

LUCIA

VOLUME III

WITH ATTENDIA MENGLAMENTAL MALANA MONDA TO THE RENGLAMENTAL MALANA MONDA TO THE RESERVENCE OF THE RES



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS LONDON, ENGLAND

First published 1921 Reprinted 1947, 1960, 1969, 1995, 2004

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

ISBN 0-674-99144-3

Printed and bound by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan on acid-free paper made by Glatfelter, Spring Grove, Pennsylvania

LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME I

Phalaris I and II—Hippias or the Bath—Dionysus—Heracles—Amber or The Swans—The Fly—Nigrinus—Demonax—The Hall—My Native Land—Octogenarians—A True Story I and II—Slander—The Consonants at Law—Symposium or The Lapiths.

VOLUME II

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

VOLUME III

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

VOLUME IV

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

VOLUME V

The Passing of Peregrinus—The Runaways—Toxaris or Friendship—The Dance—Lexiphanes—The Eunuch—Astrology—The Mistaken Critic—The Parliament of the Gods—The Tyrannicide—Disowned.

VOLUME VI

Historia—Dipsades—Saturnalia—Herodotus—Zeuxis—Pro Lapsu—Apologia—Harmonides—Hesiodus—Scytha—Hermotimus—Promethus Es—Navigium.

VOLUME VII

Dialogues of the Dead—Dialogues of the Sea—Gods—Dialogues of the Gods (exc. Deorum Judicium cf. Vol. III)—Dialogues of the Courtesans.

VOLUME VIII

Soloecista—Lucius or the Ass—Amores—Demosthenes—Halcyon—Podagra—Ocypus—Cyniscus—Philopatris—Charidemus—Nero—Epigram.

CONTENTS

LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS	vi
THE DEAD COME TO LIFE OR THE FISHERMAN	1
THE DOUBLE INDICTMENT OR TRIALS BY	
JURY	83
ON SACRIFICES	153
THE IGNORANT BOOK-COLLECTOR	173
THE DREAM OR LUCIAN'S CAREER	213
THE PARASITE, PARASITIC AN ART	235
THE LOVER OF LIES OR THE DOUBTER	319
THE JUDGEMENT OF THE GODDESSES	383
ON SALARIED POSTS IN GREAT HOUSES	411
INDEX	483

THE DEAD COME TO LIFE, OR THE FISHERMAN

This is Lucian's reply to the storm of angry protest which he had evoked from the schoolmen with his *Philosophies for Sale* (II. 450 ff.), wherein, to their mind, he had unwarrantably and outrageously ridiculed the ancient philosophers and their doctrines.

The scene is in Athens. The dead who have come to life are the ancient philosophers, bent upon wreaking vengeance

on Frankness, which is Lucian's alias here.

Eventually conceded a formal trial before Philosophy, he is acquitted on the plea that his ridicule had not been aimed at the ancient worthies but at their unworthy successors of his own time. As these impostors cannot be induced to stand trial, Frankness is empowered to go about and brand them, so that people can tell them from the genuine philosophers. Before departing on his mission, he fishes up, with a bait of figs and gold, typical representatives of the chief schools for the inspection of their founders.

Lucian's plea is specious, for in Philosophies for Sale he had certainly shown scant regard for those whom he now professes to hold in such high esteem. But it is not meant to be taken seriously; it is put forward with a wink at the audience for the sake of turning the tables on his critics. His new-found deference, moreover, is well seasoned with irony, and quite offset by the pose of urbane and patronizing superiority which he assumes in feigned unconsciousness. The piece is almost all persiflage, and maddeningly un-

answerable for that reason.

The dialogue is strikingly like an Aristophanic comedy in its construction, especially in the fact that it has a clearly marked second part, somewhat loosely attached to the first, which develops a series of incidents after the plot has been worked out. Because of this similarity, and for many other reasons too, none of Lucian's writings better serves to introduce and illustrate the Double Indictment, which follows it.

ΑΝΑΒΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ Η ΑΛΙΕΥΣΊ

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Βάλλε βάλλε τὸν κατάρατον ἀφθόνοις τοῖς λίθοις ἐπίβαλλε τῶν βώλων προσεπίβαλλε καὶ τῶν ὀστράκων παῖε τοῖς ξύλοις τὸν ἀλιτήριον ὅρα μὴ διαφύγη καὶ σὰ βάλλε, ὡ Πλάτων καὶ σύ, ὡ Χρύσιππε, καὶ σὰ δέ, καὶ πάντες ἄμα.² συνασπίσωμεν ἐπ' αὐτόν,

ώς πήρη πήρηφιν ἀρήγη, βάκτρα δὲ βάκτροις, κοινὸς γὰρ πολέμιος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ὅντινα οὐχ ὕβρικε. σὰ δέ, ὦ Διόγενες, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε, χρῶ τῷ ξύλῳ· μηδὲ ἀνῆτε· διδότω τὴν ἀξίαν βλάσφημος ὧν. τί τοῦτο; κεκμήκατε, ὧ Ἐπίκουρε καὶ ᾿Αρίστιππε; καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐχρῆν.

ἀνέρες ἔστε, σοφοί, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ὀργῆς.

2 'Αριστότελες, ἐπισπούδασον· ἔτι θᾶττον.³ εὖ ἔχει· ἑάλωκεν τὸ θηρίον. εἰλήφαμέν σε, ὧ μιαρέ. εἴση γοῦν αὐτίκα οὕστινας ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἐκακηγό-MSS. available in photographs: Γ, UPN.

1 ANABIOTNTEE H AMIETZ γ (and Thomas Magister): AMIETE H ANABIOTNTEE β .

² Punctuation A.M.H.: καὶ σὰ δὲ καὶ πάντες ἄμα συν. γ; καὶ σὰ δέ. πάντες ἄμα συν. β, edd.

* Punctuation K. Schwartz: ἐπισπούδασον ἔτι θᾶττον MSS.

THE DEAD COME TO LIFE, OR THE FISHERMAN

SOCRATES

Pelt, pelt the scoundrel with plenty of stones! Heap him with clods! Pile him up with broken dishes, too! Beat the blackguard with your sticks! Look out he doesn't get away! Throw, Plato; you too, Chrysippus; you too; everybody at once! Let's charge him together.

"Let wallet to wallet give succour, and cudgel to cudgel," 1

for he is our joint enemy, and there is not a man of us whom he has not outraged. Diogenes, ply your stick, if ever you did before; let none of you weaken; let him pay the penalty for his ribaldry. What is this? Have you given out, Epicurus and Aristippus? Come, that is too bad!

"Show yourselves men, ye sages, and call up the fury of battle." 2

Aristotle, make haste! Still faster! That's well; the game is bagged. We have you, villain! you shall soon find out what sort of men you have been

1 Iliad 2, 363:

κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φῦλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, 'Αγάμεμνον, ώς φρήτρη φρήτρηφ.ν ἀρήγη, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις.

⁹ Iliad 6, 112; Homer has "friends," not "sages."

ρεις. τῷ τρόπῳ δέ τις αὐτὸν καὶ μετέλθη; ποικίλον γάρ τινα θάνατον ἐπινοῶμεν κατ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐξαρκέσαι δυνάμενον καθ' ἔκαστον γοῦν ἐπτάκις δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπολωλέναι.

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ

'Εμοί μεν άνασκολοπισθήναι δοκεί αὐτόν.

ΑΛΛΟΣ

Νη Δία, μαστιγωθέντα γε πρότερον.

ΑΛΛΟΣ

Πολύ πρότερον τούς όφθαλμούς έκκεκολάφθω.

ΑΛΛΟΣ

Τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτὴν ἔτι πολὺ πρότερον ἀποτετμήσθω.

ΣΩKPATHΣ

Σοὶ δὲ τί, Ἐμπεδόκλεις, δοκεῖ;

ΕΜΠΕΔΟΚΛΗΣ

Είς τοὺς κρατήρας ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς μάθη μὴ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσιν.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

Καὶ μὴν ἄριστον ἦν καθάπερ τινὰ Πενθέα ἡ Όρφέα

λακιστον έν πέτραισιν εύρέσθαι μόρον,

ίνα αν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἔχων ἀπηλλάττετο.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

3 Μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἱκεσίου φείσασθέ μου.

insulting. But how are we to punish him, to be sure? Let us invent a complex death for him, such as to satisfy us all; in fact he deserves to die seven times over for each of us.

PHILOSOPHER

I suggest he be crucified.

ANOTHER

Yes, by Heaven; but flogged beforehand.

ANOTHER

Let him have his eyes put out long beforehand.

ANOTHER

Let him have that tongue of his cut off, even longer beforehand.

SOCRATES

And you, Empedocles—what do you suggest?

EMPEDOCLES

That he be thrown into my crater, so that he may learn not to abuse his betters.

PLATO

Indeed, the best suggestion would have been for him, like another Pentheus or Orpheus,

"To find among the crags a riven doom," 2 so that each of us might have gone off with a scrap of him.

FRANKNESS

No, no! In the name of Him who hears the suppliant,3 spare me!

¹ Aetna, into which Empedocles is said to have leapt.
² Both Pentheus and Orpheus were torn to pieces by Maenads. The verse is from a lost tragedy (Nauck, Tr. Gr. Fragm. p. 895).
³ Zeus.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

"Αραρεν οὐκ ᾶν ἀφεθείης ἔτι. ὁρᾶς δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν "Ομηρον ἅ φησιν,

ώς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὅρκια πιστά.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

Καὶ μὴν καθ' "Ομηρον ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς ίκετεύσω· αἰδέσεσθε γὰρ ἴσως τὰ ἔπη καὶ οὐ παρόψεσθε ῥαψωδήσαντά με·

ζωγρεῖτ' οὐ κακὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἄξια δέχθε ἄποινα, χαλκόν τε χρυσόν τε, τὰ δὴ φιλέουσι σοφοί περ.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

'Αλλ' οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀπορήσομεν πρὸς σὲ 'Ομηρικῆς ἀντιλογίας. ἄκουε γοῦν

μη δή μοι φύξιν γε, κακηγόρε, βάλλεο θυμῷ χρυσόν περ λέξας, ἐπεὶ ἵκεο χεῖρας ἐς ἀμάς.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

Οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν. ὁ μὲν "Ομηρος ἡμῖν ἄπρακτος, ἡ μεγίστη ἐλπίς. ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην δή μοι καταφευκτέον τάχα γὰρ ᾶν ἐκεῖνος σώσειέ με.

μη κτείνε· τὸν ίκέτην γὰρ οὐ θέμις κτανείν.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

Τί δέ; οὐχὶ κἀκεῖνα Εὐριπίδου ἐστίν,

οὐ δεινὰ πάσχειν δεινὰ τοὺς εἰργασμένους;

PLATO

Your doom is sealed: you cannot be let go now. You know, of course, what Homer says:

"Since between lions and men there exist no bonds of alliance."1

FRANKNESS

Indeed, I myself will quote Homer in begging you for mercy. Perhaps you will revere his verses and will not ignore me when I have recited them:

"Save me, for I am no churl, and receive what is fitting in ransom,

Copper and gold, that in truth are desirable even to sages."2

PLATO

But we ourselves shall not be at a loss for a Homeric reply to you; listen to this, for instance:

"Think not now in your heart of escape, you speaker of slander,

Even by talking of gold, once into our hands you have fallen." 3

FRANKNESS

Oh, what wretched luck! Homer, in whom I had my greatest hope, is useless to me. I suppose I must take refuge with Euripides; perhaps he might save me:

"Slay not! The suppliant thou shalt not slay."4

PLATO.

Ah, but is not this by Euripides, too?

"No harm for them that wrought to suffer harm." 5

- ¹ Iliad 22, 262. ² A cento; Iliad 6, 46, 48; 20, 65.
- 3 Iliad 10, 447-8, with alterations.
- ⁴ Nauck, p. 663. Cf. Ion 1553. ⁵ Orestes 413.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

Νῦν οὖν ἔκατι ἡημάτων κτενεῖτέ 1 με;

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

Νη Δία φησί γοῦν ἐκεῖνος αὐτός,

άχαλίνων στομάτων άνόμου τ' άφροσύνας τὸ τέλος δυστυχία.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

4 Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ δέδοκται πάντως ἀποκτιννύναι καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ τὸ διαφυγεῖν με, φέρε τοῦτο γοῦν εἴπατέ μοι, τίνες ὄντες ἢ τί πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀμείλικτα ὀργίζεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτω συνειλήφατε;

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

"Ατινα μέν εξργασαι ήμας τὰ δεινά, σεαυτὸν ἐρώτα, ὡ κάκιστε, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους σου λόγους ἐν οις φιλοσοφίαν τε αὐτὴν κακῶς ἠγόρευες καὶ εἰς ἡμας ὕβριζες, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορας ἀποκηρύττων σοφοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐλευθέρους ἐφ' οις ἀγανακτήσαντες ἀνεληλύθαμεν ἐπὶ σὲ παραιτησάμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸν ᾿Αϊδωνέα, Χρύσιππος ούτοσὶ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐγὼ καὶ ᾿Αριστοτέλης ἐκείνος καὶ ὁ σιωπῶν οὖτος Πυθαγόρας καὶ Διογένης καὶ ἄπαντες ὁπόσους διέσυρες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

5 'Ανέπνευσα· οὐ γὰρ ἀποκτενεῖτέ με, ἢν μάθητε ὁποῖος ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἐγενόμην· ὥστε ἀπορρίψατε τοὺς λίθους, μᾶλλον δὲ φυλάττετε. χρήσεσθε γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀξίων.

1 κτενείτέ Guyet; κτείνετέ βγ.

FRANKNESS

"Then will ye slay me now, because of words?" 1

PLATO

Yes, by Heaven! Anyhow, he himself says:

"Of mouths that are curbless And fools that are lawless The end is mischance." 2

FRANKNESS

Well, then, as you are absolutely determined to kill me and there is no possibility of my escaping, do tell me at least who you are and what irreparable injuries you have received from me that you are irreconcilably angry and have seized me for execution.

PLATO

What dreadful wrongs you have done us you may ask yourself, you rascal, and those precious dialogues of yours in which you not only spoke abusively of Philosophy herself, but insulted us by advertising for sale, as if in a slave-market, men who are learned, and what is more, free-born. Indignant at this, we requested a brief leave of absence from Pluto and have come up to get you—Chrysippus here, Epicurus, Plato (myself), Aristotle over there, Pythagoras here, who says nothing, Diogenes, and everyone that you vilified in your dialogues.

FRANKNESS

I breathe again, for you will not put me to death if you understand how I have acted as regards you. So throw away your stones; or better, keep them. You will make use of them against those who deserve them.³

¹ Euripides? Nauck, p. 663. ² Bacchae 386 ff.

* It is curious that this suggestion, though emphasized by being repeated (§ 11), is not worked out.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

Ληρείς. σε δε χρη τήμερον ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ ήδη γε

λάϊνον έσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ένεχ' ὅσσα ἔοργας.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

Καὶ μήν, ὁ ἄριστοι, δν ἐχρῆν μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπαινεῖν οἰκεῖόν τε ὑμῖν ὄντα καὶ εὔνουν καὶ ὁμογνώμονα καί, εἰ μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, κηδεμόνα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὖ ἴστε ἀποκτενοῦντες, ἢν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πεπονηκότα. ὁρᾶτε οὖν μὴ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ¹ τῶν νῦν φιλοσόφων αὐτοὶ ² ποιεῖτε, ἀχάριστοι καὶ ὀργίλοι καὶ ἀγνώμονες φαινόμενοι πρὸς ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

*Ω της ἀναισχυντίας. καὶ χάριν σοι της κακηγορίας προσοφείλομεν; οὕτως ἀνδραπόδοις ὡς ἀληθῶς³ οἴει διαλέγεσθαι; ἡ καὶ εὐεργεσίαν καταλογιῆ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆ τοσαύτη ὕβρει καὶ παροινία τῶν λόγων;

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

6 Ποῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἢ πότε ὕβρικα, δς ἀεὶ φιλοσοφίαν τε θαυμάζων διατετέλεκα καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπερεπαινῶν καὶ τοῖς λόγοις οἶς καταλελοίπατε ὁμιλῶν; αὐτὰ γοῦν ἅ φημι ταῦτα, πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μέλιτταν ἀπανθισάμενος ἐπιδείκνυμαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; οἱ δὲ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ γνωρίζουσιν ἕκασ-

¹ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς γΝ: not in BU.

² αὐτοὶ Cobet: αὐτὸ MSS.

³ οὕτως ἀνδραπόδοις (sicine cum servis — ?) ώς ἀληθῶς Κ. Schwartz: οὕτως ἀνδραπόδοις ἀληθῶς γ; οὕτως ὡς ἀνδραπόδοις ἀληθῶς β, edd. since Jacobitz.

PLATO

Nonsense: you must die to-day. Yes, forthwith

"Don your tunic of stone on account of the wrongs — you have done us!" 1

FRANKNESS

Truly, gentlemen, you will put to death, you may depend upon it, the one man in the world whom you ought to commend as your friend, well-wisher, comrade in thought, and, if it be not in bad taste to say so, the defender of your teachings, if you put me to death after I have laboured so earnestly in your behalf. Take care, then, that you yourselves are not acting like most of our present-day philosophers by showing yourselves ungrateful and hasty and inconsiderate toward a benefactor.

PLATO

O what impudence! So we really owe you gratitude for your abuse, into the bargain? Are you so convinced that you are truly talking to slaves? Will you actually set yourself down as our benefactor, on top of all your insolent and intemperate language?

FRANKNESS

Where, pray, and when have I insulted you? I have always consistently admired philosophy and extolled you and lived on intimate terms with the writings that you have left behind. These very phrases that I utter—where else but from you did I get them? Culling them like a bee, I make my show with them before men, who applaud and recognize where and

τον τὸ ἄνθος ὅθεν καὶ παρ' ὅτου καὶ ὅπως ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ λόγω μὲν ἐμὲ ζηλοῦσι τῆς ἀνθολογίας, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν λειμῶνα τὸν ὑμέτερον, οὶ τοιαῦτα ἐξηνθήκατε ποικίλα καὶ πολυειδῆ τὰς βαφάς, εἴ τις ἀναλέξασθαί τε αὐτὰ ἐπίσταιτο καὶ ἀναπλέξαι καὶ ὑρμόσαι, ὡς μὴ ἀπάδειν θάτερον θατέρου. ἔσθ' ὅστις οὖν ταῦτα εὖ πεπονθὼς παρ' ὑμῶν κακῶς ᾶν εἰπεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειεν εὐεργέτας ἄνδρας, ἀφ' ὧν εἰναί τις ἔδοξεν; ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Θάμυριν ἢ τὸν Εὔρυτον εἴη τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ταῖς Μούσαις ἀντάδειν, παρ' ὧν εἴληφε τὴν ῷδήν, ἢ τῷ ᾿Απόλλωνι ἐριδαίνειν ἐναντία τοξεύων, καὶ ταῦτα δοτῆρι ὄντι τῆς τοξικῆς.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

7 Τοῦτο μέν, ὧ γενναῖε, κατὰ τοὺς ἡήτορας εἴρηταί σοι ἐναντιώτατον δ' οὖν ¹ ἐστι τῷ πράγματι καὶ χαλεπωτέραν σου ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν τόλμαν, εἴ γε τἢ ἀδικία καὶ ἀχαριστία πρόσεστιν, ὃς παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ τοξεύματα, ὡς φής, λαβὼν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐτόξευες, ενα τοῦτον ὑποθέμενος τὸν σκοπόν, ἄπαντας ἡμᾶς ἀγορεύειν κακῶς τοιαῦτα παρὰ σοῦ ἀπειλήφαμεν ἀνθ' ὧν σοι τὸν λειμῶνα ἐκεῖνον ἀναπετάσαντες οὐκ ἐκωλύομεν δρέπεσθαι καὶ τὸ προκόλπιον ἐμπλησάμενον ἀπελθεῖν ιὅστε διά γε τοῦτο μάλιστα δίκαιος ᾶν εἴης ἀποθανεῖν.

ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΔΗΣ

8 'Ορᾶτε' πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούετε καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων προσίεσθε. καίτοι οὐκ ἀν ῷήθην ποτὲ ώς ὀργὴ Πλάτωνος ἢ Χρυσίππου ἢ 'Αριστοτέλους ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν καθίκοιτο ἄν, ἀλλά μοι ¹ δ' οὖν Fritzsche: γοῦν MSS.