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LUCIAN
VOLUME VI



Translated by
K. KILBURN

LUCIAN

VI

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

K. KILBURN

藏书章



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PREFACE

THE new Teubner edition of these pieces has still not appeared and there is no adequate critical edition. In establishing a text I have had access to photostats of Vaticanus 90 (Γ) and Parisinus 2957 (N).

The trustees of the Loeb Classical Library kindly passed on to me the unfinished preparatory work done for this volume by Professor Harmon and Dr. Rouse. I have used some of this material as a check and have occasionally adopted an expression from one or other of my predecessors.

I should like to thank especially Professor W. A. Laidlaw of Queen Mary College, University of London, who has checked the translation of most of the work; I have used several of his suggestions and am grateful for his help and encouragement.

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—The Carousal 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.

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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—Prometheus 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

The Solecist—Lucius or the Ass—Amores—Demosthenes—Halcyon—Podagra—Ocypus—The Cynic—Philopatris—Charidemus—Nero—Epigram.

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HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

The Parthian War here referred to was that of A.D. 162–165 against Vologesus III. He defeated the Romans at Elegeia in 162, destroying the Roman legion; the Roman commander Severianus was killed in the fighting. However, he was driven back from the Syrian border by Lucius Verus. Avidius Cassius destroyed Babylon and Ctesiphon, and Statius Priscus took Artaxata, the Parthian capital. Lucian criticises the flock of petty historians who had rushed to chronicle the war. The work is ostensibly a letter to Philo, of whom nothing further is known, and was written before the end of the war—Lucian looks forward to the triumph still to be celebrated (ch. 31).

ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ

- 1 Αβδηρίταις φασὶ Λυσιμάχου ἤδη βασιλεύοντος ἐμπεσεῖν τι νόσημα, ᾧ καλὸν Φίλων, τοιοῦτο· πυρέττειν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα πανδημεὶ ἅπαντας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ λιπαρεῖ τῷ πυρετῷ, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην τοῖς μὲν αἷμα πολὺ ἐκ ῥινῶν ῥυέν, τοῖς δ' ἰδρῶς ἐπιγενόμενος, πολὺς καὶ οὗτος, ἔλυσεν τὸν πυρετόν. ἐς γελοῖον δέ τι πάθος περιίστα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἐς τραγωδίαν παρεκίνουν καὶ ἰαμβεῖα ἐφθέγγοντο καὶ μέγα ἐβόων· μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Εὐριπίδου Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐμονώδουν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσέως ῥῆσιν ἐν μέλει¹ διεξήεσαν, καὶ μεστή ἦν ἡ πόλις ὠχρῶν ἀπάντων καὶ λεπτῶν τῶν ἐβδομαίων ἐκείνων τραγωδῶν,

σὺ δ' ᾧ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,²

καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀναβοώντων καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἄχρι δὴ χειμῶν καὶ κρύος δὲ μέγα γενόμενον ἔπαυσε ληροῦντας αὐτούς. αἰτίαν δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ τοιοῦτου παρασχεῖν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ τραγωδός, εὐδοκιμῶν τότε, μεσοῦντος θέρους ἐν πολλῷ τῷ φλογμῷ τραγωδήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, ὥς πυρέξαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναστάντας ὕστερον ἐς τὴν τραγωδίαν παρολισθαίνειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐμφιλοχω-

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THEY say, my dear Philo, that in the reign of King Lysimachus the people of Abdera were smitten by an epidemic. These were its symptoms: at first every one of them fell ill of a fever, violent and obstinate right from the start; about the seventh day it was broken, in some cases by a copious flow of blood from the nostrils, in others by heavy sweating; but their minds were left in a ridiculous state; they all went mad with tragedy, shouting iambs and creating a din; and they mostly sang solos from Euripides' "Andromeda,"¹ rendering Perseus' speech in song; the city was full of these seventh-day tragedians, all pale and thin, roaring,

" Love, you tyrant of gods and men "

and the rest in a loud voice, hour after hour, day after day, until winter and a severe cold spell stopped their noise. Archelaüs the actor seems to me to blame for such goings on. He was popular then, and in the middle of summer in the blazing heat had played the "Andromeda" for them, so that most of them brought their fever away from the theatre with them, and later when they left their beds relapsed into tragedy;

¹ Or "sang as a solo Andromeda's part in Euripides' play."

² Eur. Fragm. 136 N².

¹ μέλει γ : μέρει β.

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ρούσης τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Περσέως ἔτι σὺν τῇ Μεδούσῃ τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην περιπετομένου.

2 Ὡς οὖν ἔν, φασίν, ἐνὶ παραβαλεῖν, τὸ Ἀβδηριτικὸν ἐκείνο πάθος καὶ νῦν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων περιελήλυθεν, οὐχ ὥστε τραγωδεῖν—ἔλαττον γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο παρέπαιον ἄλλοτρίοις ἱαμβείοις, οὐ φαύλοις κατεσχημένοι. ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ ταῦτα κεκίνηται—ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τραῦμα καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς νῖκαι—οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐχ ἱστορίαν συγγράφει· μᾶλλον δὲ Θουκυδίδαι καὶ Ἡρόδοτοι καὶ Ξενοφῶντες ἡμῖν ἅπαντες, καί, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀληθὲς ἄρ' ἦν ἐκείνο τό “Πόλεμος ἀπάντων πατήρ”, εἴ γε καὶ συγγραφέας τοσούτους ἀνέφυσεν ὑπὸ μιᾷ τῇ ὀρμῇ.

3 Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὦ φιλότης, ὁρῶντα καὶ ἀκούοντά με τὸ τοῦ Σινωπέως ἐκείνο εἰσηλθεν· ὅποτε γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐλέγετο ἤδη ἐπελαύνειν, οἱ Κορίνθιοι πάντες ἐταράττοντο καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν ὅπλα ἐπισκευάζων, ὁ δὲ λίθους παραφέρων, ὁ δὲ ὑποικοδομῶν τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἔπαλξιν ὑποστηρίζων, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν χρησίμων ὑπουργῶν. ὁ δὴ Διογένης ὁρῶν ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν εἶχεν ὃ τι καὶ πράττοι—οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐς οὐδὲν ἐχρήτο—διαζωσάμενος τὸ τριβώνιον σπουδῇ μάλα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκύλιε τὸν πίθον, ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγχανεν οἰκῶν, ἄνω καὶ κάτω τοῦ Κρανείου. καί τινος τῶν συνήθων ἐρομένου, Τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς, ὦ Διόγενης; Κυλίω, ἔφη, καὶ γὰρ τὸν πίθον, ὥς μὴ μόνος ἀργεῖν δοκοίην ἐν τοσούτοις ἐργαζομένοις.

¹ A saying of Heraclitus.

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the "Andromeda" kept haunting their memory, and his Perseus with Medusa's head still flitted round everyone's brain.

To make as they say a comparison, that Abderite complaint has now taken hold of most of the literary world. They don't act tragedy—they would be less out of their wits if they were in the grip of other men's verses, not shoddy ones at that. No, ever since the present situation arose—the war against the barbarians, the disaster in Armenia and the run of victories—every single person is writing history; nay more, they are all Thucydideses, Herodotuses and Xenophons to us, and very true, it seems, is the saying that "War is the father of all things" ¹ since at one stroke it has begotten so many historians.

As I saw and heard all this, friend, I was reminded of the story of the man of Sinope. When Philip was said to be already on the march, all the Corinthians were astir and busy, preparing weapons, bringing up stones, underpinning the wall, shoring up a battlement and doing various other useful jobs. Diogenes saw this, and as he had nothing to do—nobody made any use of him—he belted up his philosopher's cloak and very busily by himself rolled the crock in which, as it happens, he was living up and down Cornhill. When one of his friends asked: "Why are you doing that, Diogenes?" he replied: "I'm rolling the crock so as not to be thought the one idle man in the midst of all these workers."

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4 Καὺτὸς οὖν, ὦ Φίλων, ὥς μὴ μόνος ἄφωνος εἶην ἐν οὕτῳ πολυφώνῳ τῷ καιρῷ μηδ' ὥσπερ κωμικὸν δορυφόρημα κεχηνῶς σιωπῇ παραφεροίμην, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον ὥς δυνατόν μοι κυλῖσαι τὸν πίθον, οὐχ ὥστε¹ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν οὐδὲ πράξεις αὐτὰς διεξιέναι—οὐχ οὕτως μεγαλότολμος ἐγώ, μηδὲ τοῦτο δείσης περὶ ἐμοῦ. οἶδα γάρ, ἡλίκος ὁ κίνδυνος, εἰ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν κυλίοι τις, καὶ μάλιστα οἶον τοῦμὸν τοῦτο πιθάκνιον οὐδὲ πάνυ καρτερῶς κεκεραμευμένον. δεήσει γὰρ αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς μικρόν τι λιθίδιον προσπταίσαντα συλλέγειν τὰ ὄστρακα.

Τί οὖν ἔγνωσταί μοι καὶ πῶς ἀσφαλῶς μεθέξω τοῦ πολέμου, αὐτὸς ἔξω βέλους ἐστῶς, ἐγώ σοι φράσω. “τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος” καὶ φροντίδων, ὅσαι τῷ συγγραφεῖ ἐνεῖσιν, ἀνέξω ἐμαυτὸν εὖ ποιῶν. παραίνεσιν δέ τινα μικρὰν καὶ ὑποθήκας ταύτας ὀλίγας ὑποθήσομαι τοῖς συγγράφουσιν, ὥς κοινωνήσαιμι αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκοδομίας, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἅκρω γε τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ πηλοῦ προσαιψάμενος.

5 Καίτοι οὐδὲ παραινέσεως οἱ πολλοὶ δεῖν οἶονται σφίσιν² ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης τινὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βαδίζειν ἢ βλέπειν ἢ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ῥᾶστον καὶ πρόχειρον καὶ ἅπαντος εἶναι ἱστορίαν συγγράψαι, ἣν τις ἐρμηνεύσαι τὸ ἐπελθὼν δύνηται. τὸ δὲ οἶσθαι πού καὶ αὐτός, ὦ ἐταῖρε, ὥς οὐ τῶν εὐμεταχειρίστων οὐδὲ ῥαθύμως συντεθῆναι δυναμένων τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλ', εἴ τι ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἄλλο, πολλῆς τῆς φροντίδος δεόμενον, ἣν τις, ὥς ὁ

¹ ὥστε add. Fritzsche.

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So in my own case, Philo, to avoid being the only mute in such a polyphonic time, pushed about open-mouthed without a word like an extra in a comedy, I thought it a good idea to roll my barrel as best I could; not to produce a history or even merely chronicle the events—I'm not so bold as that: don't be afraid that I should go that far. I know the danger of rolling it over rocks, particularly a poorly baked little barrel like mine. Just as soon as it hits against a tiny piece of stone we shall have to pick up the pieces.

I shall tell you then what I have decided to do and how I shall take part in the war in safety, keeping well out of range myself. "From your spray and surge"¹ and all the cares that attend the writer of history I shall keep myself aloof and rightly so. In fact, I shall offer a little advice and these few precepts to historians, so that I may share in the erection of their building, if not the inscription on it, by putting at any rate my finger-tip on the mortar.

Yet most of them think they don't even need advice for the job any more than they need a set of rules for walking or seeing or eating; no, they think it is perfectly simple and easy to write history and that anyone can do it if only he can put what comes to him into words. As to that, I'm sure you know as well as I do, my dear friend, that history is not one of those things that can be put in hand without effort and can be put together lazily, but is something which needs, if anything does in literature, a great deal of thought

¹ Homer, *Od.* xii, 198, describing the whirlpool of Charybdis.

² παραινέσεως οἱ πολλοὶ δεῖν οἶονται σφίσιν β: παραινέσοι πολλοὶ δέεινοι ὄντες φησὶν (σφίσιν E) γ.

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Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἐς αἰὶ κτῆμα συντιθείη. οἶδα μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψων, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἐπαχθὲς δόξων, καὶ μάλιστα ὅπόσοις ἀποτετέλεσται ἤδη καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ δέδεικται ἢ ἱστορία. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπῆνηται ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀκροασαμένων, μανία ἂν εἴη ἢ ¹ ἐλπίς, ὥς οἱ τοιοῦτοι μεταποιήσουσιν ἢ μετεγγράψουσί τι τῶν ἅπαξ κεκυρωμένων καὶ ὥσπερ ἐς τὰς βασιλείους αὐλὰς ἀποκειμένων. ὅμως δὲ οὐ χεῖρον καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους εἰρῆσθαι, ἢ ποτε πόλεμος ἄλλος συσταίη, ἢ Κελτοῖς πρὸς Γέτας ἢ Ἰνδοῖς πρὸς Βακτρίους (οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γε τολμήσειεν ἂν τις, ἀπάντων ἤδη κεχειρωμένων) ἔχωσιν ἄμεινον συντιθέναι τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον προσάγοντες, ἢνπερ γε δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ὀρθὸς εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε τῷ αὐτῷ πήχει ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν μετρούντων τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὁ ἱατρὸς δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἀνιάσεται, ἢν πάντες Ἀβδηρίται ἐκόντες Ἀνδρομέδαν τραγωδῶσι.

- 6 Διττοῦ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ τῆς συμβουλῆς ἔργου, τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἰρεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ φεύγειν διδάσκει, φέρε πρῶτα εἰπωμεν ἅτινα φευκτέον τῷ ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντι καὶ ὧν μάλιστα καθαρευτέον, ἔπειτα οἷς χρώμενος οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἐπ' εὐθὺ ἀγούσης—ἀρχὴν τε οἷαν αὐτῷ ἀρκτέον καὶ τάξιν ἢντινα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφαρμοστέον καὶ μέτρον ἐκάστου καὶ ἃ σιωπητέον καὶ οἷς ἐνδιατριπτέον καὶ ὅσα παραδραμεῖν ἄμεινον καὶ ὅπως ἐρμηνεῦσαι αὐτὰ καὶ συναρμόσαι.

Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὕστερον. νῦν δὲ τὰς

¹ μανία ἂν εἴη ἢ Fritzsche: μανία καὶ ἐλπίς Γ: μ' εἰ γε ἐλπίς N.

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if it is to be what Thucydides calls "a possession for evermore." Now I know that I shall not convert very many: some indeed will think me a great nuisance, particularly anyone whose history is already finished and has already been displayed in public. And if in addition he was applauded by his audience it would be madness to expect his sort to remodel or rewrite any part of what has once been ratified and lodged, as it were, in the royal palace. Nevertheless it is as well to address my remarks to them also so that if ever another war comes along, whether Celts against Getans or Indians against Bactrians (no one would dare to fight us—we've beaten everybody already), they may write better by applying this yard-stick if they think it accurate; if they don't, then they must use the same rule to do their measuring as now. The doctor will not be greatly annoyed if every man of Abdera¹ plays the "Andromeda" and is happy to do it.

Advice works in two ways: it teaches us to choose this and avoid that. So first let us say what the writer of history has to avoid, from what contaminations he must in particular be free; then what means he must use in order not to lose the right road that carries him straight ahead—I mean how to begin, how to arrange his material, the proper proportions for each part, what to leave out, what to develop, what it is better to handle cursorily, and how to put the facts into words and fit them together.

These and kindred matters will come later. But

¹ The Abderites were proverbially simpletons.

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κακίας ἤδη εἶπωμεν, ὅποσαι τοῖς φαύλως συγγράφουσιν παρακολουθοῦσιν. ἃ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ πάντων λόγων ἐστὶν ἁμαρτήματα ἔν τε φωνῇ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀτεχνία, μακρόν τε ἂν εἴη ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως 7 οὐκ ἴδιον.¹ ἃ δ' ἐν ἱστορίᾳ διαμαρτάνουσι, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἂν εὖροις ἐπιτηρῶν, οἷα κάμοι πολλάκις ἀκροωμένῳ ἔδοξεν, καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἀναπετάσης τὰ ὦτα. οὐκ ἄκαιρον δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἓνια παραδείγματος ἕνεκα τῶν ἤδη οὕτως συγγεγραμμένων.

Καὶ πρῶτόν γε ἐκείνο ἡλίκον ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπισκοπήσωμεν· ἀμελήσαντες γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἱστορεῖν τὰ γεγενημένα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνδιατρίβουσιν τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ἐς ὕψος αἶροντες² τοὺς πολεμίους δὲ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου καταρρίπτοντες ἀγνοοῦντες ὥς οὐ στενῶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ διώρισται καὶ διατετείχισται ἡ ἱστορία πρὸς τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ τι μέγα τεῖχος ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν δὴ τοῦτο, δις διὰ πασῶν ἐστι πρὸς ἄλληλα—εἴ γε τῷ μὲν ἐγκωμιάζοντι μόνου ἑνὸς μέλει, ὅπως οὖν ἐπαινεῖσαι καὶ εὐφραῖναι τὸν ἐπαινούμενον, καὶ εἰ ψευσαμένῳ ὑπάρχει τυχεῖν τοῦ τέλους, ὀλίγον ἂν φροντίσειεν. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἂν τι ψεῦδος ἐμπεσὸν ἡ ἱστορία, οὐδὲ ἀκαριαῖον³ ἀνάσχοιτο, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρτηρίαν ἱατρῶν παῖδές φασι τὴν τραχείαν παραδέξασθαι ἂν τι ἐς αὐτὴν καταποθέν.

8 Ἔτι ἀγνοεῖν εἰκόασιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὥς ποιητικῆς

¹ After ἴδιον MSS have κοινὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπάντων λόγων ἐστὶν ἁμαρτήματα ἔν τε φωνῇ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ: Rudolphus secl.