνεστίομενον Θεοδῶτα καὶ παρ᾽ ὅλου τὸ δείπνου πρὸς τὸ ὅς αὐτῷ κοινολογούμενον, καὶ τέλος ἀπέφηνε τὴν Τύρου ἀπόστασιν καὶ Πηλούσιον κατάληψιν ἐκ τῆς Ἁπελλῶν συμβουλῆς γεγονόναι.

"Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὡς ἀν καὶ τάλλα οὐ κάρτα 3 φρενήρης τις ὅ, ἄλλ᾽ ἐν κολακείᾳ δεσποτικῆ τεθραμμένος, οὗτος ἐξεκαύθη καὶ συνεταράχθη

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

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

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

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

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.).
πρὸς τὴν παραδόξου ταύτης διαβολῆς, ὡστε μηδὲν τῶν εἰκότων λογισάμενος, μηδ’ ὅτι ἀντὶ-τεχνὸς ἦν ὁ διαβάλλων μηδ’ ὅτι μικρότερος ἦ διὰ τηλικάυθην προδοσίαν ἤχογράφος, καὶ ταύτα εὑ πεπωθὼς ὕπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ’ ὄντινοι τῶν ὁμοτέχνων τετειμημένοι, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν εἰ ἐξεπλευσεν Ἀπελλῆς ἐς Τύρων ἐξετάσας, εὐθὺς ἐξεμήνιεν καὶ βοής ἐνεπίμπτα τὰ βασίλεια τῶν ἀχαριστῶν κεκραγῶς καὶ τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ συνομότην. καὶ εἰ γε μὴ τῶν συνείλημμάτων τις ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντιφίλου ἀναι-σχυνία καὶ τῶν ἄθλων Ἀπελλῆν κατελήσας ἐφ’ ἡμῖνος αὐτοὺς κεκοινωνηκέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀπετέμητο ἄν τὴν κεφαλήν καὶ παραπολεμᾶκε τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς αἰτίος γεγονός.

‘Ο μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος οὕτω λέγεται αἰσχυνθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονοῦσιν, ὡστε τὸν μὲν Ἀπελλῆν ἔκατον ταλάντους ἐδωρήσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀντιφίλον δουλεύειν αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν. οὸ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς ὁν παρεκκλινόκειε μεμημένος τοιάδε τινι εἰκόνι ἕμυνατο τὴν διαβολήν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτῷ κάθηται τὰ ὅτα παμμεγέθη ἔχων μικροῦ δεῖν τοῖς τοῦ Μίδου προσεοικότα, τὴν χεῖρα προτεινόν πόρω-θεν ἐτὶ προσούσῃ τῇ Διαβολῇ. περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐστάσις δύο γυναῖκες, Ἀγνοιά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Ἰπόληψις: ἐτέρωθεν δὲ προσέρχεται ἡ Δια-βολή, γύναιοι ὡς ὑπερβολὴν πάγκαλον, ὑπόθερμον δὲ καὶ παρακεκινημένον, οἶον δὴ τὴν λυτταν καὶ τὴν ἄργην δεικνύουσα, τῇ μὲν ἄρι-στερὰ δᾶδα καιομένην ἔχουσα, τῇ ἐτέρᾳ δὲ νεανίαν τινὰ τῶν τριχῶν σύρουσα τὰς χειρὰς ὀρέγοντα

1 ἐξεμήνιεν Α.Μ.Η. : έσεβ μηρίεν MSS.
SLANDER

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

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

eis tôn ouranów kai martuvrómevon toutōs theôús. ἤγείται δὲ ἀνήρ ὄχρος καὶ ἀμορφός, ὃς δεδορκείσ καὶ ἑοικῶς τοῖς ἐκ νόσου μακρὰς κατεσκληκτοῖς, τούτων οὖν εἰμὶ τὸν Ψθόνον ἀν τις εἰκάσεις. καὶ μήν καὶ ἀλλαὶ τινὲς δύο παραμαρτοῦσι προτρέπουσαι καὶ περιστελλοῦσαι καὶ κατακοσμοῦσαι τὴν Διαβολὴν. ὡς δὲ μοι καὶ ταύτας ἐμήνυσεν ὁ περιηγητὴς τῆς εἰκόνος, ἢ μὲν τις Ἐπιβουλὴ ἢ ἢ, ἢ δὲ Ἀπατή. κατόπιν δὲ ἡκολούθει πάνυ πενθικῶς τις ἑσκενασμένη, μελανείμων καὶ κατεσπαραγμένη, Μετάνοια, οἴμαι, αὕτη ἐλέγετο· ἐπεστρέφετο γοῦν εἰς τούπισώ δακρύνουσα καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς πάνυ τὴν Αληθείαν προσιόνταυ ὑπέβλεπεν.

Οὕτως μὲν Ἀπελλῆς τὸν ἑαυτὸν κάνδυνον ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐμμῆσατο. φέρε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἰ δοκεῖ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἐφεσίου ζωγράφου τέχνην διέλθωμεν τὰ προσόντα τῇ διαβολῇ, πρότερον γε ὅρω τινὶ περιγράφαντες αὐτὴν οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμῖν ἢ εἰκὼν γένοιτο φανερωτέρα. ἡστὶ τοῖνυν διαβολὴ κατηγορία τίς εἴρημας γινομένη, τὸν κατηγοροῦμεν Λεληθεία, ἐκ τοῦ μονομεροῦς ἀνανιλέκτως πεπιστευμένη. τοιαύτῃ μὲν ἢ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ λόγου. τριῶν δ' ὄντων προσώπων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμοδίαις, τοῦ διαβάλλοντος καὶ τοῦ διαβαλλομένου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὅν ἡ διαβολὴ γίνεται, καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπήσωμεν εἰς εἰκός εἶναι τὰ γυνόμενα.

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ, εἰ δοκεῖ, παραγάγωμεν τὸν πρωταγωνιστὴν τοῦ δράματος, λέγω δὲ τὸν τοι-ητὴν τῆς διαβολῆς. οὕτως δὲ δὴ ὡς μὲν οὐκ

1 τις Ἐπιβουλὴ Burmeister : Ἐπιβουλὴ τις MSS.
2 οἴμαι Jacobs : καὶ MSS.
SLANDER

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

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

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

¹ This partition, derived from Herodotus (7, 10), is not at all strictly followed by Lucian in developing his theme.
ἄγαθὸς ἀνθρωπός ἦστι, πᾶσιν οἷςιν γνώριμον
ουδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἄγαθὸς κακῶν ἀιτίος γένοιτο τῷ πλη-
σίῳ; ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἄγαθὸν ἀνδρὸν ἂφ᾽ ὧν εὐ ποιοῦσιν
αὐτοὶ τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ ἂφ᾽ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἅδι-
κοῦντες αὐτῶνται καὶ μισεῖσθαι παρασκευά-
ζουσιν, εὐδοκιμεῖν δόξαν εὐνοίας προσλαβόντες.

Ἡπειτα δὲ ὡς ἁδικοὶ οἱ τοιούτου καὶ παράνομοι 8
ἔστι καὶ ἁσεβῆς καὶ τοὺς χρωμένους ἐπιξήμοιο,
ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὀμολογήσεις
τὴν μὲν ἴσοτητα εὐ ἀπαντή καὶ τὸ μὴ δὲν πλέον
δικαιοσύνης ἔργα εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀνυσόν τε καὶ
πλεονεκτικῶν ἁδικίας; ὁ δὲ τῇ διαβολῇ κατὰ τῶν
ἀπόντων λάθρα χρώμενος πῶς οὐ πλεονέκτησι
ἔστιν ὅλον τὸν ἁκροατὴν σφετεριζόμενος καὶ
προκαταλαμβάνον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὡτα καὶ ἀποφράττων
καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ παντελῶς ἁβατα κατα-
σκευάζων αὕτω ὑπὸ τῆς διαβολῆς προεμπεπλη-
σμένα; ἐσχάτης ἁδικίας τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὅς φαίειν ἂν
καὶ οἱ ἁριστοὶ τῶν νομοθέτων, ὅλον ὁ Σόλων καὶ ὁ
Δράκων, ἔνορκον ποιησάμενοι τοὺς δικασταῖς τὸ
ὁμοίως ἁμφοῖν ἁκροαῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τὴν εὐνοιαν ἴσην
τοῖς κρινομένοις ἀπονέμειν, ἀχρῆ ἂν οἱ τοῦ δευτέρου
λόγος παρατεθεὶς θατέρου χείρων ἢ ἀμείωνοι φανή-
πρὶν δὲ γε ἀντεξετάσαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν τῇ κατη-
γορίᾳ, παντελῶς ἁσεβῆ καὶ ἀνόσιον ἡγήσαντο
ἔσχεσθαι τῇ κρίσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς
ἀγανακτῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπισταίνειν, εἰ τῷ κατηγόρῳ
μετ᾽ ἀδείας ἀθέλει λέγειν ἐπιτρέπομεν, ἀποφρά-
ξαντες δὲ τῷ κατηγοροῦμένῳ τὰ ὡτα ἢ τῷ στόματι
σωπῶντος ¹ καταψηφιζόμεθα τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ.

¹ Corrupt, and not yet satisfactorily emended. τὸ στόμα σωπῶντος Halm.
SLANDER

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

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

1 The Greek is here corrupt. The translation merely gives the probable sense of the passage.
κεχειρωμένοι. ὡστε οὐ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ νόμιμον καὶ τὸν ὁρκὸν τῶν δικαστικῶν φαίη τις ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς. εἰ δὲ τῷ μὴ ἀξιωπίστοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ νομοθέται παραμονῆς οὕτω δικαίας καὶ ἀμερεῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις, ποιητὴν μοι δοκῶ τὸν ἁριστον ἐπάγειν τῷ λόγῳ εὐ μᾶλα περὶ τοῦτων ἀποφημάμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ νομοθετήσαντα. φησὶ δὲ,

μήτε δίκην δικαίως, πρὶν ἀμφοτέρους ἀκούσῃς. ἢπίστατο γὰρ, οἴμαι, καὶ οὕτως ὡς τολλῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἂν τις εὑρῇ χείρων οὐδὲ ἀδικώτερον ἢ ἀκρίτους τινάς καὶ ἀμοιρον λόγων καταδεδικάσθαι ἄπερ ἐξ ἅπαντος ὁ διαβίλλων ἐπιχειρεῖ ποιεῖν ἀκρίτον ὑπάγων τῶν διαβαλλόμενον τῷ τοῦ ἀκούόντος ὑργῇ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τῷ λαβραίῳ τῆς κατηγορίας παραρούμενος.

Καὶ γὰρ ἀπαρρησίαστος καὶ δειλὸς ἄπας ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνθρωπὸς οὐδὲν ἐς τοῦμφαινες ἄγων, ἀλλὰ ὡστερ οἱ λοχώντες ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ποθεν τοξεύων, ὡς μηδὲ ἀντιτάξασθαι δυνατὸν εἶναι μηδὲ ἀνταγωνίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν ὑπορίᾳ καὶ ἁγνοῖα τοῦ πολέμου διαφθείρεσθαι, ὁ μέγιστὸν ἄστι σημεῖον τοῦ μηδὲν υγίες τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λέγειν. ἐπει δὲ τίς γε τάληθε κατηγοροῦντι ἐαυτῷ συνεπίσταται, οὕτως, οἴμαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἔλεγχε καὶ διευθύνει καὶ ἀντεξετάζει τῷ λόγῳ, ὡστερ οὔδεις ἂν ἢ τοῦ προφανοῦς νικᾶν δυνάμενος ἐνέδρα ποτὲ καὶ ἀπάτῃ χρήσατο κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.
SLANDER

conquered by the first plea. It may be said, then, that slander does not accord with what is just and legal, and what the jurors swear to do. But if anybody thinks that the lawgivers, who recommend that verdicts be so just and impartial, are not good authority, I shall cite the best of poets in support of my contention. He makes a very admirable pronouncement—indeed, lays down a law—on this point, saying: 1

“Nor give your verdict ere both sides you hear.”

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

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

1 Though this verse was frequently quoted in antiquity, its authorship was unknown even then, and it was variously attributed to Phocylides, Hesiod, and Pittheus. See Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii, p. 93.
"Ἰδον δ' ἂν τις τοιούτους μιλίστα ἐν τε 10 βασιλέων αὐλαῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄρχοντων καὶ δυναστευόντων φιλίας εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ἐνθα πολὺς μὲν ὁ φθόνος, μωρία δὲ ὑπόνοιαι, πάμπολλα δὲ κολακεῖν καὶ διαβολῶν ὑποθέσεις: ὅπου γὰρ ἂεὶ μείζονες ἐλπίδες, ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ φθόνοι χαλεπωτέροι καὶ τὰ μίση ἐπισφαλέστερα καὶ αἱ ζηλοτυπίαι κακοτεχνέστεραι. πάντες οὖν ἀλλήλους ὀξὺ δεδορκασὶ καὶ ὡσπερ οἱ μονομαχοῦντες ἐπιτηροῦσιν εἰ ποὺ τι γυμνωθὲν μέρος θεάσασθο τοῦ σώματος· καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἑκαστός εἶναι βουλόμενος παρωθεῖται καὶ παραγκωνίζεται τῶν πλησίον καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, εἰ δύνατο, ὑποπτὰ καὶ ὑποσκέλιζει. ἐνθα ὁ μὲν χρηστὸς ἀτεχνὸς εὐθὺς ἀνατέρπαται καὶ παρασειρύται καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἄτιμον ἐξέσταται, ὁ δὲ κολακευτικῶτερος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοινύτας κακοθείας πιθανότερος εὐδοκιμεῖ· καὶ ὅλως ὁ φθάσας κρατεῖ· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ὀμήρου πάνω ἐπαληθεύουσιν, ὅτι τοῦ Ἑυνάλιος καὶ τὸν κτανέοντα κατέκτα.

touγαροῦν ὡς οὗ περὶ μικρῶν τοῦ ἄγχονος ὄντος ποικίλας καὶ ἀλλήλων ὄδοὺς ἐπινεούσιν, ὅν ταχίστη καὶ ἐπισφαλεστάτη ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς διαβολῆς, τὴν μὲν ἄρχην ἀπὸ φθόνου ἡ μίσους εὔελπίδα2 λαμβάνουσα, σικτρότερα δὲ καὶ τραγικά ἐπάγουσα τὰ τέλη καὶ πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἀνάπλεα.

Ὁ μέντοι μικρῶν οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶ τούτο, ὡς 11 ἀν τις ὑπολάβοι, ἀλλὰ πολλῆς μὲν τέχνης, οὐκ ὀλγῆς δὲ ἀγχωνοίς, ἀκριβοῦς δὲ τινος ἐπιμελείας

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

“Imperial 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.
Διαβάλλεται μὲν οὖν ὡς τὸ πολὺ μάλιστα ὁ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις αὐτοῦ ἐπίφθονος ἀπαντεῖ γὰρ τῷ ἐπιτιθέμενῳ καθάπερ τὰ κόλπα καὶ ἐμπόδιον προορμοῦν, καὶ ἐκαστὸς οἶτε πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἔστησαί τὸν κορυφαίον ἐκείνου ἐκπολιορκίσας καὶ τῆς φιλίας ἀποσκευασμένος. οἶλον τι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγώσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δρομῶν γίγνεται· κάκει γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς δρομέως τῆς ὑπολήγησις εὐθὺς κατα- πεσοῦσις μόνον τοῦ πρόσω ἐφιέμενος καὶ τὴν διάμοιραν ἀποτείνασ πρὸς τὸ τέρμα κἂν τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν ἐξπίδα τῆς νίκης ἔχων τὸν Πλησίον οὐδὲν κακούργηε οὐδὲ τὸ τὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς πολυπραγμονεῖ, ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἄναθλος ἀνταγωνιστῆς ἀπογινοῦε τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τάχους ἐξπίδα ἐπὶ τὴν κακοτεχνίαν ἑτράπετο, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἀπαντοῦ σκοπεῖ, ὅπως τὸν τρέχοντα ἐπισχῶν ἢ ἐμποδίσας ἐπιστομεῖ, ὡς εἰ τοῦτο διαμάρτοι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε νικήσαι δυνάμενος. ὅμοιος δὲ τούτοις καὶ ταῖς φιλίαις τῶν εὐδαιμόνων τούτων γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ προέχων αὐτίκα ἐπιβολευέται καὶ ἀφύλακ- τός ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τῶν δυσμενῶν ἀνηρπάσθη, οἱ δὲ ἄγαπῶνται καὶ φίλοι δοκοῦσιν ἐξ τῶν άλλους βλάπτειν ἐδοξαν.

Τὸ τε ἀξιόπιστον τῆς διαβολῆς οὐχ ὃς ἔτυχεν 13

1 τὸν Halm: τῷ 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 verisimilitude of their slander, calum-

¹ Races were started in antiquity by the dropping of a rope or bar.
ἐπινοοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἔργον δεδοικόσι τι προσάψαι ἄπροδὸν ἢ καὶ ἀλλότριον. ὡς γοῦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰ προσόντα τῷ διαβαλλομένῳ πρὸς τὸ χείρον μεταβάλλουντες οὐκ ἰπτιθάνουσι ποιοῦνται τὰς κατηγορίας, οἷον τὸν μὲν ἱατρὸν διαβάλλουσιν ὡς φαρμακέα, τὸν πλούσιον δὲ ὡς τύραννον, τὸν τυραννικὸν δὲ ὡς προδοτικὸν.

Ἐνώπιον μὲντοι καὶ ὁ ἁκροάμενος αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει τῇς διαβολῆς τὰς ἀφορμίς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπουν οἱ κακοφθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἁρμοζόμενοι εὐστοχοῦσιν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ξηλότυπον αὐτὸν ὄντα ἱδώσι, Διένευσε, φασί, τῇ γυναικὶ σοὺ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ἀπιδῶν ὡς αὐτὴν ἐστέναξε, καὶ Ἡ Στρατοπεδική πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ μᾶλα ἄγδος· καὶ ὅλος ἐρωτικὴ τινες καὶ μοιχικὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ διαβολαί. ἢν δὲ ποιητικὸς ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονή, Μᾶ Δί' ἐχλεύασέ σου Φιλόξενος τὰ ἐπὶ καὶ διέσυρε καὶ ἀμετρα εἴπεν αὐτὰ καὶ κακοσύνθετα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν εὐσεβή καὶ φιλόθεον ὡς ἀθεός καὶ ἀνόσιος ὁ φίλος διαβάλλεται καὶ ὡς τὸ θεῖον παραθοῦμενος καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἁρμούμενος· ὃ δὲ ἁκούσας εὐθὺς μῦστοι διὰ τοῦ ὠτός τυπεὶς διακέκαυται ὡς τὸ εἰκός καὶ ἀπέστραται τὸν φίλον οὐ περιμεῖναι τὸν ἀκριβὴ ἔλεγχον. ὅλος γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπινοοῦσι καὶ λέγονσιν, ἂ μᾶλλον ὅσαν καὶ ὁργὴν δυνάμενα προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἁκροάμενον, καὶ ἕνθα τρωτὸς ἐστὶν ἐκαστὸς ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐπ' ἐκείνο τοξεύουσι καὶ ἁκοντιζοῦσιν ὡς αὐτό, ὅστε τῇ παραυτίκᾳ ὁργῇ τεταραγμένον μηκέτι σχολὴν ἀγείν τῇ ἐξέτασε τῇς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ κἀν θέλη τις.
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niators are not careless in thinking out that point; all their work centres on it, for they are afraid to put in anything discordant or even irrelevant. For example, they generally make their charges credible by distorting the real attributes of the man they are slandering. Thus they insinuate that a doctor is a poisoner, that a rich man is a would-be monarch, or that a courtier is a traitor.

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

Ἀνυσιμώτατον γὰρ τὸ εἴδος τῆς διαβολῆς τὸ 16 ὑπεναντίων τῆς τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἐπιθυμίας, ὅποτε καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐπικληθέντε ἐγένετο τῶς ὁς διέβαλλε τῶν Πλατανικῶν Δημήτριου, ὦτ ὑδωρ τε πίνει καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων γυναικέα ὡς ἐνεδύσατο ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις· καὶ εἶ ὡς μὴ κληθεῖς ἐσθεν ἐπεὶ τε πάντων ὑδρῶν καὶ λαβὼν ταραγτινίδιον ἐκμυβάλισε καὶ προσωρχήσατο, ἀπολύει ἀν ὡς οὐχ ἡδόμενος τῷ βίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἀντισοφιστής ὁ δὲ ἀντίτεχνος τῆς Πτολεμαίου τρυφῆς.

Παρὰ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μεγίστῃ ποτὲ πασῶν ἦν 17 διαβολῆ, εἰ λέγοιτο ὡς μὴ σέβεις μηδὲ προσκυνεῖς τοὺς Ἡφαιστίων; ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπέδαιεν Ἡφαιστίων, ὕπο τοῦ ἔρωτος Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐβουλήθη προσθείναι καὶ τότε τῇ λοιπῇ μεγαλομορφίᾳ καὶ θεόν χειροτονήσαι τῶν τετελευτηκότα. εὐθὺς ὡς νεὼς τε ἀνέστισαν αἱ πόλεις καὶ τεμένη καθιδρύετο καὶ βομβί καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἔφυλτο τῇ καίνῳ τοῦθ᾽ ἐπετελουντο, καὶ ὁ μέγιστος ὁρκὸς ἦν ἀπασιν Ἡφαιστίων. εἰ δὲ τὸς ἥμεδιασεῖ πρὸς τὰ γυνώμενα ἡ μὴ φαίνοντο πάνυ εὐσεβῶν, θάνατος ἐπέκειτο ἡ ζημία. ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ κόλακες τῆν μειρακιώδη ταύτην τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιθυμίαν προσεξέκαιον εὐθὺς καὶ ἀνεξωτήρου ἀνείρατα διηγούμενοι τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ἐπιφανείας τινᾶς καὶ ἱμάτα προσάπτοντες αὐτὸ καὶ μαντείας ἐπι-

1 ἦν διαβολῆ, εἰ λέγοιτο Α.Μ.Η.: ἦν διαβολὴ λέγοιτο, εἰ ἔλοιπο 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 Dionysus¹ there was once a man who accused Demetrius, the Platonic philosopher, of drinking nothing but water and of being the only person who did not wear women’s clothes during the feast of Dionysus. If Demetrius, on being sent for early the next morning, had not drunk wine in view of everybody and had not put on a thin gown and played the cymbals and danced, he would have been put to death for not liking the king’s mode of life, and being a critic and an opponent of Ptolemy’s luxury.

In the court of Alexander it was once the greatest of all slanderous charges to say that a man did not worship Hephaestion or even make obeisance to him—for after the death of Hephaestion, Alexander for the love he bore him determined to add to his other great feats that of appointing the dead man a god. So the cities at once erected temples; plots of ground were consecrated; altars, sacrifices and feasts were established in honour of this new god, and everybody’s strongest oath was “By Hephaestion.” If anyone smiled at what went on or failed to seem quite reverent, the penalty prescribed was death. The flatterers, taking hold of this childish passion of Alexander’s, at once began to feed it and fan it into flame by telling about dreams of Hephaestion, in that way ascribing to him visitations and cures and accrediting him with prophecies; and at last

¹ Probably Ptolemy Auletus, father of Cleopatra, who styled himself “the new Dionysus.”
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φημίζοντες· καὶ τέλος ἔθνον παρέδρω καὶ ἀλεξικάκη τεβῇ. ὃ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦδετό τε ἀκούον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπίστευε καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνει ὅσανεὶ οὐ θεοῦ παῖς ὃν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῦ ποιεῖν δυνάμενος. πόσους τούνων οἰώμεθα τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον φίλων παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἀπολαύσαι τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος θειότητος, διαβληθέντας ὡς οὐ τιμῶσι τὸν κοινὸν ἄπαντων θεόν, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐξελαθέντας καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλείου εὐνοίας ἐκπεσόντας; τὸτε καὶ Ἄγαθοκλῆς ὁ Σάμιμος ταξιαρχῶν παρ᾿ Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ τιμάμενος παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ μικροῦ δεῖν συγκαθείρυθη λέοντι διαβληθεῖς ὅτι διακρύσει παρὰ τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνος τάφον. ἀλλ᾿ ἐκείνῳ μὲν βοηθῆσαι λέγεται Περδίκκας ἐπομοσάμενος κατὰ πάντων θεῶν καὶ κατὰ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ὅτι δὴ κυνηγητοῦντι οἱ φανέντα ἐναρχῇ τὸν θεόν ἐπισκῆψαι εἰπεῖν Ἀλέξανδρῳ φέλοσαθαι Ἀγαθοκλέους· οὗ γὰρ ὃς ἀπίστοιτα οὐδὲ ὡς ἐτί νεκρὸν διακρύσαι, ἀλλὰ τῆς πάλαι συνθείας μιμομονεύσαντα.

Ἡ δ᾿ οὖν κολακεία καὶ ἡ διαβολὴ τότε μάλιστα χώραν ἐσχε πρὸς τὸ Ἀλέξανδρον πάθος συντηθεμένη· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν πολυροκίᾳ οὐκ ἔπι τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τοῦ τείχους προσίσασιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ᾿ ἡ ἂν ἀφύλακτον τι μέρος ἡ σαθρόν αἰσθοῦται ἡ ταπεινῶν, ἔπι τούτῳ πάση δυνάμει χωροῦσιν ὡς βάστα παρεισδύναι καὶ ἐλεῖν δυνάμενοι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ διαβάλλοντες ὁ τι ἂν ἀσθενεῖς ἱδοσι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὑπόσαθρον καὶ εὐεπίβατον, τούτῳ προσβάλλουσι καὶ προσάγουσι

1 δ᾿ οὖν Α.Μ.Η. : γοὺν MSS.
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ey began to sacrifice to him as "Coadjutor" and "Saviour." 1 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.
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tὰς μηχανίας, καὶ τέλος ἐκπολιορκοῦσι μηδενὸς ἀντιταττομένου μηδὲ τὴν ἐφοδον αἰσθομένου. εἰτ' ἐπειδὰν ἐντὸς ἀπαξ τῶν τείχων γένωνται, πυρπολοῦσι πάντα καὶ παῖουσι ¹ καὶ σφάττουσι καὶ ἐξελαύνουσιν, οία εἰκὸς ἀλισκομένης ψυχῆς καὶ ἕξηνδραποδισμένης ἐργα εἶναι.

Μηχανήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἢ τε ἀπάτη καὶ τὸ ψευδὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιορκία καὶ προσληπάρησις καὶ ἀναισχυντία καὶ ἀλλα μυρία ῥάδιουργήματα. ἢ δὲ δὴ μεγίστη πασχῶν ἡ κολακεία ἐστὶ, συγγενής, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδελφή τις οὔσα τῆς διαβολῆς. οὐδεὶς γούν οὕτω γεννάδας ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδαμάντων τείχος τῆς ψυχῆς προβεβλημένος, δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐνδοίη πρὸς τὰς τῆς κολακείας προσβολάς, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπορυττούσης καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους υφαίρουσης τῆς διαβολῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς ταῦτα. ἐνδοθεν δὲ πολλὰ προδοσίαι συναγωνίζονται τὰς χειρὰς ὀρέγουσαι καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετῶσαι καὶ πάντα τρόποι τῇ ἄλωσι τοῦ ἀκούοντος συμπροθυμούμεναι. πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φιλόκαιρον, ὁ φύσει πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὸ ἅσικορον, ἑπειτα δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἐπόμενον.² οὐ γὰρ οΐδ᾽ ὅτως ἡδομεθα πάντες λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς λεγόμενα καὶ μεστὰ ὑπονοίας ἀκούοντες ³ οἴδα γούν τινας οὕτως ἠδεῶς γαργαλιζομένους τὰ ὁτα ὑπὸ τῶν διαβολῶν ὃς περὶ τοὺς πτερῶς κυνομένους.

¹ παίουσι: Basle ed. of 1563: καίουσι MSS.
² ἐκολομένον? Α.Μ.Η.
³ Text Du Soul: λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς λεγόμενα καὶ μεστὰ ὑπονολας ἀκούοντες (ἀκοάς) MSS.: καὶ πρὸς τὰς λαθρηδὰ λεγόμενα καὶ μεστὰ ὑπονολας 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 ennui also; and secondly, a tendency to be attracted by startling rumours. Somehow or other we all like to hear stories that are slyly whispered in our ear, and are packed with innuendo: indeed, I know men who get as much pleasure from having their ears titillated with slander as some do from being tickled with feathers.
'Επειδὰν τοίνυν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων συμμα-χούμενοι προσπέσωσι, κατὰ κράτος αἱροῦσιν, οἴμαι, καὶ οὐδὲ δυσχερής ἢ νίκη γένοιτ' ἀν μηδενὸς ἀντιπαραταττομένου μηδὲ ἀμυνομένου τὰς προσβολὰς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀκούοντος ἐκόντως ἑαυτὸν ἐνδιὸντος, τοῦ διαβαλλομένου δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἀγνοοῦντος· ὡσπορ γὰρ ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεως ἀλούσης καθεύδουτες οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι φονεύονται.

Καὶ τὸ πάντων οἰκτιστὸν, ὁ μὲν οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ γεγενημένα προσέρχεται τῷ φίλῳ φαιδρὸς ἀτε μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ φαίλον συνεπιστάμενος καὶ τὰ συνῆθη λέγει καὶ ποιεῖ, παντὶ τρόπῳ ὁ ἄθλιος ἐνθερμένος· ὁ δὲ Ἰν ὁμὲν ἔχῃ τι γενναίον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ παρρησιαστικὸν, εὐθὺς ἐξερρήξῃ τὴν ὀργήν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐξέχει, καὶ τέλος τὴν ἀπολογίαν προσείμενος ἔγνω μάτην κατὰ τοῦ φίλου παροξυμένος. ἦν δὲ ἀγεννέστερος καὶ ταπεινότερος, προσέρχεται μὲν καὶ προσμειδὰ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἄκροις, μισεῖ δὲ καὶ λάθρα τοὺς ὀδόντας διαπρεπεῖ καὶ, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς φησί, βυσσοδομεύει τὴν ὀργὴν. οὐ δὴ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οἴμαι ἀδικώτερον οὐδὲ δουλοπρεπέστερον, ἐνδακόντα τὸ χείλος ὑποτρέψει τὴν χολὴν καὶ τὸ μῆσος ἐν αὐτῷ κατάκλειστον αὔξειν ἑτερα μὲν κεύθοντα ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλα δὲ λέγοντα καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον ἰλαρὸ καὶ κωμικὸ τῷ προσώπῳ μάλα περιπαθὴ τινα καὶ ἰοῦ γέμους πραγμάτων.

Μάλιστα δὲ τούτῳ πάσχουσιν, ἐπειδὰν πάλαι φίλος ὁ ἐνδιαβάλλων δοκῶν εἶναι τῷ ἐνδιαβάλλομένῳ ποιηταί ὁμως· τότε γὰρ οὐδὲ φωνὴν
SLANDER

Therefore, when the enemy falls on with all these forces in league with him, he takes the fort by storm, I suppose, and his victory cannot even prove difficult, since nobody mans the walls or tries to repel his attacks. No, the hearer surrenders of his own accord, and the slandered person is not aware of the design upon him: slandered men are murdered in their sleep, just as when a city is captured in the night.

The saddest thing of all is that the slandered man, unaware of all that has taken place, meets his friend cheerfully, not being conscious of any misdeed, and speaks and acts in his usual manner, when he is beset on every side, poor fellow, with lurking foes. The other, if he is noble, gentlemanly, and outspoken, at once lets his anger burst out and vents his wrath, and then at last, on permitting a defence to be made, finds out that he was incensed at his friend for nothing. But if he is ignoble and mean he welcomes him and smiles at him out of the corner of his mouth, while all the time he hates him and secretly grinds his teeth and broods, as the poet says, 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).
άκούειν ἐτὶ θέλουσι τῶν διαβαλλομένων ἢ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων, τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῆς κατηγορίας ἐκ τῆς πάλαι δοκούσης φιλίας προειληφότες, οὔδὲ τούτο λογιζόμενοι, ὅτι πολλὰς πολλάκις εἰς τοὺς φιλτάτους μέσους παραπέπτουσιν αὐτία τοὺς ἄλλους λανθάνουσαν καὶ ἔνιστε οἷς αὐτὸς τις ἑνοχὸς ἔστι, ταυτὶ φθάσας κατηγόρησε τοῦ πλησίον ἐκφυγεῖν οὕτω πειρώμενος τὴν διαβολὴν. καὶ ὁλος ἐχθρὸν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἄν τολμῆσει διαβαλεῖν ἀπιστος γὰρ αὐτόθι ἡ κατηγορία πρόδηλον ἔχουσα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς δοκούσι δὲ μάλιστα φίλος ἐπιχειροῦσί τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄκούοντας εὔνοιαν ἐμφήναι προαιρούμενοι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων συμφέροντι οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἀπέσχοντο.

Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἳ κἀν μᾶθωσιν ὑστερον ἀδίκως 25 διαβεβλημένους παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς υπ’ αἰσχύνης ὃν ἔπιστευσαν οὖδ’ ἐτι προσίεσθαι οὔδε προσβλέπειν τολμῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὑστερ ἡδικημένοι, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικούντας ἐπέγρωσαν.

Τογαροῦν πολλῶν κακῶν ὁ βίως ἐπλήσθη ὑπὸ 26 τῶν οὕτω ῥαδίως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως πεπιστευμένων διαβολῶν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἀντεία

τεθναίης (φησίν), ὁ Προῦτ’, ἡ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην,

ὦς μ’ ἐθελεῖν φιλότητι μυγήμεναι οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ

αὕτη προτέρα ἐπιχειρήσασα καὶ ὑπεροφθεῖσα.
SLANDER

In that case they are no longer willing even to hear the voice of the men slandered or of those who speak in their behalf, for they assume in advance that the accusation can be relied on because of the apparent friendship of long standing, without even reflecting that many reasons for hatred often arise between the closest friends, of which the rest of the world knows nothing. Now and then, too, a man makes haste to accuse his neighbour of something that he is himself to blame for, trying in this way to escape accusation himself. And in general, nobody would venture to slander an enemy, for in that case his accusation would not inspire belief, as its motive would be patent. No, they attack those men who seem to be their best friends, aiming to show their good will toward their hearers by sacrificing even their nearest and dearest to help them.

There are people who, even if they afterwards learn that their friends have been unjustly accused to them, nevertheless, because they are ashamed of their own credulity, no longer can endure to receive them or look at them, as though they themselves had been wronged merely by finding out that the others were doing no wrong at all!

It follows, then, that life has been filled with troubles in abundance through the slanderous stories that have been believed so readily and so unquestioningly. Anteia says:

“Lord Proetus, kill Bellerophon or die; Because he sought to bend me to his will,”

when she herself had made the first move and had

1 Homer, Ἰαδ 6, 164.
καὶ μικρὸν ὁ νεαιάς ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν Χήμαιραν συμπλοκῆ διεφθάρη ἐπιτίμων σωφροσύνης ὑποσχῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἕξον οἶνος ὑπὸ μάχλου γυναικὸς ἐπιβεβουλευμένος. ἦ δὲ Φαιδρα, κάκεινῃ τὰ ὀμοία κατεκπούσα τοῦ προγόνου, ἐπιρρατον ἐποίησε τὸν Ἰππόλυτον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέν, ὦ θεά, οὐδὲν ἀνύσιον εἰργασμένον.

Ναι, φήσεις τίς ἄλλη ἀξιόπιστός εστίν ἐνίοτε 27 ὁ διαβάλλων ἀνήρ τά τε ἄλλα δίκαιοι καὶ συνετοί εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ ἐχρῆν προσέχειν αὐτῷ ἄτε μηδὲν ἀν τοιοῦτο κακουργῆσαντι. ἂρ' οὖν τοῦ Ἄριστείδου ἔστω τις δικαίωτερος; ἄλλη ὀμοὶ κάκεινος συνέστη ἐπὶ τῶν Θεμιστοκλεία καὶ συμπαρώξυνε τὸν δήμον, ἢς, φασίν, ἐκείνος πολιτικῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑποκεκισμένος.1 δίκαιοι μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἄριστείδης, ἀνθρώπος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἢν καὶ χολὴν εἰχε, καὶ ἡγάπα τινὰ καὶ ἐμίσει. καὶ εὖ γε 28 ἀληθῆς ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Παλαμῆδος λόγος, ὁ συνετώτατος τῶν Ἀχαϊῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀριστος τῶν ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ φθόνου φαίνεται συντεθεικός κατὰ ἄνδρος ὀμαίμου καὶ φίλου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον ἐκπεπλευκότος, οὗτος ἐμφυτοῦν ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἢ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτία. τι γὰρ ἂν τις ἢ τῶν Σωκράτην λέγοι τῶν ἄδικως 29 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαβεβλημένον ὡς ἀσεβῆ

1 ὑποκεκισμένος MSS.: ὑπὸ κεκισμένος 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!

"Yes," somebody will say, "but now and then the man who brings a personal charge deserves credence, because he seems to be just in all other matters and sensible also, and one would have to heed him, as he would never do such a scoundrelly thing as that." Well, is there anyone more just than Aristides? But even he conspired against Themistocles and had a hand in stirring up the people against him, because, they say, he was secretly pricked by the same political ambition as Themistocles. Aristides was indeed just, in comparison with the rest of the world; but he was a man like anyone else and had spleen and not only loved but hated on occasion. And if the story of Palamedes is true, the most sensible of the Greeks and the best of them in other ways stands convicted of having, through envy, framed a plot and an ambush to trap a kinsman and a friend, who had sailed away from home to front the same peril as he\(^2\); so true is it that to err in this direction is inborn in all mankind. Why should I mention Socrates, who was unjustly slandered to the Athenians as an irreligious man and a traitor? or

\(^1\) Theseus: the story is told in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides.
\(^2\) Odysseus trapped Palamedes by getting a forged letter from Priam hidden in his tent and then pretending to discover it.
καὶ ἐπίβουλον; ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ τὸν Μιλτιάδην, τοὺς μετὰ τηλικαύτας νίκας ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπόπτους γενομένους; μυρία γὰρ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ σχεδὸν τὰ πλείστα ἡδη γνώριμα.

Τῇ οὖν χρῇ καὶ ποιεῖι τῶν γε νοῦν ἔχοντα 30 ἢ ἁρετῆς ἢ ἀληθείας ἀμφισβητοῦντα; ὅπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ ὁμηρός ἐν τῷ περὶ Σειρήνων μύθῳ ἧνότι παραπλεῖν κελεύσας τὰς ὀλεθρίους ταύτας τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀποφράττειν τὰ ὅτα καὶ μὴ ἀνέδην αὐτά ἀναπεταίωνειν τοῖς πάθει προειλημμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντα ἀκριβῆ θυρωρὸν τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπασί τοῖς λεγομένοις τὰ μὲν ἄξια προσέσθαι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι, τὰ φαύλα δὲ ἀποκλείειν καὶ ἀπωθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἀν εἰς γελοῖον τῆς μὲν οἰκίας θυρωροῦς καθιστάναι, τὰ ὅτα δὲ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνεφημένα ἕαν. ἔσθειδαν 31 τοῖνυν τοιαύτα προσή τις λέγων, αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ χρῆ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξετάζειν, μήτε ἡλικίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ὅρωντα μήτε τὸν ἄλλον βίον μήτε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀρχίσιν. ὁς ὁ γὰρ τὸς πιθανότερος, τοσοῦτο ἐπιμελεστέρας δεῖται τῆς ἐξετάσεως. οὐ δὲ τοῖνυν πιστεύων ἀλλοτρία κρίσει, μᾶλλον δὲ μίσει τοῦ καθηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξέτασιν φυλακτέον τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀποδόντα καὶ τῷ διαβάλλοντι τὸν φθόνον καὶ ἐν φανερῷ ποιησάμενον τὸν ἑλεγχον τῆς ἐκατέρου διανοίας, καὶ μισεῖν οὔτω καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν δεδοκιμασμένον. πρὶν δὲ τούτῳ ποιήσαι ἐκ τῆς πρώτης διαβολῆς κεκινημένου, Ἡράκλειος, ὁς
SLANDER

Themistocles and Miltiades, both of whom, after all their victories, came to be suspected of treason against Greece? The instances are countless, and are already for the most part well known.

"Then what should a man do, if he has sense and lays claim to probity or truthfulness?" In my opinion he should do what Homer suggested in his parable of the Sirens. He bids us to sail past these deadly allurements and to stop our ears; not to hold them wide open to men prejudiced by passion, but, setting Reason as a strict doorkeeper over all that is said, to welcome and admit what deserves it, but shut out and drive off what is bad. For surely, it would be ridiculous to have doorkeepers to guard your house, but to leave your ears and your mind wide open. Therefore, when a man comes and tells you a thing of this sort, you must investigate the matter on its own merits, without regarding the years of the speaker or his standing, or his carefulness in what he says; for the more plausible a man is, the closer your investigation should be. You should not, then, put faith in another's judgment, or rather (as you would be doing), in the accuser's want of judgment, 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.

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μειρακιώδες καὶ ταπεινῶν καὶ πάντων οὐχ ἤκιστα ἁδικον. ἀλλὰ τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτιων, ὁπερ ἐν 32 ἀρχῇ ἔφημεν, ἡ ἁγνοια καὶ τὸ ἐν σκότῳ πον εἶναι τὸν ἐκάστου τρόπον· ὅσ εἰ γε θεῶν τις ἀποκαλύψειν ἠμῶν τοὺς βίους, οίκοιτο ἄν φεύγουσα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἡ διαβολὴ χώραν οὐκ ἔχουσα, ὡς ἄν πεφωτισμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.
SLANDER

childish, how base and, beyond everything, how unjust! But the cause of this and all the rest of it, as I said in the beginning, is ignorance, and the fact that the real character of each of us is shrouded in darkness. Hence, if some one of the gods would only unveil our lives, Slander would vanish away to limbo, having no place left, since everything would be illumined by Truth.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

SIGMA vs. TAU,
IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

This mock prosecution, probably not by Lucian, but much later than his time, is based upon the fact that in the Attic dialect many words originally written with double $s$ came eventually to be pronounced and written with double $t$, and incidentally mentions words in which $l$ has been substituted for $r$; $g$ for $k$ and $l$; $z$, $x$, and $r$ for $s$, and $t$ for $d$, $th$, and $z$. It cannot be adequately translated, for we have nothing of the sort in English.
ΔΙΚΗ ΣΤΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΤ ΣΙΓΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΑΤ ΤΙΟΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΑ ΦΩΝΗΣΙΝ

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου Φαληρέως, Πυανε- ψιδώνος ἐβδόμη ἰσταμένου, γραφὴν ἔθετο τὸ Σῦγμα πρὸς τὸ Ταῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ Φωνηγέντων βίας καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ἀρπαγῆς, ἀφηρήθανε λέγον πάντων τῶν ἐν διπλῷ ταῦ ἐκφερομένων.] 2

Μέχρι μὲν, ὁ Φωνήντα δικασταί, ὅλγα ἡδικού- μην ὑπὸ τουτοῦ τοῦ Ταῦ καταχρομένου τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ καταραγότος ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ, οὐ βαρέως ἐφερον τῇ βλάβῃ καὶ παρῆκουν ἐναι τῶν λεγο- μένων ὑπὸ τῆς μετρίωτητος, ἦν ἵστε μὲ φυλάσ- σουτα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συλλαβάς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦκε τλεονεξίας τε καὶ ἀνο- μίας, 3 ὦστε ἐφ’ οἰς ἡσύχασα πολλάκις οὐκ ἀγα- πῶν, ἄλλα 4 ἠδὴ καὶ πλείω προσβιάζεται, ἀναγ- καίως αὐτὸ εὔθυνω νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀμφότερα εἰδόσων ὑμῶν. δέος δὲ οὐ μικρῶν μοι ἐπὶ τούτων 5 τῆς ἀποβλήψεως ἐπέρχεται τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ· τοῖς γὰρ

1 So in ε: ΔΙΚΗ ΦΩΝΗΣΙΝ vulg. 2 Wanting in ε. 3 ἀνομίας Lehmann, Herwerden, Sommerbrodt: ἄνολας MSS. 4 ἄλλα K. Schwartz: ἄλλα (or word omitted) MSS, τούτως Herwerden: τοῖς (τῆς) MSS;
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

SIGMA vs. TAU,
IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

[In the year that Aristarchus of Phalerum was archon, on the seventh day of the month 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
προπεπραγμένοις ἀρδήν με τής οἰκείας ἀποθλίψει χώρας, ὡς ὁλόγου δεῖν ἦσυχίαν ἀγαγόντα μηδὲ ἐν γράμμασιν ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ἐν ἵσφι δὲ κεῖσθαι τοῦ ψόφου. ¹

Δίκαιον οὖν οὐχ ὑμᾶς, οί δικάζετε νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ γράμματα τῆς πείρας ἔχειν τινὰ φυλακήν εἰ γὰρ ἐξέσται τῶν βουλομένων ἀπὸ τῆς καθ’ αὐτὰ τάξεως ἐσ’ ἀλλοτρίαν βιάζεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιτρέψετε ὑμεῖς, δὲν χωρίς οὐδὲν καθόλου τι γράφεται, οὐχ ὅρω τίνα τρόπον αἴ συντάξεις τὰ νόμιμα, ἐφ’ οίς ἐτάχθη τὰ κατ’ ἄρχας, ἔξουσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐτε ὑμᾶς οἰμαὶ ποτὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἁμελείας τε καὶ παροράσεως ἤξειν, ὡστε ἐπιτρέψαι τινὰ μὴ δίκαια, οὐτε, εἰ καθυφήσετε τὸν ἀγώνα ὑμεῖς, ἐμοὶ παραλειπτέον ἐστίν ἀδικομένῳ. ὡς εἴθε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεκόπησαν τότε αἴ τόλμαι εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένων παρανομεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπολέμησα μέχρι νῦν τὸ Δάμβδα τῷ Ἄρῳ διαμφισβητοῦν περὶ τῆς κισήρεως καὶ κεφαλαργίας, οὔτε τὸ Γάμμα τῷ Κάππα διηγούντες καὶ ἐς χειρὰς μικρὸν δεῖν ἥρχετο πολλάκις εἰν τῷ γναφείῳ ὑπὲρ γναφάλλων, ἐπέπαυτο δ’ ἂν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Δάμβδα μαχόμενου, τὸ μόνος ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα παρακλέπτου, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δ’ ἂν ἤρεμει 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 punice-stone (κίσιλις—κίσηρις) and headaches (κεφαλαγία—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.
εφ’ ἂς τετύχηκε τάξεως: τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς ἀ μὴ χρῆ λύσοντος ἦστι τὸ δίκαιον. καὶ ὁ γε πρῶτος ἤμων τοὺς νόμους τούτους διατυπώσας, εἶτε Κάδμος ὁ νησιώτης εἶτε Παλαμήδης ὁ Ναυτλιόν,—καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἔνιοι προσεπτοὺσι τὴν προμήθειαν ταύτην—οὐ τῇ τάξει μόνον, καθ’ ἡν οἱ προεδρίαι βεβαιούνται, διόρισαν, τὰ πρῶτον ἐσταὶ ἡ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιότητας, ὡς ἕκαστον ἴμαν ἐχει, καὶ δυνάμεις συνεῖδον. καὶ ὑμῶν μὲν, ὃ δικασταὶ, τὴν μεῖζον δεδοκασί τιμήν, ὦτι καθ’ αὐτὰ δύνασθε φθέγγεσθαι, ἡμιφώνως δὲ, τὴν ἐφεξῆς, ὦτι προσθήκησί εἰς τὸ ἀκοινοθήκην δεῖται: πασῶν δὲ ἐσχάτην ἐνώμισαν ἔχειν μοῦραν ἐνέα 1 τῶν πλείων, ὢς οὐδὲ φωνὴ προσεπτεῖ καθ’ αὐτά. τὰ μὲν οὖν φωνήμενα φυλάσσειν ἐοικε τοὺς νόμους τούτους.

Τὸ δὲ γε Ἰαῦ τούτῳ, οὕτω ἔχων χείρον αὐτὸ ὡς ὁνομάσαι ῥήματι ὃ καλεῖται, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν δύο συνήλθον ὄγαθοι καὶ καθῆκοντες ὁραθήσατε, τὸ τε Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ Ψ, οὐκ ἀν ἕκοισθη μόνον, τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐτόλμησεν ἄδικεὶν μὲ πλείω τῶν πῶλοτε βιασμένων, ὁνομάτων μὲν καὶ ῥημάτων ἀπελάσαν πατρίδων, ἐκδιώξαν 2 δὲ ὅμως συνιδέσμων ἀμα καὶ προθέσεων, ὡς μηκέτι φέρειν τὴν ἐκτόπιον πλεονεξίαν. θεν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρξάμενον, ὁρα λέγειν.

1 ἵνα second Aldine ed., Fritzsche: ἐνὶa MSS.
2 ἀπελάσαν . . . ἐκδιώξαν K Schwartz: ἀπελάσατι . . . ἐκ
diώξαi MSS.

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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, he the islander Cadmus¹ or Palamedes of Nauplia (and some attribute this provision to Simonides), did not determine which of us should be first and which second solely by putting us in the order in which our places are now fixed, but they also decided the qualities and powers that each of us has. To you, jurors, they gave the greatest honour, because you can be sounded by yourselves; to the Semivowels they gave the next highest, because they need something put with them before they can be heard; and they prescribed that the last place of all should belong to nine letters which have no sound at all by themselves.² The Vowels should enforce these laws.

But this Tau here (I cannot call him by a worse name than his own), who, as Heaven is my witness, could not have made himself heard unless two of your number, Alpha and Upsilon, stout fellows and good to look on, had come to his aid—this Tau, I say, has had the audacity to injure me beyond all precedent in acts of violence, not only ousting me from my hereditary nouns and verbs, but banishing me likewise from conjunctions and prepositions all at once, so that I cannot stand his monstrous greed any longer. Where and how he began it, you shall now hear.

¹ The story usually ran that Cadmus brought sixteen letters from Phoenicia to Greece, and that four were added to these by Palamedes and four more by Simonides (not the poet, but a physician of Syracuse). Cadmus is here called an islander because some versions of his story made him come from Tyre, not Sidon.
² The Greek "mutes" are nine in number. Sigma, as a semivowel, claims higher rank.
'Ἐπεδίμουν ποτὲ Κυβέλωρ,—τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ πολύχρων 7
οὐκ ἀηδές, ἄποικον, ὡς ἔχει λόγος, Ἄθηναίων—
ἐπηγόμην δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτιστον Ἄρω, γειτόνων τὸ
βέλτιστον· κατηγόμην δὲ παρὰ κωμῳδιῶν τιν
ποιητῆς· Λυσίμαχος ἐκαλεῖτο, Βοιωτίος μὲν, ὡς
ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γένος ἀνέκαθεν, ἀπὸ μέσης δὲ ἀξιῶν
λέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς· παρὰ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἔνεπ
τῇ τοῦ Ἡρώ τούτου πλεονεξίαν ἐφόρεσα· μέχρι
μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγους ἐπεχείρει, τέτταρα κατατομῶν
καὶ τετταράκοντα λέγειν, ἐτὶ δὲ τίμηρον καὶ
τὰ ὁμοία ἐπιστούμενον ἐδὶα ταυτὶ λέγειν, ἀποστε-
ροῦν μὲ τῶν συγγεγεγογούμενων καὶ συντεθραμμένων
γραμμάτων, συνῆθειαν ὄμην 2 καὶ οἱστὸν ἦν μοί
τὸ ἅκουσμα καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι ἐδακνύμην ἐπὶ ἀυτῶς.
ὅποτε δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἄρξάμενον ἐτόλμησε καττιτε-
ρον ἐίπειν καὶ κάτυμα καὶ πίτταν, εἶτα ἀπερυ-
θριάσαν καὶ βασίλισσαν 3 βασιλιτταν ὀνομάζειν,
οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τούτου ἄγανακτῶ καὶ πίμπραμαι
dedúos μη τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ σύκα τύκα τις ὄνομάς.
καὶ μοὶ πρὸς Δίος ἁθυμοῦντι καὶ μεμονωμένῳ τῶν
βοηθησόντων σύγγνωτε τῆς δικαίας ὅργης· οὐ
γὰρ περὶ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος,

1 τέτταρα κατατομῶν καὶ Α.Μ.Η. , following Halm (τέτταρα
cal) and the scholia : not in MSS.
2 Word-order (and καὶ for μοὶ after συγγεγεγογούμενων) Α.Μ.Η.:
tettrapákoonta legein, aposteirousin me toin syntetorhaimenon mou,
synethieian omou syntetorhaimenon grammaton, eti . . . legein, καὶ
oiosths κ.τ.λ. MSS.
3 Basiliouss A.Μ.Η. , following K. Schwartz (ṭḥn b.) : 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 _fom_ (τέσσαρα—τέταρα) and _forty_ (τεσσάρικοντα—τεταρικοντα), and also to lay hands on _today_ (σήμερον—τήμερον), and the like and say they were his own, thus depriving me of my kith and kin among the letters, I thought it was just his way and could put up with what I heard, and was not much annoyed over my losses. But when he went on and ventured to mispronounce _tin_ (κασίτερον—καττίτερον) and _shoe-leather_ (κάσσωμα—κάττωμα), and _tar_ (πίσσα—πίττα), and then, losing all sense of shame, to miscall _queens_ (βασιλισσα—βασιλίττα), 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

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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” (τὰ σῦκα σῦκα ὀνομάζειν).
ἀφαιρομένω τῶν συνήθων καὶ συνεσχολακότων μοι γραμμάτων. 1 κύσαν μου, λάλοιν ὄρνεον, ἐκ μέσων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν κόλπων ἁρπάσαν κότταν ὑφόμασεν ἀφείλετο δὲ μου φάσαν ἀμα νήσας τε καὶ κοσσύφοις ἀπαγορεύοντος Ἀριστάρχου περίεπασε δὲ καὶ μελισσῶν οὐκ ὀλόγας· ἐπ᾽ Ἀττικὴν δὲ ἠλθε καὶ ἐκ μέσης αὐτῆς ἀνήρ- πασεν ἀνόμως Ἰμησσοὺ 2 ὀρῶντων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαβῶν. ἀλλὰ τί λέγω ταύτα; 9 Θεσσαλίας με εξεβαλεν ὠλής Θεσσαλίαν ἀξιών λέγειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἄποκεκλεικέ μοι τὴν θιάλασαν ὁδὴ τῶν ἐν κύποις φεισάμενον σεντιλίων, ὡς τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον μηδὲ πάσας αὐτούς μοι καταλιπέων.

"Οτι δὲ ἀνεξίκακον εἰμι γράμμα, μαρτυρεῖτε μοι καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδέποτε ἐγκαλέσατε τῷ Ζήτῳ σμάραγ- δον ἀποσπάσατε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφελομένῳ Σμύρναι, μηδὲ τῷ Ξαὶ πᾶσαν παραβάντε πονησίκην καὶ τὸν συγγραφέα τὸν τοιούτων ἔχοντε Θουκυδίδην σύμμαχον· τῷ μὲν γὰρ γεῖτον μου Ἑρωνήσαντε συγγραφήνη, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶ χυτεύσαντε μου τὰς μυρρίνας καὶ παίσαντε μὲ ποτε ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας ἐπὶ κόρρης. κύων μὲν τοιούτων. τὸ δὲ Ταῦτο τοῦτο σκοπόμεν ὡς φύσει βίαιον καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπά. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσχετο γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Δέλτα καὶ τὸ Θήτα καὶ τὸ Ζήτα, μικ- ροῦ δὲν πάντα ἡδίκησε τὰ στοιχεῖα, αὐτᾶ μοι κάλει τὰ ἄδικηθέντα γράμματα. ἀκούετε, Φωνη- εντα δικασταί, τοῦ μὲν Δέλτα λέγοντος· ἀφείλετο

1 γραμμάτων MSS.: χρημάτων du Soul.
2 Ἰμησσοῦ Herworden: Ἰμησσοῦ MSS.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

creature, right out of my bosom, almost, and re-
named it (κίσσα—κίττα); he took away my pheasant
(φάσσα—φάττα) along with my ducks (νήσσαι—νήτται)
and my daws (κόσσυφοι—κόττυφοι), although Aris-
tarchus forbade him; he robbed me of not a few
bees (μέλισσα—μέλιττα), and he went to Attica and
illegally plucked Hymessus (Ὑμησσός—Ὑμηττός) out
of the very heart of her, in full view of yourselves
and the other letters. But why mention this? He
has turned me out of all Thessaly, wanting it called
Thetaly, has swept me from the sea (θάλασσα—
θαλαττα) and has not even spared me the beets
(σευτλω—τειτλω) in my garden, so that, to quote the
proverb, he hasn’t even left me a peg (πάσσαλος—
πάτταλος).

That I am a much-enduring letter, you yourselves
can testify, for I never brought Zeta to book for
taking my emerald (σμάραγδος—ξμάραγδος) and rob-
bbing me utterly of Smyrna,¹ nor Xi for overstepping
every treaty (συνθήκη—ξυνθήκη) with Thucydides
the historian (συγγραφεύς—ξυγγραφεύς) as his ally
(σύμμαχος—ξύμμαχος). And when my neighbour
Rho was ill I forgave him not only for transplanting
my myrtles (μυρσίνη—μυρρίνη) into his own garden,
but also for cracking my crown (κόρος—κόρρη) 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, Zynryna, but written usually
with s.
μου τὴν ἐνδελέχειαν, ἐντελέχειαν ἢξιοῦν λέγεσθαι
παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους· τοῦ Θηταδακρύνοντος
καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας τίλλοντος ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ
tῆς κολοκύνθης ἐστερήσαν· τοῦ Ζητα, τὸ συρίζειν
καὶ σαλπίζειν, ὡς μηκέτ' αὐτῷ ἐξεῖναι μηδὲ γρύ-
ζειν. τίς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο; ἢ τίς ἔκαρκεσε εἰς
δίκη πρὸς τὸ πονηρότατον τουτὲ Ταῦ;

Τὸ δὲ ἀρα ὡς τὸ ὀμόφυλον τῶν στοιχείων μόνον
ἀδικεῖ γένος, ἀλλ' ἢδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπων
μεταβέβηκε τοιούτῳ τῶν τρόπων· ὦ γὰρ ἐπὶ-
τρέπει γε αὐτοῖς κατ' εὐθὺ φέρεσθαι ταῖς γλώσ-
σαις· μᾶλλον δὲ, ὡς δικασταί, μεταξὺ γὰρ με
πάλιν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα ἰνέμυνη περὶ
tῆς γλώσσης, καὶ ταύτης με τὸ μέρος ἀπῆλασε
καὶ ἡλέτταν ποιεῖ τὴν γλώσσαν. ὃ γλώσσης
Ἀληθῶς νόσημα Ταῦ. ἀλλὰ μεταβήσομαι πάλιν
ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναγορεύσω ὑπὲρ
ἀν εἰς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖ· δεσμοῖς γὰρ τις
στρεβλοῦν καὶ σπαράστεις αὐτῶν τὴν φωνήν
ἐπιχειρεῖ. καὶ ἰ μὲν τὴν καλὸν ἢδον καλὸν εἴπεῖν
αὕτῳ βουλεῖται, τὸ δὲ παρείσπεσον ταλὸν εἴπεῖν
αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζει ἐν ἀπασί προεδρίαν ἐχεῖν ἢξιοῦν
πάλιν ἐτερος περὶ κλῆματος διαλέγεται, τὸ δὲ—
τλῆμον γὰρ ἑστιν ἀληθῶς—τλῆμα πεποίηκε τὸ
κλῆμα. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε τοὺς τυχόντας ἀδικεῖ,
ἀλλ' ἢδη καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, ὃ καὶ γῆν καὶ
θάλασσαν εἴξαι φασὶ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως
ἐκςτήναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τούτω ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ
Κύρου αὐτῶν ὄντα Τύρων των ἀπέφηνεν.

Ὅστῳ μὲν ὃν τιν ὁσόν ἐσ φωνήν ἀνθρώπων ἀδικεῖ· 12

1 δακρύνοντος K. Schwartz: κρούοντος MSS.
2 καὶ A.M.H.: δεῖ καὶ MSS.
3 μιαρόν Carps.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

endelechly, wanting it to be called entelechly against all the laws”; to Theta crying and pulling out the hair of his head because he has had even his *pumpkin* (κολοκύνθη—κολοκύνη) taken away from him, and to Zeta, who has lost his *whistle* (συρίζεω—συρίττεω) and *trumpet* (σαλπίζεω—σαλπίττεω), so that he can’t even *make a sound* (γρύζεω—γρύττεω) any longer. Who could put up with all this, and what punishment could be bad enough for this out-and-out rascal Tau?

Not only does he injure his own kinsfolk of the alphabet, but he has already attacked the human race also; for he does not allow them to talk straight with their tongues. Indeed, jurymen—for speaking of men has suddenly put me in mind of the tongue—he has banished me from this member too, as far as in him lay, and makes *glotta* out of *glossa*. O Tau, thou very plague o’ the tongue! But I shall attack him another time and advise men of his sins against them, in trying to fetter their speech, as it were, and to mangle it. A man on seeing something *pretty* (καλόν) wants to call it so, but Tau interferes and makes him say something else (ταλόν), wanting to have precedence in everything. Again, another is talking about a *palm-branch* (κλῆμα), but Tau, the very *criminal* (τλήμων), turns the palm-branch into a *crime* (τλήμα). And not only does he injure ordinary people, but even the Great King, in whose honour, they say, even land and sea give place and depart from their own natures—even he is plotted against by Tau, who instead of *Cyrus* makes him out something of a *cheese* (Κῦρος—τυρός).

That is the way he injures mankind as far as their

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1 One would expect a pun here, but ταλόν is not in the dictionaries.
ἐργο δὲ πῶς; κλάουσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην ὁδύρουνται καὶ Κάδμῳ καταρώνται πολλάκις, ὡς τὸ Ταῦ ἐς τὸ τὼν στοιχείων γένος παρήγαγε· τῷ γὰρ τούτου σώματι φασὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα ἐπείτα σχῆματι τοιοῦτῳ ξύλα τεκτήματα ἄνθρωποις ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ ποιητῇ τὴν ποιημάν ἐπωνυμίαν συνελθεῖν. τούτων οὖν ἀπάντων ἐνεκα πόσων θανάτων τὸ Ταῦ ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζετε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴμαι δικαίως τοῦτο μόνον ἐς τὴν τού Ταῦ τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ τῷ σχῆματι τῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην ὑποσχέειν."

1 δὲ Α.Μ.Η. : δῆ MSS.
2 MSS. μάλιστα δῆ σταυρὸς εἶναι ὡς τούτου μὲν ἐδημιουργήθη, ὑπὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπον ὀνομάζεται, excised by Sommerbrodt.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

speech is concerned, but look at the material injury he has done them! Men weep and bewail their lot and curse Cadmus over and over for putting Tau into the alphabet, for they say that their tyrants, following his figure and imitating his build, have fashioned timbers in the same shape and crucify men upon them; and that it is from him that the sorry device gets its sorry name (*stauros*, *cross*). For all this do you not think that Tau deserves to die many times over? As for me, I hold that in all justice we can only punish Tau by making a T of him.¹

¹ *I.e.*, by crucifying him, Greek crosses being usually T-shaped. MSS. add “for the cross owes its existence to Tau, but its name to man”; see critical note.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

The sub-title comes from the parallel that Lucian draws (in section 45) between this affair and the wedding breakfast of Peirithous, which ended in a hand-to-hand encounter between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. The piece is thought to be modelled on the Symposium of Menippus, the Cynic satirist.
ΣΤΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΛΑΙΠΘΛΙ

ΦΙΛΩΝ
Ποικίλην, ὁ Λυκίνε, διατριβήν φασὶ γεγενήσθαι 1 ύμῶν χθες ἐν Ἀρισταινότου παρὰ τὸ δείπνον καὶ τινὰς λόγους φιλοσόφους εἰρήσθαι καὶ ἔριν οὐ σμικρὰν συστήναι ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶς, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐφεύγετο Χαρίνος, καὶ ἄχρι τραυμάτων προχωρῆσαι τὸ πράγμα καὶ τέλος αἵματι διαλυθήναι τὴν συνουσίαν.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ
Καὶ πόθεν, ὁ Φίλων, ἡπίστατο Χαρίνος ταῦτα; οὐ γὰρ συνυδείπνει μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν.

ΦΙΛΩΝ
Διονίκου ἔφη τοῦ ἱατροῦ ἀκούσαι. Διόνικος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, οἶμαι, τῶν συνυδείπνων ἦν.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ
Καὶ μᾶλα: οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἁρχῆς γε οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἀπασὶ παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ ὅπερ μεσούσῃς σχεδὸν ἥδη τῇς μάχης ἐπέστη ὀλίγον πρὸ τῶν τραυμάτων. ὡστε θαυμάζω εἰ τι σαφῆς εἰπεῖν ἐδύνατο μὴ παρακολουθήσας ἐκεῖνοι, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἁρξαμένη ἐς τὸ αἷμα ἐτελεύτησαν αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλονεικία.

ΦΙΛΩΝ
Τουγαροῦν, ὁ Λυκίνε, καὶ ὁ Χαρίνος αὐτὸς, εἰ 2 βουλοίμεθα τάληθη ἀκούσαι καὶ ὅπως ἐπράχθη ἔκαστα, παρὰ σὲ ἡμᾶς ἥκειν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τὸν
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

PHILO
They say you had all kinds of sport yesterday, Lycinus, at the house of Aristaenetus, at dinner, and that several speeches on philosophy were made, out of which quite a quarrel arose. Unless Charinus was lying, the affair even ended in wounds and the party was finally broken up by the shedding of blood.

LYCINUS
Now how did Charinus know that, Philo? He did not dine with us.

PHILO
He said that Dionicus, the doctor, told him. Dionicus, I suppose, was one of the guests.

LYCINUS
Yes, to be sure; but even he was not there for all of it, from the very beginning: it was late and the battle was about half over when he came on the scene, a little before the wounds. So I am surprised that he could give a clear account of any of it, as he did not witness what led up to the quarrel that ended in bloodshed.

PHILO
True, Lycinus; and for that very reason Charinus told us, if we wanted to hear the truth of it and all the details, to come to you, saying that Dionicus
Διόνικου γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ παρα-
γένοιτο ἁπάσι, σὲ δὲ ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὰ γεγεν-
μένα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς ἂν ἁπομνημονεύσαι
ἀτε μὴ παρέργωσ τῶν τοιοῦτων, ἀλλ’ ἔν σπουδῇ
ἀκριβῶς, οὕτω οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ἐστίν ἡμᾶς
ἡδίστην ταύτην ἑστίασιν, ἦς οὐκ οἶδα τίς ἡδίων
ἐμοιγε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσον νήφοντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ
ἀναιμωτε ἔξω βέλους ἑστιασόμεθα, εἴτε ἑροῦντες
ἐπαρφόνησαν τί παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἴπε νέοι, εἰπεῖν τε
ὧσα ἥκιστα ἔχρην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου προαχθέντες
cαὶ πράξαι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νεανικότερα ἡμᾶς, ὁ Φίλων, ἀξιόης ἐκφέρειν 3
ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπεξείναι διηγομέ-
νους πράγματα ἐν οὐνό καὶ μέθη γενόμενα, δέον
λήθην ποιήσασθαι αὐτῶν καὶ νομίζειν ἑκεῖνα
πάντα θεοῦ ἔργα τοῦ Διονύσου εἶναι, ὃς οὐκ οἶδα εἰ
τινα τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργῶν ἀτέλεστον καὶ ἀβάκχευτον
περεῖδεν. ὃρα οὖν μὴ κακοήθουν τινῶν ἀνθρώπων
ὦ τὸ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξετάζειν, ἃ καλῶς ἔχει
ἐν τῷ συμμποσίῳ καταλιπόντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.
“μισῶ” γὰρ, φησὶ καὶ ὁ ποιητικὸς λόγος,
“μνάμονα συμπόταν.” καὶ οὔτε ὁ Διόνικος ὥρθως
ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν Χαρῖνον ταῦτα ἐξαγορεύσας καὶ
πολλὴν τὴν ἐωλκρασίαν κατασκευάζας ἀνδρῶν
φιλοσόφων. ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀπαγε, οὐκ ἂν τι τοιοῦτον
ἐξποιμι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Θρύπτη ταῦτα, ὁ Δυκίνε. ἀλλ’ οὕτη γε πρὸς 4
ἐμὲ οὕτω ποιεῖν ἔχρην, ὃς ἀκριβῶς πολὺ πλέον

1 ᾧ Bekker: not in MSS.
2 οὐκ οἶδα τίς Bekker: οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἂν tis 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." ¹ And Dionicus did not do right, either, to blab it all to Charinus and besprinkle philosophers with the copious dregs of their stale cups. As for me—get out with you! I shan't tell you anything of the kind!

PHILO

That is all put on, Lycinus. But you needn't have acted that way with me, for I know very well that

¹ Author unknown: quoted also by Plutarch (Prooemium to Quaest. Sympos.). See also Index to Corpus Paroemiogr. Gr.
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επιθυμούντα σε εἰπεῖν οἶδα ἣ ἔμε ἀκούσαι, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς, εἰ ἀπορήσειας τῶν ἀκουσμένων, κἂν πρὸς κιόνι τινα ἢ πρὸς ἀνδριάντα ἕδεως ἂν προσελθὼν ἐκχέαει πάντα συνείρων ἀμυντί. εἰ γοῦν ἐθελήσω ἀπαλλάττεσθαι νῦν, οὐκ ἔστει με ἀνήκοον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔχει ¹ καὶ παρακολουθήσεις καὶ δεήσει. κἂγὼ θρύψομαι πρὸς σε ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ εἰ γε δοκεῖ, ἀπιστῶμεν ἄλλου αὐτὰ πενσόμενοι, σὺ δὲ μὴ λέγε.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Μηδὲν πρὸς ὅργην διηγήσομαι γὰρ, ἐπείπερ οὕτως προθυμῆ, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐρέις.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Εἰ μὴ παντὰ πασῶν ἐγώ ἐπιλέξθαμαι Λυκίνου, αὐτὸς σὺ ἀμείνον ποιήσεις αὐτὸ καὶ φθάσεις εἰπὼν ἀπασίαν, ὅστε οὐδὲν ἔμου δεήσει. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μοι πρῶτον εἴπε, τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Ζήμωνι ὁ Ἀρισταῖνετος ἀγόμενος θυναῖκα εἰστία ὑμᾶς;

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τῇν θυγατέρα ἔξεδίδου αὐτός τῇν Κλεανθίδα τῷ Βυκρίτου τοῦ δανειστικοῦ, τῷ φιλοσόφουντι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Παγκόλω ἃ Δία μειρακίω, ἅπαλῳ γε μὴν ἔτε καὶ ὁ πάνυ καθ' ὁραν γάμων.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴχεν ἄλλου ἐπιτηδειότερον, οἷμαι. τούτου οὖν κόσμον τε εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ πρὸς

¹ ἔχει Fritzsche: ἔχεις (ἥχεις) MSS.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

you are much more eager to talk than I to listen, and I have an idea that if you had nobody to listen to you, you would enjoy going up to a pillar or a statue and pouring it all out in a stream, without a pause. In fact, if I should wish to go away now, you would not let me go untold, but would hold me and entreat me. And now I am going to take my turn at putting on. (Turns to another friend.) If you like, let's go and find out about it from someone else. (To Lycinus.) You may keep your story to yourself!

LYCINUS

Don't get angry! I will tell you, since you are so anxious, but don't you tell a lot of people.

PHILO

If I have not forgotten all I know of you, Lycinus, you will do that better than I can, and you will lose no time in telling everybody, so that I shan't be needed. But first tell me one thing—was it to celebrate the wedding of his son Zeno that Aristaenetus entertained you?

LYCINUS

No, he was marrying his daughter Cleanthis to the son of Eucri tus the banker, the lad who is studying philosophy.

PHILO

A very good-looking lad, to be sure; still immature, though, and hardly old enough to be married.

LYCINUS

But he could not find anyone who suited him better, I suppose. As this boy seemed to be mannerly and had taken an interest in philosophy,
φιλοσοφίαν ὀρμημένον, ἔτι δὲ μόνον ὄντα πλουσίω τῷ Ἔυκρίτῳ, προείλετο νυμφίον ἐξ ἀπάντων.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Οὐ μικρὰν λέγεις αὐτίαν τὸ πλούσιον τὸν Ἔυκρίτην. ἀτὰρ οὖν, ὁ Λυκίνε, τίνες οἱ δειπνοῦντες ἦσαν;

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τί ἄν σοι λέγομι; οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμῶν φιλοσοφίας καὶ λόγων, οὕσπερ ἐθέλεις, οἴμαι, ἀκούσαι μᾶλλον, Ζηνόθεμες ἢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοάς καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ Δίφιλος ὁ λαβύρινθος ἐπίκλην, διδάσκαλος οὗτος ὄν τοῦ Ἀρισταίνετον νίέος τοῦ Ζήνωνος· τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου Κλεόδημος, οἰσθα ἐκ τοῦ στομύλου, τῶν ἐλεγκτικῶν, ἄφθοι αὐτῶν οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ κοπῶνα καλοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἐπικούρειος Ἑρμων παρῆν, καὶ εἰσελθόντα γε αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ὑπεβλέποντο οἱ Ἑτοὶκοι καὶ ἀπεστέφοντο καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ὡς τῶν πατρῴων καὶ ἐναγή μυστήριον. οὕτως μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀρισταίνετον φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις ὄντες παρεκέκληντο ἐπὶ δεύτερον καὶ ξύν αὐτῶν ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιαῖος καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ Διονυσόδωρος. διὰ δὲ τὸν νυμφίον τοῦ Χαρέαν ἤων ὁ Πλατωνικός συνειστήτω διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ ὄν, σεμνός τις ἰδεῖν καὶ θεοπρεπῆς καὶ πολὺ τὸ κόσμουν ἐπιφαίνων τῷ προσώπῳ· κανόνα γοῦν οἱ πολλοὶ ὄνομαίζουσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς γνώμης ἀποβλέποντες. καὶ ἐπέλαβεν, ὑπεξανίσταντο πάντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεξιούντο ὡς τῶν κρειττῶν, καὶ ὅλος θεοῦ ἐπιδημία τὸ πράγμα ἦν ἤων ὁ θαυμαστὸς συμπαρών.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

and also as he was the only son of Eucritus, who is rich, he preferred him to all the rest as a husband for his daughter.

PHILO

You give a very good reason in saying that Eucritus is rich. But come, Lycinus, who were the people at dinner?

LYCINUS

Why should I tell you all of them? The philosophers and literary men, whom, I suppose, you are most eager to hear about, were Zenothemis, the old man of the Porch,¹ and along with him Diphilus, whom they call "Labyrinth," tutor of Aristaenetus' boy Zeno. From the Walk² there was Cleodemus—you know him, the mouthy, argumentative fellow, whom his pupils call "Sword" and "Cleaver." Hermon the Epicurean was there too, and as he came in the Stoics at once began to glower at him and turn their backs on him; it was clear that they loathed him as they would a parricide or a man under a curse. These men had been asked to dinner as Aristaenetus' own friends and associates, and also the grammarian Histiaeus and the rhetorician Dionysodorus. Then, too, on account of Chaereas, the bridegroom, Ion the Platonic philosopher, who is his teacher, shared the feast—a grave and reverend person to look at, with great dignity written on his features. Indeed, most people call him "the ruler," alluding to the straightness of his thinking. When he came in, they all arose in his honour and received him like a supernatural being; in short it was a regular divine visitation, the advent of Ion the marvellous.

¹ The Porch: where Zeno the Stoic used to teach.
² The Walk (περίπατος) in the Lyceum, where the Peripatetics had their meeting-place.
Δέων δὲ ἦδη κατακλίνεσθαι ἀπάντων σχεδὸν 8 παρόντων, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰςιόντων αἱ γυναῖκες ὅλον τὸν κλιτήρα ἐκεῖνον ἐπέλαβον, οὔκ ὠλίγαι οὖσαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτάς ἡ νύμφη πάνω ἀκριβῶς ἐγκεκαλυμμένη, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν περιεχομένη· ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀντίθυρον ἢ ἄλλη πληθὺς, ὥς ἔκαστος ἀξίας εἰχε. κατ’ ἀντικρὺ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν πρῶτος ὁ Ἐὐκριτος, 9 εἶτα Ἀρισταϊνετος. εἶτα ἐνεδιαίτετο πότερον χρῆ πρότερον Ζηνόθεμιν τῶν Σταϊκῶν ἀτε γέροντα ἡ "Ἑρμωνα τὸν Ἐπικούρειον, ἱερεῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀνάκων καὶ γένους τοῦ πρῶτου ἐν τῇ πύλῃ. ἀλλὰ ὃ Ζηνόθεμις ἐλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν· "Ω γὰρ με, φησίν, ὃ ὁ Ἀρισταϊνετε, δεύτερον ἀξέως τουτού τοῦ ἀνδρός, 1 ἢν μηδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν εἴπω, Ἐπικούρειον, ἀπειμω ὅλον σοι τὸ συμπόσιον καταλιπτῶν. " καὶ ἄμα τὸν παῖδα ἐκάλει καὶ ἐξίοντι ἐφίκει. καὶ ὁ Ἑρμων, ἔχε μὲν, ὃ Ζηνόθεμι, τὰ πρῶτα, ἐφη: "ἀτὰρ εἰ καὶ ἡ μηδὲν τι ἐτερον, ἱερεὶ γε ὄντι ὑπεξίστασθαι καλῶς εἶχεν, εἰ καὶ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου πάνω καταπεφρόνηκας." "Εγέλασα," ἡ δ’ ὃς ὁ Ζηνόθεμις, "Ἐπικούρειον ἱερεῖ," καὶ ἄμα λέγων κατεκλίνετο καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ὅμως ὁ Ἑρμων, εἶτα Κλεόδήμος ὁ Περιπατητικός, εἶτα ὁ Ἰων καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ὁ νυμφίος, εἰτ’ ἑγὼ καὶ παρ’ ἐμὲ ὁ Δίφιλος καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶς Ζήμων ὁ μαθητής, εἶτα ὁ ἤτωρ Διονυσόδωρος καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιαῖος.

1 toutouι τοῦ ἀνδρός MSS.: toutouι, ἀνδρός Bekker.
2 el καὶ MSS.: el Fritzsche: καν?
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

By that time we had to take our places, for almost everyone was there. On the right as you enter, the women occupied the whole couch, as there were a good many of them, with the bride among them, very scrupulously veiled and hedged in by the women. Toward the back door came the rest of the company according to the esteem in which each was held. Opposite the women, the first was Eucritus, and then Aristaenetus. Then a question was raised whether Zenothenemis 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 Zenothenemis 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, Zenothenemis; 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 Zenothenemis: "an Epicurean priest!" With these words he took his place, and Hermon next him, in spite of what had passed; then Cleodemus the Peripatetic; then Ion, and below him the bridegroom, then myself; beside me Diphilus, and below him his pupil Zeno; and then the rhetorician Dionysodorus and the grammarian Histiaeus.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Βαβαί, ὦ Λυκίνε, μουσεῖόν τι τὸ συμπόσιον δηηγὴ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πλείστων, καὶ ἐγώ γε τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι τὴν εὐκταιριτήτην ἐστὶν ἄγων τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἐστὶν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἣξίωσεν, ὅ τι περ τὸ κεφάλαιον εἶπκέκοιτος αἰρέσεως ἀπανθισάμενος, οὐχὶ τοὺς μὲν, τοὺς δὲ οὐ, ἄλλα ἀναμιξῆ ἀπαντασ.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ἐστὶ γὰρ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, οὐχί τῶν πολλῶν τούτων πλουσίων, ἄλλα καὶ παιδείας μέλει αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου τούτους ξύνεστιν.

Βίστικωμεθα οὖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ παρεσκεύαστο ποικίλα. πλὴν οὐδὲν οἷμαι χρῆ καὶ τὰ τάτα καταριθμεῖσθαι, χυμοῦσα καὶ πέμματα καὶ καρυκείας· ἀπαντάς γὰρ ἄφθονα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Κλεόδημος ἐπικύψας ἐς τὸν "Ἰωνα, "Ὀρᾶς," ἐφη, "τὸν γέροντα"—Ζηνόθεμιν λέγων, ἐπήκοουν γάρ—"ὅπως ἐμφορεῖται τῶν ὅψων καὶ ἀναπέπλησται ξυμοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ὡς τῷ παιδὶ κατόπων ἐστῶτι ὁρείγει λαυθάνειν οἰόμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐ μεμνημένος τῶν μεθ' αὐτῶν; δείξεις οὖν καὶ Λυκίνῳ τάτα, ὡς μάρτυς εἰ."

ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδεόμην δείξοντός μοι τὸν "Ἰωνος πολὺ πρότερον αὐτά ἐκ περιοπῆς ἑωρακός.

"Ἀμα δὲ τάτα ὁ Κλεόδημος εἰρήκει καὶ ἐπεισ- ἐπαισεν ὁ Κυνικὸς Ἀλκιδίαμας ἄκλητος, ἐκεῖνο τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιχαριστισάμενος, "τὸν Μενέλαον αὐτόματον ἥκοντα." τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἀναί-
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

PHILO

Heavens, Lycinus, it's a school of art, this dinner party that you are telling of! Philosophers almost to a man. Good for Aristaenetus, I say, because in celebrating the greatest festival day that there is, he thought fit to entertain the most learned men in preference to the rest of the world, and called 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, Alcibidamas the Cynic romped in uninvited, getting off the commonplace joke about Menelaus coming of his own accord. Most of them thought he had done an impudent

\[1 \textit{Iliad} 2, 408.\]
σχιντα εδοκει πεποιηκεναι και υπεκρονον τα προχειρωτατα, ο μεν το αφραινεις Μενελαε, ο δε

αλλι ουκ Ατρειδη Αγαμεμνον υνδανε θυμω,
και άλλοις άλλα προς των καιρων ευςτοχα και
χαριεντα υποτουθηρουστης εσ μεντοι το φανερον
ουδεις ετολμα λεγειν εδεδωκεςαν γαιρ των Αλκι-
δαμαντα, βοην αγαθων υτεχρον οντα και κρατικω-
τατου κυνον απαντου, παρ ο και ομεσαιν εδοκει
και φοβεροτατας ην απασιν.

'Ο δε 'Αριστανετος επανισεας αυτων εκελευ
θρονον τια αλαβατα καβιςαθαι παρ 'Ιστιαιην
τε και Διουσοδιρουν. ο δε, "Απαγε," φησιν,
"γυναικεων λεγεις και μαλαθακον επι θρωνο
καβιςεθαι η σκημποδος, ωσπερ υμεις μαλακης
ταυτης ευνης μικρω δευν υπτειν κατακειμενοι
εστιασθε πορφυρωτις υποβεβλημενοι εγω δε και
ορθοσταθην δειπνησαιμ εμπεριπατον άμα τω
συμποσιω ει δε και καμομι, χαμαι των τριβωνα
υποβαλόμενος κεισομαι έπι ιγκανον οιον των
'Ηρακλεα γραφουσιν.

"Ουτως," εφη, "γυνησθω,"
ο 'Αριστανετος, "ει σωι ηδιον" και το ιπο τουτου
περιον εν κυκλω ο Αλκιδαμας εδειπνει ωσπερ οι
Σκοθαι προς την αφθονωτεραν νομην μετεξαινται,
και τοις περιεφερου τα δεδα συμπερινοστων.
και μεντοι και σιτομενος ενεργος ην αρετης περι
και κακιας μεταξυ διεξιων και εσ των χρυσον και των
αργυρον αποσκωπτων ηρωτα γονι των 'Αριστα-
νετου, τι βουλουται αυτω οι τοσαυται και τηλι-
κανται κυλικες των κεραμεων ίσων δυναμεων.

1 άλλοι Bekker: not in MSS.
2 υποβαλομενος Jacobit; υποβαλλομενος MSS.
THE CAROUSEAL, OR THE LAPITHS

thing, and they slyly retorted with the first thing they could think of, one growling under his breath, "Menelaus, thou'rt a fool!"\(^1\) another: "But Agamemnon, Atreus' son, was sorely vexed,"\(^2\) and others other remarks that, in the circumstances, were to the point and witty. But nobody dared to speak out, for they all feared Alcidamas, who was really "good at the war-cry,"\(^3\) and the noisiest of all the Cynic barkers, for which reason he was considered a superior person and was a great terror to everybody.

Aristaeonetus 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 Aristaeonetus; "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 Aristaeonetus what was the use of all those great goblets when earthenware would do just as well. But he had begun to be a bore by

\(^1\) Iliad 7, 109. \(^2\) Iliad 1, 24. \(^3\)Like Menelaus: Iliad 2, 408.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

άλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν ἦδη διενοχλοῦντα ἔπαυσεν ἐς τὸ παρὸν Ἀρισταίνετος τῷ παιδὶ διανεύσας ἐνμεγέθη σκύφων ἀναδοῦναι αὐτῷ ξωρότερον ἐγκέαντα· καὶ ἐδόκει ἄριστα ἐπινευοηκέναι οὐκ εἰδώς ὅσων κακῶν ἠρχὴν ὁ σκύφος ἐκείνος ἐνεδεδώκει. λαβὼν δὲ ἀμα ὁ Ἄλκιδάμας ἔσφησε μικρὸν καὶ ἐς τούδαφος καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐκείτο ἡμώγμνος, ὡστερ ἦπειλήκη, πήξας τὸν ἀγκώμα ὅρθων, ἔχων ἀμα τὸν σκύφον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, οἶος ὁ παρὰ τῷ Φόλῳ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν γραφέων δείκνυται.

Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους συνεχῶς περιεσοθεῖτο ἡ κύλιξ καὶ φιλοτησίαι καὶ ὀμιλίαι καὶ φῶτα εἰσεκεκόμμενο. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ἐγὼ τὸν παρέστωτα τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ παῖδα οἰνοχόον ὅντα ὅραιον ἢδόν υπομειδιῶντα—χρῆ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ὅσα πάρρηγα τῆς ἐστιάσεως εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ τι πρὸς τὸ γλαφυρότερον ἐπράξη—μᾶλα ἦδη παρεφύλαττον ὁ τι καὶ μειδιάσει. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ μὲν προσήλθεν ὡς ἀποληψόμενος παρὰ τοῦ Κλεοδήμου τὴν φιάλην, ὁ δὲ τὸν τε δάκτυλον ἀπέθλυσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ δραχμὰς δύο, οἶμαι, συνανεδωκε μετὰ τῆς φιάλης· ὁ παῖς δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν δάκτυλον θλιβόμενον αὕθις ἐμειδίσαε, ὡς μὴ συνεῖδεν, οἶμαι, τὸ νόμισμα, ὡστε μὴ δεξαμενὸν ψόφον αἰ δύο δραχμαὶ παρέσχον ἐκπεσοῦσαι, καὶ ἱμηθρίασαν ἄμφω μᾶλα σαφῶς. ἢπόρων δὲ οἱ πλησίων οὗτοι εἰς τα νομίσματα, τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς ἀρνομένου μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι, τοῦ δὲ Κλεοδήμου, καθ᾽ ὅν ὁ ψόφος ἐγένετο, μὴ προσποιομένου τῆς ἀπόρριψιν. ἡμελῆθη οὖν καὶ παρώθη τούτο οὖν

1 διανεύσας Fritzsche: δὲ γεῦσας Ω.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

this time, so Aristaenetus put a quietus on him for the moment by directing the waiter to give him a big bowl and pour him out a stiffer drink. He thought that he had had a good idea, little realising what woes that bowl was destined to give rise to. On taking it, Alcidamas kept quiet for a little while, throwing himself on the floor and lying there half-naked as he had threatened, with his elbow squared under him and the bowl in his right hand, just as Heracles in the cave of Pholus is represented by the painters.

By this time the cup was going round continually among the rest of the party, there were toasts and conversations, and the lights had been brought in. Meanwhile, noticing that the boy in attendance on Cleodemus, a handsome cup-bearer, was smiling (I must tell all the incidents of the feast, I suppose, especially whatever happened that was rather good), I began to keep special watch to see what he was smiling about. After a little while he went up to Cleodemus as if to take the cup from him, and Cleodemus pressed his finger and gave him two drachmas, I think, along with the cup. The boy responded to the pressure of his finger with another smile, but no doubt did not perceive the money, so that, through his not taking it, the two drachmas fell and made a noise, and they both blushed very noticeably. Those near by them wondered whose the coins were; for the lad said he had not dropped them, and Cleodemus, beside whom the noise was made, pretended that he had not let them fall. So the matter was disregarded and ignored, since not
πάνιν πολλῶν ἰδίων πλὴν μόνου, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἔδοξε, τοῦ Ἀρισταίνετον μετέστησε γὰρ τὸν παῖδα μικρὸν ὑστερον ἀφανὸς ὑπεξαγαγὼν καὶ τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ τινὰ παραστήναι διένευσε τῶν ἐξώρων ἦδη καὶ καρτερῶν, ὀρεωκόμων τινὰ ἣ ἤπειροκόμων. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὀδὲ πως ἐκεχωρήκει, μεγάλης ἂν αἰσχύνης αὐτῶν τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ γενόμενον, εἰ ἔφθη διαφοιτήσαν εἰς ἀπαντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατέσβη αὐτίκα, ἰδείως πάνιν τοῦ Ἀρισταίνετον τῇ παροινίᾳ ἐνέγκαινος.

"Ὁ Κυνικὸς δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας, ἐπεπόκει γὰρ ἦδη, 16 πυθόμενος ἦτις ἡ γαμομυμενὴ παῖς καλοῖτο;" σιωπὴν παραγγείλας μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀποβλέψας ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, "Προπίνω σοι," ἔφη, "ἡ Κλεανθή, Ἡρακλέους ἀρχηγότον." ὃς δὲ ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπαντας, "Ἐγελάσατε," ἔπευ, "ὁ καθάρματα, ἐπὶ τῇ νύμφῃ προὔπιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμέτερου θεοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους; καὶ μὴν εὖ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὃς ἢν μὴ λάβῃ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸν σκύφον, οὐποτέ τοιοῦτος ἂν νῦδε αὐτὴ γένοιτο οἷς ἑγὼ, ἀτρεπτὸς μὲν ἀλκήν, ἔλευθερος δὲ τὴν γνώμην, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὕτω καρτερὸς." καὶ ἀμα παρεγύμνου ἑαυτὸν μᾶλλον ἀχρὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰσχιστον. αὕτης ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγέλασαν οἱ συμπόται, καὶ ὅσ αὐγανόκτησας ἐπανίστατο δρίμου καὶ παράφοροι βλέπων καὶ δῆλος ἢν οὐκέτι εἰρήνην ἄξων. τάχα δὲ ἀν τινὸς καθικετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, εἰ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰσε- κεκόμιστο πλακοῦς εὐμεγέθης, πρὸς ὑποβλέψας ἡμερώτερος ἐγένετο καὶ ἐλήξε τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ ἐνεφορεῖτο συμπερισών. καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐμέθυνον 17

1 ἀν Bekker: not in MSS.
2 MSS, καλοῖτο (ἡ) 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: "Cleanthis, I pledge you
Heracles, my patron." Since everybody laughed at
that, he said: "Did you laugh, you scum of the
carth, 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. Per-
haps 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
Ηδη καὶ βοής μεστὸν ἦν τὸ συμπόσιον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Διονυσόδωρος ὁ ρήτωρ ἄντιρρῆσεις τινὰς ἐν μέρει διεξῆς· καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν κατόπιν ἐφεστῶτων οἰκετῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἰστιαῖος ὁ γραμματικός ἐρραψώδεις ύστερος κατακείμενος καὶ συνεφερεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ Πινδάρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος, ὡς ἐξ ἀπάντων μίαν φῶς ἡ παγγέλοιον ἀποτελεῖσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνα ύστερ προμαντεύομενος τὰ μέλλοντα,

σὺν δὲ ἐβαλον ῥινοῦς·
καὶ

ἐνθα δὲ ἄρ᾽ οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ εὐχωλῇ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν.
ὁ Ζηνόθεμως δὲ ἀνεγίνωσκε παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς λαβὼν
λεπτόγραφον τι βιβλίον.

Διαλπίτων δὲ ὄλγων, ύστερ εἰσόθασι, τῶν 18
παρακομιζόντων τὰ ὅσα μηχανώμενος Ἀρισταῖ
μετος μηδ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἄτερπὴ τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι μηδὲ
κενὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν γελωτοποιοῦν εἰσελθόντα εἰπεῖν
tὴ πρᾶξαι γελοίον, ὡς ἐτι μᾶλλον οἱ συμπόται
dιαχυθεῖν. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἄμορφος τις ἐξυρημένος
tὴν κεφαλὴν, ὀλγας ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴ τρίχας ὀρθὰς
ἐχων' οὕτως ὀρχησατό τε κατακλῶν εαυτὸν καὶ
dιαστρέφων, ὡς γελοιότερος φανεῖ, καὶ ἀνάπαιστα
συγκροτῶν διεξῆλθεν αἰγυπτιαζῶν τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ
tέλος ἐπέσκωπτεν ἐς τοὺς παρόντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν 19
ἀλλοι ἐγέλων ὅποτε σκωφθεῖεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς

1 ἄντιρρῆσεις Gertz: αὐτοῦ ρήσεις 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

“They 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 unentertaining 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 sling at Alcidasmas 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 ὁμοιὸν τι ἀπέρριψε Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον προσεπτῶν αὐτὸν, ἀγανακτήσας ἐκείνος—καὶ πάλαι δὲ δήλος ὢν φθονῶν αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι καὶ κατέχοντι τὸ συμπόσιον—ἀπορρίψας τὸν τρίβωνα προὐκαλεῖτο οἱ παγκρατιάζειν, εἰ δὲ μή, κατοίσειν αὐτοῦ ἔφη τὴν βακτηρίαν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ κακοδαίμων Χατυρίων—τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ γελωτοποιὸς ἐκαλεῖτο—συστάς ἐπαγκρατίαζε, καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὑπερήφανον ἢν, φιλόσοφος ἄνηρ γελωτοποιὸν ἀνταιρόμενος καὶ παῖων καὶ παιόμενος ἐν τῷ μέρει. οἱ παρόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅδοιντο, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, ἄχρι ἀπηγόρευσε παιόμενος ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ὑπὸ συνεκκροτημένου ἀνθρωπίσκου καταγωνισθείς. γέλως οὖν πολὺς ἐξεχύθη ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς.

'Ενταῦθα Δίονυκος ἐπεισῆλθεν ὁ ἰατρὸς οὐ πολὺ κατόπιν τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ἔβεβραδύκει δὲ, ὡς ἐφασκε, φρενιτιδι ἐκαλοκότα θεραπεύων Πολυπρέποντα τὸν αὐλητήν. καὶ τι καὶ γελοίον διηγήσατο· ἔφη μὲν γὰρ ἐπεσεῖθεν παρ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐχόμενον ἢδη τὸ πάθει, τὸν δὲ ταχέως ἀναστάντα ἐπικλείσαι τε τὴν θύραν καὶ ἔφηδιον σπασάμενον ἀναδόντα αὐτῷ τοὺς αὐλόντως κελεύειν αὐλήιν εἴτα ἐπεί μὴ δύνατο, παίειν σκῦτος ἔχοντα ἐς υπτίας τὰς χεῖρας. τέλος οὖν ἐν τοσοῦτο κυνεῦος ἐπικεφαλάζας τοιάυθε· ἐς ἀγώνα γὰρ προκαλέσαθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ῥητῷ πληγῆν ώριμῷ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς αὐλήσαι πονῆρως, μετὰ δὲ παραδοὺν τοὺς αὐλόντως ἐκεῖνος δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σκῦτος καὶ τὸ.

1 παραδοὺς Bekker: παραδόντα MSS.
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def the same way, calling him a Maltese lapdog,\textsuperscript{1} Alcidamases 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 Alcidamases 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

\textsuperscript{1} The joke here lies primarily in the play on κωπέ (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.
ξιφίδιον καὶ ἀπορρῆψαι τάχιστα διὰ τῆς φωτα- γωγοῦ ἔστα τὸ ὑπαίθρον τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἄσφαλέστερος ἦδη προσπαλαίων αὐτῷ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς γειτνίδους, ύφ᾽ ὃν ἀναστα- σάντων τὸ θύριον σωθῆμαι αὐτὸς. ἔδεικνυ δὲ καὶ σημεῖα τῶν πληγῶν καὶ ἀμυχᾶς τινὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Διόνικος οὐ μεῖον εὐδοκιμήσας τοῦ γελωτοποιοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ διηγήσει πλησίον τοῦ Ἰστι- αίου παραβύσας ἑαυτὸν ἔδειπνει ὡσα λουτά, σὺκ ἀνευ θεοῦ τινος ἡμῶν ἐπιπαρών, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω χρήσιμος τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γεγενημένοις. παρελ- θὼν γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον οἰκῆς παρ᾽ Ἐτοιμοκλέους τοῦ Στοῖκοῦ ἤκειν λέγων γραμματίδιον ἔχων κελεῦσαι οἱ ἔφη τὸν δεσπότην ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀναγιόντα εἰς ἐπίκουν ἀπασίει ὡπίσω αὔθεις ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἐφέντος οὐν τοῦ Ἀρισταινέτου προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν λύχνου ἀνεγίνωσκεν.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

"Ἡ που, ὦ Δυκίνε, τῆς νύμφης ἐγκώμιον ἡ ἑπιθαλάμιον, οἷα πολλὰ ποιοῦσιν;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιούτων φήθημεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐγγὺς ἂν τούτον ἐνεγέγραπτο γάρ.

"Ἔτοιμοκλῆς φιλόσοφος Ἀρισταινέτῳ.

"Οπως μὲν ἔχω πρὸς δεῦτπα ὁ παρεληπτοῦς μοι βίος ἀπας μαρτύριον ἂν γένοιτο, ὡς γε ὁση- μέραι πολλῶν ἐνοχλούντων παρὰ πολὺ σοῦ πλουσιωτέρων ὁμοῖς οὐδὲ πώποτε φέρων ἐμαυτὸν

1 αὐτός Bekker: αὐτῶν MSS.
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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 Histiacus 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
Τῶν τούτων  ἐπὶ τοῖς συμποσίοις θορύβους καὶ παροιμίας. ἐπὶ σοῦ δὲ μόνον εἰκότως ἀγανακτήσας μοι δοκῶ, ὅσ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λιπαρῶς τεθεραπευμένος οὐκ ἤξιωσας ἐναρίθμησαι κἂρε τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μόνος ἐγώ σοι ἀμοιρος, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ γειτόνων οίκων. ἀνωτέρω οὖν ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ πλέον οὔτως ἀχαρίστως φανέντω ἐμοὶ γὰρ η ἐυδαιμονία οὐκ ἐν ὑσ ἄγριον μοίρα ἡ λαγωνὶ ἡ πλακοῦντος, ἠ παρ' ἄλλοις ἄφθονως ἀπολαῦω τὰ καθήκοντα εἰδόσων, ἐπεί καὶ τῆμερον παρὰ τῷ μαθητῇ Παμμένει δειπνῆσαι πολυτέλεις, ὡς φασί, δεδήπου δυνάμενος οὐκ ἐπένευσα ἱκετεύοντι, σοὶ ὁ ἄνοητος ἐμαυτῶν φυλάττων. σοῦ 23 δὲ ἡμᾶς παραλιπῶν ἄλλους εὐωχεῖς, εἰκότως οὔτω γὰρ δύνασαι διακρίνειν τὸ βέλτιον οὐδὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν ἔχεις. ἀλλὰ οἶδα δὲν μοι ταῦτα, παρὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου φιλοσόφων, Ζηνοθέμιδος καὶ Λαβυρίνθου, δὲν—ἀπείη δὲ ἡ Ἀδράστεια—συνελογισμῷ ἐνὶ ἀποφράξαι ἂν μοι τάχιστα δοκῶ τὰ στόματα. ἡ εἰπάτω τις αὐτῶν, τί ἐστὶ φιλοσοφία; ἡ τὰ πρῶτα ταῦτα, τί διαφέρει σχέσις ἔξεως; ἦνα μὴ τῶν ἀπόρων εἶπο τι, κερατίναν ἡ σωφρίτην ἡ θερίζοντα λόγον.

1 ἐπὶ MSS.: ἐν Fritsche, perhaps rightly.
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with the disturbances and riotous doings at dinner-parties. But in your case and yours only I think I have reason to be angry, because you, to whom I have so long ministered indefatigably, did not think fit to number me among your friends: no, I alone do not count with you, and that too though I live next door. I am indignant, therefore, and more on your account than on my own, because you have shown yourself so thankless. For me, happiness is not a matter of getting a wild boar, a hare or a cake—things which I enjoy ungrudged at the tables of other people who know what is right. Indeed, today I might have had dinner with my pupil Pammenes (and a splendid dinner, too, they say), but I did not accede to his entreaties, saving myself for you, fool that I was. You, however, have given me the go-by and are entertaining others. No wonder, for you are even yet unable to distinguish between the better and the worse, and you have not the faculty of forming concepts, either. But I know where all this comes from—those wonderful philosophers of yours, Zenothemis and the Labyrinth, whose mouths I could very soon stop, I know, with a single syllogism, Heaven forgive me for boasting! Just let one of them say what philosophy is, or, to go back to the elements, what is the difference between attribute and accident.¹ I shall not mention any of the fallacies like 'the horns,' 'the heap,' or 'the mower.' ²

¹ More literally, 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
ΤΑΙΤΤΑ ΕΓΩ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΛΕΛΟΓΗΜΑΙ.

ΕΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΥ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΟΡΓΙΩΣΘΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΔΟΚΩ, ΤΟ 25
ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΝΕΑ ΕΥΝΟΙΣΟΝ ΩΦΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ
'ΑΡΤΕΜΙΝ ΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΟΥΣΑΝ, ΟΤΙ ΜΟΝΗ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΥ
ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΕΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΣΙΑΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΆΛΛΟΥΣ
ΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΣΤΙΩΝ. ΦΗΣΙ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ "ΟΜΗΡΟΣ
ΩΔΕ ΠΩΣ:

Η ΛΑΒΕΤ Η ΟΥΚ ΕΥΝΟΙΣΕΝ, ΑΛΑΣΑΤΟ ΔΕ ΜΕΓΑ ΘΥΜΟΥ-
ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ:

ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΗΔΕ ΓΑΙΑ, ΠΕΛΟΠΙΑΣ ΧΘΟΝΟΣ
ΕΝ ΑΝΤΙΠΟΡΘΜΟΙΣ, ΠΕΔΙ ΕΧΟΝΟΣ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ.
ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ:

ΟΥΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΧΡΗΜ' ΕΠ' ΟΙΝΕΩΣ ΓΥΝΑΙ
ΑΝΗΚΕ ΔΗΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΕΚΗΒΟΛΟΣ ΘΕΑ.

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ΕΣΤΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΔΩΚΑΣ, ΕΙΚΟΤΩΣ.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

"Well, much may your philosophers profit you! Holding as I do that only what is honourable is good, I shall easily stand the slight. But you need not think you can afterwards take refuge in the plea that you forgot me in all the confusion and bother, for I spoke to you twice to-day, not only in the morning at your house, but later in the day, when you were sacrificing at the temple of Castor and Pollux.

"If you think that I am angry over a mere dinner, call to mind the story of Oeneus and you will see that Artemis herself was angry because she was the only one whom he had not asked to the sacrifice when he entertained all the rest of the gods. Homer puts it something like this:

Whether he forgot or would not, greatly was his soul at fault.¹

Euripides says:

This land is Calydon, lying over seas
From Pelops' isle; a land of fertile plains.²

And Sophocles:

A boar, a monstrous thing, on Oeneus' fields
Turned loose Latona's lass, who kills afar.³

"I bring to your attention only these few points out of many, so that you may learn what sort of man you have left out in favour of Diphilus, whom you entertain and have put in charge of your son. No proves that one grain of corn makes a heap; in "the mower," that a man who says he will mow a field will not and cannot mow it. Several other fallacies are illustrated in "Philosophers for Sale," 22. ¹ Iliad 9, 537. ² From the lost Meleager of Euripides. ³ From the lost Meleager of Sophocles.
ὁδὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ πρὸς χιλιὼν αὐτῶν σύνεστιν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὸν ἢν ἐμὲ λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶν ἂν τι προσέβηκα, ὅπερ σύ, εἰ θέλεις, παρὰ Ζωπύρου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ᾗν μάθοις ἀληθείς ὄν. ἀλλ' ὥστε χρή ταράττειν ἐν γάμωις οὐδὲ διαβιβάλλειν ἄλλους, καὶ μᾶλλα ἐφ' οὕτως αἰσχρὰς αἰτίας καὶ γὰρ εἰ Δίφιλος ἅξιος δύο ἦδη μαθητάς μου περιστάσας, ἀλλ’ ἔγωγε φιλοσοφίας αὐτῆς ἕνεκεν σιωπήσομαι.

"Προσέταξα δὲ τῷ οἰκέτῃ τούτῳ, ἵνα διδόῃ αὐτῷ 27 μοιράς τινα ἢ συνὸς ἢ ἐλάφου ἢ σησαμοῦντος, ως ἐμοὶ διακομίσει καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπολογία γένοιτο, μὴ λαβεῖν, μὴ καὶ δόξωμεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεπομφέναι."

Τούτων, ὡς ἐταύρε, ἀναγινωσκομένων μεταξὺ 28 ἱδρός τε μοι περιεχόμενο ὑπ’ αἴδονσ, καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, χανεῖν μοι τὴν γῆν ἡχομήν ὅροιν τοὺς παρόντας γελῶντας ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ καὶ μᾶλλα ὅσοι ἦςεσαν τοῦ Ἐστομοκλέα, πολίον ἀνθρωπον καὶ σεμνόν εἶναι δοκοῦντα. ἑθαύμαζον οὖν οἷος ὅν διαλάθοι αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατωμένους τῷ πόγουν καὶ τῇ τοῦ προσώπου ἐντάσει. ὁ γὰρ Ἀρισταῖνετος ἑδοκεὶ μοι οὐκ ἄμελείᾳ παριδεῖν ἂν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὔποτ' ἃν ἐπίπτεσας κληθέντα ἐπινεύσαι οὔδ' ἂν ἐμπαρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν τοιύτῳ των· ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἁρχὴν περισάθαι ἦξιον. ἔπει δ' οὖν ἐπαύσατό 29 ποτε ὁ οἰκέτης ἀναγινώσκων, τὸ μὲν συμπόσιον ἅπαν εἰς τοὺς ἅμφι τὸν Ζήνωνα καὶ Δίφιλον ἀπεβλεπε δεδοικότας καὶ ὁχρῶντας καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ

1 κἀν Fritzsche: καὶ ἂν MSS.
2 MSS. παριδεῖν (urged by Fritzsche) and περιδεῖν.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

wonder, for he is nice to the boy and likes to be with him. If it were not beneath me to say such things, I might have told you something more, and if you wished you could find out from Zopyrus, the boy's attendant, that it is true. But it is wrong to make trouble at a wedding and to defame others, especially with charges so unseemly. Albeit Diphilus deserves it for having won two pupils away from me, I shall hold my tongue in deference to Philosophy herself.

"I have directed my servant, in case you offer him a portion of boar's flesh or venison or sesame-cake to bring to me as an excuse for not asking me to dinner, not to take it, for fear it may seem as though I sent him with that in view."

While all that was being read, my dear fellow, the sweat poured off me for shame, and to quote the saying, I prayed that the earth would swallow me when I saw the guests all laughing at every sentence, especially as many as knew Hetoemecles, a man with gray hair who looked to be high-minded. It was a marvel to me that such a man had hoodwinked them, deceiving them with his beard and the concentration expressed in his features. It was my notion that Aristaenetus had not carelessly overlooked him, but that, not thinking he would accept if invited, he would not expose himself to any such treatment, and so thought best not to try him at all. When at last the slave stopped reading, the whole party looked at Zeno and Diphilus, who were frightened and pale, and by the distress in their faces acknowledged the truth of the
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tων προσώπων ἐπαληθεύοντας τὰ υπὸ τοῦ Ἐτοιμοκλέους κατηγορθέντα: ο Ἀρισταίνετος δὲ ἐτετάρακτο καὶ θορύβου μεστὸς ἦν, ἐκέλευε δ' ὦμος πίνειν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπειράτο εὖ διατίθεσθαι τὸ γεγονός ὑπομειδιών ἄμα, καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἀπέπεμψεν εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐπιμελήσεται τούτων. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζήμων ὑπεξανέστη ἄφανῶς, τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ νεόσαντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ὡς κελεύσαντος τοῦ πατρός.

Ὁ Κλεόνημος δὲ καὶ πάλαι τινὸς ἀφορμῆς δεόμενος—ἐβούλετο γὰρ συμπλακῆναι τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς καὶ διερρήμυντο ὡς ἐχον ἄρχην εὐλογον—τότε οὖν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον παρασχοῦση τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, "Τοιαῦτα," ἐφη, "ἐξεργάζεται ὁ καλὸς Χρύσιππος καὶ Ζήμων ὁ θαυμαστὸς καὶ Κλεάνθης, ῥημάτια δύστην καὶ ἑρωτήσεις μόνον καὶ σχήματα φιλοσοφῷ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα Ἐτοιμοκλέης οἱ πλείστοι· καὶ αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ ὅρατε ὅπως πρεσβυτικαί, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Οἰνέυς μὲν Ἀρισταίνετος, Ἐτοιμοκλῆς δὲ Ἄρτεμις. Ἡράκλεις, εὐφημα πάντα καὶ ἑορτῇ πρέποντα. "Νη Δῇ," εἶπεν ὁ Ἐρμων ὑπερκατακείμενος "ἡ κηκοί γὰρ, οὐκ, ἐν τίνα ἐσκευάσθαι Ἀρισταίνετω ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον, ὥστε ὦκ ἀκαιρον ἐδοκεὶ μεμνῆσαι τοῦ Καλυδώνιον. ἦλα πρὸς τῆς Ἐστίας, ὁ Ἀρισταίνετε, πέμπτε ὡς τάχιστα τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὑπὸ λυμοῦ ὅστερ ὁ Μελέαγρος ἀπομαρανθεῖς. καὶ τοιοῦ ὁδὲν ἄν πάθοι δεινῶν ἀδιάφορα γὰρ ὁ Χρύσιππος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἥγειτο." "Χρυσίππου 32
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charges brought by Hetoemocles. Aristaenetus was perturbed and full of confusion, but he told us to go on drinking just the same and tried to smooth the business over, smiling as he did so; the servant he sent away with the words: "I will see to it." After a little while Zeno withdrew unobservedly, for his attendant directed him to go, as if at the bidding of his father.

Cleodemus had long been looking for an opportunity, as he wanted to pitch into the Stoics and was ready to burst because he could not find a satisfactory opening. But at last the letter gave him his cue, and he said: "That is what your noble Chrysippus does, and your wonderful Zeno and Cleanthes! They are nothing but miserable phrase-makers and question-mongers, philosophers in dress, but in all else just like Hetoemocles, most of them. And the letter—look how senile it is! To cap all, Aristaenetus is Oeneus and Hetoemocles is Artemis! Good Lord! In excellent taste, all of it, and just the thing for a festive occasion!" "Yes," said Hermon, from his place above Cleodemus, "I suppose he had heard that Aristaenetus had a boar ready for the dinner, so that he thought it not inopportune to mention the boar of Calydon. Come, Aristaenetus, in the name of Hospitality send him a portion with all speed, for fear you may be too late and the old man may waste away like Meleager from hunger! Yet it would be no hardship to him, for Chrysippus held that all such things are of no import." ¹

¹ The Stoics divided the objects of human endeavour into three classes—the good, which were to be sought; the bad, which were to be shunned; and the indifferent, or unimportant, which were neither to be sought nor shunned.
γὰρ μέμνησθε ὑμεῖς,” ἐφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμες ἐπεγείρας ἑαυτὸν καὶ φθεγξάμενος παρμέγεθε, “Ἡ ἄφ’ ἔνος ἄνδρος οὐκ ἐννόμως φιλοσοφοῦντος Ἐστοιμοκλέους τοῦ γῆς τοῦ μετείχε τὸν Κλεάνθην καὶ Ζήνωνα σοφοῦς ἄνδρας; τίνες ¹ δε καὶ οὗτε ὑμεῖς ἔρειτε ταῦτα; οὐ σὺ μὲν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἡδη, ὁ Ὁ Ερμων, τοὺς πλοκάμους περικέκαρκας χρυσοῦς ὄντας; καὶ δώσεως δύκην παραδεχείς τῷ δημῷ. οὐ δὲ τὴν Σω- στράτου γυναῖκα τοῦ μαθητοῦ ἐμοίχευες, ὁ Κλέω- δημε, καὶ καταληψθεῖς τὰ ἀσχίστα ἐπάθες. οὐ σωπηθήσεσθε οὐν τοιαύτα συνεπιστάμενοι ἑαυτοῖς;” “Αλλʼ οὐ μαστρόπος ἐγώ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γυναικός,” ἢ δ’ ὅς ὁ Κλεόδημος, “ὁσπερ σὺ, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἔνοι μαθητοῦ λαβὼν τοὐφόδιον παρακαταθήκας ἐπειτα ὁμοσα κατὰ τής Πολιώδου μὴ εἰδηφέναι, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τέταρσι δραχμαῖς δανείζω, οὐδὲ ἄγγι τούς μαθητάς, ἢμ μὴ κατὰ καρδίν ἀποδώσι τοὺς μισθοὺς.” “Αλλ’ ἐκεῖνο,” ἐφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμες, “οὐκ ἂν ἔξαρνος γένοι μὴ οὐχί φάρμακον ἀποθέσθαι Κρίτωνι ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρα.” καὶ ἄμα, ἔτυχε γὰρ 33 πίνων, ὅπωσιν ἐτί λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ κύλικῃ, περί ἡμιν σχέδου, κατεσκέδασεν αὐτοῖν. ἀπέλαυσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ιων τῆς γειτονίσεως, οὐκ ἀνάξιος ὄν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἐρμων ἀπεξῆς έκ τῆς κεφάλης τοῦ ἁκρατοῦ προνευκός καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐμαρτύρετο, οἷα ἐπεπόθει. ὁ Κλεόδημος δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἔίχε κύλικα—ἐπιστραφεῖς προσέπτυσε τε τῶν Ζηνόθεμῳ καὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ πόγωνος λαβόμενος ἐμελλε παίσειν κατὰ κόρρης, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἄν τὸν

¹ tīves Bekker: olīves MSS.
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"What, do you dare to mention the name of Chrysippus?" said Zenothemis, rousing himself and shouting at the top of his voice. "Dare you judge Cleanthes and Zeno, who were learned men, by a single individual who is not a regular philosopher, by Hetoetmecles 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, Cleodenus, 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 Cleodenus, "nor did I take my foreign pupil's allowance in trust and then swear by Athena Polias that I never had it, nor do I lend money at four per cent. a month, nor throttle my pupils if they fail to pay their fees in time." "But you can't deny," said Zenothemis, "that you sold Crito a dose of poison for his father!" And with that, being in the act of drinking, he flung on the pair all that was left in the cup, and it was about half full! Ion also got the benefit of his nearness to them, and he quite deserved it. Well, Hermon, bending forward, began wiping the wine from his head and calling the guests to witness what had been done to him. But Cleodenus, 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.
γέροντα, εἰ μὴ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐπέσχε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ύπερβας τὸν Ζηνόβεμιν ἐς τὸ μέσου αὐτοῖν κατεκλῆθη, ὡς διασταλεῖν ὑπὸ διατειχίσματι αὐτῷ εἰρήμην ἁγοντες.

'Εν ὀσφ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ποικίλα, ὁ Φίλων, 34 ἐγώ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐνενόοιν, οἶον¹ τὸ πρόχειρον ἐκεῖνο, ὡς οὐδὲν ὁφελος ἦν ἄρα ἐπίστασθαι τὰ μαθήματα, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ τὸν βίον ρυθμύζοι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐκεῖνον γοῦς περιττός ὅντας ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐόρων γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὕφλησκάνοντας. ἔπειτα εἰσήγη με, μὴ ἄρα τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενον ἀλήθες ἢ καὶ τὸ πεπαιδεύσθαι ἀπάγη τῶν ὀρθῶν λογισμῶν τοὺς ἐς μόνα τὰ βιβλία καὶ τὰς ἐν ἐκείνων φροντίδας ἀτενὲς ἀφορώτας· τοσούτων γοῦν φιλοσόφων παρόντων οὐδὲ κατὰ τόχην ἔνα τινὰ ἔξω ἀμαρτήματος ἢν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἑποίουν αἰσχρὰ, οἱ δ' ἐλεγον αἰσχίον οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἔτι ἀναφέρειν εἶχον τὰ γνώμενα λογιζόμενος οἷα ὁ Ἐστομοκλῆς ἅστιος ἔτι καὶ ἄποτος ἔγεργαφε. ἀνέστραπτο οὖν τὸ 35 πράγμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται κοσμίως πάνυ ἐστιώμενοι οὕτε παροιμοῦντες οὕτε ἄσχημονοὺντες ἐφαίνοντο, ἀλλ' ἐγέλουν μόνον καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν, οἷμαι, οὕς γε ἑθαύμαζον οἴδομεν τινὰς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν σχήματων, οἱ σοφοὶ δὲ ἕσελγαίον καὶ ἔλοιποντο καὶ ὑπερενετίμπλαντο καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἔστησαν. ὁ θαυμάσιος δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας καὶ ἐσύρει ² ἐν τῷ μέσῳ οὐκ

¹ οἶον Fritzche: not in MSS.
² καὶ ἐσύρει Buttmann: καὶ ἐνοῦρεi MSS.: καὶ ἐνοῦρεi Fritzche.
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
αἰτούμενος τὰς γυναίκας. καὶ ἐμοὶ ἔδοκει, ὡς ἂν ἄριστὰ τις εἰκάσειν, ὅμοιότατα εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ οἷς περὶ τῆς Ἑρώδους οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ κληθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τοῦ Πηλέως τὸν γάμον ῥῆψαι τὸ μῆλον εἰς τὸ συνδειπνον, ἀφ' οὐ τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ἔτπ᾽ Ἡλίῳ γεγενήσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἐστομοκλῆς τοῖς ἔδοκει μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ὁσπὲρ τὴ μῆλον οὐ μείω τῆς Ἡλίῳς κακὰ ἐξεργάσασθαι.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἀμφὶ τῶν Ζηνόθεμων καὶ Κλεόδημον φιλονεικοῦντες, ἐπεὶ μέσος αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐγένετο· ἀλλὰ, “Νῦν μὲν,” ἐφη ὁ Κλεόδημος, “ἰκανὸν, εἰ ἐλεγχθεῖτε ἀμαθεῖς ὀντες, αὕριον δὲ ἀμυνοῦμαι ὑμᾶς ὡστινα καὶ χρή τρόπων ἀπόκριναι μοι οὖν, ὁ Ζηνόθεμος, ἡ σὺ ἡ ὁ κοσμιώτατος Δήφιλος, καθ᾽ ὁ τι ἀδιάφορον εἶναι λέγουντες τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτήσιν οὐδὲν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τούτῳ ἐξ ἀπάντων σκοπεῖτε ὡς πλεῖον κτήσεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἀμφὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀεὶ ἔχετε καὶ δανείζετε καὶ τοκογλυφεῖτε καὶ ἐπὶ μυσθῷ παιδεύετε, πάλιν τε αὐτὶ τὴν ἰδονὴν μισοῦντες καὶ τῶν Ἴπικουρείας καθηγοροῦντες αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἰδονῆς ἐνεκα ποιεῖτε καὶ πᾶσχετε, ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰ τὶς μὴ καλέσειεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰ δὲ καὶ κληθεῖτε, τοσαύτα μὲν ἐσθίοντες, τοσαύτα δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπιδιδόντες”—καὶ ἀμα λέγων τὴν ἱδονὴν περιστὰν ἐπεχείρει, ἢν ὁ παῖς εἰχε τοῦ Ζηνοθέμωδος, μεστὴν οὖσαν παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν, καὶ ἐμελλε λύσας ἀπορρίπτετιν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἐδαφος, ἀλλ᾽ 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.\footnote{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.} 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 τι Bekker: καὶ MSS. excised by Fritzsche.
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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.
ΦΙΛΩΝ

Μεμνήσομαι δή.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Ο τούπων Ἰων, "Πρῶτος οὖν ἀρχομαι," ἔφη, 39 "εἰ δοκεῖ." καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν, "Ἐχρῆν μὲν ἰσος," ἔφη, "τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν παρόντων περὶ ἱδεών τε καὶ ἁσωμάτων εἴπειν καὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀντιλέγοσι μοι ὅποιοι μὴ κατὰ ταῦτα 1 φιλοσοφοῦσι, περὶ γάμων ἔρωτα τὰ εἰκότα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀριστον ἦν μὴ δεῖσθαι γάμων, ἀλλὰ πειθομένους Πλάτωνι καὶ Σωκράτει παιδεραστεῖν μόνοι γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀποτελεσθείειν ἃν πρὸς ἁρετήν· εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ γυναικεῖον γάμον, κατὰ τὰ Πλάτωνι δοκούντα κοινὰς εἶναι ἐχρῆν 2 τὰς γυναικας, ὡς ἔξω ἐςον εἴημεν."


"Ἡ οἶδι πωτ' ἄρ' ἤγ' 4 Ἀρισταϊνέτου ἐν μεγάροις
dίᾳ Κλεανθίς ἀνασσ' ἐτρέφετ' ἐνδυκέως,

1 ταῦτα vulg: ταῦτα MSS.
2 ἐχρῆν du Soul: ἐκεῖνων MSS.
3 ἰων Schäfer, Bekker: οἵμαι MSS.
4 ἄρ' ἤγ' MSS.: ἄρ' Dindorf.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

PHILO
I shall remember, of course.

LYCINUS
Well, Ion said: "Then I will begin first, if you like"; and after a little pause: "Perhaps with men of such distinction here we ought to talk of 'ideas' and incorporeal entities and the immortality of the soul; but in order that I may not be contradicted by all those who are not of the same belief in philosophy, I shall take the topic of marriage and say what is fitting. It were best not to need marriage, but to follow Plato and Socrates and be content with friendship: at all events only such as they can attain perfection in virtue. But if we must marry, we should have our wives in common, as Plato held, so as to be devoid of envy."

These remarks gave rise to laughter, as though they were made out of season. But Dionysodorus said: "Stop your outlandish jabbering! Where can the word envy be found in that sense, and in what author?"1 "What, do you dare open your mouth, you scum of the earth?" said Ion, and Dionysodorus began to give him back his abuse in due form. But the grammarian Histiaeus (simple soul!) said: "Stop, and I will read you a wedding-song," and began to read. The verses were these, if I remember right:

O what a maiden in the halls
   Of Aristaenetus
Her gentle nurture had, our queen
   Cleanthis glorious!

1 The rhetorician carps at Ion for using ἕλεος in the sense of ἕλος, "jealousy in love."
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

προύχουσ’ ἀλλάων πασάων παρθενικάων,
κρέσσων τῆς Κυθέρης ἦδ’ ἄμα¹ τῆς Ἑλένης.
νυμφίε, καὶ σὺ δὲ χαῖρε, κρατερῶν κράτιστε
ἐφήβων,²
κρέσσων Νιρής καὶ Θέτιδος πτέρωδος.
άμμες δ’ αὖθ’ ύμιν τούτων θαλαμήιοι ύμνων
ζυνὸν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρως πολλάκις ἄσομεθα.

Γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτως, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενο-
μένου ἄνελέσθαι ἦδη τὰ παρακείμενα ἔδει, καὶ
ἀνείλοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον καὶ Εὐκριτον
τὴν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκάστους καὶ γὰρ τὰ μάλα καὶ ὁ Χαιρέας
ὅσα ἐκεῖνη ἐκείνῳ καὶ Ἰωνὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ Κλεόδη-
μος. ὁ δὲ Δίφλος ἦξιν καὶ τὰ τῷ Ζήρωνι δὴ
ἀπόντι³ παραδοθέντα φέρεσθαι καὶ ἐλεγε μόνω
παρατεθήναι οἱ αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διακόνους
ἐμάχετο, καὶ ἀντέσπον τῆς ὀρνιθὸς ἐπειλημμένου
ἀσπερ τὸν Πατρόκλου νεκρὸν ἀνθέλκουτε, καὶ
τέλος ἐνικήθη καὶ ἀφήκε πολλῶν γέλωτα παρα-
σχῶν τοὺς συμπόταις, καὶ μάλιστα ἔπει ἡγα-
νάκτει μετὰ τούτῳ ὡς ἀν τὰ μέγιστα ἣδικημένος.

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν “Ερμωνα καὶ Ζηνώθεμιν ἄμα⁴
κατέκευτο, ὁσπερ εἰρηται, ὁ μὲν ὑπεράνω ὁ
Ζηνώθεμις, ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν παρέκειτο δ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ
μὲν ἀλλα πάντα ὅσα, καὶ ἀνείλοντο εἰρήνικως· ἦ

¹ ἄμα Guyot: αὐ MSS.
² Hopelessly corrupt: κράτιστε τεῶν συνεφήβων Dindorf.
³ ἀπόντι Hartman, Herwerden: ἀποντὶ MSS.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

Superior to other maids
As many as there be,
Than Aphrodite prettier
And Helen eke is she.
To you, O groom, a greeting too,
Most handsome of your mates
And handsomer than those of old
Of whom Homer relates.
We unto you the song you hear
Will sing repeatedly
To celebrate your wedding-day:
It's made for both you see! ¹

That caused a laugh, as you can imagine; and
then it was time to take what was set before us.
Arstaenetus and Eucri tus 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
cought 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.
δὲ ὥρις ἦ πρὸ τοῦ "Ερμωνος πιμελεστέρα, οὗτος, ὁμιαί, τυχόν. ἔδει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀναφεύγοντι τὴν ἐαυτὸν ἐκάτερον. ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς ὁ Ζηνόθεμος—καὶ μοι, ὁ Φίλων, πάνω πρόσχεξε τὸν νοῦν, ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν ἣδη τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν πρακτικῶν—ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμος, φημὶ, τὴν παρ’ αὐτῷ ἄφεις τῇ πρὸ τοῦ "Ερμωνος ἀνείλετο πιστέων, ὡς ἐφήν, ὅπως, ὁ δ’ ἀντεπελάβετο καὶ οὐκ εἰς πλεονεκτεῖν. Βοή τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ συμπεσόντες ἔπαιον ἀλλήλους ταῖς ὀρνίσιν αὐταῖς ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα, καὶ τῶν πυγώνων ἐπειδήμμενοι ἐπεκαλούντο βοηθεῖν, ὁ μὲν τὸν Κλεόδημον ὁ "Ερμων, ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμος Ἀλκιδάμαντα καὶ Δίφιλον, καὶ συνισταντο οἱ μὲν ὁς τούτοι, οἱ δ’ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι πλὴρος μόνον τοῦ Ἰωνος· ἐκεῖνος ὃς μέσον ἐαυτὸν ἐφύλαττεν. οἱ δ’ ἐκαθότωσον συμπλακέντες, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζηνόθεμος σκύφον ἀράμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης κείμενον πρὸ τοῦ Ἀριστακέτου βίπτει ἐπὶ τῶν Ἕρμωνα,
κάκεινον μὲν ἀμαρτε, παραὶ δὲ οἱ ἐτράπετ’ ἄλλη, διείλε δὲ τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ κρανίον ἐς δύο χρηστὸ μάλα καὶ βαθεῖ τὸ τραύματι. Βοή οὖν παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κατεπίθηκαν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον αἱ πολλαὶ, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ μειρακίου, ἐπεὶ τὸ αἷμα εἰδε· καὶ ἡ νύμφη δὲ ἀνεπήδησε φοβηθεῖσα περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐν τοσοῦτο δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἠρίστευσε τῷ Ζηνοθέμιδι συμμαχῶν, καὶ πατάξας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τοῦ Κλεόδημου μὲν τὸ κρανίον, τοῦ Ἕρμωνος δὲ τὴν σιαγόνα ἐπέτρυφε καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐνίοις βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειροῦντας κατέτρωσεν· οὐ μὴν ἀπετράποντο ἐκεῖνοι,
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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. Therewith 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;¹ 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.
ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Κλεόδημος ὀρθῶν τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος ἐξώρυττε καὶ τὴν ρίνα προσφύς ἀπέτραγεν, ὁ δὲ Ἑρμὸν τὸν Δίφιλον ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἦκοντα τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ κεφάλῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλιντήρος. ἔτρωθε δὲ καὶ Ἡστιαῖος ὁ γραμματικὸς διαλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπισκεφθῶν, λάξ, οἴμαι, εἰς τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεοδήμου Δίφιλον εἶναι οὕτεντος. ἐκεῖτο γοῦν ὁ ἄθλιος κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν "Ὄμηρον "αἰμ' ἐμέων." πλὴν ταραχῆς γε καὶ δακρύων μεστά ἦν πάντα. καὶ αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἔκοκκον τῷ Χαίρεα περιγυμναίαν, . . . 2 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατέπαυν. μέγιστον δὲ ἦν ἀπάντων κακῶν ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας, ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐτρέφατο, παίων τὸν προστυχόντα· καὶ πολλοὶ ἄν, εὐ ἵσθι, ἔπεσον εἰ μὴ κατέαξε τὴν βακτηρίαν. ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοῖχον ὀρθὸς ἐφεστὼς ἑώρων ἐκάστα ὡρκάνεις, ἔστων ἐπισφαλεῖς διαλύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. Δαπίθασα οὖν καὶ Κενταύρους εἴπες ἄν, εἰ εἰδὲς 3 τραπέζας ἀνατρεπομένας καὶ αἰμα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ σκύ- 

1 γοῦν Α.Μ.Η.: οὖν MSS.
2 Lacuna Gertz: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἰκεῖαι Fritzche: οἱ δὲ ἀτρωτοὶ Bekker.
3 eipēs ἄν, el eides Gertz: elēdes 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
ποτὲ κομίζων, κατελήφθη Ἀλκιδάμας μὲν τὴν ἀυλητρίδα ἀπουγμὼν καὶ πρὸς βίαν συνενεχθήναι αὐτῇ σπουδάζων, Διονυσόδωρος δὲ ἄλλο τι γελοῖον ἐφωράθη πεποιηκός· σκύφος γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου ἐξαναστάντος αὐτοῦ. εἰτ’ ἀπολογούμενος Ἰωνα ἐφη ἀνελόμενον ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ δοῦναι αὐτῷ, ὅπως μὴ ἀπόλοιπο, καὶ ὁ Ἰων κηδεμονικὸς ἔλεγε τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι.

'Επὶ τούτοις διελύθη τὸ συμπόσιον τελευτῆσαν ἐκ τῶν δακρύων αἰθίων ἐς γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλκιδάμαντι καὶ Διονυσοδώρῳ καὶ Ἰων. καὶ ὁ τε τραυμάτιας φοράθην ἐξεκομίζοντο πονήρως ἔχοντες, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ Ζηνόθεμες ἀμφότεραι τῇ μὲν τῆς ρινός, τῇ δὲ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἑπειλημμένος, θοῦν ἀπόλυσθαι ὑπὲρ ἀληθῶν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἐρμωνα καίστερ ἐν κακοῖς ὅντα—

47 δύο γὰρ ὄδοντα ἐξεκέκοπτο—ἀντιμαρτυρεῖθαι λέγοντα, "Μέμνησο μέντοι, ὁ Ζηνόθεμες, ὡς οὐκ ἀδιάφορον ἡγῆ τὸν πόνον" καὶ ὁ νυμφίος δὲ ἀκεσαμένου τὸ τραύμα τοῦ Διόνικου ἀπήγετο ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ταυτίας κατειλημμένος τὴν κεφαλήν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθιγγος ἀνατεθεὶς ἐφ’ οὐ τὴν νύμφην ὑπάξεις ἐμελέτε, πικρὸς οὗ ἄθλιος τοὺς γάμους ἔορτάσας· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁ Διόνικος ἐπεμελεῖτο δὴ τὰ δυνατά, καὶ καθευνίσαστες ἀπήγετο ἐμοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ὁ μὲντοι Ἀλκιδάμας αὐτοῦ ἐμείνειν· οὔ γὰρ ἦδυνηθήσαν ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπει ἄπαξ καταβαλὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης πλαγίως ἐκάθευθε.
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.
Τούτο σοι τέλος, ὁ καλὴ Φίλων, ἐγένετο τοῦ 48 συμποσίου, ἡ ἄμεινον τὸ τραγικὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐπειπεῖν,
pολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαίμονίων,
pολλὰ δ᾿ ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοὶ,
cαὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ’ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη.

ἀπροσδόκητα γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπέβη καὶ ταύτα.
ἐκεῖνὸ γε μὴν 1 μεμάθηκα ἥδη, ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς
ἀπρακτὸν ὄντα συνεστιᾶσθαι τοιούτως σοφοῖς.

1 γε μὴν Bekker, Dindorf: μὴν not in MSS.: γε not in all MSS.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

Well, Philo, that was the end of the dinner-party: it would be better, though, to say at the close as they do in the plays of Euripides:

In many shapes appear the powers above,
And many things the gods surprise us with,
While those we look for do not come about.¹

For all of it, you know, was quite unexpected. This much, however, I have at last learned, that it is not safe for a man of peace to dine with men so learned.

¹ These lines occur at the close of the Alcestis, the Andromache, the Bacchae and the Helen, and, with a slight change, in the Medea.
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