Lucian and
His Roman Voices

Cultural Exchanges and Conflicts in the Late Roman Empire

Eleni Bozia

Routledge

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Lucian and His Roman Voices examines cultural exchanges, political propaganda, and religious conflicts in the Late Roman Empire through the eyes of Lucian, his contemporary Roman authors, and Christian Apologists. Offering a multifaceted analysis of the Lucianic corpus, this book explores how Lucian, a Syrian who wrote in Greek and who became a Roman citizen, was affected by the socio-political climate of his time, reacted to it, and "corresponded" with the Roman intelligentsia. In the process, this unique volume raises questions such as: What did the title "Roman citizen" mean to native Romans and to others? How were language and literature politicized, and how did they become a means of social propaganda? This study reveals Lucian's recondite historical and authorial personas, construing his literary activity as a means of depicting the vignettes of second-century reality from the viewpoint of the Romans, the Greeks, the pagans, the Christians, the citizens of the Roman Empire.

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Στη γιαγιά μου, Βασιλική,
και στο σύζυγό μου, Άγγελο,
με ευγνωμοσύνη.

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1 Introduction

APPRECIATIONS OF THE SECOND SOPHISTIC

This book examines cultural exchanges, political propaganda, foreign identity politics, and religious conflicts in the late Roman Empire from the perspective of Lucian, Juvenal, Aulus Gellius, and the first Christian Apologists. Ethnicity and identity, social segregation or social miscegenation, the tendentious nomenclature "Roman citizen," and religious (in)fallibility are pivotal issues that suggest a multifarious world such as the late Roman Empire. My intention in this book is to compare the Lucianic corpus with the works of earlier and contemporary Roman authors and the Christian Apologists in an attempt to delineate a vignette of the second-century social, historical, religious, and literary ferments through the eyes of the *literati* of the Empire, the native Roman citizens, the *nouveaux* Roman citizens, the pagans, and the Christians. I also examine the reception of Lucian and the Second Sophistic in Byzantine and European literature and contend that there are discernible elemental similarities, suggesting modulated reappropriations of the Second Sophistic Lucianic shibboleth. The conceptual identity of this study is not to contextualize Lucian; *au contraire*, the primary goal is to bring Lucianic content to the foreground and establish that he worked within the scope and boundaries of the Second Sophistic, literarily and chronologically, but was not defined by them. Instead he created his own world, which, when carefully examined, can be read as a metalanguage for the Second Sophistic and the Greco-Roman political and intellectual realities. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study, I believe that a cursory presentation of the period will further clarify my choice to work with Lucian as well as the selection of *comparanda*.

Over the past decades scholarly attention has turned to the Second Sophistic, the Greek identity, the Roman citizenship, the unavoidable sociopolitical ferments, and the alleged literary subterfuge of those Greeks and pro-Greeks who try to appropriate a self in a Roman world. Sophists have been examined as historical figures, political entities, rhetoricians, and lastly as the *literati* of the Empire; during that time Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Appian, Arrian, Aelius Aristides, Lucian, Pausanias, Galen, Philostratus, and

Cassius Dio started figuring in treatises on language, ethnicity, identity, and literary appropriation of socio-political preeminence. Scholars on the period have long quoted van Groningen's derogatory appraisal of second-century literature in 1965, and for a while they used it as a disclaimer for any perspectival failure to appreciate this idiosyncratically distinctive literary phenomenon. However, when we examine closely van Groningen's description, we realize that he unequivocally pinpointed, albeit derisively, the three premier denominators of second-century literature, namely archaizing, religious rationale, and Roman influence. His lecture put it as follows, "Reading the bulk of second-century literature one is not transported into a real world, but into a sham one, in a museum of fossils."[1] He described what we now consider literary achievements as attempts of the second-century Greek to "juggle with motifs and words"[2] and explained this decadence as the result of religion and Roman overpowering of the Greek spirit and culture. Since then scholars have attempted to reconsider the aforementioned evaluations.[3]

Only a few years later in 1969, Bowersock set out to "place the sophistic movement as a whole within the history of the Roman Empire."[4] He provided an account of the sophists' biographies and related their (re)actions to the circumstances that the Roman emperors had formulated. Some might say that this is a practical approach to the logistics of their lives, the privileges they enjoyed, the tasks they undertook, their relationships with their cities, their prestige, and their professional frictions.[5] Bowersock undeniably established the foundation required for any lapidary and profound examination of those sophists' literary endeavors. Gradually, reconsiderations of the Second Sophistic began to surface in academic publishing. The existential diversity of this period that encompasses literary finesse with lucid political self-consciousness (both with the modern meaning of politics and the Aristotelian "citizenship") and transcends the traditional boundaries of literature by encroaching upon the very foundation of contemporary society and culture comes into the foreground along with the representatives of this phenomenon that has known no predecessor. The following decades see a resurgence of publications exploring bilingualism, *Hellenismos* and *latinitas*, denominations of Greeks at the time (*Graecus, Graeculus, graecari*),[6] and of course the sentimental evaluation of second-century literature as tendering a national past through a literary present.[7] Anderson's *Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*[8] brings the aforementioned parameters together. He acknowledges and then examines the multifaceted characters of the sophists—their political stance as well as their explorations of literature, language, and oratory—even though some arid devaluations of the literature of the period may require further (re)consideration; occasionally, he seems to have failed to appreciate the innovative repurposing of archaism and the authorial artifices of the sophists, quantifying them as lacking merit.

Reflections on the period become all the more frequent, focused, and convergent on language, ethnicity, identity, and the *literati*. Sophists begin

to be treated primarily as authorial figures and secondly with respect to their political status. The diversified quantity of the written material, ranging from oratorical speeches, novels, and philosophical treatises to geographical accounts, medical volumes, and histories—and their variegated nature, the espousal of different stylistic models, the rebirth of Atticism, and the underlying social issues—render the Second Sophistic literature unique. Swain's *Hellenism and Empire*[9] discusses the parameters in what he calls "the Greek World" and considers the duality in the lives of the sophists, the dual ethnicity and the Janus-like endeavors, namely the political career and the contemporaneous literary activity that either bears political success or is occasionally subsumed under political ambitions. Whitmarsh, on the other hand, favors more the idea of political prowess of literature and, in a comprehensive yet all-encompassing-of-the-period statement, argues that "the image of the Greeks as disenfranchised purveyors of education was produced by conquering Romans as a technique of control, but re-made by Greeks into a creative force, 'metaphorized' into a set of resources . . . Literary ingenuity is one primary means of negotiating the imperialism of language and thought."[10] The same exploration of political (re)positioning concomitant with literary activity is explored in Goldhill's collection of essays.[11] Also, Gleason,[12] Schmitz,[13] and Whitmarsh[14] among others discuss the aforementioned parameters that create the so-called Second Sophistic, while they also provide an ambit that defines it.

How are we to define the phenomenon (as it has been called by many) of the Second Sophistic? The safest route, albeit one not always objectively quantifiable, is to examine and evaluate written testimonies—i.e., the works of the sophists themselves. Any attempt reveals one thing: that authors either consciously, responding to the exigencies of their era, or unwittingly, exploring the wealth of previous Greek literature, manage to create a literary genre, a new amalgamated genre filtered and promoted through language, an autarchic and nonpartisan literary shibboleth, through which they discuss and explore their present. Another tantalizing question that arises is the following: When the reality we have to deal with involves the coexistence of multiple realities—the Roman reality, the Hellenic reality, the Roman citizenship, and the Hellenic identity—how does one cross-examine the sources? Thus far, scholarship has focused on general discursive evaluations of this *epoque*, or minute examinations of different authors who, regardless of their geographical point of origin, wrote in Greek (a clear sign of *Hellenismos* in a Roman world). Notwithstanding the perils of attempting to demarcate the intentions of the orators of this period and of anachronistically assigning them modern roles, I believe that they all managed to politicize and democratize literature, using it as a means of political propaganda and political advancement and of being attuned to the concerns of their contemporary *polites*. Starting from the very obvious parallels that are to be drawn from Plutarch's *Vitae*,[15] *Quaestiones Romanae*, and *Quaestiones Graecae* to his *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*,[16] the Boeotian with

simple clarity introduces the Greeks to the Romans and vice versa, admitting all the while to the ever-present necessity for ethnic coexistence.[17] Jones comprehensively acknowledges this duality in Plutarch's world, especially in the *Moralia*.[18] Schmidt makes this comparison more intriguing as he also considers the parallel Greek versus barbarian.[19] Presenting examples of flawed governance that affect the Greeks in *Sulla, Sertorius*, and *Antonius*,[20] as well as favorable accounts of *Cimon* and occasionally of *Lucullus*, Plutarch provides a live account of everyday life in a context of historicity. His religious works, such as *De Superstitione*, as well as statements regarding divine providence (*Philopoemen* 17.2 "with the help of the divine spirit") clearly mirror contemporary concerns regarding the divine and ponder on the foundation of the Roman rule.[21] Does that mean, however, that Plutarch has a set stance towards Romans and Greeks, and, if that is so, how can we argue in favor of the democratization of literature? Some of his works such as *Bellone an Pace clariores fuerint Athenienses* and *De Fortuna Romanorum*[22] are more attuned to people's considerations, opinions, and concerns as they come to pose reasonable questions about the Roman Empire, the Greek past, and the Greco-Roman present and bring the fluidity of the times to the foreground.

Dio of Prusa, also known as Chrysostom, personifies the politicization of literature[23]: a politician by nature, a rhetorician by training, and an ever-shifting persona by necessity and according to the calling of his times. As Jones elucidates, Dio conveniently conceives each speech to secure the *captatio benevolentiae* of his audience.[24] He occasionally supports Rome, albeit never in an eulogistic manner, and provides accounts of his historical reality(ies). When it comes to literature and the *polis*, Dio does not forgo his advantage to deliver speeches to different audiences. As Swain rightly observes, there is no way to confirm whether he delivered the same *Orations on Kingship* to Trajan and to his Greek audience.[25] We encounter the same political machinations and literary obfuscation when we read *Oration xli* and then reread it and juxtapose it with *xiii*; the former aligning with Aelius Aristides's *To Rome*, the latter a mouthpiece of Cato, Petronius, Juvenal, and numerous others who castigate Roman licentious conduct.[26] Thus far it would not be unreasonable to conclude that Plutarch and Dio brandish the merits of literature in non-literary spheres and rethink citizenship and the Roman Empire in literary contexts.

Aelius Aristides's archaistic verbosity, literary mannerisms, and rhetorical machinations in the service of politics earned him popularity amidst his contemporaries and posterity. When reading his encomiastic *To Rome*, one wonders whether he uses literature to promote his politics, or vice versa.[27] Scholarly views on Aelius for the most part have reached a consensus: Admittedly he expresses pro-Roman sentiments, although we should be mindful of the fact that there may always be an unattested dissension between authorial and historical personas. Also, Pernot recently reevaluated Aristides's relationship with Rome and posed unsettling questions regarding

different aspects of this encomium.[28] In this direction, Said argues that the *Panathenaic Oration* is "an attempt to give historical legitimacy to the status of Athens under Roman rule."[29] Nonetheless, Aristides advanced in the Roman socio-political hierarchy and enjoyed fame in his homeland as well. A proponent of the old religion and inveterate divine practices, he writes his *Sacred Tales* wary of his fragile physical condition[30] and celebrates the provision of the gods against the backdrop of contemporary religious reality, all the while expounding his views on Rome.[31] His orations to certain cities constitute a harmonious convergence of political and religious realities. *Oration xxvii*, for instance, is meant to celebrate the dedication of the temple in Cyzicus to the cult of Hadrian, while Aristides's unbridled rhetorical dexterity turns it into an imperatorial eulogy.[32] In the *Smyrnaean orations* (*Orr. xvii–xxi*),[33] and *Oration xxiii* (*To the Cities, on Concord*) and *Oration xxiv* (*To the Rhodians, On Concord*) among others, Aelius discusses political issues of topical and imperatorial administration.[34] The presentation of intertwined administrative issues and the acceptance of Roman authority and provincial sub-authority, contrary to Plutarch and Dio, indicate that not all Second Sophistic orators use literature to create an intellectual reality parallel to the Roman historical reality, contriving to emulate Roman political prowess. Aristides provides us with a more historical account of this *epoque* and uses his position to sensitize his audiences to the actuality of their times.

Variations in the Second Sophistic can be noted, not only with regards to the socio-political stance of the authors, but also in relation to their choice of literary genre. Pausanias, the geographer; the novelists, namely Chariton, Xenophon, Longus, Tatius, and Heliodorus (albeit a bit later); and historians, such as Arrian, Appian, and Cassius Dio, all have an (op)position against/regarding Rome, Hellenism, Greek *paideia*, and Roman authority.[35] However, the scope of the current introduction is to reintroduce Lucian by syncretizing him with contemporary authors engaging in similar careers and rhetorical pursuits, effectuating political advancement, and expressly historizing and politicizing their works; therefore, any lengthy immersion into the literary endeavors of the novelists and the historians, albeit enlightening regarding Second Sophistic, may in return prove reductive when it comes to Lucian.

Paganism and Christianity: Religion, Philosophy, or Propaganda

Thus far I have focused on the identity and socio-political issues characteristic of the second century CE that are the provenance of the Second Sophistic literature and that inevitably percolated through it. Politicized literature and rhetorized politics cognizant of and contingent upon each other monopolize the scene of this *epoque*. Another socially precarious area, indicative of the perspectival multifocality of this era and concomitant with the political and cultural variegations, is the *status quo* (albeit almost an oxymoron at the

time) of religion. The inveterate Roman religion, Judaism, Mithraism, and the emerging Christianity amidst other Eastern cults, as well as the several philosophical groups, namely the Stoics, the Cynics, the Epicureans, and later the Neoplatonists in the third century CE, create a polymorphous spiritual *actualité*.[36] Occasional political instability, as was the case under the reign of Nero; Eastern cults that introduce elements of occultism; Jewish long-lasting yet somewhat separational attitude; Christian redefinition of monotheism and divinity, along with the belief in resurrection; and the so-called "imperial cult" (part of the established Roman religion), adherence to which may accreditate citizenship and piety, create a sphere of opaqueness around divinity, religion, and spirituality, transcending existential concerns and civic-political life in the Empire.

De Labriolle, in *La Réaction Païenne*, provides an account explicatory of the actions and reactions of pagans towards philosophical concerns and explains the involvement of Christianity into this reality of inquisitiveness. He gradually constructs the identity of each philosophical group and then presents its common points of reference with Christianity only to conclude on the latter's differential relationship with every religious and philosophical group. Even though one may establish certain similarities with Cynicism, such as attempts through abstinence to reinforce the individuals' spirit, still Cynics do not condemn carnal pleasure (*si le cynisme recommandait une certain ascèse, c' était uniquement afin d'aider l'individu à réduire ses appétits . . . il ne condamnait nullement le plaisir charnel*).[37]

Other aspects of Christianity that surface through the exigency for self-definition and due to its juncture with the socio-cultural, religious, and of course literary realities are its communication with Hellenism and classical culture, the reasons that instigated its repudiation and consequent persecutions, and its occasional appropriation (due to social exigencies) of Roman *mores*. The comprehensive appreciation of the second century as an era when ethnicity and identity issues figure most prominently, as I discussed earlier, is twofold: it includes sophists-orators who either discuss religion *per se* or else religion exists as a subtext that is meant to complement discussions on the differentiation between Greco-Roman culture and Easterners as well as dedication of temples and imperial deification. Also, it involves Christian Apologetics who promote their religion and define themselves against the backdrop of traditional religion as well as Greco-Roman identity and classical culture.

Goldhill successfully presents the identity conundrum of pagans and Christians and their espousal of classical culture by discussing Synesius as a deliberative agent of Christianity, all the while admitting to familiarity with and acceptance of pagan philosophy and culture.[38] Elsner discusses Greco-Roman and Syrian identity on the basis of Lucian's *De Syria Dea*,[39] and, although I will elaborate on that in chapter 4, it becomes evident that through Lucian's "cultural translation" (as Elsner puts it)[40] the coexistence of variegated cultural and religious realities creates a matrix of intertwined

self and religious definitions. Dodds[41] and Wilken[42] attempt a negative definition of Christianity by resorting to the pagan perspectives and discussing, as Dodds puts it, "aspects of religious experience." In an age of *Romanitas* and *Hellenismos*, the new tenet needs to establish itself in relation to the established realities: philosophical schools, divine system, and civic order. The edited volume of Edwards, Goodman, and Price;[43] Rhee;[44] and Humphries[45] among others explore those parameters from the perspective of the Apologists; Hellenism, rhetoric, and loyalty to the Roman Empire filtered through the Apologetic writings.

Finally, the last perspectical promontory in the scholarly examination of Christianity is its consideration as a religion, a not-well-received religion for that matter. Cumont establishes the life of oriental religions, as he calls them, in the Empire. He examines aspects of their worship and places Christianity in the same chronological and spiritual framework.[46] Subsequently, Ferguson's volume on persecutions explores the cultural and occasionally legal constituents that instituted Christian illegitimacy and prompted their social and religious disavowal.[47]

Lucian's case is unique in our appreciation of that reality; he makes Greeks and Romans "the other" in *De Syria Dea*. Without presenting Christianity (except for the brief references in *Peregrinus* and *Alexander*), he also makes traditional worship "the other" in *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Deorum Concilium*, and *De Sacrificiis*, rendering his writings parables not of inveterate traditionalism or of new dogmas but of an all-encompassing apprehension of the socio-political, philosophical, and religious relativism, and this makes his account without a doubt one of the most lapidary and representative vignettes of the second-century religious reality.

The Reception of the Second Sophistic

The last chapter of this study examines not the reception of Lucian, but the reception of the Lucianic second-century *Zeitgeist* as I presented it throughout the first chapters, namely the parasites, the fluctuating social parameters, and the religious ferments within the context of the ever-changing Byzantine and European *status quo*. I show that Lucian's politicization of literature and his sensitization to current issues of concern infiltrated through and resulted in a similar nuancing in Byzantine and European literature. Subsequently, through my analysis it will become clear that Lucian formulated his own shibboleth of second-century reality, and it is this reality that survives in multifarious configurations in later authors. Lucian's authorial activity bears a twofold significance. First, the topics he discusses do not simply interest his contemporaries, but are usually diachronic issues of concern; political profligacy, idiosyncratic character types (such as parasites), issues of nationality and identity, and religious ferments constitute formative parameters of every reality regardless of the century or the country. Whether it is twelfth-century Byzantine-Christian existential questions filtered through

contemporary philoclassicist tendencies, or the sixteenth-century English Humanistic spirit expressing contumacy or simply exploring types of governance, or even seventeenth-century France where King Louis XIV created his personal circle of parasites, Lucian's perspectival contributions and considerations seem current. Second, Lucian's literary techniques (satiric travelogues, quasi-philosophical treatises, apologies), innovative, occasionally facetious, but always artful, provide all authors with a repository of modes of rhetorical finesse that prove to be transcultural and transliterary. The preponderance of an examination of his reception is unquestionable.

Starting with Highet's *Classical Tradition*[48] and Bolgar's *The Classical Tradition and its Beneficiaries*,[49] it does not take long to find Lucian. Highet gives a list of Lucian's fifteenth-and sixteenth-century translations in Italian, English, and German and throughout his study establishes Lucian's influence on fiction, satire, and moral treatises.[50] Bolgar provides a catalog of Lucian's manuscripts that quantifies the range of his memory and explains his reception. He then explores his continued popularity in the Byzantine Empire and mainly elaborates on Erasmus' perception of and inspiration by him. Robinson[51] expands the points of reference and, after his account of Lucian's reception in Byzantium and Italy, excogitates the latter's percolation through theater, satiric works, and fictional travelogues in Northern Europe. He then turns his focus to Erasmus and Fielding, two major Renaissance Humanists, and revives Lucian through them. Furthermore, Lucian's literary fecundity attracted the interest of Humanists in the early Renaissance. Marsh explores his *Nachleben* in Italy, France, and England.[52] He evaluates Lucian's revival of topics and his authorial techniques in the Quattrocento and then discusses the *Dialogi Mortuorum, Dialogi Deorum*, the mock encomia, and his fictional narrative and describes how they found their way into European literature. Maffei studies Lucian from a different perspective, that of the visual arts, and offers a distinctive focus on his reception.[53] She discusses *ekphrasis* and Roman art against the backdrop of *Imagines, Herodotus,* and *Heracles* and includes artifacts and paintings that resemble Lucian's *ekphrases* from *Somnium, Zeuxis* and *Calumniae non temere credendum*. Baumbach analyzes Lucian's popularity in sixteenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Germany and his subsequent falling into obscurity, being deemed a mere imitator.[54] Finally, Ligota and Panizza[55] in their edited volume examine Lucian's reception of earlier literature, as is the case of *Quomodo Historia conscribenda sit*,[56] and then the reception of Lucian, in the case of Kepler, the astronomer who considers Lucian as a philosopher and ludic fictional writer,[57] and Wieland, who, as Deitz very perceptively notices, historizes Lucian and identifies similarities between the second century's reality and his own.[58] Also, Massing studies the revival of Lucianic stories, such as the story of Abauchas and Gyndanes in *Toxaris* and the calumny of Apelles narrated in *Calumniae non temere credendum* by fifteenth- through seventeenth-century painters.[59] The popularity of Lucian does not need to be established any further. Authors of fictional literature,[60]

including science fiction; playwrights, such as Ben Johnson;[61] and poets, such as Goethe (*Der Zauberlehrling, Faust*),[62] among many, attest to the sophist's enthusiastic reception.[63]

Lucian as a Choice

Considering the aforementioned attempts to define Second Sophistic literature and correlate it with contemporary realities, how would one perceive Lucian, and why would he be the obvious choice for a comparative evaluation of this era? The idea behind this study is to objectify our interpretations of this *epoque* by conducting a parallel evaluation of Greek-speaking and Roman-speaking authors. Lucian is not only an Easterner, who adopted Hellenic identity and Roman citizenship and therefore abides by all the parameters that would quantify him a representative of the Second Sophistic, but he also creates miniature vignettes of this historical reality in each one of his works. Instead of promoting Rome, as Aelius Aristides does, or favoring and/or chastising it, as Dio does, Lucian forces Romans, Greeks, and other foreigners, such as Scythians and Syrians, to enter into a dialogue and a subsequent exchange of ideas and of cultural (mis)apprehensions about one another. The choice of Juvenal and Aulus Gellius, even though I will elaborate on my intentions in the respective chapters, is contemporaneity, the distinctive similarity in topics, as well as all three authors' ability to discuss their own nation and "the other." When reading the Lucianic corpus, another issue at hand that has not been profoundly discussed is possible indications of religious reconsiderations prompted by the newly emerging Christian sect. As I argue in chapter 4, Lucian does not simply discuss religion, but forces his audience to rethink paganism and its practices and inadvertently enters into a stimulating consideration of Christianity. Finally, chapter 5 is meant to be read as the revival of the Second Sophistic in Byzantium and Europe. The choice of European authors is based on the degree of comparability with Lucian with respect to the following parameters: testimonies that they had read Lucian and their own politicization of literature and theology retrospectively in accordance with the spirit of the second century CE.

My examination of Lucian does not wish to redefine the literature of the Second Sophistic. Instead, continuing the discussion on Lucian that Jones initiated in 1986, I purport to show that Lucian is the personification of the Second Sophistic *Zeitgeist*, purveyor of the traditional constituents of *Hellenismos* and *Romanitas* and of creative redefinitions at the same time, and hope to open the interpretative possibilities of his works.

LUCIAN'S LIFE AND WORK

To construe Lucian's societal perspicacity and appreciate his cultural multifocality, one needs to be cognizant of his life and his career in the Empire.[64]

He was born between 115 and 125 CE at Samosata in the kingdom of Commagene, which became part of the Empire in 72 CE. Commagene had Syrian roots; in fact Lucian calls himself Syrian or Assyrian[65] and says that before his Greek education he was "barbarian in speech."[66] We do not know anything about his early years. Only in *Somnium* does he describe his choice of profession.[67] He says that he was training to become a sculptor when Culture along with Craft appeared to him in a dream and presented their allurements. Lucian then chose Culture and became an orator. The literary motif he uses is classic: Prodicus's myth of the choice of Heracles is the obvious precedent.[68] Veneration of the past, which among other things included the revival of Attic Greek, was part of Lucian's education. He actually emphasizes his attraction to the purity of Atticism in two of his works, *Lexiphanes* and *Pseudologista*. Also, in *Bis Accusatus* 27 Rhetoric personified states that she made Lucian her husband.

Very rarely does he give information about his social and familial environments.[69] He says that he was accompanied by his father and family from Cappadocia to Pontus and (as Lycinos) he mentions a young son.[70] He also claims as acquaintances Sisenna Rutilianus[71] and the governor of Cappadocia.[72] It was very late in his life when he accepted the position of the secretariat of the Roman Prefect of Egypt,[73] and this is probably when he wrote *Apologia*, the apology for *De Mercede Conductis*. We do not have any more information about his life or his career. He may have died in Egypt. The Suda records about his death that he was torn to pieces by dogs on account of his blasphemy.[74]

Lucian most probably began a career in forensic oratory, as he indicates in *Piscator* 25 and *Bis Accusatus* 32. In the former work he claims that he eventually grew tired of forensic oratory; he wished to occupy himself with philosophy instead, but the low quality of contemporary philosophers forced him to undertake satiric dialogue. In *Hermotimus*, on the other hand, he expresses having an affection for philosophy since he was twenty-five. In *Bis Accusatus*, he recounts a different story; it is disappointment that dictated the change in his career at the age of forty. It is later that he pursued the life of sophistical orator and traveled to Asia Minor, Athens, Rome, and Gaul, where he probably gained popularity and social recognition through his rhetorical endeavors. More specifically, in *Heracles, Herodotus, De Electro, Zeuxis*, and *Dionysus* he attempts to win his audience's *benevolentia* and thus guarantee his reception by urging them to abolish ethnic stereotypes and not reject him solely on account of his nationality. To the same end, *Toxaris, Anacharsis*, and *Scytha* promote acceptance of otherness and ethnic communication between Greeks, Romans, and other Eastern nations. Around that time he wrote a number of works on philosophers, namely *Nigrinus, Demonax, Cynicus, Hermotimus*, and even *Peregrinus*. Concerning his career change, Suda says that he turned to authorship as a result of his failure in the courts. Other writings, including *Dialogi Deorum, Dialogi Marini, Juppiter Confutatus, Juppiter Tragoedus, Deorum Concilium*, and

De Sacrificiis, are literary amalgams of cynicism, satire, and Platonic and Socratic dialogue meant to discuss religion. Cynicism also infiltrates *Dialogi Mortuorum, Menippus*, and *Charon*. Finally, several of his works, namely *De Mercede Conductis, De Parasito, Nigrinus*, and *Apologia*, present the elusive relationship between Romans and Greeks.

Dating Lucian's works is problematic. The works that we can place chronologically with some certainty are the ones written after 161 CE, the accession of Marcus Aurelius, and the war that later broke out in Armenia. Lucian was in the entourage of Lucius Verus, who was sent to the front and traveled by way of Italy, Greece, and along the south coast of Asia Minor until he reached Antioch. Lucian wrote *Imagines* and *Pro Imaginibus* for Verus's mistress, Pantheia of Smyrna. It is at that time that he probably also visited his native city and delivered *Somnium* and *Patriae Encomium*. For reasons that we are not in a position to know, he did not remain in the entourage of the Emperor, but undertook the return journey to the West. When he was in the province of Cappadocia in the city of Abonoteichus, he encountered Alexander, the false prophet, who became the target of his satire in the homonymous work. Later, at the Olympic games of 165, he saw Peregrinus, against whom he launched an acrimonious attack. Based on this work, scholars have also argued that Lucian appears ignorant of Christianity. From *Demonax, Bis Accusatus* (27), *Electrum* (2), *Herodotus* (5), *Nigrinus* (passim), we also learn that he frequently traveled to Athens and Rome. Other travels brought him to Macedonia, either to Thessalonika or Beroea.[75]

Later in his life, at the time of the second Parthian war, he wrote *Quomodo Historia conscribenda sit* in which he disapproves of verisimilitudinous historiography. As a matter of fact, he satirizes such authors as Ctesias, Iambulos, even Homer, who wrote stories about monsters on sea and on earth, man-eating nations, and other fictional events and creatures. In this spirit, in *Verae Historiae* he promises his readers that he can give them a story that will be the mother of all stories and that the only truth is that he is lying (κἂν ἓν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεύδομαι, 1.4). Concerning this work, Jones suggests that it "is in part a disguised encomium of the emperor's victories" and that it was probably written in 166, when Verus brought his army back from the East. He does not make any reference, however, to the plague that Verus's army brought from the East, except cursorily in *Alexander* 36 and only with the intent of deprecating the false prophet.[76]

The treatment he received after his death is interesting, as Lucian proves to be as elusive for the authors of later generations as he was during his lifetime. Alciphron, a second-century-CE author, wrote the *Letters of the Courtesans*, which clearly resemble Lucian's *Dialogi Meretricium*. His *Letter to Lucian*, however, indicates that Alciphron probably borrowed from Lucian. Philostratus (third CE) did not include Lucian in his list of sophists. Libanius (fourth CE) attacked Lucian and Aristophanes, but he also borrowed from the former in *Oratio* XXV on slavery. Lactantius (third to fourth CE) talked

of him as someone who spared neither gods nor men. Photius (ninth CE) listed Lucian in his Library. Tzetzes (twelfth CE) included him among numerous other authors in his poem. Johannes Georgides (eleventh CE) used examples from Lucian in the *Collections of Maxims*, and Thomas Magister (fourteenth CE) used examples in the *Selection of Attic Nouns*. Finally, Erasmus, More, Ariosto, and Rabelais are among the European authors who found inspiration in his works.[77]

AIM AND SCOPE

Lucian, the second-century Syrian orator, has been an enigmatic figure who encourages several, occasionally discordant, interpretations of his cultural and religious theses. The fact that his perspectives are as elusive as his historical persona renders the legitimacy of our assumptions ambiguous. My examination of the Lucianic corpus purports to prove that it is meant to be read as the shibboleth of a multifaceted reality. The Syrian orator presents in his writings a literary miniature of contemporary society, where the Roman can enter into a dispute with the Greek, the Greek can discuss acculturation with the Easterner-barbarian, Jupiter's anthropomorphism can be burlesqued with impunity, and Damis can impugn ensconced religious theses.

Traditionally, *De Mercede Conductis* and *Apologia* have been considered evidence of Lucian's cultural corruptibility and unbridled ambitions for personal elevation. What I argue is that the Syrian's writings display structural and linguistic similarities to Juvenal's *Saturae* and that his treatment of *clientes* is meant to function as a response to contemporary Roman accusations against the Greeks. Lucian is clearly concerned with the Roman perception of foreigners as he attempts to advance in the Roman echelons, circumventing contemporary social stereotypes concerning Easterners. He endeavors, therefore, to use his multifold personality as a vantage point from which to achieve social elevation. Through my reading of Lucian and Juvenal, it will become evident that literature at the time was a means of bidirectional political propaganda. Furthermore, thus far scholarly discussions have focused primarily on non-native Roman authors attempting to eschew the political non-existence of Greece and hence avoiding the possibility of ethnic and cultural annexation. However, such considerations of literature beg the question: "Are there political constituents in the writings of contemporary Roman authors?" A Roman author contemporary to Lucian in whose writings ideas of ethnicity and alterity figure prominently and who has recently attracted renewed scholarly attention is Aulus Gellius. My analysis of Lucian and Gellius clearly indicates that issues of language and identity monopolize and politicize the literary scene. Articles of Gellius's anthology can be read as the Roman manifesto on cultural legitimacy, while Lucian promotes a broad-minded discussion of ethnicity. Consequently, both authors become mouthpieces of political propaganda and

(re)consideration of ethnic identity in the conglomerate that constitutes the Roman Empire. Also, the prevalent view on Lucian's religious perceptiveness is that he displays ignorance of the current religious upheavals. *Dialogi Deorum* has been read as his attempt to exaggerate inveterate anthropomorphism. What I purport to explicate is that Lucianic anthropomorphism is meant to propose a new interpretation of the aging Olympians and the (co)existence of religions at the time. Moreover, works such as *Prometheus, Juppiter Tragoedus, Juppiter Confutatus*, and *De Sacrificiis* contribute to our comprehension of the role of the human factor in the interpretation of religion. I suggest that a comparative reading of the Christian Apologists and Lucian reveals that they share a perspectival agreement, as they both discuss paganism in order to question or simply reconsider its putative and impregnable superiority. Finally, I examine the determinant that distinguishes Lucian from the hordes of other Greek and Roman authors, namely that Lucian manages to escape specific and narrow time frames and, consequently, his *Nachleben* has no time or place constraint. Byzantine and later European authors and painters find inspiration in his writings. He survives almost unedited in Erasmus and More. We can also certainly discern influences in Flaubert and Molière. I suggest that it is Lucian's ability to preserve not basic historic information but the second-century *Zeitgeist* that has rendered his writings diachronic.

NOTES

1. van Groningen (1965) 52.
2. van Groningen (1965) 54.
3. The name "Second Sophistic" was first used by Philostratus in *VS* 1.481, "ἡ δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην, ἣν οὐχὶ νέαν, ἀρχαία γάρ, δευτέραν δὲ μᾶλλον προσρητέον." Philostratus also says that Aeschines, who was concerned with social phenomena, such as the types of poor, rich, or tyrants, is the founder of the Second Sophistic. The Second Sophistic extends from the first century CE to the early third century CE. Perry (1955) also shares van Groningen's appreciation of the period's literary production. He claims that the literature of the second century has nothing to offer, while he accuses this period of "major losses in classical literature due to the editing of selections and excerpts in this period." Cf. also Bowersock (1969) 1: "The quality of the second-century works we possess (and they are many) is not high." For complimentary reevaluations of Second Sophistic literary production, see Bowersock (1974); Bowie (1982); Nesselrath (1990); Whitmarsh (2001); Whitmarsh (2005).
4. Bowersock (1969) preface.
5. For the social standing of the sophists, see also Schmitz (1997). Pernot (2003) discusses the same issue, and he also reads Lucian's vilification of social impropriety in *Pseudologista* and *Rhetorum Praeceptor*. Brandão (1994) also reading *Nigrinus* argues for Lucian's support of propriety through philosophy. On the complex role of sophists, see Anderson (1990).
6. See Said (1991) and especially Dubuisson's contribution in the volume.
7. Bowie (1970); Bowie (1991). Goldhill (2001a) 8 in his introduction states, "The Greek writers of the Empire are often characterized as having a special

and longing view of the glories of the Greek past. Indeed, the look backward to the classical polis . . . dominates the range of literary paradigms in this period."

8. Anderson (1993).
9. Swain (1996).
10. Whitmarsh (2001) 34.
11. Goldhill (2001a).
12. Gleason (1995).
13. Schmitz (1997).
14. Whitmarsh (2005).
15. On the *Vitae*, see Russell (1966).
16. Swain (1996) 162 describes the work as "the most important single expression of Greek elite views of living with Rome in our period, certainly the most detailed." See also Duff (1999); Jones (1971) 110–121. For earlier studies, see Desideri (1986); Renoirte (1951). Valgiglio (1976) offers a mostly linguistic analysis.
17. On the political identity of Plutarch, see Aalders (1982); Pelling (1986).
18. Jones (1971) passim. For a comprehensive analysis of Plutarch's political, philosophical, and religious perspectives, see also Barrow (1967); Swain (1996). On the *Moralia*, see Russell (1968).
19. Schmidt (1999). On this chiastic correlation between Greek-Roman and Greek-barbarian, see also Bowie (1991) 194; Nikolaidis (1986). Bowen (1992) analyzes this anti-barbaric attitude against the backdrop of Plutarch's reproach against Herodotus.
20. See Flacelière (1963). See also Swain (1996) 151–161 for a brief yet informative discussion.
21. Brenk (1977) discusses religious elements in the *Moralia* and the *Vitae*.
22. See Flacelière (1966); Swain (1989).
23. Early studies on Dio's life date back to the nineteenth century with von Arnim (1898); von Arnim (1899).
24. Jones (1978) 127 and passim. See also Desideri (1978).
25. Swain (1996) 193. *On the Kingship Orations*, see Moles (1990); Sidebottom (1990).
26. Swain (1996) neatly presents Dio's purposeful ambiguity. On the contrary, Salmeri (1982) 112–113 favors the idea of a pro-Roman Dio.
27. Boulanger (1923) examines Aristides's rhetoricisms throughout his works. Particularly for *To Rome*, see Harris and Holmes (2008); Hekster (2008) 109; Vannier (1976).
28. Pernot (2008). Consult also the bibliography cited in the chapter.
29. Said (2006) 49. Boulanger (1923) 262, on the contrary, deemed the *Panathenaic Oration* as a work entirely devoid of originality.
30. Philostratus *VS* 581.
31. For analyses and discussions of the background and the hermeneutics of the *Sacred Tales*, see Behr (1968); Bompaire (1989); Festugière (1969). Smith (1984) discusses Aristides in a volume of essays on paganism and Christian agitation. On that see also Dodds (1965) 40–45. Dodds (1951) 109–110, 113–116, and Festugière (1954) 85–104 place Aristides within the context of Ancient Greek religious system. For a comprehensive synopsis, see Swain (1996) 254–297.
32. For the imperial cult in Asia Minor, see Price (1984b).
33. See Calder (1906) for an appreciation of Smyrna through Aristides. See Cadoux (1938) for an all-encompassing history of Smyrna.
34. For the vocabulary of concocting concord, see De Romilly (1972).
35. We should take into consideration the position that the Second Sophistic was also a literary phenomenon and not necessarily a political statement and that

emperors, such as Hadrian, supported the continuation of the Greek *paideia* as a past for the Roman present. See Ligota and Panizza (2007) 3–4; Sirago (1989).

36. Downing (1998) explores the connections between the Cynics and early Christians. Thorsteinsson (2008) discusses the common points of reference between Stoicism and Christianity and the emergence of "Roman Christianity," as he calls it.
37. De Labriolle (1934) 84. Downing (1998) discusses the philosophical elements/origins of Christianity mainly against the backdrop of Paul's writings. Jones (1993) compares Peregrinus's cynicism with Christian beliefs.
38. Goldhill (2006). See also Elsner and Rutherford (2005) who discuss pilgrimage in traditional worship and Christian religion and thus juxtapose and correlate the two groups.
39. See also Swain (2007) 32–35.
40. Elsner (2001) 137.
41. Dodds (1965).
42. Wilken (1984).
43. Edwards, Goodman, and Price (1999).
44. Rhee (2005).
45. Humphries (2006).
46. Cumont (1911). On foreign cults see also Orlin (2010).
47. Ferguson (1993).
48. Highet (1949).
49. Bolgar (1954).
50. Highet (1949) 432.
51. Robinson (1979).
52. Marsh (1998).
53. Maffei (1994).
54. Baumbach (2002). Baumbach (2007) places Lucian in nineteenth-century German scholarship.
55. Ligota and Panizza (2007).
56. Ligota (2007).
57. Pantin (2007).
58. Deitz (2007).
59. Massing (2007).
60. Georgiadou and Larmour (1998).
61. Duncan (1979).
62. Washington (1987).
63. On Lucian's reception, see also Allinson (1926) 121–187.
64. For a detailed account of Lucian's life and career, see Jones (1986) 6–23.
65. "Syrian": *Ind*. 19, *Pisc*. 19, *Bis Acc*. 14. "Assyrian": *Bis Acc*. 27, *Syr. D*. 1.
66. *Bis Acc*. 27, *Ind*. 4.
67. See Raina (2001) for a discussion. See also Putnam (1909).
68. Xenophon, *Mem*. II.1. 21–34.
69. Jones (1972) suggests that in *Lexiphanes* and *Pseudologista* Lucian references, albeit not by name, two of his enemies.
70. *Eun*. 13; *Alex*. 56.
71. *Alex*. 30; 54.
72. In *Alex*. 55 Lucian says that the governor gave him two soldiers as escorts.
73. On historical information about his appointment, see Martin (2010).
74. Suda λ 683.
75. See *Herodotus, Scytha*.
76. Jones (1986) 18.
77. See Ligota and Panizza (2007); Marsh (1998); Robinson (1979).

2 Lucian and Juvenal on the Parasitic Life

HISTORIZING LUCIAN: THE CASE OF "THE OTHER"

By the second century CE the Roman Empire had been around so long that one would reasonably assume that Roman political prowess was well established and that, consequently, the terms of governance of the subject nations were considered settled. It is crucial at this point, however, to consider how the mechanics of those politics reflected on individual people. On a political level, Roman authority was, of course, experienced differently in each province, as the degree of freedom allowed in each case varied. Romans allowed locals to retain administrative positions, even though the Romans exerted some control over the locals, especially in financial matters. Certain cities in Macedonia were free, in the sense that they could make their own laws. Others were exempt from taxation, such as the Greek cities to which Nero granted this immunity. The so-called *municipia* were cities upon which citizenship was conferred. In places, such as Gaul and Britain, where initially there was no administration, but where people were rather divided into tribes, the Romans managed to gradually impose local civic organization. It was only later, when cities in the East mismanaged their affairs, that emperors dispatched Roman officials to oversee their activities, as is the case of Pliny at the time of Trajan. Therefore, it seemed that the general idea of Roman governing relied on effective local administration. Plutarch and Dio both admonish the Greeks to reassert authority over the management of their local affairs and to avoid involving Rome.[1] Rome provided only the general management guidelines and the foundation for the peaceful organization of the Empire.[2] Regarding individuals, in the city of Rome itself foreigners were honored with Roman citizenship and were also assigned offices in the public domain, thus creating an environment of verisimilar ethnical unity, while considerably diminishing the possibility of Roman authority being overturned. The aforementioned circumstances created several strata of people—people from different nations, people with different educational and financial backgrounds, people of different hierarchy in society. The identity and the agenda of the emperor were also factors in the lifestyle and position of foreigners.

My intention at this point is to turn our focus specifically to the elite group of the sophists-orators in the Empire, thus creating a historical framework for the case of Lucian that will also function as a *leitmotif* in the interpretation and appraisal of his activity, professional and literary. Literary and epigraphic evidence shows that the elite group of sophists-orators and their families enjoyed privileges. They were recognized and honored with tax alleviation and advancement in higher positions in the Roman echelons. Under Hadrian, orators, philosophers, *grammatici*, and doctors were granted immunity from various liturgies and social responsibilities to their cities.[3] That was, of course, a rare and extreme occurrence that did not last long, since it was obviously counterintuitive for the flourishing of a city. Antoninus Pius amended Hadrian's generosity in this matter and imposed limits on the number of people who could have immunity in one city. The immunity legislation favored mainly teachers, as was stated clearly by both Vespasian[4] and Antoninus Pius.[5] Nonetheless, it is obvious that orators were a privileged elite. Aelius Aristides took advantage of his position, and, although he did not earn immunity painlessly, he eventually managed to shed the burden of public office or service when he was granted immunity by Severus. Sophists were also consultants or in the entourage of the emperors and in several cases were the most qualified to be appointed to the post of *ab epistulis* for Greek correspondence. This position also opened the possibilities for other advancements in the Roman echelons, as in some cases sophists climbed to the equestrian or senatorial ranks.[6]

Furthermore, the relationship between Greeks and Romans had reached the level of reciprocity. It was not only Greeks who tried to rise in the Roman social and administrative tiers due to intellectual superiority, but there were also Greeks whose expertise was sought and rewarded by Roman emperors. Apollodorus of Tarsus, for instance, designed the Forum of Trajan in a Hellenized style. There are cases of emperors who were admittedly very favorably predisposed towards their Greek subjects, something that resulted in the dispensation of privileges for the latter, the most notable being Hadrian and his *hellenophilia*.[7] There were also Roman authors at the time who wrote in Greek. Their readers could well have been educated Greeks who wanted to familiarize themselves with Roman customs and lifestyle.[8] One should also consider the cases of Greek authors who wrote about Romans, namely Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his *Antiquitates Romanae*. It has been suggested that this was an attempt on his behalf to prove Greek lineage for their Roman superiors and thus alleviate the burden of subjugation for the Greeks.[9] Nonetheless, literary and cultural correspondence between Greeks and Romans played the role of an effective mediator. On the other hand, the Romans also affected other cultures artistically, even if the idea of *Graecia capta* that captured her conquerors sounded more appealing to the Greek world. The public constructions that we find in Greece and in Asia Minor, such as bath complexes and amphitheaters, which are Roman architectural creations, are testaments to the fact that Greeks and people

of other Eastern nations had embraced elements of Roman culture. In the case of the Greeks these imitations signify that they had acknowledged the acculturation of the Romans, at least up to a certain extent, and that can be considered a landmark in the amelioration of the relationship between the two rivals. What is most notable is that not only did subject nations begin to incorporate new buildings into their lives, but that they also adopted new lifestyles.[10]

CONTEXTUALIZING LUCIAN: THE SECOND SOPHISTIC AS A PARAMETER

Lucian, albeit initially marginalized starting with his Philostratean exclusion, has been effectively canonized by modern scholarship into the Second Sophistic literary milieu. Chronological and linguistic constituents clearly place him within the Imperial, Greco-Roman literary and social milieus, while the ludic discussions on Romans, Greeks, and "the others" have gained him a position in the tiers of authors who have martialized language and literature as a response to Roman political prevalence, until, of course, one has to account for the *Apologia* for the *De Mercede Conductis*. Then, the *Schadenfreude* relationship between Lucian and the Romans is transformed into an accommodation within a new identity.[11]

The multifaceted character of his writings and the multifocality of his perspectives have retroactively engaged in a "dialogue" with the scholarly community, as scholars attempt to define his intentions and his stance towards the Greco-Roman literary, political, and religious *status quo*. Bompaire, contrary to the inveterate academic opposition to second-century literature so firmly endorsed by van Groningen among many others, is the first to reevaluate Lucian and instantiate the creativity of *mimesis* (as his title succinctly yet boldly states "*imitation et création*").[12] Jones first reintroduces the convoluted authorial persona of Lucian and discusses his viewpoint of aspects of contemporary reality, ascribing to him more historicity and rendering him a figure through whom and against the backdrop of whom we might conceptualize and perhaps reconsider our perspectival (mis)apprehensions regarding second-century reality.[13] Swain, in a work that does not appraise *mimesis*, but considers the language of the period as a new linguistic module that dynamically repositions classical Greek to the political promontories, eschews any standard viewpoints on Lucian's intentions. Even though I agree with his disinclination to designate Lucian with a pro-Roman label,[14] I am reluctant to favor his view that "cognitively he [Lucian] had no choice at the time but to be Hellene . . . it may be suggested that he was naturally drawn towards a Roman identity."[15] The influence of Hellenic *paideia* is undeniable, but the interpersonal debate in *Somnium* (literary artifice or not); his social parables, such as *De Mercede Conductis* and *Nigrinus*, in which he pinpoints Roman foibles; the change of heart

in the *Apologia*, regardless of the reason that prompted it; as well as his religious contemplations through *Juppiter Tragoedus, Juppiter Confutatus, De Sacrificiis*, and several others, indicate a conscious and deliberate socio-cultural flexibility; empirical knowledge and not nature actuate his literary actions and his Janus-like assumption of social roles. Goldhill argues for a subcontext in Lucian's exposition of the issue of identity, reading in *De Syria Dea* "the stance of the Syrian, writing as if he were a Greek explaining an alien culture to a Greek, dances along the fault lines of the reader's cultural surety."[16] This problematization of the corpus' vignette, however, brings us closer to Lucian's authorial persona, which in turn is an obvious oxymoron, as the moment we formulate an opinion he assumes a different identity or reconfigures his perspective, dissipating any attempt to define him. Whitmarsh acknowledges the issue of literary obfuscation that also effectuates a social relativism. His final remark on Lucian leaves us with a sense of a lack of authorial consistency, which subsequently makes us unable to attempt any definitions of Lucian. As Whitmarsh almost melodramatically puts it, "Lucian's deeply held views are a chimaera: what his writings dramatize is the elusiveness of the heartfelt voice, the evanescence of 'Greek views of Rome.' "[17] A statement such as that, though, prompts us to wonder how we might demystify Lucian, transcending this suggested elusiveness and ultimately managing to theorize his literary and cultural multifocalities that emanate from both the social and literary milieus and the issues he brings to the foreground against the backdrop of Greco-Roman and Eastern *actualité(s)*.[18]

The level of literary borrowing and allusions in his works and their transformation into innovative and vibrant miniature portraits of contemporaneity make a comparative reading of Lucian with other authors an indispensable source of information about Imperial Rome and the Empire in general. Since he admittedly is a multifaceted personality who eschews any *habitus vivendi et scribendi*, the only way to approach cognizance would be to create a new module of *comparanda*, contemporary Roman authors who write in Latin. Initially, the number of possibilities would seem to nullify the chances of any effective exploration. However, one must bear in mind that a similarity in their themes is a *sine qua non* if we wish to have a point of reference and also to elicit an appreciation of the historical reality based on native Romans and a Roman who is a product of this socially and culturally permeable *epoque* in the history of the Roman Empire.

Why Juvenal?

Lucian writes about Greeks and Romans; Juvenal writes about Romans and Greeks. Lucian was from Samosata in Commagene, and Greek was not his native language. Nonetheless, he seems to have adopted Hellenic identity alongside his Syrian origins. He censures the Romans on several occasions while embracing Greek culture and mentality. A possible explanation could

be that Lucian, along with other contemporaries, is reacting against Roman authorities, and it is only the enduring Greek civilization that can emulate Roman political authority, albeit on a different level. No one can argue that the Greeks are unassailable in every one of Lucian's works; they can lay a claim to self-respect, though, in *De Mercede Conductis*, while the Romans are presented as boorish and uncultivated and as promoting menial behavior that contrasts with their political status. If we consider that Lucian was an orator who delivered speeches in different places, the portrayal of the Greeks in this work could also be explained if we assume that his audience was Greek. Roman imperialism had created a massive society. From one point of view Roman society reminds us of modern societies. People and ethnicities are integrated—but what happens to their individual identities? It is reasonable that "secondary nations" would amalgamate characteristics of the different ethnical and social strata with whom they come in contact, while also trying to retain their ethnic traits. The Greeks would be most likely to react against uncritical approval of Roman behaviors and to not condone willful acceptance of their secondary position in the Roman society. Promotion of *Hellenismos* and *Hellenic paideia* also incites Greek ethnic pride and results in their attempts to retain their self- and nationalistic respect. We should not forget also that several authors were at that time trying to revive Classical Greece and seem to consciously discount Roman political prowess. For instance, Pausanias in the *Graeciae Descriptio* clearly admires Classical Athens, while he seems to purposefully neglect or suppress the importance or even the existence of Roman monuments. Jacquemin describes Pausanias's presentation of Delphi as a "*lieu de mémoire*."[19] Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* also is a collection of Greek myths. Longus in *Daphnis and Chloe* still uses the term Ἕλλην, implying the existence of a Greek nation, and Chariton definitely promotes *Hellenismos* and Greek *paideia*. Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius, Dio, Plutarch, Philostratus, and Heliodorus arguably contest and implicitly disavow Roman authority, primarily through their choice of Atticism, by implication, omissions, manipulation of the chronological placement of their stories, or even by admitting to Roman political supremacy yet questioning their acculturation.[20] Politicization of language and the addition of nationalistic nuances to literary productions infiltrated Roman authors as well. Dubuisson's[21] discussion on the denominations *Graecus, Graeculus, graecari* gives us a comprehensive analysis of the phraseology, whether it is subliminal or revelatory of Roman animosity towards Greeks. In chapter 3 my discussion and juxtaposition of Lucian with Gellius will further encapsulate the metacommentary of Greek and Latin literature at the time.

Lucian in *De Mercede Conductis* provides in one picture the reality of two worlds, the Roman and the Greek. From the Greek perspective, this explicit deprecation of clients should work as a warning against assuming such a role. On the other hand, Lucian manages to leave Greek self-respect and ethnic pride almost unscathed, since he makes clear throughout

the work that even though the Greeks as a nation are subjugated to the Romans, it does not mean that individuals should adopt a menial persona. How would a Roman perceive the same work, though? Lucian undoubtedly acknowledges the parasitic position of the Greeks, which converges with the Roman view on the topic. Nevertheless, he promotes the idea that the new citizens of Roman society—i.e. the Greeks—should be considered components of a newly established social stratum, that of educated foreign teachers, rather than that of slaves. Lucian clearly insists on some sort of societal flexibility from both sides that will allow the integration of new lifestyles and social parameters.

More specifically, a topic that figures prominently in works of Imperial Roman authors is the role and the positions that the Greeks appropriated and the implications of this new social stratum on native Roman society. Many Greeks at the time held the role of teachers or guests at the houses of wealthy Romans. The terminology used for them in these positions was *clientes* or *parasiti*. Juvenal, Lucian's Roman almost contemporary (slightly predating him), discusses the infiltration of foreigners in the houses of Roman patrons from the Roman point of view, and it is clear that for him this new caste of people is a demoralizing component of the newly formed society. Both Lucian and Juvenal delve into the issue of clientship and approach it from the perspective of ethnicity. The status of the client is not quantified by his social standing (that of someone who adheres to a wealthy individual), but it directly relates to his nationality. Hence, a comparative reading of the two authors not only gives us a glimpse into the literary activity of the period, but it also encapsulates the complexity and underlying issues that color the relationship between Romans and Greeks at the time. Juvenal's genealogy may pose some problems in that sources lead us to suspect that he may not have been of Roman origin.[22] However, we cannot subsume him in the group of foreigners, the new members of the Roman society, since he clearly adopted the Roman language and *mores*, contrary to Lucian, who was a Syrian who adopted *Hellenismos* and later received Roman citizenship.

In this chapter I discuss and examine Juvenal's and Lucian's perceptions of clients from the perspective of social constructions in Rome. How do Romans respond to the influx of Greeks, and how does Lucian, initially an outsider, a Syrian who only later in his life became a Roman citizen and who clearly embraced Greek culture, interpret the phenomenon of clientship? Why is Lucian favorably disposed towards the Greeks? These are some of the questions that I answer. I argue that the literary motifs Juvenal and Lucian use indicate that there had been a literary "correspondence" between the two authors as well as between Lucian and Roman literature; Lucian "responds to" Juvenal's and consequently to Roman accusations against the Greeks in an attempt to present the Greek viewpoint and discusses the ambiguous and tentative relationship between Greeks and Romans. We have, therefore, two authors of different origins and eras, exposed in

different ways to Greek and Roman civilization, yet their stance towards society converges to a certain extent. Even their dissension when it comes to judging the role of the Greeks as clients exposes us to two sides of the same story, and we are "invited" to choose. In addition, they both expose the rich and attack the patrons' disrespect towards the clients. Therefore, a comparative reading of Lucian and Juvenal may shed some light on the sociopolitical issues and conflicts of their times. Finally, a close examination of Juvenal and Lucian clearly demonstrates that the similarities in the presentations of Greek parasites and Roman patrons cannot be coincidental and that the notable literary equivalences between the two authors are meant to be read as Lucian's direct answer to Roman misapprehension of the Greeks.[23] More specifically, Lucian could be perceived as a "translator" of Juvenal in that his attitude towards the Romans as well as his portrayal of the Greeks could be in a way a "translation" of Juvenal's *Saturae* into Greek and also from a Greek viewpoint. Finally, as we shall see later in the chapter, Lucian employs Roman literary motifs, such as that of the *exclusus amator*, as part of his social commentary, targeting and ultimately deprecating the Romans.

LUCIAN'S *DE MERCEDE CONDUCTIS* AND *NIGRINUS* VERSUS JUVENAL'S *SATURAE* 3, 5, AND 9

This section compares the linguistic constructions of Lucian's *De Mercede Conductis* and *Nigrinus* with Juvenal's *Saturae* 3, 5, and 9 and demonstrates that the two authors actually share the same degree of social awareness. The issue of parasites undoubtedly was a matter of concern and a formatting factor of several social parameters.[24] Juvenal accuses the Greeks of having usurped the place of Romans in the symposia of wealthy patrons, while at the same time he attacks those Romans who prostrate themselves in order to claim the role of the client. Lucian, on the other hand, acknowledges that the Greeks covet such positions; nonetheless they are the *literati* and, therefore, those deserving of a reputable place in society.[25] Lucian's work is meant to be a response to Umbricius's allegations against the Greeks, as explicated in *Satura* 3, and also a Greek commentary on the works of the Roman satirist. Lucian combines Juvenal's *Saturae* 3, 5,[26] and 9 in *De Mercede Conductis* and *Nigrinus* and holds the Roman patron, whom he also identifies as the personification of illiteracy and boorishness, responsible for this decadence. The fact that Lucian clearly "responds to" and "discusses" this issue with Juvenal, an almost contemporary Roman, becomes evident if one examines closely the similar structural foundation and the linguistic similarities between their works. Lucian basically addresses each point that the Roman satirist makes. Both *De Mercede Conductis* and *Satura* 5 delineate a symposium, and it is on that basis that the life of the client is described and quantified, no matter how each author perceives the clients as a social group.

Throughout the first book Juvenal treats such issues as the luxurious life in Rome, the degradation of morals, the life of the clients, and the flood of foreigners into Rome with critical spirit, humor, and occasional indignation. Thus, when in *Satura* 5 and later in *Satura* 9 he elaborates on the opprobrious figure of the client, Juvenal has already initiated the reader into his world, and the parasite seems a natural component of the already decadent Roman society. More specifically, in *Satura* 1 Juvenal outlines life in Rome and the degradation of Roman citizens. He refers to the *nouveaux riches* and their arrogance, marital relationships, and infamous and adulterous wives. He also attacks informers and impugns the impropriety of his contemporary Romans. In *Satura* 2 he uses the technique of the narrator-camera and elaborates on the current *modus vivendi*. Money can buy anything, and it can certainly overshadow nobility. People are not guardians of ethics and morals anymore, but they have adopted the Greek lifestyle and have thus become more effeminate. *Satura* 3 concentrates on the citizens and their life in the city; Rome and the Romans have become an undivided whole that produces noise and uproar. The Romans cannot live without Rome, and Rome cannot find her old self with the Romans pursuing this kind of life. Amidst this deplorable Roman way of life, parasites flourish. They come from all over Greece, these people who manage by being blandishers to win a place at the symposia and supersede honest Roman citizens. Juvenal's attack on clients in *Satura* 3 concentrates only on the Greeks and their societal idiosyncrasies. It was not only the Greeks, however, who pursued this life. So in *Satura* 5 Juvenal reprobates the attitude of those Romans who strive to adhere to some wealthy patron. Juvenal's exasperation springs from his belief that Romans should not aspire to such places, since such a stance in life clearly contradicts and blemishes their innate ancestral propriety. Similarly, Lucian does not believe that clientship befits a Greek man of letters. In *Satura* 5 and then *Satura* 9 Juvenal's condemnation reaches a *crescendo*. All human vices concentrate in the faces of Virro, Trebius, and Naevolus. Juvenal sounds exasperated at Trebius for his lack of self-respect and at Virro for representing this new class of wealthy people with no stature, intellect, respect for others, or self-respect. Naevolus, finally, encapsulates every reprehensible form of conduct described in the previous *Saturae*, and, more disturbing, he fits perfectly into the society as Juvenal has described it so far.

Lucian's *De Mercede Conductis, Nigrinus*, and *De Parasito* complement and respond to Juvenal's *Saturae*. Lucian admits that clients claim a part in the Roman community; he admits to the lack of ethics and self-respect when it comes to assuming such a position and up to a degree acknowledges Umbricius's accusations against the morals and self-respect of those Greeks who go to any lengths to please the patron (*rides, maiore cachinno/ concutitur; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici*, "if you smile, your Greek will split his sides with laughter; if he sees his friend drop a tear, he weeps," 3.100–101). However, Lucian casts a large part of the responsibility for the inevitably incurred decadence onto the Roman patrons, while he also argues

that such demeaning positions do not befit men of letters and culture such as the Greeks.

The Portrait of the Parasite

This section shows that Lucian presents and assimilates patterns he seemingly appropriated from Juvenal so as to correlate and accord them with his style and intentions. It becomes evident that Lucian manipulates elements he borrows from Juvenal, Roman *satura*, and other genres of Roman literature and reconstructs them, rendering them an assault against the Romans themselves.

Lucian and Juvenal both delineate a common portrait of the client that contradicts the traditional presentation according to which clients are usually impoverished individuals who offer some kind of service.[27] In the *Odyssey* Irus is asked to fight against Odysseus, and his acceptance of the challenge is expected of him in return for the food he has been given. Tylawsky discusses Medon's position in the *Odyssey* and states that "his ability to match his enthusiastic eloquence to the situation was what earned him his supper."[28] Timocles in *Drakontion* KA 8 explicitly describes the client's selfishness when it comes to offering services to his patron as he simply fosters personal aspirations; altruism is not a factor in this equation. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*[29] and Cicero's *Pro Flacco*,[30] the parasite is said to be willing to testify in favor of his patron. Clients, therefore, might not be offering something tangible, but still they supposedly return the patron's favors. A pivotal connecting point between Lucian's and Juvenal's parasite is that neither of the two offers anything to the patron in exchange for the food he requests and expects to receive. This image of the two parasites is in accordance with Serres's argument about parasites, which claims that the parasite gives nothing and receives the most perishable of all commodities, food.[31] Lucian's and Juvenal's parasites are otiose characters of no value to their patrons. In *Satura* 5 Juvenal outlines the life of the client having as a skeleton a symposium, since this is the client's "stage of performance," as his whole life and personality can be very effectively wrapped around a simple feast.[32] This is the main idea of the *Satura*, and it becomes substantiated when we consider that Trebius's life and activities begin, according to Juvenal, at the time that he is invited to dine with Virro.[33] Similarly, it is only cursorily towards the end of *De Mercede Conductis* that Lucian mentions that the illiterate patron may attempt to appear more learned by having the educated client beside him, a situation that does not necessarily involve any active participation on behalf of the client.[34]

Both authors also comment on the client's dependency on the patron and deplore the fact that the former's contentment is contingent upon the patron's approval.[35] Juvenal accuses Trebius of shamelessness (*Si te propositi nondum pudet*, "If you are still unashamed," 5.1). Lucian employs the equivalent word αἰσχύνη to denote his apprehension.[36] Furthermore,

Juvenal's *Satura* is in the form of a hypothetical dialogue, where Juvenal addresses Trebius even though we never actually hear Trebius's voice; even the questions addressed to him, although they give emphasis and change the dramatic effect of the *Satura*, are rhetorical. Therefore, the narrative voice has the prerogative to formulate his indictment, while the right of the client to a self-defense is never granted. Lucian addresses an unknown individual in a monological treatise, promising to enlighten him about all aspects of a parasite's life as he delineates the hardships, the demoralization it involves, and the *crescendo* that the latter's vilification reaches towards the end of his dubious career. More specifically, Juvenal lays out his whole argument by impugning the self-respect of the client in the first five lines. He accuses Trebius of living off another man's table (*ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra*, "and still deem it to be the highest bliss to live at another man's board," 5.2); he refers to the latter's degradation by providing examples of other parasites who, according to the author, would not have tolerated what he does (*si potes illa pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas / Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset*, "if you can brook indignities which neither Sarmentus nor the despicable Gabba would have endured at Caesar's ill-assorted table," 5.3–4); and in lines 6–11 he closes with a derogatory conclusion.

It becomes clear that the satirist's social convictions regarding clientship permeate his selection of words as well as his carefully appointed word order. It is interesting to note the comprehensive introduction to the *Satura* and the tone that his work assumes through his adept metrical manipulation of the word order that can intrinsically affect his audience's viewpoint. Chiastic structures between lines and individual words, such as *rex* (5.14) and *clientem* (5.16), accentuate, for the audience, the idea of the patron's supremacy and inevitably emphasize the degradation of the client:

> *Primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere iussus*
> *mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.*
> *fructus amicitiae magnae cibus; inputat hunc rex,*
> *et quamvis rarum tamen inputat. Ergo duos post*
> *si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,*
> *tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto* (5.12–17)

> First of all be sure of this—that when bidden to dinner, you receive payment in full for all your past services. A meal is the return which your grand friendship yields you; the great man scores it against you, and though it come but seldom, he scores it against you all the same. So if after a couple of months it is his pleasure to invite his forgotten client, lest the third place on the lowest couch should be unoccupied[37]

Lines 12–13 introduce the issue of the client and the fact that the invitation comes as a belated reward, while line 17 works as a conclusive personal statement, since Juvenal suggests that the reason for the invitation is merely

so that the patron's third couch would not remain empty. Line 14 corresponds to line 16 in a chiastic way. The first half of line 14 says that food is the return for a great friendship, which affects the client (*clientem*) on line 16.[38] In the second half of line 14 the great man evaluates the relationship (*inputat hunc rex*), and it is contingent upon his judgment whether the neglected client will be invited after an interval of several months. The endings of lines 14 and 16 relate to the patron and the client, respectively; *rex* is in the nominative, while *clientem* is in the accusative as the object of the sentence and the one who is being acted upon.[39]

In *De Mercede Conductis* Lucian, retaining Juvenal's comprehensively ironic tone, explains his thesis and presents his entire argumentation in a few lines via a number of carefully chosen and emotionally charged critical words. His first reference to clients comes with ἐμπεπτωκότων (1) (the fallen). For him this life is a straightforward degradation (ἐν τῷ κακῷ ὄντες, "being in bad state," 1), as clients appear to be bitterly lamenting (ἀποδυρόμενοι, 1) and suffering (ἔπασχον, 1). The last part of the sentence of this vivid and descriptive outline of patronage is the comparison of the client to a prisoner (οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου τινὸς ἀποδράντες, "the others as if they have escaped from some prison," 1). Lucian attacks either the simple-mindedness or the claim of the client to an assumed self-respect by using words such as ἐπιτραγῳδοῦσιν (they lament tragically), ὑπέμειναν (they submitted to), ἄθλιοι (wretched), ὑπ' αἰσχύνης (from shame) (1, 2) and thus castigates their self-delusions. Both satirists clearly espouse a straightforward approach to the subject. What is more important, though, is that neither attributes any positive qualities to the client or argues in favor of the inveterate view that the latter can be useful to his patron. Lucian's vignette differs from Juvenal's in that Lucian adds the idea of slavery to this uneven relationship between patron and client. He discusses the claims of Umbricius, namely that Romans actually covet clientship and antagonize the Greeks, and by poignant linguistic choices laughs at the Romans and their assumed pride in their freeborn status.

It is not only Lucian's lapidary choice of words, though, that intensifies the unfavorable position of the client. The employment of well-known elements of Roman literature clearly indicates the author's intentions to vilify not only Greek clients, but also Romans altogether. Lucian amalgamates the image of a shipwrecked man with that of a shaved-headed slave in the portrayal of the client. It could not have escaped his audience that this image resembles Encolpius and Giton in Petronius's *Satyricon*, as another underlying comment on behalf of Lucian first on his own literacy and on (or against) Roman claims of freeborn status. Encolpius and Giton boarded Lichas's ship, expecting calm sea. Circumstances, however, forced them to utter degradation; they shaved their heads and, after suffering through a shipwreck, they assumed the role of Eumolpus's slaves. Another similar passage of Roman literature, where the maturity and self-respect of the character is gravely impugned, is the scene from Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* where

Lucius at the end of his journey, now a follower of Isis, is shaved, and still fate's and people's fool.

A close reading of Juvenal and Lucian reveals that they share a distinct perspectival bifocality that includes, on the one hand, an assessment of clients as a societal group and, on the other, a consideration of political issues, such as the distinction between Greek clients, Roman clients, and Roman patrons. Also, when we examine the linguistic choices Lucian resorts to, even though he writes *pede liber*, we are confronted with Juvenalian harshness. Therefore, the fact that there are identifiable parallels in the writings of the two authors, especially when their anticipated readership is different, renders a comparative reading of the two a crucial social commentary as well as an indicator of those centuries' *Zeitgeist*. Lucian remains literarily close to Juvenal in his assessment of clients, but he manages to differentiate between Greek clients and Roman clients, making the ethnicity juxtaposition even more poignant. Their literary approach to the subject focuses on two pivotal points: the motif of the symposium that dominates both writings, as it constitutes the "stage" of the clients' performance and eventually of their degradation, and also the commentaries on ethnicity that intercept their works.

MOMENTS OF THE SYMPOSIUM

As we examine Lucian closer, it becomes obvious that the symposium he describes resembles the one in Juvenal's *Satura 5*. Lucian intentionally sets the relation between patron and client on the same terms as Juvenal so that when he proceeds with his criticism, it will be easier for his audience to draw the connecting lines between his client and Juvenal's client, his patron and Juvenal's patron. Both Lucian and Juvenal focus on the poor quality of the food offered to the client. Lucian states that the client eats the leftovers as a dog chews on bones or even on the tough mallow leaves used as garnish:

> καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην γωνίαν ἐξωσθεὶς κατάκεισαι μάρτυς μόνον τῶν παραφερομένων, τὰ ὀστᾶ, εἰ ἐφίκοιτο μέχρι σοῦ, καθάπερ οἱ κύνες περιεσθίων ἢ τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς μαλάχης φύλλον . . . (26)

> Thrust into the most obscure corner, you sit watching the progress of dinner, gnawing in canine sort any bones that come down to you and regaling yourself with hungry zest on such tough mallow-leaves.[40]

Timocles does not have an egg on his plate, and he also has the smallest bird. It seems that Lucian draws from Juvenal and that the poor quality of food offered to the client is construed by both as an explicit indication of the latter's humiliation. Juvenal describes Virro's dishes in an ironic tone poignantly obvious through the recurrent use of the pronoun *quis*. He urges Trebius (and the reader for that matter) to see what a shrimp (*quae squilla*, 5.81),

all garnished with what asparagus (*quibus undique saepta asparagis*, 5.82), and with what tail (*qua cauda*, 5.82), Virro eats while looking down on the rest of the guests. A clear separating line between the patron and the client is drawn when Trebius's food is described.[41] Both authors comment on the two types of wine that accompany the meal; Lucian tells Timocles, "While the other guests are drinking of some rare old vintage, you have vile thick stuff" (ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἥδιστόν τε καὶ παλαιότατον οἶνον πινόντων μόνος σὺ πονηρόν τινα καὶ παχὺν πίνεις, 26). Similarly Juvenal draws a distinct line between Virro's old and hence exceptional wine and Trebius's wine that would be inappropriate even for fomentations:

> *ipse capillato diffusum consule potat calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uuam. cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico; cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus deleuit multa ueteris fuligine testae, quale coronati Thrasea Heluidiusque bibebant Brutorum et Cassi natalibus.* (5.30–37)

> The great man himself drinks wine bottled in the days when Consuls wore long hair; the juice which he holds in his hand was squeezed during the Social Wars, but never a glass of it will he send to a friend suffering from dyspepsia! Tomorrow he will drink a vintage from the hills of Alba or Setia whose origin and date have been effaced by the plentiful soot which time has gathered upon the aged jar—such wine as Thrasea and Helvidius used to drink with chaplets on their heads upon the birthdays of Cassius and the Bruti.

There are also other items in the symposium's menu that Lucian shares with Juvenal, such as eggs. Timocles has to share an egg (ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ᾠὸν ἔχεις μόνος, "You have not so much as an egg to call your own," 26), and Trebius is served a shrimp and half an egg on a tiny plate (*sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo*, "but for you a shrimp hemmed by half an egg," 5.84).[42]

Lucian's treatise shares many linguistic and thematic elements with Juvenal's *Satura*. Even though one cannot argue with certainty that Lucian had read the works of the Roman satirist, we cannot question the former's strong educational background when it comes to Greek and Latin literature, as the similarities between the two authors seem to indicate that Lucian was clearly aware of literary motifs and social stereotypes in the works of Roman authors. We do not have evidence showing that Juvenal's *Saturae* were still recited, or even if they were popular in Lucian's time. Considering, however, that the two authors did not live that far apart and also that the topics they discuss were current in both eras, we should not discount the possibility that Juvenal's works were still circulating.[43] In any case, Lucian, by evoking Roman writings, demonstrates his literary erudition. He also

manages to provide a comprehensive criticism of the Romans and the "insti-tution" of clientship in Rome by commenting on and responding somewhat to the claims of Roman *littérateurs*.

Political Nuances

Politics and ethnicity issues figure prominently in both Lucian and Juve-nal. Lucian as an outsider in the socio-political hierarchy, as it is shaped in the Empire, points his finger at determinants of reception and acceptance of non-native Romans and responds to Juvenal and the traditional Roman reservation when it comes to non-Romans. He applies his ethnic commen-tary to three distinct social groups: the clients, the patron, and the house attendants-entertainers. His consideration of these topics revolves around *De Mercede Conductis* and *Nigrinus*, which complements and explicates the former. Lucian's viewpoint can actually be epitomized in the follow-ing three phrases: "μόνοις τοῖς Ἕλλησι τούτοις ἀνέῳκται ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις" (the gates of Rome are open to none but these Greeks) (*De Mercede Con-ductis*, 17), "ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν λόγων ἔπαινος ἦν Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ πενίᾳ σύντροφοί εἰσιν" (Nigrinus's first words were in praise of Greece, and in particular of the Athenians. They are brought up, he said, to poverty and to philosophy) (*Nigrinus* 12), and "τίπτ' αὖτ', ὦ δύστηνε, λιπὼν φάος ἠελίοιο, τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἤλυθες, ὄφρα ἴδῃς τὸν ἐνταῦθα θόρυβον, συκοφάντας καὶ προσαγορεύσεις ὑπερηφάνους καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ κόλακας καὶ μιαιφονίας καὶ διαθηκῶν προσδοκίας καὶ φιλίας ἐπιπλάστους;" (Ah, wretch! and leav'st thou then the light of day–the joyous freedom of Greece, and wouldst behold the turmoil of Rome? slander and insolence and gluttony, flatterers and false friends, legacy-hunters and murderers?) (*Nigrinus* 17). According to Lucian, therefore, the Greek intellectual should not aspire to the degraded position of the client, even though Rome seems to have welcomed him. Further-more, he expresses approval of Athenian lifestyle and principles as Athe-nians value philosophy and frugality, contrary to the Romans who indulge in noise, slandering, and other reprehensible conducts.

The parallels between Juvenal's *Satura* 1 and *Nigrinus* 17 are striking. Lucian's portrayal of the Romans could be read as a "translation-interpretation" of Juvenal. The latter, in what can be considered his programmatic *Satura*, explicates the reasons that led him to this literary genre, namely a long list of immoral behaviors flourishing in Rome. Juvenal talks about individuals who lurk for inheritances (*cum te summoveant qui testamentamerentur / noctibus*, "when you are thrust on one side by men who earn legacies by nightly performances," 1.37–38), about sycophants (*post hunc magni dela-tor amici*, "after him one who has informed against his noble patron," 1.33; *quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat / Carus*, "one whom Messa dreads, whom Carus propitiates by a bribe", 1.33–36). He also disparages

nouveaux riches individuals who are crowded by attendants (*quid referam quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira,/cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator/pupilli prostantis*, "Why tell you how my heart burns dry with rage when I see the people hustled by a mob of retainers attending on one who has defrauded and debauched his ward," 1.45–47). Similarly, Lucian talks in a derogatory manner that even linguistically resembles that of Juvenal about the entourage of a wealthy Roman who visited Athens:

> Ἐμέμνητο γοῦν τινος τῶν πολυχρύσων, ὃς ἐλθὼν Ἀθήναζε μάλ'ἐπίσημος καὶ φορτικὸς ἀκολούθων ὄχλῳ . . . ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ λουτροῖς ὀχληρὸς ἦν θλίβων τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ στενοχωρῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. (13)

> He mentioned the case of a wealthy man who arrived at Athens in all the vulgar pomp of retinue . . . But when he made a public nuisance of himself in the baths or gymnasiums, crowding in with his attendants, and taking up all the room.

Lucian's assessment of this behavior, though, is followed by an immediate criticism that also bears strong political comments, since he emphasizes that this individual, instead of being envied, is actually pitied by the moderate Athenians:

> αὐτὸς μὲν ᾤετο ζηλωτὸς εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς ἂν εὐδαίμων ἀποβλέπεσθαι· τοῖς δ' ἄρα δυστυχεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ ἀνθρώπιον, καὶ παιδεύειν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτὸν οὐ πικρῶς οὐδ' ἄντικρυς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πόλει καθ' ὅντινα τρόπον βούλεται μὴ βιοῦν· (13)

> expecting that every eye would be turned upon him in envy of his lot; instead of which, they heartily pitied the poor worm, and proceeded to take his education in hand. Not an ill-natured word, not an attempt at direct interference: it was a free city; he was at liberty to live in it as he thought fit.

For Juvenal this criticism indicates morality, self-respect, and concern for Rome and Romans. When Lucian, however, refers to the same forms of (mis)conduct and juxtaposes them with the behavioral and cultural maturity of the Greeks, his work becomes an acrimonious political statement.[44] He also demolishes the claims of the Romans that it is the Eastern citizens of the Empire who have vitiated Roman morality.

More specifically, the first societal group that is criticized by both Juvenal and Lucian is that of clients-parasites. Both authors' elaboration on the issue is imbued with a distinct perspectival bifocality. Juvenal in *Satura* 3 accuses the Greeks of having usurped the place of freeborn Romans in the symposia, while in *Satura* 5 he deprecates the position of the clients in the face of the Roman Trebius, without emphasizing ethnicity. Lucian in *De Mercede Conductis* comments on clientship as a coveted position in the

social hierarchy and also impugns the self-assumed freeborn status of the Roman clients. He draws a distinctively separating line between Greeks, who attach themselves to Roman patrons, and Roman parasites. Greeks are well qualified to be rhetoricians, grammarians, and philosophers; hence the demeaning and utterly unproductive position of the client is unbecoming. On the other hand, there are others who lack any merit (μικροὺς τὰς γνώμας, "petty-minded," 4), and thus the possibility of befriending a wealthy patron is appealing as it opens the prospects for an otherwise unlikely advancement (ἄτεχνοι αὐτίκα καὶ ἀργοὶ καὶ περιττοί εἰσιν, "they are unskilled now and idle and useless," 4). The differentiation between the two distinct groups of clients can very well be construed as a direct attack against Juvenal's Umbricius and, indeed, against Romans as a whole.

Juvenal considers another aspect of clientship that encompasses the idea of freedom, not as ethnical characterization but as societal status. Umbricius, in his barrage of accusations against the Greeks, also refers to the freeborn status of prospective Roman clients. Lucian interprets clientship as the *par excellence* status devoid of freedom. He, therefore, attacks the very core of Umbricius's argument by impugning his choice of words and questions Roman propriety. In a literary endeavor that takes us back to Homeric epic as much as to Aristophanic humor, Lucian personifies *Eleutheria* and claims that she will not accompany the client into the patron's dwelling (οὐ γὰρ ἐθελήσει σοι ἡ Ἐλευθερία συνεισελθεῖν ἐφ᾽ οὕτως ἀγεννῆ πράγματα καὶ ταπεινὰ εἰσιόντι, "For Freedom will never bear you company in that ignoble station," 23). He also compares and ultimately equates the client with the patron's slaves, since they both get compensated and, therefore, the distinction between a freeborn client and a slave by birth is basically nonexistent. We should not fail to notice that this comparison of clientship to slavery due to the monetary rewards they share could also apply to patrons and their literary beneficiaries. Lucian describes this aspect of literary patronage, employing the image of the loft, the golden gateway that alludes to Horace *Carmina*, 2.20, where the poet feels that he has reached the level where wings will bring him away from the earth through the lofty air (*non usitata nec tenui ferar / penna biformis per liquidum aethera /vates neque in terris morabor /longius invidiaque maior /urbis relinquam*, "A two-formed poet I shall not be carried on mundane or weak wings through the liquid air nor shall I delay longer on earth beyond envy I shall leave the city," 2.20.1–5). Does Lucian hint at Horace's patronage, and does he mean to compare him to Timocles or any other common client who is always under the shadow of the patron, while nurturing ambitions for a better life?[45] If we accept this interpretation, we assume that Lucian not only criticizes wealthy Roman individuals, who depreciate scholars, and Roman citizens, whose only concern is to become clients, but he also implicitly expresses contempt for those literate Romans who have fallen into a comparable state of clientship.[46] There is no way to determine whether Lucian actually meant to hint at the poet-patron relationship; nonetheless, later he hastens to "acquit" himself

from any such accusation in his *Apologia*, arguing that via his new position he was compensated for services rendered to the Roman administration.[47] Finally, the ultimate expression of vilification is the mental picture he creates when he compares the client to a monkey (καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ πίθηκοι δεθεὶς κλοιῷ τὸν τράχηλον, "and like a monkey with a collar about its neck," 24). This picture of debasement is clearly in accordance with Juvenal's description of the shaved head of his client in (*pulsandum vertice raso / praebebis quandoque caput*, "some day you will be offering your head to be shaved and slapped," 5.171–172).[48]

Lucian's ominous warnings to clients recur throughout his treatise and include references to slavery and the imperilment of noble status.[49] Does Lucian simply refer to slavery as a position of social degradation, or does he also mean to allude to the position of the Greeks as subjects to the Romans? There seems to be a twofold perspective in the notion of ἐλευθερία. The first refers to whether a Roman client can claim to be freeborn, as I discussed earlier. The second pertains to the political status of the Greeks. Lucian suggests that Greeks, as anyone who considers himself free, cannot assume the status of the client. The issue to consider here is that Greeks had not been free for a long time. Could we interpret Lucian's considerations of the matter as implicit propaganda for Greek independence? The truth is that Lucian perceives the Empire as a society that consists of Greeks, Romans, and other Easterners where each citizen (not in the strictly political sense of citizenship) holds an individual social status. The political distinction, however, between the conqueror and the conquered does not seem to have any bearing in Lucian's assessment of society. He displays acute social awareness and is interested in exploring the social relationships developed in the Empire. Nonetheless, he does not fail to bring ethnic issues to the foreground in an attempt to reconsider and occasionally ridicule ethnic stereotypes. Eventually, he proposes a fresh worldview that considers the Empire as a multinational society, instead of a geographical space that consists of the Romans and their subjects.

The censure of the Greeks and hence the socio-cultural battle of the nations continues in *Satura* 3. Umbricius in 3.109–112 accuses the Greeks of lax morals and licentious conduct even towards the women of the patron's household:

> *Praeterea sanctum nihil est neque ab inguine tutum,*
> *non matrona laris, non filia virgo, neque ipse*
> *sponsus levis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus;*
> *horum si nihil est, aviam resupinat amici.*

> Besides all this, there is nothing sacred to his lusts: not the matron of the family, nor the maiden daughter, not the as yet unbearded son-in-law to be, not even the as yet unpolluted son; if none of these be there, he will debauch his friend's grandmother.

Lucian does not shy away from contradicting these accusations as well. He warns Timocles that his general social behavior, including his conduct towards the patron's wife and children, will be closely scrutinized by everyone:

καὶ ἥ τε οἰκετεία εἰς σὲ ἀποβλέπει καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἕκαστος ὅ τι πράξεις ἐπιτηροῦσιν, οὐδὲ αὐτῷ δὲ ἀμελὲς τῷ πλουσίῳ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προεῖπέ τισι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπισκοπεῖν εἴ πως εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἢ εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα πολλάκις ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποβλέψεις. (15)

The waiters stare at you, the company watch your movements. Nor is the host without curiosity. Some of his servants have instructions to observe you narrowly, lest your glance should fall too often on his wife or children.

Later, he becomes more specific and advocates propriety towards the women of the house. This warning can be perceived in a twofold manner. A pro-Roman audience may claim that Lucian actually acknowledges the Greeks' inclination to impropriety. Lucian, however, has interestingly divided the blame between a more or less careless Greek and a jealous husband, and his social commentary once more reaches both ends:

Ἢν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ζηλότυπός τις ᾖ καὶ παῖδες εὔμορφοι ὦσιν ἢ νέα γυνὴ καὶ σὺ μὴ παντελῶς πόρρω Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Χαρίτων ᾖς, οὐκ ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ ὁ κίνδυνος εὐκαταφρόνητος. ὦτα γὰρ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ βασιλέως πολλοί, οὐ μόνον τἀληθῆ ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεί τι καὶ προσεπιμετροῦντες, ὡς μὴ νυστάζειν δοκοῖεν. δεῖ οὖν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς δείπνοις κάτω νεύοντα κατακεῖσθαι, δεδιότα μή τις εὐνοῦχός σε ἴδῃ προσβλέψαντα μιᾷ τῶν παλλακίδων, ἐπεὶ ἄλλος γε εὐνοῦχος ἐντεταμένον πάλαι τὸ τόξον ἔχων ἃ μὴ θέμις ὁρῶντα ἕτοιμος κολάσαι, διαπείρας τῷ οἰστῷ μεταξὺ πίνοντος τὴν γνάθον. (29)

If your patron is of a jealous disposition, and has a young wife or handsome children, and you are not wholly without personal attractions, then beware! You are on dangerous ground. Many are the ears of a king, and many the eyes, that see not the truth only, but ever something over and above the truth, lest they should seem to fail of their office. Imagine yourself, therefore, at a Persian banquet. Keep your eyes downwards, lest a eunuch should catch them resting on one of the concubines. For see, there stands another with his bow ever on the stretch: one glance at the forbidden object as you raise your cup, and his arrow is through your jaw before you can put it down.

With regards to the second group, the delineation of the patron's profile, neither of the two authors gives any specifics. In both cases, though, the patron's quality is evident through implicit portrayals. Throughout the treatise we find scattered references to the conduct of the patron. The most

characteristic and descriptive ones are verbs that graphically describe the client's lifestyle, such as ἄπαντα ὑπομένειν ("he submits to everything," 8); or πολλάς ἀηδίας ὑπομένειν ("he submits to great unpleasantness," 8); or τρίβωνες ἐρώμενοι παραλαβόντες ὑπεροπτικῶς περιέπουσιν ("they fall into the hands of shrewd experienced minions who treat them superciliously," 7).[50] The patron's behavior becomes even more reprehensible in the course of the dinner; Lucian talks about the hungry client and the greedy patron (τὸ δὲ λιμῷ συνόντα παρεστῶτα ἄλλῳ τοῦ λωτοῦ ἐμφορουμένῳ, "but for a hungry man to stand beside another who eats his fill of lotus," 8). Similarly to Juvenal, he also considers the poor quality of food given to the client the most significant sign of humiliation and an indication of the patron's disrespect for his guest. The latter has given up everything, his expectations for a large fortune, even his dignity; he has nothing else to expect other than a good feast, but the patron does not even grant him that. Juvenal describes the same image. Trebius is left with what no one else at the table wants, inevitably becoming the laughingstock of the rest of the *symposiastai*. The patron also demonstrates contemptuous superiority when he appears through the dinner to be utterly indifferent to his surroundings (ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ προσβλέπει πολλῶν ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν, "And for days together you will not be favoured with a glance," 11). Lucian emphatically compares the patron's house to that of Zeus in the same way that Juvenal compares Virro to Aeneas and the Olympians. Implicitly, though, he mitigates the severity of his attack against Trebius, as he clearly divides the blame for this degraded relationship between him and the patron. It is interesting to note that Suetonius in *Iulius* 48 attests that Caesar punished his baker for serving a different kind of bread to his guests. This blatant disparity between Juvenal's Virro and Suetonius's Caesar implies a disintegration of the social *mores* that instills apprehension into the satirist. The comparison between Juvenal's contemporaries and their ancestors, such as Seneca, Piso, and Cotta, explicitly sets the tone. In the case of Trebius, Juvenal realizes, albeit disapprovingly, that there has always been a class of parasites. Virro, however, should have been inspired by his ancestral decorum and eschewed the depicted social immaturity. In the last two lines of this section, Juvenal uses a chiaston to make a conclusive social comment:

> solum
> poscimus ut cenes civiliter. Hoc face et esto,
> esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis.(5.111–113)

> All we ask of you is that you should dine with us as a fellow-citizen. Do this and remain, like so many others nowadays, rich for yourself and poor to your friends.

He says to Virro, "We ask that you should dine as a fellow citizen," and the second part of the second line complements that notion—"be rich for yourself and poor to your friends"—while the second half of line 112 is an

exhortation to Virro, "do this and be," and the first half of line 113, "be, as many others," is a censure against new nobility and a reminder of the comparison between his contemporaries and his ancestors, as it appeared in *Satura* 1, where Juvenal poses the question: "Which of the grandfathers built such number of villas and dined by himself on seven courses?" (1.94–95). Once more there is a *crescendo* at the end of the sentence as well as an emphasis on its last word, the ancestor. Juvenal also launches another implicit censure against Virro. Although it seems as if he is addressing only Trebius, the author vehemently a ttacks Virro as well (*ille sapit qui te sic utitur*, "in treating you thus, the great man shows his wisdom," 5.170). The end of the *Satura* is relentlessly harsh on both the patron and the client. Juvenal finishes his first book by saying to Trebius that if he tolerates such contemptible behavior he is "*his epulis et tali dignus amico*"—"well worthy of such a feast and such a friend" (5.173). The utter degradation of Trebius is intensified by the fact that he is degraded by Virro, who clearly does not deserve any respect in the first place.

The moral debasement of the Roman patron is demonstrated in a two-fold manner in the drinking scene. Virro drinks from an extraordinarily decorated beryl cup, while neither Trebius nor Timocles are trusted with one. On the one hand, the literary allusion to Aeneas's sword, as Morford notices,[51] intensifies the difference between old and new Roman ethics. On the other hand, the fact that the client is unjustifiably treated as a reprobate further blemishes the character of the patron. Finally, the status of the client is clearly impugned even via the word order. Virro is directly compared to Trebius (*tibi*); the former holds the cup (*tenet*), while the latter is not entrusted with one (*non committitur*).[52] Even if Trebius is entrusted with a valuable cup, there is always someone to watch over him. Similarly, Lucian's client is amazed at the sight of the patron's acquisitions and the luxury of his establishment, as if it were Zeus's mansion (σὺ δ' ὥσπερ εἰς τοῦ Διὸς τὸν οἶκον παρελθὼν πάντα τεθαύμακας, "As though you had entered the mansion of Zeus, you admire everything," 15).[53] The account of the awe-inspiring dwellings of the patron clearly resounds with Juvenal's comparison of Virro to Aeneas. It is obvious that Lucian intentionally alludes to Juvenal and validates the similarities in the treatment of the Greek and the Roman client. However, the phrase "the city of Romans has opened to the Greeks" can always serve as an excuse for the Greek client.

Finally, the patron's character is adumbrated when Lucian uses the client to flaunt his supposedly superior intellect (ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὡς οὐδὲ ὁδῷ βαδίζων ἀμελής ἐστι τῶν Μουσῶν, "showing that not even when walking on the street is he inattentive to the Muses," 25). Then, when the patron is busy with his friends, the client simply waits on him while reading a book. Soon he becomes a used commodity and is unwelcome in the immediate company of the patron.

Finally, the third group consists of the house attendant in the patron's house. In Virro's house the attendant is a Gaetulian and a Maurian of dubious character (. . . *tibi pocula cursor/Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri/et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,/clivosae veheris dum per*

monumenta Latinae, "Cups will be handed to you by a Gaetulian groom, or by the bony hand of a blackamoor whom you would rather not meet at midnight when driving past the monuments on the hilly Latin Way," 5.52–55). In *De Mercede Conductis* he is not Greek or Roman; he is of Libyan origin instead. The entertainer also is Ionian. Therefore, when Timocles is not well received, his degradation reaches another level since he is mistreated by a non-Greek:

> συνεχοῦς δὲ τῆς θυραυλίας, ἕωθέν τε ἐξανιστάμενον περιμένειν ὠθούμενον καὶ ἀποκλειόμενον καὶ ἀναίσχυντον ἐνίοτε καὶ ὀχληρὸν δοκοῦντα καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῷ κακῶς συρίζοντι καὶ ὀνομακλήτορι Λιβυκῷ ταττόμενον καὶ μισθὸν τελοῦντα τῆς μνήμης τοῦ ὀνόματος. (10)

> You will rise early, and stand long before your patron's closed door; you will be jostled; you will hear occasional comments on your impudence. You will be exposed to the vile gabble of a Syrian porter, and to the extortions of a Libyan nomenclator, whose memory must be fee'd, if he is not to forget your name.

This is another sophistic joke on Lucian's behalf, as he plays with his own non-Greek origin. It is also an indication that he is integrated into that multinational society and dares to deride social taboo and stereotypes that obviously still flourish at that time. As Goldhill in his discussion on Lucian's *De Syria Dea* and his ludic considerations of ethnicity cleverly puts it, "This is not a Greek intellectual coming into contact with the East, but an Easterner intellectual writing in the style of an archaic Greek historian coming into contact with the other—which is himself."[54]

So far both Juvenal and Lucian have presented three types of characters— the client, the patron, and the entertainers or house attendants—as three distinct groups.[55] In the entertainment scene, though, they all interact, and each is presented in relation to and in comparison to the others. Therefore, we notice more social dynamics as well as an underlying social commentary. In Lucian it is a dance teacher and a short man from Alexandria who sings in Ionian. The Greek scholar-client forcibly mingles with that group of people who do not belong to the high ranks of society, and they are certainly not of the same stature as the patron, while there is no reference to the latter. Juvenal, on the other hand, up to line 29 gives an account of the quarrel between Trebius and a company of freedmen, and then on line 30 he abruptly changes the tone and describes a serene, almost Olympian image.[56] The description of the quarrel has a precedent in the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (12.182–535). Hence Juvenal via this literary mannerism explicitly quantifies the low stature of the guests among whom the client sits. Virro (*ipse*), on the contrary, sits as a godlike figure utterly oblivious to the quarrels and misery of those below him, just as the Olympians indulged in nectar.

The difference between Lucian and Juvenal is that in Lucian the educated Greek client tries to detach himself from the rest of this crowd. Lucian states

that Timocles is so different from everyone else that, even if he wished to venture into singing and assumed the role of the entertainer, he would not have been successful. Trebius, on the contrary, participates in the strife of the freeborn Romans, even if he does so unwillingly. He becomes one of them and sheds the last drop of self-respect. The way in which Lucian differentiates the Romans from the Greeks implies that for him Roman clients may not be worthy of anything more than the position they hold. Greek scholars, however, can claim other positions in the society.

THE ELEGIAC MOTIF OF THE *EXCLUSUS AMATOR*

Lucian throughout *De Mercede Conductis* uses vocabulary of freedom and servitude. When one pays close attention, though, it becomes evident that the linguistic choices he resorts to imply a more specific kind of servitude, that of the Roman lover and the bond to his *domina*. Lucian seems to be interspersing the picture of the client with characteristics of the despondent Roman *exclusus amator*. What does he purport to emphasize? Juvenal argues that parasites are the ones who forfeit their freeborn status. Lucian via his linguistic mannerisms achieves a dual goal: He is critical of clients, but he also disparages Romans. His social commentary indicates that a client, regardless of his ethnicity, resembles a "dominated" Roman lover. He also clearly alludes to a form of social bondage associated with the Romans. We should not fail to notice that Lucian's familiarity with this motif of Roman poetry indicates a significant degree of familiarity with the language and the literary production. This also substantiates the existence of literary correspondence between Lucian and Roman *littérateurs*.

A question that arises is whether Lucian is actually reverberating Greek or Roman elegy, an issue that would affect the core of the argument. Even though the motif of the amorous poet has its roots in Greek elegiac poetry[57] and Homeric epics, it is even more appropriate to say that the Romans were the ones who embellished it, thus delineating the literary persona of the elegiac lover. The main difference between the Greek poet in love and the Roman lover is that the former accuses Eros himself for everything that he has to endure; it is Eros who is λυσιμελής, and he has inescapably bound him. The Roman lover, on the contrary, is bound by his mistress, who appears to be cruel and inconsiderate. Lucian in *De Mercede Conductis* emphatically uses a vocabulary of domination and freedom, ideas that do not seem to be the focus of the Greek elegiac poets.

More specifically, in Greek literature love is bitter and sweet; it is limb loosening and can render any man incompetent and physically and mentally sick. This motif of love first appears in the epic tradition. In the *Iliad* 3.441–446 Paris describes the smoothness of his feelings and of the love that has seized him.[58] It is important to note here the use of the verb δαμάζω-δάμνημι, which corresponds to the idea of conquering that we also find in Roman elegiac poets and the constant references to *vinculum* and *servitium*

amoris. In Homer we find the verb employed in two semantic fields. It is used to describe the killing of men and the rape of women and also to describe the domination of men by love. The difference between Greek and Latin is that the Roman elegiac poets claim that they are subdued by their *domina*-mistress and not by the feeling of love or by Eros himself. Zeus is said to be subdued by sleep and sex in the *Iliad* 14.353 (ὕπνῳ καὶ φιλότητι δαμείς, "tamed by sleep and love"). In the *Iliad* 3.428–436 Helen expresses her concern for Paris and Menelaus and her fear that either one of them could die. Both deaths are described in terms of the verb δάμνημι.[59] When she talks about her marriage to Peleus, Thetis also uses the same verb to express her unwillingness to participate (*Il*.18.432–434).[60] With regards to the physical effects of Eros on men, the loosening of the limbs and the clouding of the mind (ἀμφεκάλυψεν) are typical of these descriptions. These physical effects appear, for instance, in the *Iliad* when Zeus sees Hera (*Il*. 14.294–296).[61] Hesiod evolves the same idea of the limb-loosening love in the *Theogony* when he talks about the four original gods, one of which is Eros (120–122).[62] The first lyric poets, Archilochos and Alcman, continue to sing the madness of love and of erotic longing, but in their poems it is always the god himself who "attacks" humans and renders them helpless. Archilochos in Fragment 196 talks about the limb-loosening desire that subdues him (ἀλλά μ᾿ ὁ λυσιμελὴς ὦταῖρε δάμναται πόθος, "but, my friend, limb-loosening desire tames me"), and in Fragment 193 he states that he lies wretched with desire (δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθωι, /ἄψυχος, χαλεπῆισι θεῶν ὀδύνηισιν ἕκητι /πεπαρμένος δι᾿ ὀστέων, "wretched because of desire I lie, lifeless, pierced through the bones on account of the terrible pains of the gods"). Alcman also in Fragments 58 and 59a sings of Eros, and the attributive adjectives he employs as well as the description of the effects of love on his physical and mental condition resemble the aforementioned poems (μάργος, "mad, lustful," Fr. 58; γλυκὺς κατείβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει, "flooding sweet Eros warms the heart," Fr. 59a2). Alcaeus resorts to the same motif in Fragments 283 and 347, while Anacreon in Fragment 428 refers to his love and his madness (ἐρέω τε δηῦτε κοὐκ ἐρέω, /καὶ μαίνομαι κοὐ μαίνομαι, "I love and then I do not love and I am crazed and then I am not"). Ibycos in Fragment 286.6–7 says that Eros does not let him take a rest in any season (. . . ἐμοὶ δ᾿ ἔρος/οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὥραν, "for me eros is at no time quiet"). Sappho's lovers also do not depart from the tradition of the Greek elegiac lover or the pains of love.[63]

The motif of παρακλαυσίθυρος was also introduced by Greek poets in the context of the same genre. We find it in Asclepiades, for instance, a poet of the third century BC who complains about the torturous wait outside the door of his beloved. Dioscourides also writes about the popularity of Demophilos and that "his mother's door shall never have a moment's peace at night" (οὐκέτ᾿ νύκτωρ /ἥσυχα τῇ κείνου μητρὶ μενεῖ πρόθυρα, *AG* 12.14). The motif, however, does not seem to develop similarly in Roman poetry. Neither Asclepiades nor Dioscourides accuse the object of their affection.

The mistress is not described in Greek love poetry as an inconsiderate and opportunistic *femme fatale* who purposefully plans the demise of her lover. Nowhere do we find the παρακλαυσίθυρος related to or so artistically interwoven with female cruelty as in Roman elegiac poetry.[64]

Roman poets shift the focus to the *domina*,[65] who is either the receiver of the love or of the exasperation of the lover.[66] Catullus either expresses his raving affection for Lesbia or accuses her of infidelity.[67] In Poem 60 Catullus complains about Lesbia and accuses her of cruelty.[68] The woman in Roman elegiac poetry, therefore, is a more active participant. Tibullus further develops the idea of the mistress as *domina* and the παρακλαυσίθυρος, as it is expressed by the *exclusus amator*. What he adds to the Greek motif of παρακλαυσίθυρος is that the door is not just an inanimate object that keeps the poet away from his beloved, but rather a participant in the relationship. It is even described with adjectives such as *cruel* and *hard* and is also addressed to by the poet. In 1.2.6 the hard door is closed with a steadfast bolt (*clauditur et dura ianua firma sera*, "the firmly harsh door is closed at a late hour"), and the poet is thus forced to beg the door to grant him access to the house (*ianua, iam pateas uni mihi, victa querellis/ neu furtim verso cardine aperta sones*, "door, now open only to me won over by my complaints, and do not make a sound as you secretly open with the overturned hinge," 1.2.9–10). Later in the poem Delia, who personifies the literary persona of the *domina*, also partakes in the demise of the poet and his exclusion from the house:

> *non mihi pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis,*
> *non mihi cum multa decidit imber aqua.*
> *Non labor hic laedit, reseret modo Delia postes* (1.2.31–33)[69]

the numbing cold of winter night does not harm me, nor when the vast rainy shower has fallen on me. No labor here insults me, if only Delia opens her doors.

It is Tibullus who also formulates and masters the idea of enslavement that had not previously been developed in Greek love poetry from that perspective. He repeatedly uses vocabulary of bondage and domination, and his linguistic choices reverberate later in Propertius as well.[70] The latter employs words such as *domina* and *servitium*, which appear in entirely different contexts in Greek poetry. In 1.1.1 Propertius says that Cynthia captured him first (*Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis*, "Cynthia first seized me wretched with her eyes"), and a few verses later he makes it clear that even in mythology love is about taming the object of your love (*domuisse puellam*, "to tame the girl," 1.1.15); the references to *servitium amoris* are also numerous.[71] As does Tibullus, Propertius elaborates on the παρακλαυσίθυρος motif (*clausis expulit e foribus*, "as she threw you out of the closed doors," 1.3.36; *heu nullo limine carus eris*, "you will not be dear

to any threshold," 1.4.22; *exclusum quid sit abire domum*, "what it is to return home shut out," 1.5.20).[72]

Lucian's portrayal of the client in *De Mercede Conductis* constitutes the compendium of the characteristics of the Roman lovers. The treatment clients receive, contrary to their expectations, closely resembles the treatment received by the Roman lover, who is tortured by his beloved.[73] The references to slavery, the image of the chained client, as well as the frequent contradistinction between the words "freedom" and "slavery," resemble the image of the lover who is bound with the bondage of his mistress, as described earlier. The relationship between a lover and his mistress is unfair and one-way; the lover offers generously, while the mistress acts on her caprices and changes of mood.[74] The lover does not desire anything other than the lady's affections, just as the client wants to earn the attention of his patron. In both cases, the elegiac lover and the client end up despondent, abandoned, and trapped in unfulfilling relationships.

More specifically, the first image of the client is powerfully suggestive, as he is compared to a prisoner, and those who fled their patron are compared to prisoners who have just escaped (ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου τινὸς ἀποδράντες, "having escaped from some prison," 1). The next comparison is between the client and a fish that has been caught by a hook (ἄγκιστρον καταπίνοντα . . . ἐξελκομένου, "drawn having swallowed a hook," 3). The selection of epithets for this *ekphrasis* makes the whole picture even more effective for the prospective client. The hook is described as sharp, sad, and inescapable (ὀξέα, ἄφυκτα, ἀνιαρά, "sharp, inescapable, grievous," 3). Finally, the fish-client is merely loot, like the one a stork is craving for.

Throughout the rest of the treatise, patronage is explicitly described as slavery. According to Lucian, it is an act and state of willing obeisance (τῆς ἐθελοδουλείας, 5), and the decision to get under the aegis of a patron is an act of self-desertion to the enemy (πρὸς τὸν βίον τοῦτον αὐτομολίας, "self-desertion towards this kind of life," 5). Consequently, any free man is made into a slave (ταῦτα ὑπάγει αὐτοὺς καὶ δούλους ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων τίθησιν, "these subsume them and render them slaves instead of free," 7). The client in Lucian reminds us of the chained Roman lover of Catullus and Propertius; of lovers who expect too much, but receive far less; of lovers who are unfortunate (κακοδαίμονες). Out of desire and misguided ambitions, lovers tolerate anything (τὸ μὲν δὴ δι᾽ ἡδονῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἅπαντα ὑπομένειν, "to tolerate everything for the desire for pleasure," 8). Eventually, they allow rich patrons to use them for anything they may want (ἐπιτρέπουσι τοῖς πλουσίοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς ὅ τι ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, 9). The references to Roman elegiac poetry continue quite explicitly in Lucian.

The traditional image of the lover wasting away outside his mistress's door is named by Lucian θυραυλία.[75] The doorman is hard and austere, just like the door is so rigid against Propertius:

συνεχοῦς δὲ τῆς θυραυλίας, ἔωθεν τε ἐξανιστάμενον περιμένειν ὠθούμενον καὶ ἀποκλειόμενον καὶ ἀναίσχυντον ἐνίοτε καὶ ὀχληρὸν

δοκοῦντα καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῷ κακῶς συρίζοντι καὶ ὀνομακλήτορι Λιβυκῷ
ταττόμενον. (10)

You will rise early, and stand long before your patron's closed door; you
will be jostled; you will hear occasional comments on your impudence.
You will be exposed to the vile gabble of a Syrian porter, and to the
extortions of a Libyan nomenclator.

The literary correspondence between Lucian and Roman literature can be
substantiated even further when one examines closely Trebius's agony and
concern to go near Virro at all times of day or night, sacrificing his com-
fort. Propertius in 1.16 accuses his mistress's door of being cruel to him
and of letting him wait outside, where, as he says: "A filthy sleep on this
half-warmed slab of stone? When Night rides high with the stars at their
prime, I'm prostrate; I'm pitied by breezes icy with frosts of dawn"[76] (*turpis
et in tepido limine somnus erit? me mediae noctes, me sidera plena iacen-
tem / frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu*, 1.16.22–24). Similarly, Juvenal
condemns Trebius for rushing to his master's dwelling when dawn has not
yet come and the stars are waning and the frozen wain of Bootes surrounds
him (*frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae* "when the chilly wain of
Bootes is wheeling slowly round," 5.23). Juvenal has been considering the
nature of the patron-client relationship and has flirted with the idea of
amicitia, even if in a different context. Nonetheless, it seems that he and
Lucian eventually espouse and promote the consideration that the patron-
client relationship has the undertones of the relationship between the mis-
tress and the lover.

   Finally, the relationship between patron and client is described as being
a bond (ζυγός, 13). Propertius often calls Cynthia *domina* and describes his
domineering feelings for her as bondage (*vinculum*). Similarly, Lucian talks
about a yoke (ζυγὸν) and of things that cannot be endured by any free man
(ἀφόρητα ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ, "unbearable to a free man," 13). Towards the
end of the treatise, Lucian's comments focus on old age and on the new *sta-
tus quo* for the client.[77] He emphasizes the lack of freedom and self-respect
and nullifies the client's claims to noble lineage:

   μηκέτι ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου μηδὲ εὐπατρίδην σεαυτὸν οἴεσθαι.
   πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα, τὸ γένος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τοὺς προγόνους ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ
   καταλείψων (23)

   First of all, remember never again from that time forward to think
   yourself free or noble. All that—your pride of race, your freedom, your
   ancient lineage—you will leave outside the threshold

   ἡ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ εὐγενὲς αὐτοῖς φυλέταις καὶ φράτορσι φροῦδα
   πάντα καὶ οὐδὲ μνήμη τις αὐτῶν. (24)

   Liberty and noblesse, 0with all their kith and kin, have disappeared
   completely, and not even a memory of them abides.[78]

The utter decadence, however, comes when the client's old age results in his being rejected and eventually discarded from the patron's circle. The description of the client this time, however, constitutes a dramatic literary shift, as it unexpectedly recalls the literary model of the Roman mistress; the portrait of the discarded client resembles Cynthia's fate when she gets old. Lucian's subtle yet acrimonious irony is a masterful oratorical creation that encapsulates his social commentary.

DE PARASITO IN LUCIAN'S PARASITIC TRIAD

What role does *De Parasito* play, though? Simon, the parasite, extols his position in the house of the patron and claims that being parasitic is an art (τέχνη). Anything that both Lucian and Juvenal have censured Simon turns upside down and presents as an aspect of an advantageous life. Lucian via sophistical mannerisms responds to Juvenal's *Satura* 9 where Naevolus, the parasite, reached the point of utter debasement. Simon's personality can be read as the satiric equivalent of Naevolus, as the satirically impudent literary persona who makes fun of Juvenal and his serious concerns about his countrymen's decadence while at the same time proves the validity of Juvenal's concerns. Lucian in *De Mercede Conductis* offers an overview of parasitic life in which Timocles, like Trebius, is portrayed as the pitiful figure who entertains high yet unrealistic hopes. *De Parasito*, on the other hand, features a parasite prideful of his status. One can either commiserate with the degraded Simon or resort to laughter, ignoring the latter's ignominious conduct. Tychiades asks Simon whether he is ashamed of his parasitic status (Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρυθριᾷς παράσιτον σαυτὸν καλῶν, "but do you not blush to call yourself a parasite?" 2), which resembles Juvenal's "*Si te propositi nondum pudet . . . /ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra*" (5.1–2). Trebius is not given a chance to respond or defend himself; he seems to be at the author's mercy. *Au contraire*, Lucian not only gives voice to Simon, but the latter startles everyone when he impudently responds, "Οὐδαμῶς," "not at all" (2). Lucian, therefore, comically, effectively nonetheless, reverberates Juvenal's concern about the clients' debasement.

Simon proceeds to give a detailed overview of the client's life and its similarities to art. He defines the client's life as a system of knowledge that has been put into practice, purporting to be useful for life (4). He emphasizes also the vitality of its daily practice, something that is not required for other forms of art, since the parasitic life is directly linked to the sustenance of life itself (6; 19; 20). It is interesting to note, however, that Simon does not give the impression of a hungry parasite. In fact, nowhere is he presented as the deplorable beggar. In *De Mercede Conductis*, Lucian endeavors to persuade Greek scholars to refrain from the parasitic life for they are endowed with other skills and qualities. In *De Parasito*, the reader needs to delve deeper, ignore the allure of the parasitic status or the tendency to consider it an art, as Simon does, and eventually be realistic. *De Parasito* is in a sense more

edifying, as Lucian does not try to deter his contemporaries from this life through reprimand, but gradually leads them to uncover the truth by themselves. Simon is clearly an unscrupulous individual, unable to even perceive the level of his degradation. He is the Greek equivalent of Naevolus whose only regret is his current financial inadequacy, rather than his blemished honor. Naevolus is a morally depressing character, a human compendium of every parasite-related vice. Lucian recreates his comic alternative. He still alarms his audience, circumventing, however, Juvenal's satiric bleakness.[79]

Furthermore, the issue of *amicitia* comes to the fore when Juvenal explicitly differentiates *clientia* from *amicitia* and states that Virro does not consider Trebius a friend; his invitation is simply contingent upon his reluctance to leave a couch empty. Simon refuses to acknowledge that he is a second-rate citizen. He purposefully plays with the word *amicitia* and the ambiguity in its usage and insists that you have to be someone's close friend in order to earn a dinner invitation; hence the logical conclusion, according to him, is that the parasitic life re-enforces friendship.

One notable difference between Simon and Naevolus is that the former formulates an impressive explication of his thesis via the rhetorical motif of Platonic dialogue and the dexterous presentation of philosophic notions meant to support the idea that being a parasite requires skill and knowledge, just like being an orator, a musician, or an architect,[80] while, on the other hand, Naevolus does not entertain any claims to literacy. Lucian, therefore, amidst his social commentary, sets Platonic and Socratic philosophy on a different context, making *De Parasito* the metalanguage for *De Mercede Conductis*.[81] While Timocles has to bear the judgment of his critics, in *De Parasito* the author retrospectively explains the mentality of the parasite. At the same time, however, he manages to satirize parasites and their moral agility, as they disregard the reproaches against them. In any case, the real quality of the parasite's life surfaces.

Lucian's and Juvenal's relation is not a matter of borrowing or imitating, but rather, as I argued in the beginning, it is a matter of conscious and intentional "dialogue," a literary correspondence between Lucian, Roman *literati*, and their socio-political stance. Roman satirical indignation is filtered through the playfulness of second-century literature and Lucian's literary dexterity to discuss sensitive social issues. If we had not had Juvenal, then Lucian would not have been so challenging. Also, Juvenal's reception has thus acquired a subcontext that includes the consideration of foreign politics.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of Juvenal's and Lucian's overview of clientship clearly indicates close similarities in the phases of a parasite's life and the degradation at the twilight of their "career." The way Lucian responds to Juvenal's accusations against the Greeks as well as the motif of παρακλαυσίθυρος,

which first appears in *Satura 5* and then in Lucian's *De Mercede Conductis*, cannot but be conscious choices on Lucian's part. Therefore, one can deduce several conclusions regarding Lucian. He is consciously a citizen of the new ecumenical society; he is comfortable with both the Greek and the Roman *mores* and attempts to construe and promote his social adaptability by means of his treatises. With regards to the social parameters of *De Mercede Conductis* and *De Parasito*, there is an explicit impeachment of the Romans' self-righteousness. While Juvenal accuses the Greeks of flooding Rome, Lucian states that it is Rome that has opened up its doors to the Greeks, without, however, utterly absolving the latter of all responsibility. Therefore, a comparative reading of Lucian and Juvenal encapsulates the literary encounters and socio-political complexities of this *epoque*.

NOTES

1. *Praec. ger. reip*. 814F, 815 A-C. Dio, *Or*. 31.111; 34.44. For a discussion, see Jones (1971) 110–121; Jones (1978) 95–103.
2. For a detailed analysis of Roman administration, see Stevenson (1949). See also Levick (2002) for literary sources that attest to Roman administration.
3. Dig. 27. 1.6.8
4. See Herzog (1935) 983.
5. Dig. 27. 1.6.2
6. Bowersock (1969) 43–58. Lightfoot (2000) 260 asserts that non-Romans who were in administrative positions and "the Philhellene Romans could understand each other because they aspired to a similar cultural ideal, that of polite learning or *paideia*." On the orators or, according to Philostratus, the sophists of the time, see Philostratus, *VS* 537.
7. The erection of the temple of Amor and Roma in Greek style as well as the establishment of the *Panhellenion* for the support and propagation of Classical Greek civilization through his own worship are two characteristic indications of Hadrian's love for Greece. On Hadrian and his attitude towards Romans and Greeks, see Boatwright (2000); Clinton (1989); Romeo (2002) 21–40; Spawforth and Walker (1985) 78–104; Spawforth and Walker (1986) 88–105; Swain (1996) 75.
8. Suetonius, Περὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν, Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν, Περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν.
9. Lightfoot (2000) 264 argues that it was more comforting for the Greeks to idealize the Romans for it would be easier to bear the burden of servitude if the ruler was worthy. Cf. also Capelle (1932). See Swain (1996) 66–100 who argues that Greeks never actually denied their identity. Their past was accommodated instead in the Greco-Roman present. Swain (2007) 37 also emphasizes that "for the Greek elite there was simply only one culture that is Greek, not Greco-Roman." Gruen (1990) 158 ff. presents as an example of the tense relation between Romans and Greeks the story about the affinity between Numa Pompilius and Pythagoras. Gruen elaborates on those who were in favor of this theory; he explains why some Romans argued against it and what this attitude indicates about Roman self-esteem and their respect for the Greeks. See also Rochette (1997) for a discussion on Greek involvement or lack thereof with Latin language and literature.

10. In fact, in Asia Minor Italian architecture was incorporated into the Eastern lifestyle and well-rooted Hellenistic stylistic inclinations. Roman amphitheaters and arcaded aqueducts were introduced almost unchanged in the Eastern part of the Empire. See Waelkens (1987); Waelkens (1989); Ward-Perkins (1981) passim. For this intercultural exchange, see Hoff and Rotroff (1997); Ostenfeld (2002). See also Tate (1997) for a study of the evolution and progress of the Syrian countryside in the second century BC to third CE in the area of building constructions and also the organization of the cities, which carries the signature of the Romans. Thomas (2007) 221–234 explores "responses to monuments" and through Lucian the relation between monuments in the Antonine Age and rhetoric.

11. Traditional views on Lucian's political preferences include Baumann (1930); Peretti (1946); Schnayder (1927), who consider him anti-Roman. Bompaire (1958); Dubuisson (1984–6); Palm (1959) 44–56 are among those who argue in favor of Lucian's adaptability into the new socio-political milieu.

12. Bompaire (1958). Bury (2007) 152–158 provides another appreciation of Lucian's *mimesis* as a conscious and erudite selection of material and explicates its merits as perceived by seventeenth-century French *littérateurs*.

13. Jones (1986). Hall's (1981) work on Lucian, albeit earlier, reads more as an overview of previous scholarship rather than a critical approach.

14. Dubuisson (1984–6) is not in favor of either a pro- or an anti-Roman attitude. Even *Nigrinus* he interprets as a censure of philosophers. See also Nesselrath (2009) for a discussion of Lucian's stance toward Athens and Rome.

15. Swain (1996) 314.

16. Goldhill (2002) 80.

17. Whitmarsh (2001) 294.

18. For a list of works on Lucian from 1930 to 1991, see MacLeod and Baldwin (1994).

19. Jacquemin (1991) 231.

20. Rome is always in the background of authors at the time regardless of their ethnicity. Some praise the Romans as benevolent rulers, others sharply criticize their vices, while others alter their position based on their audience or personal interests. On Dionysius of Halicarnassus's attitude towards Romans, see Gabba (1991); Hartog (1991). See Xenophon Ephesius 1.5,7; Chariton II.5,11; VI,7,12. Second-century novelists avoid direct references to Roman rule, but their use of words such as "Greeks" and "Greece" implies that they forgo, at least literarily, the non-existence of Greece in the political sense. Bowie (1970) 28 argues that "to a certain extent the archaistic tendencies must be taken as a flight from the present" at a time when Roman power was consolidated. Cf. Whitmarsh (2001). Woolf (1994) argues against this assumed self-depreciation of the Greeks. For the point of view of novelists of the Second Sophistic on the Greeks and the barbarians, see also Bowie (1991); Scobie (1975). On the contrary, Lalanne (2002) suggests that Greek novels of the second and third centuries CE have elements that strongly indicate Roman influence. For the relation between Greeks and Romans, see also Plu. *Num.* 1.3,4 on the relation between Numa Pompilius and Pythagoras. Plutarch is more enthusiastic about Rome. He reproaches his contemporaries' disinclination to undertake their responsibilities to their native cities and their preference to take on positions in Rome instead (see *Praec.ger.reip.* 814 D) and finally welcomes Roman control. See Jones (1971) 122–130. It is only in *De Fortuna Romanorum* that he implicitly attributes Roman superiority not to thoughtful governance, but merely to good luck. Cf. Plut. *De Superst.* 166B for Plutarch's viewpoint on the barbarians. For the vocabulary he employs and his attitude towards "the others," see Schmidt

(1999). Cf. also Dio *Or*.48.8,21.16,12.33. Dio Chrysostom praises Rome in *Or*. 32, while he disapproves of its morality in *Or*. 21. Jones (1978) 126 calls Dio "more mercurial" than other authors as concerns his attitude towards Romans. Bowie (1991) 195–201 asserts that Dio plays with the way he presents the difference between Greeks and barbarians according to the audience he expects to have. Even when, however, he does not use the straightforward verbal distinction, he still "makes a play with the traditional elements of Greek education" (195). On Dio see also Gangloff (2007) 64–75; Moles (1995); Sidebottom (1996). See Swain (1990); Swain (1996) 66–100, who argues that the Greeks were still differentiating themselves from other ethnicities. On that topic, see also Castellani (2002); Preston (2001); Titchener (2002). Aelius Aristides's attitude towards Rome seems to have been more favorable, even though he tried and finally succeeded in eschewing his civic responsibilities. His *Oration to Rome* has naturally been interpreted as an *encomium*, even though scholars lately have detected scanty references that may signify a latent disapproval of Rome. See Pernot (2008). Follet (1991) discusses Philostratus's promotion of *Hellenic paideia* through his focus on εὖ λέγειν and stresses that "*Mais parler un grec pur, sans accent, ne va pas de soi pour un Gaulois, un Italien, un Syrien, un Cappadocien. Le Celte Favorinus d'Arles (VS. 1.8), loué pour son εὐγλωττία, illustre le paradoxe Γαλάτης ὢν ἑλληνίζειν.*" For Rome and the provinces, see also Hahn (1906); MacMullen (1966); Millar (1988); Millar (1993a); Millar (1999); Palm (1959); Reardon (1971); Schmid (1887–97); Veyne (1999).

21. Dubuisson (1991). See also Petrochilos (1974) for such terminology during the Roman Republic.

22. The ancient biography, which by Valla is attributed to Probus, attests to the fact that Junius Juvenalis was the son or adopted son of a rich freedman. Further details about Juvenal's life, even his birth date, are ambiguous, and in most cases cannot be verified. We have more information about Juvenal's middle age. There are also scattered references to certain dates in 13.16, 15.27, which give us a time frame. Also, Martial mentions Juvenal in three of his epigrams, but he only briefly describes the circumstances of the latter's life and literary activity. See 7.24, 7.91, 12.18. See Anderson (1965) 418 about Valla's Probus and his validity; Cf. also Wiesen (1969) 76. On the conflicted opinions and information about Juvenal's life, see also Clausen (1959) 179; Ribbeck (1859) xii; Wessner (1931) 1.

23. On the cross-references between Lucian and Juvenal's *Saturae* 3 and 5, see Helm (1906) 218–222; Highet (1954) 252 n.1, 296 n.1. Courtney (1980) 624–629, citing also passages from *Adversus Indoctum* and *De Morte Peregrini*, concludes that "Lucian probably knew and imitated the writings of Juvenal" (629). See also Michel (1994), who presents the concurrent Roman literary reality that Lucian encountered and argues that he recognizes the encounters between the Greek and the Roman literary cultures and finds his personal transcultural creative style.

24. The patron-client relation has been extensively discussed. Highet (1949) 600 n.30 and Frank (1957) 79 claim that parasites are only a Greek phenomenon. Damon (1995); Damon (1997); Morford (1977); Tylawsky (2002) present the counterview. Serres (1980) argues that parasites are a universal phenomenon and are present in all aspects of life.

25. This could be explained by the appearance of Greek philosophers in Rome. Tylawsky (2002) 112 argues that "in Plautus' day some of the Greek, Italian, or Sicilian foreigners who came to Rome brought the Cynic way of life with them . . . The 'foreign' beggar concealed under a Greek label who exchanged philosophizing and brazen wit for subsistence was a frequent enough figure in Rome to provide a clever contrast to Saturio and the life of the parasite."

Cf. also Leo (1913) 146: "*Winkelphilosophen, die sich nach der mächtigen Bar-barenstadt aufgemacht haben.*"

26. For assessments of Juvenal's *Saturae* 3 and 5, see Highet (1954), 65–75; 83–88; Ramage, Sigsbee, and Fredericks (1974), 147–150. On the historical circumstances under which Juvenal wrote and the effect on the *Saturae*, see Freudenberg (2001), 209–277; Knoche (1975), 143–157. On Roman satire, see Coffey (1976), Rudd (1986), Sullivan (1968).

27. Parasites even since the time of Odysseus usually offer information. In early Greek poetry they were usually wanderers who had news of the rest of the world. This is how Odysseus gained a position as a beggar at the suitors' table (H. *Odys*.18.1–9). In Old Comedy the client earns his meal by being a flatterer. Cleon, according to Aristophanes, is a parasite of democracy. In Arist. *Eq*. 40–3; 46–9 the Paphlagon is the handler of the patron, Demos. The same image of the parasite as a kolax appears in Eupolis's *Flatterers* KA 172, "κἄν τι τύχῃ λέγων ὁ πλούταξ, πάνυ τοῦτ' ἐπαινῶ, /καὶ καταπλὴττομαι δοκῶν τοῖς λόγοισι χαίρειν." Cf. also Timocles's *Drakontion* KA 8, "ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ παράσιτον ἐπι τρέψω τινὶ /κακῶς λέγειν; ἥκιστά γ' οὐδέν ἐστι γὰρ /ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χρησιμώτερον γένος. /εἰδ' ἐστὶ <τὸ> φιλέταιρον ἕν τι τῶν καλῶν, /ἀνὴρ παράσιτος τοῦτο ποιεῖ διὰ τέλους./ἐρᾷς, συνεραστὴς ἀπροφάσιστος γίγνεται. /πράττεις τι, πράξει συμπαρὼν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ." Eupolis employed the image of the parasite to criticize contemporary philosophers and specifically the Cynics. On the reciprocal services of the client, see Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977) 44–46; Damon (1995); Tylawsky (2002) 8–27 and passim. Saller (1989) 49 also mentions three conditions which need to be satisfied for a relation to be considered clientship; on that see Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984) 2; Saller (1982) 8–11. After Middle Comedy and especially in New Comedy and later in Roman comedy, the traits of the parasite are standardized, and the poets have literary sources from which they can draw material. It is at this time that the portrayal of the parasite is no longer related to contemporary historical circumstances, but rather to what serves the intentions of the author. See Webster (1970) 102: "The majority of political references in New Comedy have only the purpose of giving contemporary reality to the play." Cf. also Arnott (1993); Tylawsky (2002) 93–106. The parasite also survives in the Greek novel. In Chariton's *Callirhoe* a parasite is hired for his abilities as actor (1.4.1). Nesselrath (1985) 92–121 discusses the history of παράσιτος and κόλαξ from Attic Comedy to the time of Lucian. However, he argues against rooting Lucian to tradition and in favor of perceiving him as the creator of a different, more positive configuration of parasites.

28. Tylawsky (2002) 11.

29. *Mem*. 2.9.5–8.

30. Cic. *Flac*. 17.

31. Serres (1980) 375–440.

32. On primary sources that employ the motif of the *cena* in the *Satura*, see Shero (1923). Morford (1977) 222–224 distinguishes between Juvenal's indignation and Martial's treatment of the same subject. Morford argues that "for Martial the *cena* is an opportunity to make a single point, whether that concerns the food itself or the relationship of host and client. For Juvenal the *cena* is another example of the corruption of Roman society."

33. Roman parasites are not presented in literary tradition as uninvited. They are usually considered friends or parts of the family, contrary to Greek parasites. Characteristic examples are Pl. *Men*. 667; *Capt*. 867, 875, 980. For Greek uninvited parasites (ἄκλητος) Athenaeus preserved a poem by Asius (1.125b-d). Cf. also Arist. *Av*. 983–985; Alexis's *Phygas* KA 259; Athenaeus 13.584e. For a list of references to the Greek parasite in Old, Middle, and New Comedy, see Damon (1995) 182 n.3

34. One should consider *Adversus Indoctum* where the uncultured intellectual is a Syrian. Lucian's target could be twofold: he is derisive towards his own nation and parallels Romans to Syrians. See Johnson (2010) 157–178.

35. Martial also appears critical of the relationship between the patron and the client. See 3.7, 3.14, 3.30, 4.68, 6.25, 6.88, 7.53, 12.29, 9.100. Unlike Juvenal and Lucian, his discussion of the issue does not pertain to issues of character or nationality. Martial simply touches satirically upon the client's dependency and his dole, but he does not seem concerned with the different ethnic groups, such as the Greeks, that adulate the wealthy Romans.

36. Cf. *D. Merc. Cond.* "ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἐπικρύπτεσθαι," 2; 4 passim; "ἀναίσχυντον ἐνίοτε καὶ ὀχληρὸν δοκοῦντα," 10; "ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ συνόλως δουλοπρεπὲς," 22; "Καὶ ἀγαπητὸν εἰ μόνον τὸ αἰσχρὸν προσῆν τῷ πράγματι," 25; "εἰς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην γωνίαν ἐξωσθεὶς," 26; "καὶ ὑπ' αἰδοῦς καταδεδυκὼς στένεις," 27; "ἢν δὲ μειδιάσω καὶ ῥυθμίσω τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὸ ἥδιστον, κατεφρόνησεν εὐθὺς καὶ διέπτυσεν, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅμοιον δοκεῖ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις κωμῳδίαν ὑποκρίναιτο τραγικὸν προσωπεῖον περικείμενος," 30; "συμβὰν αὐτῷ πάνυ γελοῖον," "τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο παθεῖν ἔφη γελοιότατον," 33; "τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα παγγέλοιον ἦν," 34; "γελοῖον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο," 36; "αἰσχρῶς οὕτως ἐκπεσεῖν," 42.

37. Juvenal translations are by Ramsay (1920).

38. The relation, if any, between friendship and clientship appears elsewhere in literature. In Antiphanes's *Twins* KA 80 the parasite claims that he does not wish any harm to his patron, for in such a case he would miss his daily food: ὁ γὰρ παράσιτός ἐστιν, ἂν ὀρθῶς σκοπῇς, /κοινωνὸς ἀμφυοῖν, τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ βίου. /οὐδεὶς παράσιτος εὔχετ' ἀτυχεῖν τοὺς φίλους, /τοὐναντίον δὲ πάντας εὐτυχεῖν ἀεί. /ἐστὶν πολυτελὴς τῷ βίῳ τις. Οὐ φθονεῖ, /μετέχειν δὲ τούτων εὔχετ' αὐτῷ συμπαρών. On Antiphanes, see Nesselrath (1985) 30. Also, there have been different suggestions concerning the use of the word *amicus* and whether it is a synonym for friend or client or if it encompasses both. Gold (1987) 134 argues that "the word *amicus* . . . is a nicely ambiguous word which applies equally well to political allies or personal intimates, to the patron or the client." Cf. also pp. 40, 71, 104. Konstan (1995) claims that friendship and clientship are distinctly separate terms and notions in Latin literature. For the relation between patrons and "friends," see also Baker (1988); Cloud (1989); Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984); Herman (1980); Hunter (1985); Saller (1982); Saller (1989).

39. See Shero (1923) 139.

40. Lucian translations are by Fowler and Fowler (1905) unless indicated otherwise.

41. Cf. Lucil. 3.fr.132–139; 6.fr.251f.; 30 fr.1060–1062.

42. *Saturnalia* 21 also references the chasm between wealthy and poor, but the work reads more as a generic social commentary devoid of ethnic nuances.

43. Consult also n.23.

44. The severity of the statement is not mitigated even if Lucian means to excoriate Roman lack of aesthetic propriety and not Romans themselves, as Swain (2007) 39 argues: "In the case of Lucian hostility can be limited to areas where Rome and Roman are obnoxious to what he held dear quite literally, his investment in Greek culture . . ."

45. On Horace and his relation to Maecenas, see Horsfall (1981) 5. Cf. also Baker (1988); White (1978) 81–82.

46. It is interesting to note that Martial's 12.18.1–6 has a comparable description of literary clientship concerning Juvenal:

> Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras
> Clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura,

> Aut collem dominae teris Dianae;
> Dum per limina te potentiorum
> Sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque
> Maior Caelius et minor fatigant:
>
> While you restless, Juvenal, are wandering around
> in the noisy Subura, or you are pacing the hill of goddess Diana;
> While your sweaty toga fans you at the thresholds of your powerful friends
> and the bigger and smaller Caelius tire you as you wander:

47. Billault (2010) discusses Lucian's relationship with Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius and suggests that *Apologia* as well as *De Saltatione, Imagines, Pro Imaginibus*, and *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* were his means of achieving personal advancement.

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

49. Cf. also 5; 13; 23–26; 40.

50. Translation by Harmon (1913).

51. Morford (1977) 234.

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

53. Harmon (1913).

54. Goldhill (2002) 79. Elsner (2001) in his very thorough analysis of *De Syria Dea* argues that ethnicity is a major issue at play and that Lucian aims at a deliberate obfuscation of his Syrio-Greek identities. See also Said (1994).

55. Even though Petronius and Lucian lived in entirely different periods and Petronius's clients and patrons are different characters than Lucian's, it is still interesting to consider the literary convergence and compare Trimalchio and Eumolpus with Timocles and his patron or with Nigrinus. For a comparison of Lucian and Petronius with regards to their motifs, see Anderson (1976c) 99–114.

56. The brawl is a traditional motif in the literary descriptions of symposia. Petronius at Trimalchio's dinner party narrates a quarrel between Trimalchio and Fortunata (74.8–17) as well as a dog fight (64.5–10). For a detailed account of the similarities between Juvenal and Petronius, see Shero (1923) 139–142. In *Odyssey* Irus, the beggar-parasite, hopes to retain his position by fighting with Odysseus and, thus, turning himself into a spectacle for the suitors (18.44–49).

57. Anacreon is cited from Page, D. 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ibycus's fragment is cited from Davies, M. 1991. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. The rest of the lyric poets are cited from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

58.   ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ φιλότητι τραπείομεν εὐνηθέντε·
      οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ᾽ ὧδέ γ᾽ ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν,
      οὐδ᾽ ὅτε σε πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονος ἐξ ἐρατεινῆς
      ἔπλεον ἁρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσσι,
      > corr. νήσῳ δ᾽ ἐν Κραναῇ ἐμίγην φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ,
      ὥς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ. (3.441–446)

59.   ἤλυθες ἐκ πολέμου ὡς ὤφελες αὐτόθ᾽ ὀλέσθαι
      ἀνδρὶ δαμεὶς κρατερῷι, ὅς ἐμὸς πρότερος

πόσις ἦεν. ἀλλά σ᾽ ἔγωγε
παύεσθαι, κέλομαι, μηδὲ ξανθῶι Μενελάωι
ἀντίβιον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι
ἀφραδέως, μή πως τάχ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δουρὶ δαμήηις.

60.   ἐκ μέν μ᾽ ἀλλάων ἁλιάων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν
Αἰακίδηι Πηλῆϊ, καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνὴν
πολλὰ μάλ᾽ οὐκ ἐθέλουσα.

61.   ὡς δ᾽ ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν,
οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότητι
εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

62.   ἠδ᾽ Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.

63.   For more information on early Greek love poetry, see Bowra (1961); Cyrino (1995); Page (1955); Schmidt (2005).
64.   For more references to παρακλαυσίθυρος, see *AG* 5.64, 12.118, 6.1.
65.   On the mistress in Roman elegiac poetry, see Copley (1947); Greene (1995); Greene (1998); Ogle (1920); Wyke (2002), Yardley (1977); Yardley (1986).
66.   See Catullus 2; 3; 5; 7.
67.   See Catullus 11.
68.   Num te leaena montibus Libystinis
aut Scylla latrans infima inguinum parte
tam mente dura procreauit ac taetra,
ut supplicis vocem in novissimo casu
contemptam haberes, a nimis fero corde?

69.   Cf. also 1.6.61–2; 2.3.77; 2.4.22.
70.   Tib. 2.3.29–30 *felices olim, Veneri cum fertur aperte / servire aeternos non puduisse deos.*; 2.3.80 *non ego me vinclis verberibusque nego;*

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

71.   *hoc magis assueto ducere servitio?* 1.4.4; *tum grave servitium nostrae cogere puellae/discere*, 1.5.19–20; *atque aliquid duram quaerimus in dominam; /nec tantum ingenio quantum servire dolori/cogor*, 1.7.6–8. Cf. also 1.9.2–7; 1.10.27; 1.10.30.
72.   Cf. also 1.10.16;1.13.34; 1.16.17.
73.   Lucian's literary allusions are discussed by Bompaire (1958) and Householder (1941). See also Anderson (1976b), who comments on Householder's list of allusions and their validity.
74.   This relates to Propertius poems on the caprices of Cynthia. See Propertius 1.11.
75.   Cf. also Ph. 1.155, Philostr. *Ep.* 29.
76.   Translation by Hodge and Buttimore (2002).
77.   The fate of the rejected client has been considered much harsher than the client's life itself. In the *Odyssey* Irus's fate is going to be mutilation and death (18.85–87). This descriptive image of Irus's future seems to express clearly that there is really no other option for the parasite and no life beyond the bounds of the patron.

In Eupolis's *Flatterers* the chorus narrates the fate of Acestor, who got marked and was then discarded from the house wearing a dog collar. The motif of the marked parasite reminds us both of Trebius, who, according to Juvenal, would even endure shaving his head, as well as Lucian's warnings to Timocles that as a client he will probably be treated like an animal.

78. Harmon (1913).
79. Nesselrath (1985) points out the philosophical quibbles that Lucian parodies. See also Anderson (1979).
80. Bompaire (1958) 284, 609 discusses the similarities between this work and the Platonic dialogues as well as common points of reference between the character of Simon and Socrates.
81. On Lucian and his engagement with philosophy, see Weissenberger (1996), who discusses *Lexiphanes*. See also Romeri (2002), who discusses *Lexiphanes* and *Symposium seu Lapithae* against the backdrop of Plato.

3   The Literary Context and Social Subcontext in Lucian and Gellius

HELLENISMOS, LATINITAS, AND WHY DEFINITIONS ARE IMPORTANT

The first and second centuries CE were a transitional period for Romans and Greeks, historically, socially, and literarily. In chapter 2 I argued that Juvenal's *Saturae* and several of Lucian's works depict the tense relation between Greeks and Romans. Lucian is consciously answering Roman accusations against the Greeks and is also consciously and intentionally commenting on Juvenal's portrayal of the Romans. Greeks occupied positions in the Roman official hierarchy and were thus becoming a component of the Roman society that had not yet assimilated them. Consequently, Greek and Roman cultures seemed to communicate, although it has been argued that the two nations had not yet come to terms and did not consider each other equal. The influx of foreigners into Roman society had resulted in ambiguities and self-questioning on the part of the Romans, a subsequent tendency to cling to the past, and a defensive attitude towards foreigners.[1] These social phenomena found a literary outlet not only in the works of Juvenal but also in other later Roman authors, as I intend to show in this chapter, basing my analysis on Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*.

Social parameters, such as national identity, foreign identity politics, and the globalization of citizenship, clearly factor into contemporary literature. At this point, it is pertinent to our examination of the degree of familiarity that arose between Greeks and Romans to mention briefly that as Roman *mores* did not effectively percolate into the lives and the conscience of all the Greeks, the Romans were not always comfortable with Greek alterity. The Greeks recurred to their pre-Roman past and tried to instill in people's minds that it was their cultural prowess that needed to be guarded and that whatever the Romans may have added either artistically or architecturally to Greek culture could not compare to earlier Greek accomplishments.[2] Similarly to Greek authors who were still blatantly defensive against the Romans, the majority of their contemporary Roman authors resorted to anthologies and compilations, an action that has been interpreted as an attempt to establish a Roman self against cultural integration. More

specifically, Romans may have already left behind their Golden Age, but their literary production was not non-existent; it includes satirical writings, novels, dramas, declamations, and compilations, such as Apuleius's *Florida*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, or Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*, along with compilations of archaic wisdom and short articles on vocabulary issues.[3] The latter genre, as I will argue later, bears strong political nuances, since it can be interpreted as the Romans' attempt to organize their past and delineate their customs in a literary form so as to establish an identity and safeguard continuity for their contemporaries and for future generations.

More specifically, nationality was no longer contingent upon language and geographical position; bilingualism was a *sine qua non* for anyone's socio-political accreditation, with Greek claiming the palmary role; and lastly *Hellenismos* and *latinitas* were syncretized with social and *paideutic* aspects and were thus modulated into a shibboleth for a new type of identity. From the motto "whoever is not Greek is barbarian" and the definition of *latinitas* in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.17,[4] we arrive to Dionysius's of Halicarnassus's revised criteria according to which nationality is not necessarily an indication of national and cultural identity:[5] "For many others by living among barbarians have in a short time forgotten all their Greek heritage, so that they neither speak the Greek language nor observe the customs of the Greeks nor acknowledge the same gods nor have the same equitable laws (by which most of all the spirit of the Greeks differs from that of the barbarians) nor agree with them in anything else whatever that relates to the ordinary intercourse of life. Those Achaeans who are settled near the Euxine sea are a sufficient proof of my contention; for, though originally Eleans, of a nation the most Greek of any, they are now the most savage of all barbarians."[6] Language also appropriated a more substantial role in the realm of politics. Authors resorted to Greek for their literary endeavors; knowledge of the language was a signifier of literacy, stature, and, in some cases, opposition to Roman overbearingness, while Greek philosophers infiltrated and rose in the Roman echelons by teaching Greek to Romans. Hence, ideas and issues of language and identity figured prominently in the Imperial authors, and it is interesting to note how literature became a mouthpiece for political propaganda and a forum where identities were modulated.

This chapter explores how literary and ethnic identity is constructed in the works of Lucian and Gellius, as I consider how each ethnic group perceives "the other" in this multinational society. Lucian and Gellius, in what can be read as the social metalanguage of their works, present, discuss, and quantify these relations as exchanges or conflicts. A comparison between Lucian's *prolaliae*, *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris*, and *Scytha* and Gellius is intriguing in that both authors use literature as a means of constructing and construing the political and social agendas of the Empire, as these were formulated through the various ethnic groups that constituted the conglomerate of the Roman Empire.

LUCIAN AND GELLIUS IN A GRECO-ROMAN CONTEXT

Having established a socio-political background for Lucian and Gellius, we need to examine how these two individuals react and respond to these circumstances, since, although they are contemporaries, they are evidently recipients of different and occasionally opposing experiences. Lucian's case is particularly interesting, since he can give us a glimpse of the exchanges between the nations in the Empire. He is a foreigner and also a voice for other foreigners.[7] He is from Samosata, but he obviously has a very well-founded Greek literary background, while he is very knowledgeable of Greek and Roman practices and lifestyle. His literary identity is an amalgam of diverse ethnic and literary identities, as it lies securely in his Syrian past and his Greco-Roman present. The selection of Greek as his language has to do, among other things, with the acknowledged superiority of Greek language and literature, the necessity amidst the citizens of the Empire to display erudition pertinent to social advancement at the time, as well as with the Greek past of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. (The Seleucids and the Antigonids ruled there before the Romans and obviously left their mark, although both departed by the mid-second century.)[8] Gellius, as he appears at least through his works, is a Roman citizen, according to Cato's perception, rather than in the sense and undertones that this term acquired at the time. By that I do not mean to say that he lacks references to the Greeks or other nations. However, the way he presents and discusses non-native Romans indicates that he perceives them only as external factors that occasionally have pernicious influence on Roman *mores*. Gellius seems to lack the perception of the ecumenical society that is so open-mindedly conceived by Lucian.

Lucian as a historical persona is the compendium of internationality. Similarly, the characters in his works also transcend ethnic and spatial boundaries, rendering him a product of the second-century multicultural society. Consequently, his writings reflect current issues: social pluralism, ethnic and cultural acceptance, and international relations. Gellius, similarly to Lucian, writes a collection of short works on a variety of topics, ranging from proper societal conduct to apposite linguistic choices, philosophy, literary critique, and even marital relations. His literary production, however, creates the impression that his intention is to revive archaic Latin language and preserve Roman history by revisiting his sources—in other words, his literary predecessors. Furthermore, the interest of the Romans in establishing a self is evident in a number of his Articles. Gellius offers a different approach to socio-cultural pluralism, one that may not be as receptive as that of Lucian.

The reason that prompts a comparative analysis of the two authors lies in the fact that Gellius's works, even though they resemble an encyclopedia, and the author very rarely reveals his own belief system, still latently mirror his political stance, his opinion of Romans and other nations, and

subsequently the Roman second-century reality. Lucian's works have a similar anthologic nature. He discusses issues similar to those in Gellius's writings, but from the opposite perspective, namely the non-Roman. Lucian appears as a spokesperson for the Greeks and other Easterners. Due to his social and cultural multifocality and constant redefinition of otherness, Lucian gives us a comprehensive and all-encompassing view of the customs, relations, and politics of the nations within the boundaries of the Empire, each time from a different perspective. Lucian proves to be a citizen of the second-century world as he moves beyond national boundaries and insular criticism. A reading of the two authors, therefore, will raise and answer questions that mainly concern the position of the Romans and their relation to the Greeks and vice versa as well as each nation's relation to other nations.

PROLALIAE AND *PRAEFATIO*

Lucian's *Prolaliae*

The introduction, as the part where the author explicates his purposes and has an opportunity to appeal to the benevolence of his readers, has always claimed the pivotal role in any sort of literary endeavor. One can only imagine how germane an introduction was at the time of Lucian, the time of epideictic oratory and rhetorical and political mannerisms, for those orators who wanted to have an audience, or more importantly for those who participated in embassies to Roman emperors, emulating with their peers for popularity and coveting a position in the Roman official hierarchy.[9]

Lucian's *prolaliae*, namely *Herodotus, Heracles, Bacchus, De Dipsadibus*, and *Electrum*,[10] indicate that he is very self-conscious both with regards to the nature of his works and his differences, personal and auctorial, with other orators. A closer reading of these introductory works attests to his realization that his disparities may either render him special among his contemporaries or marginalize him, in case his audience forms a cursorily negative judgment of his abilities. For him then his *prolaliae* become a matter of oratorical dexterity, political maneuvers, and ultimately self-promotion. Although an outsider and a newcomer to this guild of Greco-Roman culture, Lucian does not purport to show that he is assimilated. Instead, he emphasizes his alterity, while he also shows that this is exactly what makes his contribution and his work worth noticing.[11] The first *prolalia, Bacchus*, is a masterful application of the technique of estrangement.[12] Lucian selects two entities that at first consideration are or used to be unfamiliar to the Greeks and Romans, namely Indians and Dionysus. The latter, however, has been adopted into their pantheon and does not constitute "the other" any longer, while Indians still fall into the sphere of the unknown. Lucian, though, creates his own metalanguage for this work and sets different standards.

Dionysus's portrayal as outlandish and laughable creates a literary framework with two distinct perspectives. First, Lucian reverses the familiar and unfamiliar for his audience, removing them from their comfort zone while forcing them to face otherness. Second, even though he is the narrator, the story is told from the point of view of the Indians. He recurs to two reversals for his audience, attempting, even if it is only on a literary level, to create an identity and a perspectival conundrum: The audience members start to identify themselves with the narrator when they suddenly realize that he is speaking on behalf of a stranger, namely the Indians. Lucian obviously aspires to transfer his audience's conclusions to the realm of societal conduct and maturity that will enable them to handle international relations less dogmatically. After he has set the framework on which his story works, Lucian focuses on suggestive linguistic choices. He describes the attitude of the Indians to Dionysus as contemptuous (καταφρονῆσαι, 1) and derisive (καταγελᾶν, 1). Lucian would certainly have had distinctive facial characteristics that would differentiate him from the Western population of the Empire and that could constitute a reason for ostracism. Correspondingly, he turns his focus to Dionysus's appearance in a lengthy description of his entourage, explicating the Indians' mockery, while simultaneously demonstrating people's inability to view things from other perspectives. The last phase of Lucian's attack against social one-dimensionality is the Indians' defeat by Dionysus. His ludicrous appearance clouded their judgment and thus thwarted their ability to successfully fight him:[13]

> οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτῶν αὐτίκα ἐκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔφευγον . . . καὶ τέλος κατὰ κράτος ἑαλώκεσαν καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπήγοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τέως καταγελωμένων, ἔργῳ μαθόντες ὡς οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀκοῆς καταφρονεῖν ξένων στρατοπέδων. (4)

> In a moment Indians and elephants turned and fled disordered . . . and the end was that they were smitten and led captive by the objects of their laughter; they had learnt the lesson that it is not safe to take the first report, and scorn an enemy of whom nothing is known.

Lucian concludes with the worshipping of Dionysus by the Indians. The closing message is a clear warning for his audience about his own prospective contributions and against being so hasty as to reject him.

Lucian clearly wants his audience to identify him with Dionysus for a bifold purpose. The god was once a newcomer to the Greek pantheon, and his worship was thus marginalized, but he managed to surmount people's incredulity and became assimilated into the traditional and inveterate group of deities. This is also Lucian's aspiration, namely to achieve social elevation, thus bypassing Roman misapprehension of foreigners. Furthermore, he has the opportunity to deal with the issues of identity and alterity that definitely concern him. The analogy between Lucian and Dionysus is very successful in that they can both be considered equally exotic. Lucian, with all the eccentric

descriptions and stories and even the fact that he is Syrian, closely resembles Dionysus, his entourage, and his accoutrements.[14] This is not in fact the only time that Lucian examines issues pertaining to nationality. In *De Mercede Conductis* he makes fun of the client-parasite, saying that he is being disrespected even by the slave who is neither Greek nor free, but rather of Scythian origin. It cannot escape our attention that he plays with people's origins as well as with their conceptions and misconceptions.[15] His self-assurance, however, amidst the multiethnic palette of people with whom he comes in contact, resounds in his works. This is a perspective that Gellius lacks, and it could be an indicator that the Romans feel less at ease in this new society, in the Empire they created, and, amputated by an antiquated adherence to their past, they pretend that other nations are just foreigners with no bearing on Roman life and reality. Lucian hints at this idea when, in reference to the Indians, he says that they resort to the past (πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνατρέχουσι, 7), hesitant to acknowledge change. This statement could definitely apply to Gellius's literary trend and his contemporaries' social anxiety.

Lucian retains the same tone in *Herodotus*.[16] He says that the historian, although he visited foreign places, was well received regardless of his origin and background. He makes a point of emphasizing the nationality of Herodotus and the cities that he visited, suggesting and promoting political correctness to his audience:

> Πλεύσας οἴκοθεν ἐκ τῆς Καρίας εὐθὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσκοπεῖτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα καὶ ἀπραγμονέστατα ἐπίσημος καὶ περιβόητος γένοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ συγγραμμάτια (1)

> As soon as he had sailed from his Carian home for Greece, he concentrated his thoughts on the quickest and easiest method of winning a brilliant reputation for himself and his works.

> Ἤδη οὖν ἅπαντες αὐτὸν ᾔδεσαν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας αὐτούς (2)

> He was straightway known to all, better far than the Olympic winners.

It is obvious, at least so far as Lucian is concerned, that there were ethnicity-related issues at the time in the Roman Empire, which brings us to the realization that the Syrian may be parodying, deriding, and employing uncommon yet resourceful rhetorical techniques to delve into current social phenomena. Therefore, one should not underestimate the depth and seriousness of his worries concerning his reception. Lucian in *Herodotus* mentions a number of sophists along with their nationalities, stating that they were well received by their audience:

> Ἱππίας τε ὁ ἐπιχώριος αὐτῶν σοφιστὴς καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Χῖος καὶ Πῶλος <ὁ> Ἀκραγαντῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ λόγους ἔλεγον ἀεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν, ἀφ' ὧν γνώριμοι ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγίγνοντο. (3)

It was the regular practice of many afterwards to deliver their discourses at the festival; Hippias the rhetorician was on his own ground there; but Prodicus came from Ceos, Anaximenes from Chios, Polus from Agrigentum; and a rapid fame it brought, to them and many others.

Although the work is at least seemingly about Herodotus, Lucian notes that sophists were not that different from traveling historians or logographers. One should also notice his proximity with the sophists, as he pointedly ranks himself among them, while he also attacks superannuated yet still prevailing beliefs concerning the preponderance of historians over sophists. The lights then fall on Aetion, who, by means of his art, achieved a very profitable wedding.[17] Lucian is clearly pursuing social advancement, and Aetion's wedding can only be a symbolic representation of the former's anticipated prolific "partnership" between the Roman echelons and himself. In fact, his attempts to refine his life and upgrade his place in society met with success when he received an official position in Egypt and then wrote the *Apologia* for *De Mercede Conductis*, claiming that his situation was not comparable to clientship.[18] It is Lucian's competence to create his own metalanguage and his dexterity at amalgamating literature and politics in an influential social manifesto that led him to the entourage of Lucius Verus. He deconstructs social norms and stagnant views on identity while he constructs new, more adaptable personas that can successfully infiltrate the new society. He renders literature an evolving mechanism by which he means to present, and promote himself and also, when necessary, to refute his previous writing and reshape a new self. He is very well aware of the social hierarchy and the role of people in it. He is conscious also of hindrances, such as his nationality, which he is consciously trying to overcome by his artistry and sophistry. Not only, therefore, is he well adjusted in the newly shaped Roman Empire, but he is also a competent and efficient person in this, overwhelmingly for others, massive society.

In *Zeuxis seu Antiochus* the main characters are a Greek painter and a Macedonian general. Lucian retains the same model of promoting otherness (Ὁ Ζεῦξις ἐκεῖνος ἄριστος γραφέων γενόμενος τὰ δημώδη καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγραφεν, "The great Zeuxis, after he had established his artistic supremacy, seldom or never painted such common popular subjects," 3). Zeuxis painted a female Centaur (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τολμήμασι καὶ θήλειαν Ἱπποκένταυρον ὁ Ζεῦξις αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀνατρέφουσάν γε προσέτι παιδίω ἹπποκεντΑύρω διδύμω κομιδῇ νηπίω, "One of these daring pieces of his represented a female Centaur, nursing a pair of infant Centaur twins," 3). Antiochus prevailed over the Galatians by exploiting their fear of elephants:

οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἰδόντες ἐλέφαντα οὔτε αὐτοὶ Γαλάται οὔτε οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν οὕτω πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὄψεως ἐταράχθησαν, ὥστε πόρρω ἔτι τῶν θηρίων ὄντων . . . ἐκκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμω ἔφευγον (10)

Neither the Galatians nor their horses had ever seen an elephant, and they were so taken aback by the strange sight that, long before the

beasts came to close quarters . . . the enemy broke and ran in utter disorder

Zeuxis and Antiochus both achieved the optimal result due to their manipulation of their audience and their opponents, respectively. The choice of characters in this work bears a triple meaning: First, Lucian intentionally chooses a Greek and a Macedonian, disregarding and yet implicitly touching upon the issue of nationality. He then elaborates on their eccentricity and concludes with their subsequent triumph. His sophistry, however, comes into play when he claims that both Zeuxis and Antiochus achieved what they wanted, but they were, nevertheless, concerned that it was their unconventionality and not their merit that was valued. Lucian argues that he aims at a more conscious approval and praise of his artistry and not his artfulness in persuasion and self-promotion. Is he really being honest, or is he toying with his readers' imagination and envisaging them being intrigued? There is no way to prove where truth stops and lies begin with sophists of either the First or the Second Sophistic, or even with orators. Nonetheless, Lucian is evidently preparing the ground for his favorable reception through his intricate argumentation and his choice of accomplished and well-known characters with whom he juxtaposes himself:

> Ὥρα τοίνυν με σκοπεῖν μὴ καὶ τοὐμὸν ὅμοιον ᾖ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἄξιον μάχης, ἐλέφαντες δέ τινες καὶ ξένα μορμολύκεια πρὸς τοὺς ὁρῶντας καὶ θαυματοποιία ἄλλως· ἐκεῖνα γοῦν ἐπαινοῦσι πάντες. οἷς δὲ ἐγὼ ἐπεποίθειν, οὐ πάνυ ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν θήλεια Ἱπποκένταυρος γεγραμμένη, τοῦτο μόνον ἐκπλήττονται καὶ ὥσπερ ἐστί, καινὸν καὶ τεράστιον δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μάτην ἄρα τῷ Ζεύξιδι πεποίηται; ἀλλ' οὐ μάτην—γραφικοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς καὶ μετὰ τέχνης ἕκαστα ὁρᾶτε. εἴη μόνον ἄξια τοῦ θεάτρου δεικνύειν. (12)

> It is time for me to consider whether my army is like that of Antiochus— in general inadequate for the fight, but with some elephants, some queer hobgoblins to see, and some conjuring tricks. It is these qualities at any rate that everyone praises. The things I had confidence in are of no account at all to them. They marvel only because a female Hippocentaur had been painted, and they think it novel and portentous, as indeed it is. But no, not wasted—you are real artists and examine each details with craftsmen's eyes. My only hope is that my show may be worthy of its audience.

The next *prolalia* is *De Dipsadibus*,[19] where Lucian declares his need and thirst for his audience, clearly trying to establish a close relation of mutual dependence. He pointedly presents himself as relying on their acceptance and explains the significance of his position as contingent not only upon his own work, but also upon their satisfaction. This self-assumed humility and acknowledgment of the significance of favorable reception are clearly

meant to flatter the audience, while they also demonstrate Lucian's ability to step out of himself and perceive the opinion of "the other"—in this case the people listening to his speech. The reference to κρουνός, the spring, the torrent of words, should not escape our attention. The well-known comparison of Homer to a spring from which all later authors drink makes his linguistic choice of κρουνός very effectively suggestive. In this *prolalia* Lucian practices all the techniques for which he has prepared his audience in the previous introductory speeches. Employing the technique of estrangement, he narrates a story about Libyans and a very dangerous species of snake and then relates it to himself in a smart, rhetorical, and most of all unexpected way.[20]

ἀλλά μοι δοκῶ—καὶ πρὸς φιλίου μὴ δυσχεράνητε τὴν εἰκόνα θηριώδη οὖσαν—ὅμοιόν τι καὶ αὐτὸς παθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἷον ἐκεῖνοι πάσχουσι πρὸς τὸ ποτὸν οἱ δηχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς διψάδος. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον παρίω ἐς ὑμᾶς, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὀρέγομαι τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τὸ δίψος ἄσχετον ὑπεκκαίεταί μοι, καὶ ἔοικα οὐδ' ἐμπλησεσθαί ποτε τοῦ τοιούτου ποτοῦ. (9)

No, it is only that I am conscious (and now pray do not be offended by my going to the reptiles for my illustration)—I am conscious of the same feelings towards you as a dipsas victim has towards drink; the more I have of your company, the more of it I want; my thirst for it rages uncontrollably; I shall never have enough of this drink.[21]

He evidently purports to please his audience and enjoy favorable reception. Although we cannot guarantee the honesty of this statement, we certainly cannot dismiss it as a possibility:

εἴη μόνον μὴ ἐπιλιπεῖν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιρρέοντα μηδὲ χυθεῖσαν τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κεχηνότα ἔτι καὶ διψῶντα καταλιπεῖν· ὡς δίψους γε ἕνεκα τοὐμοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυε πίνειν ἀεί· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα, κόρος οὐδεὶς τῶν καλῶν. (9)

My only prayer is that the stream that flows from you may never fail; never may your willingness to listen run dry and leave me thirstily gaping! On my side there is no reason why drinking should not go on for ever; the wise Plato says that you cannot have too much of a good thing.

The last introductory work is *Electrum*, where Lucian, as a true orator and sophist, employs the famous technique of *captatio benevolentiae* by an assumed self-demotion. He informs his audience that there are many authors who make unrealistic promises and consequently disappoint their readers. He, therefore, warns them against having high and unrealistic expectations of him, something that will probably result in their feeling frustrated:

πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔστι πιστεύοντας τοῖς πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένοις . . . ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐντύχοις ἂν Ἠριδανοῖς τισι

καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἤλεκτρον, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸς ἀποστάζει τῶν λόγων . . . τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν
ὁρᾶτε ἤδη ὁποῖον ἁπλοϊκὸν καὶ ἄμυθον, οὐδέ τις ᾠδὴ πρόσεστιν . . . ἤδη
οὖν σοι προλέγω, ἐκχέας τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀποκαλύψας τἀμὰ μηδὲν μέγα
προσδοκήσῃς ἀνιμήσεσθαι, ἢ σαυτὸν αἰτιάσῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος. (6)

It is possible for those who believe many such things to be deceived
by those who tell such things at length . . . you might encounter not
few others to whom some Heridani and not electrum, but gold distills
from their words . . . you, however, see mine how simple and lacking in
mythic tales, nor some song is attached . . . now therefore I tell you in
advance, having poured the water and revealed my art, do not expect to
be raised highly, or you will accuse yourself for the hope.

There is, however, an underlying commentary in this statement that goes
beyond the author. In a concise and comprehensive literary criticism, Lucian
exposes the arrogance, immoderacy, and pretentiousness that can also be
found in societal conduct. When he reproves those authors who promise
their readers Heridanus, amber, and singing swans, he is targeting fiction
that poses as historiography. *Quomodo Historia conscribenda sit* is also a
censure against this group of authors, and similar elements of disapproval
can be also found in the beginning of *Verae Historiae*. In this last *prolalia*,
therefore, among other things, he establishes his persona. He actually
defines his identity as an author, juxtaposing his style with that of others
and claiming to be ἁπλοικός καί ἄμυθος (6). Albeit far from simplistic, his
prolaliae indicate that he formed an historical and an authorial self, as he
has consciously found a place for himself in both the social and the literary
spheres of his times by constantly defining and redefining otherness.[22]

Gellius's *Praefatio*

With regards to Gellius, the first thing we notice is that he wrote a *praefatio*,
which shows that he attempts not only to state his intentions, but
also to ensure the audience's *benevolentia*. He starts by commenting on his
style, which he describes as rustic; he then claims that his choice of title
demonstrates lack of creativity when compared to other authors who are
more stylistically intricate and hence adept at finding intelligent titles (*eo
titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt . . . Nos vero,
ut captus noster est, incuriose et inmeditate ac prope etiam subrustice*, "they
therefore invented ingenuous titles also, to correspond with that idea . . .
But I, bearing in mind my limitations, gave my work off-hand, without
premeditation, and indeed almost in rustic fashion," 5, 10).[23] Does he really
believe that? As a matter of fact, a reader does not know what to expect
when reading the title of the work. "*Noctes Atticae*" seems to be more creative
than Gellius appears to give it credit for. We cannot help but wonder,
though, whether Gellius here is being honest and has realized his limitations,
or whether he is employing the traditional motif of self-demotion,

just as Lucian did. Although an anthologist, at this point he seems to have adopted the persona of a sophist, as he seemingly recognizes and apologizes for his auctorial limitations, which is the *par excellence* rhetorical way by which one may gain the reader's benevolence.[24] The fact is that, although Gellius used a plain title for his work, it is not descriptive of its content. It is a title that can certainly trick, something that Apuleius's *Florida* does not do.[25] As a matter of fact, some of the works he mentions have less imaginative titles, for example, *Antiquarum Lectionum, Memoriales*, or even Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας (*Praef*. 6, 8).[26] Also, the allusion to Greekness is an indication of erudition on his behalf and a sign of quantifiable literary elegance. We should also notice that through this extensive explication and the references to the other anthologies, Gellius creates a frame of reference, defines himself versus the others, presents his own idea of otherness that also permeates his social viewpoint, and thus paints a comprehensive vignette of his work.

From the very beginning Gellius openly declares that his work is not a literary contribution. Although the beginning of the line is lost, the surviving text begins with Gellius saying that there are other more entertaining writings that can recreate his children:

> *iucundiora alia reperiri queunt, ad hoc ut liberis quoque meis partae istiusmodi remissiones essent, quando animus eorum interstitione aliqua negotiorum data laxari indulgerique potuisset*. (1)

> Other more entertaining writings may be found, in order that like recreation might be provided for my children, when they should have respite from business affairs and could unbend and divert their minds.

The phrasing of the adjective *iucundus*, however, in the comparative degree seems to imply that he considers his work to be comparatively *iucundus* as well. The similarity of this statement to Lucian's introduction of *Verae Historiae* is striking:

> προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων ἀνάγνωσιν ἀνιέναι τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπειτα κάματον ἀκμαιοτέραν παρασκευάζειν (1)

> I hold it equally true for literary men that after severe study they should unbend the intellect, if it is to come perfectly efficient to its next task.

It is worth noticing, however, that Lucian is still being more rhetorical and sophistic than Gellius. He formulates his statement by following a climactic argumentation. He says that as athletes need a recess, the same way a person of letters needs relaxation from his mental work. Lucian obviously considers learning to be a time-consuming process comparable to physical work with regards to strenuousness. Gellius, on the other hand, displays a more pragmatic Roman nature that considers literary activity and production exemplification of *otium* rather than *negotium*. He openly declares that these kinds of

writings are used as a respite from real physical work. This difference in the theses of the two authors is indicative of the difference between an orator and sophist from an educated Roman. The latter, even though he may have dedicated his life to letters and writing, still considers them to be a secondary pursuit. Another aspect latent in the introductory sentences of Lucian and Gellius is literary criticism. Both of them acknowledge the variety of literary genres and rank their own works in the entertaining narratological genre. Without examining at this point if they provide a truthful account or if they just wish to appeal to the interest of their audience, it is important to emphasize these authors' degree of consciousness with regards to their literary self. In fact, the first occurrence of conscious literary criticism appears in Aristophanes's *Ranae* in the judgment of Euripides and Aeschylus, but the self-cognizance that we detect in Gellius and Lucian also works as a metalanguage and a subcontext for their own writings. Gellius emphasizes also the educational and utilitarian aspects of his material. He does not, at least in the preface, indicate that he purports to concern himself with any social or practical issues. His initial thesis, though, is not entirely honest; the Romans may seem more interested in establishing a literary self, but that does not supersede the concern for socio-political issues. Literature and politics have always been intertwined, and the former has more often than not served either as an intermediary between authors and politics or as a well-disguised way to cloak auctorial discussions on politics. Gellius either does not wish to take a position when it comes to such matters or is simply more diplomatic. Either way his Articles have political bearings, even though he is not straightforward about it.

Another point of reference for Gellius and Lucian is their viewpoint towards authors of other nationalities. Lucian compares himself to Herodotus in an attempt to establish a well-founded relationship of respect and recognition between himself and his audience. Therefore, Lucian acknowledges in a way Herodotus's prominence in the literary *milieu*. Gellius's references to foreign authors, on the other hand, are rather depreciative. According to him, his Greek anthologist predecessors did not apply any selection criteria to the material they recorded; they simply wrote down anything that came their way. This haphazard manner of collection leads him to impugn their utility and merit.[27] Another issue that arises is whether Gellius is only critical towards the Greeks, which would suggest that there are issues of nationality that surface as well, or if he uses them as a representation of other anthologists in general to prove his point. A plausible response is that there had been well-known Greek authors, such as Plutarch and Apollodorus, who had endeavored in this literary genre, and it is only reasonable that Gellius compares himself to them. Why, then, does he not make any reference to Apuleius or Pliny? Is it because he can relate more with Apuleius, who, although he was originally from Africa, wrote in Latin, or because Gellius feels threatened only by the Greeks? Gellius's work is placed in a bicultural environment, where a Roman is conscious of the Greeks both on a social and a literary level. Therefore, one cannot help but read a degree of negativity targeting non-Romans, and it becomes more revealing if we

consider that it appears in the prologue, which actually is one of the few places where Gellius expresses his personal beliefs.

Lucian's and Gellius's Common Points of Reference

A pivotal point of convergence between the two authors pertains to their auctorial straightforwardness. Lucian narrates stories and writes admonitory treatises, which at first reading appear as superficial comic writings. Only a more profound consideration, which transcends the primary comedic level, can actually reveal their underlying socio-political commentary. Therefore, Lucian targets two audiences, the average people, who will enjoy his fresh and jocular approach, and the more erudite, who will appreciate his critical consideration of circumstances. It is only the latter, though, perhaps the intellectual minority in the audience, who will actually perceive Lucian's commentary in its entirety. This implicit sophistication in reasoning and presentation, characteristic of the Second Sophistic authors, promotes the idea of an intelligentsia. Similarly, Gellius emphasizes his intention to alert the minds of his Roman readers and stimulate their interests:

> *quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent* (12)

> those which, by furnishing a quick and easy short-cut, might lead active and alert minds to a desire for independent learning and to the study of useful arts.

So, although in the beginning of the introduction he claimed that his work was meant to be a remission for the mind, he now states his intention to influence people, and, considering the content of his works, he means to put his signature on various aspects of his contemporaries' lives, namely the ones pertaining to religion, proper linguistic choices, Roman history, and even their attitude towards non-Roman nations.[28]

Furthermore, although he seemingly classifies his work as entertainment, Gellius still maintains serious undertones that are indubitably meant to be picked up by the educated in the audience. He recalls Cicero and Quintilian in the introduction of the *Noctes Atticae*, implicitly denouncing his intentions to simply entertain his readership and hence claiming a place in the line of Roman educators. He specifically states that he wishes to stimulate his readers' minds, to make them more vigorous, their memory trustworthy, their eloquence more effective, and their diction purer, or the pleasures of their hours of leisure and recreation more refined, a proclamation that clearly resembles both Cicero and Quintilian:[29]

> *vel ad alendum studium vescae vel ad oblectandum fovendumque animum frigidae, sed eius seminis generisque sint ex quo facile adolescant*

aut ingenia hominum vegetiora aut memoria[30] *adminiculatior aut oratio sollertior*[31] *aut sermo incorruptior aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior.* (16)

> whether they are after all not without power to inspire study, or too dull to divert and stimulate the mind; whether on the contrary they do not contain the germs and the quality to make men's minds grow more vigorous, their memory more trustworthy, their eloquence more effective, their diction purer, or the pleasures of their hours of leisure and recreation more refined.

Gellius seems to be rhetorically and sophistically manipulative, contrary to what he let the readers believe in the beginning of the *praefatio*. The commendable Roman *ethos* surfaces and finally, even though he initially categorized literature under *otium*, he reveals that his aim is to actually espouse *negotium*. Gellius's attitude and relation to literature are contingent upon the social reality of his era. If we consider the number of foreign orators that swarm around Roman emperors, acquire Roman citizenship, and are awarded with offices, we can comprehend the need of native Romans, such as Gellius, to diversify themselves and make a firmly constituted impression on their audience, one impregnable to ostentatious foreigners by adhering to traditional Roman practices and *mores* and also by espousing impressionable tactics as well as composition and delivery of rhetorically advanced speeches. His emphasis on religious and moral matters denotes his intention to contribute also to the survival of Roman history and culture.

It seems that regardless of the obvious discrepancies in their literary pursuits and their styles both Gellius and Lucian nurture the same aspiration: to leave their mark on their era and have an effect on their contemporaries. For Lucian, on the one hand, the term "contemporaries" includes all the citizens (not with the strictly political meaning of the word) of the Roman Empire. For Gellius, on the other hand, contemporaries and descendants encompass native Roman generations. Society in his perception had not yet evolved as to include even the remote parts of the Empire. Even if it had, this could be another reason for Gellius to pursue with perseverance the immortality of Roman *ethos*.

Another common point of reference in Gellius's and Lucian's introductions concerns their reception. Both authors endeavor to achieve favorable reception, and they both express concerns that something may repel their readers. Lucian is worried about his origins and his employment of eccentric techniques, while Gellius raises issues of comprehension when it comes to some of the material he presents:

> *quod erunt autem in his commentariis pauca quaedam scrupulosa et anxia, vel ex grammatica vel ex dialectica vel etiam ex geometrica, quodque erunt item paucula remotiora super augurio iure et pontificio,*

non oportet ea defugere, quasi aut cognitu non utilia aut perceptu dif-
ficilia. (13)

Now just because there will be found in these notes some few topics that
are knotty and troublesome, either from Grammar or Dialectics or even
from Geometry, and because there will also be some little material or
a somewhat recondite character about augural or pontifical law, one
ought not therefore to avoid such topics as useless to know or difficult
to comprehend.

Another Lucianic motif presents itself in Gellius when the latter says that
some of the things he discusses may seem to his readers new or uncommon
(*nova . . . ignotaque . . .*, 16). Later he touches upon the same subject once
more, emphasizing the obscurity of some of the topics and suggesting a
modus legendi to his readers:

quae autem parum plana videbuntur aut minus plena instructaque, peti-
mus, inquam, ut ea non docendi magis quam admonendi gratia scripta
existiment (17)

But as to matters which seem too obscure, or not presented in full
enough detail, I beg once again that my readers may consider them
written, not so much to instruct, as to give a hint.

The verbal similarities to Lucian's *prolaliae* are striking and worth discuss-
ing. Gellius extends the same request as Lucian to his readers that they
should not judge him negatively or dismiss what he has to say only on
account of the material's occasional novelty and eccentricity.

What clearly differentiates Gellius from Lucian and from all sophists,
orators, and writers, for that matter, is that he encourages his readers not
to censure him, in case they disapprove of or disagree with something he
says. Instead, he suggests that they criticize the sources from which he drew
his material (*Quae vero putaverint reprehendenda, his, si audebunt, suc-*
censeant, unde ea nos accepimus, "But if they found for criticism, let them,
if they have the courage, blame those from whom I drew my material,"
18). This renouncement of paternity is not a standard motif for any author,
and it is without a doubt unlike Second Sophistic authors to blindly copy
a predecessor and then openly admit it.[32] Another note on this issue is that
Gellius quotes other authors without incorporating them into his work. At
the end of his *praefatio*, for instance, he simply quotes a few verses from
Aristophanes's *Ranae*, showing that his writings are intended for the *literati*
and not for the uninitiated mob:[33]

atque etiam, quo sit quorundam male doctorum hominum scaevitas
et invidentia irritatior, mutuabor ex Aristophanae choro anapaesta
pauca . . . ut ea ne attingat neve adeat profestum et profanum vulgus (20)

> Moreover, in order that the perversity and envy of certain half-educated men may be the more aroused, I shall borrow a few anapaests from the chorus of Aristophanes . . . that the profane and uninitiate throng shall neither touch nor approach them.

Even though he wants to proclaim his erudition, in this case at least he demonstrates that he lacks Lucian's rhetorical sophistication. Aristophanic influence is not an undertone that he incorporates in the context of his *praefatio*; it is simply a quotation meant to exhibit rather blatantly his knowledge of Greek.

Lucian and Gellius, therefore, both try to live up to the expectations of their times, in the sense that they adopt oratory as a way to promote their ideas. The main divergence between them is the reasons why they resort to oratory. Gellius aims to preserve the Roman *ethos* and Romanness in general, whatever that term encompasses. He thus compiles information pertaining to social and moral integrity as well as linguistic, educational, and religion-related issues. Although he writes an anthology, which by definition is variegated, he is, nonetheless, very unilateral, since he excludes foreigners and secludes Romans from the rest of their Empire.[34] In other words, Gellius merely wishes his Articles to create a long-lasting social and educational history for the Romans. Lucian, on the contrary, appears—even from his *prolaliae*—aware and active socially. He is not, or at least he does not, seem concerned about the past. He is aware of the present, and his target audience is his contemporaries: the Greeks, the Romans, the Scythians, the citizens of the Roman Empire.

WHO ARE THE FOREIGNERS AFTER ALL?

Lucian states about Toxaris in *Scytha*: "Ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις δὲ πόθεν ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἔγνω ὁμοεθνῆ ὄντα, Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐσταλμένον, ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένον, ὑπεξυρημένον τὸ γένειον, ἄζωστον, ἀσίδηρον, ἤδη στωμύλον, αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἕνα τῶν αὐτοχθόνων" ("Anacharsis, on the other hand, could not be expected to see a compatriot in Toxaris, who was dressed in the Greek fashion, without sword or belt, wore no beard, and from his fluent speech might have been an Athenian born," 3). The Roman Empire in the second century CE was a multinational society, culturally ruled by the Romans and the Greeks. What is intriguing in the assessment of that era is to consider the position of other nations and their portrayal or representation in the social and literary scenes in an attempt to provide a vignette of national identities within the Roman Empire, not through the eyes of native Romans but of outsiders. Lucian is the personification of diversity and cultural encounters within the boundaries of the Roman Empire and hence the most qualified to comment on cultural alterity as well as reception. In this section I examine how Lucian perceives individuals and individuality in the social conglomerate

that constitutes the Empire and argue that he prompts the discussion of issues of identity and international relations in an attempt to promote ethnic tolerance and cultural communication, but not cultural annexation. Lucian is aware of the existence of other nations, other than the Greeks and the Romans, as well as of the fact that they do not have a voice in literature and in some cases in Greco-Roman society. I analyze, therefore, the ways Lucian displays and encourages social awareness, namely character portrayal, structure and thematization of the texts, and linguistic maneuvers. In an attempt to almost propagandize the idea of interaction between nations, Lucian writes *Toxaris, Scytha*, and *Anacharsis*, in which at least one of the interlocutors is a Scythian. He also uses the social stereotype of barbarism, targeting the Greeks and not Eastern nations that were customarily considered barbarians by the Greeks and the Romans.[35] In the aforementioned triptych Lucian presents the relation between Greeks and "the others" as gradually evolving. At first, the Greek and the Scythian simply converse and exchange their opinions about each other's nation. Afterwards, the Scythian open-mindedly wishes to comprehend and embrace a foreign culture, while in the last work, *Anacharsis*, the Scythian, now acquainted with Greek customs and manners, is more critical, and even dismisses aspects of Greek culture.[36]

Religious and Cultural (In)tolerance

My consideration of Lucian's and other contemporary authors' literary uniqueness and contribution is contingent upon their apprehension of nationality within the context of their *epoque's* consideration of national identity. Dio Chrysostom, Aelius Aristides, and Plutarch give us glimpses into the *status quo* of the Greeks, the native Romans, and citizens in the Eastern part of the Empire; they deliver the Greco-Roman viewpoint. In some cases they appear to be favorably disposed towards the Romans, but even though they occasionally discuss their native cities, they do not unilaterally conduce to the latter's opinion about Roman *imperium*.[37] Lucian's dual perspective clearly surpasses the limitations of the Greco-Roman cultural and political monopoly, as he challenges the segregation of nations in the Eastern part of the Empire. A multitude of nations are beyond the reach of the West geographically and/or literarily. This inaccessibility can explicate the difficulty that Greeks and Romans manifest to comprehend the existence and most importantly the culture of those other nations. Lucian not only demonstrates that societies consider things differently, but he also suggests that except for the Greeks, who have appropriated self-righteousness, and the Romans, who claim to be paradigms of morality, there are other nations who have high, albeit different, moral standards.[38] The point, however, is not who is right and who is wrong; it is rather the realization of the variety of opinions. Lucian puts his social experience into words and suggests communication rather than national segregation.[39]

Toxaris constitutes Lucian's first attempt to achieve a communication between Greeks and others on a literary basis.[40] It is interesting to note that he forgoes even linguistic boundaries as Toxaris and Mnesippus converse in Greek. Lucian's unprecedented social awareness displays itself when the Scythian's cultural and religious maturity assumes the primary role throughout the entire work and is sharply contrasted to the Greek's narrow-mindedness and cultural intolerance. The core of *Toxaris* and hence Lucian's argument is contained in the following lines:

> MN: θύετε Ὀρέστῃ καὶ Πυλάδῃ ὑμεῖς οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι πεπιστεύκατε αὐτούς; . . . Τί θηρώμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν; . . . νεκροῖς γε οὖσιν . . . ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς δεσμοφύλαξι καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐπικρατήσαντες τόν τε βασιλέα κτείνουσι καὶ τὴν ἱέρειαν παραλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν αὐτὴν ἀποσυλήσαντες ᾤχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καταγελάσαντες τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν. (1, 2)

> you people actually sacrifice to Orestes and Pylades? do you take them for Gods? . . . But what do you expect from them? They are shades now . . . they assaulted the gaolers, overpowered the garrison, slew the king, carried off the priestess, laid impious hands on the Goddess herself, and so took ship, snapping their fingers at Scythia and her laws.

> TO: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἄμεινον οἰόμεθα πράξειν μεμνημένοι τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ τιμῶμεν ἀποθανόντας, ἡγούμεθα γὰρ οὕτως ἂν ἡμῖν πολλοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς ἐθελῆσαι γενέσθαι (1).

> But that is not all: in honouring the dead we consider that we are also doing the best we can for the living. Our idea is that by preserving the memory of the noblest of mankind, we induce many people to follow their example.

Mnesippus is critical of the worship of Orestes and Pylades. He wonders why the Scythians try to appease them and win their favor since they are not deities and are already dead. He even derides the former for honoring someone who slighted them and ridiculed their king by taking Iphigeneia and the statue of Artemis and assassinating their king. Toxaris, on the other hand, displays maturity and superiority and explains that they are not being worshipped as deities but as praiseworthy individuals. Lucian comprehensively presents a compendium of a multifaceted society in which cultural and religious heterogeneity presents itself. Assuming the role of the devil's advocate, he dares to present the Scythian literary persona as the one who is capable of comprehending social multifariousness and religious unselfishness. It is the Scythian who appreciates the value of Orestes and Pylades and obviously lacks the *do ut des* nature that colors the Greek perception of religion. Finally, he is careful not to express contempt but merely dissonance with the Greek perception of religion.[41]

A close reading of *Toxaris* indicates that Lucian's motivation is not altogether altruistic; on the contrary, the author aims at demolishing the

stereotype of the "non-Greek (or Roman), hence barbarian," and ultimately at achieving personal advancement. He therefore uses the well-rounded Scythian as an experiential literary persona in order to inculcate into his Greek-speaking audience the conviction that he too, although an outsider, has been initiated and is now partaking of and contributing to an international literary culture. He undermines the Greek misapprehension against other cultures by attacking it from the inside and by ultimately presenting Mnesippus as the less cultured and more socially unrefined as he is the one who launches an uncritical and immature impugnation of Scythian culture.[42] Mnesippus appears disinclined to accept the civilization of the Scythians and, in what is clearly an insult, expresses his astonishment at Toxaris's eloquence, for, as he says, Scythians are known to be merely dexterous archers:

> Ὦ Τόξαρι, οὐ μόνον ἄρα τοξεύειν ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν Σκύθαι καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμείνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥῆσιν εἰπεῖν ἁπάντων πιθανώτατοι (8)

> Ah, Toxaris, so archery is not the only accomplishment of the Scythians, I find; they excel in rhetorical, as well as in military skill.

Mnesippus's entire argument is founded on stereotypes; he is suspicious and intransigently judgmental when it comes to Scythians and their lifestyle. Toxaris, on the contrary, is portrayed as unburdened by stereotypical profiles and supportive of the principle that integrity and merit should not bear the stamp of ethnicity.

In the following passage Lucian portrays Toxaris as a paragon of cultural liberalism. The maturity of the Scythian's rationale, the degree of self-consciousness, and most of all the irony in the use of the word βάρβαρος by someone who displays such qualities constitute a conspicuous indication of Lucian's ethnical and cultural multifocality:[43]

> Ἄκουε δή, ὦ θαυμάσιε, καὶ σκόπει καθ' ὅσον ἡμεῖς οἱ βάρβαροι εὐγνωμονέστερον ὑμῶν περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν κρίνομεν, εἴ γε ἐν Ἄργει μὲν καὶ Μυκήναις οὐδὲ τάφον ἔνδοξον ἔστιν ἰδεῖν Ὀρέστου ἢ Πυλάδου, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ νεὼς ἀποδέδεικται αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἑταίροις γε οὖσι, καὶ θυσίαι προσάγονται καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τιμὴ ἅπασα, κωλύει τε οὐδὲν ὅτι ξένοι ἦσαν ἀλλὰ μὴ Σκύθαι ἀγαθοὺς κεκρίσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν ἀρίστων θεραπεύεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐξετάζομεν ὅθεν οἱ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί εἰσιν, οὐδὲ φθονοῦμεν εἰ μὴ φίλοι ὄντες ἀγαθὰ εἰργάσαντο, ἐπαινοῦντες δὲ ἃ ἔπραξαν, οἰκείους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ποιούμεθα. (5)

> Now, now, Mnesippus, listen to me, and you shall see how much more candid we barbarians are in our valuation of good men than you Greeks. In Argos and Mycenae there is not so much as a respectable tomb raised to Orestes and Pylades: in Scythia, they have their temple, which is very appropriately dedicated to the two friends in common, their sacrifices, and every honour. The fact of their being foreigners does not prevent us from recognizing their virtues. We do not inquire into the nationality

of noble souls: we can hear without envy of the illustrious deeds of our enemies; we do justice to their merits, and count them Scythians in deed if not in name.

Lucian's subtle yet astute attack against Greek intolerability of otherness continues as Mnesippus's viewpoint of Scythian culture remains unaltered and therefore retains the same tone of cultural non-elegance and rejection, notwithstanding Toxaris's eloquent confutation. More specifically, Mnesippus says that the Scythians were also thought to be wild and inhospitable and that the Greeks believe those who claim that Scythians cannot be friends and also eat their fathers when they die:

πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ᾠήθην ἂν οὕτω ποτὲ περισπούδαστον εἶναι φιλίαν ἐν Σκύθαις· ἅτε γὰρ ἀξένους καὶ ἀγρίους ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἔχθρᾳ μὲν ἀεὶ συνεῖναι καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ, φιλίαν δὲ μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπαναιρεῖσθαι, τεκμαιρόμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἃ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούομεν καὶ ὅτι κατεσθίουσι τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθανόντας. (8)

Only I should never have thought that the Scythians would set such a high value on friendship: they are such a wild, inhospitable race; I should have said they had more to do with anger and hatred and enmity than with friendship, even for their nearest relations, judging by what one is told; it is said, for instance, that they devour their fathers' corpses.

Lucian at this point could be subtly hinting at Herodotus, Pliny, or Ctesias and their accounts of strange stories about foreign nations. Therefore, amidst his cultural battle he does not fail to impugn the veracity of other authors in an undeniably subtle literary critique. He also displays how easy it is to misinterpret someone if one refuses the opportunity to get to know that person.

Another aspect of the dialogue in need of consideration is the linguistic dimension. Lucian employs the stereotypical words βάρβαρος and ἀγρίον ἔθνος when he refers to the Scythians.[44] First, when Toxaris explains the reasons for honoring Orestes and Pylades, he says that they are respected for not fearing to explore places which were thought to be inhabited by "wild nations":

μὴ καταπλαγέντας μήτε τοὺς μύθους τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν προσηγορίαν καταδείσαντας ὅτι ἄξενος ἐκαλεῖτο, οἷα, οἶμαι ἀγρίων ἐθνῶν περιοικούντων. (3)

-unmoved by the stories they heard of it, undeterred by the inhospitable name it then bore, which I suppose referred to the savage nations that dwelt upon its shores;

The phrase ἀγρίων ἐθνῶν coming from Toxaris, though, shows self-realization on behalf of the Scythians and Lucian's acute observation with regards to

society's attitude—or maybe immaturity—regarding the unknown. Later Toxaris calls his nation "barbarians." The opposition between the expression "we the barbarians" and the fact that the Scythians are presented as more grateful to their deities than others clearly display Lucian's thesis, and it should/could have been a poignant statement on the stereotypical social immaturity of his audience as well. Lucian, therefore, through Toxaris, openly berates those who still cling to outdated stereotypes and are thus prevented from getting in touch with second-century reality and consequently from relaxing their defenses against foreign nations.[45] The irony is double here since Toxaris, the literary personality, is Scythian, and Lucian, the author, is Syrian. Lucian is undeniably walking a thin line, as he runs the danger of insulting part of his audience by touching upon sensitive and undeniably controversial issues.

The end of the dialogue functions like the *sphragis* or the *parabasis* in Old Comedy. Lucian demolishes centuries of stereotypes and suggests intercultural communication. Mnesippus suggests that they forget their first agreement about losing an arm or their tongue if they lose the competition and Toxaris consents. They both agree to be friends and declare their satisfaction at having a friend, even if he is in Greece or Scythia, respectively.[46] Mnesippus is the one who closes the dialogue by saying that he will not fear to venture farther into the world, so long as he knows that he has friends like Toxaris:

> οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι καὶ ἔτι πορρωτέρω ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μέλλω τοιούτοις φίλοις ἐντεύξεσθαι οἷος σύ, ὦ Τόξαρι, διεφάνης ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων. (63)

> I would go further than Scythia, to meet with such friends as Toxaris's narratives have shown him to be.

Lucian shows that a moral thesis can be honored beyond national boundaries and that even the Greek, who was defensive towards the Scythian at first, is capable of accepting the latter's acculturation. Mnesippus now considers Toxaris an equal. He recants his earlier questioning of Scythian culture and realizes that the Scythians may not be that different or, in fact, that being different is not necessarily negative after all.

Lucian aspires after two results: the first has to do with the amelioration of intercultural relations in the Roman Empire and the other concerns his career as an orator; he is ambitious and wishes to climb the hierarchical ladder in the Roman Empire. Therefore, he strives for a meritocratic valuation of his abilities and, through the characters in his works, states that he does not wish to be just the outsider-foreigner but rather the Syrian individual who will be accepted for what he is, without being defined by social stereotypes.[47]

Greekness Inculcated

So far Lucian presented the Greeks and the Scythians as members of two different worlds who strive to perceive and come to terms with each other's

culture. The Syrian, however, as I argued before, wishes to be part of the Greco-Roman society. The way to accomplish this would be to demonstrate that a foreigner, in this case the persona he created and by extension Lucian himself, can be imbued with Greekness. He therefore portrays Anacharsis in *Scytha* not only as receptive and unbigoted towards Greek customs, but also eager to adapt to his adopted land.[48] Contrary to the expectation that the title of this work may raise, therefore, the orator does not alienate the Scythians from the rest of the Empire by narrating some strange event that took place amidst them or a peculiar ritual they are accustomed to perform. He presents instead the view of a Scythian who is visiting Athens.[49] The communication between the two nations is no longer a matter of strangers exchanging information, but of an individual actually observing a foreign nation and wishing to partake of the new culture and society. What is worth noting, however, is that in a masterful oratorical maneuver Anacharsis assumes also the role of the "judge" who has the right to evaluate the object of his observation.

Anacharsis is visiting Athens for the first time, and the Greek manners seem to him particularly strange, including the clothes and the way Toxaris, originally Scythian but by now a resident of Athens, wears his hair:

οἷα δὴ ξένος καὶ βάρβαρος οὐ μετρίως τεταραγμένος ἔτι τὴν γνώμην, πάντα ἀγνοῶν, ψοφοδεὴς πρὸς τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρήσαιτο ἑαυτῷ . . . ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις δὲ πόθεν ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἔγνω ὁμοεθνῆ ὄντα, Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐσταλμένον, ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένον, ὑπεξυρημένον τὸ γένειον, ἄζωστον, ἀσίδηρον, ἤδη στωμύλον, αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἕνα τῶν αὐτοχθόνων. (3)

in no small perturbation of spirit; a foreigner and a barbarian, everything was strange to him, and many things caused him uneasiness; he knew not what to do with himself . . . Anacharsis, on the other hand, could not be expected to see a compatriot in Toxaris, who was dressed in the Greek fashion, without sword or belt, wore no beard, and from his fluent speech might have been an Athenian born

Lucian then launches a rather acrimonious attack against the Greeks, employing another blatant stereotype when Anacharsis describes Toxaris as στωμύλον (talkative).[50] Lucian puts the Greeks on the opposite side, on the side of those who are being judged, and since there are several stereotypes targeting foreign nations, Lucian makes a strong point when he says that, in this case, it is a Scythian who finds the Greeks outlandish. This reversal of roles that Lucian achieves here is a literary as well as a cultural contribution, aiming at the reception of alterity in multinational societies. The completeness and mature bifocality of the fictitious Anacharsis as well as the reversal of the technique of estrangement that I will discuss later constitute a major literary originality in a literary world that is dominated by Greco-Roman literary creations and social viewpoints. Anacharsis also identifies the lack of armor as a feminine attribute in Athenian lifestyle (ἀσίδηρον, 3), a statement

that epitomizes Lucian's cultural awareness. Anacharsis, however, although dumbfounded even by the attire of the Athenians, displays maturity as he admires Athenians and wishes to familiarize himself with what he considers to be a civilization and a city worthy of admiration:

> μαθητήν σου ἴσθι με γεγενημένον καὶ ζηλωτὴν τοῦ ἔρωτος ὃν ἠράσθης, ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ κατά γε τὴν ἐμπορίαν ταύτην ἀποδημήσας. (4)

> You see before you a disciple, who has caught your enthusiasm for Greece; it was with no other object than this that I set out on my travels.

Lucian portrays an open-minded character, maybe more than a Greek or a Roman would have been in Anacharsis's place, clearly a paragon of cosmopolitanism in the Empire.

Up to this point, Lucian has been drawing a dividing line between Athenians and Scythians by presenting one through the eyes of the other. His oratorical dexterity, however, manages to demolish this barrier by using the word Σκυθιστὶ when he states that the two Scythians converse in their native language (Ἀλλὰ Τόξαρις Σκυθιστὶ προσειπὼν αὐτόν, "addressing him in the Scythian language," 4).[51] The whole scene is the technique of estrangement in reverse. This conversation takes place in Athens, but the interlocutors are not natives. The environment for both of them used to be and may still be unfamiliar. At the end of the work, however, even Anacharsis seems to be accustomed to his new life:

> τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἐμυήθη μόνος βαρβάρων Ἀνάχαρσις, δημοποίητος γενόμενος . . . καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἀνέστρεψεν οἶμαι ἐς Σκύθας, εἰ μὴ Σόλων ἀπέθανεν. (8)

> Finally Anacharsis was presented with the freedom of the city and initiated into the mysteries . . . nor does it seem likely that he would ever have returned to Scythia, had not Solon died.

Lucian's edifying narrative manages to deliver a comprehensive compendium of his century. The characters that are featured in his work promote ethnic communication in a quite propagandistic manner. A transcendent idea of cosmopolitanism is pivotal in his worldview, as he clearly opts for cultural and social interaction, but not for assimilation, as I will show in my analysis of *Anacharsis*. Contrary to what other authors claim, contrary to the dissensions between Greeks and Romans and the geographical and social marginalization of Easterners, Lucian shows that people should be open to this new society, without renouncing their identity. The distance and subsequent lack of communication between nations, therefore, have, according to Lucian, decreased. In this context, he admonishes his contemporaries to abandon their claims to a putative superiority and urges them to espouse an attitude befitting citizens of a multinational society and not of rustic "city-state"-like nations. Lucian also attempts to achieve self-promotion.

Therefore, he switches to first-person narration and suggests that he should not be marginalized on account of his origins:

> καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μὴ νεμεσήσητέ μοι τῆς εἰκόνος, εἰ βασιλικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐμαυτὸν εἴκασα· βάρβαρος μὲν γὰρ κἀκεῖνος καὶ οὐδέν τι φαίης ἂν τοὺς Σύρους ἡμᾶς φαυλοτέρους εἶναι τῶν Σκυθῶν. (9)

> I crave your indulgence, in venturing to compare myself with royalty. Anacharsis, after all, was a barbarian; and I should hope that we Syrians are as good as Scythians.

He acknowledges his ethnic alterity as well as his discomposure regarding his reception by the Greco-Roman community and thus intends to ascertain through his works that he is an integral part of the new world order. The connecting line between Lucian and his character Anacharsis is unequivocal.[52] They are both foreigners, but they are eager to fit into the new society. Athens has clearly inculcated Greekness into Anacharsis, and now he embraces his adopted land. Lucian similarly demonstrates adeptness and eagerness to adjust. He purports to demolish the inveterate stereotype of barbarism by feignedly embracing it when he repeatedly uses the word βάρβαρος throughout his work (*Scyth.* 3; 8; 9). He wishes to approach the Greeks not by opposing them explicitly, but by embracing some of their views.

The end of *Scytha* is an amazing display of Lucian's dexterity as he emphasizes his importance as an orator as well as the role of public speeches. He points out the significance of being endowed with oratorical dexterity and concludes by implicitly advertising the essentiality of his own abilities. He argues that anyone who has influential friends will be able to sail quietly through life:

> ἢν γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπάρξῃ, εὔδια πάντα καὶ πλοῦς οὔριος καὶ λειοκύμων ἡ θάλαττα καὶ ὁ λιμὴν πλησίον. (11)

> That once achieved, fair weather and calm seas are before me, and my haven is near at hand.

In the second century CE the relation of the provinces and the emperors rendered abilities such as his invaluable. Lucian tries to capture the audience's *benevolentia*, while inviting them to acknowledge and appreciate his rhetorical efficacy.

Dismissal of the Greek

The last phase in Lucian's literary attempt to foster cultural maturity and international communication is when the Scythian becomes acquainted with Greek *mores*. While he embraces some of its aspects, he dismisses others who do not agree with the way he perceives his individuality. In other

words, Lucian suggests that there can be communication; he also cultivates adaptability and open-mindedness, but not an uncritical ethnic miscegenation. Finally, after having created a vignette of the Empire, as he imagines it, he finds a place for himself in this social hierarchy. He is a Syrian imbued with Greek and Roman education who deserves a place in the high ranks of the Roman social echelons.

Lucian promotes the aforementioned thesis in *Anacharsis*, the last work in his triptych. The Scythian has proven in *Toxaris* and *Scytha* to be well versed, receptive to new modes of life, and respectful of other nations. Now he will also prove to be sagacious and savvy as he turns a critical eye towards the Greeks. Solon, the Athenian law-giver, and Anacharsis, the Scythian, are the interlocutors. The conclusion that their discussion reaches, however, is different from the one in *Scytha*. Although in *Scytha* we notice the willingness of the Scythian to be syncretized with Greek customs and to maintain a degree of awe for the Greeks, in *Anacharsis* the Scythian rejects the Athenian lifestyle by stating that he cannot comprehend the essentiality of gymnastics or of other aspects of the Greek lifestyle and worldview. What is the conclusion that Lucian wishes his audience to reach? One could argue that the author contradicts in a way *Scytha* and his previous thesis about the ability of different nations to grow closer. *Anacharsis*, however, can also be viewed as a statement in favor of what Lucian has been advocating all along. Nowhere does he show that people should forget their identities and become fused with either the Greeks or the Romans. On the contrary, in *Scytha* Anacharsis openly admits his identity and origin and still wishes to learn more about the Greeks. In the same work, Toxaris, too, converses with Anacharsis in their native language. *Anacharsis*, therefore, complements the idea of interaction between the nations in the Roman Empire and also advocates the preservation of everyone's identity. The addition of *Anacharsis* in the triptych shows that Lucian was anticipating objections to what could be considered by some people in his audience as a promotion of ethnic syncresis.

The first aspect of the dialogue is Anacharsis's request for specific answers about certain constituents of Greek culture, namely athletics and theater. This detailed discussion complements *Scytha* where Anacharsis is simply an apprentice of Solon and is willing to uncritically accept everything on the grounds that it is Greek and therefore praiseworthy. Toxaris at the beginning of the same work is portrayed as utterly Hellenized. In *Anacharsis*, Lucian shows the evolution of the homonymous individual. He may very well be making the point that, while people should be open to change, it is up to each individual to decide where he himself belongs and critically dismiss any elements that do not express his individuality or his national identity, as he perceives it.[53] Anacharsis at the end of the dialogue with Solon is still intransigently critical of Athenian lifestyle and goes as far as to impugn Athenian propriety. It is also important to notice that Lucian chooses to relate athletics and theater to the social stereotype of masculinity and bravery.[54] This is another deprecation of society's tendency to create stereotypes.

More specifically, Anacharsis watches young Athenians practice and wrestle, and then he questions the necessity to fight, lie in the sand, or even apply oil on their bodies and, hence, the overall contribution of athletics to society (*Anacharsis* 1). Solon, who is called to initiate the Scythian into Athenian mentality, explains that young men practice to be healthy, to be ready to fight in case of war, and to discard the fear of pain (*Anacharsis* 15). Anacharsis, however, remains unconvinced until the end. He goes as far as to entirely dismiss an aspect of Athenian lifestyle that is quintessential to the way Athenians perceive themselves as a nation, namely drama.[55] Lucian purposefully portrays him as being incapable of comprehending the cultural and social mentality that permeates theatrical creations. Hence, Anacharsis proceeds to deride tragedians and comedians because of their attire (23, 31, 32). Another point of discussion is the prize for which the Greek men are competing. The fact that the Athenians fight for olive branches and celery is not met with enthusiasm by Anacharsis:

> τοιαῦτά μοι καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἔχων ἆθλα διεξιέναι, μῆλα καὶ σέλινα διηγοῦ καὶ θαλλὸν ἐλαίας ἀγρίας καὶ πίτυν; (16)

> you had all these grand prizes up your sleeve, and you told me a tale of apples and parsley and tufts of wild olive and pine?

On the contrary, he finds it ridiculous, and Solon is called to explicate the significance of social recognition:

> καὶ τὰ ἆθλα, ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον, οὐ μικρά, ὁ ἔπαινος ὁ παρὰ τῶν θεατῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπισημότατον γενέσθαι καὶ δείκνυσθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτὸν δοκοῦντα (36)

> And the prizes, as I said before, are not small things—to be applauded by the spectators, to be the mark of all eyes and fingers as the best of one's contemporaries.

Lucian's reasoning shines through this triptych that is meant to promote reconsideration of the Greco-Roman perception of contemporary reality and also demolish any preponderant social apprehension. *Anacharsis* also constitutes a strong and eloquent argument in that Lucian focuses on the very core of Athenian civilization and worldview. The end of the work is socially edifying; Anacharsis is not receptive to the Athenian lifestyle, while Solon invites the former to introduce him into the Scythian lifestyle (39–40). The conclusion that one might reach after having read *Anacharsis* is that Lucian opts for communication and acceptance of otherness, not for assimilation of ethnic identities. People should be open-minded, but that does not necessarily mean that they have to indiscriminately accept everything new or different or to uncritically dismiss their own culture. Even the so-called barbarians have customs and manners and can dismiss aspects of the Greek lifestyle as much as the Greeks believe that they have the prerogative to do

so. Furthermore, Lucian suggests a globalization of institutions when Solon states that Anacharsis can play the role of a member of the Areopagus and thus question and doubt Solon:

> Ὥστε καὶ σέ, ὦ Ἀνάχαρσι, Ἀρεοπαγίτην ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιοῦμαι ἔγωγε, καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς βουλῆς μου νόμον ἄκουε, καὶ σιωπᾶν κέλευε, ἢν αἴσθῃ καταρρητορευόμενος· (19)

> Now, Anacharsis, I hereby create you a temporary Areopagite; you shall hear me according to that court's practice, and silence me if you find me cajoling you;

The fact is that only Athenian citizens could be members of the Areopagus. The democratic institution of the Areopagus, however, can be adopted by anyone in Lucian's world. Lucian could be advocating here once more that people in this open society should be free to choose between various ideas, institutions, and ways of living. Actually, Anacharsis, without realizing it, has been appealing to and practicing the Greek democratic concept of *parrhesia* in his discussion with Solon all along.

Lucian gives a lesson to his audience regarding the way one nation may perceive another. Of course, he is not what we would call the average Syrian. He leaves his hometown, travels, and rises in the Roman echelons. What makes his opinion valuable, however, is that he never hides his identity; he openly admits that he is an (As)Syrian. Also, he is an undeniably important writer for the assessment of his time and a special individual who has the lucidity to comment on current events. Although he is part of the second-century reality, he does not fail to be critical and take the social pulse. In *Toxaris, Scytha*, and *Anacharsis*, Lucian gives voice to foreigners. Scythians, specifically, come in close contact with Greek civilization, and the Greeks have to bear the Scythians' judgment the way they, the Greeks, judge everybody else. One cannot argue with certainty if foreign nations were in fact questioning either the Greeks or the Romans or if Lucian was ahead of his time and tried to open up people's minds. Nonetheless, the character portrayal, character evolution throughout these three works, and Lucian's observational acuteness when it comes to society attest to his belief that a multinational society can only exist and flourish if every nation accepts ethnic alterity, if people manage to feel as components of the new ecumenical society without abolishing their own ethnic characteristics. Lucian was obviously a pioneer and was definitely living up to the calling of the second-century reality.

LATINITAS IN GELLIUS

The Political Propaganda of Anthologies

Varro's *Antiquitates Romanae*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, and Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*, products of a generation of compilers or the so-called archaists,

give the impression that they are simply anthologies with no political bearings, as they seemingly forgo any kind of explicit criticism of current social or historical issues.[56] What could be more political at the time, however, than revisiting the Roman past and creating a memorial of language, social and religious *mores*, and other archaisms? Even if, therefore, Gellius seems to ignore the present, he implicitly comments on the new modalities in his era and expresses his feelings about the altering realities in the Roman world by providing a vignette of the past and thus by establishing and defining *latinitas* as a shibboleth for his Roman contemporaries. The adherence of those second-century CE authors to compilations may also be perceived as an acrimonious statement regarding their contemporaries' need to be reminded of what it means to be Roman. Most importantly, anthologies can be read as blatant statements on contemporary Romans' deficiencies when compared to their ancestors and on the consequent exigency that arises to protect their heritage. It is usually dramatic changes in socio-political *milieus* that instigate people's need to protect their identity and also prompt the writing of such literary works. The multicultural society that the Roman Empire constituted in the second century CE and the influx of so many different ethnic, historic, social, and cultural backgrounds under the aegis of the Empire can therefore explain Gellius's literary preferences.

The strong social, historical, and moral implications of Gellius's works may elude the first-time reader. The deceptive superficial narratives of the strange events that take place amid the barbarians or the story about Tarquinius and the old woman who was burning the Sibylline books (1.19) may not strike someone as being purposefully introduced by Gellius, let alone as charged with religious and social messages. The point is that Gellius through his narratives attempts to stabilize a past for the Roman people and also create a Roman identity for the higher echelons of society. The fluidity of the times and the ever-changing realities, along with the plethora of non-Roman newcomers who eventually acquired the privilege of Roman citizenship, seemed to have made people like Gellius insecure.[57] Since the beginning of civilization, language served as the principal ethnic shibboleth.[58] It is a common stereotype that Greeks called all others barbarians, albeit not in the modern meaning of the word. In the second century CE, however, the Roman Empire was officially bilingual, and there were people from the boundaries of the Empire, like Lucian, who were fluent in either or both Greek and Latin. Mythology blended, and new religions, such as Christianity, emerged. The title "Roman citizen" also granted several non-native Romans the opportunity to claim an office in the political hierarchy of the Empire. One can only assume how native Romans felt about this new world order. On that basis, it should also be noted that Gellius had only a *nomen* and *praenomen* and that his family probably descended from the native Romans.[59] Regardless of the rhetorical constituents and embellishments, Aelius Aristides's encomium of Rome paints a lapidary picture of this *status quo*: "What a city is to its boundaries and its territories, so this city is to the whole inhabited world, as if it had been designated its common

town. You would say that all the *perioeci* or all the people settled in different places deme by deme assemble at this one acropolis."[60] As Dench points out, "Rome is explicitly imagined on the participatory model of the Athenian democracy, her territory merely magnified thousands of times."[61] Therefore, the circumstances under which Gellius wrote clearly negate the possibility that his choice of topics could be haphazard.[62]

Gellius against the Backdrop of Lucian and Vice Versa

How do Lucian's works add to the reading of *Noctes Atticae*? Lucian is a contemporary of Gellius; nonetheless, he constitutes "the other," the one who necessitates the safeguarding of Romanness, since as an accomplished foreigner he usurps the positions of Roman citizens. His role as a foreigner, however, renders his works invaluable when we set out to consider Roman writings; we get the viewpoint of "the other," acquire a criterion-background upon which to discuss the works of authors such as Gellius, and validate as well as quantify our conclusions. More specifically, even though both authors wish to edify society, the principal disparity between them lies in their reaction to this society. Lucian writes about the present, and his audience has to face the reality of current issues; Gellius concentrates on the past. Furthermore, although Lucian writes in Greek, he does not hesitate to either praise or be critical of either the Greeks or the Romans regardless of political or social constraints. His commentary on international relations, the degree of communication and influence between cultures, and the attitude of people when they find themselves in a social boiler reveal an astute observer of social realities. Where does Gellius stand with regards to Lucian? Except for the relation between Romans and Greeks, which Gellius discusses on different levels and which appears in several Articles as a preconcerted convention, rarely do we read anything about other foreign nations and international relations. Is it happening and Gellius is simply ignoring it, or is the society we read about in Lucian just a figment of the latter's imagination, a description of a utopian society as he believes it should be? It is a fact that Lucian appears to be more conscious of the existence of other nations than Gellius. For the latter, it is more a matter of exotic nations that do not have any bearing on Roman lifestyle and *mores*. Considering also that most Romans would not have had the opportunity to travel to the farthest extremes of the Empire, it would be difficult for them to perceive those nations as social and political communities. This realization indicates that a comparison between Lucian and Gellius can help us read between the lines of their works and comprehend what their writings indicate about native Romans and outsider Romans. Also, reading Gellius in light of Lucian's works will make it impossible to assume that the information the former provides about any nation is simply haphazard and devoid of political pertinence.

Another intriguing aspect of their works that should not remain unnoticed is that they both resort to writing compilations. They both write short Articles in which they discuss topics, such as linguistics, history, literary production, philosophers, and Greeks and Romans. What sets them apart, however, is the way they chart their literary and social *milieu* by what they relate and what they withhold. Lucian's choice of topics shows that he is comfortable with his alterity and the distinctiveness of each nation in the Empire; thus, his works give the reader an encapsulated picture of the expanded Roman Empire. Gellius promotes the idea of Roman superiority and dominance, while the other nations in his Articles merely exist to elevate Romans through comparison to them and to serve as a point of reference against which the native Romans can establish and fortify their Romanness. Gellius shows that the Romans were never comfortable with the Greeks and that there was little communication between the two; on the contrary, the Greeks were for the Romans "the other" and vice versa.[63] Therefore, acceptance of cultural and ethnic alterity is not an idea that Gellius promotes.

Gellius seems obsessed with emphasizing and promoting the grandeur of the Roman past with all that this encompasses, namely linguistic correctness, literary production, and Roman *mores*.[64] Although he does not usually give a time frame within which his works can be placed, his repertoire includes stories that commemorate historical events, and the majority of his Articles resonate with eulogies of anything Roman. We read several stories about frugality and how it was cherished by his ancestors[65] as well as stories about the objectivity of the Romans and their impregnable integrity. A representative example of Roman meritocracy is the story-eulogy of the poor Roman of humble birth, who, after his services to the city, rose to the status of consul:

> ut vulgo per vias urbis versiculi proscriberentur:
> Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices!
> Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens;
> Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est. (15.4.3)
> that these verses were posted everywhere about the streets of the city:
> Assemble, soothsayers and augurs all!
> portent strange has taken place of late;
> For he who curried mules is consul now.

Gellius's adherence to the past and his presentation of it as if it were enshrined in an impregnable and presently unattainable glory raise questions regarding his attitude towards his contemporaries. Does he intend to censure their merit, implying that they need to reevaluate their conduct and lifestyle having their ancestors as a gnomon, or does he just want to enforce his generation's nationalistic instincts? Either or both may lie behind Gellius's writings, and in most cases one complements and is non-existent without the other. The point is, however, that in Gellius's work there is no second-century

reality *per se*, and, even if there is, it lies in the background, existing only in relation to and depending heavily upon the past. *Noctes Atticae*, therefore, lacks a tone of contemporaneousness, which is also one of the pivotal differences between him and Lucian.[66] There is also the possibility that Gellius writes to preserve certain information for future generations so that these events would never enter the realm of the forgotten. Even in that case, however, one cannot overlook the fact that he pretermits the present, as if he is not concerned about preserving anything of his own socio-historical reality. An element that Gellius shares with Lucian, though, is the sense of urgency that we get from both authors, an exigency to promote ideas, influence their contemporaries, and eventually leave their mark on their era. In Gellius the present appears as an underlayer, while Lucian's writings resound with references to the present; he shows that his roots may lie secure in his Syrian past, but he is not afraid to venture into the present and explore it.

Romanness in the World of Gellius

Gellius dedicates several Articles to events that commemorate past military attainments and morality, the two pillars of Roman history. The story in 3.8 about Quintus Caedicius is a representative example of what Gellius includes in his writings and wishes to preserve as a mental *memorabilium* from his ancestors. Although he rarely states his own opinion on what he narrates, in this case he goes as far as to begin the story with the adjective *pulchrum*, saying "a glorious deed, good gods, worthy of the exalted diction of Greek eloquence" (*Pulchrum, dii boni, facinus Graecarumque facundiarum magniloquentia condignum . . .*, 3.7). The rest of the story relates the events that took place interspersed with occasional supposedly direct quotations from the Roman tribune. Not only does Gellius commemorate such events, but he also employs rhetorical maneuvers, such as the quotations, that render the Article more emotionally charged. He wishes, therefore, to secure the results of his attempt to preserve the past and rekindle his contemporaries' patriotism. The laudatory comparison of the tribune with Leonidas the Spartan is ingenious as well. Gellius starts smoothly by saying that a person's glory depends on his provenance and then he brings forth, as an example, Leonidas:

> *Leonides Laco, qui simile apud Thermopylas fecit, propter eius virtutes omnis Graecia gloriam atque gratiam praecipuam claritudinis inclitissimae decoravere monumentis: signis, statuis, elogiis, historiis aliisque rebus gratissimum id eius factum habuere* (3.7.19);

> The Laconian Leonidas, who performed a like exploit at Thermopylae, because of his valor won unexampled glory and gratitude from all Greece, and was honored with memorials of the highest distinction; they showed their appreciation of that deed of his by pictures, statues and honorary inscriptions, in their histories, and in other ways.

Article 2.11 contains a similar story about a tribune who was called the Roman Achilles:

> *Sicinium Dentatum . . . scriptum est in libris annalibus plus, quam credi debeat, strenuum bellatorem fuisse nomenque ei factum ob ingentem fortitudinem appellatumque esse Achillem Romanum.* (2.11.1)

> We read in the annals that Lucius Sicinius Dentatus . . . was a warrior of incredible energy; that he won a name for his exceeding great valour and was called the Roman Achilles.

The description of his achievements takes over the whole story. The significance of these comparisons is twofold. The first has to do with the core of Gellius's work and his historical personality. The fact that he compares a Roman to a Greek and argues as well that their valor was comparable shows that there had been an amelioration in the relation between the two nations, but it may also indicate that the Romans generally respected early Classical Greek civilization and morality, but did not necessarily extend their admiration to contemporary Greeks.[67] The other aspect of the statement is that the author here explicates once more the purpose of his work; he clearly states that his work is meant to fill the gaps in the recording of events of the Roman past, because this is what amplifies the glory and creates a past for nations.[68] This is another reason, I believe, why he refers to the Greeks. They are the most adept at recording and creating a past, a present, and a future for themselves through literature. The promotion of *Hellenismos* as a promontory for Greece, even though Greece did not even exist politically at the time, and the ever-present *hellenophilia* fluently attest to that. Another story of military decency is recorded in Article 3.8 where Gellius talks about C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius, who sent a letter to king Pyrrhus informing him of an imminent plot against him, even though the latter's death would have benefited them. The narrative itself begins with a temporal clause (*Cum Pyrrus rex in terra Italia esset*, "When Pyrrhus the king was on Italian land," 3.8), but the short introduction starts with "a fine letter of the consuls" (*Litterae eximiae consulum*). Once more Gellius emphasizes the value of these memorable events as he most probably intends not only to imprint them on the mind of his readers, but also to inculcate pride through the employment of exclamatory adjectives. Article 1.13 relates a story of the obedience that a soldier must show towards his superiors. Crassus asked the chief engineer of the people of Mylatta for a large mast to be used as a ram. The engineer decided that a smaller one would be more appropriate for that purpose. Crassus sent for him and punished him for disobeying and thereby weakening the authority of the commander. There are several other stories about military history and achievements, and most of them relate to Roman decency and the sense of propriety with which the Romans were endowed. Several Articles are dedicated to morality, either of Roman citizens or of officials. The emphasis on this aspect of Romanness shows that the author

is concerned with Romans' lapse in good judgment. Even if Gellius's literary activity was instigated by noble sentiments, he narrow-mindedly occluded contemporary reality from his work, denying intercultural communication and evolution in Roman lifestyle.

Other topics that are recurrent in several Articles and adumbrate a vignette of *latinitas* are frugality and continence, marriage, women, and propriety in conduct and attire. In 2.24 Gellius records an extensive catalogue of the amount of money that the Romans allowed themselves to squander for food. He also mentions specific laws that were passed regulating the appropriate consumption on specific days.[69] In addition to the aforementioned Articles that provide generic information on issues of frugality, Gellius also includes others that are more edifying, as the author explicitly espouses ancient *ethos*. In 11.2 he describes the evolution of the word *elegans* and how from being shameful it came to be considered laudatory when the elegant person would demonstrate moderate conduct. As one would expect, Cato is mentioned, as are his remarks on the moderately elegant clothing. It should also be noticed that in these stories Gellius rarely fails to mention that these were the ancestral Roman customs (*quod "elegantia" apud antiquiores*, "the word 'elegantia' in the past"). In 3.1 and 3.5 the author elaborates on voluptuousness and avarice, attempting to inculcate in the mind and conscience of his contemporaries that these vices threaten their masculinity. Voluptuousness and avarice are henceforth both condemned and explicitly forbidden to all Romans regardless of their stature. In 15.8 he even states his personal thesis when he describes the extravagant way of living as being hateful and he also quotes Favonius on that matter (*ut meminisse possemus odio esse hercle istiusmodi sumptus atque victus*, "so as to remember that expense and living of this sort is truly odious," 15.8.1).

This brings us to another category of stories that discuss proper Roman behavior in public and in private. Gellius's persistence on such aspects of lifestyle indicates either that the morality of the Romans suffered incurable damage or that the aggregation of several ethnicities in the Empire created an exigency for the Romans to cling to ancient morality and customs if only through literature. We should not forget that many Romans felt threatened by the Greeks and their completely different lifestyle. In Lucian's *Anacharsis* the Scythian remains unconvinced about Greek manliness as he questions their obsession with athletics and theater. The Scythian's view may very well represent the anxiety of other nations, like the Romans, who have come into close contact with the Greeks. Therefore, even simple acts, such as yawning in public, are for Gellius manifestations of the pernicious effects of the detachment from traditional Romanness. There are two stories against yawning, in both of which a Roman was reprimanded for his negligence and obvious wanton neglect of proper conduct and civil duties.[70] The extremely sensitive and morally charged issue of the relation between fathers and sons is also discussed. If the son has a high office in Roman hierarchy, should the

father show respect to his son, or should old age always have priority?[71] What about the obedience that a son should show to his father? Shall he always follow the father's orders, or can he judge and decide for himself? Gellius concludes that the only case when a father can be disobeyed is if one of his orders is harmful and inappropriate.[72]

Finally, another group of stories focuses on the impropriety of women. In one story Metellus Numidicus is reprimanded by some Romans for openly admitting that if men could avoid taking wives, they could live better without that burden. The criticism, however, is unjustified because he concludes that men cannot live at all without women, as women contribute to the proliferation of the Roman nation. Thus one should think further than the pleasure of the moment:

> *Si sine uxore possemus, Quirites, omnes ea molestia careremus; sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis uno modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est.* (1.6.1)

> If we could get on without a wife, Romans, we would all avoid that annoyance; but since nature has ordained that we can neither live very comfortably with them nor at all without them, we must take thought for our lasting well-being rather than for the pleasure of the moment.

In 2.15 Gellius narrates another story dedicated to the reasons why people should marry, although the importance of marriage does not stop him from mentioning in the following books incidents that blatantly tarnish the feminine image. There are two stories about Socrates's wife (1.17; 8.11) and also a story about the thoughtless words of Caecus's daughter and how she was punished (10.6). Several stories and incidents pertain to the reprehensible character of women, for instance, their indulgence in wine (10.23). All these, along with the plea of Favorinus for breastfeeding (12.1), remind us of the norms and traditions of the Early Republic and the secluded place of women. Gellius, therefore, is not just archaizing when it comes to language and Roman citizens, but he does not approve of the freedoms granted to the women of the late Empire either.[73] Gellius's stance towards women differs significantly from Lucian's. For Gellius the conduct of women is contiguous with the propriety of Roman *mores*. Lucian, on the contrary, considers women to be also "the other" just like Scythians; they are the unrepresented group. In this *jeu d'esprit* he does not exclusively portray women through the eyes of men, as it traditionally happens in literature. In *Dialogi Meretricium* he dedicates a portion of his work to women who live in the margins of conventional society and presents their viewpoint on men and society. Except for the *Dialogi Meretricium*, he wrote the *Imagines* as a eulogy of Lucius Verus's mistress. Lucian gives a different point of view of the world in contention to Gellius. He notices other misrepresented groups of people who thus far have not had a place or voice in literature. For Gellius, on the

contrary, there is no other world than the one he knows and admires, and he does not intend to question, challenge, or renew his perspectives.

Romans and Greeks in Gellius

Another aspect of *Noctes Atticae*, one to which I alluded earlier in this section, is the relation between Romans and Greeks. Gellius writes Articles on Greek philosophy, linguistics, morality, and literature. He also compares Romans to legendary Greeks, namely to Leonidas and Achilles. Based on the information that the author records and the occasional literary criticism, it is important to form a picture of his attitude towards the Greeks and ascertain whether it had changed according to the newly established world order in the Empire.[74] If we accept that the latter is a Roman citizen of his times and therefore his opinion may well represent the majority of Romans, then the fact that Greeks in most cases are presented as equal to Romans probably indicates a change in the way the Romans considered the Greeks at the time. In several narratives Gellius refers to Greek mathematicians or philosophers. This means that the Romans had probably accepted the occasional superiority of the Greeks in certain literary and scientific spheres. They were no longer uncritically biased against their diversity in interests. In other works Gellius compares Greek to Roman authors and favors the former. For instance, when Gellius discusses Caecilius and Menander, as his source, he clearly states that the latter cannot be surpassed by the dim imitation of Caecilius.[75] This indicates that the Romans were more flexible in their judgment than they used to be; whether they realized it or not, and whether they still revered their military-oriented and moral past, they had been influenced by the Greeks.[76]

The fact also that hard-core moral criteria and a moral past worthy to aspire to, according to the Romans, had opened up to the Greeks is another indication of the former's evolution. By that I mean that in 1.3 the author narrates the story of the Lacedaemonian Chilo and the decision he had to make to save a friend. He then complements the work with quotations from Theophrastus and Cicero.[77] This kind of conflation, where Greeks are used as an example of morality, of the same morality in fact that was exalted by such a famous Roman as Cicero, means that not only had the Romans accepted the others at least partly, but it also signifies the preamble to a new era even for the Romans. In 2.1 Socrates is being praised for training himself in physical endurance, and in 3.5 Gellius talks of Arcesilaus's opposition against voluptuousness. Not all the Greeks, therefore, are pleasure hunters; not all of them demonstrate reprehensible conduct. All the aforementioned Greek behaviors fit also the profile of a decent Roman. It should be noted, however, that Gellius does not appear to be over-Hellenized. In fact, in several Articles he presents contemporary figures, namely Favorinus[78] and Fronto, as measures against which he wishes to create Romanness for his people. In 2.26.20 Favorinus tells Fronto, "*Absque te,'inquit,' uno*

forsitan lingua profecto Graeca longe anteisset" ("Were it not for you, and perhaps for you alone, the Greek language would surely have come out far ahead").[79] Therefore, although Gellius occasionally admits the superiority of Greek literature, he nevertheless tries to emphasize the richness of Latin and the importance of establishing a Roman and not a Hellenic identity.[80] Gellius discusses proper language usage elsewhere, for instance:

> Inmortales mortales si foret fas flere,
> Flerent divae Camenae Naevium poetam.
> Itaque postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro,
> Obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina. (1.24.2)

> If that immortals might for mortals weep,
> Then would divine Camenae weep for Naevius.
> For after he to Orcus as treasure was consigned,
> The Romans straight forgot to speak the Latin tongue.

When we retrospectively consider Cicero's *Brutus*,[81] Varro's *Lingua Latina*,[82] and Quintilian, among others, the tense, culturally precarious, and politicized significance of the language at the time as well as the obvious exigency on behalf of the Romans to preserve and stabilize an element endemic to native Romans blatantly emanates.

Foreigners in Gellius

The third important aspect of Gellius's works pertains to his attitude towards nations other than Greece and Rome. For Gellius and probably for the majority of his contemporaries as well, the other nations were foreigners-outsiders and should be approached cautiously. It is as if the Romans had inherited in some way the Greek idea of "whatever is not Greek is barbaric." Therefore, Gellius includes in his work narratives about strange phenomena that took place in foreign nations and events that are clearly farfetched.[83] We cannot, of course, tell with certainty if the author himself believes in those tales or if he is just recording them. One thing that we can tell, however, is that he does not write anything that concerns the morality, philosophy, literature, laws, and institutions of those other nations. They constitute instead the exotic part of the Empire, which the Romans (and maybe the Greeks) see through "postcards," which in this case are works such as those of Gellius and Pliny. Gellius does not, of course, even consider the possibility that these foreigners had standards of their own that do not necessarily correspond to what Westerners consider traditional and that are, therefore, sanctioned by their historicity.

The introductory note to 9.4, "On some extraordinary marvels about barbarian people" (*De barbararum gentium prodigiosis miraculis*), clearly shows that Gellius abandons his edifying intentions and now simply records colorful "information" about Eastern nations that constitute nothing more

than a bricolage of fictional material that do not mean to provide the Romans with any realistic picture of those nations. Gellius seems inclined to believe that outlandish things occur in other nations, and his ignorance regarding anything substantial about them makes his gullibility understandable. We read about cannibalistic Scythians:

> *Scythas illos penitissimos, qui sub ipsis septentrionibus aetatem agunt, corporibus hominum vesci eiusque victus alimento vitam ducere* et ἀνθρωποφάγους *nominari.* (9.4.6)

> the most remote of the Scythians, who pass their life in the far north, eat human flesh and subsist on the nourishment of that food, and are called ἀνθρωποφάγοι, or "cannibals."

We learn about Albanians whose hair turns white in childhood and who can see better in the dark:

> *praeterea traditum esse memoratumque in ultima quadam terra, quae "Albania" dicitur, gigni homines, qui in pueritia canescant et plus cernant oculis per noctem quam interdiu* (9.4.6);

> Further, that it was handed down by tradition that in a distant land called *Albania* men are born whose hair turns white in childhood and who see better by night than in the daytime.

He writes of Illyrians who can kill only with their glance:

> *Oculis quoque exitialem fascinationem fieri in isdem libris scriptum est, traditurque esse homines in Illyriis qui interimant videndo, quos diutius irati viderint . . .* (9.4.8)

> That with the eyes too a deadly spell is cast, is written in those same books, and it is said that there are persons among the Illyrians who by their gaze kill those at whom they have looked for some time in anger.

He also records several other incredible stories about Indians and African tribes.[84] Nowhere does Gellius state whether he thinks they are true or not. Even when he comments on them, saying that they are worthless writings, he says so because they do not contribute anything to the enrichment of life and not because he thinks that they are not true:

> *Haec atque alia istiusmodi plura legimus; sed cum ea scriberemus, tenuit nos non idoneae scripturae taedium nihil ad ornandum iuvandumque usum vitae pertinentis* (9.4.11–12)

> These and many other stories of the kind I read; but when writing them down, I was seized with disgust for such worthless writings, which contribute nothing to the enrichment or profit of life.

He notes, however, that Pliny attests to the truthfulness of one of the stories because he witnessed the event:

> *Libitum tamen est in loco hoc miraculorum notare id etiam, quod Plinius Secundus, vir in temporibus aetatis suae ingenii dignitatisque gratia auctoritate magna praeditus, non audisse neque legisse, sed scire sese atque vidisse in libro Naturalis Historiae septimo scripsit.* (9.4.13)

> Nevertheless, the fancy took me to add to this collection of marvels a thing which Plinius Secundus, a man of high authority in his day and generation by reason of his talent and his position, recorded in the seventh book of his *Natural History*, not as something that he had heard or read, but that he knew to be true and had himself seen.

This is not the only Article that is concerned with barbarians. Gellius transmits a story narrated by Tubero about a serpent of unprecedented length (7.3). The serpent was reportedly killed by Atilius Regulus when he was camped at the Bangadas River in Africa. In 15.10 we learn also about the strange suicides of young girls in Miletus, and in 15.22 he transmits the story of Sertorius and how he controlled his barbarous soldiers mainly by deception:

> *Eaque hominum barbarorum credulitas Sertorio in magnis rebus magno usui fuit. Memoria prodita est, ex his nationibus quae cum Sertorio faciebant, cum multis proeliis superatus esset, neminem umquam ab eo descivisse, quamquam id genus hominum esset mobilissimum.* (15.22.9–10)

> This credulity of the barbarians was very helpful to Sertorius in important matters. It is recorded that of those tribes which acted with Sertorius, although he was defeated in many battles, not one ever deserted him, although that race of men is most inconstant.

Regarding other aspects of barbarians' lives, it is obvious that Gellius is not concerned with their history, literary endeavors, or social manners. His choice of topics is indicative of his depreciation of their accomplishments. He clearly does not consider other nations as organized societies whose laws and customs are worthy of reference or comparison to those of the Greeks and the Romans. In fact, even when he refers to their morality or sense of decency, he is carefully choosing unflattering events. Etruscan diviners resort to treachery, and the Samnites' attempt to bribe the Roman Fabricius. In the first case it is the Etruscans who decide to deceive the Romans, even though the Romans entrusted them with the prosperity of their city.[85] In the second case, the Samnites believe that it is the right of Fabricius to have more monetary rewards. Fabricius, however, rises above the temptation and becomes an example of Roman preponderance in morality and integrity.[86] In both cases Gellius presents the Romans as more dignified, while he induces abhorrence towards foreign morality.

The conclusion one may reach regarding the position of Gellius in the new society and his historical as well as his literary profile is that the Romans had not yet surpassed their rustic self. Lucian, on the contrary, becomes the mouthpiece of a universal society consisting of all the nations under Roman reign. It should be noted, however, that with regards to the Greeks the Romans have come a long way to get to this point of acceptance, which indicates that they may have just begun to readjust their mentality, somewhat evolving along with the calling of their times.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I delineated a picture of the second century CE through the eyes of Gellius and Lucian, two individuals who view society from different perspectives; the former sanctions the past and sets it as the basis for the formulation of the future, while the latter wishes to form a present and a future based on the new *status mundi*. Lucian is a Syrian who writes in Greek about Greeks, Romans, and other nations, while Gellius's *Noctes Atticae* consists of chapters mainly on Roman history, morality, and lifestyle, while other nations seem to exist only in the dim light of the background of the social *milieu*. A reading of the two authors complements our understanding concerning the position of the Romans and their relation to the Greeks and vice versa as well as both nations' relation to other nations. Lucian shows social awareness and also provides information about the communication between different nations, while he gives voice to other nations that do not belong to the powerful combination of the eminent Greco-Roman culture. On the other hand, Gellius's presentation of other nations, his criticisms, and even his silence at some points present the reader with the image of a more conservative Roman, who is less well-adjusted to the new world order and, focused solely on the past, who does not successfully handle the evolution and the ferments that color the Empire and signal the advent of a new age.

NOTES

1. Balsdon (1979) presents the outlook of Romans on foreigners. He provides a comprehensive account of the position of foreigners, their rights, citizenship, loss of citizenship, and the logistics of an alien's life in Rome. Noy (2000) adds to Balsdon, discussing also the reasons for immigration to Rome and the outlook of foreigners on Rome.
2. See ch.2 n.20
3. For an overview of Lucian's and Gellius's era with information on other contemporary authors and the literary dialogue between Greeks and Romans, see Lightfoot (2000). See also Kraus (2000) for a brief overview of the evolution of Latin literature from the time of Augustus to Hadrian and a discussion of how and why Roman writers turned to declamations, oratory, and finally compilations.

4. The first time the term *latinitas* appears in literature is in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.17 (80 BCE). Desbordes (1991) discusses the threefold nature of the term, namely *elegantia, compositio et dignitas*, and then proceeds to explain the evolution from a grammatical-oratorical denomination to a more political dimension to correspond, linguistically and ethnically, with *Hellenismos*. See also Veyne (1979).

5. See Dench (2005) 234–238; Dubuisson (1982a) 10; Said (2001) 290.

6. ἐπεὶ ἄλλοι γε συχνοὶ ἐν βαρβάροις οἰκοῦντες ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπέμαθον, ὡς μήτε φωνὴν Ἑλλάδα φθέγγεσθαι μήτε ἐπιτηδεύμασιν Ἑλλήνων χρῆσθαι, μήτε θεοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζειν, μήτε νόμους τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς, ᾧ μάλιστα διαλλάσσει φύσις Ἑλλὰς βαρβάρου, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων συμβολαίων μηδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε [ὡς ἀληθῆ εἶναι] Ἀχαιῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πόντον ᾠκημένοι τεκμηριῶσαι, Ἠλείων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικωτάτου γενόμενοι, βαρβάρων δὲ συμπάντων <τῶν> νῦν ὄντες ἀγριώτατοι (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.89.4).

7. For clarification purposes, when I discuss Romans, Greeks, and other nations, I will be referring to the latter as "foreigners," acknowledging the fact that Greeks and Romans monopolize the social and literary scenes.

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

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

10. The first classification of specific works of Lucian as *prolaliae* was made by Reardon (1971) and Rothstein (1888), 116 ff., 165. After that there has been an ongoing discussion on which works can be considered *prolaliae*. *Somnium* has caused a dissension in that it concludes with a moral message that does not fit the profile of Lucian's other prologues. On that issue, see Anderson (1977) 314 n.5; Bompaire (1958) 288, n.5. On traditional techniques found in Lucian's prologues, and especially that of estrangement, see also Branham (1985) 38–39, 43–44.

11. *Peregrinus* 39 is another reference to the importance of Lucian's rhetorical qualities. See also Jones (1986) 159: "Greek culture expressed the cohesion of the educated elite of the Empire; and for those not born into that elite, like Lucian and certain of the sophists, it offered unimagined avenues to social and economic advancement."

12. Branham (1985) 241 ff. and Nesselrath (1990) 136 point out that Lucian in this *prolalia* presents everything from the Indians' point of view. That is why Dionysus is portrayed as a ludicrous figure. This reminds us also of *Anacharsis*, through the eyes of whom we are invited by Lucian to consider Greek athletics. We may also recall *Toxaris*, where Lucian, especially at the beginning, describes the Greeks through the eyes of the newcomer young Scythian. Hence, the technique of estrangement, as described by Branham, applies also to the presentation of the foreigners and their place in Lucian and in the second-century society for that matter, as I will argue later. On Lucian and rhetoric, see Anderson (1982) 61–92; Anderson (2007) 343–347, 349–353; Bellinger (1928) 3–40; Branham (1985) 237–243; Fox (2001); Kennedy (1972) 585–590; (1994) 233. For his criticism, on the other hand, of contemporary rhetoric and an exhibition of his own overtly and overly *epideictic* nature, see *Rhetorum Praeceptor*.

13. See Porod and Porod (2008) on the myth of Dionysus in the *prolalia*.

14. For Lucian's self-presentation as barbarian cf. also *Bis Acc*. 14, 27, 34; *Pisc*. 19; *Scyth*. 9.

15. We notice the same ethnic consciousness in *Revivescentes sive Piscator* 19 in which Parrhesiades openly admits to his Syrian origins.
16. On this *prolalia* and especially on the place where Lucian performed, see Hall (1981) 457; Jones (1986) 11 n.25.
17. Nesselrath (1990) 117–122 discusses *Herodotus* and the inclusion of Aetion in the scene and argues that Lucian intends to emphasize his rhetorical abilities, which managed to bring a work of art in front of the eyes of his audience (120). Nesselrath 120 n.17 also provides bibliographical references for the influence of this work of art in Renaissance paintings.
18. See Stadter and Van der Stockt (2002) for the social role of philosophers and particularly Dillon's contribution (29–40) for references to Lucian.
19. Nesselrath (1990) 122–125 discusses the sources for *De Dipsadibus* and Lucian's debt to Herodotus and probably Pliny.
20. Billault (1997) analyzes Lucian's literary critique of history in the work.
21. Translation by Harmon (1913).
22. Villani (2000) discusses *Somnium, Bacchus, Prometheus es in verbis*, and *Electrum* and suggests that Lucian's ironic tone is meant to prepare his audience for his ensuing speeches.
23. Gellius translations are by Rolfe (1927).
24. Cf. also Pliny, *NH* praef. 13–16.
25. See also Holford-Strevens (2003) 37f.
26. See Gunderson (2009) 18–51 for a discussion of Gellius's *praefatio*, where the author argues that Gellius's title is not as simplistic as he proclaims. He argues that "by explicitly bringing up the question of the title, Gellius ensures the conjoint having and eating of the *Honeycomb* and the *Bountiful Harvest*. That is, he can give all these titles to his work and none of them to it" (28). Vardi (1993) discusses Gellius's selection of title. See also Janson (1964) for an examination of Latin prefatory writings.
27. Cf. Pliny *Ep.* 5.20.4, "*Est plerisque Graecorum, ut illi, pro copia volubilitas: tam longas tamque frigidas perihodos uno spiritu quasi torrente contorquent.*"
28. *NA* 17.6 pertains to the setting of social boundaries and even the position and power of women in society based on the use of language. *Polymatheia* is a crucial aspect of second-century society, both Greek and Roman; it was a prerequisite and a privilege for the elite and a way for Roman citizens (with the broader sense of the word *citizen*) to distinguish themselves in the new society. It is not only Gellius who focuses on that ambition. See also Pliny who asserts that *Historia Naturalis* has educational purposes praef. 12–16. Strabo also emphasizes the utility of his geography for men of status and high office and on how important education and erudition are (παιδεία, πολυμάθεια). On the proclamations of Gellius regarding the educational ambitions he entertains for his work, see Holford-Strevens (2003) 37f., who argues that Gellius's intentions are in line with the interests of his time, meaning that grammar and linguistics defined, according to the second-century archaists, the Roman elite. See also Gleason (1995) 167; McNelis (2007) 292; Swain (1996) 64.
29. Gellius dedicated several of his writings to oratory. He seems interested in Cato, Gaius Gracchus, and Cicero; he even cites Cato's *Orig.* 3.7.19. For more references to oratory cf. *NA* 6.3; 10.3; 13.25; 10.3; 1.5; 19.14; 3.1; 2.7. Gellius favors the thesis that Roman oratory is a sign of Roman excellence, which can distinguish Roman citizens socially, and he seems also to use rhetoric, grammar, and linguistics to create a dividing line between Romans and the other nations. Gunderson (2000) 127–131, 140–141 also discusses the power of rhetoric as a performance and as a way to measure masculinity, which further emphasizes Gellius's obsession with language and public conduct. McNelis (2007) 293 argues that "the correlation between power and language must also be viewed

in light of Rome's growing dominance over the Mediterranean." Morgan (2004) argues that Gellius's references to rhetoric are part of the educational goals that he has for his work: "All these stories act protreptically, to show why oratory is worth studying." On the contrary, Holford-Strevens (2003) 37–47 asserts that Gellius does not intend either to educate or moralize. The selection of topics and his insistence on minor details show that he did not entertain high hopes. Also, Clarke (1996) 130–138 claims that the Antonine Age was not noteworthy for its achievements in oratory. It was only Fronto who has something to demonstrate, but still "so Fronto has much to say about style, and little about the matter of oratory." See also Dominik and Hall (2007) passim; Holford-Strevens (1988) 142–165; (2003) 290–294; Kennedy (1994) passim. For a history of *paideia* and its relation to grammar, rhetoric, and language, see Morgan (1998).

30. In 5.3 Gellius refers once more to the role of memory. Cf. also Quint. *Inst.* 1 praef. 26, 1.3; Cic. *de Orat.* 1.18, 157; 2.299–300, 350–360; 3.230.
31. Cf. also Cic. *de Orat.* 2.108, 132.
32. Stevenson (2004) 139–141 discusses the way Gellius distances himself from taking a position either by declaring that he is unfit to express a view or by hiding behind other authorships.
33. Both Holford-Strevens (2003) 125 and Swain (2004) 30 point to Gellius's choice to quote Aristophanes and relate that to the tendency of the second-century educated Roman to belong in the group of the educated, which had as a prerequisite familiarity with Latin and Greek. Therefore, in one quotation Gellius provides a clear vignette of the spirit of his times. On language, style, and Atticism at the time, see Swain (1996) 17–42. On Gellius's language and style, see Holford-Strevens (2003) 48–64.
34. Dench (2005) 37–92 discusses Roman ethnographies and the promotion of Romanness through them. She argues that Romans pride themselves on "the simplicity and primitivism of their roots."(62)
35. On Lucian's and also on Dio of Prusa's consideration of foreigners and barbarians, see also Gangloff (2007) 64–86. Also, Swain (1994) discusses Dio and Lucian with respect to their "cultural and social personas" (166) based on their "novelistic" texts. See also Pernot (1994) for a parallel examination of Dio's and Lucian's *paideia* and sophistic and philosophic viewpoints.
36. For a discussion of Lucian's multiethnic personality, see Swain (2007), who, under a very comprehensive title "The Three Faces of Lucian," gives an account of the latter's Greek, Roman, and Syrian identities.
37. See ch.2 n.20.
38. Bompaire (1958) 685 points out that Lucian contradicts the preconceived inferiority of the Scythians when, for instance, Lokhates is sent as an ambassador to settle a case of grazing and robbery: "*mais le fait d' envoyer Lonkhatès en ambassadeur pour régler précisément une affaire de pacage et la brigandage (49) est encore une trouvaille.*"
39. Said (1994) 165 concludes that "*dans le monde de Lucien, il n'existe plus de frontière étanche entre les cultures et il devient possible de passer la ligne.*" Whitmarsh (2001) 126 in his discussion about cultural *personae* and identity argues about *Toxaris* that "this dialogue dramatizes the cultural bifocality of Lucian's persona."
40. For a discussion on *Toxaris* pertaining to Lucian's narrative techniques, see Anderson (1976a) 12–23.
41. On the fusion of civilizations and the degree of acceptance regarding religion as can be seen in different authors of this era cf. also Plu., *De Is. Et Os.* 67, in which the author says that gods are the same for all nations, but they are just being called by different names.

42. Cf. also Ps.-Plato, *Epinomis*, 987d-a.
43. Cf. *Astr*. 3 where Lucian proclaims the Egyptians' erudition and wisdom in all mankind with regards to astrology.
44. Lucian sometimes uses the word *barbarian* in a negative sense. See, for instance, *Bis Acc*. 27; *Merc.Cond*. 10. There are cases, however, when he promotes his rhetorical advancement by praising the quality of his sometimes quizzical techniques or commenting on his appearance. See *Scyth*. 9; *Zeux*. 1, 3.
45. See also Momigliano (1980) on the relation between Greeks and barbarians in the Hellenistic period. The presentation of the self-consciousness of the Greeks and their role in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time may shed some light on their feelings towards the so-called barbarians and consequently towards the stereotypes that Lucian is mockingly employing in these works. Momigliano argues that earlier the danger of the imminent Roman occupation brought the Greeks and the others closer. He also gives an account of the change in their relations as it was shaped after the Roman conquest.
46. Pervo (1997) claims that in *Toxaris* Lucian is providing an ironical treatment of friendship. However, I believe that consideration does not account for the ending.
47. See Jones (1986) 158–159 on Lucian's perception of society: "No doubt like most authors he did not aim to reach a single audience only; he could hope that what pleased those who heard his recitals would also please those who read his works in Gaul or Commagene" (159). Jones also makes sure to note that "Greek culture expressed the cohesion of the educated elite of the Empire; and for those not born into that elite, like Lucian and certain of the sophists, it offered unimagined avenues to social and economic advancement" (159).
48. For the literary persona of Anacharsis, see Visa-Ondarçuhu (2008) 177 n.9.
49. Bompaire (1958), 221–235 says that Lucian presents the world from a different point of view: "*on trouvera encore dans l' Hermotimos une parabole auda-cieuse, où le monde est vu du point de vue des nègres*" (232). He makes sure to note, however, that "*Barbare ou hellénique, le cadre géographique est conven-tionnel*" (234). Even though Bompaire notices a conventional note in Lucian, the unconventional employment of common motifs cannot be denied.
50. Cf. Ar. *Ach*. 4.29; Pl. *Erx*. 397d. In *AP* 9.39 τὰ στώμυλα ταῦτα has the meaning of nonsense. For the usage of the adjective, see Oudot-Lutz (1994), who also argues that the presentation of Athenians in Lucian is the composite of traditional literary vignettes.
51. For discussions on issues of language and bilingualism in the Empire, see Adams (2003); Dubuisson (1981a); Dubuisson (1981b) 274–86; Horsfall (1979) 79–95; Kaimio (1979); Opelt (1969); Russell (1990). Rochette (2010) 233 concludes about Lucian's consideration of languages: "*il considère avec respect les langues étrangères et estime que le grec peut-être partagé avec les autres*."
52. Bompaire (1958) 681 notices also this fusion that affects the reading altogether and that is a fusion of Anacharsis and Lucian: "*Mais il arrive que la créature s'anime et échappe à son créateur: c'est le destin d' Anacharsis. Anacharsis s'est imposé a Lucien, et Lucien n'a pu se soustraire au pouvoir de son proper rêve*." Dubel (1994) also discusses Lucian's identity(ies) in *Bis Accusatus* and *Piscator*.
53. Branham (1989) 103 discusses the relativism of culture and traditional values as it appears in *Anacharsis*. He points out that in the conversation "neither interlocutor gains control." Whitmarsh (2001) 124 in his analysis emphasizes the preservation of the Scythian's identity and says about Lucian: "Yet he never presents the transfigurations of *paideia* as absolute, entirely effacing his barbarian origins: his satirical stance makes a virtue of the culturally junctural position of its author."
54. Cf. C. Ungefehr-Kortus (1996) 211–217. See also Marrou (1948) 201–204 for a discussion on how Lucian presents a foreigner who questions the importance of

athletics and the acuteness of his critique if one considers the relation between the notion of *Hellenismos* and Hellenic identity and athletics. Gangloff (2007) 83 also states: "*C'est une remise en question sérieuse d'un element important de l'hellénisme traditionnel, par un regard étranger.*" On *Hellenismos* and the Hellenized barbarian as it appears through the linguistic constituents of the Lucianic triptych, see also Visa-Ondarçuhu (2008).

55. Branham (1989) 88 reads in *Anacharsis* the introduction of the unexpected, the so-called technique of estrangement. König (2005) perceives *Anacharsis* as a comment on gladiatorial activity. Konstan (2010) suggests that in the ambit of Lucian's ludic spirit neither Anacharsis nor Solon seem to comprehend the significance of performances or athletics.

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

57. Stevenson (2004) 155 points out as a conclusion to a chapter on the Roman Antiquarian tradition that, "the second century seems to have witnessed a desire for self-identification, to set the present in its historical and cultural context. The impetus for this desire no doubt came largely from Hadrianic and Antonine policies of consolidation and unification." Cf. also Bowersock (1969), who presents in detail the position of the sophists in the Roman Empire, their ambitions, and how they strove to achieve them, which could shed some light on Roman insecurity. Romeo (2002) also discusses ethnic identity in the context of Hadrian's *Panhellenion*. On the definition and the boundaries of the Roman nation that could also partly explain the attitude of the Romans and their insecurity cf. also Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 61; D.Chr. *Or*. 1.42.

58. For some of Gellius's linguistic discussions, see *NA* 1.10; 2.3, 4, 6, 19; 3.14. Swain (2004) 30 says "what emerges very strongly from Gellius is a sense of the past as a repository of correct social behavior. What is new in Gellius is the convergence of this tradition with linguistic correctness and the bilingual/bicultural attitudes of Romans to Greece." See also Marache (1952); Vessey (1994). On the importance of language for the Romans in the second century CE, see Desbordes (1991); Dubuisson (1981a); Dubuisson (1981b), Dubuisson (1982b); Veyne (1979). It should be noted, however, that the Greek writers of the Second Sophistic displayed the same concern for the preservation of their past. The obsession with language, purity, and return to Classical Greek are clear indications. On that see Swain (1996) 17–100. On the bearing that linguistics had at the time, cf. also Lucian *Lis Consonantium*. Bompaire (1994) analyzes Lucian's Atticism. See also Chabert (1897); Deferrari (1916). Casevitz (1994) discusses the significance of Lucian's linguistic choices as a denominator of his authorial creativity. Language seems to have been of great concern at that time since we also have *lexica*, for instance Pollux's *Onomasticon*, that indicates a more extended interest in linguistic matters and archaisms. Bowie (1991) also stresses the conscious attempts of Second Sophistic writers to define Hellenism and their identity in this context as well. Woolf (1994) elaborates on the same issues as they appear in the Roman East.

59. See Douglas (1958); Holford-Strevens (2003) 11–12; Salway (1994). See Kajanto (1982) 9, 19–20 for details about the *nomen* and *praenomen*.

60. *To Rome* 61 (transl. Behr 1981).

61. Dench (2005) 95.

62. It is not only Roman authors who are concerned with the precariousness of this openness in granting citizenship. Dionysius of Halicarnassus worries about its effects on social order and in *Antiquitates Romanae* 4.24.8 brings up the cases of slaves who have been syncretized with the citizenry.

63. For the attitude of the Greeks towards the Romans and their perception of themselves, see Bowie (1970); Hartog (1991); Lévy (1991); Momigliano (1980), 11–33; Woolf (1994). For the Romans about the Greeks, see Alcock (1993);

Dubuisson (1991); Petrochilos (1974). For the communication of the two nations and cultures, see Ostenfeld (2002); Swain (1996); Waelkens (1989); Whitmarsh (2001). See also Whitmarsh (2001) who gives an enlightening description of the indissoluble relation between Greek and Roman identity and literary panache of this era and their mutual dependence. On that cf. also Said (ed.) 1991 and Swain (1996) and their discussions of authors in whose works issues of ethnicity and language figure prominently.

64. Cf. Clem. Al., *Strom.* 6.2.1. For a classification of the chapters in *Noctes Atticae*, see Nettleship (1883). See also Vardi (2004) 169–179. With regards to the haphazard order of Gellius's material, Morgan (2004) argues that it is within the boundaries of an ethicist and the fact that he intends his teachings not to be valid only within a restricted time frame: "Clearly these texts do not work by trying to provide exhaustively for the situations of all possible readers . . . They do not explicitly legislate for any particular community. If readers are to make sense of the material, they must be bringing something to it themselves—identifying material and imposing an order which makes sense to them." (203–204). The selection of topics regarding religion, morality, customs, and everyday life are common themes for the antiquarians. These topics satisfy both the need of the authors to preserve their past and also their intention to write a work replete with useful information for their contemporaries. Cf. Var. *R.* 2.1 *nemo enim omnia potest scire*.

65. See for instance 1.14; 2.24; 3.1; 11.2; 13.24; 15.12.

66. For a discussion of Lucian's emergence in and involvement with the present, see Anderson (1994). Even in *Piscator*, where Lucian admittedly resorts to the past, he does so in order to ameliorate the present.

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

68. One should not forget Polybius, who espouses Greek criteria and techniques to preserve the memory of the Roman *mores* and glory. For an extensive analysis see Chaplin (2000) 10–29; Dench (2005) 66–69.

69. Gruen (1990) 170–173 discusses these laws on the basis of the Roman disapproval of the Greek lifestyle and argues that "the eastern wars had brought the luxury goods of the Greek world into Rome, a fact noted with dismay by moralists who saw the seeds of internal decay in the import of foreign opulence" (171).

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

71. In 2.2.9 Gellius states his opinion clearly, saying that in public the position of the son should be respected and he should have priority; in private life, however, it is the father who comes first (*In publicis locis atque muneribus atque actionibus patrum iura cum filiorum, qui in magistratu sunt, potestatibus collata, interquiescere paululum et conivere*).

72. 2.7.16–17 *Quae sua vi recta aut honesta sunt, ut fidem colere, patriam defendere, ut amicos diligere, ea fieri oportet, sive imperet pater sive non imperet; sed*

quae his contraria quaequae turpia, omnino iniqua sunt, ea ne si imperet quidem.
For a discussion on this chapter as an example of *suasoriae*, see Bloomer (2007) 301–2.

73. On women and marriage, see also 1.23; 2.15; 4.3.2; 17.21.44; 5.11. For a presentation of women in Gellius, see Holford-Strevens (2003), 308–313.

74. For more literary criticism and citations of Greek poets, orators, and the Greek language, see Holford-Strevens (2003) 226–240.

75. In 13.27 he says that Homer is superior to Vergil, but in 11.4 Ennius is a worthy competitor of Euripides and in 9.9 he praises Vergil as an adept translator of Homer.

76. Swain (2004) 31–32 points out, however, that Gellius is careful so that the exaltation of the Greeks does not offend the Romans and their customs. He gives as an example *NA* 20.1 where: "Gellius allows Favorinus' Hellenism to be checked by a moral apology for early Roman brutality."

77. This is not always the case, however. We have several Romans arranging themselves against the Greeks and considering them dangerous to the morality of the Romans. For instance, see Livy 39.6.7–9; Plut. *Cat.* 23.1–3, 22.4–5; Suet. *Rhet.* 1.1; Gellius 15.11.2; Sal. *Iug.* 85.32; Cic. *de Orat.* 2.4; 3.95.

78. Gleason (1995) thoroughly examines the presentation and self-presentation of Favorinus. See also Goldhill (2002) 77–78.

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

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

81. Cic. *Br.* 108, 109, 128, 132–135, 143.

82. Var., *L.L.*9.6, 9.16. See Dench (2005) 316–321.

83. On Gellius and foreign nations other than Greece, Holford-Strevens (2003), 319–323 points out that whatever is not Greek or Roman does not seem to be of interest to Gellius.

84. See Snowden (1970) for an exploration of Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman world.

85. *Ob id fulgur piaculis luendum aruspices ex Etruria acciti inimico atque hostili in populum Romanum animo instituerant eam rem contrariis religionibus procurare, atque illam statuam suaserunt in inferiorem locum perperam transponi, quem sol opposita circum undique altarum aedium numquam illustraret* (*NA* 4.5.2–3).

86. *Tum Fabricium planas manus ab auribus ad oculos et infra deinceps ad nares et ad os et ad gulam atque inde porro ad ventrem imum deduxisse et legatis ita respondisse: dum illis omnibus membris, quae attigisset, obsistere atque imperare posset, numquam quicquam defuturum; propterea se pecuniam, qua nihil sibi esset usus, ab his, quibus eam sciret usui esse, non accipere* (*NA* 1.14.2).

4 Lucian's Olympus and the Link to Christianity

RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS IN AN AGE OF CONFLICTING IDENTITIES AND WHAT LUCIAN HAS TO SAY

The religious *status quo* in the Roman Empire of the second century CE constituted a multifarious and controversial reality due to the syncresis and interdependency of *Hellenismos* and *latinitas*, on the one hand, and traditional worship, Christianity, Judaism, and other Eastern cults claiming a place in the "pantheon" of religions, on the other, as I discussed in the introduction. Subsequently, the literary scene mirrors this diversity. The Lucianic corpus is a representative example, as it includes a number of god-centric works that discuss generic religious issues, Peregrinus and Alexander as examples of immoral and degenerate individuals who exploited religion and people's gullibility, and pagan deities, as well as Eastern deities and religious rites. Nonetheless, it has been suggested that Lucian demonstrates monumental ignorance of current religious issues and more specifically of Christianity.[1] In this chapter my intention is to present Lucian's latent yet astutely formulated religious philosophy and show that he very perceptively pushes anthropomorphism to its furthest end, reexamines human involvement in religion, and reconsiders the divine, so as to propose a new interpretation of the aging Olympians and ultimately the (co)existence of religions at the time. Consequently, I argue that his multifaceted presentation of the divine adumbrates also the vignette of the second-century religious scene and thus sets the reader in an advantageous position to examine and reevaluate religious beliefs and trends.

Thus far, one aspect of Lucian's quasi-philosophical and quasi-religious attitude that has been discussed is his occasional philosophical fashionings. His parodies not of the philosophies *per se*, but of their adherents instead—their pretentious tranquility and their constant aberrations from their teachings—can be seen in *Peregrinus, Cynicus, Icaromenippus*, and several others. Branham explores Lucian's commentary on Epicureans, notwithstanding that he simultaneously discusses character types and social issues.[2] However, when Branham examines Lucian's Olympian deities, he does not consider them alongside Christian literature. He describes Lucian's works as

successful attempts to revitalize them (163), attempts to their self-validation (172), and even a comment on imperial worship (174). He does not proceed, though, to examine why they would need to be revitalized or validated. Caster perceives Lucian's inquisitiveness as an indication of the educated individual and qualifies the works that feature the Olympians as "*seul un scepticisme épicurien peut donner à l'esprit la clarté, l'indépendance, le goût, qui caractérisent l'homme cultivé*."[3] Caster rightly attributes to Lucian sophistic finesse, Hellenic *paideia*, and an inquisitive-philosophical spirit that prompts his reconsideration of the Olympians.[4] Downing then very perceptively explores cynicism and its percolation through Lucian and other pagan writers and Paul's teachings, thus providing a more realistic vignette of the coexisting realities,[5] and Pernot emphasizes the significance of examining sophists and Christians comparatively.[6] This is where the imperativeness to consider Lucian alongside other religious and literary constituents comes into play, as does the always relevant issue of his multifocal identity.

Cognizant of this syncresis, we need to acknowledge that the socio-historical reality at the time involves, not only Romans, Greeks, Easterners, philosophers, and *literati*, but also devotees of the traditional Roman religion, Jews, Christians, and adherents of several other Eastern cults, all of whom were also citizens of the Empire. *Hellenismos* and *latinitas* are the bedrock of society and culture, as I previously discussed; there is, though, a *pax deorum*, as Fowler calls it,[7] that is a *sine qua non* for *latinitas*.[8] Even though, as Cumont argues,[9] Eastern cults were pervasive and responsive to people's religious concerns, nonetheless the religiously and socially separational attitude of the Christians was perceived as anti-Roman. Later my analysis of Pliny's *Letter to Trajan* and Lucian's *Peregrinus* will shed some light onto the Roman perception of Christians. Therefore, there is an undeniable exigency for Christian definition and self-presentation concomitant and consonant with the calling of the times.[10] Apologists set out to do exactly that; Justin the Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, Clemens of Alexandria, and Minucius Felix and later Tertullian in Latin purport to appropriate an identity, claiming Greek culture (Guerra elaborates on the rhetorical techniques of the apologists),[11] antiquity in their philosophical considerations (Nock calls the phenomenon "conversion to philosophy"),[12] and loyalty to the Empire (hence several apologies address the emperor).[13] Even their denial of statue worship and sacrifice they explain through recursions to Greek philosophy and the transcendent nature of divinity that has been discussed by pagans as well (my discussion on Strabo and Dio later in the chapter considers those issues). How is one then to examine such an identity conundrum that involves the parameters of ethnicity, language, religious beliefs, and civic duties? What would an appropriate choice of *comparanda* be, one that will examine theses, while conceding to this perspectival conflict? Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Aelius Aristides,[14] and in some cases Pausanias discuss superstition, atheism, pagan divinities, and traditional forms of worship without any intimation of Christianity. Marcus Aurelius, Celsus, Galen, and Pliny,

on the other hand, play the role of the prosecutor in the case against Christians[15] yet do not really countenance the doctrine and concurrent reality of Christianity. Similarly, thus far scholarship has treated pagan and Christian literatures as rivals, an attitude indicative of how each tenet viewed the other as "the others."

Lucian is a unique case due to his transreligious approach; he does not openly support any thesis, but instead his journalistic account proves to be introspective both for pagans and Christians. As there is never any clear demarcation of who "the other" is in his writings and otherness is constantly formulated according to his multiple assumed personalities that emanate from his multifocal cultural positioning, any examination of his religious stance should be contingent upon the readings of his contemporary Apologists. Even though even such a comparison does not guarantee that we unveil his historical persona, it can quantify the level of communication between pagans and Christians, the degree of familiarity or lack thereof, and hopefully we can extrapolate a picture of this multifarious reality. Therefore, it becomes obvious that the shift in the religious paradigm is inexorable, and any attempt to exclude either party (Greek or Latin, pagan or Christian) from our consideration will thwart our appreciation of the *status quo*. Thus, what I purport to show is that Lucian's work is to be read as the incipit of the dialogic exchange between traditionalists and the new sect, and I set out to prove that both groups share similar existential concerns. More specifically, a comparative reading of the Christian Apologists and Lucian reveals that they share a perspectival agreement; they both discuss paganism, each for his own edifying purpose, but both to question or simply reconsider its putative and impregnable superiority. The first Apologists accuse pagan gods of cruelty related to their indulgence in sacrifices. In *De Sacrificiis* and *Juppiter Tragoedus*, Lucian discusses and reconstructs people's (dis)belief in the existence of gods in a similar argumentation. He questions, among other things, the gods' dependency on offerings and satirizes people's deification of manmade statues. On that basis, I argue that Lucian not only is acutely aware of the newly formed religious climate, but also that he attempts to present the perspective of the non-pagan sects. He seems to be perspicaciously examining the veracity of paganism and the foundation of traditional rituals and, without supporting any religion, presents us with an account of how the supporter of one religious sect might view the other. To this end I examine *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Dialogi Deorum*, *De Sacrificiis*, and *Peregrinus* in relation to Tertullian's *De Spectaculis*, Clemens of Alexandria's *Protrepticus*, Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Justin's *Apologia*, Pseudo-Justin's *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, Athenagoras's *Legatio sive Supplicatio pro Christianis*, and the anonymous *Epistula ad Diognetum*. My intention is to present Lucian's religious thesis, the societal aspect of religion in general in the second century CE, the emergence of Christianity, and its representation in the literary scene.

OLYMPIANS REVISITED

The presentation of the Olympians in *De Syria Dea, Juppiter Confutatus, Juppiter Tragoedus, Deorum Concilium*, and *Dialogi Deorum* has rendered Lucian an ambiguous figure with regards to his religious beliefs and even his intentions. On the one hand, his focus on the Olympians is an indication that pagan deities were still popular in the second century.[16] On the other hand, his writings were used as proof by later Christian and Byzantine authors that his irreverence towards them is substantiated proof that people were impugning their validity as deities.[17] *De Syria Dea* is Lucian's presentation of Eastern rites and deities as well as of myths and heroes and their diverse worship. Scholars have argued against its authorship; others claim that Lucian makes fun of Herodotus and his Ionic dialect, while, as I demonstrate, all he does throughout the work is construe religion as a universal phenomenon.[18] *Juppiter Confutatus, Juppiter Tragoedus*, and *Dialogi Deorum*, on the other hand, have been labeled farcical as a result of one-dimensional consideration. These works are exuberantly full of funny and comic elements, but one should not forgo the major issues that surface, namely that Lucian reconsiders and reintroduces anthropomorphism. Gods are questioned by Momus, one of their own, and are forced to face the results of their delinquencies. They also express concern about their survival in the event that mortals stop believing in their existence. Finally, in *Prometheus* and *Timon* Lucian renders his works even more perceptive and unsettling by choosing as his main characters two mythological figures who challenged the gods. Lucian thus handles a current issue that would certainly increase his popularity and gives us a clear picture of the current religious reality. Pagan gods were still worshipped, of course, but they were doubted by Christians and attacked for the very reasons Lucian comically presents. Therefore, without taking a position, Lucian gives a journalist's report on the case of religions.

De Syria Dea as a History of World Religion

In *De Syria Dea* Lucian astutely displays the multifariousness of religious practices, while he also explores the human element and sometimes its interference in the realm of worship.[19] According to him, it is people's fear, uncertainty, and existential questions that have attributed certain characteristics to the divine and that have also structured religious worship, extrapolating sometimes divine characteristics from human conduct. Oden suggests that the author of *De Syria Dea* imitates Herodotean Ionic dialect not out of admiration, but to cauterize his methods and the gullibility that runs through all the accounts of stories and myths that he includes in his narrative.[20] This suggestion corroborates the assumption that Lucian intends to satirize extreme anthropomorphism and uncritical reception of anything that relates to the divine.

The beginning of this work is a strong proclamation by the author confirming the validity of his information. He states that he acquired it through personal observation or research (1). Lucian's insistence on being truthful and precise raises questions. It is as if he means to turn a critical eye to a field that people rarely, if ever, scrutinize. In his closing statement, he reveals that when he was young he participated in the worship of Hippolytus (60). Hence, he states that he had embraced traditional forms of worship in the past, suggesting that now, being a mature and inquisitive individual, he abandoned this uncritical pietistic rationale. Throughout the work he describes rites, sacrifices, traditions, and myths related to divinities in various places in Syria. Several times he makes sure to note that he has heard several stories that he is going to recount, without necessarily giving credence to them. He plants the seeds therefore not necessarily of disbelief of divine entities, but certainly of reconsideration. He is also being critical as he attempts to separate the divine from human creations. In Deucalion's story, for instance, he says that after the destruction of the world a big chasm opened and received all the water, on top of which Deucalion erected a temple.[21] Lucian says then, "I, however, saw the chasm and it exists under the temple very small" (13).[22] Nowhere does he claim that the worship is unfounded; nowhere does he display irreverence towards cults and religious worship.[23] However, he steers people's minds towards a more inquisitive direction.

Lucian does not deny the intrinsic role of religion in ancient societies; he does, however, acknowledge that there are discernible differences in the worship of divine entities topically and that each nation entertains the thought of righteousness in this realm. He proves to be a man of astute intellect in that he perceives religion as a universal phenomenon. He also accepts that nations other than the Greeks and the Romans can claim premiership to establishing worshipping rites and honoring the gods. He states that it was the Egyptians who first comprehended the idea of divinity, erected temples, and established festivities.[24] Lucian, therefore, gives us a history of religion that is important for two reasons: First, he establishes the human involvement in religion, and, second, he presents us with one account that includes different religious rites, as if he is writing a compendium on the phenomenon of religion.[25] He explicates religion as the human response to physical phenomena and other existential concerns, and, at the end of this work, the reader is left with a sense of a strong underlying interconnection between world religious rites and beliefs. Lucian displays the same pragmatic and insightful consideration when it comes to religion as he does in the realms of society and politics. Christianity and Eastern deities, such as Isis and Serapis, might not have prevailed or been widespread among the masses; nonetheless, second century CE was a period of reassessing the divine. The reason may well be that all those nations that had come into close contact got acquainted with each other's customs, and, during this process of familiarization, they realized that their faith in gods was shared by other nations. The only difference pertains to the objects of worship or the rites. Lucian, without showing any signs of piety or impiety, still gives us a short history of world religion.

Dei Confutati?

Dialogi Deorum, Deorum Concilium, Juppiter Confutatus, and *Juppiter Tragoedus*[26] present a rather bemusing picture of religious reality and have thus allowed room for several interpretations. The prevailing view entertains the possibility that Lucian ridicules heathen gods.[27] As a matter of fact, Christians construed Lucian's comical presentation of the Olympians as evidence of the falsity of pagan deities. The possibility that Lucian commits *hybris*, and that he could have been accused of impiety, can be quickly nullified. Literary precedents in practically every genre, for example Aristophanic comedy, invalidate the contingency that such an accusation could ever be made. This treatment of the gods was an integral part of antiquity. It has also been suggested that Lucian is promoting Epicurean logic, which includes questioning of gods. What is it then that sets Lucian apart from his predecessors and that renders his works different and not mere extensions of previous literature? Where does Lucian stand with regards to gods and religion? Does he deconstruct paganism and its deities? The focus should, however, turn to the reason why he has become the center of such attention, since he was not a pioneer in his attitude towards the gods. The religious system before Christianity allowed for the sometimes excessive anthropomorphism of deities and their involvement in the literary sphere. This does not mean that people were impious. Gods and deities appear very often in Aristophanic comedy, and no one can claim that comic, farcical, and burlesque elements are not blatantly obvious. Even Plautus in *Amphitruo* uses mythological travesty and presents Jupiter and Mercury expropriated of their glory and pious reverence. Lucian, no matter how different he seems and regardless of the attention he has attracted because of his alleged rebellious portrayal of the gods, is a part of that tradition. It cannot be argued, however, that all this attention to his religious profile is unreasonable. Considering that at the time Christianity had started claiming a place in the "pantheon" of religions, Mithraism[28] along with other Eastern religions[29] had also appeared as parts of the emerging religious reality although relatively late in the first century CE, and Jews had long been a part of the Roman Empire, it is to be expected that Lucian's comic undermining of traditional deities, his discussion of Eastern religions, and his references to Christianity brought him to the proscenium and have since raised questions about his unsettling religious profile.[30]

Lucian's contribution is that he takes anthropomorphism to the next level. *Dialogi Deorum* reminds us of several episodes from Homer. Gods fight and discuss their children and youthful delinquencies, but Lucian makes them face the results of their actions as if they were mere mortals, thus breathing fresh air into them. Also, they talk in prose and not in the heroic dactylic hexameter, which intensifies the undertones of mortality. Hermes in *Dialogue* 2 urges Pan not to call him father in the presence of others. Lucian uses his literary predecessors as a stepping stone to his own literary creation; so there is no narration of the myth itself, in this case the adultery, but it is

what ensues after the event that concerns him. The educated audience was probably familiar with the myth of Ganymedes and his abduction by Zeus, but it is only in Lucian that Ganymedes engages in a conversation with the father of gods, complaining about what he is going to occupy himself with, and only in Lucian do we see Zeus trying to explain in childish terms the acts of homosexual love. It is also the first time that Ganymedes has a voice in literature; in the literary tradition he is the fair-haired boy who is taken to live among the gods. Homer, for instance, only describes the pain of Ganymedes's father for his loss along with Zeus's compensation.[31]

Lucian also incorporates literary and character criticism into some of the works. In *Deorum Concilium*, it is Momus, a deity himself, who comments on the gods and their stature. In *Juppiter Confutatus*, it is the cynic who critically examines what Zeus says; he questions and disputes it. The Syrian, therefore, no matter how well he fits into this long literary tradition, presents another aspect in the foreground. It does not necessarily mean that the author wishes to invoke serious criticism and doubt the existence of gods. One cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that Lucian is discussing a religious issue so as to appeal to a larger audience and hence increase his popularity. If we accept the possibility that people at the time were gradually becoming aware of the other in the realm of religion, it is only reasonable that Lucian, in an attempt to distinguish himself from the masses of orators, would engage with the topic, thus providing a lapidary vignette of the contemporary religious *status quo*. Regardless of his motivation, the number of works that he dedicates to religious issues as well as the similarities between his writings and the treatises of the first Christian Apologists, which I will discuss later in the chapter, suggest that he purposefully discusses the complex relations between the different religions. His comic impugnation that targets traditional deities is twofold: He presents the view of other religions about the Olympians and also comments on people's naive perceptions and their simplistic interpretation of the divine. Finally, it should be noted that in this transitional period between paganism and Christianity things were obviously not black and white; Lucian is in the grey area between. We may not be in a position to provide substantial evidence as to whether he means to ridicule traditional deities or simply trigger people's minds into (re)considering and reevaluating the divine, but the conclusion we reach remains the same: Pagan gods were still popular at the time, and Christianity was just emerging. In Lucian's writings we get a glimpse of the dialogue between those different religious theses.

Gods and Men

In *Prometheus*,[32] *Icaromenippus*, and *Timon*, gods appear mainly in the background as receivers of the people's actions; the protagonists are Prometheus, Menippus, and Timon respectively. The themes may be a recycling of the traditional myths, but Lucian's approach, literary and religious, is

certainly not. He questions people's simplistic interpretation of divine rituals and provides a literary commentary on his predecessors.

First, Lucian draws inspiration from variegated literary *topoi* as well as from different authors and genres, namely Aeschylus's *Prometheus Vinctus*, Aristophanes's *Pax* and *Aves*, and Euripides's *Bellerophontes*. The choice of three literary genres complicates the expectations of the audience. Aeschylus portrays Zeus as a relentless tyrant with no moral boundaries; in addition to Prometheus, Io also appears as another victim of the unscrupulous god. Bellerophontes's actions, on the other hand, are perceived as a contestation of the god's power and authority and thus as *hybris*; consequently, Bellerophontes falls from heaven and dies. On the other hand, in Aristophanes's *Pax* war and other misfortunes force gods to relinquish their authoritative position. Nowhere do we see the undisputed power of Aeschylus's Zeus. In *Aves*, gods are obliged to share their *imperium* with the birds in order not to be deprived of sacrifices and rituals. Also, Zeus is forced to sanction the marriage of his daughter Basileia to Pisthetaerus. Lucian creates a masterful amalgam of all these literary traditions. Although he does not copy any of his predecessors unedited, he still clearly shows that he is familiar with those works; he is nonetheless able to create fresh literary characters. Not only does he discuss issues that pertain to the existence of gods, not only does he employ as characters known literary figures who have transgressed in one way or another the authority of the gods, but he also writes a whole work about Timon, who even at the end is not appeased and is openly exasperated at the gods. Gods may have corrected their injustice, but Timon does not forgive them and persistently refuses to offer sacrifices. The work ends, and there is no devolvement; the relations between mortal man and immortal gods are not reinstated, but the former is not punished either. Also, in *Icaromenippus*, Menippus is allowed to return to earth, unlike Bellerophontes; gods are a lot more tolerant and gracious towards him.

Another issue that draws the reader's attention is the excessive anthropomorphism of the gods. Lucian seems to be indulging himself in literary precedents when Prometheus wonders whether Zeus should be so exasperated because of such a small portion of meat that was taken or even why should he be angry for giving fire to men; fire never ends.[33] Lucian moves one step further, and it is his religious unconformity that differentiates him from the others. In that case, he exposes mythological exaggeration and people's naivety. In Aeschylus no one actually defies the word of Zeus or his orders; all the characters concentrate on the alleged misdeeds of Prometheus and on Zeus's unrelenting lack of forgiveness. Lucian does not take the myth for granted. He actually poses the question that so far had always been an accepted convention: "Was what Prometheus did so grave and unpardonable an offense?"[34] In *Juppiter Tragoedus* and *Deorum Concilium*, Lucian exaggerates the fear of the gods lest they be neglected by mortals. They shudder at the possibility that the belief in the nonexistence of the gods may prevail among men. Three aspects can be detected in the issue of a possible

atheism. First, Lucian touches the diachronic question of whether people believe in their myths; second, what they believe about divine entities; and third, the significance of rituals and religious worshipping. He reconsiders people's obsession with rituals and wonders whether the gods will starve if mortals do not perform any sacrifices. We cannot argue with any certainty about whether he doubts the existence of pagan gods or if he believes that people have missed the point of the rituals altogether. Nonetheless, he shows the practical aspect of rituals and presents them rather as a way for people to communicate their needs and concerns to gods and hence feel that they will have an ameliorating effect on their fate. Consequently, we should not discount the possibility that Lucian could be presenting the case of the non-pagans. As a matter of fact, Christians interpreted Lucian's writings as anti-pagan, as I explained earlier. Christianity was not in its heyday yet, but its dissension with paganism had already begun, and one of the most open expressions of the Christians' opposition to paganism was the fact that the former did not participate in sacrifices and rituals. In these works Lucian emphasizes the gods' concern about sacrifices. It is indeed a fresh point of view from which to consider sacrifices, and it is a major point of dissension that divides pagans and non-pagans. As Lucian is always one step ahead in his criticism and his process of reconsidering values, customs, lifestyle, and the different forces that set society's wheels in motion, he steps with these works into the middle of religious dissension and presents their discord embellished with his literary charms. Finally, as a pragmatist and someone who understands how social norms work, he plays with the literary tradition woven around the gods. Adulteries, illegitimate children, and brothers who fight and do not have anything in common can interest even readers who are not aware of the Classical myths. Therefore, regardless of his intentions, Lucian knows how to be a popular orator, how to move beyond the sphere of the hackneyed and give new breath to an old topic.

The conclusion one may reach regarding Lucian's intentions is that he is considering the divine in correlation with the human factor and drawing a more definitive and pragmatic picture of religion. He certainly is open to new religions, and, although we cannot argue with certainty what his position was, we can safely argue that he could not have been unaware of the emergence and evolvement of new religious systems. Subsequently, without showing impiety, he examines and deconstructs rituals. He is a pragmatist who can pinpoint the essence of things and bring it to a clear view for everyone to see. His works are undeniably funny and smart, and, even if the audience failed to perceive the underlying religious commentary, they would still be entertained having lived a second-century CE Aristophanic experience.

PEREGRINUS, LUCIAN'S REPROACH OF THE CHRISTIANS?

Peregrinus is one of Lucian's most poignant works, although admittedly not the most exquisitely written or the most smartly and oratorically embellished.[35]

Lucian supposedly writes to Cronius, who may have been the known Cynic who appears in other works, and narrates the events that took place when Peregrinus Proteus committed suicide during the Olympian games in 167 CE. Lucian claims that he was only a spectator and that the reason he attended the events before, during, and after Peregrinus's suicide was that at first he could not leave the place due to the overflow of people and later because he could not find the means to travel. He writes in first person, but also reports, supposedly *verbatim*, what Theagenes the Cynic[36] and another orator said on that very same day; he concludes the work by adding his own censure against Peregrinus. The whole work is written as a rhetorical exercise; Theagenes speaks in favor of Peregrinus, while the other speaker sets out to demolish all the previous arguments, present the truth behind Theagenes's speech, and reveal the real face of Peregrinus. The tone, the comments, the introduction, and the conclusion of the work suggest that the second speaker may have actually been Lucian himself.

Lucian does not give much personal information about Peregrinus at the beginning; only later do we learn that he was born in Parion. He paints an extremely unflattering picture of Peregrinus, though. He mentions that he was accused of patricide, that he became a Christian while he was in Palestine, and that he retreated because of a misstep.[37] Lucian gives an account of Peregrinus's travels, among which are the ones to Italy where he was expelled; to Greece, where he tried to kindle the natives' anti-Roman sentiments and cause a revolt; and to Egypt.[38] Through all the events the only idea that the reader forms about Peregrinus is that he was an impostor, a deceitful pariah who did not believe in anything and who adhered to religions or people only for personal benefit, while exploiting those who actually believed in him.[39] The truth is that although we do not have a plethora of information regarding Peregrinus he is not a completely unknown figure first mentioned by Lucian. He is mentioned also in Pausanias's *Graeciae Descriptio* as well as in Christian authors.[40] One may wonder, therefore, why Lucian chose to write about him. It has been suggested that *Peregrinus* is Lucian's deprecation of Christianity.[41] He uses the name Χριστιανοί four times, and not once is it a compliment. In fact, he attributes to them the adjective κακοδαίμονες (ill-fated, miserable, possessed by evil genius).[42] He also proceeds with a small digression in *Peregrinus* 13, which does not seem necessary at this point in the text as it does not relate directly to Peregrinus; it rather latently mirrors Lucian's perception of the new religion.[43]

There are two points that I will discuss concerning the information we get from Lucian regarding Christianity; the first relates to what this account means for the image of Christianity at the time, and the second concerns Lucian's attitude and what, if any, are the resemblances between Peregrinus and Pliny's account of the Christians in the *Letter to Trajan*. Lucian says that Christians believe in immortality; hence they condemn death. He also says, always in a pejorative manner, that their first νομοθέτης persuaded them that they are all brothers, that they should refute all pagan gods and live their lives by the rules that the crucified sophist set for them. His knowledge

of some Christian doctrines is obvious; he seems to know about Jesus[44] and the basic principles members of the new sect live by, and he is also aware of their refusal to participate in pagan rituals, which is actually the principal demarcation between Christians and supporters of the old religion and one of the reasons why emperors and officials in other provinces were negatively predisposed towards them. The choice of the word σοφιστής for Jesus is interesting, considering that this had always been an ambiguous, tentative, and charged term. Pernot, however, furnishes more nuances of the word that justify Lucian's usage in this context.[45] It has been claimed that Lucian shows inconceivable ignorance about all things Christian, and the basis for the argument is that he uses words such as θιασάρχης to describe the position of Peregrinus amidst the Christians, when it is not part of the Christian terminology and is never used in Christian literature.[46] We should not forget, however, that θιασάρχης[47] means the leader of a θίασος that could be a company, a troop, or a religious guild.[48] Therefore, I do not believe that this linguistic choice can substantiate the claim concerning Lucian's religious ignorance. On the contrary, it indicates his educational superiority and his ability to select the most descriptive word of the way Christians were perceived at the time; they were a religious group, but not an established religion yet.[49]

Lucian also seems concerned that the followers of Peregrinus may create a cult and worship Peregrinus based on the series of unexplained natural phenomena that transpired after his death and that Lucian himself states he witnessed.[50] We know that the cult of Peregrinus did not take the proportions that the Syrian claims it did; still it is hard not to notice the similarities between what he says about Peregrinus and what non-Christians say about Jesus, his crucifixion, and the events that ensued. He even pities Peregrinus for his vain pursuit of fame, for even criminals when condemned to death are followed by many (οὐκ εἰδὼς ὁ ἄθλιος ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀπαγομένοις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου ἐχομένοις πολλῷ πλείους ἕπονται, "poor man! he forgot that criminals on the way to the cross, or in the executioner's hands, have a greater escort by far," 34).

Therefore, Peregrinus's fame is bound to gradually fade and eventually die. Lucian seems to have known more about the new religion and the sophist from Palestine. In any case, this work is indicative of the quantity of information that non-Christians held and what some of the first reactions to the new sect were.

Another matter for consideration is whether *Peregrinus* should be considered an attack against Christianity. As a matter of fact, Lucian's focus does not seem to be on Christianity; the target is Peregrinus instead.[51] As De Labriolle concludes, "*Il les tient, non pas pour de méchantes gens, mais pour des naïfs, pour des nigauds, dont la crédulité mérite un sourire.*"[52] Upon reading closely, one notices that Lucian calls Peregrinus κακοδαίμων. The word was also used by Aristophanes and Arrianus with the meaning of "evil genius." It also means the "ill-fated," but when one goes further into

the work it becomes clear that Lucian does not pity Peregrinus. The tone of the work is thus set, and Lucian launches bitter comments against Peregrinus until the very end. The way he discusses the subject also reminds us of other critical works concerning people or generic characters of which he does not approve, for instance *Adversus Indoctum, De Mercede Conductis*, and *Hermotimus*, to name a few. Lucian is obviously set against all forms of dishonesty and pretentiousness and verbally attacks Peregrinus for being deceitful and not for (temporarily) being a Christian.[53] He is also anti-Cynic, as he has shown elsewhere. He does not challenge the Cynic doctrine *per se*, though, but rather the grandiose and conceited ways of its supporters.[54] He does not fail to laugh at them when Theagenes says that no other Cynic who was present at Peregrinus's death wishes to follow him, even though their philosophy allegedly espouses sacrifice. Lucian also makes a strong point when he states that the Cynics, albeit infuriated at him, released him when he threatened to throw them into the same fire with Peregrinus. Finally, the conclusion is the culmination of this manifest uncovering of pretentiousness. Lucian recounts two comic yet reprehensible events from Peregrinus's life, the attempted seduction of a young boy and his apprehension at death during a tempest, both of which clearly indicate his superfluous understanding of the philosophy he was supposedly preaching. The end of Peregrinus's life is described as καταστροφὴ τοῦ δράματος. The word δρᾶμα has the meaning of "act" or "deed," but it also means "play." Therefore, even linguistically Lucian makes sure to assess Peregrinus's life; everything was simply an act, a stage performance, and eventually his choice to die was also a δρᾶμα.[55]

Lucian and Pliny's *Letter to Trajan*

Another perspective from which to examine and evaluate the significance of Lucian's religious writings is to attempt to quantify whether his contemporaries were aware of Christianity and, hence, whether the Syrian's works would offer them a different perspective on this issue, or if Lucian discusses an obscure issue of no consequence to anyone. Pliny's *Letter to Trajan*,[56] when the former had to deal with Christians while serving as governor in Bithynia,[57] reveals the extent of people's knowledge. Pliny tries to determine whether Christians may pose a threat to state religion and Roman authorities. His concern has to do with an edict prohibiting the creation of associations for fear of inciting revolts against Roman authority (*post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua haeterias esse vetueram*, "after my edict, according to your commands, I had prohibited the meeting of associations").[58] Christians, therefore, were not suspected for their religious stance; they were merely perceived as another sect among the multitude of Eastern cults that had already appeared in the Empire.[59] They only constituted a threat in the sense that they were a group (*collegium*), a nomenclature that finds an equivalent in Lucian's θίασος.[60] Trajan's response to Pliny concerning the future treatment of Christians is mild and diplomatic. He

does not wish them to be persecuted or searched for.[61] In the *Letter* we also become acquainted with what non-Christians believe about Christians and the rumors circulating about them. Pliny qualifies Christianity as *superstitio* (*superstitionem pravam et immodicam*),[62] since they only address a prayer to Christ as if to a divinity and take an oath not to commit anything morally reprehensible. Later, as Pliny attests, they separate and then they re-convene to eat a meal:

> *Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta ne latrocinia ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.*

> But they declared their guilt or error was simply this—on a fixed day they used to meet before dawn and recite a hymn among themselves to Christ, as though he were a god. So far from binding themselves by oath to commit any crime, they swore to keep from theft, robbery, adultery, breach of faith, and not to deny any trust money deposited with them when called upon to deliver it. This ceremony over, they used to depart and meet again to take food—but it was of no special character, and entirely harmless.[63]

Pliny also notices that the number of Christians is growing, and people of every age, rank, and sex are involved *(multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus)*, information that we also derive from Lucian (*Peregr.* 12–13). Nonetheless, he deems that there is still time to reduce this number and therefore limit any imminent danger since the temples begin to be crowded again and the rites seem to be reviving:

> *Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti passimque venire <carnem> victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur.*

> Beyond any doubt, the temples—which were nigh deserted—are beginning again to be thronged with worshipers; the sacred rites, which long have lapsed, are now being renewed, and <the food> for the sacrificial victims is again finding a sale—though up to recently it had almost no market.

If during Pliny's time the phenomenon of Christianity was so noticeable as to be a concern for Roman officials and the emperor himself, we can only assume that at the time of Lucian even non-Christians could not be utterly ignorant of the new religion, especially when it came to rituals and sacrifices,

or rather the abstinence from sacrifices, actions that could hardly remain unnoticed. It is obvious that Pliny does not consider Christians a threat to the Empire, and nowhere does he accuse them even by implication of being guilty of engaging in obscene and reprehensible acts. Laws against impiety may not have been enforced at the time; however, Romans highly valued traditional religion and worshipping practices. The correlation and interdependency between religious and civic duties is brought up by many.[64] For instance, Celsus exhorts the Christians to participate in everyday Roman life, emphasizing that traditional religious rites safeguard the peace of the Empire.[65] Augustine in *De Civitate Dei* differentiates between three types of religion, namely the mythical, the natural, and the civic, and his consideration of the latter is that "*nec leges ergo illae nec mos in civili theologia id instituerunt, quod diis gratum esset vel ad rem pertineret*" (neither those laws, therefore, or custom instituted in civic theology that which is pleasing to the gods or that pertains to reality," 6.10).[66] Nonetheless, he acknowledges the coexistence of all three aspects, regardless of his appreciation for them. Another issue of religious worship and civic loyalty concerns the preponderance of sacrifices, as they included veneration of the gods and the emperor, albeit not as an established divinity.[67] On that note, de Ste Croix argues that emperor worship did not constitute a palmary reason for the Christian persecutions and that it is the Christians' lack of religious devotion and negligence towards the worship of traditional deities that incurs the wrath of the Romans.[68] Therefore, the Christian separational attitude with regards to sacrifices is construed as undermining Romanness.

The amount of information about Christians that Pliny and Lucian share is indicative of the amount of information the majority of non-Christians had about them at least in the Eastern part of the Empire.[69] The new sect *per se* is not considered perilous to the emperor since its members, according to both authors, share meals, perform their rituals, and tend to their brothers' welfare. Nonetheless, they still put traditional religion into question. Lucian offers a fresh perspective on the new religious rituals and their political extensions and reverberations through the comedic and sarcastic character portrayal of Peregrinus. He sets his reconsiderations in a ludic form and provides his own account of the new religious ideologies via *Peregrinus* and several others of his god-centric works, as I will show in the next section.

THE FIRST APOLOGISTS

There have been numerous scholarly discussions regarding the Apologists and their attempts to legitimize and define their dogma and identity. The point of reference they would rely on is the so-called "affirmative and negative definitions"—what they are, and what they are not, in relation to pagans.[70] Furthermore, Apologists strive to establish antiquity, since as Young phrases it, "Novelty was not prized in the Graeco-Roman society;

for something to be true, it had to be ancient."[71] Price discusses similar tendencies and literary practices in Latin Apologists.[72] Rhee and Humphries explore early Christianity with regards to the concurrent social, literary, and religious realities.[73]

Studies so far have focused on establishing Christian and Roman-pagan realities either in contention with one another or in light of the Christians' attempt to establish themselves in the current reality. My intention in this section is to read Lucian against the backdrop of the Apologists and vice versa and present the points of convergence and not of conflict between traditionalists and Christians. What is the picture of the second-century reality when we read Lucian as an exegete and not a proponent or opponent of any thesis? More specifically, a major point of contention between pagans and Christians is statue worship. Christians impugn the validity of the old religion, arguing that pagans worship man-made statues. Celsus in *Origen contra Celsum* 7.62 contradicts that claim, stating: "Τίς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλος εἰ μὴ πάντη νήπιος ταῦτα ἡγεῖται θεοὺς ἀλλὰ θεῶν ἀναθήματα καὶ ἀγάλματα" ("who, unless foolish, would believe that these are gods and not merely statues?"). Nonetheless, Origen replies that Christianity does not sanction the creation of idols or the creation of images to depict their god (Χριστιανοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὸ "Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις" <καὶ> διὰ τὸ "Οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ" καὶ "Οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, "Christians and Jews through the 'your master god you shall fear and only him you shall serve with prayers', <and> through the 'there will not be for you other gods but me' and 'you shall not create for yourselves an idol or a likeness of the father,' 7.64).[74] One expects the aforementioned theses and contradistinctions between pagans and Christians. The religious reality, however, becomes less clear-cut when we read Lucian, in *De Sacrificiis*, vocalizing the Christian argument in a non-Christian text and disputing the cogency of the old religion's doctrine by saying that it is not enough that pagans build temples so that gods are not houseless, and raise statues, but they also come to believe that what they behold is not ivory or gold but the god himself. Nasrallah very astutely observes that "reading this without attribution, one might guess that it was written by Tatian or some other Christian satirist"[75]:

Ἔπειτα δὲ ναοὺς ἐγείραντες ἵνα αὐτοῖς μὴ ἄοικοι μηδὲ ἀνέστιοι δῆθεν ὦσιν, εἰκόνας αὐτοῖς ἀπεικάζουσιν . . . ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν οἱ παριόντες εἰς τὸν νεὼν οὔτε τὸν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐλέφαντα ἔτι οἴονται ὁρᾶν οὔτε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Θρᾴκης μεταλλευθὲν χρυσίον ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας, εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ Φειδίου μετῳκισμένον καὶ τὴν Πισαίων ἐρημίαν ἐπισκοπεῖν κεκελευσμένον, ἀγαπῶντα εἰ διὰ πέντε ὅλων ἐτῶν θύσει τις αὐτῷ πάρεργον Ὀλυμπίων. (11)

Then too they erect temples, in order that the gods may not be houseless and hearthless, of course; and they fashion images in their likeness; . . . In spite of all, those who enter the temple think that what they behold

is not now ivory from India nor gold mined in Thrace, but the very son of Cronus and Rhea, transported to earth by Phidias and bidden to be overlord of deserted Pisa, thinking himself lucky if he gets a sacrifice once in four long years as an incident to the Olympic games.[76]

A close reading of Lucian's *De Sacrificiis, Juppiter Confutatus*, and *Juppiter Tragoedus* reveals that, beyond the comedic material, he brings this debate into the foreground, presenting it as an exchange of ideas between different belief systems in an age of existential fluidity. He discusses by implication sacrifices, gods' existence, and the worshipping and deification of statues. Lucian's verisimilar undermining of pagan deities indicates that he takes the religious pulse and provides a vignette of this transitional era in the Empire in terms that could appeal to a large audience, without invoking religious or political wrath. His writings indicate that there is no explicit demarcation point between pagan and Christian religion and that a majority of the people were, like him, evaluating and reconsidering the various religious theses. Hence, a comparative reading of Lucian and the first Apologists contributes to our understanding of the ferments in this realm and consequently of the coexistence of pagans and Christians during the second century CE.[77] We should not forget the closing remarks of Cumont's *The Oriental Religions*: "The two opposed creeds moved in the same intellectual and moral sphere, and one could actually pass from one to the other without shock or interruption."[78]

To that end I examine Tertullian's *De Spectaculis*, Clemens of Alexandria's *Protrepticus*, Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Justin the Martyr's *Apologia*, Pseudo-Justin's *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, Athenagoras's *Legatio sive Supplicatio pro Christianis*, and the anonymous *Epistula ad Diognetum*, all contemporary with Lucian. Both sides discuss the god(s), their existence, the importance of sacrifices, the worshipping of statues and other idols, the philosophers and whether they are conveyors of the truth, and, finally and most importantly, human concern about the life one should lead.

The Definition of Old Religion

Even though the Lucianic corpus admittedly includes several works that discuss religious issues, the prevalent view in the scholarly community is that the Syrian displays ignorance with regards to Christianity. Bernays (1879), Bagnani (1955), Bompaire (1958), and Betz (1959) seem to agree on Lucian's alleged lack of perception in this field and claim that he fails to notice the emerging religious doctrines.[79] The issue, however, is how one tries to quantify the information that Lucian provides. The only way to determine his level of religious cognizance and quantify the cognitive content of his works would be to interpret the semantics. Therefore, considering that he does not mean to assume the role of the historian or the theologian, we should not expect any sort of detailed references to the Christian doctrine, practices, or even its societal reception. Instead, what Lucian does is

select current topics of manifest interest to his audience and then create a new frame of reference for their consideration. Where does he stand in this contention between the advocates of the old and new religion? New religions, including Christianity, attempt to invalidate the core of the old religion by disproving its theorem. Lucian takes a step back and proposes to examine it. He seemingly considers separate interpretative sources and provides us with a description of the old religion that indicates not only his observational and critical skills, but also proves pivotal in his stipulative definition of this religious oppugnancy. In the triptych that consists of *Juppiter Confutatus, Juppiter Tragoedus*, and *Deorum Concilium*, he considers the three provenances of paganism's definition. The first factor that contributes to its definition consists of opponents of the old religion. In *Juppiter Confutatus* it is a Cynic, an advocate of a philosophical group that questions gods; in *Juppiter Tragoedus* it is Timocles and Damis who enter into a debate, the former being a proponent of the old, the latter of a new religion; in *Deorum Concilium*, it is Momus, a deity himself, who questions Zeus. The second factor in the consideration of the old religion is the role of Classical authors, such as Homer, and the third factor is human involvement. What Lucian brings into the foreground is that religious questions have been posed by different groups, not necessarily promoting other religious theses, but rather in pursuit of the truth in life, the paragon of right living, and the correct philosophy. Therefore, Lucian enters into a literary discussion with Christian Apologists and creates a vignette of the old religion, using Christianity's positive descriptions by its proponents and its negative ones by its opponents.[80]

The main issue that surfaces in both *Juppiter Confutatus* and *Juppiter Tragoedus* is the existence and validity of the Olympians. In *Juppiter Confutatus* the Cynic attempts to prove via a series of questions that it is the Fates and not the gods that claim the primal role in the lives of people. At the end of the work, the Cynic concludes that people are not at fault for any of their vices as it is the Fates that have pre-decided the mortals' course of action. In *Juppiter Tragoedus*, Damis impugns the Olympians, indicating their lack of providence for honest people, the power of nature in the creation of the world, and finally the fact that each nation worships different deities. With regards to the last issue, two passages are pivotal in Lucian and consequently in our consideration of the old and new religion. In *Juppiter Tragoedus* we read:

Εὖ γε, ὦ Τιμόκλεις, ὅτι με ὑπέμνησας τῶν κατὰ ἔθνη νομιζομένων, ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα συνίδοι τις ἂν ὡς οὐδὲν βέβαιον ὁ περὶ θεῶν λόγος ἔχει· πολλὴ γὰρ ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα νομίζουσι, Σκύθαι μὲν ἀκινάκῃ θύοντες καὶ Θρᾷκες Ζαμόλξιδι, δραπέτῃ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ Σάμου ὡς αὐτοὺς ἥκοντι, Φρύγες δὲ Μήνῃ καὶ Αἰθίοπες Ἡμέρᾳ καὶ Κυλλήνιοι Φάλητι καὶ Ἀσσύριοι περιστερᾷ καὶ Πέρσαι πυρὶ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ὕδατι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἅπασι κοινὸν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ ὕδωρ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Μεμφίταις μὲν ὁ βοῦς θεός, Πηλουσιώταις δὲ κρόμμυον, καὶ ἄλλοις ἶβις ἢ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἄλλοις

κυνοκέφαλος ἢ αἴλουρος ἢ πίθηκος· καὶ ἔτι κατὰ κώμας τοῖς μὲν ὁ δεξιὸς ὦμος θεός, τοῖς δὲ κατ᾽ ἀντιπέρας οἰκοῦσιν ἅτερος· καὶ ἄλλοις κεφαλῆς ἡμίτομον, καὶ ἄλλοις ποτήριον κεραμεοῦν ἢ τρύβλιον. (42)

Thank you; a timely reminder; national observances show better than anything else how vague religious theory is. Confusion is endless, and beliefs as many as believers. Scythia makes offerings to a scimetar, Thrace to the Samian runaway Zamolxis, Phrygia to a Month-God, Ethiopia to a Day-Goddess, Cyllene to Phales, Assyria to a dove, Persia to fire, Egypt to water. In Egypt, though, besides the universal worship of water, Memphis has a private cult of the ox, Pelusium of the onion, other cities of the ibis or the crocodile, others again of baboon, cat, or monkey. Nay, the very villages have their specialities: one deifies the right shoulder, and another across the river the left; one a half skull, another an earthenware bowl or platter.

In *Deorum Concilium* Momus brings the issue of the gods' non-Greek origin to the foreground and wonders about the parameters that quantify a god's significance:

Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Ἄττης γε, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ ὁ Κορύβας καὶ ὁ Σαβάζιος, πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐπεισεκυκλήθησαν οὗτοι, ἢ ὁ Μίθρης ἐκεῖνος, ὁ Μῆδος, ὁ τὸν κάνδυν καὶ τὴν τιάραν, οὐδὲ ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ, ὥστε οὐδ᾽ ἢν προπίῃ τις ξυνίησι; τοιγαροῦν οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ὁρῶντες, οἱ Γέται αὐτῶν, μακρὰ ἡμῖν χαίρειν εἰπόντες αὐτοὶ ἀπαθανατίζουσι καὶ θεοὺς χειροτονοῦσιν οὓς ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ καὶ Ζάμολξις δοῦλος ὢν παρενεγράφη οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως διαλαθών. Καίτοι πάντα ταῦτα, ὦ θεοί, μέτρια. σὺ δέ, ὦ κυνοπρόσωπε καὶ σινδόσιν ἐσταλμένε Αἰγύπτιε, τίς εἶ, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἢ πῶς ἀξιοῖς θεὸς εἶναι ὑλακτῶν; τί δὲ βουλόμενος καὶ ὁ ποικίλος οὗτος ταῦρος ὁ Μεμφίτης προσκυνεῖται καὶ χρᾷ καὶ προφήτας ἔχει; αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ ἴβιδας καὶ πιθήκους εἰπεῖν καὶ τράγους καὶ ἄλλα πολλῷ γελοιότερα οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παραβυσθέντα ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἃ ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοί, πῶς ἀνέχεσθε ὁρῶντες ἐπ᾽ ἴσης ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν προσκυνούμενα; ἢ σύ, ὦ Ζεῦ, πῶς φέρεις ἐπειδὰν κριοῦ κέρατα φύσωσί σοι; (9–10)

Well, you must allow me Attis, Corybas, and Sabazius: by what contrivance, now, did *they* get here? and that Mede there, Mithras, with the candys and tiara? Why, the fellow cannot speak Greek; if you pledge him, he does not know what you mean. The consequence is that Scythians and Goths, observing their success, snap their fingers at us, and distribute divinity and immortality right and left; that was how the slave Zamolxis's name slipped into our register. However, let that pass. But I should just like to ask that Egyptian there—the dog-faced gentleman in the linen suit—who *he* is, and whether he proposes to establish his divinity by barking? And will the piebald bull yonder, from Memphis, explain what use he has for a temple, an oracle, or a priest? As for the ibises and monkeys and goats and worse absurdities that are bundled in

upon us, goodness knows how, from Egypt, I am ashamed to speak of them; nor do I understand how you, gentlemen, can endure to see such creatures enjoying a prestige equal to or greater than your own.—And you yourself, sir, must surely find ram's horns a great inconvenience?

Lucian clearly argues that several philosophic groups as well as other religions have contested the established pantheon. Therefore, not only does he decisively disprove the claims about his ignorance regarding Christianity and religion in general, but he also shows that there have always been religious controversies and opposing perspectives, as every nation has had its own "pantheon." The reason Christians have attracted attention lies mainly in their societal indicators, namely their abstinence from activities that pertain to religion and that are also intricately connected to citizenship, as I discussed earlier. The same topic is brought up in *Deorum Concilium*. The gods convene for a meeting, and the issues of who should address the assembly and the appropriate seating arrangement come up first.[81] Momus asks who should speak first, and whether the decision should be made on the basis of the gods' origins. He also discusses the appearance of Eastern deities, and finally asks whether the material statues are made of should be a factor in the evaluation of the gods themselves:

ὁ γάρ τοι γενναιότατος οὗτος Διόνυσος ἡμιάνθρωπος ὤν, οὐδὲ Ἕλλην μητρόθεν ἀλλὰ Συροφοίνικός τινος ἐμπόρου τοῦ Κάδμου θυγατριδοῦς . . . ὁ δὲ καὶ ὅλην φατρίαν ἐσεποίησεν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἐπαγόμενος πάρεστι καὶ θεοὺς ἀπέφηνε τὸν Πᾶνα καὶ τὸν Σιληνὸν καὶ Σατύρους, ἀγροίκους τινὰς καὶ αἰπόλους τοὺς πολλούς, σκιρτητικοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλοκότους· (4)

Although the mother of this truly estimable demi-god was not only a mortal, but a barbarian, and his maternal grandfather a tradesman in Phoenicia, one Cadmus . . . But we are indebted to him for the presence of a whole tribe of his followers, whom he has introduced into our midst under the title of Gods. Such are Pan, Silenus, and the Satyrs; coarse persons, of frisky tendencies and eccentric appearance, drawn chiefly from the goat-herd class.

Momus goes as far as to question the degree of respect that such gods can claim from mortals (Εἶτα θαυμάζομεν εἰ καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὁρῶντες οὕτω γελοίους θεοὺς καὶ τεραστίους, "Then we wonder why men look down on us when seeing gods so ludicrous and monstrous," 5).[82] Concerning *Deorum Concilium*, it has been argued that Lucian could be commenting on an ongoing reformation of the Areopagus,[83] and it is true that towards the end Momus summarizes the decision and says that the *ekklesia* of the gods will include old as well as new members. One should not ignore, however, this work's possible bifold message and therefore should not fail to notice its similarities to the argumentations of the Apologists.

The second determinant pertaining to the definition of the old religion is the effect of Classical literature. To vitiate the old religion's validity, Christian Apologists indicate that Classical authors, such as Homer, have contributed to the vignette of the Olympians and their worship and that, since authors are not religious authorities, their opinions should not have a bearing on such a matter.[84] Lucian does not disregard the denotations of literary involvement. Literature and the old religion seem to be intricately connected. Celebratory hymns (such as the Homeric hymns or those that Aelius Aristides wrote centuries later), Plato's *Respublica*, and Aristotle's *De Caelo*, among many other works, indicate that literature and philosophy have tried to explicate religion, but in the process they have also added interpretative characteristics. How feasible is it, though, to separate how much of the worship that people practice at the time pertains to religion and how much to literature?[85]

Lucian extensively discusses this reality, but without taking a position. In *Juppiter Tragoedus* Damis explicates via comprehensive reasoning the difference between theologians and poets and thus disproves the use of Homer as a valid proof of the existence of the Olympians:

> Ἀλλ᾽, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ποιητὴν μὲν ἀγαθὸν Ὅμηρον γενέσθαι πάντες σοι συνομολογήσουσι, μάρτυρα δὲ ἀληθῆ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὔτ᾽ ἐκεῖνον οὔτε ἄλλον ποιητὴν οὐδένα· οὐ γὰρ ἀληθείας μέλει αὐτοῖς, οἶμαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κηλεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέτροις τε κατάδουσι καὶ μύθοις κατηχοῦσι καὶ ὅλως ἅπαντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τερπνοῦ μηχανῶνται. (39–40)

> Magnificent! Why, every one will grant you Homer's poetic excellence; but not that he, or any other poet for that matter, is good authority on questions of this sort. Their object, of course, is not truth, but fascination; they call in the charms of metre, they take tales for the vehicle of what instruction they give, and in short all their efforts are directed to pleasure.

In the same work, it is the deities themselves who argue about who and what determines their value and stature. Poseidon first refuses to demote himself by sitting behind barbaric gods in this assembly (Καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, δίκαιον, τὸν κυνοπρόσωπον τοῦτον προκαθίζειν μου τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ ταῦτα Ποσειδῶνος ὄντος, "Hermes, and how is this fair, that this dog-faced Egyptian sits in front of me, when I am Poseidon?" 9). Later Aphrodite demands that she should be seated amidst the first since she is golden. Hermes, however, says that she is clearly made of stone, and Aphrodite contradicts him by quoting Homer, who calls her golden Aphrodite:

> {ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ}
>
> Οὐκοῦν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, κἀμὲ λαβὼν ἐν τοῖς προέδροις
>   που κάθιζε· χρυσῆ γάρ εἰμι.

{ΕΡΜΗΣ}

Οὐχ ὅσα γε, ὦ Ἀφροδίτη, κἀμὲ ὁρᾶν, ἀλλ’
    εἰ μὴ πάνυ λημῶ, λίθου τοῦ λευκοῦ, Πεντέληθεν,
    οἶμαι, λιθοτομηθεῖσα, εἶτα δόξαν οὕτω Πραξιτέλει
    Ἀφροδίτη γενομένη Κνιδίοις παρεδόθης.

{ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ}

Καὶ μὴν ἀξιόπιστόν σοι μάρτυρα τὸν Ὅμηρον
    παρέξομαι ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῶν ῥαψῳδιῶν χρυσῆν
    με τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι λέγοντα. (10)

Aph.   Then, Hermes, find me a place in the front row; I am golden.
Herm. Not so, Aphrodite, if I can trust my eyes; I am purblind, or you
        are white marble; you were quarried, I take it, from Penteli-
        cus, turned by Praxiteles's fancy into Aphrodite, and handed
        over to the Cnidians.
Aph.   Wait; my witness is unexceptionable—Homer. 'The Golden Aph-
        rodite' he calls me, up and down his poems.

He also explains that the assignment of space to a certain deity is an entirely poetic and human creation.

Pseudo-Justin in his *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* discusses this issue and similarly argues that poets should not be considered religious teachers. His argument consists of an elaboration on the absurdity of poets' tales about gods (2B4), and in the concluding statement he suggests that if one credits those literary accounts with veracity one either accepts that gods are delinquent and belligerent or that they do not exist at all (Ὥστε, εἰ μὲν πιστεύετε τοῖς κορυφαιοτάτοις ὑμῶν ποιηταῖς, τοῖς καὶ γενεαλογήσασι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν, ἀνάγκη ὑμᾶς ἢ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν, ἢ μηθ’ ὅλως θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι πιστεύειν, 4A6–4B1).

The third issue into which Lucian delves is human involvement in the definition of old religion. It seems that people's interpretation throughout the centuries revolved around Celsus's question: "Who, unless foolish, would believe that these are gods and not merely statues?" Sacrifices, just like statue worship, constitute a quintessential element of the old religion. They bear religious and civic importance for pagans, but they are also used by the Apologists in their negative definition of Christianity. Also, sacrifices inevitably became an issue of contention. I believe that Lucian does not merely entertain his audience via this mirthful portrayal of gods. Instead, he examines the core of the dissension between the old and the new religion. He admits that sacrifices, if considered ways to nourish the gods, appear ludicrous to non-believers, but if they are construed as people's interpretative effect on the old religion they simply signify a different belief system. Therefore, Lucian presents another perspective of pagan-Christian discord, while he also presents aspects of the old religion under a more realistic and pragmatic light.

In *Juppiter Tragoedus* the gods convene in order to deliberate about the possible repercussions of being neglected by humans and consequently of not receiving sacrifices. Before we can even discuss Lucian's presentation of a different standpoint of the gods' anthropomorphism, and how that relates to the religious climate of the period, we need to consider the first issue that gods face—their seating arrangement. Zeus instructs Hermes that their stature should determine their physical place in the council; therefore, the golden should be seated first, then the silver, then the ivory, and then the bronze or the stone ones:

ὥστε παραλαμβάνων κάθιζε αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστον, ὡς ἂν ὕλης ἢ τέχνης ἔχῃ, ἐν προεδρίᾳ μὲν τοὺς χρυσοῦς, εἶτα ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς ἀργυροῦς, εἶτα ἐξῆς ὁπόσοι ἐλεφάντινοι, εἶτα τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἢ λιθίνους. (7)

now receive and place them in correct precedence, according to their material or workmanship; gold in the front row, silver next, then the ivory ones, then those of stone or bronze.

Hermes immediately notices that Zeus's suggestion demotes Greek deities, since their statues are mainly made with humbler material than the statues of barbaric deities:

ἐοίκασι δ' οὖν, ὦ Ζεῦ, οἱ βαρβαρικοὶ προεδρεύσειν μόνοι· ὡς τούς γε Ἕλληνας ὁρᾷς ὁποῖοί εἰσι, χαρίεντες μὲν καὶ εὐπρόσωποι καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐσχηματισμένοι, λίθινοι δὲ ἢ χαλκοῖ ὅμως ἅπαντες ἢ οἵ γε πολυτελέστατοι αὐτῶν ἐλεφάντινοι ὀλίγον ὅσον τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐπιστίλβον ἔχοντες, ὡς ἐπικεχράνθαι καὶ ἐπηυγάσθαι μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὑπόξυλοι καὶ οὗτοι. (8)

Zeus, the front row will be exclusively barbarian, I observe. You see the peculiarity of the Greek contingent: they have grace and beauty and artistic workmanship, but they are all marble or bronze—the most costly of them only ivory with just an occasional gleam of gold, the merest surface-plating; and even those are wood inside.

Christian writers similarly refute the existence and potency of heathen gods mainly because of their idolic representation. In the *Epistula ad Diognetum*,[86] the author urges the pagan believer to reevaluate the existence of pagan divinities. He discusses the material of which statues were made and refuses to acknowledge anything man-made as divine. Statues, according to the author of the epistle, are deaf, blind, and deprived of senses. It should be noted that such a differentiation rose again later among the Christians, namely among the iconolaters and iconoclasts:

ἴδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει, τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἢ τίνος εἴδους τυγχάνουσιν, οὓς ἐρεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε θεούς. Οὐχ ὁ μέν τις λίθος ἐστὶν, ὅμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκὸς, οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς

τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον, ἤδη καὶ σεσηπός . . .
οὐ κωφὰ πάντα; οὐ τυφλά; οὐκ ἄψυχα; οὐκ ἀναίσθητα; οὐκ ἀκίνητα; οὐ
πάντα σηπόμενα; οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα; (2.1–4)

Come and contemplate, not with your eyes only, but with your under-
standing, the substance and the form of those whom ye declare and deem
to be gods. Is not one of them a stone similar to that on which we tread?
Is not a second brass, in no way superior to those vessels which are con-
structed for our ordinary use? Is not a third wood, and that already rot-
ten? . . . Are they not all deaf? Are they not blind? Are they not without
life? Are they not destitute of feeling? Are they not incapable of motion?
Are they not all liable to rot? Are they not all corruptible?[87]

He also claims that pagans guard the golden statues, but they leave the stone
ones unattended. This clearly suggests that even pagans themselves evaluate
statues based on their monetary value:[88]

τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὀστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργ-
υρέους καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καί ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας
παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; (2.7)

when ye worship those that are made of stone and earthenware, with-
out appointing any persons to guard them; but those made of silver and
gold ye shut up by night, and appoint watchers to look after them by
day, lest they be stolen?

Clemens of Alexandria also, in a manner similar to that of the *Epistula ad
Diognetum*, impugns the existence of pagan divinities, arguing the falla-
ciousness of statue worship. In the *Protrepticus*[89] he invalidates paganism,
claiming that pagans actually deify man-made statues.

In *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Juppiter Confutatus*, and *Concilium Deorum*,
Lucian discusses the idea of the (non)existence of the gods and the role of
human belief in the divine. In *Juppiter Tragoedus* it is a Cynic philosopher
who questions the gods' existence and raises Zeus's concerns about the con-
sequences of a potential atheistic attitude. Will people stop honoring gods
and offering sacrifices? Will that mean that the gods will eventually starve
to death?

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

If they should accept as true either our absolute non-existence or, short
of that, our indifference to them, farewell to our earthly sacrifices,
attributes, honours; we shall sit starving and ineffectual in Heaven;

our beloved feasts and assemblies, games and sacrifices, vigils and processions—all will be no more.

Although the discussion and the concerns revolve around the Cynics' attitude towards the gods, the fact that Lucian brings anthropomorphism to the next level cannot be overlooked. How far have people taken the need for sacrifices? Celsus argues that the difference between the gods and their idolic representation can easily be perceived by anyone, unless foolish.[90] Lucian, however, presents another perspective, that of the non-believer, as well as the possibility that religious truth may have been lost on the supporters of the old religion as a result of the excessive anthropomorphism of the pantheon.

Although Lucian elaborates on several religion-related matters, one cannot formulate an opinion about his personal beliefs. *Juppiter Tragoedus* can be read as a layman's comprehensive overview or musings about gods, and the way the world and nature function, as well as life in general. Lucian is undoubtedly concerned with theological issues and succeeds in targeting the core of the religious upheaval by questioning the essence of the old religion. Nowhere does he provide an answer or his viewpoint, though. Nonetheless, he prompts his audience to examine the veracity of religion, reevaluate the aspects that matter and have been beyond the scope of any inquiry, and eventually make a choice. Finally, the end of *Juppiter Tragoedus* presents us with an unexpected statement on behalf of Zeus, as he declares that he would rather have one devoted follower, such as Damis, than the whole of Babylonia on his side (53). One could go as far as to suggest the possibility that Lucian displays farsightness and hints at the future of Christianity, which as a new religion had at that time only a few followers; they were, however, conscious believers and thus were more likely to initiate others.

De Sacrificiis is a clearer and certainly more definitive picture of how people might have explicated anthropomorphism and how their interpretative tendencies influenced the identity of the old religion. Lucian examines the veracity of paganism and the foundation of traditional rituals and gives an account of how a non-pagan might view and interpret sacrifices. This technique is, in fact, his favorite technique of estrangement, as he presents to pagans another perspective of their lifestyle and philosophy. He argues that it is people who imagine gods as mean and, according to this mentality, have also formulated a relationship of reciprocity with them:

πότερον εὐσεβεῖς αὐτοὺς χρὴ καλεῖν ἢ τοὐναντίον θεοῖς ἐχθροὺς καὶ κακοδαίμονας, οἵ γε οὕτω ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀγεννὲς τὸ θεῖον ὑπειλήφασιν ὥστε εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐνδεὲς καὶ κολακευόμενον ἥδεσθαι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν ἀμελούμενον. (1)

whether he should call them devout or, on the contrary, irreligious and pestilent, in as much as they have taken it for granted that the gods are so low and mean as to stand in need of men and to enjoy being flattered and to get angry when they are slighted.[91]

Sacrifices are an integral part of the old religion and by extension a factor in any individual's social identity. Thus, the Apologists extensively discuss the sacrifices required by pagan gods. The main argument is that the Christian god is the creator of all things, and his nature, by definition, negates the need for any mortal offering.[92] Christians also condemn bloody sacrifices, arguing that pagan gods are merciless and lack concern for people, unlike their god.[93] By explaining and actually dissecting and defining the ritual of sacrifices, Christians describe pagan customs as laughable and gods as merely human creations.

The author of the *Epistula ad Diognetum*, in an explicitly ironic tone, satirizes those who offer sacrifices to the creator of the whole world; it is as if someone honors an inanimate object:

> ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν, ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. Οἱ δέ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δι᾽ αἵματος καὶ κνίσης καὶ ὁλοκαυτωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν οἰόμενοι καὶ ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρειν, οὐδέν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κωφὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνυμένων φιλοτιμίαν, τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν. Τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν τινὰ παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ (3.4–5)

> For He that made heaven and earth, and all that is therein, and gives to us all the things of which we stand in need, certainly requires none of those things which He Himself bestows on such as think of furnishing them to Him. But those who imagine that, by means of blood, and the smoke of sacrifices and burnt-offerings, they offer sacrifices [acceptable] to Him, and that by such honours they show Him respect,—these, by supposing that they can give anything to Him who stands in need of nothing, appear to me in no respect to differ from those who studiously confer the same honor on things destitute of sense, and which therefore are unable to enjoy such honors.

Clemens in *Protrepticus* characterizes heathen gods as "hostile to the human race":

> Φέρε δὴ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο προσθῶμεν, ὡς ἀπάνθρωποι καὶ μισάνθρωποι δαίμονες εἶεν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον ἐπιχαίροντες τῇ φρενοβλαβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωποκτονίας ἀπολαύοντες· νυνὶ μὲν τὰς ἐν σταδίοις ἐνόπλους φιλονικίας, νυνὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν πολέμοις ἀναρίθμους φιλοτιμίας ἀφορμὰς σφίσιν ἡδονῆς ποριζόμενοι, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἔχοιεν ἀνθρωπείων ἀνέδην ἐμφορεῖσθαι φόνων· (3.42.1)

> Well, now, let us say in addition, what inhuman demons, and hostile to the human race, your gods were, not only delighting in the insanity of men, but gloating over human slaughter,—now in the armed contests for superiority in the stadia, and now in the numberless contests for renown in the wars providing for themselves the means of pleasure, that they might be able abundantly to satiate themselves with the murder of human beings.

Athenagoras in *Legatio pro Christianis* openly responds to the accusations of non-Christians on the subject, arguing that it is not because of atheism that Christians do not participate in sacrifices; it is rather because the true god does not need blood or the smell of burnt offerings.[94] He argues in favor of the superiority of the Christian god by stating that the whole world is his creation:

σκέψασθέ μοι, αὐτοκράτορες, ὧδε περὶ ἑκατέρων, καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ τοῦ μὴ θύειν. ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ πατὴρ οὐ δεῖται αἵματος οὐδὲ κνίσης οὐδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων εὐωδίας, αὐτὸς ὢν ἡ τελεία εὐωδία, ἀνενδεὴς καὶ ἀπροσδεής· ἀλλὰ θυσία αὐτῷ μεγίστη, ἂν γινώσκωμεν τίς ἐξέτεινε καὶ συνεσφαίρωσεν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὴν γῆν κέντρου δίκην ἥδρασε, τίς συνήγαγεν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς θαλάσσας καὶ διέκρινεν τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους, τίς ἐκόσμησεν ἄστροις τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἐποίησεν πᾶν σπέρμα τὴν γῆν ἀναβάλλειν, τίς ἐποίησεν ζῷα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασεν. (13.1–2)

Be pleased to attend to the following considerations, O emperors, on both points. And first, as to our not sacrificing: the Framer and Father of this universe does not need blood, nor the odour of burnt-offerings, nor the fragrance of flowers and incense, forasmuch as He is Himself perfect fragrance, needing nothing either within or without; but the noblest sacrifice to Him is for us to know who stretched out and vaulted the heavens and fixed the earth in its place like a centre, who gathered the water into seas and divided the light from the darkness, who adorned the sky with stars and made the earth to bring forth seed of every kind, who made animals and fashioned man.

Finally, Tertullian discusses the issue of sacrifices in the *Apologia*, saying that his offering to god is the prayer from a chaste body, a clean soul, and a sacred spirit:[95]

qui ei offero opimam et maiorem hostiam quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudica, de anima innocenti, de spiritu sancto profectam (*Apolog.* 30)

who offer to Him that rich and better sacrifice which He himself commanded—I mean prayer, proceeding from flesh pure, soul innocent, spirit holy.[96]

Lucian, Dio, and Strabo versus the Apologists

Lucian's tripartite definition of pagan religion and the effect of the human factor appear also in Dio Chrysostom, and it was briefly touched upon by Strabo. This convergence reinforces my argument about a literary tendency to reconsider the old religion, examine it via more realistic criteria, and eventually contradict the over-rationalization of pagan rituals. Scholars so far have examined Dio's tripartite theology in *Oratio 12* in comparison to

Varro's thesis and St. Augustine's confutation. Klauck argues that Dio concurs with his predecessors, although his presentation has slightly shifted the original theological paradigm.[97] Similar to Lucian's argument, Dio's and Strabo's argumentations suggest that these authors perceive the role of literature as simply contributive to the understanding of religion and the worshipping of statues as merely minimizing the distance between humans and god and thus ameliorating their relationship. I believe that Dio takes a step back as he purports to appraise the origins of man's perception of religion.[98] He argues that the idea of divinity is innate in men. As man simply observes the world around him, he is filled with an appreciation for the creator of all things (12.27–30). Literary creations simply complement and amplify this apprehension, but the natural worship of the divine is a *sine qua non* for what he considers to be secondary source for the perception of the divine:

ἃ δὴ πάσχοντες, ἐπινοοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο μὴ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον (12.32)

So experiencing all these things and afterwards taking note of them, men could not help admiring and loving the divinity.[99]

δευτέραν δὲ λέγομεν τὴν ἐπίκτητον καὶ δι' ἑτέρων ἐγγιγνομένην ταῖς ψυχαῖς λόγοις τε καὶ μύθοις καὶ ἔθεσι, τοῖς μὲν ἀδεσπότοις τε καὶ ἀγράφοις, τοῖς δὲ ἐγγράφοις καὶ σφόδρα γνωρίμους ἔχουσι τοὺς κυρίους. (12.39–40)

As the second course we designate the idea that has been acquired and indeed implanted in men's souls through no other means than narrative accounts, myths, and customs, in some cases ascribed to no author and also unwritten, but in others written and having as their authors men of great fame.

τούτων γὰρ οὐδετέραν ἰσχῦσαι δυνατὸν μὴ πρώτης ἐκείνης ὑπούσης. (12.40)

because neither of them could possibly have gained strength unless that primary notion had been present to begin with.

Considering Dio's rationale comparatively with Christian argumentation, one may conclude that he implicitly nullifies the potency of the latter, as he clearly promotes the idea that authors simply contribute to the idea of divinity, but they should not be credited with being the provenance of pagan religious truth. Also, by attributing religious devotion to the very nature of man, I believe that Dio modulates the idea of a universal religious spirituality, while Christianity, paganism, and other sects claim the position of simply secondary interpretations that could not exist without this principal, inherent faith.

Another aspect of Dio's writing that needs to be considered is the way he examines Homeric stories and evaluates how their linguistic constituents

contribute to the concept of divinity. Instead of simply explicating and defending the correlation between religion and literature, he discusses the correspondence between literature and art as factors in the definition of divinity and, contrary to Christians, eulogizes Homer's dexterity in providing a meritorious vignette of the gods, one worthy of their stature. More specifically, Pheidias acclaims Homer's ability to make lapidary word choices and hence reveal the magnitude of the gods. He compares his task of producing a majestic statue with Homer's infinite maze of linguistic possibilities to create a grandiose poetic portrayal. What is worth noting, though, is the pretermission of imperfect deities, blemished with the traditional Homeric delinquencies. Not only does Dio endorse literary contributions as legitimate contributions to religion, but he also emphasizes how Homeric epic validates divine superiority. Although one could construe Dio's focus as evidence of an inadvertence on his behalf, I believe that he realizes that any polemic focuses on the secondary aspect of storytelling around pagan divinities, rather than on the actual doctrine and its purpose. Therefore, his omission is meant to turn the attention of his audience to the Homeric myths as a factor of interpretative human creativity of pagan anthropomorphism. This assumption can be consolidated if we proceed with a comparative reading of Dio and Strabo. The latter explains Homeric stories about gods as the author's way to approach more people and improve their conceptual perception of the divine. His account negates pagan credulity and suggests that non-Christians have created a more comprehensible median between people and gods:[100]

> Καὶ πρῶτον ὅτι τοὺς μύθους ἀπεδέξαντο οὐχ οἱ ποιηταὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ πόλεις πολὺ πρότερον καὶ οἱ νομοθέται τοῦ χρησίμου χάριν, βλέψαντες εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν πάθος τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώιου φιλειδήμων γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, προοίμιον δὲ τούτου τὸ φιλόμυθον. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἄρχεται τὰ παιδία ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν λόγων ἐπὶ πλεῖον. αἴτιον δ᾽, ὅτι καινολογία τίς ἐστιν ὁ μῦθος, οὐ τὰ καθεστηκότα φράζων ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερα παρὰ ταῦτα·ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ καινὸν καὶ ὃ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνω τις·τοῦτο δ᾽ αὐτό ἐστι καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν φιλειδήμονα. ὅταν δὲ προσῆι καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τὸ τερατῶδες, ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἡδονήν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ μανθάνειν φίλτρον. (1.2.8)

In the first place, I remark that the poets were not alone in sanctioning myths, for long before the poets the states and the lawgivers had sanctioned them as a useful expedient, since they had an insight into the natural affections of the reasoning animal; for man is eager to learn, and his fondness for tales is a prelude to this quality. It is fondness for tales, then, that induces children to give their attention to narratives and more and more to take part in them. The reason for this is that myth is a new language to them—a language that tells them, not of things as they are, but of a different set of things. And what is new is pleasing, and so is what one did not know before; and it is just this that makes men eager to learn. But if you add thereto the marvelous and the portentous, you thereby increase the pleasure, and pleasure acts as a charm to incite to learning.

With regards to the deification of statues, Dio also discusses whether any artistic representation can encapsulate the stature and magnitude of a deity, whether the artist himself and his audience realize the inefficiency to capture the essence of the god, as well as the perceptional ability of individuals to worship the deity in the form of the statue and not vice versa. Pheidias's response can be interpreted as a display of cognizance of how challenging sculpting is, as the artist attempts to achieve the best portrayal of the god, always conscious of the constraints of human capabilities. Dio poses two issues that, albeit in a pagan-polytheistic context, nonetheless bear Christian nuances. He seemingly shares the Christian concerns, but Pheidias proves to be a charismatic and religiously conscious artist who admits to his and by extension to men's perceptual constraints:

> ἆρ᾽ οὖν οἴει τὸν Ἴφιτον καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τοὺς τότε Ἠλείους διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν τὸν μὲν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ποιῆσαι τῷ Διὶ πρέπουσαν, ἄγαλμα δὲ μηδὲν ἐξευρεῖν ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι καὶ σχήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, σχεδόν τι προέχοντας δυνάμει τῶν ὕστερον, ἢ μᾶλλον φοβηθέντας μήποτε οὐ δύναιντο ἱκανῶς ἀπομιμήσασθαι διὰ θνητῆς τέχνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τελειοτάτην φύσιν; (12. 54)

> Pray, do you imagine that it was owing to lack of money that Iphitus and Lycurgus and the Eleans of that period, while instituting the contest and the sacrifice in such wise as to be worthy of Zeus, yet failed to search for and find a statue to bear the name and show the aspect of the god, although they were, one might almost say, superior in power to their descendants? Or was it rather because they feared they would never be able adequately to portray by human art the Supreme and most Perfect Being?

> ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ πάντων κρατοῦντος θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμοιότητος, εἴτε εὐσχημόνως καὶ προσεοικότως γέγονεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλείπουσα τῆς δυνατῆς πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποις ἀπεικασίας, εἴτε ἀναξία καὶ ἀπρεπής. (12. 55–56)

> whether it has been made with due respect to the dignity of the god and so as to be a true likeness of him, in no way falling short of the best portrayal of the divinity that is within the capacity of human beings to make, or is unworthy of him and unbefitting.

Dio's standpoint can be construed as a defensive response to Christian accusations, since he explains artistic anthropomorphism as an attempt to capture and delineate god's qualities in a form that will be comprehensible to men, while he does not fail to admit to the inconceivability and inexplicability of god's nature (ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν θνητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν, 12.74–75). Therefore, he could be implying that Christian understanding of the pagan doctrine, albeit stated as an asseveration, is simply a misinterpretation of the latter's semiotics:

τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα βούλεται δηλοῦν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές· τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ τὴν κηδεμονίαν τὸ πρᾷον καὶ προσφιλές· τὸν δὲ Πολιέα καὶ νόμιμον ἥ τε σεμνότης καὶ τὸ αὐστηρόν· τὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν ξυγγένειαν αὐτό που τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὅμοιον ἐν εἴδει συμβόλου· τὸν δὲ Φίλιον καὶ Ἱκέσιον καὶ Ξένιον καὶ Φύξιον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁπλῶς <ἡ> φιλανθρωπία [καὶ τὸ πρᾷον] καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν ἐμφαινόμενα προσομοιοῖ· τὸν δὲ Κτήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἐπικάρπιον ἥ τε ἁπλότης καὶ ἡ μεγαλοφροσύνη, δηλουμένη διὰ τῆς μορφῆς. (12.77)

For his sovereignty and kingship are intended to be shown by the strength in the image and its grandeur; his fatherhood and his solicitude by its gentleness and kindliness; the "Protector of Cities" and "Upholder of the Law" by its majesty and severity; the kinship between gods and men, I presume, by the mere similarity in shape, being already in use as a symbol; the "God of Friends, Suppliants, Strangers, Refugees," and all such qualities in short, by the benevolence [and gentleness] and goodness appearing in his countenance. The "God of Wealth" and the "Giver of Increase" are represented by the simplicity and grandeur shown by the figure.

Pheidias also acknowledges the materialistic nature of statues. He states that they constitute merely artistic representations devoid of divinity. Nonetheless, he interprets idolatry as a human need to worship the Supreme Being and consequently have the opportunity to amend mortal fate. Without referring to any other religious sect, Dio defines paganism as a system attentive to the human factor. Men need to have a more tangible relationship with god, just like children need their parents, and this rationale explicates the creation of earthly idols. This approach undermines Christian arguments concerning the falsity of paganism, as pagans themselves profess that statues are for them simply another approach to religious worship, rather than their entire belief system. Consequently, Dio's perspective minimizes the degree of difference between Christians and non-Christians, as he sets it on a hermeneutic level:

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς βέλτιον ὑπῆρχε μηδὲν ἵδρυμα μηδὲ εἰκόνα θεῶν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι παρ' ἀνθρώποις φαίη τις ἄν, ὡς πρὸς μόνα ὁρᾶν δέον τὰ οὐράνια. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ξύμπαντα ὅ γε νοῦν ἔχων σέβει, θεοὺς ἡγούμενος μακαρίους μακρόθεν ὁρῶν· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον γνώμην ἰσχυρὸς ἔρως πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγγύθεν τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον, προσιόντας καὶ ἁπτομένους μετὰ πειθοῦς, θύοντας καὶ στεφανοῦντας. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ νήπιοι παῖδες πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀπεσπασμένοι δεινὸν ἵμερον ἔχοντες καὶ πόθον ὀρέγουσι χεῖρας οὐ παροῦσι πολλάκις ὀνειρώττοντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοῖς ἄνθρωποι ἀγαπῶντες δικαίως διά τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ συγγένειαν, προθυμούμενοι πάντα τρόπον συνεῖναί τε καὶ ὁμιλεῖν· (12.60–61)

For certainly no one would maintain that it had been better than to statue or picture of gods should have been exhibited among men, on the ground that we should look only at the heavens. For although the intelligent man does indeed reverence all those objects, believing them to be

blessed gods that he sees from a great distance, yet on account of our belief in the divine all men have a strong yearning to honour and worship the deity from close at hand, approaching and laying hold of him with persuasion by offering sacrifice and crowning him with garlands. For precisely as infant children when torn away from father or mother are filled with terrible longing and desire, and stretch out their hands to their absent parents often in their dreams, so also do men to the gods, rightly loving them for their beneficence and kinship, and being eager in every possible way to be with them and to hold converse with them.

The core of the Christian doctrine that also contravenes the pagan conception of deity is that god is the Supreme Being and the creator of the universe, hence the One who cannot be depicted, conceptualized, fully comprehended, or in need of anything. On that basis, Christians do not endorse statues or sacrifices. A close examination of the semantics behind Dio's argumentation shows that he partially endorses the Christian view of divinity. He states that the material out of which statues are made "is lacking in distinction to be in keeping with the god" as the One God is the only one who has created everything:

εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ τῆς ὕλης ἀσημότερον ἡγεῖταί τις ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθές τε καὶ ὀρθόν· ἀλλ' οὔτε τοὺς δόντας οὔτε τὸν ἑλόμενον καὶ δοκιμάσαντα ἐν δίκῃ μέμφοιτ' ἄν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἑτέρα φύσις ἀμείνων οὐδὲ λαμπροτέρα πρὸς ὄψιν, ἣν δυνατὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἀφικέσθαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν δημιουργίας. ἀέρα γὰρ ἢ πῦρ ἐργάσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἄφθονον πηγὴν ὕδατος [ἔν τισι θνητοῖς ὀργάνοις] ὅσον τε ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις στερεὸν ἕρμα· λέγω δὲ οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ σμικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βαρεῖαν οὐσίαν· ἰδέαν γε ἑκάστην διακρίνοντα καὶ συμπλέκοντα εἰς [ταὐτὸ] γένεσιν ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν, οὐδὲ θεοῖς πᾶσι δυνατὸν ἢ μόνῳ τούτῳ σχεδὸν ὂν πάνυ καλῶς ποιητὴς προσεῖπεν ἕτερος, Δωδωναῖε μεγασθενὲς ἀριστοτέχνα πάτερ. (12.80–81)

But if, again, anyone thinks that the material used is too lacking in distinction to be in keeping with the god, his belief is true and correct. But neither those who furnished it, nor the man who selected and approved it, has he any right to criticize. For there was no other substance better or more radiant to the sight that could have come into the hands of man and have received artistic treatment. To work up air, at any rate, or fire, or "the copious source of water," [what tools possessed by mortal men] can do that? These can work upon nothing but whatever hard residuary substance is held bound within all these elements. I do not mean gold or silver, for these are trivial and worthless things, but the essential substance, tough all through and heavy; and to select each kind of material and entwining them [together] to compose every species, both of animals and of plants-this is a thing which is impossible for even the gods, all except this God alone, one may almost say, whom another poet quite beautifully has addressed as follows: Lord of Dodona, father almighty, consummate artist.

αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Διί, δημιουργοῦντι τὸν ἄπαντα κόσμον οὐ χρὴ ξυμβάλλειν οὐδένα θνητόν. (12.83)

but to Zeus, who fashioned the whole universe, it is not right to compare any mortal.

Close reading of Dio's Olympic discourse indicates a degree of self-consciousness on behalf of pagans at the time that can be explained if one considers the competition for popular reception between religious sects at the time and the subsequent literary attempts to contribute to the comprehension of new emerging or inveterate religious theses. Comparative examination of Christian and pagan outlooks indicates that the two sects obviously conflicted in their interpretation of divinity as well as in the morphology of their doctrine and worship, but not necessarily in their conception of divine superiority. As a matter of fact, Dio very often talks about the one god, Zeus in this case, and his power and perfect nature (τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τελειοτάτην φύσιν, 12. 54), an affirmation that seemingly at least endorses Christian monotheism rather than pagan anthropomorphism. Even when he refers to the Homeric delineation of the gods, he talks about "all the gods and the greatest of the gods" (12.73).

A close reading of Lucian, the Apologists, Dio, and Strabo clearly refutes any claims about Lucian's ignorance regarding religion. Instead, my analysis indicates that Lucian is fully aware of the religious *status quo*, albeit not an obvious supporter of any sect. Perhaps it is his lack of agenda that gives him the vantage point from which to examine the theological reality and offer a fresh perspective. I believe that Lucian's, Dio's, and Strabo's works can be read as explicatory of pagan doctrine and traditional worship as well as ancillary to mainstream definitions of the Olympian tenet. The significance of these writings also lies in their correlation with the Christian thesis and the presentation of the functional and qualitative correspondence between the two conflicting sects.

LUCIAN AND TATIAN

In the previous section I argued that Lucian is in literary correspondence with the Christian Apologists to promote a discussion of current religious concerns. Both sides elaborate on issues pertaining to worship and the nature of god(s). When one reads Lucian and Tatian, a second-century Syrian Apologist,[101] closely, however, one notices that the similarities reach a personal level. The significance of such a realization adds to our comprehension of the dissemination of Christianity in the East and also contributes to our understanding of the social standing of Easterners in the Empire.[102]

Pliny, as a governor of Bithynia, came in contact with Christians, and Tatian converted to Christianity around the same time. This means that no matter how small the Christian community was, it was influential and slowly invasive, and that native Syrians were aware of the new religious

currents. Even though we do not have conclusive evidence concerning the popularity of Christianity, we can safely deduce that Lucian was a keen observant of contemporary religious reality and hence aware of the Christians' existence. The issues on which Lucian's and Tatian's considerations converge include the veracity of philosophers, the quality and role of performances, and each author's own reception. Every early Apologist discusses the role of philosophers, their contribution to religion and the philosophy of life, and their integrity. With the exception of Tatian, however, all of them elaborate on philosophers' philosophy, their convictions, and their contradictions. Pseudo-Justin the Martyr, for instance, in the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* 4B–9A, discusses pre-Socratic philosophers as well as Plato and Aristotle and examines their theories about the divine, displaying their so-called inconsistencies and controversies, and concludes that since they are unable to agree they should not be regarded as religious authorities:[103]

> Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδήπερ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς περὶ θεοσεβείας παρὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων διδασκάλων μανθάνειν ἐστὶ δυνατόν, ἱκανὴν ὑμῖν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀγνοίας διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεως παρεσχηκότων. (8Ε)

> Since therefore it is impossible to learn anything true concerning religion from your teachers, who by their mutual disagreement have furnished you with sufficient proof of their own ignorance.

Tatian, on the other hand, discusses philosophers as individuals, social entities, and members of the community. He says that they are dirty and untidy in appearance, pretentious, and ravenous; he states that they need a servant to carry their wallet around, and he also gives an account of the Cynic Diogenes's death because of gluttony.[104] Lucian in *Cynicus* addresses the issue of honesty and targets this philosophic group with spitefully mordant remarks. If we read Lucian in conjunction with Tatian, the philosophic foibles can be considered from the perspective of religion. The revival of philosophical schools at the time indicates people's quest for the truth of life that can be acquired either through philosophy or religion. Philosophers, however, seem to have disillusioned their followers, as they foster only a feigned adherence to their doctrines. This reality is picked up by both Lucian and Tatian; Lucian discusses the social effects of this phenomenon, while Tatian also suggests Christianity as the recuperative alternative.

Tatian clearly considers philosophy not only for its theorem regarding nature and the gods, but more importantly as a factor that shapes social morality. Therefore, he is critical of Aristotle's failure to instill proper values into Alexander, who excelled only in murdering his best friend and then in beguiling everyone into believing that he was grieving for him:

> Διογένης πιθάκνης καυχήματι τὴν αὐτάρκειαν σεμνυνόμενος πολύποδος ὠμοβορίᾳ πάθει συσχεθεὶς εἱλεῷ διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ἀποτέθνηκεν . . . καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀμαθῶς ὅρον τῇ προνοίᾳ θεὶς καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν

οἷς ἠρέσκετο περιγράψας, λίαν ἀπαιδεύτως Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ μεμηνὸς μειράκιον ἐκολάκευεν, ὅστις Ἀριστοτελικῶς πάνυ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν καθείρξας ὥσπερ ἄρκτον ἢ πάρδαλιν περιέφερε. πάνυ γοῦν ἐπείθετο τοῖς τοῦ διδασκάλου δόγμασι τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν <ἐν> συμποσίοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ πάνυ φίλτατον διαπείρων τῷ δόρατι καὶ πάλιν κλαίων καὶ ἀποκαρτερῶν προφάσει λύπης, ἵν' ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μὴ μισηθῇ. (2.1)

Diogenes, who made such a parade of his independence with his tub, was seized with a bowel complaint through eating a raw polypus, and so lost his life by gluttony . . . And Aristotle, who absurdly placed a limit to Providence and made happiness to consist in the things which give pleasure, quite contrary to his duty as a preceptor flattered Alexander, forgetful that he was but a youth; and he, showing how well he had learned the lessons of his master, because his friend would not worship him shut him up and carried him about like a bear or a leopard. He in fact obeyed strictly the precepts of his teacher in displaying manliness and courage by feasting, and transfixing with his spear his intimate and most beloved friend, and then, under a semblance of grief, weeping and starving himself, that he might not incur the hatred of his friends.

Lucian, albeit not an advocate of any religious or philosophical group, considers the parameters of philosophers' lives. Hermotimus, a student of philosophy, in the homonymous work converses with Lycinus. The latter asks Hermotimus if, as a philosophic apprentice, he has come to any definitive conclusion about philosophical truth and later reveals that Hermotimus's teacher was at a birthday dinner the night before, where he displayed recklessly immoderate conduct and was therefore obliged to cancel class (11). Lucian does not purport to explicate theories, but to examine the individuals that shape society. Therefore, when he adds that Lycinus's argument with Eythedemus led to violence, the audience tends to reproach the former for his failure to be a proper social model:

ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀλαζὼν ἦν καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸς καὶ πείθεσθαι οὐκ ἤθελεν οὐδὲ παρεῖχε ῥᾴδιον αὐτὸν ἐλέγχεσθαι, ὁ διδάσκαλός σου ὁ βέλτιστος ὃν εἶχε σκύφον Νεστόρειόν τινα καταφέρει αὐτοῦ πλησίον κατακειμένου, καὶ οὕτως ἐκράτησεν. (12)

You see he was pretentious and argumentative and wouldn't be convinced and didn't show himself ready to take criticism, so your excellent teacher hit him with a cup as big as Nestor's he was lying quite near him, and so he won.[105]

The resemblance between Lucian's and Tatian's arguments, however, cannot be coincidental. Their poignant tone against philosophers seems to be result of soul searching, since even the non-Christian Lucian attests to the philosophers' idiosyncratic weaknesses. Tatian, on the other hand, promotes

Christianity as a paragon of both religion and philosophy of life that promises stability to its initiates.

The last issue that concerns both Lucian and Tatian is that of their reception. As I argued in chapter 3, Lucian in the *prolaliae* exhorts his audience not to dismiss him simply on account of his nationality. In *Anacharsis, Toxaris*, and *Scytha*, he promotes the coexistence of nations within the Empire and acceptance of otherness. Tatian is similarly open about his origins, but in his *Oratio ad Graecos* he encourages his audience not to dismiss his preaching, assuming that he only aspires to appear wiser than the Greeks.

> μὴ γὰρ δυσχεράνητε τὴν ἡμετέραν παιδείαν μηδὲ φλυαρίας καὶ βωμολο-
> χίας μεστὴν ἀντιλογίαν καθ' ἡμῶν πραγματεύσησθε λέγοντες· Τατιανὸς
> ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπέρ <τε> τὸ ἄπειρον τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων πλῆθος
> καινοτομεῖ τὰ βαρβάρων δόγματα. (35.2)[106]

> Be not offended with our teaching, nor undertake an elaborate reply filled with trifling and ribaldry, saying, "Tatian, aspiring to be above the Greeks, above the infinite number of philosophic inquirers, has struck out a new path, and embraced the doctrines of Barbarians."

Also, the choice of the word βάρβαρος for the pagans adds another dimension to the term. Tatian is no longer the Syrian outsider, but the Christian who can claim religious and educational righteousness when compared to the pagan Greeks. Therefore, the Syrian Apologist, similarly to Lucian, challenges the traditional use of βάρβαρος to promote his thesis.[107] This shift in the definition conclusively supports the idea that second-century Roman society is indeed the cradle of religious, social, and cultural evolutions apparent in Greek, Latin, and Christian literature.

STANDARDS OF MORALITY AND THE ROLE OF SPECTACLES

So far I have discussed Christianity and paganism as religions, focusing on their doctrines. The dissensions, however, that I furnished in the prior sections involve a fundamental chasm also in the lifestyles of Christians and pagans. The main reason for the pagan calumniation of the Christians emanates from the latter's persistent abstinence from sacrifices and other traditional worshipping practices. One's interest is piqued, however, when we come upon a consensus in the perspectives of the two groups about cultural and social legitimacy. Ando in his work *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (2000) and Perkins in *Roman Imperial Identities in the Early Christian Era* (2009) argue in favor of a cultural, albeit not religious, junction between Romans and Christians, all the while examining implicit and explicit social dynamics. As Perkins succinctly yet persuasively states:

> In the interstices of the social dynamics producing these new cultural identities, one a trans-empire alliance of wealthy and high status

individuals, the other mostly non-elite persons calling themselves Christians, a shift in cultural perspective was occurring that would sharply realign traditional notions for human and social being. (10)

An aspect of socio-cultural practices is spectacles, undeniably and understandably an area of contention between pagans and Christians. However, the situation becomes more intriguing when we consider that theater and pantomime dancing are pejoratively treated by a number of adherents of both paganism and Christianity, even though spectacles were always a pivotal part of society. Christians launch caustic attacks against pagans' laxed morality and impugn the indecency of spectacles. Tatian and later Tertullian openly disapprove of performances and any other sort of spectacle, such as gladiatorial shows. Lucian, on the contrary, in *De Saltatione*, argues in favor of theater and pantomime and their edificatory constituents. The literary discussion becomes more interesting when one considers Aelius Aristides, who, although not a Christian, rails against pantomime in *Against the Dancers*. Scholarly discussions about this issue have focused on the political precariousness of pantomime dancing, as it promotes the unleashing of passions and allows the adoration and manipulation of the body, as well as on pantomime's claim to Greekness, which was a *sine qua non* for an individual's or even an entire city's requirement for recognition. I believe, however, that the discord between Lucian and the Apologists, along with the congruency between Aelius Aristides and the Christians, besides everything else, indicate that second-century society is a palette of social, political, ethnic, theological, and cultural realities amidst which there seems to exist an undeniable underlying communication between pagans and Christians and a reasonable bidirectional influence. Lucian may be defending dancers in order to remain in the favor of Lucius Verus.[108] Nonetheless, he enters the debate about spectacles and supports their nature, contrary to the social and religious aspersion on them. Aelius Aristides, on the other hand, espouses the Christian disapproval of spectacles that indicates that certain pagan attitudes may have infiltrated the new religious sect and/or vice versa. Society is a living organism with several components. In this case, we notice that two seemingly different religious systems have come to terms in their assessment of certain areas of social decency.

There have been several interpretations of *De Saltatione*. It has been argued that pantomime was a dangerous form of art for the stability of society and the moral standards of the upper classes. It has also been suggested that Lucian purports to display the Greekness of pantomime dancing, the same way he did with Eastern religions in *De Syria Dea*, and eventually to present himself as a partaker of Greek culture and to promote acceptance of alterity.[109] Also, we should not forgo the facts that there have always been controversial considerations about theater and that actors were not appreciated as social entities, although most people throughout the centuries have appreciated the theater's recreational as well as edifying nature. For instance, the two interlocutors in Plato's *Laws* 654a-e, the Athenian and

Clinias, differentiate between good and bad dancing and discuss whether one should perform both or abhor the latter. Plato also argues that in cases where the performer imitates degenerate themes dances may result in degeneracy (654d; cf. also *Rep*. 395). Lugaresi picks up and discusses such controversies regarding the social apprehension of actors, their popularity yet social depreciation, and spectacles and the relation between spectacles and cult.[110] Christian attitudes attract more attention probably because of their initial unrelenting and uncritical renouncement of theater. When we try to formulate an opinion about Christians and spectacles, though, we need to take into account that they eventually adopted *mimesis* for the representation of certain individuals' conversion to Christianity and the acts of martyrs. Garber suggests that Christian reactions against theater may in fact mirror inner-church social issues.[111] Lugaresi, Schnusenberg, and Hartney[112] argue that the church's opposition to spectacles was nothing other than its attempt at self-definition through juxtaposition of its rituals with a different form of ritual and spectacle. However, our points of reference change when we consider the use of visual means inherent in Christian culture, as is the case with the *mimesis* of the *Acts of the Martyrs*. Cameron argues that visual representations were palmary in the establishment of the Christian dogma.[113] Webb also discusses the theatrical conversion of Porphyrios and the theme of *mimesis* in the case of Pelagia, who not only converted, but also proceeded to an obfuscation of gender by adopting male identity.[114] Nonetheless, it seems that theater's cultural and social legitimacy had always been the object of discussion, apparently regardless of the author's theological perspective.[115]

A comparative reading of Lucian's *De Saltatione*, Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Tertullian's *De Spectaculis*, passages from Clemens's *Protrepticus*, and Philo Judaeus's *De Agricultura* shows that paganism and Christianity are divided not only by their theological doctrines, but also by their controversy concerning matters of social nature. *De Saltatione* is a dialogue between Lycinus and Kraton. The former assiduously presents the merits and virtues of theater and pantomime dancing, trying to persuade the discordant Kraton.[116] Lycinus discusses the abilities with which a dancer must be endowed, for instance admirable memory and clarity in his movements (36, 62); he then argues that spectacles are not only amusing but also didactic (72), and then, taking for granted that Kraton is not against tragedy and comedy, he says that pantomime is a form of theater. Towards the end of the dialogue, Lycinus discusses some negative aspects of dancing, namely that there is a possibility that the dancer may enter an ecstatic state and thus forget his identity, act incomprehensibly, and be paranoid. He even presents the case of a dancer who was inflicted by temporary *dementia* and, when he regained control and realized the state he had entered, was so remorseful that he became really sick. Lucian, therefore, contradicts another argument of the Apologists who claim that people tend to lose control of their feelings and therefore act in an undignified manner and lose their dignity

and morality. He tries to show that it is only the benefits of spectacles that people garner and that any excess of emotions is an exception and not the general case.[117] Consequently, one should not blemish and reject pantomime altogether as a transgressive genre (80–84).[118] Early Apologists also attack gladiatorial shows, arguing that they devalue human life and self-respect. Lucian turns this argument around and says that dancing is by far a more beautiful and undeniably more wholesome spectacle. Kraton finally succumbs to the charms of pantomime and wishes to attend the next performance with Lycinus.

Clemens in *Paedagogus* accuses singing during dining of inducing passions, drunkenness, and thoughtless behavior:

> Ἀπέστω δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς λογικῆς εὐωχίας ὁ κῶμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ παννυχίδες αἱ μάταιοι ἐπὶ παροινίᾳ κομῶσαι· ὃ μὲν γάρ ἐστι μεθυστικὸς [αὐλὸς] ἄλυς, ἐρωτικῆς σχεδιαστὴς ἀδημονίας, ὁ κῶμος· ἔρως δὲ καὶ μέθη, τὰ ἀλόγιστα πάθη, μακρὰν ἀπῴκισται τοῦ ἡμεδαποῦ χοροῦ· σύγκωμος δὲ παροινία τίς ἐστιν ἡ παννυχὶς [δὲ] ἐπὶ πότῳ, μέθης ἐκκλητικὴ καὶ συνουσίας ἐρεθιστική, τόλμα αἰσχροποιός. Οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐλοῖς καὶ ψαλτηρίοις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ὀρχήμασιν καὶ κροτάλοις Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τοιαύταις ῥαθυμίαις σάλοι ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι κομιδῇ γίγνοιντο ἂν κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἐξηχούμενοι καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης ὀργάνοις περιψοφούμενοι· ἀτεχνῶς γάρ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, θέατρον μέθης τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται συμπόσιον. (2.4.40)

> Let revelry keep away from our rational entertainments, and foolish vigils, too, that revel in intemperance. For revelry is an inebriating [pipe], the chain of an amatory bridge, that is, of sorrow. And let love, and intoxication, and senseless passions, be removed from our choir. Burlesque singing is the boon companion of drunkenness. A night spent over drink invites drunkenness, rouses lust, and is audacious indeeds of shame. For if people occupy their time with pipes, and psalteries, and choirs, and dances, and Egyptian clapping of hands, and such disorderly frivolities, they become quite immodest and intractable, beat on cymbals and drums, and make a noise on instruments of delusion; for plainly such a banquet, as seems to me, is a theatre of drunkenness.

He also argues that people are degraded to animal status, for pipes are meant for animals and not for men (Καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποπεμπτέα τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα νηφαλίου συμποσίου, θηρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις κατάλληλα καὶ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀλογωτέροις, 2.4.41). Later in the same work he openly targets theater as a source of disease and disorderly conduct and a place where the immoral congregation of men and women is fostered:

> οὐδὲ ἀπεικότως τὰ στάδια καὶ τὰ θέατρα «καθέδραν λοιμῶν» προσείποι τις ἄν· . . . Πεπλήθασι γοῦν πολλῆς ἀταξίας καὶ παρανομίας αἱ συναγωγαὶ

αὗται, καὶ αἱ προφάσεις τῆς συνηλύσεως ἀκοσμίας ἐστὶν αἰτία ἀναμὶξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνιόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων θέαν. (3.11.76)[119]

nor inappropriately might one call the racecourse and the theatre the seat of plagues . . . These assemblies, indeed, are full of confusion and iniquity; and these pretexts for assembling are the cause of disorder—men and women assembling promiscuously if for the sight of one another.

Tatian in the *Oratio ad Graecos* 23–24 discusses theater and, more specifically, pugilists, gladiators, musicians, and mimes. He reprimands everyone who is involved in any way in these spectacles, those who give their bodies and self-respect in the altar of the arena or the stage, the wealthy ones who hire people to kill or be killed, the judges, and even the spectators who subject themselves to such degradation:

ἀργίαν τινὲς ἐπανηρημένοι διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ φονευθῆναι πιπράσκουσιν· καὶ πωλεῖ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὁ πεινῶν, ὁ δὲ πλουτῶν ὠνεῖται τοὺς φονεύσοντας. καὶ τούτοις οἱ μαρτυροῦντες καθίζονται, μονομαχοῦσί τε οἱ πυκτεύοντες περὶ οὐδενός, καὶ ὁ βοηθήσων οὐ κάτεισιν . . . θύετε ζῶα διὰ τὴν κρεωφαγίαν καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὠνεῖσθε τῇ ψυχῇ [διὰ] τὴν ἀνθρωποσφαγίαν παρεχόμενοι, τρέφοντες αὐτὴν αἱματεκχυσίαις ἀθεωτάταις. ὁ μὲν οὖν λῃστεύων φονεύει χάριν τοῦ λαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ πλουτῶν μονομάχους ὠνεῖται χάριν τοῦ φονεῦσαι. Τί μοι συμβάλλεται πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ὁ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην μαινόμενος καὶ τὴν Ἀλκμαίονος μητροκτονίαν ἀπαγγέλλων, ᾧ μηδὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον πρόσεστι σχῆμα, κέχηνεν δὲ μέγα καὶ ξίφος περιφέρει καὶ κεκραγὼς πίμπραται καὶ φορεῖ στολὴν ἀπάνθρωπον; (23.1–24.1)

Some, giving themselves up to idleness for the sake of profligacy, sell themselves to be killed; and the indigent barters himself away, while the rich man buys others to kill. And for these the witnesses take their seats, and the boxers meet in single combat, for no reason whatever, nor does any one come down into the arena to succour . . . You slaughter animals for the purpose of eating their flesh, and you purchase men to supply a cannibal banquet for the soul, nourishing it by the most impious bloodshedding. The robber commits murder for the sake of plunder, but the rich man purchases gladiators for the sake of their being killed. What advantage should I gain from him who is brought on the stage by Euripides raving mad, and acting the matricide of Alcmaeon; who does not even retain his natural behaviour, but with his mouth wide open goes about sword in hand, and, screaming aloud, is burned to death, habited in a robe unfit for man?

Finally, Tertullian in *De Spectaculis* rails against any form of spectacle, which he considers to be evil, a gathering of the impious, the chair of pestilence ("*felix vir,*" inquit, "*qui non abiit in concilium impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit nec in cathedra pestium sedit,*" " 'happy is the man,' he

says, 'who has not gone to the gathering of the impious, who has not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilences,' " 3). This description resembles Philo's description of theater as being καθέδρα λοιμῶν. He also elaborates on the fact that everything is god's creation and therefore not by definition inimical to him, but it is because of men's misuse of what has been given to them that spectacles offensive to god have made their appearance. He is thus set against theater, amphitheater, and any form of amusement that relates to the old pagan culture and religion. His obsessive dismissal of spectacles includes the narration of a story about a woman who was possessed by evil spirits after she attended a theatrical performance (*Itaque in exorcissimo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi, constanter: "et iustissime quidem," inquit, "feci: in meo eam inveni,"* "So, when the unclean spirit was being exorcised and was pressed with the accusation that he had dared to enter a woman who believed; 'and I was quite right, too,' said he boldly; 'for I found her on my own ground,' " 26). This argument actually goes back to Lucian's *De Saltatione*; Tertullian condemns theater because it is the source and the cradle of unrestrained feelings and every emotional excess is allowed:

> *Cum ergo furor interdicitur nobis, ab omni spectaculo auferimur, etiam a circo, ubi proprie furor praesidet. Aspice populum ad id spectaculum iam cum furore venientem, iam tumultuosum, iam caecum, iam de sponsionibus concitatum . . . Sed circo quid amarius, ubi ne principibus quidem aut civibus suis parcunt? Si quid horum, quibus circus furit, alicubi conpetit sanctis, etiam in circo licebit, si vero nusquam, ideo nec in circo.* (16)

> Seeing then that madness is forbidden us, we keep ourselves from every public spectacle—including the circus, where madness of its own right rules. Look at the populace coming to the show—mad already! disorderly, blind, excited already about its bets! . . . but what can be more merciless than the circus, where men do not even spare their princeps or their fellow-citizens? If any of these forms of madness, with which the circus rages, is anywhere permitted to saints, then it will be lawful in the circus also; but if nowhere, then neither in the circus.

Before we turn our focus to Aelius Aristides, we should briefly discuss Tertullian's end of *De Spectaculis*, his own private horrific theatrical scene where actors and charioteers burn to death. Goldhill accuses Tertullian of pretentiousness, as he lapses into the employment of a visual medium to emphasize his point.[120] Webb, however, very convincingly presents the counter argument that Tertullian's theater exists solely in his imagination and thus "it did not involve the dangerous invasion of the mind by perceptions from outside, nor was it implicated in the political regime that persecuted Tertullian's coreligionists."[121] In any case, evidently the theatrical stage was a *cathedra horrificorum* for Tertullian.

The transition from pagan culture and morality to Christian appears less clear-cut once we consider the case of Aelius Aristides and his Oration *Against the Dancers* (*Or.* 40). Aristides is pagan, but he shares the Christian revulsion against theater, mime, and pantomime and expresses evident deprecation against spectacles of any kind, although he considers Christians themselves to be a threat to Greek customs and religion. With regards to spectacles, Aristides argues that they are perilous to the standards of morality and socially transgressive. Webb explains Aristides's attitude as an attempt to avoid accusations of "showmanship, falsity or ostentation."[122] He vilifies the dancers' standards of morality; he accuses them of not hesitating to consciously step out of rhythm and social correctness to promote the indecorous nature of their spectacle and be appealing to their audience:

Χαρίεντές γέ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν σφετέρων ἀγαθῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἵν᾽ εὐφήμως ἄρξωμαι, τοὺς ἀκροατὰς αἰτιώμενοι καὶ λέγοντες ὡς ἄρα τούτου χάρινἐκβαίνουσι τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀρθότητος, ἵν᾽ ὡς πλείστους ἀρέσαι δυνηθῶσι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντες ταύτῃ τῇ σκήψει καταχρῶνται, πῶς ἐπαινεῖσθαί γ᾽ ἀξιοῦσι; (401–402)

They are charming people who make their audience responsible for their oratorical skills—so that I may begin politely—and who say that they transgress the bounds of order and rectitude for this purpose, so that they can please as many as possible. Yet if they use this excuse in asking for compassion, why do they think that they should be praised?

οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε τοῦ Ζωπύρου καὶ τοῦ Κεφαλλῆνος παράδειγμ᾽ ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὧν ὁ μὲν τὴν ῥῖνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὦτα λωβησάμενος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ὁ δὲ πληγαῖς αὐτὸν αἰκισάμενος κατέδυ Τρώων πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν, ὁ μὲν Βαβυλῶνα λαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ Τροίαν ἐσπουδακώς. (405)

They would not offer the example of Zopyrus and the Cephallenian, the former of whom cut off his nose and ears and entered Babylon, and the latter of whom disfigured himself with blows and "slipped into Troy with its wide streets," when the former was eager to take Babylon, and the latter Troy.[123]

Consequently, Aristides concludes that pantomime is inappropriate for men and women, high-ranking officials, and young and old people:

ἀλλ᾽ ἡγεμόσι δὴ πρέπων ὁ τρόπος; ἀλλὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν; ἀλλ᾽ ὅλως ἄρχουσιν; οὐδ᾽ ἡλικίᾳ γε τῶν ἁπασῶν οὐδεμιᾷ. πότερον γὰρ τοῖς νεωτέροις; ἀλλ᾽ ἑταιρεῖν δόξουσιν, ἐὰν ταῦτα ἀσπάζωνται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δόξουσι βεβαιοῦν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις; ἀλλ᾽ ἀωρία πολλὴ τῆς αἰσχύνης. λείπεται δὴ γυναιξί, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἀσελγεστάταις, πρὸς ἃς τούτους ἄξιον κρίνειν. (415–416)

But is the fashion suited to governors? To our Emperors? To rulers at all? It is not even suited to a single age group. For is it suited to younger

men? But they will seem to behave like whores, if they accept this. To grown men? But they will seem to belie their name. To older men? But the shame is most inopportune. Women are left, and those the most wanton, with whom these men should be compared.

Aelius is critical of comedy as well (*Or.* 29). He refutes theater along with its supposedly edifying and moral intentions. He disapproves of the licentious conduct and language used in the plays, of the lax morality theater promotes, and of the fact that it is a promontory of transgressions:

κἂν μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων οὕτως κακῶς ἀκούωμεν, ὀργιζόμεθα, ἂν δ᾽ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῶμεν, ἑορτὴν ἡγούμεθα ἀληθινήν, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀλλοκότως καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολὺ τἀναντία ἢ προσῆκε διακείμεθα. καίτοι τολμῶσί τινες λέγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν τὸ κακῶς ἐξεῖναι λέγειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τούς τε γὰρ κακῶς βεβιωκότας ἐξελέγχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φόβῳ τοῦ κωμῳδεῖσθαι σώφρονας παρέχειν αὑτούς. ἐγὼ δὲ πολλοῦ σφόδρα ἂν ἡγούμην ἀξίαν εἶναι τὴν μέθην, εἰ παιδεύειν οἵα τε ἦν ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν χαλεπῶν ᾖ μεθύοντας αὐτοὺς ἑτέρους ποιεῖν σωφρονεῖν, καὶ πρὶν αὑτοὺς καταπαῦσαι, τοῖς ἄλλοις ᾄδειν ὅπως εἰς κάλλος βιώσονται. (508)

And if ever we are slandered in this way by others, we are angry. But if ever we do this to ourselves, we regard it as a true feast. So strange is our behavior toward the gods and toward ourselves, quite the opposite of what it should be. Yet some men dare to say that it is a good thing to the right to slander in the theater, for those who have lived evilly are refuted and the rest behave with moderation through their fear of being satirized. I should regard drunkeness as of great value if it were able to educate men. But it may not be easy for drunkards to moderate the behavior of others, and before they have enchanted themselves with song, to sing to other men to make them live good lives.

νῦν δὲ ἄρχεται μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς εὐπροσώπου, τελευτᾷ δὲ εἰς καλὸν οὐδαμῶς. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν προσῆκον αὐτοῖς ἀκούουσι κακῶς, εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἳ καὶ μηδένα λανθάνοντες ὅμως τὴν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ λοιδορίαν διαφεύγουσι. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ διδασκάλων οὐδὲ σωφρονιστῶν οὐδὲ βελτίους ποιεῖν βουλομένων τρόποις χρῶνται, αὐτοὺς γὰρ ἂν πρότερον ἐποίησαν βελτίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ πρὸς χάριν τὴν ἑτέρων, τὸν μὲν ἀργύριον αἰτήσαντες οὐ τυχόντες, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐρασθέντες οὐ πείσαντες, οὕτω ψέγουσι, καὶ πάλιν αὖ σιωπῶσι διὰ θάτερα, ὥστε οὐ τοὺς αἰσχρῶς ζῶντας φανεροὺς καθιστᾶσι. (509)

But now the practice begins speciously, but has no pretty end. For many men are undeservedly slandered, while some whose conduct escapes no one, still avoid public ridicule. Why? Because they do not follow the behavior of teachers, censors, or men who wish to improve others— for they would first have improved themselves. But their criticism is conditioned by their hatred or by their desire to please other men, depending on whether they have asked for money and not received it, or have fallen in love with someone and persuaded him; and again they

are silent for the opposite reason, with the result that they do not make a public display of those who live shamefully.

He concludes by questioning theater's scope, impeaching the duality of its nature:

εἰ μὲν γὰρ παίζουσι, τί προσποιοῦνται νουθετεῖν; εἰ δὲ σπουδάζουσιν, αὖθις αὖ πυθέσθαι καλὸν αὐτῶν πότερόν ποτ' ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λοιδοροῦσιν ἢ ψευδῆ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθῆ, τί μαθόντες οὐ χρῶνται τοῖς νόμοις; (511)

If they are jesting, why do they pretend to admonish us? But if they are serious, again it is worthwhile to inquire of them whether their abuse is true or false. If it is true, why do they not make use of the laws?

Theater was an accepted and approved part of antiquity, even for the more socially secluded groups, such as women. Nonetheless, Aristides, albeit not a disciple of Christianity, rejects it. It seems that an alteration in the standards of morality may have begun with the new religion and was infiltrating society even before the religious part did. Christianity, just like any religion, had a dual nature; it was both a religion and a philosophy of life, and it seems that subconsciously even non-Christians were considering this new lifestyle, without necessarily approving of its religious extensions. Consequently, although we cannot argue with certainty that Lucian's *De Saltatione* is meant to engage in a conversation with the Apologists, we can certainly entertain the idea that this work could serve multiple purposes and bring to the foreground current issues, namely a newly proposed lifestyle that includes the rejection of spectacles as an ambiguous form of entertainment.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I examined Lucian's perception of religion and the transition from paganism to Christianity. Lucian belongs to an era when the religious *status quo* was no longer firmly rooted, although pagan deities still held the prevalent position, and Eastern religions, Jews, and Christians were simply trying to claim a place in the Roman Empire.

Scholars, basing their opinions mainly on *Peregrinus*, have argued that Lucian was surprisingly ignorant of Christianity and its doctrines. How can one explain, though, the convergence of topics between Lucian and the Christian Apologists? Christianity may not have been popular at the time, and the number of its adherents was limited, but the seeds of the new religion were all around, and Lucian depicts this transitional period. Apologists interpret pagan sacrifices and rituals at face value and dismiss them. Lucian questions elements that are pivotal in the old religion, although we cannot argue with certainty that he means either to deconstruct paganism or, for

that matter, to promote any other religious thesis. He simply acknowledges the existence of those contentions; he approaches them from sometimes unorthodox perspectives and always under the façade of comedic writing. Prometheus, for instance, in the homonymous work, argues that Zeus is unduly infuriated for being deprived of only a small portion of meat, as if he would otherwise starve to death. The rest of Lucian's god-centric works are woven around the same core. The focal point of his critique is the heathen gods that reach the limits of anthropomorphism.

An issue that remains ambiguous is whether Lucian opposes the aging Olympians, if he simply pokes harmless fun, or if he is actually aware of what other religions accuse the Olympians of and discusses it publicly. A comparative reading of Lucian's *Dialogi Deorum, Juppiter Confutatus, Juppiter Tragoedus, De Sacrificiis*, and *Deorum Concilium* and the writings of the first Apologists indicates that their examinations of the religious *status quo* converge in several places. Is Lucian in accord with the Apologists, though, or not? I do not believe that one can safely determine what his position is. He certainly is not as ignorant of Christianity as some have been inclined to believe. He is perspicacious and, therefore, most probably noticed the new religious trends. Taking into account all the aforementioned works, we can at least argue safely that Lucian is aware of Christianity as well as other theological theses and the claims their adherents make or could make against paganism. His works become proof of the dialogue between the different religions in the second century CE.

Finally, I discussed Christianity as a lifestyle and how Lucian's *De Saltatione* fits into the image. Christians propose a life of morality and abstinence from entertainment such as theatrical performances. Lucian, on the contrary, eulogizes the positive effects that pantomime has on the audience and the life lessons it provides. The discussion becomes more complicated when we include Aelius Aristides's *Against the Dancers*. Lucian's literary correspondence with Aristides may indicate once more the ongoing debates about proper lifestyles, life perspective, and ultimately religions. Christianity seems to be infiltrating society gradually, since standards of morality and the criteria of the pagan Aristides are in accordance with Christian doctrines. Lucian clearly is in the focal point of current events and offers a fresh perspective from which to consider this religious amalgam and, perhaps, a way to ease the transition from paganism to a new theological reality.

NOTES

1. See p. 106–111.
2. Branham (1989) 181–215. Regarding Lucian's philosophic stance, Decharneux (2010) argues that his philosophy involves the examination of the human being and reconsiders the hackneyed and the dogmatic.
3. Caster (1987) 195.
4. Caster (1987) 179–211.

5. Downing (1998) passim; Glover (1975) gives a similar comprehensive account, discussing Roman religion, philosophical tendencies and the Apologists. See also Hyde (1946).
6. Pernot (2002). Cf. also Winter (1997).
7. Fowler (1991) 184–186.
8. Simon (1973) 387.
9. Cumont (1911).
10. At first they were even considered a Jewish sect. Frend (1965) 274. See also Buell (2002).
11. Guerra (1995) 4–5.
12. Nock (1933) 164–186. See also Jaeger (1961) for a thorough discussion on Christianity and Greek *paideia*. Casey (1993) discusses the effects of Platonism in Christian philosophy.
13. See Grant (1988a; 1988b). For a comprehensive analysis, see Rhee (2005) 9–48.
14. Petsalis-Diomidis (2008) suggests a religious subtext in all of Aristides's works, not only in the *Sacred Tales*.
15. See Bowersock (1973); Dodds (1965); Wilken (1984).
16. Jones (1986) 34–38 argues that paganism was most certainly popular at the time of Lucian, otherwise pagan gods would not have been the focus of the attack launched by Christian authors.
17. See Phot., *Bibl.* 128.
18. For a commentary and an extensive study of the work, the authorship, and its cultural aspects, see Lightfoot (2003). The authorship of this work has been doubted. It has been suggested that the author of *De Syria Dea* was a Syrian, but not Lucian, who had Hellenized culture but whose intentions when writing the work were serious, contrary to Lucian's caustic and satirical spirit. For scholarship that attributes the work to Lucian, see Macleod and Baldwin (1994). Another prevailing thesis is that Lucian wrote it either when he was young or old, hence the difference in style and tone. This position has been supported by Jones (1986) 41–42. Lightfoot (2003) 184–208 argues in favor of Lucianic authorship of the work. Bompaire (1958) 647 and Oden (1977) 16–24 try to find humorous references, among other evidence, to reinforce the possibility of Lucian's authorship. Others have claimed that the work is ironic. See, for instance, Allinson (1886); Allinson (1926) 119–220; Anderson (1976b); Anderson (1994); Baldwin (1973) 33; Bompaire (1958) 653; Cumont (1911) 13–14; Jones (1986) 42. The opposite view was put forward by Dirven (1997) 163–169, who discusses the identity of the author and argues, contrary to Oden (1977) 23–24, that the author did not relinquish his Syrian identity. Dirven, although she claims that Lucian is not the author, suggests that the author is Syrian but received Hellenic culture and assimilated himself into the new reality, especially if we consider that he uses the Greek names of the deities and the Greek versions of the myths. See also Baslez (1994); Betz (1961) 23–25; Caster (1987) 360–364 n. 63; Herrmann (1958/62) 62. Attridge and Oden (1976) 2–3 consider the question unsettled. For an overview of this scholarly dispute, see Oden (1977) 4–14.
19. Elsner (1997) and Goldhill (2002) consider *De Syria Dea* to be Lucian's assertion of Syrian legitimacy, redefinition of otherness, and ultimately a demonstration of, as Goldhill puts it, "cultural translation" (78).
20. Oden (1977) 14–46. On the dialect, see Lightfoot (2003) 91–97.
21. Oden (1977) 24–36 presents evidence that this account of the flood resembles Genesis as well as the Eastern and not the Greek account of the myth.
22. For archaeological evidence that confirms Lucian's account, see Attridge and Oden (1976) 3; Oden (1977) 43–46; Stocks (1937). Dirven (1997) 159–163

discusses also the reliability of the information that Lucian gives to his readership. See also Millar (1993) 245–247, who places *De Syria Dea* in the context of a broader examination of Syrian cult centers.

23. Oden (1977) 41–42 claims: "A second major satiric strain in the *D.S.D* is directed against what the author sees as new and inauthentic tales told about the gods whose authentic actions are properly represented by the Greeks." Lucian, however, although he writes in Greek, and is assimilated into the Greek culture, still does not hesitate to be critical of the Greeks. Furthermore, with regards to the variability of the myths, Lucian has proven to be skeptical of the myths in general. *De Sacrificiis* is a characteristic example of his perception of religion or of what he believes to be the popular view.

24. See also ch.3 n.43.

25. Also, Ogmios's description in *Heracles* showcases Lucian's transreligious consciousness. See Le Roux (1960). Jones (1986) 42 points out the fact that, although Lucian does not conceal the barbarian origin of the sanctuary of Atargatis, "by explaining its antiquities in the manner of Herodotus he comes close to doing so." On *Hellenismos* and foreign perspectives, see Lightfoot (2003) 72–83, 174–184.

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

27. See Branham (1989) 127–177.

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

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

30. For a detailed history of religion and the position of the different religions, see Cumont (1911); Nilsson (1950). King (2003) discusses Greco-Roman religion in the first and second centuries CE and its relation with current politics and oriental religions. Rokéah (1982) examines the tense relations between Jews, pagans, and Christians.

31. Christian authors attack mythology as non-historical or as evidence that pagan gods are merely human creations who were born like human beings. This argumentation, however, may not have been as poignant as the Christians meant it to be since earlier pagan authors had already been explicitly skeptic about mythology. Cotta in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* argues that the myths basically intend to question the existence of gods. See Daniélou (1973) 16–17, 47, 75–91, 214, 434 for a discussion on the Apologists' perception of Greek mythology. See also Cruttwell (1971) vii 457 for Clemens's attitude towards mythology.

32. See Bompaire (1958) 564–71 for a stylistic analysis of *Prometheus*, the influence of mime, and Alexandrian tradition.

33. Lucian, *Prom*. 7–19.

34. Jebb (1907) 173 notices that Lucian pushes "bare anthropomorphism to its extreme logical result." Branham (1989) 141 claims that the gods in Lucian seem unaware of Homer and the stories he wrote about them, about their dependence on people's sacrifices and their anthropomorphism. Jupiter appears baffled and concerned about the future. I believe, though, that what could be misinterpreted as bafflement is instead the result of self-cognizance filtered through redefinition.

Caster (1987) 179–211 recognizes in Lucian a desire to logically explore divinity and providence. Jones (1986) 39 argues: "The anthropomorphism of the gods does not merely lend the work charm and liveliness, it also indirectly satirizes conventional conceptions of them." Jones (1986) 43: "The passage of the Tragic Zeus in which Apollo is called upon to predict the issue of the dispute between the two philosophers is a small anthology of stock jokes against prophecy, but it is directed less against the god than the tricks of his prophets, their paraphernalia and hocus-pocus."

35. For a commentary, see Montanari and Barabino (2003). See Pilhofer, Baumbach, Gerlach, and Uwe Hansen (2005) for a commentary and interpretative essays on the work and the individual (life, career, other sources that name him).

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

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

38. On the offices Peregrinus occupied as mentioned by Lucian, see Betz (1959) 229–234.

39. Lucian mentions that during Peregrinus's imprisonment Christian women were bringing him food and other essentials. This practice of Christians is also mentioned by Tertullian in *Ad Martyres* 1.

40. Cf. A. Gell. 8.3, 12.11; Paus. 6.8.4. Philostratus *VS* 71.19–20 suggests that Peregrinus was a contemporary of Herodes Atticus. Peregrinus is also mentioned by Christian authors rather negatively. See Tat. *Orat*. 25.1; Athenag. *Leg*. 26.4–5; Tert., *Ad Martyras* 4. Edwards (1989) elaborates on the arguments of the Apologists that Lucian uses and the twists in his presentation of Christianity and Peregrinus. Also, he elaborates on similarities in Lucian's deprecatory presentation of Peregrinus and Zeus in *Sacr*. 5. See also Bagnani (1955) 112. For other studies on Peregrinus, see Bagnani (1955); Caster (1987) 243–55; De Labriolle (1934) 100–107.

41. Sordi (1986) 57 compares Lucian to Galen and describes him as a skeptic and rationalist who regards Christians "with mocking detachment or at most with a kind of tolerant respect and are prepared to ridicule their fideistic outlook, though not apparently feeling any preconceived antipathy towards them." Carmelo (1954) suggests that Lucian is not against Christians and that he is actually sympathetic.

42. Celsus also uses the same characterization for the Christians. See Origen *Cels*. 3.59

43. In *Alexander*, Lucian refers to Christians thrice. However, the references do not bear any socio-political nuances to avail our understanding of Lucian's religious cognizance or to further our consideration of Pliny's *Letter*. Christians are paralleled once in 25 with atheists and then twice in 38 with atheists and Epicureans.

44. Karavas (2010) 118–120 suggests that the sophist from Palestine is a reference to Jesus, even though he also claims that Lucian's attitude towards Christians is positive.

45. Pernot (2002) 248. On the use of the word, see also Jebb (1907) 189.

46. Bagnani (1955) 111: "Lucian's ignorance of Christianity and Christian doctrine is really monumental." See Bernays (1879) 42–43 on Lucian's alleged ignorance about Christianity. Betz (1959) 229–234 also claims that Lucian did not have first-hand knowledge of Christianity. He admits that we get information from an outsider, but he accuses Lucian of not being an attentive observer of the new religion: "*Sicher hat er kein Verständnis für den Glauben der Christen, nicht einmal für ihre Absage an die Götterwelt . . .*" (237). Bompaire (1958) 477–480 points out that Lucian does not give a mere caricature of Peregrinus and the Christians; instead he acknowledges qualities, like their charitable feelings, while he also employs common motifs for their description. Bompaire still

reaches the same conclusion regarding Lucian's superficial treatment of the new religion. See also Caster (1987) 346–357, who claims that Lucian does not seem to agree with Christians but does not show hatred either. He would admire their condemnation of death, if they did not have the unreasonable belief in immortality. Caster concludes that "*leur (talking about Lucian and Voltaire) obscurité même semble être un comble de finesse attique*" (357). Caster's ultimate perception of Lucian's conception and presentation of religion in his era is that "*Mais son témoignage est incomplete; à quoi l'on peut répondre qu'il ne prétend pas être un historien. Ce qui est plus surprenant, c'est qu'il n'a pas utilisé tous les matérieaux que le second siècle offrait à son esprit satirique*" (382). Hall (1981) 194–220 claims that Lucian's religious considerations involved the ludic amusement of his audience. Jacob (1832) 179–192 on the contrary, claims that Lucian demonstrates religious conscience.

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

48. For the use of the word θίασος as religious guild, see *IG* 2.986,1663, 2².1177, *SIG* 1044.45.

49. Pernot (2002) 249–250, 257–260 emphasizes the importance of Lucian's portrayal of Peregrinus, Jesus, and Christianity alongside Second Sophistic and in the context of the imperial era. Daumer (1957) also concludes that Christianity is clearly a sect, not a religion at the time, and that Lucian does not disparage them or consider them anything more than that.

50. On Peregrinus's aspirations for the foundation of a cult, see Jones (1986) 126–130.

51. Branham (1989) 186–187 discusses Lucian's unveiling of hypocrisy and the demystification of certain character types, whether religious or philosophical.

52. De Labriolle (1934) 106.

53. *Alexander* attests also to Lucian's critique of pseudo-religious figures. For an extensive analysis, see Caster (1987) passim. See also Ramelli (2005) who discusses possible traces of Montanism. Gerlach (2005) discusses the figures of "charlatans" in Lucian.

54. Nesselrath (1998) suggests that Lucian seems to be favorable towards the Cynic philosophy. Jones (1993) discusses similarities between Christianity and cynicism, elements of Brahmanism, and Peregrinus's Greekness.

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

56. See Benko (1980) 1070–1076; Sherwin-White (1985) 691–710; Sordi (1986) 59–65; Wilken (1984) 15–30 for commentaries on the *Letter*. There have been also claims that there are later interpolations in the *Letter*. On that see Herrmann (1954) 343ff. For an answer to these claims, see Dieu (1942); Grant (1948).

57. Sherwin-White (1985) 80–82 places the governorship between 109–11 CE and Freudenberger (1967) between 111–113 CE.

58. As a matter of fact Trajan did not allow Pliny to authorize a fire brigade in Nicomedia for the same reason: "*tu, domine, dispice an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum dumtaxat hominum CL. Ego attendam, ne quis nisi faber recipiatur neve iure concesso in aliud utantur; nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos*" (*Ep.* 10.33). "*Sed meminerimus provinciam istam et praecipue eas civitates eius modi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint, hetaeriae eaeque brevi fient*"

(*Ep*. 10.34). He also forbade the foundation of *eranoi*, organizations that provided help, in any other place except for Amisus. The latter was enjoying the privileges due to an earlier agreement: "*In ceteris civitatibus, quae nostro iure obstrictae sunt, res huius modi prohibenda est*" (*Ep*. x.93). See Sherwin-White (1952) 199ff; Sherwin-White (1960). Dio Chrysostom in *Or*. 45.8 disapproves of the comprising of political clubs for they cause dissensions and fractures in the stability of the city (μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν μηδὲ ἕτερον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἔθος εἰσάγειν μηδὲ καθ᾽ ἑταιρείας πολιτεύεσθαι μηδ᾽ εἰς μέρη διασπᾶν τὴν πόλιν·) There is also evidence that sometimes clubs would promote political theses as well, which could lead to uprising. On that see Dessau (1906) 6411a, 6419e, 6420b about the political activities of the group of fruit dealers, goldsmiths, and the worshippers of Isis, respectively. Cf. also Celsus 1.1, 8.17.

59. See Keresztes (1979); Sordi (1986) 62.
60. For a description of the hierarchy of the church in the first years, see Sordi (1986) 180–193, who explains the function and the office of its members as well as the fact that it may have been easier for the Romans to accept the new religion if it appeared as an organization with structure and leaders. See also Wilken (1984) 31–47 and especially 45. Tertullian also employs vocabulary related to associations to present Christianity in a familiar context. See *Apol*. 39.
61. Tertullian in *Apologia* 2.7 calls it "*sententiam necessitate confusam.*" For a discussion, see Merrill (1918). Athenagoras, for instance, emphasizes the lack of established laws concerning the Christians and the way they should be treated. Although there were Roman laws against impiety, they were not enforced; nonetheless, Athenagoras proceeds to deconstruct the accusations of immortality and impiety. For more details, see Schoedel (1973).
62. The word *superstitio* was also used before Pliny by Tacitus and Suetonius. Although neither of the two latter authors' focus was the Christians, we still get an idea about the position and the impact, if any, the new religion had at the time. Tac., *An*. 15.44, "*ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Chrestianos appellabat. auctor nominis eius Christus Tibero imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiablilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque*." Suet., *Nero* 16, "*afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae.*" Juvenal in *Satire* 14 severely criticizes the Jews for being superstitious. Plutarch also in the second century dedicated a whole treatise, *De Superstitione*, to discuss this phenomenon. For the attitude of the Romans towards new religions, see also Dio Cassius 52.36.2. See also Janssen (1979), who argues that *superstitio* was perceived as impiety, the opponent of *religio* and subsequently of *virtus* and *pietas*. For a discussion on first- and second-century pagan sources on Christians, see Keresztes (1989) v.1, 67–82; MacMullen (1984); MacMullen and Lane (1992). Finally, Allinson (1926) 89–93 discusses superstition in Lucian.
63. Pliny translations are by Davis (1912–13).
64. On Varro and his conception of the civil aspect of religion, see Cardauns (1960) 53–58. For a full discussion, see Schoedel (1973). See also Altheim (1938) 332 ff. on religion and its civil and political aspects and the beginning of the new age in religion, as well as superstition and the gods. Brown (1988), Humphries (2006) 196–202, and Janssen (1979) present the same argument, as do several others.
65. Origen, *Cels*. 5.35. See Borret (1967–76) for a commentary on Origen's work.
66. Cf. August., *C.D*. 6.5–7.
67. The term "imperial cult" and what it encompasses has been the topic of an ongoing scholarly discussion. Even though it is beyond the scope of this study, as

it pertains to the attitude towards Christians at the time, I provide a comprehensive list of major sources on the subject. Heyman (2007) 92 argues that "the cult of the emperor became an integral dimension of Roman life for both the city and the *coloniae* of the empire." As for the issue of whether the emperor was considered to be a god, hence the exigency to be worshipped, or if he was god-like, Heyman concludes that "it is fruitless to speculate whether the emperor was perceived to *be* a god, or whether he was treated *as if* he were a god." On the generalized perception of divinity among the Romans, see also Price (1984a). Cf. also Klauck (2003). Furthermore, the variegated locality and the regional multifariousness of (imperial) worship play a role in its effect on the treatment of Christians; more specifically, it indicates that there could not have been a Roman law regarding imperial worship and persecution. Hopkins (1978) 205 describes it as a sign of loyalty. Nock (1934) 479 calls it an "alliance of throne and altar". See also Beard, North, and Price (1998) 167–210. Galinsky (2011) considers the infiltration of imperial worship into Christian mentality. On that see Lieu (1992), Momigliano (1986) 191. On Christians and their perception of the imperial cult, see Rhee (2005) 164–171.

68. De ste Croix (1963). Heyman (2007) strongly opposes de ste Croix's thesis.

69. See Oliver (1953) on the degree of influence Rome as a ruling power had on religion and worship in Asia Minor; this sheds some light on Roman religious tolerance. Millar (1993) 503–522 suggests that Syrian religious identity was not preserved: "In the Near East only Palmyra provides a (very partial) parallel to the persistence of Egyptian temples, with distinctive forms of priesthood, and which in the Imperial period were still constructed in Egyptian style, and still used the Egyptian language, written in hieroglyphics" (505). Boissier (1909) 346 also argues that Romans had limited tolerance towards foreign religions with regards to the latter's invasion of the Roman religious system. For a detailed presentation of the Roman Empire and foreign religions, see 343–403. Cf. also Nilsson (1949) 224–262 on Greek civic religion.

70. Self-identification was a focal point in the writings of the Apologists since the first Christians were converted pagans, and in the early years they probably had not entirely perceived what Christianity as religion and lifestyle encompassed. This becomes clearer if we consider that even in the fourth century CE Christian literature was concerned with defining what Christian lifestyle means. Nicetas, bishop of Remesiana, addresses such issues in his book *Adversus Genethilogiam*. Certain practices had become part of people's everyday life, and these were the more difficult to discard, being part of their old religion. For more details, see De Labriolle (1934), Dodds (1965), Laistner (1951). At the time also Montanism appeared, and it seems to have been difficult to differentiate between this sect and Christianity. The radical views of Montanism, however, must have blown some unfavorable winds against Christians as well. On Christian identity, see Lieu (2004). Celsus appears to have such thoughts while he tries to exhort Christians to be better citizens and not abstain from civic duties. See Osborn (1997a) for a presentation of Tertullian's Roman identity, and Fredouille (1972) for a discussion of Tertullian's consideration of pagan culture. For more details, see Dodds (1965) 66–68. Early Apologists also attempted to define their God and deconstruct pagan divinities by means of negative terminology. It is by this theological approach that they try to contradict the charges against them regarding atheism. See Palmer (1983); Wolfson (1957). Guerra (1991) examines Tertullian's espousal of negative definitions. Plato, Middle Platonism, Judaism, and early Presocratics have been considered the sources of this terminology. See Barnard (1967) 34–35; Osborn (1981) 31–63; Puech (1912) 292.

71. Young (1999) 92–93.

72. Price (1999).
73. Rhee (2005) and Humphries (2006).
74. For a thorough survey of Origen's life and beliefs, see Daniélou (1948). For a comprehensive analysis of Origen's *Contra Celsum*, the structure, the presentation of the argument, and the expected audience, see Frede (1999).
75. Nasrallah (2005) 290.
76. Translation by Harmon (1913).
77. Dodds (1965) discusses the dialogue and the contacts between pagan religion and philosophy, as well as Christian reasoning and doctrine. For the common points of reference between Christianity and philosophies, such as Stoicism and Neoplatonism, see Dillon (2012); Rasimus, Engberg-Pedersen, Dunderberg (2010). See also Wagner (1994) for a presentation of the second century CE from a Greco-Roman, Christian, and Jewish point of view on the basis of history, society, philosophy, and religion. Wagner also provides a comprehensive catalogue of some of the first Apologists and their basic principles. For a history of Christianity up to the seventh century, see also Chadwick (2001); Daniélou (1977). On the Apologists, see also Contreras (1980). Also, Osborn (1993b) delineates the details of the Christian thought, philosophy, and theology. See also Chadwick (1966); Wiles (1967).
78. Cumont (1911) 210.
79. See De Labriolle (1929) 97–107.
80. See Hewitt (1924), who names Lucian "second-century Voltaire" for his stance towards contemporary religion and philosophy. See also Lauvergnat-Gagnière (1988) 22–24.
81. Bompaire (1958) 522 suggests that Lucian uses vocabulary and refers to institutions of the Imperial era in this work, namely δεδόχθω τῇ βουλῇ καί τῷ δήμῳ.
82. Caster (1987) 179–211 discusses Lucian's attitude towards the Olympians and argues that he combines the logic of the sophist with literary techniques along with Epicurean reasoning. Caster (209) also suggests that "*en fait, Mômos fait à l'avance toutes les objections de Damis, et meme avec plus de vehemence. Sa critique est nettement épicurienne, et il deviant ce personage étrange: un dieu qui ne crois pas aux dieux.*" Bompaire (1958) 191–203 points out that Lucian combined motifs from various literary genres in the portrayal of Momus and other mythological figures: "*Il est entendu que Lucien a pu tirer aussi ses personages de la tradition sérieuse, épique, tragique, alexandrine*" (195).
83. On that see Jones (1986) 38; Oliver (1980).
84. Pépin (1955) discusses Homer and Moses as factors in the definition of religion.
85. Christian authors argue that only educated pagans can make the distinction between idols and real divinity while the great majority cannot. See Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 22.1–5; Origen, *Cels.*7.66; Athenag., *Supplicatio* 18.1. See Hanson (1980) 910–924 for more details on later Christian authors who discuss the worship of statues as well as the response of the pagans who claim that they do not revere the material itself but the spirit of the gods.
86. For commentary on the *Epistula ad Diognetum*, suggestions about the exact dating as well as the question of whether it is actually an epistle or not, its authorship, and date, see Andriessen (1947), Marrou (1997), Meecham (1949).
87. Apologists translations are by Coxe, Roberts, Donaldson, Schaff, and Wace (1996).
88. Ogilvie (1969) 1 says that the pagan religion and thus its deities is more a decoration—magnificent, but without impact or real meaning.
89. *Protr.* 4. Bompaire (1958) 491–499 records the parallelisms between Lucian and Clemens of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* (492). He argues, however, that Lucian's comments are far from inventive or audacious and that he uses as a repository the Epicurean and Stoic philosophies.

90. On Celsus's attitude towards Christians as seen in his *True Doctrine*, see Benko (1980); Chadwick (1947); Chadwick (1948); Chadwick (1953); Lods (1941); Wilken (1984) 94–125. Cf. also Origen, *Cels.* 8.69. On Celsus's ideas as well as those of other second-century pagan authors, see also Benko (1980); Francis (1995) 131–179.

91. Translation by Harmon (1913).

92. It should be noted that there were other non-Christians who still disapproved of sacrifices. Plato, for instance, accepted sacrifice as part of religious ritual but still considered it to be an unacceptable *quid pro quo* between people and the gods. On that see Dodds (1951) 222. The Pythagoreans had also discredited the practice of sacrifice. See Iamb.*VP.* 147. Gal. in *UP* 3.10 rejects worship by sacrifice. Cf. E. *HF* 1345, "δεῖται γάρ ὁ θεός, εἴπερ ἔστ᾽ ὀρθῶς θεός οὐδενός." Christians consider spiritual sacrifice appropriate for their god, instead of bloody, animal sacrifices. Spiritual sacrifice includes prayer, the Eucharist, asceticism, or even the death of martyrs. Spiritual sacrifice has also a philosophical foundation. See Daly (1978); Watteville (1966); Young (1979). See Malherbe (1969) for details on Athenagoras's view of the proper sacrifice to God.

93. It is important to note at this point that the Christians in the first years of the religion may have been accused, among other things, of performing certain rituals and clandestine sacrifices. A Greek romance written by Lollianus in the second century, which was found in a papyrus from Cologne, attests to those accusations. For details see Henrichs (1970). For details on the papyrus and the text of Lollianus, see Jones (1980). Christians were also aware of these accusations as well as of the fact that certain sects practiced such rituals. Cf. *Octavius* 9.5–6. Justin the Martyr (1 *Apol.* 26.7), for instance, was concerned that people might think that all the Christians engaged in such activities. Wilken (1984) 21 points out, however, that "the accusations of promiscuity and ritual murder appear only in Christian authors. They are not present in the writings of pagan critics of Christianity." See Osborn (1993b) for an explication of the structure of Justin the Martyr's *Apologia*. See also Chadwick (1993) for an account of Justin's Christian doctrine. For Justin and his espousal and "translation" of Greek philosophy to Christian context, see Droge (1993).

94. See Ruprecht (1992) for a discussion of the *Legatio* and Athenagoras's sources.

95. Cf. also Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem* 3.22, 2.18, 2.22; *Apolog.* 42.7; *De virg. Vel.* 13. On that see Ferguson (1989). For an extensive analysis of Tertullian's thesis and works, see Barnes (1985); Daly (1993); Osborn (1997b).

96. Tertullian translations are by Glover and Rendall (1931).

97. The effect of tripartite theology, as it was analyzed by Cicero, Varro, the Stoics, and St. Augustine, is beyond the scope of this chapter. For an analysis of those three aspects of religion, namely the role of literature, philosophy, and the state in the definition and practice of religion, see Lieberg (1973); Pépin (1976). Becker (1993) and Klauck (2007) discuss the effect of tripartite theology in Dio and the way he manipulates the traditional threefold formation. For analyses of Varro's contribution, see Dörrie (1986); Lehmann (1997). See also Dihle (1996) for Augustine's discussion on the issue. Boyancé (1955) 73 briefly discusses Dio's addition of art as the fourth factor in the tripartite canon. See Fredouille (1988) for the way Apologists perceive the tripartite model of theology.

98. For a more detailed analysis of Dio's *Olympian Oration*, see Betz (2004a); Betz (2004b); Harris (1962); Moles (2005).

99. Dio translations are by Cohoon (1932).

100. Cf. Plb. 6.56.6–12.

101. For a discussion on the exact date of Tatian's *Apology*, see Elzem (1960) 43–44; Grant (1988a).

102. Nasrallah (2005) explores Lucian's and Tatian's identity, ethnicity, and geography against the background of Christianity, *Hellenes*, and barbarians in the world of the Second Sophistic. For other comparative considerations between Lucian, Tatian, and Justin Martyr and Hellenic culture versus Syrian identity, see Nasrallah (2005) 294–310; (2010) 130–154, 236–248. See also Andrade (2013) 261 ff. who suggests that Lucian, Tatian, and Justin Martyr critique "doxa" in the promotion of *Hellenismos* as Greco-Romans believe it should be.

103. For a discussion of the relation of Christian theology and ideology with Greek philosophy, their partial consensus with the Stoics, and their dissension with Epicureans, see Sordi (1986) 156–170. St. Paul in the *Epistle to the Romans* 13 discusses the similarities between the Stoic and Christian approach to politics. Apologists of the second century admit that Greek philosophy may have actually been their forerunner, the necessary preparation of the mind to achieve the ultimate goal, to understand and believe in God. They also claim that some of the Greek philosophers talked about the One God and thus very early impugned pagan polytheism. There is also a group that claims that philosophers cannot reach any kind of agreement regarding god(s) between themselves; in fact, they occasionally even contradict themselves. Origen in an attempt to found a philosophical background for the Christian religion examines Greek philosophers and finds common ground between the new religion and Plato's allegories (Origen, *Cels*. 4.39). For more details, see Hanson (1980) 950. Justin also argues that Greek philosophers had discovered the truth about god and religion through their own reasoning, and this actually prepared the ground for an understanding of Christianity. See, for instance, *1 Apologia* xx. See also Barnard (1967) 27–38 for more details on Justin's philosophical background and his strong Neoplatonic influences. Clemens of Alexandria argues that Christians can actually benefit from Greek philosophy (*I Cor*. 1.22; *Strom*. I.V.28). See Daniélou (1973) 107–127; Daniélou (1973) 328–335 on the effects of Platonism on Christian doctrine. See also Wolfson (1956) v.1 passim on Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic influences on Christianity.

104. D. L. VI.76f. mentions the version of Diogenes's death given by Tatian.

105. Translation by Harmon (1913).

106. For Tatian's perception of "barbarian," "Greek," and "Christian," see Waszink (1963) 41–56.

107. Whittaker (1975) 59 comments that "Tatian is not an Oriental with an inferiority complex; the differentiation is one of culture, not of race."

108. See Billault (2010).

109. See Lada-Richards (2007) 98–103, 152–160.

110. Lugaresi (2003).

111. Garber (1997).

112. Schnusenberg (1988). Hartney (2004) 38–39.

113. Cameron (1991) 47–119.

114. Webb (2008) 209–213.

115. Theater, dance, mime, and pantomime had been in and out of favor throughout the centuries based on social circumstances, the preferences of the people, or the attitude of the emperor, until their role was permanently diminished after the rise of Christianity. The fact that spectacles were an amalgam of religious, social, and political elements and connotations as well as the fact that they expose the human body has rendered them an ambivalent issue. For references to the historical reception of spectacles by individual emperors and the reaction of the public, see Suet. *Aug*. 43 and 45, *Nero* passim, *Cal*. 54, *Ves*. 19, *Tit*. 7, *Dom*. passim; Tac. *Ann*. 1.54, 4.14, 11.36, 14.21, 19–21; D.C. 54–57, 59, 60–61, 67–68 passim; Fro. *Ver*. 1.2, *ad M. Caes*. 2.6; *Marc. Aur*. 11.2–4,

23.6; *Hadrian* 19.6. For secondary bibliography on performers, pantomime, and mime, see Bieber (1961), Broadbent (1901), Lawler (1946); Lawler (1964), Reynolds (1946).

116. Cf. also *Pseudol.* 19 for circumstances of performances. See Jory (1998).
117. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 64.47.
118. Lada-Richards (2006), disregarding the dancer's remorse, claims that Lucian actually vilifies spectacles by pointing out their ineluctable abberations to transgressive behaviors.
119. The same accusation against theater is repeated in *Stromata* («καθέδρα δὲ λοιμῶν» καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια εἴη ἂν <ἢ> 2.15.68). Also, Philo Judaeus in *De Agricultura* launches an attack against theater along the same lines. He argues that it is sloth that has given birth to theater, just as an abundance in the number of cattle a stock keeper has may result in laziness on his behalf, irresponsibility, and consequently in the scattering of the flock. He says that sloth lets the mind wander along with the other senses, namely vision and hearing; it is in this state that people attend spectacles and expose themselves to dancers and mimes and thus let their senses err:

> ἐπειδὰν ὁ νοῦς ὑπτίως καὶ ῥαθύμως ἔχῃ, τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπλήστως ἐμφορούμενα ἀφθονίας ἀπαυχενίζει τε καὶ σκιρτᾷ καὶ πλημμελῶς ὅπῃ τύχοι φέρεται . . . θέατρα νομίζομεν ἀμυθήτων μυριάδων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πληροῦσθαι; οἱ γὰρ ἀκουσμάτων καὶ θεαμάτων ἥττους καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς χωρὶς ἡνιῶν ἐάσαντες φέρεσθαι καὶ κιθαριστὰς καὶ κιθαρῳδοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κεκλασμένην καὶ ἄνανδρον μουσικὴν περιέποντες, ἔτι δὲ ὀρχηστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μίμους ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὅτι σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἐκτεθηλυμμένας ἴσχονται καὶ κινοῦνται. (34–35)

Later in the same work he admonishes people not even to participate in athletic contests and not to concern themselves with winning (111–113).

120. Goldhill (2001b) 183–184.
121. Webb (2008) 207.
122. Webb (2008) 208.
123. Aristides translations are by Behr (1981).

5   The Reception of Lucian

WHY LUCIAN'S RECEPTION MATTERS

Authors carry in their works traces of their life and their *Zeitgeist*, as they experience it. Some also have a predecessor for inspiration. Hence, their literary creations carry onto the future nuances of their past and their present. Lucian's literary persona was influenced by earlier authors, such as Juvenal; he borrows literary motifs from the Roman satirist as he means to consider similar contemporary events and offer his own perspective while he reevaluates the Roman viewpoint. Furthermore, Lucian's untraditional portrayal of the gods and his discussions on religion renders him a social historian of his period as he records the transition between paganism and Christianity, the coexistence of religions, and the ferments that individuals and society as a whole underwent before the establishment of Christianity. Lucian, therefore, was a prolific and influential writer of his times who, by adopting and mastering his predecessors' satiric tones, while infiltrating them through his personal style and agenda, managed to preserve not only basic historic information, but the social pulse of a changing, challenging, and transitional era for several nations. The determinant, however, that distinguishes Lucian from the hordes of other authors and that will be examined in this chapter is his enthusiastic reception in various literary genres throughout the centuries. I present evidence that it is his politicization of literature and his ability to preserve not basic historic information but the second-century pulse that have rendered his writings inveterate.[1] He is political, without exposing himself; he is current, without losing his ability to be diachronic; and he is critical of vices that are recurrent in societies throughout the centuries. These attributes, in relation to his ingenuous narrative styles, the plethora of literary allusions, the reversal of the strange and familiar, the expected and unexpected, have rendered his writings a source of inspiration for authors in the centuries that followed.

Modern performances of ancient drama, translations of ancient works, even comic books based on ancient Greek and Roman mythology and comedy constitute evidence that classical literary productions have occasionally enjoyed rebirths. There are not, however, many authors to whose works and

techniques Byzantine and European authors have extensively resorted. The importance of delving into the examination of Lucian's reception, therefore, is that we are able to appreciate him more objectively. It is as if we are given the chance to have different readings and multifarious appreciations of his works and form a retrospective evaluation of the late Empire, examining it not as a remote part of history, but as a part of world political and literary history. A close examination of works from various literary traditions and languages from the second century CE to the twentieth century reveals traces of Lucianic motifs, humor, and techniques. The religious and political upheavals, revolutions, and reformations in Italy, England, and Germany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for instance, certainly favored the revival of Lucian's style, his sarcastic attitude, and his implicit undermining of social structures. Lucian, the Roman Empire, and Roman and Greek culture, as we have been examining them in the previous chapters, may have been long dead at the time, but the spirit of the Second Sophistic, the sociopolitical issues as they feature in Lucian's works, his playful tone, his insight, and his astute perception have lived in later authors, who were inspired by his spirit and literary motifs. The fact that shines through such a reading is that Lucian seems to have created a metalanguage, his own literary world that survives one way or another and that can be discerned in lexica, novels, and theater, as his works have been translated and modulated through Byzantine and European literary productions. Consequently, his vignettes and appreciations of second-century reality resulted in the preservation of this *epoque* that reappears syncretized with parameters of future eras. His reception is admittedly rather complicated.[2] His rhetorical techniques and motifs can be traced in several later authors, while his works were copied in large numbers and survive in a number of manuscripts.[3] Of course, one cannot be sure about the dissemination of those manuscripts or their availability. The safest way to excogitate and quantify our consideration of his reception is to follow the propagation of his works via their translations.[4] Furthermore, as we move further down the centuries, it becomes even more cumbersome to ascertain if an author had actually read Lucian or if he is imitating someone else, an intermediary, who had read Lucian. These are issues that in most cases we can only touch upon without being able to resolve.

BETWEEN THE SECOND THE TWELFTH CENTURIES CE

Lucian died around 170 CE, and it was long after that, specifically in the fifteenth century, that we have significant traces of his revival, with Erasmus's and More's translations of some of his works. He is not altogether lost, though, between the second and the fifteenth century, although his controversial presentation of the gods and his emphasis on marginalized social strata, such as courtesans, limited his popularity due to the subsequent rise of Christianity.

In the second century CE, Alciphron wrote *Letters of Fishermen, Letters of Farmers, Letters of Parasites*, and *Letters of the Courtesans*. The latter closely resembles Lucian's *Dialogi Meretricium*. In Alciphron's *Letters of the Courtesans*, either a courtesan writes to her lover or to another courtesan or a despondent lover asks his mistress for fidelity. The similarities to Lucian's work pertain to the choice of the topic and the fact that the author decided to give voice to a group of people usually unrepresented in literature. Alciphron attempts to imitate the roguish way Lucian's courtesans speak and their wanton neglect of moral boundaries. However, he favors simple narration, an expressive style very different from Lucian's interlocution that thrives with smartness and feminine impudence. Also, Alciphron's *Letter to Lucian* indicates that he probably borrowed from Lucian, attempting to apply a patina of witty remarks and expressions onto his work, albeit not with the same success as Lucian. Even though he adopts Lucianic elements in his writings, the fact that the Syrian was more famous during his lifetime, an eminent orator and a connoisseur of literary finesse, consolidates the assumption that Alciphron was the imitator.

There appear to be scant traces of Lucian and his works in the times between Alciphron and the Byzantines. The reason for that may very well be that Christianity was in the social and literary promontories, and Christians might have been suspicious of Lucian and his ambiguous or even occasionally precarious views (Suda has him burning in hell).[5] Libanius in the fourth century CE attacked Lucian and Aristophanes, but he also borrowed from the former in Oration XXV on slavery. Julian in *Caesares* also in the fourth century CE closely imitated Lucian. Lactantius (third through fourth centuries CE) in *Divinae Institutiones* 1.9.8 talked of Lucian as someone who spared neither gods nor men (*Lucianus, qui neque diis pepercit neque hominibus*), and Eunapius mentioned him in *Vitae Sophistarum* 454. The reaction of the Byzantines varied. Some were set against Lucian, considering him an enemy of Christianity, while others used him as a linguistic example for their grammar books. Suda defined him as anti-Christian,[6] while Johannes Georgides in the eleventh century used examples from his works in the *Collections of Maxims* and Thomas Magister in the fourteenth century in the *Selection of Attic Nouns*. Manuel Philes (thirteenth through fourteenth centuries) wrote a poem in Iambics titled *The Marriage of Roxana and Alexander* inspired by Lucian's *ekphrasis* in *Herodotus*. Theodore Prodromos also in the *Sale of Lives of Litterateurs* and *Men in Public Life* in the twelfth century adopted Lucianic techniques. *Philopatris*, another anonymous satirical work, which probably dates to somewhere in the eleventh century, imitated Lucianic satire, and then *Timarion*, probably written in the twelfth century, bears a strong Lucianic aura, so much so that for a while it was mistakenly ascribed to Lucian. Therefore, although Lucian has always been impossible to classify in a specific literary genre, the Byzantines selectively borrowed from him and incorporated these borrowings into their works. They used

him as a repository of correctness in linguistics and also found inspiration in his satires, paradoxographic writing, and mock encomia.[7]

LUCIAN IN BYZANTIUM

Timarion was written in the twelfth century and reads as an amalgam of Byzantine-Lucianic work.[8] In this section I will show how Lucian is filtered through this work and hence how his style and content were interpreted at that time. In fact, *Timarion* bears such strong resemblances to Lucian's writings that at first it was erroneously classified in his corpus. The authorship of this work, however, is still debated. It has been suggested that it could have been written by Timarion, Theodore Prodromus, or Nicolaos Callicles. Before I elaborate on the content and the context of *Timarion*, however, I believe that it is pertinent to our consideration of the material to briefly discuss the literary production of this era. In the early Byzantine period and specifically in the fourth century, the focus turned to religious writings. Authors adhered to archaizing style and form, but not to language. Authors of the *Lives of Saints*, for instance, usually apologized for their inability to use Classical language. Later, as archaizing language infiltrated education, it gradually dominated public life, and in the late fourth century church fathers were classicizing in language as well as in style and form. That shift would help them in their attempt to approach and influence the upper classes as well. Representative examples of the times are John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus. This does not mean that everyday language, the so-called *Koine*, was abandoned. The less literate church fathers still resorted to simpler language, and of course there was the large mass of Christians who would not fully comprehend preaching if it were delivered in archaizing language. The time between the fifth and eleventh centuries saw the coexistence of three levels of language, namely the archaizing Greek, the literary *Koine*, and the popular *Koine*. The literary genre, the ability of the author, and the expectations of the audience, of course, dictated the language level used. The eleventh and twelfth centuries signaled the use of a language closer to Classical than to spoken Greek. Writers of this period include Anna Komnena, Nicetas Choniates, and Michael Psellus. The twelfth century was also marked by a revival of interest in Platonism. Amidst Christian ideas and beliefs there were still those whose quest for the truth instigated the study of pagan philosophies.[9]

 Timarion is an example of a prolific literary amalgamation of Byzantine and Classical literature. The author examines metaphysical concerns via a Christian and a Neoplatonist perspective and introduces satiric elements and socio-religious questions by modulating the works of Lucian. Lucian's uncompromising as well as ambiguous historical and authorial persona can be construed as part of *Timarion's* message to its readership.[10] Browning

mentions Nicetas Choniates, who states that "the twelfth century sees a resurgence of ecclesiastical disputes and heresy trials such as had not been seen since the final condemnation of Iconoclasm in the early ninth century."[11] A literary work, therefore, about death and the afterlife is appropriate to the time, and the choice of satiric travelogue can guarantee the author immunity from potential religious strictures.

Timarion is a travelogue narrated by the homonymous individual about his trip to Thessaloniki for the festival of Demetrios, the city patron saint. Timarion describes the festival and the civil and military parade in an elaborate *ekphrasis*. The festivities last for three days, after which Timarion falls ill with a fever. Nonetheless, he decides to undertake the return portion of the journey. When he gets to the river Hebrus in Thrace, however, he loses part of his bile, and at midnight two devils come to his bed to take him to the underworld. Timarion elaborates on the description of Hades and the types of people he encounters,[12] including an old teacher of his, Theodore of Smyrna.[13] When Timarion explains why he is there, his teacher volunteers to help him persuade the judges of the underworld to let him live. In the court Theodore argues that Timarion was still alive and also provides evidence for that. The judges, after long deliberation, decide that the devils misjudged Timarion and transgressed his rights. Therefore, Timarion is set free to go back to the world of the living and the devils are excused from their duties. Theodore asks his student to send a few things to Hades once he is back to Earth. Finally, Timarion says to Kydion that he needs to take care of that and suggests that they go their separate ways and return to their homes.

The way Timarion and Kydion meet, and the fact that they engage in a discussion, reminds us of the opening of several of Lucian's writings. Specifically, *Lexiphanes* starts with Lycinus saying, "Λεξιφάνης ὁ καλὸς μετὰ βιβλίου," and *Timarion* begins respectively with Kydion saying "Τιμαρίων ὁ καλός." The author is entertaining the idea of drawing the attention of the readers to Lucian from the very beginning, probably to prepare them for a paradoxographic-Lucianic story. If we entertain this possibility, we also assume that Lucian as well as his style and motifs were notable at the time, although it does not necessarily mean that he was known among the masses. Considering, however, that the twelfth century was also the time that Neoplatonism was revived in the literary world, amidst Christian preaching and despite it, Lucian, the anti-conformist and the doubter, could very well have been read by the educated.

There are a large number of other linguistic similarities between *Timarion* and Lucian's writings.[14] As a matter of fact, Lucian's impeccable use of Classical Greek had already made him a paradigm for lexica writers, as I mentioned earlier. In my examination of the two authors I do not explore verbal equivalences, but I consider how borrowing motifs and assimilating them in a different literary genre and in entirely different historical and social contexts can shed light on the life of Byzantines and the afterlife of Lucian as well as of the Byzantine creative reappropriation of second-century literary

material. The descent to Hades is the main scene in *Timarion*; its description takes up a large part of the text and is also a repository of the author's philosophic, religious, and political views. The selection of a non-earthly place thriving with reprehensible earthly vices lies securely close to Lucian. Also, the calumniation of certain vices, such as gluttony and the unreasonably persistent attachment to earthly pleasures, runs through all of Lucian's dialogues. The underworld in Lucian's universe is the land of sorrow for those who have not come to terms with human boundaries and their finite possibilities. He describes his characters as miserable remnants of what they used to be, utterly deprived of any trace of beauty or any other earthly characteristic to distinguish them. The gluttonous old man has a predecessor in *Dialogi Mortuorum*, in which Lucian blatantly emphasizes the ephemerality of monetary possessions and physical appearance. Lucian, therefore, is clearly modulated in *Timarion*, and he survives, albeit edited and in a Christian context. *Menippus* also seems to be another source of inspiration for the end of *Timarion* and the young man's ascent to the world of the living.[15] Further, *Timarion* considers the feud between philosophers of Classical antiquity, and emphasizes their disagreements, implicitly commenting on the ecclesiastical disputes that were raging at the time. Timarion says that he saw John Italus trying to sit next to Pythagoras; Pythagoras, however, rejected him on account of their discordance in religion. Hence, twelfth-century Byzantines masterfully incorporated Lucian into their world. Not only were they able to perceive Lucian's intentions and artfully imitate his style, but they also managed to revive the spirit of the Second Sophistic, which involves the construction of literature as a shibboleth for the discussion of current issues.

There are clear differences, however, between the style of Lucian and that of the author of *Timarion*. If we compare the *Dialogi Mortuorum* to *Timarion*, we notice the lack of playfulness in the latter. *Timarion's* author simply notices the dead and their situation, contrary to Lucian, who is being more satirical and caustic as he laughs at the wealthy and all-powerful tyrants who are now nothing but deformed skeletons. Lucian is also more theatrical; the characters threaten their interlocutors with physical retribution, and the dialogues resemble dramatic recitation. Timarion simply narrates his story, while Kydion interrupts from time to time without necessarily enlivening the dialogue. Finally, another essential difference between the two works is that in *Timarion* the dead are more passive, as if they have succumbed to their fate. They do not complain about what they have left behind, with the exception of Timarion's teacher, who asks for some food from the world of the living. In Lucian, however, the dead have preserved a part of their human self. Midas, Croesus, and Sardanapalus complain about the money and power they had to relinquish, and Menippus comments on the loss of beauty in the underworld with a particular reference to Helen of Troy.[16] This is clear evidence of the infiltration of Christianity and its effect on literature. Judging from *Timarion*, we can assume that Christian preaching about the afterlife had imbued people's reaction to such

concerns or that the author of *Timarion* intended to introduce his readership to a more Christian perception of death, abolish people's adherence to earthly pleasures, and eventually increase their awareness of the importance of religion and its doctrine.[17] We should not reject the possibility, though, that *Timarion's* author could be less charismatic than Lucian and thus fails to render lively and playful dialogue. Instead, he flaunts his narratological abilities and his familiarity with Classical literature and demonstrates his ability to preach about religious beliefs via pagan literature. Either way, through my analysis it becomes evident that Byzantine authors syncretized Classical with Christian literature, creating an entirely new literary genre and demonstrating that the two worlds could coexist on literary and social levels, even if not on the religious. It does not come as a surprise then that Lucian's transcultural and transnational consideration of realities survives through them, filtered and edited to address an entirely different audience.

LUCIANIC HUMOR IN FIFTEENTH- AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE: ERASMUS'S *PRAISE OF FOLLY* AND MORE'S *UTOPIA*

The *literati* in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe showed a revived interest in Classical antiquity. Lucian, notwithstanding the fact that he is not part of the golden age of Greek and Latin literature, attracted their attention and was thereupon read, translated, and imitated thirteen centuries after his death. Issues that arise, and that I explore in this section, include the circumstances that dictated this resurgence of Lucianic style, how he reappeared in this era, and how he was "translated" into different languages.[18] Through my analysis it becomes evident that European authors at the time had actually dissected Lucian; they identified his literary techniques and reused them in entirely different social and literary contexts.

   To assess Lucian's influence on the Humanists and thus gain a better insight into the era, I discuss Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* and More's *Utopia*. More specifically, what seems to have prompted Erasmus and More to revisit Lucian is the prevalent position that the church had assumed even on a social level. The result was the financial exploitation of the lower classes and the manipulation of their awe towards the divine; priests and friars had appropriated religious leadership and self-righteousness. In addition to that, they were claiming the prerogative of retaining a place in heaven for those who would pay for the absolution of their sins. The result of this appropriation of self-righteousness and, consequently, their uncontested authority was that religious authorities often purposefully mistranslated the Greek in the New Testament, using their interpretation to fit their idea of religion. The clergy also enjoyed other privileges, such as exemption from taxation. It is only reasonable, therefore, that people were often exasperated at such unfairness and that the educated were reluctant to unquestionably consent to the mandates of the church. These were the circumstances

and the demands of the era that allowed or even necessitated the spring of Humanism, both Italian and English. It was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the Humanists appeared on the academic scene. Authors such as Lorenzo de Valla, Erasmus, Thomas More, and Luther purported to find the truth behind the writings of the church, the assertions of the wealthy, and the pretentiousness of the educated and the philosophers and then teach it to laymen. Erasmus started reading the Old and New Testament from the original Greek, pointing out the clergy's mistakes.[19] In addition to social unrest, developments in the literary sphere provided an outlet for the oppressed Humanists. Grammar and rhetoric were revived, and their role in society became more than embellishing. Classical works pertaining to rhetoric, such as the writings of Quintilian, Cicero, and Aristotle, came into the spotlight and were studied again. Grammar became a means of polished speaking, and eloquence was a *sine qua non* for anyone who wished to climb the ladder of social, political, or even ecclesiastic hierarchy. The spirit of the Second Sophistic and Lucian's rhetorical mannerisms provided the appropriate diction to meet with the exigencies of this era, and it is not surprising that Erasmus and More studied him and drew material from his writings. Plato's ideal state and statesman were also appealing to the Humanists, who endeavored to achieve fairer governing and living circumstances. It is evident that Europe at the time was a cradle of changes, since the church, officials, and people coveted political prowess and laid claims to religious correctness. The educated wanted to extirpate the superannuated preaching of the clergy, while the church, on the other hand, found it hard not to interfere or to relinquish the position of supremacy that it had enjoyed for so long. The upheavals, therefore, once more appear to be sociopolitical. Which is the ruling class—the state, the church, or the educated? Who is right about life and the way one should live it? These are some of the questions that Erasmus and More attempted to answer and the reasons that prompted Lucian's revival.

Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*[20]

The *Praise of Folly* was conceived by Erasmus[21] in 1509 on his trip from Italy to England to visit his friend Thomas More. It was written during his stay in England and was first published in 1511. The editor of the first edition was Richard Croke, and the text was not properly handled. The first authorized edition was done in 1512 by the Ascenian Press in Paris, the cradle of Humanists and revolutionary theologians. In 1543, however, the Sorbonne condemned the *Folly*, and the work was also forbidden in Italy and Spain. The very fact of its banishment, of course, indicates how seriously the satirized parties took the *Folly* and the degree of impact that satires must have had at the time. Erasmian Humanism evolved around theory and grew into two branches, a religious and a political. As far as religion was concerned, Erasmus decisively fought against the pretentiousness

of the clergy and their pre-assumed supremacy. He thought that each person should read the teachings of pagan philosophers and take from them whatever he considered intrinsic for his current Christian life. On a political level, Erasmus believed that his theoretical teachings, the results of his study of philosophy and Platonism, could help a prince make the right decisions when it came to governing the state. According to other Humanists, however, Erasmus's ideals were too theoretical to be applied to Tudor England and impossible to be successfully implemented on any society. This was the view of Thomas More, for instance, as presented in *Utopia*, which I discuss later in this chapter. In any case, the *Praise of Folly* is a work in which Erasmus dares to unmask the pretentiousness of different classes of people in an attempt to unveil the truth, liberate his contemporaries from inveterate but false beliefs, and eventually achieve virtue in life.

Folly can be divided into three sections. In the first part, Folly argues that foolish people are more content than wise. According to her, it is only through her lack of profundity and thoughtfulness that social norms, such as marriage and social relations, can exist. The second section is a discussion of professions such as grammarians, schoolteachers, theologians, ecclesiastic members, kings, and princes, about whom Folly claims that it is only thanks to her that they are not the most miserable of men, working all the time, bearing the burden of saving the world, and struggling towards linguistic propriety. She claims that they are arrogant and foolish, which explains why they are content with such pursuits. In the third section Erasmus explains the Christians' belief in God as higher authority as an indication of their inanity. Folly argues that it is due to a degree of madness that they forget their earthly misfortunes and ailments. She even describes ecstasy as an alienation of mind, which she interprets as foolishness.

There has never been any question about Lucian's influence on Erasmus. As Robinson states, "No creative writer has left more evidence for his knowledge of Lucian and for the way in which he interpreted him than has Erasmus."[22] The beginning of the work resembles Lucian's *Phalaris*. Folly defends herself, admitting to her infamous reputation and claiming that she actually brings joy to the hearts of men through divine radiance. Erasmus clearly realizes the perspectival similarities between the fallacious argumentation of Folly and Lucian's Phalaris, on the basis of which, however, the latter ultimately exonerates himself. Erasmus's choice of literary precedent, therefore, guarantees two results: He prepares the readers for the unsoundness of Folly's speech and thus makes them more receptive, while at the same time he berates contemporary behaviors, eschewing at the same time the danger to be stigmatized as a contriver against the system, for everyone knows that Folly is mistaken, just as Phalaris was. Throughout *Phalaris* the reader notices the reversals of argumentation and the unsound basis of the tyrant's defense; he claims, for instance, that it was his subjects' reluctance to be cooperative and receptive to his governing that forced him to employ torture and not ferocity on his behalf.

Except for or in addition to this manifest imitation of Lucian, I believe that if we read the text more closely we notice that the sophist "lives" in the Italian Humanist on two distinctly different levels. The first lies in the content of his work, the condemnation of contemporary events, and the other on a literary level, when one considers the rhetorical techniques employed by Humanists. Lucian therefore had established his persona and had thus become the uncontested figure of rhetorical dexterity and critical awareness, and it is this combination that survives centuries later. With regards to the content, Erasmus laughs at the generic foolish person and other traditional favorite themes of satire, such as women's vices, man's disappointment with himself, and how stupidity is what makes him forget what he lacks. Similarly, Lucian criticizes his contemporaries, but he is clearly not excluding any historic period or, for that matter, any nation. Another Erasmian technique that reminds us of Lucian is the ability to remain objective in the sense that he does not passionately target any individual. It is, of course, not only the authors' desire to be diplomatic, but also their realization of the indispensability of social and political connections. Erasmus's references to socially and religiously transgressive theologians, arrogant and inconsiderate princes, and kings depict contemporary society without exposing the author. The way Erasmus critically examines Christians, alleged religious authorities, their (mis)interpretions of religion, and the principles of life resonates of Lucian and his social criticisms, as discussed in chapter 3.[23] Without references to any contemporary Roman emperors, which would have considerably diminished his chances of political advancement, Lucian manages to make his perception of society manifest. Lucian and Erasmus both realized the power of satire, in the form of literary satire, satiric dialogue, or even mock praise, and also the degree of immunity satires could grant to their author against any attacks from the offended parties.

With regards to literary technique, Erasmus imitates Lucian very closely, adopting his subtle and manipulative reversal of reasoning and argumentation. Erasmus does not define explicitly what Folly is; he does not set degrees of foolishness. Whoever takes things in a lighter way or indulges himself in trivial matters exhibits characteristics of foolishness, and that is how he achieves happiness. Of course, Erasmus takes advantage of the fact that Folly is the speaker and does not need to logically explain herself. He also adopts the Lucianic technique of estrangement. He manipulates the reasoning of his readers, creates a completely unfamiliar context for Christianity, and attempts to trick people into viewing things from her (Folly's) perspective. Erasmus shows another aspect of socio-political reality, monarchs and grammarians, and engages his contemporaries in an absurd dialogue with Folly, through which, however, they may decide to reconsider the established reality. Lucian promotes the same open-mindedness and multifocality when he satirizes the Greeks through a Scythian, or the parasites through a parasite, and indicates the falsity of the Greco-Roman appropriation of correctness.

More's *Utopia*[24]

More's *Utopia* is pertinent to a discussion of Lucian's reception in European literature. The uniqueness in the English Humanists' case is that we can actually confirm that he was drawing from Lucian, since he had already translated *Cynicus, Menippus, Philopseudes*, and *Tyrannicida*.[25] The point of interest in this literary relationship between the two authors, however, is not only that More read Lucian in the original, but that he returns to the same source with Erasmus only to promote a contradictory plan, one that undermines Erasmus's thesis. Although a friend of Erasmus, More was not an exponent of revealing clerical corruption, and certainly he was not an adherent of Erasmian theoretical approaches.[26] Furthermore, he did not believe that the teachings of Classical authors could lead to virtue. It has been suggested that *Utopia* was More's answer to Erasmus's suggestions about the ideal state and governing.[27] *Utopia* was written in the summer of 1515. In May More went from England to Flanders as a member of the royal trade commission. The negotiations were recessed by July 21, but More returned to England at the end of October. It was during those three months that he perceived the idea of *Utopia*, although we do not know exactly when the book was written or in what order.

Utopia is a threefold work in which the author lists contemporary issues of concern and then suggests solutions. A close reading of the text proves that numerous Lucianic elements are interspersed. The most prominent element, which also constitutes the foundation of the whole precept behind *Utopia*, is that More intends to present the idea that a society based on the ideals of theoreticians is unrealistic. His intention is to undermine the opposing views from the inside, which is something that echoes the Lucianic technique of estrangement. The first part of the book is a letter by More addressed to Peter Giles where he apologizes for the delay in writing the book and blames it on his busy personal and family life as well as his professional obligations. Lucian appears in the author's introductory statement and sets the tone of the work and the expectations of the readers. More announces that he tried to be close to what Hythloday told them:

> For I beg you, consult your memory. If your recollection agrees with his, I'll yield and confess myself mistaken. But if you don't recall the point, I'll follow my own memory and keep my present figure. For, as I've taken particular pains to avoid having anything false in the book, so, if anything is in doubt, I'd rather say something untrue than tell a lie.

The second part is *Utopia*, Book I. More discusses the way he met with Hythloday, who, although he had been asked to join the court of a prince as adviser, refused. He argues that he could never have any effect on princes or councilors as they are not receptive to suggestions. He states his views about England, the socio-economic problems that overran the population,

and especially the increase in the number of thieves, although the punishment is death.[28] So far it would seem that More agrees with Erasmus and his censure against authority. As a matter of fact, Book II deceptively comes as the *deus ex machina* to provide the answer for the aforementioned misfortunes. More describes a place called Utopia, which, according to Hythloday, is the ideal place; it is the eutopia. Once we start reading, however, we realize that More is constructing the place in our eyes while he concurrently deconstructs it. Utopia from certain aspects may seem like the ideal society: no one is poor or hungry, and everyone has a part in the commonwealth. No one, however, can live his life the way he wishes. Instead, it is the society and the prosperity of the state that dictate everyone's profession and even the way everyone should be spending their leisure time. In addition, in Utopia the inhabitants engage in warfare in rather controversial ways. They pay mercenaries to kill the leader of the opposing party so that the war may end quickly. At the end of the book, More blatantly dissociates himself from this alleged utopia, disapproving of some of its laws and aspects of lifestyle, although he wishes that a few could be implemented in Europe.

The meticulously crafted wordplay is a game between truth and lies, honesty and deception, and eventually a literary paradox through which both Lucian and More excoriate their opponents by seemingly agreeing with them. More says that he would rather be untruthful than purposefully lie. Lucian in *Verae Historiae* says that the one thing that is true from what he is about to say is that everything is a lie; he also openly admits that he has never been to or seen any of the places and people that he is talking about. The *Utopia* and its author abide exactly by the same rules:

> κἂν ἓν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεύδομαι. Οὕτω δ'ἄν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν μηδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγειν. Γράφω τοίνυν περὶ ὧν μήτε εἶδον μήτε ἔπαθον μήτε παρ'ἄλλων ἐπυθόμην. (4)
>
> for I now make the only true statement you are to expect—that I am a liar. This confession is, I consider, a full defence against all imputations. My subject is, then, what I have neither seen, experienced, nor been told, what neither exists nor could conceivably do so.

Furthermore, the idea of an imaginary state is Lucianic; the latter writes about οὐ-topian societies,[29] but where current social issues or reprehensible forms of conduct do exist. It is less perilous, though, to the author's social standing to criticize fictitious societies, albeit equally effective. More adopts this literary motif and succeeds in proving that a state in which everything is as theoreticians suggest could never exist.

More delves more deeply into Lucian's techniques when he chooses the names of the characters in *Utopia* and even the name of the place itself, U-topia, the no-place. Therefore, this supposedly perfect place is actually non-existent. The main speaker also, the proponent of Utopia as an ideal

place, is named Hythloday, the nonsense peddler. In *De Parasito* the name of the parasite's interlocutor is Tychiades and the name of the parasite Simon. Lucian is playing with the fact that it is not the parasite's name that alludes to luck and fortune, but the interlocutor's instead.[30] In *Verae Historiae* also Lucian continues with the wordplay, and manipulates the mind of his readers, distracting them from the fact that he is lying, something he had admitted doing in the first place. For instance, he says, "τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέγραψα, μή τῳ καὶ ἄπιστον δόξῃ-τοσοῦτον ἦν" ("I did not therefore write down the multitude of these, lest it seems unbelievable—so large it was," 18).

More, in his attempt to show why Erasmian Humanism and theory cannot be practiced in a society, actually invents a society founded on those principles and, by creating a first-hand experience for his readers, proves that its existence is impossible. This is what Lucian does in several of his works. In *Toxaris* he shows how unfairly other nations are being judged, and he does that by criticizing the Greeks. He implements the same reasoning in *De Parasito*, where Simon actually defends his position as parasite, showing through absurd argumentation that being a parasite is actually an art.

The fact that More espouses Lucian's techniques is not only based on literary analysis and conjectures. In the case of More we are actually able to positively ascertain that he was imitating Lucian and syncretizing him in his work, as several literary motifs we detect in Utopia appear in the works of Lucian that More had translated. In *Menippus*, one of the works More translated, a decree was passed about the wealthy concerning their afterlife that dictates that after they die their bodies will be punished in the underworld but their souls will return to life in the body of poor people and animals. In *Utopia* money and the non-existence of private property are pivotal issues, whether or not More actually sanctions the Utopians' practices. Menippus also in the homonymous work is presented as being perplexed about which lifestyle he should adopt and by which philosophy he should abide. More's work, especially if considered as a response to Erasmus, tackles contemporary issues that relate to the philosophy of life and the social, religious, and political stance one should adopt. More, therefore, espousing Erasmian Humanism, endeavors to find useful teachings in the writings of Classical writers as well as to assimilate Lucian's rhetorical and literary techniques. An educated reader acquainted with Lucian may think at first that More is trying to introduce a different, more progressive, and far healthier society than contemporary Europe by employing Lucian's technique of estrangement and imaginary travelogue. After reading *Utopia*, however, one is no longer certain whether More actually suggests this kind of society or whether he successfully undermines it by actually presenting how utopian it is.[31] More may actually be preaching partly in favor of the monastic life that he himself was leading. The controlled and virtuous pleasure that the Utopians are pursuing as well as the non-existence of personal wealth or property and the lack of ostentation and pride are, in a way,

characteristics of More's ideal way of living.[32] In fact, as he explains in his introduction to the translation of Lucian's work, Lucian's ways of writing satisfy the Horatian notion of the role of literature, which is both to instruct and please the readers (*voluptatem . . . cum utilitate coniunxerit*).[33]

LUCIANIC ECHOES IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH LITERATURE: MOLIÈRE'S *TARTUFFE* AND *LE MISANTHROPE*

As we move further into the centuries we may not be able to discern traces of Lucianic vocabulary and specific motifs, but his character portrayal and his defense of social integrity through a feigned subversion of its foundations clearly found a way into European literature. Molière was a very influential author, a socially active dramatist whose *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope* display elemental Lucianic ideas. I do not suggest that there is any evidence that Molière actually read Lucian. The fact remains, however, that the Syrian orator's spirit survives in Molière's works. There is always the possibility that Molière was imitating another author who had read Lucian. Nonetheless, we should not underestimate the range of Lucian's influence and his penetration through several and variable strata of eras, ideas, and literary creations.

An examination of Molière's socio-historical background will illumine the threads that colligate his style with Lucian's. In Lucian's case it is the Roman Empire that dictated, one way or another, the style of his writings, and in Molière's it was the French king and his government. Molière wrote under the reign of Louis XIV, but he was also dealing with the opposition from the Company of the Holy Sacrament, a secret religious society of priests and laymen who were set against the new order of things and what they considered contemporary vices.[34] Molière defied their parochial and superannuated assessment of society as well as their claim to correctness and piety. He questioned what had been so far axiomatically accepted, namely that every person who claims piety is honestly pious. Louis XIV, after his victories in the Franco-Dutch War and the treaty of Nijmegen, got the honorary title of Louis the Great (*Louis Le Grand*), which, according to a decree, was to appear on every inscription and statue. Louis, in addition to the wars, was interested in reorganizing France. The state became centralized, and the focal point was the capital. He managed to ameliorate the negative effects of feudalism and thus become the absolute monarch. He proceeded to other fiscal reformations, including the appointment of Jean-Baptiste Colbert as minister for finances, who reduced the national debt by reorganizing the collection of taxes. He also invited artisans from other countries to work in France so that the number of imports would be reduced. As for Louis's changes in the legal department, he introduced the Code Louis, according to which every marriage, death, and baptism had to be registered. He provided France with a unified law and organized the

criminal law. The downside of his interference with legal procedure was a law that sanctioned slavery. Finally, Louis did not neglect the arts. He was the patron of Académie Française, and under his reign important writers, such as Molière and Racine, flourished. As a result of Louis's participation and reformations in these areas, he was also known as the Sun King (*Le Roi Soleil*), for the way the court and all of France was to revolve around him. In the closing scene in *Tartuffe*, it is actually King Louis who saves the day and restores the social order. *Tartuffe* was revised twice before finally being presented on stage, and the last scene was one of those added later. The king's influence and his egocentricity, along with Molière's desire to see the play on stage, can explain the *addendum*.

Molière's *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope*

Tartuffe was presented for the first time in 1664 as a three-act play, but it was immediately suppressed after its first performance because of the involvement of the Company of the Holy Sacrament, which was apparently still politically active.[35] In August 1667 Molière presented a five-act play in Palais Royal titled *Panulphe ou L'Imposteur*, in which Tartuffe was replaced by Panulphe. Molière repeatedly altered the play so as to see it performed. Cléante seems to be a later addition, which can explain why he is so sharply portrayed as composed, rational, and a guardian of social order. The king was unfortunately absent at the time for the siege in Lille, and the first president of the *Parlement*, Guillaume de Lamoignon, once a member of the Company, closed the theater and forbade further performances. It was not until February 9, 1669, that the play was finally performed in the version we have today, and it met with tremendous success and acceptance from the audience. Molière lived in a society where, in addition to the king, church as well as religious groups established their own set of rules, although they digressed from the real teaching of church writings, and manipulated people's awe towards death and the afterlife. *Tartuffe* is Molière's way of exposing the impostor that lurks within this typical French noble family and by extension within society. Tartuffe, who does not appear until later scenes in the play, is a parasite who feeds on the *pater familias'* gullibility and who has disguised his unscrupulousness under hypocritical piety,[36] so much so that Orgon bequeaths to him his fortune. Eventually, when Tartuffe's despicable personality is exposed, he threatens Orgon and his family with eviction. The situation reaches a climax, and there does not seem to be a solution. Tartuffe has already been to the king and asked him to remove Orgon and his family from his (Tartuffe's) property. The all-knowing and all-wise King Louis XIV, though, cognizant of Tartuffe's character and schemes, orders his arrest.[37]

The roguish and of dubious quality characters appear in Lucian mostly to castigate, or simply comment on vices and contemporary issues. Also, the idea of letting the unethical character expose himself is clearly Lucianic. It

is certainly more appealing and suggestive for an audience as it also adds to the comic effect. In *De Parasito*, Simon, a parasite, endeavors to persuade Tychiades that being a parasite is a quality. Phalaris claims that he is not at fault but that his actions are a reasonable reaction to his subjects' misconduct. In *Cynicus* it is a Cynic, of course, who supports this lifestyle, and in *Juppiter Tragoedus*, it is Momus, a deity himself, who questions the validity of the pagan religious system. The way Tartuffe adopts personas, deceives people, and masterminds Orgon is comic and illustrates Molière's dexterous character portrayal.[38] Both authors also emphasize that the most perilous of Tartuffe's qualities is his ability to appear socially legitimate and undermine social order from the inside, as he successfully infiltrates society, similar to Lucian's questionable characters. Lucian and Molière both attempt to unveil hypocrisy, without necessarily aiming at being recuperative. Nonetheless, they clearly see behind masquerade and effectively sensitize their audience to precarious social and cultural positioning. Lucian and Molière also share an ambivalent comic spirit. The comic elements in Molière's works are not always funny. The way Tartuffe exploits Orgon's obtuseness, and the latter's blindness regarding Tartuffe's unscrupulousness, are comic but not necessarily funny. Lucian and Molière invented a different aspect of comic that sometimes is humorous while at other times is redolent of ensconced criticism.[39]

Molière's *Le Misanthrope* also noticeably resembles Lucian's *Timon*. It could be a direct imitation if Molière had read a translation of Lucian's work, or he could have been influenced by other stage productions of misanthropes, such as Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*. The reasons that prompted my examination of Molière instead of Shakespeare are that the political and religious climate in Molière's time can be paralleled with that in Lucian's *epoque* and that the comic elements in other works of Molière, such as *Tartuffe*, as I discussed, resonate with Lucianic facetiousness and whimsicality, without losing their politically charged aura, something that indicates stronger connections to Lucian.[40] The play was first performed in 1666 with Molière in the role of Alceste and his young wife in the role of Célimène. In *Le Misanthrope* Molière castigates more generic vices. Alceste is an honest, conscientious man who detests people's hypocrisy and villainy. He is in love, however, with Célimène, who is endowed with all the characteristics that appall him. After Célimène's disrespectful and blameworthy conduct and a trial in which Alceste loses to Oronte, an uninspired poet, noble, and friend of the court, because Alceste dared to speak the truth about his verses, Alceste, abhorred, decides to abandon social circles and sever any bond with people. The similarities between *Le Misanthrope* and *Timon* are obvious from the very beginning. Both works open with clear statements from the main characters about their intentions to retire from society. Both Timon and Alceste seem despondent at the misconduct and dishonesty of people. Also, both Timon and Alceste eventually question either religious or social higher authorities. Timon, on the one hand, expresses disappointment at the gods' indifference to men and their subsequent reluctance to

protect honest people against villains. Similarly, at first Alceste trusts the judicial system, but he is eventually disillusioned and defensive towards people, society in general, and all its constituents. It is interesting to note the evolution of Lucian's dishonest characters—the dishonest orator and the flatterer—into the nobles of the court, as the seventeenth century was the time when flattery was blooming in the court.

Furthermore, neither Lucian nor Molière attempt to create sympathetic characters. Timon is relentless and cantankerous, and there does not seem to be *katharsis* at the end, even though his issues with the gods are resolved. Βλεψίας cries out to Timon that they are all leaving, but Timon cries out that no one will go unpunished (Βλεψίας: Μὴ βάλλε, ὦ Τίμων· ἄπιμεν γάρ. Τίμων: Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀναιμωτί γε ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ ἄνευ τραυμάτων, "B: Do not hit, Timon, we are leaving. T: But not without shedding blood you or without wound," 58). Similarly, Alceste is so obsessed as to be unable to find the golden line between social isolation and social fawning, as is the case of Célimène. He exaggerates the unfairness against him in his trial and makes it sound as if this is the sign that he alone is fighting against the whole world. At the end of the play, Alceste goes as far as to ask Célimène to retire from the world with him. Why then does Molière, if he wants to criticize the life of the court, not make Alceste more reasonable in his requests and in his choices in life? To answer this question, one should take a closer look at the other characters of the play, especially Philinte and Eliante.[41] Philinte seems to be the foil of Alceste. He is not blind to the shortcomings of society, but he is not in favor of its uncritical calumniation and subsequently its rejection either. Up to a certain extent he agrees with Alceste; nonetheless, he is more receptive to people's occasional falsity and cognizant of the fact that there are always levels of social discordance. Eliante, on the contrary, states that one should try to change the negative characteristics of the person one loves and hence achieve an amelioration of social circumstances (*comptent les défauts pour les perfections, Et savent y donner de favorable noms*, 715–716). Molière's characters are admittedly more complicated.[42] Therefore, in *Le Misanthrope*, just as in *Tartuffe*, the author's truth can be found when one considers more than one character in the play. Finally, the portrayal of unsympathetic characters may also be Lucian's and Molière's attempts to not seem to sanction radical reactions.

In any case, Molière's criticism against society is obvious, and, despite the war that the Company of the Holy Sacrament had waged against him because of *Tartuffe*, he seems determined to prove that he did not grow complacent for his own safety. Lucian comments on Greeks, Romans, Easterners, Christians and pagans, and several other social groups, instigating social investigation and reexamining social norms. The literary similarities between Molière and Lucian indicate also that the social issues and vices that the latter discusses are (re)current, and his characters are interesting, occasionally ambiguous, and appealing to audiences throughout the centuries, and that is what constitutes them as diachronic.

LUDVIG HOLBERG'S *THE JOURNEY OF NIELS KLIM TO THE WORLD UNDERGROUND*

One may feel that we are getting farther and farther away from Lucian and that any attempt to establish a connection between him and another author will compromise the integrity of our conclusions. The fact is, however, that in the case of Holberg we actually have a declaration from the author himself in his *Memoirs* in which he states that he actually got his hands on the works of Lucian[43] and later admits that he imitated Lucian, even though he disapproves of the latter's atheistic attitude.[44] Europe at the time was once again overrun by wars, clerical manipulation, and oppression of the masses; the ground, therefore, seems to be ripe for Lucianic seeds. However, in Holberg's case we acquire a different appreciation of Lucian; he selectively imitated Lucian, denuded his writings of all his underlying beliefs and convictions, and simply borrowed motifs from his literary repository. Before I undertake my comparative analysis of the two authors, it is necessary to shed some light onto the socio-historical context of Holberg's life. The political reality in Denmark until the sixteenth century included clashes between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. From 1389 to 1523 the three countries were under the reign of the Danish king. After that time Sweden left the union and then Denmark, and Norway threatened to close the former's access to the North Sea. Meanwhile, Frederick III, the Dano-Norwegian king, allied with the burghers of Copenhagen, and they imposed absolute monarchy on Denmark and Norway. Frederick's heirs, Christian V and Frederick IV, tried to recover the lost eastern provinces, but to no avail. The clashes ended in 1720, and, although Denmark was financially exhausted, there was finally peace. It was the perfect time then for rebuilding trade and industry and also for middle-class people to ascend socially and economically. This kind of social reformation was also assisted by the still-thriving monarchic absolutism. The aftermath of Denmark's rebuilding was that the middle classes as well as the clergy gained wealth and a higher social position. In the meantime, German lands and other countries in Northern Europe participated in the movement of Enlightenment that professed the power of reason, rationality, and critical thinking, and the power of the clergy had resulted in the flourishing of a religious stream, known as *Pietism*, that preached absolute devotion to Christ. Holberg's theatrical works, his satires, his memoirs, and his fictional novel reveal a man with an astute perception of political and social circumstances and a keen sense of artistry and dexterity in writing. The *Zeitgeist* of his era clearly emanates from his works, and thus his readers are given the opportunity to reconsider Denmark and Europe.[45]

The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground (*Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum*) was written in Latin in 1741, and it was an attack against pietism, religious intolerance, and other superannuated beliefs.[46] Niels Klim, a graduate of the University of Copenhagen, falls into the Earth's center

when he attempts to explore a cave in Bergen in Norway. In this subterranean world he encounters a country of intelligent trees that live by their own laws and lifestyle; their main trait and virtue, according to them, at least, is their tardiness in motion and thinking. Niels Klim is considered a peculiar animal and due to his swiftness only appropriate to be the king's messenger, for the trees in Potua believe that his speed thwarts his ability to comprehend anything in its profundity. Holberg, through the eyes of Klim, presents the customs and laws of the trees, and it is through them that he excoriates the society he lives in. For instance, Klim says that the trees do not exercise their ability in speech, and they consider the ability of orators and lawyers to respond quickly, something that was practiced in European universities in Holberg's time, as an indication of superficiality. Women are allowed to have administrative positions, because it is unreasonable to exclude someone worthy from an office and thus deprive the public of individuals who can benefit the system. During his stay with the Potuans, Klim travels around the rest of their state and takes notes about the other nations that he encounters. Holberg presents different nations that have several distinct characteristics, such as the nation where people have eyes of different shapes. Klim observes that no one is judged because he sees something as rectangular while someone else considers it circular. This is another direct attack against the system in Denmark and its religious intolerance. Klim is finally exiled from the land of the Potuans because he tries to pass a new law, which is deemed by the Potuans unreasonably offensive and potentially precarious, according to which women should be excluded from any administrative office. He is exiled to the earth's inner crust and his adventures begin in the kingdom of Martinia, a country of apes, where nothing is examined in depth; compared to them, he is considered too slow. He acquires some privileges when he invents the wig, but then he is accused of making advances to the Syndic's wife and is sent to the galleys. He is then taken on a commercial voyage to the Mezardorian islands, which are inhabited by various kinds of creatures. After a shipwreck, he ends up on an island of primitive men, the Quamites, where Klim distinguishes himself, becomes the consultant to their king, and later even assumes the position of the king. As a monarch he subdues a number of nations and becomes a tyrant. When his power is so oppressive that his subjects are on the verge of revolting, he tries to escape and, through the same hole that brought him to this underground world, returns to Norway. Upon his return he encounters an old friend to whom he narrates his adventures. His friend advises him not to repeat the story to anyone for fear of religious prosecution. Klim is then appointed as curate, marries, and leads a normal life. After Klim's death his friend publishes his manuscript.

The work clearly comments on Holberg's perception of social, political, and religious realities. The sagacity of the Potuans, their customs, and male and female equality, as well as their revolutionary religious tolerance, are traits of socio-political maturity that the author's era certainly lacks.

Through a paradoxographic novel, Holberg exposes the conservative, authoritative, and superficial perspectives of his contemporaries by creating in his literary realm a nation where everyone has a different eye shape. He thus impugns the absolutism of the clergy, who insist on punishing people merely on account of their alterity. Another satirical comment, which this time does not target his country but most probably the French, is the portrayal of the Martinians, who do not give serious thought to anything; they lightly make decisions that affect their lives, while they hasten to adopt Klim's periwigs. Holberg's acrimonious attacks, and the fact that he is not focusing only on his countrymen, prove his open-mindedness and clearly remind us of Lucian's dispassionate presentation and reconsideration of several nations, Greeks, Romans, and Easterners. The imaginary travelogue and the creation of a utopia-eutopia as a neutral place for an author to launch social criticism with impunity are also inspired by Lucian's *Verae Historiae*.

Holberg in his *Memoirs* specifically refers to his inspiration from Lucian, who can be credited with satirizing his contemporaries with impunity simply through paradoxographic writing. Intolerance towards the unknown or "the other" was also an issue that Lucian discusses extensively. His message, as I presented in chapter 3, is that a society that consists of so many different nations, such as the Roman Empire, needs to be receptive. The same can be said about Denmark, where religious intolerance represents in this case the dismissal of otherness. Holberg shows Klim's inability to accept the different, but he simultaneously shows the other side, when the Potuans fail to respect Klim's abilities. Holberg presents individuals' and society's reluctance to accept any form of otherness and makes his statement even stronger by showing the results of bidirectional narrow-mindedness.

Lucian's influence on Holberg appears also in the latter's theatrical writings.[47] *Jeppe of the Hill* and *The Political Tinker* are comedies based on characters that flourish in the newly founded society. Holberg is not in favor of the new *status quo* that favors the *nouveaux riches*. He exposes the middle class, showing that their self-confidence is not based on qualifications and that their wealth and positions are not acquired through merit. Nowhere in *Jeppe of the Hill* do we find any sympathy for the peasant for the farce they plotted to ridicule him. On the contrary, he is portrayed as more cruel than the real baron, relentless, and with no moral boundaries. Therefore, the last scene of the play is cathartic for the audience. We get the same impression from *The Political Tinker*. The politician who comes from this new caste of middle-class people is not endowed with any praiseworthy quality. A fundamental difference between Holberg and Lucian is that, even though they are both set against contemporary vices, Lucian is a supporter of the new order of things in the Empire, while Holberg is a supporter of the old world. Jeppe is blatantly castigated for his unscrupulousness, something that bears a Lucianic aura, but at the same time the author protects the established *status quo* from impostors like him, contrary to Lucian. In his

writing style, Holberg adopts the comic, although not always farcical, way of Molière, who is undoubtedly one of his sources of inspiration, at least in his theatrical works.[48] His works, therefore, carry traces from different authors and centuries syncretized with his own historical context. What is important for our exploration of Lucian's *Nachleben* is that not only does the Syrian survive, but that he coexists amalgamated with subsequent writers, and his style presents itself to us in a fresh manner: modulated, yet recognizable, edited yet unchanged.

LUCIAN IN FLAUBERT

It is difficult to claim that there can be a point-to-point criticism and comparison between Lucian and the nineteenth-century Flaubert.[49] Even though Lucian does not live unedited in Flaubert's works, one can still sense Lucianic echoes in the latter's presentation of socially marginalized women and his anxieties about contemporary events clothed in the satiric, sometimes farcical, and definitely smart novels that he has given to his readers. Flaubert has proven to be a sentimentalist and a naturalist at the same time. His *Éducation Sentimentale*, for instance, is replete with romantic elements, but the author also sketched a microcosm of society as it was being shaped in the revolution of 1848 and its aftermath.[50]

A major issue of concern for Lucian is the proper lifestyle. In *Menippus* he delves into this matter and philosophizes until the all-wise Teiresias resolves the conundrum when he suggests that the best life to be led is the simple life. Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet*[51] resembles *Menippus* in that it is Bouvard and Pécuchet, two Parisian copy clerks, who embark upon a series of adventures endeavoring to find what kind of living will be more fulfilling. They are of the same age and share the same demeanor and beliefs. When Bouvard inherits a large amount of money from his deceased father, they leave Paris and set out to live in the countryside and pursue the lifestyles they always dreamt of. The entire work is about the quests of the two friends who, not having found what it is that interests them, not having realized their potential and power, and always with a feeling of unfulfillment, pursue various activities and eventually flounder. First, they try agriculture, gardening, and food preservation. Then they turn to chemistry, anatomy, medicine, biology, and geology. Chapter 4 is about their obsession with archaeology, architecture, and history. Chapter 5 is about their interest in literature, drama, and grammar. In chapter 6, Flaubert discusses the current political situation through Bouvard and Pécuchet and several other characters who talk about the revolution and the new regime, and in that climate they try to find their political representatives. In the next chapter, the two friends try their luck at love, but to no avail, and then they turn their focus to gymnastics, occultism, theology, and philosophy. Despondent after all their unsuccessful pursuits, they even consider suicide, but the spirit of Christmas revives them, and in

the next chapter they become religious. In chapter 10, after having taken in Victor and Victorine as their children, they busy themselves with education, music, and urban planning. Considering themselves experts in everything, they argue with townsmen and as a result, in what would probably be chapter 11, which survives as notes from the author since the novel was never finished and was published posthumously, they narrowly escape prison. At the end, they decide that they should go back to being copy clerks.

Where do Bouvard and Pécuchet converge with Menippus? Menippus sets out to go to the underworld to ask wise men of the past how one should decide about the kind of life one should lead. He says that poets write about adultery, about brothers marrying their sisters, and about abominable endeavors of deities that are socially and morally censored and in some cases forbidden and punishable. Menippus expresses his uncertainty about life:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διηπόρουν, ἔδοξέ μοι ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοὺς καλουμένους τούτους φιλοσόφους ἐγχειρίσαι τε ἐμαυτὸν καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῶν χρῆσθαί μοι ὅ τι βούλοιντο καί τινα ὁδὸν ἁπλῆν καὶ βέβαιον ὑποδεῖξαι τοῦ βίου. (4)

In this perplexity, I determined to go to the people they call philosophers, put myself in their hands, and ask them to make what they would of me and give me a plain reliable map of life.

Almost at the end of every chapter, Bouvard and Pécuchet, having failed at all their endeavors, wonder what went wrong and what they should do the next time or what else they need to learn. At the end of chapter 2, for instance, they sit despondent and stumped (*Pendant dix minutes, ils demeurèrent dans cette posture, n'osant se permettre un seul mouvement, pâles de terreur, au milieu des tessons. Quand ils purent recouvrer la parole, ils se demandèrent quelle était la cause de tant d'infortunes, de la dernière surtout?—et ils n'y comprenaient rien, sinon qu'ils avaient manqué périr*). Menippus, after having come face to face with different fates in the underworld, asks Teiresias what is the best way of living. Teiresias says that the simple life is the best life. He advises Menippus not to philosophize about everything, but to laugh instead:

ὁ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἄριστος βίος καὶ σωφρονέστερος. Παυσάμενος τοῦ μετεωρολογεῖν καὶ τέλη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ καταπτύσας τῶν σοφῶν τούτων συλλογισμῶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λῆρον ἡγησάμενος τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἅπαντος θηράσῃ, ὅπως τὸ παρὸν εὖ θέμενος παραδράμῃς γελῶν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ μηδὲν ἐσπουδακώς. (21)

The life of the ordinary man is the best and most prudent choice; cease from the folly of metaphysical speculation and inquiry into origins and ends, utterly reject their clever logic, count all these things idle talk, and pursue one end alone—how you may do what your hand finds to do, and go your way with ever a smile and never a passion.

Similarly, Bouvard and Pécuchet realize that what they want to do is go back to copying, as in the old days. It is worth noting that this ending reminds us also of Holberg's Niels Klim, where Klim comes in contact with a number of different cultures, but at the end he lives his life as a conforming, middle-class person.[52] Finally, the adventurous travels of Bouvard and Pécuchet resemble also Lucian's *Verae Historiae*: The main character discovers different civilizations and cultures, only to realize that faults, vices, and virtues are to be found everywhere.

LUCIANIC SATIRE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY GREECE

Lucian's humor, satire, admonitions, and imaginary voyages have traveled through the centuries and across several European countries. One of the last stops in the twentieth century where Lucian's heritage can be found is the country that also inherited his adopted language, Greece. The twentieth century was for Greece a historically, socially, and politically active era. It was the century of the First and Second World Wars, a civil war, political transitions and reformations, and immigration because of the unfavorable and unstable political and economic climate. It was also a period when television and technology entered people's lives at all levels and consequently people's lifestyle and quality of living were dramatically altered. After the end of the First and Second World Wars, December 1944 until January 1945 was a short period of hostilities between the communist and the conservative parties. March 1946 until October of 1949 was another period of warfare between the communist and the conservative parties. The result was the defeat of the communists, but not without bloody hostilities. The tragedy continued even after the warfare ended, when the official governmental authorities sent members of the communist party to exile in different deserted Greek islands, while others fled Greece. People were branded, countrysides depopulated, and the levels of poverty rose. The years that ensued were finally an era of relative stability for Greece. Different political parties, their feuds, the machinations behind the economy, and public and political offices have been sources of caustic satire for journalists, writers, and authors of chronographs.

   Two figures that colored twentieth-century literary activity with their perspicacity, their uncompromising perception of society, and their satiric sagacity are F. Germanos (Φρέντυ Γερμανός) and A. Laskaratos (Ανδρέας Λασκαράτος). Germanos excelled in writing short novels and chronographs, while Laskaratos was a satiric poet and prose writer. Admittedly, their imitation or inspiration lies in a number of authors both Greek and foreign, ancient and modern. The motifs, the degree of sensitivity to contemporary reality, and the masterful character portrayal in their works are indubitably characteristics they both share with Lucian, even if with many others as well. Another fact that needs to be emphasized is that in Greece Lucian remains

a popular figure. He has been widely translated, published as a whole or in selections, and is still being taught at school. It is not far-fetched, therefore, to assume that he still is a literary paradigm. In this section I discuss F. Germanos's *Good News from Aphrodite* (*Καλά Νέα από την Αφροδίτη), Wet Nights* (*Υγρές Νύχτες*), and *Greece under Zero* (*Ελλάς υπό το μηδέν*) and A. Laskaratos's *Behold the Man* (*Ιδού ο άνθρωπος*), where, as I will demonstrate, Lucianic influence seems to be strongest.

Germanos's *Good News from Aphrodite* (1978) is a fictitious novel about the evolution of the human race after three nuclear wars. The chapters are written in reverse chronological order. The first one is dated 2186, when most of the human race is extinct and the survivors live below the surface of the earth. Human relations barely exist, and there are substitutes for everything, including food, drink, and music. People coexist with robots that are evolved but that are also imbued with the new mentality, so much so that they are a threat to the disbelievers. The rest of the chapters describe the events that led to this radical change in humanity—the loss of values, everyday pleasures, and acts of social courtesy, respect, and concern for others. The last chapter, which is chronologically the first, is about a guard in the Acropolis who was forced to work with a robot; the robots were not as evolved as in the first chapter. The guard is at first reluctant to accept the new order of things, which shows in his defensive attitude towards his robot co-worker, which cannot spell. At the end of the chapter, which is also the end of the book, the guard not only has accepted the robot as a part of his life, but he himself has also forgotten how to spell. *Wet Nights* (1998) is about people the author met at some point in his life and whose lives were significantly and irreparably affected by political changes and circumstances over which they had no power and in which they never participated. The four stories unravel around nightlife in cabarets. Finally, *Greece under Zero* (1993) consists of short chronographs, satirical and farcical stories about contemporary situations and events. Germanos deals humorously with political situations, people's habits, arts, even the Olympic Games of 1996 that Greece lost to Atlanta.

Germanos writes in a people-centric way, which makes the reader consider the human factor in the historical changes throughout an entire era, and discusses his century through the eyes of everyday individuals, their lives, and the choices that they either had or that someone else deprived them of. The first two works consist of short stories. Each chapter concerns a different person, but at the end they all delineate the picture of an era. This is what keeps Germanos close to Lucian. The latter, as I showed in previous chapters, contemplates his era and how his contemporaries handle or should handle it, mainly through stories and dialogues. Germanos chastises various levels of his contemporary reality and unveils how history and social factors affect people. He gives another perspective and a different dimension of current socio-political issues, just like Lucian offers a fresh view of everyday reality in the Roman Empire. Germanos also resembles Lucian in his

perspicacity concerning the future. Lucian in *Dialogi Deorum*, for instance, gives us a new perspective on the old religion. He shows that amidst the multiple deities worshipped in the Roman Empire there may be a reconsideration of the devotion to the established Olympians. The appearance of Christianity and Judaism shakes the foundations of the old religion, and Lucian is among the first to detect traces of what is about to ensue; similarly Germanos, judging from the new lifestyle and the relations between people and their priorities, gives us a glimpse of the future. It does not mean that by 2186 the human race will be living below the surface of the earth under the authority of robots, but the loss of compassion and the technological advances, which have invaded and sometimes eroded basic human relations, seem to be the basic truths of the twentieth century onwards.

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

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I gave a new perspective of Lucian's reception in Byzantine and European literature. Lucian wrote many works that cannot be easily categorized under a traditional genre, but they resound with social and political comments, fresh and insightful literary techniques, and with an always modern aura of someone who actually perspicaciously sees through society and people, being himself a vital component of his era. He filtered his past through the present without dismissing his identity. These are some of Lucian's traits that offered a palette of inspirational literary material to future authors. It was evidently Lucian's spirit and unconventional characters that drew Alciphron, and it was the Syrian's refined language and masterful techniques that inspired the Byzantines, as became obvious through my analysis of *Timarion*. Later Erasmus and More translated some of Lucian's works and discovered new possibilities in his fictitious novels and mock encomia. Their literary endeavors, alongside the Humanistic "revolt," provided the right soil for the germination of Lucianic seeds. Lucian's dexterous character portrayal, his ingenious philosophical thinking different from traditional philosophical writings, and the undermining of society by insiders found

an outlet also in Molière's *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope*. Holberg admitted in his *Memoirs* that he was inspired by Lucian, and his treatment of otherness in the *Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground* reminds us of Lucian's intentions when writing *Toxaris, Anacharsis*, and *Scytha*. Flaubert in the nineteenth century found inspiration in Lucian's philosophical work, *Menippus*. Humanity's quest for the right way of life has been a topic of interest throughout the ages; Bouvard and Pécuchet share with Lucian's Menippus this existential concern. Finally, Lucianic humor found a place in twentieth-century Greece. Germanos and Laskaratos somewhat revived Lucianic style and satire and syncretized them with their agenda and their concern for society. Through my comparative analysis of Lucian and Byzantine and European authors, I showed that no one can claim that Lucian lives unedited in any author, but it cannot be refuted that he indubitably has exerted his literary power over many. It is his language, his techniques, his style, and his way of thinking that survive and that make the exploration of his *Nachleben* worth pursuing.

NOTES

1. Panizza (2007) 105–111 makes the same argument regarding Lucian's politicized revival in Renaissance Italy.
2. Richter (2005) examines the reception of Lucian's historical persona.
3. For Lucian's manuscript tradition, see Bolgar (1954) 480–481; MacLeod (1980); Wittek (1952). For Lucian's first edition, see Goldschmidt (1951). For editions since the fifteenth century, see Lauvergnat-Gagnière (1988) 25–57.
4. See Bolgar (1954) 299, 441, 435, 518–519.
5. However, in the sixteenth century the Catholic Church lists him. On that see Reusch (1883) 228.
6. See Baldwin (1982) for Lucian's treatment by the church fathers.
7. For Lucian's *Nachleben* in between the second and eleventh centuries, see Ligota and Panizza (2007) 5–11.
8. For discussions on the date of this work, see Baldwin (1984) 28–32; Browning (1978) 121; Hussey (1937) 111–112; Vryonis (1981) 202. For more information and a commentary on *Timarion*, see Baldwin (1984); Romano (1974).
9. For an overview of Byzantine scholarship, see Browning (1964); Browning (1978); Browning (1980); Kazhdan and Franklin (1984).
10. Tozer (1881) 237 argues that "for some of the vices that Lucian attacks, such as pride, avarice and hypocrisy, are amongst the things with which religion is constantly at war; and at the same time Christian teachers were amused at his ridicule of the heathen gods and ancient systems of philosophy."
11. Browning (1980) 8.
12. Another satiric work that also involves a descent into the underworld is *Mazaris*. It is dated about three centuries later than *Timarion*. On *Mazaris* as part of Byzantine satirical tradition and how it relates to *Timarion*, see Tozer (1881).
13. It is generally known that Byzantines wrote satirical works sometimes to target real people. An example is when Emperor Julian became the subject of such literary attacks and he responded with his work *Misopogon*. For a collection of Byzantine satirical writings, see Hase (1813) 129f. On Byzantine satire see Baldwin (1984) 459–468; Jeffreys (1974).

14. Baldwin (1984) passim.
15. ἤλθομεν κἀπὶ τὸ στόμιον καὶ αὐτίκα, μήτινος ἐμποδίσαντος ἐπομένου τοῦ εἰσαγωγέως, ἀνεδόθημεν διὰ τοῦ στομίου πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν Πλειάδα καὶ τοὺς Ἄρκτους κατείδομεν (*Timarion* 46). Ἡσθεὶς δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν μάγον ἀσπασάμενος χαλεπῶς μάλα διὰ τοῦ στομίου ἀνερπύσας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ γίγνομαι (*Menippus* 22).
16. The description of the underworld and the idea that nothing is permanent appears also later in Rabelais's *Pantagruel and Gargantua*. See Highet (1949) 184–185.
17. There are examples of educated men at the time who combined scientific and philosophic rationale with Christianity. Psellus, for instance, did not accept religious occultism unquestionably and argued that Christianity and Classical Greek antiquity could coexist, spiritually at least. See Psellus, *Chronography* 3.3. On that see Tatakis (1959) 175–176.
18. In the Renaissance Lucian was famous and was largely translated in many European countries. See Bolgar (1954) 299, 340, 348, 435, 518–519; Highet (1949) 123–124. Thompson (1974) provides us with a critical edition of More's and Erasmus' translations of Lucian.
19. Tracy (1999) 45 argues that "scholarship was never an end in itself for Erasmus, only a means to a badly needed reform of Christian doctrine." For Lucian's reception by Humanists and the reactions of the Christians, see Lauvergnat-Gagnière (1988) 67–83.
20. For a comparison between Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* (*Stultitiae Laus*) and Valla's *Of the True and False Good* (*De Voluptate ac de vero bono*), see Panizza (2000). For details, commentaries, and a discussion of *Folly's* relation to Classical rhetoric and the place of this work in the spirit of the time, see Chomarat (1972); Christian (1971); Gavin and Walsh (1971); Kaiser (1963); Kay (1977); Lefebvre (1968); Rebhorn (1974); Rothschild (1970); Stenger (1971); Williams (1969).
21. For more information on Erasmus, see Bainton (1969); Kristeller (1970); McConica (1991).
22. Robinson (1979) 165. Robinson (165–197) extensively discusses Lucian's appearance in Erasmus. See also Robinson's (1969) introduction. See Heep (1927) on Erasmus's translations of Lucian; Rummel (1985) 49–52, 57–69; Smith (1923) 193–195. See Panizza (2007) 95–105 for a discussion of Lucian's and Erasmus's coexistence in Renaissance Italy. See also Lauvergnat-Gagnière (1988) 133–164. On a point-to-point comparison between Erasmus's *Folly* and Lucian, see Miller (1969).
23. See Smith (1923) 118.
24. For an analysis of the sources and modern interpretations, see Süssmuth (1967). For a complete bibliography on More, see Geritz (1998). For editions of *Utopia*, see Logan, Adams, and Miller (1995). For an introduction to and a short discussion of More's *Utopia*, see also Fox (1993); Hexter (1965); Logan (1983); Logan and Adams (2002) xi–xxix; Surtz (1957).
25. For More's translations of Lucian, see Thompson (1974).
26. For More as a Humanist and for interpretations of his life, career, and writings, see Ackroyd (1998); Bietenholz and Deutscher (1985–87); Fox (1983); Guy (2000); Marius (1984); Ridley (1983) 29–38.
27. On More's dissension with Erasmian Humanism and the basis of English Humanism, see Fox and Guy (1986) 18–21, 34–51.
28. For more information about the condition of England at the time and the circumstances of life about which More discusses in Book I, see Guy (1988); Manuel and Manuel (1979); Skinner (1978).

29. See Dorsch (1966–67) who discusses More's *Utopia* with relation to Lucian. Cf. Surtz and Hexter (1965) clxi–clxii, 469, and passim. See Carey (1999) for excerpts from utopian literature from 1940 BC to 1998.
30. Ní-Mheallaigh (2010) discusses the significance of names in Lucian as well as the possibility that in some cases he references himself.
31. For a discussion on that issue, see Dorsch (1966–67); Marsh (1998), 193–197; Robinson (1979) 130–133; Surtz and Hexter (1965); Thompson (1974).
32. See Thompson (1996) 350–355.
33. See the preface to his translations.
34. For a detailed discussion of Molière and the reaction of the Company to his works, see Chill (1963).
35. For more details on the first *Tartuffe*, the second play *Panulphe ou l'Imposteur*, and the *Tartuffe* that survives today, see Cairncross (1956) 1–53. On the alterations in the different versions of *Tartuffe* and an analysis of the version that survives, see McBride (1977) 31–78.
36. On Molière and religion, see François (1969). Greenberg (1992) 113–118 argues that except for the religious connotations that the play bears, it was probably considered a threat to the traditional family structure of seventeenth-century France. The upheaval in the family of Orgon as well as his absence in the beginning of the play and his inability to act when Tartuffe was making advances towards his wife, Greenberg suggests, undermine society. Cf. also Nurse (1991) 82.
37. Kogan Zwillenberg (1975) argues that this ending allows Molière to exploit every comic possibility and get the suspense to the highest point.
38. For a presentation of *Tartuffe's* literary background, which can also shed more light on the portrayal of the characters and also reveal a different perspective, see Hall (1984) 144–158. On Tartuffe's hypocrisy and the way Molière plays with its presentation, see Hubert (1962) 91–112. On the social order in Molière's plays and especially *Tartuffe*, the subversion of roles, and the role of Louis at the end of the play, see Gossman (1970).
39. See also Nurse (1991) 77–87.
40. On Lucian and Molière, see Robinson (1979) 54; on Shakespeare and Lucian, see Bullough (1966) 239–240, 243–247; Marsh (1998) 18; Robinson (1979) 103–104. On the introduction of Lucian's *Timon* in modern drama by Matteo Maria Boiardo in the fifteenth century, see Bullough (1966) 229–233.
41. See also McBride (1977)107–159; Yarrow (1959).
42. On that see also Hubert (1962) 137–153.
43.   It is difficult for foreigners to imitate the French in their pronunciation of *g* or *ch* before the vowels of *i* and *e*. I remember some months after my arrival, when I wanted to purchase some historical works, a bookseller, upon my asking him for Du Chesne, handed me the works of Lucian; misled by my pronunciation, which approached nearly to that of the French word *Lucien*. (translated by Fraser, 1970, 59)
       It has been very generally believed that, as I have imitated Lucian in my writings, I have imbibed a good deal of Lucian's spirit, and that I am equally indifferent with regard to religious subjects . . . but though I applaud and imitate that philosopher when he makes war upon superstition, I detest and abhor him when he attacks true piety. (translated by Fraser, 1970, 151)

44.   It has been generally believed that, as I have imitated Lucian in my writings, I have imbibed a good deal of Lucian's spirit, and that I am equally indifferent with regard to religious subjects. In this respect I have shared the fate of who have the courage to oppose credulity; but though I applaud and imitate that philosopher when he makes war upon superstition, I detest and abhor him when he attacks true piety. (153)

45. For more details about the age of Holberg and the circumstances under which and about which he wrote, see Billeskov Jansen (1974) 13–21.
46. See Billeskov Jansen (1974) 98–102.
47. See Billeskov Jansen (1974) 56–81.
48. On Holberg and Molière, see Campbell (1914) 91–135.
49. Bury (2007) discusses Lucian's reception in seventeenth-century France, his translations, and his acknowledgment as a philosopher, an author of impeccable Attic diction, and a supporter of ethics, all the while correlating him with French *littérateurs*.
50. On the treatment of the social circumstances and changes by Flaubert, see Olds (1997). There has been a discussion regarding the way Flaubert presents socio-historical circumstances in *Éducation Sentimentale* and *Madame Bovary* in relation or in contrast to *Salammbô* (1862) and *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (1874). On that see Donato (1993) 35–55.
51. The work was initially conceived in 1863 as *Les Deux Cloportes* (*The Two Woodlice*), but Flaubert started working on the novel as we have it today in 1872. It was published posthumously in 1881.
52. The end reminds us also of Voltaire's *Candide* "*Cela est bien dit, répondit Candide, mais il faut cultiver notre jardin.*" Berg and Martin (1997) 142 claim that the endings of *Candide* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet* suggest the realization of the importance of persistence regardless of the results of our efforts, rather than the acceptance of failure. On Lucian's *Menippus* and Voltaire's *Candide*, see Robinson (1979) 52. On *Menippus, Candide*, and *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, see Marsh (1998) 50; Zagona (1985) 27.

6   Conclusion

My multifaceted perusal of Lucian's literary activity and his consideration and critique of the political, social, religious, and literary issues of his time aims to demonstrate that various ferments were taking place in the boundaries of the Roman Empire at the time. The only way we can delineate a palette of this era and also acquire an understanding of its dazzling complexity is to perform a comparative reading of authors from different linguistic, ethnic, and literary backgrounds and compile their viewpoints. Lucian, the Greek-writing Roman citizen from Syria, is the compendium and the personification of the second-century amalgamation of identities, and it is his unique individuality that prompted me to use him as an experiential literary persona through whom to revive and (re)experience the second century CE.

What I argued throughout this book is that Lucian uses satiric and paradoxographic writings to discuss serious issues in a diplomatic way and without exposing himself. No matter how one interprets his works, however, they still encapsulate the realities of the late Empire. A closer reading of Lucian's works and Juvenal's *Saturae* sheds light on the relationship between Greeks and Romans and the underlying upheavals. Roman clients and Greek clients coexist and conflict in a sphere of political (non)existence and fluctuating social parameters and feature in the works of both authors. Juvenal reproves Romans who diminish themselves by assuming the position of the client, but he also launches an austere critique against Greeks who have flooded Rome, appropriated similar social standing, and subsequently "overthrown" the Romans. Lucian responds to this socio-literary chastising, arguing for the case of the Greeks and questioning Roman appropriation of self-righteousness. According to him, clients are contingent upon a patron and by definition not free, thus undermining Roman political superiority. He also distinguishes between cultured and uncultured clients—culture being the gnomon of difference between Greek clients and Roman clients. Therefore, a comparative reading of Lucian and Juvenal reveals the social standing of the individual in Rome, mirrored in the literary works of a native Roman and a *nouveau* Roman citizen.

A collation of Lucian and Gellius manifests the cumbersome issues of identity and the eminence and significance of language and literature in the

socio-political scenes. *Hellenismos* and *latinitas*, two terms that were initially defined based on language and ethnicity, at the time are constantly redefined as they indicate identities modulated through a newly created *savoir vivre* that may involve an adopted language and an adopted culture. Hellenized Romans and Romanized Greeks, Romans, Greeks, and Easterners are all "citizens" of the Empire, partaking in an atmosphere of multiculturalism and (re)inventing themselves. The significance of the language is twofold: first, it does not necessarily signify nationality, but edification. Second, language and consequently literature are politicized and become the *par excellence* spheres of propaganda for or against Romans, about "the others," and the political and social circumstances in the late Empire. Lucian, authorially dexterous and socially ambitious, embraces the limitless possibilities of the literary world that can somewhat "emulate" political reality and creates his world; notwithstanding that we cannot know whether his level of social cognizance is shared by many, he still vividly portrays the multifocal socio-political *status quo* of his *epoque*. Gellius, on the other hand, parameterizes Roman citizenship, attempting to re-establish the stature of language and native Roman citizenship. My Plutarchean parallelism of Lucian and Gellius in a way forces a "dialogue," albeit retrospectively, between a native Roman and an outsider-*nouveau* Roman citizen and demonstrates the communication or lack thereof between the strata in the Roman society.

Unidimensional readings of the first Latin and Greek Apologists have also fostered the misapprehension that the writings of the first Apologists need to be examined separately from other literary genres as there does not seem to be any correspondence or common point of reference. A comparative treatment of the Apologists and Lucian indicates that the first and second centuries CE were a transitional period between paganism and Christianity even in literature and that the new religious reality glimmers under several non-Christian authors. Religious relativism at the time is concomitant with the coexistence of multifarious socio-political identities and the consequent need of the individual for social accreditation. Political propriety hinges upon religious choices, and religion firmly endorses political stature. Amidst all that, newly surfacing sects, traditional worship, and philosophical schools promote different theses. I do not believe that we should be in a quest for the one reality. Instead we need to cross-examine our sources in an attempt to conceive the *status quo* and comprehend the multiple social parameters of religion as well as the religious aspects of society. Lucian is unique in our consideration of those issues—not a supporter of any religion, an astute social observer, and adept at capturing the variegated nature of the current reality(ies). When examined with Dio, Strabo, Aelius Aristides, and the Christian Apologists, the reader is introduced to a world of plurality.

Finally, Lucian's ingenious narrative styles, the plethora of literary allusions, and the reversal of the strange and the familiar, the expected and the unexpected, have rendered his writings a source of inspiration for different authors in the centuries that followed. The importance of delving into

an examination of his reception is that in examining Lucian against the backdrop of other authors, we can reconsider his motifs and techniques, appreciate their social and literary constituents, and ultimately quantify his life via his afterlife and vice versa. Byzantine authors, Erasmus and More, Molière, Holberg, and Flaubert revisited and revived the second-century *Zeitgeist* through the Lucianic spirit. Therefore, Lucian when read under their light is shown to have created his own shibboleth—a literary identity heavily influenced by and influencing social identities that has lived through generations to come and that demonstrates the modulated afterlives of the Second Sophistic.

Lucian indubitably is a prolific and influential writer. The determinant, however, that distinguishes him from other authors—as well as prompts an examination of his *Leben* and *Nachleben* and rivets our attention—is that by commenting on his socio-political *actualités*, adopting and mastering his predecessors' satiric tones, and filtering them through his personal style and agenda, he manages to preserve not basic historic information but the social pulse of a changing, challenging, and transitional era for several nations, including the Greeks and the Romans, and invites considerations and reconsiderations of the second-century Roman Empire. This study reintroduces Lucian through second-century realities and the second-century realities through Lucian and discusses questions that problematize the literary apogee of the period. Ethnicity(ies), identity(ies), and social and religious pluralism feature in literature, and consequently literature becomes a sphere of propaganda. Lucian by espousing this multifariousness formulates his own voice about Romans, as a Roman, and as a foreigner who interacts and liaises with Romans and their society, and he himself becomes the voice of the exchanges and conflicts in the late Roman Empire. My intention was to capture this reality and use Lucian and the other authors as journalists who give realistic reports of the issues, hoping to both answer and raise questions about this era, and present Lucian as a literary constructivist who via an assortment of social elements left us an "historical" account of this amalgamated period.

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Appendix
Lucian's *Dearum Iudicium* in European Art

The purpose of this appendix is to follow Lucian's reception in the artistic realm and establish that just as he created his own literary shibboleth that survives in later literature, he also provided thought-provoking dimensions to painters. As I mentioned in the introduction, Maffei's study (1994) of Lucianic *ekphrasis* provides us with a detailed discussion of Lucian's effect on visual arts. She explores the inspiration of the visual arts by *Imagines, Herodotus, Heracles, Somnium, Zeuxis*, and *Calumniae non temere credendum*. My intention here is to introduce another aspect of the well-known *Dearum Iudicium*, one that, much like a Janus bust, has two perspectives. In addition to the ludic religious reconsiderations that were established in chapter 4, there is also the stimulation of actual works of art. Paintings depicting the *Dearum Iudicium* appear throughout Europe. Raffaello Sanzio, the Renaissance Italian painter; Cranach, the fifteenth-century German painter; Rubens, the seventeenth-century Flemish Baroque painter; Watteau, the seventeenth-century French artist; and Blake, the eighteenth-century English painter, were inspired by this myth. The topic seems to have lived through the ages since it also appears in works of Renoir, the twentieth-century French painter, and Dali, the twentieth-century Spanish painter, even though they pride themselves on avoiding Classical topics. One of the interesting details that differentiates Lucian's version from the traditional telling of the story and constitutes the basis of my argument that these painters were in fact following Lucian is that the goddesses are painted naked. It is not a usual representation, and it is certainly not based on any known Greek literary work. It is only in Ovid's *Heroides* V that Oenone talks about Paris's unlucky judgment and refers to "naked Minerva (more pleasing when she bears arms)." Lucian is the first who actually elaborates on the nudity of the goddesses, and it is Paris in the *Dearum Iudicium* who asks Hermes to ask the goddesses to undress:

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

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

Πάρις
Ὅπῃ καὶ θέλω; γυμνὰς ἰδεῖν βούλομαι.

Ἑρμῆς
Ἀπόδυτε, ὦ αὗται· σὺ δ᾽ ἐπισκόπει· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπεστράφην. (9)

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

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

Paris
As I will? I want to see them naked.

Figure Appendix 1.1   The Judgment of Paris, ca. 1510–1520. Engraver: Marcantonio Raimondi, Italian, Argini? ca. 1480–before 1534 Bologna?; Designer: Designed by Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio), Italian, Urbino 1483–1520 Rome. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure Appendix 1.2   The Judgment of Paris. Lucas Cranach, possibly ca. 1528, Oil on wood. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Hermes

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

The same alluring posture of the goddesses is also noticed in Cranach. There are of course details in the painting, like the clothing of Paris and Hermes, the horse, and the hairstyle of the goddesses that are representative of the painter's time. Also, Cranach captured the detail of the flying Cupid, who is ready to shoot his arrow.

A detail of Lucian's narrative that Rubens does not follow is that in the former's version Hermes turns his head away, while in the painting Hermes is gazing at the goddess. Also, although it seems that the goddesses are just getting undressed, Paris holds and seems ready to offer the apple to one of them. It is as if Rubens captures and encapsulates the entire story. He also painted the goddesses from three sides. This relates to Lucian's text where movement is an integral element in each goddess' attempt to allure Paris. The goddesses, therefore, do not merely try to seduce Paris by their appearance, but by their movements and grace as well. Athena, for instance, warns Paris not to let Aphrodite take off her girdle in front of him, for she is capable of enchanting him only with that (Μὴ πρότερον ἀποδύσῃς αὐτήν, ὦ Πάρι, πρὶν ἂν τὸν κεστὸν ἀπόθηται-φαρμακὶς γάρ ἐστιν-μή σε καταγοητεύσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ, "do not undress her Paris before she stows away her charmed girdle—for it

Figure Appendix 1.3   The Judgment of Paris. Rubens, ca. 1632–1635, Oil on oak, National Gallery, London.

Figure Appendix 1.4   The Judgment of Paris. Jean-Antoine Watteau, c. 1720, Oil on wood, Louvre, Paris, France.
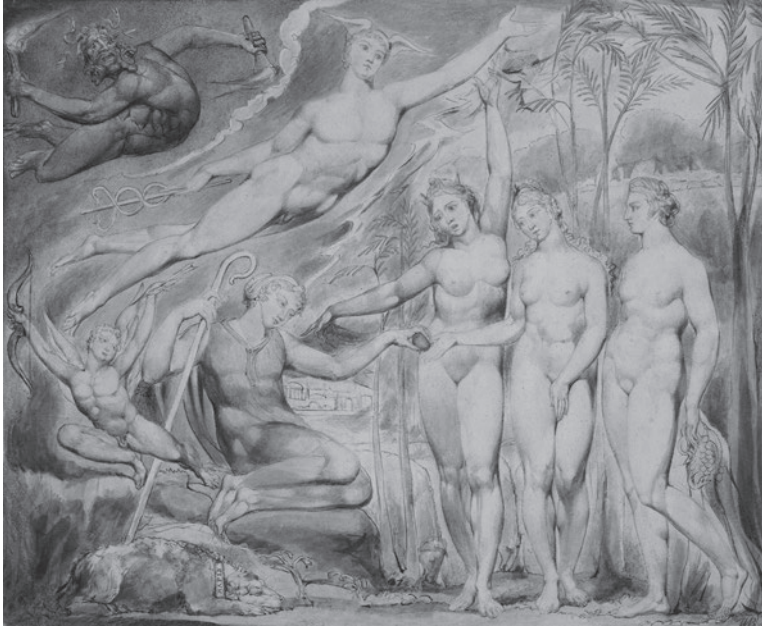
Figure Appendix 1.5 The Judgment of Paris. William Blake, 1811, watercolor, British Museum, London.

Figure Appendix 1.6 The Judgment of Paris. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, 1914, Plaster, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. Guino executed the work under the direction of Renoir, who was already paralyzed at that time.

is poisonous—lest she bewitches you with it," 10). Later Aphrodite encourages Paris to examine her thoroughly, part by part (Αὕτη σοι ἐγὼ πλησίον, καὶ σκόπει καθ' ἕν ἀκριβῶς μηδὲν παρατρέχων, ἀλλ' ἐνδιατρίβων ἑκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν, "I am she next to you, and examine every part in detail passing nothing cursorily, but lingering on each one of my parts," 13).

The topic of the Judgment has obviously inspired several other painters, namely Watteau (eighteenth century), Blake (nineteenth century), Renoir (twentieth century), and Salvador Dali (twentieth century), and it is thrilling to see an ancient author alive and "translated" in a different context.

Renoir also painted a later scene of the judgment, the one where Paris has already made up his mind and gives the apple to Aphrodite. The goddess in the middle has already extended her hand. The painting is housed at the Hiroshima Museum of Art. Finally, Salvador Dali painted a Judgment of the Goddesses. It is an etching with drypoint and heliogravure in two colors.

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