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LUCIAN
VOLUME V



Translated by
A. M. HARMON

LUCIAN

VOLUME V

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

A. M. HARMON

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NOTE

IN the constitution of this volume *Peregrinus*, *Fugitivi*, and *Toxaris*, which in Vat. 90 (Γ) follow *Abdicatus*, are placed before *Saltatio*; i.e. at the beginning of the volume instead of the end. *Amores*, which in that MS. follows *Astrologia*, is omitted here for inclusion in Volume VII, and *Pro Imaginibus*, which follows *Amores*, has already been published in Volume IV, following *Imagines*.

In editing the Greek Text, rotographs of Γ and N have been used throughout, except for the *Peregrinus*, now lacking in N. Rotographs of U, P, and Z have been used for the pieces contained in those MSS.: for *Astrology*, Z; for *The Parliament of the Gods*, P and Z (but Z has only the *prephisma*); for *The Tyrannicide* and *Disowned*, U and Z.

LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

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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

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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—Halycon—Podagra—Ocypus—Cyniscus—Philopatria—Charidemus—Nero—Epigram.

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THE PASSING OF PEREGRINUS

An account of the life and death of a Cynic philosopher who for a time in his early life went over to Christianity, practising it to the point of imprisonment under a very tolerant administration, and after returning to Cynicism became in his old age so enamoured of Indic ideas and precedents that he cremated himself at Olympia, just after the games of A.D. 165, even as Calanus had done at Susa in the presence of Alexander the Great and as Zarmarus had done at Athens, after initiation into the mysteries, in the presence of Augustus.

Writing soon after the event, of which he was a witness, Lucian makes his main theme the story of what went on at Olympia. The earlier life of Peregrinus is portrayed incidentally in a speech attributed by Lucian to someone whose name he did not know, but clearly made by Lucian himself (p. 8, n. 2).

Lucian believes himself to be exposing a sham, whose zeal was not at all for truth but only for applause and renown. Many notable modern critics, including Zeller, Bernays, Croiset, and Wilamowitz, dissent from his interpretation, discerning in the man an earnest seeker after truth; for to them thirst for glory is not an adequate explanation of his final act. This point of view hardly embodies sufficient recognition of the driving force of that motive with Greeks, and particularly Greeks of the second century (Nock, *Conversion*, p. 201). Greek writers recognised it as a possible explanation of the behaviour of Calanus and of Zarmarus. In this case, Lucian not only knew the man but knew others who knew him: for instance, Demonax. Assuredly, the interpretation that he gives is not his alone. Perhaps it is not so far wrong after all. Certainly there are authentic features in it, like the attempt of Proteus to get back the inheritance he had previously renounced and bestowed upon his native city, which make it impossible to see in him the "earnest and steadfast man" that Aulus Gellius thought him.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΕΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣ

Λουκιανὸς Κρονίῳ εὖ πράττειν.

- 1 Ὁ κακοδαίμων Περεγρίνος, ἥ ὥς αὐτὸς ἔχαιρεν ὀνομάζων ἑαυτόν, Πρωτεύς, αὐτὸ δὴ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ Πρωτέως ἔπαθεν· ἅπαντα γὰρ δόξης ἔνεκα γενόμενος καὶ μυρίας τροπὰς τραπόμενος, τὰ τελευταῖα ταῦτα καὶ πῦρ ἐγένετο· τοσοῦτῳ ἄρα τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς δόξης εἶχετο. καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἀπηνθράκωταί σοι ὁ βέλτιστος κατὰ τὸν Ἑμπεδοκλέα, παρ' ὅσον ὁ μὲν κἂν διαλαθεῖν ἐπει-

This piece is wanting in N and several other MSS. because it was in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. It has been edited separately by Lionello Levi, with the readings of eight MSS., chief of which are Γ, X (Pal. 73), and M (Par. 2954).

¹ The greeting here employed (its sense might perhaps be more adequately rendered by "Good issues to all your doings") marks Cronius as a Platonist. Lucian himself (*Lapsus*, 4) ascribes its origin to Plato, and he employs it in addressing the philosopher Nigrinus (I, p. 98). A Platonist named Cronius is more than once mentioned by Porphyry, but to identify the two would contribute next to nothing to our knowledge of either.

² Cf. Aulus Gellius, XII, 11: philosophum nomine Peregrinum, cui postea cognomentum Proteus factum est, virum gravem et constantem, etc. Lucian calls him Peregrinus Proteus in *Demonax*, 21 (I, p. 156), but simply Proteus the Cynic in *adv. Indoct.*, 14 (III, p. 192), and he is Proteus to

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BEST wishes from Lucian to Cronius.¹

Unlucky Peregrinus, or, as he delighted to style himself, Proteus,² has done exactly what Proteus in Homer did.³ After turning into everything for the sake of notoriety and achieving any number of transformations, here at last he has turned into fire; so great, it seems, was the love of notoriety that possessed him. And now your genial friend has got himself carbonified after the fashion of Empedocles, except that the latter at least tried to escape

the Philostrati (cf. *Vit. Soph.* II, 1, 33 and for the elder Philostratus the title of his lost work *Proteus the Cynic*; or, *the Sophist*), to Tatian (*Orat. ad Graecos*, 25), and to Athenagoras (*Legat. de Christian.*, 26). The name Peregrinus is used in Aulus Gellius, VIII, 3, Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIX, 1, 39, Tertullian *ad Martyres*, 4, and Eusebius, *Chron.*, Vol. II, p. 170, Schöne. From the passage in Gellius cited above we can infer only that he did not hear the sobriquet Proteus when he was in Athens. The manner of its employment by Lucian is sufficient evidence that it did not originate with Lucian, or after the death of Peregrinus. It was probably applied to him towards the close of his career. That it bears a sense very like what Lucian attributes to it is clear from Maximus of Tyre, VIII, 1. In § 27 Lucian professes to have heard that he wanted to change it to Phoenix after his decision to immolate himself.

³ The transformations of the sea-god in his effort to escape from Menelaus, who wanted to consult him, are told in the *Odyssey*, IV, 454-459.

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ράθη ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας, ὁ δὲ γεννάδας οὗτος, τὴν πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πανηγύρεων τηρήσας, πυρὰν ὅτι μεγίστην νήσας ἐνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τοσούτων μαρτύρων, καὶ λόγους τινὰς ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ τολμήματος.

2 Πολλὰ τοίνυν δοκῶ μοι ὁρᾶν σε γελῶντα ἐπὶ τῇ κορύζῃ τοῦ γέροντος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκούω βοῶντος οἷά σε εἰκὸς βοᾶν, “ὦ τῆς ἀβελτερίας, ὦ τῆς δοξοκοπίας, ὦ—” τῶν ἄλλων ἂν λέγειν εἰώθαμεν περὶ αὐτῶν. σὺ μὲν οὖν πόρρω ταῦτα καὶ μακρῶ ἀσφαλέστερον, ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἐν πολλῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀκροατῶν εἶπον αὐτά, ἐνίων μὲν ἀχθομένων, ὅσοι ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τοῦ γέροντος· ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐγέλων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. ἀλλ’ ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Κυνικῶν ἐγὼ σοι διεσπάσθην ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀκταίων ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἢ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Πενθεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Μαινάδων.

3 Ἡ δὲ πᾶσα τοῦ πράγματος διασκευὴ τοιᾶδε ἦν. τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν οἶσθα οἷός τε ἦν καὶ ἡλίκᾳ ἐτραγώδει παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον, ὑπὲρ τὸν Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεὶ τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἥλιν ἀφικόμην, διὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἀνιῶν¹ ἐπήκουον ἅμα Κυνικοῦ τινος μεγάλη καὶ τραχεῖα τῇ φωνῇ τὰ συνήθη ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τριόδου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιβωμένου καὶ ἅπασιν ἀπαξαπλῶς λοιδορουμένου. εἶτα κατέληξεν αὐτῷ ἡ βοή εἰς τὸν

¹ ἀνιῶν Sommerbrodt.: αὐτῶν MSS.

² “Up” means to Olympia (cf. § 31).

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observation when he threw himself into the crater,¹ while this gentleman waited for that one of the Greek festivals which draws the greatest crowds, heaped up a very large pyre, and leaped into it before all those witnesses; he even addressed the Greeks on the subject not many days before his venture.

I think I can see you laughing heartily at the old man's drivelling idiocy—indeed, I hear you give tongue as you naturally would: “Oh, the stupidity! Oh, the vainglory! Oh”—everything else that we are in the habit of saying about it all. Well, you are doing this at a distance and with far greater security, but I said it right by the fire and even earlier in a great crowd of listeners, angering some of them—as many as admired the old man's fool-hardiness; but there were others beside myself who laughed at him. However, I narrowly missed getting torn limb from limb for you by the Cynics just as Actaeon was by his dogs or his cousin Pentheus by the Maenads.

The complete *mise en scène* of the affair was as follows. You know, of course, what the playwright was like and what spectacular performances he presented his whole life long, outdoing Sophocles and Aeschylus. As for my part in it, as soon as I came to Elis, in going up² by way of the gymnasium I overheard a Cynic bawling out the usual street-corner invocations to Virtue in a loud, harsh voice, and abusing everyone without exception. Then his harangue wound up with Proteus, and to the best

¹ Of Aetna; it was said that the manner of his death remained unknown until the mountain cast up one of his golden sandals.

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- Πρωτέα, καὶ ὡς ἂν οἶός τε ὦ πειράσομαί σοι αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ὡς ἐλέγετο. σὺ δὲ γνωριεῖς δηλαδή, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς παραστάς βοῶσιν.
- 4 “ Πρωτέα γάρ τις,” ἔφη, “ κενόδοξον τολμᾷ λέγειν, ὦ γῇ καὶ ἡλίε καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ πατρῶε Ἡράκλεις—Πρωτέα τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ δεθέντα, τὸν τῇ πατρίδι ἀνέντα πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐκβληθέντα, τὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐπισημότερον, τὸν αὐτῷ ἀνταγωνίσασθαι τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ δυνάμενον; ἀλλ’ ὅτι διὰ πυρὸς ἐξάγειν τοῦ βίου διέγνωκεν ἑαυτόν, εἰς κενοδοξίαν τινὲς τοῦτο ἀναφέρουσιν; οὐ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς οὕτως; οὐ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Διόνυσος κεραυνῶ; οὐ γὰρ τὰ τελευταῖα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας;”
- 5 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Θεαγένης—τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ κεκραγὼς ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο—ἡρόμην τινὰ τῶν παρεστώτων, “ Τί βούλεται τὸ περὶ τοῦ πυρός, ἢ τί Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Πρωτέα.” ὁ δέ, “ Οὐκ εἰς μακράν,” ἔφη, “ καύσει ἑαυτόν ὁ Πρωτεὺς Ὀλυμπίασιν.” “ Πῶς,” ἔφην, “ ἢ τίνος ἔνεκα;” εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο λέγειν, ἐβόα δὲ ὁ Κυνικός, ὥστε ἀμήχανον ἦν ἄλλου ἀκούειν. ἐπήκουον οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπαντλοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ

¹ The cases of Dionysus and Asclepius were not quite parallel. Zeus could not have Asclepius raising the dead, and so transferred his activities to a higher sphere by means of the thunderbolt. It was Semele, the mother of Dionysus, whom his other bolt carbonised; but as it certainly effected, even if only incidentally, the translation of Dionysus, and as one of the epigrams in the *Anthology* (XVI, 185) similarly links Dionysus with Heracles as having achieved immortality by fire, it is hard to see why so many editors have pruned

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of my ability I shall try to quote for you the very words he said. You will find the style familiar, of course, as you have often stood near them while they were ranting.

"Does anyone dare," he said, "to call Proteus vainglorious, O Earth, O sun, O rivers, O sea, O Heracles, god of our fathers!—Proteus, who was imprisoned in Syria, who renounced five thousand talents in favour of his native land, who was banished from the city of Rome, who is more conspicuous than the sun, who is able to rival Olympian Zeus himself? Because he has resolved to depart from life by way of fire, are there people who attribute this to vainglory? Why, did not Heracles do so? Did not Asclepius and Dionysus,¹ by grace of the thunderbolt? Did not Empedocles end by leaping into the crater?"

When Theagenes²—for that was the bawler's name—said that, I asked a bystander, "What is the meaning of his talk about fire, and what have Heracles and Empedocles to do with Proteus?" "Before long," he replied, "Proteus is going to burn himself up at the Olympic festival." "How," said I, "and why?" Then he undertook to tell me, but the Cynic was bawling, so that it was impossible to hear anyone else. I listened, therefore, while he flooded

the exuberance of Theagenes by excising mention of Dionysus from his remarks. Cf. *Parl. of the Gods*, 6 (p. 425).

² We learn elsewhere in this piece that Theagenes lived in Patras and had property worth fifteen talents, obtained by lending money. Bernays (*Lucian und die Kyniker*, pp. 13–18) is very likely right in thinking this to be the man whose death in Rome is described by Galen (*Meth. Med.*, 13, 15: X, 909 Kühn), but he makes rather too much of that passage as an endorsement of Theagenes.

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- θαυμαστάς τινας ὑπερβολὰς διεξιόντος κατὰ τοῦ Πρωτέως· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Σινωπέα ἢ τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ Ἀντισθένη οὐδὲ παραβάλλειν ἡξίου αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν Σωκράτη αὐτόν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Δία ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμιλλαν. εἶτα μέντοι ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἴσους πως φυλάξαι αὐτούς, καὶ οὕτω κατέπαυε τὸν
- 6 λόγον· “ Δύο γὰρ ταῦτα,” ἔφη, “ ὁ βίος ἄριστα δημιουργήματα ἐθεάσατο, τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ Πρωτέα· πλάσται δὲ καὶ τεχνῖται, τοῦ μὲν Φειδίας, τοῦ δὲ ἡ φύσις. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο οἰχήσεται, ὀχούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός, ὀρφανοὺς ἡμᾶς καταλιπόν.” ταῦτα ξὺν πολλῷ ἰδρῶτι διεξελθὼν ἐδάκρυε μάλα γελοίως καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἐτίλλετο, ὑποφειδόμενος μὴ πάνυ ἔλκειν· καὶ τέλος ἀπῆγον αὐτόν λύζοντα μεταξὺ τῶν Κυνικῶν τινες παραμυθούμενοι.
- 7 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλος εὐθύς ἀναβαίνει, οὐ περιμείνας διαλυθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλὰ ἐπ' αἰθόμενοις τοῖς προτέροις ἱερείοις ἐπέχει τῶν σπονδῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγέλα καὶ δῆλος ἦν νειόθεν αὐτὸ δρῶν· εἶτα ἤρξατο ὧδέ πως· “ Ἐπεὶ ὁ κατάρατος Θεαγένης τέλος τῶν μιαιρωτάτων αὐτοῦ λόγων τὰ Ἡρακλείτου δάκρυα ἐποίησατο, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου γέλωτος ἄρξομαι.” καὶ αὖθις ἐγέλα ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὥστε καὶ ἡμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ὅμοιον

¹ Diogenes.

² Evidently the Cynic had spoken from a high place (perhaps the portico of the gymnasium) to which the new speaker now ascends. What Lucian has previously said (§ 2), together with his failure here to say a word about the identity

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us with the rest of his bilge-water and got off a lot of amazing hyperbole about Proteus, for, not deigning to compare him with the man of Sinope,¹ or his teacher Antisthenes, or even with Socrates himself, he summoned Zeus to the lists. Then, however, he decided to keep them about equal, and thus concluded his speech: "These are the two noblest masterpieces that the world has seen—the Olympian Zeus, and Proteus; of the one, the creator and artist was Phidias, of the other, Nature. But now this holy image is about to depart from among men to gods, borne on the wings of fire, leaving us bereft." After completing this discourse with copious perspiration, he shed tears in a highly ridiculous way and tore his hair, taking care not to pull very hard; and at length he was led away, sobbing as he went, by some of the Cynics, who strove to comfort him.

After him, another man went up at once,² not permitting the throng to disperse, but pouring a libation on the previous sacrificial offerings while they were still ablaze. At first he laughed a long time, and obviously did it from the heart. Then he began somewhat after this fashion: "Since that accursed Theagenes terminated his pestilential remarks with the tears of Heraclitus, I, on the contrary, shall begin with the laughter of Democritus." And again he went on laughing a long time, so that he or personality of the author of these remarks, puts it beyond doubt that the "other man" is Lucian himself, and that he expects his readers to draw this inference. The device is so transparent that its intent can be regarded only as artistic. It is employed also in *The Eunuch*, 10 (p. 341). Somewhat similar is his borrowing a Prologue from Menander to speak for him in *The Mistaken Critic* (p. 379).

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- 8 ἐπεσπάσατο. εἶτα ἐπιστρέψας ἑαυτόν, “ Ἥ τί γὰρ ἄλλο,” ἔφη, “ ὦ ἄνδρες, χρὴ ποιεῖν ἀκούοντας μὲν οὕτω γελοίων ῥήσεων, ὁρῶντας¹ δὲ ἄνδρας γέροντας δοξαρίου καταπτύστου ἔνεκα μονονουχὶ κυβιστῶντας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ; ὥς δὲ εἰδείητε οἷόν τι τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστι τὸ καυθησόμενον, ἀκούσατέ μου ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραφυλάξαντος τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηρήσαντος· ἔνια δὲ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπυνθανόμην καὶ οἷς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι αὐτόν.
- 9 Τὸ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ δημιουργημα, ὃ τοῦ Πολυκλείτου κανὼν, ἐπεὶ εἰς ἄνδρας τελεῖν ἤρξατο, ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μοιχεύων ἀλοὺς μάλα πολλὰς πληγὰς ἔλαβεν καὶ τέλος κατὰ τοῦ τέγους ἀλόμενος διέφυγε, ῥαφανίδι τὴν πυγὴν βεβυσμένος. εἶτα μειράκιόν τι ὠραῖον διαφθείρας τρισχιλίων ἐξωνήσατο παρὰ τῶν γονέων τοῦ παιδός, πενήτων ὄντων, μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρμοσθὴν ἀπαχθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας.
- 10 “ Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἑάσειν μοι δοκῶ· πηλὸς γὰρ ἔτι ἄπλαστος ἦν καὶ οὐδέπω ἐντελὲς ἄγαλμα ἡμῖν δεδημιούργητο. ἃ δὲ τὸν πατέρα ἔδρασεν καὶ πάννυ ἀκοῦσαι ἄξιον· καίτοι πάντες ἴστε, καὶ ἀκηκόατε ὥς ἀπέπνιξε τὸν γέροντα, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος αὐτόν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη ἤδη γηρῶντα. εἶτα ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα διεβεβόητο, φυγὴν ἑαυτοῦ καταδικάσας ἐπλανᾶτο ἄλλοτε ἄλλην ἀμείβων.

¹ ἀκούοντας . . . ὁρῶντας Γ: ἀκούοντα . . . ὁρῶντα XMF.

¹ The proportions of the statue of a naked youth carrying a spear (the *Doryphorus*), made by Polyclitus, were analysed