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LUCIAN

VIII

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LUCIAN

VOLUME VIII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
M. D. MACLEOD



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LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

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IN THIS EDITION

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VOLUME II

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LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

VOLUME VI

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VOLUME VII

Dialogues of the Dead—Dialogues of the Sea-Gods—
Dialogues of the Gods (exc. Dearum Iudicium cf. Vol. III)
—Dialogues of the Courtesans.

VOLUME VIII

The Solecist—Lucius or the Ass—Amores—Demos-
thenes—Halcyon—Podagra—Ocypus—The Cynic—Philo-
patris—Charidemus—Nero—Epigram.

PREFACE

The Solecist, The Ass, Affairs of the Heart, Halcyon, Demosthenes, Podagra, Ocypus and *The Cynic* were relegated to this volume because there are good reasons for doubting the Lucianic authorship of some if not all of these works, though they are found in *Γ* and other good manuscripts. *Philopatris, Charidemus* and *Nero* together with the epigram "*On His Own Book*" are certainly not by Lucian and are only found in a few inferior manuscripts.

In addition various letters have been ascribed to Lucian in inferior manuscripts; for details see M. Wittek's *Liste des Manuscrits de Lucien in Scriptorium* 1952. These are in the main *Phalaris Letters*, which were no doubt ascribed to Lucian because of confusion with his *Phalaris A* and *B*; but there are also ten *Scythian Letters* purporting to be from Anacharsis to (1) the Athenians, (2) Solon, (3-10) various other individuals. The style of these *Scythian Letters* has nothing to suggest that Lucian is the author, and the fact that they occur at the end of Lucian's *Anacharsis* shows how they found their way into Lucian's works. However, as one of the manuscripts containing the *Scythian Letters* is the respectable Laurentianus 57.51 (L), they have no doubt as good a claim to appear in this volume as such pseudo-Lucianea as *Charidemus, Philopatris* and *Nero*. Space however does not permit this; those who wish to read the *Scythian Letters* will find them on pp. 102-105 of Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci*, or in F. H. Reuter's *Die Briefe des Anacharsis* (Berlin, 1963).

PREFACE

It should also be mentioned that the Lucianic manuscript Vaticanus Graecus 87 contains a dialogue entitled *Τιμαρίων ἢ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων*, but this work is Byzantine and can be dated to the twelfth century A.D. It found its way into Vaticanus 87 because it is a satirical dialogue strongly influenced by Lucian in general and the *Necyomanteia* in particular. See H. F. Tozer's account in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1881, pp. 241-270.

I have based my text for the *Solecist* on Nilén's Teubner, and for *Podagra* and *Ocypus* on Zimmermann's edition. Elsewhere I have prepared my own text by collation of the manuscripts; I have been considerably helped in this task by use of Nilén's accurate collations of *I*, *B* and *E*. I have also found Albers' critical edition of "*Demosthenis Encomium*" of great value. I also had the benefit of Harmon's translation of the *Solecist*, *Halcyon* and part of *Affairs of the Heart* (this title for the *Amores* is his), together with Rouse's version of part of *The Ass*.

I should like to thank the Rev. J. H. Davies for his help with *Philopatris* and Mr. W. J. F. Davies for correcting the proofs.

LUCIAN

THE SHAM SOPHIST or THE SOLEICIST

This dialogue has been rejected as non-Lucianic by many authorities on the ground that it is unworthy of Lucian's talents and seems to criticise a number of Lucian's own usages. Harmon agreed with this view and suggested that it may have been the work of an unknown schoolmaster who had lived in Egypt (cf. c. 5) and had read *Lexiphanes* (cf. c. 11). This view may well be correct. See, however, my article in *Classical Quarterly*, 1956, where I argue that this dialogue could indeed be by Lucian and is best taken as a spiteful and at times hypocritical attack on a personal enemy who has offended Lucian by criticising his Greek.

An attractive alternative interpretation is Reitz's suggestion that, if the *Solecist* is by Lucian, the contributions of Lucian and Socrates are intended to be ironical and constitute a "reductio ad absurdum" of the activities of the more extravagant Atticists of the day. This view has recently been supported by J. Bompaire (*Lucien Écrivain*) and B. Baldwin (*Classical Review*, 1962) who suggests that someone like Phrynichus of Bithynia, a contemporary of Lucian, or Moeris (of unknown date) may be satirised. This view has the advantage of making the dialogue reputable satire and also accounting for the condemnation of Lucianic usages, but is perhaps too subtle.

Lucian did have a great interest in linguistic minutiae and was capable of writing tediously on

them, as in the *Slip of the Tongue* (vol. 6, pp. 171 ff.), which can hardly be a "reductio ad absurdum" as it was addressed to a patron rather than to critics. Lucian's pronouncements all seem seriously meant, and Socrates' views seem to be quoted with approval. Moreover, in general, they are just those views which one would expect of Lucian, as Socrates recommends Platonic usages (cf. *Lexiphanes* c. 22, F. W. Householder, *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Lucian*, p. 44), but shows a sense of proportion by objecting to usages already obsolescent. If some Lucianic usages are criticised in this dialogue, we should bear in mind that Lucian was a prolific and at times careless writer who could be hypocritical in his personal feuds, and that the reference to Egypt in c. 5 perhaps suggests a late date when Lucian's powers were failing.

It is impossible to produce an adequate translation of this dialogue, as some of the deliberate mistakes are outrageously gross, while others could only have offended the hypercritical. I have contented myself with introducing an obvious blunder in the English, wherever there seems to be a deliberate mistake, however venial, in the Greek. It is hardly necessary to point out that any blunder in the English is not identical with the error in the Greek. The nature of any Greek blunder is explained in a relevant footnote.

ΨΕΥΔΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ Η ΣΟΛΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ¹

1. Ἄρα γε ὁ γνῶναι τὸν σολοικίζοντα δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ φυλάσσει μὴ σολοικίσει δυνατός;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ¹

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ὁ δέ γε μὴ φυλάσσει οὐδὲ γνῶναι τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς φῆς οὐ σολοικίζεις, ἢ πῶς λέγωμεν² περὶ σοῦ;

Codices rettuli ΓΩSUΨN. ΓΩS = γ, UΨ = β.

¹ Personarum nomina Λουκιανός et Σοφιστής βγ: Λυκίως et Σολοικιστής edd.

² λέγωμεν Halm: λέγομεν βγ.

¹ The only other instance of Lucianus as opposed to Lycinus as a speaker's name in a dialogue is in *The Fisher*, where Lucian is defending his *Sale of the Lives*. This could mean that here too Lucian is replying in person to criticism. (Or it could mean that the dialogue is not by Lucian.)

THE SHAM SOPHIST or
THE SOLECIST

LUCIAN¹

1. Is the man who is clever at detecting howlers in the speech of another able to guard against making them himself?

SOPHIST

I for one think so.

LUCIAN

And the man who can't guard against howlers in his own speech can't recognise them in another?

SOPHIST

True enough.

LUCIAN

And what about yourself? Do you say that you don't make any² howlers, or how are we to describe you?

² Lit. solecisms, ignorant mistakes in grammar and speech, of the type for which the people of Soli in Cilicia were proverbially notorious. Sometimes, though apparently not in this dialogue, a distinction was drawn between "barbarisms" (as meaning mistakes in the use of one word) and "solecisms" (as being errors in the syntax of a phrase).

φῆς οὐ for οὐ φῆς (cf. p. 26) is probably not a deliberate mistake; it cannot be one of the three mistakes admitted on p. 8 and φῆς μὴ is used seriously on p. 22.

LUCIAN

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἀπαιδευτος γὰρ ἂν εἴην, εἰ σολοικίζοιμι τηλικούτους ὧν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἕτερον φωρῶσαι δυνήσῃ τοῦτο δρῶντα καὶ ἐλέγξαι τὸν ἀρνούμενον;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Παντάσασί γε.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

ἴθι νῦν ἐμοῦ λαβοῦ σολοικίζοντος, ἄρτι δὲ σολοικιδῶ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐκοῦν εἰπέ.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἄλλ' ἐγώ γε ἤδη τὸ δεινὸν εἴργασμαι, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέγνως.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Παίζεις ἔχων;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Μὰ τοὺς θεούς· ἐπεὶ σολοικίσας ἔλαθόν σε ὡς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον. αὐθις δὲ σκόπει· οὐ γάρ σε φημι δύνασθαι κατανοῆσαι, ἐπεὶ ἂ μὲν οἶσθ', ἂ δ' οὐκ οἶσθα.

THE SOLEICIST

SOPHIST

Well, I should be ignorant if I made them at my age.

LUCIAN

Then you'll also be able to catch someone else out when he makes them and prove your point when he denies it ?

SOPHIST

Certainly.

LUCIAN

Come now and catch me in my howlers ; I'll start the ¹ now.

SOPHIST

Start then.

LUCIAN

But I've already perpetrated the enormity, though you didn't recognise it.

SOPHIST

Are you always joking ?

LUCIAN

Good heavens no ! You let me get away with a howler because you didn't know any better. Pay attention once more. I say you can't catch me, because there are things what ² you know and things what you don't.

¹ ἄρτι with the future is also condemned by Phrynichus and not used by the best writers.

² ἂ μὲν . . . ἂ δὲ (for τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ) is fairly common in Hellenistic Greek; Lucian himself is guilty of this usage in *Timon* 57 and *A Professor of Public Speaking* 15. Cf. also *The Ass* 23.

LUCIAN

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Εἰπέ μόνον.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἄλλὰ καὶ νῦν σεσολοίκισται μοι, σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔγνωσ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Πῶς γάρ, σοῦ μηδὲν λέγοντος;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἐγὼ μὲν λέγω καὶ σολοικίζω, σὺ δ' οὐχ ἔπη τοῦτο δρῶντι· ἐπεὶ ὄφελον καὶ νῦν ἀκολουθήσαι δυνήσῃ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

2. Θαυμαστά λέγεις, εἰ μὴ δυνήσομαι καταμαθεῖν σολοικισμόν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Καὶ πῶς ἂν δύναιο τὸν ἕνα μαθεῖν τοὺς τρεῖς ἀγνοήσας;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Τίνας τρεῖς;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ὅλους ἀρτιγενεῖους.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἐγὼ μὲν σε παίζειν δοκῶ.

THE SOLEICIST

SOPHIST

Just say something.

LUCIAN

But I've just made another howler, though you didn't notice it.

SOPHIST

How so, when you say nothing?

LUCIAN

I am saying things and making howlers, but you don't keep up with me as I do it. I hope¹ you can follow me this time.

SOPHIST

2. I'm surprised to hear you say I won't be able to recognise a howler.

LUCIAN

How could you recognise one when in your ignorance you've missed three?

SOPHIST

What three?

LUCIAN

Three whole bearded monsters I've just perjured² up.

SOPHIST

I think you're joking.

¹ A gross mistake involving (a) the late usage of ὄφελον for ὠφέλες, and (b) its combination with a future indicative.

² ἀρτιγενεῖους is wrongly used for ἀρτιγενεῖς ("new-bearded" for "new-born").

LUCIAN

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἐγὼ δὲ <σέ>¹ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα ἐν τοῖς
λόγοις.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Καὶ πῶς ἂν τις μάθοι μηδενὸς εἰρημένου;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Δέλεκται καὶ σεσολοίκισται τετραπλῆ,² σὺ δ'
οὐκ ἔγνωσ. μέγα οὖν ἄθλον κατέπραξας ἂν, εἴπερ
ἔγνωσ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐ μέγα μὲν, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τῷ ὁμολογήσαντι.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν ἔγνωσ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Πότε³ νῦν;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

"Ὅτε τὸ ἄθλον ἔφην σε καταπράξαι.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐκ οἶδα ὃ τι λέγεις.

¹ σέ δεεστ in codd.: add, edd..

² τετραπλῆ N: τετραπλῆ βγ.

³ πότε; ΛΟΥΚ. νῦν ὅτε . . . β.

THE SOLEICIST

LUCIAN

And I that you don't know when a man makes
howlers in his talk.

SOPHIST

How can anyone know when nothing has been
said ?

LUCIAN

Things have been said and four howlers made, so
that you would have achieved a great succession¹ if
you had recognised them.

SOPHIST

Not a great one but the minimum requirement now
that I've let myself in for this.

LUCIAN

But even now you didn't notice.

SOPHIST

When just now ?

LUCIAN

When I talked of your achieving a succession.

SOPHIST

I don't know what you mean.

¹ ἄθλον ("prize") is wrongly used for ἄθλος ("task").

LUCIAN

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

'Ορθῶς ἔφησ' οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα. καὶ πρόιθι γε ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις ἔπεσθαι, συνήσων ἂν, εἴπερ ἐθέλησῃς.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

3. 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ βούλομαι· σὺ δ' οὐδὲν εἶπας ὧν ἄνθρωποι σολοικίζοντες λέγουσιν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Τὸ γὰρ νῦν ῥηθὲν μικρὸν τί σοι φαίνεται κακὸν εἶναι; ὅμως δὲ ἀκολουθήσον αὐθις, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔμαθες ἐκδραμόντα.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

'Αλλὰ μὴν μεθήκα θεῖν λαγῶ ταχέως. ἄρα παρήξεν¹; ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ἰδεῖν τὸν λαγῶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πολλοὶ γενόμενοι λαγῶ λήσουσί σε ἐν σολοικισμῶ πεσόντες.

¹ παρήξεν S; παρήξει Ω; προήξει Γ; προαρήξει β; προήξεν Mrs.

¹ An intentional tautology.

² The intentional mistake may be ἂν with the future (cf. p. 26), though this is used occasionally in Attic and by Lucian (cf. *Fisherman* 29, *Anacharsis* 17, 25, 31, etc.); or the error may simply be the failure to use the more normal present (or aorist) participle with ἂν when with an optative protasis.

THE SOLECIST

LUCIAN

You're right there; you don't. Advance forward into the lead¹ then, as you don't want to follow, though you shall² be able to understand if you should wish.

SOPHIST

3. But I do wish; but you've said none of the things which men say in making howlers.

LUCIAN

Then you think what I said just now a trifling fault? Nevertheless follow me once more, since you didn't notice what came rushing out.

SOPHIST

Good heavens, I certainly didn't.

LUCIAN

But look here's a hare who³ I've just let rush out. Did it dash past you? You can still see the hare to who I refer. If you can't, there will be hordes of the misbegotten hares whom³ will dash past you unnoticed.

³ The accusative singular λαγῶ (though found in Xenophon) is a deliberate blunder as λαγῶς is second declension. Lucian correctly has λαγῶν in *The Hall* 24.

The context perhaps suggests that nominative plural λαγῶ is to be regarded as a mistake for λαγοί; this, if seriously meant, is a piece of excessive pedantry based on the fact that λαγοί is Sophoclean, whereas λαγῶ has no better authority than Eupolis. Generally speaking, however, λαγῶς is Attic, λαγῶς Ionic and λαγῶς epic, but cf. Athenaeus 9.400. Lucian has λαγῶς three times and λαγῶς four times but no nominative plural form.

LUCIAN

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐ λήσουσιν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Θαυμαστά λέγεις.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Σὺ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν παιδείας διέφθορας, ὥστε μὴδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σολοικίζοντας κατανοῆσαι. [οὐ γὰρ πρόσεστιν αὐτῷ τὸ τίνα.]¹

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

4. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα πῶς λέγεις· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλοὺς ἤδη σολοικίζοντας κατενόησα.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Κἀμὲ τοίνυν εἶση τότε, ὅταν τι τῶν παιδίων γένῃ τῶν τὰς τίτθας θηλαζόντων πιούσας.² εἰ³ οὐ νῦν ἔγνωσ σολοικίζοντά με, οὐδὲ αὐξάνοντα παιδία σολοικισμὸν ποιήσει τῷ μηδὲν εἰδότε.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

¹ οὐ . . . τίνα del. edd..² πιούσας om. N, edd..³ εἰ ex correctione Ω: ἦ Γ: ἦ εἰ U, N, F ex corr., Ω ante corr..

THE SOLEICIST

SOPHIST

They won't get by me.

LUCIAN

But look they're already by you.

SOPHIST

I'm surprised to hear it.

LUCIAN

Too much learning has been your underdoing¹; so you see there's another howler people make without your noticing.

SOPHIST

4. I don't know what you mean by that. I've noticed many people making howlers in my time.

LUCIAN

Then you'll know that I've done so too—on the day when you become one of the babies to whom their nurses give suckle.² If you hasn't³ caught me making a howler this time, you'll be too ignorant to find any howlers no matter how big the child⁴ grow.

SOPHIST

True enough.

¹ The intransitive use of *διέφθορα* (common in late prose) is also censured by Phrynichus and others; *διέφθορα* is transitive in Attic.

² The mistake may be in applying *θηλάζω* in the sense of "suck" to humans; if *πιούσας* is retained, there is perhaps no deliberate mistake as *θηλάζω* in the sense of "suckle" has good authority, whether applied to humans or animals.

³ *εἰ* οὐ may be criticised; it occurs occasionally in Attic, cf. *Zeus Catechised* 5, *Parasite* 12, *Praise of Demosthenes* 21.

⁴ The intransitive use of *αὐξάνω* (not in the best Attic writers) is criticised.

Καὶ μὴν εἰ ταῦτα ἀγνοήσομεν, οὐδὲν γνωσόμεθα τῶν ἑαυτῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε σολοικισθὲν ἀπέφυγε σε. μὴ τοίνυν ἔτι λέγειν, ὡς ἱκανὸς εἶ κατιδεῖν τὸν σολοικίζοντα καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ σολοικίζειν.

5. Καγὼ μὲν οὕτως. Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ Μόψου, ᾧ συνεγενόμην ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν ἀνεπαχθῶς καὶ οὐκ ἤλεγχε τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα.

Πρὸς μὲντοι τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα πηνίκα ἔξεισιν, Τίς γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, <φαίη>¹ σοι περὶ τῆς τήμερον ὡς ἔξιῶν; ἐτέρου δὲ φήσαντος, Ἰκανὰ ἔχω τὰ πατρῶα, Πῶς φῆς; εἶπε· τέθνηκεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ σοι; ἄλλου δὲ αὐθις λέγοντος, Πατριώτης ἔστι μοι· Ἐλάνθανες ἄρα ἡμᾶς, ἔφη, βάρβαρος ὢν. ἄλλου δὲ εἰπόντος,

¹ φαίη (deest in βγ) add. Nilén: ἀποκριθῆ N.

¹ ἑαυτῶν for ἡμῶν αὐτῶν is the mistake, though found in Thucydides. Cf. *True Story* 1, 6, *The Ass* 8. For other Lucianic misuses of reflexive pronouns, see *Banquet* 45, *Hermotimus* 1, *Demonax* 17, *Dialogues of the Dead* 1, 3, etc.

² The infinitive for imperative may be meant as a mistake, though it occurs in Attic; cf. *The Ignorant Book Collector* 7, *Professor of Public Speaking* 10, *Mistaken Critic* 16, *Saturnalia* 21.

³ Socrates of Mopsus is unknown. Mopsus is presumably a placename, and perhaps Mopsuestia in Cilicia. It is tempting, however, to identify Socrates with Demonax of Cyprus of whom Lucian says ἐπὶ μῆκιστον συνεγενόμην (*Demonax* 1), that he was like Socrates (ibid. 5), that he criticised in a nice way (6), and had a healthy contempt for archaisms and barbarisms (26); but no Mopsus is known in Cyprus. The *Etymologicum Magnum* does quote once

However if we remain ignorant of these ones, we won't recognise any made by we¹ ourselves, for there's another one you missed. So never again to² claim you're competent to spot howlers made by others and to avoid them yourself.

5. Well that's my way of putting the matter; but Socrates of Mopsus,³ whom I knew⁴ in Egypt, used to put that sort of thing tactfully without showing up the offender.

To the man who asked him the hour⁵ he was leaving home, he replied, "Who could answer such an untimely question? I've already left for to-day."

When another said, "I'm the possessor⁶ of no mean hereditament," he asked, "How do you mean? Is your father dead then?"

When yet another said, "He's a townee⁷ of mine," he said, "You didn't tell us you hailed from the wilds."

from "Socrates the grammarian" but the text seems doubtful.

⁴ Or perhaps "under whom I studied"; cf. preceding note.

⁵ Phrynichus censures the use of πηνίκα for πόρε; but this passage seems to go farther and imply that πηνίκα should mean "at what o'clock to-day?" Perhaps ἔξεισιν is used loosely for ἀποδηήσοι, but ἔξιῶν properly for "leave the house"; cf. *Timon* 4. Alternatively Socrates may be objecting to the use of ἔξεισιν as a present tense.

⁶ In Attic prose πατρώος should refer to patrimonial possessions and πάτριος to hereditary background. Cf. *Timon* 12, *Scythian* 4, *Peregrinus* 4.

⁷ πατριώτης (as opposed to πολίτης) should only be used of non-Greeks as having no πόλις. Cf. *Pollux*, 3, 54.

'Ο δεινά ἐστι μεθύσης, Μητρός, εἶπεν, ἢ πῶς λέγεις; ἐτέρου δέ < . . . λέγοντος > λέοντας,¹ Διπλασιάζεις,² ἔφη, τοὺς λέοντας.³ εἰπόντος δέ τινος, Λήμμα πάρεστιν αὐτῷ, διὰ τῶν δύο μ,⁴ Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, λήψεται, εἰ λήμμα αὐτῷ πάρεστιν. ἐτέρου δέ εἰπόντος, Πρόσεισω ὁ μείραξ οὐμὸς φίλος, "Ἐπειτα, ἔφη, λοιδορεῖς φίλον ὄντα; πρὸς δέ⁵ τὸν εἰπόντα, Δεδίττομαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φεύγω, Σύ, ἔφη, καὶ ὅταν τινὰ εὐλαβηθῆς, διώξῃ. ἄλλου δέ εἰπόντος, Τῶν φίλων ὁ κορυφαιότατος, Χάριέν γε, ἔφη, τὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ποιεῖν τι ἐπάνω. καὶ ἐξορμῶ δέ τινος εἰπόντος, Καὶ τίς ἐστιν, εἶπεν, ὄν ἐξορμᾶς; Ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς δέ τινος εἰπόντος, Ἐκ τῆς ἐπιπολῆς, εἶπεν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς πιθάκης. λέγοντος δέ τινος Συνετάξατό μοι, Καὶ λόχον δέ, ἔφη, Ξενοφῶν

¹ lacunam ante λέοντας (δέοντας β) statuit Nilén: . . . λέγοντος λέοντας conieci: διαλέγοντας Rothstein. ² διπλασιάζει β.

³ λέοντας β.

⁴ διὰ . . . μ del. E. H. Warmington.

⁵ δέ S: om. cett. codd..

¹ μεθύσης as a masculine nominative has poor authority; Socrates rightly regards it as a genitive feminine.

² The mistake is now lost from the Greek; Socrates' reply suggests he may be objecting to a poetic word for two, or a dual form, or an incorrect reduplication.

³ The mistake is in using λήμμα (gain) for λῆμα (spirit).

⁴ μείραξ should be used of girls.

⁵ δεδίττομαι means "frighten" not "fear" in Attic.

⁶ Phrynichus also condemns this tautological superlative used in *Alexander* 30, *Parasite* 42, *How To Write History* 34.

⁷ The intransitive use of ἐξορμῶ (not found in good Attic prose) is censured but cf. *Dialogues of the Dead* 25, 2, *True Story* 2, 4.

⁸ The mistake is ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς (found in *Nigrinus* 35) for ἐπιπολῆς. It should perhaps be written as one word,

When someone else said, "So-and-so is a drunken¹ mother's son," he said, "Does his mother drink? Or what do you mean?"

When someone else said "〈Twofold?〉 lions,"² he said, "You're doubling your lions."

When another man said, "He's a man of talents"³ (instead of using "talent" in the singular), he said, "Then he'll be in the money, if he's got talents."

When another said, "My friend, that filly⁴ of a lad, will be coming," he said, "Why then insult your friend? He's no girl."

To the man who said "I affright⁵ the man and run away from him," he said, "Then you'll be the pursuer even when you're afraid of someone."

When another said, "My chiefest friend,"⁶ he said, "How clever of you to elevate him above your chief friend!"

When someone said, "I speed⁷ forth," he said, "Whom do you speed forth?"

When a man said, "From⁸ outside," he said, "From the outside, like from the bottom of the barrel."

When someone said, "He gave me my marching orders,"⁹ he said, "Xenophon also gave his troops their order of march."

as Phrynichus criticises it as wrongly formed on the analogy of ἐξάφνης. Phrynichus rightly recommends the adverbial ἐπιπολῆς (found in Attic and *True Story* 2.2, *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 9.2); Socrates less correctly sanctions the late noun ἐπιπολή.

⁹ Socrates objects to *συνάττομαι* with the dative (probably in the sense of "bid farewell to", as ἀποάσομαι in this sense is condemned by Phrynichus).

συνετάξατο. ἄλλου δὲ εἰπόντος, Περιέστην αὐτον ὥστε λαθεῖν, Θαυμαστόν, ἔφη, εἰ εἰς ὧν περιέστης τὸν ἕνα. ἑτέρου δὲ λέγοντος, Συνεκρίνεται αὐτῷ, Καὶ διεκρίνεται πάντως, εἶπεν.

6. Εἰάθει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σολοικίζοντας Ἀττικῶς παίξειν ἀνεπαχθῶς πρὸς γούν τὸν εἰπόντα, Νῶι τοῦτο δοκεῖ, Σὺ, ἔφη, καὶ νῶν ἑρείς ὡς ἀμαρτάνομεν, ἑτέρου δὲ σπουδῆ διηγουμένου τι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ εἰπόντος, Ἡ δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μὴθῆσα, Οὐκ ἄρα, ἔφη, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐμίχθη αὐτῇ; Καρῆναι δὲ τινος εἰπόντος ὡς δέοιτο, Τί γάρ, ἔφη, σοὶ δευρὸν εἶργασται καὶ ἄξιον ἀτιμίας; καὶ ζυγομαχεῖν δὲ τινος λέγοντος,¹ Πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρόν, εἶπε,² ζυγομαχεῖς; ἑτέρου δὲ εἰπόντος βασανίζεσθαι τὸν παῖδα αὐτῷ νοσοῦντα, Ἐπὶ τῷ, ἔφη, ἢ τί βουλομένου τοῦ βασανίζοντος; Προκόπτει δὲ τινος εἰπόντος ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων, ἔφη, τοῦτο ἐπιδιδόνα καλεῖ. ἐρομένου δὲ τινος εἰ

¹ λέγοντος γ: εἰπόντος β. ² εἶπε S: σου Ψ: μου est. codd..

¹ Socrates objects to the late Greek use of *περίσταται* for "shun" (found in *Hermotimus* 86).

² Socrates objects to *συγκρίνομαι* with the dative (perhaps found in *Parasite* 51) in the sense of "contend with". Phrynichus similarly prefers *διᾶκρισις* to *ἀνῆκρισις* in the sense of "comparison".

³ I.e. "when using bookish language", like Lexiphanes (vol. v, pp. 291 seq.). ⁴ νῶν is wrongly used for νῶν.

⁵ Socrates insists that *μίγνυσθαι* should only be used of the man; the distinction is observed in tragedy, but not in comedy or by Lucian; cf. *True Story* 1.8 (of women), *Dialogues of The Sea-Gods* 3.2 (compound, of a man).

⁶ The mistake is *καρῆναι* for *κείρασθαι*, criticised on the ground that the passive should only be applied to animals or ἀτιμοί. Cf. Phrynichus 292.

When another said, "I got round¹ him and escaped without his noticing," he said, "It's surprising that one individual could get round another."

When someone else said, "He invited comparison to² him", he said, "Yes, and he certainly invited criticism."

6. He was also in the habit of poking inoffensive fun at people making howlers when Atticising.³ To the man who said, "This is the opinion of we⁴ twain," he said, "You can also tell us twain we're wrong."

When another man was eagerly recounting a piece of local lore and said, "When that she had known⁵ Heracles," he asked, "Didn't Heracles then know her?"

When someone said, "I must needs be sheared,"⁶ he said, "Why, what beastly thing have you done that such an indignity should fall on your head?"

When someone talked of being at war with his wife,⁷ he asked whether she was a national enemy.

When another referred to his sick boy as suffering torture,⁸ he said, "Why? What is his torturer after?"

When someone said, "He's advancing⁹ in his studies," he said that Plato calls it "progressing."

¹ Perhaps Socrates insists that *ζυγομαχεῖν* should only be used of disputes with a *σύζυγος*, i.e. a wife, relative or associate; cf. Menander, *Dyscolus*, 17.250.

² Socrates objects to the figurative use of *βασανίζεσθαι* in the sense of "to be tortured" (not found in Attic).

³ Socrates objects to *προκόπτω*, a word not used by Plato; it is used by Thucydides (though not of studies) and by Lucian (*Hermotimus* 63, *Parasite* 13) in just this way.

μελετήσῃ οὐ δεῖνα, Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, ἐμὲ ἐρωτῶν εἰ μελετήσομαι, λέγεις ὅτι οὐ δεῖνα;

7. Ἀττικίζοντος δὲ τινος καὶ τεθνήξει εἰπόντος ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου, Βέλτιον, ἔφη, καὶ ἐναυθὰ μὴ ἀττικίζειν καταρώμενον. καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα δὲ στοχάζομαι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ φείδομαι αὐτοῦ, Μὴ τι, ἔφη, διήμαρτες βαλῶν; ἀφιστᾶν δὲ τινος εἰπόντος καὶ ἐτέρου ἀφιστάνειν, Ταῦτα μὲν,¹ ἔφη, οὐκ οἶδα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν λέγοντα πλὴν εἰ μὴ, Ταῦτα, ἔφη, διπλᾶ χαρίζῃ. καὶ χρᾶσθαι δὲ τινος εἰπόντος, Ψευδαττικόν, ἔφη, τὸ ῥῆμα. τῷ δὲ λέγοντι ἔκτοτε, Καλόν, ἔφη, τὸ εἰπεῖν ἐκπέρυσι, ὁ γὰρ Πλάτων ἐς τότε λέγει. τῷ δὲ ἰδοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδέ χρωμένου τινός, Ἔτερα ἀνθ' ἐτέρων, ἔφη, σημαίνεις. ἀντιλαμβάνομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συνήμι λέγοντός τινος, θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς ἀντιποιούμενος τοῦ λέγοντος φῆς μὴ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. βράδιον δὲ τινος

¹ ταῦτα μὲν Mras: ταῦτά με Ψ: μὲν cett. codd..

¹ Socrates (perversely or wrongly) takes μελετήσῃ, as second person from μελετήσομαι (a rare late future) rather than third person from μελετήσω (the normal Attic future).

² Socrates does exactly the same thing again, objecting to τεθνήξω (an Attic alternative for θανοῦμαι) as opposed to τεθνήξομαι (in current use, e.g. *Charon* 8, *Salaried Posts* 31).

³ στοχάζομαι is used quite wrongly for φείδομαι.

⁴ Socrates rightly objects to ἀφιστᾶν and ἀφιστάνειν as non-Attic alternatives for ἀφιστάναι.

⁵ Socrates objects to the tautological πλὴν εἰ μὴ, though it is probably Attic and occurs in *Dialogues of the Dead* 29.2 and *Salaried Posts* 9 and 23.

⁶ Socrates rightly objects to χρᾶσθαι for χρῆσθαι.

⁷ ἔκτοτε is a late usage (e.g. *The Ass* 45) also censured by Phrynichus; Socrates retorts by inventing the preposterous ἐκπέρυσι on the same analogy.

When someone asked, "Wilt¹ so-and-so discourse?" he said, "Why ask me if I'm going to discourse and then add so-and-so?"

7. When an Atticiser said, "Shalt² shuffle off this mortal coil" (though he meant the third person), "It's better to refrain from Atticising in this world if you're going to curse me."

To the man who said, "I'm letting off³ at that wight" (instead of "I'm letting him off"), he said, "Methinks you have missed your mark."

When someone said "to get putten⁴ away" and another, "to get putted away," he said, "These terms are unfamiliar to me."

To the man who said, "save unless,"⁵ he said, "It's kind of you to give us double measure."

When a man said "to enjoy usufruct,"⁶ he said, "That's a bad old word."

To the man who said, "hitherafter,"⁷ he said that "Last year after" must be an excellent expression, seeing that Plato used "hitherto."

To the man who used the phrase "look here"⁸ "instead of "look," he said, "You say one thing and mean another."

When a man said "I reprehend⁹ you," instead of "I comprehend you," he said he wondered how the man could be a follower of the speaker and yet say he didn't follow him.

⁸ Socrates seems to imply that ἰδοῦ should only be used exclamatorily; in Attic the middle of ὀρῶ is confined to poetry and compounds; but cf. *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 2.1.

⁹ Socrates objects to ἀντιλαμβάνομαι for "understand," as its normal meaning in Plato is "reprehend."

εἰπόντος, Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὅμοιον τῷ τάχιον. βαρεῖν δέ τινος εἰπόντος, Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη, τὸ βαρύνειν ἢ νενόμικας. λέλογχα δὲ τὸ εἰληχα λέγοντος, Ὀλίγων,¹ ἔφη, καὶ παρ' οἷς ἀμαρτάνεται. ἵπτασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πέτεσθαι² πολλῶν λεγόντων, Ὅτι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πτήσεως τὸ ὄνομα, σαφῶς ἴσμεν. περιστέρων δὲ τινος εἰπόντος ὡς δὴ Ἀττικόν, Καὶ τὸν φάττον ἐροῦμεν, ἔφη. φακὸν δὲ τινος εἰπόντος ἐδηδοκέναι, Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, φακὸν τις φάγοι³; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ Σωκράτεια.

8. Ἐπανίωμεν δέ, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμύλλαν τῶν προτέρων λόγων. κἀγὼ μὲν καλῶ τοὺς βελτίστους ἰέναι ὄλους,⁴ σὺ δὲ γνώρισον. οἶμαι γάρ

¹ ὀλίγων β: ὀλίγον γ. ² πέτεσθαι γε: πέτασθαι βγ.

³ φάγοι Fritzsche: φάγη codd.

⁴ ἰέναι ὄλους Herwerden: εἶναι ὄλους codd.: σολοικισμοῦς Rothstein: ἰέναι ἐνόηλους Nilén: ἰέναι λόχους E. H. War-
mington: εἶναι βόλους coniect.

¹ βράδιον should be βραδύτερον. Socrates condemns it as even worse than τάχιον (for βάττον, the form used by Attic and by Lucian, *Toparis* 6 and 11), which at least was the current form. Phrynichus condemns both βράδιον and τάχιον.

² Socrates wrongly insists that βαρεῖν should be intransitive; it is transitive in Plato *Symposium* 203 b, and in *Dialogues of the Dead* 20.4 and *Aetion* 5.

³ Socrates objects to λέλογχα (εἰληχα is used in the best Attic prose). Cf. ἐλελόχη *Affairs of the Heart* 18, but εἰληχαιοί *ibid.* 24.

⁴ ἵπτασθαι is rightly condemned here, and is censured as a barbarism in *Leuciphanes* 25, and by Phrynichus. It occurs, however (in compounds), in *Judgement of the Goddesses* 5 and 6, *Downward Journey* 2, *Dream* 16.

The form recommended by Socrates is probably πέτεσθαι, as it is the best Attic form, is preferred to πέτασθαι by

When a man said "more tardier,"¹ he said that was a different thing from "more quicker."

When a man said "to press,"² he said, "That's not the same thing as 'to depress' as you thought."

When someone said "gotten"³ for "got," he said, "That's not used by many people, and they move in the wrong circles."

When a great number of people said, "flee⁴ through the air" for "fly through the air," he remarked, "We can be quite sure that something flighty is involved."

When someone thought he was being scholarly by talking of a "woodhen,"⁵ he said, "Let's call it a jill-snipe."

When a man said he'd eaten a potager of pulse,⁶ he asked how anyone could eat so repulsive a dish.

8. So much for Socrates' views. But now let us return, if you will, to our contest of words as before. And I shall summon the best of them to come all and one,⁷ and you must recognise them. For I think

Lucian (cf. *Lover of Lies* 13, *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 1.2, *Ass* 4, 12, 13) and is recommended by Phrynichus. πέτασθαι is expressly condemned in *Mistaken Critic* 29.

⁵ Socrates objects to περιεπέρος (a rare masculine form found in Attic comedy) for the normal feminine form περιεπέρα (common pigeon); he retorts by inventing φάρτος for φάρτα (ringdove).

⁶ Socrates objects to the usage of φακός for φακή. According to Herodian φακός should be used of raw, φακή of cooked lentils, but the rule is not observed in Attic comedy or late Greek. Socrates retorts by punning on φακός in its current sense of "bottle."

⁷ Perhaps ἄλους in the sense of "omnes" rather than "totus" (cf. c. 2) is censured; or a mistake may be concealed in the (probably corrupt) infinitive.

LUCIAN

σε κᾶν νῦν δυνήσεσθαι τοσοῦτων γε ἐπακούσαντα
τῶν ἐξῆς λεγομένων.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

"Ἴσως μὲν οὐδὲ νῦν δυνήσομαί σου λέγοντος· ὁμως
εἶπέ.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Καὶ πῶς φῆς οὐ δυνήσεσθαι; ἡ γὰρ θύρα σχεδὸν
ἀνέωγέ σοι τῆς γνωρίσεως¹ αὐτῶν.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Εἶπέ τοίνυν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἄλλὰ εἶπον.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐδέν γε, ὥστε ἐμὲ μαθεῖν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθες τὸ ἀνέωγεν;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐκ ἔμαθον.

¹ γνώσεως β.

¹ "Now also" is ironical. The mistake is κᾶν for καὶ (though not followed by an "εἰ" clause); this is common in late Greek (cf. *Downward Journey* 13, 14, 20, *Nigrinus* 23). Alternatively ἄν with the future may again be

THE SOLECIST

that now also¹ you shalt be able to do so, when you
hear so many howlers one after the other.

SOPHIST

Perhaps not even now will I be able to do so with
you doing the talking. However, speak away.

LUCIAN

How come you say² you won't be able? For the
door is pretty well ajarred³ for you to recognise them.

SOPHIST

Well, say something.

LUCIAN

But I've already said it.

SOPHIST

You've said nothing for me to notice.

LUCIAN

Didn't you notice the word "ajarred"?

SOPHIST

No, I didn't.

censured (cf. note on c. 2); for κᾶν with the future, cf. *Zeus Bante* 32.

² Cf. note on c. 1.

³ ἀνέωγε for ἀνέωκται is a mistake also censured by Phrynichus. ἀνέωγα (not in good Attic) is used intransitively in late Greek; cf. *Cock* 6, 32, *Ship* 4, *Anacharsis* 29, *Dialogues of the Dead*, 14.1.

Τί οὖν πεισόμεθα, εἰ μὴδὲ νῦν ἀκολουθήσεις τοῖς λεγομένοις; καίτοι πρὸς γε τὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐγὼ μὲν ᾤμην ἵππεις¹ ἐς πεδίον καλεῖν. σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἵππεις κατενόησας; ἀλλὰ εἰκας οὐ φροντίζειν τῶν λόγων, μάλιστα οὐς νῦν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διήλοθμεν.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἐγὼ μὲν φροντίζω, σὺ δὲ ἀδήλως αὐτοὺς διεξέρχῃ.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

9. Πάνυ γοῦν ἀδηλόν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν δῆλον· σὲ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν θεῶν ἀγνοοῦντα παύσειεν πλήν γε ὁ Ἄπόλλων. μαντεύεται γοῦν ἐκεῖνος πᾶσι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι, σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν μαντεύμενον κατενόησας.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Μὰ τοὺς θεούς, οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθον.

¹ ἵππεις SΨN: ἱππῆς ΓΩU.

¹ I.e. "fight in favourable conditions." See Plato, *Theaetetus* 183 D, where Theaetetus is warned against challenging Socrates to an argument. Cf. *The Fisher* 9.

The mistake is in not using the normal Attic —έας for the accusative plural of a noun in —εύς. Lucian normally has —έας (*Ship* 31, *Toxaris* 49, *True Story* 2.34, etc.) but —εύς occurs in *Ship* 46 and *Ass* 23.

² Perhaps εἰκα οὐ for οὐκ εἰκα is deliberate. But cf. notes on φῆς οὐ pp. 5 and 27.

What will become of us, if not even now do you follow what I say? However to oppose your initial remarks I thought I'd call them¹ horsemen of mine on to the open plain. Didn't you notice them horsemen? Why, you don't seem to be paying no² attention to the discussion, particularly the one there's just been between you and I.³

SOPIST

I am paying attention, but you're not obvious enough in what you say.

LUCIAN

9. I quite agree; there's nothing obvious about "between you and I" instead of "between you and me." No that's obvious enough, but no god would stop you from being an ignoramus except Apollo. He at any rate learns⁴ anyone who consults him. But you didn't even notice him learning them.

SOPIST

Heavens no! I didn't.

³ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς for ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς is a mistake unparalleled in Attic and very rare elsewhere; but cf. note on ἐαντῶν (c. 4) and the late Greek use of σφέτερος for ὑμέτερος.

⁴ μαντεύομαι in the sense of "give an oracle" is regarded as a mistake, though found in Demosthenes and the normal meaning in Lucian (*Alexander* 19, *Dialogues of the Dead* 10.1, 25.2, etc.); the usual Attic meaning (consult an oracle) occurs once in Lucian (*Dialogues of the Dead* 23.1).

LUCIAN

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

*Η¹ ἄρα καθ' εἰς λανθάνει σε περιών;²

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἐοικασί γε.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ὁ δὲ καθ' εἰς πῶς παρήλθεν;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔμαθον.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Οἶσθα δέ τινα μνηστευόμενον αὐτῷ γάμον;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Τί οὖν τοῦτο;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ὅτι σολοικίζειν ἀνάγκη τὸν μνηστευόμενον αὐτῷ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Τί οὖν πρὸς τοῦμόν πράγμα, εἰ σολοικίζει τις μνηστευόμενος;

¹ ἢ Βaar: εἰ codd..

² περιών γ.

THE SOLEICIST

LUCIAN

Then do all them¹ mistakes each in turn escape your notice?

SOPHIST

It seems so.

LUCIAN

How did "all them" get past you?

SOPHIST

I didn't notice that one either.

LUCIAN

Do you know of anyone who's setting his own² cap at a girl with a view to matrimony?

SOPHIST

Why do you ask me that?

LUCIAN

Because there must be something wrong when a man sets his own cap at a girl.

SOPHIST

What does it matter to me if a man who sets his³ cap at a girl is wrong?

² The mistake is probably the tautological use of αὐτῷ with the middle μνηστεύομαι; Lucian does exactly this in *Salaried Posts* 23.

³ The sophist by omitting αὐτῷ misses the point.

¹ καθ' εἰς or καθ' εἰς is an illogical alternative for ἕκαστος and only found in late vulgar Greek.

LUCIAN

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

"Ὅτι ἀγνοεῖ ὁ φάσκων εἰδέναί. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὕτως ἔχει. εἰ δέ τις λέγοι¹ σοι παρελθὼν ὡς ἀπολείποι² τὴν γυναῖκα, ἄρ' ἂν ἐπιτρέποις αὐτῷ;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέποιμι, εἰ φαίνοιτο ἀδικούμενος;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Εἰ δὲ σολοικίζων φαίνοιτο, ἐπιτρέποις ἂν αὐτῷ τοῦτο;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐκ ἔγωγε.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἵρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρεπτέον σολοικίζοντι τῷ φίλῳ, ἀλλὰ διδακτέον ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ πείσεται, καὶ εἴ τις γε νῦν ψοφοῖ τὴν θύραν ἐσιῶν ἢ ἐξιῶν κόπτοι, τί φήσομέν σε πεπονθέναι;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἐμὲ μὲν οὐδέν, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐπεσελθεῖν βούλεσθαι ἢ ἐξιέναι.

¹ λέγοι N: λέγει cett. codd.

² ἀπολείποι rsc.

¹ The mistake is ἀπολείπει, which is used of the wife leaving the husband in Attic oratory, but of the husband by Lucian (*Dialogues of the Gods* 8.2, *Double Indictment* 29).

THE SOLEICIST

LUCIAN

Only that the one who claims to know is ignorant. Well so much for that. But if a man were to come and tell you that he was divorcing¹ from his wife, would you allow him?

SOPHIST

Of course I would, if he were obviously the injured party.

LUCIAN

But if he were obviously ungrammatical, would you let him do so?

SOPHIST

I certainly wouldn't.

LUCIAN

You're quite right. For one shouldn't let a friend make a grammatical error, but instruct him how to avoid it. And if anyone were now to rattle at the door on his way in or knock it on his way out,² what effect shall we say it has on you?

SOPHIST

None on me; but we can say he wished to come in or go out.

² An intentional mistake as *θύραν ψοφεῖν* (cf. Latin "ostium crepat") is regularly used of people going out and *κόπτειν* ("knock" "pulsare") of people coming in. According to Plutarch *Publicola* 20, ancient doors opened outwards and when going out one rattled them as a warning to those outside, though this is disputed by some modern scholars (cf. W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*, pp. 287 ff.).

LUCIAN

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Σὲ δὲ ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν κόπτοντα ἢ ψοφοῦντα οὐδὲν ὄλως πεπονθῆναι δόξομεν ἀπαίδευτον ὄντα;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἵβριστῆς εἶ.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Τί λέγεις; ὕβριστῆς ἐγώ; νῦν δὴ γενήσομαι σοι διαλεγόμενος. ἕοικα δὲ σολοικίσαι τὸ νῦν δὴ γενήσομαι, σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔγνωσ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

10. Παῦσαι πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἀλλ' εἰπέ τι τοιοῦτον ὥστε καμὲ μαθεῖν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Καὶ πῶς ἂν μάθοις;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Εἴ μοι πάντα ἐπέλθοις, ὅσα φῆς σολοικίσας ἐμέ λαθεῖν καὶ παρ' ὅ τι ἕκαστον σεσολοικίσται.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄριστε· μακρὸν γὰρ¹ ἂν ποιήσαιμεν τὸν διάλογον. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕξεστί σοι καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· νῦν

¹ γὰρ om. β.

THE SOLEICIST

LUCIAN

Shall we regard you as ignorant of the difference between a man knocking the door and rattling at it and completely unaffected by the matter, because you are an ignoramus?

SOPHIST

You're offensive.

LUCIAN

What's that you say? I offensive? Now in¹ this present time I shall be offensive in talking to you. I appear to have made a howler in saying "now in the present time I shall," but you didn't notice it.

SOPHIST

10. In Athena's name, stop! Say something that even I can understand.

LUCIAN

How could you?

SOPHIST

If you went through all the errors you say you made without my noticing and you explained where each error lay.

LUCIAN

Don't ask that, my good fellow, for that would make our discussion a lengthy one. No, as regards the errors I made, you may enquire about each of them separately. But at present let's tackle

¹ The solecism is νῦν δὴ with the future which is perhaps condemned as illogical; Plato uses it often enough with the future, though more frequently with the present (as recommended by Pollux) or to refer to the immediate past.

δέ ἕτερ' ἄττα ἐπέλωμεν, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ πρῶτόν γε αὐτὸ τὸ ἄττα μὴ δασέως ἀλλὰ ψιλῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ὀρθῶς φαίνεται ῥηθὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἕτερα συντιθέμενον.¹ μὴ γὰρ οὕτως ἄλογον ἦν ἂν. ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς ὕβρεως, ἣν με φῆς ὕβρισαι <σε>,² εἰ μὴ οὕτω λέγοιμι, ἀλλ' εἰς σέ φαίην,³ ἴδιον.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ὅτι τὸ μὲν σέ ⁴ ὕβριζειν τὸ σῶμά ἐστι τὸ σὸν ἦτοι πληγαῖς ἢ δεσμοῖς ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ, τὸ δέ ἐς σέ, ὅταν εἰς τι τῶν σῶν γίνηται ἢ ὕβρις· καὶ γὰρ ὅστις γυκαῖκα ὕβριζει τὴν σὴν, εἰς σέ ὕβριζει, καὶ ὅστις παῖδα καὶ φίλον καὶ ὅστις γε οἰκέτην. πλὴν γὰρ περὶ πραγμάτων οὕτως ἔχει σοι· ἐπεὶ τὸ ἐς πρᾶγμα ὕβριζειν λέλεκται, οἷον ἐς τὴν παροιμίαν, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Κατανοῶ τὸ διάφορον.

¹ ὀρθῶς . . . συντιθέμενον del. Gesner.

² σε doest in codd.: add. Gesner.

³ σέ, φαίην ἂν ἴδιον Bekker.

⁴ σέ L: σῶμα cett. codd.: σέ, ὦ μακάριε, Nilén.

¹ Lucian here gives elementary instruction on the distinction between two obsolescent Attic words ἄττα with a smooth breathing (= τινα) and ἄττα with a rough breathing (= ἄττα).

something othergates,¹ if you don't mind. In the first place to say "something" and not "some things" is clearly right when in conjunction with "othergates." To do otherwise would be illogical. Next there's the question of my having offended you, as you claim. If I were to put things differently and say I had offended against you, the phrase has a particular meaning.

SOPHIST

About that I can't say.

LUCIAN

Yes indeed, for to offend you is to offend your person² with blows or chains or in some other way, while to offend against you is when the offence is committed against anything that is yours; for any man who offends your wife or your son or your friend or even your slave offends against you. You can take this to be true except in the case of inanimate objects; for we talk of offending against inanimate things, as for example "against the proverb," to quote Plato's phrase in the *Banquet*.³

SOPHIST

I appreciate the difference.

² Lucian insists that ὕβριζω τινα refers to physical affront to the individual's person and ὕβριζω εἰς τινα is used of affront to his possessions; the distinction is seldom observed in Attic or elsewhere or by Lucian himself.

³ 174 B.

LUCIAN

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

**Ἀρ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο κατανοεῖς, ὅτι τὸ ταῦτα ὑπαλλάττειν σολοικίζειν καλοῦσιν;*

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

**Ἀλλὰ νῦν εἶσομαι.*

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ¹ ἐναλλάττειν;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

**Ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτὸν λέγειν δόξει.*

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Καὶ πῶς ἂν εἶη ταῦτὸν τῷ ὑπαλλάττειν τὸ ἐναλλάττειν, εἴπερ τὸ μὲν ἑτέρου πρὸς ἕτερον γίγνεται, τοῦ μὴ ὀρθοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὀρθόν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ὄν;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Κατέμαθον ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπαλλάττειν τὸ μὴ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ κυρίου λέγειν ἐστίν, τὸ δ' ἐναλλάττειν ποτὲ μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ, ποτὲ δὲ τῷ μὴ κυρίῳ χρῆσθαι.

¹ τῷ Ω, Γ?: τὸ cett. codd.: lacunam inter δὲ et τὸ coniciunt edd..

¹ The whole passage is obscure, perhaps deliberately so. Hypallage (here translated as "exchange") is explained by Cicero, *Orator* 27.93, Quintilian 8.6.23 as equivalent to *μεταωνυμία* (change of name); *enallage* (translated here as

THE SOLEICIST

LUCIAN

Then do you appreciate also that it is called an error to exchange these expressions?

SOPHIST

I shall from now.

LUCIAN

And do people call this "to change"?

SOPHIST

That will mean the same thing in my opinion.

LUCIAN

How could "to change" be the same as "to exchange"? One changes¹ one thing to another, for example the incorrect² to the correct, while one exchanges the true for the false.

SOPHIST

I have learnt³ "to exchange" is to use figurative instead of plain language, while "to change" is sometimes to use plain and sometimes figurative language.

"change") is a grammatical term for the substitution of one mood, tense, etc., for another. More logically Lucian would have said "the correct to the incorrect . . . the true for the false."

² τὸ ὀρθόν 'correct' is also ambiguous, as it could also mean active as opposed to passive, or nominative as opposed to an oblique case.

³ The sophist shows that he has indeed learnt the meaning of hypallage, but does not know the technical sense of enallage.

LUCIAN

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἐχει τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα κατανόησιν οὐκ ἄχαριν,¹
τὸ δὲ σπουδάζειω πρὸς τινα τὴν² οἰκείαν ὠφέλειαν
τοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἐμφαίνει, τὸ δὲ περὶ τινα τὴν
ἐκείνου περὶ ὃν σπουδάζει, καὶ ταῦτα ἴσως μὲν
ὑποσυγκέχυται, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀκριβοῦνται παρὰ
τισι βέλτιον δὲ τὸ ἀκριβοῦν ἐκάστω.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ὅρθως γὰρ λέγεις.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

11. Τό γε μὴν καθέζεσθαι³ τοῦ καθίζειω καὶ τὸ
κάθισον τοῦ κάθησο ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι διενήροχεν;

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ καθέσθητι ἤκουόν σου λέγοντος
ὡς ἔστιν ἔκφυλον.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Καὶ ὀρθως γε ἤκουσας, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάθισον τοῦ
κάθησο διαφέρειω φημί.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Καὶ τῷ ποτ' ἂν εἴη διαφέρων;

¹ χρῆσθαι, ἔχει... ἄχαριν, ΛΟΥΚ. Τὸ... ΓΥ.

² τὴν γὰρ codd.; γὰρ del. correctores in ΓΩΥ; πρὸς τινα (ὄβ
ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ περὶ τινα); τὴν γὰρ Rothstein.

³ καθέζεσθαι N; καθίζεσθαι βγ.

THE SOLECIST

LUCIAN

Once again you show a charming understanding of
the matter. Again to show zeal to¹ another indicates
that one is seeking one's private advantage, whereas
to show zeal for someone means that one is seeking
that person's advantage. Perhaps these expressions
too are confused, but perhaps they are also used
accurately by some. But it's better for everyone to
be accurate.

SOPHIST

You're quite right.

LUCIAN

11. Do you know that there's a difference between
"to sit" and "to settle" and between "to settle
down" and "to be seated"?

SOPHIST

No, I don't. But I've heard you say that "sit
yourself down"² is a barbarism.

LUCIAN

What you heard was right. But I'm telling you
that "settle down" is different from "be seated."

SOPHIST

How ever could it be different?

¹ Lucian draws a correct if obvious distinction between
σπουδάζω πρὸς τινα "court" (Lucian prefers σπουδάζω τινά
in this meaning) and σπουδάζω περὶ τινα "be zealous for."

² Cf. *Lexiphanes* 25 and *Phrynichus* 236 where the non-
Attic *καθεθεῖς* is condemned as barbaric. Lucian has
περικαθεθέντες in *True Story* 1.23.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Τῷ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἐστῶτα λέγεσθαι, τὸ κάθισον, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸν καθεζόμενον·

ἦσο,¹ ξεῖν,² ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δῆμον ἐδρην, ἀντὶ τοῦ μένε καθεζόμενος. πάλιν οὖν εἰρήσθω ὅτι τὸ ταῦτα παραλλάττειν ἀμαρτάνειν ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ καθίζω τοῦ καθέζομαι ἄρα σοι δοκεῖ μικρῷ τινι διαφέρειν; εἴπερ τὸ μὲν καὶ ἕτερον δρῶμεν, τὸ καθίζειν λέγω,³ τὸ δὲ μόνους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, τὸ καθέζεσθαι.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

12. Καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανῶς διελήλυθας, καὶ δεῖ δέ γε³ οὕτω σε προδιδάσκειν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἐτέρως γὰρ λέγοντος οὐ κατανοεῖς; οὐκ οἶσθα οἷόν ἐστι ξυγγραφεὺς ἀνήρ;

.....⁴

¹ ἦσο βγN: ἦσ' ᾧ rec., Homer, *Odyssey* 16, 44.

² τό . . . λέγω rec., edd.: τό . . . λέγω βN: τῷ . . . λέγειν γ.

³ δεῖ δέ γε Nilén: δῆ λέγε βγ: δῆ λέγω N.

⁴ lacunam statuit Gesner.

LUCIAN

Because the one thing, "settle down," is said to someone standing, and the other to someone sitting, for instance "Be seated, friend; and we shall elsewhere find a seat,"¹ instead of saying "remain seated." Therefore let me repeat that to interchange these is to make a mistake. Do you think that "I settle" is not very much different from "I sit"?² We do the one to another person also,³ "settle" I mean, but the other "sit" only to ourselves.

SOPHIST

12. Once again you've given me an adequate explanation; you ought always thus to instruct me in advance.

LUCIAN

Can't you understand me, if I talk otherwise? Don't you know what is meant by a writer⁴?

SOPHIST

— — — — —

LUCIAN

— — — — —

¹ Homer, *Odyssey* XVI. 44. The distinction is between κάθισον, "settle down" (aorist imperative of καθίζω used intransitively) and κάθησο "be seated" (present imperative of κάθημαι).

² The distinction is primarily between καθέζομαι, "sit," and καθίζω "settle," used transitively.

³ Lucian is perhaps complicating matters deliberately by implying that καθίζω can be used both transitively and

intransitively. Lucian himself uses καθίζω transitively and intransitively, as well as καθίζομαι and καθέζομαι.

⁴ Lucian may mean "Can't you read books on the subject?" The text makes poor sense unless we follow Gesner in assuming a lacuna, perhaps involving the distinction between συγγραφεὺς (historian of contemporary events like Thucydides) and ἱστοριογράφος (e.g. Herodotus).

LUCIAN

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Πάνυ οἶδα νῦν γέ σου ἀκούσας ταῦτα λέγοντος.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ καταδουλοῦν σὺ μὲν ἴσως ταῦτόν τῳ καταδουλοῦσθαι νενόμικας, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα διαφορὰν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχον.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Τίνα ταύτην;

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐτέρω, τὸ καταδουλοῦν, <τὸ>¹ δ' ἑαυτῷ γίγνεται.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Καλῶς λέγεις.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Καὶ ἄλλα δέ σοι πολλὰ ὑπάρχει μανθάνειν, εἴπερ μὴ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι οὐκ εἰδῶς δόξεις.

ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν δόξαιμι.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν τὰ λοιπὰ εἰσαυθις ἀναβαλώμεθα, νῦν δὲ διαλύσωμεν τὸν διάλογον.

¹ τὸ Hemsterhuys: deest in codd..

THE SOLECIST

SOPHIST

I know very well, now that I've heard what you've said.

LUCIAN

Indeed you do, for you have perhaps thought that "to enslave" is the same as "to slave,"¹ but I know there's a great difference.

SOPHIST

How do you mean?

LUCIAN

Because you enslave another, but you slave yourself.

SOPHIST

Well said!

LUCIAN

You have many other things to learn, unless you will persist in thinking you know for yourself when you don't.

SOPHIST

No, I won't do that.

LUCIAN

Then let's postpone the rest to another time, and break off our discussion for the present.

¹ The distinction is between the active and passive of καταδουλοῦν (enslave).

LUCIUS or THE ASS

The most helpful accounts of the problem of the authorship of *The Ass* and its relationship with the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and the lost *Μεταμορφώσεις* thought by Photius to have been written by Lucius of Patras, are to be found in B. E. Perry's *The Metamorphoses ascribed to Lucius of Patrae* and in P. Vallette's introduction to the Budé edition of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

The evidence of Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 129, Migne) is as follows :

“ I have read the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patras, a work in several books. His style is clear, pure and attractive. Though he avoids innovations of language, he is inordinately fond of marvellous stories, and one might almost call him another Lucian. At any rate Lucius' first two books have more or less been copied by him from the work of Lucian entitled *Lucius* or *The Ass*; or Lucian has copied his work from the books of Lucius. The second alternative appears the more probable, if I may indulge in conjecture; for which was the earlier we cannot as yet tell. For Lucian has, as it were, filed down Lucius' books with their greater bulk, has removed what he did not think suitable for his own particular purpose and, using the original phrases and constructions, has assembled what remains in one book, calling what he has plundered from that source *Lucius* or *The Ass*. The work of both authors is full of fictitious stories and shameful

obscenities. Lucian, however, in composing this book as in his other works, mocked and ridiculed the superstitions of the Greeks; Lucius on the other hand was serious and believed in the metamorphoses of men into other men and of beasts into men and back again, and in all the other ridiculous nonsense of the old fables, so that he wove all that into the fabric of his tale."

It is generally agreed that both *The Ass* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* are derived from the lost work for the following reasons:

(1) The narratives of *The Ass* and of Apuleius not only are the same in outline, but have numerous verbal parallels. (Apuleius' version differs in being fuller, digressing to tell many other tales, and by introducing autobiographical elements and favourable references to Isis and Osiris into his final chapters.)

(2) Apuleius tells us (1.1) "Fabulam Graecanicam incipimus." (Attempts to show that this earlier Greek version was also by Apuleius have proved unconvincing.)

(3) Apuleius' version cannot be an enlargement of *The Ass* because comparison of *The Ass* 24, 36 and 38 (see notes) with the parallel passages in Apuleius show that *The Ass* must be an abridged version, and therefore taken from the same "fabula Graecanica" as Apuleius.

The question of the additional stories found in Apuleius is a difficult one. A few scholars allow him no originality at all except perhaps in the ending of his work, though a rather more popular view is that all the additional material came from Apuleius.

Perhaps the best solution is given by A. Lesky (*Hermes*, 1941, pp. 43 ff.) who suggests that some few of the extra tales were in the lost original.

So much of the Greek of *The Ass* seems unworthy of Lucian that most editors have rejected it as non-Lucianic. Knaut and Neukamm, however, have amassed a formidable list of peculiarly Lucianic usages in *The Ass*. Rohde explained the combination of Lucianic and non-Lucianic elements by suggesting that Lucius of Patras wrote seriously about the transformation of someone else into an ass, and that Lucian abridged and parodied this work, changing it only at the end by making the Ass-man announce that he is Lucian's adversary, Lucius of Patras. This ingenious theory is to be discounted because (despite what Photius says) the lost original was probably not serious (both copies show facetious touches throughout), and a Lucianic parody would surely have been full of malicious sabotage right from the beginning.

The most convincing explanation is that of Perry, who developed Pauly's suggestion that the original *Metamorphoses* was written by Lucian himself, while the epitome was made by another. If the *Metamorphoses* was a facetious satire on credulity and curiosity, what more probable author for it than Lucian, the writer of the *Lover of Lies*, *True Story* and the *Syrian Goddess*, particularly in view of what Photius says of the style of the *Metamorphoses*? This theory is chronologically possible, especially if the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is regarded as later than his *Apologia*. The main objection is that it conflicts with part of the evidence of Photius, but

this can be discounted because the lost work was probably not credulous and serious, nor was its author Lucius of Patras, as no self-respecting author would confess that he had been an ass for a period ("ass" had much the same proverbial connotation to the Greeks as to us). Photius, indeed, could well have made a mistake in assuming that the Ass-man's name given in c. 55 was also the name of the author or that the title meant "Metamorphoses written by" (rather than "experienced by") Lucius of Patras.

Many modern authorities, however, believe that Photius chose the right alternative and that Lucius of Patras was a writer and earlier than Lucian, though they disagree as to his date. If they are correct, *The Ass* should probably be regarded as the work of a Pseudo-Lucian, not because its Greek is unworthy of Lucian himself (Lucian could conceivably be imitating the vulgar Greek of the original or of the genre), but because one can scarcely visualise Lucian as a mere epitomist, or as showing such restraint when parodying, or indeed as a plagiarist (though it could be argued that his disavowal of plagiarism in *Prometheus In Words* refers particularly to his dialogues). However, the writer of *The Ass* often shows an incredibly Lucianic turn of phrase. One could therefore regard him as an imitator of incomparable genius; but an altogether more probable alternative is that Lucian's own hand had some share in the composition of *The Ass*, and that the theory that Lucius of Patras was the writer should be dismissed.

The story of the Ass-Man and his lady lover, however, existed before Lucian's time. It was known to

Juvenal (*Satires*, 6.334), and Cataudella (*La Novella Greca*, pp. 152 ff.) speculates that it may have figured among the earliest Milesian Fables (cf. note on c. 51). We should therefore, while accepting Perry's theory, assume that Lucian's *Metamorphoses* was not completely original, but contained a certain amount of adaptation of earlier material to which he gave unity and greater literary form. His debt, however, to predecessors such as Aristides or Lucius of Patras (if he existed) was probably no greater than his debt to Menippus in the field of satirical dialogue.

ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ¹ Η ΟΝΟΣ

1. Ἀπήειν ποτέ ἐς Θετταλίαν· ἦν δέ μοι πατρικόν τι συμβόλαιον ἐκεῖ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπιχώριον· ἵππος δέ με κατήγε καὶ τὰ σκεύη καὶ θεραπέων ἠκολούθειεις. ἐπορευόμην οὖν τὴν προκειμένην ὁδόν· καὶ πως ἔτυχον καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπιόντες ἐς Ὑπάτα πόλιν τῆς Θετταλίας, ἐκείθεν ὄντες· καὶ ἄλων ἐκοινωνοῦμεν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνην τὴν ἀργαλεάν ὁδὸν ἀνύσαντες πλησίον ἦδη τῆς πόλεως ἤμεν, καὶ γὰρ ἠρόμην τοὺς Θετταλοὺς εἶπερ ἐπίστανται ἄνδρα οἰκοῦντα ἐς τὰ Ὑπάτα, Ἱππαρχον τοῦνομα. γράμματα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐκόμιζον οἴκοθεν, ὥστε οἰκῆσαι παρ' αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι τὸν Ἱππαρχον τοῦτον ἔλεγον καὶ ὅπη² τῆς πόλεως οἰκεῖ καὶ ὅτι ἀργύριον ἱκανὸν ἔχει³ καὶ ὅτι μίαν θεραπέαιαν τρέφει καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν μόναν· ἔστι γὰρ φιλαργυρώτατος δεινῶς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐγεγόνεμεν, κῆπός τις ἦν καὶ ἔνδον⁴ οἰκίδιον ἀνεκτόν, ἔνθα ὁ Ἱππαρχος ᾤκει.

2. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀσπασάμενοι με ᾤχοντο, ἐγὼ δὲ κόπτω προσελθὼν τὴν θύραν, καὶ μόλις μὲν καὶ βραδέως, ὑπήκουσε δ' οὖν γυνή,⁵ εἶτα καὶ προῆλθεν. ἐγὼ μὲν ἠρόμην εἰ ἔνδον εἶη Ἱππαρχος· Ἐνδον,

Traditio est simplex. Codices rettuli Γ et recentes (N, Ψ, C, Vat. 87).

¹ Titulus Λούκιος apud Photium et fortasse primitus Γ.

LUCIUS or THE ASS

1. Once upon a time I was on my way to Thessaly, having some business of my father's to transact there with a man of that country. I had a horse to carry me and my baggage, and I was accompanied by one servant. And so I was proceeding along my intended route; now it happened that I had as fellow travellers men on their way back home to Hypata, a city of Thessaly. We shared salt¹ and thus we proceeded on that difficult journey until we were near the city, when I asked the Thessalians if they knew a man living in Hypata, called Hipparchus. I had a letter of introduction to him from home, so that I could stay at his house. They said they knew this Hipparchus and where he lived in the city; they told me that he had plenty of money, but that the only women he kept were one servant and his wife, as he was a terrible miser. When we had come near to the city, we found a garden, and in it a tolerably comfortable cottage, where Hipparchus lived.

2. The others therefore said good-bye and left me, and I went up and knocked at the door. Though I had a long wait, eventually a woman did reluctantly answer my knock, and then even came out. I asked

¹ I.e. became friends and ate together.

² ὅποι ΓN.

³ ἔχοι ΓN.

⁴ ἦν καὶ ἔνδον Courier: ἔνδον ἦν καὶ ΓNC.: ἦν καὶ Ψ.

⁵ ἡ γυνή rec., edd..

ἔφη· σὺ δὲ τίς ἢ τί βουλόμενος πυνθάνη;

Γράμματα ἤκω κομίζων αὐτῷ παρὰ Δεκριανοῦ τοῦ Πατρέως σοφιστοῦ.

Μεῖνόν με, ἔφη, αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν θύραν συγκλείσασα ὄψατο εἰσω πάλιν· καὶ ποτε ἐξελθοῦσα κελεύει ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν. κἀγὼ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰσω ἀσπάζομαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐπέδωκα. ἔτυχεν δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ δείπνου ὧν καὶ κατέκειτο ἐπὶ κλινιδίου στενοῦ, γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ καθήστο πλησίον, καὶ τράπεζα μηδὲν ἔχουσα παρέκειτο. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέτυχεν, Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν φίλτατος ἐμοί, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξοχώτατος Δεκριανὸς εὖ ποιεῖ καὶ θαρρῶν πέμπει παρ' ἐμοὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ· τὸ δὲ οἰκίδιον τὸ ἐμὸν ὄρας, ὦ Λούκιε, ὡς ἔστι μικρὸν μὲν, ἀλλὰ εὐγνωμον τὸν οἰκοῦντα ἐνεγκεῖν· ποιήσεις δὲ αὐτὸ σὺ μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἀνεξικάκως οἰκήσας. καὶ καλεῖ τὴν παιδίσκην, Ὡ Παλαίστρα, δὸς τὸν ἕτερον¹ κοιτῶνα καὶ θές² λαβοῦσα εἴ τι κομίζει σκευός, εἶτα πέμπε αὐτὸν εἰς βαλανεῖον· οὐχὶ μετρίαν γὰρ³ ἐλήλυθεν ὁδόν. 3. ταῦτα εἰπόντος⁴ τὸ παιδισκάριον ἢ Παλαίστρα ἄγει με καὶ δείκνυσί μοι κάλλιστον οἰκημάτιον· καί, Σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κλίτης κοιμήσῃ, τῷ δὲ παιδί σου σκιμπόδιον αὐτοῦ παραθήσω καὶ προσκεφάλαιον ἐπιθήσω. ταῦτα εἰπούσης ἡμεῖς ἀπήγειμεν λουσόμενοι δόντες αὐτῇ κριθιδίων τιμὴν εἰς τὸν ἵππον· ἢ δὲ πάντα ἔφερεν λαβοῦσα εἰσω καὶ κατέθηκεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ

¹ τὸν ἕτερον scripsi: τὸν ἐταῖρον ΓΝ: τῷ ἐταίρῳ rec., edd..

² θές codd.: κατὰθες Courier.

³ γὰρ om. ΓΝ.

⁴ εἰπόντα Γ.

if Hipparchus was at home. "Yes," said she, "but who are you that ask? What do you want?"

"I come with a letter for him from Decrianus, the professor from Patras."

"Wait for me here," she said and, closing the door, went in again.

Eventually she came out and invited us in. I went in, greeted him and gave him the letter. He was just beginning dinner and was lying on a narrow couch, while his wife sat nearby, and by their side was an empty table. After reading the letter he said, "Indeed Decrianus is my dearest friend and the best man in all Greece, and I'm glad that he sends his own friends to my house with such confidence.¹ But you can see, Lucius, how tiny my cottage is. Nevertheless it is glad to offer its hospitality, and you will make it into a mansion if you live in it in a tolerant spirit." He then called the maid and said, "Palaestra, give him the spare bedroom, and take his baggage there, and then show him the way to the baths, for he's come a long way." 3. When he had said this, the darling little Palaestra took me and showed me an excellent little room. "You will lie on this bed," she said, "and I'll place a pallet over there for your slave and put a pillow on it." After she had said this, we gave her money to provide barley for my horse and went off to have our bath, while she took everything inside for us. After our

¹ Perhaps the miser is being sarcastic.

λουσάμενοι ἀναστρέψαντες εἴσω εὐθὺς παρήλθομεν, καὶ ὁ Ἱππαρχὸς με δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευεν συνανακλίνεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον οὐ σφόδρα λιτόν· ὁ δὲ οἶνος ἡδὺς καὶ παλαιὸς ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεδειπνήκειμεν, πότος ἦν καὶ λόγος οἷος ἐπὶ δείπνου ξένου, καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἑσπέραν ἐκείνην πότη δόντες ἐκοιμήθημεν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ὁ Ἱππαρχος ἤρετό με τίς μὲν ἔσται ἡ νῦν μοι ὁδὸς καὶ εἰ πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ προσμενῶ. Ἄπειμι μὲν, ἔφην, εἰς Λάρισσαν, ἔοικα δὲ ἐνθάδε διατρίψειν τριῶν ἢ πέντε ἡμερῶν.

4. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν σκῆψις. ἐπεθύμουν δὲ σφόδρα μείνας ἐνταῦθα ἔξυρεῖν τινα τῶν μαγεύειν ἐπισταμένων γυναικῶν καὶ θεάσασθαι τι παράδοξον, ἢ πετόμενον ἄνθρωπον ἢ λιθούμενον. καὶ τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς θεάς ταύτης δούς ἑμαντὸν περιῆεν τὴν πόλιν, ἀπορῶν μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ζητήματος, ὁμῶς δὲ περιῆεν· κὰν τούτῳ γυναικὶ ὀρώ προσιοῦσαν ἔτι νέαν, εὐπορουμένην, ὅσον ἦν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ συμβαλεῖν· ἱμάτια γὰρ ἀνθινὰ καὶ παῖδες συχνοὶ καὶ χρυσίον περιττόν. ὡς δὲ πλησιαίτερον γίνομαι, προσαγορεύει με ἡ γυνή, καὶ ἀμείβομαι αὐτῇ ὁμοίως, καὶ φησίν, Ἐγὼ Ἀβροιά εἰμι, εἴ τινα τῆς σῆς μητρὸς φίλην ἀκούεις, καὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης γενομένους φιλῶ ὥσπερ οὖς ἔτεκον αὐτῇ· τί οὖν οὐχὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ καταλύσεις,¹ ὦ τέκνον; Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν, ἔφην, πολλῆ χάρις, αἰδοῦμαι δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ ἐγκαλῶν ἔπειτα φεύγων τὴν ἐκείνου οἰκίαν· ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ, φιλτάτῃ, κατάγομαι παρὰ σοί.

¹ καταλύεις revc..

bath we returned and went straight into the dining-room where Hipparchus greeted me and invited me to recline beside him. The meal was by no means a frugal one,¹ and the wine was sweet and old. After we had eaten, we drank and talked as men do when a stranger comes to dinner; and, after thus devoting the evening to drinking, we went to bed. On the next day Hipparchus asked me where I would now be going and if I would be spending all my time with him. "I shall be going on to Larissa," I answered, "but I think I shall stay here for three or four days."

4. But this was a pretence. In fact I wanted very much to stay there and find one of the women accomplished in sorcery² and see something strange, be it a man flying or turning into stone. Engrossed in my desire for such a sight, I walked round the city. I didn't know how to start my search, but walked around nevertheless. While doing so, I saw approaching me a woman who was still young and, to judge from seeing her in the street, was well off; for she was gaily dressed, accompanied by many slaves and wearing too much gold. When I came closer, she greeted me and I answered her in like fashion.³ She then said, "I am Abroea, if you know any friend of your mother of that name; and I love you sons of hers like my own sons. Why then won't you stay with me, my child?"

"I'm most grateful to you," I said, "but I'm ashamed to leave a friend's house when I have no fault to find with him. However, I stay with you in spirit, my charming friend."

¹ As might have been expected from a miser.

² Thessalian women were famous for their witchcraft.

³ This phrase may be due to unskilful epitomising; cf. notes on cc. 7, 24, 36, etc..

Ποῖ¹ δέ, ἔφη, καὶ κατὰ γῆ;

Παρά Ἰππάρχου.

Τῷ φιλαργύρῳ; ἔφη.

Μηδαμῶς, εἶπον, ὦ μήτηρ, τοῦτο εἴπησ. λαμπρὸς γὰρ καὶ πολυτελεῖς γέγονεν εἰς ἐμέ, ὥστε καὶ ἐγκαλέσαι ἂν τις τῇ τρυφῇ.

ἡ δὲ μειδιάσασα καί με τῆς χειρὸς λαβομένη ἄγει ἀπωτέρω καὶ λέγει πρὸς ἐμέ, Φυλάττου μοι, ἔφη, τὴν Ἰππάρχου γυναῖκα πάση μηχανῇ· μάγος γάρ ἐστι δεινὴ καὶ μάχλος καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς νέοις ἐπιβάλλει τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ὑπακούσει² αὐτῇ, τοῦτον τῇ τέχνῃ ἀμύνεται, καὶ πολλοὺς μετεμόρφωσεν εἰς ζῶα, τοὺς δὲ τέλεον ἀπώλεσε· σὺ δὲ καὶ νέος εἶ, τέκνον, καὶ καλός, ὥστε εὐθύς ἀρέσαι γυναικί, καὶ ξένος, πρᾶγμα εὐκαταφρόνητον.

Ἢ. ἐγὼ δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι τὸ πάλαι μοι ζητούμενον οἴκοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κάθηται, προσείχον αὐτῇ οὐδὲν ἔτι. ὡς δὲ ποτε ἀφείθη, ἀπήειν οἴκαδε λαλῶν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, Ἄγε δὴ σὺ ὁ φάσκων ἐπιθυμεῖν ταύτης τῆς παραδόξου θέας, ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ τέχνην εὕρισκε σοφῆν, ἣ τεύξῃ τούτων ὦν ἐρᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν τὴν Παλαιστραν ἤδη ἀποδύου—τῆς γὰρ γυναικὸς τοῦ ξένου καὶ φίλου πόρρω ἴστασο—κάπῃ ταύτης κυλιόμενος καὶ γυμναζόμενος καὶ ταύτῃ συμπλεκόμενος εἰς ἴσθι ὡς ῥαδίως γνώσῃ· δούλοι γὰρ ἐπίστανται καὶ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρά.

¹ Ποῖ codd.: Ποῦ Fritzsche.

² ὑπακούσει codd.: ὑπακούσῃ edd..

¹ Cf. Euripides, *Syleus*, Fr. 693.2.

“ Where have you gone to stay ? ”

“ With Hipparchus.”

“ The miser ? ”

“ You mustn't say that, mother ; for he's been a splendidly generous host to me, so much so that he might even be accused of being too lavish.”

She smiled, took my hand and led me aside, saying, “ I would have you be on your guard against Hipparchus' wife in every way you can. For she's a clever witch and a fast woman who makes eyes at every young man. Any who won't listen to her she punishes with her magic ; she has transformed many into beasts, while others she has done away with altogether. You, my child, are young and handsome enough to please a woman at first sight, and, being a stranger, you are something of no account.”

5. When I learned that what I had been looking for was in the house with me, I had no further interest in her. When eventually I got away from her, I made my way to the house, saying to myself as I went, “ Come now, you who claim to be eager for these strange sights, bestir yourself,¹ I say, and devise a cunning scheme whereby to gain what you desire. Strip yourself at once to wrestle with the maid, Palaestra,² for you must keep your distance from the wife of your host and friend. If you try a roll with her, and test your strength and grapple with her, you can be sure that you'll easily discover what you want to know. For slaves know all that goes on, whether good or bad.”

² The name “ Palaestra ” is derived from the Greek verb “ to wrestle.” Perhaps the pun could be retained by calling her “ Ju-Jit-Su.”

καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πρὸς ἑμᾶντὸν εἰσῆειν οἴκαδε. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἴππαρχον οὐ κατέλαβον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκείνου γυναικα, ἣ δὲ Παλαιστρα τῇ ἐστία παρήδρευεν δειπνον ἡμῖν εὐτρεπιζουσα. 6. κἀγὼ εὐθὺς¹ ἔνθεν ἑλών, Ὡς εὐρύθμους, ἔφην, ὦ καλὴ Παλαιστρα, τὴν πυγὴν τῇ χύτρα ὁμοῦ συμπεριφέρεις καὶ κλίνεις.² ἣ δὲ ὀσφὺς ἡμῖν³ ὑγρῶς ἐπικικεῖται. μακάριος ὅστις ἐνταῦθα ἐνεβάψατο.

ἣ δὲ—σφόδρα γὰρ ἦν ἰταμὸν καὶ χαρίτων μεστὸν τὸ κοράσιον—Φεύγοις ἄν, εἶπεν, ὦ νεανίσκε, εἴ γε νοῦν ἔχοις καὶ ζῆν ἐθέλοις, ὡς πολλοῦ πυρὸς καὶ κνίσσης μεστά· ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μόνον ἄψη, τραῦμα ἔχων πυρίκαυτον αὐτοῦ μοι παρεδρεύεις,⁴ θεραπεύσαι⁵ δέ σε οὐδεὶς ἄλλ'⁶ οὐδὲ θεὸς ἰατρός, ἀλλ' ἣ⁷ κατακαύσασά σε μόνῃ ἐγὼ, καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἐγὼ μὲν σε ποιήσω πλέον ποθεῖν,⁸ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας ὀδύνης ἀρδόμενος αἰεὶ ἀνέξῃ⁹ καὶ οὐδὲ λίθοις βαλλόμενος τὴν γλυκεῖαν ὀδύνην φεύξῃ. τί γελᾷς; ἀκριβῆ βλέπεις ἀνθρωπομάγειρον.¹⁰ οὐ γὰρ μόνα ταῦτα φαῦλα ἐδώδιμα σκευάζω, ἀλλ' ἤδη τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ καλόν, τὸν ἀνθρωπον, οἶδα ἔγωγε καὶ σφάττειν καὶ δέρειν καὶ κατακόπτειν, ἥδιστα δὲ τῶν σπλάγχχνων αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς καρδίας ἀπτομαι.

Τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς, ἔφην, λέγεις· καὶ γὰρ ἐμὲ πόρρωθεν καὶ μηδὲ ἐγγὺς ὄντα οὐ κατακαύματι μὰ

¹ εὐθὺς . . . ἀνακαγχάσσα (fin. cap.) paucis verbis minus obscenities suppletis om. N. ² κνίσις Jacobs. ³ ἡμῖν Jense. ⁴ παρεδρεύεις corrector in rec.: παρεδρεύεις codd.: παρεδρεύσεις edd.. ⁵ θεραπεύσει Jacobs.

Talking thus to myself, I entered the house. I found neither Hipparchus nor his wife at home, but Palaestra was busy at the fireplace preparing our dinner. 6. I immediately 'did make my start from thence'¹ and said, "Palaestra, you lovely creature, how rhythmically you turn and tilt your buttocks in time with the saucepan! And my word, how nimble too is the motion of your waist. Happy the man who dips his piece in such a dish!"

She, being a most lively and attractive little wench, said, "You'd run away, young fellow, if you had any sense and any desire to go on living, for it's all full of fire and steam here. If you so much as touch it, you'll have a nasty burn, and won't be able to budge from here. No one will be able to cure you, no, not even the Healer God himself, but only I who gave you the burn. What's strangest of all is that I shall make you long for more, and you'll always submit to being treated with my painful cure and, even though you're pelted with stones, you'll never try to escape its sweet pain. Why do you laugh? You see before you a veritable man-cooker. For its not merely these common foods that I prepare, but now I know about that great and glorious dish, man. I can kill a man, skin him, and cut him up, and I take particular pleasure in getting my hands right on his inside and his heart."

"What you say is quite true," I replied, "for even when I was still a long way off, you didn't just

¹ Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* VIII. 500, etc.

⁶ ἀλλ' Courier: ἄλλος codd.. ⁷ ἀλλ' ἣ Jacobs: ἀλλὰ codd..

⁸ ποθεῖν Peletier: πονεῖν codd..

⁹ ἀνθέξῃ Courier.

¹⁰ ἀνθρωπον μάγειρον Γ.

Δί' ἄλλὰ ὄλω ἐμπρησμῶ ἐπέθηκας, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν τὸ σὸν μὴ φαινόμενον πῦρ κάτω ἐς τὰ σπλάγγνα τὰμὰ ρίψασα φρύγεις καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα· ὥστε πρὸς θεῶν ἰασαί με ταύταις αἷς λέγεις αὐτῇ ταῖς πικραῖς καὶ ἠδέλαις θεραπαίαις, καί με ἤδη ἀπεσφαγμένον λαβοῦσα δεῖρε, ὅπως αὐτῇ θέλεις.

ἡ δὲ μέγα καὶ ἥδιστον ἐκ τούτου ἀνακαγγάσασα ἐμὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν, καὶ συνέκειτο ἡμῖν ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν κατακοιμίση τοὺς δεσπότας, ἔλθη εἶσω παρ' ἐμέ καὶ καθευδήση. 7. κάπειδῃ ἀφίκετό ποτε ὁ Ἰππαρχος, λουσάμενοι ἐδειπνοῦμεν καὶ πότος ἦν συχνὸς ἡμῶν ὀμιλούντων· εἶτα τοῦ ὕπνου καταφευσάμενοι ἀνίσταμαι καὶ ἔργω ἀπήεν ἔνθα ὤκουν. πάντα δὲ τὰ ἔνδοι εὐ παρεσκεύαστο· τῷ μὲν παιδί ἔξω ὑπέστρωτο, τράπεζα δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ παρειστήκει ποτήριον ἔχουσα· καὶ οἶνος αὐτοῦ παρέκειτο καὶ ὕδωρ ἑτοιμον καὶ ψυχρὸν καὶ θερμόν. πᾶσα δὲ ἦν αὐτῆ τῆς Παλαιστρας παρασκευῆ. τῶν δὲ στρωμάτων ρόδα πολλὰ κατεπέπαστο, τὰ μὲν οὕτω γυμνὰ καθ' αὐτά, τὰ δὲ λευμένα, τὰ δὲ στεφάνοις συμπεπλεγμένα. κἀγὼ τὸ συμπόσιον εὐρῶν ἑτοιμον ἔμενον τὸν συμπότην. 8. ἡ δὲ ἐπειδὴ κατέκλινε τὴν δέσποιναν, σπουδῆ παρ' ἐμέ ἦκε, καὶ ἦν εὐφροσύνη τὸν οἶνον ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ φιλήματα προπινόντων ἀλλήλοις. ὡς δὲ τῷ ποτῷ παρεσκεύασαμεν ἑαυτοὺς εὐ πρὸς τὴν νύκτα, λέγει πρὸς με ἡ Παλαιστρα· Τοῦτο μὲν πάντως δεῖ σε μνημονεῦειν, ὦ νεανίσκε, ὅτι εἰς Παλαιστραν ἐμπέπτωκας, καὶ ¹ χρή σε νῦν ἐπιδείξαι

¹ Pro καὶ χρή . . . κοίμισον (p. 68) pauca minus obscœna supplet N.

singe me but plunged me into a general conflagration; you've been sending your invisible fire down through my eyes into my inward parts and roasting me, even though I've done nothing wrong. Therefore, in heaven's name, heal me yourself, with that bittersweet treatment of which you've been talking and, now that I'm already slaughtered, take me and skin me in any way you yourself please."

At this she gave a loud and delightful laugh, and thereafter she was mine. We agreed that, once she had seen her master and mistress to bed, she was to come to my room and spend the night there. 7. When Hipparchus eventually arrived, we washed ¹ and had dinner, drinking a great deal as we talked. Then I pretended I was sleepy, got up and did in fact go off to my room. Everything inside the room had been beautifully prepared. Bedding had been made up for my servant outside, while beside my bed was a table with a cup. There was wine there, and hot and cold water had been left ready; this was all the work of Palaestra. Over the bedclothes roses had been strewn in profusion, some of them in their natural state, some plucked apart, and others plaited into garlands. Finding the room prepared for the celebrations, I awaited my companion. 8. Once she had seen her mistress to bed, she hurried to my room, and we made merry as we offered each other toasts and kisses. When we had fortified ourselves with wine for the night ahead, Palaestra said to me, "Young fellow, you must remember that it's Palaestra ² with whom you've come to grips, and

¹ There may be a trace of unskilful epitomising here; in Apuleius 2.11 Lucius spent the afternoon in taking a bath.

² See note on p. 59.

εἰ γέγονας ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις γοργὸς καὶ παλαιίσματα
πολλὰ ἔμαθές ποτε.

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις φεύγοντά με τὸν ἔλεγχον
τούτου· ὥστε ἀπόδυσαι, καὶ ἤδη παλαιώμεν.

Ἡ δέ, Οὕτως, ἔφη, ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω, παράσχου μοι
τὴν ἐπίδειξιν· ἐγὼ μὲν νόμῳ διδασκάλου καὶ
ἐπιστάτου τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παλαισμάτων ὧν ἐθέλω
εὐρούσα ἐρῶ, σὺ δὲ ἔτοιμος γίνου ἐς τὸ ὑπακούειν
καὶ ποιεῖν πᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον.

Ἄλλ' ἐπίταττε, ἔφην, καὶ σκόπει ὅπως εὐχερῶς
καὶ ὑγρῶς τὰ παλαιίσματα καὶ εὐτόνως ἔσται.

9. Ἡ δὲ ἀποδυσαμένη τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σταῖα
ὄλη γυμνὴ ἔνθεν ἤρξατο ἐπιτάττειν, ὦ μειράκιον,
ἔκδυσαι καὶ ἀλειψάμενος ἔνθεν ἐκ τοῦ μύρου
συμπλέκου τῷ ἀνταγωνιστῇ· δύο μηρῶν σπάσας
κλῖνον ὑπίαν, ἔπειτα ἀνώτερος ὑποβάλλων¹ διὰ
μηρῶν καὶ διαστείλας ἀιώρει καὶ τεῖνε ἄνω τὰ
σκέλη, καὶ χαλάσας καὶ στήσας κολλῶ αὐτῷ καὶ
παρεισελθὼν βάλε καὶ πρῶσας² νύσσε ἤδη πανταχοῦ
ἕως πονέση, καὶ ἡ ὀσφὺς ἰσχυέτω, εἶτα ἐξελκύσας
κατὰ πλάτος³ διὰ βουβῶνος δῆξον, καὶ πάλιν
συνῶθει εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, εἶτα τύπτε· ἐπειδὴν δὲ
χάλασμα ἴδης, τότε ἤδη ἐπιβὰς ἄμμα κατ' ἰξῶος
δήσας σύνεχε, καὶ πειρῶ μὴ σπεύδειν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον
διακαρτερήσας σύντρεχε. ἤδη ἀπολέλυσαι.

¹ ὑποβαλῶν Ψ.

² πρῶσας γεcc..

³ πλάτος γεcc.: πλάτους Γ.

you must now show whether you've become a lad of
mettle and have learnt many a wrestling hold."

"Indeed you won't see me shirking this trial of
strength. Strip then, and let's start our wrestling now."

"You must follow my wishes as you demonstrate
your prowess. I shall be like a trainer and super-
visor, thinking up and calling out the names of the
holds I wish, and you must be ready to obey and
carry out all your orders."

"Well give your orders," said I, "and see how
readily, how nimbly and how vigorously I shall
display my holds."

9. She stripped off her clothing and, standing
completely naked, began her instructions there and
then. "Strip off, my lad; rub on some of that
ointment from over there, and grapple with your
adversary. Grab me by both thighs and put me on
my back. Next get on top of me, slip in through my
thighs and open me up, keeping your legs poised
above me and stretched out. Then drop them into
position, keeping glued to your target. Go right into
the assault, and push forward everywhere now with a
sharp attack till your opponent is worn out,¹ and let
your weapon show its strength. Then withdraw,
attack on a broad front and stab your foe through
the groin. Push forward again to the wall and then
strike. When you notice that the resistance is weak-
ening, that's the very time to lock yourself in close
combat and grip your opponent by the waist. Try
not to hurry, but be patient for a little and match
your pace to mine. Now you can fall out from class."

¹ Or perhaps, taking the verb as middle, "till you are
worn out."

10. *κἀγὼ ἐπειδὴ ῥαδίως πάντα ὑπήκουσα καὶ εἰς τέλος ἡμῖν ἔλῃξε τὰ παλαισµατα, λέγω¹ πρὸς τὴν Παλαιστραν ἅµα ἐπιγελάσας, ὦ Ω διδάσκαλε, ὄρας µὲν ὅπως εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐηκόως πεπάλαισται µοι, σκόπει δὲ µὴ ἔν κόσµῳ τὰ παλαισµατα ὑποβάλλεις² ἄλλα γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλων ἐπιτάττεις.*

ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ κόρρης πλήξασά µε, ὦς φλύαρον, ἔφη, παρέλαβον τὸν µαθητὴν. σκόπει οὖν µὴ πληγὰς ἔτι πλείους³ λάβῃς ἄλλα καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐπιταττόµενα παλαιῶν.

καὶ ταῦτα εἰπούσα ἐπανίσταται καὶ θεραπεύσασα ἑαυτὴν, Νῦν, ἔφη, δείξεις εἴπερ νέος εἶ καὶ εὐτονος παλαιστής καὶ εἰ ἐπίστασαι παλαίειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ γονατίου.

καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ τοῦ λέχους ἐς γόνυ, Ἄγε δὴ σὺ ὁ παλαιστής, ἔχεις τὰ μέσα, ὥστε τινάξας ὀξεῖαν ἐπίπρωσον καὶ βάθνον. ψιλὸν ὄρας αὐτοῦ παρακείμενον, τούτῳ χρῆσαι. πρῶτον δὲ κατὰ λόγον, ὡς ἄµµα⁴ σφίγγε, εἶτα ἀνακλάσας ἔµβαλε⁵ καὶ σύνεχε καὶ µὴ δίδου διάστημα. ἐὰν δὲ χαλᾶται, θᾶττον ἐπάρας ἀνώτερον μετᾶθες καὶ κρούσας κῦψον⁶ καὶ σκόπει ὅπως µὴ ἀνασπάσης θᾶττον ἢ κελουστής, ἀλλὰ δὴ κυρτώσας πολὺ αὐτὸν ὕφελε,⁷ καὶ ὑποβαλὼν κάτω αὐθις τὴν παρεµβολὴν σύνεχε καὶ κινου, εἶτα ἄφες αὐτόν. πέπτωκε⁸ γὰρ καὶ λέλυται καὶ ὕδωρ ὅλος ἐστὶ σοι ὁ ἀνταγωνιστής.

¹ λέγω rec.: καὶ λέγω cett..

² ὑποβάλλεις rec., edd..

³ πλείους Jacobitz: πλείω codd..

⁴ ὡς ἄµµα rec.: ὁ σαµµα Γ: ὅσα µίµα rec.: ὅσα νόµµα Ψ: εἰς ἄµµα Courier. ⁵ ἔµβαλλε rec.. ⁶ κῦψον Guyot: κρύψον codd..

⁷ ὕφελκε Courier.

⁸ πέπτωκε Γ.

10. When I for my part had obeyed every order with ease and our wrestling had come to an end, I said to Palaestra with a laugh, "You can see, teacher, how readily and obediently I have done my wrestling, but take care that you aren't getting out of order in suggesting holds. For you ask for one after another."

But she slapped my face and said, "What a chatter-box I have for my pupil! Take care that you don't get some more slaps for using different holds from the ones I ask for."

So saying, she rose from the bed, and, after freshening up, said "Now you will show whether you're a youthful and vigorous wrestler, and can wrestle and go into action on your knees."

Then she dropped on to one knee on the bed and said "Come now, Sir Wrestler, here you have the centre of operations. Brandish your weapon, push forward for a sharp thrust and plunge it in deep. You see it lying unfolded there; make the most of it. First, of course, you must go into a clinch with me, and then you must bend me back, attacking and gripping me tight, allowing no gap between us. If you start slacking off, you must be faster in mounting each offensive and must move to a higher point of vantage. You must put your head down and strike, and see that you don't retire quicker than you're told to; you must arch your battleline into a wide curve, before making a gradual withdrawal. Then you must push down again in a controlled infiltration and keep on the move. Only then may you withdraw your spearhead from the field. For it's now limp and lifeless, and your opponent is drenched."

ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη μέγα ἀναγελῶν, Ἐθέλω, ἔφην, καὶ αὐτός, ὦ διδάσκαλε, παλαισμάτα ὀλίγ' ἄττα ἐπιτάξαι, σὺ δὲ ὑπάκουσον ἐπαναστάσα¹ καὶ κάθισον, εἴτα δοῦσα κατὰ χειρὸς πάραφαι τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ² καταμάττου, καί με πρὸς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους περιλαβοῦσα ἤδη κοίμῃσον.

11. Ἐν τοιαύταις ἡδοναῖς καὶ παιδιαῖς παλαισμάτων ἀγωνιζόμενοι νυκτερινούς ἀγῶνας ἐστεφανούμεθα, καὶ ἦν πολλή μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τρυφή ὥστε τῆς εἰς τὴν Λάρισσαν ὁδοῦ παντάπασιν ἐπιληλήσμη. καὶ ποτε ἐπὶ νοῦν μοι ἦλθε τὸ³ μαθεῖν ὧν ἕνεκα ἤθλων, καὶ φημί πρὸς αὐτήν, ὦ φιλάττη, δεῖξόν μοι μαγγανεύουσαν ἢ μεταμορφουμένην τὴν δέσποιναν· πάλαι γὰρ τῆς παραδόξου ταύτης θέας ἐπιθυμῶ. μᾶλλον <δ'>⁴ εἴ τι σὺ οἶδας, αὐτὴ μαγγάνευσον, ὥστε φανῆναί μοι ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης ὄψιν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ σὲ οὐκ ἀπειρώς τῆσδε τῆς τέχνης ἔχειν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ παρ' ἐτέρου μαθὼν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς ἐμαντοῦ ψυχῆς λαβὼν οἶδα, ἐπεὶ με τὸν πάλαι ἀδαμάντινον, ὡς ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐς μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα τὰ ὄμματα ταῦτα ἐρωτικῶς ποτε ἐκτείναντα συλλαβοῦσα τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ αἰχμάλωτον ἔχεις ἐρωτικῶ πολέμῳ ψυχαγωγοῦσα.

ἢ δὲ Παλαίστρα, Παῦσαι, φησί, προσπαίζων. τίς γὰρ ὧδῃ δύναται μαγεῦσαι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὄντα τῆς τέχνης κύριον; ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ φίλτατε, τούτων μὲν οἶδα οὐδὲν μὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν σὴν καὶ τήνδε τὴν μακαρίαν εὐνήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ γράμματα ἔμαθον, καὶ ἡ δέσποινα βάσκανος οὔσα τυγχάνει

I was now laughing heartily and said, "I wish to prescribe a few holds of my own, teacher, and *you* must get up and obey *me*. Now sit down. Next give me water to wash my hands, apply the rest of the ointment and wipe yourself clean. And now, by Heracles, hold me tight and lull me to sleep."

11. Such were our pleasant, frolicsome wrestling-bouts as we competed in nightly combat and covered ourselves with laurels. We found great enjoyment in this, so that I had completely forgotten about my journey to Larissa. Then at last I thought of gaining the information which had been the purpose of my athletic feats, and said to her, "Dearest, show me your mistress practising magic or changing her shape. For I've long had a craving for this strange sight. Or better still, if you can, work your own magic, so that you appear to me in one shape after another, for I imagine that you too are skilled in this art. This is no second-hand information but what I have learnt from my own soul, seeing that I who have long been called the adamant one by the women and have never cast these eyes of mine amorously on any woman, have been caught by you, and by your art you hold me prisoner, for you enchant my soul by the warfare of love."

But Palaestra said, "Stop joking. What magic incantations can conjure Love forth? He is the master of the art. I, my darling, know nothing about these things, I swear it by your own dear self and by this bed that's brought such joy. For I cannot even read, and my mistress is very jealous

¹ ἐπανάστα Γ.

² τὸ recc.: ἐς τὸ Γ.

³ καὶ om Γ.

⁴ δ' supplet Courier.

εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς τέχνην· εἰ δέ μοι καιρὸς ἐπιτρέψει¹ πειράσομαι παρασχεῖν σοι τὸ ἰδεῖν μεταμορφουμένην τὴν κεκτημένην.

καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκοιμήθημεν. 12. ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλαῖς ἀγγέλλει πρὸς με ἡ Παλαιστρα ὡς ἡ δέσποινα αὐτῆς μέλλοι ὄρνις γενομένη πέτεσθαι² πρὸς τὸν ἐρώμενον.

κἀγώ, Νῦν, ἔφην, ὁ καιρὸς, ὦ Παλαιστρα, τῆς εἰς ἐμέ χάριτος, ἦ³ νῦν ἔχεις τὸν σαυτῆς ἰκέτην ἀναπαῦσαι πολυχρονίου ἐπιθυμίας.

Θάρρει, ἔφη.

κἀπειδὴ ἐσπέρα ἦν, ἄγει με λαβοῦσα πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ δωματίου, ἔνθα ἐκείνοι ἐκάθευδον, καὶ θέλει με προσάγειν ὅπῃ τι τῆς θύρας λεπτῆ κα σκοπεῖν τὰ γινόμενα ἔνδον. ὁρῶ οὖν τὴν μὲν γυναικα ἀποδυομένην. εἶτα γυμνῆ τῷ λύχνῳ προσελθοῦσα καὶ χόνδρους δύο λαβοῦσα τὸν μὲν λιβανωτὸν τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ λύχνου ἐπέθηκε καὶ στᾶσα πολλὰ τοῦ λύχνου κατελάλησεν· εἶτα κιβώτιον ἄδρον ἀνοίξασα, πάνυ πολλὰς ἔχον πυξίδας ἐν αὐτῷ, ἔνθεν ἀναιρεῖται καὶ προφέρει μίαν· ἡ δὲ εἶχεν ἐμβεβλημένον ὁ τι μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, τῆς δὲ ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἕνεκα ἔλαιον αὐτὸ ἐδόκουν εἶναι. ἐκ τούτου λαβοῦσα χριεταὶ ὄλη, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνύχων ἀρξαμένη τῶν κάτω, καὶ ἄφνω πτερὰ ἐκφύεται αὐτῆ, καὶ ἡ ῥῖν κερατῆν καὶ γρυνπὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ὅσα ὀρνίθων κτήματα καὶ σύμβολα πάντα εἶχε· καὶ ἦν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ κόραξ νυκτερινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν ἑαυτὴν ἐπτερωμένην, κρώξασα δεινὸν καὶ οἶον ἐκείνοι⁴ οἱ κόρακες,

¹ ἐπιτρέψει rsc.: ἐπιτρέφοι ΓN edd..

about her own art. But if the occasion permits, I shall try to let you see my mistress changing her shape."

Then, this being agreed, we went to sleep. 12. A few days later Palaestra reported to me that her mistress was going to turn into a bird and fly to her beloved.

"Now's your chance, Palestra," said I, "to do me the favour by which you can, and I pray you will, bring me relief from a craving that has persisted so long."

"Don't worry," she said.

When it was evening, she took me and led me to the door of the bedroom of her master and mistress, bidding me put my eye to a tiny crack in the door and see what was going on inside. I saw the lady of the house undressing. Then she went up to the lamp naked, took two grains of frankincense which she put upon the flame of the lamp, and standing there uttered a scree of words over the lamp. Then she opened a large box containing a great number of caskets, one of which she picked up and took out. What it had in it I don't know, though from its appearance I thought it was olive oil. She took some of this and, starting with her toenails, anointed herself all over. Suddenly she started sprouting feathers, and her nose became horny and hooked; she had all the attributes and marks of a bird, and was for all the world a night-raven.¹ When she saw that she had grown feathers, she uttered a terrible

¹ I.e. a long-eared owl, the bird called νυκτικὸραξ by Aristotle.

² πέτασθαι Γ.

³ ἦ N: ἄ cett..

⁴ ἐκείνοι man. rsc. in Ψ: ἐκείνο codd..

ἀναστᾶσα ᾤχετο πετομένη διὰ τῆς θυρίδος. 13. ἐγὼ δὲ ὄναρ ἐκείνο οἰόμενος ὄραν τοῖς δακτύλοις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βλεφάρων ἠπτόμην, οὐ πιστεύων τοῖς ἔμαντοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐθ' ὅτι βλέπουσιν οὐθ' ὅτι ἐγρηγόρασιν. ὡς δὲ μόλις καὶ βραδέως ἐπέισθην ὅτι μὴ καθεύδω, ἐδεόμεν ἰότε τῆς Παλαιίστρας περῶσαι καμὲ καὶ χρίσασαν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ φαρμάκου ἔασαι πέτεσθαι με· ἠβουλόμην γὰρ πείρα μαθεῖν εἰ μεταμορφωθείς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν¹ ὄρνις ἔσομαι. ἢ δὲ τὸ δωμάτιον ὑπανοίξασα² κομίζει τὴν πυξίδα. ἐγὼ δὲ σπεύδων ἦδη ἀποδύσας χρίω ὄλον ἔμαντόν, καὶ ὄρνις μὲν οὐ γίνομαι ὁ δυστυχῆς, ἀλλὰ μοι οὐρὰ ὄπισθεν ἐξήλθεν, καὶ οἱ δάκτυλοι πάντες ᾤχοντο οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι·³ ὄνυχας δὲ τοὺς πάντας τέσσαρας εἶχον, καὶ τούτους οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὄπλᾶς, καὶ μοι αἱ χεῖρες καὶ οἱ πόδες κτήνους πόδες ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὰ⁴ ὦτα δὲ μακρὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον μέγα. ἐπεὶ δὲ κύκλω περιεσκόπου, αὐτὸν ἐώρων ὄνον, φωνὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἐς τὸ μέμφασθαι τὴν Παλαιίστραν οὐκέτι εἶχον. τὸ δὲ χεῖλος ἐκτείνας κάτω καὶ αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ σχήματι ὡς ὄνος ὑποβλέπων ἠτιώμην αὐτὴν, ὄση δύναμις, ὄνος ἀντὶ ὄρνιθος γενόμενος. 14. ἢ δὲ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν τυψαμένη τὸ πρόσωπον, Τάλαινα, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ, μέγα εἴργασμαι κακόν· σπεύσασα γὰρ ἤμαρτον ἐν τῇ ὁμοιότητι τῶν πυξίδων καὶ ἄλλην ἔλαβον οὐχὶ τὴν τὰ περὰ φύουσαν.⁵ ἀλλὰ θάρρει μοι, φίλτατε· ῥάων⁶ γὰρ ἢ τούτου θεραπείᾳ·

croak just as those birds do, rose up and flew away through the window. 13. I thought I was dreaming and felt my eyelids with my fingers, for I did not believe that my own eyes were seeing this or were awake. When eventually I had barely convinced myself that I was awake, I then asked Palaestra to give me feathers too, and to smear me with that concoction and allow me to fly; for I wished to learn by experience whether, when my body was transformed from human shape, my soul would also become that of a bird. She stealthily opened the door of the room and brought me the casket. I now hastily stripped and smeared myself all over; but alas I did not become a bird. Instead a tail sprang out from my behind, and all my fingers and toes vanished I know not where. I kept four nails in all and these were unmistakably hooves, while my hands and feet had become the feet of a beast, my ears had grown long and my face become enormous. When I looked myself over, I could see that I was an ass, but I no longer had a human voice with which to abuse Palaestra. But I did drop my lip and, confronting her with my appearance, looked up angrily at her as an ass does, trying as best I could to reproach her for my having become an ass instead of a bird. 14. She beat her face with both hands and said: "Unlucky one that I am, I have wrought great harm, for in my haste, misled by the similarity of the caskets, I took the wrong one, and not the one which produces feathers. But please do cheer up, my darling; the

¹ τύχην Γ.² ἐπανοίξασα Γ.³ ὅποι Courier: ὄπου codd..⁵ φύουσαν recs.: χρίουσαν Γ'Ν.⁴ τὰ recs.: om. Γ'Ν.⁶ ῥάστη recs., odd..

ρόδα γὰρ μόνα εἰ φάγοις, ἀποδύσῃ μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ κτήνος, τὸν δὲ ἐραστήν μοι τὸν ἕμὸν αὖθις ἀποδώσεις. ἀλλὰ μοι, φίλτατε, τὴν μίαν νύκτα ταύτην ὑπόμεινον ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ, ὄρθρου δὲ δραμοῦσα οἶσω σοι ρόδα καὶ φαγῶν ἰαθήσῃ. ταῦτα εἶπεν καταψήσασα¹ μου τὰ ὤτα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δέρμα.

15. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὄνος ἤμην, τὰς δὲ φρένας καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος ὁ Λούκιος, δίχα τῆς φωνῆς. πολλὰ οὖν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν μεμψάμενος τὴν Παλαιστράν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ δακῶν τὸ χεῖλος ἀπήγειν ἐνθα ἠπιστάμην ἐστῶτα τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ ἵππον καὶ ἄλλον ἀληθινὸν ὄνον τὸν Ἴππάρχου. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοί με εἶσω παριόντα, δείσαντες μὴ τοῦ χόρτου κοινωνὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπεισέρχομαι, τὰ ὤτα κατακλίναντες ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμύνειν τῇ γαστρὶ· καγὼ συνεῖς πορρωτέρω ποι τῆς φάντης ἀποχωρήσας ἐστῶς ἐγέλων, ὁ δὲ μοι γέλως ὀγκηθμός ἦν. ταῦτα δ' ἄρ'² ἐνενοῦν πρὸς ἑμαυτόν· "ὦ τῆς ἀκαίρου ταύτης περιεργίας. τί δέ, εἰ λύκος παρεἰσέλθῃ ἢ ἄλλο τι θηρίον; κινδυνεύεται μοι μηδὲν κακὸν πεποιηκότι."³ ταῦτα ἐννοῶν ἠγγούον ὁ δυστυχῆς τὸ μέλλον κακόν.

16. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡδὴ νύξ βαθεῖα καὶ σιωπὴ πολλή καὶ ὕπνος ὁ γλυκὺς, ψοφεῖ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὁ τοίχος ὡς διορυττόμενος, καὶ διωρτύττετό γε, καὶ ὀπή ἡδὴ ἐγεγονεῖ ἄνθρωπον δέξασθαι δυναμένη, καὶ εὐθύς ἄνθρωπος ταύτῃ παρήει καὶ ἄλλος ὁμοίως, καὶ πολλοὶ ἔνδον ἦσαν καὶ πάντες εἶχον ξίφη. εἶτα καταδήσαντες ἔνδον ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις τὸν

¹ καταψήλαψήσασα recs., edd.. ² δ' ἄρ' Jacobitz: γὰρ codd..

³ πεποιηκότι διαφθαρῆναι recs., edd..

cure for this is quite simple. For all you have to do is eat roses and you'll immediately discard your bestial shape, and restore my own lover to me once more. But I beg you, dearest one, remain the ass for this single night, and at dawn I shall make all speed to bring you roses, which you will eat and be cured," and she stroked my ears and my skin as she spoke.

15. But though I was an ass in every other respect, in mind and intellect I remained a human, and was still the same Lucius except for my voice. And so I cursed Palaestra bitterly to myself for her mistake, and went away biting my lip to where I knew my own horse was standing along with a real ass belonging to Hipparchus. When they saw me coming in, they were afraid I was coming to share their fodder, and dropped their ears and were prepared to defend their bellies with their feet. When I understood what was happening I retired to some distance from the manger and stood laughing, though my laughter took the form of braying. "Oh, what untimely curiosity!" I thought to myself. "What would happen if a wolf or any other wild beast were to get in? I'm in danger, though I've done nothing wrong." Such were my thoughts, for I didn't know, poor creature, the evils in store for me.

16. When it was now dead of night and silence and sweet sleep reigned, a noise started on the outside of the wall as if of someone breaking in. This was indeed so, and presently there was a hole big enough to take a man. Immediately one man came through, and others followed in the same way, till many were inside, all of them armed with swords. Then they

Ἴππαρχον καὶ τὴν Παλαιστραν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκέτην ἀδεῶς ἤδη τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκένοον τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ σκεύη κομιζόντες ἕξω. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔνδον κατελείπετο, λαβόντες¹ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄνον καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπέσαξαν, ἔπειτα ὅσα ἐβάστασαν, ἐπικατέδησαν ἡμῖν. καὶ οὕτως μέγα ἄχθος φέροντας ἡμᾶς ξύλοις παίοντες ἤλαυνον ὡς εἰς² τὸ ὄρος ἀτρέπτω ὁδῷ φεύγειν πειρώμενοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα κτήνη οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔπασχεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνυπόδητος ἀσυνήθης ἀπιὼν πέτραις ὀξείαις ἐπιβαίνων, τοσαῦτα σκεύη φέρων ἀπωλλύμην. καὶ πολλάκις προσέπταιον, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἕξόν καταπεσεῖν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἄλλος ὄπισθεν κατὰ τῶν μηρῶν ἔπαιεν ξύλω. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλάκις ὦ Καῖσαρ ἀναβοῆσαι ἐπεθύμουν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὠγκώμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὦ μέγιστον καὶ εὐφωνότατον ἐβόων, τὸ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθει. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐτυπτόμην ὡς προδιδοὺς αὐτοὺς τῷ ὀγκηθμῷ. μαθὼν οὖν ὅτι ἄλλως ἐβόων, ἔγνων σιγῇ προῖέναι καὶ κερδαίνειν τὸ μὴ παῖεσθαι.

17. ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡμέρα τε ἤδη ἦν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄρη πολλὰ ἀναβεβήκειμεν, καὶ στόματα δὲ ἡμῶν δεσμῷ ἐπέιχετο, ὡς μὴ περιβοσκόμενοι τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς τὸ ἄριστον ἀναλίσκοιμεν· ὥστε εἰς τὴν τότε καὶ ἔμεινα ὄνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ³ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας, καταλύομεν εἰς τινα ἔπαυλιν συνήθων ἐκείνοις ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἦν ἐκ τῶν γνωμένων σκοπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ φιλήμασιν ἡσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους καὶ καταλύειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς οἱ⁴ ἐν τῇ ἐπαύλει

¹ λαβόντες GN: λαβόντες ἐμέ τε rec., edd..

² ὡς εἰς GN: εἰς rec., edd.. ³ τὸ rec.: om. GN. ⁴ οἱ om. G.

went inside, bound Hipparchus, Palaestra and my servant in their rooms, and proceeded nonchalantly to empty the house, carrying out all the money, clothes and furnishings. When nothing else was left inside, taking the other ass and the horse, they saddled us and fastened on our backs everything they had brought out. We carried these heavy loads and they beat us with sticks, driving us on in their efforts to escape up the mountain by an unused track. How the other two animals felt I can't say, but for myself I was at death's door, for I was unshod and unaccustomed to such travelling and to walking over jagged stones with all that baggage to carry. I often stumbled, but wasn't allowed to drop down, as someone would immediately strike my rump with a stick. I often wanted to shout "Oh Lord!"; but only mustered a bray, and, though I could shout the "Oh" loud and clear, the "Lord" wouldn't follow. But I was beaten for this too, as I was giving them away by my braying. So I realised that my cries were useless and learned to proceed in silence and earn myself immunity from blows.

17. It was already day by now and we had climbed up many mountains. Our mouths were kept muzzled so that we couldn't graze and waste travelling time on breakfast. Thus for that day, too, I remained an ass. It was actually midday before we stopped at a farmhouse which, to judge from what was going on, belonged to friends of theirs. For they greeted each other with embraces and the occupants of the farm invited them to break their journey,

καὶ παρέθηκαν ἄριστον καὶ τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἡμῖν παρέβαλον κριθΐδια.¹ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤριστων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπείνων μὲν κακῶς· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐπώποτε κριθὰς ὠμὰς ἤριστήκειν, ἔσκοπούμην ὅ τι καὶ καταβάγοιμι. ὁρῶ δὲ κῆπον αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ εἶχε λάχανα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ ρόδα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν² ἐφαίνετο· καγὼ λαθὼν πάντας τοὺς ἔνδον ἀσχολουμένους περὶ τὸ ἄριστον ἔρχομαι ἐπὶ τὸν κῆπον, τοῦτο μὲν ὠμῶν λαχάνων ἐμπλησθησόμενος, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν ρόδων ἕνεκα· ἐλογιζόμεν γὰρ ὅτι δῆθεν φαγὼν τῶν ἀνθῶν πάλιν ἄνθρωπος ἔσομαι. εἶτα ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸν κῆπον θριδάκων μὲν καὶ ραφανίδων καὶ σελίνων, ὅσα ὠμὰ ἐσθίει ἄνθρωπος, ἐνεπλήσθη, τὰ δὲ ρόδα ἐκεῖνα οὐκ ἦν ρόδα ἀληθινά, τὰ δ' ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀγρίας δάφνης φυόμενα· ροδοδάφνην³ αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, κακὸν ἄριστον ὄνυ τοῦτο παντὶ καὶ ἵππῳ· φασὶ γὰρ τὸν φαγόντα ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτίκα. 18. ἐν τούτῳ ὁ κηπουρὸς αἰσθόμενος καὶ ξύλον ἀρπάσας, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν κῆπον καὶ τὸν πολέμιον ἰδὼν καὶ τῶν λαχάνων τὸν ὄλεθρον, ὥσπερ τις δυνάστης μισοπόνηρος κλέπτῃν λαβῶν, οὕτω με συνέκοψε τῷ⁴ ξύλῳ, μήτε πλευρῶν φεισάμενος μήτε μηρῶν, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ὠτά μου κατέκλασεν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον συνέτριψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκέτ' ἀνεχόμενος ἀπολακτίσας ἀμφοτέροις καὶ καταβαλὼν ὑπτιον ἐπὶ τῶν λαχάνων ἔφευγον ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ εἶδε δρόμῳ

serving them with breakfast and throwing down some barley for us animals; my fellows settled to their breakfast, but I, though miserably hungry, looked round for something to eat, for I'd never yet had a meal of raw barley. I noticed a garden over there behind the yard. It was full of magnificent vegetables, and above them I could see roses. Unnoticed by any in the house, for they were busy with breakfast, I went into the garden, partly to eat my fill of raw vegetables, but also to get the roses in the mistaken belief that, if I ate these flowers, I would become a man again. Then I stepped into the garden and ate my fill of lettuces, radishes and celery, the vegetables that a man can eat raw, but these roses were not proper roses, but grew on the wild laurel. They are called rose-bays¹ and make a bad breakfast for any ass or horse, for they say that to eat them is instant death. 18. Meanwhile the gardener had heard the noise and seized a stick. When he had gone into the garden and seen his enemy and the havoc wrought amongst his vegetables, he became just like a severe nabob who's caught a thief, and gave me a drubbing with his stick. He spared neither my ribs nor my haunches, and what's more hammered my ears and pounded my face. When I could put up with no more, I kicked out at him with both hind-legs, sending him on to his back among the vegetables, while I ran off up the mountain. When he saw me running away, he shouted for the dogs to

¹ Probably *Nerium oleander* rather than the modern *rhododendron*; cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 16.79, 24.90, who says that the Greeks used the names *rhododendron*, *nerion* and *rhododaphne* for one and the same shrub and that it was poisonous to cattle, but useful to men as an antidote to snake venom. Cf. also *ibid.* 21. 77.

¹ κριθΐα rec., edd..

² αὐτῶν rec.: αὐτὸν ΓΝ.

³ ρόδα δάφνην codd.: corr. Gesner.

⁴ τῷ om. ΓΝ.

ἀπιόντα, ἀνέκραγε λύσαι τοὺς κύνας ἐπ' ἐμοί· οἱ δὲ κύνες πολλοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ἄρκτοις μάχεσθαι ἱκανοί. ἔγνω ὅτι δὴ διασπάσσονται με οὔτοι λαβόντες, καὶ¹ ὀλίγον ἐκπεριελθὼν ἔκρινε τοῦτο δὴ² τὸ τοῦ λόγου, “παλινδρομήσαι μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς δραμεῖν.” ὀπίσω οὖν³ ἀπήει καὶ εἴσειμι αὐθις εἰς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν κύνας δρόμῳ ἐπιφερομένους ἐδέξαντο καὶ κατέδησαν, ἐμὲ δὲ παίοντες οὐ πρότερον ἀφήκαν πρὶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀδύνης πάντα τὰ λάχανα κάτωθεν ἐξέμέσαι.

19. καὶ μὴν ὅτε ὀδοιπορεῖν ὥρα ἦν, τὰ βαρύτερα τῶν κλεμμάτων καὶ τὰ πλείστα ἐμοὶ ἐπέθηκαν· κακείθεν τότε οὕτως ἐξελαύνομεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπηγόρευον ἤδη παιόμενός τε καὶ τῷ φορτίῳ ἀχθόμενος καὶ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκτετριμμένος, ἔγνω αὐτοῦ καταπεσεῖν καὶ μηδ' ἂν ἀποσφάττωσί με ταῖς πληγαῖς ἀναστήναί ποτε, τοῦτο ἐλπίσας μέγα μοι ὄφελος ἔσεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ βουλεύματος· ᾗθήθη γὰρ ὅτι πάντως ἠττώμενοι τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ σκευὴ διανεμοῦσιν τῷ τε ἵππῳ καὶ τῷ ἡμίονῳ, ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐάσουσιν κείσθαι τοῖς λύκοις. ἀλλὰ τις δαίμων βάσκανος συνεῖς τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων ἐς τοῦναντίον περιήνεγκεν· ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος ὄνος ἴσως ἐμοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ νοήσας πίπτει ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξύλῳ παίοντες ἀναστήναι τὸν ἄθλιον ἐκέλευον, ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπήκουεν ταῖς πληγαῖς, λαβόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν τῶν ὠτων, οἱ δὲ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀνεγείρειν ἐπειρῶντο· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἤνυον, ἔκειτο δὲ ὡσπερ λίθος ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀπηγορευκῶς, λογισάμενοι

be unleashed on me. There were lots of them, large creatures capable of tackling bears. I realised that they would seize me and tear me to pieces, and, after running to and fro for a short time, I decided in the words of the proverb “to run back home rather than run to harm.”¹ So I went back again into the farmyard. They called off the dogs who were now rushing at me and tied them up, but beat me without stopping until the pain had made me excrete² all the vegetables from my bottom.

19. But when it was time for them to be on their way, they loaded me with the heaviest items and indeed the major part of their loot, and thus we started off from there. When presently I was faint from the blows and the weight of my load and my hooves were worn out by the journey, I decided to drop down where I was and never to get up again even if they beat me to death. I hoped that this plan would be of great benefit to me, for I thought that they would succumb to complete defeat and share my baggage between the horse and the mule and leave me lying there for the wolves to find. But a malignant deity realised my plans and turned them topsy-turvy. For the other ass, perhaps with the same intentions as I had, dropped down in the road. At first they beat the poor creature with a stick and told it to get up, but, when it paid no heed to their blows, some of them seized it by the ears and others by the tail and tried to get it on its feet. Since this was of no avail and it lay unconscious on the road just like a stone, they decided among themselves that their

¹ καὶ om. Γ.² δὴ rec.: ἤδη cett..³ οὖν om. Γ¹ A line from a lost play; Kock, *Fr. Adesp.* 480.² Rather than “vomit up”; cf. Apuleius 4.3.

ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὅτι δὴ μάτην πονοῦσιν καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς φυγῆς ἀναλίσκουσιν ὄνω νεκρῶ παρεδρεύοντες, τὰ μὲν σκευή πάντα ὅσα ἐκόμιζεν ἐκεῖνος διανέμουσιν ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον κοινωνὸν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀχθοφορίας λαβόντες τῷ ξίφει ὑποτέμνουσιν ἐκ τῶν σκελῶν καὶ σπαίροντα ἔτι ὠθοῦσιν ἐς τὸν κρημνόν. ὁ δὲ ἀπῆει κάτω τὸν θάνατον ὀρχοῦμενος.

20. ἐγὼ δὲ ὄρων ἐν τῷ συνοδοιπόρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων τὸ τέλος, ἐγγων φέρειν εὐγενῶς τὰ ἐν ποσὶ καὶ προθύμως περιπατεῖν, ἐλπίδας ἔχων πάντως ποτὲ ἐμπσεῖσθαι εἰς τὰ ῥόδα κακ τούτων εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀνασωθῆσθαι· καὶ τῶν ληστῶν δὲ ἤκουον ὡς οὐκ εἴη ἔτι πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ λοιπὸν καὶ ὅτι καταμενοῦσιν ἐνθα καταλύσουσιν¹ ὥστε πάντα ταῦτα δρόμῳ ἐκομίζομεν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἤλθομεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία. γραῦς δὲ γυνή ἔνδον καθήστο, καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἐκαίετο. οἱ δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ ἐτυγχάνομεν ἡμεῖς κομίζοντες, εἴσω κατέθηκαν. εἶτα ἤροντο τὴν γραῦν, Διὰ τί οὕτως καθέζη καὶ οὐ παρασκευάζεις ἄριστον;

Ἄλλα πάντα, εἶπεν ἡ γραῦς, εὐτρεπή ὑμῖν, ἄρτοι πολλοί, οἴνου παλαιοῦ πίθοι, καὶ τὰ κρέα δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ἄγρια σκευάσασα ἔχω. οἱ δὲ τὴν γραῦν ἐπαινέσαντες, ἀποδυσάμενοι ἠλείφοντο πρὸς τὸ πῦρ καὶ λέβητος ἔνδον ὕδωρ θερμὸν ἔχοντος ἀρυσάμενοι ἐνθεν καὶ καταχεάμενοι αὐτοσχεδίῳ τῷ λουτρῶ ἐχρήσαντο.

21. εἶτα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἤγον νεανίσκοι πολλοὶ κομίζοντες σκευή πλείεστα ὅσα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ κόσμον γυναικείου καὶ ἀνδρείου

efforts were in vain and they were wasting on a dead ass time better spent on escape. They therefore divided his whole load between the horse and me. As for the unfortunate companion of my captivity and my pack-duty, they took him, hacked off his legs with their swords, and pushed him still quivering with life over a cliff, and down he went in a dance of death.

20. Since I could see from the fate of my travelling companion how my schemes would end, I decided to bear my present situation like an aristocrat and continue cheerfully on my way, for I hoped that eventually I would be sure to find my roses and be safely restored to my own shape; besides I heard the robbers saying that there was only a small part of the journey left and they would remain at that night's resting-place. We therefore carried all this load at a fast pace and reached their headquarters before evening. Inside sat an old woman and a fire was blazing merrily. The men stored away inside everything which we had been carrying, and then asked the woman why she was sitting idle like that instead of getting supper ready.

"Everything is ready for you," replied the old woman. "There's plenty of bread along with jars of old wine and I've also cooked you venison." After praising her efforts, they stripped, oiled themselves before the fire and helped themselves from a cauldron containing hot water. This they poured over their bodies, giving themselves improvised baths.

21. Shortly afterwards a large band of youths arrived carrying innumerable vessels of gold and silver along with clothes and a great quantity of

¹ λοιπὸν . . . καταλύσουσιν sic Dindorf: καὶ ὅτι καταλύσουσι λοιπὸν ἐνθα καταμενοῦσιν codd..

πολύν. ἐκοινωνούν δὲ οὗτοι ἀλλήλοισ· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἔνδον κατέθεντο, ὁμοίως ἐλούσαντο καὶ οὗτοι. λοιπὸν μετὰ τοῦτο ἦν ἄριστον δαισιλὲς καὶ λόγος πολὺς ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων. ἡ δὲ γραυὸς ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ κριθὰς παρέθηκεν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνος μὲν σπουδῆ τὰς κριθὰς κατέπινε δεδιώς, οἷα εἰκός, ἐμὲ τὸν συνάριστον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειδὴν ἴδοιμι τὴν γραυὴν ἐξιούσαν τῶν ἔνδον ἄρτον ἦσθιον. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία καταλιπόντες τῇ γραυῖα νεανίσκον ἓνα οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἕξω ἐπὶ¹ ἔργον ἀπήεσαν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔστενον ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ φρουράν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ γραυὸς καταφρονῆσαι ἦν μοι καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης ὀμμάτων δυνατὸν, ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος μέγας τε ἦν καὶ φοβερὸν ἔβλεπεν, καὶ τὸ ξίφος αἰεὶ ἔφερεν καὶ τὴν θύραν αἰεὶ ἐπήγε.

22. τρισὶ δὲ ὑστερον ἡμέραις μεσοῦσης σχεδὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστρέφουσιν οἱ λησταί, χρυσίον μὲν οὐδὲ ἀργύριον οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν κομίζοντες, μόνην δὲ παρθένον ὡραίαν, σφόδρα καλήν, κλαίουσαν καὶ κατεσπαραγμένην τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κόμην· καὶ καταθέμενοι αὐτὴν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῶν στιβάδων θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γραυὴν ἐκέλευον αἰεὶ ἔνδον μένειν καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἐν φρουρᾷ ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ παῖς οὔτε ἐμφαγεῖν τι ἤθελεν οὔτε πιεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἔκλαιεν καὶ τὴν κόμην τὴν αὐτῆς ἐσπάραττεν· ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς πλησίον ἐστὼς παρὰ τῇ φάτνῃ συνέκλαιον ἐκείνη τῇ καλῇ παρθένῳ. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ λησταί ἕξω ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ ἐδείπνου. πρὸς ἡμέραν δὲ τῶν σκοπῶν τις τῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς φρουρεῖν εἰληχότων ἔρχεται ἀγγέλλων ὅτι ξένος ταύτη

finery for both men and women. They were all in partnership with each other and, after depositing their loot inside, they too washed in the same way. After this there followed a heavy meal and much conversation among the cut-throats as they drank, while the horse and I were given barley by the old woman. The horse gulped it down eagerly through a natural fear of me, his supper companion. I, however, would eat bread from the house, whenever I saw the old woman go out. The next day they left one youth for the old woman, and the rest of them went off out to work. I then bewailed my lot for the strict watch kept on me ; for I was able to take the old woman lightly and to escape her notice, but the youth was tall, had a formidable look, always carried a sword and always closed the door.

22. Three days later about midnight the robbers returned without gold or silver or in fact anything except a young girl of great beauty who was weeping and had her clothes and her hair torn to shreds. They deposited her inside on the straw, telling her not to be afraid and bidding the old woman remain permanently indoors and keep a watch on the girl. She wouldn't eat or drink at all, but only kept weeping and tearing her hair. In consequence I also wept in sympathy with the beautiful girl as I stood beside the manger. Meanwhile the robbers were having their dinner outside in the vestibule. Towards daybreak one of the sentries posted to watch the roads entered with the news that a stranger was about

¹ ἐπὶ ΓΝ: ἐπὶ τὸ recc., edd..

παριέναι μέλλοι καὶ πολὺν πλοῦτον κομίζοι. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ὡς εἶχον ἀναστάντες καὶ ὀπλισάμενοι κάμῃ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπισιάξαντες ἤλαυνον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ δυστυχεῖς ἐπιστάμενος ἐπὶ μάχην καὶ πόλεμον ἐξελαύνεσθαι ὀκνηρῶς προήειν, ἔνθεν ἐπαιόμην τῷ ξύλῳ ἐπειγομένων αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκομεν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἔνθα ὁ ξένος παρελάσειν ἔμελλεν, συμπεσόντες οἱ λησταὶ τοῖς ὀχήμασιν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου θεράποντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ὅσα ἦν τιμιώτατα ἐξελόντες τῷ ἵππῳ κάμοι ἐπέθηκαν, τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τῶν σκευῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐκρυψαν. ἔπειτα ἤλαυνον ἡμᾶς οὕτως ὀπίσω, κἀγὼ ἐπειγόμενος καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τυπτόμενος κρούω τὴν ὀπλὴν περὶ πέτραν ὀξείαν καὶ μοι ἀπὸ τῆς πληγῆς γίνεται τραῦμα ἀλγεινόν· καὶ χυλεύων ἔνθεν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐβάδιζον. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον, Τί γὰρ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ τρέφειν τὸν ὄνον τοῦτον πάντα καταπίπτοντα; ῥίψωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημουῦ οἰωνὸν οὐκ ἀγαθόν. Ναί, φησὶν, ῥίψωμεν αὐτὸν καθαρισμόν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐσόμενον. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνετάττοντο ἐπ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα τῷ τραύματι λοιπὸν ὡς ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐπέβαινον· ὁ δὲ ¹ τοῦ θανάτου με φόβος ἀναίσθητον τῆς ὁδύνης ἔθηκεν. 23. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤλθομεν εἴσω ἔνθα κατελύομεν, τὰ μὲν σκεύη τῶν ἡμετέρων ὤμων ἀφελόντες εὐ κατέθηκαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναπεσόντες ἐδειπνοῦν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ νύξ ἦν, ἀπήεσαν ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν σκευῶν ἀνασῶσαι. Τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον τοῦτον ὄνον, ἔφη τις αὐτῶν, τί ἐπάγομεν ἄχρηστον ἐκ τῆς ὀπλῆς; τῶν δὲ σκευῶν ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς οἴσομεν, ἃ δὲ καὶ ² ὁ ἵππος. καὶ ἀπήεσαν τὸν ἵππον ἄγοντες.

to pass that way bearing great riches. They got up just as they were, armed themselves, saddled the horse and me and got us moving. But since I, poor wretch, knew that I was being driven out to battle and war, I proceeded with reluctance, so that in their eager haste they kept beating me with sticks. When we reached the road along which the stranger would be riding, the robbers fell upon the caravan, killing the master and his servants. They removed the articles of greatest value and loaded them on to the horse and me, but the rest of the goods they hid there in the wood. Then they started to drive us back, but because of our haste and all the cudgelling I dashed my foot against a sharp stone and incurred a painful injury. This left me lame for the rest of the journey, and they kept saying to each other, "Why do we choose to keep this ass in food, when he's always falling down? Let's throw him over the cliff, for he brings bad luck." "Yes," said another, "let's throw him over to atone for the sins of our band." They were preparing to attack me, but, on hearing these words, I moved forward for the rest of the journey as though my injury belonged to another, fear of death having made me impervious to pain. 23. When we reached our billet for the night, they took the baggage off our backs and stored it away carefully; then the men sat down to their own dinner. After nightfall, they came out to recover the rest of their baggage, and one of them said, "Why do we take this wretched ass with us, when his hoof makes him useless? We can carry some of the goods ourselves, and the horse will take the rest."

¹ δὲ ΓΝ: γάρ recc., edd..

² καὶ ΓΝ: om. recc., edd..

νύξ δὲ ἦν λαμπροτάτη ἐκ τῆς σελήνης. καγὼ τότε πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν εἶπον, "Ἄθλιε, τί μένεις ἔτι ἐνταῦθα; γυῖπές σε καὶ γυῖπῶν τέκνα δειπνήσουσιν. οὐκ ἀκούεις οἷα περὶ σοῦ ἐβουλεύσαντο; θέλεις τῷ κρημνῷ περιπεσεῖν; νύξ μὲν αὕτη¹ καὶ σελήνη πολλή· οἱ δὲ οἴχονται ἀπίοντες· φυγῆ σῶζε σαυτὸν ἀπὸ δεσποτῶν ἀνδροφόνων.

ταῦτα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐννοοῦμενος ὄρω ὅτι οὐδὲ προσεδεδέμην οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ με ὁ σύρων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἱμᾶς παρεκρέματο. τοῦτό με καὶ παρώξυνεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐς τὴν φυγὴν, καὶ δρόμῳ ἐξιῶν ἀπήειν. ἡ δὲ γραῦς, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν ἀποδιδράσκειν ἔτοιμον, λαμβάνεταί με ἐκ τῆς οὐράς καὶ εἶχετο. ἐγὼ δὲ ἄξιον κρημνοῦ καὶ θανάτων ἄλλων² εἰπὼν εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ γραιῖας ἀλῶναι ἔσυρον αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἀνέκραγεν ἔνδοθεν τὴν παρθένον τὴν αἰχμάλωτον· ἡ δὲ προελθοῦσα³ καὶ ἰδοῦσα γραῦν Δίρκην⁴ ἐξ ὄνου ἡμμένην τολμᾷ τόλμημα γενναῖον καὶ ἄξιον ἀπονεομημένου νεανίσκου· ἀναπηδᾷ γὰρ εἰς ἐμέ, καὶ ἐπικαθίσασά⁵ μοι ἤλαυνεν· καγὼ τῷ τε ἔρωτι τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τῇ τῆς κόρης σπουδῇ ἔφυγον ἵππου δρόμῳ· ἡ δὲ γραῦς ὀπίσω ἀπελέλειπτο. ἡ δὲ παρθένος τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἠύχετο σῶσαι αὐτήν τῇ φυγῇ· πρὸς δὲ ἐμέ, "Ἦν με, ἔφη, κομίσης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ὦ καλὲ σύ, ἐλεύθερον μὲν σε παντὸς ἔργου ἀφήσω, κριθῶν δὲ μέδιμνος ἔσται σοι ἔφ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὸ ἄριστον.

¹ αὕτη Γ.

² ἄλλων codd.: πολλῶν Courier.

³ προσελθοῦσα recc., edd..

⁴ Δίρκην recc.: δίρκην Γ: δίκην κέρκου Ν.

⁵ ἐπικαθίσασά recc.: καθήσασά Γ.

They went away, leading the horse with them. It was a particularly bright night because of the moonlight and I then said to myself, "Poor wretch, why do you stay here? The vultures and their young will have you for dinner. Don't you hear what plans they have made for you? Do you *want* to go over the cliff? It's night now, there's a good moon and they've gone off elsewhere. Run away and escape from these murderous masters."

As these thoughts ran through my mind, I noticed that I wasn't tied to anything, but the strap which had pulled me along was hanging by my side. This further circumstance gave me the strongest possible encouragement to escape, and I ran off at full speed. But the old woman, seeing that I was ready to run away, grabbed me by the tail and held on to me. I told myself that I deserved the cliff and other deaths as well, if I were captured by an old woman, and dragged her along. She raised a loud cry to the captive girl inside. She came forth and, on seeing this aged Dirce¹ hanging to an ass, showed the courage for a feat of heroism worthy of a foolhardy youth. She jumped on me, seated herself on my back and rode me off. Driven on by my longing to escape and the girl's eagerness I galloped off as fast as a horse, and the old woman was left behind. The girl prayed to the gods to let her escape to safety, while to me she said, "If you take me to my father, my beauty, I'll set you free from all work, and you'll have a bushel of barley every day for breakfast."

¹ Dirce was tied to a bull by Amphion and Zethus who allowed it to drag her about till she died. Cf. Apuleius, 6.27.

ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φονεῖς τοὺς ἔμαντοῦ φευξόμενος καὶ πολλὴν ἐπικουρίαν καὶ θεραπείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀνασωθείσης ἐμοὶ κόρης ἐλπίζων ἔθεον τοῦ τραύματος ἀμελήσας. 24. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκομεν ἔνθα ἐσχίζετο τριπλῆ <ή>¹ ὁδός, οἱ πολέμοιοι ἡμᾶς καταλαμβάνουσι ἀναστρέφοντες καὶ πόρρωθεν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν σελήην ἐγνωσαν τοὺς δυστυχεῖς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ προσδραμόντες λαμβάνονται μου καὶ λέγουσιν, ὦ καλὴ κάγαθὴ σὺ παρθένο, ποῖ βαδίσεις ἄωρία, ταλαίπωρε; οὐδὲ τὰ δαιμόνια δέδοικας; ἀλλὰ δεῦρο ἴθι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς σε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀποδώσομεν, σαρδάνιον² γελῶντες ἔλεγον, κάμῃ ἀποστρέψαντες εἰλκον ὀπίσω. κἀγὼ περὶ τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ τοῦ τραύματος ἀναμνησθεῖς ἐχώλευον· οἱ δέ, Νῦν, ἔφασαν, χωλὸς ὅτε ἀποδιδράσκων ἐάλωκας; ἀλλ' ὅτε φεύγειν ἐδόκει σοι, ὑγιαίνων ἵππου ὠκύτερος καὶ πετεινὸς ἦσθα. τοῖς δὲ λόγοις τούτοις τὸ ξύλον εἶπετο, καὶ ἦδη ἔλκος τῷ μηρῷ εἶχον νοθεύμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶωκ ἀπάν ἀνεστρέψαμεν, τὴν μὲν γραῦν εὔρομεν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας κρεμαμένην ἐν καλωδίῳ· δείσασα γάρ, οἷον εἰκός, τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς παρθένου φυγῇ κρημνᾶ ἑαυτὴν σφίγγεσσα ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου. οἱ δὲ τὴν γραῦν θαυμάσαντες τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης τὴν μὲν ἀπολύσαντες ἐς τὸν κρημνὸν κάτω ἀφήκαν ὡς ἦν ἐν τῷ δεσμῷ, τὴν δὲ παρθένον ἔνδον κατέδησαν, εἶτα ἐδείπνουν, καὶ πῶτος ἦν μακρόσ.

¹ ἡ suppl. Courier.

² σαρδάνιον recc., edd..

Because I for my part wished to escape from my murderers and hoped for plenty of help and care from the girl I'd rescued, I ran on heedless of my injury. 24. When we came to a place where three¹ roads met, we were overtaken by our enemies on their way back. In the moonlight they immediately recognised their unfortunate prisoners, from a long way off; they ran up, caught hold of me and said, "What conduct for a well-bred young lady! Where are you going so late at night, you hussy? Don't you even fear the spirits? Come here to us and we'll return you to your family." Thus they spoke with cruel laughter, turned me round and dragged me after them. I now remembered about my injured feet and started to limp. "So you're lame," they said, "now that you've been caught running away? Yet, when you were bent on escaping, you were in perfect fettle, going faster than a horse and flying like a bird." These words were accompanied by the stick and by this time I had a sore on my thigh from their admonitions. When we got back to the house, we found the old woman hanging on a rope over the rock. For fearing, as well she might, her masters' wrath over the escape of the girl, she had fastened the rope tight about her neck and hanged herself. They applauded the old woman for her good sense and cut her down, letting her fall over the cliff with the rope still round her neck; the girl, however, they tied up indoors. Then they had their dinner and indulged in a long session of drinking.

¹ This pointless mention of the three roads is an indication that this work is an abridgement of another version. In Apuleius 6.29 they are caught because they have stopped and are arguing about what road to take.

25. *κάν τούτω ἤδη περὶ τῆς κόρης διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· Τί ποιοῦμεν, ἔφη τις αὐτῶν, τὴν δραπέτιν; Τί δὲ ἄλλο, εἶπεν ἕτερος,¹ ἢ τῆ γραῖ ταύτῃ κάτω ἐπιρρίψωμεν αὐτήν, ἀφελομένην μὲν ἡμᾶς χρήματα πολλά ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῆ, καὶ προδοῦσαν ἡμῶν² ὅλον τὸ ἐργαστήριον; εὖ ἴστε γάρ, ὦ φίλοι, ὅτι αὐτῇ εἰ τῶν οἴκοι ἐδράξατο, οὐδὲ εἰς ἂν ἡμῶν ζῶν ὑπελείπετο· πάντες δὲ³ ἂν ἐάλωμεν, τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἡμῖν ἐπιπεσόντων. ὥστε ἀμυνώμεθα μὲν τὴν πολεμίαν· ἀλλὰ μὴ οὕτω ῥαδίως ἀποθηησκέτω πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου, θάνατον δὲ αὐτῇ τὸν ἀλγευότατον καὶ μακρότατον ἐξεύρωμεν καὶ ὅστις αὐτὴν χρόνῳ καὶ βασάνῳ φυλάξας ὕστερον⁴ ἀπολεῖ.*

εἶτα ἐζήτουν θάνατον, καὶ τις εἶπεν, Οἶδα ὅτι ἐπαινέσεσθε τὸ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα. τὸν ὄνον δεῖ ἀπολέσαι⁵ ὀκνηρὸν ὄντα, νῦν δὲ καὶ χλωδὸν εἶναι ψευδόμενον, καὶ μὴν καὶ τῆς φυγῆς τῆς παρθένου γενόμενον ὑπηρέτην καὶ διάκονον· τοῦτον οὖν ἔωθεν ἀποσφάξαντες ἀνατέμνωμεν ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔγκατα πάντα ἔξω βάλωμεν, τὴν δὲ ἀγαθὴν ταύτην παρθένον τῷ ὄνῳ ἐγκατοικίσωμεν, τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἔξω τοῦ ὄνου πρόχειρον, ὡς ἂν μὴ εὐθύς ἀποπνιγείη, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἔνδον κρυπτόμενον, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν κατακειμένην εὖ μάλα συρράψαντες ῥίψωμεν ἔξω ἄμφω ταῦτα τοῖς γυφί, καινῶς τοῦτο ἐσκευασμένον ἄριστον. σκοπεῖτε δέ, ὦ φίλοι, τῆς βασάνου τὸ δεινόν, πρῶτων μὲν τὸ νεκρῶν ὄνῳ συνοικεῖν, εἶτα θέρους ὥρα θερμοτάτῳ ἡλίῳ ἐν

25. Meanwhile their conversation turned to the girl. "What are we to do with Miss Runaway?" asked one. "What else," said another, "but to throw her down to join the old woman over there, since she did her best to rob us of a lot of money and to betray our whole gang? For you may be sure, my friends, that, if she had reached her home, none of us would have been left alive; our enemies would have made a concerted attack on us and we should all have been captured. So let's have revenge upon our enemy. But she mustn't be thrown down on to the rocks; that's too easy a death. Rather let's devise her the most painful and protracted death, and one to keep her lingering in agony before it kills her."

Then they discussed how to kill her, and one of them said, "I know that you'll approve of my masterpiece of invention. We must kill the ass, for it's lazy and now even pretends to be lame, and besides it aided and abetted the escape of the girl. So let's slit its throat at dawn and cut its belly open; let's tear out all its guts and house this fine young lady inside the beast with her head sticking out, so that she doesn't suffocate immediately, but with all the rest of her body hidden inside, so that, when she's in there, we can sew them firmly together and throw them both out to feed the vultures. I'll guarantee they've never tasted that recipe before! Just think, my friends, what a terrible torture it will be. First to be housed with a dead ass, then to be broiled inside the beast by the scorching summer sun and

¹ τί δέ, ἄλλος εἶπεν, ἕτερον codd.: corr. Lehmann.

² ἡμῖν rec., edd.. ³ δέ Γ'N: γάρ rec., edd.. ⁴ ὕστερος Γ.

⁵ ἀπολέσθαι rec., edd..

κτῆναι καθειρῆσθαι καὶ λιμῶ ἀεὶ κτείνονται ἀποθνήσκου καὶ μηδὲ αὐτὴν ἀποπνίξαι ἔχειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ὅσα πείσεται σηπομένου τοῦ ὄνου τῆ τε ὀδμῆ καὶ τοῖς σκώληξι πεφυρμένη ἐὼ λέγειν. τέλος δὲ οἱ γῦπες διὰ τοῦ ὄνου παρεισιόντες εἴσω καὶ ταύτην ὡς ἐκείνον ἴσως καὶ ζώσαν ἐπι διασπάσονται.

26. πάντες ἀνεβόησαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ μεγάλῳ τῷ τερατώδει τούτῳ εὐρήματι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνέστενον ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἂν ἀποσφαγησόμενος καὶ μηδὲ νεκρὸς εὐτυχῆς κεισόμενος, ἀλλὰ παρθένον ἀθλίαν ἐπιδεξόμενος¹ καὶ θήκη οὐδὲν ἀδικούσης κόρης ἐσόμενος.

ὄρθρος δὲ ἦν ἐτι καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐφίσταται πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς τούτους ἀφυγμένον, καὶ εὐθέως πάντας ἐδέσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς χώρας ἡγεμόνα ἀπήγον. ἔτυχεν δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν κόρην μεμνηστευμένος σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐλθὼν· αὐτὸς γάρ ἦν ὁ καὶ τὸ καταγῶγιον τῶν ληστῶν μηνύσας. παραλαβὼν σὺν τῇ παρθένο καὶ καθίσας ἐπ' ἐμέ οὕτως ἦγεν οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ κωμῆται, ὡς εἶδον ἡμᾶς ἐτι πόρρωθεν, ἔγνωσαν εὐτυχοῦντας, εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῖς ἐμοῦ προσηγορησάμενος,² καὶ προσδραμόντες ἠσπάζοντο καὶ ἦγον ἔσω. 27. ἡ δὲ παρθένος πολὺν λόγον εἶχεν ἐμοῦ δίκαιον ποιούσα τοῦ συναιχμαλώτου συναποδράσαντος καὶ τὸν κοινὸν αὐτῆ ἐκείνον θάνατον συγκινδυνεύσαντος. καὶ μοι <παρὰ> τῆς κεκτημένης³ ἄριστον παρέκειτο μέδιμνος⁴ κριθῶν καὶ χόρτος ὅσος καὶ καμήλῳ ἱκανός. ἐγὼ δὲ τότε μάλιστα κατηρώμην τῇ Παλαίστρᾳ⁵ ὡς ὄνου με καὶ οὐ κύνᾳ τῇ τέχνῃ μεταθεῖσαν· εἴρων γὰρ τοὺς κύνᾳ εἰς τοῦπτανεῖον παρεισιόντας καὶ

gradually to starve to death without even being able to suffocate herself! The other things she'll suffer as the ass rots and she is afflicted by the smell and the maggots I won't mention, but in the end the vultures will penetrate through the ass and tear her to pieces just like it, perhaps even when she's still alive."

26. All shouted hearty approval of this monstrous idea, but I lamented my fate, since I should be killed and not even my carcass left unmolested but it would contain the luckless girl and would be the grave of that innocent maiden.

But at first light next morning a great number of soldiers suddenly arrived to attack these blackguards. They immediately tied them all up and took them off to the governor of the land. The girl's fiancé had come with the soldiers, for he was actually the one who had shown them where the robbers lived. So he took the girl, put her on my back and brought her home in this way. When the villagers saw us still a long way off, they realised all was well with us, as I had brayed out first intimation of the good news. They ran up, greeted us and took us indoors. 27. The girl showed me great consideration as was my due for sharing with her captivity, flight and the threat of that terrible joint death. I would have a bushel of barley from my mistress set before me for breakfast and enough hay to feed a camel. I then cursed Palaestra more than ever before—because she hadn't used her art to change me into a dog rather than an ass. For I saw the dogs

¹ ἐπιδεξάμενος ΓΝ.

² προσσηγορησάμενος Γ.

³ παρὰ (κελευσάσης vel aliquid simile malim) τῆς κεκτημένης Du Soul: τοῖς κεκτημένης Γ: τοῖς κεκτημένοις rocc..

⁴ μέδιμνος Γ.

⁵ τὴν παλαίστραν rocc., edd..

λαφύσσοντας πολλά καὶ ὅσα ἐν γάμοις πλουσιῶν νυμφίων. ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ τὸν γάμον οὐ πολλαῖς ἐπειδὴ χάριν μοι ἔφη ἡ δέσποινα ἔχειν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ἀμείψασθαί με ἀμοιβῇ τῇ δικαίᾳ θέλων ὁ¹ πατὴρ ἐκέλευσεν ἐλευθέρων ἀφιέναι ὑπαίθριον καὶ σὺν ταῖς ἀγελαίαις ἵπποις νέμεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐλευθέρως, ἔφη, ζήσεται ἐν ἡδονῇ καὶ ταῖς ἵπποις ἐπιβήσεται. καὶ αὕτη δικαιοτάτη ἀμοιβὴ ἐδόκει τότε, εἰ ἦν τὰ πράγματα ἐν ὄνῳ δικαστῇ. καλέσας οὖν τῶν ἵπποφορβῶν τινα τούτῳ με παραδίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχαιρον ὡς οὐκέτι ἀχθοφορήσων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκομεν εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, ταῖς ἵπποις με² ὁ νομεὺς συνέμιξεν καὶ ἦγεν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀγέλην εἰς νομόν.

28. ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα κἀνταῦθα ὥσπερ Κανδαύλη κάμοι γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἵππων τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ Μεγαπόλῃ ἔνδοι με³ κατέλιπεν· ἡ δὲ τῇ μύλῃ με ὑπεζεύγνυεν, ὥστε ἀλεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς ὅλας,⁴ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν μέτριον κακὸν εὐχαρίστῳ ὄνῳ ἀλεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστάταις· ἡ δὲ βελτίστη καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀγροῖς—πολλοὶ δὲ πάνυ ἦσαν—ἄλευρα τὸν μισθὸν αἰτοῦσα ἐξεμίσθου τὸν ἐμὸν ἄθλιον τράχηλον, καὶ τὰς μὲν κριθὰς τοῦμὸν ἄριστον φρύγουσα κάμοι ὥστε ἀλεῖν ἐπιβάλλουσα, μάζας ὅλας⁵ ποιοῦσα κατέπινεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ πίτυρα τὸ ἄριστον ἦν. εἰ δὲ ποτε καὶ συνελάσειέν με ταῖς ἵπποις ὁ νομεὺς, παϊόμενός τε καὶ δακνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρσένων

sneaking into the kitchen and gobbling down the many titbits to be found at a wealthy wedding. A few days after the wedding, when my mistress mentioned her gratitude to me in the presence of her father, he too wished to reward me as I deserved and ordered me to be set free to graze in the open with the mares. "For," said he, "he'll live pleasantly as though he were free and will mount the mares." This indeed would have seemed the fairest reward, had the decision rested with an ass. So he called one of his grooms and gave me to him. I was delighted to think I'd have no more loads to carry. When we reached the field, the groom put me among the mares and took the herd of us into the pasture.

28. Then too was I doomed to fare just like Candaules;¹ for the groom left me at home for his wife Megapole,² and she would tie me to the mill, so that I ground her wheat and grains of barley. It would indeed have been no great hardship for a grateful ass thus to grind for his own masters, but that paragon of womanhood also hired out my unfortunate neck to her numerous neighbours, and asked them for meal as payment; and the barley meant for my breakfast she roasted and gave me to grind, and then made it into cakes which she would devour in one mouthful, while I had the husks for breakfast. Whenever the groom drove me out with the mares, I was battered and bitten by the stallions till I was

¹ A king of Lydia whose downfall Herodotus, 1.8 ff. describes, adding the comment that he was doomed to fare ill.

² Megapole = much-turning (Madam Grately-Turner or Grately-Miller).

¹ θέλων ὁ recc.: θέλων Γ: θέλειν, ὁ recc. edd..

² με recc.: μὲν Γ.

³ με om. Γ.

⁴ ὅλας fortasse delendum, ut quod a glossemate ὅλας provenerit.

⁵ ὅλας fortasse delendum; cf. n. 4.

ἀπωλλύμην· αἰὲν γάρ με μοιχὸν ὑποπτεύοντες εἶναι τῶν ἵππων τῶν αὐτῶν γυναικῶν ἐδίωκον ἀμφοτέροις εἰς ἐμὲ ὑπολακτίζοντες, ὥστε φέρειν οὐκ ἠδυνάμην ζηλοτυπίαν ἵππικὴν. λεπτὸς οὖν καὶ ἄμορφος ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἐγενόμην, οὔτε ἐνδον εὐφραινόμενος πρὸς τῇ μύλῃ οὔτε ὑπάθριος νεμόμενος, ὑπὸ τῶν συννόμων πολεμούμενος.

29. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἄνω ἐπεμπόμην καὶ ξύλα τοῖς ὤμοις ἐκόμιζον. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν· πρῶτον μὲν ὑψηλὸν ὄρος ἀναβαίνειν ἔδει, ὀρθὴν δεινῶς ὁδόν, εἶτα καὶ ἀνυπόδητος ὄρει ἐν λιθίνῳ. καὶ μοι συνεξέπεμπον ὀνηλάτην, παιδάριον ἀκάθαρτον. τοῦτό με καινῶς ἐκάσποτε ἀπώλλυεν· πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαιέ με καὶ τρέχοντα λίαν οὐ ξύλω ἀπλῶ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄζους πυκνοὺς ἔχοντι καὶ ὀξεῖς, καὶ αἰὲν ἔπαιεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ μηροῦ, ὥστε ἀνέγκτό μοι κατ' ἐκείνο ὁ μηρὸς τῇ ῥάβδῳ· ὁ δὲ αἰὲν τὸ τραῦμα ἔπαιεν. εἶτά μοι ἐπετίθει φορτίον ὅσον χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐλέφαντι ἐνεγκεῖν· καὶ ἄνωθεν ἢ κατὰβασις ὀξεῖα ἦν· ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔπαιεν. εἰ δέ μοι περιπίπτον ἴδιοι τὸ φορτίον καὶ εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ἐπικλίνον, δέον¹ τῶν ξύλων ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ τῷ κουφοτέρῳ προσβάλλειν² καὶ τὸ ἴσον ποιεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐδέποτε εἰργάσατο, λίθους δὲ μεγάλους ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἀναιρούμενος εἰς τὸ κουφότερον καὶ ἄνω νεῦον τοῦ φορτίου προσετίθει· καὶ κατήειν ἄθλιος τοῖς ξύλοις ὁμοῦ καὶ λίθους ἀχρείους περιφέρων. καὶ ποταμὸς ἦν ἀένας³ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· ὁ δὲ τῶν ὑποδημάτων φειδόμενος ὀπίσω τῶν ξύλων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καθίζων ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμόν.

half dead ; for they always suspected me of designs upon their own mares and would drive me away by kicking out at me with both hooves, so that I could not bear the jealousy of the horses. Thus I soon became thin and ugly, since I had no pleasure either indoors at the mill or when grazing outside, for then my companions waged war on me.

29. Furthermore I was often sent up to the mountain to fetch wood. This was the height of all my misfortunes. For first I had to climb a high mountain by a terribly steep path and in the second place the mountain was stony and I was unshod. They sent as driver with me a vile slave-boy, who every time found a fresh way of bringing me to death's door. In the first place he would beat me even when I was running fast, and not with an ordinary stick but with one bristling with sharp stubs, and always on the same part of my thigh, so that I had an open sore there from his switch. He always hit the same spot. Then he would pile on my back a load which an elephant could scarcely carry. The way down was steep, but even then he would beat me. Whenever he saw my load slipping and tilting to one side, though he ought to have transferred some of the wood to the place where my load was lighter and thus made it even, he never did so ; instead he would pick up boulders from the mountainside to add to the lighter and higher side of my load. And I, poor wretch, would descend with a load of useless boulders along with the wood. On our route was a perennial stream, which he would cross seated on my back behind the wood so as to save his shoes.

¹ δέον om. ΓΨ.

² προσβάλλειν codd.: corr. Jacobitz.

³ ἀένας ΓΝ.

30. εἰ δέ ποτε οἷα κάμνων καὶ ἀχθοφορῶν καταπέσοιμι, τότε δὴ τὸ δεινὸν ἀφόρητον ἦν· † οὐ γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς¹ τοῦ τὴν χεῖρά μοι ἐπιδοῦναι καμὲ χαμόθεν ἐπεγείρειν καὶ τοῦ φορτίου² ἀφελεῖν, οὐποτε³ οὐδὲ χεῖρα ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῶν ὠτων ἀρξάμενος⁴ συνέκοπτέ με τῷ ξύλῳ, ἕως ἐπεγείρωσί με αἱ πληγαί. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλο κακὸν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀφόρητον ἔπαιζεν· συννεγκῶν ἀκανθῶν ὄξυτάτων φορτίον καὶ τοῦτο δεσμῶν περισφίγξας ἀπεκρέμα⁵ ὄπισθεν ἐκ τῆς οὐρᾶς, αἱ δὲ οἷον εἰκὸς ἀπίοντος τὴν ὁδὸν ἀποκρεμάμεναι προσέπιπτόν μοι καὶ πάντα μοι τὰ ὄπισθεν νύττουσαι ἐτίτρωσκον· καὶ ἦν μοι τὸ ἀμύνειν ἀδύνατον, τῶν τιτρωσκόντων αἰεὶ μοι ἐπομένων κάμου ἡρτημένων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀτρέμα προῖομι φυλαττόμενος τῶν ἀκανθῶν τὴν προσβολήν, ὑπὸ τῶν ξύλων ἀπαλλύμην, εἰ δὲ φεύγοιμι τὸ ξύλον, τότε ἤδη τὸ δεινὸν ὄπισθεν ὄξυ προσέπιπτεν. καὶ ὅλως ἔργον ἦν τῷ ὀηλάτῃ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀποκτενεῖν με. 31. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε ἅπασα κακὰ πάσχων πολλὰ οὐκέτι φέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν λάξ ἐκίνησα, εἶχεν αἰεὶ τοῦτο τὸ λάξ ἐν μνήμῃ. καὶ ποτε κελεύεται στυππεῖον ἐξ ἐτέρου χωρίου εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον μετενεγκεῖν· κομίσας οὖν με καὶ τὸ στυππεῖον πολὺ συννεγκῶν κατέδησεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ δεσμῶ ἀργαλέῳ εὖ μάλα προσέδησέ με τῷ φορτίῳ κακὸν ἐμοὶ μέγα τυρεύων. ἐπεὶ δὲ προΐεναι λοιπὸν

¹ in loco desperato sic dubitanter conieci (cf. Apuleius 7.18); οὐ γὰρ ἦν καταβάς codd.. ² τὸ φορτίον ΓΝΨ.

³ οὐποτε οὐδὲ conieci: ἂν ποτε οὔτε ΓΨC Vat. 87: ἂν ποτε καὶ δέοι, ὁ δὲ οὔτε κατῆλθεν οὔτε N, edd..

30. If ever I fell down through weariness and the weight of my load, that was the time when my suffering was intolerable; for, when he ought to have given me a helping hand, and lifted me up from the ground and taken off some of my load, he would never so much as give me a hand, but from his seat aloft he would start from my head and ears and batter me with his stick till his blows made me rise. Furthermore there was another intolerable trick he would play on me. He would gather a load of the sharpest thorns, tie them up and hang them behind me from my tail. When I started on my way, as you might expect, they dashed against me as they hung, pricking and wounding my posterior regions. I could not defend myself against this, for the spikes always followed me and hung to me; for if I went forward gingerly to guard against the onset of the thorns I was beaten to death by his sticks, while, if I avoided the sticks, then the sharp terror from behind assailed me. In short my driver made it his business to kill me.

31. One day, when I had many woes to suffer and could bear them no longer, I directed a kick at him. This kick he never forgot. Once he had instructions to transfer some flax from one place to another. So he took me, collected a great quantity of the flax and tied it on to my back; he used a very uncomfortable rope to tie my load on very tight, so as to cook up great torment for me. Well, when we had to set out,

⁴ ἀρξόμενος Γ.

⁵ ἀπεκρέμα scripsi: ἀπεκρίμα Γ: ἀπεκρέμα recs., edd..

ἔδει, ἐκ τῆς ἐστίας κλέψας δαλὸν ἔτι θερμόν, ἐπειδὴ πόρρω τῆς αὐλῆς ἐγενόμεθα, τὸν δαλὸν ἐνέκρινεν εἰς τὸ στυπτεῖον. τὸ δὲ—τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἐδύνατο;—εὐθὺς ἀνάπτεται, καὶ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔφερον ἄλλο ἢ πῦρ ἄπλετον. μαθὼν οὖν ὡς αὐτίκα ὀπτήσομαι, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τέλματι βαθεῖ ἐντυχῶν ρίπτω ἔμαντὸν τοῦ τέλματος ἐς τὸ ὑγρότατον· εἶτα ἐκύλιον ἐνταῦθα τὸ στυπτεῖον καὶ διωὼν καὶ στρέφω ἐμαντὸν τῷ πηλῷ κατέσβεσα τὸ θερμὸν ἐκείνο καὶ πικρὸν ἐμοὶ φορτίον, καὶ οὕτω λοιπὸν ἀκινδυνότερον ἐβάδιζον τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτι με ἀνάψαι τῷ παιδί δυνατὸν ἦν τοῦ στυπτείου πηλῷ ὑγρῷ πεφυρμένον. καὶ τοῦτό γε ὁ τολμηρὸς παῖς ἐλθὼν ἐμοῦ κατεψεύσατο, εἰπὼν ὡς¹ παριῶν ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐνσεύσαιμι τῇ ἐστία. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐκ τοῦ στυπτείου μηδὲ ἐλπίζων ὑπεξῆλθον. 32. ἀλλ' ἕτερον ὁ ἀκάθαρτος παῖς ἐξέυρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ μακρῷ κάκιον· κομίσας γὰρ με ἐς τὸ ὄρος καί μοι φορτίον ἀδρὸν ἐπιθείς ἐκ τῶν ξύλων, τοῦτο μὲν πιπράσκει γεωργῷ πλησίον οἰκοῦντι, ἐμὲ δὲ γυμνὸν καὶ ἄξυλον κομίσας οἴκαδε καταψεύδεται μου πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ² δεσπότην ἔργον ἀνόσιον· Τοῦτον, δέσποτα, τὸν ὄνον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι βόσκομεν δευῶς ἀργὸν ὄντα καὶ βραδύν. ἀλλὰ μὴν νῦν ἐπιτηδεύει καὶ ἄλλο ἔργον· ἐπὶ γυναικὰ παρθένον καλὴν καὶ ὠραῖαν ἴδη ἢ παῖδα, ἀπολακτίσας ἔπεται δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὡς εἴ τις ἐρᾷ ἄνθρωπος ἄρρην ἐπὶ ἐρωμένη γυναικὶ κινούμενος, καὶ δάκνει ἐν φιλήματος σχήματι καὶ πλησιάζειν βιάζεται, ἐκ δὲ τούτου σοὶ δίκας καὶ πράγματα παρέξει, πάντων ὑβριζομένων, πάντων

he stole a stick while still hot from the fireside, and, when we had gone some distance from the farmhouse, plunged it into the flax. This, as was inevitable, at once started to burn and thereafter my load was one great fire. Perceiving that I would very soon be roasted, and coming upon a deep bog by the wayside, I hurled myself into the wettest part of it. Then I rolled the flax in the bog and twisted and turned till the mud had quenched my nasty scorching load. So in this way I was able to continue the rest of my journey in less danger; for the boy could no longer set light to me as the flax was mixed with wet mud. After his journey the impudent lad used this episode, too, to malign me, for he said that I had deliberately knocked against the hearth in passing. So that time I escaped from the flax though I little expected it. 32. But the foul lad devised another far worse trick to play me. He took me to the mountain and put on my back a bulky load of wood, which he sold to a neighbouring farmer, but brought me back home without any wood on my back, and falsely accused me before his master of a scandalous deed. "Master, I don't know why we keep this ass, for he's terribly lazy and slow. Furthermore he now has a new habit. Whenever he sees a pretty young woman or a boy, he kicks me away and runs in pursuit of them, like a man in love making advances to his lady; he bites them with his show of kissing and forces his love on them. Because of this he'll bring you to court and cause you trouble, for he insults everyone and knocks them down. Just now, when he was

¹ ὡς om Γ.

² αὐτοῦ Du Soul: αὐτὸν codd..

ἀνατρεπομένων. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ξύλα κομίζων γυναικα εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀπιούσαν ἰδὼν τὰ μὲν ξύλα πάντα χαμαὶ ἐσκόρπισεν ἀποσεισάμενος, τὴν δὲ γυναικα ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνατρέψας γαμῆν ἐβούλετο, ἕως ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ἐκδραμόντες ἤμυναν¹ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς τὸ μὴ διασπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ τούτου ἔραστοῦ.

33. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενος, Ἄλλ' εἰ μήτε βαδίξω, ἔφη, ἐθέλει μήτε φορηγεῖν καὶ ἔρωτας ἀνθρωπίνους ἐρᾶ ἐπὶ γυναικας καὶ παῖδας οἰστρούμενος, ἀποσφάξατε αὐτόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔγκατα τοῖς κυσὶ δότε, τὰ δὲ κρέα τοῖς ἐργάταις φυλάξατε· καὶ ἦν ἔρηται, πῶς οὗτος ἀπέθανε, λύκου τοῦτο καταψεύσασθε.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀκάθαρτος παῖς ἐμὸς ὀνηλάτης ἔχαιρε καὶ με αὐτίκα ἤθελεν ἀποσφάττειν. ἀλλ' ἔτυχε γάρ τις παρὼν τότε τῶν γειτόνων γεωργῶν· οὗτος ἐρρύσατό με ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου δεινὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ βουλευσάμενος.

Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, ἀποσφάξῃς ὄνον καὶ ἀλεῖν καὶ ἀχθοφορεῖν δυνάμενον· καὶ οὐ μέγα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἔρωτι καὶ οἰστροῦ φέρεται, λαβὼν αὐτόν ἔκτεμε· τῆς γὰρ ἐπαφροδίτου ταύτης ὀρμῆς ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἡμέρος τε εὐθύς καὶ πίων ἔσται καὶ οἶσει φορτίον μέγα οὐδὲν ἀχθόμενος. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπείρως ἔχεις ταύτης τῆς ἰατρείας, ἀφίξιμαί με δεῦρο μεταξὺ τριῶν ἢ τετάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ σοι τοῦτον σωφρονέστερον προβατίου παρέξω τῇ τομῇ.

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔνδον ἀπαντες ἐπήνον τὸν σύμβουλον ὡς εὖ λέγοι, ἐγὼ δὲ ἦδη ἐδάκρυον ὡς ἀπολέσω αὐτίκα τὸν ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ ἄνδρα καὶ ζῆν οὐκέτι ἐθέλειν ἔφη, εἰ γενοίμην εὐνοῦχος· ὥστε καὶ ὄλωσ ἀποσιτησάμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐγνώκειν ἢ ρῖψαι ἑαυτὸν ἐκ

¹ ἡμύναμεν reoc., edd..

carrying wood, he saw a woman going off into a field ; he shook off all his wood and scattered it over the ground. The woman he knocked down on the road and tried to make love to her, till folk ran up from every side to protect her from being torn apart by this handsome lover."

33. When his master heard this he said, " Well, if he won't walk and won't carry and loves like a human with his frenzy for women and boys, kill him and give his entrails to the dogs, but keep his flesh for our working men ; and, if our owner asks how he died, put the blame on a wolf."

This delighted the vilelad who was my driver and he wanted to kill me at once. But it so happened that one of the neighbouring farmers was present, and he saved me from death by a terrible plan he had for me.

" You certainly mustn't kill an ass," he said, " that can grind corn and carry loads. It's quite easy ; you must take him and castrate him, seeing that he rushes after humans with his mad passion. For the moment he's rid of his romantic inclinations, he'll grow gentle and fat, and carry heavy loads without complaining. If you have no personal experience of this type of surgery, I'll come here in three or four days' time and use my knife to make him gentler than a lamb for you."

The whole household applauded his advice, but I was already in tears at the immediate prospect of losing the manhood in my ass's body, and thought I didn't wish to live any longer if I should become a eunuch. I therefore decided to starve myself to death from that moment or to throw myself from the

τοῦ ὄρους, ἔνθα ἐκπεσὼν θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ ὀλόκληρος ἔτι καὶ ἀκέραιος νεκρὸς τεθνήξομαι. 34. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν¹ νυξ βαθεῖα, ἄγγελός τις ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ἦκεν εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν καὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν, ταύτην λέγων τὴν νεόνυμφον κόρην τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς λησταῖς γενομένην καὶ τὸν ταύτης νυμφίον, περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν ἀμφοτέροισ ἀντοῦς ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ περιπατοῦντας, ἐπιπολάσασαν ἄφνω τὴν θάλασσαν ἀρπάξει αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀφανεῖς ποιῆσαι, καὶ τέλος αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ θανάτου γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ οἶα δὴ κεκενωμένης <τῆς>² οἰκίας νέων δεσποτῶν ἔγνωσαν μηκέτι μένειν ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ, ἀλλὰ πάντα διαρπάσαντες τὰ ἔνδον φυγῇ ἐσώζοντο. ὁ δὲ νομεὺς τῶν ἵππων καμὲ παραλαβὼν καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δυνατὸς συλλαβῶν ἐπικατέδησέ μοι καὶ ταῖς ἵπποις καὶ κτήνεσιν³ ἄλλοις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἠχθόμεν μὲν φέρων φορτίον ὄνου ἀληθινοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄσμενος τὸ ἐμπόδιον τοῦτο τῆς ἐμῆς ἐδεξάμην ἐκτομῆς. καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὄλην ἐλθόντες ὁδὸν ἀργαλέαν καὶ τριῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνύσαντες ἐρχόμεθα εἰς πόλιν τῆς Μακεδονίας Βέροιαν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον.

35. ἐνταῦθα ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἄγοντες ἡμᾶς ἰδρῦσαι καὶ ἑαυτούς. καὶ τότε δὴ πρᾶσις ἦν ἡμῶν τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ κῆρυξ εὐφημος ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ ἐστῶς ἐκήρυττεν. οἱ δὲ προσιόντες ἰδεῖν ἤθελον τὰ στόματα ἡμῶν ἀνοίγοντες καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἐκάστῳ ἔβλεπον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὠνήσαντο ἄλλος ἄλλον, ἐμὲ δὲ ὕστατον ἀπολελειμμένον⁴ ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκέλευεν αὐθις ἐπάγειν⁵ εἰς ὄικον. Ὁρᾶς, ἔφη, οὗτος μόνος

¹ ἦν om. Γ.² τῆς supplet Courier.

mountain, where, though hurled to a most miserable death, I could lie dead with my body whole and unmutilated.

34. When it was now dead of night, a messenger came from the village to our farmhouse with news about the young bride who had been the prisoner of the robbers, and her bridegroom. He said that, while they had been walking on the shore late in the evening, the sea had suddenly risen and snatched them out of sight, and that their lives had thus ended in tragic death. Since the household had lost its young master and mistress, they decided no longer to remain in captivity, but ransacked the whole house and escaped with their loot. The keeper of the horses took me and seizing everything he could, tied it on to the mares, the other animals, and me. Though I was annoyed at having to carry the load of a real ass, I welcomed this reprieve from castration. All night long we followed a difficult route and after three further days' journey we reached Beroea, a large and populous city of Macedonia.

35. There our drivers decided to settle themselves and us, and we animals were then offered for sale by a stentorian auctioneer who stood shouting in the middle of the marketplace. Those who approached wanted to open and inspect our mouths, and looked at the teeth of each of us to see our ages. The others were bought by various people, but I alone was left and the auctioneer told them to take me back home,

³ κτήνεσιν L. A. Post: Γ' οχ ???ου in ἀγει σὺν ut vid. man. rec. corrigere voluit: **** (= spatium fere quattuor litterarum) ἦσαν N: καὶ . . . ἄλλοις om. recce., edd.: cf. aliorum iumentorum, Apuleius 8.15.

⁴ ὑπολελειμμένον recce., edd..

⁵ ἀπάγειν N: ἐπαπάγειν recce., edd..

οὐχ εὐρήκε κύριον. ἡ δὲ πολλὰ πολλάκις δινομένη καὶ μεταπίπτουσα Νέμεσις ἤγαγεν κάμοι τὸν δεσπότην, οἶον οὐκ ἂν εὐξάμην.¹ κίναϊδος γὰρ καὶ γέρων ἦν τούτων εἰς τῶν τὴν θεὸν τὴν Συρίαν εἰς τὰς κώμας καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς περιφερόντων καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐπαιτεῖν ἀναγκαζόντων. τούτῳ πιπράσκομαι πολλῆς πάνυ τιμῆς, τριάκοντα δραχμῶν· καὶ στένων ἤδη τῷ δεσπότη εἰπόμην ἄγοντι.

36. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκομεν ἔνθα ᾤκει Φίληβος—τούτο γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα ὁ ὠνησάμενός με—μέγα εὐθύς πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἀνέκραγεν, ὦ κοράσια, δοῦλον ὑμῖν ἐώνημαι καλὸν καὶ ἀδρὸν καὶ Καππαδόκην τὸ γένος. ἦσαν δὲ τὰ κοράσια ταῦτα ὄχλος κιναιδῶν συνεργῶν τοῦ Φιλήβου, καὶ πάντες πρὸς τὴν βοήην ἀνεκρότησαν· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν ἐωνημένον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον ὄνον ὄντα τὸν δοῦλον, ἤδη ταῦτα ἐς τὸν Φίληβον ἔσκαπτον, Τούτον οὐ δοῦλον, ἀλλὰ νυμφίον σαυτῆς πῶθεν ἄγεις λαβούσα; ὄναιο δὲ τούτων τῶν καλῶν γάμων καὶ τέκους ταχέως ἡμῖν πώλους τοιούτους.

¹ εὐξάμην Γ: εὐξαίμην cett., edd..

¹ The goddess who allots everyone his share of good and bad fortune. “ἡ . . . δινομένη” could be a quotation from a lost play.

² Atargatis. See vol. IV, pp. 337 ff., and Harmon’s notes. Cf. Babrius 137 for a similar description of an ass in the employ of Galli.

³ Although Lucius is the last to be sold, the comment that 30 drachmas was a large price should be regarded as serious rather than ironic. In the parallel passage, Apuleius 8.24-25, Philebus, on hearing that the ass is a Cappadocian, eagerly pays 17 denarii, the full price asked.

saying, “This one alone, as you see, hasn’t found a master.” But Nemesis,¹ the goddess who ever twists and changes so much, brought me a master too, though not the sort I would have chosen. For he was an old catamite and one of those who take the Syrian goddess² around the villages and countryside and compel the goddess to beg alms. To this man was I sold for the princely³ sum of thirty drachmas, and with a heavy heart I now followed my new master.

36. When we came to the house of Philebus⁴—for that was the name of my purchaser—he at once raised a loud shout in front of the doors, “Girlies, I’ve bought you a handsome sturdy slave of Cappadocian stock.⁵” Now these “girlies” were a bevy of catamites who plied the same trade as Philebus, and they all clapped their hands at his words, for they all thought that the purchase really was a man. When they saw that the slave was an ass, they all jeered at Philebus, saying, “That’s no slave you have there but a bridegroom for yourself. Where did you get him? I hope this glorious match proves an asset⁶ to you and you soon breed foals like the father.”

Cf. c. 46 where Lucius is sold for 25 Attic drachmas (or 11 denarii in Apuleius). Presumably therefore the drachmas of this passage are more valuable than the Attic drachmas of c. 46.

⁴ Philebus = Love-youth (The Rev. Love-Boyes).

⁵ Cappadocia was noted for its fine horses and pack-animals. This passage is a further indication that *The Ass* is an epitome of another version, as we are not told (as we are in Apuleius) how Philebus knows that the ass is from Cappadocia.

⁶ There may be a pun on ὄνος and ὄναιο here as perhaps also in *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 14.4.

37. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐγέλων. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία συνετάπτοντο ἐπ' ἔργον, ὡσπερ αὐτοὶ ἔλεγον, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐνσκευασάμενοι ἔμοι ἐπέθηκαν. εἶτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξηλαύνομεν καὶ τὴν χώραν περιήειμεν. ἐπὶ δ' εἰς κώμην τιὰ εἰσελθοίμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ θεοφόρητος ἰστάμην, ὁ δὲ αὐλητῆς ἐφύσα ὄμιλος ἔνθεον, οἱ δὲ τὰς μίτρας ἀπορρύψαντες τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτωθεν ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος εἰλίσσοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐτέμνοντο τοὺς πῆχεις καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν τῶν ὀδόντων ὑπερβάλλων ἕκαστος ἔτεμνε καὶ ταύτην, ὡστε ἐν ἀκαρεῖ πάντα πεπλησθαι μαλακοῦ αἵματος. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ὀρών τὰ πρῶτα ἔτρεμον ἐστῶς, μὴ ποτε χρεία τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὀνείου αἵματος γένοιτο. ἐπειδὴν δὲ κατακόψειαν οὕτως ἑαυτοὺς, ἐκ τῶν περιεστηκότων θεατῶν συνέλεγον ὀβολοὺς καὶ δραχμάς· ἄλλος ἰσχάδας καὶ οἴνου κάδον καὶ τυροὺς ¹ ἐπέδωκε καὶ πυρῶν ² μέδιμον καὶ κριθῶν τῷ ὄνῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐτρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἔμοι κομίζομένην θεὸν ἐθεράπευον.

38. καὶ ποτε εἰς κώμην τιὰ αὐτῶν εἰσβαλόντων ἡμῶν νεανίσκον τῶν κωμητῶν μέγαν ἀγρεύσαντες εἰσάγουσιν εἴσω ἔνθα καταλύοντες ἔτυχον. ἔπειτα ἔπασχον ἐκ τοῦ κωμήτου ὅσα συνήθη καὶ φίλα ³ τοιοῦτοις ἀνοσίοις κιναιδοῖς ἦν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπεραλλήσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἔμαντοῦ μεταβολῇ, καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἀνέχομαι κακῶν, ἀναβοῆσαι, ὦ Ζεῦ σχέτλιε, ἠθέλησα, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν φωνὴ οὐκ ἀνέβη μοι ἢ ἐμή, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ὄνου ἐκ τοῦ φάρυγγος, καὶ μέγα ὠγκησάμην. τῶν δὲ κωμητῶν τινες ἔτυχον τότε ὄνον ἀπολωλεκότες, καὶ τὸν ἀπολωλότα ζητοῦντες

¹ οἴνου κάδον καὶ τυροὺς ex Courierio scripsi: οἴνον καὶ τυροῦ κάδον codd.. ² πυροῦ rec., edd.. ³ φίλια rec., edd..

37. So saying, they laughed. But on the next day they mustered for work, as they themselves called it, dressed up the goddess and put her on my back. Then we rode out of that city and went round the country. Whenever we came to a village, I, the bearer of the goddess, would stand still, while the company of pipers would blow their frenzied tunes, and the others would throw off their turbans, drop their heads and twist them round on their necks; they would cut their forearms with their swords, and each would stick his tongue out from his teeth and cut it, so that within a moment everything was full of effeminate blood. When I saw this, at first I would stand there trembling with the fear that the goddess might also need asses' blood. Whenever they cut themselves thus, they would make a copper and silver collection among the spectators standing around. Others gave them dried figs, cheeses, jars of wine and bushels of wheat and barley for the ass. From these they supported themselves and looked after the goddess who rode on my back.

38. One day when we had invaded a village of that country, they hunted down a lusty young villager and brought him into the place where they were staying. Then they got from the villager the sort of treatment habitually popular with such foul catamites. This caused me inordinate distress at my changed shape and I wanted to cry out, "Cruel Jupiter, to think that my sufferings have come to this!" But it was not my voice but that of the ass which rose from my throat and I produced a loud bray. Now it happened that some of the villagers were looking for an ass which they had just lost.

ἀκούσαντές μου μέγα ἀναβοήσαντος παρέρχονται εἴσω οὐδενὶ οὐδέν εἰπόντες ὡς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἐκείνων ὄντος, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς κιναιδίους ἄρρητα ἔνδον ἐργαζομένους· καὶ γέλωσ ἐκ τῶν ἐπεισεληθόντων πολὺς γίνεται. ἔξω ἐκδραμόντες ὅλη τῇ κώμῃ τῷ λόγῳ διέδωκαν τῶν ἱερέων τὴν ἀσέλγειαν. οἱ δὲ αἰδούμενοι δευῶς ταῦτα ἐληλεγμένα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς εὐθύς¹ ἔνθεν ἐξήλασαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἐμοὶ τῷ μητίσαστι τὰ ἐκείνων μυστήρια. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνεκτὸν τὸ δεινὸν ἦν, κακῶς τῷ λόγῳ ἀκοῦειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτά· τὴν γὰρ θεὸν ἀφελόντες μου καὶ χαμαὶ καταθέμενοι καὶ τὰ στρώματά μου πάντα περισπάσαντες γυμνὸν ἦδη προσδέουσί με δένδρῳ μεγάλῳ, εἶτα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκ τῶν ἀστραγάλων μάλιστα παίοντες ὀλίγον² ἐδέησαν ἀποκτείνειν, κελειόντές με τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄφωνον εἶναι θεοφόρητον. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀποσφάζαι μετὰ τὰς μαστίγας ἐβουλευσαντο ὡς ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοὺς βαλόντα πολλήν καὶ τῆς κώμης οὐκ ἐργασαμένους ἐκβαλόντα· ἀλλ' ὥστε με μὴ ἀποκτείνειν, δευνῶς αὐτοὺς ἡ θεὸς ἐδυσώπησεν χαμαὶ καθημένη καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅπως δαίνοιο.

39. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν μετὰ τὰς μαστίγας λαβὼν τὴν δέσποιαν ἐβάδιζον καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἦδη

¹ εὐθύς om. rece., edd..

² ὀλίγου Peletier.

Upon hearing my loud bray, assuming that I was their property, they came in without a word to anyone and surprised the catamites at their unmentionable practices inside. This occasioned much laughter amongst the intruders, who then ran out and spread reports of the priests' lewdness throughout the whole village. But they were terribly ashamed at the exposure of these practices of theirs and without delay left the place that night. When they had reached a lonely part of the road, they began to express their angry rage at me as the betrayer of their rites. This terrible abuse of theirs I could stand, but what followed was no longer tolerable; for, after they had taken the goddess from my back and put her on the ground, they stripped off all my trappings, and tied me now naked to a large tree. Then they flogged me with that knuckle-bone¹ whip of theirs till they had almost killed me, and told me thereafter to carry the goddess in silence. Moreover they had planned to kill me after my flogging, because I had brought such insults upon them and had had them driven from the village before they had finished their business, but I was saved from death by the goddess, for she made them feel terribly ashamed of leaving her sitting on the ground without means of travelling.

39. After my flogging, therefore, I took up the goddess and continued the journey. When it was

¹ The word ἐκείνη in this passage is one of the clearest indications we have that the "Assinus" is an epitome of a larger original. The parallel passage in Apuleius (8.30) has "flagro illo pecunias ossibus catenato"; Apuleius, however, had already described the whip in 8.28 as "with many twisted knots and tassels of wool, and strung with sheep's knuckle-bones."

καταλύομεν εἰς ἀγρὸν πλουτοῦντος ἀνθρώπου. καὶ ἦν οὗτος ἔνδον καὶ τὴν θεὸν μάλα ἄσμενος τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὑπεδέξατο καὶ θυσίας αὐτῇ προσήγαγεν. ἐνθάδε¹ οἶδα μέγαν κίνδυνον αὐτὸς ὑποστάς· τῶν φίλων γάρ² τις τῷ δεσπότη τῶν ἀγρῶν ἔπεμψε δῶρον ὄνου ἀγρίου μηρόν· τοῦτον ὁ μάγειρος σκευάσαι λαβὼν ῥαθυμία ἀπώλεσεν, κυνῶν πολλῶν λαθραίως εἰσω παρελθόντων· ὃς δεδιὼς πληγὰς πολλὰς καὶ βάσανον ἐκ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ μηροῦ ἔγνω κρεμάσαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἢ τούτου, κακὸν ἐξάισιον ἔμὸν, Ἄλλὰ μήτε ἀπόθησκε, εἶπεν, ὦ φίλτατε, μήτε ἀθυμία τοιαύτη³ ὧς σεαυτὸν· πειθόμενος γάρ μοι πράξεις εὐ πάντα. τῶν κιναιδῶν τὸν ὄνον λαβὼν ἔξω εἰς ἔρημον χωρίον κᾶπειτα σφάξας αὐτὸν τὸ μέρος μὲν ἐκεῖνον τὸν μηρόν ἀποτεμῶν κόμιζε δεῦρο καὶ κατασκευάσας⁴ τῷ δεσπότη ἀπόδος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τοῦ ὄνου κάτω που ἐς κρημνὸν ἄφες· δόξει γὰρ ἀποδρὰς οἴχεσθαι ποι καὶ εἶναι ἀφανής. ὄρῳ δὲ ὡς ἔστιν εὐσαρκος⁵ καὶ τοῦ ἀγρίου ἐκείνου πάντα ἀμείνων.

ὁ δὲ μάγειρος τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπαίνεσας τὸ βούλευμα, Ἄριστα, ἔφη, σοι, ὦ γύναι, ταῦτα, καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ τῷ ἔργῳ τὰς μάστιγας φυγεῖν ἔχω, καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἤδη πεπράζεται.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀνόσιος οὗτος οὐμὸς μάγειρος ἐμοῦ πλησίον ἐστὼς τῇ γυναικὶ ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο. 40. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἤδη προορώμενος κρᾶτιστον ἔγνω τὸ σῶζειν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς καινίδος⁶ καὶ ῥήξας τὸν ἱμάντα ὧ διηγόμην καὶ ἀνασκιρτήσας ἔμει δρόμῳ εἰσω ἔνθα ἐδείκνουν οἱ κιναιδοὶ σὺν τῷ

now about evening, we stopped at a rich man's estate. He was at home, welcomed the goddess very gladly to his house, and brought her sacrifices. I was involved there to my certain knowledge in great personal danger. For a friend of the landowner had sent him a ham of wild ass as a gift. The cook had been given this to prepare, but had lost it through carelessness when a pack of dogs got in unnoticed. Fearing that he would be severely beaten and tortured for losing the ham, he had decided to hang himself, but his wife proved my evilgenius. "Don't kill yourself, dearest" she said, "don't give in to such despair. For, if you listen to me, you'll settle all your troubles satisfactorily. Take the catamites' ass away to a deserted spot and then slit its throat and cut off that piece—it's the ham—and bring it here, cook it and serve it to your master, and throw the rest of the ass into some gully. It will be thought to have run away and disappeared. Can't you see how plump it is and superior in every way to that wild ass?"

The cook applauded his wife's plan saying, "This suggestion of yours is excellent, wife, and my only means of escaping a flogging. I shall carry it out right away."

Such, then, was the plan hatched with his wife by the villain as he stood beside me planning to be my cook. 40. But I, already foreseeing what was coming, decided my best plan was to escape from his knife. I broke the rope by which I was led, kicked up my heels and rushed inside where the catamites were

¹ ἐνθα δὴ (vel δὲ) Courier. ² γάρ om. ΓΝ.

³ ἀθυμία τοιαύτη recc.: ῥαθυμία ταύτη ΓΝ.

⁴ σκευάσας ΓΝ.

⁵ ἔνσαρκος Γ.

⁶ καινίδος N: κοινίδος cett.: κοπίδος Reitz.

δεσπότη τῶν ἀγρῶν. ἐνταῦθα εἰσδραμῶν ἀνατρέπω πάντα τῷ σκιρτήματι καὶ λυχνίαν καὶ τραπέζας· καὶ γὰρ μὲν ᾤμην κομψόν τι τοῦτο πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἐμὴν εὐρηκέναι, καὶ τὸν δεσπότην τῶν ἀγρῶν κελεύειν¹ εὐθέως ὡς ἀγέρωχον ὄνον ἐμὲ κατακλείσθεντα ποι φυλάττεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς· ἀλλὰ με τοῦτο τὸ κομψόν εἰς ἔσχατον ἤνεγκεν κινδύνου. λυττᾶν δόξαντές με ξίφη πολλὰ ἤδη καὶ λόγχας ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐσπάσαντο καὶ ξύλα μακρά, καὶ εἶχον οὕτως ὥστε ἀποκτενεῖν με. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁρῶν τοῦ δεινοῦ τὸ μέγεθος δρόμῳ εἴσω παρέρχομαι ἔνθα οἱ ἐμοὶ δεσπόται κοιμηθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλον. οἱ δὲ θεασάμενοι τοῦτο συγκλείουσι τὰς θύρας εὐ μάλα ἕξωθεν.

41. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη ὄρθρος ἦν, ἀράμενος τὴν θεὸν αὐθις ἀπήειν ἅμα τοῖς ἀγύρταις καὶ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς κώμην ἄλλην μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ἐν ἣ καὶ καινότερόν τι ἕτερατεύσαντο, τὴν θεὸν μὴ μείναι ἐν ἀνθρώπου οἰκίᾳ, τῆς δὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις μάλιστα τιμωμένης ἐπιχωρίου δαίμονος τὸν ναὸν οἰκῆσαι. οἱ δὲ καὶ μάλα ἄσμενοι τὴν ξένην θεὸν ὑπεδέξαντο τῇ σφῶν αὐτῶν θεῶ συνοικίσαντες, ἡμῖν δὲ οἰκίαν ἀπέδειξαν ἀνθρώπων πενήτων. ἐνταῦθα συχρὰς ἡμέρας οἱ δεσπόται διατρίβαντες ἀπένειμι ἤθελον εἰς τὴν πλησίον πόλιν καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀπήτουν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ τέμενος παρελθόντες ἐκομίζοντο² αὐτὴν καὶ θέντες ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἤλανον ἔξω. ἔτυχον δὲ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς εἰς τὸ τέμενος ἐκεῖνο παρελθόντες ἀνάθημα φιάλην χρυσοῦν κλέψαντες, ἦν³ ὑπὸ τῇ θεῶ ἔφερον· οἱ δὲ κωμῆται αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο

¹ κελεύσειν L. A. Post.

dining with the landowner. When I ran in, I knocked over light, tables and all with my kicking heels. I thought I had thus found a clever way to safety, and that the landowner would immediately order me to be kept safely locked up as being a high-spirited ass. But this clever plan brought me into extreme danger. For they now thought me mad, brought out swords galore and spears and long sticks to attack me, and prepared to kill me. When I saw my great danger, I rushed into the room where my masters would be sleeping. When they saw this, they closed the doors of the room securely from the outside.

41. When it was now dawn, I took the goddess up again and left with the mountebanks. We reached another large and populous village, where they introduced a fresh monstrosity by insisting that the goddess should not stay in the house of a human but take up residence in the temple of the local goddess held in most honour amongst them. They were very glad to welcome the foreign goddess and gave her accommodation along with their own goddess, but assigned us to the house of some paupers. After they had spent many days there, my masters wished to leave for the nearby city and asked the goddess back from the local people. They entered the sacred precinct themselves, carried her out, put her on my back and rode off. Now when the impious fellows entered that precinct, they stole a golden bowl, a votive offering. This they carried off concealed in the person of the goddess. When the villagers discovered this, they gave immediate

² ἐκομίζον recc., edd.

³ ἦν om. Γ.

εὐθύς ἐδίωκον, εἶτα ὡς πλησίον ἐγένοντο, καταπηδήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων εἶχοντο αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ δυσσεβεῖς καὶ ἱεροσύλους ἐκάλουν καὶ ἀπήτουν τὸ κλαπέν ἀνάθημα, καὶ ἐρευνῶντες πάντα εὖρον αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς θεοῦ. δῆσαντες οὖν τοὺς γυναικίας¹ ἤγον ὀπίσω καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν εἶρκτὴν ἐμβάλλουσι, τὴν δὲ θεὸν τὴν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ κομιζομένην ἀράμενοι ναῶ ἄλλω ἔδωκαν, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῇ πολίτιδι θεῶ πάλιν ἀπέδωκαν.

42. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία τὰ τε σκευὴ καὶ μετὰ πειπράσκειν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ ἀπέδοντό με ξένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν πλησίον κώμην οἰκοῦντι, τέχνην ἔχοντι ἄρτους πέττειν· οὗτός με παραλαβὼν καὶ πυρῶν μεδίμνους δέκα ὠνησάμενος, ἐπιθείς μοι τὸν πυρὸν οἴκαδε ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ὁδὸν ἀργαλέον· ὡς δὲ ἤκομεν, εἰσάγει με εἰς τὸν μολῶνα, καὶ ὄρω πολὺ πλῆθος ἔνδον ὁμοδοῦλων κτηνῶν, καὶ μύλαι πολλαὶ ἦσαν, καὶ πᾶσαι τούτοις ἐστρέφοντο, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα μεστὰ ἦν ἀλεύρων. καὶ τότε μὲν με οἶα ξένον δοῦλον καὶ φορτίον βαρύτερον ἀράμενον καὶ ὁδὸν ἀργαλέον ἀφιγμένον ἀναπαύεσθαι ἔνδον ἀφήκαν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὀθόνη τὰ ὄμματά μου ἐμπετάσαντες² ὑποξενγνύουσί με τῇ κώπῃ τῆς μύλης, εἶτα ἤλαυνον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἠπιστάμην ὅπως χρῆ ἀλεῖν πολλάκις παθῶν, προσεποιούμην δὲ ἀγνοεῖν· ἀλλὰ μάτην ἤλπισα. λαβόντες γάρ πολλοὶ τῶν ἔνδον βακτηρίας περιίστανταί με καὶ μὴ προσδοκῆσαντα, ὡς οὐχ ὄρωνα, παίουσιν ἀθρόα τῇ χειρὶ, ὥστε με ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ὥσπερ στρόμβον ἐξαπίνης στρέφεται· καὶ πείρα

pursuit ; then, upon drawing near, they leapt down from their horses and laid hold of the fellows in the road, calling them impious and sacrilegious, and demanding the return of the stolen offering. They searched everywhere and found it in the bosom of the goddess. They therefore tied up the effeminate fellows, dragged them off and threw them into prison ; the goddess whom I had carried they took and gave to another temple, while the golden vessel they gave back to their local goddess.

42. The next day they decided to offer the prisoners' effects, myself included, for sale ; and I was bought by a foreigner who lived in the neighbouring village and was a baker by trade. He took me, loaded me with ten bushels of corn which he'd bought and drove me to his house along a difficult road. When we arrived, he took me to his millhouse, where I saw a great number of animals whose fellow slave I was to be ; there were many mills all being turned by the animals and everything was full of flour. For the time being they let me rest there, as I was a new slave and had had a very heavy load to carry and a difficult road to cover. The next day, however, they blindfolded me, harnessed me to the beam of the mill and started me off. Though I knew from long experience how to grind, I pretended not to know, but my hopes were disappointed. For many of the millers took sticks and stood around me and surprised me, for I couldn't see, by smacking me all together, so that I suddenly started to spin like a top from their blows. Thus I learnt by experience that

¹ γυναικίας N: γυνίας ΓΨC Vat. 87: γύνιδας Jacobitz.

² σκεπάσαντες rec., edd..

ἐμαθον ὅτι χρῆ τὸν δούλον ἐς τὸ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν μὴ περιμένειν τοῦ δεσπότου τὴν χεῖρα.

43. λεπτός οὖν πάνυ γίνομαι καὶ ἀσθενῆς τῷ σώματι, ὥστε ἔγνω με ὁ δεσπότης πωλῆσαι, καὶ ἀποδίδοταί με ἀνθρώπῳ κηπουρῷ τὴν τέχνην· οὗτος γὰρ εἶχε κῆπον λαβίων γεωργεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο εἶχομεν ἔργον· ὁ δὲ¹ δεσπότης ἔωθεν² ἐπιθείς μοι τὰ λάχανα ἐκόμιζεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ παραδοὺς τοῖς ταῦτα πιπράσκουσιν ἤγέ με πάλιν εἰς τὸν κῆπον. εἶτα ἐκεῖνος μὲν καὶ ἔσκαπτε καὶ ἐφύτευε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῷ φυτῷ ἐπήγγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ εἰστήκειν ἀργός. ἦν δέ μοι δεινῶς ἀλγεινός ὁ τότε βίος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεὶ χειμῶν ἦδη ἦν κακείνος οὐδὲ αὐτῷ στρώμα εἶχεν ἀγοράσαι οὐχ ὅπως ἐμοί, καὶ ἀνυπόδητος πηλὸν ὑγρὸν καὶ πάγον³ σκληρόν καὶ ὀξὺν ἐπάτου, καὶ τὸ φαγεῖν τοῦτο μόνον ἀμφοτέρους ἦν θρίδακας πικρὰς καὶ σκληράς. 44. καὶ ποτε ἐξιόντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν κῆπον⁴ ἐντυγχάνει ἀνὴρ γενναῖος στρατιώτου στολήν ἡμφιεσμένος, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λαλεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ καὶ ἤρετο τὸν κηπουρὸν ὅποι ἀπάγει τὸν ὄνον ἐμέ· ὁ δὲ, οἶμαι, τῆς φωνῆς ἀνόητος ὦν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο· ὁ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος, ὡς ὑπερορώμενος, παίει τῇ μαστιγῇ τὸν κηπουρὸν, κακείνος συμπλέκεται αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ὑποσπᾶσας ἐκτείνει, καὶ κείμενον ἔβαιεν οὕτω καὶ χεῖρα καὶ ποδὶ καὶ λίθῳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ὁ δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἀντεμάχετο καὶ ἠπειλεῖ, εἰ ἀνασταίη, ἀποκτενεῖν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ· ὁ δὲ

a slave should do his duty without waiting for his master's hand.

43. Thus I became very thin and weak so that my master decided to sell me. I was bought from him by a nurseryman, who had a market garden to cultivate. Let me tell you about our work. At dawn my master took me with vegetables and take them to market; when he had delivered them to the greengrocers, he would take me back to the nursery; then he would dig, plant and water while I stood idle. However life was terribly hard for me; in the first place it was now winter, and he could not afford bedding for himself, much less for me, and I had to tread unshod on damp clay or hard, sharp ice, while all that either of us had to eat was bitter, rough lettuces.

44. One day as we were going out to the nursery, we met a gentleman in military uniform who addressed us at first¹ in Latin and asked the nurseryman where he was taking me, the ass. He made no reply, because, I suppose, he didn't understand that language. The soldier, angry at an imagined insult, used his whip to strike the nurseryman who then grappled with him, tripped him up and sent him sprawling on the road. He then struck at him just as he lay, using his fists and his feet and a stone from the road. At first the soldier resisted and threatened to kill him with his sword, if ever he got to his feet again. As though warned by the soldier's own

¹ Faulty epitomising again. "At first" is kept from the original version. In Apuleius 9.39 the soldier tries first Latin and then Greek.

⁴ τὸν κῆπον codd.: τὴν πόλιν Courier.

¹ δὲ om. recc., edd..

² ἔξωθεν Γ.

³ πάγον Dobree: πάνυ Γ: πάλιν N.

ὡσπερ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου διδαχθεῖς, τὸ ἀκινδυνότατον, σπᾶ τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥιπτεῖ πόρρω, εἶτα αὐθις ἔπαιε κείμενον. ὁ δὲ τὸ κακὸν ὄρων ἤδη ἀφόρητον ψεύδεται ὡς τεθηκῶς ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς· ὁ δὲ δείσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶχε κείμενον ἀπολείπει, τὴν δὲ μάχαιραν βαστάσας ἐπ' ¹ ἐμοὶ ἤλαυεν ἐς τὴν ² πόλιν.

45. ὡς δὲ ἤλθομεν, τὸν μὲν κῆπον αὐτοῦ συνεργῶ τιμὴν ἐπέδωκεν γεωργεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ δεδιῶς κρύπτεται ἅμα ἐμοὶ πρὸς τινος τῶν ἐν ἄστει συνήθων. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία, δόξαν αὐτοῖς, οὕτω ποιούσων· τὸν μὲν ἐμὸν δεσπότην κιβωτῶ ἐνέκρυψαν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀράμενοι ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν κομίζουσιν ἄνω τῇ κλίμακι ἐς οἶκημα ³ ὑπερῶον κάκει με ἄνω συγκλείουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ποτε ⁴ μόλις ἐξαναστάς, ὡς ἔφασαν, καρῆβαρῶν ταῖς πληγαῖς ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐντυχῶν λέγει τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τοῦ κηπουροῦ· οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντες μανθάνουσιν ἔνθα ἤμεν κεκρυμμένοι, καὶ παραλαμβάνουσι τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας. οἱ δὲ εἴσω τινὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν πέμπουσιν καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἅπαντας προελθεῖν ἕξω κελεύουσιν· ὡς δὲ προήλθον, ὁ κηπουρὸς οὐδαμοῦ ἐφαίνετο. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ἔνδον ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν κηπουρὸν κάμῃ τὸν ἐκείνου ὄνον· οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὑπολελειφθαι ἔλεγον οὔτε ἄνθρωπον οὔτε ὄνον. θορύβου δὲ ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ καὶ πολλῆς βοῆς ἐκ τούτων γινομένης ⁵ ὁ ἀγέρωχος καὶ πάντα περιέργος ἐγὼ βουλόμενος μαθεῖν τίνας εἶεν οἱ βοῶντες, διακύπτω ἄνωθεν κάτω διὰ τῆς

words, my master chose the safest course, drew the soldier's sword and threw it a long way off, before starting once again to pound his prostrate foe, who now saw that he could bear it no longer and pretended he had been killed by the blows. My master, terrified at this, left him lying there just as he was, but gave me the sword to carry and went off to the city.

45. When we got there, he gave his nursery to a colleague to work, while he himself, fearing the risk of returning by the road, got one of his friends in the town to hide the two of us. Next day they adopted the following plan; they hid my master in a chest, while they carried me by the feet up a ladder to a loft, in which they shut me up. The soldier had eventually struggled to his feet, as they told us, and, dizzy with his blows, had reached the city, where he met his messmates and told them of the desperate conduct of the nurseryman. They went with the soldier and discovered our hiding-place. They then fetched the magistrates of the city, who sent in one of their constables and ordered all the inmates to come out. When they emerged, there was no sign of the nurseryman. The soldiers therefore insisted that he was inside along with me, his ass. The inmates however maintained that nothing, whether man or ass, was still left in the house. As this was occasioning great noise and much shouting in the gateway, I, headstrong, inquisitive creature, wished to find out who the shouters were, and poked my head down through the window. The soldiers saw me and

¹ ἐπ' om. Γ. ² τὴν om. ΓΝ.

³ οἶκημα om. recce., edd..

⁴ ποτε Courier: τότε codd..

⁵ γινομένης recce., edd..

θυρίδος. οἱ δέ με ἰδόντες εὐθύς ἀνέκραγον· οἱ δὲ ἐαλώκεσαν ψευδῆ λέγοντες· καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες εἴσω παρελθόντες καὶ πάντα ἀνερευνῶντες εὐρίσκουσιν τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην τῇ κιβωτῷ ἐγκείμενον καὶ λαβόντες τὸν μὲν εἰς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον ἐπεμψαν λόγον τῶν τετολημμένων ὑφέζοντα, ἐμὲ δὲ κάτω βαστάσαντες τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέδωσαν. πάντες δὲ ἄσβεστον ἐγέλων ἐπὶ τῷ μηνύσαντι ἐκ τῶν ὑπερώων καὶ προδόντι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην· καὶ τότε ἐξ ἐμοῦ πρώτου ἦλθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὁ λόγος οὗτος, Ἐξ ὄνου παρακύψεως.

46. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία τί μὲν ἔπαθεν ὁ κηπουρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης, οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης πωλήσει με ἔγνω, καὶ πιπράσκει με πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι Ἀττικῶν· ὁ δὲ ὠνησάμενος θεράπων ἦν ἀνδρὸς σφόδρα πλουσίου πόλεως τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῆς μεγίστης Θεσσαλονίκης. οὗτος τέχνην εἶχε ταύτην, τὰ ὄψα τῷ δεσπότηι ἐσκεύαζεν, καὶ εἶχεν καὶ ἀδελφὸν σύνδουλον ἄρτους πέττει καὶ μελίπηκτα κινρᾶν ἐπιστάμενον. οὗτοι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ σύσκηνοί τε αἰεὶ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατέλυνον ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ τὰ σκευὴ τῶν τεχνῶν εἶχον ἀναμειγμένα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καμὲ ἴστασαν ἔνθα κατέλυνον. καὶ οὗτοι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ δεσπότηου πολλὰ λείψανα ἄμφω εἴσω ἐκόμιζον ὁ μὲν κρεῶν καὶ ἰχθύων, ὁ δὲ ἄρτων καὶ πλακούντων. οἱ δὲ κατακλείσαντες ἐνδον ἐμὲ μετὰ τούτων καὶ φυλακῆν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτην περυστήσαντες ἀπήσαν ὥστε ἀπολούσασθαι· καγὼ τοῖς παρακειμένοις κριθιδίοις μακρὰ χαίρειν λέγων ταῖς τέχναις καὶ τοῖς κέρδεσι τῶν δεσποτῶν

immediately raised a shout, and our friends were caught out in their lies. The magistrates went in, searched everywhere and found my master in the chest. They seized him and sent him off to prison to await trial for his bold conduct, while I was carried down by them and handed over to the soldiers. They all laughed uncontrollably at the one that had turned informer from the loft and betrayed his own master. Thus I originated the saying¹ thereafter common among men, "from the peeping of an ass."

46. What happened to my master I can't say, but the next day the soldier decided he would sell me, and I fetched twenty-five Attic drachmas.² My purchaser was the servant of a very wealthy man from Thessalonica, the largest city in Macedonia. This man's business was to cook the meat for his master and he also had as his fellowslave his brother, who was skilled in baking bread and making honeycakes. These brothers were always messmates, lodging in the same place and keeping the tools of their trades together. Thereafter they established me with them in their quarters. After their master's dinner they would both bring in many left-overs, one of them of meat and fish, the other of bread and cakes. They used to shut me up with all this and go off to have a bath, leaving a most pleasant charge in my protection. I would then say a hearty goodbye to the barley put out for me and devote myself to the

¹ A phrase from Menander's *Priestess* (fr. 246) and proverbially used according to Zencobius, when men were sued for ridiculous reasons. See Gaselee's note in L.C.L. Apuleius, p. 470 and L. C. L. Babrius, p. 516.

² Presumably a moderate price; cf. note on c. 35. The cook no doubt buys Lucius with his own money; cf. c. 48 *imit.*

ἐδίδουν ἐμαυτόν, καὶ διὰ μακροῦ πάνυ ἐγεμιζόμεν
 ἀνθρωπείου τροφῆς. οἱ δὲ ἀναστρέψαντες εἴσω τὰ
 μὲν πρῶτα οὐδὲν ἤσθάνοντο τῆς ὀψοφαγίας τῆς
 ἐμῆς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν παρακειμένων, κάμου
 ἔτι ἐν φόβῳ καὶ φειδοῖ κλέπτοντος τὸ ἄριστον.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τέλεον¹ αὐτῶν καταγνοὺς ἄγνοιαν τὰς
 καλλίστας τῶν μερίδων καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κατέτρωγον,
 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤσθοντο ἤδη τῆς ζημίας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα
 ἄμφω ὑποπτον ἐς ἀλλήλους ἔβλεπον καὶ κλέπτῃν ὁ
 ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον καὶ ἄρπαγα τῶν κοινῶν καὶ
 ἀναίσχυντον ἔλεγον, καὶ ἦσαν ἀκριβεῖς λοιπὸν ἄμφω
 καὶ τῶν μερίδων ἀριθμὸς ἐγίνετο. 47. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν
 βίον εἶχον ἐν ἡδονῇ καὶ τρυφῇ, καὶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἐκ
 τῆς συνήθους τροφῆς πάλλον ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸ
 δέρμα ἐπανθούση τῇ τριχὶ ἀπέστειλβεν. οἱ δὲ
 γενναϊότατοι μέγαν τέ με καὶ πῖνα ὀρώντες² καὶ τὰ
 κριθίδια μὴ δαπανώμενα, ἀλλ' ἐν ταυτῷ μέτρῳ ὄντα³,
 εἰς ὑπόνοιαν ἔρχονται τῶν τολμημάτων τῶν ἐμῶν,
 καὶ προελθόντες ὡς εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀπιόντες,
 ἔπειτα τὰς θύρας συγκλείσαντες, προσβαλόντες
 ὀπῆ τινα τὰ ὄμματα τῆς θύρας ἐσκοποῦντο τᾶνδον.
 καὶ γὰρ τότε μηδὲν τοῦ δόλου εἰδὼς ἡρίστων προσελ-
 θῶν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐγέλων ὀρώντες ἄριστον
 ἄπιστον· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς ὀμοδόουλους ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἐμὴν θέαν, καὶ γέλωσ πολλὸς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ ὁ δεσπότης
 αὐτῶν ἤκουσεν τοῦ γέλωτος, θορύβου ὄντος ἐξωθεν,
 καὶ ἤρρετο τί εἴη⁴ ἐφ' ᾧ τοσοῦτον οἱ ἐξω γέλωσιν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, [καὶ]⁵ ἐξανίσταται τοῦ συμποσίου
 καὶ διακύβητας εἴσω ὀρᾶ με συδὸς ἀγρίου μερίδα

¹ post τέλεον addunt ἤμην, post κατέτρωγον pungunt N, odd..

proceeds of my masters' skill, and would gorge my-
 self on human food once again after so long. When
 they came in, at first they didn't notice my gorman-
 dising at all, because there was so much food lying
 about and I still showed fear and restraint when
 stealing my lunch. But once I had decided they
 were completely unaware of all this, and had started
 to eat the finest portions and a great deal besides,
 and they to notice their losses, at first they would
 look suspiciously at each other, and one would call
 the other robber and a shameless thief of the common
 store; thereafter they both kept a careful check and
 the titbits would be counted.

47. But my life was one of pleasure and luxury,
 and normal food had made my body handsome
 again and my coat resplendent with a fine growth of
 hair. When these excellent fellows saw that I was
 big and fat, although my barley was not being used
 but remained at the same level, they began to
 suspect my daring deeds, and, pretending to go to
 their bath, they closed the door behind them, put
 their eyes to a chink in it and looked inside. Then,
 unsuspecting of their trick, I went and started my
 meal. At first they laughed to see this incredible
 meal in progress, but then they called their fellow-
 slaves to see me, and they all laughed so heartily
 that their master heard them because of the din
 outside his room. He asked one of them why those
 outside were laughing so heartily. When he heard
 the reason, he got up from the table, peeped inside

² ὀρώντες ad ὅσα μὴ (p. 128 l. 7) ex parte in Pap. Lit. Lond. 194 (iv saedli) suppetit.

³ μένοντα pap.; cf. Apul, *Met.* 10.15 remanere.

⁴ τί εἴη Bingen: τινα N: τιων cett.

⁵ καὶ Γ: om. N, pap.

καταπίνοντα, καὶ μέγα ἐν γέλωτι ἀναβοήσας εἰστρέχει εἴσω. κάγώ σφόδρα ἤχθόμην ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος κλέπτῃς ἅμα καὶ λίχνος ἑάλωκός. ὁ δὲ πολὺν εἶχεν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γέλωτα, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κελεύει με εἴσω ἄγεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου συμπόσιον, ἔπειτα τράπεζάν μοι παραθεῖναι εἶπε καὶ εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῇ πολλὰ τῶν ὅσα μὴ δυνατὸν ἄλλω ὄνῳ καταφαγεῖν, κρέα λοπάδας ζυμοὺς ἰχθῆς, τοῦτο μὲν <ἐν>¹ γάρῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ κατακειμένους, τοῦτο δὲ νάπιϊ ἐπικεχυμένους. κάγώ τὴν τύχην ὁρῶν ἤδη ἀπαλόν μοι προσμειδιώσαν καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι με τοῦτο μόνον τὸ παίγνιον ἀνασώσει, καίτοι ἤδη ἐμπεπλησμένους ὄμως ἡρίστων τῇ τραπέζῃ παραστάς. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἐκλονεῖτο τῷ γέλωτι. καὶ τις εἶπεν, Καὶ πίεται οἶνον οὗτος ὁ ὄνος, ἦν τις αὐτῷ ἐγκερασάμενος ἐπιδῶ· καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἐκέλευσεν κάγώ τὸ προσενεχθὲν ἔπιον.

48. ὁ δὲ οἶον εἰκὸς ὁρῶν ἐμὲ κτῆμα παράδοξον τὴν μὲν τιμὴν τὴν ἐμὴν κελεύει τῶν διοικητῶν τιμὴν καταβαλεῖν τῷ ἐμῷ ὠνησαμένῳ καὶ ἄλλο τοσοῦτον, ἐμὲ δὲ παρέδωκεν ἀπελευθέρῳ τῶν αὐτοῦ τιμῆς νεανίσκῳ καὶ εἶπε κατηχεῖν ὅσα ποιῶν μάλιστα ψυχαγωγεῖν αὐτὸν δυναίμην. τῷ δὲ γε ῥάδια ἦν πάντα· ὑπήκουον γὰρ εὐθὺ εἰς ἅπαντα διδασκόμενος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατακλίνεσθαι με ἐπὶ κλίνῃς ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος ἐποίησεν, εἶτα καὶ προσπαλαίειν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο ἐπανιστάμενον ὀρθὸν καὶ κατανεύειν καὶ ἀνανεύειν πρὸς τὰς φωνὰς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐδυνάμην μὲν καὶ

and, on seeing me gulping down a portion of wild boar, came running in roaring with laughter. I was very upset at being exposed as a thief and glutton in the presence of my master. But he laughed heartily at me, and first ordered me to be brought into his dining-room, and then gave instructions for a table to be put before me with many of the things which no other ass could eat—meats, shell-fish, soups and fish, some soured in fish-sauce and olive oil, others covered in mustard. Since I now saw that fortune was smiling on me kindly, and realised that only this comic turn would save me, although I was already gorged, I stood beside the table and started to eat. The room rang with laughter and someone said, "This ass will drink wine too, if someone will dilute¹ it for him and serve it to him." The master ordered this to be done and I drank what was brought to me.

48. He, naturally enough, saw that I was a marvellous treasure and told one of his stewards to give my purchaser twice what he had paid for me. He handed me over to a young freedman of his personal staff and told him to instruct me in all things I could do to afford him the greatest entertainment. Everything was quite simple for him, as I immediately obeyed my instructor in every respect. First of all he made me lie on a couch on my elbow just like a human being, then wrestle with him, yes and dance standing upright on my two legs, nod "yes" or "no" when spoken to, and do all the things which I could have done even without being

¹ ἐν suppl. Peletier.

¹ Wine was normally mixed with water before being drunk.

δίχα τοῦ μανθάνειν ποιεῖν· καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα περιβόητον ἦν, ὄνος ὁ τοῦ δεσπότης, οἰνοπότης, παλαιῶν, ὄνος ὄρχούμενος. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ὅτι¹ πρὸς τὰς φωνὰς ἀνένευον ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κατένευον· καὶ πιεῖν δὲ ὁπότε θελήσαιμι, ἤτουν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν οἰνοχόον κινήσας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς παράδοξον ἀγνοῦντες ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ κείμενον· ἐγὼ δὲ τρυφήν ἐποιοῦμην τὴν ἐκείνων ἄγνοιαν. καὶ μὴν καὶ βαδίζειν ἐμάνθανον καὶ κομίζεω τὸν δεσπότην ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου καὶ τρέχειν δρόμον ἀλυπότατον καὶ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ ἀναίσθητον. καὶ σκευὴ μοι ἦν πολυτελῆ, καὶ στρώματα πορφυρᾶ ἐπιβάλλομαι, καὶ χαλινούς εἰσδεχόμεν ἄργύρω καὶ χρυσῷ πεποικιλμένους, καὶ κώδωνες ἐξήπτοντό μου μέλος μουσικώτατον ἐκφωνοῦντες.

49. ὁ δὲ Μενεκλῆς ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης δεῦρο ἐληλύθει ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη· ὑπέσχετο τῇ πατρίδι θεῶν παρέξειν ἀνδρῶν ὄπλοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους μονομαχεῖν εἰδότεων· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες τῆς μάχης ἤδη ἦσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ, καὶ ἀφίκτο ἡ πορεία. ἐξελάνομεν οὖν² ἔωθεν, κἀγὼ τὸν δεσπότην ἔφερον εἴ ποτε χωρίον εἴη τῆς ὁδοῦ τραχὺ καὶ τοῖς ὄχημασιν ἐπιβαίνειν χαλεπόν. ὡς δὲ κατέβημεν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονικῆν, οὐκ ἦν ὅστις ἐπὶ θεῶν οὐκ ἠπέιγετο καὶ τὴν ὄψιν τὴν ἐμήν· ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ δόξα προεληλύθει ἐκ μακροῦ καὶ τὸ πολυπρόσωπον καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τῶν ἐμῶν ὄρχημάτων καὶ παλαισμάτων. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν παρὰ τὸν πότον ἐδείκνυέ με καὶ τὰ παράδοξα ἐκείνα τὰ ἐν ἐμοὶ παίγνια ἐν τῷ δειπνῷ παρετίθει.

taught. All this became the talk of the town—an ass at his master's beck and call, an ass that drank wine, wrestled and danced. But my greatest claim to fame was that, when talked to, I would nod "yes" or "no" at the right time. Whenever I wanted a drink, I would give the wine-waiter a push and ask for it with my eyes. They were all amazed at this as something extraordinary, not knowing there was a man in the ass, but I used their ignorance to ensure my luxury. Moreover I learned to walk with my master on my back, and to run at a trot which was most comfortable and scarcely felt by my rider. I had expensive trappings and was caparisoned in purples; my bridle was ornamented with silver and gold, and I had hanging to me bells which tinkled out melodiously.

49. Our master, Menecles, had, as I said, come there from Thessalonica; he had done so because he had promised to give his native city a gladiatorial show. The gladiators were already in training for the fight and the time to set out had come. We left at dawn, and I carried my master whenever it was a rough part of the road and difficult for the carriages to cross. When we reached Thessalonica, the whole town rushed to enjoy the spectacle and to see me; for I had been preceded from afar by the fame of the many roles I played and my human skill in dancing and wrestling. However it was only to his most distinguished fellow-citizens that my master exhibited me over the wine, regaling his guests with these amazing comic acts of mine. 50. My keeper found

¹ ὅτι N, edd.: ἐτι cett..

² οὖν N: om. cett..

50. ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς ἐπιστάτης πρόσδοτον εὗρεν ἐξ ἐμοῦ πολλῶν πάνυ δραχμῶν· κατακλείσας γάρ με ἔνδον εἶχεν ἐστῶτα, καὶ¹ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἰδεῖν ἐμὲ καὶ τὰμὰ παράδοξα ἔργα μισθοῦ τὴν θύραν ἤνοιγεν· οἱ δ' εἰσεκόμεζον ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐδωδύμων, μάλιστα τὸ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι ὄνου γαστρὶ δοκοῦν·² ἐγὼ δὲ ἦσθιον· ὥστε ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει συναριστῶν μέγας τε καὶ πίων δεινῶς ἦδη ἐγεγόνειν.

καὶ ποτε³ γυνὴ ξένη οὐ μέτρια κεκτημένη, τὴν ὄψιν ἱκανή, παρελθοῦσα ἔσω ἰδεῖν ἐμὲ ἀριστῶντα εἰς ἔρωτά μου θερμὸν ἐμπίπτει, τοῦτο μὲν τὸ κάλλος ἰδοῦσα τοῦ ὄνου, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν συνουσίας προελθοῦσα· καὶ διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν ἐπιστάτην τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ μισθὸν αὐτῷ ἄδρὸν ὑπέσχετο, εἰ συγχωρήσειεν αὐτῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναπαύσεσθαι· κἀκεῖνος οὐδὲν φροντίσας, εἴτε ἀνύσει τι ἐκείνη ἐξ ἐμοῦ εἴτε καὶ μὴ, λαμβάνει τὸν μισθόν.

51. κἀπειδὴ ἔσπερα τε ἦδη ἦν κακ τοῦ συμποσίου ἀφήκεν ἡμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης, ἀναστρέφομεν ἔνθα ἐκαθεύδομεν, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα εὗρομεν πάλαι ἀφιγμένην ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν εὐνήν· κεκόμιστο δὲ αὐτῇ προσκεφάλαια μαλακὰ καὶ στρώματα εἴσω κατέθεντο καὶ χαμεῖνιον ἡμῖν εὐντροπές ἦν· εἶτα οἱ μὲν τῆς γυναϊκὸς θεράπωντες αὐτοῦ που⁴ πλησίον πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου ἐκάθευδον, ἡ δὲ λύχνον ἔνδον ἔκαιε μέγαν τῷ πυρὶ λαμπόμενον· ἔπειτα ἀποδυσασμένη παρέστη τῷ λύχνῳ γυμνὴ ὄλη καὶ μύρον ἔκ τινος ἀλαβάστρου προχραμένη τοῦτω ἀλείφεται, κάμῃ δὲ μυρίζει ἔνθεν, μάλιστα τὴν ῥῖνὰ

a source of considerable income in me; for he locked me in a room, and kept me standing there, and would exact a fee before opening the door to those who wished to see me and my marvellous feats. They would bring in various eatables and particularly the things thought offensive to the stomach of an ass. These I would eat, so that by sharing meals with my master and the folk of the city within a few days I had already become wonderfully big and fat.

One day a foreign lady of great wealth and considerable beauty came in to see me at a meal, and fell passionately in love with me, partly because she had seen I was a handsome ass, but also because my extraordinary accomplishments made her eager to have intercourse with me. She spoke to my keeper, promising him a substantial bribe if he would allow her to sleep the night with me. As he did not care whether she would get anything out of me or not, he accepted the bribe. 51. When it was now evening and our master had dismissed us from the dining-room, we returned to our sleeping quarters to find that the woman had long been ensconced in my bed. Soft pillows had been provided for her, bedding brought in and a bed was all ready for us on the floor. Then the lady's servants settled for the night somewhere near at hand outside the room, while inside she lit a large, bright lamp. Then she stripped, stood stark naked beside the lamp, poured out ointment from an alabaster vase and rubbed it on. Then she rubbed

¹ καὶ om. Γ.

² δοκοῦν N: om. cett.: malim ante ὄνου.

³ καὶ ποτε usque ad c. 53 fin. om. N.

⁴ ποι Γ.

μου μύρων ἐνέπλησεν, εἰτά με καὶ ἐφίλησε ¹ καὶ οἶα πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐρώμενον καὶ ἄνθρωπον διελέγετο καὶ με ἔκ τῆς φορβειᾶς λαβομένη ² ἐπὶ τὸ χαμεύνιον εἶλκεν· κἀγὼ οὐδὲν τι του ³ παρακαλέσαντος ⁴ εἰς τοῦτο δεόμενος καὶ οἴνω δὲ παλαιῷ πολλῷ ὑποβεβρεγμένος καὶ τῷ χρίσματι ⁵ τοῦ μύρου οἰσθημένος καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην δὲ ὄρων πάντα καλὴν κλίνομαι, καὶ σφόδρα ἠπόρουν ὅπως ἀναβήσομαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ὅτου ἐγεγόνειν ὄνος, συνουσίας ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς ⁶ ὄνοις συνήθους ἔτυχον ἀψιάμενος οὐδὲ γυναικὶ ἐχρησάμην ὄνω· καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό μ' εἰς δέος οὐχὶ μέτριον ἦγε, μὴ οὐ χωρήσασα ἡ γυνὴ διασπασθεῖη, κἀγὼ ὥσπερ ἀνδροφόνος καλὴν δώσω δίκην. ἡγνῶν δὲ οὐκ εἰς δέον δεδιώς. ἡ γὰρ γυνὴ πολλοῖς τοῖς φιλήμασι, καὶ τούτοις ἐρωτικοῖς, προσκαλουμένη ⁷ ὡς εἶδεν οὐ κατέχοντα, ὥσπερ ἀνδρὶ παρακειμένη ⁸ περιβάλλεται με καὶ ἄρασα εἴσω ὄλον παρεδέξατο. κἀγὼ μὲν ὁ δευλὸς ἐδεδοίκεν ἔτι καὶ ὀπίσω ἀπήγον ἐμαυτὸν ἀτρέμα, ἡ δὲ τῆς τε ὀσφύος τῆς ἐμῆς εἶχετο, ὥστε μὴ ὑποχωρεῖν, καὶ αὐτὴ εἶπετο τὸ φεῦγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκριβῶς ἐπέισθην ἔτι μοι καὶ προσδεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ἡδονὴν τε καὶ τέρψιν, ἀδεῶς λοιπὸν ὑπηρέτου ἐνοοούμενος ὡς οὐδὲν εἶην κακίων τοῦ τῆς Πασιφᾶς μοιχοῦ. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ οὕτως ἦν ἄρα ἐς τὰ ἀφροδίσια

¹ καὶ ἐφίλησε Γ: κατεφίλησε recs..

² ἐπιλαβομένη recs., edd..

³ τι τοῦ Dobree: τρίτου codd..

⁴ παρακαλέσαντος ed. princeps.

⁵ χρωτὶ codd.: corr. Reitz.

⁶ τῆς recs.: τοῖς Γ.

⁷ προκαλουμένη Du Soul.

ointment from the vase over me as well, smearing it particularly thickly over my nose. Then she kissed me, spoke to me as if I was her beloved and a human, took me by the halter and dragged me on to the bed. I needed no invitation; I was half-soused with much old wine, my skin was excited by the ointment, and I saw that she was a beautiful wench in every particular. I lay down, but was most uncertain how to mount the woman; for ever since I had become an ass, I had had no intercourse even of the normal asinine kind, nor had I had anything to do with a female ass. Moreover I was beset by an inordinate fear that she would be too small for me and would be torn asunder, while I would have a fine penalty to pay as her murderer. I didn't know that I needn't have feared, for she encouraged me with many kisses and passionate ones at that, and when she saw that I could not hold myself back, she lay beside me as though I was a man, embraced me, lifted me in and received the full extent of my member.¹ I, poor coward, was still afraid, and was gently drawing myself away, but she clung to my member, so that it could not withdraw and followed it as it retreated. Once I was absolutely convinced that I needed to do something more to ensure her pleasure and enjoyment, I served her thereafter without fear, considering myself no worse than Pasiphaë's ² lover. The woman was so ready for

¹ Cf. Sisenna, fr. 10 (Bücheler) and note on *Affairs of the Heart* c. 1.

² Pasiphaë, the wife of Minos, king of Cnossos in Crete, fell in love with a bull by which she became the mother of the Minotaur.

⁸ παρακειμένη Γ.

ετοίμη καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνουσίας ἡδονῆς ἀκόρεστος, ὥστε ὄλην τὴν νύκτα ἐν ἔμοι ἑδαπάνησεν.

52. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ μὲν ἀναστᾶσα ἀπήει συνθεμένη πρὸς τὸν ἐπιστάτην τὸν ἐμὸν οὔσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτός. ὁ δὲ ἄμα μὲν πλουσιώτερος ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν γενησόμενος¹ καὶ τῷ δεσπότη καινότερον ἐν ἔμοι ἐπιδειξόμενος συγκατακλείει με τῇ γυναικί· ἣ δὲ κατεχρησθῆ² μοι δεινῶς. καὶ ποτε ἔλθων ὁ ἐπιστάτης ἀπαγγέλλει τῷ δεσπότη τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ἂν³ αὐτὸς διδάξας, καὶ ἐμοῦ μὴ εἰδότος ἄγει αὐτὸν ἑσπέρας ἤδη ἔνθα ἐκαθεύδομεν, καὶ διὰ τινος ὀπῆς τῆς θύρας δείκνυσί με ἔνδον τῇ μείρακι συνευναζόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἤσθεις τῇ θέᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ με τὰ πάντα ποιοῦντα δείξαι ἐπεθύμησεν, καὶ κελεύει πρὸς μηδένα ἕξω τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, Ἴνα, ἔφη, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς θέας παραγάγωμεν τοῦτον ἐς τὸ θέατρον σὺν τινι τῶν καταδεδικασμένων γυναικῶν, κὰν⁴ πάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀναβῆσεται. καὶ τινα τῶν γυναικῶν, ἧτις κατεκέκριτο θηρίοις ἀποθανεῖν, ἄγουσιν ἔνδον παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ προσίειναι τε ἐκέλευον καὶ ψαύειν ἐμοῦ.

53. εἶτα τὸ τελευταῖον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐνοστάσης, ἐν ἣ τὰς φιλοτιμίας ἦγεν ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης, εἰσάγει ἐγνωσάν με εἰς τὸ θέατρον. καὶ εἰσήειν οὔτω· κλίνῃ ἦν μεγάλη, ἀπὸ χελώνης Ἰνδικῆς πεποιημένη, χρυσῶ ἑσφηνωμένη,⁵ ἐπὶ ταύτης με ἀνακλίνουσιν ἀκεῖ μοι τὴν γυναῖκα παρακατέκλιναν. εἶτα οὔτως ἡμᾶς ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τινος μηχανήματος καὶ εἶσω εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρενέγκαντες

love and so insatiable for the pleasures of copulation that she devoted the whole night to me.

52. At daybreak she got up and left, arranging with my keeper to pay the same fee for the same privileges that night. As he wished to enrich himself from my attainments and at the same time to show his master a fresh trick of mine, he locked me up with her, and she overworked me terribly. One day my keeper went to my master to report on my feat, pretending he himself had taught me it, and, when it was now evening, unknown to me brought him to our bedroom, and through a chink in the door showed me bedded inside with the wench. Delighted with the spectacle, he conceived the desire of exhibiting me doing this in public and told him to keep it a secret, "so that," he said, "on the day of the show we may introduce him in the amphitheatre with a condemned woman, and he will mount her before the eyes of everyone." Then they brought in to me a woman condemned to be killed by the animals, and told her to make advances to me and fondle me.

53. Then finally when the day came for my master to show his munificence,¹ they decided to take me to the amphitheatre. When I entered, I found a huge couch made of Indian tortoise-shell and inlaid with gold. On this they made me lie and the woman lie on it by my side. Then they put us on a trolley, wheeled us into the arena and deposited us in the

¹ Sc. "put on his games." Men with ambitions for high magisterial office gave lavish shows to the public to court popularity.

² κατεχρησαστο recc., edd..

⁴ κὰν Courier: καὶ codd..

³ ἂν Courier: ἦν codd..

⁵ ἐσφηνωμένη Schneider.

¹ γενησόμενος scripsi: γενόμενος codd..

κατέθηκαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέγα ἀνεβόησαν καὶ κρότος πάσης χειρὸς ἐξήλατο ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ τράπεζα ἡμῖν παρέκειτο καὶ πολλὰ ἐσκευασμένα ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔκειτο ὅσα τρυφῶντες ἄνθρωποι ἐν δείπνῳ ἔχουσιν. καὶ παῖδες ἡμῖν παρειστήκεισαν οἰνοχόοι καλοὶ τόνοινοι ἡμῖν χρυσίῳ διακονούμενοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸς ἐπιστάτης ἐστὼς ὀπισθεν ἐκέλευέν με ἀριστᾶν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἠδούμην ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κατακείμενος, ἅμα δὲ ἐδεδίειν μὴ που ἄρκτος ἢ λέων ἀναπηδήσεται. 54. ἐν τούτῳ δέ τινος ἄνθη φέροντος παροδεύοντος¹ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄνθεσιν ὄρῳ καὶ ῥόδων χλωρῶν φύλλα, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι ὀκνῶν ἀναπηδήσας τὸ λέωνος ἐκπίπτω· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὦντό με ἀνίστασθαι ὀρχησόμενον²· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐπιτρέχων καὶ ἀπανθιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ ῥόδα κατέπινον. τῶν δὲ ἔτι θαυμάζόντων ἐπ' ἐμοί ἀποπίπτει ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἐκείνη ἢ τοῦ κτήνους ὄψις καὶ ἀπόλλυται, καὶ ἀφανῆς ἐκείνος ὁ πάλαι ὄνος, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος αὐτὸς ἔνδον³ μοι γυμνὸς εἰστήκει. τῇ δὲ παραδόξῳ ταύτῃ καὶ μηδέποτε ἐλπισθείσθι θεᾶ πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι δεινὸν ἐπεθορύβησαν καὶ τὸ θέατρον εἰς δύο γνώμας ἐσχίζετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡσπερ φάρμακα⁴ δεινὰ ἐπιστάμενον καὶ κακόν τι πολύμορφον ἠξίουσαν εὐθὺς ἔνδον⁵ πυρὶ με ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ περιμείναι καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγους ἔλεγον δεῖν καὶ πρότερον διαγινῶναι, εἰθ' οὕτως δικάσαι περὶ τούτων. καὶ γὰρ δραμῶν πρὸς

¹ τινος . . . παροδεύοντος οἰν. Γ.

² ὀρχησόμενον Γ.

³ ἔνθεν Du Soul: ἐνδοθεν L. A. Post.: ἐνὼν temptavi.

⁴ φαρμακία Courier. ⁵ ἐνδοθέντα L. A. Post.

middle. The people raised a loud shout and all clapped their hands to applaud me; a table was placed at one side with many of the dainties which epicures have at dinner. Handsome wine-boys stood beside us, serving us wine in golden goblets. My keeper stood behind me and told me to eat. But I was not only ashamed to be reclining in the amphitheatre but also afraid that a bear or lion would leap on me.

54. Meanwhile a man passed carrying flowers, amongst which I noticed fresh rose-petals. No longer afraid I leapt to my feet and jumped off the couch. They all thought I was standing up to dance, but I went through the flowers one by one, picked out the roses and gulped them down. While they were still watching me in astonishment, that bestial appearance left me and vanished, the ass of old disappeared, and Lucius himself was standing naked on the spot¹ I occupied. All were amazed at this strange, unexpected spectacle and raised a terrible din. The audience were divided into two opinions. Some thought that I should be burnt to death immediately as a scoundrel versed in terrible spells and able to adopt many shapes; the others advocated waiting and learning what I had to say before deciding on the matter. I rushed up to the governor of the province,²

¹ The Greek is ungrammatical.

² Presumably Macedonia, as the games are held at Thessalonica (cf. c. 49) and Lucius in c. 55 says he comes from "Patras in Achaia." Here once again there is inadequate epitomising, as it is pointless to talk about a "Thessalian witch" in Thessalonica. In Apuleius X.18 seq. Thiasus (= Meneceles) goes to Thessaly for horses and gladiators and then returns to his native Corinth to put on the games.

τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐπαρχίας—ἔτυχεν δὲ τῇ θεᾷ ταύτῃ παρών—ἔλεγον κάτωθεν ὅτι γυνή με Θεσσαλὴ γυναικὸς Θεσσαλῆς δούλη χρίσματι μεμαγευμένῳ ἐπαλείψασα ὄνον ποιήσειεν, καὶ ἰκέτευον αὐτὸν λαβόντα ἔχειν με ἐν φρουρᾷ ἕστ' ἂν αὐτὸν πείσοιμι, ὡς οὐ καταψεύδομαι οὕτω γεγινώς.¹

55. καὶ ὁ ἄρχων, Λέγε, φησίν, ἡμῖν ὄνομα τὸ σὸν καὶ γονέων τῶν σῶν καὶ συγγενῶν, εἴ τινας φῆς ἔχειν τῷ γένει προσήκοντας, καὶ πόλιν.

κἀγὼ, Πατὴρ μὲν, ἔφη,² . . . ἔστι μοι Λούκιος, τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῷ τῷ ἐμῷ Γάϊος· ἀμφω δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο ὀνόματα κοινὰ ἔχομεν. κἀγὼ μὲν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἄλλων εἰμί συγγραφεύς, ὁ δὲ ποιητῆς ἐλεγείων ἐστὶ καὶ μάντις ἀγαθός· πατὴρ δὲ ἡμῖν Πάτραι τῆς Ἀχαΐας.

ὁ δὲ δικαστῆς ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, Φιλτάτων ἐμοί, ἔφη, λίαν ἀνδρῶν υἱὸς εἶ καὶ ξένων οἰκία τέ με ὑποδεξαμένων καὶ δώροις τιμησάντων, καὶ ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ψεύδη παῖς ἐκείνων ὦν· καὶ τοῦ δῖφρου ἀναπηδήσας περιβάλλει τε καὶ πολλὰ ἐφίλει, καὶ με καὶ οἰκαδε ἤγεν ὡς ἑαυτόν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀφίκετο ἀργύριον καὶ ἄλλα μοι πολλὰ κομίζων, κἀν τούτῳ με ὁ ἄρχων δημοσίᾳ πάντων ἀκούοντων ἀπολύει. καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ναῦν ἐσκεψάμεθα καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἐνεθέμεθα. 56. ἐγὼ³ δὲ κράτιστον εἶναι ἔγνων ἔλθειν παρὰ τὴν γυναικᾶ τὴν ἑρασθεῖσάν μου τοῦ

who was among the spectators, and told him from down there that a Thessalian witch, the slave of a Thessalian witch, had anointed me with a magic unguent and made me into an ass, and I begged him to arrest me and keep me in custody till I convinced him of the truth of my story.

55. The governor said: "Tell us your name and that of your parents and any relatives you claim to have, and that of your city."

I replied: "My father is . . .,¹ my name is Lucius, and that of my brother is Gaius, and the other two names we share with our father. I write histories² and other prose works, while he is an elegiac poet and a skilled prophet. Our native city is Patras in Achaia."

When the governor heard this, he said: "You are the son of folk most dear to me, friends who have welcomed me in their home and honoured me with gifts. I know you are absolutely truthful if you are their son." Then he leapt up from his seat, embraced me and kissed me many times and took me to his own home. Meanwhile, too, my brother had arrived with money and many other things for me, and the governor publicly declared that he was releasing me. We went down to the sea, looked for a ship and put our baggage aboard.

56. I then thought it best to visit the lady who had loved me when an ass, telling myself she would think

¹ The manuscripts have unintentionally omitted the father's name.

² Alternatively *ἱστορίαι* could be used in a wider sense of "treatises" (works of enquiry or research, the original meaning of *ἱστορίη*) or indeed of novels or other narrative works.

¹ γεγινώς rec., edd..

² lacunam agnovit Gesner.

³ ἐγὼ δὲ . . . συμφορᾶν (prope fin.) om. N.

ὄνου, καλλίων αὐτῇ φανεῖσθαι λέγων νῦν ἐν ἀνθρώπων ὦν. ἡ δὲ ἀσμένη τέ μ' εἰσδέξατο τῷ παραδόξῳ, οἶμαι, τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιτερομένη, καὶ δειπνεῖν σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ καθεύδειν ἰκέτευεν· κἀγὼ ἐπειθόμην νεμέσεως ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζων τὸν ὄνον τὸν ἀγαπηθέντα νῦν γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον ὑπερτρυφᾶν καὶ τὴν ἐρασθεῖσαν ὑπερορᾶν· καὶ δειπνῶ σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ μύρου ἀλείφομαι καὶ στεφανοῦμαι τῷ φιλάτῳ ἐς ἀνθρώπους με ἀνασώσαντι ῥόδῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν βαθεῖα νύξ ἤδη καὶ καθεύδειν ἔδει, κἀγὼ δ' ἐπανίσταμαι καὶ ὡσπερὶ μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν ἀποδύομαι καὶ ἴσταμαι γυμνὸς ὡς¹ δῆθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀρέσων ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὄνον συγκρίσεως. ἡ δὲ ἐπειδὴ εἶδέ με πάντα ἀνθρώπινα ἔχοντα, προσπύσσασά² μοι, Οὐ φθερῆ³ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἔφη, καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας καὶ μακράν ποι⁴ ἀπελθὼν κοιμήση;

ἐμοῦ δ' ἐρομένου, Τί γὰρ καὶ ἡμάρτηταί μοι τοσοῦτο;⁵ Ἐγὼ, ἔφη, μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὄνου τοῦ σοῦ ἐρώσα τότε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οὐχὶ σοὶ συνεκάθειδον, καὶ ᾧμην σε καὶ νῦν κἂν ἐκείνῳ γε μόνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ ὄνου σύμβολον διασώζειν καὶ σύρειν· σὺ δέ μοι ἐλήλυθας ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ χρησίμου ζώου ἐς πίθηκον μεταμορφωθείς.

καὶ καλεῖ εὐθὺς ἤδη τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ κελεύει με τῶν νώτων μετέωρον κομισθῆναι ἕξω τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ ἐξωσθεῖς πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου ἕξω γυμνὸς καλῶς ἐστεφανωμένος καὶ μεμυρισμένος τὴν γῆν γυμνὴν περιλαβὼν ταύτῃ συνεκάθειδον. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ὄρθρω

me handsomer now I was in human form. She gladly welcomed me, because, I suppose, she was delighted at this extraordinary situation, and she begged me to dine and sleep with her. I agreed, for I thought I would deserve the jealousy of heaven if upon becoming human the ass who had received affection took excessive airs and scorned her who had loved him. I dined with her, anointed myself richly with sweet oil and garlanded myself with roses, the dear flowers which had restored me to human form. When the night was now advanced and it was time to go to bed, I got up and stripped as though conferring a great favour and stood naked before her, imagining that I would please her still more by the contrast I formed with the ass. But when she saw that every part of me was human, she spat at me and said, "Get to blazes away from me and my house; don't sleep anywhere near me."

When I asked what heinous offence I'd committed, she replied, "By heavens, I didn't love *you* but the ass in you and *he* was the one I slept with, not you. I thought that, if nothing else, you would still have kept trailing around with you that mighty symbol of the ass. But you have come to me transformed from that handsome, useful creature into a monkey.

She immediately called her servants and had me carried out of the house aloft on their backs. I was thrust out of the door and there I lay naked in my fine garlands and unguents, with only the bare earth to embrace. At crack of dawn I ran naked to

¹ ὡς om. Γ.

² προπύσσασα Γ.

³ φθειρή codd.: corr. Dindorf.

⁴ ποι recs.: καὶ ποι Γ: del. edd..

⁵ τοσοῦτο Courier: τοιοῦτο codd..

γυμνός ὢν ἔθεον ἐπὶ ναῦν καὶ λέγω πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν
τὴν ἑμαντοῦ ἐν γέλωτι συμφοράν. ἔπειτα ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως δεξιῶν πνεύσαντος ἀνέμου πλέομεν ἐνθεν, καὶ
ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἔρχομαι εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν πατρίδα. ἐνταῦ-
θα θεοῖς σωτήρσιν ἔθνον καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκα, μὰ
Δί' οὐκ ἐκ κυνὸς πρωκτοῦ, τὸ δὴ τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ'
ἐξ ὄνου περιεργίας διὰ μακροῦ πάνν καὶ οὕτω δέ
μόλις οἴκαδε ἀνασωθεῖς.

Subscriptio in Γ: ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ
ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΩΝ.

the ship and told my brother of my ridiculous mis-
adventure. Then we sailed away from that city on a
favouring wind and within a few days I reached my
native city. Then I sacrificed and dedicated offer-
ings to the gods who had saved me, now that after so
very long and with such difficulty I had escaped, not
from the dog's bottom of the fable,¹ by Zeus, but
from the curiosity of an ass.²

¹ The precise meaning of a "dog's bottom" is uncertain; the phrase is used in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 863 and *Ecclesiazousae* 255. L. A. Post suggests a connection with the fable of the dog who would have relieved himself over a bunch of reeds if one of the reeds had not pricked his posterior. The dog moved off and barked at the reed. The reed said, "I'd rather you barked at me from a distance than dirtied me from close by." The moral is that fools and knaves should be kept at a distance. See No. 608 in B. E. Perry, *Aesopica* I, page 630, and in L. C. L. Babrius and Phaedrus, Appendix, p. 543.

² This may be an alternative form of the proverb found in c. 45.

AFFAIRS OF THE HEART

AFFAIRS OF THE HEART

Although there is an apparent reference to *Affairs of the Heart* in *Essays in Portraiture*, c. 4, it is obvious from the style of this dialogue that the author is not Lucian but an imitator. When it was written is uncertain, but the reference to the decaying conditions of the cities of Lycia in c. 7 perhaps suggests a date some time after the invasion of the Goths and of Sapor, i.e. not earlier than the last quarter of the third century A.D. On the other hand, Rhodes still seems to be prosperous, though we know that it suffered an earthquake in the middle of the fourth century A.D., and Justinian *Codex* 1.40.6 suggests that it had lost its prosperity by 385 A.D. The most probable date for the dialogue, therefore, is the early fourth century A.D.

Though I have adopted Harmon's attractive title "Affairs of the Heart", it is perhaps misleading and a more accurate rendering would be *The Two Types of Love*. For an account of the various facets of homosexual and heterosexual love among the Greeks see *Love in Ancient Greece* (translated by J. Cleugh from the French of R. Flacelière).

This dialogue had literary precedents in Plato's *Symposium*, *Phaedrus* and *Lysis*, and in Xenophon's *Symposium*, all of which discuss love in general, and in Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love* (*Moralia*, vol. ix, L.C. L.), part of which anticipates the particular theme of *Affairs of the Heart* with its argument, 750 ff., between Daphnaeus, the champion of conjugal love,

and Protogenes, the advocate for pederasty. It is to be noted that, whereas in Plutarch conjugal love is declared the victor, Lycinus in c. 51 gives a tactfully worded verdict in favour of pederasty.

Achilles Tattius 2. 35-38 also has a debate on the comparative merits of love of women and love of boys with some similarities to this dialogue. As the very latest possible date for Achilles Tattius' novel is c. 300 A.D. and it may well be considerably earlier¹ than that, it seems probable on the whole that *Affairs of the Heart* is the later of the two works, and its author may have taken some of his ideas from Achilles Tattius.

The best study of this dialogue is by R. Bloch (Strasburg, 1907).

¹ E. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* p. 132, dates it c. A.D. 139.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1. Ἐρωτικῆς παιδείας, ἑταῖρέ μοι Θεόμνηστε, ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ πεπλήρωκας ἡμῶν τὰ κεκμηκότα πρὸς τὰς συνεχεῖς σπουδὰς ὤτα, καὶ μοι σφόδρα διψῶντι τοιαύτης ἀνέσεως εὐκαιρος ἢ τῶν ἱλαρῶν σου λόγων ἔρρῦ χάρις· ἀσθενὴς γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ διηνεκοῦς σπουδῆς ἀνέχεσθαι, ποθοῦσι δ' οἱ φιλότιμοι πόνοι μικρὰ τῶν ἐπαχθῶν φροντίδων χαλασθέντες εἰς ἡδονὰς ἀνίσσονται. πάνυ δὲ με ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ἢ τῶν ἀκολάστων σου διηγημάτων αἰμύλη καὶ γλυκεῖα πειθῶ κατεύφραγκεν,¹ ὥστ' ὀλίγου δεῖν Ἀριστείδης ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τοῖς Μιλησικοῖς λόγοις ὑπερκηλούμενος, ἄχθομαί τε νῆ τοὺς σοὺς ἔρωτας, οἷς πλατὺς εὐρέθης² σκοπός, ὅτι πέπαυσαι διηγούμενος· καὶ σε πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀντιβολοῦμεν Ἀφροδίτης, εἰ περιττά με λέγειν ἔοικας,³ εἴ τις ἄρρηγ ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία θῆλυ ἀφείται⁴ σοι πόθος, ἡρέμα τῇ μνήμῃ ἐκκαλέσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως ἑορταστικὴν ἄγομεν ἡμέραν Ἑράκλεια θύοντες· οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς δὲ δήπου τὸν θεὸν ὧς

Codices rettuli Γ, E.

Γ^a = correctio Alexandri.

E² = varia lectio quam, eodem fere atramento colore ac scriba ipse et scholiastes usa, manus vetusta superscripsit. Baani vel Arethae fortasse ascribenda est.

E^a = correctio quam in rasura nigriore atramento usus Arethas (?) vel corrector posterior (?) effecit.

¹ κατεύφραγεν rec., edd..

² εὐρέθη ΓΕ: corr. rec.

³ με . . . ἔοικας codd.: μὴ . . . ἔοικα Sommerbrodt.

⁴ ἐφείται rec., edd..

LYCINUS

1. Theomnestus, my friend, since dawn your sportive talk about love has filled these ears of mine that were weary of unremitting attention to serious topics. As I was parched with thirst for relaxation of this sort, your delightful stream of merry stories was very welcome to me. For the human spirit is too weak to endure serious pursuits all the time, and ambitious toils long to gain some little respite from tiresome cares and to have freedom for the joys of life. This morning I have been quite gladdened by the sweet winning seductiveness of your wanton stories, so that I almost thought I was Aristides¹ being enchanted beyond measure by those Milesian Tales, and I swear by those Loves of yours that have found so broad a target that I am indeed sorry that you've come to the end of your stories. If you think this is but idle talk on my part, I beg you in the name of Aphrodite herself, if you've omitted mention of any of your love affairs with a lad or even with a girl, coax it forth with the aid of memory. Besides we are celebrating a festival today and sacrificing to Heracles. You know well enough, I'm sure, how impetuous that god was where love was concerned,

¹ Aristides, who perhaps lived about 100 B.C., was the author or compiler of *Milesiaca*, a work translated into Latin by Sisenna. From the nature of Aristides' work "Milesian Tales" came to be used as a term for obscene love-stories.

ὄξυς ἦν πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην· ἥδιστα οὖν δοκεῖ μοι τῶν λόγων τὰς θυσίας προσήσασθαι.

ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ

2. Θάπτον ἄν μοι, ὦ Λυκῖνε, θαλάττης κύματα καὶ πυκνάς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ νιφάδας ἀριθμήσειας ἢ τοὺς ἐμούς· Ἔρωτας. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν κενὴν ἀπολελεῖσθαι φαρέτραν νομίζω, κἄν ἐπ' ἄλλον τινὰ πτῆναι θελήσωσιν, ἀνοπλος αὐτῶν ἢ δεξιὰ γελασθήσεται· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀντίπαιδος ἡλικίας εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους κριθεῖς ἄλλαις ἀπ'¹ ἄλλων ἐπιθυμiais βουκολοῦμαι· διάδοχοι ἔρωτες ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὶν ἢ λῆξαι τῶν προτέρων,² ἄρχονται δεύτεροι, κάρηνα Λερναῖα τῆς παλιμψουὺς Ὑδρας πολυπλοκώτερα μηδ' Ἰόλεων βοηθὸν ἔχειν δυνάμενα· πυρὶ γὰρ οὐ σβέννυται πῦρ· οὕτως τις ὑγρὸς τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐνοικεῖ μύωψι, ὃς ἅπαν κάλλος εἰς αὐτὸν ἀρπάζων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ κόρῳ παύεται· καὶ συνεχῆς ἀπορεῖν ἐπέρχεται μοι, τίς οὗτος Ἀφροδίτης ὁ χόλος· οὐ γὰρ Ἡλιάδης ἐγὼ τις οὐδὲ Λημνιάδων ὕβρεις³ οὐδὲ Ἴππολύτειον ἀγροικίαν ὠφρυωμένος, ὡς

¹ ἐπ' ΓΕ: corr. recce..

² τοὺς προτέρους recce., edd..

³ ὕβρεις Burmeister: ἔρις codd..

¹ The Hydra of Lerna was a nine-headed monster which Heracles had to kill as one of his twelve labours. Hercules found that for every head of the Hydra that he cut off another two grew, but with the assistance of Iolaüs, his companion, finally killed the Hydra by burning away the heads.

² Aphrodite vented her wrath on the children of the Sun because the Sun had told Hephaestus about her affair with Ares (cf. *Dialogues of the Gods*, 21, 7. 334 and Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 124 ff.). The scholiast takes "child of the sun" to refer specifically to Pasiphaë, but, as Posidon

and so I think he'll be most delighted to receive your stories by way of an offering.

THEOMNESTUS

2. You would find it quicker, my dear Lycinus, to count me the waves of the sea or the flakes of a snowstorm than to count my loves. For I for my part think that their quiver has been left completely empty and, if they choose to fly off in quest of one more victim, their weaponless right arms will be laughed to scorn. For, almost from the time when I left off being a boy and was accounted a young man, I have been beguiled by one passion after another. One Love has ever succeeded another, and almost before I've ended earlier ones later Loves begin. They are veritable Lernean heads appearing in greater multiplicity than on the self-regenerating Hydra,¹ and no Iolaüs can help against them. For one flame is not extinguished by another. There dwells in my eyes so nimble a gadfly that it pounces on any and every beauty as its prey and is never sated enough to stop. And I am always wondering why Aphrodite bears me this grudge. For I am no child of the Sun,² nor am I puffed up with the insolence of the Lemnian women³ or the boorish contempt of Hippolytus⁴

was usually regarded as the author of her misfortunes, the reference is perhaps more general and also includes Medea, Circe and Phaedra, daughter of Pasiphaë, all of whom were unhappy in love.

³ As we are told by the scholiast and Apollodorus 1.9.17 (see Frazer's note) the Lemnian women did not honour Aphrodite, and she punished them by giving them a nasty smell.

⁴ The death of Hippolytus, as related in Euripides' play, was due to his contempt for Aphrodite.

ἐρεθίσαι τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἄπαυστον ταύτην ὀργήν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

3. Πέπαυσο τῆς ἐπιπλάστου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ταύτης ὑποκρίσεως, Θεόμνηστε. ἄχθη γὰρ ὅτι τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ ἢ τύχῃ προσεκλήρωσέν, καὶ χαλεπὸν εἶναι νομίζεις, εἰ γυναιξίν ὠραίας καὶ μετὰ παίδων τὸ καλὸν ἀνθούντων ὀμιλεῖς; ἀλλὰ σοὶ καὶ καθαρσίων τάχα δεήσει πρὸς τὸ δυσχερὲς οὕτω νόσημα· δεινὸν γὰρ τὸ πάθος. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτον τὸν πολὺν ἐκχέας λήρον εὐδαίμονα σαυτὸν εἶναι νομεῖς, ὅτι σοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ αὐχμηρὰν γεωργίαν ἐπέκλωσεν οὐδὲ ἐμπορικὰς ἄλας καὶ στρατιώτην ἐν ὄπλοις βίον, ἀλλὰ λιπαραὶ παλαῖστραι μέλουσί σοι καὶ φαῖδρά μὲν ἐσθῆς μέχρι ποδῶν τὴν τρυφήν καθειμένην, διακριδὸν δ' ἠσκημένης κόμης ἐπιμέλεια; τῶν γε μὴν ἐρωτικῶν ἡμέρων αὐτὸ τὸ βασανίζον εὐφραίνει καὶ γλυκὺς ὁδοῦς ὁ τοῦ πόθου δάκνει· πειράσας μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίζεις, τυχῶν δ' ἀπολέλαυκας· ἴση δὲ ἡδονὴ τῷ¹ παρεῖναι καὶ τὸ μέλλον. ἔναγχος γοῦν διηγούμενου σου τὸν πολὺν, ὡς παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ, κατάλογον ὧν ἀρχῆθεν ἠράσθης, ἱλαραὶ μὲν τῶν ὀμμάτων αἱ βολαὶ τακερῶς ἀνυγραίνοντο, τὴν φωνὴν δ' ἴσην² τῇ Λυκάμβου θυγατρὶ λεπτὸν ἀφηδύνων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σχήματος εὐθὺς δῆλος ἦς οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς

¹ ἴση δὲ ἡδονὴ τῷ scripsi: ἴση ἡδονῆ τῷ ΓΕ: ἴση δὲ ἡδονὴ τὸ rec., edd..

² τῇ φωνῇ δ' ἴση E.

that I should have provoked this unceasing wrath on the part of the goddess.

LYCINUS

3. Stop this affected and unpleasant play-acting, Theomnestus. Are you really annoyed that Fortune has allotted you the life you have? Do you think it a hardship that you associate with women at their fairest and boys at the flower of their beauty? But perhaps you'll actually need to take purges for so unpleasant an ailment. For you do suffer shockingly, I must say. Why won't you get all this nonsense out of your system and think yourself fortunate that god has not given you for your lot squalid husbandry or the wanderings of a merchant or a soldier's life under arms? But your interests are in the oily wrestling-schools, in resplendent clothes that shed luxury right down to your feet and in seeing that that your hair is fashionably dressed. The very torment of your amorous yearnings delights you and you find sweetness in the bite of passion's tooth. For when you have tempted you hope, and when you have won your suit you take your pleasure, but get as much pleasure from future joys as from the present. Just now at any rate, when you were going through in Hesiodic¹ fashion the long catalogue of your loves from the beginning, the merry glances of your eyes grew meltingly liquid, and, giving your voice a delicate sweetness so that it matched that of the daughter of Lycambes,² you made it immediately plain from your very manner that you were in love

¹ One of the works of the poet Hesiod was a *Catalogue Of Women* of which fragments remain.

² Neobule, who was loved by the poet Archilochus.

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μνήμης ἔρων. ἀλλ', εἴ τί σοι τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην περίπλου λείψανον ἀφεῖται, μηδὲν ἀποκρύψῃ, τῷ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν θυσίαν ἐντελεῖ παράσχου.

ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ

THEOMNESTUS

4. Βουφάγος μὲν ὁ δαίμων, ὦ Λυκῖνε, καὶ ταῖς ἀκάπνοις, φασί, τῶν θυσίων ἤκιστα τερπόμενος. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἑορτὴν λόγῳ γεραίρομεν, αἱ μὲν ἐμαὶ διηγῆσαι ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ παραταθεῖσαι κόρον ἔχουσιν, ἡ δὲ σὴ Μοῦσα τῆς συνήθους μεθαρμωσαμένη σπουδῆς ἰλαρῶς τῷ θεῷ συνδιημερευσάτω, καὶ μοι γενοῦ δικαστῆς ἴσος, ἐπεὶ μηδ' εἰς ἕτερόν σε τοῦ πάθους ῥέποντα ὄρω, ποτέρους ἀμείνονας ἡγή, τοὺς φιλόπαιδας ἢ τοὺς γυναικοῖς ἀσμενίζοντας; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πληγεὶς ἐκατέρῳ καθάπερ ἀκριβῆς τρυτάνη ταῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα πλάστιγξιν ἰσορρόπως ταλαντεύομαι, σὺ δ' ἐκτὸς ὦν ἀδεκάστῳ κριτῇ τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ βέλτιον αἰρήσῃ. πάντα δὴ περιελὼν ἀκκισμὸν, ὦ φιλότῃς, ἦν πεπίστευκέν σοι ψήφον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρώτων κρίσις, ἤδη φέρε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

LYCINUS

5. Παιδιᾶς, ὦ Θεόμνηστε, καὶ γέλωτος ἡγή τὴν διήγησιν; ἡ δ' ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ σπουδαῖον. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐξ ὑπογούου τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἡψάμην, εἰδὼς ὅτι λίαν ἀλλοία παιδιᾶς¹ ἐξότε² δυοῖν ἀνδρῶν ἀκηκοῶς περὶ τούτου συντόνωσ³ ἀμλλωμένον ἐτι

not only with your loves but also with their memory. Come, if there is any scrap of your voyage in the seas of love that you have omitted, reveal everything, and make your sacrifice to Heracles complete and perfect.

4. Heracles is a devourer of oxen, my dear Lycinus, and takes very little pleasure, they say, in sacrifices that have no savoury smoke. But we are honouring his annual feast with discourse. Accordingly, as my narratives have continued since dawn and lasted too long, let *your* Muse, departing from her customary seriousness, spend the day in merriment along with the god, and, as I can see you incline to neither type of passion, prove yourself, I beg, an impartial judge. Decide whether you consider those superior who love boys or those who delight in womankind. For I who have been smitten by both passions hang like an accurate balance with both scales in equipoise. But *you*, being unaffected by either, will choose the better of the two by using the impartial judgement of your reason. Away with all coyness, my dear friend, and cast now the vote entrusted to you in your capacity as judge of my loves.

5. My dear Theomnestus, do you imagine that my narratives are a matter of sport and laughter? No, they promise something serious too. I at any rate have undertaken this task on the spur of the moment, because I've known it to be far from a laughing matter ever since the time I heard two men arguing

¹ ἀλλοία παιδιᾶς (nisi potius παλαι) conieci: ἀλλ' οὐ παλαιᾶς codd.: σπουδαία Jacobitz.

² ἐξ ὅτου rec., edd.

³ συντόνωσ rec.: συνίων ὡς ΓΕ.

τὴν μνήμην ἔναυλον ἔχω. διήρητο δ' αὐτῶν ἅμα
τοῖς λόγοις τὰ πάθη καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ σὺ κατ' εὐκολίαν
ψυχῆς ἄπνος ὦν διττοὺς ἄρνησαι μισθοῦς,

τὸν μὲν βουκολέων, τὸν δ' ἄργυφα μῆλα νομεύων,
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπερφυῶς παιδικοῖς ἦδετο τὴν θήλειαν
Ἀφροδίτην βάραθρον ἡγούμενος, ὁ δ' ἄγνεύων
ἄρρενος ἔρωτος ἐς γυναικὰς ἐπτόητο. δυοῖν οὖν
μαχομένοι παθοῖν ἀγωνοθετήσας ἀμιλλαν οὐδ' ἂν
εἰπεῖν δυναίμην ὡς ὑπερηφράνθην· καί μοι τὰ τῶν
λόγων ἴχνη ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐνεσφράγισται σχεδὸν ὡς
ἀρτίως εἰρημένα. πᾶσαν οὖν ὑποτιμήσεως¹ ἀφορμὴν
ἐκποδῶν ἀποθέμενος² ἅ παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἤκουσα
λεγόντων κατ' ἀκριβὲς ἐπέξειμι σοι.

ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε ἐπαναστὰς ἔνθεν ἀπαντικρὺ
καθεδοῦμαί σου,

δέγμενος Αἰακίδην ὅποτε λήξειεν αἰείδων.
σὺ δ' ἡμῖν τὰ πάλαι κλέα τῆς ἐρωτικῆς διαφορᾶς
μελωδία περαίνειν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

6. Ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν μοι³ διανοουμένω ταχυναυτοῦν
σκάφος εὐτρέπιστο τούτων τῶν δικρότων, οἷς μάλι-
στα χρῆσθαι Λιβυρνοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἔθνος Ἰονίω κόλπῳ
παρωκισμένον. ὡς δ' ἐνήν, πάντα ἐπιχωρίους

¹ ἐπιτιμήσεως rec..

² ἀποθέμενος ΓΕ: corr. recc..

³ μοι ΓΕ: μοι πλείν recc., edd..

heatedly with each other about these two types of love, and I still have the memory of it ringing in my ears. They were opposites, not only in their arguments but in their passions, unlike you who, thanks to your easy-going spirit, go sleepless and earn double wages, "One as a herdsman of cattle, another as tender of white flocks."¹ On the contrary, one took excessive delight in boys and thought love of women a pit of doom,² while the other, virgin of all love of males, was highly susceptible to women. So I presided over a contest between these two warring passions and found the occasion quite indescribably delightful. The imprint of their words remains inscribed in my ears almost as though they had been spoken a moment ago. Therefore, putting aside all pretexts for being excused this task, I shall retail to you exactly what I heard the two of them say.

THEOMNESTUS

Well, I shall get up from here and sit facing you, "Waiting the time when Aeacus' son makes an end of his singing."³ But you must unfold for us in song the old and glorious lays of the contest of loves.

LYCINUS

6. I had in mind going to Italy and a swift ship had been made ready for me. It was one of the double-banked vessels which seem particularly to be used by the Liburnians, a race who live along the Ionian

¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, X. 85.

² βάραθρον means an abyss, but is used in particular of the cleft into which the Athenians threw criminals.

³ Homer, *Iliad*, IX. 191.

θεοὺς προσκυνήσας καὶ Δία ξένιον ἴλεω συνεφάψισθαι τῆς ἀποδήμου στρατείας ἐπικαλεσάμενος ἀπ' ἄσπετος ὀρικῶ ζεύγει κατήειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· εἶτα τοὺς παραπέμποντάς με δεξιωσάμενος—ἠκολούθει δὲ παιδείας λιπαρῆς ὄχλος, οἱ συνεχῆς ἡμῖν ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀνιαρῶς διεξιγγυνοῦτο—τῆς πρύμνης οὖν ἐπιβὰς ἐγγὺς ἑμαυτὸν ἴδρουσα τοῦ κυβερνήτου. καὶ ῥοθίῳ τῷ τῶν ἐλατήρων μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ μάλα καὶ κατόπιον ἡμᾶς ἐποίμαινον αὖραι, τὸν ἰστὸν ἐκ τῶν μεσοκοίλων ἄραντες ¹ καρχησίῳ τὸ κέρας προσεστείλαμεν· ² εἶπ' ἄθρόας κατὰ τῶν κάλων τὰς ὀθόνας ἐκχέαντες ἡρέμα πιμπλαμένον τοῦ λίνου κατ' οὐδὲν οἴμαι βέλους ἐλάττονι ῥοιζῶ διπτάμεθα βαρὺ τοῦ κύματος ὑποβρυχωμένον περὶ τὴν σχίζουσαν αὐτὸ πρῶραν. 7. ἀλλ' ἄ γε μὴν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ παράπλω σπουδῆς ἢ παιδιᾶς ἐχόμενα συνηρέχθη, καιρὸς οὐ πάννυ μῆκύνειν. ὡς δὲ τῆς Κιλικίας τὴν ἔφαλον ἀμείψαντες εἰχόμεθα τοῦ Παμφυλίου κόλπου, Χελιδονέας ὑπερθέοντες οὐκ ἀμοχθεὶ τοὺς εὐτυχεῖς τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἑλλάδος ὄρους, ἐκάστη τῶν Λυκιακῶν πόλεων ἐπεξενούμεθα μύθοις τὰ πολλὰ χαίροντες· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς σαφές εὐδαιμονίας ὄραται λείψανον· ἄχρι τῆς Ἡλιάδος ³ ἀψάμενοι Ῥόδου τὸ συνεχές τοῦ μεταξύ πλοῦ διαναπαύσαι πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐκρίναμεν. 8. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐρέται τὸ σκάφος ἕξαλον ἐς γῆν ἀνασπάσαντες ἐγγὺς

¹ ἄραντες edd.: ἀκαρῆ codd..

² προσετείλαμεν codd.: corr. Graeue.

³ Ἡλιάδων ΓΕ: corr. recce..

¹ As the Liburnians lived in Dalmatia on the north east coast of the Adriatic, and the Ionian Gulf was, strictly

Gulf.¹ After paying such respects as I could to the local gods and invoking Zeus, God of Strangers, to assist propitiously in my expedition to foreign parts, I left the town and drove down to the sea with a pair of mules. Then I bade farewell to those who were escorting me, for I was followed by a throng of determined scholars who kept talking to me and parted with me reluctantly. Well, I climbed on to the poop and took my seat near the helmsman. We were soon carried away from land by the surge of our oars and, since we had very favourable breezes astern, we raised the mast from the hold and ran the yard up to the masthead. Then we let all our canvas down over the sheets and, as our sail gently filled, we went whistling along just as loud, I fancy, as an arrow does, and flew through the waves which roared around our prow as it cut through them.

7. But it isn't the time to describe at any length the events serious or light of the intervening coastal voyage. But, when we had passed the Cilician seaboard and were in the gulf of Pamphylia, after passing with some difficulty the Swallow-Islands,² those fortune-favoured limits of ancient Greece, we visited each of the Lycian cities, where we found our chief pleasure in the tales told, for no vestige of prosperity is visible in them to the eye. Eventually we made Rhodes, the island of the Sun-God, and decided to take a short rest from our uninterrupted voyaging.

8. Accordingly our oarsmen hauled the ship ashore and pitched their tents near by. I had been provided

speaking, the sea between Italy and Greece south of the Adriatic, this statement is only approximately true.

² A notoriously stormy area. Cf. *The Ship*, c. 8.

ἑσκήνωσαν, ἐγὼ δ' εὐτρεπισμένοι μοι ξενῶνος ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Διονυσίου κατὰ σχολὴν ἐβάδιζον ὑπερφυοῦς ἀπολαύσεως ἐμπιμπλάμενος· ἔστιν γὰρ ὄντως ἡ πόλις Ἑλίου πρέπον ἔχουσα τῷ θεῷ τὸ κάλλος. ἐκπεριῶν δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ στοὰς ἐκάστην γραφὴν κατώπτευον ἅμα τῷ τέρποντι τῆς ὄψεως ἡρωϊκοὺς μύθους ἀνανεούμενος· εὐθὺ γάρ μοι δὺ¹ ἢ τρεῖς προσεirrύθησαν ὀλίγου διαφόρου¹ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἀφηγοῦμενοι· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκασία προῦλάμβανον. 9. ἤδη δὲ τῆς θεάς ἄλις ἔχοντι καὶ διανοουμένῳ μοι βαδίζων οἴκαδε τὸ ἡδιστον ἐπὶ ξένης ἀπήνησέ μοι κέρδος, ἄνδρες ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου συνήθεις, οὐς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖ πολλάκις ἡμῖν ἰδῶν² ἐπιφοιτῶντας ἐναυθα, τὸν ἐκ Κορίνθου Χαρικλέα νεανίαν οὐκ ἄμορφον, ἔχοντά τι καὶ κομωτικῆς ἀσκήσεως ἄτε οἶμαι γυναίοις ἐνωραϊζόμενον· ἅμα δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Καλλικρατίδαν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον τὸν τρόπον ἀπλοϊκόν· προηγουμένως γὰρ πολιτικῶν λόγων προῖστατο καὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς ἀγοραίου ῥητορικῆς. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι γυμναστικός, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τί μοι δοκεῖν τὰς παλαίστρας ἀγαπᾶν ἢ διὰ τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἔρωτας· ὅλος γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο ἐπτόητο.³ τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ μίσει πολλὰ καὶ Προμηθεὶ κατηρᾶτο. πόρρωθεν οὖν ἰδῶν ἐκάτερός μοι γήθους καὶ χαρᾶς πλεοὶ προσέδραμον· εἶθ' ὅποια φιλεῖ, δεξιωσάμενοι πρὸς

¹ διάφοροι codd.: corr. Du Soul.

² ἰδῶν om. E.

³ ἐπτοεῖτο ΓΕ: corr. recce..

with accommodation opposite the temple of Dionysus, and, as I strolled along unhurriedly, I was filled with an extraordinary pleasure. For it really is the city of Helius¹ with a beauty in keeping with that god. As I walked round the porticos in the temple of Dionysus, I examined each painting, not only delighting my eyes but also renewing my acquaintance with the tales of the heroes. For immediately two or three fellows rushed up to me, offering for a small fee to explain every story for me, though most of what they said I had already guessed for myself.

9. When I had now had my fill of sightseeing and was minded to go to my lodgings, I met with the most delightful of all blessings in a strange land, old acquaintances of long standing, whom I think you also know yourself, for you've often seen them visiting us here, Charicles a young man from Corinth who is not only handsome but shows some evidence of skilful use of cosmetics, because, I imagine, he wishes to attract the women, and with him Callicratidas, the Athenian, a man of straightforward ways. For he was pre-eminent among the leading figures in public speaking and in this forensic oratory of ours. He was also a devotee of physical training, though in my opinion he was only fond of the wrestling-schools because of his love for boys. For he was enthusiastic only for that, while his hatred for women made him often curse Prometheus.² Well, they both saw me from a distance and hurried up to me overjoyed and delighted. Then, as so often happens, each of them

of Helius, the Sun-God.

² As the inventor of women. Cf. c. 43.

¹ Rhodes was famous for its Colossus, a gigantic statue

αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐκάτερος ἤξιουν με. καὶ γὰρ φιλονεικοῦντας ὁρῶν περαιτέρω, Τὸ μὲν τήμερον, εἶπον, ὦ Καλλικρατίδα καὶ Χαρίκλεις, ἄμφω καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς παρ' ἐμοὶ¹ φοιτᾶν, ἵνα μὴ πλείω τὴν ἔριν ἐγείρητε· ταῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις—τρεῖς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἢ τέτταρας διέγνωκα μένευ—ἀμοιβαίως ἀνθεστιάσετέ² με, κλήρω διακριθεῖς ὁ πρότερος. 10. δοκεῖ ταῦτα. κακέειπεν μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν εἰσιτάρχου ἐγώ, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ Καλλικρατίδας, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ Χαρικλῆς. ἐώρων δὴ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν ἐναργῆ τῆς ἐκατέρου διαθέσεως τεκμήρια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖος εὐμόρφους παιῶν ἐξήσκητο, καὶ πᾶς οἰκέτης αὐτῷ σχεδὸν ἀγένειος ἦν μέχρι τοῦ πρώτου ὑπογράφοντος αὐτοῦς³ χροῦ παραμένοντες, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἰούλοις αἱ παρειαὶ πυκασθῶσιν, οἰκονόμοι καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι χωρίων κηδεμόνες ἀπεστέλλοντο. Χαρικλεῖ γε μὴν πολλὸς ὄρχηστρίδων καὶ μουσουργῶν χορὸς εἶπετο καὶ πᾶν τὸ δωματίον ὡς ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις γυναικῶν μεστὸν ἦν ἀνδρὸς οὐδ' ἀκαρῆ παρόντος, εἰ μὴ τί που νήπιον ἢ γέρον ὑπερήλιξ ὀψοποιὸς ὀφθειῖ, χρόνου ζηλοτυπίας ὑποψίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανὰ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων γνώμης δείγματα. πολλάκις γε μὴν ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀψιμαχίαι τινὲς αὐτοῖς ἐκινήθησαν, οὐχ ὡς πέρασ ἔχειν τι τὴν ζήτησιν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἦν ἀνάγεσθαι, σύμπλους ἐβελήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπηγόμην· διεννοῦντο γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπαίρειν ὁμοίως ἐμοί.

¹ ἐμοὶ ΓΕ: ἐμέ Ε², recce.. ² ἀνθεστιάσητέ ΓΕ: corr recce..

³ ὑπογράφοντος αὐτοῖς recce., edd..

¹ A festival in honour of Demeter celebrated exclusively by women.

clasped me by the hand and begged me to visit his house. I, seeing that they were carrying their rivalry too far, said, "Today, Callicratidas and Charicles, it is the proper thing for both of you to be my guests so that you may not fan your rivalry into greater flame. But on the days to follow—for I've decided to remain here for three or four days—you will return my hospitality by entertaining me each in turn, drawing lots to decide which of you will start."

10. This was agreed, and for that day I presided as host, while on the next day Callicratidas did so, and after him Charicles. Now, even when they were entertaining me, I could see concrete evidence of the inclinations of each. For my Athenian friend was well provided with handsome slave-boys and all of his servants were pretty well beardless. They remained with him till the down first appeared on their faces, but, once any growth cast a shadow on their cheeks, they would be sent away to be stewards and overseers of his properties at Athens. Charicles, however, had in attendance a large band of dancing girls and singing girls and all his house was as full of women as if it were the Thesmophoria,¹ with not the slightest trace of male presence except that here and there could be seen an infant boy or a superannuated old cook whose age could give even the jealous no cause for suspicion. Well, these things were themselves, as I said, sufficient indications of the dispositions of both of them. Often, however, short skirmishes broke out between them without the point at issue being settled. But, when it was time for me to put to sea, at their wish I took them with me to share my voyage, for they like me were minded to set out for Italy.

11. καὶ δόξαν ἡμῖν Κνίδῳ προσορμηῆσαι¹ κατὰ θεάν καὶ τοῦ Ἀφροδίτης ἱεροῦ²—ὕμνεῖται δὲ τούτου τὸ τῆς Πραξιτέλους εὐχερείας³ ὄντως ἐπαφρόδιτον—ἡρέμα τῇ γῇ προσηέχθημεν αὐτῆς οἶμαι τῆς θεοῦ λιπαρᾶ γαλήνῃ πομποστολούσης τὸ σκάφος. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἔμελλον αἰ συνήθεις παρασκευαί, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ζεῦγος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐξαψάμενος κύκλω περιήειν τὴν Κνίδον οὐκ ἀγελαστὶ τῆς κεραμευτικῆς ἀκολασίας μετέχων ὡς ἐν Ἀφροδίτης πόλει. στοὰς δὲ Σωστράτου καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τέρπειν ἡμᾶς ἐδύνατο, πρῶτον ἐκπεριελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης βαδίζομεν, νῶ μὲν, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Χαρικλῆς, πάνυ προθύμως, Καλλικρατίδας δ' ὡς ἐπὶ θεάν θήλειαν ἄκων, ἦδιον ἂν οἶμαι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Κνιδίας⁴ τὸν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἀντικαταλαξάμενος *Ἐρωτα. 12. καὶ πῶς εὐθὺς ἡμῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεμένους Ἀφροδίσοιο προσέπνευσαν αἶραι· τὸ γὰρ αἶθριον οὐκ εἰς ἔδαφος ἄγονον μάλιστα λίθων πλαξὶ λείαις ἐστρωμένον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαν ἦν γόνιμον ἡμέρων καρπῶν, ἅ ταῖς κόμαις εὐθαλέσιν ἄχρι πόρρω βρύνοντα τὸν πέριξ ἀέρα συναρόφουν. περιττόν γε μὴν ἢ πικνόκαρπος ἐτεθῆλει μυρρίνη παρὰ τὴν δέσποιναν

¹ προσορμῆσαι recs., edd..

² καὶ τοῦ . . . ἱεροῦ E²: καὶ τὸ . . . ἱερὸν GE.

³ εὐχειρίας coniecit L.S.J.

⁴ τῆς ante Κνιδίας add. E².

¹ Aphrodite was worshipped at Cnidus as εὐπλοια. Cf. Theocritus 22. 11.

² These porticos (described by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.12.18 as "pensilis ambulatio") seemed to have supported a terrace used as a promenade, and were regarded as one of

11. Now, as we had decided to anchor at Cnidus to see the temple of Aphrodite, which is famed as possessing the most truly lovely example of Praxiteles' skill, we gently approached the land with the goddess herself, I believe, escorting our ship¹ with smooth calm waters. The others occupied themselves with the usual preparations, but I took the two authorities on love, one on either side of me, and went round Cnidus, finding no little amusement in the wanton products of the potters, for I remembered I was in Aphrodite's city. First we went round the porticos of Sostratus² and everywhere else that could give us pleasure and then we walked to the temple of Aphrodite. Charicles and I did so very eagerly, but Callicratidas was reluctant because he was going to see something female, and would have preferred, I imagine, to have had Eros of Thespieae³ instead of Aphrodite of Cnidus.

12. And immediately, it seemed, there breathed upon us from the sacred precinct itself breezes fraught with love. For the uncovered court was not for the most part paved with smooth slabs of stone to form an unproductive area but, as was to be expected in Aphrodite's temple, was all of it prolific with garden fruits. These trees, luxuriant far and wide with fresh green leaves, roofed in the air around them. But more than all others flourished the berry-laden myrtle growing luxuriantly beside its mistress⁴ and

the masterpieces of the famous architect, Sostratus of Cnidus (for whom see *How To Write History* 62, *Hippias* 2).

³ Another famous statue of Praxiteles in the Boeotian town of Thespieae. The original had been lost in a fire at Rome but a copy survived at Thespieae. See Pausanias 9, 27, 3.

⁴ The myrtle was sacred to Aphrodite.

αὐτῆς δαμιλλῆς πεφυκυῖα τῶν τε λοιπῶν δένδρων ἕκαστον, ὅσα κάλλους μετείληχεν· οὐδ' αὐτὰ γέροντος ἤδη χρόνου πολὺα καθαύαινε, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀκμῆς σφριγῶντα νέοις κλωσὶν ἦν ὄρια. τούτοις δ' ἀνεμέμκτο καὶ τὰ καρπῶν μὲν ἄλλως ἄγωνα, τὴν δ' εὐμορφίαν ἔχοντα καρπῶν,¹ κυπαρίττων² γε καὶ πλατανίστων αἰθήρια μήκη καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς αὐτόμολος Ἀφροδίτης ἢ τῆς θεοῦ πάλαι φυγὰς Δάφνη. παντὶ γε μὴν δένδρῳ περιπλέγδην ὁ φίλερως προσείρπυζε³ κιττός. ἀμφιλαφεῖς ἀμπελοι πυκνοῖς κατήρτηντο βότρυσιν· τερπνοτέρα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτη μετὰ Διονύσου καὶ τὸ παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἡδὺ σύγκρατον, εἰ δ' ἀποζευχθεῖεν ἀλλήλων, ἦττον εὐφραίνουσιν. ἦν δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς ἄγαν παλινσκίοις ὕλαις ἰλαραὶ κλισίαι τοῖς ἐνεστιᾶσθαι θέλουσιν, εἰς ἃ τῶν μὲν ἀστικῶν σπανίως ἐπεφυγῶν τινές, ἀθρόος δ' ὁ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐπανηγύριζεν ὄντως ἀφροδισιάζοντες. 13. ἐπεὶ δ' ἰκανῶς τοῖς φυτοῖς ἐτέρφθημεν, εἴσω τοῦ νεῦ παρήειμεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ καθίδρυται—Παρίας δὲ λίθου δαίδαλμα κάλλιστον—ὑπερήφανον καὶ σεσηρότι γέλῳτι μικρὸν ὑπομειδιῶσα. πᾶν δὲ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀκάλυπτον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐσθῆτος ἀμπεχούσης γεγύμνωται, πλὴν ὅσα τῇ ἐτέρα χειρὶ τὴν αἰδῶ λεληθότως ἐπικρύπτειν. τοσοῦτόν γε μὴν ἡ δημιουργὸς ἴσχυσε τέχνη, ὥστε τὴν ἀντίτυπον

¹ καρπῶν rec.: καρπῶν ΓΕ.

² κυπαρίττός Ε: κυπαρίττον Γ: corr. rec.

³ προσείρπυε codd.: corr. Dindorf.

¹ I.e. the laurel. The story was that the nymph Daphne rejected the advances of her lover, Apollo, and escaped by being transformed into a laurel-tree.

all the other trees that are endowed with beauty. Though they were old in years they were not withered or faded but, still in their youthful prime, swelled with fresh sprays. Intermingled with these were trees that were unproductive except for having beauty for their fruit—cypresses and planes that towered to the heavens and with them Daphne,¹ who deserted from Aphrodite and fled from that goddess long ago. But around every tree crept and twined the ivy,² devotee of love. Rich vines were hung with their thick clusters of grapes. For Aphrodite is more delightful when accompanied by Dionysus and the gifts of each are sweeter if blended together, but, should they be parted from each other, they afford less pleasure. Under the particularly shady trees were joyous couches for those who wished to feast themselves there. These were occasionally visited by a few folk of breeding, but all the city rabble flocked there on holidays and paid true homage to Aphrodite.

13. When the plants had given us pleasure enough, we entered the temple. In the midst thereof sits the goddess—she's a most beautiful statue of Parian³ marble—arrogantly smiling a little as a grin parts her lips. Draped by no garment, all her beauty is uncovered and revealed, except in so far as she unobtrusively uses one hand to hide her private parts. So great was the power of the craftsman's art that the hard unyielding marble did justice to

² The ivy was sacred to Bacchus, the wine-god and promoter of love.

³ In *Zeus Rants* 10 Lucian gives the material as Pentelic marble.

οὕτω καὶ καρτερὰν τοῦ λίθου φύσιν ἐκάστοις μέλεσιν ἐπιπρέπειν. ὁ γοῦν Χαρικλῆς ἔμμανές τι καὶ παράφορον ἀναβοήσας, Ἐὐτυχεστάτος, εἶπεν, θεῶν ὁ διὰ ταύτην δεθεὶς Ἄρης, καὶ ἅμα προσδραμῶν λιπαρέσι¹ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατὸν ἐκτείνων τὸν αὐχένα κατεφίλει· σιγῇ δ' ἐφεστῶς ὁ Καλλικρατίδας κατὰ νοῦν ἀπεθαύμαζεν. ἔστι δ' ἀμφίθυρος ὁ νεὼς καὶ τοῖς θέλουσι κατὰ νώτου τὴν θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτῆς ἀθαύμαστον ἦ. δι' εὐμαρείας οὖν ἐστὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ πύλῃ παρελθοῦσιν τὴν ὄπισθεν εὐμορφίαν διαθρῆσαι. 14. δόξαν οὖν ὄλην τὴν θεὸν ἰδεῖν, εἰς τὸ κατόπιν τοῦ σηκοῦ περιήλομεν. εἴτ' ἀνοιγείσης τῆς θύρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κλειδοφύλακος ἐμπεπιστευμένον γυναιῖο θάμβος αἰφνίδιον ἡμᾶς εἶχεν τοῦ κάλλους. ὁ γοῦν Ἀθηναῖος ἡσυχῇ πρὸ μικροῦ βλέπων ἐπεὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μέρη τῆς θεοῦ κατώπτευσεν, ἀθρόως πολὺ τοῦ Χαρικλέους ἔμμανέστερον ἀνεβόησεν, Ἡράκλεις, ὅση μὲν τῶν μεταφρένων εὐρυθμία, πῶς δ' ἀμφιλαφεῖς αἱ λαγόνες, ἀγκάλισμα χειροπληθές· ὡς δ' εὐπερίγραφοι τῶν γλουτῶν αἱ σάρκες ἐπικυρτοῦνται μήτ' ἄγαν ἔλλιπεῖς αὐτοῖς ὁστέοις προσεσταλμένοι μήτε εἰς ὑπέρογκον ἐκκεχυμένοι πύοις.² τῶν δὲ τοῖς ἰσχύοις ἐνεσφραγισμένων ἐξ ἑκατέρων τύπων οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ὡς ἡδὺς ὁ γέλως· μηροῦ τε καὶ κνήμης ἐπ' εὐθὺ τεταμένῃς ἄκρι ποδὸς ἡκριβωμένοι ῥυθμοί. τοιοῦτος³ ἄρα Γανυμήδης ἐν οὐρανῷ Διὶ τὸ νέκταρ

¹ λιπαρέσι Schaefer: λιπαροῖς codd..

² ποιότητα ΓΕ: corr. recc.. ³ τοιοῦτο ΓΕ: corr. E².

¹ For the story of how the injured husband, Hephaestus,

every limb. Charicles at any rate raised a mad distracted cry and exclaimed, "Happiest indeed of the gods was Ares¹ who suffered chains because of her!" And, as he spoke, he ran up and, stretching out his neck as far as he could, started to kiss the goddess with importunate lips. Callicratidas stood by in silence with amazement in his heart.

The temple had a door on both sides for the benefit of those also who wish to have a good view of the goddess from behind, so that no part of her be left unadmired. It's easy therefore for people to enter by the other door and survey the beauty of her back. 14. And so we decided to see all of the goddess and went round to the back of the precinct. Then, when the door had been opened by the woman responsible for keeping the keys, we were filled with an immediate wonder for the beauty we beheld. The Athenian who had been so impassive an observer a minute before, upon inspecting those parts of the goddess which recommend a boy, suddenly raised a shout far more frenzied than that of Charicles. "Heracles!" he exclaimed, "what a well-proportioned back! What generous flanks she has! How satisfying an armful to embrace! How delicately moulded the flesh on the buttocks, neither too thin and close to the bone, nor yet revealing too great an expanse of fat! And as for those precious parts sealed in on either side by the hips, how inexpressibly sweetly they smile! How perfect the proportions of the thighs and the shins as they stretch down in a straight line to the feet! So that's what Ganymede looks like as he pours out the nectar in heaven for Zeus trapped Ares in chains when in bed with Aphrodite see *Dialogues of the Gods*, 21.

ἦδιον ἐγχεῖ· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἥβης οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ
 διακονουμένης ποτὸν ἐδεξάμην. ἐνθεαστικῶς¹ ταύ-
 τα τοῦ Καλλικρατίδου βοῶντος ὁ Χαρικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 σφόδρα θάμβους ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐπεπήγει τακερόν² τι
 καὶ ῥέον ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι πάθος ἀνυγραίνων. 15. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ τοῦ θαυμάζειν ὁ κόρος ἡμᾶς ἀπήλλαξεν, ἐπὶ
 θατέρου μηροῦ σπίλον εἶδομεν ὡσπερ ἐν ἐσθῆτι
 κηλῖδα· ἤλεγχε δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀμορφίαν ἢ περὶ τὰλλα
 τῆς λίθου λαμπρότης. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν πιθανῆ τάληθές
 εἰκασίᾳ τοπάζων φύσιν ᾤμην τοῦ λίθου τὸ βλεπό-
 μενον εἶναι· πάθος γὰρ οὐδὲ τούτων ἔστιν ἕξω,
 πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς κατ' ἄκρον εἶναι δυναμένους καλοῖς ἢ
 τύχῃ παρεμποδίζει. μέλαιναν οὖν ἐσπιλώσασαι φυσι-
 κήν τινα κηλῖδα νομίζων καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ
 Πραξιτέλους ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι τοῦ λίθου τὸ δύσμορφον
 ἐν τοῖς ἦττον ἐλέγχεσθαι δυναμένους μέρεσιν
 ἀπέκρυψεν. ἢ δὲ παρεστῶσα πλησίον ἡμῶν ζάκορος
 ἀπίστου λόγου καινὴν παρέδωκεν ἱστορίαν· ἔφη γὰρ
 οὐκ ἀσήμου γένους νεανίαν—ἢ δὲ πράξις ἀνώνυμον
 αὐτὸν ἐσίγησεν—πολλάκις ἐπιφοιτῶντα τῷ τεμένει
 σὺν δειλαίῳ δαίμονι ἐραστήηναι τῆς θεοῦ καὶ πανή-
 μερον ἐν τῷ ναῶ διατρίβοντα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔχειν
 δεισιδαίμονος ἀγιστείας δόκησιν· ἕκ τε γὰρ τῆς
 ἔωθινῆς κοίτης πολὺ προλαμβάνων τὸν ὄρθρον
 ἐπεφοίτα καὶ μετὰ δύσιν ἄκων ἐβάδιζεν οἰκάδε τῆν θ'
 ὄλην ἡμέραν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς θεοῦ καθεζόμενος
 ὄρθας ἐπ' αὐτὴν διηνεκῶς τὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων βολὰς
 ἀπήρειδεν. ἄσημοι δ' αὐτῷ ψιθυρισμοὶ καὶ κλεπτο-
 μένης λαλιᾶς ἐρωτικαὶ διεπεραίνοντο μέμψεις.

¹ ἐνθεαστικῶς E^a: ἐνθα ἀστικῶς Γ'E.

² τακερόν Γ'E¹.

and makes it taste sweeter. For I'd never have taken the cup from Hebe if she served me." While Callicratidas was shouting this under the spell of the goddess, Charicles in the excess of his admiration stood almost petrified, though his emotions showed in the melting tears trickling from his eyes.

15. When we could admire no more, we noticed a mark on one thigh like a stain on a dress; the unsightliness of this was shown up by the brightness of the marble everywhere else. I therefore, hazarding a plausible guess about the truth of the matter, supposed that what we saw was a natural defect in the marble. For even such things as these are subject to accident and many potential masterpieces of beauty are thwarted by bad luck. And so, thinking the black mark to be a natural blemish, I found in this too cause to admire Praxiteles for having hidden what was unsightly in the marble in the parts less able to be examined closely. But the attendant woman who was standing near us told us a strange, incredible story. For she said that a young man of a not undistinguished family—though his deed has caused him to be left nameless—who often visited the precinct, was so ill-starred as to fall in love with the goddess.¹ He would spend all day in the temple and at first gave the impression of pious awe. For in the morning he would leave his bed long before dawn to go to the temple and only return home reluctantly after sunset. All day long would he sit facing the goddess with his eyes fixed uninterruptedly upon her, whispering indistinctly and carrying on a lover's complaints in secret conversation.

¹ This story, originating from Posidippus, is also known to Lucian (*Essays in Portraiture* 4).

16. ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ μικρὰ τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτὸν ἀπο-
βουκολῆσαι θελήσειεν, προσειπὼν, τῇ δὲ τραπέζῃ
τέτταρας ἀστραγάλους Λιβυκῆς δορκὸς ἀπαριθμή-
σας διεπέττενε τὴν ἐλπίδα, καὶ βαλὼν μὲν ἐπίσκοπα,¹
μάλιστα δ' εἴ ποτε τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν εὐβολήσειε,
μηδενὸς ἀστραγάλου πεσόντος ἴσω σχήματι, προσε-
κύνει τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τεύξεσθαι νομίζων· εἰ δ',
ὅποια φιλεῖ, φαύλως κατὰ τῆς τραπέζης ῥύψειεν,
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ δυσφημότερον ἀνασταίεν, ὅλη Κνίδω
καταρώμενος ὡς ἐπ' ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ [καὶ]²
κατήφει καὶ δι' ὀλίγου συναρπάσας ἑτέρω βόλῳ τὴν
πρὶν ἀστοχίαν ἐθεράπευεν. ἤδη δὲ πλέον αὐτῷ τοῦ
πάθους ἐρεθιζομένου τοῖχος ἅπας ἐχαράσσετο καὶ
πᾶς μαλακοῦ δένδρου φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν
ἐκῆρυσεν· ἐτιμᾶτο δ' ἐξ ἴσου Διὶ Πραξιτέλῃ καὶ
πᾶν ὅ τι κειμήλιον εὐπρεπῆς οἴκοι φυλάττειτο, τοῦτ'
ἦν ἀνάθημα τῆς θεοῦ. πέρασ αἱ σφοδραὶ τῶν ἐν
αὐτῷ πόθων ἐπιτάσεις ἀπενοήθησαν,³ εὐρέθη δὲ
τόλμα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μαστροπός· ἤδη γὰρ ἐπὶ
δύσιν ἡλίου κλίνοντος ἡρέμα λαθὼν τοὺς παρόντας
ὄπισθε τῆς θύρας παρεισερρῆ καὶ στὰς ἀφανῆς
ἐνδοτάτῳ σχεδὸν οὐδ' ἀναπνέων ἠτρέμει, συνήθως
δὲ τῶν ζακόρων ἕξωθεν τὴν θύραν ἐφέλκυσσάμενων
ἔνδον ὁ καινὸς Ἀγχίσσης καθείρκετο. καὶ τί γὰρ
ἀρρήτου νυκτὸς ἐγὼ τόλμαν ἢ λάλος⁴ ἐπ' ἀκριβῆς

¹ ἐπίσκοπα Wytttenbach: ἐπὶ σκοποῦ codd..

² sic Du Soul: καὶ κατηφεί ΓΕ.

³ ἐπενοήθησαν ΓΕ: corr. recee..

⁴ ἢ λάλος Burmeister: ἢ ἄλλος codd.: ἢ ἄλγος tentavi.

¹ The highest throw at dice was when each face was different. It was called Venus or Aphrodite.

16. But when he wished to give himself some little comfort from his suffering, after first addressing the goddess, he would count out on the table four knuckle-bones of a Libyan gazelle and take a gamble on his expectations. If he made a successful throw and particularly if ever he was blessed with the throw named after the goddess herself,¹ and no dice showed the same face, he would prostrate himself before the goddess, thinking he would gain his desire. But, if as usually happens he made an indifferent throw on to his table, and the dice revealed an unpropitious result, he would curse all Cnidus and show utter dejection as if at an irremediable disaster; but a minute later he would snatch up the dice and try to cure by another throw his earlier lack of success. But presently, as his passion grew more inflamed, every wall came to be inscribed with his messages and the bark of every tender tree told of fair Aphrodite. Praxiteles was honoured by him as much as Zeus and every beautiful treasure that his home guarded was offered to the goddess. In the end the violent tension of his desires turned to desperation and he found in audacity a procurer for his lusts. For, when the sun was now sinking to its setting, quietly and unnoticed by those present, he slipped in behind the door and, standing invisible in the inmost part of the chamber, he kept still, hardly even breathing. When the attendants closed the door from the outside in the normal way, this new Anchises² was locked in. But why do I chatter on and tell you in every detail the reckless deed of that unmentionable night? These marks of

² Anchises, the father of Aeneas, though a mortal had enjoyed the love of Aphrodite.

ὑμῖν διηγούμαι; τῶν ἐρωτικῶν περιπλοκῶν ἴχνη ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμέραν ὤφθη καὶ τὸν σπῖλον εἶχεν ἢ θεὸς ὧν ἔπαθεν ἔλεγχον. αὐτὸν γε μὴν τὸν νεανίαν, ὡς ὁ δημῶδης ἱστορεῖ λόγος, ἢ κατὰ πετρῶν φασιν ἢ κατὰ πελαγίου κύματος ἐνεχθέντα παντελῶς ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι.

17. ταῦτα τῆς ζακόρου διηγουμένης μεταξὺ τοῦ λόγου διαβοήσας εἶπεν ὁ Χαρικλῆς, Οὐκοῦν τὸ θῆλυ, κἂν λίθινον ἦ, φιλεῖται. τί δ', εἴ τις ἔμψυχον εἶδε τοιοῦτο κάλλος; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἡ μία νῦξ τῶν τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρων ἐτιμᾶτο;

μειδιάσας δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, Οὐδέπω, φησίν, ἴσμεν, ὦ Χαρικλείς, εἰ πολλῶν ἀκουσόμεθα τοιούτων διηγημάτων, ὅταν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς γενώμεθα. καὶ νῦν δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ ζηλουμένης Ἀφροδίτης ἐναργές ἐστι τοῦτο δεῖγμα.

Πῶς; ἐρομένου τοῦ Χαρικλέους, ἄγαν πιθανῶς ἔδοξέ μοι λέγειν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας· ἔφη γὰρ ὡς ὁ ἐρασθεὶς νεανίας παννύχου σχολῆς λαβόμενος, ὥσθ' ὄλην τοῦ πάθους ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν κορεσθῆναι, παιδικῶς τῷ λίθῳ προσωμίλησεν βουλευθεὶς οἶδ' ὅτι μηδὲν πρόσθεν¹ εἶναι τὸ θῆλυ. πολλῶν οὖν ἀκρίτων ἀφυλακτουμένων λόγων τὸν συμμιγῆ καταπαύσας ἐγὼ θόρυβον, Ἄνδρες, εἶπον, ἑταῖροι, τῆς κατὰ κόσμον ἔχεσθε ζητήσεως, ὡς εὐπρεπῆς νόμος ἐστὶν παιδείας. ἀπαλλαγέντες οὖν τῆς ἀτάκτου καὶ πέρας οὐδὲν ἐχούσης φιλονεικίας ἐν μέρει ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐκάτερος ἀποτείνασθε· καὶ γὰρ οὐδέπω καιρὸς ἐπὶ ναῦν ἀπιέναι· τῇ δὲ σχολῇ καταχρηστέον εἰς ἰλαρίαν καὶ μετὰ τέρψεως ὠφελῆσαι

¹ sic codd.: μηδ' ἐν τῷ θήλει πρόσθεν edd.: μηδ' ἔμπροσθεν L. A. Post.

his amorous embraces were seen after day came and the goddess had that blemish to prove what she'd suffered. The youth concerned is said, according to the popular story told, to have hurled himself over a cliff or down into the waves of the sea and to have vanished utterly.

17. While the temple-woman was recounting this, Charicles interrupted her account with a shout and said, "Women therefore inspire love even when made of stone. But what would have happened if we had seen such beauty alive and breathing? Would not that single night have been valued as highly as the sceptre of Zeus?"

But Callicratidas smiled and said, "We don't know as yet, Charicles, whether we won't hear many stories of this sort when we come to Thespieae. Even now in this we have a clear proof of the truth about the Aphrodite whom you hold in such esteem."

When Charicles asked how this was, I thought Callicratidas made a very convincing reply. For he said that, although the love-struck youth had seized the chance to enjoy a whole uninterrupted night and had complete liberty to glut his passion, he nevertheless made love to the marble as though to a boy, because, I'm sure, he didn't want to be confronted by the female parts. This occasioned much snarling argument, till I put an end to the confusion and uproar by saying, "Friends, you must keep to orderly enquiry, as is the proper habit of educated people. You must therefore make an end of this disorderly, inconclusive contentiousness and each in turn exert yourself to defend your own opinion; for it's not yet the time to leave for the ship, and we

δυναμένην σπουδήν. ὑπεκστάντες οὖν τοῦ νεῶ
—πολὺς γὰρ ὁ κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἐπιφοιτῶν—εἰς ἓν τι
τῶν συμποσίων ἀποκλίνωμεν, ὅπως δι' ἡρεμίας
ἀκούειν τε καὶ λέγειν ἄττ' ἂν ἡ βουλομένοις ἐξῆ.
μέμνησθε δὲ ὡς ὁ τήμερον ἡττηθεὶς οὐκέτ' αὐθις
ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν ἴσων διοχλήσει.

18. καλῶς δ' ἔδοξα ταῦτα λέγειν καὶ συγκαταίνε-
σάντων ἐξῆειμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἠδόμενος οὐδεμιᾶς με πιε-
ζούσης φροντίδος, οἶδ' ἐπὶ συννοίας μεγάλην ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
σκέψιν ἄνω καὶ κάτω κυκλοῦντες ὡς περὶ τῆς προπομ-
πίας ἀγωνιούμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκομεν εἰς τι
συνηρεφές καὶ παλίνσκιον ὦρα θέρους ἀναπανστήριον,
'Ἡδύς, εἰπῶν, ὁ τόπος, ἐγώ, καὶ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κορυφὴν
λιγυρὸν ὑπήχουσι¹ τέττιγες, ἐν μέσῳ πάνυ δικα-
στικῶς καθεζόμεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς² ὀφρύσιν τῆς
'Ἡλιαίαν ἔχων. προθεῖς³ δ' ἀμφοτέροις κλήτρον
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τίνα χρῆ πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ Χαρι-
κλῆς ἐλελόγχει πρότερον, εὐθὺς ἐνάρχεσθαι τοῦ
λόγου διεκελευσάμην.

19. ὁ δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνατρέψας ἡσυχῆ
καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ἄρχεται τῆδέ πη, Σέ, δέσποινα,
τῶν ὑπὲρ σοῦ λόγων, Ἀφροδίτη, σέ βοηθὸν αἰ ἔμαι
δεήσεις καλοῦσιν· ἅπαντι μὲν γὰρ ἔργῳ κἄν βραχὺ
τῆς ἰδίας πειθοῦς ἐπιστάξης, τελειότατόν ἐστιν, οἶ δ'
ἔρωτικοὶ λόγοι περιπτῶς σοῦ δέονται· σὺ γὰρ αὐτῶν

¹ ὑπήχουσι recs.: ὑπερηχουσι ΓΕ: cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*,
230 C.

² ἐπὶ ταῖς Jacobs: ἐπ' αὐταῖς codd.: ἐπ' αὐταῖς ταῖς tentavi.

³ προθεῖς recs.: προσθεῖς ΓΕ.

¹ See c. 12 fin.

must employ that free time for enjoyment and also
for such serious matters as can combine pleasure and
profit. Therefore let us leave the temple, since great
numbers of the pious are coming in, and let us turn
aside into one of the feasting-places,¹ so that we can
have peace and quiet to hear and to say whatever
we wish. But remember that he who is vanquished
will never again vex our ears on similar topics."

18. This suggestion of mine pleased them and after
they had agreed to it we left the temple. I was
enjoying myself as I was weighed down by no cares,
but they were rolling mighty cogitations up and down
in their thoughts, as though they were about to
compete for the leading place in the processions at
Plataea.² When we had come to a thickly shaded
spot that afforded relief for the summer heat, I said,
"This is a pleasant place, for the cicadas chirp
melodiously overhead." Then I sat down between
them in right judicial manner, bearing on my brows
all the gravity of the Heliae³ itself. When I had
suggested to them that I should draw lots to decide
who should speak first, and Charicles had drawn this
privilege, I bade him begin the debate at once.

19. He rubbed his brow lightly with his hand and
after a short pause began as follows: "To you,
Aphrodite, my queen, do my prayers appeal to give
help in my advocacy of your cause. For every
enterprise attains complete perfection if you shed on
it but the faintest degree of the arts of persuasion that
are your very own; but discourses on love have
particular need of you. For you are their only true

² Ceremonies held at Plataea in Boeotia to celebrate the
defeat of the Persians there in 479 B.C. For details see
Pausanias 9.2.5.

³ The chief law-court of Athens.

γνησιωτάτη μήτηρ. ἴθι δὴ γυναιξὶν συνήγορος ἢ θήλεια, χάρισαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μένειν ἄρρεσιν, ὡς ἐγεννήθησαν. ἔγωγ' οὖν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου τὴν προμήτορα καὶ πάσης γενέσεως πρωτόρριζον ὦν ἀξιώ μάρτυρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἱεράν τῶν ὄλων φύσιν, ἣ τὰ πρῶτα πηξαμένη στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου γῆν ἀέρα πῦρ ὕδωρ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα τούτων ἐπικράσει πᾶν ἐζωογονήσεν ἔμφυχον. ἐπισταμένη δ' ὅτι θνητῆς ἐσμέν ὕλης δημιουργήματα καὶ βραχὺς χρόνος ὁ τοῦ ζῆν ἐκάστω καθείμαρται, τὴν ἐτέρου φθορὰν ἄλλου γένεσιν ἐμηχανήσατο καὶ τῷ θνήσκοντι τὸ τικτόμενον ἀντεμέτρησεν, ἵνα ταῖς παρ' ἀλλήλων διαδοχαῖς εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ζῶμεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν ἄπορον ἐξ ἐνός τι γεννᾶσθαι, διπλῆν ἐν ἐκάστω φύσιν ἐμηχανήσατο· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄρρεσιν ἰδίας καταβολὰς σπερμάτων χαρισαμένη, τὸ θῆλυ δ' ὥσπερ γονῆς τοῦ δοχείου [ἀγγείου]¹ ἀποφήνασα, κοινὸν οὖν ἀμφοτέρω γένει πόθον ἐγκερασαμένη συνζεύξεν ἀλλήλους, θεσμὸν ἀνάγκης ὅσιον καταγράψασα μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ἐκάτερον, καὶ μήτε τὸ θῆλυ παρὰ φύσιν ἀρρενοῦσθαι μήτε τᾶρρεν ἀρρεπῶς μαλακίζεσθαι. διὰ τοῦθ' αἰ σὺν γυναιξὶν ἀνδρῶν ὀμιλία μέχρι δεῦρο τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀθανάτοις διαδοχαῖς φυλάττουσιν· οὐδεὶς δ' ἀνὴρ ἀπ' ἀνδρός αὐχεῖ γενέσθαι. δυοῖν δ' ὀνομάτοιιν σεβασμίον πᾶσαι τιμαὶ μένουσιν.² ἐξ ἴσου πατρὶ μητέρα προσκυνούντων.

20. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἔθ' ἡρωικὰ φρονῶν ὁ βίος καὶ τὴν γείτονα θεῶν σέβων ἀρετὴν οἷς ἐνομοθέτησεν

¹ δοχείον ἀγγείου ΓΕ: alterutrum verbum om. recce.

² μέλουσιν ΓΕ¹.

mother. Come, you who are the most feminine of all, plead the cause of womankind, and of your grace allow men to remain male, as they were born to be. Therefore do I at the very outset of my discourse call as witness to back my plea the first mother and earliest root of every creature, that sacred origin of all things, I mean, who in the beginning established earth, air, fire and water, the elements of the universe, and, by blending these with each other, brought to life everything that has breath. Knowing that we are something created from perishable matter and that the life-time assigned each of us by fate is but short, she contrived that the death of one thing should be the birth of another and meted out fresh births to compensate for what dies, so that by replacing one another we live for ever. But, since it was impossible for anything to be born from but a single source, she devised in each species two types. For she allowed males as their peculiar privilege to ejaculate semen, and made females to be a vessel as it were for the reception of seed, and, imbuing both sexes with a common desire, she linked them to each other, ordaining as a sacred law of necessity that each should retain its own nature and that neither should the female grow unnaturally masculine nor the male be unbecomingly soft. For this reason the intercourse of men with women has till this day preserved the life of men by an undying succession, and no man can boast he is the son only of a man; no, people pay equal homage to their mother and to their father, and all honours are still retained equally by these two revered names.

20. In the beginning therefore, since human life was still full of heroic thought and honoured the

ἡ φύσις ἐπιθάρχει, καὶ καθ' ἡλικίας μέτρα γυναιξὶ ζευγνύμενοι γενναίων πατέρες ἐγίνοντο τέκνων· κατὰ μικρὸν δ' ὁ χρόνος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ μεγέθους ἐς τὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς καταβαίνων βάραθρα ξένας ὁδοὺς καὶ παρηλλαγμένας ἀπολαύσεων ἔτεμνεν. εἶθ' ἡ πάντα τολμῶσα τρυφή τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν παρενόμησεν· καὶ τίς ἄρα πρῶτος ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ ἄρρεν εἶδεν ὡς θῆλυ, δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ τυραννικῶς βιασάμενος ἢ πείσας πανούργως; συνήλθεν δ' εἰς μίαν κοίτην μία φύσις· αὐτοὺς ¹ δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὀρώντες οὐθ' ἂ δρῶσιν οὐθ' ἂ πάσχουσιν ἡδοῦντο, κατὰ πετρῶν δέ, φασίμ, ἀγόνων σπείροντες ² ὀλίγης ἡδονῆς ἀντικατηλλάξαντο μεγάλην ἀδοξίαν.

21. ἐνίοις ³ γε μὴν εἰς τοσοῦτον τυραννικῆς βίας ἡ τόλμα προέκοψεν, ὡς μέχρι σιδήρω τὴν φύσιν ἱεροσυλήσαι· τῶν δ' ἀρρένων τὸ ἄρρεν ἐκκενώσαντες εὖρον ἡδονῆς παρέλκοντα μέτρα. οἱ δ' ἄθλιοι καὶ δυστυχεῖς ἴν' ἐπὶ πλέον ὧσι παῖδες, οὐδὲ ἔτι μένουσιν ἄνδρες, ἀμφίβολον αἰνίγμα διπλῆς φύσεως, οὐτ' εἰς ὁ γεγέννηται φυλαχθέντες οὐτ' ἔχοντες ἐφ' ὁ μετέβησαν· τὸ δ' ἐν νεότητι παραμεῖναν ἄνθος εἰς γῆρας αὐτοὺς μαραίνειν ⁴ πρόωρον. ἅμα γὰρ ἐν παισὶν ἀριθμοῦνται, καὶ γεγηράκασιν οὐδὲν ἀνδρῶν μεταίχιμον ἔχοντες. οὕτως ἢ μιὰ καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ διδάσκαλος τρυφή ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλης ἡδονᾶς ἀναισχύντους ἐπινοοῦσα μέχρι τῆς οὐδὲ ῥηθῆναι

virtues that kept men close to gods, it obeyed the laws made by nature, and men, linking themselves to women according to the proper limits imposed by age, became fathers of sterling children. But gradually the passing years degenerated from such nobility to the lowest depths of hedonism and cut out strange and extraordinary paths to enjoyment. Then luxury, daring all, transgressed the laws of nature herself. And who ever was the first to look at the male as though at a female after using violence like a tyrant or else shameless persuasion? The same sex entered the same bed. Though they saw themselves embracing each other, they were ashamed neither at what they did nor at what they had done to them, and, sowing their seed, to quote the proverb, on barren rocks they bought a little pleasure at the cost of great disgrace.

21. The daring of some men has advanced so far in tyrannical violence as even to wreak sacrilege upon nature with the knife. By depriving males of their masculinity they have found wider ranges of pleasure. But those who become wretched and luckless in order to be boys for longer remain male no longer, being a perplexing riddle of dual gender, neither being kept for the functions to which they have been born nor yet having the thing into which they have been changed. The bloom that has lingered with them in their youth makes them fade prematurely into old age. For at the same moment they are counted as boys and have become old without any interval of manhood. Thus foul self-indulgence, teacher of every wickedness, devising one shameless pleasure after another, has plunged all the way down to that

¹ αὐτοὺς scripsi: αὐτοὺς codd..

² σπείραντες recce., edd..

³ ἐνίοις L. A. Post: εἰποῖς ΓΕ: τοῦτοις recce..

⁴ μαραίνειν ΓΕ: μαραίνει recce., edd..

δυναμένης εὐπρεπῶς ¹ νόσου κατώλισθεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοῆ μέρος ἀσελγείας.

22. εἰ δὲ ἐφ' ὧν ἡ πρόνοια θεσμῶν ἔταξεν ἡμᾶς, ἕκαστος ἴδρυτο, ταῖς μετὰ γυναικῶν ὀμιλίαις ἂν ἠρκούμεθα καὶ παντὸς ὀνειδούς ὁ βίος ἐκαθάρευεν. ἀμέλει παρὰ τοῖς οὐδὲν ἐκ πονηρᾶς διαθέσεως παραχαράξει δυναμένους ζώους ἄχραντος ἢ τῆς φύσεως νομοθεσία φυλάττεται. λέοντες οὐκ ἐπιμαίνονται λέουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ καιρὸν Ἀφροδίτη πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ τὴν ὄρεξιν αὐτῶν ἐκκαλεῖται· ταύρος ἀγελάρχης βουσὶν ἐπιθόρνυται, καὶ κριὸς ὄλην τὴν ποιμνὴν ἄρρενος πληροῖ σπέρματος. τί δέ; οὐ συῶν μὲν εὐνάς μεταδιώκουσιν κάπροι; λυκαῖναις δ' ἐπιμίγνυνται λύκοι; καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν, οὐθ' οἱ ἀέρια βουζοῦντες ὄρνεις οὐθ' ὅσα τὴν ὕγρὰν καθ' ὕδατος εἴληχεν λήξιν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ γῆς τι ζῶον ἄρρενος ὀμιλίας ἐπωρέχθη, μένει δὲ ἀκίνητα τῆς προνοίας τὰ δόγματα. ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ μάτην ἐπὶ τῷ φρονεῖν εὐλογοῦμενοι, θηρίον ὡς ἀληθῶς φαῦλον, ἀνθρωποὶ, τίνι καιρῇ νόσῳ παρανομήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' ἀλλήλων ὕβριν ἠρέβισθε; τίνα τῆς ψυχῆς τυφλὴν ἀναισθησίαν καταχέαντες ἀμφοῖν ἠστοχῆκατε φεύγοντες ἃ διώκειν ἔδει καὶ διώκοντες ἀφ' ὧν ἔδει φεύγειν; καὶ καθ' ἓνα τοιαῦτα ζηλοῦν πάντων ἐλομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἔσται.

23. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Σωκρατικοῖς ὁ θαυμαστός ἀναφέεται λόγος, ὑφ' οὗ παιδικαὶ μὲν ἀκοαὶ τελείων ἐνδεεῖς λογισμῶν φενακίζονται· τὸ δ' ἦδη κατὰ φρόνησιν ἐς ἄκρον ἔχον οὐκ ἂν ὑπαχθῆναι

infection which cannot even be mentioned with decency, in order to leave no area of lust unexplored.

22. If each man abided by the ordinances prescribed for us by Providence, we should be satisfied with intercourse with women and life would be uncorrupted by anything shameful. Certainly, among animals incapable of debasing anything through depravity of disposition the laws of nature are preserved undefiled. Lions have no passion for lions but love in due season evokes in them desire for the females of their kind. The bull, monarch of the herd, mounts cows, and the ram fills the whole flock with seed from the male. Furthermore do not boars seek to lie with sows? Do not wolves mate with she-wolves? And, to speak in general terms, neither the birds whose wings whirl on high, nor the creatures whose lot is a wet one beneath the water nor yet any creatures upon land strive for intercourse with fellow males, but the decisions of Providence remain unchanged. But you who are wrongly praised for wisdom, you beasts truly contemptible, you humans, by what strange infection have you been brought to lawlessness and incited to outrage each other? With what blind insensibility have you engulfed your souls that you have missed the mark in both directions, avoiding what you ought to pursue, and pursuing what you ought to avoid? If each and every man should choose to emulate such conduct, the human race will come to a complete end.

23. But at this point disciples of Socrates can resurrect that wonderful argument by which boys' ears as yet incapable of perfect logic are deceived, though those whose minds have already reached their full powers would not be led astray by them. For

¹ εὐπρεποῦς ΓΕ: corr. recee..

δύναιτο· ψυχῆς γὰρ ἔρωτα πλάττονται καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος εὐμορφον αἰδούμενοι φιλεῖν ἀρετῆς καλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ἔραστὰς. ἐφ' οἷς μοι πολλακίς καυχάζειν ἐπέρχεται. τί γὰρ παθόντες, ὧ σεμνοὶ φιλόσοφοι, τὸ μὲν ἤδη μακρῶ χρόνῳ δεδωκὸς ἑαυτοῦ πείραν ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, ᾧ πολὺὰ προσήκουσα καὶ γῆρας ἀρετῆν μαρτυρεῖ, δι' ὀλιγωρίας παραπέμπετε, πᾶς δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἔρωσ ἐπὶ τὸ ¹ νέον ἐπτόηται, μηδέπω τῶν λογισμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἃ τραπήσονται κρίσιν ἔχόντων; ἢ νόμος ἐστίν, πᾶσαν μὲν ἀμορφίαν πονηρίας εἶναι κατάκριτον, εὐθὺ δ' ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐπαινεῖσθαι τὸν καλόν; ἀλλὰ τοι κατὰ τὸν μέγαν ἀληθείας προφήτην Ὀμηρον

εἰδὸς τις ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ,
ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεισι στέφει, οἱ δέ τ' ἐς αὐτὸν
τερπόμενοι λεύσσοισιν, ὁ δ' ἀσφαλῆως ἀγορευεῖ
αἰδοῖ μιλιχίην, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν·
ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀνὰ ἄστῳ θεὸν ὡς εἰσορόωσιν.

καὶ πάλιν εἶπέ που λέγων·

οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γ' ἐπὶ εἶδει καὶ φρένες ἦσαν.

ἀμέλει τοῦ καλοῦ Νιρέως ὁ σοφὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς πλεόν ἐπαινεῖται.

24. πῶς οὖν φρονήσεως μὲν ἢ δικαιοσύνης τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν, αἱ τελείοις ἀνδράσιν σύγκληρον εἰλήχασιν τάξιν, οὐδεὶς ἔρωσ ἐντρέχει, τὸ δ' ἐν παισὶ κάλλος ὀξυτάτας παθῶν ὄρμας ἐγείρει; πάνυ γοῦν ἐρᾶν ἔδει Φαίδρου διὰ Λυσίαν, ὧ Πλάτων, ὃν προὔδωκεν. ἢ τὴν ἀρετῆν εἰκὸς ἦν Ἀλικιβάδου φιλεῖν,

¹ τὸ τοῦ. : τὸν ΓΕ.

they affect a love for the soul and, being ashamed to pay court to bodily beauty, call themselves lovers of virtue. This often tempts me to cackle with laughter. For what is wrong with you, grave philosophers, that you dismiss with scorn what has now long given proof of its quality, and has witnesses to its virtue in its becoming grey hairs and its old age, whereas all your wise love is captivated by the young though their reasonings cannot yet decide to what course they will turn? Or is there a law that all ugliness should be thought guilty of viciousness but that the handsome should automatically be praised as good? But indeed, to quote Homer, the great prophet of truth,

‘Although one man is worse in looks,
His frame God crowns with speech, and men rejoice
To look at him. Unerring does he speak
With charming modesty, pre-eminent
Amid the assembled men; when through the town
He walks, men look at him as ’twere a god.’ ¹

And again the poet has spoken with these words:

‘You did not then have wits to add to looks.’ ²

Indeed wise Odysseus is praised more than handsome Nireus.

24. How is it then that through you courses no love for wisdom or for justice and the other virtues which have in their allotted station the company of full-grown men, while beauty in boys excites the most ardent fires of passion in you? No doubt, Plato, one ought to have loved Phaedrus for the sake of Lysias whom he betrayed! Or would it have been

¹ Homer, *Odyssey* VIII. 169-173.

² Homer, *Odyssey* XVII. 454.

διότι ἠκρωτηρίαζετο τὰ¹ θεῶν ἀγάλματα καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίῳ τελετὴν αἰπαρὰ πότον ἐξωρχοῦντο² φωναί; τίς ἐραστής ὁμολογεῖ γενέσθαι προδομένον Ἀθηῶν καὶ Δεκελείας ἐπιτεριζομένης καὶ βίου τυραννίδα βλέποντος; ἀλλ' ἄχρι μὲν οὐδέπω κατὰ τὸν ἱερόν Πλάτωνα πώγωνος ἐπίμπλατο, πᾶσιν ἐπέραστος ἦν· μεταβάς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα, καθ' ἣν ἡλικίαν ἢ τέως ἀτελής φρόνησις ὀλόκληρον εἶχε τὸν λογισμόν, ὑπὸ πάντων ἐμισεῖτο. τί δὴ; πάθεισιν αἰσχροῖς ὀνομάτων ἐπιγράφοντες αἰδῶ ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν λέγουσι τὴν σώματος εὐπρέπειαν οἱ φιλόνοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν φιλαπεχθημόνως μνημονεύειν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

25. Μικρὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν σπουδῆς, ὦ Καλλικρατίδα, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν καταβάς ἠδονὴν ἐπιδείξω παιδικῆς χρόσεως πολὺ τὴν γυναικεῖαν ἀμείνω. καὶ τό γε πρῶτον ἐγὼ πᾶσαν ἀπόλαυσιν ἡγοῦμαι τερπνοτέραν εἶναι τὴν χρονιωτέραν· ὀξεία γὰρ ἠδονὴ παραπτᾶσα φθάνει πρὶν ἢ γνωσθῆναι πεπαυμένη, τὸ δ' εὐφραῖνον ἐν τῷ παρέλκοντι κρεῖττον. ὡς εἶθε καὶ βίου μακρὰς προθεσμίας ἢ μικρολόγος ἡμῖν ἐπέκλωσεν Μοῖρα καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦν διηνεκῆς ὑγεία μηδεμῆς λύτης τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκνεμομένης· ἑορτὴν γὰρ ἂν

¹ τὰ om. ΓΕ: ἠκρωτηρίαζε τὰ edd..

² ἐξωρχοῦντο rec.: ἐξορχοῦνται ΓΕ.

¹ Alcibiades was recalled from the Athenian expedition to Sicily to face a charge of mutilating images of the god Hermes at Athens; he was also rumoured to have indulged in a drunken parody of the Eleusinian Mysteries and to be

right to love the virtue of Alcibiades¹ because he would mutilate statues of the gods and his drunken cries parodied the initiation rites of Eleusis? Who admits to having been in love with the betrayal of Athens, the fortification of Decelea against her, and a life that set its sights on tyranny? But, as godlike Plato says,² as long as his beard was not yet fully grown, he was beloved by all. But, after he had passed from boyhood to manhood, during the years when his hitherto immature intellect now had its full powers of reason, he was hated by all. What follows? That it is lovers of youth rather than of wisdom who give honourable names to dishonourable passions and call physical beauty virtue of the soul. But lest I be thought to mention famous men only to vent my hatred, let me say no more on this topic.

25. To quit this highly serious plane and descend somewhat to your level of pleasure, Callicratidas, I shall show that the services rendered by a woman are far superior to those of a boy. In the first place I consider that all kinds of enjoyment give greater delight if of longer duration. For swift pleasure flits by and is gone before we can recognise it, but delights are enhanced by being prolonged. How I wish that stingy fate had allotted us long terms of life and it consisted entirely of unbroken good health with no grief preying on our minds. For then we should

aiming at an oligarchical revolution or perhaps even a personal tyranny. However he escaped to Sparta and did Athens a great disservice by suggesting to them the idea of Decelea, the fortified post they established in Attica. See Thucydides vi. 27-29, 53, 61, 91.

² Plato, *Protagoras*, *init.* Cf. Homer, *Iliad* XXIV. 348.

καὶ πανήγυριν τὸν ὄλον χρόνον ἤγομεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν ὁ βάσκανος δαίμων ἐνεμέσησεν, ἔν γε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἤδιστα τὰ παρέλκοντα. γυνὴ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ παρθένου μέχρι μέσης ἡλικίας, πρὶν ἢ τελέως τὴν ἐσχάτην ρυτίδα τοῦ¹ γήρωσ ἐπιδραμεῖν, εὐάγκαλον ἀνδράσιν ὀμίλημα, κἄν παρέλθῃ τὰ τῆς ὥρας, ὅμως

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ἔχει τι λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφώτερον.

26. εἰ δ' εἵκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀποπειρῶν παῖδά τις, αὐτὸς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ πασχρητιᾶν ἀμφίβολον Ἄφροδίτην μεταδιώκων· σκληροὶ γὰρ οἱ τῶν μελῶν ἀπανδρωθέντες ὄγκοι καὶ τραχὺ μὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ πάλοι μαλακοῦ πεκασθὲν ἰούλοις τὸ γένειον, οἱ δ' εὐφυεῖς μηροὶ θριξίν ὡσπερὶ ρυπῶντες· ἃ δ' ἐστὶ τούτων ἀφανέστερα, τοῖς πεπειρακόσιν ὑμῖν εἰδέναι παρήμι. γυναικὶ δὲ αἰεὶ πάση ἢ τοῦ χρώματος ἐπιστίλβει χάρις, καὶ δαψιλεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς βοστρύχων ἔλικες ὑακίνθους τὸ καλὸν ἀνθοῦσιν ὅμοια πορφύροντες οἱ μὲν ἐπινώτιοι κέχυνται μεταφρένων κόσμος, οἱ δὲ παρ' ὠτα καὶ κροτάφους πολὺ τῶν ἐν λειμῶνι οὐλότεροι σελίνων. τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα μηδ' ἀκαρῆ τριχὸς αὐταῖς ὑποφουμένης ἡλέκτρον, φασίν, ἢ Σιδωνίας ὑέλου διαφεγγέστερον ἀπαστράπτει.

27. τί δ' οὐχὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τὰς ἀντιπαθεῖς μεταδιωκτέον, ἐπειδὴν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς διατιθεῖσιν² οἱ πάσχοντες εὐφραίνονται; σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐ κατὰ

¹ τοῦ om. ΓΕ.

² διατεθεισῶν codd.: corr. Gesner.

¹ Euripides, *Phoemissae* 529-530.

² Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* VI. 231.

spend all our days in feasting and holiday. But, since envious Fortune has grudged us these greater benefits, amongst those that we have the sweetest are those that last. Thus from maidenhood to middle age, before the time when the last wrinkles of old age finally spread over her face, a woman is a pleasant armful for a man to embrace, and, even if the beauty of her prime is past, yet

“With wiser tongue

Experience doth speak than can the young.”¹

26. But the very man who should make attempts on a boy of twenty seems to me to be unnaturally lustful and pursuing an equivocal love. For then the limbs, being large and manly, are hard, the chins that once were soft are rough and covered with bristles, and the well-developed thighs are as it were sullied with hairs. And as for the parts less visible than these, I leave knowledge of them to you who have tried them! But ever does her attractive skin give radiance to every part of a woman and her luxuriant ringlets of hair, hanging down from her head, bloom with a dusky beauty that rivals the hyacinths,² some of them streaming over her back to grace her shoulders, and others over her ears and temples curlier by far than the celery in the meadow. But the rest of her person has not a hair growing on it and shines more pellucidly than amber, to quote the proverb, or Sidonian crystal.

27. But why do we not pursue those pleasures that are mutual and bring equal delight to the passive and to the active partners? For, generally speaking, unlike irrational animals we do not find solitary

ταῦτά τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις τὰς μονήρεις διατριβὰς ἀσμενίζομεν, ἀλλὰ πῶς φιλεταίρω κοινωνία συζυγέ-
τες ἡδῶν τά τε ἀγαθὰ σὺν ἀλλήλοις ἡγούμεθα καὶ τὰ
δυσχερῆ κουφότερα μετ' ἀλλήλων. ὅθεν εὐρέθη
τράπεζα κοινή· καὶ φιλίας μεσῖτιν ἐστὶν¹ παραθέ-
μενοι γαστρὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἀπομετροῦμεν ἀπό-
λαυσιν, οὐ μόνοι² τὸν Θάσιον, εἰ τύχοι, πίνοντες
οἶνον οὐδὲ καθ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πολυτελῶν πιμπλάμενοι
σιτιῶν, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ τερπνὸν ἐκάστω τὸ μετ' ἄλλου,
καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς κοινωνάμενοι μᾶλλον εὐφραυνόμεθα.
αἱ μὲν γυναικεῖοι σύνοδοι τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ἀντίδοσιν
ὁμοίαν ἔχουσιν· ἀλλήλους γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου διαθέντες
ἡδέως ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰ γε μὴ δικαστῆ Τειρεσίᾳ
προσεκτέον, ὅτι ἡ θήλεια τέρψις ὅλη μοῖρα πλεονεκ-
τεῖ τὴν ἄρρενα. καλὸν δ' οἶμαι, μὴ φιλαύτως
ἀπολαῦσαι θελήσαντας, ὅπως ἰδίᾳ τι χρηστὸν
ἀποῖονται σκοπεῖν ὄλην παρά του λαμβάνοντας³
ἡδονήν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μερισαμένους οὐ τυγχάνουσι
ἀντιπαρασχεῖν ὅμοια. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ παῖδων
εἴποι τις, οὐχ οὕτω μέμνηεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν διαθεῖς, ἢ⁴
νομίζει ποτέ ταῦτα, τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐξαίρετον λαβῶν
ἀπέρχεται, τῷ δὲ ὑβρισμένῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν
ὀδύναι καὶ δάκρυα, μικρὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου τῆς
ἀλγηδόνης χαλασάσης πλέον, ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν
ὀχλήσειας, ἡδονὴ δ' οὐδ' ἤτισούν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ
περιεργότερον εἰπεῖν—δεῖ δὲ ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃς τεμένει
—γυναικὶ μὲν, ὧ Καλλικρατίδα, καὶ παιδικώτερον
χρῶμενον ἔξεστιν εὐφρανθῆναι διπλασίας ἀπολαύ-

existences acceptable, but we are linked by a sociable
fellowship and consider blessings sweeter and hard-
ships lighter when shared. Hence was instituted the
table that is shared, and, setting before us the board
that is the mediator of friendship, we mete out to our
bellies the enjoyment due to them, not drinking
Thasian wine, for example, by ourselves, or stuffing
ourselves with expensive dishes on our own, but each
man thinks pleasant what he enjoys along with
another, and in sharing our pleasures we find greater
enjoyment. Now men's intercourse with women
involves giving like enjoyment in return. For the
two sexes part with pleasure only if they have had an
equal effect on each other—unless we ought rather
to heed the verdict of Tiresias¹ that the woman's
enjoyment is twice as great as the man's. And I
think it honourable for men not to wish for a
selfish pleasure or to seek to gain some private
benefit by receiving from anyone the sum total of
enjoyment, but to share what they obtain and to
requite like with like. But no one could be so mad
as to say this in the case of boys. No, the active
lover, according to his view of the matter, departs
after having obtained an exquisite pleasure, but the
one outraged suffers pain and tears at first, though
the pain relents somewhat with time and you will,
men say, cause him no further discomfort, but of
pleasure he has none at all. And, if I may make a
rather far-fetched point, but one I should make as we
are in the precinct of Aphrodite, a woman, Callierati-
das, may be used like a boy, so that one can have
enjoyment by opening up two paths to pleasure, but

¹ Cf. *Dialogues of the Dead*, 9.

¹ ἐστὶν ΓΕ: τράπεζαν recc., edd.. ² μόνοι ΓΕ: corr. recc..

³ λαμβάνουσι . . . ἐκείνω . . . ἀντιπαρασχόν ΓΕ: corr. recc..

⁴ διαθεῖς ἢ Ε^α recc.: διαθήσει ΓΕ.

σεως ὁδοὺς ἀνύσαντα,¹ τὸ δὲ ἄρρεν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ
χαρίζεται θήλειαν ἀπόλαυσιν.

28. ὥστ' εἰ <ῆ>² μὲν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀρέσκειν δύναται,³
πρὸς ἀλλήλους δὴ⁴ ἡμεῖς ἀποτειχισώμεθα, εἰ δὲ
τοῖς ἄρρεσιν εὐπρεπεῖς αἱ μετὰ ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαι, πρὸς
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐράτωσαν ἀλλήλων καὶ γυναῖκες. ἄγε νῦν,
ὦ νεώτερε χρόνε καὶ τῶν ξένων ἡδονῶν νομοθέτα,
καινὰς ὁδοὺς ἄρρενος τρυφῆς ἐπινοήσας χάρισαι τὴν
ἴσην ἐξουσίαν καὶ γυναιξίν, καὶ⁵ ἀλλήλαις ὁμιλησά-
τωσαν ὡς ἄνδρες· ἀσελγῶν δὲ ὀργάνων ὑποζυγώσα-
μναι τέχνασμα, ἀσπόρων⁶ τεράστιον αἴνιγμα, κοιμά-
σθωσαν γυνὴ μετὰ γυναικὸς ὡς ἀνὴρ· τὸ δὲ εἰς ἀκοὴν
σπανίως ἦκον ὄνομα—αἰσχύνομαι καὶ λέγειν—τῆς
τριβακῆς ἀσελγείας ἀνέδην πομπευέτω. πᾶσα δ'
ἡμῶν ἢ γυναικωνίτις ἔστω Φιλαινὶς ἀνδρογύνου
ἔρωτας ἀσχημονοῦσα. καὶ πόσῳ κρεῖττον εἰς ἄρρενα
τρυφὴν βιάζεσθαι γυναῖκα ἢ τὸ γενναῖον ἀνδρῶν
εἰς γυναῖκα θηλύνεσθαι;

29. Τοιαῦτα συντόμως μεταξὺ παθαινόμενος ὁ
Χαρικλῆς ἐπαύσατο δεῖνόν τι καὶ θηριώδες ἐν τοῖς
ὄμμασιν ὑποβλέπων. ἐώκει δέ μοι καὶ καθαρσίῳ
χρησθαι πρὸς τοὺς παιδικούς ἔρωτας. ἐγὼ δὲ
ἡσυχῇ μειδιάσας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἡρέμα τῷ
ὀφθαλμῷ παραβαλὼν, Παιδιᾶς, ἔφην, καὶ γέλωτος,

¹ ἀνοίξαντα Γ^a recs.: ἀνύσαντα Γ^E.

² ῆ add. Jacobs.

³ δύναται Γ^E: corr. recs..

⁴ δὴ N: δὲ Γ^E: del. edd..

⁵ καὶ om. Γ^E: add. E².

⁶ ἀσπόρων Γ^E: corr. recs..

¹ A poetess of the fourth century B.C. reputed to have

a male has no way of bestowing the pleasure a woman gives.

28. Therefore, if even men like you, Callicratidas, can find satisfaction in women, let us males fence ourselves off from each other; but, if males find intercourse with males acceptable, henceforth let women too love each other. Come now, epoch of the future, legislator of strange pleasures, devise fresh paths for male lusts, but bestow the same privilege upon women, and let them have intercourse with each other just as men do. Let them strap to themselves cunningly contrived instruments of lechery, those mysterious monstrosities devoid of seed, and let woman lie with woman as does a man. Let wanton Lesbianism—that word seldom heard, which I feel ashamed even to utter—freely parade itself, and let our women's chambers emulate Philaenis,¹ disgracing themselves with Sapphic amours. And how much better that a woman should invade the provinces of male wantonness than that the nobility of the male sex should become effeminate and play the part of a woman!

29. In the midst of this intense and impassioned speech Charicles stopped with a wild fierce glint in his eyes. It seemed to me that he was also regarding his speech as a ceremony of purification against love of boys. But I, laughing quietly and turning my eyes gently towards the Athenian, said, "It was to decide a sportive piece of fun, Callicratidas, that

written a lewd book on amatory postures. The real author may, however, have been the sophist Polycrates. See *Palatine Anthology* 7.345 and note on *Mistaken Critic* 24.

ὦ Καλλικρατίδα, δικαστῆς καθεδεῖσθαι προσδοκήσας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑπὸ τῆς Χαρικλέους δεινότητος ἐπὶ σπουδαιότερον ἦγμαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ περὶ φόνου καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς, ἢ νῆ Δία φαρμάκων ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπερφυῶς ἐπαθήνατο. καιρὸς οὖν ὁ νῦν, εἴ ποτε καὶ πρότερον, ἀπαιτεῖ σε τὰς Ἀθήνας, Περικλείαν δὲ πειθῶ¹ καὶ τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων τὰς Μακεδόσων ἀνθρωπισμένας γλώσσας ἐν² ἐνὶ τῷ σῶ λόγῳ διατρέψαι μῖας τῶν ἐν Πινυκί δημηγοριῶν ἀναμνησθέντι.

30. Μικρὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας—ἐῴκει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου μοι τεκμαιρομένῳ καὶ λίαν ἀγωνίας μεστὸς εἶναι—λόγων ἀμοιβαίων ἐνάρχεται· Εἰ γυναιξὶν ἐκκλησία καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἦν μετουσία, στρατηγὸς ἂν ἦ προστάτης ἐκεχειροτόνησο καὶ σε χαλκῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς, ὦ Χαρίκλεις, ἐτίμων. σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ αὐταὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅποσαι προῦχεν κατὰ σοφίαν ἐδόκουν, εἴ τις αὐταῖς τὴν τοῦ λέγειν ἐξουσίαν ἐφῆκεν, οὕτω μετὰ σπουδῆς ἂν εἶπον, οὐχ ἢ Σπαρτιάταις ἀνθρωπισμένη Τελέσιλλα, δι' ἣν ἐν Ἄργει θεὸς ἀριθμεῖται γυναικῶν Ἄρης· οὐχὶ τὸ μελιχρὸν αὐχῆμα Λεσβίων Σαπφῶ καὶ ἢ τῆς Πυθαγορείου σοφίας θυγάτηρ Θεανῶ· τάχα δ' οὐδὲ

¹ Περικλεῖ δὲ πείθου ΓΕ: Περικλέους (vel Περικλείου) δὲ πειθῶ γεcc..
² ἐν suppl. Gesner.

¹ A high court at Athens.

² The ten whose surrender Alexander demanded. Cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 23.3, Quintilian X. 1.76.

³ A poetess of Argos reputed to have fought against Cleomenes and his Spartans.

I expected to sit as umpire, but somehow or other thanks to Charicles' vehemence I've been brought to face a more serious task. For he has shown an extraordinary degree of passion almost as though he were in the Areopagus¹ contesting a case of murder or arson or indeed poisoning. Therefore the present moment, if any time ever did, demands that you should recall one of the speeches made to the people in the Pnyx and in this one speech of yours should expend all the resources of Athens, of Periclean persuasiveness and of the tongues of the ten orators which were marshalled against the Macedonians."²

30. After waiting for a moment Callicratidas, who, judging from his expression, appeared to me to be most full of fight, began to discourse in his turn and said: "If the assembly and the law-courts were open to women and they could participate in politics, you would have been elected their general or their champion and they would have honoured you, Charicles, with bronze statues in the market-places. For hardly even those among them thought pre-eminent for wisdom could, if given full authority to speak, have spoken about themselves with such zeal, no, not even Telesilla,³ who armed herself against the Spartiates, and because of whom Ares is numbered at Argos among the gods of the women, no nor Sappho, the honey-sweet pride of Lesbos or Theand,⁴ that daughter of Pythagorean wisdom! Perhaps even

⁴ A Pythagorean philosopher and therefore Pythagoras' daughter in spirit. She is usually described as the wife of Pythagoras. Her father's name is given as either Pythonax or Brontinus. Cf. Diogenes Laertius 8.42.

Περικλῆς οὕτως ἂν Ἀσπασία συνηγόρησεν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ εὐπρεπὲς ἄρρενας ὑπὲρ θηλειῶν λέγειν, εἴπωμεν καὶ ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν. σὺ δὲ ἴλεως, Ἀφροδίτη, γενοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν σὸν Ἔρωτα τιμῶμεν.

31. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐνόμιζον ἄχρι παιδιᾶς ἰλαρὰν τὴν ἔριν ἡμῶν προκόψαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν ἐπενοήθησαν, ἀσμένως τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἤρπακα· μόνος γὰρ ὁ ἄρρην ἔρωσ κοινὸν ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐστὶν ἔργον. εὐξαίμην γάρ,¹ εἴπερ ἦν ἐν δυνατῶ, τὴν ἐπήκοόν ποτε τῶν Σωκρατικῶν λόγων πλατάνιστον, Ἀκαδημίας καὶ Λυκείου δένδρον εὐτυχέστερον, ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν ἐστάναι πεφυκυῖαν, ἐνθ' ἡ Φαίδρου προσανάκλισις ἦν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἱερός εἶπεν ἀνὴρ πλείστων ἀψάμενος χαρίτων· αὐτὴ τάχα ἂν ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ φηγὸς ἐκ τῶν ὀροδάμνων² ἱερὰν ἀπορρήξασα φωνὴν τοὺς παιδικοὺς εὐφήμεσεν ἔρωτας ἔτι τοῦ καλοῦ μεμνημένῃ Φαίδρου. πληὴν ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἀμήχανον,

ἢ γὰρ πολλὰ μεταξὺ
οὔρεά τε σκίοεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχῆεσσα,

ξένοι τε ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας γῆς ἀπειλήμμεθα καὶ πλεονέκτημα Χαρικλέους ἐστὶν ἢ Κνίδος, ὅμως τάληθές οὐ προδώσομεν νικηθέντες³ ὄκνω.

32. μόνον ἡμῖν σὺ, δαῖμον οὐράνιε, καιρίως παράσθηθι φιλίας εὐγνώμων, ἱεροφάντα μυστηρίων

¹ γάρ ΓΕ: γὰρ ἂν rec., edd..

² ὀροδάμνων (vel —ων) codd.: corr. edd..

³ νικηθέντες ΓΕ: γρ. εἴξαντες Ε.

Pericles could not have pleaded equally well for Aspasia. But, since it is not improper for men to speak on behalf of women, let us men also speak on behalf of men; and you, Aphrodite, be propitious. For we too honour your son, Eros.

31. I thought that our merry contest had gone as far as jest allowed but, since Charicles in his discourse has been minded also to wax philosophical on behalf of women, I have gladly seized my opportunity; for love of males, I say, is the only activity combining both pleasure and virtue. For I would pray that near us, if it were possible, grew that plane-tree which once heard the words of Socrates, a tree more fortunate than the Academy and the Lyceum, the tree against which Phaedrus leaned, as we are told by that holy man¹ endowed with more graces than any other. Perhaps like the oak at Dodona, that sent its sacred voice bursting forth from its branches, that tree itself, still remembering the beauty of Phaedrus, would have spoken in praise of love of boys. But that is impossible,

“For in between there lies
Many a shady mountain and the roaring sea,”²

and we are strangers cut off in a foreign land, and Cnidus gives Charicles the advantage. Nevertheless we shall not be overcome by fear and betray the truth.

32. Only do you, heavenly spirit, lend me seasonable help, you kindly hierophant of the mysteries of friendship, Eros, who are no mischievous infant as

¹ Plato. Cf. *Phaedrus*, 229 B.

² Homer, *Iliad* I. 156-157.

"Ἐρως, οὐ κακὸν νήπιον ὅποιον ζωγράφων παΐζουσι¹ χεῖρες, ἀλλ' ὄν ἡ πρωτοσπόρος ἐγέννησεν ἀρχὴ τέλειον εὐθὺ τεχθέντα· σὺ γὰρ ἐξ ἀφανοῦς καὶ κεχυμένης ἀμορφίας τὸ πᾶν ἐμόρφωσας. ὥσπερ οὖν ὅλου κόσμου τάφον τινὰ κοιὸν ἀφελὼν τὸ περικείμενον χάος ἐκείνο μὲν ἐς ἐσχάτους² Ταρτάρου μυχοῦς ἐφυγάδευσας, ἔνθα ὡς ἀληθῶς

σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,

ὅπως ὑπ' ἀρρήκτου δεθὲν φρουρᾶς τῆς ἔμπαλιν ὁδοῦ εἴργηται· λαμπρῶ δὲ φωτὶ τὴν ἀμαυρὰν νύκτα πετάσας παντὸς ἀψύχου τε καὶ ψυχῆν ἔχοντος ἐγένου δημιουργός· ἐξάιρετον δὲ ἐγκεράσας ὁμόνοιαν ἀνθρώποις τὰ σεμνὰ φιλίας πάθη συνῆψας, ἵν' ἐξ ἀκάκου καὶ ἀπαλῆς ἔτι ψυχῆς ἡ εὐνοια συνεκτρεφόμενη πρὸς τὸ τέλειον ἀνδρῶται.

33. γάμοι μὲν γὰρ διαδοχῆς ἀναγκαίας εὐρηνται φάρμακα, μόνος δὲ ὁ ἄρρη ἐρως φιλοσόφου καλὸν ἐστι ψυχῆς ἐπίταγμα. πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἡσκημένοις ἔπεται τιμὴ πλείων ἢ ὅσα τῆς παραυτὰ χρείας ἐπιδείται, καὶ πάντῃ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τὸ καλὸν κρείττον. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν ἀμαθῆς ὁ βίος ἦν οὐδέπω τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν πείρας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον εὐσχολῶν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα συνεστέλλετο, τῆς δὲ ἀγαθῆς διαίτης ἐπείγων ὁ χρόνος οὐ παρέσχευ εὐρεσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐσπευσμένοι³ χρεῖαι πέρας εἶχον, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἀεὶ λογισμοὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀφεβήντες ἠυκαίρου

¹ ὅποια . . . παΐζουσαι ΓΕ: corr. recce..

² ἐσχάτου codd.: corr. Jacobs.

³ ἐσπευμένοι ΓΕ: corr. E^a.

painters light-heartedly portray you, but were already full-grown at your birth, when brought forth by the earliest source of all life. For you gave shape to everything out of dark confused shapelessness. As though you had removed a tomb burying the whole universe alike, you banished that chaos which enveloped it to the recesses of farthest Tartarus, where in truth,

"Are gates of iron and thresholds of bronze,"¹

so that, chained in an impregnable prison, it may be denied any return. Spreading bright light over gloomy night you became the creator of all things both with and without life. But compounding for mortals the special gift of harmony of mind, you united their hearts with the holy sentiment of friendship, so that goodwill might grow in souls still innocent and tender and come to perfect maturity.

33. For marriage is a remedy invented to ensure man's necessary perpetuity, but only love for males is a noble duty enjoined by a philosophic spirit. Anything cultivated for aesthetic reasons in the midst of abundance is accompanied with greater honour than things which require for their existence immediate need, and beauty is in every way superior to necessity. Thus, as long as human life remained unsophisticated and the daily struggle for existence left it no leisure for improving itself, men were content to limit themselves to bare necessities, and the urgency of their day did not allow them to discover the proper way to live. But, once pressing needs were at an end and the thoughts of each succeeding generation had been released from the

¹ *Iliad*, VIII. 15.

ἐπινοεῖν τι τῶν κρειττόνων, ἐκ τούτου¹ κατ' ὀλιγον ἐπιστῆμαι συνηύζοντο. τοῦτο δ' ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντελεστέρων τεχνῶν ἔνεστιν εἰκάζειν. αὐτίκα πρῶτοί τινες ἀνθρώποι γενόμενοι τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν λιμοῦ φάρμακον ἐξήτουν, εἶθ' ἄλισκόμενοι τῇ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐνδεία, τῆς ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐώσης ἐλέσθαι τὸ βέλτιον, τὴν εἰκαίαν πόαν ἐστούντο καὶ μαλθακὰς ῥίζας ὀρύττοντες καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα δρυὸς καρπὸν ἐσθίοντες. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀλόγοις ζώοις μετὰ χρόνον ἐρρίφη, σπόρον δὲ πυροῦ καὶ κριθῆς εἶδον αἱ γεωργῶν ἐπιμέλεια εὐρουσα κατ' ἔτος ἐκνεάζοντα. καὶ οὐδὲ μαεῖς ἂν εἴποι τις ὅτι δρυὸς στάχους ἀμείνων.

34. τί δ'; οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐθὺ τοῦ βίου σκέπης δεηθέντες ἀνθρώποι νάκη, θηρία δείραντες, ἡμφιέσαντο; καὶ σπήλυγγας ὀρῶν κρύους καταδύσεις ἐπενόησαν ἢ παλαιῶν² ῥιζῶν ἢ φυτῶν αὐα κοιλιώματα; τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων μίμησιν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον αἰετὰ μεταγόντες ὕφηναν μὲν ἑαυτοῖς χλανίδας, οἴκους δὲ ὤκισαντο, καὶ λεληθότως αἱ περὶ ταῦτα τέχνηαι τὸν χρόνον λαβοῦσαι διδάσκαλον ἀντὶ μὲν λιτῆς ὑφῆς τὸ κάλλιον ἐποίκιλαν, ἀντὶ δὲ εὐτελῶν δωματίων ὑψηλὰ τερέμνα καὶ λίθων πολυτέλειαν ἐμχανήσαντο καὶ γυμνῆν τοίχων ἀμορφίαν εὐανθέσι βαφαῖς χρωμάτων κατέγραψαν. πλὴν ἐκάστη γε τούτων τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν ἄφωνος οὐσα καὶ βαθεῖαν ἐπιτεθειμένη λήθην ὡς ἀπὸ μακρᾶς³

¹ ἐκ τοῦ ΓΕ: corr. recs..

² πάλαι codd.: corr. edd..

³ μακρᾶς ΓΕ.

¹ Presumably acorns of species other than the *Valonia* oak (*Quercus Aegilops*) which has edible acorns.

shackles of necessity so that they had leisure ever to devise higher things, from that time the arts gradually began to develop. What this process was like we may judge from the more perfected of the crafts. Right from the moment of their birth the earliest men had to search for a remedy against their daily hunger, and, under the duress of immediate need, prevented by their helplessness from choosing what was better, fed on any chance herb, digging up tender roots and eating mostly the fruit of the oak.¹ But after a time this was cast before brute animals, and the careful husbandmen discovered how to sow wheat and barley and saw these renew themselves every year. And not even a madman would maintain that the fruit of the oak is superior to the ear of grain.

34. Moreover, did not men right from the start of human life, because they needed protection from the elements, skin wild beasts and clothe themselves in their woolly coats? And as refuges against the cold they thought of mountain caves or the dry hollows afforded by old roots or trees. Then, ever improving the imitative skill that started thus, they wove themselves cloaks of wool and built themselves houses, and imperceptibly the crafts that concentrated on these things, being taught by time, replaced simple fabrics with ornate garments of greater beauty, and instead of cheap cottages they devised lofty mansions of expensive marble, and painted the native ugliness of their walls with the luxuriant dyes of colour. However each of these crafts and accomplishments has, after being mute and plunged in deep forgetfulness, gradually risen,

δύσεως¹ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἀνέτειλεν ἀκτίνας. ἕκαστος γὰρ εὐρών τι παρεδίδου τῷ μετ' αὐτόν· εἶθ' ἡ διαδοχὴ τῶν λαμβανόντων οἷς ἔμαθεν ἥδη προστιθεῖσα, τὸ ἐνδέον ἐπλήρωσεν.

35. μηδέ τις ἔρωτας ἀρρένων ἀπαιτεῖτω παρὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ χρόνου· γυναιξίν γὰρ ὀμιλεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἵνα μὴ τελείως ἄσπερμον ἡμῶν φθαρῇ² τὸ γένος. αἱ δὲ ποικίλαι σοφαί <καὶ>³ τῆς φιλοκάλου ταύτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμῖαι μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ μηδὲν ἑῶντος ἀνίχνευτον αἰῶνος εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἔμελλον ἦξειν, ἵνα τῇ θείᾳ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ παιδευαστεῖν συνακμάσῃ. μὴ δῆτα, Χαρίκλεις, ὁ⁴ μὴ πρότερον εὖρητο, τοῦτο ἐπινοηθὲν αὐθις ὡς φαῦλον εὖθυνε, μηδ' ὅτι τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρώτων αἱ γυναικεῖαι σύνοδοι πρεσβυτέρους ἐπιγράφονται χρόνους, ἐλάττω θάτερον· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀναγκαῖα νομιζώμεν, ἃ δὲ αὐθις ἐνευσχολήσας τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὁ βίος ἐπεξεῦρεν, ὡς ἐκείνων ἀμείνω τιμητέον.

36. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγου καὶ γελᾶν ἔναγχος ἐπήγει, Χαρικλέους ἄλογα ζῶα καὶ τὴν Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν ἐπαινοῦντος· ὀλίγου δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν φιλονεικίας καὶ μετενόει γενόμενος Ἕλλην. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ἐναντία φθεγγόμενος οἷς ἐπεχειρεὶ λέγειν, ὑπεσταλμένῳ τε⁵ τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τόνῳ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἔκλεπτεν, ἀλλ' ἐπηρμένη τῇ φωνῇ λαρυγγίζων, Οὐκ ἐρώσιν, φησίν, ἀλλήλων λέοντες οὐδ' ἄρκτοι καὶ σῦες, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ μόνον ὄρμη κρατεῖ. καὶ τί

¹ λύσεως codd.: corr. odd..

² φανῇ Γ.

³ καὶ suppl. edd..

⁴ ὅτι L. A. Post.

⁵ τε om. recce., edd..

as it were, to its own bright zenith after long being set. For each man made some discovery to hand on to his successor. Then each successive recipient, by adding to what he had already learnt, made good any deficiencies.

35. Let no one expect love of males in early times. For intercourse with women was necessary so that our race might not utterly perish for lack of seed. But the manifold branches of wisdom and men's desire for this virtue that loves beauty were only with difficulty to be brought to light by time which leaves nothing unexplored, so that divine philosophy and with it love of boys might come to maturity. Do not then, Charicles, again censure this discovery as worthless because it wasn't made earlier, nor, because intercourse with women can be credited with greater antiquity than love of boys, must you think love of boys inferior. No, we must consider the pursuits that are old to be necessary, but assess as superior the later additions invented by human life when it had leisure for thought.

36. For I came very close to laughing just now when Charicles was praising irrational beasts and the lonely life of Scythians.¹ Indeed his excessive enthusiasm for the argument almost made him regret his Greek birth. For he did not hide his words in restrained tones like a man contradicting the thesis that he maintained, but with raised voice from the full depth of his throat says, "Lions, bears, boars do not love others of their own sort but are ruled by their urge only for the female. And what's

¹ I.e. a primitive manner of life like that of the Scythians, whom Charicles has not mentioned by name.

θαυμαστόν; ἃ γὰρ ἐκ λογισμοῦ δικαίως ἂν τις ἔλοιτο, ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις λογίζεσθαι δι' ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ τοι Προμηθεὺς ἢ θεῶν τις ἄλλος εἰ νοῦν ἐκάστω ζῶν συνέζευξεν ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἂν ἐρημία καὶ βίος ὄρειος αὐτοὺς ἐποίμαιεν οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους τροφήν εἶχον, ἐξ ἴσου δὲ ἡμῖν ἱερά δειμάμενοι καὶ μέσην ἐστίαν τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος οἰκῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπολιτεύοντο νόμοις. τί δὴ παράδοξον εἰ ζῶα τῆς φύσεως κατάκριτα μηδὲν ὄν λογισμοὶ παρέχοντα παρὰ τῆς προνοίας λαβεῖν ἠτύχηκότερα προσαφῆρηται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰς ἄρρενας ἐπιθυμίας; οὐκ ἐρώσι λέοντες, οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοσοφοῦσιν· οὐκ ἐρώσιν ἄρκτοι, τὸ γὰρ ἐκ φιλίας καλὸν οὐκ ἴσασιν. ἀνθρώποις δ' ἢ μετ' ἐπιστήμης φρόνησις ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις πειρᾶσαι τὸ κάλλιστον ἐλομένη βεβαιοτάτους ἐρώτων ἐνόμισεν τοὺς ἄρρενας.

37. μὴ τοῖνυν, ὦ Χαρίκλεις, ἀκολάστου βίου συμφορήσας ἐταιρικὰ διηγήματα γυμνῶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σεμνότητος ἡμῶν καταπόμπευσεν μηδὲ τὸν οὐράνιον Ἐρωτα τῷ νηπίῳ συναρίθμει, λογίζου δὲ ὀψέ μὲν ἡλικίας τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταμανθάνων, ὅμως δ' οὖν λογίζου νῦν γε, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον, ὅτι διπλοῦς θεὸς ὁ Ἐρως, οὐ κατὰ μίαν ὁδὸν φοιτῶν οὐδὲ ἐνὶ πνεύματι τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς ἐρεθίζων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὡς ἂν, οἶμαι, κομιδῆ νήπια φρονῶν, οὐδενὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡνοχεῖν δυναμένου λογισμοῦ, πολὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀφρόνων ψυχαῖς ἀθροίζεται, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῷ γυναικεῖοι πόθοι μέλουσιν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ἐφημέρου ταύτης

surprising in that? For the things which one would rightly choose as a result of thought, it is not possible for those that cannot reason to have because of their lack of intellect. For, if Prometheus or else some god had endowed each animal with a human mind, they would not be satisfied with a lonely life among the mountains, nor would they find their food in each other, but just like us they would have built themselves temples and, though each making his hearth the centre of his private life, they would live as fellow-citizens governed by common laws. Is it any wonder that, since animals have been condemned by nature not to receive from the bounty of Providence any of the gifts afforded by intellect, they have with all else also been deprived of desire for males? Lions do not have such a love, because they are not philosophers either. Bears have no such love, because they are ignorant of the beauty that comes from friendship. But for men wisdom coupled with knowledge has after frequent experiments chosen what is best, and has formed the opinion that love between males is the most stable of loves.

37. Do not, therefore, Charicles, heap together courtesans' tales of wanton living and insult our dignity with unvarnished language nor count Heavenly Love as an infant, but learn better about such things though it's late in your life, and now at any rate, since you've never done so before, reflect in spite of all that Love is a twofold god who does not walk in but a single track or exert but a single influence to excite our souls; but the one love, because, I imagine, his mentality is completely childish, and no reason can guide his thoughts, musters with great force in the souls of the foolish and concerns himself mainly with yearnings for women.

ὑβρεως ἑταῖρος ἀκρίτῳ φορᾷ πρὸς τὸ βουλόμενον ἄγων. ἕτερος δὲ Ἔρως Ὡγγυγίων πατὴρ χρόνων, σεμνὸν ὀφθῆναι καὶ πάντοθεν ἱεροπρεπὲς θέαμα, σωφρονοῦντων ταμίας παθῶν ἥπια ταῖς ἐκάστου διανοαῖς ἐμπνεῖ,¹ καὶ λαχόντες ἴλεω τοῦδε τοῦ δαίμονος ἡδονὴν ἀρετῇ μεμιγμένην ἀσπαζόμεθα· δισά γὰρ ὄντως κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν πνεύματα πνεῖ ὁ Ἔρως, ἐνὸς δὲ ὀνόματος οὐχ ὁμοια τὰ πάθη κεκοινώνηκεν· καὶ γὰρ Αἰδώς ὠφελείας ὁμοῦ καὶ βλάβης ἀμφίβολός ἐστι δαίμων·

Αἰδώς ἦτ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἢ δ' ὀνίνησιν.
οὐ μὴν οὐδ' Ἐρίδων γένος ἔστιν ἓν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαίαν
εἰσὶ δύο, τὴν μὲν κεν ἐπαινῆσειε νοήσας,
ἦ δ' ἐπιμωμητῆ· διά δ' ἄνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.

οὐδέν οὖν παράδοξον, εἰ πάθος ἀρετῇ κοινὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχειν ἔτυχεν, ὥστε ἔρωτα καλεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀκόλαστον ἡδονὴν καὶ τὴν σωφρονοῦσαν εὖνοιαν.

38. Γάμους οὖν τὸ μηδὲν οἶει, καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ βίου φυγαδεύεις, ἵνα πῶς μείνωμεν ἄνθρωποι; ζηλωτὸν μὲν ἦν κατὰ τὸν σοφώτατον Εὐριπίδην, εἰ δίχα τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας² συνόδου φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ τέκνα ὑπὲρ³ τῆς διαδοχῆς ἐωνοῦμεθα· ἀνάγκη γὰρ βαρύν κατ'

¹ ἐμπνεῖ codd.: corr. Dindorf.

² γυναῖκα ΓΕ: corr. recu..

³ ὑπὲρ recu.: παρὰ ΓΕ.

¹ The poet may be Euripides. Cf. Cercidas, 3.14, Naudé, *Fr. Adesp.* 187.

² Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 318, 11 (modified), 12 and 13.

³ *Hippolytus*, 618 ff.

This love is the companion of the violence that lasts but a day and he leads men with unreasoning precipitation to their desires. But the other Love is the ancestor of the Ogygian age, a sight venerable to behold and hedged around with sanctity, and is a dispenser of temperate passions who sends his kindly breath into the minds of all. If we find this god propitious to us, we meet with a welcome pleasure which is blended with virtue. For in truth, as the tragic poet¹ says, Love blows in two different ways, and the one name is shared by differing passions. For Shame too is a twofold goddess with both a beneficial and a harmful role.

Shame which to men doth mighty harm and
mighty good.

Nor yet are rivalries of but one sort; two kinds
On earth there are; the one a man of sense would
praise,

The other's to be blamed; for different is their
heart.²

It need not surprise us, therefore, that passion has come to have the same name as virtue so that both unrestrained lust and sober affection are called Love.

38. Charicles may ask if I therefore think marriage worthless and banish women from this life, and if so, how we humans are to survive. Indeed, as the wise Euripides³ says, it would be greatly to be desired if we had no intercourse with women but, in order to provide ourselves with heirs, we went to shrines and temples and bought children for gold and silver. For we are constrained by necessity that

αὐχένων ζυγὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιθεῖσα τοῖς κελευομένοις πειθαρχεῖν βιάζεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν καλὸν αἰρώμεθα τοῖς λογισμοῖς, εἰκέτω δὲ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τὸ χρεῖωδες. ἄχρι τέκνων γυναῖκες ἀριθμὸς ἕστωσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπαγε, μὴ μοι γένοιτο. τίς γὰρ ἂν εἰς φρονῶν ἀνέχεσθαι δύναίτο ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ γυναικὸς ὠραῖζομένης¹ ἐπικτητοῖς σοφίσμασιν, ἧς ὁ μὲν ἀληθῶς χαρακτήρ ἄμορφος, ἀλλότριαι δὲ κόσμοι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπρεπὲς βουκολοῦσιν.

39. εἰ γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς νυκτέρου κοίτης πρὸς ὄρθρον ἴδοι τις ἀνισταμένης γυναῖκας, αἰσχίῳ νομίσει θηρίων τῶν πρωΐας² ὄρας ὀνομασθῆναι δυσκληδονίστων· ὅθεν ἀκριβῶς οἴκοι καθείργουσι αὐτὰς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀρρένων βλεπομένης· γράες δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδων ὁ σύμμορφος ὄχλος ἐν κύκλῳ περιεστᾶσι ποικίλοις φαρμάκοις καταφαρμακεύουσαι³ τὰ δυστυχή πρόσωπα· οὐ γὰρ ὕδατος ἀκράτῳ νάματι τὸν ὑπνηλὸν⁴ ἀπονυβίμεναι κάρον εὐθύς ἀπολλαι σπουδῆς ἐχομένου τινὸς πράγματος, ἀλλ' αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν διαπασμάτων συνθέσεις τὸν ἀηδῆ τοῦ προσώπου χρώτα φαιδρύνουσι, ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ δημοτελοῦς πομπῆς ἄλλο τι⁵ ἄλλη τῶν ὑπηρετουσῶν ἐγκεχεῖρισται, λεκανίδας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ προχόους ἕσοπτρά τε καὶ καθάπερ ἐν φαρμακοπώλου πυξίδων ὄχλον, ἀγγεῖα μεστὰ πολλῆς κακοδαιμονίας, ἐν οἷς ὀδόντων σηηκτικαὶ δυνάμεις ἢ βλέφαρα μελαινοῦσα τέχνη προχειρίζεται.⁶

¹ ὠραῖσμένης *recc.*, *edd.*

² πρὸ μῆας *ΓΕ*: *corr. recc.*

³ καταφαρμακεῦσαι *ΓΕ*: *corr. recc.*

⁴ ὑψηλὸν *codd.*: *corr. Hemsterhuys.*

puts a heavy yoke on our shoulders and bids us obey her. Though therefore we should by use of reason choose what is beautiful, let our need yield to necessity. Let women be ciphers and be retained merely for child-bearing; but in all else away with them, and may I be rid of them. For what man of sense could endure from dawn onwards women who beautify themselves with artificial devices, women whose true form is unshapely, but who have extraneous adornments to beguile the unsightliness of nature?

39. If at any rate one were to see women when they rise in the morning from last night's bed, one would think a woman uglier than those beasts¹ whose name it is inauspicious to mention early in the day. That's why they closet themselves carefully at home and let no man see them. They're surrounded by old women and a throng of maids as ugly as themselves who doctor their ill-favoured faces with an assortment of medicaments. For they do not wash off the torpor of sleep with pure clean water and apply themselves to some serious task. Instead numerous concoctions of scented powders are used to brighten up their unattractive complexions, and, as though in a public procession, each maid is entrusted with something different, with silver basins, ewers, mirrors, an array of boxes reminiscent of a chemist's shop, and jars full of many a mischief, in which she marshals dentifrices and contrivances for blackening the eyelids.

¹ I.e. monkeys. Cf. *The Mistaken Critic* 17.

⁵ τι *edd.*: τις *codd.*

⁶ προχειρίζεται *ΓΕ*: θησαυρίζεται *Γ^a*, *edd.*

40. τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἀναλίσκει μέρος ἢ πλοκὴ τῶν τριχῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαρμάκοις ἐρυθθαίνειν δυναμένοις πρὸς ἡλίῳ μεσημβριαν τοὺς πλοκάμους ἴσα ταῖς τῶν ἐρίων χροιαῖς ξανθῶ μεταβάπτουσιν ἄνθει τὴν ἰδίαν κατακρίνουσαι φύσιν· ὅποσας δὲ ἀρκεῖν ἢ μέλαινα χαίτη νομίζεται, τὸν τῶν γεγραμμάτων πλοῦτον εἰς ταύτην ἀναλίσκουσι ὅλην Ἀραβίαν σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν ἀποπνέουσαι, σιδηρὰ τε ὄργανα πυρὸς ἀμβλεία φλογὶ χλιανθέντα βία τὴν ἐλίκαν οὐλότητα διαπλέκει, καὶ περιέργοι μὲν αἱ μέχρι τῶν ὀφρῦων ἐφελκυσμένοι ¹ κόμαι βραχὺ τῷ μετώπῳ μεταίχμιον ἀφιάσιν, σοβαρῶς δὲ ἄχρι τῶν μεταφρένων οἱ ὀπισθεν ἐπισαλεύονται πλόκαμοι.

41. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνθοβαφῆ πέδιλα τῆς σαρκὸς ἐνδοτέρω τοὺς πόδας ἐπισφίγγοντα καὶ λεπτοῦφῆς ἐς πρόφασιν ἐσθῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν ² γεγυμνωσθαι. πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτῆς γνωριμώτερα τοῦ προσώπου χωρὶς τῶν ἀμόρφως προπεπτωκότων μαζῶν, οὓς αἰεὶ περιφέρουσιν δεσμώτας. τί δέ τι τὰ τούτων πλοσιώτερα κακὰ διεξιέναι; λίθους Ἐρυθραίας ³ καὶ τῶν λοβῶν πολυτάλαντον ἡρτημένους βρῖθος ἢ τοὺς περὶ καρποῖς καὶ βραχίσι δράκοντας, ὡς ὄφελον ὄντως ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ δράκοντες εἶναι; καὶ στεφάνη μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν περιθεῖ λίθοις Ἰνδικαῖς διάστερος, πολυτελεῖς δὲ τῶν αὐχένων ὄρμοι καθεῖνται, καὶ ἄχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐσχάτων καταβέβηκεν ὁ ἄθλιος χρυσὸς ἅπαν, εἴ τι τοῦ σφυροῦ γυμνοῦται, περισφίγγων. ἄξιον δ' ἠρσιδῆρῳ τὰ περισφύρα σκέλη

¹ ἐφελκυσμένοι recc., edd..

² δοκεῖν μὴ recc., edd..

³ Ἐρυθραίας Γ: Ἐρυθραίους E, edd..

40. But most of their efforts are spent on dressing their hair. For some pass unfavourable judgment on their own gifts from nature and, by means of pigments that can redden the hair to match the sun at noon, they dye their hair with a yellow bloom as they do coloured wool; those who do feel satisfied with their dark locks spend their husbands' wealth on radiating from their hair almost all the perfumes of Arabia; they use iron instruments warmed in a slow flame to curl their hair perforce into woolly ringlets, and elaborately styled locks brought down to their eyebrows leave the forehead with the narrowest of spaces, while the tresses behind float proudly down to the shoulders.

41. Next they turn to flower-coloured shoes that sink into their flesh and pinch their feet and to thin veils that pass for clothes so as to excuse their apparent nakedness. But everything inside these can be distinguished more clearly than their faces—except for their hideously prominent breasts which they always carry about bound like prisoners. Need I recount the scandals still more extravagant than these? The Red Sea pearls ¹ worth many a talent that hang heavily from the ears, or the snakes round their wrists and arms, which I wish were real snakes instead of gold? Their heads are surrounded with crowns bearing a galaxy of Indian gems, and from their throats hang expensive necklaces, while gold has the misfortune to go right down to the tips of their toes, pinching any part of their ankles left naked—though it's iron with which their legs should by rights be shackled at the ankles!

¹ Cf. Martial 5.37.4, Statius *Silvae* 4.6.18.

πεπεδη̄σθαι. κάπειδὰν αὐτῶν ὄλον τὸ σῶμα νόθησ
 εὐμορφίας ἔξαπατῶντι κάλλει διαμαγευθῆ, τὰς
 ἀναισχύντους παρειάς ἐρυθθαίνουσιν ἐπιχρίστοις
 φύκεσιν, ἵνα τὴν ὑπέρλευκον αὐτῶν καὶ πῖονα
 χροιάν τὸ πορφυροῦν ἄνθος ἐπιφωιῶξῃ.

42. τίς οὖν ὁ μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην παρασκευὴν βίος;
 εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔξοδοι, καὶ πᾶς θεός¹ ἐπιτρίβων
 τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, ὧν ἐνίων οἱ κακοδαίμονες ἄνδρες
 οὐδὲ αὐτὰ ἴσασι τὰ ὀνόματα, Κωλιάδας, εἰ τύχοι,
 καὶ Γενετυλλίδας ἢ τὴν Φρυγίαν δαίμονα καὶ τὸν
 δυσέρωτα κῶμον ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμένι. τελεταὶ δὲ
 ἀπόρητοι καὶ χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν ὑποπτα μυστήρια καὶ
 —τί γὰρ² δεῖ περιπλέκεν;³—διαφθορά⁴ ψυχῆς.
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ τούτων ἀπαλλαγῶσιν, οἴκοι εὐθὺ τὰ
 μακρὰ λουτρά, καὶ πολυτελῆς μὲν νῆ Δία τράπεζα,
 πολὺς δὲ ὁ μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀκκισμός. ἐπειδὰν
 γὰρ ὑπέρπλεω γέωννται ταῖς παρ' αὐταῖς γαστριμαρ-
 γίαις, οὐκέτ' οὐδὲ τοῦ φάρυγγος αὐταῖς παραδέ-
 χεσθαι δυναμένου τι στίον, ἄκροις δακτύλοις
 ἐπιγράφουσαι τῶν παρακειμένων ἕκαστον ἀπογεύον-
 ται νύκτας ἐπὶ τούτοις διηγούμεναι καὶ τοὺς ἑτερό-
 χρωτας ὑπνους καὶ θηλύτητος εὐνήν γέμουσαν, ἀφ' ἧς
 ἀναστάς ἕκαστος εὐθὺ λουτροῦ χρεῖός ἐστιν.

43. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν εὐσταθοῦς βίου τεκμήρια· τῶν
 δὲ πικροτέρων εἴ τις ἐθελήσειε κατὰ μέρος τὸ ἀληθές

¹ θεός Du Soul: θεατῆς codd..

² καί—τί γὰρ Hemsterhuys: καὶ γὰρ τί codd..

³ περιπλέκεν Γ^oE: περιβλέπεω ΓE².

⁴ διαφθορά Hemsterhuys: διαφθορὰν codd..

¹ Cf. Menander, Fr. 796 Koerte, quoted by Strabo (7.297).

When all their body has been tricked out with the
 deceptive beauty of a spurious comeliness, they
 redden their shameless cheeks by smearing on rouge
 so that its crimson tint may lend colour to their pale
 fat skins.

42. How, then, do they behave after all these
 preparations? They leave the house immediately
 and visit every god¹ that plagues married men,
 though the wretched husbands do not even know the
 very names of some of these, be they Coliades and
 Genetyllides² or the Phrygian goddess³ and the
 rout that commemorates an unhappy love and
 honours the shepherd-boy.⁴ Then follow secret
 initiations and suspicious all-female mysteries and,
 to put things bluntly, the corruption of their souls.
 But when they've finished with these, the moment
 they're home they have long baths, and, by heavens,
 sumptuous meals accompanied by much coyness
 towards the men. For when they are surfeited with
 gorging the dishes in front of them, and even their
 throats can now hold no more, they score each of the
 foods before them with their fingertips to taste them.
 Meanwhile they talk of their nights, their hetero-
 sexual slumbers, and their beds fraught with femi-
 ninity, on rising from which every man immediately
 needs a bath.

43. These then are the signs of an orderly female
 life; but, should one wish to examine in detail the

² Coliades and Genetyllides were goddesses presiding
 over generation and birth and seem to have been worship-
 ped by women with wanton rites. Colias is usually used
 in the singular of Aphrodite; cf. Pausanias 1.1.5 and
 Harmon's note on *The Mistaken Critic II*.

³ Cybele, the Great Mother.

⁴ Attis.

ἔξετάζειν, ὄντως καταράσεται Προμηθεὶ τὴν Μενάνδρειον ἐκείνην ἀπορρήξας φωνήν·

Εἴτ' οὐ δικαίως προσηπαταλευμένον
γράφουσι τὸν Προμηθεά πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις;
καὶ γίνετ' αὐτῷ λαμπάς, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲ ἐν
ἀγαθόν. ὁ μισεῖν οἴμ' ἅπαντας¹ τοὺς θεοὺς,
γυναῖκας ἔπλασεν, ὧ πολυτίμητοι θεοί,
ἔθνος μιaron.² γαμεῖ τις ἀνθρώπων, γαμεῖ;
λάβριοι <τὸ>³ λοιπὸν γὰρ ἐπιθυμῖαι κακαί,⁴
γαμηλίῳ λέχει τε⁵ μοιχὸς ἐντροφῶν.

[εἴτ' ἐπιβουλαί]⁶

καὶ φαρμακεῖαι καὶ νόσων⁷ χαλεπώτατος⁸
φθόνος, μεθ' οὗ ζῆ πάντα τὸν βίον γυνή.

τίς ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ διώκει; τίς βίος ὁ δυστυχῆς
οὗτος θυμῆρης;

44. ἄξιον τοίνυν ἀντιθεῖναι τοῖς θήλεσι κακοῖς τὴν
ἄρρην τῶν παίδων ἀγωγήν. ὄρθριος ἀναστὰς ἐκ
τῆς ἀζύγου κοίτης τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἔτι λοιπὸν
ἕπνον ἀπονευφάμενος ὑδατι λιτῶ καὶ χιτωνίσκον
<καὶ> χλαμύδα⁹ ταῖς ἐπωμίαις περόναις συρράφιας

ἀπὸ τῆς πατρῶας ἐστίας ἐξέρχεται
κάτω κεκυφῶς

καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπαντώντων ἐξ ἐναντίου προσβλέ-
πων· ἀκόλουθοι δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ χορὸς αὐτῷ

¹ οἴμαι πάντας ΓΕ: corr. recs..

² ἔθνος μιaron ΓΕ: corr. recs..

³ τὸ suppl. Guyet.

⁴ κακαί Guyet: καὶ codd..

⁵ τε rec.: δὲ Bentley: om. ΓΕ.

⁶ εἴτ' ἐπιβουλαί del. Bentley.

truth about the more offensive of womankind, he will
curse Prometheus in real life and burst out with these
words of Menander: ¹

“Then are not painters right when they depict
Prometheus nailed to rocks? With brand of fire
But naught else good can he be credited.
But all the gods, methinks, hate what he did,
In fashioning females, a cursed brood,
I swear it by the honoured gods above.
Suppose a man her weds and taketh her to wife,
She'll spend her time in evil furtive lusts
Thenceforth and lovers who luxuriate
On nuptial couch, and poisonings and spite,
That bane and plague most terrible wherewith
A woman all her lifetime doth consort.”

Who goes in quest of boons like these? Who finds so
wretched a life acceptable? 44. We ought therefore
to contrast with the evils associated with women the
manly life of a boy. He rises at dawn from his
unwed couch, washes away with pure water such
sleep as still remains in his eyes and after securing his
shirt and his mantle² with pins at the shoulder “he
leaves his father's hearth with eyes bent down”³ and
without facing the gaze of anyone he meets. He
is followed by an orderly company of attendants and

¹ Fr. 718 Koerte.

² The chitoniscus was a short undergarment, above which
ἐφηβοὶ wore a mantle (χλαμύς); χλαμῖς was a finer mantle
regarded as a sign of effeminacy. See textual notes.

³ Unidentified comic fragment (Kock 366); cf. Xen. *Lac.*
3.4.

⁷ νόσοι codd.: corr. Groot.

⁸ χαλεπωτάτη Bentley.

⁹ χιτωνίσκον χλαμύδα ΓΕ (καὶ suppl. Graeue): τὴν ἱερὰν (ἐρεῖν
Richards) χλομύδα γρ. Γ^α, edd..

κόσμος ἔπονται τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐν χερσὶν ὄργανα κρατοῦντες, οὐ πριστοῦ κτενὸς ἐντομὰς κόμην καταψήχειν δυναμένας οὐδὲ ἔσοπτρα τῶν ἀντιμόρφων χαρακτήρων ἀγράφους εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' ἢ πολύπτυχοι δέλτοι κατόπιν ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἢ παλαιῶν ἔργων ἀρετὰς φυλάττουσαι¹ βιβλοὶ, κἄν εἰς μουσικοῦ δέη² φοιτᾶν, εὐμελῆς λύρα.

45. Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ψυχῆς μαθήμασι λιπαρῶς ἐναθλήσας, ἐπειδὴν ἡ διάνοια τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἀγαθῶν κορεσθῆ, τὸ σῶμα ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις ἀσκήσεων ἐκπονεῖ. Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ ἵπποι μέλουσιν αὐτῷ· καὶ βραχὺ τὴν νεότητα πωλοδαμνήσας ἐν εἰρήνῃ μελετᾷ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄκοντας ἀφιεῖς καὶ βέλη δι' εὐστόχου δεξιᾶς ἀποπάλλων. εἶθ' αἰλιπαραὶ παλαιστραὶ, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου μεσημβρινὸν θάλπος ἐγκονίεται³ τὸ σῶμα πυκνούμενον, οἱ τε τῶν ἐναγωνίων πόνων ἀποσταλάζοντες ἰδρώτες, μεθ' οὓς λουτρὰ σύντομα καὶ τράπεζα τῇ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπινηφούσα⁴ πράξει· πάλιν γὰρ αὐτῷ διδάσκαλοι καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων ἀνιπτόμεναι καὶ ἐπιμελούμεναι μνήμαι, τίς ἀνδρείος ἤρωσ ἢ τίς ἐπὶ φρονήσει μαρτυρούμενος ἢ οἱοὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην ἠσπᾶσαντο. τοιαύταις ἀρεταῖς ἀπαλὴν ἔτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπάρδων, ὅταν ἔσπερα τὴν πράξιν ὀρίσῃ, τῇ⁵ γαστρὸς ἀνάγκη τὸν ὀφειλόμενον δασμὸν ἐπιμετρήσας ἡδίοις ὕπνου καθεύδει τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν καμάτοις ἐπιηρεμῶν ἀνεπίφθονον.⁶

¹ φυλάττουσαι ΓΕ: corr. recs..

² δέοι codd.: corr. Dindorf.

⁴ ἐπινηφούση ΓΕ: corr. recs..

³ ἐν κόνι τε Γ^ο.

⁵ τῇ recs.: τῆς ΓΕ.

tutors, who grip in their hands the revered instruments of virtue, not the points of a toothed comb that can caress the hair nor mirrors that without artists' aid reproduce the shapes confronting them, but behind him come many-leaved writing tablets or books that preserve the merit of ancient deeds, along with a tuneful lyre, should he have to go to a music master.

45. But, after he has toiled zealously through all the lessons that teach the soul philosophy, and his intellect has had its fill of these benefits of a standard education, he perfects his body with noble exercises. For he interests himself in Thessalian horses. Soon, after he has broken in his youth as one does a colt, he practises in peace the pursuits of war, throwing javelins and hurling spears with unerring aim. Next come the glistening wrestling-schools, where beneath the heat of the mid-day sun his developing body is covered in dust; then comes the sweat, that pours forth from his toils in the contest, and next a quick bath and a sober meal suited to the activities that soon follow. For again he has his schoolmasters and records of deeds of old with hints for the study of such questions as what hero was brave, who is cited for his wisdom, or what men cherished justice and temperance. Such are the virtues which he uses to irrigate his soul while still tender, and, when evening brings an end to his activities, he metes out the tribute due to the necessities of his stomach, and then sleeps the sweeter, enjoying a rest that none could grudge after his exertions during the day.

⁶ ἐπιφθονον codd.: corr. L. A. Post.

46. τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐραστής ἐφήβου γένοιτο τοιούτου; τίνι δ' ¹ οὕτω τυφλαί μὲν αἱ τῶν ὀμμάτων βολαί, πηροὶ δὲ οἱ τῆς διανοίας λογισμοί; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσαι τὸν ἐν παλαίστραις μὲν Ἑρμῆν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἐν λύραις, ἵππαστήν δὲ ὡς Κάστορα, θείας δὲ ἀρετὰς διὰ θνητοῦ διώκοντα σώματος; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν, δαίμονες οὐράνιοι, βίος εἴη διηνεκῆς οὗτος, ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ φίλου καθέξομαι καὶ πλησίον ἡδὺ λαλοῦντος ἀκούειν, ἐξιώντι δὲ αὐτῷ συνεξίεναί καὶ παντὸς ἔργου κοινωνίαν ἔχειν. εὐξαιτο μὲν οὖν ἐρῶν τις δι' ἀπταιστοῦ καὶ ἀκλινοῦς βίου τὸν ² στεργόμενον ἀλύπως εἰς γῆρας ὀδεῦσαι μηδεμιᾶς τύχης πειράσαντα βάσκανον ἐπήρειαν. εἰ δὲ καί, οἷος ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως νόμος, νόσος ἐπιψαύσειεν, αὐτῷ κάμνοντι συνοσῆσω καὶ διὰ χειμερίου θαλάσσης ἀναγομένῳ συμπλεύσομαι· κἂν τυραννικῆ βία δεσμὰ περιάψῃ, τὸν ἴσον ἐμαυτῷ περιθήσω σίδηρον· ἐχθρὸς ἅπας ὁ μισῶν ἐκεῖνον ἐμὸς ἔσται, καὶ φιλήσω τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας· εἰ δὲ ληστὰς ἢ πολεμίους θεασαίμην ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμώντας, ὀπλισαίμην καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν· κἂν ἀποθάνῃ, ζῆν οὐκ ἀνέξομαι· τελευταίας δὲ ἐντολὰς τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ στεργομένοις ἐπιθήσομαι κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιχῶσαι τάφον, ὁστέοις δὲ ἀναμίξαντας ὁστέα μηδὲ τὴν κωφὴν κόνιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διακρίναι.

47. ταῦτα δ' οὐ πρῶτοι χαράξουσιν οἱ ἐμοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἔρωτες, ἀλλ' ἢ θεοῖς γείτων ἡρωϊκῆ φρόνησις ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐν οἷς ὁ φιλίας ἔρωσ ἀχρη

¹ τίνι δ' recc.: τίσιν Γ'Ε.

² τὸν recc.: τὸ Γ'Ε.

¹ Cf. Sappho 1.2. (Edmonds).

46. Who would not fall in love with such a youth? Whose eyesight could be so blind, whose mental processes so stunted? How could one fail to love him who is a Hermes in the wrestling-school, an Apollo with the lyre, a horseman to rival Castor, and one who strives after the virtues of the gods with a mortal body? For my part, ye gods of heaven, I pray that it may for ever be my lot in life to sit opposite my dear one and hear close to me his sweet voice,¹ to go out when he goes out and share every activity with him. And so a lover might well pray that his cherished one should journey to old age without any sorrow through a life free from stumbling or swerving, without having experienced at all any malicious spite of Fortune. But, if in accordance with the law governing the human body, illness should lay its hand on him, I shall ail with him when he is weak, and, when he puts out to sea through stormy waves, I shall sail with him. And, should a violent tyrant bind him in chains, I shall put the same fetters around myself. All who hate him will be my enemies and those well disposed to him shall I hold dear. Should I see bandits or foemen rushing upon him, I would arm myself even beyond my strength, and if he dies, I shall not bear to live. I shall give final instructions to those I love next best after him to pile up a common tomb for both of us, to unite my bones with his and not to keep even our dumb ashes apart from each other.

47. Nor will you find my love for those who deserve it to be the first to write such things; rather were these the laws given by the wellnigh divine wisdom of the heroes, who till their dying day

θανάτου συνέξέπνευσεν. Φωκὶς ἐκ νηπίων ἔτι χρόνων Ὀρέστην Πυλάδῃ συνήψεν· θεὸν δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παθῶν μεσίτην λαβόντες ὡς ἐφ' ἐνὸς σκάφους τοῦ βίου συνέπλευσαν· ἀμφότεροι Κλυταιμῆστραν ἀνήρουν ὡς Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖδες, ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν Αἰγισθοῦ ἐφονεύετο· τὰς Ὀρέστην ἐλαυνούσας Ποινὰς Πυλάδῃς ἐνόσει μᾶλλον, κρινομένῳ συνηγωνίζετο. τὴν δὲ ἐρωτικὴν φιλίαν οὐδὲ τοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄροις ἐμέτρησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους Σκυθῶν τέρμονας ἔπλευσαν, ὁ μὲν νοσῶν, ὁ δὲ θεραπεύων. τῆς γοῦν Ταυρικῆς γῆς ἐπιβαίνοντας εὐθὺς ἢ μητροκτόνος αὐτοὺς Ἐρινὺς ἐξενοδόχησεν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν κύκλῳ περιεστώτων ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους μαυίας πεσῶν ἔκειτο, Πυλάδης δὲ ἀφρόν <τ'> ¹ ἀπέψα ² σώματός τ' ἐτημέλει πέπλου ³ τε προὐκάλυπτεν εὐπήγους ⁴ ὑφάς, ⁵

οὐκ ἔραστοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρός ἐνδεικνύμενος ἦθος. ἡνίκα γοῦν ἐκρίθη θατέρου μένοντος ἐπὶ τῷ φονευθῆναι τὸν ἕτερον ἐς Μυκῆνας ἀπιέναι κομοῦντα γράμματα, μένειν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἀμφότεροι θέλουσιν ἐκάτερος ἐν θατέρῳ ζῶντι ζῆν εαυτὸν ἡγούμενος. λαβείναι δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολάς Ὀρέστης ὡς Πυλάδου ἀβεινὸν ἀξιωτέρου, μόνον οὐκ ἔραστῆς αὐτ' ἐρωμένον γενόμενος·

τὸ γὰρ σφαγῆναι τόνδ' ἐμοὶ βάρος μέγα·
ὁ ναυστολῶν γάρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ τὰς συμφοράς.

¹ τ' suppl. Euripidis codd..

² ἀπέψη Elmsley.

³ πέπλων Eur. codd..

⁴ εὐπήγους Eur. codd.: εὐπήκτους Γ: εὐπήκτους E. ⁵ ὑφάεις E.

¹ The Eumenides.

breathed love of friendship. Phocis united Orestes to Pylades right from their infancy. Taking the love-god as the mediator of their emotions for each other, they sailed together as it were on the same vessel of life. Both did away with Clytemnestra as though both were sons of Agamemnon, by both of them was Aegisthus slain. Pylades it was who suffered the more from the Avengers ¹ who hounded Orestes, and he stood trial along with him in court. Nor did they restrict their affectionate friendship to the limits of Hellas, but sailed to Scythia at the very ends of the earth, one of them afflicted, the other ministering to him. At any rate, as soon as they set foot on the land of the Tauri, the Fury of matricides was there to welcome the strangers, and, when the natives stood around them, the one was struck to the ground by his usual madness and lay there, but Pylades

“Did wipe away the foam and tend his frame
And shelter him with fine well-woven robe,” ²

thus showing the feelings not merely of a lover but also of a father. When at any rate it had been decided that, while one remained to be killed, the other should depart for Mycenae to bear a letter, each wished to remain for the sake of the other, considering that he himself lived in the survival of his friend. But Orestes refused to take the letter, claiming Pylades was the fitter person to do so, and showed himself almost to be the lover rather than the beloved.

“For 'tis a burden sore to me if he be slain,
For I am captain of this enterprise.” ³

² Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 311-312.

³ *Ibid.* 598-599.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον φησίν,

τῷδε μὲν δέλτον δίδου·
πέμψω¹ γὰρ Ἄργος, ὥστε οἱ² καλῶς ἔχει·
ἡμᾶς δ' ὁ χρήζων κτεινέτω.

48. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει τὸ πᾶν· ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ παίδων ὁ σπουδαῖος ἔρως ἐντραφεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡδὴ λογίζεσθαι δυναμένην ἡλικίαν ἀνδρωθῆ, τὸ πάλαι φιληθὲν ἀμοιβαίους ἔρωτας ἀνταποδίδωσιν, καὶ δυσχερὲς αἰσθῆσθαι ποτέρου· ποτέρος ἑραστής ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἀπ' ἐσόπτρου τῆς τοῦ φιλήσαντος εὐνοίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὁμοίου πεσότος εἰδώλου. τί δὴ οὖν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ξένην αὐτὸ τρυφήν ὀνειδίξεις θείοις νόμοις ὀρισθὲν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καταβεβηκός;³ ἀσμένως δὲ αὐτὸ δεξάμενοι μεθ' ἀγνῆς διανοίας νεωκοροῦμεν· ἄλβιος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν⁴ σοφῶν ἀπόφασιν,

ᾧ παῖδες τε νέοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι,
γηράσκει δ' ὁ γερον κείνος ἐλαφρότατα,⁵
κοῦροι τὸν φιλέουσιν.

αἱ γε μὴν Σωκρατικαὶ διδασκαλίαι καὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἀρετῆς δικαστήριον τοῖς Δελφικοῖς τρίποσιν ἐτιμήθη· χρησιμὸν γὰρ ἀληθείας ὁ Πύθιος ἐθέσπισεν,

ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος,

¹ πέμψει Eur. codd.. ² οἱ ΓΕ: σοι rece., Eur. codd..

³ καταβέβηκεν Γ: corr. Γ^a. ⁴ τῶν om. ΓΕ.

⁵ ἐλαφρότατον Pfeiffer: ἐλαφρότατοι Stobaeus.

¹ Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 603-605, unmetrically adapted "argumenti causa."

And shortly afterwards he says

"The message give to him,
For him I'll send to Argos; he will thrive;
But whoso will may take my life."¹

48. This too is the case generally. For, when the honourable love inbred in us from childhood matures to the manly age that is now capable of reason, the object of our longstanding affection gives love in return and it's difficult to detect which is the lover of which, since the image of the lover's tenderness has been reflected from the loved one as though from a mirror. Why then do you censure this as being an exotic indulgence of our times, though it is an ordinance enacted by divine laws and a heritage that has come down to us? We have been glad to receive it and we tend its shrine with a pure heart. For that man is truly blessed according to the verdict of the wise,

"Whoso hath youthful lads and whole-hooved
steeds;²
And that old man doth age with greatest ease
Whom youths do love."³

The teaching of Socrates and his famous tribunal of virtue were honoured by the Delphic tripod, for the Pythian god uttered an oracle of truth,

"Of all men Socrates the wisest is."⁴

² Solon 23 (Theognis 1253) adapted. Cf. Plato, *Lysis* 212 E.

³ Callimachus, *Actia*, Fr. 41 (Pfeiffer).

⁴ The older tradition was that the oracle replied in prose that no-one was wiser than Socrates (Plato, *Apology* 20 E), but an iambic version of the oracle was known to Cicero's contemporary, Apollonius Melo. This line is also quoted by Diogenes Laertius 2.37 and Origen *In Celsum* 7.6. (cf. Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* 420).

ὄς οὐχ ἅμα ¹ τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασιν, ἐξ ὧν τὸν βίον ὤνησεν, καὶ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν ὡς μάλιστα ὠφελούην προσήκατο;²

49. δεῖ δὲ τῶν νέων ἐρᾶν ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδου Σωκράτης, ὃς ὑπὸ μιᾷ χλαμύδι πατρὸς ὕπνου ἐκοιμήθη. καὶ ἔγωγε τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν λόγων ἥδιστα προσθεῖην ἂν ἅπασιν κήρυγμα·

Αἴθε γάρ, ὦ κούροισιν ἐπ' ὄμματα λίχνα φέροντες,
Ἐρχίος ὡς ὑμῖν ὤρισε παιδοφιλεῖν,
ὦδε νέων ἐρώψτε·³ πόλιν κ' εὐάνδρον ἔχοιτε.

ταῦτ' εἰδότες, ὦ νεανίαί, σωφρόνως παισὶν ἀγαθοῖς πρόστιτε μηδὲ ὀλίγης τέρψεως εἵνεκεν τὴν μακρὰν ἐκχέοντες εὖνοιαν ἄχρι τῆς ἀκμῆς πλαστὰ τὰ τοῦ φιλεῖν πάθη προβάλλεσθε, τὸν δ' οὐράνιον Ἐρωτα προσκυνούντες εἰς γῆρας ἀπὸ παίδων βέβαια τηρεῖτε τὰ πάθη· τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω φιλοῦσιν ἥδιστος μὲν ὁ τοῦ ζῆν χρόνος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπρεποῦς συνειδήσεως παροικούσης, αἰδῖμοι δὲ μετὰ θάνατον εἰς πάντας ἐκφοιτῶσι κληδόνες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ φιλοσόφων παισὶ πιστεύειν, αἰθῆρ μετὰ γῆν ἐκδέχεται τοὺς ταῦτα ζηλοῦντας· εἰς δὲ ἀμείνονα βίον ἀποθανόντες ἔχουσι τῆς ἀρετῆς γέρας τὸ ἀφθαρτον.

50. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καλλικρατίδου σφόδρα νεανικῶς σεμνολογησαμένου Χαρικλέα μὲν ἐκ δευτέρου λέγειν πειρώμενον ἐπέσχον· ὧρα γάρ ἦν ἐπὶ ναῦν κατιέναι.

¹ οὐχ ἅμα ΓΕ: οὐχ ὅτι Γ^α: ἅμα recc., edd..

² punctum interrogativum addidi.

³ ἐρώψτε Schneider: ἐροῦτε (sic) Γ: ἐρωῦτε (sic) ΕΓ^α.

¹ Cf. Plato, *Symposium* 219 C. Lucian, *Philosophies For Sale*, 15.

² Callimachus, *Fr.* 571. Erchius is unknown, though

For along with the other discoveries with which he benefited human life did he not also welcome love of boys as the greatest of boons?

49. One should love youths as Alcibiades was loved by Socrates who slept like a father ¹ with him under the same cloak. And for my part I would most gladly add to the end of my discourse the words of Callimachus as a message to all :²

“May you who cast your longing eyes on youths
So love the young as Erchius bid you do,
That in its men your city may be blessed.”

Knowing this, young men, be temperate when you approach virtuous boys. Do not for the sake of a brief pleasure squander lasting affection, nor till you've reached manhood put on show counterfeit feelings of affection, but worship Heavenly Love and keep your emotions constant from boyhood to old age. For those who love thus, having nothing disgraceful on their conscience, find their lifetime sweetest and after their death their glorious report goes out to all men. If it's right to believe the children of philosophy, the heavens await men with these ideals after their stay on earth. By entering a better life at death they have immortality as the reward for their virtue.”

50. After Callicratidas had delivered this very spirited sermon, Charicles tried to speak for a second time but I stopped him; for it was now time to return

Schneider thinks him the ἐπώνυμος of Erchia, the deme of Xenophon and Isocrates, where Alcibiades' family had estates. Conceivably Ἐρχίος stands for Ἐρχιεὺς and refers to Xenophon, though one might rather expect him to be a legislator like Solon.

δεομένων δ' ὅ τι φρονοῖν¹ ἀποφῆνασθαι, δι' ὀλίγου τοὺς ἑκατέρων² λόγους ἀριθμησάμενος, Οὐκ ἐξ ὑπογούου, φημί, καὶ παρημελημένως ὑμῖν, ἑταῖροι, τὰ τῶν λόγων ἔοικεν ἀσχεδιάσθαι, διηγεκοὺς δὲ καὶ νῆ Δί' ἐρρωμένης φροντίδος ἐναργῆ ταυτ' ἐστὶν ἴχνη· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὅ τι τῶν λεκτέων εἰπεῖν ἐτέρω δύνασθαι παρήκατε. καὶ πολλή μὲν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμπειρία, πλείων δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων δεινότης, ὥστ' ἔγωγε ἂν εὐζαίμην, εἴπερ ἦν ἐν δυνατῶ,³ γενέσθαι Θηραμένης ἐκέεινος ὁ Κόθορνος, ἢν' ἄμφω νενικηκότες ἐξ ἴσου βαδίζοιτε. πλὴν ἐπειδήπερ ἀνήσειν οὐκ εἴοικατε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ πλῶ περι τῶν αὐτῶν οὐ κέκρικα διοχλεῖσθαι, τὸ μάλιστα παραστὰν εἶναι μοι δίκαιον ἀποφανοῦμαι.

51. γάμοι μὲν ἀνθρώποις βιωφελές πρᾶγμα καὶ μακάριον, ὅποταν εὐτυχῶνται, παιδικοὺς δ' ἔρωτας, ὅσοι φίλας ἀγνὰ δίκαια προμῶνται, μόνης φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἡγοῦμαι. διὸ δὴ γαμητέον μὲν ἄπαισι, παιδεραστεῖν δὲ ἐφείσθω μόνοις τοῖς σοφοῖς⁴. ἡκιστα γὰρ ἐν γυναιξὶν ὀλόκληρος ἀρετὴ φύεται. καὶ σὺ δ', ὦ Χαρίκλεις, μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆς, εἰ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἢ Κόρινθος εἴξει.

52. κἀγὼ μὲν ὑπ' αἰδοῦς συντόμῳ λόγῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἐπισπεύσας ἐξάνεστην· ἑώρων γὰρ ὑπερκατηφῆ τὸν Χαρικλέα παρὰ μικρὸν ὡς θανάτου κατὰκριτον. ὁ δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἰλαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ φαιδρὸς ἀναπηδήσας προῆει σφόδρα σοβαρῶς· εἴκασεν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἐν

¹ φρονοῖεν GE: corr. recs..

² ἑκατέρου edd..

³ ἐν δυνατῶ om. E.

⁴ σοφοῖς GE: φιλοσόφοις mg. G.

to the ship. They pressed me to pronounce my opinion, but, after weighing up for a short time the speeches of both, I said: "Your words, my friends, do not seem to me to be hurried, thoughtless improvisations, but give clear proof of continued and, by heaven, concentrated thought. For of all the possible arguments there's hardly one you've left for another to use. And, though your experience of the world is great, it is surpassed by your eloquence, so that I for one could wish, if it were possible, to become Theramenes, the Turncoat,¹ so that you could both be victorious and walk off on equal terms. However, since I do not think you'll let the matter be, and I myself am resolved not to be exercised on the same topic during the voyage, I shall give the verdict that has struck me as the fairest.

51. Marriage is a boon and a blessing to men when it meets with good fortune, while the love of boys, that pays court to the hallowed dues of friendship, I consider to be the privilege only of philosophy. Therefore all men should marry, but let only the wise be permitted to love boys, for perfect virtue grows least of all among women. And you must not be angry, Charicles, if Corinth yields to Athens."

52. After giving this decision hurriedly in a few brief words out of regard for my friend, I rose to my feet. For I saw that he was utterly dejected, almost like one condemned to death. But the Athenian leapt up joyously with a gleeful expression on his face and started to stalk about in front of us most triumphantly, just as if, one would have thought, he had

¹ Literally "the buskin," "the boot which can fit either foot," a nickname given to the politician Theramenes for his "sail-trimming" at the end of the Peloponnesian War.

Σαλαμῖνι Πέρσας κατανεναυμαχηκένας. καὶ τοῦτό γε τῆς κρίσεως ἀπιανάμην, λαμπρότερον ἡμᾶς ἐστίασαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ πινίκια· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως¹ τῷ βίῳ μεγαλοφρονέστερος. ἤσυχῃ δὲ καὶ τὸν Χαρικλέα παρηγορησάμην ἐπὶ τῇ δεινότητι τῶν λόγων συνεχῆς ὑπερβαυμάζων, ὅτι δυσχερεστέρω μέρει δυνατῶς συνηγόρησεν.

53. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐν Κνίδῳ διατριβὴ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῇ θεῷ λαληθέντα σπουδῆν ἰλαρὰν ἄμα καὶ παιδιὰν εὐμουσον ἐσχηκότα τῆδέ πη διεκρίθη. σὺ δέ, ὦ Θεόμνηστε, ὁ τὴν ἔωλον ἡμῶν ἐκκαλεσάμενος μνήμην, εἰ δικαστῆς τότ' ἦσθα, πῶς ἂν ἀπεφῆμω;

ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ

Μελιτίδην ἢ Κόροιβον² οἶει με πρὸς θεῶν, ἵνα τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ δικαίως κριθεῖσιν ἐναντίαν φέρω ψήφον; ὡς³ ὑπ' ἄκρας ἡδονῆς τῶν λεγομένων ἐν Κνίδῳ διατρίβειν ὥομην ὀλίγου τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο δωμάτιον αὐτὸν ἠγούμενος εἶναι τὸν νεῶν ἐκεῖνον. ὅμως δ' οὖν—οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς ἐν ἑορτῇ λέγεσθαι, πᾶς δὲ γέλως, κἂν περιέργος ἦ, πανηγυρίζων δοκεῖ—τοὺς ἄγαν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν κατωφρυωμένους λόγους ἐθαύμαζον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σεμνότητι, πλὴν οὐ πάνυ θυμῆρες ὥομην, ἐφῆβω παιδί συνδιημερεύοντα Τανταλείους δίκας ὑποφέρεω, καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι τοῦ κάλλους μονονουχί προσκλύζοντος, ἐξὸν ἀρύσασθαι, διψῆν ὑπομένειω· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ θεωρεῖν

¹ ἄλλος ΓΕ: corr. recce..

² κόρυβον ΓΕ: corr. recce..

³ ὡς ΓΕ: ὅς Ε^ο. edd..

defeated the Persian fleet at Salamis. I derived a further benefit from my verdict when he entertained us to a magnificent feast to celebrate his victory. For his behaviour had in other ways, too, shown him to be generous of spirit. As for Charicles, I consoled him quietly by repeatedly expressing my great admiration for his eloquence and his able defence of the more awkward cause.

53. Well, thus ended our stay in Cnidus and our conversation in the sanctuary of the goddess with its combination of gay earnestness and cultured fun. But now, Theomnestus, you who have evoked these old memories of mine must tell me how you would have decided, if you had been judge.

THEOMNESTUS

By heaven, do you think I'm a Melitides or Coroebus¹ to cast a vote in opposition to your just verdict? For through my intense enjoyment of your narrative I thought I was in Cnidus, almost imagining this small chamber to be that temple. But nevertheless, seeing that nothing said on a festive day is unseemly, and any jesting, even if carried to excess, is thought in keeping with the holiday spirit, I must say I admired the solemnity of the very high-brow speeches evoked by love of boys, except that I didn't think it very agreeable to spend all day with a youth suffering the punishment of Tantalus, and, though the waters of beauty are, as it were, almost lapping against my eyes, to endure thirst when one can help oneself to water. For it's not enough to

¹ Proverbial fools. Cf., for Melitides, Aristophanes, *Frogs* 991, Aelian *V.H.* 13. 16 and, for Coroebus, Lucian, *The Lover of Lies* 3.

ἐρώμενον οὐδ' ἅπαντικρὺ καθημένον καὶ λαλοῦντος ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡδονῆς κλίμακα συμπηξάμενος ἔρως πρῶτον ἔχει βαθμὸν ὄψεως, ἵνα ἴδῃ, κἂν θεάσῃται, ποθεῖ προσάγων ἐφάψασθαι· δι' ἄκρων γοῦν δακτύλων κἂν μόνον θίγῃ, τὰ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως εἰς ἅπαν διαθεῖ τὸ σῶμα. τυχῶν δ' εὐμαρῶς τοῦτου τρίτην πείραν ἐπάγει φιλήματος, οὐκ εὐθὺ περιέρχον, ἀλλ' ἡρέμα χεῖλη προσεγγίσας χεῖλεσιν, ἃ πρὶν ἢ ψαῦσαι τελείως, ἀπέστη, μηδὲν ὑπονοίας ἔχνος ἀπολιπών· εἶτα πρὸς τὸ παρεῖκον¹ ἄρμολόμενος αἰεὶ λιπαρεστέροις μὲν ἀσπασμασιν ἐντέτηκεν, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ διαστελλῶν ἡσυχῇ τὸ στόμα, τῶν δὲ χειρῶν οὐδεμίαν παρήσῃ ἀργήν· αἱ γὰρ φανεραὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐσθήτων² συμπλοκαὶ³ τὴν ἡδονὴν συνάπτουσιν, ἢ λάθριος⁴ ὑγρῶς ἢ δεξιὰ κατὰ κόλπου δῦσα μαστοὺς βραχὺ τὴν φύσιν ὑπεροιδῶντας πιέζει, καὶ σφριγώσης γαστρὸς ἀμφιλαφὲς τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐπιδράττεται ὀμαλῶς, μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρωτόχρουν ἄνθος ἡβῆς. καὶ

τί τάρρητ' ἀναμετρήσασθαι με δεῖ;

τοσαύτης τυχῶν ἐξουσίας ὁ ἔρως θερμότερου τινὸς ἄπτεται πράγματος· εἶτ' ἀπὸ μηρῶν προοιμισάμενος κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτὸ ἐπάταξεν.

54. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὕτω παιδεραστεῖν γένοιτο· μετεωρολέσχει δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τὴν φιλοσοφίας ὄφρυν ὑπέρ

¹ παρεῖκον recs.: παρήκον ΓΕ.

² ἐσθήτων recs.: αἰσθητῶν ΓΕ.

³ συμπλοκαὶ ΓΕ: περιπλοκαὶ Γ^α Ε², edd..

⁴ λαθρίως ΓΕ: corr. rec..

look at the loved one or to listen to his voice as he sits facing you,¹ but love has, as it were, made itself a ladder of pleasure, and has for its first step that of sight, so that it may see the beloved, and, once it beholds, it wishes to approach and to touch. If it only touches with but the fingertips, the waves of enjoyment run into the whole body. Once easily achieving this, love attempts the third stage and tries a kiss, not making it a violent one at first, but lightly bringing lips close to lips so that they part before completing full contact, without leaving the slightest cause for suspicion. Thus it adjusts itself to the success gained and melts into ever more importunate embraces, sometimes gently opening the mouth and leaving neither hand idle. For open embraces of the beloved when clothed give mutual pleasure; or else the furtive hand wantonly glides down into the bosom and squeezes for a moment the breasts swollen past their normal size and makes a smooth sweep to grasp with the fingers the belly throbbing full spate with passion, and thereafter the early down of adolescence, and—

“But why recount the thing one should not tell?”²

Once love has gained so much liberty it begins warmer work. Then it makes a start with the thighs and, to quote the comic poet, “strikes the target.”³

54. May I for my part find it my lot to love boys in this way. But may the airy talkers and those who raise their philosophic brows temple-high and even

¹ See note on p. 220.

² Euripides, *Orestes* 14.

³ The reference is unknown.

αὐτοὺς τοὺς κροτάφους ὑπερήρκασι, σεμνῶν ὀνομάτων κομψεύμασι τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς ποιμανέτωσαν· ἐρωτικὸς γὰρ ἦν, εἶπερ τις, καὶ ὁ¹ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὑπὸ μίαν Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτῷ χλανίδα κλιθεὶς οὐκ ἀπλήξ ἀνέστη. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Πάτροκλος ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως ἠγαπάτο μέχρι τοῦ καταντικρῦ καθέζεσθαι

δέγμενος Αἰακίδην, ὅποτε λήξειεν αἰείδων,
ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων φιλίας μεσίτις ἠδονή·
στένων γοῦν Ἀχιλλεύς τὸν Πατρόκλου θάνατον
ἀταμιεύτω πάθει πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπερράγη,

μηρῶν τε τῶν σῶν εὐσέβησ' ὀμιλίαν
κλαίων.²

τούς γε μὴν ὀνομαζομένους παρ' Ἑλλησι κωμαστάς
οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ δῆλους ἐραστάς νομίζω. τάχα
φήσει τις αἰσχρὰ ταῦτ' εἶναι λέγεσθαι, πλὴν ἀληθῆ
γε νῆ τὴν Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ ἀνέξομαί σου, φίλε Θεόμνηστε, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν
καταβαλλομένου τρίτων λόγων, ἧς ἀκούειν ἐν ἑορτῇ
μόνον εἰκὸς ἐστίν, τὰλλα δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ὥτων πόρρω
ἀποικιεῖν. ἀφέμενοι δὲ τοῦ παρέλκειν πλείω χρό-
νον εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐξίωμεν· ἤδη γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐστίν
ὑφάπτεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὴν πυράν. ἔστιν δ' οὐκ
ἀτερπὴς ἢ θέα τῶν ἐν Οἴτῃ παθῶν ὑπομμνήσκουσα
τοὺς παρόντας.

¹ εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος, ὁ conieci.

² sic Hermann: εὐσεβῆς ὀμιλία καλλίω ΓΕ.

higher, beguile the ignorant with the speciousness of their solemn phrases. For Socrates was as devoted to love as anyone and Alcibiades, once he had lain down beneath the same mantle with him, did not rise unassailed.¹ Don't be surprised at that. For not even the affection of Achilles for Patroclus was limited to having him seated opposite

“Waiting until Aeacides should cease his song.”²

No, pleasure was the mediator even of *their* friendship. At any rate, when Achilles was lamenting the death of Patroclus, his unrestrained feelings made him burst out with the truth and say,

“The converse of our thighs my tears do mourn
With duteous piety”³

Those whom the Greeks call “revellers” I think to be nothing but ostentatious lovers. Perhaps someone will assert this is a shameful thing to say, but, by Aphrodite of Cnidus, it's the truth.

LYCINUS

My dear Theomnestus, I won't tolerate your laying the foundation of a third discourse, for this one should hear only on a holiday, and further talk should be banished far from my ears. Let us not linger any longer, but go out to the market-place. For it's now the time when the fire should be lit in honour of Heracles. It's a pleasant sight and reminds those present of what he suffered on Oeta.⁴

¹ A flat rejection of the account of Plato, *Symposium* 219 C, which is followed by Callitratidas in c. 49.

² Achilles *Iliad* IX. 191, cf. c. 5; he now rejects Xen. *Symp.* 8.31.

³ Aeschylus, Fr. 136, probably from the *Myrmidons*.

⁴ The mountain where Heracles burnt himself to death. See Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, fn.

IN PRAISE OF DEMOSTHENES

I FOLLOW most editors in rejecting *In Praise Of Demosthenes* as non-Lucianic because of its lack of inspiration, its inferior Greek and its avoidance of hiatus. It was presumably written in imitation of the style of Lucian by a sophist who knew Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes*; it also has a certain amount in common with Pseudo-Plutarch's *Lives of the Ten Orators* and a few superficial resemblances with Libanius' *Life of Demosthenes*. The date of the work is quite uncertain. If the scene is Rhodes (see note on c. 2 and introduction to *Affairs of the Heart*), it was probably written before the middle of the fourth century, and therefore before the time of Libanius. There is a good edition by F. Albers (Leipzig, 1910).

A. Bauer (Paderborn, 1914) revives a theory that the work is by Lucian and was meant as a satirical caricature of the encomia of contemporary rhetoricians. Bauer suggests that Lucian has deliberately made the speakers guilty of grotesque exaggerations and of the bad Greek of his day, while the Macedonian memoirs so offend against all the rules of historical probability that the author must be waxing scornful about the flights of fancy indulged in by encomiasts. Though this interpretation is ingenious, it is unconvincing. If the vast majority of scholars have failed to see any satire in a work attributed to Lucian the satirist, the satire is well concealed indeed. It is a poor satirist who does not make his satire, however subtle, recognisable for what it is.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

1. Βαδίζοντί μοι κατὰ τὴν στοᾶν τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐξιόντων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τῆς ἑκτῆς ἐπὶ δέκα σμικρὸν πρὸ μεσημβρίας, Θερσαγόρας περιτυγχάνει. τάχα¹ τινὲς αὐτὸν ὑμῶν ἐπίσταντο· σμικρὸς τίς ἐστι γρυπὸς ὑπόλευκος ἀνδρικός τὴν φύσιν, ἰδὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ἔτι προσιώντα Θερσαγόρας, ἔφην, ὁ ποιητῆς, ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν;

Οἴκοθεν, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἐνταῦθα.

Πότερον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, διαβαδίσων;

Ἀμέλει μὲν, ἔφη, καὶ τούτου δεόμενος· ἄωρι γάρ τοι τῶν νυκτῶν ἐξαναστὰς ἔδοξέ μοι χρῆναι τοῖς Ὁμήρου γενεθλίοις τῆς ποιητικῆς ἀπάρξασθαι.

Καλῶς γε σὺ ποιῶν, ἔφην, καὶ τὰ τροφεῖα τῆς παιδείσεως ἐκτίμων.²

Ἐκεῖθεν οὖν ἀρξάμενος, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἔλαθον ἐμανθὼν εἰς τοῦτο τῆς μεσημβρίας ἐκπεσῶν. ὅπερ οὖν ἔφην, δεῖ μὲν μοι καὶ τοῦ περιπάτου· 2. πολὺ μέντοι πρότερον, ἔφη,³ προσειπεῖν τούτου δεόμενος ἤκω—τῇ χειρὶ τὸν Ὁμηρον ἐπιδείξας· ἵστε δὴπου τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ τῶν Ἱπτολεμαίων νεῖο, τὸν καθευμένον τὰς

Traditio est simplex. Vett. = Γ, Β, Φ (Laur. C.S.77); recc. = Ν, Μ (Par. 2954), et alii.

¹ τάχ' ἄν Bekker.

² ἐκτίμων Γ: ἐκείνων τίνων ΒΦ.

³ ἔφη om. Γ.

IN PRAISE OF DEMOSTHENES

1. While I was walking on the far side of the Porch—on the left as you go out—shortly before noon on the sixteenth¹ of the month, I was met by Thersagoras who will perhaps be known to some of you. He's a short man with a hooked nose and hair that's just going grey and is endowed with a virile constitution. Now, when I saw him still coming towards me, I said, "Where's Thersagoras the poet going? And where's he come from?"²

"I've been at home" he said, "and I've come here."

"For a stroll?" said I.

"Of course," said he, "that's precisely what I want. For I got up in the small hours resolved to honour Homer's birthday with the first-fruits of my poetry."

"Most commendable too," said I, "that you should repay him for the schooling he's given you."

"Well that's how I started," said he, "and now, before I know it, it's noon. So, as I said, I need a walk. 2. But a much more particular reason for coming here was that I wanted to pay my respects to this gentleman" (he pointed to the figure of Homer;

¹ Presumably in the month of Pyanepsion (mid-October to mid-November) on the 16th of which Demosthenes died. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes* fin.

² Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* init.

κόμας—προσερῶν τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἀφικόμην, ἔφη, καὶ προσευξόμενος ἀφθόνων διδόναι τῶν ἐπῶν.

Εἰ γάρ, ἔφην, ἐν εὐχαῖς τὰ πράγματα εἶη. πάλαί γάρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς <ἀν> ἐνοχλεῖν¹ μοι δοκῶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐπικουρήσαι τι πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον. εἰ οὖν ἡμῖν ἐπαρκέσει² τὸ εὐχέσθαι, συμβουλοίμην ἄν σοι· κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ ἔρμαιον.

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν νύκτων τε καὶ τῆμερον πεποιημένων δοκῶ μοι τῆς εὐροίας τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπιγράψασθαι· θείως γὰρ πως καὶ μαντικῶς εἰς τὴνποίησιν ἐξεβακχεύθη. κρινεῖς δ' αὐτὸς· ἐπιτηδές γάρ τοι τουτὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον περιηγόμεν, εἰ ἄρα τῷ σχολῆν ἄγοντι τῶν ἐταίρων περιτύχοιμι. δοκεῖς οὖν ἐν καλῷ μοι σὺ τῆς σχολῆς εἶναι.

3. Μακάριος γὰρ εἶ, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, καὶ πέπονθας τὸ τοῦ³ τὸν δόλιχον νενικηκότος, ὃς ἤδη λελουμένος τὴν κόνιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς θέας ψυχαγωγούμεος μυθολογεῖν πρὸς τὸν παλαιστὴν διανοεῖτο, ἐπιδόξου κληθήσεσθαι τῆς πάλης οὐσης· ὁ δ' Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς βαλβίδος οὐκ ἂν ἐμυθολόγεις, ἔφη. καὶ σὺ δὴ μοι δοκεῖς νενικηκῶς τὸν δόλιχον τῶν ἐπῶν ἐντρυφᾶν ἀνδρὶ μάλα δὴ⁴ κατορρωδοῦντι τὴν τοῦ σταδίου τύχην. καὶ ὃς γελάσας,

¹ ἀν ἐνοχλεῖν (potius quam ἀν ὀχλεῖν) scripsi: ἐνοχλεῖν sodd., edd..

² ἐπαρκέσει vett., edd.: corr. rec..

³ τὸ τοῦ Φ; τοῦ Γ; τὸ Β.

⁴ ἢ κατορρωδῶν vett.: corr. rec..

¹ The scene is probably neither Athens (cf. c. 25) nor Alexandria but Rhodes; Diodorus 20.100.4 records that the Rhodians dedicated a square precinct surrounded by stons 600 feet long to Ptolemy Soter. Cf. also Strabo 17.1.8. Rhodes seems a particularly suitable setting for

I'm sure you know the Homer I mean, the one to the right of the temple of the Ptolemies,¹ the one with the flowing locks.) "Well," he continued, "I've come to have a word with him and to pray him to give me of his abundance of poetry."

"Oh!" said I, "if only that could be had by prayer! For in that case I think I would have followed your example long ago and been pestering Demosthenes to give me some help to mark his birthday. If then prayer will help us, I'd join in your wishes; for you must share your luck with me."

"For my part," said he, "I think I can credit Homer with the fine flow of my compositions of both last night and this morning. For a heaven-sent frenzy has brought me poetic inspiration. But you will judge for yourself. For I've been carrying this tablet round with me on purpose in the hope of meeting a friend who was at leisure; and you, I think, are well placed for leisure."

3. "You're a lucky fellow," said I, "and just like the winner of the long-distance race, who, having already washed off his dust and now able to enjoy the rest of the spectacle, was minded to regale the wrestler with his tales, though the wrestling event was expected to be announced at any moment; the wrestler, however, retorted 'But you wouldn't have so many tales to tell if you were on your mark at the starting-line!' So too you seem to me to have won the long-distance race for poetry and to be indulging yourself at my expense, when I'm really on tenterhooks about my fortunes in the sprint."

the dialogue in view of Demosthenes' speech *On the Liberty of the Rhodians* and her claim to be the birthplace of Homer.

᾽Ως δὴ σοι τί τῶν ἀπόρων, εἶπεν, ἐργασόμενος;¹

4. Ἴσως γάρ, ἔφη, ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐλάττωνος ἤ καθ' Ὀμηρον εἶναι σοι λόγον καταφαίνεται. καὶ σὺ μὲν² φρονεῖς Ὀμηρον ἐπαινέσας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης σμικρὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν;

Συκοφαντεῖς, ἔφη. διαστασιάζομαι δ' οὐκ ἂν τοὺς ἥρωες, εἰ καὶ πλείων εἰμι τὴν γνώμην πρὸς Ὀμήρου τετάχθαι.

5. Ἐὖ σοὺ³ γε, εἶπεν. ἐμὲ δ' οὐκ ἂν νομίζεις πρὸς τοῦ Δημοσθένους; ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ γε μὴ ταύτη τὸν λόγον ἀτιμάζεις, κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν δῆλον ὡς τὴν ποιητικὴν ἔργον ἡγή μόνον, τοὺς δὲ ῥητορικοὺς λόγους καταφρονεῖς ἀτεχνῶς οἷον ἵππευς παρὰ πεζοὺς ἐλαύνων.

Μὴ μανείην, ἔφη, ταῦτά γε, κἂν εἰ πολλῆς δεῖ τῆς μανίας ἐπὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ἰοῦσιν θύρας.

Δεῖ γάρ τοι καὶ τοῖς καταλογάδην, ἔφη, ἐνθέου τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας, εἰ μέλλουσιν μὴ ταπεινοὶ φανεῖσθαι καὶ φαύλης φροντίδος.

Οἷδά τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἑταῖρε, καὶ χαίρω πολλάκις ἄλλων τε δὴ λογοποιῶν καὶ τὰ Δημοσθένους ἐγγυὲς τῶν Ὀμήρου τιθείς, οἷον λέγω τὴν σφοδρότητα καὶ πικρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν, καὶ τὸ μὲν "οἶνο-βαρῆς" πρὸς τὰς Φιλίππου μέθας καὶ κορδακισμοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν, τὸ δὲ "εἰς οἶνον ἀριστος" πρὸς τὸ "δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τὰς ἀγαθὰς ὑποθεμένους ἐλπίδας" καὶ τὸ

¹ ἐργασόμενος Gesner.

² μὲν μέγα voc..

³ σὺ add. Keil.

¹ Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 245A. ² Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 811C.

³ Cf. *Iliad*, 1.225. ⁴ Cf. Demosthenes, *2nd Olynthiac*, 18.

"Just how do you think I'll be making things awkward for you?" asked he with a laugh.

4. "Well," said I, "perhaps you consider Demosthenes of too little account to be on a par with Homer? If you're proud of your encomium of Homer, is Demosthenes a minor and trivial matter to me?"

"You're being libellous," said he, "for I wouldn't start these great ones quarrelling, even if I am more minded to range myself on Homer's side."

5. "Well spoken!" said I. "And wouldn't you think me to be on the side of Demosthenes? But, though you thus show respect for speech, your choice makes it obvious that you think that only in poetry lies any achievement, while you despise rhetorical speeches as if you were a cavalryman galloping past infantrymen."

"I hope I won't go as mad as all that, even if no little madness is needed by those who are to reach the portals¹ of poetry."

"Let me point out that prose authors too need some divine inspiration² if they are not to appear pedestrian and dull-witted."

"I know that, my friend," said he. "I often find pleasure in comparing the works of the speech-writers and of Demosthenes in particular with those of Homer for, shall I say, intensity, pungency and inspiration; I set 'wine-laden'³ against the 'drunkenness, dissolute dances and debauchery'⁴ of Philip, and 'One omeu is best'⁵ against 'Brave men must with brave hopes in their hearts'⁶ and

⁵ Cf. *Iliad*, XII. 243.

⁶ Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 97.

“ ἢ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς ”
 πρὸς τὸ “ πηλίκον ποτὲ ἂν στενάξειαν οἱ ἄνδρες
 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ὑπὲρ δόξης καὶ ἐλευθερίας τελευτήσαντες; ”
 παραβάλλω δὲ καὶ τὸν “ ῥέοντα Πύθωνα ” πρὸς τὰς
 Ὀδυσσεύως “ νιφάδας ” τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸ

“ εἰ μὲν μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ’ ἀθανάτω τε
 ἕσσεσθαι.”¹

πρὸς τὸ “ πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ βίου
 θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθεύδῃς
 τηρῇ ”. καὶ μυρίαί γε αὖθις² αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ταῦτόν τῆς
 διανοίας ἐπίδρομαί.

6. ἤδομαι δὲ καὶ πάθῃ καὶ διαθέσεις καὶ τροπὰς
 λέξεως³ καὶ τὰς ἀφαιρούσας τὸν κόρον μεταβολὰς
 καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν παρατροπῶν ἐπανόδους καὶ τὰς τῶν
 παραβολῶν σὺν τῷ καιρῷ γλαφυρότητας καὶ τὸ
 τοῦ τρόπου μισοβάρβαρον πανταχοῦ. 7. καί μοι
 πολλάκις ἔδοξεν—οὐ γὰρ ἂν τάληθές ἀποκρυφαίμην
 —εὐπρεπέστερον μὲν ῥαθυμίας Ἀττικῆς καθάπτε-
 σθαι Δημοσθένους ὁ τὴν παρρησίαν, ὡς φασιν,
 ἀνεμνόςτου τοῦ τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦς “ Ἀχαιΐδας ” προσει-
 πόντος, διαρκεστέρω δὲ τόνῳ πνεύματος τὰς
 Ἑλληνικὰς ἀποπληροῦν τραγωδίας τοῦ μεταξὺ τῆς
 ἀκμαιοτάτης μάχης διαλόγου ἀναπλάττοντος καὶ
 μῦθοις τὴν φορὰν σκεδαννύντος. 8. πολλάκις δέ με
 τὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους—καὶ μέτρα κώλων καὶ ῥυθμοὶ
 καὶ βάσεις—οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ποιητικῆς ἡδονῆς ἐκβιβάζω.

¹ ἕσσεσθαι codd..

² αὖθις om. F.

³ post λέξεως add. καταμυθῶν Ν, συγκρίτων Keil.

“ Yea mightily would moan old Peleus, lord of
 steeds ’¹ against ‘ How loud, I ask, would the heroes
 of old who died for glory and liberty lament ? ’² I
 also compare ‘ Pytho in spate ’³ with ‘ Odysseus’
 words like flakes of snow ’⁴ and
 ‘ If that the twain of us should never age or die ’⁵
 with ‘ For the end of all men’s life is death, even if a
 man for safety lock himself in his chamber.’⁶ And
 there are countless other occasions when their minds
 have rushed to the same thought.

6. I delight also to compare their emotional passages,
 their descriptive passages, figures of speech, variations
 that relieve monotony, their resumptions after digres-
 sions, the elegance of their well-chosen comparisons,
 and their style so free from all barbarisms. 7. More-
 over, I’ve often thought—for I shan’t hide the truth—
 that Demosthenes, who gave the proverbial rein to
 freedom of speech, takes Attic slackness to task with
 greater grace than he who called the Achaeans
 ‘ Achaeannesses,’⁷ and has a more sustained intensity
 of tone in doing full justice to the tragedies that
 befall the Greeks than he who inserts dialogues at the
 most desperate point of a battle and dissipates the
 flow of action with speeches. 8. Often Demosthenes
 with his measured clauses, rhythmical flow and cadences
 gives me the same pleasure as poetry, just as

¹ *Iliad* VII. 125.

² Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates*, 210.

³ Cf. *On the Crown*, 136.

⁴ *Iliad*, III. 222.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* XII. 322-4.

⁶ Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 97.

⁷ Homer. cf. *Iliad*, II. 235, VII. 96.

ζουσιν, ὡς περ οὐδ' Ὀμηρος ἐλλιπῆς ἀντιθέσεων ἢ παρισώσεων ἢ σχημάτων τραχύτητος ἢ καθαρότητος. ἀλλ' εἴκειν φύσει πως ὑπάρχειν ταῖς δυνάμεσι τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπιπεπλέχθαι. πόθεν γε¹ δὴ περιφρονοῖν ἂν τὴν Κλειῶ² τῇ Καλλιόπῃ ταῦτ' ἀδυναμένῃν³ γινώσκων; 9. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἤττον τοῦμόν ἀγώνισμα τῶν εἰς Ὀμηρον ἐγκωμίων διπλάσιον ἔργον ἢ τοὺς σοὺς εἰς Δημοσθένην ἐπαίνους τίθημι, οὐ τοῖς μέτροις—

Ἄλλὰ τῷ μὲν; ἔφην.⁴

—Τῷ τοῦμόν μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐδραϊὰν τιὰ κρηπίδα τῶν ἐπαίνων ὑποβάλλεσθαι πλὴν γε τῆς ποιητικῆς αὐτῆς· τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῷ⁵ μὲν ἀσαφῆ, πατρὶς καὶ γένος καὶ χρόνος. εἰ γοῦν τι σαφές αὐτῶν ἦν,

οὐκ ἦν ἂν⁶ ἀμφίλεκτος ἀνθρώποις ἔρις, πατρίδα μὲν αὐτῷ διδόντων Ἴον⁷ ἢ Κολοφῶνα ἢ Κύμην ἢ Χίον ἢ Σμύρναν⁸ ἢ Θήβας τὰς Αἰγυπτίας ἢ μυρίας ἄλλας, πατέρα δὲ Μαίονα τὸν Λυδὸν ἢ ποταμόν, ὅπου⁹ γε καὶ τοῦνομα πρὸ τοῦ γνωρίμου τὸ Μελασιγενῆ προκρίνουσιν καὶ μητέρα <τὴν>¹⁰ Μελανώπου φασὶν ἢ νύμφην τῶν Ὑδριάδων¹¹ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους ἀπορία, χρόνον δὲ τὸν ἡρωϊκὸν ἢ

¹ γε codd.: γὰρ edd..

² Κλειῶ rec.: κλιω ΓΒ: κλειῶ Φ.

³ ταῦτ' ἀδυναμένῃν Keil: ταύτῃ δὲ ΓΦ: ἢ ταύτῃ δὲ Β. Τὴν σὴν Καλλιόπην τοιαύτην γε γινώσκων edd..

⁴ ἔφην Keil qui sic pungit: ἔφη veti. (sine vicibus loquentium).

⁵ τῷ Β: τὰ ΓΦ.

⁶ ἂν om. codd..

⁷ Ἴον rec.: Ἴον ἢ Κῶ Φ: Ἰωνικὴν ΓΒ.

⁸ Σμύρναν edd.: Στυπείαν codd..

⁹ ὅπου . . . προκρίνουσιν (post εἰδέναι in codd.) transtulit Albers: fortasse delendum.

¹⁰ τὴν add. Albers: Μελανώπου veti.: Μελανώπην rec..

¹¹ Ὑδριάδων Albers: Ἰδριάδων codd..

Homer too is not devoid of antitheses or balanced clauses or violent figures of speech or purity of style. But yet it seems to be the gift of nature that to each capacity is added excellence in its use. For how could I despise Clio,¹ when I know her to be as powerful as Calliope? 9. However I am none the less inclined to regard my special composition in eulogy of Homer to be twice as great a work as your praises of Demosthenes, not by reason of its verse, I mean—

“But by what?” I asked.

“—But because I have no firm foundation on which to build my praises except his actual poetry. All else about Homer is uncertain—his country, his family, the time when he lived. If at least any of these were certain,

‘Mankind were free from disputatious strife,’² for they give him for country Ios or Colophon or Cyme or Chios or Smyrna or Egyptian Thebes or countless other cities,³ while they say his father was Maeon, the Lydian, or a river,⁴ for at any rate they even prefer the name Melesigenes⁵ to his familiar one, and his mother was the daughter of Melanopus,⁶ or, for want of human parentage, a Water Nymph, and that his time was the age of the heroes or the

¹ Clio was the Muse of History, and Calliope the Muse of epic poetry.

² Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 500.

³ Cf. Aulus Gellius, 3.11.

⁴ Viz. Meles, the river of Smyrna; cf. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* init., etc., though a stronger tradition in the various *Vitae Homericæ* is that Homer was born by the banks of the Meles.

⁵ I.e. “Son of Meles.”

⁶ I.e. Crethels; cf. *Certamen* init. etc. (Melanope which is read by editors on poor manuscript authority is not recorded elsewhere as the mother of Homer).

τὸν Ἴωνικόν, καὶ μὴδ' ὅπως πρὸς τὸν Ἡσιόδον εἶχεν ἡλικίας σαφῶς εἰδέναι, τύχην δὲ πενίας ἢ πάθος ὀμμάτων. ἀλλὰ μὴν βέλτιον εἶη¹ καὶ ταῦτα εἶν ἐν ἀσαφεῖ κείμενα. περὶ στενὸν δὴ μοι κομιδῇ τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ποιήσιν ἀπρακτον ἐπαυέσαι καὶ σοφίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπάν εἰκαζομένην συλλέγειν. 10. τὸ δὲ σόν, ἔφη, κατὰ χειρὸς ἐπίδρομον τε καὶ λειὸν ἐφ' ὠρισμένοις τε καὶ γνωρίμοις² μόνον <τῶν>³ ὀνομάτων,⁴ οἷον ὄψον ἔτοιμον ἡδυσμάτων παρὰ σοῦ δεόμενον. τί γὰρ οὐ μέγα τῷ Δημοσθένει καὶ λαμπρὸν ἢ τύχη προσήψε; τί δ' οὐ γνώριμον; οὐκ Ἀθηναίαι μὲν αὐτῷ πατρίς, "αἱ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἀοίδιμοι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα"; καίτοι λαβόμενος ἂν ἐγὼ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπεισηγον ἂν ἔρωτας θεῶν καὶ κρίσεις καὶ κατοικήσεις καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ τῆν Ἑλευσίνα. νόμον δὲ καὶ δικαστηρίων καὶ πανηγυρίων καὶ Πειραιῶς καὶ ἀποικιῶν καὶ τροπαίων θαλαττίων τε καὶ χερσαίων ἐπεισηγμένων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἐπ' ἴσης ἀξίως ἐφικέσθαι δύναίτο τῷ λόγῳ, φησὶν ὁ Δημοσθένης. ἀφθονία μὲν <οὔν>⁵ ἦν ἂν μοι περιττὴ πάντως,⁶ τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον οὐκ ἂν ἀπαρτᾶν ἐνομιζόμεν, ἐν νόμῳ

¹ sic B: μὴ βέλτιον εἶη ΓΦ: μὴν . . . ἂν εἶη edd.: μὴ . . . ἢ coniecti.

² sic Φ: γνωρισμοῖς ΓΒ.

³ τῶν suppl. Keil.

⁴ ὀμμάτων vett.: corr. N.

⁵ οὔν suppl. Fritzsche.

⁶ sic rece.: περιττὸν ἐπίποτος εἰ vett..

¹ I.e. when Ionia was colonised by emigrants from Attica, traditionally 140 years after the Trojan War; Aristotle

Ionian period¹ and they admit they do not even know for sure how he compared for age with Hesiod. They say his lot was one of poverty or that he was blind. But perhaps it would be better to leave these matters shrouded in obscurity. My eulogy, you can see, is limited to a very narrow field; I must praise his poetry as distinct from his life and collect an impression of his wisdom inferred from his hexameters alone.

10. But your path," he said, "lies there before you, an easy and smooth one over definite and familiar ground; like food ready before you it only requires from you the seasoning of words. Has not fortune coupled with Demosthenes everything that is great, everything that is glorious, everything that is famous? Was not his fatherland Athens, 'the rich, the renowned, the bulwark of Greece'?"² But, if I had got my hands on Athens, I would allow myself the poetic licence of introducing also the amours, law-suits and sojourns there of the gods, their gifts and the tale of Eleusis.³ And once her laws, her courts, her public festivals, her Piraeus, her colonies and her memorials in honour of victories by sea and land are also brought in, well, to quote Demosthenes himself,⁴ 'nobody at all could find words to do justice to these.' Indeed, I'd have a quite limitless supply of material, and none of it would be thought irrelevant to my panegyric, since it is traditional for

and Aristarchus assigned Homer to this period.

² Pindar, *Fr.* 76, also quoted in Lucian, *Timon* 50.

³ Cf. Plato, *Menexenus* 237 C, Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 28, Aristides, *Panath.* 107.

⁴ Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Navy Boards* 1, *False Legation* 66.

τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὃν ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἐπικοσμεῖν τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους. Ἰσοκράτης δὲ παρεμπόρευμα τῆς Ἑλένης φέρων ἐνέθηκε τὸν Θησεά. τὸ μὲν δὴ ποιητικὸν φύλον ἐλεύθερον. σοὶ δ' ἴσως εὐλάβεια τὸ τῆς παροιμίας ἐπὶ σκώμματι τῆς συμμετρίας¹ ἐπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ σοι μείζον προσκείτο τοῦτίγραμμα τῷ θυλάκῳ.

11. Παρέντι δὴ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκδέχεται τὸν λόγον πατὴρ τριηραρχος, " χρυσέα κρηπίς " κατὰ Πίνδαρον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν Ἀθήνησι λαμπρότερον τίμημα τοῦ² τριηραρχικοῦ. εἰ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἔτι κομιδῇ παιδὸς ὄντος ἐτελεύτα, τὴν ὄρφανίαν οὐ συμφορὰν ὑποληπτέον, ἀλλὰ δόξης ὑπόθεσιν τὸ τῆς φύσεως γενναῖον ἀποκαλύπτουσαν.

12. Ὀμήρου μὲν ὃν οὔτε παίδευσιν οὔτ' ἀσκήσιν μνήμη καθ' ἱστορίαν παρελήφαμεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀνάγκη τὸν ἔπαινον³ ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδημιουργημένων, ὕλην ἐκ τροφῆς καὶ μελέτης καὶ διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἔχοντα μηδ' ὃν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡσιόδου δάφνην καταφυγόντα, τὴν ραθύμως καὶ τοῖς ποιμέσιν τῶν ἐπῶν ἐπιπνεύσαν. σοὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα δήπου πολὺς μὲν ὁ Καλλίστρατος, λαμπρὸς δ' ὁ κατάλογος, Ἀλκιδάμας,⁴ Ἰσοκράτης, Ἰσαῖος, Εὐβουλίδης. μυρίων μὲν ἐφελκομένων Ἀθήνησι

¹ ἐπὶ . . . συμμετρίας vett. (ἀσσυμετρίας Rothstein): σκῶμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσσυμετρίᾳ recv..

² sic Bekker: τιμήματος codd..

³ τῶν ἐπαίνων B.

⁴ Ἀλκιδάμος vett..

¹ Viz. in cc. 21-37; cf. *Charidemus* cc. 16-18.

² Demosthenes' father, Demosthenes, was a sword-manufacturer, and so rich enough to undertake the public

eulogies to use the countries of those they praise to lend them further distinction. Thus Isocrates in his *Helen*¹ introduced in passing the story of Theseus. The race of poets is free; hut you perhaps must be careful of bringing on your head the proverbial saying in mockery of one's sense of proportion, for fear that you have too large a name-tag added to your sack.

11. Now I leave Athens and my account continues with his trierarch² father, a 'golden foundation' to quote Pindar.³ For there was no greater distinction at Athens than to be classed rich enough to be a trierarch. If he died while Demosthenes was still very young, we must not consider Demosthenes' bereavement as a tragedy, but as the starting-point of the glory which brought to light the nobility of his nature.

12. As for Homer, his education and training have not been recorded for us by history, hut the eulogy, having no material in his upbringing, training and education, must tackle right away the products of his workmanship, without indeed having taken refuge in the laurel of Hesiod, which easily gives poetic inspiration even to shepherds.⁴ But you, I am sure, can at this point say plenty about Callistratus, and you have that distinguished list of Alcidas, Isocrates, Isaeus and Eubulides.⁵

duty of equipping a trireme at his own expense. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Aphobus*, 1.9.

³ Fr. 194.1.

⁴ Cf. *Theogony*, 30.

⁵ Callistratus was the orator who first fired Demosthenes with a zeal for oratory, according to Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes*, 5; he is also said to have learnt directly or indirectly from some or all of the other four. Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* 844 B, Diogenes Laertius 2.108, Aulus Gellius 3.13.

τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τοὺς πατρονομίας ἀνάγκαις ὑποκειμένους, ταχείας¹ δ' οὔσης τοῖς μειρακίοις τῆς ἡλικίας εἰς τὰς θρύψεις² ὑπολισθάνειν, παρὸν δ' αὐτῷ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ὀλιγωρίας, καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς κατεῖχε πόθος, ὃς αὐτὸν ἤγειν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς Φρύνης, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ³ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ξενοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος θύρας.

13. κἀνταῦθ' ἄν,⁴ ὦ βέλτιστε, φιλοσοφοῖς τῷ λόγῳ διττὰς ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις ἐρώτων ἀγωγάς, τὴν μὲν θαλαττίου τινὸς ἔρωτος παράφορόν τε καὶ ἀγρίαν καὶ κυμαίνουσαν ἐν ψυχῇ, Ἀφροδίτης πανδήμου κλύδωνα, φλεγμαινούσας νέων ὀρμαῖς αὐτόχρημα θαλάττιον, τὴν δ' οὐρανίου " χρυσῆς τινας σειρᾶς ἔξιν," οὐ πυρὶ καὶ τόξοις ἐντιθεῖσαν δυσσάλθεῖς νόσους τραυμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάλλους ἄχραντόν τε καὶ καθαρὰν ἰδέαν ἐξορμῶσαν μανία σάφρονι τῶν ψυχῶν, " ὅσαι Ζηγὸς ἐγγὺς καὶ θεῶν ἀγχίσποροι," φησὶν ὁ τραγικός.

14. ἐρωτι δὴ πάντα πόριμα, κουρὰ⁵ σπήλαιον κάτοπτρον ξίφος, γλῶτταν διαθρῶσαι, μετελθεῖν ὀψὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπόκρισιν, μνήμην ἀκριβῶσαι, θορύβου καταφρονῆσαι, συνάψαι νύκτας ἐπιπόνοις

¹ ταχείας vett.: corr. N.

² θρήψεις vett.: τέρφεις N: corr. rec..

³ ἐπὶ edd.: ἐπὶ τὰς φιλοσοφίας codd..

⁴ sic edd.: κἀνταῦθα codd..

⁵ κουρῆ vett..

¹ A famous courtesan who was loved by Demosthenes' contemporary, Hyperides.

² Cf. *Affairs of the Heart* 37, Plato, *Symposium* 180 D etc.

Although there were countless pleasures at Athens to seduce even those subject to the rigours of paternal control, although youths are of an age swift to slip into the ways of debauchery, and he was at complete liberty to do so because of the neglect of his guardians, yet he was possessed by that love of philosophy and civic virtues, which led him to the doors not of Phryne,¹ but of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Xenocrates and Plato.

13. And at this point, my good friend, you could wax philosophical in your discourse about the two impulses² of love that come upon men, the one that of a love like the sea, frenzied, savage and raging like stormy waves in the soul, a veritable sea of Earthly Aphrodite surging with the fevered passions of youth, the other the pull of a heavenly cord of gold that does not bring with fiery shafts afflicting wounds hard to cure, but impels men to the pure and unsullied Form of absolute beauty, inspiring with a chaste madness such souls as, to quote the tragic poet,³

'Are nigh to Zeus and kindred of the gods.'

14. To love all things are possible; it can endure a shaved head, a cave, a mirror, the threat of a sword, it can afford articulate speech to its tongue, take up acting late in life, perfect the memory, despise noisy interruptions, and add nights to days spent in toil.⁴

³ Aeschylus, *Niobe*, Fr. 162 adapted. Cf. Plato, *Republic* 391 E.

⁴ Sc. as Demosthenes is said to have done to perfect his oratory. He retired to a cave and shaved half his head so that he could not go out. The mirror was so that he could watch his faults and the sword was suspended beside his shoulder to stop him moving it. Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* 844 D, Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 6.

ἡμέραις. ἐξ ὧν τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὁποῖος ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἔφη, σοὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἐγένετο, ταῖς μὲν ἐννοιαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καταπικνῶν τὸν λόγον, ταῖς δὲ διαθέσειν ἐξακριβῶν τὰς πιθανότητας, λαμπρὸς μὲν τῷ μεγέθει, σφοδρὸς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, σωφρονέστατος δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν νοημάτων ἐγκράτειαν, ποικιλώτατος δ' ἐναλλαγαῖς σχημάτων; μόνος γὰρ τοι τῶν ῥητόρων, ὡς ὁ Λεωσθένης ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, ἔμφυχον καὶ¹ σφυρήλατον παρεῖχεν τὸν λόγον.

15. οὐ γάρ, ὡς τὸν Αἰσχύλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ἔφη που λέγων τὰς τραγωδίας ἐν οἴνῳ γράφειν ἐξορμῶντα καὶ ἀναθερμαίνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ οὕτως ὁ Δημοσθένης συνετίθει πρὸς μέθην τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ πίνων· ἢ καὶ τὸν Δημάδην παῖξαι φασὶν εἰς ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑδροποσίαν, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς ὕδωρ λέγοιεν, τὸν Δημοσθένην δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ γράφειν. Πυθέα δὲ ὁ κρότος τῶν Δημοσθενικῶν λόγων ἀπόζειν ἐφαίνετο τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ λύχνου. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμὲν, ἔφη, σοὶ τὸ χωρίον τοῦ λόγου² κοινὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπόθεσιν. οὐ γάρ τοι μείων³ ὁ περὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν ὑπῆρχε κάμοι λόγος.

16. ἀλλ' εἰ μετίους ἐπὶ τὰς⁴ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς χρήμασι φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ὄλην λαμπρότητα—καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦει συνείρων ὡς

¹ καὶ ΓΦ: οὐ Β.

² τοῦ λόγου recs.: τοῦτό γ' οὐ vett..

³ τοι μείων recs.: τι μείων ΓΦ: τι μείων Β.

⁴ sic Φ: μέτροις ἐπιστὰς ΓΒ.

¹ Cf. Eupolis, 94.6.

² An Athenian patriot who attempted to throw off the Macedonian yoke after the death of Alexander.

Who does not know how fine an orator your Demosthenes became as a result of all this, using thought and language to give solidity to his speech, and careful arrangement to achieve perfection in persuasiveness, distinguished for his grandeur, strong in the power of his lungs, most temperate in his control over word and thought, most versatile in the variety of his tropes? Indeed he alone of orators,¹ to quote the bold words of Leosthenes,² 'gave his words both life and the strength that comes from the craftsman's hammer.'

15. For, unlike Aeschylus who, according to Callisthenes,³ wrote his tragedies on wine, thereby giving his spirit vigour and fire, Demosthenes did not tittle but drank water⁴ while composing his speeches. Thus it was that Demades, we are told, made fun of this water-bibbing of Demosthenes, by saying that others spoke to water,⁵ but Demosthenes wrote to it. And to Pytheas the ring of Demosthenes' speeches seemed to reek of the midnight oil.⁶ 'This part of your discourse,' said he, 'is on subject-matter also available to me. For, when it comes to discussing the poetry of Homer, I've always had a field no smaller than yours.'

16. But if you should pass on to his benefactions, his financial generosity and the unmitigated distinction of his political career"—he had now started on a

³ A historian contemporary with Alexander; cf. Plutarch, *Table Talk* 715 E.

⁴ Cf. Demosthenes, *Second Philippic* 30, *False Legation* 46, Pseudo-Plutarch 848 C.

⁵ A reference to the clepsydra or water-clock, which limited the time allotted to advocates' speeches.

⁶ Cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 8.

τὰ λοιπὰ προσθήσων, ἐγὼ δὲ γελάσας, ἦ Πού γε, ἔφην, διανοῇ καταχεῖν μου τῶν ὧτων ὥσπερ βαλανεὺς καταντλήσας τὸν λοιπὸν λόγον;

Νῆ Δία γε, εἶπεν, δημοθουίας τε καὶ χορηγίας ἐθελουσίους καὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ τεῖχος καὶ τάφρον καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων καὶ παρθένων ἐκδόσεις, ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, καὶ πρεσβείας¹ καὶ νομοθεσίας καὶ μέγεθος πολιτευμάτων ἐμπεισόν, γελᾶν ἔπεισέ μοι τοῦ τὰς ὀφρῦς συνάγοντος καὶ δεδιότος μὴ λόγοι τῶν Δημοσθένους αὐτὸν ἔργων ἐπιλίποιεν.

17. Ἴσως γάρ, ἔφην, ὦγαθέ, νομίζεις ἐμὲ δὴ² μόνον τῶν ἐν ῥητορικῇ βεβιωκότων μὴ διατεθρυλῆσθαι τὰ ὦτα ταῖς Δημοσθένους πράξεσιν;

Εἶ γε, ἔφην, περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπικουρίας τινός, ὡς σὺ φῆς, δεόμεθα· πλὴν εἰ μὴ σε τοῦναντίον κατέχει πάθος, οἷον αὐγῆς περιλαμπούσης οὐκ ἔχεις πρὸς λαμπρὰν τὴν Δημοσθένους δόξαν τὴν ὄψιν ἀπερείσαι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τι τοιοῦτον ἐφ' Ὀμήρω κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς πέποιθα· κατέβαλον γοῦν σμικροῦ³ δεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀντιβλεπτόν ὄν μοι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. εἶτ' ἐγὼ μὲν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, ἀνήνεγκα, <καὶ>⁴ δοκῶ μοι κατὰ σμικρὸν προσεθιζόμενος ἀντίον ὄραν μηδ' ἀποτρέπων ὥσπερ ἡλίου τὰς ὄψεις νόθος τοῦ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν γένους ἐλέγχεσθαι.

¹ πρέσβεις codd.: corr. Gesner.

² δὴ N: δὲ vetl..

³ sic Albers: ὁ μικροῦ Γ: μικροῦ cett..

⁴ καὶ suppl. Lehmann.

¹ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 344 D.

² Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 13.

list of qualities which he seemed intent on completing—but I laughed and said, “Do you really intend to drench my ears with the rest of your account like a bath-man with his canful? ¹”

“Indeed I do!” said he. “The public banquets he gave, his voluntary expenditure on choruses,² the warships, the wall, the ditch he paid for, the prisoners he ransomed, the maidens he provided with a dowry,³ all of which were acts of the highest public service, the embassies on which he served, the laws he carried, the magnitude of his political services—when I think of all these, I feel like laughing at one who knits his brows for fear that words for Demosthenes’ deeds may fail him.”

17. “Perhaps, my good fellow,” said I, “you think that I am really the only one to have spent a life in the pursuit of rhetoric without having had my ears deafened⁴ with the exploits of Demosthenes?”

“I do,” said he, “if, as you say, we need some help for our discourse; unless the opposite is the case with you, and you cannot fix your eyes on the bright glory of Demosthenes because of the radiant light investing him. For I myself had the same experience with Homer at first. At any rate I nearly dropped my eyes, thinking I couldn’t look my subject in the face. Then somehow I raised my eyes, because, I suppose, I was gradually growing accustomed to look it in the face without turning away as it were from the sun’s rays and showing myself a bastard member of Homer’s family.

³ For these services cf. Decree in Pseudo-Plutarch 851 and Fowler’s note (L.C.L. vol. 10, p. 342), and Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 248, 257, 268.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 358 C.

18. Σὸν δέ μοι φαίνεται καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, πολὺ ῥᾶον ἢ κατ' ἐμὲ εἶναι. τῆς μὲν γὰρ Ὀμήρου δόξης ὡς ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὀρμούσης τῆς ποιητικῆς δυναμέως ἀθρώως ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν ἀπάσης λαβέσθαι. σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ὄλον ἐφάπαξ τῇ γνώμῃ τράποιω, καὶ μάλα ἂν ἀποροῖς, περὶ τὸν λόγον ἄττων οὐδ' ἔχων ὅτου πρώτου τῇ γνώμῃ λάβοιο,¹ καθάπερ οἱ λίχνοι πάσχουσιν περὶ τὰς Συρακουσίας τραπέζας ἢ οἱ φιλήκοοι καὶ φιλοθεάμονες εἰς μυρίας ἀκουσμάτων καὶ θεαμάτων ἡδονὰς ἐμπεσόντες· οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἣν ἔλθωσιν αἰεὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μετατιθέντες. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ σὲ μεταπηδᾶν οὐκ ἔχοντα ἐφ' ὅτι σταίης, ἐν κύκλῳ σε περιελκόντων φύσεως μεγαλοπρεποῦς, ὀρμῆς διαπύρου, βίου σώφρονος, λόγου δεινότητος, τῆς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ἀνδρείας, λημμάτων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑπεροφίας, δικαιοσύνης, φιλανθρωπίας, πίστεως, φρονήματος, συνέσεως, ἐκάστου τῶν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πολιτευμάτων. ἴσως οὖν ὄρων ἔνθεν μὲν ψηφίσματα πρεσβείας² δημογορίας νόμους, ἐκεῖθεν ἀποστόλους Εὐβοίαν Μέγαρον τὴν Βοιωτίαν Χίον Ῥόδον τὸν Ἑλλησποντον Βυζάντιον, οὐκ ἔχεις ὅποι τὴν γνώμην ἀποκλίνης συμπεριφερόμενος τοῖς πλεονεκτήμασι. 19. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῷ νῦν τραπόμενος οὕτως πῶς ἠπόρηκεν,

¹ τράποις . . . λάβοις vett. ² πρέσβεις codd.: corr. Gesner.

¹ Sicilian banquets were proverbially sumptuous. Cf. *Dialogues of the Dead* 19.2, Horace, *Odes* 3.1.18, Plato, *Republic* 404 D.

18. You seem to me to have another great advantage over me," he continued, "for since Homer's reputation rests as it were upon the single anchor of his poetic power, I've had to lay hands on all of it at one and the same time. But, if you were to turn your mind to dealing with the whole of Demosthenes once and for all, you would be in the greatest difficulty as you darted to and fro round your discourse without knowing what your mind should seize upon as its primary topic, just as happens to gourmards at Syracusan banquets,¹ or lovers of listening or of spectacle when confronted with countless delights for the ear or the eye. They don't know which to pursue with their ever-changing desires. I think that you too leap to and fro, not knowing on what to set your feet, as you revolve under the attraction of his nobility of nature, his fiery ardour, his sober life, his eloquence, his courage in time of action, his contempt for many great financial rewards, his justice, humanity, loyalty, pride, wisdom, and each of his many great political services. Perhaps, therefore, when you see on one side decrees, embassies, public speeches and laws, and on the other naval expeditions, Euboea, Megara, Boeotia, Chios, Rhodes, the Hellespont and Byzantium, you don't know on which to rest your thoughts as you're whirled round and round by such an embarrassment of riches. 19. Just as Pindar after turning his mind to many topics expressed his difficulties thus²:

² Fr. 29. Corinna criticised these lines by saying one should sow with the hand and not with the whole sack; cf. Plutarch, *On the Fame of the Athenians* 348.

Ἴσμηνὸν ἢ χρυσαλάκατον Μελίαν,
 ἢ Κάδμον, ἢ σπαρτῶν ἱερὸν γένος <ἀνδρῶν>,¹
 ἢ τὰν κυανάμπυκα Θήβαν,
 ἢ τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἑρακλέος,²
 ἢ τὰν Διονύσου πολυγαθέα³ τιμάν,
 ἢ γάμον λευκωλένου Ἀρμονίας ὑμνήσομεν;

οὕτωςι δὲ καὶ σὺ ταῦτὸν εἰκας ἀπορεῖν, λόγον ἢ
 βίον⁴ ἢ φιλοσοφίαν ἢ δημαγωγίαν ἢ τὸν θάνατον
 τάνδρος⁵ ὑμνήτεον.

20. ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἔφη, τὴν
 πλάνην· ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ὅτου δὴ λαβόμενος ἢ τῆς
 ῥητορείας καθ' αὐτήν, εἰς ταύτην καθοῦ τοῦτον
 τὸν λόγον. ἰκανή γ' ἂν οὐδ' ἢ⁶ Περικλέους·
 ἐκείνου μὲν γε τὰς ἀστραπὰς καὶ βροντὰς καὶ
 πειθοῦς τι κέντρον δόξῃ παραλαβόντες, ἀλλ'
 αὐτὴν γε οὐχ ὀρώμεν, δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲν ὅποιον
 τὴν⁷ φαντασίαν οὐδ' ἔμμονον⁸ ἔχουσαν οὐδ'
 οἶαν⁹ ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρόνου βάσανον καὶ
 κρίσιν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους—ἀλλὰ σοὶ κατα-
 λελεῖφθω λέγειν, εἰ ταύτη τράποιο.

¹ ἀνδρῶν suppl. Plutarchus.

² Ἑρακλέους Φ.

³ πολυγαθέα vett..

⁴ βίον ἢ ῥητορικὴν BΦ, edd..

⁵ ἀνδρὸς vett..

⁶ οὐδ' ἢ Albers: σοῦ δὴ ΓΦ: σοῦ δ' ἢ B.

⁷ ὅποιον τὴν vett.: πλέον ἢ Albers.

⁸ οὐδὲν μόνον vett.: corr. Albers (ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν φαντασίαν οὐδὲν
 ἔμμονον N, edd.).

⁹ οἶον edd..

¹ The legendary hero who gave his name to the river Ismenus at Thebes.

² A nymph worshipped at Thebes as the mother by Apollo of Ismenus (cf. Pausanias 9.10.6 and Wilamowitz,

Ismenus' ¹ praises shall we sing?
 Or Melia ² with distaff of gold?
 Or Cadmus or the mighty race
 Of men who sprang when teeth were sown? ³
 Or Thebe with her purple tooth,
 Or daring might of Heracles?
 Glad honour Dionysus pay?
 Or shall we sing the day that saw
 White-armed Harmonia ⁴ a bride?

so too *you* seem to be in the same difficulty, not knowing whether to sing the praises of your hero's speeches, his life, his philosophy, his leadership of the people or his death.

20. It's easy enough," he continued, "to avoid losing your way. You must seize upon any one feature, or else take his oratory by itself, and concentrate this discourse of yours just upon that. For that one would find even the oratory of Pericles inadequate. For, though his thunderings and lightnings and his 'sting of persuasion' ⁵ are known to us by tradition, yet we cannot see his actual oratory, which clearly had no such vivid effect or lasting quality as that of Demosthenes, and could not stand up to the acid test of time. But when it comes to the works of Demosthenes—but let their description be left to you, should you turn to that topic.

Hermes 26.197.1), though other accounts give him different parents.

³ The traditional ancestors of Thebes were the survivors from the warriors who fought each other after springing from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.

⁴ The wife of Cadmus.

⁵ Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 530-1, *Eupolis*, 94.7.

21. πρὸς γε μὴν τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὰς ἢ τὰς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ τραπομένῳ καλὸν μίαν ἡντινοῦν ἀποτεμέσθαι τὴν διατριβήν, εἰ δὲ βούλοιο δαιμίες, δύο καὶ σύντρεις ἐλόμενον ἔχειν ἀποχρῶσαν λόγων ὑποβολήν. πολλή γάρ ἐν ἅπασιν ἢ λαμπρότης. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παντός ἀλλ' ἐκ μέρους ἐπαινεσόμεθα, νόμος μὲν Ὀμηρικὸς ἠρώων ἐπαίνους ἐκ μερῶν διατίθεσθαι, ποδῶν ἢ κεφαλῆς ἢ κόμης, ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν φορημάτων ἢ ἀσπίδων, μεμπτὸν δ' οὐδὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγένετο ὑμνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐξ ἡλικίας ἢ τόξων ἢ τῆς αἰγίδος, μή τί γε δὴ μέρει¹ σώματος ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς, τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν δ' οὐδὲ δυνατὸν ἐφ' ἀπάσας² ἔλθειν. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ὁ Δημοσθένης αἰτιάσεται καθ' ἐν τῶν αὐτοῦ καλῶν ἐπαινούμενος, ἐπεὶ τό γε σύμπαν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐξαρκέσειεν ἐπαινέσαι.

22. ταῦτα τοῦ Θεραγόρου διελθόντος, Οἰμαίσε, ἔφην, ἐν ἐπιδαδειχθαί μοι, τὸ μὴ μόνον ποιητὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τῷ δώρῳ³ παρεμπόρευμα πεποιήσθαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, τὰ περὶ τοῖς ἐμμέτροις προστιθέντα.

Σοὶ μὲν οὖν, ἔφην, τὴν βασιτώνην ὑποτιθεῖς προήχθην ἐπιδραμεῖν τὸν λόγον, εἴ τι τῆς φροντίδος ἀνεῖς ἀκροατῆς ἡμῖν γένοιο.

Προὔργου τοίνυν, ἔφην, σοὶ γέγονεν οὐδέν, εὖ ἴσθι. σκόπει δὲ καὶ μὴ πλέον ἢ γεγονὸς θάτερον.

Καλὸν ἂν λέγοις, ἔφην, τὸ ἴαμα.

¹ μέρους recs..

² sic Wolf: ἐπάσας codd..

³ τῷ δώρῳ vetts.: τῶν λόγων recs.: τῷ Ὀμήρου Keil.

21. But, if you turn to the high qualities of his spirit or his civic virtues, it would be well to isolate any one particular quality to discuss, or, if you wish to indulge yourself, choose two or three in all and you will have quite sufficient material for your discourse. For in everything about him is great distinction. And, if we praise part of his make-up rather than all of it, it is in the Homeric tradition to compose praises for parts of his heroes, for their feet, heads or hair, and sometimes even for their accoutrement or their shields, while even the gods did not object to being praised by the poets in their hymns for a distaff, bow or aegis, not to mention a part of the body or a spiritual quality, while to arrive at a complete list of their kindnesses to man is quite impossible. Demosthenes therefore will not object to a eulogy that is confined to one of his virtues, since a comprehensive eulogy of Demosthenes would be beyond even his own powers."

22. After Thersagoras had finished this disquisition, I said, "I think that you have made one thing quite clear to me; you have shown me you are more than just a good poet, by adding prose to your verse and including in a gift to Homer the subsidiary topic of Demosthenes."

"On the contrary," said he, "I did it for you. Wishing to suggest to you the ease of your task, I was encouraged to run through my discourse in the hope that you might find some relief from your worries by listening to me."

"Then be assured that you've made no headway" said I. "Be careful that on the contrary my complaint hasn't been aggravated."

"A fine cure I've made by your account," said he.

Σὺ γάρ, ἔφην, ἀγνοεῖς, οἶμαι,¹ τὸ παρὸν ἄπορον, εἶτα ἰατροῦ δίκην τὸ τοῦ νοσοῦντος σαθρὸν ἀνογή-
σαντος ἄλλο θεραπεύεις.²

“Ὅτι τί δή;

Σὺ μὲν ἂ ταράξειεν ἂν τὸν πρῶτον ἰόντα πρὸς τὸν
λόγον ἐπεχείρησας ἰάσασθαι, τὰ δ' ἤδη κατανάλωται
παλαιαῖς³ ἐτῶν περιόδοις· ὡς ταύταις <ταῖς>⁴
ἀπορίαις ἔωλά σοι τὰ ἰάματα.

Ταῦτ' ὅν, ἔφην, σοὶ τόδε ἴαμα· χρῆ μέντοι
καθάπερ ὁδὸν⁵ θαρραλεωτάτην εἶναι τὴν συνηθεστά-
την.

23. Τὴν ἐναντίαν γάρ, εἶπον, προὔθεμην, ἥ⁷ φασιν
Ἀννίκεριν τὸν Κυρηναῖον φιλοτιμηθῆναι πρὸς
Πλάτωνά τε καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους· τὸν μὲν γε τὴν⁸
Κυρηναίων⁹ ἄρματῆλασίαν ἐπιδεικνύντα πολλοὺς
περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν ἐξελαύνειν δρόμους ἐπὶ τῆς
αὐτῆς ἄρματοτροχιᾶς ἅπαντας μηδὲν παραβάντας,
ὥσθ' ἐνὸς δρόμου σημεῖα κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὑπολείπεσθαι.
τοῦμὸν δέ γε τὴν ἐναντίαν σπεύδει, τὰς ἄρματο-
τροχιᾶς ἀλεεῖν, οὐ μάλα ῥάδιον <ὄν>,¹⁰ οἶμαι,
καιουργεῖν ὁδοὺς τῶν τετριμμένων ἐκτρεπόμενον.

Ἄλλά τοι τὸ Παύσωτος, ἔφην, σοφόν.

Ποῖον; ἔφην· οὐ γὰρ ἀκήκοα.

24. Παύσωτι τῷ ζωγράφῳ φασὶν ἐκδοθῆναι
γράψαι ἵππον ἀλυνδούμενον· τὸν δὲ γράψαι τρέ-
χοντα καὶ πολὺν κονιορτὸν περὶ τὸν ἵππον. ὡς δ'

¹ ἀνογή (vel ἀνογήσης) μοι vett.: corr. edd.. ² θεραπεύσεις B.

³ παλαιαῖς vett.: πολλαῖς rece.: πάλαι πολλαῖς conieci.

⁴ ταῖς suppl. Albers.

⁵ τοῦτ' codd.: corr. L. A. Post.

⁶ ὁδὸν Lehmann: ὁδοῦ codd.. ⁷ ἥ om. vett..

⁸ τὴν scripsi: τὸν codd..

⁹ sic Γ^a: Κυρηναῖον Γ, cett..

“Yes,” said I, “for I don't think you're aware of
my present difficulty, but proceed, like a doctor who's
failed to diagnose the course of the patient's infection,
to tend some other part of the body.”

“What do you mean?”

“You have tried to cure the things that would
trouble the beginner essaying discourse, but these
have already been removed by the passing of long-
gone years, so that for this complaint your remedies
have gone stale.”

“Why, it's just this that makes the cure. Cures
are like roads. The better you know them, the
greater your confidence in them.”

23. “Not so,” said I, “for I have decided on the
opposite course to the one which they say Anniceris
of Cyrene¹ adopted to win the admiration of Plato
and his companions. They say he exhibited Cyre-
nean skill in chariot-driving by driving many times
round the Academy, keeping each time to exactly
the same track, so that marks of but a single circuit
were left in the ground. I, however, am eager for the
opposite course and wish to avoid the tracks of the
chariots, though it is no easy task, as I think, to turn
aside from the beaten tracks and make new paths.”

“But Pauson's method was clever.”

“What was that?” I asked. “For I've not
heard of it.”

24. “They say that the artist Pauson² was com-
missioned to paint a horse rolling, but that he painted
it running and surrounded by a cloud of dust. His

¹ Cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 2.27.

² Cf. Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.*, 396 E, Aelian, *Varia Historia*
14.15.

¹⁰ ὄν scripsi: om. codd.: δὲ edd..

ἔτι γράφοντος ἐπιστῆναι τὸν ἐκδόντα, μέμφεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο προστάξει. τὸν οὖν Παύσωνα τοῦ πίνακος τὰ μετέωρα κάτω περιαγαρόντα τῷ παιδί τῆν γραφὴν ἐπιδείξει κελεύσαι, καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἔμπαλον κείμενον ὀφθῆναι κυλινδούμενον.

Ἴδὺς εἶ, ἔφην, Θερσαγόρα, ἂν¹ μίαν οἴῃ² με στροφὴν μεμηχανῆσθαι τοσοῦτων ἐτών, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάσας στροφὰς καὶ περιαγωγὰς ἐναλλάττοντα καὶ μετατιθέντα δεδιέναι μὴ τι τελευτῶν πάθοιμι τὸ³ τοῦ Πρωτέως.

Ποῖον, ἔφη, πάθος;

Τὸ γενόμενον, ὃ φασιν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι δρασμὸν ἔξευρίσκοντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ὄψεως· ἐπεὶ καταναλώκει πάσας ἰδέας θηρίων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ στοιχείων, αὐθις αὖ πενία μορφῆς ἐπεισάκτου Πρωτέα γενέσθαι.

25. Σὺ μὲν, εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ τὸν Πρωτέα μηχανᾷ τὴν⁴ ἀκρόασιν ἀποδιδράσκειν.

Οὐκ, ἀγαθέ, ἔφην, τοῦτο.⁵ παρέξω γοῦν ἑμαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι παρῆς τῆν ἐπηρητημένην φροντίδα. τάχ' ἂν τι περὶ τοῦ σοῦ κυήματος ἀφροντις γενόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὠδίνος συμφροντίσας.⁶

Ὡς οὖν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ,⁷ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς πλησίον κρηπίδος ἐγὼ μὲν ἠκροώμην, ὃ δ' ἀνελέγετο μάλα γενναῖα ποιήματα. μεταξὺ δ' ὡσπερ ἔνθους γενόμενος, ἐπιπτύξας τὸ γραμματεῖον, Κομίζου τὸν

¹ ἂν om. ΓΦ.

² οἴει vet..

³ τὸ om. ΓΦ.

⁴ τὴν ΓΦ: τὴν ἐμὴν B.

⁵ τοῦτο N: τοῦτον vet..

⁶ συμφροντίσαι vet..

⁷ αὐτῷ ΓΦ: ταῦτα B.

patron, the story goes, coming and standing over him while he was still painting, criticised him saying that wasn't what he'd asked for; Pauson, therefore, turned his painting upside down and ordered his slave to show it to his patron, whereupon the horse could be seen the other way up and rolling on its back."

"You are innocent, Thersagoras," said I, "if you think that in all these years I've only managed to devise one alternative position, and you don't realise that I've changed and varied every conceivable angle and turn so that I'm afraid I'll end up by being like Proteus."¹

"What do you mean?"

"I mean what they say happened to him when trying to escape from the sight of men; after he had exhausted every shape of beast, plant and element, for want of shapes to adopt, he became Proteus once again."

25. "You outdo Proteus in your machinations to escape from listening to me."

"It is not so, my good friend. I at any rate shall lay aside the cares that hang over me and give myself up to be your listener. Perhaps, when you've ceased to worry about your own travail, you'll also share in my concern for my birth-pangs."

And so with his approval we sat down on the nearby step and I listened while he read some noble poetry. In the middle of this, as if seized by an inspiration from the gods, he folded up his writing-tablets and said, "You must receive your listener's

¹ Cf. *Odyssey*, IV. 455 ff.

ἀκροατικόν, ἔφη, μισθόν, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησιν ἐκκλησιαστικόν ἢ δικαστικόν. ἀλλ' ὅπως εἶσθι μοι χάριν.

26. Χάριν μὲν, ἔφην, εἶσομαι καὶ πρὶν ὅτι λέγεις εἰδέναι. τί δ'¹ ἐστὶν ὅτι καὶ λέγεις;

Μακεδονικοῖς, εἶπεν, ἐντυχῶν τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας ὑπομνήμασιν, καὶ τότε ὑπερησθεῖς τὸ βιβλίον οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον ἐκτησάμην καὶ νῦν ὑπεμνήσθην ἔχων οἴκαδε. γέγραπται δ' ἄλλα τε τῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ πραχθέντων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκειάς² καὶ περὶ Δημοσθένους, ἃ μοι δοκεῖς οὐκ ἂν παρέργως ἀκοῦσαι.

Καὶ μὴν, εἶπον, ἦδη γέ σοι τῶν εὐαγγελίων χάρις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν³ οὐκ ἀπολείψομαι τοῦ⁴ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἔργον σοι⁵ γενέσθαι, σὺ δ' εἰστιάκάς με⁶ λαμπρῶς τὴν Ὀμήρου γενέθλιον, ἔοικας δ' ἐστιάσειν αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν Δημοσθένους.

27. Ὡς οὖν ἀνέγνων τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ γραμματείου, διατρίψαντες ὀλίγον ὅσον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ ποιήματι τοὺς δικαίους ἐπαίνους ἤκειμεν εἰς τοῦ Θερσαγόρου. καὶ μόλις μὲν, ἐπιτυχάνει δὲ τῷ βιβλίῳ. καγὼ λαβῶν τότε μὲν ἀπηλλαττόμην, ἐντυχῶν δ' οὕτω τὴν γνώμην διετέθην, ὡς οὐδέν τι περιτρέψας, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν <τῶν>⁷ ὀνομάτων τε καὶ ῥημάτων ὑμῖν ἀναλέξομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ σκληριῶ μείον τι γίννεται τῆς τιμῆς, εἰ μὴ τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῶν ποιησάντων ὁ παιᾶν, ἀλλ' Ἰσοδήμου⁸ τοῦ Τροιζηνίου⁹ καὶ

¹ δ' ΓΦ: δαί Β.

² οἰκίας codd.: corr. L. A. Post.

⁴ τοῦ scripti: σοῦ vett.: σοῦ πρὶν ἢ Ν.

⁵ σοι codd.: μοι malim.

⁶ με codd.: μὲν Albers.

⁷ τῶν suppl. Jacobitz.

³ οὖν om vett..

fee, like the fee at Athens for attending the assembly or serving on the jury. But be sure to be grateful to me."

26. "I shall be grateful," said I, "even before I know what you're talking about. What are you talking about?"

"I once read the memoirs of the Macedonian royal family which gave me such delight at the time that I made a special point of acquiring the book. Now I've just remembered I have it at home. In addition to giving details of Antipater's activities at home, it describes his dealings with Demosthenes, which I think you'd be specially interested in hearing."

"Well," said I, "you shall be rewarded at once for your good news by being allowed to read the rest of your poetry. I won't be deprived of seeing your promise become fact. You've provided me with excellent fare in honour of Homer's birthday, and it looks as if you yourself will also be the host for Demosthenes' birthday celebrations."

27. Well, when he'd read out everything else on the tablet, we stayed long enough for the poem to be accorded the praises it deserved, before repairing to Thersagoras' house. Though he had some difficulty, he was able to lay his hands on the book. I took it and went away for the time being. But, now that I've read it, I've made up my mind that I shall not change anything at all but shall read it to you word for word. For Aesculapius receives no less honour if those who visit him have not composed their own paean but the compositions of Isodemus of Troezen

⁸ ὁ παιᾶν, ἀλλ' Ἰσοδήμου Harmon: ὄπλα ἀναλαιοδήμου vett. (Μεσομήδου τοῦ Ῥιζηνίου Keil).

⁹ Τροιζηνίου Γ.

Σοφοκλέους ᾄδεται, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ μὲν ποιῆσαι¹ κωμωδίας ἢ τραγωδίας² ἐκλείπεται, τὰ δὲ ἑτέροις συντεθέντα τοῖς νῦν³ εἰς μέσον ἐν καιρῷ κομίζουσιν χάριν οὐκ ἐλάττω φέρει τῷ⁴ τὸν θεὸν δοκεῖν τιμηκένας.

28. τὸ μὲν οὖν βιβλίον τοῦτο—ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τὸ προσήκον ἡμῖν μέρος τόδε δράμα—τὸ βιβλίον⁵ φησὶν Ἀντίπατρω μεμνησθαι παρόντα τὸν Ἀρχίαν. ὁ δ' Ἀρχίας, εἴ τις ἄρα τῶν νεωτέρων ἀγνοεῖ, τοὺς φυγάδας ἐτέτακτο συλλαμβάνειν. ἐπέσταλτο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Δημοσθένην ἀπὸ τῆς Καλαυρίας πείσαι μᾶλλον ἢ βιάσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἤκειν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μετέωρος ἐπὶ ταύτης ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν τῆς ἐλπίδος, τὸν Δημοσθένην αἰεὶ προσδοκῶν. ὡς οὖν ἤκουσεν ἀπὸ τῆς Καλαυρίας ἤκοντα τὸν Ἀρχίαν, εὐθύς ὡς εἶχεν ἐκέλευσεν εἶσω καλεῖν. 29. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθεν—αὐτὸ φράσει τὰ λοιπὰ τὸ βιβλίον.

APXIAS

Χαῖρε, ὦ Ἀντίπατρε.

ANTIPATHP

Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω χαίρειν, εἰ Δημοσθένην ἤγαγες;

APXIAS

*Ἦγαγον ὡς ἐδυνάμην· ὑδρίαν γὰρ κομίζω τῶν Δημοσθένους λειψάνων.

¹ ποιῆσαι G. Hermann: ποίησιν codd..

² κωμωδίας ἢ τραγωδίας vett.: καινὴν ποιεῖν recce..

³ τοῖς νῦν N: τοίνυν vett.. ⁴ τῷ om. vett..

⁵ —τὸ βιβλίον Gesner: τοῦ βιβλίου codd..

and Sophocles¹ are sung, while in the eyes of Dionysus, though composition of comedies or tragedies in his honour has been discontinued, the works of earlier poets win just as much favour for those who produce them at the proper season because they are thought to have honoured the god.

28. Thus the book—the following dramatic scenes are the part of the memoirs that concerns us—this book tells us how the presence of Archias was announced to Antipater. Now, Archias, in case any of the younger amongst you doesn't know it, had been commissioned to arrest the exiles. He had further been instructed to bring Demosthenes from Calauria² to Antipater by use of persuasion rather than force. Moreover Antipater was excited at this prospect as all the time he was expecting to see Demosthenes. Accordingly, when he heard of the arrival of Archias from Calauria, he gave orders for him to be summoned to his presence immediately just as he was. 29. When he entered—well the book itself will complete the story.

ARCHIAS

Joy be with you, Antipater.

ANTIPATER

And why shouldn't it, if you've brought Demosthenes?

ARCHIAS

I've brought him as best I could. For I have with me the urn containing the remains of Demosthenes.

¹ Isodemos' poetry is unknown, though his name occurs in an inscription from Epidaurus; for the paean to Aesculapius attributed to Sophocles (fr. 6 Bergk) see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, 1936, 91-122. ² An island off the Argolid.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Ἄπ' ἐλπίδος γε μὴν μ' ¹ ἔσφηλας, ὦ Ἀρχία. τί γὰρ τῶν ὀστέων καὶ τῆς ὑδρίας Δημοσθένην οὐκ ἔχοντι;

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

Τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πρὸς βίαν αὐτοῦ κατέχειν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην.²

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Τί δ' οὐ³ ζῶντα κατελήφατε;

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

Κατελήφαμεν.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν οὖν τέθνηκεν;

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

Οὐκ, ἀλλ' οὐπερ ἦν, ἐν Καλαυρία.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Τάχα τῆς ὑμετέρας γέγονεν ἔργον ὀλιγωρίας οὐ⁴ θεραπευόντων τὸν ἄνθρωπον;

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγένετο.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Τί φῆς; αἰνίγματα λέγεις, ὦ Ἀρχία, ζῶντα λαβόντες οὐκ ἔχετε;

¹ μὴν μ' Albers: μὴν ΓΦ: με Β.

ANTIPATER

You've dashed my hopes to the ground, Archias. For what good are the bones and the urn to me, if I have not Demosthenes?

ARCHIAS

His soul, king, I could not constrain against his will.

ANTIPATER

Why did you not take him alive?

ARCHIAS

We did.

ANTIPATER

Did he die then on the journey?

ARCHIAS

No, but where he was, in Calauria.

ANTIPATER

Perhaps it is the result of your carelessness, and you did not look after him.

ARCHIAS

No, the matter was not in our control.

ANTIPATER

What do you mean? You talk in riddles, Archias, if you took him alive, yet do not have him.

² sic Albers: κατέχειν οὐ Βουωτίας οὐδ' ἔνθα . . . codd.: οὐ Βουωτίας . . . in c. 33 transtulit Gesner.

³ τί δ' οὐ post εὐρίσκει δύνανται (c. 37) habent codd..

⁴ οὐ Β: οὐδὲ ΓΦ.

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

30. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκέλευες τὴν γε πρώτην μὴ βιάζεσθαι; καίτοι πλέον ἂν οὐδὲ βιασαμένοις οὐδὲν ἦν· καὶ γὰρ οὐν ἐμελλήσαμεν.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Οὐκ εὖ γε ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ μελλήσαντες. ἴσως οὖν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας τέθηκε βίας;

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

Ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπεκτείναμεν, βιάζεσθαι δὲ μὴ πείθουσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν. σοὶ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τί τὸ πλέον, εἰ ζῶν ἀφίκετο; πάντως οὐδὲν <ἂν>¹ αὐτὸν ἢ ἀπέκτεινας.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

31. Εὐφήμεί, ὦ Ἀρχία· δοκεῖς μοι μὴ συννεοηκέναι μήθ' ὅστις ὁ Δημοσθένης μήτε τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ νομίζω ὅμοιον εἶναι Δημοσθένην εὐρεῖν καὶ τούτους ζητεῖν τοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλότας, Ἱμεραῖον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνιον Ἀριστόνικον καὶ τὸν ἐκ Πειραιῶς Εὐκράτην, τῶν ραγδαίων ρευμάτων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας, ἀνθρώπους ταπεινοῦς, ἀφορμῇ προσκαιρῶν θορύβων ἐπιπολάσαντας καὶ πρὸς μικρὰν ταραχῆς ἐλπίδα θρασείως ἐξαναστάντας, εἴτα πτήξαντας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, δίκην τῶν δειλιῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ τὸν ἄπιστον

¹ ἄν suppl. corrector in rec..

¹ According to Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 28, Archias removed Himeræus, Aristonicus and Hyperides (Plutarch

ARCHIAS

30. Didn't you give orders not to use force at first? Yet, even if we had used force, it would have done us no good. We did in fact intend to use force.

ANTIPATER

You did wrong even to intend it. Perhaps then he died from force at your hands.

ARCHIAS

We did not kill him, though it would have been necessary to use force if we found persuasion impossible. But how would you have gained, king, if he had reached you alive? You would only have killed him.

ANTIPATER

31. Hush, Archias! I don't think you've understood what sort of man Demosthenes was or what were my intentions. No, you seem to think there's no difference between finding Demosthenes and looking for those scoundrels¹ who've come to a bad end, Himeræus of Phalerum, Aristonicus of Marathon and Eucrates of Piræus, no different from violent torrents, mean fellows brought into the public eye when civic disturbances offered them the chance, men who took a bold stand with their short-lived hopes for unrest, but soon cowered down again like winds at evening. Another of these is the treacherous

does not mention Eucrates) from sanctuary at Aegina and sent them to Antipater who ordered them all to be killed and Hyperides' tongue to be cut out as well. Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch 849.

Ἵπερίδην, τὸν¹ δημοκόλακα, τὸν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν νομίσαντα κολακεία τοῦ πλήθους συκοφαντῆσαι Δημοσθένην οὐδ' αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα παρασχεῖν διάκονον, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὶ μετενόησαν οἷς ἐχαρίζετο· μετ' οὐ² πολὺ γοῦν τῆς συκοφαντίας λαμπροτέραν ἢ κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδην αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον ἀκηκόαμεν γενέσθαι. τῷ δ' οὐκ ἔμελεν οὐδ' ἐπισχύνετο κατὰ τῶν ποτε φιλάτων τῇ γλώττῃ χρώμενος, ἣν ἐχρῆν δήπου τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ἐκτεμεῖν.

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

32. Τί δέ;³ οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῖν ἔχθιστος ὁ Δημοσθένης;

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Οὐχ ὅτῳ μέλει⁴ τρόπου πίστεως, φίλον πᾶν ἄδολον καὶ βέβαιον ἦθος ἡγουμένῳ. τὰ γάρ τοι καλὰ καὶ παρ' ἐχθροῖς καλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πανταχοῦ τίμιον. οὐδὲ κακίων ἐγὼ Ξέρξου τοῦ Βουλήν καὶ Σπέρχιν⁵ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους θαυμάσαντος καὶ κτεῖναι παρὸν ἀφέντος. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τινα πάντων καὶ Δημοσθένην αὐτός τε δις Ἀθήνησιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ πολλὴν σχολήν, συγγενόμενος καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναπυθνόμενος ἔκ τε τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτῶν εἶχον θαυμάσας, οὐχ ὡς ἂν νομίσειε τίς

Hyperides, a false friend who fawned upon the populace, and thought it no shame to ingratiate himself with the mob by bringing false charges against Demosthenes and lending himself as a tool for those designs which soon were regretted by the very men whose favour he sought. At any rate, not long after these charges were brought, Demosthenes, we've heard, had a triumphant home-coming to outdo that of Alcibiades. But Hyperides did not care nor was he ashamed to use against those that once had been his dearest friends the tongue which so unfeeling a creature certainly deserved to have cut out.

ARCHIAS

32. And how is Demosthenes not the greatest foe to us of all our foes?

ANTIPATER

He is not so to the man who cares for loyalty of disposition and holds dear to him every nature that is free from guile and steadfast. For of a truth the honourable is honourable even when it is in enemies, and virtue is to be esteemed everywhere it is found. I am no worse a man than Xerxes who admired Bulis and Sperchis,¹ the Spartans, and released them, when he could have killed them. But of all men it was Demosthenes I always admired through having met him myself twice, though hurriedly, at Athens, and from what I heard of him from others. I admired him for his political activities themselves

¹ τὸν Rothstein: καὶ τὸν ἄπιστον vett.: καὶ τὸν ἀφίλον N.

² μετ' οὐ N: μετὰ vett..

⁴ μέλει N: μέλοι vett..

³ ; add. Jacobitz.

⁵ Σπέρχην B.

¹ Cf. Herodotus 7.134, Plutarch, *Moralia* 235 F and 815 E. These two men volunteered to be killed by Xerxes at atone for the Spartans' killing of Persian envoys, but were spared. Herodotus gives the name Sperthies or Sperchies.

τῆς τῶν λόγων δεινότητος, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν μὲν ὁ Πύθων πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δ' Ἀττικοὶ ῥήτορες παιδιὰ παραβάλλειν τῷ τούτου κρότῳ καὶ τόνῳ καὶ λέξεων ἐνρυσθμία καὶ ταῖς τῶν διανοιῶν περιγραφαῖς καὶ συνεχεῖαις ἀποδείξεων καὶ τῷ συνακτικῷ τε¹ καὶ κρουστικῷ. μετενοοῦμεν γοῦν ὅτε τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἀθήναζε συνηγάγομεν ὡς ἐλέγξοντες Ἀθηναίους, Πύθωνι καὶ τοῖς Πύθωνος ἐπαγγέλμασι πεπιστευκότες, εἶτα Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Δημοσθένους ἐλέγχοις περιπεσόντες. ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἀπρόσιτος ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου.

33. ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτην μὲν δευτέραν ἔταπτον, ἐν χώρᾳ τιθεὶς ὄργανον, Δημοσθένην δ' αὐτὸν ὑπερηγάμην τοῦ τε φρονήματος καὶ τῆς συνέσεως, ἀκλιῆ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπ' ὀρθῆς ἐν ἀπάσαις φυλάττοντα τρικυμίαις τῆς τύχης² καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν δεινῶν ἐνδιδόντα. καὶ Φίλιππον δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντα περὶ τὰνδρὸς ἠπιστάμην· τούτῳ³ μὲν γε δημηγορίας ἐξαγγελθείσης Ἀθηνηθέν ποτε καθαρτομένης τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ Παρμενίανος ἠγανακτικὸς καὶ τι καὶ σκωπτικὸν εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐπειπόντος, ὦ Παρμενίων, ἔφη, δίκαιος ὁ Δημοσθένης παρρησίας τυγχάνει· μόνος γέ τοι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δημαγωγῶν οὐδαμοῦ τοῖς ἀπολογισμοῖς ἐγγέγραπται τῶν ἐμῶν ἀναλωμάτων, καίτοι μᾶλλον ἠβουλόμην ἢ γραμματεῦσι τριηρίταις⁴ ἐμαυτὸν πεπιστευκέμαι. νῦν δ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἕκαστος ἀπογέ-

¹ τε edd.: γε codd..

² τοῦτο vett..

³ τύχης N: ψυχῆς vett..

⁴ τριηρίταις codd.: καὶ τριταγωνισταῖς Jacobitz.

⁵ Cf. Plutarch, Cicero 32.

rather than, as one might think, for the eloquence of his speeches, even though Python is nothing in contrast with him, while the Attic orators are paltry when compared with the thunderous intensity of his voice, the rhythm of his phrases, the conciseness of his thoughts, the unbroken sequence of his arguments, the cumulative blows his words can strike. We certainly regretted the day when, trusting in Python and his promises, we had assembled the Greeks at Athens with the intention of discrediting the Athenians, and then were confronted with Demosthenes who discredited us. Really, nothing could approach his power of speech.

33. But I held that power secondary, assigning it the place of a mere tool;¹ it was Demosthenes himself whom I admired tremendously for his spirit and his intellect and because he kept his soul unswerving on a straight course through all the tempestuous waves of fortune and never gave in in the face of any danger. And I knew that Philip too held the same opinion as I did about him. At any rate, when a report reached Philip from Athens of a speech to the people directed against him, and Parmenio burst into anger and uttered a taunt against Demosthenes, "Parmenio," said Philip, "Demosthenes deserves the right to speak freely; he is the only popular orator in Greece whose name appears nowhere on my expense accounts. Yet I should rather it did than that I had entrusted myself to scribes who row at the benches.² But in fact each of them is listed as having received from me gold,

¹ I.e. to poor men like Aeschines, as opposed to rich men like Demosthenes who could provide warships; cf. p. 250 n. 2, p. 257 n. 3.

γραπται χρυσίον ξύλα πυρούς¹ θρέμματα γῆν Βοιωτίας οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτι μὴ² παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβόντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ θάττον ἂν τὸ Βυζαντίων τεῖχος ἔλοιμεν μηχαναῖς ἢ Δημοσθένην χρυσίῳ.

34. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Παρμενίων, ἔφη, εἰ μὲν τις Ἀθηναῖος ὦν ἐν Ἀθήναις λέγων ἐμὲ τῆς πατρίδος προτιμᾶ, τούτοις ἀργύριον μὲν προείμην ἂν, φιλίαν δ' οὐκ ἂν. εἰ δέ τις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐμὲ μισεῖ, τούτῳ προσπολεμῶ μὲν ὡς ἀκροπόλει καὶ τείχει καὶ νεωρίοις καὶ τάφρῳ, θαυμάζω δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ μακαρίζω γε τοῦ κτήματος τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τῆς χρείας γενόμενος ἥδιος³ ἂν προσαπολέσαιμι, τὸν δὲ βουλοίμην³ ἂν ἐνταυθοῖ παρ' ἡμῖν τυχεῖν γενόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν ἵππον καὶ Τριβαλλῶν καὶ πᾶν τὸ μισθοφορικόν, τῆς ὄπλων βίας τὴν τοῦ λόγου⁴ πειθῶ καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἐμβριθῆς οὐδαμῆ τιθεῖς δεύτερον. πρὸς Παρμενίωνα μὲν ταῦτα.

35. τοιούτους δέ τινας καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λόγους ἐποιήσατο. τῶν γὰρ μετὰ Διοπίθους Ἀθήνηθεν ἀπεσταλμένων ἐγὼ μὲν εἶχον διὰ φροντίδος, ὁ δ' εὖ μάλα γελάσας ἔφη· Σὺ δ' Ἀττικὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ στρατιωτὴν δέδοικας ἡμῖν; αἱ μὲν τριήρεις καὶ⁵ Πειραιεὺς καὶ τὰ νεώρια λῆρος ἔμοιγε καὶ φλήναφος. τί δ' ἂν ἄνθρωποι πράξαιεν διονυσιάζοντες, ἐν κρεανομίαις καταζώντες καὶ χοροῖς; εἰ δὲ μὴ Δημοσθένης εἰς ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο, ῥᾶον ἂν εἶχομεν τὴν

¹ πυρούς Albers (cf. *D. F. L.* 145, 6): πόρους codd..

² κατέγων (vide cc. 29, 37) οὐ Βοιωτίας οὐδ' ἔθθα τι μὴ . . . codd.: sic corr. Keil.

⁴ sic edd.: βιαστῆς ἢ λόγου codd..

⁵ καὶ vett.: καὶ ὁ recec..

³ ἐβουλόμην Γ.

timber, wheat, cattle, land in Boeotia, everything in fact under the sun. But we could more quickly capture the walls of Byzantium by siege-engines¹ than Demosthenes with gold."

34. "My own view, Parmenio," he said, "is that on any Athenians speaking in Athens who value me above their own country I would expend my silver but not my friendship. But, if anyone hates me for the sake of his country, I wage war against him as against a citadel, a wall, a dockyard or a moat, but yet admire him for his virtue, and think his city lucky to possess him. The one type I should most gladly destroy along with their city once I no longer need them, but this sort of man I should rather have had here with us than my Illyrian or Triballian cavalry² and all my mercenaries, for I consider persuasiveness of speech and weight of intellect in no way inferior to force of arms."

35. That was what he said to Parmenio, and he said the same sort of thing to me too. For, when Diopithes' expedition was sent out from Athens,³ I was worried but he laughed heartily and said, "Do you fear an Attic general or soldier on our account? Their men-of-war, their Piraeus and their dockyards are, to me at least, just idle talk and nonsense. What could be achieved by men who celebrate festivals of Dionysus and spend their time in feasting and dancing? But for the existence among the Athenians of a single man, Demosthenes, we should have already captured their city more easily than we

¹ Philip attacked Byzantium in 340 B.C. but failed to capture it.

² Cf. *On the Crown* 44.

³ I.e. the expedition to the Thracian Chersonese of c. 342 B.C.

πόλιν ἢ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς, ἀπατώντες
βιαζόμενοι φθάνοντες ἀνούμενοι. νῦν δὲ εἰς ἐκεῖνος
ἐγγήγορον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς ἐφέστηκεν καὶ ταῖς
ἡμετέραις ὁρμαῖς ἐπακολουθεῖ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγή-
μασιν ἀντιπαρατάττεται. λαμβάνομεν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ
τεχνάζοντες, οὐκ ἐπιχειροῦντες, οὐ βουλευόμενοι,
καὶ¹ καθάπαξ κώλυμά τι καὶ πρόβολος ἡμῖν
ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν μὴ πάντ' ἔχειν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς. τό γέ
τοι κατ' αὐτὸν οὐκ Ἀμφίπολιν εἴλομεν, οὐκ Ὀλυνθον,
οὐ Φωκέας καὶ Πύλας ἔσχομεν, οὐ Χερρονήσου καὶ
τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον κεκρατήκαμεν.

36. ἀλλ' ἀνίστησι² μὲν ἄκοντας οἶον ἐκ μανδραγόρου
καθεύδοντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολίτας, ὥσπερ τομῆ τινι
καὶ καύσει τῆς ῥαθυμίας τῆ παρρησία χρώμενος,
ὀλίγον τοῦ πρὸς ἡδονὴν φροντίσας.³ μετατίθησιν δὲ
τῶν χρημάτων τοὺς πόρους ἀπὸ τῶν θεάτρων ἐπὶ
τὰ στρατόπεδα, συντίθησι δὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν νόμοις
τριηραρχικοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀταξίας μόνον οὐ τελέως
διεφθαρμένον, ἐγείρει δ' ἐρριμμένον⁴ ἤδη χρόνου
πρὸς τὴν δραχμὴν καὶ τὸ τριῶβλον τὸ τῆς πόλεως
ἀξίωμα, πάλαι τούτους κατακεκλιμένους εἰς τοὺς
προγόνους ἐπανάγων καὶ τὸν ζῆλον τῶν Μαραθῶνι
καὶ Σαλαμῖνι κατειργασμένων, συνίστησιν δ' ἐπὶ
συμμαχίας καὶ συντάξεις Ἑλληνικάς. τοῦτον οὐ
λαθεῖν ἐστίν, οὐ φενακίσαι, οὐ πρίασθαι⁵ οὐ μᾶλλον
ἢ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐκεῖνον ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπρίατο.

¹ καὶ om. vett..

² ἀναστήσει vett..

³ φροντίσας edd.: φροντίδος vett.: φροντίζων recs..

⁴ ἐρριμμένον B: δερεμμενον GF: corr. N. ⁵ πρίασθαι δ' codd..

¹ By Demosthenes' reforms rich men had to contribute more towards the supplying of warships: cf. *On the Crown* 102 ff.

did Thebes and Thessaly, by means of deceit, violence, speed and bribery. But, as it is, he alone remains vigilant, is at hand to meet every crisis, keeps up with every move we initiate, and counters us with his own plans. In no scheme, no enterprise, no plot can we escape his attention, and the fellow is literally an obstacle and bulwark preventing us from possessing everything at a single stroke. It was no fault of his at any rate that we have taken Amphipolis, acquired Olynthus, Phocis and Thermopylae, and gained control over the Chersonese and the area round the Hellespont.

36. But against their will he keeps rousing his fellow citizens, who are asleep as though drugged, by using his outspoken words as it were to cut away and cauterise their sloth with little heed for what they would like to hear. He transfers the revenues spent on the theatre to the armies, he is by his trierarchic laws¹ building up their navy, though it has been almost completely ruined by lack of organisation, he awakens his city's honour long prostrated in pursuit of advocates' or jurors' fees,² by raising up these people long recumbent to recall their ancestors and emulate the feats accomplished at Marathon and Salamis,³ and unites the Greeks into federations of alliance. His attention cannot be escaped; he cannot be deceived: he cannot be bought any more than the king of the Persians⁴ bought the famous Aristides.

¹ Public advocates at Athens received a retainer of a drachma, while jurymen were paid three obols for a day's service. Cf. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 690-691.

² Cf. *On The Crown* 208, Longinus, *On The Sublime* 16.2.

⁴ Xerxes; cf. Plutarch, *Aristides* 10, Herodotus, 8.143.

37. τοῦτον οὖν, ὦ Ἀντίπατρε, χρὴ δεδιέναι μᾶλλον ἢ πάσας τριήρεις καὶ πάντας ἀποστόλους. ὁ γὰρ Ἀθηναίους τοῖς πάλοι Θεμιστοκλέης καὶ Περικλῆς ἐγένετο, τοῦτο τοῖς¹ νῦν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἐφάμιλλος Θεμιστοκλεῖ μὲν τὴν σύνεσιν, Περικλεῖ δὲ τὸ φρόνημα. ἐκτήσατο γοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀκούειν Εὐβοίαν, Μέγαρα, τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον, τὴν Βοιωτίαν. καὶ καλῶς γε, ἔφη, ποιοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Χάρητα μὲν καὶ Διοπίειθην καὶ Πρόξενον καὶ τοιοῦτους τινὰς ἀποδεικνύντες στρατηγεῖν, Δημοσθένην δὲ εἴσω κατέχοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος. ὡς εἰ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅπλων ἀπέφηναν καὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων <καὶ> δὴ καὶ² καιρῶν καὶ χρημάτων κύριον, ὁκνῶ μὴ περὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἂν κατέστησέ μοι τὸν λόγον, ὅς καὶ νῦν ἀπὸ ψηφισμάχει, καταλαμβάνει, πόρους εὐρίσκει, στόλους³ ἀποπέμπει, συντάττει δυνάμεις, ἀντιμεθίσταται.

38. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τότε καὶ πολλάκις πρὸς με Φίλιππος περὶ τάνδρὸς ἔλεγεν, ἐν τῶν παρὰ τῆς τύχης χρηστῶν τιθέμενος τὸ μὴ στρατηγεῖν τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὗ γε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὥσπερ κριοὺς ἢ καταπέλτας Ἀθήνηθεν ὀρμωμένους διασείειν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταραττεῖν τὰ βουλευμάτα. περὶ μὲν γὰρ Χαιρωνείας οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐπαύετο πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων εἰς ὅσον ἄνθρωπος ἡμᾶς κινδύνου κατέστησεν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ⁴ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ κακία στρατηγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀταξία καὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ

¹ τοῦτο τοῖς edd.: τοῖσιν codd..

² καὶ δὴ καὶ scripsi: δικά ΓΦ: δὴ καὶ B: καὶ edd..

³ sic Albers. πόρους εὐρίσκει (ἕρις καὶ vett.) δύναμιν τί δ' οὐ

37. Him therefore ought we to fear rather than all their men-of-war and all their armadas; for what Themistocles and Pericles proved themselves to the Athenians of old, Demosthenes is to those of to-day, for he rivals Themistocles in intellect and Pericles in spirit. At any rate he has captured for them the willing ear of Euboea, Megara, the region round the Hellespont and Boeotia. And I'm glad," he continued, "that the Athenians appoint Chares, Diopithes, Proxenus and the like to be their generals, but keep Demosthenes at Athens on the speaker's platform. For, if they had given him control of their arms, ships and troops, yes, and their moments of crisis and their finances, I'm afraid it's Macedonia he would have made the matter of issue between us, for even now using mere decrees to oppose us, he is quick to follow us around everywhere, overtaking us, finding new resources, sending out fleets, marshalling his forces, ever changing his policy to counter us."

38. Such were the things that Philip used to say to me about Demosthenes on that and many other occasions, for he regarded it as one of his boons from fortune that Demosthenes was not general, since he admitted that even his words shooting out from Athens like battering-rams and artillery¹ shook and confounded his plans. For on the topic of Chaeronea not even after his victory there would he stop telling us into what great danger Demosthenes had brought us. "For," he would say, "even if we have

¹ Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, 845 D.

codd., vide e. 29: post γῆν (vide e. 33) habent στόλους Φ, ἐπικειστόλους ΓΒ.

⁴ καὶ γὰρ εἰ Gesner: μὴ γὰρ εἰ codd.: εἰ γὰρ μὴ Baumstark.

ροπή τῆς τύχης τῇ πολλὰ ¹ πολλὰκίς ἡμῖν συνειργασμένη κεκρατήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶς γε ταύτης ἡμέρας τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον ἐπέστησέ μοι, τὰς ἀρίστας πόλεις εἰς ἓν συναγαγὼν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἀθροίσας, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ² ἅμα καὶ Θεβαίους Βοιωτοὺς τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ Κορινθίους Εὐβοέας τε καὶ Μεγαρέας καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος διακινδυνεύειν συναναγκάσας καὶ μηδ' εἶσω με τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιτρέψας παρελθεῖν.

39. τοιοῦτοί τινας ἦσαν αὐτῷ συνεχεῖς περὶ Δημοσθένους οἱ λόγοι· καὶ πρὸς γε τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς μέγαν ἔχοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀνταγωνιστήν, Ἐμοὶ Δημοσθένης μόνος, εἶπεν, ἀνταγωνιστής, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δημοσθένην οὐκ ἔχοντες Αἰνιᾶνές εἰσι καὶ Θετταλοί. καὶ πρέσβεις ὅποτε πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πέμποι, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ῥητόρων εἴ τινας ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἀνταποστέλλοι τῇ πρεσβείᾳ, κεκρατηκῶς ἂν ἦδετο, ³ τοῦ Δημοσθένους δ' ἐπιστάντος, Μάτην, εἶπεν, ἀντεπρεσβεύσαμεν. 40. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κατὰ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων ἐγείραι τρόπαιον.

Ταῦτα ὁ Φίλιππος. καὶ μέντοι καὶ πάντως ἔλαττον ἂν ἔχοντες λάβομεν· τοιοῦτον οὖν ἄνδρα ⁴ πρὸς Διός, Ἀρχία, τί ⁵ ποτε νομίζεις, βουὴν ἂν ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἡγομεν ἢ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂν σύμβουλον περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς

¹ πολλὰ om. ΓΦ.

² sic scripsi: πρὸς Ἀθηναίους eodd..

³ ἂν ἦδετο scripsi: ἂν ἦδιστα vett.: ἂν ἦδει Rothstein: ἦν ἦδιστα N: ἦν βᾶστα Keil.

⁴ εἰ λάβομεν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα, N, edd..

⁵ τί N: ἐτι vett..

won a victory we never expected thanks to the cowardice of their generals, the lack of discipline in their troops and the unbelievable way that fortune, which has helped us much on many occasions, veered to us, yet on this one day he made me risk losing my kingdom and my life,¹ since he had united the noblest cities, collected together the whole of Greece, compelled not only Athenians but also Thebans and all the other Boeotians, Corinthians, Euboeans, Megarians and all the mightiest powers in Greece to brave the hazard of battle, and had not even allowed me to cross into Attic soil."

39. Thus was he continually speaking about Demosthenes. Moreover, to those who said that he had a great adversary in the Athenian people, he said, "For me the only adversary is Demosthenes, and Athenians without Demosthenes are no better than Aenianes² or Thessalians." Whenever he sent envoys to the cities of Greece, if the Athenians sent in return any of their other spokesmen, he would rejoice in a victory won by his embassy, but when Demosthenes appeared he would say, "Our envoys went in vain. 40. For it is impossible to set up trophies of victory over the speeches of Demosthenes."

Thus spoke Philip. But we would be infinitely more at a disadvantage than Philip if we captured Demosthenes. Whatever do you think we would do with such a man, Archias? Would we lead him like an ox to the slaughter or would we not much rather make him our adviser on Greek affairs and indeed on

¹ Cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 20.

² An unimportant people of northern Greece.

πάσης ἐποιούμεθα; φύσει μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς προσεπεπόνθειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτευμάτων, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἀριστοτέλει μάρτυρι. πρὸς γοῦν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γε λέγων¹ οὐδὲν ἐπαύετο τοσοῦτων ὄντων τῶν αὐτῷ προσπεφουηκότων μηδένα οὕτως πώποτε θαυμάσαι μεγέθους τε φύσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐγκρατείας καὶ βάρους καὶ τάχους καὶ παρρησίας καὶ καρτερίας.

41. Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἔφη, διανοεῖσθε ὡς ὑπὲρ Εὐβούλου καὶ Φρύνωνος καὶ Φιλοκράτους, καὶ πειρᾶσθε δώροις καὶ τοῦτον ἀναπέθειν, ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν πατρῶαν οὐσίαν εἰς Ἀθηναίους ἰδία τε τοῖς δεηθείσι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τῇ πόλει καταναλωκότα, διαμαρτάνοντες δὲ φοβήσιν οἴεσθε πάλαι βεβουλευμένον τὴν ψυχὴν ὑποθεῖναι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἀδήλοις τύχαις, καὶ καθαπτομένου τῶν πρακτομένων ὑμῖν ἀγανακτεῖτε; ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ὑποστέλλεται. λέληθεν ὑμᾶς, ἔφη, τῇ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος εὐνοίᾳ πολιτευόμενος, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν γυμνάσιον φιλοσοφίας προθέμενος.

42. ταῦτά τοι,² ὦ Ἀρχία, ὑπερεπεθύμουν αὐτῷ συγγενόμενος τὴν τε γνώμην, ἣν ἔχοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παραπεπωκότων ἡμῖν κολάκων, εἰ ἐδεόμην, ἀποστὰς ἀπλοῦ τινος ἐξ ἑλευθέρας γνώμης ἀκοῦσαι λόγου καὶ φιλαλήθους συμβουλῆς μεταλαβεῖν. καὶ τι καὶ νουθετῆσαι δίκαιον, ὑπὲρ οἷων ὄντων <τῶν>³

¹ λέγων rec.: ἄγων cett..

² ταῦτά τοι B: τὰ τοιαῦτα ΓΦ.

³ τῶν suppl. Jacobitz.

our whole empire? For I had a natural sympathy with him from the first because of his political record itself, but still more because of the testimony of Aristotle. At any rate he would never stop telling Alexander and us that, though he had had so many pupils go to him, he'd never admired anyone so much for the greatness of his natural gifts, his self-discipline in developing them, his weight, his speed, his freedom of expression and his fortitude.

41. "But you," he said, "think as if you were dealing with a Eubulus,¹ a Phrynon, or a Philocrates, and try to win him too to your view by bribes, though he is one who has expended his inheritance on the Athenians, both privately on the needy and publicly on the state. Are you mistaken enough to think you will frighten a man, who has long made it his policy to expose his life to the uncertain fortunes of his country, and to be angry when he upbraids your actions? No, he has no fear even of the assembly of the Athenians. You have not realised," he continued, "that he makes patriotism the basis of his political life, while his only personal aim is that politics should be his training ground for philosophy.

42. "This explains, Archias, why I was so very eager to have his company, and to hear him tell me his views on the current situation, and, if I needed it, to dissociate myself from the succession of toadies who confront me, and to hear plain speaking from a free mind and be given sincere advice. Moreover it would have been fair to warn him how ungrateful

¹ Eubulus was a political opponent of Demosthenes; Phrynon served along with Demosthenes, Aeschines and Philocrates on the embassies to Philip which produced the shameful Peace of Philocrates in 346 B.C.

Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἀχαριστίαν πάντα παραβάλοιτο
τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον, ἔξὸν εὐγνωμονεστέροις καὶ
βεβαιοτέροις κεχρηῆσθαι φίλοις.

ARCHIAS

*Ὡ βασιλεῦ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἴσως ἂν ἔτυχες,
ταυτὶ δὲ μάτην ἂν ἔλεγες· οὕτως μανικῶς φιλαθή-
ναιος ἦν.

ANTIPIATHP

Ταῦτα,¹ ὦ Ἀρχία· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ λέγοιμεν; ἀλλὰ
πῶς ἀπέθανεν;

ARCHIAS

43. "Ἐοικας ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θαυμάσειν· καὶ
γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ θεθαμένοι διαφέρομεν² οὐδὲν ἐκπλήξει
τε καὶ ἀπιστία τῶν ὁρώντων.³ ἔοικεν γὰρ δὴ πάλαι
ᾧδε⁴ βεβουλευμένῳ περὶ τῆς ὑστάτης ἡμέρας.
δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ παροσκευή. καθῆστο μὲν γὰρ ἔνδον
ἐν τῷ νεῷ, μάτην δὲ τῶν πρόσθεν ἡμερῶν λόγους
ἤμεν ἀναλωκότες.⁵

ANTIPIATHP

Τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν λόγοι;

ARCHIAS

Πολλὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα προὔτεινόμεν ἑλεόν τινα
παρὰ σοῦ καθυπισχνούμενος, οὐ μάλα μὲν προσδοκῶν

¹ Ἦν ταῦτα Jacobs.

² διαφέρομεν rec., ead.: διεφέρομεν vett..

were the Athenians for whom he had risked all his
wordly goods, when he might have enjoyed more
grateful and reliable friends."

ARCHIAS

All else, my king, you might perhaps have gained,
but such a speech from you would have been in vain.
He was so fanatical a lover of Athens.

ANTIPIATER

That is so, Archias. How could we deny it? But
how did he die?

ARCHIAS

43. It looks as if you'll find more to wonder at, my
king. For we too who saw that scene are just as
astonished and incredulous today as when it was
before our eyes. For he seems long ago to have
adopted this plan for his last day. His preparations
make that clear. For he was seated in the interior
of the temple and our arguments of the previous days
proved to have been expended in vain.

ANTIPIATER

What arguments were advanced by you?

ARCHIAS

I made many humane offers, promising him a pity
from you of which I was not very confident, since I

³ ὁρώντων eodd.: μὴ ὁρώντων Bosius: ἀπόντων vel ὁραμένων
coniecti.

⁴ ᾧδε rec.: ὅδε B: δέ Γ: om. Φ.

⁵ ἀναλωκότες N: ἀλωκότες B: ἑλωκότες Γ: ἀλωκότες Φ.

—οὐ γὰρ ἠπιστάμην, ἀλλὰ σέ ᾤμην δι' ὀργῆς ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον—χρήσιμον δ' οὖν πρὸς τὸ πείθειν νομίζων.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

‘Ο δὲ πῶς προσίετο τοὺς λόγους; καί με μηδὲν ἀποκρύψῃ· μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ αὐτήκοος ἂν ἐβουλόμην παρῶν εἶναι νῦν. ἀλλὰ σύ γε μὴ παραλίπῃς μηδέν· οὐ γάρ τοι σμικρὸν ἔργον ἦθος ἀνδρὸς γενναίου πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου καταμαθεῖν, πότερον κἄτονος καὶ νωθρὸς ἦν ἢ παντάπασι ἀκλινὲς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄρθιον ἐφύλαττεν.

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

44. Οὐδὲν ὑπέστελλεν ἐκεῖνός γε. πῶς γάρ; ὃς ἠδὺν γελάσας καμὲ δὴ σκώπτων εἰς τὸν πρότερον βίον, ἀπίθανον ἔφη με ὑποκριτὴν εἶναι τῶν σῶν ψευσμάτων.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Ἀπιστήσας ἄρα τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι προεῖτο τὴν ψυχὴν;

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

Οὐκ· εἴ γε τῶν λοιπῶν ἀκούσῃς, οὐ δόξει σοι μόνον ἀπιστεῖν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λέγειν, Μακεδόσιν μὲν, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον οὐδὲ παράδοξον, εἰ Δημοσθένην οὕτως λαμβάνουσι ὡς Ἀμφίπολι, ὡς Ὀλυνθον, ὡς Ὠρωπόν. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὑπογραφέας

thought, though I didn't know, that you were angry with the fellow, but one which in any case I thought expedient for persuading him.

ANTIPATER

But how did he receive your overtures? Don't hide anything from me. For I should very much like to have been there just now and to have heard it all with my own ears. But *you* must omit nothing. For it's of no little value to see clearly the character of a noble man close to the very end of his life and find out whether he was both feeble and sluggish or preserved unswerving the steadfast course of his soul.

ARCHIAS

44. *He* gave no ground at all. Certainly not! For he laughed merrily and, twitting me with my former life,¹ said I was unconvincing in the role assigned me by your lies.

ANTIPATER

Did he then throw away his life for lack of faith in my promises?

ARCHIAS

Not so. Should you listen to the rest of the story, you'll see that there was more to his actions than mistrust of you. No, no, since you bid me speak, my king, he said: "Macedonians will think nothing impossible or extraordinary² if they capture Demosthenes as easily as they did Amphipolis, Olynthus and Oropus." He said much to this effect. I even

¹ Archias had been a tragic actor.

² Cf. Arohilechus, Fr. 74 (L.C.L.).

παρεστησάμην, ἵνα σοι τὰ λεχθέντα σώζοιτο.
 Ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρχία, βασάνων ἢ θανάτου
 φόβω κατ' ὄψιν οὐκ ἂν Ἀντιπάτρῳ γενοίμην, ἀλλ'
 εἰ ταῦτ' ἀληθεύετε, πολὺ μοι μᾶλλον ἔστι¹ φυλακ-
 τέον μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου δεδωρο-
 δοκηκέναι μηδ' ἦν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταξα τάξιν λιπῶν τὴν
 Ἑλληνικὴν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονικὴν μεταβάλλε-
 σθαι.

45. καλὸν γὰρ, Ἀρχία, τὸ ζῆν ἐμοί, εἰ² Πειραιεὺς
 αὐτὸ³ παρέχοι καὶ τριήρης ἦν ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ
 τεῖχος καὶ τάφρος τοῖς ἐμοῖς τέλεσιν ἐξειργασμένα
 καὶ φυλὴ Πανδιονίς, ἧς ἐθελοντῆς ἐχορήγουν ἐγώ,
 καὶ Σόλων καὶ Δράκων καὶ παρρησία βήματος καὶ
 δῆμος ἐλεύθερος καὶ ψηφίσματα στρατιωτικὰ καὶ
 νόμοι τριηραρχικοὶ καὶ προγόνων ἀρεταὶ καὶ τρό-
 πια καὶ πολιτῶν εὐνοια⁴ τῶν ἐμὲ πολλάκις ἔστε-
 φανωκότων καὶ δύναμις Ἑλλήνων τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 μέχρι νῦν τετηρημένων· εἰ δὲ καὶ βιωτὸν ἐλεθθέντι,
 ταπεινὸν μὲν, ἀνεκτὸς δ' οὖν ὄ ἔλεος παρὰ τοῖς
 οἰκείοις, ὧν ἐλυσάμην αἰχμαλώτων, ἢ τοῖς πατρά-
 σιν, ὧν συνεξέδωκα τὰς θυγατέρας ἢ οἷς τοὺς
 ἐράνοους συνδιελυσάμην.

46. εἰ δέ με μὴ σώζει νήσων ἀρχὴ καὶ θάλαττα, παρὰ
 γε τουτουὶ Ποσειδῶνος αἰτῶ τὸ σώζεσθαι καὶ τοῦδε
 τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων. εἰ δὲ Ποσειδῶν, ἔφη,
 μὴ δύναται φυλάττειν τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῦ νεῶ μηδ' ἐπαισ-
 χύνεται προδοῦναι Δημοσθένην Ἀρχία, τεθναίην· οὐδὲν

had scribes fetched so that his words could be preserved.

“Archias,” he said, “indeed I could not be forced to present myself before Antipater by fear of torture or death. But, if what you say is true, I must be much more on my guard against having received from Antipater the bribe of my life itself and of deserting the post I had assigned myself on the side of Greece for a post in the service of Macedon.

45. For life is honourable if life be vouchsafed me by the Piraeus, the trireme which is a voluntary gift from me, the wall and trench completed at my expense, the Pandionic tribe, as whose representative I voluntarily provided a chorus,¹ Solon, Dracon, the liberty of the speaker's platform, a free people, military decrees, trierarchic laws, the prowess and trophies of our ancestors, the goodwill of my fellow-citizens who have often awarded me a crown and the might of the Greeks who up till now have been guarded by me. A life that is spared through pity, even if bearable at all, is humiliating. No matter, mercy can be endured among the relatives of captives ransomed by me, among the fathers whose daughters I have helped to portion, and the men whose debts I have helped to pay.

46. But, if I do not owe my safety to dominion over the islands and to the sea, from Posidon *here*² do I beg my safety, from this altar and from the laws of piety. But, if Posidon,” he continued, “cannot preserve the inviolability of his temple and does not think it shame to give up Demosthenes into the hands of Archias, I pray for death. In no way must we

¹ ἔστι codd.: ἔτι edd..

² εἰ Φ: om. ΓΒ.

³ αὐτὸ ΓΦ: αὐτὸς Β.

⁴ καὶ πολιτῶν εὐνοια Ν: πολιτῶν εὐνοία vett..

¹ Cf. notes on p. 257.

² The god in whose temple he was taking sanctuary.

Ἀντίπατρος ἡμῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κολακευτέος. ἐξῆν μοι φιλέτους ἔχειν Ἀθηναίων Μακεδόνας καὶ νῦν μετέχειν τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης, εἰ μετὰ Καλλιμέδοντος καὶ Πυθέου καὶ Δημάδου συνεταπτόμην· ἐξῆν κἄν ὅπερ τῆς τύχης¹ μεταρμόσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τὰς Ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρας καὶ τὸν Κόδρον ἐψησχυνόμεν. οὐκ οὖν ἤρουν ἡρώδης αὐτομολοῦντι τῷ δαίμονι συμμεταβάλλεσθαι. καλὸν γὰρ κρησφύγετον θάνατον² ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ νῦν, Ἀρχία, τὸ κατ' ἔμεινον οὐ καταίσχυνω³ τὰς Ἀθήνας δουλείαν ἐκὼν ἐλόμενος, ἐντάφιον δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, προέμενος.

47. ἀλλὰ δίκαιον γάρ, ἔφη, σοὶ τῶν τραγωιδίων μνημονεύειν, οὗ σεμνὸν τὸ λεχθῆν

ἣ δὲ καὶ θνήσκουσ' ὄμως

πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως⁴ πεσεῖν,

κόρη καὶ ταῦτα· Δημοσθένης δὲ εὐσχήμονος θανάτου βίον προκρινεῖ ἀσχήμονα τῶν Ξενοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος ὑπὲρ ἀθανασίας λόγων ἐκλαθόμενος;

καὶ τινα καὶ πικρότερον ἔλεγεν προαχθεὶς εἰς τοὺς ταῖς τύχαις ἐξυβρίζοντας. ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν νῦν ἐμέ; τέλος δ' ἐμοῦ τὰ μὲν δεομένου, τὰ δ' ἀπειλοῦντος, ἀπαλήν μουσαν στερεᾶ κεραννύτος, Ἐπίεσθην ἄν, ἔφη, τοῦτοις Ἀρχίας ὦν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰμί,

¹ τύχης ΒΦ: ψυχῆς Γ.

² θάνατος edd..

³ καταίσχυνω vetl..

⁴ εὐσχήμως Φ: εὐσχήμων ΓΒ.

¹ The daughters of Erechtheus, an early legendary king of Athens, all gave up their lives to assure an Athenian victory in battle (cf. Apollodorus 3.15) as also did Codrus, another early Athenian king.

² Cf. Isocrates, 6.45, Plutarch, *Moralia* 783 D.

give Antipater the adulation that belongs to the god. I could hold Macedonians dearer to me than Athenians and be sharing now in your good fortune, if I had ranged myself on your side along with Callimedon, Pytheas and Demades. I could even at this late hour have changed my fortune, did I not feel shame before the daughters of Erechtheus and before Codrus.¹ So, it was my choice, when fortune deserted, not to change sides with it. For one can find honourable refuge in a death which frees one from danger of any disgrace. So too now, as far as lies with me, I shall not shame Athens by voluntarily choosing slavery and giving up the tomb's finest ornament² which is liberty.

47. "Nay," he said, "I might well remind you of one of our tragic passages³ containing the impressive words:

But she although it was her dying hour

Bethought her how to fall with seemliness.

If such was the conduct of a mere maiden, will Demosthenes choose unseemly life in preference to seemly death and forget the discourses of Xenocrates⁴ and Plato⁵ upon immortality?"

He also proceeded to make some rather bitter comments upon those who are made insolent by fortune. But why need I tell you of this at the moment? Finally, when I was now entreating, now threatening him, and blending the gentle Muse with the stern, he said, "I should have succumbed to these arguments, if I were an Archias, but, as I am

³ Euripides, *Hecuba* 568-569, describing Polyxena's death.

⁴ Xenocrates succeeded Speusippus as head of the Academy; his two books *On The Soul* (cf. Diogenes Laertius 4.13) are lost.

⁵ In the *Phaedo* and other works.

συγγίγνωσκέ μοι, ὦ δαιμόνιε, μὴ πεφυκότι κακῶ γενέσθαι.

48. τότε δὴ τότε¹ πρὸς βίαν αὐτὸν ἀποσπᾶν διανοούμενη· ὁ δ' ὡς ἤσθητο, δῆλος ἦν καταγελάων καὶ τὸν θεὸν προσβλέψας, "Ἐοικεν Ἀρχίας, εἶπεν, ὄπλα μόνα καὶ τρηῆρεις καὶ τείχη καὶ στρατόπεδα δυνάμεις εἶναι καὶ κρησφύγετα ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ψυχαῖς ὑπολαμβάνειν, τῆς δὲ ἐμῆς παρασκευῆς καταφρονεῖν, ἦν οὐκ ἂν ἐλέγξειαν Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Μακεδόνες, ἐχυρωτέρα ἢ ξύλινόν ποτε τείχος ἡμῶν, ὃ θεὸς ἀνέειλεν ἀπόρρητον εἶναι μεθ' ἧς αἰεὶ² τῆς προνοίας ἀδεῶς μὲν ἐπολιτευσάμην, ἀδεῆς δέ μοι τὸ κατὰ Μακεδόνων θάρσος, ἐμέλησεν δ' οὐδὲν οὐκ Εὐκττήμονος, οὐκ Ἀριστογειτόνος, οὐ Πυθέου καὶ Καλλιμέδοντος, οὐ Φιλίππου τότε, οὐ τὰ νῦν Ἀρχίου.

49. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Μῆ πρόσαγέ μοι τὴν χεῖρα, ἔφη· τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν παράνομον ὁ νεὸς πείσεται, τὸν δὲ θεὸν προσειπὼν ἐκὼν ἔψομαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ταύτης ἦν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ στόματι προσαγαγόντος οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ προσκυνεῖν ὑπελάμβανον.

ANTIPATHY

Τὸ δὲ τί³ ποτε ἦν;

¹ δὴ ποτε L. A. Post.

² αἰεὶ Φ: ἂν ΓΒ.

³ τὸ δὲ τί edd.: τὸ δ' ὅτι (sic) Φ: τὸ δὴ τι Γ: τὸ δ' εἴ τι Β.

¹ The Athenian ships, cf. Herodotus 7.141.

² A henchman of Meidias. Cf. *Against Meidias* 103.

Demosthenes, you must pardon me, my good fellow, if it is not in my nature to show myself base."

48. At that precise moment I contemplated tearing him away from the altar by force. But he, perceiving it, let me see his contempt and, looking at the god, said, "Archias seems to think that only arms, triremes, walls and camps afford strength and refuge to the souls of men. Yes, he seems to despise my armament which will never be found wanting by Illyrians, Triballians or Macedonians, and is stronger than that wooden wall¹ of old, which the oracle of the god declared to be impregnable. Helped by this my foreknowledge, fearless was I ever in my public life, fearless was ever my boldness in the face of the Macedonians. Naught recked I of Euctemon,² Aristogiton,³ Pytheas or Callimedon. I did not regard Philip in the past, nor do I now regard Archias."

49. After he had spoken thus, he said, "Do not lay your hand upon me. For, as far as concerns me, the temple will suffer no wrong, but, once I have paid my respects to the god, I shall willingly follow you." And that was what I expected him to do, and, when he put his hand to his mouth, I thought that he was merely offering a kiss to the god."

ANTIPATER

But what in fact was he doing?

³ An orator attacked by Demosthenes and others for not paying his debts and fines. The two speeches *Against Aristogiton* (Demosthenes XXV, XXVI) are probably spurious.

ΑΡΧΙΑΣ

"Υστερον βασάνοις θεραπαίνης ἐφωράσαμεν πάλαι φάρμακον αὐτὸν τεταμιεύσθαι, λύσει ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος ἐλευθερίαν κτώμενον. οὐ γὰρ οὖν ἔφθασεν ὑπερβὰς τὸν οὐδὸν τοῦ νεῶ, καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψας "Αγε δὴ τοῦτον, ἔφη, πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, Δημοσθένην δὲ οὐκ ἄξεις, οὐ μὰ τοὺς, κάμοι μὲν ἐφαίνετο προσθήσειν τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι πεπτωκότας. 50. ὁ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπὼν ἀπέπη. τοῦτό σοι τὸ τέλος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς Δημοσθένους πολιορκίας κομίζω ἐξω.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΗΡ

Δημοσθένους γε καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀρχία. βαβαὶ τῆς ἀηττήτου ψυχῆς καὶ μακαρίας, ὡς ἀνδρείον μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ λῆμα, πολιτικὴ δ' ἡ πρόνοια μετὰ χεῖρα τὸ πιστὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔχειν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οἴχεται βίον ἕξων τὸν ἐν μακάρων νήσοις ἠρώων λεγόμενον ἢ τὰς εἰς οὐρανὸν ψυχαῖς ¹ νομιζόμενας ὁδοὺς, ὁπαδὸς τις δαιμόνων ἐσόμενος ἐλευθερίου Διός· τὸ σῶμα δ' ἡμεῖς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπέμψομεν, κάλλιον ἀνάθημα τῇ γῇ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι πεπτωκότων.

¹ ψυχαῖς edd.: ψυχὰς codd..

ARCHIAS

Later by torturing a serving-woman we discovered that he had long been husbanding a poison to gain freedom by releasing his soul from his body. For indeed he had no sooner passed the threshold of the temple than he looked at me and said, "Take *this* to Antipater, but Demosthenes you will not take, no, by those who . . ." And I thought he was about to add the words, "who fell at Marathon."¹ But after these farewell words his soul flew away. 50. Such, my king, is the ending of the siege of Demosthenes that I am able to bring you.

ANTIPATER

That too, Archias, was typical of Demosthenes. How invincible was the soul, with which he was blessed! What a brave spirit he had! How statesmanlike was his concern to keep firm hold of liberty, his sacred trust! But Demosthenes is gone to partake of the life in the Isles of the Blest that is said to be the lot of demi-gods, or is gone by the routes to heaven that souls are thought to take, that he may be a deity attendant upon Zeus, God of Freedom; as for his corpse, we shall send it back to Athens, a nobler offering to that land than those who fell at Marathon.

¹ See note 3 on p. 283.

HALCYON

It is generally agreed that this dialogue is not by Lucian, though it occurs in *I* and other Lucianic MSS. Though it is also found in some MSS. of Plato, and is mentioned by Athenaeus 506 C when he is listing the works of Plato, Platonic scholars are agreed that it is not by Plato. Apart from the fact that it mentions Myrto (see note on c. 8), its position in the Platonic MSS., Parisinus 1807 (A) and in its copy, Vat. Gr. 1 (O) is amongst the spuria, between *Sisyphus* and *Eryxias*.

Diogenes Laertius 3.62 says that it is a supposititious work of Plato and that it was attributed to a certain Leon by Favorinus (c. 80 to c. 150 A.D.). As Athenaeus also records that it was ascribed to Leon the Academic by Nicias of Nicaea (of unknown date), Leon must be regarded as the probable author.

This Leon is presumably the man described by Plutarch in *Phocion* 14.4 as having studied along with Phocion at Athens in the Academy; he was prominent in his native Byzantium as an orator, politician and opponent of Philip of Macedon in 340 B.C. Further details about his life are uncertain; he may have died in battle c. 339 B.C. or been killed by his countrymen because Philip had told the Byzantines he had contemplated treachery. If so, this Leon could not have become a Peripatetic or written history about Alexander as recorded in the *Suda*

(where there is some confusion between Leon of Byzantium and one Leon of Alabanda). He is also confused with Python of Byzantium (see Gulick's note on Athenaeus 550); he may also be the same man as the Leonidas mentioned in Aelian, *V.H.* 3.14 and Athenaeus 442; cf. also Plutarch, *Nicias* 22.3, *Moralia* 88 F, Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 204 (485). As Leon of Byzantium is called the son of Leon in the Suda, some of the difficulties may perhaps be resolved by assuming that the activities of a father and his son have been ascribed to one man, and Leon the father was a statesman and Academic, while Leon the son was a Peripatetic and historian.

Lucian can scarcely have been the author, even if Favorinus and Nicias were wrong. Though *Halcyon* imitates the style of Plato with a skill not unworthy of Lucian, there is nothing that is distinctively Lucianic. The reference to Myrto (see note on c. 8) could conceivably mean that the dialogue has a satirical purpose; but it seems unlikely that Lucian would have worked in this way, or would have failed to use the motif of Socrates the bigamist¹ elsewhere, if he had it in his repertoire. It is more natural to take the dialogue at its face value; if it was not written by Leon the Academic, it may show the influence of Stoic thought, as suggested by Brinkmann, who dates it to the second century B.C.

From a chronological viewpoint too, it seems improbable that Lucian can be the author. Even supposing that Lucian's birth was in the reign of Trajan (as

¹ Lucian's Socrates merely subscribes to Plato's advocacy of communism of wives; cf. *Philosophies For Sale*, 17, *The Carousal*, 39.

given in the Suda) rather than in that of Hadrian (as generally supposed) and that he wrote *Halcyon* when very young, one would also have to assume that an aged Favorinus¹ read it at once, and immediately published his mistaken views about its author. It may have found its way into the Lucianic corpus because its subject or its alternative title, *On Transformations*, led to confusion with *The Ass* (or its original *The Transformations of Lucius of Patras*).

¹ Lucian describes Favorinus as 'a little before our time' in *The Eunuch*, 7. Furthermore *Demonax* 12 suggests that Favorinus was considerably older than Demonax, who may have been one of Lucian's teachers; cf. *ibid.* 1 and my notes on the *Salecist*, pp. 16 and 17 of this volume.

ΑΛΚΥΩΝ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΩΝ¹

ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝ

1. Τίς ἢ φωνὴ προσέβαλεν ἡμῖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, πόρρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν καὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἐκείνης; ὡς ἡδεῖα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς. τί ποτ' ἄρ' ἐστὶ τὸ φθηγόμενον ζῶον; ἄφωνα γὰρ δὴ τά γε καθ' ὕδατος διαιτῶμενα.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Θαλαττία τις, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, ὄρνις ἀλκυῶν ὀνομαζομένη, πολύθρηνος καὶ πολύδακρυς, περὶ ἧς δὴ παλαῖος ἀνθρώποις μεμύθηται λόγος· φασὶ γυναῖκά² ποτε οὖσαν Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος θυγατέρα κουρίδιον ἀνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς τεθνεῶτα θρηνεῖν πόθῳ φιλίας, Κήυκα τὸν Τραχίνιον τὸν Ἐωσφόρου τοῦ ἀστέρος, καλοῦ πατρὸς καλὸν υἱόν· εἶτα δὴ πτερωθεῖσαν διὰ τινα δαμονίαν βούλησιν εἰς ὄρνιθος τρόπον περιπέτεσθαι τὰ πελάγη ζητοῦσαν ἐκείνον, ἐπειδὴ πλαζομένη γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν οὐχ οἶα τ' ἦν εὐρεῖν.

ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝ

2. Ἀλκυῶν τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ σὺ φῆς; οὐ πάποτε πρόσθεν ἠκηκόειν τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ μοι ξένη τις τῷ

Codices Luciani F, N, codices Platonici A (Parisinus 1807 ix saeculi) O (Vat. Gr. I ineuntis x saeculi) rettuli.

A² = corrector ix saeculi.

O² = corrector aetatis incertae.

O³ = corrector x-xi saeculi.

HALCYON or ON TRANSFORMATIONS

CHAEREPHON

1. What is the voice that has come to us, Socrates, from the shore and the promontory yonder in the distance? How sweet it is to the ears! What in the world is the creature that utters it? For things that live in the sea are surely mute.

SOCRATES

A sort of sea-bird, Chaerephon, called the Halcyon,¹ much given to wailing and weeping, about which from times of old a fable has been handed down by men. They say that it was once a woman, the daughter of Aeolus, son of Hellen, that she yearned for the love of her dead husband, Ceyx of Trachis, son of the Morning Star, handsome son of a handsome father, and lamented for him, and then, acquiring wings by some divine dispensation, she began to fly like a bird over the seas, once she had wandered over the whole earth without being able to find him.

CHAEREPHON

2. So that, you say, is the halcyon? I had never before heard its voice, and it was really quite

¹ I.e. the kingfisher.

ὄντι προσέπεσε· γοῶδη γοῦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν ἦχον ἀφήσει τὸ ζῶον. πηλίκον δέ τι καὶ ἔστιν, ᾧ Σώκρατες;

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Οὐ μέγα· μεγάλην μέντοι διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν εἴληφε παρὰ θεῶν τιμὴν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ τούτων νεοττία καὶ τὰς ἀλκουνίδας¹ προσαγορευομένης ἡμέρας ὁ κόσμος ἄγει κατὰ χειμῶνα μέσον διαφερούσας ταῖς εὐδίαις, ὧν ἔστι καὶ ἡ τήμερον παντὸς μᾶλλον. οὐχ ὄρας ὡς αἴθρια² μὲν τὰ ἄνωθεν, ἀκύμαντον δὲ καὶ γαλήνιον ἅπαν τὸ πέλαγος, ὅμοιον ὡς εἰπεῖν κατόπτρω;³

ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝ

Λέγεις ὀρθῶς· φαίνεται γὰρ ἀλκουνὶς ἡ τήμερον ὑπάρχειν ἡμέρα, καὶ χθὲς δὲ τοιαύτη τις ἦν. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν, πῶς ποτε χρὴ πεισθῆναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ᾧ Σώκρατες, ὡς ἐξ ὀρνίθων γυναικῆς ποτε ἐγένοντο ἢ ὀρνίθες ἐκ γυναικῶν; παντὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἀδύνατον φαίνεται πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

3. ὦ φίλε Χαιρεφῶν, εἰκόκαμεν ἡμεῖς τῶν δυνατῶν τε καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἀμβλωποὶ τινες εἶναι κριταὶ παντελῶς· δοκιμάζομεν γὰρ δὴ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἄγνωστον οὖσαν καὶ ἄπιστον καὶ ἀόρατον· πολλὰ οὖν φαίνεται ἡμῖν καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων ἄπορα καὶ τῶν ἐφικτῶν ἀνεφικτα, συχνὰ μὲν καὶ δι'

¹ sic ΓΝ γρ. Ο³: ἀλκουνῶν ΑΟ.

unfamiliar to me when it came. It is indeed a mournful sound which the creature emits. How large, in fact, is it, Socrates ?

SOCRATES

Not large ; yet she has received great honour from the gods because of her love for her husband. For when these birds nest the world enjoys the days which are called halcyon,¹ being noteworthy for their fine weather in mid-winter, and today in particular is one of these. Do you not see how clear the sky is overhead, and how all the sea is waveless and calm, almost like a mirror ?

ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝ

You are right ; for today appears to be a halcyon day, and yesterday was like that too. But, in the name of the gods, how in the world is one to believe the primeval story, Socrates, that birds once turned into women or women into birds ? For anything of that sort is clearly quite impossible.

SOCRATES

3. My dear Chaerephon, we appear to be completely myopic judges of what is possible and impossible. We form our opinions to the best of our human ability, but that is unable to know or believe or see. Hence many things, even of those that are easy, seem beyond our powers, and many of those

¹ Cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 1594; Aristotle, *H.A.* 542 b.

² γρ. αἰθριατάτα Ο³.

³ κατόπτρω ΑΟ.: τῷ πρῶτῳ Γ, Ν ante corr..

ἀπειρίαν, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ νηπιότητα φρενῶν· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ νήπιος ἔοικεν εἶναι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὁ πᾶν γέρον, ἐπεὶ τοι μικρὸς πᾶν καὶ νεογιλὸς¹ ὁ τοῦ βίου χρόνος πρὸς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. τί δ' ἂν, ἀγαθὲ, οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες τὰς τῶν θεῶν καὶ δαμονίων δυνάμεις ἢ τὰς τῆς ὄλης φύσεως² ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν, πότερον δυνατόν ἢ ἀδύνατόν τι τῶν τοιούτων; ἑώρας,³ Χαιρεφῶν, τρίτην ἡμέραν ὅσος ἦν ὁ χειμῶν; καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντι γάρ τῳ δέος ἐπέλθοι τὰς ἀστραπὰς ἐκείνας καὶ βροντὰς ἀνέμων τε ἐξαισία μεγέθη· ὑπέλαβεν ἂν τις τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν καὶ δὴ συμπεσεῖσθαι.

4. μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ θαυμαστή τις κατάστασις εὐδίας ἐγένετο καὶ διέμεινεν αὕτη γε ἕως τοῦ νῦν. πότερον οὖν οἶε μείζον⁴ τι⁵ καὶ ἐργωδέστερον εἶναι τοιαύτην αἰθρίαν ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς ἀνποσπάτου λαίλαπος καὶ ταραχῆς μεταθεῖναι καὶ εἰς γαλήνην ἀγαγεῖν⁶ τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον, ἢ γυναικὸς εἶδος μεταπλασθὲν εἰς ὄρνιθός τιος⁷ ποιῆσαι; τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοιούτον καὶ τὰ παιδάρια τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τὰ πλάττειν ἐπιστάμενα, πηλὸν ἢ κηρὸν ὅταν λάβῃ, ραδίως ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ὄγκου μετασχηματίζει πολλὰς ἰδεῶν φύσεις. τῷ δαμονίῳ δὲ μεγάλην καὶ οὐδὲ συμβλητὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἔχοντι πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεις εὐχερῆ τυχόν ἴσως ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ λίαν.⁸ ἐπεὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν πόσω τινὶ σαυτοῦ δοκεῖς εἶναι μείζω; φράσαις ἂν;

¹ νεογιλὸς ΑΟ.

² ἢ . . . φύσεως om. ΓΝ.

³ ἑώρακας rec., edd..

⁴ μείζον ΑΟ: deest in ΓΝ: ἀμείχανόν in lacuna add. ΓΤ.

that are attainable, unattainable; often this is due to inexperience, often to the infantility of our minds. For in reality every man seems to be infantile, even if he be of great age, since a lifetime is very short and as brief as one's infancy in comparison with eternity. How, my good friend, can people who do not know the powers of the gods and the supernatural beings or indeed the powers of all Nature, say whether any such thing is possible or impossible? Did you see, Chaerephon, how great the storm was the day before yesterday? Even at the thought of those flashes of lightning, peals of thunder and enormous winds fear could well assail a man; one would have supposed that the whole earth was on the very point of collapsing in ruins.

4. After a short time however a marvellous state of good weather came about, and this has lasted till now. Which, then, do you think is the greater and more difficult task—to change that irresistible tempest and turmoil into such fine weather or to effect the transformation of a woman's shape into that of a bird? For, as for that sort of thing, even those children in our midst who know how to model, can, when they take clay or wax, easily fashion many different shapes, using the same lump many times. To the divine power which has great and incomparable superiority to our abilities, all such things may be very easy indeed. For how much greater than you yourself do you suppose the whole of heaven to be? Could you say?

⁵ τι ΓΝ; τε ΑΟ.

⁶ ἀναγαγεῖν rec., edd..

⁷ μορφήν (post τιος) add. mg. O²: om. cett..

⁸ λίαν codd.: λεία edd..

5. Τίς δ' ἀνθρώπων, ὦ Σώκρατες, νοῆσαι δύναται' ἂν ἢ ὀνομάσαι τι τῶν τοιούτων; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐφικτόν.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Οὐκ οὖν δὴ θεωροῦμεν καὶ ¹ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβαλλομένων μεγάλας τινὰς ὑπεροχὰς ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀδυναμίαις ὑπαρχούσας; ἢ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡλικία πρὸς τὰ νήπια παντελῶς βρέφη, τὰ πεμπταῖα ἐκ γενετῆς ἢ δεκαταῖα, θαυμαστὴν ὄσσην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν δυνάμεώς τε καὶ ἀδυναμίας ἐν πάσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεις, καὶ ὅσα διὰ τῶν τεχνῶν τούτων οὕτω πολυμηχάνων καὶ ὅσα διὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐργάζονται· ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς νέοις, ὥσπερ ² εἶπον, παιδίους οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν ἔλθειν δυνατὰ φαίνεται.

6. καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος δὲ τῆς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τελείου τὸ μέγεθος ἀμέτρητον ὄσσην ἔχει τὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα· μυριάδας γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς ἀνὴρ πάνυ πολλὰς χειρώσεται' ἂν ῥαδίως· ἢ γὰρ ἡλικία παντελῶς ἄπορος δήπου πάντων καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατὰ φύσιν. ὀπηγίκα οὖν ἄνθρωπος, ὡς εἰοικεν, ἀνθρώπου τοσοῦτω ³ διαφέρει, τί νομίσομεν ⁴ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεις φανῆναι ἂν ⁵ τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα θεωρεῖν ἐφικνουμένοις; πιθανὸν οὖν ἴσως δόξει πολλοῖς, ὄσσην ἔχει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς τὸ Σωκράτους ἢ Χαιρεφώντος εἶδος, τηλικούτου ⁶ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν

5. Whoever, Socrates, could conceive or express any such thing? It's unattainable even in words.

SOCRATES

Well, when humans too are compared with one another, do we not observe that great superiorities exist in their capacities and incapacities? Men in their prime as compared with absolute infants five or ten days after their birth, have extraordinary superiority in respect of capacity and incapacity in almost all the activities of life, in all that they accomplish not only by means of those arts of ours with their many skills, but also by means of the body and the soul; for clearly children of the age I mentioned cannot even conceive of such things.

6. Moreover the strength of a single full-grown man is immeasurably greater than theirs. For one man could easily overcome many thousands like them; for, of course, the age that first attends upon man is by natural law completely helpless and resourceless. When therefore man differs, it seems, so much from man, what shall we think that all heaven, as compared with our powers, would appear like to those capable of submitting such things to their gaze? Perhaps, then, many will think it probable that the power and wisdom and intellect of the universe similarly excel our gifts by as much as the

¹ καὶ om. ΓΝ.

² ὥσπερ ΑΟ: ὡς ἂν ΓΝ.

³ τοσοῦτον ΑΟ.

⁴ νομίσωμεν Dindorf, et fortasse Α¹.

⁵ ἂν ΓΝ: αὐ ΑΟ.

⁶ τηλικαύτην ΓΝ.

αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ διάνοιαν ἀνάλογον διαφέρειν τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς διαθέσεως.

7. σοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τοιοῦτοις οὐσι πόλλ' ἄττ' ἀδύνατα τῶν ἑτέροις πάνυ ραδίως· ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐλήσαι τοῖς ἀναύλοις καὶ ἀναγνῶναι ἢ γράψαι τοῖς ἀγραμμάτοις γραμματικὸν τρόπον ἀδυνατώτερον ἔστιν τῶς ἂν ὦσαν ἀνεπιστήμονες, τοῦ ποιῆσαι γυναῖκας ἐξ ὄρνιθων ἢ ὄρνιθας ἐκ γυναικῶν. ἡ δὲ φύσις ἐν κηρίῳ σχεδὸν παραβάλλουσα ζῶον ἄπουν καὶ ἄπτερον¹ πόδας ὑποθεῖσα καὶ πτερώσασα ποικιλίᾳ τε φαιδρύνουσα πολλῇ καὶ καλῇ καὶ παντοδαπῇ χρωμάτων μέλιτταν σοφὴν ἀπέδειξεν² θείου μέλιτος ἐργάτιν, ἐκ τε ὧν ἀφίωνων καὶ ἀψύχων πολλὰ γένη πλάττει πτηνῶν τε καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἐνύδρων ζῶων, ὡς λόγος τινῶν, τέχναις³ ἱεραῖς αἰθέρος μεγάλου προσχρωμένη.

8. τὰς οὖν ἀθανάτων δυνάμεις μεγάλας οὔσας θνητοὶ καὶ σμικροὶ παντελῶς ὄντες καὶ οὔτε τὰ μεγάλα δυνάμενοι καθορᾶν οὔτ' αὖ τὰ σμικρά, τὰ πλείω δ' ἀποροῦντες καὶ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς συμβαινόντων παθῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμεν εἰπεῖν βεβαίως οὔτ' ἀλκυόνων πέρι οὔτ' ἀηδόων· κλέος δὲ μύθων, οἷον παρέδουσαν πατέρες, τοιοῦτον καὶ παισὶν ἐμοῖς, ᾧ ὄρνι θρήνων μελωδέ, παραδώσω τῶν σῶν ὕμνων πέρι, καὶ σου τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φίλανδρον ἔρωτα πολλάκις

¹ ἄπτερον γρ. A²O⁸: ἄχειρον cett..

² ἀπέδειξε σοφὴν AO.

³ λόγος, τέχναις τινῶν FN.

size of the universe surpasses the stature of Socrates or Chaerephon.

7. To you, moreover, and to me, and to many more like ourselves many things are impossible which to others are very easy. For playing on the pipes is more impossible to the unskilled in piping, and reading or writing in the manner of the literate is more impossible to the illiterate, as long as they remain ignorant, than turning birds into women, or women into birds. Nature, depositing in the honeycomb a creature that is footless and wingless, gives it feet and wings, embellishes it with a great and beautiful variety of manifold colours and produces the bee, wise artificer of divine honey; from speechless and lifeless eggs she fashions many kinds of creatures, winged, terrestrial and aquatic, by employing, as some say, holy devices of the mighty ether.

8. Since, then, the powers of the immortals are great, we, who are mortal and quite infinitesimal, who have no insight into matters great or small, but are even perplexed by most of the things which happen around us, cannot speak with assurance either about halcyons or nightingales.¹ But the story told about your songs, musical bird of laments, shall be handed down by me to my sons in the form handed down to us by our fathers, and I shall often tell my wives,

¹ Procne, or according to other accounts Philomela, was changed into a nightingale. For the story of Tereus, Procne and Philomela see Frazer's note on Apollodorus 3.14.8.

ὕμνήσω γυναίξί ταῖς ἐμαῖς Ξανθίππῃ τε καὶ
Μυρτοῖ λέγων τά τε ἄλλα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τιμῆς οἴας
ἔτυχες παρὰ θεῶν. ἄρα γε καὶ σὺ ποιήσεις τι
τοιούτου, ὦ Χαιρέφων;

ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝ

Πρέπει γοῦν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ
ῥηθέντα διπλασίαν ἔχει¹ τὴν παράκλησιν πρὸς
γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὁμιλίαν.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Οὐκοῦν ἀσπασαμένοις τὴν Ἀλκυνόνα προάγειν ἤδη
πρὸς ἄστῳ καιρὸς ἐκ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ.

ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝ

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ποιῶμεν οὕτω.

¹ ἔχειν rec., edd..

¹ Xanthippe is the only wife of Socrates mentioned by Plato or Xenophon. For Myrto see Plutarch, *Aristides* 27, Diogenes Laertius 2.26, Athenaeus 556 A and A. E. Taylor, *Vitia Socratica, First Series*, pp. 61-62. Plutarch and Athenaeus say that Myrto was first mentioned as a wife of Socrates by Aristotle in *On Nobility Of Birth*. (This work is now lost and its Aristotelian authorship is questioned by Plutarch and modern authorities.) Plutarch says that according to some authorities she was the grand-daughter of Aristides The Just, and that Socrates took her as an extra wife because she was a widow too poor to get a husband and lacked the necessities of life. Athenaeus calls her the great-granddaughter of Aristides and claims he can quote authority to prove that bigamy was legalised at that time to counteract a shortage of population (a few passages in the orators suggest this may have been so; Diogenes Laertius mentions Satyrus and Hieronymus of Rhodes as vouching that Socrates had Myrto as an extra wife under

Xanthippe and Myrto,¹ about your devout and affectionate love for your husband, and in particular of the honour which you obtained from the gods. Will you also do the same, Chaerephon?

CHAEREPHON

It is right that I should do so, Socrates, and what you have said contains a twofold admonition to wives and husbands as regards their relations with one another.

SOCRATES

Then it is time to say adieu to Halcyon and proceed from Phalerum to the city.

CHAEREPHON

Indeed it is; let us do so.

this dispensation; according to Aulus Gellius 15.20.6 Euripides enjoyed legalised bigamy of this sort; cf. also *λειπάρδεις* in the Suda; other writers gave her as Socrates' first wife. Diogenes Laertius attributes to Aristotle two (false) statements, firstly that she succeeded Xanthippe as Socrates' wife (cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 60 A) and secondly that she was the daughter of Aristides The Just (this mistake suggests that Athenaeus is right and she was the daughter of another Aristides, the grandson of *The Just*). Taylor notes the friendship between Socrates and the family of Aristides mentioned in the *Laches* and suggests that Socrates may have made himself responsible for her protection and that the "mischievous genius of Aristoxenus," one of the earlier authorities for the story, turned the incident into bigamy. An improbable alternative is that this could have been the doing of a comic poet. In any case this mention of Myrto is a fairly clear indication that the *Halcyon* is not the work of Plato.

GOUT AND SWIFT-OF-FOOT

GOUT and SWIFT-OF-FOOT

MANY editors have regarded one or both of these poems as spurious, while others have taken *Swift-of-Foot* and *Gout* to be the beginning and end of the same play. There are no solid grounds, however, for doubting that *Gout* is the work of Lucian. *Swift-of-Foot* is the work of an inferior versifier, who may well be Acacius, the friend of Libanius.

The poet of *Gout* shows himself superior in style, use of poetic vocabulary and particularly metrical skill. *Gout* is a metrical tour-de-force (see notes on 11.30, 87, 113 and 312), whereas the writer of *Swift-of-Foot* does not venture away from iambs throughout a whole 171 lines. The iambs of *Gout*, too, are superior and 11.1-29 and 54-86 conform to the strictest rules of tragedy, though later there are liberties with the final cretic, anapaests in the second and fourth feet, and unnatural word divisions in resolved feet. All these liberties the composer of *Swift-of-Foot* has allowed himself, but he betrays his inferiority by his use of spondees(!) in the fourth foot, by his trisyllabic fifth feet and by irregular elisions in 1.122 and perhaps in 1.47. *Swift-of-foot* therefore looks like the work of an inferior imitator.

In his excellent edition of the two poems J. Zimmermann uses these further arguments in favour of the authenticity of *Gout* and spuriousness of *Swift-of-Foot*:

(1) *Gout's* position in Γ admits of no doubt, whereas *Swift-of-Foot* together with the *Saltatores* of

Libanius and the apocryphal *Cynic* may not have been in the archetype.

(2) Disrespect for the gods is implicit in *Gout*, but not necessarily in *Swift-of-Foot*.

(3) The rarer metres are appropriate to a writer of Lucian's day; see notes on 11.30, 87, 113 and 312. In particular the strange brand of anapaests found in ll. 87 seq. was used for religious hymns, a tempting target for Lucianic parody.

Furthermore Lucian probably suffered from gout himself. Though in earlier works, *Menippus* 11, *Saturnalian Letters* 28, (cf. Epigram 47) he agreed with the Roman satirists in regarding gout as the rich man's disease, he seems to have had gout himself in his old age; see *Hercules* 7. Moreover the sympathetic references to gout in *Salaried Posts* 31, 39, suggest that he had gout himself and perhaps also that he had written about it. *Salaried Posts* seems to be a comparatively late work written when Lucian was beginning to fall on evil days, and I follow Sinko in dating *Gout* to about the same time.

The evidence in favour of Acacius as the writer of *Swift-of-Foot* is contained in two letters of Libanius written to Acacius in 364 A.D. Letter 1368 contains the words, "Another thing too could make us friends—I mean Gout, bless her, who has chosen the same time for showing her affection for your foot and mine."

Letter 1380 reads as follows:

"Your comedy brought enjoyment and laughter to all who heard it, and that was almost everyone. Indeed there was no-one but would have wished

himself in the grip of gout so as to be enabled to compose such a comedy about it. I have not, as you think, infringed the convention of those who have recently become subjects of this genre, but have blamed the hardness of the road, pottery (sc. on which I've stubbed my foot), a visit to the theatre or to a display of wild animals as the reason for my being confined to bed—anything, in fact, but the true reason. The doctors, in whose hands I put myself completely, had allowed themselves to be deceived along with me. But when I had enjoyed the benefits of their deception for a whole month, and was resolved to know the cause of the trouble, I was prevented by them. They knew well enough, I would say, but they didn't want to distress me. But when its inroads came repeatedly and it ravaged me and laid me waste more cruelly than the Spartans did Attica, I surrendered and gave my affliction its proper name, thinking it the height of shamelessness to deny a plight that was obvious. You who now hear the truth after three months may think that I've broken the rule of those in my condition. But a man who has had his share of gout cannot be expected to do violence to the truth indefinitely. You too will soon admit this—or rather you've already made a similar confession to the god and appealed to him to be your ally against gout. Now I am in the audience listening to refrains about horses left unused and bad servants who don't support their masters and carry them, but, as the year proceeds, it will erase all my excuses except one, and we shall become a chorus, though we number more than the comic chorus, and, with you as its leader, our chorus

will sing songs in honour of her whose passion is for feet."

Acacius was one of the chief literary figures of Athens in the middle of the fourth century A.D. He composed an encomium of Aesculapius and also epic poems. Like his friend Libanius he supported Julian the Apostate in loyalty to the old gods. Sievers' theory that Acacius wrote *Swift-of-Foot* in 364 A.D. is therefore at least possible, though Libanius' mention of a chorus has led some scholars to doubt his theory and others to ascribe *Gout* rather than *Swift-of-Foot* to Acacius.

I follow Zimmermann in assuming that the mock hypothesis was added by a later editor who wished to unite *Swift-of-Foot* and *Gout* into a single play. Whoever wrote the hypothesis, it can scarcely have been Acacius. The author of an encomium of Aesculapius would hardly have made *Swift-of-Foot* a son of Podalirius; see note on *Swift-of-Foot, init.*

See *Ox. Pap. XXXI*, 2532 for fragments (written in a hand dated to the early third century A.D.) of an elegiac poem on gout with striking resemblances to *Swift-Foot* 56 and 123.

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΑ

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΟΣ, ΧΟΡΟΣ, ΠΟΔΑΓΡΑ, ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΝΟΙ

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΟΣ

*Ω στυγνὸν οὔνομ', ὦ θεοῖς στυγούμενον,
Ποδάγρα, πολυστένακτε, Κωκυτοῦ τέκνον,
ἦν Ταρτάρου κευθμῶσιν ἐν βαθυσκίοις
Μέγαιρ' Ἐρινὺς γαστρὸς ἐξεγείνατο
5 μαζοῖσί τ' ἐξέθρεψε, καὶ πικρῶ βρέφει
εἰς χεῖλος ἐστάλαξεν Ἀλληκτῶ γάλα,
τίς τὴν δυσώνυμόν σε δαιμόνων ἄρα
εἰς φῶς ἀνήκεν; ἦλθες ἀνθρώποις βλάβος.
εἰ γὰρ τεθνώσιν ἀμπλακημάτων τίσις
10 βροτοῖς ὀπηδεῖ τῶν ἔδρασαν ἐν φάει,
οὐ Τάνταλον ποτοῖσιν, οὐδ' Ἰξίονα
τροχῶ στροβητόν, οὐδὲ Σίσυφον πέτρῳ
ἔδει κολάζειν ἐν δόμοισι Πλουτέως,
ἀπλῶς δὲ πάντα τοὺς κακῶς δεδρακότας

Titulus. τραγοποδάγρα vel τραγωδοποδάγρα rec.: Γ habet ποδάγρα quod antecedit manu aut scribae ispius aut Γ^a (= διορθωτοῦ Alexandri Nicaeensis) in rasura scriptum τραγωδίο·; fortasse Γ voluit τραγωδία· ποδάγρα.

1. 1 Cf. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 948, Aeschylus, *Persae* 472.

1. 2 Cf. Aeschylus, *P. V.* 220.

1. 5 τ' rec.: γ' Γ.

GOUT—A TRAGEDY

Dramatis Personae :

THE GOUTY MAN

CHORUS

GOUT

MESSENGER

DOCTOR

PAINS

THE GOUTY MAN

O hateful name, abhorred by all the gods,
O Gout, most rich in woes, Cocytus' child,
Whom in dark hidden depths of Tartarus
Fury Megaera from her womb brought forth
And fed thee at her breast, thou cruel babe, 5
To whom Allecto too did offer suck,
Abominable name, which god below
Sent thee to earth above, thou scourge of men ?
For, if a reckoning awaits the dead
And they must pay for sinful deeds of life, 10
Why punish Tantalus with sight of drink,
Torture Ixion with that whirling wheel,
Or Sisyphus with rock in Pluto's halls ?
Oh better far that all alike who sin

1. 7 δαιμόνων Γ^a rec.: δυστήνων Γ; ἀρά coniecti.

1. 8 Cf. Sophocles, fr. 501.7.

1. 10 βροτοῖς rec.: βροτῶν cett..

- 15 τοῖς σοῖς προσάπτει ἀρθροκηδέσων πόνοισ,
ὡς μου τὸ λυπηρὸν καὶ ταλαιπώρον δέμας
χειρῶν ἀπ' ἄκρων εἰς ἄκρας ποδῶν βάσεις
ἰχώρι φαύλῳ καὶ πικρῷ χυμῷ χολῆς
πνεύματι βιαίῳ τόδε διασφίγγων πόρους
20 ἔστηκε καὶ μεμυκὸς ἐπιτείνει πόνοισ.
σπλάγχχνων δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν διάπυρον τρέχει κακόν
δίναισι φλογμῶν σάρκα πυρπολουμένην,
ὅποια κρητῆρ μεστός Αἰτναίου πυρὸς
ἢ Σικελὸς αὐτῶν ἀλιπόρου διασφάγος,
25 ὅπου δυσεξέλικτα κυματούμενος
σῆραξι πετρῶν σκολιὸς εἰλείται κλύδων.
ὦ δυστέκμαρτον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τέλος,
ὡς εἰς μάτην σε πάντες ἀμφιθάλλομεν
ἐλπίδι ματαία μωρὰ βουκολούμενοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- 30 Ἄνὰ Δίνδυμον Κυβήβης
Φρύγες ἔνθεον ὀλολυγῆν
ἀπαλῶ τελοῦσιν Ἄττην,
καὶ πρὸς μέλος κεραύλου
Φρυγίῳ κατ' ὄρεα Τμώλου
35 κῶμον βοῶσι Λυδοί·
παραπλήγες ἀμφὶ ρόπτροις
κελαδοῦσι Κρητὶ ῥυθμῶ

- l. 17 Cf. Euripides, *Hecuba* 837.
l. 19 τόδε recs.: τῶδε Γ recs..
l. 22 πυρπολούμενον edd..
l. 29 βουκολούμενοι Γ^o recs.: βακχολούμενοι Γ: βανκαλάμενοι
Radermacher. Cf. *Swift-of-Foot* 8.

- Should feel thy pain, their joints thy cruel woes, 15
Just as this shrivelled, luckless frame of mine,
From finger tips right down to tips of toe,
From fault of blood and bitter flow of hile
Is locked, its channels sealed by thy onset
And static plight makes agony more grim, 20
And through my vital parts this feverish hane
Doth sweep o'er flesh ablaze with whirling flame
Like Etna's crater full of blazing fire,
Or narrow chasm of Sicilian straits
Whose angry waters cramped by rocky caves 25
Swirl on from side to side with eddying maze.
O death with mystery fraught for all mankind,
How idly think we comfort lies in thee
And cheat ourselves like fools with empty hopes !

CHORUS

- On * Dindymus, Cybebe's mount, 30
Phrygians raise their frenzied cries
To tender Attis as his due.
To the note of Phrygian horn
Along the slopes of Tmolus high
Lydians shout their revelling song, 35
And Coryhants on tambourines
Madly drum with Cretan beat

- l. 30 The Greek metre is Anacreontic and the ode
perhaps modelled on Anacreontea 12 (Edmonds).

- l. 30 *Κυβήβης* codd.: corr. edd..
l. 32 Ἄττει recs..
l. 36 *παραπλήγες* δ' codd.: sic corr. Guyet: *παραπλήγα* δ'
coniecti: an potius versus Ionicus fuit?

LUCIAN

- νόμον εὐὰν Κορύβαντες.
 κλάζει δὲ βριθὺν σάλπιγγ' ἄρει κρέκουσα θούρω
 40 πολεμῆϊαν αὐτήν.
 ἡμεῖς δὲ σοί, Ποδάγρα,
 πρώταις ἔαρος ἐν ἄραις
 45 μύσται τελοῦμεν οἴκτους,
 ὅτε πᾶς χλοητόκοισι
 ποίαις τέθηλε λειμών,
 Ζεφύρου δὲ δένδρα πνοιαῖς
 ἀπαλοῖς κομᾶ πετῆλοισι,
 50 ὅτε δύσγαμος κατ' οἴκους
 μερόπων θροεῖ χελιδών,
 καὶ νύκτερος καθ' ὕλαν
 τὸν Ἴτυν στένει δακρύουσ'
 Ἄτθις γόοις ἀηδῶν.

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΟΣ

- Ἔμμοι πόνων ἀρωγόν, ὦ τρίτου ποδὸς
 55 μοῖραν λελογχὸς βάκτρον, ἐξέρειδέ μου
 βάσιν τρέμουσαν καὶ κατίθνον τρίβον,
 ἔχνος βέβαιον ὡς ἐπιστήσω πέδω.
 ἔγειρε, πλήμον, γυῖα δεμνίων ἄπο
 καὶ λείπε μελάθρων τῆν ὑπώροφον στέγην.

1. 38 εὐὰν Κορύβαντες codd.: Κορύβαντες εὐὰν Gavelens,
 Jacobitz: cf. versus Ionicos Euripideos, *Cyclops*
 501, 509 et Anacreon 43.11 etc..
 1. 39 δὲ βριθὺν Dindorf: βριθουσα Jacobitz: δὲ βριθουσα codd..
 1. 46 ποίαις Γ^o rec.: πόλιος Γ.
 1. 47 πνοιαῖς codd.: corr. Gavelens.
 1. 49 ὅτε Guyet: ἄ δὲ codd.: ἄ edd.: † coniecti.

GOUT

- Their Bacchanalian strain so wild.
 Trumpets ring with heavy note
 To please the lusty War-god's ear,
 40 Sending out shrill battle cry.
 And we thy devotees, O Gout,
 Meed of groans now pay to thee
 In these first days of early spring,
 Now that every field is green
 45 And richly clad with grassy sward,
 While the gentle Zephyr's breath
 Brings every tree her tender leaves,
 While her plaint through homes of men
 The swallow, luckless wife,* doth send,
 50 And the Attic nightingale *
 Throughout the woods the whole night long
 Mourns with tears her Itys lost.

GOUTY MAN

- Ah, woe is me ! O staff that helps my toils
 And acteth as third foot for me, support
 55 My trembling steps and guide my path aright,
 That I may place sure feet upon the ground.
 Raise up thy luckless limbs from off thy bed
 And leave shelter of house with roof above.

1. 50 Philomela (or Procne); see note on p. 315.
 1. 51 Procne (or Philomela).

1. 51 νυκτέροις Guyet.
 1. 52 δακρύουσ' edd.: δακρύοις codd..
 1. 55 Cf. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1403.
 1. 57 βέβαιον edd.: τε βαῖον codd..
 1. 58 Cf. Euripides, *Orestes* 44.
 1. 59 λίπε Guyet.

- 60 σκέδασον δ' ἀπ' ὄσων νύχιον ἀέρος βάθος
 μολὼν θύραζε καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου φάος
 ἀθόλωτον αὔραν πνεύματος φαιδροῦ σπάσον·
 δέκατον γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτο πρὸς πέμπτῳ φάει,
 ἐξ οὗ ζόφῳ σύγκλειστος ἡλίου δίχα
- 65 εὐναῖς ἐν ἀστρώτοισι τείρομαι δέμας.
 ψυχὴ μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ προθυμία πάρα
 βάσεις ἀμείβειν ἐπὶ θύρας ὠρημένῳ,
 δέμας δὲ νωθρὸν οὐχ ὑπηρετεῖ πόθοις.
 ὁμως δ' ἐπείγου, θυμέ, γιγνώσκων ὅτι
- 70 πτωχὸς ποδαγρῶν, περιπατεῖν μὲν ἂν θέλλῃ
 καὶ μὴ δύνηται, τοῦτον ἐν νεκροῖς τίθει.
 ἀλλ' εἶα.
 τίνες γὰρ οἶδε βάρτρα νωμῶντες χεροῖν,
 κάρηνα φύλλοις ἀκτέας καταστεφεῖς;
- 75 τίνα δαιμόνων ἄγουσι κωμαστὴν χορόν;
 μῶν, Φοῖβε Παιάν, σὸν γεραίρουσιν σέβας;
 ἀλλ' οὐ στέφονται Δελφίδος φύλλῳ δάφνης.
 ἢ μὴ τις ὕμνος Βακχίῳ κωμάζεται;
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπεισι κισσίνῃ σφραγὶς κόμαις.
- 80 τίνες ποθ' ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένοι, βεβήκατε;
 αὐδᾶτε καὶ πρόεσθε νημερτῆ λόγον.
 τίς δ' ἔστιν, ἣν ὑμνεῖτε, λέξατ', ὦ φίλοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Σὺ δ' ὣν τίς ἡμᾶς καὶ τίνων προσενέπεις;
 ὡς γὰρ σε βάρτρον καὶ βάσις μνηύετον,

85 μύστην ὀρώμεν τῆς ἀνικῆτου θεᾶς.

1. 68 πόθοις Γ^α recce.: πόνοις Γ recce..

1. 69 Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 188 etc..

1. 70 ποδαγρός recce..

1. 70 μὲν ἂν edd.: ἂν μὴ codd.. Cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 1068,
Swift-of-Foot 12, 133.

- Release thine eyes from deep dark cloud of mist, 60
 Go out of doors and into light of sun
 That thou mayst draw a breath of clearest air,
 For now ten days have gone and five besides,
 Since I'm immured in dark away from sun,
 And feel my body waste on unmade bed. 65
- My spirit's fain, and eager wish I have
 To hasten to the door and walk abroad,
 But feeble body cannot serve my will.
 Yet strive, my heart, make haste, for thou must know
 That gout-struck pauper, if he wish to walk 70
 But cannot move, is held as good as dead.
 But stay !
 For who are these that busily ply their staffs
 And carry wreaths of elder * on their head ?
 Which god is worshipped by this fervent band ? 75
 Say, Healing Phoebus, do they honour thee ?
 Not so ; no Delphic laurel wreathes their heads.
 Or is this hymn sung to the Bacchic god ?
 Not so ; no ivy marks their locks as his.
 O strangers, tell us who ye are that come. 80
 Speak out, and let your lips speak true, my friends.
 Say which the goddess whom ye hymn with praise.

CHORUS

And who are you that ask, and what your race ?
 For, as your staff and gait do indicate,
 The unconquered goddess has thee for her thrall. 85

1. 74 Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 24.35 tells us that the elder was used in treating many ailments including gout, while Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, 3.13.4 says that those being initiated into the mysteries bathed their hands and heads in elderberry juice.

1. 75 τίνα codd.: τίμ edd., cf. Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 104.

1. 78 ἢ Γ: ἢ cett.. 1. 81 Cf. Aeschylus, *Persae* 246.

LUCIAN

ΠΟΔΑΓΓΡΟΣ

Εἷς εἶμι κἀγὼ τῆς θεᾶς ἐπάξιος;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Τὰν μὲν Κυπρίαν Ἀφροδίταν
 σταγόνων προπεσοῦσαν ἀπ' αἰθέρος
 ἀνεθρέψατο κόσμιον ἄρμογὰν
 90 ἀλίους ἐνὶ κύμασι Νηρεῦς.
 τὰν δ' Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ παραῖς
 Ζηνὸς παράκοιτιν Ὀλυμπίου
 λευκώλενον εὐρέσι κόλποις
 Ἦραν ἐπιθήγατο Τηθύς.
 95 κορυφαῖσι δὲ κρατὸς ἐν ἀφθίτου
 ἐλόχευσε κόρας ἄτρομον φῦαν
 Κρονίδας, μέγ' ἄριστος Ὀλυμπίων,
 τὰν ἐγρεκῦδοιμον Ἀθάναν.
 τὰν δ' ἡμετέραν θεὸν ὀλβίαν
 100 ὁ γέρων λιπαραῖσιν ἐν ἀγκάλαις
 πρῶταν ἐλόχευσεν Ὀφίων.
 ὄτ' ἐπαύσατο μὲν σκότιον χάος

l. 90 ἄλιος codd.: corr. Peletier.

l. 96 κόρας edd.: κόραν codd..

l. 102 Χάος Boivin: φάος codd..

- l. 87 ll. 87-111 are anapaestic, consisting either of paroemiacs or ἀπόκροτα (i.e. three anapaestic feet followed by an iambus). The first known use of anapaestic systems of this sort is by Mesomedes in the time of Hadrian (see K. Horna, *Sitzungsbericht Akad. Wien*, 207.1). Such anapaests were particularly used for hymns; e.g. by Mesomedes and Diophantus, a priest of Aesculapius.

Zimmermann suggests that this ode may be a

GOUT

GOUTY MAN

Ye think me fit to join her mystic band ?

CHORUS

Just as Aphrodite, Cypric queen,*
 Fell as dew from heaven above,
 And by Nereus in the briny waves
 90 Moulded was to beauteous shape ;
 Just as Tethys close to Ocean's springs
 In her bosom wide did nurse
 White-armed Hera wife of mighty Zeus ;
 Just as from immortal head
 Cronidas, Olympus' greatest god,
 95 Brought to birth the fearless maid,
 Pallas, rouser of the battle's roar ;
 Likewise was our blessed queen
 Old Ophion's * first-begotten child
 Spawned from parent's shiny arms.
 100 When the age of Chaos dark was o'er,

parody of the cosmological hymn of the Naasseni, quoted by Hippolytus in Book V of the *Refutation of Heresies* (written c. 230 A.D.). The Naasseni were Gnostics so called because they glorified the serpent ("naas" in Hebrew for "serpent") and are perhaps to be identified with the Ophites (ὄφεις = serpent) who are mentioned by Lucian's contemporary, Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 1.30).

Lucian however shows little detailed knowledge of contemporary religion; if this is a contemporary allusion by Lucian, it refers more probably to the serpents of Aesculapius and the mysteries of Glycon; cf. *Alexander*, 18.

- l. 99 Ophion was a Titan, who ruled before Cronos and Rhea; cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 503 and note on l. 87.
 l. 100 Or "from serpent's shiny coils".

LUCIAN

- 105 ἀνέτειλέ τε λαμπέτις ἀὼς
 καὶ παμφαῆς ἀελίου σέλας,
 τότε καὶ Ποδάγρας ἐφάνη κράτος.
 ὄτε γὰρ λαγόνων σε τεκοῦσα
 †Μοίρη τοτ' ἔλουσε Κλωθῶ,
 ἐγέλασεν ἅπαν σέλας οὐρανοῦ,
 μέγα δ' ἔκτυπεν εὐδίοις αἰθήρ.
 110 τὴν δ' εὐγλαγέτοις ἐνὶ μαζοῖς
 εὐολβος ἐθρέψατο Πλούτων.

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΟΣ

Τίσιον δὲ τελεταῖς ὀργιάζει προσπόλους;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- Οὐχ αἷμα λάβρον προχέομεν ἀποτομαῖς
 σιδάρου,
 οὐ τριχὸς ἀφέτον λυγίζεται στροφαῖσιν αὐχὴν,
 115 οὐδὲ πολυκρότοις ἀστραγάλοις πέπληγε νῶτα,
 οὐδ' ὠμὰ λακιστῶν κρέα σιτουμέθα ταύρων·
 ὄτε δὲ πετελέας ἔαρι βρῦει τὸ λεπτὸν ἄνθος
 καὶ πολυκέλαδος κόσσυφος ἐπὶ κλάδοισιν ἄδει,
 τότε διὰ μελέων ὄξυ βέλος πέπηγε μύσταις,
 120 ἀφανές, κρύφιον, δεδουκὸς ὑπὸ μυχοῖσι γυίων,
 πόδα, γόνυ, κοτύλην, ἀστραγάλους, ἰσχία,
 μηρούς,

1. 104 Cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 926, Euripides, *Troades* 548.
 1. 107 sic Radermacher: *Μοίρη τοτ' ἔλευσεν λίθωι Γ: κλωθῶ ante Μοίρη, ου super eu add. Γ^o: μήτηρ τότ' ἔλευσεν Ἐλευθῶ tentavi.*
 1. 108 ἐγέλασεν codd.: corr. Reitz.
 1. 112 ὀργιάζεις recs..
 1. 113 προχέομεν edd.: προαχέομεν codd..
 1. 113 ἀποτομαῖς G. Hermann: ἀπὸ στόματος codd..

GOUT

- When the radiant dawn arose,
 And the Sun-God's brilliant beams shone forth,
 Then did mighty Gout appear. 105
 After Clotho brought thee from her womb
 And the Fate had washed * her child,
 Joy was seen o'er heaven's shining face,
 Thunder pealed from cloudless sky,
 And rich Pluto from his ample store 110
 Gave thee milky breasts to suck.

GOUTY MAN

And what the rites your novices must face ?

CHORUS

- We do not spill our eager blood with cutting sword,*
 No long grown hair is used to twist around the neck,
 Our backs need feel no rattling scourge of cruel 115
 bone,
 Nor must we tear apart and eat raw flesh of bulls ;
 But when the spring brings tender flowers upon the
 elm,
 And blackbirds' bubbling song is heard on every
 bough,
 Then limbs of acolytes are pierced by weapon sharp,
 Secret, unseen, sinking to utmost marrow's 120
 depth ;
 The foot, the knee, hip-joint, the ankles, groins
 and thighs,

1. 107 Or perhaps 'stoned', a comic explanation of her lameness; see textual note.
 1. 113 The metre of ll. 113-124 is Sotadic, consisting of three *pedes Ionici a maiore* or trochaic dipodies (long syllables may be resolved) followed by a spondee. The metre was invented by Sotades in the third century B.C.

LUCIAN

χέρας, ὠμοπλάτας, βραχίονας, κόρωνα, καρπούς
ἔσθει, νέμεται, φλέγει, κρατεῖ, πυροῖ, μαλάσσει,
μέχρις ἂν ἡ θεὸς τὸν πόνον ἀποφυγεῖν κελεύσῃ.

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΟΣ

- 125 *Εἰς ἄρα κἀγὼ τῶν κατωργιασμένων
ἔλαθον ὑπάρχων; τοιγὰρ ἰκέτῃ πρηνεμένης
δαίμων φανείης, σὺν δ' ἐγὼ μύσταις ὁμοῦ
ὑμνων κατάρξω τὸ ποδαγρῶν ἄδων μέλος.*

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- 130 *Σῆγα μὲν αἰθὴρ νήνεμος ἔστω,
καὶ πᾶς ποδαγρῶν εὐφημείτω.
ἴδε, πρὸς θυμέλας <ῆ> κλινοχαρῆς
βαίνει δαίμων σκίπωνι βᾶσιν
στηριζομένη. χαίροις μακάρων
πολὸν πραοτάτη καὶ σοῖς προπόλοις*
135 *Ἰλαος ἔλθοις ὄμματι φαιδρῶ,
δοίης δὲ πόνοις λύσιν ἄκειαν
ταῖσδ' εἰαρναίσιον <έν> ὤραις.*

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΑ

- Τίς τὴν ἀνίκητόν με δεσπότιν πόνων
οὐκ οἶδε Ἰοδάγραν τῶν ἐπὶ χθονὸς βροτῶν;*
140 *ἦν οὔτε λιβάνων ἀτμὸς ἐξίλασκεται*

- l. 122 χέρας G. Hermann: χείρας codd..
l. 123 ἐσθίει codd.: corr. Gavelens.
l. 124 μέχρι F: corr. rece..
ll. 126-127 ἰκέτῃ . . . φανείης Radermacher: ἰκέτω . . . φανείς
F: ἠκέτω . . . φανείς rece.: ἦκε . . . φανείσα edd..
l. 128 ὑμῶν F: corr. rece..

GOUT

Hands, shoulder-blades, and arms, the elbows and
the wrists
It eats, devours, burns, quells, inflames and softens
up,
Until the goddess bids the pain to flee away.

GOUTY MAN

Then was I one of those initiate, 125
But knew it not? Then, goddess, friendly come,
And with thy devotees I too shall raise
Thy hymns, and sing the song of gouty men.

CHORUS

Still and windless be the air,
Hushed be lips of every gouty man. 130
Lo, the goddess fond of bed
Staff-supported to her altar comes!
Welcome, gentlest far of gods,
Come, I pray, with kind and smiling face,
Blessing all thy followers, 135
Giving to their toils a swift release,
Now that days of spring are here.

GOUT

What mortal born on earth but knows of me,
Resistless Gout, the mistress of men's toils?
Me no sweet reek of incense can appease 140

- l. 129 νήνεμος add.: καὶ νήνεμος codd..
l. 131 ἴδε F: ἡ δὲ rece.: ἦδη Guyet.
l. 131 ῆ add. edd..
l. 135 Cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 520, Euripides, *Medea*
1043.
l. 136 Cf. Euripides, *Andromache* 900.
l. 137 ἐν add. edd..

- οὔτε χυθὲν αἶμα βωμίους παρ' ἐμπύροις,
οὐ ναὸς ὄλβου περικρεμῆς ἀγάλμασιν,
ἦν οὔτε Παιᾶν φαρμάκοις νικᾶν σθένει,
πάντων ἰατρὸς τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν,
145 οὐ παῖς ὁ Φοῖβου πολυμαθῆς Ἀσκληπιός.
ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἐφύη πρῶτον ἀνθρώποις γένος,
τολμῶσι πάντες τοῦμὸν ἐκβαλεῖν σθένος,
κυκῶντες αἰεὶ φαρμάκων τεχνήματα.
ἄλλος γὰρ ἄλλην ἐπ' ἐμὲ πειράζει τέχνην·
150 τρίβουσι ἀρνόγλωσσα καὶ σέλινά μοι
καὶ φύλλα θριδάκων καὶ νομαίαν ἀνδράχνην
ἄλλοι πράσιον, οἱ δὲ ποταμογείτονα,
ἄλλοι κνίδας τρίβουσι, ἄλλοι σύμφυτον,
ἄλλοι φακοὺς φέρουσι τοὺς ἐκ τελμάτων,
155 σταφυλῖνον ἐφθόν, οἱ δὲ φύλλα Περσικῶν,
ὑοσκύαμον, μήκωνα, βολβούς, σίδια,
ψύλλιον, λίβανον, ῥίζαν ἔλλεβόρου, νίτρον,
τῆλιν μετ' οἴνου, γυρῖνην, κόλλαν, φακόν,
κυπαρισσίην κηκίδα, γῦριν κριθίνην,
160 κράμβης ἀπέφθου φύλλα, γύψον ἐκ Πάρου,
σφυράθους ὀρείας αἰγός, ἀνθρώπου κόπρον,
ἄλευρα κυάμων, ἄνθος Ἀσίου λίθου·

1. 143 νικᾶν Γ^a rec.: νικᾶ Γ.
1. 144 πάντων Γ^a: παίων Γ: πασῶν Radermacher.
1. 145 ὁ om. Γ.
1. 148 αἰεὶ Γ.
1. 152 ἄλλοι δὲ edd.; cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 550.
1. 156 σίβδια Guyet, cf. *Nubes* 881.
1. 158 κολλάμαφακον codd.: corr. Zimmermann: κόλλαν σφάκον
Th. Bergk.
1. 161 σφυράθους Γ: σφυράθους Γ^a edd.: σφυράθους recc..

1. 149 For various treatments of gout, see Celsus 4.31, *The Lover of Lies* 7.

- Nor blood of victims burnt in sacrifice
Nor shrine whose walls with idols rich are hung.
Me Paeon cannot worst with medicine,
Though doctor he to all the gods of heaven,
Nor yet his learned son, Asclepius. 145
For ever since the race of men was born,
They all essay to exorcise my might
By ever mixing drugs most cunningly.
Each man a different wile against me tries.
They bruise their plantain and their celery, 150
And lettuce leaves and purslane from the lea,
Some horehound grind, and others pondweed try ;
Some nettles crush, and others comfrey use ;
Some duckweed from the ponds against me bring, 155
Or carrots boiled or leaves of peaches use,
Or henbane, poppy, Colchicum, * grenades,
Or fleawort, frankincense, or sodium,
The root of hellebore, or mixed with wine
The fenugreek, rissole, glue, or pulse,
Or cypress sap, or finest barley meal,
Boiled cabbage leaves, gypsum from Paros
brought, 160
Man's excrement or turds of mountain goat,
Or mash of beans, or crop from Assian * stone ;

1. 157 Colchicine, a preparation from the bulb of the meadow saffron, is still taken internally for gout. Celsus, however, *loc. cit.* only mentions its external use along with poppy.
1. 162 The "sarcophagus" stone from Assus in the Troad which was probably a fissile lime-stone ; see Eichholz's note on Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 36. 131-133. Pliny (*loc. cit.*) says that gout was relieved by putting one's feet in a vessel hollowed out of this stone or by using a plaster compounded of it and beans.

- ἔψουσι φρύνους, μυγαλαῖς, σαύρας, γαλαῖς,
βατράχους, ὑαίνας, τραγελάφους, ἀλώπεκας.
- 165 ποῖον μέταλλον οὐ πεπείραστοι βροτοῖς;
τίς οὐχὶ χυλός; ποῖον οὐ δένδρου δάκρυ;
ζώων ἀπάντων ὅστα, νεῦρα, δέρματα,
στέαρ, αἷμα, μυελός, οὖρον, ἀπόπατος, γάλα.
πίνουσιν οἱ μὲν τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων ἄκος,
170 οἱ δὲ τὸ δι' ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ δι' ἑπτὰ πλείονες.
ἄλλος δὲ πίνων τὴν ἱερὰν καθαίρεται,
ἄλλος ἐπαιδοαῖς ἐπιθετῶν ἐμπαίζεται,
Ἰουδαῖος ἕτερον μωρὸν ἐξάδει λαβών.
ὁ δὲ θεραπείαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῆς Κυρράνης.
- 175 ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν οἰμώζειν λέγω
καὶ τοῖς ποιοῦσι ταῦτα καὶ πειρώσι με
εἴωθ' ἀπαντᾶν μᾶλλον ὀργιλιώτερα·
τοῖς δὲ φρονούσι μηδὲν ἀντίξουν ἐμοὶ
ἤπιον ἔχω νοῦν εὐμενῆς τε γίνομαι.
- 180 ὁ γὰρ μεταλαβὼν τῶν ἐμῶν μυστηρίων
πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς εὐστομεῖν διδάσκειται
τέρπων ἅπαντας, εὐτραπέλους λέγων λόγους·
πᾶσιν δ' ὀράται μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ κρότου,
ὅταν ἐπὶ λουτρὰ φερόμενος βαστάζεται.
- 185 Ἄτην γάρ ἦν Ὀμηρος εἶψ' ἤδ' εἰμ' ἐγώ,
βαίνουσ' ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν κράτα καὶ βάσεις ποδῶν

- l. 166 χυμὸς Γ^o recco.
l. 174 Κυρράνης Th. Bergk: Κυράνης ΓΝ: ὠράνης Gesner:
ὠράνης coniecti.
l. 176 Cf. Euripides, *Cylops* 581.
l. 178 τοῖσι δὲ edd..
l. 182 Cf. Sophocles, *Electra* 672.
l. 184 sic codd.: ὅτ' ἐπὶ λουτρὰ Zitzlermann: ὅτ' ἐπὶ τὰ λουτρὰ
Guyot.

- And weasels,* field-mice, lizards, toads they boil,
The frog, hyena,* antelope, or fox.
What metal has not been by mortals tried? 165
What juice? What exudation from a tree?
All creatures' bones, sinews and skins they try,
Their fat, blood, marrow, urine, dung or milk.
Some potions drink of four ingredients,
Or else of eight, but more men seven use. 170
Some purge themselves with sacred medicine,
Others are mocked by chants impostors sell,
And other fools fall for the spells of Jews,
While others look for cure to Cyrrane.*
But all these shifts I curse and treat with scorn, 175
And those who use them and would test my strength
I e'er assail with greater wrath by far;
But those whose will is not opposed to mine
Do find me kind of heart and well-disposed.
For he that shareth in my mystic rites 180
Learns first and that right soon to curb his tongue,
Delighting all by choosing well his words.
And all who see him laugh and clap their hands,
When to the baths he's borne on others' backs.
For I am Ruin, she whom Homer* sang, 185
Who walketh o'er men's heads with dainty steps,

- l. 163 Cf. *The Lover of Lies* 7.
l. 164 The hyena was believed by the Magi to have
curative powers for many ailments including gout.
Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 28. 92 and 96.
l. 174 A women's goddess mentioned by Menander,
according to Hesychius; Photius, however, spells
her Cyrrano.
l. 185 *Iliad* XIX. 92-3.

l. 185 εἶπεν Ὀμηρος codd.: corr. Boivin.

LUCIAN

ἀπαλὰς ἔχουσα, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς βρωτῶν
 Ποδάγρα καλοῦμαι, γινομένη ποδῶν ἄγρα.
 ἀλλ' εἶα μύσται πάντες ὀργίων ἐμῶν,
 190 γεραίρεθ' ὕμνοις τὴν ἀνίκητον θεάν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Ἄδαμάντινον ἦθος ἔχουσα κόρα,
 πουλυσθενές, ὀβριμόθυμε θεά,
 κλύε σῶν ἱερῶν μερόπων ἐνοπάς.
 195 μέγα σὸν κράτος, ὀλβιόφρον Ποδάγρα,
 τὰν καὶ Διὸς ὠκὺ πέφρικε βέλος,
 τρομέει δέ σε κύμαθ' ἄλὸς βυθίας,
 τρομέει βασιλεὺς ἐνέρων Ἄϊδας,
 ἐπιδεσμοχαρές, κατακλινοβατές,
 200 κωλυσιδρόμα, βασαναστραγάλα,
 σφυροπρησιπύρα, μογισαιφεδάφα,
 δοιδυκοφόβα, γονυκαυσαγρύπνα,
 περικονδυλοπωροφίλα,
 γονυκαμψεπικυρτε Ποδάγρα.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

Δέσποια, καιρίῳ γὰρ ἦντησας ποδί,
 205 ἄκου', ἔπος γὰρ οὐκ ἐτώσιον φέρω,
 ἀλλ' ἔστι πράξις τῶν λόγων συνέμπορος·
 ἐγὼ γάρ, ὡς ἔταξας, ἠρέμῳ ποδί
 πόλεις ἰχνεύων πάντας ἠρεύνων δόμους
 μαθεῖν ποθῶν εἴ τις σὸν οὐ τιμᾶ κράτος.
 210 καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἶδον ἥσυχον φρένα
 νικωμένων, ἀνασσα, σαῖν βίας χερσῶν,

l. 192 πολυσθενές Γ: corr. rec..

GOUT

But to the most of men my name is Gout,
 Who come to make their feet my spoil and prey.
 But come, all devotees of these my rites,
 Honour with hymns the goddess none can worst. 190

CHORUS

Mighty Maid with heart of steel,
 Goddess dreadful in thy wrath,
 Hear the cries of thine own priests.
 Prosperous Gout, how great thy power !
 195 Dread art thou to Jove's swift shaft,
 Fearsome thou to Ocean's waves
 And to Hades king below ;
 Bandage-loving Sickbed Queen,
 Speed-impairing Joint-Tormentor,
 200 Ankle-burning Timid-Stepper,
 Pestle-fearing, Knee-Fire Sleepless,
 Loving chalkstones on the knuckles,
 Knee-deformer, Gout's thy name.

MESSENGER

Mistress, 'tis well thy feet thee hither bring.
 No empty message do I bid thee hear, 205
 For cometh with my words accomplishment.
 For, as you bade, I went with gentle pace
 To search each town and look in every house
 With zeal to learn if any scorned thy might.
 The other men I saw were meek of heart 210
 When conquered by thy mighty hands, my queen,

l. 201 δωδεικοφόβα Γ: corr. N; γονυκαυσαγρύπνα codd.: corr. Dindorf.

l. 211 σαῖν rec.: σαῖ Γ: σαῖς rec.; βίας Γ: βίᾱ rec..

δύο δὲ τῷδε φῶτε τολημῶ θράσει
 ἐφραζέτην λαοῖσι καὶ κατωμνύτην,
 ὡς οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ σὸν κράτος σεβάσμιον,
 215 ἄλλ' ἔκβολον βροτῶν σε θήσουσιν βίου.
 διόπερ κραταιῶ συνοχμάσας δεσμῶ πόδα
 πεμπταῖος ἤκω στάδια διανύσας δύο.

ΠΟΔΑΓΓΡΑ

Ὡς κραιπνὸς ἔπτῃς, ἀγγέλων ὤκιστέ μοι.
 τίνας δὲ καὶ γῆς ὄρια δυσβάτου λιπῶν
 220 ἤκει; σαφῶς μῆνυσον, ὡς εἰδῶ τάχος.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

Πρῶτον μὲν ἔλιπον πέντε βασμῶν κλίμακα,
 ξύλων τρέμουσαν διαλύτοισιν ἀρμογαῖς,
 ὅθεν με δέχεται κορδυβαλλῶδες πέδον
 σκληροῖσι ταρσοῖς ἀντερεῖδον κρούμασιν.
 225 ὅπερ διανύσας ἔχρυσιν ἀλγεινοῖς ἐγῶ
 ἐστρωμένην χάλιξιν εἰσέβην ὁδὸν
 καὶ δυσπάτητον ὀξέσιν κέντροις λίθων.
 μεθ' ἣν ὀλίσθω περιπεσῶν λείας ὁδοῦ
 ἔσπευδον εἰς τὸ πρόσθε, διάλυτος δέ μου
 230 ἔσυρεν ὀπίσω πηλὸς ἀσθενῆ σφυρά,
 δι' ἧς περῶντι νότιος ἐκ μελῶν ἰδρῶς
 †ῥρει βάσιν μου σαθρὸν ἐκλύων μένος.
 ὅθεν με δέχεται πᾶν δέμας κεκμηκότα
 πλατεῖα μὲν κέλευθος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς.

1. 212 τολημῶ recs..
 1. 214 οὐκ ἐστ' codd.: corr. Du Soul.
 1. 216 κραταιῶς codd.: corr. Gavelens.
 1. 220 εἰδῶ edd.: ἴδω codd..

But these two were right bold and impudent,
 Who told their fellows all and swore on oath
 No longer was thy power to be revered,
 But they would banish thee from lives of men. 215
 Therefore I've bound their feet with fetters strong.
 Four days I've sped, a quarter mile I've come.

GOUT

What haste you've made, my messenger most swift!
 Say what the pathless land whose bounds you've left.
 Oh speak out clear that I may know at once. 220

MESSENGER

A five-runged ladder first of all I left
 Whose loosely-fitted wooden limbs did shake,
 And next a beaten floor awaited me,
 A pavement hard and firm that hurt my feet.
 O'er this I sped in haste with painful steps, 225
 And then I came upon a gravel path
 With sharp and pointed stones most hard to cross.
 Then next a smooth and slippery road I met;
 Forward I pressed though mud clung to my steps
 Making my strengthless ankles drag and trail. 230
 In crossing this my limbs did drench my feet
 With sweat and drained away my ebbing strength.
 Then wearied in each limb I found myself
 Where was a highway broad but dangerous;

1. 221 βαθμῶν edd..
 1. 227 δυσπάτητον Γ; κέντροις Γ; πέτροις recs..
 1. 232 sic Radermacher: σαθρὰν ἐκλυομένην Γ; σαθρὰν
 ἰλυσσωμένην Γ^a; σαθρὰν ἐκλελυμένην edd.: ἀρδει βάσιν
 μοι σαθρὸν ἰλυσσωμένην in loco desperato coniecti.
 1. 233 δέμας Γ; μέλος rec..

- 235 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν, τὰ δὲ μ' ἐκεῖθ' ὀχήματα
 ἤπειγεν, ἠνάγκαζεν, ἔσπερχεν τρέχειν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ νωθρὸν ἔλαφρά κουφίλων πόδα
 δόχμιος ἔβαινον εἰς ὁδοῦ πέζαν στενήν,
 ἕως ἀπήνη παραδράμη τροχῆλατος·
 240 μύστης γὰρ ὦν σὸς ταχὺ τρέχειν οὐκ ἔσθενον.

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΑ

- Οὐκ εἰς μάτην, βέλτιστε, πρᾶξις ἦδε σοὶ
 ὀρθῶς πέπρακται. τῇ δὲ σῆ προθυμίᾳ
 ἴσαισι τιμαῖς ἀντισηκώσω χάριν.
 ἔστω δέ σοι δώρημα θυμῆρες τόδε,
 245 ἐξῆς τριετίας πειράσῃ κούφων πόνων.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ μισροὶ καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθίστατοι,
 τίνες ποτ' ὄντες καὶ τίνων πεφυκότες
 τολμᾶτε Ποδάγρας ἀναμιλλᾶσθαι κράτει,
 τῆς οὐδ' ὁ Κρονίδης οἶδε νικῆσαι βίαν;
 250 λέγετ', ὦ κάκιστοι· καὶ γὰρ ἠρώων ἐγὼ
 ἐδάμασα πλείστους, ὡς ἐπίστανται σοφοί.
 Πρίαμος Ποδάρκης ποδαγρὸς ὦν ἐκλήζετο·
 ἔθανε δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ποδαγρὸς ὦν ὁ Πηλέως·
 ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ποδαγρὸς ὦν ἐκαρτέρει·
 255 Θηβῶν δυνάστης Οἰδίτους ποδαγρὸς ἦν·

l. 235 τὰ δὲ μ' edd.: τὰ δ' codd..

l. 238 εἰσόδου codd..

l. 249 Κρονίδας rec., edd..

l. 251 ὡς Bekker: καὶ Γ: καὶ γ' recc..

l. 249 Zeus.

l. 252 The original name of Priam was Podarkes, according to Apollodorus. Perhaps a poor pun is intended between Podarces (Doughty-of-Foot) and Podagros (Gouty-of-Foot).

- For carriages to right and left of me 235
 Did force me on and make me run in haste.
 And I did nimbly lift my sluggish feet
 To dart aside and seek the wayside strait,
 To let a cart rush by with flying wheel,
 For, mystic thine, I could not run with speed. 240

GOUT

- A worthy enterprise was this, good sir,
 And well accomplished. And I your zeal
 Shall now reward with well-earned privilege.
 And may this gift delight your heart right well.
 For three whole years your pains will lighter be. 245
 But, cursed villains hateful to the gods,
 Say who are ye and what your lineage,
 That dare to pit yourselves with mighty Gout,
 Whose strength e'en Cronus' son * cannot subdue.
 Speak, knaves; for even of the demigods 250
 Great numbers I've o'ercome, as sages know.
 Priam, though Doughty * called, had gouty feet;
 Achilles, Peleus' son,* did die of gout;
 Bellerophon * Gout's trials had to face,
 And gouty too was Thebes' king * Oedipus, 255

l. 253 Achilles had the epithet "podarces" (see previous note) in Homer. However Gout goes on to poke fun at heroes famous in legend for mishaps to their feet, and this may be a reference to the comparatively unfamiliar story that Achilles was invulnerable except for his "Achilles' tendon" by which his mother held him while dipping him in the Styx to ensure his invulnerability.

l. 254 The reference is unknown. Perhaps Bellerophon injured a foot when falling off Pegasus.

l. 255 Oedipus (Swell-Foot) was exposed at birth with a pin driven through this ankles; cf. Sophocles, *O.T.* 718, Euripides, *Phoenissae* 22.

- ἐκ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν ποδαγρὸς ἦν ὁ Πλεισθένης.
 Ποϊάντος υἱὸς ποδαγρὸς ὧν ἤρχεν στόλου·
 ἄλλος Ποδάρκης Θεσσαλῶν ἦν ἡγεμῶν,
 ὅς, ἐπεὶ περ ἔπεσε Πρωτεσίλαος ἐν μάχῃ,
 260 ὄμως ποδαγρὸς ὧν καὶ πονῶν ἤρχεν στόλου·
 Ἰθάκης ἀνακτα Λαρτιάδην Ὀδυσσεῖα
 ἐγὼ κατέπεφνον, οὐκ ἄκανθα τρυγόνος.
 ὡς οὔτι χαιρήσοντες, ὦ δυσδαίμονες,
 ἴσῃν πάσεσθε κόλασιν οἷς δεδράκατε.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

- 265 Σύροι μὲν ἔσμεν, ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ τῷ γένει,
 λιμῷ δὲ πολλῷ καὶ πενίᾳ κρατούμενοι
 γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐφέπομεν πλανώμενοι·
 ἔχομεν δὲ χρίσμα πατροδώρητον τόδε,
 ἐν ᾧ παρηγοροῦμεν ἀλγούντων πόνοους.

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΑ

- 270 Τί δὴ τὸ χρίσμα καὶ τίς ἡ σκευή; φράσον.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Μύστης με σιγᾶν ὄρκος οὐδ' ἔᾶ φράσαι,
 καὶ λοισθία θνήσκοντος ἐντολὴ πατρός,
 ὅς ἔταξε κεύθειν φαρμάκου μέγα σθένος,
 ὃ καὶ σέ παύειν οἶδεν ἡγριωμένην.

- l. 261 sic rec.: Λαρτιάδην cett..
 l. 264 πάσεσθε Radermacher: πάθησθε codd..
 l. 271 οὐδ' Radermacher: οὐκ codd..
 l. 273 Cf. Euripides, *Electra* 427, 958.

- l. 256 The joke seems to be directed at the name Pliasthenes (Abounding-in-Strength). Cf. *Mantissa Proverbiorum* 2.94.

And Pliasthenes, from Pelops sprung, had gout ;
 And gouty general too was Poes' son * ;
 Another Doughty Footed * one Thessalians led,
 Who, when Protesilaus had been killed,
 Though gouty and in pain, did lead his host. 260
 The king of Ithaca,* Laertes' son,
 Was slain by me and not by spine of fish.
 For know, ye luckless ones, with dearth of glee
 You'll get a punishment to fit your crime.

DOCTORS

We Syrians are, Damascus men by birth, 265
 But forced by hunger and by poverty,
 We wander far afield o'er land and sea.
 We have an ointment here, our fathers' gift,
 With which we comfort woes of sufferers.

GOUT

What ointment's this? Say what's your stock-
 in-trade. 270

DOCTOR

By secret, mystic oath my lips are sealed,
 And by my dying father's last command,
 Who bade me secret keep this mighty cure,
 Whose power can quell e'en fiercest wrath of thine.

- l. 257 Philoctetes, who became lame after a snake bit his foot.
 l. 258 Podarkes; cf. *Iliad* 2.704, 13.693.
 l. 261 Odysseus, who was depicted in Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi* and Sophocles' *Acanthoptex* (both plays are lost) as having being killed in some way by a fish-bone; cf. *Odyssey*, 11.134.

LUCIAN

ΠΟΔΑΓΓΡΑ

- 275 *Εἶτ' ὦ κατάρatoi καὶ κακῶς ὀλούμενοι,*
ἔστιν τις ἐν γῆ φαρμάκου δρᾶσις τόση,
ὃ χρισθὲν οἶδε τὴν ἐμὴν παῦσαι βίαν;
ἀλλ' εἶα, τήνδε σύμβασιν συνθώμεθα,
καὶ πειράσωμεν εἴτε φαρμάκου σθένος
- 280 *ὑπέρτερον πέφυκεν εἶτ' ἐμαὶ φλόγες.*
δεῦτ', ὦ σκυθρωπαί, πάντοθεν ποτώμεναι
βάσανοι, πάρεδροι τῶν ἐμῶν βακχευμάτων,
πελάζετε' ἄσσον· καὶ σὺ μὲν ποδῶν ἄκρους
φλέγμαινε ταρσοὺς δακτύλων ποδῶν ἄχρσι,
- 285 *σὺ δὲ σφυροῖς ἐμβαίνει, σὺ δὲ μηρῶν ἀπο*
ἐς γόνατα λείβε πικρὸν ἰχώρων βάθος,
ὑμεῖς δὲ χειρῶν δακτύλους λυγίζετε.

ΠΟΝΟΙ

- *Ἴδ', ὡς ἔταξας πάντα σοι δεδράκαμεν·*
κεῖνται βοῶντες οἱ ταλαίπωροι μέγα,
- 290 *ἅπαντα γυῖα προσβολῇ στρεβλούμενοι.*

ΠΟΔΑΓΓΡΑ

- Φέρετ', ὦ ξένοι, μάθωμεν ἀτρεκέστερον,*
εἰ χρισθὲν ὑμᾶς φάρμακον τόδ' ὠφέλει.
εἰ γὰρ σαφῶς τόδ' ἐστὶν ἀντίξουν ἐμοί,
λιποῦσα γαῖαν εἰς μυχοὺς εἰμι χθονός,
- 295 *ἄιστος, ἀφανής, πύματα Ταρτάρου βάθη.*
Ἰδοῦ, κέχρισθε· χαλασάτω φλογῶν πόνος.

1. 276 *τόση δρᾶσις Γ: τόση δόσις Radermacher.*
 1. 284 *ἄχρσι Radermacher: ἄχρ Γ^a: ἄκρους Γ.*
 1. 286 *πικρῶν codd.: corr. edd..*

GOUT

GOUT

- Then, cursed ones whose death will bitter be, 275
 Is there on earth a drug of such effect,
 An ointment potent which can check my might ?
 But come, upon these terms let us agree ;
 Let's test this mighty remedy to find
 If it or if my burning pain prevails. 280
 Come, grim-faced ones, from every side fly here,
 Ye torments, comrades of my frenzied rites,
 Approach, come near, I say ; do thou inflame
 Their feet from heel to utmost tip of toe ;
 Their ankles thou assail ; and from their thighs 285
 Down to their knees make thou rank poison flow ;
 And ye must twist and knot their fingers all.

PAINS

- Look, all we've done, just as you've bidden us.
 The luckless men lie shrieking loud and clear
 From our attacks which torture every limb. 290

GOUT

- Now, strangers, come ; more surely let us learn
 If ye find help from rubbing on this salve.
 For, if it clearly counteracts my power,
 I'll leave this world, and disappear from sight
 Deep down to utmost depths of Tartarus. 295
 Let's see if salve applied relieves your pain.

1. 291 *ἀτρεκέστατον rec., edd..*
 1. 294 *λιποῦσα N: λείπονσα cett.. Cf. Euripides, Supplices*
926, Aeschylus, Choephoroe 954.
 1. 296 *ΠΟΝΟΙΣ rec., IATPΩ edd. tribuunt. κέχρισται edd..*
χαλασάτω φλογῶν πόνος Γ: κοῦ χαλᾶ φλογμός πόνων Γ^a.

- Οἴμοι, παπαῖ γε, τείρομαι, διόλλυμαι,
 ἅπαν πέπαρμαι γυῖον ἀσκόπῳ κακῶ·
 οὐ Ζεὺς κεραυνοῦ τοῖον αἰωρεῖ βέλος,
 300 οὐδεῖς θαλάσσης τοῖα μαινεται κλύδων,
 οὐδέ στροβητῆ λαιλαπος τόσση βία.
 μὴ κάρχαρον πορθεῖ με δῆγμα Κερβέρου;
 μὴ τῆς Ἐχιδνῆς ἰὸς ἀμφιβόσκειται,
 ἢ διαβραχεῖς ἰχώρι Κενταύρου πέπλος;
 305 ἐλείαρ', ἀνασσα, φάρμακον γὰρ οὐτ' ἐμὸν
 οὐτ' ἄλλο δύναται σὸν ἀναχαιτίσαι δρόμον,
 ψήφοις δὲ πάσαις πᾶν ἔθνος νικᾷς βροτῶν.

ΠΟΔΑΓΓΡΑ

- Παύσασθε, βάσανοι, καὶ πόνοὺς μειώσατε
 τῶν μετανοούντων εἰς ἐμὴν ἔριν μολεῖν.
 310 γιωσκέτω δὲ πᾶς τις ὡς μόνῃ θεῶν
 ἄτεγκτος οὐσα φαρμάκοις οὐ πείθομαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- Οὔτε Διὸς βρονταῖς Σαλμωνέος ἤρισε βία,
 ἀλλ' ἔθανεν φολόεντι δαμείσα θεοῦ φρένα βέλει,
 οὐκ ἐρίσας ἐχάρη Φοῖβῳ σάτυρος Μαρσύας,
 315 ἀλλὰ λιγὴ ψαίρει κείνου περὶ δέρματι πίτυς.

- l. 297 ΠΟΔΑΓΓΡΩ trib. rec., edd.
 l. 303 τῆς Guyet: τίς codd.: τίς μ' edd..
 l. 304 sic Zimmermann: διαβραχῆς F: διαβρεχῆς N, edd..
 ἰχώρι N, edd.: ἰχώρ ἢ Γ.
 l. 312 ἤρισεν codd.: corr. Guyet.
 l. 315 δέρμα πίτυς codd.: corr. Schaefer.

- l. 302 cf. Bacchylides, 33 (v), 60-62.
 l. 312 ll. 312-324 are myuric hexameters or "beliambi"
 (i.e. five dactyls or spondees followed by an iambus),

- Alas, alas, I'm utterly destroyed !
 I burn in every limb from bane untold,
 Not such the thunderbolt that Zeus doth poise,
 Not such the furious ocean's raging waves, 300
 And lesser too the whirlwind's mighty force !
 Do jagged teeth of Cerberus * me rend ?
 Or does Echidna's venom gnaw my flesh ?
 Or is my raiment steeped in Nessus' gore ?
 Have mercy, queen, for neither salve of mine 305
 Nor other remedy can quell thy course.
 All votes agree you conquer all mankind.

GOUT

- Ye torments, cease. Relax their suffering
 For now they're sorry that they challenged me.
 Let all men know that I alone of gods 310
 Do not relent or yield to remedies.

CHORUS

- Mighty though Salmoneus was, he could not rival
 thundering Zeus,*
 But was slain and smitten in the heart by smoking
 thunderbolt ;
 Nor brought rivalry with Phoebus joy to Satyr
 Marsyas ;
 All his music now is where his skin * on rustling pine-
 tree hangs ; 315

as Marius Victorinus calls them. See T. F. Higham's article in *Greek Poetry and Life* pp. 299 ff. A very few Homeric lines are myuric, but the earliest surviving passage written entirely in this metre is Oxyrynchus Papyrus 1795, which Grenfell and Hunt assign to the first century A.D.

- l. 315 After defeating Marsyas in a musical contest Apollo took his revenge by binding him to a tree and flaying him.

- πένθος αείμνηστον δι' ἔριν τοκάς ἔσχε Νιόβη,
 ἀλλ' ἔτι μυρομένη προχέει πολὺ δάκρυ Σιπύλῳ.
 Μαιονία δ' Ἀράχνη Τριτωνίδος ἦλθεν ἐς ἔριν,
 ἀλλ' ὀλέσασα τύπον καὶ νῦν ἔτι νήματα πλέκει·
 320 οὐ γὰρ ἴσον μακάρων ὄργαις θράσος ἐστὶ
 μερόπων,
 ὡς Διός, ὡς Λητοῦς, ὡς Παλλάδος, ὡς Πυθίου.
 ἦπιον, ὦ πάνδημε, φέροις ἄλγημα, Ποδάγρα,
 κοῦφον, ἐλαφρόν, ἀδριμυ, βραχυβλαβές,
 ἀνώδυνον,
 εὐφορον, εὐληκτον, ὀλιγοδρανές, εὐπερίπατον.
 325 πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν ἀτυχοῦντων,
 μελέται δὲ πόνων καὶ τὸ σύνηθες
 τοὺς ποδαγρῶντας παραμυθίσθω.
 ὄθην εὐθύμωσ, ὦ σύγκληροι,
 λήσεσθε πόνων,
 330 εἰ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἔτελέσθη,
 τοῖς δ' ἀδοκῆτοις πόρον εὔρε θεός.
 πᾶς δ' ἀνεχέσθω τῶν πασχόντων
 ἐμπαιζόμενος καὶ σκωπτόμενος·
 τοῖον γὰρ ἔφθ τόδε πρᾶγμα.

1. 323 εὐώδυνον G. Hermann.

1. 328 συναύκληροι codd.: corr. Guyet.

1. 317 Niobe was petrified and became Mount Sipylus in Lydia as a punishment for boasting that her children were superior to Apollo and Artemis.
 1. 318 Arachne hanged herself after incurring the wrath of Pallas by her pride in her weaving; Pallas thereupon changed the rope into a cobweb and Arachne into a spider.
 1. 325 ll. 325, 330-331 and 334 are parodies of the ending common to four plays of Euripides. Cf. *Carousal*, 48.

- And, for rivalling Leto, mother Niobe will ne'er forget
 her grief,
 But she mourneth still and poureth floods of tears
 on Sipylus * ;
 And Maeonian maid Arachne * thought herself
 Athene's match,
 But she lost her shape and still to-day must spin and
 spin her web ;
 For men's daring boldness cannot match the wrath
 of blessed gods, 320
 Such as Zeus or Leto or Athene or the Pythian seer.
 May the pain you bring be gentle, universal goddess
 Gout,
 Light and mild and stingless, hurting little, free from
 pain,
 Easily borne and swiftly ceasing, weak and feeble,
 ready for a stroll.
 Many sorts * one will find there are of luckless 325
 men ;
 But let those who have gout find relief from their
 woes
 By being schooled to endure * and accustomed to
 pain.
 In this way cheerfully you who share this our lot
 Will forget all your pain,
 Seeing that what we thought has not been
 brought about, 330
 While a way for what we not at all did expect
 Has been found by the god. So let each sufferer
 Learn to bear mockery and submit to men's taunts.
 For this thing is of just such a kind.
 1. 327 Cf. Thucydides, 2.39.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

[Ὁκύνους Ποδαλειρίου καὶ Ἀστασίας υἱὸς ἐγένετο, κάλλει καὶ δυνάμει διαφέρων, γυμνασίων τε καὶ κυνηγεσίων μὴ ἀμελῶν. πολλάκις δὲ θεωρῶν τοὺς ἐχομένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀτέγκτου Ποδάγρας κατεγάλα φάσκων μηδὲν ὄλως εἶναι τὸ πάθος. ἡ θεὸς ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ διὰ ποδῶν εἰστρέχει. τοῦ δὲ εὐτόνως φέροντος καὶ ἀρνούμενου, ὕπτιον ὄλως τίθησιν ἡ θεός.]

τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα Ποδάγρα, Ὁκύνους, Τροφεύς, Ἴατρος, Πόνος, Ἄγγελος.¹

ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑποκεῖται² ἐν Θήβαις· ὁ δὲ χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἐπιχωρίων ποδαγρῶν συνελεγχόντων τὸν Ὁκύνουν. τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν πάνυ ἀστείων.]

¹ Πόνος, Ἄγγελος om. rec..

² ὑποκεῖται edd.: ἀνακεῖται codd..

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

[Swift-of-Foot was the son of Podaleirius and Astasia,¹ distinguished for his beauty and strength, and a devotee of the wrestling-school and the hunt. He would often laugh with contempt when he looked at victims in the grasp of remorseless Gout, saying that the ailment amounted to nothing at all. The goddess is angry and runs in through his feet. When he bears up sturdily and denies his plight, the goddess puts him on his back completely.]

The *dramatis personae* are Gout, Swift-of-Foot, Tutor, Doctor, Pain, Messenger.

The play is set in Thebes, and the chorus consists of local sufferers from gout who cross-question Swift-of-Foot. The play is a very witty one.]

¹ The names are chosen for comic effect. The first syllable of Podaleirius means "foot", and Lucian himself makes the same pun in *Alexander* 59; Podaleirius was a son of Aesculapius and himself a doctor, see Harmon's note on *Alexander* 11. Astasia (= "inability to stand") is chosen for its resemblance to Aspasia, the mistress of Pericles.

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΑ, ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ, ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ, ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Dramatis Personae:

ΠΟΔΑΓΡΑ

GOUT

TUTOR

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

DOCTOR

Δεινὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι καὶ δυσώνυμος
Ποδάγρα κέκλημαι, δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις πάθος,
δεσμῶ δὲ νευρίνοισι τοὺς πόδας βρόχοις,
ἄρθροισιν εἰσδραμοῦσα μὴ νοουμένη.

GOUT

I have a name men dread and loathe to hear ;
They call me Gout, a fearsome scourge to men ;
I bind their feet in sinew-knotting cords,
When I have swept unseen into their joints.
I laugh to see men smitten down by me, 5
Who will not tell the truth of their distress,
But practised are in offering vain excuse,
For each beguiles himself with lying tongue,
Pretending to his friends he's sprained a leg
Or put his ankle out, hiding the cause. 10
For what denieth he, thinking to hide,
The passing time reveals against his will.
Then overcome he mentions me by name,
When carried forth to glee of all his friends.
And Torment helpeth me in all these woes. 15
For without him I am myself but nought.
Therefore it gnaws and catcheth at my heart,
That, though Torment is cause of woes to all,
Yet no one rails at him with curses foul,
But execrations vile at me they hurl, 20

- 5 γελῶ δὲ τοὺς πληγέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς <βίαν>
καὶ μὴ λέγοντας τὰ τρεκῆ τῆς συμφορᾶς,
ἀλλ' εἰς ματαίαν πρόφασιν ἐξησηκημένους.
ἅπας γὰρ αὐτὸν βουκολεῖ ψευδοστομῶν,
ὡς ἐνσεσεικῶς ἢ τι προσκόψας βάσιν
- 10 λέγει φίλοισι, μὴ φράσας τὴν αἰτίαν·
ὃ μὴ λέγει γάρ, ὡς δοκῶν λαθεῖν τινας,
χρόνος δὲ γ' ἔρπων μνηύει, κἂν μὴ θέλῃ.
καὶ τότε δαμασθεῖς, ὀνομάσας μου τοῦνομα,
πᾶσιν θρίαμβος ἐκβεβᾶστακται φίλοις.
- 15 Πόνος δὲ μοι συνεργός ἐστι τῶν κακῶν·
ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶμι τούτου δίχα μόνη.
τοῦτ' οὖν δάκνει με καὶ φρενῶν καθάπτεται,
ὅτι τὸν ἅπασιν αἴτιον Πόνον κακῶν
οὐδεὶς κακούργοις λοιδορεῖ βλασφημίαις,
- 20 ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐμοῦ πέμπουσι δυσφήμους ἄρᾶς

1. 1 Cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1, 2.

1. 5 πρὸς βίαν Radermacher: πο** Γ: προ** vel πρό**
recc.: πόδας Γ^o: πόδας ἄκρους coniecti.

1. 6 ἀτρεκῆ codd.: corr. Guyet.

1. 9 ἦποι προσκόψας Γ: corr. Radermacher: ἢ προκόψας
ποι recc., edd..

1. 10 λέγει codd.: ἀλεγεῖ Radermacher.

1. 12 Cf. *Gout* 70.

1. 14 ἐμβεβᾶστακται edd..

1. 16 τοῦτου codd.: τοῦδε Radermacher.

1. 17 Cf. Euripides, *Medea* 55.

- ὡς δέσμον ἐλπίζοντες ἐκφυγεῖν ἐμόν.
 τί ταῦτα φλυαρῶ κοῦ λέγω τίνος χάριν
 πάρειμι μὴ φέρουσα τὴν ἐμὴν χολήν;
 ὁ γὰρ Δόλων γενναῖος, ὁ θρασὺς Ὠκύπους
 25 φρονεῖ καθ' ἡμῶν μηδὲν εἶναι μέ τι λέγων.
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς γυνὴ δεδηγμένη
 ἀντέδακα τοῦτον ἀθεράπευτον εὐστόχως,
 ὡς ἦν ἔθος μοι κονδύλου ποδὸς τυχεῖν.
 ἤδη δ' ὁ δεινὸς Πόνος ἔχει λεπτόν τόπον
 30 καὶ τὴν βάσιν νυγμοῖσι τρυπᾷ τὴν κάτω.
 ὁ δ' ὡς δρόμοισιν ἢ πάλη πλήξας ἴχνος
 πλανᾷ γέροντα παιδαγωγὸν ἄθλιον.
 καὶ κλεψίχλων πόδα τιθεῖς ἰχνευμένον
 δύστηνος αὐτὸς ἐκ δόμων προέρχεται.
 35 πόθεν δ' ὁ δεινὸς κατὰ ποδῶν οὔτος παρῆν
 ἀτραυμάτιστος, ἄβατος, ἄστατος πόνος;
 τείνω δὲ νεῦρον οἶα τοξότης ἀνήρ
 βέλος προπέμπων καὶ λέγειν βιάζεται·
 Τὸ τῶν ποιούντων ἔσχατον στοιχεῖ χρόνῳ.

ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ

- 40 *Ἐπαίρει σαυτὸν, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ κούφισον.
 μὴ πῶς με πίπτων καταβάλης σὺ χλωδὸς ὦν.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Ἰδού, κρατῶ σε δίχα βάρους καὶ πείθομαι
 καὶ τὸν ποιοῦντα πόδα τιθῶ καὶ καρτερῶ·

- l. 24 δόλον edd.: δόλω Zimmermann.
 l. 25 μ' ἔτι Guyet.
 l. 29 τόπων Γ.
 l. 34 προσέρχεται edd..

As if they hoped my bondage to escape.
 But why this empty talk? Why don't I tell
 Why I am here with wrath I cannot brook?
 That noble man of guile, bold Swift-of-Foot,
 Against us plots, and says I am as nought. 25
 And I, like any female stung by wrath,
 Vengeful, with bite that none may cure, aimed true,
 As is my wont, at knuckles of his feet.
 And now dread Torment works in narrow field,
 Boring his feet below with piercing stabs, 30
 While he deceives his poor old dominie,
 Pretending race or wrestling caused the sprain,
 And, hiding lameness of his foot, my prey,
 Comes forth from home alone unhappy man.
 Whence comes upon your feet this torment dread, 35
 From no wound sprung, brooking nor walk nor
 stance?

Just like an archer when he spee'ds his shaft,
 I draw his sinews taut and him constrain
 To say, "The worst of pains are healed by time."

TUTOR

Stand up, support yourself, lest you should fall 40
 And cast me to the ground, my child so lame.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Lo, without weight I hold to thee, and ply
 As bid my painful foot with fortitude.

ll. 35-39 *Ocyropodi trib.* Guyet.

l. 37 *τείνω* codd.: *τένειν* Guyet.

l. 38 *λέγειν* codd.: *στένειν* Guyet.

l. 39 *Paedagogo trib.* F. Hermann.

l. 40 Cf. Euripides, *Alcestis* 250, *Andromache* 1077,
 Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 937.

νεωτέρῳ γὰρ αἰσχος ἐν πεσήμασι
45 ὑπηρέτης ἀδύνατος γογγύζων γέρων.

ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ

Μὴ μὴ τι ταῦτα, μωρέ, μὴ με κερτόμει,
μὴ μ' ὡς νέος κόμπαζε, τοῦτ' εἰδῶς ὅτι
ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις πᾶς γέρων ἐστὶν νέος.
πέιθου λέγοντι· τὸ πέρασ ἂν ὑποσπάσω,
50 ἔστην ὁ πρέσβυς, σὺ δ' ὁ νέος πίπτεις χαμαί.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Σὺ δ' ἂν σφαλῆς, πέπτωκας ἄπονος ὦν γέρων.
προθυμία γὰρ ἐν γέρουσι παρέπεται,
πρᾶξις δὲ τούτοις οὐκέτ' ἐστὶν εὐτονος.

ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ

Τί μοι σοφίῃ, κοῦ λέγεις οἶω τρόπῳ
55 πόνος προσήλθε σοῦ ποδὸς κοιλῆν βάσιν;

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Δρόμοισιν ἀσκῶν, κοῦφον ὡς τιθῶ πόδα,
τρέχων ἔτεινα, καὶ συνεσεμίχθην πόνῳ.

ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ

Πάλιν τρέχ', ὡς τις εἶπεν, ὃς καθήμενος
πάγωνα τίλλει κουριῶν ὑπ' ὠλέναις.

1. 44 *πεσήμασι* Radermacher: *παισὶν δελ* codd.: τοῖς
πταίσμασι E. H. Warrington.
1. 45 *ἀδύνατα* metri causa Dindorf: *sed* cf. l. 12.
1. 46 *sic* rec.: *μὴ μέ τι Γ*: *μὴ μὴ σὺ* edd..
1. 52 *γέρουσιν Γ*.

For when youth falls he suffers scorn if helped
By feeble, murmuring, aged servitor. 45

TUTOR

Stop, stop, thou fool, thus taunting me, oh stop ;
Speak not to me with boasts of youth, but learn
That times of need make old men youthful all.
Heed what I say. I'll speak with brevity ;
Though old, I stand ; though young, thou fallest
50 down.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

But if you slip, you fall from age, not pain.
For with the old the spirit still is keen,
But has no more the strength to execute.

TUTOR

Why pit your wits with mine ? Just tell me how
Torment has reached the arches of your feet. 55

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

When practising the sprint in quest of speed,
I strained my foot and wedded was to pain.

TUTOR

Run backward then, as said a man who sat
And plucked his beard, though hairy 'neath his arms.

1. 57 *ἔτεινα* Jacobitz, cf. *Ox. Pap.* 2532: *ἔτειλα Γ*.
1. 57 *συνεσεμίχθην* Gavelens: *συνεσεμίχθην* malim.
1. 58 *τρέχ' ὡς* rec.: *τρέχων Γ*.
1. 58 *εἶπεν* ds. Erasmus: *εἶπεν Γ*) ἢ codd..
1. 59 *κουριῶν* codd.: corr. Erasmus.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

60 Οὐκοῦν παλαίων ὡς θέλω παρεμβολὴν
βαλεῖν ἐπλήγην. τοῦτο δὴ πίστευέ μοι.

ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ

Ποῖος στρατιώτης γέγονας, ἵνα παρεμβολὴν
βαλῶν σὺ πληγῆς; περικυκλεῖς ψευδῆ λόγον.
τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς εἶχομεν λόγον ποτὲ
65 μηδενὶ λέγοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν φίλων.
νῦν δ' εἰσορᾶς ἅπαντας ἐξευρηκότας.
ὁ πόνος ἐλελίξας ἐμμελῶς διαστρέφει.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Ποῖ ποῖ καθεύρω κλεινὸν Ὁκύπουν, φίλοι,
τὸν πόδα πονοῦντα καὶ βάσιν παρεμμένον;
70 ἱατρὸς ὦν γὰρ ἔκλυον ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς
πάσχοντα δεινὰ τοῦτον ἀστάτῳ πάθει.
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς οὖτος ἐγγὺς ὀμμάτων ἐμῶν
κεῖται κατ' εὐνῆς ὑπτίως βεβλημένος.
ἀσπάζομαι σε πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ σὸν <πάθος>
75 τί <πῶτ' ἔστι> τοῦτο; λέξον, Ὁκύπου, τάχα.
εἰ γὰρ μάθοιμι, τυχὸν ἴσως ἰάσομαι
τὸ δεινὸν ἄλγος, τοῦ πάθους τὴν συμφορὰν.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Ὁρᾶς με, Σωτήρ καὶ πάλιν Σωτήριχε,
Σάλπιγγος αὐτῆς ὄνομ' ἔχων Σωτήριχε,

- l. 60 θέλων rec., edd..
l. 63 ψευδηλογῶν Γ: ψευδολογῶν rece.: corr. edd..
l. 66 lacunam post ἐξ in codd. sic supplēvi: ἐξαρουμένουσ
Zimmermann.
l. 67 δ' ἐλίξας rec., edd..
l. 74 πάθος suppl. Gavelens: κακὸν malim.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Well, I while wrestling tried my man to trip 60
But took a knock. It is the truth, I swear.

TUTOR

A feeble soldier thou! To try a trip
But take a knock! A twisted lying tale
Is this you tell, the same as once was mine,
When I would tell none of your friends the truth. 65
But now you see they all have found it out.
For racking twisting torment makes thee dance.

DOCTOR

Where can I find, my friends, famed Swift-of-Foot,
The one whose foot is sore, whose gait impaired? 70
For I, a doctor, heard from friend of mine
He suffers terribly and cannot stand.
But look, I see him lie not far away
Stretched out upon his back upon a bed.
By all the gods I greet thee, Swift-of-Foot.
Quick tell, what's this thy plight, I fain would 75
know?
For if I'm told, it may be I shall cure
Thy grievous pain, thy tragic suffering.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

See, Saviour, Saviour, I repeat that name
By which men call the Clarion-Goddess too,*

l. 79 Σάλπιγξ (= trumpet) was a name given to Pallas
Athene. Cf. Pausanias 2.21.3; she also had the
name Σώτρερα (= Saviour). Cf. Aristophanes,
Frogs 379.

l. 75 versum sic supplēvi. τάχα codd.: τάχ' ὡς μάθω
Gesner.

80 δεινὸς πόνος με τοῦ ποδὸς δάκνει κακῶς,
δειλὸν δὲ βῆμα κοῦχ ἀπλοῦν τιθῶ ποσίν.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Πόθεν παθῶν, μήνυσον, ἢ ποίω τρόπῳ;
μαθῶν ἀλήθειαν γὰρ ἱατρός ἀσφαλῶς
κρεῖττον πρόσεισι, σφάλλεται δὲ μὴ μαθῶν.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

85 Δρόμον τιν' ἀσκῶν καὶ τέχνην γυμναστικὴν
δεινῶς ἐπλήγην ὑπὸ φίλων ὀμηλικῶν.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Πῶς οὖν ἀηδῆς οὐ πάρεστι φλεγμονὴ
τόπου κατ' αὐτοῦ κοῦχ ἔχεις τιν' ἐμβροχὴν;

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

90 Οὐ γὰρ στέγω τὰ δεσμὰ τῶν ἐριδίων,
εὐμορφίαν ἀχρηστον εἰς πολλοὺς καλήν.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Τί οὖν δοκεῖ σοι; κατακνίσω σου τὸν πόδα;
ἂν γὰρ παράσχης μοί <σε>, γιννώσκειν σε δεῖ,
ὡς ταῖς τομαῖσι πλείστον αἱμά σου κενῶ.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Ποίησον εἴ τι καινὸν ἐξευρεῖν ἔχεις,
95 ἴν' εὐθὺ δεινὸν ἐκ ποδῶν παύσης πόνον.

1. 81 ποσίν Γ: ποδισι Ν: ποδί edd..

1. 83 sic edd.: . . . γὰρ ἀλήθειαν ὁ ἱατρός . . . codd..

How cruelly grim torment bites my foot, 80
How weak and laboured every step I make!

DOCTOR

Whence came this ill upon thee? Tell me how.
For, told the truth, the doctor will proceed
With surer foot, but trips if uninformed.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

'Mid running and gymnastic practising, 85
My dear companions dealt me grievous blows.

DOCTOR

How then art free from inflammation sore
Where hurt? And why no lotion dost thou use?

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

I do not hold with woollen bandages.
They're useless finery, though much admired. 90

DOCTOR

What is your will, then? Shall I prick your foot?
For you must know that if you let me act
I cut the veins and much blood drain away.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Then do so, if fresh method you can find,
That you at once my feet's grim pain may stop. 95

1. 88 κοῦχ rec.: οὐκ Γ.

1. 88 τιν' edd.: τὴν codd..

1. 91 κατακνήσω Ν, cf. l. 12.

1. 92 σε suppl. edd.; δεῖ Γ: χρή rec., edd..

1. 95 παύση Γ.

Ἰδοῦ, σιδηρόχαλκον ἐπιφέρω τομῆν,
ὄξειαν, αἰμόδιψον, ἡμιστρογγυλον.

Ἔα, ἔα.

- Σῶτερ, τί ποιεῖς; μὴ τύχοις σωτηρίας.
100 τολμᾶς σιδηρόσπαρτον ἐπιβαλεῖν πόνον;
μηδὲν κατειδῶς προσφέρεις κακὸν ποσὶν.
ψευδεῖς γὰρ ἔκλυες ὧν ἀκήκοας λόγων.
οὐ γὰρ πάλαισιν ἢ δρόμοισιν, ὡς λέγει,
ἀσκῶν ἐπλήγη. τοῦτο γοῦν ἄκουέ μου.
105 ἦλθεν μὲν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον ἰγνῆς ἐν δόμοις,
φαγῶν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πινὼν ὁ δυστυχῆς
κλίνης ὑπερθε καταπεσῶν ὑπνοῖ μόνος.
ἔπειτα νυκτὸς διυπνίσιας ἐκραύγασεν
ὡς δαίμονι πληγείς, καὶ πάντα φόβον λαβῶν.
110 ἔλεξε δ', Οἴμοι, πόθεν ἔχω κακὴν τύχην;
δαίμων τάχα κρατῶν τις ἐξῶθει ποδός.
πρὸς ταῦτα νυκτὸς ἀνακαθήμενος μόνος
ὅποια κῆϋξ ἐξεθρήνει τὸν πόδα.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλέκτωρ ἡμέραν ἐσάλπισεν,
115 οὗτος προσῆλθε χεῖρα θεῖς ἐμοὶ πικρὰν
θρηνῶν πυρέσσων <εἶπέ μοι βάσιν νοσεῖν.>

- l. 102 ψευδεῖς . . . λόγων Gavelens; ψευδῆς . . . ἔργων codd..
l. 109 καὶ . . . λαβῶν rec.: καὶ . . . λαβεῖν Γ, cf. l. 12: πάντα
καὶ . . . λαβῶν E. H. Warmington: πάντας ὡς φόβον
λαβεῖν edd.: καὶ φόβος πάντας λαβεῖν Gavelens: καὶ πλανῆ
(vel κάπατῃ) φόβον λαβῶν Radermacher.
l. 111 ἐξῶθει rec.: ἔξω Γ: ἐξουστρεῖ malim.
l. 113 κῆϋξ Nauck: κῆρυξ codd..
l. 115 sic rec.: προσῆλθε Γ.

Look, now I poise the scalpel, metal-wrought,
Bloodthirsty, sharp and hemispherical.

Stop, stop.

- What do you, Saviour? Safety be not thine.
How can you bring him pain of metal born? 100
Fresh woes from ignorance his feet you give,
For false the words your ears have heard just now.
No blow he felt in wrestling or in race,
As he maintains. But list to what I say.
At first he walked at home in perfect health, 105
But, after eating much and drinking much,
The wretch dropped on his bed and slept alone.
Then in the night from sleep he woke to shout
As though by devil struck and filled with fear.
He cried, "Alas! Whence comes this evil
curse? 110
Perchance tormenting fiend doth grasp my foot."
And so alone last night upon his couch,
He sat mourning his feet like plaintive tern.*
But when the cock's note shrill announced the morn,
He came and laid a cruel hand on me, 115
And moaning, fevered, said his foot did ail.
- l. 113 When Halcyone heard that her husband Ceyx had
been drowned, she mourned for him so bitterly that
the gods out of pity changed her into a kingfisher,
while Ceyx became, by some accounts, another
kingfisher, by other accounts, the bird which is
perhaps the tern. Cf. *Halcyon*, *intit.*
- l. 116 εἶπε . . . νοσεῖν Radermacher: post ἐπ' ἐμοὶ βα (βάζων
rec.) deficient codd..

ἄ πρὶν δὲ σοὶ κατεῖπε, πάντ' ἐψεύσατο,
τὰ δεινὰ κρύπτων τῆς νόσου μυστήρια.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

120 Γέρων μὲν αἰεὶ τοῖς λόγοις ὀπλίζεται
καυχώμενος τὰ πάντα, μηδὲ ἐν σθένων.
ὁ γὰρ πονῶν τι καὶ φίλοις ψευδῆ λέγων
πεινῶντ' ἔοικε μαστίχην μασωμένῳ.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Πλανῆς ἅπαντας, ἄλλα δ' ἐξ ἄλλων λέγεις,
λέγων πονεῖν μὲν, ὁ δὲ πονεῖς οὐπω λέγεις.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

125 Πῶς οὖν φράσω σοὶ τοῦ πάθους τὴν συμφορὰν;
πάσχων γὰρ οὐδὲν οἶδα, πλὴν πονῶ μόνον.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Ἄφ' ἄφορμῆς δίχα πονῆ τις τὸν πόδα,
πλάσσει τὸ λοιπὸν οὓς θέλει κενοῦς λόγους
εἰδὼς τὸ δεινὸν ᾧ συνέζευκται κακῶ.
130 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀκμῆν εἰς <σε ποὺς λυπεῖ μόνον.>
ἔπ' ἂν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀλγύνῃ πόδα,
στένων δακρῦσεις. ἐν δὲ σοὶ φράσαι θέλω
τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνο, κἂν θέλῃς, κἂν μὴ θέλῃς.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Τί δ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνό γ', εἶπέ, καὶ τί κλήζεται;

- l. 121 ὁ N: οὐ cett..
l. 130 lacunam sic post Zimmermann supplēvi.
l. 131 ἀλγύνῃ Zimmermann: ἀλγόνῃς codd.: ἀλγύσης edd..
l. 132 δακρῦεις codd.: corr. Gavelens.
l. 133 Cf. Euripides, *Helen* 621.
l. 134 γ' om. Γ.

But all he said just now to you was lies,
Whereby he hid his illness' secrets grim.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

An old man ever arms himself with words,
Though empty all his boasts and weak his
strength.

120

For he who's ill and lies unto his friends
Is like a starving man who chews but gum.

DOCTOR

You waste our time by heaping word on word.
You say you're ill but have not said of what.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

How shall I tell thee of my suffering?
Suffering, I nothing know save that I've pain.

125

DOCTOR

When without cause a man has pain of foot,
Thenceforth he fabricates vain words at will,
Though knowing well the bane to which he's wed.
'Tis only one foot that doth ail as yet,
But, when your other foot gives pain as well,
You'll weep and groan. But one thing I would say.
There is the fact, please you or please you not.

130

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

But what is it, pray tell, and what its name?

- l. 122 Lit. mastich which was chewed rather for the pleasant smell it gave the breath (cf. Koock, *Com. Fr. Incert.* 338, Lucian, *Adv. Indoctum* 23) than for any nourishment which it afforded.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

135 Ἐχει μὲν ὄνομα συμφορᾶς γέμον διπλῆς.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Οἴμοι. τί τοῦτο; λέξον, <οὐ> δέομαι, γέρον.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Ἐκ τοῦ τόπου μὲν οὐ πονεῖς ἀρχὴν ἔχει.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Ποδὸς μὲν ἀρχὴν ὄνομ' ἔχει, καθὼς λέγεις;

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Τούτῳ σὺ πρόσθεσ ἐπὶ τέλει δεινὴν ἄγραν.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

140 Καὶ πῶς με τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι <νέον κρατεῖ;>

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Δεινὴ περ οὔσα, φεῖδεται γὰρ οὐδενός.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Σωτήρ, τί λέγεις; τί δέ με

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Ἄφες με μικρόν, ἠλόγημαι σοῦ χάριν.

II. 135, 137, 139, 141 paedagogo trib. rec., edd..

I. 136 οὐ δέομαι coniecti: δέομαι codd.: ἄ, δέομαι edd.: ἀντομαι Gavelens.

I. 138 λέγεις om. Γ.

I. 140 lacunam sic suppl. Radermacher.

DOCTOR

Its name is fraught with double suffering. 135

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Alas, what's this? Sire, tell me what I ask.

DOCTOR

From that place where you ache its first part comes.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Then do you mean its name doth start with "foot"?

DOCTOR

To this for ending "huntress" add, grim word.*

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

And how still young am I her luckless prey? 140

TUTOR

Right terrible she is, for none she spares.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Saviour, what's this you say? What waits me now?

DOCTOR

A minute, please. I am dismayed for you.

I. 139 "Pod-agra" the Greek word for gout means literally "foot-snare".

PSEUDO-LUCIAN

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Τί δ' ἔστι δεινὸν ἢ τί συμβέβηκέ μοι;

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

145 Εἰς δεινὸν ἦλθες πόνον ἀχώριστον ποδός.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Οὐκοῦν με δεῖ πρόχωλον ἐξαντλεῖν βίον;

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Χωλός μὲν ἂν ἦς, οὐδέν ἐστι, μὴ φοβοῦ.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

Τί δ' ἔστι χεῖρον

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Ἄμφοῖν ποδοῖν σε συμποδισθῆναι μένει.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

150 Οἴμοι. πόθεν με καινὸς εἰσῆλθεν πόνος
ποδός δι' ἄλλον καί με συμπάσχει κακῶς;
ἢ πῶς ὄλος πέπηγα μεταβῆναι θέλων;
δειλαίνομαι δὲ πολλὰ μεταστῆσαι πόδα,
νήπιος, ὅποια βρέφος ἄφνω φοβούμενος.

155 ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε πρὸς θεῶν, Σωτήριχε,
εἶπερ <τι> τέχνη σὴ δύναται, μηδὲν φθονῶν
θεράπευσον ἡμᾶς, εἰ δὲ μή, διοίχομαι.
πάσχω γὰρ ἀφανῶς, κατὰ ποδῶν τοξεύομαι.

l. 145 ἦλθες πόνον ἀχώριστον Boivin: καὶ ἀχώριστον πόνον ἦλθες
Γ (καὶ om. Teub.).

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

What fearsome thing is this that's on me come?

DOCTOR

Affliction grim that will not leave your foot. 145

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Then must I bear from youth a crippled life?

DOCTOR

If you are lame that's nothing. Fear not that.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

But what is greater ill than that, tell me?

DOCTOR

The day will come when both your feet are bound.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

Alas, whence comes upon me this fresh pain 150
Piercing my other foot, racking it too?

Why am I rooted here when I would move,
And childish do I dread to move my feet,
Like infant hahe who's filled with sudden fright?
But I implore you, Saviour, by the gods 155
Grudge not, but use all skill at your command
For saving me, since otherwise I'm done;
For shafts of hidden pain assail my feet.

l. 148 τοῦδ' ὁ φῆς κακοῦ; φράσον suppl. Herwerden.

l. 151 sic Radermacher: συμπάσχει codd.: καὶ νιν ἀμπόσχει
κακοῖς coniecti.

l. 156 τι suppl. edd.: an potius post τέχνη?

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

- Τοὺς μὲν πλανήτας περιελὼν λόγους ἐγώ,
 160 τοὺς τῶν ἱατρῶν τῶν ὀμιλούντων μόνον,
 ἔργω δὲ μηδὲν εἰδότην σωτήριον,
 τὰ πάντα σοι πάσχοντι συντόμως φράσω.
 ἄφευκτον ἦλθες πρῶτον ἐς βάθος κακῶν·
 οὐ γὰρ σιδηρόπλαστον ὑπεδύσω βάσιν,
 165 ὁ τοῖς κακοῦργοις εὐρέθη τεκμήριον,
 δεινὴν δὲ καὶ κρυφαῖον εἰς πάντας κάκην,
 ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ' ἄχθος ἀνθρώπων φύσις.

ΩΚΥΠΟΥΣ

- Αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, οἴμοι οἴμοι.
 πόθεν με τρυπᾷ τὸν πόδα κρυπτὸς πόνος;
 170 δέξασθε χεῖρας τὰς ἐμὰς πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν,
 ὅποια Σάτυροι Βακχίουσ ὑπ' ὠλένας.

ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ

Γέρων μὲν εἰμι, πλὴν ἰδοῦ, σοὶ πείθομαι,
 καὶ τὸν νέον σε χειραγωγῶ πρέσβυς ὢν.

- l. 163 βάθος rec.: πάθος cett., cf. Euripides, *Helen* 303.
 l. 163 κακόν Γ.
 l. 164 ὑπεδήσω Dindorf.
 l. 166 κρυφαῖαν codd.: corr. edd..
 l. 167 Cf. Euripides, *Orestes* 3, Lucian, *Jur. Trag.* 1.
 sic edd.: ἄλγος ἄραιτ' Γ: ἄραιτ' ἄχθος Ν.
 l. 169 πόδ' ad Dindorf.
 l. 170 sic Ν: πρὸ τοῦ πέσω Γ: πρὸς τοῦπίσω rec..

DOCTOR

- I shall dispense with those long-winded words
 Of doctors lending only company, 160
 But knowing nought of concrete remedy;
 I'll be concise and tell my patient all.
 First hear you've no escape from pit of woes.
 For on your feet you've donned no chains of steel
 Devised to show up rogues to all the world, 165
 But wear a cruel bane * that none can see,
 Whose heavy weight no mortal man can lift.

SWIFT-OF-FOOT

- Alas, alas, alack, alack !
 Whence comes this hidden pain to drill my foot ?
 Come take, support my hands before I fall 170
 Like Satyrs holding Bacchantes by their arms.

TUTOR

Though old I am, yet see, I do as bid
 And aged take and lead thy youthful hand.

- l. 166 Or 'clog', if, as L. A. Post suggests, this is a reference to ποδοκάκη 'stocks', which is sometimes spelled ποδοκάκη (= 'foot-bane').

THE CYNIC

THOUGH a few editors accept *The Cynic* as Lucianic, the style of this dialogue bears little resemblance to that of Lucian ; for a detailed analysis see J. Bieler, *Ueber die Echtheit des Lucianischen Dialogs Cynicus* (Hildesheim, 1891). Moreover, the position of *The Cynic* in Γ is not above suspicion.

The fact that *The Cynic* emerges with such credit has also been used as an argument against Lucianic authorship. This in itself need not be so, as Lucian gives favourable pictures of Cynics, e.g. Menippus, Diogenes and the Cynic of *Zeus Cathechized* ; Lucian has little quarrel with sincere Cynics, but only with charlatans such as Peregrinus. What is suspicious, however, is the poor figure cut by Lycinus, when confronted by the Socratic methods of the Cynic ; there is, admittedly, some parallelism in the feeble role played by Tychiades in *The Parasite*, but that dialogue is not serious like *The Cynic* and may not be the work of Lucian.

I therefore follow Fritzsche in regarding this piece as the work of a Cynic defending his sect against the criticisms made by Lucian. It may well have been written, as Fritzsche suggests, in the time of Julian the Apostate, who encouraged the beliefs and philosophies of ancient times, but it could be considerably earlier.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ¹

1. Τί ποτε σύ, οὔτος, πάγωνα μὲν ἔχεις καὶ κόμην, χιτῶνα δὲ οὐκ ἔχεις καὶ γυμνοδερκῆ καὶ ἀνυποδητεῖς τὸν ἀλήτην καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον βίον καὶ θηριώδη ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ ἴδιον δέμας οὐχ ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ διαχρησάμενος περινοστεῖς ἄλλοτε ἄλλαχού, καὶ εὐνηθησόμενος² ἐπὶ ξηροῦ διαπέδου, ὡς ἄσπιν³ πάμπολλον τὸ τριβώνιον φέρειν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο λεπτὸν οὐδὲ μαλακὸν οὐδὲ ἀνθηρόν;

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Οὐδὲ γὰρ δέομαι· τοιοῦτον δὲ ὅποιον ἂν πορισθεῖη ῥᾶστα καὶ τῷ κτησαμένῳ πράγματα ὡς ἐλάχιστα παρέχον· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μοι. 2. σὺ δὲ πρὸς θεῶν εἰπέ μοι, τῇ πολυτελείᾳ οὐ νομίζεις κακίαν προσεῖναι;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Τῇ δὲ εὐτελείᾳ ἀρετὴν;

Codices Γ et recentes (N et alios) rettuli.

THE CYNIC

LYCINUS

1. You there, why in heaven's name have you the beard and the long hair, but no shirt? Why do you expose your body to view, and go barefooted, adopting by choice this nomadic antisocial and bestial life? Why unlike all others do you abuse your body by ever inflicting on it what it likes least, wandering around and prepared to sleep anywhere at all on the hard ground, so that your old cloak carries about a plentiful supply of filth, though it was never fine or soft or gay?

CYNIC

I need no such cloak. Mine is the kind that can be provided most easily and affords least trouble to its owner. Such a cloak is all I need. 2. But you tell me something, I beg you. Don't you think that there's vice in extravagance?

LYCINUS

Yes indeed.

CYNIC

And virtue in economy?

¹ nomina personarum om. Γ: ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ (ΞΕΝΟΣ N) et ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ recc.

² εὐναζόμενος recc.: εὐνάξη μόνος Fritzsche

³ ἄσπιν ΓN; corr. rec.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

*Τί ποτε οὖν ὄρων ἐμὲ τῶν πολλῶν εὐτελέστερον
δαιτιώμενον, τοὺς δὲ πολυτελέστερον, ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶ
καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνους;*

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

*"Οτι οὐκ εὐτελέστερόν μοι, μὰ Δία, τῶν πολλῶν
δαιτιᾶσθαι δοκεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνδεέστερον, μᾶλλον δὲ
τελέως ἐνδεῶς καὶ ἀπόρων· διαφέρεις γὰρ οὐδὲν
σὺ τῶν πτωχῶν, οἳ τὴν ἐφήμερον τροφήν μεταιτουῖ-
σιν.*

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

*3. Βούλει οὖν ἴδωμεν, ἐπεὶ προελήλυθεν ἐναυθα
ὁ λόγος, τί τὸ ἐνδεές καὶ τί τὸ ἱκανόν ἐστιν;*

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εἴ σοι δοκεῖ.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

*"Ἄρ' οὖν ἱκανόν μὲν ἐκάστω ὅπερ ἂν ἐξικνηῖται
πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου χρείαν, ἢ ἄλλο τι λέγεις;*

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ἔστω τοῦτο.

LYCINUS

Yes indeed.

CYNIC

Why, then, when you see me living a more economical life than the average man, and them living a more extravagant life, do you find fault with me rather than with them?

LYCINUS

Because, upon my troth, I do not think your manner of life more economical than that of the average man, but more wanting—or rather completely wanting and ill-provided. For you're no better than the paupers who beg for their daily bread.

CYNIC

3. Well then, since the argument has reached this point, would you like us to examine just what is want and what sufficiency?

LYCINUS

Yes, if you wish it.

CYNIC

Then is sufficiency for each man that which meets his needs? Or would you call it something else?

LYCINUS

That's good enough.

PSEUDO-LUCIAN

KYNIKOΣ

Ἐνδεές δὲ ὅπερ ἂν ἐνδεέστερον ἢ τῆς χρείας καὶ μὴ ἐξικνῆται πρὸς τὸ δέον;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ναί.

KYNIKOΣ

Οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐνδεές ἐστιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὃ τι οὐ τὴν χρείαν ἐκτελεῖ τὴν ἐμὴν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

4. Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις;

KYNIKOΣ

Ἐὰν σκοπῆς πρὸς ὃ τι γέγονεν ἕκαστον ὧν δεόμεθα, οἶον οἰκία ἄρ' οὐχὶ σκέπης;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ναί.

KYNIKOΣ

Τί δέ; ἐσθῆς¹ τοῦ χάρις; ἄρα οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτῆ² τῆς σκέπης;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ναί.

KYNIKOΣ

Τῆς δὲ σκέπης αὐτῆς πρὸς θεῶν τίνος ἐδεήθημεν ἕνεκα; οὐχ ὥστε ἄμεινον ἔχειν τὸν σκεπόμενον;

THE CYNIC

CYNIC

And want that which comes short of his requirements and fails to meet his needs?

LYCINUS

Yes.

CYNIC

Then there's nothing wanting in my way of life. No part of it fails to fulfil my needs.

LYCINUS

4. How do you mean?

CYNIC

Suppose you consider the purpose of anything which we need. For example doesn't a house aim at giving protection?

LYCINUS

Yes.

CYNIC

Well, what is the purpose of clothes? Do not they too aim at giving protection?

LYCINUS

Yes.

CYNIC

But why, tell me, have we ever found need for protection itself? Isn't it for the better condition of the person protected?

¹ τί (ἢ Ν) δὲ ἐσθῆς recc.: τί δαι ἐσθῆτος Γ.

² αὐτῆς Γ: καὶ αὐτῆ recc.: αὐτῆς Γ.

PSEUDO-LUCIAN

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δοκεῖ μοι.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Πότερ' οὖν τῷ πόδε κάκιον ἔχειν δοκῶ σοι;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ οἶδα.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Ἄλλ' οὕτως ἂν μάθοις· τί ποδῶν ἔστ' ἔργον;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πορεύεσθαι.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Κάκιον οὖν πορεύεσθαι σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἐμοὶ
πόδες ἢ οἱ¹ τῶν πολλῶν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἴσως.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ² χεῖρον ἔχουσιν, εἰ³ μὴ χεῖρον τὸ
ἑαυτῶν ἔργον ἀποδιδόασιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἴσως.

¹ οἱ rec.: om. Γ.² οὐδὲ rec.: οὐδ' εἰ ΓΝ.³ εἰ rec.: ἢ Γ.

THE CYNIC

LYCINUS

I think so.

CYNIC

Well, do you think that my feet are in worse
condition?

LYCINUS

I don't know.

CYNIC

Well, this is how you can find out. What is the
function of feet?

LYCINUS

To walk.

CYNIC

Then, do you think my feet walk worse than the feet
of the average man?

LYCINUS

In this case perhaps the answer is no.

CYNIC

Then neither are they in worse condition, if they
fulfil their function no worse.

LYCINUS

Perhaps so.

PSEUDO-LUCIAN

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ πόδας οὐδὲν φαίνομαι χεῖρον διακείμενος¹ τῶν πολλῶν ἔχειν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ ἔοικας.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Τί δέ; τοῦμόν σῶμα τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρα κάκιον; εἰ γὰρ κάκιον, καὶ ἀσθενέστερον, ἀρετὴ γὰρ σώματος ἰσχύς. ἄρ' οὖν τὸ ἐμὸν ἀσθενέστερον;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ φαίνεται.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐθ' οἱ πόδες φαίνοντό² μοι σκέπης ἐνδεῶς ἔχειν οὔτε τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα· εἰ γὰρ ἐνδεῶς εἶχον, κακῶς ἂν εἶχον. ἢ γὰρ ἐνδεῖα πανταχοῦ κακὸν καὶ χεῖρον ἔχειν ποιεῖ ταῦτα οἷς ἂν προσῆ. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τρέφεσθαί γε φαίνεται χεῖρον τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δῆλον γάρ.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Οὐδὲ εὐρωστον, εἰ κακῶς ἐτρέφετο· λυμαινόνται γὰρ αἱ πονηραὶ τροφαὶ τὰ σώματα.

¹ διακειμένους malim.

² φαίνονται recs..

THE CYNIC

CYNIC

Then, as far as feet are concerned, I seem to be in no worse condition than the average man ?

LYCINUS

So it seems.

CYNIC

Well, take the rest of my body. Is it in any worse state ? For if it's worse, it's weaker, since the virtue of the body is strength. Is my body weaker ?

LYCINUS

It doesn't seem to be.

CYNIC

Then neither my feet nor the rest of my body would appear to be wanting in respect of protection. For, if they were wanting, they would be in bad condition ; for want is everywhere an evil and detracts from the condition of the things in which it occurs. Another point. My body seems to be no worse nourished from finding its nourishment in the food that comes first to hand.

LYCINUS

That's quite easy to see.

CYNIC

It wouldn't be healthy if it were wrongly nourished, for bad food harms the body.

"Ἔστι ταῦτα.

5. Τί ποτ' ¹ οὖν, εἶπέ μοι, τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων αἰτιᾶ μου καὶ φαυλίξεις ² τὸν βίον καὶ φῆς ἄθλιον;

"Ὅτι, νῆ Δία, τῆς φύσεως, ἦν σὺ τιμᾶς, καὶ τῶν θεῶν γῆν ἐν μέσῳ καταθεϊκότων, ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀναδεδωκότων πολλὰ κάγαθά, ὥστε ἔχειν ἡμᾶς πάντα ἄφθονα μὴ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, σὺ πάντων τούτων ἢ τῶν γε πλείστων ἄμοιρος εἶ καὶ οὐδενὸς μετέχεις αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ θηρία· πίνεις μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ ὅπερ καὶ τὰ θηρία, σιτῆ δὲ ὅπερ ἂν εὐρίσκῃς, ὥπερ οἱ κύνες, εὐνήν δὲ οὐδὲν κρείττω ³ τῶν κυνῶν ἔχεις· χόρτος γὰρ ἀρκεῖ ⁴ σοι καθάπερ ἐκείνοις. ἔτι δὲ ἱμάτιον φορεῖς οὐδὲν ἐπιεικέστερον ἀκλήρου. καίτοι εἰ σὺ τούτοις ἀρκοῦμενος ὀρθῶς φρονήσεις, ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησε τοῦτο μὲν πρόβατα ποιήσας ἔμματα, τοῦτο δ' ἀμπέλους ἡδυνοῖνους, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν θαυμαστῶς ποικίλην καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὡς ἔχειν μὲν ἡμᾶς σιτία παντοδαπά, ἔχειν δὲ ποτὸν ἡδύ, ἔχειν δὲ χρήματα, ἔχειν δὲ εὐνήν μαλακὴν, ἔχειν δὲ οἰκίας καλὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένα· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τῶν τεχνῶν ἔργα δῶρα τῶν θεῶν ἐστι. τὸ δὲ

¹ τί ποτ' N: πότ' Γ: πῶς rocc..

² φαυλίξεις rocc.: φαυλίη Γ.

That's so.

5. How then, tell me, when all this is so, can you denounce and pour scorn on my way of life, and call it miserable?

Because, in heaven's name, although Nature, whom you hold in such honour, and the gods have given the earth for all to enjoy, and from it have provided us with many good things, so that we have abundance of everything to meet not only our needs but also our pleasures, nevertheless you share in few if any of all these things, and enjoy none of them any more than do the beasts. You drink water just as they do, you eat anything you find, as do the dogs, and your bed is no better than theirs. For straw is good enough for you just as it is for them. Moreover the coat you wear is no more respectable than that of a pauper. However, if you who are quite content with all this turn out to be of sound mind, god was wrong in the first place in making sheep to have fleeces, in the second place in making the vines to produce the sweetness of wine, and yet again in giving such wonderful variety to all else with which we are provided, our olive-oil, honey and the rest, so that we have foods of all sorts, and pleasant wine, money, a soft bed, beautiful houses, and everything else admirably set in order. For the products

³ κρείττω rocc.: χείρω Γ.

⁴ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ rocc.: παραρκεῖ Γ.

πάντων τούτων ζῆν ἀπεστερημένον ἄθλιον μὲν, εἰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀπεστέρητο καθάπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις· πολὺ δὲ ἀθλιώτερον, εἴ τις αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστεροῖη πάντων τῶν καλῶν, μανία ἦδη τοῦτο γε σαφής.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

6. Ἄλλ' ἴσως ὀρθῶς λέγεις. ἐκεῖνο δέ μοι εἶπέ, εἴ τις ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου προθύμως καὶ ¹ φιλοφρόνως ἐστιῶντος καὶ ξενίζοντος πολλοὺς ἅμα καὶ παντοδαπούς, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς, τοὺς δὲ ἐρρωμένους, κᾶπειτα παραθέντος πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπά, πάντα ἀρπάζοι καὶ πάντα ἐσθίοι, μὴ τὰ πλησίον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω τὰ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι παρεσκευασμένα ὑγιαίνων αὐτός, καὶ ταῦτα μίαν μὲν κοιλίαν ἔχων, ὀλίγων δὲ ὥστε τραφῆναι δεόμενος, ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιτριβήσεσθαι μέλλων, οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ² ποῖός τις δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι; ἄρά γε φρόνιμος;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ ἔμοιγε.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Τί δέ; σώφρων;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐδὲ τοῦτο.

¹ καὶ Γ: καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔτι τε γεcc..

² ἀνὴρ γεcc.: ἀνὴρ. ἀρα γε Γ.

of the arts too are gifts of the gods, and to live deprived of all these is miserable, even if one has lost them at the hands of another, as have men in prison; but it is much more miserable if a man deprives himself of all the finer things of life. That is no less than palpable madness.

CYNIC

6. Well, perhaps you're right. But tell me one thing. Suppose a rich man proves a zealous and generous host and invites to dinner at one and the same time many men of all kinds, some of them ailing, others men in perfect health, and suppose he has gone on to spread before them a profusion of foods of all sorts. Suppose a man were to snatch up all these and eat them all and not merely the dishes near him, but also those at a distance provided for the sick men, he himself being in good health, in spite of the fact that he has but a single stomach, needs little to nourish him, and is likely to destroy himself by the surfeit. What is your opinion of such a man? Is he sensible?

LYCINUS

Not in my opinion.

CYNIC

Well, is he temperate?

LYCINUS

He's not that either.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

7. Τί δέ; εἴ τις μετέχων τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης τραπέζης τῶν μὲν πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων ἀμελεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῶν ἔγγιστα κειμένων ἐπιλεξάμενος, ἱκανῶς ἔχον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρεῖαν, τοῦτο ἐσθίοι κοσμίως καὶ τοῦτῳ μόνῳ χρώτο, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐδὲ προσβλέποι, τοῦτον οὐχ ἡγήσασθαι σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἀμείνῳ ἄνδρα ἐκείνου;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

"Ἐγωγε.

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Πότερον οὖν συνίης, ἢ ἐμὲ δεῖ λέγειν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τὸ ποῖον;

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

"Ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς τῷ ξενίζοντι καλῶς ἐκείνῳ ἔοικε παρατιθεῖς πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα καὶ παντοδαπά, ὅπως ἔχῃσιν ἀρμόζοντα, τὰ μὲν ὑγιαίνουσι, τὰ δὲ νοσοῦσι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἰσχυροῖς, τὰ δὲ ἀσθενοῦσιν, οὐχ ἵνα χρώμεθα ἅπασιν πάντες, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὅτουπερ¹ ἂν τύχη μάλιστα δεόμενος.

8. ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ δι' ἀπληστίαν τε καὶ ἀκρασίαν ἀρπάζοντι πάντα τοῦτῳ μάλιστα εἰοίκατε πᾶσι χρῆσθαι ἀξιοῦντες καὶ τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ, μὴ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν μόνον, οὐ γὰρ οὐ θάλατταν τὴν καθ' αὐτοὺς

CYNIC

7. Well, suppose that a man sharing this same table pays no heed to the great variety of dishes, but chooses one of those closest to him sufficient to his need, and eats of this in moderation, confining himself to this one dish, and not so much as looking at the others; don't you consider this man to be more temperate and a better man than the other?

LYCINUS

I do.

CYNIC

Well, do you understand or must I tell you?

LYCINUS

What?

CYNIC

That god is like that good host and puts before men many varied dishes of all sorts, that they may have what suits them, some of the dishes being for the healthy, others for the sick, some for the strong, others for the weak, not for all of us to make use of all of them, but that each may use the things in his reach, and only such of them as he needs most.

8. But you resemble very closely that man who snatches up everything in his uncontrolled greed. You wish to use everything and not merely what you have at home but what comes from every corner of

¹ ὅτουπερ L. A. Post.

αὐταρκεῖν νομίζοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἔμπο-
 ρεύομενοι τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰ ξενικὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων
 αἰεὶ προτιμῶντες καὶ τὰ πολυτελῆ τῶν εὐτελῶν καὶ
 τὰ δυσπόριστα τῶν εὐπορίστων, καθόλου δὲ
 πράγματα καὶ κακὰ ἔχειν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντες ἢ ἄνευ
 πραγμάτων ζῆν· τὰ γὰρ δὴ πολλὰ καὶ τίμια καὶ
 εὐδαιμονικὰ παρασκευάσματα, ἐφ' οἷς ἀγάλλεσθε,
 διὰ πολλῆς ὑμῖν ταῦτα κακοδαιμονίας καὶ τλαιπω-
 ρίας παραγίνεταί. σκόπει γὰρ, εἰ βούλει, τὸν
 πολυευκτον χρυσόν, σκόπει τὸν ἄργυρον, σκόπει τὰς
 οἰκίας τὰς πολυτελεῖς, σκόπει τὰς ἐσθήτας τὰς
 ἐσπουδασμένας, σκόπει τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα πάντα,
 πόσων πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὄνια, πόσων πόνων, πόσων
 κινδύνων, μᾶλλον δὲ αἵματος καὶ θανάτου καὶ
 διαφθορᾶς ἀνθρώπων πόσης, οὐ μόνον ὅτι πλέοντες
 ἀπόλλυνται διὰ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ ζητοῦντες καὶ
 δημιουργοῦντες δευνὰ πάσχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πολυ-
 μάχητά ἐστι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις διὰ ταῦτα
 καὶ φίλοις φίλοι καὶ πατράσι παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες
 ἀνδράσιν. οὕτως οἶμαι καὶ τὴν Ἐριφύλην διὰ τὸν
 χρυσόν προδοῦναι τὸν ἄνδρα.¹

9. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα γίνεται, τῶν τε ποικίλων
 ἱματίων οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον θάλπειν δυναμένων, τῶν δὲ
 χρυσορόφων οἰκιῶν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον σκεπουσῶν, τῶν
 δὲ ἐκπαμάτων τῶν ἀργυρῶν οὐκ ὠφελούντων τὸν
 πότον οὐδὲ τῶν χρυσῶν, οὐδ' αὖ τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων
 κλινῶν τὸν ὕπνον ἡδίω παρεχομένων, ἀλλ' ὅψει
 πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλεφαντίνης κλίνης καὶ τῶν
 πολυτελῶν στρωμάτων τοὺς εὐδαίμονας ὕπνου
 λαχεῖν οὐ δυναμένους. ὅτι² μὲν γὰρ αἱ παντοδαπαὶ

the earth, you don't think your own land and sea
 adequate, but import your pleasures from the ends
 of the earth, you always prefer the exotic to the home-
 produced, the costly to the inexpensive, what is hard
 to obtain to what is easy, and in short you choose to
 have worries and troubles rather than to live a
 carefree life. For those many costly provisions for
 happiness, in which you take such pride, come to you
 only at the cost of great misery and hardship. For
 consider, if you will, the gold for which you pray,
 the silver, the expensive houses, the elaborate
 dresses, all that goes along with these ; consider how
 much they cost in trouble, in toil, in danger, or
 rather in blood, death and destruction for mankind,
 not only because many men are lost at sea for the
 sake of these things, and suffer terribly in searching
 for them abroad or manufacturing them at home,
 but also because they are bitterly fought for, and for
 them you lay plots against one another, friends
 against friends, children against fathers, and wives
 against husbands. Thus too it was, I imagine, that
 Eriphyle¹ betrayed her husband for gold.

9. And yet all these things happen, although the
 many-coloured robes can afford no more warmth, and
 the gilded houses no more shelter, though neither the
 silver nor the golden goblets improve the drink, nor
 do the ivory beds provide sweeter sleep, but you will
 often see the prosperous unable to sleep in their
 ivory beds and expensive blankets. And need I tell

¹ Eriphyle was bribed with the gift of a golden necklace
 to send her husband, Amphiaraus, to his death by per-
 suading him to join the expedition of the Seven Against
 Thebes.

¹ οὕτως . . . ἄνδρα del. Fritzsche.

² ὅτι recc.: τί Γ.

περὶ τὰ βρώματα πραγματεῖαι τρέφουσι μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, λυμαίνονται δὲ τὰ σώματα καὶ τοῖς σώμασι νόσους ἐμποιοῦσι, τί δεῖ λέγειν; 10. τί δὲ καὶ λέγειν, ὅσα τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἕνεκα πράγματα¹ ποιοῦσι τε καὶ πάσχουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι; καίτοι ῥάδιον θεραπεύειν ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τρυφᾶν. καὶ οὐδ' εἰς ταύτην ἢ μαρία καὶ διαφθορὰ φαίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀρκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὄντων τὴν χρῆσιν ἀναστρέφουσιν ἐκάστω χρώμενοι πρὸς ὃ μὴ πέφυκεν, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἀνθ' ἀμάξης ἐθέλοι τῇ κλίνῃ καθάπερ ἀμάξῃ χρῆσασθαι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ τίς οὗτος;

ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Ἵμεῖς, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅτε ὑποζυγίους χρῆσθε, κελεύετε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἀμάξας τὰς κλῖνας τοῖς τραχήλοις ἄγειν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἄνω κατάκεισθε τρυφῶντες καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὥσπερ ὄνους ἠνιοχεῖτε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταύτην, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταύτην τρέπεσθαι κελεύοντες· καὶ οἱ ταῦτα μάλιστα ποιοῦντες μάλιστα μακαρίζεσθε. 11. οἱ δὲ τοῖς κρέασι μὴ τροφήν χρώμενοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαφὰς μηχανῶμενοι δι' αὐτῶν, οἰοί γέ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν πορφύραν² βάπτοντες, οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ φύσιν χρῶνται τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κατασκευάσμασιν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νῆ³ Δία· δύναται γὰρ βάπτειν, οὐκ ἐσθίεσθαι μόνον τὸ τῆς πορφύρας κρέας.

¹ πράγματα del. Jacobs.² τῇ πορφύρᾳ Mras.

you that the many foods so elaborately prepared afford no more nourishment, but harm the body and produce diseases in it? 10. And need I mention all the inconvenient things that men do and suffer to gratify their sexual passions? Yet this is a desire which is easy to allay, unless one aims at licentious indulgence. And in gratifying this desire men do not even seem to be content with madness and corruption, but now they pervert the use of things, using everything for unnatural purposes, just as if in preference to a carriage a man chose to use a couch as if it were a carriage.

LYCINUS

And who does that?

CYNIC

You do so, when you use human beings as beasts of burden, bidding them carry your couches on their shoulders as though they were carriages, and you yourself lie up there in state, and from there steer your men as though they were donkeys, bidding them take this turning rather than that. And the more any of you does this, the luckier he is thought. 11. And, as for those who not only use flesh for food, but also conjure forth dyes with it, as for example the purple-dyers, don't you think that they too are making an unnatural use of the handiworks of god?

LYCINUS

By Zeus, that I do not; for the flesh of the purple-fish can produce dye as well as food.

³ Μὰ Δία Du Soul.

Ἄλλ' οὐ πρὸς τοῦτο γέγονεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ κρατῆρι δύναται ἂν τις βιαζόμενος ὥσπερ χύτρα χρῆσασθαι, πλὴν οὐ πρὸς τοῦτο γέγονεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ πῶς ἄπαν¹ τῆν τούτων τις κακοδαιμονίαν διελθεῖν δύναται ἂν; τοσαύτη τίς ἐστι. σὺ δέ μοι, διότι μὴ βούλομαι ταύτης μετέχειν, ἐγκαλείς· ζῶ δὲ καθάπερ ὁ κόσμος ἐκεῖνος, εὐωχοῦμενος τοῖς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τοῖς εἰτελεστάτοις χρώμενος, τῶν δὲ ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν οὐκ ἐφίεμενος.

12. κάπειτα² εἰ θηρίου βίον βραχέων δεόμενος καὶ ὀλίγοις χρώμενος δοκῶ σοι ζῆν, κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων εἶναι χείρονες κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δέονται. ἴνα δὲ καταμάθης ἀκριβέστερον τό τε ὀλίγων καὶ τὸ πολλῶν δεῖσθαι ποῖόν τι ἐκάτερον ἐστίν, ἐνόησον ὅτι δέονται πλειόνων οἱ μὲν παῖδες τῶν τελείων, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ νοσοῦντες τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων, καθόλου δὲ πανταχοῦ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ κρείττονος πλειόνων δέεται, διὰ τοῦτο θεοὶ μὲν οὐδενός, οἱ δὲ ἔγγιστα θεοῖς ἐλαχίστων δέονται.

13. ἢ νομίζεις τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀριστον, θεῖον δὲ ἀνδρα καὶ θεὸν ὀρθῶς νομισθέντα, διὰ κακοδαιμονίαν περινοσθεῖν γυμνὸν δέρμα μόνον ἔχοντα καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν αὐτῶν ὕμιν³ δεόμενον; ἀλλ' οὐ κακοδαίμων ἦν ἐκεῖνος, ὅς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπήμυνε τὰ κακά, οὐδ' αὖ πένης, ὅς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἤρχεν· ἐφ' ὃ τι γὰρ ὀρηγήσειεν, ἀπανταχοῦ πάντων ἐκράτει καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν τότε

¹ ἄπαντι Γ.

But it doesn't exist for that purpose. For in the same way too a man could force a mixing-bowl into service as a pitcher; but that's not why it came into being. But how could anyone describe in full the misery of people like these? For it's so very great. Yet you reproach me for not wishing to share it with them. But I live like that moderate man, making a feast of what is in my reach, and using what is least expensive, with no desire for dainties from the ends of the earth.

12. Furthermore, if you think I live the life of a beast, because the things I need and use are small and few, it may be that the gods are inferior even to the beasts—if we use your argument. For the gods need nothing. But, so that you may learn more exactly what is involved in having few needs, and what in having many, reflect that children have more needs than adults, women than men, invalids than healthy people, and, in general, the inferior everywhere has more needs than the superior. Therefore the gods have need of nothing, and those nearest to them have the fewest needs.

13. Do you think that Heracles, the best of all mankind, a godlike man and rightly considered a god, was compelled by an evil star to go around naked, wearing only a skin and needing none of the same things as you do? No, he was not ill-starred, he who brought the rest of men relief from their bane, nor was he destitute who was the master of both land and sea; for no matter what he essayed, he

² κάπειτα recs.; κάπει τῶν Γ.

³ ἡμῖν Γ.

ἐνέτυχεν ὁμοίῳ οὐδὲ κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ, μέχρι περ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήλθεν. ἢ σὺ δοκεῖς στρωμάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων ἀπόρων ἔχειν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιεῖναι τοιοῦτον;¹ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατῆς καὶ καρτερικὸς ἦν καὶ κρατεῖν ἤθελε καὶ τρυφᾶν οὐκ ἐβούλετο. ὁ δὲ Θησεὺς ὁ τούτου μαθητῆς οὐ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν πάντων Ἀθηναίων, υἱὸς δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς φασιν, ἄριστος δὲ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν; 14. ἀλλ' ὅμως κάκεῖνος ἤθελεν ἀνυπόδητος εἶναι καὶ γυμνὸς βαδίζειν καὶ πώγωνα καὶ κόμην ἔχειν ἤρεσκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἤρεσκεν. ἀμείνους γὰρ ἦσαν ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν λεόντων τις ξυρώμενος· ὑγρότητα γὰρ καὶ λειότητα σαρκὸς γυναιξὶ πρέπειν ἡγούντο, αὐτοὶ δ' ὥσπερ ἦσαν, καὶ φαίνεσθαι ἄνδρες ἤθελον καὶ τὸν πώγωνα κόσμον ἀνδρὸς ἐνόμιζον ὥσπερ καὶ ἵππων χαίτην καὶ λεόντων γένεια, οἷς ὁ θεὸς ἀγαλαῖας καὶ κόσμου χάριν προσέθηκέ τινα.² οὕτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὸν πώγωνα προσέθηκεν. ἐκείνους οὖν ἐγὼ ζηλῶ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἐκείνους μιμεῖσθαι βούλομαι, τοὺς δὲ νῦν οὐ ζηλῶ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἣν³ ἔχουσι καὶ περὶ τραπέζας καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ λεαίνοντες καὶ ψιλοῦμενοι πᾶν τοῦ σώματος μέρος καὶ μηδὲ τῶν⁴ ἀπορρήτων μηδέν, ἢ πέφυκεν, ἔχειν ἐώντες.

15. εὐχομαι δέ μοι τοὺς μὲν πόδας ὀπλῶν ἵππειων οὐδὲν διαφέρειν, ὥσπερ φασὶ τοὺς Χείρωνος, αὐτὸς

prevailed over all everywhere, and never encountered his equal or superior, till he left the realm of men. Do you think that *he* couldn't provide blankets and shoes, and that was why he went around in the state he did? No one could say that; no, he had self-control and hardness; he wished to be powerful, not to enjoy luxury. And what of his disciple, Theseus? Was he not king of all the Athenians, son of Poseidon, as they say, and best man of his day? 14. Yet he too chose to wear no shoes, and to walk about naked; he was pleased to have a beard and long hair, and not only he but all the other men of old too. For they were better men than you, and not a single one of them would have submitted to the razor any more than would a lion. For they thought that soft smooth flesh became a woman, but, just as they themselves were men, so too they wished to appear men, thinking the beard an ornament of men, as is the mane an ornament of horses and lions, to whom god has given additional gifts to grace and adorn them. So too has he given men the addition of a beard. These men of old therefore are the ones that *I* admire and should like to emulate, but the men of to-day I do not admire for the "wonderful" prosperity they enjoy in the matter of food and clothing, and when they smooth and depilate every part of their bodies, not even allowing any of their private parts to remain in its natural condition.

15. I pray that I may have feet no different from horses' hooves, as they say were those of Chiron,¹ and

¹ One of the Centaurs, mythical creatures who had the top half of a man but were horses from their waists to their feet.

¹ τοιοῦτος codd.: corr. edd..

² τινα rec.: τινόν Γ: om. N.

³ ἦν Γ: ἦς recc..

⁴ μηδὲ τῶν rec.: μὴ δρόντων Γ.

δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι στρωμάτων ὥσπερ οἱ λέοντες, οὐδὲ¹ τροφῆς δεῖσθαι πολυτελοῦς μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ κύνες· εἴη δέ μοι γῆν μὲν ἅπασαν εὐνήν αὐτάρκη ἔχειν, οἶκον δὲ τὸν κόσμον νομίζειν, τροφήν δὲ αἰρεῖσθαι τὴν ῥάσθην πορισθῆναι. χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου μὴ δεηθῆναι μήτ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μήτε τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων μηδεῖς· πάντα γὰρ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπιθυμίας φύονται, καὶ στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ σφαγαί. ταυτὶ πάντα πηγὴν ἔχει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πλείονος· ἀλλ' ἡμῶν αὕτη ἀπειή, καὶ πλεονεξίας μήποτε ὀρεχθεῖην, μειοεκτῶν δ' ἀνέχεσθαι δυναίμην.

16. τοιαῦτά σοι τά γε ἡμέτερα, πολὺ δήπου διάφωνα τοῖς τῶν πολλῶν βουλήμασι· καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ τῷ σχήματι διαφέρομεν αὐτῶν, ὅποτε καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τοσοῦτον διαφέρομεν. θαυμάζω δέ σου πῶς ποτε κιθαρῳδοῦ μὲν τινα νομίζεις στολὴν καὶ σχῆμα, καὶ αὐλητοῦ νῆ Δία σχῆμα, καὶ στολὴν τραγωδοῦ, ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἀγαθοῦ σχῆμα καὶ στολὴν οὐκέτι νομίζεις, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτὸν οἶε δεῖν ἔχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν ὄντων. εἰ μὲν δεῖ ἐνὸς ἰδίου σχήματος τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, τί πρόποι ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἀναιδέστατον τοῖς² ἀκολάστοις ἐστὶ καὶ ὅπερ ἀπεύξαιεντ' ἂν οὐτο μάλιστα ἔχειν;

17. οὐκοῦν τό γε ἐμὸν σχῆμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἀρχμηρὸν εἶναι, λάσιον εἶναι, τρίβωνα ἔχειν, κομᾶν, ἀνυποδητεῖν, τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον ὅμοιον τῷ τῶν κιναιδῶν, καὶ διακρίνειν οὐδὲ εἰς ἂν ἔχοι, οὐ τῇ χροιᾷ τῶν ἱματίων, οὐ τῇ μαλακότητι, οὐ τῷ

¹ οὔτε codd.: corr. edd.. ² τοῖς edd.: μᾶλλον τοῖς codd..

that I myself may not need bedclothes any more than do the lions, nor expensive fare any more than do the dogs. But may I have for bed to meet my needs the whole earth, may I consider the universe my house, and choose for food that which is easiest to procure, Gold and silver may I not need, neither I nor any of my friends. For from the desire for these grow up all men's ills—civic strife, wars, conspiracies and murders. All these have as their fountainhead the desire for more. But may this desire be far from us, and never may I reach out for more than my share, but be able to put up with less than my share.

16. Such, you see, are our wishes, wishes assuredly far different from those of most men. Nor is it any wonder that we differ from them in dress when we differ so much from them in principles too. But you surprise me by the way that you think that a lyre-player has a particular uniform and garb, and, by heavens, that a piper has his uniform, and a tragic actor his garb, but, when it comes to a good man, you don't think that he has his own dress and garb, but should wear the same as the average man, and that too although the average man is deprived. If good men need one particular dress of their own, what one would be more suitable than this dress which seems quite shameless to debauched men and which they would most deprecate for themselves?

17. Therefore my dress is, as you see, a dirty shaggy skin, a worn cloak, long hair and bare feet, but yours is just like that of the sodomites and no one could tell yours from theirs either by the colour of your cloaks, or by the softness and number of your

πλήθει τῶν χιτωνίσκων, οὐ τοῖς ἀμφιέσμασιν,¹ οὐχ ὑποδήμασιν, οὐ κατασκευῇ τριχῶν, οὐκ ὀσμῇ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀπόζετε ἤδη παραπλήσιον ἐκείνοις οἱ εὐδαιμονέστατοι οὗτοι μάλιστα. καίτοι τί ἂν δῶή τις ἀνδρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς κιναιδαίοις ὀσμὴν ἔχοντα; τοιγαροῦν τοὺς μὲν πόρους οὐδὲν ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἀνέχεσθε, τὰς δὲ ἡδονὰς οὐδὲν ἐκείνων ἤττον· καὶ τρέφεσθε τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ κοιμᾶσθε ὁμοίως καὶ βαδίζετε, μᾶλλον δὲ βαδίζειν οὐκ ἐθέλετε, φέρεσθε² δὲ ὡσπερ τὰ φορτία οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ κτηνῶν· ἐμὲ δὲ οἱ πόδες φέρουσιν ὅποιερα ἂν δέωμαι. καγὼ μὲν ἰκανὸς καὶ ρίγους ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ θάλπος φέρειν καὶ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἔργοις μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, διότι ἄθλιός εἰμι, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδενὶ τῶν γινομένων ἀρέσκεσθε καὶ πάντα μέμφεσθε καὶ τὰ μὲν παρόντα φέρειν οὐκ ἐθέλετε, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐφίεσθε, χειμῶνος μὲν εὐχόμενοι θέρους, θέρους δὲ χειμῶνα, καὶ καύματος μὲν ρίγους, ρίγους δὲ καῦμα καθάπερ οἱ νοσοῦντες δυσάρεστοι καὶ μεμφίμοιροι ὄντες· αἰτία δὲ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἡ νόσος, ὑμῖν δὲ ὁ τρόπος.

18. κάπειτα δὲ ἡμᾶς μετατίθεσθε³ καὶ ἐπανορθοῦτε⁴ τὰ ἡμέτερα,⁵ κακῶς βουλευομένους⁶ πολλάκις περὶ ὧν πράττομεν, αὐτοὶ ἄσκεπτοι ὄντες περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶν κρίσει καὶ λογισμῶ ποιούντες, ἀλλ' ἔθει καὶ ἐπιθυμία. τοιγαροῦν οὐδὲν ὑμεῖς διαφέρετε τῶν ὑπὸ χειμάρρου φερομένων· ἐκείνοι τε γάρ, ὅπου ἂν ἴη⁷ τὸ ῥεῦμα, ἐκεῖ φέρονται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅπου ἂν αἰ

¹ ἀμφιέσμασιν recc., edd.. ² φέρεσθε Γ: φέρεσθαι recc..

³ ἡμᾶς μετατίθεσθε recc.: ὑμᾶς μετατίθεσθαι Γ.

⁴ ἐπανορθοῦτε sc̄ip̄si: ἐπανορθοῦν codd..

tunics, or by your wraps, shoes, elaborate hair-styles, or your scent. For nowadays you reek of scent just like them—you, who are the most fortunate of men! Yet of what value can one think a man who smells the same as a sodomite? So it is that you are no more able to endure hardships than they are, and no less amenable to pleasures than they. Moreover, your food is the same as theirs, you sleep like them and walk like them—or rather just like them prefer not to walk but are carried like baggage, some of you by men, others by beasts. But *I* am carried by my feet wherever I need to go, and *I* am able to put up with cold, endure heat and show no resentment at the works of the gods, because I am unfortunate, whereas you, because of your good fortune, are pleased with nothing that happens, and always find fault, unwilling to put up with what you have, but eager for what you have not, in winter praying for summer, and in summer for winter, in hot weather for cold, and in cold weather for hot, showing yourselves as hard to please and as querulous as invalids. But whereas the cause of *their* behaviour is illness, the cause of *yours* is your character.

18. Again you would have us change and you reform our manner of life for us because we often are ill-advised in what we do, though you yourselves bestow no thought on your own actions, basing none of them on rational judgment, but upon habit and appetite. Therefore you are exactly the same as men carried along by a torrent; for they are carried along wherever the current takes them, and you

⁵ ἡμέτερα recc.: ὑμέτερα Γ: ἡμέτερα ἀξιοῦτε edd..

⁶ βουλευομένους recc.: βουλευομένων edd.. ⁷ ἴη recc.: εἴη Γ.

ἐπιθυμίας. πάσχετε δὲ παραπλήσιόν τι ὁ φασὶ παθεῖν τινα ἐφ' ἵππον ἀναβάντα μαινόμενον· ἀρπάσας γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφερον ἄρα ὁ ἵππος· ὁ δὲ οὐκέτι καταβῆναι τοῦ ἵππου θέοντος ἐδύνατο. καὶ τις ἀπαντήσας ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ποίαν ἄπεισιν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "Ὅπου ἂν τούτῳ δοκῇ, δεικνὺς τὸν ἵππον. καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν τις ἐρωτᾷ, ποῖ¹ φέρεσθε; τάληθές ἐθέλουτες λέγειν ἐρεῖτε ἀπλῶς μὲν, ὅπουπερ² ἂν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις δοκῇ, κατὰ μέρος δέ, ὅπουπερ² ἂν τῇ ἡδονῇ δοκῇ, ποτέ δέ, ὅπου τῇ δόξῃ, ποτέ δὲ αὖ, τῇ φιλοκερδίᾳ· ποτέ δὲ ὁ θυμός, ποτέ δὲ ὁ φόβος, ποτέ δὲ ἄλλο τι τοιούτου ὑμᾶς ἐκφέρειν φαίνεται.³ οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑνός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὑμεῖς γε ἵππων βεβηκότες ἄλλοτε ἄλλων,⁴ καὶ μαινομένων πάντων, φέρεσθε. τοιγαροῦν ἐκφέρουσι ὑμᾶς εἰς βάραθρα καὶ κρημνοὺς. ἴστε δ' οὐδαμῶς πρὶν πεσεῖν ὅτι πείσεσθαι⁵ μέλλετε.

19. ὁ δὲ τρίβων οὗτος, οὐ καταγελάτε, καὶ ἡ κόμη καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦμόν τηλικαύτην ἔχει δύναμιν, ὥστε παρέχειν μοι ζῆν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας καὶ πράττοντι ὅ τι βούλομαι καὶ συνόντι οἷς βούλομαι· τῶν γὰρ ἀμαθῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀπαιδευτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐθέλοι μοι προσίεσθαι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα, οἱ δὲ μαλακοὶ καὶ πάνυ πόρρωθεν ἐκτρέπονται· προσίασιν δὲ οἱ κομψότατοι καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντες. οὗτοι μάλιστα μοι προσίασιν· τοῖς γὰρ τοιούτοις ἐγὼ χαίρω συνών. θύρας δὲ τῶν καλουμένων

wherever your appetities take you. Your situation is just like what they say happened to the man who mounted a mad horse. For it rushed off, carrying him with it; and he couldn't dismount again because the horse kept running. Then someone who met them asked him where he was off to, and he replied, "Wherever this fellow decides," indicating the horse. Now if anyone asks you where you're heading for, if you wish to tell the truth, you will say simply that it's where your appetites choose, or more specifically where pleasure chooses, or now where ambition, or now again where avarice chooses; and sometimes temper, sometimes fear, or sometimes something else of the sort seems to carry you off. For you are carried along on the back not of one but of many horses, and different ones at different times—but all of them mad. As a result they carry you away towards cliffs and chasms. But before you fall you are quite unaware of what is going to happen to you.

19. But this worn cloak which you mock, and my long hair and my dress are so effective that they enable me to live a quiet life doing what I want to do and keeping the company of my choice. For no ignorant or uneducated person would wish to associate with one that dresses as I do, while the fops turn away while they're still a long way off. But my associates are the most intelligent and decent of men, and those with an appetite for virtue. These men are my particular associates, for I rejoice in the company of men like them. But I dance no attendance at the

¹ ποῖ om. Γ.

² bis ὅπουπερ rocc..

³ φαίνεται Γ: δύναται rocc..

⁴ ἄλλας Γ.

⁵ πείσεσθαι Γ: πείσεσθε rocc.: πεσεῖσθε rocc., edd..

εὐδαιμόνων¹ οὐ θεραπεύω, τοὺς δὲ χρυσοῦς στεφάνους καὶ τὴν πορφύραν τύφον νομίζω καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καταγελῶ. 20. ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς οὐκ ἀνδράσι μόνον ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖς πρέποντος ἔπειτα καταγελᾷς αὐτοῦ, σκέψαι τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν, πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἔχειν ὑμῖν ἢ ἐμοί; καὶ μὴ μόνον γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ναοὺς ἐπισκόπει περιιών, πότερον αὐτοὶ² οἱ θεοὶ κομῶσι καὶ γενειῶσιν ὡς ἐγὼ ἢ καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἐξυρημένοι πλάττονται καὶ γράφονται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀχίτωνας ὄψει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡσπερ ἐμέ. τί ἂν οὖν ἔτι τολμῶς περὶ τούτου τοῦ σχήματος λέγειν ὡς φαῦλον,³ ὅποτε καὶ θεοῖς φαίνεται πρέπον;

¹ καλουμένων εὐδαιμόνων Wetsten: καλουμένων ἀνθρώπων codd.: καλλωπιζομένων (vel καλλυνομένων) ἀνθρώπων Lennep: ζηλουμένων ἀνθρώπων coniecti.

² αὐτοὶ om. recce..

³ φαῦλον recce., edd..

doors of the so-called fortunate, but consider their golden crowns and their purple robes mere pride, and I laugh at the fellows who wear them.

20. And I'd have you know that my style of dress becomes not only good men but also gods, though you go on to mock it; and so consider the statues of the gods. Do you think they are like you or like me? And don't confine your attentions to the statues of the Greeks, but go round examining foreigners' temples too, to see whether the gods themselves have long hair and beards as I do, or whether their statues and paintings show them close-shaven like you. What's more, you will see they are just like me not only in these respects but also in having no shirt. How then can you still have the effrontery to describe my style of dress as contemptible, when it's obvious that it's good enough even for gods?

THE PATRIOT

THE PATRIOT

THE poor Greek of the Philopatris with its syntactical foibles, its confusion of dialects and its mixture of prose and verse forms betrays this work as being not by Lucian but by an imitator. It is in fact a Byzantine work, as first realised by C. B. Hase in 1813, though the most important contribution to the study of the dialogue is S. Reinach's "*La question du Philopatris*," in *Revue Archéologique* 1902.

The dialogue was written in the time of Nicephorus Phocas who recaptured Crete from the Saracens in 961, usurped the throne of Byzantium in 963, won victories over the Saracens in Cilicia, Mesopotamia and Syria in 964-6, and over the Bulgars in 967. He captured Antioch and Aleppo in 969, and, had he not been murdered in December of that year, had visions of further conquests. The dialogue was perhaps written in the spring of 969, or, less probably, of 965, but its purpose is uncertain.

Phocas' campaigns were expensive and, despite his military successes, he was unpopular with the Byzantines because of his heavy taxes and his debasing of the coinage. He had also forfeited the favour of his old friends, the monks, by marrying the notorious widow Theophano, by forbidding money being spent on new monasteries and legacies being given to existing ones and by insisting that new bishops should be approved by the Emperor. His unpopularity was such that he was almost killed in a riot in 967.

The first part of this dialogue seems to be a light-hearted attack on contemporary humanists who had excessive enthusiasm for classical culture. The second half is more serious and appeals to all patriots to support the emperor in his great campaigns against the enemies of his country. The prophets of doom may perhaps be the monks; whoever they are, they are criticised for indulging in superstitious and unpatriotic opposition to a great warrior king. The alternative titles seem both to refer to Critias who shows himself a patriot in the second half of the dialogue, though earlier he needs instruction on the Trinity. The author is perhaps a sophist who hopes that the hint of poverty in Critias' last speech will lead to a suitable reward from the emperor.

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ Η ΔΙΔΑΣΚΟΜΕΝΟΣ

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

1. Τί τοῦτο, ὦ Κριτία; ὄλον σεαυτὸν ἠλλοίωσας
καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς κάτω συννένευκας, μύχιον δὲ
βυσσοδομεύεις ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιπολῶν κερδαλέ-
φρονι εἰκῶς κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν “ ὠχρὸς τέ σευ εἶλε
παρειάς.” μή που Τρικάρανον ¹ τεθέασαι ἢ Ἐκάτην
ἐξ Ἰδίου ἐληλυθυῖαν, ἢ καὶ τι θεῶν ἐκ προνοίας
συνήτηκας; οὐδέπω γάρ σε τοιαῦτα εἰκὸς παθεῖν,
εἰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἠκηκόεις, οἶμαι, τὸν κόσμον κλυοθῆναι
ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλιώνος. σοὶ λέγω, ὦ καλὴ
Κριτία, οὐκ αἴτεις ἐμοῦ ἐπιβωμῆνον τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἐς
βραχὺ γεινιάσαντος; δυσχεραίνεις καθ’ ἡμῶν ἢ
ἐκκεκώφωσαι ἢ καὶ ² τῆς χειρὸς παλαιστήσοντα ³
ἐπιμένεις;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

²Ω Τριεφῶν, μέγαν τιὰ καὶ ἠπορημένον λόγον
ἀκήκοα καὶ πολλαῖς ὁδοῖς διενειλημμένον καὶ ἔτι
ἀναπεμπάζω τοὺς ὕβλους καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀποφράττω,

codices rettuli Vaticanum Graecum 1322 = Δ (qui est
simillimus Vat. Gr. 88), Parisinum Gr. 3011 = C,
Doehiaricu (Athos) 268 (quem a vocavi) qui sunt omnes
fere XIV saeculi.

¹ τρικάρηνον edd..

² καὶ codd.: καὶ ἐκ Guyot.

³ παλαστήσοντα Δ.

THE PATRIOT or THE PUPIL

TRIEPHO

1. What's this, Critias? You've changed com-
pletely and now have puckered brows and wander up
and down deep in thought, like the “designing
wight” ¹ of the poet, “and pallor hath possessed thy
cheeks.” ² You've haven't seen the three-headed
hound ³ have you, or Hecate risen from Hades?
Or has Providence vouchsafed you a meeting with
one of the gods? One wouldn't have expected you
to be in this state yet, even if, I suppose, you had
heard that the world itself had been subjected to a
flood as in the time of Deucalion. I'm speaking to
you my good Critias! “Dost thou not hear me,” ⁴
even though I'm shouting so loud from such close
quarters? Are you offended with me, or have you
gone deaf, ⁵ or are you waiting for me to give you a
push?

CRITIAS

My dear Triepho, I've just heard a speech that was
long, puzzling, devious and involved, and I'm still
counting up its nonsensicalities and keeping my ears

¹ No doubt Odysseus (*Iliad* IV. 339) rather than
Agamemnon (*Iliad* I. 149) is meant.

² Cf. *Iliad* III. 35 also parodied in *Zeus Rants* 1.

³ Cerberus, watchdog of the underworld.

⁴ Cf. *Iliad* X. 160 etc.

⁵ The phrase is modelled on *The Ship*, 10

μή που ἔτι ἀκούσαιμι ταῦτα καὶ ἀποψύξω ἐκμανεῖς
καὶ μῦθος τοῖς ποιηταῖς γενήσομαι ὡς καὶ Νιόβη
τὸ πρῖν. ἀλλὰ [καί] ¹ κατὰ κρημνῶν ὠθούμην ἄν
ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς σκοτοδινήσας, εἰ μὴ ἐπέκραξάς μοι,
ὦ τάν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κλεομβρότου πήδημα τοῦ
Ἀμβρακιώτου ἐμυθεύθη ² ἐπ' ἐμοί.

ΤΡΙΑΦΩΝ

2. Ἡράκλεις, τῶν θαυμασιῶν ἐκείνων φασμάτων
ἢ ἀκουσμάτων, ἄπερ Κριτίαν ἐξέπληξαν. πόσοι
γὰρ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καὶ τερατολογίαί φιλοσό-
φων οὐκ ἐξέπληξάν σου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ λήρος
πάντα γέγονεν ἐπὶ σοί.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Πέπαυσο ἐς μικρὸν καὶ μηκέτι παρενοχλήσης, ὦ
Τριεφών· οὐ γὰρ παροπτέος ἢ ἀμελητέος γενήσῃ
παρ' ἐμοῦ.

ΤΡΙΑΦΩΝ

Οἶδ' ὅτι οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ εὐκαταφρόνητον πρᾶγμα
ἀνακυκλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν τῶν ἀπορρήτων· ὁ γὰρ
χρῶς καὶ τὸ ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέπειν ³ καὶ τὸ ἄστατον
τῆς βάσεως τό τε ἄνω ⁴ καὶ κάτω περιπολεῖν
ἀρίγνωτόν σε καθίστησιν. ἀλλ' ἄμπνευσον τοῦ
δεινοῦ, ἐξέμεσον τοὺς ὕθλους, "μή τι κακὸν παθήσῃ."

¹ καὶ dell. edd..

² ἐμυθεύθη ἄν C.

³ ὑποβλέπειν Wyttenbach: ἐπιβλέπειν codd..

⁴ τε ἄνω Halm: ἄνω τε codd..

closed for fear I may hear it again and die of madness,
becoming a story for poets as was Niobe once.¹ But
I would have cast myself headlong over a precipice
in my dizziness, if you hadn't called out to me, my
good fellow, and stories would have credited me with
the leap of Cleombrotus,² the Ambraciot.

TRIEPHO

2. By Heracles, what marvels to see or hear these
were if they so astounded Critias! For how many
thunderstruck poets and marvellous tales of philo-
sophers failed to make the slightest impression on
your mind, but became so much empty talk for you!

CRITIAS

Stop for a little; don't pester me any further, for
you won't be ignored or neglected by me.

TRIEPHO

I know that it's nothing small or contemptible
that you keep turning over in your mind, but some
profound mystery. For your colour, your angry
look, your uncertain steps and your wanderings up
and down make that right manifest. Take a rest from
your tribulations, spit out these follies, "for fear you
suffer aught of ill."³

¹ I.e. be petrified like Niobe; cf. note on p. 354.

² A pupil of Plato who committed suicide by leaping from
a high wall after reading the *Phaedo*. Cf. Callimachus,
Epigram 25 and Mair's note.

³ This phrase is not closely paralleled in epic, but cf.
Odyssey XVII. 596 etc.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Σὺ μὲν, ὦ Τριεφῶν, ὅσον πέλεθρον ἀνάδραμε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐξάρη σε καὶ πεδάρσιος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀναφανῆς καὶ που καταπεσῶν Τριεφώντειον πέλαγος κατονομάσῃς, ὡς καὶ Ἰκαρος τὸ πρῶν· ἃ γὰρ ἀκήκοα τήμερον παρὰ τῶν τρισκαταράτων ἐκείνων σοφιστῶν, μέγਾਲως ἐξώγκωσέ μου τὴν γηδύν.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἀναδραμοῦμαι ὅποσον καὶ βούλει,¹ σὺ δὲ ἄμπνευσον τοῦ δεινοῦ.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Φῦ φῦ φῦ φῦ τῶν ὕθλων ἐκείνων, ἰοῦ ἰοῦ ἰοῦ ἰοῦ τῶν δεινῶν βουλευμάτων, αἶ αἶ αἶ αἶ τῶν κενῶν ἐλπίδων.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

3. Βαβαὶ² τοῦ ἀναφυσήματος, ὡς τὰς νεφέλας διέστρεψε· ζεφύρου γὰρ ἐπιπνέοντος λάβρου καὶ τοῖς κύμασιν ἐπωθίζοντος βορέην ἄρτι ἀνὰ τὴν Προποντίδα κεκίνηκας, ὡς διὰ κάλων αἱ ὀλκάδες τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον οἰχῆσονται, τῶν κυμάτων ἐπικυλινδούντων ἐκ τοῦ φυσήματος· ὅσον οἰδήμα τοῖς ἐγκάτοις ἐνέκειτο· πόσος κορκορυγισμὸς³ καὶ κλόνος τὴν γαστέρα σου συνετάρασσε. πολύωντον σεαυτὸν ἀναπέφηνας τοσαῦτα ἀκηκόως, ὥστε⁴ κατὰ τὸ τερατώδες καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀνύχων ἤκηκόεις.

¹ βούλεσαι Δα.

² τριβαβαί α.

CRITIAS

You must retire a good thirty yards from me, Triepho, for fear lest the breeze lift you up, the multitude see you 'mid earth and sky and you fall down somewhere to give your name to a Triephontian Sea after the manner of Icarus of old. For what I have heard to-day from these trebly cursed professors has caused my belly greatly to swell.

TRIEPHO

I for my part shall retire as far as you wish, but you must rest from your tribulations.

CRITIAS

Alas, alas, alas, alas for those follies! Woe, woe, woe, woe for these terrible schemes! Alack, alack, alack, alack for those empty hopes!

TRIEPHO

3. Good gracious, what a gust of wind! How it dispersed those clouds! For when the Zephyr was blowing fresh and driving the shipping over the waves, you've just stirred up a North Wind throughout the Propontis, so that only by use of ropes will the merchantmen pass to the Euxine, as wind and wave make them roll. What a swelling assailed your internal organs! What a rumbling and agitation afflicted your stomach! You've shown yourself possessed of many ears by hearing so many things that you've been a prodigy and even heard through your fingernails.

³ κορκορυγισμὸς edd.

⁴ ὥστε καὶ Δα: ὡς τὰ C: ὅς γε Halm.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Οὐ παράδοξόν τι, ὦ Τριεφῶν, ἀκηκοῖναι καὶ ἐξ ὀνύχων· καὶ γὰρ κνήμην γαστέρα τεθέασαι καὶ κεφαλὴν κύουσαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν φύσιν ἐς γυναικείαν ἐνεργοβατοῦσαν καὶ ἐκ γυναικῶν ὄρνεα μεταβαλλόμενα· καὶ ὅλως¹ τερατώδης ὁ βίος, εἰ βούλει πιστεύειν τοῖς ποιηταῖς. ἀλλ' "ἐπεὶ σε" πρῶτον "κιχάνω τῶδ' ἐνὶ χώρῳ," ἀπίωμεν ἔνθα αἱ πλάτανοι τὸν ἥλιον εἰργουσι, ἀηδόνες δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες εὐῆχα κελαδοῦσιν, ἧ' ἡ μελωδία τῶν ὀρνέων τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐνηδύνουσα τό τε ὕδωρ ἡρέμα κελαρύζον τὰς ψυχὰς καταθέλξειεν.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

4. "Ἰωμεν, ὦ Κριτία· ἀλλὰ δέδια μή που ἐπωδὴ τὸ ἠκουσμένον ἐστὶ καὶ με ὑπερον ἢ θύρετρον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀψύχων ἀπεργάσεται ἢ θαυμασία σου αὕτη κατάπληξις.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν αἰθέριον οὐ τοῦτο γενήσεται ἐπὶ σοί.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

"Ἐτι με ἐξεφόβησας τὸν Δία ἐπομοσάμενος. τί γὰρ ἂν δυνήσεται ἀμνόμεναί σε, εἰ παραβαίης τὸν

¹ ὅλος codd..

¹ For the birth of Dionysus. Cf. *Dialogues of the Gods* 12.

² For the birth of Athene. Cf. *ibid.* 13.

³ E.g. Tiresias. Cf. *Dialogues of the Dead* 8.

CRITIAS

There's nothing strange even in hearing through the fingernails, Triepho. For you've seen a leg become a womb,¹ a head pregnant,² men change to women³ and women to birds.⁴ In short, life's full of prodigies, if you care to believe the poets. But first, "since in this place I do thee find,"⁵ let us depart to where the plane-trees⁶ keep off the sun, and nightingales and swallows pour forth sweet melodies, so that our souls may be enchanted by the melody of the birds that delights the ears, and by the gentle murmur of the water.

TRIEPHO

4. Let us go there, Critias. But I'm afraid that perhaps what you've heard is a magic incantation and the wonders which amazed you will make me into pestle or a door⁷ or some other inanimate object.

CRITIAS

By Zeus in the skies, this won't happen to you!

TRIEPHO

You've frightened me again by swearing by Zeus. For how could "he thee chastise,"⁸ if you broke

⁴ E.g. Halcyone, Philomela, and Procne.

⁵ Cf. *Odyssey* XIII. 228.

⁶ Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 230 B.

⁷ Cf. *The Lover of Lies* 35.

⁸ An epic-sounding phrase though modelled on no surviving passage.

ὄρκον; οἶδα γὰρ καὶ σὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν περὶ τοῦ Διὸς σου.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Τί λέγεις; οὐ δυνήσεται Ζεὺς¹ ἐς Τάρταρον ἀποπέμψαι; ἢ ἀγνοεῖς ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας ἀπέρριψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεσπεσίου βηλοῦ καὶ τὸν Σαλμωνέα ἀντιβροντῶντα πρῶτην κατεκεραύνωσε καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεστάτους ἔτι καὶ νῦν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν Τιτανοκράτωρ καὶ Γυγαντολέτης ἀνυμνεῖται ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρω;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Σὺ μὲν, ὦ Κριτία, πάντα παρέδραμες τὰ τοῦ Διὸς, ἀλλ', εἰ σοι φίλον, ἄκουε. οὐχὶ κύκνος οὗτος ἐγένετο καὶ σάτυρος δι' ἀσέλγειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦρος; καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ πορνίδιον ἐκείνο² ταχέως ἐπωμίσατο³ καὶ διέφυγε διὰ τοῦ πελάγους, τάχ' ἂν ἠροτρία ἐντυχῶν γεηπόνω ὁ βροντοποιὸς καὶ κεραυνοβόλος σου Ζεὺς καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ κεραυνοβολεῖν τῇ βουπλήγῃ κατεκεντάννυτο. τὸ δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοφι συνευχεῖσθαι ἀνδράσι μελαντέροις καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἐξοφωμένοις καὶ ἐς δώδεχ' ἡλίου μὴ ἀφίστασθαι,

¹ ὁ Ζεὺς edd.

² ἐκεῖνο C: ἐκεῖνος Δα.

³ ἐπωμίσατο codd.: corr. Kuster.

¹ "All the gods" is an exaggeration based on *Iliad* XV. 22-24; Hephaestus (*Iliad* I. 591) is the only god specified by Homer.

your oath? For I know that you too are knowledgeable about your Zeus.

CRITIAS

What do you mean? Can't Zeus send me to Tartarus? Don't you know that he has hurled all the gods "from heaven's threshold"¹ and not long ago destroyed Salmoneus with lightning for rivalling his thunder, and still to the present day does so to particularly wanton men, and that he is hymned by poets as "Victor over the Titans" and "Destroyer of the Giants," as indeed in Homer?²

TRIEPHO

You've completed *your* description of Zeus, Critias; now please listen to me. Didn't he become swan³ and satyr⁴ out of wantonness, yes and bull too? And if he hadn't been quick in putting that little strumpet⁵ on his shoulder and escaped over the sea, your thunder-producing, lightning-hurling Zeus would perhaps have been made to plough, "when that he met a husbandman,"⁶ and instead of hurling his lightning would have been pricked by the ox-goad. And as for his feasting along with Ethiopians, dusky men with dark faces, and not stopping for twelve days⁷ but sitting there tipsy, though having such a

² These epithets are applied to Zeus in *Timon* 4 but nowhere else; cf. however *Odyssey* XI. 305 *seq.*

³ To court Leda.

⁴ To court Antiope.

⁵ Europa, whom Zeus, disguised as a bull, carried off.

⁶ Perhaps a quotation of part of an iambic line.

⁷ Cf. *Iliad* I. 423-425.

ἀλλ' ὑποβεβρηγμένος καθεδείσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς
πάρωνα τηλικούτον ἔχων, οὐκ αἰσχύνῃς ἄξια; τὰ
δὲ τοῦ ἀετοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἰδῆς καὶ τὸ κυφορεῖν καθ'
ὄλου τοῦ σώματος αἰσχύνομαι καὶ λέγειν.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

5. Μῶν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνά γ' ἐπομοσόμεθα, ὃς
προφήτης ἄριστος καὶ ἰητρός, ὠγαθέ;

ΤΡΙΑΦΩΝ

Τὸν ψευδόμαντιν λέγεις, τὸν Κροῖσον πρῶην
διολωλεκότα καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Σαλαμινίους καὶ
ἑτέρους μυρίους, ἀμφίλοξα πᾶσι μαντευόμενον;¹

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

6. Τὸν Ποσειδῶνα δὲ τί; ὃς τρίαῖναν ἐν ταῖν
χεροῦν κρατῶν καὶ διάτορόν τι καὶ καταπληκτικὸν
βοᾷ² ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὅσον ἐννεάχιλοι ἄνδρες ἢ
δεκάχιλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεισίχθων, ὦ Τριαφῶν, ἐπονο-
μάζεται;

ΤΡΙΑΦΩΝ

Τὸν μοιχὸν λέγεις, ὃς τὴν τοῦ Σαλμωνέως παῖδα
τὴν Τυρῶ πρῶην διέφθειρε καὶ ἔτι ἐπιμοιχεύει καὶ

¹ μαντευόμενος codd.: corr. edd.

² καὶ διάτορόν . . . βοᾷ versum comicum (fr. 481) esse putavit
Kock.

¹ When Zeus carried off Ganymede. Cf. *Dialogues of the
Gods* 8 and 10.

great beard on his face, aren't these things of which
to be ashamed? The episode of the eagle and
Mount Ida¹ and his being pregnant all over his body
I'm ashamed even to mention!

CRITIAS

5. Shall we then, my good fellow, swear by Apollo,
the excellent prophet and doctor?

TRIEPHO

The false prophet, you mean, who destroyed
Croesus² the other day and after him the men of
Salamis³ and countless others by giving ambiguous
oracles to all of them?

CRITIAS

6. And what of Poseidon? Poseidon who wields a
trident and in war utters shrill terrifying shouts as
loud as nine or ten thousand men,⁴ but is also,
Triepho, called "Earth-shaker"?

TRIEPHO

The adulterer you mean, who the other day
ravished Salmoneus' daughter Tyro,⁵ and still
continued his lecherous habits and is the saviour and

² Cf. Herodotus 1. 53, *Zeus Rants* 20 and 43, *Zeus
Catechized* 14.

³ Presumably the Persians who had heard about the
response given to the Athenians about the "wooden
wall" and Salamis. Cf. Herodotus 7.141 and *Zeus Rants*
20.

⁴ Cf. *Iliad* XIV. 148-149.

⁵ Cf. *Odyssey* XI. 241-245.

ρύστης καὶ δημαγωγὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐστί; τὸν γὰρ Ἄρην ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ πιεζόμενον καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀλύτους μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης στενούμενον, πάντων τε τῶν θεῶν διὰ τὴν μοιχείαν ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς σιωπῶντων, ὁ ἵππειος Ποσειδῶν ἔκλαυσε¹ δακρυρροῶν ὡσπερ τὰ βρεφύλλια τοὺς διδασκάλους δεδιότα ἢ ὡσπερ αἱ γράες κόρας ἐξαπατῶσαι· ἐπέκειτο δὲ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ λύσαι τὸν Ἄρεα, τὸ δὲ ἀμφίχωλον τοῦτο δαιμόνιον, οἰκτεῖραν τὸν πρεσβύτερον θεόν, τὸν Ἄρη ἀπηλευθέρωσεν. ὥστε καὶ μοιχὸς ἐστὶν ὡς μοιχοῦς διασώζων.

KRITIAS

7. Ἑρμείαν δὲ τί;

TRIEPHO

Μή μοι τὸν κακὸδουλον τοῦ ἀσελγεστάτου Διὸς καὶ τὸν ἀσελγομανοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς μοιχικοῖς.

KRITIAS

8. Ἄρεα δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτην οἶδα μὴ παραδέχεσθαι σε διὰ τὸ προδιαβληθῆναι πρώην παρὰ σοῦ. ὥστε ἔάσωμεν τούτους. τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐτι ἐπιμνησθήσομαι, τῆς παρθένου, τῆς ἐνόπλου καὶ καταπληκτικῆς θεᾶς, ἢ καὶ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλὴν ἐν τῷ στήθει περιάπτεται, τὴν γιγαντολέτιν θεόν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις τι λέγειν περὶ αὐτῆς.

¹ ἐκλασε Δ: ἐκλασε α.

¹ Cf. *Odyssey* VIII. 266-366, *Dialogues of the Gods* 21.

champion of folk like himself? For when Ares was cramped by his bonds and confined along with Aphrodite in inextricable chains,¹ and all the gods were silent with shame at his adultery, Poseidon, the equestrian god, burst into streams of tears, as infants do when afraid of their teachers or old women when deceiving maidens. He importuned Hephaestus to release Ares, and that lame deity out of pity for the senior god² set Ares free. Thus Poseidon too is guilty of adultery by his protection of adulterers.

CRITIAS

7. And what of Hermes?

TRIEPHO

Speak not to me of that base slave of Zeus' worst lecheries, who in adultery mad, lecherous joy doth take.

CRITIAS

8. I know you won't accept Ares or Aphrodite as they've just been attacked by you. Let us therefore leave them aside. But I can still mention Athena, the virgin, the armed, terrifying goddess with the Gorgon's head fastened to her bosom, the giant-destroying goddess.³ You can't say anything about her.

² Poseidon.

³ I have translated τὴν γιγαντολέτιν θεόν as being (ungrammatically) in apposition with θεᾶς rather than with κεφαλὴν; the Gorgon's head can hardly be called "the giant-slaying goddess."

PSEUDO-LUCIAN

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Ἐρῶ σοι καὶ περὶ ταύτης, ἣν μοι ἀποκρίνη.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Λέγε ὃ τι γε βούλει.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Κριτία, τί τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς Γοργόνας καὶ τί τῷ στήθει τοῦτο ἢ θεὰ ἐπιφέρεται;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Ὅς φοβερὸν τι θέαμα καὶ ἀποτρεπτικὸν τῶν δεινῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ καταπλήσσει τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἑτεραλκεία τὴν νίκην ποιεῖ, ὅπου γε βούλεται.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Μῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἢ Γλαυκῶπις ἀκαταμάχητος;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Καὶ διὰ τί οὐ τοῖς σφύζειν δυναμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σφωζομένοις μηρία καίομεν ταύρων ἢ δ' αἰγῶν, ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀκαταμαχίτους ἐργάσωνται ὥσπερ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Ἄλλ' οὐ οἱ δύνამεις γε πόρρωθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν ὥσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' εἴ τις αὐτὴν ἐπιφέρεται.

THE PATRIOT

TRIEPHO

I'll tell you about her too, if you'll answer my questions.

CRITIAS

Ask whatever you wish.

TRIEPHO

Tell me, Critias, what's the use of the Gorgon, and why does the goddess wear it on her bosom?

CRITIAS

Because it's a frightening sight and protects her from dangers. Moreover she terrifies her enemies and gives victory "unto the other side,"¹ whenever she wishes.

TRIEPHO

Is that why the Goddess Grey of Eye is invincible?

CRITIAS

Yes indeed.

TRIEPHO

And why do we not thighs burn "of bulls, yea and of goats"² to those able to save us rather than to those saved by others, so that they may make us as invincible as Athena?

CRITIAS

But yon Gorgon hasn't power to help from afar, as the gods have, but only if it is worn.

¹ Cf. *Iliad* VII. 26 etc.

² Cf. *Iliad* I. 40-41.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

9. Καὶ τί τὸδ' ἔστιν; θέλω γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ εἰδέναι ὡς ἐξευρημένον τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καταρθωκότος. ἀγνοῶ γὰρ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πλὴν γε τοῦ ὀνόματος.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Αὕτη κόρη ἐγένετο εὐπρεπῆς καὶ ἐπέραστος. Περσεύς δὲ ταύτην δόλω ἀποδειροτομήσαντος, ἀνδρὸς γενναίου καὶ ἐς μαγικὴν εὐφημουμένου, ἐπαιδίαις ταύτην περιωδήσαντος, ἄλκαρ οἱ θεοὶ ταύτην ἐσχήκασιν.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Τουτί μ' ἐλάνθανέ ποτε τὸ καλόν, ὡς ἀνθρώπων θεοὶ ἐνδεεῖς εἰσι. ζώσης δὲ τί τὸ χρήσιμον; προσηταιρίζετο ἐς πανδοχεῖον ἢ κρυφίως συνεφθείρετο καὶ κόρην αὐτὴν ἐπινώμαζε;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Νῆ τὸν ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθήναις παρθένος διέμεινε μέχρι τῆς ἀποτομῆς.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Καὶ εἰ τις παρθένον κατατομήσειε, ταῦτό γένοιτο φόβητρον τοῖς πολλοῖς; οἶδα γὰρ μυρίας διαμελεισὶ τμηθείσας " νῆσω ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, Κρήτῃν δέ <τε>¹ μιν καλέουσι." καὶ εἰ ταῦτο ἐγίνωσκον,

¹ *re suppl. edd.*

¹ Cf. *Acts of the Apostles* 17.23.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩ

9. And what is the Gorgon? For I'd like you to tell me, since you have conducted researches into such matters and with very great success. For I know nothing of her but her name.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

She was a beautiful and lovely maiden. But, ever since Perseus, a noble hero famed for his magic, cast his spells around her and treacherously cut off her head, the gods have kept her as their defence.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩ

I was unaware of this glorious fact that gods need men. But what use did she have during her lifetime? Was she a courtesan entertaining men in public inns or did she keep her amours secret and call herself a virgin?

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

By the unknown god in Athens,¹ she remained a virgin till her head was cut off.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩ

And if one did cut off a virgin's head, would that prove something to frighten most men? For I know that countless maidens have been cut limb from limb.

"In a sea-girt isle, which men call Crete."²

² Cf. *Odyssey* 1.50 etc., and *Iliad* V. 306. Crete had been dominated by the Saracens since 826, but Phocas drove them out in 981. The contemporary poet Theodosius the Deacon, *Acroasis* l. 58, also praises Phocas for putting Saracen maidens to the sword on that occasion.

ὦ καλὲ Κριτία, πόσας Γοργόνας σοι ἂν ἤγαγον ἐκ Κρήτης; καὶ σε στρατηγέτην ἀκαταμάχητον ἀποκατέστησα, ποιηταὶ δὲ καὶ ῥήτορες κατὰ πολὺ με Περσέως προέκριναν ὡς πλείονας Γοργόνας ἐφευρηκότα. 10. ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνεμνήσθην τὰ τῶν Κρητῶν, οἳ τάφον ἐπεδείκνυντό μοι τοῦ Διὸς σου καὶ τὰ τὴν μητέρα θρέψαντα λόχμια,¹ ὡς ἀειθαλεῖς αἱ λόχμια αὐταὶ διαμένουσι.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐγίνωσκες τὴν ἐπωδὴν καὶ τὰ ὄργια.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Εἰ ταῦτα, ὦ Κριτία, ἐξ ἐπωδῆς ἐγίνοντο ² τάχ' ἂν καὶ ἐκ νεκάδων ἐξήνεγκεν ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ γλυκύτατον φάος ἀνήγαγεν. ἀλλὰ λήρος παίγνιά τε καὶ μῦθοι παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν τερατολογούμενα. ὥστε ἔασον καὶ ταύτην.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

11. Ἦραν δὲ τὴν Διὸς γαμετὴν καὶ κασίγνητον οὐ παραδέχη;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Σίγα τῆς ἀσελγεστάτης ἔνεκα μίξεως καὶ τὴν ἐκ ποδοῦν καὶ χεροῦν ἐκτεταυσμένην παράδραμε.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

12. Καὶ τίνα ἐπομόσωμαί γε;

¹ δόχμα Δα.

² ἐγίνοντο C.

If men knew this, my fine Critias, what numbers of Gorgons they would have brought you from Crete! And I would have made you an invincible generalissimo, while poets and orators would have rated me far superior to Perseus as having discovered more Gorgons than he did. 10. But there's something else I recall about the Cretans. They showed me the tomb of your Zeus¹ and the thickets which nurtured his mother, for they remain verdant for aye.

CRITIAS

But you didn't know the charm or rites he used.

TRIEPHO

If these things were done by a charm, Critias, perhaps he would also have brought her back from the dead and raised her to the sweet light of day. But all these things are idle talk, fairy tales, myths and wondrous stories spread by the poets. So forget about the Gorgon also.

CRITIAS

11. But don't you accept Hera, Zeus' wife and sister?

TRIEPHO

Keep quiet because of her most wanton love-making² and pass over her who was stretched out with feet and hands extended.

CRITIAS

12. And by whom shall I swear?

¹ Cf. *Timon* 6.

² Cf. *Iliad* XIV. 346-53.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Ἵψιμέδοντα¹ θεόν, μέγαν, ἀμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
 υἱὸν ἐκ² πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
 ἐν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία,
 τοῦτον³ νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις, καὶ ὄρκος ἡ ἀριθμητικῆ·
 καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμέεις ὡς Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός. οὐκ
 οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις, ἐν τρία, τρία ἔν. μὴ τὴν
 τετρακτὴν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρου ἢ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ
 τριακάδα;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Σίγα τὰ νέρθε καὶ τὰ σιγῆς ἄξια.

οὐκ ἔσθ' ὠδε μετρεῖν τὰ ψυλλῶν ἔχνη. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε
 διδάξω τί τὸ πᾶν καὶ τίς ὁ πρῶην πάντων καὶ τί τὸ
 σύστημα τοῦ παντός· καὶ γὰρ πρῶην κάγω ταῦτα
 ἔπασχον ἄπερ σύ, ἠρίκα δέ μοι Γαλιλαῖος ἐνέπτυχεν,
 ἀναφαλαντίας, ἐπίρριμος, ἐς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβα-
 τήσας καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκμεμαθηκώς, δι' ὕδατος
 ἡμᾶς ἀνεγέννησεν,⁴ ἐς τὰ τῶν μακάρων ἔχνη

¹ μέγαν Ἵψιμέδοντα θεόν codd..

² ἐκ om. edd..

³ ταῦτα codd.: τοῦτον *Jur. Trag.* 41.

⁴ ἀνεκαίνισεν edd..

¹ A hexameter line after the manner of Homer or Hesiod.

² Cf. Creed of Constantinople.

³ Euripides *Fr.* 941, also quoted in *Zeus Rants* 41.

⁴ Nicomachus of Gerasa in Arabia was a Pythagorean philosopher and arithmetician who lived about 100 A.D.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩ

The mighty god that rules on high,
 Immortal dwelling in the sky,¹

the son of the father, spirit proceeding from the
 father,² three in one and one in three

Think him your Zeus, consider him your god.³

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

You're teaching me to count, and using arithmetic
 for your oath. For you're counting like Nicomachus,
 the Gerasene.⁴ For I don't know what you mean by
 "three in one and one in three." You don't mean
 Pythagoras' four numbers or his eight or his thirty? ⁵

ΤΡΙΕΦΩ

"Speak not of things below that none may tell."⁶
 We don't measure the footprints of fleas here.⁷ For
 I shall teach you what is all, who existed before all
 else and how the universe works. For only the other
 day I too was in the same state as you, but, when I
 was met by a Galilean with receding hair and a long
 nose, who had walked on air into the third heaven⁸
 and acquired the most glorious knowledge, he
 regenerated us with water, led us into the paths of

⁵ Pythagoreans used the term tetraktys of the sum of the first four numbers (1 + 2 + 3 + 4), i.e. 10, which they regarded as the most perfect numbers; the number 8 was thought by some Pythagoreans to represent justice (though this was more often 4 or 9); as 30 had no particular significance for them, τριακάς perhaps here means "month," which Pythagoreans regarded as sacred.

⁶ Unidentified comic line.

⁷ Cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 145.

⁸ St. Paul. Cf. *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 3; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 225; *Second Corinthians* 12.2.

παρεισώδευσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρων ἡμᾶς
ἐλυτρώσατο. καὶ σὲ ποιήσω, ἦν μου ἀκούης, ἐπ'
ἀληθείας ἄνθρωπον.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

13. Λέγε, ὦ πολυμαθέστατε Τριεφῶν· διὰ
φόβου γὰρ ἔρχομαι.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Ἀνέγνωκᾶς ποτε τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ
δραματοποιῦ Ὀρνιθας ποιημάτια;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Ἐγκεχάρακται παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε·
Χάος ἦν καὶ Νύξ Ἐρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον καὶ
Τάρταρος εὐρύς·
γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀήρ οὐδ' οὐρανός ἦν.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Εὖ λέγεις. εἶτα τί ἦν;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Ἦν φῶς ἀφθιτον ἀόρατον ἀκατανόητον, ὃ λύει τὸ
σκότος καὶ τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ταύτην ἀπήλασε, λόγῳ
μόνῳ ῥηθέντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ βραδύγλωσσος
ἀπεγράψατο, γῆν ἔπηξεν ἐφ' ὕδασι, οὐρανὸν
ἐτάνυσεν, ἀστέρας ἐμόρφωσεν ἀπλανεῖς, δρόμον¹

¹ τῶν πλανητῶν δρόμον L. A. Post.

the blessed and ransomed us from the impious places.
If you listen to me, I shall make you too a man in
truth.

CRITIAS

13. Speak on, most learned Triepho; for fear is
upon me.

TRIEPHO

Have you ever read the poetic composition of the
dramatist Aristophanes called the *Birds*?

CRITIAS

Certainly I have.

TRIEPHO

He wrote the following words:
“At first Chaos there was and night,
Black Erebus and Tartarus broad,
But nought of earth or air or sky.”¹

CRITIAS

Bravo! Then what followed?

TRIEPHO

There was light imperishable, invisible,² incompre-
hensible, which dispels the darkness and has banished
this confusion; by a single word spoken by him, as
the slow-tongued one³ recorded, he planted land on
the waters,⁴ spread out the heavens,⁵ fashioned the

¹ Aristophanes, *Birds* 693-694. ² Cf. *First Timothy*, 1.17.

³ Moses; cf. *Exodus* 4.10, *Genesis* 1.6.

⁴ Cf. *Psalms* 24.2.

⁵ Cf. *Isaiah* 44.24.

διετάξατο, οὓς σὺ σέβῃ θεούς, γῆν δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσιν
ἐκαλλώπισεν, ἄνθρωπον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐς τὸ εἶναι
παρήγαγε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ βλέπων δικαίους τε
καδίκους καὶ ἐν βίβλοις τὰς πράξεις ἀπογραφόμενος·
ἀνταποδώσει δὲ πᾶσιν ἡν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

14. Τὰ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν ἐπινηνησμένα ἐς ἅπαντας
ἐγχαράττουσά γε καὶ ταῦτα;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Τὰ ποῖα;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Λέγε, ὦ καλὲ Κριτία, περὶ τῶν Μοιρῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ
μαθητιῶν ἀκούσασαι παρὰ σοῦ.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Οὐχ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἀοίδιμος ποιητῆς εἶρηκε,
μοῖραν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἑρακλέους,
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίῃ Ἑρακλεΐη φύγε κῆρα,
ὅσπερ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίῳνι ἄνακτι,
ἀλλὰ ἐ Μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης.

¹ Cf. *Matthew* 5.45.² Cf. *Revelation* 20.12.³ Cf. *Acts* 17.31.⁴ *Iliad* VI. 488; cf. *Apol.* 8.

fixed stars, appointed the course of the planets which
you revere as gods, beautified the earth with
flowers and brought man into existence out of
nothingness. He exists in the heavens, looking down
upon the just and the unjust,¹ and writing all men
their deeds in his books,² and he shall requite all men
on his own appointed day.³

CRITIAS

14. And do they also inscribe the things which the
Fates have spun for all men ?

TRIEPHO

What things ?

CRITIAS

The things of Destiny.

TRIEPHO

Tell me about the Fates, my fine Critias, for I
would fain listen to you as an eager disciple.

CRITIAS

Has not Homer, the renowned poet, said,
“ And Fate I say has none of men escaped ” ?⁴
And of mighty Heracles he says :
“ For even mighty Heracles escaped not doom,
Although right dear he was to Cronus' son, king
Zeus,
But Fate and Hera's cruel wrath did him
o'ercome.”⁵

⁴ *Iliad* XVIII. 117-119.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄλον τὸν βίον καθεμάρθαι καὶ τὰς ἐν
τούτῳ μεταβολάς·

ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα
πίσεται ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα Κατακλώθές τε ¹ βαρεῖαι
γενομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.
καὶ τὰς ἐν ξένη ἐποχὰς ἀπ' ἐκείνης γίνεσθαι·
ἦδ' ὡς Αἴολον ἰκόμεθ', ὅς με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο,
καὶ πέμπ' οὐδέπω αἴσα φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι.
ὥστε πάντα ὑπὸ τῶν Μοιρῶν γενέσθαι ὁ ποιητῆς
μεμαρτύρηκε. τὸν δὲ Δία μὴ θελήσαι τὸν υἱὸν
θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ἐξαναλῦσαι,

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον

αἵματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραζε
παῖδα φίλον τιμῶν, τὸν οἱ Πάτροκλος ἔμελλε
φθίσειν ἐν Τροίῃ.
ὥστε, ὦ Τριεφών, διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν προσθεῖναι περὶ
τῶν Μοιρῶν ἐβελήσης, εἰ καὶ τάχα πεδάρσιος
ἐγεγόνεις μετὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα
ἐμνήθης.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

15. Καὶ πῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητῆς, ὦ καλὲ Κριτία,
διττὴν ἐπιλέγει τὴν εἰμαρμένην καὶ ἀμφίβολου, ὡς
τόδε μὲν τι ² πράξαντι τοιῶδε τέλει συγκυρῆσαι,
τοῖον δὲ ποιήσαντι, ἐτέρῳ τέλει ἐντυχεῖν; ὡς ἐπ'
Ἀχιλλέως,

¹ τε edd.: κε Δα.

² τι Ca.: τοι Δ.

But he also says that all life and its vicissitudes too
are governed by Fate,

“Then will he meet what Fate and thread of
Spinners grim
Did spin for him the day his mother gave him
birth,” ¹

and that delays on foreign soil arise from Fate.

“To Aeolus we came who gave me welcome glad
And sped me on my way. For not as yet was it
My Fate that I should reach beloved fatherland.” ²
Thus the poet has testified that all things are brought
about by the Fates. He tells us that Zeus did not
wish his son ³ “from woeful death to save,” ⁴ but
rather

“Did pour upon the earth beneath a bloody rain
To honour his dear son, whom Patroclus was soon
In Troy to slay.” ⁵

Therefore, Triepho, you musn't feel inclined to say
anything more about the Fates, even if perchance
you were lifted 'twixt earth and sky along with your
teacher and were initiated into mysteries.

TRIEPHO

15. And how can that same poet, my fine Critias,
call Destiny double and doubtful, so that if a man
does one thing he encounters one result, but if he does
something else he meets with a different result. Thus
in the case of Achilles,

¹ *Odyssey* VII. 196-198.

² *Odyssey* XXIII. 314-315.

³ Sarpedon.

⁴ *Iliad* XVI. 442.

⁵ *Iliad* XVI. 459-461.

διχθαδίας Κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτιο τέλοσδε·
 εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,
 ὤλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται.
 εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμαι,
 ὤλετό μοι κλέος ἔσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
 ἔσσεται.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Εὐχῆνορος,

ὅς ῥ' εὖ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὀλοῆν ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε·
 πολλάκι γάρ οἱ ἔειπε γέρων ἀγαθὸς Πολυίδος,
 νούσω ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ φθίσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν
 ἦ μετ' Ἀχαιῶν νηυσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι.

16. οὐχὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ταῦτα γέγραπται; ἢ¹ ἀμφί-
 βολος αὐτῆ καὶ ἀμφίερημος ἀπάτη; εἰ δὲ βούλει,
 καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιθήσω σοι τὸν λόγον. οὐχὶ τῷ
 Αἰγίσθῳ εἶρηκεν ὡς ἀποσχομένῳ μὲν τῆς μοιχείας
 καὶ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐπιβουλῆς ζῆν καθειμαρται²
 πολὺν χρόνον, ἐπιβαλλομένῳ δὲ ταῦτα πράττειν οὐ
 καθυστερεῖν θανάτου; τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις προῦ-
 μαντευσάμην, ἐὰν κτάνης τὸν πλησίον, θανατωθήσῃ
 παρὰ τῆς δίκης, εἰ δέ γε μὴ τοῦτο πράξεις, βιώσῃ
 καλῶς,

οὐδέ κέ σ' ὠκα τέλος³ θανάτιο κιχείη.

οὐχ ὄρας ὡς ἀδιόρθωτα τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀμφί-
 λοξα καὶ μηδέπω ἠδραιωμένα; ὥστε ἔασον ἅπαντα,
 ὡς καὶ σὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπουρανίοις βίβλοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 ἀπογράφωνται.

¹ ἢ edd.: ἢ codd.

² ὠκα θέμις τέλος codd.

³ καθειμαρταί codd.: corr. edd.

“Two Fates lead on to death that cometh as the
 end.

If here I stay and fight around the Trojans' town,
 My home-coming is gone, but glory will be mine
 To all eternity. But if I reach my home,
 My glorious fame is gone, but long will be my
 life.”¹

Moreover in the case of Euchenor

“He knowing well his deadly doom set foot on
 ship;

For Polyidos, that fine old man, had told him oft
 Either he must succumb to sickness grim at home,
 Or else sail with the Greeks and fall by Trojan
 hand.”²

16. Are these things not written in Homer? Or do
 you think them ambiguous, dangerous and deluding
 words? If you wish, I'll also tell you about the
 speech of Zeus. Didn't he tell Aegisthus³ that if he
 refrained from adultery and plotting against
 Agamemnon he was fated to have a long life, but if
 he attempted to do these things he wouldn't have to
 wait for death? This I too have often foretold,
 maintaining that if you kill your neighbour you will
 meet death at the hands of Justice, whereas if you
 refrain from such actions, you will have an excellent
 life,

“Nor will you quickly meet with death that
 endeth all.”⁴

Don't you see how imperfect, ambiguous and un-
 stable are the words of the poets? Therefore leave all
 these aside, so that they may list your name too in
 the heavenly books of the good.

¹ *Iliad* IX. 411-416.

² *Iliad* XIII. 665-668.

³ Cf. *Iliad* I. 37 ff.

⁴ *Iliad* IX. 416.

PSEUDO-LUCIAN

KRITIAS

17. *Εὖ πάντα ἀνακυκλεῖς, ὦ Τριεφῶν· ἀλλὰ μοι τόδε εἶπέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐγχαράττουσι;*

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Πάντα γε, εἰ τύχη γε χρηστός καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσι.

KRITIAS

Πολλούς γε γραφέας φῆς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὡς ἅπαντα ἀπογράφεσθαι.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Εὐστόμει καὶ μηδὲν εἴπης φλαῦρον θεοῦ δεξιῶ, ἀλλὰ κατηχούμενος πείθου παρ' ἐμοῦ, εἴπερ χρῆ ζῆν¹ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. εἰ οὐρανὸν ὡς δέρριν ἐξήπλωσε, γῆν δὲ ἐφ' ὕδατος ἔπηξεν, ἀστέρας ἐμόρφωσεν, ἄνθρωπον ἐκ μὴ ὄντος παρήγαγε, τί παράδοξον καὶ τὰς πράξεις πάντων ἐναπογράφεσθαι; καὶ γὰρ σοὶ οἰκίδιον κατασκευάσαντι, οἰκέτιδας δὲ καὶ οἰκέτας ἐν αὐτῷ συναγαγόντι, οὐδέποτε σε διέλαθε τούτων πρᾶξις ἀπόβλητος· πόσω μᾶλλον τὸν πάντα πεποηκότα θεὸν οὐχ ἅπαντα ἐν εὐκολίᾳ διαδραμεῖν ἐκάστου πρᾶξιν καὶ ἔνοιαν; οἱ γὰρ σου θεοὶ κότταβος τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἐγένοντο.

¹ *χρῆ ζῆν* codd.: *ζῆν χρῆσεις* edd..

¹ Cf. *Acts* 14.27 ff.

² Aristophanes, *Clouds* 833-834.

³ Cf. *Psalms* 104.2.

THE PATRIOT

CRITIAS

17. How cleverly you bring everything back to the same point. But tell me whether they inscribe the deeds of the Scythians too in heaven.

TRIEPHO

They inscribe the deeds of every good man, even though he be among the Gentiles.¹

CRITIAS

By your account there must be many scribes in heaven to list all these deeds.

TRIEPHO

“Hush thy mouth and nothing slighting say”² of God for he is accomplished, but he instructed and persuaded by me, if you are to live for ever. If he has unfolded the heavens like a curtain,³ planted land on the water, fashioned the stars, and brought forth men out of nothingness, how is it strange that he should also list the deeds of all men? For even you with the modest house you have built and the serving men and women you have collected are aware of their every deed however unimportant. How much more easily can you expect the god who made all things to keep track of all things, of the thoughts and deeds of each man! For your gods have become a mere bagatelle⁴ to men of right mind.

⁴ Literally the *κότταβος*, the game of throwing the last drops of a cup of wine into a basin. See Athenaeus 15.665 d.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

18. Πάνυ εὖ λέγεις, καί με ἀντιστρόφως τῆς Νιόβης παθεῖν· ἐκ στήλης γάρ ἄνθρωπος ἀναπέφθηνα. ὥστε τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν προστιθῶ σοι, μὴ κακὸν τι παθεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

“ Ἐῖπερ ἐκ καρδίας ὄντως φιλεῖς”, μὴ ἕτεροῖόν τι ποιήσης ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ “ ἕτερον μὲν κεύσης ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπης ”. ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὸ θαυμάσιον ἐκείνο ἀκουσμάτιον ἄεισον, ὅπως κἀγὼ κατωχριάσω καὶ ὅλος ἀλλοιωθῶ, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἡ Νιόβη ἀπαυδήσω, ἀλλ' ὡς Ἀηδῶν ὄρνεον γενήσομαι καὶ τὴν θαυμασίαν σου ἔκπληξιν κατ' ἀνθηρόν λεμῶνα ἐκτραγωδήσω.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Νῆ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἐκ πατρὸς οὐ¹ τοῦτο γενήσεται.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Λέγε παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου λαβών, ἐγὼ δὲ καθοδοῦμαι

δέγμενος Αἰακίδην ὅποτε λήξειεν αἰείδων.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

19. Ἀπῆεν ἐπὶ τὴν λεωφόρον ὠνησόμενός γε² τὰ χρειωδέστατα, καὶ δὴ ὄρῳ πλήθος πάμπολυ ἐς

¹ οὐ del. L. A. Post. ² γε edd.: τε α: om. ΔC.

¹ Cf. c. 1. ² Aristophanes, *Clouds* 86 misquoted.

³ *Iliad* IX. 313 unmetrically parodied.

⁴ I.e. you won't become dumb like Niobe.

⁵ Cf. *Acts* 1.8, *Romans* 1.4.

CRITIAS

18. You are absolutely right; you make me experience Niobe's¹ fate in reverse; for I've changed back from tomb-stone to man. Therefore I add this god to my oath in promising you will suffer no harm from me.

TRIEPHO

“ If with all your heart you really do me love,”² do nothing untoward to me nor let

“ A different thought your inmost heart conceal,
From what your tongue doth outwardly reveal.”³
But come now, sing to me of the wonderful thing you have heard, that I too may grow pale and be utterly changed, and not grow dumb like Niobe, but become a nightingale like Aëdon, and throughout flower-decked meadows celebrate in tragic song the wonder that amazed you.

CRITIAS

By the son of the father, that shall not⁴ come about!

TRIEPHO

Take powers of speech from the spirit⁵ and speak, while I shall sit

“ Waiting until the son of Aeacus doth cease from song.”⁶

CRITIAS

19. I had gone into the street to buy what things I most needed, when behold I saw a great crowd of

⁶ *Iliad* IX. 191, also quoted in *Affairs of the Heart* 5 and 54.

τὸ οὖς ψιθυρίζοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀκοῇ ἐφῦντο τοῖς χεῖλεσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ παπτήνας ἐς ἅπαντας καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῖς βλεφάροις περικάμψας ἐσκοπίζον ὀξύτερκέστατα, εἴ πού γέ τινα τῶν φίλων θεάσομαι. ὄρω δὲ Κράτωνα τὸν πολιτικόν, ἐκ παιδόθεν φίλον ὄντα καὶ συμποτικόν.¹

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Αἰσθάνομαι· τοῦτον τὸν ἐξισωτὴν γὰρ εἶρηκας. εἶτα τί;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

20. Καὶ δὴ πολλοὺς παραγκωνισάμενος ἤκον ἐς τὰ πρόσω καὶ τὸ ἐωθινὸν χαῖρε εἰπὼν ἐχώρουν ὡς αὐτόν. ἀνθρωπίσκος δὲ τις τοῦνομα Χαρίκενος, σεσημμένον γερόντιον βέγχον τῇ ῥίνι, ὑπέβηττε μύχιον, ἐχρέμπτετο ἐπισεσυρμένον, ὃ δὲ πτύελος κναυώτερος θανάτου· εἶτα ἤρξατο ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι κατισχημένον· Οὗτος, ὡς προεῖπον, τοὺς τῶν ἐξισωτῶν ἀπαλείψει ἑλλειπασμοὺς² καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδώσει καὶ τὰ τε ἐνοίκια πάντα καὶ τὰ δημόσια, καὶ τοὺς εἰρηνάρχας³ δέξεται μὴ ἐξετάζων τῆς τέχνης. καὶ κατεφλυᾶρει ἔτι πικρότερα. οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἤδοντο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῷ καινῷ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων προσέκειντο.

¹ συμπότην Δ.

² sic vocipvi (καταλείπει Gesner; καταλύσει Neuman); καταλείπει ἑλλειπασμοὺς C: καταλείπει λειπασμοὺς Δ.

³ sic Gesner: τὰς εἰραμάγγας codd..

people! They were whispering in each other's ears, with the lips of one glued to the ear of another. I looked at them all and bent my hand round my eyes, straining them to see if I could catch sight of any of my friends. I saw Crato, the man of affairs, who from boyhood had been my friend and drinking companion.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩ

I know him. It's the inspector of taxes¹ you mean. Then what happened?

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

20. Well I had pushed a great many people aside and was reaching the front. I had wished him good morning and was just coming up to him when a fellow, Charicenus by name, a mouldering wheezy old creature, gave a deep cough, slowly cleared his throat and spat. And his spittle was darker than death. Then he began to speak in a thin voice, saying: "He, as I have just said, will cancel all arrears due to the inspectors of taxes. He will pay creditors what they are owed and pay all rents and public dues. He will welcome to him even police magistrates² without enquiring after their calling." And he went on talking still more offensive rubbish. But those around him found pleasure in his words and were engrossed by the novelty of what they heard.

¹ ἐξισωτῶν (Latin *peraequatores*) were officials first heard of under Constantine, whose duty was the fair division of taxes.

² I have accepted Gesner's conjecture *faute de mieux*; Rohde suggested that the unknown word *εἰραμάγγας* may be gold Persian coins debased by Phocas.

21. ἕτερος δὲ τοῦνομα Χλευόχαρμος τριβώνιον ἔχων πολύσαθρον ἀνυπόδετος τε καὶ ἄσκεπος μετέειπε τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἐπικροτῶν, ὡς ἐπεδείξατό μοί τις κακοείμων, ἐξ ὀρέων παραγενόμενος, κεκαρμένος τὴν κόμην, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγεγραμμένον οὐνομα ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν, ὡς οὗτος τῷ χρυσοῦ ἐπικλύσει τὴν λεωφόρον.

ἦν δ' ἐγὼ κατὰ μὲν τὰ Ἀριστάνδρου καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου, Οὐ καλῶς ἀποβήσονται ταῦτά γε τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν τὰ χρέα πληθυνθήσεται ἀναλόγως τῆς ἀποδόσεως· οὗτος δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ ὀβολοῦ γε στερηθήσεται ὡς πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐνπορηκώς. καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖτε "ἐπὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην" "καὶ δῆμον ὀνειρώων" καταδαρθέντες τοσαῦτα ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης.

22. οἱ δὲ ἀνεκάγχασαν ἅπαντες ὡς ἀποπνιγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος καὶ τῆς ἀμαθίας μου κατεγίνωσκον. ἦν δ' ἐγὼ πρὸς Κράτωνα, Μῶν κακῶς πάντα ἐξερρίνισα,¹ ἢ εἶπω τι κωμικευσάμενος, καὶ οὐ κατὰ Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν Τελμισέα καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον ἐξίχρυσσα τοῖς ὀνειράσιν;

ἦ δ' ὅς, Σίγα, ὦ Κριτία· εἰ ἔχεμυθεῖς, μυσταγωγῆσω σε τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ νῦν γενησόμενα· ὑο γὰρ ὄνειροι τὰδ' εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ, ἐκβήσονται δὲ εἰς μῆνα Μεσορί.

ταῦτα ἀκηκῶς παρὰ τοῦ Κράτωνος καὶ τὸ ἀλλοθιγρὸν τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν κατεγινωκῶς ἠρυσθρίασα

¹ ἐξερρίνισα Kock.

¹ Aristander of Telmessus in Lycia was a favourite soothsayer of Alexander the Great.

² Artemidorus of Ephesus, a contemporary of Lucian,

21. But another man, Chleuocharmus by name, one clad in a dilapidated cloak, bare-footed and half-naked, did speak in their midst with chattering teeth and said, "A poorly clad man from the mountains with hair cut short showed me that name inscribed in the theatre in hieroglyphic writing, telling how he would flood the highway with streams of gold."

But I spoke after the manner of Aristander¹ and Artemidorus² saying: "These dreams will not turn out well for you all, but the more debts,³ sir, you dream you pay, the more will you find them multiply. And this fellow here will lose almost every farthing, since in dreams he has been rich in gold. But you seem to me to have reached in your sleep the White Rock and Land of Dreams,⁴ and to have crowded so many dreams into a split second of the night."

22. They all cackled as though choking with laughter, and thought me guilty of stupidity. But I said to Crato "Have I, to use a comic phrase,⁵ missed the scent in all this and failed to follow the tracks of the dreams after the manner of Aristander of Telmessus and Artemidorus of Ephesus?"

But he said "Hush, Critias. If you hold your tongue, I shall initiate you into the most beautiful mysteries and events presently to take place. For these things are not dreams but very truth, and will come about in the month of Messori.⁶

When I had heard these words of Crato, and had passed judgment on the fallibility of their thoughts,

wrote five still extant books *On The Interpretation of Dreams*.

³ Perhaps in parody of the Lord's Prayer.

⁴ Cf. *Odyssey* XXIV. 11-12.

⁵ The source is unknown but cf. *Frogs* 902.

⁶ An Egyptian month corresponding to August.

καὶ σκυθρωπάζων ἐπορευόμενὴν πολλὰ τὸν Κράτωνα ἐπιμεμφόμενος. εἰς δὲ δριμύ καὶ τιτανῶδες ἐνιδὼν δραξάμενός μου τοῦ λώπους ἐσπάρασσε ῥήττην ποιήσασθαι πειθόμενός τε καὶ παρανυττόμενος παρὰ τοῦ πεπαλαιωμένου ἐκείνου δαιμονίου.

23. εἰς λόγους δὲ ταῦτα παρεκτείναντες πείθει με τὸν κακοδαίμονα εἰς γόητας ἀνθρώπους παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἀποφράδι τό δὴ λεγόμενον ἡμέρα συγκυρῆσαι· ἔφασκε γὰρ πάντα ἐξ αὐτῶν μυσταγωγῆσθαι. καὶ δὴ διήλομεν σιδηρέας τε πύλας καὶ χαλκίους οὐδούς. ἀναβάθρας δὲ πλείστας περικυκλῆσάμενοι ἐς χρυσορόφον οἶκον ἀνήλομεν, οἷον "Ὀμηρος τὸν Μενελάου φησί. καὶ δὴ ἅπαντα ἐσκοπίζον ὅσα¹ ὁ νησιώτης ἐκείνος νεανίσκος. ὄρω δὲ οὐχ Ἑλένην, μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἄνδρας ἐπικεκυφώτας καὶ κατωχρωμένους· "οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες γήθησαν" καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας παρεγένοντο· ἔφασκον γὰρ ὡς εἴ τινα λυγρὰν ἀγγελίαν ἀγάγοιμεν· ἐφαίνοντο γὰρ οὗτοι ὡς τὰ κάκιστα εὐχόμενοι καὶ ἔχαιρον ἐπὶ τοῖς λυγροῖς ὥσπερ αἰλωποιοί² ἐπὶ θέατρα, τὰς κεφαλὰς δ' ἄγχι σχόντες ἐψιθύριζον. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἤροντό με,

τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, πόθι ται πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς;
χρηστός γὰρ ἂν εἴης ἀπὸ γε τοῦ σχήματος.

¹ ὅσα edd.: ὡς οἷα codd..

² αἰλωποιοί scripsi: αἰρωποιοί Da: αἱ ποιοιοί edd..

¹ Charicenus; cf. c. 20. ² The Greek is ungrammatical.
³ Cf. *Iliad* VIII. 15, where the abyss of Tartarus, the prison for rebellious gods is described. This suggests that Critias is referring to prisoners of Phocas and accusing them of being unpatriotic.

⁴ Telemachus; cf. *Odyssey* IV. 71-75.

I blushed for shame and walked away dejectedly with many hard thoughts about Crato. But one of them directed on me the fierce gaze of a Titan, seized my robe and started to tear it, for that old devil¹ kept urging and goading him to make a speech.

23. After a conversation of some length between us,² I had the misfortune to be persuaded by him to meet with mountebank fellows and, to use the common saying, to strike an unlucky day. For he said he had been initiated into everything by these men. And behold we passed through the gates of iron and o'er the thresholds of bronze,³ and after we had twisted and turned our way up many steps, we found ourselves up in a golden-roofed residence such as was possessed by Menelaus according to Homer. And behold I surveyed everything with the curiosity of that young islander of his.⁴ But what I saw, by Jove, was not Helen but men with downcast heads and pale faces.

"On seeing me their hearts were filled with joy"⁵ and they came to meet me; for they kept asking if we had brought any bad news. For they appeared to be praying for the worst, and rejoiced in things of sorrow like singers of dirges in the theatre. They kept putting their heads close together and whispering. After all this they questioned me, saying,

"What man art thou and whence? Where stands your town,

Where do your parents dwell?⁶

For from your appearance you must be an honourable man."

⁵ *Iliad* XXIV. 320-321, *Odyssey* XV. 164-165.

⁶ *Odyssey* l. 170.

ἦν δ' ἐγώ, Ὀλίγοι γε χρηστοί, ὥσπερ βλέπω πανταχοῦ· Κριτίας δὲ τοῦνομα, πόλις δέ μοι ἔνθεν ὄθεν καὶ ὑμῖν.

24. ὡς δ' ἀεροβατοῦντες ἐπνυθάνοντο, Πῶς τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου;

ἦν δ' ἐγώ, Χαίρουσί γε πάντες καὶ ἔτι γε χαιρήσονται.¹

οἱ δὲ ἀνένευον ταῖς ὀφρῦσιν, Οὐχ οὕτω. δυστοκεῖ γὰρ ἡ πόλις.

ἦν δ' ἐγώ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην· Ὑμεῖς πεδάρσιοι ὄντες καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ ὑψηλοῦ ἅπαντα καθορῶντες ὀξυδερκέστατα καὶ τάδε νενοήκατε. πῶς δὲ τὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος; μῶν ἐκλείψει ὁ ἥλιος, ἡ δὲ σελήνη κατὰ κάθετον γενήσεται; ὁ Ἄρης εἰ τετραγωνίσει² τὸν Δία καὶ ὁ Κρόνος διαμετρήσει τὸν ἥλιον; ἡ Ἄφροδίτη εἰ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ συνοδεύσει καὶ Ἑρμαφροδίτους ἀποκηθούσιν, ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς ἤδεσθε; εἰ ῥαγδαίους ἕτεοὺς ἐκπέμψουσιν; εἰ νιφετὸν πολὺν ἐπιστρωννύσουσι τῇ γῆ, χάλαζαν δὲ καὶ ἐρυσίβην εἰ κατάξουσι, λοιμὸν καὶ λιμὸν καὶ αὐχμὸν³ εἰ ἐπιπέμψουσιν, εἰ τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἀγγεῖον ἀπεγεμίσθη καὶ τὸ βροντοποιὸν δοχεῖον ἀνεμεστῶθη;

25. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἅπαντα κατωρθωκότες κατεφλῦάρουν τὰ αὐτῶν ἐράσματα, ὡς μεταλλαγῶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἀταξία δὲ καὶ ταραχαὶ τὴν πόλιν καταλήψονται, τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡττονατῶν ἐναντίων γενήσονται. τοῦτο ἐκταραχθεὶς καὶ ὥσπερ πρίνος καόμενος οἰδηθεὶς διάτορον ἀνεβόησα, Ὡ δαίμονιοι ἀνδρῶν, μῆ

¹ χαρήσονται edd..

² τετραγωνίσει edd..

³ καὶ αὐχμὸν om. edd..

I replied, "Few men are honourable, to judge from what I see everywhere. My name is Critias, and I come from the same city as you."

24. Then, like men with their heads in the clouds, they asked how things were in the city and in the world, and I said, "All men are happy and will continue to be so."

But they raised their brows in dissent and said, "It is not so; the city is pregnant with evil."

Agreeing with them, I said, "Because you are raised on high and are like men who look down on everything from aloft, you have been most keensighted in perceiving this too. But how of things in the sky? Will there be an eclipse of the sun? Will the moon rise on a vertical course? Will Mars be in quartile aspect with Jupiter, and Saturn be diametrically opposite to the sun? Will Venus be in conjunction with Mercury, so that they produce the Hermaphrodites in whom you find such pleasure? Will they send torrential rain? Will they bestrew the earth with drifts of snow? Will they bring down hail and blight? Will they send upon us pestilence and famine and drought? Is the vessel of the thunderbolt empty? Is the receptacle of the lightning replenished?"

25. But they like people with everything arranged to their liking went on talking their own beloved nonsense, saying that things were to change, that disorders and turmoils would seize the city and her armies succumb to her foes. I, astounded at this and "swelling like a burning oak"¹ uttered a piercing

¹ Cf. *Frogs* 859.

μεγάλα λίαν λέγετε “ θήγοντες ὀδόντας κατ’ ἀνδρῶν θυμολεόντων πνεόντων δόρυ καὶ λόγχας καὶ λευκολόφους ¹ τρυφαλείας.” ἀλλὰ ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν ² ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν καταβήσεται, ὡς τὴν πατρίδα ὑμῶν κατατρύχετε· οὐ γὰρ αἰθεροβατοῦντες ταῦτα ἠκηκόειτε, οὐ τὴν πολυάσχολον μαθηματικὴν κατωρθώκατε. εἰ δέ γε μαντεῖαι καὶ γοητεῖαι ὑμᾶς παρέπεισαν, διπλοῦν τὸ τῆς ἀμαθίας· γυναικῶν γὰρ εὐρέματα ταῦτα γραϊδίων καὶ παίγνια· ³ ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπίνοιαι μετέρχονται.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

26. Τί δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφησαν, ὦ καλὲ Κριτία, οἱ κεκαρμένοι τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

“ Ἄπαντα ταῦτα παρέδραμον εἰς ἐπίνοιαν τετεχνασμένην καταπεφευγότες· ἔλεγον γάρ, Ἡλίους δέκα ἄσιτοι διαμενοῦμεν καὶ ἐπὶ παννύχους ὑμνωδίας ἐπαγρυπνοῦντες ὄνειρώττομεν τὰ τοιαῦτα.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Σὺ δὲ τί πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶρηκας; μέγα γὰρ ἔφησαν καὶ διηπορημένον.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ

Θάρσει, οὐκ ἀγεννές· ἀντίειπον γὰρ τὰ κάλλιστα. τὰ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ἀστικῶν θρυλλούμενα, ἔφην, περὶ

¹ λευκωλένους codd..

² ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν edd.: ταῦτα μὲν codd..

³ εὐρέματα . . . παίγνια *versum comicum* (fr. 482) esse putavit Kock.

cry, “ Accursed men, speak not with excessive pride, Whetting your teeth against lion-hearted men Whose breath bears spears and lances and white-crested casques.” ¹

But these things shall descend upon your heads, for you are a drain on your country’s strength. For you did not hear this when prancing through the sky, nor have you mastered the mathematics you’ve studied so hard. If you’ve been led astray by prophecies and false pretences, then you’re guilty of double folly. For these things are inventions of old women and are infantile. For usually it’s women’s imaginations which are attracted by such things.

TRIEPHO

26. What reply, my fine Critias, was made to this by those fellows shorn of all sense and intellect ?

CRITIAS

They passed over all those words of mine, taking refuge in a skilfully prepared plan. For they kept saying, “ For ten days now shall we be remaining in fasting, and we have been dreaming such things while keeping vigil with all-night hymns.”

TRIEPHO

And what answer did you give to them ? For this was a weighty and perplexing thing they said.

CRITIAS

Have no fear ; I didn’t disgrace myself, but made the best of replies by saying, “ The talk of the town

¹ A pastiche of *Frogs* 815, 1016, and 1041.

ὑμῶν, ὅποταν ὄνειροπολήτε, τὰ τοιαυτὰ που παρεισάγονται.

οἱ δὲ σεσηρὸς ὑπομειδιῶντες, "Ἐξω που παρέρχονται τοῦ κλινιδίου.

ἦν δ' ἐγώ, Εἰ ἀληθῆ εἰσι ταῦτα, ὦ αἰθέριοι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀσφαλῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐξιχνεύσαιτε, ἀλλὰ καταπισθέντες¹ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ληρήσετε τὰ μὴ ὄντα, μηδὲ γενησόμενα. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ληρέετε ὄνειροις πιστεύοντες, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα βδελύττεσθε, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἤδεσθε, μηδὲν ὀνούμενοι τοῦ βδελύγματος. ὥστε ἔασατε² τὰς ἀλλοκότους ταύτας φαντασίας καὶ τὰ πονηρὰ βουλευματα καὶ μαντεύματα, μή που θεὸς ὑμᾶς ἐς κόρακας βάλλῃ³ διὰ τὸ τῆ πατρίδι ἐπαρᾶσθαι καὶ λόγους κιβδηλοὺς ἐπιφημίζειν.

27. οὗτοι δὲ ἅπαντες ἓνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες ἐμοὶ πολλὰ κατεμέμφοντο. καὶ εἰ βούλει, καὶ τάδε προστιθῶ σοι, ἄτινά με καὶ ὡς στήλην ἀναυδὸν ἔθηκαν, μέχρις ἂν ἡ χρηστή σου λαλιὰ λιθοῦμενον ἀνέλυσε καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπεκατέστησε.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Σίγα, ὦ Κριτία, καὶ μὴ ὑπερεκτείνης τοὺς ὕθλους· ὀρᾶς γὰρ ὡς ἐξώγκωταί μου ἡ νηδὺς καὶ ὡσπερ κυοφορῶ· ἐδήχθην γὰρ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ λόγοις ὡς ὑπὸ κυνὸς λυττῶντος. καὶ εἰ μὴ φάρμακον ληθεδανὸν ἐμπιῶν ἠρεμήσω, αὕτη ἡ μνήμη οἰκουρούσα ἐν ἐμοὶ μέγα κακὸν ἐργάσεται. ὥστε ἔασον τούτους τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρξάμενος καὶ τὴν πολυῶ-

¹ καταποθέντες codd..

² ἔασετε edd..

³ βάλλοι Δα: βάλοι edd..

says of you that only when you're dreaming do such things occur to you."

They clenched their teeth in a grin and said, "We're out of bed when they come to us."

"If this is true, you creatures of the sky," I said, "you can never discover the future with any certainty, but, convinced by these dreams, you will talk nonsense about what doesn't exist and never will. But somehow you talk all this nonsense because you trust in dreams. You loathe all that is most beautiful, and rejoice in evil things, though your loathing does you no good. Abandon therefore these strange fancies and these evil plans and prophecies, lest perchance God hurl you to perdition for cursing your native land and ascribing these falsified words to him.

27. Then they "did all with one accord"¹ heap reproaches on me. If you wish, I'll tell you of these too. They made me like a mute gravestone, till your blessed words released me from my petrification and made me human again.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩ

Hush, Critias. Do not prolong to excess your account of their inanities. For you can see that my stomach is swollen and I'm, in a manner of speaking, pregnant. For I've been bitten by your words as though by a mad dog, and, if I don't take some potion to make me forget them² and give me rest, my memory of them will stay with me and do me great harm. You must therefore dismiss these words from your thoughts. Start your prayer with "Our Father," and add at the end the hymn of many

¹ *Iliad* XV. 710 etc..

² *Odyssey* IV. 220-221.

PSEUDO-LUCIAN

νυμον ὠδὴν ἐς τέλος ἐπιθείς. 28. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οὐχὶ Κλεόλαος οὗτός ἐστιν, ὁ τοῖς ποσὶ μακρὰ βιβάς, σπουδῆ δὲ ἤκει καὶ κατέρχεται; μῶν ἐπιφωνήσομεν αὐτῶ;

KPITIAS

Καὶ μάλα.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Κλεόλαε,

μή τι παραδράμῃς γε ποσὶ μηδὲ παρέλθῃς,
ἀλλ' ἔλθῃ χαίρων, εἴ γέ που μῦθον φέρεις.

ΚΛΕΟΛΑΟΣ

Χαίρετ' ἄμφω, ὦ καλῆ ξυνωρίς.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Τίς ἡ σπουδῆ; ἀσθμαίνεις γὰρ ἐπὶ πολύ. μῶν τι
καινὸν πέπρακται;

ΚΛΕΟΛΑΟΣ

Πέπτωκεν ὀφρὺς ἡ πάλαι βοωμένη
Περσῶν,
καὶ Σοῦσα κλεινὸν ἄστυ.
πεσεῖ¹ δ' ἔτι γε πάσα χθῶν Ἀραβίας
χειρὶ κρατοῦντος εὐσθενεστάτῃ κράτει.

KPITIAS

29. Τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο, ὡς αἰεὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμελεῖ
τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' αὔξει ἄγον ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα.

¹ πέσοι α.

THE PATRIOT

epithets.¹ 28. But what's this? Isn't that Cleolaus who "doth take such lengthy strides"² and eagerly "doth come and doth return"³? Shall we hail him?

CRITIAS

By all means.

THIEPHO

Cleolaus,
"Speed not on with running foot, nor pass me by,
But gladly come if news perchance you bring."⁴

CLEOLAUS

Greetings both, ye glorious twain.

TRIEPHO

Why such haste? You're quite out of breath. Is there news of any sort?

CLEOLAUS

"The Persians' long-famed pride is humbled now,
Along with Susa's glorious town,
And all Arabia too will be subdued
By glorious might of his o'erpowering hand."⁵

CRITIAS

29. It's as they always said; heaven never neglects good men, but ever promotes their welfare and

¹ Presumably a doxology. ² Cf. *Odyssey* XI. 539.

³ Aeschylus, *Choephoroe* 3, Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1153 seq.

⁴ The first line is a defective hexameter based on *Odyssey* VIII. 230, the second an iambic trimeter (source unknown).

⁵ Mock tragic (cf. *Septem* 794) lines and part-lines. The Persians, the traditional enemies of the ancient Greeks perhaps represent the Saracens, the chief enemies of Byzantium.

ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ Τριεφῶν, τὰ κάλλιστα εὐρηκότες ἐσμέν. ἔδυσχέрайνον γάρ ἐν τῇ ἀποβιώσει τί τοῖς τέκνοις¹ καταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς διαθήκαις· οἶδας γάρ τὴν ἐμὴν πενίαν ὡς ἐγὼ τὰ σά. τοῦτο ἀρκεῖ τοῖς παισίν, αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος· πλοῦτος γάρ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐκλείψει καὶ ἔθνος ἡμᾶς οὐ καταπτοήσει.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ

Κἀγώ, ὦ Κριτία, ταῦτα καταλείπω τοῖς τέκνοις, ὡς ἴδωσι Βαβυλώνα ὀλλυμένην, Αἴγυπτον δουλουμένην, τὰ τῶν Περσῶν τέκνα “δούλειον ἡμᾶρ” ἄγοντα, τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν Σκυθῶν παυομένας, εἴθ’ οὖν καὶ ἀνακοπτομένας. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄγνωστον ἐφευρόντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτείναντες² τούτῳ εὐχαριστήσωμεν ὡς καταξιωθέντες τοιούτου κράτους ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ληρεῖν ἐάσωμεν ἀρκεσθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν τὸ οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν.

¹ τὰ τέκνα codd..

² ἐκτείναντες ΔC.

improves their fortunes. But we, Triepho, have found the most glorious lot of all. For I was distressed by worrying over what to leave my children in my will when I died. For you know my poverty as well as I know what you possess. But it suffices for my children that the Emperor should live; for then wealth will not fail us, nor any race terrify us.

TRIEPHO

I too, Critias, leave to my children as their heritage that they should see Babylon¹ destroyed, Egypt enslaved, the children of the Persians enduring “chains and slavery,”² the inroads of the Scythians checked and, I pray, utterly defeated. Since we have found the Unknown God of Athens, let us fall down before him with our hands extended to the heavens, and pay him thanks that we have been thought worthy to be made subject to such a power. But the others let us leave to talk their nonsense and concerning them let us be content to say with the proverb, “Hippoclesides doesn’t care.”³

¹ Babylon perhaps is Bagdad, and the Scythians the Bulgars or the Russians. Phocas never lived to invade Egypt, but he may well have contemplated it.

² Euripides, *Hecuba* 56, *Andromache* 99.

³ Cf. Herodotus 6.126-31 and Harmon’s note on *Heracles*, 8, Lucian, L.C.L. vol. 1.

CHARIDEMUS

It is generally agreed that this work is not by Lucian. It is not found in the better MSS. of Lucian, and both its Greek and its uninspired contents are quite unworthy of him. The author is presumably a sophist of quite unknown date, who knew his Lucian as he introduces several of Lucian's motifs and Homeric quotations, though he is also influenced by Plato and Xenophon, and draws heavily from Isocrates' *Helen*, particularly in cc. 16-18 which are largely a paraphrase of *Helen* 18-20, 39-43 and 50-53. The careful, and mostly successful, avoidance of hiatus is also worth noting.

ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΟΥΣ

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

1. Περιπάτους ἔτυχον χθές, ὦ Χαρίδημε, ποιού-
μενος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἅμα μὲν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν
ἀγρῶν χάριν ῥαστώνης, ἅμα δὲ—ἔτυχον γάρ τι
μελετῶν—καὶ δεόμενος ἡσυχίας. ἐντυγχάνω δὴ
Προξένῳ τῷ Ἐπικράτους· προσειπὼν δὲ ὡσπερ
εἰώθειν, ἡρώτων ὅθεν τε πορεύοιτο καὶ ὅποι βαδίζοι.
ὁ δὲ ἤκειν μὲν ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ παραμυθίας χάριν,
ἥπερ εἰώθει πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀγρῶν,
ἀπολαύσων δὲ καὶ τῆς τούτους ἐπιπνεούσης εὐκρά-
του καὶ κούφης αὔρας, ἀπὸ συμποσίου μέντοι
καλλίστου γεγονότος ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἐν Ἀνδροκλέους
τοῦ Ἐπιχάρους τὰ ἐπινίκια τεθυκότος Ἐρμῆ,
ὅτι δὴ βιβλίον ἀναγνοὺς ἐνίκησεν ἐν Διασίαις.
2. ἔφασκε δὴ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γεγενῆσθαι ἀστεῖα καὶ
χαρίεντα, καὶ δὴ καὶ κάλλους ἐγκώμια εἰρησθαι τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν, ἃ ἐκείνον μὲν μὴ δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν ὑπὸ τε
γῆρωσ ἐπιλελησμένον ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ
πολὺ λόγων μετεσχηκότα, σὲ δ' ἂν ῥαδίως εἰπεῖν ἄτε
καὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκεκωμιακότα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρ'
ὄλον τὸ συμπόσιον προσεσχηκότα τὸν νοῦν.

Codices: 1859 = Vat. Gr. 1859 (14 saeculi);

ὦ = Marc. Gr. 840 (antea 434) supplementum
recens (paulo ante 1471 scriptum).

CHARIDEMUS or ON BEAUTY

HERMIPPUS

1. I was taking a stroll in the suburbs yesterday,
Charidemus, both for relaxation in the fields and also
because I had something on my mind and needed
peace and quiet, when lo and behold I met Proxenus,
the son of Epicrates. After greeting him in my usual
fashion, I asked where he'd come from and where he
was going. He said he too had come there for the
refreshment he'd always found in looking at the
fields, and also to enjoy the mild and gentle breezes
that blew over them. He'd come from an excellent
party at the Piraeus in the house of Androcles,
son of Epichares; Androcles had been sacrificing to
Hermes by way of thanks for his victory with the
book he'd read at the Diasia.¹ 2. He told me that it
had been an occasion that evoked much wit and
culture and, in particular, praises of beauty had been
pronounced by the men. These he could not report
to me, he said, because his old age had impaired his
memory, and in any case he had not taken much part
in the conversation, but he said *you* would have no
difficulty in recounting them, as you had yourself
pronounced an encomium and had paid attention to
all the other speakers throughout the party.

¹ A festival in honour of Zeus, cf. Thucydides 1, 126 and
note on *Icaromenippus* 24.

ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

Γέγονε ταῦτα, ὦ Ἑρμιππε. οὐ μέντοι γε οὐδ' ἐμοὶ ῥᾶδιον ἐπ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντα διεξιέναι· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν πάντων ἀκούειν θορύβου πολλοῦ γινομένου τῶν τε διακονουμένων τῶν τε ἐστιωμένων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν δυσχερεστέρων ὄν μεμνήσθαι λόγους ἐν συμποσίῳ γενομένους· οἴσθα γὰρ ὡς ἐπιλήσιμονας ποιεῖ καὶ τοὺς λίαν μνημονικωτάτους. πλὴν ἀλλὰ σὴν χάριν ὡς ἂν οἶός τε ὦ τὴν διήγησιν πειράσομαι ποιεῖσθαι, μηδὲν παραλείπων ἂν ἂν ἐνθυμηθῶ.

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

3. Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα οἶδά σοι χάριν. ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποδοίης, ὅ τι τε ἦν ὅπερ ἀνέγνω βιβλίον Ἀνδροκλῆς τίνα τε νενίκηκε καὶ τίνας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον κέκληκεν, οὕτως ἂν ἱκανῆν καταβοῖο¹ τὴν χάριν.

ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

Τὸ μὲν δὴ βιβλίον ἦν ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους ἕκτινος ἀνείρατος, ὡς ἔλεγε, πεποιημένον αὐτῷ· νενίκηκε δὲ Διότιμον τὸν Μεγαρόθεν ἀνταγωνισάμενον αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἀσταχύων, μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τῆς δόξης.

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Τί δ' ἦν ὁ ἐκεῖνος ἀνέγνω βιβλίον;

ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

Ἐγκώμιον τοῦν Διοσκούρου. ἔφασκε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπ' ἐκείνων σεσωσμένος

¹ καταβοῖο 1859: καταβεῖο ω.

CHARIDEMUS

All this is quite true, Hermippus. But even I shall find it difficult to give an accurate account of everything as it was quite impossible to hear everything because of the great din made by the waiters and the guests. Besides, it's not particularly easy to remember speeches made at a dinner. For you know how forgetful that makes even those blessed with the very best of memories. However, to oblige you, I shall try as best I can to describe the proceedings without omitting anything that comes to mind.

HERMIPPUS

3. For *that* you have my thanks. But, if you were to recount the whole discussion from the beginning, tell me what book Androcles read, what rival he defeated, and who you were that he invited to the party, then you *would* put me greatly in your debt.

CHARIDEMUS

The book was an encomium of Heracles, which he said he'd composed as a result of a dream. He defeated Diotimus from Megara, who competed against him for the ears of wheat, or rather for glory.

HERMIPPUS

And what book did he read?

CHARIDEMUS

An encomium of the Dioscuri. He said that he himself too had been saved by them from great

ταύτην αὐτοῖς καταθεῖναι τὴν χάριν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων παρακεκλημένος ἐπ' ἄκροισι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις φανέντων. 4. παρήσαν μέντοι τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως συνήθεις, οἱ δὲ λόγου τε ἄξιοι τό τε συμπόσιον ὅλον κεκοσμηκότες καὶ κάλλους ἐγκώμια διελθόντες Φίλων τε ἦν ὁ Δεινίου καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Ἀγασθένους καὶ τρίτος αὐτός· συγκατέλεκτο δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ καλὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀδελφιδούς, μειράκιον ἀπαλόν τε καὶ τεθρυμμένον· νοῦν μέντοι γε ἔδοκει ἔχειν· πάνυ γὰρ προθύμως ἠκροᾶτο τῶν λόγων. πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Φίλων περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἤρξατο λέγειν προουμιασάμενος οὕτω.

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἑταῖρε, μὴ πρὶν τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἄρξῃ πρὶν ἂν μοι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδῶς ὑφ' ἧς εἰς τούτους προήχθητε τοὺς λόγους.

ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

Εἰκὴ διατρίβεις ἡμᾶς, ὦγαθέ, πάλαι δυναμένους τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον διελθόντας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τί τις ἂν χρέσαιτο, ὅποτε φίλος τις ὦν βιάζεται; ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὑφίστασθαι πᾶν ὅτιοῦν. 5. ἦν δὲ ζητεῖς αἰτίαν τῶν λόγων, αὐτὸς ἦν Κλεώνυμος ὁ καλός· καθημένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ θείου, πολὺς ἐγένετο λόγος τοῖς

dangers¹ and so had paid his thanks to them in this way, particularly as they had told him to do so, when they appeared at the top of the sails while the danger was at its height. 4. Then there were many others at the party. Some of them were related to Diotimus, others were acquaintances of his, but noteworthy for having graced the whole party by delivering encomia of beauty were Philo, son of Dinias, Aristippus, son of Agasthenes, and I myself. Another of our companions at table was Cleonymus, the handsome nephew of Androcles, a delicate effeminate lad. He seemed, however, not to be lacking in intellect, as he listened very eagerly to the speeches. First to begin speaking about beauty was Philo, whose introductory remarks were as follows :

HERMIPPUS

No, my friend ! Please don't start on the encomia before telling me the reason which led you to discuss this topic.

CHARIDEMUS

You're wasting my time, my good fellow. I could have reported the whole discussion long ago and been on my way. But what is one to do when a friend² constrains ? For then one must submit to anything. 5. You ask what caused the discussion ; it was handsome Cleonymus himself. For he was sitting between Androcles, his uncle, and me, when much discussion of him arose amongst the less

¹ For the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) as protectors of mariners and appearing as St. Elmo's fire see *The Ship*, 9.

² Apparently a quotation of a lost original; cf. *Charon* 2, *Menippus* 3.

ιδιώταις περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπουσι τε εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπερεκπεπληγμένοις τὸ κάλλος. σχεδὸν οὖν πάντων ὀλιγωρήσαντες κήθητο διεξιόντες ἐγκώμια τοῦ μειρακίου. ἀγασθέντες δὲ ἡμεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν φιλοκαλίαν καὶ ἅμα ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀργίας τε πολλῆς εἶναι ὑπολαβόντες λόγοις ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν ιδιωτῶν περὶ τῶν καλλίστων, ὧ μόνῳ τούτῳ οἰόμεθα προέχειν, καὶ δὴ ἠπτόμεθα τῶν περὶ κάλλους λόγων. ἔδοξεν οὖν ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀνομαστί λέγειν τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ παιδός—οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔχειν καλῶς, ἐμβαλεῖν γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν εἰς πλείω τρυφήν—ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν ὥσπερ ἐκείνους οὕτως ἀτάκτως, ὅπερ ἕκαστος τύχοι, λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον εἰπεῖν ἰδίᾳ ὅσ' ἂν ἀπομνημονεύοι περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου.

6. καὶ δὴ ἀρξάμενος ὁ Φίλων πρῶτος οὕτως τὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο· Ὡς ἔστι δεινόν, εἰ πάνθ' ὅσα πράττομεν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, ὡς περὶ καλῶν, ποιούμεθα τὴν σπουδὴν, αὐτοῦ δὲ¹ κάλλους οὐδένα ποιησόμεθα λόγον, ἀλλ' οὕτω καθεδόμεθα σιγῇ ὥσπερ δεδουκότες μὴ λάθωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ οὗ σπουδάζομεν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον εἰπόντες. καίτοι ποῦ τις ἂν χρήσαιτο προπόντως τοῖς λόγοις, εἰ περὶ τῶν μηδενὸς ἀξίων σπουδάζων περὶ τοῦ καλλίστου σιγῇ τῶν ὄντων; ἢ πῶς ἂν τὸ ἐν λόγοις καλὸν σφύζοιτο κάλλιον μᾶλλον ἢ² πάντα τᾶλλα παρέντας περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν τοῦ τέλους ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐκαστοτε πραττομένων; ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ δόξω λέγειν μὲν ὡς χρὴ περὶ τούτου διακείσθαι εἰδέναί, εἰπεῖν δὲ μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οἶόν τε βραχεὰ περὶ τούτου πειράσομαι διελθεῖν.

educated people present, who were staring at him utterly amazed at his beauty. Scarcely heeding anything else they sat delivering encomia of the boy. We felt and expressed admiration for the men's appreciation of beauty, and thought that it would show the greatest idleness on our part to be outdone by the uneducated in discussing the highest forms of beauty; for in this respect alone do we consider ourselves superior to them. Thus it was that we also started discussing beauty. We decided to pronounce our praises of the boy without mentioning his name, as that would be wrong and merely give him further airs. We agreed to avoid their disorderly, haphazard manner of discussion and that each of us in turn should make his personal contribution on the topic under discussion.

6. Thus it was that Philo began first and spoke as follows: "How scandalous it is that in all our everyday activities we are full of zeal, as though for something beautiful, while beauty itself we hold of no account, but remain seated thus in silence, as though afraid that a word might escape us unawares concerning the thing we pursue zealously all our days! But what would be the right occasion for a man to speak, if he showed zeal for what's worthless and had nothing to say about the most beautiful of all things? And what more beautiful way of preserving the beauty of speech than for us to leave aside all else and talk about the actual end of all our actions? But, so as not to seem to you to claim knowledge of the correct attitude towards this without being able to say anything about it, I shall try as briefly as I can to discourse on this subject.

¹ δὲ τοῦ edd..² ἢ τῷ Gesner.

κάλλους γὰρ δὴ πάντες μὲν ἐπεθύμησαν τυχεῖν, πάνυ δ' ἤξιώθησαν ὀλίγοι τινές· οἱ δὲ ταύτης ἔτυχον τῆς δωρεᾶς, εὐδαιμονέστατοι πάντων ἔδοξαν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τὰ εἰκότα τετιμημένοι. τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν γούν θεῶν ἐξ ἡρώων γενομένων Ἡρακλῆς τέ ἐστιν ὁ Διὸς καὶ Διοσκουροὶ καὶ Ἑλένη, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀνδρείας ἔνεκα ταύτης λέγεται τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς, Ἑλένη δὲ τοῦ κάλλους χάριν αὐτῆ¹ τε μεταβαλεῖν εἰς θεὸν καὶ τοῖς Διοσκουροῖς αἰτία γενέσθαι πρὶν αὐτὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ γῆν συνεξητασμένοις. 7. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἤξιώθη τοῖς θεοῖς ὀμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, πλὴν ὅσοι μετεσχῆκασιν κάλλους· Πέλοψ τε γὰρ τούτου χάριν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμβροσίας μετέσχε, καὶ Γανυμήδης ὁ τοῦ Δαρδάνου οὕτω κεκρατηκένας λέγεται τοῦ πάντων ὑπάτου θεῶν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι συμμετασχεῖν αὐτῷ τινα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῆς θήρας τῶν παιδικῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ πρόπουσαν ἠγοούμενον εἶναι εἰς Γάργαρον καταπάντα τῆς Ἰδῆς ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκεῖσε τὰ παιδικά, ὅπου συνέσεσθαι τὸν ἅπαντα ἔμελλε χρόνον. τισαύτην δ' ἐπιμέλειαν αἰεὶ πεποιῆται τῶν καλῶν, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἤξιωσε τῶν οὐρανίων ἀναγαγῶν ἐκεῖσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ τι τύχοι γνώμενος σὺν ἡν ἐκάστοτε τοῖς ἐρωμένοις, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν γενόμενος κύκνος συνεγένετο Λήδα, τοῦτο δ' ἐν εἶδει

¹ αὐτῆν edd..

¹ Cf. Isocrates, *Helen* 61.

² Cf. Philostratus, *Imagines*, 394, 405.

³ Ganymede, the Trojan boy who was carried off by Zeus to be his cup-bearer (see Vol. 7, p. 269, etc.) is here loosely

Beauty is what all men have ever yearned to have, though very few have been considered worthy of it. But those who have had this gift have ever been thought the most fortunate of all and have been fittingly honoured by both gods and men. This can be proved. Among heroes who became gods are Heracles, the son of Zeus, the Dioscuri and Helen. One of these is said to have gained this honour for his bravery, Helen to have changed into a goddess herself on account of her beauty and to have won godhead for the Dioscuri, who had been numbered with those in the underworld¹ before she ascended to heaven. 7. Moreover one cannot find any humans who've been thought worthy to associate with the gods except for those who've had beauty. For that was why Pelops² is said to have shared immortality with the gods, and Ganymede, son of Dardanus,³ is said to have mastered the highest of all gods so completely that he could not bear to let any of the other gods share his expedition in pursuit of his darling boy, but thought it an expedition befitting himself alone that he should fly down to Gargaron on Ida⁴ and take up his darling boy to the place where he would enjoy his company for all time. He has always paid such attention to beauties that not only has he given them a title to life in heaven by taking them up there but he himself, each time he joined his loved ones on earth, would become anything at all, now becoming a swan to court Leda, now in

described as "child of Dardanus," because Dardanus was the founder of Troy.

⁴ Ida was a mountain near Troy, and Gargaron one of its peaks. Cf. *Iliad* VIII. 48, *Dialogues of the Gods* 10, *Judgement of the Goddesses*, 1 and 5.

ταύρου τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀρπάζει, εἰκασθεῖς δ' Ἀμφι-
 τρύωνι γεννᾷ τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ πολλά τις ἂν ἔχοι
 λέγειν τεχνάσματα τοῦ Διὸς ὅπως ἂν οἷς ἐπεθύμει
 συγγένοιτο μηχανωμένον. 8. τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον καὶ
 οἶον ἂν τις θαυμάσαι, ὁμιλῶν γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς—οὐ
 γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδέσι πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοῖς καλοῖς—
 ἐν δ' οὖν τούτοις δημιουργῶν οὕτω πεποιήται
 σοβαρὸς τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιητῇ καὶ θρασύς
 καὶ καταπληκτικός, ὥστ' ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρα δημι-
 γορία τὴν Ἥραν, καίτοι πρότερον πάντ' εἰωθυῖαν
 ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ, ὅμως δ' αὐτὴν οὕτως ἐφόβησεν,
 ὥστ' ἤρκεσεν αὐτῇ τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι
 λόγων στήναι τὴν ὀργὴν τῷ Δίῃ· τοὺς δ' ἅπαντας
 θεοὺς ἐν τῇ ὑστέρᾳ πάλιν οὐχ ἤττον κατέστησε
 φοβηθῆναι γῆν ἀνασπάσειν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ
 θάλατταν ἀπειλήσας. μέλλων δὲ συνέσεσθαι καλοῖς
 οὕτω γίνεσθαι πράος καὶ ἡμερος καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν
 ἐπιεικής, ὥστε πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ
 Ζεὺς εἶναι καταλεπών, ὅπως μὴ φαίνοιτο τοῖς
 παιδικοῖς ἀηδής, ἐτέρου τινὸς ὑποκρίνεται σχῆμα,
 καὶ τούτου καλλίστου καὶ οἴου τὸν ὄρωντα προσαγα-
 γέσθαι. τοσοῦτον αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς παρέχεται τῷ
 κάλλει.

9. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς οὕτω μόνος ἐάλω τοῦ
 κάλλους, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδεὶς θεῶν, ἵνα μᾶλλον
 ἔχειν δοκῇ ταῦτα κατηγορίαν Διός, οὐχ ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ κάλλους εἰρήσθαι· ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐβλήσει
 σκοπεῖν, πάντας ἂν εὔροι θεοὺς ταῦτα πεπονθότας
 Δίῃ, οἷον τὸν μὲν Ποσειδῶ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἡττημένον,

the shape of a bull carrying off Europa, or adopting
 the likeness of Amphitryon to produce Heracles.
 One can enumerate many devices adopted by Zeus
 in his schemes for enjoying the company of those who
 excited his desire.

8. But what is the most important thing and a
 surprising one is that in his conversations with the
 gods—he had none with any human beings unless
 they were beautiful—in his harangues amongst the
 gods, I say, he has been depicted as being so dashing,
 bold and terrifying by the poet of all Greeks alike,¹
 that in his earlier speech² he so frightened Hera that,
 though she had been used before that to censure
 everything he did, she was then content to escape
 unharmed and allow the anger to Zeus to be confined
 to words. Again, in his later speech,³ he struck no
 less fear into all the gods by his threats to pull up
 land and sea and all men with them. Yet, when
 he's about to keep company with beauties, he
 becomes so kind and gentle and so completely
 reasonable that, in addition to all else, he even leaves
 off being Zeus, and, so as not to appear unpleasing to
 his darlings, he adopts some other appearance, and,
 what's more, one that's very beautiful and likely to
 attract the beholder. Such is the respect and honour
 shown by him to beauty.

9. And, so that these words may not be thought to
 be spoken in criticism of Zeus rather than in defence
 of beauty, let me tell you that Zeus isn't the only god
 so to have become the captive of beauty. No, any-
 one willing to consider the matter carefully would
 find that all the gods have been affected in the same
 way as Zeus. For example, Posidon fell victim to

¹ Homer.² *Iliad* IV. 30 ff.³ *Iliad*, VIII. 19.

Ἰακίνθου δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τὸν Ἑρμῆν δὲ τοῦ Κάδμου. 10. καὶ θεαὶ δ' ἐλάττους οὐκ αἰσχύνονται φαινόμεναι τούτου, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ φιλοτιμίαν αὐταῖς ἔχειν δοκεῖ τὸ τῷ δεῖνι συγγενομένην καλῶ διηγέσθαι παρεσχῆσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἔτι δὲ—τῶν μὲν γὰρ¹ ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐπιτηδευμάτων² ἐκάστη θεῶν, ἐκάστου προστάτις οὖσα, οὐχ ἑτέρας³ ἀμφισβητεῖ περὶ ὧν ἄρχει, ἀλλ' Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡγουμένη τὰ ἐς πολέμους πρὸς Ἄρτεμιν οὐ διαμάχεται περὶ θήρας, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς Ἀθηνᾶ κἀκεῖνη παραχωρεῖ τῶν πολεμικῶν, τῶν δὲ γάμων Ἡρα Ἀφροδίτῃ, οὐδ' αὐτῇ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐνοχλουμένη περὶ ὧν ἐφορεύει. ἐκάστη δ' ἐπὶ κάλλει τοσοῦτον φρονεῖ καὶ πάσας ὑπερβάλλεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὥστε καὶ ἡ Ἐρις αὐτὰς ἀλλήλαις ἐκπολεμῶσαι βουλομένη οὐδὲν ἄλλο προὔβαλεν αὐταῖς ἢ κάλλος, οὕτως οἰομένη ραδίως ὅπερ ἤθελε καταστήσειν, ὀρθῶς καὶ φρονίμως τοῦτο λογιζομένη. σκέψαιτο δ' ἂν τις ἐντεῦθεν τὴν τοῦ κάλλους περιουσίαν· ὡς γὰρ ἐλάβοντο τοῦ μήλου καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀνελέξαντο, ἐκάστης αὐτῆς ὑπολαβούσης εἶναι τὸ μήλον, μηδεμιᾶς δὲ τολμώσης τὴν ψῆφον καθ' αὐτῆς ἐνεγκεῖν, ὡς ἄρ' αἰσχροτέρα τῆς ἑτέρας εἴη τὴν ὄψιν, ἀνέρχονται παρὰ τὸν τῶν μὲν πατέρα, τῆς δ' ἀδελφόν τε καὶ, σύνοικον Δία ἐπιτρέψουσαι τὴν δίκην αὐτῷ. ἔχων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤτις ἐστὶν ἀποφῆρασθαι καλλίστη καὶ, πολλῶν ἀνδρείων ὄντων καὶ σοφῶν καὶ φρονίμων

¹ γὰρ om. edd..

² sic L. A. Post.: ἐπιτηδεύματα ω, suppl. in mg. 1859: om. edd..

³ ἑτέρας ω: ἐτέρ' 1859, edd.: ἐτέρα tentavi.

Pelops,¹ Apollo to Hyacinthus,² and Hermes to Cadmus.³ 10. Goddesses too are not ashamed to reveal their subjection to beauty, but seem to take a sort of pride in intercourse with this or that beautiful man, and giving accounts of the favours they've bestowed on men. Furthermore, in the wide range of all other customary pursuits, each goddess is a patroness of one particular thing and never quarrels with another over her sphere of power, for Athena is leader of men in matters of war but does not compete against Artemis in the chase, while she in the same way yields to Athena in military matters, and, where marriage is concerned, Hera yields to Aphrodite, while in her own department she meets with no interference from her. But each so prides herself on her beauty and thinks herself so superior to all others that, when Discord wished to make them fight against each other, she merely made beauty the issue amongst them, for she thought that thus she would easily achieve her wish, and her calculations were shrewd and accurate. One can see the pre-eminence of beauty from this: when they had taken up the apple and read the inscription, since each assumed the apple was hers, and none of them would vote against herself and admit her inferiority in looks to another, they went up to Zeus, who was the father of two of them, and brother and husband to the third, to entrust the decision to him. But though he could himself have pronounced who was the most beautiful and though there were many brave, wise

¹ For Poseidon and Pelops, cf. Philostratus *Imagines* 789.

² For Apollo and Hyacinthus see Vol. 7, p. 317.

³ The love of Hermes for Cadmus is not mentioned elsewhere.

ἐν τε Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ βαρβάρῳ, ὅδ' ¹ ἐπιτρέπει τὴν κρίσιν Πάριδι τῷ Πριάμου ψῆφον ἐναργῆ καὶ καθαρὰν ἐξενεγκών, ὅτι καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας καὶ ῥώμης ὑπερέχει τὸ κάλλος.

11. τοσαύτην δ' ἐπιμέλειαν αἰεὶ πεποιήνται καὶ σπουδὴν ἀκούειν εἶναι καλά, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἡρώων τε κοσμήτορα καὶ θεῶν ποιητὴν οὐκ ἄλλοθὲν ποθεν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ κάλλους πεπέικασιν ὀνομάζειν. ἡδίων ἂν οὖν ἀκούσαι λευκώλενος ἢ Ἥρα ἢ "πρέσβα θεὰ θυγάτηρ μεγάλου Κρόνου", Ἀθηναῖα δ' οὐκ ἂν βουληθεῖη Τριτογένεια πρὸ τοῦ Γλαυκῶπις καλεῖσθαι, Ἀφροδίτη τε τιμῆσαιτ' ἂν τοῦ παντός καλεῖσθαι Χρυσή. ἅπερ ἅπαντ' εἰς κάλλος τείνει.

12. καίτοι ταῦτ' οὐ μόνον ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει πῶς οἱ κρείττους ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαρτύριον ἔστιν ἀψευδές τοῦ κρείττονος εἶναι πάντων τῶν ἄλλων. οὐκοῦν Ἀθηναῖα μὲν ἀνδρείας ἅμα καὶ φρονήσεως προέχειν ἐπισηφίζει· ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ προῖστατο τούτων· Ἥρα δ' ἀπάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας αἰρετώτερον ἀποφαίνει συνηγοροῦντ' αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν Δία παραλαβοῦσα. εἰ τοῖνυν οὕτω μὲν θεῖον καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ κάλλος ἔστιν, οὕτω δὲ περισπούδαστον τοῖς θεοῖς, πῶς ἂν ἡμῖν ἔχοι καλῶς μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς μιμούμενους τοὺς θεοὺς ἔργῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ πᾶν ὃ τι ἔχομεν συναίρεσθαι τῷ κάλλει;

13. Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Φίλων περὶ τοῦ κάλλους εἶπεν ἐπιθεῖς τοῦτο τῇ τελευτῇ, ὡς καὶ πλείω ἂν τούτων εἰρήκει, εἰ μὴ τὸ μακρολογεῖν ἠπίστατο τῶν ἀδοκίμων ἐν συμποσίῳ. μετ' ἐκείνων δ' εὐθύς Ἀριστίππος ἤπτετο τῶν λόγων πολλὰ πρότερον παρακληθεῖς

and intelligent men in Greece and elsewhere, yet he entrusted the decision to Paris, son of Priam, and thereby gave a clear honest vote to show that beauty is superior to intellect, wisdom and strength.

11. These goddesses have always been so eager and zealous to hear their beauty praised that they have persuaded the glorifier of heroes and poet of the gods ¹ to take the names he gives them only from their beauty. Thus Hera would prefer to be called "white-armed" than "reverend goddess, daughter of mighty Cronos," Athena would not choose to be called "Trito-born" rather than "grey-eyed," and Aphrodite will set the highest store on being called "golden." All these words refer to beauty.

12. Indeed this not only shows the attitude of the mighty to this question but is also an infallible proof of the superiority of beauty to everything else. Thus Athena's verdict is that it is superior both to courage and intellect, for she was patroness of both these, while Hera proclaims that beauty is preferable to all power and authority, and she also had Zeus to support her plea. If then beauty is so divine and august and taken so very seriously by the gods, how would it be right for us not to imitate the gods ourselves in word and deed and use all we have in the service of beauty?"

13. Such was the speech on beauty made by Philo, who added at the end of it that he would have said more had he not known that long speeches are unpopular at dinners. Immediately after him Aristippus began to speak, though only after much persuasion by Androdes, since he was chary of following

¹ Homer.

¹ δ δ' add.

ὑπ' Ἀνδροκλέους· οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο λέγειν τὸ μετὰ Φίλων¹ εὐλαβούμενος λέγειν. ἤρξατο δὲ ἐντεῦθεν·

14. Πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἄνθρωποι τὸ περὶ τῶν βελτίστων καὶ ἡμῖν συμφερόντων ἀφέντες λέγειν ἐφ' ἑτέρας τινας ὄρμησιν ὑποθέσεις, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοῖς μὲν δοκοῦσι δόξαν προσάγειν, τοῖς δ' ἀκροαταῖς τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲν λυσιτελοῦντας ποιοῦνται, καὶ διεληλύθασι οἱ μὲν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρίζοντες ἀλλήλοισι, οἱ δὲ διηγούμενοι τὰ οὐκ ὄντα, ἕτεροι δὲ περὶ τῶν οὐδαμῶς ἀναγκαίων λογοποιοῦντες, οὓς ἐχρῆν ταῦτα πάντα καταλιπόντας ὅπως τι βέλτιον τύχῳσιν εἰπόντες σκοπεῖν· οὓς νῦν ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς ἐγνωκέμαι νομίζων ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ τινῶν ἀγνοίας τῶν βελτίστων κατηγοροῦντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπίπτει τῶν εὐηθεστέρων οἰόμενος εἶναι πάντη, τὴν αὐτὴν λυσιτελεστέτην καὶ καλλίστην τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑπόθεσιν ποιήσομαι τῶν λόγων καὶ ἦν πᾶς ὅστισὺν ἂν φαίη κάλλιστ' ἂν ἔχειν ἀκούειν [καλλίστην].²

15. εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τινος ἑτέρου τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμεθα νῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ κάλλους, ἤρκεσεν ἂν ἡμῖν ἀκούσασιν ἑνὸς εἰπόντος ἀπηλλάχθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο δ' ἄρα τσαύτην ἀφθονίαν παρέχεται τοῖς βουλομένοις ἄπτεσθαι τῶν περὶ τούτου λόγων, ὥστ' οὐκ, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν τις ἐφίκοιτο τῷ λόγῳ, νομίζειν δυστυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἦν πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις κἀκεῖνός τι δυνηθῆ συμβαλέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίνους, τῆς ἀμείνωνος οἶεσθαι πειρᾶσθαι τύχης. τὸ γὰρ οὕτω μὲν περιφανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων τετιμημένον,

Philo and didn't wish to speak. He began as follows.

14. "Many men have on many occasions forgone discussion of the topics best and most advantageous to us and have embarked upon other subjects from which they think they bring themselves renown, although to their audience their words are of no profit. In their expositions some of them vie with each other on the same topics, some impart information that is untrue, while others discourse on quite unessential topics, though they ought to have left all these aside and been at pains to say something of greater value. Since I think that they have formed no sound opinion of the truth and since moreover I consider it quite inane to accuse people of mistaking the highest ideal and then to be guilty of the same oneself, I shall make the subject of my speech at once most profitable and most beautiful to my hearers, and one which anyone at all would admit to be ideal to hear.

15. If, then, we were now discussing anything other than beauty, we should have been satisfied to have a single speech and be rid of the subject; but this topic affords such boundless scope to those wishing to embark upon its discussion that a man does not consider himself unlucky if his speech should fail to do justice to the subject, but rather does he consider himself comparatively fortunate if he can add to the praises paid by many others some contribution of his own. For, when something has been so conspicuously honoured by the Higher Powers, when it has been held so divine and pursued so eagerly by

¹ μετὰ φίλων ω.

² καλλίστην del. L. A. Post.

οὕτω δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεῖον καὶ περισπούδαστον, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν οἰκειότατον κόσμον, καὶ οἷς μὲν ἂν παρῆ παρὰ πάντων σπουδαζομένων, ὧν δ' ἀφίσταται μισουμένων καὶ οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν ἀξιουμένων, τίς ἂν εἴη τοσοῦτον λόγων μετεσχηκῶς ὥστ' ἐπαινέσαι πρὸς ἀξίαν ἀρκέσαι; οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπειδήπερ οὕτω πολλῶν αὐτῷ δεῖ τῶν ἐπαινεσόντων ὥστε μόλις ἂν τῆς ἀξίας τυχεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρεῖν τι λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ, μέλλοντάς γε μετὰ Φίλωνα ποιείσθαι τοὺς λόγους. οὕτω δὴ σεμνότατον καὶ θεϊότατον τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν ὥστε—ἴν' ὅσα¹ θεοὶ καλοὺς τετιμῆκασι, παραλείπω.

16. ἀλλ' ὄν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐκ Διὸς Ἑλένη γενομένη οὕτως ἐθανμάσθη παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὥστ' ἔτι τῆς ἡλικίας οὖσαν ἐντὸς κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ γενόμενος ὁ Θησεὺς οὕτω τῆς ὥρας ἰδὼν ἠγάσθη, ὥστ' οὖσης αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλείας ἀσφαλεστάτης καὶ δόξης οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσης ὅμως οὐκ ᾤετο βιωτὸν αὐτῷ ταύτης ἐστερημένῳ, παρελθεῖν δὲ πάντας εὐδαιμονίᾳ, εἰ ταύτην αὐτῷ γένοιτο συνοικεῖν. οὕτω δὲ διανοηθεὶς τὸ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λαβεῖν ἀπειπών, μὴ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὴν αὐτὸν ἐκδοῦναι μήπω ἡλικίας ἡμμένην, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ὑπερφρονήσας ἐκέλευσεν καὶ παριδῶν, ὀλιγωρήσας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πάντων δεινῶν, κοινωνοῦντ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ Πειρίθου παραλαβῶν, βία λαβῶν αὐτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς Ἀφιδναν ἐκόμισε τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ τοσαύτην ἔσχε χάριν αὐτῷ τῆς συμμαχίας ταυτησί, ὥστ' οὕτως ἐφίλησε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τὴν Θησεῶς καὶ

men, when something is the most proper ornament of all living things, making its possessors to be courted by all, while its absence makes men hated and unfit to be seen, who, I ask, could be eloquent enough to praise that thing as it deserves? However, since it needs so many to praise it that it can scarcely receive its due, it is in no way unfitting for me too to say something about it, even though I shall be speaking after Philo. Indeed, it is so much the most august and divine of all things that—but I won't go into all the ways in which gods have honoured beauties.

16. Be that as it may, in olden times Helen, daughter of Zeus, excited such admiration amongst all men that, even before she had reached marriageable age, Theseus, who had gone to the Peloponnese on some business, upon seeing her, was struck with such admiration for her beauty that, though he had the most assured of thrones and no ordinary glory, he considered that life would be intolerable without her, whereas he would surpass all men in good fortune, should it fall to him to have her for wife. With these thoughts in his mind, rejecting the idea of receiving her in marriage from her father, since he knew that he wouldn't give her before she had reached marriageable age, and, because he held her father's power in contempt and scorn and despised everything formidable in the Peloponnese, Theseus took Peirithoüs with him to help carry her off, and, after seizing her against her father's will, brought her to Aphidna in Attica. He conceived such gratitude to Peirithoüs for aiding him in this that he loved him so dearly for the rest of his days that the friendship of Theseus and Peirithoüs

¹ ὥστ' ἐνεῖναι ὅσα . . . παραλείπω L. A. Post.

Πειρίθου φιλίαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔδει κάκεινον ἐν Ἄιδου γενέσθαι τὴν Δήμητρος μνηστευσόμενον κόρην, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ παραινῶν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ταύτης αὐτὸν τῆς πείρας ἀποσχέσθαι καταπέυσαι, συνηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ταύτην πρόπουσαν οἰόμενος αὐτῷ καταθήσει τὴν χάριν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύσαι. 17. ἐπανελοῦσαν δ' εἰς Ἄργος, αὐθις ἀποδημοῦντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ καθ' ὄραν ἦν γάμων, καίτοι γε ἔχοντες καλὰς τε καὶ εὖ γενοῦντας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκας οἱ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες ἐμνηστεύοντο ταύτην τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας ὑπεριδόντες ὡς φαυλοτέρας. γνόντες δ' ὅτι περιμάχητος ἔσται, καὶ δέισαντες μὴ πόλεμος γένηται τῇ Ἑλλάδι, μαχομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁμοκόασιν ὄρκον τουτοῖ ψήφω κοινῇ, ἢ μὴν ἐπικουρήσειν τῷ ταύτης ἀξιοθέντι μηδ' ἐπιτρέψειν ἦν τις ἀδικεῖν ἐγχειρῆ, ἕκαστος οἰόμενος ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν συμμαχίαν παρασκευάζειν. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἰδίας γνώμης ἀπέτυχον πάντες πλὴν Μενελάου, τῆς κοινῆς δ' ἐπειράθησαν αὐτίκα· οὐ πολλῶ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔριδος γενομένης ταῖς θεαῖς περὶ κάλλους, ἐπιτρέπουσι τὴν κρίσιν Πάριδι τῷ Πριάμου, ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων τῶν θεῶν ἡττηθείς, τῶν δωρεῶν δ' ἀναγκασθεὶς γενέσθαι κριτῆς, καὶ διδούσης Ἥρας μὲν τὴν Ἀσίας ἀρχήν, τὸ δ' ἐν πολέμοις Ἀθηναῖς κράτος, Ἀφροδίτης δὲ τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης γάμον, καὶ φαύλους μὲν ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι ἂν ποτε νομίσας οὐκ ἐλάττω βασιλείαν, Ἑλένης δ' οὐδένα τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἀξιοθῆναι, προεῖλετο τὸν ταύτης γάμον.

became an example even for later generations. When Peirithoüs for his part had to go to Hades to court the daughter of Demeter, and Theseus despite his many pleas could not dissuade him from this enterprise, Theseus went with him, thinking that he would thus fittingly pay his debt of gratitude by risking his life for him. 17. Helen returned to Argos during another absence of Theseus, when she was now of marriageable age, and, though the kings of Greece had no lack of beautiful well-born women to marry, they ignored all other women as inferior and assembled to court her. Since they realised that she would be fought for and they feared that Greece would be cast into war if they fought against each other, by common agreement they took a solemn oath to support the man thought worthy of Helen, and not to allow anyone to attempt anything unjust, since each thought that thus he was securing allies for himself. All accordingly failed in their private aim except Menelaüs, but they very soon put their common aim to the test. For shortly afterwards a quarrel about beauty started among the goddesses, and they left the decision to Paris, son of Priam. Though overpowered by the physical attractions of the goddesses, he was compelled to decide between the gifts they offered. When Hera offered him the kingdom of Asia, Athena prowess in war and Aphrodite marriage with Helen, he reflected that, while mean fellows might on occasion obtain a kingdom as great, the privilege of Helen's favours would fall to nobody of a future generation, and so preferred marriage with her.

18. γενομένης δὲ τῆς ὑμνουμένης ἐκείνης στρατείας κατὰ τῶν Τρώων καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τότε πρῶτον κατὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐλθούσης, ἔχοντες οἱ τε Τρῶες ἀποδόντες τὴν Ἑλένην ἀδεῶς οἰκεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν, οἷ θ' Ἕλληνες ταύτην αὐτοὺς ἐάσαντες ἔχειν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῶν ἐκ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας δυσχερῶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἠβουλήθησαν ἀμφοτέροι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε νομίσαντες εὐρεῖν ἀφορμὴν καλλίω πολέμου περὶ ἧς ἀποθανοῦνται. καὶ θεοὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδας σαφῶς εἰδότες ἀπολουμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἀπέτρεψαν μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐνήγαγον εἰς τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάττω δόξαν αὐτοῖς οἰόμενοι φέρειν τοῦ θεῶν παῖδας γενέσθαι τὸ μαχομένους ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τί λέγω τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδας; αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μείζω καὶ δεινότερον ἐνεστήσαντο τοῦ πρὸς Γίγαντας αὐτοῖς γενομένου πολέμου· ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐμάχοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἐναργέστερον δεῖγμα, ὅσω τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπάντων ὑπερέχει τὸ κάλλος παρ' ἀθανάτοις κριταῖς; ὅταν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ἀπάντων οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παράπαν φαίνονται διενεχθέντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ κάλλους οὐ μόνον τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότες, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐναντία πεπολεμηκότες, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τρωθέντες, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάσαις ψήφοις προτιμῶσιν ἀπάντων τὸ κάλλος;

19. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν ἀπορία τῶν περὶ κάλλους λόγων περὶ ταῦτα¹ διατρίβειν αἶε, ἐφ' ἕτερον βούλομαι μεταβῆναι οὐδαμῶς ἐλαττον ὄν, ὥστε δεῖξαι τὴν τοῦ κάλλους ἀξίαν, τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων,

¹ ταῦτα Guyet: ταῦτα codd..

18. When that celebrated expedition had been made against the Trojans and Europe then for the first time had invaded Asia, though the Trojans could have given Helen back and lived without fear in their own country, and the Greeks could have allowed them to keep Helen and be rid of the hardships of war and campaigning, nevertheless neither side proved willing to do so, since they thought they'd never find a war with a better cause for which to die. The gods too, though well aware that their own sons would die in the war, did nothing to stop them but encouraged them, thinking it brought them no less glory to die fighting for Helen than to have been born sons of gods. But why talk of the *children* of the gods? The gods themselves then engaged with each other in a mightier and more terrible war than the one they had fought against the Giants. For in that they fought alongside each other, but on this occasion they fought against each other. What clearer proof than this could there be to show how much beauty excels everything else connected with men in the judgment of the immortals? For, when they can be clearly seen never to have quarrelled over anything else at all, and yet for beauty not only to have sacrificed their sons but once even to have fought against each other and some of them even to have suffered wounds, are they not showing by a unanimous vote that they value beauty above all else?

19. But, lest I be thought for want of things to say about beauty to be lingering on the same theme for ever, I wish to pass to another proof of the merit of beauty no less weighty than what I've just been

τὴν Ἀρκάδος Ἴπποδάμειαν Οἰνομάου, ὅσους τοῦ ταύτης κάλλους ἀλόντας μᾶλλον αἰρουμένους ἀπέφη-
 νεν ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ ταύτης διωκισμένους τὸν ἥλιον
 προσορᾶν. ὡς γὰρ ἐλάβετο τῆς ἡλικίας ἢ παῖς καὶ
 τὰς ἄλλας ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ὀλίγω¹ τῷ μέσῳ παρενεγ-
 κοῦσαν ἑώρα, τῆς μὲν ὥρας αὐτῆς ἀλούς—τοσοῦτον
 γὰρ αὐτῇ περιῆν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν γεγεννηκόθ'²
 ὑπηγάγετο παρὰ φύσιν—καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀξίων αὐτὴν
 ἔχειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐκδιδόναι πλαττό-
 μενος αὐτὴν τῷ ταύτης ἀξίῳ, τὰς παρ' ἀνθρώπων
 φεύγων αἰτίας, μηχανὴν τινα μηχανᾶται τῆς ἐπιθυ-
 μίας ἀδικωτέραν καὶ ἦν ὤτετο ῥαδίως ὅπερ ἐβούλετο
 καταστήσειν· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἄρματι, ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα
 ἦν, εἰς τάχος ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἐξεργασμένῳ τοὺς ἐν
 Ἀρκαδία ζεύξας ἐν τῷ τότε ταχίστους ἵππους
 ἡμιλλᾶτο πρὸς τοὺς μνηστῆρας τῆς κόρης ἀθλου
 τῆς νίκης παρελθοῦσιν³ αὐτοῖς αὐτὴν προτιβεῖς ἢ
 στέρεσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἠττηθέντας. καὶ ἡξίου δ'
 αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς συναναβαίνειν τὸ ἄρμα, ὅπως ἀπο-
 σχολούμενοι περὶ ταύτην ἀμελοῖεν τῆς ἵππικῆς.
 οἱ δ', ἀποτυχόντος τοῦ πρώτως ἀψαμένου τοῦ
 δρόμου καὶ τῆς κόρης ἐκπεσόντος μετὰ τοῦ ζῆν,
 τὸ μὲν ἀποκνήσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἢ μεταθεῖναι τι
 τῶν βεβουλευμένων μειρακιῶδες εἶναι ὑπολαβόν-
 τες, τὴν δ' ὠμότητα μισήσαντες Οἰνομάου ἄλλος
 ἄλλον ἔφθανεν ἀποθνήσκων ὥσπερ δεδοικῶς μὴ τοῦ
 τεθνάναι περὶ τῆς κόρης ἀμάρτη. καὶ προῆλθέ γε
 μέχρι τρισκαίδεκα νέων ὁ φόνος· θεοὶ δ' ἐκείνον τῆς

saying and to tell of Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaüs of Arcadia, and all those victims of her beauty whom she induced to choose death in preference to the light of day, if parted from her. For, once she was of age, and her father saw that she far surpassed all other women, he was overpowered by her beauty, for she had such a superabundance of it that her own father was unnaturally attracted to her. He therefore wished to keep her for himself, but in order to escape the censure of men, he pretended to be willing to give her in marriage to the man worthy of her, and devised a plan even more wicked than his lust and one which he thought would easily secure him what he wished. For he would yoke the swiftest horses then in Arcadia to a chariot skilfully constructed to ensure the greatest possible speed and compete against his daughter's suitors, offering her to them as the prize of victory, if they passed him, or death if they were defeated. He also insisted that she should mount the chariot with them so that they might be distracted by her and their attention wander from their horsemanship. But, after the first competitor in the race had proved unsuccessful and lost the maiden as well as his life, the others, considering it puerile to show fear for the contest or to change any of their plans and detesting Oenomaüs' cruelty, vied one with another in being first to die, as though afraid they might lose the chance of dying for the maiden. And so the butchery went on till thirteen young men had died. But the gods were filled with

¹ οὐκ ὀλίγω Fritzsche: οὐ πολλῷ codd..

² γεγενηκόθ' codd.: corr. edd..

³ παρελθοῦσιν Guyet: παρελθόντας codd..

πονηρίας μισήσαντες ταυτησὶ τοὺς τε τεθνεώτας
 ἅμα καὶ τὴν κόρην ἐλεοῦντες, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι κτήματος
 ἀπεστέρηται τοιοῦτου, τὴν κόρην δ' ὅτι τῆς
 ὥρας οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπολαύει, κηδόμενοί τε τοῦ
 νέου, ὅστις ἔμελλε—Πέλοψ δ' ἦν οὗτος—ἀγωνιέ-
 σθαι, ἄρμα τε χαρίζονται τούτῳ κάλλιον τέχνης
 πεπονημένον ἵππους τε ἀθανάτους, δι' ὧν ἔμελλε
 τῆς κόρης κύριος εἶναι, καὶ γέγονέ γε, τὸν κηδεστήν
 ἐπὶ τέρμασι τῆς νίκης ἀπεκτονῶς.

20. Οὕτω τὸ τοῦ κάλλους χρῆμα ἀνθρώποις τε
 θεῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ
 θεοῖς ἐσπούδασται πολλαχόσε. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν οὐκ
 ἂν ἔχοι τις μέμφεσθαι δικαίως προὔργου λογισαμέ-
 νοις τὸ ταῦτα περὶ κάλλους διεξέλθειν. οὕτω μὲν
 δὴ καὶ Ἀρίστιππος διηγήθη τὸν λόγον.

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

21. Σὺ δὴ λοιπός, Χαρίδημε. ὅπως δ' ὥσπερ
 κορωνίδα τῶν τοῦ κάλλους καλῶν ἐπιθήσῃ τον λόγον.

ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, περαιτέρω προελθεῖν με
 βιάσῃ· ἱκανὰ γὰρ δηλώσαι τὴν συνουσίαν καὶ τὰ
 νῦν εἰρημένα, ἄλλως τ' οὐδ' ὅσαπερ εἶπον ἀπομνη-
 μονεύοντα. ῥᾶον γὰρ ἂν τις μνημονεύοι τῶν
 ἐτέροις εἰρημένων ἢ τῶν αὐτῶ.

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπεθυμοῦμεν
 ἐπιτυχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων

hatred for Oenomaüs for being so wicked, while they
 pitied the victims and also the maiden, them because
 of the prize they'd lost and her because she wasn't
 having the proper enjoyment of her beauty, and were
 also concerned for the young man, Pelops by name,
 who was about to enter the contest. They therefore
 presented him with a chariot even more skilfully
 constructed than that of Oenomaüs and with
 immortal steeds. These were to enable him to gain
 possession of the maiden, which he did after he had
 killed his father-in-law at the end of his victorious
 race.

20. Thus beauty is regarded by men as something
 divine, and valued as all-important, and many are
 the places to which its eager pursuit has taken the
 gods. Therefore no one could justly blame me for
 considering that this discourse of mine on beauty
 serves a useful purpose."

Such was the discourse of Aristippus.

HERMIPPUS

21. That leaves *you*, Charidemus. You must add
your speech to set the final seal on the beauties of
 beauty.

CHARIDEMUS

In heaven's name, please don't force me to con-
 tinue any further; for what I've already told you is
 sufficient to show you how our conversation went.
 Besides, I forget what I said. It's easier to remember
 other people's words than one's own.

HERMIPPUS

But that's what we wanted to get from you right
 from the start; for we were not so much concerned

εκείνων ὅσον ἐμέλησε τῶν σῶν ἀκοῦσαι. ὥστ', ἦν τούτων ἀποστερήσης, κάκεῖνα μάτην ἔση πεπονηκώς. ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἑρμοῦ τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον, ὥσπερ ὑπέσθης ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀπόδος.

ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

Βέλτιον μὲν ἦν τοῦτοις ἀπαλλάττειν με τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀγαπῶντα· ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτω προθυμῆ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀκοῦσαι λόγων, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπηρετεῖν ἀνάγκη. ὧδε τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποιησάμην τὸν λόγον·

22. Εἰ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἦρχον περὶ τοῦ κάλλους λέγειν, προοιμίῳν ἂν ἐδεόμην συχνῶν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔρχομαι τοῖς πρότερον εἰρηκόσῳν ἐρῶν, οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς τοῖς ἐκείνων κεχρημένον ὡς προοιμίῳις ἐπιφέρειν ἐξῆς τὸν λόγον, ἄλλως τ' οὐδ' ἐτέρωσσε τῶν λόγων γινομένων, ἀλλ' ἐναυθθα καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, ὥστ' ἐνεῖναι καὶ τοὺς παρόντας λαθεῖν ὡς ἄρ' οὐχ ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ λογοποιούσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἐπὶ μέρους διεξέρχονται λόγον. ἐτέρω μὲν οὖν ἤρκει γ' ἂν εἰς εὐφήμιαν ἅπερ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν εἰπῶν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἰδίᾳ, ταῦτα δὲ τοσοῦτον περίεστιν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἔξω τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων οὐ δεῖν ἐπαίνων τῶν εἰς αὐτό· πλεῖστα γάρ πολλαχόθεν, αὐτὰ πρῶτα δεῖν λέγειν ἕκαστα, δόξαν παρίστησω, ὥσπερ ἀνθέντων εὐτυχοῦντι λειμῶνι, αἰεὶ τῶν φαινομένων ἄρτι προσαγομένων τοὺς δρεπομένους. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ πάντων ἐκλέξας ὅσα μοι δοκῶ μὴ βέλτιον εἶναι παραλιπεῖν, λέξω διὰ βραχέων, ὅπως τῷ τε κάλλει

to hear their words as yours. If therefore you deprive us of *that*, all your efforts so far will have been in vain. By Hermes, I beg you, give me the full discussion, as you promised at the outset.

CHARIDEMUS

It would have been better for you to be content with this much and relieve me of an unpleasant task. But since you are so set on hearing my speech also, I must oblige you with this further favour. This then was how my speech went :

22. " If I were beginning the first speech on beauty, I should need many introductory remarks, but since I am following many previous speakers, it seems reasonable for me to treat their speeches as introductory remarks and continue the argument where they left off, since the discussions are not being held in two different places, but here, and at one and the same time, so that it's possible even for those present to forget that each of us is not making a speech of his own, but each is proceeding in turn with the same discussion. Therefore what each of you has said individually about beauty would be sufficient to bring honour to any other man, but I have the very much greater task of ensuring that later generations too shall be well supplied with praises of beauty over and above those just delivered. For beauty brings to one's mind from many quarters a great many ideas, each of which one feels one should mention first, as though one were in a meadow rich with flowers, where each successive bloom that appears invites one to pick it. I shall choose out of everything those points which I feel should not be omitted, and speak briefly,

τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀποδώσω ὑμῖν τε τὸ μακρολογεῖν παραλιπῶν δράσω κεχαρισμένα. 23. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἢ δι' ἀνδρείαν ἢ καθ' ἑτέραν τιὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡμῶν προέχειν δοκοῦσιν, ἢ μὴ τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἡμᾶς εὖ αὐτοῖς διακεῖσθαι, βασκαίνομεν μᾶλλον, ἐξ ὧν τῶν¹ οὐ καλῶς αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα πραττόμενα² σχοιή· καλοὺς δ' οὐ μόνον οὐ φθονοῦμεν τῆς ὥρας, ἀλλ' εὐθύς τε ἰδόντες ἀλισκόμεθα ὑπεραγαπῶμέν τε οὐδ' ἀποκνοῦμεν ὡσπερ κρείττοσιν, ὅσον ἂν ἡμῖν ἐξῆ, δουλεύοντες αὐτοῖς. ἥδιον ἂν οὖν ὑπακούσαι τις ὥρας εὐτυχῆκοι ἢ προστάξειε τῷ μὴ τοιούτῳ, καὶ πλείω χάριω ἂν εἰδείη τῷ πολλὰ προστάττοντι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν ἐπαγγέλλοντι.

24. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἂν ἐνδεεῖς ᾖμεν, οὐ περαιτέρω σπουδάζομεν τοῦ τυχεῖν, κάλλους δ' ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδεπώποτε γέγονε κόρος, ἀλλ' ἐάν τε τὸν Ἀγλαΐης, τὸν εἰς Ἴλιόν ποτε συναναβάντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἐάν θ' Ὑάκινθον τὸν καλὸν ἢ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον Νάρκισσον κάλλει νικῶμεν, οὐκ ἀρκεῖν ἡμῖν δοκοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ δεδοίκαμεν μὴ λάβωμεν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἂν καταλιπόντες ὑπερβολήν. 25. σχεδὸν δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πραγμάτων ὡσπερ κοινὸν παράδειγμα τὸ κάλλος ἐστί, καὶ οὔτε στρατηγοῖς εἰς κάλλος ἡμέληται τὰ στρατεύματα συντάττειν οὔτε ῥήτοροι τοὺς λόγους συντιθέσθαι οὔτε μὴν γραφεῖσι τὰς εἰκόνας γεγραφέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα λέγω, ὧν τὸ κάλλος τέλος

¹ τῶν Fritsch r' ἂν codd.

² πράττομεν codd.: corr. Guyet.

so that I may pay due tribute to beauty and also act in a way acceptable to you by refraining from a long speech.

23. Those whom we think superior to ourselves for courage or in any other virtue tend to incur our envy, unless by their daily benefactions they force us to be well disposed to them; as a result of this the things they undertake may not go well for them. But so far are we from envying the beautiful for their loveliness that, immediately we see them, we become their captives, show them inordinate affection and unhesitatingly act as their slaves in every way we can, as though they were our superiors. Thus one would more gladly obey someone blessed with beauty than issue orders to a person without beauty, and one would feel more gratitude to the beauty who gives many orders than the one who gives none at all.

24. Our enthusiasm for all other good things which we lack ends when we obtain them, but of beauty we have never ever had too much; no, even if we surpass the son of Aglaia,¹ who once set sail with the Achaeans for Troy, or beautiful Hyacinthus, or Narcissus of Lacedaemon, we are not satisfied, but are afraid that we may unwittingly be surpassed in beauty by later generations. 25. Beauty is, as it were, the universal ideal in very nearly every human activity; beauty is considered by generals in arraying their armies, by orators in composing their speeches, and moreover by artists in painting their portraits. But why should I only mention those things which have beauty for their end? For, in constructing the

¹ Nireus, the most handsome of the Greeks at Troy. Cf. *Dialogues of the Dead* 30, Homer *Iliad* II. 672.

ἐστίν; ὧν γὰρ εἰς χρεῖαν ἤκομεν ἀναγκαίως, οὐκ ἔλλείπομεν οὐδὲν σπουδῆς εἰς ὅσον ἕξεστι κάλλιστα κατασκευάζειν· τῷ τε γὰρ Μενέλεω οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐμέλησε τῆς χρεῖας τῶν οἴκων, ἢ ὅσον¹ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκπλήττει, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οὕτω πολυτελεστάτους ἅμα κατεσκευάσασκε καὶ καλλίστους, καὶ τῆς γνώμης οὐχ ἤμαρτεν· ὁ γὰρ Ὀδυσσέως οὕτως ἀγασθῆναι λέγεται τούτους, κατὰ πίστιν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφυγμένος, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν Πεισιστράτῳ τῷ

Ζηγός που τοιγῆδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή.

Νεστορίδῃ, αὐτὸς θ' ὁ τοῦ μειρακίου πατὴρ οὐκ ἄλλου του χάριν μιλοπαρήους ἦγε τὰς ναῦς συστρατεύομενος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἢ ὅπως τοὺς ὀρώντας ἐκπλήττειν ἔχη. καὶ σχεδὸν εἴ τις ἐκάστην ἐξετάζειν βούλεται τῶν τεχνῶν, εὐρήσει πάσας ἐς τὸ κάλλος ὀρώσας καὶ τούτου τυγχάνειν τοῦ παντὸς τιθεμένας.

26. τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὑπερέχει δοκεῖ ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἢ δικαιοσύνης ἢ σοφίας ἢ ἀνδρείας μετεχόντων πολλὰ τις ἂν εὔροι τιμώμενα μᾶλλον, τῶν δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἰδέας κεκοινωνηκότων βέλτιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν οὐδέν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τῶν μὴ μετεσχηκότων ἀτιμότερον οὐδέν· μόνους γοῦν τοὺς μὴ καλοὺς ὀνομάζομεν αἰσχροὺς, ὡς οὐδὲν ὄν, εἴ τί τις ἔχων τύχοι πλεονέκτημα τῶν ἄλλων κάλλους ἕστερημένος. 27. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἢ δημοκρατουμένοις τὰ κοινὰ διοικούντας ἢ τυράννοις ὑποτεταγμένους τοὺς μὲν δημαγωγούς, τοὺς δὲ κόλακας καλοῦμεν, μόνους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει

¹ ἢ ὅσον codd.: ὅσον τοῦ Schaefcr.

things which we have come to find indispensable, we show the greatest zeal for making them as beautiful as possible. For Menelaus was not so much concerned with using his palace as with astonishing his visitors; that is why he lavished such wealth on its construction and made it so very beautiful. Moreover he succeeded in his purpose, for the son of Odysseus¹ is said, when visiting Menelaus in search of news about his father, to have admired it so much that he said to Peisistratus, son of Nestor

‘Twas like being in the palace of Olympian Zeus.’²

Furthermore Odysseus himself, the boy’s father, had ships ‘with cheeks of red’³ simply because he wished to be able to astonish those that saw them. And, if one cares to examine each of the arts and crafts, one will find that they all more or less aim at beauty and regard the achieving of beauty as all-important.

26. Beauty is thought so superior to everything else that, though one could find many things more honoured than those that partake of justice or wisdom or courage, nothing can be found better than the things informed with beauty, just as indeed nothing is held in less honour than the things without beauty. At any rate it’s only those lacking beauty that we call ugly, since we regard any other advantage possessed by a man as immaterial if he be without beauty. 27. Therefore those who transact state affairs for citizens of a democracy and those subject to tyrants are called by us demagogues and toadies

¹ Telemachus.

² *Odyssey* IV. 74, also quoted *Essays in Portraiture Defended* 20.

³ Cf. *Iliad* II. 637.

γενομένους θαυμάζομέν τε φιλοπόνους τε καὶ φιλοκάλους ὀνομάζομεν καὶ κοινούς νομίζομεν εὐεργέτας τοὺς τῶν καλῶν ἐπιμελητάς. ὅτε τοίνυν οὕτω μὲν σεμνὸν τὸ κάλλος ἐστίν, οὕτω δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν εὐχῆς μέρει τυχεῖν κέρδος τε νομίζουσι τὸ τούτῳ τι διακονῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, πῶς ἡμᾶς εἰκότως οὐκ ἂν τις ἐμέμψατο, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες κέρδος κερδαίνειν ἔπειθ' ἔκοντι προϊέμεθα, μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο αἰσθῆσθαι δυνηθέντες, ὅτι ζημιούμεθα;

28. Τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον ἐποιησάμην, πολλὰ τῶν ἐνόητων μοι περὶ κάλλους εἰπεῖν ἀφελῶν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν συνουσίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ παρατεινομένην ἑώρων.

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὐδαίμονές γε, οἱ τοιαύτης ἀπολελαύκατε τῆς συνουσίας· σχεδὸν δ' ἤδη καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕλαττον ὑμῶν ἔσχηκα διὰ σέ.

respectively, but we reserve our admiration for those subject to the power of beauty, calling those who show concern for the beautiful diligent and aesthetic and regarding them as common benefactors. When, therefore, beauty is so revered and so much a part of all men's prayers, and, when people count it gain to be able to serve it in any way, could we not have been blamed with good cause if, when able to gain so great a benefit, we have been wilfully relinquishing it without even being able to see that we're punishing ourselves?"

28. Such was the extent of my speech, for I excluded from it many of the things which I could have said about beauty, because I could see that the discussion was becoming protracted.

HERMIPPUS

How lucky you are to have enjoyed such a discussion! Still, thanks to you, I have now become almost as lucky as you.

NERO

NERO is attributed to Lucian in N and two other Lucianic manuscripts, but there can be little doubt that it is the work of one of the three Philostrati, and probably of the first Philostratus, whose other works have been lost though their titles are listed in the Suda, rather than his son, Philostratus the "Athenian," who wrote *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* for the empress Julia Domna, though her death in 217 A.D. seems to have preceded its publication. The reasons for ascribing Nero to a Philostratus are as follows :

(1) The style is quite unlike that of Lucian, but in the view of C. L. Kayser, the Teubner editor, it is very like that of the Philostrati.

(2) C. 4 of Nero is very like *The Life of Apollonius* 4.24, while the only other mention of Musonius digging at Corinth rather than being in exile at Gyara is *ibid.* 5.19. Note that elsewhere the "Athenian" mentions Musonius as imprisoned, presumably at Rome (*ibid.* 4.35 and 4.46), and as under detention in Gyara (*ibid.* 7.16).

(3) The title *Nero* is included in the Suda's list of the works of the first Philostratus. (It must however be borne in mind that the Suda's evidence is often unreliable, and in this instance it arouses misgivings by describing the first Philostratus as a contemporary of Nero, while in an adjacent article describing his son as alive almost 200 years later. Furthermore it is not quite certain that *Θεατής* which follows *Nero*

in the Suda's list of titles is to be separated from it.) (4) K. Mras, *Die Ueberlieferung Lucians*, p. 236 notes that a few Lucianic manuscripts also contain the works of Philostratus and other sophists, so that *Nero* might have been mistaken for the last work of Lucian rather than the first of Philostratus in such a codex.

(5) Lemnos, the home of the Philostrati, is mentioned in c. 6.

Kayser and F. Solmsen, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1940, pp. 556 ff., think that *Nero* is by the author of *The Life of Apollonius*, but this theory is perhaps to be rejected in view of the evidence of the Suda and *The Life of Apollonius* 5.19 fin., which looks like a polite reference to another writer.

A more probable view is that of K. Münscher, who following the Suda, ascribes *Nero* to the first Philostratus. This view is developed by J. Korver, *Mnemosyne*, 1950, p. 319 ff., who suggests that the dialogue was inspired by Caracalla's murder of his brother Geta in 212 A.D. and that Nero's fate is meant to serve as a warning to Caracalla to curb his vicious behaviour before it is too late.

The dramatic date of the dialogue is 68 A.D. and the scene is probably Gyara, a small island of the Cyclades, which Menecrates is visiting from Lemnos. (Alternatively the scene could be Lemnos, though Musonius' presence there would then be unaccounted for.) One of the speakers is Musonius Rufus, the famous Stoic philosopher, who was banished by Nero to Gyara, but later returned to Rome and received favourable treatment from Vespasian. The

other speaker, Menecrates, is usually taken to be an imaginary character. Nero, however, had a favourite lyre-player of that name (cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, 30, Dio Cassius 63.1 and Petronius 73.19), so that it is a strange coincidence that the Menecrates of this dialogue should ask about Nero's musical accomplishments. The Menecrates of *Nero* could therefore be the historical Menecrates; if so, it is most unrealistic for him to ask questions to which he knows the answers; more probably the writer has forgotten Menecrates' connection with Nero, just as he blunders in other ways (cf. notes on cc. 2 and 5).

ΝΕΡΩΝ¹

ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ

1. Ἡ ὀρυχὴ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ, καὶ σοί, Μουσώνιε, διὰ χειρός, ὡς φασι, γεγονυῖα, τῷ τυράννῳ νοῦν εἶχεν Ἕλληνα;

ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ

Ἴσθι, ὦ Μενέκρατες, καὶ βελτίω ἐντεθυμήσθαι Νέρωνα· τὰς γὰρ περιβολὰς τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν ξυνήρει τοῖς θαλαττουμένοις εἴκοσι σταδίων τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ῥήγματι.² τοῦτο δ' ἂν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἄνησε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀκείναις ἀποχρῶν ὁ οἶκος καρπός, ἦν τὰ ἐπιθαλάττια εὖ πράττη.

ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Ταῦτα δὴ διέξελλε, Μουσώνιε, βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ἀκροάσασθαι πᾶσιν, εἰ μὴ τι σπουδάσαι διανοῆ ἕτερον.

ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ

Δίειμι βουλομένοις· οὐ³ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅ τι χαριζοίμην ἂν μᾶλλον τοῖς γε ἀφικμένοις ἐς ἀηδὲς οὕτω

Codicis rettuli N et Pal. Gr. 174 (14/15 saec.).

¹ τίτλο *H ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΥΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΣΘΜΟΥ* add. edd..

² *MEN. τοῦτο . . . ἕτερον. codd.: corr. Gesner.*

³ οὐ Gesner: εἰ codd..

NERO or THE DIGGING OF THE ISTHMUS

MENECRATES

1. Tell me, Musonius, about the digging of the Isthmus, for people say that you took part in it with your own hands. Did that enterprise reveal a Greek spirit on the part of the emperor?

MUSONIUS

I can assure you, Menecrates, that Nero's intentions were even better than Greek; for by breaking through two and a half miles of the Isthmus he proposed to save seafarers the voyage round the Peloponnese past Cape Malea. This would have benefited not only commerce but also the coastal and inland cities; for the inland cities find their home produce sufficient for their needs when the seaboard prospers.

MENECRATES

Tell us about this, Musonius, for we are all of us eager to hear, if you've no other serious business in mind.

MUSONIUS

I'll tell you, since it is your wish; for I don't know any better way of obliging those who have come for

φροντιστήριον ἐπὶ τῷ σπουδάξειν. 2. Νέρωνα τοῖνυν ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ᾧδαί ἦγον καὶ τὸ σφόδρα αὐτὸν πεπεκέναι μὴδ' ἂν τὰς Μούσας ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἦδιον. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, τὸν γυμνικώτατον τῶν ἀγώνων, στεφανοῦσθαι ἄδιον· τὰ γὰρ Πύθια, τούτων μὲν ἐαντῷ μετεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι· μὴδὲ ¹ γὰρ ἂν μὴδ' ἐκείνον ἐναντίαν αὐτῷ κιθάραν τε καὶ ᾠδὴν θέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἴσθμὸς οὐ τῶν ἀποθευ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων, ἀλλ' ἐντυχῶν τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου μεγαλοουργίας ἠράσθη, τὸν τε βασιλέα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὡς τὴν Εὐβοίαν τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀπέτεμεν Εὐρίπῳ τῷ περὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον, ὡς ὁ Βόσπορος ἐγεφυρώθη αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας· τὰ δὲ Σέρξου καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἴσως ἐνενόησε, μέγιστα τῶν μεγαλοργιῶν ὄντα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις (ὡς) τῷ ² δι' ὀλίγου ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίξει πάντας ἔσοιτο ³ τῆν Ἑλλάδα λαμπρῶς ἐστιαῖσθαι τοῖς ἔξωθεν· αἱ γὰρ τύραννοι φύσεις μεθύουσι μὲν, διψῶσι ⁴ δέ πη καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τοῦτο ⁵ φθέγμα. 3. προελθὼν δὲ τῆς σκηρῆς ὕμνον μὲν Ἀμφιτρίτης τε καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἦσε καὶ ᾄσμα οὐ μέγα Μελικέρτη τε καὶ Λευκοθέα. ὀρέξαντος δ' αὐτῷ χρυσὴν δίκελλαν τοῦ ⁶ τῆν

¹ μὴδὲ Pal.: μὴ N.

² ὡς τῷ Kayser: τῷ Gesner: τό codd..

³ ἔσοιτο L. A. Post: εἴσοιτο codd.: εἴσοιτο Kayser.

⁴ διψῶσι Kayser: ψαύουσι codd..

⁵ τοιοῦτο Kayser. ⁶ τοῦ Bourdelot: καὶ codd..

¹ Suetonius, *Nero* 23 describes Nero's introduction of musical contests to Olympia as "praetor consuetudinem."

² This seems to be an erroneous reference to Agamemnon.

³ Cf. Herodotus 4.83 ff.

serious study to such an austere schoolroom. 2. Nero, then, had been brought to Greece by the call of music and his own exaggerated conviction that even the Muses could not surpass the sweetness of his song. He even wished to win a victor's crown for song at the Olympic games, where if anywhere the contests are for athletes ¹; for the Pythian games he regarded as belonging to himself more than they did to Apollo; for he believed that not even Apollo would dare play the lyre or sing in competition with him. But the Isthmus had no part in the plans which he had formed from far away; it was only when he had seen what the place was like that he fell in love with a grandiose scheme, when he thought of the king ² who once led the Achaeans against Troy and how he severed Euboea from Boeotia by digging the Euripus at Chalcis, and when moreover he thought how Darius ³ had bridged the Bosphorus to attack the Scythians. Perhaps even before either of these he had thought of the feat ⁴ of Xerxes, the mightiest of all mighty works, and how moreover by giving men a short route of access to each other he would make it possible for foreigners to enjoy the glorious hospitality of Greece. For tyrannical natures, though intoxicated, yet somehow thirst to hear praises ⁵ of this sort. 3. He advanced from his tent and sang a hymn in honour of Amphitrite and Poseidon and a ditty addressed to Melicerte and Leucothea. ⁶ After the governor of Greece ⁷ had

¹ The canal across Athos; cf. Herodotus 7.22.

² A meaning suggested by the context, though hardly by the Greek. ³ All four are deities of the sea.

⁴ Strictly speaking of Achaia, the southern province of Greece; cf. Suetonius, *Nero* 19.

Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρυχὴν ἦξε κροτούμενός τε καὶ ἀδόμιμος, καὶ καθικόμενος τῆς γῆς τρίς, οἶμαι, τοῖς τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ¹ πεπιστευμένους παρακελευσάμενος ξυντόνως ² ἀπτεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ἀνῆει εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον τὰ Ἡρακλέους δοκῶν ὑπερβεβλησθαι πάντα. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου τὰ πετρώδη τε καὶ δύσεργα ἐξεπόνουν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ τὰ γεώδη τε καὶ ἐπίπεδα. 4. ἑβδομηκοστὴν ³ δέ που καὶ πέμπτην ἡμέραν προσεξευγμένων ἡμῶν τῷ Ἴσθμῷ κατέβη τις ἐκ Κορίνθου λόγος οὐπω σαφῆς ὡς δὴ τοῦ Νέρωνος μετεγνωκότος τὴν τομῆν. ἔφασαν δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους γεωμετροῦντας τῆς ἐκατέρας θαλάττης τὰς φύσεις οὐκ ἰσοπέδοις αὐταῖς συντυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑψηλοτέραν ἡγουμένους τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαιῶν περὶ τῆ Αἰγίνης δεδοικέναι· πελάγους γὰρ τοσοῦτου νήσω ἐπιχυθέντος κἂν ὑποβρύχιον ἀπενεχθῆναι τὴν Αἴγιαν. Νέρωνα δὲ τῆς μὲν τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τομῆς οὐδ' ἂν Θαλῆς μετέστησεν ὁ σοφώτατός τε καὶ φυσικώτατος· τοῦ γὰρ τεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἦρα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δημοσίου ἄδειν. 5. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν κίνησις καὶ δεξιότατος ⁴ ὡς τῶν ἐκείνης νῦν ἀπτόμενος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Βίνδαξ, ἀπήγαγεν Ἑλλάδος τε καὶ Ἴσθμοῦ Νέρωνα ψυχρῶς γεωμετρήσαντα· τὰς γὰρ θαλάσσας ἰσογαίους τε καὶ ἰσοπέδους οἶδα. φασὶ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ⁵ τῆς

¹ ὀρυχὴν Peletier.

² ξυμπόνως codd.: corr. Kayser.

³ ἑβδομηκοστὴν coniectura Oleario nota: ἑβδομήν codd..

⁴ δεξιότατος . . . Βίνδαξ del. ex Pal. ⁵ ὑπὸ Ν.

¹ C. 4 is very similar to the *Life of Apollonius* 4.24 which

handed him a golden fork he fell to digging amid clapping and chants of applause. When he had directed blows at the ground to the number of three, I believe, and exhorted those delegated to start the work to tackle their task with energy, he went to Corinth believing he had surpassed all the feats of Heracles. The men from the prison started toiling away at the rocky and difficult ground, while the army worked where there was soil and flat ground.

4. When we had now been chained to the Isthmus for seventy-five days,¹ an unconfirmed report came from Corinth that Nero had changed his mind about cutting the Isthmus. They say that the Egyptians when calculating the features of both seas had found they were not both at the same level but thought the sea on the Lechaemum² side was higher and were afraid for Aegina; for they thought it would be swamped and carried away if so mighty a sea poured over the island. But Nero would not have been dissuaded from cutting the Isthmus even by Thales, the wisest of men and greatest natural philosopher; for he had a greater passion for cutting it than for singing in public. 5. But the revolt of the Western nations and the fact that the energetic Vindex has now joined it have forced Nero to leave Greece and the Isthmus³ after his inane calculations; for I know that the seas keep the same level as the land and as each other. They say that affairs at Rome says that four stades (half-a-mile) of the digging had been completed. ² I.e. on the side of the Corinthian Gulf.

³ The whole historical and chronological background to the dialogue is muddled; in particular (cf. Suetonius, *Nero* 40) Nero was at Naples when he heard the news from Gaul. Cf. also *Life of Apollonius* 4.24, which describes Nero's plans about the canal as dating from the seventh year of his reign (i.e. c. 61 A.D.).

Ῥώμης ὀλισθαίνειν ἤδη καὶ ὑποδιδόναι. τούτῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ χθὲς ἠκούσατε τοῦ προσπταίσαντος¹ χιλιάρχου.

MENEKRATHS

6. Ἡ φωνὴ δέ, Μουσώνιε, δι' ἣν μουσομανεῖ καὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων τε καὶ Πυθιάδων ἔρα, πῶς ἔχει τῷ τυράνῳ; τῶν γὰρ Λήμνῳ προσπλεόντων οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, οἱ δὲ κατεγέλων.

ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ

Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνός γε, ὦ Μενέκρατες, οὔτε θαυμασίως ἔχει τοῦ φθέγματος οὐτ' αὖ γελοιῶς· ἡ γὰρ φύσις αὐτὸν ἀμέμπτως τε καὶ μέσως ἤρμοκε. φθέγγεται δὲ κοῖλον μὲν² φύσει καὶ βαρὺ, ἐγκειμένης αὐτῷ τῆς φάρυγγος· μέλη³ δ' οὕτω κατεσκευασμένης⁴ βομβεῖ⁵ πῶς. οἱ δὲ γε τόνοι τῶν φθόγγων ἐπιλαίνουσιν τοῦτον, ἐπεὶ μὴ θαρρεῖ αὐτῷ, χρωμάτων δὲ φιλανθρωπία καὶ μελοποιία εὐαγάγῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ κιθαρῳδία εὐσταλεῖ καὶ <τῷ>⁶ οὐ καιρὸς βαδίσαι καὶ στῆναι καὶ μεταστῆναι καὶ τὸ νεῦμα ἐξομοιώσαι τοῖς μέλεσιν, αἰσχύνῃ ἔχοντος μόνου τοῦ βασιλέα δοκεῖν ἀκριβοῦν ταῦτα.

7. εἰ δὲ μιμοῖτο τοὺς κρείττονας, φεῦ γέλωτος, ὡς πολὺς τῶν θεωμένων ἐκπίπτει, καίτοι μυρίων φόβῳ ἐπηρητημένων, εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτῷ γελῶν εἶη· νεύει μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μετρίου πλέον ζυνάγων τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐπ'

too are now slipping and receding from his grasp. This you heard for yourselves yesterday from the military tribune whose ship ran aground.

MENECRATES

6. But tell me, Musonius, about that voice of his which makes him mad about music and enamoured of Olympian and Pythian victories. What is the tyrant's voice like? For some of those who have sailed to Lemnos expressed admiration for it, while others laughed at it.

MUSONIUS

But in fact, my dear Menecrates, his voice deserves neither admiration nor yet ridicule, for nature has made him tolerably and moderately tuneful. His voice is naturally hollow and low,¹ as his throat is deep set, and his singing has a sort of buzzing sound because his throat is thus constituted. However, the pitch of his voice makes him seem less rough when he puts his trust not in his natural powers but in gentle modifications, attractive melody and adroit harp-playing, in choosing the right time to walk, stop and move, and in swaying his head in time to the music; then the only disgraceful feature is that a king should seem to strive for perfection in these accomplishments.

7. Should he ape his superiors, then, good heavens, what laughter emanates from the audience despite the countless threats hanging over the head of anyone laughing at him! For he holds his breath and sways

¹ Suetonius, Nero 20, describes Nero as "exiguæ vocis et fusæ."

¹ προσπταίσαντος L.S.J.: προπταίσαντος codd..

² μὲν Pal.: μὴ N.

³ μέλει Pal.: μελωδεῖ Kayser.

⁴ κατεσκευασμένα N.

⁵ βομβώδης Pal..

⁶ τῷ deest in codd.: suppl. Kayser.

ἄκρων δὲ δίσταται¹ τῶν ποδῶν ἀνακλώμενος ὡσπερ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ. φύσει δ' ἐρυθρὸς ὦν ἐρευθεῖ μᾶλλον, ἐμπυπραμένου² αὐτῷ τοῦ προσώπου· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὀλίγον, καὶ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν που δῆ.

MENEKRATHE

8. Οἱ δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι πρὸς αὐτὸν πῶς ὑφίενται, ὧ Μουσώνιε; τέχνη γὰρ που χαρίζονται.

ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ

Τέχνη μὲν, ὡσπερ οἱ ὑποπαλαίοντες· ἀλλ' ἐνθυμήθητι, ὦ Μενέκρατες, τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ὑποκριτήν, ὡς Ἴσθμοι ἀπέθανεν· ἴσοι³ γὰρ κίνδυνοι καὶ περὶ τὰς τέχνας, ἣν ἐπιτείνωσω οἱ τεχνάζοντες.

MENEKRATHE

Καὶ τί τοῦτο, Μουσώνιε; σφόδρα γὰρ ἀνήκοος τοῦ λόγου.

ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ

Ἄκουε δὴ λόγου ἀτόπου μὲν, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ Ἑλλήνων πεπραγμένου. 9. Ἴσθμοι γὰρ νόμου κειμένου μήτε κωμωδίαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μήτε τραγωδίαν, ἐδόκει Νέρωνι⁴ τραγωδοῦς νικᾶν. καὶ παρήλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ταύτην πλείους μὲν, ὃ δ' Ἡπειρώτης ἀριστα φωνῆς ἔχων, εὐδοκιμῶν δ' ἐπ'

¹ δὲ om. N; δ' ἴσταναι Fritzsche. ² πμπραμένου Pal.
³ ἴσοι codd.: εἰσι Jacobs. ⁴ Νέρωνι Schaefer: Νέρων codd..

¹ The Greek is difficult, but there may be a pun on two meanings of τέχνη, "technical skill" and "guile."

his head immoderately, and stands on tiptoe with feet apart and with his body bent back like men bound to a wheel. Though his complexion is naturally ruddy, he grows redder still and his face burns, but his supply of breath is short and insufficient.

MENEKRATES

8. But how do the competitors yield to him? For I imagine they have craft enough to humour him.

MUSONIUS

They show the craft¹ of wrestlers who fall down on purpose. But hear in mind, my dear Menecrates, how the tragic actor was killed at the Isthmus. For craft too carries no less danger if its practitioners carry it too far.

MENEKRATES

What's all this, my dear Musonius? I've heard nothing at all about it.

MUSONIUS

Listen then to a tale that may be extraordinary but yet took place before the eyes of Greeks.

9. Although custom² ordains that there should be no comic or tragic contests at the Isthmus, Nero resolved to win a tragic victory. This contest was entered by several including the man from Epirus,³ who, having an excellent voice which had won him

² Or the Greek could mean "a law"; no such law is known; cf. p. 510, note 1. This chapter contradicts Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4.24, where Nero's Isthmian victories are said to be in the contests for lyre-players and heralds, and only an Olympic tragic victory is mentioned.

³ Alternatively Epirotes may be the man's name.

αὐτῇ¹ καὶ θαυμαζόμενος λαμπρότερα² τοῦ εἰωθό-
τος ἐπλάττετο καὶ τοῦ στεφάνου ἐρᾶν καὶ μηδ'
ἀνήσειν πρότερον ἢ δέκα τάλαντα δοῦναι οἱ Νέρωνα
ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. ὁ δ' ἠγρίανέ τε καὶ μανικῶς εἶχε·
καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἠκροᾶτο ὑπὸ τῆ σκηνῇ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὴ
τάγωνι. βοώντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡπει-
ρώτῃ, πέμπει τὸν γραμματέα κελεύων ὑφείναι αὐτῷ
τοῦτον. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑπεραίροντος τὸ φθέγμα καὶ³
δημοτικῶς ἐρίζοντος εἰσπέμπει Νέρων ἐπ' ὀκριβάν-
των τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑποκριτὰς οἷον προσήκοντάς τι⁴
τῷ πράγματι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ δέλτους ἐλεφαντίνους
καὶ διθύρους προβεβλημένους αὐτὰς ὡς περ ἐγχειρίδια
καὶ τὸν Ἡπειρώτην ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς τὸν ἀγχοῦ
κίονα κατέαξαν αὐτοῦ τὴν φάρυγγα παίοντες ὀρθαῖς
ταῖς δέλτοις.

MENEKRATHE

10. Τραγωδίαν δὲ ἐνίκα, Μουσώνιε, μιαρὸν οὕτω
πάθος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐργασάμενος;

ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ

Παιδιά ταῦτα νεανία τῷ μητροκτονήσαντι. εἰ⁵ δὲ
τραγωδίας⁶ ὑποκριτὴν ἀπέκτεινεν ἕκτεμῶν αὐτοῦ
τὸ φθέγμα, τί χρῆ θαυμάζειν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ

¹ αὐτῇ Peletier: αὐτὴν codd..

² λαμπρότερα Kayser.

³ καὶ om. N: suppl. N².

⁴ τι Fritzsche: τε codd..

⁵ εἰ δὲ... ἐτιμώρησαν Menecrati tribuunt codd.: corr.
Solanus.

⁶ τραγωδίας Guyet: τραγωδίαις codd..

fame and admiration, was unusually ostentatious in
pretending that he had set his heart on the crown of
victory and wouldn't give it up before Nero gave him
ten talents as the price of victory. Nero was mad
with rage; for he had been listening under the stage
during the actual contest. When the Greeks
shouted in applause of the Epirote, Nero sent his
secretary to bid him yield to him. But he raised his
voice and went on competing as if they were all free
and equal, till Nero sent his own actors on to the
platform as though they belonged to the act. For
they held writing tablets of ivory and double ones
indeed poised before them like daggers and, forcing
the Epirote against the pillar near-by, they smashed
his throat in with the edge of their tablets.

MENEKRATES

10. Did he win the tragic prize, Musonius, after
perpetrating so monstrous a deed before the eyes of
the Greeks?

MUSONIUS

That was child's play to the youth who had
murdered his mother. Why need one be surprised
that he killed a tragic actor by cutting out his vocal
chords? Why he even set out to seal the Pythian

Πυθικὸν στόμιον, παρ' οὐ αἰ ὀμφαὶ ἀνέπνεον,¹
ἀποφράττειν ὤρμησεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι
φωνὴ εἶη, καίτοι τοῦ Πυθίου καταλέξαντος αὐτὸν
εἰς τοὺς Ὀρέστας τε καὶ Ἀλκμαίωνα, οἷς τὸ
μητροκτονῆσαι καὶ λόγον τινὰ εὐκλείας ἔδωκεν,
ἐπειδὴ πατράσιν ἐτιμώρησαν. ὁ δὲ μηδαμῶς
εἰπεῖν ἔχων ὄτω ἐτιμώρησεν, ὑβρίσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
ᾤετο πραότερα τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀκούων.

11. ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ λόγων, τίς ἢ προσιοῦσα ναῦς; ὡς
ἐπάγειν τι ἀγαθὸν ἔοικεν· ἐστεφάνωνται γὰρ τὰς
κεφαλὰς ὥσπερ χορὸς εὐφημος, καὶ τις ἐκ τῆς²
πρώρας προτείνει τὴν χεῖρα παρακελευόμενος ἡμῖν
θαρρεῖν τε καὶ χαίρειν, βοᾷ τε, εἰ μὴ παρακούω,
Νέρωνα οἴχεσθαι.

MENEKRATĒS

Βοᾷ γάρ, Μουσώνιε, καὶ σαφέστερόν γε, ὅσω τῆς
γῆς ἄπτεται. εὐ³ γε, ὦ θεοί.

ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ

Ἄλλὰ μὴ ἐπευχώμεθα· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς κειμένοις
οὐ φασι δεῖν.

¹ ἀνέπνεον Coraes: ἐνέπνεον codd.

² τῆς om. N.

³ ΜΟΥΣ. εὐ γε, ὦ θεοί. MEN. ἀλλὰ ... δεῖν codd.: corr. Fritzsche.

cavity¹ from which the oracular utterances came wafting up, so that not even Apollo should have a voice. And yet the Pythian god had merely classed him with men like Orestes and Alcmaeon, to whom matricide even gave some claim to renown, since they had avenged their fathers. But he, though quite unable to say whom he had avenged, considered himself insulted by the god, though he had been described in kinder terms than the truth warranted.

11. But what is this ship which has been approaching while we have been talking? It seems to bring good news, for they have garlands on their head like a chorus that has good tidings to tell. Someone is stretching out his hand from the prow, bidding us be of good courage and rejoice. He is shouting, unless my ears deceive me, that Nero is dead.

MENEKRATES

Yes, he is shouting that, and all the more clearly the nearer he draws to the land. The gods be praised.

MUSONIUS

No, let us not thank the gods, for they say we should not do so where the dead are concerned.

¹ Suetonius, *Nero* 39, 40 gives a different account, saying that Nero accepted without rancour a Delphic response given him. Suetonius also quotes an iambic trimeter linking Nero with Orestes and Alcmeon, but doesn't ascribe it to Apollo. More probably Nero resented Apollo as a rival musician; cf. c. 2.

EPIGRAMS

FIFTY-THREE epigrams in all have been attributed to Lucian. Some of these are without doubt the work of others ; but those who reject all fifty-three as non-Lucianic are perhaps going too far, as at least a few are not un-Lucianic in style and thought. Here it is only necessary to print the spurious epigram *On his Own Book* which is quoted in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 128 fin., and also occurs in a few inferior MSS. of Lucian ; the other fifty-two have already been included by Paton in the five L.C.L. volumes of the Greek Anthology, having reached us from that source rather than through manuscripts of Lucian. Epigrams ascribed to Lucian in Paton's edition of the Anthology are :

(Teubner)	(L.C.L.)		
no.	vol.	page	
2	3	200	(IX. 367)
3	4	18	(X. 26)
4	4	20	(X. 31)
5	4	18	(X. 28)
6	4	18	(X. 29)
8	3	62	(IX. 120)
9	4	18	(X. 27)
10	4	20	(X. 36)
11	4	42	(X. 42)
12	4	22	(X. 41)
14	4	20	(X. 35)
16	4	22	(X. 37)
18	4	276	(XI. 431)

LUCIAN

(Teubner) no.	(L.C.L.) vol.	page	
19	4	274	(XI. 428)
22	4	262	(XI. 400)
23	4	274	(XI. 427)
26	4	198	(XI. 274)
28	2	166	(VII. 308)
30	5	254	(XVI. 163)
31	5	254	(XVI. 164)
32	5	300	(XVI. 238)
35	4	276	(XI. 429)
37	4	276	(XI. 434)
38	4	266	(XI. 408)
39	4	264	(XI. 404)
41	4	276	(XI. 433)
42	4	276	(XI. 435)
43	4	278	(XI. 436)
44	4	260	(XI. 397)
45	4	276	(XI. 430)
46	4	268	(XI. 410)
47	4	264	(XI. 403)
48	4	260	(XI. 396)
49	1	306	(VI. 17)
50	4	262	(XI. 402)
52	4	262	(XI. 401)

Paton's edition gives the authorship of the other epigrams printed in the Teubner Lucian as follows :

29	5	250	(XVI. 154) : Lucian or Archias
7	4	18	(X. 30) : Anon.
13	3	38	(IX. 74) : Anon.
15	4	62	(X. 122) : Lucilius
17	4	24	(X. 43) : Anon.

EPIGRAMS

20	4	110	(XI. 80) : Lucilius
21	4	112	(XI. 81) : Lucilius
24	4	184	(XI. 239) : Lucilius
25	4	132	(XI. 129) : Cerealis
27	4	72	(XI. 10) : Lucilius
33	1	308	(VI. 20) : Julian
40	4	264	(XI. 405) : probably Nicarchus
51	4	272	(XI. 420) : Anon.
53	4	172	(XI. 212) : Lucilius

34.1. 382 (VI. 164) is perhaps by Lucilius, though Paton assigns it to Lucian. (XI. 411 is anon., though attributed to Lucian in the index to vol. IV.)

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ

Εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βιβλόν.

Λουκιανὸς τὰδ' ἔγραψα¹ παλαιά τε μωρά τε εἰδώς,
μωρὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα σοφά.
οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι διακριδόν² ἔστι νόημα,
ἄλλ' ὃ σὺ θαυμάζεις, τοῦθ' ἑτέροισι γέλως.

¹ ἔγραψε deteriores.

² διάκριτον Guyet.

EPIGRAM

“ ON HIS OWN BOOK ”

This is the work of Lucian's pen,
Who follies knew of bygone men.
For e'en the things considered wise
Are nought but folly in mine eyes.
No single thought that men embrace
Can merit have or pride of place.
For what seems wonderful to thee
Others deride with mockery.

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