

Lucian, Alexander the  
False Prophet

## ALEXANDER THE FALSE PROPHET

No doubt, my dear Celsus,<sup>1</sup> you think it a slight and trivial matter to bid me set down in a book and send you the history of Alexander, the impostor of Abonoteichus, including all his clever schemes, bold emprises, and sleights of hand; but in point of fact, if one should aim to examine each detail closely, it would be no less a task than to record the exploits of Philip's son Alexander. The one was as great in villainy as the other in heroism. Nevertheless, if it should be your intention to overlook faults as you read, and to fill out for yourself the gaps in my tale, I will undertake the task for you and will essay to clean up that Augean stable, if not wholly, yet to the extent of my ability, fetching out some few basketsful, so that from them you may judge how great, how inexpressible, was the entire quantity

sorcery (*vide* c. 21 and note). And the *True Word* itself, a large part of which is preserved in Origen, seems to have been written about A.D. 180. But as Origen is not sure who wrote it, and as it is considered Platonic rather than Epicurean in character, the prevailing opinion is that its author is not the Celsus of Lucian, but an otherwise unknown Platonist of the same name and date.

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τρισχίλιοι βόες ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ποιῆσαι ἐδύναντο.

2 Αἰδοῦμαι μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν, ὑπὲρ τε σοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ· σοῦ μὲν, ἀξιοῦντος μνήμη καὶ γραφὴν παραδοθῆναι ἄνδρα τρισκατάρατον, ἐμαυτοῦ δέ, σπουδὴν ποιουμένου ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ πράξεσιν ἀνθρώπου, ὃν οὐκ ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι πρὸς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἦν ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ἐν πανδήμῳ τινὶ μεγίστῳ θεάτρῳ ὁρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πιθήκων ἢ ἄλωπέκων σπαραττόμενον. ἀλλ' ἦν τις ἡμῖν ταύτην ἐπιφέρῃ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἔξομεν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς παράδειγμά τι τοιοῦτον ἀνενεγκεῖν. καὶ Ἀρριανὸς γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου μαθητῆς, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ παιδείᾳ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον συγγενόμενος, ὁμοίον τι παθὼν ἀπολογήσαιτ' ἂν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Τιλλορόβου<sup>1</sup> γούν τοῦ ληστοῦ καὶ κεῖνος βίον ἀναγράψαι ἠξίωσεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ πολὺ ὠμοτέρου ληστοῦ μνήμην ποιησόμεθα, ὅσῳ μὴ ἐν ὕλαις καὶ ἐν ὄρεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν πόλεσιν οὗτος ἐλήστευεν, οὐ Μυσίαν<sup>2</sup> μόνην οὐδὲ τὴν Ἰδὴν κατατρέχων οὐδὲ ὀλίγα τῆς Ἀσίας μέρη τὰ ἐρημότερα λεηλατῶν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐμπλήσας τῆς ληστείας τῆς αὐτοῦ.

3 Πρότερον δέ σοι αὐτὸν ὑπογράψω τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ ὁμοιότατον εἰκάσας, ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι, καίτοι μὴ πάννυ γραφικός τις ὢν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ σῶμα, ἵνα σοι καὶ τοῦτο δείξω, μέγας τε ἦν καὶ καλὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ θεοπρεπὴς ὥς ἀληθῶς, λευκὸς τὴν χροῖαν, τὸ γένειον οὐ πάννυ λάσιος, κόμην τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Τιλλιβόρου γ.

<sup>2</sup> Μυσίαν Palmerius: Μινύαν MSS.

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of filth that three thousand head of cattle were able to create in many years.

I blush for both of us, I confess, both for you and for myself—for you because you want a consummate rascal perpetuated in memory and in writing, and for myself because I am devoting my energy to such an end, to the exploits of a man who does not deserve to have polite people read about him, but rather to have the motley crowd in a vast amphitheatre see him being torn to pieces by foxes or apes. Yet if anyone brings this reproach against us, we shall be able to refer to an apt precedent. Arrian, the disciple of Epictetus, a Roman of the highest distinction, and a life-long devotee of letters, laid himself open to the same charge, and so can plead our cause as well as his own; he thought fit, you know, to record the life of Tillorobus, the brigand.<sup>1</sup> In our own case, however, we shall commemorate a far more savage brigand, since our hero plied his trade not in forests and mountains, but in cities, and instead of infesting just Mysia and Mount Ida and harrying a few of the more deserted districts of Asia, he filled the whole Roman Empire, I may say, with his brigandage.

First I shall draw you a word-picture of the man himself, making as close a likeness as I can, although I am not particularly good at drawing. As regards his person—in order that I may exhibit this also to you—he was tall and handsome in appearance, and really godlike; his skin was fair, his beard not very

<sup>1</sup> There is no life of Tillorobus among the extant writings of Arrian, and we know nothing of him from any other source. His name is given in the γ group of MSS. as Tilliborus, but compare C.I.L. vi, 15295.

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μὲν ἰδίαν, τὴν δὲ καὶ πρόσθετον ἐπικείμενος εὖ μάλα εἰκασμένην καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅτι ἦν ἀλλοτρία λεληθυῖαν· ὀφθαλμοὶ πολὺ τὸ γοργὸν καὶ ἔνθεον διεμφαίνοντες, φῶνῆμα ἡδιστόν τε ἅμα καὶ λαμπρότατον· καὶ ὅλως οὐδαμόθεν μεμπτὸς ἦν ταῦτά γε.

† Τοιοῦσδε μὲν τὴν μορφήν· ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ γνώμη—ἀλεξίκακε Ἡράκλεις καὶ Ζεῦ ἀποτρόπαιε καὶ Διόσκουροι σωτῆρες, πολεμίοις καὶ ἐχθροῖς ἐντυχεῖν γένοιτο καὶ<sup>1</sup> συγγενέσθαι τοιούτῳ τινί. συνέσει μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀγχινοῖα καὶ δριμύτητι πάμπολυ τῶν ἄλλων διέφερεν, καὶ τό τε περίεργον καὶ εὐμαθὲς καὶ μνημονικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα εὐφυὲς, πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἐκασταχοῦ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ. ἐχρήτο δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ χεῖριστον, καὶ ὄργανα ταῦτα γενναῖα ὑποβεβλημένα ἔχων αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἐπὶ κακία διαβοήτων ἀκρότατος ὑπετελέσθη, ὑπὲρ τοὺς Κέρκωπας, ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐρύβατον ἢ Φρυωνῶνδαν ἢ Ἀριστόδημον ἢ Σώστρατον. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τῷ γαμβρῷ Ῥουτιλιανῷ ποτε γράφων καὶ τὰ μετριώτατα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγων Πυθαγόρα ὅμοιος εἶναι ἡξίου. ἀλλ' ἔλεως μὲν ὁ Πυθαγόρας εἶη, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν γνώμην θεσπέσιος, εἰ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον ἐγεγένητο, παῖς ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔδοξε. καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μή με νομίσης ἐφ' ὕβρει ταῦτα τοῦ Πυθαγόρου λέγειν ἢ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Sakkoraphos : καὶ μὴ MSS.

<sup>1</sup> The Cercopes were two impish pests who crossed the path of Heracles to their disadvantage. For the little that is known about the other typical rascals, see the Index.

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thick ; his long hair was in part natural, in part false, but very similar, so that most people did not detect that it was not his own. His eyes shone with a great glow of fervour and enthusiasm ; his voice was at once very sweet and very clear ; and in a word, no fault could be found with him in any respect as far as all that went.

Such, then, was his outward appearance ; but his soul and his mind—O Heracles Forfender ! O Zeus, Averter of Mischief ! O Twin Brethren, our Saviours ! may it be the fortune of our enemies and ill-wishers to encounter and have to do with the like of him ! In understanding, quick-wittedness, and penetration he was far beyond everyone else ; and activity of mind, readiness to learn, retentiveness, natural aptitude for studies—all these qualities were his, in every case to the full. But he made the worst possible use of them, and with these noble instruments at his service soon became the most perfect rascal of all those who have been notorious far and wide for villainy, surpassing the Cercopes, surpassing Eurybatus, or Phrynonidas, or Aristodemus, or Sostratus.<sup>1</sup> He himself, writing to his son-in-law Rutilianus once upon a time and speaking of himself with the greatest reserve, claimed to be like Pythagoras ; but—with all due respect to Pythagoras, a wise man of more than human intelligence—if he had been this man's contemporary, he would have seemed a child, I am very sure, beside him !<sup>2</sup> In the name of the Graces, do not imagine that I say this to insult Pythagoras, or in the endeavour to bring

<sup>2</sup> Yet Pythagoras was no mean thaumaturge ; see Plutarch, *Numa*, 65.

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συνάπτειν πειρώμενον αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὁμοιότητα τῶν πράξεων· ἀλλ' εἴ τις τὰ χεῖριστα καὶ βλασφημότατα τῶν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου λεγομένων, οἷς ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν πεισθείην ὡς ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν, ὅμως συναγάγοι εἰς τὸ αὐτό, πολλοστὸν ἂν μέρος ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα γένοιτο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δεινότητος. ὅλως γὰρ ἐπινόησόν μοι καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ διατύπωσον ποικιλωτάτην τινὰ ψυχῆς κρᾶσιν ἐκ ψεύδους καὶ δόλων καὶ ἐπιорκιῶν καὶ κακοτεχνιῶν συγκειμένην, ῥαδίαν, τολμηράν, παράβολον, φιλόπονον ἐξεργάσασθαι τὰ νοηθέντα, καὶ πιθανήν καὶ ἀξιόπιστον καὶ ὑποκριτικὴν τοῦ βελτίονος καὶ τῷ ἐναντιωτάτῳ τῆς βουλήσεως ἐοικύαν. οὐδεὶς γοῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐντυχὼν οὐκ ἀπῆλθε δόξαν λαβὼν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων χρηστότατος καὶ ἐπιεικέστατος καὶ προσέτι ἀπλοϊκώτατός τε καὶ ἀφελέστατος. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ μεγαλουργὸν προσῆν καὶ τὸ μηδὲν μικρὸν ἐπινοεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπέχειν τὸν νοῦν.

- 5 Μειράκιον μὲν οὖν ἔτι ὢν πάνυ ὥραϊον, ὡς ἐνῆν ἀπὸ τῆς καλᾶμης τεκμαίρεσθαι καὶ ἀκούειν τῶν διηγουμένων, ἀνέδην ἐπόρνευε καὶ συνῆν ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς δεομένοις. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαμβάνει τις αὐτὸν ἐραστής γόης τῶν μαγείας καὶ ἐπφδὰς θεσπεσίους ὑπισχνουμένων καὶ χάριτας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς καὶ ἐπαγωγὰς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ θησαυρῶν ἀναπομπὰς καὶ κλήρων διαδοχάς. οὗτος ἰδὼν εὐφυσὴ παῖδα καὶ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πράξεων ἐτοιμώτατον, οὐ μείον ἐρῶντα τῆς κακίας

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them into connection with one another by likening their doings. On the contrary, if all that is worst and most opprobrious in what is said of Pythagoras to discredit him (which I for my part cannot believe to be true) should nevertheless be brought together for comparison, the whole of it would be but an infinitesimal part of Alexander's knavery. In sum, imagine, please, and mentally configure a highly diversified soul-blend, made up of lying, trickery, perjury, and malice; facile, audacious, venturesome, diligent in the execution of its schemes, plausible, convincing, masking as good, and wearing an appearance absolutely opposite to its purpose. Indeed, there is nobody who, after meeting him for the first time, did not come away with the idea that he was the most honest and upright man in the world—yes, and the most simple and unaffected. And on top of all this, he had the quality of magnificence, of forming no petty designs but always keeping his mind upon the most important objects.

While he was still a mere boy, and a very handsome one, as could be inferred from the sere and yellow leaf of him, and could also be learned by hearsay from those who recounted his story, he trafficked freely in his attractiveness and sold his company to those who sought it. Among others, he had an admirer who was a quack, one of those who advertise enchantments, miraculous incantations, charms for your love-affairs, "sendings"<sup>1</sup> for your enemies, disclosures of buried treasure, and successions to estates. As this man saw that he was an apt lad, more than ready to assist him in his affairs, and

<sup>1</sup> The word is borrowed from Kipling. A "sending" is a "visitation," seen from a different point of view.

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τῆς αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς τῆς ὥρας τῆς ἐκείνου, ἐξεπαίδευσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ διετέλει ὑπουργῶ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ καὶ διακόνῳ χρώμενος. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἰατρὸς δῆθεν ἦν, ἠπίστατο δὲ κατὰ τὴν Θῶνος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου γυναῖκα

φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά·

ὧν ἀπάντων κληρονόμος καὶ διάδοχος οὗτος ἐγένετο. ἦν δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐραστής τὸ γένος Τυανεύς, τῶν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ πάνν<sup>1</sup> συγγενομένων καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τραγωδίαν εἰδόντων. ὁρᾷς ἐξ οἷας σοι διατριβῆς ἄνθρωπον λέγω.

6 Ἦδη δὲ πώγωνος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πιμπλάμενος καὶ τοῦ Τυανέως ἐκείνου ἀποθανόντος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καθεστώς, ἀπηνθηκυίας ἅμα τῆς ὥρας, ἀφ' ἧς τρέφεσθαι ἐδύνατο, οὐκέτι μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπενόει, ἀλλὰ κοινωνήσας Βυζαντίῳ τινὶ χορογράφῳ τῶν καθιέντων εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, πολὺ καταρατοτέρῳ τὴν φύσιν—Κοκκωνᾶς δέ, οἶμαι, ἐπεκαλεῖτο—περιήεσαν γοητεύοντες καὶ μαγγανεύοντες καὶ τοὺς παχεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων—οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῇ πατρίῳ τῶν μάγων φωνῇ τοὺς πολλοὺς<sup>2</sup> ὀνομάζουσιν—ἀποκείροντες. ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Μακέτιν γυναῖκα πλουσίαν, ἔξωρον μὲν, ἐράσμιον δὲ ἔτι εἶναι βουλομένην, ἐξευρόντες ἐπεσιτίσαντό τε τὰ ἄρκουντα παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἠκολούθησαν ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Πελλαία δὲ ἦν

<sup>1</sup> τῷ πάνν Fritzschē : τῷ Τυανεῖ πάνν γ ; τῷ Τυανεῖ β.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς πλουσίους g, editors since Bekker. But cf. 9 παχέων καὶ ἡλιθίων, 17 παχέσι καὶ ἀπαιδεύτοις.

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that the boy was quite as much enamoured with his roguery as he with the boy's beauty, he gave him a thorough education and constantly made use of him as helper, servant, and acolyte. He himself was professedly a public physician, but, as Homer says of the wife of Thon, the Egyptian, he knew

"Many a drug that was good in a compound, and many a bad one,"<sup>1</sup>

all of which Alexander inherited and took over. This teacher and admirer of his was a man of Tyana by birth, one of those who had been followers of the notorious Apollonius, and who knew his whole bag of tricks. You see what sort of school the man that I am describing comes from !

Alexander was just getting his beard when the death of the Tyanean put him in a bad way, since it coincided with the passing of his beauty, by which he might have supported himself. So he abandoned petty projects for ever. He formed a partnership with a Byzantine writer of choral songs, one of those who enter the public competitions, far more abominable than himself by nature—Cocconas,<sup>2</sup> I think, was his nickname,—and they went about the country practising quackery and sorcery, and "trimming the fatheads"—for so they style the public in the traditional patter of magicians. Well, among these they hit upon a rich Macedonian woman, past her prime but still eager to be charming, and not only lined their purses fairly well at her expense, but went with her from Bithynia to Macedon. She

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 4, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Cocconas comes from κόκκων (modern Greek κουκουνάρι), pine-kernel, seed, nut. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12, 222.

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ἐκείνη, πάλαι μὲν εὐδαίμονος χωρίου κατὰ τοὺς  
τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέας, νῦν δὲ ταπεινοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
7 ὀλιγίστους οἰκήτορας ἔχοντος. ἐνταῦθα ἰδόντες  
δράκοντας παμμεγέθεις, ἡμέρους πάνυ καὶ  
τιθασούς, ὥς καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τρέφεσθαι καὶ  
παιδίους συγκαθεύδειν καὶ πατουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι  
καὶ θλιβομένους μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ γάλα πίνειν  
ἀπὸ θηλῆς κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βρέφεσι—πολλοὶ δὲ  
γίγνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτοι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸν περὶ  
τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος μῦθον διαφοιτῆσαι πάλαι εἰκός,  
ὁπότε ἐκύει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, δράκοντός τινος,  
οἶμαι, τοιοῦτου συγκαθεύδοντος αὐτῇ—ῶνουνται  
8 τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἐν κάλλιστον ὀλίγων ὀβολῶν. καὶ  
κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἄρχεται ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε  
ἤδη.

Ὡς γὰρ ἂν δύο κάκιστοι καὶ μεγαλότολμοι καὶ  
πρὸς τὸ κακουργεῖν προχειρότατοι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ  
συνελθόντες, ῥαδίως κατενόησαν τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
βίον ὑπὸ δυοῖν τούτοις μεγίστοις τυραννόμενον,  
ἐλπίδος καὶ φόβου, καὶ ὅτι ὁ τούτων ἐκατέρῳ εἰς  
δέον χρήσασθαι δυνάμενος τάχιστα πλουτήσκειν  
ἂν· ἀμφοτέροις γάρ, τῷ τε δεδιότι καὶ τῷ  
ἐλπίζοντι, ἐώρων τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἀναγκαιοτάτην  
τε καὶ ποθεινοτάτην οὔσαν, καὶ Δελφοὺς οὕτω  
πάλαι πλουτῆσαι καὶ ἀοιδίμους γενέσθαι καὶ  
Δῆλον καὶ Κλάρων καὶ Βραγχίδας, τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
αἰεὶ δι' οὓς προεῖπον τυράννους, τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ  
τὸν φόβον, φοιτώντων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προμαθεῖν  
τὰ μέλλοντα δεομένων, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐκατόμβας  
θυόντων καὶ χρυσᾶς πλίνθους ἀνατιθέντων.  
ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους στρέφοντες καὶ κυκῶντες

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came from Pella, a place once flourishing in the time  
of the kings of Macedon but now insignificant, with  
very few inhabitants. There they saw great ser-  
pents, quite tame and gentle, so that they were  
kept by women, slept with children, let themselves  
be stepped upon, were not angry when they were  
stroked, and took milk from the breast just like  
babies. There are many such in the country, and  
that, probably, is what gave currency in former days  
to the story about Olympias; no doubt a serpent of  
that sort slept with her when she was carrying  
Alexander.<sup>1</sup> So they bought one of the reptiles,  
the finest, for a few coppers; and, in the words of  
Thucydides: "Here beginneth the war!"<sup>2</sup>

As you might have expected of two consummate  
rascals, greatly daring, fully prepared for mischief,  
who had put their heads together, they readily  
discerned that human life is swayed by two great  
tyrants, hope and fear, and that a man who could  
use both of these to advantage would speedily enrich  
himself. For they perceived that both to one who  
fears and to one who hopes, foreknowledge is very  
essential and very keenly coveted, and that long ago  
not only Delphi, but Delos and Clarus and Bran-  
chidae, had become rich and famous because, thanks  
to the tyrants just mentioned, hope and fear, men  
continually visited their sanctuaries and sought to  
learn the future in advance, and to that end sacrificed  
hecatombs and dedicated ingots of gold. By turning  
all this round and round in conference with one

<sup>1</sup> The story was that Alexander was the son of Zeus, who  
had visited Olympias in the form of a serpent.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides ii, 1.

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μαντείον συστήσασθαι καὶ χρηστήριον ἐβουλεύοντο· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο προχωρήσειεν αὐτοῖς, αὐτίκα πλούσιοι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες ἔσσεσθαι ἤλπιζον—ὅπερ ἐπὶ μείζον ἢ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην προσδοκίαν ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ κρεῖττον διεφάνη τῆς ἐλπίδος.

- 9 Τούντεῦθεν τὴν σκέψιν ἐποιοῦντο, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τοῦ χωρίου, δεύτερον δὲ ἥτις ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὁ τρόπος ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κοκκωνᾶς τὴν Καλχηδόνα ἐδοκίμαζεν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ εὐκαιρον χωρίου,<sup>1</sup> τῇ τε Θράκῃ καὶ τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ πρόσοικον, οὐχ ἑκὰς οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔμπαλιν τὰ οἴκοι προῦκρινεν, λέγων ὅπερ ἀληθὲς ἦν, πρὸς τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐπιχείρησιν ἀνθρώπων δεῖν παχέων καὶ ἡλιθίων τῶν ὑποδεχομένων, οἷους τοὺς Παφλαγόνας εἶναι ἔφασκεν ὑπεροικούντας τὸ τοῦ Ἀβώνου τεῖχος, δεισιδαίμονας τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ πλουσίους, καὶ μόνον εἰ φανείη τις αὐλητὴν ἢ τυμπανιστὴν ἢ κυμβάλοις κροτοῦντα ἐπαγόμενος, κοσκίνῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου μαντευόμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πάντας

<sup>1</sup> καὶ εὐκαιρον χωρίον A.M.H. : καὶ ἐμπόρων χωρίον MSS. ὡς ἐμπόρων χωρίον Schaefer. Cf. *Jur. Trag.* 14; εὐκαιρον γ, εὐπορον β; and for the use of the word in connection with places, Polybius 1, 18, 4; 4, 38, 1; 4, 44, 1.

<sup>1</sup> Asia here and elsewhere in this piece refers to the Roman province of Asia—western Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Proverbial for cheap trickery. Artemidorus (*Dream-book* 1, 69) says that “if you dream of Pythagoreans, physiognomies, astragalomants, tyromants, gyromants, *coscinomants*, morphoscopes, chiroscopes, lecanomants, or necyomants, you must consider all that they say false and unreliable; for

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another and keeping it astir, they concocted the project of founding a prophetic shrine and oracle, hoping that if they should succeed in it, they would at once be rich and prosperous—which, in fact, befell them in greater measure than they at first expected, and turned out better than they hoped.

Then they began planning, first about the place, and next, what should be the commencement and the character of the venture. Cocconas thought Chalcedon a suitable and convenient place, close to Thrace and Bithynia, and not far, too, from Asia<sup>1</sup> and Galatia and all the peoples of the interior. Alexander, on the other hand, preferred his own home, saying—and it was true—that to commence such a venture they needed “fat-heads” and simpletons to be their victims, and such, he said, were the Paphlagonians who lived up above Abonoteichus, who were for the most part superstitious and rich; whenever a man but turned up with someone at his heels to play the flute or the tambourine or the cymbals, telling fortunes with a sieve, as the phrase goes,<sup>2</sup>

their trades are such. They do not know even a little bit about prophecy, but fleece their patrons by charlatanism and fraud.” Oneiromants may of course be trusted!

The few allusions to *coscinomancy* in the ancients give no clue to the method used. As practised in the sixteenth-seventeenth century, to detect thieves, disclose one's future wife, etc., the sieve was either suspended by a string or more commonly balanced on the top of a pair of tongs set astride the joined middle fingers of the two hands (or of two persons); then, after an incantation, a list of names was repeated, and the one upon which the sieve stirred was the one indicated by fate. Or the sieve, when suspended, might be set spinning; and then the name it stopped on was designated. See, in particular, Johannes Praetorius, *de Coscinomantia, Oder vom Sieb-Lauffe*, etc., Curiae Variscorum, 1677.

κεχρηνότες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων προσβλέποντας.

10 Οὐκ ὀλίγης<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦτο στάσεως αὐτοῖς γενομένης τέλος ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τὴν Χαλκηδόνα—χρήσιμον γάρ τι ὅμως ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ἔδοξε—ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, ὅπερ ἀρχαιοτάτον ἐστὶ τοῖς Χαλκηδονίοις, κατορύττουσι δέλτους χαλκᾶς, λεγούσας ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς σὺν τῷ πατρὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεισιν εἰς τὸν Πόντον καὶ καθέξει τὸ τοῦ Ἀβώνου τεῖχος. αὗται αἱ δέλτοι ἐξεπίτηδες εὗρεθεῖσαι διαφοιτῆσαι ῥαδίως τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν Βιθυνίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐποίησαν, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀβώνου τεῖχος· κἀκεῖνοι γὰρ καὶ νεῶν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐγείραι καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους ἤδη ἔσκαπτον. κἀνταῦθα ὁ μὲν Κοκκωνᾶς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι καταλείπεται, διττούς τινας καὶ ἀμφιβόλους καὶ λοξοὺς χρησμούς συγγράφων, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, ὑπὸ ἐχίδνης, οἶμαι, δηχθεὶς.

11 προεισπέμπεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κομῶν ἤδη καὶ πλοκάμους καθειμένος καὶ μεσόλευκον χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ ἱμάτιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ἀναβεβλημένος, ἄρπην ἔχων κατὰ τὸν Περσέα, ἀφ' οὗ ἑαυτὸν ἐγενεαλόγει μητρόθεν· καὶ οἱ ὄλεθροι ἐκεῖνοι Παφλαγόνες, εἰδότες αὐτοῦ ἄμφω τοὺς γονέας ἀφανεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς, ἐπίστευον τῷ χρησμῷ λέγοντι

Περσείδης γενεὴν Φοίβῳ φίλος οὗτος ὁράται,  
δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, Ποδαλειρίου αἵμα λελογχῶς.

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγης G. Hermann: ὀλίγης MSS.

they were all agog over him on the instant and stared at him as if he were a god from heaven.

There was no slight difference of opinion between them on that score, but in the end Alexander won, and going to Chalcedon, since after all that city seemed to them to have some usefulness, in the temple of Apollo, which is the most ancient in Chalcedon, they buried bronze tablets which said that very soon Asclepius, with his father Apollo, would move to Pontus and take up his residence at Abonoteichus. The opportune discovery of these tablets caused this story to spread quickly to all Bithynia and Pontus, and to Abonoteichus sooner than anywhere else. Indeed, the people of that city immediately voted to build a temple and began at once to dig for the foundations. Then Cocconas was left behind in Chalcedon, composing equivocal, ambiguous, obscure oracles, and died before long, bitten, I think, by a viper. It was Alexander who was sent in first; he now wore his hair long, had falling ringlets, dressed in a parti-coloured tunic of white and purple, with a white cloak over it, and carried a falchion like that of Perseus, from whom he claimed descent on his mother's side. And although those miserable Paphlagonians knew that both his parents were obscure, humble folk, they believed the oracle when it said:

“Here in your sight is a scion of Perseus, dear unto Phoebus;

This is divine Alexander, who shareth the blood of the Healer!”



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οὕτως ἄρα ὁ Ποδαλείριος μάχλος καὶ γυναικομανὴς τὴν φύσιν, ὥς ἀπὸ Τρίκκης μέχρη Παφλαγονίας στίεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα.

Εὖρητο δὲ χρησμὸς ἤδη, ὥς Σιβύλλης προμαντευσαμένης·

Εὐξείνου Πόντοιο παρ' ἧσιν ἄγχι Σινώπης  
ἔσται τις κατὰ Τύρσιν ὑπ' Αὔσουίοισι προφήτης,

ἐκ πρώτης δεικνὺς μονάδος τρισσῶν δεκάδων τε  
πένθ' ἐτέρας μονάδας καὶ εἰκοσάδα τρισάριθμον,  
ἀνδρὸς ἀλεξητήρος ὁμωνυμίην τετρακύκλον.

- 12 Εἰσβαλὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τοιαύτης τραγωδίας διὰ πολλοῦ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα περίβλεπτός τε καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν, μεμνημένοι προσποιούμενος ἐνίοτε καὶ ἀφροῦ ὑποπιμπλάμενος τὸ στόμα· ῥαδίως δὲ τοῦτο ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ, στρουθίου τῆς βαφικῆς βοτάνης τὴν ρίζαν διαμασησαμένῳ· τοῖς δὲ θεῖόν τι καὶ φοβερόν ἐδόκει καὶ ὁ ἀφρός. ἐπεποίητο δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλαι καὶ κατεσκευάστο κεφαλὴ δράκοντος ὀθονίνῃ ἀνθρω-

<sup>1</sup> Podaleirius and his brother Machaon, the Homeric healers (*Iliad* 11, 833), were sons of Asclepius and lived in Tricca (now Trikkala), Thessaly. According to the *Sack of Ilium* (Evelyn-White, *Hesiod*, p. 524) Machaon specialized in surgery, Podaleirius in diagnosis and general practice.

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Podaleirius, the Healer, it would appear, was so passionate and amorous that his ardour carried him all the way from Tricca to Paphlagonia in quest of Alexander's mother!<sup>1</sup>

An oracle by now had turned up which purported to be a prior prediction by the Sibyl:

"On the shores of the Euxine sea, in the neighbourhood of Sinope,  
There shall be born, by a Tower, in the days of the Romans, a prophet;  
After the foremost unit and three times ten, he will shew forth  
Five more units besides, and a score told three times over,  
Matching, with places four, the name of a valiant defender!"<sup>2</sup>

Well, upon invading his native land with all this pomp and circumstance after a long absence, Alexander was a man of mark and note, affecting as he did to have occasional fits of madness and causing his mouth to fill with foam. This he easily managed by chewing the root of soapwort, the plant that dyers use; but to his fellow-countrymen even the foam seemed supernatural and awe-inspiring. Then, too, they had long ago prepared and fitted up a serpent's head of linen, which had something

<sup>2</sup> Since in the Greek notation numbers are designated by letters, this combination (1, 30, 5, 60) is αλεξ (alex). Alexander seems to have been a little afraid that some rival might steal his thunder if he were not more specific: at all events the first two words of the last line give, in the Greek, the entire name (andros-alex).

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πόμορφόν τι ἐπιφαίνουσα, κατάγραφος, πάνυ εἰκασμένη, ὑπὸ θριξίν ἰππέαις ἀνοίγουσά τε καὶ αὖθις ἐπικλείουσα τὸ στόμα, καὶ γλῶττα οἷα δράκοντος διττὴ μέλαινα προέκυπτεν, ὑπὸ τριχῶν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐλκομένη. καὶ ὁ Πελλαῖος δὲ δράκων προὔπῃρχεν καὶ οἴκοι ἐτρέφετο, κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπιφανησόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ συντραγωδῆσων, μᾶλλον δὲ πρωταγωνιστῆς ἐσόμενος.

13 Ἦδη δὲ ἄρχεσθαι δέον, μηχανᾶται τοιόνδε τι· νύκτωρ γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ νεῶ τοὺς ἄρτι ὀρυττομένους—συνειστήκει δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕδωρ ἢ αὐτόθεν ποθὲν συλλειβόμενον ἢ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσόν—ἐνταῦθα κατατίθεται χήνειον ὥν προκεκενωμένον, ἔνδον φυλάττον ἐρπετόν τι ἄρτιγέννητον, καὶ βυθίσας τοῦτο ἐν μυχῶ τοῦ πηλοῦ ὀπίσῳ αὖθις ἀπηλλάττετο. ἔωθεν δὲ γυμνὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν προπηδήσας, διάζωμα περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἔχων, κατάχρυσον καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ τὴν ἄρπην ἐκείνην φέρων, σείων ἅμα τὴν κόμην ἄνετον ὥσπερ οἱ τῇ μητρὶ ἀγείροντές τε καὶ ἐνθεαζόμενοι, ἐδημηγόρει ἐπὶ βωμόν τινα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμακάριζεν αὐτίκα μάλα δεξομένην ἐναργῇ τὸν θεόν. οἱ παρόντες δέ—συνδεδραμήκει γὰρ σχεδὸν ἅπανα ἢ πόλις ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ γέρουσι καὶ παιδίοις—ἐτεθήπεσαν καὶ εὐχοντο καὶ προσεκύνουν. ὁ δὲ φωνάς τινας ἀσήμους φθεγγόμενος, οἶαι γένοιντο ἂν Ἑβραίων ἢ Φοινίκων, ἐξέπληττε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ εἰδότας ὅ τι καὶ λέγοι, πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι πᾶσιν

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of a human look, was all painted up, and appeared very lifelike. It would open and close its mouth by means of horsehairs, and a forked black tongue like a snake's, also controlled by horsehairs, would dart out. Besides, the serpent from Pella was ready in advance and was being cared for at home, destined in due time to manifest himself to them and to take a part in their show—in fact, to be cast for the leading rôle.

When at length it was time to begin, he contrived an ingenious ruse. Going at night to the foundations of the temple which were just being excavated, where a pool of water had gathered which either issued from springs somewhere in the foundations themselves or had fallen from the sky, he secreted there a goose-egg, previously blown, which contained a snake just born; and after burying it deep in the mud, he went back again. In the morning he ran out into the market-place naked, wearing a loin-cloth (this too was gilded),<sup>1</sup> carrying his falchion, and tossing his unconfined mane like a devotee of the Great Mother in the frenzy. Addressing the people from a high altar upon which he had climbed, he congratulated the city because it was at once to receive the god in visible presence. The assembly—for almost the whole city, including women, old men, and boys, had come running—marvelled, prayed and made obeisance. Uttering a few meaningless words like Hebrew or Phoenician, he dazed the creatures, who did not know what he

<sup>1</sup> Why "this too"? The hilt of the falchion may have been gilt, but Lucian has not said so. Perhaps Lucian is thinking of Alexander's golden thigh (c. 40), and forgets that he has not yet told us of it.

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ἐγκατεμίγνυ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν.  
 14 εἴτ' ἔθει δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσόμενον νεών· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ὄρυγμα ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν προφκοδομημένην<sup>1</sup> τοῦ  
 χρηστηρίου πηγὴν, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ὕμνους τε  
 ᾗδεν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος μεγάλη τῇ  
 φωνῇ καὶ ἐκάλει τὸν θεὸν ἦκειν τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν. εἴτα φιάλην αἰτήσας, ἀναδόντος  
 τινός, ῥαδίως ὑποβαλὼν ἀνιμάται μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος  
 καὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ τὸ ὦν ἐκείνο ἐν ᾧ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ  
 κατεκέκλειστο, κηρῷ λευκῷ καὶ ψιμυθίῳ τὴν  
 ἀρμογὴν τοῦ πώματος συγκεκολλημένον· καὶ  
 λαβὼν αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν ἔφασκεν ἤδη  
 τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν. οἱ δὲ ἀτενὲς ἀπέβλεπον ὅ τι  
 καὶ γίγνοιτο, πολὺ πρότερον θαυμάσαντες τὸ ὦν  
 ἐν τῷ ὕδατι εὐρημένον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰξας  
 αὐτὸ εἰς κοίλην τὴν χεῖρα ὑπεδέξατο τὸ τοῦ  
 ἔρπετοῦ ἐκείνου ἔμβρυον καὶ οἱ παρόντες εἶδον  
 κινούμενον καὶ περὶ τοῖς δακτύλοις εἰλούμενον,  
 ἀνέκραγον εὐθὺς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐμακάριζον καὶ χανδὸν ἕκαστος ἐνε-  
 πίμπλατο τῶν εὐχῶν, θησαυροὺς καὶ πλούτους  
 καὶ ὑγείας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ αἰτῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ.  
 ὁ δὲ δρομαῖος αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἵετο φέρων  
 ἅμα καὶ τὸν ἀρτιγέννητον Ἀσκληπιόν, "δὶς  
 τεχθέντα, ὅτε ἄλλοι ἅπαξ τίκοντ' ἄνθρωποι,"  
 οὐκ ἐκ Κορωνίδος μὰ Δί' οὐδέ γε κορώνης, ἀλλ'  
 ἐκ χηνὸς γεγεννημένον. ὁ δὲ λεὼς ἅπας ἠκολούθει,  
 πάντες ἔνθεοι καὶ μεμνηνότες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων.

<sup>1</sup> προφκοδομημένην β edd. But this is inconsistent with the previous description. The pool is merely casual water; after it has served its turn as the *prima fons et origo mali*, we hear nothing more of it.

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was saying save only that he everywhere brought in Apollo and Asclepius. Then he ran at full speed to the future temple, went to the excavation and the previously improvised fountain-head of the oracle, entered the water, sang hymns in honour of Asclepius and Apollo at the top of his voice, and besought the god, under the blessing of Heaven, to come to the city. Then he asked for a libation-saucer, and when somebody handed him one, deftly slipped it underneath and brought up, along with water and mud, that egg in which he had immured the god; the joint about the plug had been closed with wax and white lead. Taking it in his hands, he asserted that at that moment he held Asclepius! They gazed unwaveringly to see what in the world was going to happen; indeed, they had already marvelled at the discovery of the egg in the water. But when he broke it and received the tiny snake into his hollowed hand, and the crowd saw it moving and twisting about his fingers, they at once raised a shout, welcomed the god, congratulated their city, and began each of them to sate himself greedily with prayers, craving treasures, riches, health, and every other blessing from him. But Alexander went home again at full speed, taking with him the new-born Asclepius, "born twice, when other men are born but once,"<sup>1</sup> whose mother was not Coronis,<sup>2</sup> by Zeus, nor yet a crow, but a goose! And the whole population followed, all full of religious fervour and crazed with expectations.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Odyssey*, 12, 22: "Men of two deaths, when other men die but once."

<sup>2</sup> "Some say that the mother of Asclepius was not Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, but Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas" (Apollodorus, 3, 10, 3).

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- 15 Ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν τινὰς<sup>1</sup> οἴκοι ἔμεινεν ἐλπίζων ὅπερ ἦν, ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης αὐτίκα μάλα παμπόλλους τῶν Παφλαγόνων συνδραμεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερεπέπληστο ἀνθρώπων ἡ πόλις, ἀπάντων τοὺς ἐγκεφάλους καὶ τὰς καρδίας προεξηρημένων οὐδὲν εἰκότων σιτοφάγοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ τῇ μορφῇ μὴ οὐχὶ πρόβατα εἶναι διαφερόντων, ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τινὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης καθεζόμενος μάλα θεοπρεπῶς ἐσταλμένος ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Πελλαῖον ἐκείνου Ἀσκληπιόν, μέγιστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον, ὡς ἔφην, ὄντα, καὶ ὅλον τῷ αὐτοῦ τραχήλῳ περιειλήσας καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν ἔξω ἀφείς—πολὺς δὲ ἦν—ἐν τῷ προκολπίῳ προκεχύσθαι αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> καὶ χαμαὶ τὸ μέρος ἐπισύρεσθαι, μόνῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχων καὶ ἀποκρύπτων, ἀνεχομένου πάντα ἐκείνου, προὔφαινε τὴν ὀθονίνην κεφαλὴν κατὰ θάτερον τοῦ πώγωνος, ὡς δῆθεν ἐκείνου τοῦ φαινομένου πάντως οὔσαν.
- 16 Εἰτά μοι ἐπινόησον οἰκίσκον οὐ πάνυ φαιδρὸν οὐδὲ εἰς κόρον τοῦ φωτὸς δεχόμενον καὶ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων συγκλύδων, τεταραγμένων καὶ προεκπεπληγμένων καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαιωρουμένων, οἷς εἰσελθοῦσι τεράστιον ὡς εἰκὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφαίνετο, ἐκ τοῦ τέως μικροῦ ἐρπετοῦ ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τοσοῦτον δράκοντα πεφηνέναι, ἀνθρωπόμορφον καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τιθασόν. ἡπεύγοντο δὲ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, καὶ πρὶν ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν, ἐξηλαύνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν αἰὲ ἐπεισιόντων· ἐτετρύπητο

<sup>1</sup> τινὰς Fritzschē : not in MSS. Cf. ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων 16.

<sup>2</sup> πολὺς δὲ ἦν ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῦ προκολπίου αὐτοῦ κεχύσθαι β.

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For some days he remained at home, expecting what actually happened—that as the news spread, crowds of Paphlagonians would come running in. When the city had become over-full of people, all of them already bereft of their brains and sense, and not in the least like bread-eating humans, but different from beasts of the field only in their looks, he seated himself on a couch in a certain chamber, clothed in apparel well suited to a god, and took into his bosom his Asclepius from Pella, who, as I have said, was of uncommon size and beauty.<sup>1</sup> Coiling him about his neck, and letting the tail, which was long, stream over his lap and drag part of its length on the floor, he concealed only the head by holding it under his arm—the creature would submit to anything—and showed the linen head at one side of his own beard, as if it certainly belonged to the creature that was in view.

Now then, please imagine a little room, not very bright and not admitting any too much daylight; also, a crowd of heterogeneous humanity, excited, wonder-struck in advance, agog with hopes. When they went in, the thing, of course, seemed to them a miracle, that the formerly tiny snake within a few days had turned into so great a serpent, with a human face, moreover, and tame! They were immediately crowded towards the exit, and before they could look closely were forced out by those who kept coming in, for another door

<sup>1</sup> There was special significance in this performance. "Anyhow, 'God in the bosom' is a countersign of the mysteries of Sabazius to the adepts. This is a snake, passed through the bosom of the initiates" Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept*, 1, 2, 16).

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δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀντίθυρον ἄλλη ἐξοδος. οἷόν τι καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιῆσαι ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νοσοῦντι λόγος, ὅτε ὁ μὲν ἤδη πονήρως εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ περιστάντες τὰ βασίλεια ἐπόθουν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ προσειπεῖν τὸ ὕστατον. τὴν δὲ ἐπιδείξιν ταύτην οὐχ ἅπαξ ὁ μισαρός, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ποιῆσαι λέγεται, καὶ μάλιστα εἴ τινας τῶν πλουσίων ἀφίκοντο νεαλέστεροι.

17 Ἐνταῦθα, ὦ φίλε Κέλσε, εἰ δεῖ τάληθῇ λέγειν, συγγνώμην χρὴ ἀπονέμειν τοῖς Παφλαγόσι καὶ Ποντικοῖς ἐκείνοις, παχέσι καὶ ἀπαιδεύτοις ἀνθρώποις, εἰ ἐξηπατήθησαν ἀπτόμενοι τοῦ δράκοντος—καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο παρῆχεν τοῖς βουλομένοις ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος—ὀρώντες τε<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἀμυδρῷ τῷ φωτὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνοίγουσαν τε καὶ συγκλείουσαν τὸ στόμα, ὥστε πάνυ τὸ μηχανήμα ἐδεῖτο Δημοκρίτου τινὸς ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐπικούρου ἢ Μητροδώρου ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀδαμαντίνην πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντος, ὥς ἀπιστῆσαι καὶ ὅπερ ἦν εἰκάσαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ εὐρεῖν τὸν τρόπον ἐδύνατο, ἐκείνο γοῦν προπεπεισμένου, ὅτι λέληθεν αὐτὸν ὁ τρόπος τῆς μαγγανείας, τὸ δ' οὖν πᾶν ψεῦδός ἐστι καὶ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον.

18 Κατ' ὀλίγον οὖν καὶ ἡ Βιθυνία καὶ ἡ Γαλατία καὶ ἡ Θράκη συνέρρει, ἐκάστου τῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων κατὰ τὸ εἶκος λέγοντος ὥς καὶ γεννώμενον ἴδοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕστερον ἄψαιτο μετ' ὀλίγον παμμεγέθους αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκότος. γραφαί τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ εἰκόνες καὶ ξόανα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ χαλκοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀργύρου εἰκασμένα, καὶ ὄνομά γε τῷ θεῷ ἐπιτεθέν·

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had been opened on the opposite side as an exit. That was the way the Macedonians did, they say, in Babylon during Alexander's illness, when he was in a bad way and they surrounded the palace, craving to see him and say good-bye. This exhibition the scoundrel gave not merely once, they say, but again and again, above all if any rich men were newly arrived.

In that matter, dear Celsus, to tell the truth, we must excuse those men of Paphlagonia and Pontus, thick-witted, uneducated fellows that they were, for being deluded when they touched the serpent—Alexander let anyone do so who wished—and besides saw in a dim light what purported to be its head opening and shutting its mouth. Really the trick stood in need of a Democritus, or even Epicurus himself or Metrodorus, or someone else with a mind as firm as adamant toward such matters, so as to disbelieve and guess the truth—one who, if he could not discover how it went, would at all events be convinced beforehand that though the method of the fraud escaped him, it was nevertheless all sham and could not possibly happen.

Little by little, Bithynia, Galatia, and Thrace came pouring in, for everyone who carried the news very likely said that he not only had seen the god born but had subsequently touched him, after he had grown very great in a short time and had a face that looked like a man's. Next came paintings and statues and cult-images, some made of bronze, some of silver, and naturally a name was bestowed

<sup>1</sup> τε A.M.H. : γὰρ γ, not in β.

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Γλύκων γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο ἔκ τινος ἐμμέτρου καὶ  
θείου προστάγματος. ἀνεφώνησε γὰρ ὁ  
Ἀλέξανδρος

Εἰμὶ Γλύκων, τρίτον αἶμα Διός, φάος ἀνθρώ-  
ποισιν.

- 19 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, οὐπὲρ ἔνεκα τὰ πάντα  
ἐμεμηχάνητο, καὶ χρᾶν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ  
θεσπίζειν, παρ' Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τὸ  
ἐνδόσιμον λαβὼν—καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ  
πατρὸς τελευτὴν τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω καὶ τὸν ἐν  
Θήβαις ἀφανισμόν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεσὼν τῆς οἰκίας<sup>1</sup> εἰς  
τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀφικόμενος, οὐ πονήρως ἀπήλλαξεν,  
προθεσπίζων καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς Κίλιξι τὰ μέλλοντα  
καὶ δὴ ὀβολοὺς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ χρησμῷ λαμβάνων—  
ἐκεῖθεν οὖν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον λαβὼν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος  
προλέγει πᾶσι τοῖς ἀφικομένοις ὡς μαντεύσεται  
ὁ θεός, ῥητὴν τινα ἡμέραν προειπὼν. ἐκέλευσεν  
δὲ ἕκαστον, οὐ δέοιτο ἂν καὶ ὁ μάλιστα μαθεῖν  
ἐθέλοι, εἰς βιβλίον ἐγγράψαντα καταρράψαι τε  
καὶ κατασημήνασθαι κηρῷ ἢ πηλῷ ἢ ἄλλῳ  
τοιούτῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τὰ βιβλία καὶ εἰς τὸ  
ἄδυτον κατελθὼν—ἥδη γὰρ ὁ νεὸς ἐγγήγερτο καὶ  
ἡ σκηνὴ παρεσκευάστο—καλέσειν ἔμελλε κατὰ  
τάξιν τοὺς δεδωκότας ὑπὸ κήρυκι καὶ θεολόγῳ,  
καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούων ἕκαστα τὸ μὲν βιβλίον  
ἀποδώσειν σεσημασμένον ὡς εἶχε, τὴν δὲ πρὸς  
αὐτὸ ἀπόκρισιν ὑπογεγραμμένην, πρὸς ἕπος  
ἀμβρομένου τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ οὗτου τις ἔροιτο.

<sup>1</sup> οἰκίας Fritzsche : οἰκίας MSS.

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upon the god. He was called Glycon in consequence of a divine behest in metre; for Alexander proclaimed:

"Glycon am I, the grandson of Zeus, bright beacon to mortals!"

When it was time to carry out the purpose for which the whole scheme had been concocted—that is to say, to make predictions and give oracles to those who sought them—taking his cue from Amphilochus in Cilicia, who, as you know, after the death and disappearance of his father Amphiaraus at Thebes,<sup>1</sup> was exiled from his own country, went to Cilicia, and got on very well by foretelling the future, like his father, for the Cilicians and getting two obols for each prediction—taking, as I say, his cue from him, Alexander announced to all comers that the god would make prophecies, and named a date for it in advance. He directed everyone to write down in a scroll whatever he wanted and what he especially wished to learn, to tie it up, and to seal it with wax or clay or something else of that sort. Then he himself, after taking the scrolls and entering the inner sanctuary—for by that time the temple had been erected and the stage set—proposed to summon in order, with herald and priest, those who had submitted them, and after the god told him about each case, to give back the scroll with the seal upon it, just as it was, and the reply to it endorsed upon it; for the god would reply explicitly to any question that anyone should put.

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of the "death and disappearance" of Amphiaraus, Lucian is rationalizing the myth, according to which Zeus clove the earth with a thunderbolt and it swallowed him up alive (Pindar, *Nem.* 9, 57).

20 Ἦν δὲ τὸ μηχανήμα τοῦτο ἀνδρὶ μὲν οἷω σοί, εἰ δὲ μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, καὶ οἷω ἐμοί, πρόδηλον καὶ γινῶναι ῥάδιον, τοῖς δὲ ἰδιώταις καὶ κορύζης μεστοῖς τὴν ῥίνα τεράστιον καὶ πάνυ ἀπίστῳ ὅμοιον. ἐπινοήσας γὰρ ποικίλας τῶν σφραγίδων τὰς λύσεις ἀνεγίγνωσκέν τε τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἐκάστας καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀπεκρίνετο, εἶτα κατειλήσας αὐθις καὶ σημηνάμενος ἀπεδίδου μετὰ πολλοῦ θαύματος τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν. καὶ πολὺ ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ "πόθεν γὰρ οὗτος ἠπίστατο ἂν ἐγὼ πάνυ ἀσφαλῶς σημηνάμενος αὐτῷ ἔδωκα ὑπὸ σφραγίσιν δυσμιμήτοις, εἰ μὴ θεός τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ πάντα γινώσκων ἦν";

21 Τίνες οὖν αἱ ἐπίνοιαί, ἴσως γὰρ ἐρήση με. ἄκουε τοίνυν, ὡς ἔχοις ἐλέγχειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἡ πρώτη μὲν ἐκείνη, ᾧ φίλτατε Κέλσε· βελόνην πυρώσας τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν σφραγίδα μέρος τοῦ κηροῦ διατήκων ἐξήρει καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῇ βελόνῃ αὐθις ἐπιχλιάνας τὸν κηρόν, τὸν τε κάτω ὑπὸ τῷ λίνῳ καὶ τὸν αὐτὴν τὴν σφραγίδα ἔχοντα, ῥαδίως συνεκόλλα. ἕτερος δὲ τρόπος ὁ διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου κολλυρίου· σκευαστὸν δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐκ πίττης Βρεττίας καὶ ἀσφάλτου καὶ λίθου τοῦ διαφανοῦς τετριμμένου καὶ κηροῦ καὶ μαστίχης. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων ἀναπλάσας τὸ κολλύριον καὶ θερμήνας πυρί, σιάλῳ τὴν σφραγίδα προχρίσας ἐπετίθει καὶ ἀπέματτε τὸν τύπον. εἶτα αὐτίκα ξηροῦ ἐκείνου γενομένου, λύσας ῥαδίως καὶ ἀναγνοῦς, ἐπιθεὶς τὸν κηρὸν ἀπετύπου ὥσπερ ἐκ λίθου τὴν σφραγίδα εὖ μάλα τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ εἰκυῖαν. τρίτον ἄλλο πρὸς τούτοις ἄκουσον·

As a matter of fact, this trick, to a man like you, and if it is not out of place to say so, like myself also, was obvious and easy to see through, but to those drivelling idiots it was miraculous and almost as good as incredible. Having discovered various ways of undoing the seals, he would read all the questions and answer them as he thought best. Then he would roll up the scrolls again, seal them, and give them back, to the great astonishment of the recipients, among whom the comment was frequent: "Why, how did he learn the questions which I gave him very securely sealed with impressions hard to counterfeit, unless there was really some god that knew everything?"

"What were his discoveries, then?" perhaps you will ask. Listen, therefore, in order to be able to show up such impostors. The first, my dear Celsus, was a well-known method; heating a needle, he removed the seal by melting through the wax underneath it, and after reading the contents he warmed the wax once more with the needle, both that which was under the thread and that which contained the seal, and so stuck it together without difficulty. Another method was by using what they call plaster; this is a compound of Bruttian pitch, asphalt, pulverized gypsum, wax, and gum Arabic. Making his plaster out of all these materials and warming it over the fire, he applied it to the seal, which he had previously wetted with saliva, and took a mould of the impression. Then, since the plaster hardened at once, after easily opening and reading the scrolls, he applied the wax and made an impression upon it precisely like the original, just as one would with a gem. Let me tell you a third

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τιτάνου γὰρ εἰς κόλλαν ἐμβαλὼν ἢ κολλῶσι τὰ βιβλία, καὶ κηρὸν ἐκ τούτου ποιήσας, ἔτι ὑγρὸν ὄντα ἐπετίθει τῇ σφραγίδι καὶ ἀφελών—αὐτίκα δὲ ξηρὸν γίγνεται καὶ κέρατος, μᾶλλον δὲ σιδήρου παγιώτερον—τούτῳ ἐχρήτο πρὸς τὸν τύπον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπινοημένα, ὧν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μεμνήσθαι ἀπάντων, ὡς μὴ ἀπειρόκαλοι εἶναι δοκοίημεν, καὶ μάλιστα σοῦ ἐν οἷς κατὰ μάγων συνέγραψας, καλλίστοις τε ἅμα καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτοις συγγράμμασιν καὶ δυναμένοις σωφρονίζειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἱκανὰ παραθεμένου καὶ πολλῶ τούτων πλείονα.

22 Ἐχρη οὖν καὶ ἐθέσπιζε, πολλῇ τῇ συνέσει ἐνταῦθα χρώμενος καὶ τὸ εἰκαστικὸν τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ προσάπτων, τοῖς μὲν λοξὰ καὶ ἀμφίβοла πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἀποκρινόμενος, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἀσαφῇ χρησμοδικὸν γὰρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ τοῦτο. τοὺς δὲ ἀπέτρεπεν ἢ προὔτρεπεν, ὡς ἄμεινον ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ εἰκάζοντι τοῖς δὲ θεραπείας προὔλεγεν καὶ διαίτας, εἰδώς, ὅπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔφην, πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα φάρμακα. μάλιστα δὲ εὐδοκίμουν παρ' αὐτῷ αἱ κυτμίδες, ἀκόπου τι ὄνομα πεπλασμένον, ἐκ λίπους ἀρκείου<sup>1</sup> συντεθειμένου.<sup>2</sup> τὰς μέντοι ἐλπίδας καὶ προκοπὰς

<sup>1</sup> αἰγείου β.

<sup>2</sup> συντεθειμένου Bekker: συντεθειμένου MSS.

<sup>1</sup> S. Hippolytus (*Refut. omn. Hæres.* IV. 28-42) contains a highly interesting section "against sorcerers," including (34) a treatment of this subject. It is very evidently not his own work; and K. F. Hermann thought it derived from the treatise by Celsus. Ganschmietz, in Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* 39, 2, has disputed this, but upon grounds

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method, in addition to these. Putting marble-dust into the glue with which they glue books and making a paste of it, he applied that to the seal while it was still soft, and then, as it grows hard at once, more solid than horn or even iron, he removed it and used it for the impression. There are many other devices to this end, but they need not all be mentioned, for fear that we might seem to be wanting in taste, especially in view of the fact that in the book which you wrote against the sorcerers, a very good and useful treatise, capable of preserving common-sense in its readers, you cited instances enough, and indeed a great many more than I have.<sup>1</sup>

Well, as I say, Alexander made predictions and gave oracles, employing great shrewdness in it and combining guesswork with his trickery. He gave responses that were sometimes obscure and ambiguous, sometimes downright unintelligible, for this seemed to him in the oracular manner. Some people he dissuaded or encouraged as seemed best to him at a guess. To others he prescribed medical treatments and diets, knowing, as I said in the beginning, many useful remedies. His "cytmides" were in highest favour with him—a name which he had coined for a restorative ointment compounded of bear's grease.<sup>2</sup> Expectations, however, and

that are not convincing. His commentary, however, is valuable.

<sup>2</sup> It is a nice question whether this reading or that of the other group of MSS., "goat's grease," is to be preferred. Galen in his treatment of these ointments (*Kuhn* xiii, p. 1008) does not mention bear's grease. But he considers goat's grease only moderately good; and every Yankee knows that in America bear's grease only gave place to goose grease (also mentioned by Galen) when bears became scarce.



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καὶ κλήρων διαδοχὰς εἰσαὐθις αἰεὶ ἀνεβάλλετο, προστιθεὶς ὅτι “ἔσται πάντα ὅποταν ἐθελήσω ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ προφήτης μου δεηθῇ καὶ εὖξηται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.”

23 Ἐτέτακτο δὲ ὁ μισθὸς ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ χρησμῷ δραχμὴ καὶ δύο ὀβολῶ. μὴ μικρὸν οἰηθῆς, ὦ ἐταῖρε, μηδ’ ὀλίγον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πόρον τοῦτον, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας ἐκάστου ἔτους ἡθροίζεν, ἀνὰ δέκα καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα χρησμούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ἀπληστίας ἀναδιδόντων. λαμβάνων δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐχρήτο μόνος οὐδ’ εἰς πλοῦτον ἀπεθησαύριζεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἤδη περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων συνεργοὺς καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ πευθῆνας καὶ χρησιμοποιοὺς καὶ χρησιμοφύλακας καὶ ὑπογραφέας καὶ ἐπισφραγιστὰς καὶ ἐξηγητάς, ἅπασιν ἐνεμεν ἐκάστῳ τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν.

24 Ἦδη δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν ἐξέπεμπεν, φήμας ἐμποιήσοντας τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαντείου καὶ διηγησομένους ὡς προείποι καὶ ἀνέυροι δραπέτας καὶ κλέπτας καὶ ληστὰς ἐξελέγξειε καὶ θησαυροὺς ἀνορύξαι παράσχοι καὶ νοσοῦντας ἰάσαιτο, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ἤδη ἀποθανόντας ἀναστήσειεν. δρόμος οὖν καὶ ὠθισμὸς ἀπανταχόθεν ἐγίγνετο καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἀναθήματα, καὶ διπλάσια τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ μαθητῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ αὐ καὶ οὗτος ἐξέπεσεν ὁ χρησμός.

Τιέμεναι κέλομαι τὸν ἐμὸν θεράπονθ’ ὑποφήτην· οὐ γάρ μοι κτεάνων μέλεται ἄγαν, ἀλλ’ ὑποφήτου.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander's price was high. Amphilochus got but two obols (one-fourth as much) at Mallus. According to Lucian 206

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advancements and successions to estates he always put off to another day, adding: “It shall all come about when I will, and when Alexander, my prophet, asks it of me and prays for you.”

A price had been fixed for each oracle, a drachma and two obols.<sup>1</sup> Do not think that it was low, my friend, or that the revenue from this source was scanty! He gleaned as much as seventy or eighty thousand<sup>2</sup> a year, since men were so greedy as to send in ten and fifteen questions each. What he received he did not use for himself alone nor treasure up to make himself rich, but since he had many men about him by this time as assistants, servants, collectors of information, writers of oracles, custodians of oracles, clerks, sealers, and expounders, he divided with all, giving each one what was proportionate to his worth.

By now he was even sending men abroad to create rumours in the different nations in regard to the oracle and to say that he made predictions, discovered fugitive slaves, detected thieves and robbers, caused treasures to be dug up, healed the sick, and in some cases had actually raised the dead. So there was a hustling and a bustling from every side, with sacrifices and votive offerings—and twice as much for the prophet and disciple of the god. For this oracle also had come out:

“Honour I bid you to give my faithful servant, the prophet;

No great store do I set upon riches, but much on the prophet.”

(*Timon* 6; 12; *Epist. Saturn.* 21) the wage of a day-labourer at this time was but four obols. <sup>2</sup> Drachmas.

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25 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη πολλοὶ τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης βαθείας ἀναφέροντες συνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι Ἐπικούρου ἐταῖροι ἦσαν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπεφώρατο ἡρέμα ἢ πᾶσα μαγγανεία καὶ συσκευὴ τοῦ δράματος, ἐκφέρει φόβητρόν τι ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγων ἀθέων ἐμπεπλησθαι καὶ Χριστιανῶν τὸν Πόντον, οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ τολμῶσι τὰ κάκιστα βλασφημεῖν· οὗς ἐκέλευε λίθοις ἐλαύνειν, εἴ γε θέλουσιν ἵλεω ἔχειν τὸν θεόν. περὶ δὲ Ἐπικούρου καὶ τοιοῦτόν τινα χρησμὸν ἀπεφθέγγετο· ἐρομένου γάρ τινος τί πράττει ἐν Ἄιδου ὁ Ἐπίκουρος;

“Μολυβδίνας ἔχων,” ἔφη, “πέδας ἐν βορβόρῳ κάθεται.”

εἶτα θαυμάζεις εἰ ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρθη τὸ χρηστήριον, ὁρῶν τὰς ἐρωτήσεις τῶν προσιόντων συνετὰς καὶ πεπαιδευμένας;

“Ὅλως δὲ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος αὐτῷ ὁ πόλεμος πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον ἦν· μάλα εἰκότως. τίτι γὰρ ἂν ἄλλῳ δικαιοτέρον προσεπολέμει γόης ἄνθρωπος καὶ τερατεία φίλος, ἀληθεία δὲ ἔχθιστος, ἢ Ἐπικούρῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν φύσιν τῶν πραγμάτων καθεωρακότι καὶ μόνῳ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθειαν εἰδότι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ Χρυσίππου καὶ Πυθαγόραν φίλοι, καὶ εἰρήνη βαθεῖα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἦν· ὁ δὲ ἄτεγκτος Ἐπίκουρος—οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸν ὠνόμαζεν—ἔχθιστος δικαίως, πάντα ταῦτα ἐν γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾷ τιθέμενος. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἀμαστριν ἐμίσει μάλιστα τῶν Ποιτικῶν πόλεων, ὅτι ἠπίστατο τοὺς περὶ

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When at last many sensible men, recovering, as it were, from profound intoxication, combined against him, especially all the followers of Epicurus, and when in the cities they began gradually to detect all the trickery and buncombe of the show, he issued a promulgation designed to scare them, saying that Pontus was full of atheists and Christians who had the hardihood to utter the vilest abuse of him; these he bade them drive away with stones if they wanted to have the god gracious. About Epicurus, moreover, he delivered himself of an oracle after this sort; when someone asked him how Epicurus was doing in Hades, he replied:

“With leaden fetters on his feet in filthy mire he sitteth.”

Do you wonder, then, that the shrine waxed great, now that you see that the questions of its visitors were intelligent and refined?

In general, the war that he waged upon Epicurus was without truce or parley, naturally enough. Upon whom else would a quack who loved humbug and bitterly hated truth more fittingly make war than upon Epicurus, who discerned the nature of things and alone knew the truth in them? The followers of Plato and Chrysippus and Pythagoras were his friends, and there was profound peace with them; but “the impervious Epicurus”—for that is what he called him—was rightly his bitter enemy, since he considered all that sort of thing a laughing-matter and a joke. So Alexander hated Amastris most of all the cities in Pontus because he knew that

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Ἐπικούρου ἐταῖροι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν β.

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Λέπιδον καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἐνόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει· οὐδὲ ἐχρησμάδῃσε πώποτε Ἀμαστριανῶ ἀνδρί. ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἐτόλμησεν ἀδελφῶ συγκλητικοῦ χρησμάδῃσαι, καταγελάστως ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐχ εὐρῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς πλάσασθαι χρησμὸν δεξιὸν οὔτε τὸν ποιῆσαι πρὸς καιρὸν αὐτῷ δυνησόμενον. μεμφομένῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ στομάχου ὀδύνην προστάξαι βουλόμενος ὕειον πόδα μετὰ μαλάχης ἐσκευασμένον ἐσθίειν οὕτως ἔφη·

Μάλβακα χοιράων ἱερῇ κυμίνευσσι πιπύδνῳ.

- 26 Πολλάκις μὲν οὖν, ὡς προεῖπον, ἔδειξε τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς δεομένοις, οὐχ ὅλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν οὐρὰν μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα προβεβληκώς, τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπου ἀθέατον φυλάττων. ἐθελήσας δὲ καὶ μειζόνως ἐκπληῆξαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπέσχετο καὶ λαλοῦντα παρέξειν τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸν ἄνευ ὑποφήτου χρησμάδουντα. εἶτα οὐ χαλεπῶς γεράνων ἀρτηρίας συνάψας καὶ διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνης τῆς μεμηχανημένης πρὸς ὁμοιότητα διείρας, ἄλλου τινὸς ἔξωθεν ἐμβοῶντος, ἀπεκρίνετο πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις, τῆς φωνῆς διὰ τοῦ ὀθονίου ἐκείνου Ἀσκληπιοῦ προπιπτούσης.

Ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ οἱ χρησμοὶ οὗτοι αὐτόφωνοι, καὶ οὐ πᾶσιν ἐδίδοντο οὐδὲ ἀνέδην, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐ-

<sup>1</sup> An inscription from Amastris (C.I.G. 4149) honours "Tiberius Claudius Lepidus, Chief Priest of Pontus and President of the Metropolis of Pontus" (i.e. Amastris). This can be no other than the Lepidus of Lucian. The priesthood was that of Augustus. Amastris is almost due N. of Angora, on the Black Sea, W. of Abonoteichus.

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the followers of Lepidus<sup>1</sup> and others like them were numerous in the city; and he would never deliver an oracle to an Amastrian. Once when he did venture to make a prediction for a senator's brother, he acquitted himself ridiculously, since he could neither compose a clever response himself nor find anyone else who could do it in time. The man complained of colic, and Alexander, wishing to direct him to eat a pig's foot cooked with mallow, said:

"Mallow with cummin digest in a sacred pipkin of piglets."

Again and again, as I said before, he exhibited the serpent to all who requested it, not in its entirety, but exposing chiefly the tail and the rest of the body and keeping the head out of sight under his arm. But as he wished to astonish the crowd still more, he promised to produce the god talking—delivering oracles in person without a prophet. It was no difficult matter for him to fasten cranes' windpipes together and pass them through the head, which he had so fashioned as to be lifelike. Then he answered the questions through someone else, who spoke into the tube from the outside, so that the voice issued from his canvas Asclepius.<sup>2</sup>

These oracles were called autophones, and were not given to everybody promiscuously, but only to

<sup>2</sup> S. Hippolytus (l.c., 28) mentions a tube made of windpipes of cranes, storks, or swans, and used in a similar way. Du Soul has a note in the Hemsterhuys-Reitz Lucian (ii, p. 234), telling of a wooden head constructed by Thomas Irson and exhibited to Charles II, which answered questions in any language and produced a great effect until a confederate was detected using a speaking-tube in the next room. Du Soul had the story from Irson himself.

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27 παρύφοις καὶ πλουσίοις καὶ μεγαλοδώροις. ὁ γοῦν Σευηριανῷ δοθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν εἰσόδου τῶν αὐτοφώνων καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν. προτρέπων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν οὕτως ἔφη·

Πάρθους Ἀρμενίους τε θοῶ ὑπὸ δουρὶ  
δαμάσας  
νοστήσεις Ῥώμην καὶ Θύβριδος ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ  
στέμμα φέρων κροτάφοισι μεμιγμένον ἀκτί-  
νεσσιν.

εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ πεισθεὶς ὁ ἡλίθιος ἐκείνος Κελτὸς  
εἰσέβαλε καὶ ἀπήλλαξεν αὐτῇ στρατιᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Ὁσρόου<sup>1</sup> κατακοπεῖς, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν χρησμὸν  
ἐξαιρεῖ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἐντίθησιν δ' ἄλλον  
αὐτοῦ.

Μὴ σύ γ' ἐπ' Ἀρμενίους ἐλάαν στρατόν, οὐ  
γὰρ ἄμεινον,  
μή σοι θηλυχίτων τις ἀνὴρ τόξου ἄπο λυγρὸν  
πότμον ἐπιπροῖεις παύσῃ βιότοιο φάους τε.

28 Καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τοῦτο σοφώτατον ἐπενόησε,  
τοὺς μεταχρονίους χρησμοὺς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῶν  
κακῶς προτέθεσπισμένων καὶ ἀποτετευγμένων.  
πολλάκις γὰρ πρὸ μὲν τῆς τελευτῆς τοῖς νοσοῦσιν

<sup>1</sup> Ὁσρόου Kuhn : Ὁθρύου β, Ὁθρυάδου γ. Cf. *Hist. Conscrib.* 18 and 21.

<sup>1</sup> The *corona radiata*, worn by Augustus, Nero, and the emperors after Caracalla. This passage seems to point to its use (in addition to the laurel wreath?) as one of the triumphal insignia.

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those who were noble, rich, and free-handed. For example, the oracle given to Severianus in regard to his invasion of Armenia was one of the autophones. Alexander encouraged him to the invasion by saying :

“Under your charging spear shall fall Armenians and Parthi ;

Then you shall fare to Rome and the glorious waters of Tiber

Wearing upon your brow the chaplet studded with sunbeams.”<sup>1</sup>

Then when that silly Celt, being convinced, made the invasion and ended by getting himself and his army cut to bits by Osroes, Alexander expunged this oracle from his records and inserted another in its place :

“Better for you that your forces against Armenia march not,

Lest some man, like a woman bedight, despatch from his bowstring

Grim death, cutting you off from life and enjoyment of sunlight.”<sup>2</sup>

That was one of his devices, and a very clever one—belated oracles to make amends for those in which he had made bad predictions and missed the mark. Often he would promise good health to sick

<sup>1</sup> The Parthians had been interfering with the succession to the throne in Armenia. Severianus, Roman governor of Cappadocia, entered Armenia with a small force in 161, and was disastrously defeated at Elegeia by Chosroes. According to Dio Cassius (71, 2) the entire force was surrounded and wiped out. See also Lucian, *de Hist. Conscrib.* 21, 24, 25.

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ὑγίειαν ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀποθανόντων δὲ χρησμός  
ἄλλος ἑτοιμος ἦν παλινφθῶν.

Μηκέτι δίζησθαι νούσοιο λυγρῆς ἐπαρωγὴν·  
πότμος γὰρ προφανῆς οὐδ' ἐκφυγέειν δυνατόν  
σοι.

- 29 Εἰδὼς δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ Διδύμοις καὶ  
Μαλλῷ καὶ αὐτοὺς εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ  
μαντικῇ ταύτῃ, φίλους αὐτοὺς ἐποιεῖτο, πολλοὺς  
τῶν προσιόντων πέμπων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς λέγων·

Ἐς Κλάρον ἔσο νῦν, τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς ὡς ὅπ'  
ἀκούσης.

καὶ πάλιν·

Βραγχιδέων ἀδύτοισι πελάζεο καὶ κλύε χρη-  
σμῶν.

καὶ αὖθις·

Ἐς Μαλλὸν χώρει θεσπίσματά τ' Ἀμφιλόχοιο.

- 30 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρων μέχρι τῆς Ἰωνίας  
καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας καὶ Γαλατίας.  
ὥς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεφοίτησεν τοῦ  
μαντείου τὸ κλέος καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν  
ἐνέπεσεν, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἄλλος πρὸ ἄλλου  
ἠπεύγετο, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἰόντες, οἱ δὲ πέμποντες,  
καὶ μάλιστα οἱ δυνατώτατοι καὶ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα  
ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχοντες· ὧν πρῶτος καὶ κορυφαϊότατος  
ἐγένετο Ῥουτιλιανός, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλὸς

<sup>1</sup> Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus. What office he then held (see below) is uncertain. He eventually went through the whole *cursus honorum*, including the consulship (probably suffect) and the governorship of Upper Moesia, and ending,

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men before their demise, and when they died another oracle would be ready with a recantation :

“Seek no more for assistance against thy bitter affliction ;

Death now standeth in view ; 'tis beyond thy power to 'scape him.”

As he was aware that the priests at Clarus and Didymi and Mallus were themselves in high repute for the same sort of divination, he made them his friends by sending many of his visitors to them, saying :

“Now unto Clarus begone, to the voice of my father<sup>1</sup> to hearken.”

and at another time,

Visit the fane of the Branchids and hear what the oracle sayeth,”

and again,

“Make thy way unto Mallus and let Amphilochous answer.”

So far, we have been concerned with his doings near the frontier, extending over Ionia, Cilicia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia. But when the renown of his prophetic shrine spread to Italy and invaded the city of Rome, everybody without exception, each on the other's heels, made haste, some to go in person, some to send ; this was the case particularly with those who had the greatest power and the highest rank in the city. The first and foremost of these was Rutilianus,<sup>2</sup> who, though a man of birth and

about A.D. 170, with the proconsulship of the province of Asia.

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καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τάξεσι Ῥωμαϊκαῖς  
ἐξητασμενος, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πάνυ νοσῶν  
καὶ ἀλλόκοτα περὶ αὐτῶν πεπιστευκώς, εἰ μόνον  
ἀληλιμμενον που λίθον ἢ ἐστεφανωμένον θεάσαιτο,  
προσπίπτων εὐθὺς καὶ προσκυνῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ  
παρεστῶς καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ τὰγαθὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ  
αἰτῶν.

Οὗτος τοίνυν ἀκούσας τὰ περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου  
μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἀφείς τὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένην  
τάξιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀβώνου τεῖχος ἀναπτῆναι.  
ἔπεμπε δ' οὖν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις· οἱ δὲ πεμπό-  
μενοι, ἰδιῶταί τινες οἰκέται, ῥαδίως ἐξαπατηθέντες  
ἂν ἐπανήσαν, τὰ μὲν ἰδόντες, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἰδόντες  
καὶ ἀκούσαντες<sup>1</sup> διηγούμενοι καὶ προσεπι-  
μετροῦντες ἔτι πλείω τούτων, ὡς ἐντιμότεροι  
εἶεν παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη. ἐξέκαιον οὖν τὸν ἄθλιον  
31 γέροντα καὶ εἰς μανίαν ἐρρωμένην ἐνέβαλον. ὁ  
δέ, ὡς ἂν τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ δυνατωτάτοις φίλος  
ᾧν, περιήει τὰ μὲν διηγούμενος ὡς ἀκούσειε παρὰ  
τῶν πεμφθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ προστιθείς.  
ἐνέπλησεν οὖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ διεσάλευσεν οὗτος,  
καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοὺς πλείστους διεθορύβησεν,  
οἱ αὐτίκα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠπείγοντο ἀκοῦσαί τι τῶν  
καθ' αὐτούς.

Ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους πάνυ φιλοφρόνως  
ὑποδεχόμενος ξενίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δωρεαῖς  
πολυτελέσιν εὖνους ἐργαζόμενος αὐτῷ ἀπέπεμπεν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὡς ἀκούσαντες γ, edd. But ὡς was added by someone  
who thought that καὶ was the conjunction. Its real force  
becomes apparent if one transposes thus: τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαντες  
ὡς ἰδόντες διηγούμενοι.

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breeding, put to the proof in many Roman offices,  
nevertheless in all that concerned the gods was very  
infirm and held strange beliefs about them. If he  
but saw anywhere a stone smeared with holy oil or  
adorned with a wreath,<sup>1</sup> he would fall on his face  
forthwith, kiss his hand, and stand beside it for a  
long time making vows and craving blessings from it.

When this man heard the tales about the oracle,  
he very nearly abandoned the office which had been  
committed to him and took wing to Abonoteichus.  
Anyhow, he sent one set of messengers after another,  
and his emissaries, mere illiterate serving-people,  
were easily deluded, so when they came back, they  
told not only what they had seen but what they had  
heard as if they had seen it, and threw in something  
more for good measure, so as to gain favour with  
their master. Consequently, they inflamed the poor  
old man and made him absolutely crazy. Having  
many powerful friends, he went about not only  
telling what he had heard from his messengers but  
adding still more on his own account. So he flooded  
and convulsed the city, and agitated most of the  
court, who themselves at once hastened to go and  
hear something that concerned them.

To all who came, Alexander gave a very cordial  
reception, made them think well of him by lavish  
entertainment and expensive presents, and sent

<sup>1</sup> For the Greek worship of stones, see Frazer's Pausanias,  
vol. iv, 154 sq.; v, 314 sq., 354. In the note last cited he  
quotes Arnobius *adv. Nationes* I, 39: si quando conspexeram  
lubricatam lapidem et exolivi unguine sordidatam, tamquam  
inesset vis praesens adulabar adfabar, beneficia poscebam  
nihil sentiente de trunco. Add Clement of Alexandria,  
*Strom.* 7, 4, 26: πᾶν ξύλον καὶ πάντα λίθον τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον  
λιπαρὸν προσκυνοῦντες.

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οὐκ ἀπαγγελοῦντας μόνον τὰς ἐρωτήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμνήσοντας τὸν θεὸν καὶ τεράστια ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 32 μαντείου καὶ αὐτοὺς ψευσομένους. ἀλλὰ καὶ μηχανᾶται τι ὁ τρισκατάρατος οὐκ ἄσοφον οὐδὲ τοῦ προστυχόντος ληστοῦ ἄξιον. λύων γὰρ τὰ πεπεμμένα βιβλία καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκων, εἴ τι εὔροι ἐπισφαλές καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον ἐν ταῖς ἐρωτήσεσιν, κατεῖχεν αὐτὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀπέπεμπεν, ὥς ὑποχειρίους καὶ μονονουχὶ δούλους διὰ τὸ δέος ἔχει τοὺς πεπομφότας, μεμνημένους οἷα ἦν ἁ ἥροντο. συνίης δὲ οἷας<sup>1</sup> εἰκὸς τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ μέγα δυναμένους τὰς πύστεις πυνθάνεσθαι. ἐλάμβανεν οὖν πολλὰ παρ' ἐκείνων, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐντὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχει τῶν ἀρκύων.

33 Βούλομαι δέ σοι καὶ τῶν Ῥουτιλιανῶ δοθέντων χρησμῶν ἐνίους εἰπεῖν. πυνθανομένῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκ προτέρας γυναικός, παιδείας ὦραν ἔχοντος, ὅντινα προστήσεται διδάσκαλον τῶν μαθημάτων αὐτοῦ, ἔφη·

Πυθαγόρην πολέμων τε διάκτορον ἐσθλὸν αἰοιδόν.

εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθανόντος, ὁ μὲν ἠπόρει καὶ οὐδὲν εἶχεν λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς αἰτιωμένους, παρὰ πόδας οὕτως ἐληλεγμένου τοῦ χρησμοῦ· ὁ δὲ Ῥουτιλιανὸς αὐτὸς φθασας ὁ βέλτιστος ἀπελογεῖτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαντείου λέγων, τοῦτο αὐτὸ προδεδηλωκέναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζῶντα μὲν κελεύσαι μηδένα διδάσκαλον ἐλέσθαι αὐτῷ, Πυθαγόραν δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρον πάλαι τεθνεῶτας, οἷς εἰκὸς τὸ μεράκιον ἐν Αἰδοῦ νῦν συνεῖναι.

<sup>1</sup> οἷας du Soul : οἷα MSS.

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them back not merely to report the answers to their questions, but to sing the praises of the god and to tell portentous lies about the oracle on their own account. At the same time, however, the plaguy scoundrel devised a trick which was really clever and not what one would expect of your ordinary swindler. In opening and reading the forwarded scrolls, if he found anything dangerous and venture-some in the questions, he would keep them himself and not send them back, in order to hold the senders in subjection and all but in slavery because of their fear, since they remembered what it was that they had asked. You understand what questions are likely to be put by men who are rich and very powerful. So he used to derive much gain from those men, who knew that he had them in his net.

I should like to tell you some of the responses that were given to Rutilianus. Asking about his son by a former marriage, who was then in the full bloom of youth, he enquired who should be appointed his tutor in his studies. The reply was :

“Be it Pythagoras ; aye, and the good bard, master of warfare.”

Then after a few days the boy died, and Alexander was at his wit's end, with nothing to say to his critics, as the oracle had been shown up so obviously. But Rutilianus himself, good soul, made haste to defend the oracle by saying that the god had predicted precisely this outcome, and on account of it had bidden him to select as his tutor nobody then alive, but rather Pythagoras and Homer, who died long ago, with whom, no doubt, the lad was then studying

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τί τοίνυν μέμφεσθαι ἄξιον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, εἰ τοιού-  
τοις ἀνθρωπίσκοις ἐνδιατρίβειν ἡξίου ;  
34 Αὐθις δὲ πυνθανομένῳ αὐτῷ τὴν τίνος ψυχὴν  
αὐτὸς διεδέξατο, ἔφη·

Πρῶτον Πηλείδης ἐγένου, μετὰ ταῦτα Μέ-  
νανδρος,  
εἰθ' ὃς νῦν φαίνη, μετὰ δ' ἔσσεαι ἡλιάς ἀκτίς,  
ζήσεις δ' ὀγδώκοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατὸν λυκά-  
βαντας.

ὁ δὲ ἐβδομηκοντούτης ἀπέθανεν μελαγχολήσας,  
35 οὐ περιμείνας τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπόσχεσιν. καὶ οὗτος  
ὁ χρησμὸς τῶν αὐτοφώνων ἦν.

Ἐρομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ποτε καὶ περὶ γάμου ῥητῶς  
ἔφη·

Γῆμον Ἀλεξάνδρου τε Σεληναίης τε θύγατρα.

διεδεδώκει δὲ πάλαι λόγον ὥς τῆς θυγατρὸς, ἣν  
εἶχεν, ἐκ Σελήνης αὐτῷ γενομένης· τὴν γὰρ  
Σελήνην ἔρωτι ἀλῶναι αὐτοῦ καθεύδοντά ποτε  
ἰδοῦσαν, ὅπερ αὐτῇ ἔθος, κοιμωμένων ἐρᾶν τῶν  
καλῶν. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν μελλήσας ὁ συνετώτατος  
Ῥουτιλιανὸς ἔπεμπεν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν κόρην καὶ  
τοὺς γάμους συνετέλει ἐξηκοντούτης νυμφίος καὶ  
συνῆν, τὴν πενθερὰν Σελήνην ἑκατόμβαις ὄλαις  
ἱλασκόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς  
οἴομενος γεγονέναι.

36 Ὁ δ' ὥς ἅπαξ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πραγμάτων ἐλά-  
βετο, μείζω αἰεὶ προσεπενόει καὶ πάντοσε τῆς

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the story of Endymion.

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in Hades. What fault, then, should we find with Alexander if he thought fit to amuse himself at the expense of such homunculi?

At another time, when Rutilianus enquired whose soul he had inherited, the reply was:

“Peleus’ son wert thou at the first; thereafter Menander,

Then what thou seemest now, and hereafter shalt turn to a sunbeam.

Four score seasons of life shall be given thee over a hundred.”

But as a matter of fact he died insane at seventy without awaiting the fulfilment of the god’s promise! This oracle too was one of the autophones.

When one time he enquired about getting married, Alexander said explicitly:

“Take Alexander’s daughter to wife, who was born of Selene.”

He had long before given out a story to the effect that his daughter was by Selene; for Selene had fallen in love with him on seeing him asleep once upon a time—it is a habit of hers, you know, to adore handsome lads in their sleep!<sup>1</sup> Without any hesitation that prince of sages Rutilianus sent for the girl at once, celebrated his nuptials as a sexagenarian bridegroom, and took her to wife, propitiating his mother-in-law, the moon, with whole hecatombs and imagining that he himself had become one of the Celestials!

No sooner did Alexander get Italy in hand than he began to devise projects that were ever greater and greater, and sent oracle-mongers everywhere in



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Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἔπεμπε χρησμολόγους, ταῖς πόλεσι προλέγων λοιμοὺς καὶ πυρκαϊὰς φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ σεισμούς· καὶ ἀσφαλῶς βοηθήσειν, ὥς μὴ γένοιτό τι τούτων, αὐτὸς ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς. ἓνα δέ τινα χρησμόν, αὐτόφωνον καὶ αὐτόν, εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ διεπέμψατο· ἦν δὲ τὸ ἔπος ἔν·

Φοῖβος ἀκείρεκόμης<sup>1</sup> λοιμοῦ νεφέλην ἀπερύκει.

καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἔπος πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶνων γεγραμμένον ὡς τοῦ λοιμοῦ ἀλεξιφάρμακον. τὸ δ' εἰς τὸνναντίον τοῖς πλείστοις προὐχώρει· κατὰ γάρ τινα τύχην αὐται μάλιστα αἱ οἰκίαι ἐκενώθησαν αἷς τὸ ἔπος ἐπεγέγραπτο. καὶ μὴ με νομίσης τοῦτο λέγειν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἔπος ἀπώλλυντο· ἀλλὰ τύχη τινὲ οὕτως ἐγένετο. τάχα δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ θαρροῦντες τῷ στίχῳ ἡμέλουν καὶ ῥαθυμότερον διητῶντο, οὐδὲν τῷ χρησμῷ πρὸς τὴν νόσον συντελοῦντες, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντες προμαχομένας αὐτῶν τὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ τὸν ἀκείρεκόμην<sup>2</sup> Φοῖβον ἀποτοξεύοντα τὸν λοιμόν.

37 Πευθῆνας μέντοι ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμῃ κατεστήσατο πάνυ πολλοὺς τῶν συνωμοτῶν, οἱ τὰς ἐκάστου γνώμας διήγγελλον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐρωτήσεις προεμήνουν καὶ ὧν μάλιστα ἐφίενται, ὡς ἔτοιμον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ πρὶν ἥκειν τοὺς πεμπομένους καταλαμβάνεσθαι.

38 Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῦτα<sup>3</sup> προε-

<sup>1</sup> ἀκερσεκόμης β.

<sup>2</sup> ἀκερσεκόμην β.

<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γ.

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the Roman Empire, warning the cities to be on their guard against plagues and conflagrations and earthquakes; he promised that he would himself afford them infallible aid so that none of these calamities should befall them. There was one oracle, also an autophone, which he despatched to all the nations during the pestilence<sup>1</sup>; it was but a single verse:

"Phoebus, the god unshorn, keepeth off plague's nebulous onset."

This verse was to be seen everywhere written over doorways as a charm against the plague; but in most cases it had the contrary result. By some chance it was particularly the houses on which the verse was inscribed that were depopulated! Do not suppose me to mean that they were stricken on account of the verse—by some chance or other it turned out that way, and perhaps, too, people neglected precautions because of their confidence in the line and lived too carelessly, giving the oracle no assistance against the disease because they were going to have the syllables to defend them and "unshorn Phoebus" to drive away the plague with his arrows!

Moreover, Alexander posted a great number of his fellow-conspirators in Rome itself as his agents, who reported everyone's views to him and gave him advance information about the questions and the especial wishes of those who consulted him, so that the messengers might find him ready to answer even before they arrived!

He made these preparations to meet the situation in Italy, and also made notable preparations at home.

<sup>1</sup> The terrible plague which swept the whole Empire about A.D. 165.

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μηχανάτο· <οἱκοι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.><sup>1</sup> τελετήν τε γάρ τινα συνίσταται καὶ δαδουχίας καὶ ἱεροφαντίας, τριῶν ἐξῆς αἰὲλ τελουμένων ἡμερῶν. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ πρόρρησις ἦν ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησι τοιαύτη· “Εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικουρείος ἥκει κατὰσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω· οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ τελείσθωσαν τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ.” εἴτ’ εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐξέλασις ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο λέγων “Ἐξω Χριστιανούς,” τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐπεφθέγγετο “Ἐξω Ἐπικουρείους.” εἶτα Λητοὺς ἐγίγνετο λοχεία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γοναὶ καὶ Κορωνίδος γάμος καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐτίκτετο. ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Γλύκωνος ἐπιφάνεια  
39 καὶ γέννησις τοῦ θεοῦ. τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Ποδालειρίου ἦν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμος· Δαδὶς δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ δᾶδες δὲ ἐκαίοντο. καὶ τελευταῖον Σελήνης καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔρωσ καὶ τικτομένη τοῦ Ρουτιλιανοῦ ἡ γυνή. ἐδαδούχει δὲ καὶ ἱεροφάντει ὁ Ἐνδυμίων Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ μὲν καθεύδων δῆθεν κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, κατῆρει δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀροφῆς ὡς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς Σελήνης Ῥουτιλία τις ὠραιότατη, τῶν Καίσαρος οἰκονόμων τινὸς γυνή, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρώσα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀντερωμένη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ ὀλεθρίου ἐκείνου ἀνδρὸς φιλήματά τε ἐγίγνετο ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ περιπλοκαί. εἰ

<sup>1</sup> Supplement by A. M. H. (after Fritzsche). The preceding μὲν and the following γὰρ prove a gap in the text, which one would expect to be of 17-19 letters—a line in the γ β archetype.

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He established a celebration of mysteries, with torch-light ceremonies and priestly offices, which was to be held annually, for three days in succession, in perpetuity. On the first day, as at Athens,<sup>1</sup> there was a proclamation, worded as follows: “If any atheist or Christian or Epicurean has come to spy upon the rites, let him be off, and let those who believe in the god perform the mysteries, under the blessing of Heaven.” Then, at the very outset, there was an “expulsion,” in which he took the lead, saying: “Out with the Christians,” and the whole multitude chanted in response, “Out with the Epicureans!” Then there was the child-bed of Leto, the birth of Apollo, his marriage to Coronis, and the birth of Asclepius. On the second day came the manifestation of Glycon, including the birth of the god. On the third day there was the union of Podaleirius and the mother of Alexander—it was called the Day of Torches, and torches were burned. In conclusion there was the amour of Selene and Alexander, and the birth of Rutilianus’ wife. The torch-bearer and hierophant was our Endymion, Alexander. While he lay in full view, pretending to be asleep, there came down to him from the roof, as if from heaven, not Selene but Rutilia, a very pretty woman, married to one of the Emperor’s stewards. She was genuinely in love with Alexander and he with her; and before the eyes of her worthless husband there were kisses and embraces in public. If the torches

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the proclamation that preceded the Eleusinian mysteries. Its entire content is unknown, but it required that the celebrants be clean of hand, pure of heart, and Greek in speech. Barbarians, homicides, and traitors were excluded; and there was some sort of restriction in regard to previous diet.

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δὲ μὴ πολλαὶ ἦσαν αἱ δᾶδες, τάχα ἄν τι καὶ τῶν  
ὑπὸ κόλπου ἐπράττετο. μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ εἰσῆει  
πάλιν ἱεροφαντικῶς ἐσκευασμένος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ  
σιωπῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔλεγε μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ,  
"Ἰὴ Γλύκων." ἐπεφθέγγοντο δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπακολου-  
θοῦντες Εὐμολπίδαι δῆθεν καὶ Κήρυκές τινες  
Παφλαγόνες, καρβατίνας ὑποδεδεμένοι, πολλὴν  
τὴν σκοροδάλμην ἐρυγγάνοντες, "Ἰὴ Ἀλέξανδρε."

- 40 Πολλάκις δὲ ἐν τῇ δαδουχίᾳ καὶ τοῖς μυστικοῖς  
σκιρτήμασιν γυμνωθεὶς ὁ μηρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξεπίτηδες  
χρυσοῦς διεφάνη, δέρματος ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιχρύσου  
περιτεθέντος καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν τῶν λαμπάδων  
ἀποστίλβοντος. ὥστε καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ζητή-  
σεως δύο τισὶ τῶν μωροσόφων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἴτε  
Πυθαγόρου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοι διὰ τὸν χρυσοῦν  
μηρὸν εἴτε ἄλλην ὁμοίαν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν  
ταύτην αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπανενεγκόντων, ὁ  
Βασιλεὺς Γλύκων χρησμῷ ἔλυσεν τὴν ἀπορίαν.

Πυθαγόρου ψυχὴ ποτὲ μὲν φθίνει, ἄλλοτε δ'  
αὔξει.

ἡ δὲ προφητεία δίης φρενὸς ἐστὶν ἀπορρώξ.  
καὶ μιν ἔπεμψε πατὴρ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν  
ἐπαρωγόν.

καὶ πάλιν ἐς Διὸς εἰσι Διὸς βληθεῖσα κεραυνῷ.

- 41 Προλέγων δὲ πᾶσιν ἀπέχεσθαι παιδίου συνου-  
σίας, ὡς ἀσεβὲς ὄν, αὐτὸς τοιόνδε τι ὁ γεννάδας  
ἐτεχνήσατο. ταῖς γὰρ πόλεσι ταῖς Ποντικαῖς  
καὶ ταῖς Παφλαγονικαῖς ἐπήγγελλε θεηκόλους

<sup>1</sup> Hereditary priesthoods in the Eleusinian mysteries.

<sup>2</sup> As Pythagoras had a golden thigh (Plutarch, *Numa*, 65; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, 2, 26), a believer in metempsychosis might think that Alexander was a reincarnation of Pythagoras.

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had not been numerous, perhaps the thing would  
have been carried even further. After a short time  
Alexander entered again, robed as a priest, amid  
profound silence, and said in a loud voice, over and  
over again, "Hail, Glycon," while, following in his  
train, a number of would-be Eumolpids and Ceryces<sup>1</sup>  
from Paphlagonia, with brogans on their feet and  
breaths that reeked of garlic, shouted in response,  
"Hail, Alexander!"

Often in the course of the torchlight ceremonies  
and the gambols of the mysteries his thigh was  
bared purposely and showed golden. No doubt  
gilded leather had been put about it, which gleamed  
in the light of the cressets. There was once a  
discussion between two of our learned idiots in  
regard to him, whether he had the soul of Pytha-  
goras, on account of the golden thigh, or some other  
soul akin to it.<sup>2</sup> They referred this question to  
Alexander himself, and King Glycon resolved their  
doubt with an oracle:

"Nay, Pythagoras' soul now waneth and other  
times waxeth;

His, with prophecy gifted, from God's mind taketh  
its issue,

Sent by the Father to aid good men in the stress  
of the conflict;

Then it to God will return, by God's own thunder-  
bolt smitten."

Although he cautioned all to abstain from inter-  
course with boys on the ground that it was impious,  
for his own part this pattern of propriety made a  
clever arrangement. He commanded the cities in  
Pontus and Paphlagonia to send choir-boys for three

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πέμπειν εἰς τριετίαν, ὑμνήσοντας παρ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἔδει δοκιμασθέντας καὶ προκριθέντας τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους καὶ ὠραιότατους καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας πεμφθῆναι· οὓς ἐγκλεισάμενος ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοις ἐχρήτο, συγκαθεύδων καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐμπαροινῶν. καὶ νόμον δὲ ἐπεποίητο, ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη μηδένα τῷ αὐτοῦ στόματι δεξιοῦσθαι μηδὲ φιλήματι ἀσπάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις προτείνων τὴν χεῖρα κύσαι μόνους τοὺς ὠραίους κατεφίλει, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ φιλήματος.

42 Τοιαῦτα ἐντρυφῶν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις διετέλει, γυναικῆς τε ἀνέδην διαφθείρων καὶ παισὶ συνών. καὶ ἦν μέγα καὶ εὐκτὸν ἐκάστω, εἴ τις γυναικὶ προσβλέψειεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλήματος ἀξιώσειεν, ἀθρόαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν τύχην ᾤετο ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ εἰσρυσέσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἡὔχουν τετοκέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐπεμαρτύρουν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν.

43 Ἐθέλω δέ σοι καὶ διάλογον διηγήσασθαι τοῦ Γλύκωνος καὶ Σακερδῶτός τινος, Τιανοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ὁποίου τινὸς τὴν σύνεσιν, εἴση ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρωτήσεων. ἀνέγνω δὲ αὐτὸν χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν γεγραμμένον ἐν Τίῳ, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σακερδῶτος οἰκίᾳ. “Εἰπέ γάρ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ δέσποτα Γλύκων, τίς εἶ;” “Ἐγώ,” ἡ δ' ὅς, “Ἀσκληπιὸς νέος.” “Ἄλλος παρ' ἐκείνῳ τὸν πρότερον; πῶς λέγεις;” “Οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαί σε τοῦτό γε.” “Πόσα δὲ ἡμῖν ἔτη παραμενεῖς χρησμοφῶν;” “Τρίτον πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις.” “Εἵτα ποῖ μεταστήσῃ;” “Ἐς Βάκτρα καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ γῆν· δεῖ γὰρ ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους τῆς ἐπιδημίας

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years' service, to sing hymns to the god in his household; they were required to examine, select, and send the noblest, youngest, and most handsome. These he kept under ward and treated like bought slaves, sleeping with them and affronting them in every way. He made it a rule, too, not to greet anyone over eighteen years with his lips, or to embrace and kiss him; he kissed only the young, extending his hand to the others to be kissed by them. They were called "those within the kiss."

He duped the simpletons in this way from first to last, ruining women right and left as well as living with favourites. Indeed, it was a great thing that everyone coveted if he simply cast his eyes upon a man's wife; if, however, he deemed her worthy of a kiss, each husband thought that good fortune would flood his house. Many women even boasted that they had had children by Alexander, and their husbands bore witness that they spoke the truth!

I want to include in my tale a dialogue between Glycon and one Sacerdos, a man of Tius, whose intelligence you will be able to appraise from his questions. I read the conversation in an inscription in letters of gold, at Tius, in the house of Sacerdos. "Tell me, Master Glycon," said he, "who are you?" "I am the latter-day Asclepius," he replied. "A different person from the one of former times? What do you mean?" "It is not permitted you to hear that." "How many years will you tarry among us delivering oracles?" "One thousand and three." "Then where shall you go?" "To Bactra and that region, for the barbarians too must profit by my presence among

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τῆς ἐμῆς." "Τὰ δ' ἄλλα χρηστήρια, τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις καὶ τὸ ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἔχουσι τὸν πατέρα τὸν Ἀπόλλω χρησμωδοῦντα, ἢ<sup>1</sup> ψευδεῖς εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκεῖ χρησμοί;" "Μηδὲ τοῦτο ἐβελήσης εἰδέναι· οὐ γὰρ θέμις." "Ἐγὼ δὲ τίς ἔσομαι μετὰ τὸν νῦν βίον;" "Κάμηλος, εἴτα ἵππος, εἴτ' ἀνὴρ σοφὸς καὶ προφήτης οὐ μείων Ἀλεξάνδρου."

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Γλύκων τῷ Σακερδῶτι διελέχθη. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ χρησμὸν ἔμμετρον ἐφθέγγετο, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν Λεπίδῳ ἐταῖρον ὄντα·

Μὴ πείθου Λεπίδῳ, ἐπεὶ ἡ λυγρὸς οἶτος ὀπηδεῖ.

πάνυ γὰρ ἐδεδίει τὸν Ἐπίκουρον, ὡς προεῖπον, ὥς τινα ἀντίτεχνον καὶ ἀντισοφιστὴν τῆς μαγαανείας αὐτοῦ.

- 44 "Ἐνα γοῦν τινα τῶν Ἐπικουρείων, τολμήσαντα καὶ διελέγχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τῶν παρόντων, εἰς κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν κατέστησεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· "Σὺ μέντοι γε, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, τὸν δεῖνα Παφλαγὸνα προσ-αγαγεῖν οἰκέτας αὐτοῦ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῆς Γαλατίας τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀνέπεισας ὡς ἀπεκτονότας τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παιδευόμενον, ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ζῇ καὶ ἐπανελήλυθε ζῶν μετὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπώλειαν, θηρίοις ὑπὸ σοῦ παραδοθέντων." τοιοῦτον δέ τι ἐγεγέννητο· ἀναπλεύσας ὁ νεανίσκος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄχρι τοῦ Κλύσματος, πλοίου ἀναγομένου ἐπείσθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ἰνδίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι σου τὸν προπάτορα ἔχει τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ἢ β.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 211, note 1.

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men." "What of the other prophetic shrines, the one in Didymi, the one in Clarus, and the one in Delphi—do they still have your father Apollo as the source of their oracles, or are the predictions now given out there false?" "This too you must not wish to know; it is not permitted." "What about myself—what shall I be after my present life?" "A camel, then a horse, then a wise man and prophet just as great as Alexander."

That was Glycon's conversation with Sacerdos; and in conclusion he uttered an oracle in verse, knowing that Sacerdos was a follower of Lepidus:<sup>1</sup>

"Put not in Lepidus faith, for a pitiful doom is in waiting."

That was because he greatly feared Epicurus, as I have said before, seeing in him an opponent and critic of his trickery.

Indeed, he seriously imperilled one of the Epicureans who ventured to expose him in the presence of a great crowd. The man went up to him and said in a loud voice: "Come now, Alexander! You prevailed upon such-and-such a Paphlagonian to put his servants on trial for their lives before the governor of Galatia on the charge that they had murdered his son, a student at Alexandria. But the young man is living, and has come back alive after the execution of the servants, whom you gave over to the wild beasts." What had happened was this. The young man cruised up the Nile as far as Clysmā,<sup>2</sup> and as a vessel was just putting to sea, was induced to join others in a voyage to India. Then because

<sup>2</sup> Probably Suez; the ancient canal from the Nile to the Red Sea ended there.

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πλεῦσαι, κάπειδήπερ ἐβράδυνεν, οἱ δυστυχεῖς  
ἐκεῖνοι οἰκέται αὐτοῦ, οἰηθέντες ἢ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ  
πλέοντα διεφθάρθαι τὸν νεανίσκον ἢ καὶ ὑπὲρ  
ληστῶν—πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν τότε—ἀνερῆσθαι,  
ἐπανήλθον ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀφανισμόν.  
εἶτα ὁ χρησμὸς καὶ ἡ καταδίκη, μεθ' ἣν ἐπέστη ὁ  
νεανίσκος διηγούμενος τὴν ἀποδημίαν.

45 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος  
ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέγχῳ καὶ μὴ φέρων τοῦ  
ὀνείδους τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκέλευεν τοὺς παρόντας  
λίθοις βάλλειν αὐτόν, ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἔσεσθαι  
καὶ Ἐπικουρείους κληθήσεσθαι. τῶν δὲ βάλλειν  
ἄρξαμένων Δημόστρατος τις ἐπιδημῶν, τοῦ Πόν-  
του πρῶτος, περιχυθεὶς ἐρρύσατο τοῦ θανάτου  
τὸν ἄνθρωπον μικροῦ δεῖν καταλευσθέντα, πάννυ  
δικαίως. τί γὰρ ἔδει μόνον φρονεῖν ἐν τοσούτοις  
μεμνηνόςιν καὶ παραπολαῦσαι τῆς Παφλαγόνων  
μωρίας;

46 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τοιαῦτα. εἰ δέ τινα,  
προσκαλουμένων κατὰ τάξιν τῶν χρησμῶν—πρὸ  
μῆς δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ θεσπίζειν ἐγίγνετο—καὶ ἐρομένου  
τοῦ κήρυκος εἰ θεσπίζει τῷδε,<sup>1</sup> ἀνείπεν ἔνδοθεν.  
“Ἐς κόρακας,” οὐκέτι τὸν τοιοῦτον οὔτε στέγη  
τις ἐδέχετο οὔτε πυρὸς ἢ ὕδατος ἐκοινώνει, ἀλλ'  
ἔδει γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνεσθαι ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄθεον  
καὶ Ἐπικουρείον, ἥπερ ἦν ἡ μεγίστη λοιδορία.

<sup>1</sup> τῷδε S, Seager: τῷ δὲ MSS.

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he was overdue, those ill-starred servants concluded that the young man either had lost his life during his cruise upon the Nile or had been made away with by brigands, who were numerous at the time; and they returned with the report of his disappearance. Then followed the oracle and their condemnation, after which the young man presented himself, telling of his travels.

When he told this tale, Alexander, indignant at the exposure and unable to bear the truth of the reproach, told the bystanders to stone him, or else they themselves would be accursed and would bear the name of Epicureans. They had begun to throw stones when a man named Demostratus who happened to be in the city, one of the most prominent men in Pontus,<sup>1</sup> flung his arms about the fellow and saved him from death. But he had come very near to being overwhelmed with stones, and quite properly! Why did he have to be the only man of sense among all those lunatics and suffer from the idiocy of the Paphlagonians?

That man, then, was thus dealt with. Moreover, if in any case, when men were called up in the order of their applications (which took place the day before the prophecies were given out) and the herald enquired: “Has he a prophecy for So-and-so,” the reply came from within: “To the ravens,” nobody would ever again receive such a person under his roof or give him fire or water, but he had to be harried from country to country as an impious man, an atheist, and an Epicurean—which, indeed, was their strongest term of abuse.

<sup>1</sup> I suspect that the Greek phrase is really a title, but cannot prove it; the use of *πρῶτος* without the article seems to make the phrase mean “One of the First Citizens.”

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47 "Ἐν γοῦν καὶ γελοιότατον ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· εὐρὼν γὰρ τὰς Ἐπικούρου κυρίας δόξας, τὸ κάλλιστον, ὡς οἶσθα, τῶν βιβλίων καὶ κεφαλαιώδη περιέχον τῆς ἀνδρὸς σοφίας τὰ δόγματα, κομίσας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μέσῃν ἔκαυσεν ἐπὶ ξύλων συκίνων ὡς δῆθεν αὐτὸν καταφλέγων, καὶ τὴν σποδὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέβαλεν, ἔτι καὶ χρησμὸν ἐπιφθεγξάμενος·

Πυρπολέειν κέλομαι δόξας ἀλαοῖο γέροντος·

οὐκ εἰδὼς ὁ κατάρατος ὅσων ἀγαθῶν τὸ βιβλίον ἐκείνο τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν αἴτιον γίγνεται, καὶ ὅσῃν αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀταραξίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐνεργάζεται, δειμάτων μὲν καὶ φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων ἀπαλλάττον καὶ ἐλπίδων ματαίων καὶ περιττῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, νοῦν δὲ καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἐντιθὲν καὶ καθαίρον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰς γνώμας, οὐχ ὑπὸ δαδὶ καὶ σκίλλῃ καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις φλυαρίαις, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ ὀρθῷ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ παρρησίᾳ.

48 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔν τι καὶ μέγιστον τόλμημα τοῦ μιαινοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄκουσον. ἔχων γὰρ οὐ μικρὰν ἐπίβασιν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τὸν Ῥουτιλιανὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα, διαπέμπεται χρησμὸν τοῦ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, ὅτε θεὸς Μάρκος ἤδη τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις καὶ Κουάδοις συνεπλέκετο. ἡξίου δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς δύο λέοντας ἐμβληθῆναι ζῶντας εἰς τὸν Ἰστρον μετὰ πολλῶν

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One of Alexander's acts in this connection was most comical. Hitting upon the "Established Beliefs" of Epicurus, which is the finest of his books, as you know, and contains in summary the articles of the man's philosophic creed,<sup>1</sup> he brought it into the middle of the market-place, burned it on fagots of fig-wood just as if he were burning the man in person, and threw the ashes into the sea, even adding an oracle also:

"Burn with fire, I command you, the creed of a purblind dotard!"

But the scoundrel had no idea what blessings that book creates for its readers and what peace, tranquillity, and freedom it engenders in them, liberating them as it does from terrors and apparitions and portents, from vain hopes and extravagant cravings, developing in them intelligence and truth, and truly purifying their understanding, not with torches and squills and that sort of foolery, but with straight thinking, truthfulness and frankness.

Of all this blackguard's emprises, however, hear one, the greatest. Since he had no slight influence in the palace and at court through the favour which Rutilianus enjoyed, he published an oracle at the height of the war in Germany, when the late Emperor Marcus himself had at last come to grips with the Marcomanni and Quadi. The oracle recommended that two lions be cast into the Danube alive, together with a quantity of perfumes and

<sup>1</sup> Quis enim vestrum non edidit Epicuri κυρίας δόξας, id est, quasi maxime ratas, quia gravissimae sint ad beate vivendum breviter enuntiatae sententiae? Cicero, *de Fin. Bon. et Mal.*, ii, 7, 20.

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ἁρωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν μεγαλοπρεπῶν. ἄμεινον  
δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν χρησμόν·

Ἐς δίνας Ἰστροιο διυπετέος ποταμοῖο  
ἐσβαλέειν κέλομαι δοιοὺς Κυβέλης θεράποντας,  
θῆρας ὀριτρεφίας, καὶ ὅσα τρέφει Ἰνδικὸς ἀήρ  
ἄνθεα καὶ βοτάνας εὐώδεις· αὐτίκα δ' ἔσται  
νίκη καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἅμ' εἰρήνῃ ἐρατεινῇ.

γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὡς προσέταξεν, τοὺς μὲν  
λέοντας ἐκνηξάμενους εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν οἱ  
βάρβαροι ξύλοις κατειργάσαντο ὥς τινας κύνας  
ἢ λύκους ξενικούς· αὐτίκα δὲ τὸ μέγιστον τραῦμα  
τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐγένετο, δισμυρίων που σχεδὸν  
ἄθρόων<sup>1</sup> ἀπολομένων. εἴτα ἐπηκολούθησε τὰ  
περὶ Ἀκυληίαν γενόμενα καὶ ἡ παρὰ μικρὸν τῆς  
πόλεως ἐκείνης ἄλωσις. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβεβηκὸς  
τὴν Δελφικὴν ἐκείνην ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ  
Κροίσου χρησμόν ψυχρῶς παρήγεν· νίκην μὲν  
γὰρ προειπεῖν τὸν θεόν, μὴ μέντοι δηλῶσαι  
Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων.

49 Ἦδη δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἐπεισερέοντων καὶ  
τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν θλιβομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους  
τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀφικνουμένων καὶ τὰ  
ἐπιτήδεια διαρκῇ μὴ ἐχούσης, ἐπινοεῖ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἄθρόων N, vulg. : ἄθρόων γβ.

<sup>1</sup> The invading tribes flooded Rhaetia, Noricum, upper and lower Pannonia, and Dacia, taking a vast number of Roman settlers prisoner, and even entered Italy, capturing and destroying Oderzo. Details are uncertain; so is the exact date, which was probably between 167 and 169. On the column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, one of the scenes depicts two animals swimming across a river, near a boat. These have been thought to be the lions of the oracle, and

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magnificent offerings. But it will be better to repeat the oracle itself.

“Into the pools of the Ister, the stream that from  
Zeus taketh issue,  
Hurl, I command you, a pair of Cybele’s faithful  
attendants,  
Beasts that dwell on the mountains, and all that  
the Indian climate  
Yieldeth of flower and herb that is fragrant;  
amain there shall follow  
Victory and great glory, and welcome peace in  
their footsteps.”

But when all this had been done as he had directed, the lions swam across to the enemy territory and the barbarians slaughtered them with clubs, thinking them some kind of foreign dogs or wolves; and “amain” that tremendous disaster befel our side, in which a matter of twenty thousand were wiped out at a blow. Then came what happened at Aquileia, and that city’s narrow escape from capture. To meet this issue, Alexander was flat enough to adduce the Delphian defence in the matter of the oracle given to Croesus, that the God had indeed foretold victory, but had not indicated whether it would go to the Romans or to the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

As by this time throngs upon throngs were pouring in and their city was becoming overcrowded on account of the multitude of visitors to the shrine, so that it had not sufficient provisions, he devised

indeed they look like lions in the representation of Bartoli (Pl. XIII). But Petersen takes them to be bisons. It is clear, too, from Lucian that Alexander’s oracle was given before the campaign depicted on the column



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νυκτερινούς καλουμένους χρησμούς. λαμβάνων γὰρ τὰ βιβλία ἐπεκοιμᾶτο, ὡς ἔφασκεν, αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς ὄναρ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούων ἀπεκρίνετο, οὐ μέντοι σαφεῖς τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἀμφιβόλους καὶ τεταραγμένους καὶ μάλιστα εἴ ποτε θεάσαιοτο περιεργότερον τὸ βιβλίον κατεσφραγισμένον. οὐ γὰρ παρακινδυνεύων, τὸ ἐπελθὼν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλως ὑπέγραφε, χρησμοῖς πρέπον καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον οἰόμενος. καὶ ἥσαν τινες ἐξηγηταὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο καθήμενοι καὶ μισθοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐκλέγοντες παρὰ τῶν τοῦ τοιούτους χρησμούς λαμβανόντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξηγήσει καὶ διαλύσει αὐτῶν. καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον ὑπόμισθον ἦν· ἐτέλουν γὰρ οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τάλαντον Ἀττικὸν ἐκάτερος.

50 Ἐνίοτε δὲ μήτε ἐρομένου τινὸς μήτε πεμφθέντος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅλως ὄντος ἐχρησμώδει πρὸς ἑκπληξιν τῶν ἀνοήτων, οἷον καὶ τοῦτο·

Δίξεις οἷσσις σὴν ἄλοχον μάλα πάγχυ λεληθῶς  
Καλλιγένειαν ὑπὲρ λεχέων σαλαγεί κατὰ δῶμα;  
δοῦλος Πρωτογένης, τῷ δὴ σύ γε πάντα  
πέποιθας.

ὥπυιες γὰρ ἐκείνον, ὃ δ' αὖθις σὴν παράκοιτιν,  
ἀντίδοσιν ταύτην ὕβρεως ἄκρην<sup>2</sup> ἀποτίνων.  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοὶ δὴ φάρμακ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν λυγρὰ  
τέτυκται,  
ὥς μήτ' εἰσαῖοις μήτ' εἰσοράοις ἂ ποιούσιν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπελθὼν vulg.: ὑπελθὼν γ. οὐ γὰρ παρακινῶν τὸ ἔδεθλον β.  
<sup>2</sup> ἄκρην A.M.H.: ἀκαρὴν β, ιδίας γ, edd.

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the so-called "nocturnal" responses. Taking the scrolls, he slept on them, so he said, and gave replies that he pretended to have heard from the god in a dream; which, however, were in most cases not clear but ambiguous and confused, particularly when he observed that the scroll had been sealed up with unusual care. Taking no extra chances, he would append at random whatever answer came into his head, thinking that this procedure too was appropriate to oracles; and there were certain expounders who sat by with that in view and garnered large fees from the recipients of such oracles for explaining and unriddling them. Moreover, this task of theirs was subject to a levy; the expounders paid Alexander an Attic talent each.

Sometimes, to amaze dolts, he would deliver an oracle for the benefit of someone who had neither enquired nor sent—who, in fact, did not exist at all. For example:

"Seek thou out that man who in utmost secrecy  
shrouded

Tumbleth at home on the couch thy helpmeet  
Calligeneia,

Slave Protogenes, him upon whom thou fully  
reliest.

He was corrupted by thee, and now thy wife he  
corrupteth,

Making a bitter return unto thee for his own  
violation.

Aye more, now against thee a baneful charm they  
have fashioned

So that thou mayst not hear nor see what deeds  
they are doing;

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εὐρήσεις δὲ κάτω ὑπὸ σῶ λέχει ἀγχόθι τοίχου  
πρὸς κεφαλῆς. καὶ σὴ θεράπαινα σύννοιδε  
Καλυψώ.

τίς οὐκ ἂν Δημόκριτος διαταράχθῃ ἀκούσας  
ὀνόματα καὶ τόπους ἀκριβῶς, εἴτα μετ' ὀλίγον  
κατέπτυσεν ἂν, συνεῖς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν ;

52<sup>1</sup> "Ἄλλω<sup>2</sup> πάλιν οὔτε παρόντι οὔτε ὅλως τινὶ  
ὄντι ἔφη ἄνευ μέτρου ἀναστρέφειν ὀπίσω· "ὁ γὰρ  
πέμψας σε τέθνηκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ γείτονος Διοκλέους  
τήμερον, ληστῶν ἐπαχθέντων Μάγνου καὶ Βου-  
βάλου, οἳ καὶ ἤδη δέδενται ληφθέντες."

51 "Ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις πολλάκις ἔχρησεν, εἴ τις  
τῇ πατρίῳ ἔροιτο φωνῇ, Συριστὶ ἢ Κελτιστί,  
ῥαδίως<sup>3</sup> ἐξευρίσκων τινὰς ἐπιδημοῦντας ὁμοεθνεῖς  
τοῖς δεδωκόσιν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πολὺς ὁ ἐν μέσῳ  
χρόνος ἦν τῆς τε δόσεως τῶν βιβλίων καὶ τῆς  
χρησμοφίας, ὥς ἐν τοσούτῳ κατὰ σχολὴν λύοιντό  
τε οἱ χρησμοὶ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ εὐρίσκοιντο οἱ  
ἐρμηνεύσαι δυνάμενοι ἕκαστα. οἶος καὶ ὁ τῷ  
Σκύθῃ δοθεὶς χρησμός ἦν·

Μορφὴν εὐβάργουλις εἰς σκιὰν χνεχικραγῇ  
λείψει φάος.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chapters 51 and 52 transposed by Fritzsche.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλω A.M.H. : ἄλλος βγ. But for οὔτε ὅλως β has οὔτε  
ἄλλω—the correction introduced in the wrong place.

<sup>3</sup> οὐ ῥαδίως β.

<sup>4</sup> Text Γ : μορφεῦ· μάργουλος ισχιάγγχε χι φι φάος δα U  
(β group). B reads as U, but βάργουλος and δάος.

<sup>1</sup> Democritus of Abdera is adduced as a typical hard-  
headed sceptic; see above, c. 17, and the *Lover of Lies*, 32  
(iii, p. 369).

<sup>2</sup> The oracle seems to contain some Greek, in the two

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This shalt thou find on the floor, beneath thy bed,  
by the wall-side,  
Close to the head; thy servant Calypso shareth  
the secret."

What Democritus<sup>1</sup> would not have been disturbed  
on hearing names and places specified—and would  
not have been filled with contempt soon afterward,  
when he saw through their stratagem?

Again, to someone else who was not there and  
did not exist at all, he said in prose: "Go back;  
he who sent you was killed to-day by his neighbour  
Diocles, with the help of the bandits Magnus, Celer,  
and Bubalus, who already have been caught and  
imprisoned."

I may say too that he often gave oracles to  
barbarians, when anyone put a question in his native  
language, in Syrian or in Celtic; since he readily  
found strangers in the city who belonged to the  
same nation as his questioners. That is why the  
time between the presentation of the scrolls and  
the delivery of the oracle was long, so that in the  
interval the questions might be unsealed at leisure  
without risk and men might be found who would be  
able to translate them fully. Of this sort was the  
response given to the Scythian:

"Morphen eubargoulis eis skian chnechikrage  
leipsei phaos."<sup>2</sup>

phrases eis skian (into the darkness) and leipsei phaos (thou  
shalt leave the light of day); it is uncertain, however,  
whether these phrases belong to the original text, or to  
someone's interpretation, which has become confused with  
the text, or are mere corruptions due to a scribe's effort to  
convert "Scythian" into Greek. The "Scythian" part  
itself is a complete mystery.

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53 Ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ δοθέντων ἄκουσον·  
ἐρομένου γάρ μου εἰ φαλακρός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος,  
καὶ κατασημηναμένου περιέργως καὶ προφανῶς  
ὑπογράφεται χρησμὸς νυκτερήσιος,

Σαβαρδαλαχου μαλαχααττηαλος ἦν.<sup>1</sup>

Καὶ πάλιν ἐμοῦ ἐρομένου ἐν δύο βιβλίοις δια-  
φόροις τὴν αὐτὴν ἐρώτησιν, πόθεν ἦν Ὁμηρος ὁ  
ποιητής, ἐπ' ἄλλου καὶ ἄλλου ὀνόματος, τῷ  
ἐτέρῳ μὲν ὑπέγραψεν ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ  
νεανίσκου—ἐρωτηθεὶς γὰρ ἐφ' ὃ τι ἦκεν, “Θερα-  
πείας,” ἔφη, “αἰτήσων πρὸς οὐδύνην πλευροῦ”—

Κυτμίδα χρίεσθαι κέλομαι δροσίην τε κέλητος·

τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἠκηκόει ὡς ἐρομένου  
τοῦ πέμψαντος, εἴτε οἱ<sup>3</sup> πλεῦσαι ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν  
εἴτε πεζοπορήσαι λῶον, ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδὲν πρὸς  
τὸν Ὁμηρον·

Μὴ σύ γε πλωέμεναι, πεζὴν δὲ κατ' οἶμον<sup>4</sup>  
ὄδευε.

54 Πολλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεμηχανησάμην  
αὐτῷ, οἷον καὶ ἐκείνο· μίαν ἐρώτησιν ἐρωτήσας  
ἐπέγραψα τῷ βιβλίῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος· “τοῦ δεινὸς  
χρησμοὶ ὀκτώ,” ψευδάμενός τι ὄνομα, καὶ τὰς  
ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἔτι πρὸς ταύταις

<sup>1</sup> Text Γ: σαυαρδάχου μαλα ἄττης ἄλλοῦν U, σαβαρδάχου·  
μάλα ἄττης ἄλλο ἦν B.

<sup>2</sup> κέλητος Seidler: κελητοῦς γ, καὶ λητοῦς β.

<sup>3</sup> εἴτε οἱ Seager: εἰ δέοι β, εἴτε μοι γ.

<sup>4</sup> κατ' οἶμον vulg.: καθ' οἶμον βγ.

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Let me also tell you a few of the responses that were given to me. When I asked whether Alexander was bald, and sealed the question carefully and conspicuously, a “nocturnal” oracle was appended:

“Sabardalachou malachaattealos en.”<sup>1</sup>

At another time, I asked a single question in each of two scrolls under a different name, “What was the poet Homer’s country?” In one case, misled by my serving-man, who had been asked why he came and had said, “To request a cure for a pain in the side,” he replied:

“Cytmis<sup>2</sup> I bid you apply, combined with the spume of a charger.”

To the other, since in this case he had been told that the one who sent it enquired whether it would be better for him to go to Italy by sea or by land, he gave an answer which had nothing to do with Homer:

“Make not your journey by sea, but travel afoot by the highway.”

Many such traps, in fact, were set for him by me and by others. For example, I put a single question, and wrote upon the outside of the scroll, following the usual form: “Eight questions from So-and-so,” using a fictitious name and sending the eight drachmas and whatever it came to besides.<sup>3</sup> Rely-

<sup>1</sup> In failing to submit this to the official interpreters, Lucian lost a priceless opportunity.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander’s nostrum; cf c. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Since the price of each oracle was one drachma, two obols, the indefinite plus was sixteen obols, or 2dr. 4 obols.

πέμψας· ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας τῇ ἀποπομπῇ τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ τοῦ βιβλίου, πρὸς μίαν ἐρώτησιν—ἦν δὲ αὕτη· “ πότε ἀλώσεται μαγγανεύων Ἀλέξανδρος ”;—ὁκτώ μοι χρησμούς ἐπεμψεν, οὔτε γῆς φασιν οὔτε οὐρανοῦ ἀπτομένους, ἀνοήτους δὲ καὶ δυσνοήτους ἅπαντας.

“ Ἀπερ ὕστερον αἰσθόμενος, καὶ ὅτι Ῥουτιλιανὸν ἐγὼ ἀπέτρεπον τοῦ γάμου καὶ τοῦ πάνυ προσκεῖσθαι ταῖς τοῦ χρηστηρίου ἐλπίσιν, ἐμίσει, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, καὶ ἔχθιστον ἡγείτο. καὶ ποτε περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐρομένῳ τῷ Ῥουτιλιανῷ ἔφη·

Νυκτιπλάνοις ὁάροις χαίρει κοίταις τε δυσάγνοις.

καὶ ὅλως ἔχθιστος εἰκότως ἦν ἐγώ.

55 Καπειδὴ εἰσελθόντα με εἰς τὴν πόλιν ᾗσθητο καὶ ἔμαθεν ὡς ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν ὁ Λουκιανός—ἐπηγόμην δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας δύο, λογχοφόρον καὶ κουτοφόρον, παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς Καππαδοκίας, φίλου τότε ὄντος, λαβών, ὥς με παραπέμψειαν μέχρι πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν—αὐτίκα μεταστέλλεται δεξιῶς πάνυ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοφροσύνης. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐγὼ πολλοὺς καταλαμβάνω περὶ αὐτόν· συνεπηγόμην δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τύχῃ τινὶ ἀγαθῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν προὔτεινέ μοι κύσαι τὴν δεξιάν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ προσφύς ὡς φιλήσων, δῆγματι χρηστῷ πάνυ μικροῦ δεῖν χολὴν αὐτῷ ἐποίησα τὴν χεῖρα.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν παρόντες ἄγχειν με καὶ παίειν ἐπειρῶντο ὡς ἱερόσυλον, καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἀγανακτήσαντες ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ προφήτην προσεῖπον· ὁ δὲ πάνυ γεννικῶς

ing upon the fee that had been sent and upon the inscription on the roll, to the single question: “When will Alexander be caught cheating?” he sent me eight responses which, as the saying goes, had no connection with earth or with heaven, but were silly and nonsensical every one.

When he found out about all this afterward, and also that it was I who was attempting to dissuade Rutilianus from the marriage and from his great dependence upon the hopes inspired by the shrine, he began to hate me, as was natural, and to count me a bitter enemy. Once when Rutilianus asked about me, he replied:

“Low-voiced walks in the dusk are his pleasure, and impious matings.”

And generally, I was of course the man he most hated.

When he discovered that I had entered the city and ascertained that I was the Lucian of whom he had heard (I had brought, I may add, two soldiers with me, a pikeman and a spearman borrowed from the Governor of Cappadocia, then a friend of mine, to escort me to the sea), he at once sent for me very politely and with great show of friendliness. When I went, I found many about him; but I had brought along my two soldiers, as luck would have it. He extended me his right hand to kiss, as his custom was with the public; I clasped it as if to kiss it, and almost crippled it with a right good bite!

The bystanders tried to choke and beat me for sacrilege; even before that, they had been indignant because I had addressed him as Alexander and not as “Prophet.” But he mastered himself very hand-

καρτερήσας κατέπαυέν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο τιθασὸν με ῥαδίως ἀποφανεῖν καὶ δείξειν τὴν Γλύκωνος ἀρετὴν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πάνυ τραχυνομένους φίλους ἀπεργάζεται. καὶ μεταστησάμενος ἅπαντας ἐδικαιολογεῖτο πρὸς με, λέγων πάνυ με εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥουτιλιανῷ συμβουλευόμενα, καὶ "Τί παθὼν ταῦτά με εἰργάσω, δυνάμενος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα προαχθῆναι παρ' αὐτῷ"; καὶ γὰρ ἄσμενος ἤδη ἐδεχόμεν τὴν φιλοφροσύνην ταύτην ὁρῶν οἱ κινδύνου καθειστήκειν, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον προήλθον φίλος γεγενημένος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ μικρὸν θαῦμα τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἔδοξεν, οὕτω ῥαδία γενομένη μου ἡ μεταβολή.

- 56 Εἶτα δὴ μου ἐκπλεῖν προαιρουμένου ξένια καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ πέμψας—μόνος δὲ σὺν τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἔτυχον ἐπιδημῶν, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς εἰς Ἀμαστριν προεκπεπομφώς—ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ πλοῖον αὐτὸς παρέξειν καὶ ἐρέτας τοὺς ἀπάξοντας. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὥμην ἀπλοῦν τι τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ δεξιόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον ἐγενόμην, δακρύνοντα ὁρῶν τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τι ἀντιλέγοντα οὐκ ἀγαθὰς εἶχον περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδας. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεσταλμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀραμένους ῥίψαι ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· ὅπερ εἰ ἐγένετο, ῥαδίως ἂν αὐτῷ διεπεπολέμητο τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἀλλὰ δακρύνων ἐκεῖνος ἔπεισεν καὶ τοὺς συνναύτας μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δεινὸν ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ ἔφη, "Ἐτη ἐξήκοντα, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἀνεπίληπτον βίον καὶ ὅσιον προβεβηκὼς οὐκ ἂν βουλοίμην, ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα ἔχων, μιᾶναι φονῇ

somely, held them in check, and promised that he would easily make me tame and would demonstrate Glycon's worth by showing that he transformed even bitter foes into friends. Then he removed everybody and had it out with me, professing to know very well who I was and what advice I was giving Rutilianus, and saying, "What possessed you to do this to me, when I can advance you tremendously in his favour?" By that time I was glad to receive this proffer of friendship, since I saw what a perilous position I had taken up; so, after a little, I reappeared as his friend, and it seemed quite a miracle to the observers that my change of heart had been so easily effected.

Then, when I decided to sail—it chanced that I was accompanied only by Xenophon<sup>1</sup> during my visit, as I had previously sent my father and my family on to Amastris—he sent me many remembrances and presents, and promised too that he himself would furnish a boat and a crew to transport me. I considered this a sincere and polite offer; but when I was in mid-passage, I saw the master in tears, disputing with the sailors, and began to be very doubtful about the prospects. It was a fact that they had received orders from Alexander to throw us bodily into the sea. If that had been done, his quarrel with me would have been settled without ado; but by his tears the master prevailed upon his crew to do us no harm. "For sixty years, as you see," said he to me, "I have led a blameless and God-fearing life, and I should not wish, at this age and with a wife and children, to stain my hands

<sup>1</sup> Probably a slave or a freedman. He is not mentioned elsewhere in Lucian.

τὰς χεῖρας," δηλῶν ἐφ' ὅπερ ἡμᾶς ἀνείληφει, καὶ  
57 τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένα. κατα-  
θέμενος δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐν Αἰγιαλοῖς, ὧν καὶ ὁ καλὸς  
Ὅμηρος μέμνηται, ὀπίσω ἀπήλυνον.

"Εὐθα ἐγὼ παραπλέοντας εὐρὼν Βοσποριανούς  
τινας, πρέσβεις παρ' Εὐπάτορος τοῦ βασιλέως  
εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἀπιόντας ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῆς ἐπετείου  
συντάξεως, καὶ διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν περι-  
στάντα ἡμᾶς κίνδυνον, καὶ δεξιῶν αὐτῶν τυχῶν,  
ἀναληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον διασώζομαι εἰς τὴν  
Ἀμαστριν, παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθὼν ἀποθανεῖν.

Τοῦντεῦθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεκορυσσόμεν αὐτῷ καὶ  
πάντα κάλων ἐκίνουν ἀμύνασθαι βουλόμενος, καὶ  
πρὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἤδη μισῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔχθιστον  
ἡγούμενος διὰ τὴν τοῦ τρόπου μιανίαν, καὶ πρὸς  
τὴν κατηγορίαν ὥρμήμην πολλοὺς συναγωνιστὰς  
ἔχων καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀπὸ Τιμοκράτους τοῦ  
Ἡρακλεώτου φιλοσόφου· ἀλλ' ὁ τότε ἡγούμενος  
Βιθυνίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου Αὔειτος<sup>1</sup> ἐπέσχε,  
μονονουχὶ ἱκετεύων καὶ ἀντιβολῶν παύσασθαι·  
διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς Ῥουτιλιανὸν εὐνοίαν μὴ ἂν  
δύνασθαι, καὶ εἰ φανερώς λάβοι ἀδικοῦντα,  
κολάσαι αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν ἀνεκόπη τῆς ὁρμῆς  
καὶ ἐπαυσάμην οὐκ ἐν δέοντι θρασυνόμενος ἐφ'  
οὕτω δικαστοῦ διακειμένου.

<sup>1</sup> Αὔειτος Burmeister: ἀνεκτος β, αὐτὸς γ.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, 2, 855.

<sup>2</sup> Tiberius Julius Eupator succeeded Rhoemetalces as King of the (Cimmerian) Bosphorus, on the Tauric Chersonese; its capital was Panticapaeum (Kertch). The period of his reign is about A.D. 154-171. At this time the kingdom seems to have been paying tribute to the Scythians annually as well as to the Empire (*Toxaris*, 44).

with murder;" and he explained for what purpose he had taken us aboard, and what orders had been given by Alexander. He set us ashore at Aegiali (which noble Homer mentions<sup>1</sup>), and then they went back again.

There I found some men from the Bosphorus who were voyaging along the coast. They were going as ambassadors from King Eupator to Bithynia, to bring the yearly contribution.<sup>2</sup> I told them of the peril in which we had been, found them courteous, was taken aboard their vessel, and won safely through to Amastris, after coming so close to losing my life.

Thereupon I myself began to prepare for battle with him, and to employ every resource in my desire to pay him back. Even before his attempt upon me, I detested him and held him in bitter enmity on account of the vileness of his character. So I undertook to prosecute him, and had many associates, particularly the followers of Timocrates, the philosopher from Heraclea. But the then governor of Bithynia and Pontus, Avitus,<sup>3</sup> checked me, all but beseeching and imploring me to leave off, because out of good will to Rutilianus he could not, he said, punish Alexander even if he should find him clearly guilty of crime. In that way my effort was thwarted, and I left off exhibiting misplaced zeal before a judge who was in that state of mind.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> L. Lollianus Avitus, consul A.D. 144, proconsul Africae ca. 156, praeses Bithyniae 165.

<sup>4</sup> Of course Lucian's case, as it stood, was weak, as Avitus tactfully hinted. But this does not excuse Avitus. The chances of securing enough evidence to convict Alexander in a Roman court were distinctly good, and fear of Alexander's influence is the only reasonable explanation of the failure to proceed.

58 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πῶς οὐ μέγα ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ τόλμημα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸ αἰτῆσαι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μετονομασθῆναι τὸ τοῦ Ἀβώνου τεῖχος καὶ Ἰωνόπολιν κληθῆναι, καὶ νόμισμα καινὸν κόψαι ἐγκεχαραγμένον τῇ μὲν τοῦ Γλύκωνος, κατὰ θάτερα δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, στέμματά τε τοῦ πάππου Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄρπην ἐκείνην τοῦ πατρομήτορος Περσέως ἔχοντος ;

59 Προειπὼν δὲ διὰ χρησμοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ζῆσαι εἴμαρται αὐτῷ ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, εἴτα κεραυνῷ βληθέντα ἀποθανεῖν, οἰκτίστῳ τέλει οὐδὲ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς ἀπέθανεν, ὡς Ποδαλειρίου υἱὸς διασαπείν τὸν πόδα μέχρι τοῦ βουβῶνος καὶ σκωλήκων ζέσας· ὅτεπερ καὶ ἐφωράθη φαλακρὸς ὢν, παρέχων τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐπιβρέχειν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὴν ὀδύνην, ὃ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι ἐδύναντο μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς φενάκης ἀφηρημένης.

60 Τοιοῦτο τέλος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τραγωδίας καὶ αὕτη τοῦ παντὸς δράματος ἢ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο, ὡς εἰκάζειν προνοίας τινὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἰ καὶ κατὰ τύχην συνέβη. ἔδει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον αὐτοῦ ἄξιον γενέσθαι τοῦ βίου, καὶ ἀγῶνά τινα συστήσασθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρηστηρίου, τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ γοήτων, ὅσοι κορυφαῖοι ἦσαν, ἀνελλθόντων ἐπὶ διαιτητὴν τὸν Ῥουτιλιανόν, τίνα χρὴ προκριθῆναι αὐτῶν καὶ διαδέξασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ στεφανωθῆναι τῷ ἱεροφαντικῷ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> The request was granted, at least in part. Beginning with the reign of Verus, the legends ΙΟΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ and ΓΛΥΚΩΝ appear on the coins; and they continue to bear

Was it not also a great piece of impudence on the part of Alexander that he should petition the Emperor to change the name of Abonoteichus and call it Ionopolis, and to strike a new coin bearing on one side the likeness of Glycon and on the other that of Alexander, wearing the fillets of his grandfather Asclepius and holding the falchion of his maternal ancestor Perseus? <sup>1</sup>

In spite of his prediction in an oracle that he was fated to live a hundred and fifty years and then die by a stroke of lightning, he met a most wretched end before reaching the age of seventy, in a manner that befitted a son of Podaleirius; <sup>2</sup> for his leg became mortified quite to the groin and was infested with maggots. It was then that his baldness was detected when because of the pain he let the doctors foment his head, which they could not have done unless his wig had been removed.

Such was the conclusion of Alexander's spectacular career, and such the *dénouement* of the whole play; being as it was, it resembled an act of Providence, although it came about by chance. It was inevitable, too, that he should have funeral games worthy of his career—that a contest for the shrine should arise. The foremost of his fellow-conspirators and impostors referred it to Rutilianus to decide which of them should be given the preference, should succeed to the shrine, and should be crowned with

the representation of a snake with human head to the middle of the third century (Head, *Hist. Numm.*, 432, Cumont *l.c.*, p. 42). The modern name Inéboli is a corruption of Ionopolis.

<sup>2</sup> As son of Podaleirius, it was fitting, thinks Lucian, that his leg (*pod-*) should be affected.

προφητικῷ στέμματι. ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ Παῖτος, ἰατρὸς τὴν τέχνην, πολίος τις,<sup>1</sup> οὔτε ἰατρῷ πρόποντα οὔτε πολιῷ ἀνδρὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν. ἀλλ' ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης Ῥουτιλιανὸς ἀστεφανώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὴν προφητείαν φυλάττων μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν.

- 61 Ταῦτα, ὦ φιλότης, ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν δείγματος ἕνεκα γράψαι ἠξίωσα, καὶ σοὶ μὲν χαριζόμενος, ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ καὶ φίλῳ καὶ ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων μάλιστα θαυμάσας ἔχω ἐπὶ τε σοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔρωτι καὶ τρόπου πραότητι καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ γαλήνῃ βίου καὶ δεξιότητι πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας, τὸ πλεον δέ,—ὅπερ καὶ σοὶ ἥδιον,—Ἐπικούρῳ τιμωρῶν, ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱερῷ καὶ θεσπεσίῳ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μόνῳ μετ' ἀληθείας τὰ καλὰ ἐγνωκότι καὶ παραδεδωκότι καὶ ἐλευθερωτῇ τῶν ὁμιλησάντων αὐτῷ γενομένῳ. οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἐντυχούσι χρήσιμόν τι ἔχειν δόξει ἢ γραφή, τὰ μὲν διεξελέγχουσα, τὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὐφρονούντων γνώμας βεβαιούσα.

<sup>1</sup> πολίος τις A.M.H. : πολίτης δε γβ : πολίος ὡν Fritzsche.

the fillet of priest and prophet. Paetus was one of them, a physician by profession, a greybeard, who conducted himself in a way that befitted neither a physician nor a greybeard. But Rutilianus, the umpire, sent them off unfilleted, keeping the post of prophet for the master after his departure from this life.

This, my friend, is but a little out of a great deal ; I have thought fit to set it down as a specimen, not only to pleasure you as an associate and friend whom above all others I hold in admiration for your wisdom, your love of truth, the gentleness and reasonableness of your ways, the peacefulness of your life, and your courtesy toward all whom you encounter, but mostly—and this will give greater pleasure to you also—to right the wrongs of Epicurus, a man truly saintly and divine in his nature, who alone truly discerned right ideals and handed them down, who proved himself the liberator of all who sought his converse. I think too that to its readers the writing will seem to have some usefulness, refuting as it does certain falsehoods and confirming certain truths in the minds of all men of sense.