

LUCIAN AND HIS ROMAN VOICES

By

ELENI BOZIA

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2009

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To my husband, Άγγελο

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Gareth Schmeling, for his inexhaustible inspiration and intellectual support during my doctorate studies. His insightful guidance made the completion of this sometimes overwhelming project possible. I would also like to thank Prof. Konstantinos Kapparis for his continuous help and for the time he devoted to our discussions, as well as his always valuable feedback. Moreover, I would like to thank Prof. David Young, Prof. Florin Curta, and Prof. Bracht Branhman for serving as members of my PhD committee.

I would like to thank Prof. Karelisa Hartigan and Prof. Robert Wagman for their guidance and support throughout the PhD program. I would also like to thank Prof. Timothy Johnson and Prof. Andrew Wolpert for their guidance as graduate student coordinators and Prof. Victoria Pagàn for her continuous support as teaching assistant coordinator, for her valuable guidance and feedback that benefited immensely my teaching experience.

Furthermore, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Costas Panayotakis for being my mentor during my MPhil studies at the University of Glasgow and for following closely and supporting my academic career. I would also like to thank the faculty of the Classics Department at Glasgow University for their support and inspiration during my first academic years.

It is very important that I express my gratitude to my old teachers of philology, Σπανίδη Ανέστη, Κρυσταλία Ζηκάκη, and Σταύρου Σταύρο. They were beside me in my formative years as a philologist. They influenced in many ways both my academic personality and my character in general.

Although not directly associated with my doctoral studies, I want to thank my family, Ηλία, Ζουμπουλιά, Νικολέτα, Ευαγγελία, Χρήστο and especially my grandmother Βασιλική.

Last but not least I would like to express my gratitude to my husband, Άγγελο, for always being there, for his support, his inspiration, for always believing in me, even when I did not. I would like to thank him for, if it were not for him, I would not have been here.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

LUCIAN AND HIS ROMAN VOICES

By

Eleni Bozia

December 2009

Chair: Gareth Schmeling

Major: Classical Studies

In this dissertation, I explore the 2nd century C.E. reality through the writings of Lucian of Samosata, a native Syrian who wrote in Greek and was a Roman citizen. Lucian wrote a large volume of works that cannot be filed under one specific genre, including Satires, admonitory treatises, and philosophical dialogues. He flourished as a rhetorician, and even hold an official position in the Roman Empire. My intention is to discuss Lucian's works in comparison to an earlier, a contemporary and later Roman authors and try to indicate that there has been an interaction between several nations at the boundaries of the Roman Empire and up to a degree there has also probably been fusion. Lucian's self presentation and promotion as well as his attitude towards other nations show clearly that he perceives the Roman Empire in its entirety and considers it an entity which encompasses several different co-existing nations. Finally, I focus on Lucian's nachleben in European literature and art and I argue that the Roman Empire, the Roman and the Greek culture may have been long dead at the time, but the spirit of Lucian, his playful tone, his insight and astute perception have lived in later authors, namely Erasmus, More, Flaubert, Molière, and Holberg, who were inspired by his motifs and sometimes his rhetorical and other narrative techniques.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Life and Works

Traditionally Lucian has been treated one-sidedly: a satirist, an orator, a reflector of 2nd century reality, or a commentator on religion. My intention is to provide a spherical view of Lucian which discusses all the aforementioned aspects of his writings. Society and Greco-Roman culture certainly are the axis around which his works rotate. Therefore, I compare first Lucian to Roman authors previous and contemporary, namely Juvenal and Gellius, in order to gain a clear perspective of his place and theses, and of the Greco-Roman reality examining opposing views on crucial issues. Lucian's comments on religion also have been translated in different ways, but most scholars conclude that he demonstrates ignorance. I believe, however, that Lucian's religious writings were not meant only to be satirical and create utopias; on the contrary, I argue that Lucian presents the religious reality of his era from different perspectives, either pagan or Christian. Finally, I discuss Lucian's *Nachleben* and his influence on authors starting from Alciphron in the 2nd century C.E. up to Modern Greek literature and its debt to Lucian. I conclude with some thoughts about his inspiration to European painters.

In order to determine Lucian's position with regards to society, language, and religion it is important to discuss his life, his career and his place in the Empire. He was born around 125 C.E. at Samosata in the kingdom of Commagene which became part of the Empire in 72 C.E. Commagene had Syrian roots; in fact Lucian calls himself Syrian or Assyrian and says that before his Greek education he was "barbarian in speech". We do not know anything about his early years. Only in *Somnium* does he describe his choice of profession and that literarily. He says that he was being trained to become a sculptor when Culture along with Craft appeared to him in his dream and offered him their benefits. Lucian chose Culture and became an orator. The

literary motif he uses is classic: Prodicus' myth of the choice of Heracles is the obvious precedent. Veneration of the past, which among other things included the revival of Attic Greek, were included in the education which Lucian received in order to become an orator. He actually emphasizes his attraction to the purity of Atticism in two of his works, *Lexiphanes* and *Pseudologista*. At first Lucian works as a sophistical orator, and travels to Asia Minor, Athens, Rome, and Gaul in which places his rhetorical works probably made him popular. Some of his speeches which function as prologues are *Herodotus*, *De Electro*, *Zeuxis*, and *Dionysus*. He tries to win his audience's *captatio benevolentiae* by inducing them not to disapprove of him solely on account of his nationality and proceeds to show cases where a foreigner like Herodotus, for instance, was accepted in Macedonia, and Dionysus prevailed over his Indian opponents only due to the fact that they underestimated him and his elephant entourage. *Toxaris*, *Anacharsis*, and *Scytha* are written on a similar basis, namely the acceptance of 'the other' and the close relations between Greeks and other nations, not necessarily Romans. Later in *Bis Accusatus* he defends himself in front of Rhetoric for having abandoned her and argues that it was time for him at the age of forty to find a different occupation. There is a number of works concerning philosophy which has been suggested belong to the same period; he writes about and attacks Cynics, Epicureans, and Stoics in *Nigrinus*, *Demonax*, *Cynicus*, *Hermotimus*, and even *Peregrinus*. Lucian also creates an amalgam of Cynicism, Satire, Platonic and Socratic dialogue to discuss religion in *Dialogi Deorum*, *Dialogi Marini*, *Jupiter Confutatus*, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, *Deorum Concilium*, and *De Sacrificiis*. Cynicism penetrates *Dialogi Mortuorum*, *Menippus*, and *Charon*. Other writings discuss the elusive relationship between Romans and Greeks, namely *De Mercede Conductis*, *De Parasito*, *Nigrinus*, and *Apologia*.

Dating Lucian's works is problematic; the works which we can place chronologically with some certainty are the ones written in the years after 161 C.E. and the accession of Marcus Aurelius and the war that later broke in Armenia. Lucian was in the entourage of Lucius Verus who was sent to the front and travelled by way of Italy, Greece, along the south coast of Asia Minor, until the company reached Antioch. Lucian writes *Imagines* and *Pro Imaginibus* for Verus' mistress, Pantheia of Smyrna. It is at that time that he probably also visited his native city and delivered *Somnium* and *Patriae Encomium*. He also encountered Alexander, the false prophet who became the target of his Satire in *Alexander*, when he was in the province of Cappadocia and then later at the Olympic games of 165 he saw Peregrinus, against whom he launched an attack in the homonymous work. Basing the judgement on this work, scholars have argued that Lucian appears ignorant about Christianity.

Later in his life at the time of the second Parthian war he writes *De Historia Scribenda* where he attacks historiography. Jones (1986, 18) mentions that this work "is in part a disguised encomium of the emperor's victories" and that it was probably written in 166 when Verus brings his army back from the east. In *Vera Historia* he also satirizes authors like Ctesias, Iambulos, even Homer, who write stories about monsters on sea and on earth, about man-eater nations, and other fictional events and creatures. Lucian promises his readers then that he can give them a story, which will be the mother of all stories, and that that only truth he will say is that he is lying (κὰν ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεύδομαι, 1.4).

Very rarely does he give information about himself, or his family. He says that he was accompanied by his father and family from Cappadocia to Pontus and mentions a Lycinos as a young son¹. He claims as acquaintances Sisenna Rutilianus² and the governor of Cappadocia³. It

¹ *Eun.* 13; *Alex.* 56

is very late in his life when he accepts a position in Egypt and this is probably when he wrote *Apologia*, the apology for *De Mercede Conductis*. We do not have any more information about his life or his career; it is possible that he died in Egypt. The Suda records about his death that he was torn to pieces by dogs on account of his blasphemy.

The treatment he received in his afterlife is interesting as he proves to be as elusive for the authors of future generations as he was during his lifetime. Alciphron, a 2nd century C.E. author writes the *Letters of the Courtesans* and although he was a contemporary of Lucian, his *Letter to Lucian* indicates that he might have actually borrowed from the former. Philostratus in the 3rd century does not include him in his list of sophists. Libanius in 3rd century C.E. attacks Lucian and Aristophanes but he also borrows from the latter in oration XXV on slavery. Lactantius (4th C.E.) talks of him as someone who spared neither gods nor men. Photius in the 12th century includes Lucian in his Library. Tzetzes in the 12th century C.E. includes him in his poem among numerous other authors. Johannes Georgides (1000) uses examples from Lucian in the *Collections of Maxims* and Thomas Magister (1300) in the *Selection of Attic Nouns*. Finally, Erasmus, More, Ariosto, and Rabelais are a few of the European authors who found inspiration in several of Lucian's works.

Summary

A reasonable approach to gain perspectives on Lucian is to compare and contrast him with a Roman author who is concerned with similar matters. Juvenal lived and wrote earlier than Lucian, but they both share the same caustic spirit and, what is more important, they give us diametrically opposed theses about the same topic, namely the relation between Romans and

² *Alex.* 30; 54

³ In *Alex.* 55 Lucian says that the governor gave him two soldiers as escorts.

Greeks. In Chapter 2 therefore I discuss Lucian and his literary correspondence with Juvenal and I also try to determine what we learn about Greeks and Romans and their relationships. As we move further into the study of Lucian and we become familiar with his style, his innovative techniques, and his borrowings and adaptations from various literary genres, we wonder about those 2nd century Roman authors who write anthologies and their intentions. Gellius's *Noctes Atticae* is an interesting representative of this literature and the comparison of the two authors, Lucian and Gellius, is crucial since they both give us opinions of the 2nd century life and culture. Questions that arise: do Lucian and Gellius address the same issues, and if not, why. Gellius' anthology provides information for a large number of civil and political issues in Greek and Roman communities, and other nations' cultural aspects. Lucian also has incorporated in his works, Roman, Greek, and Scythian characters among others. Furthermore, both authors embrace the past: Lucian in the form of a return to old Greek language and culture and Gellius with his articles on Roman *mores maiorum*. Veneration of the past is the characteristic of this era, but it is important to discern what Lucian writes about, what Gellius withholds and for what purpose. Religious concerns color 2nd century C.E. culture and Christian apologists try to place Christianity on the map. Scholars have been trying to determine what Lucian's positions were and they focus on the most part on *Peregrinus*. On the other hand, they tend to detach Christian apologetic literature from Greek and Roman contemporary writings. A close reading of certain religious works of Lucian proves that there was an open dialogue between pagan and Christian writers at the time. In Chapter 4 I discuss Lucian god-centric works in relation to Clemens of Alexandria, Athenagoras, Tatian, and Tertullian and try to show that Lucian by means of his works becomes the bridge between the pagan and the Christian world. Although, we do not have hard evidence regarding his religious convictions, it is unreasonable to assume that he was

unaware of current issues, when he has always proven to be current. Finally, it is important that we acknowledge Lucian's mark on Byzantine and European literature. It is not only fictional works, for instance Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, but also mock *encomia*, like Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, some of Molière's plays, as well as Flaubert, among many others, who found inspiration in Lucian's works. Lucian finally survives in some form in the works of artists like Rubens, Cranach, Renoir, and Dali. In this dissertation therefore my intention is to give a full picture of Lucian as a historical and literary personality, as an orator, a Syrian by birth, who becomes a Roman citizen who embraces Greek culture, a cognizant individual who examined the pulse of an era and left his thought for all later generations.

In Chapter 2 I examine Lucian's attitude as part of "the other" towards the Romans and the Greeks. I discuss Lucian's *De Mercede Conductis* and *De Parasito* in relation to Juvenal's Satires 3, 5 and 9, and try to determine what linguistic or literary motifs Lucian has borrowed or imitated and what this tells us about his attitude as an "outsider" towards the Romans and the Greeks.

In the first part I discuss Lucian's and Juvenal's identity, as well as their historical and ethnic background with the intention to explain the choice of the topics they write about, the views they seem to have on those subjects, and the literary techniques they employ. In the second part I discuss Lucian's *De Parasito* and *De mercede conductis* and compare and contrast it with Juvenal's Satires 3, 5 and 9. I suggest that Lucian's works might be perceived as responses to Juvenal. Both authors discuss the lives of their contemporaries and also the social status of the clients-parasites. When we read Lucian and his views on the Romans and the Greeks and the way they relate to each other, it is difficult not to think about Juvenal. Although they wrote in different periods, their focus on human conduct, virtues and vices and especially the presentation

of the relation between the Roman conquerors and their Greek subjects lead me to believe that there was a literary correspondence between the two authors. More specifically, Juvenal accuses the Greeks of having usurped the places of the Romans in the symposia in Satire 3, but in Satires 5 and 9 he castigates the Roman Clients who have become prey to the wealthy patrons. Lucian, on the other hand, claims that it is the Romans who have opened their houses to Greek intellectuals; he is, however, against those Greeks who have accepted the role of the client. According to Lucian Greeks deserve a far better place in society than being someone's parasite or servant. Therefore, on the one hand, Lucian admits that Juvenal is right; Greeks hold those positions in Roman households. On the other hand, however, he attacks the Romans by saying that they may covet a position like that in society, but it is not one that befits a Greek. In other words, Lucian purposefully responds to Juvenal and using the latter's argumentation supports a diametrically different thesis; the former presents events from the Greek point of view, while the latter from the Roman. The third section is about the way Lucian manipulates Roman literary motifs in order to 'attack' the Romans. Using the motif of the *exclusus amator* Lucian presents the treatment of a Greek client. Therefore, I argue that even implicitly Lucian claims that the Romans are bound to be dominated by someone, either a patron or a mistress. In the last section I discuss the relation of *De Parasito* to *De mercede conductis* and to the aforementioned Satires of Juvenal for that matter. In *De parasito* it is a parasite defending his place in the world and his activities. What are Lucian's intentions? I believe that *De parasito* is also a direct answer to Juvenal's Satire 9 where Naevolus has lost every trace of self-respect and is presented as utterly degraded. Lucian seizes the opportunity to present the comic aspect of that degradation, while simultaneously differentiates once more Greek from Roman clients since Simon, in *De parasito*, seems to be literate and even employs the Platonic motif for his dialogue with Tychiades.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of Lucian's *prolaliae* and *Toxaris, Anacharsis, and Scytha* and certain articles from Gellius *Noctes Atticae*. Gellius writes mainly about Roman customs and manners, and about strange stories that take place amidst other nations. In his prologue he states that he intends to preserve the memories of the Roman past. Lucian, on the other hand, in his *prolaliae* attempts to win his audience by saying that they should not dismiss him simply on account of his nationality. In *Toxaris, Anacharsis, and Scytha* he writes about Greeks and their relation to other nations, namely the Scythians. An analysis and syncretism of the two authors therefore is very crucial in that they both address the same issues, Romans, and citizens in the Empire, their relationship and their place under the Romans aegis.

The first part of this chapter is a discussion of the socio-historical circumstances under which Lucian and Gellius lived and wrote. The Roman conquest of Greece and the East and consequently the relations that developed between all those nations affected both authors and they undoubtedly give us pictures of these connecting threads from different aspects.

In the second section I discuss Lucian's *prolaliae* and Gellius' *praefatio* with regards to the literary techniques they employ, the influence of the Second Sophistic, on the basis of the social circumstances of their times. Lucian is certainly influenced by the teachings of the Second Sophistic and intends to gain a benevolent reception from his audience. Gellius, on the other hand, while he claims at first that he is just storing useful information for his children, as one reads through the *praefatio* realizes that Gellius employs rhetorical techniques, wants to influence a larger audience, and also standardize a past for the Roman people.

The third and fourth sections of this chapter elaborate on the position of Lucian and then of Gellius pertaining to other nations. Lucian writes *Toxaris, Scytha, and Anacharsis*, where one of the interlocutors at least is a Scythian. He shows social awareness and also provides information

about the communication between different nations. Consequently, one may gain a perception about the Roman Empire of the second century C.E. considering it from different points of view, other than the Roman and the Greek. At the same time, Lucian gives voice to other nations, which do not belong to the powerful combination of the eminent Greco-Roman cultures. On the other hand, Gellius' presentation of other nations, his criticisms, or even his silence at some points give the reader the image of a more conservative and less well-adjusted to the new world order Roman who is only focused on the past and consequently fails to handle the evolution and the need for intercultural communication that the new age mandates. He has several references to the Greeks, which shows that a familiarity has grown between Romans and the Greeks. His attitude, however, concerning other foreign nations shows his difficulty to accept the different. Gellius chooses to include in some of his chapters incredible stories about Scythians and Indians and he never seems to consider them a vital part of the Empire, who simply happen to have different customs.

A large number of the Lucianic corpus includes works that discuss religious issues, pagan and Eastern deities, and worshipping rites. The fact that Lucian devotes a number of his works to religion means that it is a current issue and a matter of concern for his contemporaries. In Chapter 4 I examine *Deorum Concilium*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, and *De Sacrificiis* in comparison to Clemens' of Alexandria *Protrepticus*, Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Justin's the Martyr *Apologia*, Athenagoras' *Legatio sive Supplicatio ad Christianis*, and the anonymous *Epistle to Diognetos* and my intention is to present the changing religious climate in the Roman Empire through the eyes of Lucian and the first Apologists and discuss the transition from paganism to Christianity.

The first Apologists try to define Christianity. They defend Christians' reluctance to worship statues and other man-made material, and they accuse pagan gods of cruelty since they indulge in sacrifices. It becomes clear that Christians frown upon pagan anthropomorphic mentality; for them it is God who created everything. Lucian in *Juppiter Tragoedus* discusses people's (dis)belief in the existence of gods. Zeus is concerned that they may be neglected, if mortals stop offering sacrifices. In *Deorum Concilium* Momus discusses the appearance of Eastern deities and asks if the material by which statues are made should define the importance of gods. Lucian therefore, without openly supporting any religion, gives an account of how someone non-pagan might view and perceive pagan rituals. In the first section I briefly discuss the presentation of the Olympians, the way Lucian pushes anthropomorphism to a new level and what this means for the already aging deities. In the second section I discuss *Peregrinus* and try to determine Lucian's familiarity with Christianity, and the role of two kinds of individuals at the time, those, like Peregrinus, who are entangled in a conundrum looking for answers in philosophy and religion, and those who take advantage of this instability and doubt. In the third section I elaborate on the transition from paganism to Christianity. It seems that Lucian is aware of the emergence of Christianity, but there have been opposing views regarding the profundity of his knowledge. *Peregrinus* definitely targets the homonymous deceitful individual and not the new religion, but in *De Sacrificiis* it is as if Lucian makes the case for the Christians. He questions gods' dependency on offerings and he cauterizes people's deification of man-made statues. In order to reach a conclusion regarding Lucian's intentions as well as the religious circumstances at the time I discuss the aforementioned works in relation to the writings of Tertullian, Clemens of Alexandria, Justin the Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tatian. Pagan deities are being laughed at ever since Aristophanes and now Lucian seems to be questioning their actions, and asking logical

questions about sacrifices and matters that constitute the core of paganism. Non-Christian authors at the time, however, namely Apuleius, Pausanias, and most of all Aelius Aristides still revere pagan deities and it is they whom the first Apologists try to contradict in their writings. Christianity, however, does not offer only a new religion to the world; it provides a new lifestyle that comes in contrast to the established cultural reality, the theatrical performances and aspects of leisure that were an integral part of the 'old' life. In the last section therefore I examine what Christianity proposes as approved lifestyle and I examine the thesis of authors like Aelius Aristides who, although opposed to Christianity as a religion, nonetheless seem to ally with its 'cultural' doctrine.

Finally in Chapter 5 I elaborate on Lucian's lasting influence on Byzantine and European literature. His dexterous rhetorical techniques, his imagination, along with the fact that he discusses several aspects of the social sphere make him a source for literary borrowing. Byzantine and later European authors from the 12th century onwards find inspiration in Lucian's works. *Timarion*, written in the 12th century, borrows Lucian's underworld images to discuss people's diachronic fear of death. Erasmus in the *Praise of Folly* fights the false preaching of the clergy borrowing from Lucian's well-known ingenuous pseudo-laudatory works. More's *Utopia* aims to prove that the theoretically perfect society suggested by Erasmus cannot exist and he achieves that by employing the Lucianic technique of teaching by example, estrangement, and imaginary travelogue. In 17th century Molière expresses his opposition towards the Company of the Holy Sacrament in *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope*. He shows how perilous to society an impostor is, especially when he is a part of it. Although we cannot prove that Molière had read Lucian, character portrayal and philosophical questions about life are topics that the latter had delved into centuries earlier. *Timon* as well as *Menippus* are two of the works that could have

inspired the French writer. Lucian's journey through European literature continues in 18th century Denmark and specifically in Ludvig Holberg's *The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground*. Holberg responds to religious intolerance of his contemporaries. Some nations accept those who are different, some do not. The Potuans let women hold important positions, something that is unacceptable in Niels' and Holberg's society. Others are too irresponsible to run their nation. Niels respectively accepts some nations' policies and dismisses others. Holberg playing with the technique of estrangement and showing the perspective of 'the other', whoever that may be, sends a message to his contemporaries about how one should treat the others, even if they are different.

Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet* displays some Lucianic traces. Menippus goes to the underworld in an attempt to find the truth about life. The two French try to do the same and set on a mental journey where they try their powers and abilities only to realize, just as Teiresias told Menippus, that the simple life is always the best life. *Madame Bovary* and *Éducation Sentimentale* thrive with social comments and show the author's reluctance to compromise. Although Lucian does not survive unedited in Flaubert's works, it is his spirit and unconformity that certainly live in the latter. In other words, Emma Bovary could be the descendant of Lucian's *meretrices*.

Lucian left also his influence in Modern Greece, namely in F. Germanos and A. Laskaratos. Germanos' *Good News from Aphrodite* and *Greece under Zero* reinvent utopian literature, and satiric didactic treatises that teach by example. Laskaratos' *Behold the man* is also a revival of Lucian's character portrayal. I believe I showed that it is not far-fetched to suggest that Lucian was one at least of the sources for those works, since he has been translated and he is still being taught and read in Greece.

Finally, Lucian seems to have left his mark in visual art as well. Lucas Cranach, Peter Paul Rubens, Jean-Antoine Watteau, William Blake, Pierre-August Renoir, Salvador Dali found inspiration in Lucian's *Dearum Iudicium* and the fact that the three goddesses stand in front of Paris naked. Bonaventura Geneli also presented Lucian's Centaur's family as described in *Zeuxis or Antiochus*. Lucian gave a fresh breath to the story of the judgment of the goddesses that obviously triggered those artists' imagination.

CHAPTER 2 LUCIAN AND JUVENAL ON PARASITIC LIFE

Introduction

Lucian's works have been an object of discussion for many years and one of the questions that rise is if they can be classified in any literary genre. The level of literary borrowing and allusions in Lucian's work most of the times renders this classification difficult or even impossible. The allusions to other authors, Greek and Roman, previous and contemporary, has also a bearing on what, if any, is the message Lucian intends to send to his audience and how all that may have been influenced by the historical circumstances under which Lucian lived and wrote. In this chapter my intention is to provide a possible explanation about Lucian's attitude towards the Romans and the Greeks and about his literary, if not his historical, persona. In order to achieve that I compare and discuss Lucian's *De Mercede Conductis* and *De Parasito* in relation to Juvenal's Satires 3, 5 and 9. I discuss what Lucian has borrowed and how he has integrated elements and characteristics of Juvenal and what this tells us about his attitude towards the Romans and the Greeks.

Social and Literary Backgrounds

Lucian's and Juvenal's different historical and ethnical backgrounds render the correspondence between the two authors intriguing and worth discussing. In this section I compare and discuss their theses on Greek and Roman society and try to provide an explanation for the points on which they converge and for those on which they dissent. I also present briefly their literary techniques and the way they relate to their autorial intentions.

Lucian is writing about Greeks and Romans; Juvenal is writing about Romans and Greeks. Lucian is from Samosata, near Comagene and Greek is probably not his native language. Why then does he seem to be attacking the Romans in several occasions and why does he seem to

have embraced Greek culture and the Greek literary past? A possible explanation could be that Lucian, along with other contemporaries, was reacting against Roman authorities, while Greek civilization gave him a past to look up to. It should be noted, however, that Lucian in several works notices flaws and characteristics of the Greeks as well and using Greek literary techniques manages to describe them fully. Hence, he seems to be a child of this new era; he is conscious of the changing social circumstances, of the power of the Romans as well as of their 'imperfections' as a nation and of the role of the Greeks and their literary past and present and its effect on them. Combining all that he gives his contemporaries these works which cannot exactly be classified because they simply do not concern one nation or one society but they are a mirror of the new Roman Empire.

Specifically, Lucian employs satire in *De Mercede Conductis* and in *De Parasito* in order to show Romans how others look and think about them and provide them with a different picture of their subject nations. Roman imperialism created a huge and massive society. From one point of view, it reminds us of modern societies. People and ethnicities are integrated; but what happens to their individual identities? It is reasonable that they would try to retain their ethnic traits, without becoming merely products of the new society, amalgamating simultaneously characteristics of the different ethnical and social strata. A nation like the Greeks was the most probable to react this way since it has both strong ethnical feelings and also flexibility in integrating into their lifestyle new social parameters. We should not forget also that there are several authors who at that time are trying to revive Classical Greece and seem to leave the Romans in the shadow. For instance, Pausanias in the *Graeciae Descriptio* clearly shows admiration for Classical Athens, just like Lucian, and he also seems to purposefully neglect or suppress the importance or even the existence of Roman monuments. Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* is

a collection of Greek myths. It is not just Lucian then, who occasionally focuses on the Greeks and openly disfavours the Romans¹.

While the above offer a perspective on Lucian and his way of thinking, it is interesting that Juvenal had the same reaction to the conduct of his contemporary Romans some time before Lucian. We are not certain, of course, about the genealogy of Juvenal, but sources lead us to suspect that he may not have been of Roman origin². Therefore, we have so far two authors of different origins, exposed in different ways to Greek and Roman civilization and in different eras and still their reaction and feelings converge. Even when they do not agree, it is as if the reader is exposed to two different sides of the same story and he is 'invited' to choose. This can be considered a proof of the validity and truthfulness of their opinions.

Lucian and Juvenal therefore view the same issues from a different perspective, namely Juvenal expresses hatred towards foreigners and especially Greeks, while Lucian attacks the Romans. Regardless of that they both expose the rich and they both attack the patron's lack of respect towards the clients. Reading both writers, it is as if someone can cross-examine two witnesses coming from different backgrounds and he still gets the same answer. Through my examination of the two authors, I hope to show that the similarities between Lucian's and Juvenal's presentations of Greek parasites and Roman patrons cannot be coincidental. The language the former employs, the motif of the παρακλαυσίθυρος, and the similar aspects of the

¹ Bowie (1970) 28 argues that: "To a certain extent the archaistic tendencies must be taken as a flight from the present" at a time when Roman power was consolidated. Woolf (1994) argues against this assumed self-depreciation of the Greeks.

² The ancient biography, which by Valla is attributed to Probus, attests to the fact that Junius Juvenalis is the son or adopted son of a rich freedman. Further details about Juvenal's life, even his birth date, are ambiguous and in most cases they cannot be verified. We have more information about Juvenal when he is in the middle age. Martial and Juvenal himself take us a step further in the latter's life. See Anderson (1965) 418 about Valla's Probus and his validity; Cf. also Wiesen (1969) 76. On the conflicted opinions and information about Juvenal's life see also Wessner (1931) 1; Ribbeck (1859) xii; Clausen (1959) 179.

parasites and of the relation between Greeks and Romans that he presents are a direct answer to Juvenal. The relation between them is that Lucian could be perceived as a ‘translator’ of Juvenal. Lucian’s attitude towards the Romans, as well as his portrayal of the Greeks could be in a way a translation of Juvenal’s Satires into Greek and also from a Greek viewpoint. Lucian writes satirical sketches of characters, but they are not written in the classical Roman manner of the hexameter. He employs instead Greek literary techniques and motifs. His dialogues for instance remind us of the Platonic ones; he even quotes Homer. Lucian’s intention to diversify himself from Roman tradition could not have been more straightforward. He even uses Roman literary motifs in order to laugh at the Romans. In the works I discuss in this chapter, for instance, Lucian employs the motif of the *exclusus amator* when he intends to present the utter degradation of the client.

Furthermore, Lucian is an author and a representative of the Second Sophistic and he presents a list of character types³. There have been different suggestions about his intentions. When one is dealing with an author of the Second Sophistic movement it is difficult to reach a conclusion with regards to the latter's intentions. Lucian, instead of just presenting his audience with a catalogue of virtues and vices, gives character portrayals through dialogues and even through satiric travelogues and, by using precedent literary motifs, he creates in his works a live picture of the new social milieu of his era⁴. Beyond any doubt, however, Lucian has succeeded in

³The name ‘Second Sophistic’ was first used by Philostratus in *VS* 1.481 ‘ἡ δὲ μετ’ ἐκεῖνην, ἣν οὐχὶ νέαν, ἀρχαία γὰρ, δευτέραν δὲ μᾶλλον προσρητέον...’. Philostratus also says that Aeschines is the founder of the Second Sophistic, which was concerned with social phenomena, like the types of poor, rich, or tyrants. The Second Sophistic extends from the first century A.D to the early third century C.E.

⁴Second Sophistic literature has not always been regarded in secondary bibliography as the highlight of literary production. See Perry (1955) for instance who claims that literature of the second century has got nothing to offer, while he accuses this period of the ‘major losses in classical literature due to the editing of selections and excerpts in this period’. Cf. also Bowersock (1969) 1: “The quality of the second-century works we possess (and they are many) is not high”. See also van Groningen (1965) 41 ff.

integrating the Greek past with the Greco-Roman present. He shows his approval and disapproval employing dexterously examples from the past, literary techniques, characters and examples, and assimilating them in his present historical reality.

Juvenal, on the other hand, following Persius, writes social Satires⁵. His style is more straightforward and his intention is to address and reform his contemporaries, the everyday Roman citizens. Therefore, his style is clear and explicit. He castigates in a harsh tone everyday flaws and he admonishes his contemporaries against erring⁶.

Another major difference between the two authors is that Juvenal did not face his fears and his enemies when he wrote his Satires, for most of them were already dead by then, including Emperor Domitian. Lucian, on the contrary, in the works which I discuss in this chapter, handles issues that were sensitive at the time. The structure and style of his works are also affected by the fact that he does not intend to be corrective. His works point at problems, issues, stories and philosophical schools in an attempt to criticize them and vex certain groups of people. There is nothing, though, which may indicate that he wishes to change people. Lucian gives an overview of society and then focuses on any aspect which can be considered interesting, for one reason or another. Juvenal, on the other hand, has undertaken a serious task. He sounds despondent at the state in which the Romans lie and he seems determined to alert them and wake them up from this slumber of apathy, from which Rome can certainly not benefit.

⁵ On Roman Satire and how it differs from the Greek satirical literary works see Hendrickson (1927). It is an interesting discussion on the predecessors of Juvenal; are they Greek or Roman and why is Satire considered by Quintillian Roman invention?

⁶ Cf. also Horace who defines the genre of Satire as: 'carmen apud Romanos maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia archaeae comoediae character compositum.' Roman satirists clearly intend to reform society.

Lucian's *De Mercede Conductis* vs. Juvenal's Satires 3 and 5

A subject that is treated both by Juvenal and Lucian is the parasites in the houses of wealthy patrons and the life they pursue⁷. Lucian combines Juvenal's Satire 3 and 5⁸ in *De Mercede Conductis* and attacks clients. He talks about educated Greeks who become clients in the houses of wealthy Romans in an attempt to prevent Timocles from becoming a client. Lucian is the narrator and his work seems to resemble a didactic treatise or an admonitory speech that comes as an answer to Umbricius' allegations in Juvenal's Satire 3 who accuses the Greeks of taking the place of freeborn Romans in the symposia⁹. The rest of Lucian's work resembles Juvenal's Satire 5. A symposium is described and the life of the client is put under the microscope, while it is outlined on the basis of a dinner.

More specifically, Juvenal in Satire 5 is talking to Trebius, the parasite, and about Virro, his patron. Throughout the first book Juvenal has treated issues like the luxurious life in Rome, the degradation of morals, the life of the clients and the flooding of foreigners in Rome with critical spirit, humor and occasional indignation. In Satire 1 he gives an outline of life in Rome and of the degradation of Roman citizens. He refers to newly rich people and their arrogance,

⁷ The patron-client relation has been discussed extensively. Highet (1949) 600 n.30 and Frank (1957) 79 claim that parasites are only a Greek phenomenon. Damon (1995); Damon (1997), Morford (1997), Tylawsky (2002) present the counterview. Serres (1980) argues that parasites are a universal phenomenon and they are present everywhere, in all aspects of life. My intention in this chapter is to provide an overview of the relation between Lucian and Juvenal with regards to that specific social phenomenon, the parasites in the new Greco-Roman society, and what their works tell us about their attitude to the new society.

⁸ For assessments of Juvenal's Satire 3 and 5 see Ramage, Sigsbee, and Fredericks (1974), 147-50; Highet (1954), 65-5 and 83-8. On the historical circumstances under which Juvenal is writing and the effect on the Satires see Freudenberg (2001), 209-77; Knoche (1975), 143-57.

⁹ This could be explained by the appearance in Rome of Greek philosophers. Tylawsky (2002) 112 argues that: 'in Plautus' day some of the Greek, Italian, or Sicilian foreigners who came to Rome brought the Cynic way of life with them...The "foreign" beggar concealed under a Greek label who exchanged philosophizing and brazen wit for subsistence was a frequent enough figure in Rome to provide a clever contrast to Saturio and the life of the parasite.' Cf. also Leo (1913) 146: 'Winkelphilosophen, die sich nach der mächtigen Barbarenstadt aufgemacht haben'. Eupolis in *Flatterers* refers to those individuals who live at the expense of Callias.

about marital relationships and about infamous and adulterous wives. He also attacks the informers and the low quality of life of noble Roman citizens. In the second Satire he uses the technique of the narrator-camera and elaborates on the new ways of living. Money can buy anything and it can certainly overshadow nobility. People are not guardians of ethics and morals anymore, but live like the Greeks and have become more effeminate¹⁰. The third Satire concentrates on the citizens and their life in the city. Rome and the Romans become an undivided whole which produces noise and uproar. The Romans cannot live without Rome and Rome cannot find her old self with the Romans pursuing this kind of life. Amidst this abnormal Roman way of life, the parasites 'flourish'. They are people coming from all over Greece, who manage by being blandishers to win a place at the symposia and to push honest Roman citizens aside. Juvenal's attack on clients in Satire 3 concentrates only on the Greeks and their traits. These emotions accumulate and characterize each Satire, till the crescendo which comes with the fifth and last Satire of the first book. Satire 5, though, emphasizes the degenerate attitude and character of a Roman who is pursuing the life of a client. In the fifth Satire all human vices concentrate on the faces of Virro and Trebius. Juvenal sounds exasperated at Trebius for the lack of self-respect and at Virro for representing this new class of wealthy people with no stature, intellect, respect for others or self-respect. He gives the outline of a model of a client. He goes over the traits of a client, and at the same time he patronizes Trebius in an effort to admonish him and help him reform his life. Satire 9, however, is the culmination of these conditions and of this lifestyle. Juvenal in this Satire shows the results of the previous kind of behavior. It is as if he

¹⁰ This is a common cultural stereotype which is found in Roman literature concerning the Greeks and in Greek literature concerning the Persians. It probably shows the way ancient civilizations treat the different nations and probably, in the case of the Roman attitude concerning the Greeks, a fear of change. Actually, Romans at that time admire the Greek past, but are suspicious and not respectful of their contemporary Greeks.

had warned his contemporaries about the imminent degradation of the client, and now he is proved right. The parasite there has lost every shred of self-respect.

With regards to people who attach themselves to wealthy individuals, Lucian admits that there are educated Greeks, like rhetoricians or philosophers, who pursue this kind of life. The difference between him and Juvenal is that the former treats the subject from the viewpoint of the Greeks, while the latter from the perspective of the Romans. Lucian tries to deprecate the client's conduct by saying that his position does not befit a man of letters endowed with self-respect. The image of the client, as presented by Lucian, constitutes the model of clients. By that I mean that he does not refer to contemporaries and he creates a character who displays the basic characteristics of the traditional client. The character of the client has undergone a series of changes throughout the ages. The idea of the client as flatterer is employed in Old Comedy. Cleon, according to Aristophanes is a parasite of democracy. Eupolis employed the image of the parasite to criticize contemporary philosophers and specifically the Cynics. The characteristics of the parasite fit the conduct of many people in different eras and comic poets seem to have noticed that. After Middle Comedy and especially in New Comedy and later in Roman comedy, the traits of the parasite are standardized and the poets have literary sources from which they can draw material¹¹. It is at this time that the portrayal of the parasite is not related to contemporary historical circumstances, but it is rather related to what serves the intentions of the author¹².

Therefore, Lucian's work comes as an answer to Juvenal's Satires. He argues that the life of the client is not proper for the Greeks and it is not something that they should look up to. At

¹¹ For a discussion and overview of the 'history' of the parasites in Greek literature see Tylawsky (2002); Damon (1997).

¹² See Webster (1970) 102: 'the majority of political references in New Comedy have only the purpose of giving contemporary reality to the play.' See also Arnott (1993); Tylawsky (2002) 93-106

the same time, however, he admits that many Greeks have become clients of prosperous patrons and up to a degree he acknowledges Umbricius' accusations against the morale and self-respect of the Greeks who go to any lengths in order to please the patron. They laugh when he laughs and split the end of their mouths and cry when he cries (...rides, maiore cachinno / concutitur; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici, 3.100-1). This was the traditional position of the client. He knew how to treat his patron; he knew what he wanted or needed to hear¹³.

Lucian's treatise can be divided into sections. The first one is Lucian's general admonition to Timocles and his first attempt to save him from a life of degradation. The second part covers the expectations of the individual who decides to pursue the life of the client and the excuses he recruits to persuade himself and the others. The third part emphasizes the treatment of the client at an early phase of his relationship to the patron and his treatment as their 'relation' evolves. The fourth part is the self-realization of the client. The last parts of this work are a harsh invocation to reality and to the future life of a client. Lucian does not rely only on his admonitions and he does not believe that he can instill this kind of values only through a treatise. This is when he employs Juvenal's satiric technique. He describes with the dullest colors the life of a philosopher who attached himself to a wealthy lady and he continues by outlining a future life, after the client has been removed from the patron's house. The conclusion that Lucian reaches resembles that of Juvenal. Everything depends on what you decide to do and there is no

¹³ Tylawsky (2002) 11 discusses Medon's position in the *Odyssey* and 'his ability to match his enthusiastic eloquence to the situation was what earned him his supper'. Arist. *Knights* 40-3; 46-9 present Paphlagon as the handler of the patron, Demos. This is the point when clients seem to assume the role of the flatterer as well. The same image of the parasite as a kolax appears in Eupolis' *Flatterers* KA 172 (κᾶν τι τύχη λέγων ὁ πλούταξ, πάνυ τοῦτ' ἐπαινῶ, /καὶ καταπλήττομαι δοκῶν τοῖς λόγοισι χαίρειν). Cf. also Timocles' *Drakontion* KA 8 (ἐπειτ' ἐγὼ παράσιτον ἐπιτρέψω τινὶ /κακῶς λέγειν; ἤκιστα γ' οὐδέν ἐστι γὰρ /ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χρησιμώτερον γένος. /εἰδ' ἐστὶ <τὸ> φιλέταιρον ἐν τι τῶν καλῶν, /ἀνὴρ παράσιτος τοῦτο ποιεῖ διὰ τέλους./ἐρᾶς, συνεραστῆς ἀπροφάσιστος γίγνεται. /πράττεις τι, πράξει συμπαρῶν ὅ τι ἂν δέη...).

one who can make you respect or disrespect yourself. He clearly states that the degradation of the client is not only the patrons' fault; this relationship is two-way.

Juvenal's Satire 5 is basically an outline of a dinner, or the life of the client is outlined having as a skeleton a symposium, since this is the client's stage of performance¹⁴. The Satire begins with Juvenal addressing Trebius in a deprecatory manner. He asks Trebius whether he is ashamed of his plan of life and whether he thinks that it is commendable to live on someone else's table (5.1-2). Therefore, for Juvenal a client's life does not encompass anything else other than the symposia. His whole life and his personality can be very sufficiently outlined and wrapped around a simple feast. This is the main idea of the Satire and it becomes even clearer when we consider that Trebius' life and activities begin, according to Juvenal, at the time that he is invited to dine with Virro¹⁵. The Satire is written in the form of a hypothetical dialogue. Juvenal addresses Trebius but we never actually hear Trebius' voice and the questions that are very frequently addressed to him, although they give emphasis and change the dramatic effect of the Satire, are rhetorical. Juvenal not only is the only one who appears in the Satire, but he also takes the liberty to outline the thoughts and emotions of both Trebius and Virro.

In the first section Lucian gets directly to the point. He addresses an unknown individual promising to tell him everything there is in the life of a parasite. The vocabulary he employs clarifies from the first lines his point of view on the subject. In the next lines, the description of

¹⁴ It is of course predictable that Juvenal's and Lucian's skeleton of the Satire is the dinner. The *cena* and *συμπόσια* are the traditional place for discussions and a cradle for satirical motifs. Lucian employs the motif of the vulgar host of the symposia. He does not only deprecate his eating manners, but also the way he degrades the guests brings forth another aspect of his vileness. That image cannot but bring in mind Petronius' Trimalchio. On more primary sources which employ the motif of the *cena* in the Satire see Shero (1923)

¹⁵ Roman parasites are not presented in literary tradition as uninvited. They are usually considered friends or parts of the family, contrary to Greek parasites. Characteristic examples are found in Plautus' *Men.* 667; *Capt.* 867, 875, 980. For Greek uninvited parasites (ἄκλητος) Athenaeus preserved a poem by Asius (1.125b-d). Cf. also Arist. *Birds* 983-5; Alexis' *Phygas* KA 259; Athenaeus 13.584e For a list of references to the Greek parasite in Old, Middle and New Comedy see Damon (1995) 182 n.3

hardships and vilification reaches a crescendo. The first reference to clients comes with the participle ἐμπεπτωκότων (1). For Lucian this life is a straightforward degradation. He then says that these people are in a bad state (ἐν τῷ κακῷ ὄντες, 1), and they appear to be crying and suffering (ἀποδυρόμενοι/ἔπασχον, 1). The last part of the sentence of this vivid and rather descriptive outline of patronage is the image of a prisoner (οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου τινὸς ἀποδράντες, 1).

Another even more compelling image of a shipwrecked man follows. Lucian at this point relates the shaven head of a slave with the shipwrecked individual and amalgamates them in the face of the client. This image resembles Encolpius and Giton in Petronius' *Satyricon*. They boarded Lichas' ship expecting calm sea and then in the midst they had to shave their heads, feel degraded and then appear as the slaves of Eumolpus, after having been shipwrecked. The image of the shaved people in front of the temple reminds the reader also of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the fate of Lucius. At the end of his journey, he is still fate's and people's fool. He has even shaved his head. Lucian most probably expected his educated audience to pick up these allusions. In this way he prepares them from the very beginning for the utter humiliation of the client and he also sets the tone of the work; disparagement of the parasitic life via literary allusions. The way he moves amidst Greek and Roman literary genres proves also his dexterity.

At the beginning of Satire 5 Juvenal describes a relation between two people. In fact in one sentence, which covers the first five lines, Juvenal lays out his whole argumentation. He accuses Trebius of living on another man's table (*ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra*, 5.2), he refers to Trebius' degradation by providing examples of other parasites who, according to the author, would not have endured what Trebius tolerates (*si potes illa pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas / Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset*, 5.4-5) and in lines 5-10 he concludes with

his own opinion. These lines constitute also the first attack against clients in this Satire. The rest is an outline of a banquet, as described by Horace, Plato, Athenaeus and many others. Trebius is first invited to dine with Virro and then the rest of the Satire focuses on Trebius' belittlement in the course of the dinner, while Juvenal presents another aspect of a symposium.

The introduction to the symposium begins with the invitation. Lines 12-17 constitute a section.

*Primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere iussus
mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
fructus amicitiae magnae cibus; inputat rex,
et quamvis rarum tamen inputat. Ergo duos post
si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto, (l.12-17)*

At line 14, the patron is referred to with the word *rex* and on line 16 we have the first reference to the client (*...clientem*). Lines 12-3 introduce the issue of the client and the fact that the invitation comes as a belated reward, while line 17 works as a response. Juvenal says that the patron did not want his third couch to remain empty (*tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto*). Line 14 corresponds to line 16 in a chiasmic way. The first half of line 14 says that food is the return for a great friendship (*fructus amicitiae magnae cibus*) which relates to the client (*clientem*), who appears on the second half of line 16¹⁶. The second half of line 14 says that the great man imputes it (*inputat hunc rex*); while the first part of line 16 refers to the patron who after an interval of several months may decide to invite the neglected client (*si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem*). The endings of both lines 14 and 16 relate to each other (*rex; clientem*); *rex*

¹⁶ There have been different suggestions as concerns the use of the word *amicus* and if it is a synonym to friend or client, or if it encompasses both. Gold (1987) 134 argues that: "The word *amicus*...is a nicely ambiguous word which applies equally well to political allies or personal intimates, to the patron or the client". Cf. also pp. 40, 71, 104. Konstan (1995) claims that friendship and clientship are distinctly separate terms and notions in Latin Literature. For the relation between patrons and 'friends' see also Baker (1988); Cloud (1989); Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984); Herman (1980); Hunter (1985); Saller (1982), (1989).

is in the nominative, while *clientem* in the accusative as the object of the sentence and the one who is being acted upon. Finally, the first half of both sentences shows an action, whose receiver is the last word of each sentence, *rex* and *clientem* respectively. Juvenal also presents a complicated relationship between the patron and the client. It is, as it seems, complicated in the mind of the client, Trebius in that case, since it is he whom the author addresses. The same relation, on the other hand, appears to be clear in the mind of the patron. As for the rest of that first part of the dining, specifically in lines 18-23, line 18 seems to be the question and lines 19-23 the answer as well as an immediate and straightforward parody of Trebius whose biggest wish is to be invited to Virro's table. Juvenal expresses his main idea in these 6 lines. The vocabulary he uses, addressing for instance Virro as *rex*, while Trebius is just a client, makes his point and his criticism clear and his attack against both patron and client straightforward.

So far we notice that Lucian, although he pretends to write an admonitory treatise and not a caustic satire, seems to be harsher than Juvenal in his criticism. For him it is not about food, it is about freedom. He sets his own standards and he puts another complexion on the matter of patronage from the very beginning. Unlike Juvenal, he also employs a variety of literary methods to outline his argumentation, like similes and powerful imagery.

After the introduction, Lucian addresses Timocles, the young man who seems to be entertaining the idea of becoming a wealthy man's parasite. Lucian has probably chosen the name on purpose. There cannot be one who carries the name of honor (τιμή) and fame (κλέος) and still be willing to be someone's slave. At this point, Lucian's handling of the matter seems to be more effective than Juvenal's. Instead of just censuring parasites, Lucian is trying to warn young men against this track of life. The way he approaches them is that he first admits how many temptations delude the expectations of a young man. He admits that the life of a wealthy

individual can be seductive. Lucian, instead of a direct attack, actually tries to approach his addressee or the audience for that matter capturing their *captatio benevolentiae*. On the contrary, the preponderant emotion in Juvenal is indignation¹⁷. Juvenal starts by addressing Trebius himself and he goes straight to the subject under discussion. He says that he is unable to comprehend how Trebius is not ashamed of his way of life.

The last part of this section in Lucian can be considered an attack against Roman clients. Lucian draws a clear line between Greeks who attach themselves to Roman patrons and Roman parasites. According to him, these Greeks are well qualified to be rhetoricians, grammarians and philosophers. Why then should they waste their mental strength in serving someone? Lucian proclaims that he is not interested in the rest of the mob (τοὺς μέντοι τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους, 4.26), for these people who are not in a position to do anything more respectable than being someone's parasites (ἄτεχνοι αὐτίκα καὶ ἀργοὶ καὶ περιττοὶ εἰσιν, 4.3). This sounds as a direct attack against Juvenal's Umbricius, who attacks the Greeks in Satire 3 for taking the place of Romans in the symposia. Lucian characterizes this last class of people as petty-minded (μικροὺς τὰς γνώμας, 4.26). So far Lucian's attitude could be explained as both criticism targeting Greeks for their subservience and the Romans for degrading the Greeks and for coveting this place for themselves.

¹⁷ See Shero (1923) 139; also Morford (1977) 222-224 who makes the distinction between Juvenal's indignation and Martial's treatment of the same subject. Morford argues that 'for Martial the *cena* is an opportunity to make a single point. Whether that concerns the food itself or the relationship of host and client. For Juvenal the *cena* is another example of the corruption of Roman society'. The fate and life of a client is described briefly at the introductory Satire 1. Juvenal describes them as old and tired who have left the door (of the patron) although the last hope that a man can relinquish is that of a dinner (132-4). The satirist treats parasites differently in this Satire than in Satire 5. He seems more sympathetic to them. Since he elaborates at this point on the patron and degradation of patrons, Juvenal makes his point even more distinct by presenting the wretchedness of the parasites. After having described the state in which a parasite is, Juvenal begins the next sentence with the word *optima* saying what the patron will eat and how he will feast instead.

After this introduction and the explication of his intentions, Lucian proceeds to the second section where he wishes to discuss the expectations that someone has when he first adopts the life of the client. This is another effort to approach the prospective client not aggressively but with the intention to win him back. Lucian attacks the very first argument of a parasite or a parasite to be, namely poverty. This is what Juvenal also in Satire 5 claims to have driven Trebius to parasitic life (5.6-11) and this is what learned individuals proclaim that drove them to this kind of life. They may also argue that they are not in a position to work and labor anymore for their sustenance. Lucian attacks them heavily saying that no one has ever made a profit out of parasitic (πενίαν ἐς ἀεὶ...5.29). Lucian says in a sympathetic tone that if clients had found a way out of poverty then he would have excused them. Juvenal, on the contrary, attacks Trebius directly for having succumbed to the desires of his belly (*quamvis iurato metuum tibi credere testi*, 5.5).

Hence, Lucian reveals the true intentions of perspective clients, their desire to indulge themselves in wealth and prosperity; their coveting to live like rich patrons do. The image of any man succumbing to pleasure, plunging into households for that same reason and being dazzled by the image of gold and silver is very compelling. This is the picture of a degraded person, who is only interested in appearances and the extravagances of life and is in itself in discordance with philosophers, grammarians and rhetoricians. Lucian probably alludes here to *Hermotimus* and his mocking of the pretentiousness of the philosophers (4.14-18). He is supporting his opinion on them and the fact that they just talk about philosophical ideas and morals, but when it comes to their lives they do not abide by them¹⁸.

¹⁸ This life forbidden for the philosophers reminds us of *Hermotimus* and the way Lucian ridiculed his philosopher teacher. The life of the client seems to befit the latter perfectly, according to Lucian's portrayal and to *Hermotimus*' disappointment and disbelief. This counter-image of a genuine philosopher which appears in *Hermotimus* enhances

The third section in both Lucian's and Juvenal's works focuses on the client and the symposium itself. This offers another aspect of the client's continuous humiliation along the lines of the symposium. Since parasitic life is straightforwardly connected to food and feast, it is understandable why both Lucian and Juvenal 'wrap' their narration around the outline of a dinner.

Lucian, just like Juvenal, considers the poor quality of food given to the client the most significant sign of humiliation. The latter has given up everything, his expectations for a large fortune, even his dignity; he has nothing else to expect other than a good feast, but the patron does not grant him that either. He just watches the patron eating and feasting, while he is given only the remains. Even the door-man does not show any respect to the poor client, just like the wine-boy in Virro's house. The degradation of Timocles is even harsher since it comes from someone who is not even Greek or free born. He is of Syrian origin instead, a born slave¹⁹.

Contrary to this treatment the client feels that he must live up to the expectations of the people with whom he associates. Therefore, he spends more money than he can afford. This is the exact same image described by Juvenal. Trebius is left with what no one else at the table wants. This is one step closer to utter humiliation, since it is the symposium which supposedly rewards a client for all his sufferings; and Trebius appears despondent and hungry, the laughing stock of the rest *symposiastai*.

the point Lucian makes in this work. Athenaeus discusses the gluttony of the philosophers in 4.161d-e (But you, philosophers, practice none of these habits. But, extremely annoyingly, you babble about what you know nothing, while eating you put in the mouthfuls as decorously as Antiphanes so charmingly describes in *Drapetagoges*.) Cf. Antiph. *Drapetagoges* KA87 (κοσμίως ποιῶν τὴν ἔνθεσιν /μακρὰν μὲν ἔκ τοῦπροσθε, μεστήν δ' ἔνδοθεν /τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ αἱ γυναῖκες, κατέφαγεν /πάμπολλα καὶ ταχύτατα)

¹⁹ This is a sophistic joke Lucian is making based on his own non-Greek origin. It is another indication that Lucian is integrated in that multi national society and he plays with others' unfamiliarity or social taboo and stereotypes that possibly still flourish at that time.

More specifically, Lucian says that the client eats the leftovers of the others just like a dog chewing bones or even the tough mallow leaves used as garnish (καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην γωνίαν ἐξωσθεὶς κατάκεισαι μάρτυς μόνον τῶν παραφερομένων, τὰ ὄστᾶ, εἰ ἐφίκοιτο μέχρι σου, καθάπερ οἱ κύνες περιεσθίων ἢ τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς μαλάχης φύλλον...26). He does not have an egg on his plate and he also has the smallest bird. The wine is not good either for he gets to drink one that is thick and already gone bad. The client tolerates even the servant's belittlement in order to be accepted in the patron's house. Lucian compares the latter's house to that of Zeus, the same way Juvenal compares Virro to Aeneas and the Olympians (5.38-9; 45). The client, however, is not valued at all. The guests seem suspicious of him instead and he is never considered equal to them.

Juvenal, starting with 'what a dinner however' (*qualis cena tamen*, 5.24), raises the expectations of the readers, making them believe that the dinner would be worthy of Trebius' hardships. The second half of the sentence, though, refutes their expectations. The first thing on the table is the wine, which could not even be used for fomentations. Not only that, but a strife rises between some freedmen, in which Trebius unwillingly participates. Until line 29 a quarrel between Trebius and a company of freedmen is described and then suddenly on line 30 a serene, almost Olympian image appears²⁰. What is more, the description of the quarrel brings to mind the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths in Ovid *Metamorphoses* (12.182-535). This is the stature of the guests among which the parasite sits. Virro (*ipse*), on the contrary, sits as a godlike figure enjoying drinking, just like the Olympians indulged in nectar. The Satire and the

²⁰ The brawl is a traditional motif in the literary descriptions of symposia. Petronius at Trimalchio's dinner party included a quarrel between Trimalchio and Fortunata (74.8-17) and the dog fight (64.5-10). For a detailed account of the similarities between Juvenal and Petronius see Shero (1923) 139-142. In *Odyssey* Irus, the beggar-parasite, hopes to retain his position by amusing the suitors by providing a spectacle to the latter of him fighting with Odysseus (18.44-9).

degradation of Trebius is implicit but obvious in this section for two reasons. Virro does not appear to be a part of anything that is taking place in his symposium so far. He is so distant, as if he were an Olympian god, unconcerned about the quarrels and misery of those below him. When the feast is about to begin, Juvenal addresses Trebius with a number of imperatives (*finge*, 5.72; *aspice*, 5.80). The use of the imperative describes better the boundaries that are set for the parasite and makes the Satire more vivid, since it gives the impression that the reader is actually watching the whole scene. This impression is reinforced also by the recurrent use of the pronoun *quis*. Juvenal urges Trebius (and the reader for that matter) to see what a plate (*quam lancem*, 5.80) and what a shrimp (*quae squilla*, 5.81) with what asparagus (*quibus asparagus*, 5.82) and with what tail (*qua cauda*, 5.82) Virro eats and looks down on the rest of the guests. A clear separating line between the patron and the client is drawn when Trebius' food is described²¹. Till now Juvenal has reserved himself from expressing clear condemnation against Virro. He prepared the ground for that by comparing Virro's conduct and life to that of Trebius. At this point it is the first time that Juvenal attacks the patron as well. He makes it clear that it is not only the mistake of Trebius and of any parasite for that matter that he does not have any self-respect anymore; on the contrary the blame must be shared between both the parasite and the patron. Juvenal strikes the reader once more and becomes cruel with regards to Trebius when he explains that the extraordinarily decorated beryl cup²² is the one which Virro uses. Morford emphasizes the literary allusions in this part. He notices that the decoration of the cup resembles that of Aeneas' sword. Trebius, on the contrary is not trusted with any golden cup. The status of the client is clearly stated even by the word order. Virro is directly compared to Trebius (*tibi*);

²¹ Cf. Lucilius 3.fr.132-9; 6.fr.251f.; 30 fr.1060-2. Suet. *Iul* 48 attests, however, Caesar punished his baker because he had served different kind of bread to the guests than what he had served to him.

²² Morford (1977) 234

the former holds the cup (*tenet*), while the latter is not entrusted with one (*non committitur*)²³. After having clearly distinguished between Virro and Trebius, the author ‘mixes’ the two personas proving, on the one hand, how naïve the parasite was, in that he dares to complain about the quality of the wine he was served and, on the other hand, how self-conscious of his position Virro is. Juvenal also sets gradually the whole scene of the symposium. He says that even if Trebius is entrusted with a valuable cup, there is always someone to watch over him. He then refers to the beautiful young boy who attends the symposium, Virro’s Ganymede, while another one (*ecce alius... 5.67*) serves Trebius a piece of hard, inedible bread. The distance between Virro and his guests gets even more chaotic, since he carries something of Aeneas and all that the latter represents. Juvenal, without having actually attacked Virro and without having openly disapproved of his actions and indifference so far, manages to slander his character. The comparison of Virro to Trebius alone succeeds in showing the social differences between the strata in Rome and the moral decay.

Next comes the entertainment scene. In Lucian it is a dance teacher and a short man from Alexandria who sings in Ionian. The Greek scholar-client mingles with that group of people who do not belong to the high ranks of society and they are certainly not of the same stature as the patron, while there is no reference to the rich patron. In Juvenal Trebius participates unwillingly in the strife, while Virro appears distant and revered. The difference between Lucian and Juvenal is that in Lucian the educated Greek tries to detach himself from the rest of this crowd. He sits in the corner, realizing his degradation, while Lucian states that he is so different from everyone else so that even if he wanted to venture into singing or anything similar, he would not have been successful. Trebius, on the contrary, participates in the strife of the freeborn Romans. He

²³ Juv. 5.39 *Virro tenet phialas: tibi non committitur aurum.*

becomes one of them and he sheds the last drop of self-respect. This way in which Lucian differentiates the Romans from the Greeks implies that for Lucian Roman clients may not be worthy of anything more than the position they hold. Greek scholars, however, have another position in the world²⁴. The beginning of the treatise has also prepared the ground for that consideration. Lucian says to Timocles that the relation between patron and client resembles a net. One should examine first if it is permeable so that he will not venture into something that eventually he will not be able to handle. Juvenal, on the other hand, presents Trebius as wanting only to be involved regardless of the consequences. Juvenal's client also does not seem to entertain any high expectations out of his relation to the patron; feasting seems to be the only temptation. Timocles, on the other hand, intends to increase his fortune and lead a prosperous life. Lucian so far has blurred the image of the Romans, who are just shallow even when they are prosperous, while the Greeks, even as parasites, try to improve their place in society²⁵.

The last part of Lucian's symposium treats an issue which has been discussed by Umbricius in Satire 3 (109-112). The latter has accused the Greeks of not showing any respect towards the ladies or the young boys in the patron's establishment. According to Umbricius, Greeks do not set boundaries and they certainly do not know where to stop. Lucian answers in a way Umbricius' accusations. He presents a scholar who, although he is not indifferent to love, is respectful. Even if he takes a glance at one of the ladies or the concubines, he does not mean to offend them. Therefore, Lucian warns the Greek scholar to be cautious and not even look at

²⁴ Tylawsky (2002) 29-41 argues that the way philosophical groups appear in Greece and their followers wander around shoeless and try to accost someone to earn their food create the image of a club, of a close group of people. She brings as an example Aristophanes' *Clouds* and how Sprepsiadēs, who is not a part of the school, functions as the foil of the Socratic group. This image fits the way the Greek scholar in Lucian cannot include himself in the company of the rest of the parasites. Lucian intends to show that the Greeks do not resemble the traditional parasites and the best way to achieve it is to show how he does not blend with the rest of the parasitic group.

²⁵ This may allude to Trimalchio, in Petronius' *Satyricon*. He is the model of the shallow and boorish patron who tempts his guests with food and feasting.

anyone in case his gaze is misinterpreted. So far Lucian seems to be providing counterarguments to every point Juvenal made. It is also interesting to notice how someone's actions can be interpreted in diametrically different ways or simply be misinterpreted. This, I believe, takes us back to one of the original intentions of Lucian, to present to the Romans how someone else is seeing and judging them; in other words how someone else can interpret an action in a completely different way.

The next paragraphs pertain to the actual salary that the Greek intellectual is going to receive²⁶. Lucian reprimands implicitly anyone who is involved and he is either diminishing or being diminished in this relationship. The Greek who has set his life and dignity for sale, the Roman patron who just wants to buy the former and the Romans who envy him for that. It seems that Lucian has crushed the first and foremost expectation of a perspective client, his desire to get rich, as well as the Romans who, according to Juvenal, consider the life of the parasite one worthy to be aspired to.

From then on everything is, Lucian says, like the Mandrobulus' proverb describes; everything diminishes and deteriorates every day (21.23). Therefore, the rest of the treatise until we get to the self-realization of the client is the description of the client's pitiful everyday life. Paragraph 23 begins with a harsh statement. He says that from now on the client should remember that he is not free anymore (μηκέτι ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μηδὲ εὐπατρίδην σεαυτὸν οἶεσθαι, 23.2). This severity points at two directions. First he prepares his addressee for what he should expect. Second, Lucian implicitly criticizes the Romans, as portrayed by Juvenal in Satire 3. Why do they want to have the first place in the symposia claiming that they

²⁶ White (1978) argues that there were actually differences between clients and literate friends. He also claims that the economic profit for the poets who were attached to wealthy individuals was so considerable as to sustain them and they were part of a Roman code of *amicitia* and its aspects. On literary patronage see also Gold (1987).

are freeborn, when if you are someone's client, you are not a free man any more? Lucian is mostly in consent with the content of Satire 5, however, since Juvenal throws the same accusation at Trebius and tries to make him realize his position. In both cases there are recurrent images and vocabulary which pertain to the lack of freedom.

Lucian compares the life of the client to that of a slave and attacks the very basis of Umbricius' argument. He personifies freedom saying that she is not going to enter with him the patron's dwelling. He will be a slave, no matter how distasteful the name sounds. He destroys also the illusion of the client who, no matter what happens, will always be free, for he was born free. He also argues that when the client receives payment from the patron, just like the latter's slave do, there is no dividing line between freeborn and slave by birth. He also compares the client to a monkey wearing a collar around his neck (καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ πίθηκοι δεθεῖς κλοιῶ τὸν τράχηλον, 24.15). This image seems harsher than the description of the shaved head that Juvenal has at the end of Satire 5 (...*pulsandum vertice raso / praebebis quandoque caput...* 171-2). Lucian's client has been degraded to an animal, not just a slave; since he is actually performing for the patron. The evidence of the performing client ensues. He has to be seen in the company of the patron so that the latter may appear to be learned and attentive to the Muses (ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὡς οὐδὲ ὀδῶ βαδίζων ἀμελής ἐστι τῶν Μουσῶν, 25.10). Then when the patron is busy with some of his friends, the client simply waits on him reading a book. Soon he becomes a 'used' commodity and not welcome in the immediate company of the patron any more.

Lucian's portrayal is stunning in that he gives a full psychological profile of an agitated person. He, contrary to Juvenal, approaches the client and delves deeper into his situation; he also sees that there is something more than the client's desire for money. He looks stealthily at

others not knowing what to do; he is full of agitation in his soul; amazed on the one hand and trying to persuade himself that he is going to lead a dream life, when all this is over. He suffers and he dreams at the same time. The recurrent employment of expressions like ...θορύβου πλέως τὴν ψυχὴν... ἐκπεπληγμένος... οἰκτεῖρεις σεαυτόν... πολλὰ πονεῖν καὶ ὑπομένειν... (16) burden the section and draw the darkest picture of a client's life. They also make words like εὐδαιμονία sound ironic and the discrepancy between them almost chaotic. This is one of Lucian's most effective ways to approach his addressee and deter him from becoming someone's client.

Lucian emphasizes the treatment which the educated Greek is likely to receive from his patron and the other guests. This section does not have a corresponding one in Satire 5. The reason is that Juvenal does not refer to patrons of writers. His accusations point at parasites who lack any qualification and make their life's purpose to live on other people's properties. With regards to Satire 3, however, Lucian in that part of the treatise attacks Umbricius. He emphasizes the quality of all those Greeks, who have actually erred, but who are capable of leading a perfectly respectable life, not under the shadow of a Roman patron. Lucian attacks the Romans instead and their desire to become someone's parasites. His intentions become even more specific when one of the attendees of the symposium complains because as he says 'the city of Rome has opened only for these Greeks' (μόνοις τοῖς Ἑλλησι τούτοις ἀνέωκται ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις, 17.3). Lucian states that it is Rome itself that 'invites' and embraces the incoming of Greeks. It is the Greeks, though, who should be able to protect themselves from the wealth of the Romans, since this lifestyle may blemish their dignity and self-respect. Lucian overturns Juvenal's argument and he also blurs the historical circumstances when the conquered becomes 'guest'.

The next section in Lucian discusses the self-realization of the client. It is the point where he reconsiders his situation and regrets what he has lost and the choices he made. Although Lucian is still the narrative voice, it sounds as if the client wakes up from his lethargic condition and sees everything that the author talked to him about in his admonitory speech. He realizes that he has become a performing actor, an animal, a lion, as the author says more specifically (λέων κρόκη δεθείς, ἄνω καὶ κάτω περισύρομαι, 30.26-7)²⁷. In the last section Lucian outlines the future of the client. This image is the most compelling and scariest than anything else that the author has warned the client about. The dinners turn into an everyday torment and the association with the patron unbearable (30-31). The last act of the client comes when the patron discards him as unwanted property (ὄλωσ γὰρ νοστιμώτατον ἐν σοὶ ἀπανθισάμενος καὶ τὸ ἐγκαρπώτατον τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτρίψας...σὲ μὲν οἱ τῆς κόπρου ἀπορρίψει φέρων, 39.24-7). He has used him while he was young, and when he gets old, the patron fabricates an excuse in order to discard him. His reputation is already destroyed and thus there is no other option for him. Lucian closes his admonitory speech clarifying that it is not the patron's, or the god's fault. It is the client himself who makes the final decision. This ending resembles the message Juvenal wants to send to Trebius. In the last line he says: "if you can endure such things, then you are worthy of such a friend (5.173)".

What about Lucian and his attitude towards the patron himself? So far we have discussed his admonitions and deprecations at Timocles and at clients in general. The view we have therefore with regards to the patron derives implicitly from what the author says about the life of the client. From the beginning of the work Lucian has compared patronage to the worst form of

²⁷ In Xenophon's *Symposium* Philippos' consciously assumes (3.11), according to Tylawsky (2002) 52 the role of the actor. This is the only way for him to earn a place at the table.

slavery. One can only assume that it is the patron's conduct that renders the client's life unbearable. In the course of the treatise we find scattered references to the conduct of the patron. The most characteristic and descriptive ones are verbs like ἅπαντα ὑπομένει (8.10), or πολλάς ἀηδίας ὑπομένειν (8.16). Juvenal's indignation, on the contrary, in the beginning of Satire 5 targets exclusively Trebius (5.1-11). A more direct reference to the patron is when Lucian introduces the first explicit comparison of a client to a Roman lover (7). He says then that the former is being treated superciliously (τριβῶνες ἐρώμενοι παραλαβόντες ὑπεροπτικῶς περιέπουσιν, 7.32-3). The patron's behavior becomes even more reprehensible in the course of the dinner; Lucian talks about the hungry client and the greedy patron (τὸ δὲ λιμῶ συνόντα παρεστῶτα ἄλλω τοῦ λωτοῦ ἐμφορουμένῳ, 8.24) who is also presented as indifferent to his surroundings (ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ προσβλέπει πολλῶν ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν, 11.23). This image along with the statement that the client seems so amazed at the sight of the patron's acquisitions and the luxury of his establishment as if the latter were Zeus' mansion (σὺ δ' ὥσπερ εἰς τοῦ Διὸς τὸν οἶκον παρελθὼν πάντα τεθαύμακας, 15.28-9) resemble Juvenal's comparison of Virro to Aeneas. Although Lucian has not attacked the patron so far directly and severely, his comments are more acute. He is also accusing him of being superfluous. According to Lucian, the patron desires to associate with the Greek scholar so that he himself could be considered literate (τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὡς οὐδὲ ὀδῶ βαδίζων ἀμελής ἐστι, 25.9-10). Finally, the description of the way the patron deceives the client when they are about to decide on the salary the scholar-client is about to receive (19-21.16) shows clearly the quality of the patron as a person. The sharpest attack, though, against the client is included in the story of Thesmopolis the Cynic (33-36). The ridiculous claims of his

patroness and the discreditable condition, in which she puts the philosopher, make every other comment and description Lucian has made so far simply clearer. It also makes the description of the client's future, when the patron sends him away and he is not interested in his companionship or his presence anymore (39-40) and which follows the story of Thesmopolis, seem even gloomier and more unbearable.

Juvenal, on the other hand, turns his attention to Virro in the middle of the symposium and, although so far he has only described what the patron is eating, his disapproval is immediate and clear. Although Juvenal has employed more consulting tone with regards to Trebius, now that he has come to Virro, he just patronizes his behavior. The comparison between the latter and ancestors like Seneca, Piso and Cotta explicitly sets the tone. In the case of Trebius, Juvenal is aware that there has always been a class of parasites; but Virro had ancestors from whom he could have drawn better examples. In the last two lines of this section (112-3), Juvenal uses a chiasm.

*poscimus ut cenes civiliter. Hoc face
esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis.*

He says to Virro "We ask that you dine as a fellow citizen" and the second part of the second line complements that notion "be wealthy for yourself and poor to your friends"; while the second half of line 112 is an exhortation to Virro "do this and be" and the first half of line 113 "be, as many others" is a censure against new nobility and a reminder of the comparison with his contemporaries and his ancestors as it appeared in Satire 1. Juvenal poses the question: which of the grandfathers built such number of villas and dined by himself of seven courses." (1.94-5). Once more there is a crescendo at the end of the sentence as well as an emphasis on its last element, namely the ancestor. Juvenal, however, saves a part in his censure for Virro. Although it seems as if he is addressing only Trebius, the author attacks Virro with vehemence. He says to

Trebius that his patron proves his wisdom by treating him like that (*ille sapit qui te sic utitur...* 5.170). The end of the Satire is relentlessly harsh both on the patron and the client. Juvenal finishes his first book by saying to Trebius that if he tolerates all the aforementioned “he is worthy of such a friend and such a banquet”. The utter degradation of Trebius is accompanied and complemented by the fact that he is degraded by someone who does not deserve any respect in the first place.

Lucian and Juvenal have obviously approached in similar ways the portrayal of the patron; as a matter of fact they both refer to Roman wealthy men and both a Roman like Juvenal and a non-Roman, although they write in different eras and their intentions are clearly different, the characterizations of the patron’s persona have even verbal similarities. The differences lie once more in the fact that Lucian seems more literally oriented, with the imagery and the similes that has incorporated. He is as harsh as Juvenal in his depreciations of the patron, but he is more implicit; for one thing he does not even address the patron as Juvenal does. Finally, he does not conclude the satire with an attack on both client and patron, like Juvenal does. In fact, I believe that the end of his work resembles more that of an admonitory treatise. He reviews his argumentation and then he describes an imaginary picture in which he has personified Hope, Deceit and Servitude and has transferred the scene on heaven. The client climbs up and this uplifting resembles the high expectations the latter have been entertaining about his life and his association with the patron. While he is up, though, Hope seems to be always ahead; hence the client never really reaches it. This scene reminds the reader of the client who always hopes that the next day will be better and throughout his whole life chases after utopian expectations. At the end he ends up old and helpless, without having either enjoyed or attained anything. This clearly is the future that Lucian has foreseen for Timocles. Lucian plays with literary motifs and with

previous works. The idea of the loft, golden gateway reminds us of Horace and the last ode of the second book. He feels that as a poet has reached at a level where wings will bring him away from the earth through the lofty air (*non usitata nec tenui ferar / penna biformis per liquidum aethera /vates neque in terries morabor /longius invidiaque maior /urbis relinquam...2.20.1-5*). Does Lucian hint at Horace's patronage and does he implicitly compare him to Timocles or any other common client, who is always under the shadow of the patron and he always hopes for leading a better life²⁸? Lucian not only, therefore, attacks wealthy Roman individuals who 'castrate' scholars and Roman citizens whose only concern is to become clients, but also, if we accept the Horace related argument, it seems that Lucian turns his attention and he 'dedicates' in a way the conclusion of the whole work to Roman literate men who have fallen into the state of clientship. He is also playing with another literary work, namely Apuleius *Metamorphoses*. Except for the fact that the client is at some point presented as Lucius at the end of the *Metamorphoses*, with his head shaved and still ignorant of reality, Apuleius uses the picture of Psyche in the conclusion of the work. Psyche had to go through Venus' slaves and had to endure sufferings in order to get her husband back. The client does not have the same fate. There is no Jupiter to intervene.

The end of Juvenal's Satire, on the other hand, serves as a culmination, and therefore it is even harsher than the rest of the poem. Juvenal, contrary to Lucian, attacks the client in a last attempt to alert him and thus he does not embellish his work quite as much with literary motifs. He makes it clear to Trebius that he means nothing to Virro and he concentrates his attention again on the parasite while accusing him of conniving at his stature and his position in the social hierarchy. The structure of the last paragraph begins with the description of the patron's intentions and the means by which he is achieving them, namely by leaving Trebius hungry.

²⁸ On Horace and his relation to Maecenas see Horsfall (1981) 5; cf. also White (1978) 81-2; Baker (1988)

Finally, the author attacks Trebius' very beliefs and illusions. He tries to remind him of his Roman identity and his freeborn status by addressing the pride of his race. This is where Juvenal clearly differentiates once more the freeborn Romans from all those foreigners who have flooded Rome and have corrupted the morale of his contemporaries. The Roman client finally on lines 153-5 is compared to a monkey. On lines 157-8 the author intensifies his attack when he says that there is no comedy or mime better than a disappointed belly (*nam quae comoedia, mimus quis melior plorante gula?*). The culmination comes at the end of the Satire where Juvenal humiliates Trebius utterly presenting him as a clown, an actor with shaved head²⁹.

The connecting point between Lucian's and Juvenal's parasite is that neither of the two offers anything to the patron in exchange to the food he requests and expects to receive. This image of the two parasites is in accordance with Serres argumentation about the parasites³⁰. Serres claims that the parasite gives nothing and receives the most perishable of all commodities, food. This is in discordance with the image of the parasite or client as presented in other literary works as well. In Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.9 the poor man offers services to the wealthy one. In Cicero's *Pro Flacco* the clients are willing to testify in favor of their wealthy patron³¹. They might not be offering something tangible, but still they supposedly return the patron's favors³².

²⁹ Morford (1977) 243 claims that Juvenal has adopted a persona; that he is 'a reasonable man, ostensibly sympathetic towards the downtrodden client, critical of the disdainful manners of the patron'. But is Juvenal really that sympathetic towards Trebius? He has humiliated him and he has presented him as an actor. He has said explicitly that Trebius is a slave to his belly.

³⁰ Serres (1980)

³¹ Cic. *Pro Flacco* 17

³² On this subject see Damon (1995). Saller (1989) 49 mentions also three conditions which need to be satisfied for a relation to be considered clientship; See also Saller (1982) 8-11; Cf. Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984) 2. Parasites even since the time of Odysseus usually offer information. In early Greek poetry they were usually wanderers who had news of the rest of the world. This is how Odysseus gained a position as a beggar at the suitors' table (H.

The Elegiac Motif of the *Exclusus Amator*

What is worth noticing at this point is the literary dialogue between these two authors, as well as the dialogue between Greek and Roman literature and finally the way a literary motif is employed in different contexts and even in different languages in order to explicate diametrically different perspectives. It is interesting how Lucian seems to be working with the portrayal of the despondent Roman *exclusus amator*. Although someone could argue that the motif of the amorous poet has its roots in Greek elegiac poetry, in Sappho and Alcaeus, it is even more appropriate to say that the Romans were the ones who embellished it and ‘created’ the elegiac lover. Lucian therefore proves that second century authors should not be underestimated or considered mere imitators³³. He makes once more fun of the Romans, for the only technique that he ‘borrowed’ from them is that of the freeborn who is a slave, even if he is his mistress’ slave. What does Lucian intend to emphasize? Juvenal has argued that parasites are the ones who forget their freeborn status and thus ridicule their ancestors and their ethnicity. Lucian shows that Romans are bound to be ‘dominated’ by someone, either a patron, or a *domina*.

A question that might rise is if Lucian is closer to the Greek elegiac tradition or the Roman. In this section I intend to prove that he employs the Roman elegiac motif of the *exclusus amator* to serve his purpose and emphasize his criticism of the Romans. The main difference between the Greek poet in love and the Roman lover is that the former accuses Eros himself for everything that he has to endure. It is Eros who is λυσιμελής and he has bound him inescapably.

*Odys.*18.1-9). On that see Tylawsky (2002) 8-27 and passim; Austin & Vidal-Naquet (1977) 44-6; idem (1992) 107. The parasite sometimes can also offer to his patron, either amusement, or his services in general. In Chariton’s *Callirhoe* a parasite is hired due to his abilities as an actor (1.4.1). In *Odyssey* Irus wants to fight with Odysseus so that he may offer spectacle to the suitors.

³³ See n.4

The Roman lover, on the contrary, is bound by his mistress who appears to be cruel and inconsiderable. Lucian in *De mercede conductis* uses emphatically vocabulary of domination and freedom, ideas which do not seem to be in the center of the Greek elegiac poets.

More specifically, in Greek literature love is bitter and sweet; it is limb loosening. It can render any man incompetent and sick physically and mentally. This motif of love appears in the epic tradition first. In the *Iliad* 3.441-446 Paris describes the smoothness of his feelings and of the love that has seized him³⁴. It is important to emphasize the use of the verb δαμάζω-δάμνημι which corresponds to the idea of conquering that we also find in Roman elegiac poets and the constant references to *vinculum* and *servitium amoris*. In Homer we find the verb employed in two different semantic fields. It is used to describe the killing of men and the rape of women and also to describe the domination of men by love. The difference between Greek and Latin is that the Roman elegiac poets claim that they are subdued by their *domina*-mistress, and not by the feeling of love or Eros himself. Zeus is said to be subdued by sleep and sex in the *Iliad* 14.352-53 (Ὑπνω καὶ φιλότῃτι δαμείς). On the other hand, in the *Iliad* 3.428-436 Helen expresses her concern about Paris and Menelaus and her fear that either one of them could die. Both deaths are described in terms of the verb δάμνημι³⁵. When she talks about her marriage to Peleus, Thetis also uses the same verb to express her unwillingness to participate (*Il.*18.432-4)³⁶. With regards

³⁴ .../ οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὦδε γ' ἔρωσ φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν,/.../.../ῶς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἴμερος αἰρεῖ.

³⁵ ἦλυθες ἐκ πολέμου ὡς ὠφελος αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι /ἀνδρὶ δαμείς κρατερῶι, ὅς ἐμὸς πρότερος /πόσις ἦεν.

...ἀλλὰ σ' ἔγωγε /παύεσθαι, κέλομαι, μηδὲ ξανθῶι Μενελάωι /ἀντίβιον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι /ἀφραδέως, μή πως τάχ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δουρὶ /δαμήγῃς.

³⁶ ἐκ μὲν μ' ἀλλάων ἀλιάων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσαν /Αἰακίδῃ Πηληϊ, καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνήν /πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα.

to the physical effects of Eros on men, the loosening of the limbs and the clouding of the mind (ἀμφεκάλυψεν) are typical of these descriptions. The aforementioned physical effects appear for instance in the *Iliad* when Zeus saw Hera (*Il.* 14.294-6)³⁷. Hesiod evolves the same idea of the limb loosening love in the *Theogony* when he talks about the four original gods, one of which is Eros (116-122)³⁸. The first lyric poets, Archilochos and Alcman, continue singing the madness of love and of the erotic longing; but in their poems it is always the god himself who ‘attacks’ humans and renders them helpless. Archilochos is talking about the limb-loosening desire that subdues him (ἀλλά μ' ὁ λυσιμελής ὤταϊρε δάμναται πόθος) and in fragment 193 he states that he lies wretched with desire (δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθωι, /ἄψυχος, χαλεπῆισι θεῶν ὀδύνηισιν ἔκητι /πεπαρμένος δι' ὀστέων). Alcman also sings Eros and the attributive adjectives he employs as well as the description of the effects of love on his physical and mental condition resemble the aforementioned poems (fragments 58, 59a). The same can be said about Alcaeus (fragments 347, 283), Anacreon in fragment 428 refers to his love and his madness (ἐρέω τε δηῦτε κούκ ἐρέω, /καὶ μαίνομαι κού μαίνομαι). Ibycos in fragment 286 for instance says that Eros does not let him take a rest in any season (...ἔμοι δ' ἔρος/οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὥραν...). Sappho’s poetry also is undoubtedly erotic, and she does not ‘escape’ the fate of the traditional elegiac lover or the pains of love³⁹.

³⁷ ὡς δ' ἶδεν, ὡς μιν ἔρωσ πικινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν, /οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἔμισγέσθην φιλότητι /εἰς εὐνήν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

³⁸ .../ἦδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, /λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων /δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.

³⁹ For more information on early Greek love poetry see Cyrino (1995); Page (1955); Bowra (1961); Schmidt (2005).

The motif of παρακλαυσίθυρος was also introduced by Greek poets in the context of the same tradition of love poetry. We find it in Asclepiades for instance, a poet of the 3rd B.C, who is complaining about his torture outside the door of his beloved. Dioscourides also writes about the popularity of Demophilos and how ‘his mother’s door shall never have a moment’s peace at night’ (...οὐκέτ’ νύκτωρ /ἦσυχά τῆ κείνου μητρὶ μενεῖ πρόθυρα, *AG* 12.14). The motif, however, does not seem to be developed in the same way as when it appears in Roman poetry. Neither Asclepiades nor Discourides accuse the object of their affection and in Greek poetry we do not have the portrayal of any mistress who ‘plans’ on purpose the demise of her lover and nowhere do we find the παρακλαυσίθυρος related to or so artistically interwoven with the cruelty of the mistress as in Roman elegiac poetry⁴⁰.

The big shift happens in Roman poetry when the lights and the emphasis focus on a specific lady; it is not just about Eros in general anymore⁴¹. The object of the affection appears either as the receiver of the love or of the exasperation of the lover⁴². Catullus writes for Lesbia praising her and his love for her; in other poems and at probably at different stages of their relationship he accuses her of infidelity⁴³. The woman in Roman elegiac poetry is a more ‘active’ participant. She is described either physically or with regards to her conduct or misconduct. In poem 60 Catullus complains about Lesbia presenting her cruel like a Scylla. The motif where the poet describes himself as being the object of his mistress, who is addressed to by the name of

⁴⁰ For more references to παρακλαυσίθυρος see *AG* 5.64, 12.118, 6.1

⁴¹ On the mistress in Roman elegiac poetry see Copley (1947), Greene (1998), idem (1995), Ogle (1920), Wyke (2002), Yardley (1977); idem (1986)

⁴² See Catullus 2,3,5,7

⁴³ See Catullus 11.

domina, and the motif of παρακλαυσίθυρος are developed more by Tibullus. What he adds to the Greek motif of παρακλαυσίθυρος is that the door is not just the inanimate object which keeps the poet away from his beloved, but it becomes a participant in the relationship. It is even described with adjectives like cruel and hard and also is addressed to by the poet. Tibullus in 1.2.6 he says that the hard door is closed with a steadfast bolt (*clauditur et dura ianua firma sera*) and then he begs the door to let him in the house (*ianua, iam pateas uni mihi victa querellis, / neu furtim verso cardine aperta sones*, 1.2.9-10). Later in the poem Delia is implicated and Tibullus makes it clear that she is responsible for his being shut out of the house (*non mihi pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis, / non mihi cum multa decidit imber aqua. / Non labor hic laedit, reseret modo Delia postes*, 1.2.29-31)⁴⁴. In Tibullus we also find the idea of enslavement that had not previously been developed in Greek love poetry from that perspective⁴⁵. Finally, another aspect of love which is presented by Tibullus and later by Propertius is the desire of the mistress for money⁴⁶. Propertius employs the same vocabulary with Tibullus and the appearance of words like *domina* and *servitium* set the scene of the Roman elegiac poetry; something which does not appear in Greek elegiac poetry. In 1.1.1 Propertius says that Cynthia captured him first (*Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis*) and a few verses later in the same poem he makes it clear that even in mythology love is about taming the object of your love (...*domuisse puellam*,

⁴⁴ Cf. also 1.6.61-2; 2.3.77; 2.4.22

⁴⁵ 2.3.29-30 *felices olim, Veneri cum fertur aperte / servire aeternos non puduisse deos.*; 2.3.80 *non ego me vinclis verberibusque nego*;

2.4.1-6 *Hic mihi servitium video dominamque paratam
Iam mihi, libertas illa paterna, vale.
Servitium sed triste datur, teneorque catenis,
Et numquam misero vincla remittit Amor,
Et seu quid merui seu nil peccavimus, urit.
Uror, io, remove, saeva puella, faces.*

⁴⁶ See 2.3.49-54; 2.4.45-6

1.1.15) and the references to *servitium amoris* are numerous⁴⁷. He also elaborates on the παρακλαυσίθυρος motif (*alterius clausis expulit e foribus*, 1.3.36; ...*heu nullo limine carus eris*, 4.22; ...*exclusum quid sit abire domum*, 5.20)⁴⁸. The conclusion that can be reached is that the Greek poets have approached the subject in a more romantic way. They are focused on love while the Romans seem to be more pragmatists. They refer to the mistress' coveting for money and to them as being tamed by her.

Lucian elaborates on the real treatment clients receive, in contrast to their expectations. The description is that of the Roman lover being tortured by his beloved⁴⁹. The references to slavery, the image of the chained client as well as the frequent contradistinction between the words freedom and slavery resemble the image of the lover who is bound with the bondage of his mistress as described by the aforementioned Roman poets. The relationship between a lover and his mistress is unfair and one-way. The lover offers generously, while the mistress acts on her caprices and changes of mood⁵⁰. The lover does not desire anything other than the lady's affections, just like the client wants to earn the attention of his patron. In both cases the elegiac lover and the client, end up feeling despondent, abandoned and even trapped in an unfulfilling relationship.

More specifically, the first image of a client is a powerful one. It is true that in this work the imagery Lucian employs is extremely live and easy to imprint on the audience's mind and his

⁴⁷ 1.4.4 *hoc magis assueto ducere servitio?* 1.5.19 *tum grave servitium nostrae cogere puellae*; 1.7.6-7 *atque aliquid duram quaerimus in dominam; / nec tantum ingenio quantum servire dolori*; Cf. also 1.9.2-7; 1.10.27; 10.30

⁴⁸ Cf. also 1.10.16; 13.34; 16.17

⁴⁹ Lucian's literary allusions are discussed by Householder (1941) and Bompaire (1958); See also Anderson (1976) who comments on Householder's list of allusions and their validity.

⁵⁰ This relates to Propertius poems on the caprices of Cynthia. See Propertius. 1.11

vocabulary is very carefully chosen. He compares the client to a prisoner and those who have ‘fled’ their patron to prisoners who have just escaped (ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου τινός ἀποδράντες). The next description of the client is that of a fish which has been caught by a hook and it has been dragged by it (ἄγκιστρον καταπίνοντα... ἐξελκομένου...). In fact the image could also be considered an *ekphrasis*. The description of the fish having been caught by the mouth and then his position in the net is an extremely suggestive one. The selection of the epithets for that description makes the whole picture even more effective for a perspective client. The hook is described as being sharp, sad and inescapable (ὀξέα, ἄφυκτα, ἀνιαρά). Finally, the fish-client is just loot, like the one a stork is craving for.

So far the difference between Lucian and Juvenal is that the first refrains himself from straightforwardly attacking his addressee. He seems sympathetic. His implicit criticism, though, is far harsher. For him the fish may be unguarded and an easy prey, but this is not an excuse for a man of letters. The fish cannot comprehend his position, while the client can consider what he is about to do and if he should. Juvenal, on the other hand, does not employ any imagery and he certainly does not try to approach the client by means of literary techniques. Most probably the difference lies in the fact that the authors target diametrically different audiences.

In the next reference to slavery Lucian presents the real dimensions of patronage. He says that this actually becomes a way of life. It is an act and state of willing obeisance (...τῆς ἐθελοδουλείας, 5.13) and the decision to get under the aegis of a patron is an act of self-desertion to the enemy (πρὸς τὸν βίον τοῦτον αὐτομολίας, 5.15-6). This results in the transformation of a free man into slave (ταῦτα ὑπάγει αὐτοὺς καὶ δούλους ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων τίθησιν, 7.28-9). The client in Lucian reminds us of Catullus and Propertius; of

lovers who expect too much, but receive far less; lovers who are unfortunate (κακοδαίμονες). Out of desire, lovers tolerate anything (τὸ μὲν δὴ δι' ἡδονῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἅπαντα ὑπομένειν...8.10) and at the end they allow rich patrons to use them for anything they may want (...ἐπιτρέπουσι τοῖς πλουσίοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν ἐθέλωσιν...9.30-1). The references to Roman elegiac poetry continue quite explicitly in Lucian. The common image of the lover staying outside of the mistress' door, this motif so often employed by Roman elegiac lovers is called by Lucian θυραυλία. The doorman is hard and austere (συνεχοῦς δὲ τῆς θυραυλίας, ἔωθεν τε ἐξανιστάμενον περιμένειν ὠθούμενον καὶ ἀποκλειόμενον καὶ ἀναίσχυντον ἐνίοτε καὶ ὀχληρὸν δοκοῦντα καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῶ κακῶς συρίζοντι καὶ ὀνομακλήτορι Λιβυκῶ ταπτόμενον. . .10.14-17) just like the door is so rigid against Propertius. Finally the relationship between patron and client is described as being a bond (ζυγός). Propertius often calls Cynthia *domina* and he describes his domineering feelings for Cynthia as bondage (*vinculum*). The rest of the description of the client appears in different places in the text. It seems to be scattered throughout the whole work, while the truth is that Lucian inserts this kind of imagery or vocabulary on key points of his argument. He just does not let either Timocles or his audience forget the danger that lurks behind patronage. Lucian talks about a yoke (ζυγόν) and of things that cannot be endured by any free man (ἀφόρητα ἐλευθέρω ἀνδρὶ). Towards the end of the treatise, Lucian's comments focus on old age and on the new state of the client; the result after having tolerated everything previously described. He emphasizes the lack of real freedom, of self-respect, of betraying his whole family and nation of freemen (μηκέτι ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μηδὲ εὐπατρίδην σεαυτὸν οἶεσθαι). He also insists on the loss of the client's nobility as well as the memory of his ancestors (πάντα γὰρ

ταῦτα, τὸ γένος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τοὺς προγόνους ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ καταλείψων, 23; ἢ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ εὐγενὲς αὐτοῖς φυλέταις καὶ φράτορσι φροῦδα πάντα καὶ οὐδὲ μνήμη τις αὐτῶν). The climax comes at the end of the treatise in paragraph 39 where Lucian describes the fate of the client when he gets old and he is not welcome anymore in the circle of his patron⁵¹. Lucian says that, when the client is old, he is deserted and unwanted by everyone. The image this time resembles the way Propertius describes Cynthia's fate when she gets old. The client's status therefore at the end clearly resembles that of a discarded mistress.

Even in Juvenal the agony and concern of Trebius, his coveting to go near Virro and the reference to the different times of day or night that Trebius would rush to Virro, resemble the lover who would risk and sacrifice his comfort in order to go to his beloved. Juvenal plays with the idea of patron and client and its connotations and he has already expressed ambiguities about this relation. He has also played with throughout the Satire and already rejected the word *amicitia* and its connotations. This relation between patron and client clearly reminds him of the lover and his mistress. But even in that case, Trebius appears to be the excluded lover, the one who is not loved by 'his mistress'. In Propertius 1.16 the poet accuses his mistress's door of being cruel to him and of letting him wait outside. He says that he takes a filthy sleep on half-warm slab of stone (*turpis et in tepido limine somnus erit?* 1.16.22). The night and the stars see him as he is lying and the frozen dawn pities him (*me mediaeque noctes, me sidera plena iacentem / frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu,* 1.16.23-4). Juvenal accuses Trebius of rushing to

⁵¹ The fate of the rejected client has been considered much harsher than the client's life itself, even if it consists of abuse and disrespect. In *Odyssey* Irus' fate is going to be mutilation and death (18. 85-7). This descriptive image of Irus' future seems to express clearly that there is really no other option for the parasite and no life beyond the bounds of the patron. In Eupolis' *Flatterers* the fate of Acestor, who got marked, sent out of the house wearing a dog-collar, is narrated by the chorus. This idea of the marked parasite reminds us both of Trebius who, according to Juvenal, would even endure shave his head, as well as Lucian's warnings to Timocles that as a client, he will be probably treated as an animal.

his master's dwelling when dawn has not come yet and the stars are waning and the frozen wain of Bootes surrounds him (*frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae*, 5.24).

How does *De Parasito* Fit in the Image?

What is the role of *De Parasito*, though, if we accept Lucian's identity as a social satirist? Simon, the parasite, extols his position in the house of the patron and his τέχνη. Anything that both Lucian and Juvenal for that matter have censured, Simon turns upside down and presents it as aspect of an advantageous life. Lucian in this work behaves clearly as a sophist. He knows how to present his case from both sides and win all the arguments. This in fact is the two-faced blessing of the sophists of both the first and the Second Sophistic. They were blamed for not having any standard or morale; for showing that anything can be true as long as you can persuade your audience about it. Moreover, I believe that *De parasito* is an answer to Juvenal's Satire 9 and Naevolus, the parasite who has utterly degraded himself. It is as if Simon is the satiric equivalent of Naevolus and as if Lucian makes fun of Juvenal and his concerns about the parasite's decadence.

Lucian in *De Mercede Conductis* offers an overview of parasitic life in which he includes the stages of life, which were described in the above three Satires of Juvenal as well. The introduction of foreigners in Rome, as presented by Umbricius in Satire 3 along with the expectations of the client, then the real life the client leads and finally his 'departure' from the circle of respectful individuals are all given in that admonitory treatise. In *De Parasito* he gives the client the opportunity to present his own viewpoint on the subject. What are Lucian's intentions and expectations, though? *De parasito* and the way Simon presents himself may provoke laughter; they may also sadden the reader if he considers the clients' level of degradation. The work may even be considered to be in agreement with Juvenal's Satire 9 where the parasite has lost control. But even then Simon, Lucian's parasite, is portrayed as being by far

more 'literate' than Juvenal's in that in Lucian Simon employs the motif of Platonic dialogue and uses philosophic notions in order to express himself and clarify his situation. On the contrary, Naevolus in Juvenal is portrayed only as a pervert. Therefore, although up to a certain extent Lucian and Juvenal seem to be in agreement, there are fundamental underlying discrepancies. For Lucian it is clear that even a parasite, when he is Greek, deserves better treatment than a Roman.

One of the participants in *De parasito* is obviously a parasite. The latter's intention is to prove that being a parasite requires skill and a form of knowledge, just like being an orator, a musician or an architect. By following the Socratic method Lucian shows that being a parasite is a skill⁵². What does he manage to do, though, and what his intentions are? Actually, he achieves two goals; he puts philosophy and Platonic and Socratic ideals on a different context. He shows how one can employ them for the purposes of parodying and also of even proving an almost absurd conviction. On the other hand, he still implicitly parodies and reprimands parasites.

In 2 the question that Tychiades asks Simon resembles the one with which Juvenal started Satire 5. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐρυθριᾶς παράσιτον σαυτὸν καλῶν; is in accord with *Si te propositi nondum pudet...ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra* (5.1-2). Although Juvenal does not expect any answer from his addressee and he continues scolding him, Simon in Lucian startles the reader by saying 'not at all'. Lucian, therefore, overturns the very belief about parasites from the beginning. Another difference between Juvenal's and Lucian's attitude and handling of the subject comes with Tychiades, who seems to have missed the point. He seems troubled not about the moral of a parasite but about how Simon should be formally addressed, or if παρασιτική

⁵² Bompaire (1958) 284; 609 discusses the similarities between this work and the Platonic dialogue, as well as common points of reference between the character of Simon and Socrates.

can be included in the list of arts and skills. This question immediately clarifies Lucian's intentions to play with the parasites and show that something, which according to some people is reproachable, for others can be regarded as a form of art; or more generally that there are always two sides of the same issue. At the same time, however, he manages to satirize parasites by presenting them as accepting every reproach against them and even supporting it. In any case the real quality of the parasite's life surfaces. In this work therefore, Lucian explains what he is doing, the basis of his argument in *De Mercede Conductis* and that *De Parasito* functions as a meta-language.

With regards to the rest of the aspects of parasitic life, Simon gives an overview of everything, providing explanations and offering details. The first issue discussed is the definition of art. Simon says that it is a system of knowledge which has been put into practice having as a purpose to be useful for life (4.1-3). Simon also says that parasitic is a skill even more important and crucial for the sustainance of life itself. If the parasite does not practice it daily, he will die, contrary to those who practice other skills (6-19-20)⁵³. Lucian even 'contradicts' his previous self when Simon claims that parasitic is a skill, since in *De Mercede Conductis* as well as in Juvenal's Satires the parasite is portrayed as a person of no skill who just lives off other people. In *De Mercede Conductis*, Lucian tries to make Greek scholars refrain from parasitic life, for they are endowed with other skills and qualities. In *De Parasito* he presents Simon as an unscrupulous person who does not wish to acquire any other skill; for him being a parasite fulfils the expectations he has from life. Naevolus is portrayed by Juvenal the same way. He does not show any remorse for the life he has led, only for the fact that he is now deserted and penniless.

⁵³ Simon, however, does not give the impression that he is the hungry parasite, although his intention is to earn what is important for his sustenance and does not seem to entertain higher hopes. In fact, nowhere is he presented as a beggar or being in a deplorable state.

Lucian is probably using the image of Naevolus and satirically creates a character who argues that being what he (and subsequently Naevolus) is, namely a parasite, can be considered a skill.

The next part of the dialogue reminds us of the Satires on clients in Juvenal. The terms he uses to address Trebius in Satire 5 and his relationship to the patron, are *amicus* and *amicitia* respectively. What Juvenal shows, however, is that Virro does not consider Trebius to be his friend and he attacks the kind of friendship that is developed between a patron and a client. Lucian, on the contrary, plays with the meaning of friendship and the relation between patron and client⁵⁴. According to Simon, therefore, you have to be a close friend of someone in order to be invited to dine with him. Therefore parasitic re enforces friendship. Lucian does not examine the quality of friendship in the depth Juvenal does. He also does not point that a patron invites friends for dinner and the parasite just comes along. Juvenal emphasizes that when he says to Trebius that he is only invited because Virro does not want to leave one couch empty. Lucian in *De Parasito* keeps mentioning the aspect of the events that fits his argument.

The question that rises at the end is what does Lucian borrow from Juvenal? One could argue that it is Juvenal's indignation filtered through the playfulness and the amalgams of second century literature, along with the abilities of Lucian, his educational background, and familiarity with both cultures that are finally channeled into a new kind of literary production, fresh and full of material from a variety of sources. In my opinion, we should consider the idea that Lucian's and Juvenal's relation is not a matter of borrowing or imitating, but rather, as I argued in the beginning, it is a matter of conscious and intentional 'dialogue', of literary correspondence on

⁵⁴ The relation, if any, between friendship and clientship appears elsewhere in literature. In Antiphanes' *Twins* (KA 80) the parasite claims that he does not wish any harm to his patron, for in such a case, he would miss his won daily food. ὁ γὰρ παράσιτός ἐστιν, ἄν ὀρθῶς σκοπιῆς, /κοινωνὸς ἀμφυσὼν, τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ βίου. /οὐδεὶς παράσιτος εὐχετ' ἀτυχεῖν τοὺς φίλους, /τοῦναντίον δὲ πάντας εὐτυχεῖν ἀεὶ. /ἐστὶν πολυτελεῆς τῷ βίῳ τις. Οὐ φθονεῖ, /μετέχειν δὲ τούτων εὐχετ' αὐτῷ συμπαραῶν.

behalf of Lucian. If we had not had Juvenal, then Lucian would not have been so challenging and the other way around.

One of the interesting aspects of this dialogue is that it describes and focuses on real life issues. Both authors, regardless of their background and the way they handle certain issues, are interested in and concerned about society. This is most probably a result of the historical and social circumstances of the time. In Juvenal's time, there were not literary creations for the sake of literature. Juvenal's writing is motivated by unworthy Roman emperors, exile, death and the degradation of the Roman ethics. Lucian, on the other hand, is a part of an ecumenical society. The Roman Empire opened the borders not only geographically, but also socially and literarily. People communicated more, and they shared more common experiences and consequently Romans and Greeks became more entangled with each other. There has always been a 'communication' on a literary level between the two nations, but in this era, the relation between the *captor* and the captured brought them even closer. This is actually what Lucian shows. As the time passed several Roman emperors favored the Greeks, gave them a number of freedoms, and became possible for people from other nations to acquire Roman citizenship. Consequently, it came as a natural outcome that, at the time of Lucian, Greeks and Romans were not viewing each other as necessarily the enemy. At the same time, however, they never stopped considering one another as 'the other'. This, I believe, would be the impression of either a Greek or of a Roman who reads Lucian. The conclusion that can be reached is that Lucian adds to second century literature. It has been noticed that other contemporary Greek authors are not in the least concerned with the Romans. Pausanias, for instance, tries to keep in the shadows any contribution of Roman emperors to Greece. Lucian, on the contrary, manages to be realistic, keep his eyes open and finally be a child of this new era.

Lucian's Narrative Technique

An interesting aspect of both Lucian's and Juvenal's works which affects the way we view them is their narrative technique. Who is the narrator; is there a difference between the author and the narrator and how does the identity of the narrator affect the reading? Also what are the differences, if any, between Lucian's and Juvenal's narrative techniques?

The dialogue between Lucian and Juvenal, their background, literary and historical, defines, along with the subjects they treat, the narrative techniques they employ. On the one hand, the importance of oratory and the influence of the Second Sophistic pave the road which Lucian walks on. Lucian has obviously surpassed the mere effort of several of his contemporaries to imitate or just criticize earlier works of art or philosophy and rhetoric or to simply write a catalogue of myths, stories or information about either the Greeks or the Romans. A mere dialogue, though, or a simple narration could not be enough to satiate his coveting for writing. This is why he employs different literary genres and integrates them in the context of his new literary creations. Therefore, not only he makes his works more interesting and alluring, but he also makes them more effective elevating at the same time the quality of literature of the Second Sophistic.

In *De Mercede Conductis* the author is the narrative voice and he is using first person narration. The work is written in the form of a dialogue and the imaginary addressee is Timocles. This technique of the supposed dialogue where the author has the opportunity to lay out the outline of his thoughts and argue for his beliefs goes back to Hesiod. The *Works and Days* is an exact parallel where Hesiod addresses Perses and admonishes him on matters of agriculture and everyday life. Lucian admonishes Timocles about the dangers which lurk for a perspective client of a Roman patron. Hesiod sings of the Muses of Pieria and they are the first addressees in the

poem (Μοῦσαι Πιερίθην ἀοιδῆσιν κλείουσαι/δεῦτε. . . 1-2). Lucian addresses friendship instead (ὦ φιλότης). From then on the content of the works appear to entertain the same notion. Both Hesiod and Lucian refer to the fate and life of men. Hesiod refers to different kinds of men and Lucian follows the same reasoning; he separates people according to their relation to patronage. Both addressees, Timocles and Perses, appear after the first lines, and the first general outline of the subject and both authors promise to offer the best of their knowledge to their addressees. Juvenal's approach is different. He does not promise to pass his knowledge on to Trebius and neither the context nor the style of the work is admonitory. Juvenal follows the traditional motif of Satire-writing. Lucian, on the other hand, approaches Timocles more efficiently and more leniently than Juvenal. Even the fact that Lucian imitates Hesiod shows his intention to proceed on and treat the matter in a different way than a traditional satirist would do. In all three works, however, the name of the addressee does not appear until later. In neither case also do we hear the voice of the addressee. In Juvenal it is the author who makes assumptions about what Trebius and Virro may be thinking and attacks them on that basis as well and Lucian is clearly the narrative voice in his treatise.

Juvenal does not include any specific reference to the time and the place where these dialogues might have occurred. Nothing more specific is either required or could add to the text itself. The author, although he does not set a place frame, clearly describes Rome and his contemporaries. The references in some of his Satires to real people may help in some cases the reader place the Satires in a specific historical context. With regards to Lucian, in almost all his works there are no specifications about the time or the place where the dialogues take place. In *Menippus*, for instance, it is necessary for the author to establish a place frame; to describe the setting in order to involve the audience in the work and make them participate up to a certain

extent. In most of his philosophical works, however, it is not necessary for him to specify the time or the place⁵⁵. In *De Mercede Conductis* his intention is to admonish his audience and possibly attack the Romans. The place where the supposed dialogue takes place could be anywhere and the same is true about the time and any other indication would not change the audience's perception.

In *De parasito* the dialogue could have taken place anywhere and at any time. When the dialogue begins we do not know the names of the participants either. Just like in drama, however, we learn the names when one character addresses the other. Lucian introduces Tychiades and Simon in the same way. This makes the work more interactive and easy for an audience to follow. It is also convenient since there are only two characters who need to be introduced. Hence, Lucian is closer to drama and its techniques than Juvenal is. The way the dialogue between Tychiades and Simon begins renders the work even livelier since it gives the impression that there has already been a discussion between those two and the audience just caught them in the middle. This format resembles Platonic dialogues as well⁵⁶. *Euthyphro*, for instance, begins with Euthyphro addressing a question to Socrates as a part of an already started conversation. The same is true about *Phaedon*. If the reader assumed that the dialogue just began, it would sound very abrupt. Juvenal does not pay attention to the place and the dramatic techniques. His works are simply Satires with no aspiration to being "well performed".

Considering also that the dialogues were not regularly performed, Lucian had to be very specific and careful not to confuse his audience, and also not to become boring and repetitive

⁵⁵ For details on Lucian's dramatic technique, the use of the dialogue and the way he introduces the characters in his works see Bellinger (1928).

⁵⁶ On the Platonic motifs found in *De Parasito* see Anderson (1979). For Platonic motifs in the second century C.E. see de Lacy (1974). Cf. also Putnam (1909).

either. That is why he employs, among others, the technique of estrangement. He presents a new situation to his audience or a familiar one, but in a different context, and he catches their attention⁵⁷. In the beginning of *De Parasito* Simon states that his art is that being a parasite. Lucian surprises the audience first by the open statement of Simon and also by the fact that he casually uses philosophical notions, like art and philosophy, that have been under feverish discussion and consideration by his predecessors and his contemporaries as well, to prove his point, and he puts them on the mouth of a parasite. Juvenal, on the other hand, did not have to or was not interested in capturing the attention of the audience by means of literary motifs. He wishes to write Satire (*saturam scribere*) and his censure focuses more on social phenomena and everyday life, rather than in philosophy or on paragons of literature. Juvenal would like to change the attitude of his contemporary Romans as well. Therefore, he needs to make his work easily perceptible to the majority of people and not only to an educated audience who can pick up literary allusions. As a matter of fact, Juvenal seems to be against all those pretentious literate people, and he wishes to see the Romans behaving like their ancestors and not like Greeks. It is reasonable therefore that his techniques should differ from those of Lucian. The main difference between *De Parasito* and Satire 5 is in the intentions of the authors, as I explained earlier. Juvenal wants to reform society. He does not want to be simply diagnostic, but rather curative. Lucian, on the other hand, does not aim to achieve any cure let alone any social cure⁵⁸. Lucian presents different genres of people and along with employing literary motifs he comments on

⁵⁷ The prologues in *Dionysus*, *Prometheus es in verbis* and *Zeuxis* are representative examples of Lucian's sophistic prologues, as they are described by Branham (1985).

⁵⁸ Anderson (1982) 64 says that: 'Anyone who feels that it is a sophists obligation to be concerned for the human condition wholly misunderstands the sophist's milieu'. He argues that Lucian's intention was to combine literary traditions trying to bring them back to life and also to 'play with preachers' themes in front of them'.

both. Anderson notices that Lucian presents variations of hypocrites and pretenders⁵⁹. A variation is the parasitic aspect of everything that Lucian outlines. The whole reasoning which runs through *De parasito* is that the pursuer of any technē is actually a parasite. He claims that the purpose of every art is pleasantness (τέλος τό ἡδύ). What is the difference between epicureans and parasites then⁶⁰? He also suggests that eating in the company of someone else is an expression of friendship. Why then are the parasites accused of frequenting in other people's tables? Lucian turns things around, making the known, unknown and the familiar, odd.

Juvenal's variations of literary techniques may not be that rich, but his construction of the sentence is worth-noticing. The structure of the sentences is usually climactic and it increases the tension and gives emphasis to the point the author wants to make in each case. More specifically, in the first line Juvenal starts with *si t'*; he immediately specifies that he is addressing someone else and that the Satire is going to be in the form of a dialogue. He refers to a plan and then he strikes the reader with the verb *pudet*. The second half of the sentence is a strong censure which concludes the address. Immediate sarcasm and attack against the parasites become obvious from the first two lines. Juvenal employs the same structure throughout the whole Satire. Line 38, for instance, starts with the subject of the sentence. Juvenal addresses Trebius again and then a series of adjectives and nouns follow while the reader waits for the author's point. Juvenal concludes on line 39, in a completely balanced verse. He strikes the reader again and he becomes cruel towards Trebius when he explains that the previously described extraordinary cup is the one which Virro uses. Trebius, on the contrary is not trusted with any golden cup. The status of the

⁵⁹ Anderson *ibid.* 66

⁶⁰ This is an example of Lucian's technique of turning things around and presenting them completely different. Anderson (1979) 63 calls it "...a normal topos of the ἄδοξον".

client is clearly stated even through the word order. Virro is directly compared to *tibi* (Trebius); the former holds the cup (*tenet*), while the latter is not entrusted with one (*non committitur*).

Virro tenet phialas: tibi non committitur aurum

His criticism also becomes blatant in lines 120f. where he attacks society's pretension. He says that if Trebius had three names, or if he happened to have four hundred thousand sesterces, then he would have become Virro's friend. This concluding sentence bears the burden of Juvenal's inclement criticism. The first half of line 134 starts with 'from being nothing' (*ex nihilo*) and the sentence closes with the word friend (*amicus*). The contrast between the two words and the fact that in a sentence Trebius became from nothing a friend show the satiric aspect of Juvenal and his ability to mock both patron and client in a sentence.

Ex nihilo, quantus fieres Virronis amicus

Juvenal's intentions are to describe two aspects of Roman life. He does that by choosing and portraying representatives, one is wealthy, while the other comes from a lower social rank. The structure of the Satire is circular. The first and the last sentence constitute one whole. Juvenal says to Trebius: "If you are not ashamed of your plan and this is your mind, you are worthy of such a feast and of such a friend", (1.1; 173). The general meaning of the two sentences could well refer to Virro himself. As it will be presented through the Satire, Virro is the opposite of a noble Roman citizen. Therefore, if this is the mode of life he desires to pursue, treating people, like Trebius, with disrespect and isolating himself from any true and honest friendship, then Trebius, the parasite, is the kind of friend that Virro deserves to have.

Another important aspect of Juvenal's technique, which is also related closely to the message he intends to send to his readers, is the way he incorporates in the Satires theatrical elements. He actually engages in Greek tragic motifs in a way that makes his audience wonder about his intentions. He accuses the Greeks, on the one hand, of having transgressed into every

aspect of Roman life, while, on the other hand, he employs a Greek literary motif. He attacks actors and their effeminate way of life and he uses them as an example of degradation, after having already connected their lifestyle to the Greeks. His Satires work also as a meta-language. By that I mean that, when Juvenal uses tragic tone to talk about aspects of Roman life, he makes his audience wonder if he is attacking the genre of tragedy, or if Satire, as a literary genre, undermines its own foundations⁶¹.

Conclusion

All the material discussed above contributes to the mysterious and elusive nature of Lucian and his works. Does he set himself against the Romans and completely in favor of the Greeks, or does he implicitly criticize both nations. By employing the platonic dialogue and distancing himself from the immediate scenery in *De Parasito*, for instance, Lucian as an individual seems to be neutral. It becomes clear, however, that he is ‘answering’ intentionally Juvenal. The similarities in the phases of a parasite’s life, the way both authors handle the phenomenon of the Greek clients at the houses of wealthy Romans, and the degradation at the twilight of their ‘career’ and life cannot be coincidental. The way also Lucian seems to be answering Juvenal’s accusations against the Greeks as well as the motif of παρακλαυσίθυρος which first appears in Satire 5 and then in Lucian’s *De Mercede Conductis* cannot but be conscious choices on behalf of the latter. Taking the aforementioned into consideration and Lucian’s literary persona, namely the way he employs Greek and Roman motifs, vices, philosophies, we may conclude that he is in touch with his era and shows an exceptional familiarity with the ever changing society and reality under the Roman reign. He is open to new interpretations and opinions on the different nations that this Empire consists of and this is reinforced if we have in mind that Lucian himself

⁶¹ For more details on the theatrical aspect of Juvenal see Keane (2003); Smith (1985); Freudenberg (1993), 227-28.

is of Syrian origin and still writes in Greek and almost about everyone. The rest of literary maneuvers render his works more generic, they distract the audience up to a certain extent from the harsh critic, without, though, allowing them to miss the point.

CHAPTER 3
LUCIAN'S VS. AULUS GELLIUS' 2ND C.E. LITERARY AND SOCIAL REALITIES

Introduction

First and second century C.E. were a transitional period in many different ways, historically, socially and literarily, for both Romans and Greeks. In Chapter 2 through the comparison of Lucian and Juvenal my intention was to show that Lucian was consciously answering Juvenal's accusations against the Greeks and also that the former was consciously and intentionally commenting on Juvenal's portrayal of the Romans. Juvenal's Satires also and several of Lucian's works photograph the relation between Greeks and Romans as it is shaped in the first and second century C.E. Greeks have acquired at the time positions in the Roman official hierarchy and are thus becoming a component of the Roman society. Consequently, Greek and Roman cultures seem to communicate, although it has been argued that the two nations have never actually come to terms or considered each other equal. Therefore, Roman ambiguities and self-questioning, although Romans were the rulers, and their tendency to cling to their past, appear in both Juvenal¹ and also in other later Roman authors, as I intend to show in this chapter basing my discussion on Lucian's *prolaliae*, *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris* and *Scytha* and certain articles from Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*.

A comparison between Lucian and Gellius is also intriguing in that, although at the time there is no Greek nation in the strict political sense, it seems that Greek authors, like Pausanias, refute in their works the subjugation of the Greeks to the Romans. Longus in *Daphnis and Chloe* still uses the term Ἑλλην implying the existence of a Greek nation and Chariton definitely promotes *hellenismos* and Greek *paideia*. Language has also appropriated a more substantial role

¹ In several of Juvenal's Satires an attachment to the past and also cauterizing of his contemporaries' blemishes is obvious. He is railing against newly rich people, Romans who do not honor their ancestry, Romans who behave like Greeks.

in the realm of politics. Greek philosophers infiltrate the Roman echelons by teaching Greek to Romans. Hence, ideas and issues of language and identity figure prominently in the above authors and it is interesting to note how literature has become a mouthpiece of political propaganda and a "place" where identities are modulated. In this chapter, therefore, I will examine how literary and ethnic identity is constructed in the works of Lucian and Gellius and how each ethnic group perceives the other in the conglomerate that constitutes the Roman Empire.

Gellius, like Lucian, is an example of a second century author who wrote a collection of short works on a variety of topics. The content of Gellius' works, his intentions and his opinions about the Romans, so well mirrored in the *Attic Nights*, could be representing those of his contemporaries. The fact also that Lucian appears as a 'spokesperson' for the Greeks and for other non-Roman nations as well makes a comparison between the two authors really attractive. A reading of the two authors raises questions which concern mainly the position of the Romans and their relation to the Greeks and vice versa, as well as both nations' relation to other nations. These, it seems to me, are the points around which Gellius' literary activity and several of Lucian's works concentrate on and by which they are affected. This thesis about Gellius can be even more compelling and worth examining if we consider another contemporary author, Apuleius. The *Florida* resembles the works of both the aforementioned authors only in form, while there is chaotic difference between its content and character and Gellius' style. Nowhere in *Florida* do we find stories about Roman history or morality. Apuleius writes about sophists and philosophers, about strange stories and few general statements about morality in official hierarchy. Lucian and Apuleius, on the other hand, seem to share in some respects the same inquisitive and playful spirit, which represents the attitude of the era, the character of the Second

Sophistic and also shows the liberality of the spirit of nations other than the Roman². The Second Sophistic ideal appears also strongly in Apuleius' *Apology* and certainly in the *Metamorphoses*. In neither of the two works does Apuleius seem concerned with the preservation of the past. Therefore, although his intentions are very different than those of Lucian, they both seem to have embraced the calling of their times in different ways, contrary to Gellius.

In this chapter I intend to compare and contrast Lucian and Gellius having as a background and backbone the social and historical circumstances of the period and also try to provide an explanation for the style and content of their works, examine how far their literary activity was affected by the reality they were experiencing, and how this appears throughout their works. Lucian, as I tried to show in Chapter 2, is evidently a product of the second century multicultural society. He is socially aware and acute in his observations and he is also interested in the co-existence of nations and cultures in the Roman Empire, avoiding that way the obsession with the past. Gellius' literary production, on the contrary, creates the impression that his intention or his anxiety is to revive the Latin language and preserve the Roman history and also to go back to his sources, in other words to his literary predecessors³. Furthermore, the interest of the Romans to establish a 'self' is evident through a number of Gellius' articles. Lucian's works and how they relate to Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* may shed some light to this aspect of the second century, since it is mainly the aforementioned parameters, as I will try to show, that shape them.

² On the Second Sophistic see Bowersock (1969); Bowersock (ed.) (1974); Bowie (1982); Nesselrath (1990); Whitmarsh (2001), (2005). On Apuleius see Sandy (1997), Harrison (2000), Kahane and Laird (eds.) (2001). On the *Florida* see Lee (2005).

³ On the importance of language for the Romans in the second century C.E. see Veyne (1979); Dubuisson (1981a), (1981b), (1982); Desbordes (1991). On the bearing that linguistics had at the time cf. also Lucian *Lis Consonantium*. For some of Gellius' linguistic discussions see *NA* 1.10; 2.3, 4, 6, 19; 3.14. Language seems to have been of great concern at that time since we also have *lexica*, for instance Pollux's, *Onomasticon* which indicates a more extended interest in linguistic matters and archaisms for the Attic dialect was the one praised and prescribed.

Lucian and Gellius in a Greco-Roman Context.

In this section I discuss briefly Lucian and Gellius in a social context so as to get a better understanding of the content and style of the two authors' works. This way I intend also to point out the importance of a comparison between the two authors as a picture of the social structures in the second century⁴. This discussion will also probably give us a glimpse into Lucian's and Gellius' personalities, since, although they live in the same time period, they have different reactions to the events they experience.

By this time the Roman Empire has been around so long that one would reasonably assume that the Romans must have been enjoying the ruling position and the control they had over most nations. It is crucial therefore to consider first the levels in which the Romans were affecting their subjects. By that time they have probably made the latter feel part of the Roman Empire, not merely their subjects, and by honoring foreigners with Roman citizenship and also by giving them offices in the public domain, they make them feel that they belong, while at the same time they diminish considerably the possibility of an overturn of the Roman authority. What about the literary and artistic aspect of the other nations, however? With regards to Greece, it has been argued that it was *Graecia capta* that actually conquered the Romans, just as it had been doing all along with every nation that she had encountered. Apollodorus of Tarsus designed the Forum of Trajan in a Hellenized style and Hadrian was famous for his *hellenophilia*⁵. It is also worth mentioning that we have Roman authors writing in Greek. Their readers could well have been

⁴ For an overview of Lucian's and Gellius' era with information on other contemporary authors and the literary dialogue between Greeks and Romans see Lightfoot (2000). See also Kraus (2000) for a brief overview of the evolution of Latin Literature from the time of Augustus to Hadrian, how and why Roman writers turned to declamations, oratory and finally compilations.

⁵ The erection of the temple of Amor and Roma in Greek style as well as the establishment of the Panhellenion for the support and propagation of Classical Greek civilization through his own worship are two characteristic indications of Hadrian's love for Greece. On Hadrian and his attitude towards Romans and Greeks see Spawforth and Walker (1985) 78-104; (1986) 88-105; Clinton (1989); Swain (1996) 75; Boatwright (2000); Romeo (2002) 21-40.

educated Greeks who would want to familiarize themselves with Roman customs and lifestyle⁶. It is a fact, however, that the Romans have also affected other cultures artistically. We find both in Greece and in Asia Minor, for instance, constructions, like bath complexes and amphitheatres which are Roman inventions. This means that not only did people begin to incorporate new buildings in their lives, but that they are also incorporating new lifestyles⁷. This fact can effectively suggest that after the centuries of subjugation there has been a closer communication between those nations under the Roman reign and people have started adapting into the new way of life. On a literary level this may explain why Greek authors write about Romans, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote the *Antiquitates Romanae*⁸. On the other hand, we have authors who represent another group of people and still seem to feel defensive against the Romans. They want to emphasize and imprint on people's minds that it is the Greeks who need to protect their past and their literary achievements and that, whatever the Romans may have added, either artistically or architecturally to Greek culture, it cannot compare to what earlier Greeks have accomplished⁹. One of them is Pausanias, who writes his *Graeciae Descriptio* and

⁶ Suetonius' *Περὶ Ρώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν, Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι παιδιῶν, Περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν.*

⁷ In fact in Asia Minor Italian architecture was adopted but most often than not it was incorporated in the Eastern lifestyle and well-rooted Hellenistic stylistic inclinations. Amphitheatres and arcaded aqueducts were the only buildings that were introduced almost unchanged in the Eastern part of the Empire. See Waelkens (1987), (1989); Ward-Perkins (1981) *passim*. A presentation of this intercultural exchange can be found in Hoff and Rotroff (eds.) (1997); Ostefeld (ed.) (2002). A study also on the evolution and progress of the Syrian countryside in the 2nd B.C.-3rd A.D in the area of building constructions and also organization of the cities which carry the signature of the Romans see Tate (1997).

⁸ Lightfoot (2000) 264 argues that it was more comforting for the Greeks to idealize the Romans for it would be easier to bear the burden of servitude if the ruler was worthy. See Swain (1996) 66-100 who argues that Greeks never actually denied their identity. Their past was 'accommodated' instead in the Greco-Roman present. Gruen (1990) 158 ff. presents as an example of this relation between Romans and Greeks the story about the relation between Numa Pompilius and Pythagoras. Gruen elaborates on who wanted to relate them and why some Romans were arguing against it; also, what this behavior of Romans indicate about their self-esteem and their respect towards the Greeks.

⁹ It has also been asserted that Greek literature and more specifically Greek novels of the 2nd and 3rd centuries C.E. have elements which strongly indicate Roman influence. On that see Lalanne (2002).

very rarely does he mention the Romans, but more often than not writes as if they do not exist in the Greek context in which he places his work. With regards to Latin literature, the Romans have already left behind their Golden Age, but they still have satirical writings, novels, as well as compilations, like Apuleius' *Florida*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* or Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. Many scholars have argued that the Romans at that time do not have anything valuable to show, with regards to literature. Except for a few exceptions, Roman authors try to 'organize' their past and their memories and also to show continuity through their writings. That could indicate an attempt on their behalf to establish themselves in this multinational society, especially considering that they still do not feel secure when compared to the Greeks.

The Roman Empire, however, was not just so much a multinational entity, but a multicultural society as well; every nation has had its own history and literary activity, although the two ruling cultures, the Greeks and the Romans seem to be monopolizing in several cases the scene. The importance of that realization is that we get an overview of the situation and we are in a position to be more objective since we hear different sides of the same story in several authors. Literary works of that period can be compared to a puzzle; each piece gives information and the result is a picture of the Greco-Roman culture of the second century C.E.

What about the other nations then? What is their relation to the Romans and Greeks as it appears through literature? Lucian is both a 'foreigner' and becomes also a voice for other 'foreigners'. He is from Samosata and he obviously has a very well founded Greek literary background. He is very knowledgeable as concerns both Greek and Roman practices and lifestyle. Although under the Roman reign, Lucian's literary identity lays securely in the Greek and Syrian past. He does not have linguistic boundaries and he is not restricted or conservative either socially, or literarily. He is honest about his nationality, when he says that he is an

(As)Syrian, but this does not prevent him from viewing things from other people's aspect, or from writing in a language that is not his native. Lucian's character may also be an indication that Eastern nations feel more familiar with the Greeks, perhaps due to the long lasting Greek literary activity. We should not forget also that the Eastern part of the Roman Empire had a Greek past. The Seleucids and the Antigonids ruled there before the Romans and they obviously left their mark, especially if we consider Lucian's case¹⁰.

What would be the place then of a Greek and a Roman respectively at the time; and how one can explain Lucian's writing and Gellius' works? This can definitely be a complicated question. It has to do, among other things, historical and social, with sophists and rhetors and their position in the Roman Empire¹¹. Lucian starts as an orator and this explains a lot of his works, the way they are arranged, as well as the figurative motifs he employs¹². It does not restrict him, however, from pointing out or from commenting on Roman or Greek vices. He is also an acute observer of people in general. Probably his wide experience with different nations as well as the different kinds of positions he undertook exposed him to several nationalities and his ambition to excel cultivated his ability to familiarize and blend with 'the other'. The conclusions he reaches and presents to his audience is that people, regardless of their nationality, evolve similar tendencies and are prone to the same vices. When he is writing the *Dialogi*

¹⁰ Commagene must have been influenced by the Greek spirit and civilization. On that see Jones (1986) 6 and Swain (1996) 298-308. On the relation between language, culture and political circumstances at the time of Lucian in Asia Minor, which shapes a background-basis for the literary activity of Lucian see Swain (1996) 44-51; 298-308.

¹¹ See Bowersock (1969); Lightfoot (2000) 260 asserts that non-Romans who were in administrative positions and 'the Philhellene Romans could understand each other because they aspired to a similar cultural ideal, that of polite learning or *paideia*'. On the orators or, according to Philostratus, the sophists of the time see Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 537.

¹² Most of Lucian's works have rhetoric motifs and mannerisms to demonstrate. A characteristic example is *Phalaris*. For his criticism, however, on contemporary rhetoric and its overtly and overly *epideictic* nature see *Rhetorum Praeceptor*. On Lucian and rhetoric see Kennedy (1972) 585-90; (1994) 233; Anderson (2007) 343-7, 349-53.

Mortuorum, although he is employing Greek names and the Greek gods, nowhere does he show that it is only the Greeks who are to be blamed for being arrogant or gluttonous. On the contrary, the fact that he has already discussed and cauterized similar reprehensible characteristics of the Romans in other works, proves that up to a certain extent he is beyond national boundaries and beyond petty criticism directed against a very specific group. He seems to have risen to the needs of the new society and to have produced works for everyone to read and profit from.

Gellius proves to be more restricted and narrowly minded. By that I do not mean to say that he does not make any reference to the Greeks, or to other nations. The way, however, he writes and the content of his work show that he views the Romans as the main citizens of the Empire and the other nations, just as secondary subject nations that just complement the Romans. When we read Gellius we do not get the picture of the Lucianic ecumenical society. The reason for that, at least on a social and historical level, may be that Gellius does not have the ‘opportunities’ in life that Lucian had. He is a Roman citizen and he writes in Latin. He visits Athens of course, just like so many others have already done, but this does not mean that he manages to relate himself to the two societies and picture himself as a citizen of the new world order. In the *Praefatio* he also states clearly that the only reason for the title *Noctes Atticae* is that he was collecting those stories while he was residing in Athens¹³.

Prolaliae and Praefatio

The most important part of any work, whether speech, novel, or admonitory treatise, is the introduction. It is the part where the author explains his purposes, either implicitly or explicitly, and he has an opportunity to attract the attention of his readers-audience. One can only imagine

¹³ Vardi (1993) argues that the title says more than the place where the work was written. In fact, he says, it may not even mean that the work was literally written in Athens. He rather suggests that the title denotes the vigils of the learned individual and his relation to Athens, the cradle of education and civilization. Cf. also Stevenson (2004) 125-6; Holford-Strevens (2003) 27; for prologue techniques which include the one Gellius is employing here see Janson (1964) 97-8, 147-8.

how important an introduction must have been at the time of Lucian for those orators who wanted to have an audience, or for those who participated in embassies to Roman emperors, they fought for popularity, and sometimes even coveted a position in the Roman official hierarchy. It is also important to remember that Lucian belongs to the period of the so called Second Sophistic and this also affects his writings. Gellius, on the other hand, belongs, as it was mentioned before, to a generation of compilers who do not seem to be concerned with literary contribution.

In this section, I discuss Lucian's *prolaliae* as they appear in *Herodotus*, *Heracles*, *Bacchus*, *De Dipsadibus* and *Electrum*¹⁴ and compare them to Gellius' *praefatio*. Lucian's *prolaliae* focus on his reception by the audience. He employs rhetorical, sophistic and also exclusively Lucianic motifs in order to familiarize his audience with his techniques, as well as with his nationality. What is more the technique of estrangement renders him not only a very intriguing orator, but also an accomplished author who is never detached from the reality of everyday life. Gellius, although seemingly not interested in attracting an audience, he still employs in the *praefatio* rhetoric and sophistic motifs, but he never reaches Lucian's level of maturity and dexterity. I argue also that Gellius' complete neglect of the sophists and perhaps the fact that there has not been any generation or group of Roman sophists prevent him from being as literarily manipulative and diplomatic as Lucian is. Therefore, although they are writing at the same time and they are probably exposed to similar experiences up to a certain extent, Lucian and Gellius seem to have diametrically different styles and intentions. In conclusion, I elaborate on the reasons why a Roman could be so constrained. Is it just indication of insecurity and decline of the Roman literary production at the time and Gellius is a representative; or is it that

¹⁴ The first classification of specific works of Lucian as *prolaliae* was made by Rothstein (1888), 116 ff. and Reardon (1971) 165. After that there has been a discussion on which works can be considered *prolaliae*; *Somnium* has caused a dissension in that it concludes with a moral message which does not remind us of Lucian's prologues. On that issue see Bompaire (1958) 288, n.5; Anderson (1977) 314 n.5. On traditional techniques found in Lucian's prologues, and especially that of estrangement, see also Branham (1985).

Gellius is trying to imitate Roman or Greek predecessors and contemporaries who wrote the same kind of compilation, namely Apollodorus, Plutarch or Apuleius, but he just did not achieve to live up to their level of dexterity?

A unique characteristic of Lucian's *prolaliae* is that they indicate that Lucian is very self-conscious of the nature of his works and of his differences with other orators, both personal and auctorial. These may either render him special among his contemporaries or make him feel that he does not belong, according to how he handles and promotes them and also how they are treated by his audience. He is also obviously aware of the difficulty of some people to accept foreigners and since he is visiting both Athens and Rome, he intends to show his audience that he is different, but that does not make him any less accomplished; on the contrary it makes his contribution and his work worth-noticing¹⁵. Therefore, he clearly strives to prepare the grounds for his acceptance¹⁶. The first *prolalia*, *Bacchus* reveals a lot about Lucian's literary and perhaps his historical personality as well. He introduces and expands the technique of estrangement¹⁷. In the very first sentence he talks about Dionysus, who was a new god for the Greeks and he was not received easily, and about an Indian nation. Between the two, Dionysus and the Indians, the former, although a foreign god, is probably more familiar to the audience. However, Lucian

¹⁵ Another reference to the importance of his rhetorical qualities and on how he could that way gain a place in Rome by impressing with his knowledge and dexterity is also *Peregr.* 19. See also Jones (1986) 159 "Greek culture expressed the cohesion of the educated elite of the Empire; and for those not born into that elite, like Lucian and certain of the sophists, it offered unimagined avenues to social and economic advancement."

¹⁶ Philostratus also has included in his work introductory speeches. Nesselrath (1990) 113 points out that even Apuleius' *Florida* can be considered *prolaliae* or excerpts from them; He also points out some basic differences between Lucian's introductory works and those of Dio and Apuleius (114). On other authors of the Second Sophistic and their *prolaliae* see Stock (1911); Mras (1949).

¹⁷ Branham (1985) 241 ff. and Nesselrath (1990) 136 point out that Lucian in this *prolalia* presents everything from the Indians' point of view. That is why Dionysus is portrayed as a ridiculous figure. This reminds us also of *Anacharsis*, through the eyes of whom we are invited by Lucian to consider the Greek practice of athletics. We may also recall *Toxaris*, where Lucian, especially at the beginning, describes the Greeks through the eyes of the newcomer young Scythian. Hence, the technique of estrangement, as described by Branham, applies also to the presentation of the 'foreigners' and their place in Lucian and in the second century society for that matter. I will discuss this aspect of Lucian's work later in the chapter.

turns the situation upside down, when he makes the Indians treat the god humorously by not paying attention to him or to his military powers. Lucian at this point shows flexibility and bends the criteria according to which one may consider something familiar or strange. The Indians obviously have their own beliefs about what is strange and what is not and these are different from that of the Romans' or the Greeks'. Lucian also immediately points the crucial characteristic of the relation between Dionysus and the Indians, and that is contempt (καταφρονῆσαι, 1). So far he has not disguised his feelings or his fears about his reception. The next part of this *prolalia* is a lengthy description of Dionysus and his entourage. Lucian follows a long lasting tradition about the portrayal of Dionysus. The point he is trying to make is that the image of Dionysus that is being worshipped by Greeks and Romans seems contemptible to the Indians. Lucian shows therefore people's inability at first to view things from other perspectives as well. He also says that the Indians do not even bother to fight against Dionysus and his army. The result, however, is not favorable for the Indians, as one might have expected (οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτῶν αὐτίκα ἐκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔφευγον. . . καὶ τέλος κατὰ κράτος ἐαλώκεσαν καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπήγοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τέως καταγελωμένων, ἔργῳ μαθόντες ὡς οὐκ ἔχρην ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀκοῆς καταφρονεῖν ξένων στρατοπέδων, 4). Finally, Lucian concludes with the worshipping of Dionysus by the Indians. The closing message is a clear warning for his audience about his prospective contributions and against being so hasty as to reject him. He says that if people make a mistake, they blame drunkenness; but if they create something, they consider *Silenos* to be propitious (εἰ δὲ πινυτὰ δόξειε τὰ λεγόμενα, ὁ Σιληνὸς ἄρα ἦν ἰλεως, 8).

Lucian clearly wants his reader to identify him with Dionysus. He is recruiting traditional and stereotypical motifs about gods and nations that Greeks and Romans at first considered strange. To his audience Lucian with all the eccentric descriptions, and stories, and even the fact that he is Syrian appears like a new Dionysus¹⁸. It is not the first time that Lucian discusses issues pertaining to nationality. In *De Mercede Conductis*, he makes fun of the client saying that he is not respected even by the slave who is not even Greek or free, but he is of Scythian origin. It cannot escape the reader's attention that he plays with the origins of people, as well as with their conceptions and misconceptions. It is also worth noticing how comfortable he is with people of various ethnicities, and how the world is perceived by him as a big society. This is something that we do not find anywhere in Gellius and that it could be used as an argument that the Romans feel less at ease in this new society, in the Empire they created and, clinging to their past, they pretend that other nations are just foreigners with no bearing in the Roman life and reality. Lucian could be hinting at this idea when he says, referring to the Indians, or to nations which are afraid to move on and familiarize themselves with a new order of things πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνατρέχουσι. This statement could definitely apply to what Gellius and his contemporaries do.

Lucian retains the same tone in *Herodotus*¹⁹. He claims that the historian, although he visited foreign places, was accepted and praised; these cities were willing to receive someone from a different background and even compliment his work. Lucian makes a point of emphasizing the nationality of Herodotus and of the cities that he is visiting, so that he himself

¹⁸ Lucian's self-consciousness and dexterity can be also seen by the fact that there is a discussion between his works. In the *prolaliae* he implicitly compares himself to 'foreigners' and in other works he openly admits that he is a 'barbarian'. For his self-presentation as barbarian cf. also *Bis Accusatus* 14, 27, 34; *Scythian* 9; *Fisherman* 19.

¹⁹ On this *prolaliae* and especially on the place where Lucian performed see Hall (1981) 457; Jones (1986) 11 n.25.

may also win a benevolent hearing from his audience, although he is Syrian (Πλεύσας οἰκοθεν ἐκ τῆς Καρίας εὐθὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσκοπεῖτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα καὶ ἀπραγμονέστατα ἐπίσημος καὶ περιβόητος γένοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ συγγραμμάτια, 1; Ἦδη οὖν ἅπαντες αὐτὸν ἤδεσαν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας αὐτούς, 2). It is obvious, at least so far as Lucian is concerned, that there were ethnicity related issues at the time in the Roman Empire which brings us to the realization that Lucian may be parodying, cauterizing, and employing uncommon techniques to make his point, but he is nonetheless concerned with serious social phenomena. Therefore, one should not underestimate the depth and the seriousness of his worries concerning his reception. One should also notice that Lucian mentions a number of sophists in *Herodotus* claiming that they were accepted by their audience, while he makes sure to mention their nationality (Ἰππίας τε ὁ ἐπιχώριος αὐτῶν σοφιστῆς καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Χῖος καὶ Πῶλος <ὁ> Ἀκραγαντῖνος). Although the work is at least seemingly about Herodotus, Lucian notes that sophists were not that different in all aspects from travelling historians or logographers. One should also notice that he feels close to the sophists considering that he has already ranked himself among them. He does not however stay there; he brings as an example Aetion who, by means of his art, achieved a very profitable wedding²⁰. Could Lucian be also thinking about climbing socially? In fact he accepted an official position and then he wrote the *Apologia* for *De Mercede Conductis*, claiming that his situation is not comparable to clientship. From what we can gather, we see that Lucian is very well aware of social hierarchy and the role of people in it.

²⁰ Nesselrath (1990) 117-122 discusses *Herodotus* and the inclusion of Aetion in the scene, about which he argues that Lucian intended to emphasize his rhetorical abilities which managed to bring a work of art in front of the eyes of his audience (120). Nesselrath 120 n.17 also provides bibliographical references about the influence of this work of art in Renaissance paintings.

He is conscious of hindrances, like his nationality, but he is consciously trying to overcome that with the help of his art. Not only, therefore, is he well adjusted in the new Roman Empire, but he is also one of the most competent and efficient people in this, overwhelmingly for some, massive society.

In *Zeuxis or Antiochus* he refers to the new information he intends to introduce his audience to. He also employs as examples of eccentricity a Greek painter and a Macedonian general (Ὁ Ζεῦξις ἐκεῖνος ἄριστος γραφέων γενόμενος τὰ δημώδη καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγραφεν. . . 3; Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπικληθεὶς. . . 8). He is trying to persuade his audience to look beyond his eccentric ways and into his artistry, while all along he keeps mentioning strange events and stories. He writes about Zeuxis' female Centaur (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τολμήμασι καὶ θήλειαν Ἴπποκένταυρον ὁ Ζεῦξις αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀνατρέφουσάν γε προσέτι παιδίῳ Ἴπποκενταύρῳ διδύμῳ κομιδῆ νηπίῳ, 3) and about the way Antiochus won because the Galatians had never seen an elephant before and they were scared away (οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἰδόντες ἐλέφαντας οὔτε αὐτοὶ Γαλάται οὔτε οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν οὔτω πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὄψεως ἐταράχθησαν, ὥστε πόρρω ἔτι τῶν θηρίων ὄντων. . . ἐκκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔφευγον, 10). In other words, he admits that both Zeuxis and Antiochus achieved what they wanted, but they were nevertheless concerned that their merit was not valued. Lucian claims that this is not something he wishes to experience. Is he really being honest or is he toying with his readers' imagination and investing on them being intrigued? There is no way to prove where truth stops and lies begin with sophists of either the First or the Second Sophistic or even with orators. Nonetheless, Lucian is evidently preparing the ground for his favorable reception by emphasizing on the fact that Zeuxis is a very

accomplished painter (ὁ Ζεῦξις ἐκεῖνος ἄριστος γραφέων γενόμενος. . . 3.17). Lucian does not put himself down; even his comparisons are meant to elevate him. He has followed the same reasoning in *Herodotus*. Both Herodotus and Aetion are admittedly accomplished. Everything so far reinforces the belief that Lucian has great confidence in himself and his abilities and he is not afraid to say so and pursue daring undertakings.

The next *prolalia* to be discussed is *De Dipsadibus*²¹. Having prepared the ground for his works, Lucian openly says that he is going to be the water for his audience. He is an essential source of education due to his literary creations, and rhetorical accomplishments. The reference to κρουνός, the spring, the torrent of words, should not escape our attention. The comparison of Homer to a spring, from which all later authors drank make the selection of κρουνός by Lucian probably not coincidental. In this last *prolalia* Lucian practices all the techniques for which he has prepared his audience in the aforementioned introductory speeches. He starts with the technique of estrangement, the story about the Libyans and a very dangerous species of snakes. Afterwards he relates it to himself in a smart, rhetorical and most of all unexpected way. He may even hope that his audience will be pleased, but they will also not underestimate or overlook the quality of his writings, being absorbed by his strange story (οἷς δὲ ἐγὼ ἐπεποίθειν, οὐ πάνυ ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν θήλεια Ἴπποκένταυρος γεγραμμένη, τοῦτο μόνον ἐκπλήττονται. . . τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μάτην ἄρα τῷ Ζεῦξιδι πεποίηται ἀλλ' οὐ μάτην-γραφικοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς καὶ μετὰ τέχνης ἕκαστα ὄρατε, 12). We certainly cannot dismiss the possibility that he hopes to win them over by the estrangement itself.

²¹ Nesselrath (1990) 122-5 discusses the sources for *De Dipsadibus* and Lucian's debt to Herodotus and probably Pliny.

The last introductory work is *Electrum*, where Lucian as a true orator and sophist employs the famous technique of *captatio benevolentiae*. He informs his audience that there are many authors who promise exquisite things and they end up disappointing their readers (πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔστι πιστεύοντας τοῖς πρὸς τὸ μείζον ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένοις, 6.21); there are others who are indeed very unique (ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐντύχοις ἂν Ἡριδανοῖς τισι καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἤλεκτρον, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸς ἀποστάζει τῶν λόγων, 6.28-30), but Lucian says that his audience should not expect too much from him and then feel frustrated (τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ὀραῖτε ἤδη ὁποῖον ἀπλοικὸν καὶ ἄμυθον, οὐδέ τις ῥῶδῃ πρόσσεστιν. . . 6.31-2; ἤδη οὖν σοι προλέγω, ἐκχέας τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀποκαλύψας τὰ μὰ μηδὲν μέγα προσδοκῆσης ἀνιμήσεσθαι, ἢ σαυτὸν αἰτιάσῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος, 6.3-5). It should also be noticed that in the first part the author includes an extensive literary and possibly social criticism. When he talks about the authors who promise Heridanus, amber and singing swans as the followers of Apollo, he is probably targeting fiction literature, which sometimes poses as historiography, and he castigates this tendency in *De Historia Scribendis* as well as in *Vera Historia*, while he also attempts to show disapproval of those people who are not moderate in their way of life, and their promises to others. As a matter of fact several of his works are against immoderate tendencies, or excessive criticisms against one nation or another. Lucian always tries to keep the balance and even when it seems that he has lost meaning, he does that only in order to parody, or teach by example. Even, for instance, in *De Mercede Conductis*, he not only reprimands the Roman patron, but he gives a fair share of the fault to the Greek client as well, as I discussed in Chapter 2. His works on ‘foreign nations’, namely *Anacharsis*, *Scythia* and *Toxaris*, which will be discussed later in this chapter, are evidence of his ability to judge, be

moderate and always try to put himself in someone else's position and in that case in the place of the audience.

With regards to Gellius, the first thing we notice is that he wrote a *Praefatio*, which shows that he is employing the techniques of the orators of the period in that he wishes to capture the audience's *captatio benevolentiae*. Except for the beginning of the introduction which was discussed above, Gellius wishes to have a favorable reception, just like Lucian does. Therefore, he starts from the title of his work, claiming that it is not so creative, unlike other authors'. Does he really believe that? As a matter of fact, when someone reads the title of the work, he does not really know what to expect. The title, therefore, seems to be more creative than Gellius gives it credit for. He also acknowledges that other authors found intelligent titles for their works, but he is not one of them (*eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt*, 1); his style may even seem rustic (*Nos vero, ut captus noster est, incuriose et immeditate ac prope etiam subrustice . . . 1*). We cannot help but wonder if Gellius here is being honest and he has realized his limitations, or if he is employing a sophistic motif when he does not prepare the audience for much so that they will be positively surprised when they hear what he has to say. He may be a real sophist at this point, considering that he goes on to say that he is aware of his limitations, something which is a very traditional rhetorical way by which to gain the reader's benevolence (*Nos vero, ut captus noster est, incuriose et immeditate ac prope etiam subrustice . . . Praef. 10*)²². The fact is that here, although Gellius has not used a fancy title for his work, the title still does not prepare the reader for what he is about to read. It is a title which can certainly trick, something which Apuleius' *Florida* does not do²³. As a matter of fact, some of the works he

²² Cf. also Pliny, *NH* pr. 13-6.

²³ See also Holford-Strevens (2003) 37f.

mentions, have less imaginative titles, like *Antiquarum Lectionum*, *Memoriales*, or even Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας (*Praef.* 6, 8)²⁴.

From the very beginning we notice that he declares openly that his work is not a literary contribution. Although the beginning of the line is lost, the surviving text begins with Gellius saying that there are other more entertaining writings that can be found and recreate his children (*iucundiora alia reperiri queunt, ad hoc ut liberis quoque meis partae istiusmodi remissiones essent, quando animus eorum interstitione aliqua negotiorum data laxari indulgerique potuisset*). He would not have used *iucundiora*, however, if he did not consider his own work to be *iucundus* as well. The similarity of this statement to Lucian's introduction of the *Verae Historiae* is striking. Lucian says προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων ἀνάγνωσιν ἀνιέναι τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπειτα κάματον ἀκμαιοτέραν παρασκευάζειν 1-2. It is worth noticing, however, that Lucian is still being more rhetorical and sophistic than Gellius. He supports his statement by following a climactic argumentation. He says that just like athletes need a recess, the same way a person of letters needs a relaxation from his mental work. Lucian obviously considers learning process to be one which takes up your whole time and it can be compared, with regards to the strenuousness, to any physical work. Gellius, on the other hand, probably displaying a more practical Roman nature that favors the *negotium* instead of the *otium*, claims that these kinds of writings are used as a respite from physical and real work. This difference in the theses of the two authors may from the very beginning indicate the difference between an orator and sophist from an educated Roman, who

²⁴ See Gunderson (2009) 18-51 for a discussion of Gellius' *praefatio*, where the author argues that Gellius' title is not as simplistic he proclaims and that as a matter of fact Gellius "by explicitly bringing up the question of the title, Gellius ensures the conjoint having and eating of the *Honeycomb* and the *Bountiful Harvest*. That is, he can give all these titles to his work and none of them to it."

although he may have dedicated his life to letters and writing, he still considers them to be a secondary pursuit. It does not seem inexplicable, however, if we consider the fact that the Golden period for Roman letters came to an end a while ago, in the age of Nero. Gellius, no matter how important his compilation may be, he still cannot be considered a literary contributor. Another important aspect which is hidden behind the introductory sentences of Lucian and Gellius is the literary criticism. Both of them acknowledge that there are different literary genres and not only that, but they also rank their works in the entertaining, the narratological genre. Without examining at this point, if they believe that or if they just wish to appeal to the interest of their audience, it is important to emphasize the fact that by that time, authors were conscious of others and consequently self-conscious as well. It is not something that you find in authors of the Classical period; in fact it is only in Aristophanes' *Frogs* that we have the first sample of literary criticism in the judgment of Euripides and Sophocles, but certainly not to the degree that we see in Gellius and Lucian. Furthermore, Gellius' literary technique involves not only numerous literary criticisms, but it also works as meta-language. He is not only discussing about other works, but he also provides criticisms about his own work, when, for instance, he says that he found the title working in a rustic fashion (*subrustice, Praef. 10*).

Gellius emphasizes also that his material is related to learning and subsequently it is useful. He does not, at least in the preface, make any claims that he is going to discuss any social or practical issues. Considering that one can argue that Gellius is not socially sensitive and acute like Lucian. Romans at the time seem to be more interested in establishing a literary self, than in either creating something new or addressing social issues. This does to mean, however, that their works do not have political bearings, as I will try to show later in the chapter.

Another characteristic which differentiates Lucian from Gellius is the way in which each one talks about authors of other nationalities. As it was discussed above, Lucian is open to new ideas and he also goes as far as to compare himself to Herodotus, or even Zeuxis, people of different nationalities. Gellius does not appear to be so open-minded. Instead he says that, although the Greeks have already written some compilations, they did not make any selection; they just wrote about anything that came into their way. Thus, their works cannot be as useful as his²⁵. A question that arises is why Gellius criticizes the Greeks. It could be because there have been well-known Greek authors, like Athenaeus, Plutarch or Apollodorus who have followed the same path in their literary creations; therefore, it is only reasonable that he compares himself to them. Why then does he not make any reference to Apuleius? Is it because, although he was from Africa, he wrote in Latin, or because Gellius feels threatened only by the Greeks? Whatever the reason may be, we notice that Gellius' work is placed in a bicultural environment, where a Roman is conscious of the Greeks, their production and their comparability with the Romans; one cannot help but read also a degree of negativity targeting non Romans and it becomes more revealing if we consider that it appears in the introduction of the work, and in one of the few places where Gellius expresses his own opinion. In most of the narrations, he does not offer his own view, except for the occasional admission that a story seems strange even to him²⁶.

With regards to the intentions of the two authors and what they claim that their intention is, Lucian never openly admits what he wishes to achieve. That would actually oppose the techniques and reasoning of a representative of the Second Sophistic. The fact remains, however, that Lucian intrigues his audience and that the latter need to be educated and sharp in judgment

²⁵ Cf. Pliny 5.20.4 '*Est plerisque Graecorum, ut illi, pro copia volubilitas: tam longas tamque frigidas perihodos uno spiritu quasi torrente contorquent.*'

²⁶ Stevenson (2004) 139-41 discusses the way Gellius distances himself from taking a position either by declaring that he is unfit to express a view, or by hiding behind other authorships.

in order to follow his argumentation or even perceive the message and understand his intentions. Gellius, on the contrary, openly emphasizes his intention to alert the minds of his readers and stimulate their interests (*ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque atrium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent. . . Praef. 12*). So, although, in the beginning of the introduction he claimed that his work was to be a remission for the mind, he now says that he actually wishes to influence people mentally and, considering the content of his works, he intends to put his signature in various aspects of his contemporaries' lives, namely the ones pertaining to religion, archaisms, Roman history, even their attitude towards non-Roman nations²⁷.

The point in the introduction where Gellius is close to Lucian is when he warns his readers not to skip his writings because they might find some obscure material. Both Lucian and Gellius are afraid that something may repel their readers. Lucian is worried about the fact that he is a foreigner and that he employs eccentric techniques, and Gellius because some of his topics are difficult to comprehend (*quod erunt autem in his commentariis pauca quaedam scrupulosa et anxia, vel ex grammatica vel ex dialectica vel etiam ex geometrica, quodque erunt item paucula remotiora super augurio iure et pontifico, non oportet ea defugere, quasi aut cognitu non utilia aut perceptu difficilia, Praef. 13*). Another Lucianic motif presents itself when Gellius says that some of the things that he talks about may seem to his readers new or uncommon (*nova. . . ignotaque. . . Praef. 16*). Later on he talks once more on the same subject, emphasizing the obscurity of some of the topics and how they are to be treated by the readers (*quae autem parum plana videbuntur aut minus plena instructaque, petimus, inquam, ut ea non docendi magis quam*

²⁷ See Holford-Strevens (2003) 37f. on the proclamations of Gellius regarding the educational ambitions he entertains for his work. Gellius' intentions abide by the interests of his time, meaning that grammar and linguistics defined, according to the second century archaists, the Roman elite. See Gleason (1995) 167; Swain (1996) 64; McNelis (2007) 292. An example from Gellius is *NA* 17.6 which is about the setting of social boundaries and even the position and power of women in society based on the use of language.

admonendi gratia scripta existiment. . . Praef. 17). This is a striking similarity to Lucian's *prolaliae* even verbally. He extends the same request, as Lucian, to his readers that they should not be ready to judge him negatively or dismiss what he has to say only because it sounds strange to them. The only difference from Lucian here is that Gellius is concerned only with the reception of the works, while Lucian makes sure that he emphasizes his nationality as well. What is also worth mentioning is that Gellius' concerns pertain to the study of oratory. He wishes to stimulate his readers' minds, to make it more vigorous, their memory trustworthy, their eloquence more effective, and their diction purer, or the pleasures of their hours of leisure and recreation more refined (*ad alendum stadium vescae vel ad oblectandum fovendumque animum frigidae, sed eius seminis generisque sint ex quo facile adolescent aut ingenia hominum vegetiora aut memoria*²⁸ *adminiculator auto ratio sollertior*²⁹ *aut sermo incorruptior aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior, Praef. 16*)³⁰. Therefore, Gellius not only wishes to leave something for his children to benefit from; in fact, he wishes to have a larger audience and also to be appreciated. He is more rhetorical here contrary to what he let the readers believe in the beginning of the *praefatio*. It is only reasonable at the time to have Roman citizens trying to

²⁸ In 5.3 Gellius refers once more the role of memory. Cf. also Quintilian *Instit.* 1 pr. 26, 1.3.; Cicero *De Oratore* 1.18, 157; 2.299-300, 350-60; 3.230.

²⁹ Cf. also Cicero *De Oratore* 2.108, 132.

³⁰ Gellius dedicated several of his writings to oratory. He seems more interested in Cato, Gaius Gracchus and Cicero. He even has citations to Cato's *Origines* (3.7.19). He favors the thesis that Roman oratory is a sign of Roman excellence which can distinguish Roman citizens socially and he seems also that he uses rhetoric, grammar and linguistics as a means of a dividing line between Romans and the other nations. McNelis (2007) 293 argues on the contrary that: "The correlation between power and language must also be viewed in light of Rome's growing dominance over the Mediterranean." Clarke (1996) 130-8 claims that the Antonine age was not distinguished for its achievements in oratory. It was only Fronto who has something to demonstrate, but still "So Fronto has much to say about style, and little about the matter of oratory". For more references to oratory cf. *NA* 6.3.52,53; 10.3.16,13.25; 10.3.1; 1.5.2-3; 19.14.1; 3.1;2.7; See also Holford-Strevens (1988) 142-65; (2003) 290-4; Kennedy (1994) passim; Dominic and Hall (eds.) 2007 passim; Morgan (2004) argues that Gellius' references to rhetoric are part of the educational goals that he has for his work, 'All these stories act protreptically, to show why oratory is worth-studying'. Gunderson (2000) 127-31; 140-1 has also discussed the power of rhetoric as a performance and as a way to 'measure' masculinity, which emphasizes more Gellius' obsession with language and public conduct. For a history of *paideia* and its relation to grammar, rhetoric and language see Morgan (1998).

make a lasting and broad impression on their audience. Orators from other places swarm around Roman emperors, others acquire Roman citizenship, are awarded with offices, and they achieve all that by means of their impressionable tactics and the composition and delivery of speeches. It is only expectable from Gellius to look forward to this kind of recognition. His emphasis also on religious and moral matters, as it is presented later in the chapter, denotes his intention to contribute to the survival of the Roman history and culture. This can only be achieved if one is heard and read not only by his close family members.

The way Lucian and Gellius handle paradoxographic literature is also up to a certain point the same. This is why one may argue that Gellius, although he is not an orator and he does not have an audience to persuade, is employing rhetorical techniques. They are both worried that in case something seems unfamiliar to their audience, they are bound to be rejected. Lucian, as more competent, and smarter in handling these kinds of situations, invents the stories he narrates in his *prolaliae* and the message he sends is that he is not to be dismissed; he ventures, on the contrary, to teach people how to look further than what is in front of their eyes. Gellius, on the other hand, is less ‘adventurous’ and does not usually surprise the readers. He admits that some of the topics he has included in his works may be obscure, but people should not be afraid and quick in their judgment. Nowhere do we see the flexibility, the resourcefulness or the manoeuvres that Lucian is employing when he wraps his audience around his finger. Gellius is straightforward, and someone might say quite unimaginative. Is it because he is not interested in tricking his readers, or in anything other than education? The truth is that we cannot be certain. The fact, however, that he claims in the *praefatio* that he wants his writings to motivate his readers into more profound knowledge and help them develop a more astute memory and clear eloquence, denotes that he has in mind more than he lets us believe at the beginning; but he is

probably just not as adept as Lucian. This may have to do with the fact that Lucian tried to gain a position in society and an office in Roman bureaucracy, which helped him develop dexterities in speech and persuasion that Gellius did not.

What sets Gellius apart from sophists and orators is that he encourages his readers not to censure him, in case they disapprove of or disagree with something he says. He suggests instead that they criticize the sources from which he drew his material. It is not a standard motif for any author, of either poetry or prose, to accept openly that he is not the mind behind his writings and it is definitely not characteristic of Second Sophistic authors to either imitate, or, if they do, to admit it openly. Gellius, on the other hand, accepts the possibility that someone may disagree with him, but he states that he does not intend to oppose him (*Quae vero putaverint reprehendenda, his, si audebunt, succenseant, unde ea nos accepimus; Praef. 18*). He also quotes other authors in order to serve his intentions, but he is not so competent in incorporating them into his work cleverly. At the end of his *praefatio*, he simply quotes a few verses from Aristophanes' *Frogs*, in order to show that his writings are intended for educated people and not for the uninitiated mob (*atque etiam, quo sit quorundam male doctorum hominum scaevitas et invidentia irritator, mutuabor ex Aristophane choro anapaesta pauca...neve adeat profestum et profanum vulgus. . . Praef. 20-1*)³¹.

The conclusion from the above comparison of Lucian and Gellius is that the latter compiles information, writes his own encyclopaedia, but his ulterior motive is to send messages pertaining to social and moral integrity, as well as linguistic, educational and religiously related

³¹ Both Holford-Strevens (2003) 125 and Swain (2004) 30 have pointed Gellius' choice to quote Aristophanes and have related that to the tendency of the second century educated Roman to belong in the group of the educated, which had as a prerequisite the familiarity with both Latin and Greek. Therefore, in one quotation Gellius provides a clear vignette of the spirit of his times. On bilingualism see also Horsfall (1979) 79-95; Dubuisson (1981a) 274-86; Adams (2003). On the language, the style and Atticism at the time see Swain (1996) 17-42; on Gellius' language and style see Holford-Strevens (2003) 48-64.

issues. He wishes his descendants to be in a position to know how the Romans spoke, how they acted and how moral they were. In other words, Gellius wishes his books to create a long lasting, written social and educational history for the Romans³². Lucian is more socially aware and active. He is not, or at least he does not, seem concerned about the past. He is aware of the present and he is criticizing, or trying to improve, or laughing at the present and his contemporaries, the Greeks, the Romans, the Scythians, the citizens of the Roman Empire.

Who are the Foreigners After All?

Another aspect of Lucian's writings which can easily be overlooked since the author seems almost to keep it well disguised is his thesis on the other nations, other than the Greeks and the Romans. He does not have a separate treatise on the Syrians for instance, but his presentations of them in several dialogues are always in relation to the Greeks or the Romans. He is well aware of the fact, and he has also proved that there is an interaction between everyone in the boundaries of the Empire and up to a degree there is a familiarization³³. It may not always be easily discernible, or people might not be willing to admit it, but Lucian has seen it happening. This is one of the reasons why one should try to examine his world view at this point. His works *Toxaris*³⁴, *Scytha* and *Anacharsis* as well as numerous references to 'foreigners' in the houses of Romans, show different attitudes, and social stereotypes³⁵. *Toxaris*³⁶ is a dialogue between

³² *Polymatheia* is a crucial aspect of 2nd century society, both Greek and Roman; it was a prerequisite and a privilege for the elite and a way for Roman citizens, with the broader sense of the word citizen, to distinguish themselves in the new society. It is not only Gellius who focuses on that. Strabo also emphasizes the utility of his geography for men of status and high offices and on how important education and erudition are (παιδεία, πολυμάθεια).

³³ See Jones (1986) 158-9 on Lucian's perception of society. "No doubt like most authors he did not aim to reach a single audience only; he could hope that what pleased those who heard his recitals would also please those who read his works in Gaul or Commagene" (159).

³⁴ For a discussion on *Toxaris* pertaining to Lucian narrative techniques see Anderson (1976) 12-23

³⁵ On these three works and also on Dio of Prusa's consideration of the 'foreigners', the 'barbarians' see also Gangloff (2007). She does not, however, discuss or relate these three Lucianic dialogues with his persona, his place in the society and she does not suggest what they may tell us about the social circumstances at the time.

Mnesippus, a Greek, and Toxaris, a Scythian. Lucian starts the dialogue addressing religion, an undeniably sensitive issue which is, however, the core of ancient communities. Mnesippus is being critical about the worshipping of Orestes and Pylades (θύετε Ὀρέστη καὶ Πυλάδη ὑμεῖς οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι πεπιστεύκατε αὐτούς; 1.1-2) and Toxaris explains that they are not being worshipped as deities, but as praiseworthy individuals (θύομεν, οὐ μὴν θεοὺς γε οἰόμενοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, 1.3-4). The question that Mnesippus poses next could be considered critical on behalf of Lucian as regards the Greeks. He asks why should the Scythians try to appease and win the favor of Orestes and Pylades since they are not deities and they are already dead (Τί θηρώμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν; . . . νεκροῖς γε οὖσιν, 1.8-9). We should notice the different ideas concerning religion described here, as well as the *do ut des* nature of the Greeks and the more unselfish nature of the Scythians. Mnesippus then slightly derides the latter for honoring someone who has slighted them and ridiculed their king, by taking Iphigeneia, the statue of Artemis and by assassinating their king (ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς δεσμοφύλαξι καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐπικρατήσαντες τόν τε βασιλέα κτείνουσι καὶ τὴν ἱέρειαν παραλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν αὐτὴν ἀποσυλήσαντες ᾤχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καταγελάσαντες τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν, 2.14-5). This is the point where Lucian not only shows that nations consider things differently, but he also suggests that except for the Greeks who have appropriated self-righteousness and the Romans who claim that they set the record of morality, there are other nations in the Roman Empire who have high, even if different, moral

³⁶ For a discussion on Toxaris pertaining to Lucian narrative techniques see Anderson (1976) 12-23

standards³⁷. The point, however, is not who is right and who is wrong; it is rather the realization of the variety of opinions. Lucian puts his social experience into words and suggests communication between the nations.

Another aspect of the dialogue in need of consideration is the linguistic part. Lucian employs the stereotypical word βάρβαρος when he refers to Scythians. First, when Toxaris explains the reasons for honoring Orestes and Pylades he says that they are respected for not being afraid to explore places which were thought to be inhabited by ‘wild nations’ (μὴ καταπλαγέντας μήτε τοὺς μύθους τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτῶ μήτε τὴν προσηγορίαν καταδείσαντας ὅτι ἄξενος ἐκαλεῖτο, οἷα, οἶμαι ἀγρίων ἐθνῶν περιοικούντων. . . 3.26-8). The phrase ἀγρίων ἐθνῶν, though, coming from Toxaris shows a self-realization on behalf of the Scythians and Lucian’s acute observation with regards to society and its attitude, or may be its immaturity, regarding the unknown. Later on Toxaris calls his nation ‘barbarians’. The opposition between the expression ‘we the barbarians’ and the fact that Scythians are presented as being more grateful to their deities than others, clearly displays Lucian’s thesis, and it should have been a wake-up call for his audience as well. Lucian therefore through Toxaris openly berates those who still cling to outdated stereotypes and are thus prevented from getting in touch with 2nd century reality and consequently from relaxing their defenses against foreign nations³⁸.

³⁷ Bompaire (1958) 685 points out that Lucian contradicts the preconceived inferiority of the Scythians when, for instance, in *Toxaris* "...mais le fait d'envoyer Lonkhatès en ambassadeur pur régler précisément une affaire de pacage et la brigandage(49) est encore une trouvaille."

³⁸ It is important in order to set Lucian in a specific context to understand if the Greek element has blended with the foreign and how this infiltrates even imaginary narratives of the period. On the fusion of civilizations and the degree of acceptance as can be seen in different authors of this time frame, other than Lucian, regarding religion cf. also Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 67 where he says that gods are for all nations the same, but they are just being called by different names. See also Momigliano (1980) on the relation between the Greeks and the ‘barbarians’ in the Hellenistic period. The presentation of the self-consciousness of the Greeks and their role in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time may shed some light on the feelings of Greeks towards the barbarians and consequently towards the stereotypes that Lucian is mockingly employing in these works. The author also argues that earlier the

The irony is double here since Toxaris, the literary personality, is Scythian, and Lucian, the author, is Syrian. We should not fail to notice also that Lucian was walking on a thin line considering that he wanted, on the one hand, to be well-received by his audience, but he ran the danger of insulting some of them or walking on grounds that some people were probably not ready to handle at the time.

Later in the dialogue Mnesippus launches an impugnation that targets the Scythian's culture. He says that although the Scythians are considered dexterous archers, it seems that they are also very accomplished speakers. Mnesippus' entire argumentation is clearly founded on stereotypes. He appears to be suspicious and intransigently judgmental when it comes to the Scythians and their lifestyle. Toxaris, on the contrary, is portrayed as free of standardized ideas and as being eager to explain that it does not matter if someone is Greek or Scythian as long as he displays arrant conduct. Ἄκουε δὴ, ὦ θαυμάσιε, καὶ σκόπει καθ' ὅσον ἡμεῖς οἱ βάρβαροι εὐγνωμονέστερον ὑμῶν περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν κρίνομεν, εἴ γε ἐν Ἄργει μὲν καὶ Μυκῆναις οὐδὲ τάφον ἐνδοξον ἔστιν ἰδεῖν Ὀρέστου ἢ Πυλάδου, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ νεῶς ἀποδέδεικται αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐταίροις γε οὖσι, καὶ θυσίαι προσάγονται καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τιμὴ ἅπασα, κωλύει τε οὐδὲν ὅτι ξένοι ἦσαν ἀλλὰ μὴ Σκύθαι ἀγαθοὺς κεκρίσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν ἀρίστων θεραπεύεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐξετάζομεν ὅθεν οἱ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ εἰσιν, οὐδὲ φθονοῦμεν εἰ μὴ φίλοι ὄντες ἀγαθὰ εἰργάσαντο, ἐπαινοῦντες δὲ ἅ ἔπραξαν, οἰκείους αὐτοῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ποιούμεθα. (5) It is difficult not to notice the way Lucian portrays Toxaris,

danger of the imminent Roman occupation brought the Greeks and 'the others' closer. He also gives an account, which sets the foundation for Lucian's era, of the change in these relations that was taking place after the Roman conquest.

the maturity of his rationale, the degree of self-consciousness as well as the irony of the use of the word βάρβαρος by the person who displays the aforementioned qualities.

Even after Toxaris has delivered that speech, Mnesippus seems unable to comprehend how the Scythians can be so different than what he had expected. In what could be considered an insult therefore, he expresses his astonishment at the Scythian's eloquence, for, as he says, the latter are only considered dexterous archers. Ὡ Τόξαρι, οὐ μόνον ἄρα τοξεύειν ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν Σκύθαι καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμείνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥῆσιν εἰπεῖν ἀπάντων πιθανώτατοι. (8)

He also says that the Scythians were thought to be wild and inhospitable, and that the Greeks believe those who claim that Scythians cannot be friends and that they also eat their fathers when they die. ἄτε γὰρ ἀξένους καὶ ἀγρίους ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἔχθρα μὲν ἀεὶ συνεῖναι καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ, φιλίαν δὲ μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπαναιρεῖσθαι, τεκμαιρόμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἃ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούομεν καὶ ὅτι κατεσθίουσι τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθανόντας. (8)

Lucian could be referring here to Herodotus, Pliny, Ctesias, or even Gellius and their accounts of strange stories about foreign nations. He also displays how easy it is to misinterpret someone if you do not get the chance, or if you refuse the opportunity to get to know them. The end of the dialogue seems to have the place of a *sphragis* or a *parabasis* in Old Comedy where Lucian demolishes centuries of stereotypes. Mnesippus suggests that they should forget their first agreement about losing an arm or an eye, if they lose the competition, and Toxaris agrees. They both agree to be friends and they declare their satisfaction at having a friend, even if he is in Greece or Scythia respectively. Mnesippus is the one who closes the dialogue by saying that he

will not be afraid to venture further in the world so long as he knows that he has friends like Toxaris. Καὶ μὴν, εὔ ἴσθι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι καὶ ἔτι πορρωτέρω ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μέλλω τοιούτοις φίλοις ἐντεύξεσθαι οἷος σύ, ὦ Τόξαρι, διεφάνης ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων. (63)

Lucian shows that a moral thesis is honored outside of national boundaries, and that even the Greek, who was defensive towards the Scythian at first, has accepted the latter's acculturation. Mnesippus now considers Toxaris on an equal basis, he countermands his earlier questioning of the latter's and the Scythian culture and realizes that they may not be that different, or that being different is not necessarily bad after all. Lucian aspires at two results: the first has to do with the amelioration of the intercultural relations in the Roman Empire and the other concerns his career as an orator; he is ambitious and he wishes to climb the hierarchical ladder in the Roman Empire. Therefore he strives for a meritocratic valuation of his abilities and he implicitly, through the characters in his works, declares that he does not want to be just the outsider-foreigner, but the Syrian individual who can be accepted for what he is, without being defined by social stereotypes³⁹.

With regards to *Scytha* Lucian seems to move further into the berating of social stereotypes. Contrary to the expectation that the title may raise to the reader, Lucian does not alienate the Scythians from the rest of the Empire by narrating some strange event that took place amidst them, or a peculiar ritual that they are accustomed to perform. He presents instead the view of a Scythian who is visiting Athens⁴⁰. Lucian portrays Anacharsis and his first impression

³⁹ See Jones (1986) 158-9 on Lucian's perception of society. "No doubt like most authors he did not aim to reach a single audience only; he could hope that what pleased those who heard his recitals would also please those who read his works in Gaul or Commagene." (159)

⁴⁰ Bompaire (1958) 221-35 also says that Lucian presents the world from a different point of view ("on trouvera encore dans l' Hermetimos une parabole audacieuse, où le monde est vu du point de vue des nègres", 232). He makes sure to note, however, that "Barbare ou hellénique, le cadre géographique est conventionnel" (234). Even

of Athens and something that may remain unnoticed is that Lucian gives the view of a person who considers Greek the ‘unfamiliar’ for him (οἷα δὴ ξένος καὶ βάρβαρος οὐ μετρίως τεταραγμένος ἔτι τὴν γνώμη, πάντα ἀγνοῶν, ψοφοδεὴς πρὸς τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἔχων ὅτι χρήσαιτο ἑαυτῷ, 3.21-23; οὕτως ἐτεταράγμην ξένα καὶ ἄγνωστα πάντα ὁρῶν, 4.23-4). Anacharsis, like Toxaris in the homonymous work, is very open-minded, maybe more than a Greek or a Roman would have been in his place. The former, although amazed even at the attire of the Athenians, is willing to become acquainted with what he considers to be a civilization and a city worthy of admiration (μαθητὴν σου ἴσθι με γεγεννημένον καὶ ζηλωτὴν τοῦ ἔρωτος ὃν ἠράσθης, ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμπορίαν ταύτην ἀποδημήσας, 4.19-21). Everything seems ambiguous at first, the clothes, the way the Athenians wear their hair (Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐσταλμένον, ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένον, ὑπεξυρημένον τὸ γένειον ἄζωστον, ἀσίδηρον, ἤδη στωμύλον, αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀπτικῶν ἓνα τῶν αὐτοχθόνων, 3.3-5), so much that Anacharsis plans on returning to Scythia. Lucian at this point launches a rather acrimonious attack against the Greeks employing a social stereotype when Anacharsis describes Toxaris as being στωμύλον⁴¹. What is important is that Lucian here puts the Greeks on the opposite side, on the side of the one who is being judged; and since there are several stereotypes targetting foreign nations, Lucian makes a strong point when he says that in this case it is a Scythian who finds the Greeks outlandish. Anacharsis emphasizes also the feminine aspect of the Athenians for he focuses on the fact that the Greeks do not carry any kind

though Bompaire notices a conventional note in Lucian, the unconventional employment of common motifs cannot be denied.

⁴¹ The most frequent use of the word στωμύλος bears the definition of ‘talkative’. Cf. for instance *Ar. Ach.* 4.29; *Pl. Ery.* 397d. In *AP* 9.39 τὰ στώμυλα ταῦτα has the meaning of nonsense.

of armor (ἀσίδηρον, 3). Up to this point Lucian draws a dividing line between Athenians and Scythians by presenting one through the eyes of the other. The next thing that he mentions, however, is meant to demolish the barrier; he says that the two Scythians converse in their native language (Ἀλλὰ Τόξαρις Σκυθιστὶ προσειπὼν αὐτόν. . . 4.1). The whole scene is the technique of estrangement in reverse. The event takes place in Athens, but the interlocutors are not natives. The environment for both of them used to be or is still unfamiliar. At the end of the work, however, even Anacharsis seems to be accustomed to his new life (τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἐμυήθη μόνος βαρβάρων Ἀνάχαρσις, δημοποίητος γενόμενος. . . καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἀνέστρεψεν οἶμαι ἐς Σκύθας, εἰ μὴ Σόλων ἀπέθανεν, 8.28, 7-9). Lucian has captured in written form the idea of his century, namely cultural fusion. There are many nations which interact and it is more realistic when you try to assess this era to take this into consideration. Lucian also obviously believes that there has been communication and familiarization between the nations in the Roman Empire. It is reasonable that cultures are not the same and need not be assimilated; they need, though, to co-exist. Contrary to what other authors claim, contrary to the dissensions between Greeks and Romans, Lucian shows that people should be open to this society and, without forgetting their identity (Toxaris recognizes Anacharsis as a Scythian, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἢ στολὴ αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσατο πατριῶτις οὔσα. . . 3.28-9, and converses with him in their native language), they need to learn more about different civilizations⁴². The degree of difference therefore, according to Lucian, has either decreased or he simply admonishes his contemporaries to handle their differences in a way befitting citizens of a multinational society and not of rustic, ‘city-state’ like nations. Lucian then turns his attention to

⁴² An example of Lucian’s loyalty to his identity is in *De Dea Syria*, where he writes in ionic dialect, but he does not completely disregard the traditional identity of the goddess and the characteristics of her local worship.

himself. He uses first person narration and says that he should not be disavowed on account of his appearance and his resemblance to a king (καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μὴ νεμεσήσητέ μοι τῆς εἰκόνοσ, εἰ βασιλικῶ ἀνδρὶ ἐμαυτὸν εἴκασα. . . 9.9-10).

He acknowledges his ethnic alterity as well as his discomposure regarding his reception by the Greco-Roman community and thus he invites to ascertain that he is an integral part of their world. The connecting line between Lucian and his character, Anacharsis is unequivocal. They are both foreigners, but they are willing to fit in the new society. Athens has clearly inculcated Greek-ness into Anacharsis and he now fits in his adopted land and Lucian demonstrates his adeptness and desire to do so as well. He even plays with the word βάρβαρος⁴³. In a work against social stereotypes, Lucian uses one over and over again so that he can teach by example. He approaches the Greeks, not by opposing them, but by embracing some of their views. The end of *Scytha* is an amazing display of Lucian's dexterity as he emphasizes his importance as an orator, while we should not fail to notice the simultaneous realization of the role of public speeches. He points out the importance of being a good public speaker and he concludes by saying that anyone who has influential friends like Alcibiades will be able to sail quietly in life (ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπάρξει, εὖδια πάντα καὶ πλοῦς οὖριος καὶ λειοκύμων ἢ θάλαττα καὶ ὁ λιμὴν πλησίον, 11.4-6). The point he probably makes here is the essentiality of his position and his abilities. He is an orator and that means that he can win over an audience. In the second century C.E. the relation of the provinces with the emperors rendered abilities like that invaluable. Hence, Lucian, on the one hand, presents himself as trying to capture the audience's good will, while, on the other hand, he emphasizes the significance of his rhetorical efficacy.

⁴³ *Scytha* 3.19; 8.28; 9.10.

Another image of the relation between the Greeks and a foreign nation is also found in *Anacharsis*. Solon, the Athenian law-giver, and Anacharsis, the Scythian, are the interlocutors. The conclusion, however, that their discussion reaches is different than the one in *Scytha*. Although in the latter we notice the willingness of the Scythian to be syncretized with the Greek customs, even a degree of awe in front of the Greeks, in *Anacharsis* the Scythian displays disavowal of the Athenian lifestyle and he states that he cannot comprehend the essentiality of gymnastics. What is the conclusion that Lucian wishes his audience to reach? One could argue that the author contradicts in a way *Scytha* and his previous thesis about the ability of different nations to come close. *Anacharsis*, however, can also be viewed as a statement in favor of what, in my opinion, Lucian has been advocating all along. Nowhere does he show that people should forget their identities and become fused with either the Greeks or the Romans. On the contrary, in *Scytha* Anacharsis admits openly his identity and origin and still wishes to learn more about the Greeks. In the same work Toxaris also, as it was mentioned previously, converses with Anacharsis in their native language. *Anacharsis* therefore comes to complement the idea of interaction between the nations in the Roman Empire and also advocate the preservation of everyone's identity. That way he can also anticipate possible objections to what could be considered by some people in his audience a promotion of ethnic miscegenation.

The first aspect of the dialogue is Anacharsis' request to get specific answers about certain aspects of Greek culture, namely athletics and theater. This detailed discussion complements *Scytha* where Anacharsis appears as an apprentice of Solon and seems to be willing to accept everything uncritically, only on the basis that it is Greek and therefore praiseworthy. As a matter of fact, Toxaris in the same work is portrayed as being utterly hellenized as he even looks Greek. Lucian in *Scytha* shows the evolution of Anacharsis. He may very well be making the point that

people are open to change, they can also adopt characteristics of different nations, but beyond that it is just a matter of any individual to decide where he belongs and to dismiss any elements which do not express his individuality or his national identity, as he perceives it. Anacharsis at the end of the dialogue with Solon is still intransigently critical towards Athenian lifestyle and he goes as far as to impugn their decency. It is also important to notice that Lucian chooses to relate athletics and theater to the social stereotype of masculinity and bravery⁴⁴. This is another deprecation of society's tendency to create social stereotypes and interpret behaviors on that basis.

More specifically, Anacharsis watches young Athenians practice and wrestle and he wonders what is the point of that and why they would need to fight, lie in the sand, or even apply oil on their bodies and how all that may benefit themselves or their city (Ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν, ὦ Σόλω, τίνος ἔνεκα οἱ νέοι ποιῶσιν οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν περιπλεκόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὑποσκελίζουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄγχουσι καὶ λυγίζουσι καὶ ἐν πηλῷ συναναφύρονται κυλινδούμενοι ὥσπερ σύες. . . καὶ τὰ μέτωπα συναράπτουσιν ὥσπερ οἱ κριοί...καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἔνεκα φείδονται μὴ μολύνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφανίσαντες τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τοῦ βορβόρου ἀναπλησθέντες ἐν ἰδρωτί ἅμα πολλῷ γέλωταἶμοι γοῦνπαρέχουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ ἐγχέλυες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν διολισθαίνοντες1.1-4; 1.7-8; 1.13-16). Solon who is called to 'initiate' the Scythian into the mentality of the Athenians explains that young men practice in order to be healthy and ready to fight in case of war and discard the fear of pain (οὐ

⁴⁴ Cf. Ungefehr-Kortus (1996), 211-17. See also Marrou (1948) 201-204 for a discussion on how Lucian presents a foreigner who questions the importance of athletics and the acuteness of his critique if one considers the relation between the notion of hellenismos and hellenic identity and athletics. Gangloff (2007) 83 "C'est une remise en question sérieuse d'un élément important de l'hellénisme traditionnel, par un regard étranger."

μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν ἀγώνων, ὅπως τὰ ἄθλα δύναιντο ἀναιρεῖσθαι. . . ἀλλὰ μείζον τι ἀπάση τῇ πόλει ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τούτου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις προσκτώμενοι, 15.25-28; οἷον ἐλευθερίαν λέγω αὐτοῦ τε ἐκάστου ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἐορτῶν πατριῶν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ οἰκειῶν σωτηρίαν. . . 15.2-4). He also explains that oil can help the growth of their bodies. The Scythian expresses his objections by saying that this is not a preparation for war and that all these movements cannot be of any help in an actual battlefield. He also mocks tragedians and comedians of their attire (εἶδον, ὦ Σόλων, οὓς φῆς τοὺς τραγικοὺς καὶ κωμικοὺς, εἴ γε ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν, . . . κράνη δὲ ἐπικείμενοι παγγέλοια κεχηνότα παμμέγεθες. . . οἱ δὲ κωμικοὶ βραχύτεροι μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτεροι καὶ ἥττον ἐβόων, κράνη δὲ πολὺ γελοιότερα. 23.14-15; 19-21) and claims that they could scare the enemy away faster than the practiced, athletic young men (ἦν ποτε ὑμῖν ἐπίωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. . . ἢ τὰς πανοπλίας ἐκείνας τότε ἀναλήψετε τὰς τῶν κωμικῶν τε καὶ τραγικῶν, καὶ ἦν προτεθῆ ὑμῖν ἔξοδος, ἐκεῖνα τὰ κράνη περιθήσεσθε τὰ κεχηνότα, ὡς φοβερώτεροι εἴητε τοῖς ἐναντίοις μορμολυττόμενοι αὐτούς, καὶ ὑποθήσεσθε τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐκεῖνα δηλαδή, 31.5; 32.17-21). Another issue that is brought up is the prize for which men are competing for. The fact that Athenians fight for oil branches and celery is not met with enthusiasm by Anacharsis (τοιαῦτα μοι καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἔχων ἄθλα διεξιέναι, μῆλα καὶ σέλινα διηγοῦ καὶ θαλλὸν ἐλαίας ἀργίας καὶ πίτυν; 16.9-11). On the contrary, he finds it ridiculous, although Solon emphasizes the Athenian ideal which pertains to the appraisal of those attending the games. This is a strong

argument in Lucian's reasoning in that he does focus on the very heart of Athenian civilization and world view⁴⁵. What someone may consider worth fighting for, or how a nation may praise its citizens, except for or in addition to prizes, relates to the people's perception of praise, of good and bad. Lucian makes that clear when Solon says that young athletes 'fight' for the admiration and praise of the attendees (καὶ τὰ ἄθλα, ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον, οὐ μικρά, ὁ ἔπαινος ὁ παρὰ τῶν θεατῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπισημότατον γενέσθαι καὶ δείκνυσθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν δοκοῦντα, 36.17-20). Solon does not fail also to mention the Spartans, their vigorous training and that they even scourge young men in front of their mothers in order to toughen them (μάλιστα δὲ ἦν ὄρας μαστιγομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ καὶ αἵματι ῥεομένους, πατέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας ἀπειλούσας, εἰ μὴ ἀντέχοιεν πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς, καὶ ἱκετεούσας ἐπὶ μήκιστον διαρκέσαι πρὸς τὸν πόνον καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖσαι τοῖς δεινοῖς, 38.22-27). Anacharsis concludes that he does not believe that this upbringing benefits either the citizens or the city itself (ἀλλὰ συνίης, οἶμαι, οἷόν τί ἐστι μαστιγοῦσθαι γυμνὸν ἄνω τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαίροντα μηδενὸς ἔνεκα ὠφελίμου ἢ αὐτῷ ἐκάστῳ ἢ κοινῇ τῇ πόλει, 39.19-21) and Solon invites him to introduce him (Solon) into Scythian lifestyle the next day (οὐκ ἄδικα αἰτήσειν ἔοικα παρὰ σοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ μέρει διεξέλθης πρὸς με ὄν τρόπον ὑμεῖς οἱ Σκύθαι διασκεῖτε τοὺς νέους τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ οἴστοισι γυμνασίῳις ἀνατρέφεται καὶ ὅπως ὑμῖν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται, 40.5-8).

⁴⁵ Bompaire (1958) 681 argues that "Anacharsis est un faux naif".

The conclusion that one might reach after having read *Scytha* is that Lucian opts for communication and acceptance of "otherness", not for assimilation of ethnic identities⁴⁶. People should be open-minded, but that does not necessarily mean that they have to fall for everything new or different. It also shows that, in Lucian's mind at least and the way he perceived society, people can communicate and exchange ideas. He also shows that not everything Greek is always the best for everyone. Even the so called barbarians have their customs and manners and they can dismiss aspects of the Greek lifestyle, as much as the Greeks believe that they have the prerogative to do so. Furthermore, Lucian suggests a globalization of institutions when Solon says that Anacharsis can play the role of the member of the Areopagus (Ὡστε καὶ σέ, ὦ Ἀνάχαρσι, Ἀρεοπαγίτην ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιούμαι ἔγωγε, καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς βουλῆς μου νόμον ἄκουε, καὶ σιωπᾶν κέλευε. . . 19.12-14). He is allowed to question and doubt Solon. The fact is that only Athenian citizens could be members of the Areopagus. The democratic institution of the Areopagus, however, can be adopted by anyone. Lucian could be advocating here once more that people in this open society should be free to choose between various ideas, institutions, and ways of living. Actually, Anacharsis, without having realized it, has been appealing to and practicing this Greek institution in his discussion with Solon all along. Lucian is also so open as to compare the Spartans to the Athenians and to show that they are alike in many aspects. He brings the Greek nation together and in a few lines he abolishes the severed bond which has been standing between the two city-states.

Lucian can be a very good source for the way other nations were viewing Greeks and Romans. Of course Lucian is not what we would call the everyday average Syrian. He leaves his

⁴⁶ Bompaire (1958) 681 suggests a 'fusion' of Anacharsis and Lucian "Mais il arrive que la creature s'anime et échappe à son créateur: c'est le destin d' Anacharsis. Anacharsis s'est imposé a Lucien, et Lucien n'a pu se soustraire au pouvoir de son proper rêve."

hometown, travels and rises in the Roman echelon. What makes his opinion valuable, however, is that he never hides his identity; he openly admits that he is an (As)Syrian. What makes him an important writer for the assessment of his time and a special individual also is that he has the lucidity to comment on current events. Although he is part of the second century reality, he does not fail to be critical, and to pick up the social pulse⁴⁷.

Latinitas in Gellius

This generation of compilers, or the so called archaists, does not openly express views on current social and historical circumstances⁴⁸. Varro's *Antiquitates Romanae*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* focus on the Roman past, or on events that they believe are worth writing about and preserving for future generations. Could anyone claim, however, that there is such a literary work which is completely a-political? Since every author is living in a particular historical period, he is bound to be influenced by current conditions and thus give a vignette of his times either explicitly or as a background to his work. It is only reasonable therefore that all these shape his character and then show up in his work. The authors that decided not to create anything new, but to compile, make a specific political statement; that they feel in a specific way about the society and the era they live in and therefore, they either do not

⁴⁷ In order to get a clearer picture of what Hellenismos meant at the time and the distinction between Greeks and foreigners, one should look into other contemporary authors as well. For novelists' of the Second Sophistic point of view on the Greeks and the barbarians, who can be considered Greek see Scobie (1975); Bowie (1991). See Plut. *De Superstitione* 166B. For Plutarch and the barbarians, the vocabulary he employs, and his attitude towards 'the others' see Schmidt (1999). Cf. also Xenophon Ephesius 1.5,7; Chariton II.5,11; VI,7,12; Dio Or.48.8,21.16,12.33. Bowie (1991) 195-201 asserts that Dio plays with the way he presents the difference between Greeks and barbarians according to the audience he expects to have. Even when, however, he does not use the straightforward verbal distinction, he still 'makes a play with the traditional elements of Greek education' (195). Jones (1978) 126 calls Dio 'more mercurial' than other authors as concerns his attitude towards Romans. On Dio see also Sidebottom (1996); Moles (1995); Gangloff (2007), 64-75. For the relation between Greeks and Romans see also Plutarch, *Numa* 1.3,4 on the relation between Numa Pompilius and Pythagoras. See also Swain (1990), (1996) 66-100 who argues that the Greeks were still differentiating themselves from other ethnicities.; Preston (2001); Titchener (2002), Castellani (2002); On Dionysius of Halicarnassus' attitude towards Romans see Hartog (1991); Gabba (1991).

⁴⁸ On the Roman Antiquarians, their topics, language, style and techniques see Stevenson (2004) 118-155.

have anything to inspire them to create something new, or they feel that they have to protect their heritage⁴⁹. It is usually in confusing or changing times that people feel threatened or unstable with regards to their environment that they decide to turn to such kinds of literary genres. Considering the Roman Empire in the second century, the multicultural society that was created and the coming together of so many different ethnic, historic, social and cultural backgrounds may explain Gellius' literary preferences.

The strong social, historical and moral implications of Gellius' works may elude the first time reader. The deceptive superficiality, the strange events that take place amidst barbarians or the story about Tarquinius and the old lady who was burning the books (1.19) may not strike someone as important. The point is that most probably Gellius narrated these stories in an attempt to create and stabilize a past for the Roman people. The fluidity of the times and the ever changing realities, along with the plethora of non-Roman newcomers, who eventually acquired the privilege of the Roman citizenship have probably made people like Gellius feel insecure⁵⁰. Since the beginning of civilization nations could differentiate one another on the basis of language⁵¹. It is a common stereotype that Greeks called all others barbarians, of course not with

⁴⁹ It should be noted, however, that the Greek writers of the Second Sophistic displayed the same worry for the preservation of their past. The obsession with language, purity and return to Classical Greek are clear indications. On that see Swain (1996) 17-100. We can detect a form of the importance of language at the time even in Lucian's *Lis Consonantium*. His openness, however, to the new society and the fact that he was not a native Greek explain why this was not the sole subject matter of his work. What he does instead is that he presents different aspects of society, history and literature from several points of view.

⁵⁰ Stevenson (2004) 155 points out as a conclusion to a chapter on Roman Antiquarian Tradition that: "the second century seems to have witnessed a desire for self-identification, to set the present in its historical and cultural context. The impetus for this desire no doubt came largely from Hadrianic and Antonine policies of consolidation and unification." Cf. also Bowersock (1969) where he presents in detail the position of the sophists in the Roman Empire, their ambitions and how they ventured in achieving them, which could shed some light to Roman insecurity. On the 'definition' and the boundaries of the Roman nation which could also explain partly the attitude of the Romans and their insecurity cf. also Aelius Aristides, *Eis Pwmpyn* 61; Dio, *Or.* 1.42.

⁵¹ Swain (2004) 30 says "what emerges very strongly from Gellius is a sense of the past as a repository of correct social behavior. What is new in Gellius is the convergence of this tradition with linguistic correctness and the bilingual/bicultural attitudes of Romans to Greece."

the modern meaning of the word. In the second century C.E. however, Roman Empire is officially bilingual and there are people from the boundaries of the Empire, like Lucian, who are fluent in either or both Greek and Latin. Mythology blends and there are also new religions that appear, like Christianity. The title of the Roman citizenship also granted everyone the opportunity to become an official in the Roman Empire. One can only assume how Romans felt about this new world order. There has also been discussion about Gellius' family and based on the fact that he has only *nomen* and *praenomen*, it has been suggested that his family must have its roots in the native Romans⁵². All the aforementioned create the picture of Gellius' life and his experiences and that can provide a plausible explanation as to the reasons why Gellius wrote the *Noctes Atticae* and also why his choice of topics cannot be considered haphazard.

Several of his stories pertain to the Roman past one way or another. He has chapters on the morality of Roman generals and how they could not be corrupted, even when monetary gain was involved, or about historical events and the effective way Roman generals handled any situation. He even discusses several religion related issues. The story of the sibylline books and Tarquinius cannot be considered random as well as the chapters on pontifex maximus, the duties of the Vestals and the *pomerium*.

Lucian lives in the same time period, but he is on the opposite side. He is the foreigner who 'usurps' the positions of Roman citizens. He is the one who 'threatens' Gellius and his generation. Lucian's attitude towards the circumstances of his era is that he is explicitly and straightforwardly not passive. All his writings, his treatises, his satirical works, or even his dialogues are products of or about his time and his contemporaries. The difference between the two authors therefore is their reaction to the new society. Lucian is writing about the present,

⁵² See Douglas (1958); Salway (1994); Holford-Strevens (2003) 11-2. See Kajanto (1982) 9, 19-20 for how the *nomen* and *praenomen* work for the Romans and what they mean.

while Gellius concentrates on the past. Lucian, although he writes in Greek, most of the times he sounds like the third party. He is not afraid to point out vices either of the Greeks or of the Romans and he is not afraid to praise either of the two; it seems that both nations take a fair share in his social criticism. We should also notice that Lucian is more generic in some of his works. He castigates, for instance, the immorality of the wealthy, without pointing the finger at any specific time period or nation. He is an astute observer of social realities and also an open-minded individual, a product of second century reality. His 'remarks' on the different ethnicities under the aegis of the Roman Empire, the degree of communication and influence and the attitude of people when they find themselves in a social boiler can be compared to modern theories on the communication between countries and how people respond to new realities. Where does Gellius stand with regards to Lucian, though? He and Lucian are contemporaries, but we do not find in Gellius' works what we find in Lucian; there is no vivacity, ingenuity or originality; what is more there is no comment, at least explicit one, on the period itself. Except for the relation between Romans and Greeks, which appears through several works as penetrating and coloring different aspects of the lives of the two nations, rarely do we read about other 'foreign' nations blending together and sharing ideas with the Romans. Is it happening and Gellius is simply ignoring it, or the society we read about in Lucian is just a fiction of the latter's imagination, a description of a utopian society, as he believes it should be?

It is important, however, to note at this point that the two authors do not differ that much in their choice of literary 'genre'. They are both compilers in one way or another. They both write short works where they treat different topics, related to linguistics, history, literary production, philosophers, Greeks and Romans. What sets them apart is the way they present them, what they say, what they 'omit' and what one can make out of the information that they decided not to

discuss and their literary techniques as well. Lucian's choice of works and topics shows that he is familiar with a variety of people and nations and also a very adept learner of the Greek language. With regards to Gellius as a representative of his time and contemporary Romans, a popular opinion has been that Romans were never comfortable with the Greeks and there had never been a communication between the two; on the contrary, the Greeks were for the Romans 'the other' and vice-versa⁵³. An important aspect of Gellius' work which I intend to examine in this section and pertains to the psychology of the Romans at the time is the choice of subjects that Gellius handles and the topics on which he emphasizes⁵⁴. I also try to provide a logical explanation for his attitude towards different nations something that may also shed a light to this aspect of the second century century as well.

Gellius seems obsessed first of all with the Roman past; although he does not usually give a time frame within which his works can be placed, he always narrates a story of the past, a historical event which he read in some other author's book. He shows also great interest in stories which evidently show how high Roman morality stands. This literary tendency reveals an aspect of the author's historical personality. It has been suggested, as I discussed above, that the Romans, feeling threatened in the new Empire, amidst so many different nations and so close to the Greeks, turned to compilations in order to save pieces of their past and establish their place in

⁵³ For the attitude of the Greeks towards the Romans and their perception of themselves see Bowie (1970); Momigliano (1980), 11-33; Hartog (1991), Lévy (1991), Woolf (1994). For the Romans about the Greeks see Petrochilos (1974); Dubuisson (1991); Alcock (1993). For the communication of the two nations and cultures see Swain (1996); Walker and Cameron (eds.) (1989); Whitmarsh (2001); Ostenfeld (ed.) (2002).

⁵⁴ Cf. Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.2.1. For a classification of the chapters in *Noctes Atticae* see Nettleship (1883), although I am not sure Roman antiquarians intended for their topics to be classified. See also Vardi (2004) 169-179. With regards to the haphazard order of Gellius' material Morgan (2004) argues that it is within the boundaries of an ethicist and the fact that he intends his teachings not to be valid only within a restricted time frame "clearly these texts do not work by trying to provide exhaustively for the situations of all possible readers... They do not explicitly legislate for any particular community. If readers are to make sense of the material, they must be bringing something to it themselves-identifying material and imposing an order which makes sense to them" (203-4).

the map of the Roman Empire. It has also been argued that they have never felt really comfortable and confident and these compilations are an attempt to show that they are well-rooted in the past nation with their own history and with many things to teach others. Gellius' work comes to confirm these arguments. There are several stories about frugality and how it has been cherished by his ancestors⁵⁵. There are stories about the objectivity of the Romans and how they were able to choose what would benefit their country more. For instance, we read the story of the poor Roman of humble birth, who after his services to the city and his fervent attempts he managed to rise to the status of consul (*ut vulgo per vias urbis versiculi proscibentur: Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices/ Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens;/ Nam mulas qui fricabat, consul factus est, 15.4*)⁵⁶. Gellius shows that his predecessors were open to new ideas, and they were also very adept in the management of the nation. The question that rises, however, is if his contemporaries did not have anything worth-mentioning and that is why Gellius concentrates on the past or if he does that only in order to enforce their nationalistic instincts. Whichever the answer may be the conclusion we reach is that in Gellius' work there is no second century reality; and even if there is, it lies in the background existing only in relation to and depending heavily on the past. It is indeed so overshadowed that the reader easily forgets when Gellius is writing. There is also the possibility that Gellius is writing for the future generations so that these events may never be forgotten. Even in that case, however, one cannot overlook that he skips his present as if he is not concerned about preserving anything of his own socio-historical reality. Sometimes Gellius sounds like a Cato of the second century C.E. It is

⁵⁵ See for instance 1.14; 2.24; 3.1; 11.2; 13.24; 15.12

⁵⁶ The selection of topics regarding religion, morality, customs, and everyday life are common themes for the antiquarians. They satisfy both the need of the authors to preserve their past and also their intention to write a work replete with useful information for their contemporaries. Cf. Varro *De Re Rustica* 2.1.2 *nemo enim omnia potest scire*.

hard therefore to find a connecting point between Gellius and Lucian. Although in the latter's dialogues there is not an established time-frame, it is clear that he is talking about his contemporary world. For instance, in *De Mercede Conductis* he is writing about parasites in the houses of wealthy Romans and in *Imagines* he is praising the emperor's mistress. He is well adjusted in the present; his roots lie secure in his Syrian past, but he is not afraid to venture into the present and explore it.

More specifically, two aspects of Roman life on which Gellius concentrates are military attainments and everyday morality, the two pillars of Roman history. With regards to the first, the story in 3.8 about Quintus Caedicius is a striking and representative example of what Gellius believes about his ancestors, regarding their morality and their decency as soldiers. Although he rarely expresses an opinion about what he is narrating, in that case he goes as far as to begin the story with the adjective *pulchrum*, saying a glorious deed, good gods, worthy of the exalted diction of Greek eloquence (*Pulchrum, dii boni, facinus Graecarumque facundiarum magniloquentia condignum. . . 3.7.1-2*). The rest of the story is just a narration of the events that took place with occasional supposed direct quotations from the Roman tribune. This also comes in accordance with what I argued regarding the *praefatio* and the rhetorical tendencies that Gellius demonstrates, even if implicitly. The author is employing the technique of direct statements that can be more emotionally charged and can affect that way the Roman reader more than a third person narrative would. Furthermore, the way he is praising the tribune by comparing him to Leonidas the Spartan is also ingenuous. He starts smoothly by saying that your glory depends on where you come from and then he brings Leonidas forth as an example (*Leonides Laco, qui simile apud Thermopylas fecit, propter eius virtutes omnis Graecia gloriam atque gratiam praecipuam claritudinis inclitissimae decoravere monumentis: signis, statu,*

elogiis, historiis aliisque rebus gratissimum id eius factum habuere;). We read in 2.11 another similar story about a tribune who was called the Roman Achilles (*scriptum est in libris annalibus plus quam credi debeat strenuum bellatorem fuisse nomenque ei factum ob ingentem fortitudinem appellatumque esse Achillem Romanum*, 2.11.1). The description of his achievements takes over the whole story. The introduction to it probably intends to emphasize again on the laudable events and affect the reading altogether. These comparisons are crucial in two ways. The first has to do with the core of Gellius work and his historical personality. The fact that he is comparing a Roman to a Greek and he argues as well that they were equals, at least concerning their valor, shows that the two nations have come closer at the time than one may think, but it may also indicate that Romans respected early classical Greek civilization and morality, but did not necessarily extend their admiration to contemporary Greeks.⁵⁷ He may not say that Leonidas was more courageous than Q. Caedicius, and he would not do that since it is the latter that he is extolling, but still he is so objective and comfortable with the Greeks as to actually say that they are at the same level as his fellow countrymen. The other aspect of the statement is that the author here explains once more the purpose of his work; it is as if he saying that he has come to fill the gaps in the recording of events of the Roman past, because this is what amplifies the glory and creates a past for nations. This is another reason, I believe, that he refers to the Greeks; they are for that matter the most adept in recording and creating a past, a present and a future for themselves by means of literature. Another story of military decency is in chapter 3.8 where he talks about C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius who sent a letter to king Pyrrhus informing him about an imminent plot against him, although the latter's death would

⁵⁷ There have been opposing views based on linguistic criteria concerning the way the Romans were viewing the Greeks at the time. Petrochilos (1974) 48-53 and Balsdon (1979) 38 for instance claim that the use of words like *Graeculus* and *graecari* were employed by the Romans as diminutives targeting the Greeks. Dubuisson (1991) on the contrary argues that the formation of such words was meant as a satire for the conduct of the Romans at that period and that therefore words like that are not meant to be sarcastic for the Greeks.

benefit them. In this story, even though the narrative itself begins with a temporal clause (*Cum Pyrrus rex in terra Italia esset. . . 3.8.1*), the short introduction starts with ‘a fine letter of the consuls. . .’ (*Litterae eximiaie consulum. . .*). Once more Gellius emphasizes the value of these memorable events and he most probably intends to imprint that on the mind of his readers through the employment of exclamatory adjectives. In 1.13 we read a story related to the obedience that must be shown when one is a soldier towards his superiors. Crassus asked for a large mast to be used as a ram from the chief engineer of the people of Mylatta. The engineer decided that a smaller one would be more appropriate for that purpose. Crassus sent for him and punished him for disobeying and for thus weakening the authority of the commander (*Crassus eum vocari iussit et, cum interogasset cur non quem iusserat misisset, causis rationibusque quam dictitabas spretis, vestimenta detrahi imperavit virgisque multum cecidit, corrumpi atque dissolve officium omne imperantis ratus. Si quis ad id quod facere iussus est non obsequio debito, sed consilio non desiderato respondeat, 1.13.13*). There are several other stories on military history and achievements and most of them relate to Roman decency and the sense of appropriateness that the Romans were endowed with.

The works that are dedicated to morality in everyday life, either of Roman citizens or of officials are also several⁵⁸. The emphasis on this aspect of a nation’s lifestyle could mean that the author believes that his contemporaries have lost their good judgment or that they can easily be influenced by others, who may not be paragons of virtue and exemplary conduct. Either assumption means that for Gellius there is no present or future as commendable and worthy to be imitated as the Roman past. One could also suggest, as it was mentioned before, that Gellius

⁵⁸ This aspect can also be perceived as the educational side of *Noctes Atticae*. Pliny also asserts that *Historia Naturalis* has educational purposes pr. 12-16. Holford-Strevens (2003) 37-47 asserts that Gellius does not intend either to educate or moralize. The selection of topics and his persistence on minor details show that he did not entertain high hopes. On the contrary, Morgan (2004) argues in favor of the educational perspective of Gellius’ work.

wishes to establish a past for the Romans. It would be easier for them that way to survive in the melting pot of the Roman Empire of the second century and retain their individuality. If that is true, however, Gellius has probably lost the measure, since he does not seem to be open to new ideas and customs. Other topics that concern him and are recurrent in several works are frugality and continence, marriage and women and propriety in public life in both conduct and attire. In 2.15 we read an extensive catalogue of the amount of money that was allowed to be squandered for food by Romans. Gellius mentions specific laws that were passed regulating the appropriate consumption on specific days⁵⁹. One may not be able to reach a conclusion about Gellius' view on the subject, since nowhere in this narrative does he express his own opinion. There is a number of other works, however, which demonstrate without doubt his attachment to, and his admiration of the ancient frugality. In 11.2 he describes the evolution in the use of the word *elegans* and how from a shameful characterization it came to be accepted as laudatory, when however the elegant person would demonstrate moderate conduct. As one would expect Cato is mentioned as are his remarks on the moderately elegant dressing. It should also be noticed that in these stories Gellius rarely fails to mention that these were their ancestral customs (*quod "elegancia" apud antiquiores. . .*). In 3.1 and 3.5 the author elaborates on voluptuousness and avarice and on how these vices threaten the masculinity of people. Both tendencies in life are condemned and are shown by Gellius to be forbidden to all Romans regardless of their stature. In 15.8 he makes clear once more on whose side he is, when he describes the extravagant way of living as being hateful and he quotes Favonius (*ut meminisse possemus odio esse hercle istiusmodi sumptus atque victus. . . 15.8.1-2*). Why would Gellius be so invested on frugality,

⁵⁹ Gruen (1990) 170-3 discusses these laws on the basis of the Roman disapproval of the Greek lifestyle and he argues that "The eastern wars had brought the luxury goods of the Greek world into Rome, a fact noted with dismay by moralists who saw the seeds of internal decay in the import of foreign opulence" (171).

however? A possible answer to that is that it pertains and encompasses various aspects of one's lifestyle, namely food expenditure, attire, theatrical performances and several others. If therefore Romans remain faithful to their ancestral ideas of frugality, there are less likely to become engrossed in luxury and entertainment and subsequently less likely to neglect their civil and military duties and become effeminate.

This brings us to another category of stories, namely the ones which discuss proper Roman behavior in public as well as in private life. There are two stories against yawning, in both of which the Roman was reprimanded for his negligence and obvious wanton neglect of the proper conduct and his civil duties⁶⁰. The extremely sensitive and morally charged issue of the relation between fathers and sons is also discussed. If the son has a high office in Roman hierarchy should the father show respect to his son or should old age always have priority⁶¹? What about the obedience that a son should show to his father? Shall he always follow the father's orders or can he occasionally judge and decide for himself? Gellius concludes that the only case when a father can be disobeyed is if one of his orders is harmful for anyone and therefore utterly inappropriate⁶². All the aforementioned topics clearly remind us of several of Juvenal's Satires. The latter appears to be exasperated at his contemporaries for reasons that are discussed by Gellius. Therefore, either the morality of the Romans has suffered incurable damage or it is

⁶⁰ In 4.20 a young man was brought in front of the censors because he had yawned in court. This attitude was considered a indication of indifference (*atque inibi ut plecteretur fuit, tamquam illud indicium esset vagi animi et alucinantis et fluxae atque apertae securitatis*). In 8.3 Peregrinus reprimanded a young man of equestrian rank for having yawned (*stantem segnem apud se et assidue oscitantem. . . illius quidem delicatissimas mentis et corporis hallucinationes*).

⁶¹ In 2.2 Gellius states his opinion clearly, saying that in public the position of the son should be respected and he should have priority; in private life, however, it is the father who comes first (*In publicis locis atque muneribus atque actionibus partum iura cum filiorum qui in magistrature sunt potestatibus collate, interquiescere paululum et convivere*).

⁶² 2.7 *Quae sua vi recta aut honesta sunt, ut fidem colere, patriam defendere, ut amicos diligere, ea fieri oportet, sive imperet pater sive non imperet; sed quae his contraria quaeque turpia, omnino iniqua sunt, ea ne si imperet quidem*. For a discussion on this chapter as an example of *suasoriae* see Bloomer (2007) 301-2.

simply very important for many Romans that the ancient moral and customs be obeyed and preserved. We should not forget that ever since the time of Juvenal many Romans felt threatened by the Greeks and their completely different lifestyle and ideas⁶³. At this point it is important that we mention Lucian's *Anacharsis* where the Scythian expresses so many doubts about the Greeks and their obsession to athletics and theater and their less warlike or manly spirit. The Scythian's view may very well represent the anxiety of other nations, like the Romans, who have come in close contact with the Greeks.

Finally, another group of stories describe the impropriety of women. In one story Metellus Numidicus is reprimanded by some Romans, for he admitted openly that if men could avoid taking wives, they could live better without that burden. The criticism, however, is unjustified because he concludes that men cannot live at all without women as they contribute to the proliferation of the Roman nation. Thus one should think further than the pleasure of the moment (*Si sine uxore pati possemus, Quirites, omnes ea molestia careremus; sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi posit, saluti perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est* 1.6.2). In 2.15 he gives us another story dedicated to the reasons why people should marry; something which does not stop him from mentioning in the following books incidents which blemish the feminine image. There are two stories about Socrates' wife (1.17; 8.11) and also a story about the thoughtless words of A.Caecus' daughter and how she was punished (10.6). There are several stories and incidents described which pertain to the reprehensible character of women, for instance their indulgence in wine (10.23). All these along with the plea of Favorinus for breastfeeding (12.1), remind us of the norms and traditions of the Early Republic and the secluded place of women. Gellius, therefore, is not just archaizing

⁶³ It is known and accepted that the Romans respected early classical Greek civilization, but did not extend their admiration to the contemporary Greek over whom they were ruling.

when it comes to language and Roman citizens, but he does not approve of the women of the Early Empire either⁶⁴. What can be noticed is the clearly different point of view from which Lucian discusses and presents women. It is not only that Gellius is invested on the Roman past, but his work emphasizes traditional points of view, which have been recurrent themes in Roman and Greek literature, like the position and vices of women. Lucian, on the contrary, in this spirit of playfulness does not give exclusively the portrayal of women through the eyes of men, as it traditionally happens. In *Dialogi Meretricium* he dedicates a portion of his work to courtesans and their opinion and discussions on men, while he does not bother to write anything about traditional, married women. Except for the *Dialogi Meretricium*, he wrote the *Imagines* which is about the emperor's mistress. As he has been doing all along, Lucian gives a different point of view of the world. He notices other groups of people, which do not necessarily have so far a place in literature. For Gellius, on the contrary, there is no other world than the one he knows and admires and he does not intend to question, challenge or renew his perspective.

Another aspect in *Noctes Atticae*, to which I alluded earlier in this section, is the relation between Romans and Greeks. Gellius writes articles on Greek philosophy, linguistics, morality and literature in relation to corresponding Roman topics. He has also compared Romans to legendary Greeks, namely to Leonidas and Achilles. Except for the information that the author preserves and the occasional literary criticism, it is important to note the relation between the two nations as it appears through Gellius' works⁶⁵. If we accept that the latter is a Roman citizen of his times and therefore his opinion may well represent the majority of Romans, then the fact that Greeks in most cases appear and are discussed as equals to the Romans probably shows a change

⁶⁴ On women and marriage see also 1.23; 2.15; 4.3.2; 17.21.44; 5. 11. For a presentation of women in Gellius see Holford-Strevens (2003), 308-313

⁶⁵ For more literary criticism and citations of Greek poets, orators and the Greek language see Holford-Strevens (2003) 226-40.

in the way Romans consider the Greeks at the time. There are several narratives in which Gellius refers to Greek mathematicians or philosophers. This means that the Romans have probably accepted the Greeks for what they are. They are not obsessed anymore with their diversity in interests. There are also works where Greek authors are being compared to Roman authors and the former are favored by Gellius. For instance, when Gellius discusses Caecilius and his source Menander, states clearly that it is the latter that cannot be surpassed by the dim imitation of Caecilius⁶⁶. Gellius also shows acceptance for actors and performers. In fact we read the story of Arrion with the lyre and that of actor Polus. All that indicate that the Romans are not as inflexible in their judgment as they used to be; whether they realize it or not, and whether they still revere their military oriented and moral past, they have been influenced by the Greeks and their perspectives have shifted⁶⁷.

The fact also that hard-core moral criteria and a moral past worthy to aspire to, according to the Romans, has ‘opened up’ to the Greeks is another indication of the former’s evolution. By that I mean that in 1.3 the author narrates the story of Lacedaemonian Chilo, the decision he had to make to save a friend and he then complements the work with quotations both from Theophrastus and Cicero⁶⁸. This kind of blending, where Greeks are used as an example of morality, of the same morality in fact that was exalted by a famous Roman like Cicero, means that not only have the Romans accepted ‘the others’, at least partly, but they do not consider them to be as corrupted and hence a grave danger to the Roman lifestyle. In 2.1 Socrates is being

⁶⁶ In 13.27 he says that Homer is superior to Vergil, but in 11.4 Ennius is a worthy competitor of Euripides and in 9.9.3-4 he praises Vergil as an adept translator of Homer.

⁶⁷ Swain (2004) 31-2 points out, however, that Gellius is careful so that the exaltation of the Greeks does not offend the Romans and their customs. He gives as an example *Noctes Atticae* 20.1 where: “Gellius allows Favorinus’ Hellenism to be checked by a moral apology for early Roman brutality”.

⁶⁸ This is not always the case, however. We have several Romans ranging themselves against the Greeks and considering them dangerous to the morality of the Romans. For instance see Livy 39.6.7-9; Plut. *Cato* 23.1-3, 22.4-5; Suet. *Rhet.* 1.1; Gellius 15.11.2; Sallust *Iug.* 85.32; Cic. *De Oratore* 2.4; 3.95.

praised for training himself in physical endurance. Not all the Greeks, therefore, are pleasure hunters, not all of them demonstrate feminine characteristics. In 3.5 also Archilaus is set against voluptuousness. All the aforementioned Greek behaviors fit also the profile of a decent Roman. It should be noted, however, that Gellius does not appear to be over-hellenized. In fact, he presents in several articles contemporary figures, namely Favorinus and Fronto, as measures against which he wishes to create Roman-ness for his people. In 2.26 Favorinus tells to Fronto "Absque te,"inquit," uno forsitan lingua profecto Graeca longe anteisset...".⁶⁹ Therefore, although Gellius occasionally admits the superiority of Greek literature, he nevertheless tries to emphasize the richness of Latin and the importance of establishing a Roman and not a Hellenic identity⁷⁰.

The third important aspect of Gellius' works pertains to the way he treats and writes about other nations, other than the Greeks and the Romans. Considering the discussion on Lucian's attitude regarding the same topic and the conclusions that may be drawn, Gellius is not even remotely as open-minded as Lucian is. What I hope to show is that for Gellius and probably for his contemporaries as well the other nations were the foreigners and they were approached with doubts and suspicions. It is as if the Romans have inherited in some way the Greek idea of 'whatever is not Greek is barbaric'. Therefore, we read narratives about strange phenomena that took place in foreign nations and events that are hard to believe⁷¹. We cannot tell of course with certainty if the author himself believed in all that, or if he is just transmitting them. One thing

⁶⁹ Keulen (2009) 39-46 argues that even Fronto's authority is occasionally undermined by Gellius so "Gellius establishes himself in the *Noctes* as the true canonical authority who offers reliable judgment and guidance concerning propriety and impropriety in Latin usage."

⁷⁰ Keulen (2009) 244 suggests that Gellius' educational program and the figures who appear in the *Noctes* only intend to "invite the reader to turn his gaze upon the triumphs of Roman imperial culture, triumphs in which the cultural authority embodied by *Noctes Atticae* participates."

⁷¹ On Gellius and foreign nations, other than the Greeks see Holford-Strevens (2003), 319-323 who points out that whatever is not Greek or Roman, it does not seem to be of Gellius' interest.

that we can tell, however, is that he does not write anything that concerns the morality, or philosophy, literature, laws and constitutions of those other nations. They constitute instead the exotic part of the Empire, which the Romans (and maybe the Greeks) look through the ‘postcards’, which in this case are works like those of Gellius and Pliny. It does not of course even consider as a possibility that these foreigners may have standards of their own, and not approve of what the others consider traditional or even correct. In any case, judging from his lack of creativity and reluctance to take responsibility even for what he writes, one may argue that, even if he realized the existence of other nations’ opinion, he may not have been in a position to conceive it at the level Lucian does and pass it smartly to his readers.

One category of stories that concern foreign nations are the ones in which the author narrates or simply transmits a strange event that took place. A characteristic example appears in chapter 9.4. The introductory note is ‘on some extraordinary marvels about barbarian people’ (*De barbararum gentium prodigiosis miraculis*). It seems that Gellius is ready to believe that incredible or strange things may happen to other nations and consequently it seems that his unfamiliarity with other nations makes this tendency or gullibility of his easy to flourish. We read about Scythians who feed on other men and are called cannibals (...*Scythas illos penitissimos, qui sub ipsis septentrionibus aetatem agunt, corporibus hominum vesci eiusque victus alimento vitam ducere et ἀνθρώποφάγους nominari*), of Albanians whose hair turn white in childhood and can see better in the darkness (*praeterea traditum esse memoratumque in ultima quadam terra, quae “Albania” dicitur, gigni homines, qui in pueritia canescant et plus cernant oculis per noctem quam interdiu;*), of Illyrians who can kill only with their glance (*Oculis quoque exitialem fascinationem fieri in isdem libris scriptum est traditurque esse homines in Ilyriis qui interimant videndo quos diutius irate viderint...*) and several other

miraculous or incredible stories about Indians and African tribes. Nowhere does Gellius state if he thinks they are true or not. Even when he comments on them saying that they are worthless writing, he says so because they do not contribute anything to the enrichment of life and not because he thinks that they are not true (*Haec atque alia istiusmodi plura legimus, sed cum ea scriberemus, tenuit nos non idoneae scripturae taedium, nihil ad ornandum iuvandumque usum vitae pertinentis*). As a matter of fact, he notes that Pliny attests to the truthfulness of one of the stories because he was a witness to the event (*Libitum tamen in loco hoc miraculorum notare id etiam, quod Plinius Secundus, vir in temporibus aetatis suae ingenii dignitatisque gratia auctoritate magna praeditus, non audisse neque legisse, sed scire sese atque vidisse in libro Naturalis Historiae septimo scripsit, 9.4*). This is not the only article which is concerned with ‘barbarians’. Gellius transmits a story, among others, narrated by Tubero about a serpent of unprecedented length (7.1). The serpent was reportedly killed by Atilius Regulus when he was camped at the Bangadas river in Africa. In 15.10 we learn also about the strange suicides of young girls in Miletus.

Regarding other aspects of barbarians’ lives, it is obvious that Gellius is not concerned with their history, literary endeavors, or social manners and this may indicate that he does not consider these other nations to be organized societies whose laws and customs are worthy of reference or comparison to those of the Greeks and the Romans. In fact even when Gellius refers to their morality or sense of decency he is carefully choosing unflattering events. For instance, he talks about a treachery of the Etruscan diviners and the attempt of Samnites to bribe Fabricius. In the first case it is the Etruscans who decide to deceive the Romans. Although the Romans trusted them with the prosperity of their city and requested their advice as to where they should put the statue of Horatius Coclitus, the diviners proved to be less worthy than the Romans had

assumed⁷². In the second case the Samnites believe that it is the right of Fabricius to have more monetary rewards, Fabricius rises above the occasion saying that what he can achieve by himself is already enough for him and he does not entertain any more ambitious thoughts⁷³. In both cases the Romans are presented as more dignified and endowed with more self-respect. Considering the above it comes only as natural when we read that Romans and Carthaginians were rivals of almost equal strength (*NA* 10.27). Even if, therefore Gellius admits that other nations are distinguished in something, he nevertheless cannot go as far as to admit that they can be equal the Romans. That is even more noteworthy considering that Gellius compares Romans to Greeks several times and on a variety of different levels. He discusses philosophical and literary topics about both the aforementioned nations, but when it comes to discuss barbarous nations he transmits a story like that of Sertorius and how he controlled his barbarous soldiers mainly by deception (*NA* 15.22).

The conclusion one may reach regarding the position of Gellius in the new society and his historical along with his literary profile, is that, beyond his acceptance of ‘the other’ and the ambiguous quality of his works, the Second Sophistic spirit has not touched him. He is the proof that there was no literary production in Rome at the time. He is the proof that the Romans cannot surpass their rustic self. Lucian, on the contrary, is the mouth of the universal society of all the nations under the Roman reign. It should not be underestimated, however, that, when it comes to the Greeks, the Romans have gone a long way to get to this point of acceptance, which indicates

⁷² *NA* 4.5 *Ob id fulgur piaculis luendum aruspices ex Etruria acciti inimico atque hostili in populum Romanum animo instituerant eam rem contrariis religionibus procurare atque illam statuam suaserunt in inferiorem locum perperam transponi, quem sol oppositu circum undique altarum aedium numquam illustraret.*

⁷³ *NA* 1.14 *Tum Fabricium planas manus ab auribus ad oculos et infra deinceps ad nares et ad os et ad gulam atque inde porro ad ventrem inum deduxisse et legatis ita respondisse: dum illis omnibus membris, quae attigisset, obsistere atque imperare posset, numquam quicquam defuturum; propterea se pecuniam, qua nihil sibi esset usus, ab his, quibus eam sciret usui esse, non accipere.*

that they have begun evolving somewhat their mentality in accordance with the calling of their times.

Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed Lucian in relation to Gellius and I tried to give another perspective of the second century C.E. reality, which would pertain more to the social aspect of this era, and subsequently to delve more deeply beyond the politics and the ruling Roman nation, the relation between different nations and how they perceived each other. The comparison of a Latin author to a Syrian, who represents the Eastern part of the Empire, but who writes in Greek and seems well acquainted with both cultures covers the perspectives I intended to examine.

In my analysis of Lucian's *prolaliae* I tried to show that he is well aware of his position in the Empire and conscious of his abilities as well. He is also aware of the people's misconceptions about foreign nations. Through a variety of sophistic and highly developed rhetoric techniques he ventures to win his audience. That tells us two things: first that the Roman Empire was a society which encompassed so many different cultures trying to find a place, and so many forces and socio-political and cultural threads interconnecting that there were bound to be 'problems' of communication between several nations. Lucian, however, tries to accommodate himself in the new situation. He achieves that through his oratory. Gellius' *praefatio*, on the contrary, shows us a completely different style. He lacks Lucian's techniques and dexterity, although he wishes to appeal to the good will of his readers and then influence them in a way oratory would do. Gellius does not fight so much for a position for himself in society, but for a place for the Roman past amidst the other nations.

In the next section *Toxaris*, *Scythia* and *Anacharsis* are examined in order to get a picture of the place of non-Greek and non-Romans in the Empire. The author in these works gives a voice to those 'others'. In the aforementioned dialogues Scythians specifically come in close contact

with Greek civilization and the latter has to bear their judgment the way Greeks used to judge everybody else. One cannot argue with certainty if ‘foreign’ nations were in fact questioning either the Greeks or the Romans, or if Lucian is ahead of his time and tries to open up people’s minds. Nonetheless, the message he sends is that in a society like the one they are living in can only exist and flourish if every nation accepts the existence of the others, as well as their differences; if they manage to blend and feel parts of the new ecumenical society, but without having abolished their ethnic characteristics. As a matter of fact co-existence means that you recognize the differences and still manage to look beyond them. Lucian is obviously a pioneer and has definitely been living up to the calling of the second century.

For Gellius, on the other hand, the Romans are the ruling nation, both politically and culturally. They set the standards of morality, institutions and proper conduct in public and private life. His compilation is an encyclopedia of memorable events of the Roman people. The only other nation that seems to exist is the Greeks. That tells us that, should we consider Gellius a representative of his time, the Romans need a past to lean back to in order to survive culturally and that Gellius, among others, does not feel that his contemporaries are able to preserve the Roman ethics and lifestyle. He has seen them being influenced by Eastern cultures and at a time when non-Roman foreigners swarm in Rome, Gellius feels that he has to create a *memorandum* of what being Roman means. We should not of course diminish the importance of his treatment of the Greeks. They are compared to the Romans in several cases and this shows a communication and an understanding which did not exist earlier in the relation between Rome and Greece. The author’s adherence also to the Roman past explains the way he presents ‘foreign’ nations. Unlike Lucian, for him Scythians and all other nations are just exotic sources

for many incredible narrations. 'The others' obviously do not find in Gellius the Roman the voice and the representation they have in Lucian.

CHAPTER 4
LUCIAN'S OLYMPUS AND THE BRIDGE TO CHRISTIANITY

Introduction

A large part of the Lucianic corpus includes works which discuss religious issues, Peregrinus and Alexander, as examples of immoral and degenerate individuals who take advantage of religion and people's gullibility, pagan deities, as well as Eastern deities and religious rites. The fact that Lucian devotes a number of his works to religion probably means that this is a current issue and a matter of concern for his contemporaries. Issues which are worth considering concern Lucian's position towards religion in general and also towards Christians in particular as well as what we might ascertain from his works about second century religious reality.

In this chapter I examine *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Dialogi Deorum*, *De Sacrificiis* and *Peregrinus* in relation to Tertullian's *De Spectaculis*, Clemens' of Alexandria *Protrepticus*, Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Justin's the Martyr *Apologia*, Athenagoras' *Legatio sive Supplicatio ad Christianis*, and the anonymous *Epistle to Diognetos* and I attempt to describe the changing religious climate in the Roman Empire as seen through the eyes of Lucian.

Olympians Revisited

The presentation of the Olympians in *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Dearum Iudicium*, *Deorum Concilium*, *Dialogi Deorum* and *De Syria Dea* has rendered Lucian an ambiguous figure with regards to his religious beliefs and even his intentions. On the one hand his focus on the Olympians is an indication that pagan deities were still popular at the 2nd century¹. On the other hand, his writings have been used as proof by later Christian and

¹ Jones (1986) 34-8 argues that pagan religion was most certainly popular at the time of Lucian, otherwise pagan gods would not have the focus of the attack launched by Christian authors.

Byzantine authors that the Olympians did not exist since they do not seem to be respected and are ridiculed in more than one case in his works².

In *De Syria Dea* Lucian writes about Eastern worshipping rites and deities, and about common myths and heroes that are worshipped in different ways locally. Scholars of Lucian have argued against its authorship; others claim that he makes fun of Herodotus and his ionic dialect, while, as I will try to demonstrate, all he does throughout the work is to present clearly religion as a universal phenomenon.

Another important part of Lucian's religious works are those considered 'farcical'. *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, and *Dialogi Deorum* have definitely funny and comic aspects. Gods are questioned by Momus, one of their own, and they are forced to face the results of their delinquencies. Lucian pushes anthropomorphism to the furthest end and gods are even afraid of starving to death, in case people stop believing in them. Finally, in *Prometheus* and *Timon* he continues on the same tone and he chooses two figures that have challenged the gods to make his point and render his works even more inquisitive. It seems that Lucian handles a current issue that would certainly increase his popularity, but I also believe that by means of his literary and sophistic techniques he gives us a clear picture of what 2nd century was like in that matter. Pagan gods are still worshipped of course, but they are doubted by Christians and attacked for the reasons that Lucian comically presents. Therefore, without taking a position, Lucian gives a journalist's report on the case of religions.

² See Photios, *Bibl.* 128

***De Dea Syria* as a History of World Religion³**

In *De Dea Syria* Lucian ‘paints’ a picture of contemporary multicultural Roman society, and the reader cannot fail to notice his astute perception of the different nations' religious beliefs, as well as people's fear, uncertainty and questions regarding life and the divine. Only the fact that Lucian discusses both the Olympians and Eastern deities shows that he perceives and elaborates on the idea of divinity rather than on a specific god. He gives an account of Eastern divinities and he also notices that some deities appear in different places with different names, that their worship differs, or even that the same divinities are related to different myths and traditions⁴. Nowhere do we see, however, Lucian as an historical personality; the reader stays at a loss even after having read all his works concerning gods as to whether Lucian believes in them, or not, or even if his comic writings are meant to ridicule gods themselves or if they are simply literary presentations of the universal phenomenon of religion.

³ The authorship of this work has been doubted. It has been suggested that the author of *De Dea Syria* was a Syrian, but not Lucian, who had a Hellenized culture, but whose intentions when writing the above work were serious, contrary to Lucian's caustic and satirical spirit. For scholarship that attributes the work to Lucian see Macleod and Baldwin (1994). A prevailing argument is that Lucian wrote it either when he was young or old; hence the difference in style and tone. The argument has been suggested by Jones (culture and society) 41-2. The opposite view has been put forward by Dirven (1997) who claims that there are fundamental differences between the style and tone of this work and other works of Lucian; a religious work like this therefore, Dirven claims, cannot be attributed to the Syrian satirist. See also Caster (1937) 360-364 n. 63; Herman (1958-62); Betz (1961) 23-5; Baslez (1994). Attridge and Oden (1976) 2-3 consider the question unsettled. For an overview of this scholarly dispute see Oden (1977) 4-14. Bompaigne (1958) 647 and Oden (1977) 16-24 try to find humorous references, among other evidence, in order to re enforce the possibility of Lucian's authorship. Others have claimed that the work is ironic. See, for instance, Allinson (1886); idem (1926) 119-220; Cumont (1956) 13-4; Bompaigne (1958) 653; Baldwin (1973) 33; Anderson (1976); Jones (1986) 42; Anderson (1994). As I argued in chapter 2, however, based on *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris* and *Scytha* Lucian seems concerned with contemporary events; based on his *prolaliae* he wishes to bridge the chasm between Greeks and non-Greeks. Humor is not his goal, but most often than not admittedly, his means to send a message. I do not think that seriousness should count against him at this point.

⁴ Oden (1977) 14-46 suggests that the *De Syria Dea* is ironic. Lucian, or whoever the author is, does not imitate Herodotean ionic dialect out of admiration, but to cauterize his methods and gullibility which runs through all the accounts of stories and myths that he includes in his narrative. Why would then Lucian begin with Thucydides' proclamation that he will recount events that he has checked or he has heard from others, if he is not the eye-witness? Furthermore, Lucian never disrespects his ethnicity; why would then say that he is an Assyrian in this work, something that he does not regularly do, where he supposedly intends to disclaim the importance of those Eastern cults? I believe that irony is not necessarily Lucian's intention at this point. As a matter of fact, whenever he wishes to be caustic he is not afraid to do so openly, rather than hide himself behind some obscure ironic references.

Lucian starts *De Syria Dea* by stating that he is a native Syrian⁵. He also proclaims his objectivity confirming that from what he will narrate some he observed with his own eyes, and others that were before his time he learned through research. Considering that this work is not historical, Lucian's insistence on being truthful and precise raises questions. It is as if he turns his critical mind to a field that people rarely, if not never, put under scrutiny. His closing statement also is that when he was young he participated in the worship of Hippolytus. Hence, he had once accepted and embraced traditional forms of worship. Why, however, does he make sure to note that he did that in the past? It could be that he is usually reluctant to give out any personal information, or that now his judgment has put into question the religious *status quo*.

Throughout the work he approaches the subject of divinity from a more practical aspect and describes the rites, the sacrifices, the traditions, and myths related to gods and lesser divinities in various places in Syria. In some cases he makes sure to note that he has heard several stories, which he is going to recount, without necessarily believing them. He plants the seeds, therefore, not necessarily of disbelief against divine entities, but certainly of re-consideration. He is nonetheless critical and manages to separate the divine from the human creation. In Deucalion's story, for instance, he says that after the destruction of the world a big hole opened and it received all the water on top of which Deucalion erected a temple⁶. Lucian

⁵ Dirven (1997) 163-9 discusses the identity of the author and argues contrary to Oden (1977) 23-24 that the author did not abolish his Syrian identity. Dirven, although she claims that Lucian is not the author, suggests that the author is Syrian but he has received Hellenic culture and he has assimilated himself in the new reality, especially if we consider that he uses the Greek names of the deities and the Greek versions of the myths. In chapter 2 I analyzed *Anacharsis*, *Scythia* and *Toxaris* from this point of view and it clearly appeared that Lucian was well integrated in the new *status quo*, without having denied his identity.

⁶ Oden (1977) 24-36 presents evidence that this account of the flood resembles Genesis as well as the Eastern and not the Greek account of the myth.

says then “I, however, saw the hole and it exists under the temple very small”⁷. Nowhere does he claim that the worship is unfounded, nowhere does he show irreverence to the cults and the worship itself⁸. He stirs, however, people’s minds towards a more inquisitive direction. He also says that the Egyptians were the first of all people who comprehended the idea of divinity, erected temples, and established festivities. Considering the role that religion used to play in the ancient world and that it was an integral part of everyday life, public and private, it takes a man of astute intellect to accept religion as a universal phenomenon, along with the fact that other nations can claim primership to establishing worshipping rites and honor the gods. Lucian therefore gives us a history of religion that is important for two reasons: first he establishes the human involvement in religion with all the references to rites and rituals and second he creates a united history for the religious rites of different nations⁹. He shows that the need for divine worship has been cultivated by every nation, the awe provoked by physical phenomena is also shared by many, as well as heroic figures and stories about the beginning of the world. Religion is more interconnected than people realize and Lucian emphasizes that in several places.

As I tried to show in Chapter 3 Lucian is a pragmatist and has a very keen and insightful sense of society and current events; this is one of the reasons why he excelled among the masses of orators and sophists in the Roman Empire. He seems equally perceptive in his consideration of

⁷ For archaeological evidence that confirm Lucian's attestations see Attridge and Oden (1976) 3; Oden (1977) 43-6. Dirven (1997) 159-63 discusses also the reliability of the information that Lucian gives to his readership. See also Millar (1993) 245-7 who places *De Syria Dea* in the context of a broader examination of Syrian cult centers.

⁸ Oden (1977) 41-2 claims that "A second major satiric strain in the D.S.D is directed against what the author sees as new and inauthentic tales told about the gods whose authentic actions are properly represented by the Greeks". Lucian, however, although he writes in Greek and he is assimilated in the Greek culture, he still does not hesitate to be critical against the Greeks. Furthermore, with regards to the variability of the myths, Lucian has proved to be skeptical about the myths in general. *De Sacrificiis* is a characteristic example of his perception of religion, or of what he believes to be the popular perception.

⁹ Jones (1986) 42 also points out the fact that although Lucian does not conceal the barbarian origin of the sanctuary of Atargatis, 'by explaining its antiquities in the manner of Herodotus he comes close to doing so'.

the gods as well. Christianity and Eastern deities like Isis and Serapis might not have prevailed or been widespread among the masses but nonetheless 2nd century C.E. is a period of thinking and reassessing of the divine. The reason may well be that all those nations that came in close contact did not only share traditions, and got acquainted with each other's customs, but they also realized that their faith in gods was also shared by other nations; the only difference was that the objects of worship or the rites differed. Lucian, without showing any signs of piety or impiety, still gives us a short history of world religion.

Dei Confutati?

Dialogi Deorum, *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*¹⁰, and *Dearum Iudicium* are even more ambiguous works that allow room for several different interpretations. The prevailing view entertains the possibility that Lucian ridicules heathen gods and this argument was also used by the Christians. Finally, the possibility that Lucian commits hybris, and that he could have been accused of impiety was also suggested but it has not won many adherents. Literary precedents in practically every genre, like Aristophanic comedy, annul the contingency that such an accusation could ever be made. This treatment of the gods was an integral part of antiquity. It has also been suggested that Lucian was promoting Epicurean logic which includes questioning of gods. What is it then that sets Lucian apart from his predecessors and what renders his works different and not mere extensions of previous literature? Where does Lucian stand with regards to gods and religion? Does he deconstruct paganism and its deities? These are some of the questions that have occupied scholars. The focus should, however, turn to the reason why he has become the center of such attention since he was not a pioneer in his attitude towards the gods. The religious system before Christianity allowed for the sometimes excessive anthropomorphism

¹⁰ For a commentary on *Juppiter Tragoedus* see Coenen (1977).

of the gods and their introduction to the literary sphere. This does not mean that people were impious. Aristophanes uses gods and deities in several comedies and no one can claim that comic, farcical, and burlesque elements are not blatantly obvious. Even Plautus in *Amphitruo* uses mythological travesty and presents Jupiter and Mercury not clothed in a garment of glory and pious reverence. Neither of the aforementioned was ever accused or tried for impiety. Lucian, no matter how different he seems and regardless of the attention he has attracted because of his alleged rebellious portrayal of the gods, is a part of that tradition. It cannot be argued that all this attention with regards to his religious profile is unreasonable, though. Considering that at the time Christianity had started claiming a place in the ‘pantheon’ of religions, Mithraism¹¹, along with other Eastern religions¹² has also appeared in the proscenium, although relatively late in the 1st century C.E., and Jews have long been a part of the Roman Empire, scholars of Lucian expected him to share some of his views on these matters, or even to acknowledge their existence¹³. The elusive Syrian, however, proves himself to be a true sophist, in the 5th century B.C definition of the word, and just like he has never let himself be seen anywhere in his works, he follows the same tactic in his religious works as well.

Lucian’s ridicule goes further than Aristophanes’ as the former exploits all the literary sources and genres about gods and presents it from the gods’ point of view¹⁴. So far in traditional

¹¹ Discussions concerning the relation and possible borrowings between Christianity and Mithraism have been brought up. Common elements have led to the assumption that they shared common origins, or even in the late 19th century that Mithraism could have become the main religion in the Roman Empire; a view that was rejected later. For details see Cumont (1896/99); id. (1956); Patterson (1921); Loisy (1930); Vermaseren (1969); Lease (1980).

¹² Sordi (1986) 55: "And yet at the same time, never before had an age seen such a powerful resurgence of the irrational, such a spreading of oriental cults and magical practices, such a chasing after miracles and prodigious happenings, or such religious fanaticism among the masses."

¹³ For a detailed history of religion and the position of the different religions see Nilsson (1961)

¹⁴ Bompaire (1958) 491-99 mentions the parallelisms between Lucian and Clemens' of Alexandria *Protrepticus* (492). He argues, however, that Lucian's comments are far from inventive, or audacious and that he uses as a repository the Epicurean and Stoic philosophies.

literature the gods get occasionally angry at the mortals for not having offered proper sacrifices. Lucian now reveals the other point of view. *Dialogi Deorum* reminds us of several episodes from Homer. The gods fight, discuss about their children and their youthful delinquencies. Lucian, however, has breathed fresh air into these characters; they talk in prose and not in the heroic dactylic hexameter and thus they seem to be even more human. Hermes in Dialogue II urges Pan not to call him father when they are among others. The gods still bear some Homeric traits, but in Lucian they are forced to face the results of their actions as if they were mere mortals. There is no narration of the action itself, for instance of the adultery, to make the dialogues funny, but it is what ensues the event that Lucian describes. The educated audience is also probably familiar with the myth of Ganymedes and his abduction by Zeus; but it is only in Lucian that Ganymedes engages into a conversation with the father of gods complaining about what he is going to occupy himself with and only in Lucian do we see Zeus trying to explain in childish terms the acts of homosexual love. It is also the first-time that Ganymedes has a voice in literature; in the literary tradition he is the fair-haired boy who is taken to live among the gods and Homer describes the pain of his father for having lost him along with Zeus' compensation. As Branham has argued the gods seem unaware of Homer and the stories he has written about them, their dependence on people's sacrifices and their anthropomorphism. Jupiter appears baffled and concerned about the future¹⁵.

Lucian has also incorporated into some of the works literary and character criticism. In *Deorum Concilium* it is Momus personified who comments on the gods and their stature. In *Juppiter Confutatus*, it is the cynic that judges what Zeus says; he questions and disputes it. The Syrian therefore, no matter how well he fits in the aforementioned long literary tradition,

¹⁵ Branham (1989) 141

presents another aspect in the foreground. It does not necessarily mean that the author wishes to invoke serious criticism and doubt the existence of gods; it could be just another sophistic and humorous rendering of the myths¹⁶. He could even be playing with the impugnation against paganism put forward by other religions. There is no evidence, except for scanty references to Christians and some Eastern deities that will be discussed later in the chapter, regarding Lucian's position towards other religious beliefs. Considering, however, how astute his perception of current events is, he may be commenting on the arguments of the Christian side. If we also accept the possibility that people are aware of the 'other' in the realm of religion, Lucian's religious works could have attracted large audience. It should also be considered, however, that it may not be the gods that the author is being sarcastic about. His works may target people's naïve perception and their simplistic interpretation of the divine.

Finally, it should be noticed that, in this transitional period between paganism and Christianity, in a period when it has been claimed by many that there was a definite separating point between the two religions, things are obviously not black and white. Lucian, although obviously familiar with new developments in several areas in his era, still writes about the pagan gods, either Greek and Roman deities or Eastern deities. If he means to ridicule them or simply trigger people's mind and force them to think and (re)consider, the conclusion we reach remains the same; pagan gods were still popular at the time and Christianity or other Eastern religions for that matter were just emerging. In Lucian's writings we get a glimpse of the dialogue between those different religious worlds.

¹⁶ Christian authors attack mythology as non-historical, or as evidence that pagan gods are merely human creations, who were born like human beings. This argumentation, however, may not have been as poignant as the Christians meant it, since earlier pagan authors had already been explicitly skeptic about mythology. See for instance Cicero, *De Rerum Deorum* where Cotta argues that the myths basically intend to question the existence of gods.

Gods and Men

In *Prometheus*¹⁷, *Icaromenippus* and *Timon* the gods appear mainly in the background as receivers of the people's actions and the protagonists are Prometheus, Menippus and Timon. The topics may not be new, but Lucian's approach, literary, and religious, is.

First of all, Lucian draws inspiration from traditional literary *topoi*, as well as from different authors and genres, namely Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, Aristophanes' *Pax*, and *Aves* and Euripides' *Bellerophon*. The choice of three different literary genres complicates the expectations of the audience. Aeschylus portrays Zeus as a relentless tyrant with no moral boundaries; except for Prometheus, Io also appears as another victim of the unscrupulous god. Bellerophon's actions are perceived as contestation of the god's power and authority and thus as an *hybris*; Bellerophon falls from heavens and dies. On the other hand, in Aristophanes' *Peace* war and other misfortunes have forced gods to relinquish their authoritative position. Nowhere do we see the undisputed power of Aeschylus' Zeus. In the *Aves*, the gods are obliged to share their '*imperium*' with the birds in order not to be bereaved of sacrifices and rituals, and also Zeus agrees to allow his daughter Basileia to marry Pisthetaerus.

Lucian creates a masterful amalgam of all the above literary traditions. Although he does not copy any of his predecessors unedited, he still shows clearly that he is familiar with those works, but he is nonetheless able to create fresh literary characters. Not only does he discuss issues that pertain to the existence of gods, not only does he employ as characters known literary figures who have transgressed in one way or another the authority of the gods, but he also writes a whole work about Timon who even at the end is not appeased and he openly shows his anger against gods. In *Icaromenippus*, Menippus is also allowed to return to earth, unlike

¹⁷ See Bompaire (1958) 564-71 for a stylistic analysis of *Prometheus*, the influence of mime and alexandrian tradition.

Bellerophon; the gods are a lot more tolerant and gracious toward him. This view can also be supported by *Timon*. Gods may have corrected their injustice, but Timon does not forgive them, and he does not offer any sacrifices to them, as mortals customarily do after an act of kindness on behalf of the gods. The work ends and there is no devolvement; the relations between mortal man and immortal gods are not reinstated, but the former is not punished either. This is a different approach to the issue of the relation between men and the divine. Another issue that draws the reader's attention is the excessive sometimes anthropomorphism of the gods. Lucian seems to be indulging himself in literary precedents, when Prometheus says 'should Zeus be so exasperated because of such a small portion of meat that I took, or even why should he be angry for giving fire to men; fire never ends'. The myths created around deities and men and the way poets write about them is another point where Lucian focuses his attention. He always moves one step further and this is what differentiates him from the others. In that case he 'exposes' literary exaggeration. In Aeschylus no one actually defies the word of Zeus and his orders; all the characters concentrate on the alleged misdeeds of Prometheus and on if Zeus is being relentless or fair. Lucian does not take the myth for granted. He actually asks the question that so far had always been an accepted convention; was what Prometheus did so grave and unpardonable an offense¹⁸?

In *Jupiter Tragoedus*, *Jupiter Confutatus*, and *Deorum Concilium* he blows the fear of the gods lest they be neglected by mortals out of proportion. They shudder at the possibility that the belief that gods do not exist may become prevailing among men. Three different aspects can be detected in the issue of the gods (non) existence. First Lucian touches the diachronic question if people believe in their myths, what they believe about divine entities, and the significance of

¹⁸ Jebb (1907) 173 notices that Lucian pushes 'bare anthropomorphism to its extreme logical result'.

rituals and religious worshipping. He exploits people's awe and their superstitions. He seems to be questioning and laughing at the people's obsession with rituals¹⁹. So he puts into question whether the gods will starve in case mortals do not perform any sacrifices. We cannot argue with any certainty about whether he doubts the existence of pagan gods, or if he believes that people have missed the point of the rituals. Nonetheless he shows the practical aspect of rituals and that they are rather a means so that people may feel closer to gods, communicate their needs and concerns, and so that they may believe that they have some saying in their fate.

Finally, another point that could be made is that Lucian could be presenting 'the case' of the non-pagans. As a matter of fact an argument that Christians invoke later is that even pagan authors like Lucian question the existence of the gods. Christianity was not in its heyday yet but its dissensions with paganism had already been set and one of the most open expressions of the Christian's opposition to paganism was the fact that the former did not participate in sacrifices and rituals. In these works Lucian emphasizes gods' concern about sacrifices. It is indeed a fresh point of view from which to consider sacrifices and it is the point which divides pagans and non-pagans. As Lucian is always one step forward in his criticism and his process of reconsidering values, customs, lifestyle and the different forces that set society's wheels in motion, he steps with these works in the middle of religious dissensions and presents their discord embellished with his literary charms.

As a pragmatist and a man who understands human psychology, and how social norms work, Lucian plays with the literary tradition that had been woven around the gods and moves it even further, but he also makes a smart selection of topics. Adulteries, illegitimate children,

¹⁹ Jones (1986) 39 also argues that 'The anthropomorphism of the gods does not merely lend the work charm and liveliness, it also indirectly satirizes conventional conceptions of them'; id. 43 'The passage of the Tragic Zeus in which Apollo is called upon to predict the issue of the dispute between the two philosophers is a small anthology of stock jokes against prophecy, but it is directed less against the god than the tricks of his prophets, their paraphernalia and hocus-pocus.'

brothers who fight and do not have anything in common can interest even readers who are not aware of the classical myths; and they could attract attention even if the protagonists were not immortals. Therefore, regardless of his intentions, about which we cannot comment with certainty, Lucian knows how to be a popular orator, how to move beyond the sphere of the usual and hackneyed and give new breath to an old topic.

The conclusion one may reach regarding Lucian's intentions is that he seems to be trying to bring the divine close to the human element and shed some light and maybe demystify the relation between the two. He certainly is open to new religions and, although we cannot argue with certainty what his position was, we cannot assume that he was unaware of the appearance and the evolvement of new religious systems. Subsequently he, without showing impiety, deconstructs and shows what rituals consist of. He is realistic and a pragmatist who can pinpoint the essence of things and bring it to a clear view for everyone to see. His works are undeniably funny and smart and even if the audience did not get any of the above messages, they would still leave entertained having lived a 2nd century C.E. Aristophanic experience.

Peregrinus, Lucian's Reproach Against Christians?

Peregrinus is one of Lucian's most poignant works, although admittedly not the most exquisitely written or the most smartly and oratorically embellished. Lucian supposedly writes to Cronius, that may have been the known Cynic who appears in other works, and he narrates the events that took place when Peregrinus Proteus committed suicide during the Olympian games in 167 C.E. Lucian claims that he was only a spectator and that the reason he attended to the events before, during and after Peregrinus' suicide was that at first he could not leave the place due to the overflow of people and later because he could not find the means to travel. He is writing in

first person but he also reports ‘verbatim’ what Theagenes the Cynic²⁰ and another orator said on that very same day; he concludes the work by adding his own censure against Peregrinus. The whole work is written as a rhetorical exercise since Theagenes speaks in favor of Peregrinus, while the other speaker sets to demolish all the previous arguments, present the truth hidden behind Theagenes’ speech, and reveal the real face of Peregrinus. The tone, remarks as well as the introduction and the conclusion of the work suggest that the second speaker may have actually been Lucian himself.

Lucian does not give a lot of personal information about Peregrinus at the beginning²¹; only later do we learn that he was born in Parion. Lucian paints an extremely unflattering picture of Peregrinus. He mentions that he was accused of killing his father, that he became a Christian, while he was in Palestine, and that he retreated because of a misstep²². Lucian gives an account of Peregrinus’ travels, among which are the ones to Italy, where he was expelled from, to Greece, where he tried to kindle the natives’ anti-Roman sentiments and cause a revolt, and to Egypt²³. Through all the events the only idea that the reader may form about Peregrinus is that he was an impostor, a deceitful pariah who did not believe in anything and adhered to religions or people aiming only at personal benefit, while exploiting those who actually believed in him²⁴. The truth is that, although we do not have plethora of information regarding Peregrinus, he is not a

²⁰ On Theagenes, his future as a preacher at Rome and further evidence about his life see Bernays (1879) 4-21.

²¹ Philostratus *VS* 71.19-20 suggests that Peregrinus was a contemporary of Herodes Atticus. See also Bagnani (1955) 112. For other studies on Peregrinus see Caster (1937) 243-55; Labriolle (1942) 100-7; Bagnani (1955).

²² On the date of his apostasy from Christianity see Schwartz (1963) 98; Jones (1986) 123.

²³ On the offices Peregrinus had occupied as mentioned by Lucian see Betz (1958), 229-34.

²⁴ Lucian mentions that during Peregrinus’ imprisonment, Christian women were bringing him food and other essentials. This practice of Christians is also mentioned by Tertullian in *Ad Martyras* 1. See also in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 3.693; 4.110; 3.702; 3.704.

completely unknown figure first mentioned by Lucian²⁵. He is mentioned also in Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* and in other Christian authors²⁶. One may wonder therefore why Lucian chose to write a work about him.

It has been suggested that *Peregrinus* is Lucian's deprecation of Christianity. He uses the name Χριστιανοί four times and not one is complimentary. As a matter of fact he uses the adjective κακοδαίμονες, ill-fated, miserable, possessed by evil genius²⁷. He also has a small digression in *Peregrinus* 13 where he goes into more details about Christians. What is worth pointing out is that this digression does not seem necessary at this point in the text and it does not even relate directly to Peregrinus; it merely shows Lucian's perception of the new religion and its practices. There are two points that I will discuss concerning the information we get from Lucian regarding Christianity. One is what this account means for the image of Christianity at the time and the other concerns Lucian's attitude and what, if any, are the resemblances with Pliny's account of the Christians in the letter to Trajan.

Lucian says that Christians believe in immortality; hence they condemn death. He also says, always in a pejorative manner, that their first νομοθέτης persuaded them that they are all brothers, that they should refute all pagan gods and live their lives by the rules that the crucified sophist set for them. What one notices is his knowledge of some Christian doctrines as well as his ignorance regarding others. He knows about Jesus and about the basic principles members of the new sect live by and he is also aware of their denial to participate in pagan rituals; that is

²⁵ Cf. A. Gell. 8.3; 12.11; Paus. 6.8.4. He is also mentioned by Christian authors and rather negatively. See Tat. *Orat.* 25.1; Athenag. *Leg.* 26.4-5.

²⁶ Cf. also Tertullian, *Ad Martyras* 4; Athenagoras, *Legatio* 26. For Christians attitude concerning death see Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 11.3; Tatian, *Oratio* 4; *Epistula ad Diognetum* 7.7. See also Edwards (1989) elaborates on the arguments of the Apologists that Lucian uses and twists in his presentation of Christianity and Peregrinus. He also very interestingly emphasizes similarities in Lucian's deprecatory presentation of Peregrinus and Zeus in *De Sacrificiis* 5.

²⁷ Celsus also uses the same characterization for the Christians. See Or. *Contra Celsum* 3.59

actually one of the first elements that differentiated them from the rest of the citizens of the Empire and one of the reasons why emperors and officials in other provinces were sometimes negatively predisposed towards them. The choice of the word σοφιστής for Jesus is interesting considering that Lucian was himself a sophist²⁸. It has been claimed that Lucian shows an inconceivable ignorance²⁹ about all things Christian and the basis for the argument is that he uses words like θιασάρχης to describe the position of Peregrinus amidst Christians when it is not part of the Christian terminology and is never used in Christian literature. We should consider, however, that θιασάρχης means the leader of a θίασος that is a company, a troop and also a religious guild³⁰.

Lucian also seems concerned that the followers of Peregrinus may create a cult and worship him claiming that series of unexplained and natural phenomena took place after his death³¹. Lucian actually argues that he has come upon occurrences like the aforementioned. We know that the 'cult' of Peregrinus did not take the proportions that the Syrian claims it did; still it is hard not to notice the similarities between what he says about Peregrinus and what non-

²⁸ On the use of the word see Jebb (1907) 189

²⁹ See Bernays (1879) 42-43 on Lucian's alleged ignorance concerning Christianity; See also Caster (1937) 346-57 who claims that Lucian does not seem to agree with Christians, but he does not show hatred either. He would admire their condemnation of death, if they did not have the unreasonable belief in immortality. Caster concludes that 'leur (talking about Lucian and Voltaire) obscurité même semble être un comble de finesse attique' (357). Caster's ultimate perception of Lucian's conception and presentation of religion in his era is that 'Mais son témoignage est incomplete; à quoi l'on peut répondre qu'il ne prétend pas être un historien. Ce qui est plus surprenant, c'est qu'il n'a pas utilisé tous les matériaux que le second siècle offrait à son esprit satirique' (382). Jacob (1907) 179-92 agrees with Caster's perception of Lucian's attitude towards Christianity. Hall (1981) 199; Bagnani (1955) 111 "Lucian's ignorance of Christianity and Christian doctrine is really monumental...". Betz (1959) 229-234 also claims that Lucian did not have first-hand knowledge of Christianity. He admits that we get information from an outsider, but he accuses Lucian of not being an attentive observer of the new religion "Sicher hat er kein Verständnis für den Glauben der Christen, nicht einmal für ihre Absage an die Götterwelt..." (237). Bompaire (1958) 477-80 points out that Lucian does not give a mere caricature of Peregrinus and the Christians; instead he acknowledges qualities, like their charitable feelings, while he also employs common motifs for their description. Bompaire still reaches the same conclusion regarding Lucian's superficial treatment of the new religion.

³⁰ So far the word θιασάρχης has been perceived as derogatory. See for instance Wilken (1984) 45

³¹ On Peregrinus' aspirations for the foundation of a cult see Jones (1986) 126-30

Christians say about Jesus, his crucifixion and the events that ensued. He even pities Peregrinus for his vain pursuit of fame. According to Lucian, there will also be others carried on the cross and hold by the executioner and therefore Peregrinus' fame is bound to fade gradually and eventually die. Perhaps Lucian knew more than we think about the new religion and the 'sophist' from Palestine. In any case this work is indicative of the quantity of information that Christians allowed non-believers to know and what some of the first reactions to their religion were. What one notices so far is that Christians have acquired a position in the pantheon of religions, but they do not hold the scepter of the "true religion". They are treated as a sect that worships another deity and in some cases goes to extremes. This means also that they may have established some sort of identity but they still have not set their mark in the world in the way they wish to. That explains the Christian literature of this period, namely Clemens of Alexandria, Tatian, Justin the Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tertullian, that I will discuss later, who seem to adhere obsessively to Christian doctrines employing sometimes radical literary and admonitory techniques.

Another matter for consideration is Lucian's intentions for writing that work. Can it be considered an attack against Christianity? His focus does not seem to be Christianity; the target is Peregrinus instead. He starts by calling him *κακοδαίμων*. The word has been used by Aristophanes and Arrianus with the meaning of 'evil genius'. It also means the ill-fated, but when one goes further in the work, realizes that Lucian does not pity Peregrinus. The tone of the work is thus set and Lucian launches bitter comments against Peregrinus until the very end. The way he discusses the subject, however, reminds us of other critical works concerning people or generic characters that he does not approve of, for instance *Adversus Indoctum*, *De Mercede Conductis*, *Hermotimus* and several others. He is obviously against any form of dishonesty and pretentiousness and he verbally attacks Peregrinus for being deceitful and not for temporarily

being a Christian. He is also anti-cynic, as he has shown elsewhere. He does not challenge the Cynic doctrine, but the grandiose and conceited way they want to promote it. He does not fail to laugh at them even when Theagenes, the Cynic says that no other Cynic that was present when Peregrinus died wishes to follow him, although they allegedly believe in sacrifice and condemn pain. Lucian really makes his point when he says that the Cynics, who infuriated attacked him, let him go when he threatened to throw them into the same fire with Peregrinus. The whole work is a manifest uncovering of pretentiousness. One could even go as far as to suggest that Peregrinus is just the means by which he exposes characters like him, just like in *Alexander*, which is a character work. At the end of *Peregrinus* he describes a comic event from the latter's life, when he was aboard trying to seduce a young boy and later, during a tempest, how afraid he was to die. Therefore, he concludes "you can read this and laugh and especially when you hear other people being amazed at him". At the closing sections of *Alexander*, another character he condemns, however, the tone is different. He recounts the death of Alexander in a grotesque and rather gruesome way, without veiling his true emotions. He says that his foot decayed up to the groin and he was full of worms. He then proceeds to narrate what happened to those who had conspired with him and what their punishment was. The concluding paragraph is an admonition for the audience to lead an honest and truthful life where Lucian actually claims that this writing can benefit any reader. The gravity of his tone runs through the whole treatise and we should not fail to notice that rarely does Lucian claim a degree of responsibility and an intention to reform society. Finally, the end of both Peregrinus' and Alexander's life are described as *καταστροφή τοῦ δράματος*. There has already been a discussion regarding the choice of the words in relation to Christian writings and the crucifixion of Jesus. I would like to focus on the employment of the word *δρᾶμα*. The word has the meaning of 'act, deed', but it also means 'play'. Even therefore

linguistically Lucian makes sure to give an assessment of their lives; for him everything was simply an act, a stage performance and, for Peregrinus at least, his choice to die was also a δρᾶμα³².

Lucian's account of the Christians has common points of reference with Pliny's letter to Trajan when the former served as governor in Bithynia³³ and asked for advice about how to treat Christians³⁴. He is concerned about whether they may constitute a danger to state religion or to the Roman authorities. At first he notes that he is asking for advice since there is a policy against allowing people to join into groups (*post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua haeterias esse vetueram*); for the unity and the cohesion of the group lead to stronger attachments, discussion of common problems and subsequently to complaints about authority and possible revolts³⁵. Christians therefore were treated as another religious group that worships a different

³² Mitchell (2007) discusses the use of the phrase καταστροφή τοῦ δράματος and says that it has been used only 3 times in literature, by Polybius, Celsus, and Lucian. Polybius uses the phrase "to refer to tragic-styled endings in purportedly historiographical accounts, which are implausible and false" (224). She therefore argues that both Lucian and Celsus use it in a derogatory manner targeting the Christians and Jesus and she suggests that Celsus could have been influenced on a linguistic level by Lucian.

³³ Sherwin-White (1985) 80-2 places the governorship between 109-11 C.E. and Freudenberger (1967) between 111-113 C.E. .

³⁴ See Sherwin-White (1985) 691-710, Sordi (1986), 59-65 Benko (1980) 1070-6, Wilken (1984) 15-30 for a commentary on the *Epistle*. There have been also claims that there are later interpolations in the *Epistle*. On that see Hermann (1954) 343ff. For an answer to these claims see Dieu (1942); Grant (1948);

³⁵ As a matter of fact Trajan did not allow Pliny to authorize a fire brigade in Nicomedia (Ep.x.33-34) (*tu, domine, dispice an instituendum putes collegiums fabrorum dumtaxat hominum CL. Ego attendam, ne quis nisi faber recipiatur neve iure concesso in utantur; nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos. x.33; Sed meminerimus provinciam istam et praecipue eas civitates eius modi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quamcumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint, hetaeriae eaeque brevi fiet. x.34*) He also forbade the foundation of *eranoi*, organization that provided help, in any other place except for Amisus. The later was enjoying the privileges due to an earlier agreement (*In ceteris civitatibus, quae nostro iure obstrictae sunt, res huius modi prohibenda est. x.93*). See Sherwin-White (1952) 199ff; idem (1960). Dio Chrysostom in 45.8 disapproves of the comprising of political clubs for they cause dissensions and fractures in the stability of the city (μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ἡξιούσιν μὴδὲ ἔτερον μὴδένα τοιοῦτον ἔθος εἰσάγειν μὴδὲ καθ' ἑταιρείας πολιτεύεσθαι μὴδ' εἰς μέρη διασπᾶν τὴν πόλιν· There is also evidence that sometimes clubs would promote political theses as well and this could lead to uprising. On that see Dessau (1906) 6411a, 6419e, 6420b about the political activities of the group of fruit dealers, goldsmiths, and the worshippers of Isis respectively. Cf. also Celsus 1.1; 8.17

deity. That was not perilous, however, considering the multitude of Eastern deities that had already appeared in the Roman Empire. They constituted a threat in the sense that they were a group (*collegium*)³⁶. In their case Trajan does not sound extremely concerned. His response to Pliny concerning the future treatment of Christians is mild and diplomatic. He does not wish them to be persecuted, or searched for³⁷. In the *Letter*, though, we become acquainted with what non-Christians believed about Christians and the rumors circulating about them. *Superstitio*³⁸ is the word used by Pliny to describe Christianity, (*superstitionem pravam et immodicam*) since they only address a prayer to Christ as if to a divinity and they take an oath not to commit anything morally reprehensible. Later Pliny attests that they separate and then they re-convene so as to eat a meal.

quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta ne latrocinia ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati

³⁶ For a description of the hierarchy of church in the first years see Sordi (1986) 180-93 where she explains the function and the office of its members as well as the fact that it may have been easier for the Romans to accept the new religion if it appeared as an organization with structure and leaders. See also Wilken (1984) 31-47 and especially p.45. Tertullian has also employed vocabulary related to associations to present Christianity in a familiar context. See *Apol.* 39

³⁷ Tertullian in *Apol.* ii 7 calls it '*sententiam necessitate confusam*'. For a discussion see Merrill (1918). Athenagoras, for instance, emphasizes the lack of established laws concerning the Christians and the way they should be treated. Although there were Roman laws against impiety, they were not enforced; nonetheless Athenagoras proceeds to deconstruct the accusations of immortality and impiety. For more details see Schoedel (1973).

³⁸ The word *superstitio* was also used before Pliny both by Tacitus and Suetonius. Although neither of the two latter authors' focus was the Christians, we still get an idea about the position and the impact, if any, the new religion had at the time. Tacitus, *Annales* 15.44 *ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Chrestianos appellabat. auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocita aut pudenda confluent celebranturque.* Suetonius, *Nero* 16 *afflicti supplicii Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae; vetiti quadrigariorum lusus, quibus inveterata licentia passim vagantibus fallere ac furari per iocum ius erat;* Juvenal in *Satire* 14 criticizes severely the Jews for being superstitious. Plutarch also in the 2nd century dedicated a whole treatise, *De Superstitione*, to discuss this 'phenomenon'. See also Janssen (1979). For the attitude of the Romans towards new religions see also Dio Cassius 52.36.2.

abnegarent. Quibus peracti morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.

From this choice of vocabulary and the description of Christian activities it has been argued that his underlying question is whether Christianity is a punishable by law crime or simply a choice of lifestyle and mentality³⁹. Pliny says also that the number of Christians is growing and people of every age, rank, and sex are involved (*multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus. . .*). Hence he deems that there is still time to reduce this number and therefore limit any imminent danger since the temples are crowded again and the rites seem to revive (*Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti passimque venire<carnem>victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur*). If during Pliny's time the phenomenon of Christianity was so noticeable as to be a concern for Roman officials and the Emperor himself, we can only assume that at the time of Lucian even non-Christians could not be utterly ignorant, especially when it came to rituals and sacrifices or more specifically the abstinence from sacrifices, actions that can hardly remain unnoticed. It is obvious that Pliny does not consider Christians a threat to the Empire, or that they are guilty of engaging in obscene and reprehensible acts. Laws against impiety may not be enforced, but Romans consider traditional religion and worship practices to be part of their everyday life, their customs, their past and present; they also consider gods as patrons of their Empire. Abiding therefore by these religious customs is not only religious matter, but civil and political as well⁴⁰. Augustine in *Civitas Dei* gives an account of this aspect of religion as perceived by Seneca and Varro⁴¹.

³⁹ See Sordi (1986) 62; Keresztes (1979)

⁴⁰ See Oliver (1953) on the degree of influence Rome as a ruling power had on religion and worship in Asia Minor; this will also shed some light on their religious tolerance. Millar (1993) 503-22 suggests that Syrian religious identity was not preserved. "In the Nea East only Palmyra provides a (very partial) parallel to the persistence of Egyptian temples, with distinctive forms of priesthood, and which in the Imperial period were still constructed in

The amount of information about Christians that Pliny and Lucian share is probably an indication of what pagans knew about them in the Eastern provinces at least. The new sect *per se* is not considered perilous to the emperor since its members, according to both authors, share meals, perform their rituals, and tend to their 'brothers' ' welfare.

The First Apologists

Christian apologists write simultaneously with Greek and Roman authors, they share motifs with them and employ classical techniques in order to initiate people into their religion. 'Where' did Christianity start then? What was the reaction of the non-Christian authors? Had Christian writers already rejected the old world, or did both worlds co-exist? Do they share any characteristics, or did the Christians write off everything pagan and create their religion *ex tabula rasa*? Many scholars have focused on the battle between pagans and Christians. They claim that this era was turbulent and that Christians, having found their own truth and philosophy in life, refused to participate to everyday, customary rituals and events, taking for granted that the two worlds were separate and that there were two parts, the Christians and the pagans. This distinction, however, did not happen immediately at a certain date; by that I mean that the first Christians used to be pagans. Therefore, it may not have been that the Christians cut themselves off the world, but it happened gradually and should one examine closely the proto-Christian

Egyptian style, and still used the Egyptian language, written in hieroglyphics" (505). Boissier (1909) 346 also argues that Romans had limited tolerance towards foreign religions with regards to the latter's invasion to the Roman religious system. For a detailed presentation of Roman Empire and foreign religions see 343-403.

⁴¹ Augustine, *Civitas Dei* 6.10; 5-6. Even Celsus who exhorts Christians to participate in everyday Roman life, he also shows that traditional religious rites support the peace of the Roman Empire. See Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.35. See Borret (1976) tome v for a commentary on Origen's work. On Varro and his conception of the civil aspect of religion see Cardauns (1960) 53-8. For a full discussion see Schoedel (1973). See also Altheim (1938) 332 ff. about religion and its civil and political aspects and the beginning of the new age in religion, supersitition and the gods. Cf. also Nilsson (1949) 224-62 on Greek civic religion.

writings, he can still discern the process of the shift⁴². When one studies Lucian's works that deal with gods, philosophers and religion and then compares them with the writings of the first apologists, it becomes clear that there is no threshold between pagan and Christian authors, but there is a bridge and Lucian clearly constitutes a part of that bridge. In this attempt to present the connecting points between Lucian and the Christians I intend to discuss certain works of Clemens of Alexandria, Tatian, Justin the Martyr, Athenagoras and an anonymous *Epistle to Diognetos* all contemporary with Lucian⁴³. Some of the most common topics on which the aforementioned authors focus are god(s), their existence, the importance of sacrifices and the worshipping of statues and other idols', the philosophers and if they are conveyors of the truth, and finally and most importantly, human concern about the life one should lead.

Statuary

The first Christian writers raise objections regarding the existence and potency of heathen gods because they are worshipped in the form of statues⁴⁴. In the *Epistula ad Diognetum*⁴⁵ the author urges the pagan believer to examine the existence of what he considers to be divine. He

⁴² Dodds (1965) discusses the dialogue and the contacts between not only of pagan religion, but of philosophy as well with Christian reasoning and doctrine. Dodds presents a complete picture of the era when Christianity rose and places the new 'sect' in this context. He delineates their similarities, their differences and provides reasons why pagans were so hostile against Christians. He also elaborates on the philosophical background of Christianity and presents it as a philosophy, a religion and a lifestyle while he sketches the bridge between the two worlds. See also Wagner (1994) for a presentation of the 2nd century C.E. from a Greco-Roman, Christian, and Jewish point of view on the basis of history, society, philosophy, and religion. He also provides a comprehensive 'catalogue' of some of the first Apologists and their basic principles. For a history of Christianity up to the 7th century see also Chadwick (2001); Daniélou (1977). On the Apologists see also Contreras (1980).

⁴³ Osborn (1993) delineates the details of the Christian thought, philosophy and theology. See also Wiles (1967) and Chadwick (1966).

⁴⁴ Early Apologists attempt to define their God and deconstruct pagan divinities by means of negative terminology. It is by means of this theological approach that they even try to contradict the charges against them regarding atheism. See Wolfson (1957); Palmer (1983). Plato, Middle Platonism, Judaism, and early Presocratics have been considered the sources of this terminology. See Barnard (1967) 34-5; Osborn (1981) 31-63; Puech (1912) 292.

⁴⁵ For commentary on the *Epistula ad Diognetum*, suggestions about the exact dating, as well as the question of whether it is actually an epistle or not, its authorship, and date see Marrou (1997), Meecham (1949), and Andriessen (1947).

says that some statues are made of gold, others of bronze and others of wood, and most importantly they all are manmade. Christians refuse to submit and worship these alleged deities. It seems that the author of the Epistle along with other contemporaries focuses his attacks against the worshipping practices of pagans and in his quest for something higher and untouchable, he completely dismisses the worship of images and statuary⁴⁶. His objections focus on the deification of statuary and perishable material. It is noteworthy that such a differentiation rose again later among the Christians, namely among the iconolaters and iconoclasts. Statues, according to the author of the epistle, are deaf, blind, and deprived of senses.

ἴδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει, τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἢ τίνος εἵδους τυγχάνουσιν, οὓς ἐρεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε θεούς. . . Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις λίθος ἐστίν, ὅμοιος τῷ πατρουμένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκός, οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον, ἦδε καὶ σεσηπός, . . . οὐ κωφὰ πάντα; οὐ τυφλά; οὐκ ἄψυχα; οὐκ ἀναίσθητα; οὐκ ἀκίνητα; οὐ πάντα σηπόμενα; οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα;. . . Π

Furthermore, pagans, he says, guard the golden statues, but they leave the stone ones unattended.

τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὀστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρατιμαῖς προσφέρειν. . . Π

Another Apologist set against the statuary is Clemens of Alexandria. In the *Protrepticus* he writes and admonishes non-Christians along the same lines with the author of the *Epistula ad Diognetum*. One of his arguments is the deification and worship of statuary and the belief that these materials are the heathen gods. It becomes clear that the Christians abandoned and frowned upon the anthropomorphic mentality. For them it is clear that the god is the creator of everything on earth and god is definitely not created.

⁴⁶ See Hanson (1980) 910-24 for more details on later Christian authors that discussed the worship of statues, as well as the response of the pagans who claim that they do not revere the material itself, but the spirit of the gods.

ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων» ἀναίσθητα προστρεπόμενοι. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τὸν ἀκινάκην, οἱ Ἄραβες τὸν λίθον, οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν ποταμὸν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἔτι παλαιότεροι ξύλα ἰδρύνοντο περιφανῆ καὶ κίονας ἴστων ἐκ λίθων· ἃ δὴ καὶ ξόανα προσηγορεύετο διὰ τὸ ἀπεξέσθαι τῆς ὕλης, 4.

And later he says that it is not the act of representation itself that he is so much against but rather the worship of those images (Ὡς μὲν οὖν τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα καὶ συνελόντι φάναι τὴν ὕλην ἀγάλματα ἀνδρείκελα ἐποίησαντο, οἷς ἐπιμορφάζετε εὐσέβειαν συκοφαντοῦντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἤδη μὲν αὐτόθεν δῆλον·). From these writings it becomes clear that the Apologists are not ignorant of pagan religion and literature either. As a matter of fact, except for the literary *topoi* that they gradually incorporated into their Christian literature, they even use pagan authors themselves in their argumentation against the existence of heathen gods. Clemens quotes a passage from the Sibylline books expressing contempt for the ‘idols of sculptured stone’.

Διδάσκαλον δὲ ὑμῖν παραθήσομαι τὴν προφητικὴν Σίβυλλαν οὐ ψευδοῦς Φοίβου χρησηγόρον, ὃν τε μάταιοι ἄνθρωποι θεὸν εἶπον, ἐπεψεύσαντο δὲ μάντιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ μέγαλοιο, τὸν οὐ χέρρες ἔπλασαν ἀνδρῶν εἰδώλοισι ἀλάλοισι λιθοξέστοισιν ὅμοιον 4.

Clemens’ argumentation resembles the *Epistula ad Diognetum* in many other points as well. The former discusses the lifelessness of statues, their inability to feel anything, and the people’s denial to perceive the falsity of their religion, the non-existence of their gods. (Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀναισθήτω λίθῳ καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ πλουσίῳ οὐθ’ ὅτιοῦν μέλει, οὐ κνίσης, οὐχ αἵματος, οὐ καπνοῦ, ᾧ δὴ τιμώμενοι καὶ τυφόμενοι ἐκμελαίνονται· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τιμῆς,

οὐχ ὑβρεως·4) ⁴⁷. Athenagoras also discusses the origin of Greek sculpture in his argumentation against the existence of pagan gods who seem to be even younger than the artists that created them⁴⁸. It seems that Christianity may not have been a popular religion at the time, but Christians had already self-identified and defined themselves and their prospectus in life and their religious doctrines, while they purposefully answer the accusations of pagans⁴⁹. A focal point for their accusers was their refusal to worship other gods. Although the Roman Empire had seen the rise of various religions, Christians became the scapegoats and objects of prosecutions on account of their total abstinence from non-Christian rituals⁵⁰. The first Apologists clarify their position and try to familiarize people with the new religion and show that Christianity is not simply a religion, but a philosophy of life as well. Christianity, according to the Apologists, has moved beyond the mere spectacle and the elaborate rituals; it is closer to the essence⁵¹.

⁴⁷ The use of negative terminology is evident, even if implicitly used, when the authors of the Epistle says what the Christian God does not need. See Palmer (1983) 238-9.

⁴⁸ Ruprecht (1992) discusses the parallels between Athenagoras list of artists and that of Pausanias in the *Description of Greece*. He brings up the issue of a handbook on artists from which the two authors seem to have drawn their material. This was also discussed previously by Jones (1895; reprinted in 1966).

⁴⁹ Self-identification must have been focal point in the writings of the Apologists since first Christians were converted pagans and in the early years they probably have not entirely perceived what Christianity as religion and lifestyle encompassed. This becomes clearer if we consider that even in the 4th C.E. Christian literature was concerned with defining what Christian lifestyle means. Nicetas, bishop of Remesiana, addresses such issues in his book *Adversus Genethilogiam*. Certain practices had become part of people's everyday life and these were the more difficult to discard as being part of their old religion, since for them it was simply part of their lives. For more details see Laistner (1951), Dodds (1965), De Labriolle (1934).

⁵⁰ At the time also Montanism appeared and it seems to have been difficult to differentiate between the latter and Christianity. The radical views of Montanism, however, must have blown some unfavorable winds against Christians as well. Celsus appears to have such thoughts, while he tries to exhort Christians to be better citizens and not abstain from civil duties. For more details see Dodds (1965) 66-8. On Celsus' attitude towards Christians as seen in his *True Doctrine* see Chadwick (1947); idem (1948); idem (1953); Lods (1941); Benko (1980), Wilken (1984) 94-125; Cf. also Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8.69. On Celsus' ideas as well as other 2nd century pagan authors see also Benko (1980) and Francis (1995) 131-179.

⁵¹ Ogilvie (1969) 1 as a matter of fact says that pagan religion and deities is more a decoration, magnificent but without impact or real meaning.

The topic of the statuary is raised by Lucian in *Jupiter Tragoedus*. The resemblances between the Apologists and this work are striking in that the whole discussion in Lucian's work is about people's (dis)belief in the existence of gods. Zeus is concerned that they may be neglected, if mortals stop worshipping them and offering sacrifices. When the gods convene, Zeus instructs Hermes about how the gods should be seated and he says that the golden should be seated first, then the silver, then the ivory, and then the bronze or the stone ones

ὥστε παραλαμβάνων κάθιζε αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστον, ὡς ἂν ὕλης ἢ τέχνης ἔχη, ἐν προεδρία μὲν τοὺς χρυσοῦς, εἶτα ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς ἀργυροῦς, εἶτα ἐξῆς ὅποσοι ἐλεφάντινοι, εἶτα τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἢ λιθίνους 7.

Hermes argues then that the barbaric gods will be seated in the first rows since the Greek gods are gracious, but they are made with humbler material.

εἰκόμασι δ' οὖν, ὦ Ζεῦ, οἱ βαρβαρικοὶ προεδρεύσειν μόνοι· ὡς τοὺς γε Ἑλληνας ὀρθᾶς ὁποῖοί εἰσι, χαρίεντες μὲν καὶ εὐπρόσωποι καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐσχηματισμένοι, λίθινοι δὲ ἢ χαλκοῖ ὅμως ἅπαντες ἢ οἳ γε πολυτελέστατοι αὐτῶν ἐλεφάντινοι ὀλίγον ὅσον τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐπιστίλβον ἔχοντες, ὡς ἐπικεχράνθαι καὶ ἐπηυγᾶσθαι μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὑπόξυλοι καὶ οὗτοι. . . 8.

It is Poseidon first that raises objections refusing to demote himself (Καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο, ὦ Ἐρμῆ, δίκαιον, τὸν κυνοπρόσωπον τοῦτον προκαθίζειν μου τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ ταῦτα Ποσειδῶνος ὄντος; 9) and later they even argue between themselves about their value and their importance. Aphrodite, for instance, asks that she should be seated amidst the first since she is golden. Hermes, however, says that she is clearly made of stone and Aphrodite contradicts him by quoting Homer who calls her golden Aphrodite.

{ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ}

10.1

Οὐκοῦν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, κάμῃ λαβῶν ἐν τοῖς προέδροις
που κάθιζε· χρυσῆ γάρ εἰμι.

10.2

{ΕΡΜΗΣ}

Οὐχ ὅσα γε, ὦ Ἀφροδίτη, κάμῃ ὄρᾶν, ἀλλ'
εἰ μὴ πάνυ λημῶ, λίθου τοῦ λευκοῦ, Πεντέληθεν,

10.5

οἶμαι, λιθοτομηθεῖσα, εἶτα δόξαν οὕτω Πραξιτέλει
Ἀφροδίτη γενομένη Κνιδίῳ παρεδόθης.

10.6

{ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ}

Καὶ μὴν ἀξιόπιστόν σοι μάρτυρα τὸν Ὅμηρον
παρέξομαι ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῶν ῥαψωδιῶν χρυσῆν
με τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι λέγοντα.

Is Lucian making the case for the Christians?⁵² Based on his profile I believe that he probably presents in his own terms and style discussions between religious groups. He always seems well aware of new trends, social and political, and he has detected other religious rhythms playing at the time. He does not wish to reveal his personal beliefs, however, and we would not expect him to do so. He is rather journalistic and dispassionate, or simply a dexterous diplomat when it comes to taking a position in other issues.

⁵² Christian authors argue that only educated pagans can make the distinction between idol and real divinity, while the great majority cannot. See Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 22.1-5; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 7.66; Athenagoras, *Supplicatio* 18.1.

The same religious topics are brought up in *Deorum Concilium*. The gods converge for a meeting and the issues of who should address the assembly and what would be the appropriate seating arrangement come up first⁵³. Momus asks who should speak first and if the decision should be made on the basis of the gods' origin. He also discusses the appearance of some of them, especially that of the Eastern deities, and he finally asks if the material by which statues are made should define the value and the importance of the gods and their position in the pantheon.

ὁ γάρ τοι γενναιότατος οὔτος Διόνυσος ἡμιάνθρωπος ὢν, οὐδὲ Ἕλληνας
μητρόθεν ἀλλὰ Συροφοίνικός τινος ἐμπόρου τοῦ Κάδμου θυγατρίδου. . . ὁ δὲ
καὶ ὄλην φατρίαν ἐσε-ποίησεν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἐπαγόμενος πάρεστι καὶ
θεοὺς ἀπέφηνε τὸν Πᾶνα καὶ τὸν Σιληνὸν καὶ Σατύρους, ἀγροίκους τινὰς καὶ
αἰπόλους τοὺς πολλοὺς, σκιρτητικοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς μορφὰς
ἀλλοκότους· 4.

Momus goes as far as to question the degree of respect that such gods can claim from mortals (Εἶτα θαυμάζομεν εἰ καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὀρῶντες οὕτω γελοίους θεοὺς καὶ τεραστίους; 4)⁵⁴. Concerning *Deorum Concilium* it has been argued that Lucian could be commenting on an ongoing reformation of the Areopagus⁵⁵ and it is true that towards the end Momus summarizes the decision and says that the *ekklesia* of the gods will include both old and new members. One should not ignore, however, this work's possible

⁵³ Bompaire (1958) 522 suggests that Lucian uses vocabulary and refers to institutions of the Imperial era in this work, namely δεδόχθω τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶ δήμῳ.

⁵⁴ Caster (1987) 179-211 discusses Lucian's attitude towards the Olympians and argues that he combines the logic of the sophist with literary techniques and the Epicurean reasoning and the result are these works. Caster (209) also suggests that 'en fait, Mōmos fait à l'avance toutes les objections de Damis, et meme avec plus de vehemence. Sa critique est nettement épicurienne, et il deviant ce personnage étrange: un dieu qui ne crois pas aux dieux.' Bompaire (1958) 191-203 points out that Lucian combined motifs from various literary genres in the portrayal of Momus, and other mythological figures "Il est entendu que Lucien a pu tirer aussi ses personnages de la tradition sérieuse, épique, tragique, alexandrine (195).

⁵⁵ On that see Oliver (1980); Jones (1986) 38

twofold message and should not therefore fail to notice its similarities to the argumentations of the aforementioned Apologists.

Sacrifices

Another issue the Apologists discuss extensively is the sacrifices required by pagan gods. The main argument is that their god is the Creator of all things in the world and he does not need any offering from mortals⁵⁶. They also condemn bloody sacrifices arguing that pagan gods are not lenient and do not show care for people, unlike their god⁵⁷. By explaining and actually dissecting and defining the ritual of sacrifices, Christians describe pagan customs as being laughable and gods as merely human creations.

The dissension as well as the connection between pagans and Christians can be detected in the writings of the Apologists, namely Clemens of Alexandria, Athenagoras, Tertullian and in the *Epistula ad Diognetum*, since they are the among the first who try to set the foundations for their religion and define it, and in Lucian's *Zeus Tragoedus*, *Deorum Concilium*, *Prometheus*, but mainly in *De Sacrificiis*. The author of the *Epistula ad Diognetum* in an explicitly ironic tone satirizes those who offer sacrifices to the Creator of the whole world; it is as if someone honors a deaf who is unable to hear it.

⁵⁶ It should be noted that there were other non-Christians that still disapproved of sacrifices. Plato, for instance, accepted sacrifice as part of religious ritual, but still it considered it to be an unacceptable *quid pro quo* between people and the gods. See Dodds (1951) 222. The Pythagoreans had also discredited the practice of sacrifice. See Iamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* 147. Galen in *De Usu Partium* 3.10 rejects the worship by means of sacrifice. Euripides in *Hercules Furens* 1345 says δεῖται γὰρ ὁ θεός, εἵπερ ἔστ' ὀρθῶς θεός οὐδενός.

⁵⁷ It is important to note at this point that the Christians in the first years may have been accused, among other things, of performing certain rituals and clandestine sacrifices. A Greek romance written by Lollianus in the 2nd century and found in a papyrus from Cologne attests to those accusations. For details see Henrichs (1970). Christians were also aware of these accusations, as well as of the fact that there were certain sects that practiced such rituals. Cf. *Octavius* 9.5-6. Justin the Martyr (1 *Apol.* 26.7), for instance, was concerned that people might think that all the Christians engage in such activities. Wilken (1984) 21 points out, however, that "the accusations of promiscuity and ritual murder appear only in Christian authors. They are not present in the writings of pagan critics of Christianity."

ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν, ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. οἱ δὲ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δι' αἵματος καὶ κνίσης καὶ ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρουν, οὐδὲν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κωφὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνυμένων φιλοτιμίαν· τῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένοις τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ, 3.

Clemens characterizes heathen gods as ‘hostile to the human race’.

Φέρε δὴ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο προσθῶμεν, ὡς ἀπάνθρωποι καὶ μισάνθρωποι δαίμονες εἶεν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον ἐπιχαίροντες τῇ φρενοβλαβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωποκτονίας ἀπολαύοντες· νυνὶ μὲν τὰς ἐν σταδίοις ἐνόπλους φιλονικίας, νυνὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν πολέμοις ἀναρίθμους φιλοτιμίας ἀφορμὰς σφίσιν ἡδονῆς ποριζόμενοι, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἔχοιεν ἀνθρωπειῶν ἀνέδην ἐμφορεῖσθαι φόνων· 3.

Athenagoras openly responds to the accusations of non Christians on the subject arguing that it is not because of atheism that Christians do not participate in sacrifices; it is rather because true god does not need blood or the smell of burnt offerings. He acknowledges the superiority of his god by admitting and appreciating the fact that the whole world is his creation.

σκέψασθέ μοι, αὐτοκράτορες, ὧδε περὶ ἐκατέρων, καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ τοῦ μὴ θύειν. ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ πατὴρ οὐ δεῖται αἵματος οὐδὲ κνίσης οὐδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων εὐωδίας, αὐτὸς ὧν ἡ τελεία εὐωδία, ἀνενδεὴς καὶ ἀπροσδεής· . . . ἀλλὰ θυσία αὐτῷ μεγίστη, ἂν γινώσκωμεν τίς ἐξέτεινε καὶ συνεσφαίρωσεν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὴν γῆν κέντρον δίκην ἤδρασε, τίς συνήγαγεν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς θαλάσσας καὶ διέκρινεν τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους, τίς ἐκόσμησεν ἄστρους τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἐποίησεν πᾶν σπέρμα τὴν γῆν ἀναβάλλειν, τίς ἐποίησεν ζῶα καὶ ἀνθρώπον ἔπλασεν, 13⁵⁸.

Tertullian discusses the issue of sacrifices in the *Apologia* saying that his offering to god is the prayer from a chaste body, from a clean soul, and a sacred spirit (*offero opimam et maiorem*

⁵⁸ Christians consider spiritual sacrifice appropriate for their god, instead of bloody, animal sacrifices. Spiritual sacrifice includes prayer, the Eucharist, asceticism, or even the death of Martyrs. Spiritual sacrifice has also a philosophical foundation. See Young (1972); Daly (1977); Watteville (1966). Specifically on Athenagoras and the proper sacrifice to god see Malherbe (1969).

*hostiam quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudica, de anima innocent, de spiritu sancto profectam, Apolog. 30.5-6)*⁵⁹.

In *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Juppiter Confutatus* and *Concilium Deorum* Lucian discusses the idea of (non) existence of gods and the role of human belief in the divine. In *Juppiter Tragoedus*, for instance, Zeus is concerned because a cynic philosopher has questioned gods' existence and wonders what may happen, if people actually believe him; will they stop honoring gods and offering sacrifices? That will mean that the gods will eventually starve to death.

εἰ δ' οὗτοι πεισθεῖεν ἢ μηδὲ ὅλως θεοὺς εἶναι ἢ ὄντας ἀπρονοήτους εἶναι σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἄθυστα καὶ ἀγέραστα καὶ ἀτίμητα ἡμῖν ἔσται τὰ ἐκ γῆς καὶ μάτην ἐν οὐρανῷ καθεδούμεθα λιμῶ ἐχόμενοι, ἐορτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ πανηγύρεων καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ παννυχίδων καὶ πομπῶν στερούμενοι, 18.

Although the discussion and the concerns revolve around the cynics attitude towards gods, it still cannot be overlooked that Lucian takes a literary motif from the Apologists and turns it into a satiric dialogue where he discusses the same issue but on his own terms. The end of the dialogue does not provide a definitive picture of Lucian's position or the impact Damis' argumentation had on his audience. Lucian leaves all possibilities open and the work closes with Zeus saying that he would rather have one follower like Damis, than the whole Babylonia on his side. We could go as far as to suggest that Lucian may be referring implicitly to the new religion that still had only a few followers; they were conscious believers, however, they had a developed doctrine and they were persuasive and willing to initiate others.

De Sacrificiis

De Sacrificiis is a clearer and certainly more definitive picture of how people's perspective changed with regards to religion, and how anthropomorphism can be seen from a different

⁵⁹ Cf. also Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem* 3.22.6; 2.18.3; 2.22.3; *Apolog.* 42.7; *De virg. Vel.* 13. See also Ferguson (1980)

perspective. Lucian examines the veracity of paganism and the foundation of traditional rituals and he gives an account of how someone non-pagan might view and interpret sacrifices. As a matter of fact, this technique is his favorite technique of estrangement; he presents to pagans another perspective of their lifestyle and philosophy. He argues that it is people who portray gods as low and mean since they are the ones who claim that gods are flattered when praised and get angry at the mortals if they are neglected.

πότερον εὐσεβεῖς αὐτοὺς χρὴ καλεῖν ἢ τοῦναντίον θεοῖς ἐχθροὺς καὶ
κακοδαίμονας, οἳ γε οὕτω ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀγεννὲς τὸ θεῖον ὑπειλήφασιν ὥστε
εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐνδεεὲς καὶ κολακευόμενον ἥδεσθαι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν
ἀμελούμενον.¹

They also do not seem to grant anything to mortals, unless they get something in return and he has an endless repository of literary examples to reinforce his position, starting with Homer and Apollo's reward to Chrysis (Ταῦτά γε, οἶμαι, καὶ ὁ Χρύσης ἐπιστάμενος ἅτε ἱερεὺς ὦν καὶ γέρον καὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφός, ἐπειδὴ ἄπρακτος ἀπήει παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὡς ἂν καὶ προδανείσας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν χάριν δικαιολογεῖται καὶ ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν ἀμοιβήν. . . 3). Afterwards he explains how people have assigned different places to each god. Delphi is Apollo's territory, Athens is Athena's and all that seems to be distributed based on Homer's and Hesiod's description of Olympus (8-10). At this point Lucian hints at the human interference and all those elements that men have introduced to religion. His reference to Homer and Hesiod also remotely resemble the Apologists' accusations that it is only authors on whom pagans base their beliefs about gods and the foundation of their religion. The most striking similarity between Lucian and the Apologists, however, is his account of statues and their place in paganism. In a rather derogatory tone he says that it is not enough that pagans build temple so

that gods are not houseless and they put statues, but they also come to believe that what they behold is not ivory or gold, but the god himself.

Ἐπειτα δὲ ναοὺς ἐγείραντες ἵνα αὐτοῖς μὴ ἄοικοι μηδὲ ἀνέστιοι δῆθεν ᾧσιν, εἰκόνας αὐτοῖς ἀπεικάζουσιν. . . ὅμως δ' οὖν οἱ παριόντες εἰς τὸν νεῶν οὔτε τὸν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐλέφαντα ἔτι οἶονται ὄρᾶν οὔτε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Θράκης μεταλλευθὲν χρυσίον ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας, εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ Φειδίου μετακισμένον καὶ τὴν Πισαίων ἐρημίαν ἐπισκοπεῖν κεκελευσμένον, ἀγαπῶντα εἰ διὰ πέντε ὄλων ἐτῶν θύσει τις αὐτῷ πάρεργον Ὀλυμπίων.¹¹

This is actually the same argument that the early Christians make, targeting not paganism itself, but the worship of lifeless, manmade material, as discussed above. He also proceeds to accuse men of being cruel when they perform sacrifices assuming that they appeal to the gods. Therefore Lucian does not speak in favor of one or the other religion and he does not attack divine entity (ies) themselves. He simply states how people perceive religion, how they render it in everyday life and as usual he presents the perspective of the other, in this case of the non-pagan. The fact that he does not mention Christians by name does not necessarily indicate ignorance on his behalf; on the contrary it may prove that he knows how to discuss crucial, current issues and be subtle at the same time.

Lucian and Tatian

At this point I would like to discuss Lucian and Tatian, a Syrian Apologist of the 2nd century C.E.⁶⁰ with whom Lucian shares strong connections, one of which is the adoption of Greek language and culture. Lucian became an orator, while Tatian used Greek as a means to promote his Christian beliefs. Pliny as a governor of Bithynia came in contact with Christians and Tatian converted to Christianity. This means that no matter how small the Christian community was, it was influential, slowly ‘invasive’ and people in Syria were far from ignorant.

⁶⁰ For a discussion on the exact date of Tatian's *Apology* see Grant (1988) and Elze (1960) 43-4.

Lucian therefore must have known more than he lets us see. Both Lucian and Tatian seem to be addressing similar topics employing similar techniques as if they engage in a literary discussion.

Both Lucian and Tatian elaborate on the issue of the philosophers' veracity, the quality and role of performances and their reception. Philosophers, their role and contribution to religion and the philosophy of life as well as their truthfulness are discussed by every early Apologist⁶¹. All of them, however, with the exception of Tatian, elaborate on their philosophy, their convictions and their contradictions⁶². The Apologists wonder about those who set the foundation of paganism; are they the philosophers or the poets? There are extended discussions on the topic and an argument they employ is that philosophers do not even manage to come to an agreement between themselves. Some of them have also worshipped and deified water or fire; elements that are 'created' and subdued to the one true Christian god. Therefore Christians argue that philosophers are not trustworthy sources from whom one can learn the truth concerning divinities and god. Tatian, who more than once seems to be in dialogue with Lucian, discusses philosophers as individuals, social entities, and members of the community. He says that

⁶¹ Origen in an attempt to found a philosophical background for the Christian religion examines Greek philosophers and finds common ground between the new religion and Plato's allegories (*Contra Celsum* 4.39). For more details see Hanson (1980) 950. Justin also argues that Greek philosophers had discovered the truth about god and religion but through their own reasoning and this actually prepared the ground for the understanding of Christianity. See for instance *First Apologia* xx. See also Barnard (1967) 27-38 for more details on Justin's philosophical background. Barnard argues about Justin's strong Neo-Platonic influences. Clemens of Alexandria argues that Christians can actually benefit from Greek philosophy (*I Cor.* 1.22; *Stromata* I.V.28). See Daniélou (1973) 107-27; idem 328-35 on the effects of Platonism on Christian doctrine. See also Wolfson (1956) v.1 passim on Platonic, Aristotelian and Stoic influences.

⁶² For a discussion about the relation of Christian theology and ideology with Greek philosophy, their partial consensus with the Stoics and their dissension with Epicureans see Sordi (1986) 156-70. St Paul in the Epistle to the Romans chapter 13 discusses the similarities between Stoic and Christian approach to politics. Apologists of the 2nd century admit that Greeks philosophy may have actually been their forerunner, the necessary preparation of the mind to achieve the ultimate goal, to understand and believe in god. They also claim that some of the Greek philosophers have talked about the One god and thus very early they impugn pagan polytheism. There is also a group who claims that philosophers cannot reach any kind of agreement regarding god(s) either between themselves, or even sometimes they seem to contradict themselves. The truth is that they all seem familiar with Greek philosophy and they have also employed in their process of attaining their Christian goal to be employing Greek philosopher's methods of thought.

philosophers are dirty and untidy in appearance and also pretentious. They need, Tatian says, a servant to carry their wallet around. He also says that Diogenes, the Cynic, died of gluttony⁶³. The same issue of honesty is criticized by Lucian in *Cynicus* and in several of his philosophical works. It has been argued mainly that Lucian is a foe to the Cynics and that explains most of his animosity and the spiteful and caustic writings that target them. When one considers these works, however, in a religious rather than philosophical context, then they reveal another aspect. Lucian's criticism resembles Tatian's comments. 2nd century C.E. saw a revival of the philosophical schools and one of the reasons may have been the quest for the truth, and people's need for guidance. Apparently, however, philosophers failed to live up to their followers' expectations since they only fostered a verisimilitude of faith to their doctrines. This reality has been picked up both by Lucian, and Tatian. The latter emphasizes how pretentious philosophers are and their failure to remain faithful to their preaching. He talks about secretly gluttonous cynic philosophers, like Diogenes, and about Aristotle's failure to instill the values he was supposedly abiding by even to his student Alexander who excelled only in murdering his best friend and then beguiling everyone into believing that he was grieving for him.

Διογένης πιθάκνης καυχήματι τὴν αὐτάρκειαν σεμνυνόμενος πολύποδος ὠμοβορία πάθει συσχεθεὶς εἰλεῶ διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ἀποτέθηκεν. . . καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀμαθῶς ὄρον τῆ προνοία θεὶς καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν οἷς ἠρέσκετο περιγράψας, λίαν ἀπαιδεύτως Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ μεμνηνὸς μειράκιον ἐκολάκευεν, ὅστις Ἀριστοτελικῶς πάνυ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν καθείρξας ὥσπερ ἄρκτον ἢ πάρδαλιν περιέφερε. πάνυ γοῦν ἐπέιθετο τοῖς τοῦ διδασκάλου δόγμασιν τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν <ἐν> συμποσίοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ τὸν οἰκείον καὶ πάνυ φίλτατον διαπεύρων τῶ δόρατι καὶ πάλιν κλαίων καὶ ἀποκαρτερῶν προφάσει λύπης, ἴν' ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μὴ μισηθῆ. 2.

⁶³ Diogenes Laertius VI.76f. mentions this version of Diogenes' death given by Tatian.

In Lucian's *Hermotimus* Hermotimus, a student of philosophy, converses with Lycinus. The latter asks Hermotimus if now, that he has been a student for a very long time, he has come to any definitive conclusion about philosophical truth or even if he has been rewarded for his studies. In their discussion about philosophy, life, rewards and happiness Hermotimus invites Lycinus to attend his teacher's lecture and ascertain by himself the truthfulness of his teaching. The latter responds ironically that there is a note posted saying that his teacher will not philosophize that day. Lycinus also explains that according to what he heard, Hermotimus' teacher was at a birthday dinner the night before; he ate and drank more than he should and as a result he was not feeling well (ἐλέγετο δὲ παρ' Εὐκράτει τῷ πάνυ δειπνήσας χθὲς γενέθλια. . . ἄμα δὲ καὶ πεπώκει οἴμαι πλέον τοῦ ἱκανοῦ τῶν παρόντων ὡς εἰκός φιλοτησίας προπινόντων καὶ ἐδεδειπνήκει πλέον ἢ κατὰ γέροντα· 11). Furthermore he had an argument with Eythedemus and being unable to persuade him he thrashed a cup at him (ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀλαζῶν ἦν καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸς καὶ πείθεσθαι οὐκ ἤθελεν οὐδὲ παρεῖχε ῥάδιον αὐτὸν ἐλέγχεσθαι, ὁ διδάσκαλός σου ὁ βέλτιστος ὃν εἶχε σκύφον Νεστόρειόν τινα καταφέρει αὐτοῦ πλησίον κατακειμένου, καὶ οὕτως ἐκράτησεν. 12). The caustic remarks targeting pretentious philosophers may simply set the tone of the period and target their questionable conduct. The resemblance of Lucian's and Tatian's arguments, however, cannot be coincidental. The only difference between the two is that Tatian wishes to be recuperative for his sake and for the others and thus he converts to Christianity. Lucian, on the other hand, pokes fun at philosophers, and this may reinforce our belief that Christians were not inexcusably inimical to other religious-philosophical doctrines. Their poignant tone against philosophers seems to be

result of soul searching, since even the non-Christian Lucian ‘vouches’ for the foible points of pagan philosophers at the time.

It seems that at the time peoples’ need for guidance triggered the revival of philosophical schools. Christianity also seems appealing as a religion to a gradually growing group of people because it is a combination of religion and philosophy of life; it also consists of certain well-established norms of lifestyle that promise stability of life to the initiates. At the same time, if we believe the accounts of Lucian, philosophers’ dishonesty, among other things, starts cultivating a feeling of disbelief towards paganism.

Another issue in which both Lucian and Tatian engage is that of their reception. As it was presented in Chapter 3 Lucian in the *prolaliae* prepares the ground for his acceptance by the audience by means of several techniques. He also exhorts people not to dismiss him simply on account of his nationality. In *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris* and *Scythia* he elaborates also on the topic of fusion between different nationalities and how receptive people should be since they are members of a multicultural society. Tatian is similarly open and honest about his origins but in his *Oratio ad Graecos* he encourages his audience not to dismiss his preaching assuming that he aspires to appear wiser than the Greeks (μη γὰρ δυσχεράνητε τὴν ἡμετέραν παιδείαν μηδὲ φλυαρίας καὶ βωμολοχίας μεστήν ἀντιλογίαν καθ’ ἡμῶν πραγματεύσησθε λέγοντες· Τατιανὸς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπὲρ <τε> τὸ ἄπειρον τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων πλῆθος καινοτομεῖ τὰ βαρβάρων δόγματα. 35)⁶⁴.

Tatian also makes a point about being an eye-witness to all that he recounts. He went to Rome and he examined the philosophy and lifestyle of the Athenians before turning away from what he calls barbaric philosophy.

⁶⁴ For Tatian's perception of 'barbarian', 'Greek', and 'Christian' see Waszink (1963) 41-56

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ παρ' ἄλλου μαθὼν ἐξεθέμην, πολλὴν δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσας γῆν
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν σοφιστεύσας τὰ ὑμέτερα, τοῦτο δὲ τέχναις καὶ ἐπινοίαις
ἐγκυρήσας πολλαῖς, ἔσχατον δὲ τῆ Ῥωμαίων ἐνδιατρίψας πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀφ'
ὑμῶν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀνακομισθεῖσας ἀνδριάντων ποικιλίας καταμαθὼν. . . διόπερ
χαίρειν εἰπὼν καὶ τῆ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχία καὶ τῆ Ἀθηναίων ψυχρολογία ***
δόγμασιν ἀσυναρτήτοις, τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας
ἀντεποιησάμην... 35.

Lucian also emphasizes the importance of self examination before one commits to an opinion both in *De Historia Scribenda* and *De Dea Syria*. In *De Syria Dea* refers to his nationality and then says that he was an eyewitness in all the events that took place during his lifetime; as for the rest he learnt from priests (...καὶ τῶν ἀπηγγέομαι τὰ μὲν αὐτοψίη μαθὼν, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐδάην, ὅκόσα ἐόντα ἐμεῦ προεσβύτερα ἐγὼ ἱστορέω, 1).

Oratory obviously had an eminent role in the Empire at the time and, although the Christians make a point of dismissing anything pagan, they still use classical literary and rhetorical techniques in order to support their doctrine. This is one proof against looking for the point where paganism ended and Christianity started, when in fact we should be talking about the bridge between them.

Scholars basing their evidence on *Peregrinus* have argued that Lucian was surprisingly ignorant of Christianity and its doctrines. How is it then that he writes about the same topics that Apologists write and he elaborates on pagan rituals in the same context that the latter do? Christianity may not have been popular at the time and the number of Christians was not large, but the seeds for the new religion were all around and Lucian draws a picture of this transitional period. People were seeking for something else, for a higher entity. Christians interpret pagan sacrifices and rituals at face value and therefore they dismiss them. The same idea is put in the

foreground by Lucian in *Prometheus*. Prometheus argues that Zeus is unfairly infuriated for being deprived of only a small portion of meat. Lucian seems to be in a dialogue with Apologists; is he in accord with them or not? I do not believe that one can safely ascertain what his position was. I do not believe also that he was as ignorant of Christianity as some have been inclined to believe. Lucian has proven to be open-minded and perspicacious and therefore had most probably noticed the new religious trend. The reason why in *Peregrinus* he gives only scanty information about Christians is that they are not the focus of his treatise; he means to attack Peregrinus and one way to do that is to admit that he was able to distinguish himself only amidst naïve people. As regards the argument that he should have dedicated some of his writings to the discussion of Christianity, I believe that he has already done that and that even *Dialogi Deorum*, *Juppiter Confutatus*, and *Juppiter Tragoedus* comically present the battle between the old and the new world. He also follows his traditional Lucianic technique of discussing important current issues but always with a patina of humor and under the façade of comic tradition. That way no one can accuse him of ridiculing the heathen gods, since he just continues the tradition of Aristophanes. By focusing, however, not to the effeminacy of Dionysius, but to sacrifices, rituals and the truthfulness of philosophers, he stays current⁶⁵.

We cannot argue with absolute certainty that Lucian was deconstructing paganism, or that he was consciously discussing these questions with his contemporary Apologists. However, the fact that these seem to be current issues of concern proves beyond doubt that Lucian is not attached to the past. I suggest therefore that Lucian does not seem inclined to provide answers to religious and philosophical questions or to guide people; he does not give the impression that he

⁶⁵ Sordi (1986) 57 compares Lucian to Galen and characterizing him as sceptic and rationalist who regards Christians "with mocking detachment or at most with a kind of tolerant respect and are prepared to ridicule their fideistic outlook, though not apparently feeling any preconceived antipathy towards them".

wishes to be recuperative or a leading figure either. He simply acknowledges the existence of those issues while presenting them from different perspectives. He knows that it is always easier to approach people by appealing to their inclination to the comic.

Standards of Morality and the Role of Spectacles

Christianity and paganism have been discussed so far as religions and with regards to their differences in the matter of sacrifices and statuary. The dissensions, however, in the above issues indicate fundamental chasm also in the lifestyles of Christians and pagans. The subject that will be discussed in this section is what the pagan and Christian lifestyle included, beyond religious rites. Christians claim premiership and infallibility in the way they lead their everyday life. They accuse pagans of immorality and attack spectacles for promoting indecent morals. Tatian and later Tertullian openly disapprove of performances and any other sort of spectacle, such as gladiatorial shows. Lucian, on the contrary, in *De Saltatione* argues in favor of theater and pantomime saying that they provide life lessons to the spectators. The literary discussion becomes more interesting when one considers Aelius Aristides, who although not a Christian, rallies against pantomime in *Against the Dancers*.

When one reads *De Saltatione* and compares it to Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Tertullian's *De Spectaculis*, passages from Clemens' *Protrepticus* and Philo Judaeus' *De Agricultura* questions arise regarding once more the shift from paganism to Christianity. It seems that there may have been more connecting points between the two worlds and the passage from one to the other was gradual and lasted longer than we may think. It also becomes clearer that Christianity did not offer people only a religion, but also a βίος, a different lifestyle that even non-Christians approve of.

Lucian's *De Saltatione* is a dialogue between Lycinus and Kraton; the former presents assiduously the merits and virtues of theater and pantomime dancing trying to persuade Kraton who is set against this sort of spectacles. Lycinus discusses the abilities with which a dancer must be endowed, for instance admirable memory and clarity in his movements; he then argues that spectacles are not only amusing but they are didactic at the same time and then, taking for granted that Kraton is not against tragedy and comedy, he says that pantomime is a form of theater. Towards the end of the dialogue, Lycinus discusses some negative aspects, namely that there is some possibility that the dancer may enter into an ecstatic state and thus forget who he is, act incomprehensibly, and be paranoid. These occurrences are rare, though, and should not blemish pantomime as a genre. Kraton closes the dialogue by admitting that he is persuaded and that he wants to go with Lycinus to the next performance.

There have been several suggestions concerning this work of Lucian. It has been argued that pantomime was a dangerous form of art for the stability of society and the moral standards of the upper classes. Lucian therefore intends as always to familiarize people with the unfamiliar. It has also been suggested that Lucian intends to put pantomime in a Greek context, the same way he did with Eastern religions in *De Syria Dea*, and with the same mentality he tries to present himself as a partaker in the Greek culture and promote Greek-ness during the 2nd century C.E.⁶⁶.

There is a possibility, however, that this dialogue may have some bearing on the "discussion" between pagans and Christians. Considering that Lucian seems to be aware of the new religious current, although he does not say it explicitly, we can assume that he was not in a state of ignorance when it came to the other aspects of Christian doctrine that pertained to

⁶⁶ See Lada-Richards (2007) 98-103; 152-60.

everyday lifestyle. When we read *De Spectaculis* it seems obvious that Lucian has not accepted the suggested Christian philosophy of life. He may have accepted or comprehended the religious aspect of the dissension between pagans and Christians, but theater and spectacles were forms of entertainment and moral teaching that were appropriate even for lower classes and women. The fact that many early Apologists attack spectacles as early as the beginning of the 2nd century, but even later than that Tertullian feels that he has to defend Christian animosity towards theater and all kinds of performance and later in the 4th century Arnobius in *Adversus Nationes* still brings up the same issues means that it was a long way for the Christians until they established their cultural identity.

The first sections of *De Saltatione* concern other religions and nations that consider pantomime a respectable form of entertainment and they even include it in their religious rituals. Thessalians, for instance, call their protectors and heroes προορχηστήρ. Lucian then exalts the performers' ability to remember every single myth and claims that pantomime is an integral part of society since it only brings to life stories that are part of cities' mythological history. Early Apologists also attack gladiatorial shows arguing that they devalue human life and self respect among other things. Lucian turns this argument around and says that dancing is by far a more beautiful and undeniably more wholesome spectacle. The final section concerns the possibility that the performer may get absorbed in the personality that he impersonates and loses control. Lucian admits that this is not acceptable by either the audience or the performer himself. He even presents the case of a dancer who was inflicted by this temporary *dementia* and when he regained control and realized the state in which he had entered, he was so remorseful that he became really sick. Lucian therefore contradicts another argument of the Apologists who claim that people tend to lose the control of their feelings and therefore act in a depreciatory manner and

lose their dignity and morality. He tries to show that it is only the benefits of spectacles that people reap and any excess of emotions is an exception and not the general case.

Clemens in *Paedagogus* accuses singing during dining for inducing passions, drunkenness and thoughtless behavior.

Ἀπέστω δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς λογικῆς εὐωχίας ὁ κῶμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ παννυχίδες αἱ μάταιοι ἐπὶ παροινία κομῶσαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ μεθυστικὸς [αὐλὸς] ἄλυσ, ἐρωτικῆς σχεδιαστῆς ἀδημονίας, ὁ κῶμος· Οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐλοῖς καὶ ψαλτηρίοις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ὀρχήμασιν καὶ κροτάλοις Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τοιαύταις ῥαθυμίαις σάλοιοι ἄτακτοὶ καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοὶ κομιδῇ γίνονται ἂν κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἐξηχούμενοι καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης ὀργάνοις περιψοφούμενοι· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, θέατρον μέθης τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται συμπόσιον. 2.4.40.

He also argues that people are degraded to animal status for pipes are meant for animals and not for men (Καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποπεμπτέα τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα νηφαλίου συμποσίου, θηρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις κατάλληλα καὶ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀλογωτέροις. 2.4.41). Later in the same work he openly targets theater as a source of disease, disorderly conduct, and a place where the immoral congregation of men and women is fostered (οὐδὲ ἀπεικώτως τὰ στάδια καὶ τὰ θέατρα «καθέδραν λοιμῶν» προσείποι τις ἄν· . . . Πεπλήθασιν γοῦν πολλῆς ἀταξίας καὶ παρανομίας αἱ συναγωγαὶ αὐταί, καὶ αἱ προφάσεις τῆς συνηλύσεως ἀκοσμίας ἐστὶν αἰτία ἀναμιξῆς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνιόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων θέαν. 3.11.76). The same accusation against theater is repeated also in *Stromata* («καθέδρα δὲ λοιμῶν» καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια εἶη ἂν <ἦ>, ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἐξακολούθησις ταῖς πονηραῖς καὶ ταῖς λυμαντικαῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ ἢ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν κοινωνία. 2.15.68). Philo Judaeus in *De Agricultura* launches an attack against theater along the same lines. He argues that it is sloth that has given birth to theater

just like an abundance in the number of cattle a stock keeper has may result in laziness on his behalf, irresponsibility and consequently in the scattering of the flock. Therefore, he says, that sloth lets the mind wander along with the other senses, vision and hearing; this is when people attend spectacles and expose themselves to dancers and mimes and leave their senses err without reigns.

ἐπειδὴν ὁ νοῦς ὑπτιῶς καὶ ῥαθύμως ἔχη, τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπλήστως ἐμφορούμενα ἀφθονίας ἀπαυχενίζει τε καὶ σκιρτᾷ καὶ πλημμελῶς ὅπη τύχοι φέρεται. . . θέατρα νομίζομεν ἀμυθήτων μυριάδων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πληροῦσθαι; οἱ γὰρ ἀκουσμάτων καὶ θεαμάτων ἤπτους καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὀφθαλμούς χωρὶς ἠνιῶν ἐάσαντες φέρεσθαι καὶ κιθαριστὰς καὶ κιθαρωδοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κεκλασμένην καὶ ἀνανδρον μουσικὴν περιέποντες, ἔτι δὲ ὀρχηστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μίμους ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὅτι σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἐκτεθηλυμμένας ἴσχονται καὶ κινουῦνται. . . 34-35.

Later in the same work he admonishes people to not even participate in athletic contests and not to concern themselves with winning (111-3). Finally, Tatian discusses theater and more specifically pugilists, gladiators, musicians and mime actors in the *Oratio ad Graecos* 23-4. He reprimands everyone who is involved in any way in these spectacles, those who give their bodies and self-respect in the altar of the arena or the stage, the wealthy ones who hire people in order to kill or be killed, the judges, and even the spectators who subject themselves to such degradation.

ἀργίαν τινὲς ἐπανηρημένοι διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ φονευθῆναι πιπράσκουσιν· καὶ πωλεῖ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὁ πεινῶν, ὁ δὲ πλουτῶν ὠνεῖται τοὺς φονεύσοντας. καὶ τούτοις οἱ μαρτυροῦντες καθίζονται, μονομαχοῦσί τε οἱ πυκτεύοντες περὶ οὐδενός, καὶ ὁ βοηθήσων οὐ κάτεισιν. . . θύετε ζῶα διὰ τὴν κρεωφαγίαν καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὠνεῖσθε τῇ ψυχῇ [διὰ] τὴν ἀνθρωποσφαγίαν παρεχόμενοι, τρέφοντες αὐτὴν αἱματεκχυσίαις ἀθεωτάταις. ὁ μὲν οὖν ληστεύων φονεῦει χάριν τοῦ λαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ πλουτῶν μονομάχους ὠνεῖται χάριν τοῦ φονεῦσαι. Τί μοι συμβάλλεται πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ὁ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην μαινόμενος καὶ τὴν Ἀλκμαίωνος μητροκτονίαν ἀπαγγέλλων, ᾧ μηδὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον πρόσεστι σχῆμα, κέχηγεν δὲ μέγα καὶ ξίφος περιφέρει καὶ κεκραγῶς πίμπραται καὶ φορεῖ στολὴν ἀπάνθρωπον;. . . 23-4.

Tertullian in *De Spectaculis* rails against any form of spectacle which he considers to be evil, a gathering of the impious, the chair of pestilence ("*felix vir,*" inquit, "*qui non abiit in concilium impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit nec in cathedra pestium sedit.*" 3). This description resembles Philo's description of them as being καθέδρα λοιμῶν. He also elaborates on the fact that everything is God's creation and therefore not by definition inimical to him, but it is because of men's misuse of what has been given to them that spectacles offensive to god have made their appearance. He is set against theater, amphitheater, and any form of amusement that relates to the old pagan culture and religion. He goes as far as to narrate a story of a woman who was possessed by evil spirits after she attended a theatrical performance (*Itaque in exorcissimo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi, constanter: "et iustissime quidem," inquit, "feci: in meo eam inveni."* . . . 26). One of his arguments actually goes back to Lucian's *De Saltatione*; Tertullian condemns theater because it is the source and the cradle of unrestrained feelings and every emotional excess is allowed (*Cum ergo furor interdicitur nobis, ab omni spectaculo auferimur, etiam a circo, ubi proprie furor praesidet. Aspice populum ad id spectaculum iam cum furore venientem, iam tumultuosum, iam caecum, iam de sponsionibus concitatum. . . Sed circo quid amarius, ubi ne principibus quidem aut civibus suis parcent? Si quid horum, quibus circus furit, alicubi competit sanctis, etiam in circo licebit, si vero nusquam, ideo nec in circo.* 16).

As we see, the objections of the Christians to spectacles ultimately pertain people's lifestyle. At the time of Lucian Christians may not have established firmly their identity and that could be a reason why there are only scanty literary references to spectacles and their evil nature. At the time of Tertullian, however, Christians have developed their doctrine and also the vocabulary that the latter uses, for instance *Christiani, ethnici, nationes, Christus, dominus,*

proves that they have also established their identity. Furthermore, Tertullian towards the end of *De Spectaculis* states with certainty that all the pagans will suffer when the Lord returns (30). Christians, judging by Tertullian's writings, are not hiding anymore and are not merely trying to explain themselves and their religion; they claim infallibility and clearly separate themselves from all the other religions. They also make the duality in the nature of Christianity clear, namely that it is a religion and a lifestyle as well. It is a fact that the circumstances and the quality of spectacles at the time had degraded and profligate characters were presented on stage, for instance naked women and prostitutes. One should consider, however, that these spectacles were part of people's lives and religion, as they knew and perceived it did not interfere with them, and what is more their gods were not insulted but they were sometimes even revered by means of certain spectacles.

The transition between pagan culture and morality and Christian appears less clear-cut once we consider the case of Aelius Aristides and his Oration *Against the Dancers*. Aristides is pagan but he shares the Christian revulsion against theater, mime, and pantomime and shows an evident deprecation against spectacles of any kind, although he considers Christians themselves to be a threat to Greek customs and religion. With regards to spectacles, Aristides argues that they are perilous to the standards of morality and consequently inappropriate for any group or age of people. He starts off saying that the dancers claim that they step out of rhythm and correctness in order to be appealing to their audience.

Χαρίεντές γέ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν σφετέρων ἀγαθῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἵν' εὐφήμως ἄρξωμαι, τοὺς ἀκροατὰς αἰτιώμενοι καὶ λέγοντες ὡς ἄρα τούτου χάριν ἐκβαίνουσι τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀρθότητος, ἵν' ὡς πλείστους ἀρέσαι δυνηθῶσι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντες ταύτη τῇ σκῆψει καταχρῶνται, πῶς ἐπαινῆσθαί γ' ἀξιοῦσι; 401-2.

Therefore they are obviously aware of the indecorous nature of their spectacles and in spite of that they still wish to perform, something that makes their conduct inexcusable. Aristides' argumentation against these spectacles does not focus on anything more specific; he seems to have taken for granted that pantomime is reprehensible and he therefore only explains why people should abstain. He considers it an abomination of theater and an insult to the appropriateness of music. He also accuses pantomime actors of shedding every shred of self-respect and even going as far as to hurt themselves so that they may attract larger audience. (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε τοῦ Ζωπύρου καὶ τοῦ Κεφαλλῆνος παράδειγμ' ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὧν ὁ μὲν τὴν ῥίνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄτα λωβησάμενος εἰσηλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ὁ δὲ πληγαῖς αὐτὸν αἰκισάμενος κατέδυσσε Τρώων πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν, ὁ μὲν Βαβυλῶνα λαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ Τροίαν ἐσπουδακῶς. 405.)

Hence he concludes that pantomime is inappropriate for men and women, high-ranked officials, young and old people (ἀλλὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν; ἀλλ' ὅλως ἄρχουσιν; οὐδ' ἡλικία γε τῶν ἀπασῶν οὐδεμιᾶ. πότερον γὰρ τοῖς νεωτέροις; ἀλλ' ἐταιρεῖν δόξουσιν, ἐὰν ταῦτα ἀσπάζωνται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; ἀλλ' οὐ δόξουσι βεβαιοῦν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις; ἀλλ' ἄωρία πολλὴ τῆς αἰσχύνης. λείπεται δὴ γυναιξὶ, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἀσελγεστάταις, πρὸς ἃς τούτους ἄξιον κρίνειν. 415-6).

Theater was an accepted and approved part of antiquity, even for the more secluded social groups, like women. Aristides, however, although not a disciple of Christianity, rejects it. It seems that the alteration in the standards of morality that started with the new religion was infiltrating society even before the religious part did. Christianity indeed had a dual nature, it was both a religion and a philosophy of life, and it seems that subconsciously even non Christians

were accepting this new lifestyle, without necessarily approving of its religious extensions. Consequently, although we cannot argue with certainty that Lucian's *De Saltatione* was meant to engage in a conversation with Aristides and those of the same ideology, we can certainly entertain the idea that this work could serve multiple purposes and bring in the foreground current issues, namely the newly proposed lifestyle, or the rejection of pantomime as a dangerous form of entertainment for the upper classes.

Conclusion

Lucian has been treated mainly as a satirist, a representative of the Second Sophistic whose intentions are not serious. Characteristic is, for instance, the claim of scholars that Lucian cannot be the author of *De Syria Dea* mainly because the work is not explicitly comic. The truth is that Lucian finds effective literary means to approach people. He addresses issues of concern or of general interest and the way he deceives his modern critics with his façade of humor, the same way his real-self eludes his contemporaries. In this chapter I examined Lucian's perception of religion and the transition from paganism to Christianity. Lucian belongs to the period when the religious *status quo* is no longer firmly rooted, although pagan deities still have the prevalent position, and Eastern religions, Jews, and Christians simply try to claim a place in the Roman Empire. Lucian draws a sketch of this era in *De Dea Syria*, where he gives an account of Eastern deities and worshipping rites in ionic dialect. He gives a patina of Greek culture to those 'other religions' and his serious tone suggests that he perceives religion as a universal phenomenon; each nation, according to him, simply perceives and worships its deities in different ways. The rest of Lucian's god-centric works are weaved around the same core. The focal point of Lucian's critique are the heathen gods worrying, reaching the limits of anthropomorphism, and therefore being ridiculed. An issue that remains ambiguous is whether Lucian opposes the aging

Olympians, if he simply pokes harmless fun, or if he is actually aware of what other religions accuse the Olympians of and discusses it publicly.

Peregrinus, although a group of scholars uses it as proof of Lucian's limited knowledge of Christianity, is still a caustic work that targets intriguing and hypocritical individuals, including the Cynics, who take advantage of the really pious. He talks openly about the Christians and without either approving or disapproving their religion, he still shows awareness. Taking into account that all the aforementioned works, we may argue safely that Lucian was aware of Christianity and the claims its adherents made against paganism and he becomes a proof of the dialogue between the different religions in the 2nd century C.E. Finally, I discuss Christianity as a lifestyle and how Lucian's *De Saltatione* fits in the image. Christians propose a life of morality and abstinence from entertainments like theatrical performances. Lucian, on the contrary, proceeds to eulogise the positive effects that pantomime has on the audience and the life lessons it provides. The discussion becomes more complicated when we include Aelius Aristides' *Against the Dancers*. Lucian's literary correspondence with Aristides may indicate once more the ongoing correspondence between lifestyles, perspectives, and ultimately religions. Christianity seems to be infiltrating society gradually, since standards of morality and the criteria of the pagan Aristides are in accordance with Christian doctrines. Finally, Lucian is again in the spotlight of current events and offers a fresh perspective from which to consider this religious amalgam and maybe a way to ease the transition from paganism to a new theological reality.

CHAPTER 5 LUCIAN'S NACHLEBEN IN EUROPEAN LITERATURE

Introduction

Authors carry in their works traces of their life and their Zeitgeist, as they experience it. Some of them also have as a backbone or inspiration a predecessor. Hence their literary creations carry onto the future nuances of their past as well as their present. Lucian as a literary persona has been influenced by earlier authors like Juvenal in his writings as he considers contemporary events and the socio historical circumstances of his lifetime. He has also proven a valuable source in our attempts to acquire a clearer view of the 2nd century C.E. reality. Finally, Lucian's untraditional portrayal of the gods and his discussions on religion have rendered him a bridge between pagans and Christianity. Lucian therefore is a prolific and influential writer of his times who, by adopting and mastering his predecessors' satiric tones, while infiltrating them through his personal style and agenda, manages to preserve not basic historic information, but the social pulse of a changing, challenging and transitional era for several nations, including the Greeks and the Romans. He manages also to avoid being dated and to escape any specific and narrow time-frame. He cauterizes vices that are recurrent in people throughout the centuries and he achieves all that through manipulative rhetorical techniques. All the aforementioned in relation to the ingenuous narrative styles, the plethora of literary allusions, the reversal of strange and familiar, expected and unexpected have rendered his writings a source of inspiration for different authors in the centuries that followed.

In this chapter my intention is to find Lucianic traces and proof of his influence on Byzantine and European authors from the 12th till the 20th century C.E. The religious and political upheavals, revolutions and reformations in Italy, England and Germany, for instance, have sowed the seeds for Lucianic writings. Several times people's disappointment and

pessimistic view of the world has led authors to write about utopian sceneries and lands where one could travel or where there were still laws to be trusted. Lucian, the Roman Empire, the Roman and the Greek culture as we have been studying them in the previous chapters, may have been long dead at the time, but the spirit of Lucian, his playful tone, his insight and astute perception have lived in later authors, who were inspired by his motifs and sometimes his rhetorical and other narrative techniques.

Lucian in the Second Century C.E. and in Byzantium

Lucian's reception must have been successful considering that he was appointed as a Roman official in Egypt. One can assume therefore that his Satire, his admonitory treatises and all his *prolaliae*, his religious works, and his speeches must have appealed to his audience. Considering also how well adjusted he seems to be in the political situation, judging from the encomium for the emperor's mistress in the *Imagines*, it is only reasonable to assume that he knew how to approach people and consequently to climb socially. He died around 170 C.E. and it was a long time after that, specifically in the 15th century that we have significant traces of Lucian and his literary productions, with Erasmus' and More's translations of some of his works. What happened in between; did Lucian survive in translations or editions of his works, or even as a literary persona through his techniques? The rising of Christianity and Lucian's controversial presentation of the gods and the emphasis on not generally acceptable social groups, like courtesans, could have hindered his posthumous remembrance.

Alciphron, who in the 2nd century C.E. wrote *Letters of Fishermen*, *Letters of Farmers*, *Letters of Parasites*, wrote also *Letters of the Courtesans*. The latter shows Lucianic elements which remind the reader of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. Alciphron probably lived around the same time with Lucian. There is always the difficulty therefore in saying with certainty who was influenced by whom. The extensive production of Lucian and the fact that he

has developed his techniques, however, may be an indicator in this case that he was probably the source. In Alciphron's *Letters of the Courtesans* it is either a courtesan who is writing to her lover or to another courtesan, or a despondent lover is asking for fidelity from his mistress. The similarities to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* pertain to the choice of the topic and the fact that the author decided to give voice to a group of people which is not usually represented in literature. The roguish way the courtesans are speaking in Lucian is imitated by Alciphron in the face of women with no moral boundaries, engaged in amorous affairs and complaints about being neglected. Alciphron's style, however, seems more awkward and the word order does not make the text flow. It is as if he is trying to imitate Lucian and also apply onto his work a patina of witty remarks and expressions, but not as successfully as Lucian. Even the interlocutory style of Lucian's work separates it clearly from Antiphron in that it makes the former's text thrive with smartness and feminine impudence.

There appear to be scanty traces of Lucian and his works in the times between Alciphron and the Byzantines and these are not always positive. The reason for that may very well be that Christianity was being shaped at the time and proto-Christian authors in their attempts to promote Christian doctrines must have been very cautious and suspicious about Lucian and his ambiguous views and treatises. Libanius in the 3rd century C.E. attacks Lucian and Aristophanes but he also borrows from the latter in oration XXV on slavery. Julian also in *Caesares* comes as close to Lucian's symposium as one can get in the 4th century C.E. Lactantius (4th C.E.) in *Divinae Institutiones* 1.9.8 talks of Lucian as someone who spared neither gods nor men (*Lucianus, qui neque diis pepercit neque hominibus*) and Eunapius mentions him in *Vitae Sophistarum* 454. After that in the dark Middle Ages it must have been almost impossible for people to be able to see behind Lucian's writings and appreciate his merits for obvious reasons.

The reaction of the Byzantines varied. Some were set against Lucian considering him an enemy to Christianity and others used him as a linguistic example for their grammar books. Suda defines him as an anti-Christian, while Johannes Georgides (1000) uses examples from Lucian in the *Collections of Maxims* and Thomas Magister (1300) in the *Selection of Attic Nouns*. Manuel Philes in the 13th century wrote a poem in Iambics titled *The Marriage of Roxana and Alexander* inspired by Lucian's *ekphrasis* in *Herodotus*. Theodoros Prodromos also in the *Sale of Lives of Litterateurs* and *Men in Public Life* in the 12th century imitates Lucian's techniques. *Philopatris*, another anonymous satirical work, which probably dates in the eleventh century, imitates the satirical aspect of Lucian and then *Timarion* follows on the same lines and dates in the 12th century. Therefore, although Lucian has always been impossible to rank in a specific literary genre, the Byzantines succeeded in getting from him the elements they wanted to use and incorporated this material accordingly into their works. They used him as a repository of correctness in the usage of linguistics, Satire and even his *ekphrases* as a source of inspiration. Also, just like Lucian used satire and paradoxographic writing, mock encomia and resourceful literary techniques in order to criticize while simultaneously influence people, the same way, for instance, Prodromos employed satiric techniques and incorporated them in the context of his times.

More specifically, the majority of Byzantine works is concerned with religious matters and the language is archaizing. There is also poetic and prose production, which may not always be exceptional in quality, but nonetheless it cannot be denied that it is the continuity of the Classical Greek literary tradition. In the early Byzantine period and specifically in the fourth century the focus turns to religious writings. Authors adhere to archaizing style and form, but not in language. Saints' lives is one of the main topics and the authors usually apologize for their

inability to use the all wise Classical language. Later on as Classical archaizing language infiltrates into education it gradually dominates public life and the late fourth century Church fathers are classicizing in language as well as in style and form. That shift would help them in their attempt to approach and influence the upper classes as well. Representative examples of the times are John Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nazianzus. This does not mean that everyday language, the so called Koine, was abandoned. As a matter of fact there were still some not so literate Church fathers who were thus using simpler language and of course there was the large mass of Christians who would not fully comprehend preaching if done in archaizing language. The time between fifth and eleventh centuries saw the co-existence of three different levels in language; the archaizing Greek, the literary Koine and the popular Koine. The literary genre, the ability of the author and the expectations of the audience of course were dictating each time the type of the language used. The eleventh and twelfth centuries signal the cultivation of a language closest to Classical rather than spoken Greek. Writers of the time that mark this period are Anna Komnena, Nicetas Choniates, and Michael Psellus. Twelfth century also is marked by a revival of interest in Platonism. Amidst Christian ideas and beliefs there are still these who search for truth in pagan philosophies¹.

The work which is examined in this section in relation to Lucian is *Timarion*². It was most probably written in the twelfth century. The authorship is still debated. It has been suggested that it could have been written by Timarion, Theodore Prodromus, or Nicolaos Callicles. What this kind of literary production indicates is the variety of genres to which the Byzantines turn their

¹ For an overview of the Byzantine scholarship see Browning (1964), (1977), (1989); Kazhdan and Franklin (1984).

² For more information on *Timarion* and a commentary see Romano (1974), Baldwin (1984)

focus³; religious writings do not monopolize the literary scene. *Timarion* specifically may be an example of how people handled religious issues and the issue of death. Considering that Christianity has long been in its heyday and topics like death and afterlife were being discussed and also that Classical examples seem to be models of language, style or topic, the author of *Timarion* seems to have tried a combination of the two. Browning mentions that Nicetas Choniates observes that ‘the twelfth century sees a resurgence of ecclesiastical disputes and heresy trials such as had not been seen since the final condemnation of Iconoclasm in the early ninth century’⁴. *Timarion* therefore could be seen as the author’s position in this matter. Lucian as a source of inspiration for the author seems interesting and raises questions concerning the latter’s intentions. Lucian can be placed chronologically in the boundary between Classical world and Christianity; his choice of topics touches issues that interest and concern everyday people, while at the same time he adheres to the Classical language. Furthermore, his ambiguous attitude towards the new religion could also explain why the author of *Timarion* invoked him as a source for the kind of work he wished to write⁵.

Lucian lives in *Timarion* at various levels; the author of *Timarion* imitates him in language, motifs and scenes. The story is about a young man, Timarion, who goes with his father and friends to Thessaloniki for the festival of the city patron saint Demetrios. When he returns home he narrates his adventure to his friend Kydion. He talks about their journey to Thessaloniki, that they were always escorted and stayed with friends on their way there or in

³ Another satiric work that also involves a descent to the underworld is *Mazaris*. It is dated about 3 centuries later than *Timarion*. On *Mazaris* as part of Byzantine satirical tradition and how it relates to *Timarion* see Tozer (1881).

⁴ Browning (1989) 8.

⁵ Tozer (1881) 237 argues that ‘For some of the vices that Lucian attacks, such as pride, avarice and hypocrisy, are amongst the things with which religion is constantly at war; and at the same time Christian teachers were amused at his ridicule of the heathen gods and ancient systems of philosophy...’

other lodgings. They get to the city earlier than the festival, so they go hunting since, as Timarion explains, they loathe idleness. Afterwards he describes the festival, the people that attended, and the things sold there in an elaborate *ekphrasis*. After that he describes in detail the religious part of the celebrations focusing on the civil and military parade that took place where the governor also participated⁶. Timarion describes with details the latter, his appearance and his family. The festivities last for three days, after which Timarion falls ill with a fever. Nonetheless he decides to undertake the return portion of the journey. When they get, however, to river Hebrus in Thrace he loses part of his bile and therefore at midnight two devils come to his bed to take him to the underworld. Timarion elaborates on the description of Hades, the people he meets, even the surroundings. He meets different groups of people, rich and poor as well as individuals who have special characteristics or vices, like gluttony. At some point he meets an old teacher of his, Theodore of Smyrna⁷. When Timarion explains why he is there, his teacher volunteers to help him persuade the judges of the underworld to let him live. In the court Theodore argues that Timarion was still alive and he also provides evidence for that. The judges after long deliberation decide that the devils misjudged Timarion and transgressed his rights. Therefore, Timarion is set free to go back to the world of the living and the devils are excused from their duties. Theodore asks from his student to send a few things to Hades once he is back to Earth. Timarion says to Kydion that he owes to take care of that and finally he suggests that they go their separate ways and return to their homes.

⁶ Tozer (1881) 245-6 discusses how the author refers to other historical characters implicitly via linguistic games. For instance, Timarion says about the governor who participated in the procession that his grandfather received his surname due to the ancient speeches (*παραλαϊοὶ λόγοι*) that were made by or about him. The author obviously refers to Michael Palaeologus.

⁷ It is generally known that Byzantines wrote satirical works sometimes in order to target real people. An example is when Emperor Julian became the subject of such literary attacks and he responded with his work *Misopogon*. For a collection of Byzantine satirical writings see Hase (1813), 129f. On Byzantine Satire see Baldwin (1984), 459-68; Jeffreys (1974).

The way Timarion and Kydion meet and the fact that they engage in a discussion remind us of the treatises and the dialogues that Lucian wrote. Specifically, *Lexiphanes* starts with Lycinus saying ‘Λεξιφάνης ὁ καλὸς μετὰ βιβλίου’. *Timarion* begins respectively with Kydion saying ‘Τιμαρίων ὁ καλός’. The author could be entertaining the idea of drawing the attention of the readers to Lucian from the very beginning. Was his intention to prepare them for a paradoxographic story? If we assume that the author enjoyed those perceptions, that would mean that Lucian along with his style and the motifs of his works were famous at the time. It does not necessarily mean, however, that he was known among the masses as well. Considering also that twelfth century was also the time that Neoplatonism was revived in the literary world, amidst Christian preaching and despite it, Lucian the anti-conformist, and the doubter could very well have a position in the readings of the educated. There are also other linguistic similarities between this work and several of Lucian’s writings⁸. In addition to linguistic ‘borrowings’ the author used Lucian as a model in the selection of scenes and narrative motifs. The descent to Hades is the main scene in *Timarion*, described in great detail and being the repository of many of the author’s philosophic, religious and political ideas as well. The selection therefore of a non-earthly place in order to cauterize earthly vices and current issues lies securely close to Lucian. It cannot be argued of course that the motif is exclusively Lucianic, but other details in which the author gets bring him closer to the Lucianic model. Timarion meets poor and wealthy people; their life in the underworld resembles the one they lived on earth. The old man who shows signs of gluttony cannot but be a clear satire against this diachronic human weakness. *Dialogi Mortuorum*, and *Menippus* were obviously a source for the author. In the first work Lucian

⁸ For a detailed presentation and discussion of *Timarion*’s linguistic borrowings from Lucian’s works see Baldwin (1984) passim.

makes a point of mentioning that no one takes anything with him in the underworld, neither wealth, nor food. His characters do not have any trace of beauty or other earthly characteristic to distinguish them. The satire also on vices like gluttony and attachment to earthly pleasures run through all of Lucian's dialogues. The end also of *Timarion* and the young man's ascent to the world of the living resembles that of *Menippus*⁹. Hence, it is interesting to notice the way twelfth century Byzantines assimilate Lucian. It seems that they have a full perception of his style and intentions and this is how the author of *Timarion* manages to revive not only the Lucianic language, but also partly the spirit of the Second Sophistic. In *Timarion* also the author engages in a game with the feud between philosophers of Classical antiquity and emphasizes their disagreements. That could represent the ecclesiastical disputes that were raging at the time as the author gets even closer to the problematic issues such as the conflict between paganism and Christianity. *Timarion* in his narration concerning his experiences in the underworld says that he saw John Italus trying to sit next to Pythagoras; the latter, however, rejected him on the basis of his religious beliefs. There are clear differences, however, in the style between Lucian and the author of *Timarion*. If we compare the *Dialogues of the Dead* to *Timarion*, we notice the lack of playfulness in the latter. *Timarion's* author just notices the dead and their situation. Lucian, on the contrary, is always satirical and caustic. He laughs at the previous life's wealthy and the all powerful tyrants who are now nothing but deformed skeletons. Lucian is also more theatrical; the characters threaten their interlocutors saying that they will abuse them physically and the dialogues resemble more a dramatic recitation. *Timarion* simply narrates, while *Kydion* interrupts from time to time without saying anything to enliven the dialogue. Finally, another

⁹ ἦλθομεν κάπτι τοῦ εἰσαγωγέως, ἀνεδόθημεν διὰ τοῦ στομίου πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν Πλειάδα καὶ τοὺς Ἄρκτους κατείδομεν, *Timarion* 46; Ἦσθεις δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν μάγον ἀσπασάμενος χαλεπῶς μάλα διὰ τοῦ στομίου ἀνερπύσας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ γίγνομαι, *Menippus* 22.

probably essential difference between the two works is that in *Timarion* the dead are more passive, as if they have accepted their fate. They do not complain about what they miss, except for Timarion's teacher who asks for some food from the world of the living. In Lucian, however, the dead have preserved a number of their human-self. Midas, Croesus, and Sardanapalus complain about the money and power and that they left behind and Menippus comments on the loss of beauty in the underworld with a particular reference to Helen of Troy¹⁰. Someone could argue that behind this lies the Christian belief of the author of *Timarion* regarding life after death¹¹. It could also be of course that *Timarion's* author was less charismatic than Lucian and could not render his dialogue as live, playful, and realistic as Lucian. He elaborates, on the contrary, on the display of his narratological abilities, which can be better exhibited in a long narration rather than in a dialogue.

Lucianic Humor in the 15th and 16th Century Europe

Just as political and social circumstances 'dictated' the content of Lucian's works, it is only reasonable that the same can be said about any writer throughout the centuries. In 15th and 16th century Europe the role of church, the demands and the vices of ecclesiastic monarchs along with the humanists' program for educational and theological reformations influenced the educated, the religious, the wealthy and the poor in different ways. The clash between the different 'truths' of Christianity, the exploitation of religion to achieve personal goals and prosperity on behalf of the clergy and the continuous social and monetary ascend of the upper

¹⁰ The description of the underworld and the idea that nothing is permanent and especially not wealth that is lost, like everything else, after death appears also later in Rabelais' *Pantagruel and Gargantua*. See Hight (1957) 184-5.

¹¹ If we accept the possibility that the author of *Timarion* makes a religious statement with his presentation of the underworld, it would not necessarily mean that he is not a Christian. There are examples of other educated men who used rationality in relation to Christianity. Psellus is one of them; he did not accept religious occultism unquestionably and argued that Christianity and Classical Greek antiquity could co-exist, spiritually at least. On that see Psellus, *Chronography* 3.3; Tatakis (1959) 175-6.

classes created a prolific ground for men of letters. Authors like Lorenzo de Valla, Erasmus, Thomas More, and Luther tried to find the truth behind the writings of the church, the assertions of the wealthy, the pretentiousness of the educated and philosophers and teach it also to laymen. Some also tried to expose the unfairness against lower classes that flourished in different sociopolitical and economic levels and they also tried to find the best way for the governing of a state and how commonwealth was to be achieved. These were the circumstances and the demands of the era that allowed or even necessitated the spring of Humanism, both Italian and English.

In this section Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* and More's *Utopia* are discussed in an attempt to assess Lucian's influence on the two humanists, so that we may gain a better insight of the paragons under which the authors wrote, and of the circumstances that inspired a revival of the Lucianic techniques and humor. Socially the position of the church was eminent and her role in the lives of everyday people crucial. Priests and friars were the religious leaders, the one claiming and presumed to hold the truth about Christianity, and afterlife. They were the ones who had the responsibility to lead laymen since the latter were unable to comprehend the doctrines of religion. Beyond that, however, they were also claiming the ability to retain a place in heaven for those who would pay to the absolution of their sins. They often mistranslated, or miscomprehended the Greek in the Testament and they were using their interpretation to fit their idea of religion. The clergy also enjoyed other privileges; for instance, they did not have to pay taxes. It is only reasonable therefore that people were often exasperated at the unfairness and that the educated would not consent unquestionably to everything the church dictated. It was in the 14th and 15th centuries that the humanists made their appearance in the academic scene¹². People

¹² For more details see Tracy (1999) 44-6.

like Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus started reading the Old and New Testament from the original Greek and pointing out the clergy's mistakes¹³. They also, although they agreed that laymen had to be guided, insisted that the church was misguiding the latter for her monetary benefit. In addition to the aforementioned, grammar and rhetoric at the time were revived and their role in society became more than embellishing. Classical works pertaining to rhetoric came in the spotlight and were studied again, namely Quintilian, Cicero and Aristotle. Grammar became a means of polished speaking and eloquence was mandated to anyone who wished to climb the ladder of social, political, or even ecclesiastic hierarchy. Humanists, influenced by Plato and his ideal state and statesman, were trying to establish some rules and ways of living for the people and ways of governing for the prince. Europe at the time period we are discussing may not be a newly formed world, but still church, society and state have not yet reached a balanced state, while the educated circles want to move past the superannuated preaching of the clergy and study and live by the correct doctrines. The church, on the other hand, finds it hard not to interfere and thus relinquish the position of supremacy that it had been enjoying for so long. The upheavals therefore once more appear to be of a socio political character. Which is the ruling class, the state, the church or the educated? Who is right about life and the way one should live it?

Erasmus' Praise of Folly

The *Praise of Folly* was conceived by Erasmus¹⁴ in 1519 on his trip from Italy to England to visit his friend Thomas More¹⁵. It was written during his stay in England and it was first

¹³ Tracy (1999) 45 says that 'Scholarship was never an end in itself for Erasmus, only a means to a badly needed reform of Christian doctrine'.

¹⁴ For more information on Erasmus see Bainton (1969), Kristeller (1970), McConica (1991).

¹⁵ For a comparison and the relation between Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (*Stultitiae Laus*) and Valla's *Of the True and False Good* (*De Voluptate ac de vero bono*) see Panizza (2000). For details, commentaries, *Folly's* relation to

published in 1511. The editor of the first edition was Richard Croke and the text was not properly handled. The first authorized edition was on 1512 by the Ascenian Press in Paris. Paris at the time was the cradle for humanists and revolutionary theologians; it seems reasonable therefore that the first house of the *Folly* would be there. In 1543, however, the Sorbonne condemned the Erasmian work and the *Folly* was also forbidden in Italy and Spain. The very fact of its banishment of course shows how seriously the satirized parties took the *Folly* and the degree of impact that Satires must have had at the time. Erasmian humanism evolved around theory and grew in two different branches, a religious and a political one. As far as religion is concerned Erasmus fought decisively against the pretentiousness of the clergy and their pre-assumed supremacy and correctness. He thought that everyone should read the teaching of the pagan philosophers and take from them whatever he finds necessary for his current Christian life. On a political level, Erasmus believed that his theoretical teachings, results of his study of philosophy and Platonism could help the prince reach the right decision when it comes to the governing of the state. According to other humanists, however, Erasmus' ideals were too theoretical to be applied to the Tudor England at the time and impossible to be implemented successfully on any society. This was the view of Thomas More for instance as presented in the *Utopia*, which is being discussed later in this chapter. In any case, *The Praise of Folly* is a work in which Erasmus dares to unmask the pretentiousness of different classes of people in an attempt to approach the truth and liberate people from long standing but false beliefs. That way, according to him, they can find truth and achieve virtue in life.

Classical rhetoric and the place of this work in the spirit of the time see Chomarat (1972), Christian (1971), Gavin (1973), Kaiser (1963), Kay (1977), Lefebvre (1968), Rebhorn (1974), Rothschild (1970), Stenger (1971), Williams (1969).

The work begins with Folly talking about herself, admitting that she has bad reputation but she knows that she brings joy into the hearts of men through divine radiance. The very beginning of the work has strong Lucianic elements. In Lucian's *Phalaris*, the tyrant himself talks and admits that there are numerous misdeeds that he has been accused of, but he is about to turn all that around and prove that he was not at fault. Throughout *Phalaris* the reader notices the reversals of the argumentation and the unsound basis of Phalaris' defense. He says, for instance, that he did not wish to torture anyone and that is why he asked for the people's cooperation; they were reluctant, though, and they made him punish them; he was actually forced. *The Praise of the Folly* can be divided into three sections. In the first part Folly argues that the happiest people are the fool ones. Wise men are never joyous. Marriage, marital relations, and harmony in society can only exist and flourish through folly. Otherwise, people get frustrated or examine things in great profundity and consequently they never reach a state of bliss. The second section is a discussion of different professions, like grammarians, schoolteachers, theologians, ecclesiastic members, kings and princes where Folly claims that they would have been the most miserable of men, working all the time, bearing the burden of the world, or the salvation of people struggling to find the correct usage of words, if it were not for Folly. She actually claims that the arrogant are foolish and that is why they are content with what they do and consider it to be worthy of spending their life on its pursue. The third section is on the stupidity of the Christians. Folly says that it is due to a degree of madness that they believe in that high power and forget their earthly life and ailments. She is even taking it so far as to say that "ecstasy, an alienation of the mind drawn out of itself brings it in a union with God". This alienation is perceived by Folly as foolishness.

The similarities between Erasmus and Lucian are detected on at least two levels. The first is in the content of the work, the condemnation of contemporary events, and of generic vices as well and the other in a literary level, when one considers the rhetorical techniques employed by Erasmus in the *Folly*. With regards to the content, Erasmus laughs at the generic foolish people that live in all ages. He discusses the traditional favorite theme of Satire, women and their vices, man's disappointment with himself and how stupidity is what makes him forget what he lacks. Subjects like that can very well apply to different generations of people in various eras. The same can be said about Lucian, as we noticed in previous chapters. He is cauterizing the obsession with money and the vices of the wealthy. He is aiming of course at his contemporaries, but without excluding any historic period, or any nation for that matter. Erasmus of course does not stop there. He dedicates whole sections of his mock praise to contemporary classes of society. He does not mention any names, just like Lucian, but his references to misjudging theologians, and arrogant and inconsiderate princes and kings photograph his society without leaving the author utterly exposed. The way Erasmus talks about Christians and how they (mis) interpret their religion and the principles of life and that is why they are still disciples of this religion, reminds us of Lucian and his criticism of the Romans and their attitude towards the Greeks and the other subject nations. Without mentioning any names of contemporary Roman emperors, which would have made his position hard and his reception probably impossible, Lucian makes his perception of society obvious. Both Lucian and Erasmus, therefore, among others, have realized the power of Satire, either in the form of direct Satire, satiric dialogue, or even mock praise and also the degree of immunity they can grant to their author against any attacks from the offended parties.

With regards to the literary techniques Erasmus imitated Lucian in the complete, but extremely subtle and manipulative reversal of reasoning and argumentation. Erasmus does not define explicitly what Folly is; he does not set degrees in foolishness. For him whoever takes things in a lighter way or indulges himself in unimportant matters exhibits characteristics of foolishness and consequently he is happy. He even says that devout Christians must be fool since they have to detach themselves from their minds and bodies in order to be dedicated to God and get closer to him. Of course Erasmus takes advantage of the fact that Folly is the speaker and does not therefore need to explain herself or provide logical explanations for her argumentation; otherwise the readers might very well raise strong objections pertaining to the kind of ‘foolishness’ that a follower of Christianity is showing. These are some of the techniques that were employed by Lucian first and are characteristic tricks of the Second Sophistic. It could also be argued that Erasmus is using the Lucianic technique of estrangement, which was discussed in previous chapters. By creating a completely different and unfamiliar context for Christianity and explaining everything under a new light, he manipulates the reasoning of his readers and it is therefore easier for him, or Folly, to make people agree with her or see things differently. Erasmus therefore shows another aspect of life, religion, monarchs, grammarians and several other aspects of everyday, social and political life and engages his contemporaries into an absurd dialogue with Folly, through which however, they may decide to reconsider the established reality. Lucian probably had the same intention, for instance when he satirizes the Greeks through a Scythian, or the parasites, through a parasite. He tries to show that there are more aspects in the world and in society than the one that either the Greeks or the Romans were accustomed to see.

More's *Utopia*¹⁶

More is one of the representative figures of English humanism¹⁷. Although a friend of Erasmus, he was not an exponent of revealing clerical corruption, and he was certainly not an adherent to the Erasmian theoretical approaches. Furthermore, he did not believe that teachings of Classical authors could lead to virtue, or that people could ever achieve perfection for that matter. It has been suggested that *Utopia* was More's answer to Erasmus' suggestions about ideal state and governing¹⁸. *Utopia* was written in the summer of 1515¹⁹. In May More went from England to Flanders as a member of the royal trade commission. The negotiations were recessed by July 21, but More returned to England at the end of October. It was in those three months that he perceived the idea of *Utopia*. It should also be mentioned that we do not know exactly when the book was written or in what order. More before writing the *Utopia* had translated four works of Lucian, *Cyniscus*, *Menippus*, *Philopseudes*, and *Tyrannicida*²⁰.

The first part of the book is a letter by More addressing Peter Giles and apologizing for the delay in writing the book and explaining the reasons for that, namely his busy personal and family life as well as his professional obligations. He says that he tried to be as close to what Hythloday told them and this is when he introduces the first Lucianic element which also seals the character of the work and should make the reader suspicious about More's intentions. More

¹⁶ For a complete bibliography on More see Wentworth (1995); Geritz (1998).

¹⁷ For More as a humanist and for interpretations of his life, career and writings see Ridley (1983) 29-38, Guy (2000), Fox (1983), Bietenholz and Deutscher (1985-7), Marius (1984), Ackroyd (1998).

¹⁸ On More's dissension with Erasmian humanism and the basic of English humanism see Fox and Guy (1986), 18-21 and 34-51.

¹⁹ For editions of *Utopia* see Logan, Adams, and Miller (1995). For an introduction to and a short discussion of More's *Utopia* see also Logan and Adams (2002), xi-xxix; Hexter (1965); Surtz (1957); Fox (1993); Logan (1983)

²⁰ In the Renaissance Lucian was famous and was largely translated in many European countries. See Highet (1957) 123-4; see also Bolgar (1954) 299, 340, 348, 435, 518-9.

specifically, he says: “For I beg you, consult your memory. If your recollection agrees with his, I’ll yield and confess myself mistaken. But if you don’t recall the point, I’ll follow my own memory and keep my present figure. For, as I’ve taken particular pains to avoid having anything false in the book, so, if anything is in doubt, I’d rather say something untrue than tell a lie.” The second part is *Utopia*, Book I. More discusses the way he met with Hythloday who, although he had been asked to join the court of a prince and give him advice, he nevertheless denied it. He argues that he could never persuade a prince or his councilors, since, whenever they hear an opposing view, they are always defensive. He presents his views about England and the socioeconomic problems that overrun the population and specifically the increase in the number of thieves, although the punishment for that is death²¹. Book II is about a place called Utopia, which, according to Hythloday, is the ideal place; it is the eutopia. Once we start reading, however, we realize that from some aspects Utopia may be the ideal society, since no one is poor or hungry and everyone has a part in the commonwealth, but no one can live his life the way he wishes either. It is the society and the prosperity of the state instead that dictate everyone’s profession, the way he will be spending his leisure time and one even needs permission to leave the city or even go for a walk in the country. In Utopia also the inhabitants engage in rather controversial ways at wartime. They pay mercenaries to kill the leader of the opposing party, so that the war may end quickly. At the end of the book More dissociates himself from this alleged utopia, disapproving of some of its laws and aspects of its lifestyle, but he also admits that some of them he wishes rather than expects to see in Europe.

The Lucianic influence is apparent even in the introductory letter to Giles, as it was mentioned before. More plays with the idea of truth and lies saying that he would rather be

²¹ For more information about the condition of England at the time and the circumstances of life about which More is talking in Book I see Guy (1988); Skinner (1978), Manuel and Manuel (1979)

untruthful than purposefully lie. This reminds us of the beginning of Lucian's *Verae Historiae*, where he says that the one thing that is true from what he is about to say is that everything is a lie. He also openly admits that he has never been or seen any of the places and people that he is talking about (κἄν ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεύδομαι. Οὕτω δ' ἄν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν μηδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγειν. Γράφω τοίνυν περὶ ὧν μήτε εἶδον μήτε ἔπαθον μήτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐπιθυμῶν. . . 4) . The *Utopia* and its author abide exactly by the same rules and principles. More employs Lucian's game of admitting to what he is really doing, while at the same time he manages to state his own view on current matters. Furthermore, the idea of an imaginary state is Lucianic; the latter writes about societies that do not exist, but where current issues do exist. More adopts this literary motif and succeeds in manifesting that a state where everything is as theoreticians suggest could never exist.

More delves more deeply into Lucian's techniques when he chooses the names of the characters in *Utopia*²², and even the name of the place itself. U-topia means no-place. Therefore, this supposed perfect place is actually a no-place. The main speaker also, the one who supports the Utopia as an ideal place, is named Hythloday, meaning 'the nonsense peddler'. In *De Parasito* the name of the parasite's interlocutor is Tychiades and the name of the parasite Simo. Lucian is playing with the fact that one's name has to do with luck and fortune and that person is not the parasite. In *Verae Historiae* also Lucian continues with the wordplays and manipulates the mind of his readers espying them off the fact that he is lying, something to which he had admitted doing in the first place. For instance, he says "I did not therefore write down the

²² See Carey (ed.) (1999) for excerpts from utopian literature from 1940 B.C. to 1998.

multitude of these, lest it seems unbelievable-so large it was” (τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέγραψα, μή τω καὶ ἄπιστον δόξη-τοσοῦτον ἦν, 18).

More in his attempt to show why Erasmian humanism and theory cannot be practiced in a society, he actually invents a society like that and shows that its existence is impossible. In other words someone could say that he teaches by example. This is also what Lucian does in several of his works. In *Toxaris* he shows how unfairly other nations are being judged and he does that by criticizing the Greeks, as it was shown in Chapter 3. He follows the same route in *De Parasito*, where Simo actually defends his position as parasite showing through absurd reasoning and argumentation, only superficially correct, and obviously sophistic, that being a parasite is an art.

Finally, some of the principles that run through the governing of utopia appear in the works of Lucian that More had translated. In *Menippus*, a decree has passed concerning the wealthy. It has been agreed that after their death their body will be punished in the underworld, but their soul will return to life in the body of poor people, or animals. In *Utopia* money and the non-existence of private property seems to be important issues, whether or not More actually sanctions the Utopians’ practices. Menippus also in the homonymous work is presented as being perplexed about which lifestyle he should adopt and by which philosophy he should abide. More’s work, especially if considered a response to Erasmus, tackles contemporary issues that relate to the philosophy of life and which path one should follow, socially, religiously and politically. More, therefore, in contrast to Erasmus’ humanism, does not try to find truth and useful teachings in the writings of Classical writers, but he employs Lucian’s rhetorical and literary techniques to prove his points. Therefore, the way More imitated Lucian is through adapting his techniques to manipulate his readers. An educated reader who is acquainted with Lucian may think at first that More is trying to introduce a different, more progressive and far

healthier society than contemporary Europe employing Lucian's technique of estrangement and imaginary travelogue. As soon as he reads through *Utopia*, though, one starts wondering if More is actually suggesting this kind of society or if he is undermining it by actually presenting how utopian it is, especially when one considers the use of the names like Hythlodaeus and their meaning²³. It has also been suggested that More may have been actually preaching in favor of the monastic life he was leading. The controlled and virtuous pleasure that the Utopians are pursuing as well as the non-existence of personal wealth or property, the lack of ostentation and pride in fact are in a way characteristics of More's ideal way of living²⁴. In fact More himself explains in his introduction to the translation of Lucian's work that Lucian's ways of writing satisfy the Horatian notion of the role of literature, which is both to instruct and please the readers.

Lucianic Echoes in 17th Century French Literature

In this section I discuss Molière's *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope* trying to present possible Lucianic influences in the French dramatist and also explain why and how the caustic spirit of Lucian and his graphic character portrayal survived through 17th century. Molière wrote under the reign of Louis XIV. He was also dealing with the opposition from the Company of the Holy Sacrament²⁵, which was a secret religious society of both priests and laymen who were set against the new order of things and the evils of their age. Molière defied their parochial and superannuated assessment of society as well as their claim to correctness and piety. He put into

²³ For a discussion on that issue see Surtz and Hexter (1965); Dorsch (1966-7); Thompson (1974); Robinson (1979) 130-3; Marsh (1998), 193-7.

²⁴ See Thompson (1996) 350-5

²⁵ For a detailed discussion on Molière and the reaction of the Company to his works see Chill (1963).

question what had been so far unquestionably and axiomatically accepted, that every person who claims piety is honestly pious.

Louis XIV after his victories in Franco-Dutch war and the treaty of Nijmegen got the honorary title of Louis the Great (*Louis Le Grand*). It was decreed that every inscription as well as every statue should carry this epithet. Louis in addition to the wars was interested in reorganizing France and he thus made social changes. The state became centralized and the focal point was the capital. That way he managed to reduce the dark traits of feudalism and to become the absolute monarch. He proceeded also to other fiscal reformations including the appointment to the administration for finances of Jean-Baptiste Colbert who reduced the national debt by reorganizing the collection of taxes. He also invited artisans from other countries to work in France so that the number of imports would reduce. As for Louis' changes in the legal department, he introduced the Code Louis according to which every marriage, death, and baptism had to be registered. He provided France with a unified law and organized the criminal law. The downside of his interference with the legal procedure was a law that sanctioned slavery. Finally, Louis did not neglect the arts either. He was the patron of Académie Française and under his reign important writers like Molière and Racine flourished.

As a result of Louis' active participation and reformations in those areas, he was also known as the Sun King (*Le Roi Soleil*) for the way the court and the whole France was to revolve around him. In the closing scene in *Tartuffe* it is actually King Louis who saves the day and restores the social order. *Tartuffe* was revised twice before finally presented on stage without obstructions and the last scene was one of those added later. The king's influence and his egocentricity along with Molière's desire to see the play on stage could explain the addendum.

Molière's *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope*

Tartuffe was presented for the first time in 1664 and it was a three act play, but it was immediately suppressed after its first performance because of the involvement of the Company of the Holy Sacrament, which could apparently still influence matters of this nature²⁶. On August 1667 Molière presented a five-act play in Palais Royal titled *Panulphe ou L'Imposteur*, where *Tartuffe* was substituted by *Panulphe*. During all of Molière's efforts to present the *Tartuffe* he made alterations to the play²⁷. It has been argued that the character of Cléante was a later creation; that is why he is so ostensibly portrayed as composed, rational, and a guardian of order. The King was unfortunately absent for the siege in Lille and the first president of the Parlement, Guillaume de Lamoignon, once a member of the Company, closed the theater and forbade further performances. It was not until February 9, 1669 that the play was finally performed in the version we have today and it found a tremendous success and acceptance from the audience.

One cannot state for certain that Molière had read Lucian, as it was in the case of Erasmus and More who had translated some of Lucian's works. The character, and the content of Molière's works, however, bear a Lucianic aura. In this section I discuss Molière's *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope* in an attempt to show how Lucian's sometime dubious characters, the parasites, the tyrant Phalaris, the courtesans as well as his satirical view and handling of contemporary issues and diachronic types of people have lived through the centuries and become motifs and literary traditions which appear fresh in French theater. Molière lives in a society where, in addition to the king, church and other religious groups try to define people's lives and set their set of rules which most often stray from the real teaching of the church writings. There are also

²⁶ For more details on the first *Tartuffe*, the second play *Panulphe ou l'imposteur* and the *Tartuffe* that survives today see Cairncross (1956) 1-53.

²⁷ On the alterations in the different versions of *Tartuffe* and an analysis of the version we have see McBride (1977) 31-78.

always these who under the cloak of piety take advantage of people and their awe for the afterlife and the punishment that may await them in Heaven.

In *Tartuffe* the main characters are a typical noble family, the core of French tradition, and Tartuffe, who does not appear until later scenes in the play, and is a parasite who feeds on the pater familias gullibility and has disguised his scrupulousness with hypocritical piety²⁸. In the first scene the mother of Orgon is censuring her grandchildren and daughter in law for their contemptible and obscene behavior that is a source of gossip. She is, however, praising Tartuffe for his laudable traits. The latter is a religious fraud under whose spell Madame Pernelle and Orgon, her son, have fallen. Mariane, Orgon's daughter, is in love with Valère and about to be married, when Orgon announces his intention to marry her to Tartuffe. So far we have not got a glimpse of Tartuffe and one might have been inclined to believe in his exceptional conduct. When, however, Doris, the maid, concocts with Elmire, the lady of the house, to reveal Tartuffe's passion for her and thus expose him in the eyes of her husband, the audience finds out the real face of Tartuffe. Damis, Orgon's son, who is hidden and eavesdropping jumps out and then accuses Tartuffe to his father. Orgon appears to be blind to every accusation against the latter and goes as far as to denounce his son and then make Tartuffe his only heir. In the meantime Tartuffe has shown how well he deceives the gullible Orgon and how dexterous he is in the role of pious man. The only way to expose the impostor is found by Elmire. She suggests that she has another intimate meeting with Tartuffe during which her husband will be hidden so that he can hear everything. Orgon agrees, fully convinced that Tartuffe is beyond any suspicion. Tartuffe falls in the trap and Orgon asks him to leave his house and his family. It is then that

²⁸ On Molière and religion see François (1969). Greenberg (1992) 113-8 argues that except for the religious connotations that the play bears, it was probably considered a threat to the traditional family structure of 17th century France. The upheaval in the family of Orgon, as well as his absence in the beginning of the play and his inability to act when Tartuffe was making advances towards his wife, Greenberg suggests, undermine society. Cf. also Nurse (1991) 82.

Tartuffe reveals his whole despicable personality, reminding Orgon that he is the heir of all his property. The situation has reached a climax and there does not seem to be a solution. As a matter of fact Tartuffe has already been to the king and asked him to remove Orgon and his family from his (Tartuffe's) property. Tartuffe goes with a police officer to enforce the eviction, but the latter arrests Tartuffe. The all-knowing and all wise king Louis XIV is aware of Tartuffe and his schemes, he also knows about some previous misdeeds of his and has ordered his arrest²⁹. Madame Pernelle realizes her fault and everyone in the family thanks heaven for their luck and for not having to desert their home.

The roguish and of dubious quality character frequently appears in Lucian mostly with the intention to cauterize or just comment on vices and contemporary issues in a way that could have an effect on the audience. The idea also of letting this character expose himself through his sayings is clearly Lucianic. The topic discussed in *De Mercede Conductis* is a parasite, Simon who tries to persuade Tychiades that being a parasite is a quality. Phalaris claims that he is not at fault; his actions are dictated by his subjects and their misconduct. In *Cynicus* it is a cynic of course who supports this lifestyle. It is easier, more appealing and suggestive for an audience when the character in trial exposes himself, in addition to the fact that in the case of Lucian and Molière it is also comic. The way Tartuffe changes personalities, deceives people and masterminds Orgon is comic and also proves Molière's dexterity in character portrayal³⁰. In addition to that, a reality that both authors emphasize is that the most perilous of Tartuffe's qualities is that he is a very good actor, and the mask of the villain is well hidden. It is this hypocrisy therefore that renders him dangerous since it allows him to infiltrate society and

²⁹ Kogan Zwillenberg (1975) argues that this ending allows Molière to exploit every comic possibility and get the suspense to the highest point.

³⁰ For a presentation of *Tartuffe's* literary background which can also shed more light on the portrayal of the characters and also reveal a different perspective see Hall (1984) 144-158.

threaten the social order³¹. Both Lucian and Molière want to unveil hypocrisy. By that I do not mean to argue that they intend to be recuperative through their works; but the fact that they see clearly through the masks and show it to their audience remains all the same. Another characteristic that Lucian and Molière share is the ambivalent comic spirit in their works. The comic elements in Molière's works are not always funny. The way Tartuffe exploits Orgon's obtuseness and the latter's blindness regarding Tartuffe's scrupulousness are comic but not necessarily funny. Molière has invented a different aspect of comic when he gives the audience glances of the real human behavior³².

The similarities also between Lucian's *Timon* and Molière's *Le Misanthrope* are striking. The title, as well as the content of Molière's play, are certainly influenced by Lucian. It can either be a direct imitation, in case Molière had read Lucian's work, or he could have been influenced by other stage productions of misanthropes, for instance Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*. The play was first performed in 1666 with Molière in the role of Alceste and his young wife in the role of Célimène. In the *Misanthrope* Molière castigates more generic vices, and he is not as specific as in *Tartuffe*. Alceste is an honest and conscientious man who detests people's hypocrisy and villainy. He is in love, however, with Célimène who is endowed with all the characteristics at which he is appalled. After the latter's disrespectful and blameworthy conduct and a trial in which Alceste loses to Oronte, an uninspired poet, noble and friend of the court because Alceste dared to speak the truth about his verses, Alceste abhorred decides to leave society and sever any bond with people.

³¹ On Tartuffe's hypocrisy and the way Molière plays with its presentation see Hubert (1962) 91-112. On the social order in Molière's plays and especially *Tartuffe*, the overthrown and subversion of roles and the role of Louis at the end of the play see Gossman (1970).

³² In that see also Nurse (1991) 77-87; Moore (1948)

The similarities between the two works are obvious from the very beginning. They both open with a clear statement on behalf of the main characters who state that they intend to retire from society. Both Timon and Alceste complain about the misconduct and dishonesty of people Timon expresses also his disappointment for the indifference of the gods, who do not protect people like him and let the villains flourish; while Alceste in the beginning of the play has still some trust to the judicial system which at the end of the play proves unfounded and thus leaves him no hope for the society he lives in. It is interesting to notice the evolution of Lucian's dishonest characters, the dishonest orator, and the flatterer, into the nobles of the court. 17th century was the time in which appearances and flattery were blooming and nothing was as it seemed. Both characters also are portrayed as being caustic and not so friendly and neither Lucian nor Molière try to make them sympathetic to the audience. Alceste is presented as an obsessed person who cannot find the golden line between isolation and fawning Célimène. He exaggerates the unfairness against him in the event of his trial and he makes it sound as if this is the sign that he is fighting against the whole world. At the end of the play Alceste goes as far as to ask from Célimène to retire from the world with him. Why then Molière, if he wants to castigate the life of the court, does not make Alceste more reasonable in his requests and in his choices in life? In order to answer this question one should take a closer look at the other characters of the play and specifically Philinte and Eliante³³. Philinte seems to be the foil of Alceste. He is not blind to the shortcomings of society, but he is not in favor of attacking it and leaving everything behind and isolating yourself either. Up to a certain extent he agrees with Alceste, but he recognizes nonetheless that people make mistakes and he seems more willing to accept this side of society, rank himself amidst every other man and then live as well as he can

³³ See also McBride (1977)107-159; Yarrow (1959).

without selling his values. Eliante, however, says that one should try to change the negative characteristics of the person he loves (comptent les defaults pour les perfections, / Et savent y donner de favorable noms, 715-6). This way one may manage to actually make society better, rather than crucify and deny it altogether, like Alceste does. Molière's comedies have certainly become more complicated with regards to character portrayal³⁴. Therefore, in *Le Misanthrope*, just like in *Tartuffe*, the author's truth can be found if one considers more than one characters of the play. In any case, Molière's criticism against society is obvious and, despite the war that the Company had waged against him because of *Tartuffe*, he seems determined to prove that he did not grow complacent for the sake of safety. The similarities between him and Lucian, even if he had not read Lucian, denote that the social issues and vices that the latter was tackling were always current and the characters that he wrote about were interesting, sometimes ambiguous, appealing to the audiences throughout the centuries and creations of a prolific 'dramatist' and that is why they are diachronic and therefore found a place on stage. As a matter of fact, even in the defense of Phalaris one has to be very careful in order not to get carried away by the intellectually engaging and verbally eloquent speech of the tyrant and needs to consider Phalaris in a more general context and in relation to others. The *Dialogi Deorum* has not yet been determined if it is an attack on the Olympians or on deity and religion altogether; that is why Lucian at one time was applauded by the Christians and at other times he was castigated as an immoral atheist. Consequently, Lucian at the end of *Timon* does not express either approval or disapproval of Timon's anti social attitude. He presents him as showing no sign of forgiveness or of leniency, although he was assisted by the gods. As a matter of fact Βλεψιάς cries out to Timon that they are all leaving, but Timon is not appeased. He says instead that they will not go

³⁴ On that see also Hubert (1962) 137-153.

unpunished (Βλεψίας: Μὴ βάλλε, ᾧ Τίμων' ἄπιμεν γάρ. Τίμων: Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναιμωτί γε ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ ἄνευ τραυμάτων, 58). Both Lucian and Molière therefore do not dictate a point of view. They expose people and customs that need to be purged, but they certainly do not seem to sanction radical reactions. They instead give in the faces of their different characters a palette of possibilities for someone to consider.

Ludvig Holberg's The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground

The political reality in Denmark until the 16th century includes clashes between Denmark, Norway and Sweden. From 1389 to 1523 the three countries were under the reign of the Danish king. After that time Sweden left the union and then Denmark and Norway threatened to close the former's access to the North Sea. Meanwhile, Frederick III, the Dano-Norwegian king, allied with the burghers of Copenhagen and they imposed absolute monarchy on Denmark and Norway. Frederick's heirs, Christian V and Frederick IV tried to recover the lost eastern provinces, but to no avail. The clashes ended in 1720 and, although Denmark was exhausted financially, there was finally peace. It was the perfect time then for the people to help rebuilding trade and industry and also for people from the middle classes to ascend socially and economically. This kind of social reformation was also assisted by the monarchic absolutism which was still thriving. The aftermath of Denmark's rebuilt was that the middle classes as well as the clergy gained wealth and a higher social position. In the meantime German lands and other countries in Northern Europe participated in the movement of Enlightenment that stood for the power of reason, rationality, and the ability to judge intellectually. On the other hand, the power of the clergy had also as a result the flourishing of a religious stream known as Pietism which preached absolute and full devotion to Christ. It was later, during the reign of Christian VI, that clergy and religious intolerance met their heyday because of the king's and queen's attachment

to religion and pietism. That is the time that Ludvig Holberg lived in and wrote. His theatrical works, his Satires, memoirs and his fictitious novel reveal a man of a keen sense of political and social circumstances and with an evolved sense of artistry and dexterity in writing. His works derive from his era; they give us a clear picture of the time, while they have an effect on the way the reader will consider Denmark and Europe after having read Holberg³⁵.

The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground (Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum) was written in Latin in 1741 and it was an attack against pietism, religious intolerance and several other superannuated beliefs³⁶. Niels Klim, a graduate of the University of Copenhagen, falls into the Earth's center when he attempts to explore a cave in Bergen in Norway. In this subterranean world he encounters another country of intelligent trees that have their own laws and lifestyle and their main trait and virtue, according to them at least, is their tardiness in motion and thinking. Niels Klim is considered a peculiar animal and also appropriate only to be the king's messenger for his swiftness; for the trees in Potu believe that he does not comprehend anything in its profundity. Holberg through the eyes of Klim presents the customs and laws of the trees and through them he cauterizes the society he lives in. For instance, Klim says that the trees do not exercise their ability in speech and the ability of orators and lawyers to answer quickly and make fast argumentations, something which is practiced in European universities. Women are allowed to have administrative positions, because it is unreasonable to exclude someone worthy from an office and therefore deprive the public welfare of someone who can definitely benefit the system. During his stay with the Potuans Klim travels around the rest of their state and writes down in a book his notes about the other nations that he encountered.

³⁵ For more details about the age of Holberg and the circumstances under and about which he wrote see Billeskov Jansen (1974) 13-21.

³⁶ See Billeskov Jansen (1974) 98-102.

Holberg presents different nations which have a distinct characteristic, such as the nation where people have eyes of different shape. Klim comments on that saying that no one is judged because one sees something as rectangular and another as circular. This is another blatant attack of the author against the system in Denmark and its attacks against religious sectarians. Klim is finally exiled from the land of the Potuans because he tries to pass a new law according to which women should be excluded from any administrative office. The law is found unreasonable by the Potuans, offensive and potentially dangerous for the people and they sent Klim away. He is exiled to the earth's inner crust and his adventures begin in the kingdom of Martinia, a country of apes, where nothing is examined in depth and there he is considered too slow. He acquires some privileges when he invents the wig but then he is accused of making advances to the Syndic's wife and is sent to the galleys. He is then taken on a commercial voyage to the Mezardorian islands that are inhabited by various kinds of creatures. After a shipwreck he ends up in an island of primitive men, the Quamites, where Klim distinguishes himself, becomes the consultant of their king and later he becomes the king. As a monarch he subdues a number of nations and he becomes a tyrant. When his power is so oppressive that his subjects are ready to revolt, he tries to escape and through the same hole that he brought him to this underground world, he returns to Norway. Upon his return he encounters an old friend to whom he narrates his adventures. His friend advises him not to repeat the story to anyone for fear of the religious prosecutions. Klim is then appointed as a curate, he marries and he leads a normal life. After his death his friend publishes his manuscript.

The work thrives with comments on the social, political and religious realities of Holberg's time. The sagacity of the Potuans, their customs, the fact that they have women in authority, and they show religious tolerance are, among other things, traits that the author does not find in his

era. It is this conservative, authoritative and superficial aspect of society that Holberg exposes. The nation where everyone has a different eye-shape is a clear attack on the absolutism of the clergy who insists on punishing those who have a different view of things. The nation of the Martinians who do not give serious thought to anything, they take decisions that affect their life lightly and the way they accept and embrace the periwigs that Klim invents is obviously a Satire targeting the French.

Holberg in his *Memoirs* refers specifically to his inspiration from Lucian. It is in fact the novelty of cauterizing a society or types of characters in presentation of fictitious nations that was first invented by Lucian. Holberg also shows Klim's inability to accept the different, but he simultaneously shows the other side; the Potuans do not show any respect for Klim's 'qualities' either. As a matter of fact, whatever the latter considers praiseworthy, they seem to despise and consider it a sign of incompetency. The position of 'the other', whoever this may be, is also presented by Lucian, as it was discussed in Chapter 3. A society whose components are so many different nations, like in the Roman Empire, needs to be receptive. The same, though, can be said about Holberg's Denmark where religious intolerance represents in this case the dismissal of anything different.

Lucian's effect on Holberg appears also in the latter's theatrical creations³⁷. *Jeppe of the Hill* or the *Political Tinker* are comedies based on characters that flourish in the newly founded society. Holberg is not in favor of the new status of things where the newly rich acquire positions. He exposes the middle class and shows that their self-confidence is not based on merits or qualifications and their wealth and positions are not rightly deserved. Nowhere in the *Jeppe of the Hill* do we find any sympathy for the peasant for the farce they plotted in order to

³⁷ See also Billeskov Jansen (1974) 56-81.

ridicule him. In fact, in the last scene the audience probably feels relieved that Jeppe returned to his place. Once he thought he was a baron, he showed no responsibility, or reverence towards the less fortunate. On the contrary, he is portrayed as more cruel than the real baron, relentless and with no moral boundaries. The same impression we get from the *Political Tinker* as well. The politician there who comes from this new cast of middle class people does not show any praiseworthy quality.

Holberg recruits literature, innovative and satirical works against the new order of things, contrary to Lucian. The latter wanted to mobilize people and help them see the new social order, and be more receptive of others. Holberg is a supporter of the old world. As concerns the vices they criticize, however, they are in consent; it is obvious that human characteristics never really change. The only thing that actually changes is the context we find them in. As concerns their style of writing, Holberg has adopted the comic, although not always farcical, way of Molière who is undoubtedly his source of inspiration in his theatrical works at least³⁸. Finally, the critical approach to the contemporary events is refreshing and resembles Lucian's critical spirit. Holberg shows his oppositions through unexceptionably popular means, theater and fictitious novels.

Lucianic Echoes in Flaubert

Coming down to the 19th century it is difficult to claim that there can be a point to point criticism and comparison between Lucian and Flaubert. As it has been discussed in this chapter many authors and literary works have appeared throughout the centuries as well as numerous political, social and literary fermentations have occurred that 'have given birth' to writers of the 19th century onwards. Even though, however, Lucian does not live unedited in Flaubert's works, one can still sense Lucianic echoes in Flaubert's presentation of humanity, and his anxieties

³⁸ On Holberg and Molière see Campbell (1914) 91-135.

about contemporary events clothed in the satiric, sometimes farcical, and definitely smart novels that he has given to the readership. Flaubert has proved to be a sentimentalist and a naturalist at the same time. His *Éducation Sentimentale* for instance definitely thrives, among other characteristics, with romantic elements, but the author has also sketched behind those a live and real world as it was being shaped in the revolution of 1848 and its aftermaths³⁹.

In this section I discuss Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet*⁴⁰ that resembles Lucian's *Menippus*. This work is about the mainly mental adventures of Bouvard and Pécuchet, two Parisians who work as copy clerks. They are of the same age and share the same demeanor and beliefs on many subjects. When Bouvard inherits a large amount of money from his deceased father they leave Paris and set out to live in the countryside and pursue the lifestyles they always dreamt of. After that the whole work is about the quests of the two friends who, not having found what it is that interests them, not having realized their potentials and powers and always feeling as if something is lacking in their lives, pursue various activities and flounder at the end. First they try agriculture, gardening, and food preservation. Then they turn to chemistry, anatomy, medicine, biology, and geology. Chapter 4 is about their obsession with archaeology, architecture and history. Chapter 5 is about their interest in literature, drama and grammar. In chapter 6 Flaubert discusses the current political situation through Bouvard and Pécuchet and several other characters who talk about the revolution, the new regime, and then they want to find their political representatives. The author through the people's inability to recognize what is good and what pernicious for public welfare, as well as through their choice of delegates points

³⁹ On the treatment of the social circumstances and changes by Flaubert see Olds (1997). There has been a discussion regarding the way Flaubert and the way he presents and feels about society and historical circumstances in *Éducation Sentimentale* and *Madame Bovary* in relation or in contrast to *Salammô* (1862) and *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (1874). On that see Donato (1993) 35-55.

⁴⁰ The work was initially conceived in 1863 as *Les Deux Cloportes* (The Two Woodlice), but Flaubert started working on the novel as we have it today in 1872. It was published posthumously in 1881.

out the main problems of the new situation in France which ultimately led to the overthrowing of the revolutionary *status quo*. In the next chapter the two friends try their luck in love, but to no avail and then they turn their focus to gymnastics, occultism, theology, and philosophy. Being despondent after all their unsuccessful pursuits they even consider suicide, but the spirit of Christmas revives them. Hence, in the next chapter they become religious. Perhaps Flaubert shows that there is a point in someone's life when he turns to religion as a refuge. In chapter 10, after having taken in Victor and Victorine as their children, they busy themselves with education, music, and urban planning. Considering themselves experts in everything they argue with townsmen and as a result in what it would probably be chapter eleven, which survives as notes from the author since the novel was never finished and then it was published posthumously, they narrowly escape prison. At the end they decide that they should go back to being copy clerks.

Bouvard's and Pécuchet's search for what is appropriate for them, how they should lead their lives depending on the incentives they have in each case remind us of Lucian's *Menippus*. In this work Lucian shows, among other things, the human concern regarding his lifestyle, what is good and what is bad. *Menippus* sets out to go to the underworld and ask wise men of the past, namely Teiresias, how one should decide about the kind of life one should lead. He says to his interlocutor that poets write about adultery and brothers marrying their sisters and abominable things that the gods do. On the other hand, it is the exact same behavior that is censored, forbidden and punishable by laws. Both *Menippus* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet* can be categorized to the philosophical genre. *Menippus* expresses his uncertainty about life in several points when for instance he says Ἐπεὶ δὲ διηπόρουν, ἔδοξέ μοι ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοὺς καλουμένους τούτους φιλοσόφους ἐγχειρίσαι τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι μοι ὅ τι βούλοιντο καὶ τινα ὁδὸν ἀπλῆν καὶ βέβαιον ὑποδεῖξαι τοῦ βίου (4). Bouvard and

Pécuchet respectively almost at the end of every chapter having failed and being disappointed at everything they have tried, they wonder what went wrong and what they should do the next time, or what else they need to learn. At the end of the chapter two, for instance, they sit despondent and stumped (Pendant dix minutes, ils demeurèrent dans cette posture, n'osant se permettre un seul mouvement, pâles de terreur, au milieu des tessons. Quand ils purent recouvrer la parole, ils se demandèrent quelle était la cause de tant d'infortunes, de la dernière surtout? -- et ils n'y comprenaient rien, sinon qu'ils avaient manqué périr). And after that they are ready to throw themselves onto a new career, that of the chemist (C'est que, peut-être, nous ne savons pas la chimie!). This phrase resembles a lot the end of the book as well as the end of *Menippus*. *Menippus*, on the one hand, after having seen different fates in the underworld he asks Teiresias what is the best way of living. Teiresias says that the simple life is the best life. He advises *Menippus* not to philosophize about everything, but to laugh instead (ὁ τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἄριστος βίος καὶ σωφρονέστερος. Πausάμενος τοῦ μετεωρολογεῖν καὶ τέλη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ καταπτύσας τῶν σοφῶν τούτων συλλογισμῶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λῆρον ἠγησάμενος τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἅπαντος θηράση, ὅπως τὸ παρὸν εὖ θέμενος παραδράμης γελῶν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ μηδὲν ἐσπουδακῶς. 21) . Bouvard and Pécuchet at the end realize that what they want to do is go back to copying as in the old days. It is worth noting that this ending reminds us also of that of Holberg's Niels Klim. He becomes acquainted with a number of different cultures, he does not seem satisfied with any of those and at the end he lives his life as a regular person; he is married and works as a curate ⁴¹. The adventurous

⁴¹ The end reminds us Voltaire's *Candide* 'Cela est bien dit, répondit Candide, mais il faut cultiver notre jardin.' Berg and Martin (1997) 142 claim that the end of *Candide* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet* suggest the realization of the importance of keep going regardless of the results of our efforts rather than the acceptance of failure. On Lucian's *Menippus* and Voltaire's *Candide* see Robinson (1979) 52. On *Menippus*, *Candide* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet* see Zagona (1985) 27 and Marsh (1998) 50.

mental travel of the two characters resembles also Lucian's Ἀληθῆς ἱστορία. The main character discovers different civilization and cultures, where he realizes that faults, vices and virtues are to be found everywhere.

Lucian might have also influenced Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*⁴², which was not well received because of its subversive and more liberal views and was accused of being obscene⁴³. The fact is that the authors, in his attempt to cauterize the society as he experiences it, invents a character who undermines the accepted social structures and that person is a woman⁴⁴. Emma Bovary is infatuated with luxurious life, disillusioned with her marriage and the norms of provincial society. The novel is therefore even more subversive, even more disquieting for the French society⁴⁵. This is where Lucian comes to the foreground. In *Dialogi Meretricium* Lucian's main characters are women and what is more, women living in the margins of society. He presents the world and their lifestyle from their point of view and ultimately he gives voice to people who so far do not have one.

Lucianic Satire Back to 20th Century Greece

Lucian's humor, Satire, admonitions and imaginary voyages have travelled along the centuries and across several European countries. One of the last stops in the 20th century where Lucian's heritage may be found, which is discussed in this chapter, is in the country which also

⁴² It was being published in *La Revue de Paris* between October 1st 1856 and December 15th 1856. It was then out into trial for obscenity and then, when acquitted, it appeared in the form of book in April 1857.

⁴³ As concerns the subversion in the novel, it has been suggested that there is also a reversal of roles and that Emma assumes male behavioral patterns. On that see Orr (1999) 49-64.

⁴⁴ The woman protagonist through which the author comments on his contemporaries and his times does not appear only in Flaubert. Zola wrote *Thérèse Raquin* (1867) and later *Nana* (1880); Goncourt wrote *Germinie Lacerteux* (1865). For more details see Farrant (2007) passim.

⁴⁵ For more information on Flaubert's perceptions of society in his time as presented mainly in *Madame Bovary* and *Éducation Sentimentale* see Farrant (2007) passim. On Flaubert's style in *Madame Bovary* and how his view appear by the mastering of different literary techniques, like the voice of the narrator, the descriptions of objects which always convey some information about a character see Berg and Martin (1997) 28-60.

inherited his adopted language, in Greece. 20th century historically, socially and politically has been a full and active era for Greece both nationally and internationally. It has been a century of the First and Second World Wars, a civil war, political transitions and reformations, immigration because of the unfavorable and unstable political and economic circumstances. It is also a period when television and technology have entered people's lives in all levels and thus have dramatically changed the way as well as the quality of living. After the end of the First and Second World Wars, December 1944 until January 1945 was a short period of hostilities between the communist and the conservative party. March 1946 till October of 1949 was another period of warfare between the communist and the conservative parties. The result was the defeat of the communists, but not before there were bloody hostilities. The tragedy continued even after the pause of the warfare, when the official governmental authorities sent members of the communists' party to exile in different deserted Greek islands, while others left Greece. People were branded, countryside depopulated and thus the levels of poverty rose. The years that ensue were finally an era of stability for Greece. Different political parties, their feuds, the machinations behind economy, public and political offices, however, have been giving food for thought and caustic Satire to several journalists, writers and authors of chronographs.

The products of literature over this century vary and cover different genres. Authors are certainly products of their societies and their eras, but still there are these who focus more openly, cauterize or generally comment on current events. In this section I am discussing the authors F. Germanos (Φρέντυ Γερμανός) and more specifically his works *Good News from Aphrodite* (Καλά Νέα από την Αφροδίτη), *Wet Nights* (Υγρές Νύχτες) and *Greece under zero*

(*Ελλάς υπό το μηδέν*); and A. Laskaratos' (Ανδρέας Λασκαράτος) *Behold the Man* (*Ιδού ο άνθρωπος*).

Germanos' *Good News from Aphrodite* (1978) is a fictitious novel about the evolution of the human race after three nuclear wars. The chapters are written in a reverse chronological order. The first one dates in 2186 when most of the human race is extinct and the survivors live below the surface of the earth. Human relations barely exist anymore, while there are substitutes for everything including food, drink and music. People co-exist with robots that are so evolved, but also imbued with the new mentality so much so that they are a threat for the disbelievers. The rest of the chapters describe the events that led to this radical change in humanity, the loss of values and of everyday pleasures and acts of social courtesy, respect, and concern for the others. The last chapter, which technically is the first, is about a guard in the Acropolis, who was made to work with a robot; the robots are not as evolved as in the first chapter, of course. The guard at first seems unwilling to accept the new order of things, and the existence of non-humans and he is defensive against the machine, which also does not know any spelling. At the end of the chapter, which is also the end of the book, the guard has also forgotten spelling and accepted the robot as a part of his life. *Wet Nights* (1998) is about people whom the author met at some point in his life and whose lives were significantly and irreparably affected by political changes and circumstances on which they had no power and in which they never participated. The four stories ravel around life at night in cabarets. Nora, for instance, is a tortured soul who ended up spending her life on the streets after her husband, who was an officer in the navy, was falsely executed as a communist. Finally, *Greece under zero* (1993) consists of short chronographs,

satirical and farcical stories about contemporary situations and events. Germanos deals with humor with political situations, people's habits, arts, even the Olympic Games of 1996 that Greece lost to Atlanta.

Germanos discusses his era through people, their lives and the choices that they either had or that someone else deprived them of. The first two works, with the exception of *Greece under zero*, are novels with regards to the time-period they discuss, but they consist of short stories. Each chapter concerns a different person, but at the end they all make the picture of an era. This is what keeps Germanos close to Lucian. The latter, as it has been shown in previous chapters, discusses his era and how his contemporaries handle or should handle it, mainly through stories and dialogues. He even goes as far as to write works about his own choices in life, for instance *De Somnium*, and that also helps the reader acquire a better understanding of the 2nd century C.E. Germanos cauterizes, and unveils how reality affects people; that way he gives another perspective and a different dimension of current socio-political issues, just like Lucian offers a fresh view of the everyday reality in the Roman Empire. Germanos also resembles Lucian in his perspicacity concerning the future. Lucian in the *Dialogi Deorum* for instance gives us a new perspective of the old religion. He shows that amidst the multiple different deities worshipped in the Roman Empire there may even be a reconsideration of the devotion to the old Olympians. The appearance of Christianity and Judaism shake the foundations of the old religion and he detects some traces of what it is about to ensue. The same way Germanos, judging from the new lifestyle and the relations between people, and their priorities, gives us a glimpse of the future. It does not mean that by the year 2186 everything will be exactly the way he describes, with the

dominant robots and the human race living below the surface of the earth, but the idea of the loss of compassion, and the technological advances, which have not only entered, but have also invaded and sometimes eroded basic human relations, are the basic truths of the 20th century and of the future for the author.

Another characteristic aspect of Lucianic work is the portrayals of human types, namely *Adversus Indoctum*, *Philopseudeis*, and *De Parasito*. Laskaratos' work *Behold the Man* (1970) consists of short descriptions of different characters. He describes for instance how the funny, the pseudo-wise person, the gluttonous, or the politician act. He gives examples of behavioral patterns by taking a closer look at society and his contemporaries, while some of the virtues and vices that he discusses are so diachronic that Laskaratos can be read at any time and still be contemporaneous, just like Lucian. The narrative technique does not remind us of Lucian. Laskaratos gives us brief stories, and not in dialogic form. They still are however caustic and insightful, sometimes satiric and sometimes farcical.

Lucian in European Art

A topic that inspired Renaissance painters seems to be the Judgment of Paris as described by Lucian in the *Judgment of the Goddesses*. Paintings with this subject appear throughout Europe. Rubens has done several paintings with this subject. Cranach, the 15th century German painter, was also inspired. The topic seems to be living through the ages since also Renoir, and Dali created paintings, although the subject was traditional and they were priding themselves on avoiding classical topics. One of the interesting details is the fact that the goddesses are painted naked. It is not a usual representation and it is certainly not based on any known Greek literary

work. It is only in Ovid *Heroides* V that Oenone talks about Paris' unlucky judgment and refers to "naked Minerva (more pleasing when she bears arms)". Lucian is the first who actually elaborates on the nudity of the goddesses, and it is Paris who asks Hermes to tell the goddesses to undress.

Πάρις

Πειρασόμεθα' τί γὰρ ἂν πάθοι τις; ἐκεῖνο δὲ πρότερον εἰδέναι βούλομαι,
πότερ' ἐξαρκέσει σκοπεῖν αὐτὰς ὡς ἔχουσιν, ἢ καὶ ἀποδῦσαι δεήσει πρὸς τὸ
ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἐξετάσεως;

Ἑρμῆς

Τοῦτο μὲν σὸν ἂν εἴη τοῦ δικαστοῦ, καὶ πρόσταττε ὅπη καὶ θέλεις.

Πάρις

Ὅπη καὶ θέλω; γυμνάς ἰδεῖν βούλομαι.

Ἑρμῆς

Ἀπόδυτε, ὦ αὐταί' σὺ δ' ἐπισκόπει' ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπεστράφην.

Paris

I shall try; for what would happen to one? But first I want to know whether it will satisfy the requirements to look them over just as they are, or it is necessary to have them undress for a thorough examination?

Hermes

That is your affair, as you are the judge. Give your orders as you will.

Paris

As I will? I want to see them naked.

Hermes

Undress, goddesses. Make your inspection, Paris. I turned my back.

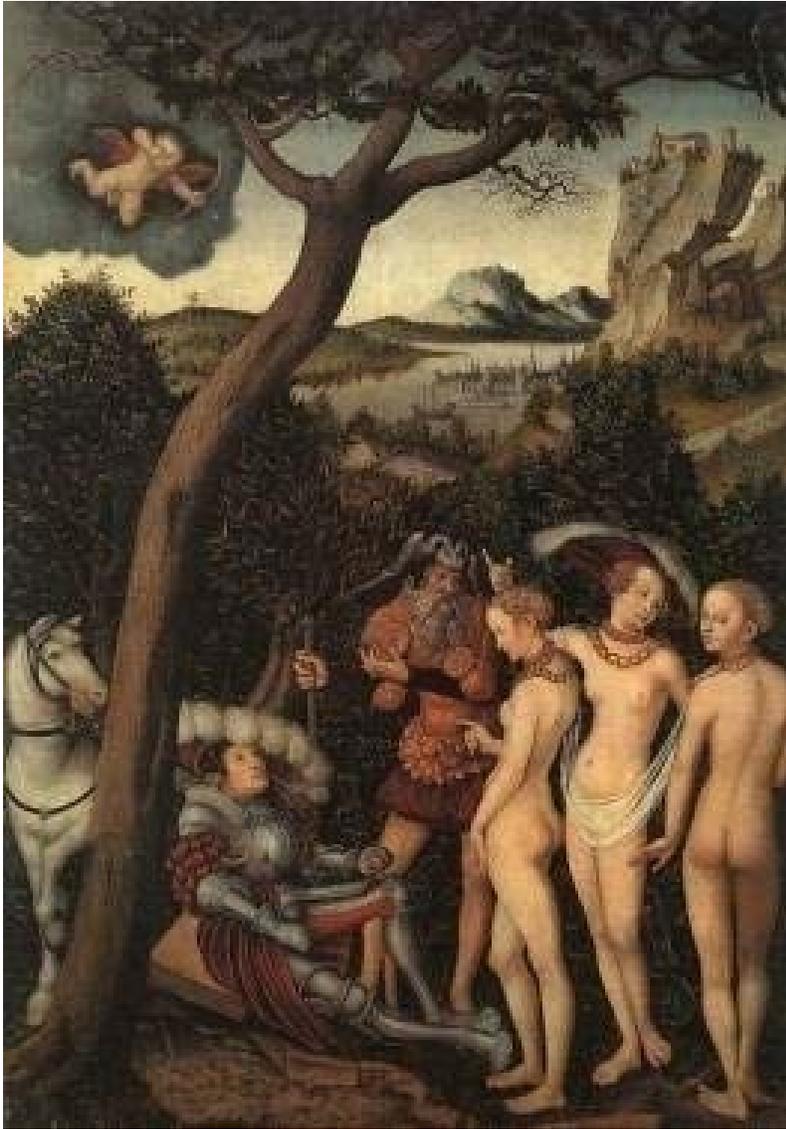


Figure 5-1. Lucas Cranach, possibly ca. 1528, Oil on wood, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York⁴⁶.

The same alluring posture of the goddesses is also noticed in Cranach. There are of course details in the painting, like the clothing of Paris and Hermes, the horse and the hairstyle of the goddesses which are representative of the painter's time. The detail of the Cupid appears here as well, but he is flying and he is ready to hurl an arrow.

⁴⁶ Reprinted by permission from www.wikipedia.org under the GNU free documentation licence.



Figure 5-2. Rubens, 1632/1635, Oil on oak, National Gallery, London⁴⁷.

A detail of Lucian's narrative that Rubens does not follow is that in the former's version Hermes turns his head away, while in the painting Hermes is looking. Also, although, it seems that the goddesses are just getting undressed, Paris holds and seems ready to offer the apple to one of them. It is as if Rubens decided to capture and encapsulate the whole story in only one painting. He has also painted the goddesses from three different sides. This relates to Lucian's text where each goddess takes her clothes off and presents herself to Paris differently. There is movement in Lucian's narrative and the goddesses try to seduce Paris by means not only of their appearance, but of their movements and grace as well. For instance, Athena warns Paris not to let Aphrodite take off her girdle in front of him, for she is capable of enchanting him only with that

⁴⁷ Reprinted by permission from www.wikipedia.org under the GNU free documentation licence.

(Μὴ πρότερον ἀποδύσης αὐτήν, ὦ Πάρι, πρὶν ἂν τὸν κεστὸν ἀπόθηται-φαρμακὶς γάρ ἐστίν-μή σε καταγοητεύσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ, 10). Later on Aphrodite encourages Paris to examine her thoroughly, part by part (Αὕτη σοὶ ἐγὼ πλησίον, καὶ σκόπει καθ' ἓν ἀκριβῶς μηδὲν παρατρέχων, ἀλλ' ἐνδιατριβῶν ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν, 12). There is also the detail of a small Cupid probably in the corner of the painting.



Figure 5-3. Jean-Antoine Watteau, c. 1720, Oil on wood, Louvre, Paris, France⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Reprinted by permission from Olga's gallery (www.abcgallery.com) for not-for-profit Fair Use as defined in the United States copyright law.

Renoir has painted a later scene of the judgment, the one where Paris has already made up his mind and he gives the apple to Aphrodite. It is obvious that the goddess in the middle has already extended her hand.

Lucian in Zeuxis or Antiochus describes a Centaur family. He is the first to do so including in his narration a female centaur.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τολμήμασι καὶ θήλειαν Ἴπποκένταυρον ὁ Ζεῦξις αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀνατρέφουσάν γε προσέτι παιδίω Ἴπποκενταύρω διδύμω κομιδῇ νηπίω (3).

Among the other daring undertakings this Zeuxis painted a female centaur, which moreover was feeding twin Hippocentaur children no more than babies.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to give a perspective of Lucian's Nachleben in Byzantine and European literature. Lucian has written a large part of works, which may not be able to be categorized under any traditional genre, but they thrive with social, and political comments, fresh and insightful literary techniques, as well as an always modern aura of someone who actually sees through society and people and is a vital component of his era and has filtered his past through the present, without dismissing his identity. These are some of his traits that inspired or even offered a palette of possibilities for the authors to come.

In the first section I discussed Alciphron's probable imitation of Lucian's *Dialogi Meretricium* in his *Letters of the Courtesans*. It was evidently Lucian's spirit and unconventional characters that drew Alciphron. After the 2nd C.E. Lucian disappears until 1000 C.E. when Byzantines use in their grammar books examples from his works and later in the 12 C.E. he becomes the source of inspiration, both linguistically and with regards to motifs, for *Timarion*.

Authors borrow from him for different reasons, either to satirize, to question established beliefs or simply because of his usage of Greek is perfect and the Byzantines at the time focus on Classical Greek.

Erasmus and More in 16th C.E. translate some of Lucian's works and discover new possibilities in his fictitious novels and the mock encomia. The humanistic 'revolt', the questioning of the Christian doctrines and the claim to supremacy and correctness by the priests lead Erasmus to write the *Praise of Folly*, creating a Lucianic parody commenting on everyone and everything. More, on the other hand, adheres by Lucian's teaching by example and thus he created his *Utopia* that is a no-place and until the end of the work the reader cannot tell if More believes in it, or he mocks everyone with a sardonic-Lucianic smile.

The Syrian writer's influence is not restricted only to the aforementioned genres. He also makes a powerful appearance in Molière's *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope*. Character portrayal, philosophical thinking about different lifestyles and the undermining of society by the inside have been invented by Lucian. *Timon*, *De Parasito*, *Phalaris* are only few of the works which left traces in the French theatrical creations. The satiric, comic, and occasionally funny tones, the insightful presentation of society and the intention to incite people to thinking is obviously shared both by Lucian and Molière.

In 18th century Denmark Ludvig Holberg wrote his fictitious novel *The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground* and, although following other predecessors like Swift in this genre, it still cannot be denied that Lucian was the beginning of fictitious literature. Holberg admits in his *Memoirs* that he was inspired by Lucian and the former's presentation of the different nations as well as Klim reception of them remind us of Lucian and his intentions when writing *Toxaris*, *Anacharsis* and *Scythia*.

Flaubert in the 19th century found inspiration in Lucian's philosophical work, *Menippus*. People's quest for the right way of life is always current. That is what Bouvard and Pécuchet do in Flaubert's homonymous work. Only what they do on earth Menippus did in the underworld. The result of their search is all the same; they all agree that the simple way of life can also be the happier and more complete.

Finally, Lucianic humor found a place in 20th century Greece. F. Germanos and A. Laskaratos somewhat revived Lucian's style, Satire and concern for society and their contemporaries and it is interesting to notice the latter's effect on the people about whom he wrote 18 centuries ago and examine if the customs, virtues and vices, acceptance or dismissal still exist and under what name.

The last section is on Lucian's representation of *Dearum Iudicium* in European art. Lucas Cranach, Peter Paul Rubens, Jean-Antoine Watteau, William Blake, Pierre-August Renoir, Salvador Dali found inspiration in Lucian's unconventional, intriguing and live description of the well-known myth and this may also show that Lucian was actually dexterous in approaching and influencing people by taking something old and traditional and showing other aspects and possibilities, thus offering a whole new aspect and transforming it into a whole new idea.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I try to discuss the literary, linguistic, social, and religious aspects of Lucian's works in such a way as to acquire a clear picture of the Syrian orator, his identity, literary and historical, and consequently of the 2nd century C.E Roman Empire. His numerous short writings give us several testaments to the different sectors of everyday life in the Empire. The variability of his material also is one of the reasons why Lucian's *Nachleben* is long and traces of his works can be found in Byzantine and European authors up to the 20th century.

The fact that Lucian does not stray to personal information, as well as the large number of his works that cannot really be classified easily under any one literary genre render them rather complex. *Somnium* and *Prometheus es in verbis* are well as his *prolaliae* allow a part of Lucian as a historical personality to appear. Other than that, however, a researcher is unable to extract anything more regarding his life. Lucian wants to find a position in the Roman Empire; he adopts the Greek language and culture and he does not hesitate to praise the emperor's favorite friend in *Imagines*. Although he does not denounce his ethnicity, nonetheless he does not discuss anything that pertains to Syria, except in *De Syria Dea*, when he elaborates on Eastern religion but with a patina of Greek-ness again, and in *Somnium* when he characterizes his native language barbaric. The study of a multidimensional personality like Lucian therefore is challenging and is always difficult to argue with absolute certainty about any of his theses. No matter how elusive he is, however, the fact that he is an orator means that he discusses issues of public interest and concern and the palette of his writings shows that the Roman Empire at the time is a society under which social, political, religious and numerous others fermentations take place and for which Lucian is a good source.

In Chapter 2, I examine Lucian and his attitude towards Romans and Greeks in relation to Juvenal's *De Parasito* and *De Mercede Conductis* seem to be responses to Juvenal's accusations against the Greeks about having usurped the places of Romans in the symposia. Lucian questions the desirability of those positions all together and suggests that being a client is not a role that befits a Greek man of letters; it seems more appropriate for Romans, however, who seem more submissive to patrons. He employs the motif of the *exclusus amator* to ridicule the Romans and then he proceeds to describe the life of the client during dinner at the table of the wealthy patron. The outline of the dinner reminds us of Juvenal's Satire 5 and the fate of Trebius. The similarities between the two works seem more than a coincidence. Finally, I try to show that *De Parasito* resembles Juvenal's Satire 9 and the degradation of Naevolus in a comic way, since Simon, the parasite, defends in a philosophic-sophistic manner his uncomplimentary position in society.

Chapter 3 is an overview of the 2nd century C.E. through the eyes of Gellius, the Roman anthologist, and Lucian with regards to how adapted they are to the vastness of the Empire and the newly formulated society. Lucian's *prolaliae* clearly show that he is aware of his place as a newcomer and the fact that he attempts to excel in this new world. Gellius, on the other hand, in the *praefatio* of *Noctes Atticae* merely states his wish that his descendants learn how their ancestors spoke, how they acted and how moral they were. It seems therefore that orators in the Empire, especially non Romans like Lucian, had an extremely strong motive to distinguish themselves, and that they were socially aware and active. They discuss reality and they feel that they are parts of the current situations, while Gellius simply wants his books to create a long lasting, written social and educational history for the Romans. On the same basis, I discuss Lucian's *Toxaris*, *Scytha*, and *Anacharsis* and compare it to specific chapters from Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. Lucian is a Syrian who writes in Greek about Greeks, Romans and other nations,

while Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* consists of chapters mainly on Roman history, morality and lifestyle, while "other nations" seem to exist only in the dim light of the background of the social milieu. A reading of the two authors raises questions which concern mainly the position of the Romans and their relation to the Greeks and vice versa, as well as both nations' relation to other nations. Lucian writes *Toxaris*, *Scythia*, and *Anacharsis*, in which one of the interlocutors at least is a Scythian. He shows social awareness and also provides information about the communication between different nations while he gives voice to other nations, which do not belong to the powerful combination of the eminent Greco-Roman cultures. On the other hand, Gellius' presentation of other nations, his criticisms, or even his silence at some points give the reader the image of a more conservative and less well-adjusted to the new world order Roman who is only focused on the past and consequently fails to handle the evolution and anything else that the new age has brought.

An aspect of Lucian that is very frequently overlooked is his religious writings. Since it is easy to read his works as Satires, or simply as funny stories, scholars rarely examine his views on paganism and Christianity. In Chapter 4, I argue that Lucian was aware of the aging pagan deities and the rising of Christianity and I believe that *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Dialogi Deorum*, *De Sacrificiis* and *Peregrinus* are purposefully written so that he might put in the foreground current religious issues and concerns. He pushes anthropomorphism to the furthest limit not only in order to provoke laughter, or to continue a classical Aristophanic tradition, but also in order to suggest another consideration of pagan religion. Satire is simply the means for him to approach sensitive issues without provoking anyone. A parallel reading the aforementioned works and Tertullian, Clemens of Alexandria, Justin the Martyr, Athenagoras,

and Tatian testify that Lucian was aware of the new religion and its doctrines and he simply presents the Christian arguments in a pagan context by means of classical literary motifs.

Finally in Chapter 5, I present Lucian's influence on Byzantine and European authors up to 20th century. Owing to his fluency, Lucian is popular with Greek Byzantine lexicographers in the 11th century who borrow examples from his works and later the author of *Timarion* finds a rich and colorful repository of underworld images and motifs in Lucian's stories. In the 15th century the humanistic movement and its disapproval of the clergy's false preaching lead Erasmus, for instance, to write his caustic *Praise of Folly* imitating Lucian's *Phalaris*, and other mock laudatory works. More, on the other hand, imitates the techniques of openly lying and teaching by example when he writes *Utopia* in an attempt to persuade his readership that Erasmus' theoretical approach of life cannot be practiced effectively. Molière masterfully creates live characters and portrays a 17th century parasite in *Le Tartuffe*, while he plays with the diachronic figure of 'Timon' in *Le Misanthrope*. Ludvig Holberg in *The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground* incorporates in *The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground* imaginary travelogue, caustic writing, and the technique of estrangement, among other Lucianic motifs. Flaubert's *Emma Bovary* could be a descendant of Lucian's *meretrices* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet* remind us of Menippus and his quest for the proper lifestyle. Furthermore, Modern Greek literature seems to have revisited an ancestor in A. Laksaratos' *Behold the Man* and the science fiction novel's of F. Germanos *Good News from Aphrodite*, the satiric *Greece under Zero*, and the socially focused *Wet Nights*. Finally, *Dearum Iudicium* and *Zeuxis* proved to be the source of inspiration for numerous artists, namely Lucas Cranach, Peter Paul Rubens, Jean-Antoine Watteau, William Blake, Pierre-August Renoir, Salvador Dali, and Bonaventura Geneli

I hope to have shown that Lucian is a multidimensional personality; he is a sophist, and an orator, a Syrian by birth and a Roman citizen by choice; he is a product of the 2nd century Roman Empire. His writings give us a plethora of information and undeniably a sense of various aspects of everyday life. He employs traditional motifs and reinvents others only to become a popular orator and an official in the Empire and then to live a diachronic legacy in literature and art. Although, one cannot fully comprehend Lucian, I believe that I gained and presented a glimpse into his intentions as I tried to discuss certain of his works and his literary correspondence with other authors chronologically and from several different aspects, namely literary, linguistic, social, and religious in order to acquire a spherical view of this prolific and creative writer.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Eleni Bozia received her B.A. degree in classical philology from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 2003, M.Phil. in classical philology from the University of Glasgow in 2004, and Ph.D. in Classical Studies from the University of Florida in 2009. She has coauthored several journal and conference publications. Her current research interests lie in the areas of late antiquity and Greek and Roman novel and drama. Dr. Bozia has received various scholarships and awards during her undergraduate, master's and doctoral studies, including the Mary A. Sollman Scholarship from the American Academy in Rome.