Lucian on Cultural Interaction: A Migrant's Perspective on Migration and Acculturation in the Roman Empire

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A Migrant's Perspective on Migration and Acculturation in the Roman Empire

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1. Introduction

1.1. Introducing Lucian

> οἷα δὴ ξένος καὶ βάρβαρος οὐ μετρίως τεταραγμένος ἔτι τὴν γνώμην, πάντα ἀγνοῶν, ψοφοδεὴς πρὸς τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρήσαιτο ἑαυτῷ. καὶ γὰρ καταγελώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον οὐδένα εὕρισκεν, καὶ ὅλως μετέμελεν αὐτῷ ἤδη τῆς ὁδοῦ.[1]
>
> As it happens to a stranger and barbarian he was considerably disturbed in his mind; he did not recognize anything, was frightened by the many sounds, and did not know what to do with himself. For those who saw him laughed at his attire and he found nobody who spoke his tongue; altogether he already regretted his journey.[2]

With these words, Lucian of Samosata (ca. AD 125-180) describes in his *Scythian* the first experiences of the Scythian Anacharsis in Athens. Anacharsis is clearly not at ease in this foreign city. He does not know what to do or how to behave and is not received friendly by the Athenians; instead of trying to help him, they laugh in his face. Although Lucian describes the problems of a Scythian who would have lived in the early sixth century BC, he seems to suggest that Anacharsis' experiences are comparable to his own:[3]

> φημὶ δὲ ὅμοιόν τι καὶ αὐτὸς παθεῖν τῷ Ἀναχάρσιδι – καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μὴ νεμεσήσητέ μοι τῆς εἰκόνος, εἰ βασιλικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐμαυτὸν εἰκασα· βάρβαρος μὲν γὰρ κἀκεῖνος και οὐδέν τι φαίης ἂν τοὺς Σύρους ἡμᾶς φαυλοτέρους εἶναι τῶν Σκῦθων.[4]
>
> Well, I say that I myself have experienced something similar to Anacharsis – and, by the Graces, please do not resent my likeness if I have compared myself to a royal man; for he too was a barbarian and you can say nothing in the sense of that we Syrians are inferior to Scythians.

"Lucian" points out that he had to navigate similar challenges as Anacharsis because he, like the Scythian, was not of Greek origin but a barbarian from Syria.[5] Apparently, the problems that Anacharsis as a foreigner had to face in the sixth century BC still existed in the second century AD.

The Roman Empire of this period consisted of many interconnected and interdependent local communities, forming a diverse and multicultural society.[6] This globalized world was also characterized by mobility and migration.[7] Poor and homeless people, slaves, labourers, traders, artists, students, intellectuals, soldiers, veterans, aristocrats and officials, in short people from all layers of society, moved either voluntarily or involuntarily through the Roman Empire.[8] All these

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[1] *Scyth.* 3. Unless indicated otherwise, the Greek texts of Lucian's works are based on the editions of Macleod 1974; 1980.
[2] All translations in this thesis are mine.
[3] For the setting of the dialogue, see Harmon 1961, 1. Although Anacharsis is mentioned in many sources, there is no evidence for his historicity. For the literary tradition of Anacharsis, see Ungefehr-Kortus 1996.
[4] *Scyth.* 9.
[5] We should be careful about simply identifying the first-person speaker with Lucian the author. Therefore, I will use quotation marks to distinguish Lucian's *persona* from the historical Lucian. For a more extensive discussion of this ontological question, see subchapter 1.3.
[6] Pitts and Versluys 2015b, 6, 11. For the multiculturality of the Roman Empire, see Price 2022.
[7] For the characterization of the Roman World as a globalized world, see Pitts and Versluys 2015a. For migration and mobility in the Roman Empire, see De Ligt and Tacoma 2016a.
[8] De Ligt and Tacoma 2016b, 4-5. Tacoma 2016, 35-48 distinguishes ten types of migration in the city of Rome.

people came as foreigners into new communities and may have struggled with the same issues as Anacharsis when trying to determine their place in new communities.

Among these people was thus also Lucian, an intellectual who travelled through the Roman Empire. Almost everything we know about this Hellenised author is derived from his own work.[9] He originated from the city of Samosata, the former capital of the kingdom of Commagene, which was incorporated in the Roman province of Syria in 72 AD.[10] The major population of Samosata was Semitic and spoke Syriac Aramaic. However, we do not know if Lucian, who frequently referred to himself as a Syrian or Assyrian, also spoke this language.[11] As his works clearly demonstrate, Lucian was well-versed in Greek and received part of his Greek education in Ionia. Afterwards, he started a career in forensic oratory and travelled as a sophist and orator to Asia Minor, Macedon, Italy, and Gaul. Later in his life, he turned to authorship and wrote amongst others his comic dialogues. In this period, he probably resided in Athens and was supported by literary friends and patrons. He joined the entourage of Lucius Verus in Antioch between 162 and 163 AD but returned to Athens in 165 AD, travelling westwards via Samosata, through Cappadocia and via the city of Abonuteichos on the Paphlagonian coast. Around 170 AD he travelled to Alexandria to take up an administrative position under the prefect of Egypt. He may have stayed in Egypt until his death around 180 AD.[12]

Although mainly reconstructed from the facts in his own work, this short bibliographical sketch seems to suggest that Lucian moved between different identities.[13] He was a Syrian by birth but had enjoyed Greek education and probably received Roman citizenship later in his life.[14] Hence, apart from his ethnic Syrian identity, he also had a Greek cultural identity and a Roman political identity.[15] Furthermore, Lucian moved a lot between different places in the Roman Empire. During his travels, he will have been in contact with many different local communities within Roman society and will have had to determine how he as a foreigner should relate to these local communities. Therefore it is likely that he, as he also suggests, had encountered the same challenges of travelling and migration as Anacharsis had to navigate in *Scythian*. He had to find the optimal way to relate himself to local cultures and deal with the adverse reactions of host communities. In this thesis, I would like to investigate how Lucian in his works reflects on these challenges of cultural interaction in the Roman Empire of the second century AD.

1.2. Lucian's Works as Migrant Literature

Since Lucian moves between different places and identities, De Jonge has recently suggested that Lucian could be considered a migrant author and that his works, written in Greek under Roman dominion, could be perceived as "migrant literature".[16] Using the post-colonial concept of

[9] In this thesis, I use the term 'Hellenised author' to refer to authors writing in Greek. For my use of this term instead of the more common term 'Greek author', see note 244. For reconstructions of Lucian's life, see for example Schwartz 1965, 9-21, Jones 1986, 6-23, and Bozia 2015, 10-12. My bibliographical sketch is based on the information provided by these works.

[10] Jones 1986, 6.

[11] Lucian refers to himself as "Assyrian" in *Bis. Acc.* 27, and *Syr. D.* 1 and calls himself a "Syrian" in *Bis. Acc.* 14, *Ind.* 19, and *Pisc*. 19. Furthermore, in *Twice Accused*, the interlocutor who defends the genre and style of Lucian's work is designated as Σύρος.

[12] Jones 1968, 21; Bozia 2015, 21. However, Schwartz 1965, 145, 149 assumes that Lucian returned to Athens in 175 AD.

[13] For the distinction between Lucian as historical author and literary *persona*, see subchapter 1.3.

[14] Jones 1968, 12 argues that Lucian must have received Roman citizenship because this was most likely required for his administrative function in Egypt and would certainly have been a prerequisite for the position of imperial procurator, which Lucian aspires in his *Apology* (*Apol.* 12).

[15] Cf. De Jonge 2023, 65. For a justification of approaching Greek literature of the Roman Empire as migrant literature, see De Jonge 2022.

[16] De Jonge 2023, 65-68.

"migrant literature" to define Greek literature written in the second-century Roman Empire may seem odd and anachronistic. Indeed, the migration practices in the Roman Empire do not entirely fit the modern concept of migration. Most importantly, modern migration is usually linked to a permanent crossing of borders between nations. However, in the ancient world, the notion of international borders that defined the boundaries of sovereign states did not exist.[17] Frontiers were considered zones rather than lines, and most foreigners did not cross these borders but moved within the Roman Empire.[18] Furthermore, their travelling did not always entail a permanent residential relocation from their birthplace but could also be transient.[19]

To overcome this difference, De Jonge defines "migrant literature" more inclusively as "literature produced by writers who temporarily or permanently moved away from their native region, narrating experiences of migration, and more generally reflecting a cosmopolitan society deeply characterized by cultural mobility."[20] As the passage about Anacharsis at the beginning of this thesis demonstrates, this definition also fits Lucian's works. Lucian writes about Anacharsis' (and his own) migration experience and does so in the multicultural and globalized Roman Empire.

De Jonge is not the only scholar to define migrant literature or migration literature more broadly. Adelson and Walkowitz for example suggest that this literature can be written by immigrants as well as non-immigrants as long as it "include[s] all works that are produced in a time of migration or that can be said to reflect on migration."[21] Lucian's works are produced in such a time of migration. Furthermore, according to Pourjafari and Vahipour, the primary themes of migrant literature are "human identity, the ways migrant characters cope with their new life places, the uncertainties and insecurities they suffer from and the communication problems."[22] These themes play a major role in Lucian's *Scythian* and several other works in which he stages a foreigner who tries to find his place in a new society, such as *Anacharsis* and *On Hired Companions.*

Furthermore, just as other Hellenised authors in the Roman Empire, Lucian frequently describes his own experiences and those of other foreigners with words that have connotations closely related to the noun 'migration', like ἀποδημία ('being abroad', 'life in a foreign land'), ὁδός ('journey'), and πορεία ('journey') or the verb 'to migrate', such as ἀποδημέω ('to be away from home', 'to be abroad'), περινοστέω ('to go round', 'to visit'), ὁδεύω ('to travel'), and περιπλανάομαι ('to wander about').[23] Hence, thematically, Lucian's works certainly meet the requirements of migrant literature.

Approaching Lucian's works as "migrant literature", rather than "Greek literature" has two major advantages. First, this approach stimulates us to look beyond the binary opposition between Greece and Rome that has often been assumed in the past. Scholars of the twentieth century, like Bowie, Forte and Swain assumed a dichotomy between a Greek and Roman identity, without considering that the authors that they labelled as "Greek" originated from a wide variety of regions within the Roman

[17] Isayev 2015, 126. Cf. De Jonge 2022, 17.
[18] Whittaker 2000.
[19] Isayev 2015, 126.
[20] De Jonge 2022, 16.
[21] Adelson 2005, 23; quote from Walkowitz 2006, 533.
[22] Pourjafari and Vahidpour 2014, 680.
[23] For ἀποδημία, see *Alex.* 44; *Cont.* 24; *Icar.* 1, 11; *Nec.* 1; *Patr. Enc.* 8; *Peregr.* 14, 17; *Salt.* 48; *Scyth.* 7; *Syr. D.* 37; *Tox.* 4; *VH* 1.3, 1.5, 2.10. For ὁδός, see *Dear. Jud.* 15; *DMar.* 322; *DMort.* 428; *Herm.* 4, 11, 23; *Lex.* 3; *Nav.* 16; *Nec.* 1, 6; *Rh. Pr.* 5; *Sacr.* 7; *Scyth.* 3, 4; *Tox.* 27. For πορεία, see *Dips.* 6; *Nec.* 1, 2; *Rh. Pr.* 15. For ἀποδημέω, see *Abd.* 4; *Anach.* 39; *Bis. Acc.* 27; *Dear. Jud.* 15; *Gall.* 18; *Hist. Conscr.* 28, 29; *Herm.* 31, 32; *JTr.* 37; *Merc. Cond.* 3, 32, 33; *Musc. Enc.* 7; *Par.* 52; *Phal.* 1.5; 2.6; *Sat.* 15; *Scyth.* 4, 5; *Somn.* 11; *Syr. D.* 33, 37; *Tox.* 27; *VH* 2.33. For περινοστέω, see *Bis. Acc.* 6, 27; *Cat.* 20; *Herod.* 1; *Herm.* 59, 83; *Hes.* 8; *Ind.* 4; *Merc. Cond.* 31; *Philops.* 29; *Pr. Im.* 8; *Scyth.* 9; *Tim.* 13, 24, 30. For ὁδεύω, see *Alex.* 53; *Nav.* 35; *Par.* 20, 55; *Rh. Pr.* 8, 9. For περιπλανάομαι, see *Herm.* 4, 59. For language of mobility as an argument for reading Greek literature written under the Roman Empire as migrant literature, see De Jonge 2022, 16.

Empire.[24] Moreover, the texts of these Hellenised authors were assumed to univocally express either disagreement with or acquiescence in Roman dominion.[25] In the search for passages that explicitly accept or resist Roman power, more ambiguous passages that reflect more nuanced attitudes towards Rome were frequently overlooked.[26]

The binary opposition between Greece and Rome has been nuanced by Goldhill and Whitmarsh.[27] The works of these scholars mainly focus on the influence of Roman dominance on (Greek) cultural identity and the way Hellenized authors constructed and negotiated this identity through their writings. Consequently, the emphasis of the debate has shifted from the question of whether the Greek texts are critical or laudatory of Rome to more nuanced expressions of the relationship between Greece and Rome. The focus is now more on the discursive strategies used by Hellenised authors to negotiate their place and identity within the Roman Empire. Furthermore, both scholars have pointed out that the works of Hellenised authors were not only influenced by their Greek cultural background but also by their ethnicity or local identity.[28] This has eventually led to a reevaluation of the role of local cultures in the works of these authors.[29]

Although the increased focus on the role of the local has partly deconstructed the dichotomy between Greece and Rome, it does not prevent the introduction of a new dichotomy between the Roman globalized world and local communities. Whitmarsh has for example argued that the Hellenised authors' emphasis on the local could be interpreted as a "counter-imperial response, a form of resistance to the vision of global uniformity that reminds people that even the reach of world empires is limited."[30] However, as Whitmarsh himself also recognizes, many Hellenised authors were also Roman citizens.[31] Additionally, the "Romans" likewise did not form a homogeneous group of people who could easily be identified based on legal status (citizenship), language and culture, or place of residence.[32] Hence, clear distinctions between "Greeks" and "Romans" and between "natives" and "Romans" do not exist. Rather, the literature written by Hellenised authors in the Roman Empire reflects a negotiation between their different identities.

Reading Greek literature of the second century AD as migrant literature stimulates us to think beyond these binary oppositions and to view the identities of Hellenised authors as shaped by a triangular relationship between the local community, Greece and Rome.[33] In this way, we can do justice to this in-betweenness and the ambiguous feelings Hellenised authors may have had towards different cultures in the Roman Empire.

A second advantage of approaching Lucian's works as migrant literature is that it allows us to look beyond the political aspect of writing Greek literature under Roman rule and to focus more on the social aspects of living in and travelling through the Roman Empire. Looking at Lucian's texts with a social rather than political lens opens up interesting new questions such as how Lucian in his work

[24] Bowie 1970; Forte 1972; Swain 1996. Cf. the criticism of Swain's work in De Jonge 2022, 12. Strikingly, Swain 1996, 10-11 acknowledges that the authors of the Greek texts he discusses have diverse ethnicities and can only be considered Greeks in so far as they share a cultural-political identity. However, he still works with a dichotomy between Greek and Roman identity. To avoid this dichotomy and to do justice to the different cultural backgrounds of the authors writing in Greek, I will in this thesis refer to them not as "Greek authors" but as "Hellenised authors". In my opinion, this term better indicates that authors write in Greek due to their Greek education rather than their ethnic background.
[25] See for example Forte 1972 and Swain 1996.
[26] Cf. the criticism of Whitmarsh 2001a, 3 and De Jonge 2022, 12.
[27] Goldhill 2001a; Whitmarsh 2001a; 2001b.
[28] Goldhill 2001a, 15-20; Whitmarsh 2001b, 305.
[29] Whitmarsh 2010.
[30] Whitmarsh 2010, 2. Cf. Ando 2010 in the same volume and Whitmarsh 2013.
[31] Whitmarsh 2013, 62.
[32] For the heterogeneity of the people to whom scholars usually refer as "Romans", see Lavan 2020.
[33] De Jonge 2022, 31.

reflects on the challenges he had to navigate as a migrant and foreigner in the Roman Empire. Hence, reading Lucian's works as migrant literature provides a good starting point for my study of Lucian's reflection on cultural interaction in the contemporary Roman Empire.

1.3. Lucian on Cultural Interaction

Several of Lucian's works could shed light on how Lucian thought about the interaction between foreigners and host communities in the Roman Empire. These host communities are the dominant cultural groups in Roman society in which migrants and other foreigners are received. As a consequence, we could speak about host cultures on two different levels. On the level of the Roman Empire, the host community could be considered the Roman community which governed the different "foreign" communities in the Empire and partly imposed its culture on these communities. This understanding of the Roman community comes close to Lucian's notion of Ῥωμαῖοι as reconstructed by Lavan. He argues that Lucian considered Ῥωμαῖοι "those – whatever their origin – who soared above the municipal and provincial horizons of political life and pursued a career in the emperor's service, centred on the city of Rome."[34] Important to note is that this was probably not the only group Lucian considered "Romans." He also calls people with Roman citizenship Ῥωμαῖοι. Moreover, his comprehension of "Roman" was likely also influenced by his conception of Roman culture, as he several times refers to ancient customs and to 'the language of the Romans' (Ῥωμαίων φωνή) and a 'Roman dance' (Ῥωμαίων ὄρχησις).[35]

On a local level, different host communities can be distinguished within Roman society. Cities like Athens, Antioch, Thessalonica, Samosata and Rome had distinct values and customs and could therefore be considered host communities on their own.

Because these local communities could also function as host communities, Lucian may reflect on acculturation in works where he describes the experiences of foreigners who try to find their place in new communities or micro-societies. To these works belong *Scythian or the Patron* (Σκύθης ἢ πρόξενος, *Scytha*) and *Anacharsis or on Bodily Exercise* (Ἀνάχαρσις ἢ περὶ γυμνασίων, *Anacharsis*) in which Lucian describes Anacharsis' experiences in Athens.[36] In *Scythian*, Lucian mainly describes Anacharsis' arrival in Athens and his subsequent life in this city. However, he also spends some words on the life of Toxaris, who was allegedly the first Scythian to come to Athens, and his own experiences in the Macedonian city of Beroea.[37] *Anacharsis* is a dialogue between Solon and Anacharsis about athletics and Greek lifestyle. In this dialogue, Anacharsis is critical of Greek culture and seems to weigh Greek customs against his own Scythian habits. Hence, *Anacharsis* reports a specific moment in the acculturation process of Anacharsis. Together, *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* seem to reflect on acculturation from the perspective of the foreigner.

A third work in which Lucian seems to report the acculturation process of a foreigner into a new community is *On Hired Companions* (Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων, *De mercede conductis potentium familiaribus*). In this work, "Lucian" warns his friend Timocles not to attach himself to a Roman patron and to become part of a Roman household. He does so by narrating the experiences of a Greek who tries to integrate into the micro-society of the Roman household. Hence, *On Hired Companions* seems to provide us with a Greek perspective on acculturation into Roman society.

Additionally, *On Hired Companions* may give us some insight into how Lucian addresses negative sentiments against foreigners as it has been suggested that Lucian with this work responds to complaints about Greeks and other foreigners in the *Satires* of the almost contemporary Roman

[34] Lavan 2020, 47.
[35] For Roman citizenship as a requirement for being a "Roman", see *Demon.* 40. For Roman customs, language and dance in Lucian, see *Pseudol.* 8; *Merc. Cond.* 24; *Laps.* 13; *Salt.* 20.
[36] In this thesis, I will refer to these works as the *Scythian* and the *Anacharsis.*
[37] Deiniger 1965, 91-92; Jones 1986, 11; Bozia 2015, 1.

author Juvenal (ca. AD 60-140).[38] Lucian may also respond to these complaints in *Assembly of the Gods* (Θεῶν ἐκκλησία, *Deorum concilium*), in which, as I will argue in this thesis, similar criticism is voiced.[39] In this comic dialogue, the god Momus complains that too many foreign deities have been admitted to the ranks of the Olympian gods and proposes a decree to expel all illegitimate gods from Olympus and prevent the future acceptance of new gods. Since Momus voices complaints very similar to the criticism expressed in Latin literature, this work seems to provide a Roman perspective on migration in the Roman Empire.

With his *Scythian* and *Anacharsis, On Hired Companions*, and *Assembly of the Gods*, Lucian thus writes about issues of migration and acculturation from three different perspectives: a local, Greek and Roman perspective respectively. Hence, studying these works together could provide us with a relatively comprehensive view of how Lucian reflects on cultural interaction in the multicultural society of his own time.

Since Lucian provides us with multiple perspectives and does this even within his individual works, we should be careful not to ascribe the views of first-person speakers to Lucian but to make an ontological distinction between Lucian's literary *persona* and the historical author. Therefore, I will refer to the first-person speakers in *On Hired Companions* and *Scythian* as "Lucian".[40]

However, it is important to keep in mind that this ontological distinction was probably not made by Lucian's contemporary audience. As Grethlein has pointed out, in antiquity the narrator or poet was not considered to reproduce the words of his characters in a fictive world but to "impersonate" them in direct speech.[41] Hence, the audience tended to interpret the utterances of characters as the voice of the author himself. This was most likely also the case for Lucian as he has written several works that defend views that are presented in previous works: *Fisherman* to defend *Sale of Lives, In defence of Images* to defend *Images*, and *Apology* to defend *On Hired Companions.*[42] These defences show that his audience tended to hold Lucian accountable for the views expressed in his works. Furthermore, his frequent public performances of his own work will have stimulated the identification of himself with his characters.[43]

1.4. *Status Quaestionis*

Although Lucian's works have not earlier been perceived as migrant literature, much attention has been paid to the fact that he possessed multiple identities and wrote Greek texts under Roman dominion. Swain, for example, bases his explanation of the seeming discrepancy between Lucian's generally positive attitude towards Rome and the criticism that can be found in his *Nigrinus, On Hired*

[38] Bozia 2015, 16-44; Manzella 2016, 190. Bozia 2015, 46 n. 22, has pointed out that it is not entirely clear whether Juvenal was of Roman origin. The late-antique *Vita Iuvenalis*, which is ascribed to the grammarian Probus by Valla, mentions that Juvenal was either the son or foster-son of a rich freedman (*libertini locupletis incertum est filius an alumnus*, *Vit. Iuv.*, 1-2). However, as Schmitz 2019, 30 has pointed out, this biography is mainly based on the information that is provided in Juvenal's own satires. Relying on *Sat.* 3.319 it has been suggested in the scholia that Juvenal was born in the Italian city Aquinum, and in most *vitae,* Juvenal is called *Aquinas* (McNeill 1922, 416; Schmitz 2019, 36). I agree with Bozia 2015, 21 that even though Juvenal's Roman origin is questionable, he is thoroughly Romanized because he not only wrote in Latin but also adopted Roman *mores* and would probably have been considered a Roman by Lucian.

[39] See Chapter 1.

[40] For a discussion of the identity of the speakers in *On Hired Companions* and *Scythian*, see subchapters 3.1 and 4.1.

[41] Grethlein 2021; 2022, 360-365.

[42] In other defences, like *Twice Accused*, Lucian does not defend the views expressed in his works but their style and genre.

[43] For the influence of oral performances on the ancient understanding of narrative, see Grethlein 2022, 365-368; 2022, 219-224.

Companions and *Alexander* on Lucian's multiple identities.[44] He has argued that although Lucian identified himself with the Romans politically, he felt more related to the Greeks culturally and therefore only supported the Romans as long as their behaviour did not harm Greek culture.

That Lucian's works express discontent with the Roman attitudes towards Greek culture has also been argued by Whitmarsh.[45] He has contended that Lucian in his *Sale of Lives, Fisherman, Nigrinus, On Hired Companions*, and *Apology* criticises Roman society for its theatricality and commercialization of Greek education, while at the same time reproaching the Greeks for debasing themselves by submitting to the demands of the socioeconomic hierarchy of the Roman Empire. Whitmarsh also points out that Lucian as a sophist also made a spectacle of *paideia* by using display, repetition and mimicry throughout his works. Furthermore, Lucian could be subjected to his own criticism because he frequently uses masks to conceal himself and is thus implicated in the theatricality and masking of which he accuses Rome.

Lucian's self-representation has also been discussed by Goldhill.[46] He has pointed out that Lucian seldom uses his own name but that satirical *personae* like Lycinus, Tychiades, Parrhesiades, Syrians and the Scythian Anacharsis may present his own views. Goldhill has also demonstrated that Lucian in his *Anacharsis* and *The Syrian Goddess* plays with the contrast between insider and outsider to scrutinize the difficulties of expressing cultural identity and determining one's own place within another culture.[47]

More recently, Bozia has compared Lucian's oeuvre with the works of earlier and contemporary Roman authors and Christian apologists to investigate how the literate of the second-century Roman Empire perceived social, historical, religious and literary questions of their time.[48] Based on linguistic and structural similarities between Lucian's *On Hired Companions* and Juvenal's *Satires*, she argues that Lucian with his *On Hired Companions* responds to contemporary Roman criticism of educated Greeks infiltrating Roman households.[49] Furthermore, Bozia has compared Lucian's works with Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights*. She has highlighted how Lucian's social awareness led him to focus on contemporary events and to address Greeks, Romans and other nations with his works, whereas Gellius only focuses on the past and exclusively writes about and for Romans.[50] Moreover, she has compared Lucian's religious philosophy with the thoughts of contemporary Apologists, contending that Lucian uses different perspectives and extreme anthropomorphism to propose a new interpretation of the old Greek Pantheon and to advocate for reconciliation or coexistence of different religions in the Roman Empire.[51]

These scholars have discussed how Lucian's multiplicity of identities has contributed to his inclusive thinking and has influenced his political and religious views in general. However, little attention has been given to how Lucian's foreign status may have impacted his description of and reflection on cultural interactions. As a consequence, works like *Assembly of the Gods, On Hired Companions, Scythian*, and *Anacharsis* which seem to have very different themes but can be connected by their reflection on cultural interaction, have not yet been studied together.[52] Analysing these works together through the lens of migrant literature may thus contribute to our understanding of Lucian's reflection on social-cultural issues in the Roman Empire.

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[44] Swain 1996, 312-329; 2007, 38-42.
[45] Whitmarsh 2001a, 247-294.
[46] Goldhill 2001b, 1-4; 2002.
[47] Goldhill 2001b, 2; 2002, 78-79, 86-89.
[48] Bozia 2015.
[49] Bozia 2015, 16-44.
[50] Bozia 2015, 52-97.
[51] Bozia 2015, 98-152.
[52] For the extent to which these works have been discussed in literature from a social perspective, see subchapters 2.1, 3.1, and 4.1.

Furthermore, an analysis of Lucian's four works as migrant literature may contribute to our understanding of migrant literature from the first and second century AD. As De Jonge's approach is very new, he has mainly focused on justifying the reading of Greek literature as migrant literature, and only briefly argued and illustrated how this theoretical framework could be applied to Greek texts of the first and second century AD.[53] To get better insight into the characteristics of migrant literature from this period, more detailed analyses of the works of Hellenised authors such as Lucian are therefore highly desirable.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

1.5.1. The Characteristics of Migrant Literature

To examine how Lucian reflects on cultural interaction in the Roman Empire of his own time, I will perform a close reading of the *Assembly of the Gods, On Hired Companions, Scythian* and *Anacharsis* as migrant literature. De Jonge has argued that ancient migrant literature, just as modern migrant literature, is characterized by *in-betweenness, ambivalence* and *polyphony*.[54] Migrant literature can be considered *in-between* insofar as it does not take a fixed position but moves between different spaces, cultures, and identities, thereby allowing for cultural hybridity.[55] The Hellenised authors of the second century AD possessed multiple identities and move in their works between local, Greek and Roman.

Migrant literature also expresses *ambivalence* because migrants are at the same time insiders and outsiders to the society they live in and therefore write from a "double perspective".[56] Consequently, they realize that there only exists a relative truth and that knowledge will never be certain.[57] According to postcolonialism, the uncertainty of the colonized translates into mixed feelings of attraction and repulsion towards the colonizing power and results in a relationship that fluctuates between mimicry and mockery.[58] This ambivalent relationship can also be found in the Greek literature produced under Roman power. The response to Rome is seldom entirely positive or negative and Roman authority is often partly undermined by playful, ironical or ambiguous statements or the evident absence of any references to Roman power.[59]

Lastly, due to the hybridity of migrant literature, this literature often presents multiple perspectives on the world.[60] In Greek literature from the first and second century AD, this *polyphony* is accomplished by giving voice to multiple (human) characters, describing diverse local traditions and cultures, or addressing diverse local communities with distinct styles and messages.[61]

In my thesis, I will make use of the concepts of *in-betweenness* and *polyphony* and frequently refer to the ambiguity that is associated with *ambivalence.* However, these concepts will not be central to my argument but merely be used as tools for my analysis of Lucian's works.

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[53] De Jonge 2022; 2023.
[54] De Jonge 2022, 17-19.
[55] De Jonge 2022, 38. For cultural hybridity, see Bhabha 1994, 5, 38, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998, 118, and Pourjafari and Vahidpour 2014, 686-687.
[56] Rushdie 1991, 19.
[57] Rushdie 1991, 12. Cf. Bhabha 1994, 128; Smith 2004, 248; De Jonge 2022, 18.
[58] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998, 12-13. Cf. Bhabba 1994, 127-135; De Jonge 2022, 18. For colonial mimicry, see Bhabha 1994, 85-92.
[59] De Jonge 2022, 18.
[60] Boehmer 2005, 232.
[61] De Jonge 2022, 18-19.

1.5.2. Acculturation Strategies

As I will examine how Lucian reflects on cultural interaction, an important concept for my analysis is "acculturation". "Acculturation" is classically defined as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either of both groups." [62] Based on the type of changes, Berry has distinguished four different acculturation strategies for both groups and individuals along two dimensions (see **Figure 1**).[63] The first dimension concerns the extent to which the culture of the migrant, the non-dominant "native culture", is maintained. The second dimension relates to the extent to which the culture of the community that receives the migrant, the dominant "host culture", is adopted.

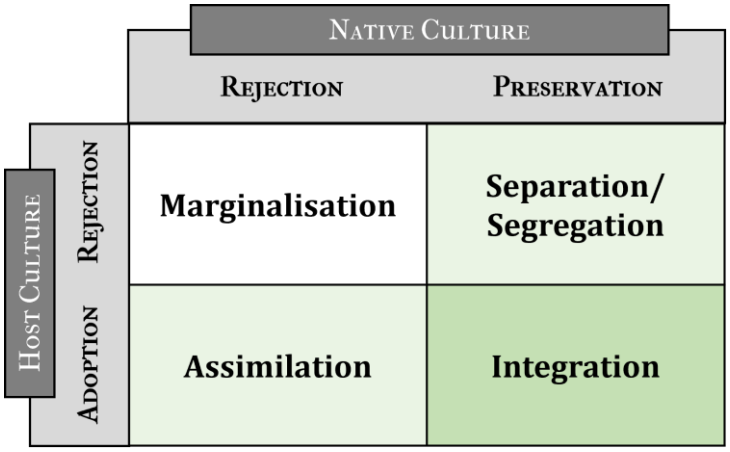

***Figure 1**. Berry's four acculturation strategies arranged according to the attitude towards the host culture and native culture.*

In the case of *marginalisation*, the non-dominant group of migrants is not supported by the host community and therefore tries to avoid relations with others by rejecting the norms, values and customs of both its native culture and the host culture. This is generally considered the most negative form of acculturation since *marginalisation* involves rejection by and hostility from the dominant host community and at the same leads to strongly reduced support from the native community due to the loss of the native identity.

As for *separation*, the non-dominant group desires to hold on to its native culture and avoid interactions with the host culture, thereby rejecting the dominant host culture's norms, values and customs. *Separation* becomes *segregation* if cultural distancing is imposed on migrants by the dominant group.

In the case of *assimilation*, the non-dominant group of migrants does not preserve its cultural identity but seeks daily interaction with the host culture, thereby adopting the cultural norms, values and customs of this culture. This is a unidirectional process that involves voluntary or involuntary culture shedding by the non-dominant group and the loss of the native identity.[64]

As for *integration*, the non-dominant group of migrants maintains to some extent the norms, values and customs of the native culture but at the same time participates in the social network of the dominant host culture. Thereby, the non-dominant group also adopts to some extent the dominant

[62] Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936, 149. For an extensive discussion of this definition and several other definitions of "acculturation", see Sam 2006, 11-17.
[63] Berry 1992, 71-73; 1997, 9-12, 23. My explanation of the four acculturation strategies is based on these two articles. Cf. Worthy, Lavigne, and Romero 2022, chap. 13.3.
[64] Cf. Sam 2006, 17.

host culture's cultural norms, values and customs. *Integration* is usually perceived as the most positive acculturation strategy because it is a bidirectional process where both the dominant host culture and the non-dominant culture are willing to accommodate and the non-dominant culture is ensured of support from both its own group and the host community.

In my thesis, I will apply Berry's distinction between these four acculturation strategies to explain how Lucian addresses negative sentiments of the Roman host culture and thought about the cultural interaction between foreigners and host cultures within the Roman Empire.

Furthermore, Berry distinguishes between *reactive* and *proactive* motivations for migration.[65] In the case of reactive motivation, people migrate due to the presence of exclusionary or constraining *push factors.* Migration based on these usually negative factors often results in problems with psychological adaptation. In contrast, *proactive* motivation is based on more positive and enabling *pull factors* and could therefore stimulate the acculturation process. However, even *proactive motivation* is not always unproblematic. If migrants have too high expectations about life in the host community, they can easily be disappointed and discouraged from cultural adaptation.

As Berry's distinctions between acculturation strategies and between migration motivations are modern distinctions, they may not be one-to-one applicable to migrant literature of the second century AD. In my thesis, I will therefore merely explore whether the application of Berry's acculturation theory to Lucian's works could contribute to a discussion of Lucian's reflection on acculturation.

1.6. Chapter Outline

In the next three chapters, I will study Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods, On Hired Companions, Scythian* and *Anacharsis* as migrant literature and use Berry's acculturation theory to analyse how Lucian in these works reflects on cultural interaction. In the first chapter, I will argue that Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods* could be read as a parody of Roman criticism of (Greek) foreigners and I will discuss how Lucian uses this parody to plea for cultural tolerance and prevent *cultural segregation.*

In the second chapter, I will discuss how Lucian's *On Hired Companions* reflects on the cultural interaction between Greeks and Romans. I will argue that Lucian uses two different Greek perspectives to advocate for cultural *separation.* He uses the perspective of the proud Greek speaker to warn Greeks against attaching themselves to a Roman patron and to promote cultural *separation.* At the same time, he discourages them from aspiring for *integration* by reporting the hardships that were experienced by a Greek who tries to integrate into a Roman household.

In the last chapter, I will discuss how Lucian reflects on the acculturation of foreigners into new societies in his *Scythian* and *Anacharsis.* I will argue that Lucian in these works provides us with three different examples of acculturation and presents his "own" autonomous *integration* as the most desirable acculturation strategy. Furthermore, I will try to reconcile this plea for autonomous *integration* with the promotion of cultural *separation* in the *On Hired Companions.* Finally, I will explain how Lucian's four works together seem to guide both foreigners and host cultures to the creation of a culturally tolerant society.

[65] Berry 1997, 16, 22-23.

2. Criticism from Olympus

Lucian's Response to Roman Criticism in *Assembly of the Gods*

2.1. Introduction

Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods* describes the proceedings of an assembly of the gods concerning the presence of resident aliens and foreigners on Olympus (1). During this meeting, the god Momus complains that there are too many foreign gods on Olympus and that these gods claim precedence over the original Olympian gods (2-3). On the request of Zeus, Momus explicitly points to Dionysus and his clan (4-5). Zeus responds by urging him not to mention Asclepius and Heracles (6). Momus subsequently accuses Zeus himself of being alien and admitting demigods to Olympus (6-8) and proceeds with the gods from the Medes, Scythians and Egyptians (9-10). After Zeus has pointed out that the animal parts of the Egyptian gods are mainly a matter of symbolism (11), Momus continues by complaining about oracular gods and heroes (12). He finishes his list of illegal deities with the abstract divinities made up by the philosophers (13). Thereafter, he reads a motion in the form of a formulaic decree in which he proposes to stop the admission of new gods and to expel the illegal gods from Olympus (14-18). Zeus agrees and declares the resolution to be carried (19).

Because this dialogue takes place in the realm of the gods, the *Assembly of the Gods* has extensively been discussed for its religious viewpoints and its value as a historical document for the religious and philosophical situation in the Early Roman Empire.[66] Furthermore, it has been suggested by Bozia that Lucian's work responds to the social or political situation within the Early Roman Empire.[67] She has argued that Lucian intensified the anthropomorphism of the gods already present in Homer by letting Momus confront them with their actions as if they were mere mortals and by reporting their conversations in prose rather than lofty dactylic hexameters.[68] This extreme anthropomorphism suggests that Lucian's work could also respond to situations outside the religious sphere, which concern humans rather than gods. Lucian may have located his dialogue in the realm of the gods to be able to reflect on touchy subjects more freely.

That the *Assembly of the Gods* could also respond to actualities outside the religious sphere has also been suggested by Oliver, who argues that Lucian's dialogue was inspired by the institution of the *trigonia* in Athens in AD 165.[69] In this year, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus decided that members of the Areopagus should descend from at least three generations of freeborn on both sides of the family.[70]

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[66] See for example Croiset 1882, 207-223, Caster 1937, 335-346, Jones 1986, 34-35, Bozia 2015, 101-105, 114-116, and McClure 2018, 10-33.
[67] Bozia 2015, 101-105.
[68] Bozia 2015, 103. Bozia's argument that the gods in Lucian's work converse in prose rather than dactylic hexameters is not very strong as in Homer's works both humans and gods speak in dactylic hexameters. Hence, speaking in epic verses is not a feature that distinguishes the gods from humans and would places them on a higher level.
[69] Oliver 1980. Jones 1986, 38-39 and Branham 1989, 164 both acknowledged that the dialogue could be written in response to the events of 165 BC but also point out that the exclusion of citizens from political activities was not a new phenomenon in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire. Oliver's interpretation of the *Assembly of the Gods* as a response to the political situation in Athens is hard to reconcile with the compelling argument of Householder 1940, 201-205 that Lucian authored the work while he was in Magnesia.
[70] Oliver 1980, 307.

Although Lucian's dialogue may indeed have been written around this time and is concerned with the birth of the gods present on Olympus, this political event is not the only actuality to which the *Assembly of the Gods* could respond.[71] Lucian might also reflect more generally on the social-cultural situation of his own time. Branham has suggested that Lucian with this work responds to the treatment of foreigners he may have experienced in Athens.[72] By letting Momus also accuse some of the most established gods of being illegitimate of Olympus, Lucian would have pointed to the arbitrariness and artificiality with which one's place in society is determined. Unfortunately, Branham does not further elaborate on the possible connection between the *Assembly of the Gods* and issues of migration and multiculturality in the contemporary Roman Empire.

In this chapter, I will therefore further explore this connection and argue that Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods* responds to contemporary Roman criticism of Greeks and other migrants. In the first part, I will contend that Lucian's dialogue could be read as a satirical response to the migration of foreigners within the Roman Empire. I will demonstrate that Momus is not so much criticizing gods who lack a proper freeborn status but rather gods who lack Greek ethnicity, and I will discuss how Momus' dubious status as a faultfinder warns us not to take his criticism too seriously. In the second part, I will analyse Momus' criticism and argue that his complaints about foreigners echo those of contemporary Romans like Juvenal and seem to respond to these. In the last part, I will discuss how we should interpret Lucian's satirical response to these Roman complaints, arguing that he advocates against the exclusion of foreigners from Roman society and pleas for cultural tolerance to prevent cultural *segregation*.

2.2. A Satirical Response to Contemporary Multiculturality

2.2.1. A Dialogue Concerning Ethnicity

As has also been noticed by Oliver, the gods in the *Assembly of the Gods* are very much concerned with birth.[73] However, their dispute is not so much about the status of the gods as descending from freeborn or enslaved gods but rather about their ethnicity. At the beginning of the dialogue, Hermes explicitly states that the inquiry concerns resident aliens and foreigners (ἡ δὲ σκέψις περὶ τῶν μετοῖκων καὶ ξένων). Hence, the *Assembly of the Gods* is concerned with ethnic origin rather than the distinction between freeborn and enslaved gods.[74]

Furthermore, Momus mainly accuses gods of being illegitimate on Olympus because they are not of Greek origin. Dionysus is for example accused of being half-human (ἡμιάνθρωπος) and not even Greek (οὐδε Ἕλλην) because his grandfather Cadmus was a Syrophoenician (Συροφοῖνιξ).[75] Momus' denunciation of Cadmus as a foreigner is striking since Cadmus was traditionally one of the founding heroes of the Greek world.[76] Although Momus' tracing of Cadmus' origin is essentially right, his denial of Greekness to someone who was considered one of the primogenitors of the Greeks and to one of the traditional Greek gods would have appeared quite absurd to most Greeks.

Momus also explicitly mentions the ethnicity of many of the lower deities whom Dionysus has brought with him: Silenus is called a Lydian (Λυδὸς οὗτος) and the Satyrs are accused of being Phrygians (Φρύγες τινὲς ὄντες).[77] Moreover, later in the dialogue, Momus points out as illegitimate

[71] Schwarz 1965, 24 suggests Lucian's writing of *True Histories* (between 161 and 164 AD) as a *terminus post quem* for the *Assembly of the Gods.*
[72] Branham 1989, 164.
[73] Oliver 1980.
[74] *Deor. Conc.* 1.
[75] *Deor. Conc.* 1.
[76] For Cadmus as the primogenitor of the Greeks, see for example Kühr 2006, 88, 117-118.
[77] *Deor. Conc.* 1.

some of the eastern gods, like Mithras and Zalmoxis and the Egyptian gods. Thus, Momus seems to problematize the ethnicity of the gods rather than their lack of free birth.

2.2.2. Momus as Faultfinder

As his criticism of Dionysus' origin already suggests, Momus' complaints are sometimes farfetched or even ridiculous. This is best illustrated by the fact that not even Zeus is spared his criticism:

> ΜΩΜΟΣ: εἰ δὲ ἐξῆν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν σὲ τῇ παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι, πολλᾶ ἂν εἶχον εἰπεῖν.
> ΖΕΥΣ: Καὶ μὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔξεστιν μάλιστα. Μῶν δ' οὖν κάμε ξενίας διώκεις;
> ΜΩΜΟΣ: Ἐν Κρήτῃ μὲν οὐ μόνον τοῦτο ἀκοῦσαι ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο τι περὶ σοῦ λέγουσιν καὶ τάφον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε ἐκείνοις πείθομαι οὔτε Ἀχαιῶν Αἰγιεῦσιν ὑποβολιμαῖόν σε εἶναι φάσκουσιν.[78]
>
> Momus: And if it were also allowed to use free speech about yourself, I would have plenty to say.
> Zeus: Well, I assure you, about me it is certainly permissible. But you are surely not prosecuting me too for having the status of a stranger, are you?
> Momus: In Crete, it is not only possible to hear this, but they also tell something else about you and show a tomb. However, I do neither believe those nor the Greek inhabitants of Aegium who assert that you are supposititious.

Even though Momus assures Zeus that he does not believe in the allegations made by the Cretans and inhabitants of Aegium, his decision to bring up their tales reveals his belief that it is quite possible for Zeus to be perceived as a foreigner. Hence, Momus' asserted disbelief about these claims may merely function to highlight the paradox that even the supreme deity could be accused of being illegitimate of Olympus. This quite ironic accusation of the ruler of the gods should warn us that Momus may be an all too fanatic faultfinder and that we should not take his criticism of foreigners too seriously.

Indeed, if we look at Momus' own background, he does not have the best credentials to criticize foreign deities and propose measures against them. Among other things, he advocates that there is no place on Olympus for abstract concepts and proposes that philosophers should stop making up abstract deities.[79] Ironically, by his proposal to expel all abstract deities from Olympus, he is also disqualifying himself. Since his name means "Blame", he too could be considered an abstract concept and thus somebody who does not belong on Olympus.

Moreover, the literary tradition of Momus warns us not to take him too seriously. Momus is for the first time mentioned by Hesiod as one of the many children of Night.[80] The fact that he is the son of the god of darkness who lives in Tartarus makes him a shady figure and suggests that he might not be the most trustworthy advocate. Furthermore, in a fable of Aesop, he is established as the greatest faultfinder of the gods.[81] In this fable, Momus has to decide which of the gods had made the most beautiful creation, but instead of choosing a winner, he points to the imperfections of all inventions.[82] Moreover, the phrase ἔτι γὰρ ἐν θεοῖς ᾤκει ('for he was still living among the gods') in this fable suggests that Momus was eventually expelled from Olympus.[83] His own banishment from Olympus makes Momus' plea for the expulsion of foreign gods quite ironic and indicates that we should not take his criticism of foreigners seriously but should read Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods* as satire.

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[78] *Deor. Conc.* 6.
[79] *Deor. Conc.* 13; 17.
[80] Hes. *Th.* 211-215. Cf. *Deor. Conc.* 14.
[81] Hes. *Th.* 211-215; Babr. 59.
[82] Babr. 59.1-15.
[83] Babr. 59.6.

2.3. A Response to Roman Criticism

2.3.1. The Arbitrariness of Foreign Status

But what exactly is Lucian satirizing? The multi-ethnic society of Olympus which is overcrowded by foreigners seems to reflect the social situation of the multicultural and globalized Roman Empire. Hence, Momus' problematization of the multinationality of the Olympian society and migration to Olympus invites an interpretation of *Assembly of the Gods* as a response to contemporary complaints about the multiculturality of Roman society.

As mentioned above, Branham has suggested that Lucian with Momus' questioning of the legitimacy of both spurious gods and well-established gods illustrates the arbitrary and artificial nature of social hierarchies.[84] I agree that Lucian's inclusion of some of the traditional gods in his criticism suggests some arbitrariness in the distinction between native and foreign. However, this does not explain why Lucian also addresses many gods that do not belong to the traditional Greek pantheon, like Mithras (9), Zalmoxis (9), Egyptian gods (10), and abstract deities (13).[85] Hence, the emphasis of *Assembly of the Gods* is only partly on the artificiality of the distinction between legitimate and illegal gods. Much attention is also paid to the consequence of admitting so many foreigners to Olympus. Furthermore, Branham's interpretation does not take into account that a large part of the dialogue is devoted to complaints about the consequences of admitting so many foreigners to Olympus.

2.3.2. Momus' Criticism of Foreign Gods

Throughout the *Assembly of the Gods*, we find several points of critique on the policy of allowing so many foreigners into the realm of the Gods, most of which are also expressed in the decree Momus reads after his complaints:

> Ψήφισμα ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἐκκλησίας ἐννόμου ἀγομένης ἑβδόμῃ ἱσταμένου ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπρυτάνευε καὶ προήδρευε Ποσειδῶν, ἐπεστάτει Ἀπόλλων, ἐγραμμάτευε Μῶμος Νυκτὸς καὶ ὁ Ὕπνος τῆν γνώμην εἶπεν.
>
> Ἐπειδὴ πολλοῖ τῶν ξένων, οὐ μόνον Ἕλληνες ἀλλὰ καὶ βάρβαροι, οὐδαμῶς ἄξιοι ὄντες κοινωνεῖν ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας, παρεγγραφέντες οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως καὶ θεοὶ δόξαντες ἐμπεπλήκασι μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς μεστὸν εἶναι τὸ συμπόσιον ὄχλου ταραχώδους πολυγλώσσων τινῶν καὶ ξυγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλέλοιπε δὲ ἡ ἀμβροσία καὶ τὸ νέκταρ, ὥστε μνᾶς ἤδη τὴν κοτύλην εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πινόντων· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αὐθαδείας παρωσάμενοι τοὺς παλαιούς τε καὶ ἀληθεις θεοὺς προεδρίας ἠξιώκασιν αὐτοὺς παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ προτιμᾶσθαι θέλουσι ...[86]
>
> Decree with good fortune. During the regular meeting of the assembly, established on the seventh day, Zeus held the *prytany*, Poseidon presided, Apollo was chairman, Momus, son of Night, was secretary, and Sleep proposed the following motion:
>
> As many foreigners, not only Greeks but also barbarians, who no wise deserve to take part in our civil polity and have enrolled illegally in a way I don't know and are considered gods, have completely filled heaven so that our drinking party overflows with a troubling rabble of random polyglots and a promiscuous mob of men, and as the ambrosia and nectar have fallen short so that a cup costs a *mina* already due to the great number of drinkers; and as they have presumptuously thrust aside the ancient and genuine gods and deem themselves worth precedence contrary to all ancestral customs and want to be preferred in honour on earth …

[84] Branham 1989, 164-166.
[85] Jones 1986, 36 even states that Lucian is mainly interested in these more spurious gods.
[86] *Deor. Conc.* 14.

At the beginning of this resolution, several points of criticism of foreigners can be found. Firstly, they made Olympus overcrowded. Momus mentions that their banquet on Olympus is overflowing with people (μεστὸν εἶναι τὸ συμπόσιον) and that consequently there is a complete disorder of participants (ὄχλου ταραχώδοὺς; ξυγκλύδων). That this chaos is due to migration policy is suggested in section 9, where Momus asks πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐπεισεκυκλήθησαν οὗτοι ('from where did they roll in upon us') to refer to the arrival of Attis, Corybas and Sabazius on Olympus. By his use of the verb ἐπεισκυκλέω Momus suggests that the admittance of foreign deities just happens without any consent and control.

Secondly, Momus complains that the vast number of foreign deities causes a shortage of food (ἐπιλέλοιπε δὲ ἡ ἀμβροσία καὶ τὸ νέκταρ). Consequently, the prices of food and drink increase (μνᾶς ἤδη τὴν κοτύλην εἶναι).

Thirdly, by referring to the foreign deities as 'a troubling rabble of random polyglots' (ὄχλου ταραχώδους πολυγλώσσων τινῶν), Momus seems to points to the practical issue that all these foreign deities speak different languages and that the gods are therefore no longer able to understand each other. This problem is mentioned more explicitly in section 9, where Momus criticises Mithras for not speaking Greek (οὐδὲ ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ).

Fourthly, the foreign gods claim precedence over the traditional Olympian gods (οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αὐθαδείας … προτιμᾶσθαι θέλουσι). Momus seems to consider this a significant problem because he frequently complains about this in the dialogue preceding his decree.[87] In section 2, for example, he laments that the foreign gods consider the old gods no better than their own servants:

> Φημὶ τοίνυν δεινὰ ποιεῖν ἑνίους ἡμῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἀπόχρη θεοὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτοὺς γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ', εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ θεράποντος αὐτῶν ἰσοτίμους ἡμῖν ἀποφανοῦσιν, οὐδὲν μέγα οὐδὲ νεανικὸν οἴονται εἰργάσθαι.[88]
>
> Well then, I say that some of us behave terribly, for whom it is not sufficient that they themselves have become gods out of men, but, who, if they do not also declare their attendants and servants equal to us, do not think that they have accomplished anything great or important.

This criticism betrays a certain fear of replacement. Momus and the other traditional gods are afraid that if the foreign deities claim precedence over the traditional deities, they will also be held in higher esteem by mortals and be revered more. Momus' use of the words 'some of us' (ἑνίους ἡμῶν) to refer to the foreign deities underlines the fact that they have already established themselves as the equals of the traditional gods and emphasizes the urgency of the threat. For this reason, Momus later exclaims 'Gods, how can you tolerate it to see that they are worshipped equally or even more than you?' (ὦ θεοί, πῶς ἀνέχεσθε ὀρῶντες ἐπ' ἴσης ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν προσκυνούμενά;).[89]

Fifthly, according to Momus, the traditional gods will not only lose their status and honour to foreign deities but also their profession. He for example points out to Apollo that he is no longer highly esteemed (Τοιγαροῦν οὐκέτι σύ, ὦ Ἄπολλον, εὐδοκιμεῖς) because also Trophonius. Amphilochus and any other charlatan that will find a suitable place for divination are also giving oracles.[90] Momus' remark expresses the fear that the gods will lose their profession to the newcomers and that this concurrence will devaluate their positions.

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[87] Momus complains about foreign deities claiming equality to or precedence over the traditional gods in *Deor. Conc.* 2, 3, 10 and 14.
[88] *Deor. Conc.* 2.
[89] *Deor. Conc.* 10.
[90] *Deor. Conc.* 12.

Sixtly, the outlandish appearance of the new gods results in human disdain and moral decline. Momus complains about them being skittish men with strange shapes (σκιρτητικοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλοκότους), animals or other far more ridiculous creatures (ἄλλα πολλῷ γελοιότερα).[91] His disdain can be felt in his use of ἄνθρωπος instead of θεός to refer to these foreign gods. This scorn is made even more explicit by his statements that the gods should not wonder that men despise them (Εἶτα θαυμάζομεν εἰ καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι) and that, consequently, perjury and sacrilege have increased (ἐπιδέδωκε μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπιορκία καὶ ἱεροσυλία).[92] He thereby suggests that the ridiculous appearance of the gods not only diminishes their dignity but also leads to the moral debasement of humans. Thus, the arrival of new gods to Olympus not only affects the society of gods but also harms human civilization.

2.3.3. Similarities to Juvenal's Criticism of Foreigners

In short, Momus complains about the chaos and shortages in food caused by the overpopulation of Olympus; the difficulties of speaking different languages; the precedence that the foreign gods claim over the traditional gods; the deprival of the traditional gods of their functions; the diminishing status of the traditional deities among mortals and the moral decline in human society. Strikingly, some of Momus' complaints are quite similar to the negative sentiments about foreigners that can be found in the satires of the Roman author Juvenal (ca. AD 60-140). This almost contemporary of Lucian complains in his first and third satire about Greeks and other migrants who have settled in Rome.

Juvenal describes in his first satire for example how freedmen of foreign origin worsen the scarcity of food in Rome and claim precedence over Roman officials when a patron is handing out the dole:

> *… nunc sportula primo*
> *limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae.*
> *(…)*
> *agnitus accipies. iubet a praecone vocari*
> *Ipsos Troiugenas, nam vexant limen et ipsi*
> *nobiscum. "da praetori, da deinde tribune."*
> *sed libertinus prior est: "prior" inquit "ego adsum.*
> *cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis*
> *natus ad Euphraten, molli quod in aure fenestrae*
> *arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quinque tabernae*
> *quadringenta parant."*[93]
>
> … now at last the inconsiderable dole
> waits on the threshold to be snatched away by a toga-clad mob.
> (…)
> Once recognized, you will receive it. He [i.e. the patron] orders the crier to summon
> the nobles of Trojan descent, for they too harass the threshold
> together with us. "Provide to the praetor, subsequently to the tribune."
> But the freedman is ahead of them: "I was first" he said.
> "Why would I fear or hesitate to defend my place, though born
> on the Euphrates, what the windows in my soft ear
> would betray, even if I myself denied it? Yet, five shops
> equal four hundred thousand sesterces."

[91] *Deor. Conc.* 4; 10. Cf. *Deor. Conc.* 5: γελοίους θεοὺς και τεραστίους ('absurd and monstrous deities').
[92] *Deor. Conc.* 5 and 12 respectively.
[93] Juv. 1.95-96, 99-106.

The fact that the dole is meagre (*sportula parva*) and chaotically fought for (*rapienda*) by a mob of Romans suggests that there is a scarcity of goods, which only gets worse if not only Romans but also foreigners lay claim to the dole. Thus, like Lucian's Momus, Juvenal's *persona* seems to suggest that, due to the presence of foreigners, there are too many people to provide everybody with food and other goods.

Furthermore, the passage describes a situation in which a foreigner, who like Lucian originates from the banks of the Euphrates (*natus ad Euphraten*), claims precedence over Roman officials. The freedman directly compares himself to these officials by mentioning that his fortune equals 400,000 sesterces, the census threshold for becoming an *eques*, and goes even further by stating that he should be the first to receive the dole.[94] Hence, similar to the foreign gods who claimed precedence over the established Greek gods in the *Assembly of the Gods*, here a foreigner considers himself superior to the established Roman elite**.**

A similar scenario of foreigners claiming precedence can be found in Juvenal's third satire. Here, his friend Umbricius complains that those who migrate (*petunt*) to the Esquiline and Viminal Hill will not only become the clients of great Romans but will eventually replace them as masters (*Dominique futuri*). [95]

Just as Momus' fear of replacement was not limited to status but also concerned profession, Umbricius in Juvenal's third satire also seems to fear that the Romans will lose their trade to the Greeks. He for example complains that Roman parasites are replaced by Greek migrants:

> *non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat*
> *Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarchus,*
> *qui gentis vitio nunquam partitur amicum:*
> *solus habet; nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem*
> *exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,*
> *limine summoveor, perierunt tempora longi*
> *servitii. Nusquam minor est iactura clientis.*[96]
>
> There is no room for any Roman here, where
> some Protogenes or Diphilus or Hermachus rules,
> who by a fault of his race never shares a friend:
> he keeps him for himself; for when he has dropped into a ready
> ear a little of his own and his fatherland's poison,
> I am moved from the threshold and my long years of slavery are
> wasted. Nowhere it is easier to throw a client overboard.

In this passage, Umbricius sketches a scenario in which the Greeks drive Roman clients away from their place in the Roman household, thereby suggesting that Greek migrants take away from the Romans the job of parasitism. Somewhat earlier in his speech, Umbricius also complains about the 'hungry little Greek' (*Graeculus esuriens*) who practices many disciplines and can fulfil many roles in society.[97] He thereby depicts the Greeks as predatory people who will gradually take over all kinds of professions from the Romans. This replacement is quite similar to Momus' description of how many inferior deities take over the profession of Apollo, albeit on a much larger scale.

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[94] Cf. Scheidel 2016, 11.
[95] Juv. 3.69-72.
[96] Juv. 3.119-125. Cf. Juv. 3.100-108, where Juvenal complains that the Greeks form unequal concurrence for the parasites because they are much better in feigning the right emotions and feelings.
[97] Juv. 3.74-78.

Furthermore, Umbricius, like Momus, complains about the outlandish appearance and habits of foreigners and laments its negative effect on the Romans:

> *… non possum ferre, Quirites,*
> *Graecam urbem – quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?*
> *iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*
> *et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas*
> *obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum*
> *vexit et ad circum iussas prostrare puellas.*
> *ite, quibus grata est picta lupa Barbara mitra.*
> *rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,*
> *et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.*[98]
>
> … I cannot stand, Quirites,
> a Greek city – yet, what great part of our dregs is Greek?
> Long since the Syrian Orontis has flown down into the Tiber
> and has carried with it its tongue and manners, and together with the flute player
> also its slanted strings, and besides the timbrels of its race,
> and the girls imposed to prostitute themselves at the circus.
> Come, to whom delights a barbarian prostitute with a painted headband.
> This countryman of you, Quirinus, assumes the *trechedipna* coat,
> and wears *niceterian* prices upon his *ceromanticly* perfumed neck.

Umbricius points out that together with the foreigners, many strange manners, objects and appearances have flowed to Rome and that thereby Rome has become Greek (*Graecam urbem*). Furthermore, he suggests that these foreign influences turn the typically Roman *rusticus* into an effeminate type that adorns himself with the strange clothes of foreign cultures.[99] In this way, Umbricius seems to suggest that Roman culture is corrupted by Greek and other foreign influences.

This corruption is also the subject of part of Juvenal's second satire, in which he complains about the current *modus vivendi*: many people present themselves as sturdy soldiers, Greek philosophers and moralists, but in reality, they are hypocrites who have adopted the effeminate style of these foreigners.[100] A similar sense of decline and diminishing status is expressed in evocations like 'O Father of the city, whence this wickedness upon the Latin shepherds?' (*O pater urbis*,| *unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus?*) and 'To that misery we are degraded!' (*illic heu miseri traducimur*).[101]
These laments are to some extent comparable to Momus' complaints about the diminishing status of the Greek gods and the resulting moral debasement of humans. Both Juvenal's *persona* and Lucian's Momus are distressed by the degradation of their culture and the corruption of moral values as a result of foreign influences.

Thus, except for the language problem, the problems that are raised in the *Assembly of the Gods* seem to echo the complaints about Greeks and other migrants in Juvenal's first and third satire. This could either indicate that Lucian has read Juvenal's work and directly responded to his criticism of foreigners, or that Juvenal's work reflects general Roman complaints about migrants and that he and

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[98] Juv. 3.60-68.
[99] The criticism that Greek culture is effeminate and corrupts Roman morals and culture is traditional and can for example be found in the works of Cato Maior (*Fil.* 1 Jordan), Sallust (*Cat.* 11.5) and Livy (8.22.8). For more examples of traditional Roman criticism of the Greeks, see Henrichs 1995, 243-250. Edwards 1993, 92-97 has discussed why the Romans associated Greek culture with effeminacy and *mollitia* and points amongst others to Cicero's claims of Roman moral and martial superiority over the Greeks (*Tusc.* 1.2).
[100] Cf. Bozia 2015, 23.
[101] Juv. 2.26-27, 159.

Lucian both engaged in a broader (literary) debate about migration in the Roman Empire. In both cases, the similarities between Momus' complaints and Juvenal's criticism of (Greek) foreigners support a reading of the *Assembly of the Gods* as a response to migration in the Roman Empire.

2.3.4. Momus' Migration Measures

In contrast to Juvenal, who only complains about the presence of foreigners, Lucian also reflects on the treatment of foreigners in Roman society. His Momus suggests some measures to improve the situation of the traditional gods. After having explained the horrible situation on Olympus, he continues his decree with the proposal to make a distinction between legal and illegal gods based on their origin and to expel all illegal gods from Olympus:

> Δεδόχθω τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ξυλλεγῆναι μὲν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινάς, ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐπιγνώμονας τελείους θεοὺς ἑπτά, τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Κρόνου, τέτταρας δὲ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν Δία· τούτους δὲ τοὺς ἐπιγνώμονας αὐτοὺς μὲν καθέζεσθαι ὀμόσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὅρκον τὴν Στύγα, τὸν Ἑρμῆν δὲ κηρύξαντα ξυναγαγεῖν ἅπαντας ὅσοι ἀξιοῦσι ξυντελεῖν ἑς τὸ ξυνέδριον, τοὺς δὲ ἥκειν μάρτυρας ἐπαγομένους ἐνωμότους καὶ ἀποδείξεις τοῦ γένους. τούντεῦθεν δὲ οἱ μὲν παρίτωσαν καθ᾽ ἕνα, οἱ δὲ ἐπιγνώμονες ἐξετάζοντες ἤ θεοὺς εἶναι ἀποφανοῦνται ἢ καταπέμψουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἡρία καὶ τὰς θήκας τὰς προγονικάς. ἢν δέ τις ἀλῷ τῶν ἀδοκίμων καὶ ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγνωμόνων ἐκκριθέντων ἐπιβαίνων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἑς τὸν Τάρταρον ἐμπεσεῖν τοῦτον.[102]
>
> Let it be decided by the senate and the people that an assembly is gathered on Olympus about the time of the winter solstice; that as judges are chosen seven gods of full standing, three from the ancient senate from the time of Cronos, four from the Twelve, including Zeus; that these judges take their seat after they have sworn the regular oath on the Styx; that Hermes as herald assembles everyone who thinks that he has the right to be part of the council, that they appear while bringing in witnesses bound by oath and testimonies of their birth. Henceforth, they shall come forward individually, and after close examination, the judges shall either declare them to be gods or send them down to their tombs and ancestral graves. And let it be decided that, if anyone of those not approved of and once expelled by the judges will be caught setting foot in heaven, he will be thrown into Tartarus.

Momus wants the gods to provide birth certificates (ἀποδείξεις τοῦ γένους) and witnesses (μάρτυρας) to prove that they are not foreigners. This once again proves that the dispute about the legitimacy of the gods is not so much focused on the freedom status of the gods but rather on their ethnicity. With his proposal to expel all foreign gods from Olympus Momus addresses the problems of the chaos on Olympus and the shortage of food. Furthermore, the expulsion would entail a "purification" of Olympus from its foreign and outlandish influences, so that it regains its Greek character and thereby also the respect of mortals. In the last part of his decree, Momus proposes several measures to further improve the situation on Olympus:

> Ἐργάζεσθαι δὲ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον, καὶ μήτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἰᾶσθαι μήτε τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν χρησμῳδεῖν μήτε τὸν Ἀπόλλω τοσαῦτα μόνον ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔν τι ἐπιλεξάμενον μάντιν ἢ κιθαρῳδὸν ἢ ἰατρὸν εἶναι. τοῖς δὲ φιλοσόφοις προειπεῖν μὴ ἀναπλάττειν κενὰ ὀνόματα μηδὲ ληρεῖν περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν. ὁπόσοι δὲ ἤδη ναῶν ἢ θυσιῶν ἠξιώθησαν, ἐκείνων μὲν καθαιρεθῆναι τὰ ἀγαλματα, ἐντεθῆναι δὲ ἢ Διὸς ἢ Ἥρας ἢ Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τίνος, ἐκείνοις δὲ τάφον χῶσαι τὴν πόλιν

[102] *Deor. Conc.* 15.

καὶ στήλην ἐπιστῆσαι ἀντὶ βωμοῦ. ἢν δέ τις παρακούσῃ τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ μὴ ἐθελήσῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιγνώμονας ἐλθεῖν, ἐρήμην αὐτοῦ καταδιαιτησάτωσαν.[103]

> Let it also be decided that everybody does his own work and that Athena does not heal and Asclepius does not deliver oracles and Apollo does not do so many things on his own but chooses one thing and is either seer or singer and cithara player or physician; that is ordered to the philosophers not to invent empty names or to talk nonsense about things they do not know of; that of so many as are already are honoured with temples or sacrifices, their statues are taken down, and that those of Zeus or Hera or Apollo or one of the others are placed inside; but that the city heaps up a grave and places a gravestone upon it instead of an altar; and that if somebody will disregard the proclamation and will not voluntarily appear before the judges, a judgement by default will be given against him.

This part of the decree demonstrates that Momus not only wants to exclude part of the gods from Olympus but also thinks of measures that could prevent the arrival of new gods. He assumes their creation and migration to Olympus would stop if the philosophers would no longer make up and deify abstract concepts. Furthermore, Momus seems to advocate for a more equal distribution of the tasks among the gods that are allowed to stay on Olympus. By commanding that each god should stick to his own profession (ἐργάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον) and that this should be just one task (ἀλλὰ ἕν τι ἐπιλεξάμενον), he protects the gods from losing their jobs to others while also giving other gods without a function the opportunity to claim a trade for themselves. Lastly, Momus wishes to restore the traditional gods with an act of counter-replacement. The statues set up in honour of the new gods should be replaced by those of the traditional gods to regain the respect and worship of mortals and reclaim their superiority.

All measures that are proposed by Momus are ways in which autochthonous people could discourage or prevent migration and could re-establish or reclaim their own traditions and culture. Hence, these measures cause the *separation* of foreign gods from the traditional Greek gods, thereby promoting *segregation.*

2.4. A Plea for Cultural Tolerance

2.4.1. A Foreigner's Perspective on Momus' Criticism

Through Momus, Lucian provides us with a perspective from a host culture that involuntarily accommodates foreigners and feels threatened and replaced by the newcomers who become part of their society. Lucians' choice for this Roman host perspective is striking because he himself could be considered a foreigner who tried to find his place within Graeco-Roman society. Hence, he would have been the object of the complaints about foreigners rather than the subject. However, as discussed above, we should not take Momus' criticism too seriously. The fact that the complaints are voiced by the greatest faultfinder of all gods and that his accusations are sometimes quite nonsensical indicates that Lucian is parodying the negative Roman sentiments about foreigners and that we should not read the *Assembly of the Gods* as a plea for a stricter migration policy.

That Lucian's criticism of migrants is not unambiguous is also evident from the way the other gods react to Momus' criticism. Although they are hardly given a voice in *Assembly of the Gods*, their opinion can be inferred from some remarks of Momus and Zeus. At the very beginning of the dialogue, Momus himself presents his criticism as widely shared among the gods.

[103] *Deor. Conc.* 16-18.

> Μηκέτι τονθορύζετε, ὦ θεοί, μηδὲ κατὰ γωνίας συστρεφόμενοι πρὸς οὓς ἀλλήλοις κοινολογεῖσθε, ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰ πολλοὶ ἀνάξιοι μετέχουσιν ἡμῖν τοῦ συμποσίου.[104]
>
> Mumble no longer, Gods, and do not gather in corners and commune through whispering in each other's ears because you are angry that many unworthy participate in our symposium.

Momus cleverly explains the unrest among the gods as a result of their discontent with the large number of illegitimate gods on Olympus. However, this unrest could also be caused by the god's unease about a meeting concerning the legitimacy of foreigners. Indeed, between the lines of the dialogue, we can read that the other gods do not necessarily agree with Momus' standpoints. Their discontent is most obvious at the end of Momus' speech, where he explicitly mentions that the other gods seem not pleased with his criticism:

> Πολλᾶ ἔτι ἔχων εἰπεὶν καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον· ὀρῶ γοῦν πολλοὺς ἀχθομένους μοι λέγοντι καὶ συρίττοντας, ἐκείνους μάλιστα ὧν καθήψατο ἡ παρρησία τῶν λόγων.[105]
>
> Although I have more to say, I will bring my speech to a close, for I see that many are grieved by my words and are hissing, especially those targeted by my frankness of speech.

Momus' use of μάλιστα ('especially') suggests that not only the foreign gods were offended but that also some of the traditional Greek gods were not happy with his comments. Among these gods seems also to be Zeus, who defends Asclepius and Hercules against Momus' criticism by pointing out that they are quite useful to the Olympians and states that it would be harsh to criticize Ganymede for his birth (τὸ γενός) because he is still a boy.[106] That Zeus has his reservations about Momus' criticism is also evident from his response to Momus' complaints about the Egyptian gods:

> ΖΕΥΣ: Αἰσχρὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα φὴς τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων· ὅμως δ' οὖν, ὦ Μῶμε, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν αἰνίγματά ἐστιν, καὶ οὐ πάνυ χρὴ καταγελᾶν ἀμύητον ὄντα.
> ΜΩΜΟΣ: Πάνυ γοῦν μυστηρίων, ὦ Ζεῦ, δεῖ ἡμῖν, ὡς εἰδέναι θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς θεούς, κυνοκεφάλους δὲ τοὺς κυνοκεφάλους.
> ΖΕΥΣ: Ἔα, φημί, τὰ περὶ Ἀγυπτίων· ἄλλοτε γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἐπισκεψόμεθα ἐπὶ σχολῆς. συ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγε.[107]
>
> Zeus: Those things you say about the Egyptians are indeed dishonouring. However, Momus, many of their customs are riddles and one who is not initiated should not laugh at them at all.
> Momus: Certainly we need *mysteries*, Zeus, to know the gods are gods and dogheads are dogheads.
> Zeus: Never mind, I say, the things about the Egyptians. For we will consider their case another time at leisure. But you, continue with the others.

Zeus partly agrees with Momus' criticism of the Egyptians but also points out that he is an outsider to their culture (ἀμύητον ὄντα) and therefore should not mock them. With this warning, Zeus counters Momus' criticism with cultural relativism. He comprehends that the customs and culture of the Egyptians cannot be evaluated by objective outsider standards but can only be understood in

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[104] *Deor. Conc.* 1.
[105] *Deor. Conc.* 13.
[106] *Deor. Conc.* 6; 8.
[107] *Deor. Conc.* 11.

terms of Egyptian customs and values and thus only by initiated insiders.[108] His sympathy for the strange traditions of the Egyptians puts Momus' criticism into perspective. It demonstrates that not all gods are equally inimical towards foreign gods but that some also accept their strange customs as part of their culture.

However, Zeus is not the ideal defender of foreigners. He has no good answer to Momus' sneer about the usefulness of the mysteries to properly distinguish between real gods and outlandish creatures and proposes to postpone the discussion. Moreover, rather than reproaching Momus, he asks him to continue with his accusations. Later in the dialogue, he even agrees with Momus that the admittance of foreigners to Olympus forms a problem and allows him to read his motion:

> Ἀνάγνωθι· ού πάντα γὰρ ἁλόγως ᾐτιάσω.[109] καὶ δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἂν γίγνηται.[110]
>
> Read it; for in many cases your accusation is not unreasonable. And it is necessary to stop most of these things so that it will not increase.

Furthermore, because he acknowledges the problem and recognizes its urgency, Zeus decides to declare Momus' decree carried without voting:

> Τοῦτο μὲν το ψήφισμα δικαιότατον, ὦ Μῶμε· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα· μᾶλλον δέ, οὕτω γιγνέσθω, πλείους γὰρ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ἔσονται οἱ μὴ χειροτονήσοντες.[111]
>
> This decree is most equitable, Momus; and let everybody to whom it also seems good hold up his hand. But no! Let it rather be carried. For I know that most of you will not hold up your hand.

Zeus thus decides not to vote about the degree because he fears that the majority of the gods will disagree with Momus' measures. It is quite ironic that Zeus, the supreme god of the Greeks, undermines arguably the most distinguishing characteristic of Athenian culture, namely democracy. This renders his attempt to limit the negative influences of foreigners on the status of the Greek gods and the culture they represent counterproductive. Instead of avoiding a further debasement of Greek culture, Zeus demonstrates with his implementation of the decree that his cultural values have already declined.

Apart from presenting the anti-migration policy that is proposed by Momus as very unpopular with the other gods, Lucian also points to the senselessness of Momus' measures. After all, the greatest proponents of these measures are two gods who would experience the negative consequences of the measures themselves; Momus belongs to the abstract deities that should be excluded from Olympus while Zeus is of dubious origin and does not show himself very Greek in the way he ignores the wish of the majority. The fact that the two most prominent characters of the dialogue should both be expelled from Olympus when subjected to their own measures demonstrates that the line between native Greek gods and foreigners is not easily drawn and that the exclusion of migrants from society as proposed by Momus does not make sense.

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[108] Simpson and Weiner 1989, *s.v.* "cultural relativism"; Vivanco 2018, *s.v.* "cultural relativism".
[109] Macleod 1980, 155 prints ἡτιάσω instead of ᾐτιάσω. Since this word is never spelt without an *iota subscriptum* in other texts, I here follow the text printed by Heineman 1936, 437.
[110] *Deor. Conc.* 14.
[111] *Deor. Conc.* 19.

2.4.2. The Arbitrariness of Identities

In short, Lucian provides in the *Assembly of the Gods* two different perspectives on migration. On the one hand, we have the dominant perspective of the Roman host culture, voiced by Momus. With this Roman perspective, Lucian gives voice to the Roman fear and complaints that the presence of so many foreigners in their society will lead to concurrence and replacement, thereby reducing the prosperity of the Romans, and will cause the (moral) decline of Roman culture. From this Roman perspective, the *separation* of migrants from the Roman community may seem desirable. On the other hand, we are provided with the perspective of foreigners and migrants. This perspective can be read between the lines in the negative reaction of the other god to Momus' complaints and measures. Furthermore, the foreigners' response to these complaints appears from the way Lucian presents the Roman criticism. By exaggerating these complaints and the range of gods to which they are directed, and by putting them in the mouth of the dubious faultfinder Momus, Lucian demonstrates that from a foreign perspective the Roman fears are ridiculous and their criticism is unjustified and untenable. With his comical and ironical staging of Momus as an all too fanatic accuser of foreign gods and complainer about migration, Lucian indicates that the distinction between Romans and foreigners is quite arbitrary and that most of the Roman criticism applies not only to foreigners but also to the Romans themselves. Consequently, it is not possible and not even desirable to treat foreigners differently from native people. The negative and almost hostile response (grieving and hissing) of the other gods in reaction to Momus' decree, seems to suggest that an attempt to separate and exclude foreigners by measures like those proposed by Momus would not be a constructive way of dealing with the multiculturality of Roman society but would lead to *cultural segregation.*[112]

2.4.3. A Polyphony of Perspectives

By writing his *Assembly of the Gods* Lucian himself also illustrates that identities are only relative and that foreigners and Romans are not that different. Rather than directly providing his own perspective as a foreigner, he responded to the Roman criticism of migrants by presenting an exaggerated version of the Roman host's perspective. This required him to have some understanding of the Roman fears, which he paradoxically may have had due to his Greek cultural background. As Swain has demonstrated, Lucian culturally identified with the Greeks and therefore negatively portrayed aspects of Roman society that could harm Greek culture.[113] From a religious perspective, the *Assembly of the Gods* could be considered such a negative response because it seems to react to the great number of foreign cults and religions that tried to claim a place next to traditional Greek religion.[114] Lucian's work seems to suggest that the emergence and evolvement of new religions in the multicultural Roman society are harmful to Greek culture for two reasons. Firstly, the interaction between different religions could lead to syncretism. Momus points to this phenomenon in *Assembly of the Gods* when he asks Zeus how he can endure that the Egyptians have provided him with ram's horns.[115] Secondly, the many different cults and religions claiming a place next to the traditional Greek pantheon may eventually outcompete traditional Greek religion. This scenario is sketched by Momus with his complaints about the superiority of the foreign gods and the deprival of the Greek gods of their traditional functions.

Because Greek culture functioned as the host culture with respect to religion, Lucian's concerns about Greek religions may have allowed him to also adopt a (Greek) host perspective and to have

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[112] *Deor. Conc.* 13.
[113] Swain 1996, 312-329; 2007, 38-42. Cf. Whitmarsh 2001a, 247-294 on Lucian's criticism on the commercialization and theatricalization of Greek learning and education.
[114] For religious interpretations of *Assembly of the Gods,* see the references in note 66.
[115] *Deor. Conc.* 10.

some understanding of the Roman's concerns about migration and the multiculturality of the Roman Empire. By his choice for parody, Lucian could ambiguously respond to these sentiments, thereby allowing his readers to view issues of migration and multiculturality from different perspectives and encouraging them to reflect on these issues themselves.

2.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods* could be read as a migrant's response to the complex social-cultural situation of Lucian's own time and a plea against *cultural separation*. The work is much concerned with ethnicity and seems to reflect on issues of migration and multiculturality in the contemporary Graeco-Roman empire and in particular on Roman complaints about foreigners. This response is not unambiguous. Although Lucian through Momus clearly voices the negative sentiments of the Roman host culture, the seriousness of this perspective is undermined by Momus' exaggeration of the complaints and his fanatism in accusing both spurious and established gods of being foreigners. Since Momus was known as a fanatic faultfinder who was expelled from Olympus, his suitability as an accuser and proposer of measures to expel and exclude all foreign gods from Olympus is questionable. The fact that so many gods could be accused of being foreign and Momus himself would also be subjected to his own measurements demonstrates that a sharp distinction between foreign and native can hardly be made. By pointing to the arbitrariness of identity and subtly describing the negative response of the other gods to Momus' decree, Lucian seems to suggest that it is senseless to differentiate between the treatment of foreigners and native people and to exclude everyone who is not completely Roman from Roman society. Hence, he seems to wish to prevent *cultural segregation.* At the same time, by choosing a parody rather than a direct response to Roman criticism, Lucian also leaves some room for more negative sentiments about the multiculturality of Roman society. To some extent, he may also have understood these sentiments himself because his Greek cultural identity provided him with a host perspective on the emergence and evolution of new religions alongside the traditional Greek religion. By providing different perspectives on migration and multiculturality, rather than imposing one view on his audience, Lucian contributes to the cultural tolerance and the acceptance of migrants within Roman society for which he pleads in his *Assembly of the Gods.*

3. A Warning from the Greeks

Lucian's Plea for Cultural Separation in *On Hired Companions*

3.1. Introduction

In *On Hired Companions*, the speaker warns his friend Timocles not to take a salaried position in a rich Roman household.[116] In the prologue, he tells us that he has heard about the negative experiences of others and that he will relate how educated people fare in such households to discourage them from taking such positions (1-4). He starts his account by examining and refuting the motives people may have to enter a life in a Roman household (5-9). Subsequently, he focuses on the difficulties of getting a position and the hardships one has to endure to be accepted into a Roman household. He describes the entrance into the Roman household (10-13), the first dinner (14-18) and the negotiation for payment (19-20). The speaker continues with an exposition of everything that one has to endure after one has gained a position, sketching an image of slavery (21-25), describing the second dinner and its consequences (26-30) and then again focusing on the humiliation and slavery that accompanied the salaried position (31-38). Thereafter, he describes how working for a Roman patron ends in a catastrophe and has disastrous consequences for the rest of one's life (39-41). He ends his account with the description of an allegorical picture in imitation of the *Tabula Cebetis*, in which he parodies Greek life in a Roman household (42).

It has frequently been noted that the content, structure, and language of Lucian's *On Hired Companions* are strikingly similar to Juvenal's third, fifth and ninth satires.[117] The parallel with the fifth satire is the most obvious.[118] Just as the speaker in *On Hired Companions* attempts to dissuade Timocles from taking up a position in the household of a rich Roman patron, the speaker of Juvenal's fifth satire, Umbricius, advises the poor Roman Trebius against living as a narrow-minded and petty client of the rich and miserly patron Virro. Furthermore, *On Hired Companions* seems to respond to Umbricius' complaints that the Greeks, and the Levantines in general, are replacing the Romans as clients in Rome.[119] As Bozia has pointed out, Lucian and Juvenal portray Roman patrons and Greek parasites in similar ways and suggest that the social status of a client is not determined by his social standing but by his ethnicity.[120] Furthermore, both authors judge the role of Greek clients while at the same time also exposing rich patrons and condemning their disrespect towards clients.

Due to the thematical, structural and linguistic similarities between Lucian's and Juvenal's works, it has been suggested that the *On Hired Companions* echoes and responds directly to the criticism voiced in Juvenal's *Satires*, just as the *Assembly of the Gods* does.[121] However, Lucian's primary

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[116] For a discussion of the name Τιμοκλῆς, see Hafner 2017, 141-142.

[117] Hartmann 1907, 22; Mesk 1913, 9-18; Courtney 1980, 624-629; Hall 1981, 245-248; Jones 1986, 80-81; Whitmarsh 2001a, 280; Johnson 2010, 173 n. 30; Manzella 2016, 184-204; Bozia 2015, 21-42; Hafner 2017, 11-12. *On Hired Companions* is not the only work with similarities to Juvenal's *Satires*. Apart from the parallels with *Assembly of the Gods* which I have discussed in the previous chapter, parallels can be found with *Against the Unlearned, Nigrinus*, *On the Death of Peregrinus, Saturnalia, Ship* and *Timon.* For an extensive discussion of the parallels between Juvenal's satires and Lucian's *On Hired Companions* and other works, see Manzella 2016. Courtney 1980, 626-629 and Manzella 2016, 188-189 provide lists of parallel passages.

[118] Cf. Manzella 2016, 189.

[119] *Juv.* 3.58-125.

[120] Bozia 2015, 21-22.

[121] See for example Mesk 1913, 19; Bozia 2015, 16-44; Manzella 2016, 190. Except for Hartman 1907, 24-26, all scholars assume that Lucian was either directly or indirectly familiar with the works of the Roman poets.

critique seems to be directed towards the Romans rather than the Greeks. Although he disagrees with the Greeks pursuing positions in Roman households at all costs, he considers their Roman patrons the cause of their demoralization and diminishing self-respect because they should have given the Greeks a more reputable place in society than the demeaning position of a client.[122] Therefore, Bozia and Manzella have remarked Juvenal's *Satires* and Lucian's *On Hired Companions* mainly differ in perspective: while Juvenal presents the situation from a Roman perspective, Lucian adopts a Greek viewpoint.[123]

Indeed, Lucian's perspective in his *On Hired Companions* is most of the time Greek rather than Roman. Thus, Lucian does not reflect on the interaction between Greek and Roman culture from the Roman host's perspective but from the non-dominant Greek perspective. However, Lucian seems to provide us with more than a single Greek view on acculturation. At the beginning of his account, the speaker states that he completely relies on the experiences of others because he has never worked for a Roman patron himself.[124] Due to his lack of experience, he gives an outsider's perspective on life in a Roman household.

That this outsider perspective is a Greek perspective becomes clear from section 40, where the speaker refers to the Greeks in the first person plural (ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς; περὶ ἡμῶν), thereby including himself in this group. Furthermore, section 4 shows that educated Greeks like Timocles are his main concern. He primarily addresses educated Greek and speaks contemptuously about less educated people. Hence, we can assume that the speaker identified with those who participated in Greek education. As Richter has pointed out, Lucian in his works tries to formulate a theory of Greekness that culturally legitimizes the Hellenised barbarian whose mimesis of Greekness is due to his Greek education.[125] Hence, in the works of Lucian, "having enjoyed Greek education" should be considered equal to "having a Greek identity." Although the profile of the educated Greek fits Lucian well, I would like to maintain the ontological distinction between author and literary *persona*. Therefore, I will refer to the speaker as "Lucian."

The Greek outsider perspective is the only view that is presented in the first ten sections of *On Hired Companions*. In this work, the speaker initially states his purpose and intended audience, discusses his sources, and disputes the possible motivations that the Greeks may have had for entering Roman households. However, from section 10 onwards, the speaker uses not only the first person but also adopts second-person narration to illustrate the hypothetical experiences and emotions of Greeks like Timocles who take up salaried positions in Roman households. These Greeks aspire to participate in Roman patronage and to teach their patrons their own culture, thereby seeking cultural exchange and attempting to integrate. Through embedded focalisation, Lucian provides an insider perspective on their integration efforts, while his continued use of first-person narration exposes his own outsider perspective and omniscience.[126]

Hartmann argues that Lucian's discussion of the same subjects as Juvenal is based on his own experiences and observations in Rome rather than his familiarity with the works of Latin poets.

[122] Bozia 2015, 23-24. Cf. Mesk 2013, 19.

[123] Bozia 2015, 22 speaks of a "'translation' of Juvenal's *Saturae* into Greek and also from a Greek perspective" and Manzella 2016, 190 mentions a "reversal" ("rovesciamento") of the perspective from which Juvenal and Lucian start their judgement of patronage and their portrait of patrons, with Juvenal taking a Roman perspective and Lucian a Greek perspective.

[124] *Merc. Cond.* 1.

[125] Richter 2017, 330-331. The idea that Greekness depends on the process of education (παίδευσις) rather than a common origin (κοινή φύσις) was already introduced by Isocrates (*Paneg.* 50) in the fourth century BC.

[126] For embedded focalisation, see De Jong 2014, 50-57. Admittedly, the perspective in this part of the *On Hired Companions* is not unambiguous or without intrusions. However, like De Jong 2014, 54, I consider it more fruitful to require for embedded focalisation only the presence of verbs of seeing, feeling, or thinking in the absence of direct speech.

In this chapter, I will argue that Lucian uses these two perspectives to provide us with two different views on the acculturation of educated Greeks into Roman households: the outsider perspective of "Lucian" who wants to protect his own culture through cultural *separation* and the insider perspective of the Greek Timocles who aspires *integration*. First, I will justify my reading of *On Hired Companions* as a work that reflects on acculturation. Thereafter, I will discuss how and why the speaker with his outsider perspective tries to discourage educated Greeks from entering Roman households, thereby promoting the acculturation strategy of *separation*. Finally, I will analyse how the speaker through the embedded insider perspective of Timocles discourages *integration* into Roman households by presenting it as a troublesome process.

3.2. Entering a Roman Household as Acculturation

Before analysing the warnings of the speaker and the hypothetical experiences of Timocles, I should first justify my reading of *On Hired Companions* as a reflection on acculturation. Firstly, the *On Hired Companions* is concerned with the experiences of a Greek who for the first time enters a Roman household and has to familiarize himself with the norms, values and customs of the household community. This scenario is comparable to that of the foreigner who has to determine his place in a new society. Hence, the Greek in *On Hired Companions* could be compared to a foreigner who migrates into and has to adjust to the micro-society of the Roman household.

Secondly, such a reading is supported by the frequent description of entering the patron's household as initiation.[127] The speaker for example describes part of his informants about life in a Roman household as initiated people:

> Ἀξιοπιστότεροι δὲ ἦσαν οὑτοι διὰ πάσης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῆς τελετῆς διεξεληλυθότες καὶ πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος ἐποπτεύσαντες.[128]
>
> More trustworthy were those who had completed all stages, so to say, of the ritual and had become initiated into everything from the beginning till the end.

The verb ἐποπτεύω is often used to indicate that somebody has become an ἐπόπτης, somebody who had reached the highest grade of initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis.[129] Furthermore, Whitmarsh has convincingly argued that the progress the educated Greek makes from the outside of the house to the protected centre happens in several phases that are comparable to the stages of initiation.[130] In section 21, we indeed read that Timocles has finished his journey from outside to inside and has become one of the intimates:

> Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔξω ἄνθρωποι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ζηλοῦσι σε ὀρῶντες ἐντὸς τῆς κιγκλίδος διατρίβοντα καὶ ἀκωλύτως εἰσιόντα καὶ τῶν πάνυ τινὰ ἔνδον γεγενημένον.[131]
>
> After that, the people outside envy you, seeing that you spend your time within the latticed gates and enter unhindered and have become one of the real intimates.

[127] Lucian also uses initiation metaphors in *Rh. Pr.* 16 and *Par.* 22. For a discussion of these passages, see Kirchner 2005, 177. For the role of this metaphor in philosophical and rhetorical studies, see Riedweg 1987 and Kirchner 2005.
[128] *Merc. Cond.* 1.
[129] LSJ, *s.v.* ἐπόπτης.
[130] Whitmarsh 2001a, 281-289.
[131] *Merc. Cond.* 21.

The status of the τις τῶν πάνυ ἔνδον who has reached the protected inside (κιγκλίς) could be compared to that of the ἐπόπτης referred to in the first section. The passage clearly shows that becoming such an ἐπόπτης through initiation entails changing from an outsider into an insider or from a foreigner to somebody familiar with the rituals and customs. Although the depiction of joining a Roman household as initiation may be an ironic exaggeration, this metaphorical initiation closely resembles the processes of *integration* and *assimilation* that involve familiarizing oneself with the customs and values of the dominant group and (partially) adopting these to become part of this group.

Thirdly, like acculturation is often a consequence of the crossing of a boundary, either a physical one between countries or a metaphorical one between cultures, entering a Roman household is also described as crossing a border. In section 23, the threshold (ὁ οὐδός) of the patron's house is described as the boundary between living as a Greek and shedding Greek culture.[132] The first stage of the initiation into life in a Roman household is the crossing of this threshold by waiting at the door (τῆς θυραυλίας) and entrusting oneself to a Syrian doorkeeper and a Lybian nomenclator (ὑπὸ θυρωρῷ κακῶς συρίζοντι καὶ ὀνομακλήτοροι Λιβυκῷ ταττόμενον).[133] It is striking that the doorkeeper who keeps Timocles and the educated Greeks he represents from entering the Roman household is assigned a Syrian identity. As Lucian himself also was a Syrian, he seems to reflect on his own role in preventing educated Greeks from working for a Roman patron by his authorship of *On Hired Companions*. In this way, he also points out that such an acculturation process can be complicated by fellow countrymen who try to stop you, just as the speaker in *On Hired Companions* tries to stop his compatriot Timocles.

Fourthly, Timocles' first experience in this household is described in quite similar terms as the experience of the Scythian Anacharsis when he arrives in Athens for the first time.[134] In section 15, the hypothetical experiences of Timocles are described as follows:

> σὺ δ' ὥσπερ <εἰς> τοῦ Διὸς τον οἶκον παρελθὼν πάντα τεθαύμακας καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν πραττομένων μετέωρος εἶ· ξένα γάρ σοι καὶ ἄγνωστα πάντα· καὶ ἤ 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 οἰκετὼν ἐπισκοπεῖν ὅπως εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἢ εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ παλλακίδας ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποβλέψεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν συνδείπνων ἀκόλουθοι ὁρῶντες ἐκπεπληγμένον εἰς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν δρωμένων ἀποσκώπτουσι, τεκμήριον [ποιούμενοι] τοῦ μὴ παρ' ἄλλῳ πρότερόν σε δεδειπνηκέναι τὸ καινὸν εἶναι σοι τὸ χειρόμακτρον τιθέμενοι.[135]
>
> And as if you are entering the palace of Zeus, you are filled with wonder about everything and unsettled by all things done; for everything is strange and unfamiliar to you. And the group of servants stares at you and everyone present watches what you will do, and even the rich man is not unconcerned about this but has in advance ordered some of his servants to observe how you will look from afar at his children or wife or concubines. For the attendants of your dinner companions, seeing that you are amazed, make fun of your inexperience with the things done, considering your new napkin a sign that you have never dined at another place before.

The phrase ξένα γαρ σοι καὶ ἄγνωστα πάντα, which explains why Timocles would be filled with wonder (τεθαύμακας) and be unsettled (μετέωρος), directly echoes Anacharsis' explanation that he is disturbed (ἐτεταράγμην) because he sees 'all kinds of strange and unfamiliar things' (ξένα καὶ

[132] For a more extensive discussion of this passage, see subchapter 3.3.3.
[133] *Merc. Cond.* 10. Cf. *Merc. Cond.* 42 where the lover is separated from Wealth by a gateway (προπύλαια). For the threshold as the first stage of the initiation, see Whitmarsh 2001a, 283-284.
[134] *Scyth.* 3-4, partly quoted in subchapter 1.1.
[135] *Merc. Cond.* 15.

ἄγνωστα πάντα).[136] Moreover, just as Anacharsis did not know what to do with himself (οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρήσαιτο ἑαυτῷ) Timocles is inexperienced with the situation.[137] Besides, just as Anacharsis is laughed at by those who observe him (καταγελώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὁρώντων), Timocles is laughed at by the attendants who see his reaction to all unfamiliar things.[138] The fact that Timocles' first experience after entering a Roman household is described in very similar terms as a foreigner's experience after migrating to an unfamiliar city supports the idea that initiation into the customs of the Roman household could also be considered a form of acculturation, either *integration* or *assimilation*.

"Lucian's" portrayal of Timocles' joining of the Roman household as an initiation and acculturation process has both comical and serious implications. By exaggerating the importance of Timocles' experience with this depiction, Lucian seems to mock the Greeks' efforts to gain a position in a Roman household and their complaints about their treatment by the Romans. However, parodies should also incorporate some truth to be humorous. Hence, even though the extensive enumeration of Timocles' hardships is mainly meant to be humorous, it also highlights the potential obstacles that come with entering a Roman household. Moreover, using humour rather than a serious argument allows the speaker to enumerate much more disadvantages of becoming a client without disengaging the audience. Therefore, analysing these disadvantages and "Lucian's" motives for enumerating these could provide some insight into Lucian's considerations on acculturation.

3.3. The Promotion of Separation

3.3.1. The Roman Household as a Dystopian Place

In the first ten sections of the *On Hired Companions*, "Lucian" frequently mentions that he wants to keep Timocles and other educated Greeks from entering Roman households but nowhere clearly states his motives. From section 8, we can infer that one of his motives is that he does not want to see his fellow Greeks disappointed:

> τὸ δὲ δι᾽ ἡδονῆς ἐλπίδα μόνον πολλὰς ἀηδίας ὑπομένειν γελοῖον οἶμαι καὶ ἀνόητον, καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶντας ὡς οἱ μὲν πόνοι σαφεῖς καὶ πρόδηλοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖοι, τὸ δὲ ἐλπιζόμενον ἐκεῖνο, ὁτιδήποτὲ ἐστιν τὸ ἡδύ, οὔτε ἐγένετο πω τοσούτου χρόνου, προσέτι δὲ οὐδὲ γενήσεσθαι ἔοικεν, εἴ τις ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας λογίζοιτο.[139]
>
> That they submit to many unpleasantnesses out of hope alone seems ridiculous to me and senseless, especially when they see that the sufferings are clear and manifest and inevitable, whereas that pleasure hoped for, whatever it is, has not yet come into being in so much time, and besides, it is not even likely that it will come into being, if one would reason based on reality.

Here, "Lucian" refers to the hope of pleasure (δι᾽ ἡδονῆς ἐλπίδα; τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον ἐκεῖνο … τὸ ἡδύ) the educated Greeks cherish but that is very insecure when compared to all hardships they have to endure. According to "Lucian", his fellow Greeks expect to escape poverty (5), to easily earn money in old age (6), to gain pleasure from gold, silver and lavish dinners (7), and to enhance their reputation through their association with a Roman patron (9). These high expectations can be considered the *pull factors* that stimulate the Greeks to take positions in Roman households and become part of the Roman community. However, as mentioned in the introduction, such a *proactive motivation* to integrate could be dangerous when the expectations are not met: the Greeks will be disappointed and

[136] *Scyth.* 4.
[137] *Scyth.* 3.
[138] *Scyth.* 3.
[139] *Merc. Cond.* 8.

discouraged and this could hamper their *integration*. "Lucian" wishes to save educated Greeks from this catastrophe by playfully sketching a scenario that is entirely the opposite of their expectations, thereby pointing out that their hopes do not match reality because the Roman household is a dystopian place.[140]

3.3.2. The Ruin of Greek Culture

"Lucian's" motives to deconstruct the utopian image may actually be twofold. Apart from his noble wish to prevent disappointments, his writing may also be motivated by his wish to keep Greek and Roman cultures separated. As Whitmarsh has pointed out, "Lucian" takes Timocles and the intended audience of educated Greeks or *pepaideumenoi* on "a gradual journey from outside towards the interior" to describe the experiences in a Roman household and has suggested that this journey "symbolizes the process of the *pepaidaumenos* towards dissolution, ruin and moral bankruptcy."[141] Hence, "Lucian" seems to fear that the Greeks will morally debase and ruin their culture when they come in contact with Roman culture. This fear is best illustrated by his criticism of Timocles in section 24:

> σεαυτὸν δὲ ὀλίγων ἕνεκα ὀβολῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας, ὅτε καὶ εἰ φύσει δοῦλος ἦσθα, καιρὸς ἦν πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἤδη ὁρᾶν, αὐτῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ φέρων ἀπημπόληκας, οὐδὲ τους πολλοὺς ἐκείνους λόγους αἰδεσθεὶς οὓς ὁ καλὸς Πλάτων ἢ ὁ Χρύσιππος ἢ Ἀριστοτέλης διεξεληλύθασι τὸ μὲν ἐλευθέριον ἐπαινοῦντες, τὸ δουλοπρεπὲς δὲ διαβάλλοντὲς; καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ κόλαξιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀγοραίοις καὶ βωμολόχοις ἀντεξεταζόμενος καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ πλῆθει Ῥωμαϊκῷ μόνος ξενίζων τῷ τρίβωνι καὶ πονηρῶς τὴν Ῥωμαίων φωνὴν βαρβαρίζων, εἶτα δειπνῶν δεῖπνα θορυβώδη καὶ πολυάνθρωπα συγκλύδων τινῶν καὶ τῶν πλείστων μοχθηρῶν; καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπαινεῖς φορτικῶς καὶ πίνεις πέρα τοῦ μετρίως ἔχοντος.[142]
>
> For a few obols, at that age when, even if you were a slave by birth, it was the right moment, at last, to look at liberty, have you sold yourself with this very virtue and wisdom? Didn't you have any regard for those many arguments that noble Plato and Chrysippus and Aristotle have discussed extensively, praising free life and reproaching a servile one? And don't you feel ashamed to be compared to flattering men, vulgar fellows and half-starved beggars; to be in so great a Roman throng the only stranger with a threadbare cloak and badly and barbarously speaking the Roman tongue; to have uproarious dinners, crowded with a promiscuous rabble and the most being rascals? And on these occasions, you praise vulgarly and drink more than is moderate.

"Lucian" criticizes Timocles for having hypothetically sold himself to the Romans, thereby morally debasing himself and losing the freedom that was considered so important by his Greek ancestors. This loss of freedom as a consequence of clientship is not only stressed in this passage. Throughout *On Hired Companions*, numerous references to slavery and lack of freedom can be found.[143] As Bozia has argued, the servitude implied in the *On Hired Companions* is *servitium amoris*, the servile relationship of the *exclusus amator* to his *domina* which can be found in Roman *paraklausithyra.*[144]

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[140] *Merc. Cond.* 5-9. *Merc. Cond.* 21-22 also warns educated Greeks that they will be disappointed in their high expectations.
[141] Whitmarsh 2001a, 280.
[142] *Merc. Cond.* 24.
[143] References to slavery and freedom can be found in sections 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 17, 19, 22-25, 26, and 30.
[144] Bozia 2015, 37-42. For the depiction of the relationship between the *exclusus amator* and his *domina* as *servitium amoris*, see Prop. 1.4.4; 1.5.19; 1.7.7. Bozia 2015, 37-39 has also pointed out that Lucian's use of the motif of the *exclusus amator* demonstrates that he had at least some familiarity with the Latin language and poetry. Although this motif also features in Greek poetry, the emphasis on domination and freedom rather than the role of Eros is typically Roman.

Hence, the impression is given that clients of Roman patrons resemble Roman lovers who are "dominated" by their patron. By presenting clientship as a servile relationship and at the same time liberty as a kind of Greek cultural heritage, "Lucian" suggests that positions as clients or teachers in Roman households are not suitable for educated Greeks. Through their acceptance of such positions, the Greeks would subjugate themselves unnecessarily to the Romans, whereas they could also work more independently as foreign teachers.[145]

By his use of the Roman *paraklausithyron* motif, "Lucian" not only suggests that clientship is servitude but also that this type of relationship is typically Roman. Hence, the debasement and servile state of the educated Greeks is presented as a direct consequence of their interaction with *Roman* culture and its social institutions. The negative influence of Roman culture on the Greeks is also stressed by "Lucian's" complaints that Timocles will start to behave like Roman clients and parasites, who are described as rascals (μοχθηρός) and show improper behaviour by drinking too much and flattering others.[146]

Moreover, "Lucian's" low opinion of the Romans and their morals is evident from the imaginary picture that he sketches in section 42. This picture is a parody of the ecphrasis in *Tabula Cebetis*, a semi-philosophical work of unknown date that describes a painting showing the choice between True Paideia and False Paideia.[147] Instead of the ascent to Happiness via True Paideia, which is verbally depicted in the *Tabula Cebetis*, the image sketched by "Lucian" depicts a horrible journey towards Wealth (Πλοῦτος) where its lover (ἐραστής), the representative of the educated Greek, is continuously drawn back by and subjected to Deceit (Ἀπάτη), Slavery (Δουλεία), Labour (Πόνος), Old Age (Γῆρας), Insolence (Ὕβρις) and Despair (Ἀπόγνωσις), while his guide, Hope (Ἐλπίς), remains just in advance of him until she vanishes.[148] As Swain has noted, these abstract deities have replaced the Virtues that accompany the traveller in the *Tabula Cebetis*.[149] Hence, "Lucian" seems to suggest that the Roman household has a bad influence on educated Greek because it does not give room to virtues but only to vices.

3.3.3. The Fear of Assimilation and Marginalisation

"Lucian" is worried that the educated Greeks will be morally corrupted by adopting Roman norms and values, and that this *integration* could ultimately result in *assimilation*. This, in turn, means that the Greeks would completely exchange their norms and values for those of the Romans and will lose their distinctly Greek identity. In section 23, he explicitly warns Timocles that entering a Roman household will result in the loss of his own culture:

> καὶ πρῶτόν γε μέμνησο μηκέτι ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου μηδὲ εὐπατρίδην σεαυτὸν οἴεσθαι. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα, τὸ γένος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τοὺς προγόνους ἔξω τοῦ οὐδοὺ καταλείψων ἴσθι ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ τοιαύτην σαυτὸν λατρείαν ἀπεμπολήσας εἰσίῃς.[150]
>
> First of all, keep in mind that from that time onwards you consider yourself neither free nor of noble birth. For you should know that you will leave all these things, your kin, your freedom, and your ancestors outside the threshold once you go inside after having sold yourself into such service.

[145] Cf. Swain 1996; Bozia 2015, 21.
[146] *Merc. Cond.* 24.
[147] Swain 1996, 319.
[148] *Merc. Cond.* 42. For a schematic overview of the parallels between *Tabula Cebetis* and *On Hired Companions,* see Hafner 2017, 70-71.
[149] Swain 1996, 319.
[150] *Merc. Cond.* 23.

Here, the threshold (ὁ οὐδός) of the patron's house is explicitly mentioned and presented as the boundary between a free and noble life and a life without freedom and Greek lineage. The loss of the ancestors as a consequence of entering a Roman household could be interpreted as the shedding of the ancient Greek tradition and thereby of Greek culture in general. Hence, "Lucian" warns educated Greeks that their working for a Roman patron will result in cultural *assimilation* rather than the *integration* for which they strive.

In section 24, quoted above, "Lucian" seems to suggest that their attempt to integrate could even result in a worse scenario than *assimilation*.[151] He plays with perspectives to point out that Timocles will become isolated when he enters a Roman household. He first presents a Greek perspective by complaining that Timocles will no longer adhere to the norms and values of his Greek ancestors and seems to suggest that Timocles will shed his culture (and thereby his Greek identity). Subsequently, he takes a Roman perspective by presenting not the Romans but the Greeks as barbarians; he calls Timocles a stranger (ξενίζων) and refers to Greek as a barbarian language (βαρβαρίζων).[152] By this comical reversal of perspectives, "Lucian" suggests that Timocles' attachment to a Roman patron will not only deprive him of his Greek identity but will not even make him a full Roman; due to his clothing and bad mastery of Latin, he will always remain a barbarian in the eyes of the Romans. Hence, "Lucian" seems to warn his friend of the risk of becoming an outsider to both the Greek and Roman community, in other words, for the risk of *marginalisation.*

Since the educated Greeks take service as teachers of Greek culture and heritage, one would not expect that they risk losing their Greek cultural identity. However, the Roman patrons appear to be only superficially interested in Greek culture:

> πάνυ γοῦν – οὐχ ὁρᾷς; – ἐκτετήκασι τῷ πόθῳ τῆς Ὁμήρου σοφίας ἢ τῆς Δεμοσθένους δεινότητος ἢ τῆς Πλάτωνος μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὧν ἤν τις ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφέλῃ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ το ἀργύριον καὶ τὰς περὶ τούτων φροντίδας, τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι τῦφος καὶ μαλακία καὶ ἡδυπάθεια καὶ ἀσέλγεια καὶ ὕβρις καὶ ἀπαιδευσία. δεῖται δή σου ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ἐπεὶ δὲ πώγωνα ἔχεις βαθὺν καὶ σεμνός τις εἶ τὴν πρόσοψιν καὶ ἱμάτιον Ἑλληνικὸν εὐσταλῶς περιβέβλησαι καὶ πάντες ἴσασί σε γραμματικὸν ἢ ῥήτορα ἢ φιλόσοφον, καλὸν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ἀναμεμῖχθαι καὶ τοιοῦτόν τινα τοῖς προϊοῦσι καὶ προπομπεύουσιν αὐτοῦ· δόξει γὰρ ἐκ τούτου καὶ φιλομαθὴς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων καὶ ὅλως περὶ παιδείαν φιλόκαλος. ὥστε κινδυνεύεις, ὦ γενναῖε, ἀντὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν λόγων τὸν πώγωνα καὶ τὸν τρίβωνα μεμισθωκέναι.[153]
>
> Really then – don't you see? – they are completely consumed with longing for Homer's wisdom or Demosthenes' forcefulness or Plato's magnanimity, they, of whom if one would take their gold and silver and their concerns about these out of their souls, the only thing remaining is arrogance and softness and self-indulgence and licentiousness and insolence and lack of education. Clearly, he does not need you for these things at all, but since you have a long beard and are noble in appearance and neatly dressed in a Greek mantle and everybody knows you as a grammarian or rhetorician or philosopher, he considers it proper to bring such a man among those who go before him and escort him; because due to this he will appear to be eager after Greek learning and altogether ambitious in his education. And so, instead of your wonderful lectures, you have likely hired out your beard and threadbare cloak.

[151] Section 24 is partly quoted in subchapter 3.3.2.
[152] *Merc. Cond.* 24.
[153] *Merc. Cond.* 25.

Instead of valuing and admiring Greek culture, the Roman patrons disrespectfully use Greek culture as a means to enhance their own reputation.[154] Due to this lack of interest in more than the appearance of educated Greeks, Timocles and other Greeks will not be able to do what he actually came for, namely teaching the Romans his cultural heritage. The acculturation process will thus be one-sided; the educated Greeks have to adopt Roman culture while the Romans will not adapt to Greek norms and values. Since the process is no longer bidirectional and because, from a Roman perspective, a Greek only has to stay Greek in appearance to have a Greek cultural identity, there is a great chance that Timocles' attempt to integrate into Roman culture will result in his *assimilation.*

This *assimilation* should not only be avoided for the preservation of Greek culture but also for the benefit of Timocles himself. In section 26, "Lucian" warns him that he will only be treated well as long as he does not become too familiar to the Romans. The moment he adopts Roman culture and values without keeping his distinct Greekness, in other words, as soon as he assimilates into the Roman household, he will become too familiar to the Romans to be considered a special guest. "Lucian" suggests that this change of status would result in a treatment that is even inferior to that of the Roman clients; Timocles would receive food of less quality and he alone would sometimes be passed over in the distribution of food.

We can now conclude that "Lucian" is clearly not a supporter of the attempt of educated Greeks to integrate into the micro-society of the Roman household. He holds Roman culture and institutions in contempt and fears that the educated Greeks will become morally debased by their adoption of Roman norms and values. He is also afraid that when the educated Greeks will try to integrate into the Roman household as teachers of the Greek cultural heritage, their acculturation would eventually result in cultural *assimilation* or *marginalisation* and will cost them their Greek identity and good treatment by the Romans. Therefore, "Lucian" tries to keep his fellow countrymen far from Roman households and directs them towards cultural *separation*.

3.4. The Discouragement of Integration

"Lucian" as an outsider warns against an attempt at *integration* and pleas for *cultural separation*. However, by relating Timocles' hypothetical experiences in a Roman household through embedded focalisation, he also provides an insider perspective on this acculturation process. As this perspective is mainly provided to support "Lucian's" argument for *cultural separation*, the embedded story merely lists the various obstacles hindering *integration*. Notwithstanding the one-sidedness of the representation of this acculturation process, the embedded story can shed light on the challenges Lucian perceived for foreigners attempting to integrate into the Roman host community during the second century AD.

In the passages quoted above, we already saw some of the hurdles Greeks and other migrants had to take when they wanted to integrate into Roman culture. For example, the description of Timocles' first impression of the Roman house in section 15 demonstrates that when one arrives in a new (micro-)society, he will be struck by all new impressions and does not know how to behave or what to do and will not be helped with this by the Romans.[155] That the Greeks do not receive any guidance is also illustrated by the description of Timocles' first dinner party. During this dinner, Timocles does not dare to ask for a drink out of fear to be considered a toper and has to glance at his neighbours to

[154] For the disinterest of the Roman patron, see also *Merc. Cond.* 11. The Greeks are also presented as embellishments (καλλωπίσματα) in *Merc. Cond.* 36. For a discussion of Lucian's criticism of the theatricality of Roman society and converting Greek education into a commercial spectacle, see Whitmarsh 2001a, 247-294.
[155] Section 15 is partly quoted in subchapter 3.2.

determine the order of the dishes.[156] Furthermore, in section 30, "Lucian" points out that Timocles has no clue how to entertain his Roman hosts and win his favour.

A good relationship between foreigners and hosts can also be hampered by prejudices. In section 15, we read that Timocles' patron has given orders to see whether Timocles shows a particular interest in his children, wife and concubines. The patron's expectation that Timocles will try to seduce his family suggests that he has the prejudice that Greeks are adulterers. Since Juvenal also accuses the Greeks of adultery, this may have been a common Roman prejudice against the Greeks.[157]

Section 40 also mentions some prejudices against the Greeks. Here, the speaker sketches Timocles' miserable situation after he has been turned down by his patron:

> ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπωσθῆναι διαβολὴ πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον εἰκαζομένη μοιχὸν ἢ φαρμακέα σε ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο δοκεῖν ποιεῖ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος καὶ σιωπῶν ἀξιόπιστος, σὺ δὲ Ἕλλην καὶ ῥᾴδιος τὸν τρόπον καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν εὔκολος. τοιούτους γὰρ ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς εἶναι οἴονται, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως.[158]
>
> And besides, the false accusation based on your dismissal, blown up to something bigger, has made you appear an adulterer or poisoner or something else of that kind; because your accuser, even when silent, is trustworthy, whereas you are a Greek and reckless in your manner and prone to all kinds of wrongdoing. For such things they think about us all, and very reasonably.

Here, "Lucian" points out that accusations against Greeks like Timocles are easily believed because of the Roman prejudices that they are frivolous and criminal. Surprisingly, he then admits that he can completely imagine why the Romans believe these things (μάλα εἰκότως). Whether this is self-mockery or seriously meant is uncertain but in what follows, "Lucian" explains this statement by complaining that many Greeks in Roman households only pretend to be educated while they are actually only interested in gain.[159] In this way, these uneducated and morally debased Greeks make the lives of the noble and truly educated Greeks much harder, not least because the prejudices fostered by them help rivals to discredit the newly arrived Greeks.

As we saw in Chapter 1, Greeks integrating into Roman culture had to deal with the negative sentiments of the Romans and particularly with their fear of replacement. This problem is also addressed in section 17 of *On Hired Companions*, where it is described how other clients react to their patron's toast to Timocles;

> ἐπίφθονος δ᾽ οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς προπόσεως ἐκείνης πολλοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν φίλων γεγένησαι, καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ κατακλίσει λυπήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν, ὅτι τήμερον ἥκων προύκρίθης ἀνδρῶν πολυετῆ δουλείαν ἠντληκότων. εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις ἐν αὐτοῖς περὶ σοῦ λόγος· "Τοῦτο ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις δεινοῖς ἐλείπετο, καὶ τῶν ἄρτι εἰσεληλυθότων εἰς τὴ οἰκίαν δευτέρους εἶναι, καὶ μόνοις τοῖς Ἕλλησι τούτοις ἀνέῳκται ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις· καίτοι τί ἐστιν ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ προτιμῶνται ἡμῶν; οὐ ῥημάτια δύστηνα λέγοντες οἴονταί τι παμμέγεθες ὠφελεῖν;" ἄλλος δέ, "Οὐ γὰρ εἶδες ὅσα μὲν ἔπιεν, ὅπως δὲ τὰ παρατεθέντα συλλαβὼν κατέφαγεν; ἀπειρόκαλος ἄνθρωπος καὶ λιμοῦ πλέως, οὐδ᾽ ὄναρ λευκοῦ ποτε ἄρτου ἐμφορηθείς, οὔτι γε Νομαδικοῦ ἢ Φασιανοῦ ὄρνιθος, ὧν μόλις τὰ ὀστᾶ ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν." τρίτος ἄλλος, (…). Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ περὶ σοῦ στρέφουσι, καί που ἤδη καὶ πρὸς διαβολάς τινες αὐτῶν παρασκευάζονται.[160]

[156] *Merc. Cond.* 15.
[157] Juv. 3.109-112.
[158] *Merc. Cond.* 40.
[159] *Merc. Cond.* 40.
[160] *Merc. Cond.* 17.

> Well, because of that toast, you have become liable to the envy of many of his old friends, and because you have previously offended some of them during the seating, since you, coming today, were preferred before men who had endured many years of slavery. So at once, such a person starts talking about you in this fashion: "This was still left for us beside our other calamities, to become also second to those who have just entered the house, and to these Greeks alone the Roman city is opened. And yet, what is it through which they are preferred above us? They don't think that they are of tremendous use by speaking wretched phrases, do they?" And another: "Why, didn't you see how much he drank, and how he collected the things set before him and devoured them? A vulgar man and full of hunger, not even in his dream he has ever filled himself with white bread, nor with Numidian guinea fowl or Phasian bird, of which hardly the bones are left for us." A third one: (…). Well, they endlessly go on with such things about you and perhaps some of them are even already preparing themselves for slander.

In this passage, the speaker lets his audience overhear a conversation between some of the other guests, who are jealous that he as a Greek newcomer is preferred above them and takes (literally) in their place. Their complaints about the situation are reminiscent of Umbricius' complaints that he is moved from the threshold and has wasted long years of slavery and the designation λιμοῦ πλέως echoes his disdainful *Graeculus esuriens*.[161] Through their envy and fear of replacement, the Roman clients complicate the integration process of the educated Greeks. They are not eager to accept them in their midst and will certainly not try to let him feel welcome. Furthermore, as is suggested by the final sentence of the quote, the Roman clients will do everything to discredit the new Greek to the patron. By describing the hostility by which educated Greeks would be received, the speaker further discourages them to enter Roman households.

It is important to note that the comical way in which Timocles' hardships are presented detracts somewhat from the seriousness of this discouragement and makes the embedded story ambiguous. The story may have been included to reinforce the plea for *separation* in an amusing manner but could also ridicule "Lucian's" perspective and his fear of *assimilation*. However, the latter interpretation is less likely because Lucian has later written an *Apology* to defend his acceptance of an administrative position in Roman civil service makes the latter interpretation less likely. The fact that Lucian saw reason to defend himself against the charge of hypocrisy suggests that at least his contemporary audience had taken the warning of the embedded story seriously and read his work as a plea for *separation*. Even if Lucian's *Apology* would not reflect the genuine reactions of his audience, these invented reactions would still shape the interpretation of *On Hired Companions* as a call for *separation*.

This does not mean that *On Hired Companions* presents a univocal view on acculturation. Apart from providing an outsider and insider perspective on entering a Roman household, some passages of the work also reflect the thinking of the Roman host community. As we saw above in sections 17 and 24, Lucian sometimes reverts the perspective, describing Timocles' participation in the Roman household through the eyes of the Romans. In this way, he explains (and justifies) the hostility of Timocles' fellow clients, the Roman prejudices and their treatment of Timocles as an outsider. Thus, like in *Assembly of the Gods*, Lucian demonstrates also some understanding of the negative attitude of the Romans towards foreigners.

3.5. Conclusion

We have thus seen that *On Hired Companions* could be considered a work in which Lucian reflects on cultural interaction. The entry of Timocles and other educated Greeks into a Roman household could

[161] Juv. 3.119-125 and 3.78 respectively.

be compared to the acculturation of a foreigner into a new society. This acculturation process is reflected upon from two different perspectives.

"Lucian's" outsider perspective provides the view of a proud Greek who considers the Greeks' attempt to integrate undesirable because he fears that the Greeks would be disappointed in their expectations and will morally debase through their adoption of Roman norms and values. Furthermore, "Lucian" is afraid that when the educated Greeks attach themselves to Roman patrons as teachers, their attempt to *integrate* into Roman society would result in *assimilation* or *marginalisation*, which both imply the shedding of Greek culture. Additionally, *assimilation* would involve a decline in moral standards through the adoption of a culture full of vices, while *marginalisation* would lead to a permanently inferior treatment of the Greeks by the Romans. By warning against entering a Roman household, "Lucian" seems to promote *cultural separation.*

The embedded story about Timocles who aspires *integration* into a Roman household, provides an insider perspective on this process. Lucian comically demonstrates that Greeks who enter Roman households have to endure many hardships. They will not only be completely on their own to find out how to behave and to familiarize themselves with Roman customs in general but will also have to deal with Roman prejudices and the hostility of those Romans who feel replaced. The comical enumeration of these hardships most likely functions to further discourage Greeks from integrating into a Roman household and to direct them towards *cultural separation.*

Apart from these two Greek perspectives*,* Lucian sometimes also provides a Roman view on the infiltration of Greeks in Roman households. Lucian's inclusion of this perspective fosters some understanding of Roman complaints about Greeks and other foreigners and encourages his audience to reflect on the desirability of Greeks entering Roman households.

4. Advice from the Scythians

Lucian's Reflection on Acculturation in *Scythian* and *Anacharsis*

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw that "Lucian" in *On Hired Companions* tried to keep educated Greeks from integrating into Roman households. He preferred *separation* lest the Greeks would be subjected to the Romans and would morally debase. However, this does not mean that all of Lucian's works advocate against cultural interaction. In his Scythian dialogues, Lucian describes the contact between Greeks and Scythians in much more positive terms and reflects on the dilemma of assimilation and remaining faithful to one's own culture.[162]

Lucian most clearly reflects on acculturation in his *Scythian* and *Anacharsis*. Both works mainly describe the experiences of the Scythian king Anacharsis who has come to Athens 'out of longing for Greek education' (παιδείας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς) and to learn from the Greeks their laws and customs as well as the best form of polity (ὅπως νόμους τε τοὺς Ἑλλήνων ἐκμάθοιμι καὶ ἕθη <τὰ> παρ᾽ ὑμῖν κατανοήσαιμι καὶ πολιτείαν τὴν ἀρίστην ἐκμελετήσαιμι).[163] Although there already existed an extensive tradition of Anacharsis as one of the Seven Sages, Lucian is one of the first authors after Herodotus to refer to Anacharsis' visit to Greece.[164] Moreover, his *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* are the first works in which Anacharsis plays a central role and focus on his experiences in Athens.

Since *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* describe Anacharsis' arrival in Athens and the way he deals with the differences between Greek and Scythian cultures, they have often been interpreted as reflections on otherness and cultural tolerance. Hafner has discussed how Lucian in his *Toxaris, Scythian* and *Anacharsis* tries to establish "an intercultural dialogue between people of different origins" and in these Scythian dialogues creates an awareness of one's own culture by playing with the perspectives of the "self" and the "other".[165] Other discussions mainly focus on the different depictions of Anacharsis.[166] In this context, Bozia has argued that the Scythian dialogues together present a gradual change in the attitude of the Scythians towards Greek culture, moving from a mere familiarization with Greek norms and values (*Toxaris*), via the desire to adopt Greek culture (*Scythian*) to a more critical stance about Greek lifestyle and traditions (*Anacharsis*).[167] Notwithstanding the great merits of Bozia's discussion of the different types of cultural interaction depicted in the Scythian dialogues, she does not take into consideration that the *Scythian* presents not only the acculturation of Anacharsis but also the cultural interaction of Toxaris and the speaker with respectively the Greeks and Macedonians.

This speaker could most likely be identified with Lucian himself because he presents himself as a Syrian (τοὺς Σύρους ἡμᾶς) and later refers to the presentation of his oratory (τὸ μὲν δεῖξαι τῶν λόγων

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[162] Hafner 2015, 42.
[163] *Scyth.* 1; *Anach.* 14.
[164] Hdt. 4.76-77. The only author before Lucian who provides some details about Anacharsis' life in Athens is Plutarch, who in *Sol.* 5 relates an encounter between Solon and Anacharsis. Short references to Anacharsis' visit to Athens in earlier works can be found in Anach. 2; Hermipp. F9; Nic. Dam. F123; J. *Ap.* 269; Gal. *Adh. art.* 7. Kindstrand 1981 and Ungefehr-Kortus 1996 provide discussions of the tradition of Anacharsis as one of the Seven Sages.
[165] Hafner 2015. For Lucian's play with different perspectives, see also Goldhill 2001b, 2; 2002, 86-89 and Bozia 2015, 73.
[166] Ungefehr-Kortus 1996, 193-222; Mestre 2003, 315-316; Hafner 2015, 41-42; Murphy 2022, 8-13.
[167] Bozia 2015, 67-78.

ὑμῖν), thereby suggesting that he is an orator like Lucian.[168] A second reason to assume that the speaker is Lucian is that the *Scythian* is a *prolalia*. This is a short introductory piece to a longer work in which the author appeals to the benevolence of his audience by referring to his personal circumstances.[169] Hence, Lucian most likely performed this piece himself, which stimulates thinking of the author as "impersonating" his characters, rather than presenting views different from his own.[170] However, to maintain the distinction between the historical author and the way he presents himself and his views in his work, I will again refer to the speaker of *Scythian* as "Lucian".

Like *On Hired Companions*, *Scythian* presents us with scenarios of foreigners who try to integrate into a new society. In contrast, *Anacharsis* does not present a complete scenario but provides a snapshot of the acculturation process of Anacharsis, comparable to the individual scenes in the embedded story of the *On Hired Companions.* However, both *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* differ from the *On Hired Companions* in their view on *integration* and *assimilation.* However, in these works, Lucian does not advise against acculturation strategies but presents these as serious options for dealing with the culture of the host community.

In this chapter, I will therefore discuss how Lucian in his *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* reflects on *assimilation* and *acculturation* by describing three different acculturation processes, namely those of Toxaris, Anacharsis and "Lucian". First I will discuss Lucian's presentation of the acculturation of Toxaris and Anacharsis in the *Scythian.* Subsequently, I will argue that Anacharsis' attitude towards Greek culture in the *Anacharsis* differs less from his attitude in the *Scythian* than scholars often suggest and discuss why his acculturation process differs from that of Toxaris. Thereafter, I will argue that Lucian with the acculturation of "Lucian" seems to present an example of optimal cultural interaction. Finally, I will discuss how the reflection on cultural interaction in *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* relates to the views provided by *On Hired Companions* and *Assembly of the Gods.*

4.2. Assimilation and Integration in *Scythian*

As mentioned above, *Scythian* mainly relates the experiences of Anacharsis when he arrives in Athens. However, the work starts with a brief description of the life of Toxaris, the first Scythian who came to Athens (1-2). After the introduction of Toxaris, "Lucian" describes Anacharsis' first impressions of Athens (3) and his meeting with Toxaris (3-6). He continues his story with the coincidental meeting of the Scythians with Solon and the handing over of Anacharsis from Toxaris to Solon (6-7). Finally, he describes how Anacharsis fared the rest of his life (8). In the epilogue, "Lucian" compares the situation of Anacharsis in Athens with his own situation in Beroea and praises his patrons (9-11).

4.2.1. Toxaris' Assimilation

It is striking that a work that is mainly concerned with Anacharsis starts with a description of the life of Toxaris. We are told that Toxaris visited Athens because he loved beauty and pursued the best lifestyle and that he stayed in Athens for the rest of his life, after which he was deified by the Athenians.[171] This short biography already suggests that Toxaris had adapted well to Greek culture.

[168] *Scyth.* 9; 10.
[169] For a discussion of *Scythian* as a *prolalia* and its similarities with Lucian's *Herodotus* and *Harmonides*, see Vix 2013.
[170] For "impersonation", see subchapter 1.3.
[171] *Scyth.* 1-2.

Indeed, when Anacharsis meets him in Athens, Toxaris is described as somebody who has entirely assimilated into Greek culture:[172]

> ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις δὲ πόθεν ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἔγνω ὁμοεθνῆ ὄντα, Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐσταλμένον, ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένον το γένειον, ἄζωστον, ἀσίδηρον, ἤδη στωμύλον, αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἕνα τῶν αὐτοχθόνων; οὕτω μετεπεποίητο ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου.[173]
>
> But how could Anacharsis have recognized him as a fellow countryman? He was dressed in Greek fashion, his beard cut off to his skin, without a girdle and sword, already fluent – one of the very natives of Attica. So much had he changed over time.

Anacharsis cannot recognize Toxaris by appearance and behaviour because Toxaris has entirely taken over the fashion and manners of Greek culture.[174] In the description of Toxaris, the Scythian serves as the reference point, with Toxaris described through the eyes of a Scythian to whom his Greek appearance is unfamiliar. Lucian cleverly portrays familiar Greek culture as strange by pointing to the absence of Toxaris' beard, girdle and sword, aspects that would be familiar to the Scythian Anacharsis.[175] By providing Anacharsis' outsider perspective on Greek culture, he emphasizes the contrast between the still "barbarian" Anacharsis and the already assimilated Toxaris. The story of Toxaris' immigration and assimilation into Greek culture may thus function as a foil for Anacharsis' own immigration and acculturation process.

Although Toxaris' *assimilation* provides Anacharsis with an example of acculturation into Greek society, we may wonder whether "Lucian" considered Toxaris' acculturation commendable. Toxaris' appearance is described in negative terms (κεκαρμένον το γένειον, ἄζωστον, ἀσίδηρον) to highlight the loss of his Scythian appearance. Lucian also emphasizes the loss of his Scythian identity by ending his description not with the conclusion that Toxaris had become Greek but with the assertion that he had changed (μετεπεποίητο). Furthermore, Lucian's Anacharsis asks Toxaris whether he is the same Toxaris who out of love for Greece had left behind his wife and young children and moved to Athens (ἔρωτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν Σκυθίᾳ καὶ παιδία νεογνὰ οἴχοιτο ἐς Ἀθήνας).[176] This question emphasizes that "going to Greece" also implies "leaving behind Scythia" and that Toxaris had chosen Athens over his Scythian family. Not his Scythian family and background but Greece proved to be the object of his love.

4.2.2. Anacharsis' Integration

Although the way Toxaris is introduced, seems to suggest that his *assimilation* into Greek culture is not ideal, Anacharsis is eager to accept him as a model. He begs Toxaris to guide him through Athens and to familiarize him with Greek culture and institutions so as not to return to Scythia without having seen these things.[177] Anacharsis' need for a guide is marked by the contrast between his

[172] For the assimilation of Toxaris, see also Hafner 2015, 42.
[173] *Scyth.* 3.
[174] The strangeness of Toxaris is also reflected in Anacharsis' addressation ὦ ξένε (*Scyth.* 4). The double meaning of ξένος as both "stranger" and "friend", reflects the ambiguous relationship of Anacharsis and Toxaris. Although Toxaris looks like a stranger, he, as a fellow countryman should be considered a friend.
[175] For the "reversal of roles" by staging a Scythian who considers the Greeks outlandish, see also Bozia 2015, 73.
[176] *Scyth.* 4.
[177] *Scyth.* 4.

evocation of the barbarian gods Acinaces and Zalmoxis and his subsequent enumeration of the civilized aspects of Athens and the rest of Greece.[178]

Toxaris does not assume the role of guide himself but takes Anacharsis to Solon. By coupling Anacharsis to a Greek educator instead of teaching his own experiences, he puts him in the same position as he was himself when he first came to Athens, thereby showing him the path towards *assimilation.* Indeed, Toxaris thinks that Anacharsis will follow in his footsteps and will quickly forget his old life once he explored Athens together with Solon:

> καὶ ὅπερ σοι ἔφην μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, ὦ Ἀνάχαρσι, πάντα ἑώρακας ἤδη Σόλωνα ἰδών· τοῦτο αἱ Ἀθῆναι, τοῦτο ἡ Ἑλλάς· οὐκέτι ξένος σύ γε, πάντες σε ἴσασι, πάντες σε φιλοῦσι. τηλικοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ τὸν πρεσβύτην τοῦτον. ἀπάντων ἐπιλήσῃ τῶν ἐν Σκυθίᾳ συνὼν αὐτῷ.[179]
>
> And as I told you just before, Anacharsis, you have seen everything already by having seen Solon: this is Athens, this is Greece: you are no stranger anymore, everybody knows you, everybody loves you. So great is the quality of this old man. You will forget everyone with whom you lived in Scythia.

As he suggests that Anacharsis will soon leave Scythia behind, both physically and mentally, Toxaris seems to think that Anacharsis, like himself, will quickly shed his Scythian culture and adopt Greek norms and customs. Although Toxaris' words are meant as a reassurance, his emphasis on forgetting (ἐπιλήσῃ) the Scythians is ominous and ironic, given that Herodotus tells us that Anacharsis was eventually killed by the Scythians for performing the Greek ritual for the mother of the Gods.[180] In Herodotus' account, the Scythians claim not to know him (οὔ φασί μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν), because he went abroad to Greece and followed the customs of strangers (διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησε τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδδα καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο).[181] Hence, Toxaris' prediction of Anacharsis' forgetfulness of the Scythians seems the reversal of the eventual outcome of his sojourn in Greece: he does not forget the Scythians, but the Scythians have decided to forget him. Lucian's play with the Herodotean story about Anacharsis' death makes Toxaris' claims about a happy future in Athens quite ambiguous and ironic. Toxaris' mention of Solon makes his predictions even more ominous as Solon in Herodotus' *Histories* emphasises that one should look at the end of someone's life to determine if he is blessed.[182] It is exactly the end of Anacharsis' life that deviates most from Toxaris' prediction of happiness.

However, section 8 suggests that Anacharsis eventually did not entirely follow the path of Toxaris and did not assimilate into Greek culture:

> ὡς γοῦν ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ὁ Τόξαρις, ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος ἅπαντα ἔγνω ἐν ἀκαρεῖ καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν γνώριμος καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον. (…) τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἐμυήθη μόνος βαρβάρων Ἀνάχαρσις, δημοποίητος γενόμενος, εἰ χρὴ Θεοξένῳ πιστεύειν καὶ τοῦτο ἱστοροῦντι περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἀνέστρεψεν οἶμαι ἐς Σκύθας, εἰ μὴ Σόλων ἀπέθανεν.[183]

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[178] *Scyth.* 4. For the significance of the invocation of Acinaces and Zalmoxis for the presentation of Anacharsis as barbarian, see Ungefehr-Kortus 1996, 193, 201. In *Tox.* 38, the not-yet Hellenised Toxaris also invokes Acinaces to swear an oath.

[179] *Scyth.* 7. Cf. *Scyth* 5: ὡς μήτε γυναικὸς ἔτι μήτε παίδων, εἴ σοι ἤδη εἰσί, μεμνῆσθαι ('so that you will no longer remember your wife and children if you have them now').

[180] Hdt. 4.76. Cf. J. *Ap.* 269. As Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, 636 have pointed out, it is remarkable that Herodotus here presents the Phrygian cult of the Mother of the Gods as typically Greek because it was received with mixed feelings in Greece.

[181] Hdt. 4.76.

[182] Hdt. 1.32 σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν ('it is necessary to look at the end of everything').

[183] *Scyth.* 8.

> So, just as Toxaris had promised him, he quickly learnt everything from one man, Solon, and was well-known and respected by all through him. (…) And at last, Anacharsis was the only barbarian to be initiated into the mysteries after he had been made a citizen, if we should believe Theoxenus who also tells this story about him. And he would never have returned to Scythia, I believe, if Solon had not died.

This passage seems somewhat ambiguous about Anacharsis' acculturation process. The fact that Anacharsis learnt everything from Solon may suggest that he thoroughly familiarized himself with Greek culture and society and adopted Greek customs, norms and values. However, Anacharsis' learning process is described with the verb γιγνώσκω instead of μανθάνω.[184] Whereas μανθάνω has connotations like 'learn by heart' and 'acquire as a habit', γιγνώσκω has connotations like 'know by observation', 'be aware of', and 'perceive' and seems thus to refer to a more superficial form of learning based on the senses.[185] Hence, we could question the extent to which Anacharsis not only learnt about Greek customs and institutions but also truly accepted and adopted Greek culture

He had in any case become sufficiently Greek to be made a citizen (δημοποίητος) and even to be initiated into the mysteries (ἐμυήθη).[186] The mention of initiation is significant because Lucian in his *On Hired Companions* uses initiation as a metaphor for *integration* or *acculturation* into Roman households while Zeus in *Assembly of the Gods* points out that without initiation one cannot fully understand another culture.[187] Hence, Anacharsis' initiation into the mysteries may imply that he had completely adapted to Greek culture. Moreover, the statement that Anacharsis was the first barbarian to be initiated, suggests that he had even further assimilated into Greek culture than his model Toxaris. However, the truth of the statements about Anacharsis' citizenship and initiation is questionable. Lucian himself avoids taking responsibility for these claims and questions the reliability of his source, who, perhaps a little too coincidentally, has the word 'stranger' (ξένος) in his name.

Furthermore, Anacharsis is reported to have returned to Athens after Solon's death, which indicates that his attachment to Athens was not as strong as Toxaris had expected. Apparently, Anacharsis had fallen less in love with Athens than Toxaris had expected. He had not forgotten his fatherland and the Scythians but returned to them after Solon's death. This suggests that his initial incentive to stay in Greece may have been his admiration for Solon rather than his love for Athens.[188] As a result, Anacharsis did not fully abandon his Scythian culture like Toxaris and his acculturation into Greek society may have been closer to *integration* than *assimilation*.[189]

The fact that Anacharsis did not forget his family and Scythian background could be considered an improvement over Toxaris' acculturation process. However, also his acculturation appears to be far from ideal. By explicitly mentioning Anacharsis' return to Scythia, "Lucian" again calls to mind Herodotus' story about Anacharsis' murder by his fellow countrymen. Hence, even though he had not forgotten his Scythian identity, he still had changed too much to be recognized as a true Scythian by his fellow countrymen.

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[184] Both verbs occur frequently in Lucian's corpus. The verb μανθάνω is attested 176 times, while γιγνώσκω occurs 109 times.
[185] LSJ, *s.v.* μανθάνω and γιγνώσκω.
[186] Lucian explicitly mentions the exclusion of foreigners from the mysteries in *Demon.* 34.
[187] For initiation in *On Hired Companions*, see subchapters 3.2. For initiation in *Assembly of the Gods,* see *Deor. Conc.* 11 and subchapter 2.4.1.
[188] Cf. Murphy 2022, 9-10.
[189] Cf. Bozia 2015, 73-74.

4.3. Anacharsis' acculturation process in *Anacharsis*

That Anacharsis' acculturation process resembled *integration* more than *assimilation* is also suggested by his attitude towards Greek culture in *Anacharsis*. This work takes the form of a Platonic dialogue, in which Anacharsis questions Solon about athletics and Greek lifestyle.[190] The dialogue starts in the middle of a conversation between Solon and Anacharsis in the Lyceum where Anacharsis expresses his astonishment about the wrestling of the Greeks (1-5). After Solon has explained what they are doing (6-7), a discussion about the value of the rewards for these sports follows (9-16). Anacharsis then interrupts their conversation with the request to move into the shade (16). Upon continuation, Solon encourages Anacharsis to be critical of what he is saying (17-18) and to behave like an Areopagite (19). He digresses about Athenian policy and the theatre (20-23) before returning to the subject of athletics. Anacharsis and he then argue about the usefulness of athletics for war (24-35) and the benefit of games (36-37). Solon also tells Anacharsis about the Spartan customs (38-39). At the end of the dialogue, Anacharsis is still not convinced about the value of athletics and agrees to recount his Scythian customs the next day (40).

4.3.1. A Seeming Discrepancy

It has frequently been stated that Anacharsis is much more critical of Greek culture in *Anacharsis* than in *Scythian* and that this relationship with Solon is depicted rather differently.[191] In *Scythian*, Solon is highly praised as a teacher of Greek culture while Anacharsis is portrayed as being entirely reliant on Solon for his learning and connections in Athens. In contrast, Solon has a less dominant role in *Anacharsis* and fails to convince Anacharsis of the value and usefulness of the characteristics of Greek civilization.[192] Although these differences are undeniable, I believe the discrepancy between *Anacharsis* and *Scythian* is less significant than is commonly assumed.

Firstly, just as in Scythian, Anacharsis in the eponymous work claims that he has come to Athens to learn about Greek culture and polity.[193] Thus, in both works, Anacharsis expresses a willingness to familiarize himself with Greek culture.

Secondly, just as in the *Scythian*, Anacharsis is very open to Greek culture and seems interested in adopting some of its aspects. His critical questions about Greek athletics and polity may indicate that he is balancing Scythian and Greek culture to decide which parts of Greek culture to adopt and reject. Furthermore, since being critical and debating philosophical questions is typically Greek, Anacharsis' critical stance in *Anacharsis* could also indicate that he had already adopted part of Greek habits. Likewise, his request to continue the discussion about athletics in the shadow demonstrates that he is already trying to adopt Greek fashion and manners:[194]

> ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δοκεῖ, εἰς τὸ σύσκιον ἐκεῖσε ἀπελθόντες καθίσωμεν ἐπὶ τῶν θάκων, ὡς μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν ἡμῖν οἱ ἐπικεκραγότες τοῖς παλαίουσιν. ἄλλως τε – εἰρήσεται γάρ – οὐδὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἔτι ῥᾳδίως ἀνέχομαι ὀξὺν καὶ φλογώδη ἐμπίπτοντα γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ. τὸν γὰρ πῖλόν μοι ἀφελεῖν οἴκοθεν ἔδοξεν, ὡς μὴ μόνος ἐν ὑμῖν ξενίζοιμι τῷ σχήματι. ἡ δὲ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους ὅ τι περ τὸ πυρωδέστατόν ἐστιν, τοῦ ἀστέρος ὃν ὑμεῖς κύνα φατὲ πάντα καταφλέγοντος καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ξηρὸν καὶ διακαῆ τιθέντος, ὅ τε ἥλιος κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπικείμενος φλογμὸν τοῦτον οὐ φορητὸν ἐπάγει τοῖς σώμασιν. ὥστε καὶ σοῦ θαυμάζω, ὅπως γηραιὸς ἤδη ἄνθρωπος οὐτε ἰδίεις πρὸς τὸ θάλπος ὥσπερ

[190] For a discussion of the resemblances between *Anacharsis* and the dialogues of Plato, see Branham 1989, 83-102.
[191] Ungefehr-Kortus 1996, 208; Mestre 2003, 315-316; Bozia 2015, 76; Hafner 2015, 41-42.
[192] Cf. Mestre 2003, 315.
[193] *Anach.* 14.
[194] Cf. Goldhill 2001b, 2-4; 2002, 87-88.

> ἐγὼ οὔτε ὅλως ἐνοχλουμένῳ ἔοικας, οὐδὲ περιβλέπεις σύσκιόν τι ἔνθα ὑποδύσῃ, ἀλλὰ δέχῃ τὸν ἥλιον εὐμαρῶς.[195]
>
> But if it seems good to you, let us move to the thick shade yonder and sit on the benches, so that those shouting to the wrestlers do not annoy us. Besides – for I will tell you – I cannot easily endure the sun anymore, which falls piercing and fiery hot upon my bare head. For I thought it good to leave my cap at home, so as not to be the only stranger among you in appearance. But the season of the year is the fieriest one because the star that you call the Dog burns up everything and makes the air dry and very hot, and the sun, which now hangs above our head at midday, brings this fiery and unbearable heat on our bodies. Therefore, I marvel at you, how you, an old man already, do not sweat in the heat as I do and not seem to be troubled at all; you not even look round for some shade to get in, but endure the sun easily.

Anacharsis states that he has left his cap at home in order not to be recognized as a stranger (ξενίζοιμι). Like Toxaris in *Scythian*, he has thus changed his Scythian clothes for Greek attire. However, his attempt to blend with the Greeks accentuates another difference between him and the Greeks; unlike Solon and the other Greeks, Anacharsis is not used to standing in the sun unprotected and requires shade lest he becomes too hot. This passage thereby shows that to adopt Greek customs, one has to change not only his appearance but also his lifestyle, which is more difficult. Moreover, Anacharsis did not even succeed entirely in changing his attire. Later in the discussion, it turns out that he is still wearing a little dirk on his belt while it is illegal for Greeks to carry weapons in peacetime.[196] Thus, in contrast to Toxaris' transformation, Anacharsis' attempt to embrace Greek fashion is presented as not entirely successful. At the same time, Anacharsis' complaint about the heat shows his progress in Greek education as he refers to the brightest star by its Greek name κύνα. In this way, he demonstrates a willingness to use a Greek perspective when talking about general things.

Anacharsis also demonstrates that it is not self-evident that somebody who is initially willing to learn more about Greek civilization, like Anacharsis, will indeed be able to replace his norms, values and customs with those of the Greeks as Toxaris does in the Scythian. At the beginning of the dialogue, the exercises of the Greeks in the gymnasium are described from Anacharsis' perspective. He describes his observations in a vocabulary that avoids the standard sporting idiom but is interspersed with words with alien and occasionally sensual connotations.[197] As Branham has pointed out, this naïve vocabulary makes Lucian's (Greek) audience immediately aware of the fact that Anacharsis' interpretation of the wrestling exercises differs significantly from their own understanding of the scene.[198] They are confronted with the fact that what they consider conventional behaviour might be dictated by their cultural background and could appear strange to people who do not share Greek norms, values and education. By playing with the insider and outsider perspective, Lucian makes his audience aware of this and creates an understanding of Anacharsis' bewildered reaction:

> Ταῦτα οὖν ἐθέλω εἰδέναι τίνος ἀγαθοῦ ἂν εἴη ποιεῖν· ὡς ἔμοιγε μανίᾳ μᾶλλον ἐοικέναι δοκεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ῥᾳδίως μεταπείσειέ με ὡς οὐ παραπαίουσιν οἱ ταῦτα δρῶντες.[199]
>
> Well, I want to know what good it could be to do these things: since to *me* these deeds look more like madness, and there is nobody who can easily change my persuasion that men that do these things are out of their minds.

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[195] *Anach.* 16.
[196] *Anach.* 33-34.
[197] For a discussion of Anacharsis' idiom, see Branham 1989, 89.
[198] Branham 1989, 88-89.
[199] *Anach.* 5.

By pointing to the fact that athletics could look like madness (μανία) to a stranger, Lucian makes his audience aware of the size of the cultural gap that Anacharsis has to bridge, thereby creating more sympathy for his criticism of athletics and Greek polity. To be able to adopt Greek customs, one has to understand the rationale behind them and this is exactly what Anacharsis is trying to do in the phase of his acculturation process that is recorded in *Anacharsis*.[200]

The differences in the attitude of Anacharsis in *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* can thus partly be explained by the different phases of the acculturation process that are depicted in these works. *Scythian* mainly depicts his initial enthusiasm for Greek culture upon his arrival in Athens and only provides a short description of Anacharsis' life in Athens after he meets with Toxaris and Solon. We learn that Solon took care of him by introducing him to the most prominent Greeks and educating and teaching him about Greek customs. However, what Anacharsis' learning process was like is not described.[201] Some insight into this learning process is given by *Anacharsis*, which reports a specific learning situation. Only when is zoomed in to this level of detail, it becomes clear that despite Anacharsis' love for Greece and his admiration for Solon, his learning process does not always proceed smoothly.

4.3.2. Negotiating Acculturation Strategies

The discussion between Solon and Anacharsis in *Anacharsis* could be considered a negotiation between different acculturation strategies. Solon aims to persuade Anacharsis of the value of Greek customs in the hope that he will adopt them and assimilate into Greek society. He believes in the value of athletics and the superiority of Athenian polity and shows the conviction that Anacharsis will share his opinions once he has fully immersed himself in Greek culture.[202]

At the same time, Anacharsis is very sceptical about the benefit of wrestling and the value of athletics and Greek polity in general. His constant criticism of the characteristics of Greek civilization demonstrates that he does not want to embrace Greek practices uncritically and assimilate into Greek culture. Instead, he plays the devil's advocate, constantly pushing for a convincing argument as to why he should assimilate into Greek culture rather than remain faithful to his own cultural practices through cultural *separation*.

At the end of the dialogue, Solon has still not been able to convince Anacharsis of the value of athletics and Greek polity. However, this does not mean that he has entirely lost the cultural bargaining and that Anacharsis goes for *separation*. The debate about which culture is superior, that of the Greeks or the Scythians, is still open and Solon challenges Anacharsis to explain how the Scythians train and educate their young men and to try to convince him that the Scythian practices are indeed better.[203] Anacharsis' acceptance of the challenge indicates that he has not yet decided about his way of acculturation and is still open to adopting Greek customs.

Furthermore, his proposal to postpone the discussion to the next day 'so that he could overthink a little longer what Solon had said at leisure and could gather together in his memory the things he should say' (ὡς ἄ τε αὐτὸς ἔφης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐννοήσαιμι καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἄ τε χρὴ εἰπεῖν συναγάγοιμι τῇ μνήμῃ ἐπελθών) shows that Anacharsis already grasped the Greeks' appreciation of debate and

[200] Anacharsis' criticism is not unreasonable as some Roman authors and cynics have also questioned the value of athletics. For a discussion of the Roman criticism of athletics, see Goldhill 2001b, 1-2. For the idea that Anacharsis is voicing cynic standpoints, see for example Heinze 1989, 467. Kindstrand 1981, 66-67 and Branham 1989, 101 are more sceptical about the cynic basis of Anacharsis' arguments.
[201] *Scyth.* 8.
[202] *Anach.* 6. Cf. *Anach.* 10; 12.
[203] *Anach.* 40.

understood the importance of constructing compelling arguments and speaking well.[204] Together with his partially successful attempts to change his appearance to Greek and his critical stance throughout the dialogue, his wish to thoroughly prepare himself for the debate demonstrates that Anacharsis had embraced at least some aspects of Greek culture. Thus, even if he would remain sceptical about Greek practices and reluctant to adopt aspects of Greek culture, complete cultural *separation* would no longer be possible, and *integration* into Greek society would be more likely. The portrayal of Anacharsis as in-between *integration* and *assimilation* echoes his depiction in the *Scythian* as not entirely assimilated but mostly integrated into Greek society.

4.4. A Reflection on Cultural Interaction

4.4.1. Lucian's Autonomous Integration

Just as *On Hired Companions,* Lucian's *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* sketch acculturation scenarios. The description of Toxaris' life functions as an example of *assimilation*, while the story about Anacharsis provides an example of *integration*. Both strategies are presented as plausible ways to deal with Greek culture, but they also have a drawback: the adoption of Greek customs damages the relationship of the Scythes with their culture of origin. Hence, "Lucian" seems to suggest that both strategies are not ideal.

Luckily, the *Scythian* offers a third model of a foreigner entering an unfamiliar city. At the end of the *Scythian* "Lucian" presents himself as a foreigner who has to find his place in the community of Beroea and likens his own situation to that of Anacharsis. He describes his own experiences in Beroea in terms that are similar to those he uses for Anacharsis' experiences in Athens. Just as Anacharsis was disturbed (ἐτεταράγμην), confused in his mind (τεταραγμένος ἔτι τὴν γνώμην), and 'frightened by the many sounds of Athens (ψοφοδεὴς πρὸς τὰ πολλά), "Lucian" was 'struck with wonder' (ἐξήρκουν τῷ θαύματι), astonished (ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτεθήπειν), and astounded by the impression of Beroea when contemplating its beauty, number of citizens, power, and splendour in general (ἐξεπλάγην μὲν εὐθὺς ἰδιὼν τὸ καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῶν ἐμπολιτευομένων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν καὶ λαμπρότητα πᾶσαν).[205]

"Lucian's" likening of himself to Anacharsis does not end with their experience of their arrival in a foreign city but also involves how they found their patrons and were subsequently supported by them. The primary reason for this comparison may have been that it allows Lucian as author to flatter his two patrons in Beroea by presenting them as a kind of new Solons. They are praised in words that are reminiscent of Toxaris' praise of Solon and the father of the two is even explicitly compared to him (εἴ τινα Σόλωνα … ἐπινοεὶς).[206] Furthermore, "Lucian" at the very end states that he should move heaven and earth to make sure that they become his friends.[207]

However, there is one important difference in the way "Lucian" and Anacharsis found their patrons, which may suggest a second reason for "Lucian" to include his own acculturation process in his work. Whereas Anacharsis is depicted as entirely lost and completely dependent on the help of Toxaris and Solon, "Lucian" appears to have been more assertive. In sections 10 and 11, he states that he himself enquired who were the people in chief and which patron would be able to support him in general (ἐζήτουν γάρ, οὐδὲ ἀποκρύψομαι τάληθές, οἵτινες οἱ προὔχοντες εἶεν καὶ οἷς ἄν τις προσελθὼν καὶ ἐπιγραψάμενος προστάτας συναγωνισταῖς χρῷτο ἐς τὰ ὅλα) and decided to follow

[204] *Anach.* 40.
[205] *Scyth.* 3-4 and 9 respectively.
[206] Befriending the patrons is for example described as possessing the whole city (πᾶσαν ἔχεις τὴν πόλιν, *Scyth.* 11), which is reminiscent of Toxaris' statement that Solon 'carries all of Greece in him' (πᾶσαν … τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν αὑτῷ ἔχειν, *Scyth.* 5).
[207] *Scyth.* 11.

the recommendations of his informants by trying to befriend these patrons. Hence, in contrast to Anacharsis, who would have returned to Scythia if he had not accidentally met Toxaris and had been introduced to Solon, "Lucian" took the initiative and chose his own patron.[208] Therefore, he had the freedom to attach himself to the patron that he deemed most suitable to help him acculturate in a way he desired and became less dependent on this patron.

In *Scythian*, Lucian thus presents three different acculturation processes, those of Toxaris, Anacharsis, and "Lucian." Each of these immigrating foreigners seems to slightly emulate the acculturation process of his predecessor and model. Toxaris, whose immigration to Athens was unprecedented, did not have an example on which he could base his dealing with a new culture and chose the path of uncritical *assimilation*. As a consequence, he became completely Hellenised.[209] Anacharsis, who had Toxaris as his model and Solon as his guide, was more critical than Toxaris and only partly adopted Greek culture. Due to this *integration*, he did not entirely lose his Scythian identity. His *integration* process is in turn closely followed by "Lucian", who centuries later had to integrate into the community of Beroea. However, Lucian slightly deviated from the route of Anacharsis by taking the initiative for contact with his patrons. In this way, he retained a certain degree of autonomy over his acculturation process that his Scythian predecessors lacked.

Lucian also demonstrates the result of this more autonomous integration. *Scythian* clearly shows that "Lucian" had not forgotten his Syrian origin. With the words τοὺς Σύρους ἡμᾶς, he explicitly refers to his Syrian background and he also calls himself a 'barbarian' (βάρβαρος).[210] The *Scythian* is not the only work in which Lucian emphasizes his foreign status. References to his barbarian origin can be found throughout his works.[211] By continuously emphasizing his Syrian or non-Greek origin, Lucian demonstrates that he as "Lucian" is not only willing to integrate into Greek culture but also to retain a good connection with his fatherland and his culture of origin. With this open stance towards both his culture of origin and Greek culture, he emulates the acculturation processes of Toxaris and Anacharsis, avoiding Toxaris' detachment from his ethnic background and Anacharsis' estrangement from his Scythian compatriots. By his own example, "Lucian" thus promotes a more autonomous form of *integration* which does not entail breaking the connection with your culture of origin.

4.4.2. Advice for Foreigners and Host Communities

Thus, in the *Scythian* and *Anacharsis*, *assimilation* and *integration* are presented as realistic acculturation strategies and "Lucian" appears to promote an autonomous form of *integration.* This seems to be at odds with the warning against these acculturation strategies in the *On Hired Companions.* How could this discrepancy be explained? It is important to note that *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* not only differ from the *On Hired Companions* in their promotion of acculturation strategies but also in their description of the treatment of foreigners by the host community.

In *On Hired Companions,* Timocles hardly finds a friendly face in the Roman household, has to find out everything by himself and is treated as inferior to the Romans. Furthermore, the interest of his patron does not reach much further than his Greek appearance which he disrespectfully uses to enhance his own reputation as an educated Roman and philosopher. Due to the lack of real interest in the cultural background of the educated Greeks, the acculturation in Roman households becomes entirely unidirectional – the Greeks have to adopt Roman culture while the Romans do not truly adapt

[208] *Scyth.* 4-8.
[209] One could argue that Mnesippus, Toxaris' interlocutor in *Toxaris*, functioned model for Toxaris. The fact that Mnesippus was a native Greek rather than an immigrant may explain at least partly why Toxaris became completely Hellenised.
[210] *Scyth.* 9.
[211] *Bis. Acc.* 14, 25, 27, 32, 34; *Hist. Conscr.* 24; *Ind.* 19; *Pisc.* 19; *Pseudol.* 1; *Syr. D.* 1. In *Bis Accusatus*, the interlocutor who defends the genre and style of Lucian's work is designated as Σύρος.

to Greek culture. This superficiality of the Romans' interest in Greek culture is therefore presented as an obstacle to *integration* and the creation of a harmonious multicultural society.

In contrast, in *Scythian*, both Anacharsis and "Lucian" receive a much warmer welcome. Anacharsis is almost immediately taken care of by Solon who shows him around Athens and the rest of Greece and explains Greek customs to him. Solon is introduced by Toxaris as the ideal guide who not only carries all of Greece in him (πᾶσαν … τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν αὑτῷ ἔχειν) but also very frequently travelled abroad to Asia and Egypt (ἀποδημήσας δὲ μάλα πολλὰ ἔς τε Ἀσίαν καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον) and thus knew the experience of visiting a foreign country for the first time.[212] In section 8, Solon indeed turns out to be the ideal guide and friend because he makes sure that Anacharsis enjoys his time in Greece, becomes friends with everyone and is introduced to the noblest Greeks.

Moreover, in *Anacharsis* several passages demonstrate that Solon had a cultural relativistic stance. In section 6, for example, Solon explains Anacharsis' fierce reaction to Greek wrestling from the fact that he as a Syrian is not accustomed to these practices and that the Scythians likewise will have many practices that appear strange to the Greeks.[213]

Furthermore, unlike the Roman patron in the *On Hired Companions,* Solon also demonstrates a real interest in Anacharsis and his Scythian background in *Anacharsis*. He not only enquires about Scythian customs at the end of the dialogue but also expresses his willingness to learn from Anacharsis:[214]

> ἀπίωμεν δ᾽ οὖν. καὶ ὅπως μὴ καθάπερ νόμοις προσέξεις οἷς ἂν λέγω πρὸς σε, ὡς ἐξ ἅπαντος πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἔνθα ἄν σοι μὴ ὀρθῶς τι λέγεσθαι δοκῇ, ἀντιλέγειν εὐθὺς καὶ διευθύνειν τὸν λόγον. δυοῖν γὰρ θατέρου πάντως οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοιμεν, ἢ σὲ βεβαίως πεισθῆναι ἐκχέαντα ὀπόσα οἴει ἀντιλεκτέα εἶναι ἢ ἐμὲ ἀναδιδαχθῆναι ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκω περὶ αὐτων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσα ἄν σοι ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι χάριν ὁμολογοῦσα· ὅσα γὰρ ἂν ἐμὲ παιδεύσῃς καὶ μεταπείσῃς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἐκείνην τὰ μέγιστα ἔσῃ ὠφελήκως. (…) καὶ εὖ ἴσθι ὡς οὐκ αἰσχυνεῖται ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις παρὰ βαρβάρου καὶ ξένου τὰ συμφέροντα ἐκμανθάνοντες.[215]
>
> Well, let us go. And take heed lest you do not regard everything I may tell you as a law, so that you believe these things altogether. But whenever something may appear to you to be said incorrectly, contradict me immediately and amend my reasoning. For in both cases, we cannot fail; either you have become firmly convinced after you have poured out everything you think should be contradicted or I have been taught that I did not perceive these things rightly. And in this case, the entire city of Athens could not be too quick to avow her gratitude to you. For, in so far as you would educate me and change my conviction for the better, you will have been of the greatest service to her. (…) And know well that the city of Athens will not be ashamed to learn profitable things from a barbarian and stranger.

By suggesting that he and other Athenians could also learn from Anacharsis, Solon demonstrates that he considers Greek culture not necessarily superior to Scythian culture. Consequently, Anacharsis is treated as a full member of Athenian society rather, unlike Timocles who was treated as inferior to the Romans in *On Hired Companions.* Furthermore, Solon's interest in Scythian culture is also suggested by his statement that the Athenians are also willing to adopt foreign customs if some of these prove to be more beneficial.

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[212] *Scyth.* 4 and 5.
[213] Similar cultural relativism can be found in section 34, where Solon states that he understands that the living circumstances of the Scythians require a life under arms, even though he as a Greek is not used to carrying weapons.
[214] For Solon's enquiring about Scythian customs, see *Anach.* 40.
[215] *Anach.* 17.

Admittedly, this claim is later undermined by Solon's remark that the Greeks 'do not deem it very important to be zealous for foreign customs' (ζηλοῦν δὲ τὰ ξενικὰ οὐ πάνυ ἀξιοῦμεν).[216] Because the Greeks do not desire to adopt foreign customs, they only partly facilitate *integration.* Due to their cultural relativism, they tolerate that foreigners adhere to their own customs but by their refusal to embrace foreign practices, they prevent the integration process from becoming bidirectional. As unidirectional *integration* requires more cultural adaptation from the foreigner, this may explain why Anacharsis eventually was not able to preserve his Scythian identity entirely and found himself somewhere in-between being integrated and assimilated into Greek culture.

We do not get sufficient information about "Lucian's" patrons to determine whether these would facilitate bidirectional *integration.* However, they are portrayed as friendly hosts that provide foreigners with access to the whole city (πᾶσαν ἔχεις τὴν πόλιν) and can be praised for their 'kindness towards strangers' (τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπίαν), 'gentleness' (τὸ πρᾷον) and 'approachability' (τὸ εὐπρόσοδον).[217] Furthermore, "Lucian's" assertion that 'they wish whatever is the best for the city' (ἐθέλουσι γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν ἄριστον ᾖ τῇ πόλει) seems to echo Solon's claim that the city of Athens is willing to learn profitable things from foreigners.[218] This may suggest that Lucian's patrons were open to adopting foreign practices and facilitated bidirectional *integration.* If so, this could further explain "Lucian's" successful preservation of his Syrian identity.

The combination of *On Hired Companions, Scythian,* and *Anacharsis* thus seems to suggest that there does not exist an optimal acculturation strategy that fits all circumstances but that the best way for a foreigner to relate to another culture depends on the attitude of the host community. If this community does not treat foreigners as full members of their community or does not show any interest in or respect for other cultures and simply expects foreigners to embrace its customs, *separation* may be the best option. However, if the host community is interested in the cultural background of foreigners and treats them respectfully and as equals so that there is room for communication and mutual learning, autonomous *integration* with the preservation of one's native identity is more desirable.

By pointing to the dependence of the acculturation strategy on the attitude of the host culture, Lucian also makes host communities aware of the influence they have on the way people live and participate in their society and advises them on how to treat foreigners. In the persons of Solon and "Lucian's" patrons, he provides examples of how these communities could welcome foreigners and could start a dialogue about cultural differences. They should receive them kindly, show them around and teach them their cultural practices without imposing their culture on their foreign guests. Instead of considering themselves and their culture superior, they should treat foreigners with respect and show genuine interest in their cultural background, assessing the merits of both cultures and being willing to embrace foreign practices that could be beneficial. Thus, just as *Assembly of the* Gods, which presents the negative consequences of *separation,* Lucian's *Scythian* and *Anacharsis* appear to advocate for cultural tolerance.

However, we should be careful to interpret Lucian's works as presenting a single view on cultural interaction or presenting an optimal acculturation strategy. The polyphony of perspectives we find throughout his work demonstrates that Lucian was very open-minded and makes it unlikely that he wanted to provide strict guidelines for acculturation. More likely, Lucian merely wished to point out that the dynamics of cultural interaction depend on both host communities and foreigners, either local communities or migrants. By presenting different interactions between foreigners and hosts, Lucian invites his audience to reflect on the way they deal with cultural differences themselves and

[216] *Anach.* 39.
[217] *Scyth.* 10.
[218] *Scyth.* 10.

to examine how they can improve their interactions with other cultures. Thereby, Lucian's acculturation scenarios may provide some guidance to create an open and tolerant society that allows people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds to learn from each other while at the same time preserving their own cultural identities.

4.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, in his *Scythian* and *Anacharsis,* Lucian provides us with three different examples of foreigners who try to find their place in new communities. Toxaris assimilates into Greek culture, while Anacharsis and "Lucian" both integrate into a new society. "Lucian's" integration differs from that of Anacharsis in that it is more autonomous and allows for the preservation of one's ethnic identity. His emphasis on Toxaris' loss of his Scythian identity, his subtle references to the horrible death of Anacharsis, and his stress of his own Syrian identity suggest that Lucian considered the preservation of this ethnic identity of great importance and thus would prefer autonomous *integration*. The promotion of this acculturation strategy in *Scythian* starkly contrasts the plea for cultural *separation* in *On Hired Companions.* Together these works provide different acculturation scenarios and suggest that the preferable acculturation strategy depends on the attitude of the host culture. If this community does not support foreigners and treat them as equals or does not show any interest in their cultural background, as is the case in the *On Hired Companions,* one can best preserve his own identity and distance himself from the cultural practices of the host culture. However, if the host community takes good care of foreigners, treats them as full members of their society and shows a clear interest in their cultural background, like Solon and "Lucian's" patrons in *Scythian*, one could weigh up his own practices and those of the host community and pursue autonomous *integration*.

By describing different acculturation scenarios, Lucian seems to suggest that there is no ultimate acculturation strategy that is optimal for all situations but that the best type of cultural interaction is highly dependent on the attitude of both foreigners and host communities. With his different examples of acculturating foreigners and his play with perspectives, he invites his audience to reflect on their own interaction with other cultures and to think of how they could contribute to a culturally tolerant society in which people with all kinds of different ethnic and cultural identities could harmoniously live together.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Towards a Tolerant and Inclusive Society

When Anacharsis arrived in Athens for the first time, everything was new to him and he did not know how to behave. Moreover, the first Athenians whom he encountered were unfriendly and laughed at him. Luckily for Anacharsis, he quickly got the help of Toxaris and Solon. Consequently, he was accepted by the Athenian host community and could enjoy his time in Athens. However, one can imagine that not all of the countless foreigners who lived in or travelled through the Roman Empire in the second century AD had the same luck as Anacharsis eight centuries before. Many of them may have experienced difficulties with finding their place in the multicultural society of Lucian's time.

In this thesis, I have sought to investigate how Lucian as a foreigner and migrant author who experienced such challenges reflects on cultural interaction in the multicultural Roman Empire. To this end, I have analysed four of Lucian's works in which he appears to reflect on the multiculturality of the Roman Empire by responding to Roman criticism of migration (*Assembly of the Gods* and *On Hired Companions*) or narrating the experiences of foreigners who try to find their place in a new community (*On Hired Companions, Scythian,* and *Anacharsis*) as migrant literature. Together these works provide a polyphony of perspectives on cultural interaction in the Roman Empire.

In *Assembly of the Gods,* Lucian seems to voice and respond to contemporary Roman complaints about migrants and other foreigners in the Roman Empire. He parodies these complaints through his comical and ironical staging of Momus who criticizes both spurious and established Greek gods as being foreigners who are illegitimately on Olympus and proposes to expel them from Olympus. With his parody, Lucian suggests that the distinction between foreigners and natives is quite arbitrary and that the exclusion of foreigners from society is undesirable. He sketches an unwanted scenario in which a host community drives migrants towards cultural *segregation.* However, by his use of parody rather than arguing directly against the Roman criticism he also leaves some room for concerns about the multiculturality of the Roman Empire. Because he in this manner stimulates his audience to reflect on issues of migration and multiculturality without imposing his own view, Lucian provides with his *Assembly of the Gods* a good example of the open-mindedness and cultural tolerance that he seems to advocate.

In *On Hired Companions*, Lucian presents a Greek view on the Roman complaints about Greeks and other migrants who infiltrate Roman households. From the perspectives of "Lucian" and his naïve friend Timocles, he demonstrates why educated Greeks should not aspire to a life in a Roman household. "Lucian" not only warns his friend that the Roman household will turn out to be a dystopian place, but also expresses the fear that Timocles and the Greeks he represents will not integrate into Roman culture but rather become assimilated or even marginalised. His fear that the Greeks will lose their identity is mainly based on the fact that the Roman patron is interested in Greek appearance rather than Greek culture and treats this culture with disrespect. "Lucian" further discourages *integration* with his embedded narrative about the hardships Timocles would endure when entering a Roman household. Hence, just as in his *On Hired Companions* Lucian sketches an undesirable scenario; the persistent hostility of the host community and its lack of more than a superficial interest in other cultures causes foreigners to assimilate rather than integrate into their community, resulting in the loss of their ethnic identity. With the warnings against attempts to integrate into Roman households and the discouraging experiences of Timocles, "Lucian" seems to advocate cultural *separation.*

In *Scythian* and *Anacharsis,* Lucian uses the local perspective of Scythian and Syrian foreigners to present a rather different scenario in which foreigners are warmly welcomed by the host community.

With *Anacharsis*, Lucian demonstrates that a friendly and culturally tolerant host allows for a dialogue about cultural practices that enables the foreigner to properly balance his own customs and those of the host community. With the examples of Toxaris and Anacharsis in the *Scythian*, Lucian shows that such a comparative assessment could result in either *assimilation*, whereby the host culture is adopted at the expense of the native culture, or in *integration,* whereby the host culture is only partly adopted and some elements of the native culture are preserved. However, the *assimilation* of Toxaris and the *integration* of Anacharsis both result in the (partial) loss of a Scythian identity. "Lucian" subsequently demonstrates how one could preserve this ethnic identity with his own example of more autonomous *integration* and seems to suggest that this acculturation strategy is the most desirable. However, Lucian does not impose "Lucian's" view on his audience but encourages active and thoughtful engagement with the various acculturation strategies he presents. By providing multiple examples of acculturation, he stimulates his audience to contemplate what type of cultural interaction they deem most desirable.

Together Lucian's four works offer two different scenarios of cultural interaction between foreigners and the host community. Both the *Assembly of the Gods* and the *On Hired Companions* sketch an undesirable situation in which foreigners are met with a lot of resistance from the host community. In *Assembly of the Gods,* foreign deities are actively placed outside the community so that *segregation* becomes their only option. In the case of the *On Hired Companions,* the host community of the Roman household does not actively exclude foreigners but its lack of real interest in the cultural background and well-being of the Greeks makes *integration* into the Roman community very difficult. Therefore the Greeks are left with a choice between *separation* and *assimilation.* Under these suboptimal circumstances, "Lucian" prefers *cultural separation* because this acculturation strategy guarantees the preservation of one's own ethnic identity. By sketching these undesirable scenarios as a response to contemporary Roman criticism of foreigners, Lucian seems to suggest that the current attitude of the Romans towards migrants and other foreigners paves the way for the cultural *separation* of groups with different cultural backgrounds and will not contribute to a multicultural society in which people of all kind of origins can happily live together.

In his *Anacharsis* and *Scythian,* Lucian sketches a more desirable scenario to give host communities and foreigners some guidance in how they could create such an ideal society. With the examples of Solon and "Lucian's" patrons as culturally tolerant and open-minded hosts, he illustrates the ideal behaviour of host communities towards foreigners. Simultaneously, Lucian describes the acculturation processes of Toxaris, Anacharsis and "Lucian" to illustrate that foreigners could respond to this cultural tolerance by critically and independently assessing their own traditions and those of their hosts, ultimately ensuring that they maintained their ethnic identity as they chose their preferred norms, values, and customs.

Lucian in his works thus stresses the mutuality of good cultural interaction and suggests that the creation of a pleasant and culturally tolerant society requires effort from both the host communities and the migrants it accepts. With *Assembly of the Gods, On Hired Companions*, *Scythian,* and *Anacharsis,* Lucian demonstrates that he as a foreigner is willing to take the first step towards an open and culturally tolerant society. By providing a polyphony of perspectives on migration and cultural interaction that includes the views of both foreigners and hosts, he moves not only between different identities but also between different roles in society. He shows an understanding of the feelings of foreigners as well as host communities and presents their differing views to invite his audience to look beyond their own perspective too and try to understand the concerns of the "other". In this way, he contributes to mutual understanding between foreigners and hosts, which is the essential first step towards what we in 2023 would call an inclusive society.

5.2. Reflection

With my analysis of Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods, On Hired Companions, Scythian*, and *Anacharsis* as migrant literature, I have tried to show that Lucian as a foreigner in the Roman Empire not only responds to the contemporary political and religious situation but also reflects on the social challenges one had to navigate when living in the multicultural Roman society. I hope to have demonstrated that reading Lucian's works as migrant literature can contribute to our understanding of Lucian's reflection on cultural interaction and his play with multiple perspectives to present an all-inclusive view of the ideal multicultural society.

For my analysis of Lucian's reflection on cultural interaction, Berry's model of different acculturation strategies proved to be useful in broadly categorizing the different views on acculturation that Lucian provides throughout his works. However, Berry's model is too rough to do justice to all aspects of the different types of cultural interaction that Lucian presents. For example, it does not allow for a distinction between Anacharsis' *integration* which involved a partial loss of his ethnic identity and "Lucian's" more autonomous *integration* which is more apt to preserve this identity. To better capture the complexity of the acculturation processes described in Greek literature from the second century AD, the two dimensions of this model should not be defined by binary categories of rejection and adoption/preservation of cultures but should be approached as scales measuring the degree of cultural adoption/preservation.

Notwithstanding the limitations of Berry's model, it proved to be a good starting point for an analysis of Lucian's works through a more social lens. In this thesis, I have analysed four of Lucian's works in this manner. Using the same strategy to analyse works that are closely connected to these works, such as *Toxaris, Nigrinus,* and *On Parasitic*, and works in which Lucian provides us with more information about his own experiences as a migrant, such as the *Double Indictment*, *Fisherman,* and *Apology*, may further add to our understanding of Lucian's reflection on cultural interaction in the Roman Empire. The inclusion of these works in the analysis would probably allow us to link Lucian's reflection on cultural interaction to his personal migration experiences, his political and religious views and the general spirit of the Second Sophistic.

In short, my analysis of Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods, On Hired Companions, Scythian,* and *Anacharsis* as migrant literature can be considered the beginning of a more comprehensive understanding of Lucian's experiences as a migrant in the Roman Empire. I hope it will inspire others to move as migrants beyond the borders of the traditional approaches to study Lucian's works through the social lens of migrant literature.

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