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DIO CHRYSOSTOM
I
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FIVE VOLUMES

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PREFATORY NOTE

The task of translating Dio Chrysostom for the Loeb Library was undertaken by Professor William E. Waters of New York University, but ill health followed by his death prevented him from completing the work. In preparing the version found in this volume the present translator made use wherever possible of the rough drafts left by Professor Waters. The Greek text is based upon the critical editions of von Arnim and of de Budé.
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in Rome. In the reign of Domitian, however, this period of his life came somewhat abruptly to an end. He had been too frank in his criticism of the Emperor and had been intimate with a Roman in high position who was executed on some charge or other. For these reasons Dio was banished from Rome and Italy and also from his native Bithynia, probably in the year 82. Now he could no longer depend upon his property in Prusa for support and, whether he wished it or not, had to make a practical test of the tenets of the Cynics and lead the simple life. Wearing but a threadbare cloak he wandered penniless from place to place, as a rule avoiding the large cities. To procure sustenance he was forced at times to do the humblest manual labour, and the hardships then endured injured his health. In the course of these wanderings he reached Borysthenes, a flourishing colony of Miletus north of the Black Sea and not far from the modern Odessa. He penetrated also to Viminacium, a Roman permanent camp on the Danube, and lived among the savage Getae, whose history he wrote.

On the death of Domitian in 96, Dio's exile came to an end, and in the summer of the next year he delivered an oration before the Greeks assembled at Olympia. Then he came to Rome and was kindly received by the new Emperor Nerva. Dio took advantage of this to ask for some favours in behalf of his native town, but was prevented by illness from being wholly successful. He returned, however, to Prusa with the news of such favours as had been granted and then headed an embassy sent by the citizens to express their thanks to the Emperor. This embassy, however, found Nerva
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dead and Trajan Emperor in his stead. Upon him Dio made a good impression and a deep friendship was formed between the two men. Dio was with the Emperor before he set out on his Dacian campaign, and met Trajan on his triumphant return in 102, when he was received with high marks of favour. After this Dio travelled to Alexandria and other places, returning to his native Prusa towards the end of the year or the beginning of the next. At home Dio undertook to carry out some plans for beautifying the city at great cost to himself, but became involved in a lawsuit in connection with the demolishing of some buildings to make room for new structures and had to plead his case before the imperial legate, C. Plinius Secundus, in the year 111–112. This is the last we hear of Dio. His wife and a son predeceased him.

When Dio returned from exile, he had put from him the ideal of the sophists of his time,¹ who believed that eloquence in and of itself was the highest thing, and he had reached settled convictions as a moralizing philosopher from which he never departed. He was not an original thinker, but drew his philosophy from Plato, the Stoics and Cynics, and he felt it to be his life-work to proclaim these teachings to all, high and low, prince and peasant, and to arouse the national feeling of the Greeks by reminding them of their glorious past. By informal

¹ In the first century of our era Rhetoric began to displace Philosophy in esteem, and by the time of Hadrian this movement, which is called the New or Second Sophistic, reached its height. Its adherents believed that the orator, and not the philosopher, represented the highest type of man, and that the content of the oration did not matter so much as did the rhetorical skill shown by the speaker.
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addresses to small groups and by set addresses to larger assemblies he reproved people for their faults and sought to show them the better way much like a modern preacher.

His style is simple, graceful, and noble. He took as his models Plato, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Antisthenes, but did not get altogether free from ordinary Hellenistic Greek (ἡ κοιμή).

Dio's Works

Eighty discourses credited to Dio have come down to us, but the thirty-seventh (The Corinthian) and the sixty-fourth (the second declamation On Fortune) are now assigned to his pupil Favorinus. The others, with the exception of the eighteenth, which is a letter to a high official, perhaps Nerva, as to what authors to read, are either speeches or essays of varying character and purpose, which may be divided into three classes—sophistic, political, and moral. Of a purely sophistic nature, in my opinion, is the eleventh discourse, in which Dio attempts to prove that Troy was not captured by the Greeks. Of a similar nature was his Eulogy of Hair, which has been preserved in full by Synesius, who wrote in reply a Praise of Baldness; and of the same character too, no doubt, were his Eulogy of a Parrot and his Praise of a Gnat. The latter three undoubtedly belong to his earlier years; about the other opinions may differ.

The political discourses belong chiefly to Dio's mature years, and the most important ones were written after his return from exile. They deal with the affairs of Bithynia, the quarrels between his fellow-citizens, and the rivalry of interests between x
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Prusa and the neighbouring towns of Nicaea and Nicomedia. Of such a type, for example, is the forty-seventh. These speeches are of great interest to the historian because they give him information about the state of Asia Minor at this period.

The third class, the moral discourses, belong to the last period of Dio’s life and are the best of all. In them Dio gave rein to his true bent, which was to enforce moral teachings. In them he showed whatever originality he possessed.

One letter of Dio’s has already been mentioned. In addition five others are printed by Hercher in his Epistolographia Graeca, of which the first two may be genuine.

Dio also wrote philosophical and historical works, none of which is extant. Of the former sort were the following: Whether the Universe is Perishable (εἰ φθαρτός ὁ κόσμος), A Eulogy of Heracles and Plato (ἐγκόμιον Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πλάτωνος), and To Plato in Defence of Homer (ὑπὲρ Ὀμήρου πρὸς Πλάτωνα) in four books. To these perhaps should be added Against the Philosophers (κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων) and To Musonius (πρὸς Μουσώνιον), works written before Dio was converted to philosophy by Musonius. Of historical works he wrote On Alexander’s Virtues (περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρετῶν) in eight books and a History of the Getae (τὰ Γετικά), which was probably written immediately after his return from exile.

MANUSCRIPTS

The following are the chief manuscripts of Dio:

U—Urbinas 124, 11th century.
B—Parisinus 2958, 14th century.
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V—Vaticanus graec. 99, 11th century.
M—Meermannianus 67, of Leyden, Holland, 16th century.
P—Palatinus graec. 117, 14th and 15th centuries.
H—Vaticanus graec. 91, 13th century.
M¹—The part of the Meermannian MS. which belongs to the third class of MSS.
P²—The other copy of the 65th oration which is found in P.
E—Laurentianus 81, 2, 14th century.
T—Marcianus 421, 15th century.
Y—Marcianus 422, 15th century.
C—Parisinus 3009, 16th century.
I—Parisinus 2924, 15th and 16th centuries.
W—Vindobonensis philos. graec. 168.

As late as the third century Dio’s orations were in circulation in single rolls. Our MSS. depend upon an edition of all his orations in rolls. According to the arrangement of these rolls the MSS. are divided into three classes. The first class has them in the order in which Photius read them, the second class in the order in which they appear in this edition, while the third class contains only part of them in a different order.

Von Arnim holds that UB of the first class and VM of the second class are more closely related to one another than to PH of the third class, while Sonny, on the other hand, thinks that the second and third classes are closely related and widely separated from the first one, and that the readings of the third class which Arnim considered early and true were interpolated by a clever scribe.
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According to Fabricius the editio princeps was published by Dionysius Paravisinus in Milan, 1476. It has disappeared. The first one still extant and containing all the orations is that of Franciscus Turrisanus, Venice, 1551 (?).

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DIO CHRYSOStOM

THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

The first Discourse as well as the following three has for its subject Kingship, and from internal evidence is thought to have been first delivered before Trajan in Rome immediately after he became emperor. At any rate Dio does not address the Emperor in those terms of intimacy that he uses in the third Discourse.

Dio’s conception of the true king is influenced greatly by Homer and Plato. The true king fears the gods and watches over his subjects even as Zeus, the supreme god, watches over all mankind. At the end is a description of the choice made by Heracles, who is the great model of the Cynics.
ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

1. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Α

1 Φασὶ ποτὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν αὐλήτην Τιμόθεον τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιδεικνύμενον αὐλήσαι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπον μάλα ἐμπείρως καὶ μουσικῶς, οὐ μαλακὸν αὐλήμα σοῦ ἀναβεβηκόμενον οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἀνεσιν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἀγόντων, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν ὄρθιον τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπικαλούμενον νόμον, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐθὺς ἀναπηδήσαι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς ἐνθέους ὁμοίως: οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπαρθήναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τῆς αὐλῆσεως, τὸ δὲ τούτου αὐτίον οὐχ οὕτως ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς δύναμις ὡς ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως διάνοια σύντονος οὖσα καὶ θυμοειδῆς: ἐπεὶ Σαρδανά-παλλον οὖς ἦν ποτὲ ἤγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐχ ὅπως Τιμόθεος ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν νεοτέρων, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ Μαρσύας αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀλυμπος ἡ δοκεῖ δ’ ἐμοιγε μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, εἰ δυνάτον, διεξιούσης τὸν αὐτής νόμον ἀγασθαί ποτ’ ἂν ὅπλων ἐκείνος, πολὺ δ’ ἂν

1 ποτ’ ἂν Γασδα; ποτε.

1 He played at Alexander’s wedding. See Athenaeus 12. 54. 538.
2 A king of Assyria whose name became proverbial as a type of effeminacy and luxury.
3 Mythical Phrygian peasant, or satyr, who played the
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The story goes that when the flute-player Timotheus\(^1\) gave his first exhibition before King Alexander, he showed great musical skill in adapting his playing to the king’s character by selecting a piece that was not languishing or slow nor of the kind that would cause relaxation or listlessness, but rather, I fancy, the ringing strain which bears Athena’s name and none other. They say, too, that Alexander at once bounded to his feet and ran for his arms like one possessed, such was the exaltation produced in him by the tones of the music and the rhythmic beat of the rendering. The reason why he was so affected was not so much the power of the music as the temperament of the king, which was high-strung and passionate. Sardanapallus,\(^2\) for example, would never have been aroused to leave his chamber and the company of his women even by Marsyas\(^3\) himself or by Olympus,\(^4\) much less by Timotheus or any other of the later artists; nay, I believe that had even Athena herself—were such a thing possible—performed for him her own measure, that king would never have laid hand to arms, but would have been much more likely to leap up and flute so well that he was emboldened to challenge Apollo to a musical contest.

\(^1\) Mythical Greek musician associated with Marsyas.
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πρότερον ὃρχησασθαί ἀναστάς ἡ φυγεῖν οὕτως ἄθλιως εἴχεν ὑπὸ ἑξουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς.

4 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐστὶ μὴ χείρους ἄνδρὸς αὐλητοῦ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔργον, μηδὲ ἦττον ἄνδρείους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας εὑρεῖν λόγους τῶν ἐκείνων κρουμάτων, ἐτί δὲ μὴ ἐνα τρόπον ἡμοσμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς σφοδροὺς τε καὶ πράσινος καὶ πολεμικοὺς ἁμα καὶ εἰρηνικοὺς καὶ νομίμους καὶ τῷ ὄντι βασιλικοὺς, ἀτε σῶμα πρὸς ἄνδρείου βουλόμενον εἶναι καὶ νόμιμον ἡγεμόνα, πολλοῦ μὲν δεόμενον θάρσους, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ ἐπιεικείας. ὁ γοῦν Τιμόθεος, εἰ καθύπερ πολέμικον τινα διελθεῖν ὧδε νόμον, οὕτως ἡπίστατο αὐλῆμα δικαιαν καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ σώφρονα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ φιλαμβρωτον δυνάμενον παρασκευῆς, μὴ πρὸς ὅπλα ὀρμώσαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τε εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμονοίαν καὶ θεῶν τιμὰς καὶ ἄνθρωπων ἐπιμέλειαν, τοῦ παντὸς ἄν ἢν ἄξιος Ἀλεξάνδρω παρεῖναι τε καὶ ἑπαυλεῖν, οὐ θύοντι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅπως ἡ πενθῶν ἀκρίτως τῶν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἡ κολάξων πικρότερον τοῦ νομίμου καὶ ἐπιεικοῦς ἡ χαλεπαίνων τοὺς αὐτοῦ φίλους τε καὶ ἑταῖρος ἡ ὑπερορῶν τοὺς θυντούς τε καὶ ἀληθείς γονέας. 8 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πᾶσαν ἱστιν οὐδὲ ὀφέλειαν

1 When Alexander's friend Hephaestion died, he had the physician crucified and the battlements taken away from the cities round about.
2 A reference to the destruction of Thebe when it revolted.
3 In a drunken quarrel Alexander slew his friend Cleitus.
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dance a fling or else take to his heels; to so depraved a condition had unlimited power and indulgence brought him.

In like manner it may fairly be demanded of me that I should show myself as skilful in my province as a master flautist may be in his, and that I should find words which shall be no whit less potent than his notes to inspire courage and high-mindedness—words, moreover, not set to a single mood but at once vigorous and gentle, challenging to war yet also speaking of peace, obedience to law, and true kingliness, inasmuch as they are addressed to one who is disposed, methinks, to be not only a brave but also a law-abiding ruler, one who needs not only high courage but high sense of right also. If, for instance, the skill which Timotheus possessed in performing a warlike strain had been matched by the knowledge of such a composition as could make the soul just and prudent and temperate and humane, and could arouse a man not merely to take up arms but also to follow peace and concord, to honour the gods and to have consideration for men, it would have been a priceless boon to Alexander to have that man live with him as a companion, and to play for him, not only when he sacrificed but at other times also: when, for example, he would give way to unreasoning grief regardless of propriety and decorum, or would punish more severely than custom or fairness allowed, or would rage fiercely at his own friends and comrades or disdain his mortal and real parents. But unfortunately, skill and proficiency

4 The story, supported by his mother Olympias, was current that the god Ammon, and not Philip, was his father. See also Discourse 4. 19. Consequently he despised Philip.
δολοκληρον ἠθὼν ἰκανή παρασχεῖν ἡ μουσικής ἐπιστήμης τε καὶ ἐξις· οὐ γὰρ οὖν. ὡς φησιν ὁ ποιητής,

οὐδ’ Ἀσκληπιάδαις τούτῳ γ’ ἐδωκε θεός·
μόνος δὲ ὁ τῶν φρούμων τε καὶ σοφῶν λόγου, ὁ οἷοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πρῶτων, ἀνενεθῆς καὶ τέλειος ἡγεμόν τις τῶν δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγαθῆς φύσεως, πρὸς πάσαν ἀρετήν παραμυθοῦμενος τε καὶ ἀγωνίας ἐμμελῶς.

9 Τίς ἂν οὖν πρέπουσα καὶ ἅξια φανεῖν διατριβή τῆς σῆς προθυμίας, καὶ πόθεν ἂν εὑροίμεν ἡμεῖς τέλειον οὖν τοῦ λόγου, ἀνδρεῖς ἀλήται καὶ αὐτοῦργοι τῆς σοφίας, πόνοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ὅσον δυνάμεθα χαλροντες τὰ πολλά, τοὺς δὲ αὐ λόγους παρακλήσεως ἐνεκεν φθεγγόμενοι πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἄει τῶν ἐνυγχάνοντα; ὁσπερ οἱ κινοῦντες καὶ μεταφέροντες οὐκ εὑφορον βάρος
φθέγγονται τε καὶ ἓδουσιν ἰσυχῇ τὸ ἐργον παραμυθοῦμενοι, ἐργάται ὄντες, οὐκ ὁδοί τινες

10 οὐδὲ ποιηταὶ μελῶν. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγου καὶ πάντες ἀκοῆς ἐξιοι καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἀφελειαν ἔχουσιν τοὺς μὴ παρέργοις ἀκροομένους· ἀλλὰ δει, τὸν ἐγγὺς τε καὶ μάλιστα ἄψομενον ἀνευρόντας,1 παρακαλέσαντας Πειθῶ τε καὶ Μοῦσας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὡς δυνατὸν προθύμοις διελθεῖν.

11 Φέρε εὕπομεν τὰ τε ἡθη καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν βραχεῖ περιλαμβάνοντες ὡς ἐνεστιν,

1 kal after ἀνευρόνταs deleted by Capps.

1 Theoignis of Megara, 432 (Borgk-Crusius). Aesclepius
(Latin Aesculapius) was the god of medicine and healing.
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in music cannot provide perfect healing and complete relief for defect of character. No indeed! To quote the poet:

"E'en to Asclepius' sons granted not god this boon."1

Nay, it is only the spoken word of the wise and prudent, such as were most men of earlier times, that can prove a competent and perfect guide and helper of a man endowed with a tractable and virtuous nature, and can lead it toward all excellence by fitting encouragement and direction.

What subject, then, will clearly be appropriate and worthy of a man of your earnestness, and where shall I find words so nearly perfect, mere wanderer that I am and self-taught philosopher, who find what happiness I can in toil and labour for the most part and employ eloquence only for the encouragement of myself and such others as I meet from time to time? My case is like that of men who in moving or shifting a heavy load beguile their labour by softly chanting or singing a tune—mere toilers that they are and not bards or poets of song. Many, however, are the themes of philosophy, and all are worth hearing and marvellously profitable for any who listen with more than casual attention; but since we have found as our hearer one who is near at hand and ready eagerly to grasp our words, we must summon to our aid Persuasion, the Muses, and Apollo, and pursue our task with the greatest possible devotion.

Let me state, then, what are the characteristics and disposition of the ideal king, summarizing them as briefly as possible—the king
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ὁ ἐδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω σκῆπτρον τῷ ἴδε τέμιστας, ἵνα σφίξῃ βουλεύσῃν.

12 πάνυ γὰρ οὖν καλῶς σὺν ἄλλοις πλέοσιν ὁμηρος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ ἔφη, ὡς οὐχ ἀπαντας παρὰ τοῦ Δίου ἔχοντας τὸ σκῆπτρον οὐδὲ τὴν ἁρχὴν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοὺς ἁγαθούς, οὔτ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισι δικαίοις ἢ τῷ βουλεύσαθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁρχομένων, οὐχ ὡστε ἀκολασταίνειν καὶ σπαθὰν, ἀνοίας καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας καὶ πάσης ἀνομίας ἐμπιστολάμενον τε καὶ ἀποπυρπλάντα ἐξ ἀπαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχήν τεταραγμένην ὁργαῖς τε καὶ λύπαις καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἡδοναῖς καὶ παντοτικὲς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλ' ὅσον τίνι προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὑπερχόντες νομέα καὶ ποιμένα τῷ ὄντι τῶν λαῶν γεγομένου, οὕτως ἔστιν ἀρξαίως καὶ δαιμόνια, ὡς ἔφη τις, ἀλλ' ὅσον οὖν οὐδὲ καθεύδειν αὐτὸν ἄξιον δι' ὅλης τῆς μυκτος, ὅσο νῦκες αὐτῷ σχολὴν βάσιμεῖν. ταύτα γὰρ φησὶ καὶ ὁ ὁμηρος ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀληθέσιν ἀνδράσιν, ὡς οὖν ἔτεος ποτε ποιησάς καὶ ἀκολαστός καὶ πιλοχρήματος οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔσαρξεν γενέσθαι δυνατος ἄρχων οὐδ' ἐγκράτης οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενός. οὔτ' ἐσται ποτὲ ἐκεῖνος βασιλεύως, οὔτ' ἀν πάντες φῶσιν ὁ Εὐληνες καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναικεῖς καὶ μῆ μόνον ἄνθρωποι θανιμάζωσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπακούωσιν ἀλλ' ὁι τε

1 Iliad 2. 205–6.
2 Plato (Republic 4. 421b) contrasts true guardians of a city with those who would exploit it, whom he calls "eaters of wine." See also ibid., 1. 345c, where the same contrast is made.
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"to whom the son
Of Saturn gives the sceptre, making him
The lawgiver, that he may rule the rest."¹

Now it seems to me that Homer was quite right in this as in many other sayings, for it implies that not every king derives his sceptre or this royal office from Zeus, but only the good king, and that he receives it on no other title than that he shall plan and study the welfare of his subjects; he is not to become licentious or profligate, stuffing and gorging with folly, insolence, arrogance, and all manner of lawlessness, by any and every means within his power, a soul perturbed by anger, pain, fear, pleasure, and lusts of every kind, but to the best of his ability he is to devote his attention to himself and his subjects, becoming indeed a guide and shepherd of his people, not, as someone² has said, a caterer and banqueter at their expense. Nay, he ought to be just such a man as to think that he should not sleep at all the whole night through as having no leisure for idleness.³ Homer, too, in agreement with all other wise and truthful men, says that no wicked or licentious or avaricious person can ever become a competent ruler or master either of himself or of anybody else, nor will such a man ever be a king even though all the world, both Greeks and barbarians, men and women, affirm the contrary,⁴ yea, though not only men admire and

³ A reminiscence of Homer, Iliad 2. 24–25, where the dream says to Agamemnon: "To sleep the whole night through beseemeth not a man that is a counsellor, to whom a host is entrusted, and upon whom rest so many cares."—Murray in L.C.L.

⁴ For the thought compare Discourse 4. 25.
μάλιστα πάντων ἀγέλαι μὲν νομεῖς, ὃποιοὶ δὲ ἡμιόχουσ, κυνηγότα τὸ ὑπὸ κυνῶν φυλάσσονται καὶ ἀγαπῶνται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὕτως ἀγαπᾶ τὰ ἄρχόμενα τοὺς ἀρχόντας. πῶς οὖν εἴκος τὰ μὲν ἄφρονα καὶ ἀγνώμονα εἰδέναι καὶ φιλαῖν τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους, τὸ δὲ πάντων συνετότατον καὶ μάλιστα ἀποδοῦναι χάριν ἐπιστάμενον ἀγνοεῖν καὶ ἐπιβουλεῦειν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν ἦμερον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον βασιλέα μὴ μόνον φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔρασθαι. ταύτ' οὖν εἰδώς καὶ φύσει τοιούτος ὄν, ἠλευν καὶ πράγμα παρέχει τὴν ψυχὴν πάσιν, ἀτε πάντας ἠγούμενος εὗνοι καὶ φίλους.

21 Καὶ μὲν δὴ οἴεται δεῖν πλέον ἔχειν διὰ τὴν ἄρχην, οὐ τῶν χρημάτων οὐδὲ τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῶν φροντίδων ὥστε καὶ φιλόπονοι μᾶλλον ἐστιν ἡ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλήδουι καὶ φιλοχρήματοι. ἐπίσταται γὰρ ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ τοὺς ἄει συνόντας τὰ τὰ ἄλλα λυμαίνονται καὶ ταχὺ ποιοῦσιν ἀδυνάτους πρὸς αὐτὰς, οἱ δὲ πόνοι τὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὀφελοῦσι καὶ ἄει μᾶλλον παρέχουσι δυναμένους πονεῖν. οὐκοῦν μόνῳ ἐξεστὶν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας συστρατιώτας προσευπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ συνήθεις φίλους μὴ καταγελώντι καὶ τὸν ὅνοματος τῆς φιλίας πατέρα δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄρχομένων οὐ λογίῳ κεκληθαί μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔργοις τούτο ἐπι- δείκνυσθαι δεσπότην δὲ οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἐλευ- θέρων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν δούλων χαίρειν καλοῦ- 

22 μενον: βασιλεύειν γὰρ οὖχ αὐτοῦ χάριν οἴεται μᾶλλον ἐνὸς ὄντος ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

1 καταγελώντι Capps: καταγελώντα.
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missive to them; the same is true of horses and their drivers; hunters are protected and loved by their dogs, and in the same way other subject creatures love their masters. How then would it be conceivable that, while beings devoid of intelligence and reason recognize and love those who care for them, that creature which is by far the most intelligent and best understands how to repay kindness with gratitude should fail to recognize, nay, should even plot against, its friends? No indeed! For of necessity the kindly and humane king is not only beloved but even adored by his fellow-men. And because he knows this and is by nature so inclined, he displays a soul benignant and gentle towards all, inasmuch as he regards all as loyal and as his friends.

The good king also believes it to be due to his position to have the larger portion, not of wealth or of pleasures, but of painstaking care and anxieties; hence he is actually more fond of toil than many others are of pleasure or of wealth. For he knows that pleasure, in addition to the general harm it does to those who constantly indulge therein, also quickly renders them incapable of pleasure, whereas toil, besides conferring other benefits, continually increases a man's capacity for toil. He alone, therefore, may call his soldiers "fellow-soldiers" and his associates "friends" without making mockery of the word friendship; and not only may he be called by the title "Father" of his people and his subjects, but he may justify the title by his deeds. In the title "master," however, he can take no delight, nay, not even in relation to his slaves, much less to his free subjects; for he looks upon himself as being king, not for the sake of his individual self, but for the sake of all men.
Καὶ τοίνυν εὐεργετῶν ἢδεται πλεῖον τῶν εὐεργετουμένων καὶ μόνης ταύτης ἦστι τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀκόρεστος. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς βασιλείας ἀναγκαία νεώμικεν, τὸ δὲ τῆς εὐεργεσίας μόνον ἐκούσιον τε καὶ εὐδαιμον. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἀφειδεστάτος ἦστιν, ὡς οὐδέποτε ἑπιλειφόταν, κακοῦ δὲ ἦττον αἰτίος γίγνεσθαι πέφυκεν ἢπερ ὁ ἢλιος τοῦ σκότους. διὸ οὐ μὲν ἵδαντες καὶ συγγενόμενοι οὐκ ἔθελον ἀπολυπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἰδεῖν μάλλον ἡ παίδες ἀγνοουμένους πατέρας ἀνευρεῖν. τούτων οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι δεδοκασι καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁμολογεῖ πολέμιος εἶναι, οἱ δὲ χίλιοι θαρροῦσιν, καὶ οἱ σφόδρα ἐγγὺς ἤγονται πάντων ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι.1 τοὺς δὲ προσιόντας καὶ ὄρθοντας οὐκ ἐκπληξὶς οὐδὲ φόβος, ἀλλὰ αἰδός ὑπεύξει, πολὺ κρείττον καὶ ἵσχυρότερον φόβον τοὺς μὲν γὰρ φοβομένους ἀνάγκη μεσεῖν καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι θέλειν, τοὺς δὲ αἰδουμένους παραμένειν καὶ θαυμάζειν. 26 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἤγειται βασιλικὸν καὶ φρόνιμον, τὴν δὲ πανοργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην ἀνόητον καὶ δουλοπρεπὲς, ὅρῶν ὅτι καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δειλότατα καὶ ἀγεννέστατα, ἐκεῖνα καὶ γεύεται πάντων μάλιστα καὶ ἐξαπατά.

1 After 1vrai all the MSS. give: ὁδὸν αὐτῆς ὁπάρχει τῷ καθ', τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς θαρροῦσι, τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἑγγὺς ἐκπληξίτειν καὶ φοβεῖν. Then in the inferior MSS. is found the obvious interpolation: τῷ γε μὴν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς τοὺς μὲν προσλαμβάνεις μετὰ τοῦ πεποιθότας περιγίγνεται βιοῦν. “The opposite is true of the bad king: he encourages his
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Therefore he finds greater pleasure in conferring benefits than those benefited do in receiving them, and in this one pleasure he is insatiable. For the other functions of royalty he regards as obligatory; that of benefaction alone he considers both voluntary and blessed. Blessings he dispenses with the most lavish hand, as though the supply were inexhaustible; but of anything hurtful, on the contrary, he can no more be the cause than the sun can be the cause of darkness. Men who have seen and associated with him are loath to leave him, while those who know him only by hearsay are more eager to see him than children are to find their unknown fathers. His enemies fear him, and no one acknowledges himself his foe; but his friends are full of courage, and those exceeding near unto him deem themselves of all men most secure. They who come into his presence and behold him feel neither terror nor fear; but into their hearts creeps a feeling of profound respect, something much stronger and more powerful than fear. For those who fear must inevitably hate and want to escape; those who feel respect must linger and admire.

He holds that sincerity and truthfulness are qualities befitting a king and a prudent man, while unscrupulousness and deceit are for the fool and the slave, for he observes that among the wild beasts also it is the most cowardly and ignoble which surpass all the rest in lying and deceiving.

enemies and terrifies his friends and kin. The mild and gentle king, however, spares the lives of those who appeal to his mercy, as well as that of him who obeys.” Arnim rejects the first sentence as part of the interpolation.
27 Φιλότιμος δὲ ὅν τὴν φύσιν καὶ εἰδῶς ὅτι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πεφύκασιν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ τιμᾶν, ἢττον ἐπιτίθει τιμάσθαι ἀν ὑπὸ ἥκοντων ἡ παρὰ μισοῦντων φιλίας τυγχάνειν.

Καὶ πολεμικὸς μὲν οὕτως ἔστιν ὡς ἕπ᾿ αὐτῷ εἶναι τὸ πολέμειν, εἰρημικὸς δὲ οὕτως ὥς μηδὲν ἀξίομαχον αὐτῷ λείπεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε οἴδεν, ὅτι τοὺς κύλλοςτα πολεμείν παρε-σκευασμένοις, τοῦτοις μᾶλλον ἔξεστιν εἰρήμην ἀγείν.

28 Φιλέταιρος δὲ καὶ φιλοπολίτης καὶ φιλοστρατιώτης ὁμοίως πέφυκεν· ὥστε μὲν γὰρ ὑπερόπτης τῶν στρατευμένων καὶ οὐδεπότοτε ἢ σπανίως ἑώρακε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς κωδι-κεύοντας καὶ πονοῦντας, τῶν δὲ ἀνόνητον ἡ ἀνοπλών ὄχλον διατελεῖ θωπεύων, ὡμοίων γε πέπονθε καθάπερ εἰ ποιμὴν τοὺς συμφυλάτ-τοντας αὐτῷ ἄγνοια καὶ μήτε τροφὴν αὐτοῖς ὀρέγοι μήτε συναγρυπνήσειε ποτε φυλάττουσιν· οὕτος γὰρ οὐ τὰ θηρία μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς κύνας ἀναπείθει μὴ ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ποίμνης. ὥστε δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατιῶτας διαθρύππει, μήτε γυμνάξων μήτε πονεῖν παρακελεύομενος, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἡμέλησιν, ὡμοίως ἔστι κυβερνήτη καὶ μὲν ναῦτας διαφθείροντι πλησιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ δὲ ἡμέρας, τῶν δὲ ἐπιβατῶν καὶ τῆς νεώς ἀπολλυμένης οὐδὲν φροντίζομεν. εἰ δὲ τὸς πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα ἔχοι μετρίως, τοὺς δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶ καὶ φίλους καλουμένους ἀτεμάζοι τε καὶ μὴ σκοποῖ τοῦτο, ὡπως δόξους μακάροι καὶ ἐξελωτοῖ πᾶσι, λανθάνει προδότης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑγνώμενος, τοὺς μὲν οὕτως φίλους
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Though naturally covetous of honour, and knowing that it is the good that men are prone to honour, he has less hope of winning honour from the unwilling than he has of gaining the friendship of those who hate him.

He is warlike to the extent that the making of war rests with him, and peaceful to the extent that there is nothing left worth his fighting for. For assuredly he is well aware that they who are best prepared for war have it most in their power to live in peace.

He is also by nature fond of his companions, fellow-citizens, and soldiers in like measure; for a ruler who is suspicious of the military and has never or rarely seen those who face peril and hardship in support of his kingdom, but continually flatters the unprofitable and unarmed masses, is like a shepherd who does not know those who help him to keep guard, never proffers them food, and never shares the watch with them; for such a man tempts not only the wild beasts, but even his own dogs, to prey upon the fold. He, on the contrary, who pampers his soldiers by not drilling them or encouraging them to work hard and, at the same time, evinces no concern for the people at large, is like a ship-captain who demoralizes his crew with surfeit of food and noonday sleep and takes no thought for his passengers or for his ship as it goes to ruin. And yet if one is above reproach in these two matters, but fails to honour those who are close to him and are called his friends, and does not see to it that they are looked upon by all men as blessed and objects of envy, he becomes a traitor to himself and his kingdom ere he is aware by

\[1 \text{ ἄνδρητον Reiske: ἄνδρητον.}\]
\[2 \text{ μὲν after τοὺς deleted by Reiske.}\]

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ἀθύμους ποιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μηδένα ἐδών 1 ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλίας, ἀποστερῶν δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ὀφελιμωτάτου κτήματος, φιλίας.
31 τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀοκῦντερος πονεῖν, ὅταν τούτου καιρὸς ἤ, φίλου; τίς δὲ συγχαίρειν ἑτοιμότερος εἰν ταῖς εὐνυχίαις; οὐ παρὰ τίνος δὲ ἐπαινοῦμεν ἡδίων ἢ τῶν φίλων; παρὰ τίνος δὲ τάληθες ἀλυπότερον; τίς δὲ φρουρά, ποῖα δὲ ἐρύματα, ποῖα δὲ ὅπλα βεβαιότερα καὶ κρείττων τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν εὐνοούντων φυλακῆς; οὗτοι γὰρ ἂν τις ἡ κεκτημένος ἑταίρους, τοσοῦτοι μὲν ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡ βούλεται ὅρᾳ, τοσαῦται δὲ ἀκοαῖς ἢ δεὶ ἄκοιται, τοσαῦται δὲ διανοίας διανοεῖται περὶ τῶν συμφέροντων. διαφέρει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡ εἰ τῷ θεῷ ἡν χώμα ἔχοντι πολλὰς ψυχὰς ἐδωκεν ἀπάσας ὑπὸ ἑκείνου προνοούμενας.
32 "Ἰνα δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἀφεῖς εἴπω τὸ φανερώτατον σημεῖον, τοιούτος ἔστιν ὁ χρηστὸς βασιλεύς, οὗ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ἐπαινοῦντες οὐτε τῶν παρόντων χρόνου οὔτε τῶν ὑστεροῦν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ τῶν παρὰ τῶν βαναύσων καὶ ἀγοραίων ἀγαπᾷ ἐπαινοῦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ γενναίων, οἷς οὐκ ἄξιον ζῆν.
34 ψευσαμένοις, τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν μακαρίσει τὸν τοιούτον ἄνδρα τε καὶ βίον; ποθεν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔλθοιεν ἐπ’ ἐκείνον ὑψόμενοι τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπολαύσοντες τῆς καλῆς διανοίας καὶ ἀγαθῆς; τί μὲν σεμνότερον θέαμα γενναίου καὶ φιλοπόνου βασιλεῶς; τί δὲ ἡδίου ἡμέρου καὶ προσφιλοῦς, πάντας μὲν εὐ ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντος, ἀπαντᾶς δὲ δυναμένου; τί δὲ λυσιτελέστερον ἵσου καὶ δι-

1 ἐδών Cappes: ἐδών in W.
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disheartening those who are his friends and suffering nobody else to covet his friendship and by robbing himself of that noblest and most profitable possession: friendship. For who is more indefatigable in toil, when there is occasion for toil, than a friend? Who is readier to rejoice in one's good fortune? Whose praise is sweeter than that of friends? From whose lips does one learn the truth with less pain? What fortress, what bulwarks, what arms are more steadfast or better than the protection of loyal hearts? For whatever is the number of comrades one has acquired, so many are the eyes with which he can see what he wishes, so many the ears with which he can hear what he needs to hear, so many the minds with which he can take thought concerning his welfare. Indeed, it is exactly as if a god had given him, along with his one body, a multitude of souls all full of concern in his behalf.

But I will pass over most of the details and give the clearest mark of a true king: he is one whom all good men can praise without compunction not only during his life but even afterwards. And yet, even so, he does not himself covet the praise of the vulgar and the loungers about the market-place, but only that of the free-born and noble, men who would prefer to die rather than be guilty of falsehood. Who, therefore, would not account such a man and such a life blessed? From what remote lands would men not come to see him and to profit from his honourable and upright character? What spectacle is more impressive than that of a noble and diligent king? What can give greater pleasure than a gentle and kindly ruler who desires to serve all and has it in his power so to do? What is more profitable than an
καίον; τίνος μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος ἀσφαλέστερος ἢ ὁ πάντες ὡμοίως φυλάττουσιν; τίνος δὲ ἡδίων ἢ τοῦ μηδένα ἐχθρὸν ἡγουμένου; τίνος δὲ ἀλυπότερος ἢ τοῦ μηδέν ἔχοντος αὐτὸν αἰτιώσασθαι; τίς δὲ εὐπυχέστερος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὡς εἰς ἀγαθὸς ὅπως οὐδένα λαϊθάνει;

36 Ἥγῳ μὲν οὖν ἀπλῶς εἴπον τὰ περὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν βασιλέα. τούτων δὲ ἐὰν τι φαίνεται προσήκειν σοι, μακάριος μὲν αὐτὸς τῆς εὐγνώμονος καὶ ἁγαθῆς φύσεως, μακάριοι δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ συμμετέχοντες.

37 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ νῦν εἰρημένου λόγου ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν διελθεῖν περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ πρῶτου βασιλέως καὶ ἀρχοντος, ὃν χρῆ μιμουμένους ἄει τούς θυντοὺς καὶ τὰ τῶν θυντῶν διεποντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὡς δυνατὸν ἔστων εὐθύνωντας καὶ ἀφομοιοῦντας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁμήρος διοτρεφέας εἶναι φησὶ τοὺς ἀληθῶς βασιλέας καὶ Διὰ τὴν βουλὴν ὡμοίως, καὶ τὸν Μίνω, μεγίστην ἔχοντα δόξαν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη, τοῦ Διῶς ὀμιλητὴν ἡφη γενέσθαι. καὶ σχέδια ὅσοι πῶς τε ἑκατοντεύς ἐν Ἑλληνικὴν ἡ βαρβάρως γεγονασὶ βασιλείς οὐκ ἀνάξιοι τυγχάνειν ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου μαθητάς τε καὶ ξηλωτάς ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνεται. Ζεὺς γὰρ μόνος θεῶν πατὴρ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπουρομάζεται καὶ Πολιεὺς καὶ Φιλίδος τοῖς καὶ Ἑλείρειος καὶ Ὀμόγνιος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἰκέσιος τε καὶ Φύξιος καὶ Ἐνίως καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις ἔχων, πάσας ἁγαθὰς καὶ ἁγαθῶν αἰτίας. βασιλεὺς μὲν

1 Trajan is meant. 2 In Iliad 2, 196 for example.
equitable and just king? Whose life is safer than his whom all alike protect, whose is happier than his who esteems no man an enemy, and whose is freer from vexation than his who has no cause to blame himself? Who is more fortunate, too, than that man whose goodness is known of all?

In plain and simple language I have described the good king. If any of his attributes seem to belong to you,\(^1\) happy are you in your gracious and excellent nature, and happy are we who share its blessings with you.

It was my purpose, after finishing the description of the good king, to discuss next that supreme king and ruler whom mortals and those who administer the affairs of mortals must always imitate in discharging their responsibilities, directing and conforming their ways as far as possible to his pattern. Indeed, this is Homer’s reason for calling true kings “Zeus-nurtured”\(^2\) and “like Zeus in counsel”;\(^3\) and Minos, who had the greatest name for righteousness, he declared was a companion of Zeus.\(^4\) In fact, it stands to reason that practically all the kings among Greeks or barbarians who have proved themselves not unworthy of this title have been disciples and emulators of this god. For Zeus alone of the gods has the epithets of “Father” and “King,” “Protector of Cities,” “Lord of Friends and Comrades,” “Guardian of the Race,” and also “Protector of Suppliants,” “God of Refuge,” and “God of Hospitality,” these and his countless other titles signifying goodness and the fount of goodness.\(^5\)

\(^{1}\) Ibid., 2. 169 and 407 for example, where Odysseus is called Δι αυτῶν ἀλαντος.
\(^{2}\) Odyssey 19. 170.
\(^{3}\) Compare Discourse 12. 75.
κόσμος, ὁμοίως μὲν ἰδιότης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀρχων ὄνομαζόμενος· πολὺ δὲ μείζων καὶ φανερω-τέρα πάσιν ἢ παρὰ τού ἀρχοντος πλημμέλεια.

44 ὦσπερ οὖν ὁςοι στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ ἀρχοντες στρατοπέδων καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἑθῶν, ὡστε ἂν τὸν σὸν μάλιστα μιμῆται τρόπον καὶ τοὺς σοὶς ἥθεσιν ὁμοίων αὐτῶν ὡς δυνατὸν φαίνηται παρέ-χων, οὕτως ἄν εἴη σοι πάντων ἐταιρότατος καὶ προσφιλέστατος· εἰ δὲ τις ἐναντίος καὶ ἀνόμων σφίγνοιτο, ἐκαίως ἄν τυγχάνοι μέμψεώς τε καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ αὐτής γε τῆς ἀρχῆς ταχύ παυθεῖς, παραχωρήσειεν ἑτέροις ἀμένωσί τε καὶ ἀμενων

45 δυναμένοις διοικεῖν ὦτω δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ἀτε οἷμαι παρὰ τοῦ Δίος ἑχόντων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν, δς μὲν ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνων βλέπων πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Δίος νόμον τε καὶ θεσμὸν κοσμή καὶ ἀρχὴ δικαίως τε καὶ καλῶς, ἀγαθῆς τυγχάνει

46 μοῖρας καὶ τέλους ἐνυχύνοις· δς δ' ἂν παραβῆ καὶ ἀτιμία ς τὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα ἢ δόντα τὴν ἀθρεάν ταύτης, οὐδὲν ἄπώνυμο τῆς πολλῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον ὅσον φανερῶς πάσι γενέσθαι τοῖς καθ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ὑστερον ποιηροσ καὶ ἀκόλαστος ὅν, τὸν μυθεῦμενον Φαέθοντος ἀναπληρώσας πότμον, ἀτε ἵσχυρον καὶ θείον παρὰ μοῖραν ἐπιβᾶς ἁρματος,

47 οὖχ ἱκανὸς ὡν ἦνωχος. λέγει δὲ καὶ Ὡμηρος ὁδὲ πῶς·

ὅσ μὲν ἀπηνής αὐτὸς ἦ καὶ ἀπηνέα εἰδη, τῷ δὲ καταρωνται πάντες βροτος ἄλγεος ὀπίσω ἔως, ἀτάρ τεθνεδί γ' ἐφεξισώμεται ἀπαντές· ὅσ δ' ἂν ἀμύμων αὐτὸς ἦ καὶ ἀμύμωνα εἰδη,
disorderly, whether he be called a private citizen or a ruler, although the offence on the part of the ruler is far greater and more evident to all. Therefore, just as among generals and commanders of legions, cities or provinces, he who most closely imitates your ways and shows the greatest possible conformity with your habits would be by far your dearest comrade and friend, while he who showed antagonism or lacked conformity would justly incur censure and disgrace and, being speedily removed from his office as well, would give way to better men better qualified to govern; so too among kings, since they, I ween, derive their powers and their stewardship from Zeus, the one who, keeping his eyes upon Zeus, orders and governs his people with justice and equity in accordance with the laws and ordinances of Zeus, enjoys a happy lot and a fortunate end, while he who goes astray and dishonours him who entrusted him with his stewardship or gave him this gift, receives no other reward from his great authority and power than merely this: that he has shown himself to all men of his own time and to posterity to be a wicked and undisciplined man, illustrating the storied end of Phaethon, who mounted a mighty chariot of heaven in defiance of his lot but proved himself a feeble charioteer. In somewhat this wise Homer too speaks when he says:

“Whoso bears
A cruel heart, devising cruel things,
On him men call down evil from the gods
While living, and pursue him, when he dies,
With scoffs. But whoso is of generous heart

1 Wilamowitz would delete πρὸς.
Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμόν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἡδιστα καὶ προθυμότατα τοῦτον εὐποιήν ἂν τὸν λόγον, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δίως καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείων ἐστὶ πάντως τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ δεόμενος ἀποδείξεων ἀκριβεστέρων, αὐθέντες ποτε ἱστος γένοιτ' ἂν σχολὴ διελθεῖν αὐτὸν. εἰ δὲ ἄρα μῦθον ἐθέλεις τινὰ ἀκοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔρων καὶ ψυχῆ λόγον σχῆματι μῦθον λεγόμενον, τυχόν οὐκ ἀτοπὸς σοι φανήσεται, νῦν τε καὶ ὑστερον ἐνθυμομένω κατὰ σαυτὸν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ποτὲ ἤκουσα γυναικὸς Ἡλείας ἢ Ἀρκαδίας ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέους διηγομένης.

'Ὡς γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ποτὲ ἀλώμενος—καὶ πολλὴν γε χάριν οίδα τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι με οὐκ εἰάσαν θεατὴν γενέσθαι πολλῶν καὶ ἄδικων πραγμάτων—ἐπήρειν δ' οὖν ὡς ἐδυνάμην πλείστην γῆν ἐν ἁγύρτου σχῆματι καὶ στολῇ, τοῦτο μὲν παρ' Ἑλληνας, τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ βαρβάρους, αἰτίξων ἀκόλουθοι, οὐκ ἄρας οὔδ' ἄκολος.

καὶ δὴ ποτε ἄφικόμενος εἰς Πελοπόννησον ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν οὐ πάνυ προσήκειν, περὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν διέτριβον, ἀτε πολλὴν ἱστορίαν ἔχουσαν, νομεύσαι καὶ κυνηγέταις, γενναῖοις τε καὶ ἄπλοις

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1 πάντως Schenkl: παρτός.

1 Odyssey 19: 329–34.
2 An allusion to the tyranny of Domitian, by whom Dio was banished.
THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

And harbours generous aims, his guests proclaim
His praises far and wide to all mankind,
And numberless are they who call him good." ¹

For my part, I should be most happy and eager, as
I have said, to speak on this subject—on Zeus and the
nature of the universe. But since it is altogether
too vast a theme for the time now at my command
and requires a somewhat careful demonstration,
perhaps in the future there may be leisure for its
presentation. But if you would like to hear a myth,
or rather a sacred and withal edifying parable told
under the guise of a myth, perhaps a story which I
once heard an old woman of Elis or Arcadia relate
about Heracles will not appear to you out of place,
either now or hereafter when you come to ponder
it alone.

Once when I chanced to be wandering in exile—and
great is my gratitude to the gods that they thus
prevented my becoming an eye-witness of many an
act of injustice ²—I visited as many lands as possible,
at one time going among Greeks, at another among
barbarians, assuming the guise and dress of a vagabond beggar,

"Demanding crusts, not caldrons fine nor
swords."³

At last I arrived in the Peloponnesus, and keeping
quite aloof from the cities, spent my time in the
country, as being quite well worth study, mingling
with herdsmen and hunters, an honest folk of simple

³ Odyssey 17. 222; the goatherd Melanthius is taunting
Odysseus, who, dressed as a beggar, is on his way to his
home. Swords and bowls were honourable gifts for noble
strangers.
56 ἀλλοίς ἄνθρώποις. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, οὐχ ὡς περὶ 
οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐνθέων ἄνδρῶν καὶ 
γυναικῶν, ἀσθμαίνοντα καὶ περιθυμοῦσα τὴν 
κεφαλὴν καὶ πειρωμένη δεινὸν ἐμβλέπει, ἀλλὰ 
πάντων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ σωφρόνως.

Συμβαλεῖς δὲ, ἐφη, ποτὲ ἄνδρι 1 καρτερᾷ, 
πλείστης ἄρχωντι χώρας καὶ ἄνθρώπων τούτω 
μήποτε οἰκήσῃς εἰπεῖν τόνδε τὸν μύθον, εἴ καὶ 
σου καταφρονεῖν τινες μέλλοιεν ὡς ἀδολέσχου 
57 καὶ πλάνητος. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρώπων λόγοι καὶ τὰ 
πάντα σοφίσματα οὐδενὸς ἀξία πρὸς τὴν παρὰ 
τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτυχοῖαν καὶ φήμην. ὦσοι γὰρ ποτὲ 
σοφοὶ καὶ ἀληθεῖς κατ' ἄνθρώποις λόγοι περὶ 
θεῶν τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος, οὐκ ἄνευ θείας τε 2 
βουλήσεως καὶ τύχης ἐν ψυχῇ ποτὲ ἄνθρώπων 
ἐγένοτο διὰ τῶν πρώτων μαντικῶν τε καὶ θείων
58 ἄνδρῶν. οὗτοι ἐν Ἐβραϊκῇ τινὰ λέγουσιν Ὁρφέα 
γενέσθαι, Μούσης υἱόν, ἄλλον δὲ ποιμένα ἐν 
ὅραι τινὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας αὐτῶν ἀκούσαι τῶν 
Μουσῶν· ὦσοὶ δὲ ἄνευ δαιμονίων κατοχῆς καὶ 
ἐπιτυχοίς λόγοις τινὰς ὡς ἀληθεῖς παρ' αὐτῶν 
ἐκόμισαν εἰς τὸν βίον, ἄτοποι καὶ πονηροὶ. 3

4 Λακωνεῖ δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ μύθου σφόδρα ἐγγηγορῶς 
τε καὶ τὸν νοῦν προσέχων, ὅπως διαμνημονεύς 
ἀπαγγέλησι πρὸς ἐκείνου ὃ φημὶ σε συμβαλεῖν. 
ἐστι δὲ περὶ τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ', ὃ νῦν ἐσμεν.
59 ἢν μὲν γὰρ, ὅσα πάντες λέγομεν, Δίος νῦσ ἐξ 
Ἀλκιμῆνης. βασιλεῖς δὲ οὗ μοῦν Ὀργαύσε, ἄλλα 
καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης. (τοῦτο δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ 
οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἅπεδημεῖ στρατευό-

1 te after ἄνδρι deletet by Reiske.
2 te Reiske: ποτὲ.
3 ἄτοποι καὶ πονηροὶ Schwartze: ἄτόπους καὶ πονηροὺς.
THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

The manner of her prophesying was not that of most men and women who are said to be inspired; she did not grasp for breath, whirl her head about, or try to terrify with her glances, but spoke with entire self-control and moderation.

"Some day," she said, "you will meet a mighty man, the ruler of very many lands and peoples." Do not hesitate to tell him this tale of mine even if there be those who will ridicule you for a prating vagabond. For the words of men and all their subtleties are as naught in comparison with the inspiration and speech due to the promptings of the gods. Indeed, of all the words of wisdom and truth current among men about the gods and the universe, none have ever found lodgment in the souls of men except by the will and ordering of heaven and through the lips of the prophets and holy men of old. For instance, they say there once lived in Thrace a certain Orpheus, a Muse's son; and on a certain mountain of Boeotia another, a shepherd who heard the voices of the Muses themselves. Those teachers, on the other hand, who without divine possession and inspiration have circulated as true stories born of their own imaginings are presumptuous and wicked.

"Hear, therefore, the following tale and listen with vigilance and attention that you may remember it clearly and pass it on to that man whom I say you will meet. It has to do with this god in whose presence we now are. Heracles was, as all men agree, the son of Zeus and Alcmene, and he was king not only of Argos but of all Greece. (Most people, however, do not know that Heracles was continually absent

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1 Trajan. 2 Linus, who was worshipped on Mount Helicon in Boeotia. Virgil (Eclogue 4. 55-6) and Apollodorus (Bibliotheca 1.3.2) also couple the names of Orpheus and Linus.
 Dio Chrysostom

μενος καὶ φυλάττων τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ Εὐρυσθέα φασὶ βασιλεύειν τότε.1 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν λέγεται
60 μάτην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.) ἐκείνος δὲ οὐ μόνον τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἢν βασιλεύσει, ἀλλὰ ἀπ’ ἀνίσχυρος
ηλίον μέχρι δυσμένου πάσης ἡρχε γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων παρ’ οἷς ἑρά ἔστιν Ἰρα-
61 κλέους. ἦν δὲ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἀπλῶς, οὐ πολυτρόπος οὐδὲ περιπτώς σοφίσματι καὶ παν-
ουργήμασιν ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων.

Δέγουσι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ Ἰρακλέους, ὡς ἀγνώρις ἤσει μόνον ἔχων λεοντῆς καὶ μόσαλοι.
62 τούτῳ δὲ οὕτως λέγουσιν, ὅτι ἐκείνος οὕτε χρυσίων οὕτε ἄργυριον οὕτε ἐσθήτα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο,
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνόμιζε τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξία πλὴν ὅσον δοῦναι καὶ χαρίσασθαι. πολλοὶς
γούν οὐ μόνον χρήματα ἄπειρα καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀγέλας ἵππων καὶ βοῶν, ἀλλὰ βασιλείας καὶ
πόλεις ὅλας ἐδωρήσατο. ἐπίστευε γὰρ αὐτοῦ
63 τάντα εἶναι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον, προσγενήσεσθαι2 δὲ τοὺς δοθεῖσαι τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν λαβόντων. οὐ
τοῖνυν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἀληθὲς φασιν, ὅτι δὴ περὶ μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς. οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν πόλεις
tε ἔξαιρειν καὶ τυράννους ἀνθρώπους καταλύειν καὶ πάσι πανταχοῦ προστάτευσιν χωρὶς δυνά-

64 καὶ μὴν ὅ γε πατήρ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν

1 The passage in its present corrupt state does not yield the required sense. Cattoon suggests ὅτε for ἀλλ’ and ἀλλ’
for ὅ δὲ; Capps would simply delete ἀλλ’. After τότε the
from Argos because he was engaged in making expeditions and defending his kingdom, but they assert that Eurystheus was king at this time. These, however, are but their idle tales.) And he was not only king of Greece, but also held empire over every land from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof, aye, over all peoples where are found shrines of Heracles. He had a simple education too, with none of the elaboration and superfluity devised by the unscrupulous cleverness of contemptible men.

"This, also, is told of Heracles: that he went unclothed and unarmed except for a lion’s skin and a club, and they add that he did not set great store by gold or silver or fine raiment, but considered all such things worth nothing save to be given away and bestowed upon others. At any rate he made presents to many men, not only of money without limit and lands and herds of horses and cattle, but also of whole kingdoms and cities. For he fully believed that everything belonged to him exclusively and that gifts bestowed would call out the good-will of the recipients. Another story which men tell is untrue: that he actually went about alone without an army. For it is not possible to overturn cities, cast down tyrants, and to dictate to the whole world without armed forces. It is only because, being self-reliant, zealous of soul, and competent in body, he surpassed all men in labour, that the story arose that he travelled alone and accomplished single-handed whatsoever he desired.

"Moreover, his father took great pains with him,

MSS. have ὃς Ἰν πάντων φιλοπονώτατος καὶ πολὺ κρείττων τῶν ἐκεί, deleted by Kayser.

2 προσγενήσεθαι Σαρρα: προσγενέσθαι.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

65 μαντικῆς ἔκαστα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα βουλόμενον ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, οὐ τῶν ἠδονῶν οὐδὲ τῶν πλεονε-ξίων ἐπιθυμοῦντα, οὐ ἔνεκεν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτου 1 ἔρωσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστα καὶ πλεί-στοις εἰς ποιεῖν, ἐπιστάμενοι ἄυτοι γενναίαν σύσαν τὴν φύσιν, ὡμος δὲ ὑπονοοῦ ὧσον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ θυντὸν καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ παραδείγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις πονηρὰ εἰς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας καὶ πολλοὶ παρατρέπουσιν ἀκούστα τὸν πεφυκότα ὀρθῶς ἔξω τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως τε καὶ γνώμης—
tαύτα λογιζόμενος Ἐρμῆν ἔπεμψε, κελεύσας ἄ
dει ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ὁἰβας, ἐνθα
νέος ὡς ἐτρέφετο Ἡρακλῆς, ἔφραζε τε ὅς εἰη
cαὶ παρ’ ὅτον πεμφθεῖς, καὶ ἀγεὶ λαβὼν αὐτῶν
ἀφραστον καὶ ἅβατον ἀνθρώπος ὄδον, ἔως ἦλθεν
emptioni τινα ὑπεροχήν ὄρος περιφανής· καὶ σφόδρα
ψυχήν, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν δεινῶς ἀπότομον κρημνοῖς
ὀρθίως καὶ βαθεία φάραγγι ποταμοῦ κύκλῳ περι-
ρέωτος, πολὺν ψόφον τε καὶ ἥχον ἀναδιδόντος,
ὡς τοῖς κάτωθεν ἀναβλέποισι μίαν ὀρᾶσθαι τὴν
ἄνω κορυφήν, τὰ δὲ ἄλθες ἤν δίδυμος ἐκ μιᾶς
66 ρίζῃς, καὶ πολὺ γε ἅλληλων διεστήκασι. ἐκα-
λεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν βασίλειος ἀκρα, ἰερὰ
Δίως βασίλειος, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τυραννικῆ, Τυφώνος
ἐπώνυμος. δύο δὲ εἰχὼν ἔξωθεν ἐφόδους εἰς
αὐτάς, μίαν 2 ἐκατέρα, ἡ μὲν βασίλειος ἀσφαλή

1 τοῦτον Empirius: πλούτου.
2 μίαν added by Reiske.
implanting in him noble impulses and bringing him into the fellowship of good men. He would also give him guidance for each and every enterprise through birds and burnt offerings and every other kind of divination. And when he saw that the lad wished to be a ruler, not through desire for pleasure and personal gain, which leads most men to love power, but that he might be able to do the greatest good to the greatest number, he recognized that his son was naturally of noble parts, and yet suspected how much in him was mortal and thought of the many baneful examples of luxurious and licentious living among mankind, and of the many men there were to entice a youth of fine natural qualities away from his true nature and his principles even against his will. So with these considerations in mind he despatched Hermes after instructing him as to what he should do. Hermes therefore came to Thebes, where the lad Heracles was being reared, and told him who he was and who had sent him. Then, taking him in charge, he led him over a secret path un trodden of man till he came to a conspicuous and very lofty mountain-peak whose sides were dreadfully steep with sheer precipices and with the deep gorge of a river that encompassed it, whence issued a mighty rumbling and roaring. Now to anyone looking up from below the crest above seemed single; but it was in fact double, rising from a single base; and the two peaks were far indeed from each other. The one of them bore the name Peak Royal and was sacred to Zeus the King; the other, Peak Tyrannous, was named after the giant Typhon. There were two approaches to them from without, each having one. The path that led to Peak Royal was safe and broad,
ἀθόρυβον κατέχειν τὸν τόπον· ἦν ᾧ δὲ ἀπαντα
μεστὰ καρπῶν τε καὶ ἔως εὐθηνούντων ἀπὸ
παντὸς γένους. παρῆν δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς αὐτόθι
ἀπληθος σεσωρεμένος καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς
καὶ σίδηρος· οὗ μὴν ἐκείνη γε οὐδὲν τῷ χρυσῷ
προσείχεν οὐδὲ ἐτέρπετο, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῖς
καρποῖς τε καὶ ἔως.

73 Ἡδὼν οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἡδέσθη τε καὶ ἡρω-
θρίασε, τιμῶν καὶ σεβόμενος, ὡς ἂν ἄγαθός παῖς
μητέρα γενναίαν. καὶ ἠρετο τίς ἑστὶ θεῶν τῶν
Ἐρμῆν· ὦ δὲ εἰπέν, Ἀυτὴ σοι μακαρίᾳ δαίμων
Βασιλεία, Δίως βασιλέως ἐκγόνοις. ὦ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς
ἐχάρη καὶ ἐθάρρησε πρὸς αὐτὴν. καὶ αὐθαί
ἐπήρητο τὰς συν αὐτῇ γυναίκας. Τίνες εἰσίν;
ἐφη· ὡς εὐσχήμονες καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ

74 ἀρρενωποί. Ἡδὲ μὲν, ἔφη, σοι ἡ προσόρφος
γοργῶν τε καὶ πράον, ἐκ δεξιῶν καθημένη, Δίκη,
πλείστῳ δὲ καὶ φανερωτάτῳ λάμπουσα κάλλει.
παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐὐνομία, πάνω ὥμολα καὶ μικρὸν
διαφέροντα τὸ εἴδος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑπὶ θάτερα
μέρους γυνὴ σφόδρα ὁραία καὶ ἄβρως ἐσταλμένη
καὶ μειδίωσα ἀλυπώς. Εὐρήνην καλοῦσιν αὐτήν.
ὁ δὲ ἐγγὺς οὗτος ἐστηκὼς τῆς Βασιλείας παρ'
αὐτὸ τὸ σκήπτρον ἐμπροσθεν ἰσχυρὸς ἄνηρ,
πολίος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὗτος δὴ καλεῖται
Νόμος, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ Δώγος Ὀρθὸς κέκληται
Σύμβουλος καὶ Πάρεδρος, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδὲν ἐκείναις
πράξαι θέμις οὐδὲ διανοηθῆναι.

75 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄκουσαν καὶ ὅρῳν ἐτέρπετο καὶ
προσείχε τὸν νοῦν, ὡς οὐδέποτε αὐτῶν ἐπι-

1 ἦν Ἐμπηριος: εἶναι.
and unbroken quiet pervaded the place; everywhere were fruits in abundance and thriving animals of every species. And immense heaps of gold and silver were there, and of bronze and iron; yet she heeded not at all the gold, nor did she take delight in it, but rather in the fruits and living creatures.

"Now when Heracles beheld the woman, he was abashed and blushes mantled his cheeks, for he felt that respect and reverence for her which a good son feels for a noble mother. Then he asked Hermes which of the deities she was, and he replied, 'Lo, that is the blessed Lady Royalty, child of King Zeus.' And Heracles rejoiced and took courage in her presence. And again he asked about the women who were with her. 'Who are they?' said he; 'how decorous and stately, like men in countenance!' 'Behold,' he replied, 'she who sits there at her right hand, whose glance is both fierce and gentle, is Justice, aglow with a surpassing and resplendent beauty. Beside her sits Civic Order, who is very much like her and differs but slightly in appearance. On the other side is a woman exceeding beautiful, daintily attired, and smiling benignly; they call her Peace. But he who stands near Royalty, just beside the sceptre and somewhat in front of it, a strong man, grey-haired and proud, has the name of Law; but he has also been called Right Reason, Counsellor, Coadjutor, without whom these women are not permitted to take any action or even to purpose one.'

"With all that he heard and saw Heracles was delighted, and he paid close attention, determined

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2 ὁ Arnim, who, following Wilamowitz, unnecessarily brackets καλεῖται: ἕ.
λησόμενος. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἐπεὶ κατιόντες ἐγένοιτο κατὰ τὴν τυραννικὴν εἰσόδου, Δευρό, ἐφη, θέασαι καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν, ἢς ἐρώσει οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ περί ἡς πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, φονεύοντες οἱ ταλαίπωροι, παῖδες τε γονεύοντες πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύοντες καὶ γονεῖς παιῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφόις, τὸ μέγιστον κακὸν ἐπιποθοῦντες καὶ μακράζοντες, ἐξουσίαν μετα ἀνοίας καὶ δὴ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν εἰσόδου ἐδείκνυεν, ὡς μία μὲν ἐφαύνετο πρόδηλος, καὶ αὐτὴ σχέσει ὑποίαν πρότερον εἶπον, ἐπισφαλῆς καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν φέρουσα τῶν κρημνῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ἄδηλοι καὶ ἀφανεὶς διαδόσεις, καὶ κύκλῳ πᾶς ὑπόνομος ὁ τόπος καὶ διατετρημένος ὑπ’ αὐτὸν οἱμαί τῶν θρόνων, αἱ δὲ πάροδοι καὶ ἀγράπται πάσαι πεφυρμέναι αἵματι καὶ μεσταί νεκρῶν. διὰ δὲ τούτων οὐδεμιᾶς ἦγεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξωθέθης καθαρωτέραν, ὅτε οἱμαί θεατὴν ἐσόμενον μόνον.  

78 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον, καταλαμβάνοντι τὴν Τυραννιδα καθημένην ύψηλήν, ἐξεπιτήδες προσποιομένην καὶ ἀφομοιούσαν αὐτήν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ, πολὺ δὲ, ὡς ἐνόμιζεν, ἐν υψιλοτέρῳ καὶ κρείττων τῷ 5 θρόνῳ, μυρίας ἀλλὰς τινὰς ἔχουτι γλυφᾶς καὶ διαθέτει 6 χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἠλέκτρου καὶ ἐβένου καὶ παντοδαπῶν χρωμάτων

1 διατετρημένος Cobet: διατετρημένος.  
2 τὴν added by Capps.  
3 μόνον added by Cobet.  
4 ἐν added by Gasdine.  
5 τῷ Capps: τῷ.  
6 διαθέτει Reiske: διαθέσεις.
THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

never to forget it. But when they had come down from the higher peak and were at the entrance to Tyranny, Hermes said, 'Look this way and behold the other woman. It is with her that the majority of men are infatuated and to win her they give themselves much trouble of every kind, committing murder, wretches that they are, son often conspiring against father, father against son, and brother against brother, since they covet and count as felicity that which is the greatest evil—power conjoined with folly.'

He then began by showing Heracles the nature of the entrance, explaining that whereas only one pathway appeared to view, that being about as described above—perilous and skirting the very edge of the precipice—yet there were many unseen and hidden corridors, and that the entire region was undermined on every side and tunnelled, no doubt up to the very throne, and that all the passages and bypaths were smeared with blood and strewn with corpses. Through none, however, of these passages did Hermes lead him, but along the outside one that was less befouled, because, I think, Heracles was to be a mere observer.

"When they entered, they discovered Tyranny seated aloft, of set purpose counterfeiting and making herself like to Royalty, but, as she imagined, on a far loftier and more splendid throne, since it was not only adorned with innumerable carvings, but embellished besides with inlaid patterns of gold, ivory, amber, ebony, and substances of every colour. Her

sort of men gain power, folly is the result. Aristotle, Frag. 89, p. 1492, l. 11 (Berlin ed.) says: Τίκτει ... ἀπαθεωσία μετ᾽ ἔγουσια ἔνοιαν.—"Ignorance conjoined with power produces folly."
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

πεποικιλμένω, τὴν δὲ βάσιν οὗκ ἦν ἁσφαλὴς ὁ θρόνος οὐδὲ ἡδρασμένος, ἀλλὰ κινούμενός τε καὶ ὁκλάζων. ἦν δὲ οὔδὲ ἄλλο οὔδεν ἐν κόσμῳ διακείμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἄπαντα καὶ ἀλα-ζωείαν καὶ τρυφήν, πολλὰ μὲν σκῆπτρα, πολλὰ δὲ τιάρας καὶ διαδήματα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. καὶ δὴ μιμουμένη τὸ ἐκείνης ἡθὸς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ προσφιλοῦν καὶ ἑξειδικευόμενον, ταπεινῶν ἑσειρήματα καὶ ὑπουργίαι τῶν σεβομένων, αὐτὰ δὲ τούτων θεοῦ ὁμάδων σκυ-θρωστὸν ὑφεσσία ταῖς ἀγιρίοις. ἦν δὲ φαινότω καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὐ διαπρεποῦσα τοὺς προσιόντας, ἀλλ' ὑπερεφόρα 1 καὶ ἔτημαζαν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων πᾶσιν ἀπηχθαίνει, πάντας δὲ ἐγνώς. 2 καθη-μένη δὲ ἀπερείπετο οὐκ ἐδύνατο, θαμών τρόπον. κυκλωρικές τε καὶ ἀνεπήδη πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. τὸ δὲ χρυσίον αἰσχρότα ἐφύλαττο ἐν τοῖς κόλποις, πᾶλιν δὲ ἐρρύπεται φοβηθήσατα ἁθρόυν, εἰπ' εὐθὺς ἠρπαζον ὅ τι ἔχον τοῖς παριόντοις καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον. ἦ δὲ ἔσθης παντοδαπή, τούτῳ μὲν ἀλουργίδων, τούτῳ δὲ φωσικῶν, τούτῳ δὲ κροκοτῶν ἦςαν δὲ καὶ λευκοὶ τινὲς φαινό-μενοι τῶν πέπλων. πολλά δὲ καὶ κατέρρηκτο τῆς στολῆς. χρῶματα δὲ παντοδαπὰ ἤφθαι, φαβούμενη καὶ ἀγωνιώσα καὶ ἀπιστοῦσα καὶ ὀργιζομένη, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης ταπεινῆ, ποτὲ δὲ ὑφʼ ἡδονῆς μετέωρος ἐφώτισεν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄγκαν ἀνθρώποι πάνω ἄσελγος, πάλιν δὲ εὐθὺς ἔθρησε. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁμίλος περὶ αὐτῆς

1 ὑπερεφόρα Ruiske: ὑφεσσία.
2 Empiricus unnecessarily alters ἠγνοεῖ to ὑπενδεῖ, "regarded them with suspicion."

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throne, however, was not secure upon its foundation nor firmly settled, but shook and slouched upon its legs. And in general things were in disorder, everything suggesting vainglory, ostentation, and luxury—many sceptres, many tiaras and diadems for the head. Furthermore, in her zeal to imitate the character of the other woman, instead of the friendly smile Tyranny wore a leer of false humility, and instead of a glance of dignity she had an ugly and forbidding scowl. But in order to assume the appearance of pride, she would not glance at those who came into her presence but looked over their heads disdainfully. And so everybody hated her, and she herself ignored everybody. She was unable to sit with composure, but would cast her eyes incessantly in every direction, frequently springing up from her throne. She hugged her gold to her bosom in a disgusting manner and then in terror would fling it from her in a heap, then she would forthwith snatch at whatever any passer-by might have, were it never so little. Her raiment was of many colours, purple, scarlet and saffron, with patches of white, too, showing here and there from her skirts, since her cloak was torn in many places. From her countenance glowed all manners of colours\(^1\) according to whether she felt terror or anguish or suspicion or anger; while at one moment she seemed prostrate with grief, at another she appeared to be in an exaltation of joy. At one time a quite wanton smile would come over her face, but at the next moment she would be in tears. There was also a throng of

\(^1\) Cf. Plato, *Lysis* 222 B: \(\delta \; \varepsilon \; \text{'Iπποδίλης \ ύπο \ τῆς \ \text{̄}δομής \ παντοθαπα \ ἡπεί \ χρώματα.} \quad \text{—‘And Hippothalees’ countenance from pleasure glowed with all manner of colours.’} \)
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

γυναικῶν οὖδὲν ἐκεῖναις ὁμοίων αἷς ἔφην εἰναι περὶ τὴν Βασιλείαν, ἀλλ' Ὄμοτης καὶ "Τῆρις καὶ Ἄνομια καὶ Στάσις, αἱ πᾶσαι διεφθειρον αὐτὴν καὶ κάκιστα ἀπόλλυσιν. ἀντὶ δὲ Φιλίας Κολακεία παρῆν, δουλοπρεπὴς καὶ ἀνελεύθερος, οὕδεμιᾶς ἦττον ἐπιβουλεύουσα ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων ἀπολέσαι ζητοῦσα.

83 Ὁς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἴκανῶς τεθέατο, πυνθάνεται αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἐρμῆς πότερα αὐτοῦ ἄρεσει τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ποτέρα τῶν γυναικῶν. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν, ἔφη, θαυμάζω καὶ ἄγαπῶ, καὶ δοκεῖ μοι θεὸς ἀληθῶς εἶναι, ξῆλου καὶ μακαρισμοῦ ἄξια, ταύτην δὲ τὴν υἱότερα ἐχθρίστην ἔγνυε ἤργοῦμαι καὶ μιαρωτάτην, ὥστε ἠδιστά ἄν αὐτὴν ὁσαιμὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ σκοπέλου καὶ ἀφανίσαιμι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπηνέεσεν ὁ Ἐρμῆς καὶ τῇ Δίῳ ἐφρασεν. κάκεινος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους, ὡς ὅντι ἴκανῷ τουγαροῦν ὅπου μὲν ἔδοι τυραννίδα καὶ τύραννον, ἐκόλαξε καὶ ἀνήρει παρὰ τε Ἑλλησι καὶ ἐρβάροις ὅπου δὲ βασιλεύει καὶ βασιλεύει, ἑτίμα καὶ ἐφύλαττεν.

Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔφη: Σωτήρα εἶναι, οὐχ ὅτι τὰ θερία αὐτοῖς ἀπήμουν—πόσον γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ βλάψειε λέων

1 Reiske: τὰ πράγματα. 2 ἔφη added by Cohoon.
women about her, but they resembled in no respect those whom I have described as in attendance upon Royalty. These were Cruelty, Insolence, Lawlessness, and Faction, all of whom were bent upon corrupting her and bringing her to ignoble ruin. And instead of Friendship, Flattery was there, servile and avaricious and no less ready for treachery than any of the others, nay rather, zealous above all things to destroy.

"Now when Heracles had viewed all this also to his heart’s content, Hermes asked him which of the two scenes pleased him and which of the two women. ‘Why, it is the other one,’ said he, ‘whom I admire and love, and she seems to me a veritable goddess, enviable and worthy to be accounted blest; this second woman, on the other hand, I consider so utterly odious and abominable that I would gladly thrust her down from this peak and thus put an end to her.’ Whereupon Hermes commended Heracles for this utterance and repeated it to Zeus, who entrusted him with the kingship over all mankind as he considered him equal to the trust.¹ And so wherever Heracles discovered a tyranny and a tyrant, he chastised and destroyed them, among Greeks and barbarians alike; but wherever he found a kingdom and a king, he would give honour and protection."

This, she maintained, was what made him Deliverer of the earth and of the human race, not the fact that he defended them from the savage beasts—for how little damage could a lion or a wild

¹ Another account of the choice of Hercules is found in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* 2.1.21, and in Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.32. It is said to have been invented by the sophist Prodicus.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἡ σὺς ἁγριος;—ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς ἀνημέρους καὶ
πονηροὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκόλαξε καὶ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων
τυράννων κατέλυε καὶ ἀφηρεῖτο τὴν ἐξουσίαν.
καὶ νῦν ἔτη τούτο δρᾶ, καὶ βοηθός ἐστι καὶ
φύλαξ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔως ἄν τυχανῆς βασι-
λεύων.
THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

bear inflict?—nay, it was the fact that he chastised savage and wicked men, and crushed and destroyed the power of overweening tyrants. And even to this day Heracles continues this work and you have in him a helper and protector of your government as long as it is vouchsafed you to reign.
THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

The second Discourse on Kingship is put dramatically in the form of a dialogue between Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander, and in it the son is Dio's mouthpiece, in marked contrast to the situation in the fourth Discourse, where Diogenes—and therefore Dio—is opposed to Alexander. We are shown here the way in which the true king acts in the practical affairs of life, and the Stoic ideal, drawn largely from Homer, is set forth. Toward the end the true king is contrasted with the tyrant.

Although this Discourse is addressed to no one, von Arnim is led to conjecture from its martial tone that it was delivered before Trajan in A.D. 104 on the eve of the Second Dacian War.
2. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Β

1  Δέγεται ποτε Ἄλεξανδρον τῷ πατρὶ Φιλίππῳ μειράκιον ὅτα διαλεγχῆμαι περὶ Ὄμηρον μάλα ἀνδρείως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως: οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ λόγοι οὗτοι σχεδόν τι καὶ περὶ βασιλείας ἦσαν. ἔτυγχανε μὲν γὰρ Ὅλεξανδρος στρατευόμενος ἦδη μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, καίτοι τοῦ Φιλίππου κολύωντος· ὁ δὲ οὖχ οἷος τὸ ἦν κατέχειν αὐτόν, ὡσπερ οἱ γενναίοι σκύλακες οὐ̣χ ὑπομένουσιν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ θηρὰν ἐξιόντων, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπονται πολλάκις ἀπορρήξαντες τὰ δεσμά.

2 Ἐνίοτε μὲν οὖν ταράττοντοι εἰς τὸ ἔργον, διὰ τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν φθεγγόμενοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ θηρίον ἀνιστάντες· ἐνίοτε γὰρ 1 μὴν εἴλον αὐτοὶ προτρήδοντες· τοιαύτα ἐκεῖνος ἔπασχε τὸ πρῶτον, ὡστε καὶ τὴς ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ μάχης τε καὶ νίκης φασὶν αὐτὸν αἰτίων γενέσθαι, τοῦ πατρός ὀκνοῦντος τὸν κίνδυνον.

Τότε δὲ οὖν ἀπὸ στρατεύσας ἦκοντες ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Πιερίας ἔθνοι ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν Ὥλυμπων ἐτίθεσαν, ὅν φασιν ἄρχαίον εἶναι

1 γ' added by Reiske.

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1 In 338 B.C., when the Athenians and Boeotians were crushed.
2 The new Olympic festival, celebrated for nine days at Dium in Pieria, was founded by Archelaus (king of Macedonia, 413–399 B.C.) in honour of Zeus and the Muses. Another
THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

It is said that Alexander, while still a lad, was once conversing with Philip his father about Homer in a very manly and lofty strain, their conversation being in effect a discussion of kingship as well. For Alexander was already to be found with his father on his campaigns, although Philip tried to discourage him in this. Alexander, however, could not hold himself in, for it was with the lad as with young dogs of fine breed that cannot brook being left behind when their masters go hunting, but follow along, often breaking their tethers to do so. It is true that sometimes, because of their youth and enthusiasm, they spoil the sport by barking and starting the game too soon, but sometimes too they bring down the game themselves by bounding ahead. This, in fact, happened to Alexander at the very beginning, so that they say he brought about the battle and victory of Chaeronea ¹ when his father shrank from taking the risk.

Now it was on this occasion, when they were at Dium in Pieria on their way home from the campaign and were sacrificing to the Muses and celebrating the Olympic festival,² which is said to be an ancient account credits Philip II, father of Alexander the Great, with founding it. See Krause, Olympia, p. 215; Diodorus 17.16. It was rather the worship of the Muses that was an ancient institution in Pieria. Arrian, Anabasis 1.11.
3 παρ’ αυτοῖς. ἦρετο οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ. διὰ τι ποτε, ὃ παῖ, σφόδρα οὖτως ἐκπέπληξαι τὸν ὁμήρου διατρήσεις περὶ μόνον τῶν ποιητῶν; ἐχρήν μέντοι μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελῶς ἔχειν σοφοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔφη, Ὁτι δοκεῖ μοι, ὃ πάτερ, οὗ πάσα ποίησις βασιλεῖ πρέπειν, ὃσπερ οὐδὲ
4 στολή. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ποιήματα ἔγονε ἡγοῦμαι τὰ μὲν συμποτικὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικὰ, τὰ δὲ ἐγκόμια ἄλλητον τε καὶ ἔππων νικῶντων, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεότεροι θρίους, τὰ δὲ γέλωτος ἠλεκτρὶς ἤ λοιπορίας πεποιημένα, ὁσπερ τὰ τῶν κωμῳδοδίδασκαλόν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παρίου ποιητοῖ.
5 ἢσως δὲ τινα αὐτῶν καὶ δημοτικὰ λέγοιτ' ἂν, συμβουλεύοντα καὶ παραινοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις, καθάπερ οἴμαι τὰ Φωκυλίδου καὶ Θέαγνος· ἄφ' δὲν τί ἢν ὄφεληθηναι δύνατο ἄνηρ ἡμῖν ὅμοιος,

πάντων μὲν κρατεῖν ἔθελον, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν;
6 τὴν δὲ γε ὁμήρου ποίησιν μόνην ὅρῳ τὸ ὅντι ἑμναίαν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ βασιλικήν, ἃ πρέπει τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν ἄνδρα μᾶλιστα μὲν ἀρξεῖν μέλλοντα τῶν ὅποι ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων, εἰ δὲ μῆ, τῶν πλείστων καὶ φανερωτάτων, ἀτεχνῶς γε ἐσόμενον κατ' ἐκείνον ποιμένα λαὸν. ἄπως οὖν ἄτοπον ἔππω μὲν μὴ ἐθέλειν ἢ τῷ ἀρίστῳ κρήσθαι τῶν βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν καὶ τοῖς
7 ἡπτοσιω ἐντυγχάνειν, ὃσπερ σχολήν ἀγοντα; εὖ

1 Archilochus.
2 Iliad 1. 288, Homer's ἔθελεi being changed to ἔθελων.
THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

institution in that country, that Philip in the course of their conversation put this question to Alexander:
"Why, my son, have you become so infatuated with Homer that you devote yourself to him alone of all the poets? You really ought not to neglect the others, for the men are wise." And Alexander replied: "My reason, father, is that not all poetry, any more than every style of dress, is appropriate to a king, as it seems to me. Now consider the poems of other men; some I consider to be suitable indeed for the banquet, or for love, or for the eulogy of victorious athletes or horses, or as dirges for the dead, and some as designed to excite laughter or ridicule, like the works of the comic writers and those of the Parian poet. And perhaps some of them might be called popular also, in that they give advice and admonition to the masses and to private citizens, as, for instance, the works of Phocylides and Theognis do. What is there in them by which a man could profit, who, like you or me,

'aspires to be

The master, over all to domineer.'

The poetry of Homer, however, I look upon as alone truly noble and lofty and suited to a king, worthy of the attention of a real man, particularly if he expects to rule over all the peoples of the earth—or at any rate over most of them, and those the most prominent—if he is to be, in the strict sense of the term, what Homer calls a 'shepherd of the people.' Or would it not be absurd for a king to refuse to use any horse but the best and yet, when it is a question of poets, to read the poorer ones as though he had nothing

8 Cf. Iliad 4, 296, for example.
DIO CHRYSTOS

ἐσθι, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, ἐγώ οὐ μόνον ποιητήν ἔτερον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μέτρον ἄλλο ἢ τὸ Ὄμηρον ἥρων ἀκούν ἀνέχομαι.

Πάνν οὖν ὁ Φιλίππος αὐτὸν ἡγάσθη τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης, διὸ δῆλος ἦν οὐδὲν φαύλου οὐδὲ ταπεινοῦ ἐπινοοῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε ἦρωσι καὶ τοῖς ἠμιθέους παραβαλλόμενοι. ὃμως δὲ κινεῖν αὐτὸν βουλόμενος, Τὸν δὲ Ἡσίόδου, ὃ Ἀλέξανδρε, ὁλίγου ἄξιον κρίνεις, ἔφη, ποιητήν; Οὐκ ἐγώγε, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντός, οὐ μέντοι βασιλεύσαν οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ τίσιν μὴν; καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας, Τοῖς ποιμέσιν, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς τέκτοσι καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ποιμένας φεύσι φιλείσθαι ύπὸ τῶν Μουσών, τοὺς δὲ τέκτοσι μάλα ἐμπείρωσι παραπεὶ πηλίκου χρῆ τοῖς ἄξιοι τεμεῖν, καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς, ὀπηνικά ἀρξασθαί πίθου. Τι ὄντι; οὐχὶ ταῦτα χρήσιμα, ἔφη, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁ Φιλίππος; Ὁ εἰς ἣμῖν γε, εἶπεν, ὃ πάτερ, οὐδὲ Μακεδόνι τοῖς νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρότερον, ἦν καὶ νέμοντες καὶ γεωργοῦντες Ἰλλυρίοις ἐδούλευον καὶ Τριβάλλοις. Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν σπόρον, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦ ἁμητόν, ὁ Φιλίππος, ἀρέσκει σοι τὸν Ἡσίόδου μεγαλοπρεπῶς οὕτως εἰρημένα;

Πληθάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων ἀρχεσθ’ ἁμητοῦ, ἀρότοιο δὲ δυσόμενάων.

Πολὺ γε μᾶλλον, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὰ παρ’ Ὄμηρῳ γεωργικά. Καὶ ποῦ περὶ γεωργίας εἰρηκεν ὁ Ἡμητος; ἥρετο ὁ Φιλίππος. ἦ τὰ ἐν τῇ

1 Works and Days 368, 424, 609 f. 2 Ibid. 368, 424.
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else to do? On my word, father, I not only cannot endure to hear any other poet recited but Homer, but even object to any other metre than Homer’s heroic hexameter.”

Then Philip admired his son greatly for his noble spirit, since it was plain that he harboured no unworthy or ignoble ideas but made the heroes and demigods his examples. Nevertheless, in his desire to arouse him, he said, “But take Hesiod, Alexander; do you judge him of little account as a poet?” “Nay, not I,” he replied, “but of every account, though not for kings and generals, I suppose.” “Well, then, for whom?” And Alexander answered with a smile: “For shepherds, carpenters,¹ and farmers; since he says that shepherds are beloved by the Muses, and to carpenters he gives very shrewd advice as to how large they should cut an axle, and to farmers, when to broach a cask.”² “Well,” said Philip, “and is not such advice useful to men?” “Not to you and me, father,” he replied, “nor to the Macedonians of the present day, though to those of former times it was useful, when they lived a slave’s life, herding and farming for Illyrians and Triballians.”³ “But do you not like these magnificent lines of Hesiod about seed-time and harvest?” said Philip:

“Mark well the time when the Pleiads, daughters of Atlas, are rising;
Then begin with the harvest, but do not plough till their setting.”⁴

“I much prefer what Homer says on farm-life,” said Alexander. “And where,” Philip asked, “has Homer

¹ Neighbours of the Macedonians to the west and east respectively, and despised as barbarians.
² Works and Days 383 f.
DIO CHRYSTOSON

ἀσπίδι μμήματα λέγεις τῶν ἄροντων καὶ θεριζόντων καὶ τρυγώντων; "Ἡκιστά γε, εἴπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, άλλα ἐκείνα πολὺ μᾶλλον. οἷς ὅστε ἄμητηρες ἐναντίοι άλληλοισιν ὅμοιο ἐλαύνουσιν ἄνδρος μάκαρος καὶ ἄρουραν πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα πίπτεν τὸς Τρῶς καὶ 'Αχαιοὶ ἐπι άλληλοισι θορύβες δῆμου, οὐδ' ἔτεροι μισώντ' ὀλοοίδ φόβοιο.

11 Ταῦτα μέντοι ποιῶν "Ὀμηρος ἢττάτο ὑπὸ Ἡσιόδου, ὁ Φιλιπτός εἴπεν ὡς οὖκ ἢκήκας τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ἑλληνικω ἐπὶ τοῦ τρόποδος. 'Ἡσιόδος Μοῦσας Ἔλλων ἔνδηκεν ὑμνὸς νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θείον "Ὀμηρον;

12 Καὶ μᾶλα δικαίως, εἴπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἢττάτο οὖ ἔστ' ἐν βασιλεύσεως ἡγοῦσίτο, ἄλλα ἐν γεωργίας καὶ ἰδιώταις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φιληδόνοις καὶ μαλακοῖς. τοναγρών ἡμόνατο τῶς Εὐβοέας διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως "Ὀμηρος. Πῶς; ἢτε τοι ὀνομάσας ὁ Φιλιπτός. "Ὅτι μόνος αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιέκειρεν αἰσχιστα, κομᾶν ὀπισθεν

1 Πιδ. 11. 67–71.
2 The account of this mythical contest is found in the Ὀμηρον καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἄγαν (The Contest between Homer and Hesiod), which was composed in the time of Hadrian, but goes back to an earlier account by the rhetorician Alcidamas. It was developed out of a suggestion given in Hesiod's Works and Days 650 f. In the contest, which is supposed to have taken place at the funeral games of King Amphidamas in 56
anything to say about farming? Or do you refer to the representations on the shield of men ploughing and gathering the grain and the grapes?" "Not at all," said Alexander, "but rather to these well-known lines:

'As when two lines of reapers, face to face,
In some rich landlord's field of barley or wheat
Move on, and fast the severed handfuls fall,
So, springing on each other, they of Troy
And they of Argos smote each other down,
And neither thought of ignominious flight.'

"And yet, in spite of such lines as these," said Philip, "Homer was defeated by Hesiod in the contest. Or have you not heard of the inscription which is inscribed upon the tripod that stands on Mount Helicon?

'Hesiod offered this gift to the Muses on Helicon's mountain
When at Chalcis in song he had vanquished Homer, the godlike.'"

"And he richly deserved to be defeated," rejoined Alexander, "for he was not exhibiting his skill before kings, but before farmers and plain folk, or, rather, before men who were lovers of pleasure and effeminate. And that is why Homer used his poesy to avenge himself upon the Euboeans." "How so?" asked Philip in wonder. "He singled them out among all the Greeks for a most unseemly haircut, for he makes them wear their hair in long

Chalcis, verses of both poets, both real and made up, are brought forward. The judge makes Hesiod the victor, but the audience favours Homer.
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ἁφεῖς, ὡσπερ οἱ νῦν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἀπαλούς.

13 Καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος γελάσας, Ὅρας, ἢ ἔσ, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε, ὥστε δὲ μὴ λυπεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ποιητὰς μηδὲ τοὺς δεινοὺς συγγραφέας, ὡς κυρίους ὄντας ὤ τι βουλοῦνται περὶ ἡμῶν λέγειν. Οὐ πάντως, εἰπέ, κυρίους. τῷ γοῦν Στρατηγόρῳ ψευσαμένῳ κατὰ τὴς Ἑλένης οὐ συνήγγεικεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡσίοδος, ὁ πάτερ, δοκεῖ μοι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὡςον ἐλέησεν "Ομήρου. Πῶς λέγεις; "Ὅτι ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ἡρώων ποιήσαντος αὐτὸς ἑποίησε Γυναικῶν κατάλογον καὶ τῷ ὧν τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ὑμῆκε, παραχωρήσας ὁμῆροι τοὺς ἀνδρας ἑπανεύσαι.

14 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἢρετο ὁ Φίλιππος, Ἀλλὰ σὺ, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε, πότερον ἔλοι ἄν Ἀγαμέμνον ἢ Ἄχιλλεὺς ἢ ἐκείνων τις γεγονέναι τῶν ἡρώων, ἢ ὁ Ομηρος; Οὐ μὲντοι, ἢ ὤ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλα ὑπερβάλλειν πολὺ τῶν Ἀχιλλεᾶ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. οὐτε γὰρ σὲ χειρόνα νομίζω τοῦ Πηλέως οὔτε τῆς Φθίας ἀσθενεστέραν τὴν Μακεδόνιαν οὔτε τὸν Ὅλυμπον ἀδοξότερον ὄροι τοῦ Πηλίου φαίνει ἄν; ἄλλα μὴν οὐδὲ παῖδείας φαύλωσες ἐπιστεύχηκα ὑπ’ Ἀριστοτέλους ἢ ἐκείνου ὑπὸ Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀμύτορος, φυγάδος

1 ὤρας Arnim: λέγει οὐ ἔφη.
2 τοὺς Empirius: τοῦ.
3 ὄρος Reliske: ὄρους.

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1 Iliad 2, 542. Cf. Dio, Discourse 7. 4.
2 Apparently he accused Helen of having been married three times and of abandoning her husbands. He became blind, but regained his sight when he recanted. See Plato, Phaedrus 243A, for the story.
locks flowing down their backs,\(^1\) as the poets of
to-day do in describing effeminate boys.”

Philip laughed and said, “You observe, Alexander,
that one must not offend good poets or clever writers,
since they have the power to say anything they wish
about us.” “Not absolute power,” said he; “it
was a sorry day for Stesichorus, at any rate, when
he told the lies about Helen.\(^2\) As for Hesiod, it
seems to me that he himself, father, was not unaware
of how much inferior his powers were to Homer’s.”
“How is that?” “Because, while Homer wrote of
heroes, he composed a Catalogue of Fair Women,\(^3\)
and in reality made the women’s quarters \(^4\) the
subject of his song, yielding to Homer the eulogy
of men.”

Philip next asked him: “But as for you, Alexander,
would you like to have been Agamemnon or Achilles
or any one of the heroes of those days, or Homer?”
“No, indeed,” said Alexander, “but I should like to
go far beyond Achilles and the others. For you are
not inferior to Peleus, in my opinion; nor is Mac-
donia less powerful than Phthia;\(^5\) nor would I admit
that Olympus\(^6\) is a less famous mountain than
Pelion;\(^7\) and, besides, the education I have gained
under Aristotle is not inferior to that which Achilles
derived from Amyntor’s son, Phoenix, an exiled man

\(^1\) Fragments of this important work ascribed to Hesiod are
extant.
\(^2\) In the Greek house an especial part was reserved for the
women.
\(^3\) Country and city in the south-east of Thessaly, ruled over
by Pelous, father of Achilles.
\(^4\) The Thessalian mountain on the border of Macedonia.
\(^5\) Here Peleus wooed and won Thetis, the mother of Achilles,
and here Cheiron, the tutor of Achilles, had his cave.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἀνδρὸς καὶ διαφόρου τῷ πατρὶ. πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῦς ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπήκουεν ἑτέροις, καὶ πέμπτεται μετὰ μικρὰς δυνάμεως, οὐ κύριος ἀλλὰ ἄλλο συστρατευόμενος· ἐγώ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ποτε ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὸς βασιλευθείσην. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος μικρὸν παροξυνθεῖς, Ἀλλὰ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ γε βασιλεύῃ, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε. Οὐκ ἔγνωγε, εἰπεν‘ οὐ γάρ ὡς βασιλέως, ἀλλ’ ὡς πατρὸς ἀκοῦω σου. Οὗ ἀπὸ της καὶ θεᾶς φήσεις μιτρὸς γεγονέναι σεαυτόν, ὁπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς; εἰπεν ὁ Φίλιππος. Ἡ Ὀλυμπιάδα συμβαλείν ἄξιος Θείτιδι; καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσυχῇ μεδίασας, ἕμοι μὲν, εἰπεν, ὁ πάτερ, ἀνδρειστέρα δοκεῖ πασῶν τῶν Νηπίδων. ένταθα ὁ Φίλιππος γελάσας, Οὐκ ἀνδρειστέρα μόνον, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμικωτέρα. ἕμοι γοῦν οὐ παῦται πολεμοῦσα. παῦτα μὲν εἰν αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον ἀμα σπουδῇ ἐπαιξάτην.

Πάλιν δὲ ἦρετο αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος, 'Αλλὰ τὸν ὁμηρον οὔτω σφόδρα, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε, θαυμάξω, πῶς ὑπερορᾶς αὐτοῦ τὴν σοφίαν; 'Οτι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπιάσει κήρυκος ήδηστ' ἂν ἀκοῦσθη φθεγγομένου μέγα καὶ σαφές, οὐ μέντοι κηρύττεω ἐβουλόμην αὐτὸς ἑτέρους νικῶντας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον κηρύττεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἐποίει φαινοῦν ὅτι τὸν μὲν ὁμηρον ἐνόμισε δαιμόνιον καὶ θεῖον τῷ ὤντι κήρυκα τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑκείνους ἀθλητὰς τε καὶ ἀγωνιστὰς τῶν καλῶν ἐργῶν

1 Schwartz believes that there is a lacuna after κύριος.
2 οὔ Wilamowitz: σῦ.
and estranged from his father. Then, too, Achilles
had to take orders from others and was sent with a
small force of which he was not in sole command,
since he was to share the expedition with another.
I, however, could never submit to any mortal what-
soever being king over me.” Whereupon Philip
almost became angry with him and said: "But I am
king and you are subject to me, Alexander.” “Not
I,” said he, “for I hearken to you, not as king, but
as father.” “I suppose you will not go on and say,
will you, that your mother was a goddess, as Achilles
did,” said Philip; “or do you presume to compare
Olympias with Thetis?” At this Alexander smiled
slightly and said, “To me, father, she seems more
courageous than any Nereid.” Whereupon Philip
laughed and said, “Not merely more courageous,
my son, but also more warlike; at least she never
ceases making war on me.” So far did they both go
in mingling jest with earnest.

Philip then went on with his questioning: “If,
then, you are so enthusiastic an admirer of Homer,
how is it that you do not aspire to his poetic skill?” 1
“Because,” he replied, “while it would give me the
greatest delight to hear the herald at Olympia
proclaim the victors with strong and clear voice, yet I
should not myself care to herald the victories of
others; I should much rather hear my own pro-
claimed.” With these words he tried to make it
clear that while he considered Homer to be a mar-
vellous and truly divine herald of valour, yet he
regarded himself and the Homeric heroes as the
athletes who strove in the contest of noble achieve-

1 Referring to Alexander’s statement, § 14 f., that he would
not care to have been either Homer or one of Homer’s heroes.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

22 ἐν ἑτέρῳ τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὸ μήκος τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πολεορκίας, ἐστὶ δὲ οἷμαι διὰ τὴν ἐπιλαβοῦσαν ύστον καὶ τὴν στάσιν τῶν βασιλέων τοῦ τε Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ἀπειρικότως ἤδη πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, πρὸς δὲ αὐτούς δημιουργού τινος ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτοῖς καὶ ταράξαντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ πλῆθος ὁρμησὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ναὸς, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐμβάντες ἐβούλουντο φεύγειν, οὔτενδος δυναμένου κατασχεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐχοντος ὅτι χρῆσται τοῖς παροῦσι

23 πράγμασιν. οὐκοὺν ἐνταῦθα μόνον αὐτούς ἐδυνατῇ μετακαλέσαι καὶ μεταβάλειν Ὀδυσσέας, καὶ τέλος ἔπεισε δημηγορῶν μετὰ τοῦ Νέστορος μένειν. ὡστε τούτο μὲν τὸ έργον φανερῶς τῶν θητόρων ἐγένετο πολλὰ δ᾽ αὖ τις ἐπιδείξει καὶ

24 ἑτέρα. φαίνεται δ᾽ οὐ μόνον Ὄμηρος ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡσίωδος οὕτω φρονῶν, ὁς φιλοσοφίας τε ἀμα καὶ ρητορικῆς τῆς ἀληθοῦς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήκοι, ἐν οἷς φήσει περὶ Καλλιόπης,

ἡ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεύσειν ἀμήδοιοις ὑπηδεῖ,
δυνα τε φείσσει Διὸς κοῦραν μεγάλοιο
γεινόμενον τε ἑιδοὶ διορθεῖν βασιλῆσαι.

25 ἑπὶ μὲν οὖν ποιεῖν, δὲ πάτερ, ἡ λόγους πεζοὺς συγγράφειν ὁποῖας σὺ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ἀφ᾽ ὧν σφόδρα σὲ φασίν εὐδοκιμεῖν, οὐ πάντως ἀναγκαίον τοῖς βασιλεύσιν, εἰ μὴ ἔνεως οὕσιν

1 Thersites.
2 The Muse of oratory as well as of epic poetry.
3 Theogony 80–82.
4 Eight letters falsely attributed to him are extant. Four are addressed to the Athenians, one to the Thobans, the
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THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

of rhetorical skill. For when the Greeks had at last become faint-hearted in pursuing the campaign because the war had lasted so long and the siege was so difficult, and also, no doubt, because of the plague that laid hold of them and of the dissension between the kings, Agamemnon and Achilles; and when, in addition, a certain agitator \(^1\) rose to oppose them and threw the assembly into confusion—at this crisis the host rushed to the ships, embarked in hot haste, and were minded to flee. Nobody was able to restrain them, and even Agamemnon knew not how to handle the situation. Now in this emergency the only one who was able to call them back and change their purpose was Odysseus, who finally, by the speech he made, and with the help of Nestor, persuaded them to remain. Consequently, this achievement was clearly due to the orators; and one could point to many other instances as well. It is evident, then, that not only Homer but Hesiod, too, held this view, implying that rhetoric in the true meaning of the term, as well as philosophy, is a proper study for the king; for the latter says of Calliope,\(^2\)

\[ \text{‘She attendeth on kings august that the daughters of great Zeus}
\text{Honour and watch at their birth, those kings that of Zeus are nurtured.’} \]

But to write epic poetry, or to compose pieces in prose like those letters of yours,\(^4\) father, which are said to have won you high repute, is not altogether essential for a king, except indeed when he is young

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\(^1\) Peloponnesian allies, Aristotle, and Philip’s wife, Olympias, respectively. See Hercher, Epistolographi Graeci, pp. 461–467.
ΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΧΟΛΗΝ ἈΓΟΥΣΙΝ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ
ΕΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΣ ΔΙΑΠΟΝΗΣΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ.
ΟΥΔ' ΑΥΤ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ ἈΠΤΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΆΚΡΙ-
ΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ, ἈΠΛΑΣΤΩΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΛΩΣ ΒΙΟΘΥΝ’ ἙΝ-
ΔΕΙΚΝΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΙς ΤΟῖς ΕΡΓΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΟΠΟΥΝ ᾨΘΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΒΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ, ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΨΗΦΗΝΝ ΚΑΙ
ΑΝΔΡΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΗ ΧΑΙΡΟΝΤΑ ΕΥΘΕΙΕΙΑΙΣ,
ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΓΓΥΤΑΤΩ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΦΥΣΕΩΝ·
ΤΩΝ ΓΕ ΜΗΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΗΔΕΩΝ ΑΚΟΥΟΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΚ
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ, ΟΠΟΤΑΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ, ΩΤΕ ΟΥΚ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΩΝ
ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΟῖς ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΠΟΙΣ·
ΤΕΡΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕΙΝ ΤΟῦΝ ΒΟΥΝ
ΟΥΧ ἈΠΑΣΗ, ΤΗ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΡΕΠΕ-
ΣΤΑΤΗ, ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΙΜ’ ΑΝ ΤῼΥ ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙ-
ΛΙΚῼ ΤῼΥΝ ΨΥΧῼΝ, ΟΙῼΝ ΜΟΝΗΝ ἸΣΜΕΝ ΤῼΥΝ ὈΜΗΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤῼΥΝ. 2 ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΤΑ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΤῼΣ ΑΛΛῼ
Τῼ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΝ.

ΟΥΔΕ 3 ΓΑΡ ΜΟΥΣΙΚῼΝ, ΕΦΗ, ΠΑΣΑΝ ΜΑΝΘΑΝΕΙΝ
ΘΕΛΟΙΜ’ ΑΝ, ΑΛΛᾳ ΚΙΘΑΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΝ Ἡ ΛΥΡΑ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ
ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΝῼΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΙΑΣ, ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΟΙΜΑΙ
ΤῼΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΤΟῼΝ ΕΤΑΙΝΟΤῼ: ΟΥДΕ ΓΕ
ἌΔΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ Ἡ ‘ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΡΩΤΙΚῼ ΜΕΛΗ
ΠΡΕΠΟΥΝ ἈΝ ΕΙῼ ΤΟῼΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΙΝ, ἈΛΛῼ, ΕἴΠΕΡ
ΑΡΑ, ΤῼΝ ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΩΝ ΤΙΝΑ 4 ΖΝΙΟΝ,
ΕΑΝ Ἡ ΤῼΣ ἈΝΑΓΚΗ. ΤΥΧΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΤΟ
ΙΚΑΝΟΣ ὈΜΗΡΟΣ. Ἡ ΓΑΡ, ΕΙΠΕΝ ο ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ,
ΠΡΟΣ ΚΙΘΑΡΑΝ Ἡ ΛΥΡΑΝ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΗΣΑΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΣΟΙ

1 Lacuna noted by Arnim; ΒΙΟΘΥΝ suggested by Capps.
2 τῶν Empirius: τήν.
3 οὐδὲ Arnim: οὔτε.
4 τίνα added by Capps.

1 Plato rejects for the citizens of his ideal Republic a good
deal of the poetry that Alexander rejects for the king, but they
and has leisure, as was the case with you when, as they say, you diligently cultivated rhetorical studies in Thebes. Nor, again, is it necessary that he study philosophy to the point of perfecting himself in it; he need only live simply and without affectation, to give proof by his very conduct of a character that is humane, gentle, just, lofty, and brave as well, and, above all, one that takes delight in bestowing benefits—a trait which approaches most nearly to the nature divine. He should, indeed, lend a willing ear to the teachings of philosophy whenever opportunity offers, inasmuch as these are manifestly not opposed to his own character but in accord with it; yet I should especially counsel the noble ruler of princely soul to make poetry his delight and to read it attentively—not all poetry, however, but only the most beautiful and majestic, such as we know Homer's alone to be, and of Hesiod's the portions akin to Homer's, and perhaps sundry edifying passages in other poets."

"And so, too, with music," continued Alexander; "for I should not be willing to learn all there is in music, but only enough for playing the cithara or the lyre when I sing hymns in honour of the gods and worship them, and also, I suppose, in chanting the praises of brave men. It would surely not be becoming for kings to sing the odes of Sappho or Anacreon, whose theme is love; but if they do sing odes, let it be some of those of Stesichorus or Pindar, if sing they must. But perhaps Homer is all one needs even to that end." ¹ "What!" exclaimed Philip, "do you think that any of Homer's lines would sound well with the cithara or the lyre?" disagree as to the influence of Homer. Plato has a good deal of fault to find with him.
dio chrysostom

don év toú 'Oμήρου; kai ó 'Alèxandroç yor-
gon èmbeléfias óster per léon, 'Egò mèn, éi.pev, ó
páter, oúmai próteiçn pollà toú 'Oμήρou épòn
pros sàlpyniga ãđèsthai, mà Δί' ou tìn ánaka-
loudas, alla tìn èpotrunousan kai parake-
leuromén̄n, ouç úpto ynutikeî ou xorou yegómena
ì parbënou, allì' úpto fálagnos énoplou, polû
màllon ì tà Túrtaíon parà toîis Lákkwsin.

30 éntauðha èpînvesen ós kalràw avòtòi eînònta ó
Fíliopòs kai áξìos tou pouotou. Oúkou, ì
ò' òc, kai tòutò, òubar1 yûn èmnìòsthme, "Oμhros
éptideklwsmín. tòw yoní 'Achilléa petaị̂kheve ústè-
rízontà en tò stratopèdor tòw 'Achàiôn ouk
èkluta2 ouèè èrowtnìa mèlì ãđontà: kai toî fòsì
ge èràn àvtòi tìs Brèstìdòs. allà kîdàra mèn
xrhèstai, mà Δí' ouk òwçàmènou ouèè oukóthèn
àgagòntà 3 parà tou pátròs, allà èk tòw
laðùrôn èxèlómenon òte èîle tás Ïēbàs và tòw
'Nètìwna àpèkèteine tòw tou "Èkteros kîdèstòn.

31 tì ògè,

fòsì,

òvmòu èterpev' òeide ò' àra klèa òndòwv,
ôs ouèètopète èklänvànèsthai deón tìs årètìs ouèè
tòw euòklèon pràxèwv, ouèè pínontà ouèè ãđontà,
tòw yevnàiôn òndra và Basìlikòv, allì' àeì
diathelèw ì pràttontà àvtòi méga tì và thau-
mastòn ì mevmènèn tòw òmòwv.

1 òubar Reiske: úber oè.
2 Arnim deletes òuk èkluta before ouèè, unnecessarily.
3 àgagònta Cobet: ágontà.
And Alexander, glaring at him fiercely like a lion, said: "For my part, father, I believe that many of Homer's lines would properly be sung to the trumpet—not, by heavens, when it sounds the retreat, but when it peals forth the signal for the charge, and sung by no chorus of women or maids, but by a phalanx under arms. They are much to be preferred to the songs of Tyrtæus,¹ which the Spartans use." At this Philip commended his son for having spoken worthily of the poet and well. "And indeed," Alexander continued, "Homer illustrates the very point we have just mentioned. He has represented Achilles, for instance, when he was loitering in the camp of the Achaæans, as singing no ribald or even amorous ditties—though he says, to be sure, that he was in love with Briseis; nay, he speaks of him as playing the cithara, and not one that he had bought, I assure you, or brought from his father's house, but one that he had plucked from the spoils when he took Thebe² and slew Eëtion, the father of Hector's wife. Homer's words are:

'To sooth his mood he sang
The deeds of heroes.'³

Which means that a noble and princely man should never forget valour and glorious deeds whether he be drinking or singing, but should without ceasing be engaged in some great and some admirable action himself, or else in recalling deeds of that kind."

¹ These were elegies, exhorting the Spartans to deeds of valour, and marching songs. Due to their fire and enthusiasm, they are given a large share of credit for the final victory of the Spartans over the Messenians.
² Thebe, or Thebes, a famous ancient town in Mysia.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

32 Ταύτα δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἐπιδεικνυμένους τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐτύχανε τῶν μὲν ὁμήρου ἀγαπῶν, τοῦ Ἀχιλλέα δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐθαύμαξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξηλοτύπευ τῆς ὁμήρου ποιήσεως, ὡσπερ οἱ καλοὶ παῖδες ἐξηλοτυποῦσι τοὺς καλοὺς ἐνίοτε κριττόνων ἔραστῶν τυγχάνοντας. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ποιητῶν οὐ σφόδρα ἔφρωντικε. Στησιχόρου δὲ καὶ Πινδάρου ἐπεμνήσθη, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι μιμήτης ὁμήρου γενέσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν οὐκ ἀναξίως ἐποίησε τῆς Τροίας, τοῦ δὲ Πινδάρου διὰ τε τῆς λαμπρότητα τῆς φύσεως καὶ ὅτι τῶν πρόγονον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀμώνυμον ἐπήνεσεν Ἀλέξανδρου τὸν φιλέλληνα ἐπικληθέντα ποιήσας εἰς αὐτὸν,

ὅλβιῶν ἐπώνυμε Δαρδανιάν.

διὰ τούτο γὰρ καὶ Θήβας ὑστερον πορθῶν μόνην κατέλαπτε τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐκείνου κελεύσας ἐπιγράψαι,

Πινδάρου τοῦ μουσοποιοῦ τὴν στέγην μὴ κάστε.

ἡποῦ πολλὴν ἡπίστατο χάριν τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐγ-

1 Before τῶν the MSS. have rejected as an interpolation: τῶν δὲ Ἀγαμήμονα οὐκ ἐμακάριζεν ἡλπίζε γὰρ πολὺ πλείων ἄρξειν αὐτὸς ἢ ἀπόσων ἐκείνος. “Agamemnon, however, he did not envy, since he had hopes of ruling over a far greater number of subjects himself than the hosts over which Agamemnon had ruled.”

1 i.e. in his conversation with Philip. See above.
2 i.e. Alexander I, son of Amyntas I. He ruled from 498–454 B.C.
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In this fashion Alexander would talk with his father, thereby revealing his innermost thoughts. The fact is that while he loved Homer, for Achilles he felt not only admiration but even jealousy because of Homer’s poesy, just as handsome boys are sometimes jealous of others who are handsome, because these have more powerful lovers. To the other poets he gave hardly a thought; but he did mention 1 Stesichorus and Pindar, the former because he was looked upon as an imitator of Homer and composed a “Capture of Troy,” a creditable work, and Pindar because of the brilliancy of his genius and the fact that he had extolled the ancestor whose name he bore: Alexander, 2 nicknamed the Philhel- lene, to whom the poet alluded in the verse

“Namesake of the blest sons of Dardanus.” 3

This is the reason why, when later he sacked Thebes, 4 he left only that poet’s house standing, 5 directing that this notice be posted upon it:

“Set not on fire the roof of Pindar, maker of song.” 6

Undoubtedly he was most grateful to those who

1 Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, Pindar, Fragment 120. See also Pindar, p. 578 in L.C.L. An allusion to Alexander, or Paris, son of Priam and descendant of Dardanus, the first king of Troy.

2 In 335 B.C.

3 Arrian (Anabasis 1. 9) tells the same story without giving the inscription. He says the story is that Alexander protected the poet’s house and his descendants.

4 Cf. Milton, Sonnet 6:

The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindar the when temple and tower
Went to the ground.
κωμάξουσι μὴ φαύλωσ, οὕτως ἀγαν φιλότιμος ὄν.

34 Τι δὲ; εἶπεν ο Φιλιππος, ὁ παῖ, πάνω γὰρ ἡδέως ἄκουσθαυ τὰ τοιαύτα λέγοντος, οὐδὲ οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς ἡδονήν κεκοσμημένην χρυσὴν καὶ ἠλέκτρῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι τοῖς πολυτίμοις; Οὐδαμῷς, εἶπεν, ὁ πάτερ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον σκύλοις τε καὶ ὅπλοις πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ γε ιερὰ τοιοῦτοι κόσμοις κοσμοῦντα τοὺς θεοὺς ἑλάσκεσθαι καθάπερ ὁ Ἐκτωρ ἤξιος, προκαλούμενος τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὸ κρατήσας τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀποδώσει τοῖς συμμάχοις, τὰ δὲ ὀπλα, ἐφη, σκυλεύσω,

καὶ κρεμῶν ποτὲ νηῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτωσι.

35 τῷ παντὶ γὰρ κρείττων οὕτως κόσμος τῶν ιερῶν ἡ σμαράγδων καὶ σαρδίων καὶ ὀρύχων, οἷος ἦν ὁ Σαρδαναπάλλου περὶ Νίνων, οὐ γὰρ βασιλέως τὰ τοιαύτα φιλοτιμήματα οὐδαμῶς, ἄλλ' ἀνοήτου μὲν παίγμα κόρης, ἀκολάστου δὲ γυναικὸς.

36 οὖκον οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίους οὕτως, ἐφη, ἕξιλῳ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ πολυτελείας τῆς περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ιερὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἐπέρα αἱ πρότερον τῶν γὰρ ἀκοινήκη τὸν Μαρδονίου πολὺ σεμνότερον καὶ κρείττον ἀνάθημα ἑχούσιν καὶ τὰς Δακώνων ἀσπίδας τῶν ἐν Πύλω ποτὲ

1 κοσμούντα τοὺς θεοὺς inserted by Capps as supplying the requisite thought.

1 Iliad 7. 88.
2 A sword said to be that of Mardonius, the Persian general slain at the battle of Plataea, 479 B.C., was hung up in the
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eulogized him worthily, when he was so particular as this in seeking renown.

"Well, then, my son," said Philip, "since I am glad indeed to hear you speak in this fashion, tell me, is it your opinion that the king should not even make himself a dwelling beautified with precious ornaments of gold and amber and ivory to suit his pleasure?"

"By no means should he, father," he replied; "such ornaments should consist rather of spoils and armour taken from the enemy. He should also embellish the temples with such ornaments and thus propitiate the gods. This was Hector's opinion when he challenged the best of the Achaean, declaring that if victorious he would deliver the body to the allied host, 'but the arms,' said he, 'I shall strip off and hang them high.'"

Within the temple of the archer-god Apollo.¹

For such adornment of sacred places is altogether superior to jasper, carnelian, and onyx, with which Sardanapallus bedecked Nineveh. Indeed, such ostentation is by no means seemly for a king though it may furnish amusement to some silly girl or extravagant woman. And so I do not envy the Athenians, either, so much for the extravagant way they embellished their city and their temples as for the deeds their forefathers wrought; for in the sword of Mardonius² and the shields of the Spartans who were captured at Pylos³ they have a far grander and more excellent dedication to the gods than they have

Parthenon at Athens, where Pausanias reported having seen it. See Pausanias I. 27.

¹ In 425 B.C. during the Peloponnesian War: 292 picked Spartan troops were taken alive and brought to Athens. See Thucydides 4. 39–40.
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άλοντων ἢ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ
tὸ Ὁλυμπιαὸν ἀπὸ πλειώνων ἢ μουρίων ταλάντων.
37 Οὔκ οὖν, ἦ δ' ὃς ὁ Φίλεττος, ἐνταῦθα τὸν
"Ομηρον οὐκ ἄν ἔχοις ἐπαίνειν. τὰ γὰρ τοῦ
Ἀλκιώνος βασίλεια, ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος καὶ ησιω-
tου, διεκόσμησεν οὐ μόνον κήποις καὶ φυτοῖς
καὶ θάυμα, ὡς ἦδιστα ἐνοικείν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγάλ-
μασι χρυσοῖς. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Μενελάου
οἰκήσιν, καὶ ταύτα ἀπὸ στρατείας ἤκοινος, ἃρ
οῦ Περσικῆς τινα καὶ Μηδικῆς ἔξηγεναι, σχεδὸν
τε οὐ πολὺ ὑποδεόμεναν Σειμβάμδος ἢ Δαρείου
38 τε καὶ Ἑρέξου τῶν βασιλείων; φησὶ γοῦν,

διότε γὰρ ἡμέρα ἠγγύλη πέλεν ἡ σελήνης
δῶμα καθ' ὑψηρεφές Μενελάου κυδαλύμοιο,
χρυσοῦ τ' ἕλεκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἢ' ἐλε-
φαντος.

39 τοῖς γὰρ Τροικοῖς σκύλοις ἔχρην μᾶλλον λάμ-
πειν αὐτὸ ἢ τούτοις κατὰ τὴν σὴν διάνοιαν.
καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπισχόν, Οὐκ ἔγνως, εἴπε,
tὸν "Ομηρον ἐώσει μοι δοκῶ ἀναπολόγησαν
ὑπὸς γὰρ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Μενελάου τρόπον ἐποίησε
τὰ βασίλεια, ἣν φησὶ μόνον εἰναι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
40 μαλθακὸν αἰχμητήν. σχεδὸν γὰρ οὖν ἐνίκην
οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν μάτην ὁ ποιητής οὔτος
λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στολήν καὶ οἰκήσιν καὶ δίαιταν

1 Temple of Olympian Zeus, east of the Acropolis, some columns of which are still standing; said to have been begun by Pausistratus about 535 B.C. and finished by the Emperor Hadrian about 125–130 A.D.
2 As a talent was worth more than $1000, the cost was over $10,000,000.

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in the Propylaea of the Acropolis and in the Olympi- 

eum,\textsuperscript{1} which cost more than ten thousand talents.\textsuperscript{2} "In this particular, then," said Philip, "you could 

not endorse Homer; for he has embellished the 

palace of Alcinoüs,\textsuperscript{3} a Greek and an islander, not only 

with gardens and orchards and fountains, and thus 

made it a most charming home, but with statues 

of gold also. Nay, more, does he not describe the 

dwelling of Menelaus, for all that he had just got 

back from a campaign, as though it were some 

Persian or Median establishment, almost equalling 

the palaces of Semiramis,\textsuperscript{4} or of Darius and Xerxes? 

He says, for instance:

'A radiance bright, as of the sun or moon, 

Throughout the high-roofed halls of Atreus' son 

Did shine.'

'The sheen of bronze, 

Of gold, of silver, and of ivory.'\textsuperscript{5}

And yet, according to your conception, it should have 

shone, not with such materials, but rather with Trojan 

spoils!" Here Alexander checked him and said, "I 

have no notion at all of letting Homer go undefended. 

For it is possible that he described the palace of 

Menelaus to accord with his character, since he is 

the only one of the Achaeans whom he makes out to 

be a faint-hearted warrior.\textsuperscript{6} Indeed it is fairly clear 

that this poet never elsewhere speaks without a 

purpose, but repeatedly depicts the dress, dwelling,

\textsuperscript{2} Odyssey 7. 84–132. 
\textsuperscript{4} Famous Assyrian queen whose capital was Nineveh. 
\textsuperscript{5} Odyssey 4. 45–6, to which line 73 is tacked on somewhat 
ungrammatically. 
\textsuperscript{6} Iliad 17. 588.
 Dio Chrysostom

πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢθος πολλάκις ἀπεικάζει. διὰ τούτο τὰ μὲν ἐν Φαίαξι βασίλεια ἐκόσμησεν ἄλσει τε καὶ ὑπόρας δὲ ἐτούς καὶ κρῆνας ἀειμέρις, ἦτε δὲ μάλλον τὸ τῆς Καλυψοῦς, ἄτε ὁράσας καὶ φιλανθρώπον θεάς ἐν νησῷ καὶ άυτὴν ἀποκλισμένης τούτῳ μὲν ἄρα εὐδοκία διαφερόντως φησὶ τὴν νήσου τῶν ἡδίστων ἐν αὐτῇ καιομένων ¹ θυμιαμάτων, τούτῳ δὲ σύσκιον δεύνδροις εὐθαλέσι, κύκλῳ δὲ περὶ τὸ σπῆλαιον ἀμπέλον περιήκουσαν ὁράσας, βότρυσε βριθωμένην, ἐμπροσθεν δὲ λειμώνας ἀπαλοὺς ἀμαμμεῖς σελίνων τε καὶ ἐτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ κρῆνας τέτταρας λαμπροῦ καὶ διαφανοῦς ὕδατος πάντοσε ἀπορρέοντος, ἀτε νῦν ὑποτερκλινῶς οὐδὲ ἀνύσου τοῦ χωρίου, πάντα γάρ ταῦτα ὑπερφυὼς ἐρωτικα καὶ ήδεα, κατὰ τὸν τρόπον οἴμαι τῆς θεᾶς. τὴν δὲ γε τοῦ Μενελάου πολυχρήματον καὶ πολύχρυσον αὐλῆν, καθάπερ οἴμαι τῶν Ἀσιαγενῶν τινος βασιλέως. καὶ γάρ οὕτως ἦν οὐ μακράν τοῦ τε Ταυτάλου καὶ Πέλοπος, οὗτος οἴμαι καὶ τὸν χορὸν Εὐριπίδης εἰς τοῦτο οἰνοτόμουν πεποίηκεν ἐν τῇ προσόφῳ τοῦ βασιλέως,

Μενέλαος δὲ ²

πολύ δ' ἄβροσυνθ δήλος ὀρᾶσθαι τοῦ Ταυτάλιδαν ³ ἐξ αἵματος ἤν.

οὐ μὴν τὴν γε τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως οὐκετίσων οὐδαμῶς τούτοις ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄν ἄσφαλος ἀνθρώς πεποίηκε πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένην. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως:

¹ καιομένων added by Wilamowitz.
² Μενέλαος ἐναὶ Ευριπίδης.
³ τῶν Ταυταλίδαν Ευριπίδης.
and manner of life of people so as to accord with their character. This is why he beautified the palace of the Phaeacians with groves, perennial fruits, and ever-flowing springs; and again, with even greater skill, the grotto of Calypso, since she was a beautiful and kindly goddess living off by herself on an island. For he says 1 that the island was wonderfully fragrant with the odours of sweetest incense burning there; and again, that it was overshaaded with luxuriant trees; that round about the grotto rambled a beautiful vine laden with clusters, while before it lay soft meadows with a confusion of parsley and other plants; and, finally, that in its centre were four springs of crystal-clear water which flowed out in all directions, seeing that the ground was not on a slope or uneven. Now all these touches are marvellously suggestive of love and pleasure, and to my thinking reveal the character of the goddess. The court of Menelaus, however, he depicts as rich in possessions and rich in gold, as though he were some Asiatic king, it seems to me. And, in fact, Menelaus was not far removed in line of descent from Tantalus and Pelops; 2 which I think is the reason why Euripides has his chorus make a veiled allusion to his effeminacy when the king comes in:

‘And Menelaus,
By his daintiness so clear to behold,
Sprung from the Tantalid stock.’ 3

The dwelling of Odysseus, however, is of a different kind altogether; he being a cautious man, Homer has given him a home furnished to suit his character. For he says:

1 Odyssey 5. 55–74.
2 Tantalus, Pelops, Atreus, Menelaus.
3 Orestes 349–351.
Διό χρυσόστομο 


44 Δεὶ δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ μὲν ὡς συμβουλεύωντος καὶ παραίσθοντος ἀποδέχοσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐξηγοῦμένον μόνον, πολλὰ δὲ ὡς ὀνειδιζόντος καὶ καταγελώντος. ἔοικε γε ἡ λέξις τά συνεργός εἰς τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν διά τιταν ἱκανός εἶναι παιδεύειν ὁ Ομήρος ἡρωικήν τινα καὶ βασιλικήν τῷ ὑπηρετεύειν, ὡς τὰς Δακωνικὰς ἐστιάσεις τῶν φιλετῶν δείπνου μαθόν τα παρ᾽ ἐκείνου Λυκοῦργου νομοθετήσαι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ἐπεὶ τοῖς καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐπαινέτην ὁ Ομήρος γενέσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἢ τῆς Ἡρώδεις κομίσαι τὴν ποίησιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὸν γοῦν Διομήδην πάνυ στερεῶς κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ βύρων ἀγραύλου βοῶς, κύκλῳ περιστήσας τὰ δόρατα ὠρθὰ ἐπὶ σαυρωτήρος, οὔ κόσμου χάριν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτοιμα λαβεῖν. εὐωχεῖ γε μὴν ἀπὸ κρεῶν τοὺς ἥρωας, καὶ τούτων βεσθῶν, δὴλον ὅτι ἱσχύοις, οὔχ ἱδουὶς ἐνεκεῖν. τὸν γοῦν Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν ξυμπάντων βασιλέα καὶ πλουσιότατον βοῦν δεῖ φησὶ βύειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον καλεῖν τοὺς ἄριστους. καὶ τὸν Λάοντα μετὰ τὴν νίκην φιλονομεῖται τοῖς νότοις τοῦ βοῶς. ἱχθύων δὲ οὐδέποτε γενομένους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ

1 ge added by Emperius.
2 κατὰ Capps: καὶ.

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1 Odysseus 17. 266–268.
2 The principal meal of the day was eaten in public by the ruling classes of Sparta and Crete, in dining-halls built for the purpose. Attendance at these philitia, or phiditia, was com-
'Rooms upon rooms are there: around its court
Are walls and battlements, and folding doors
Shut fast the entrance; no man may contemn
Its strength.'

"But there are passages where we must understand the poet to be giving advice and admonition, others where he merely narrates, and many where his purpose is censure and ridicule. Certainly, when he describes going to bed or the routine of daily life, Homer seems a competent instructor for an education that may truthfully be described as heroic and kingly. Lycurgus, for instance, may have got from him his idea of the common mess of the Spartans when he founded their institutions. In fact, the story is that he came to be an admirer of Homer and was the first who brought his poems from Crete, or from Ionia, to Greece. To illustrate my point: the poet represents Diomede as reclining on a hard bed, the 'hide of an ox that dwelleth afield'; round about him he had planted his spears upright, butts downward, not for the sake of order but to have them ready for use. Furthermore, he regales his heroes on meat, and beef at that, evidently to give them strength, not pleasure. For instance, he is always talking about an ox being slain by Agamemnon, who was king over all and the richest, and of his inviting the chieftains to enjoy it. And to Ajax, after his victory, Agamemnon gives the chine of an ox as a mark of favour. But Homer never represents his heroes as partaking of fish although they are

pulsory, and they were an important factor in strengthening both the national and the class consciousness of the participants.

θαλάττη¹ στρατοπεδεύοντας, καίτοι τῶν Ἑλλήσ-
ποντῶν, ὥσπερ ἔστιν, ἰχθυόντα ἐκάστοτε
καλῶν· πάνω γάρ ὄρθως αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπειρή-
μόνευσεν ὁ Πλατών. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς μνηστήρας
ἰχθύσιν ἔστιν, σφόδρα ἄσελγεσ καὶ τρυφεροὺς
ὄντας, ἐν ἱθάκῃ καὶ ταῦτα ἑστισμένους. ὅτι
γε μὴν οὐκ ἄλλως διέξεισι ταῦτα, φανερῶς
αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνεται ποιαν τινὰ δεῖ τὴν τροφήν
εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τί γυγμομένην. ἢν γὰρ ἄν θέλῃ
ἐπαινέσαι, μενοεικέα δαίτα φήσε, τὴν οὕνειν τε
παρέχειν μένος, τούτου τινων ἵσχυν. ταῦτα δὲ
λέγει διδάσκων καὶ παραπόδων ὡς δεὶ καὶ τρα-
πέζης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθούς, ἐπεὶ τροφῆς
γε παντοῖας καὶ πολυτελείας οὐκ ἐτύχεσθεν
ἀπειρον ὡς, ὡστε τοὺς περί ταῦτα μὲν ἐπτο-
μένους Πέρσας καὶ Σύρους καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
Ἰταλιώτας καὶ Ἰωνας μὴδὲ ἠγγὺς ἐφικνεῖσθαι
τῆς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ χορηγίας καὶ ἄβροτητος.

49. Τί δὲ, εἶπεν ὁ Φίλιππος, οὐ διδώσων ἐσθήτα ὡς
οἶνον τε καλλιστὴν τοῖς ἱροσι; Νὴ Δία γε, ἢ
δὲ ὥσ,² οὐ μέντοι γυναικεῖαν οὐδὲ ποικίλην, ἀλλὰ
πορφύρα μόνον ἐκόσμησε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ
τῶν Ὀδυσσεᾶ δὲ μᾶ ἥλαίνη τῇ οἰκοθεν. οὐδὲ

¹ θαλάττη Cobet: θαλάττης.
² ὁ Ἀλδευνθρος after ὦς deleted by Capps as a gloss.

¹ Republic 404 b.
² Odyssey 20. 260 f. The fish in the streams of Asia Minor
are notorious for their poor flavour, even to this day. This
may account for Homer's contempt for fish as an article of food.
See John A. Scott in the Classical Journal, Vol. 12, p. 323 f,
and Vol. 18, p. 242 f.
³ μένος does often mean "might," but the etymology of
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encamped by the sea; and yet he regularly calls the Hellespont fish-abounding, as in truth it is; Plato has very properly called attention to this striking fact. Nay, he does not even serve fish to the suitors at their banquet though they are exceedingly licentious and luxury-loving men, are in Ithaca and, what is more, engaged in feasting. Now because Homer does not give such details without a purpose, he is evidently declaring his own opinion as to what kind of nourishment is best, and what it is good for. If he wishes to commend a feast, he uses the expression 'might-giving,' that is to say, 'able to supply might' or strength. In the passages in question he is giving instruction and advice as to how good men should take thought even for their table, since, as it happened, he was not acquainted with food of all kinds and with high living. So true is this that the peoples of to-day who have fairly gone mad in this direction—the Persians, Syrians and, among the Greeks, the Italiots, and Ionians—come nowhere near attaining the prodigality and luxury we find in Homer."

"But how is it that he does not give the finest possible apparel to his heroes?" Philip enquired. "Why, by Zeus, he does," replied Alexander, "though it is no womanish or embroidered apparel; Agamemnon is the only one that wears a purple robe, and even Odysseus has but one purple cloak that he brought from home. For Homer believes

\[\text{μενοεικής now accepted is: "gratifying the desire"; hence "abundant," "agreeable." Dio gives an incorrect etymology and meaning.}\]

4 The Greeks of Southern Italy (Magna Græcia).
5 Iliad 8. 221.
6 Odyssey 19. 225.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γὰρ οἶτει δὲ ὡς "Ὀμηρος τὸν ἡγεμόνα φαίνεσθαι ταπεινὸν οὐδὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ιδιώτας ὄμοιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στολή καὶ ὁπλίσει διαφέρει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον καὶ σεμνότερον, οὐ μὴν τρυφώντα γε οὐδὲ στουδάξοντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.1

50 τὸν γοῦν Κάρα τὸν χρυσῶν καλλωπιζόμενον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μάλα ὑβριστικῶς ἐλοιδόρησεν, εἰπὼν, δὲ καὶ χρυσῶν ἔχων πόλεμόν τιν ἣν ἦντε κούρη νήπιος, οὐδ' ἄρα οί τὸ γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὠλέθρον,

ἀλλ' εἴδώμη ύπο χερσὶ ποδόκεος Λιακίδαιο ἐν ποταμῷ χρυσῶν δ' Ἀχϊλλεὺς ἐκόμισε δαί-

51 φρον'.

καταγελῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυφῆς ἄμα καὶ ἀφ-

ροσύνης, ὅτι τοῖς πολέμοις ἅθλα ἐκόμιζε τοὺ θανάτου σχεδόν. οὐκούν φαίνεται χρυσοφορίας ἐπαινῶν ὁ Ὀμηρος, καὶ ταύτα εἰς πόλεμον, ψελίων τε καὶ στρεπτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ χρυσῶν φαλά-

ρων καὶ χαλιῶν ὁποία τοὺς Πέρσας φασὶν ἐπιτηδεύειν οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἐπιτημητὴν "Ομηρον τῶν πολεμικῶν.

52 Ἔκ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοὺς τε ἀρχοντας πεποίηκεν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐτακτον. προίασε γοῦν αὐτῷ

ὑγῆ, δειδίωτες σημάντορας,

οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου καὶ ἀτα-

ξίας, ταῖς γεράνοις ὄμοιοις ὡς τούτῳ μάλιστα σωτήριον καὶ μυκηφόρον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, τὸ μὴ

1 τὰ τοιαῦτα added by Paton.

Iliad 2. 872–875. 

II

Iliad 4. 431.
THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

that a commander should not be mean of appearance or look like the crowd of private soldiers, but should stand out from the rest in both garb and armour so as to show his greater importance and dignity, yet without being a fop or fastidious about such things. He roundly rebuked the Carian, for instance, who decked himself out for the war in trappings of gold. These are his words:

'who, madly vain,
Went to the battle pranked like a young girl
In golden ornaments. They spared him not
The bitter doom of death; he fell beneath
The hand of swift Aeacides within
The river's channel. There the great in war,
Achilles, spoiled Nomion of his gold.'

Thus he ridicules him for his folly as well as his vanity in that he practically carried to the foemen a prize for slaying him. Homer, therefore, clearly does not approve the wearing of gold, particularly on going into a battle, whether bracelets and necklaces or even such golden head-gear and bridles for one's horses as the Persians are said to affect; for they have no Homer to be their censor in affairs of war.

"By inculcating such conduct as the following, he has made his officers good and his soldiers well disciplined. For instance, he has them advance

's silently, fearing their leaders' ²

whereas the barbarians advance with great noise and confusion, like cranes,³ thus showing that it is important for safety and victory in battle that the soldiers

³ Iliad 3. 1-9; 4. 431.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

άδειες εἶναι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τούς στρατιώτας.

53 ὅσοι δ' ἀν ὁσιν ἄφοβοι τῶν σφετέρων ἀρχόντων,

οὔτω τάχιστα ἀν φοβοῦντο τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ

μέντοι καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καθ' ἡσυχίαν

φησὶ στρατοπεδεύειν· παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Τρωσίων

ἐπειδὴ τι πλεονεκτεῖν ἐδοξαν, εὐθὺς εἶναι δὲ

όλης τῆς νυκτὸς

αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπῆν ὅμαδὸν τ' ἀν-

θρῶπων

ὄς καὶ τούτῳ ἰκανὸν σημεῖον ἁρετής ἢ κακίας,

οὔτινες ἀν ἐγκρατῶς τὰς εὐτυχίας ἢ τοῦμαντίων

51 μεθ' ὑβρεως φέρωσιν. ἔρωι μὲν οὖν, ὁ πάτερ,

ἰκανότατος σωφρονιστὴς "Ομηρος δοκεῖ1 καὶ ὁ

toúto πειρόμενος τῶν νοῦν προσέχειν εὐτυ-

χέστατος τε καὶ ἁριστος βασιλεὺς. αὐτὸς γὰρ

σαφῶς ὑποτίθεται δύο τὰς βασιλικωτάτας ἁρετᾶς

tήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ὧπον φησίν,

ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερὸς τ'

ἀιχμητής,

ὦς τῶν ἄλλων ταύταις συνεπομένων.

55 Οὐ μέντοι μόνον αὐτὸν ὀμαί δεῖν διαφέρειν

tὸν βασιλεὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ σεμνόν, ἀλλὰ

μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν μὴ ἀυλοῦντων μήτε

κιθαρίζοντων μήτε ἀδόντων ἀνειμένα μέλη καὶ

τρυφερά, μηδὲ αὐτὸ λόγων διεθθορῶν κακοὺς

ξύλους παραδέχεσθαι, πρὸς ἴδοιν τῶν ἁμα-

56 θεστάτων γεγονότας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα

πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα ἐκβαλεῖν ὡς πορρωτάτῳ

καὶ ἀποπέμψαι τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑψχῆς, ἕπειτα τῆς

1 δοκεῖ added by Arnim.
THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

stand in awe of their commanders. For those who are without fear of their own officers would be the first to be afraid of the enemy. Furthermore, he says that even when they had won a victory the Achaeans kept quiet in their camp,¹ but that among the Trojans, as soon as they thought they had gained any advantage, at once there were throughout the night

‘the sound

Of flutes and pipes, and tumult of the crowd.’²

implying that here also we have an excellent indication of virtue or vice according as men bear their successes with self-restraint, or, on the contrary, with reckless abandon. And so to me, father, Homer seems a most excellent disciplinarian, and he who tries to give heed to him will be a highly successful and exemplary king. For he clearly takes for granted himself that the pre-eminently kingly virtues are two—courage and justice. Mark what he says,

‘An excellent king and warrior mighty withal.’³

as though all the other virtues followed in their train.

‘However, I do not believe that the king should simply be distinguished in his own person for courage and dignity, but that he should pay no heed to other people either when they play the flute or the harp, or sing wanton and voluptuous songs; nor should he tolerate the mischievous craze for filthy language that has come into vogue for the delight of fools; nay, he should cast out all such things and banish them to the uttermost distance from his own soul, first and foremost, and then from the capital of his kingdom—I

Βασιλευούσης πόλεως, γέλωτάς τε ἀκράτους καὶ
toiouτου γέλωτος πονητάς μετὰ σκαμματων,
ἐμμέτρου τε καὶ ἀμέτρου1 ὀρχήσεις τε2 πρὸς
touτους καταλύειν ἁσελγεῖς καὶ σχέματα ἐται-
ρικὰ γυναικῶν ἐν ὀρχήσεων ἀκολούθοις, αὐλη-
μάτων τε ὠξείς καὶ παρανόμους ρυθμούς καὶ
κατεαγότα μέλη ἀμούσιοι καμπαίς καὶ πολυ-
57 φῶνων ὄργανων ποικιλίας. μόνην δὲ οἴδην μὲν
ύσεται καὶ παραδέξεται τὴν τῷ Ἑυναλίῳ πρέ-
πουσαν μάλα ἱσχυρὰν καὶ διάτορον, οὐχ ἥδονῆν
οὐδὲ ῥαθυμίαν φέρουσαν τοῖς ἀκούοσιν, ἀλλ’
ἀμήχανον φόβον καὶ θάρυσθον, οὗν ὃ τε 'Αρης
αὐτός ἤγειρεν,

ὀξὺ καὶ ἀκροτάτης πόλιος Τρώεσσι κελεύων,

ὁ τε 'Αχιλλεὺς φθεγξάμενος μόνου, πρὸν οthren,
τροπὴν ἐποίησε τῶν Τρώων, καὶ δώδεκα ἀνδράσιν
αἵτιος υπῆρξεν ὀλέθρου περὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἄρμασι
58 καὶ ὀπλοῖς· καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ προσθείσαν ὑπὸ
tῶν Μουσῶν, τὴν ἐπίνεικον, οἷον ἐκέλευεν 'Αχιλ-
λεὺς τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς τὸν παιάνα λέγειν ἄμα τῇ
tοῦ Ἐκτορος ἀγωγῇ πρὸς τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶς
ἐξάρχων,

νῦν δ’ ἀγ’ ἀείδοντες παιήνα, κοῦροι 'Αχαιῶν
μήνοιν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῆι νεώμεθα, τούτε ὃ
ἀγωμεν.

ἡράμεθα μέγα κύδος, ἐπέφυσομεν Ἐκτορα δίοιν,
ὡ Τρώες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῷ ὃς εὐχετῶντο.

1 ἐμμέτρου τε καὶ ἀμέτρου Wilamowitz: ἐμμέτρους τε καὶ
ἀμέτρους.
2 τε added by Reiske.
meaning such things as ribald jests and those who compose them, whether in verse or in prose, along with scurrilous gibes—then, in addition, he should do away with indecent dancing and the lascivious posturing of women in licentious dances as well as the shrill and riotous measures played on the flute, syncopated music full of discordant turns, and motley combinations of noisy clanging instruments. One song only will he sing or permit to be sung—the song that comports with the God of War, full of vigour, ringing clear, and stirring in the hearer no feeling of delight or languidness, but rather an overpowering fear and tumult; in short, such a song as Ares himself awoke, as he

'shrilly yelled, encouraging
The men of Troy, as on the city heights
He stood.'

or as Achilles when, at the mere sound of his voice and before he could be seen, he turned the Trojans to flight and thus caused the destruction of twelve heroes midst their own chariots and arms. Or it might be like the triumphal song composed by the Muses for the celebration of victory, like the pæan which Achilles bade the Achaeans chant as he brought Hector's body to the ships, he himself leading:

'Now then, ye Achaean youth, move on and chant
A pæan, while, returning to the fleet,
We bring great glory with us; we have slain
The noble Hector, whom, throughout their town,
The Trojans ever worshipped like a god.'

1 Iliad 20. 52. 2 Iliad 18. 228-231. 3 Iliad 22. 391-394.
59 ἐτι δὲ οἴμαι τῇν παρακλητικήν, οἷα ἡ τῶν Δακωνικῶν ἐμβατηρίων, μάλα πρέπονσα τῇ Δυκούργων πολετείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκεῖνοις.

ἀγετ,' ὁ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου κοῦροι πατέρων πολιτῶν, λαϊκὲς μὲν ἔτουν προβάλεσθε, δόρυ δ’ εὐτύλωμοι πάλλοντες,¹ μὴ φειδόμενοι τὰς ζωὰς; ού γὰρ πάτριον τῷ Σπάρτα.

60 Χορεύματα δὲ καὶ χοροὺς ἀνάλογον τούτοις οὐ σφαλλομένους οὐδὲ ἀκρατεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς οἷον τε ἱσχυροὺς καὶ σώφρονας ἐπάγειν ἐν καθεστώτι ῥυθμῷ. ὁρχησίν γε μὴν τὴν ἐνόπλιον, τὴν γυναικαρχίαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπαρχὴν ἄμα καὶ μελέτην τῶν πολεμικῶν,² ἢς φήσιν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὸν Μηρίόνην ἐμπειρον εἶναι τῶν γὰρ Τρώων τινὰ πεποίηκε λέγοντα,

Μηρίόνη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὀρχηστήν περ ἐόντα

ἐγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε διαμπερές, εἰ σ’ ἐβαλόν περ.

61 ἢ σὺ οἴει ἄλλην τινὰ λέγειν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν τοῦ Μόλου νιόν, ἀριθμούμενον ἐν τοῖς ἄριστοις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἢ τὴν ἐνόπλιον τὴν Κουρητικήν, ἢπερ ἄν ἐπιχώριος τοῖς Κρησί, τὴν ὀξείαν καὶ ἐλαφρὰν κίνησιν πρὸς τὸ διακλῖναι καὶ φυλά-

62 ξασθαὶ βαθὺς τὸ βέλος; τούτοις γε μὴν ξυνέ-

¹ πάλλοντες Luzac: βάλλοντες.
² The order is Arnim’s: τὴν ... πολεμικῶν precedes ὁρχησίν in the MSS.
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Or, finally, it might be the exhortation to battle such as we find in the Spartan marching songs, its sentiments comporting well with the polity of Lycurgus and the Spartan institutions:

'Up, ye sons of Sparta,
Rich in citizen fathers;
Thrust with the left your shields forth,
Brandish bravely your spears;
Spare not your lives.
That's not custom in Sparta.'

"In conformity with these songs, our king should institute dance movements and measures that are not marked by reeling or violent motions, but are as virile and sober as may be, composed in a sedate rhythm; the dance should be the 'enoplic,' the execution of which is not only a tribute to the gods but a drill in warfare as well—the dance in which the poet says Meriones was skilful, for he has put these words into the mouth of a certain Trojan:

'Had I but struck thee, dancer though thou art,
Meriones, my spear had once for all
Ended thy dancing.'

Or do you think that he can have meant that some other dance was known to the son of Molus, who was accounted one of the best of the Achaeans, and not the military dance of the Kouretes, a native Cretan dance, the quick and light movement designed to train the soldiers to swerve to one side and easily avoid the missile? From these considerations, more-

1 Attributed to Tyrtaeus, but probably of a later date.
2 This was a dance in full armour.
3 Iliad 16. 617-618.
4 Meriones, the son of Molus, was a Cretan.
DIO CHRYSOYSTOM

πεταὶ μηδὲ εὐχὰς εὐχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀμοίας μηδὲ αὖ τοὺς θεοὺς καλεῖν ὁὕτως εὐχόμενον ὀσπέρ ὁ Ἰώνων ποιητὴς Ἀνακρέων, ἀναξ, ὁ δαμάλης Ἔρως καὶ ὁμφαι κυανώπειδες πορφυρές Ἄφροδίτη συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφει ὁ ὕψιθα ὀρέων κορυφᾶς, θυμοῦμαι σε, σὺ δὲ εὐμενὴς ἕλθῃ ἡμῖν, κεχαρισμένης δὲ εὐχωλὴ ἐπακούειν. Κλειβώλφ ὁ ἀγαθὸς γενεῦ σύμβουλος, τὸν ἐμὸν δὲ ἔρωτ', ὃ Δεύνυσε, δέχεσθαι. 

63 ἡ γὰρ Δία τὰς τῶν Ἀττικῶν σκολιῶν τε καὶ ἑποίμων εὐχὰς, οὐ βασιλεύσι πρεποῦσα, ἄλλα δημόταις καὶ φράττομιν ἑλαροῖς καὶ σφόδρα ἄνειμένους, εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοῦμαι ἐλεφαντίνη, καὶ μὲ καλοὶ παῖδες φορέσειν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν. εἴθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοῦμαι μέγα χρυσίον, καὶ μὲ γυνὴ καλὴ φοροῖι.

64 πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ὁμηρὸς πεποίηκεν εὐχόμενον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πάντων Ἐλληνών, Ζεὺ κύδιστε μέγιστε κελαινεφἄς αἰθέρι ναίων, μή πρὶν ἐπ' ἡλιον δύναι καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἐλθείν,
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over, it follows that the king should not offer such prayers as other men do nor, on the other hand, call upon the gods with such a petition as Anacreon, the Ionian poet, makes:

' O King with whom resistless love
Disports, and nymphs with eyes so dark,
And Aphrodite, fair of hue,
O thou who rangest mountain crests,
Thee do I beseech, do thou
To me propitious come and hear
With kindly heart the prayer I make:
Cleobulus' confessor be
And this love of mine approve,
O Dionysus.'

Nor, by heavens, should he ever utter such prayers as those we find in the ballads and drinking-songs of the Attic symposia, for these are suitable, not for kings, but for country folk and for the merry and boisterous clan-meetings. For instance,

' Would that I became a lovely ivory harp,
And some lovely children carried me to Dionysus' choir!
Would that I became a lovely massive golden trinket,
And that me a lovely lady wore!'

He would much better pray as Homer has represented the king of all the Greeks as praying:

' O Zeus, most great and glorious, who dost rule
The tempest—dweller of the ethereal space!
Let not the sun go down and night come on

2 Given by Athenaeus also, 695 c. See Bergk, op. cit. p. 649.
Πολλά δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχου τις ἂν εἴπειν παρ’ Ομήρῳ παιδεύματα καὶ διδάγματα ἀνδρεία καὶ βασιλικά, ύπ’ ὅν ἵνας μακρότερον τὰ ἅνω ἐπεξείναι. πλὴν ὅτι γε τὴν αὐτοῦ γρώμην ἐν ἀπασί  ἀποδείκνυται σαφῶς, ὅτι πάντων ἄριστον οἶτει δείν τὸν βασιλέα ἐστί, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Αγαμέμνονος, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον παρατάττει τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τους ἱγμένους σύμπαντας καταλέγει καὶ τοῦ  ἀπλήθους τῶν νεῶν.

ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀμφολαν ἄλλοιν οὔθειν καταλέξειν ἡρώων πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄλλα ἔσοι ταύρος ἀγέλης ὑπερφέρει κατὰ ρώμην καὶ μέγεθος, τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν φησὶ τὸν βασιλέα, οὕτως λέγων:

"Ἡτε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ’ ἔξοχος ἑπλετο πάντων ταύρος· ὁ γὰρ τε βόεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀγρομένης:

τοιοῦ ἄρ’ Ἀτρείδην θῆκε Ζεὺς ἦματι κελυφεὶ ἐκπρεπεῖ ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἔξοχον ἠρώεσσιν."

τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰρηκεν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὴν ἱσχὺν αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπαινοῦν καὶ ἐπιδείξαι βου-

2 ἐν ἀπασίν Empiricus : ἀπασίν. Arnim would place τὴν αὐτοῦ ... σαφῶς after 'Αγαμέμνονος, deleting ὅτε before πάντων.
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Ere I shall lay the halls of Priam waste
With fire, and give their portals to the flames,
And hew away the coat of mail that shields
The breast of Hector, splitting it with steel.
And may his fellow-warriors, many a one,
Fall round him to the earth and bite the dust.’

“There are many other lessons and teachings in Homer, which might be cited, that make for courage and the other qualities of a king, but perhaps their recital would require more time than we now have. I will say, however, that he not only expresses his own judgment clearly in every instance—that in his belief the king should be the superior of all men—but particularly in the case of Agamemnon, in the passage where for the first time he sets the army in array, calls the roll of the leaders, and gives the tale of the ships. In that scene the poet has left no room for any other hero even to vie with Agamemnon; but as far as the bull surpasses the herd in strength and size, so far does the king excel the rest, as Homer says in these words:

‘And as a bull amid the horned herd
Stands eminent and nobler than the rest,
So Zeus to Agamemnon on that day
Gave to surpass in manly port and mien
The heroes all.’

This comparison was not carelessly chosen, so it seems to me, merely in order to praise the hero’s strength and in the desire to demonstrate it. In

1 Iliad 2. 412-418.
2 Iliad 2. 480-483.

τὸ added by Dindorf.
λόμενος· ούτω μὲν γὰρ δὴ καὶ λέοντι παρα- 
βαλὼν καλῶς ἄν\(^1\) αὐτὸν ἐδόκει ἀφομοιώσαι· 
τὸ δὲ ἥμερον τῆς φύσεως ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὴν 
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχιμένων προθυμίαν. ὁ γὰρ ταύρος 
οὐκ ἔστι τῶν γενναίων μόνον ζῴων οὔδε αὐτῷ 
χάριν χρῆται τῇ ἄλκῃ, καθάπερ ὁ τε λέων καὶ σύς 
ὁ τε ἄετος, διόκοντες τὰ λοιπὰ ξίδα καὶ κρείττους 
γιγνόμενοι τροφῆς ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν· διὸ δὴ καὶ 
μᾶλλον ἂν τὶς αὐτοῦς φαίη τυραννίδος παρά-
δεχμα ἢ βασιλείας γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ ταύρος 
σαφῶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, πρὸς βασιλείαν καὶ βασι-
λέως εἰκόνα πεποίηται. τροφῆ τε γὰρ ἐτοιμὴ 
καὶ διαίτῃ χρῆται νεμόμενος, ὡστε μηδὲν δεῖν 
βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ πλεονεκτέων τάυτης ἑνεκεν, ἀλλ' 
όσπερ τῶς ὅλβιοις βασιλεύσιν ἀνελλιπὴ καὶ 
ἄφθονα ὑπάρχειν\(^2\) τά τῆς ἀναγκαίου κτήσεως.

09 βασιλεύει δὲ καὶ ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοφύλων μετ' 
eὐνοιας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καὶ κηδεμονίας, τούτῳ 
μὲν ἐξηγούμενος νομῆς, τούτῳ δὲ θηρίον φανέντος 
οὐ φέυγων, ἀλλὰ πάσης τῆς ἄγελης προμα-
χόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι βοηθῶν, προβουλο-
μένος σώζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ 
ἀγρίων θηρίων\(^3\) ὁσπερ καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα χρῆ 
καὶ βασιλεὰ τῷ δυτὶ καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἂν 

70 ἀνθρώπους οὔκ ἄναξιον τιμῆς. ἐνιστέ ὡς μὴν 
ἄλλης ἄγελης ἐπιφανείας ἀγωνίζεσται πρὸς τὸν 
ἐκείνης ἡγεμόνα νίκης ἑνεκα, ὡς κρείττω μὲν 
αὐτὸν δόξαι, κρείττω δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄγελην. καὶ 
μὴν τὸ γε αὐθρώπους μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν 
ἀφρονών ζῴων ἡγεμονικότατόν τε καὶ ἄριστον 
πευκότα ὃμως προσέλθαι τὴν τοῦ κρείττονος

\(^1\) ἐν added by Jacobs. \(^2\) υπάρχειν Arnim: υπάρχει.
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that case it seems that he would surely have chosen the lion for his simile and thus have made an excellent characterization. No, his idea was to indicate the gentleness of his nature and his concern for his subjects. For the bull is not merely one of the nobler animals; nor does it use its strength for its own sake, like the lion, the boar, and the eagle, which pursue other creatures and master them for their own bellies' sake. (For this reason one might in truth say that these animals have come to be symbols of tyranny rather than of kingship.) But clearly, in my opinion, the bull has been used by the poet to betoken the kingly office and to portray a king. For the bull's food is ready to hand, and his sustenance he gets by grazing, so that he never needs to employ violence or rapacity on that score; but he, like affluent kings, has all the necessaries of life, unstinted and abundant. He exercises the authority of a king over his fellows of the herd with good-will, one might say, and solicitude, now leading the way to pasture, now, when a wild beast appears, not fleeing but fighting in front of the whole herd and bringing aid to the weak in his desire to save the dependent multitude from dangerous wild beasts; just as is the duty of the ruler who is a real king and not unworthy of the highest honour known among men. Sometimes, it is true, when another herd appears upon the scene, he engages with its leader and strives for victory so that all may acknowledge his superiority and the superiority of his herd. Consider, again, the fact that the bull never makes war against man, but, notwithstanding that nature has made him of all unreasoning animals the best and best fitted to have dominion, he nevertheless

3 θητινος added by Upton.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἡγεμονίαν, ἵσχύ μὲν καὶ θυμὸ καὶ βία μηδενὸς ἤττώμενον μηδὲ ὑπείκοντα, λογισμῷ δὲ καὶ φρονήσει ἐκόντα ὑποτάττομεν, τῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τούτῳ θείᾳ τις ἀν παίδευμα καὶ διδάγμα. 1 Βασι-

71 λικὸν τῶν σωφρόνων βασιλέων, τὸ δεῖν ἀνθρώπων μὲν τῶν ὅμων κρείττονα φαινόμενον ἀρχεῖν, δικαίως καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ μὲν πλήθος σῶζειν τῶν ὑπηκόων, προ-

βουλέουντα καὶ προπολεμοῦντα, ὅταν δὲ, καὶ φυλάττοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄγριῶν καὶ παρανόμων τυράννων, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας, εἰ τινὲς ἀρὰ εἶνε, ἀμιλλάσθαι περὶ τῆς ἄρετῆς καὶ ἥτεῖν, εἰ δυνατὸν εἰη, ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ὦτου

72 ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν· θεοὶ γε μὴν τοῖς ἀμεί-

νοσιν ἔπεσθαι, καθάπερ σήμαι νομεύσιν ἀγαθῶς, καὶ τὴν κρείττον καὶ μακαριστέραν φύσιν προ-

τιμᾶν, δεσπότας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχοντας νομίζοντα ἐκεῖνους, καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ πρῶτου βασιλέως

θεοῦ κτῆμα ἀποφαίνοντα τιμώτατον πρῶτον

μὲν αὐτοῦ, ἐπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ὑφ᾽ αὐτῷ 2 τεταγμένους;

73 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὠσπερ οἱ σωφρόνες νομεῖν, ἔπειδαν

χαλεπῶς καὶ ἅγιοις ταύροις γενόμενος ἀρχη

ἀσελγῶς παρὰ φύσιν, τῆς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταφρονών ἄγελης καὶ λυμαινόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἐξωθέν ἐπι-

βουλεύουσιν ὑποχρῶν καὶ προβαλλόμενος τὸ

ἀδύνατον πλήθος, μηδενὸς δὲ χαλεποῦ παρώνος

ὑβρίζων καὶ θρασυνόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν ὃς καὶ

ἀπειλητικὸν μυκώμενος, τοῦτο δὲ ὀρθοῖς τοῖς

κέρασι παῖων τὸν οὐκ ἀνθιστάμενον, ἐπιδεικνύ-

1 διδάγμα: G: δάγμα.

2 ὑφ᾽ αὐτῷ: Arnim: ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ.
accepts the dominion of his superior; and although he acknowledges his inferiority to none as regards strength, spirit, and might, yet he willingly subordinates himself to reason and intelligence. Why should we not count this a training and lesson in kingship for prudent kings, to teach them that while a king must rule over men, his own kind, because he is manifestly their superior, who justly and by nature’s design exercises dominion over them; and while he must save the multitude of his subjects, planning for them and, if need be, fighting for them and protecting them from savage and lawless tyrants, and as regards other kings, if any such there should be, must strive with them in rivalry of goodness, seeking if possible to prevail over them for the benefit of mankind at large; yet the gods, who are his superiors, he must follow, as being, I verily believe, good herdsmen, and must give full honour to their superior and more blessed natures, recognizing in them his own masters and rulers and showing that the most precious possession which God, the greatest and highest king, can have is, first himself and then those who have ben appointed to be his subjects?

"Now we know how wise herdsmen deal with a bull. When he becomes savage and hard to handle, and rules outrageously in violation of the law of nature, when he treats his own herd with contempt and harms it, but gives ground before outsiders who plot against it and shields himself behind the helpless multitude, yet, when there is no peril at hand, waxes overbearing and insolent, now bellowing loudly in a menacing way, now goring with levelled horns any
DIO CHRYSTOS TON

μενος 1 τὴν ἱσχὺν ἐν τοῖς ἡττοσι καὶ τοῖς οὗ μαχομένοις, τὸ δὲ τῶν βοῶν πλήθος οὐκ ἔὼν νέμεσθαι καθ ἠσυχίαν δι’ ἐκπληξίν καὶ φόβον, τοτε τούτοι δι δεσπόται καὶ βουκόλων μετέστησαν καὶ ἤφανσαν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτίθεινον υδὲ
74 συμφέροντα ὑγείσθαι τῆς ἀγέλης· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς ἐπομέναις βουσών, εὐφυχῶν δὲ καὶ ἀφοβῶν πρὸς τὰ θηρία, σεμνῶν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ δυνατῶν φιλάττειν καὶ προηγεῖσθαι τῆς ἀγέλης, τοῖς δὲ γε νομεύσων ἐκοντα καὶ πειθόμενον, ἔφοι τέχρι γήρως ὑστάτου, κἂν ἦδη
75 βαρύτερος τὸ σῶμα γέννηται. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ὁ δὴ μέγας βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἀπὸ κηδεμών καὶ πατήρ κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεὸν. Ζεὺς, ὃς ἄν ἀνθρώπων γέννηται βίαιος καὶ ἄδικος καὶ παράνομος ἄρχων, τὴν ἱσχὺν οὐ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, ἀπληστὸς μὲν ἢδονῶν, ἀπληστὸς δὲ χρημάτων, ὑπονοήσαι ταχὺς, ὑμείλικτος ὁργισθείς, ἰξὺς πρὸς διαβολάς, ἀπειθὴς λόγοις, πανυφραγος, ἐπίβουλος, ταπεινός, αὐθάδης, τοὺς κακοὺς αξίων, τοὺς κρείττοσι φθονῶν, παιδείας ἀσύμων, φίλον οὐδένα νομίζων οὐδ’ ἔχων, ως ἔλαττον
76 αὐτοῦ τὸ 3 κτῆμα, ἐκείνων ἐκποδῶν ἐποίησατο καὶ μετέστησεν, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιοι οὔτα βασιλεύειν ὀυδὲ κοινωεῖν τῇ αὐτοῦ τιμῆς καὶ ἐπωνυμίας, μετὰ τε αἰσχύνης καὶ προπτηλακισμοῦ, καθάπερ οἴμαι Φάλαριν τε καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ πολλοὺς
77 ἄλλους τῶν ὁμοίων· τῶν δὲ γε ἄνδρείον καὶ

1 de after ἐπιθεικρύμενον deleted by Arnim.
2 ἰξὺς πρὸς διαβολάς Emperius; ἰξὺτερος διαβολάις ou ὁπδ διαβολῆς.
who cannot resist, thus making show of his strength upon the weaker who will not fight, while at the same time he will not permit the multitude of the cattle to graze in peace because of the consternation and panic he inspires—when the owners and the herdsmen, I say, have such a bull, they depose and kill him as not being fit to lead the herd nor salutary to it. That bull, on the other hand, which is gentle towards the kine of his following but valiant and fearless towards wild beasts, that is stately, proud, and competent to protect his herd and be its leader, while yet submissive and obedient to the herdsmen—him they leave in charge till extreme old age, even after he becomes too heavy of body. In like manner do the gods act, and especially the great King of Kings, Zeus, who is the common protector and father of men and gods. If any man proves himself a violent, unjust and lawless ruler, visiting his strength, not upon the enemy, but upon his subjects and friends; if he is insatiate of pleasures, insatiate of wealth, quick to suspect, implacable in anger, keen for slander, deaf to reason, knavish, treacherous, degraded, wilful, exalting the wicked, envious of his superiors, too stupid for education, regarding no man as friend nor having one, as though such a possession were beneath him,—such a one Zeus thrusts aside and deposes as unworthy to be king or to participate in his own honour and titles, putting upon him shame and derision, as methinks he did with Phalaris 1 and Apollodorus 1 and many others like them. But the brave and

1 Tyrants of monstrous cruelty. See Index.

3 Arnim, following Wilamowitz, deletes τὸ, but wrongly. One might read ἐλαττων ὑπ', but the participle does not have to be expressed.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φιλάνθρωπον καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους εύνους καὶ τιμῶντα μὲν τὴν ἀρετήν καὶ συναγωνιῶντα μὴ τινὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόξην φαυλότερος, τοὺς δὲ ἀδίκους μετανοεῖν ἀναγκάζοντα, τοῖς δὲ ἀσθενεῖσιν ἀρῆγοντα, τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγάμενος ὡς τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἴσην πρὸς γῆρας, καθάπερ ἀκοῦσμεν Κῦρον τε καὶ Δηνόκην τοῦ Μῆδου καὶ Ἰδανύφρου τὸν Σκύθην καὶ Δεῦκωνα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Λακωνικῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτω πρῶτον

78 τινας· εὰν δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀναγκαίαν ἐπείγη πρὸ τοῦ γῆρος, ἀλλ' οὖν μνήμης γε ἀγαθῆς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐφημίας εἰς τὸν αὐτῷ χρόνου ἥξισθε, καθάπερ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸν ἡμέτερον πρόγονον, τὸν νομισθέντα τοῦ Διὸς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν Ἥρακλεά.

79 Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἡσθείς, ὦ μάτην, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσας ἀνακτίζειν, Στάγειρα τῆς Ὀλυμπίας οὖσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ ἄξιος πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων δωρεῶν, εἰ τοιαύτα σε διδάσκει περὶ τε ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας, εἶτε ὁμηρὸν ἐξηγούμενος εἰτε ἄλλον τρόπον.

1 τινος Reiske: τις οὐ τι.
2 Ἰδανύφρου Wytenbach: Ἀγάθυρσον οὐ ἄν θυρσον.
3 γε Reiske: τε.

1 Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian Empire, reigned from 559 to 529 B.C.
2 Founder of the Median Empire, ruled 53 years according to Herodotus.
humane king, who is kindly towards his subjects and, while honouring virtue and striving that he shall not be esteemed as inferior to any good man therein, yet forces the unrighteous to mend their ways and lends a helping hand to the weak—such a king Zeus admires for his virtue and, as a rule, brings to old age, as, for instance, according to tradition, Cyrus and Deioces the Mede, Idanthysus the Scythian, Leucon, many of the Spartan kings, and some of the earlier kings of Egypt. But if the inevitable decree of fate snatches him away before reaching old age, yet Zeus vouchsafes unto him a goodly renown and praise among all men for ever and ever, as indeed.” concluded Alexander, “he honoured our own ancestor, who, because of his virtue, was considered the son of Zeus—I mean Heracles.”

Now when Philip heard all this, he was delighted and said; "Alexander, it wasn't for naught that we esteemed Aristotle so highly, and permitted him to rebuild his home-town Stagira, which is in the domain of Olynthus. He is a man who merits many large gifts, if such are the lessons which he gives you in government and the duties of a king, be it as interpreter of Homer or in any other way."

3 The name of two Scythian kings. How long they lived is not known.
4 Powerful king of Bosporus, who reigned from 303 to 353 B.C.
5 Stagira had been destroyed during Philip's operations against the Greek towns of Chalcidice. In 342 B.C. Aristotle was appointed tutor to Alexander, and at his own request his native city was rebuilt and a gymnasiuim erected there for the use of himself and his pupils.
THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Dio's protest in this Discourse that he is not flattering would seem to indicate clearly that he is addressing Trajan—otherwise his words would be meaningless—and many of the things said point to the existence of very cordial relations between the orator and that emperor. Hence it is inferred that the third Discourse is later than the first. Von Arnim suggests that it was delivered before Trajan on his birthday, September 15th, in A.D. 104.

Stoic and Cynic doctrine as to the nature of the true king is set forth. The reference to the sun is of Stoic origin. Then Trajan, the type of the true king, is contrasted with the Persian king to the latter's disadvantage.
3. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Γ

1 Σωκράτης ὁ Αθήνας, πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ καὶ πένης, ὁ ἐν καὶ σὺ γνωστὸς ἀκοὴ πρὸ πάνω πολλῶν ἐτῶν γενόμενον, πυθομένων τινὸς εἰ εὐδαιμόνα νομίζει τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, Τυχόν, εἰπεν, εὐδαιμόνως οὐκ ἐφη δὲ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι διὰ τὸ μὴ συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ μηδὲ γνωστῷ ὁ ποῖος ἦστι τὴν διίνοιαν, ὥς οὐκ ἀλλαχθὲν οἱμαί γνωσμένον τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἀπὸ χρυσομάτων ἢ πόλεων ἢ χώρας ἢ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐκάστω δὲ παρὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴς αὐτοῦ διανοίας.

2 Ὅ μὲν οὖν Σωκράτης, ὅτι ἐτύγχανεν ἀπειρός ὁ τοῦ Πέρσου τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀπειρός ἦγείτο εἶναι καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὃ γενναίε αὐτοκράτορ, παραγέγονα σοι καὶ τυχόν οὐδενὸς ἢττον ἐμπειρὸς εἶμι τῆς σῆς φύσεως, ὅτι τυγχάνεις χαίρων ἀληθεία καὶ παρρησία μᾶλλον ἢ θυσία καὶ ἀπάτη. αὐτικα τὰς μὲν ἀλώνους ὑδονάς ὑποπτεύεις καθάπερ ἀνθρώπους κόλακας, τοὺς δὲ πόνους ὑπομένεις, ἐλέγχους ὑπολαμβάνους εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅρῳ σε, αὐτοκράτορ, ἐντυγχάνοντα τὸς παλαιοῦ ἄνδρας καὶ συνιέντα φρονίμων καὶ ἀκριβῶν λόγων, φημὶ δὴ σαφῶς ἄνδρα εἶναι μακάριον, τὸν μεγίστην μὲν ἐχόντα

1 Darius Nothus: reigned from 424 to 405 B.C.
THE THIRD DISCOURSE
ON KINGSHIP

When Socrates, who, as you also know by tradition, lived many years ago, was passing his old age in poverty at Athens, he was asked by someone whether he considered the Persian king⁴ a happy man, and replied, "Perhaps so"; but he added that he did not really know, since he had never met him and had no knowledge of his character, implying, no doubt, that a man's happiness is not determined by any external possessions, such as gold plate, cities or lands, for example, or other human beings, but in each case by his own self and his own character.²

Now Socrates thought that because he did not know the Persian king's inner life, he did not know his state of happiness either. I, however, most noble Prince,³ have been in your company and am perhaps as well acquainted with your character as anyone, and know that you delight in truth and frankness rather than in flattery and guile. To begin with, you suspect irrational pleasures just as you do flattering men, and you endure hardship because you believe that it puts virtue to the test. And when I see you, O Prince, perusing the works of the ancients and comprehending their wise and close reasoning, I maintain that you are clearly a blessed man in that you wield a

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³ Socrates is reported as giving this answer in Plato, Gorgias 470 e.
⁴ The Emperor Trajan.
Διος Χρυσοστόμ

δύναμιν μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, κάλλιστα δὲ τῷ δύναμιν σθαί χρώμενον, ὑμαρέξου ἀπάντων μὲν ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἢδειν, μηδενὸς δὲ πειράσθαι τῶν ἐπιτόνων, ἰαθυμοῦντα δὲ ὡς οἶον τε βιοτεύειν, συνελώντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, πράττοντα δὲ τι βούλεται, οὗ μόνον κωλύοντος οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινοῦντον ἀπάντων, οὕτως ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔταν ὁ νομιμότερος μὲν δικαστὴς τῶν κατὰ κλήρον δικαζόντων, ἐπικεφαλερος δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἐν ταῖς πόλεωι ἄρχοντων, ἀλκιμώτερος δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐπομενῶν στρατιωτῶν, φιλοποιώτερος δὲ ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνάγκης πονοῦντων, ἐλαττὼν δὲ βουλόμενις τρυφῶν τῶν μηδεμαῖσεν ἐυποροῦντων τρυφῆς, εὐνοῦστερος δὲ τοῖς ὑπερκόσιοι τῶν φιλοτέκνων πατέρων, φοβερῶτερος δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις τῶν ἀνικήτων καὶ ἀμάχων θεῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἄν εἴποι τις τούτες τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθῶν εἰναι τὸν δαιμόν, οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί

6 Τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἦν διωτῶν ἢ μικράν τινα ἄρχην ἐχόντων, ὅλως οὐ δαίμονα καὶ μόνον τοῦ ἔχοντος· ὅτι δὲ ἂν παμπληθίμεν ἔναν υπακούσῃ πόλεις, πάμπολλα δὲ ἐθνη κυβερνᾶται διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, ἀνήριμα δὲ φύλα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἁμικτα ἀλλήλοις ἀποβελήσα πρὸς μίαν φρόνησιν, πάντων δὲ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων γίγνεται σωτήρ καὶ φύλαξ, ἀντίρρῃ τοῦ ὡσάτος.

7 τοῦ γὰρ πάντων ἄρχοντος καὶ κρατοῦντος ἡ μὲν φρόνησις ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀφρονας ὕφελεν· βούλευεται γὰρ ὁμοίος ὑπὲρ πάντων. ἦ δὲ

1 ἀπολαύειν Reiske: ἀπολαβεῖν or ἀπολαύουτα.
2 ὁ τι βούλεται after οὐδενός, lacking in one MS., deleted by Geel.

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power second only to that of the gods and nevertheless use that power most nobly. For the man who may taste of everything that is sweet and avoid everything that is bitter, who may pass his life in the utmost ease, who, in a word, may follow his own sweet will, not only without let or hindrance but with the approval of all—when that man, I say, is at once a judge more observant of the law than an empanelled jury, a king of greater equity than the responsible magistrates in our cities, a general more courageous than the soldiers in the ranks, a man more assiduous in all his tasks than those who are forced to work, less covetous of luxury than those who have no means to indulge in luxury, kindlier to his subjects than a loving father to his children, more dreaded by his enemies than are the invincible and irresistible gods—how can one deny that such a man’s fortune is a blessing, not to himself alone, but to all others as well?

For in the case of the generality of men, those either in private station or holding some petty office, the individual’s personal fortune is of slight account and concerns himself alone; but let untold cities yield obedience to a man, let countless nations be governed by his judgment, let tribes of men unnumbered and hostile to one another look to his prudence alone, and that man becomes the saviour and protector of men everywhere—that is, if such be his type. For when a man governs and holds sway over all mankind, his prudence avails to help even the imprudent, since he takes thought for

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3 ἀλημωτερός Capps, ἀνθρειότερος Weil: δικαιότερος.
4 ἡ Capps, cf. §§ 7, 10 ἐνάτα: καλ. 5 ἡ added by Capps.
σωφροσύνη καὶ τοὺς ἀκολαστοτέρους σωφρονεστέρους ποιεῖ· ἐφορᾷ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἅπαντας. ἢ δὲ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τοῖς ἀδίκοις αὐτῆς μεταδίδωσιν. ἢ δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ τοὺς ἥττον εὐψύχους οὐ μόνον σῶζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους ποιεῖν δύναται. οὐτὲ γὰρ δειλὸς οὕτως ἁγαν οὐδεὶς ὡστε μὴ θαρρεῖν ἐπόμενος μεθ’ οὗ τὸ νικαίν ἐτοιμοῦ, οὔτε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνειμένος ὡστε ῥαδυμεῖν προστατόμενον ὁ ὀρῶν ὁ μόνον τὸ προστάττειν ἐνειμέν ὁ θεός, οὐδ’ αὐ πρὸ ὁδύμα οὕτως ἀναίσχυντος ὡστε πονοῦντι ὑπὲρ ἐτέρων παρῶν ὁ τὸ πονεῖν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, τούτω δὲ μὴ συμπονεῖν ἑθέλειν. δοκεὶ μου καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρὸς αὐτὸ τούτο φραζεῖν μνημεῖ βγα τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εἴρηκεν, ἀρετῶς δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καλὸν κτήμα τὴν ἀρετὴν νενόμικεν, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. τινὶ μὲν γὰρ δεῖ πλείονος φρονήσεως ἢ τῷ βουλευομένῳ περὶ τῶν μηγίστων; τινὶ δὲ ἀκριβεστέρας δικαιοσύνης ἢ τῷ μείζον τῶν νόμων; τινὶ δὲ σωφροσύνης ἐγκρατεστέρας ἢ ὁ πάντα ἔξεστι; τινὶ δὲ ἀνδρείας ἵσχυροτέρας ἢ υφ’ οὗ πάντα σοφεῖται; τινὰ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ τῶν σύμπαντας ἀνθρώπους θεατὰς καὶ μάρτυρας ἔχοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς; ὡστε μήποτε πράξαι μηδὲν οἴκον τε λαθεῖν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἕλιῳ πορεύεσθαι διὰ σκότους.

1 τὸ added by Capps.
2 προστατόμενον Capps: παρατάττοντα οὐ προστάττοντα.
3 πονοῦντι added by Cohoon.
all alike; his temperance serves to restrain even the intemperate, since his eye is over all alike; his justice gives of itself even to the unjust; and his courage is able, not only to save the less valiant, but even to fire them with greater courage. For no one is such a coward as not to feel reassured when he follows a general with whom victory is certain, nor so exceeding indifferent as to sit at ease when he sees submitting to take orders that man to whom God has apportioned the right to give orders only, nor, again, so completely lost to a sense of shame that he can watch a man toiling in behalf of another although under no necessity to toil—and yet refuse him aid. This, it seems to me, is exactly Homer's view as well; for, after speaking of the ideal king, he concludes by saying,

"And virtuous the people beneath him."  

Such a king considers virtue a fair possession for others but an absolute necessity for himself. Who, in fact, must exercise greater wisdom than he who is concerned with the weightiest matters; who, a keener sense of justice than he who is above the law; who, a more rigorous self-control than he to whom all things are permissible; who, a stouter courage than he upon whom the safety of everything depends? And who takes greater delight in the works of virtue than he who has all men as spectators and witnesses of his own soul?—so that nothing he may do can ever be hidden any more than the sun can run its

1 Virtuous in the sense of possessing the good traits of character just mentioned.

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4 ὑπὲρ Capps: περὶ. 6 οὐκ added by Cohoon.
πάντα γὰρ τάλλα ἀναφαίνων πρώτου ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδείκνυε.

12 Δέγω δὲ ταύτα οὐκ ἄγνωσεν ὅτι τὰ ῥηθέντα νῦν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡλίου χρόνῳ ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐστὶν δὲς μὴ ποτὲ ἐγὼ φανῶ τι κολακεία λέγων οὗ γὰρ ὀλύμπην οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλύμπῳ χρόνῳ δέδωκα βάσανον τῆς ἐλευθερίας. εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν ὅτε πᾶσιν ἀναγκαίον ἐδόκει πρεσβεύ
δεσθαι διὰ φόβον, μοῦνον ἀληθεῦσιν ἐτόλμων, καὶ ταύτα κινδυνεύον ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς, νῦν δὲ, ὅτε πᾶσιν ἔξεστι τάληθ᾽ λέγειν, ψεύδομαι, μηδενὸς κινδύνου παρεστῶτος, οὐκ ἂν εἴδειν οὐτὲ παρόρᾳς οὕτως κολακείας καρίων.

14 Καίτοι σύμπαντες οἱ πράττοντες ὑποίθου ἔκοντες ἢ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρᾶττουσιν ἢ δόξης ἢ δὲ ἱδονὴν τίνα ἄλλην ἢ λοιπῶν οἷμαι δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ τιμῶντες. ἐγὼ δὲ χρήματα μὲν λαβεῖν παρ’ οὐδενὸς πῶποτε ἡξίωσα, πολλῶν δοῦναι βουλομένων, τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ ὀλύμπων ὑπαρχόντων οὐ μόνον μετάδοσις ἓτερος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρίπτων φανῆσομαι πολλάκις.

16 ἱδονὴν δὲ πολαῖν ἔθηρόμην, ὡστὸ καὶ τῶν κολάκων οἱ φανερῶς πεποιημένοι τέχνην ταυτὴν ὁμολογούσιν ἀπάντων ἀθέτησεν 2 τὸ κολακεύον؛ πῶς γὰρ ἤδον, ἢ’ ἄλλου ἀδίκως ἐπαινή τες; αὐτῶν διελώς ψέγεσθαι;

17 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐνδοξοῦν οὐδὲ καλὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ κολακεύον, ἦν τιμῆς ἐνεκεν ἢ δὲ ἀρετὴν τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύον. πασῶν γὰρ ὡς ἔτος εἴπειν τῶν κακιῶν αἰσχρότητι τίς ἂν εὑροῖ τὴν κολα-

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1 καίτοι σύμπαντες τοῖς Ῥώσκοι καὶ τοῖς πάντες.
THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

course in darkness; for, in bringing all other things to light, it reveals itself first.

These things I say in the full knowledge that my present statements will have to be repeated at greater length; and yet there is no danger of my appearing to speak aught in flattery, since I have given no slight nor fleeting evidence of my sincerity. If, in bygone days when fear made everyone think falsehood a necessity,¹ I was the only one bold enough to tell the truth even at the peril of my life, and yet am lying now when all may speak the truth without incurring danger—then I could not possibly know the time for either frankness or flattery.

Again, all who act deliberately do so either for money, for reputation, or for some pleasurable end, or else, I suppose, for virtue’s sake and because they honour goodness itself. But I could never bring myself to accept money from anyone, although many are willing to give it. Nay, little as I had, you will find that I not only shared it with others, but actually squandered it many a time. And what sort of pleasure was I seeking, when even those flatterers who openly follow the business acknowledge that to play the flatterer is of all things most distasteful? For what pleasure is there in praising someone else undeservedly merely to be deservedly blamed one’s self?

Furthermore, flattery seems neither reputable nor honourable even when practised to gain distinction, or from some other worthy motive. Nay, of all vices, I may say, flattery will be found to be the meanest.

¹ Under the Emperor Domitian.

² ἀνδέατατον Reiske: ἀνδέατερον.
18 κείαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ δι-
καίοτατον διαφθείρει, τὸν ἐπαίνου, ὡστε μηκέτι
δοκεῖν πιστῶν μηδὲ ἀληθῶς γιγνόμενον, καὶ τὸ
γε πάντων δεινότατον, τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἑπαύλα
τῇ κακίᾳ δίδωσιν. ὡστε πολὺ χείρον δρῶσι
τῶν διαφθειρόντων τὸ νόμισμα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπ-
οπτον ποιοῦσι τὸ νόμισμα, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν
ἀπιστον.
19 Ἡσπείτα δὲ οἷοι ἄει ποτε μὲν ὁ ποιηρὸς
ἀνόητος λέγεται καὶ ἑστὶν ὅντως, τῷ δὲ ἀφροῖν
πάντας ὑπερβαλλεῖν ὁ κόλαξ. μόνοις γὰρ τῶν
ἀφαιρετών τὴν ἀλλήλων πρὸς ἐκείνους θαρρεῖ
τὰ ψευδή λέγειν τοὺς μάλιστα εἰδότας ὅτι
ψεύδεται. τὰς γὰρ ἀπειρόσ ἐστι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
πραγμάτων; ἢ τὸς ἡλίθιος οὐτῶς ὅστις οὐκ οἶδε
πότερον πόνοις ἢ πάθοις ἢ μαθηματικὰ γαίρει καὶ
πότερον ἦδεται πλέον ἐχών ἢ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ
πότερον ἠδονῶν ἡττῶν ἑστίν ἢ τῶν καλῶν
πράξεων ἔραστῆς;
20 Καὶ τοῖς δὲ μάλιστα σιέται, χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς
ἐπαίνουμένοις, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτον καὶ μάλιστα
ἀποτυγχάνειν τόποντιν γὰρ ἀπεκβάνεσθαι
μᾶλλον ἢ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς μὴ τελέσως κούφοις.
21 αὐτίκα ὁ τῶν πένθητα μακαρίζων ὡς πλοῦσιν
αὐτὸς μὲν ψεύδεται, τῷ δὲ μακαριζομένῳ τὴν
πενίαν ὀνειδίζει. πάλιν ὁ τὸν ἀίσχιστον ὡς
καλὸν ἐπαινοῦ ἀλλο τῷ ἐπροφέρει τὸ αἰσχος
αὐτῷ; ὃ ὁ τὸν ἀνάπηρον ὀλόκληρον εἶναι λέγων
πῶς ἄν χαρίζοιτο ὑπομυνήσκων τῆς ἀτυχίας;
—ὁ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸν ἀνόητον ὡς φρόνιμον ἤμοιν, οὗτος
ἀν τυχόν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ πιθανότερον διὰ τὴν
ἀνοιαν τοῦ ἀκούοντος καὶ τοσούτῳ γε μείζωνα
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In the first place, it debases a thing most beautiful and just, even praise, so that it no longer appears honest or sincere, and—what is most outrageous—it gives to vice the prizes of virtue. Flatterers, therefore, do much more harm than those who debase the coinage: for whereas the latter cause us to suspect the coinage, the former destroy our belief in virtue.

Then again, as I see the matter, we always call the bad man a fool, and so he really is; but for downright folly the flatterer outdoes all, since he is the only perverter of the truth who has the hardihood to tell his lies to the very persons who know best that he is lying. For who does not know his own business? or who is so stupid as not to know whether work or idleness brings him joy, whether he finds pleasure in over-reaching another or in acting justly, and whether he is the slave of pleasure or a lover of noble deeds?

And, further, it seems to me that the flatterer fails worst just where he is most confident that he is succeeding—namely, in pleasing those whom he praises. Nay, he is odious rather than pleasing to them unless they be utter fools. For example, he who congratulates a poor man on his wealth not only lies himself, but holds up to scorn the poverty of the man he congratulates. Again, does not he who praises a most ugly person for his beauty simply cast his ugliness in his teeth? Or how could he who calls a cripple able-bodied please him by reminding him of his misfortune?—The man, however, who lauds the fool for his wisdom is perhaps the most convincing of all on account of the stupidity of his hearer and thus does

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1 del added by Emperius.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐργάζεται βλάβην· ἀναπείθει γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ
βουλεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τοῖς φρονίμοις ἐπιτρέπειν.
22 ὁ μέντοι γε ἐν τοῖς δειλῶν ὡς ἄνδρεῖον θαυμάζων,
οὕτως δικαιότατα χρῆται τῇ ἀνοίᾳ τοῦ κολα-
κευμένου· τάχιστα γὰρ ἄν οἶμαι ἀπόλοιτο
πειθόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἄνδρείας τὰ ἔργα
23 ἐπιχειρῶν.—καθόλου δὲ φωραθεὶς μὲν ὁ κόλαξ
οὐ καταγγυρώσκεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖται
δοκεῖ γὰρ καταγελῶν λέγειν. πείσας δὲ ὡς ἀλη-
θῶς λέγει τῇ μεγάλῃ τινὸς τυγχάνει χάριτος·
tί γὰρ καὶ δοκεὶ χαρίζεσθαι τάλιθη λέγων;
24 πολὺ γε μὴν πονηρότερος ἐστὶ τῶν ψευδομένων
μαρτύρων· οὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ διαφθείρουσι τῶν
dikastēn, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐξαπατώσιν, ο ὃς κολα-
κευόν ἂμα δεκάζει τῷ ἐπαίνῳ.
25 Ἰνα δὲ μὴτε ἐγὼ κολακείας αὐτίαν ἔχω τοῖς
θέλουσι διαβάλλειν μήτε σὺ τοῦ κατ' ὁφθαλμοὺς
ἐθέλειν ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους
ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως, ὅποιον εἶναι δεῖ
καὶ τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τοῦ προσποιουμένου μὲν
ἀρχοντος εἶναι, πλείστον δὲ ἀπέγοντος ἀρχῆς καὶ
26 βασιλείας. εἰ δὲ τις φύσει ἁλίς 2 μὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, τοῦτο ἄν εἴη κοινὸν ἐμοὶ τὸ
ἐγκλημα καὶ Σωκράτει. φασί γὰρ ποτε Ἰππίαν
tὸν Ἡλείον, διὰ χρόνου πλείονος ἀκούοντα τοῦ
Σωκράτους περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς λέγοντος
καὶ παραβάλλοντος, ὡσπερ εἰὼθεν, τοὺς κυ-
βερνήτας καὶ ἱστροὺς καὶ σκυτόμους καὶ κερα-
μέας, εἰπεῖν, ἅτε σοφιστῆς, Πάλιν σύ ταύτα,
Σωκρατεῖ· καὶ δὲ γελάσας ἔβη, Καὶ περὶ τῶν

1 μέντοι γε Cohoon : μὲν γὰρ. 2 ἁλίς added here by Cappa. Jacobs and Arnim would place it after ἅλιν.
all the greater harm, since he induces the fellow to take his own counsel and not trust to intelligent men. But the man who extols the coward as a hero makes the most justifiable use of the folly of him who is flattered; since, if the craven believes him and attempts to perform heroic deeds, he will come to grief all the more speedily.—Yet, generally speaking, when the flatterer is found out, he is not only condemned, but hated as well, since his words are thought to be mockery; while, if he convinces one of the truth of his words, he gets no very great thanks. For what great favour is he thought to confer by simply telling the truth? Besides, he is a much greater rascal than a lying witness: for the latter does not corrupt the judge, he merely deceives him; but the flatterer corrupts at the same time that he praises.

Accordingly, that I may not be open to the charge of flattery by my would-be detractors, and that you on your part may not be accused of a wanting to be praised to your very face, I shall speak of the ideal king, of what sort he should be, and how he differs from the man who pretends to be a ruler but is in reality far from true dominion and kingship. And if anyone shall say that I always say the same things, this will be the same charge that was laid against Socrates. For the story runs that once Hippias of Elis,¹ who had been listening for some time to the words of Socrates about justice and virtue and to his wonted comparisons with pilots, physicians, cobblers and potters, finally made the exclamation natural to a sophist, "The same things once more, Socrates!" to which the

¹ A Greek sophist who taught in Greece, and especially at Athens. The same account of this conversation is given in Xenophon's Memorabilia 4. 4. 5 f.
DIO CHRYSTOSOTUM

αὐτῶν. σὺ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἔσκειν, ὧτὰ σοφίας οὐδέποτε ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγεις, ἥμιν 1 δὲ ἐν τούτῳ δοκεῖ τῶν καλλίστων εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ψευδομένους οὐδαμὲν πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόμοια λέγοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀληθεύοντας οὐχ ὁτὸν τε ἐτερα εἰπεῖν τῶν ἄληθῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν ἐώρων ἄλλην ὑπόθεσιν σπουδαιοτέραν ἢ σοὶ μᾶλλον προσήκουσαν, ἐκείνην ἂν ἐπεχείρουν ποιήσασθαι. νῦν δὲ οὔτε ἱατρὸν ἄλλους τιμᾶς ἀκούειν ἡ λέγειν λόγους φαίνῃ ἃν ὁρθῶς ἢ τοὺς περὶ ὑγείας σώματος καὶ νόσουν οὕτων γὰρ ὑγειεῖς καλοῦνται καὶ ἱατρικοὶ. 2 οὕτε κυβερνήτην ἢ τοὺς περὶ ὅρων καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ ἄστρων οὕτωι γὰρ κυβερνητικὸν δικαίως λέγοντας οὔτε ἀρχοντα καὶ βασιλέα ἢ τοὺς περὶ ἀρχῆς τε καὶ διοικήσεως ἀνθρώπων.

1 Capps suggests that Dio may have written ἥμιν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ δοκεῖ τῶν καλλιστῶν ἄδικάτων εἶναι, “but this appears to me to be one of the so-called impossibilities.” Cf. § 113.

2 καὶ ιατρικόι. Jacobs: ἱατροὶ or ἱατροῖς.
other replied with a laugh, "Yes, and on the same subjects. Now you by reason of your wisdom probably never say the same about the same things, but to me this appears a thing most excellent. We know that liars say many things and all different, while those who stick to the truth cannot find anything else to say than just the truth." So too with me: if I knew of any subject more serious or more suited to you, that is the subject that I should attempt to handle. But as it is, just as I should say that the proper subject for the physician to listen to or discuss is physical health and disease (indeed, the terms applied to physicians, *hygieinoi* and *iatrikoi*, mean "men who are concerned with health and with healing"), and for the navigator, seasons and winds and stars (for navigators are rightly termed *kybernetai*), "men concerned with the steering of ships"), so I maintain that the proper subject for the ruler and king is the government and control of men.

So in discussing this subject also I shall endeavour to set forth the views of Socrates. After the answer about happiness Socrates’ interrogator put the following question to him: "Socrates," said he, "you know perfectly well that of all men under the sun that man is most powerful and in might no whit inferior to the gods themselves who is able to accomplish the seemingly impossible—if it should be his will, to have men walk dryshod over the sea, to sail over the mountains, to drain rivers dry by drinking—or have you not heard that Xerxes, the king of the

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1 Dio is imitating Xenophon’s account in the *Memorabilia*.
2 Cf. § 1.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν γῆν ἐποίησε θάλατταν, διελὼν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ὄρων καὶ διαστήσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου τῶν "Ἀθώ, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης τῶν πεζῶν στρατῶν ἄγων ἦλαμνεν ἐφ' ἁρματος, ὥσπερ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα φησιν "Ομηρος; καὶ τυχόν ὠμοίως οὔ τε δελφίνες καὶ τὰ κητὶ κάτωθεν ὑπέπλει τὴν σχεδίαν, ὅποτε ἐκείνος ἦλαμνε.

32 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐδὲ τούτο σοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἴτε μέγιστον ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν δύναται, καθάπερ σὺ λέγεις, εἴτε ἐλάχιστον ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν. αὐτίκα εἰ μὲν ἦν σώφρων καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ μετὰ γνώμης ἐπράττετε ὅσα ἐπραττεν, ἵσχυρὸν αὐτῶν ἤγονμαι καὶ μεγάτην ἔχειν τῷ ὀντὶ δύναμιν· εἰ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ ἀσέλγης καὶ παράνομος καὶ δὲ ὑβριν ταῦτα ἐπιχειρῶν, τούναπτον ἔμοι ἀσθενεότερος είναι δοκεῖ τῶν σφόδρα πενήντων καὶ μηδὲ ἐνα γῆς κεκτημένων βῶλον, ὡστε διαθρύψαι μακέλλη τροφῆς ἔνεκεν, οὐχ ὑπὸς τὰ μέγιστα διαθρύπτειν ὁρη, καθάπερ σὺ φης. ὁ γὰρ ἀδύνατος μὲν ὄργην ἐπικατασχέειν, πολλάκις ὑπὲρ μικρῶν γνωριμενῶν, ἀδύνατος δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν παῦσαι τῶν αἰσχίστων, ἀδύνατος δὲ ἀπώσασθαι λύπην, ἐνίοτε μηδενὸς λυπηρὸς παρόντος, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ὑπομεῖναι πόνους, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἡδονῆς ἔνεκεν γνωριμένως, ἀδύνατος δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπελάσαι φόβου, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦντα ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτοντα, πῶς οὐκ ἀσθενῆς οὐτος σφόδρα, ἤπτωμενος μὲν γυναικῶν, ἤπτωμενος δὲ εὐνοῦχων;

34 τοὺς Reiske: τῆς.

1 A mountain at the extreme end of the peninsula of Acte
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Persians, made of the dry land a sea by cutting through the loftiest of the mountains and separating Athos \(^1\) from the mainland, and that he led his infantry through the sea,\(^2\) riding upon a chariot just like Poseidon in Homer’s description? And perhaps in the same way the dolphins and the monsters of the deep swam under his raft as the king drove along."

"I cannot tell you that either," replied Socrates; "I mean whether the man who does such things has the greatest power, as you affirm, or the least power, or none at all. If, for example, he was temperate, brave, and just, if all his acts were marked by judgment, I think he was a powerful man and really had the greatest might. But if, on the other hand, he was cowardly, foolish, licentious, and lawless, and undertook what he did in wanton insolence, then, on the contrary, I think he was a weaker man than the veriest beggar who has not even a clod of earth to break up with the pick to gain his livelihood—to say nothing of breaking through the highest mountains, the feat of which you speak. For he who cannot check a fit of anger, which is often caused by mere trifles; who cannot conquer a lust for the basest things; who cannot thrust pain aside, imaginary as it often is; who cannot endure toil, even to gain pleasure; who cannot drive fear from his soul, though it avails naught in the midst of alarms but works the greatest mischief—must not such a man be greatly lacking in strength, be weaker than a woman, weaker than a

which extends into the Aegcan Sea. Xerxes, fearing the voyage around it in his invasion of Greece in 480 B.C., had a canal 1\(^1\)\(^\frac{1}{2}\) miles long cut through the isthmus.

\(^1\) He crossed the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, by a bridge of boats. See Herodotus 7. 22, 33–34.
35 ἡ συ τούτων ἱσχυρῶν εἶναι λέγεις τῶν καὶ τού μαλακωτάτου πάντων ἀσθενέστερον, ὑπνού; υφ' οὐ ἐξυμποδισθής, πολλάκις ἀνέω δεσμῶν, ὥστε ὅπως ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐαντῷ δύναται βοηθεῖν οὐδὲ ἐπίκουρον οὔδένα καλέσαι τῶν βουλομένων ἀμύνειν.

36 Ταῦτα δὲ ἁκούσας εἶπεν, Ἦκεινο μέντοι οἴσθα δήπον, ὁ Σωκράτες, διτ πῆς ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης τοῦ πλείστου καὶ ἀριστου βασιλεύει μέροισι, ἐξω γὰρ τῆς Ἐπλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τινων ὀλύγων ἔθνων ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ξύμπαντα τάλλα ὑπ' ἐαντῷ πεποίηται,

37 καὶ τῆς μὲν καλουμένης Ἀσίας ὀλης ἄρχει μέχρις Ἰνδῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν φασιν ὕπακούειν τῆς δὲ Λιβύης τοῦ πλείονος μέρους· ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Ἐράκης καὶ Ἀκαδονίας· ἀπάντων τούτων κρατεί· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς κέκληται μόνος ἐκεῖνος.

38 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' οὐδ' τούτω οἶδα ὅλως γε, εἰ βασιλεὺς ἔστι τῆν ἀρχὴν1 οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως ἢ κόμης. Σὺ ἄρα, εἶπε, μόνος ἀνήκους εἰ τούτων δ' πίντες ἔσται; 'Ακούσ, ἔφη, πόλ- λῶν λεγόντων δ' συ λέγεις καὶ Ἐπλάδων καὶ Βαρβάρων· ὅ δὲ σὺ με γνωσκεῖν δ' λέγοι,

39 τοιοῦτον ἔστιν· οὐκ οἶδα, δ' ἀρίστε, εἰ νομίμους καὶ δικαίως τούτων ἀπάντων προέστηκε καὶ τοιοῦτος διὸ ὅποιον εὐρηκα πολλάκις· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐγνώμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ νόμιμος διὸ ἔπι σωτηρία καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιμελεῖται, αὐτὸς πρῶτος εὐδαιμον καὶ φρόνιμος ὄν, καθάπερ εἶπον, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδίδουσ
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eunuch? Or do you call that man strong who is weaker than the softest of things?—I mean sleep, enchained by which, often without fetters, he cannot help himself, let alone others, nor call to his aid anyone willing to fight in his defence."

On hearing this, the other exclaimed: "However, I presume you know, Socrates, that of the entire inhabited world the Persian king rules over the largest and best part; for, excluding Greece, Italy, and a few other peoples scattered throughout Europe, he has made all the rest subject to him; and of what we call Asia he governs everything as far as the Indies, many of whose people are said to own his sway too, as well as the greater part of Africa; while in Europe he governs Thrace and Macedonia. All these he holds in subjection, and this is the reason that he alone has received the title of 'The Great King.'"

"But I am not absolutely sure even on this point," replied Socrates, "whether he is king of any city or hamlet at all." "Have you alone," interjected the other, "never heard what all the world knows?" "Yes," he replied, "I do hear many people say just what you are saying—many, both Greeks and barbarians; but what keeps me from forming a definite opinion on the point I raise is this: I do not know, my good sir, whether he is placed in right and lawful authority over all these people and is a man of the stamp I have mentioned time and again. If he is a man of good mind and heart, respects the law, cares for his subjects with an eye to their safety and welfare, and is, to begin with, happy and wise himself, as I have described him, and shares this happiness of his with

1 Capps conjectures τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ, "king of the empire or of no city or hamlet at all."
τῆς\(^1\) αὐτοῦ εὐδαιμονίας, οὐ δίχα θεῖς τὸ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ τότε χαῖρον μᾶλιστα καὶ τότε νομίζον ἀριστα πράττειν, ὅταν ὀρᾷ καλῶς πράττοντας τοὺς ἀρχομένους, δυνάμει τε μέγιστος ἔστι καὶ βασι-
λεὸς ἀληθῶς· εἰ δὲ φιλόδονος καὶ φιλοχρήματος καὶ ὑβριστής καὶ παράνομος, αὐτὸν οἰόμενον αὐξεῖν μόνον,\(^2\) ὡς ἂν πλείστα μὲν χρήματα κε-κτημένος, μεγίστας δὲ καὶ πλείστας καρπούμενος ἡδονάς, βαθύμως δὲ διάγων καὶ ἀπόνως, τοὺς δὲ ὑπηκόους ἀπαντάς ἡγούμενος δούλους καὶ ὑπη-
ρέτας τῆς αὐτοῦ τρυφῆς, οúde ποιμένος ἐπιεικοῦς ἕχων ἤθος, σκέπτης καὶ νομῆς\(^3\) προνοούμενος τοῖς αὐτοῦ κτήμεσιν,\(^4\) ἔτι δὲ θῆρας ἀπαράκτων καὶ φῶρας προφυλάσσων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς\(^5\) πρῶτος διαρ-
πάξων τε καὶ φθειρῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπι-
τρέπων, καθάπερ, ὅμως, πολεμίων λείαν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴπομει τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀρχοντα ἡ αὐτο-
κράτεια ἡ βασιλεία, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τύραννον καὶ λευστῇρα, ὅς ποτε προσέπειν ὅ Ἀπόλλων 
tὸν Σικυώνιον τύραννον, εἰ καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἔχων τιμάς, πολλὰ δὲ σκῆπτρα καὶ πολλοὶ\(^6\) ὑπα-
κούοιν αὐτῷ.

41 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος εἰσώθει λέγειν, προτρέπων ἢὲ πρὸς ἄρετὴν καὶ βελτίων ποιῶν καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἰδιώτας.

"Ὅμως δὲ εἰρήκασι περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, ὡς οἴον τε ἐπορευοί τῇ σοφωτάτῃ

\(^1\) καὶ before τῆς deleted by Reiske.
\(^2\) Capps conjectures αὐτῷ οἰόμενος ἀρχεῖν μόνη "thinking that he is ruling for himself alone."
\(^3\) νομῆς Emperius: μονῆς.
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others, not divorcing his own interest from that of his subjects, but rejoicing most and regarding himself as most prosperous when he sees his subjects prosperous too—then he is most powerful and a king in very truth. If, on the other hand, he loves pleasure and wealth, is overbearing and lawless, and is minded to exalt himself alone to the end that he may get the most wealth and enjoy the most and greatest pleasures, leading an idle and effortless life and looking upon his subjects one and all as but slaves and ministers to his own luxury; if he lacks even the quality of a good shepherd, who takes thought for the shelter and pasturing of his own flock, and, besides, keeps off wild beasts and guards it against thieves; nay, if he is the very first to plunder and destroy them and to grant the same privilege to others as though they were veritable spoil of the enemy—never should I style such a ruler either emperor or king. Much rather should I call him a tyrant and oppressor, as Apollo once called the tyrant of Sicyon 1 —yea, even though he had many tiaras, many sceptres, and many obeyed his behests."

Such was the sage’s habitual message while he constantly incited to virtue and tried to make both rulers and subjects better.

In a similar vein his successors have spoken about government and kingship, following his most wise

1 Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, consulted the oracle of Delphi as to whether he should banish the cult of Adrastus, and got the reply that Adrastus was king of Sicyon, while he was an oppressor (λευστήρ). See Herodotus 5, 67. 1 f.

4 κτήμασιν emendation in Palatine MS. : κτήμασιν.
5 άλλοι αύρτης Emperius: άλλα.
6 καὶ πολλαὶ added by Cohoon, πολλαὶ δ’ Reiske.
43 νυόμη, αὐτὰ δὲ πρῶτα δηλοῖ τὰ ὄνόματα τῆς διαφορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων. λέγεται γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ νόμιμος ἀνθρώπων διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια ἀνθρώπων κατὰ νόμον, βασιλεία δὲ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχὴ, ὁ δὲ νόμος βασιλέως δόγμα. ὁ δὲ τύπωσις καὶ ἡ τυραννίς ἐναντίον τούτοις βίαιος καὶ παράνομος χρῆσις ἀνθρώπων τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἵσχύειν πλέον.

45 Τρία γὰρ εἰδή τὰ φανερώτατα πολιτείων ὁνομάζεται γνωριμενον κατὰ νόμον καὶ δίκην μετὰ δαίμονος τε ἄγαθον καὶ τύχης ὁμιλίας· μία μὲν ἡ πρώτη καὶ μᾶλλον συμβῆναι δυνατή, περὶ ής ὁ νῦν λόγος, εὑς διοικουμένης πόλεως ἡ πλειονος ἢ ἄγαθον ἢ ξυμπάντων ἄνθρωπων ἐνός ἄνδρος ἄγαθον γνώμη καὶ ἄρετη· δευτέρα δὲ ἀριστοκρατία καλουμένης, οὔτε ἐνός οὔτε πολλῶν τινῶν, ἀλλὰ ὁλίγων τῶν ἀριστῶν ἄνθρωπων, πλείων ἀπέχουσα ἡ δὲ τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος· τούτῳ ἐξοικεῖ δοκεῖ καὶ "Ομήρου εἰπεῖν διανοηθέντας,

οὐκ ἄγαθον πολυκορανικὴ· εἰς κολινάν ἔστω, εἰς βασιλεῦσαν, ὃ ἐδώκει Κρόνον παῖς ἄγκυλομῆτε.

47 τρίτη δὲ πασῶν ἀδυνατοτάτη σχεδὸν ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἄρετη δήμου προσδοκῶσά ποτε

1 After ἀρχὴ the MSS. have these words, which all the editors reject: ἀρχὴ βασιλείας δὲ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ δ ἀὐτὸς ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχων "king and autocrat mean the same thing, i.e. irresponsible ruler."

2 Capps conjectures ἀρχὴ τις "a sort of government."

3 After πλέων the MSS. have these words, which Reiske deletes: οὖτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς διανοοῦμεθα καὶ φαίνειν περὶ τοῦ theorem αὐτοκράτορος καὶ βασιλεῶς—"So too do

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doctrine as closely as they might. And the very
terms they use make the distinctions clear at the
outset. "Government" is defined as the lawful
ordering of men and as oversight over men in accord-
ance with law; "monarchy," as an irresponsible
government where the king's will is law; "tyrant,"
or rather "tyranny," on the contrary, as the arbitrary
and lawless exploitation of men by one regarded as
having superior force on his side.

The three most conspicuous forms of government
—governments based on law and justice and enjoying
the favour of heaven and fortune—are expressly
named. One is the first to come into existence and
the most practicable—that which forms the subject
of the present address—where we have a city, or a
number of peoples, or the whole world, well ordered
by one good man's judgment and virtue; second,
the so-called "aristocracy," where not one man, nor
a considerable number of men, but a few, and they the
best, are in control—a form of government, at length,
far from being either practicable or expedient. It
seems to me that Homer too had this in mind when
he said:

"The rule

Of the many is not well. One must be chief
In war, and one the king, to whom the son
Of Cronus, crafty in counsel, the sceptre doth
give." 3

Third, possibly the most impracticable one of all, the
one that expects by the self-control and virtue of the

1 This is Aristotle's teaching. Cf. Pol. 7. 2. 7.
3 Iliad 2. 204 f.

we think and speak of our divine and highly favoured
emperor and king."
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

eυρίσειν κατάστασιν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ νόμμουν, δημοκρατία προσαγορευομένη, ἐπιεικῶς ἁνομα καὶ πράσον, εἰτερ ἢν δυνατόν.

48 Ἑριστὶ δὲ ταύτας ὀσπερ εἰρηταὶ πολυτείας τρεῖς ἐναντίαι καὶ παράνομοι διαφθοραί, ή μὲν πρῶτη¹ τυραννίς, ἐνὸς ὑβρεῖ καὶ βίᾳ τοῦ κακοστου τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολλυμένων ή δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνην ὀλυγαρχία σκληρὰ καὶ ἄδικος, πλεουνεξίᾳ πλουσίων τινῶν καὶ πονηρῶν ὀλίγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἄπόρους συστάσα· ή δὲ ἔξης ποικίλη καὶ παντοδαπῆ φορὰ πληθοὺς οὐδὲν εἰδύτος ἀπλῶς, ταραττομένοι δὲ ἅν καὶ ἀγριαίωντος ὑπὸ ἀκόλαστων δημαγωγῶν ὀσπερ κλύδων αγρίων καὶ χαλεποῦ ὑπὸ ἄνεμων σκληρῶν μεταβαλλομένων.

Τούτων μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως² ἐπεμνήσθη, πολλὰ παθήματα καὶ συμφορὰς ἐκάστης αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον χρόνον δεῖξαι δυνάμενοι· περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ θείας καταστάσεως τῆς νῦν ἐπικρατούσης χρῆ διελθεῖν ἐπιμελέστερον. πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰκόνες ἔναργεῖς καὶ παραδείγματα οὐκ ἀμιδρὰ τῆς ἄρχης, ἐν τε ἀγέλαις καὶ σμῆνες διασημαινούσης τῆς φύσεως τῆν κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ κρείττονος τῶν ἐλαττώνων ἄρχην καὶ πρόνοιαν· οὐ μὴν φανερωτέρων ἄν³ οὐδὲ κάλλιον ἑτερον γένοιτο τῆς τοῦ παντός ὁγεμονίας, ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ πρῶτῳ τε καὶ ἀριστῷ θεῷ.⁴

¹ After πρῶτη the MSS. have these words, which Arnim rejects: τε καὶ ἀρίστη καὶ μόνη δυνατή—"and best and alone feasible."
² ἄλις conjectured by Capps in place of ἄλλως.
³ ἀν added by Jacobs.

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common people some day to find an equitable constitution based on law. Men call it "democracy"—a specious and inoffensive name, if the thing were but practicable.

To these forms of government—three in number, as I have said—are opposed three degenerate forms not based on law: The first is "tyranny," where one man's high-handed use of force is the ruin of the others. Next comes oligarchy, harsh and unjust, arising from the aggrandizement of a certain few wealthy rascals at the expense of the needy masses. The next in order is a motley impulsive mob of all sorts and conditions of men who know absolutely nothing but are always kept in a state of confusion and anger by unscrupulous demagogues, just as a wild rough sea is whipped this way and that by the fierce blasts.

These degenerate forms I have merely touched on in passing, though I could point to many mischances and disasters that each of them has suffered in the past, but it is my duty to discuss more carefully the happy and god-given polity at present in force. Now there are many close parallels and striking analogies to this form of government to be found in nature, where herds of cattle and swarms of bees indicate clearly that it is natural for the stronger to govern and care for the weaker. However, there could be no more striking or beautiful illustration than that government of the universe which is under the control of the first and best god.

1 Cf. Polybius 10. 4, 3, ἦ τοῦ πλήθους φορά.

4 After ἰερ the MSS. have the words τὰ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς, which Arnim and Sonny regard as a copyist's note to indicate that here followed what Dio said about Zeus.
Τοιούτος ἔν δ’ ὑπὲρτον μὲν ἔστι θεοφιλής, ἀτε τῆς μεγίστης τυγχάνων παρὰ θεῶν τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως. καὶ πρῶτον γε καὶ μάλιστα θεραπεύσει τὸ θεῖον, ὁγ̃χ ὀμολογῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεπεισμένος εἰναι θεοὺς, ὥσα δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει τοὺς κατ’ ἄξιαν ἀρχοντας. ἤγειται δὲ τοῖς ἀλλαῖς ἀνθρώποις συμφέρειν τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν οὕτως ὡς αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρχὴν, καὶ μὴν ἐκείνῳ ἐαυτῷ συνειδῆς ὡς οὕτοις δῷροι δέξεται παρὰ κακῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθημασίων οὐδὲ θυσίαις οἶεται χαίρειν τῶν ἁδικῶν ἀνδρῶν, παρὰ μόνον δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν προσέσθαι τὰ δεδομένα. τοιγαροῦν θεραπεύειν ἀφθόνως αὐτοὺς στουδάσει καὶ τούτοις ἐκεῖνοι γε μὴν οὕτεποτε παύσεται τιμῶν, τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς δικαιαῖς πράξεσιν. ἔκαστὸν γε μὴν τῶν θεῶν ἱλασκεται κατὰ δύναμιν, ἤγειται δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄρετὴν ὀσίότητα, τὴν δὲ κακίαν πᾶσαν ἁσέβειαν. εἶναι γὰρ ἐναγείς καὶ ἀληθινοὶ οὐ μόνον τοὺς τὰ ἱερὰ συλλόγους ἢ λέγοντας τι βλάσφημον περί τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοὺς τε δειλοὺς καὶ ἁδικοὺς καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνοίγους καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἐναντίον τι πράττοντας τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ βουλήσει τῶν θεῶν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἤγειται θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δαιμόνιας καὶ ἡρωας ἁγαθοὺς τὰς τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς μεταβαλοῦσας ἐκ τῆς θυτῆς φύσεως τούτῳ δὲ βεβαιοὶ τὸ δόγμα οὐχ ἦκιστα χαριζόμενος αὐτῷ.

Τὴν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαιν οὐ πάρεργον οὐδὲ ἄσχολαιν ἄλλως νεόμικεν, βαρυνόμενοι οἴμαι τὰς φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ ἔργον αὐτοῦ καὶ
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A ruler of this character is, to begin with, highly favoured of the gods, seeing that he enjoys their greatest respect and confidence, and he will give the first and chief place to religion, not merely confessing but also believing in his heart that there are gods, to the end that he too may have worthy governors under him. And he believes that his own oversight is advantageous to others just as the rule of the gods is to himself. Furthermore, being firmly resolved in his own heart never to receive a gift from wicked men, he believes that the gods also do not delight in the offerings or sacrifices of the unjust, but accept the gifts made by the good alone. Accordingly, he will be zealous to worship them with these also without stint. Of a truth he will never cease honouring them with noble deeds and just acts. Each one, indeed, of the gods he will propitiate as far as within him lies. Virtue he regards as holiness and vice as utter impiety, being firmly persuaded that not only those who rob temples or blaspheme the gods are sinners and accursed but, much more so, the cowardly, the unjust, the licentious, the fools, and, in general, those who act contrary to the power and will of the gods. Furthermore, he believes not only in gods but also in good spirits and demi-gods, which are the souls of good men that have cast off this mortal nature; and in confirming this belief he does no small service to himself as well. Then, the care bestowed on his subjects he does not consider an incidental thing or mere drudgery, when weighed down, let us say, by cares, but as his

1 τοιοῦτος Reiske: τοσοῦτος.
2 After κατὰ the MSS. have the words τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, which Wilamowitz rejects.
τέχνην ταύτην. καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἄλλο τι ποιῇ, οὐδὲν ἤγειται σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ πράττειν ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὕφελῃ, τότε νομίζει τὸ προσήκον ἀποτελεῖν, ἀτε υπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ ταχθεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον, ὃ ἀπειθεῖν οὐθένις οὔθενις οὐδὲν ἤχθεσθαι, ἀτε προσηκούσας
58 αὐτῶ νομίζων τὰς ἐργασίας. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὗτος μαλακὸς οὐδὲ φιλήδονος ὃς οὐχ ἤδεται τῇ αὐτοῦ πράξει καὶ τῷ ἐπιτοῦν. ὡς ἦκιστα μὲν κυβερνήτης ἀν ἤχθεσθαι τοὺς ἐν θαλάττῃ πόνους, ἦκιστα δὲ γεωργὸς τοῖς περὶ γεωργίαις ἔργοις, ἦκιστα δὲ κυνηγότης ὁι δεῖ 3 θηρῶντα κάμνειν καὶ τοῦ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπίτονοι γεωργίαι,
59 σφόδρα δὲ κυνηγεία. οὐ μὴν ἀπαξιῶ τὸ κάμνειν καὶ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἔνεκεν, οὐδὲ ταύτῃ χείρον πράττειν νευόμενοι, ἐὰν δὲ πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι πόνους καὶ πλείστα πράγματα ἔχειν. ὃρα γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἦλιον οὐδενὸς ἐλάττω τῶν θεῶν ὅταν οὐκ ἀχθόμενοι, εἰ σωτηρίας ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώπων καὶ βίου τὸν αἰῶνα διατράττεται πάντα ὅσα πράττει.

58 3 Καὶ τοῖνυν τὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν ἀναγκαίας νομίζει καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ βουλομένους τυραννεῖν, εἰ μὴ τάχιστα ἀπολούνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
59 μᾶλλον ἔτι τούτων ὃρα δεσμένους αὐτοὺς, ὅσῳ δὲ πλείους μὲν ἔχει τοὺς μισοῦνται, πλείους δὲ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐδένα δὲ πιστῶν οὐδὲ κηδόμενον, τοσοῦτος γε μᾶλλον, εἰ σωθήσεται τοια χρόνου, καὶ ἀγρυπνητέου εἶναι καὶ φροντιν

1 αν added by Jacobs.
own work and profession. And when he is otherwise engaged, he does not feel that he is doing anything worth while or that he is attending to his own business; it is only when he helps men that he thinks he is doing his duty, having been appointed to this work by the greatest god, whom it is not right for him to disobey in aught nor yet to feel aggrieved, believing, as he does, that these tasks are his duty. For no one is so effeminate or enslaved to pleasure as not to like his own occupation even if it chance to be laborious. A sea-captain, for example, never finds his toil at sea irksome, nor a farmer his work in tilling the soil; never is the huntsman wearied by the hardships of the chase; and yet both farming and hunting are most laborious. No indeed, the king does not object to toil and discomfort in behalf of others, nor does he deem his lot any the worse simply because he has to face the most tasks and have the most troubles. For he sees that the sun, too, although inferior to none of the gods, frets not because, to preserve man and life, he must accomplish all his many tasks throughout the ages.

And again, he considers courage, self-control, and prudence necessary even for those who disregard justice and wish to play the tyrant, if they are not speedily to perish; nay, he sees that they stand in need of these qualities even more than those others, and that the more such a man is beset by those who hate him and by those who plot against him, while he has no one on whom he can rely or look to for sympathy; so much the more, if he is to remain safe for any time, must he be on the alert and use his wits, guard-

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2 a by Empirius: as del or b y del or els del.
3 Empirius and Arnim place §§ 58-61 after § 85.
στέου, ὅσι ἀμυνόμενον τε μὴ ἤττασθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμενον μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, καὶ τῶν ἱδονῶν ἀφεκτέον καὶ γαστρὶ καὶ ὑπνῷ καὶ ἀφροδισίους ἐλάχιστα προσεκτέον ἢ τῷ φιλομένῳ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων, μηδένα δὲ ἔχοντε ἐπιβουλεύοντα.

60 Εἰ δὲ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς μὲν φροντίδας ἔχειν ἢ καὶ ἐπλείους, πολὺ δὲ μεῖζον ἀσχολίας, ὁμοίως δὲ εὐλαβεῖον τὰς ἱδονὰς, ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομείνειν, πῦρ γε κρείττων μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἢ μετὰ πονηρίας καὶ ἀδικίας πάντα ταύτα ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ μετὰ ἐπαίνου φαίνεσθαι τοιοῦτον ἢ μετὰ ψύχου, ἀγαπώμενον μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων, ἀγαπώμενον δὲ ὑπὸ θεῶν, ἢ τοῦνατιῶν μισούμενον; καὶ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν παρὸν βραχὺ τι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀσυνήλογοτον, κατέχει δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἢ μιῆμη τῶν προγεγονότων καὶ ἢ τῶν μελλόντων ἔλπις. πότερον οὖν τοῖς ἀνδροῖς ἣγούμεθα εὐφράνειν τὴν μιῆμην καὶ πότερον ἀνίᾱν, καὶ πότερον θαρρύνειν τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ πότερον ἐκπλήττειν; οὐκοίν καὶ ἡδονὰ ἀνάγκη τὸν βίον εἶναι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως.

62 Ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅτι πανταχοῦ τὸ βελτίων τοῦ ἤττονος ἐτάξειν ὁ θεὸς προνοεῖν τε καὶ ἄρχειν, οἷον τέχνην μὲν ἀτεχνίας, ἀσθενείας δὲ δύναμιν, τοῦ δὲ ἀνοίγου τὸ φρόνιμον προνοεῖν καὶ προ- 

βουλεύειν ἐποίησεν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδαμῶς βράθυμον, ἀλλὰ ἐπίπονον, οὐδὲ πλεονεκτοῦν ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς,

1 ὡς Emperius: cal.
ing against defeat by his enemies and plotting to have full knowledge of the plotters, and so much the more must he abstain from pleasure and refuse to yield under any pressure to the allurement of high living, sloth, and carnal pleasure—yea, much more than the man beloved by all who has no one plotting against him.

Therefore, if the unjust ruler must have the same anxieties as the other—or even more—and much more exacting toil, if he must equally steel himself against pleasure, must equally face danger, how much better it is for him to show justice and virtue rather than wickedness and injustice in doing all this, to win credit rather than censure for his acts, to have the love of men and gods instead of their hate? Besides, man's present is short and uncertain; the most of his life is filled with remembrance of the past and expectation of the future. Which, therefore, of the two men do we think finds joy in remembrance, and which remorse? Which do we think is encouraged by his expectations and which dismayed? Therefore of necessity the life of the good king is more pleasant also.

Once more, you see that God has everywhere appointed the superior to care for and rule over the inferior: skill, for instance, over unskilfulness, strength over weakness; and for the foolish he has made the wise to have care and thought, to watch and plan; and with all these responsibilities governing is by no means easy; nay, it is laborious and does not get the greater share of relaxation and ease, but rather of

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2 The words ἥ... ἐπισουλεύοντα are rejected by Arnim.
3 καὶ added by Reiske.
4 μὴ μὴν Geel: γνώμην.
63 ἄλλα φροντίδων καὶ πόνων, αὐτίκα ἐν νηῇ ἐπιβάταις ἐξεστιν ἁμελεῖν καὶ μηδὲ ὅραν τὴν βάλαταν, ἄλλα μηδὲ ὅποι γῆς εἴσι, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦτο εἰδέναι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τρόπων τούτων πλέουσι ταῖς εὐδίαις, οἱ μὲν πεπευνοῦτες, οἱ δὲ ἄδουσι, οἱ δὲ εὐχομένουι δι᾽ ἡμέρας ὅταν δὲ καταλάβῃ χειμών, ἐγκαλυψάμενοι περιμένουσι τὸ συμβησόμενον οἱ δὲ τινες καθυπνώσαντες οὐδὲ ἀνέστησαν, ἐως ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ λιμένι. τῷ κυβερνήτῃ δὲ ἀνάγκη μὲν ὅραν πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀποβλέπειν εἰς τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀνάγκη δὲ προσκοπεῖν τὴν γῆν οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ χρῆ λαυθάνειν αὐτῶν, ἢ λήσεται περιπεσόν ύψαλος πέτραις ἢ ἀδύλοις ἢ
65 ἔρμασιν μόνῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς ἦτον ἐξεστι καθυπνώσαται ἢ τοὺς νυκτευόμενους ἡ ἡμέρας δὲ εἰ ποὺ τι βραχὺ κλέψει ὁ ὑπνοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο μετέωρον καὶ ἄμφιβολον, ὡς ἀναβοάν πολλάκις ἢ τὸ ἱστιόν στέλλειν ἢ παράγειν τὸ πνεύμα τῆς ἁλλο τῶν ναυτικῶν ὅστε καὶ κοιμώμενοι ἐκείνος μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖται τῆς νεός ἢ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ σφόδρα ἐγρηγορότες.

66 Ἐν χρή μὴ τοῦ στρατευόμενον τῶν μὲν στρατευόμενον ἐκαστὸς ἀμφότεροι μόνος ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τροφῆς, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πορίζουσι, ἀλλὰ ἔτοιμα ἔξων ἔχειν μόνης δὲ φροντίζει τῆς
67 ύπνείας τῆς ἑαυτού, μόνης δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας, τῷ στρατηγῷ δὲ ἐργαί ἐστιν ἀπαντᾶς μὲν ὅπλισθαι καλῶς, ἀπαντᾶς δὲ εὔπορειν σκέτης, οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γαστέρας πληροῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑππολ. ἐδὼ δὲ μὴ πώτερος ἔκχωσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἄχθεται ἢ αὐτὸς 134
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care and toil. Thus, on board ship the passengers may disregard the sea and not even look at it; yes, not even know "where on earth they are," as the saying is—and many do sail the sea after this fashion in fair weather, some gambling, some singing, some feasting the livelong day. Then when a storm comes on, they wrap themselves up and await the event, while some few retire and do not rise from their beds until they reach port. But the pilot—he must look out to sea, must scan the sky, must see the land in time; nay, nor should what is in the depths escape him either, else he will unexpectedly strike submerged rocks or hidden reefs. He is the only one who during the night has less chance to sleep than the night-watch; while by day, if he does by any chance snatch a wink of sleep, even this is anxious and fitful, since he shouts out frequently, "Furl the sail," or "Hard on the tiller," or gives some other nautical command. And so, even when dozing, he has more thought for the ship than any of the others who are widest awake.

To take another illustration: On a campaign, the individual soldier sees to weapons and food for himself alone, and besides, does not furnish them himself but expects to find them ready at hand. It is only his own health, only his own safety that he has to think of. But it is the general's duty to see that all are well equipped, that all are provided with shelter, and to furnish sufficient food not only for the men but for the horses as well; and if all do not have their supplies, he is much more vexed than he would

1 νυχευομένοις Cappe, cf. τῶν ἐν φυλαττόντων § 85: νυχιομένοις.
2 ἀνάβοντας Cappe: ἀνάβονταν.
νοσῶν σωτηρίαν ἔτη μὴν τὴν ἐκείνων οὐ̄ περί ἐλάππονος ποιεῖται τῆς αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νικάν μὲν ἀδύνατον ἀνευ σωτηρίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς νικής πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀποδηνήσκειν αἱροῦνται.

68 Πάλιν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν σῶμα, ἀτε ἀνόητον, οὐδὲ αὐτῶ βοηθεῖν ἰκανῶν ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φροντίδες πέφυκεν, ὡ γε ¹ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολυτούσης οὐδὲ ὀλίγον δύναται διαμένειν, ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα λύναι καὶ ἀπολλυταί· ἢ ψυχὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνου πάσας μὲν φροντίδας φροντίζει, πάσαις δὲ ἐπινοεῖς σκῦλλεται ² καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνιᾶται λυπουμένου. ³ καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρούσης αὐτῆς μόνον αἰσθάνεται τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ἢ ψυχῇ δὲ πρὸν ἡ γενέσθαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀνιᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μὴ μελλούσης γίγνεσθαι, δὲ ὀρρωδίαν. θανάτου δὲ σῶμα μὲν οὔδεποτε ἱσθετο· ψυχῇ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ⁴ συνίησε, καὶ πολλὰ πάσχει ρυμομένη μὲν ἐκ νόσων τὸ σῶμα, ρυμομένη δὲ ἐκ πολέμων, ρυμομένη δὲ ἐκ χειμῶνος, ρυμομένη δὲ ἐκ θαλάσσης. οὕτω πανταχὴ ἐπιπονώτερον ψυχῇ καὶ ταλαιπωρότερον σῶματος, ὁμως δὲ θείωτερον καὶ βασιλικότερον.

70 Καὶ μην τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων πάν ἄν ὁμολογήσεις εἰν αὐχυρότερον καὶ ἱγμηοικότερον ἀνὴρ γυναικός. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνως μὲν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων κατ' οἰκίαν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπειροὶ μὲν ὁς τὸ πολὺ χειμῶνον διατελοῦσιν, ἀπειροὶ δὲ ⁷ χειμῶνος, ἀπειροὶ δὲ καιδύνων. τοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσι προσήκει μὲν στρατεύεσθαι, προσήκει δὲ ναυ-

¹ γε Reiske; τε.

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be if ill himself; while the safety of his men he considers just as important as his own. Indeed, victory is impossible if the soldiers be not saved, and to win victory many good men choose even to die.

Again, the body of each one of us, being devoid of intelligence, is not in a position to help itself, nor by its very nature can it take thought for itself; indeed, when the soul departs, it cannot endure even a short time, but suffers immediate decay and dissolution; whereas the soul feels every care in its behalf, is troubled by every fancy when it is hurt, and is greatly distressed. Only when the soul is present is the body sensitive to pain; but the soul is distressed before the pain comes; often, too, through foreboding when it is not going to come. As for death, the body never feels it, but the soul understands it and suffers greatly, now rescuing the body from disease, now from war, rescuing it from storms and rescuing it from the sea. So, while from every point of view the soul is more subject to hardship and suffering than the body, yet it is the more divine and regal part.

Then compare the lots of man and woman. Now everyone would admit that man is stronger than woman and more fitted to lead. Consequently, to her falls the larger share of the household tasks, and, for the most part, she remains unacquainted with storms and wars, unacquainted with dangers in general; while it is the man's part, on the other
τιλίας ποείν, ἁνάγκη δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὰ ἔργα
diαπονείν. ἄλλ' οὐ διὰ τούτο μᾶλλον ἂν τις μακα-
72 ρίσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς γυναίκας. ὃςοι δ' αὐ
dὲ ἀψθενεῖαν τε καὶ μαλακίαν ἐξήλωσαν τὸν
ἐκείνων βίον, ᾧσπερ Σαρδανάπαλλος, διαβόητοι
méχρι νῦν εἶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰσχροῖς.
73 Τὸ δὲ μεγίστων, ὅρᾶς τὸν ἥλιον, πόσῳ μὲν
tῶν ἀνδρώτων ὑπέρχει μακαιρότητι θεὸς ὅν
ὅτι δὲ σοὶ ἀναίνεται δε' αἰώνος ἡμῶν ὑπουργῶν κα
τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐνεκα σωτηρίας πράττων ἀπαντα.
74 τὸ γὰρ ἄν 2 ἄλλο τις εὕποι τὸν ἥλιον ἐργάζεσθαι
dε' αἰώνος ἡ ὁπίσων ἀνθρώποι δέονται; ποιοῦντα
μὲν καὶ διακρίνοντα τὰς ὀρας, αὐξοῦντα δὲ κα
τρέφοντα πάντα μὲν τὰ ζῷα, πάντα δὲ τὰ φυτά,
χωρηγοῦντα δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἡδίστον ὀρα-
μάτων, φῶς, οὐ χωρίς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὄφελος
οὐδὲν τῶν καλῶν, οὔτε οὐρανίων οὔτε ἐπιγείων,
ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ ξῆν καὶ ταύτα οὐδέποτε κάμνει
75 χαρίζομενος. ἢποὺ γε δουλείαν δουλεύειν φαί
τις ἄν πάνυ λόγχραν. ἐι γὰρ καὶ σμικρὸν ἀμε-
λήσει καὶ παραβαίνῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ τάξεως, οὐδὲν
κωλύει πάντα μὲν οὐρανόν, πᾶσαν δὲ γῆν, πᾶσαν
δὲ θάλασσαν οἰκεῖσθαι, πάντα δὲ τοῦτον τὸν
εὐειδῆ καὶ μακάριον κόσμον τὴν αἰσχύστην κα
76 χαλεπώτατὴν ἀκοσμίαν φανῆμαι. νῦν δὲ, ᾧσπερ
ἐν λύρα φθόγγων ἀπτόμενος ἐμμελῶς, οὐδέποτε
ἐξίσταται τῆς καθαρᾶς τε καὶ ἀκρας ἁρμονίας,
1 ποείν See pg. pleίν. Emperorius proposed to delete
προσήκει δὲ πλείν.
2 ἄν added by Dindorf.
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hand, to serve in the army, to sail the sea, and to do the hard outdoor work. Yet no one would on that account deem women happier than men. Nay, every man whose weakness and lack of virility have led him to emulate their life, as Sardanapallus did, is to this day branded with the shame of it.

But this is the best illustration: You see how greatly the sun, being a god, surpasses man in felicity and yet throughout the ages does not grow weary in ministering to us and doing everything to promote our welfare. For what else would one say that the sun accomplishes throughout the ages except what man stands in need of? Does he not cause and mark out the seasons, give growth and nourishment to all living creatures and to all plant life? Does he not lavish upon us the fairest and most delightful of visions, even his light, without which we should have no profit of the other beautiful things, be they in heaven or on earth; nay, not even of life itself? And he never grows weary in showering these blessings upon us. Verily one might say that he endures a servitude most exacting; for, if he were to be careless but for a moment and leave his appointed track, absolutely nothing would prevent the whole heavens, the whole earth, and the whole sea from going to wrack and ruin, and all this fair and blissful order from ending in the foulest and most dread disorder. But now, as though touching the strings of the lyre with an artist's touch,¹ he never swerves from his pure and exquisite harmony, ever moving along his

¹ Just as Apollo's (the sun god's) lyre had seven strings, so the sun directed the motions of the seven heavenly spheres. See Macrobius 1. 19. 15.
77 μέν άει καὶ τὴν αὐτήν ἀπιδών ὁδόν. ἐπεί δὲ δεῖται μὲν ἀλέας ἡ γῆ ὡστε γεννησαι τὰ φυόμενα καὶ ὡστε αὔξησαι καὶ ὡστε ἐπιτελέσαι, δεῖται δὲ τὰ ζῶα καὶ σωτηρίας ἐνεκα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἱδονῆς τῆς κατὰ φύσιν, δεύμεθα δὲ πάντων μάλιστα ἡμεῖς, ὑπὲρ πλείοτης χρήζοντες βοηθείας, θέρος ἐποίησεν άει καὶ μᾶλλον, ἑγγυνέως προσ-ιών τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίσεως, ἵνα πάντα μὲν φύσιν, πάντα δὲ θρέψη, πάντα δὲ τελείωσην, θείαν δὲ καὶ θαυμαστὴν παράσχεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐφροσύνην τε καὶ ἐστηρίζουσα.

78 Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸ πάλιν τάλλα τε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν χρίσι χρυσόμεθα τῆς ἐναντίας κράσεως, δεῖται μὲν ἄρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τὰ σώματα συνίστα-σθαι, δεῖται δὲ πυκνώσεως τὰ φυτεῖ, δεῖται δὲ ὁμβρῶν ἡ γῆ. πάλιν ἀπεισὶν ἀφ᾿ ἡμῶν άφρο-ιστάμενος τὸ μέτριον. οὔτω δὲ πάνυ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀραρτῶς τηρεῖ τους ὄρους πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν συμφέρων, ὡστε εἴτε προσίων ὄλγουν ἑγγυνέωρ γένοιτο, πάντα ἀν συμφλέξειν, εἴτε ἀπιῶν μικρῶν ὑπερβάλοι, πάντα ἀν ἀποψυχεῖν τοῦ κρύου. ἐπεί δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι φέρειν ἐσμὲν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἄθροίν γυνομένην, κατ᾿ ὄλγουν ταῦτα μηχανάται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ λανθαίνεις συνεβίζων μὲν ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ ἡρὸς ὑπενεγκεῖν τὸ θέρος, προγυμνάζων δὲ διὰ τοῦ μετοπώρου χειμώνα ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ χειμώνος θάλπων κατ᾿ ὄλγουν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀναψύχουν, ὡστε ἀλύπως ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἐκατέρα τὴν ὑπερβολὴν.

79 κρύει. Ἐπεί δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι φέρειν ἐσμὲν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἄθροίν γυνομένην, κατ᾿ ὄλγουν ταῦτα μηχανάται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ λανθαίνεις συνεβίζων μὲν ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ ἡρὸς ὑπενεγκεῖν τὸ θέρος, προγυμνάζων δὲ διὰ τοῦ μετοπώρου χειμώνα ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ χειμώνος θάλπων κατ᾿ ὄλγουν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀναψύχουν, ὡστε ἀλύπως ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἐκατέρα τὴν ὑπερβολὴν.

81 Ἐπεί δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ὀρᾶσθαι μὲν ἦδιστον, πρῶτον δὲ ἄδυνατον ὁτιόν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, κοι-μόμενοι δὲ πάγαν μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἀνομεῖν, οὔδὲν
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one recurrent track. And since the earth needs warmth to bring forth her produce, to give it increase, and to bring it to perfection, since animals need it likewise both for the preservation of their bodies and for their natural pleasure, and since we, being so utterly dependent in our helplessness, need it above all others, he brings on summer step by step as he approaches nearer and nearer to our habitation, that he may give growth to everything, nourish everything, perfect everything, and spread a divine and wondrous feast of good cheer before man.

But when, on the other hand, we and all other things come to need the opposite temperature—for our bodies need to be braced up by cold, plants need hardening, and the earth needs rain—he goes away from us again, withdrawing a moderate distance; and with such perfect nicety of adjustment does he observe his bounds with respect to our advantage that, if in his approach he got a little nearer, he would set everything on fire, and if he went a little too far in his departure, everything would be stiffened with frost. And since a sudden change would be too much for our weakness, he brings all this to pass gradually, and in a way he accustoms us insensibly in the spring to endure the heat of summer and in the late autumn gives preliminary training to support the chill of winter—in the one case taking off the chill of winter little by little, in the other, reducing the heat of summer, so that we reach either extreme without discomfort.

And furthermore, since it is so great a pleasure to see the light and impossible to do anything without it, and since, when we are asleep, we do absolutely

1 There is a similar observation in Xenophon’s Memorabilia, 4. 3. 8.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

dē χρόμεθα τῷ φωτὶ, ὅσον μὲν ἴκανὸν ἐγγίγο-βέναι χρόνου, ἦμέραν ἐποίησεν, ὅσον δὲ κοιμᾶσθαι ἀναγκαῖον, νύκτα ἀπέδειξε, περὶ πᾶσαν ἡγίαν ἔλλοτε ἀλλοις ἀναπαιῶν τε καὶ ἀνιστάς, ἄφ-βιστάμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μηκέτι δεομένων φωτὸς, τοῖς δὲ ἄεὶ δεομένους ἐπιφανώμενος, καὶ ταύτα μηχανώμενος δὲ αἰώνος ουδέποτε κάμνει.

82 "Ὅτου δὲ θεὸς ὁ πάντων κάλλιστος καὶ φανερότατος σοῦ ὑπερον τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελοῦμενος, ἦποι γε ἄνθρωπον θεοφήλη καὶ φρόνιμον χρή βεβαιώνεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθ’ ὅσον οἶνος τέ ἐστι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν; ταύτα δὲ λογιζόμενος οὐκ ἄχθεται καρτερῶν κατανοεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πόνους ὑγείαν τε παρέχωντας καὶ σωτηρίαν, ἢτι δὲ δόξαν ἁγάθην, τὴν δὲ αὖ τρυφῆν ἀπαντᾶ τούτων τάναντα. ἢτι δὲ οἱ μὲν πόνοι αὐτῶν ἐλάττουσιν ἂεὶ ποιοῦσι καὶ φέρειν ἐλα-βοτέρους, τάς δὲ ἱδονὰς μείζους καὶ ἀβλαβε-ςτέρας, ὅταν γίγνονται μετὰ τοὺς πόνους. ἦ- δὲ γε τρυφῆ τοὺς μὲν πόνους ἂοι χαλεπώτερους ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι, τάς δὲ ἱδονὰς ἀπομαραίνει καὶ 84 ἄσθενείς ἀποδείκνυσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἂεὶ τρυφῶν ἂν-βρωπος, μηδέποτε δὲ ἀπτόμενος πόνου μηδενός, τελευτῶν πόνου μὲν οὐκ ἂν οὐδένα ἀνάσχοιτο, ἱδονής δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν αἰσθοῖτο, οὐδὲ τῆς σφο-βρατῆς. ὡστε οἱ χιλόπονοι καὶ ἐγκρατῆς οὐ μόνον βασιλείειν ἴκανότερος ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱδίων βιοτεύει 1 πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων. 2

1 Βιοτεύει Αττιμ: Βιοτεύει.
2 After ἐναντίον the MSS. have ἐγγίγορσεος δὲ καὶ ὅπου τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις ἐξ ἦσαυ μέτεστι, τοῖς μὲν φυλαττότων ἐν μέρει, τῶν δὲ ἀναπαυομένων: δὲ στρατηγὸς ἄγρυπνοτέρος ἔστι 142
nothing and make no use of the light, he has made day the time requisite for our waking hours, and turned into night the time necessary for sleep, making a complete revolution around the earth and sending now these men to rest or awakening them, now those: departing from those who no longer need his light and appearing to those who need it in their turn. And he never grows weary of bringing these things to pass throughout the ages.

But where a god, the fairest and most conspicuous of all, does not neglect his eternal watch over man, can it possibly be right for man, intelligent object of the god's care, to feel oppressed by similar duties? Should he not, so far as in him lies, imitate the god's power and goodness? Reasoning thus, the good king endures without repining. He realizes too that toil brings health and salvation and goodly report as well; while, on the other hand, luxurious ease brings quite the opposite. Then again, toil endured ever grows less and easier to support, the while it makes pleasure greater and less harmful if it follows the toil. Ease, on the other hand, makes toil appear more and more difficult in that it lessens pleasure and blunts its edge. The man who lives in the lap of luxury and never puts his hand to a single task, ends by being unable to endure any task or to feel any pleasure at all, however intense. Consequently, he who loves to toil and exercises self-control is not only better qualified to be king but is able to live a much more pleasant life than those in the opposite case.

τῶν ἂν φυλασσόντων.—"Watching and sleep the soldiers divide equally among them, some taking their turn on guard while others are sleeping. But the general gets less sleep than those mounting continuous guard." These words Emperius warns belong to §§ 66–67.
Φιλίαν ἕ γε μὴν ἀπάντων νυνόμικε τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων καλλιστον καὶ ἱερότατον. οὐ γὰρ οὐτως αἰσχρῶν εἶναι τοῖς βασιλεύσιν οὔτε ἐπικείνυνοι χρημάτων ἀπορείν ὡς φίλων, οὔτε ἄν οὕτως τῇ χορηγίᾳ καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ τῇ ἅλλῃ δυνάμει διαφυλάττειν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὡς τῇ πίστει τῶν φίλων. μόνοις μὲν γὰρ οὐδεῖς πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἱδίων ἱκανὸς ἔστιν τοῖς δὲ βασιλεύσιν ὡς πλείω τε καὶ μείζω πρῶττειν ἀνάγκη, πλείονων δὲ καὶ τῶν συνεργοῦντων καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας πλείονος. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ σπουδαίότατα τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ πιστεύειν ἑτέρους ἢ προεσθαί. καὶ τοῖς οὖς μὲν ἱδίωταις οἱ νόμοι παρέχουσι τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τοῦτον οἷς ἀν συμβάλλοσθι ἡ χρίματα πιστεύσαντες ἡ οἰκον ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡ ἔργον τυφός κοινωνίσαντες, ξημοῦντες τὸν ἀδικούντα τοῖς δὲ βασιλεύσι τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι πιστεύσαντας οὐκ ἔστιν παρὰ τῶν νόμων ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς εὐνοίας. καὶ γὰρ ἱσχυροτάτους μὲν εἰκὸς ἀπάντων εἶναι τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὴν ἄρχὴν συνδικοῦντας· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὴ φυλακὴ πλῆς τὸ ἁγαπάσθαι· ὡς τοῖς μὲν τυχόνων οὐκ ἄσφαλες εἰκῇ μεταδίδοναι δυνάμεως, ὅσῳ δὲ ἂν τις τοῦς φίλους ἱσχυροτέρους ποιήσατε, τοσοῦτοι ἱσχυρότεροι αὐτὸς ἡγεῖνται.
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Friendship, moreover, the good king holds to be the fairest and most sacred of his possessions, believing that the lack of means is not so shameful or perilous for a king as the lack of friends, and that he maintains his happy state, not so much by means of revenues and armics and his other sources of strength, as by the loyalty of his friends. For no one, of and by himself, is sufficient for a single one of even his own needs; and the more and greater the responsibilities of a king are, the greater is the number of co-workers that he needs, and the greater the loyalty required of them, since he is forced to entrust his greatest and most important interests to others or else to abandon them. Furthermore, the law protects the private individual from being easily wronged by men with whom he enters into business relations, either by entrusting them with money, or by making them agents of an estate, or by entering into partnership with them in some enterprise; and it does so by punishing the offender. A king, however, cannot look to the law for protection against betrayal of a trust, but must depend upon loyalty. Naturally, those who stand near the king and help him rule the country are the strongest, and from them he has no other protection than their love. Consequently, it is not a safe policy for him to share his power carelessly with the first men he meets; but the stronger he makes his friends, the stronger he becomes himself.

Once more, necessary and useful possessions do

τῷν ἡμῶν ἀσύμφορα εὑρίσκεται.—"Note too that in the case of other possessions, some are universally regarded as necessary merely and useful: they give no delight. Others are pleasurable merely and not profitable also. On the contrary, most pleasurable things are found to be harmful."

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τῶν κτημάτων, οὐ πάντως ἠδονήν τινα ἔχει τοῖς κεκτημένοις· ὅσα δὲ τερπνά, οὐκ εὐθὺς διὰ τούτο καὶ συμφέροντα· τούναυτίον γὰρ πολλά τῶν ἡδέων ἀσύμφορα ἐξελέγχεται. αὐτίκα τείχη μὲν καὶ ὄπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ κτημάτων τοῖς κρατοῦσιν· ἀνευ γὰρ τούτων οὐχ οἷόν τε σώζοσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τέρψιν δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ πολλάν δίχα γε τῆς ὁφελείας ἔχει. καλὰ δὲ ἄλοι καὶ οὐκία πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἄνθριάντες καὶ γραφαὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τε καὶ ἄκρας τέχνης καὶ χρυσοὶ κρατῆρες καὶ ποικίλαι τραπέζαι καὶ πορφύρα καὶ ἐλέφας καὶ ἠλεκτρος καὶ μύρων ὅσμαι καὶ θεαμάτων παντοίων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων τέρψεις διὰ τε φωνῆς καὶ ὀργάνων, πρὸς δὲ αὐ τούτως γυναικεῖς ὠραίας καὶ παιδικὰ ὠραία, ἐξυμπαντα ταῦτα οὐδεμιᾶς ἐνεκα χρείας, ἀλλ' ἡδονής εὐρημένα φαίνεται.

41 μόνη δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ συμβεβεήκεν ἀπάντων μὲν εἶναι συμφορῶτατον, ἀπάντων δὲ ἥδιστον. εὐθὺς οἴμαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὰ μέγιστα, ὄπλα καὶ τέλχη καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ πόλεις, ἀνευ τῶν διοικούντων φίλων οὕτε χρήσιμα οὕτε συμφέροντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐπισοφαλῆ· οἱ δὲ γε φίλοι καὶ δίχα τούτων ὁφέλεια. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν πολέμῳ μόνον χρήσιμα, τοῖς δὲ ἀεὶ βιωσομένοις ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἄν ᾗ δυνατόν ἄχρεία καὶ βαρέα· ἀνευ δὲ φιλίας οὐδὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ξῆν ἀσφαλές.

96 Καὶ μὴν δὲν εἴπον ἡδέων τὸ μὲν κοινωνεῖν φίλους τερπνότερον, μόνον δὲ ἀπολαύειν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πάντων ἀγδέστατον, καὶ οὐδεῖς ἄν ὑπομείνειν· ἐτι δὲ λυπηρότερον, εἰ δεῖσει κοινωνεῖν τοῖς μὴ

1 kal added by Reiske.
THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

not in all cases afford their owner some pleasure, nor does it follow that because a thing is pleasing it is also profitable. On the contrary, many pleasant things prove to be unprofitable. Fortifications, for example, arms, engines, and troops are possessions necessary for a ruler, since without them his authority cannot be maintained, but I do not see what gratification they afford—at least, apart from their utility; and on the other hand, beautiful parks, costly residences, statues, paintings in the exquisite early style, golden bowls, inlaid tables, purple robes, ivory, amber, perfumes, everything to delight the eye, delightful music, both vocal and instrumental, and besides these, beautiful maidens and handsome boys—all these evidently subserve no useful purpose whatever, but are obviously the inventions of pleasure. To friendship alone has it been given to be both the most profitable of all and the most pleasurable of all. To illustrate: I presume that our greatest necessities, arms, walls, troops, and cities, without friends to control them, are neither useful nor profitable; nay, they are exceedingly precarious; while friends, even without these, are helpful. Besides, these things are useful in war only, while for men who are going to live in unbroken peace—if such a thing be possible—they are a useless burden. Without friendship, however, life is insecure even in peace.

Once more, the pleasures I have mentioned afford more delight when shared with friends; to enjoy them in solitude is the dreariest thing imaginable, and no one could endure it. But it would be still more disagreeable if you had to share them with
ἀγαπῶσιν. ποία μὲν γὰρ εὐφροσύνη προσφιλῆς εἰ μὴ καὶ πάντων παρεῖ τὰ μέγιστα, ποίον δὲ συμπόσιον ἣδυ χαρῆς εὐνοίας τῶν παρόντων; ποία δὲ θυσία κεχαρισμένη θεοῖς ἀνευ τῶν συνενοχουμένων; οὐ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ταῦτα ἥδιστα καὶ ἀνυβριστότατα ὅσα γίγνεται μετὰ φιλίας τῶν συνόντων καὶ ὅσα μαστεύουσιν εὐνοιαν ἀνθρώπων ἐπῆλθε παρὰ παιδικῶν ἢ παρὰ γυναικῶν; πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς φιλίας ὃσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ χρείαν ἤ δὲ μετὰ κάλλους καὶ ὁρᾶς γυγομένη φίλια δικαίως ἔρως ἀνόμασται καὶ δοκεῖ κάλλιστος τῶν θεῶν.

Καὶ μὴν τὰ γε ὠφέλιμα φύρμακα τοῖς μὲν νοσοῦσιν ὠφέλιμα, τοῖς δὲ ὑγιαίνουσι περιττά. φιλίας δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν ἀεὶ σφόδρα δεῖ καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ἡ συμφυλάττει μὲν πλοῦτον, ἐπαρκεῖ δὲ πενία, λαμπρώνει μὲν δόξαν, ἀμαυροὶ δὲ ἀδοξίαν. μόνον δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν δυσχερή πάντα μειοὶ, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ πάντα αὐξεῖ. ποία μὲν γὰρ συμφορὰ δίχα φιλίας ὅσιοι ἄφόρητος, ποία δὲ εὐτυχία χαῖρι φίλων οὐκ ἄχαρις; εἰ δὲ σκυθρωτὸν ἔρημια καὶ πάντων φοβερωτάτων, οὐ τὴν ἄνθρωπων ἔρημιαν χρὴ τοιοῦτον νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν φίλων ἐπεὶ τῶν γε μὴ εὐνοοῦντων πολλάκις ἢ ἔρημια κρείττων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ εὐτυχίαν ἐκείνην νεώτερα, ἢ μηδένα ἔχει τῶν συνηδόμενον. βῶν γὰρ ἂν τὰς συμφορὰς τὴν χαλεπωτάτην φέροι μετὰ φίλων ἢ μόνος εὐτυχίαν τὴν μεγίστην. ὃς ἐκείνων ἀθλιωτάτων ἐγὼ κρίνω

1 Arnim would delete μὴ.
2 πάντων Capps: πάντα.
people who disliked you. Nay, what festivity could please unless the most important thing of all were at hand, what symposium could delight you if you lacked the good-will of the guests? What sacrifice is acceptable to the gods without the participants in the feast? Indeed, are not even those love relations the pleasantest and least wanton which are based on the affection of the lovers, and which men whose object is good-will experience in the society of boys or women? Many are the names applied to friendship just as its services undoubtedly are many; but where youth and beauty enter in, there friendship is rightly called love and is held to be the fairest of the gods.

Again, salutary drugs are salutary to the sick, but of no use to the well. Of friendship, however, men stand ever in the greatest need, whether in health or in sickness: it helps to defend wealth and relieves poverty; it adds lustre to fame and dims the glare of infamy. It is this alone that makes everything unpleasant seem less so and magnifies everything good. For what misfortune is not intolerable without friendship, and what gift of fortune does not lose its charm if friends be lacking? And although solitude is cheerless and of all things the most terrible, it is not the absence of men that we should consider as solitude, but the absence of friends; for often complete solitude is preferable to the presence of persons not well-disposed. For my part, I have never regarded even good fortune to be such if attended by no friend to rejoice with me, since the severest strokes of misfortune can more easily be borne with friends than the greatest good fortune without them. For with good right I judge that
Δικαλώς, ὑς ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμφοράς πλείστους ἔχει
tοὺς ἐφηδομένους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις οὐδένα
τὸν συνηδόμενον. ὃ γὰρ πλείστοι μὲν καὶ
ἀριστοι φίλοι, δυσμενεῖς δὲ παυρότατοι, εἰ
tις ἄρα ἔστι, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ ἀγαπῶντες, πλείους
dὲ οἱ ἐπαινοῦντες, ψέγειν δὲ οὕδεις δυνάμενοι,
pῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ τελέως εὐδαιμῶν; ὃ γὰρ
tοιοῦτος ἄνὴρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχει τοὺς συνηδο-
μένους, οὐδένα δὲ ἐφηδόμενον, καὶ διὰ τούτο
eὐτυχεῖς ἢ ἀπασί, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχειν
φίλους, μηδένα δὲ ἔχθρον.

104 Εἰ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὅτα καὶ γλῶττα καὶ
χεῖρες ἀνθρώποις τοῦ παντός ἄξια οὐ μόνον πρὸς
tὸ ἢδεσθαί ζῶντας, ἀλλὰ δύνασθαι ζῆν, τῶν τῶν
οὐκ ἔλαττον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον φίλοι χρήσιμοι.

105 διὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μόλις ὅραν ἔστι τὰ
ἐμποδών, διὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς
πέρασι θεάσθαι. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῶν ἤτων ὅν 
τις ἄκουσαι ἢ τῶν σφόδρα ἐγγύθευν, διὰ δὲ τῶν

106 εὐνοοῦντων οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαῖοι ὅπου θύτοτε
ἀνήκοδοι ἐστὶ. καὶ τῷ μὲν γλῶττῃ μόνοις τοῖς
παροῦν σημαινεῖ, καὶ ταῖς χερσίν, εἰ καὶ
σφόδρα εἰς καρτερόν, οὐκ ἂν ἔργασαίτο πλείουν
ἐργον ἢ δ’ ἀνθρώπων διὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων δύναται
καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πάντων
ἐργῶν ἐφικνεῖσθαι. οἱ γὰρ εὐνοοῦντες πάντα
ἐκεῖνοι συμφέροντα καὶ λέγουσι καὶ 

107 τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων παραδεξότατον, ἐνα γὰρ
ὅρτα ἐγχωρεῖ, ὅστις πολύφιλος, πολλὰ μὲν

1 δυσμενεῖς δὲ παυρότατοι Σαμιρά: δυσμενὴς δὲ φαιλότατος.
2 τοῦτο εὐτυχεῖς Σαμιρά: τὸ εὐτυχεῖν.
3 καί ὅτα added by Geel.
man most wretched who in misfortune has the largest number to gloat over him but in good fortune no one to rejoice with him. When a man has hosts of excellent friends and his foes very few in number—if he has any foe at all—when he has many who love him, still more who admire him, and no one who can censure him, is he not perfectly happy? For such a man has multitudes to share his joy but not one to gloat over him in misfortune, and for this reason he is fortunate in all things, in that he has hosts of friends but not a single enemy.

If eyes, ears, tongue, and hands are worth everything to a man that he may be able merely to live, to say nothing of enjoying life, then friends are not less but more useful than these members. With his eyes he may barely see what lies before his feet; but through his friends he may behold even that which is at the ends of the earth. With his ears he can hear nothing save that which is very near; but through those who wish him well he is without tidings of nothing of importance anywhere. With his tongue he communicates only with those who are in his presence, and with his hands, were he never so strong, he can not do the work of more than two men; but through his friends he can hold converse with all the world and accomplish every undertaking, since those who wish him well are saying and doing everything that is in his interest. The most surprising thing of all, however, is that he who is rich in friends is able, although but one man, to do a multiplicity of things at the same time, to deliberate about many matters

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4 ἄνθρωπος von der Muehll: ἄνθρωπος.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐν ταύτῳ χρόνῳ πράττειν, περὶ πολλῶν δὲ ἀμα
βουλεύεσθαι, πολλὰ ἕδραν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀκούειν,
ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ ἀμα εἶναι τόποις, ὥσ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς
χαλεπύν, ὅς μηδαμόφιλος μηδὲν ἔρημον ἀπολείπεσθαι
τῆς ἐκείνου προνοίας.

108 Καὶ τοίνυν οὐχ ἦττον αἱ τῶν φίλων εὐπώθειαι
tὸν ἀγαθὸν πεφύκασιν εὐφραίνειν τῆς αὐτοῦ τινος
tέρψεως. πῶς γὰρ οὐ μακαριστῶν, δὴ πάρεστι
πολλοῖς μὲν σώματιν ἕδρομενον εὐφραίνεσθαι,

109 πολλαῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς εὐτυχοῦντα χαίρειν; εἰ δὲ
δόξα τοῖς φιλότιμοις περισσοῦσαντος, πολλάκης
ἀν εὐδοξεῖν εἰη τῶν φίλων ἐπαινομένων.

εἰ δὲ πλούτος πέφυκεν εὐφραίνειν τοὺς κτωμένους,
πολλάκης ἀν εἰη πλούσιος ὁ τοῖς φίλοις μετα-
δίδοντι τῶν παρόντων.

110 Καὶ τοίνυν ἦδον μὲν γαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθερίοις,
ἀφθόνων δοῦναι, ἦδον δὲ λαμβάνειν δῶρα, δικαίως
λαμβαίνοντα καὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν ὁ τοίνυν τοῖς φίλοις
χαρίζομενος ἔδεται ἀμα μὲν ὡς δίδοσ, ἀμα δὲ
ὡς αὐτὸς χρώμενος. καὶ γὰρ δὴ παλαιός ἑστὼν
ὁ λόγος ὁ κοινὰ ἀποφαινοῦτα τὰ τῶν φίλων.

οὐκοῦν ἀγαθῶν παρόντων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οὐχ ἦκιστα ἀν
εἰη ταύτα κοινά.

111 Ἔν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ πάντως ὑπερβάλ-
λειν τοὺς ἑδίωτας ὁ τοιοῦτος βασιλεύς βουλεῖται,
πολλάχως δὲ καὶ ἐλαττῶν ἐκείνων ἐχειν, οἷον
σχολῆς, ῥαθύμιας, ἀνέσεως. ἐν μόνῃ δὲ φιλίᾳ

1 πολλὰ Geel: περὶ πολλῶν.
2 Before πολλοῖς the MSS. have πολλοίς δὲ διανολαῖς φροντί-
ζοντα βουλεύεσθαι, — “many minds with which to plan when
he thinks,” deleted by Emperius.
3 ἐλευθερίοις Arnim: ἐλευθέρους.
4 χρώμενος Capps: κτώμενος.
simultaneously, to see many things, to hear many things, and to be in many places at once—a thing difficult even for the gods—with the result that there is nothing remaining anywhere that is bereft of his solicitude.

Once more, the happy experiences of his friends are bound to delight a good man no less than some joy of his own. For is that man not most blessed who has many bodies with which to be happy when he experiences a pleasure, many souls with which to rejoice when he is fortunate? And if glory be the high goal of the ambitious, he may achieve it many times over through the eulogies of his friends. If wealth naturally gladdens its possessor, he can be rich many times over who shares what he has with his friends.

Then, too, while it is a pleasure to show favours to good men and true when one’s means are ample, it is also a pleasure to receive gifts when they are deserved and for merit. Hence, he who shows his friends a favour rejoices both as giver and as receiver at the same time. Old, in sooth, is the proverb which says that "Common are the possessions of friends." Therefore, when the good have good things, these will certainly be held in common.

Now, while in any other matter, such as leisure, ease, and relaxation, our good king does not wish to have unvarying advantage over private citizens and, indeed, would often be satisfied with less, in the one matter of friendship he does want to have the

1 The proverb in this form is found in the 'Ἀδελφοί of Menander (Kock fr. 9). Cf. Terence, Aedelphi 803: Nam vetus verbum hoc quidemst, communia esse amicorum inter se omnia.
112 Βούλεται πλεονεκτείν.1 καὶ ἄλλοιον2 οὐδὲν ἤγει- 
tαί ποιν εἶναι3 ἢ ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγάλλεται 
μᾶλλον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἀγαπώμενος 
ἡ οἴ γονεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων 
ἡ τοὺς παῖδας ἀγαπῶσι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν 
συνόντων ἡ τοὺς ἐξ ἱσοῦ συνόντας ἀγαπῶσι, 
μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄκοι μόνον ἀκούόντων ἡ οἱ 
113 σφόδρα ἐγγύς οὔτε ἀγαπῶνται 4 φιλοσυγγενε- 
τατος δὲ ὅτι καὶ φιλοικείστατος ἐστ᾽ ὅτι μείζον 
ἀγαθὸν νενόμικη τὴν φιλίαν τῆς συγγενείας. 
ἀνεν μὲν γὰρ συγγενείας οἱ φίλοι χρήσιμοι, ἀνεν 
δὲ φιλίας οὐδὲ οἱ σφόδρα ἐγγύς ὑφέλιμοι. τοσοῦ- 
του δὲ ἄξιαν κρίνει τὴν φιλίαν, ὡστε οὐδένα 
ἡγεῖται τῶν πώποτε ἑδικῆθαι ὑπὸ φίλου, ἀλλὰ 
τούτο δὴ ἐν τῶν λεγομένων ἀδυνάτων εἶναι 5 
114 ἀμα γὰρ τῆς ἀδικών πεφόραται καὶ δῆλον πεποί- 
ηκεν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν φίλος. ὡσοι δὲ πεπόνθασι 
δεινὸν, ὃτι ἑχθρὸν πεπόνθασι, λεγομένων μὲν 
φίλων, ἀγνοομένων δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν ἑχθροὶ. δεῖ 
οὖν καταμέμφεσθαι ἡ τῆν αὐτῶν ἁγνοιαν, ἀλλὰ 
115 μὴ ψέγειν τὸ τῆς φιλίας ὅνομα. καίτοι πατέρα 
γε ὅντα οὐκ ἀδύνατον υἱὸν ἀδικῆσαι καὶ παιδα 
περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὁμοίως δὲ ἀδελφοὺς 
ἀλλήλων κακὸν τι ἀπολαύσαι. οὕτως δὲ πάνω 
τῆν φιλίαν ἱερῶν νενόμικεν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς 
αὐτῷ πειρᾶται ποιεῖν φίλους.

1 Arnim follows Emperius in putting §§ 128–132 after πλεονεκτείν.
2 άλλοιον Capra : ἄλλο μὲν.
3 οὐ εἶναι Capra : ποιεῖν.
4 ἀγαπῶνται Cohoon : ἀγαπῶσι οὐ ἀγαπῶσι.
5 οὐς εἰναι the MSS. have ὡστε καὶ παθεῖν ὑπὸ φίλου κακῶς 
τῶν ἀδυνάτων εἶναι κέκρικεν.—"So that he considers suffering
larger portion; and he doubtless thinks it in no wise peculiar or strange—nay, he actually exults because young people love him more than they do their parents, and older men more than they do their children, because his associates love him more than they do their peers, and those who know him only by hearsay love him more than they do their nearest neighbours. Extremely fond of kith and kin though he may be, yet, in a way, he considers friendship a greater good than kinship. For a man’s friends are useful even without the family tie, but without friendship not even the most nearly related are of service. So high a value does he set on friendship as to hold that at no time has anyone been wronged by a friend, and that such a thing belongs to the category of the impossible; for the moment one is detected doing wrong, he has shown that he was no friend at all. Indeed, all who have suffered any outrage have suffered it at the hands of enemies—friends in name, whom they did not know to be enemies. Such sufferers must blame their own ignorance and not reproach the name of friendship. Furthermore, it is not impossible for a father to be unjust to a son and for a child to sin against its parents; brother, too, may wrong brother in some way; but friendship our king esteems as such an altogether sacred thing that he tries to make even the gods his friends.¹

¹ He means, apparently, that friendship is such a sacred thing that it is a fitting relation to exist between the gods and men, and that therefore the good king may venture to form it even with the gods without impropriety.

wrong at the hands of a friend to belong to the category of the impossible.” Emperius deletes.

⁶ καταμέμφεσθαι Ροίσκη; καὶ μέμφεσθαι.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

116 Ἐν ἀπασί μὲν οὖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔστι συννοεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τάναντία τοῖς τυράννοις κακὰ πρόσεστιν ἢν ἐμνήσθημεν ἄγαθῶν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λεγομένῳ. πάντων γὰρ ἀπορώτατος ἔστι φιλίας τύραννος· οὐδὲ γὰρ διόνυσαί ποιεῖσθαι φίλους. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὠμοίους αὐτῷ, πονηροὺς δὲ, ὑφορᾶται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνομοίων καὶ ἄγαθῶν μισεῖται. ὁ δὲ μισούμενος ἔχθρος καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀδίκοις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίοις μισοῦσιν αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐπιβουλεύονται. ὡστε οἱ μὲν Πέρσης ἔνα τινὰ ἔσχεν, ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέως λεγόμενον, καὶ τούτων οὖ σπουδαίον ἀνθρωπον, ἄλλα ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τοῖς ἄγαθοι βασιλέως οἱ φίλοι πάντες εἰλίν ὀφθαλμοι.

119 Φιλοκείεσθε δὲ καὶ φιλοσυγγεγείης πῶς οὖς ἂν εἰη διαφερόντως; ὡς γε τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς συγγεγεῖν μέρος νευμικὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς, καὶ προοιμίσθε γε οὐ μόνον ὅπως μετέχωσι τῆς λεγομένης εὐδαιμονίας, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅπως ἄξιοι δοκῶσι κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τούτο ἐσπούδακεν ἐξ ἀπαντος, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν συγγενείαν αὐτοῦς, ἄλλα διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν φαίνεται προτιμῶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὅρθοὺς ζῶντας μᾶλιστα πάντων ἄγαπα, τοὺς δὲ μη, οὐ φίλους ἄλλοι.

120 Ἀναγκαίοις νευμικεῖν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ φίλους ἐστὶ διαλύσασθαι δυσχέρειαν τινὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνυδότατα· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συγγεγεῖνος οὖς οἶνον τε διαλύσασθαι τὴν συγγενείαν, ἄλλα ὅποιοι ποτὲ ἄν ὅσιν, ἀνάγκη 1 καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις added by Capps, who deletes ἀδίκοις after ἀδίκοις.

2 ὅρθοι added by Capps: μὲν ζῶντας οτ μὲν ἔγγειγοντας.

3 τοὺς δὲ ὡς, οὐ Capps: καὶ. 4 ἄλλα added by Capps.
THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Now, while it may be gathered from all that has been said that tyrants suffer all the ills that are the opposites of the blessings we have enumerated, this is especially true as regards the matter we are now discussing. For the tyrant is the most friendless man in the world, since he cannot even make friends. Those like himself he suspects, since they are evil, and by those unlike himself, and good, he is hated; and the hated man is an enemy to both the just and the unjust. For some men do justly hate him; while others, because they covet the same things, plot against him. And so the Persian king had one special man, called the "king's eye" —not a man of high rank, but just an ordinary one. He did not know that all the friends of a good king are his eyes.

And should not the ties of blood and kinship be especially dear to a good king? For he regards his kith and kin as a part of his own soul, and sees to it that they shall not only have a share of what is called the king's felicity, but much more that they shall be thought worthy to be partners in his authority; and he is especially anxious to be seen preferring them in honour, not because of their kinship, but because of their qualifications. And those kinsmen who live honourable lives he loves beyond all others, but those who do not so live he considers, not friends, but relatives. For other friends he may cast off when he has discovered something objectionable in them, but in the case of his kinsmen, he cannot dissolve the tie; but whatever their character, he must allow the title to

1 He guarded the king in every way. See Herodotus, 110, 112.
122 τοῦτο ἀκούειν τὸ ὄνομα. γυναῖκα δὲ οὐ κοίτης μόνον ἢ ἀφροδισίων κοινωνόν νενόμικεν, βουλής δὲ καὶ ἔργων καὶ τοῦ ἐξυμπαντος βίου συνεργόν.

123 Μόνος δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὖχ ἑδυπάθειαν νενόμικε, τολμὸς δὲ μᾶλλον καλοκαγαθίαν, τὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ βούλησιν, τὴν δὲ καρτερίαν οὐ ταλαιπωρίαν ἀλλ' ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡδονὰς αὐξεῖ τοὺς πόνους καὶ μαίζους διὰ τοῦτο καρποῦται, τοὺς δὲ πόνους ἐπελαφρύνει.

124 τῷ ἔθει. ταυτὰ δὲ ἧγεῖται συμφέροντα καὶ ἢδεα· ὅρα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἱδιώτας, εἰ μέλλουσιν ὑγιαίνειν καὶ παραμένειν εἰς γήρας, οὐποτε ἄργῳ καὶ ἀπόνῳ τῷ σώματι τρυφὴν προσφέροντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πρότερον τέχνας ἐργαζομένους, ἐνὶς αὐτῶν καὶ πολὺν ἱχώςας τὸν κάματον, τοὺς μὲν χαλκέας,

125 τοὺς δὲ ναυτηγόν, τοὺς δὲ οἰκοδόμους· ὅσοι δὲ κέκτηται γῇν, διαποινώντας πρότερον τὰ περὶ γεωργίαν, ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ἀστεὶ διαγοῦν, τῶν κατὰ

126 πόλιν τι πράττοντας· τῶν τε σχολῆν ἀγώντων τὰ γυμνάσια μεστὰ καὶ τὰς παλαιόστρας, καὶ τῶν μὲν πρέξοντας εὖ τοῖς δρόμοις, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς παλαιώντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλο τι παρὰ τὴν ἁγιωταὶ, οὐκ ὄντες ἄθλητας—ἀπλῶς δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἔκαστον τῶν μὴ σφόδρα ἀνὸιτων ὀτιοῦν ἄσκοντα καὶ

127 σίτων ἀπολαύνοντα ὑψεῖν ὁ σωτήρ καὶ ποτῶν. ἦ δὲ ἄρχων ἀπάνω τούτων διαφέρει τῷ μὴ μάτην πονεῖν μηδὲ τῷ σῶμα μόνον αὐξεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐνεκα πράξεων. ἦ γὰρ ἢδε πρὸς τὶ τῶν δεσμένων προνοίας ἢ ἐφθασεν ὅπου δὲι τάχους ἢ κατημνύσειν τι τῶν οὐ

1 πρότερον added by Capps. 2 τὰς added by Reiske.

3 παρὰ Capps: περὶ. 4 ἔκαστον Cohoon: ἔκαστων.

5 ὀτιοῦν ἄσκοντα added by Cohoon.

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be used. His wife, moreover, he regards not merely as the partner of his bed and affections, but also as his helpmate in his counsel and action, and indeed in his whole life.

He alone holds that happiness consists, not in flowery ease, but much rather in excellence of character; virtue, not in necessity but in free-will; while patient endurance, he holds, does not mean hardship but safety. His pleasures he increases by toil, and thereby gets more enjoyment out of them, while habit lightens his toil. To him "useful" and "pleasurable" are interchangeable terms; for he sees that plain citizens, if they are to keep well and reach old age, never give nourishment to an idle and inactive body, but that a part of them work first at trades, some of which—such as smithing, shipbuilding, the construction of houses—are very laborious; while those who own land first toil hard at farming, and those who live in the city have some city employment; he sees the leisured class crowd the gymnasia and wrestling-floors—some running on the track, others again wrestling, and others, who are not athletes, taking some form of exercise other than the competitive—in a word, everyone with at least a grain of sense doing something or other and so finding his meat and drink wholesome. But the ruler differs from all these in that his toil is not in vain, and that he is not simply developing his body, but has the accomplishment of things as his end and aim. He attends to some matter needing his supervision, he acts promptly where speed is needed, accomplishes something not

6 ἀπολαύοντα Cohoon: καὶ λοιπῶν καὶ.
7 ἅπαζ Cohoon: παρτῶν.
8 8' added by Cohoon.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

βαδίων ἀνυσθήναι ἢ στρατιάν ἐξεταζέν ἢ χώραν ἡμέρωσεν ἢ πόλιν ὁκισε ἢ ποταμοὺς ἐζεύξεν ἢ γῆν ὀδευτὴν ἐποίησεν.

128 Ὁὐχ οὖτως δ' ἦγεῖται μακάριον οτι ἐξεστι κεκτησθαί καλλίστοις μὲν ὑποθες, κάλλιστα δὲ ὅπλα, καλλίστην δὲ ἐσθήτα, καὶ τάλλα ὄμοιως, ἀλλ' ὁτι φίλους τοὺς καλλίστους, καὶ πολὺ γε αἰσχίον φιλίας ἐνδέειτερον ἐχειν τῶν ἱδιωτῶν ἢ

129 τούτων τινός. ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκλέ-

ξασθαι τοὺς πιστοτάτους ὑπάρχει, καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ὃς οὐκ ἂν ἄσμενοι ὑπακούσειν αὐτῷ Βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι, πῶς οὐ καταγέλαστον τὸ μῆ χρῆσθαι τοὺς σπουδαστάτους; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνάστων τοὺς ὑπωσθήσατε πλησίον γενομένους καὶ τοὺς κολακεύειν ἐθέλουν-

τας, τούτους μόνους ὀρᾶσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας ἀπελαύνουσι, καὶ τοὺς γε βελτίστους ἐτί

130 μάλλον. ὅ δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων ποιεῖται τὴν ἐκλογήν,

ἀτοπον ἡγούμενος Νισαίους μὲν ὑποθες μετα-

πέμπεσθαι ὑπεξὶ τῶν Θεττάλων, καὶ

κύνας Ἱνδικάς, άνθρώπως δὲ μόνους χρῆσθαι τοῖς

131 ἔγγος. πάντα γὰρ ὑπάρχει τούτω δι' ὃν ἐστι

φιλία κτητών. προσάγεται γὰρ εἰς εὐνοιαν τοὺς

μὲν φιλοτίμους ἐπαινοῦς, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμονικοὺς

tὸ ἀρχῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοποιοῦν, τοὺς τὸ πρᾶττειν τι τῶν πολεμικῶν, τοὺς
dὲ ἐπιμελεῖς τὸ πράγματα διοικεῖν, τοὺς γε

132 μὴν φιλοστόργους ἢ συνήθεια. τὸς οὖν δύναται

μᾶλλον ἀρχοντας ἀποδεικνύειν; τὸς δὲ πλειόνων
deῖται τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων; τὸς δὲ κύριος μειξόνων

1 §§ 128–132 placed after § 111 by Emperius and Arnim.

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THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

easy of accomplishment, reviews an army, subdues a province, founds a city, bridges rivers, or builds roads through a country.

He does not count himself fortunate just because he can have the best horses, the best arms, the best clothing, and so forth, but because he can have the best friends; and he holds that it is far more disgraceful to have fewer friends among the private citizens than any one of them has. For when a man can select his most trustworthy friends from among all men—and there is scarcely a man who would not gladly accept his advances—surely it is ridiculous that he should not have the best. Most potentates have an eye only for those who get near them no matter how, and for those who are willing to flatter, while they hold all others at a distance and the best men more especially. The true king, however, makes his choice from among all men, esteeming it perverse to import horses from the Nisaean plains\(^1\) because they surpass the Thessalian breed, or hounds from India,\(^2\) and only in the case of men to take those near at hand; since all the means for making friends are his. For instance, the ambitious are won over to friendliness by praise, those who have the gift of leadership by participation in the government, the warlike by performing some sort of military service, those having executive ability by the management of affairs, and, assuredly, those with a capacity for love, by intimacy. Now, who is more able to appoint governors? Who needs more executives? Who has it in his power to give

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\(^1\) A plain south of the Caspian Sea, celebrated for its breed of horses; Strabo, 11. 9. Cf. Herodotus, 3. 106; 7. 40, 196.
\(^2\) Cf. Herodotus, 1. 192; 7. 187.
μεταδοῦναι πραγμάτων; τίνι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξεστὶν ἑτέρῳ πιστεύειν τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον; αἱ παρὰ τίνος δὲ τιμαὶ φανερώτεραι; ἡ παρὰ τίνι δὲ εὐδοκοῦτερα τράπεζα; εἰ δὲ ὑψητὸν ὑπήρχε φιλία, τίς εὐπορώτερος χρημάτων, ὥστε μηδένα ἔχειν τὸν ἀντιποιησόμενον?

133 Ἄτε δὲ δὴ ἂνθρωπον ὄντα φύσει τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ διαφερόντων καὶ τούτον τῶν ἄλλων τι ὀσπερ παραμύθιον ἔχειν δει· οἴδαν δὴ πολλὰ πολλοὶς προσέπεσε νοσήματα ἁγενύη καὶ νυμαίνομενα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἔτι δὲ καθαροῦντα τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς βασιλείας· οὐκ ἂν ἄλλη σειρά ἡ παλαιοῦ ὑποκρινόμενος ἰσχύσα. 134 ἐγένετο· ὃ δὲ ἀγαθὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν μὲν τοιούτων οὐδέποτε ἀκροάται συνεχῶς· κάλλιστον δὲ εὕρεμον ἠγεῖται κυνηγεσίαν, καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα χαίρει· δι' ὧν τὸ μὲν σῶμα γίγνεται ῥωμαλεώτερον, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ ἄνθρωπότερα, τὰ πολεμικὰ δὲ ἀπαντα ἀσκεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἑπεύθυνε καὶ δραμεῖν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ υφίστασθαι πολλὰ τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων καὶ καῦμα ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ψυχὸς ὑπομένειν, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψους πειραθῆναι, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐθίζεται πάντα καρτερέιν μεθ' ἕδουης—οὐ μὲντοι τῆς ὁ Περσικῆς θηρία. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παραδείσοις περιλαβόντες, ὅποτε ἐπιθυμήσειαν, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ τὰ θηρία ἔκτεινον, ὡς

1 μᾶλλον added by Geol.
2 Ἄτε δὲ δὴ Cohoon: ἐκεῖ δὲ δεῖ σο ἐπειδὴ
3 τὸ ἀξίωμα Emperius, τὰ ἀξίωματα.
a part in greater enterprises? Who is in a better position to put a man in charge of military operations? Who can confer more illustrious honours? Whose table lends greater distinction? And if friendship could be bought, who has greater means to forestall every possible rival?

Since nature made him a man, and a man of exalted station in life, he too needs some distraction as it were to relieve his more serious duties; and it is this, alas! which for many has proved to be the source of many ignoble and soul-destroying vices—vices which also destroy the high esteem in which royalty is held. One king, having become enamoured of singing, spent his time warbling and wailing in the theatres and so far forgot his royal dignity that he was content to impersonate the early kings upon the stage;\(^1\) another fell in love with flute-playing;\(^2\) but the good king never makes a practice even of listening to such things. He considers hunting the best recreation and finds his greatest delight therein. It makes his body stronger, his heart braver, and affords a field for the practice of every military activity. For he must ride, run, in many cases meet the charge of the big game, endure heat and withstand cold, often be tortured by hunger and thirst, and he becomes habituated to enduring any hardship with pleasure through his passion for the chase. But he does not hold this opinion of the Persian chase. Those people would enclose the game in parks and then, whenever they listed, slaughter it as if it were in a pen, showing that

\(^1\) Nero. \(^2\) Ptolemy "Aulètes."

\(^4\) ἐθίζεται πάντα Καρπά: ἐθίζωντα.
μήτε ξητούντες πονεῖν μήτε αὖ κινδυνεύοντες, ἂτε ἀσθενῆ καὶ δεδουλωμένα: ὁμοίως δὲ ἀφηροῦντο τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὑρεῖν τε χαρὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ φθάσαι σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ συμβῆναι ἀγωνίαν. 188 ὁμοίως γὰρ ἐποίουν ὡσπερ εἰ πολεμικοὶ φάσκοντες εἶναι ἀφέντες τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις μίχεσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οἴκοι λαβόντες ἔκτεινον.
they neither sought hard work nor ran any risk since their quarry was weak and broken in spirit. But they robbed themselves alike of the joy of uncovering the game, of the excitement in running it down, and of the struggle on coming to close quarters. It is just as if they had claimed to be fond of war and then, letting slip the chance to engage their enemy, had seized the prisoners at home and put them to death.
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE
ON KINGSHIP

In the fourth Discourse Alexander the Great is represented as conversing with Diogenes, who tells him that the real king is a son of Zeus even as Homer says. Then he goes on to give the Cynic doctrine that this sonship is evidenced by qualities of mind and character, not by military power and wide dominion. He concludes by picturing graphically the spirit of avarice, the spirit of the love of pleasure, and the spirit of ambition, which rule the lives of ordinary men.

The reference at the very end to the happy fortune of those who received a good daimon or genius at their birth has led to the reasonable conjecture that this address was delivered before Trajan on his birthday, September 18th in A.D. 103.
4. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Δ

1 Φασὶ ποτε 'Αλέξανδρον Διογένει συμβαλεῖν οὐ πάντι τι σχολάζοντα πολλὴν ἄγοντι σχολήν. ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὁ δὲ φυγάς ἐκ Σινώπης. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσι πολλοί,1 τόν 'Αλέξανδρον οὕχ ἦπτον θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες, ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἄρχων καὶ τῶν τότε μέγιστον δυνάμεος οὐχ ὑπερέωρα πένητος ἀνθρώποι τυνουσίαν

2 νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ δυναμένου καρτερεῖν. οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ χαίρουσι φύσει πάντες τιμωμένην ὀρθὴν φρονήσιν ὧδὲ τῆς μεγίστης ἔξουσίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ὡστε οὐ μόνον τάληθη διηγοῦνται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὶ πλάττοις ὑπερβάλλοντες, προσέτι καὶ τάλλα ἀφαιροῦμενοι τῶν φρονίμων, οὗν χρήματα καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν, ὡποῖος δὲ μόνην δόξασι

3 τιμᾶσθαι τὴν ξύνεσιν, ὥς δὲ εἰκὸς ἐκείνος γενέσθαι τὴν ξυνουσίαν νῦν2 εἴποιμι ἂν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τυγχάνομεν σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων.

4 Ἡν μὲν γὰρ, ὡς φασὶν, ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ἀνθρώ-

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1 Some editors suspect a lacuna here, for a reference to Diogenes’ wisdom is implied in what followed. However, that is taken for granted.

2 νῦν Capps, ἐκὸν Cohoon: ἐκείνην.

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1 The famous Cynic philosopher.
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE
ON KINGSHIP

They tell us that once upon a time Alexander when not over busy met Diogenes,¹ who had an abundance of time on his hands. For the one was king of Macedonia and many other countries beside, while the other was an exile from Sinope; ² and there are many who in speaking and writing of this encounter give no less admiration and credit to Alexander than to Diogenes because, although he was ruler over so many people and had greater power than any other man of his day, he did not disdain to converse with a poor man who had intelligence and the power of endurance. For all men without exception are naturally delighted when they see wisdom honoured by the greatest power and might; hence they not only relate the facts in such cases but add extravagant embellishments of their own; nay more, they strip their wise men of all else, such as wealth, honours, and physical strength, so that the high regard in which they are held may appear to be due to their intelligence alone. And so I should like on this occasion to tell what in all likelihood was the nature of their conversation, since it happens too that I have nothing else that demands my attention.

Now it should be explained that Alexander was by

¹ An important town on the southern shore of the Euxine or Black Sea.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

πῶν φιλοτιμοτάτος καὶ μάλιστα δόξης ἔραστής καὶ τοῦ καταλυπεῖν ὡς μέγιστον αὐτοῦ ὅνυμα ἐν πάσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, καὶ ἐπεθύμει γε τιμᾶσθαι σχεδὸν σὺν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μόνον πανταχοῦ, ἀλλ’ εἰ πῶς δυνατὸν ἦν, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὅρνηθων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσὶ θηρίων. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀλλὸν πάντων κατεφρόνει καὶ οὐδένα ὅτε ἄξιομαχον αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, οὔτε τῶν Πέρσην οὔτε τῶν Σκύθην οὔτε τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐδένα οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε τὸ κλεισθησθεῖν τις λυπηθείς, καὶ ἀργίοις καὶ τῷ κερδαίνειν καὶ ἠδονῆς ήττονες. περὶ Διογένους δὲ πυθανόμενοι τῶν τε λόγων οὖς ἔλεγεν καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἄ ἐπραττεν καὶ ὅποις διώρισε τὴν φυγήν, ἐνίοτε μὲν κατεφρόνει τῆς τε πενίας τάμβρος καὶ τῆς εὐτελείας, ἀτε νέος ὅν καὶ τραφεὶς ἐν βασιλικῷ τύφῳ, πολλάκις δὲ ἱμαίμαζε καὶ ἐχιλιοῦπει τῆς τε ἀνδρείας τούτου καὶ τῆς καρτερίας, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς δόξης, ὅτι τοιοῦτος δὲν πάσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι γεγονόσκοιτο καὶ θαυμάξοιτο, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἥδυνατο τῶν ἀλλῶν ὅσο 8 ἐκεῖνος γενέσθαι τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐδει τῆς Μακεδόνων φάλαγγος καὶ τοῦ Θετταλῶν ἱππικοῦ καὶ Θρακῶν καὶ Παίωνων καὶ ἀλλῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μέλλοι βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλιοτο καὶ τυγχάνειν ὅν ἐπιθυμοῦ: ὁ δὲ μόνος ἀπῆγε χάρι πάνω ἁσφάλῶς οὐ μόνον ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐνθα 9 αὐτῷ ἐδόκει: καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργυρίῳ παρατείλλου ἐδειτο, ὡστε ἑπιτελέσαι τι ὅν ἐβούλετο. ἔτι δὲ ἐν μέλλουν πειθομένους ἐξειρ Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς Ἕλληνας, θεραπευ-

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common report the most ambitious of men and the
greatest lover of glory. He was anxious to leave his
name the greatest among all the Greeks and bar-
barians and longed to be honoured, not only—as one
might put it—by mankind the world over; but, if it
were at all possible, by the birds of the air and the
beasts of the mountains. Moreover, he looked down
upon all other men and thought that no one was a
dangerous rival in this matter—neither the Persian
king nor the Scythian nor the Indian nor any man
or city among the Greeks. For he perceived that
they had all been well-nigh ruined in soul by
luxury and idleness and were the slaves of money
and pleasure. But as to Diogenes, when Alexander
heard of the words which this man spoke and of
the deeds which he did and how he bore his exile,
though at times he despised the man for his poverty
and shabbiness, quite naturally, as he himself was
young and had been reared in royal luxury, yet
often he would admire and envy the man for his
courage and endurance, and especially for his great
reputation, because all the Greeks knew and admired
him for what he was, and no one else could match
him in point of distinction. He himself needed
his Macedonian phalanx, his Thessalian cavalry,
Thracians, Paeonians, and many others if he was to
go where he wished and get what he desired; but
Diogenes went forth unattended in perfect safety
by night as well as by day whithersoever he cared
to go. Again, he himself required huge sums of
gold and silver to carry out any of his projects;
and what is more, if he expected to keep the
Macedonians and the other Greeks submissive, must

1 sive added by Reiske.
τέου αὐτῷ τούτς τε ἀρχούνται καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὀχλον
λόγοις τε καὶ δόροις πολλάκις· ὁ δὲ οὐδένα ἄνθρω-
pων ὑπήει θωπεύω, ἀλλὰ τἀληθὴ πρὸς ἁπαντὰς
λέγων καὶ οὐδεμίαν δραχμὴν κεκτημένος, ὡς ἐβού-
λετο ἐπιπαττε καὶ τῶν προκειμένων οὐδενὸς ἀπετύγ-
χανε καὶ τὸν βίον ἐξή μόνος ἰν ἡγεῖτο ἁρίστων
καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἤλλαξατο τὴν
ἐκεῖνου βασιλείαν οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ
Μίδων πλούτουν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πενίας.

11 Διὰ ταύτα δὴ δακνομενος, εἰ τις αὐτοῦ διοίσῃ
ραδίως οὔτως καὶ ἀπαγμονώς ξών, καὶ προσέτι
οὐχ ἢττον ὅνοματός ἐσοιτο, τυχόν δὲ τι καὶ
φελελθήσονται νομίζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνουσίας
tάντρος, πάλαι μὲν ἐπεθύμει θεασάσθαι τὸν
12 ἄνδρα καὶ συνγενεύσθαι αὐτῷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤλκεν εἰς
Κόριθου καὶ τὰς τε πρεσβείας ἀπεδέξατο τὰς
παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰλα τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων
dιώκησεν, ἐφ' ὅτι τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι σχολάσαι τι
βουλοίτο, καὶ ἥχιτο, οὐκ ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ Διο-
γένους· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῶν θύραι οὕτη μεῖζον οὕτη
ἐλάττους, οὐδὲ οἴκος ἴδιος οὐδὲ ἐστίλα,1 καθάπερ
13 τοῖς μακαρίοις, ἀλλὰ οἴκοις μὲν ἐχρήτο ταῖς
πόλεσι, καὶ εὐταύθα διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τε
καὶ ἱεροῖς, ἀπερ ἱδρύνοται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐστίναν δὲ
ἐνόμιζε τὴν γῆν ἀπασαν, ἤπερ ἐστὶ κοινῆ τῶν
14 ἀνθρώπων ἐστία καὶ τροφός. καὶ τὸτε ἐτύγχανεν
ἐν τῷ Κρανέλῳ διατρίβων μόνος· οὐδὲ γάρ
μαθητάς τινας οὐδὲ τοιοῦτον ὄχλον περὶ αὐτοῦ

1 ἐστίλα Εmperor: ἐστίλα.

1 θύρας means literally "doors, or gate." From the Eastern custom of receiving petitions at the gate of the palace the
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time and again curry the favour of their rulers and
the general populace by words and gifts; whereas
Diogenes cajoled no men by flattery, but told every-
body the truth and, even though he possessed not a
single drachma, succeeded in doing as he pleased,
failed in nothing he set before himself, was the only
man who lived the life he considered the best and
happiest, and would not have accepted Alexander's
throne or the wealth of the Medes and Persians in
exchange for his own poverty.

Therefore Alexander, being nettled to think that
anyone living so easy and care-free a life was going
to surpass himself and in addition should be no
less famous, and thinking perhaps too that he would
receive some benefit from an interview with the
man, had long desired to behold him and converse
with him; and when he had come to Corinth and
had received the Greek embassies and regulated the
affairs of the allies as well, he told his attendants
that he wished to have a little leisure and went off—
I will not say to the court\(^1\) of Diogenes, for he had
no court either great or small, nor house nor hearth
of his own as the well-to-do have, but he made the
cities his home and used to live there in the public
buildings and in the shrines, which are dedicated
to the gods, and took for his hearth-stone the wide
world, which after all is man's common hearth and
nourisher. On that day it happened that Diogenes
was all alone in the Crancion,\(^2\) for he had no pupils

gate came to mean "the royal court," Cf. the expression,
"The Sublime Porte," which meant "The Ottoman court,"
or the Government of the Turkish empire.

\(^1\) A cypress grove and a gymnasium in a suburb of Corinth.
Here it evidently means the gymnasium.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

εἰχεν, ὡσπερ οἱ σοφισταὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῶν χορῶν. προσήλθεν οὖν αὐτῷ καθημένῳ καὶ ἤστάσατο. καὶ ὃς ἀνέβλεψε πρὸς αὐτὸν γοργῶν, ὡσπερ οἱ λέοντες, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστῆναι σμικρῶν· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἀλεπιώμενος πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος εὐθὺς ἤγασθη τοῦ ἀνδρῶς τὸ βάρσος καὶ τὴν ἁσυχίαν, ὅτι οὐ κατεπλάγη ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ πιὸς πεφύκασιν οἱ μὲν θαρραλέοι τοὺς θαρραλέους φιλεῖν, οἱ δὲ δειλοὶ τούτοις μὲν ὑφορώνται καὶ μισοῦσιν ὡς ἐχθροὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἀγεννεῖσι προσέγνωνται καὶ ἀγαπῶσιν. οἶχεν τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειας καὶ παρρησία πάντων ἔστιν ἤδιστον, τοῖς δὲ κολακεία καὶ ψεῦδος, καὶ ἀκούοντιν ἤδεως οἱ μὲν τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦντων, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.

16 'Ο οὖν Διογένης ὁλίγον ἐπισχῶν ἦρετο αὐτῶν ὅστε εἶναι καὶ τί βουλόμενος ἦκοι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἦ, ἐφη, τῶν ἐμὸν τι ληγόμενος; Ἡ γὰρ, ἐφη, χρήματα ἐστὶ σοι καὶ ἔχεις ὅτι ἄν μεταδοῖς; Πολλά γε εἶπε, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ὅτι σὺ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ποτὲ δυνήσῃ μεταλαβεῖν. οὐ μέντοι ἄρας οὐδὲ λέβητας οὐδὲ κρατήρας οὐδὲ κλίνας καὶ τραπέζας τυγχάνω κεκτημένος, ὡς τινὲς μετ' ἐαυτῇ. Μεθοδιεύον εὖ Πέρσαις. Τί δὲ, ἐφη, οὐκ οἶσθα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα; Τό γε ὅνομα, εἶπεν, ἀκοῦω πολλῶν λεγόντων, ὅς κολονῶν περιπετευμένων, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐ γυμνόσκων οὐ γὰρ εἰμι ἐμπειρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας. 'Ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἐφη, γυνώσῃ καὶ

1 toûtous Capps: τοῖς.

1 Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, who soon after this was defeated by Alexander.
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at all nor any such crowd about him as the sophists and flute-players and choral masters have. So the king came up to him as he sat there and greeted him, whereat the other looked up at him with a terrible glare like that of a lion and ordered him to step aside a little, for Diogenes happened to be warming himself in the sun. Now Alexander was at once delighted with the man’s boldness and composure in not being awestruck in his presence. For it is somehow natural for the courageous to love the courageous, while cowards eye them with misgiving and hate them as enemies, but welcome the base and like them. And so to the one class truth and frankness are the most agreeable things in the world, to the other, flattery and deceit. The latter lend a willing ear to those who in their intercourse seek to please, the former, to those who have regard for the truth.

Then after a brief pause Diogenes asked the king who he was and what object he had in coming to him. "Was it," he said, "to take some of my property?" "Why, have you any property?" replied the other; "do you own anything that you might share with one?" "Much indeed," he replied, "and very valuable, in which I do not at all feel sure that you will ever be able to have a share. Yet it is not glaives or cauldrons or mixing-bowls or couches and tables such as Darius⁴ is reported by some writers to possess in Persia that I happen to own." "What," retorted the other, "do you not know Alexander the king?" "I hear many speak his name, to be sure," said he, "like so many jackdaws flitting about, but the man I know not, for I am not acquainted with his mind." "But now," came the
18 Ἄλλα χαλεπώς, ἐφη, με ἄν ἠδόις, ὡσπερ τὸ φῶς οἱ τὰ ὀμματα ἄσθενεῖς. τόδε δὲ μοι εἰπέ, σὺ ἔκεινος εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃν λέγουσιν ὑποβολημαίον; καί ὅσοι θαυμάζει μέν ἐκ ὠργίσθη, κατέσχε δὲ εαυτὸν μετενόης δὲ ὅτι εἰς λόγους ἠξίωσεν ἐλθεῖν ἀνδρὶ σκαίῳ τε καὶ ἀλαξάντι, ὡς αὐτὸς εὐόμιζεν. οὐ γὰρ Διογένης καταμαθὼν αὐτῶν τεταραγμένην τὴν ψυχήν, ἐβουλήθη μεταβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν βολήν, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖς τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις, εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῖς, Πόθεν δὲ σοι ἐπήλθεν ἡμᾶς ὑποβολημαίους εἰπεῖν; Ὁπόθεν; ἐφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου ἀκούον ταῦτα περί σου λέγειν. ἥ οὐκ Ὀλυμπίας ἐστιν ἐπιτύπωσα ὅτι σελε τοῦ Φιλίππου τυχάνεις γεγονός, ἀλλὰ ἐκ δράκοντος ἢ Ἀρμονος ἢ σελε ὅτου ποτὲ θεῶν ἡ ἔμμεθαν ἡ θηρίων; καίτοι οὗτος ὑποβολημαίος ἂν εἴης.

20 Ἕνταῦθα δ’ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμειδίασεν καὶ ἔσθη ὡς οὐδέποτε, καὶ ἐδοξεῖν αὐτῷ ὁ Διογένης οὕτω μόνον οὐ σκαίος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεξιώτατος ἀπάντων καὶ μόνος εἰδώς χαρίζεσθαι. Τὶ οὖν, ἐφη, πότερον ἀληθῆς ἢ ψευδῆς εἶναι δοκεῖ σοι ὁ λόγος; Ἀδηλόν, ἐφη, ἐστὶν. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν σώφρονες καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιστάμενος τέχνην τὴν βασιλικήν, οὐθέν τε κωλύει τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι 22 νῦν ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τὸ γε καὶ ὁμηροὶ φασί λέγειν, ὅτε πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ Ζεὺς, ὡσπερ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τῶν

\[1\] τῆς ροίκης: χρ.
\[2\] τῆν ψυχὴν added by Capra.
\[3\] βολὴν Capra: ψυχὴν.
\[4\] καλοιτο αὐτοῖς ἀστραγάλοις Bamberger: παῖδες αὐτοῖς ἀστραγάλοις.
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answer, "you shall know his mind also, since I have come for the very purpose of letting you know me thoroughly and of seeing you." "Well, it would be hard for you to see me," rejoined the other, "just as it is for men with weak eyes to see the light. But tell me this: are you the Alexander whom they call a bastard?" At this the king flushed and showed anger, but he controlled himself and regretted that he had deigned to enter into conversation with a man who was both rude and an imposter, as he thought. Diogenes, however, marking his embarrassment, would fain change his throw just like men playing at dice. So when the king said, "What gave you the idea of calling me a bastard?" he replied, "What gave it? Why, I hear that your own mother says this of you. Or is it not Olympias who said that Philip is not your father, as it happens, but a dragon or Ammon or some god or other or demigod or wild animal? And yet in that case you would certainly be a bastard."

Thereupon Alexander smiled and was pleased as never before, thinking that Diogenes, so far from being rude, was the most tactful of men and the only one who really knew how to pay a compliment. "Well then," said he, "do you think the story is true or false?" "It is uncertain," was the reply; "for if you are self-controlled and know the royal art of Zeus, nothing prevents your being a son of Zeus; for this is what they claim Homer says: that Zeus is the father, not

1 Wife of Philip II, king of Macedon and mother of Alexander the Great.

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Ανδρών, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲ τῶν φαύλων τε καὶ ἀγεννῶν οὐδενὸς· εάν δὲ δείλος ἦς καὶ τρυφερός καὶ ἀνελεύθερος, οὔτε σοι θεῶν οὔτε ἄνθρωπων τῶν ἀγαθῶν προσήκει. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν Θήβαις Σπαρτοῖς ποτε λεγομένους σημείου λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ γένους λόγχη τις οἵματε ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος· ὡστὶς δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ σημείου μὴ ἔχοι, οὐ δοκεῖν τῶν Σπαρτῶν εἶναι· τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Δίως ἐκγόνοις οὐκ οἰεὶ σημείον ἐνεῖναι 1 τῇ ψυχῇ, εἴ ὦν φανερὸν ἐσονταῖ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡμωρίζειν εὑρεῖεν εἰτε ἐκείνου γεγονότες εἰςίν εἶτε μὴ; πάνω οὖν ἢσθη τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος.

24 Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἦρετο αὐτὸν, Πώς ἂν, ἐφη, καλλιστά βασιλείου τις; καὶ δὲ δεινοῦ υποβλέψαι, Ἁλλὰ οὐδὲ ἔστιν, ἐφη, βασιλεύειν κακῶς οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς ἀγαθῶν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἄνθρωπων ἀριστός ἔστιν, ἄνδρειότατος ὡς καὶ δυσκαλότατος καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ ἀνίκητος ὑπὸ πάντοτε πόνου καὶ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας. ἢ σοι οἰεὶ τοὺς ἀδύνατον ἠμοχεῖν ἡμόχον εἶναι τοῦτον; ἢ τῷ ἀπειρον τοῦ κυβερνάν κυβερνητήν, ἢ τῶν οὐκ ἐπιπατήμων ἱσταθαι λατρόν; οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες φῶσιν ὁ Ἐλευθερος καὶ θάρσεως καὶ τολλᾶ διαδήματα καὶ σκῆπτρα· καὶ τιάρας προσάψεως αὐτῶ, καθάπερ τὰ περιδεραία τοῖς ἐκτεθεμένοις παιδίοις, ἢν μὴ ἁγνοῦται. καθάπερ οὖν οὐκ ἔστι κυβερνάν μὴ κυβερνητικῶς, οὔτως οὐδὲ βασιλεύειν μὴ βασιλικῶς.

25 1 ἐνεῖναι Geel: εἶναι.

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1 From the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus sprang up, according to the myth, fully armed men, who fought with
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only of gods but of men as well, though not of slaves nor of any mean and ignoble man. If, however, you are cowardly and love luxury and have a servile nature, then you are in no way related to the gods or to good men. Why, methinks of old the ‘Sown men,’ as they were called, of Thebes had what seemed a spear mark on their bodies as a sign of their origin, and he who did not have this mark was not regarded as one of the ‘Sown men.’ And do you not think that in the souls of the offspring of Zeus also a sign is to be found by which those who have the power to judge will know whether they are of his seed or not?” Of course Alexander was greatly delighted with this thought.

Hereupon he put the following question to Diogenes. “How,” said he, “could one be the best king?” At this the other, eyeing him sternly, answered, “But no one can be a bad king any more than he can be a bad good man; for the king is the best one among men, since he is most brave and righteous and humane, and cannot be overcome by any toil or by any appetite. Or do you think a man is a charioteer if he cannot drive, or that one is a pilot if he is ignorant of steering, or is a physician if he knows not how to cure? It is impossible, nay, though all the Greeks and barbarians acclaim him as such and load him with many diadems and sceptres and tiaras like so many necklaces that are put on castaway children lest they fail of recognition. Therefore, just as one cannot pilot except after the manner of pilots, so no one can be a king except in a kingly way.”

one another until only five remained. These were made citizens of Thebes and with their reputed descendants were called Sown men.
Καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἁρὰ ἀπειρος ἀναφανῇ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπιστήμης, Καὶ τῆς, ἐφη, σοι δοκεὶ τὴν τέχνην ταύτην παραδιδόναι; ἢ ποῦ δεί
27 πορευθέντα μαθεῖν; ὁ οὖν Διογένης εἶπεν, 'Ἀλλ' ἐπιστασαι αὐτήν, εἰπερ ἄλληθις ὁ τῆς 'Ολυμπιάδος λόγος καὶ γέγονας ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ταύτην πρῶτος καὶ
mάλιστα ἔχων καὶ οἷς ἐδέλει μεταδίδοντος· οἷς δὲ ἀν μεταδῷ, πάντες οὕτωι Διὸς παίδες εἰσὶ τε καὶ
28 λέγονται. ἢ σὺ οἰεῖ τοὺς σοφιστὰς εἶναι τοὺς διδάσκοντας βασιλεύειν; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν οἱ
πολλοὶ οὐχ ὅπως βασιλεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ξῆν ἴσα-
29 σιν. οὐκ οἶσθα, ἐφη, ὅτι διττῇ ἔστιν ἡ παιδεία, ἢ
μὲν τὶς δαίμονις, ἢ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη; ἢ μὲν οὐν θεία
μεγάλη καὶ ἱσχυρὰ καὶ ῥαδία, ἢ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη
μικρὰ καὶ ἁσθενὴς καὶ πολλοὶς ἑράντα καὶ δυνάμευς
καὶ ἀπάτην οὐκ ὅλγην· ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαία προσ-
30 γενέσθαι ἐκεῖνη, εἰ ὀρθῶς γεγονότο. καλοῦσι δὲ
οἱ πολλοὶ ταύτην μὲν "παιδείαν," καθάπερ οἶμαι
"παιδιάν," καὶ νομίζουσι τὸν πλείστα γράμματα
ἐλδότα, Περσικά τε καὶ Ἑλληνικά καὶ τὰ Σύρων
καὶ τὰ Φωνικά, καὶ πλείστοις ἐντυγχάνοντα
βιβλίοις, τούτων σοφώτατων καὶ μᾶλιστα πεπαι-
dεμένων· πάλιν δὲ ὅταν ἐντύχωσι τῶν τοιούτων
τις μοχθηροῖς καὶ δειλοῖς καὶ φιλαργύροις,
ὅλγον ἀξίων φασὶ τὸ πράγμα καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπο-
tὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐνίοτε μὲν "παιδείαν," ἐνίοτε δὲ
31 "ἀνδρείαν" καὶ "μεγαλοφροσύνην." καὶ οὕτω δὴ

1 Homer calls kings διογένεις (sprung from Zeus).
2 So Plato puns on the Greek word for education. τὴν περὶ τὰς Μοῦσας παιδείαν τε καὶ παιδιάν, Laws 656c:—"The education
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Then Alexander in alarm, lest after all he might be found ignorant of the science of kingship, said, "And who, think you, imparts this art, or where must one go to learn it?" To which Diogenes replied, "Well, you know it if the words of Olympias are true and you are a son of Zeus, for it is he who first and chiefly possesses this knowledge and imparts it to whom he will; and all they to whom he imparts it are sons of Zeus and are so called. Or do you think that it is the sophists who teach kingship? Nay, the most of them do not even know how to live, to say nothing of how to be king. Do you not know," he continued, "that education is of two kinds, the one from heaven, as it were, the other human? Now the divine is great and strong and easy, while the human is small and weak and full of pitfalls and no little deception; and yet it must be added to the other if everything is to be right. This human sort, however, is what most people call 'education'—meaning thereby something for children, I suppose—and they have the notion that he who knows the most literature, Persian or Greek or Syrian or Phoenician, and has read the most books is the wisest and best educated person; but again, when people find any knaves or cowards or avaricious men among these, then they say the fact is as insignificant as the individual. The other kind men sometimes call simply education, at other times, 'true manhood' and 'high-mindedness.' And it was for that reason that men of old

and play for children in the Musea." See also Plutarch, Moralia 80 c. μὴ παιδιάς ἀλλὰ παιδεῖας ἑνεκα, "Not for the play of children but for education." 3 i.e., neither proves anything against the "human" education.
Διὸς παιδας ἐκάλουν οἱ πρότερον τοὺς τῆς ἀγαθῆς παιδείας ἐπιτυγχάνοντας καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρείους, πεπαιδευμένους ὡς Ἡρακλεά ἐκεῖνον. οὐκοῦν ὡστὶς ἂν ἐκεῖνη τὴν παιδείαν ἔχῃ καλῶς πεφυκὼς, ῥαδίως καὶ ταύτης γίγνεται μετοχὸς, ὅλως ἀκούσας καὶ ὀλγάκις, αὐτὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα, καὶ μεμύηται καὶ ψυχή τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἔτι τι τούτων ἀφέλοιτο οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε ἀνθρωπός σοφιστὴς, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ἂν πυρὶ τις ἢ ἐκκαύσαι βουλόμενος· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐμπρίσῃς τις τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, ὁσπέρ τὸν Ἡρακλεά φασίν αὐτὸν ἐμπρήσῃ, μένοι δὲν ἂν αὐτὸν τὰ δόγματα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὸν κατακεκαμένων νεκρῶν τοὺς ὄδοντας φασι διαμένειν, τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος δαπανηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς. οὐ γὰρ μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑπομνημοθῆκαι δεῖται μόνον· ἐπεὶ τα εὑρίσκεις οἴδεις τε καὶ ἐγνώρισεν, ὡς ἂν εἶ ἄρχῃς τὰ δόγματα ἔχων ταύτα ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ διανοίᾳ. προσέτι δὲ, ἐὰν μὲν ἄνδρι περιπέτευῃ ὁσπέρ ὁδὸν ἐπισταμένῳ, ῥαδίως ἐκείνου ἐπέδειξέν αὐτῷ, καὶ μαθῶν εὑρίσκει ἀπείσιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀγνοοῦντε καὶ ἀλαζόνι σοφιστῇ, καταρίζεις περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὅτε μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ὅτε δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ὅτε δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐλκων, οὐδὲν αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ἀλλὰ εἰκάζων, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀλαζονών πεπλανημένος. ὅσπερ αἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀκόλαστοι κώνες ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ μηδὲν

1 Διὸς παιδας Casaubon: δίχα παιδείας.
2 ὡστὶ τι Jacobs, τι Dindorf: ὡστὶ.
3 οὔτε before σοφιστῆς deleted by Empirius.
4 ἢ added by Capps.
5 μένοι ἂν Jacobs: μένειν.
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called those persons 'sons of Zeus' who received the good education and were manly of soul, having been educated after the pattern of the great Heracles. Whoever, then, being noble by nature, possesses that higher education, readily acquires this other also, having only to learn a few things in a few lessons, merely the greatest and most important things, and is already initiated and treasures them in his soul. And thenceforth nothing can rob him of any of these things, neither time nor any tricky sophist, nay, not even one who would fain burn them out by fire. But if the man were burned, as Heracles is said to have burned himself, yet his principles would abide in his soul just as, I believe, the teeth of bodies that have been cremated are said to remain undestroyed though the rest of the body has been consumed by the fire. For he does not have to learn but merely to recall; after that he at once knows and recognizes, as having had these principles in his mind at the beginning. And furthermore, if he comes upon a man who knows the road, so to speak, this man easily directs him, and on getting the information he at once goes his way. If, however, he falls in with some ignorant and charlatan sophist, the fellow will wear him out by leading him hither and thither, dragging him now to the east and now to the west and now to the south, not knowing anything himself but merely guessing, after having been led far afield himself long before by impostors like himself. It is just the same as in hunting. When dogs that are untrained and unruly catch no scent and do not pick up the

1 A compliment to Trajan, who had little interest in letters.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΩΜ

ξυνείσαι μηδὲ γνωρίσασαι τὸ ἱχνος, ἐξαπατῶσιν ἄλλας τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τῇ σχήματι, ὅς ἐδύναι τε καὶ ἰρώσαι, καὶ πολλαὶ συνέπονται ταῦτας—αἱ ἀφρονέσταται σχεδὸν—ταῖς μάτην φθεγγομέναις.

35 τούτων δ’ αἱ μὲν ἄφθογγοι καὶ σιωπῶσαι μόνοι αὐταὶ ἐξαπατῶνται, αἱ δὲ προτετέσσαται καὶ ἀνοητῶσαν μιμοῦμενα τὰς πρῶτας θορυβοῦσι καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται ἅλλας ἐξαπατῶν, τοιούτοιν εὐροῦς ἀν καὶ περὶ τούτων καλουμένοις σοφιστὰς πολὺν ὅχλον ἐνίοτε συνεπόμενον ἀνθρώπων ἡλιθίων καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει σοφιστής ἀνθρώπος εὐνούχου ἀκολαστοῦ.

36 Καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ἑθαύμασε κατὰ τὸ τοῦ σοφιστῆν εὐνούχῳ παρέβαλεν, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτῶν. "Οτι, εἴπε, τῶν εὐνούχων φασὶν οἱ ἀσελγέστατοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶ καὶ ἔραν τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ συγκαθεύδουσιν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐνοχλοῦσι, γῆγεται δ’ οὐδὲν πλέον, οὐδ’ ἂν τάς τε νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας συνώσιν

37 αὐταῖς. καὶ παρὰ τοῖς σοφισταῖς οὖν πολλοὶς εὐρήσεις γηράσκοντας ἀμαθεῖς, πλανωμένοις ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολὺ κάκιον ἦ τὸν Ἀδωνισέα φησὶν "Ομηρὸς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καὶ πρότερον εἰς ἄδου ἄν τις ἀφίκοιτο, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἦ γένοιτο ἀνὴρ ἄγαθος λέγων τε καὶ ἀκούων. καὶ σὺ, ἐπείστερ υἱότω πέφυκας, εὰν τύχης ἐπιστημένου ἄνδρος, ἰκανῇ σοὶ ἔστι μία ἡμέρα πρὸς τὸ συνεδέων τὸ πράγμα καὶ τὴν τέχνην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτί δεήσῃ ποικίλων σοφισμάτων ἡ λόγῳς εὰν δὲ μὴ τύχης διδασκάλου τοῦ Διὸς ὁμολήτου ἣ ἄλλου τοιούτου, ταχῦ καὶ σαφῶς φράζοντος ἢ δει ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν σοι πλέον,

1 φιλοτιμοῦνται Reiske: μιμοῦνται.
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trail, they mislead others by barking and behaving as if they knew and saw, and many, chiefly the most foolish, follow those dogs that bark at random, and of this pack those which make no outcry and keep silent are merely deceived themselves, but the most impetuous and foolish dogs, imitating the first ones, raise a din and strive to deceive others. Around the so-called sophists, likewise, you will sometimes find just such a great accompanying throng of simpletons, and you will discover that your sophist does not differ one whit from a lecherous eunuch."

On hearing this, Alexander wondered what his reason was for likening the sophist to a eunuch and asked him. "Because," came the reply, "the most wanton eunuchs, protesting their virility and their passion for women, lie with them and annoy them, and yet nothing comes of it, not even if they stay with them night and day. So too in the schools of the sophists you will find many growing old in their ignorance, wandering about in their discussions far more helplessly than Homer says Odysseus ever did upon the deep, and any one of them might sooner find his way to Hades as that hero did than become a good man by talking and listening. And you, since you have been born with the right nature, if you come upon a man of understanding, will find a single day sufficient to get a grasp of his subject and art, and you will no longer have any need of subtle claptrap and discussions. But if you are not so fortunate as to have a disciple of Zeus or one like Zeus for your teacher to tell you forthwith and

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2 τίς added by Capps.
3 Wilamowitz suggests ἓσται.
4 ὑμιλητοῖ added by Capps; cf. § 40 infra.

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DIO CHRYSOUSTOM

οὐδὲ ἂν ὅλων κατατρίψῃ τὸν βίον ἄγρυπνον
te καὶ ἀστῖτων παρὰ τοὺς κακοδαιμονίους σοφισταῖς.

39 τούτῳ δὲ οὔκ ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν, ἀλλ' ὁ Ομήρος ἐμοὶ
πρότερος. ἦν οὖν ἐμπειρος εἰ τῶν Ὁμήρου ἔτων;
'Ο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος μέγιστον ἔφρωνε, ὅτι ἦπιστ-
tατο τὸ μὲν ἐτερον ποίημα ὅλων, τὴν Ἰλιάδα,
pολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσείας. θαυμάζασι οὖν
ἔφη, Καὶ ποῦ διειλεκταὶ περὶ τούτων Ὁμήρος;
’Εκεί, ἔφη, ὅπου τὸν Μίνωο λέγει τοῦ Διὸς ὀρισ-
tὴν. ἦν οὖ τὸ ὄρβιζειν ὁμιλεῖν ἔστιν; οὕκοιν
όμιλητὴν τοῦ Διὸς φήσων αὐτὸν εἰναι, ὁσπερ ἂν εἰ
ἔφη μαθητήν. ἄρ' οὖν ὑπὲρ ἄλλωι αὐτὸν οἶει μαν-
θάνοντα2 ὁμιλεῖν τῷ Διὶ πραγμάτων ἢ τῶν δικαιῶν
καὶ βασιλικών; επεὶ τοι καὶ λέγεται δικαιότατος
41 ὁ Μίνωος πάντων γενέσθαι. πάλιν δὲ ὅταν λέγῃ
"διατρέψεις" τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ "διψίλους," ἄλλω
τι οἶει λέγειν αὐτὸν ἢ τὴν τροφὴν ταύτην ἢν ἔφην;
θείαν4 εἶναι διδασκαλίαν καὶ μαθητείαν; ἦν οὖ
οἰεὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοὺς βασιλέας
τρέφεσθαι ὁσπερ ὑπὸ τίτθης γάλακτι καὶ οὕνω
καὶ σιτίας, ἀλλ' οὔκ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀληθεία;
42 ὁμολογεὶ δὲ καὶ "φιλίαιν" οὔκ ἄλλην ἢ τὸ ταύτα
βούλεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁμονοιαί τινα οὖνταν.
οὕτως γὰρ δὴν ὅπως καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δοκοῦσιν οἱ
φίλοι πάντων μάλιστα ὁμονοιεῖν καὶ μὴ διαφέρεις;
43 θαί περὶ μηδενὸς. δὲ ἂν οὖν τῷ Διὶ φίλος ἢ καὶ

1 τὸ ωὲν Arnim: μὲν τὸ.
2 μανθάνοντα Capps: μανθάνειν τε καὶ.
3 ἔφην Capps: ἔφη.
4 θείαν added by Capps.

1 This information is found only here.

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clearly what your duty is, then nothing comes of it for you, even if you waste your whole life in sleepless study and fasting in the schools of the miserable sophists. I am not the first man to say this, but Homer said it before me. Or are you not acquainted with the Homeric poems?"

Now Alexander prided himself very greatly on knowing by heart the whole of the one poem, the Iliad, and much of the Odyssey likewise.¹ And so he said in surprise, "Pray, where has Homer discoursed about these things?" "In the passage," came the reply, "where he calls Minos ² the consort of Zeus. Or does not 'to consort' mean 'to associate'? Well then, he says that he was an associate of Zeus, which would virtually be calling him his disciple. Now do you imagine that he associated with Zeus as a pupil with any other object than to learn justice and the duties of a king? For mark you, Minos is said to have been the most righteous man in the world. Once more, when he says that kings are 'nurtured of Zeus' and 'dear unto Zeus,' do you think that he means any other nurture than the teaching and instruction which I called ³ divine? Or do you believe that he means that kings are nourished by Zeus as by a nurse, on milk and wine and various foods, and not on knowledge and truth? And in the same way he means ⁴ that friendship also is nothing else than identity of wish and of purpose, that is, a kind of likemindedness. For this, I presume, is the view of the world too: that friends are most truly likeminded and are at variance in nothing. Can anyone, therefore, who is a friend of Zeus and is

² In § 29.
³ That is, when he speaks of kings as "dear unto Zeus."
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

ὅμονοι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐσθ' ὅπως ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει πράγματος ἢ ποιηρόν τι καὶ αἰσχρόν διανοθήσεται; αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἐ voxel δηλοῦν καὶ ὅταν ἐγκωμιάζων τινὰ λέγῃ τῶν βασιλέων ποι-μένα λαῶν. τοῦ γὰρ ποιμένος οὐκ ἀλλο τι ἐργον ἢ πρόνοια καὶ σωτηρία καὶ φυλακὴ προ-βάτων, οὐχ ὅστε κατακόπτειν, οὐ μᾶ Δία, καὶ σφάττειν καὶ δέρειν. κατίτοι ἐσωτερικὰ πολλὰ πρό-βατα ἐλαύνει μάγευρος ὡς ὁ νησώμενος. ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον διαφέρει μαγειρικὴ τε καὶ ποιμενικὴ,

σχεδόν ὅσον βασιλεία τε καὶ τυραννίς. ὅστε γοῦν Ἑρέξης καὶ Δαρείος ἀνωθὲν ἐκ Σοῦσων ἠλαυνὼν ποιλῶν ὀχλὸν Περσῶν τε καὶ Μῆδων καὶ Σακών καὶ Ἄραβων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων δεύο ἐἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀπολούμενον, πότερον βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔπραττον ἔργον λείαν ἐλαύνοντες κατακόπτομεν;

46 Ἐν οἴ Ἀλέξανδρος, Σοῦ, ἐφη, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ δοκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἶναι οὐδὲ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς; καὶ ὁ Διογένης μειδίάσας, οὐ μᾶλλον, εἶπεν, ὃ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἢ ὁ σμικρὸς δάκτυλος. Οὔτ' ἀρα ἐγώ, ἐφη, καταλύσας ἐκεῖνον μέγας βασιλεὺς ἔσομαι; Ὅπο τούτῳ γε ἐνεκα, εἶπεν ὁ Διογένης.

47 οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν παιδῶν ὁ νικήτας, ὅταν παιζωσίν, ὡς αὐτὸι φαισί, βασιλεάς, τῷ ὑπὶ βασιλεύς ἑστίν. οἱ μέντοι παιδεὶς ἱσασίν ὃτι ὁ νευκηκός καὶ

1 οὐχ added by Emperius.
2 ὁς Capps: ἤς.
3 ἱσασιν Emperius: φαισιν.

A shepherd may drive a flock to be butchered, just as a king may drive an army to its ruin; but the one is not a true shepherd but a butcher, and the other is not a true king but a tyrant.

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likeminded with him by any possibility conceive any unrighteous desire or design what is wicked and disgraceful? Homer seems to answer this very question clearly also when in commending some king he calls him a 'shepherd of peoples.' For the shepherd's business is simply to oversee, guard, and protect flocks, not, by heavens, to slaughter, butcher, and skin them. It is true that at times a shepherd, like a butcher, buys and drives off many sheep;\(^1\) but there is a world of difference between the functions of butcher and shepherd, practically the same as between monarchy and tyranny. For instance, when Xerxes\(^2\) and Darius\(^3\) marched down from Susa\(^4\) driving a mighty host of Persians, Medes, Sacae,\(^5\) Arabs, and Egyptians into our land of Greece to their destruction, were they functioning as kings or as butchers in driving this booty for future slaughter?"

And Alexander said: "Apparently you do not hold even the Great King to be a king, do you?" And Diogenes with a smile replied, "No more, Alexander, than I do my little finger." "But shall I not be a great king," Alexander asked, "when once I have overthrown him?" "Yes, but not for that reason," replied Diogenes; "for not even when boys play the game to which the boys themselves give the name 'kings' is the winner really a king. The boys, anyhow, know that the winner who has the

\(^2\) King of Persia, son of Darius and Atossa, invaded Greece in 480 B.C. and was defeated in the battle of Salamis.

\(^3\) King of Persia, invaded Greece in 490 B.C. and was defeated at Marathon.

\(^4\) Winter residence of Persian kings.

\(^5\) One of the most powerful and warlike of the nomadic Scythian tribes. They lived on the steppes of Central Asia.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς σκυτωτόμου νίός ἐστιν ἥ
tέκτονος—καὶ δέ ὁ μανθάνειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
tέχνην· ὁ δὲ ἀποδράσας παῖζει μεθ’ ἑτέρων, καὶ τότε
μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν—ἐνιοτέ 
δὲ καὶ δοῦλος
καταλιπὼν τὸν δεσπότην.1 ἵσως οὖν καὶ ύμεῖς
tοιούτοι τε ποιεῖτε, ἐκάτερος ύμῶν παῖδας ἔχουτε
τοὺς συμφιλονεικόντας, ὁ μὲν Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς
ἀλλούς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἁσίαν, σὺ δὲ Μακεδόνας
tε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ελλήνας. καὶ ὃσπερ ἐκεῖνοι
τῇ σφαίρᾳ στοχάζονται ἄλληλων, ὁ δὲ πληγεῖς
ἡττηται, καὶ σὺ μὸν Ἄρειου στοχάζῃ καὶ σοῦ
ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τυχῶν ἄν πλήξαις τε καὶ ἐκβάλους
ἀυτόν ἐπισκοπώτερος γὰρ εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς.

ἐπειτά οἱ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπόντες μετὰ σοῦ
ἐσονται καὶ ὑποκύψουσι, καὶ σὺ ὅνωσθήσῃ
βασιλεὺς ἀπάντων.

Ὁ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος πάλιν ἐλπιέωτο καὶ
ἡχθετο. οὐδὲ γὰρ ζῆν ἐβούλετο, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς
εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τῆς Ἁσίας καὶ τῆς Διβύης
καὶ εἰ ποῦ τίς ἔστι νῆσος ἐν τῷ Ὀκεανῷ κείμενη.

ἐπεισφόρετο γὰρ τούναντίον ἡ φήσιν "Ομήρος τὸν
Ἀχιλλέα νεκρὸν πεπονθέναι, ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ
ἐλεγεν ὅτι ζῶν βούλοιτο θητεύειν

ἀνδρὶ παρ’ ἀκλήρῳ ὃ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἶν,
ἡ πάσιν νεκυσθεὶ καταφθημένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος δοκεῖ μοι ἐλέσθαι ἂν καὶ τοῦ
τρῖτον μέρους τῶν νεκρῶν ἀρχειν ἀποθανὼν ἢ
ζῆν τὸν ἀπαντά χρόνου θεὸς γενόμενος μόνον, εἰ

1 Wilamowitz proposed to delete ένιοτε ... δεσπότην, wrongly.
title of 'king' is only the son of a shoemaker or a carpenter—and he ought to be learning his father's trade, but he has played truant and is now playing with the other boys, and he fancies that now of all times he is engaged in a serious business—and sometimes the 'king' is even a slave who has deserted his master. Now perhaps you kings are also doing something like that: each of you has playmates—the eager followers on his side—he his Persians and the other peoples of Asia, and you your Macedonians and the other Greeks. And just as those boys try to hit one another with the ball, and the one who is hit loses, so you now are aiming at Darius and he at you, and perhaps you may hit him and put him out; for I think you are the better shot. Then, those who were on his side at first will be on yours and will do you obeisance, and you will be styled king over all."

Now Alexander was again hurt and vexed, for he did not care to live at all unless he might be king of Europe, Asia, Libya, and of any islands which might lie in the ocean. His state of mind, you see, was the opposite of what Homer says was that of Achilles' ghost. For that hero said that he preferred to live in bondage to

"Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,
Rather than reign o'er all who have gone down
To death."¹

But Alexander, I doubt not, would have chosen to die and govern even a third part of the dead rather than become merely a god and live for ever—unless,

¹ Odyssey 11. 490 f.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

51 μὴ βασιλεύσει γένοιτο τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. μόνου δὲ ἵσως οὐκ ἂν υπερείδη τοῦ Δείος, ὅτι βασιλέα καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνθρωποὶ. οὗδεν καὶ ἐκόλαξεν αὐτὸν ὁ Διογένης πάντα τρόπον.

Ἔφη οὖν, "Ὡς Διόγενες, σὺ μὲν μοι παίζειν δοκεῖς· ἐγώ δὲ ἂν Δαρείου ἐλω καὶ ἔτι τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, οὐδὲν με κωλύσει τῶν πάσητε βασιλέων μέγιστον εἶναι. τι γὰρ ἐμοὶ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ κρατησάντες Βαβυλώνος καὶ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων

52 καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰνδῶν πραγμάτων; καὶ δὲ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν φλεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοτιμίας κάκει τῇ πυχῇ ὅλων τεταμένου καὶ φερόμενον, ὡσπερ αἱ γέρανοι, ὅποι ἂν ὀρμήσωσιν, ὑποτείνασαι ἕαντας πέτονται, 'Ἄλλα' οὖν ἔξεις, ἔφη, πλέον οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ τῷ ὁμως βασιλεύσεις ἂφ' ἢς ἔχεις ταύτης διανοιάς, οὐδὲ ἂν υπεραλλόμενος τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος οὕτως ἐλης τήν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διορύττων ἐξωθεὶ καὶ υπορύττων, ὧμοιος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Σούσω καὶ τὸ ἐν Βάκτροις, οὐδ' ἂν Κύρου μμυροσάμενος κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσρυθῇ ὡσπερ ὤδρος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐτέραν προσλάβης μείζω τῆς Ἀσίας ἤπειρον, τὸν Ὡκεανὸν διανηξάμενος. ¹

¹ οὐδ' ἂν. . . . ὤδρος occurs in MSS. after διανηξάμενος; transferred to this position by Capps.

² After διανηξάμενος the MSS. have § 54: ἢ σὺ τοῦτο ἀλεξιπτύνας οὐ καλεῖς νόθους, οὐ ἂν διειν ἐξ ἀνομίαι; ἢ σὺ μελζων σοι δοκεῖ διαφορὰ θεου πρὸς γυναίκα θνητήν ἢ γενναίον ἀλεξιπτύνος; εἰ οὖν γέγονας οὕτως καθάπερ φασί, καὶ σὺ νόδος ἂν ἔχεις ὡσπερ ἀλεξιπτύνος. τυχὼν δὲ καὶ μαχιμώτατος ἐσθ' τῶν ἄλλων διὰ ταύτην τὴν νοθέαν.—"Or do you not call a cock a mongrel when it is from two different breeds? And do you not consider the inequality between a god and a mortal woman greater than it is in the case of a thoroughbred cock? Therefore, if your origin is as it is said to be, you too would be as much
of course, he became king over the other gods. Perhaps, too, Zeus is the only one for whom he would have shown no contempt, and that because men call him king. This is the reason why Diogenes was bent on reproving him thoroughly.

The king replied, “Diogenes, you seem to be joking. If I capture Darius and the king of the Indians to boot, there will be nothing to prevent my being the greatest king that ever lived. For what is left for me when I have once become master of Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, and the Empire of the Indies?” And the other, observing that he was aflame with ambition and that with all his heart he was being borne at full stretch in that direction, just as the cranes when flying stretch themselves out in whatever direction they are speeding, exclaimed, “Nay, in the state of mind in which you are, you will have not one whit more than anyone else, nor will you really be a king, no, not even if you leap over the walls of Babylon and capture the city in that way, instead of breaking through the walls from without or sapping them from beneath, nor even if you imitate Cyrus and glide in like a water-snake by the river-route,¹ and in the same way get inside the walls of Susa and Bactra, no, not even though you swim across the ocean and annex another continent greater than Asia.”

¹ Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, who took Babylon in 533 B.C., was said to have used this ruse, but the story is now discredited. See Herodotus 1. 191.

a mongrel as a cock in the same case. Perhaps, too, you will turn out to be the greatest fighter in the world, thanks to this mixture.” These words Geel puts after § 19.
Καὶ τὸς, ἐπειδὴ ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται πολέμιος, ἔλαβο τοὺτον οὐς ἔπεισιν; Ὅπι πάντων, ἐφη, δυσμαχώτατος, οὐ περσίζων, οὐ μηδίζων τῇ φωνῇ, καθάπερ οἱμαί Δαρείος, ἄλλα μακεδονίζων τε καὶ ἐλληνίζων. καὶ ὁ ἐταράξθη τε καὶ ἡγοῦνας ἡμί τινα ἐπιστατὸ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἦ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρασκευαζόμενον ὡς πολεμήσοντα καὶ ἢρετο, Τότε οὕτως ἔστων ἐμὸς πολέμιος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ Μακεδονίᾳ; Σὺ, ἐφη, ἀγνοεῖς, πάντων μάλιστα γνωστὸς οἷόμενος; Ἐπειτα, ἐφη, οὐκ ἐρείς αὐτὸν, ἄλλα κρύψεις; Πάλαι γὰρ, ἐπειν, λέγω, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἂκουεις ὅτι σὺ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἔχθιστος ἐκ καὶ πολεμιώτατος μέχρι ἃς κακὸς καὶ ἄνοικτος. καὶ οὕτως, ἐφη, ἔστων ἅνηρ διον σὺ ἀγνοεῖς ὡς οὔδενα ἄλλον. οὔδεις γὰρ τῶν ἀφρόνων καὶ πονηρῶν ἐπίσταται ἐαυτόν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτο πρῶτον προσέτατεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὡς χαλεπώτατον ἐκάστῳ, γνῶναι ἐαυτόν. ᾧ οὗ τὴν ἀφροσύνῃ ἡγηθη μεγίστην καὶ τελεωτάτην πασῶν νόσου καὶ βλάβην τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τῶν ἀφρονί άνδρα αὐτὸν αὐτῷ βλαβερώτατον; ᾧ ὅτι τὸν βλαβερώτατον ἐκάστῳ καὶ πλείστων κακῶν αἰτιων, τοῦτον ἔχθιστον καὶ πολεμιώτατον ἐκείνῳ ὀμολογεῖς εἶναι; πρὸς ταῦτα χαλέψαυε καὶ πήδα, ἐφη, καὶ μιαρώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἐμὴ νόμιζε καὶ λοιδορεῖ πρὸς ἀπαντας, ἐὰν δὲ σοι δόξη, τῷ δορατῷ διαπερόνησον ὡς ἂκουει παρὰ μόνου

1 πολέμιος Reiske: πόλεμοι.
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"And what enemy have I still left," said he, "if I capture those peoples I have mentioned?" "The most difficult of all to conquer," he answered, "one who does not speak Persian or Median as Darius does, I presume, but Macedonian and Greek." At this Alexander was troubled and sore distressed for fear the other knew of someone in Macedonia or Greece who was preparing to make war on him, and asked, "Who is this enemy of mine in Greece or Macedonia?" "Why, do you not know," said he, "you who think that you know more than anyone else?" "In that case will you please tell me?" he asked; "do not conceal it." "I have been trying to tell you for a long time, but you do not hear that you are yourself your own bitterest foe and adversary as long as you are bad and foolish. And this is the man of whom you are more ignorrant than of any other person. For no foolish and evil man knows himself; else Apollo would not have given as the first commandment, 'Know thyself!' regarding it as the most difficult thing for every man. Or do you not think that folly is the greatest and most serious of all ailments and a blight to those that have it, and that a foolish man is his own greatest bane? Or do you not admit that he who is most harmful to a man and causes him the most ills is that man's greatest foe and adversary? In view of what I say rage and prance about," said he, "and think me the greatest blackguard and slander me to the world and, if it be your pleasure, run me through with your spear; for

1 The first of three inscriptions known to have been upon the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

2 μηδέξαν Ηερωδέν: ἀμείζαν.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

ἀνθρώπων ἐμοὶ τάληθη καὶ παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἀνθρώπων ἀν μάθουσ. πάντες γὰρ εἰσὶ χειρος ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀνελευθερώτεροι.

60 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ Διογένης, παρ’ οὐδεν μὲν ἡγούμενος εἰ καὶ τι πείσται, πλὴν σαφῶς γε εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔσωτο. ἦπιστατο γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δούλου ὄντα τῆς δόξης καὶ οὐδέποτ’ ἀν ἀμαρτόντα περὶ ἐκείνην. ἡ ὕφη οὐν αὐτὸν μήδε τὸ σημεῖον τὸ βασιλικὸν ἔχειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος θαυμάσας, ὄψιν ἀρτί ἔλεγες, ἡ ὕφη, ὅτι οὐδέν δεὶ σημείων τῷ βασιλεῖ; Ναὶ μᾶ Δῆ, εἴπε, τῶν γε ἐξωθεν οἶον τιάρας καὶ πορ-φύρας: τούτων γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὄφελος: τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως αὐτὸ δὲ προσείναι πάντων μάλιστα. Καὶ τὸ τούτό ἐστιν, ἡ ὑφή τ’ Ἀλέξανδρος; Ὁ καὶ τῶν μελιττῶν, ἢ δ’ ὅς, τῷ βασιλεί πρόσεστιν. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὅτι ἐστὶν βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς μελίτταις φύσει γιγνόμενος, οὐκ ἔκ γένους τοῦτο ἔχων ὀστερ ὑμεῖς φατε, ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους ὄντες; Τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν, εἴπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τό ση- μεῖον; Οὐκ ἀκήκοας, εἴπε, τῶν γεωργῶν ὅτι μόνη ἐκείνη ἢ μέλιτα ἀνευ κέντρου ἐστίν, ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτή δέον ὀπλοῦ πρὸς οὐδένα; οὐδεμία γὰρ αὐτή τῶν ἄλλων μελιττῶν ἀμφισβητήσει περὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὐδὲ μαχήσεται τοῦτο ἐχούσῃ. σὺ δὲ μοι δοκεῖς ὡς μόνον περιπατεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθεύδεις ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς. οὐκ οἰσθα, ἡ ὑφή, ὅτι φοβουμένον ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου ὑπλα ἔχειν; φοβού- μενος δὲ οὐδέποτ’ ἀν οὐδεὶς γένοιτο βασιλεύς, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ δούλος. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀλίγου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἄφηκε τὸ δοράτιον.

1 ἐκείνην Geol; ἐκείνον.
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

I am the only man from whom you will get the truth, and you will learn it from no one else. For all are less honest than I and more servile.”

Thus spoke Diogenes, counting it as nothing that he might be chastised, yet quite convinced that nothing would happen. For he knew that Alexander was a slave of glory and would never make a bad move where it was at stake. So he went on to tell the king that he did not even possess the badge of royalty. And Alexander said in amazement, “Did you not just declare that the king needs no badges?” “No indeed,” he replied; “I grant that he has no need of outward badges such as tiaras and purple raiment—such things are of no use—but the badge which nature gives is absolutely indispensable.” “And what badge is that?” said Alexander. “It is the badge of the bees,” he replied, “that the king wears. Have you not heard that there is a king among the bees, made so by nature, who does not hold office by virtue of what you people who trace your descent from Heracles call inheritance?” “What is this badge?” inquired Alexander. “Have you not heard farmers say,” asked the other, “that this is the only bee that has no sting, since he requires no weapon against anyone? For no other bee will challenge his right to be king or fight him when he has this badge. I have an idea, however, that you not only go about fully armed but even sleep that way. Do you not know,” he continued, “that it is a sign of fear in a man for him to carry arms? And no man who is afraid would ever have a chance to become king any more than a slave would.” At these words Alexander came near hurling his spear.
Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ Διογένης, προτρέπων αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίᾳ πιστεύειν καὶ τῷ δίκαιῳ παρέχειν αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ὁπλοῖς.

Συν δὲ, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν θυμῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φορεῖς ἥκονιμένου, χαλεπῶν οὕτως καὶ βίαιον κέντρον.

οὐκ ἀπορρίφας ταῦτα ἢ νῦν ἔχεις, ἐξωμίδα λαβὼν λατρεύσεις τοῖς αὐτοῦ κρείττοσιν, ἀλλὰ περιελεύσῃ διάδημα ἔχων καταγέλαστον; μικρὸ δὲ ὑστερον ἐσώς λόφον φύσεις καὶ τιάρων, ὅσπερ οἱ ἀλεξτρονίες; οὐκ ἐνενόηκας τὴν τῶν Σακῶν ἐορτήν, ἢν Πέρσαι ἁγουσίως, οὐ νῦν ὄρμηκας στρατεύσεις; καὶ δὲ εὐθὺς ἡρώτα, Ποίαν τινά; ἐβούλετο γὰρ πάντα εἰδέναι τὰ τῶν Περσῶν πράγματα. Δαβίδε, ἔφη, τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἕνα τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καθίζουσιν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα διδόσων αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ προστάτευεν ἑώρη καὶ πλεονα τοῦτοι καὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς χρήσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ταῖς βασιλείς, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕδεν αὐτὸν κωλύει ποιεῖν ὅν βούλεται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀποδύσατε καὶ μαστυγώσατε ἐκρέμαισαν. τίνος οὖν ἡγητὸς τούτοις εἶναι σύμβολον καὶ διὰ τὰ γίγνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Περσαίς; οὐχ οἷς πολλάκις ἀνόητοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ πονηροὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος τυγχάνουσιν, ἐπειτὰ χρόνον τινὰ ὑβρίσατες αἰσχυντα καὶ κάκιστα 1 ἀπόλλυντες; οὐκοῦν τοῦτο, ἐπειδὰν ἄρωσι τῶν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, εἰκὸς ἐστὶ

1 κάκιστα Herwerden: τάχιστα.
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With these words Diogenes strove to encourage him to put his trust in well-doing and devotion to righteousness and not in arms.

"But you," he continued, "also carry in your soul a keen-whetted temper, a goad difficult to restrain, as we see, and compelling. Will you not throw off this armour which you now wear, don a worker’s tunic,¹ and serve your betters, instead of going about wearing a ridiculous diadem? And perhaps before long you will grow a comb or tiara as cocks do? Have you never heard about the Sacian feast² held by the Persians, against whom you are now preparing to take the field?" And Alexander at once asked him what it was like, for he wished to know all about the Persians. "Well, they take one of their prisoners," he explained, "who has been condemned to death, set him upon the king’s throne, give him the royal apparel, and permit him to give orders, to drink and carouse, and to dally with the royal concubines during those days, and no one prevents his doing anything he pleases. But after that they strip and scourge him and then hang him. Now what do you suppose this is meant to signify and what is the purpose of this Persian custom? Is it not intended to show that foolish and wicked men frequently acquire this royal power and title and then after a season of wanton insolence come to a most shameful and wretched end? And so, when the fellow is freed from his chains, the chances

¹ Short tunic open on right side; worn by slaves and artizans.
² Strabo (C. 512. 5) gives a different account of this feast. He says it was celebrated by the Persians with carousing in memory of a victory by Cyrus over the Sacae (called Σακαῖς in Strabo 512 ff.). On the custom see Frazer, Golden Bough, ii², p. 24).
τὸν μὲν ἀνόητον καὶ ἀπειρόν τοῦ πράγματος χαίρειν καὶ μακαρίζειν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γυννο-μένοις, τὸν δὲ εἰδότα ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἐκόντα συνακολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ
70 εἰχε, μένειν ἐν ταῖς πέδαις. μὴ οὖν πρότερον, ὡς μάταια, βασιλεύειν ἐπικείμενον πρὸς ἡ φρονήσαι: τέως δὲ, ἐφι, κρείττον μηδὲν προστάττειν, ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸν ζῆν διεθέραν ἔχοντα.

Σὺ, ἐφι, κελεύεις ἐμὲ διεθέραν λαβεῖν τὸν ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους γεγονότα καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων
71 ἤγεμόνα καὶ Μακεδόνων βασιλέα; Πάνω γε, εἴπειν, ὥσπερ ὁ πρόγονός σου. Ποίος, ἐφι, πρό-
γονος; Ἄρχελαος. ἢ οὐκ αἰτόλος ἢν ὁ Ἄρ-
χελαος οὐδὲ ἤλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἄγας ἔλαυ-
νων; πότερον οὖν αὐτὸν ἐν πορφύρᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ
ἐν διεθέρᾳ σει τοῦτο ποιεῖν; καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέλθη τε καὶ ἐγέλασε καὶ ἐφη, Τὰ περὶ τὸν
72 χρησμόν, ὁ Διὸγενες, λέγεις; ὁ δὲ στραφυλή τῷ προσώπῳ, Πολύν, εἴπε, χρησμόν; οὐκ οἶδα
ἐγωγεν πλὴν ὅτι αἰτόλος ἢν ὁ Ἄρχελαος. ἀλλ’ ἄν ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῶν νῦν πραγμάτων, ἐστὶ βασιλεύς, οὐ λόγῳ τυχόν, ἀλλ’ ἐργῷ καὶ κρατήσεις οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ
73 Ἡρακλῆς, δυ σου φῆς πρόγονον εἶναι. καὶ ὁς, Ποίον, ἐφι, γυναικῶν; ἢ δῆλον, ἐφι, ὅτι τῶν
Ἀμαξῶνων λέγεις; Ἄλλο ἐκεῖνων, ἢ δ’ ὅς, οὐδὲν
ἡν κρατήσαι χαλέπων ἐτέρου δὲ τινος γένοις,

1 σου Reiske: συ.

1 According to Hyginus (Fabula 219), Archelans, a reputed ancestor of Alexander, after casting the treacherous Cisseus,
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

are, if he is a fool and ignorant of the significance of the procedure, that he feels glad and congratulates himself on what is taking place; but if he understands, he probably breaks out into wailing and refuses to go along without protesting, but would rather remain in fetters just as he was. Therefore, O perverse man, do not attempt to be king before you have attained to wisdom. And in the meantime," he added, "it is better not to give orders to others but to live in solitude, clothed in a sheepskin."

"You," he objected, "do you bid me, Alexander, of the stock of Heracles, to don a sheepskin—me, the leader of the Greeks and king of the Macedonians?" "Surely," he replied, "just as your ancestor did." "What ancestor?" he asked. "Archelaus. Was not Archelaus a goatherd and did he not come into Macedonia driving goats? Now do you think he did this clad in purple rather than in a sheepskin?" And Alexander calmed down, laughed, and said, "Do you refer to the story about the oracle, Diogenes?" The other puckered his face and said, "Oracle indeed! All I know is that Archelaus was a goatherd. But if you will drop your conceit and your present occupations, you will be a king, not in word maybe, but in reality; and you will prevail over all women as well as all men, as did Heracles, whom you claim as an ancestor of yours." Alexander said, "Women indeed! Or am I to understand that you refer to the Amazons?" "Nay, it was no hard matter to overcome them," he replied. "I refer to women of another kind, who are extremely Macedonian king, into the pit prepared for himself, followed a goat by Apollo's direction and founded the city of Aegae in Macedonia.

2 The story of the oracle bidding Archelaus follow the goat.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

dεινοῦ καὶ ἀγρίου παντελῶς. ἢ οὐκ ἄκηκοας τὸν Δινύκον μύθον; καὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἄκηκοέναι.

74 διηγεῖτο δὴ μετὰ ταύτα προθύμως καὶ ἠδέως, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν παραμυθησάσθαι, καθάπερ αἱ τίτθαι τὰ παιδία, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς πληγᾶς ἐμβάλωσι, παραμυθούμεναι καὶ χαριζόμεναι μύθον αὐτοῖς ὑστεροῦ διηγήσαντο.

75 Ἔδὲ ἔσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον ἔστη βασιλεὺς πρὶν ἀν ἱλάσῃ τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ θεραπεύσαι ὡς δεῖ ἀποδείξεις ἀρχικὸν τε καὶ ἐλευθέροι καὶ βασιλικὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ, ὅσ νῦν ἔχεις, δοῦλον καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ πονηρόν. ἑνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἄλεξανδρος ἐκπεπληγμένος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ ἄδειος, νομίζας πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτάσσεσθαι αὐτὸν, παντοδαπὸς ἦν ἱκετεύων μὴ φθονήσαι μὴ δενα τρόπον, ἀλλὰ φράσαι τίς ἐστιν ὁ δαίμων αὐτοῦ καὶ πῶς χρὴ ἱλάσασθαι αὐτοῖν. ἡλπίζε γὰρ ὅνομά τι ἀκούσεσθαι δαίμονος καὶ ἥσσας τινὰς ἢ καθαροῦς οὐς δεὶ ἐπιτελέσαι.

77 κατειδὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Διογένης τεθορυμημένον καὶ σφόδρα τῇ ψυχῇ μετέωρον, προσέπαιξε καὶ πεσέικεν, εἰ πως δύναιτο κινηθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῆς δόξης μικρῶν τι ἀνανύψας. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἵσθάνετο αὐτὸν νῦν μὲν ἤδομενον, νῦν δὲ λυπούμενον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκριτον οὖσαν, ὅσπερ τὸν ἁέρα ἐν ταῖς τροπαῖς, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νέφους ὡς τε καὶ λάμπῃ ὁ ἡλιος. συνέει δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ τρόπου κατεφρόνει ἐν φί διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἄτε

1 Told by Dio in the "Fifth Discourse."
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

dangerous and savage. Have you not heard the Libyan myth?"1 And the king replied that he had not. Then Diogenes told it to him with zest and charm, because he wanted to put him in a good humour, just as nurses, after giving the children a whipping, tell them a story to comfort and please them.

"Be assured," he continued, "that you will never be king until you have propitiated your attendant spirit2 and, by treating it as you should, have made it commanding, free-spirited and kingly, instead of, as in your present state, slavish, illiberal, and vicious." Then was Alexander amazed at the courage and fearlessness of the man; yet deeming him to have greater knowledge than other men, he urgently besought him not to say him nay but to explain what his attendant spirit was and how he must propitiate it. For he assumed that he would hear some deity's name and of certain sacrifices or purifications that he would have to perform. So when Diogenes perceived that he was greatly excited and quite keyed up in mind with expectancy, he toyed with him and pulled him about in the hope that somehow he might be moved from his pride and thirst for glory and be able to sober up a little. For he noticed that at one moment he was delighted, and at another grieved, at the same thing, and that his soul was as unsettled as the weather at the solstices when both rain and sunshine come from the very same cloud. He realized, too, that Alexander despised the way in which he argued with him, due to the

1 The popular idea was of an indwelling spirit or genius by which a man was possessed or controlled. Heraclitus, fr. 119 (Diels), claims that character is each man's genius.
 Dio Chrysostom

οὐδέποτε ἄκηκος δεινὸν λέγειν ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν βαυμάξου λόγους ὡς ψηφ.

79 λούσ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. Βουλόμενος οὖν χαρίσασθαι αὐτῷ, ἀμα τε ἐπιδείξαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄδυνατός ἐστιν ὤσπερ ἱππον εὐμάθη καὶ πεινθόμενον, ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, τὸν λόγον ἐπάραι, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως περὶ δαίμονον, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐξωθεὶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ πονηροὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, οἱ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας φέροντες αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ ἱδίος ἐκαστοῦ νοῦς, οὕτως ἔστι δαίμων τοῦ ἔχοντος ἀνδρός, ἀγαθός μὲν ὁ τοῦ φρονίμου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, πονηρὸς δὲ ὁ τοῦ πονηροῦ, ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐλευθερὸς μὲν ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, δοῦλος δὲ ὁ τοῦ δούλου, καὶ βασιλικὸς μὲν ὁ τοῦ βασιλείου καὶ μεγαλόφρονος, ταπεινὸς δὲ ὁ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀγε

80 νοῦς. Ἰνα δὲ, ἔφη, μὴ καθ᾽ ἐν ἐκαστοῦ ἐπιδῶν ἁλοῦ τι πλήθος ἐπάγωμαι λόγων, ἔρω τοὺς κοινοτάτους καὶ φανερωτάτους δαίμονας ὑφ’ ὅν ἄπαντες, ὡς εἰπείν, ἐλαύνονται τύραννοι καὶ ἰδιώται καὶ πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες καὶ ὁλα ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάντα ἀνέφις κάλλων μάλα ψηλῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν ἐξής διεπέραυν λόγον.

82 Πολλαὶ μὲν, ὁ παῖ Φιλίππου, περὶ πάντα κακία τε καὶ διαφθοραί τῶν ἄθλιών ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοσάδι αὐθεντοὶ ὅσα οὐ δυνατὸν διελθεῖν. τῷ ὁντὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἢ ἐπείν ἔπος 

οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ συμφορὰν δαίμονον, ἢς οὐκ ἀν ἀραίτι ἀχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις.

1 For ἐπιδῶν Arnim would read ἐπεξίων.
fact that the prince had never heard a real master of discourse but admired the style of the sophists, as being lofty and distinguished. So wishing to win his favour and at the same time to show that he was quite able, whenever he chose, to make his discourse step out like a well-trained and tractable horse, he spoke to him as follows about attendant spirits, showing that the good and the bad spirits that bring happiness and misery are not outside the man, and that each one’s intelligence—this and nothing more—is the guiding spirit of its owner, that the wise and good man’s spirit is good, the evil man’s evil, and likewise the free man’s is free, the slave’s slavish, the kingly and high-minded man’s kingly, the abject and base man’s abject. “However, not to provoke a tedious discussion,” he continued, “by taking up each separate point, I shall mention the commonest and most noticeable spirits by which everybody, generally speaking, is actuated—tyrants and private citizens, rich and poor, whole nations and cities.” Thereupon he let out all his sails and delivered the following discourse with great loftiness and courage.

“Many, thou son of Philip, are the vices and corrupting influences that in all circumstances beset wretched man, and they are well-nigh more numerous than tongue can tell. For in truth, as the poet says,

“No word is there so fraught with fear to speak,
Nor sorrow, nor calamity god-sent,
But mortal man might bear the weight thereof.” ¹

¹ Euripides, Orestes 1 f.

² συμφορὰ θεῖλατος in the MSS. of Euripides, Orestes 1 f.
Τριῶν δὲ ἐπικρατοῦντων, ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν, βίων, εἰς οὖς μάλιστα ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶ Δὲ οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ σκεψάμενοι καὶ δοκιμάσαντες, ἀλόγῳ δὲ ὁρμῇ καὶ τύχῃ προσενεχθέντες, το- σούτους φατέον εἶναι καὶ δαίμονας, οἷς συνέπονται καὶ λατρεύουσιν οἱ πολὺς καὶ ἀμαθῆς ὁμιλοῦ, ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ, καθάπερ ἤγεμόνι πονηρῷ καὶ μαί- νομένῳ πονηρῷ καὶ ἄσελγῆς θίασος. ἔστι δὲ τού- των ὁν ἐφήν βίων οἱ μὲν ἠδυπαθῆς καὶ τρυφερὸς περὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονάς, ὁ δὲ αὑ τιλο- χρήματος καὶ φιλόπλουτος, ὁ δὲ τρῆτος ἀμφοτέ- ρων ἐπιφανέστερος τε καὶ μᾶλλον τεταραγμένος, ὁ φιλότιμος καὶ φιλόδοξος, ἐκδηλοτέραν καὶ σφο- δροτέραν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τὴν μανίαν, ἔξαπατὼν αὐτόν, ὡς καλοῦ δὴ των ἔραστήν.

Φέρε οὖν καθάπερ οἱ κομψοὶ τῶν δημιουργῶν ἐπὶ πάντα ἐμβραχὺ φέρουσι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπώνοιαν καὶ τέχνην, οὐ μόνον τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀπομιμοῦ- μενοι φύσεις ἀνθρωπίνους εἴδεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστῶν, ποταμοὺς τε ἐνίοτε γραφοῦτες ἀνδράσιν ὧμοίους καὶ κρῆσιν ἐν τοῖς γυναικεῖοις εἴδεσι, νήσους τε καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μικροῦ δειν ἐξύπαντα, ὁποῖον καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐτύλμησεν ἐπιδειξα Σκάμανδρον φθεγγόμενον ὑπὸ τῇ δίνῃ, καὶ κακεῖνοι φωνάς μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσι προσθεῖναι τοῖς εἰδώλοις, εἴδη δὲ οἰκεῖα καὶ σημεῖα ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, οἷον τοὺς ποταμοὺς κατακατειμένους γυ- μνοὺς τὸ πλέον, γένειον πολὺ καθεικότας, μυρίκην
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

"Now as there are, roughly speaking, three prevailing types of lives which the majority usually adopt, not after thoughtful consideration and testing, I assure you, but because they are carried away by chance and thoughtless impulse, we must affirm that there is just the same number of spirits whom the great mass of foolish humanity follows and serves—some men one spirit and some another—just as a wicked and wanton troop follows a wicked and frenzied leader. Of these types of lives which I have mentioned, the first is luxurious and self-indulgent as regards bodily pleasures, the second, in its turn, is acquisitive and avaricious, while the third is more conspicuous and more disordered than the other two—I mean the one that loves honour and glory—and it manifests a more evident and violent disorder or frenzy, deluding itself into believing that it is enamoured of some noble ideal.

"Therefore, come, let us imitate clever artists. They put the impress of their thought and art upon practically everything, representing not only the various gods in human forms but everything else as well. Sometimes they paint rivers in the likeness of men and springs in certain feminine shapes, yes, and islands and cities and well-nigh everything else, like Homer, who boldly represented the Scamander ¹ as speaking beneath his flood, and though they cannot give speech to their figures, nevertheless do give them forms and symbols appropriate to their nature, as, for example, their river gods recline, usually naked, and wear long flowing beards and on their

¹ In the Iliad (21. 233 f.) Homer depicts the battle between Achilles and the Scamander.

¹ ἡμβραχὺς Κοβέτ: ἦν βραχῆι.
87 ἡ κάλαμον ἔστεφανωμένου· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς μὴ χείρος µηδὲ φαυλότεροι περὶ τοὺς λόγους φανῶμεν ἢ ἐκείνοι περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν τέχνας τῷ πλάττειν καὶ ἄφοροιν τοὺς τρόποις τοῦ τριπλοῦ δαίμονος τῶν τριῶν βίων, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐξίν καὶ ἀντίστροφον ἐπίδεικνύμενοι τῆς τῶν λεγόμενων φυσιογνωμόνων ἐμπειρίας καὶ μαν- 
88 τικῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοῦ εἴδους τὸ ἱθὸς ὁγυϊόκουσι καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ τῶν ἔργων χαρακτῆρα καὶ μορφὴν ἐξίν ἐκείνων σπάσωμεν, εἰ ἀρα µᾶλλον ἄψασθαι δυνησοµέθα τῶν πολλῶν 
καὶ φαυλότερον· πρὸς τὸ ἀποδείξῃ τὴν τῶν βίων ἀτοπίαν οὐδὲν ἀσχηµον οὐδὲ νεµεστον καὶ ποιηταῖς παραβαλλοµένους καὶ χειροτέχνας καὶ καθαρταῖς ὁρᾶσθαι, εἰ δέοι, σπεύδειν πανταχόθεν εἰκόνας καὶ παραδείγµατα πορίζοντας, ἀν πῶς ἰσχύσωµεν ἀποτρέψαι καὶ κακίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ πονηρῶν ἐπιθυµιῶν, εἰς ἀρέτης δὲ φιλίαι προ-
90 αγαγεὼν καὶ ἔρωτας ἥς ἄµεινονος· ἢ ὡς εἰσώθαις ἐνοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ καθάρσια, μῆν γὰρ Ἐκάτης ἰλασκόµενοι τε καὶ ἐξαίτη φάσκοντες ποιήσεων, ἑπειτα οἴµαι φάσ- 
σιµα τολλα καὶ ποικίλα πρὸ τῶν καθαρµῶν ἐξηγοῦµενοι καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἀ φασιν ἐπι-
πέµπειν χολοµένην τὴν θεόν.

1 τῷ έµερίου: τοῦ.  2 Arnim would delete ὁρᾶσθαι.
3 ἀποτρέψαι: Arnim: ἀποσκέπασαι.
4 καὶ before ἥς deleted by Emperius.

1 Plants which grow in wet soil.
2 The kathartai were regarded as charlatans, as we see from Hippocrates and Plutarch. They professed to cure diseases.
heads crowns of tamarisk or rushes.¹ Let us then show ourselves to be no whit worse or less competent in the field of discourse than they in their several arts as we mould and depict the characters of the three spirits of the three lives, therein displaying an accomplishment the reverse of and complementary to the skill and prophetic power of the physiognomists, as they call them. These men can determine and announce a man’s character from his shape and appearance; while we propose to draw from a man’s habits and acts, a type and shape that will match the physiognomist’s work—that is, if we shall succeed in getting hold rather of the average and lower types. Since our purpose is to show the absurdity existing in human lives, there is no impropriety or objection to our being seen imitating poets or artists or, if need be, priests of purification² and to our striving to furnish illustrations and examples from every source, in the hope of being able to win souls from evil, delusion, and wicked desires and to lead them to love virtue and to long for a better life; or else we might follow the practice of some of those who deal with initiations and rites of purification,³ who appease the wrath of Hecate⁴ and undertake to make a person sound, and then before the cleansing process, as I understand, set forth and point to the many and various visions that, as they claim, the goddess sends when angry.

¹ Plato (Phaedrus 244 e) refers to this same method of appeasing the wrath of a deity and has evidently influenced Dio here.
² Goddess of the lower world, who sends phantoms from it to vex and terrify those needing καθαρσίς.
ДИО ЧРYSOSTOM

ὅτι δὴ τάχιστα κάδαπανότατα¹ πρόεισι, σὺν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ προβαίνων καὶ θάνουν οὐμαι
94 τὰς τῆς σελήνης περιόδους, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀπεχθείας καὶ τὸ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῶν ἑνδοκυκλίων λογιζόμενος, ἐτί δὲ τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κτῆσει καλλωπισμὸν τινα προσείναι καὶ διατριβῆν ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον, ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ
95 συνειληφέναι, τὴν τοῦ πλούτου δύναμιν. τοῦτο σοὶ διώκει καὶ ζητεῖ πανταχῶθεν, οὐδέν τι μεταστρεφόμενος οὔτ' εἰ μετ' αἰσχύνης οὔτ' εἰ μετ' ἄδικιας γύρωστι, πλὴν ὅσον τὰς κολάσεις ὑφορώμενος ὀδοιπόρων ² εὐλαβεστερῶς ἐστὶ ³ δειλίᾳ κρατηθεῖσ' κυνὸς ἀχρήστον ψυχήν ἐξων, τὰ μὲν ἀρπάζοντος ἐὰν ἐπιτήσῃ λήσεθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐπι-
βλέποντος καὶ ἀκοντος ἀπεχθεμένῳ διὰ τοὺς
96 ἐφεστηκότας φύλακας. ἐστοι δὴ βραχὺς ἰδεῖν, δουλοπρεπῆς, ἀγρυπνοῦ, οὐδέποτε μειδίων, ἀεὶ τῶν λοιδορούμενος καὶ μαχόμενος, πορνοβοσκῶν, μάλιστα προσεικὸς τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀναίδει καὶ γλύσχρον, βαπτὸν ἀμπεχομένῳ τριβώμον μᾶς τίνος τῶν ἑταίρων ὀραίσμον.⁵ οὖν δὲ ὁ
97 δαίμων αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀπρεπῆς, τοὺς αὐτοῦ φίλους τε καὶ ἑταίρους, μᾶλλον δὲ δύολοι καὶ ὑπηρέτας λοβώμενος καὶ κατασχύνων πάντα τρόπον, ἐὰν τε ἐν ἰδίωτον σχῆματι λάβῃ τινὰς εἰς τέ ν
98 βασιλέως. ἦν οὐ πολλοῦς τῶν καλουμένων βασιλέων ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ κατήλλους καὶ τελώνας καὶ πορνοβοσκοῦσα; ἀλλὰ Δρόμωνα μὲν καὶ Σάραμ-

¹ κάδαπανότατα Arnim: καὶ δακαπαλότατα.
² τῶν added by Arnim.
³ ὀδοιπόρων Emperius: ἰ δὲ ὡς δοκῶν.
⁴ εὐλαβεστερῶς ἐτί Capps: ἀσφαλεστερός. If ἀσφαλεστερός is right, Capps suggests that εἰναι ζητεῖ has dropped out.
and cheapest, since money goes on piling up day and night and outstrips, I ween, the circuits of the moon. He recks naught of dislike, hate, and curses and, besides, holds that while other kinds of possessions may be pretty baubles wherewith to amuse oneself, money, to put it succinctly, is the very essence of wealth. This, therefore, is what he seeks and pursues from any and every source, never concerning himself at all to ask whether it is acquired by shameful or by unjust means, except insofar as, observing the punishments meted out to footpads, he lets cowardice get the better of him and becomes cautious. For he has the soul of a worthless cur, that snatches up things when it expects not to be noticed, and looks on other morsels with longing eyes but keeps away from them, though reluctantly, because the guards are by. So let him be a man insignificant in appearance, servile, unsleeping, never smiling, ever quarrelling and fighting with someone, very much like a pander, who in garb as well as in character is shameless and niggardly, dressed in a coloured mantle, the finery of one of his harlots. A foul and loathsome spirit is this, for he brings every possible insult and shame upon his own friends and comrades, or, rather, his slaves and underlings, whether he find them in the garb of private citizens or in that of royalty. Or is it not plain to see that many who are called kings are only traders, tax-gatherers, and keepers of brothels? Shall we assert that Dromon and

1 Interest was payable monthly; cf. Aristoph. Clouds, 17.

Wilamowitz brackets ἀσφαλέστερος, but leaves the clause without a predicate.

6 ὁραῖσμόν Bakhuisen: ἐν τοῖς εὐ.

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βού, ὅτι ἐν 'Αθηναίων καπηλεύουσι καὶ ὑπὸ 'Αθηναίων τοῦτο ἀκούουσι τὸ ὄνομα, δικαίως φαμέν ἀκούειν, Δαρείου δὲ τὸν πρότερον, ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλώνι καὶ Σούσισι ἐκατέλευε, καὶ Πέρσαι αὐτὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι κάτηλην, οὐ δικαίως κεκλήθαι; ἦδιόν γε μὴν τούτῳ συμβεβήκε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας· ἐννέατε μὲν γὰρ ἄρχει ἔφη καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐνίστε δὲ δοκεῖ συνέπεσθαι, διά τὸ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ὑπηρέτην τε καὶ διάκονον ἀπροφάσιστον εἶναι τὸν πλοῦτον. ἂλλ' ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον καὶ προεστηκότα τῆς τοῦ δυστυχοῦ ἄνθρωπον διανοίας, οὕτε ἐφ' ἡδονὴν τινα οὕτε εἰς δόξαν ἀναφέροντα τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσιν, οὕτε ὡς ἄναλώσοντα καὶ χρησίμουν ξυνάγοντα, ἀνέξοδον δὲ καὶ ἄχρεαν φυλάττοντα τὸν πλοῦτον, τῷ ὑπὲρ κατάκλειστον ἐν τισι κρυπτοῖς καὶ ἀφεγγύσθαι θαλάμους.

101 Ἐνεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ δεύτερος ἀνήρ τε καὶ δαίμων ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄνδρός, ὁ τὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀναφαίνον ὄργα καὶ τὴν θέσαν ταύτην βασιλέως καὶ προ- τιμῶν, ἀτεχνῶς γυναικείαν θέσιν, ποικίλος καὶ πολυείδης καὶ περὶ τε ὅσμας καὶ γεύσεως α- πληρώτατος, ἔτι δὲ οὕτως περὶ πάντα μὲν ὁράματα, πάντα δὲ ἀκούσματα τὰ πρὸς ἡδονῆς τινα φέροντα, πάσας δὲ ἀφὰς προσηνεῖς τε καὶ μαλακὰς λυτρῶν τε ὀψημέραι χερσὶν, μᾶλλον δὲ δὲς τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ χρίσεων οὐ κάματον

1 ἄρχει Ἐμπύριος: ἄρχει.  
2 δοκεῖ συνέπεσθαι Σάρπι: ἄκεινοις συνέπεσται.  
3 μὲν added by Reiske.
Sarambus,¹ because they keep shops in Athens and are called shopkeepers by the Athenians, come fairly by the name, but that the elder Darius,² who kept a shop in Babylon and in Susa, and whom the Persians still to this day call a shopkeeper, has not deserved this name? Moreover, there is one peculiarity about this spirit, not shared by the others: although he sometimes rules and masters the soul, yet sometimes he seems to be compliant, the reason being that wealth is the handmaid and the willing ministrant to every appetite and interest. I, however, am now speaking of the spirit that takes the lead himself and dominates the faculties of his unhappy possessor; he has neither pleasure nor glory as the motive for the acquisition of wealth, and does not intend to spend or to use what he has gotten together, but keeps his wealth out of circulation and useless, actually locked up in secret and sunless vaults.

"So far so good. The second man and the attendant spirit of that man is the one which proclaims the orgies of Pleasure and admires and honours this goddess, a truly feminine being. He is of many hues and shapes, insatiable as to things that tickle nostril and palate, and further, methinks, as to all that pleases the eye, and all that affords any pleasure to the ear, as to all things that are soothing and agreeable to the touch, such as warm baths taken daily, or rather, twice a day, anointings that are

¹ Mentioned as a shopkeeper in Plato, Gorgias 518 b.
² The first Persian king of that name. The Persians called him a "shopkeeper" as a compliment, doubtless because he organized the Empire and imposed a regular tribute. According to one etymology "Darius" means "possessing goods." See Herodotus 3. 89 f.
102 ἱωμένων, πρὸς δὲ αὐτούς ἐσθήτων τε μαλακῶν ἅλεξεις καὶ κατακλίσεις ἡσικημένας καὶ διακονίας ἀκριβεῖς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπιθυμίαν τε καὶ χρείαν, περὶ ταῦτα πάντα δεινῶς ἐπτομένος, μάλιστα μέντοι 1 καὶ ἀκρατέστατα περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ὄξειαν καὶ διάπυρον μανιὰν θηλυκῶν τε καὶ ἀρρενίων μίξεων καὶ ἐτὶ πλείονοιν ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀνωνύμων αἰσχρουργῶν, ἐπὶ πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ τοιαῦτα φερόμενος καὶ ἀγων, οὐδὲν ἀπώμοιτον οὐδὲ ἀπρακτον ποιούμενος.

103 Νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἔνα τούτων τίθημεν τὸν ἀπάσας τὰς τοιαύτας παρειληφότα πόσους καὶ ἀκρασίας τῆς ψυχῆς, ἵνα μὴ πολὺν τίνα ἀθροίσωμεν ἐσμὸν μοιχικῶν τινῶν δαιμονίων καὶ 2 φιλόγοιν καὶ φιλολόγων καὶ ἀλλών δὴ μυρίων, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς ἔνα δαίμονα τιθῶμεν τὸν ἀκόλαστον καὶ δεδουλωμένον ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς, εἰάν μὲν ἐπιρρέη ποθὲν ἀνελιπτῆς τὸ τῆς χορηγίας, χρημάτων βασιλικῶν ἢ τῶν μεγάλης ἱδιωτικῆς ὑπούργας οὐσίας, εἰν πολλῆ καὶ ἀφθόνῳ κυλινδούμενον ἀσελγείᾳ μέχρι γήρως· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ταχὺ μάλα ἐξαναλώσαστα τὰ παρόντα, πένητα ἀκρατή καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐν σπάνει καὶ ἱμέρῳ δεινῶς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν λειπό- 105 μενον. ἔτι 3 δὲ τινῶν οὗτος τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κρατουμένων εἰς γυναικεῖον μετέβαλε βίον τε καὶ σχήμα, ὡσπερ οἱ μῦθοι φασὶ τοὺς μετα-

1 μέντοι: Jacobs: μέν.
2 καὶ added by Emperius.
3 ἔτι: Arnim: et.
not for the relief of weariness and, besides, the wearing of soft sweeping robes,\(^1\) bolstered repose, and attentive service for every appetite and desire. He is passionately devoted to all these things, but especially and most unrestrainedly to the poignant and burning madness of sexual indulgence, through intercourse both with females and with males, and through still other unspeakable and nameless obscenities; after all such indiscriminately he rushes and also leads others, abjuring no form of lust and leaving none untried.\(^2\)

"At present, it should be explained, we are treating as one this spirit which is afflicted with all these maladies and excesses of the soul; for we do not want to assemble a huge gallery of lecherous, gluttonous, and bibulous spirits and others unnumbered, but to treat as simply one that spirit which is incontinent and enslaved to pleasure, which—if only there is from some source an inflow of inexhaustible means, whether from royal coffers or from some great private estate—wallows in a deep and boundless slough of debauchery until old age comes; failing such resources, the man speedily squanders the fortune he began with, or is reduced to impotent and licentious penury, and in deprivation combined with craving falls terribly short of his desires. And, further, this spirit has sometimes changed those possessed by it to the life and the garb of women, just as the myths relate of those who transformed human beings into birds or

\(^{1}\) Cf. Plato, Alcibiades 122 c., ιματίαν ἄγεις.

\(^{2}\) The last part of this description bears a resemblance to the description which Diodorus Siculus (II. 23) gives of Sardanapallus.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟ

βαλόντας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὅρμηθας ἡ θηρία, ἐὰν τύχωσι τοιαύτης ἡττηθέντες ἤδονής.

Πάλιν δὲ κανταύθα αὐτιχρησία ἔπεφηνεν· 106 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἁσθενής τε καὶ ἀτολμός ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους δαιμών ἐπὶ τε τὰς γυναικεῖας νόσους καὶ ἄλλας αἰσχύνας, ὅποιες πρόσετε ζημία καὶ ὀνείδη, προσάγει ῥαδίως· ὅπου δὲ ἤδονῶν τιμῶν τιμωρία πρόσεισι, ἤπαντοις ἡ δεσμοῖς κολάζουσαι τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἡ χρημάτων πολλῶν
107 ἐκτίσεσιν, οὐ πάνω τι πρὸς ταύτα ἐφήσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀτενεστερός 2 τε καὶ θρασύτερος πάντα ἀπλῶς ὑπερβαίνειν ἀναγκάζει τὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἁσθενής τε καὶ ἀτολμός εὐθὺς 3 προσθέμενος τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσχύνης ὀμολογεῖν ὑπενδείτο ἀνδρεῖον πράγματος ἀπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ παραχωρῶν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πράξεων
108 τοῖς ἀμείων βεβιωκόσιν· ὁ δὲ ἱπποδὸς καὶ ἀτρές-
τος, πολλὰς ὑβρίσεις τε καὶ αἰσχύνας ὑπομείνας, ὀστράκου, φασί, μεταπεσόντος, στρατηγός ἡ ὁμαγωγός πέφηνεν ὅξυ καὶ διάτορον ἀκοῦν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν δραμάτων ὑποκρίται, ἀπορρίφας μεταξὺ τῶν γυναικείας στολῆς, ἔπειτα στρατιῶ-
τος τινὸς ἡ ῥήτορος στολῆ ἁρπάσας περιέρχεται συκοφάντης καὶ φοβερός, ἄντιλον πᾶσι βλέπων.
109 Ἄρ' οὖν ἀρρενοπτὸν τι καὶ σεμώνας εἰδος τῷ τοιούτῳ δαιμονίῳ πρέπει ἡ μᾶλλον ὑγρόν τε καὶ μαλθακόν; οὐκοῦν τῷ οἰκείον αὐτῷ σχῆμα προσ-
θήσομεν, οὐχ ὁ πλαττόμενος ἐνδύεται πολλάκις ἀνδρεῖον καὶ φοβερόν· προϊστὼ γε μὴν νὴ Δία

1 αὐτιχρησία Καρρα, δίτη χορηγία Αμιμ: ἐν τῇ χορηγίᾳ.
2 ἀτενεστερός Ιακώβα: ἀτενεστερος,
3 εὐθὺς οὐ εὐθὺ Καρρα: ἐνθὰ.

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beasts, if they were unfortunate enough to have become enslaved to an appetite of such a nature.

"But here again we find a contrast in our examples. There is, first in this class, the weak and unventuresome spirit, which easily leads men into effeminate vices and other kinds of misconduct which involve loss and disgrace, but, where certain indulgences are followed by punishments that inflict upon the culprit death or imprisonment or heavy fines, altogether avoids inciting the victim to those extremes. There is, however, the more aggressive and audacious spirit, which compels its victim to overleap absolutely all bounds, both human and divine. Now while the weak and unventuresome spirit no sooner gets involved than he acknowledges his shameful weakness by taking up no manly occupation, but leaving social and civic activities to those who have lived a better life, the bold and impetuous spirit, after enduring many a rebuff and humiliation, by a sudden turn of fortune's wheel,\(^1\) as they say, emerged as a general or as a popular leader with shrill and piercing voice, and, like actors on the stage, discards his feminine attire for the time being and then, having seized that of a general or orator, stalks about as a blackmailer and an object of terror, looking all the world in the eye.

"Now does a manly and grave appearance befit such a spirit, or rather a weak and effeminate one? Therefore we shall dress him up in his proper attire, not in the brave and awe-inspiring clothes which he often assumes when playing a part. So, by heavens,

\(^1\) Literally, "the shell having fallen underside uppermost." This expression is borrowed from a game played with shards or shells in which the players ran away or pursued according as the shell fell with one or the other side uppermost. See Plato, *Phaedrus*, 241b.
110τρυφῶν τε καὶ μύρου καὶ οἶνου ἀποτευεόν ἐν κροκωτῷ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ ἀτάκτου γέλωτος, μεθύοντι προσεοικῶς κωμάζοντι μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἄσελγη κῶμον, στεφάνους τινὰς ἐστεφάνωμένος ἐώλους τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ, καὶ πλάγιος φερόμενος, ὄρχούμενος τε καὶ ἄδων θῆλυ καὶ ἀμούσου μέλος. ἀγέσθω δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν
111ἀναισχύντων καὶ ἀκολάστων, ἐπιθυμῶν των λεγομένων, ἄλλων ἐπ’ ἄλλα ἐλκυσθῶν, μιθεμάτων αὐτῶν ἀπωθούμενοι μηδὲ ἀντιλέγων, ἀλλὰ
112ἐτοίμως δὴ καὶ προθύμως συνεπόμενος. αἱ δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ πατάγου κυμβάλων τε καὶ αὐλῶν φέρουσαι μαινόμενος αὐτὸν σπουδὴ προέτρωσαν. ὃ δ’ ἔκ μέσων ἀναβοῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξέτερον καὶ ἀκρατέστερον, λευκὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ τρυφερός, αἰθρίας καὶ πόνων ἀπειρος, ἀποκλείων τὸν τράχηλο, ὑγροί τοῖς ὁμμασι μάχλον ὑποβλέπων, ἀεί ποτε τὸ σῶμα καταθεόμενος, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ οὐδὲν προσέχων οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς προστατ.
113τομένοις. τούτων ἀγαλματοποίος ἢ γραφεύς ἀναγκαζόμενος εἰκάζειν οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίότερον ἄλλῳ ἐργάσατο ἢ τῷ Σώρῳ βασιλεῖ μετ’ εὐνούχων καὶ παλλακῶν ἐνδον διαβιούσην, στρατοπέδου δὲ¹ καὶ πολέμου καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀδειτοῦ τὸ παράπαν.
114προηγεῖσθω δὲ καὶ τούτων Ἀπάτη, πάνω ὁρᾶτα καὶ πιθανῆ, κεκοσμημένη κόσμως πορυκοῖς, μειδώσα καὶ ὑπισχυομένη πλήθος ἀγαθῶν, ὡς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀγούσα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐναὶ ἂν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον καταβάλῃ λαθοῦσα, εἰς πολύν τε καὶ ῥυπαρὸν βόρβορον, ἐπείτα ἀσάθυ κυλινδεῖσθαι
115μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τοῦ κροκωτοῦ. τοιοῦτῳ δεσποτὴ λατρεύουσαι καὶ τοιαύτα πάσχουσαι

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let him step forth luxurious, breathing of myrrh and wine, in a saffron robe, with much inordinate laughter, resembling a drunken reveller in a wanton midday riot and wearing faded garlands on his head and about his neck, reeling in his gait, dancing and singing an effeminate and tuneless song. Let him be led by brazen, dissolute women, known as certain of the sensual lusts, each pulling him her own way, and he rebuffs none of them nor says her nay, but follows readily and eagerly enough. And let them, with a great din of cymbals and flutes, come eagerly forth, escorting the frenzied fellow. And from the midst of the women let him utter shriller and more passionate cries than they; he is pale and effeminate in appearance, unacquainted with heaven’s air or honest toil, lets his head droop, and leers lasciviously, with his watery eyes ever studying his fleshy self, but heedless of the soul and her mandates. Were a statuary or a painter compelled to represent this man, he could create no better likeness of him than that of the Syrian king, who spent his life in his harcm with eunuchs and concubines without ever a sight of army or war or assembly at all. Let his steps also be guided by Delusion, a very beautiful and enticing maid, decked out in harlot’s finery, smiling and promising a wealth of good things and making him believe that she is leading him to the very embrace of happiness, till unexpectedly she drops him into the pit, into a morass of foul mud, and then leaves him to flounder about in his garlands and saffron robe. In servitude to such a tyrant and suffering such tribulation

1 The Assyrian king Sardanapallus seems to be meant. Syria and Assyria were sometimes confused.

1 St Dindorf: re.
Πλανώνται κατά τὸν βίον ὅσαι ψυχαὶ πρὸς μὲν πόνους δειλαὶ καὶ ἄδυνατοι, δεδουλωμέναι δὲ ἡδοναῖς, φιλήδονοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, βίον αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπονείδιστον οὐχ ἐλόμεναι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐνεχθεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν.

116 Οὐκοῦν μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ λόγος ὁσπερ ἐν ἁγώνι σφύττει τρίτον εἰσάγειν, ὡς ὁ κήρυξ 1 χορὸν, τὸν φιλότιμον, οὐ πάνυ προθύμως τὰ νῦν ἁγωνιούμενον, καὶ τοῖς φιλόνεικοις ὄντα τῇ φύσει περὶ πάντα καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιοῦντα. πλὴν οὐ περὶ δόξης ἢ τιμῆς ἢ κρίσεως αὐτῷ τὰ νῦν ἐνέστηκεν,

117 ὡτὲρ δὲ πολλῆς καὶ δικαίας ἀδοξίας. φέρε δὴ ποῦδον τι πλάττωμεν τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ εἴδος τοῦ φιλοτίμου δαίμονος; ἡ δὴλον διὰ πτερωτὸν τε καὶ ἐνθεμένου κατὰ τὸ θήσου αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀμα τοίς πνεύμασι φερόμενοι, ὅποιος τοὺς Βορεάδας ἐνεθυμήθησαν τε καὶ ἔγραψαν οἱ γραφεῖς, ἐλαφροὺς τε καὶ μεταρσίους, ταῖς τοῦ

118 πατρὸς αὖραις συνθέοντας; ἀλλ’ ἐκείνοι μὲν, ὅποτε θυμίζειν, ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, τέως δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων εἰς τῇ Ἄργοι συνέπλευσαν ναυτιλόμενοι καὶ τάλλα πράττοντες οὐδενὸς ἤττον, ὁ δὲ τῶν φιλοδοξῶν ἀνδρῶν προστάτης αὐτοὶ μετέφορος, οὐδέποτε γῆς ἐφαπτόμενος οὐδὲ ταπεινὸς τινὸς, ἀλλὰ ὕψηλος καὶ

119 μετάρσιος, ὡς τοὺς μὲν αἰθρίας τύχῃ καὶ γαληνῆς ἢ ξεφύρου τινὸς ἐπιεικῶς πνεύμονος, ἀὐτὸ μάλλον ἀγάλλομενος τε καὶ ἄνων 3 εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν αἰθέρα, πολλάκις δ’ ἐν σκοτεινῷ νέφει κρυπτόμενος,

1 ὁ κήρυξ Capp: ἐκεῖ. 2 ἐνέστηκεν Emporius: ἓστηκεν. 3 ἀνων Wilamowitz: ἰᾶν.

1 Cf. Aristoph. Achar. 11.
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those souls wander through life which, craven and impotent in the face of hardships, enslaved to pleasure, pleasure-loving, and carnally-minded, go on living a disgraceful and reprehensible life, not from choice, but because they have drifted into it.

"And now, leaving this spirit, my discourse is eager, as in a contest, to bring in the third spirit, as the herald to bring in a chorus—I mean the ambitious one. He is not so very eager at present to contest, although he is naturally emulous about everything and demands to be first. However, the present trial is not concerned with the question of any fame or honour that may come to him, but with his abundant and merited dishonour. So come, what garb and appearance shall we give to the ambitious spirit? Or is it manifest that he shall be winged and buoyant in keeping with his character and ambition, floating along with the breezes like those sons of Boreas whom artists have conceived and painted, lightly poised on high and running in company with their father's breezes? But while they used to display a power of their own whenever they pleased, yet for a time they went voyaging with the other heroes on the Argo, serving as their shipmates and performing the regular tasks as much as anyone. But the spirit who presides over men who love glory is always aspiring and never touches the earth or anything lowly; no, he is high and lifted up as long as he enjoys a calm and clear sky or a gently blowing zephyr, feeling ever happier and happier and mounting to the very heavens, but often he is enwrapped in a dark cloud when accom-

2 God of the north wind. His sons sailed on the Argo with Jason to get the Golden Fleece.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἀδοξίας τινὸς συντρεχούσης καὶ ψόγου ¹ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕς ἐκείνος θεραπεύει καὶ τιμᾶ καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῆς αὐτοῦ κυρίους ἀπέδειξεν.

120 Οὔδέν γε μὴν προσέοικεν ἀσφαλείας ἐνεκεν οὔτε ἀετοῖς οὔτε γεράνοις οὔτε ἄλλῳ τινι πτημῷ γένει τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἂν τις αὐτοῦ προσεικάσει τῇ Ἰκαρίου βιαίῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν φορᾷ, οὐ δυνάτον τέχνημα ἐπιχειρήσαντος Δαυ-

121 δάλλου τεχνήσασθαι. τουγαροῦν ὑπὸ νεότητος καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐπιθυμοῦν ὑψηλότερον τῶν ἀστρῶν φέρεσθαι, χρόνου μὲν τινα ἐσώρευτο βραχύν, χαλωμένου δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τοῦ κηροῦ ῥέοντος, ἐπωμυμίαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τῷ πελάγει

122 παρέσχεν, οὐπερ ἑφάνισθη πεσών. κάκεινος ἀσθενείς καὶ κούφος τῷ οὔτε πιστεύσας πτεροῖς, λόγῳ δὲ τιμᾶς τε καὶ ἔπαινοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώ-

123 ποιῶν τῶν πολλῶν ὡς ἐτυχε γνυρομένοις, ἐπι-

σφαλῶς καὶ ἀσταθμήτως φέρεται καὶ φέρει τόν ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτοῦ χηλωτὴν τε καὶ ὑπηρέτην, νῦν καὶ υψηλὸν καὶ μακάριον πόλλοις φαινόμενον, πάλιν δὲ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἀδηλίου τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ πρῶτῳ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα. ¹ ψόγου Εμπεριοῦ: φόβου.
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panied by some unpopularity or censure from the many people whom he courts and honours and has appointed to the mastery over his own happiness.

"As to his safety, this spirit is not at all to be classed with either eagles or cranes or any other feathered species; nay, one might rather liken his flight to the violent and unnatural soaring of Icarus, 1 whose father undertook to contrive a device that proved disastrous. So then the lad, moved by the conceit of youth and desiring to soar above the stars, was safe enough for a short time, but when the fastenings became loose and the wax ran, he gave his name from this circumstance to the sea where he fell to be seen no more. Just so with this spirit of ambition: When he also puts his faith in weak and truly airy wings—I mean the honours and plaudits bestowed at haphazard by the general crowd—he floats away on his perilous and unsteady voyage, taking with him the man, his admirer and henchman, who now appears to many to be high and blessed, but now again seems low and wretched, not only to others, but first and foremost to himself. But if there be anyone who does not care to conceive of and portray him as winged, let him liken him to Ixion, constrained to cruel and violent gyrations as he is rapidly whirled round and round on a wheel. Indeed, the comparison of the wheel with reputation would not be unsuiting nor far inferior in truth to the clever and brilliant metaphors of the rhetoricians; by its shifting movement it very readily turns round,

1 Son of Daedalus, who essayed to fly with his father’s wings. The portion of the Aegean Sea that lies between Myconos and the mainland of Asia Minor was called the Sea of Icarus.

2 oββε Ἐμπερίου: oβr,
παντοτια σχήματα την ψυχήν ἀναγκάζων· λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ τῶν κεραμέων τὰ ἐπε’ αὐτῷ
πλαττόμενα. ἄλλα δὲ τοιούτων εἰλούμενον αἰεὶ καὶ περιφερόμενον, κόλακα δήμων τε καὶ
δύχων ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἡ ἑπιδείξεις ἡ βασιλέων ἡ τυράννων λεγομέναι δὴ φιλίαις καὶ θεραπείαις,
tὶς οὐκ ἂν ἔλεησε τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου· λέγω δὲ σοὺ δς ἂν ἐαυτὸ βέλτιστα 2 προεστηκῶς πολὺ
tὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων πειθοί καὶ λόγῳ μετ’ εὐνοιας καὶ δικαιοσύνης πειράται
ῥυθμίζειν τε καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτῖνα.

125 Ἐξέτω δὴ καὶ οὔτος ἢ μὲν ὁ δαίμων τέλος, ἢν
μὴ νῦν στολάς τε καὶ μορφὰς προστιθέντες αὐτῷ
tαλία τα προσηκοῦντα πολὺν καὶ ἀπειρον
126 εἰσφερόμεθα λόγων δύχων. εἰ δ’ ἂν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἡθος, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ περιλαβεῖν, φιλόνεικον,
ἀνόητον, χαῖνον, ἀλαζονεία καὶ ξηλοτυπίᾳ καὶ
πᾶς τοῖς τοιούτοις ἕνοχον 3 χαλεποὶ καὶ
ἀγρίοις πάθεσιν. ἀπαντά γὰρ ταύτα φιλο-
tιμῷ τρόπῳ ψυχῆς ἀκοινώνητα καὶ ἁγρια
127 καὶ χαλεπὰ ἀνάγκη πάσα συνέπεσθαι, ἐτι δὲ
αὐτὸν πολὺ μεταλλάττειν εἰκὸς 4 καὶ ἀνώμαλον
ἐχειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἄτε ἀνωμάλῳ δουλεύοντα καὶ
προσέχοντα πράγματι, πυκνὸτερον καὶ συνεχέσ-
τερον ἢ τοὺς κυνηγήτας φαίνι χαίροντα καὶ
λυπούμενον· ἐκείνοις γὰρ δὴ μᾶλιστα τούτῳ
πλείστον καὶ συνεχέστατον συμβαίνειν λέγουσι,
φαινομένης τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένης τῆς ἁγρας· ὅταν
128 μὲν γὰρ εὐδοκιμῆσεις τε καὶ ἑπανοι συμβαίνωσιν

1 ἀναγκάζων Reiske: ἀναγκάζει.
2 ἐαυτοῦ βέλτιστα Cupps, cf. Or. Ixix. 2 and Xen. Mem. 3. 2. 2: ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου.

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and in its revolutions forces the soul to assume all kinds of shapes, more truly than the potter's wheel affects the things that are being shaped upon it. Such a man, ever turning and revolving, a flatterer of peoples and crowds, whether in public assemblies or lecture halls, or in his so-called friendship with tyrants or kings and his courting of them—who would not feel pity for his character and manner of living? I am not speaking of the man, however, who, having managed his own life admirably, endeavours by the persuasion of speech combined with goodwill and a sense of justice to train and direct a great multitude of men and to lead them to better things.

"Let us, then, come to an end with this spirit, too, for I should prefer at the present time not to provide him with clothing and shape, and his other appurtenances, and thus add a great and endless throng of words. Put briefly, then, he could be characterized as contentious, foolish, and conceited, and a prey to vainglory, jealousy, and all such difficult and savage emotions. For it is quite inevitable that all these unsociable and savage and difficult feelings should accompany the honour-seeking type of soul, and it is natural that he should change his mind often and be inconsistent—inasmuch as he serves and courts soickle a thing—alternating between joy and sorrow more often and continuously than hunters are said to do. For they say this is their especial and most continuous experience, when they sight the game and then lose it again. So it is with the ambitious: When good repute and praise come their way, their

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{2} ἐνοχον Cappe, cf. Plut. \textit{Mor.} 965 \textit{f.} and \textit{Lives} 727 \textit{d} : ἕγγυστα.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{elixōs}, found in \textit{P} only, restored by Cappe.
\end{itemize}
DIO CHRYSTOSM

αὐτοῖς, ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρὸς αὔξει καὶ βλαστάνει καὶ θανμαστὸν ἵσχει μέγεθος, καθάπερ Ἀθήνης φασί τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς ἑλλαίας θαλλόν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μεῖα βλαστήσας καὶ τέλειον1 γενέσθαι ταχὺ δὲ αὐτῶν πάλιν συστέλλεται καὶ ταπεινωταί καὶ

129 φθινεί, ψόγου τινὸς προσπεσόντος ἡ δυσφημίας.2 Ἄπατὴ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ παρέπεται τῷ δαίμονι ἀπασάν πιθανωτάτη. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἡ τοῦ φιλαργύρου καὶ ἢ3 φιληδόνοι λαμπρὸν μὲν οὐδὲν λόγῳ ἑδύνατο ὑποσχέσθαι, οὔτ' ὡς ἐπὶ σεμνὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ προῆγαγον τοὺς ἀπατωμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὁμοιὰ ἐπεφήμιζον καὶ προσεπίθεσαν, οὕτως ἡ τούτῳ Ἄπατῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπάδουσα4 καὶ ὑποτεύουσά φησι φιλόκαλον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν τινὰ ἡ εὐκλειαν ἄγει ἐπὶ5 τὴν 130 δόξαν. πάλιν οὖν ἐνθάδε κινδυνεύσω6 τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν πεσεῖν μῆδον τὸν7 Ἰέρωνος. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον φασίν ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῶν "Ἡρας μακαρίων γάμων νεφελὴ τινὶ συγγενόμενον σκοτεινὴ καὶ ἀχλυώδει ἄχρηστα καὶ ἀλλόκοτα γευσθῆσαι τέκνα, τὸ τῶν Κενταύρων γένους ποικίλον 131 καὶ συμπεφορημένον. δ' ἡ γὰρ εὐκλειας ἔρωτος διαμαρτών, ἐπείτα δόξης ἐπιθυμία συνών, τῷ ὀντὶ νεφελὴ λέληθεν ἀντὶ τῆς θείας καὶ σεμνῆς ὀκλίας συνών. ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιοῦτων συνοισίων ἡ γάμων ὀφελείμον μὲν ἡ χρήσιμον οὐδὲν ἀν ἑγείροι, θαυμαστά δὲ καὶ ἄλογα, προσευκότα τοῖς Κενταύροις, δημαγωγῶν τινῶν πολεμεύματα καὶ

1 τέλειον Arnim: πλείονα. 2 δυσφημίας Reiske: δοσφυμίας.
3 ἢ added by Capps. 4 ἐπάδουσα Morel: ἐπαϊρουσα.
5 ἃγει Emperius: ἃγειν. ἐπὶ added by Capps.
6 κινδυνεύσω Emperius: κινδυνεύσει. 7 τῶν Wilamowitz: τοῦ.
souls are magnified and swell and show a wondrous burgeoning, just like the shoot of the sacred olive that they tell of at Athens, which swelled and grew to full size in a single day. But, alas! they soon wither again and droop and die when censure and obloquy overtake them. And Delusion, the most convincing thing imaginable, besets this spirit also. For while the miser's delusion and the hedonist's were not able to promise them definitely a brilliant fruition, and did not open the door for their dupes to exalted and splendid destinies, but merely whispered and suggested to them the names of the blessings in prospect, it is otherwise with the Delusion of ambition. Fascinating her victim with her charms and spells, she tells him he is a lover of all that is good and leads him towards notoriety as to some virtue or fair renown. So I shall be tempted here again to make a second allusion to the same story of Ixion. 'Tis said that in his eagerness for the blissful union with Hera he embraced a dark and dismal cloud and became the parent of a useless and monstrous brood, the curious hybrid race of the centaurs. And in the same way he who has been disappointed in his love for true fame and has then dallied with a lust for notoriety has in reality been consorting with a cloud without knowing it instead of enjoying intercourse with the divine and august. And from such associations and unions nothing useful or serviceable can come, but only strange irrational creations that resemble the centaurs—'I mean the political acts of certain demagogues and the treatises

1 Sacred to Athena, who according to one version is said to have planted the first one on the Acropolis of Athens. See Herodotus 8. 55.
132 Ξυγγράμματα σοφιστῶν. Ξεναγοὶ γὰρ καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ δημαγογοὶ. Λέγω δὲ διακρίνων στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ παιδευτὰς καὶ πολιτικοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ εἰρήμενων οὕτω πάντες ἐκεῖνο τὸ δαίμον ἐρχόμενον άξιοι καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος τε καὶ ἐταιρείας ἀριθμοῖς.

133 Καὶ δὴ νῦν μὲν ἐπεξήγηθαν τοὺς ὑπὸ ἕνὸς ἐκάστοτεν τῶν ἐρήμενων δαίμονων ἐλαινομένους πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν αὐτῶν ἡ πάντες εἰλήξασι, τάναντιν ἀλλήλους προστάτουντες καὶ ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ μὴ πείθομε, μεγάλαις τισὶ περι-

134 Βαλείων ζημίαις, ο μὲν φιλόφωνοι ἀναλίσκεις εἰς τὰς ἡδονὰς κελεύων, καὶ μήτε χρυσοῦ μήτε ἀργυροῦ μήτε ἄλλου κτήματος φείδεσθαι μηδενὸς, ὅ ὅτι αὐτοὶ φιλοχρηματος καὶ μικρολόγος οὐκ ἔσθην, ἀλλὰ κατέχων τε καὶ ἀπειλῶν, εἰ πείσατο ἐκεῖνος, λιμῷ τε καὶ δύσῃ καὶ ἀπάσῃ πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ.

135 διολλύων αὐτῶν, πάλιν δὲ ὁ μὲν φιλόδοξος συμβουλεύει καὶ παρακαλεῖ προέσθαι τὰ δύτα τιμὴς ἐνεκεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀπομακρύνται καὶ ἀντιβαίνει. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε τῆς ἡδονῆς φίλος καὶ ὁ τῆς δόξης οὐποτε δύνανται συνάσατο οὐδὲ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰπτεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ καταφρονεῖ τῆς δόξης καὶ λήρων ἤγεται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου προφέρεται πολλάκις ἐλεγείον,

τόσα ἔχω ὅσο ἔφαγον καὶ ἑφύβρισα καὶ καί ἐρωτοὺς

tέρπεται ἐπιτοιχὲς τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται,

138 καὶ μᾶλλον τὸν θάνατον ἅν ὅρθῳ δικυνεῖν, ὅς οὐδενὸς ἐτὶ τῶν ἥδεων δυνησιμοῦν 1

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of the sophists; for both sophists and demagogues are purely mercenary leaders. But in saying this I distinguish the generals and educators and statesmen from those whom I have just mentioned, all of whom may well be assigned to that spirit of ambition and be counted in its faction and following.

"And now I have described those who are under the sway of each of the spirits named; but very often two or all of them get hold of the same individual, make conflicting demands upon him, and threaten that, if he does not obey, they will inflict severe penalties upon him. The pleasure-loving spirit bids him to spend money on pleasures and to spare neither gold nor silver nor anything else he has, while the avaricious and parsimonious spirit objects, and checks him and threatens that it will destroy him with hunger, thirst, and utter beggary and want, so surely as he heeds the other. Again, the spirit that loves distinction counsels and encourages him to sacrifice all that he has for the sake of honour, but the other spirit opposes and blocks this one. And indeed, the lover of pleasure and the lover of fame can never be in accord or say the same thing; for the one despises fame, thinks it nonsense, and often cites the lines of Sardanapallus:

'What I have eaten and wantoned, the joys I have had of my amours,
These alone have I now. The rest of my blessings have vanished.'

And especially does this spirit ever keep death before his eyes, warning him that when dead he will

1 See Preger, Inscriptiones Graecae Metriceae 232.

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1 δυσησομένω Reiske: δυσησόμενον.
μετασχεῖτι ὁ δὲ φιλόδοξος ἀπάγει¹ τε καὶ ἀφέλκει τῶν ἡδονῶν, τά τε ὑνείδη καὶ τὰς λοι-137 δορίας ἐπανατεινώμενος. οὐκ ἔχουν οὖν ὁ ποιήσῃ καὶ δοτι τράπηται καὶ καταδύσηται,² ἀποδιδράο-κει τολλάκις εἰς τὸ σκότος καὶ πειρᾶται λανθά-νου τῶ ἐτέρω χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἀποκαλύπτει καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἔλκει. 138 οὐτώ δὴ ψυχήν διαφορουμένην τε καὶ διασπω-μένην, ἀεὶ ποτε ἐν μάχῃ καὶ στάσει διηνεκεὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν σύσαν, ἀνάγκη πρὸς πάσαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι δυστυχίαν. ὡσπερ γὰρ τὰ νοσήματα ἀλλήλων ἐπιπλεκόμενα, τὰναντία δοκοῦντα πολλάκις, χαλεπὴν καὶ ἀπορον ποιεῖ τὴν ἔσσω, τὸν αὐτοῦ ὁμοί τρόπον ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς συμμεμομένων τε καὶ συμπλεκομένων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ παθῶν.

139 Ἀλλὰ δὴ μεταλαβόντες καθαράν τε καὶ κρέεται τῆς πρῶτον ἀρμονίας τῶν ἄγαθῶν καὶ σώφρονα ὑμνώμεν δαίμονα καὶ θεόν, οἷς ποτε ἐκείνου τυχεῖν ἐπέκλωσαν ἄγαθαι Μοῖραι παι-δείας ὑγίους καὶ λόγου μεταλαβοῦσι.³

¹ ἀπάγει: Reiske: ἀγεῖ. ² καταδύσηται: Morel: καταδύσηται. ³ After μεταλαβοῦσι the MSS, have καὶ δὴ πατρωμένων αὐτοῦ εἰκ θεῶν ἐγέρεστο. Deleted by Emperius as interpolated from the Dio of Synesius.
be able to enjoy no pleasures any longer. But the spirit that courts fame leads, yea, drags him away from pleasure by keeping him in mind of the censure and reproach that will be his. Not knowing, therefore, what to do or whither to turn and hide himself, he often runs away into the darkness and under its covert tries to please and serve the second spirit, but the other finds him out and drags him into the open, and his soul, thus torn and distracted and ever in battle and ceaseless strife with itself, cannot but end its course in utter misery. For just as a complication of maladies, that often seem to conflict with one another, makes the cure difficult and well-nigh hopeless, so, in my opinion, must the situation be when different affections of the soul are mingled and entwined into one.

"But come, let us attain a pure harmony, better than that which we enjoyed before, and extol the good and wise guardian spirit or god—us who the kindly Fates decreed should receive Him when we should have gained a sound education and reason."
THE FIFTH DISCOURSE:
A LIBYAN MYTH

It has been suggested by some that the Libyan myth told in the fifth Discourse was one of a collection of myths ascribed to a certain Cybissus, a Libyan. Others discredit this view and hold that we have here one of the many stories told about Lamia, a fabulous she-monster, the daughter of Scylla, who devoured the flesh of children and young men. Hirzel, in his book Der Dialog, suggests that this myth was invented by Dio himself. The same myth seems to be referred to in the seventy-third section of the fourth Discourse, and von Arnim believes it formed an alternative ending for it and that Arethas (archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the first part of the tenth century A.D.) supplied it with an introduction of his own and made it a separate Discourse.

A similar story is told by Lucian in Vera Historia, II, 76.
5. ΔΙΒΤΚΟΣ ΜΤΘΟ΢

1 Μύθον Δεβυκών ἐκπονεῖν καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατατρίβειν τὴν περὶ λόγους φιλοσοφιᾶν οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς μὲν, οὐ γὰρ, οὐ τούτων ἢ ἤλον τοῖς ἑπτεικεστάτοις ἀνθρώπων ἀπονευόντων, ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐκ ἀφεκτέον ὁλογραφία τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀδολεσχίας. τάχα γὰρ ἀν ποτε καὶ ἡμῖν χρείαν οὐ φαύλην παράσχοι ἐκκόμενα πη πρὸς τὸ δέον καὶ παραβαλλόμενα τοῖς οὕσι καὶ ἀληθέσιν. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη δύναμις καὶ ἐπιχείρησις ὁμοία μοι δοκεῖ τῇ τῶν γεωργῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ περὶ τὰ φυτά, ἐάνπερ ἰκανῶς γίγνεται ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἐνοτε τοῖς ἀκάρποις καὶ ἀγρίοις ἐνθέντες καὶ ἐμφυτεύσαντες τὰ ἠμερα καὶ καρποφόρα χρήσιμον ἀντ’ ἀχρήσιτον καὶ ἀφέλιμον ἀντ’ ἀνωφελοὺς ἀπέδειξαν τὸ 3 φυτὸν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀνωφελεῖς μυθεύμασι λόγοις ἐμβληθείς χρήσιμος καὶ συμφέρων οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνα ἑαυτῶν εἶναι μάτην λεγόμενα. τυχὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι συντιθέντες αὐτὰ πρὸς τούτους συνέθεσαν, αἰνιγμοῦν καὶ μεταφέροντες τοῖς 4 δυναμένοις ὅρθως ὑπολαμβάνειν. τόδε μὲν δὴ προσίμιον, ὡς ἐφ’ τις, τοῦ νόμου. τὸ λοιπὸν δ’ ὁ γὰρ, οὐ τούτων Κάρπας; οὐ γὰρ οὐ τῶν. Wyttenbach proposed oúν for the second oυ.

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1 See Fourth Discourse, § 73 f.
2 The wording and thought recall Plato, Phaedrus, 220 d.

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THE FIFTH DISCOURSE:  
A LIBYAN MYTH

To develop a Libyan myth and to fritter away one's industry upon such a subject is not a promising undertaking;—indeed not, since these themes do not incline the most able men to imitation. Nevertheless, we must not refrain because of their contempt from dallying with such themes. For perhaps we ourselves should derive no small benefit if the myth in some way were given the right turn and became a parable of the real and the true. Now when one employs his powers to such an end, he suggests to me the farmer's treatment of plant-life, when it is successful. Sometimes by grafting cultivated and fruit-bearing scions on wild and barren stocks and making them grow there, he changes a useless and unprofitable plant into a useful and profitable one. And in just the same way, when some useful and edifying moral is engrafted on an unprofitable legend, the latter is saved from being a mere idle tale. Perhaps, too, those who composed these tales in the first place composed them for some such purpose, using allegory and metaphor for such as had the power to interpret them aright. So much by way of prelude to my ode, as someone has said. It still remains to recite

3 A reference to Plato's expression in his Laws 722 d, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν ἃν πάντα ἡμῶν προσέλαβα νόμων, "All that precedes were preludes to our odes, or laws." Cicero (de Legibus 2. 7. 16) also refers to this expression.
Διονυσιακή επιτροπή Σύρτων

5 Δοξάζω τούτοις ηγομένους καθώς καὶ υπερήφανοι πλείστους καὶ μάλιστα γιρνόμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώπους ἂν δεῖν ἡμεῖς τὰς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἡδε γὰρ ἡ χώρα καὶ νῦν ἐτί δόξην παντοδαπάς φέρειν ἵπτομαι φύσεις, ἐρπετῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων

6 θηρίων. ἐν οἷς εἶναι καὶ τούτο τὸ γένος ὑπὲρ ὦν καὶ τὸς λόγος, συνέδω καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἱδέαν σχέδου ἐκ τῶν πλείστων διαφέρουσαν, παντελῶς ἀποτελεῖται, δὲ αὐτὸ μὲν ἔχομεν τῆς τῆς

7 θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὴν Σύρτων τροφής ἀνεκα. Θηριὰν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄγρια ἁθρίων, τοὺς τε λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις, ὡς ἕκεινα τοῖς ἐλάφοις καὶ τοὺς ἄγριους δύος καὶ τὰ θρόβατα, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ σχεδον τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀγρα. ὅπως ἐκκείνου τῶν οἰκουμενῶν μέχρι τῆς Σύρτων.

8 ἔτη δὲ ἡ Σύρτων κόλπος θαλάττης εἰς ἄγριν ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν χώρας καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, φασὶ, πλοῖος ἀκολύτους πλέοντι, τοῖς δὲ κατευκθείσαι σύνκριναι τοῦ θαλάττης ἀγγείον καθαρόν, χαῖνος δὲ καὶ ψαμώδης ὁ τόπος ὅπως ἐκδεχόμεθα τὸ ἐπελαγός. οὐ γὰρ ἔτη καὶ ἕκειν τοῦ τῆς θαλάττης ἄγγειον καθαρόν, χαῖνος δὲ καὶ ψαμώδης ὁ τόπος ὅπως ἐκδεχόμεθα τὸ ἐπελαγός,

9 οὐδὲν ἐξών στερεόν. ὅπως δὲ καὶ χώρα καὶ χώρα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγγυόμεναι τῆς ψάμμος, καθαρόν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ συμβαίνει τῇ τοιούτῳ ἀπὸ πνευμάτων, ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδους. ἔστη δὲ καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τοιαῦτα σχέδου, ἐρημία καὶ 238
and sing the ode itself, that is, the myth which tells to what we may best liken the human passions.

Once upon a time, so runs the story, there was a dangerous and savage species of animal whose main haunt was in the uninhabited regions of Libya. For that country even to this day seems to produce all sorts of living creatures, reptiles as well as other kinds. Now among them was the species with which this story has to deal. It had a body that, in general, was a composite thing of the most incongruous parts, an utter monstrosity, and it used to roam as far as the Mediterranean and the Syrtis in search of food. For it hunted both the beasts of prey such as the lion and the panther, even as those hunt the deer and the wild asses and the sheep, but took the most delight in catching men; and this is why it used to come near the settlements even as far as the Syrtis. The Syrtis is an arm of the Mediterranean extending far inland, a three days' voyage, they say, for a boat unhindered in its course. But those who have once sailed into it find egress impossible; for shoals, cross-currents, and long sand-bars extending a great distance out make the sea utterly impassable or troublesome. For the bed of the sea in these parts is not clean, but as the bottom is porous and sandy it lets the sea seep in, there being no solidity to it. This, I presume, explains the existence there of the great sand-bars and dunes, which remind one of the similar condition created inland by the winds, though here, of course, it is due to the surf. The surrounding country is very much the same—a lonely stretch

1 τὰ ἑγρία Κάρπασ: τάλλα.
2 χαθνος Κάρπασ: κοίλος.
11 θίνες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δὴ τούς τε γυαγοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς 
θαλάττης ἐπαινόντας καὶ εἰ τινας τῶν Δεβύων 
καὶ ἀνάγκην διεξίωντας ἡ πλανωμένους ἐπιφαινό-
μενα ἦρπαζε τὰ θηρία.

12 Ἡ δὲ φύσις αὐτῶν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡ ἰδέα 
τοιδὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον εὐειδοῦς 
γυναικὸς, μαστοὶ δὲ καὶ στήθη πολὺ τε κάλλιστα 
καὶ τράχηλος, ὅποια οὔτε παρθένου θυητῆς γένοιτ' 
ἀν οὔτε νύμφης ἀκμαζούσης οὔτε πλάττων ἡ 
γράφων οὔδεις δυνήσεται ἀπεικάσαι: τὸ δὲ 
χρώμα λαμπρότατον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων 
φιλοφροσύνη καὶ ἱμερός ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνέπιπτεν,

13 ὀπότε προσέδω τις: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα σκληρόν 
τε καὶ ἄρρηκτον φολίσε, καὶ τὸ κάτω πάν ὄφις, 
ὑστάτη δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ ὀφεως μάλα ἀναιδῆς. 
τὰ δὲ θηρία ταῦτα 2 πτερωτὰ μὲν οὐ λέγεται γενέσθαι, 
καθάπερ αἱ σφίγγες—οὐδὲ διαλέγεσθαι, ὡς 
ἐκεῖναι, οὐδὲ ἄλλην ἰέναι φωνήν, ἀλλὰ συρίττειν 
μόνον, ὡσπερ οἱ δράκοντες, οξύτατα—τῶν δὲ πεζῶν 
ἀπάντων τάχιστα, ὡς μηδένα ἀν ποτε ἐκφυγεῖν 
αὐτῶς καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄλκη κρατεῖν, ἀνθρώπων 
δὲ ἀπάτη, παραφαινοῦτα τὰ στήθη καὶ τοὺς μασ-
τοὺς, καὶ ἀμα προσβλέπουντα καταγοντεύειν τε 
καὶ ἐρωτα ἐμβάλλειν δεινὸν τῆς ὀμίλιας καὶ 
τοὺς μὲν 3 προσίεναι καθάπερ γυναιξί, τὰ δὲ μένειν 
ἀτρεμοῦντα καὶ κάτω πολλάκις βλέποντα, μιμοῦ-

14 μενα γυναικα κοσμίαν, γενόμενον δ' ἐγγύς συναρ-
πάζειν ἔχειν γὰρ δὴ καὶ χειρὰς θηριώδεις, ὡς 
ὑποκρύπτειν τέως. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄφις εὐθὺς δακῶν

1 δὲ Arnim: τε. 2 ταῦτα Reiske: αὐτὰ. 3 μὲν added by Reiske.
of sandy dunes. However that may be, if shipwrecked mariners came inland or any Libyans were compelled to pass through or lost their way, the beasts would make their appearance and seize them. The general character and appearance of their body were as follow: The face was that of a woman, a beautiful woman. The breasts and bosom, and the neck, too, were extremely beautiful, the like of which no mortal maid or bride in the bloom of youth could claim, nor sculptor or painter will ever be able to reproduce. The complexion was of dazzling brightness, the glance of the eyes aroused affection and yearning in the souls of all that beheld. The rest of the body was hard and protected by scales, and all the lower part was snake, ending in the snake's baleful head. Now the story does not say that these animals were winged like the sphinxes—nor that they, like them, spoke or made any sound whatever except a hissing noise such as dragons make, very shrill—but that they were the swiftest of all land creatures, so that no one could ever escape them. And while they overcame other creatures by force, they used guile with man, giving them a glimpse of their bosom and breasts and at the same time they infatuated their victims by fixing their eyes upon them, and filled them with a passionate desire for intercourse. Then the men would approach them as they might women, while they on their part stood quite motionless, often dropping their eyes in the manner of a decorous woman. But as soon as a man came within reach they seized him in their grasp; for they had clawlike hands too, which they had kept concealed at first. Then the serpent would promptly sting and kill
Απέκτεινεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰου· τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν κατεσθίον-σιν ἀμα τε ὁ ὤφις καὶ τὸ ἀλλο θηρίου.

16 Ὅδε μὲν δὴ ὁ μύθος, οὐ παιδίως πλασθεῖς, ὡς ἄν ήττον ἡ θρασύ καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μείζον καὶ τελειωτέραιν ἀφροσύνην ἔχουσιν, ύφ᾿ ἡμῶν δεύρῳ μετενεχθεῖς τὰχ᾿ ἄν ικανῶς ἐπιδεῖξαι δύνατο ὁποῖον ἔστι τὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν γένος, τοι άλογοι οὕτας καὶ θηριόδεις, ἑπείτα ἡδονήν τινα παραδεικνύουσαι, προσαγόμεναι τοὺς ἀνοίτους ἀπάτη καὶ γοητεία, διαφθείροις ὀξιτίστα καὶ ἐλευνώτατα. τοῦτον σπάνει τὸ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἕχοντα, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνα τὰ μορμολυκεῖα2 τοὺς παιδας ὁπόταν παρὰ καιρῶν τροφῆς ἡ παιδίας ἡ ἄλλου τινός ὁρέγωνται, καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὁπόταν ἡ τροφῆς3 ἡ χρημάτων ἡ ἀφροδισίων ἡ δόξης ἡ ἅλλης τινός ἡδονῆς ἑρῶμεν, μήποτε προσιόντες ταῖς παινούργοις ταῦταις συναρπασθόμεν ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐπ᾿ ὀλθρῷ καὶ διαφθορᾶ.

18 πασῶν αἰσχίστη, καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ μύθου ταύτη τρέπειν οὐ χαλεπῶν ἀνδρὶ ἀδολέσχη καὶ πλείω σχεδόν ἡ ἐδει σχολὴν ἀγοντι.

Προστιθέασε γάρ ὡς δὴ βασιλεὺς τις τῶν Διβῶν ὑπεχείρησεν ἀνελεῖν τόδε τὸ φύλον τῶν θηρίων, ἀγανακτῶν τῇ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ λαοῦ, τυχαίαν δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰς αὐτοῦ κατακρισμένας, ὑπὲρ τὴν Σύρτων δρυμῶν καταλαβοῦσας πυνκών τε καὶ ἄγριον. συναγαγόντα δὴ πλήθος στρα-τοῦ πολύ, τοὺς φωλεοὺς εὑρεῖν 4 εἶναι γάρ

1 & Emperius: καί.

2 τὰ μορμολυκεῖα added by von der Muehll.

3 τροφῆς Reiske: τροφῆς.

4 τοὺς φωλεοὺς εὑρεῖν added by Cappe after Arним, who noted the lacuna after πολύ and suggested the supplement καί ἔξεχεσαντα τοὺς φωλεούς.
THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

him with its poison; and the dead body was devoured by the serpent and the rest of the beast together.

Now this myth, which has not been invented for a child's benefit to make it less rash and ungovernable, but for those whose folly is greater and more complete, may perhaps, now that we have brought it into this context, be able to show adequately the character of the passions, that they are irrational and brutish and that, by holding out the enticement of some pleasure, they win over the foolish by guile and witchery and bring them to a most sad and pitiable end. These things we should always keep before our eyes to deter us—even as those terrifying images deter children when they want food or play or anything else unseasonably—whenever we are in love with luxury, or money, or sensual indulgence, or fame, or any other pleasure, lest, coming too near to these unscrupulous passions, we be seized by them for the most shameful destruction and ruin conceivable. And, indeed, to interpret the rest of the myth in this way would not be a difficult task for a clever man who perhaps has more time at his disposal than he should have.

For this is what they add to the myth. A certain king of Libya attempted to destroy this breed of animals, angered as he was at the destruction of his people. And he found that many of them had established themselves there, having taken possession of a dense wild wood beyond the Syrtis. So he mustered a mighty host and found their dens. For they were not difficult to detect owing to the

1 That is, brought into this Discourse from some other source to point a moral. See Introduction and the Fourth Discourse, § 73.
οὕκ ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τε σύρμασι τῶν ὄφεων καὶ ὀσμῆς αὐτόθεν δεινῆς φερομένης. οὔτω περισχόντα πανταχόθεν πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀποληφθείσας ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τῶν σκύμων, τοὺς δὲ Δίβνας φεύγειν κατὰ τάχος ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, μήτε νύκτα μήτε ἡμέραν ἀναπαυομένους, μέχρι νυμφίοντες πολὺ προειληφέναι, κατέξευξαν παρὰ ποταμῶν τινα. τῶν δὲ θηρίων ὁπόσα ἀπῆν κατὰ θήραν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἕσθωντο ἀπολωλότας τοὺς φωλεοὺς, καταδιώξατα τὴν στρατιάν πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ὑπο καταλαβόντα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπειρηκότας ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου, διαφθείραι πανσυδί. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀτελεῖς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον τῆς διαφθορᾶς τοῦ γένους. ὦστερον δὲ Ἡρακλέα τὴν σύμπασαν γὴν καθαίροντα ἀπὸ τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ τῶν τυράννων κάκεισθαι, καὶ τόν τε τοῦρον ἐμπέθαι καὶ τὰ φεύγοντα ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τὰ μὲν τῷ ῥοπάλῳ παῖοντα κατακαίθεν, ὁπόσα ὅμοσε ἤμε, τά δὲ ἀποδιδράσκοντα τοῖς βέλεσιν.

22 Τυχὺν οὖν ὁ μύθος αἰνώτετα λέγων τοὺς πολέοις μὲν εἰ ποὺ τις ἐπεχείρησε καθήραι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ὃσπερ ἄβατον καὶ μεστὸν τινα θηρίων χαλεπῶν τόπον, ἐξελῶν δὴ καὶ ἀπολέσας τὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν εἴδος, ἐλπίσας ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ διαπεφυγέναι, οὐκ ἰσχυρὸς αὐτὸ ὄρασα, ὁλὼν ὦστερον ὑπὸ τῶν λειπομένων ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπολέσθαι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. Ἡρακλέα δὲ τῶν Δίδ καὶ Αλκμήνης ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ ἀποφῆναι 244
THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

trails left by their serpents’ tails and to the terrible stench that emanated from the dens. He thus surrounded them on all sides and hurled fire in upon them, so that, being cut off, they perished with their young. As for the Libyans, they fled with all haste from the region, resting neither night nor day, until, thinking they had gained a great start, they halted for rest beside a certain river. But those of the creatures who had been away hunting, as soon as they learned of the destruction of their dens, pursued the army to the river, and finding some asleep and others exhausted by the toil, destroyed them one and all. At that time, then, the task of destroying this brood was not completed by the king. Later, however—so the story continues—Heracles, while clearing the whole earth of wild beasts and tyrants, came to this place too, set it on fire, and when the creatures were escaping from the flames, slew with his club all that attacked him, and with his arrows those that tried to run away.

Now perhaps the myth is an allegory to show that, when the majority of men try to clear the trackless region of their souls, teeming with savage beasts, by rooting out and destroying the brood of lusts in the hope of then having got rid of them and escaped, and yet have not done this thoroughly, they are soon afterwards overwhelmed and destroyed by the remaining lusts; but that Heracles, the son of Zeus and Alcmene, carried the task through to

1 ἀπολησθέων Selden; ἀπολειπθέων. 2 ἐν added by Emperius.
3 Διαφείραι Geel; Διαφείραν.
4 ἐν before οὖν deleted by Emperius.
5 Arnim reads ἐλπίσαντας and ἐρασαντας to agree with τοὺς πολλοὺς.
καθαρὰν καὶ ἡμερον τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν· καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῷ Βοῦλεσθαί δηλοῦν τῆς γῆς τὴν ἡμέραν.

24. Βοῦλεσθε οὖν βραχύ τε καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐπιχαρισώμεθα τοῦ μυθολογήματος; οὕτω γὰρ πάνω πείθονται αὐτῷ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄλλθες, ὡστε ὑστερὸν ποτὲ φασιν ἐπιφανήματι τοῦ γένους τοῦ τούτου βαδίζομεν εἰς Ἀρμονος Ἑλλησὶς θεωραῖς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως παραπεμπόμενος ἰππέων καὶ τοξοτῶν. δόξαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ θεῖος τινὸς κατακείσθαι γυναίκα, διφθέραν ἐπιβεβλημένην ἅνωθεν, ὥσπερ αἱ Δίβυσσαι, ἐπιδεικνύειν δὲ τὰ στήθη καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἀνακλώσαν. καὶ τοὺς ὑπολαβέειν ἐκ τινὸς κόμης τῶν ἑταῖρον του των γυναικῶν ἐνταῦθα έναι πρὸς τὸν ὀχλὸν. δύο δὲ των νεανίσκους ἐκπλαγέντας τὸ εἴδος έναι πρὸς αὐτὴν, θάτερον τοῦ ἑτεροῦ φθάνοντα.· τὸ δὲ θηρίον, ὡς ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν, κατασφύρων εἰς κοτλῶν τὸ τής ψάμμως κατεσθὶειν.

27. καὶ τὸν ἑτεροῦ νεανίσκον ὑπερβαλόντα θεάσασθαι καὶ ἀνακραγέναι, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιβοηθήσαι τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος. τὸ δὲ θηρίον ἐφορμῆσαι τὸ νεανίσκοφι, προϊσχομένου τὸν ὅφιν, καὶ ἀποκτείναν οἴχεσθαι μετὰ συνρυμοῦ. τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν οὐρεθήμαι σαπρὸν τε καὶ μυδόντα· καὶ τοὺς Δίβυσις τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὅδου οὐκ ἔναν ἀπεσαθαί τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἀπαντάς ἀπολομένους.

1 Arnim deletes λόγων after νεωτέροις.
2 So P, the other MSS. omitting θάτερον.
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completion and made his own heart pure and gentle or tame; and that this is what is meant by his taming, that is, civilizing the earth.

Would you care, then, to have me gratify the younger people among you by giving a brief additional portion of the myth? For they believe so thoroughly in it and are so convinced of its truth as to assert that one of this brood appeared afterwards to a party of Greek envoys on their way to the oracle of Ammon under the escort of a strong force of cavalry and archers. They saw what seemed to be a woman, reclining on a pile of sand; she wore a sheepskin thrown over her head after the manner of the Libyan women, but displayed her bosom and breasts and lay with her head thrown back. They supposed that she was one of the professional harlots from some village who was on her way thither to join their company. Accordingly, a certain two young men, greatly taken with her appearance, approached her, one outstripping the other. When the creature seized this one, she dragged him into a hole in the sand and devoured him. The other young man, rushing past her, saw this and cried aloud so that the rest of the party came to his assistance. But the creature hurled itself at the young man with the snake part foremost, and after killing him disappeared with a hissing sound. They add that the body was found rotten and putrefying, and that the Libyans who were acting as guides permitted no one to touch the body lest all should perish.
THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES, OR ON TYRANNY

Von Arnim has proved quite conclusively that the sixth, eighth, ninth, and tenth Discourses belong to the period when Dio was a wanderer in exile. For example, many things that Dio speaks of Diogenes doing, such as going through armies safely without a herald’s staff, fit better the experience of Dio himself, and many of the references to the Persian king would apply just as well to Domitian, who banished Dio. No doubt the speaker’s audiences would understand his veiled allusions quite easily.

In these Discourses Dio sets forth certain tenets of the Cynic philosophy, using Diogenes as his mouthpiece. His subject is Contentment.
6. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΤΡΑΝΝΙΔΟΣ

1 Διογένης ὁ Σιωπεύς, οτὲ ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σινώπης ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διήγετο ποτὲ μὲν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀθήναις. ἔφη δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τὴν διάβαν ταῖς καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου τὸν μὲν χειμόνος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσσοις, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἐν Βάκτρων διήγετο, ἐν τοῖς εὐδεινοστάτοις τῆς Ἀσίας, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐν Ἐκβατάνιοι τῆς Μηδικῆς, ὅπου ψυχρότατος ὁ ἁρπ ᾠδὺ ποτὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ περί Βαβυλῶνα χει-

2 μῶν τῷ θέρος ὄμοιον. οὐτὼς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μεταλάττειν τὴν οἴκησιν κατὰ τὰς ὄρας τοῦ ἔτους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν μιᾷ ὁρῇ μεγάλῳ ἔχειν μὴ ποταμοῦς διαρρέουσας, καθάπερ τῇ στὴ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Θεταλίαν ἐτοιμασθεῖσα τὴν χώραν ἀραιὰν καὶ τὸν ἄερα κούφον, ὡς μίας ἔρεισθαι πολλάκις μίας ὑπομένειν τῷ γρεγόμενον

1 ύφωρ. περικεκλεσθαί τε ὀλύον πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὕπο τῆς θαλάττης. ὅθεν Ἰη καὶ τούνομα λαβεῖν, οἷον ἅκτην τινα οὔσαν. τὴν δὲ αὐτὸ πόλιν 2 ἐν τῷ χθαμάλῳ κεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. σημεῖον δὲ τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σουνίου καταίροντας εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀλλαίος ἡ νότῳ κατάραι, εἰκότως οὖν τὸν χειμῶνα ἐγγεσθαι πράξαν, ἐν

1 γρεγόμενον Emperorius: πωδέμενον.
2 πόλιν Reiske: πόλιν.
THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES, OR ON TYRANNY

When Diogenes of Sinope was exiled from that place, he came to Greece and used to divide his time between Corinth and Athens. And he said he was following the practice of the Persian king.\textsuperscript{1} For that monarch spent the winters in Babylon and Susa, or occasionally in Bactra,\textsuperscript{2} which are the warmest parts of Asia, and the summers in Median Ecbatana,\textsuperscript{3} where the air is always very cool and the summer is like the winter in the region of Babylon. So he too, he said, changed his residence according to the seasons of the year. For Attica had no high mountains, nor rivers running through it as had the Peloponnese and Thessaly; its soil was thin and the air so dry that rain rarely fell, and what did fall was not retained. Besides, it was almost entirely surrounded by the sea; from which fact indeed it got its name, since Attica is a sort of beach-land.\textsuperscript{4} The city, moreover, was low-lying and faced to the south, as shown by the fact that those sailing from Sunium could not enter the Peiraeus\textsuperscript{5} except with a south wind. Naturally, therefore, the winters were mild. In Corinth, on

\textsuperscript{1} Typical oriental despot. Darius Codomannus 336–331 B.C., last king of ancient Persia, was reigning then.
\textsuperscript{2} Capital of Bactra, the modern Turkestan.
\textsuperscript{3} Capital of Media.
\textsuperscript{4} This is still the accepted etymology: \textit{Attikē} is for \textit{Aktikē} (\textit{gē}), where \textit{Aktikē} is the adjective from \textit{aktē}, “beach.”
\textsuperscript{5} The most important harbour of Athens, about five miles south-west of the city.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

dὲ τῇ Κορινθῳ τὸ θέρος εὑσπυννυν, διὰ τοὺς εἰσέχοντας κόλπους ἀεὶ ποτε τῶν πνευμάτων ἐκεῖσε συνρεῖντον· ὅ τε Ἀκροκόρινθος ἐπισκιάζει καὶ αὐτὴ μᾶλλον ἑπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἀποκλῖνει. πολὺ δὲ καλλίονας ὑπάρχειν τὰς πόλεις ταύτας Ἐκβατάνων καὶ Βαβυλώνος, καὶ πολὺ ἀμείνοις κατεσκευάζοντος τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλείων τὸ τε Κράνειον καὶ τὴν Ἀθήνην ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ προπόλαια, μεγέθει δὲ λείψεσθαι μόνον καίτοι διακοσίων σταδίων εἶναι τὴν περὶμετρον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, τοῦ Πειραιῶς συντεθειμένου καὶ τῶν διὰ μέσον τειχῶν πρὸς τὸν περὶβολον τοῦ ἄστεος—οἰκεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ πάλαι καὶ ταῦτα σύμπαντα—ὁστε τὸ ἦμισυ ἔχειν Ἀθηνας Βαβυ-λώνος, εἰ τυχήσει ἀληθῆ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν ἑκεί. καὶ μὴν τὸ γε τῶν λιμένων κάλλος, ἢτι δὲ ἀνδριάντας καὶ γραφάς καὶ χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργυρον καὶ χαλκὸν, τὸ τε νόμισμα καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα, καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκίων κατασκευὴν ὑπερβάλλει μὲν τὰ ἐνταῦθα πλην αὐτῷ γε οὐ πολὺ μέλειν τῶν τοιούτων.

6 Τὸ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ μῆκος ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὡστε μεταβήναι πάμπολυ γίγνεσθαι· σχεδὸν γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁδός διάγειν τοῦ χαιμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ

1 εἰσέχοντας Reiske: εἰσήκοντας.
2 συντεθειμένου Carpe: συντιθειμένου.
3 λιμένων Casaubon: λιμένων.
the other hand, the summer was breezy, since currents of air always met there on account of the bays that dented the shore. The Acrocorinthus,\(^1\) too, overshadows it, and the city itself rather inclines toward the Lechaeum\(^2\) and the north. Diogenes thought that these cities were far more beautiful than Ecbatana and Babylon, and that the Craneion,\(^3\) and the Athenian acropolis with the Propylaea\(^4\) were far more beautiful structures than those abodes of royalty, yielding to them only in size. And yet the circumference of Athens was two hundred stades,\(^5\) now that the Peiraeus and the connecting walls had been added to the compass of the city—for this whole area was not inhabited in ancient times—so that Athens was one-half as large as Babylon, if we could take as true what was said of things there. Moreover, in respect to the beauty of the harbours, and, further, to the statues, paintings, the works in gold, silver, and bronze, in respect to the coinage, the furnishings, the splendour of the houses, he thought that Athens was far superior; only he, for his part, did not care much about such things.

Besides, the king had a very long distance to travel in changing residences; he had to spend pretty much the larger part of the winter and summer on the

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\(^1\) Name applied to a high hill overhanging Corinth and to the citadel on its summit. This position was called by Philip one of the fotters of Greece.

\(^2\) One of the two harbours of Corinth, that facing the Corinthian Gulf.

\(^3\) The cypress grove and gymnasium in a suburb of Corinth.

\(^4\) The gateway to the Athenian acropolis.

\(^5\) As a stade was equal to 600\(\frac{2}{3}\) feet, the circumference of Athens, including all the walls connecting it with its harbours, was a little under twenty-three miles.
πλέον· αὐτόν δὲ πλησίον καταλύσαντα Μεγάρων· Ἄθηναςι γενέσθαι τῇ ύστεραι πάνω βαδίως ἦ, 1 εἰ μὲν βούλιον, ἐπ᾽ Ἑλένηνος· εἰ δὲ μὴ, βραχυτέραν διὰ Σαλαμίνος—μὴ 2 δὲ ἐρήμων σταθμῶν πορευόμενον· ὡστε πλεονεκτεῖν βασιλέως καὶ μᾶλλον τρυφάν· ἅμεινον γὰρ κατεσκευάσθαι τὴν ὦκησιν. ταῦτα δὲ εἰσάγει μὲν παῖζων λέγειν· ὅμως δὲ ἐνεδείκνυτο τοῖς θαυμάζοντες τὸν πλούτον τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ τὴν λεγομένην εὔδαιμονίαν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄστι τῶν ἐκείνων προγνώμων οἷον νομίζοντοι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὁφελοῦσι εἶναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ σφόδρα πένησιν ἔχειναι ποιεῖν.

8 Οὐδὲ γάρ, ὡς ἐνόμιζον ἔνοικο τῶν ἀφρώδων, ἀμελεῖς ἦν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὁρώντες ῥυγώντα καὶ θυραυλώντα καὶ διψώντα πολλάκις ἕγοντο ἀμελεῖστε τοῦ ὑγιείας καὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ· ὅ δὲ ταῦτα πάσχων μᾶλλον μὲν ὑγιαίνει τῶν ἀεί ἐμπιμπλαμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐνδογονοντῶν καὶ μηδέποτε μὴτε ψύχους μῆτε καὐ-9 ματος πειρωμένους, ἔτι δὲ ἡδίον μὲν ἀλεαίνουμενος ἡσθίαντε, ἡδίον δὲ σιτία 3 προσεφέρετο· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ταῖς ὁραίοις ἕχαρεν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐφραίνετο θέρους προσιόντος, ὅποτε ἡδὴ διαχέοι τῶν ἀέρα, τοῦτο δὲ 4 οὐκ ἡχητε δωμομένου, ἀτε ἀπαλλαττόμενος τοῦ σφοδροῦ καύματος, ταῖς δὲ

1 ἦ added by Capps.
2 μὴ added by Dindorf.
3 σιτία Reiske: σιτίοις.
4 δὲ added by Morel.

1 From Corinth to Megara is 27 miles. From Megara one has a choice of routes: (1) continuing the coast road to Eleusis and the Daphne pass, 23 miles; (2) going by ferry from the port of Megara to Salamis, cutting across the island to the

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road. He himself, on the other hand, by spending the night near Megara, could very easily be in Athens on the following day—or else, if he preferred, at Eleusis; otherwise, he could take a shorter way through Salamis, without passing through any deserts. So he had an advantage over the king and enjoyed greater luxury, since his housing arrangements were better. This is what he was wont to say jestingly, and yet he meant to bring to the attention of those who admired the wealth of the Persian and his reputed happiness that there was nothing in his actual life such as they imagined. For some things were of no use at all and other things were within the reach of even the very poor.

In fact, Diogenes was not neglectful of his body as certain foolish people thought; but when they saw him often shivering and living in the open and going thirsty, they imagined that he was careless of his health and life, whereas this rigorous regime gave him better health than fell to the lot of those who were ever gorging themselves, better than fell to the lot of those who stayed indoors and never experienced either cold or heat. And he got more pleasure, too, out of sunning himself and more pleasure in eating his food than they did. But the seasons were by far his greatest delight. On the one hand, he rejoiced as the summer approached and was already dissolving the cold air; and on the other, he felt no regret as it drew to its close, since this brought him relief from its excessive heat; and

ferry over the straits of Salamis, and then through Piraeus to Athens, 22 miles. One taking the first route could push on beyond Megara and spend the night at Eleusis, 11 miles from Megara, and proceed thence to Athens in the morning.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

ὁραῖς ξυνεπόμενος καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτῶν πειρώ-
μενος ἀλύτως ἀφικνεῖτο πρὸς ἐκατέραν τὴν ὑπερ-
βολήν. πυρὶ δὲ ἡ σκιὰ ἡ σκέπη σπανίως ἔχρητο,
προλαμβάνων τὸν καιρόν, οὐδὲ ἀσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι
ἀνβραποὶ, οτι μὲν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ὑπὶ πῦρ καὶ
εὔποροις δὲ ἔσθήτος, ἔχουσι δὲ οἰκίας, ἔαν καὶ
μικρὸν αὐςθωνται ψύχως, εὐθὺς ἀποδιδράσκουσι
τὸν ἁέρα καὶ τὰ σῶματα ἄχρεία ποιοῦσι καὶ

ἐδύναται ἀνέχεσθαι χειμῶνος, ὅτι δὲ ἔξεστιν
αὐτοῖς σκιά 1 μὲν ἀφθόνῳ χρήσθαι τοῦ θέρους,
πίνειν δὲ οἰνοῦ ὑπόσον βουλοῦνται, διὰ τοῦτο
ἀπειροὶ μὲν ἡλίου διατελοῦσιν, ἀπειροὶ δὲ τοῦ
dιψῆν κατὰ φύσιν, οἰκότροφοι μὲν οὐχ ἤπτον τῶν
γυναικῶν, ἀπονοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄργος τὰ σῶματα, κρα-
πάλης δὲ καὶ λήθης τὰς ψυχὰς γέμοντες. ὦθεν
δὴ καὶ ἐπιμηχανῶνται αὐτοῖς καὶ σιτία πονηρά
καὶ βαλανεία τούτων 2 χάρυν, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας
πολλάκις δέονται μὲν ἀνέμου, δέονται δὲ ἔσθήτος,
δέονται δὲ ὁμοῦ χιόνος καὶ πυρὸς, τὸ δὲ πάντων
ἀτοπώτατον, ἐπιβυθύονται καὶ λιμῷ καὶ
dῖψους.

ἀκόλαστοι δὲ ὦτες οὐχ ἤδονται ἀφροδισίως διὰ
tὸ μὴ περιμένειν ὄρεγεσθαι αὐτῶν· ὦθεν ξητοῦσιν
ἀχαρίστους καὶ ἀτερπεῖς ἤδονας.

'Ὁ δὲ λιμῷ μὲν ἔχρητο καὶ δίψει πρὸ τῆς
τροφῆς ἐκάστοτε, καὶ ἐνόμιζε τούτῳ ἱκανότατον
καὶ δριμύτατον τῶν ὄψων. τουγαροῦν ἢδιον μὲν

1 σκιὰ Geel: οἰκία.
2 τούτων Cohoon: τούτων.

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by keeping pace with the seasons and growing accustomed to them gradually, he met either extreme without discomfort. He rarely made use of heat, shade, or shelter in anticipation of the proper seasons for them, nor did he do as others do, who, because they may light a fire any time and are well supplied with clothes and own houses, run away at once from the open air at the least sensation of cold, thus enfeebling their bodies and making them incapable of enduring the winter’s cold, or, on the other hand, because it is possible for them to enjoy abundant shade in the summer-time and drink all the wine they wish, on that account never expose themselves to the sun, never experience a natural thirst, keep to the house just as much as women do, are inactive and sluggish of body, and have their souls steeped in a drunken stupor. This is why they devise for themselves both unwholesome menus and baths to counteract the bad effects of these,¹ and within the same twenty-four hours they often want both a breeze and heavy clothing; they want ice and fire at one and the same time, and—what is most absurd of all—they long for both hunger and thirst. And though they are incontinent, they find no delight in love because they do not wait till they desire it naturally; consequently the pleasures they seek are devoid of satisfaction and are joyless.

Diogenes, however, always waited until he was hungry or thirsty before he partook of nourishment, and he thought that hunger was the most satisfactory and pungent of appetizers. And so he used to

¹ The bath was taken to help digestion but often proved a fatal remedy. Cf. Juvenal, I. 143: Crudem pavonem in balnea portas.—“You take an undigested peacock into the baths.”
προσεφέρετο μᾶζαν ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν σιτίων, ἥδιον δὲ ἔπινε τοῦ ρέοντος ὕδατος
13 ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Θαυσίων οἶνου. κατηγέλα δὲ τῶν, ὁπότε διψάει, τὰς μὲν κρήνας παρερχομένων,
ζητούντων δὲ πάντως ὁπὸθεν ἄνησονται. ¹ Χίον ἢ
Δέσβιον, καὶ πολὺ ἔφασκεν ἀφρονεστέρους εἶναι
tῶν βοσκημάτων ἐκείνα γὰρ οὐδέποτε διψῶντα
κρήνην οὐδὲ ῥέμα καθαρὸν παρελθεῖν οὐδὲ
πεινώντα ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀπαλωτάτων φύλλων
14 καὶ πώς τῆς ἰκανῆς τρόφεων. οἰκίας δὲ τὰς
cαλλίστας καὶ χρησιμότατα ἐν ἀπώεις ταῖς
πόλεσιν ἐχειν ἀναπεπταμένας, τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ
γυμνάσια. ἰμάτιον δὲ ἐν ἐξήρκει τοῦ θέρους
αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος· τού γὰρ ἀέρος ἴναις
ῥάδιος, ἀπεὶ τῆς συνήθης αὐτῷ γενόμενος. τοὺς
dὲ πόδας οὐδέποτε ἑσκεπεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη τρυφερο-
τέρους εἶναι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦ προσώπου,
ταῦτα γὰρ, ἀσθενεῖται πεφυκότα, μάλιστα
ἀνέχεσθαι τὸ ψύχος διὰ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι ἀεὶ· μὴ
gὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυνατόν καταδησάμενους
τὰ ὕμματα βαδίζειν, ὡσπερ τοὺς πόδας. ἔφη δὲ
τοὺς πλουσίους ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς νεογνοῖς βρέ-
16 ρεῖς. δεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀεὶ ποτε σπαργάνων. ὑπὲρ
οὗ δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν πράγματα ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποι
πλεῖστα δὲ χρήματα ἀναλίσκουσι, πολλαὶ δὲ
ἀνάστατοι πόλεις διὰ ταῦτα γεγονάσι, πολλὰ δὲ
ἐθνὶ τούτων ἔνεκεν ὀλικτῶς ἀπόλωλεν, ἀπάντων
ἐκεῖνο χρημάτων ἀπονόματον ² ἢ καὶ ἀδαπανώ-
tατον. οὐ γὰρ ἐδει αὐτὸν οὐδαμόσει ἔλθειν ἀφρο-
δισίων ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ παῖζον ἔλεγεν ἀπανταχοῦ
παρεῖναι αὐτῷ τῇ 'Αφροδίτῃ προῖκα· τοὺς δὲ

¹ ἄνησονται Ἀρνίμ: ἄνησαντο.

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partake of a barley cake with greater pleasure than others did of the costliest of foods, and enjoyed a drink from a stream of running water more than others did their Thasian wine. He scorned those who would pass by a spring when thirsty and move heaven and earth to find where they could buy Chian or Lesbian wine; and he used to say that such persons were far sillier than cattle, since these creatures never pass by a spring or a clear brook when thirsty or, when hungry, disdain the tenderest leaves or grass enough to nourish them. He also said that the most beautiful and healthful houses were open to him in every city: to wit, the temples and the gymnasia. And one garment was all he needed for both summer and winter, for he endured the cold weather easily because he had become used to it. He never protected his feet, either, because they were no more sensitive, he claimed, than his eyes and face. For these parts, though by nature most delicate, endured the cold very well on account of their constant exposure; for men could not possibly walk after binding their eyes as they did their feet. He used to say, too, that rich men were like new-born babes; both were in constant need of swaddling-clothes. That for which men gave themselves the most trouble and spent the most money, which caused the razing of many cities and the pitiful destruction of many nations—this he found the least laborious and most inexpensive of all things to procure. For he did not have to go anywhere for his sexual gratification but, as he humorously put it, he found Aphrodite everywhere, without expense;
DIΟ CHYRSOSTOM

ποιητᾶς καταψεύδεσθαι τῆς θεοῦ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν, πολύχρυσον καλοῦντας. ἕπει δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ἡπίστον, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἔχρητο καὶ πάντων ὄρωντων· καὶ ἔλεγεν ὡς εἴπερ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οὔτως εἶχον, οὐκ ἄν ἔαλω ποτὲ ἡ Τροία, οὐδέ ἂν ὁ Πρίαμος ὁ Φρυγῶν βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ Διὸς γεγονός, ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύ τοῦ Διὸς ἐσφάγη. τοὺς δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς οὖτως εἶναι ἄφρονας ὡστε καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς νομίζειν προσδείσαθαι γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν Πολυ-ζένην σφάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. ἔφη δὲ τοὺς ἱχθύας σχεδὸν τι φρονιμωτέρους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὅταν γὰρ δέωνται τὸ σπέρμα ἀποβαλεῖν, ἱόντας ἐξω προσκυνᾶσθαι πρὸς τι 1 τραχῦ. θαυμαζόντες δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τὸν μὲν πόδα μὴ θέλειν ἀργυρίου κυάσθαι μηδὲ τὴν χείρα μηδὲ ἄλλο μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος, μηδὲ τοὺς πῶς πλουσίους ἀναλώσαι διὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦτου δραχμῆν· ἐν δὲ ἔκεινο τὸ μέρος πολλάκις πολλῶν ταλάντων, τοὺς δὲ τινας ἥδη καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν 2 παράβαλλομένους. ἔλεγε δὲ παῖζον τὴν συνυποίζαν ταῦτην εὐρεμα εἶναι τοῦ Παῦλος, διότι τῆς Ἡχοῦς ἐρασθεὶς οὐκ ἐδύνατο λαβεῖν, ἄλλῳ ἐπλανᾶτο ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι νυκτα καὶ ἠμέραν, τότε οὖν τὸν Ἑρμῆν διδάξαι αὐτῶν, οἴκτειραντα τῆς ἀπορίας, ἃ τις νῦν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τῶν, ἐπεὶ ἔμαθε, παύσασθαι τῆς πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς ποιμένας χρήσθαι μαθῶντας.

1 πρὸς τὶ Geol: πρὸς τὸ.
2 τὴν ψυχὴν Garsda: τῇ ψυχῇ.

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and the poets libelled the goddess, he maintained, on account of their own want of self-control, when they called her "the all-golden." And since many doubted this boast, he gave a public demonstration before the eyes of all, saying that if men were like himself, Troy would never have been taken, nor Priam, king of the Phrygians and a descendant of Zeus, been slain at the altar of Zeus. But the Achaeans had been such fools as to believe that even dead men found women indispensable and so slew Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles. Fish showed themselves more sensible than men almost; for whenever they needed to eject their sperm, they went out of doors and rubbed themselves against something rough. He marvelled that while men were unwilling to pay out money to have a leg or an arm or any other part of their body rubbed, that while not even the very rich would spend a single drachma for this purpose, yet on that one member they spent many talents time and again and some had even risked their lives in the bargain. In a joking way he would say that this sort of intercourse was a discovery made by Pan when he was in love with Echo and could not get hold of her, but roamed over the mountains night and day till Hermes in pity at his distress, since he was his son, taught him the trick. So Pan, when he had learned his lesson, was relieved of his great misery; and the shepherds learned the habit from him.

1 The epithet as applied to Aphrodite referred originally to the golden adornment of her statues (cf. Hesiod, Works and Days, v. 510), or the wealth of her shrines, or her beauty; just as in Homer she is χρυσή Αφροδίτη, Diogenes twists the word πολύχρυσος to mean "costing much gold."
Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα ἐνίοτε τῶν ἀνθρώπων καταγελῶν ἔλεγεν τῶν τετυφωμένων καὶ ἀνοικτῶν μάλιστα δὲ ὑβρίζε τοὺς συφιστὰς τοὺς σεμνοὺς εἶναι θέλοντας καὶ πλέον τῷ τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι οἰομένους. ἔλεγε δὲ διὰ τὴν μαλακίαν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀθλιότερον ξίνω τῶν θηρίων. ἐκείνα γὰρ ὑδατι μὲν ποτῶ χρώμενα, τροφὴ δὲ βοτάνη, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν γυμνὰ ὄντα δὲ ἔτους, εἰς οἰκίαν δὲ οὐδέποτε εἰσίντα, πυρὶ δὲ οὐδὲν χρώμενα, ξίνῳ μὲν ὄπ τού ἰδιός ἐκάστους ἐταξεῖ χρόνου, εἰς μηδεῖς ἀναιρῆς ἱσχυρὰ δὲ καὶ ὑγιείων διάγειν ὁμοίως ἀπαντᾶ, δεῖσθαι δὲ μηδὲν ἵππων

23 μηδὲ φαρμάκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους οὕτως μὲν πάνυ φιλοξένους ὄντας, τοσαῦτα δὲ μηχανωμένους πρὸς ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου, τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν μηδὲ εἰς γῆρας ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ξίνῳ δὲ νοσημάτων ἁμομώτας ὁ μηδὲ ὀνομάζαι ῥάδιου, τὴν δὲ γῆν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐξαρκεῖν παρέχουσαν φάρμακα,

24 δεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς. καὶ μήτε χειρώνως μήτε Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ἱμερῶν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ὀφέλος εἶναι διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄκολοσίαν καὶ πονηρίαν, μηδὲ μάντευν μαντευομένων μηδὲ

25 ἱερέων καθαρότων. εἰς δὲ τὰς πόλεις συνελθόντας, ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν μὴ ἀδικόντως, τοὐνάντιον αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ δεινότατα πάντα ἔργα ἔσθαι, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἑωυνελήλυθότας. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς μύθοι δέγειν ὡς τῶν Προμηθέα κολάζοι ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὴν εὔρεσιν καὶ μετάδοσιν τοῦ πυρὸς, ὅσ ἄρχῃν τούτῳ καὶ ἀφορμὴν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μαλακίας καὶ τρυφῆς.

1 The Centaur who taught Achilles.
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In such language he at times used to ridicule the victims of conceit and folly, though it was against the sophists, who wanted to be looked up to and thought they knew more than other men, that he railed in particular. He used to say that men, owing to their softness, lived more wretched lives than the beasts. For these took water for their drink and grass for their food, were most of them naked from one end of the year to the other, never entered a house nor made any use of fire, and yet they lived as long as nature had ordained for each, if no one destroyed them, and all alike remained strong and healthy, and had no need of doctors or of drugs. Men, however, who are so very fond of life and devise so many ways to postpone death, generally did not even reach old age, but lived infested by a host of maladies which it were no easy task even to name, and the earth did not supply them with drugs enough, but they required the knife and cautery as well. Nor were Cheiron and Asclepius’ sons, with all their healing power, nor prophetic seers nor priestly exorcists of any use to them at all because of their excesses and wickedness. Men crowded into the cities to escape wrong from those outside, only to wrong one another and commit all sorts of the most dreadful misdeeds as though that had been the object of their coming together. And the reason, in his opinion, why the myth says that Zeus punished Prometheus for his discovery and bestowal of fire was that therein lay the origin and beginning of man’s softness and love

A Asclepius or Aesculapius, the god of medicine and healing; his descendants too were physicians.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν Δία μισεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὔδὲ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ τινος.

26 'Επεί δὲ ἐλεγόν τινες οὐ δυνατὸν εἶναι ζῆν τὸν ἀνθρώπον ὡμολογεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἵπποις διὰ τὴν ἀπαλότητα τῶν σαρκῶν καὶ διότι ψιλὸς ἔστιν, οὕτε θρεῖ θρήσκους, ὡσπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν θηρίων, οὕτε πτεροῖς, οὐδὲ δὲν δὲρμα ἱσχυρὸν ἐπραγμάτευσεν, πρὸς τάτα ἀντέλεγεν οὕτως μὲν σφόδρα ἀπαλούς εἶναι διὰ τὴν δίαιταντι φεύγειν μὲν γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἥλιον, φεύγειν δὲ τὸ ψύχος: τὴν δὲ ψυλότητα τοῦ σώματος μηδὲν ἑνοχλεῖν. ἐπεδείκνυε δὲ τοὺς τε βατράχους καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα ξύλα πολὺ μὲν ἀπαλωτερὰ ἀνθρώπου, πολὺ δὲ ψυλότερα, καὶ ἐνα γὰρ τῶν ἀνεχομένων οὐ τῶν ἁερὰ μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τῷ ψυχροτάτῳ ὑδάτι ζῆν δυνάμενα τῷ χειμῶνος.

27 ἐπεδείκνυε δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον οὐδὲν δεόμενα ἑσκέθης. καθόλου δὲ ἐν μηδενὶ τόπῳ γίγνεσθαι ζῶν, ὃ μὴ δύναται εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ· ἢ πῶς ἂν ἐσώθησαν οἱ πρῶτοι ἀνθρώποι γενόμενοι, μήτε πυρὸς οὐνός μήτε ὀικίαν μήτε ἐσθῆτος μήτε ἄλλης τροφῆς ἢ τῆς αὐτομάτου; ἄλλα τὴν πανορμίαν τοῖς ὑστεροί καὶ τὸ πολλὰ εὐρίσκειν καὶ μυχανάσθαι πρὸς τὸν βίον οὐ πάνυ τι συνενεγκεῖτον. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνδρέαν οὐδὲ δικαιοσύνην χρῆσθαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλα πρὸς ἡδονήν διώκοντας οὐν τὸ ἠδονήν ἐξ ἀπαντος ἀεὶ ζῆν ἀνδέστερον καὶ ἐπιπονότερον, καὶ δοκοῦσα προμηθεῖσθαι σφόν αὐτῶν κάκιστα ἀπόλλυσθαι διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τε καὶ προμηθείαν. καὶ οὕτως δὴ τὸν Προμηθέα δικαίως λέγεσθαι 264
of luxury; for Zeus surely did not hate men or grudge them any good thing.

When some people urged that it is impossible for man to live like the animals owing to the tenderness of his flesh and because he is naked and unprotected either by hair, as the majority of beasts are, or by feathers and has no covering of tough skin, he would say in reply that men are so very tender because of their mode of life, since, as a rule, they avoid the sun and also avoid the cold. It is not the nakedness of the body that causes the trouble. He would then call attention to the frogs and numerous other animals much more delicate than man and much less protected, and yet some of them not only withstand the cold air but are even able to live in the coldest water during the winter. He also pointed out that the eyes and the face of man himself have no need of protection. And, in general, no creature is born in any region that cannot live in it. Else how could the first human beings to be born have survived, there being no fire, or houses, or clothing, or any other food than that which grew wild? Nay, man's ingenuity and his discovering and contriving so many helps to life had not been altogether advantageous to later generations, since men do not employ their cleverness to promote courage or justice, but to procure pleasure. And so, as they pursue the agreeable at any cost, their life becomes constantly less agreeable and more burdensome; and while they appear to be attending to their own needs, they perish most miserably, just because of excessive care and attention. And for these reasons Prometheus was justly said to have

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1 ober Emperius: oûte. 2 δειμνου Wilamowitz: δειμνον.
ΔΕΔΕΜΕΝΟΝ ἐν πέτρᾳ κείρεσθαι τὸ ἦπαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄετου.

30 Ὅπωσα μὲν οὖν πολυδάπανα καὶ δεόμενα πραγματείας καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ταῦτα μὲν ἀφῆρει καὶ βλαβερὰ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἀπέφαινεν· ὅσα δὲ βαδίως καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ἐστίν ἐπικουρεῖν τῷ σώματι καὶ πρὸς χειμῶνα καὶ πρὸς λιμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ παῦσαί τινα ὅρεξιν τοῦ σώματος, οὐ παρέπεμπεν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπους ὑμεῖς τοὺς ὑγιεινοὺς μᾶλλον ἡ τοὺς νοσώδεις καὶ τοὺς προσφόρους ἡ ἅγια ὀραία, καὶ τροφῆς ὅπως εὐπορήσῃς τῆς ἱκανῆς ἐπεμέλειτο καὶ ἐσθίωσες τῆς μετρίας, πραγμάτων δὲ καὶ δικών καὶ φιλονεκίων καὶ πολέμων καὶ στάσεων ἐκτὸς ἦν. καὶ μᾶλιστα ἐμμεῖτο τῶν θεῶν τῶν βίων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μόνοις φησίν Ὁμήρος βαδίως ἦν, ὡς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτύμονος καὶ χαλεπῶς βιοῦντων. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα

32 ἔφη καὶ τὰ θηρία διορᾶν τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πελαργοὺς τὰ θερμὰ τοῦ θέρους ἀπολείποντας εἰς τὸν εὖκρατον ἀέρα ἀφικεῖσθαι, καὶ διαγαγόντας ἐνταῦθα ὡς φόσον ἦδοστον τοῦ χρόνου, μετὰ ταῦτα ἄθροίους ἀπιέναι, τὸν χειμῶνα ὑποχωροῦντα,2 τὰς δὲ γεράνους ἐπιφαίναν τῷ σπόρῳ, χειμῶνα μετρίως

33 φεροῦσας, καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἐνεκα· τὰς δὲ ἐλάφους καὶ τοὺς λαγοὺς τοῦ μὲν ψύχους εἰς τὰ πεδία καὶ τὰ κοίλα καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν ὅρων, κἀνταῦθα ὑποστέλλειν τοῖς ἀπηνέμοις καὶ προσηνέστε,3 τοῦ δὲ καύματος εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ τὰ 34 βορείωτα τῶν χωρίων. ὅρων δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους

1 προσφόρους Emperorius: ἐσφόρους.
2 ὑποχωροῦντα Lobeck: ἀποχωροῦντα.
3 προςηνέστε Lobeck: ἀπηνέμεστε.
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been bound to the rock and to have had his liver plucked by the eagle.

Things, therefore, that were costly or demanded constant attention and worry he rejected and showed to be injurious to those who used them; but whatever could readily and without effort help the body to withstand the winter’s cold or hunger or to satisfy some other appetite of the body, he would never forgo; nay, he would choose localities that were healthful in preference to the unhealthy, and those that were adapted to the different seasons, and he took care to have a sufficient supply of food and moderate clothing, but from public affairs, lawsuits, rivalries, wars, and factions he kept himself clear. He tried especially to imitate the life of the gods, for they alone, as Homer asserts,¹ live at ease, implying that the life of man is full of labour and hardship. Even the lower animals, he claimed, understand this sort of thing clearly. The storks, for example, leave the heat of the summer and migrate to a temperate climate, and after spending as long a time there as is most congenial to them, depart in flocks, retreating before the winter; while cranes, which stand the winter fairly well, come at seeding time and for the food they pick up. Deer and hares come down from the mountains into the plains and valleys in the cold weather and find shelter there in comfortable nooks away from the wind, but in the hot season withdraw into the woods and the most northerly regions. When, therefore, he observed

¹ θεοὶ ἰδία ζωντες, Odyssey 4. 805, for example.
² For προσελλοις, Herwerden conjectures προσείλοις, “sunny.”
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀνθρώπους ἀπαντα μὲν τὸν βίον ταραττομένους, ἀπαντα δὲ ἀλλήλαιοις ἐπιβουλεύοντας, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν κακοῖς ὑπὸνας μυρίοις, μὴ δέποτε δὲ ἡσυχίαν δυναμένους ἀγειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐν παῖσι ἱερομνήμαις μηδὲ ἄν ἕκεκείτων ἐπάγγελλον, καὶ ταῦτα ξύμπαντα δὲ οὔδὲν ἔτερον τὰ μὲν δραύντας, τὰ δὲ πάσχοντας, ἢ ὅπως ἐνθαμάζονται, καὶ μᾶλιστα δὴ δεδιότας μήποτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπη τάναγκαία δὴ λεγόμενα, ἐτε δὲ φροντίζοντας καὶ ἤστορίζοντας ὅπως παισι τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλίποντι πολλὰ χρήματα, ἑθαύμαζεν οτι μηδὲν αὐτὸς πράττον τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ μόνος δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἁλλὸς συνίησι τῆς αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδαιμονίας.

35 "Ωστε οὐκέθα αὐτῶν ἣλιον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ παραβάλλειν" πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ μεταξὺ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄθλιότατον ἀπάντων τυχάνως, φοβούμενον μὲν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρυσῷ πενίαν, φοβούμενον δὲ νόσους, τῶν δὲ νοσερῶν ἀπέχεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον, ἐκπεπληγμένον δὲ τῶν θάνατον καὶ πάντας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ νομίζοντα μέχρι τῶν παιδών τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. διὰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ἐσθιόντα ἤδεσθαι, τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτῷ παρόντων, μὴ πίνοντα ἐπιλαυθάνεσθαι τῶν ὀχληρῶν. μηδεμίαν δὲ ἡμέραν διάγειν ῥαδίως, ἐν ἣ βλέπειν αὐτὸν μὴ τα δεινότατα πάσχοντα. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν νήφοντα ἐπιθυμεῖν μέθης, ὡς τότε ἀπαλλαγήσομεν τῶν συμφορῶν, τοῦτο δ οὐ μεθύνοντα ἀπολωλέναι νομίζειν, ὡς ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν.

37 ἔτι δὲ ἑγρηγορὸτα μὲν εὐχεσθαι καθυπνῶσαι

1 δυσβιωνται Casaubon: δυσβιωνται. 2 μητε Emperius: μηδέ.
3 The reading of the best MSS. is retained, though probably corrupt. Emperius added εἶναι after αὐτόν (to govern βλέπειν), Von der Muehl, less probably, proposed βλέπει αὐτόν.

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how other men were harassed throughout their whole lives, ever plotting against one another, ever encompassed by a thousand ills and never able to enjoy a moment’s rest, nay, not even during the great festivals nor when they proclaimed a truce; and when he beheld that they did or suffered all this simply in order to keep themselves alive, and that their greatest fear was lest their so-called necessities should fail them, and how, furthermore, they planned and strove to leave great riches to their children, he marvelled that he too did not do the like, but was the only independent man in the world, and that nobody else had any comprehension of his own highest happiness.

For these reasons he refused to compare himself any farther with the king of the Persians, since there was a great difference between them. In fact, the king was, he said, the most miserable man alive, fearing poverty in spite of all his gold, fearing sickness and yet unable to keep away from the things that cause it, in great dread of death and imagining that everybody was plotting against him, even his own sons and his brothers. So the despot could neither eat with pleasure, though the most tempting dishes were placed before him, nor drown his troubles in wine. Not a day did he pass “at ease” in which he looked about without suffering torments. When sober, he longed for intoxication in the belief that he would then have relief from his misfortunes, and when drunk, he imagined himself to be ruined just because he was unable to help himself. And further, when awake,

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1 See § 1 above.
Ως ἐπιλάθηται τῶν φόβων, κομμῶμενον δὲ ἀναστήναι τὴν ταχύτητα, ἢτε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἑυπνίων ἀπολλύμενον, τῆς δὲ χρυσῆς αὐτῷ πλατάνου καὶ τῶν Σεμεράμθων οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τειχῶν μηδὲν ὀφέλος γιγνόμενον. Τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων παραλογώτατον, φοβεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἀνόπλους, πιστεύειν δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀπλισμένοις, καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι μὲν τοὺς προσιόντας μὴ τις ἔχων σίδηρον, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ζῆν τῶν σιδηροφοροῦντων. Φεύγειν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνόπλων πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλισμένους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀπλισμένων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνόπλους· ἀπὸ μὲν γε τοῦ πλήθους φιλάττεσθαι τοῖς δορυφόροις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων εὐνούχοις. οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ οἶς ἀν πιστεύσας οὐδὲ ὅποι τραπέμενος δυνηύσεται ξῆσαι μίαν ἡμέραν ἄφοβως. Υφορᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὸ ποτόν, καὶ τοὺς προπειράσοντας ταῦτα ἔχειν ὅσπερ ἐν ὁδῷ πολεμίων γεμοίρῃ τοὺς προερευνῶντας. ἄλλα μηδὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις θαρρεῖν, μήτε παιοὶ μήτε γυναικί. οὕτως δὲ χαλεποῦ δυτὸς τοῦ πράγματος καὶ δυστυχός τῆς μοναρχίας, μηδὲ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ποτε αὐτοῦ μήτε βουλέσθαι μήτε δύνασθαι.

Καὶ τοῦ πάντα ὅσα δεινὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραμυθίων ἔχει, τὸ τυχὼν ἂν παύσασθαι αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ ὀτις ὑπὸ δεσμῶν ἔχεται, προσδοκά ποτε λυθῆναι, καὶ τῷ τῆς πατρίδας φεύγοντι οὐκ ἀδύνατον κατελθεῖν, καὶ τῷ νοσοῦντι μέχρι τῆς τελευτής ἔστω ἔλπιζειν τὴν ὑγείαν· τῷ δὲ οὗκ ἔστω ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ πράγματος, ἄλλῳ οὐδ’ εὐδοκίας ἔχων, εἰ μὴ τῇ ἔτερον. ὅσοις δὲ
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he prayed for sleep that he might forget his fears, but when asleep he would immediately leap up, imagining that his very dreams were killing him; and neither the golden plane-tree,¹ nor the mansions of Semiramis, nor the walls of Babylon were of any help to him. The most absurd thing of all, however, was that, though he feared unarmed persons, yet he entrusted himself to his armed guards, that though he searched those who approached him to see if any had a weapon, yet he lived surrounded by men who carried weapons. He was forever fleeing from the unarmed to the armed and from the armed to the unarmed; from the people he protected himself by means of his bodyguard and from his bodyguard by means of his eunuchs. He had no one that he could trust, nor refuge to which he could turn so that he might live a single day without fear. He suspected everything he ate or drank, and had men to sample everything for him like so many scouts on a road beset by the enemy. Nay, he could not place confidence in his nearest and dearest, whether children or wife. Yet, difficult and grievous as the position of monarch was, he never wanted to get rid of it, nor could he.

"Still, all human ills admit of this one consolation," continued Diogenes—"they may possibly come to an end. The prisoner in chains expects some time to be set free; it is not impossible for the exile to return to his home; and he who is sick can hope until the end comes for recovery. But the tyrant may not escape his condition; no, he cannot even so much as pray except it be for something else.

¹ Xerxes found near the Maeander river a plane-tree so beautiful that he presented it with golden ornaments and put it under the care of one of his Immortals.
DIO CHRYSOStOM

ἀνιάσθαι συμβέβηκε τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, σαφῶς ἐπίστανται ὅτι παύσονται ποτε λυπούμενοι τῷ χρόνῳ τοῖς δὲ τοῦναυτίον ἐπιτείνεται 1 μᾶλλον τὰ χαλεπά. ὦ ράβδιον μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρα γηρᾶσαι τύραννον, χαλεπὸν δὲ τυράννου γῆρας, οὐχ οἶον ἔπποι φασίν. οἶ τε γὰρ πεπονθότες κακῶς πλείους οἱ τε καταφρονοῦντες αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ σώματι βοηθεῖν ἀδύνατος αὐτῷ.

Πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ δεινὰ πέφυκε μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς προσδεχομένους ἢ λυπεῖν τοὺς πειραθέντας, καὶ πενία καὶ φυγή καὶ δεσμοὶ καὶ άτιμία. τοῦ θανάτου δὲ εἰ τις ἄφελοι τὸ δέος, οὐδὲν ὑπολείπεται δυσχερές· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ τοὺς παθόντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔτι λυποῦνται. ὁ δὲ φόβος οὕτω χαλεπὸς ἐστὶν ὡστε πολλοὶ ἥδη προέλαβον τὸ ἐργον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ 2 ἐν ηῇ χειμαζόμενοι οὐ περιέμειναι καταδύναι τὴν ναῦν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἀπεσφαξαν, οἱ δὲ πολεμίων περιεληφθῶν, σαφῶς εἰδότες ὅτι οὐδὲν πεῖσονται δεινότερον. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς μονάρχοις, ὁμοίως μὲν ἡμέρας, ὁμοίως δὲ νυκτός. καὶ τοῖς μὲν καταδικασθέοις ἡμέρα ρήτη προκειται, ἐν ἣ δεὶ ἀποθῆκεν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀδηλον, εἴτε μετ' ὀλύνοι εἴτε ἡδη, καὶ οὐδεὶς καιρός, οὐδὲ ὁ βραχύτατος, ἀπήλλακται τοῦτο τοῦ δέους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσθιοντα ἄναγκη δεδεῖναι καὶ θύοντα τοῖς θεοῖς. εἰ δὲ ποτὲ ἐπέλθοι παῖξειν τοῖσ τοιοῦτοις, 3

1 ἐπιτείνεται Geel: ἐπιρύγωσθαι.
2 γὰρ added by Wilamowitz.
3 Arnim would emend to τῷ τοιούτῳ because the singular follows.

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Anyone who has suffered the loss of a friend by death believes in his heart that time will eventually heal his grief; but tyrants, on the contrary, find their troubles growing worse and worse; since it is not easy for a tyrant to reach old age, and a tyrant's old age is grievous, unlike that of the horse in the proverb.¹ For his victims as well as those who despise him have multiplied, and he, owing to his own infirmities, cannot defend himself.

"Now all calamities are naturally more alarming in anticipation than they are grievous in experience, as is true of hunger, exile, imprisonment, or loss of civil rights; but if the fear of death were removed, then no further distress remains. For death in itself is so far from troubling those who have experienced it, that they have no further grief at all. The fear of it, however, is so intense that many have anticipated the event. People on a storm-tossed ship have not waited for it to go down but have taken their own lives first; others have done the same when surrounded by the enemy, although they well knew that nothing worse than death awaited them. This is the evil plight that despots are ever in, both by day and by night. For condemned criminals a stated day is set on which they must die, but tyrants are uncertain whether death will come soon or the hour has already struck. No moment, not even the most fleeting, is free from this dread, but whether eating or sacrificing to the gods the tyrant must live in this fear. And if ever it occurs to such a ruler to seek diversion,

¹ Zenobius gives the proverb, ἵππῳ γηράσκοντι τὰ μείωνα κύκλῳ ἐπιβάλλει—"'To the ageing horse assign the lesser courses."
καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδισίοις γυνόμενον, ἐὰν καὶ πάνυ τύχῃ ἔρων, μεμνήσθαι τοῦ θανάτου, ὡς τυχόν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀπολούμενον, καὶ 45 συμπίνειν τοῦτῳ τῷ φόβῳ καὶ συγκαθεύδειν. ὡστε μοι δοκεῖ τότε μόνον¹ χαίρειν, ἐπειδὰν πληγῇ, ἀνὴρ τύραννος, ὡς τοῦ μεγίστου κακοῦ ἀπηλλαγμένος.

Τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἔσασιν ἐν ταῖς ἀνιμάτοις γυνόμενοι συμφοραῖς, ὡστε οὐ πολὺν χρόνον κακοπαθοῦσιν, οἷς ἂν μὴ ἀδύνατον ἢ τὸ ἀποθνησκεῖν· οἱ δὲ τύραννοι τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις νομίζουσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι, οἷμαι τῇ δόξῃ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐξηπατημένου τῶν ἀπείρων 40 τοῦ πράγματος. καὶ ταύτην ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁγνοποιαν συνεξενεῖν, ἵνα παραμένωσι κολαζόμενοι. δοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὑ πράπτουσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ μὲν βίος ἀμείνων, ὁ δὲ θάνατος διὰ τοῦτο
47 λυπηρότερος· οἱ δὲ αὖ κακῶς ξύντες τὸν βίον δοκοῦσι δυσχερέστερον φέρειν, τὸν δὲ θάνατον ἤδιον προσδέχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ γε τυράννωι ἀμφότερα ταύτα χαλεπότερα ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις· ξύσαι μὲν γὰρ πολὺ ἀπέδεστον τῶν πάνω ἐπιθυμοῦντων τεθνάναι, τὸν δὲ θάνατον οὖτω δεδοκιμασίν ὡς 48 ἡδίστα διάγοντες ἐν τῷ βίῳ. πεφυκότος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἡδέα μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ἡ σπάνια, τοῖς δὲ συνεχῶς χρυσόμενοι εἰς ἀγίαν περίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ κακὰ χαλεπώτερα εἶναι μηδέποτε ἀπαλλαττόμενα, σχέδον ἀμφότερα τοῖς τυράννοις καὶ τὰ ἡδέα καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ ἢ ἐπὶ πάρεστιν, ὡς λυποῦμενον μὲν μηδέποτε παύεσθαι σχέδον,
even in the enjoyments of love, no matter how intense the passion, his mind dwells on death, imagining that perhaps he will be slain by the very object of his love, and with this fear he must quaff his wine and with it must lay himself down to sleep. And so, in my opinion, the tyrant is happy only at the moment when he is struck down, since it is then that he is freed from his greatest evil.

"But the most absurd thing of all is this: Other men realize that their condition is hopeless and so do not suffer long when death is possible for them; but tyrants, though suffering from the greatest evils, imagine that they are surrounded by the greatest blessings, presumably because they are deceived by the opinions of others who have not had experience of ruling. God has inflicted tyrants with this ignorance that they may hold out under their punishment. Again, to the prosperous life seems more worth living and death correspondingly more bitter, while those in adversity seem to find life harder to endure and to welcome death more gladly. But for tyrants both are harder than for others, since in life they have far less happiness than those who eagerly long to die, and yet they fear death as if they were getting the greatest enjoyment out of life. And if things pleasurable naturally afford greater delight when they are rare but become repulsive to those who have the continuous enjoyment of them, and if evils that never cease are naturally harder to bear; then we may almost say that both these—the pleasurable and the painful—are always with the tyrant in such a way that he rarely

1 μόνος Jacobs: μεν.
49 ἡδόμενον δὲ μηδέποτε αἰσθάνεσθαι. δέδοικε δὲ ἀεὶ ποτε τῶν μὲν πλούσιων τὴν δύναμιν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόρων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πλούτου. μόνοις δὲ τοῖς μονάρχοις τῶν μὲν εὐ παθόντων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ χάριν: οὐδέποτε γαρ ἤγονται τῶν ἱκανῶν τυγχάνειν, οἱ δὲ μὴ τυχόνοντες δὲν βούλονται πάντων μάλιστα μισοῦσιν αὐτοὺς.

50 Καὶ μὴν ἐπιφθονώτατος ἀπάντων ὁ πλεῖστα μὴ δικαίως ἔχων· ὡστε οὐδεὶς τυράννου ἐπι- φθονώτερός ἔστιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτων ἀνάγκη μὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰ δὲ μὴ, τάχιστα ἀπολεῖται. χαρίζεσθαι δὲ πολλάκις πολλοῖς οὐ μᾶλλον μὴ ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενοι. ἔχει δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς εἰληφότας ὑπόπτους καὶ ἔκτοινθασα ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλλάχθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πόρρω διὰ τὸ πολὺ ἀφεστάναι φοβεῖται, τὰ δὲ ἐγγύς, ὅτι πλησίον ἔστιν αὐτῷ· καὶ παρὰ μὲν τῶν μακράν ὑφορᾶται πόλεμον, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐγγύς δόλου.

51 καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἀσύμφορον νομίζει διὰ τὴν τῶν ἄνθρωπων σχολὴν, τῶν δὲ πόλεμον, ὅτι ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ χρήματα πορίζοντα καὶ στρατεύεσθαι προσαναγκάζοντα, τογγαροῦ πολέμου μὲν ὄντος εἰρήνης ἑρῶσιν, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης εὐθὺς μηχανῶνται πόλεμον.

52 καὶ τούτο μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθόνων ὄντων δεδοίκασα τοῦ πλῆθους τὴν ὑβριν, τούτο δὲ εἰ τις ἐνδεικα καταλαμβάνων, τὴν ὁργήν. ἤγονται δὲ μὴτε ἀποδημεῖς ἀσφαλεῖς μήτε μένειν μήτε προϊέναι μήτ' ἑνδον διακτάσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν οὐ ἄν ἐπιβαίνοσιν ἀσφαλῶς,

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finds relief from pain and is never conscious of pleasure. Besides, he continually dreads the power of the rich and the craving of the poor for riches. Again, despots are the only persons who receive no thanks for the favours they bestow; since people never think they get enough, while those who fail to get what they want hate them above all others.

"The most disliked man, too, is he who has acquired great wealth unjustly; hence no man is more disliked than a tyrant. And furthermore, he is obliged to show favours to those about him, otherwise he will perish most speedily. But it is not easy to give to many repeatedly without taking from others. Accordingly, the men whom he despairs are his enemies, while his beneficiaries eye him with suspicion and seek to be rid of him as soon as possible. What is far removed from him he fears because of its remoteness; what is near, because it is close to him; from those at a distance he looks for war, from those near at hand, treachery. Peace he considers undesirable because it leaves men idle, and war, because he is obliged to disturb his subjects by raising money and compelling them to take the field as well. So when there is war, tyrants want peace; and when peace has been made, they at once scheme for war. When the people have all the comforts of life, they fear their insolence; when hard times come, they fear their wrath. They feel that it is safe neither to leave the country nor to stay at home, neither to appear in public nor to live in seclusion, nay, not even to set foot where they may

ἀπαντα δὲ εἶναι μεστὰ ἐνέδρας καὶ δόλων. 53 ἀναλογίζεται δὲ ἐκαστος αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς θανά- 
touς τῶν τυράνων καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, ὅσα πώποτε 
γεγόνασι, καὶ ξύμπαντα ταύτα ἐφ' 
αὐτὸν 2 λέναι 3 νομίζει, καὶ οὕτως ἔχει περιφόβως 
ὡς ξύμπαντας ἐκείνους τοὺς θανάτους ἀποθανοῦ-
μενος4 καὶ περιβλέπεισθει μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ περιστρέ-
φοντας βούλεται, πληγήσεσθαι πανταχόθεν 
οἴμενος, αὐτὸ δὲ τούτο οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν ὡς 
σεχώνης ἄμα καὶ φόβου. ὅσφι γὰρ ἂν ἐνδη-
λότερος ἢ φοβοῦμενος ἀνὴρ τυράννος, τοσοῦτος 
μᾶλλον ἐπιβουλεύονσι καταφρονοῦσις τῆς δει-
λίας. ἔστιν οὖν ὁ βίος ὁμοίος ὡσπερ εἶ 
τις καθείρξεις τινα ἐν εἰρκτή μικρά, τῶι μὲν 
ἀνωθεν ἐξιδίων κρεμαμένων, τῶι δὲ 
κυκλόθεν περιτεπη-
γότων, καὶ τούτων ἀποτειμένων τοῦ χρωτός· οὕτως 
οὐ τῷ σώματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τυρά-
νου περιτέπηγη τὰ ξέφη, ὡςτε τὸν Ἐνοῖα τάντα-
λον, ὅποιος ἡσυχὴ 
κεφαλῆς 4 υπερτέλλοντα δειμαίνειν πέτρων, 
πολὺ βρῶν διάγειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐτε φοβείται ὁ 
Τάνταλος μη ἀποθάνῃ· τῷ δὲ τυράννῳ 
ξόντι 
τούτῳ ξυμβέβηκεν ὁ ἐκείνω νεκρῷ λέγουσιν. 
56 ὁσοὶ μὲν οὖν μιᾶς 
γεγόνασι τύραννοι πόλεως ἢ χώρας ὅλης, τούτωι 5 οὐκ ἄδικωτον ἀπο-
δράντας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀλλαχόσε ποι καταφυ-
γόντας χιῳ· καποὶ οὐδεὶς ἄνδρα ἄγαπη τύραννον, 
ἀλλὰ μισοῦσι τε καὶ ὑποπτεύουσι καὶ 

βαδίως ἐκδιδόσαι τοὺς ἡδικημένους· ὅσοι δὲ 
pολλῶν πόλεων ἀρχουσι καὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀπείρον γῆς,

1 μεστὰ Morel: μετὰ. 2 φ'] αὐτὸν Dindorf: ἐπ'] αὐτὸν.
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do so in safety, and that plotting and treachery menace them on every side. Every one of them calls to mind the deaths of tyrants and all the conspiracies that have ever been formed against them; he imagines that they are all coming his way, and is as terror-stricken as if he were doomed to all those deaths; and he is always wanting to look on every side and to turn around, as though he might be struck from any quarter; but this is the very thing he may not do from shame and fear at once. For the more apparent the tyrant's fear, the more do men conspire against him through scorn of his cowardice. He lives, therefore, like one shut up in a narrow cell with swords hanging over his head and others, just touching the skin, fixed all about him. So closely indeed about the tyrant's soul as well as his body are the swords set that Tantalus in Hades has a far easier time of it, Tantalus, who is said

'to dread the rock that sways above his head.'  

Tantalus at least has no further dread of death, while the tyrant suffers in life that fate which men ascribe to Tantalus in the other world.

"Now for those who have made themselves tyrants of but a single city or a small country it is not impossible to flee from their realm and live in seclusion elsewhere—yet no one has any fondness for a tyrant, but only hatred and suspicion, and everyone is ready to surrender him to his victims—those, however, who rule over many cities and peoples and

1 From Euripides' Orestes, 6.
ὁσπερ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, τούτοις, οὐδ᾿ ἀν ποτὲ παραστῇ συνεών τῶν κακῶν καὶ θεῶν τις ἁφέλη τὴν ἄγνοιαν αὐτῶν, οὐ δύνατον ἐκφυ-57 γεῖν. δοκεῖ δὲ οὐδέποτε ἂν ἄσφαλῶς ζῆν, οὐδ᾿ εἰ χαλκοὺς ἢ σιδηροὺς γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἂν κατακοπεῖς ἢ κατακρονευθεῖς ἀπολέσθαι.

Εἰκαν μὲν οὖν τις αὐτῷ διαλέγεται θαρρῶν, ὁ δὲ ὀργίζεται καὶ δέδοικε τὴν παραρσιάν εἰς τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ θεραπεύων καὶ υποκατακλίνομενος, ὑποπτεύει τὴν θεραπείαν. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐλευθερίως προσερχομένων οἰς τε ὑβρίζεσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. καὶ λοιδορούμενος μὲν 2 πολλαπλασίως ἀνιάται ἢ ἄλλος, ὅτι δὴ τύραννος ὃν ἄκοιει 3 κακῶς ἐπαινούμενος δὲ οὐχ ἢδειαί οὐ γὰρ φρονοῦντας οὕτως οἰς θεραπεύει λέγειν. τοῦ δὲ καλλίστου καὶ λυσιτελεστάτου κτήματος ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἀπορώτατος εὐγείας καὶ φιλίας ἐλπίσαι οὐδέν 4 δύναται παρ᾽ οὖσιν ὑποτευθέασθαι καὶ προσερχομένου τοῦ ἀγρίους λέοντας οἱ τρέφοντες ἀγαπηθοῦσιν ἢ τοῦς τυράννους οἱ θεραπεύοντες καὶ προσερχομένους.

60 Ἐγὼ δὲ βαδίζω μὲν ὅποι βούλομαι, φησί, νύκτωρ, βαδίζω δὲ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν μόνον, θαρρῶ δὲ εἰ δέοι, καὶ διὰ στρατοπέδου πορευόμενος ἂνεῳ κηρυκεῖν καὶ διὰ ληστῶν οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐμοὶ πολέμιος οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶ βαδίζοντι. ἂν δὲ ἄπασι μὲν ἐκλίπῃ οἱ χρυσοί, ἄπασι δὲ ὁ ἄργυρος, ἄπασι δὲ ὁ χαλκός, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ βλαβεῖν οὐδὲ 61 μικρόν. ἐὰν δὲ ἄπασαι μὲν αἰ οἰκίας πέσωσιν

1 δὲ after τούτοις deleted by Capps.
2 μὲν added by Arnim.
3 ἀκοῦει. Dindorf: ἀκοῦει.
4 δὲ before οὐδὲ deleted by Wilamowitz.
over a boundless territory, as the Persian king does, cannot escape, even though they come to comprehend their evil plight and some god remove their ignorance from them. It seems, then, that the tyrant's life would never be safe, not even if he were to become bronze or iron, but that even then he would be destroyed by being broken to pieces or melted down.

"If you talk with him boldly, he is angered and fears your frankness; if you converse with him meekly and deferentially, he suspects your meekness. He feels that he is being insulted by those who treat him as an equal and deceived by those who are more obsequious. Censure, too, stings him far more than it does others because he, a sovereign, is spoken ill of; nor is he pleased with praise either, for he does not think that the speaker is sincere in his praise. Then, of the fairest and most useful of all treasures he has the greatest lack; for friendship and good-will he can expect from no one; nay, keepers of savage lions will love these brutes sooner than they who court and approach tyrants will love them.

"I, however," says Diogenes, "go by night whithersoever I will and travel by day unattended, and I am not afraid to go even through an army if need be, without the herald's staff, yea, and amid brigands; for I have no enemy, public or private, to block my way. If all the gold, all the silver, and all the copper should give out, that would not injure me in the least. And if an earthquake

\[5 \text{ of before } τοῦς \text{ deleted by Reiske.}\]
δό σεισμοῦ, καθάπερ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποτὲ, καὶ πάντα διαφθαρῆ τὰ πρόβατα, ὡς μηδένα ἐσθήτος εὐπορήσαι, μὴ μόνον δὲ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Βοιωτίαν καὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Θετταλίαν ἀπορία καταλάβῃ, ὡσπερ ἴδιῃ πρῶτορόν φασιν, οὐδὲν ἐγὼ χεῖρον οὔδὲ ἀπορώτερον βιώσομαι. παρὰ πόσον μὲν γὰρ ἔσομαι γυμνότερος τοῦ νῦν, πόσοι δὲ ἄιοικότερος; ἰκανὰ δὲ μοι τροφὴν παρασχεῖν καὶ μήλα καὶ κέγχροι καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὀροβοὶ καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα τῶν ὀσπρίων καὶ φηγός ὑπὸ τῇ τέφρᾳ καὶ ὁ τῆς κρανείας καρπός, ἡ φησιν ὁμηρος εὐωχεῖν τοὺς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐταίρους τὴν Κίρκην, ὑφ’ δὲν ἀντέχει τρεφόμενα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα θηρία.
lays all the houses low as happened once in Sparta,¹ and all the sheep are killed so that not a single man has wherewithal to clothe himself, and want overwhelms not only Attica but Boeotia as well and the Peloponnesus and Thessaly, as it is said to have done aforetime, I shall fare none the worse nor be the more destitute. For how much more naked shall I be than I am now, how much more homeless? I shall find all the food I need in apples, millet, barley, vetches, the cheapest of lentils, acorns roasted in the ashes, and cornel-berries, on which Homer² says Circe feasted Odysseus’ comrades and on which even the largest animals can subsist.”

¹ In 404 B.C. an earthquake is said to have killed 20,000 people and left only five houses standing in Sparta.
² Homer, Odyssey 10. 241–3.
THE SEVENTH OR EUBOEAN DISCOURSE

The seventh Discourse belongs to the later period of Dio's life, as the reference to himself as an old man and the style show. It seems to have been delivered in Rome.

This Discourse falls naturally into two parts: first, the story of the simple hunters in the wilds of Euboea—a very popular one that at an early period was separated from the rest of the Discourse—second, a description of the life Dio would have the poor lead in the cities and the difficulties they have to contend with, and, finally, of the social evils that should be remedied.

The portrayal of the conditions in the country and in the cities of his time is very instructive for the historian who would become acquainted with that period of history and gain some insight into the causes that led to the downfall of the Roman Empire.
7. ΕΤΒΟΙΚΟΣ Η ΚΤΝΗΓΟΣ

1 Τόδε μὴν αὐτὸς ἵδων, οὐ παρ' ἑτέρων ἀκούσας, διηγήσομαι. ἦσος γὰρ οὐ μόνον πρεσβυτικὸν πολυλογία καὶ τὸ μηδένα διωθείσθαι ῥαδίως τῶν ἐμπυπτόντων λόγων, πρὸς δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτικῷ τυχοῦ ἄν εἶν καὶ ἄλλητικῶν. αἰτίου δὲ, ὅτι πολλὰ τυχόν ἀμφότεροι πεπόθθασιν ὡς οὐκ ἀνὴρς μεμνημέναι. ἐρῶ δ' οὐδ' οἶος ἄνδράς καὶ ὄντων βίον ζῶσι συνέβαλον ἐν μέσῃ σχεδόν τι τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

2 Ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀπὸ Χίου περαιούμενος μετά τινων ἀλιέων ἐξὸ τῆς θερινῆς ἀρασὶ ἐν μικρῷ παντελῶς ἀκατίῳ. Χειμῶνος δὲ γενομένου χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις διεσώδημεν πρὸς τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὔβοιας· τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀκάτιον εἰς τραχὺν τινα αἰγιαλῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἐκβαλόντες διέφθειραν, αὐτὸι δὲ ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τινας πορφυρεῖς ὑφομοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ πλησίου χηλῇ, κύκεινοις

3 συνεργάζεσθαι διενοῦντο αὐτοῦ μένουτες. καταλείφθεις δὴ μόνος, οὐκ ἔχων εἰς τίνα πόλιν σωθήσομαι, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἄλλως ἐπιλανώ-

1 The dangerous east coast of the southern part of Euboea, so called because of the great inward bend made by the coastline. A part of the Persian fleet was destroyed there after the battle of Artemisium. See Herod. 8. 14, Strabo 10, p. 445.

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THE EUBOEAN DISCOURSE, OR
THE HUNTER

I shall now relate a personal experience of mine; not merely something I have heard from others. Perhaps, indeed, it is quite natural for an old man to be garrulous and reluctant to drop any subject that occurs to him, and possibly this is just as true of the wanderer as of the old man. The reason, I dare say, is that both have had many experiences that they find considerable pleasure in recalling. Anyhow I shall describe the character and manner of life of some people that I met in practically the centre of Greece.

It chanced that at the close of the summer season I was crossing from Chios with some fishermen in a very small boat, when such a storm arose that we had great difficulty in reaching the Hollows of Euboea\(^1\) in safety. The crew ran their boat up a rough beach under the cliffs, where it was wrecked, and then went off to a company of purple-fishers\(^2\) whose vessel was anchored in the shelter of the spur of rocks near by, and they planned to stay there and work along with them. So I was left alone, and not knowing of any town in which to seek shelter, I wandered aimlessly along the shore

\(^2\) Men who dredged up the shell-fish from which the purple dye was made.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μήν, εἴ πού τινας ἢ παραπλέοντας ἢ ὁρμοῦντας ἦδοιμι. προεληλυθὼς δὲ συχιὰν ἀνθρώπωσ μὲν οὐδένα ἑώρων ἐπιπνυχάνω δὲ ἐλάφῳ νεωστὶ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ πεπτωκότι παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν βαχίαν, ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων παλαιμένω, φυσῶντι ἑτὶ. καὶ μετ’ ὅλγον ἐδοξήν ὑλακῆς ἄκοψαι κυνών ἄνωθεν μόλις πως διὰ τὸν ἡχον τὸν ἥπω 4 τῆς βαλάτης. προελθὼν δὲ καὶ προβὰς πάνυ χαλεπῶς πρὸς τι ψηλὸν τοὺς τε κύνας ὥρῳ ἡπορμένους καὶ διαθέοντας, ὕφ’ ὅν εἰκάζων ἀποβιασθὲν τὸ ἕσον ἀλέσθαι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ μετ’ ὅλγον ἄνδρα, κυνηγήτην ἥπω τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς στολῆς, τὰ γενεῖα ὑγή κομῶντα οὐ φαύλῳς οὐδὲ ἀγευνὸς ἐξότισθεν, οἶους ἔπι Ἰλιου Ὀμήρος φησιν ἐλθεῖν Ἐυβοῖας, σκύπτουν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ καταγελῶν ὅτι τῶν ἀλλῶν Ἀχαιῶν καλῶς ἔχοντων οὔδε ἐξ ἡμίσους ἑκόμων.

5 Καὶ δεὶ ἄνηρωτα με, ἈΛΛ’ ἢ, ὦ ξείνε, τῇ δὲ ποὺ φεύγοντα ἐλαφον κατεύθυσας; καὶ ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν, Ἐκεῖνος, ἔφη, ἐν τῷ κλύδωνῃ ῥῆη καὶ ἀγαγὼν ἐδείξα. ἐλκύσας οὐν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς θαλάτης τὸ τῇ δήμῳ ἐξέδιπερ μαχαίρα, καὶ μῶν ἔπλησεν ἄνθρωπον ὅς οἰός τε ἤμι, καὶ τῶν σκελῶν ἀποτεμῶν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἐκόμιζεν ἀμα τῷ δέρματι. παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ μὲ συνακολουθεῖν καὶ συνεστία-

6 σθαί τῶν κρεῶν εἶναι δὲ οὐ μακρῶν τὴν οὐκησιν. ἔπειτα ἔσθεν παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἔφη, κοιμηθεῖς ήξεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν βαλάταν, ὡς τὰ γε νῦν οὐκ ἔστε πλώιμα, καὶ μὴ τούτο, εἰπε, φοβηθῆς. βουλοίμης δ’ ἂν

1 See Iliad 2. 536, 542. The Abantes mentioned by Homer were the ancient inhabitants of Euboea.
on the chance that I might find some boat sailing by or riding at anchor. I had gone on a considerable distance without seeing anybody when I chanced upon a deer that had just fallen over the cliff and lay in the wash of the breakers, lapped by the waves and still breathing. And soon I thought I heard the barking of dogs above, but not clearly, owing to the roar of the sea. On going forward and gaining an elevated position with great difficulty, I saw the dogs baffled, running to and fro, and inferred that their quarry, being hard pressed by them, had jumped over the cliff. Then, soon after, I saw a man, a hunter, to judge by his appearance and dress; he wore a beard on his healthy face, and not simply hair at the back of his head in mean and base fashion, as Homer says the Euboeans did when they went against Troy, mocking and ridiculing them, it seems to me, because, while the other Greeks there made a good appearance, they had hair on only half the head.

Now this man hailed me, saying, "Stranger, have you seen a deer running anywhere hereabouts?" And I replied, "Yonder it is this minute, in the surf," and I took him and showed it to him. So he dragged it out of the sea, ripped off the skin with his knife while I lent a helping hand as best I could. Then, after cutting off the hind quarters, he was about to carry them away along with the hide, when he invited me to come along and dine upon the venison with him, adding that his dwelling was not far away. "And then in the morning," he continued, "after you have rested with us, you shall come back to the sea, since the present is no weather for sailing. Yet do not worry about that,"
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἔγωγε καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας λήξαι τὸν ἀνεμον· ἀλλ' οὐ βραδιόν, εἶπεν, ὅταν οὖτως πιεσθῇ τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τῶν νεφῶν ὃς γε νῦν κατειλήμμενα ὁρᾶς. καὶ ἂμα ἤρωτα μὲ ὅποθεν δὴ καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖ κατηνέχθην, καὶ εἰ μὴ διεφθάρη τὸ πλοῖον. Μικρὸν ἦν παντελῶς, ἠφίη, ἀλλεών τινών περαιομένων, καίγω μόνον ξυνέπλεον ὑπὸ 7 σπουδῆς τινος. διεφθάρη δ' ὁμος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσόν. Οὐκοῦν βράδιον, ἠφή, ἀλλας· ὅρα γὰρ ὃς ἀγρία καὶ σκληρὰ τῆς νῆσου τὰ πρῶς τὸ πέλαγος. Ταῦτ', εἶπεν, ἐστὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας λεγόμενα, ὅπου κατενεχθεῖσα ἡδὺς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι σωθεῖν· σπανίως δὲ σφίζονται καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τινές, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ὅσπερ ὡμεῖς, ἑλάφροι παντελῶς πλέοντες. ἀλλ' ἵδι καὶ μηδὲν δείσης. νῦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀνακτήσῃ σαυτῶν εἰς αὐριον δὲ, ὃ τι ἄν ἦ δυνατον, ἐπιμελησόμεθα 8 ὅπως σωθῆς, ἐπειδὴ σε ἐγνωμεν ἁπαξ. δοκεῖς δὲ μοι τῶν ἀστικῶν εἶναι τίς, οὐ ναύτης οὐδ' ἐργάτης, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν τινα ἀσθενειαν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεὶν ἔοικας ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσχυρότητος.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἄσμενος ἰκολούθουν οὐ γὰρ ἐπι- βουλευθῆναι ποτε ἐδείσα, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἡ φαύλον 9 ἰμάτιον. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπειράθην ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς, ἀπε ἐν ἄλη συνεχεῖ, ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τότε, ὡς ἔστι πενία χρῆμα τῷ ὄντι ἵερον καὶ ἄσυλον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖ, πολὺ γε ἣττον ἢ τούς τὰ κηρύκεια ἔχον- 10 τας· ὡς δὴ καὶ τὸτε θαρρῶν εἰπόμην. ἦν ἡ δὲ 290
he continued, "I should be content to have the wind die down after full five days, but that is not likely when the peaks of the Euboean mountains are so capped with clouds as you see them now." And at the same time he asked me whence I came, how I had landed there, and whether the boat had not been wrecked. "It was a very small one," I replied, "belonging to some fishermen who were crossing over, and I, their only passenger, sailed with them on urgent business, but all the same it ran aground and was wrecked." "Well, it could not easily have been otherwise," he replied; "for see, how wild and rugged the part of the island is that faces the sea. These are what they call the Hollows of Euboea, where a ship is doomed if it is driven ashore, and rarely are any of those aboard saved either, unless, of course, like you they sail in a very light craft. But come and have no fear. To-day you shall rest after your trying experience, but to-morrow we shall do our best to get you out safely, now that we have come to know you. You look to me like a man from the city, not a sailor or worker on the land, nay, you seem to be suffering from some grievous infirmity of body, to judge by your leanness."

I followed him gladly without fear of any treachery, since I had nothing but a shabby cloak. Now I had often found in other situations like this—for I was continually roaming about—and I certainly did in this one, that poverty is in reality a sacred and inviolable thing and no one wrongs you; yes, much less than they wrong those who carry the herald's wand.

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1 πολλὴν Arnim: ἄλλην.
2 ἄρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἢ παῦλον ἵματον before ἦν deleted by Reiske.
σχεδόν τι περὶ τετταράκοντα στάδια πρὸς τὸ χωρίον.

Ως οὖν εὐθαδίξομεν, διηγεῖτο μοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα καὶ τὸν βίον ὃν ἔζη μετὰ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παῖδων. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ, ἐφε, δύο ἐσμέν, ὃ ξένε, τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκούντες τοῦτον. ἔχομεν δὲ γυναικὰς ἀλλήλων ἀδελφάς καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῶν νίοις καὶ θυγατέρας.

11 ξόμεν δὲ ἀπὸ θήρας ὡς τὸ πολὺ, μικρὸν τι τῆς γῆς ἐπεργαζόμενοι. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐκ ἐστιν ἡμέτερον οὐτε πατρὸν οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἂν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἔλευθεροι μὲν, πένθησις δὲ οὐχ ἢττον ἡμῶν, μικρὸν βουκόλου, βοῦς νέμοντες ἀνδρὸς μακάριον τοῦ ἐνθέον τινὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου, πολλὰς μὲν ἁγέλας καὶ ὑππων καὶ βοῶν κεκτημένου, πολλὰς δὲ ποίμνας, πολλούς δὲ καὶ καλούς ἁγροὺς, πολλὰ δὲ ἀλλα πρᾶσμα, ξύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ὁριστικὰ δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῆς οὐσίας δημιουργίας, μικρὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τὰ πρᾶσμα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως—τὴν μὲν ἁγέλην εὐθὺς ἀπήλασαν ὡστε κατακόπτατα, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἁγέλη καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀκτα βοῶν, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν οὐδεὶς ἀποδέδωκε. τότε μὲν δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτοῦ κατεμείναμεν, οὔτε ἐτύχομεν τὰς βοῦς ἐχοντες καὶ τίνας σκηνὰς πεποιημένου καὶ αὐλὴν διὰ ξύλων οὐ μεγάλην οὐδὲ ἵσχυραν, μόσχον ἕνεκεν, ὡς ἄν οἴμαι πρὸς αὐτὸ που τὸ θέρος, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνος ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐνέργειας νομὴν ἰκανῆν ἐχοντες καὶ πολὺν χιλὸν ἀποκείμενου τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἀπηλαύνομεν εἰς τὰ

1 So Dindorf: καλούς δὲ καὶ πολλούς.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

And so I followed without misgiving on this occasion. And it was about five miles to his place.

As we proceeded on our way he told me of his circumstances and how he lived with his wife and children. "There are two of us, stranger," he said, "who live in the same place. Each is married to a sister of the other, and we have children by them, sons and daughters. We live by the chase for the most part and work but a small bit of land. You see, the place does not belong to us: we did not inherit it or get it by our own efforts. Our fathers, though free, were just as poor as we are—hired herdsmen tending the cattle of a wealthy man, one of the residents of the island here, a man who owned many droves of horses and cattle, many flocks, many good fields too and many other possessions together with all these hills. Now when he died and his property was confiscated—they say he was put to death by the emperor[1] for his wealth—they at once drove off his stock to be butchered, and in addition to his stock our own few cattle, and, as for our wages, no one has ever paid them. At that time, then, we[2] stayed of necessity at the place where we happened to have had our cattle and had built certain huts and an enclosure of palings for the calves, not very large or strong—just what would do for the summer, I suppose; for in the winter we grazed our cattle in the flat lands, where we had plenty of pasturage and a good deal of hay put up; but in the summer we would drive them into

[2] The word "we" refers to the two herdsmen left behind after the confiscation, and their families, of one of which the speaker was a member.
καὶ πρὶ, συνιστάμενοι ὑλάκτουν τε καὶ ἡμύνον, ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ πρὸς ἀνθρωπον ἐμάχοντο. γενόμενοι δὲ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ συών καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ τῶν κρεών πολλάκις ἑσθῆντες, ὡστε μεταμανθάνοντες κρέασιν ἀντὶ μάζης ἢδεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἐμπυπλάμενοι εἴ ποτε ἀλοίη τι, ὡστε δὲ μὴ, πεινῶντες, μᾶλλον ἤδη τῷ τοιούτῳ προσεῖχον καὶ τὸ φανόμενον ἐδίωκον πᾶν ὀμοίως, καὶ ὁμοῖα ἁμηγέτη καὶ ἑχνος ἥσθάνοντο, καὶ ἀπέβησαν ἀντὶ Βουκόλων τοιοῦτοι τινες ὑψιμαθεῖς καὶ βραδύτεροι θηρευ- ταί.

18 Χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπελθόντος ἐργὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἦν πεφηνὸς αὐτοῖς οὔτε εἰς ἄστιν καταβάσιν οὔτε εἰς κάμην τινά· φραζάμενοι δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπιμελέστερον καὶ τὴν αὐλήν πυκνοτέραν ποιήσαντες, οὕτως διεγένετο, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο πᾶν εἰργάσαντο, καὶ τῆς θήρας ἡ χειμερινὴ ράων ἐγύγνετο. τὰ γὰρ ἴχνη φανερότερα, ὡς ἂν ἐν ύγρῷ τῷ ἐδάφει σημαινόμενα· ἡ δὲ χιων καὶ πάνω τηλανγῇ παρέχει, ὡστε οὐδὲν δει ζητοῦντα πράγματα ἔχειν, ὡσπερ ὁδὸν φεροῦση ἐπὶ αὐτά, καὶ τὰ θηρία μᾶλλον τι υπομένει ὁκνοῦντα· ἐστι δὲ ἐτι καὶ λαγώς καὶ δορκάδας ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς

19 καταλαμβάνειν. οὕτως δὴ τὸ ἅπτ᾽ ἐκείνον διε- μισχόν, οὐδὲν ἐτί προσδεηθέντες ἄλλου βίου. καὶ ἡμῖν συνεξεύξαν γυναίκας τοὺς ἄλληλων νίεισιν ἐκάτερος τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα. τεθυσκασι δὲ ἀμφότεροι πέρυσι σχεδόν, τὰ μὲν ἔτη πολλὰ λέγοντες 2 ἀ βεβιώκεσαν, ἵσχυον δὲ ἐτὶ καὶ νέοι καὶ γενναίοι τὰ σώματα. τῶν δὲ μητέρων ἡ ἐμὴ περίεστιν.

2 σιτον after τι, deleted by Emperius.
late, they would rally to the attack, barking and fending him off, as if they were fighting a man. And so, from tasting the blood of boars and deer and often eating their flesh, they changed their habits late in life and learned to like meat instead of barley-bread, gorging themselves with it whenever any game was caught and going hungry otherwise, till they finally gave more attention to the chase, pursued with equal zest every animal they sighted, began to pick up the scent and trails in some way or other, and thus changed from shepherd dogs into a sort of late-trained and rather slow hunting dogs.

"Then when winter came on, there was no work in sight for the men whether they came down to town or to a village. So after making their huts tighter and the yard fence closer, they managed to get along and worked the whole of that plot, and the winter hunting proved easier. The tracks were naturally clearer, because printed on the damp ground, and the snow made them visible at a great distance, so that there was no need of a troublesome search, since a high-road, as it were, led to them, and the quarry was sluggish and waited longer. It is possible, besides, to catch hares and gazelles in their lairs. In this way, then, our fathers lived from that time on, no longer having any desire for a different kind of life. And they married us their sons to wives, each giving his own daughter. The two old men died about a year ago, counting the many years they had lived, but being still strong and youthful and vigorous of body. Of the mothers mine is yet living.
21 Ὡ μὲν οὖν ἔτερος ἦμῶν οὐδεπότε ἐις πόλιν κατέβη, πεντηκοντα ἔτη γεγονός· ἔγω δὲ δὴ διὸς μόνον, ἀπαξ μὲν ἔτε παῖς μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁπωρίκα τὴν ἄγελθην εἴχομεν ὡστερον δὲ ἤκε τις ἀργύριου αἰτῶν, ὡστερ ἐχοντάς τι, κελεύων ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἦμῖν δὲ ἀργύριον μεν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἀπωμοσάμην μὴ ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μη, 22 δεδωκέναι ἄν. ἐξενίσαμεν δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ἡδυνάμεθα κάλλιστα· καὶ δύο ἐλάφεια δέρματα ἐδόκαμεν· κάρη ἠκολουθησα εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔφη γὰρ ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὸν ἔτερον ἐλθεῖν καὶ διδάξαι περὶ τούτων.

Εἷδον οὖν, οἷα καὶ πρώτων, οἰκίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας καὶ τεῖχος ἔξωθεν καρτερὸν καὶ οἰκήματα τίνα ύψηλα καὶ τετράγωνα ἐν τῷ τείχει, καὶ πλοία πολλά ὀρμοῦντα 23 ὡσπερ ἐν λίμνῃ· κατὰ πολλήν ἡσυχίαν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμόν ὅπου κατηνέχθης· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἳ νής ἀπόλλυνται, τάστα ὡσπερ ἐωρῶν καὶ πολὺν ὀχλον ἐν ταῦτῳ· συνειργήμενον καὶ θόρυβον ἀμήχανον καὶ κραυγήν, ὡστε ἐμὸν ἐδόκουν πάντες μάχεσθαι ἀλλήλοις. ἤγει οὖν μὲ πρὸς τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ εἰπε τελῶν, Οὕτως ἐστιν ἐφ᾽ ὑμι λείψασθε. ἔχει δὲ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ γε τὴν κόμην καὶ σκηνὴν μᾶλα ἰσχυρῶν ἔλλων.

24 οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐβάδιζον, κἂν ὡς σὺν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ θέατρον ἐστιν ὡσπερ φάραγξ κοῦλον, πλην οὐ μακρὸν ἐκατέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ στρογ-γύλον ἐξ ἡμίσους, οὖν αὐτόματον, ἀλλὰ ἄκοδομη-  

1 κάλλιστα Dindorf: μάλιστα.  
2 τοὺς πάργους after τείχει deleted by Geel.  
3 ἐν τῷ λίμνῃ after λίμνῃ deleted by Cobet.
Now the other one of us has never yet been to town, though he is fifty years old, and I only twice—once when I was still a boy, with my father, when we had the cattle; and later on a man came demanding money, under the impression that we had some, and bade us follow him to the city. Now we had no money and swore on oath that we had not, adding that otherwise we would have given it. We entertained him as best we could and gave him two deer-skins, and I followed him to the city; for he said it was necessary for one of us to go and explain this matter.

Now, as on my former trip, I saw many large houses and a strong surrounding wall with a number of lofty square structures on the wall and many boats lying in complete calm at anchor in a lake as it were. There is nothing like that anywhere here where you put in, and that is why the ships are wrecked. Now that is what I saw, and a big crowd herded in together and a tremendous uproar and shouting, so that I thought they were all fighting with one another. Well, he brought me before certain magistrates and said with a laugh, ‘This is the man you sent me for. He has nothing but his long hair and a hut of very strong timber.’ Then the officials went into the theatre and I with them. The theatre is hollow like a ravine, except that it is not long in two directions but semi-circular, and not natural but built of stone. But

1 Carystus or Chalcis is thought of. 2 i.e. towers. 3 Theatres were common all over Greece, and public meetings were generally held in them. Cf. Acts 19, 29 f.

α ταύτα Reiske: ταύτα.
μένον λίθοις. ἦσος δὲ μοι καταγελᾶς ὅτι σοι διηγοῦμαι σαφῶς εἰδότι ταῦτα.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολύν τινα χρόνον ἄλλα τινά ἐπραττεν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἐβόων ποτὲ μὲν πρῶς καὶ ἑλαροὶ πάντες, ἑπαυνοῦντες τινας, ποτὲ δὲ σφόδρα καὶ ὀργίλως. ἢ τυν δὲ τούτῳ χαλέπιν τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐθὺς ἐξεπλήττον οἷς ἀνέκραγον, ὅστε οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν περιτρέχοντες ἔδεοντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἰμάτια ἔρρυπτον ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαξ ὀλόγον κατέπεσον ὑπὸ τῆς κραυγῆς, ὡσπερ κλύδωνος ἐξαιρήσης ἡ βροντής ἐπιρραγείσης. ἀλλοι δὲ τινὲς ἀνθρώπους παρίστητε, οἱ δὲ ἐκ μέσων ἀνιστά-μενοι, διελέγοντο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ὄλγα ῥήματα, οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς λόγους. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡκούν πολύν τινα χρόνου, τοῖς δὲ ἐχαλέπαινων εὐθὺς φθεγξαμένῳ καὶ οὐδὲ γρύζειν ἐπέτρεπον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καθέστασάν ποτε καὶ ἡσυχία ἐγένετο, παρίστησαν κἀμε. καὶ ἐπὶ τις, Οὐς ἔστιν, ὡς ἄνδρες, τῶν καρπουμένων τὴν ἰδιοσκίαν γῆν πολλὰ ἔτη οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἄλλα καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, καὶ κατανέμοντι τὰ ἡμέτερα ὅρη καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ θηρεύουσι καὶ ὄικιας ἑωρκοδο-μήκας πολλὰς καὶ ἀμπέλους ἐμπεφυτεύκασι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὰ οὔτε τιμῆν κατα-βαλόντες οὐδὲνι τῆς γῆς οὔτε δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες. ὑπὲρ τίνος γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἐλαβοῦν; ἔχουσι δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ πλουτοῦντες οὔτε
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perhaps you are laughing at me for telling you what you know perfectly well.

"Now at first the crowd deliberated on other matters for a considerable while, and they kept up a shouting, at one time in gentle fashion and all of them in cheerful mood, as they applauded certain speakers, but at other times with vehemence and in wrath. This wrath of theirs was something terrible, and they at once frightened the men against whom they raised their voices, so that some of them ran about begging for mercy, while others threw off their cloaks through fear. I too myself was once almost knocked over by the shouting, as though a tidal wave or thunder-storm had suddenly broken over me. And other men would come forward, or stand up where they were, and address the multitude, sometimes using a few words, at other times making long speeches. To some of these they would listen for quite a long time, but at others they were angry as soon as they opened their mouths, and they would not let them so much as speak.

"But when they finally settled down and there was quiet, they brought me forward. And someone cried out, 'This man, sirs, is one of the fellows who have been enjoying the use of our public land for many years, and not only he but his father before him. They graze their cattle on our mountains, farm and hunt, have built many houses, have set out vines, and enjoy many other advantages without paying rent to anybody for the land or ever having received it from the people as a gift. For what, pray, would they ever have received it? And though they occupy what is ours and are wealthy, yet they have
Λειτουργίαν πώποτε ἑλειτουργηθαν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε μοιράν τινα ὑποτελοῦσι τῶν γυνομένων, ἀλλ' ἀτελείς καὶ ἀλειτουργητοὶ διατελοῦσιν, ὡσπερ εὐφράζεται τῆς πόλεως. οἴμαι δὲ, ἐφη, μηδὲν ἐληλυθέναι πώποτε αὐτοὺς ἐνθάδε. κἂνώ ἀνένευσα. ὅ δὲ ὁχλος ἐγέλασεν ὡς εἰδε. καὶ ὁ λέγων ἐκείνος ἁργίσθη ἐπὶ τῷ γέλωτι καὶ μοι ἐλοιδορέιτο. ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέψας, Ἐι οὖν, ἐφη, δοκεῖτάρτα ὁμώς, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ἀπαντή τὰ κοινὰ διαρπάζαντες, οἱ μὲν τὰ χρήματα τῆς πόλεως, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν ποιοῦσι τινες, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψῃ τοὺς θηρίοις τούτοις προῖκα ἔχειν πλέον ἡ χίλια πλέθρα γῆς τῆς ἀρίστης, οἶδεν ὡμίν ἐστὶ τρεῖς χοίνικας Ἀττικᾶς σίτου λαμβάνειν κατ' ἄνδρα.

'Εγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐγέλασα ὅσον ἐδυνάμη μέγιστον. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκέτι ἐγέλαω, ὡσπερ πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν. ὁ δὲ ἀνδρώτπος ἐχαλέπαινε καὶ δεινῶν ἐμβλέψας εἰς ἐμὲ εἶπεν, ὦ ὁ ὁμείρων, καὶ τὴν ὑβρίν τοῦ καθάρματος, ὡς καταγελᾷ πάνυ θρασείως; ἥν ἀπάγειν διέγον δέω καὶ τὸν κοινοῦν αὐτοῦ. πυθάνουμαι γὰρ δύο εἶναι τοὺς κορυφαῖους τῶν κατειληφότων ἀπασάν σχεδὸν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσί 31 χώραν. οἴμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μηδὲ τῶν ναναγλών

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never performed any public service, nor do they pay any tax on what they make, but live free from taxes and public services as though they were benefactors of the city. Yes, and I believe,' he continued, 'that they have never come here before.' I shook my head,¹ and the crowd laughed when they saw. This laughing enraged the speaker and he abused me roundly. Then turning toward the audience once more, he said, 'Well, then, if these doings meet with your approval, we had all better lose no time in looting the public property, some of us taking the city's money, just as certain individuals are even now doing, no doubt, and others squatting upon the land without your consent, if you are going to let these backwoodsmen hold without payment more than 250 acres of the best land, from which you might get three Attic measures² of grain per head.'

"When I heard this, I laughed as loud as I could. The crowd, however, did not laugh as before but became very noisy, while the fellow grew angry, and giving me a fierce look, said, 'Do you see the deceitfulness and impudence of the scamp and how insolently he mocks me? I have a mind to have him and his partner dragged off to prison; for I understand that there are two ringleaders of this gang that has seized practically all the land in the mountains. Yes, and I do not believe they keep

¹ Literally, "threw my head up (or back)." With the Greeks this indicated denial or dissent just as shaking the head does with us.
² The Attic measure or choinix was nearly a quart.
ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐκάστοτε ἐκπιπτόντων, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶς σχεδὸν τι τὰς Καφηρίδας οἰκούντας. πόθεν γὰρ οὕτως πολυτελεῖς ἄγροις, μάλλον δὲ ὅλας κόμας κατασκευάσαντο καὶ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος βοσκημάτων καὶ ξεύγη καὶ ἀνδράποδα; 32 καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσως ὁρᾶτε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξωμίδα ὡς φαύλη καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὅ εἰλήθη τεῦχο ἐναψάμενος τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνεκεν ἀπάτης, ὡς πτωχὸς δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχον. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ἐφῇ, βλέπων αὐτὸν μικρὸν δέδοικα, ὡσπερ οἴμαι τὸν Ναύπλιον ὅρων ἀπὸ τοῦ Καφηρέως ἰκοντα. καὶ γὰρ οἴμαι πυρσεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρων τοῖς πλέουσιν 33 ὅπως ἐκπιπτοσίων εἰς τὰς πέτρας. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκεῖνον λέγοντος καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτους, ὁ μὲν ὄχλος ἄρρωτον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἦπορον καὶ ἐδεδοίκειν μὴ τί μὲ εἰρήκασωνται κακῶν.

Παρελθὼν δὲ ἀλλος τοις, ὁς ἐφαινετο, ἐπιεικῆς ἀνθρωπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων οὗς εἶπε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, πρώτον μὲν ἥξιον σιωπᾷ ποτὲ πλῆθος· καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ἐπειτα εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ πρῶς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν οἱ τὴν ἀργὴν τῆς χώρας ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ κατασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ 34 τοῦναντίον ἐπαίνον δικαίως ἀν τυγχάνοιει· καὶ δεῖ μὴ τοῖς οἰκοδομοῦσι καὶ φυτεύοσι τὴν δημοσίαν ὡς χαλεπὸς ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καταφθείροσιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν, ἐφῇ, ὁ ἄνδρες, σχεδὸν τι τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς χώρας ἠμῶν ἔρημα· 1 ἔστι δὲ ἀμέλειαν τε δι' καὶ ὀλυγαθρωπίαν. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ κέκτημαι

1 ἔρημα Pflugk: ὅρεινα.
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their hands off the wrecks that are cast up from time to time, living as they do almost above the rocks off Cape Caphereus.\textsuperscript{1} Where, otherwise, did they get such valuable fields, nay, rather, entire villages, and such numbers of cattle and draught animals and slaves? Perhaps, too, you note how poor his blouse is and the skin he put on to come here in order to deceive you with the notion that he is evidently a beggar and has nothing. For my part, said he, when I look at him, I am almost frightened, as I fancy I should be if I saw Nautilus\textsuperscript{2} come from Caphereus. I believe he flashes mariners a signal from the heights so as to decoy them on to the rocks.' While he said this and much more besides, the crowd grew ugly, while I was sore perplexed and afraid they might do me some mischief.

"Then another person came forward, a good kindly man, to judge from the words he spoke and from his appearance. He first asked the people to be silent, and they became silent, and then in a quiet tone he said that they who tilled the country's idle land and got it into shape did no wrong, but, on the contrary, deserved commendation. They should not be angry at those who built upon public land and planted trees upon it, but at those who injured it. "At this moment, sirs," he said, "almost two-thirds of our land is a wilderness because of neglect and lack of population. I too own many acres, as I imagine

\textsuperscript{1} A rocky dangerous promontory at the south-east corner of Euboea.

\textsuperscript{2} King of Euboea. In revenge for the death of his son Palamedes at Troy through the treachery of Odysseus, he lighted beacon fires on the promontory as the Greeks were returning and lured many of their ships to destruction.
πλέθρα, ὡσπερ οἴμαι καὶ ἄλλος τίς, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὑδέσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, ἂ εἰ τις ἔθελοι γεωργεῖν, οὐ μόνον ἀληθικά δοίην, ἀλλὰ 35 καὶ ἀργύριον ἡδέως προστελέσαμι. δήλον γὰρ ὡς ἐμοὶ πλέονος ἀξία γίγνεται, καὶ ἄμα ἡδονή ὁραμα χώρα οἰκουμένη καὶ ἐνεργός· ἢ ἐρημος οὐ μόνον ἀνωφελεῖς κτήμα τοῖς ἔχονσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐλεεινόν τε καὶ δυστυχίαν τινὰ κατηγο- 36 ροῦ τῶν δεσποτῶν. ὡστε μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἐτέρους προτρέπειν, ὅσους ἀν δύνησθε τῶν πολι- τῶν, ἐργάζεσθαι τῆς δημοσίας γῆς ἀπολαβόντας, τοὺς μὲν ἀφορμὴν τινὰ ἔχοντας πλείων, τοὺς δὲ πένητας, ὅσην ἀν ἐκαστός ἤ δυνατός, ἵνα ὑμῖν ἢ τε χώρα ἐνεργός ἢ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ θέλοντες δύο τῶν μεγίστων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν, ἀργίας 37 καὶ πενίας. ἐπὶ δέκα μὲν ὅπως ἐτη προῖκα ἔχοντων μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων ταξάμενοι μοῖραν ὀλίγην παρεχέτωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν βοσκημάτων μηδὲν. εἰς δὲ τις ἔνος γεωργῆ, πέντε ἐτη καὶ οὕτως μηδὲν ὑποτε- λοῦσθων, ὑστερον δὲ διπλάσιον ἢ οἱ πολῖται. 38 δὲ ἂν ἐξεργάσηται τῶν ἔνων διακόσια πλέθρα, πολέτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστοι ὅσων οἱ προθυμοῦμενοι.
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some others do, not only in the mountains but also on the plains, and if anybody would till them, I should not only give him the chance for nothing but gladly pay money besides. For it is plain that they become more valuable to me, and at the same time the sight of land occupied and under cultivation is a pleasing one, while waste lands are not only a useless possession to those who hold them, but very distressing evidence of some misfortune of their owners. Wherefore, I advise you rather to encourage all the other citizens you can to take some of the public land and work it, those who have some capital taking more, and the poorer citizens as much as each is able to handle, that your land may be in use, and the citizens who accept may be free from two very great evils—idleness and poverty. So let these men have it free for ten years, and after that period let them agree to pay a small portion from their produce but nothing from their cattle. If any alien takes up land, let him likewise pay nothing for the first five years, but after that twice as much as the citizens. And let any alien who shall put fifty acres under cultivation be made a citizen, in order to encourage as many as possible.

"At the present moment even the land just outside the city gates is quite wild and terribly unattractive, as though it were in the depths of a wilderness and not in the suburbs of a city, while most of the land inside the walls is sown or grazed. It is therefore surprising that orators trump up charges against the industrious people of Caphereus in the remote parts of Euboea, and yet hold that the men farming the gymnasium and grazing cattle in
τας καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κατανέμοντας οὐδὲν οἴονται 39 ποιεῖν δεινόν. βλέπετε γὰρ αὐτὸν διήπουθεν ὅτι
tὸ γυμνάσιον ὑμῖν ἄροιραν πεποιήκασιν, ὡστε
tὸν Ἰρακλέα καὶ ἄλλους ἀνδριάντας συχνοὺς
ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἀποκεκρύφθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἥρων, τοὺς
dὲ θεῶν καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος
τοῦτον πρόβατα ἐσθεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐμβάλλει
καὶ κατανέμεται τα 1 περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ
tὰ ἄρχεια. ὡστε τοὺς πρῶτον 2 ἐπιδημιῆσαντας
ξένους τοὺς μὲν καταγελάν τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς
dὲ οἰκτείρειν αὐτῶν. πάλιν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες
ἀργύζοντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐθορύβουν.

40 Καὶ τοιαύτα ποιῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἱδιώτας
οἴεται δεῖν ἀπαγαγεῖν, ἵνα δὴλον ὅτι μηδεὶς
ἔργαζεται τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔξω ληστεύ-
ωσιν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει λωποδυτῶσιν. ἔμοι δὲ,
ἐφη, δοκεῖ τούτους ἕαν ἐφ' οίς αὐτοί πεποιήκασιν,
ὑποτελοῦντας τὸ λοιπὸν ὃσον μέτριον, περὶ δὲ
tῶν ἐμπροσθεν προσόδων συγγυνώναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι
ἐρήμου καὶ ἀχρείων γεωργήσαντες τὴν γῆν κατε-
λάβουσο. ἕαν δὲ τίμην θέλωσι καταβαλεῖν τοῦ
χωρίου, ἀποδόσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐλάττονος ἢ ἄλλους.

41 Εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτα, πάλιν ὃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ἐκεῖνος ἀντέλεγεν, καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο ἐπὶ πολύ.
tέλος δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκέλευον ἐιπεῖν ὅτι βουλόμαι.
Καὶ τί με, ἐφην, δεῖ λέγειν; Πρὸς τὰ εἰρή-
μένα, εἰπὲ τις τῶν καθημένων. Οὐκούν λέγοι,
ἐφη, ὅτι οὐθὲν ἀληθές ἐστιν ὃν εἴρηκεν. ἔγω

1 τὰ added by Reiske. 2 πρῶτον Selden: πρῶτουs.
the market-place are doing nothing out of the way. You can doubtless see for yourselves that they have made your gymnasium into a ploughed field, so that the Heracles and numerous other statues are hidden by the corn, some those of heroes and others those of gods. You see too, day after day, the sheep belonging to this orator invade the market-place at dawn and graze about the council chamber and the executive buildings. Therefore, when strangers first come to our city, they either laugh at it or pity it.' Now on hearing this they burst into a rage against that first speaker in his turn and made a great uproar.

"Yet though the accuser does such things, he thinks that humble and needy citizens ought to be haled off to prison, so that no one, forsooth, may do any work hereafter, but that those outside the city may live by brigandage and those within by thievery. I move,' he continued, 'that we leave these men in possession of what they themselves have created, provided they pay a moderate tax hereafter, and that we cancel all arrears to date, since they tilled land that had been wild and valueless and gained possession in that way. If, however, they wish to pay a price for their farm, let us sell to them at a cheaper figure than to anybody else.'

"When he had thus concluded, that first speaker again spoke in reply, and the two stormed at each other for a long time. But finally I was bidden to say whatever I wished.

"And what ought I to say? ' I asked. 'Reply to what has been said,' cried one from his seat. 'Well then, I declare,' said I, 'that there is not one word of truth in what he has said. And as for
μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐνύπνια ἡμιν, ἡφη, ὅραν, ἀγροὺς καὶ κόμας καὶ τοιαύτα φλυαροῦντος. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε κόμην ἔχομεν οὔτε ᾑπποὺς οὔτε ὄνους οὔτε βοῦς. εἴθε γὰρ ἦν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς ὅσα οὔτος ἔλεγεν ἀγαθά, ἦν καὶ ὑμῖν ἐδώκαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μοναρχῶν ἦμεν. καὶ τὰ υἱὸν δὲ ὄντα ἦμῖν ἰκανά ἔστιν, ἐξ ὅν εἰ τι βουλεύσατε λάβετε κἂν πάντα ἐθέλητε, ἡμεῖς ἐτερα κτησόμεθα. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπήρεσαν.

43 Ἐντα ἐπηρώτα με ὃ ἄρχων τὸ δυνησόμεθα δοῦναι τῷ ὅμω; κἄγω, Τέσσαρα, ἡφη, ἐλάφεια δέρματα πάνυ καλά. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγέλασαν. ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἡγανάκτησε πρὸς με. Τὰ γὰρ ἄρκεια, ἡφη, σκληρά ἔστιν καὶ τὰ τράγεια οὔκ ἄξια τούτων, ἀλλὰ δὲ παλαιά, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ αὐτῶν εἰ δὲ βουλεύσει, κάκεινα λάβετε. πάλιν οὖν ἡγανάκτει καὶ ἡφη μὲ ἀγροικὸν εἶναι παντελῶς. κἄγω, Πάλιν, εἶπον, αὐ καὶ σὺ ἄγρους λέγεις; οὔκ ἄκοιεις ὅτι ἄγρους οὔκ ἔχομεν;

44 ο δὲ ἡρώτα με εἰ τάλαντον ἐκάτερος Ἀττικὸν δοῦναι θέλουμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον, Οὐχ ἠσταμεν τὰ κρέα ἡμεῖς· ἡ δὲ ἦν ζίζομεν. ἐστὶ δὲ ὅλγα ἐν ἅλσί, τάλλα δὲ ἐν τῷ καπνῷ ἕπρα, ὦ πολυ ἐκείων χείρω, σκελίδες ὅπες καὶ ἐλάφειοι καὶ ἀλλὰ γενναία κρέα. ἐπιτάθα δὴ ἐθρόβουν καὶ ἰτεύδεσθαί με ἐφασαν. ο δὲ ἡρώτα με εἰ σῶν ἔχομεν καὶ πόσον τινά. εἰπον τὸν ὄντα ἄληθως·

1 ἀγροῖκοι here really means clownish or boorish, but landlisper (tramp) is used to translate it in an attempt to preserve the pun in the Greek.
me, sirs,' I continued, 'I thought I was dreaming when he prated about fields and villages and such like. We have no village or horses or asses or cattle. I wish we might possess all the good things he described, that we might not only have given to you but might also belong to the wealthy class ourselves! Yet what we even now have is sufficient for us, and do you take whatever you wish of it. Even if you want all, we shall replace it.' At these words they applauded.

'Thereupon the magistrate asked me what we would be able to give to the people, to which I replied, 'Four deer pelts of excellent quality.' Here the majority laughed and the magistrate was vexed at me. 'That is because the bear skins are rough,' I continued, 'and the goat skins are not as good as they. Some are old and some are small. But take these too, if you wish.' Then he was vexed once more and said that I was a downright land-loper,\(^1\) and I replied, 'Do I again hear mention of lands, and from you? Did I not tell you that we have no lands?'

'He asked next whether we would agree each to give an Attic talent,\(^2\) and I replied, 'We do not weigh our meat, but we will give whatever we have. There is a little salted down, but the rest is smoked and not much inferior to the other. There are sides of bacon and venison and other excellent meats.' Then they did raise an uproar and called me a liar. The man also asked me if we had any grain and about how much. I told him the exact amount.

\(^1\) The speaker referred to the silver money talent worth somewhat more than £200 ($1000). The countryman knew the talent only as a weight, about 85 pounds at that time.
Δύο, ἐφην, μεδίμνους πυρῶν καὶ τέτταρας κριθῶν καὶ τοσσούτους κέγχρων, κυάμων δὲ ἡμίεκτον· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῆτες. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πυρῶν καὶ τὰς κριθὰς, ἐφην, ὡμεῖς λάβετε, τὰς δὲ κέγχρους ἦμῖν ἄφετε. εἰ δὲ κέγχρους δεῖσθε, καὶ ταῦτας λάβετε.

46 Οὐδὲ οἶνον ποιεῖτε; ἄλλος τις ἡρώτησεν. Ποιοῦμεν, εἶπον. ἂν οὖν τις ὑμῶν ἀφίκηται, δώσομεν· ὅπως δὲ ἦξει φέρων ἁσκόν τινα· ὡμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν. Πόσας γὰρ τινὲς εἶσιν ὑμῖν ἁμπελοὶ; Δύο μὲν, ἐφην, αἱ πρὸ τῶν πυρῶν, ἔσο δὲ τῆς αὐλῆς εἰκοῦς καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πέραν ἃς ἐναγχος ἐφυτεύσαμεν, ἐτεραι τοσαυτάς εἰσι δὲ γενναῖαι σφόδρα καὶ τοὺς βότρυς φέρουσι μεγάλους, ὅταν οἱ παριώντες ἐπαφῶσιν αὐτούς.

47 Ἰνα δὲ μὴ πράγματα ἔχητε καθ’ ἑκαστὸν ἔρωτόντες, ἔρω καὶ τάλλα ἄ ἑστιν ἡμῖν. αἵγες ὀκτὼ θήλειαι, βοῦς κολοβή, μοσχάριον ἐξ αὐτῆς πάνω καλῶν, δρέπανα τέτταρα, δίκελλαι τέτταρες, λόγχαι τρεῖς, μάχαιραν ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος κέκτηται πρὸς τὰ θηρία. τὰ δὲ κεράμια σκεῦσι τί ἂν λέγων τις; καὶ γυναῖκες ἦμῖν εἰσί καὶ τούτων τέκνα· οἴκούμεν δὲ ἐν δυσὶ σκηναῖς καλαίς· καὶ τρίτην ἔχομεν οὐ κεῖται τὸ σιτάριον καὶ τὰ δέρματα.

48 Νῆ Δία, εἰπεν ὁ ρήτωρ, ὅπου καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἴσως κατορύπτετε. Οὐκοῦν, ἐφην, ἀνάσκαψασθον ἐλθῶν, ὑ μῶρε. τίς δὲ κατορύπτει ἀργύριον; οὐ γὰρ ἡ φύτεαῃ. ἐνταῦθα πάντες ἐγέλων, ἐκείνου μοι δοκεῖν καταγελάσατες.

Ταῦτα ἐστιν ἡμῖν· εἰ οὖν καὶ πάντα θέλετε, ἡμεῖς ἐκόντες ἦμῖν χαριζόμεθα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς 312
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‘Three bushels of wheat,’ said I, ‘six of barley, and the same amount of millet, but only four quarts of beans, since there were none this year. Now do you take the wheat and the barley,’ said I, ‘and leave us the millet. But if you need millet, take it too.’

‘And do you not make any wine?’ another asked. ‘We make it,’ I said, ‘so that if any one of you comes, we will hand it over, but be sure to bring some kind of wineskin with you, since we haven’t any.’ ‘Now, just how many vines have you?’ ‘Two,’ I replied, ‘outside our doors, twenty in the yard, the same number across the river that we set out recently. They are of very fine quality and yield large clusters when the passers-by leave them alone. But to spare you the trouble of asking about every detail, I will tell you what else we have: eight she-goats, a mulley cow with a very pretty calf, four sickles, four grub hoes, three spears, and each of us owns a hunting knife. As for the crockery — why should one mention that? We have wives too, and children by them. We live in two pretty huts, and we have a third where the grain and the pelts are kept.’

‘Yes by heavens,’ said the orator, ‘where you bury your money too, I suspect.’ ‘Well then,’ said I, ‘come and dig it up, you fool! Who buries money in the ground? It certainly does not grow.’ Then everybody laughed, and it was at him, I thought.

‘That is what we have; and now, if you want everything, we are willing to give it to you volun-

1 That is, hornless or polled.
Δοιος Χρυσόστομος

ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ πρὸς βιαν ὀσπερ ἀλλοτρίων ἢ
tou νηρῶν· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πολίται τῆς πόλεως ἐσμεν,
ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς ἥκουν, καὶ ποτε ἔκεινος
dεύτερο ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιτυχὼν ἀργυρίῳ διδομένῳ,
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν ἐν τοῖς πολίταις. οὐκοῦν καὶ
tρέφομεν ὑμετέρους πολίτας τοὺς παιδας. κἀν
pοτε δέχατο, βοηθήσουσιν ὑμῖν πρὸς λῃστὰς ἢ
πρὸς πολεμίους. νῦν μὲν οὖν εἰρήνη ἐστὶν· ἕαν
dὲ ποτε συμβῇ καίρος τοιοῦτος, εὐξεσθῇ τοὺς
πολλοὺς φανῆμαι ὑμώοις ἡμῖν. μὴ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ
tόν γε τῶν ῥήτωρα νομίζετε μαχεῖσθαι τὸτε περὶ
ὑμῶν, εἰ μὴ γε λοιποῦρυμεν ὀσπέρ τὰς γυναῖκας.

50 τῶν μέντοι κρεών καὶ τῶν δερμάτων, ὅταν γέ
τοι ποτε ἐλαμεν θηρίον, μοῖραν δώσομεν· μόνον
πέμπτε τὸν ληψόμενον. ἐὰν δὲ κελεύσητε καθ-
ελεῖν τὰς σκηνάς, εἰ τι βλάπτουσι, καθελοῦμεν.
ἀλλ' ὅπως δώσετε ἡμῖν εὔθαδε οἰκίαν· ἢ πῶς
ὑπενεγκεῖν δυνητόμεθα τοῦ χειμώνος; ἐστιν ὑμῖν
οἰκήματα πολλὰ ἐντος τοῦ τείχους, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲς
οἰκεῖ· τούτων ἡμῖν ἐν ἀρκέσει. εἰ δὲ οὐκ εὔθαδε
ξώμεν οὐδὲ πρὸς τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τοσοῦτον ἀν-
θρώπων ἐν ταύτῃ διαγόντων καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνοχλοῦ-
μεν, οὔ δήποτε διὰ γε τούτῳ μετοικίζομαι ἄξιοι
ἐσμεν. 51

"Ὁ δὲ ἐτόλμησεν εὑπείν περὶ τῶν ναυαγίων
πράγμα οὕτως ἀνόσιον καὶ πονηρὸν—τούτο γὰρ
μικρόν ἐξελαθόμην εὑπείν, ὅ πάντων πρῶτον ἐδει
με εἰρηκάναι—τίς ἂν πιστεύσεις ποτε ὑμῶν;
πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ἐκεῖθεν
καὶ ὁτιόν λαβεῖν, ὅπως καὶ τῶν ξύλων οὐδὲν
πλέον ἐστὶν ἴδειν ἢ τὴν τέφραν· οὕτω πάνω σμικρὰ
ἐκπίπτει, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐκείνη μόνη ἢ ἀκτὴ ἀπασῶν.
tarily. There is no need for you to take it from us
tarily. There is no need for you to take it from us
tarily. There is no need for you to take it from us
by force as though it belonged to foreigners or
by force as though it belonged to foreigners or
by force as though it belonged to foreigners or
rogues; for, mark you, we are citizens too of this
city, as I used to hear my father say. And once he
too came here just when a grant of money was being
too came here just when a grant of money was being
made, as it happened, and got some too along with
the rest. Therefore we are raising our children to
the rest. Therefore we are raising our children to
be your fellow-citizens; and should you ever need
be your fellow-citizens; and should you ever need
be your fellow-citizens; and should you ever need
them, they will help you against brigands and
them, they will help you against brigands and
them, they will help you against brigands and
foreign foes. Just now there is peace; but if ever
foreign foes. Just now there is peace; but if ever
foreign foes. Just now there is peace; but if ever
such a crisis does arise, you will pray heaven that
such a crisis does arise, you will pray heaven that
such a crisis does arise, you will pray heaven that
the majority be like ourselves. For do not imagine
the majority be like ourselves. For do not imagine
the majority be like ourselves. For do not imagine
that this talker will fight for you then, unless, indeed,
that this talker will fight for you then, unless, indeed,
that this talker will fight for you then, unless, indeed,
it be to scold like a woman. Besides, whenever we
it be to scold like a woman. Besides, whenever we
it be to scold like a woman. Besides, whenever we
catch any game, we will give you a part of the meat
catch any game, we will give you a part of the meat
catch any game, we will give you a part of the meat
and of the skins; only send someone to get them.
and of the skins; only send someone to get them.
and of the skins; only send someone to get them.
Then if you bid us raze our huts, we will do so if
Then if you bid us raze our huts, we will do so if
Then if you bid us raze our huts, we will do so if
they trouble you. But you must give us housing
they trouble you. But you must give us housing
they trouble you. But you must give us housing
here; else how shall we endure the winter's cold?
here; else how shall we endure the winter's cold?
here; else how shall we endure the winter's cold?
You have many empty houses inside the city walls;
You have many empty houses inside the city walls;
You have many empty houses inside the city walls;
one of them will be enough for us. Yet if we choose
one of them will be enough for us. Yet if we choose
one of them will be enough for us. Yet if we choose
to live elsewhere than here and thus avoid adding to
to live elsewhere than here and thus avoid adding to
to live elsewhere than here and thus avoid adding to
the congestion caused by so many people being
the congestion caused by so many people being
the congestion caused by so many people being
huddled together, that surely is no reason for
huddled together, that surely is no reason for
huddled together, that surely is no reason for
moving us.
moving us.
moving us.

"Then as to that ghoulish and wicked practice
Then as to that ghoulish and wicked practice
Then as to that ghoulish and wicked practice
in case of wrecked vessels which the speaker had the
in case of wrecked vessels which the speaker had the
in case of wrecked vessels which the speaker had the
hardihood to accuse us of—and I almost forgot to
hardihood to accuse us of—and I almost forgot to
hardihood to accuse us of—and I almost forgot to
speak of it, although I should have done so at the
speak of it, although I should have done so at the
speak of it, although I should have done so at the
very start—who among you could possibly believe
very start—who among you could possibly believe
very start—who among you could possibly believe
him? Not to mention the impiety of it, it is im-
him? Not to mention the impiety of it, it is im-
him? Not to mention the impiety of it, it is im-
possible to salvage anything at all there. Indeed,
possible to salvage anything at all there. Indeed,
possible to salvage anything at all there. Indeed,
all the timber you can find there is the splinters,
all the timber you can find there is the splinters,
all the timber you can find there is the splinters,
so very small are the fragments cast up. Besides,
52 ἀπρόσιτος. καὶ τοὺς ταρροὺς ὁσὶ  ἀπαξ εὐρὸν ποτε ἐκβεβρασμένοις, καὶ τούτους ἀνέπηκα εἰς τὴν δρῦν τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης. μὴ γὰρ εἰς ποτὲ, ὦ Ζεῦ, λαβεῖν μηδὲ κερδᾶναι κέρδος τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων δυστυχίας. ἀλλὰ ὁφελήθητι μὲν οὐδὲν πῶς τοι, ἡλέησα δὲ πολλὰς ναυαγοὺς ἄφικομένους καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ ὑπεδεξάμην καὶ φαγεῖν ἐδώκα καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην, ἐπεθύμησα καὶ συνηκολούθησα μέχρι τῶν οἰκουμένων. ἀλλὰ τῖς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἔμοι νῦν μαρτυρήσεις; οὐκον οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐποίουν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν ἡ χάριτος, ὅσι ὑπὸ ὁπὸθεν ἦρευν ἡ πιστάμην. μὴ γὰρ ὕμων· γε μηδεὶς περιπέτειαν τοιοῦτον προῦματι.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἔμοι λέγοντος ἀνώσιταί τις ἐκ μέσων· κάγω πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐνεβυμήθην ὅτι ἄλλος τις τοιοῦτος τυχόν ἔμοι καταψευσόμενος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ πάλαι τοῦτον ἄμφιβολον ἔπιστοι ὁμοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ἑγνώκα, δεινὸν μοι δοκεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσέβες, μὴ εἰσεῖν ἀ συνεπίσταμαι μηδὲ ἀποδοῦναι λόγῳ χάριν,

55 ἐργοὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἰ παθῶν. εἰμὶ δὲ, ἔφη, πολῖτις, ὡς ἦτε, καὶ ὦδε, δεῖξας τῶν παρακαθήμενον, καὶ ὃς ἐπανέστη· ἐτύχομεν δὲ πλέοντες ἐν τῇ Σωκλέους νητρίτον ἐτος. καὶ διαφθαρείσης τῆς νεῶς περὶ τὸν Καφηρεὰ παυτέλως ὀλύγοι τινὲς ἐσώθημεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πορφυρεῖς ἀνέλαβον· εἶχον γὰρ αὐτῶν τινὲς ἀργύριον ἐν φασκωλίοις. ἥμεις δὲ γυμνοὶ παν-

1 tarrous Jacobs: λάρους.
2 οὐς added by Reiske.
3 ὁπὸθεν Emperius: τοθέν or οθέν.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

that is the most inaccessible beach in existence. And the oar-blades which I once found cast ashore—why, I nailed them to the sacred oak that grows by the sea. Pray God I may never get or earn any profit like that from human misfortune! Why, I have never made anything out of it, but many is the time I have pitied shipwrecked travellers who have come to my door, taken them into my hut, given them to eat and to drink, helped them in any other way that I could, and accompanied them until they got out of the wilderness. Yet who of them is there who will testify for me now? And I never did that to win a testimonial or gratitude; why, I never knew where the men came from even. I pray that none of you may ever undergo such an experience.'

"While I was thus speaking, a man rose in their midst, and I thought to myself that perhaps he was another of the same sort who was going 'to slander me, but he said: 'Sirs, for a long time I have been wondering whether I knew this man, but nevertheless was inclined to think that I did not. But now that I have clearly identified him, it seems to me that it would be dreadful, or rather a crime against heaven, for me not to corroborate his statements as far as I can, or express my gratitude in words after having in very deed received the greatest kindness at his hands. I am,' he continued, 'a citizen here, as you are aware, and so is this man,' pointing to his neighbour, who thereupon rose also. 'Two years ago we happened to be sailing in Socles' boat when it was lost off Capereus and only a handful of us were saved out of a large number. Now some were sheltered by purple-fishers, for a few had money in their wallets; but we who were cast ashore
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

tελῶς ἐκπεσόντες δὲ ἄτραπον τινὸς ἐβαδίζομεν, ἐλπίζομεν εὐρήσειν σκέπην τινὰ ποιμένων ἡ βουκόλων, κινδυνεύοντες ύπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ δί-
56 ψος διαφθαρῆμαν, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ ἦλθομεν ἐπὶ σκηνάς τινας καὶ στάντες ἐβαδόμεν. προελθὼν
δὲ οὗτος εἰσάγει τε ἡμᾶς ἐνδον καὶ ἀνέκαε πῦρ
οὐκ ἄθροιν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὁλίγον· καὶ τὸν μὲν
ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνέτριβε, τὸν δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στέατι· οὐ
γὰρ ἢν αὐτοῖς ἔλαιον· τέλος δὲ ὑδωρ κατέχειν
57 θερμῶν, ἔως ἀνέλαβον ἀπεψυγμένους. ἔπειτα
κατακλύναντες καὶ περιβάλλοντες οῖς έχοιν παρέ-
θηκαν φαγεῖν ἡμῶν ἄρτους πυρίνους, αὐτοὶ δὲ
κέγχρον ἐφθην ἕσθιον. ἐδοκαν δὲ καὶ σίνον
ἡμῖν πιεῖν, ὑδωρ αὐτοί πίνοντες, καὶ κρέα ἐλά-
φεια ὀπτώντες ἄφθονα, τὰ δὲ ἐφοντες· τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα
βουλομένους ἀπίεναι κατέσχον ἐπὶ
58 τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἔπειτα προὔπερμαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον,
καὶ ἀποίησι κρέας ἐδοκαν καὶ δέρμα ἐκατέρω
πάνυ καλὸν. ἐμὲ δὲ ὅρων ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας
ἐτι ποινᾶς ἔχοντα ἐνέδυσε χιτώνιον, τῆς θυγα-
τρος ἀφελόμενος· ἐκείνη δὲ ἄλλο τι βάκχος περι-
ξάς τοῦτο, ἐπείδη ἐν τῇ κόμη ἐγενόμην, ἀπέδωκα.
οὗτος ἡμεῖς γε ὑπὸ τοῦτο μᾶλλοστα
ἐσώθημεν μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς.
59 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνου λέγοντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἦκουν
ηδέως καὶ ἐπήνουν με, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναμμηθείς,
Χαίρε, ἐφημ, Σωτάδη καὶ προσελθὼν ἐφίλουν
αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἔτερον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐγέλα σφόδρα
ὅτι ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς. τότε ἐγών ὅτι ἐν ταῖς
πόλεσι οὐ φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

destitute tramped along a path, hoping to find some shelter among shepherds or herdsmen, for we were in danger of perishing from hunger and thirst. And after much hardship we did finally reach some huts and stopped and hallowed, when this man here came out, brought us in, and made a low fire which he gradually increased. Then he himself rubbed one of us, and his wife the other, with tallow, for they had no olive oil. Finally, they poured warm water over us until they brought us around, chilled to the bone as we had been. Then, after making us recline and throwing about us what they had, they put wheaten loaves before us to eat while they themselves ate millet porridge. They also gave us wine to drink, they themselves drinking water, and they roasted venison in abundance, while some of it they boiled. And though we wanted to go away on the morrow, they held us back for three days. Then they escorted us down to the plains and gave us meat when we left them, as well as a very handsome pelt for each of us. And when this man here saw that I was still ill from my trying experience, he put on me a little tunic which he took from his daughter, and she girded a bit of cloth about herself instead. This I gave back when I reached the village. So, next to the gods, we owe our lives to this man especially.

"While he was thus speaking, the people listened with pleasure and showed me their approval, and I recalled it all and cried out, 'Hello, Sótaides!' And I approached and kissed him and the other man. However, the people laughed heartily because I kissed them. Then I understood that in the cities people do not kiss one another.

319
60 Παρελθών δὲ ἐκείνος ὁ ἐπιεικὴς ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λέγων, Ἔμοι, δὲ ἀνδρεῖς, δοκεῖ καλέσαι τούτου εἰς τὸ πρωτανεῖον ἔπι ἐξείναι. 1 οὐ γὰρ, εἰ μὲν ἐν πολέμῳ τινα ἔσωσε τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπερασπίσας, πολλῶν ἂν καὶ μεγάλων δυρεῖν ἐτυχε· νυνὶ δὲ δύο σώσας πολιτάς, τυχῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους οὖ ὀν πάρεισιν, οὐκ ἔστων ἄξιος

61 οὐδεμᾶς τιμῆς; ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ χιτῶνος ὃν ἔδωκε τῷ πολίτῃ κινδυνεύοντι, τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποδύσας, ἐπιδοθεῖνα αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν χιτώνα καὶ ἰμάτιον, ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προτροπὴ γένηται δικαίως εἶναι καὶ ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλήλους, ψυφίσασθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καρποῦσθαι τὸ χωρίον καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα, καὶ μηδένα αὐτοῖς ἐνοχλεῖν, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς εἰς κατασκευὴν τὸ δὲ ἄργυριον τούτο ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγὼ παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ δίδωμι.

62 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐπηρέθη, καὶ τάλλα ἐγένετο ὡς εἴπεν. καὶ ἐκομίσθη παραχρῆμα εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ τὸ ἄργυριον. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐβουλώμην λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' εἴπον 2 ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ δέρματι. Οὐκοῦν, εἴπον, τὸ σήμερον ἀδειπνος μενο. ὁμοὶ δὲ ἐνέδυσάν με τὸν χιτώνα καὶ περέβαλον τὸ ἰμάτιον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνωθεν βαλεῖν ἐβουλώμην τὸ δέρμα, οἱ δὲ

63 οὐκ εἴων. τὸ δὲ ἄργυριον οὐκ ἐδεξάμην οὔδένα τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἀπωμοσάμην λήψεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ ξητεύτε τὸς λάβῃ, τὸ ῥήτορι, ἐφῆν, δότε, ὅπως κατορύξῃ αὐτὸ· ἐπισταται γὰρ δίλον ὅτι, ἀπ' ἐκείνου δ' ἡμᾶς οὕδεις ἤνωχλησε.  

1 ξένια Dindorf: ξένια.
"Then that kind and good man who had spoken in my behalf at the beginning came forward and said, 'I move, sirs, that we invite this man to dine in the town-hall. If he had saved one of our townsfolk in battle by covering him with his shield, would he not have received many large gifts? But now, when he has saved two citizens, and perhaps others who are not here, is he entitled to no honour at all? For the tunic which he stripped from his daughter and gave to his fellow-townsmen in distress, let the city give him a tunic and a cloak as an inducement to others to be righteous and to help one another. Further, let it vote that they and their children have the use of the farm free from molestation, and that the man himself be given one hundred drachmas for equipment; and as for this money, I offer it out of my own pocket on behalf of the city.'

"For this he was applauded and the motion was carried. The clothes and the money were also brought into the theatre at once. But I was loath to accept, wherupon they said, 'You cannot dine in the skin.' 'Well then,' said I, 'I shall go without dinner to-day.' However, they put the tunic on me and threw the cloak over my shoulders. Then I wanted to throw my skin on top of all, but they would not let me. The money I absolutely refused and swore that I would not take it. 'But if you are hunting for somebody who will take it,' said I, 'give it to that orator that he may bury it, for he knows all about that evidently.' And from that day nobody has bothered us."

2 εἰποῦ Aldine edition: εἰπευ.
64 Σχεδόν οὖν εἰρηκότος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ταῖς σκηναῖς ἦμεν. κακῷ γελάσας ἐίπον, Ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀπεκρύψῳ τοὺς πολίτας, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν κτημάτων. Τί τούτο; εἶπεν. Τὸν κῆπον, ἐφη, τούτου, πάνυ καλὸν καὶ λάχανα πολλὰ καὶ δένδρα ἔχοντα. Οὐκ ἦν, ἐφη, τότε, ἀλλ’ ὑστερον ἔποιήσαμεν.

65 Ἐπειδήθοντες οὖν εὐωχούμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἡμεῖς μὲν κατακλιθέντες ἔπει φύλλων τε καὶ δερμάτων ἐπὶ στιβάδος ύψηλῆς, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ πλησίον παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα καθημένη. Θυγάτηρ δὲ ὁραία γάμου διηκονεῖτο, καὶ ἐνέχει πιεῖν μέλαινα οἶνον ἤδων. οἱ δὲ παῖδες τὰ κρέα παρεσκεύαζον, καὶ αὐτοί ἀμα ἔδειπνον παρατηθέντες, ὡστε ἐμὲ εὐδαιμονίζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους καὶ οἷοςθαί μακαρίως ξῆν πάντων μάλιστα δὲν ἥπιστάμην. καίτοι πλουσίων μὲν οἰκίας τε καὶ τραπέζιας ἥπιστάμην, οὐ μόνον ιδιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλεῶν, οἱ μάλιστα ἔδοκον μοι τὸτε άθλιον, καὶ πρότερον δοκοῦντες, ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὅρωντε τὴν ἐκεἼ πενίαν τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀπελείποντο οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ φαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν ἂναρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις ἐπλεονέκτουν σχεδόν τι.

67 Ὅτι δὲ Ἰκανὸς ἡμῶν ἐχόντων ἥλθε κάκεινος ὁ ἐτερος. συνηκολούθει δὲ νῦὸς αὐτῷ, μειράκιον οὐκ ἄγεννος, λαγὼν φέρων. εἰσελθὼν δὲ οὕτος ἤρυθρασθεν· ἐν οὐσι δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἰσπάζετο.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

Now he had hardly ended when we were at the huts, and laughing I said, "But you have hidden from your fellow-citizens one thing, the fairest of your possessions." "What is that?" said he. "This garden," I replied, "very pretty indeed with all its vegetables and trees." "There was not any then," he said; "we made it afterwards."

Then we entered and feasted the rest of the day, we reclining on boughs and skins that made a high bed and the wife sitting near beside her husband. But a daughter of marriageable age served the food and poured us a sweet dark wine to drink; and the boys prepared the meat, helping themselves as they passed it around, so that I could not help deeming these people fortunate and thinking that of all the men that I knew, they lived the happiest lives.\(^1\) And yet I knew the homes and tables of rich men, of satraps and kings as well as of private individuals; but then they seemed to me the most wretched of all; and though they had so appeared before, yet I felt this the more strongly as I beheld the poverty and free spirit\(^2\) of the humble cottagers and noted that they lacked naught of the joy of eating and drinking, nay, that even in these things they had, one might almost say, the better of it.

We were already well enough supplied when that other man entered, accompanied by his son, a prepossessing lad who carried a hare. The latter on entering commenced to blush; and while his father

\(^1\) The description of the entertainment offered by the humble cottagers seems to have been suggested by Plato's *Republic* 2. 372.

\(^2\) Both the Greeks and the Romans feared the corrupting influence of riches. They believed that poverty, or rather, humble circumstances, and a free manly spirit went together.
DIO CHRYSTOS TON

ήμας, αυτὸς ἐφίλησε τὴν κόρην καὶ τὸν λαγὸν ἐκείνη ἐδωκεν. ἦ μὲν οὖν παῖς ἐπαύσατο δια-
kounoménη καὶ παρὰ τὴν μητέρα ἐκαθέζετο, τὸ
dὲ μειράκιον ἀντ' ἐκείνης διηκονεῖτο. καὶ ὁ τὸν
ξένῳ ἡρώτησα, Αὕτη, ἔφη, ἔστιν, ὅς τὸν χειῶνα
ἀποδύσας τῷ ναυαγῷ ἔδωκας; καὶ δὲ γελάσας,
Οὐκ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη, εἶπε, πάλαι πρὸς άνδρα
ἐδόθη, καὶ τέκνα ἔχει μεγάλα ἴδθη, πρὸς άνδρα
πλούσιον εἰς κόμην. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἐπαρκοῦσιν
xmlns οὔ τι δὲν δέησθε; Οὔδεν, εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ,
dεόμεθα ἡμεῖς: ἐκείνοι δὲ λαμβάνουσι καὶ
ὄπηνικ' ἀν τι θηραθῇ καὶ ὅπωραν καὶ λάχανα:
οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κῆπος παρ' αὐτοῖς. τέρυσεν 2 πυρὸς
ἐλάβομεν, σπέρμα ψυλῶν, καὶ ἀπεδῶκαμεν αὐτοῖς
εὐθὺς τῆς θερείας. Τι οὖν; ἔφη, καὶ ταύτην
dιανοεῖσθε διδόναι πλούσιῳ, ἵνα ύμίν καὶ αὐτῇ
πυρὸς δανείσῃ; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἁμφοὶ ἥρωθρια-
sάτην, ἢ κόρη καὶ τὸ μειράκιον.

70 Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτῆς ἔφη, Πένθε τα άνδρα
λήψεται, ὁμοιον ἡμῖν κυνηγήτην καὶ μειδώμας
ἐξαλείψει εἰς τὸν νεανίσκον. καὶ τὸ, Τι οὖν οὐκ
ἡδον δίδοτε; ἢ δὲ ποθεν αὐτὸν ἐκ κόμης ἀφι-
κέσθαι; Δοκῶ μὲν, εἶπεν, οὐ μακρὰν ἔστιν. ἀλλ'
ἐνδον ἐνθάδε. καὶ ποιήσομεν γε τοὺς γάμους
ἡμέραν ἁγαθὴν ἐπιλεξάμενοι. καὶ τὸ, Πῶς, ἔφη,
κρίνετε τὴν ἁγάθην ἡμέραν; καὶ δι', Ὁταν μὴ
μικρὸν ἢ τὸ σελήνου δει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα εἶναι
καθώρον, αἰθρίαν λαμπράν. καὶ τὸ, Τί δὲ; τὸ
διὸ κυνηγήτης ἁγαθὸς ἔστιν; ἔφη. Ἡγογε,
εἶπεν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ ἔλαφον καταπονῶ καὶ

1 ὁπωίκι ' ἐν Dindorf: ὁπωίκα.
2 πέρυσε added by Casaubon.
was welcoming us, he himself kissed the maiden and gave her the hare. The child then ceased serving and sat down beside her mother while the boy served in her stead. "Is she the one," I enquired of my host, "whose tunic you took off and gave to the shipwrecked man?" "No," said he with a smile, "that daughter was married long ago and already has grown-up children. Her husband is a rich man living in a village." "And do they help you when you need anything?" I enquired. "We do not need anything," replied the wife, "but they get game from us whenever we catch any, and fruit and vegetables, for they have no garden. Last year we borrowed some wheat just for seed, but we repaid them as soon as harvest time was come." "Tell me," said I, "do you intend to marry this girl also to a rich man that she too may lend you wheat?" At this the two blushed, the girl as well as the boy.

"She will have a poor man for a husband," said the father, "a hunter like ourselves," and with a smile he glanced at the young man. And I said, "But why do you not give her away at once? Must her husband come from some village or other?" "I have an idea," he replied, "that he is not far off; nay, he is here in this house, and we shall celebrate the marriage when we have picked out a good day." "And how do you determine the good day?" said I. And he replied, "When the moon is not in a quarter; the air must be clear too, and the weather fine." And then I said, "Tell me, is he really a good hunter?" "I am," cried the youth; "I can run down a deer and face the charge
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

σὺν ὑφίσταμαι. ὃσει δὲ αὐριον ἄν θέλης, ἢ ἔνε. καὶ τὸν λαγὸν τοῦτον σύ, ἔφην, ἔλαβες; Ἕγῳ, έφη γελάσας, τῷ λιναρίῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦν γὰρ αἱρέα πάνυ καλῆ καὶ η ἁσέληνη τηλικαύτη
72 τὸ μέγεθος ἡλίκη συνεπόπτοτε ἐγένετο. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἐγέλασαν ἀμφότεροι, οὐ μόνον ὁ τῆς κόρης πατὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου. ὁ δὲ ἡμείνυθη καὶ ἐσιώπησε.

Δέγει οὖν ὁ τῆς κόρης πατὴρ, Ἕγῳ μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ παί, οὐδὲν ὑπερβάλλομαι. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ σου περιμένει, ἔστ' ἀν ἰερεῖον πρίγναι πορευθεῖς. δεῖ γὰρ θύσαι τοῖς θεοῖς. εἴπεν οὖν ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς τῆς κόρης, Ἑλλὰ ἰερείον γε πάλαι οὔτος παρεσκεύακε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐνδον τρεφόμενου
73 ὅπως θεία τῆς σκηνῆς, γενναίου. ἕρωτον οὖν αὐτὸν, Ἑλλῆδος; ὁ δὲ ἔφη. Καὶ πάθει σου; ἐθαυμασίω. ὁτε τὴν δὲν ἐλάβομεν τῆς τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσαν, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ διέδρα; καὶ ἦν, ἔφη, ταχύτερα τοῦ λαγοῦ ἐνδὲ δὲ ἐγὼ λίθῳ ἐτυχον καὶ ἄλοντι1 τὸ δέρμα ἐπέβαλον τοῦτο ἡλλαξάμην ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, καὶ ἐλαβον ἄντ' αὐτοῦ χοίρον
74 καὶ ἐδρέψαν ποιήσας ὅπως ἔστεθαν συφεών. Ταύτα, εἴπεν, ἄρα ἡ μήτηρ σου ἐγέλα, ὠπὸ ταυμάξομη ἀκουόν γρυλεύουσας τῆς συφς, καὶ τὰς κριθὰς οὕτως ἀνήλικες. Αἱ γὰρ εὐβοῖδες, εἴπεν, οὐχ ἰκαναὶ ἦσαν πιάναι, εἰ μόνας2 γε βαλάνους ἢθε- λεν ἐσθίειν. Ἑλλὰ εἰ βουλέσθε ὑδεῖν αὐτὴν, ἄξω

1 ἀλλοῖ Geel: ἀλλοι.
2 μόνας Cohoon: μή. Von Arnim proposed ἦ μηδὲς;

The word βαλάνος was used not only of the acorn but also of any similar fruit. The sweet chestnut, for example,
of a boar. You shall see to-morrow, stranger, if you wish it." "And did you catch this hare?" said I. "Yes," he replied, laughing—"with my net during the night, for the sky was very beautiful, and the moon was never so big before." Then the two men laughed, not only the girl's father but his also. As for him, he felt ashamed and became silent.

Then the girl's father said, "Well, my boy, it is not I who am delaying you, but your father is waiting until he can go and buy a victim, for we must sacrifice to the gods." At this point the girl's younger brother interrupted, saying, "Why, this fellow got a victim long ago. It is being fattened in there behind the hut, and a fine animal it is." "Is it really so?" they asked him, and he said "Yes." "And where did you get it?" they enquired. "When we caught the wild sow that had the young ones, they all escaped but one. They ran more swiftly than the hare," he added. "One, however, I hit with a stone, caught, and covered with my leather jerkin. I exchanged it in the village and got a young pig for it. Then I made a sty out behind and raised it." "So that is the reason why your mother would laugh," exclaimed the father, "when I used to wonder on hearing the pig grunt, and you were using the barley so freely." "Well," he replied, "the chestnuts \(^1\) were not enough to fatten her,\(^2\) supposing she had been willing to eat nuts without anything else. But if you wish to

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\(^1\) Called Διός βάλανος, Ἑὔβοις (ἐκ. βάλανος), or Ἑὔβοικόν (ἐκ. κάρυνον). See Liddell and Scott.

\(^2\) Chestnuts were very plentiful in Euboea, as the Greek name for them would indicate, but were said to be hard to digest. See Athenaeus 2, chap. 43.
πορευθείς. οἱ δὲ ἐκέλευον. ἀπήσαν οὖν ἐκείνος 75 τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτόθεν ἔρχοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἡ παρθένος ἀναστάσα ἐξ ἐτέρας σκηνῆς ἐκόμισεν αὐτα τετυμημένα καὶ μέσπιλα καὶ μήλα χειμερινὰ καὶ τῆς γεναίας σταφυλῆς βότρυς σφυγώντας, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, κατά-
ψήσασα φύλλους ἀπὸ τῶν κρεών, ὕποβαλούσα καθαρὰν πτερίδαν. ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὴν ὑπὸ 76 ἄγωντες μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ παιδιαῖς. συνηκο-
λούθη δὲ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἀδελφοὶ δύο παιδίαρια. ἐφερον δὲ ἄρτους τε καθαροὺς καὶ ὁδὸ ἐφθα ἐν ἐξολέως πίναξει καὶ ἐρεβίνθους φρυκτοὺς.

‘Ἀσπασμένη δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡ γυνὴ2 καὶ τὴν ἄδελφιδὴν ἐκαθέζετο παρὰ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄν-
δρα καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐδοὺ τὸ ἱερείον, ὁ ὅτους πάλαι ἐτρεφεν εἰς τοὺς γάμους, καὶ τάλλα τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν3 ἐτοιμά ἐστι, καὶ ἀλφιτα καὶ ἀλευρα πεποιηται, μόνον ἱερὸς οἰνορίου προσδεσόμεθα: καὶ τοῦτο οὐ χαλεπόν ἐκ τῆς κώμης λαβεῖν.

77 παρειστήκεαι δὲ αὐτή πλησίον ὁ νύς4 πρὸς τὸν κηδεσθήν ἀποβλέπων. καὶ δὲ μειδίασας εἶπεν. Ὡτος, ἐφη, ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπέχουν ἱερὸς ἀρτὸς ἐτὶ βουλεύεται πίαναι τὴν ὑπ. καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, Ἀντὶ 78 μὲν, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόπους διαρραγήσεται. κἂν γὰρ βουλόμενος αὐτῷ βοηθήσαι, Ὅρα, ἐφην, μὴ ἔως πιάνεται ἡ ὡς οὗτος ὑμῖν λεπτὸς γενήται. ἦ δὲ μήτηρ, Ἀληθῶς, εἶπεν, ὁ ξένως λέγει, ἐπει καὶ υἱὸν λεπτότερος αὐτοῦ γέγονεν· καὶ πρὸ ἡσθόμην τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῶν ἑργηγορότα καὶ προελθόντα

1 οἱ παῖδες αὐτόθεν Gcod: οἱ αὐτόθεν παῖδες.
2 καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα after γυνὴ deleted by Selden.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

see her, I will go and fetch her in.” And they bade him do so. So he and the boys were off at once on the run full of glee. Meanwhile the girl had risen and brought from another hut some sliced sorb-apples, medlars, winter apples, and swelling clusters of fine grapes, and placed them on the table after wiping off the stains from the meat with leaves and putting some clean fern beneath. Then the boys came in laughing and full of fun, leading the pig, and with them followed the young man’s mother and two small brothers. They brought white loaves of wheaten bread, boiled eggs in wooden platters, and parched chickpeas.

After the woman had greeted her brother and her niece, his daughter, she sat down beside her husband and said, “See, there is the victim which that boy has long been feeding for his wedding day, and everything else is ready on our side. The barley and wheaten flour have been ground; only perhaps we shall need a little more wine. This too we can easily get from the village.” And close beside her stood her son, glancing at his future father-in-law. He smiled at the lad and said, “There is the one who is holding things up. I believe he wants to fatten the pig a bit more.” The young man replied, “Why, she is ready to burst with fat.” And wishing to help him, I said, “Take care that your young man doesn’t get thin while the pig gets fat.” “Our guest speaks well,” said the mother, “for he has already grown thinner than I have ever seen him before; and I noticed a short time ago that he was

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3} ἡμὺν Emperius: ἡμῖν.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{4} ἰοὺς Emperius: ὅτρος.} \]

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ἐξω τῆς σκηνής. Οἱ κύνες, ἔφη, ἕλακτον καὶ ἐξῆλθον ὄψόμενος. Ὅτι σὺ γε, εἴπεν, ἄλλα περιπάτεις ἄλλων. μὴ οὖν πλείω χρόνον ἑώμεν ἀνιᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. καὶ περιβαλόοισα ἐφίλησε τὴν μητέρα τῆς κόρης. ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς, Ποιώμεν, εἴπεν, ὡς θέλουσι. καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ εἶπον, Εἰς τρίτην ποιῶμεν τοὺς γάμους. παρεκάλουν δὲ κἀμὲ προσμείναι τὴν ἥμεραν. κἀγὼ προσεμέινα σοὺ ἅγιός, ἐνθυμούμενος ἀμα τῶν πλουσίων ὄποια ἐστὶ τά τε ἀλλα καὶ τά περὶ τοὺς γάμους, προμνηστριῶν τε πέρι καὶ ἐξετάσεων οὕσιῶν τε καὶ γένους, προικῶν τε καὶ ἔδων καὶ ὑποσχέσεων καὶ ἀπατῶν, ὀμολογῶν τε καὶ συγγραφῶν, καὶ τελευταίων πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις λοιδοριῶν καὶ ἀπεχθειῶν.

81 "Ἀπαντα δὴ τούτων τὸν λόγον διήλθον οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδ’ ὡς τάχ’ ἀν δόξαιμι τισιν, ἀδολεσχεῖν βουλόμενος, ἄλλα οὔπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμην βίον καὶ τῆς τῶν πενήτων διαγωγῆς παράδειγμα ἐκτιθείς, ὃ αὐτὸς ἥπιστάμην, τῷ βουλομένῳ θεᾶσσαί λόγον τε καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ κοινωνίῳ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλους, εἰ τι τῶν πλουσίων ἐλαττοῦνται διὰ τὴν πενίαν πρὸς τὸ χῆμα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἡ τῷ παντὶ πλέον ἔχουσιν. καὶ δήτα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου σκοπῶν, εἰ κατ' 1

1 The farmer in humble circumstances says in the Electra 424–5:

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wakeful in the night and went out of the hut." "The dogs were barking," the young man interrupted, "and I went out to see." "No, you did not," said she, "but you were walking around distraught. So don't let us permit him to be tortured any longer." And throwing her arms about the girl's mother she kissed her; and the latter, turning to her husband, said, "Let us do as they wish." This they decided to do and said, "Let us have the wedding the day after to-morrow." They also invited me to stay over, and I did so gladly, at the same time reflecting on the character of weddings and other things among the rich, on the matchmakers, the scrutinies of property and birth, the dowries, the gifts from the bridegroom, the promises and deceptions, the contracts and agreements, and, finally, the wranglings and enmities that often occur at the wedding itself.

Now I have not told this long story idly or, as some might perhaps infer, with the desire to spin a yarn, but to present an illustration of the manner of life that I adopted at the beginning and of the life of the poor—an illustration drawn from my own experience for anyone who wishes to consider whether in words and deeds and in social intercourse the poor are at a disadvantage in comparison with the rich on account of their poverty, so far as living a seemly and natural life is concerned, or in every way have the advantage. And really, when I consider Euripides' words and ask myself whether as a matter

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οτον δε δη τοσαυτα γ' εν δομοις έπεκ λοσθ εν γ' έπι ημαρ τοναδε πληρωσαε βορασ

"Yes and within the house is store enough To satisfy for one day these with meat."

Way in L.C.L.

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Δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἐὐμαιον πεποίηκε δοῦλον καὶ πένητα ὅμως τὸν Ὅδυσσέα καλῶς ὑποδέχόμενον καὶ τροφῆ καὶ κολῆς τοὺς δὲ μνηστήρας ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ ὑβρεως οὐ πάνω ῥαδίως αὐτῷ μεταδίδόντας οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ὡς ποι καὶ αὐτὸς πεποίηται λέγων πρὸς τὸν Ἰαυτίνου, ὁνειδίζων τὴν ἀνελευθερίαν,

οὗ σύν ἄν ἐξ οἶκου σφ επιστατή οὐδέ ἀλὰ δοῖς,

δε νῦν ἀλλοτρίως παρῆμενος οὕτω μοι ἐπὶ ἔτης
σῖτον ἀπάρξασθαι, πολλῶν κατὰ οἶκου ἑωτῶν.

Καὶ τούτους μὲν ἔστω διὰ τὴν ἀλλὴν πονηρίαν εἶναι τοιούτους· ὅλλ' οὖδὲ τὴν Πηνελόπην, καίτοι χρηστὴν οὕσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδέως διαλεγομένην πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πρεπεῖ τούτῳ ἀνδρὸς πεπυμένην,

1 ὄντας added by Cappe.
2 οὗτος Geol; οὖδὲ.
of fact the entertainment of strangers is so difficult for them that they can never welcome or succour anyone in need, I find this by no means to be true of their hospitality. They light a fire more promptly than the rich and guide one on the way without reluctance—indeed, in such matters a sense of self-respect would compel them—and often they share what they have more readily. When will you find a rich man who will give the victim of a shipwreck his wife’s or his daughter’s purple gown or any article of clothing far cheaper than that: a mantle, for example, or a tunic, though he has thousands of them, or even a cloak from one of his slaves?

Homer too illustrates this, for in Eumaeus he has given us a slave and a poor man who can still welcome Odysseus generously with food and a bed, while the suitors in their wealth and insolence share with him but grudgingly even what belongs to others, and this, I think, is just what Odysseus himself is represented as saying to Antinous when he upbraids him for his churlishness.

"Thou wouldst not give a suppliant even salt
In thine own house,—thou who, while sitting here,
Fed at another’s table, canst not bear
To give me bread from thy well-loaded board."

But granted that such meanness on the suitors’ part was in accord with their general depravity, yet how was it with Penelope? Though she was an excellent woman, overjoyed to talk with Odysseus and learn about her husband, Homer does not say that

1 *Odyssey* 17. 455 f. The last line of this quotation is considerably different from that given in the text of the *Odyssey*. 

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οὔδὲ ταύτην φησὶν ἰμάτιον αὐτῷ δοῦναι γυμνῷ
παρακαθημένῳ, ἀλλὰ ἢ μόνον ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ἀν ἂν
ἀρα φανῇ ἄλληθεύων περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, ὅτι
85 ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἥξοι, καὶ ὦστερον, ἔπειδὴ τὸ
tόξον ἦτει, τῶν μνηστήρων, οὐ δυναμένου ἐντείναι,1
χαλεπαίνοντων ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι ἥξιον πρὸς
αὐτοῦς ἀμυλλᾶσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς, ἥξιοι δοθήναι
αὐτῷ οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ τοῦ γάμου γε εἶναι
κάκεινος τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τάχη ἐπιτείναις
καὶ διαβαλὼν διὰ τῶν πελεκέων, ἐπαγγέλλεται
αὐτῷ δώσειν χιτῶνα καὶ ἰμάτιον καὶ ὑποδήματα·
86 ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν τὸ Εὐρύτου τόξον ἐντείναι καὶ
tοσοῦτος νεανίσκος ἔχθρον γενέσθαι, τυχὸν
δὲ καὶ ἀπολέσθαι παραχρῆμα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ
µέλλει τυχάναι εξωμίδος καὶ ὑποδημάτων, ἢ
tὸν Ὀδυσσέα, εἰκὸσιν ἔτων οὐδαμοῦ πεθνότα,
ἡκοντα ἀποδείξει, καὶ ταύτα ἐν ἡμέραις ῶηταῖς·
eἰ δὲ µή, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπείναι βάκκεσι παρὰ
τῆς σώφρονος καὶ ἀγαθῆς Ἰκαρίου θυγατρὸς
βασιλίδος.
87 Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ Θηλέμαχος τοιαύτα ἔτερα
πρὸς τὸν συμβότην λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ, κελεύον
αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πέμπειν τὴν ταχύστην
πτωχεύσαντα ἐκεῖ, καὶ µὴ πλείους ἡµέρας τρέφειν
ἐν τῷ σταθµῷ καὶ γὰρ εἰ ξυνέκειτο αὐτοῖς
tαύτα, ἄλλ' ο γε συβότης οὐ θαυμάζει τὸ
88 πράγμα καὶ τὴν ἀπανθρωπίαν, ὡς ἔθους δὴ ὅντος
οὕτως ἀκρίβως καὶ ἀνελευθέρως πράττειν τὰ
περὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς πένητας, µόνους δὲ τοὺς

1 ἐντείναι Cobet: ἐπιτείναι.
even she gave him a cloak as he sat beside her in a bare tunic, but that she merely promised him one if it turned out that he was telling the truth about Odysseus in saying that he would arrive within the month. And afterwards, when he asked for the bow, and the suitors, who could not draw it, were angry at him because he had the hardihood to vie with them in prowess, she urged that it be given to him, adding that of course her promise of marriage could not apply to him; but she promised to give him a tunic, cloak, and shoes, if he succeeded in stretching the bow and shooting through the axes; as though he had to bend the bow of Eurytus and become the enemy of all those young men, and perhaps lose his life at their hands then and there, if he was to receive tunic and shoes, or else must produce Odysseus in person, who had not been seen anywhere for twenty years, and within a stated time at that, with the alternative, in case he could do neither, of departing in the same rags out of the presence of the good and prudent daughter royal of Icarius!

Other words of about the same purport Telemachus too addresses to the swineherd regarding Odysseus when he bids the latter to send him to the city as soon as possible that he may beg for alms there, and not to feed him at the steading any longer. And even if this had been agreed upon between them, yet the swineherd feels no surprise at the treatment and its inhumanity, as though it were the regular procedure to deal with needy strangers thus strictly and meanly and to welcome open-

3 Ibid. 17. 10 f.

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πλουσίους ὑποδέχεσθαι φιλοφρόνως ξενίοις καὶ
dώροις, παρ' ὅν δήλον ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ προσεδόκων
tῶν ἴσων ἄν τυχεῖν, ὅποια σχεδὸν καὶ τα τῶν
νῦν ἐστὶ φιλανθρωπίας τε πέρι καὶ προαιρέσεως.

90 αἱ γὰρ δῆ δοκοῦσιν φιλοφρονήσεις καὶ χάριτες,
ἐὰν σκοπῆ ἡ ὀρθῶς, οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν ἑράνων
cαὶ δανείων, ἐπὶ τόκῳ συχνῶ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς τὸ
πολὺ γιγνόμενα, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δῆ ὑπερβάλλει τὰ
νῦν τὰ πρὸτερον, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυμπάσῃ
κακίᾳ. ἔχω γὰρ μὴν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν Φαιάκων
καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων φιλανθρωπίας, εἰ τῷ δοκοῦσιν
οὕτωι οὐκ ἁγεννῶς οὐδ' ἀναξίως τὸν πλούτον
προσενεχθήμει τῷ 'Οδυσσεῖ, μεθ' οίας μάλιστα
diaνοιάς καὶ δί' ἀς αἰτίας προωτράτησαν ἄφθονος
cαὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς χαρίζεσθαι. ἄλλα γὰρ πολὺ
πλεῖον τῶν ἰκανῶν καὶ τὰ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτων
eἰρημένα.

91 Δῆλον γὰρ μὴν ὡς ὁ πλούτος οὕτε πρὸς ξένους
οὕτε ἄλλως μέγα τι συμβάλλεται τοῖς κεκτημέ-
cνοις, ἄλλα τοὐναντίον γλίσχρους καὶ φειδωλοῦς
ὡς τὸ πολὺ μᾶλλον τῆς πενίας ὑποτελεῖν πέφυ-
κερ. οὐδὲ γὰρ, εἰ τις αὐ τῶν πλουσίων, εἰς που
tάχα ἐν μυρίοις, δανείλης καὶ μεγαλόφρον τὸν
τρόπον εὐρεθείν, τοῦτο ἰκανῶς δείκνυσι τὸ μὴ
οὐχὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς χείρους περὶ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι

92 τῶν ἀπορωτέρων. ἀνδρὶ δὲ πένητι μὴ φαύλῳ
tὴν φύσιν ἀρκεῖ τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετρίως
ἀσθενησάτε, τοιοῦτον ποτὲ νοσήματος ξυμβαίνοντος,
οἶαπερ εἰὼθε γιγνεσθαι τοῖς οἷς ὀγὸς ἐκάστουε
ἐμπιμπλαμένοις, ἀνακτήσασθαι, καὶ ξένως ἐλθοῦσι
δοῦναι προσφιλὴ ξένων χωρίς ὑποψίας παρ'
heartedly with gifts and presents only the rich, from whom, of course, the host expected a like return, very much as the present custom is in selecting the recipients of our kindly treatment and preference; for what seem to be acts of kindliness and favours turn out, when examined rightly, to be nothing more or less than accommodations and loans, and that too at a high rate of interest as a usual thing, if, by heavens, conditions to-day are not worse than they used to be, just as is the case with every other evil. Furthermore, I could state in regard to the Phaeacians also and their generosity, in case anyone imagines that their behaviour towards Odysseus was neither ungenerous nor unworthy of their wealth, just what motives and reasons induced them to be so open-handed and splendid in their generosity. But what I have said so far about this matter is more than sufficient.

It is certainly clear that wealth does no great service to its owners as regards the entertainment of strangers or otherwise. On the contrary, it is more likely to make them stingy and parsimonious, generally speaking, than poverty is. Even if some man of wealth may be found—one perhaps in a million—who is liberal and magnanimous in character, this by no means conclusively proves that the majority do not become worse in this regard than those whose means are limited. A poor man, if he be of strong character, finds the little that he has sufficient both to enable him to regain his health when his body has been attacked by an illness not too severe—when, for example, he is visited by the sort of malady that usually attacks hard-working people whenever they overeat—and also to give
93 ἐκόντων διδόμενα ἀλῦτως, οὐκ ἵσως ἄργυρος
κρατήρας ἡ ποικίλους πέπλους ἡ τέθριππον, τὰ Ἡλένης καὶ Μενέλεως Τηλεμάχῳ δώρα.
οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιούτους ὑποδέχοντ' ἀν, ὡς εἰκός, ξένους,
σατράπας ἢ βασιλέας, εἰ μὴ γε πάναν σώφρονας
καὶ ἄγαθοις, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐνδεές μετὰ φιλίας γυγνό-
μενον. ἀκολάστους δὲ καὶ τυραννικοὺς οὔτ' ἀν
ὁμαι δύναντο θεραπεῦειν ἰκανῶς ξένους οὔτ' ἀν
94 ἵσως προσδέοιτο τοιαύτης ξενίας.
οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ Μενέλεως δῆπον ἀπέβη πρὸς τὸ λήμνον, ὅτι
ℏδύνατο δέξασθαι τὸν πλοῦσιωτατὸν ἐκ τῆς
Ἄσίας ξένων, ἄλλος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἰκανὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ
Σπάρτῃ τὸν Πριάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ὕπο-
95 δέξασθαι. τοιγάρτων ἐρήμωσας αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν
καὶ πρὸς τοῖς χρήμασι τῇ γυναικι προσλαβών,
τῇ δὲ θυγατέρα ῥήματι τῆς μητρὸς ἕασας,
φοιτεῖ ἀποπλέων. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ὁ Μενέλαος
χρόνον μὲν πολὺν ἐφθείρετο πανταχόος τῆς
Ἐλλάδος, διυρόμενος τὰς αὐτοῦ συμφορὰς, δεό-
μενος ἐκαστὸν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαμύνας. ἡμαγκά-
θη δὲ ἱκετεύσαι καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον ὁπως ἐπιδιὸ
96 τὴν θυγατέρα σφαγησομένην ἐν Ἀὐλίδῳ. δέκα
dὲ ἐτὴ καθήστο πολεμῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ, πάλιν ἐκεὶ
kολακεύων τοὺς ἤγεμόνας τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦς
καὶ ὁ ἄδελφος· εἶ δέ μή, ὁργίζοντο καὶ ἡπέλουν
ἐκάστοτε ἀποπλεύσεσθαι· καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους
καὶ κινδύνους ἀμηχάνους ὑπομένων, ὑστερον δὲ
νάλτο καὶ οὐχ ὅσον τ' ἦν δίχα ἡ μυρίων κακῶν
οἰκαί ἀφικέσθαι.

1 Ἡ before τά deleted by Geel. 2 δίχα Emperius: διὰ.

1 Iphigeneia.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

acceptable gifts to strangers when they come—gifts willingly given that do not arouse the recipient's suspicion or give him offence—perhaps not silver bowls, or embroidered robes, or a four-horse chariot, which were the gifts of Helen and Menelaus to Telemachus. For the poor man would be unlikely to have such guests to welcome as satraps or kings, for instance, unless they were very temperate and good men in whose eyes no gift is inadequate which is prompted by affection. But guests that are dissolute and tyrannical they would neither be able, I suppose, to serve acceptably nor, perhaps, would they care to extend such hospitality. For it surely did not turn out any better for Menelaus that he was able to receive the wealthiest prince of Asia as a guest and that nobody else in Sparta was equal to entertaining the son of King Priam. For, mark you, that prince despoiled his home, appropriated his wife as well as his treasures, left the daughter motherless, and sailed away. And after that Menelaus wasted a great deal of time travelling all over Greece bewailing his misfortunes and begging every king in turn to help him. He was forced also to implore his brother to give his daughter to be sacrificed at Aulis. Then for ten years he sat fighting in Troy-land, where again both he and his brother kept cajoling the leaders of the army. When this was not done, the soldiers would grow angry and on every occasion would threaten to sail for home. Besides, he endured many hardships and dire perils, after which he wandered about and was able to reach his home only after infinite trouble.

2 A harbour in Boeotia where the Greeks assembled before sailing for Troy.
97 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ δούρα ἀνάξιον ἄγασθαι τοῦ πλούτου κατὰ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν ὅντες ζηλωτῶν ὑπολαβείν; ὡς φησιν αὐτοῦ μέγιστον εἶναι ἄγαθον τὸ δοῦναι ξένοις, καὶ εἰς ποτέ τινες ἐλθὼς τρυφῆνες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, μη ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι παρασκεύῃς κατάλυσιν καὶ προθείναι.

98 ξένια, οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστα ἔδωκαν; λέγομεν δὲ ταύτα μεμνημένοι τῶν ποιητῶν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἀντιπαρεξήγοντες ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲ τῆς δόξης ζηλοτυποῦντες, ἂν ὁποῖ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐκτίσαντο ἐπὶ σοφίας οὐ τούτων ἔνεκα, φιλοτιμοῦμενοι ἔξελεγχειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστα εὐφήσιν ἤγονομοι τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διάνοιαν, ἃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει περὶ τε πλούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡθοῦς, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον οἴοντα σφιχθεῖ γενέσθαι ἂν ἀφ' ἐκάστου τῶν τοιούτων. δὴ λογον ὅτι μὴ συμφωνοῦντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ ποιημάτος μηδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἐχοντος οὐκ ἂν οὕτω σφόδρα ἐφίλουν οὐδὲ ἐπήνοουν ὡς σοφοὺς τε καὶ ἁγαθοὺς καὶ ¹

100 ταλαθή λέγοντας. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκαστον ἀπολαμβάνοντα ἐλέγχειν τοῦ πλῆθους, οὐδὲ ἀνεροτάν ἀπαντας ἐν μέρει, Τι γὰρ σὺ, ὃ ἀνθρώπῃ, διδοικας τὴν πενίνα οὕτως παῦν, τὸν δὲ πλούτον ὑπερτερμάς, τί δὲ αὖ σὺ ἐλπίζεις κερδανεῖν μέγιστον, ἂν τὸ χρυσὶ πλουτήσας ἥ νή Δία ἐμπρος γενόμενος ἢ καὶ βασιλεύσας; ἀμηχανον γὰρ δὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐδαμῶς

¹ ἀνάξιον Capps: ἄξιον.
² κατὰ Emperius: καλ.
³ ἀφ' Seldon: ἀφ'.
⁴ γενέσθαι before καλ deleted by Reiske.
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Is it not, then, most unfitting to admire wealth as the poet does and regard it as really worth seeking? He says that its greatest good lies in giving to guests and, when any who are used to luxury come to one's house, being in a position to offer them lodging and set such tokens of hospitality before them as would please them most. And in advancing these views we cite the poets, not to gain-say them idly nor because we are envious of the reputation for wisdom that they have won by their poems; no, it is not for these reasons we covet the honour of showing them to be wrong, but because we think that it is in them especially that we shall find the thought and feeling of men generally, just what the many think about wealth and the other objects of their admiration, and what they consider would be the greatest good derived from each of them. For it is evident that men would not love the poets so passionately nor extol them as wise and good and exponents of the truth if the poetry did not echo their own sentiments nor express their own views. Since, then, it is not possible to take each member of the multitude aside and show him his error or to cross-question everybody in turn by saying, "How is it, sir, that you fear poverty so exceedingly and exalt riches so highly?" and again, "What great profit do you expect to win if you happen to have amassed wealth or, let us say, to have turned merchant or even become a king?" Such a procedure would involve infinite trouble and

1 The reference seems to be to Euripides' Electra 404 f., where the peasant hesitates as to whether he can entertain Orestes and Pylades suitably. Cf. V, 427:

σκοπῶ τὰ χρημαθ' ὥς ἔχει μέγα οἰκίαν.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

πενήτων σκεπτέον ἄν εἰς τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐργασιῶν, πῶς ἄν μᾶλλον διάγοντες καὶ ποί ἄττα μεταχειρίζομενοι δυνήσουται μὴ κακώς ζῆν μηδὲ φαινότερον τῶν δανειζόμενων ἐπὶ τόκοις συχνοῖς, εὖ μάλι ἐπισταμένων τῶν ἡμερῶν τε καὶ μηνῶν ἄριθμῶν, καὶ τῶν συνοικίας τε μεγάλας καὶ ναυς κεκτημένων καὶ ἀνδρόποδα πολλά.

105 Μήποτε σπάμια ἢ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔργα τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀφορμῆς τε ἐξωθεν προσδεόμενα, ὅταν οἰκεῖν τε μισοῦν δέχαι καὶ τἀλλα ἔχειν ὀνομα-

μένους, οὐ μόνον ἰμαία καὶ σκεῦη καὶ σῖτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύλα, τῆς γε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν χραίας ἕνεκα τοῦ πυρὸς, καὶ φρυγάνων δέχαι ποτὲ ἢ φῦλλων ἢ ἀλλού οτονοῦ τῶν πάνυ φαύλων, διά ἂ δὲ

106 ὑδατος τὰ ἀλλὰ σύμπαντα ἀναγκάζονται 1 λαμβάνειν, τιμῆι κατατιθέντες, ἀτε πάντων κατα-

κλειομένων καὶ μηδενός ἐν μέσῳ φαινομένου πλήν γε οἴμαι τῶν ἐπὶ πράσει πολλῶν καὶ τιμῶν. τάχα γάρ ἂν φανεῖται χαλεπὸν τοιοῦτο βίῳ διαρκεῖν μηδὲν ἄλλο κτῆμα ἔξω τοῦ σώμα-

τος κεκτημένου, ἀλλος τέ ὅταν μὴ τὸ τυχὸν ἔργον μηδὲ πάνθ᾽ ὑμοίως συμβουλεύομεν αὐτοῖς.

107 οὕτων ἐστὶ κερδάναι: ὡστε ἵσως ἀναγκασθησό-

μεθα ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῷ λόγῳ τῶν κομψοὺς πένητας, ἦν παρέχομεν τῷ ὦντι καθ′ Ὀμῆρον τὰς πόλεις εὖ ναιεταόσας, ὅπο μόνων τῶν μακαρίων οἰκουμένας, ἐντὸς δὲ τειχῶν οὐδένα ἐάσωμεν, ὅσ οὐκε, ἐλεύθερον ἐργάτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀπαντᾶς τοῖ δράσομεν; ἡ διασπείραντες ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικιοῦμεν, καθάπερ 'Αθηναίους φασὶ νέμοσθαι καθ᾽ ὦλῃ τῇ

1 ἀναγκάζονται Reiske: ἀναγκάζονται.
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of poor men who live in the capital or some other city, and see by what routine of life and what pursuits they will be able to live a really good life, one not inferior to that of men who lend out money at excessive rates of interest and understand very well the calculation of days and months, nor to that of those who own large tenement houses and ships and slaves in great numbers!

For the poor of this type suitable work may perhaps be hard to find in the cities, and will need to be supplemented by outside resources when they have to pay house-rent and buy everything they get, not merely clothes, household belongings, and food, but even the wood to supply the daily need for fire, and even any odd sticks, leaves, or other most trifling thing they need at any time, and when they are compelled to pay money for everything but water, since everything is kept under lock and key, and nothing is exposed to the public except, of course, the many expensive things for sale. It will perhaps seem hard for men to subsist under such conditions who have no other possession than their own bodies, especially as we do not advise them to take any kind of work that offers or all kinds indiscriminately from which it is possible to make some money. So perhaps we shall be forced in our discussion to banish the respectable poor from the cities in order to make our cities in reality cities "well-inhabited," as Homer calls them, where only the prosperous dwell, and we shall not allow any free labourer, apparently, within the walls. But what shall we do with all these poor people? Shall we scatter them in settlements in the country as the Athenians are said to have been
Ἀττικῆν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον τυραν-

νήσαιτος Πεισιστράτου; οὐκοῦν οὔδὲ ἐκείνος ἀξύμφορος ἡ τοιαύτη διάστα ἐγένετο, οὔδὲ ἀγεννεῖς ἤνεγκε φύσεις πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παντὶ βελτίως καὶ σωφρονεστέρους τῶν ἐν ἀστεί τρεφομένων ὕστερον ἐκκλησιαστῶν καὶ δικαστῶν καὶ γραμματέων, ἄργων ἀμα καὶ βαναύσων. οὐκοῦν ὁ κλίνονει μέγας οὔδὲ χαλεπός, εἰ πάντες οὗτοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἅγροικοι ἐσονταί; οἱμαι δ' ὅμως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπορήσειυν οὔδε ἐν ἀστεί τροφῆς.

Ἀλλὰ ἔδωμεν πόσα καὶ ἄττα πράττοντες ἐπιεικῶς ἡμῶν διάξονσιν, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀναγκασθῶσιν ἄργοι καθίμενοι πρὸς τι τῶν φαύλων τραπέζαι. αἱ μὲν δὴ σύμπασαι κατὰ πόλιν ἐργασίαι καὶ τέχναι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοδαπαί, σφόδρα τε λυσιτελεῖς ἐναι τοῖς χρωμένοις, ἐὰν τις τὸ λυσιτελές σκοτή πρὸς ἀργύριον. ὡνομάσαι δὲ αὐτὰς πάσας κατὰ μέρος οὐ βάδιον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν οὐχ ἤττον. οὐκοῦν δὲ εἰρήσασθο περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν βραχεί ψόγος τε καὶ ἕπαινος. ὅσι μὲν σώματι βλαβερά πρὸς υψιειάν ἡ πρὸς ἑσφυν τὴν ἱκανὴν δι' ἀργίαν τε καὶ ἑδραίοτητα ἡ ψυχῆ ἡ ἀσχημοσύνη τε καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἐντίκτουσι ἡ ἄλλως ἀχρεῖοι καὶ πρὸς οὔδεν ὁφελός ἐστιν, εὐρημέναι δὲ ἀβελτερίαν τε καὶ τρυφῆν τῶν πόλεων, ἀσ γε τὴν

1 ψυχῆ Schenkl: ψυχῆs.
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spread all over Attica in early times and again later when Peisistratus became tyrant? That mode of life did not prove disadvantageous to the Athenians of that time, nor did it produce a degenerate breed of citizens either, but men in every way better and more temperate than those who later on got their living in the city as ecclesiasts,\(^1\) jurymen, and clerks—a lazy and at the same time ignoble crowd. It will not, therefore, cause any great and dire peril if all these respectable poor shall become by any end and every means rustics, but nevertheless I think that even in the city they will not fail to make a living.

But let us see what the variety and nature of the occupations are which they are to follow in order to live in what we believe is the proper way and not be often compelled to turn to something unworthy because they are out of work. The occupations and trades in the city, if all are taken into consideration, are many and of all kinds, and some of them are very profitable for those who engage in them if one thinks of money when he says "profitable." But it is not easy to name them all separately on account of their multitude, and equally because that would be out of place here. Therefore, let this brief criticism and praise of them suffice: All which are injurious to the body by impairing its health or by preventing the maintenance of its adequate strength through their inactive or sedentary character, or which engender in the soul either turpitude or illiberality or, in general, are useless and good for nothing since they owe their origin to

\(^1\) Members of the Athenian popular assembly, which consisted of the whole body of male citizens over eighteen years of age.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀρχὴν μήτε τέχνας μήτε ἐργασίας τὸ γε ὁρθὸν καλεῖν" οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε Ἡσίοδος σοφὸς ὁ τι ἐπήνευσεν ὁμοίως πᾶν ἔργον, εἰ τι τῶν ποιητῶν ἢ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἥξιον ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας.  

111 αἰς μὲν οὖν ἂν τις προσῆ τούτων τῶν βλαβῶν καὶ ἡτίσον, μηδένα ἀπέτεθαι τῶν ἔλευθέρων τε καὶ ἐπιεικῶν μὴδὲ ἐπίστασθαι μήτε αὐτῶν μήτε παίδας τοὺς αὐτοῦ διδάσκειν, ὥς οὗτε καθ᾽ Ἡσίο-

δον οὗτε καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐργάτην ἐσόμενον, ἰν τι μετα-

χειρίζηται τοιούτον, ἀλλὰ ἄργιας τε ἁμα καὶ αἰσχροκερδείας ἀνέλευθερον ἔξοντα ὀνείδος, βάναυσον καὶ ἀχρεῖον καὶ ποιηρὸν ἀπλῶς

112 ὅνυμαξόμενον. ὡσ᾽ ἃ ἂν μήτε ἀπρεπῇ 1 τοῖς μετιουσὶ μοχθηρῶν τε μηδεμίαν ἐμποιοῦντα τῇ ψυχῇ μήτε νοσῳδὴ τῶν τε ἄλλων νοσημάτων καὶ δήτα ἄσθενειας τε καὶ δόνου καὶ μαλακίας διὰ πολλὴν ἑσυχίαν ἐγγυμνομένην ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ μὴν χρείαν γε ἰκανὴν παρέχοντα πρὸς τῶν βιῶν,

113 πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα πράττοντες προθύμως καὶ φιλοπόνως 2 οὕτως ἂν ἐνδείξῃ ἔργον καὶ βίον ἡγίσατο, οὔτω ἂν ἀληθῆ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν παρέχοιειν τοῖς πλούσιοις καλεῖν ἄντοις ἦπερ εἰσχάσιν, ἀπόρους ὄνομαξόντες, 3 τούραντών μᾶλλον ἐκείνων ὅντες πορισταί καὶ μηδενὸς ἀποροῦντες, ὡς ἐπος ἐπιεῖν, τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων.

114 Φέρε οὖν μησθόμεν ἀφ’ ἐκατέρου τοῦ γένους,

1 ἀπρεπῇ Reiske: ἀποτρέπει.  
2 φιλοπόνως Dindorf: φιλοφόνως.  
3 ὅνομαξόντες Casaubon: ὅνομαξόντας.

1 As we might say, “a parasite living on tainted wealth.”  
2 Note the word play in the use of ἀπόρος, πορισταί and ἀποροῦντες. ἀπόρος, “without means,” is the opposite of 348
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the silly luxury of the cities—these cannot properly be called trades or occupations at all; for Hesiod, a wise man, would never have commended all occupations alike if he had thought that any evil or disgraceful thing was entitled to that name—so where any of these evils, be it what it may, is attached to these activities, no self-respecting and honourable man should himself have anything to do with them or know anything about them or teach them to his sons, for he knows that he will not be what either Hesiod or we mean by "workman" if he engages in any such business, but will incur the shameful reproach of being an idler living on disgraceful gains and hear himself bluntly called sordid, good for nothing, and wicked. But, on the other hand, where the occupations are not unbecoming to those who follow them and create no evil condition in their souls nor injure their health by inducing, among other diseases, physical weakness in particular, sluggishness, and softness on account of the almost complete lack of exercise, and, further, enable one to make a satisfactory living—the men who engage zealously and industriously in any of these will never lack work and a living from it, nor will they give the rich any justification for calling them the "poor class," as is their wont; on the contrary, they will be rather purveyors to the rich and lack practically nothing that is necessary and useful.

Now without describing in detail each and every εὐπορος, "rich," "well-to-do," but here Dio wants us to think of it as also meaning "not providing" in contrast to ποριστὴς, "provider." The idle rich are not really εὐποροι, for they provide nothing.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

ei kal μὴ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἐκαστα φράζοντες, ἀλλ' ὡς τύπῳ γε ἡ κατιδεῖν, τὰ ποι ἄττα καὶ ὅν ἔνεκα οὐ προσέμεθα, καὶ ποια θαρροῦντας ἐπιχειρεῖν κελεύομεν, μηδὲν φροντίζοντας τῶν ἀλλῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα προφέροντων, οἶνον εἰδόθαι λοιδοροῦμενοι προφέρειν πολλὰκις οὐ μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν ἑργασίας, αἷς οὔδὲν ἄτοπον πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γονέων, ἃν τινος ἔριθος ἢ μήτηρ ἢ τρυγητρία ἢ εἰελθοῦσα ποτὲ ἢ μισθοῦ τιθεῦσιν παῖδα τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἢ πλουσίων ἢ ὁ πατήρ διδάξῃ γράμματα ἢ πιεδαγωγήσῃ μηδὲν οὖν τοιούτων αἰσχυνωμένους ὡμόσε λέναι. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλως αὐτὰ ἐροῦσιν, ἂν λέγωσιν, ἢ ὡς σημεία πενίας, πενίαια αὐτήν λοιδοροῦτες δήλουν ὅτι καὶ προφέροντες ὡς κακοῦ δὴ τὰ καὶ δυστυχές, οὐ τῶν ἔργων οὔδεν. ἦστε ἐπειδὴ οὐ φαμεν χείρον οὐδὲ δυστυχέστερον πλοῦτον πενίαια οὔδὲ πάλλοις ἢς ἢμφορώτερον, οὐδὲ τὸ ὑπειδος τοῦ ὑπείδους μᾶλλον τι βαρυντέουν τούτ᾽ ἔκεινου. εἰ γὰρ τοι ἤδει 5 μὴ ὄνομάξουσα τὸ πράγμα ὅ ψέγουσι, τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν συμβαίνοντα δι᾽ αὐτὸ θλασφήμειν προφέροντας, πολὺ πλεῖον ἄν ἔχοιεν καὶ τῷ ὁντι αἰσχρά διὰ πλοῦτον γιγνόμενα, όιχ ἦκιστα δὲ τὸ παρὰ τῷ Πεισίδωφ κεκριμένον ἐπονείδιστον προφέρειν, τὸ τῆς ἀργίας, λέγοντες, ἤτι σε, ὁ ἄνθρωπε,

οὔτε 8 σκαπτήρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὐτ᾽ ἀροτῆρα,

1 τὲ Reiske : τε. 2 ποι ἄττα Geel: τοιαῦτα.
3 ἢ μήτηρ ἢ Jacobs : ἢ μήτηρ Ρ.
4 τοι Pflugk : τε. 5 δέοι Emericus : δυκεί.
6 διὰ ἰδιὸ Selden : διὰ τὸ.
7 λέγοντες Reiske : λέγοντες.
8 Aristotle (Nicomachean Ethics 6. 7) has τὸν δ᾽ οὐτ᾽ ἄρπ.
occupation, but simply offering a general outline, let us mention in these two classes the kinds we do not approve of, giving our reasons, and the kinds we urge men to undertake without hesitation. Let them pay no heed to those idle objectors who are wont often to sneer obviously not only at a man’s occupation when it has nothing at all objectionable in it, but even at that of his parents, when, for instance, his mother was once on occasion someone’s hired servant or a harvester of grapes, or was a paid wet-nurse for a motherless child or a rich man’s, or when his father was a schoolmaster or a tutor. Let them, I say, feel no shame before such persons but go right ahead. For if they refer to such things, they will simply be mentioning them as indications of poverty, evidently abusing and holding up poverty itself as something evil and unfortunate, and not any of these occupations. Therefore, since we maintain that to be poor is no worse and no more unfortunate than to be rich, and perhaps no less advantageous to many, the sneer at one’s occupation ought not to give any greater offence than the sneer at one’s poverty. You see, if, without mentioning the thing with which they found fault, they had to bring up and denounce the things it caused from day to day, they would have a great many more and really disgraceful things caused by the possession of wealth to bring up, and not least of all what in Hesiod is adjudged the greatest shame, namely, the charge of idleness, and exclaim, “Sir, “Never a delver did the gods make thee, nor a ploughman,”

1 Part of a verse from fragment 2 of the *Margites*, a poem ascribed to Homer, not to Hesiod.
καὶ ὅτι ἄλλως τὰς χεῖρας ἔχεις κατὰ τοὺς μυηστήρας ἀτριπτούς καὶ ἀσαλάς.

117 Οὐκόν τόδε μὲν οίμαι παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ καὶ πολλάκις λεγόμενον ἵσως, ὅτι βαφείς μὲν καὶ μυρεψόνς σὺν κοινῇ γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, οὐ πολὺ τε διαφεροῦσαι τὰ νῦν, καὶ ποικιλικῇ πάσῃ σχεδον, οὐκ ἐσθήτος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριχῶν καὶ χρωτός, ἐγχοῦσι καὶ ψημυθίῳ καὶ πᾶσι φαρμάκοις μηχανωμένη ὄρας φευδεῖς καὶ νόθα εἰδώλα, ἔτι δὲ ἐν οἷκών ὁροφαῖς καὶ τοῖχοι καὶ ἐδάφει τὰ μὲν χρώμασι, τὰ δὲ λίθοις, τὰ δὲ

118 χρυσῷ, τὰ δὲ ἑλέφαντι ποικιλλόντων, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖχων γυλυφαῖς, τὸ μὲν ἄριστον μὴ παραδέχεσθαι καθόλου τὰς πόλεις, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ διορίσαι μὴδένα ἄν τοιοῦτον γύγναθαι τῶν ἁμετέρων πενήτων· ὡς πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους ἡμεῖς ἀγωνιζόμεθα ὅσπερ χορφά τὰ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας προκειμένου τοῦ ἀγώνος· οὐ γὰρ πενίᾳ τούτῳ πετοῦνται τῷ ἀθλον οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς, μόνης δὲ ἄρετῆς ἐστιν ἐξαιρετοῦ ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀγωγῆς τινος καὶ μετριότητος βίου.

119 Καὶ τοῖνυν οὐδ’ ὑποκριτᾶς τραγικοὺς ἢ κωμικοὺς ἢ διὰ 7 τινῶν μίμων ἀρκάτου γέλωτος δημιουργοὺς οὐδὲ ὀρχηστὰς οὐδὲ χορευτὰς, πλὴν γε τῶν ἱερῶν χορῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ γα τοῖς

1 καὶ βυσσαθέφας before σὺν deleted by Pflugk.
2 διαφεροῦσαι Morel: διαφεροῦσας.
3 ἐγχοῦσι Casaubon: ἐπεγχοῦσι οὐ ἐπεχοῦση.
4 ὄρας Imperius: ὃς ἄρα.
5 δεύτερον added by Cappi. Kayser conj. ἄρκον.
6 τοιοῦτον Reiske: τὸ τοιοῦτον.
7 διὰ added by Reiske.

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adding, "In vain hast thou hands; soft and tender are they like those of the suitors."

Now what I have to say next is, I imagine, apparent to every man and perhaps often remarked—that dyeing and perfumery, along with the dressing of men's and women's hair—nearly the same for both sexes to-day—and practically all adorning, not only of clothing, but even of the hair and skin by the use of alkanet, white lead, and all kinds of chemicals in the attempt to counterfeit youthfulness make a spurious image of the person, and further, the decorating of the roofs, walls, and floor of houses, now with paints, now with precious stones, here with gold and there with ivory, and, again, with carving of the walls themselves—that as for these occupations, the best thing would be that cities should admit none of them at all, but that for us in our present discussion the next best thing would be to rule that none of our poor should adopt any such trade; for we are at present contending against the rich as if with a chorus, and the contest is not for happiness—that is not the prize set before poverty, or before wealth either, but is the especial reward of virtue alone—no, it is for a certain manner of life and moderation therein.

Furthermore, we shall not permit our poor to become tragic or comic actors or creators of immoderate laughter by means of certain mimes, or dancers or chorus-men either. We except, however, the sacred choruses, but not if they represent the

\[1\] A plant, also called anchusa, whose root yields a red dye.
\[2\] Just as chorus contended against chorus, so Dio as spokesman for the poor is contending against the rich.

\[\textit{o} ð\textit{k} \text{ added by Reiske.}\]
Νιόβης ἡ Θωέστου πάθεσιν ἄδοντας ἡ ὀρχουμένους, οὐδὲ κηθαρῳδοὺς οὐδὲ αὐλητὰς περὶ νίκης ἐν θεατροις ἀμυλλωμένους, εἴ καὶ τινὲς τῶν ἐνδόξων πόλεων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἥμιν δυσχερῶς ἔξεσθαι, Σμύρνα καὶ Χίος, καὶ δήτα σὺν ταύταις καὶ τὸ "Ἀργος, ὡς τὴν Ὁμήρου τε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος δόξαν οὐκ ἔωντων αὐξεσθαι τὸ γοῦν 120 ἐφ’ ἡμῖν" τυχῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι χαλεπανοῦσιν, ἀτιμάζοντες υμῖν ἐν τοῖς σφετεροῖς ποιητῶς τραγικοὺς καὶ κωμικούς, ὅταν τοὺς υπηρέτας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρόμεθα, μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν φάσκοντες ἐπιτηδεύειν, εἰκὸς δὲ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ Ἡηβαίους, ὡς τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν ὑβριζομένης, ἥν προεκρήθησαν 121 κατ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκάθεν ἐπὶ αὐλήτικήν ταύτην δὲ τὴν νίκην οὕτω σφόδρα ἡγάπησαν, ὡστε ἀναστάτως τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς γενομένης καὶ ἐπὶ νῦν σχεδόν οὕσης πλὴν μικροῦ μέρους, τῆς Καδμείας οἰκουμένης, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὔδενὸς ἐφροντισαν τῶν ἡφασμαζόνων ἀπὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἵερων, πολλῶν δὲ στηλῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἐρμῆν ἀναζητήσαντες πάλιν ἀνώρθωσαν, ἐφ’ ὅν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ περὶ τῆς αὐλήτικης, 122 Ἐλλάς μὲν Ἡηβαίας νικᾶν προεκρίθησαν ἐν 2 αὐλοῖς·

Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγορᾶς ἐν 122 τούτῳ ἁγαλμα ἐστηκεν ἐν τοῖς ἑρατοῖς· ὃς δὲ φοβηθέντες οὐδένα τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπιτιμήσοντας ἡμῖν, ὡς τὰ σπουδαιότατα παρὰ τοῖς

1 ἀπὸ Reiske: ὑπὲρ. 2 ἐν added by Casaubon. 3 ἐπιτιμήσοντα Reisko: ἐπιτιμηθέντας.
sorrows of Niobe or Thyestes by song or dance. Nor shall the poor become harpers or flute-players contending for victory in the theatres, even if we shall offend certain distinguished cities by so doing, cities such as Smyrna \(^1\) or Chios,\(^1\) for example, and, of course, Argos \(^2\) too, for not permitting the glory of Homer and Agamemnon to be magnified, at least so far as we can help it. Perhaps the Athenians also will have a grievance because they believe that we are disparaging their poets, tragic and comic, when we deprive them of their assistants, claiming that there is nothing good in their calling. It is likely that the Thebans too will be resentful, on the ground that indignity is being offered their victory in flute-playing which was awarded them by Greece. They cherished that victory so dearly that when their city had been destroyed—almost as it remains to-day except for a small part, the Cadmea, which is still inhabited—they cared nothing for the other things that had disappeared, for the many temples, many columns and inscriptions, but the Hermes they hunted out and set up again because the inscription about the contest in flute-playing was engraved upon it.

“Greece awarded to Thebes the victory in playing on flute-pipes.”

And now in the middle of the old market-place stands this one statue surrounded by ruins. But we shall have no fear of any of these people nor of those who will charge us with disparaging the things

\(^1\) Claimed to be Homer’s birthplace.
\(^2\) Chief city of Argolis, which was once Agamemnon’s country and itself called Argos.
"Ελλησι ζέγομεν, ἀπαντα τὰ τοιαύτα οὐκ αἰδημόνων οὐδὲ ἔλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαινόμενοι ἔργα, ὡς ἄλλα τε 1 πολλὰ δυσχερὴ πρόσεστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ μέγιστον τὸ τῆς ἀναιδείας, τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος φρονεῖν τὸν ὀχλὸν, ὀπέρ 2 θρασύνεσθαι καλεῖν ὅρθότερον.

123 Οὐκοσιν οὐδὲ κήρυκας ἀνίων οὐδὲ κλοπὰν ἢ δρασμῶν μὴνutra προτιθέντας, ἐν ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ φθεγγομένους μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνελευθερίας, 3 οὐδὲ συμβολαίων 4 καὶ προκλήσεων καὶ καθόλου τῶν περὶ δίκας καὶ ἐγκλῆματα συγγραφεῖς, προσποιομένους τόμμον ἐμπερίαν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς σοφοῦς τε καὶ δεινοὺς δικορράφους τε καὶ συνηγόρους, μισθουδι πάσιν ὁμοίως ἐπαγγελλομένους βοηθήσειν καὶ 5 ἀδικοῦσι τά μέγιστα, καὶ 6 ἀνασκυντήσειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλωτρῶν ἄδικημάτων καὶ σχετλάσεως καὶ βοήθεσθαι καὶ ἱκετεύσεως ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅπου φίλων ὅπε συγγενῶν σφίσθην ὄντων, σφόδρα ἑντίμους καὶ λαμπροὺς ἐνίοτε ἐναὶ δοκοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὐδὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδένα ἄξιον ὁμοίωμεν 7 ἀν ἐκείνων γύγνεσθαι, παραχωρεῖν δὲ ἔτεροι. 124 χειροτέχνας μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τινας ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι, ὑλωσσοτέχνας δὲ καὶ δικοτέχνας οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη.

Τούτων δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τε καὶ ῥηθησομένων εἰ τινα 8 δοκεῖ χρήσιμα ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὡσπερ ταῖς νῦν οἰκουμέναις, οἴον δὴ ἐσως τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν

1 τε Reiske : γε.
2 μέγιστον after ὀπέρ deleted by Reiske.
3 ἀνελευθερίας Herwerden : ἐλευθερίας.
4 συμβολαίων Emperiuαs : συμβόλων.
5 καὶ Casaubon : μῆ.

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which the Greeks cherish as most important, but shall declare that all such activities have no place with self-respecting or free men, holding that many evils are due to them, the greatest of which certainly is shamelessness, that overweening pride on the part of the populace, for which arrogance would be a better name.

Neither should our poor become auctioneers or proclaimers of rewards for the arrest of thieves or runaways, shouting in the streets and market-place with great vulgarity, or scriveners who draw up contracts and summonses or, in general, documents that have to do with trials and complaints, and claim knowledge of legal forms; nor must they be learned and clever pettifogging lawyers, who pledge their services to all alike for a fee, even to the greatest scoundrels, and undertake to defend unblushingly other men's crimes, and to rage and rant and beg mercy for men who are neither their friends nor kinsmen, though in some cases these advocates bear a high report among their fellow-citizens as most honourable and distinguished men. No, we shall allow none of our poor to adopt such professions but shall leave these to the other sort. For though some of them must of necessity become handcraftsmen, there is no necessity that they should become tongue-craftsmen and law-craftsmen.

Still, if any of the occupations of which I have been speaking, and shall yet speak, seem to have their useful place in our cities as they do in these now

6 καὶ . . . ἀδίκηματον in MSS. occurs after ἐν τῇ πόλει: moved by Dindorf.
7 ἀξιοίμεν Reiske: ἀξιοῦμεν.
8 ἐν τίνα Emperor: ἔστιν δ.
δικών ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τῶν συμβολαίων, τάχα δὲ καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἔνια, ὃπως ἂν ἂν ἢ ἢ ὃν γυνώμενα ἤκειστα ἂν εἰη βλαβερά, οὐ νῦν καίρος ἐστὶ διορίζειν. οὐ γὰρ πολιτείαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι διατάττομεν, ὅποια τις ἂν ἂν ἡ ἀρίστη γένοιτο ἡ πολλῶν ἀμείων, ἀλλὰ περὶ πενίας προνόμεθι εἰπεῖν, ὥσις οὐκ ἀπορα αὐτῇ τὰ πράγματα ἐστὶν, ὡσπερ δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῇ τε εἴναι φεύκτων καὶ κακῶν, ἀλλὰ μυρίας ἀφορμάς πρὸς τὸ ζῆν παρέχει τοῖς αὐτουργεῖν βουλομένοις οὕτε ἄσχη- μονας οὕτε βλαβεράν. ἀπὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τὰ περὶ γεωργίας καὶ θήρας προντιράπη- μεν προδιεικθεῖν ἐπὶ πλέον πράτερον καὶ νῦν περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἄστυ ἐργασιῶν, τίνες αὐτῶν πρέπουσαι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖσ τοῖς μή κάκιστα βιωσομένους καὶ τίνες χείρους ἂν ἀποτελοῦσι τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν.

127 Εἰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καθόλου χρήσιμά ἐστιν πρὸς πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ προσήκοντος αἴρεσιν, ταύτη καὶ δικαιότερον συγγόμων ἔχειν τοῦ μήκους τῶν λόγων, ὅτι οὐ μάτην ἄλλως οὐδὲ περὶ ἄχρηστα πλανωμένῳ πλείονες γεγονάσων. ἡ γὰρ περὶ ἐργασιῶν καὶ τεχνῶν σκέψις καὶ καθόλου περὶ βίου προσήκοντος ἡ μὴ τοῖς μετρίοις καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄξια πέρεψει πολλῆς καὶ πάνω ἀκριβοῦς θεωρίας. χρή οὖν τὰς ἐκτροπάς τῶν λόγων, ἂν καὶ σφόδρα μακρὸν δοκῶσι, μὴ μέντοι περὶ γε φαίλων μηδὲ ἀνάξιων μηδὲ οὖ προσηκόντων, μὴ δυσκόλως φέρειν, ὡς οὐκ αὐτὴν λύποντος τὴν τῶν ὅλων ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ λέγοντος,

1 ἔνια Cappa: ἔνιαν.  2 ἢ Pflugk: ἢ.
3 ἐργασίων Pflugk: γεωργίων.
4 λόγων before μηδὲ deleted by Casaubon.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

existing, such as perhaps the registering of judgments and contracts, and perhaps certain proclama-
mations, it is not now the place for us to determine how and by whom these needs shall be met with
the least harm. For we are not at present mapping out the form of government that would be best, or
better than many, but we did set out to discuss poverty and to show that its case is not hopeless,
as the majority think, who hold it as an evil which should be avoided, but that it affords many oppor-
tunities of making a living that are neither unseemly nor injurious to men who are willing to work with
their hands. Indeed, it was with that very premise that we were led to tell that quite lengthy tale
at the beginning about life among farmers and hunters, and to speak now about city occupations,
defining those that are befitting and not harmful to men who are not to live on the lowest plane, and
those which degrade the men who are employed in them.

Further, if much that I have said is, in general, serviceable in moulding public policy and assisting
in a proper choice, then there is the greater reason for pardoning the length of my discourse, because I
have not dragged it out in idle wandering or talk about useless things. For the study of employments
and trades and, in general, of the life fitting or otherwise for ordinary people has proved to be, in and of
itself, worthy of a great deal of very careful research. The hearer should therefore not be annoyed at digres-
sions even if they do seem excessively long, if only they are not about trivial or unworthy or irrelevant
things, since the speaker has not abandoned the real

1 As we say, "have the lowest standard of living."
129 φιλοσοφία διεξήγη. σχεδὸν γὰρ κατὰ τούτο μμούμενοι τούς κυνηγήτας οὐκ ἄμαρτάνοιμεν· οἷς ἔπειδαν τὸ πρῶτον ἤχον ἐκλαβώντες κάκεινον ἐπόμενον μεταξὺ ἐπίτυχος ἐτέρῳ φανερωτέρῳ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγὺς, οὐκ ὁικήσαν τούτῳ ξυνακολουθήσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐλόντες τὸ ἐμπεσὼν ἔστερον ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ μετήλθον. ἦσος οὖν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο μεμπτέον, ὅστις περὶ ἄνδρός δικαίον καὶ δικαιο- σύνης λέγειν ἀρξάμενος, μὴ σθεῖς πόλεως παρα- δείγματος ἐνεκεν, πολλαπλάσιον λόγον ἀνάλωσεν περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέκαμε πρὸν ἡ πάσας μεταβολὰς καὶ ἄπαντα γένει πολιτείων διεξήλθε, πάνω ἐναργῶς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὰ ἐκατάργησαντα περὶ ἐκάστην ἐπιδεικνύσι· εἰ καὶ παρὰ τισιν αὐτίαν ἔχει περὶ τοῦ μήκους τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς διατριβῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ παράδειγμα δήποτεν· ἀλλ' ὡς 3 οὐδὲν οὐντα πρὸς τὸ προκεί- μενον τὰς ἐνεκέν ὑποκειμένα καὶ οὐδ' ὅπως ὑποκειμένας ἑπέρετεν δι' αὐτὰ τοῦ ἔντομου γεγονότος, οὐ πέρ ἐνεκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν λόγον παρελήφθη, διὰ ταῦτα, εἰπὲν ἄρα, οὐ παντάπασιν ἅδεκα ἐνθύνεται.

128 έδών οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς μὴ προσήκοντα μηδὲ οἰκεία τοῦ προκείμενον συνώμωθα διεξιότας, μακρολογεῖν εἰκότως ἄν οἱ οἰκείες καθ' αὐτὸ δὲ ἄλλως οὐτε μήκος οὕτε βραχύτητα ἐν λόγωι ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ἄρτοις δίκαιον.

1 ὦς Casaubon: ὦς.
2 ἢνακολουθήσαι Carpe: ξυνακολουθήσατε. For ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μετήλθον Jacobs proposed ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤχον ἐπανελθεῖν.
3 ἀλλ' ὄς Casaubon: ἀλλ'.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

theme of the whole provided he treats of the matters that are essential and pertinent to philosophy. Probably if we imitated the hunter in this we should not go far astray. When he picks up his first trail and, following it, all at once comes upon another that is clearer and fresher, he does not hesitate to follow up this latter and then, after bagging his game, goes back to the first trail. Neither should we, perhaps, find fault with a man who set out to discuss the just man and justice and then, having mentioned a city for the sake of illustration, expatiated at much greater length on the constitution of a state and did not grow weary until he had enumerated all the variations and the kinds of such organizations, setting forth very clearly and magnificently the features characteristic of each; even though he does find critics here and there who take him to task for the length of his discussion and the time spent upon "the illustration, forsooth!" But if the criticism be that his remarks on the state have no bearing on the matter in hand and that not the least light has been thrown on the subject of investigation which led him into the discussion at the start—for these reasons, if for any, it is not altogether unfair to call him to task. So if we too shall be found to be expounding matters that are not pertinent or germane to the question before us, then we might be found guilty of prolixity. But, strictly speaking, it is not fair on other grounds to commend or to criticize either length or brevity in a discourse.

1 The man here referred to is Plato, who in his Republic sets out to determine what justice is, and from this is led on to describe an ideal state founded on justice.
Περί δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πράξεων χρή θαρροῦντας διαπεράναι, τῶν μὲν μεμνημονένων, τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴωντας ἄρρητα τε καὶ ἁμνημόνευτα.

133 Οὐ γάρ δὴ περί γε πορνοβοσκῶν καὶ περὶ πορνοβοσκείας ὧς ἀμφιβολῶν ἀπαγορευτέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνιν ἱσχυριστέον τε καὶ ἁπαρρητέον, λέγοντες μηδένα προσχρήσθαι μήτε οὐν πένθα μήτε πλούσιον ἐργασία τοιαύτη, μισθὸν ὑβρεῖς καὶ ἁκολασίας ὁμοίως παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπονείδιστον ἐκλέγοντας, ἀναφροδίτου μέξεως καὶ ἀνεράστων ἐρότων κέρδους ἑνεκα γνωσμένους συναγωγοὺς, ἀιχμάλωτα σώματα γυναικῶν ἡ παῖδων ἡ ἄλλοις ἀργυρόνητα ἐπὶ αἰσχύνῃ προιστάντας ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων βυσσάρων, παιναχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδεδειγμένων, ἐν τε παράδοσις ἄρχοντων καὶ ἀγοραῖς, 134 πλησίον ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἱερῶν, μεταξύ τῶν ὀσιωτάτων, μήτε οὖν βαρβαρία σώματα μήτε Ἑλληνικῶν πρότερον μὲν οὐ πάνιν, τὰ γάρ δὲ ἁφθόνοι τε καὶ πολλὴ δουλεία κεχρημένων, ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην λάβην καὶ ἁνάγκην ἀγοντας, ἵπποφορεῖς καὶ ὄνοφοροι πολὺ κάκιον καὶ ἀκαβαλτότερον ἔργων ἐργαζόμενους, οὐ κτήμεσι κτήσας δίχα βλας ἐκόντα ἐκοῦσιν ἐπιβάλλοντας οὐδὲν αἰσχυνομένους, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπους αἰσχυνομένους καὶ ἀκουσιν οἰστρώντας καὶ ἀκολάστους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ ἀτελεῖ καὶ ἀκάρπῳ συμπλοκῇ σωμάτων φθορᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ γένεσις ἀποτελούσῃ, οὔκ οἰσχύνον, 135 μένους οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν, οὔτε Δία γε-

1 ἀνεράστων Ἐμπερίου: ἀνεράστων τῶν.
2 συναγωγοῦς Πλυγκ: συναγωγοῦσαι.
3 ἀποτελοῦσθαι Ῥείσκου: ἀποτελοῦντος.
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

Now we must confidently go on and finish our discussion of the other activities of city life, mentioning some of them and leaving others unmentioned and unrecorded.

In dealing with brothel-keepers and their trade we must certainly betray no weakness as though something were to be said on both sides, but must sternly forbid them and insist that no one, be he poor or be he rich, shall pursue such a business, thus levying a fee, which all the world condemns as shameful, upon brutality and lust. Such men bring individuals together in union without love and intercourse without affection, and all for the sake of filthy lucre. They must not take hapless women or children, captured in war or else purchased with money, and expose them for shameful ends in dirty booths which are flaunted before the eyes in every part of the city, at the doors of the houses of magistrates and in market-places, near government buildings and temples, in the midst of all that is holiest. Neither barbarian women, I say, nor Greeks—of whom the latter were in former times almost free but now live in bondage utter and complete—shall they put in such shameful constraint, doing a much more evil and unclean business than breeders of horses and of asses carry on, not mating beasts with beasts where both are willing and feel no shame, but mating human beings that do feel shame and revulsion, with lecherous and dissolute men in an ineffectual and fruitless physical union that breeds destruction rather than life. Yes, and they respect no man nor god—

\[a\] ὁδηγός Ἐμπερίου; ὁδηγος.
μένως μελέτης καὶ συνηθείας ἀκάθεκτον τῆν ἴσχῦν1 καὶ ρώμην λαβοῦσα οὐδενός ἢτι φείδεται τῶν λοιπῶν.

139 Ὁδ' οὖν χρῆ παντὸς μᾶλλον οἶεσθαι τὰς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ταύτας φανερὰς καὶ ἀτίμους μοιχείας καὶ λιαν ἀναισχύντως καὶ ἀνέδην γυγομένας, ὅτι τῶν ἄδηλων καὶ ἀφανῶν εἰς ἑντίμους γυναῖκας τε καὶ παιδάς ὑβρεων οὐχ ἦκιστα παρέχουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πάνω ῥαδίως τὰ τοιαύτα τολμάσθαι, τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐν κοινῷ καταφρονομένης, ἀλλ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ὤνται τινες, ὑπὲρ ἁσφαλείας καὶ ἀποχής ἐκείνων εὐρήσθαι τῶν ἀμαρτιμάτων.

140 Τάχ' οὖν λέγοι τις ἄν ἀγροκυτεραν οὕτω πως: Ὡ σοφοὶ νομοθετάται καὶ ἀρχοντες οἱ παραδεξήμονοι τὰ τοιαύτα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὡς δὴ τι θαυμαστῶν εὐρηκότες3 ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμεῖς σωφροσύνης φάρμακον, ὅπως ὑμῖν μὴ τὰ φανερὰ ταύτα καὶ ἀκλειστὰ οικήματα τὰς κεκλεισμένας οἰκίας καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοθεν θαλάμους ἀναπτάσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω καὶ φανερῶς ἀσελογάνωτας ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας καὶ σεμνὰς τρέψῃ γυναίκας μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων τε καὶ δόρων, τὸ σφόδρα εὐώνου καὶ μετ' ἐξουσίας ὦκετί στέργονται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ κεκαλυμμένον ἐν φόβῳ τε καὶ πολλοῖς ἀναλάμασι διώκοντας, ὄψεσθε δὲ αὐτὸ, ἔμοι δοκεῖν, ἀκριβέστερον, ἐὰν σκοπήτητε παρ' οἷς γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν μοιχεῶν μεγαλοπρεπέστερον πως παραπέμπεται, πολλῆς καὶ σφόδρα φίλανθρωπον τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης τυγχάνοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρηστότητος οὐκ αἰσθανομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
habits that seem trivial and allowable, it acquires a strength and force that are uncontrollable, and no longer stops at anything.

Now at this point we must assuredly remember that this adultery committed with outcasts, so evident in our midst and becoming so brazen and unchecked, is to a very great extent paving the way to hidden and secret assaults upon the chastity of women and boys of good family, such crimes being only too boldly committed when modesty is openly trampled upon, and that it was not invented, as some think, to afford security and abstinence from those crimes.

Perhaps now someone may say, rather rudely, something like this: "O you wise rulers and lawgivers, who tolerated such practices in the beginning and imagined you had actually discovered some wondrous elixir to produce chastity in our cities, your motive being to keep these open and unbarred brothels from contaminating your barred homes and inner chambers, and keep men who practise their excesses abroad and openly at little cost from turning to your free-born and respected wives with their many bribes and gifts!" For men do grow weary of what is excessively cheap and freely permitted, but pursue in fear and at great expense what is forbidden simply because it is forbidden. I think you will see this more clearly if you just consider. For where men condone even the matter of adultery in a somewhat magnificent fashion and the practice of it finds great and most charitable consideration, where husbands in their simplicity do not notice most things and do

\[ {\text{\textsuperscript{2}} \text{eis Reiske: eis te.}} \]
\[ {\text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{e\u03b7r\u03b9\kappa\u03b1\varepsilon \text{Jacob\varepsilon: e\u03b7r\u03b9\kappa\varepsilon.}} \]
τὰ δὲ τινὰ αὐχ ὠμολογοῦντων εἰδέναι, ξένους δὲ καὶ φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς μοιχοὺς καλουμένους ἀνεχομένων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνίστε φιλοφρονουμένων καὶ παρακαλοῦντων εὐ ταῖς ἔστραφες καὶ θυσίαις ἐπὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις, ὡς ἄν οἴμαι τοὺς 142 οἰκειοτάτους, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σφόδρα ἐκδήλως καὶ φανερῶς μετρίας τὰς ὀργὰς ποιουμένων παρ' ὦς, φημί, ταῦτ' οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς ἐξάγεται τὰ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρθένων ἐκεῖ βαρρῆσαι βάδυον τῆς κορείας ὁ οὕτω τὸν ὑμέναιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀδίκουν ἐν τοῖς παρθέ- 143 νικοῖς γάμοις πιστεύσαλ ποτε. η οὐκ 2 ἀνάγκη πολλὰ ἔοικότα ξυμβαίνειν αὐτόθι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μύθοις, διὰ γε τῆς τῶν πατέρων ὀργῆς καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης, μάλα 3 πολλῶν μιμουμένων τοὺς λεγομένους τῶν θεῶν ἔρωτας χρυσοῦ τε πολλῶν διαρρέοντος διὰ τῶν ὀρόφων καὶ πάνω ραδίως, ἀτε οὐ χαλκῶν 4 οὕτως οὕτω λιθίνων τῶν οἰκη- 144 μάτων, καὶ νη Δία ἄργυρου στάξοντος οὗ κατ' ὀλύνου οὕτ' εἰς τοὺς τῶν παρθένων κόλπους μόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὲ μητέρων καὶ τρόφων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν, καὶ ἀλλ' πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν δώρων τῶν μὲν κρύφα εἰσίν των διὰ τῶν στεγῶν, ἐστι δ' ὃν φανερῶς κατ' αὐτάς που τὰς κλισίας; 145 τί δ'; ἐν ποταμοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ κρηνῶν οὐκ εἰκὸς ὡμοία πολλὰ γενέσθαι τοῖς πρότερον λεγομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν; πλὴν ἱσως γε οὐ δημοσία 5 γυμνόμενα οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, κατ' οἰκίας δὲ

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1 κορείας Jacob: χορείας.
2 οὐκ Pfugk: οὖν.
3 μάλα Emperius: ἀλλὰ.
4 χαλκῶν Dindorf: χαλκῶν.
5 δημοσία Arnim: δημοσία.
not admit knowledge of some things but suffer the adulterers to be called guests and friends and kinsmen, at times even entertaining these themselves and inviting them to their tables at festivals and sacrifices as, I imagine, they might invite their bosom friends, and display but moderate anger at actions that are most glaring and open—where, I say, these intrigues of the married women are carried on with such an air of respectability, in that community it will not be easy to feel quite sure of the maidenhood of the unmarried girls or ever to be confident that the words of the wedding song sung at the marriage of the girls are truthful and honest. Is it not inevitable that in these cities many things occur which are like the old legends?—omitting, of course, the angry and meddlesome fathers\(^1\)—that a great many persons copy the storied amours of the gods and gold pours in showers through the roofs\(^2\) (and with little difficulty, since the chambers are not of brass or stone), and yes, by heavens, that silver trickles in no small stream nor into the laps of the maidens alone, but into those of mothers also and nurses and tutors—to say nothing of many other handsome gifts which sometimes enter stealthily through the roof and sometimes openly no doubt at the very bedside! Is it not likely, too, that much occurs in rivers and beside springs which is like those happenings of ancient times that the poets describe? Only perhaps they do not occur in the open publicly, but in homes of truly great felicity,

\(^1\) The regular characters in the old tales; cf. the New Comedy.

\(^2\) A very similar passage, in comic vein, occurs in Menander's \textit{Samia} 387 ff., where Demeas tries to persuade Nicoratus that Zeus is the father of his bastard grandson.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δότως ἐυδαίμονας, κήπων τε καὶ προαστείων πολυτελείς ἐπαύλεις, ἐν τοῖς νυμφῶσι κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ θαυμαστοίς ἄλσεσιν, ἀτε οὐ περί πενυχρᾶς οὐδὲ πενήτων βασιλέων οἷς ὑδροφορεῖν τε καὶ παίζειν παρά τοῖς ποταμοῖς, ψυχρὰ λουτρὰ λουομένας καὶ ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς ἀναπτυσσόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μακαρίας καὶ μακαρίων γονέων, ἐν βασιλικάς καταγωγάς ἰδία πάντα ταῦτα ἦχούσας πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα τῶν κοινῶν.

146 Ἀλλ' ἢσος γε οὕδεν ἦττον ἐμελλὼν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει παίδας προσδοκῶν ἐσομένους, οἷον ὁμηρὸς εἰρήκεν Ἐνδωροῦ, νῦν Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Πολυδώρας, ὑποκοριζόμενος αὐτὸν οἶμαι κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν,

παρθένος, τὸν ἓκτετε χορῷ καὶ Πολυδώρῃ.

147 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐνυχῶν τινες ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τῶν οὕτως γενομένων, Παρθενίας κληθέντες συχρο̣νίστε ὅστις εἰ μὴ διεφθέραντο οἱ πλείονες τῶν ἐν ταῖς οὕτως τρυφώσας πόλεσι γιγνομένων, ἀτε οὐδαμῶς οἶμαι δαμινίου τυγχάνουτες ἐπιμελείας, οὐδὲν ἄν ἐκόλουθε πάντα μεστὰ ἥρων οἶμαι. νῦν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπόλλυσιν παραχρῆμα ὅσοι δ' ἂν καὶ τραφῶσι, κρύφα ἐν δούλου σχῆματι μένουσιν ἄχρι γῆρος, ἀτε οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς δυναμένων τῶν σπειράντων προσωφελείν.

Εἴεν δ' ἤ, παρ' οἴς ἂν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς κόρας

1 δότως Gaez. οὕτως.
2 περί added by Reiske.
3 aïgiálòis Pflugk: ἄλσειν.
4 τραφῶσι Schwarts: φανώσιν.

1 Iliad 16. 180, but the last word in Homer's verse is Πολυμήλη, not Πολυδώρη, which occurs in verse 175.

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at costly lodges in parks and city suburbs, in luxurious artificial bowers and in splendid groves; for it is not a question of poor daughters of penniless kings, the kind that carry water and play on beaches beside the rivers, bathing in cool water, or on widespread beaches of the sea; no, they are the wealthy daughters of wealthy parents in princely establishments that possess all these things in private far surpassing anything in public splendour and magnificence.

But perhaps they would nevertheless be expecting children to be born in that city, children of the kind that Homer refers to when he mentions Eudorus, son of Hermes and Polydora, and makes use of an euphemism, as I see it, in referring to his birth:

"Virgin's son whom bore Polydora, fair in the chorus." ¹

I suspect that at Sparta as well some boys of a similar paternity received this appellation, since quite a number are called Parthenians.² Consequently, if the majority born in such immoral cities did not perish through utter lack, I imagine, of divine protection, then nothing would save the world from being overrun by demigods. But as it is, some die at birth, while those that do survive live on to old age in obscurity in the status of slaves, since those who gave them being can give them no further support.

Now then, in a city where the girls' condition

¹ i.e., sons of parthenoi or virgins. The term was applied to the youths born at Sparta during the Messenian War.
οὕτως ἀπλῶς ἔχει, τι χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τοὺς κόρους, 149 ποίας τινος παιδείας καὶ ἀγωγῆς τυγχάνειν; ἂσθ' ὅπως ἰν ἀπόσχιστο τῆς τῶν ἄρρενων λάβης καὶ θορᾶς τὸ γε ἀκόλαστον γένος, τούτου ἰκανοῦ καὶ σαφῆ ποιησάμενον δρον τὸν τῆς φύσεως, ἄλλο ὅπως ἐν ἐμπιμπλάμενον πάντα τρόπον τῆς περὶ γυναικῶν ἀκρασίας διακόρεις γενόμενον τῆς ἥδονῆς ταύτης ξητολή ἐτέραν μελζω καὶ παρανομωτέραν 150 ὑβρίν; ὥς τὰ γε γυναικῶν, αὕτων σχεδὸν τι 2 τῶν ἑλευθέρων καὶ παρθένων, ἐφανὴ ράδια καὶ αὐδείς πόνος θηρῶντι μετὰ πλούτου τὴν τοιάνδε θήραν, αὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πάνω σεμνὰς καὶ σεμνῶν τῷ ὄντι γυναικᾶς καὶ θυγατέρας δόστες ἀν ἐγ' 3 σύν τῇ του Διὸς μηχανῆ, χρυσῶν μετὰ χεῖρας 151 φέρων, ὦ μήπτοτε ἀποτυγχάνῃ. ἀλλ' αὕτα που τὰ λοιπὰ δήλα παρὰ πολλοῖς γνωρίμενα; ὦ γε ἀπληστος τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὅταν μηδὲν εὐρίσκῃ σπάνιον μηδὲ ἀντιτείνων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ γένει, καταφρονήσας τοῦ ραδίου καὶ ἀτιμάς τὴν ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν Ἀφροδίτην, ὡς ἐτοιμον δή τινα καὶ τῷ ὄντι θῆλυν παντελῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρω- νίτιν μεταβῆσεται, τοὺς ἀρξοντας αὐτίκα μάλα καὶ δικασοντας καὶ στρατηγήσοντας ἐπιθυμῶν 152 κατασχύνει, ὦς ἐνθάδε που τὸ χαλεπὸν καὶ δυστορίστου εὐρήσων τῶν ἥδονῶν ἔδος, τοῖς ἀγαν φιλοπόταις καὶ οἰνόφλυξε τῷ πεπονθῶς πάθος, οὐ πολλάκις μετὰ πολλῆν ἀκρατοποσίαν καὶ συνεχῆ ὃν εἴθελοντες πιεῖν αὐχιμὸν ἐξεπίτηδες μηχανῶνται διά τε ἱδρῶτον καὶ σιτίων ἀλμυρῶν καὶ δριμῶν προσφοράς.

1 For οὕτως ἀπλῶς Emperius conj. οὕτω σαπρῶς, perhaps rightly.
2 τ' Reiske: τε.
3 ἵπ Reiske: ἦ or et.

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THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

is as bad as we have described, what are we to expect the boys to be? What education and training should we expect them to receive? Is there any possibility that this lecherous class would refrain from dishonouring and corrupting the males, making their clear and sufficient limit that set by nature? Or will it not, while it satisfies its lust for women in every conceivable way, find itself grown weary of this pleasure, and then seek some other worse and more lawless form of wantonness? Yes, the seduction of women—especially, one might almost say, of the freeborn and virgins—has been found easy and no task for a man who pursues that kind of game with money; and even against the highly respected wives and daughters of men really respected, the libertine who attacks with the device of Zeus and brings gold in his hands will never fail. But the further developments, I presume, are perfectly evident, since we see so many illustrations. The man whose appetite is insatiate in such things, when he finds there is no scarcity, no resistance, in this field, will have contempt for the easy conquest and scorn for a woman’s love, as a thing too readily given—in fact, too utterly feminine—and will turn his assault against the male quarters, eager to befoul the youth who will very soon be magistrates and judges and generals, believing that in them he will find a kind of pleasure difficult and hard to procure. His state is like that of men who are addicted to drinking and wine-bibbing, who after long and steady drinking of unmixed wine, often lose their taste for it and create an artificial thirst by the stimulus of sweatings, salted foods, and condiments.
THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

The subject of the eighth Discourse is "The Real Athlete," and the speech was evidently delivered during Dio's period of exile. The reference to Diogenes' exile at the beginning is no accident. When the latter was represented as telling how he endured hunger, thirst, and poverty, and narrating the labours of Heracles, Dio's audience naturally thought of the speaker himself; and when Eurystheus, who tyrannized over Heracles, was mentioned, they thought of Domitian, who banished Dio.
8. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ

1 Διογένης ὁ Σινωπεύς ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδενὸς διαφέρων τῶν πάνω φαύλων Ἄθηνας ἀφίκετο, καὶ καταλαμβάνει συχνοὺς ἐτε τῶν Ἡσικράτους ἑταῖρον· καὶ γὰρ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοπποῦ καὶ Λυσίκχινην καὶ Ἀντισθένην καὶ τὴν Μεγαρέα Εὐκλείδην Ἑνοφῶν δὲ ἐφευγε διὰ τὴν μετὰ Κῦρου στρατείαν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ταχὺ κατεφρόνησεν, Ἀντισθένην δὲ ἔχρητο, οὐκ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔπαινῳ ὡς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἔλεγεν, ἡγούμενος μόνον εἶναι ἀληθεῖς καὶ μάλιστα
dυναμένους ἀνθρώποιν ὠφελῆσαι. ἔπει αὐτὸν γε τὸν Ἀντισθένην παραβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἐνίστε ἔλεγεν ὡς πολὺ μαλακώτερον, καὶ ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι σάλπιγγα λοιδωρῶν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ οὐκ ἄκοινειν φθεγγομένου μέγιστον. καὶ ο Ἀν
tισθένης ὑπέμενεν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἄκοινω· πάνυ
gὰρ ἐθαύμαζε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν. ἔλεγεν
οὖν ἁμυνόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος τοῖς σφηξιν αὐτὸν ὁμοιὸν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν σφηκῶν εἶναι τῶν μὲν ψόφων τῶν πτερῶν μικρῶν, τὸ δὲ κέντρον
dραμύτατον. ἔχαρεν οὖν τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ Διογένους, ὡσπέρ οἱ ἰππικοὶ, ὡταν ἵππον θυμοειδῆ λάβωσιν, ἄλλως δὲ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ φιλόπονον,
THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE:
DIOGENES OR ON VIRTUE

When Diogenes was exiled from his native Sinope, he came to Athens, looking like the veriest beggar; and there he found a goodly number still of Socrates' companions: to wit, Plato, Aristippus, Aeschines, Antisthenes, and Euclides of Megara; but Xenophon was in exile on account of his campaign with Cyrus. Now it was not long before he despised them all save Antisthenes, whom he cultivated, not so much from approval of the man himself as of the words he spoke, which he felt to be alone true and best adapted to help mankind. For when he contrasted the man Antisthenes with his words, he sometimes made this criticism, that the man himself was much weaker; and so in reproach he would call him a trumpet because he could not hear his own self, no matter how much noise he made. Antisthenes tolerated this banter of his since he greatly admired the man's character; and so, in requital for being called a trumpet, he used to say that Diogenes was like the wasps, the buzz of whose wings is slight but the sting very sharp. Therefore he took delight in the outspokenness of Diogenes, just as horsemen, when they get a horse that is high-strung and yet

1 Founder of the Cyrenaic or Hedonistic school of philosophy.
2 Not the orator but the philosopher, a disciple of Socrates.
3 Founder of the Cynic school of philosophy.
4 Historian and disciple of Socrates.
DIO CHRYSTOS TOM

όδόντας ἱάσθαι, πάντες ἂν αὐτῷ προσήσαν οἱ
déōmenoi ὀδόντα ἐξελέσθαι, καὶ νὴ Δία ei
ὑπέσχετο ὀφθαλμοὺς θεραπεύειν, πάντες ἂν οἱ
ὀφθαλμίδιντες αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείκνυον ὡμοίως δὲ, ei
σπλήνος ἡ ποδάγρας ἡ κορύξης εἰδέναι φάρμακον.
8 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφή παύσειν τοὺς πεισομένους αὐτῷ
ἀγνοίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ ἀκολασίας, οὐδὲις
αὐτῷ προσεῖχεν οὐδὲ ἐκέλευεν ἱάσθαι αὐτῷ,
οὐδὲ εἰ πολὺ προσλήψεσθαι ἀργύριον ἐμέλλεν,
ὡς ἦττον ὑπὸ τούτων ἢ υπ᾽ ἐκείνων 1 ἐνοχλού-
μενος ἡ χαλεπώτερον ἀνθρώπω σπλήνος ἀνέ-
χεσθαι οδούντως καὶ 2 διεφθαρμένου ὀδόντος ἡ
ψυχή ἄφρονος καὶ ἀμαθεύς καὶ διειλής καὶ
θρασείας καὶ φιληδόνου καὶ ἀνελευθέρου καὶ
ὀργίλης καὶ λυπηρᾶς καὶ πανούργου καὶ πάντα
τρόπων διεφθαρμένης.

9. Καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἢν περὶ τῶν νεῶν τοῦ
Ποσειδῶνος ἀκούειν πολλῶν μὲν σοφιστῶν κα-
κοδαίμονων βοώντων καὶ λοιδορουμένων ἄλλη-
λοις, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων μαθητῶν ἄλλων ἄλλω
μαχομένων, πολλῶν δὲ συγγραφέων ἀναγνώ-
σκόντων ἀναίρεσθα τυχοῦσα συγγράμματα, πολλῶν δὲ
ποιητῶν ποιῆματα ἄδοντων, καὶ τούτους ἐπαι-
νουόντων ἐτέρων, πολλῶν δὲ ὑματοστοῖς ὑμα-
mata ἐπιεικειόντων, πολλῶν δὲ τερατοσκόπων τέ-
ρατα κρινόντων, μυρίων δὲ ῥητόρων δίκας
στρεφόντων, οὐκ ὄλγων δὲ καπηλῶν διακαπη-

10 λευτότων ὅτι τύχοιειν ἐκαστος. εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ
αὐτῷ τινες προσήλθον, τῶν μὲν Κορινθίων
οὐδείς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ψυντο οὐδὲν ὀφεληθήσεσθαι,

1 ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων Casaubon: ἐκείνως.
2 kal Geel: ἡ.
THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

had he claimed to be a physician for the teeth, everybody would flock to him who needed to have a tooth pulled; yes, and by heavens, had he professed to treat the eyes, all who were suffering from sore eyes would present themselves, and similarly, if he had claimed to know of a medicine for diseases of the spleen or for gout or for running of the nose; but when he declared that all who should follow his treatment would be relieved of folly, wickedness, and intemperance, not a man would listen to him or seek to be cured by him, no matter how much richer he might become thereby, as though he were less inconvenienced by these spiritual complaints than by the other kind, or as though it were worse for a man to suffer from an enlarged spleen or a decayed tooth than from a soul that is foolish, ignorant, cowardly, rash, pleasure-loving, illiberal, irascible, unkind, and wicked, in fact utterly corrupt.

That was the time, too, when one could hear crowds of wretched sophists around Poseidon's temple shouting and reviling one another, and their disciples, as they were called, fighting with one another, many writers reading aloud their stupid works, many poets reciting their poems while others applauded them, many jugglers showing their tricks, many fortunetellers interpreting fortunes, lawyers innumerable perverting judgment, and peddlers not a few peddling whatever they happened to have. Naturally a crowd straightway gathered about him too; no Corinthians, however, for they did not think it would be at all worth their while, since they were accustomed to see
DIO CHrysostom

ὅτι καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐόρων αὐτοῦ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῶν δὲ ξένων ἦσαν οἱ προσιόντες, καὶ τούτων ἔκαστος βραχύ τι εἰπὼν ἢ ἀκούσας ἀπῆ, φοβοῦμενος τὸν ἐλεγχὸν. διὰ δὲ τούτο ἔφη ὁ Διογένης προσεικέναι τοὺς κυσί τοὺς Δάκωσι· καὶ γὰρ τούτους, ὅταν στῶσιν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις, πολλοὺς μὲν εἰναὶ τοὺς καταψιχοῦτάς καὶ προσπαί-ξοντας, μηδένα δὲ ὅνεισθαι βαδίως διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιστασθαι χρῆσθαι.

Πυθομένου δὲ τινός εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκοι τὸν ἀγώνα θεασόμενος, οὐκ, ἔφη, ἀλλ’ ἄγωνιομένος, καὶ δέ ἐγέλασε τε καὶ ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνας ἔχοι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς. οὰ δὲ ὥσπερ εἰώθη ὑποβέλεις, Τοὺς χαλεπώτατος, εἰπε, καὶ ἀμα-χωτάτους, οἷς οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀντιβλέψαι τῶν Ελλήνων, οὐ μέντοι διατρέχοντας ἢ παλαιόντας ἢ διαπηδῶντας οὐδὲ πυκτεύοντας καὶ ἀκουτί-ξοντας καὶ δισκεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς σωφρονί-ξοντας. Τίνας μὴ; ἤρετο. Τοὺς πόνους, ἔφη, μάλα ἱσχυροὺς τε καὶ ἀνικήτους ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐμπεπλησμένου καὶ τετυφωμένου καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἡμέρας διὰς ἐσθίοντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ Ῥεγχόν-των, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἤπτωμένους λεπτῶν τε καὶ ἀσάρκων καὶ τῶν σφηκῶν τὰς γαστέρας μᾶλλον ἐντετμημένου. ἢ σὺ οἷον τούτων τοὺς ὁφέλος εἶναι τῶν τὰς μεγάλας κοιλίας ἔχοντων, οὐς ἤχρη πειραγαγόντας καὶ περικαθάραντας ἐκβαλεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταθύσαντας καὶ κατατεμόντας.

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1 The curious glance from under heavy brows that was characteristic of Socrates, cf. Plato, Phaedo 117b, ταυρηδόν ὑποβλέψας.
2 In Athens and some other Greek states the community was purified on Thargelion 6th (May 24th) in order that the

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him every day in Corinth. The crowd that gathered
was composed of strangers, and each of these, after
speaking or listening for a short time, went his way,
fearing his refutation of their views. Just for that
reason, said Diogenes, he was like the Laconian
dogs; there were plenty of men to pat them and
play with them when they were shown at the popular
gatherings, but no one was willing to buy any because
he did not know how to deal with them.

And when a certain man asked whether he too
came to see the contest, he said, “No, but to take
part.” Then when the man laughed and asked him
who his competitors were, he said with that custom-
ary glance of his: “The toughest there are and
the hardest to beat, men whom no Greek can look
straight in the eye; not competitors, however, who
sprint or wrestle or jump, not those that box, throw
the spear, and hurl the discus, but those that chasten
a man.” “Who are they, pray?” asked the other.

“Hardships,” he replied, “very severe and insuper-
able for gluttonous and folly-stricken men who feast
the livelong day and snore at night, but which yield
to thin, spare men, whose waists are more pinched
in than those of wasps. Or do you think those pot-
bellies are good for anything?—creatures whom
sensible people ought to lead around, subject to the
ceremony of purification, and then thrust beyond
the borders, or, rather, kill, quarter, and use as
god Apollo might be received worthily on the 7th. Two
victims, called pharmakoi or katharmata, at first a man and
woman, later two men, were given cheese, barley cake, and
figs to eat, led around the city, beaten seven times with
leeks and twigs of the wild olive, then put to death, their
bodies burned with the limbs of unfruitful trees, and the
ashes cast into the sea. The community believed that it cast
upon these pharmakoi or scape-men its pollution and guilt,
 Dio Chrysostom

ευωχείσθαι, καθάπερ οἷμαι τὰ τῶν κητῶν κρέα, 
tοὺς νῦν ἔχοντας, ἔφοντας ἀλῶ καὶ θαλάσση, 
τὴν δὲ πιμελὴν τῆς καταντας, ὅσπερ ἐν Πόντῳ παρ' 
ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν δελφάκων¹ στέαρ, ἀλείφεσθαι τοὺς 
δειμένους. οἷμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑδῶν ἤτοια 
ψυχῆς ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνήρ ὁ γενναῖος ἥγειται τοὺς 
πόνους ἀνταγωνιστάς μεγίστους καὶ τούτους ἀεὶ 
φίλει μάχεσθαι καὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, 
οὐχ ὑπὲρ σελίνου, ὅσπερ αἱ αἴγες,² οὐδὲ κοτίνου 
καὶ πίτους, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀρετῆς 
παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, οὐχ ὅταν Ἦλειοι προεῖ-
πωσιν ἡ Κορίνθιοι ἢ τὸ κοινὸν Θεταλῶν, μηδένα 
αὐτῶν φοβοῦμενοι μηδὲ εὐχόμενον ἄλλω λαχέαν, 
ἀλλὰ προκαλοῦμενοι ἐφεξῆς ἀπαντᾶσ, καὶ λιμῷ 
φιλονεικοῦντα καὶ ψυχής καὶ δίφος ὑπομένουτα, 
καὶ δὴ μαστιγούμενον καρτερεῖν καὶ τεμνόμενον 
καὶ καόμενον μηδὲν μαλακῶν³ ἐνδιδόντα· πενίαν 
δὲ καὶ φυγήν καὶ ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μηδὲν 
ἡγεῖσθαι δεινὸν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ πάνω κοῦφα, καὶ 
πολλάκις παῖζειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν 
τέλειον, ὅσπερ οἱ παῖδες τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις καὶ 
ταῖς σφαίραις ταῖς ποικίλαις.

¹ δελφάκων Capps: δελφίνων.
² αἴγες Jacobis: γυναικές.
³ μαλακῶν Ruhnken: μᾶλλον.

which were carried away by the victims at death. At a later 
period the victims were simply thrust out beyond the borders 
of the state. Since people from the lowest classes for whom 
life was not worth living on account of poverty and disease 
would volunteer to be scape-men for the sake of the rich 
food at the expense of the state which they received for some 
time previous to the ceremony, katharma and pharmakos 
came to be terms of the bitterest reproach. See Jane Harrison, 
Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 75 f.

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food just as people do with the flesh of large fish, don't you know, boiling it in brine and melting out the fat, the way our people at home in Pontus \textsuperscript{1} do with the lard of pigs when they want to anoint themselves. For I think these men have less soul than hogs. But the noble man holds his hardships to be his greatest antagonists, and with them he is ever wont to battle day and night, not to win a sprig of parsley \textsuperscript{2} as so many goats might do, nor for a bit of wild olive,\textsuperscript{3} or of pine,\textsuperscript{4} but to win happiness and virtue throughout all the days of his life, and not merely when the Eleans make proclamation,\textsuperscript{5} or the Corinthians,\textsuperscript{6} or the Thessalian assembly.\textsuperscript{7} He is afraid of none of those opponents nor does he pray to draw another antagonist, but challenges them one after another, grappling with hunger and cold, withstanding thirst, and disclosing no weakness even though he must endure the lash or give his body to be cut or burned. Hunger, exile, loss of reputation, and the like have no terrors for him; nay, he holds them as mere trifles, and while in their very grip the perfect man is often as sportive as boys with their dice and their coloured balls.

\textsuperscript{1} Diogenes came from Sinope in Pontus.
\textsuperscript{2} A chaplet of parsley was placed upon the heads of the victors at the Isthmian and Nemean games.
\textsuperscript{3} Used to make the crown for the victors at the Olympian games.
\textsuperscript{4} A wreath of pine was used to crown the victors at the Isthmian games.
\textsuperscript{5} i.e. for the Olympian games.
\textsuperscript{6} i.e. for the Isthmian games.
\textsuperscript{7} i.e. for the Pythian games. The Thessalians had great influence in the Amphictyonic League, which controlled these.
Καὶ γὰρ δοκοῦσι μὲν, ἐφη, δεινοὶ καὶ ἀνυπό-
στατοί πάσι τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ ἀνταγωνισταί
οὖν· ἦλθεν δὲ τις αὐτῶν καταφρονήσῃ καὶ προσή-
θησαι βαρρῶς δειλοὺς εὐθήσει ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας
ἰσχυροὺς κρατήσας, μάλιστα τοὺς κυσίν ὀμοίους,
οἳ τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας ἐπιδιώκουσι καὶ δάκρυσι,
καὶ διέσπασαν ἐστὶν οἷς καταλαβόντες, τοὺς δὲ
ἐπιστέας καὶ μαχομένους φοβοῦνται καὶ ἀνα-
χωροῦσι, τελευτῶντες δὲ σαινοῦσι, ἐπειδὰν
συνήθεις γενόμεναι. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι
ἐκπεπληγμένοι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀεὶ ποτε φεύγουντες
ἐκκλίνουσι, ὡσάκτως ἐναντίον βλέποντες. καὶ
γὰρ δὴ, ὡσπέρ οἱ πυκτεύει κινδύνες, ἦλθεν μὲν
προλάβωσι τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν, οὐ πάντως τὴν
ἀρχήν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀπέβησαν οὗτοι κατα-
βαλόντες· ἦλθεν δὲ ὑποχωρῶσι φοβοῦμενοι, τὸ τ
ἰσχυροτάτας πληγάς λαμβάνουσιν· οὕτως ἦλ
μὲν τὸν τὸν πόλον δέχονται καταφρονῶν καί
πλησίαζος προδόμοις, οὐ πάντως ἰσχύουσι πρὸς
αὐτῶν· ἦλθεν δὲ ἀφιστήται καὶ ἀναχωρῆται
τῷ
παντὶ μείζονι καὶ σφοδρότεροι δοκοῦσι. τούτῳ
δὲ ᾧδεις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνόμενοι· ἦλ
μὲν σφόδρα ἐπιβησί, ἐσβέσας τὸ πῦρ· ἦλθεν δὲ
ὑποπτεύων καὶ δεδοκιμῶν, σφόδρα ἐκαθῆς· ὡσπέρ
ἐνίοτε παίζοντες οἱ παῖδες τῇ γλώττῃ τὸ πῦρ
σβεννύουσι. οὕτως μὲν οὖν οἱ ἀνταγωνισταί
σχέδων ὁμοίως εἰσὶ τοῖς παμμάχοις, παίζοντες τε
καὶ ἰσχυοῦσι καὶ διασπόροντες καὶ ἀποκτινώνυμοι
ἐνίοτε.

1 ἑφῆς ἐπὶ Arnim but before δειλοῦ.
2 ἐκκλίνουσι Wytenbuch: κρίνουσιn.
3 ἀπέβηςαν Reiske: ἐπιβησαν.
"Of course," he continued, "these antagonists do seem terrible and invincible to all cravens; but if you treat them with contempt and meet them boldly, you will find them cowardly and unable to master strong men, in this greatly resembling dogs, which pursue and bite people who run away from them, while some they seize and tear to pieces, but fear and slink away from men who face them and show fight, and in the end wag their tails when they come to know them. Most people, however, are in mortal terror of these antagonists, always avoiding them by flight and never looking them in the face. And indeed, just as skilful boxers, if they anticipate their opponents, are not hit at all, but often actually end by winning the bout themselves, but if, on the contrary, they give ground through fear, they receive the heaviest blows; in the same way, if we accept our hardships in a spirit of contempt for them and approach them cheerfully, they avail very little against us; but if we hang back and give way, they appear altogether greater and more severe. You can see that the same thing applies to fire also: if you attack it most vigorously, you put it out; but if with caution and fear, you get badly burned, just as children do when in sport they sometimes try to put out a fire with their tongues. The adversaries of this class are a good deal like the pancratiasts,¹ who strike, choke, rend, and occasionally kill.

¹ They engaged in a rough-and-tumble contest, a combination of boxing and wrestling.
20 Ἑτέρα δὲ δεινοτέρα μάχη καὶ ἀγών ἐστιν οὐ μικρὸς, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοῦτο μείζων καὶ ἐπικίν- 
δυνότερος, ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονήν, ὦν ἦν ὁ Ὡμηρὸς 
φησιν,

αὖθις δὲ δριμεῖα μάχη παρὰ νησιῶν ἔτυχθη. 
οξέσι δὴ πελεκέσσει καὶ ἀξίναις ἐμάχοντο 
καὶ ξιφεῖσιν μεγάλοισι.

21 οὐχ οὐτοὶ οἱ τρόποι τῆς μάχης: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀντικρυς 
βιαζοῦσιν τὴν ἡδονήν, ἀλλὰ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ γοη-
τεύειν δεινοῖς φαρμάκοις, ὥσπερ ὁ Ὡμηρὸς φησι 
τὴν Κήρην τοὺς τοῦ Ὁδυσσέως ἑταίρους κατα-
φαρμάξας, κατεύθυνα τοὺς μὲν σὺς αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ 
λύκους γενόσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλ᾽ ἄττα θηρία.

tοιοῦτον ἐστι τὸ χρῆμα τῆς ἡδονῆς, οὐχ ἄπλως 
ἐπιβουλευόσης, ἀλλὰ πάντα τρόπον, διά τε 
τῆς ὑφεως καὶ ἀκοῆς ἢ ὑσφρήσεως ἢ γεύσεως 
ἡ ἀφῆς, ἐτι δὲ σιτίως καὶ ποτοῦς καὶ ἀφρο-
δισίως διαφθείραι πειρωμένης, ὡμοίως μὲν ἐγρη-

22 γορότας, ὡμοίως δὲ κοιμομένους, οὐδὲ γὰρ 
ὡσπερ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐστὶ φυλακᾶς 
καταστήσαντας καθεύδειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δὴ 
πάντων τότε ἐπιτίθεται, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶ τῷ ὕπνῳ 
μαραίνουσα καὶ δουλουμένη, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτείμπουσα 
ἀνείρατα πανούργα καὶ ἐπίβουλα, ἀναμμη-

σκοντα αὐτῆς.

23 Ὁ μὲν οὖν τόνος διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς ἐπιγίγνεται 
ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ ταύτῃ πρόσεισιν, ἡ δὲ ἡδονή

1 After ἡδονήν the MSS. have οὐκ ἀντικρυς βιαζομένην, ἀλλ᾽ 
ἐξαπατῶσαν καὶ γοητεύουσαν δεινοῖς φαρμάκοις, “not using open 
force but deceiving and enchanting with baleful drugs”; 
bracketed as an interpretation by Gael.
THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

"But there is another battle more terrible and a struggle not slight but much greater than this and fraught with greater danger, I mean the fight against pleasure. Nor is it like that battle which Homer speaks of when he says, ¹

Fiercely then around the ships
The struggle was renewed.
With halberds and with trenchant battle-axe
They fought, with mighty sword and two-edged spear.

No, it is no such kind of battle, for pleasure uses no open force but deceives and casts a spell with baneful drugs, just as Homer says Circe ² drugged the comrades of Odysseus, and some forthwith became swine, some wolves, and some other kinds of beasts. Yes, such is this thing pleasure, that hatches no single plot but all kinds of plots, and aims to undo men through sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch, with food too, and drink and carnal lust, tempting the waking and the sleeping alike. For it is not possible to set guards and then lie down to sleep as in ordinary warfare, since it is just then of all times that she makes her attack, at one time weakening and enslaving the soul by means of sleep itself, at another, sending mischievous and insidious dreams that suggest her.

"Now work is carried on by means of touch for the most part and proceeds in that way, but pleasure

¹ Iliad 15. 696, 711 f.
² A sorceress on the island of Aenea, who entertained Odysseus and his companions.

² ἐφι: Reiske: εἶναι.
³ τὸ added by Reiske.
κατὰ πάσαν αἰσθησιν ὁπόσας ἀνθρωπὸς ἀλοθήσεις ἔχει, καὶ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν πόνοις ἀπαντᾶν καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἡδονὴν φεύγειν ὡς πορρωτάτον καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἄλλον ἡ τάναγκα ἡμεῖς 21 ὀμιλεῖν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ κράτιστος ἄνηρ κράτιστος δὴ σχεδὸν, ὃς ἄν δύνηται πλείστον ἀποφεύγειν τὰς ἡδονὰς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡδονὴ συνόντα ἣ καὶ πειρώμενον συνεχῶς μὴ οὐ πάντως ἄλωσι. ὅταν οὖν κρατήσῃ καὶ περιγένηται τῇς ψυχῆς τοῖς φαρμάκοις, γίγνεται τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη τὸ τῆς Κληροκράτιστος δήμαρχος τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐς συφεῦν τινα 25 ἐλαύνει καὶ καθείργησοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄπειρον ἣδη ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς διατελεῖ σὺς ὅν ἡ λύκος· γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ὅφεις ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς ποικίλοι καὶ ὀλέθριοι καὶ ἀλλ᾽ ἄρττα ἔρπετα καὶ θεραπεύουσιν ἐκείνην ἀεὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας ὄντες καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες μὲν τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ λατρεύοντες ἐκείνην, μυρίους δὲ 26 ἄλλους πόνους ἢχοντες. ἡ γὰρ ἡδονὴ κρατῆσας αὐτῶν καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τοῖς πόνοις παραδίδοσι τοῖς ἐχθίστοις καὶ χαλεπωτάτοις.

Τούτων δὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐμοὶ καρπεροῦντι καὶ παραβαλλομένως πρὸς ἡδονήν καὶ πόνον οὐδεὶς προσέχει τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πηδῶσι καὶ τρέχουσι καὶ χαρευόντες, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐώρων ἁγωνιζόμενον καὶ πονούντα, οὐδὲ ἐμελεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἵσως ἁθλητάς τινας ἐδαυμαζοῦν, Ζήτησι καὶ Κάλατιν

1 ἄλλο added by Capps.
2 δὴ Capps: δὴ, Wilamowitz would delete κράτιστος δὲ.
3 ἄλλος Emporius: ἄλλος.
assails a man through each and every sense that he has; and while he must face and grapple with work, to pleasure he must give the widest berth possible and have none but unavoidable dealings with her. And herein the strongest man is indeed strongest, one might almost say, who can keep the farthest away from pleasures; for it is impossible to dwell with pleasure or even to dally with her for any length of time without being completely enslaved. Hence when she gets the mastery and overpowers the soul by her charms, the rest of Circe’s sorcery at once follows. With a stroke of her wand pleasure coolly drives her victim into a sort of sty and pens him up, and now from that time forth the man goes on living as a pig or a wolf. Pleasure also brings divers and deadly vipers into being, and other crawling things that attend constantly upon her as they lie about her doors, and though yearning for pleasure and serving her, they yet suffer a thousand hardships all in vain. For pleasure, after overpowering and taking possession of her victims, delivers them over to hardships, the most hateful and most difficult to endure.

“This is the contest which I steadfastly maintain,¹ and in which I risk my life against pleasure and hardship, yet not a single wretched mortal gives heed to me, but only to the jumpers and runners and dancers. Neither, indeed, did men have eyes for the struggles and labours of Heracles or have any interest in them, but perhaps even then they were admiring certain athletes such as Zetes,² Calais,”²

¹ Plato (Republic 556 B) speaks of people who are ἀπόνους . . . and μαλακοὺς . . . κατηρεῖν πρὸς ἰδιονέα—“lazy and weak to hold out against pleasures.”

² Son of Boreas, took part in the Argonautic expedition.
καὶ Πηλέα καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις δρομέας τυναίς καὶ παλαιστάς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ κάλλει, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ πλούσιο ἔθαμμαζον, καθάπερ Ἰάσονα καὶ

28 Κενύραν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐλεγον ὅτι καὶ τὸν ὁμον ἐλεφάντινον ἔχον, ὅσπερ τι ὀφέλος ἀνθρώπου χρυσὴν χείρα ἢ ἐλεφαντίνην ἔχοντος ἢ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀδάμαντος ἢ σμαράγδουν· την δὲ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐγνώσοκον αὐτοῦ ὅποιαν τινὰ εἶχεν. τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα ποιοῦντα μὲν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενον ἥλεουν, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀθλιώτατον· καὶ διὰ τούτο ἄθλους ἐκάλουν τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα, ὡς τὸν ἐπίπονον βίον ἄθλιον ὄντα· ἀποθανόντα δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τιμῶσι καὶ θείων νομίζουσι καὶ φασιν Ὁβη συνοικεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ πάντες εὐχονταί, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ ἔσονται ἄθλιοι, τῷ πλείστῳ ἄθλησαντι.

29 Τὸν δὲ Εὐρυσθέα οἴονται κρατεῖν τούτον καὶ ἐπιτάττειν, διὸ οὐδενὸς ἄξιον νενομικαιν, οὐδὲ εὔξατο οὔδὲ ἔθυσεν οὐδέποτε οὐδείς Εὐρυσθεῖ. πλην δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς περιή γεν Ἡρακλῆς περιήγη τὴν Ἐνώπην καὶ τὴν Ἁσίαν ἀπασαν, οὐδὲν ἀν τούτοις ὅμοιος τοὺς ἅθλητας· ποῦ γὰρ ἄν ἡδυνὴ ἐπειθεῖν σάρκας τοσαῦτας ἔχων ἢ τοσοῦτον κρεῶν δεόμενος ἢ βαθὺν οὕτος ὑπνὸν καθεύδων; ἄλλα ἀγρυπνοι καὶ λεπτοὶ, ὅσπερ οἱ λέοντες, ὄξυ βλέπων, ὄξυ ἀκούων, οὕτε χειμώνοις οὕτε καύματος προκτίζουν, οὐδέν δεόμενος στρωμάτων ἢ

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1 Father of Achilles by Thetis.
2 Leader of the Argonautic expedition.
3 Son of Apollo and king of Cyprus. His wealth and long life bestowed on him by Apollo were proverbial.
THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

Pelcus,¹ and other like runners and wrestlers; and some they would admire for their beauty and others for their wealth, as, for example, Jason² and Cinyras.³ About Pelops, too, the story ran that he had an ivory shoulder, as if there were any use in a man having a golden or ivory hand or eyes of diamond or malachite; but the kind of soul he had men did not notice. As for Heracles, they pitied him while he toiled and struggled and called him the most 'trouble-ridden,' or wretched, of men; indeed, this is why they gave the name 'troubles,' or tasks, to his labours and works, as though a laborious life were a trouble-ridden, or wretched⁴ life; but now that he is dead they honour him beyond all others, deify him, and say he has Hebe⁵ to wife, and all pray to him that they may not themselves be wretched—to him who in his labours suffered wretchedness exceedingly great.

"They have an idea, too, that Eurystheus⁶ had him in his power and ordered him about, Eurystheus, whom they considered a worthless fellow and to whom no one ever prayed or sacrificed. Heracles, however, roved over all Europe and Asia, though he did not look at all like any of these athletes; for where could he have penetrated, had he carried so much flesh or required so much meat or sunk into such depths of sleep? No, he was as alert and lean like a lion, keen of eye and ear, recking naught of cold or heat, having no use for bed,

¹ Dio is playing upon the etymological connection between athlos meaning "contest," "toil," "trouble," and athlitos meaning "toiling," "struggling," "miserable."
² Greek goddess, personification of youth.
³ King of Mycenae who imposed the Twelve Labours upon Heracles.
 Dio Chrysostom

χλανίδων ἡ ταπήτων, ἀλλὰ δέρμα ἀμυπεχόμενος ῥυπαρόν, λιμοῦ πνέων, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βοηθῶν, τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζων. καὶ Διομήδην δὲ τὸν Θράκα, ὅτι ποικίλην εἰρήνεις ἐσθήτα καὶ καθῆστο ἐπὶ θρόνου πίνων δὲ ἠμέρας καὶ τρυφῶν, καὶ τῶν ξένων ἰδίκει καὶ τοὺς ὑψώσω, πολλὴν ὑπὸν τρέφων, τῷ ἄρτῳ παίων διήραξεν ὄσπερ πίθου παλαιόν. καὶ τὸν Γήρυνθον, πλείστους βούς ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρας ἀπάντων πλοιοκτητών ὅτα καὶ ὑπερηφανώτατον, αὐτὸν τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ἀδέλφους καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἀπῆλασε. τὸν δὲ Βούσιραν εὑρὼν πάνυ ἐπιμελῶς ἀθλοῦντα καὶ δὴ ὠλὴν ἠμέρας ἐσθήνοντα καὶ φρονοῦντα μέγιστον ἐπὶ πάλη, διέρρηξεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καταβαλῶν ὄσπερ τοὺς θυλάκους τοὺς σφόδρα γέμοντας. καὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος ἐλυσε τὴν ξωην, θρυπτομένης αὐτῶ καὶ νομιζούσης ὅτι τῷ κάλλει κρατήσει, συγγενόμενος τε καὶ δείξας ὅτι σύκῳ ἂν ποτε ἡττηθῇ κάλλους οὐδ' ἂν μείνει χάριν γυναικὸς πόρρῳ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων οὐδέποτε.

33 τὸν δὲ Προμήθεα, σοφιστὴν τινα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, καταλαβὼν ὑπὸ δόξης ἀπολλύμενον, νῦν μὲν οἰδοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ αὐξοντος τοῦ ἴππας ὁπότε ἐπαινοῖτο, πάλιν δὲ φθίνοντος ὁπότε ψέγοιεν

1 kal before νῦν deleted by Arnim.

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1 He possessed wild mares who fed on human flesh. They were captured by Heracles as one of his twelve labours.
2 A monster with three heads or, according to another version, with three bodies joined together. He was king of Spain.
3 A king of Egypt who is said to have sacrificed all strangers who visited his country.

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shawl, or rug, with an air of hunger about him, as he succoured the good and punished the bad. And because Diomede,¹ the Thracian, wore such fine raiment and sat upon a throne drinking the livelong day in high revel, and treated strangers unrighteously as well as his own subjects, and kept a large stable, Heracles smote him with his club and smashed him as if he had been an old jar. Then Geryones,² who had ever so many cattle and was the richest of all western lords and the most arrogant, he also killed along with his brothers and drove his cattle away. And when he found Busiris ³ very diligently training, eating the whole day long, and exceeding proud of his wrestling, Heracles burst him open like an over-filled bag by dashing him to the ground. He loosed the girdle of the Amazon,⁴ who tried to coquet with him and thought to win by means of her beauty. For he both consorted with her and made her understand that he could never be overcome by beauty and would never tarry far away from his own possessions for a woman's sake. And Prometheus,⁵ whom I take to have been a sort of sophist, he found being destroyed by popular opinion; for his liver swelled and grew whenever he was praised and shrivelled again when he was censured. So he took pity on

⁴ Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, the fetching of whose girdle was one of the labours imposed upon Heracles. To obtain it he seduced her; but see Index.
⁵ A Titan who stole fire from heaven and gave it to men, in punishment for which he was chained by Zeus to a rock on Mt. Caucasus, where his liver was consumed every day by an eagle but grew again at night. Heracles is said to have slain the eagle and released Prometheus. Dio treats the eagle of the myth as allegorically representing δόξα or popular opinion.
αυτον, ἔλεγσας καὶ φοβήσας . . . 1 ἔπαυσε τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῆς φιλονικίας καὶ οὕτως ἤχετο ύγιὰ πονήσας.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔπραττεν οὐδὲν Εὐρυσθῆι χαρι- 34 ζόμενος. τὰ δὲ μῆλα τὰ 2 χρυσά κα κάκιστε λαβὼν ἔδωκεν ἐκείνῳ, τὰ τῶν Ἐσπερίδων οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔδειτο, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε κλάειν ἔχοντα· μηδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ χρυσῶν μῆλων· μηδὲ γὰρ ταῖς Ἐσπερίσι γενέσθαι. πέρας δὲ, ἐπεὶ βραδύτερος ἐγίνετο καὶ ἀσθενέστερος αὐτοῦ, φοβούμενος μὴ οὐ δύνηται ξῆν ὁμοίως, ἐπείτα οἶμαι νόσον τινὸς καταλαβούσης, κάλλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἑθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν, πυρὰν νῆσας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ξύλων ὡς ξηρωτάτων καὶ δεῖξας ὅτι 35 οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου 3 ἐφρόντιζε τοῦ πυρετοῦ. πρῶτε- ρον δὲ, ἢν μὴ δοκῇ σεμνὰ μόνον 4 καὶ μεγάλα ἔργα διαπρᾶττεσθαι, τὴν κόπρον ἀπελθὼν τὴν κειμένην παρ' Ἀυγέα, πολὺ τὶ χρῆμα πολλῶν ἐτῶν, ἐκείνην ἐξεφόρει καὶ ἐκάθαιρεν. ἦγεῖτο γὰρ οὐχ ὧτιν αὐτῷ διαμαχητέον εἶναι καὶ πολεμιτέον πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἢ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς κακούργους.

36 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντος τοῦ Διογένους, περιόλαταντο πολλοὶ καὶ πάνυ ἡδέως ἢκροῶντο τῶν λόγων.

1 Wilamowitz, followed by Arnim and Bude, assumes a lacuna after φοβήσας. Cohoon suggests πρενόσας, "Taught him wisdom."
2 τὰ χρυσά & Empcerius: & χρύσα.
3 λόγου added by Cohoon.
4 μόνον added by Reiske.
THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

him, frightened . . , and thus relieved him of his vanity and inordinate ambition; and straightway he departed after making him whole.

"Now in all those exploits he was not doing a favour to Eurystheus at all. And as to the golden apples that he got and brought back—I mean those of the Hesperides—he did give them to him, since he had no use for them himself, but told him to keep them and go hang; for he explained that apples of gold are of no use to a man, nor had the Hesperides,¹ either, found them to be. Then, finally, when he was growing ever slower and weaker, from fear that he would not be able to live as before, and besides, I suppose, because he was attacked by some disease, he made the best provision that was humanly possible for himself, for he reared a pyre of the very driest wood in the courtyard and showed that he minded the fiery heat precious little. But before that, to avoid creating the opinion that he did only impressive and mighty deeds, he went and removed and cleaned away the dung in the Augean stables,² that immense accumulation of many years. For he considered that he ought to fight stubbornly and war against opinion³ as much as against wild beasts and wicked men."

While Diogenes thus spoke, many stood about and listened to his words with great pleasure. Then,

¹ Guardians of the golden apples which Heracles had to obtain as one of his labours.
² Augeas had a herd of three thousand oxen whose stalls were not cleaned out for thirty years. Heracles had to clean out these stalls in one day as one of his labours.
³ Opinion here means the "false opinion of the crowd," as in the reference to Prometheus above.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΑ

ἐννοήσας δὲ οἶμαι τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἀφῆκε, χαμαί δὲ καθέζομενος ἐποίει τι τῶν ἀδόξων. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ κατεφρόνουν αὐτοῦ καὶ μαίνεσθαι ἔφασαν, καὶ πάλιν ἔθορύβουν σοφισταί, καθάπερ ἐν τέλματι βάτραχοι τὸν ὑδρόν οὐχ ὄρωντες.
possibly with this thought of Heracles\(^1\) in his mind, he ceased speaking and, squatting on the ground, performed an indecent act, whereat the crowd straightway scorned him and called him crazy, and again the sophists raised their din, like frogs in a pond when they do not see the water-snake.

\(^1\) i.e., to his cleaning the Augean stables.
THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

In the ninth Discourse, as in the eighth, we find Diogenes attending the Isthmian games, and in both Discourses there is the same reference to the importance of the great public gatherings for Diogenes' purpose, the same references to physicians and to dogs. These similarities have led to the inference that the two Discourses were prepared at about the same time; but while in the preceding Discourse we are given the subject-matter of Diogenes' teaching, in this one it is rather his method of teaching that is shown.
9. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ Η ΙΣΘΜΙΚΟΣ

1 Ἰσθμίων οὖν κατέβη Διογένης εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ὡς ἔσκεν, ἐν Κωρίνθῳ διατρέσσων. παρετύγχανε δὲ ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν οὐχ ὄντερ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐνεκα, βουλόμενοι θεάσασθαι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς καὶ Ἰνα ἐμπληθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπισκοπῶν οἴμαι τούς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν ἀνοιαν αὐτῶν. ἤδει γὰρ ὅτι φανερώτατοι εἰσίν ἐν ταῖς ἔορταις καὶ ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν· ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ στρατοπέδῳ λαρθάνουσι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ κινδυνεύειν καὶ φοβοβεβήσθαι. καὶ μέντοι εὐόμιζε τούτους εὐιατοτέρους εἰναι· καὶ γάρ τὰ νοσήματα τοῦ σώματος, ὅταν ἔκδηλα ἢ, ῥάου θεραπευόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἢ μέχρι ὑποστέλλεται· τοὺς μέντοι ἀμελουμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις διατριβαῖς τάχιστα ἀπόλλυσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα

2 παρέβαλλεν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις. ἔλεγε δὲ ἐπισκόπτων, ὅτε ἐπιπλήγητο τὸ τοῦ κυνὸς· τοὺς γὰρ κύνας ἔπεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις, μηδένα δὲ ἀδικεῖν τῶν ἐκεῖ γυνομένων, ὑλακτεῖν δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς κακοῦργοις καὶ θρησταῖς, καὶ ὅταν οἱ ἀνθρωποί μεθυσθέντες καθεύδωσιν, αὐτοῖς ἐγηρηγορᾶτας φύλαττειν.

1 Οτε Emperius and Schwartz: δέτ.
2 After κυνὸς the MSS. have διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι κύνα αὐτῶν ἀπεκάλουν. "On account of his harsh-
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DIogenes OR THE ISTHMian 
DISCOURSE

When the Isthmian games were in progress, Diogenes, who probably was sojourning at Corinth, went down to the Isthmus. He did not attend the great public gatherings, however, with the same motives as the majority, who wished to see the athletes and to gormandize. No, I warrant he came as an observer of mankind and of men’s folly. He knew that men show their real character most clearly at public festivals and large gatherings, while in war and in camp it is more concealed owing to the presence of peril and fear. Moreover, he thought they were more easily healed here (for bodily diseases are more readily treated by the physician when they are plain to be seen than while the trouble remains hidden), but that those who are neglected when engaged in such pursuits most speedily perish. Therefore he used to attend the public gatherings. And he would jestingly remark when taxed for his currish manners, “Well, dogs follow along to the festivals, but they do no wrong to any of those attending; they bark and attack rogues and thieves, and when their masters are in a drunken sleep, they stay awake and guard them.”

ness and abusive language they called him a cur.” Deleted by Arnim.

8 Ἀρσενίς Emperor: κακίστοις.
4 Ὀς δὲ ἐφανῇ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει, Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προσείχε τῶν νοῦν, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἔωρων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ περὶ τὸ Κράνειον. οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι οὐδὲ ἂν ἦν ἄεί βλέπωσι καὶ οἷς νομίζουσιν εἶναι ὅποτε βούλονται προσελθεῖν, τούτων οὐ πάνιν φροντίζουσιν οὕτως δ' ἂν διὰ χρόνου ἴδωσιν ἡ μηδεπώποτε ἑωρακότες, πρὸς ἐκείνους τρέπονται. ὅθεν ἦκειστα ὧφελοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Διογένους Κορίνθιοι, καθάπερ εἰ ἐνοτείνεις ἐπιδημούντος λατρεύομεν μὴ προσήγεσαν ἅλλ' ἐνόμιζον ἰκανόν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ὀρῶν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

5 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μακρόθεν μάλιστα προσήγεσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ὅσοι παρῆσαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης τινὲς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Μασσαλίας καὶ ἀπὸ Βορυσθένους, οὕτως δὴ πάντες ἴδεῖν βουλόμενοι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν καὶ βραχύ τι ἀκούσας λέγοντος, ὡς ἔχοιεν ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐτέρως ἡ βελτίως γενέσθαι. ἐδοκεῖ γὰρ ἰκανὸς εἶναι λοιδορῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς ἐπος. ὡσπερ οὖν τοῦ Ποντικοῦ μέλιτος γενέσθαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ ἀπειροι, γενοσάμενοι δὲ παραχρῆμα ἐξέπτυσαν δυσχεράντας, ὅτι πικρόν ἐστι καὶ ἀγνός, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ Διογένους ἀποπειράσθαι μὲν ἥθελον διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ἐλεγχόμενοι δὲ ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ ἀφευγον. καὶ ἄλλων μὲν ἦδοντο λοιδορου-

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1 See note on p. 378.
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No Corinthian, however, paid any attention to him when he appeared at the gathering, because they often saw him in the city and around the Craneion. For men do not pay much attention to those whom they are constantly seeing and whom they think they can approach whenever they wish, but they turn to those whom they only see at intervals or have never seen before. So the Corinthians derived the least profit from Diogenes, precisely as if sick people would not consult a physician resident in their midst but thought the bare sight of him in the city sufficient.

As regards other persons, it was those from a distance who visited him chiefly, all who came to the festival from Ionia, Sicily, and Italy, and some of those who came from Libya, Massilia, and Borysthenes, and the motive of all those was to see and hear him speak for even a short time so as to have something to tell others rather than to get improvement for themselves. For he had the reputation of having a sharp tongue and being instantly ready with an answer for his interrogators. Accordingly, just as those who know nothing of the Pontic honey try a taste of it and then quickly spit it out in disgust because it is bitter and unpleasant in taste, so people in their idle curiosity wished to make trial of Diogenes, but on being put to confusion by him would turn on their heels and flee. They were amused, of course,

2 The modern Marseilles.
3 The most important Greek city north of the Euxine or Black Sea. It was situated at the confluence of the Borysthenes and Hypanis (Dnieper and Bog) rivers.
4 Diogenes came from Pontus. Pliny (Natural History 21, c. 13) speaks of most poisonous honey produced in Pontus.
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

μένων, αὐτὸι δὲ ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔσκωπτέ τε καὶ ἐπαίζειν, ὃσπερ εἰσέθει ἐνίοτε, ὑπερφυὸς ἔχαιρον, ἀνατειναμένου δὲ καὶ σπουδάσαντος οὐχ ὑπέμενον τὴν παρρησίαν. καθάπερ οἴμαι τὰ παιδία προσπαίζοντα ἦδεται τοῖς γενναίοις κυσίν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ χαλεπὴν καὶ ὑλάξῃ μείζον, ἐξεπλάγη καὶ τῷ δὲ εἰς τέθηκε.

Καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησε ταῦτά, οὐδὲν μετα-
στρεφόμενοι οὐδὲ φροντίζον έπειτα ἐπαινοῦ τις
αὐτὸν εἶτε καὶ ψέγακε τῶν παρόντων, οὐδὲ εἰ τῶν
πλουσίων τε καὶ ἐνδόξων ἡ στρατηγὸς ἡ δυνάμεις
διαλέγοιτο προσελθὼν ἡ τῶν πάνω

8 φαίλων τε καὶ πενήντων' ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων
ληροῦντων ἐνίοτε κατεφρόνει, τοὺς δὲ σεμνοὺς
ἐνίαυτοις βουλομένους καὶ μέγα φρονούντας ἐφ'
αὐτοῖς διὰ πλούτου ἡ γένος ἡ ἁληχία τινὰ
dύναμιν, τούτους μάλιστα ἐπίεξε καὶ ἐκόλαξε
πάντα τρόπων. τινὲς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον
ὡς σοφότατον πάντων, τισὶ δὲ μαίνεσθαι ἐδόκει,
pολλοὶ δὲ κατεφρόνοιν ὡς πτωχοὶ τε καὶ

9 οὐδενὸς ἁξίου, τινὲς δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, οἱ δὲ προτη-
λακίζειν ἐπεχείροσι, ὡστά ῥυπτοῦντες πρὸ τῶν
ποθῶν ὁσπερ τοῖς κυσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦ τρίβωνος
ὑπτομένου προσιόντες, πολλοὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἂλλ' ἡγανάκτουν, καθάπερ "Ομηρός φησὶ τοὺν Ὁδυσσέα
προσπαίζειν τοὺς μνηστήρας: κάκειον πρὸς
ὁλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἀκολασίαν αὐτῶν
καὶ τὴν ύβρίσιν, ο δὲ ὄμοιος ἦν ἐν ἀπαντώ τῷ
ὅπερ γὰρ ἐθέκει βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης. πτωχοὶ
στολὴν ἔχοντε, κάπετα ἐν ἀνδραιόδοις τε καὶ

1 ἐπαίζει Stobaen. 3. 13. 37: ἐπαίζει.
2 ἡ Arnim: καὶ.

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when others were railed at, but on their own account they were afraid and so would withdraw out of his way. Again, when he jested and joked, as was his wont at times, they were pleased beyond measure; but when he warmed up and became serious, they could not stand his frankness. The situation was the same, I fancy, as when children delight to play with well-bred dogs but are terrified and scared to death when they show anger and bark more loudly.

At these meetings also he held to the same line of conduct, not changing his ways nor caring whether anyone of his audience commended or criticized him; no, not even if it was some wealthy and prominent person such as a general or ruler who approached and conversed with him, or some very humble and poor individual. When such people talked nonsense, he usually scorned them merely, but those that assumed airs and prided themselves on their wealth or family or some other distinction he would make the especial object of his attack and castigate thoroughly. Some admired him, therefore, as the wisest man in the world, to others he seemed crazy, many scorned him as beggar and a poor good-for-nothing, some jeered at him, others tried to insult him grossly by throwing bones at his feet as they would to dogs, yet others would approach him and pluck at his cloak, but many could not tolerate him and were indignant. It was just like the way in which Homer says the suitors made sport of Odysseus; he too endured their riotous conduct and insolence for a few days, and Diogenes was like him in every respect. For he really resembled a king and lord who in the guise of a beggar moved among his
dio chrysostom

dουλοις αυτού στρεφομένω τρυφῶσι καὶ ἀγνοοῦσιν ὅστις ἔστι, καὶ ῥαδίως φέροντε μεθύοντας ἁνθρώπους καὶ μαυσωλεύοντες ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀμαθίας.

10 "Ολος 1 δὲ οὐ τε ἁθλοθέται τῶν Ἰσθμίων καὶ τῶν ἅλλων δος έννιμοι καὶ δυνατοί σφόδρα ἣποροῦντο καὶ συνεστέλλοντο κατ' ἐκείνου ὅποτε γένοιτο, καὶ πάντες οὕτως συνῆ γαρ ἐπάρθησαν ὑποβλέποντες αὐτῶν. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ἐστεφανώσατο τῆς πίτνος, πέμψαντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινας ἐκέλευον ἀποθέσαι τὸν στέφανον καὶ μηδὲν παράνομον ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἠρετος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ παράνομον ἐστιν αὐτὸν ἐστεφανώσαθαι τῆς πίτνος, ἅλλος δὲ οὐ παράνομον. εἴπεν οὖν τις αὐτῶν, "Ὅτε οὐ νευκήκας, ὁ Διόγενες. ὁ δὲ, Πολλούς γε, εἴπεν, ἀνταγωνιστὰς καὶ μεγάλους, οὐχ οἷα ταύτα ἐστι τὰ ἀνδρόποδα τὰ νῦν ἐνταῦθα

12 παλαιόντα καὶ δισκεύοντα καὶ τρέχοντα, τῷ παντὶ δὲ χαλεπωτέρους, πενίαν καὶ φυγήν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, ἐτί δὲ ὀργήν τε καὶ λύπην καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ φόβον καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀμαχώτατον θηρίον, 2 ὑπουλον καὶ μαλθακόν, ἥδονην ἢ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν Εὐλήων οὔτε τῶν βαρβάρων ἄξιοὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ περείχω τῇ ψυχῇ κρατήσας, ἄλλα πάντες ἠττηνται καὶ ἀπειρήκασι πρὸς τὸν ἀγώνα τούτον, Πέρσας καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σύροι καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ

13 Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Δακεδαιμόνοι, πλὴν ἐμοῦ. πότερον οὖν ὑμῖν ἄξιος δοκῶ τῆς πίτνος, ἡ λαβόντες αὐτὴν δώσετε τῷ πλείστων κρεῶν γέμοντι; ταύτα οὖν ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖς πέμψασι καὶ ὅτι

1 ἐλέως Herwerden: εἴλως.
2 Before θηρίον the MSS. have ἢ καὶ δυσμαχώτατον, which Emperius brackets.
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slaves and menials while they caroused in ignorance of his identity, and yet was patient with them, drunken as they were and crazed by reason of ignorance and stupidity.

Generally the managers of the Isthmian games and other honourable and influential men were sorely troubled and held themselves aloof whenever they came his way, and passed on, all of them, in silence and with scowling glances. But when he went so far as to put the crown of pine upon his head, the Corinthians sent some of their servants to bid him lay aside the crown and do nothing unlawful. He, however, asked them why it was unlawful for him to wear the crown of pine and not so for others. Whereupon one of them said, "Because you have won no victory, Diogenes." To which he replied, "Many and mighty antagonists have I vanquished, not like these slaves who are now wrestling here, hurling the discus and running, but more difficult in every way—I mean poverty, exile, and disrepute; yes, and anger, pain, desire, fear, and the most redoubtable beast of all, treacherous and cowardly, I mean pleasure, which no Greek or barbarian can claim he fights and conquers by the strength of his soul, but all alike have succumbed to her and have failed in this contest—Persians, Medes, Syrians, Macedonians, Athenians, Lacedae-monians—all, that is, save myself. Is it I, then, think you, that am worthy of the pine, or will you take and bestow it upon the one who is stuffed with the most meat? Take this answer, then, to those who sent you and say that it is they who break the

ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

αὐτὸι παρανομοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ νικήσαντες οὐδένα ἀγώνα περιέχονται στεφάνους ἔχοντες· καὶ ὅτι ἑνδοξότερα πεποίηκα τὰ Ἰσθμία κατακρατήσας αὐτὸς τὸν στέφανον, καὶ ὅτι οὐ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ταῖς αἰξὶ δηλαδὴ περιμάχητον αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ.

14 Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἰδὼν τινα ἐκ τοῦ σταδίου βαδίζουσα μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνοντα τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ ψηλὰν φερομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀχλοῦ, τοὺς δὲ τινας ἑπακολουθοῦντας καὶ βοώντας, ἄλλοις δὲ πηδώντας ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αἵροντας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιβάλλοντας αὐτὸς στεφάνους καὶ ταινίας, ὅτε ἐδυνήθη προσελθεῖν, ἤρετο τὶς ἔστιν ὁ θόρυβος ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ συνεβη. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Νικῶμεν, Διόγενες, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ στάδιον. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἔστιν· εἶπεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φρονιμότερος γέγονας οὐδὲ μικρὸν, ὅτι ἐφθασας τοὺς συντρέχοντας, οὐδὲ σωφρονέστερος νῦν ἢ πρότερον οὐδὲ δειλὸς ἠττῶν, οὐδὲ ἐλαττον ἄλγεις οὐδ᾽ ἐλαττόνων δεήσῃ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲ ἀλυπότερον βίωσῃ. Μά Δία, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ταχύτατός εἰμι πάντων. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῶν λαγών, ἔφη ὁ Διογένης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐλάφων· καίτοι ταῦτα τὰ θηρία, πάντων τάχιστα, ἐστὶ καὶ δειλότατα, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς κύνας καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς φοβεῖται, καὶ ἕξι βίων ἄθλιοι, οὐκ οἴσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι τὸ τάχος δείλιας σημείων ἔστι; τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ζῴους συμβέβηκε ταχίστοις τε εἶναι καὶ ἀνανδρωτάτοις. ὁ γὰρ Ἦρακλῆς διὰ τὸ

1 πεποίηκα Ἐμπεριούς: πεποίηκε.
THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

law; for they go about wearing crowns and yet have won in no contest; and add that I have lent a greater lustre to the Isthmian games by having myself taken the crown, which ought to be a thing for goats, forsooth, to fight over, not for men."

And on a later occasion when he saw a person leaving the race-track surrounded by a great mob and not even walking on the earth, but being carried shoulder high by the throng, with some following after and shouting, others leaping for joy and lifting their hands towards heaven, and still others throwing garlands and ribbons upon him, he asked, when he was able to get near, what was the meaning of the tumult about him, and what had happened. The victor replied, "I have won the two hundred yards dash for men, Diogenes." "And what does that amount to?" he inquired; "for you certainly have not become one whit more intelligent for having outstripped your competitors, nor more temperate now than you were, nor less cowardly, nor are you less discontented, nor will your wants be less in the future or your life freer from grief and pain." "No, by heavens," said he, "but I am the fastest on foot of all the Greeks." "But not faster than rabbits," said Diogenes, "nor deer; and yet these animals, the swiftest of all, are also the most cowardly. They are afraid of men and dogs and eagles and lead a wretched life. Do you not know," he added, "that speed is a mark of cowardice? It is in the order of things that the swiftest animals are likewise the most timid. Heracles, for instance,
βραδύτερος ἐιναι πολλῶν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ πόδας αἱρεῖν τοὺς κακούργους,
διὰ τοῦτο ἐφόρει τόξα καὶ τοῦτοις ἐχρῆτο ἐπὶ τοῖς φεῦγοντας. καὶ ὡς, Ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ἔφη,
ταχύν ὄντα φησίν ὁ ποιητὴς ἀνδρεύσατον εἰναι.
Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οἶσθα ὅτι ταχύς ἦν ὁ Ἀχιλλέας;
τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἑκτορὰ ἔλειν οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην διώκων.

18 Ὅυκ αἰσχύνη, ἔφη, ἐπὶ πράγματι σεμνυνόμενος ἐν ὧ τῶν φαντοτάτων θερίων χαῖρων πέφυκας;
οἶμαι γὰρ σε μηδὲ ἀλώπεκα δύνασθαι φθάσαι.
πόσον δὲ τι καὶ ἔφθασας; Παρ’ ὅλγον, εἶπεν,
ὁ Διόγενες. τοῦτο γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸ βαυμαστὸν
ἐγένετο τῆς νίκης. "Ωστε, ἔφη, παρ’ ὧν βῆμα
εὐδαίμονον γέγονας. Ἀπαντες γὰρ οἱ κράτιστοι
ἡμεν οἱ τρέχοντες. Οἱ δὲ κόρυδοι πόσῳ των
θάττων ύμῶν διέρχονται τὸ στάδιον; Πτηνοὶ γὰρ
ἐῖσιν, εἶπεν. Ὅυκοιν, ἔφη ὁ Διογένης, εἴπερ τὸ
ταχύτατον εἶναι κράτιστον ἔστι, πολὺ βέλτιον
κόρυδον εἶναι σχεδὸν ἢ ἀνθρώποι· ὃς τὸς
ἀγάνας οὐδὲν τι δεῖ οἰκτήρειν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐποπας,
ὅτι ὅρμης ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ
μύθου λέλεκται. Ἀλλ’ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀνθρώποι ὃν
ἀνθρώπων ταχύτατος ἐιμι. Τι δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν
τοῖς μύρμηξιν, εἶπεν, εἰκὸς ἀλλὸν ἄλλον ταχύ-
tερον εἶναι; μὴ οὖν βαυμάζουσιν αὐτὸν; ἢ οὖ
dοκεῖ σοι γελοίον εἶναι εἰ τις ἑθαύμαξε μύρμηκα

1 βραδύτερος Εμπερίος: βραδύτατος.
2 κακούργους Πλίνκ: στρατηγὸς.

1 Achilles, desiring to avenge the death of his friend Patroclus, whom Hector had slain, pursued him three times
on account of being slower than many and unable to catch evil-doers by running, used to carry a bow and arrows and to employ them against those who ran from him.” “But,” was the reply, “the poet states that Achilles, who was very swift-footed, was, nevertheless, very brave.” “And how,” exclaimed Diogenes, “do you know that Achilles was swift-footed? For he was unable to overtake Hector although he pursued him all day.

“Are you not ashamed,” he continued, “to take pride in an accomplishment in which you are naturally outclassed by the meanest beasts? I do not believe that you can outstrip even a fox. And by how much did you beat the man after all?” “By just a little, Diogenes,” said he; “for you know that is what made the victory so marvellous.” “So,” replied Diogenes, “you are fortunate by just one stride.” “Yes, for all of us who ran were first-rate runners.” “How much more quickly, however, does a crested lark get over the course than you?” “Ah, but it has wings,” he said. “Well,” replied Diogenes, “if the swiftest thing is the best, it is much better, perhaps, to be a lark than to be a man. So then we need not pity the nightingale or the hoopoe because they were changed from human beings into birds according to the myth.” “But,” replied he, “I, a man, am the fleetest of men.”

“What of it? Is it not probable that among ants too,” Diogenes rejoined, “one is swifter than another? Yet they do not admire it, do they? Or would it not seem absurd to you if one admired around the walls of Troy but was unable to overtake him. See Homer, Iliad 22. 21.

2 Procris, wife of Theseus, was turned into a nightingale.
3 Tereus was turned into a hoopoe. See Index.
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20 ἐπὶ τάχει; τί δὲ; εἰ χωλοὶ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ τρέχοντες, ἐχρήν σε μέγα φρονεῖν ὧτι χωλοὺς χωλὸς ἐφής;

Τοιαῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπον διαλεγόμενος πολλοὺς ἐποίησε τῶν παρόντων καταφρονήσαι τοῦ πράγματος κάκεινον αὐτοῦ λυπούμενον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ πολὺ ταπεινότερον. τούτῳ δὲ οὐ μικρὸν παρεῖχε τοῖς ἄνθρώποις, ὅποτε ἵδοι τινὰ μάτην ἐπαιρόμενον καὶ διὰ πράγμα οὐδενὸς ἄξιον ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν, συστείλας ἐπὶ βραχὺ καὶ ἀφελῶν μικρὸν τι τῆς ἄνοιας, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ πεφυσημένα καὶ οἴδοντα νῦξαντες ἢ στίξαντες.

22 Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ θεασάμενος ὑπονύμησεν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δεδεμένως, ἐπετυλαμβάνεται καὶ πολὺν ὑπὸν περιεστώτας καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἔως καμῶν ὁ ἐτερος ἐφυγεν ἀπορρήξας, προσελθὼν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν μένοντα καὶ ἀνέκχυτους ὡς Ἰσθμιονίκην, ὅτι λακτίζων ἐνίκησεν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέλως καὶ θόρυβος ὦν ἀπάντων, καὶ τῶν Διογένη πολλοὶ ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν κατηγέλων, καὶ τινὰς ἀπελθεῖν φασίν οὐκ ἱδόντας αὐτοὺς,—ὅσοι κακῶς ἐσκῆνον καὶ τούτου ἡπόρουν.

1 οῦ before χωλῶς deleted by Arnim. Empuries proposed ὁ for ὦ.
2 For στίξαντες some MSS. have στήσαντες or σέσαντες.
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an ant for its speed? Then again, if all the runners had been lame, would it have been right for you to take on airs because, being lame yourself, you had outstripped lame men?"

As he spoke to the man in this vein, he made the business of foot-racing seem cheap in the eyes of many of the bystanders and caused the winner himself to go away sorrowing and much meeker. And this was no small service which he rendered to mankind whenever he discovered anyone who was foolishly puffed up and lost to all reason on account of some worthless thing; for he would humble the man a little and relieve him of some small part of his folly, even as one pricks or punctures inflated and swollen parts.

On this occasion he saw two horses that were hitched together fall to fighting and kicking each other, with a large crowd standing by and looking on, until one of the animals, becoming exhausted, broke loose and ran off. Then Diogenes came up and placed a crown upon the head of the horse that had stood its ground and proclaimed it winner of an Isthmian prize, because it had "won in kicking." At this there was a general laugh and uproar, while many applauded Diogenes and derided the athletes. They say, too, that some persons actually left without witnessing their performances—those who had poor lodgings or none.
THE TENTH DISCOURSE:
DIOGENES OR ON SERVANTS

The tenth Discourse contains Cynic doctrine and belongs like the two preceding Discourses to Dio's period of exile. He could not consistently have praised the condition of being without property except when he was in exile and without property himself, and the callousness with which he refers to Oedipus' plight would have been out of keeping with his later life.

This Discourse has two parts. In the first it is shown to be better to be without a slave or any other piece of property if you do not know how to use it, and then the stronger statement is made that it is better to have no property at all. In the second part it is shown to be very dangerous and indeed harmful to consult a god when you do not know how to do so; while if you do know, it is unnecessary. To sum up: it is better to own no property and to consult no god.
1 Ἄπιων ποτε Διογένης ἐκ Κορίνθου Ἀθήναξε συνέβαλε κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἐνὶ τῶν γυνωρίμων καὶ ἦρετό ποι ἀπεισιν, οὐχ ὡσπέρ οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπερωτῶσιν, ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἀμελὲς εἰδέναι αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν φίλων, ἐπείτα ἀκούσαντες μὸνον ἀπηλλάγησαν· ἀλλ' ὡσπέρ οἱ ιατροὶ ἀνακρινοὺσι τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ὁ τι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν ἕνεκα τοῦ συμβουλεύσαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν κελεύοντι, τὰ δὲ ἀπαγορεύουσιν, οὕτως ἀνέκρινεν ὁ Διογένης τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ τι πράττοι.

2 καὶ ὃς ἔφη, Ὡ Διόγενες, πορεύομαι εἰς Δελφοὺς τῷ θεῷ χρησόμενος. μέλλων δὲ διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀπειναίο, ὁ γὰρ παῖς με ὁ μετ' ἐμοὶ πορευόμενος ἀπέδρα, νῦν ἐπὶ Κορίνθου ἀπειμι ἵσως γὰρ ἄν εὑρομὴ ἐκεῖ ὁ τῶν παιδα. καὶ ὁ Διογένης ἐπεν, ὡσπέρ ἐώθει, σπουδάσας, Ἑπείτα, καταγέλαστε, ἐπιχειρεῖς θεῷ χρὴσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενος ἀνδραπόδι χρὴσασθαι; ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον ἦττον χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐλάττονα ἔχειν κίνδυνον τοῖς οὐ δυναμένοις χρὴσασθαι ὀρθῶς· τὶ δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος, εἰπε, ξητεῖς τῶν παιδα; ἢ οὐκ ἦν πονηρός;

1 ἐκεῖ Emporius: καὶ.
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Once when Diogenes was leaving Corinth for Athens, he met an acquaintance on the road and asked whither he was going; not, however, as most persons ask such questions and thereby make a show of interest in their friends' affairs, yet have no sooner heard than off they go; no, but just as physicians ask the sick what they are planning to do, with the idea of giving them counsel and recommending what they should do and what they should avoid, so for the same purpose Diogenes asked the man what he was doing. And the latter replied, "I am on my way to Delphi, Diogenes, to make use of the oracle, but when I was about to pass through Boeotia, my slave, who was with me, ran away, and so I am now bound for Corinth, for perhaps I may find the boy there." At this Diogenes replied with that characteristic earnestness of his, "And so, you ridiculous fellow, are you attempting to make use of the god when you are incapable of using a slave? Or does not the latter strike you as less difficult and dangerous than the former for those who are incapable of using things properly? Besides, what is your object in hunting for the boy? Was he not a bad slave?"

1 The Greeks said "make use of" a god or oracle in the sense of "consult."
2 The equivocation arising from the double meaning of the verb ("use" = treat, "use" = consult) motivates the discussion; see especially § 17 ff.
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3 Πάντων γε, ἐφη, μάλιστα μηδέν γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀδικοῦμενος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ γενόμενος... ἦγεῖτο πονηρῶν εἰ γὰρ ἄγαθὸν ἦγεῖτο, οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἀπέλιπεν. Ἰσως, ὃ Διόγενες, κακὸς αὐτὸς ἦν.

'Επειτα ἐκεῖνοι μέν, ἐφη, σὲ πονηρῶν ἡγούμενοι ἐφυγεν, ἵνα μὴ βλάπτῃ ταί ὑπὸ σοῦ, σὺ δὲ ἐκεῖνον πονηρῶν εἶναι λέγων ἡστεῖς, δὴ λον ὁτι

4 βλάπτεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ βουλόμενοι; ἢ οὐχ οἱ κακοὶ ἀνθρώποι βλαβεροί εἰς τοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ τοὺς χρωμένους, εὰν τε Φυγίας ὁσίν εἰν τε Ἀθηναίοι, εὰν τε ἐλεύθεροι εὰν τε δοῦλοι; καὶ τοῖς κύνα μὲν οὐδές κακὸν ἡγούμενος ζητεί ἀποδράντα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν, εὰν ἐπανέλθῃ ἀνθρώποι δὲ πονηροὶ ἀπαλλαγέντες οὐκ ἀγαπόσωσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι καὶ τοὺς ἔξων ἐπιστέλλουσι καὶ αὐτὸ άποδημούντες καὶ χρήματα ἀναλίσκουσιν, ὅπως λάβωσιν αὐτὸν.

5 καὶ πότερον οὔ έστι πλείους ὑπὸ κυνῶν βλαβηθαί πονηρῶν ἢ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων; ὑπὸ μὲν γε κυνῶν φαύλων ἕνα τῶν Ἀκταίωνα φασιν ἀπολέσθαι καὶ τούτωι μανεντώι. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων φαύλων οὔδε εἰπεῖν ἐστίν ὅσοι ἀπολάλασι καὶ ἰδιώται καὶ βασιλείς καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ὁικετῶι, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶι καὶ δορυφόροι, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ φίλων τινῶν καλουμένων, οἱ δὲ τινες

6 καὶ ὑπὸ νιέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἄρα οὖν οὖν μέγα κέρδος, ὅτῳ ἀν συμβῇ ἀπαλλαγήναι

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1 The lacuna was noted by Casaubon. The omitted words obviously mentioned a kindness done to the slave and the first part of Diogenes’ retort, As showing the line of thought Capps suggests: ἀκόλουθος μου ἀνέβρα. Ἰσως γὰρ σὲ δεσπότην.
he certainly was,” replied the latter, “for although I had done him no wrong and, what is more, had made him [my body-servant, he ran away.” “Perhaps] he thought [you were] a bad [master], for if he had thought you were a good one, he would never have left you.” “Perhaps, Diogenes, it was because he was bad himself.”

“And so,” continued Diogenes, “because he thought you were bad, he ran off to avoid injury by you, while you are searching for him although you say he is bad, evidently with the desire to be injured by him! Is it not true that bad men are injurious to those who own them or to those who use them, whether they be Phrygians or Athenians, bond or free? And yet no one hunts for a run-away dog that he thinks is no good; nay, some even kick such a dog out if he comes back; but when people are rid of a bad man they are not satisfied, but go to a lot of trouble by sending word to their friends, making trips themselves, and spending money to get the fellow back again. Now do you believe that more have been hurt by bad dogs than by bad men? To be sure we hear that one man, Actaeon, was slain by worthless dogs, and mad ones at that; but it is not even possible to say how many private individuals, kings, and whole cities have been destroyed by bad men, some by servants, some by soldiers and bodyguards, others by so-called friends, and yet others by sons and brothers and wives. Is it not, therefore, a great gain when one happens to be rid of a bad man?

2 δὴλον Dindorf: ἀδηλον.
3 βλάπτεσθαι Dindorf: βλάπτη καλ.
4 αὐτῶν Geel: αὐτοῖς.
κακοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῦτον ξητεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν; ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἀπαλλαγέν νόσημα ἐξήτει καὶ ἐβοῦλετο ἀναλαβεῖν εἰς τὸ σῶμα;

Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶπεν, Ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἶπας, ὁ δὲ Ἐλίσα: ἀλλὰ χαλεπόν ἄστιν ἀδικηθέντα μη τιμωρήσασθαι. ἐκείνος γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ παθὼν, ὡς ὅρᾶς, ἔτολμησέν ἀπολυτεῖν με’ ὃς ἔργον μὲν παρ’ ἐμοί οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν ὅσα δοῦλοι ἐργάζονται, ἀργός δὲ ὁν ἐνδόν ἐπρέφετο, οὐ-7 δὲν ποιῶν ἡ ἐμοὶ ἀκολουθῶν. Ἔπειτα, ἔφη, οὐδὲν ἡδίκεις αὐτὸν ἄργον ὑντα καὶ ἀμαθὴ τρέφων καὶ ποιῶν ὅτι κάκιστον; ἡ γὰρ ἄργια καὶ τὸ σχολὴν ἄγειν ἀπόλλυσι πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνοίτους ἄνθρωπους. οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς συνή-κευν ὑπὸ σοῦ διαφθειρόμενος, καὶ ἀπέδρα δικαίως, ἵν’ ἐργάζῃται δήλου ὅτι καὶ μὴ σχολάζων τε καὶ καθεύδων καὶ ἐσθῶν χείρων ἀεὶ γίγνεται. οὐ δὲ ἴσως οἱ μικρὸν ἀδικημα εἶναι, ὅς ἄνθρωπον ποιεῖ ποιηρότερον: ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τοῦτον δεὶ πάντων μάλιστα φεύγειν ὡς ἔχθιστον καὶ ἐπιβουλότατον;

Καὶ ὃς, Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ποιήσω; οὐ γὰρ ἐστι 8 μοι ἄλλος οἰκέτης. Τί δὲ, ἔφη, ποιήσεις ὅταν ἄλλα ὑποδήματα μὴ ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ ὑντα ἐνοχλῆ 
καὶ διακόπτῃ τοὺς πόδας; ἄρα οὐχ ὑπολυσά-μενος ὅτι τάχιστα ἀνυπόδητος βαδίσεις; ἀλλὰ κἀν αὐτόματον λυθῆ, πάλιν ἐπιδεῖς τε καὶ σφίγγεις τὸν πόδα; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνυπόδητοι ἔνοχε βάδιζουσι τῶν φαύλως ὑποδεδεμένων, οὕτως πολλοὶ χωρὶς οἰκετῶν ραμν ἵσσι καὶ ἀλυπότερον τῶν πολλοῖς οἰκέταις.
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Should one hunt and chase after him? That would be like hunting after a disease one had got rid of and trying to get it back into one’s system again.”

The man replied, “What you say is right enough, Diogenes, but it is hard for a man who has been wronged not to seek redress. That renegade suffered no wrong at my hands, as you see, and yet he dared to desert me. At my house he did none of the work that slaves perform, but was kept inside in idleness with nothing else to do but to accompany me.” “Then were you doing him no wrong,” Diogenes answered, “by keeping him in idleness and ignorance and making him as bad as could be? For idleness and lack of occupation are the best things in the world to ruin the foolish. Therefore he was right in deciding that you were his undoing, and he was justified in running off, evidently so as to get work and not become worse and worse all the time by loafing, sleeping, and eating. But you, perhaps, think that it is a trifling wrong when anyone makes another man worse. And yet is it not right to keep away from such a man above all as the deadliest and most treacherous of enemies?”

“What shall I do then?” he asked, “for I have no other domestic.” “Well, what will you do,” said he, “when you have no other shoes and those you have hurt and lacerate your feet? Will you not take them off as soon as you can and go barefoot? If, however, they fall off of themselves, do you tie them on again and pinch your feet? Why, sometimes barefooted persons get about more easily than those who are badly shod; and similarly, many live more comfortably and with less annoyance without domestics than those who have many. See what worries
9 ἔχοντων. οὐχ ὅρας τοὺς πλουσίους, ὁπόσα πράγματα ἠχουσι, οἱ μὲν θεραπεύοντες τοὺς νοσούντας τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ δεδέμενοι λατρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραμενούντων; καὶ γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολὺ πέφυκεν ἁμελεῖν αὐτῶν τὰ ἀνδράποδα καὶ οὐ προσέχειν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις, τὸ μὲν τὶ ὑπὸ ἀκρατείας, τὸ δὲ ἡγούμενα, ἐὰν τι πάθοι, τοὺς δεσπότας ξημιώσεσθαι, οὐχ αὐτοὺς· οἱ δὲ μαστιγοῦντες ὀσιμέρα, ἔτεροι δὲ δεσμεύοντες, ἀλλοι διώκοντες φεύγοντας. καὶ γὰρ τοι ὀὔτε ἀποδημήσαι δύνανται ῥᾴδιως, ὁπότεν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς, ὀὔτε μένοντες σχολὴν ἄγουσι. τὸ δὲ πάντων γελοιοτάτουν ἐνίοτε ἀποροῦσι διακόνων μᾶλλον τῶν πενήτων τε καὶ οὔκ ἐχόντων οὐδένα οἰκέτην. καὶ ἔστι τὸ πράγμα ὅμοιον τοῖς λούλοις· οἷμαι γὰρ σε εἰδέναι καὶ γὰρ ἑκεῖνοι μυρίους πόδας ἐχοῦσι βραδύταταί εἰσι τῶν ἐρπτετῶν. οὐκ οἴσθα ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ἡ φύσις ἐκάστῳ ἐποίησεν ἰκανὸν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θεραπείαν; πόδας μὲν, ὅστε ἀπίεναι, χεῖρας δὲ, ὅστε ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὀφθαλμῷς δὲ, ὅστε ὅραν, ὅτα δὲ, ὅστε ἀκούειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σύμμετρον ἐποίησε τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ οὐ δεῖται πλείονος τροφῆς ἢ ἀνθρώπος ἡ δυνατός ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πορίζειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέτρον ἐκάστῳ ἰκανώτατον καὶ ἀριστότερον καὶ ὑγιέστατον. ὃσπερ οὖν ἡ χεῖρ ἀσθενεστέρα ἐστὶν ἡ πλείονας δακτύλους ἐχουσα τῶν φύσει γεγυμομένων, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνθρώπος ἀνάπηρος καλεῖται τρόπον τυπὰ ὧν ἐξωθεὶ προσφυγία δάκτυλος περιττός, καὶ μηδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρὴσθαι δύνηται κατὰ τρόπον, οὕτως ὅταν πολλοὶ πόδες καὶ πολλαὶ χεῖρες καὶ πολλαὶ
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the rich have. Some are taking care of their sick slaves and wanting doctors and nurses—for it is usually the way of slaves to neglect themselves and not be careful when sick, partly through lack of self-control, partly because they think that if anything befalls them, it will be their master's loss and not their own—other rich men inflict corporal punishment daily, others put fetters on them, while yet others are pursuing runaways. And so it goes; they can neither get away from home easily whenever they like nor have leisure if they stay at home. And the most absurd thing of all is that they are often worse off for help than are the poor who keep no servants. Their situation reminds one of the centipede—I think you know it—which has innumerable feet and yet it is the slowest of creeping things. Do you not know that nature has made each man's body to be sufficient to serve him?—feet so as to move about, hands to work with and to care for the rest of the body, eyes to see, and ears to hear. Besides, she has made his stomach of a size in keeping, so that man does not require more nourishment than he is able to provide for himself, but this amount represents what is quite adequate for each man and best and most wholesome. Just as a hand is all the weaker for having more fingers than belong there naturally, and such a man is called a sort of cripple when he has an extra finger on the outside and cannot use the other fingers properly; so when a man gets equipped with many additional feet, hands,
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14 ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὸν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εάν τις ἵματιον ἀποδῷ κίβδηλον ἢ σκεῦος ἢ κτήνος νοσοῦν τε καὶ ἄχρηστον, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸ ἀπολαμβάνειν, ὥστε οὔδέν ἐσται σοι πλέον. εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνῆσῃ ἐξαπατήσαι τινα κάκεινος οὐκ αἰσθήσεται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ποιήσεως, τὸ ἀργύριον οὐ δέδοικας; ὦσος μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον ἄνησῃ φαιλότερον, ἐὰν δριμυτέρου τύχης ἢ κατὰ σὲ τοῦ ἀποδιδομένου τυχὸν δὲ εἰς ἄλλο τι χρήσῃ λαβῶν ἂφ’ οὐ βλαβῆσῃ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ποτε τὸ ἀργυρίον ὄφελεί τοῖς κτησμαίενοι, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ πλείονας βλάβας καὶ πλεῖω κακὰ πεπόνθασιν ἀνθρωπὸι ὑπὸ ἀργυρίου ἢ ὑπὸ πενίας, ἀλλὰς τε ἀνόητων ὄντες. οὐκ ἔκεινο πρότερον κτήσασθαι σπουδάσεις ὥς δυνῆσῃ ὑπὸ παντὸς ὄφελείσθαι καὶ πάσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασι χρήσθαι καλῶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ φρονήσας ξητίσεις ἀργύριον ἢ γῆν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ ξεύγος ἢ πλοῖον ἢ οἰκίαν; οἷς οὐ δουλεύεις καὶ λυπήσῃ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ πολλὰ πονίσεις μάτην καὶ διατελέσεις ἀπαντα τὸν βίον φροντὶς ἑκείνου, δυνῆσῃ δὲ οὐδ’ ὠτιόν ἂπ’ ἀυτῶν. οὐχ ὅρας τὰ θηρία ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ὄρνηα, ὅσον γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλυπότερον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ήδιον, καὶ μᾶλλον υγιαίνει καὶ πλέον ἵσχυει καὶ γῆ χρόνον ἐκαστὸν αὐτοῦ ὅσον πλείστον δύναται, καίτοι οὔτε χεῖρας ἔχοντα οὔτε ἀνθρώποι δύναοι; ἀλλ’ ὅμως αὐτὶ πάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ὑπείρχει μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν, ὅτι ἀκτίμονα ἑστίν.

'Αλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ἐάσειν, ὡς Διόγενες, τὸν οἰκέτην, εὰνπερ μὴ ἀπὸ τύχης ἐμπέσῃ μοι. Ναι μὰ Δία, εἴπεν ὁ Δισγένης, ὡσπερ εἰ λέγοις ὅτι 428
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Further, if a man sells a cloak or a utensil that is not what it purports to be, or an animal that is diseased and useless; he must take it back; so, by selling you will be none the better off. And even if you shall be able to deceive somebody and he shall not be aware of the slave's depravity, are you not afraid of the money? For perhaps you will buy another still worse slave if you chance upon a seller who is too shrewd for you. Or perhaps you will use the money received for something that will harm you. For by no means in every case does money help those who have gotten it; but men have suffered many more injuries and many more evils from money than from poverty, particularly when they lacked sense. Are you going to try to secure first, not that other thing, which will enable you to derive profit from everything and to order all your affairs well, but in preference to wisdom are you going to seek riches or lands or teams of horses or ships or houses? You will become their slave and will suffer through them and perform a great deal of useless labour, and will spend all your life worrying over them without getting any benefit whatsoever from them. Consider the beasts yonder and the birds, how much freer from trouble they live than men, and how much more happily also, how much healthier and stronger they are, and how each of them lives the longest life possible, although they have neither hands nor human intelligence. And yet, to counterbalance these and their other limitations, they have one very great blessing—they own no property."

"Well, Diogenes, I believe I shall let my servant go, that is, unless he happens to come my way."
"Well, I declare," exclaimed Diogenes, "that would
Δάκνοντα ἡ λακτίζοντα ἱππον οὐκ ἀν ξητῆσαιμιν·
εὰν μέντοι περιτύχω, προσέλθουμ' ἂν, ὥστε
δηχθῆναι ἡ λακτισθῆναι.

17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἔασον· ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ διὰ τί με
χρησθαί οὐκ ἔας· Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύω σοι θεῷ
χρησθαί, εἰ δύνασαι; οὐ τούτῳ ἔφην, ἀλλ' ὅτι
χαλεπόν ἐστι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον, χρῆσθαι ἡ
θεῶ ἡ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ αὐτῶν αὐτῶ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον·
tὸ δὲ ἐπιξειρεῖν ἦνει τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι πάντων
βλαβερῶτατον· ἡ ὅστις οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐμπειρος
ἵππων χρῆσεως, δοκεῖ σοι οὖτος χρῆσθαί ἄν
ἱπποῖς; Οὐκ ἔμοιγε. Εἰ δ' αὐτοῖς, κακῶν
ἀν τι ἁπολαύσαι πρότερον ἡ ἀγαθῶν· Ἀληθῆ.

18 Τί δὲ; ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ χρῆσιν κυνῶν, δυνατὸς ἄν
εἰη χρῆσθαι; ἢ οὐ τὸ τινι χρῆσθαί ὠφελείσθαι
ἐστιν ἀπ' ἐκείνου; Δοκεῖ μοι. Οὐδές ἂρα τῶν
βλαπτομένων ἀπὸ τίνος χρῆται ἐκείνῳ υφ' οὐ
βλάπτεται; Ὡ γὰρ. Οὐκοιν καὶ ὁ κυρὶ πειρώ-
μενος χρῆσθαι ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι ζημιόστηται
ἀπ' αὐτῶν; Εἰκός γε. Οὐκ ἂρα οὐδὲ χρῆσται
αὐτοῖς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ χρῆσις ὧτον ζημία πρόσεστι.
καὶ οὐ μόνον περὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἱππῶν ἔχει οὕτω,
ἀλλὰ καὶ θωύν καὶ ὄρεων, καὶ τοῖς θαυμα-
σαίς ἄν, οὐδὲ ὑψη ἐπροστάτῳ χρῆσθαι πάρεστι
toῖς ἀπείροις. ἢ οὐκ οἴσθαι τοὺς μὲν τινας
ἀφελημένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βεβλαμμένους ἀπὸ τε
προβατεῖς καὶ οὐναιλαίοις; Ἐγὼγε. Πότερον
dὲ ἀλλο τι ἡ διότι ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἀπείροις
ζημιοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ εἰδότας ὑνίασθαι καὶ ἀπὸ

1 οὐδές Morel: οὐδὲν or οὐδὲ.
2 ὀρέων Pierson: ὄρεων.
3 διότι Wilamowitz: δῆλον ὅτι.
be like your saying that you would not look for a horse that bites or kicks, but that if you came across him, you would go up to him for the fun of being bitten or kicked!"

"Enough of that! But why do you object to my making use of the god?" "What! I object to your making use of the god if you can! That is not what I was saying, but that it is difficult, nay rather impossible, to make use of god or man or one's own self if one does not know how. To make the attempt without knowing how is an extremely harmful thing. Or do you think that the man who is untrained in the use of horses could make use of them?" "I do not." "And that if, on the other hand, he should use force, he would get some harm from it rather than good?" "True." "Now then, will the man ignorant of the use of dogs be able to use them? Or does not the using of a thing imply deriving benefit from it?" "I think so." "No one, therefore, of those injured by a thing really uses the thing by which he is injured, does he?" "Certainly not." "If, therefore, a man attempts to use dogs without knowing how, will he not receive damage from them?" "Very likely." "He, therefore, will not be using them either, since use does not properly exist where damage results. And this is true not only in the case of dogs and horses but of oxen and mules also, and—what might surprise you more—not even the using of an ass or a sheep is a matter for inexperienced persons. Or do you not know that from the keeping of sheep and the driving of asses some derive benefit and others injury?" "I do." "Is it not simply because the inexperienced necessarily receive damage and those who
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ὅνων καὶ ἀπὸ συνὸν καὶ ἀπὸ χηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλου ζῷου παντὸς ἢ Εοικε.

Τί δὲ; οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς σκεύεσιν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, ἀλλὰ κιβάρα χρήσατο ἄν ὁ ἄμουσος, ἢ ἐπιχειρῶν ὦκ ἣν εἰ ἡ καταγέλαστος πρὸς τῷ μηθέν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὴν κιβάραν διαφθείρων καὶ ἀπορρηγνὺς
toûs φθόγγους; τί δὲ; εἴ τις αὐλοὶς οὐκ ὁ ἀναλητικὸς ἐθέλοις χρήσθαι καὶ παριῶν εἰς τὰ θέατρα αὐλεῖν, οὐκ αὐτὸς τέ δώσει δίκην βαλλόμενος καὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἄν προσέπτη συντρίψειεν; ὡς δέ ἐν ἐπιχειρή πηδαλίῳ χρήσθαι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος κυβερνάν, ἕστιν ὁ πώς οὐκ ἄν τάχιστα ἀνατρέψας τὴν ναῦν αὐτῶν τε ἀπολέσειεν καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας; τί δὲ; ἡ ὁδώτας χρήσις ἡ ἀστίδος συμφέρει τοῖς δειλοῖς καὶ ἀνεπιστήμουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν ἀποβάλοις τῇ τοιαύτῃ πείρᾳ τῆς χρήσεως οὐ τὰ ὅπλα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς;

Συγχωρῶ, ἐφη, ὁ Διόγνεως· ἀλλὰ καταδύεις
tοῦν ἣλιον περὶ πάντων ἐπερωτῶν. Καὶ πότερον ἄμεινον, εἴπειν, ἀκούσατα ὁν χρῆ καταδύσαι τὸν ἣλιον ἢ βαδίζοντα μᾶτην;

'Ομοίως 1 δέ ἐπὶ πάντων σχεδὸν ὁ σών ἀπεστιν ἐμπειρίᾳ τοῦ χρήσθαι, χαλεπῶν τὸ προθυμείσθαι, μείζω δὲ 2 τήν βλάβην γενέσθαι εἰκὸς ἀπὸ τῶν μειζόνων. ἦ οὖν δοκεῖ σοι ὁμοία εἶναι ἢ ὁνο χρῆσις τῇ ἱπποῦ; Πόθεν; Τί δὲ; ἡ ἀνθρώπου τῇ θεοῦ; Ἄλλα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἄξιον, ἐφη, ὁ Διό-

1 ὁμοίως Geel: ὁμοῖος. 2 δὲ Pflugk: γὰρ.
know benefit, whether it be a question of asses or swine or geese or any other creature?" "It appears so."

"Furthermore, can it be that, as regards the use of things, the same reasoning does not hold good, but that one who has no knowledge of music could use a lyre, or would he not be ridiculous for trying, not to speak of his accomplishing nothing and ruining the lyre and breaking the strings? Then again, if one who is not a flautist should wish to use the flute and appear in the theatres and play upon it, would he not be pelted as a punishment and be likely to smash his flute into the bargain? And if a man undertakes to handle a rudder without knowing how to steer, will he not assuredly capsize the boat in short order and cause the death of both himself and his fellow-passengers? Still further, does the use of spear or shield do any good when wielded by timid and inexperienced persons, or rather, would they not by such an attempt at use lose not only their weapons but their own lives as well?"

"I grant it, Diogenes," he replied; "but you are letting the sun go down with your interminable questions." "And is it not better," said he, "to let the sun go down if one is listening to useful words than to go on an idle journey?"

"And likewise in almost all cases where practical experience in 'using' is lacking, it is difficult to be zealous, and the damage is likely to be greater where the things concerned are greater. Do you, then, think that the 'use' of an ass is like the 'use' of a horse?" "Of course not." "Well, then, is the 'use' of a man like the 'use' of a god?" "But that question does not deserve an answer, Diogenes,"


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γενει. "Εστιν οὖν ὃς αὐτῷ ἁρπάζω, δύναται, οὐ γυνακώσκων αὐτόν; Καὶ πῶς; εἶπεν. Ὅ γὰρ ἀνθρωπον ἁγιοῦν ἄδικον ἀνθρώπων ἁρπάζω Χρῆσθαι; 22 Ἀδίκον γὰρ. Ὅ δὲ αὐτὸν ἁγιοῦν όμικρὸν ἄν ἔχειν αὐτῷ ἁρπάζων; Δοκεῖ μοι. Ὅδε οὖν ἄκηκοας τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς γράμμα τῷ Γυώτη σαυτόν; Ἑγώγε. Ὁ ποῦν δῆλον ὅτι ὁ θεὸς κέλευε τὰς ως οὐκ εἰδόσων αὐτοὺς; Ἑοικεν. Εἰς ἔρα τῶν πάντων καὶ σὺ εἰς ἄν; Πῶς γὰρ οὖ; Οὐκ ἔρα οὐδὲ σὺ γυνακώσκεις σαυτόν; Οὐ μοι δοκῶ. Σεαυτῷ δὲ ἁγιοῦον ἀνθρωπον ἁγιοῦοις, ἀνθρωπον δὲ οὐκ εἰδός χρῆσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐ δύνατος ἓλ, ἀνθρώπω ὁ δὲ χρῆσθαι ἄδικον ὅθεν θεοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖς, ὅ τῶν παντὶ μεῖζον καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκείνου ὁμολογούμεν εἰναι.

23 Τί δὲ; νομίζεις τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἄττικίζειν ἢ διώκειν; ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι διάλεκτον ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν; ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὡστε τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐν Τροῖα Σκάμανδρον παρ’ ἐκείνως Ξάνθον καλείσθαι, καὶ τὴν κυμαινὸν τὸ ὀρνακίδα, καὶ τοῦτον τινὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃν οἱ Τρῶες ἐκάλουν Βατιείαν, 2 τοὺς θεοὺς Σῆμα Μυρίνης νομίμαζειν. ὃθεν δὴ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὰ τῶν χρησμῶν ἄστιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἔξις ἐξηπάτηκεν.

24 ὗμήρῳ μὲν οὖν ἁρπάλες ἢν ἵσως πορεύεσθαι

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1 οὖν ὃς αὐτῷ Arnim: οὖν ἔτη.
2 Emperius: βατίαν ορ βατειαν.

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1 The first of the three inscriptions known to have been inscribed on the temple of Apollo at Delphi.
2 See Homer, Iliad 20. 74, and compare the Eleventh Discourse, § 23.

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said he. "Is there anyone, then, who can make use of himself who does not know himself?" "How could he?" replied the other. "Because the one who does not understand man is unable to 'use' man?" "Yes, because he cannot." "So he who does not understand himself would not be able to make use of himself, would he?" "I believe not." "Have you ever heard of the inscription at Delphi: 'Know thyself'?" "I have." "Is it not plain that the god gives this command to all, in the belief that they do not know themselves?" "It would seem so." "You, therefore, would be included in the 'all'?" "Certainly." "So then you also do not know yourself?" "I believe not." "And not knowing yourself, you do not know man; and not knowing man, you are unable to 'use' man; and yet, although you are unable to 'use' a man, you are attempting to 'use' a god, an attempt which we agree is altogether the greater and more difficult of the two.

"Tell me, do you think Apollo speaks Attic or Doric? Or that men and gods have the same language? Yet the difference is so great that the Scamander river in Troy is called Xanthus by the gods, and that the bird kymindis is called chalkis, and that a certain spot outside the city which the Trojans called Bacieia was called the Sema Myrines by the gods. From this it naturally follows that the oracles are obscure and have already deceived many men. Now for Homer perhaps it was safe to go to Apollo

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3 See Homer, Iliad 14. 291. It is said to have been a black bird of prey, long and slender, which haunted the mountains. It has not been identified.

4 "Tomb of Myrina." See Homer, Iliad 2. 813 ff.
parā tōn 'Aptōllω eis Δελφοὺς, atē dylōttω καὶ 1 ἑπισταμένῳ τὰς φωνάς, εἴπερ ἀπάσας ἥπιστατο, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀλίγη ἄττα, ὥσπερ οἱ δύο ἢ τρία Περσικὰ εἴδοτες ῥήματα ἢ Μηδικὰ ἢ Ἀσσύρια τοὺς ἀγνοούντας ἔξαπατώσι.

Σὺ δὲ οὖν δήδοικας μὴ ἄλλα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος ἄλλα διανοηθῆς; ὥσπερ οὖν φασί Δαίοιν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν γενόμενον Χρυσόττων ἑραστήν, ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεοῦ ὅπως αὐτῷ ἔσοιντο παῖδες. ἔχρησεν οὖν μὴ γεννᾶν ἢ ἐκτιθέναι γεννήσαντα. οὔτω δὲ ἀνόητος ἢν ὁ Δαίος ὡστε ἀμφότερα παρακοῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐγέννησε καὶ οὐκ ἐθρεψεν. ἐπείτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, διότι ἀδύνατος ἄν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χρησθαι. μὴ γὰρ ταῦτα ἄκουσας τὸν Οἰδίποδα οὐκ ἂν ἔξεθηκεν, ο δὲ οἶκοι τραφεῖς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Δαίον,

ἐπιστάμενος ὃτι αὐτοῦ παῖς εἶναι καὶ τοίνυν τὰ περὶ Κροίσου ἀκίδοιας τὸν Δυδῶν, ὃς ἤγομενος πείθεσθαι τῷ νεῷ παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ διαβᾶς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀλυν, τῆν ἄρχην ἀπέβαλε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πέδαις ἐδέθη, καὶ ἄλγους κατεκαύθη ζῶν. ἢ σὺ οἷς φρονιμώτερος εἶναι Κροίσου, ἀνδρὸς οὕτω

1 kal added by Emperius.
2 οὐκ added by Geel. Bude adopts Schwartz’ proposal, καὶ ἄλλος ἐθρεψεν.

1 King of Thebes, the father by Jocasta of Oedipus, who unwittingly slew him, married Jocasta, and then blinded himself on learning the relationship.
2 A son of Pelops, carried off by Latus.
3 The oracle can mean (1) not to beget; or if he did, to expose the infant; (2) not to beget, or if he did, not to expose the infant.
THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

at Delphi, as being bilingual and understanding the dialects—if he really did understand them all and not just a few things, like persons who know two or three Persian, Median, or Assyrian words and thus fool the ignorant.

"But how about you? Have you no fear lest, when the god says one thing you may understand another? As, for instance, the story of the famous Laius,¹ the man who became the lover of Chryseippus;² when he had gone to Delphi, he asked the god how he might have issue. The god bade him 'not to beget, or, having begotten, to expose.' And Laius was so foolish as to misunderstand both commands of the god,³ for he begot a son and did not rear him. Afterwards both he and all his house were destroyed, all because he had undertaken to 'make use of' Apollo when he lacked the ability. For if he had not received that oracle, he would not have exposed Oedipus, and the latter, having been reared at home, would not have slain Laius, for he would have known that he was his son. Then you have heard the story about Croesus,⁴ the Lydian, who, imagining that he was most faithfully carrying out the behests of the god, crossed the river Halys,⁵ lost his empire, was bound in chains himself, and barely escaped being burned alive. Or do you, pray, think that you are wiser than Croesus, a man

¹ King of Lydia, who having consulted the oracle at Delphi as to whether he should march against Persia, received the answer that if he did he would destroy a great empire. Herodotus (1. 53 ff.) quotes the oracle and tells the story.

² The most important river of Asia Minor, empties into the Euxine or Black Sea, near Sinope, and used to form the boundary between the Lydian empire and that of the Medes and Persians.
πλουσίου καὶ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων ἀρχιτός καὶ
Σόλωνι συγγενομένῳ καὶ ἄλλοις παμπόλλοις
27 σοφισταῖς; τὸν δὲ Ὄρεστην καὶ αὐτὸν δήπο
ὅρας ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἐγκαλοῦντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ
μεμφόμενον, ὡς συμβουλεύσαντος ἐκείνου τὴν μητέρα ἀποκτείνα
καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτώσιν αὐτὸν. ἂλλ' ὡσ περ εἴποιν, χρῆσθαι
τῷ θεῷ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐπιχειρήσεις, οὐχ
αὐτοῖς, ἂλλ' ἐκείνων αἰτίον τιναί.

Συ δ' οὖν, εάν μοι πεισθήση, φυλάξῃ καὶ πρότερον
προθυμήσῃ ἵνανα μετανοήσῃ, ἐπείτα ἐφοσίας, εάν
28 δοκῇ σοι, τότε ἠδ' προνεῖσῃ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴμαι
σε μηδέν δεχόμηθα μαντείας νοῦν ἔχοντα. καὶ
γὰρ δὴ ὅρα, εάν σε κελεύσῃ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγι
γνώσκειν ὁρθῶς μὴ γραμματικὸν ὄντα, οὐ δυνῆσῃ
γράμματα δὲ εἰδὼς, καὶ μὴ τοῦθε θεοῦ κελεύσοντος
κατὰ τρόπον γράφεις καὶ ἀναγινώσῃ. δομίως δὲ
ἀλλ' ὅτι οὖν πράπτειν, εάν συμβουλεύσῃ σοι μὴ
ἐπιστεμένως, οὐχ ἦδ' το οὖς. καὶ ζήν ὁ ὅρθος οὐ
δυνήσῃ μὴ ἐπιστέμενος, οὐδ' ἄν κατὰ τὴν ἤμεραν
ἐκάστην τὸν Ἀπόλλων ἐνοχλήσει καὶ σοὶ μόνῳ
σχολάζῃ. νοῦν δὲ ἐχὼν ἐγνώσῃ ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ ὃ τι
σοι πρακτέον ἐστί καὶ ὅπως.

29 Ὁ δὲ ἔλαβε μὲ 1 περὶ τοῦ Ὀιδίποδος εἴπειν, ὅτι
εἰς Δελφοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθε μαντευσόμενος, τῷ δὲ
Τειρεσίᾳ συμβαλὼν μεγάλα κακὰ ἀπέλαυσε τῆς

1 ἔλαβε μὲ Geel: ἔλαθεν.

1 Son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, who, having slain
his mother for having slain his father, went mad and was
pursued by the Furies. Dio has in mind such passages as
of such wealth, who ruled over so many people and had met Solon and a great many other wise men? As for Orestes, I presume you see him also in tragic performances inveighing against the god in his fits of madness, and accusing him as though he had counselled him to slay his mother. But do not imagine that Apollo ever ordered those that consult him to commit any dreadful or disgraceful act. It is as I said: although men are incapable of 'using' the god, they go ahead, try, and then blame him and not themselves.

"You, then, if you follow my advice, will take heed and aim first to know yourself; afterwards, having found wisdom, you will then, if it be your pleasure, consult the oracle. For I am persuaded that you will have no need of consulting oracles if you have intelligence. Why just consider! If the god bids you to read and write correctly when you have no knowledge of letters, you will not be able to do so; but if you know your letters, you will read and write well enough, even without any command from the god. In the same way, if he advises you to do anything else when you do not know how, you will not be in a condition to obey. You will not be able to live properly, either, if you do not know how, even though you importune Apollo day after day and he gives you all his time. But if possessed of intelligence, you will know of yourself what you ought to do and how to go about it.

"There is one thing, however, that I forgot to say about Oedipus: He did not go to Delphi to consult the oracle but fell in with Teiresias and suffered..."

2 A Theban and one of the most famous soothsayers of antiquity.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐκείνου μαντικῆς διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄγνοιαν. ἔγνω γὰρ ὃτι τῇ μητρὶ συνεγένετο καὶ παιδές εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἐξ ἐκείνης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, δέον ἵππως κρύπτειν τοῦτο ἣ ποιήσαι νόμιμον τοῖς Ὑθβαίοις, πρῶτον μὲν πᾶσιν ἐποίησε φανερῶν, ἐπειτα ἡγανάκτει καὶ ἐβόα μεγάλα, ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν πατήρ ἐστι καὶ ἄδελφος καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γυναικὸς ἂνὴρ καὶ νῖς. οἴ δὲ ἀλεκτρόνες οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις οὐδὲ οἱ κύνες οὐδὲ τῶν ὄνων οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ οἱ Πέρσαι, καίτοι δοκοῦσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἀριστοί. πρὸς δὲ τούτως ἐτύφλωσεν αὐτῶν. ἐπειτα ἡλικτὸ τετυφλωμένος, ὁσπερ οὐ δυνάμενοι βλέπων πλανᾶσθαι.

Καὶ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐφη, Σὺ μὲν, ὁ Διόγενες, ἀναισθητότατον ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνεις τὸν Οἰδίπον. οἳ δὲ "Εὐληνες οἴονται οὐκ εὐτυχῆ μὲν γενέσθαι ἀνθρώποι, συνετῶν δὲ πάντων μάλιστα: μόνον γοῦν αὐτὸν λύσαι τὸ αἰγιγμα τῆς ἦς Σφιγγός. καὶ ὁ Διογένης γελάσας, Μὴ γάρ, ἐφη, ἐκεῖνος ἐλυσε τὸ αἰγιγμα; οὐκ ἀκίνκος ὅτι ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε γνώναι ἡ Σφίγγη; οδὲ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὁ ἔστιν οὐτέ εἰπεν οὔτε ἔγνω τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγων ἔτεο λέγειν τὸ ἐρωτώμενον; ὁσπερ εἰ τὰς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι Σωκράτης, οδὲ μηδὲν εἰποὶ πλέον τοῦ ὄνοματος, ὅτι Σωκράτης. ἐγὼ δὲ ἢκουσά του λέγοντος ὅτι ἡ Σφίγγη ἢ ἀμαθία ἐστίν; ταύτην οὖν καὶ πρό-

1 A she-monster who took up her position on a rock near Thebes and propounded the following riddle to all who passed by: What walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three in the evening? She threw from the
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great calamities from that seer's divination on account of his own ignorance. For he knew that he had consorted with his own mother and that he had children by her; and subsequently, when perhaps he should have concealed this or made it legal in Thebes, in the first place he let everybody know the fact and then became greatly wrought up, lifted up his voice and complained that he was father and brother at once of the same children, and husband and son of the same woman. But domestic fowls do not object to such relationships, nor dogs, nor any ass, nor do the Persians, although they pass for the aristocracy of Asia. And in addition to all this, Oedipus blinded himself and then wandered about blind, as though he could not wander while still keeping his sight."

The other on hearing this replied, "You, Diogenes, make Oedipus out to be the greatest dullard in the world; but the Greeks believe that, though he was not a fortunate man, he was the most sagacious of all men. At any rate they say that he alone solved the Sphinx's riddle." At this Diogenes broke into a laugh and said, "He solve the Sphinx's riddle! Have you not heard that the Sphinx prompted him to give the answer 'man'? As to the meaning of 'man,' however, he neither expressed himself nor knew, but when he said the word 'man' he thought he was answering the question. It was just as if one were asked, 'What is Socrates?' and should give no other answer than the word 'Socrates.' I I have heard someone say that the Sphinx stands for stupidity; that this, accordingly, proved the ruin rock all who could not answer it; but when Oedipus gave the right answer, she leaped down from it herself.
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τερον διαφθείραι τοὺς Βουωτοὺς καὶ νῦν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔδωσαν εἰδέναι, ἀτε ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθεστά-
τοις· τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους μᾶλλον τι αἰσθάνεσ-
θαι τῆς αὐτῶν ἀνοίας, τὸν δὲ Οἰδίποδα, σοφώτα-
τον ἔγγραμμον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ διαπεφευγέναι
τὴν Σφίγγα καὶ πείσαντα τοὺς ἄλλους Θηβαῖους
τότε, κάκιστα ἀπολέσθαι. ὡσοι γὰρ ἄν ἀμαθεῖς
ὅντες πεισθῶσι σοφοὶ εἶναι, οὕτωι πολὺ εἶσιν
ἄθλιωτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων· καὶ ἔστι τοιοῦ-
τον τὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένος.
of the Boeotians in the past just as it does now, their stupidity preventing their knowing anything, such utter dullards they are; and that while the others had an inkling of their ignorance, Oedipus, who thought that he was very wise and had escaped the Sphinx, and who had made the other Thebans believe all this, perished most miserably. For any man who in spite of his ignorance deludes himself with the belief that he is wise is in a much sorrier plight than anyone else. And such is the tribe of sophists."

1 The stupidity of the Boeotians was proverbial.
THE ELEVENTH DISCOURSE
MAINTAINING THAT TROY WAS NOT CAPTURED

The eleventh Discourse is interesting to us because it contains a great deal of the criticism of Homer from Plato’s time down; and because it seems to be so evidently just a “stunt” to show what could be done to disprove what everyone believed to be a fact, some would assign it to the period before Dio’s exile when he was a sophist. If this view is accepted, then the hostility Dio shows to the sophists is simply a pretence to make his auditors forget that he is a sophist himself, though he is at that very time performing one of the sophists’ most characteristic acts. Others feel that in view of the self-assurance of the speaker and the skill with which he presents his arguments, the speech belongs to Dio’s riper years and that he had some serious purpose in delivering it.
1 Οἶδα μὲν ἐγώ χειν ὧτι διδάσκειν μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἀπαντας χαλεπτόν ἐστιν, ἐξαπατᾶν δὲ ράδιον. καὶ μανθάνουσι μὲν μόνις, ἕως τε καὶ μάθωσι, παρ’ ὀλίγων τῶν εἰδώτων, ἐξαπατῶνται δὲ τάχιστα ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν οὐκ εἰδότων, καὶ οὔ μόνων γε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἅλλα καὶ αὐτοὶ υφὶ αὐτών. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄληθὲς πικρὸν ἔστι καὶ ἄγδες τοῖς ἀνοίτοις, τὸ δὲ ψεύδος γλυκὺ καὶ 2 προσηνές. ὃσπερ οἷμαι καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὰ ὁμματα τὸ μὲν φῶς ἀνιαρὸν ὅραν, τὸ δὲ σκότος ἀλυπον καὶ φίλον, οὐκ ἐδών βλέπειν. ἢ πῶς ἂν ἴσχυε τὰ ψεύδη πολλάκις πλέον¹ τῶν ἁληθῶν, εἰ μὴ δὲ ἡδονήν εἴκα;

Χαλεπτοῦ δὲ, ὡς ἐφην, ὄντος τοῦ διδάσκειν, τῷ πάντι χαλεπότερον τὸ μεταδιδάσκειν, ἄλλος τε ὅταν πολὺν τινὲς χρόνου ὡςι τὰ ψεύδη ἀκηκοότες καὶ μὴ μόνων αὐτοὶ ἐξηπατημένοι, ἅλλα καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ πάπποι καὶ σχεδον πάντες 3 οἱ πρότερον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ ράδιον τούτων ἀφελεσθαι τὴν δόξαν, οὐδ’ ἂν πάνω τις ἐξελέγχη. καθάπερ οἷμα τῶν τὰ ὑποβολμαία παιδάρια θρεψάντων χαλεπτόν ὑστερον ἀφελεσθαι τάληθη

¹ πλέον added by Emperius.
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MAINTAINING THAT TROY
WAS NOT CAPTURED

I am almost certain that while all men are hard to teach, they are easy to deceive. They learn with difficulty—if they do learn anything—from the few that know, but they are deceived only too readily by the many who do not know, and not only by others but by themselves as well. For the truth is bitter and unpleasant to the unthinking, while falsehood is sweet and pleasant. They are, I fancy, like men with sore eyes—they find the light painful, while the darkness, which permits them to see nothing, is restful and agreeable. Else how would falsehood often prove mightier than the truth, if it did not win its victories through pleasure?

But though, as I have said, it is hard for men to learn, it is immensely more difficult for them to unlearn and learn over again, especially when they have been listening to falsehood for a long time, and not only they themselves, but their fathers, their grandfathers, and, generally speaking, all former generations have been deceived. For it is no easy matter to disabuse these of their opinion, no matter how clearly you show it to be wrong. I presume it is the same as when people have brought up supposititious children: it is hard to get these away from them afterwards when you tell them the truth,
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λέγοντα, ἃ γε ἐν ἀρχῇ εἰ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφρασεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀνείλοντο. οὕτω δὲ τοῦτο ἵσχυρον ἔστιν, ὡστε πολλοὶ τὰ κακὰ μᾶλλον προσποιοῦνται καὶ όμολογοῦσι καθ’ αὐτῶν, ἂν ὡσι πεπεισμένοι πρότερον, ἢ τάγαθα μετὰ χρόνον ἀκούοντες.

4 Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμᾶσαιμι καὶ ύµᾶς, ἀνδρεῖς Ἰλιεῖς, εἰ μέλλοντε ἑνεστότερον ἡγήσασθαι "Οµηρον τὰ χαλεπώτατα ψευσάμενον καθ’ ύµῶν ἢ ἐµὲ τάληθή λέγοντα, κάκεινον μὲν ὑπολαβεῖν θείον ἀνδρα καὶ σοφόν, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας εὐθὺς εἷς ἀρχῆς τὰ ἑπτὰ διδάσκειν οὐθὲν ἄλλο ἢ κατάρας ἐχοντα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα ὡσι ἀληθεῖς, ἐμοῦ δὲ µὴ ἀνέχοισθε τὰ ὅντα καὶ γενόμενα λέγοντος, ὅτι πολλοὶς ἔτεσιν ὑστερον Οµήρου

5 γέγονα. καίτοι φασί µὲν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν χρόνον τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ κριτὴν ἀριστον εἶναι, ὥ τι δ’ ἂν ἄκουσι µετὰ πολῶν χρόνου, διὰ τούτο ἀπίστων νοµίζουσιν. εἰ µὲν οὖν παρ’ Ἀργείων ἐστόµων ἀντίλεγειν Ὀµήρῳ καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν αὐτοῦ δεικνύναι ψευδὴ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα, τυχῶν ἂν εἰκότως ἥχθοντό µοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεβάλ- λον, εἰ τῷ παρ’ ἐκείνων δόξαν ἐφαινόμην ἀφανίζων καὶ καθαίρων· ύµᾶς δὲ δικαίων ἐστὶ µοι χάριν εἰδεναι καὶ ἀκροαῖσθαι προθύμως ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων ἐσπούδακα.

6 Προλέγω δὲ ύµῖν ὅτι τοὺς λόγους τούτους

1 µέλλοντα added by Cohoon.
but if you had told them in the beginning, they would not have undertaken to rear them. So strong is this tendency that many prefer to claim bad children and to acknowledge them, to their own disadvantage, as their own, if they have originally believed them to be so, rather than good children of whom they learn long afterward.

Therefore, I should not be surprised at you, men of Ilium, if you were going to put greater faith in Homer, notwithstanding his most grievous misstatements against you, than in my present statement of the truth, and hold him to be a wise and inspired man, and to teach your children his epic from their very earliest years, though he has nothing but denunciation for your city, and untruthful at that, but should refuse to listen to me when I tell the facts as they occurred, just because I was born many years later than Homer. And yet most people say that time is the very best judge of things, but whenever they hear anything after a long lapse of time, they consider it incredible for that very reason. Now if I had the hardihood to contradict Homer before the Argives and to show the error in his poetry regarding the most important things, perhaps it would be natural for them to be angry at me and drive me from their city if they saw that I was dispelling and destroying the reputation which their city has derived from that source. You, on the other hand, should be grateful and hear me gladly, for I have been zealous in defence of your ancestors.

I wish to say at the outset that this discourse
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άνάγκη καὶ παρ' ἐτέροις ῥηθήματι καὶ πολλοῦς πνεύματα τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν τινὲς οὐ συνήσευσιν, οἱ δὲ προσποιήσονται καταφρονεῖν, οὐ καταφρονοῦντες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἐξελέγχειν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ μαίματος κακοδαίμονας σοφισταῖς. ἦγο δὲ ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὐδὲ ὑμῖν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἔσσονται. οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔτως ἀγαν ἐλίγων ὑπὸ δόξηις διεφθαρμένου τὰς ψυχὰς ὦστε μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν περιβόητοι εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀτυχήμασιν ἢ 7 μηδὲν κακὸν ἔχοντες ἀγνοεῖσθαι. αὐτοῦς γὰρ οἱ μαίματα τῶν Ἀργείων ὑμᾶς ἀν ἐθέλειν ἄλλως γεγονέναι τὰ περὶ τὸν Θεόστην καὶ τὸν Ἀτρέα καὶ τοὺς Πελοπίδας, ἀλλ' ἀχθεῖσθαι σφόδρα, εάν τις ἐξελέγχη τοὺς μῦθους τῶν τραγῳδῶν λέγων ὅτι οὔτε Θεόστης ἐμοίῳχευσε τὴν τοῦ Ἀτρέας οὔτε ἐκείνος ἀπεκτείνε τοὺς τοῦ Ἀδελφοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲ 1 κατακόψας εἰστίασε τὸν Θεόστην οὔτε Ὀρέστης αὐτόχειρ ἐγένετο τῆς μητρὸς. ἀπαντά ταῦτα εἰ λέγοι τις, χαλεπῶς ἂν φέροιν ὡς λοιδοροῦμενοι. 8 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κἂν Ἡθαίλους οἴμαι παθεῖν, εἰ τις τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀτυχήματα ἰσευὴ ἀποφαίνω, ὡς οὕτω τοῖς πατέρας Οἰδίπουν ἀποκτείναντα οὔτε τῆς μητρὸς συγγενέμενον οὖθε ἐαυτὸν τυφλώσαντα οὔτε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀποθανόντας ὑπ' ἄλληλων, οὖθ' ὡς ἡ Σφίγγα ἀφικομένη κατεσθίον τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τούρναντιν ἠδονται ἀκούοντες καὶ τὴν Σφίγγα ἐπιτεμφθείσαν αὐτοῖς διὰ χόλων Ἡρας καὶ τὸν Δαίον ὑπὸ τοῦ νιέων ἀναφεβήντα καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπον ταῦτα ποιή- 9 σαντα καὶ παθόντα τυφλὸν ἀλάσθαι, καὶ πρότερον
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must be delivered before other audiences also, and that many will hear about it, of whom some will not comprehend it, while others will pretend to treat it lightly though they really do not, and yet others will attempt to refute its arguments, especially, I suppose, the miserable sophists. I know quite well that it will not please you, I suppose, either. For most men are so completely corrupted at heart by opinion that they would rather be notorious for the greatest calamities than suffer no ill and be unknown. Even the Argives, I believe, would not wish that the events told of Thyestes, Atreus, and the house of Pelops had happened otherwise, but would be greatly displeased if anyone disproved the myths set forth in the tragic poets by asserting that Thyestes did not defile the wife of Atreus and that the latter did not slay his brother’s sons nor cut them up and then serve their remains as a feast for Thyestes, or that Orestes did not kill his own mother. Should any man make any such assertions, they would feel aggrieved on the ground that they were being insulted. I believe, too, that the feelings of the Thebans would be exactly the same, should anyone assert that there was no truth in their tales of woe and insist that Oedipus did not kill his father or wed his mother or blind himself, or that his sons did not die before the walls, each by the other’s hand, or that the Sphinx did not come and devour the children of the city. Nay, on the contrary, they are delighted to hear that the Sphinx was sent to molest them because of Hera’s anger, that Laïus was slain by his son and that Oedipus, after what he did and suffered, wandered in blindness, and that

\[\text{1 ōbē Empērius: obē.}\]
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アルバム βασιλέως αυτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἰκίστων, Ἀμφίωνος, τοὺς παῖδας, ἀνθρώπων καλλίστως γενομένους, κατατοξευθήμεναι ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ταύτα καὶ αὐλοῦντων καὶ ἀδόντων ἀνέχονται παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τιθέασιν ἀθλα περὶ τούτων, δε ἄν οἰκτρότατα εἴπη περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ αὐλήσις τῶν δὲ εἰπόντα ὡς οὐ γέγονεν οὐδέν αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσιν. εἰς τούτο μανίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἐληλύθασι καὶ οὕτω πάνω ὁ τύφος αὐτῶν κεκράτηκεν. ἐπιθυμοῦσι γὰρ ὡς πλεῖστον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι λόγον ὁποῖον δὲ τινα, οὐθὲν μέλει αὐτοῖς. ὅλως δὲ πάσχειν μὲν οὐ θέλουσι τὰ δεινὰ διὰ δειλίαν, φοβοῦμεν τοὺς τε θανάτους καὶ τὰς ἀληθένιας, ὡς δὲ παθόντες μνημονεύσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται.

11 'Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδ’ ὕμιν χαρίζομενος οὖθ’ Ὅμηρος διαφερόμενος οὐδὲ τῆς δόξης φθονῶν ἐκείνο, πειράσομαι δεικνύειν ὅσα μοι δοκεῖ γευσῆν εἰρηκέναι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ποιήσεως ἐλέγχων, τῷ τε ἀληθεί βοηθῶν καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν 'Δηνᾶν, ὅπως μὴ δοκῇ ἄδικως διαφθείραι τὴν αὐτῆς πόλιν μηδὲ ἐναντία βούλεσθαι τῷ αὐτῆς πατρί, οὐχ ἣττον δὲ διὰ τὴν Ὡραν καὶ τὴν
12 Ἀφροδίτην. δεινὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν τῷ Δίῳ χυσοῦσαν μὴ νομίσαι1 κρίτην ἰκανὸν τοῦ αὐτῆς εἶδους, εἰ

1 Possibly Δία or, with Reiske, αὐτῶν should be inserted after νομίσαι.

1 Amphion had seven sons and seven daughters by his wife Niobe. They were all slain by Apollo and Artemis because Niobe, on account of the number of her children,
the sons of an earlier king, Amphion, who founded the city, were slain by the arrows of Apollo and Artemis because they were the fairest among men. These are the themes that they can endure to hear interpreted by the flute or song in their theatres, and they offer prizes for the most pathetic interpretation of the story in words or in music; but the man who says that none of these things occurred they expel from their city. So far have the majority carried their folly, and so completely has their infatuation got the better of them. They want to be talked about as much as possible, but as to the nature of what is said, they care not a whit. Generally speaking, men are too cowardly to be willing to undergo severe suffering, since they fear death and pain, but they highly prize being mentioned as having so suffered.

But as for me, desiring neither to gain your favour nor to quarrel with Homer, much less to rob him of his fame, I shall try to show all the false statements I think he has made with regard to the events which happened here, and I shall use no other means of refuting him than his own poetry. In this I am simply defending the truth, and for Athena's sake especially, that she may not be thought to have destroyed her own city unjustly or to have set her will against her father's; but I speak no less in behalf of Hera and Aphrodite also. For it is passing strange that the consort of Zeus did not consider him a competent judge of her beauty unless it had boasted of her superiority over their mother Leto who had only two.

Hera, the wife of Zeus, Athena, and Aphrodite claimed at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis the golden apple inscribed "to the fairest."

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μὴ ἀρέσαι καὶ τῶν ἐν 'Ἰδὴ βουκόλων ἐνί, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ὑπὲρ κάλλους ἐρίζειν τῇ 'Αφροδίτῃ, πρεσβυτάτην φάσκουσαν εἶναι τῶν Κρόνου παιδῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς Ὄμηρος ἀπήγγειλε ποιήσας,

καὶ με πρεσβυτάτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,

13 ἔτι δὲ οὕτω χαλεπῶς διατεθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Πάριν, αὐτήν ἐπιτρέψασαι τὴν κρίσιν· καὶ τοιούτου οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄν ἐπιτρέψῃ διαίτα, ἐχθρὸν ἥγεται τὸν διαίτητάν, ἐὰν μὴ δικάσῃ καθ᾿ ἐαυτὸν· τὸν δὲ γε Ἀφροδίτην οὕτως αἰσχρὰν καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἀσύμφορον δοῦναι δωρεάν, καὶ μηδένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον μήτε τῆς Ἑλένης ἀδελφῆς οὕτης μήτε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προκρίναντος αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ χαρίζεσθαι τοιοῦτον γάμον δι᾿ δων αὐτοῦ τε ἐμελλέν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πόλις. ἔτι δὲ οὕτω άξιον οἴμαι παριδεῖται οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης, ἢ τοῦ Διὸς λεγομένη θυγάτηρ διὰ μὲν τὴν ἅδικον φήμην περιβόητος ἐπ᾿ αἰσχύνη γέγονε, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἱσχὺν θεοὶ ἐνομίσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησίων. ἀλλ᾿ ὁμοῦ ὑπὲρ τηλικοῦτων ἄντος τοῦ λόγου τινὲς τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀσεβεῖν μὲ φήσουσιν Ὅμηρῳ ἀντιλέγοντα καὶ ἐπιχειρήσουσι διαβάλλειν πρὸς τὰ δύστημα μειράκια, δόν ἐμοὶ ἐλάττων λόγος ἐστὶν ἢ πιθήκων.

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1 Paris, a shepherd on Mt. Ida near Troy, being made judge, awarded it to Aphrodite, who had promised him the fairest woman as wife.
2 Ἰιάδ 4. 59.
3 Both were daughters of Zeus.
4 The translation tries to reproduce the apparently in-
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should be pleasing to one of the shepherds of Ida
also, and that she had any contest at all with
Aphrodite for the prize of beauty, she who asserted
that she was the eldest of the children of Cronus,
as Homer himself has expressed it in the verse,

"Me as the eldest child hath Cronus the crafty
begotten." 2

Furthermore, it is strange that she became so
bitterly disposed towards Paris when she herself
had entrusted the judgment to him; and yet, even
in human affairs, the man who refers a dispute to
arbitration does not regard the arbitrator as an
enemy when the decision is not in his favour. It
is strange also that Aphrodite should have bestowed
a gift so scandalous, so fraught with evil and in-
justice, and that she was so regardless both of
Helen, her own sister, 3 and of Paris, who had de-
cided in her favour, but rewarded the latter with
such a marriage that he was destined through it
to ruin himself, his parents, and his city. Furti-
thermore, the position of Helen, in my judgment, should
not be ignored either; for she, the reputed daughter
of Zeus, has become through unjust report a byword
for disgrace, and yet has been held as a deity
among the Greeks on account of her grace. 4 Yet,
though such very serious matters are involved in the
present discussion, some of the sophists will declare
that I am guilty of impiety in gainsaying Homer
and will seek to slander me to their wretched
disciples, for whom I care less than for so many
monkeys.

tentional play on the similarity of sound in αἰχμὴ and
ἀχύρ. The latter word means rather 'power' or 'might.'
15 Ἡρώτην μὲν οὖν φασὶ τὸν ὁμηρον ύπὸ πενίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας προσαειν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδi τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον ἅδυνατον ἡγοῦντας ψεύσασθαι πρὸς χάριν τῶν διδόντων, οὐδὲ ἂν τὰ τοιαύτα λέγειν ὁποία ἐμελλεν ἐκείνοις καθ’ ἧδονὴν ἤσεσθαι· τούς δὲ νῦν πτωχοὺς οὐδὲν φασὶν ὑγίες λέγειν, οὐδὲ μάρτυρα οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκείνων οὐδένα ποιήσαιτο ὑπὲρ οὐδενος, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπαινοὺς τοὺς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀποδέχονται ὡς ἀληθεῖς. ἵσας γὰρ ὅτι πάντα θωπεύοντες ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης λέγοντων, ἔστι δὲ εἰρήκασι τοὺς μὲν ὡς πτωχοῖς, τοὺς δὲ ὡς μαινόμενοι ἀπάρχεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον οἴονται τοὺς τότε καταρχῶν αὐτοῦ μανίαν τάληθη λέγοντος ἢ ψευδομένου. οὐ μὴν οὖν γε ἐπὶ τούτως ἤγερω ὁ ὁμηρος κωλύει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄνδρα σοφὸν πτωχεύειν οὐδὲ μαλεσθαι δοκεῖν· ἀλλ’ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν, ἦν ἔχουσι περὶ ὁμήρου καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων, εἰκός ἐστι μηθὲν ὑγίες εἶναι τῶν εἰρήμενων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

16 Οὐ τοῖςν οὖδὲ τόδε νομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ὁμηρον φύσει τὸ ψεῦδος οὐδὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον πλείονα γούν τὸν ὁδυσσέα πεποίηκε ψευδόμενον, δυ μάλιστα ἐπῆθει, τὸν δὲ Λυτόλυκον καὶ ἐπιορκεῖν φησι, καὶ τούτ’ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ἕρμου δεδόσθαι. περὶ δὲ θεῶν πάντως, ὡς ἐπος εἴπειν, ὄμολογούσι μηθὲν ἀληθὲς λέγειν ὁμηρον καὶ οἱ πάνω ἐπαινούντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοιαύτας ἀπολογίας πειρῶνται πορίζειν, ὅτι οὐ φρονῶν ταύτ’ ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ’ αἰνιττόμενος καὶ μετα-

1 Son of Hermes and grandfather of Odysseus and notorious for his thefts. See Homer, Odyssey 19, 394 f.
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In the first place, they say that Homer being constrained by dire poverty, went begging throughout Greece, and yet they think such a man was unable to lie to please those whose dole he received and that he would not have recited the sort of stories that were likely to please them. Beggars of the present time, however, tell nothing but lies, we are told, and nobody would accept the evidence of any of them on any matter whatsoever or receive their praise as sincere. For every one knows that they are compelled to cajole in all they say. It has been said, further, that some gave of their bounty to Homer the beggar, and others to Homer the madman, and it is believed that the people of his day held him for a madman when he told the truth rather than when he distorted it. Now on this score I certainly have no criticism to bring against Homer; for there is nothing to prevent a wise man from going begging or pretending to be mad; but I do say that, according to the opinion those men entertain of Homer and his kind, there is probably nothing trustworthy in what he said.

And, further, they do not think that falsehood was foreign to the character of Homer or that he made no use of it. Odysseus, at any rate, whom he praised most highly, he has represented as telling numerous falsehoods. He says, too, that Autolycus actually perjured himself and that he learned this from Hermes. And as regards the gods, practically every man, including his warmest admirers, admits that Homer does not speak a word of truth, and they seek to offer such excuses as this, that at such times he is not speaking his real mind but is using

² The god of thieves.
18 φέρων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν οὖτως εἰρηκέναι; ὡστὶς γὰρ περὶ θεῶν οὐ φανερῶς τάληθ' φησίν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον οὖτως ὡστε τὰ ψευδὰ μᾶλλον ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς ἐντυχάνοντας, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν ὠφελούμενος, πῶς ἂν περὶ γε ἀνθρώπων ὁκυνήσειν ὅτιον ψεῦδος εἴπειν; καὶ ὃτι μὲν πεποίηκεν ἄλγοντας τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ στένοντας καὶ τυρσοκυμένους καὶ ἀποθυγακοῦντας σχέδου, ἔτι δὲ μοιχείας καὶ δεσμᾶ καὶ διεγγυνήσεις θεῶν οὐ λέγω, πρότερον εἰρημένα πολλοῖς. οὐδὲ γὰρ βούλομαι κατηγορεῖν Ὀμήρου, μόνον δὲ ἐπιδείξαι τάληθ' ὡς γέγονεν· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἀπολογησόμεθα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐμὸν δοκοῦντα. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος οὐκ ὄκνει πάντων μάλιστα οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λέγω· πρότερον δὲ ὅρθως ἢ μὴ παρίημι νῦν σκοπεῖν.

Ἀφεῖς οὖν ὅσα δοκεῖ δεινὰ πεποιηκέναι περὶ θεῶν καὶ οὐ πρέποντα ἐκείνοις, τοσοῦτο φημὶ μόνον, ὅτι λόγους οὐκ ὄκνει τῶν θεῶν ἀπαγγέλ- λειν, οὐς φησὶν αὐτοὺς διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐ μόνον γε τοὺς ἐν κοινῷ γενομένους καὶ παρατυχανόντων ἀπάντων τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ὕσι τινὲς διαλέγονται ἅλληλοις, οἴον ὁ Ζεὺς τεθυμώμενος τῇ Ἡρᾷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ τὴν

1 λέγω Roiske: λέγων.
2 ἐκείνοις Roiske: ἐκείνη.
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riddles and figures of speech.¹ Then what is to prevent him having spoken in the same way of men also? For when a man does not frankly tell the truth about the gods, but, on the contrary, puts the matter in such a way that his readers get the wrong idea of them and without any advantage to himself either, why would he hesitate to utter any falsehood whatsoever regarding men? That he has represented the gods as suffering pain, groaning, being wounded, and almost dying;² that he tells of their amours withal, of their durance vile, of their giving bonds³—on these matters I do not dwell; many others have already done that. For I have no desire to impeach Homer, but only to show how the truth stands. For indeed I shall even tell in his defence what I think to be the facts. But this I do assert, that he made the freest possible use of falsehood and considered it no shame. Whether he was right in this or not, I forbear to consider now.

Omitting, then, what he has pictured concerning the gods in his poems that is shocking and unbecoming to them, I say merely this, that he did not hesitate to repeat conversations of the gods, which he says they held with one another, not only those held in open court when all the other deities were present, but also those which some had privately with one another, as, for instance, when Zeus was angered at Hera for deceiving him and bringing on the defeat where he wounds Ares, who bellowed aloud and afterwards told Zeus that if he had not run away he would have lived bereft of strength.

² See, for example, Odyssey 8. 313 f., where Ares and Aphrodite are caught in fetters by Hephaestus, who refuses to accept any pledge from Ares to pay a penalty until Poseidon guarantees that it will be paid.
Qui sunt tunc Troianae, et primum "Hera pro tuis
'Aphrodite, parakaloousa faramaexai toun paterea
kai doynai to filtron autin, toun keston imanta,
ws eikos en apoortretos tou tous axioussa. oude gar
toun avthropwn eikos allon tinai eidevai ta
toaata, avdros kai ynnaiokos diaphroymenon kai
loiodroymon en oste allhous. katai mew
'Odusseia pepoikehen epantorhymenon to toiouto,
mh doxei alaxon dihgyoomenon tous parado tous theois
genomous uper auton logous. efhi gar akousai
tis Kalypsois, ekeivn en pare tou puthesai
peril auton en oudein toioouton efrykein oti puisoton
parado theoi timos. outhe pan kateforwne toun
avthropwn, kai outhei autw emelew, ei doxei mheten
logew alpethes. ou gar de paisen yge enomize
wma ois epistatito tous parado tous theois geon-
meinous logous.2 dihygetai de kai tis suneosian
thi tov Dios pro thn "Hran en tis "Idhe geno-
mevnai kai tous logous ouv eipte pro tis suneosias,
ous autous eowakos te kai akikous, kai oude
auton ek alkalven, ou eisike, to nedeis o periekal-
psiion Zeus tov mfaunrois genesthai.
21 Tooutos de epethihe tov kolofwva skevou
yna

1 katai mew Keiske: kai thn or kai thn mew.
2 After logos the MSS. have oter autou which Wendland
deletes. After logos the MSS. have efhi gar akousai apanta
cai toous polllous efvisa,—"For he said he had heard every-
thing and persuaded the majority." This Wilamowitz
brackets, following Rhodoman. But the corruption is not
explained by these omissions, and Dio may very well, as
Capps suggests, have written de autou logos. ei gar efhi
akousai apanta, kai toous polllous efvisa kai.—"For he did not
imagine that he would convince anybody that he knew of
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of the Trojans,\textsuperscript{1} or that previous conversation which she had with Aphrodite, in which she urged her to drug her father\textsuperscript{2} and lend her the love charm, to wit, the embroidered girdle\textsuperscript{3}—a request which she presumably made in secret. For it is unlikely even in human affairs that any outsider knows of those occasional scenes where husbands and wives fall out and abuse one another. Yet Homer has a passage in which Odysseus puts this matter properly so as not to seem a mere impostor, namely, where he tells of the debates which the gods held concerning him. For he says that he heard these debates from Calypso and that she had learned of them from someone else;\textsuperscript{4} but about himself Homer has made no such claim of having received his information from some god. Such utter contempt did Homer show for men, and not a whit did he care if all his statements were regarded as false. For of course he did not imagine that he would convince anyone that he knew \textit{of his own knowledge about} the debates among the gods. He tells also of the dalliance of Zeus and Hera that occurred on Mount Ida, and what words Zeus spoke before the meeting, as though he had personally seen and heard, and apparently no obstacle was presented by the cloud in which Zeus had wrapped himself to escape being seen.\textsuperscript{5}

And to all this Homer has just about added the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Iliad} 15. 1-77. \textsuperscript{1}
  \item Aphrodite's father, Zeus. \textsuperscript{2}
  \item \textit{Iliad}. 14. 153-223. \textsuperscript{3}
  \item \textit{Odyssey} 5. 137 f.; 7. 263 f. \textsuperscript{4}
  \item \textit{Iliad} 14. 342 f. \textsuperscript{5}
\end{itemize}

his own knowledge about the debates which had taken place among the gods. For if he had stated that he had it all on hearsay, he would have persuaded even the majority.”

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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γὰρ μὴ ἀπορῶμεν ὡς ξυνίει τῶν θεῶν, οὕτως διαλέγεται ἡμῖν σχεδοῦ ὡς ἐμπειρος τῆς τῶν θεῶν γλώττης, καὶ ὅτι σὺν ἡ αὐτή ἐστι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ οὐδὲ τα αὐτὰ ὀνόματα ἐφ’ ἐκάστω λέγοντων ἀπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐνδείκνυται δὲ ταύτα ἐπὶ ὁρνέον τινός, ὁ φησι τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς χαλκίδα καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἁνθρώπους κύμινδων, καὶ ἐκ τῶπον τίνος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, δι’ τοὺς μὲν ἁνθρώπους Βατίειαν ὀνομάζειν, τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς Σῆμα.

23 Μυρίνης. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φράσας ἡμῖν ὅτι αὐτὸς οὐ καὶ ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς ἔργον παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, αὐτὸς οὕτως ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἑπεσιον ὀνομάξει, ὡς ὅν μόνον ἔχων αὐτῷ τὰς ἄλλας γλώττας μυρίνειν ταῖς τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν αἰσθάνεισθαι, ποτέ δὲ δωρίζειν, ποτὲ δὲ λάβειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαχείρισθαι. ταύτα δὲ μοι εἰρήνη, διὸ ἐφ’ αὐτὴν ἡ ἡμῖν, ὅπερ ἐν καθηγορίᾳ ἠνεκεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐν ἀνθρώπων ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεύν οὕτως ὁμηρὸς καὶ οὕτως ἤττον ἐθάρρη καὶ ἐσεμμύρνητο ἐπὶ τὸ θεύνεσθαι ή̇

24 τῷ τάληθῃ λέγειν. 3 οὕτω γὰρ σκοπουσιν οὐδὲν

1 The MSS. have Σκάμανδρος and Εάνθος interchanged. Corrected by Rhodomann.
2 διαστὶ Rhodomann: i.astr.
3 After λέγειν the MSS. contain the following which Rhodomann brackets as representing a recension of the passage contained in §§ 22–23: οὕτω μὲν γὰρ σκοποῦσι πᾶν σμικρὰ καὶ ὅτι ἐξαίτηται, η δὲ ἐν ϕημι αὐτῷ θεύνεσθαι. τῷ γάρ ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φύναυτα καὶ λίαν πιθανὰ πρὸς θελων καὶ ἀνήχουνον φόβων. πέρας δὴ ἐπιτιθέωμεν ὡςπερ γὰρ τοῖς ἱβράιοις διαλέγονται οἱ διήγηται καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐρμηνεύουσι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν, οὕτως ὁ οὕτως διαλέγεται, τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐρμηνευόμενοι, ὡςπερ ἐπιστάμενοι τῷ θελων διαλεκτῶν πρῶτον μὲν δι’ σὺν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ παρὰ τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ παρ’ ἐκεῖνοις ὀνόματα, ἔπειτα ἐξηγοῦμενος περὶ τινῶν, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ νομίζουσιν, οὗτοι δὲ τὴν χαλκίδα κύμων εἰς θεοὶ καλοῦσιν, τόπον 462.
finishing touch. For, not to keep us in doubt as to how he came to understand the gods, he talks to us almost as though he were acquainted with their language, tells us that it was not the same as ours, and that they do not apply the same names to the various things as we do. He draws attention to this in the case of a bird, which he says the gods call *chalkis* and men *kymindis*, and in the case of a place before Troy which men call *Baticia*, but the gods call the *Sema Myrines*. And after telling us that the river is called not Scamander but Xanthus by the gods, Homer himself proceeds to call it by this latter name in his verses, as though it were his privilege not only to mix the various dialectic forms of the Greeks freely, using now an Aeolic, now a Dorian, and now an Ionic form, but to employ even the Zeus dialect in the bargain. I have spoken in this way just as I have said, not by way of criticism, but because Homer was the boldest liar in existence and showed no less assurance and pride in his lying than in telling the truth. Thus regarded, none of

1 That is, the Tomb of Myrime. Compare with the Tenth Discourse, § 23.

"Thus considered, the lies of which I accuse him seem very insignificant and unimportant. In reality they are lies natural to man and very effective in representing the divine and infinite. Homer adds the finishing touch. For just as those called bilingualists, who interpret to foreigners what we say, converse with them, so Homer does with us, interpreting to us what the gods say just as if he understood their language. He says in the first place that it is not the same as ours and that the names in use with us and with them are not the same. Then in the course of his explanation of certain things he tells what the usage of the gods is; for example, that they call the *chalkis* the *kymindis* and a
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐτὶ φαίνεται παράδοξον ουδὲ ἀπιστον τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ δεικνυμένων, ἀλλὰ σμικρὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπεια ψεύσματα πρὸς θεία καὶ μεγάλα.

'Επιχειρήσας γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον εἰσπείν τὸν γενόμενον τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Τρώας, οὐκ ευθὺς ἦρξατο ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ ὅθεν ἔτυχεν· ὁ ποιοῦσι πάντες οἱ ψευδόμενοι σχεδὸν, ἐμπλέκοντες καὶ περιπλέκοντες καὶ οὐθέν βουλόμενοι λέγειν εἰφεξής· ἠττον γὰρ κατάδηλοι εἰσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελεγχόνται. τούτῳ δὲ ἱδεῖν ἔστι καὶ ἐν τοῖς δικαιστηρίως καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις· γιγανόμενον οὐ μετὰ τέχνης ψεύδουσιν· οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι τὰ γενόμενα ἐπιδείξαι, ὡς ἐξενθῆ ἐκαστῳ, οὕτως ἀπαγγέλλουσι, τὸ πρῶτον πρῶτον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον δεύτερον καὶ τὸ λλα ἐφεξῆς ὀμοίως. διὸ μὲν τούτῳ αὐτίνι τοῦ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἄρξασθαι τῆς ποιήσεως· ἄπερον δὲ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τέλος μάλιστα ἐπεβουλεῦσεν ἀφανίσαι καὶ ποιή-

Debe tina pro tis poleias, Batleias omonomazon, Xhima Murymis·
de meli elaiw dekri othe legeousin, ouketei proesthosi to
apa tois anwropous omonia kal tois potamion elaiw oti ou
Skarmados alla Xanbos omonazoito par' aoutois, ouwos hē
en tois exous chretai, oti elon aouti, me monon tas twn 'Ellh
phoivos meganveis, mepo tois sophora arxalois, alla kal tois
daimonois chrēsai omonia, kal poto meli aallizonta poto de
diarmi-
zoata palin de legeousa dielegeswai, kathaper othei bebcallizonta
h epitiwontai, olyvei thn agean ekallei limena, Thetallon
apousias. taust de moi xeretai, distero hē dhyn, ou kathgorias
ekene, alla oti anabestasatos hē anwropoan pro to phusos
'Outros kai ohi hētto idhreis kal duxmouneto meto to phiods
h τή τάληθη λέγειν.

2 ev alla kappas: allos. Perhaps we should read allos:
od... in other places where.

2 ois is changed to ois by Emperius and later editors.
my statements seems strange and incredible any longer; nay, they appear as but insignificant human falsehoods in comparison with great superhuman ones.

For when Homer undertook to describe the war between the Achaean and the Trojans, he did not start at the very beginning, but at haphazard; and this is the regular way with practically all who distort the truth; they entangle the story and make it involved and refuse to tell anything in sequence, thus escaping detection more readily. Otherwise they are convicted by the very subject-matter. This is just what may be seen happening in courts of justice and in the case of others who lie skilfully; whereas those who wish to present each fact as it really occurred do so by reporting the first thing first, the second next, and so on in like order. This is one reason why Homer did not begin his poem in the natural way. Another is that he planned especially to do away with its beginning and its end as far as possible and to create the certain place named Batisia, outside the city Sema Myrines. When he says that the gods speak of moly, he fails to add the name current among men; and after explaining that the river is not called the Scamander but the Xanthus by them, he at once proceeds to employ the term in his verses as though he were privileged not only to mix the dialects of the Greeks but even to use the names current among the gods in addition to the very archaic ones, now conversing in the Aeolic dialect, now in the Doric, and again the Ionic, just as he might have used the Thessalian or the Cretan dialect and called the agora the limen after hearing the word among the Thessalians. I have made these remarks, as I have already said, not by way of accusation, but because Homer was the world's holdest liar and showed no less assurance and pride in his lying than in telling the truth.”
26 σαι τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὦθεν οὖτε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὖτε τὸ τέλος ἔτολμησεν εἰπείν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, οὐδὲ ὑπέσχετο ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔρειν, ἀλλ’ εἰ ποι καὶ μεμνηται, παρέργως καὶ βραχέως, καὶ δῆλος ἐστιν ἐπιταράττων· οὐ γὰρ ἑθάρρει πρὸς αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ἐδύνατο ἔρειν ἐτοίμως. συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς ψευδομένοις ὡς τὸ πολύ γε, ἀλλὰ μὲν τινα λέγειν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ διατίριβειν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ὅ δ’ ἂν 1 μᾶλλον κρύψαι θέλωσιν, οὐ προτιθέμενοι λέγουσιν οὖδὲ προσέχοντι τῷ ἀκροατῇ, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ 2 χώρᾳ ὑπεντες, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν λάθοι 3 μᾶλλον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι αἰσχύνεσθαι ποιεῖ τὸ ψεύδος καὶ ἀποκνεῖν προσιέναι πρὸς αὐτό, ἀλλὰς τε ὅταν γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ὦθεν οὖδὲ τῇ φωνῇ μέγα λέγουσιν οἱ ψευδομένοι ὅταν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐλθοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν βατταρίζουσι καὶ ἀσαφῶς λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὡς αὐτοὶ τι εἶδότες, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔτερων ἀκούσαντες. δι’ ἂν ἀληθῆς λέγη τι, θαρρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποστελ- λόμενος λέγει, οὔτε οὐν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγήν τῆς Ἐλένης Ὁμηρος εἰρήκεν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὐδὲ παρρησίαιν ἄγων ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς οὐτε περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως. καίτοι γὰρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἀνδρεύσατος ὡς ὑποκατεκλίνετο καὶ ἦττάτο ὅτι ἤδει τάναντια λέγων τοῖς οὐσὶ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τοῦ πράγματος ψευδόμενος.

27 Ἡ πόθεν μᾶλλον ἄρξαισθαι ἐπρεπεν ἢ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ τῆς υβρεως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δι’ ἢν συνεστῆ ὁ πόλεμος, ἐπειδή

1 ὁ δ’ ἂν Εμπερίου: ἦταν.
2 αὐτοῦ Reiske: αὐτή.
3 λάθοι Wilamowitz: λάθοι.
very opposite impression concerning them.\(^1\) That is why he did not dare to tell either the beginning or the end in a straightforward way and did not bind himself to say anything about them, but if he does make mention of them anywhere, it is incidental and brief, and he is evidently trying to confuse. For he was at ease with respect to these parts and unable to speak freely. The following device, too, is usually employed by those who wish to deceive: They mention some parts of the story and dwell upon them, but what they are particularly anxious to conceal they do not bring out clearly or when their auditor is paying attention, nor do they put it in its proper place, but where it may best escape notice. They do this, not only for the reason just mentioned, but also because lying makes them ashamed and reluctant to go on with it, especially when it is about the most important matters. And so liars do not speak aloud when they come to this part. Some of them falter and speak indistinctly, others as if they themselves did not know but spoke from hearsay. He, however, who speaks the truth, does so without fear or reserve. Now Homer was not straightforward or frank when telling of the abduction of Helen or the fall of Troy. Nay, with all that boldness which I have said he had, he nevertheless finched and weakened because he knew he was telling the reverse of the truth and falsifying the essential part of his subject.

Or at what point of the story might Homer have more properly begun than with Paris' wanton crime itself, which caused the war, since all the readers

\(^1\) viz., that the end is the beginning and the beginning the end.
συνωργίζοντα δὲν ἡμὲν πάντες οἱ τῇ ποιήσει ἐντυγχάνοντες καὶ συνεφελουκών ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλους καὶ μὴ δεῖ τῇ ἡλίει τοὺς Τρώας ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπασχοῦν; οὕτω γὰρ εὐνοούστερον καὶ προθυμότερον ἔσειν ἐμελλε τὸν ἀκροατήν. εἴ δ’ αὐτὸ ἐβούλετο τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φοβερῶτατα εἰπεῖν καὶ πάθη παρατοῦσα, ἐτὶ δὲ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα ἕκαστος ἔποθει ἀκούσαι, τὸ μεῖξον ἣ δεινότερον εἰχεν εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀλώσεως; οὕτε ἀνθρώπους πλείους ἀποθυγάσκοντας οὐδὲ οἰκτρότερου τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς βομμοὺς τῶν θεῶν καταφεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀμυνομένους ὑμέρ τῶν τεκνῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτε γυναῖκας ᾧ παρθένους ἄλλοσσε ἀγομένας βασιλέας ἐπὶ δούλεια τοι καὶ αἰσχύνῃ, τὰς μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ πατέρων, τὰς δὲ ἀδελφῶν ἀποστομένας, τὰς δὲ τινὰς αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, ὅρωσας μὲν τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀνδρας ἐν φόνῳ κειμένους καὶ μὴ δυναμένας ἀσπάσασθαι μηδὲ καθελεῖν τοὺς ὅθθαλμους, ὅρωσας δὲ τὰ νήπια

βρέφη πρὸς τῇ γῇ παιόμενα ὅμως, οὕτε ἔρια πορθούμενα θεῶν οὕτε χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀρ-
παξόμενον οὕτε κατ’ ἄκρας δὴν ἐμπιπταμένην τὴν 2 τόλιν οὕτε μεῖξον βοήν ἢ κτύπουν χαλκοῦ
τε καὶ πυρὸς τῶν μὲν φθειρόμενον, τῶν δὲ ἱππούμενον; ἃ τὸν Πρίαμον πεποίηκε λέγοντα ἔπ’ ὀλέγον ὡς ἐσόμενα, ἃ τυχῶν 3 αὐτῷ ὡς γυνώ-
μενα διελθεῖν ὅπως ἐβούλετο καὶ μεθ’ ὅσον

1 συνωργίζοντα ἡν Reiske: ὁν ὅργιζον.
2 Perhaps τὴν should be read instead of τὴν.
3 ἃ τυχῶν corrupt. κατ’οιτι ἐξὶν conj. Arnim, ταῦτα ἢν τυχῶν Capps, ἐπάρχον Emperius, τυχῶν ὡς ἢν Schwartz, ἐξὶν Selden, ἀλλ’ ἢν αὐτὰ Cohoon.
of his poem would then have joined in indignation and would have been eager for the outcome, and no one would have pitied the sufferings of the Trojans? For by so doing Homer would have been assured of a more sympathetic and interested audience. If, on the other hand, he wished to describe the greatest and most terrible things, all forms of suffering and calamity, and, further, to tell what everybody was yearning above all things to hear, what greater or more awe-inspiring subject could he have chosen than the capture of the city? He could not have found an event in which a greater number of people met their death or where with greater pathos men fled to the altars of their gods or fought to save their children and wives, where royal matrons and maidens were dragged away to slavery and disgrace in foreign parts, some torn from their husbands, some from their fathers, others from their brothers, and some even from the holy images, while they beheld their beloved husbands weltering in their blood and yet were unable to embrace them or to close their eyes, and beheld their helpless babes dashed cruelly to earth. Think, too, of the desecration of the sanctuaries of the gods, the plundering of stores of wealth, the whole city burnt to the very ground by the flames, the mighty cries of men, the clash of bronze, the roar of the flames as some were perishing in them and others were being hurled upon them. These things Homer makes Priam speak of as soon to come to pass,¹ though he could perhaps² have related them as actual events in any way that pleased him and with all that horror with which he was accustomed to de-

¹ See Iliad 24. 230 f.  ² See critical note.
τάλλα 1 εἰώθει δείματος, ἐκπλήττων τε καὶ
αὐξών τὰ μικρότατα.
31 Ἔι δὲ γε ἥβελεν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων εἰπεῖν
θάνατον, πῶς ἀπέλιπε τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ
tὸν τοῦ Μέμνονος καὶ Ἀντιλόχου καὶ Ἀλκατος
καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου; πῶς δὲ τὴν Ἀμα-
ξώνων στρατείαν καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην τὴν
λεγομένην τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τῆς Ἀμαξώνος
32 γενέσθαι καλὴν ὑπὸς καὶ παράδοξον; ὅποτε
τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸ πεποίηκε μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ
τοῦ λέγειν τι θαυμαστὸν, ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου
καὶ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου μάχην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
θεῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τροπάς τε καὶ ἡττας
καὶ τραύματα, ἐπιθυμῶν ὃ τι εἴποι μέγα καὶ
θαυμαστὸν ὑπὸ ἀπορίας πραγμάτων, τοσοῦτον
ἔτι καὶ τηλικούτων ἀπολειπομένων. 2 ἀνάγκη
οὐν ἐκ τούτων ὁμολογεῖν ἢ ἀγνώμονα ὁμηροῦν
καὶ φαύλον κριτὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅστε τὰ
ἐλάττω καὶ ταπεινότερα αἱρεῖσθαι καταλαβόντα
ἄλλοις τὰ μέγιστά τε καὶ σπουδαίότατα, ἡ μὴ
dύνασθαι αὐτῶν, ὅπερ εἴποι, ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τὰ
ψευδή, ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐπιδεικνύοι τὴν ποῖσιν
ἀ ἐξούλετο κρύψαι ὅπως γέγονεν.
34 ὅτι ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ὁδυσσείς τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν
Ἰθάκην καὶ τὸν θάνατον τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτὸς
λέγει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ψευσμάτων οὐχ ὑπε-
μεινεν εἰπεῖν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑκλλαν καὶ τὸν

1 τάλλα Casaubon: τάχα.
2 After ἀπολειπομένων the MSS. have ἑστὶ δὲ τοιαύτα τὰ
λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πράμου, — "The following is the sort
of thing Priam said," followed by Homer Iliad 22. 60-68. These
words Rhodemann brackets as a scholion on the words ἀ
τῶν Πράμου κεπολήκε λέγοντα in § 30.
scribe other slaughters, thrilling the listener and magnifying the smallest details.

If it was his wish to tell of the death of illustrious men, how is it that he omitted the slaying of Achilles, Memnon, Antilochus, Ajax, and of Paris himself? Why did he not mention the expedition of the Amazons and that battle between Achilles and the Amazon,\(^1\) which is said to have been so splendid and so strange? Yet he represented the river as fighting with Achilles\(^2\) just for the sake of telling a marvelous tale, and also the battle between Hephaestus and the Scamander,\(^3\) and the mutual discomfitures, defeats, and woundings of the other gods,\(^4\) desiring something great and wonderful to say because he was at a loss for facts, though so many important facts were still left untouched. So from what has been said it must be acknowledged that Homer was either unintelligent and a bad judge of the facts, so that he selected the more unimportant and trivial things and left to others the greatest and most impressive, or else that he was unable, as I have said,\(^5\) to bolster up his falsehoods and show his poetic genius in handling those incidents whose actual nature it was his purpose to conceal.

We find this in the Odyssey also. For he tells of events in Ithaca and of the death of the suitors in his own person, but has not ventured to mention the greatest of his falsehoods—the story of Scylla, of

\(^1\) Penthesilea, slain by Achilles, who mourned over her.
\(^2\) Iliad 21. 211–341.
\(^3\) Iliad 21. 342–382.
\(^4\) Iliad 21. 385 f.
\(^5\) See § 11, where Dio says that he will prove from Homer's own poetry that he is lying.
Κύκλωτα καὶ τὰ φάρμακα τῆς Κήρυκης, ἢτι δὲ τὴν εἰς Ἁλίδου κατάβασιν τοῦ 'Οδυσσέως, ἀλλὰ τὸν 'Οδυσσέα ἐποίησε δειγμόμενον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκίνουν· ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰπποῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας διεξίχνα τῶν Δημόδοκον εἰς ώθη δὲ ὀλίγων ἐπῶν. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι μηδὲ προθέσθαι ταῦτα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἅτε οὐ γενόμενα, προιόσης δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως, ἐπεὶ ἐώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους βαδίως πάντα πειθομένους, καταφρονήσας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμα χαρίζομενος τοῖς Ἑλλησί καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρέιδαις πάντα συγχέας καὶ μεταστῆς τὰ πράγματα εἰς τοῦνατίον. λέγει δὲ ἀρχόμενος,

μήνων ἄειδε, θεά, Πηλημάδεω Ἀχιλήος οὐλομένην, ἢ μυρί' Ἀχαιῶν ἀλγε' ἔθηκε, πολλὰς δ' ἐφθίμους ψυχὰς 'Αἴδη προορίσεν ἥρων αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρα τεῦχε κύνεσθαι οἰωνοῖς τε πάσιν: Δίὸς δ' ἐτελέστο βουλή.

36 ἐνταῦθα φησί περὶ μόνης ἐρείν τῆς τοῦ Ἀχιλλεώς μήνιδος καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν ὅλουρον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔπαθον καὶ πολλοῖς ἀπάλλοντο καὶ ἀταφοὶ ἔμειναν, ὡς ταῦτα μέγίστα τῶν γενομένων καὶ ἄξια τῆς ποιήσεως, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δίου βουλὴν ἐν τούτοις φησὶ τελεσθῆναι, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ συνεβη τῇ τῇ δὲ ὕστερον μεταβολὴ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐκτορος βάνατον, ἃ ἐμελλε χαριεῖσθαι, οὗχ ὑπεχόμενος, οὐδὲ ὅτι ὕστερον ἐάλω τοῦ Ἰλίου ἴσως γὰρ οὖν

1 οὗχ added by Selden.

1 Odyssey 9–12. 2 Odyssey 8. 500II.
THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

the Cyclops, the magic charms of Circe, and further, the descent of Odysseus into the lower world. These he makes Odysseus narrate to Alcinous and his court,¹ and there too he has Demodocus recount the story of the horse and the capture of Troy in a song of only a few lines.² As it seems to me, he had made no provision for these incidents at all inasmuch as they never occurred; but as his poem grew, and he saw that men would readily believe anything, he showed his contempt for them and his desire withal to humour the Greeks and the Atreidae, by throwing everything into confusion and reversing the outcome.³ At the beginning he says,

"O Goddess! sing the wrath of Peleus' son, Achilles; sing the deadly wrath that brought Woes numberless upon the Greeks, and swept To Hades many a valiant soul, and gave Their limbs a prey to dogs and birds of air, For so had Jove appointed."⁴

In these verses he says that he will sing of the wrath of Achilles alone, and the hardships and destruction of the Achaeans, that their sufferings were many and terrible, that many perished and remained unburied, as though these were the chief incidents and worthy of poetic treatment, and that therein the purpose of Zeus was accomplished; all of which did indeed come to pass. But the subsequent shift of events, including the death of Hector, which was likely to please his hearers, he did not have in his original plan, nor the final capture of Ilium. For per-

¹ Dio maintains that the Trojans, not the Greeks, were victorious in the war. See § 118 ff.
² Iliad 1. 1 ff.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἡν τω βεβούλευμένος ἀναστρέφειν ἀπαντά, 37 ἐπείτα βουλόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπείν τῶν κακῶν, ἀφεῖς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην περὶ Χρύσου φιλορεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θυγατρός.

'Εγὼ οὖν ὃς ἐπυθόμην παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀγύμπτῳ ἱερέων ἐνὸς εὐ μάλα γέροντος 1 ἐν τῇ 'Ονούφι, 2 ἀλλὰ τε πολλά τῶν Ἐλλήνων καταγελώντος ὡς οὐθὲν εἰδότων ἀληθὲς περὶ τῶν πλείστων, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ 3 τεκμηρίῳ τούτῳ χρωμένου ὅτι Τροίαν τέ εἰσι πεπεισμένοι ὡς ἀλώδειν ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ ὧτι Ἑλένη συνοικοῦσα Μενελάῳ ἡμάσθη Ἀλεξάνδρου· καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἀγαν πεπεισμένοι εἰσάν υφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἔξαπτηθέντες ὅστε καὶ ὡμόσαι ἑκαστος.

38 ὢς τῇ πρὸτερον ἱστορίαν γεγράφθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐν στήλαις τισί, τὰ δὲ μνημονεύεσθαι μόνου ὑπ' οὐλίγων, τῶν στηλῶν διαφαρεσίων, πολλά δὲ καὶ ἀπετείθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς στήλαις γεγραμμένων διὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τε καὶ ἀμέλειαν τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων· εἴναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς νεωτάτοις τὰ περὶ τὴν Τροίαν· τὸν γὰρ Μενέλαον ἀφικέσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διηγήσασθαι ἀπαντά ὡς ἐγένετο.

39 Δεομένου δὲ μου διηγήσασθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὖς ἐβουλετοῦ, λέγων ὧτι ἀλαξόνει εἰςίν ὦι 'Ελληνες καὶ ἀμαθέστατοι οὕτες πολυμαθεστάτους

1 γέροντος Arnim: λέγοντος. 2 τῇ 'Ονούφι Morel: τῇ ὄνυχι. 3 δὴ Emperius: δὲ.
haps he had not yet planned to turn everything upside down, but later, when he wishes to state the cause of the sufferings, he drops Paris and Helen, and babbles about Chryses \(^1\) and that man’s daughter.

I, therefore, shall give the account as I learned it from a certain very aged priest in Onuphis,\(^2\) who often made merry over the Greeks as a people, claiming that they really knew nothing about most things, and using as his chief illustration of this, the fact that they believed that Troy was taken by Agamemnon and that Helen fell in love with Paris while she was living with Menelaus; and they were so thoroughly convinced of this, he said, being completely deceived by one man, that everybody actually swore to its truth.

My informant told me that all the history of earlier times was recorded in Egypt, in part in the temples, in part upon certain columns, and that some things were remembered by a few only as the columns had been destroyed, while much that had been inscribed on the columns was disbelieved on account of the ignorance and indifference of later generations. He added that these stories about Troy were included in their more recent records, since Menelaus had come to visit them and described everything just as it had occurred.

When I asked him to give this account, he hesitated at first, remarking that the Greeks are vainglorious, and that in spite of their dense ignorance they

\(^1\) Priest of Apollo, whose daughter was taken prisoner by Achilles and in the distribution of booty given to Agamemnon, who refused to give her up for a ransom. Then Apollo sent a plague among the Greeks. See *Iliad* 1. 11 f.

\(^2\) City in Egypt whose location is uncertain.
ДИО ХРИСОСТОМОУ

έαυτούς νομίζουσι τούτου δὲ μηθὲν εἶναι νόσημα χαλεπώτερον μήτε ἐν μῆτε πολλοῖς ἢ ὅταν τις ἁμαθὴς δὺν σοφῶτατον έαυτὸν νομίζῃ. τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδέποτε δύνασθαι τῆς ἀγνοίας ἀπολυθήναι. οὕτως δὲ, ἐφη, γελοίως ἀπὸ τούτων διάκεισθε ὑμεῖς, ὅστε ποιηθῇν ἔτερον Ὄμηρῳ πεισθέντα καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσαντα περὶ Ἐλένης, Στησίχορον ὡς οἶμαι, τυφλωθήναι φατε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐλένης ὡς ψευσάμενον, αὐθίς δὲ ἄναβλέψαι τάναντα ποιήσαντα, καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐδὲν ἴττον ἀληθὴς φασίν εἶναι τῇ Ὅμηρῳ ποιήσων. καὶ τῶν μὲν Στησίχορον ἐν τῇ ὑστερον ὠδή λέγειν ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ πλεούσειν ἢ Ἐλένην οὐδαμοίς ἄλλως δὲ τινες, ὡς ἀρπασθήνῃ μὲν Ἐλένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δεῦρο δὲ παρ᾿ ἡμᾶς εἰς Διγυπτον ἀφικοίτο καὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὕτως ἀμφισβητοῦμένου καὶ πολλὰν ἀγνοίαν ἔχοντος, οὐδὲ οὕτως υποπτεύσαται δύνανται τὴν ἀπάτην. τούτου δὲ αἰτιον ἐφη εἶναι ὅτι φιληδονοῦ εἰσιν οἱ Ἐλληνες· ἀδίδων ἀκούσωσιν ἤδεως τῶν λέγοντος, ταῦτα καὶ ἀληθῆ νομίζουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ποιηταίς ἐπιτρέπουσιν ὅ τι ἄν θέλωσιν ψεύδεσθαι καὶ φασίν εξείναι αὐτοῖς, ὡμοὶ δὲ πιστεύουσιν οἷς ἄν ἐκείνοι λέγοσι καὶ μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς ἐπαίγονται εἰνότε περὶ ὕμως ἀμφισβητοῦσι παρὰ δὲ Διγυπτέους μὴ ἔξειναι μηδὲν 3 ἐμμέτρος λέγεσθαι μηδὲ εἶναι ποίησιν τὸ παράπαν ἐπιστάσθαι γὰρ ὅτι φάρμακον τοῦτο ἡδονῆς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοήν. ὡσπερ οὖν οἱ διψάντες οὐδὲν δέονται οἶμοι, ἀλλ᾿

1 διάκεισθε ὑμεῖς Morel: διακείσθαι ὑμᾶς.

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think they know everything. He maintained that no affliction more serious could befall either individual or community than when an ignoramus held himself to be most wise, since such men could never be freed from their ignorance. "And so ludicrous an effect have these men had upon you," he continued, "that you say of another poet—Stesichorus, I believe it is—who followed Homer's account and repeated these same stories about Helen, that he was struck blind by her as a liar and recovered his sight upon recanting.¹ And though you tell this tale, you none the less believe that Homer's account is true. You say, too, that Stesichorus in his palinode declared that Helen never sailed off to any place whatsoever, while certain others say that Helen was carried off by Paris but came to us here in Egypt. Yet with all this uncertainty and ignorance surrounding the matter you cannot even thus see through the deception." This, he claimed, was due to the Greek love of pleasure. Whatever they delight to hear from anyone's lips they at once consider to be true. They give their poets full licence to tell any untruth they wish, and they declare that this is the poets' privilege. Yet they trust them in everything they say and even quote them at times as witnesses in matters of dispute. Among the Egyptians, however, it is illegal to say anything in verse. Indeed they have no poetry at all, since they know this is but the charm with which pleasure lures the ear. "Therefore," said he, "just as the thirsty

¹ See note on p. 58.

² ταῦτα Reiske: ταῦτα. ³ μηδὲν Reiske: μηδὲν,
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἀπόχρη αὐτοὺς ὑδατος πιεῖν, οὕτως οἱ τάληθη
eιδέναι θέλοντες οὐδὲν δέονται μέτρων, ἀλλ’

43 ἐξαρκεῖι αὐτοῖς ἀπλῶς ἀκοῦσαι. ἢ δὲ ποίησις
ἀναπείθει τὰ ψευδὴ ἀκούσει ὄσπερ οἷον πῦειν
μάτην.

‘Ὡς οὖν ἥκουσα παρ’ ἐκείνου, πειράσομαι
εἰπεῖν, προσταθεὶς δὲ ὅν ἐδόκει μοι ἀληθῆ τὰ
λεγόμενα. ἐφη γὰρ ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενέσθαι Τυν-
dάρεω σοφὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλέα μέγιστον, τούτου
δὲ καὶ Δήδας δύο θυγατέρας κατὰ ταύτο ὅσπερ
ἡμεῖς ὁνομάξομεν, Κλυταιμνήστραν καὶ Ἔλενην,
καὶ δύο ἄρρενας παιὸς διδύμους καλοὺς καὶ
μεγάλους καὶ πολὺ τῶν Ἔλληνων ἀρίστους.

44 εἶναι δὲ τὴν Ἔλενην ἐπὶ κάλλει περιβόητου καὶ
πολλὸς μνηστήρας αὐτῆς ἦτι σμικρᾶς παιδὸς
οὕσης γενέσθαι καὶ ἅρπαγήν ὑπὸ Θησέως
βασιλέως οὗτος Ἀθηνῶν. τοὺς οὖν ἄδελφους
τῆς Ἐλένης εὐθέως ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Θησέως
χώραν καὶ πορθῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ κομίσασθαι
tὴν ἄδελφην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄλλας γυναικὰς
ἀφιέναι λαβόντας τὴν δὲ τοῦ Θησέως μητέρα
ἀγχιμάλωτον ἄγειν τιμωρουμένους αὐτῶν2 εἶναι
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀξιομάχους πρὸς ἀπασαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα,
καὶ καταστρέψασθαι ἤδης ἂν εἰ ἐβούλοντο.

45 Ἐποὺν οὖν ὅτι καὶ παρ’ ἧμῖν ταῦτα λέγεται
καὶ προσέτι ὡς αὐτὸς ἔορακός εἶχον ἐν Ὄλυμποια
ἐν τῷ ὄπισθόδομῷ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἡρας ὑπόμηνα
τῆς ἅρπαγῆς ἐκείνης ἐν τῇ ξυλίνῃ κιβωτῷ τῇ
ἀνταπεδήπο ὑπὸ Κυψέλου, τοὺς δὲ οἰσκόρους ἔχου-

1 καὶ Dindorf: ἄη. 2 αὐτῶν Rhodomann: αὔτην.

1 The Greek form of the name omits the letter ι, but the familiar English form is retained by the translator.
have no need of wine, but a drink of water suffices them, so too seekers after truth have no need of verse, but it is quite enough for them to hear the unadorned truth. Poetry, however, tempts them to listen to falsehood just as wine leads to overdrinking."

Now I shall endeavour to repeat what he told me, adding my reasons for thinking his words to be true. According to his account, Tyndareus, a wise man and a very great king, was born in Sparta. Then Leda and he had two daughters named just as we name them, Clytemnesteria and Helen, and two large handsome twin sons, by far the best among the Greeks. Helen was famed for her beauty, and while yet but a little girl had many suitors and was carried off by Theseus, who was king of Athens. Whereupon her brothers straightway invaded Theseus' country, sacked the city, and recovered their sister. They freed all the women they had captured except the mother of Theseus, whom they carried off a prisoner in retaliation; for they were a match for all Greece and could have subjugated it easily had they so wished.

I remarked that this was our account also and that, moreover, I had myself seen at Olympia in the rear chamber of the temple of Hera a memorial of that abduction upon the wooden chest dedicated by Cypselus. It represents the Dioscuri holding

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2 Castor and Pollux. 3 Aethra.
4 Tyrant of Corinth. When a child his mother hid him in a chest (kyphala) to save him from being murdered. Hence his name. In memory of this escape he dedicated a splendid chest of cedar wood at Olympia. Pausanias describes it in detail.
5 Literally, "sons of Zeus," i.e. Castor and Pollux.
τας τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπιβεβηκυίαν τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς κόμης ἔλκουσαν, καὶ ἐπήγαρμμα ἐπυγηγραμμένον ἀρχαῖος γράμμασι.

46 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἔφη, φοβούμενος τοὺς Τυν-δαρίδας ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων—ἡπίστατο γὰρ ὅτι ξένος ὄν καὶ ἐπήλυς ἄρχοι τῶν Ἀργείων—ἐβούλετο προσλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς κηδεύσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔγημε Κλυταμήστραν τῇ δὲ Ἑλένην ἐμνήστευε μὲν τῷ ἀδελφῷ, οὔτε δὲ ἐφασκε τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐπιτρέψειν, καὶ γὰρ προσῆκεν ἐκαστος αὐτῷ τοῦ γένους μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάῳ, Πελοπίδῃ οὖν. ἦκον δὲ καὶ ἐξωθεν πολλοὶ μνηστήρες διὰ τε τὴν δόξαν τὴν περί τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρός.

47 Ἔδοξει οὖν μοι καὶ τοῦτο ἄλλης λέγειν, ὅπου τὴν Κλεισθένους θυγατέρα τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράν-νου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας των μνηστεύσαι φασιν· ἔτι δὲ Ἰπποδάμειαν τὴν Οἰνομάκου Πέλοψ ἔγημεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφικόμενος, Θησεὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ

48 Θερμοῦντος ποταμοῦ μίαν τῶν Ἀμαξώνων ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, καὶ τὴν Ἰω ἀφικέσθαι ἐκδοθεὶσαν εἰς Ἀλυστόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ βοῦν γενομένην οὕτως οἰστρήσασαι ἔλθειν.

Οὗτος δὲ ἔθους οὕτος ἐκδιδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν γυναῖκας παρ’ ἄλληλων καὶ τοὺς πλείστουν

1 Agariste, who had so many suitors. She was finally married to Megacles of Athens. Smindyrides of Sylarhis was the suitor from Italy.
Helen, who is standing upon Aethra’s head pulling her hair, and there is also an inscription in ancient characters.

"Thereupon," so he continued, "Agamemnon, who feared the sons of Tyndareus—because he knew that, though he ruled the Argives, he was a stranger and a new-comer—sought to win them over by a marriage alliance and for that reason married Clytemnestra. Helen’s hand he sought for his brother, but the Greeks to a man declared that they would not permit it, since each one of them held that she was more closely akin to himself in blood than to Menelaus, who was a descendant of Pelops. Many suitors came from outside Greece also because of Helen’s reputation for beauty and the power of her brothers and father."

Now I thought that this last statement also was true, since the story goes that the daughter of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, was wooed by a man from Italy, and that Pelops, who married Hippodameia, the daughter of Oenomaus, came from Asia, and that Theseus married one of the Amazons from the banks of the Thermodon and, as that priest maintained, Io came to Egypt as a betrothed bride and not as a heifer maddened by the gadfly.

"And," he added, "since the great houses were accustomed, as we have seen, to make distance no barrier in forming marriage alliances with one...

3 Theseus carried off Antiope, queen of the Amazons, by whom he had a son.

3 A river of Pontus, in the district of Themiscyra, the reputed home of the Amazons.

4 Daughter of Inachus, king of Argos. According to the myth she was loved by Zeus, who changed her into a heifer on account of Hera’s jealousy.
ἀπέχοντας τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφικέσθαι κατὰ μνηστείαν ἔφη, πιστεύοντα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πατρὸς, σχεδὸν τι βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης, καὶ οὐδὲ πολὺ τῆς Τροίας ἀπεχούσης, ἀλλὸς τε καὶ τῶν Πελοπίδων ἡδὲ δυναστεύοντων εὖ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας γενομένης. ἔλθοντα δὲ μετὰ πολλοὺ πλούτου καὶ παρασκευῆς ὡς ἐπὶ μνηστείαν καὶ διαφέροντα κάλλει, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῦ καταστήναι Τυνδάρεως τε καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῆς Ἑλένης, λέγοντα· περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Πριάμου καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῦ γύρωπον ἡ βασιλεία· τοῦ δὲ Μενέδεων ἰδιώτην ἔφη εἶναι· τοῖς γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνονος παίσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅικ’ ἑκείνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσήκειν· καὶ ὅσ’ ἑρείπησ’ εἴη καὶ ὅσ’ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη αὐτὸν ὑπόξοιτο τὸν ἀριστον γάμον τῷ ἐν ἀνθρώποις· αὐτὸς οὖν προκρίναι τὴν ἑκείνου θυγατέρα, εἴσον αὐτῷ λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τινὰ εἰ βουλοῦτο, εἴτε τοῦ Διονυσίου βασιλέως εἴτε τοῦ Ἰνδῶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀλλῶν ἀπαίτων ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Τροίας μέχρι Λιθιοπίας· καὶ γὰρ Λιθιόπων βασιλεύειν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιόν Μέμνονα, ἐκ Τιθωνοῦ ὅντα τοῦ Πριάμου ἄδελφον. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ δῶρα ἐδίδον τῇ τε Λήδα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προσήκουσιν ὅσα οὖν ἐξύπαντες οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐδόυναντο.

'Εφη δὲ καὶ ἐξωγενεῖς εἶναι τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ αὐτοῦ· ὁποῖος γὰρ Δίδω εἶναι τῶν Πριάμου, πυν-

1 τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις Eimperius: τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις.
2 kal before λέγοντα deleted by Reiske.
another, it came to pass that Paris came as a suitor, trusting in the power of his father, who was the ruler of practically all Asia. Besides, Troy was not far distant, and what was especially important, the descendants of Pelops were already in power in Greece and much intercourse between the two peoples had developed. So when he arrived with a great show of wealth and a great equipage for a mere wooing—and he was strikingly handsome too—he had an interview with Tyndareus and Helen's brothers, in which he dwelt upon Priam's empire, the extent of his resources, and his power in general, and added that he was next in succession. Menelaus, he declared, was but a private individual, since the royal prerogative descended to the children of Agamemnon, not to him. He urged that he himself enjoyed the favour of the gods and that Aphrodite had promised him the most brilliant marriage in the world. Accordingly, he had chosen Tyndareus' daughter, though he might have taken someone from Asia had he desired, whether an Egyptian or an Indian princess. As for himself, he said that he was king of all other peoples from Troy to Ethiopia, for the Ethiopians were under the sway of his cousin, Memnon, who was the son of Tithonus, Priam's brother. Many other enticements did he mention and he offered to Leda and the rest of the family gifts such as all the Greeks together could not have matched.

"He urged also that he himself was of the same stock as Helen, since Priam was descended from

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1 Agamemnon and Menelaus.
2 See note on p. 454.
θάνεσθαι δὲ κακείνους καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν Διὸς ὄντας. τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ τῷ Μενελάῳ μὴ προσήκειν ὑνείδειν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρίδα: καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶναι Φρύγας ἀπὸ Σιμύλου, πολὺ δὴ κρείττον τοῖς βασιλεύσι κηδεύειν τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τοῖς ἐκείθεν μετανάσταις. καὶ γὰρ Δαομέδοντα Τελαμώνι δοῦναι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Ἦσιόνην ἐλθεῖν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς Τροίαν μνηστήρα μετὰ Ἡρακλέους, ἅγειν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα φίλον 51 ὄντα καὶ ξένου Δαομέδοντι. πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τυνδάρεως ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν παίδων. καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς σκοποῦσιν οὐ χεῖρον εἶναι προσ- λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέας. τὴν 1 μὲν γὰρ Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίαν ἔχειν Κλυταμνήστραν συνοικούσαν Ἀγαμέμνων· λοιπὸν δὲ, εἰ Πριάμῳ κηδεύσειν, 2 καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων κρατεῖν καὶ μηδένα αὐτοῖς καλύπτειν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀρχεῖν ἀπάσης.

Πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἠγονύζετο μὲν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, 52 ἢπτάτο δὲ τοῖς δικαίοις. ἐφὶ γὰρ ὁ Τυνδάρεως ἰκανὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ κηδεύσαντι· καὶ ἀμα ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι οὐδὲ συμφέροι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τυχχάνειν τῶν ἱσων· οὕτω γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμεύειν οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀτρεὺς Θυέστην εὑνουν γενέσθαι. μά- λιστα δὲ ἔπειθε λέγων ὅτι 3 οὐκ ἀνέξουται οἱ ἄλλοι μνηστήρες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποτυχόντες, οὕτε Διομήδης οὕτε Ἀντίλοχος οὕτε Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσουσι· καὶ ὅτι κινδυνεύειν τοὺς

1 τὴν Reiske: τῶν.
2 κηδεύσειν Aldine edition: κηδεύσει.
3 αὐτῶν before δὲ deleted by Emperius.

1 He seduced the wife of Atreus, his brother.
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Zeus and he had been told that she and her brothers were also his offspring; that it did not lie with Agamemnon and Menelaus to taunt him on his origin, for they themselves were Phrygians from Mount Sipylos; Tyndareus might much better ally his family with the ruling kings of Asia than with immigrants from that country. For Laomedon too had given his daughter, Hesione, to Telamon, who came with Heracles to Troy to sue for her hand, bringing the latter along also because he was the friend and ally of Laomedon. And so Tyndareus consulted with his sons regarding these matters, and after due consideration they decided that it was not such a bad policy to ally themselves with the kings of Asia. For they saw that the house of Pelops had Clytemnestra, who was the wife of Agamemnon, and besides, if they became allied by marriage with Priam's house, they would have control of affairs there too and nobody would stand in the way of their governing all Asia and Europe."

Agamemnon opposed all this, but the weight of the argument was too strong for him. For Tyndareus assured him that it was quite enough for him to have become his son-in-law and warned him that it was not at all advisable for his brother to have power equal to his own, since he might thus the more easily undermine him. Thyestes, for example, had not been loyal to Atreus. He dissuaded him most effectively, however, by urging that the other suitors from Greece would not tolerate their own rejection in his interest, neither Diomede nor Antilochus nor Achilles, but would take up arms, and so he would be in danger of making the

* Son of Nestor.

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ΔΥΝΑΤΩΤΑΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ.
53 ΚΡΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΕΙΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ 'ΕΛΛΗΣΙ. ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ἈΧΘΕΣΘΑΙ
ΜΕΝ, ΟΥΚ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΟΠΩΣ ΚΟΛΥΣΗ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΝΔΑΡΕΩΝ
ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ· ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑ
ΦΟΒΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΔΗ
ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ἘΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΤΗΝ 'ΕΛΕΝΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ,
ΠΕΙΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΟΝΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΆΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ,
ΚΑΙ ἈΦΙΚΕΣΘΑΙ ἈΓΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΟΥ ΞΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΧΑΡΑΣ· ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΠΡΙΑΜΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ἘΚΤΟΡΑ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΛΛΟΥΣ ἈΠΑΝΤΑΣ ἩΔΕΣΘΑΙ Τῳ ΓΑΜῳ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ 'ΕΛΕΝΗΝ ὙΠΟΔΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΕΥΧΩΝ.
54 ΣΚΟΠΕΙ ΔΕ, ἘΦΗ, ΤΗΝ ΕΥΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ἘΝΑΝΤΙΟΥ
ΛΟΓΟΥ, ΕΙ ΣΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ
ἐρασθήναι τινα γυναίκας, ην ουπόοποτε εἰδεν·
ἐπειτα καί πείσαι καταλειποῦσαν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
τὴν πατρίδα καί πάντας τοὺς ἀναγκαῖοις, ἔτε δὲ
ὅμως θυγατρίου γεγονούσαν μητέρα, συνακολου-
θήσαι ἄνδρι ἄλλοφύλῳ. διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν
ἀλογίαν συνέπλασάν τὸν περὶ τῆς ἈΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ
55 μοῦ θούν πολύ τούτων ἀποπληκτότερον. εἰ δὲ ὁ
'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἔνεθυμίθη, πῶς ο τέ πατήρ ἐπέ-
τρεψεν οὐκ ὅν ἀνόητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα δοκῶν
νοῦν ἔχειν, ἢ τε μῆτρη; πῶς δὲ, εἰκὸς τὸν
"ΕΚΤΟΡΑ ὑστερον μὲν ἄνειδίζειν καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι
αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ὡς φησιν ἌΟΜΗΡΟΣ·
λέγει γὰρ οὖτως·
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strongest men among the Greeks his foes. It would, therefore, be better not to leave any cause for war and dissension among the Greeks. This, however, so the priest said, angered Agamemnon, but he was unable successfully to oppose Tyndareus, who was master of his own daughter; and at the same time he stood in awe of Tyndareus' sons. Thus it was that Paris took Helen as his lawful wife after gaining the consent of her parents and brothers, and took her home with him amid great enthusiasm and rejoicing. And Priam, Hector, and all the others were delighted with the union and welcomed Helen with sacrifices and prayers.

"Then see," continued the priest, "how foolish the opposite story is. Can you imagine it possible for anyone to have become enamoured of a woman whom he had never seen, and then, that she could have let herself be persuaded to leave husband, fatherland, and all her relatives—and that too, I believe, when she was the mother of a little daughter—and follow a man of another race? It is because this is so improbable that they got up that cock-and-bull story about Aphrodite, which is still more preposterous. And if Paris had any thought of carrying Helen away, why was the thing permitted to happen by his father, who was no fool, but had the reputation of having great intelligence, and by his mother? What likelihood is there that Hector tolerated such a deed at the outset and then afterwards heaped abuse and reproach upon him for abducting her as Homer declares he did? Here are his words:

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1 ἄριστος ἄριστος: ἄριστος.
Δύσπαρι, είδος ἀριστε, γυναιμανές, ἰππερο-πευτά,
αἰθ' ὅφελες ἀγονός τ' ἐμεναι ἀγαμὸς τ' ἀπο-λέσαι,
οὐ γὰρ τοι ξηραίμη κίθαρις τὰ τε δῶρ'
Ἀφροδίτης
ἡ τε κόμη τὸ τε εἰδος ὅτ' ἐν κοινῷς μυγείς.

56 ἐξ ἄρχης δὲ πράττοντε συγχωρήσαι ταύτα; ὅ τε
"Ελευος πῶς οὐ προέλεγε μάντις ὄν, ἡ τε
Κασσάνδρα θεοφορουμένη, πρὸς δὲ τούτως ὁ
'Ἀντήνωρ δοκὸν φρονεῖν, ἄλλ' υστερον ἥγανά-
κοιν καὶ ἐπεπληττον ἐπὶ πεπραγμένοις, ἔξων
ἀψ' ἐστίας 1 κωλύειν;

"Ινα δὲ εἰδῆς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἡλιθιότητος
καὶ ὃς τὰ ψευδὴ ἀλλῆλοις μάχεται: λέγονι
γὰρ ως πρὸ ὀλίγων ετῶν Ἡρακλῆς πεπορθήκει
tὴν πόλιν διὰ μικρὰν πρόφασιν, οργίσθεις υπὲρ
ἐπτων ὅτι ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ δώσειν ὁ Δαμέδων
57 ψευσαίτο, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνεμίσθην τῶν ἑπῶν, ἐν
οἷς ταῦτα φησιν:

ὅς ποτε δεύρ' ἐλθὼν ἐνεκ' ἑπτῶν Δαμέδουντος
ἐξ οὗς σω ἠνυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέρωσιν
Ἰλιόν ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἰγνιάς.

Οὐκον, ἐπεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄληθὲς λέγουσι. πῶς
γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ οὕτω πόλις ἀλούσα καὶ
ἐρμημεθεῖσα τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν ἔσχεν ὡς μεγίσ-

1 ἀψ' ἐστίας Wytenbach: ἀψικείας.

1 Iliad 3. 39 f. (and, from the middle of the third verse),
54 f.
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'O luckless Paris, nobly formed,
Yet woman-follower and seducer! Thou
Shouldst never have been born, or else at best
Have died unwedded. Thy harp will not avail,
Nor all the gifts of Venus, nor thy locks,
Nor thy fair form, when thou art laid in dust.'

How comes it that neither Helenus, seer though he was, nor Cassandra, the divinely inspired, nor even Antenor, reputed for his wisdom, gave a word of warning but afterwards were indignant and censured what had been done, when they could have kept Helen from their doors?

"But that you may understand the excess of absurdity and see how the lies contradict one another, I cite what is told of Heracles sacking the city a few years previously on a slight pretext, angered because Laomedon had proved himself false in not giving him the horses which he had promised." And I recalled the verses in which Homer makes this statement:

"Hercules
The lion-hearted, who once came to Troy
To claim the coursers of Laomedon,
With but six ships, and warriors but a few,
He laid the city waste and made its streets
A desolation."

"This is another popular misstatement," said my friend, "for how could a city that had been thus taken and reduced to a wilderness have made such a wondrous recovery in so short a time as to become

\[ Iliad \ 5. \ 640 \ f. \]

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Τὴν γενέσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Δασίαν; πῶς δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς σὺν ἐξ μαυσωλείων ἐδίω έκ πολλοῦ ἀπόρθητον οὕσαν, οἷς δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ μετὰ νεῶν χυλῶν καὶ διακοσίων ἐλθόντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλείν; ἢ πῶς τὸν Πρίαμον εἰςασε βασιλεύειν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ἀποκτείνε τοῦτον πάντων ἐξαρτάτων, ἀλλὰ οὖν ἄλλον τινὰ ἀπέδειξεν ἄρχοντα τῆς χώρας; εἰ δ' ὧν οὕτως ὁ δ' Φασί, πῶς οὖν ἐφρίττων οἱ Τρώες καὶ ὁ Πρίαμος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξισραν, εἰδότες ότι καὶ πρῶτον οὐδὲν τηλικοῦτον ἐξαμαρτότης ἀπόλοντο καὶ ἀνάστατον ἐγένοντο, καὶ πολλῶν μνημονεύοντων τὴν ἄλωσιν πῶς συνέβη, μηδὲν τούτων ἐννοῆσαι μηδὲ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μηδένα αὐτῶν;

Τίνα δὲ πρῶτον ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἕλλαδα συνῆν τῇ Ἐλένῃ καὶ διελέγετο καὶ τελευτῶν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὴν φυγεῖν, μήτε γονέων μήτε πατρίδος μήτε ἄνδρος ἡ θυγατρός μήτε τῆς παρὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων φήμης φροντίσασαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φοβηθεῖσαν περίντας, οἱ πρῶτον αὐτὴν ἀφελοῦντο Θησέως καὶ οὐ περιεῖδον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι; τούτο μὲν γὰρ παρόντα τὸν Μενέλαον πῶς ταῦτα ἔλαβε γνωρίμενα; τοῦτο δὲ ἀπόντος ἄνδρος γυναικα εἰς ὁμολείαν ἀφικεῖσθαι ξένων ἄνδρῃ πῶς εἰκὸς μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων μηδένα αἰσθέσθαι τὴν ἐπιβολήν ἡ αἰσθομένους κρύψαι, προσέτι δὲ τὴν Ἀιθρᾶν τὴν τοῦ Θησέως

1 ὧν οὕτως δε Geel: οὖν οὕτω πῶς.
2 γὰρ after πῶς deleted by Morel.
3 πολλῶν μνημονεύοντων Cohoon: πολλῶν μνημονεύοντες.
4 πῶς συνέβη added by Cohoon: Reiske assumed a lacuna.
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the greatest of all in Asia? And how was it that Heracles, coming with only six ships, captured it when it had long been inviolate, while the Achaeans, who came with twelve hundred ships, could not capture it? Or how did Heracles, who slew Priam's father, his mortal enemy, suffer Priam to become king instead of appointing someone else as ruler of the country? But if it was as they say, how is it that Priam and the Trojans did not dread a feud with the Greeks when they were aware that once before, and for a crime not so great, their people had lost their lives or been driven into exile? And though many recalled the capture, how is it that not one of them thought of any of these things," cried the Egyptian, "and that not one of them stopped Paris?

"And how in the world after coming to Greece did he become intimate with Helen, and talk to her, and finally persuade her to elope, without thinking of parents, country, husband, or daughter, or of her repute among the Greeks, nay, without fearing even her brothers, who were still living and had once before recovered her from Theseus and had not brooked her abduction? For if Menelaus was at home, how did he fail to notice what was going on, but if, on the other hand, he was away from home, how is it probable that his wife could meet and converse with a strange man and none of the others be alive to the plot, or that they should have concealed it if they knew of it; and further, that Aethra, the mother of Theseus, and she a

\[1\] Castor and Pollux.

\[5\] φυγεῖν added by Reiske.

\[6\] τὸ θάνατος after εἰκόνα deleted by Arnim.
μητέρα συναπάραι αυτή αἰχμάλωτον οὖσαν;—οὐ γὰρ ἵκανον ἡν Πιτθέως θυγατέρα οὖσαν ἐν Σπάρτη δοῦλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἥρειτο ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὅπου ἦν ἰκανὸν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναίκα ἀπαγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσεπέθετο—καὶ μηδὲ ἐπαναχθῆναι μηδένα αὐτῷ, μήτε τῶν τοῦ Μενέλαου μήτε τῶν τοῦ Τυνδάρου μήτε τῶν ἄδελφον τῆς Ἐλένης, καὶ ταῦτα νεών οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Δακανικῇ, ἔτει δὲ πρῶτον πεζῇ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατιόντων, παραχρῆμα, ὡς εἰκόνος, περιβοηθοῦν γενομένης τῆς ἄρταραγής; καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὐ δυνατὸν ἔλθειν Ἐλένην μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου, γάμψε φεῖ παρ' ἐκόντων δοθεῖσαι τῶν οἰκείων. οὗτοι γὰρ εὐλογοῦν ἡν τὴν τε Ἀἴδραν ἀφικέσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ χρήματα κομισθῆναι. οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἄρταραγής, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μάλλον γάμου σημεῖον ἐστιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡς ἐφήν, γαμήσας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπηλλάγη μετ' αὐτῆς, ὃ τε Μενέλαος ἦν μᾶλλον τῆς μνηστείας ἀποτυχῶν καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον ἤτιατο, καὶ ἐφή προδοθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τε ἐκ 1' Αγαμημόνων ἐκείνων μὲν ἤτοι ἐφρόντιζε, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ ὑπόπτωτε μήποτε ἀντιποιηθηται τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πραγμάτων προσηκόντων αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν γάμων, οὗτο δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγκαλεῖ τοὺς μνηστής τῆς Ἐλένης καὶ ἐφή ὑβρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπαντᾶς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταφρονηθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην γυναίκα ὑπεστηρίζει εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκδοθείσαν, ὁς οὐδενὸς

1 τε Arnim: δὲ.
captive, should have sailed away with her?—For it was not enough that she, the daughter of Pittheus, should be a slave in Sparta, but she must deliberately follow along to Troy, and Paris conducted the affair so boldly and with such licence that it was not enough for him to abduct the wife, but he took the treasure too!—and that not a single soul should have put out after him, none of the people of Menelaus or of Tyndareus, nor Helen's brothers, though there were ships in Laconia and, what is more, though the pair had first to get down on foot from Sparta to the coast, and the news of her abduction was probably published at once? It would have been impossible for her to go with Paris in any such way, but possible if she was given in marriage with the full consent of her kinsfolk. Thus only was it reasonable that Aethra arrived with her and that the treasures were taken along. None of these facts points to an abduction, but much rather to a marriage.

"But when, as I said, Paris married Helen and departed with her, Menelaus brooded over the failure of his suit and upbraided his brother, declaring that he had been betrayed by him. But Agamemnon was not so much concerned about him as he was fearful of Paris, who, he suspected, might interfere some time in the affairs of Greece, which concerned him now on account of his marriage with Helen. For this reason he convoked the others who had been Helen's suitors and declared that they had one and all been outraged and Greece treated with contempt, and that the best woman among them had been given in marriage to barbarians and was gone, as though there were no one among themselves who
πατρός καὶ τῆς Ἑλένης ὑπομένης ἐκεῖνω συνοικεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὐτως ἀναίσχυντον ἐτὸλμον λέγειν λόγον καὶ ἐφασαν γνωσκεῖν ὅτι ξητοῖεν πολέμου πρόφασιν αὐτοὶ δὲ μὴ ἄρχειν πολέμου κρείττους δυντεῖ, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντας. καὶ διὰ ταύτα ὑπέμενοι οἱ Τρώες πολὴν χρόνον πολεμοῦμενοι καὶ πολλὰ πάσχοντες, οὐχ όσα ὁμηρὸς φῆσιν, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν φθειρομένης καὶ πολλῶν ἀποθυμεκόνων ἀνθρώπων· ὅτι ἦτοι σταυτο πόλεος τοῦ 'Αχαιοῦς καὶ τὸν Αλέξανδρον οὕθεν ἀτοπον πράξαντα. εἰ δὲ μή, τίς ἄν ἦν σχετο αὐτῶν ἤ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀπολλυμένων καὶ πάσης κινδυνευόσης ἀναστάτων γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παρανομίαν, ἔξον ἀποδούντας τῇ Ἑλένην σώσαι αὐτούς; οἱ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι, ὡς φασίν, Ἀλέξανδρου ἀποθανόντος, κατεῖχον αὐτὴν καὶ Δηιφόβου συνφίλοιν, ὡς μέγιστον ἄγαθον ἔχουντες εἰν τῇ πόλει καὶ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ καταλίποι αὐτούς. καίτοι εἰ πρότερον ἔρωσα τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔμενεν, πῶς ἐτί ἐβούλετο μένειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ Δηιφόβου αὐτὴν ἔρασθηναι λέγουσιν; εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν πεῖσαι τοὺς Τρώας, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὴν ἐτοίμους ὑντας. εἰ δὲ ἐφοβεῖτο τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς, διαλύσεις πρότερον εὐρέσθαι χρῆν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀγαπητῶς ἀν ἀπηλλάγησαν τοῦ πολέμου, πλείστων καὶ ἀρίστων τεθυμικότων. οὐ γὰρ ἦν

1 ἂ before τῶν is bracketed by Arnim.
2 καὶ πάντες Ἐμπερίου: πάντες γὰρ.

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father's hand, and Helen had consented to be his wife, and yet the Greeks dared to use such impudent language. They perceived, they said, that the Greeks were seeking a pretext for war, and that they were not the aggressors, stronger though they were, but were defending themselves from attack. This is why the Trojans held out although they were assailed a long time and suffered many hardships—not so many as Homer says, but none the less their land was being wasted and numbers of their people were perishing—because they knew that the Achaeans were in the wrong and that Paris had done nothing improper. If this had not been the case, would any of them, would any of the brothers or the father have endured it while their fellow-countrymen perished and the city was in danger of total destruction on account of Paris' lawless act, when by the surrender of Helen they might have saved themselves? Yet according to the story, they even afterwards upon the death of Paris kept her and married her to Deiphobus,¹ as though it were a very great boon to have her in the city and they feared she might desert them. And yet if at first it was for love of Paris that she stayed in Troy, why did she consent to stay on unless, as the story goes, she came to love Deiphobus too? For the Trojans in all probability could have been induced to surrender her, since they were ready to do that. If she, however, had reason to fear the Achaeans, it would only have been necessary to arrive at terms of peace first. Indeed, the Achaeans would have been glad to get out of the war, since they had lost many of their best men. Enough!

¹ A son of Priam.
Διο Χρύσοστομ

ἀληθὲς τὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς οὖν ἐπίσης εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Τρώες, δἐν εὐελπίδες ἦσαν περιγενέσθαι. οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν ὧν ἦν ἂν ἀδικῶντα μέχρις ἐσχάτου ὑπομένουσιν ἀμενόμενοι.

68 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μὴ ἄλλως νόμιμε πραξθῆναι ἢ ὡς ἐγὼ λέγω. πολὺ γὰρ πιστῶτερον ἐκόντα Τυνδάρεω κηδεύσαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἄσιας καὶ Μενέλεω τῆς μυηστελαὶς ἀπελπίζαντα βαρέως ἐνεκίμεα, καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα φοβηθῆναι τοὺς Πριαμίδας μὴ κατάσχωσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούοντα καὶ Πέλοπα τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὅντα χώρας, διὰ τὸ κήδος τὸ Οἰνομάον τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατασχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔγερον οἱ οἰκεῖοι συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μνησικακοῦντας ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐκαςτὸς οὐκ ἔγημεν, ἢ ἐρασθῆναι μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ γνώρισι γυναικὸς, ἐπιτρεψαί δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα πλεύσαι τοιαύτης ἔνεκα πράξεως, καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς φασίν, οὐ πάλαι τῆς Τροίας ἀλοῦσης ὕπο Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λαομέδεντος ἀποθανόντος· ὑστερον δὲ πολεμουμένους καὶ τοσαῦτα κακὰ πάσχοντας μὴ θέλειν εἰκοῦσαι μήτε ἔνας Ἀλέξανδρος μήτε ἀποθανόντος, οὐδεμίαν ἐπίθεα ἔχοντας τῆς σωτηρίας· τὴν δὲ Ἐλευθερίαν ἐρασθῆναι μὲν ξένου ἀνδρὸς, ὥς τὴν ἄρχην ὧν εἰκὸς αὐτὴν ἐν ὡμίλῃ γενέσθαι, καταληπτοῦσαν δὲ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μετ' ἀσχύνης ἠλθεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπους μισοῦντας· πάντα ταῦτα δὲ γεγονόμενα μηδένα 498
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There was no truth in the tale of Helen’s abduction, nor were the Trojans responsible for the war, and therefore they confidently expected victory. For men fight to the last ditch when they are being wronged.

“I assure you,” the priest continued, “these things happened just as I have described them. For it is much more plausible that Tyndareus voluntarily formed a marriage alliance with the kings of Asia, that Menelaus was angered by having to give up his suit, that Agamemnon was alarmed lest the descendants of Priam should get control of Greece, hearing, as he did, that his own forefather, Pelops, who came from that same Asia, gained control of the Peloponnesus by his connection with Oenomaüs,¹ and that the remaining leaders took part in the war, each with revenge rankling in his heart because he had not been the accepted suitor—this, I say, is much more plausible than that Paris fell in love with a woman he did not know and that his father permitted him to sail on such an enterprise, although, according to the story, Troy had but recently been taken by the Greeks and Priam’s father, Laomedon, slain; and that afterwards in spite of the war and their countless hardships the Trojans refused to surrender Helen either when Paris was living or after he died, although they had no hope for safety; much more reasonable than that Helen gave her affection to a stranger with whom she had probably never come in contact at all and shamefully abandoned her fatherland, relatives, and husband to come to a people who hated her. How incredible too that no one should

¹ He married Hippodameia, the daughter of Oenomaüs, and became king of Pisa in Elis.

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κωλύσαι, καὶ ἡμέτερον αὐτήν, καὶ ταῦτα πεζιν ἑώς θαλάττης μὴ ἄποπλεύσασαν διῶξαν, συνάρασθαι δὲ τοῦ στόλου τὴν Θησέως μητέρα πρεσβυτέραν καὶ δῆλον ὅτι μισούσαν τὴν 'Ελέ-
70 νην ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος, οὐ λέγεται ἔραν, Βηθώρβιῳ συνεῖναι—καθάπερ οἶμαι κάκεινῳ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ὑποσχομένης—καὶ ἡμέτερον ἐθέλειν ἀπιέναι παρὰ τὸν αὐτής ἄνδρα μήτη τοὺς Τρῶας ἀποδοῦναι τὴν 'Ελένην βίᾳ μέχρι ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν, τούτων οὐθέν εἰκός οὐδὲ δυνατόν. ἔτει δὲ καὶ τόδε πρὸς τοὺς οἰρήμενοις.
Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαντᾷ Ἀχαίοις φησιν ὁ Ομήρος κοινωνήσαι, οἷς ἦττον ἔμελε, τῆς δυ-
νάμεως: Κάστορα δὲ καὶ Πολυδεύκην μόνους μὴ 71 ἀφικέσθαι, τοὺς μάλιστα ὑβρισμένους. ταῦταν δὲ τὴν ἁγνοιαν κρύπτων ὁ Ομήρος πεποίηκε θαυ-
μαζουσαν τὴν 'Ελένην ἐπείτα αὐτὸς ἀπελο-
γήσατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι τεθνήκασαν πρότερον. οὐκούν τὸ γε ξώντων αὐτήν ἄρπασθήναι δῆλον ἐστεν. ἐπείτα Ἀγαμέμνονα περιέμενον δέκα ἐτή δια-
τρίβοντα καὶ συνάγοντα στρατιῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐδίωξαν τὴν ἀδελφήν, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ κατὰ πλούς ἔλοεν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ὡς πολεμήσαστες μετὰ 72 τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως; οὐ γὰρ ἔπληκτα ἢ λιθον εὐθὺς, ἄνδρα Ἐλληνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄριστον, ἔτει δὲ αὐτῶν τε πολλῶν ἅρχοντα καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐταῖρου καὶ Πειρίθου καὶ Θεταλοῦ καὶ Βοιωτῶν

1 kal added by Reiske.
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have nipped all these doings in the bud, or sought to catch her while she was hurrying to the sea, and on foot too, or pursued after she had embarked, and that the mother of Theseus, an elderly woman, who certainly hated Helen, should have accompanied her on the journey. Afterwards too it is just as unlikely that on the death of Paris, whom they say Helen loved, she should have been the wife of Deiphobus—I suppose because Aphrodite had promised her to him also—and that not only she should have been unwilling to return to her husband, but that the Trojans should not have been unwilling, until their city was captured, to surrender her through compulsion. All that is improbable and indeed impossible. The same applies also to the following.

"According to Homer, all the other Greeks, in spite of the fact that they had but a secondary interest in the dispute, took part in the expedition, while Castor and Pollux, who had been most deeply injured, did not go. Homer in veiling this blunder has represented Helen as expressing her astonishment and then, made excuse for them himself by saying that they had died before this.\(^1\) Hence it is evident that they were still living when she was carried off. And yet did they wait ten years for Agamemnon to waste time and muster an army instead of pursuing their sister at once in the hope of taking her on the voyage if possible, or else waging war with their own force if they failed? I cannot believe that they would have proceeded at once against Theseus, a man of Greek blood and peerless in valour, a ruler also of many and a comrade of Heracles and Peirithoüs with Thessalians and

\(^1\) Cf. Iliad 3, 236f.
μάτων τινά ἐπόρθουν. δὲ Ἡλέξανδρος μετὰ τοῦ Ἐκτορος τὸν μὲν ὥχλον συνήγεν ἀπαντὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, τὰς δὲ μικρὰς πόλεις εἰὼν τὰς πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι πανταχοῦ βοηθεῖν. πάλιν δὲ καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἀποβαίνειν, καὶ ναύσταθμον περιβάλλοντο καὶ τάφρον ὄρυξαν φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἐκτορα καὶ τοὺς Τρώας, καὶ μάλλον ὅσ αὐτοὶ πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο.

76 Οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συγχωροῦσιν Ὄμηρῳ, τὸ δὲ τείχος οὐ φασιν αὐτὸν γενόμενον λέγειν, ὅτι πεποίηκεν ὕστερον Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ποσειδώνα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐφιέντας ἐπ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀφανίσαντας· δὲ πάντων πιθανοτάτον ἐστι, κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ τεῖχους. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν οἱ ποταμοὶ λιμνάζουσι τὸν τόπον καὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάττης προσκεχώκασιν.

77 Τὸν δὲ λυπότον χρόνον τὰ μὲν ἐποίουν κακῶς, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον, καὶ μάχαι μὲν οὐ πολλαὶ ἐγένοντο ἐκ παρατάξεως· οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν προσένειν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἀκροβολίσμοι δὲ καὶ κλωπεῖαν τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ Τρώων τε ὅτως ἀποθνῄσκει πᾶς ὁ ἐτί καὶ Μήστωρ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνέδρευσαι δεινῶτατος καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέσθαι. ὅθεν Ἀινείαν τοῖς ὁ νότως ἐπελθὼν ὄλγον ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ Ἰδη καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἦρει τὰ κακῶς φυλαττόμενα· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἐπεκράτουν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἄλλο ὁ μόνον τοῦ

1 τὰς added by Emperius.
some of the towns, whereupon Paris and Hector brought all the country folk into the city, but left the small towns on the coast to their fate through inability to furnish help everywhere. The enemy then sailed back to the harbour of the Achaeans and landed under cover of darkness, built a wall about their ships, and dug a trench because they feared Hector and the Trojans, and made preparations as if it were they who expected a siege.

"Now while the Egyptians agree with Homer on the other points, they insist that he does not speak of the wall as having been finished, their reason being that he has represented Apollo and Poseidon as having at a later time sent the rivers against it and swept it away.\(^1\) The most plausible explanation of all is that it was merely the foundations of the wall that were inundated. Indeed, even in our day the rivers still make a marsh of the place and have deposited silt far out into the sea.

"In the years that followed, the Greeks both did and suffered damage. However, not many pitched battles were fought, since they did not dare to approach the city because of the number and courage of the inhabitants. Skirmishes and forays there were on the part of the Greeks, and it was thus that Troilus, still a boy, perished, and Mestor and many others; for Achilles was very skilful in laying ambushes and making night attacks. In this way he almost caught and slew Æneas upon Mount Ida and many others throughout the country, and he captured any forts that were poorly guarded. For the Achaeans had only a foothold for their camp and did not control

\(^1\) Iliad 12, 17 ff.

\(^2\) προσκενώκασι Rhodomann: προκεκωρήκασι.
\(^3\) παρατάξεως Pfungk: παρατάξεων.
'Αλέξανδρον μεμνημένον ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἐλένην, ὁ πάντως σαφέστατα ἐδει βηθήναι καὶ μετὰ πλείστης σπουδῆς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν μονομαχίαν, οὐ γὰρ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀπέκτεινε τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον ὁ Μενέλαος, κενὰς αὐτῷ χαρίζεται χάριτας καὶ νίκην γελοίων ὡς τοῦ ξίφους καταχθέντος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῷ τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρον χρήσασθαι, τοσοῦτον γε κρείττονα ὄντα ὡς ἐλκεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς ἥξιτα μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων, ἀλλὰ ἀπωγχεῖν ἐδει τῷ ἱμάντι;

83 ψευδὴς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Αἴαντος καὶ τοῦ 'Εκτόρου μονομαχία καὶ πάνυ εὐθῆς ἡ διάλυσις, πάλιν ἤκει τοῦ Αἴαντος νικῶντος, πέρας δὲ σιδών, καὶ δῶρα δόντων ἀλλήλοις ὁσπερ φίλων.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη τάλιθη λέγει, τὴν τῶν Ἀχαίων ἡτταν καὶ τρωτὴν καὶ τὰς τοῦ 'Εκτόρος ἀριστείας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων, ὁσπερ ὑπέσχετο ἐρεῖν, τρόπον τινὰ ἄκω καὶ 84 ἀναφέρων εἰς τιμήν τοῦ 'Ἀχιλλέως. καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλῆς γ᾽ εἶναι τὴν πόλιν φησί καὶ Δία ἄντικρυς πεποίηκε λέγοντα πασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἴλων πόλεων τὸ Ἰλιον μάλιστα ἀγαπήσαι καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον καὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. ἔπευθα ὀστράκους μεταποιήσας, φασὶ, τοσοῦτον μετέβαλεν ὅστε σκέωτα ἀνελεῖν τὴν ἀπασφαλὺ προσφίλεστάρῃ δὲ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀμαρτίαν, εἰτερ ἡμαρτεν. ὅμως δὲ οὐχ οἷς τέ ἐστιν ἀποκρύφαι τὰ τοῦ Ἐκτόρου ἔργα νικῶντος καὶ διάκοντος μέχρι τῶν νεών καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἐκπεπληγή-

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1 Iliad 3. 438. 2 Iliad 3. 371.
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himself as alluding to it in his interview with Helen, although this fact should have been presented with especial clearness and the greatest care. A further exception is the account of the single combat. For since Homer cannot say that Menelaus slew Paris, he favours him with an empty honour and with a victory that is ridiculous by saying that his sword broke. Pray was it impossible for him to use Paris' sword—when he was at any rate strong enough to drag him alive to the Achaeans, armour and all—but did he have to choke him with the strap of his helmet? The single combat between Ajax and Hector is also a pure fabrication, and its ending is very absurd. Here again Ajax conquers, but there is no finality, and the two make gifts to one another as if they were friends!

"But immediately after this Homer gives the true account, telling of the defeat and rout of the Achaeans, Hector's mighty deeds, and the numbers of the slain, as he had promised to do, and yet with a certain reluctance and a desire to enhance Achilles' glory. Still he calls the city 'beloved of the gods,' and has Zeus say frankly that of all the cities beneath the sun he had loved Ilium best, and Priam and his people. Yet afterwards when the shell fell other side up, as the expression is, he made such a complete volte-face as to destroy that most beloved of cities most miserably on account of one man's crime, if crime there was. However, Homer cannot ignore the story of Hector's exploits when he routed and pursued the enemy even to the ships, and all the bravest were

3 *Iliad* 7. 181 f.
4 Equivalent to "when heads became tails"; "when fortune shifted." See note on p. 219.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

μένων τῶν ἄριστων, ὅτε μὲν "Αρει παραβάλλων αὐτόν, ὅτε δὲ φλογὶ λέγων τὴν ἀλκὴν ὁμοίων εἶναι, μηδενὸς δὲ ἀπλῶς ὑπομένοντος αὐτόν, τού τε Απόλλωνος αὐτῷ παρισταμένου καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἀνωθεν ἐπισημαίνοντος ἀνέμω καὶ βροντῇ—

85 ταῦτα γὰρ οὖ βουλόμενοι εἰπεῖν οὕτως ἐναργῶς, ὅμως ἐπεὶ ἄληθή ἦν, ἀρξάμενος αὐτῶν οὐ δύναται ἀποστῆναι—τήν τε νῦκτα ἐκείνην τὴν χαλεπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατήφειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐκπληξίν καὶ τάς οἰμωγάς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν νυκτερινὴν ἐκκλησίαν βουλευομένων ὅπως φύγοιε, καὶ τάς δεήσεις τάς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, εἰ τι δύνατο ἐκείνος ἄρα ὕφελθαι.

86 Τῇ δὲ ὀστεραῖᾳ τῷ μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονι χαρίζεται τινα ἀριστεῖαν ἀνόητον 1 καὶ τῷ Διομήδει καὶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεί καὶ Εὐρυπόλῳ, καὶ τὸν Ἀλαντά φησι μάχεσθαι προθύμως, εὐθὺς δὲ τοὺς Τρώας ἐπικρατήσαι καὶ τὸν Ἐκτορά ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὰς ναύς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν λέγων δήλος ἐστιν ὅτι ἄληθή λέγει καὶ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων προαγόμενοι. ὅταν δὲ αὐξὴ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, πολλὴς ἀπορίας μεστός ἐστι καὶ πάσι φανερὸς ὅτι ψευδεται· τὸν μὲν Ἀλαντά δίς κρατήσαι τοῦ Ἐκτόρος μάτην, ὅτε μὲν τῇ μονομαχίᾳ, πάλιν δὲ τῷ λήθῳ, τὸν δὲ Διομῆδην τοῦ Ἀινέαυ, καὶ μηδὲ τούτου μηδὲν πράξαντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπὸν μόνον λαβόντος, ὅπερ ἦν ἀνεξέλεγκτον. οὐκ

1 ἀνόητον Valesius: ἀνόητον.

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1 See especially Iliad 15. 270 f.
2 Iliad 9. 1 f.; 10. 1 f. 3 Iliad 9. 79 f. 4 Iliad 11.

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terror-stricken at the sight of him. Now he compares him to Ares, and again he says that his strength is like that of fire and not a single one dares to confront him, while Apollo stands at his side and Zeus from above signals his approval with wind and thunder.\(^1\) Homer is reluctant to state these things so frankly, yet since they are true, he cannot refrain when once he has started. Then there is that dreadful night of discouragement in the camp,\(^2\) Agamemnon's panic fear and lamentation, that midnight council, too, at which they deliberated on the method of flight, and that appeal to Achilles in hope that he might find it possible after all to give them some aid.\(^3\)

"For the following day Homer does grant some ineffectual display of prowess to Agamemnon,\(^4\) and to Diomede, Odysseus, and Eurypylus,\(^5\) and he says that Ajax did fight stoutly, but that the Trojans straightway gained the upper hand and Hector pursued them to the Achaean rampart and the ships.\(^6\) In this part of his narrative he is also evidently telling the truth and what really occurred, carried away as he is by the facts themselves. But when he glorifies the Achaeans, he is terribly embarrassed, and anyone can see that he is dealing in fiction: when, for instance, he has Ajax conquer Hector twice, but both times without result, once in the single combat \(^7\) and once again with the stone; \(^8\) again when Diomede conquers Aeneas,\(^9\) this time too without any result beyond merely capturing his horses, a statement that could not be disproved. So not knowing what

\(^5\) See, however, Iliad 11. 575 f., where Eurypylus is wounded.
\(^6\) Iliad 11. 1 f.
\(^7\) Iliad 7. 206 f.
\(^8\) Iliad 14. 409 f.
\(^9\) Iliad 5. 297 f.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐχὼν δὲ ὃ τι αὐτοῖς χαρίσηται τὸν Ἄρην καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην φησὶ τρωθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διο-
μήδους. ἐν οἷς ἀπασί δήλος ἐστιν εὐνοῦς μὲν ὁ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτοῦς θαυμάζειν, οפילו ἐχὼν δὲ ὃ τι εἰπῇ ἀληθὲς, διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν εἰς ἀδύνατα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἀσεβή πράγματα, ὃ πάσ-
χουσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ πάντες ὅσοι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μάχονται.

88 'Αλλ᾽ οὐ περὶ τοῦ Ἐκτόρος ὁμοίως ἀπορεῖ ὃ τι εἰπῇ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, ὡς γε οἶμαι τὰ γενόμενα διηγούμενοι· ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας μὲν προτροπάδην ἀπαντᾷ καὶ κατ᾽ ὄνομα τοὺς ἀριστοὺς, ὅταν ἕν ἡμίτε ᾽Ιδομενέα μένειν μήτε Ἀγαμέμνονα μήτε τοὺς δύο Αἰαντας, ἀλλὰ ᾽Νέο-
τορα μόνον ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης, καὶ τούτων ἁλῶνα παρ᾽ ὅλιγον· ἐπιβοηθήσαντα δὲ τῶν Διομήδην καὶ πρὸς ὅλιγον θρασυνόμενον, ἐπειτὰ ἐυθὺς ἀπο-
στραφέντα φεύγειν, ὡς κεράυνῳ δῆθεν εἰργόντων ἀυτῶν· τέλος δὲ τὴν τάφρον διαβαίνομενη καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον πολυρκούμενων καὶ ῥηγυμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐκτόρος τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς ᾽Αχαῖος εἰς τὰς ναῦς ᾗδη κατειλημένους καὶ περὶ τὰς σκηνὰς πάντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Αἰαντα ἀνωθεν μαχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τέλος ἐκ-
βληθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐκτόρος καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντα καὶ τῶν νεῶν τινας ἐμπρησθείσας. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὅλον Ἐινείας ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης ἀρπαξόμενος οὐδὲ ᾽Αρης ὑπὸ ἄνδρος τυρωσκόμενος οὐδὲ ἀλλο τοιούτων οὔθεν ἀπίθανον, ἀλλὰ πράγματα ἀληθῆ καὶ ὁμοία γεγονότη, μεθ᾽ ἂν ᾣταν οὐκέτι ἦν ἀναμάχεσθαι διυνάτων οὐδὲ θαρρήσαε ποτὲ τοὺς ὀφτασ ἀπειρηκότας ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς τάφρου

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to credit the Achaeans with, he tells how Ares and Aphrodite were wounded by Diomedes. In all such accounts it is clear that he is partial to the Achaeans and eager to extol them, but that, not knowing of anything to say that is true, he is led in his embarrassment to mention impossible and impious deeds—the usual experience of all who oppose the truth.

"In the case of Hector, however, he shows no such a loss for something great and splendid to say—because, I believe, he is telling of actual events. Nay, he says that all fled pell-mell, even the bravest, whose names he gives, that neither Idomeneus stood his ground, nor Agamemnon, nor the two Ajaxes, but only Nestor, and he because he was forced to do so, and that he was almost captured; but that Diomedes came to his relief, put on a bold front for a short time, then straightway wheeled about and fled—because, forsooth, some thunderbolts deterred him! Finally, Homer tells how the trench was crossed, the ship-station besieged and the gates broken down by Hector, how the Achaeans were now crowded into their ships and all the war centred around the huts, how Ajax fights above on the ships and is finally dislodged by Hector and retires, while some of the ships are set on fire. For here there is no Aeneas snatched away by Aphrodite, no Ares wounded by a mortal, nor any other such incredible tales; nay, here are true events, and they resemble actual occurrences. After this defeat the men who had been so completely crushed could by no possibility have renewed the struggle or even regained courage so as to be helped

1 Iliad 5. 846 f.  2 Iliad 5. 330 f.  3 Iliad 8. 78 f.
4 Iliad 8. 167 f.  5 Iliad 8. 78 f.  6 Iliad 16. 101 f.
μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος ὕφελθήναι μηθέν μήτε
91 αὐτὰς διαφυλάξει ταῖς ναῖσ. πολὰ γάρ ἦτι
τηλικαύτη δύναμις ἢ τίς οὕτως ἀνήρ ἀμαχος
καὶ θεοῦ ῥώμην ἔχων, δε ἐπιφανεις ἐδύνατο
σώσαι τοὺς ὑπολωλότας ἡδη; τὸ γάρ τῶν
Μυρμιδόνων πλήθος πόσον τι πρὸς τὴν σύμπα-
σαν ἦν στρατιά; ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως σθένος,1
οὐ δήποτε τότε πρῶτον μέλλοντος μάχεσθαι,
πολλάκις δὲ ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἔστειν
εἰς χείρας ἔλθοντος, καὶ μήτε τὸν Ἕκτορα
ἀποκτείναντος μήτε ἀλλο μηθέν εἴργασμένου
μέγα, εἰ μή γε2 Τροίλον παίδα ἔτι οὕτα τὴν
ἡλικίαν ἔλθοντος;
92 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ομηρὸς οὐδὲν ἔτι
τάληθος ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄπαν ἥκεν ἀναι-
σχυντίας καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἀπλῶς ἀνέ-
τρεψε καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τοὐναντίον, καταπε-
θομηκῶς μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καὶ τάλλα
ἐώρα πάνυ βαδίος πεθομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ
tῶν θεῶν, οὐκ οὕτων δὲ ἐτέρων ποιητῶν οὐδὲ
συγγραφέων, παρ' ὧν ἔλεγετο τάληθες, ἀλλ'
αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐπιθέμενος ὑπὲρ τούτων γράφειν,
γενεάς δὲ ὑστερον ἤπειροις πολλαῖς, τῶν εἰδώτων
αὐτὰ ἤφαιμαμένων καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνων,3 ἀμαυρὰς
dὲ καὶ ἀσθενοῦσι ἐτι φήμης ἀπολευτομένης, ὡς
eἰκὸς περὶ τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
πολλοὺς καὶ ἰδιότας μέλλων διηγείσθαι τὰ ἔπη.

1 σθένος added by Arnim. 2 el μή γε Reiske: μήτε.
3 ἔτι after ἐκείνω deleted by Reiske.

1 In the Iliad 24. 257 ff. Priam speaks of his son Troilus simply as having been slain in war. Other accounts, such
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at all by the trench or the rampart, or even so as to save their ships. For where now was any such strength to be found or any hero so invincible and possessed of a god's might, that they who were already lost could have been saved by his appearance? How insignificant, for instance, was the number of the Myrmidons compared with that of the entire Trojan army!—or the strength of Achilles, who was certainly not going to fight then for the first time, but had time and again in the many years preceding engaged in conflict, and yet neither slain Hector nor performed any other great exploit beyond capturing Troilus,\(^1\) who was still a boy in years!

"However, on reaching this point in his narrative Homer had no further concern for the truth but carried his shamelessness to extremes. He simply turned all the events topsy-turvy and reversed them, holding his hearers in contempt because he saw how easily they were duped in other matters, and particularly about the gods. Besides, there were no other poets or authors where one could read the truth, but he was the first who applied himself to the recording of these events, though he composed his poem many generations after the actual occurrences, when those who had known the facts had passed away along with their descendants, and only an obscure and uncertain tradition survived, as is to be expected in the case of events that have occurred in the distant past. Moreover, he intended to recite his epics to the masses and the common people, at

as that in Virgil, Aeneid 1. 474 f., credit Achilles with his death. Tzetzes ad Lyce. 307 says that Achilles pursued him into the temple of Thymbraean Apollo and there slew him.
καὶ ταῦτα βελτίων ποιῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς
93 μὴ δὲ τοὺς γιγαντίας ἐξελέγχειν. οὕτως δὴ ἔτολμησε τἀναντία τοὺς γενομένους ποιήσαι.
Τοῦ γὰρ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπιβοηθήσαντος ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῶν νεῶν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τὸ πλέον καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἔνεκεν, τροπὴν μὲν τινὰ γενέσθαι τῶν Τρώων καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι παραχρῆμα ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ, ἢτε ἔξαπλυνθεὶς ἐπιπεσόντος τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀποχωρείν καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα ὑπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐξῳ τῆς τάφρου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον στενοχωρίας, σχέδη
t σε ὅ  
εἰ καὶ ἔφιστάμενον, ὢστερ αὐτὸς φήσιν ὁμηρος. 94 συμπεσόντων δὲ καὶ μαχομένων πάλιν, τοὺν Ἀχιλλέα κάλλιστα ἀγανίσασθαι μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτεῖνα τῶν Τρώων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα τὸν τῶν Διὸς ὕινον λεγόμενον εἶναι, Βασιλέα Δυκίων καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν ἀποχώροντων γενέσθαι φόνον πολὺν, οὐ μέντοι προτροπάδην φεύγειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἔκαστοτε ὑποστροφὰς γίγνεσθαι.
95 Τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορα ἐν τούτῳ παραφυλάττειν, ἐμπειρότατον ὃντα καΙρὸν μάχης εὐνεῖαν, καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἡκμαζεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ νεάλης ὅν ἐμάχετο, μὴ εὐμφέρεσθαι αὐτῷ, μόνον δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν ἔπει δ’ ἵσθαινυτο κάμνοντα ἃδη καὶ πολὺ τῆς πρότερον ὑφεικότα ὀρμής, ἢτε οὐ ταμεισάμενον ἐν τῷ ἄγωνι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοπωθέντα μεῖζονος ἐρρυηκότος καὶ

1 σχέδην Jacobs: σχέδην. 2 ἄλλουs Reiske: ἄλλως. 3 ἀποχωροῦντων Rhodomann: ἀποχωροῦντα.
the same time overstating the achievements of the Greeks, so that even the wiser persons would not refute him. Thus it was that he went so far as to represent the opposite of what actually occurred.

"For instance, when Achilles came to their aid during the assault on the ships, of necessity for the most part and to save his own skin, there was," so the Egyptian claimed, "a partial rout of the Trojans, who withdrew from the ships forthwith, and the fire was quenched because Achilles had fallen upon them by surprise; and, in addition to the general retreat, Hector himself withdrew beyond the trench and the narrow space about the encampment, stoutly contesting each step, however, as Homer himself admits.\(^1\) Then when they clashed and engaged again, Achilles and his followers fought most brilliantly and slew great numbers of the Trojans and their allies, notably Sarpédon, king of the Lycians and a reputed child of Zeus;\(^2\) and at the river ford there was a great slaughter of the fleeing Trojans,\(^3\) not fleeing in headlong confusion, however, but repeatedly turning to make a stand.

"Meanwhile Hector, experienced as he was in discerning the critical moment in a fight, kept on his guard, and as long as Achilles possessed his full strength and fought with youthful vigour, avoided him, contenting himself with cheering the others on. But later he noticed that Achilles was at last growing fatigued and had lost a great measure of his original impetus because he had not spared his strength in the struggle, and that he was exhausted by his reckless plunge into the river, swollen beyond

\(^1\) Iliad 16. 303 ff.  \(^2\) Iliad 16. 481 ff.  \(^3\) Iliad 21. 1 ff.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

ἀπείρως διαβαίνοντα, καὶ ὑπὸ τε Ἄστεροπολίου τοῦ Παλαυνοῦ ¹ τετραμένου, Ἀνδρέαν τε συστάντα αὐτῷ καὶ μαχεσάμενον ἐπὶ πλέον, ὅποτε δὲ ἐβουλήθη ἀσφαλῶς ἀποχωρῆσαντα, Ἀγήνωρα ² δὲ οὐ καταλαβόντα ὀρμῆσαντα διώκειν καίτοι τούτω μᾶλιστα προεῖχεν ο Ἀχιλλευς ὦτι ἐδόκει τάχιστος εἶναι καταφανῆς οὐν ἐγεγόνει αὐτῷ διὰ τούτων ἀσάντων εὐάλωτος ὡν, ἀτε δεινὸς τὴν πολεμικὴν τέχνην ὅστε ταρρῶν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ μέσον τὸ πέδλον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνέκλινεν ὡς φεύγων, ἀποπερῶμενος αὐτοῦ, ἀμα δὲ κοπῶσαι βουλόμενος, ὅτε μὲν περιμένων, ὅτε δὲ ἀποφεύγων ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα βραδύνοντα καὶ ἀπολειπόμενον, οὕτως ὑποστρέψας αὐτός ἤκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τὰ ὠπλα φέρειν ἔτι δυνάμενον, καὶ συμβαλλὼν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐκράτησεν, ὡς καὶ τούτο ὁ Ὁμηρος εὖρηκε. τοὺς δὲ ἰπτοὺς διέδεικε μὲν φησὶ τοῦ Ἕκτορα, οὗ λαβεῖν ⁹ ὕμνους δὲ, κάκεινων ἀλόντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα μόλις διέσωσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Ἀλαντες; οἱ γὰρ Τρῶες ἤδη θαρροῦντες καὶ νικᾶν νομίζοντες μαλακῶτε- ρον ἐφείποντο; ὃ δὲ Ἕκτωρ ἐνδυσάμενος τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύς οὕτω ἐπίσημα οὕτα ἐκτεινά τε καὶ ἐδώκε-μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς ὁμολογεῖ ταῦτα ὁ Ὁμηρος. νῦν δὲ ἐπηγευμένη ἀφελετοῦ μὴ πάσας ἐμπρήσαι τὰς ναῦς.

Τούτων δὲ οὕτως γενομένων, οὐκ ἔχων ὁποιος κρύψῃ τάληθες, Πάτροκλον εἶναι φησὶ τοῦ ἐπ-

¹ ἐώρα after Παλαυνοῦ bracketed by Arnim.
² Ἀγήνωρα Reiske from Iliad 21. 545: Ἀρνήνωρ.

¹ Iliad 21. 165 f. ² Iliad 21. 544 f.
its wont, and had been wounded by Asteropaeus, the son of Paeon. Then he saw, too, that Aeneas had engaged Achilles and, after a prolonged fight, had come off in safety at the moment he desired, and that the latter, rushing in pursuit of Agenor, had not been able to overtake him—and yet it was in this very point that Achilles chiefly excelled, in that he was reckoned the swiftest of foot. And so it had become clear to Hector, a master in the art of war, that in view of all these conditions Achilles was an easy prey. Accordingly he boldly confronted him in the open plain. At first he gave way as if in open flight, but with the real purpose of testing him and, at the same time, wearing him by now making a stand and now fleeing. Then when he noted that he lagged and fell behind, he himself turned and fell upon Achilles, who was no longer able even to support his arms. He gave him battle, slew him, and, just as Homer has told it, possessed himself of his arms. He pursued the horses of Achilles too," said the Egyptian priest, "but he did not bring them in though they too were caught. The two Ajaxes with great difficulty managed to bring back the body of Achilles to the ships; for the Trojans, now feeling relieved and believing that they were victorious, were pressing on with less energy; while Hector, after donning the emblazoned arms of Achilles, continued the slaughter and pressed on in pursuit to the sea, just as Homer admits. Night fell, however, and prevented the burning of all the ships.

"Yet in the face of these facts, Homer, finding it impossible to conceal the truth, says it was Patroclus.

\[Iliad 17. 75 f.\]
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

εξελθόντα μετὰ τῶν Μυρμιδόνων, ἀναλαβόντα τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλείως δῆλα, καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐκτορος ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἐκτόρα τῶν ὄπλων οὖτως κρατήσατο. καίτοι πῶς ἄν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐν τοσοῦτοι κινδύνῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὄντος καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἡδῆ καιομένων καὶ ὅσον οὖτως ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἦκοντος τοῦ δεινοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ἐκτόρα ἀκούσαν ὅτι φησὶν μηδένα αὐτῷ ἄξιόμαχον εἶναι καὶ τὸν Δία βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δεξιὰ σημεῖα φαίνειν, εἰ γε ἐβούλετο σώσαί τους Ἀχαιοὺς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἔμενεν ἄριστος ὁν μάχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ πολὺ χείρονα αὐτοῦ ἔπεμπε; καὶ ἄμα μὲν παρῆγγελλεν ἐμπεσεῖν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς Τρῶας, ἀμα δὲ τῷ Ἐκτόρῃ μὴ μάχεσθαι; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ ἢν οἷμαι προελθόντι γε ἀπαξ ὅτως ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι. οὖτως δὲ ὑποκαταφροῦν τοῦ Πάτροκλου καὶ ἀπιστῶν αὐτῷ, τὴν δύναμιν ἐπέτρεπεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ὕππους, ὡς ἴνα κάκιστα τις βουλεύσαιτο περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ, πάντα ἀπολέσαι βουλόμενος; ἐπείτα ἤχετο τῷ Διὸ ὑποστρέφει τὸν Πάτροκλον μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν ἐτάρτων, οὖτως ἀνοίτως πέμπων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἄνδρα κραύττου, ὁ προκαλομένῳ τοὺς ἁρίστους ὁμοίως ὑπακούσαι ἦθελεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀργαμένων ἄντικρος ἐφὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ βουλεσθαι συμβαλεῖν ἐκείνῳ; τουχαροῦν οὖτω βουλευσάμενον αὐτὸν λέγει τοῦ τε ἐτάρτου στερηθῆναι καὶ πολλῶν ἑτέρων, ὅλῳ δὲ καὶ

1 ἐπέτρεπεν Arnim: ἐπέτρεπεν.
2 λέγει Selden: λέγειν.
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who attacked with the Myrmidons after taking Achilles' arms, that it was he who was slain by Hector, and that Hector in this manner won the arms. And yet when the army was beset with so great peril, when the ships were now ablaze, and danger was almost at his own doors, how was it possible for Achilles, hearing that Hector declared he had found no foeman worthy of his steel and that Zeus was helping him and showing him signs of his favour, to remain in his tent, great champion that he was, if he really desired the salvation of the Achaeans, and to send a hero much his inferior and exhort him to lay on manfully and beat back the Trojans, only not to engage with Hector?¹ For it was quite impossible, I imagine, for Patroclus to choose with whom he would fight when once he had set forth. But although he had such a poor opinion of Patroclus and distrusted him,² did Achilles entrust his force to him, and his own weapons and horses, an insane course which no one would adopt regarding his own interests unless he wished to ruin everything? Then did he pray Zeus to bring back Patroclus with all his arms and comrades, while sending him forth so foolishly against a mightier man whose challenge to the bravest no one was willing to accept, and whom Agamemnon declared frankly even Achilles so feared that he shrank from encountering him?³ Consequently, after making this plan, he lost, as Homer admits, both his comrade and many other men, while he almost lost his horses too, and did

¹ Iliad 18. 14.
² Not in harmony with passages like Iliad 18. 316 f.; 19. 304 f.
³ Iliad 7. 113.
τῶν ὑπ' ὅν καὶ ἀπελέγεις ἐκέκρισαί. ἄ ν οὐδέποτ' ἀν ἐποίησεν Ἀχιλλεὺς μῆ γε ἐπόρηηκτος ὡ ὃν ἠ ὧ ἢ, πάντως ἀν αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσε Φοῖνίξ.

'Αλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο, φησί, ταχέως ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ 'Αχαιόν, ἐως ἂν λάβῃ τὰ δώρα, καὶ ἀμα οὐδέπω τῆς ὅργῆς ἐπέπαυσε.

101 καὶ τῇ ἐμποδών αὐτὸν προελθόντα ἐφ' ὅσον ἐβούλετο πάλιν μηνείν; ξυνεὶς δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλογίας αἰνήτεται διὰ πρόρρησιν τινα μένειν αὐτὸν, ὅς, εἰ ἔβιεν, πάντως ἀποδανούμενον, ἀντικρὺς αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶν δειλίαν· καίτοι ἔβην αὐτῷ διὰ ταύτην τὴν πρόρρησιν ἀποπλεῦσαι διενεχέντα πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πατρόκλου ἑτύγχανεν ἀκηκώς τῆς μυτρός, δὴ φησὶν ἐν ἑσθ' τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς τιμᾶν καὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἐτε βούλεσθαι

102 ἔβην ἐκείνου ἀποδανοῦτος. ὡς δὲ ἑώρα αὐτὸν οὐ δυνάμενον βαστάσαι τὸ δόρυ τὰ ἄλλα ἐδίδον δήλον ὅτι προσεοικότα τῷ δόρατι, καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβείτο μὴ οὐ δύνηται φέρειν αὐτὰ· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ φησὶ συμβιβάσι ταῖς μάχαις·

'Αλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τις ἀπαντᾷ ἐλέγχου, πολὺ ἄν ἔργον εὑρ. τὸ γὰρ ψεύδος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φανερὸν ἔστι τοὺς προσέχουσιν· ὅστε οὐδενὶ ἄδηλον καὶ τῶν ὀλίγων νοῦν ἐχόντων ὅτι σχέδον ὑπὸβλητός ἔστιν ὁ Πάτροκλος καὶ τοῦτον ἀντήλλαξεν

1 μὴ γε Emperius: μηδὲ.

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1 Achilles' tutor.
2 See Iliad. 16. 49 f. Achilles refused to fight until he received back the maiden Briseis, whom Agamemnon had taken from him.
lose his arms. Now Achilles would never have done such things unless he was out of his senses, and if this had been the case, Phoenix would certainly have restrained him.

"But, says Homer, Achilles did not wish to free the Achaeans from their peril speedily, not until he should receive his gifts. Besides, he had not yet given over his anger. But what was there to prevent his coming forth and then nursing his wrath as long as he wished? Homer is aware of this inconsistency and hints that he tarried in his tent on account of a certain prophecy that declared he would surely die if he went out, thus laying the charge of cowardice squarely at his door. And yet on the strength of this prophecy he might have withdrawn from the expedition after his quarrel with Agamemnon. But what is more to the point, it happens that he had heard the warning which his mother gave with reference to Patroclus, whom he declares he loves as his own soul and after whose death he would wish to live no longer. Yet when he saw him unable to lift the spear, he gave him the other things that were evidently proportionate in weight to the spear and did not fear that he would be unable to carry them. And this is just what Homer says did happen in the battle.

"But it would be a long task to show up every misstatement. To any careful observer the falsehoods are self-evident, so much so that anyone with half a mind can see that Patroclus is little more than a counterfeit that Homer has substituted for

\(^3\) Perhaps a reference to some prophecy regarding Patroclus' death to be followed by his own; cf. Iliad 8. 473 ff., where Zeus speaks.

\(^4\) Iliad 18 80 ff.
Ομηρος του Ἀχιλλέως, βουλόμενος τὸ κατ᾽ ἐκείνον κρύψαι.

103 Ἡθορόμενος δὲ μὴ τις ἀρα καὶ τοῦ Πατρόκλου ζητή τάφον—awner σήμαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀριστέων τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν Τροίᾳ φανεροὶ εἰσιν οἱ τάφοι—διὰ τοῦτο προκαταλαμβάνουσα όμιξ ἐφή τάφοι αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καθ’ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τεθήναι. καὶ Νέστωρ μὲν οὐκ ἦσσος μετ’ Ἀντιλόχῳ ταφῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, οὐκαδε τὰ ὀστὰ κομίσας: τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως οστά ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς τοῦ Πατρόκλου;

Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐξούλετο "Ομηρος ἀφανίσαι τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τελευτήν ὡς οὐκ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Ἰλίῳ. τούτῳ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατον ἐώρα, τῆς φήμης ἐπικρατοῦσας καὶ τοῦ τάφου δείκνυμένου, τὸ γε ὑφ’ Ἐκτόρος αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦνατίον ἐκείνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀναιρεθήναι φησιν, διὰ τοσοῦτον ὑπερεῖχε τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἀπάντων καὶ προσέτει αἰκισθήναι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ συρήναι μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν. πάλιν δὲ εἰδῶς τάφον ὄντα τοῦ Ἐκτόρος καὶ τιμώμενον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀποδοθήναι αὐτῶν λέγει κελεύσαντος τοῦ Δίως λύτρων δο-105 θέντων τέως δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπιμεληθήναι καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλων τοῦ διαμείναι τὸν νεκρὸν. οὖκ ἔχων δὲ ἐν τῷ ποιήσῃ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ἐπεὶ ἔδει

1 ἀντιλλαξεν Ομηρος τοῦ Ἐμπερίου: ἀκῆλλαξεν ὁ Ομηρος διὰ.
2 γε Reiske: τε.

1 Iliad 23. 243 f.
2 According to the Odyssey 24. 76 f., Antilochus seems to have been buried near Achilles and Patroclus.
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Achilles in his eagerness to conceal the truth concerning that hero.

"Then Homer had a misgiving that there might actually be some search for the tomb of Patroclus also—it would naturally be, I suppose, clearly marked just as are the tombs of the other chieftains also who were slain at Troy—so, safeguarding himself against this, he says that Patroclus had no separate tomb but was buried with Achilles.\(^1\) Again, Nestor, who brought back the bones of Antilochus with him from Troy,\(^2\) did not ask to be buried with him, although Antilochus died for him,\(^3\) but the ashes of Achilles were mingled with those of Patroclus.

"Now it was Homer's especial aim to throw a veil over the death of Achilles and create the impression that he did not die at Troy; but seeing the impossibility of this, since the tradition prevailed and his tomb was being pointed out, Homer, suppressing the account of his death by Hector's hand, makes the contrary statement that the latter, who was so far superior to all other men, was slain by Achilles, adding that his corpse was dishonoured and dragged as far as the walls.\(^4\) Knowing, too, that there was a tomb of Hector where he was honoured by the citizens, Homer goes on to say that his body was returned by command of Zeus upon payment of a ransom, Aphrodite and Apollo having in the meanwhile cared for its preservation.\(^5\) But not knowing what disposition to make of Achilles—for he must

\(^1\) See Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 6. 28 f., where Antilochus is said to have died for his father, and § 116 in this Discourse.

\(^2\) *Iliad* 22. 395 ff.

\(^3\) *Iliad* 23. 184 f.
 Dio Chrysostom

ποίον ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων τινὸς ἀγνηρήσατι—οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον ἐμμελεῖν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸν Αἰαντα, ὡς ἔαυτον ἀποθανόντα ποιεῖν, φθονῶν τῆς δόξης τῶν ἀνέλοντο—τὸν Ἀλέξανδρόν φησιν ἀποκτείναι αὐτὸν, δὲν πεποίηκε τῶν Τρώων κάκιστον καὶ δειλότατον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενελάου μικρὸν δεῖν ξωγρηθέντα, δὲν λοιδορούμενον ἂν πεποίηκεν, ὡς ἢ μαλακὸν αἴχμην καὶ ἐπονείδιστον ἐν 106 τοῖς Ἐλλησίων, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Ἑκτορος τὴν δόξαν ἀφέλοιτο—καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φαίνεται καθηρηκὸς—πολὺ ἢ χείρῳ καὶ ἀδοξότερον αὐτοῦ ποιήσας τὸν βάναυσιν.

Τέλος δὲ προάγει ἡδὴ τεθυκότα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ποιεῖ μαχόμενον· οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ὀπλών, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἔχοντος—ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἐλάθεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄληθῶν ῥηθέν—ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερανοῦ φησὶ κομίσαι τῇ Ἡλείᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου γενόμενα ὀπλα· καὶ ὄντως δὴ γελοίως τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μόνον τρεπόμενον τοὺς Τρώας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀχαιῶν, ὡσπερ οὐδενός παρόντος, ἀπάντων ἑπελάθετο· ἀπαξ δὲ τολμήσας τοῦτο ψεύσασθαι πάντα συνέχειε. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθα ποιεὶ μαχόμενον ἀλλήλοις, σχέδων ὀμολογῶν ὅτι 107 οὐδεν αὐτῷ μέλει ἀληθείας. πάνω δὲ ἁσθενῶς καὶ ἀπιθάνως τὴν ἀριστεῖαν διελθών, ὅτε μὲν ποταμῷ μαχόμενον αὐτὸν, ὅτε δὲ ἀπειλοῦντα

1 ἢς Morel: οὔτως.
2 καὶ before πολ ὧν deleted by Geel.
3 γὰρ added by Emperius.

1 Iliad 3. 389 f.
2 According to §§ 96 and 102 it was Achilles and not Patroclus that was slain.

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have been slain by some one of the Trojans, since Homer had no idea of representing him as dying by his own hand as he did Ajax, thereby denying his slayer the glory of the deed—Homer says that Paris slew him, Paris, whom he has depicted as the most base and cowardly of the Trojans, and as having been almost captured alive by Menelaus, whom he has depicted as being always reviled as a faint-hearted spearman and a name of reproach among the Greeks; and he does this, we see, in order to steal the glory from Hector—who undoubtedly slew Achilles—thus making the hero's end much less creditable than it really was and much more inglorious.

"Finally, he brings forth Achilles, who was in fact already slain, and has him do battle with the Trojans. But his arms are not at hand but are in Hector's possession—for here Homer did permit one truth to escape his lips—and so he says that Thetis brought from heaven the arms made by Hephaestus, letting Achilles in this way, forsooth, rout the Trojans single-handed—a ridiculous conception, wherein Homer has ignored all the other Achaean as though not a single man were available. And having once given himself the liberty of making this misrepresentation, he went on to distort the entire story. At this point he makes the gods fight with one another, thus virtually acknowledging his utter disregard for the truth. Moreover, he recounts Achilles' heroic deeds in a manner very weak and unconvincing. Now the hero is fighting with a river,"

3 Iliad 19. 1 f.
5 Iliad. 21. 385 f. 6 Iliad 21. 211 f.
ΔΟΝΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΝ

'Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ διώκοντα αὐτῶν ἦς ὁ ἀπάντων ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀληθέσιν οὕτως ἀπίθανος οὐδὲ ἤθες· μόλις ποτὲ τῶν Τρώων εἰς τὴν πόλιν φευγόντων, τὸν Ἁκτόρα πεποίηκε πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνδρείτα τὰ υπομένοντα αὐτὸν καὶ μήτε τῷ πατρὶ δεσμόντω μήτε τῇ μητρὶ πειθόμενον, ἔπειτα φεύγοντα κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως, ἤξον εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεά, τάχιστον ἀνθρώπων ἄεὶ ποτε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον, οὐ δυνάμενον 108 καταλαβεῖν. τοὺς δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ὅραν ἀπαντας ὡσπερ ἐπὶ θέαν παρόντας καὶ μηδένα βοηθείν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, τοιαῦτα πεποιθότας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐκτόρος καὶ μισοῦντας αὐτὸν ὡστε καὶ νεκρὸν τιτρώσκειν. ἔπειτα Δηήφοβον ἐξελθόντα τοῦ τείχους, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀθηναίων παραλογίσασθαι αὐτὸν, εἰκασθείναν Δηηφόβω, καὶ τὸ δόρυ κλέψας τοῦ Ἐκτόρος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀποκτεῖνῃ τὸν Ἐκτόρα εὐρίσκων, τῷ τρόπῳ τινά ἱλιγγιῶν περὶ τὸ ψεύδος καὶ τῷ ὅτι ὡς ἐν ὀνείρατι μάχῃ διηγοῦμενος. μάλιστα γοῦν προσέοικε τοῖς ἀτόποις ἐνυπνοίοις τὰ περὶ τῆν μάχην ἐκείνην.

109 Εἰς τούτῳ δὲ προελθὼν ἀπείπε λοιπὸν, οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τὶ χρῆσηται τῇ ποιήσει καὶ τοῖς ψεύσμασι δυσχεραίνων, ἀγώνα τινα προσθεὶς ἐπιτάφιον, καὶ τούτῳ πάνυ γελοίως, καὶ τῇν Πριάμου βασιλέως εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφίξειν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, μηδενὸς αἰσθημένον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ τὰ λύτρα τοῦ Ἐκτόρος, καὶ οὕτε

1 εὐρίσκων Selden: εὐρίσκειν.
2 τῆν Emperius: τοῦ.
now threatening Apollo and pursuing him,\(^1\) the entire narrative at this point showing how well-nigh desperate the poet was. For when he is telling the truth, he is not so unconvincing or dull. Once when the Trojans were hard bestead to withdraw safely into the city, Homer has represented the splendid heroism with which Hector awaited Achilles outside the city walls, deaf to the prayers of father and mother. Then he circles the city in flight when he might have entered it, and Achilles is unable to catch him,\(^2\) though he is always represented by Homer as the swiftest of men. Meanwhile all the Achaeans were looking on as if attending a show, and none rendered Achilles any help after all they had suffered at Hector's hands and though they so hated him that they afterwards even wounded his dead body. Then he makes Deiphobus come forth from the walls—or, rather, Athena in his guise—and deceive Hector and steal his spear from him in the duel,\(^3\) the poet being at his wits' end how to despatch Hector, and dazed as it were by his falsehood, so that he actually describes the fight as if in a dream. At any rate the account of that struggle bears the closest resemblance to a nightmare.

"When he reached this point, Homer gave up, not knowing how to continue his work and being dissatisfied with his falsehoods. He merely added some sort of funeral games,\(^4\) a perfectly ridiculous thing, then the arrival of king Priam in the Greek camp at the tent of Achilles without the knowledge of any of the Achaeans, and the ransom of Hector.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Iliad 21. 599 f. \(^2\) Iliad 22. 21 f. \(^3\) Iliad 22. 289 f. \(^4\) Iliad 23. 287 f. \(^5\) Iliad 24. 141 f.

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τὴν τοῦ Μέμνονος βοήθειαν οὐτε τὴν τῶν Ἄμαξων, οὕτως θαυμαστὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἐτὸλμησεν εἶπείν, οὐτε τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως θάνατον οὕτε τὴν ἀλωσιν τῆς Τροίας. οὕδε γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν οἷμαι πάλαι τεθυκότα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ποιεῖν πάλιν ἀναίρομενον, οὐδὲ νεκῶντας τοὺς ἢττηθέντας καὶ φεύγοντας, οὐδὲ τὴν κρατίσωσαν πόλιν ταύτην πορθομένην. οὐ δὲ ὕστερον ἄτε ἐξηπατημένου καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους ἵσχύωντος ἠδὴ θαρροῦντες ἐγραφοῦν. τὰ δὲ πράγματα οὕτως ἐσχεν.

111 Ἀχιλλέως τελευτήσαντος ὑπὸ Ἰκτορος ἐν τῇ βοήθειᾳ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ μὲν Τρώες, ὕστερο καὶ πρότερον, ἐπηυλίσθησαν ἐγγὺς τῶν νεῶν, ὡς φυλάξοντες τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπόπτευσαι τῷ νυκτός ὁ δὲ Ἰκτωρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρά τε τοὺς γονέας καὶ τὴν γυναικα, χαίρων τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος καταλυτῶν Πάριν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τε καὶ τῶν Τρώων τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν κεκοπωμένους καὶ μηδὲν προσδεχομένους κακὸν, ἐτὶ δὲ παυτελοὺς εὑπραγίας οὐσις. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ Ἀγαμέμνον μετὰ Νέστορος καὶ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Διομήδους βουλευσάμενος σιωπῆ καθεῖλκεν τῶν νεῶν τὰς πολλάς, ὀρῶντες ὧτι καὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ μικροῦ διεθάρησαν, ὡς μηδὲ φυγὴν ἐτὶ εἶναι καὶ μέρος οὐκ ὄλγον ἦν ἐμπεπρημένον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα οὐ μία ναῦς ἡ Πρωτεσιλάου ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Χερόνησον, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πολλὰ καταλιπόντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὄλγα κτημάτων.

1 ἀποθάσεσθαι Emperius: ἀποθάσαι.
THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

But of the help which Memnon and the Amazons brought, great and splendid episodes though they were, not a word did he venture to speak, nor of the death of Achilles, nor of the capture of Troy. Homer, methinks, did not have the heart to depict Achilles, who had long been dead, as being slain again, or the defeated and routed as victorious, or this conquering city as being sacked. Then later writers, because they were deceived and the falsehood was now generally accepted, henceforth wrote without misgiving. But the actual course of events was as I have given it.

"Now when Achilles, in his defence of the ships, had been slain by Hector, the Trojans, just as they had done before, bivouacked hard by the ships in order to keep watch on the Achaeans, who they suspected would flee during the night. But Hector, rejoicing in his success, withdrew into the city to be with his parents and wife, leaving Paris behind in command of the forces. He with the host of the Trojans lay down to rest, as was natural, since they were exhausted and suspected no evil and, moreover, had been completely successful. But meanwhile, after Agamemnon had taken counsel with Nestor, Odysseus, and Diomedes, they quietly launched the majority of the ships, realizing that on the preceding day they had come near being destroyed, so that even flight would not again be possible; and in fact a considerable part of the fleet had fallen prey to the flames, not merely the one ship of Protesilaus. Having launched their ships, therefore, they sailed off to the Chersonese, leaving behind many of their prisoners and a good deal of their other property."
113 "Αμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινεροῦ γενομένου τοῦ πράγματος, ὁ μὲν Ἔκτορ θανάκτει καὶ Βαρέως ἑφερε καὶ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλοιδόρει· τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφεῖναι· ταῦτα δὲ σκηνᾶς ἐνεπρησαν οἱ Τρώες καὶ διήρπαξαν τὰ καταλειφθέντα. τοῖς δὲ Ἀχαίοις ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βουλευμένοις—οὐ γὰρ εἰχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἔκτορα ναυτικὸν ἐτοιμὸν ὡστε διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς— ἔδοκε μὲν ἀπιέναι πᾶσι, πολλοῦ πλήθους ἀπολωλότος καὶ τῶν ἄρστων ἀνδρῶν· κίνδυνος δὲ ἦν μὴ ναὶς ποιησάμενου παραχρήμα ἐπιπλεύσι 114 σωσιν ἔπε τῇ Ἐλλάδᾳ. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν μένειν ὡσπερ κατ᾽ ἄρχας ληστεῦντας, εἰ πῶς τῷ Πάριδι κάμνοντε διαλλάξειαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς φίλαν πράξαντες ἀπέλθουσιν. ὃς δὲ ἐκριναν ταύτα, καὶ ἐποίουν πέραν μένοντες.

Κανταῦθα τοῖς Τρώσιν ἐπῆλθον ἐκ μὲν Ἀλθιοπίας Μέμνων, αλ δὲ Ἀμαζόνες ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου βοηθοὶ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐπικούρων, ὑς εὐτυχοῦντας ἐπυσάνοντο τὸν Πρίαμον καὶ τὸν Ἐκτόρα καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαίοις ὅσον οὕτω διεφθαρμένους πάντας, οἱ μὲν τινες κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ φόβω τῆς δυνάμεως ὃς γὰρ τοὺς ἤτημένους οὐδὲ τοῖς κακῶς πράπτουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νικῶσι καὶ τοῖς περιγενομένους ἀπάντων πάντες ἐθέλουσι βοηθεῖν.

115 μετεπέμψαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαίοι παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰ τινα ἐδύναντο ὕφελειαν τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐξωθεὶν 2 οὐδὲν οὔδες ἔτι προσείχεν αὐτοῖς· ἀλλὰ Νεοπτολεμόν τε τὸν Ἀχιλλέως κομιδὴ νέου δυτα καὶ Φιλοκτήτην ὑπεροφθέντα πρότερον διὰ τὴν νόσουν, καὶ τοιαύτας βοηθείας οἴκοθεν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ

1 ἀπέλθοιεν Casaubon: ἀπελθεῖν. 2 ἐξωθεὶν Morel: ἐσωθεὶν.
THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

"In the morning when the fact became evident, Hector was filled with angry indignation and upbraided Paris for letting the enemy escape out of his hands. The Trojans then burned the huts and plundered what had been left behind, while the Achaeans, after taking counsel from their position of safety—for Hector and his people had no fleet at hand in which to cross over to attack them—unanimously decided to withdraw, since they had lost many of their people and their bravest warriors. There was the danger, however, that the Trojans might build themselves ships and sail at once against Greece. They were therefore obliged to remain and live by plundering as at first, in the hope of making peace with Paris when he became wearied, and departing after establishing friendly relations. They did as they had decided and remained across the water.

"At this juncture Memnon came from Ethiopia to aid the Trojans, and the Amazons from Pontus, as well as other allies in great numbers when they learned that Priam and Hector were successful and that the Achaeans now were all but utterly destroyed. Some came out of friendship, others fearing the power of Troy, since it is not those who have met with defeat or are in sore straits but those who have conquered and overcome all their enemies that everyone is eager to help. The Achaeans also sent for whatever reinforcements they had at home, for no one outside of Greece any longer paid any heed whatsoever to them. Thus it was that Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, came although he was still very young, and Philoctetes, hitherto neglected because of his ailment, and other equally poor and feeble
Διός Χρυσοστόμος

ἀπόρος. διν ἄφικομένων μικρῶν ἀναπνεύσαντες πάλιν διέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Τροίαν, καὶ περιβάλλοντο τείχος ἐτερον πολὺ ἔλαττον, οὐκ ἐν ὁ πρῶτον τόπῳ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ 116 υψηλὸν αὐτὸν καταλαβόντες. τῶν δὲ μείζον αἱ μέν τινες ὑφόρμουν ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ πέραν ἔμεμνον ἀτέ γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶν ἐπιτίδα ἔχοντες κρατήσειν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογίων δεόμενοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, οὐ βεβαιῶς ἐπολέμουν, ἀλλ' ἀμφιβόλως τρόπου τινά καὶ πρὸς ἀπόπλουν μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντες.

Ἐνέδρας οὖν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ καταδρομαίς ἐχρόντο. καὶ ποτὲ μάχης ἵσχυρότερας γενομένας, βιαζομένων αὐτῶν τὸ φρούριον ἐξελείν, Ἀδας τε ὑπὸ Ἑκτορός ἀποστηνήσκει καὶ 'Αντίλοχος 117 ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέμνους πρὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτρώθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μέμνων ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Αντίλοχου, καὶ ἀποκομιζόμενος τραυματίας τελευτᾶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εὑμερησαι τότε ὡς οὐ πρότερον. ὁ τε γὰρ Μέμνων μέγα ἀξίωμα ἔχων ἐτρώθη καιρίως, τὴν τε Ἀμαζόνα ἀπέκτεινε Νεοπτόλεμος καταδραμοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἱππότερον καὶ πειρωμένην ἐμπρήσαι, μαχόμενος ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ναυμάχῳ δόρατι, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποστηνήσκει Φιλοκτήτη διατοξεύο- 118 μενος. ἢν οὖν ἀρμυρὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσίν, εἰ μηδέποτε παύσονται τοῦ πολέμου μηδὲ ἔσται μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πλέον μικρῶν. ὁ τε Πρίαμος ἀλλος ἐγείρονε μετὰ τὴν Ἀλέξανδρου τελευτήν, σφόδρα ἀνιαθεῖς καὶ φοβούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ 'Εκτορός. πολὺ δὲ φαύλότερον ἔσχε τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, 'Αντίλοχου τε καὶ Αἰαντος τεθνηκότων 534
recruits from home. Upon their arrival the Achaeans having revived their strength, recrossed to Troy, and threw up another much smaller wall, not in the same place as previously along the shore, but on the higher part of it, which they seized. Some of the ships lay at anchor close to this rampart, others remained across the water. For since the Greeks had no hope of winning but wished to make terms, as I have said, they did not prosecute the war vigorously, but in a somewhat half-hearted way and with their minds set rather upon returning home.

"They resorted to ambush, therefore, and guerilla warfare for the most part; but on one occasion, when an unusually fierce struggle arose over an attempt of the Trojans to raze their stronghold, Ajax was slain by Hector, and Antilochnus,¹ while defending his father, by Memnon. But Memnon too was wounded by Antilochnus and died while being carried off the field. Then too it was that the Achaeans enjoyed a period of success as never before. For not only was Memnon, who was held in great esteem, wounded mortally but the Amazon also, who flung herself upon the ships with unusual ferocity and tried to fire them, was killed by Neoptolemus, who fought from his ship with a naval pike; and Paris was slain, pierced by Philoctetes' arrow. Thus the Trojans in turn were disheartened and wondered whether they ever would be rid of the war or any advantage would redound to them through victory. Priam too was a changed man after the death of Paris, through his deep grief for him and his fear for Hector, while the deaths of Antilochnus and Ajax left the Achaeans in

¹ See note 1 on p. 525.
 Dionysius

ὅπερ πέμπουσιν περὶ συμβάσεων, φάσκοντες ἀπίεσαι γενομένης εἰρήνης καὶ ὄρκων ὁμοσθέντων μηκέτι στρατεύσειν μήτε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν 119 μήτε ἑκείνους ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀργος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἕκτωρ ἀντέλεγε· πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι κρείττους καὶ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα ἐφή κατὰ κράτος αἰρήσειν· μάλιστα δὲ ἐγκαλέσαι τῇ Ἀλέξανδρου τελευτῇ. δειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὸ γῆρας τὸ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν θάνατον, τοῦ τε ἄλλου πλῆθους ἀπήλλαξθαί βουλομένου, τὰς μὲν διαλύσεις συνεχώρησεν ἥξιον δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὰ τε χρήματα διάλύσαι τὰ δαπανηθέντα εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ δίκην τινὰ ὑποσχεῖν, ὅτι μηθὲν ἀδικηθέντωσι ἐστρατεύσαντο, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν διέφθειραν πολλοῖς ἔτεσι καὶ ἀνδρας ἁγάθους ἄλλους τε ἀπέκτειναν πολλοὺς 1 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρου, οὐδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθόντες, ἀλλ’ ὅτι κρείττων ἐνομίσθη κατὰ μνηστείαν καὶ γυναῖκα ἔλαβεν ἐκ 120 τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν κυρίων διδόντων. οἱ δὲ Ὅδυσσεοι, οὐτοὺς γὰρ ἐπρέσβευεν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, παρρησιάν, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὅτι ὅχι ἦττο δεδράκασιν ἢ πεπόνθασιν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἑκείνους ἀνετίθει τοῦ πολέμου· μηδὲν γὰρ δεῖν Ἀλέξανδρου, τοσοῦτων οὐσῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἁσίαν γυναικῶν, ἐνθέους 2 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθόντα μνηστεύειν καὶ ἀπελθέντων καταγελάσαντα τῶν ἄριστων παρ’ αὐτοῖς, πλοῦτοι μικρόσματα· συμβῆναι γὰρ ὅχι ἀπλῶς τὴν μνηστείαν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιβουλεύειν 3 αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐκεί πράγμασι διὰ τούτου 4 μὴ λαυθάνειν αὐτοὺς· ὅπερ τὸ λοιπὸν ἥξιον παύσασθαι, τοσοῦτων

1 ἄλλους τε ἀπέκτειναν πολλοὺς added by Kaibel.
2 ἐνθέους Capps: τῶν θεόν.
3 Emperius: ἐπιβουλεύειν ἄν.

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a much weaker condition. The result was that they sent an embassy offering to withdraw as soon as peace was made and oaths taken that the one people would not again invade Asia nor the other, Argos. Thereupon Hector spoke against this, for the Trojans, he said, were far stronger and would capture the fortification by assault; but what angered him most was the death of Paris. However, upon the appeal of his father, who urged his fullness of years and the loss of his sons, and influenced by the desire of the people of the city to be relieved of the war, he consented to the cessation of hostilities, but insisted that the Achaeans pay the expenses of the war and make reparation because they had been the aggressors, had pillaged the country for many years, and had slain Paris along with many other brave warriors, not because he had done them any injury but because he had been preferred in the wooing of Helen and had won a wife from Hellas, given by those who had the right to do so. Against this, Odysseus, who was a member of the peace embassy, protested, pointing out that the achievements of the Achaeans were no less than their defeats and was for laying the blame for the war upon their enemies. Paris, he thought, had no business, when there were so many women in Asia, to go from there to Greece to sue for a wife and then return after snapping his fingers at her chieftains and triumphing through the power of his wealth. His errand, he insisted, had been no simple courtship; nay, they were not oblivious of the fact that by its means Paris was plotting against Greek interests. He therefore insisted that this be given up for the future, since both sides had suffered so

4 τούτον Emperius: τούτο.
κακῶν γεγονότων ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ταύτα ἐπιγαμίας τε οὖσης καὶ συγγενείας τοῖς Ἀτρέιδαις

121 πρὸς αὐτούς διὰ Πέλοπα. περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων κατεγέλα: μὴ γὰρ εἶναι χρήματα τοῖς Ἑλλησίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἑκόντας στρατεύσθαι διὰ τὴν οἰκον πενίαν. ταύτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ἀποτρέπων αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσας. εἶ δὲ τινὰ δεῖ* δίκην γενέσθαι τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς χάριν, αὐτὸς* εὑρεῖν. καταλείψειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ἐπιγράψειν, Ἰλαστήριον Ἀχαιοὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ Ἡλλάδι. τοῦτο γὰρ φέρει* μεγάλην τιμήν ἐκείνοις· καθ' ἐαυτῶν δὲ γίγνεσθαι μαρτύριον ὡς ἦττημένου. παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ύπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης συνυπακόμενων. ἡ δὲ συνέφεραν προθύμως· ἢ χετοστο γὰρ ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν οἱ Τρῶες ἐδόκουν πολλά κακὰ πάσχειν. καὶ ποιοῦνται τὰς διαλύσεις, καὶ σπονδαὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Τρεσί καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. "Ομηρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μετήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὸ θεῦδος, εἰδὼς γενόμενον ἄλλῳ ἐφί τοὺς Τρῶας συνέχεια τὰς σπονδὰς. δομοῦαν τὰς ἀλλήλους οὐ τὸ Ἐκτωρ καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δυνατοὶ μήτε τούς Ἑλληνᾶς ποτε στρατεύσειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔως ἄρρητο τὸ Πριάμου γένος, μήτε τοὺς Πριαμίδας εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἢ Βοιωτίαν ἢ Κρήτην ἢ Ἰθάκην ἢ Φθίαν ἢ Εὔβοιαν. ταύτας γὰρ μόνας ἐξαίρε-123 τοὺς ἐποίουν· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὁμνύειν οἱ Τρῶες οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἀτρέιδασ ἐμελει.

1 δεῖ added by Reiske. 2 αὐτὸς Morel: αὐτοῖς. 3 φέρει Morel: φέρει. 4 as after σπονδὰς deleted by Rhodomann.
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much, and that too although the Atridae were already connected with the Trojans by marriage ties and kinship through Pelops. With regard to indemnity, he had only ridicule. The Greeks, he said, had no means; nay, even then the larger part of the army was serving voluntarily on account of the poverty of the homeland. This he urged to deter the Trojans from a campaign against Greece, and said that if any indemnity should be necessary for propriety’s sake, he was ready with a plan. For the Greeks would leave a very large and beautiful offering to Athena and carve upon it this inscription: “A Propitiation from the Achaeans to Athena of Ilium.” This, he explained, conferred great honour upon the Trojans and stood against the Greeks as an evidence of their defeat. He exhorted Helen also to interest herself in the peace, and she gladly lent her help, for it pained her that she was blamed for the many misfortunes of the Trojans. So hostilities were brought to an end, and a truce was made between the Trojans and the Achaeans. But here too Homer has distorted the facts though he knew what occurred. He says that the Trojans broke the truce; and Hector and Agamemnon together with the other prominent chieftains had only sworn to each other that the Achaeans would never invade Asia so long as the family of Priam was on the throne, and that the descendants of Priam would not invade the Peloponnese, Boeotia, Crete, Ithaca, Phthia, or Euboea. These were the only countries that they specified; as regards the others, the Trojans refused to give their oath, nor were the

1 See §§ 50 and 68.

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tou'ton de' ὅμοσθέντων, ὅ τε ἵππος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτελέσθη, μέγα ἔργον, καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν οἱ Τρῶις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν πυλῶν οὐ δεχόμενων μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους καθεῖλον· ὅθεν γελοῖος ἐλέξχη τὸ ἀλάσκαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἕχετο ὑπόσπουδον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. τὴν δὲ Ἐλένην ὁ Ἑκτωρ συνάκισε Δημόβιω, ὃς ἦν μετ' ἐκείνων τῶν 124 ἀδελφῶν ἀριστος. ὃ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τελευταῖος πάντων εὐθαμονεστατος, πλὴν ὅσα λειτύπτατα περὶ τῶν παιδῶν τῶν τετελευτηκότων. καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεῖας συχνὰ ἔτη καὶ πλείωτα τῆς Ἄσιας καταστρεφόμενος γηραιὸς ἀποθνῄσκει, καὶ θάπτεται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Σκαμανδρίῳ 1 τῷ παιδὶ κατέλειπεν.

Ταύτα δὲ ἔχοντα οὖτός ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀποδέξεται, φήσωσι δὲ ὕψωσι πάντες εἶναι πλὴν τῶν φρονοῦντων, σ去买 μόνον οἱ Ἑλλῆνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς. ἡ γὰρ διαβολὴ σφόδρα χαλεπῶν 125 ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἐξηπατηθῆσαι πολὺν χρόνον. σκοπεῖτε δὲ τάναντία πῶς ἐστὶ γελοία, ἀφελόντες τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὸ προκατελήφθαι κρυφθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἵππῳ στράτευμα δλον, τὸν δὲ Τρῶων μηθένα αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦτο μηδὲ ὑποπτεύσαι, καὶ ταύτα μάντεως οὕσης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀφευδοῦσι, ἀλλὰ κοιμοῦσι 2 τοὺς πολεμίους δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρότερον δὲ ἔνα ἄνδρα πάντων ἦττωμένων ικανοῦ γενέσθαι γυμνὸν ἐπιφανέντα τῇ φωνῇ τρέψασθαι τοσαύτας μυριάδας, καὶ

1 Σκαμανδρίῳ Ἐμπερίων: Σκαμάνδρῳ.
2 κοιμοῦσι Ἐμπερίως: κοιμάσθωσι.
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Atridae insistent. When this compact had been sworn to, the horse, a huge structure, was completed by the Achaean and conveyed up to the city by the Trojans, who removed a portion of the walls when the gates did not admit its passage. Hence the ridiculous story of the capture of the city by the horse. The army departed under truce in this way. Then Hector gave Helen to Deiphobus as his wife, for he was the best of the brothers next to himself. His father died as the most fortunate man in the world except for the grief he bore for the sons who had perished. Hector too died full of years at the end of a long reign after subduing most of Asia, and was buried outside the city. His kingdom he left to his son Scamandrius."  

Though this is the true account, I see clearly that no one will accept it, but that all save the thoughtful will declare it to be false. By "all" I mean you as well as the Greeks. For calumny is extremely hard to overcome, and especially when men have been deceived for a long time. But rid yourselves of your opinions and prejudices and consider how ridiculous the opposite story is. A whole army was hidden in a horse and yet not a single Trojan noticed it or even surmised it in spite of the fact that they had an unerring prophetess among them, but by their own efforts they brought the enemy within the city. Then before this, when all were defeated, one man appeared unarmed and proved able by the power of his voice to put to flight so many

1 Usually called Astyanax.
2 Dio is addressing the people of the Troy of his day. See § 4.
μετὰ τούτο ὤπλα οὖν ἔχοντα, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 
λαβώντα νικήσαι τοὺς μὲν πρῶτον ἢμέρα 
κρατοῦντας καὶ διώκειν ἀπανταὶ ἕνα ὄντα: 
126 αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνων τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχουντα ἀποδανεῖν 
ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντων κακίστου τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς αὐτοὶ 
φασίν, ἀλλού τε ἀποδανόντος ἄλλον σκυλευθῆναι, 
μόνοι δὲ ἐκείνω τῶν ὁγεμόνων μὴ γενέσθαι τάφον: 
ἄλλον δὲ τινα τῶν ἀρίστων τοσαῦτα ἐτη πολε- 
μοῦντα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων μηδενὸς ἀποθαν- 
νεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὁρμισθέντα ἀποσφάξαι, καὶ ταῦτα 
δοκοῦντα σεμνότατον καὶ πρασότατον εἶναι τῶν 
127 συμμάχων τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν προθεμένων εἰπεῖν 
τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα 
τῶν γεγονότων ἔσαι καὶ μηδὲ τῆν ἀλασίν τῆς 
πόλεως διελθεῖν.

Ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς πεποιημένοις καὶ 
λεγομένοις. ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεύς, προητημένων τῶν 
'Ἀχαιῶν οὖν εἰς ἀπαξ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων μόνοιν, 
ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς, μόνος περιγενό- 
μενος καὶ τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα μεταβαλὼν, 
αὐτὸς δὲ Ἕκτωρ μὲν ἀποκτείνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀλεξάν- 
δρον ἀποθυμᾶσαν, δὲν ἦν ὑστάτος τῶν Τρώων, ὡς 
αὐτὸς λέγουσι, Πατρόκλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος, σκυ- 
λευόμενος οὖ Ἀχιλλεύς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ληφθέντα 
128 ὤπλα, ὁ δὲ Πάτροκλος οὐ ταφεῖς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ 
Ἄιαντος ἦν τὰφος καὶ πάντες ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν ἐν 
Τροίᾳ τελευτήσαντα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὸν 
ἀποκτείναντα ἐνδοξον, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελὼν. οἱ

1 Achilles is meant. See Iliad 18. 225 f.
2 Paris is meant. Hector rebukes him for cowardice in 
Iliad 3. 39 ff.
3 Achilles was interred in the same tomb as Patroclus 
according to Homer (Odyssey 24. 76 f.). See also § 108.
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thousands;¹ and after this, being without arms, he received fresh weapons from heaven and over-whelmed the victors of but the previous day and unaided chased them all from the field. Can you believe, further, that this same Achilles, so pre-eminent a hero, was slain by the most faint-hearted man in the world,² as the Trojans themselves confess, that while one man was slain it was another who was stripped of his arms, and that this hero was the only one among the chieftains to be given no burial-place;³ that yet another, and he one of the bravest, who fought so many years, was saved from the hands of the enemy only to slay himself in a fit of anger, and that although he was looked upon as the most dignified and gentle-mannered among the allies?⁴ And finally, the poet, who set out to tell of the Trojan war, omitted the most glorious and important events and did not even give an account of the capture of the city!

The following are some of the things that he mentions in his poem:—When the Achaeans had already been worsted, and more than once, Achilles' own force included, and he was the sole survivor, he made a great change in the situation by slaying Hector and was himself slain by Paris, who was the meanest of the Trojans, as they themselves admit, and when Patroclus was slain, it was Achilles whose body was stripped and whose arms were taken, while Patroclus was not buried. Then since there was a grave of Ajax and everyone knew that he died at Troy, he slew himself simply to deprive the man who slew him of honour! The Achaeans fled in

¹ Telamonic Ajax is meant, but this is not the traditional conception of his character. See also § 110.
δὲ Ἄχαιοι φεύγοντες μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σιωπῇ καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς κατακαύσαντες καὶ τὸ ναῦσταθμὸν ἀφθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑκτορος καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ἐαλωκός, καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀναδεέντες τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ἐπιγράψαντες, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοὺς ἤττημένους, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον τὴν Τροίαν ἐλόντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τῷ ξυλίνῳ στράτευμα ἀνθρώπων ἀποκρυφθεῖν. οἱ δὲ Τρώες ὑποπτεύσαντες μὲν τὸ πράγμα καὶ βουλευσάμενοι κατακάυσαν τὸν ἱππόν ἂ διατεμεῖν, μηθέν δὲ τούτων ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ πίνοντες καὶ καθεύδοντες, καὶ ταῦτα προε-πούσης αὐτῶς τῆς Κασσάνδρας. ταῦτα οὐκ ἐνυπνίοις ἔωςκότα τῷ ὑπτὶ καὶ ἀπιθάνως φεύγοσαι ἐν γὰρ τοῖς "Ὠρῳ ἡγεραμμένοις Ὀνείρασιν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ τοιαύτης ὄψεις ὀρόση, νῦν μὲν δοκοῦντες ἀποθυμήσκειν καὶ σκυλεύεσθαι, πάλιν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ μάχεσθαι γυμνοὶ ὄντες, ἐνίοτε δὲ οἴσμενοι διώκειν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ αὐτῶς ἀποσφάττειν μηδένος δεινοῦ ὑπτοσ, καὶ οὕτως, εἰ τῆς μοτῷ πέτεσθαι καὶ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης. ὡστε καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν ὀρθῶς ἂν τινα εἰπεῖν ἐνύπνιον, καὶ τούτῳ ἀκριτον καὶ ἁσαφές.

130 Ἦκιον δὲ κάκειν ἐνυπνηθηκαί πρὸς τοῖς ἀνω λελεγμένοις. ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ ἄπαντες τοὺς Ἀχαίους ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναχθῆναι χειμῶνος ἕδη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολέσθαι τὸ πλέον τοῦ στόλου περὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἐτι δὲ μὴ κατὰ ταῦτο πλέον ἄπαντας, ἀλλὰ στασιάσαι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τοὺς

1 Ὠρῳ Scaliger: ὦρῳ M.
2 καὶ before μηδένος bracketed by Schwartz.
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silence from Asia after burning their huts, and their naval camp was set on fire by Hector and their rampart captured. Then they erected a votive offering to Athena and carved an inscription upon it, as is the custom for the vanquished, but none the less they captured Troy and an army of men was hidden in the wooden horse. The Trojans suspected what was afoot and purposed to burn the wooden horse or cut it to pieces, and yet did neither the one nor the other, but ate and slept, in spite of Cassandra’s forewarning too. Does not all this in reality remind one of dreams and wild fiction? In the book “Dreams” by Horus¹ people have such experiences, imagining at one time that they are being killed and their bodies stripped of arms and that they rise to their feet again and fight unarmed, at other times imagining they are chasing somebody or holding converse with the gods or committing suicide without any cause for the act, and at times, possibly, flying offhand or walking on the sea. For this reason one might well call Homer’s poetry a kind of dream, obscure and vague at that.

The following also is worth thinking about along with what has been said above. Everybody is agreed that the stormy season had already set in when the Achaeans sailed from Asia and that for this reason the greater part of their expedition came to grief off Euboea; further, that they did not all take the same course, since a division arose in the army

¹ No such book written by a Horus is known. As “Horus” is an Egyptian name and the name of an Egyptian god, Dio appropriately has his fictitious Egyptian priest refer to a book by such a man.
Ἀτρείδας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονι, τοὺς δὲ Μενελάῳ προσθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀπελθεῖν, διὸ καὶ Ὁμήρος ἐν Ὄδυσσεία μέμνηται. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράσσοντας ὁμοφωτεῖν εἰκός καὶ τῷ βασίλει τῷ πλείστον ὑποτάττεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Μενέλαον μὴ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον παραχρῆμα τῆς εὐεργεσίας τοῖς δὲ ἡττημένοις καὶ κακῶς πράσσοντι ἂπαντα ταῦτα ἀνάγκη 131 συμβαίνειν. ἐτὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν φοβουμένους καὶ ἄκυντας έκ τῆς πολεμίας ἀπίνειν τὴν τάχιστην καὶ 1 μὴ κινδυνεύειν 2 μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ κρατοῦντας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἔχοντας τοσοῦτον πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων καὶ χρημάτων περιμένειν τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ὄραν, ἀτε καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας καὶ πολλῆς ἄπαντων ἀφθονίαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ δέκα έτη περιμείναντας διαφθαρῆναι παρ᾽ ὄλγοιν.

Αἶ τε οίκου συμφορᾶ καταλαβοῦσαι τοὺς ἀφικομένους οὐχ ἤκειστα δηλοῦσι τὸ πταῖσμα 132 καὶ τὴν ἄσθενειαν αὐτῶν οὔ πάνυ γὰρ εὐθασιν ἑπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς νικῶσιν οὔδὲ τοῖς εὐνυχοσιν, ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν θαυμάζουσι καὶ φοβοῦνται, τῶν δὲ ἀποτυχόντων καταφρονοῦσιν οификаци έξωθεν καὶ τινες τῶν ἀναγκαίων. φαίνεται δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπεροφθεὶς διὰ τὴν ἤτταν, οὐ τὲ Ἀγισθοῦς ἐπιθέμενος αὐτῷ καὶ κρατῆσας ῥαδίως, οὐ τὲ Ἀργείων καταλαβόντες τὸ πράγμα καὶ τὸν Ἀγισθοῦν βασιλέα ἀποδέξαντες, οὐκ ἂν εἰ μετὰ τοσαύτης δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἀφικομένου τῶν

1 τούς δὲ νικώνταs before καὶ bracketed by Emperius.
2 μὴ κινδυνεύειν Emperius: διακινδυνεύειν.
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and between the Atridae, some joining Agamemnon, others Menelaus, while yet others, whom Homer mentions in the *Odyssey*, departed by themselves. For it is reasonable to suppose that if things were going well, there would have been unanimity and the fullest obedience to the king, and that Menelaus would not have quarrelled with his brother just after receiving the great favour\(^1\) from him; but in defeat and failure all such things are sure to happen. Be it noted also that when an army is in fear and flight, it retires with the greatest speed from the enemy’s country and takes no chances by remaining, while a victorious army that has added to its own resources a great number of prisoners and great supplies awaits the safest moment for withdrawing, since it both controls the country itself and has a great abundance of everything, but would not, after waiting ten years, have come within a little of being wholly destroyed.

The domestic disasters also which befell those who reached their homes are not the least evidence of their discomfiture and weakness. It is certainly not the rule for attacks to be made on men who are victorious and successful. Such men are feared and admired. The unsuccessful, however, are held in contempt by outsiders and even by some of their own kinsfolk. It was undoubtedly because of his defeat that Agamemnon was despised by his wife, that Aegisthus attacked and easily overcame him, and that the Argives took the matter into their own hands and made Aegisthus king. They would not have done it had he slain an Agamemnon who had

\(^1\) The recovery of his wife Helen through the capture of Troy.
ἀγαμέμνονα ἀπέκτεινε, κρατήσαντα τῆς Ἀσίας. 133 δὲ τε Διομήδης ἔξεπεσεν οὐκοθεν, οὔθενδα ἑλαττον εὐδοκιμῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ἔστε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων εἶτε ὑπὸ ἄλλων τινῶν· μετ’ οὖ πολὺ δὲ καὶ πάντες ἔξεπεσον ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, καὶ κατελύθη τὸ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν γένος δὲ ἐκεῖνη τὴν ἄμφοράν, οἳ δ’ Ἡρακλείδαι, πρῶτοι ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες καὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι, κατῆλθον μετὰ Δωριέων.

134 Ὄνυσσέως δὲ ἐβράδυνεν ἕκὼν, τὰ μὲν αἰσχυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ ὑποπτεύων τὰ πράγματα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ μυστεῖαιν ἑτράπησαν τῆς Πηνελόπης καὶ τῶν κτημάτων ἔρπαγνη ἤ τῶν Κεφαλλήνων νεότης. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐβοηθεὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν Ὄνυσσέως οὐδὲ Νέστωρ οὗτος ἔγγορευεν. ἀπαντεῖς ἢ ἄρας ταπεινοὶ καὶ φαύλως ἐπραττοῦς οἱ τῆς στρατείας μετασχόντες. τοὺς ἄνατον δὲ ἐχρήμα δεινοὺς ἀπατεί φαίνεσθαι τοὺς νευκηκότας καὶ μηδένα αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν.

135 Μενέλαιος δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὓς ἦκεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἄλλα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατέμεινεν. καὶ σημεῖα γε1 ἐστὶν ἄλλα τε τῆς ἀφίκεως καὶ νομὸς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καλούμενος, οὐκ ἂν εἰ πεπλανημένος καὶ πρὸς ὀλόγον ἀφίκετο. γήμας δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα καὶ διηγήσατο τοὺς ἴσερεν τὰ τῆς στρατείας οὐθέν ἀποκρυπτόμενος. σχεδὸν2 δὲ καὶ Ὄμηρος ἐπίσταται τούτῳ καὶ αἰνίττεται,

1 γε Reiske: τε.
2 Before σχεδὸν the MSS. have οi δὲ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τὴν Ἐλένην ἐκείθεν ἔλαβεν, λόγον ἀπάντων ἀπιστότατον· τέως δὲ ὀλάνθανεν εἰδώλου ἐκ τῆς Τροίας ἔχον· δ’ ὑπὸ πόλεμος συνεστήκει περὶ εἰδώλου τὰ δέκα ἡτη, which Arnim brackets.—“And they
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returned with all his glory and power after conquering Asia. Diomede too, who won a reputation second to no one in the war, was exiled from his home, and so was Neoptolemus, whether by Hellenes or by certain others. Then soon after they were all driven from the Peloponnese and the family of the Pelopidae came to an end because of this calamity, while the Heraclidae, hitherto a weak and despised family, came in with Dori ans.

Odysseus, however, delayed voluntarily, in part because he was ashamed, and in part because he suspected the situation; and on account of this, the youth of Cephallenia set themselves to court Penelope and seize his property, while of Odysseus’ friends not one came to his aid, not even Nestor though so near. For all who had taken part in the expedition were humbled and in poor circumstances; whereas, had they conquered, they would necessarily have inspired fear in all and no one would have attacked them.

Menelaus did not return to the Peloponnesus at all but remained in Egypt. Among other proofs of his arrival there is the fact that a province was named after him; which would not have been the case had he been a wanderer and stayed for only a short period. But he married the king’s daughter and told the priests the story of the expedition, concealing nothing. One could almost say that Homer is not only well acquainted with all this account,

say that he got Helen from there too—the most incredible story imaginable. Before this it was an image from Troy that he had without knowing it, and the war was fought for ten years over an image.” Cf. Herod. 2. 112 f.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φήσας τὸν Μενέλαος μετὰ τὴν τελευτῇν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον πεμφθῆναι, ὅπου μήτε νυφετὸς γίγνεται μήτε χειμών, ἀλλ’ αἰθρᾶ δὲ ἐτούς καὶ πρᾶσος ἄρη. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀδράπτου τόπος τοιοῦτος ἔστων. δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ τῶν οὐστερον ποιητῶν τινος ὑποτεύσαι τὰ πράγματα. τὴν γὰρ Ἐλενὴν ἐπὶ βουλευθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ὀρέστου λέγει τις τῶν πραγματοποιῶν εὐθὺς ἐλθοῦσαν, γενέσθαι δὲ ἀφαίρῃ τῶν ἄδελφων ἐπιφανέντων. τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐποίησεν, εἰ ἐφαινετο Ἐλενὴ κατοικήσασα οὐστερον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῷ Μενελάῳ συνούσα.

137 Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τούτο ἦλθε δυστυχίας καὶ ταπεινώτητος, τὰ δὲ τῶν Τρώων πολύ κρείττονα καὶ ἐπικυκλέστερα ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Αἰνείας ὑπὸ Ἑκτόρος πεμφθὲς μετὰ στόλου καὶ δυνάμεως πολλῆς Ἰταλίαν κατέσχε τὴν εὐδαιμονευστάτην χώραν τῆς Εὐρώπης. τούτῳ δὲ Ἐλευθος εἰς μέσην ἀφικόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα Μολοττῶν ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου πλησίον Θετταλίας. καὶ τοῦ πόλεμου οἰκὸς ἤ τοὺς ἠττηθέντας ἐπιπλέων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν κρατησάντων χώραν καὶ βασιλεύουσιν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ τουραντίον τοὺς κρατήσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν 138 τῶν ἠττηθέντων; πῶς δὲ, εἴπερ ἄλοος Ἰρων ἐφεύγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν καὶ τὸν Ἀντίνορα καὶ τὸν Ἐλευθο, οὐ πανταχόσε μᾶλλον ἐφεύγον ἢ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, οὐδὲ τὸν τινὰ ἡγάπων καταλαβόντες τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλ’

1 &aacute; Schwartz: ἀπ᾿.

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1 See Homer, Odyssey 4. 561 f.
but also that he is hinting at it when he says that Menelaus was sent by the gods after his death to the Elysian fields, where there is neither snow nor storm but sunshine and balmy air throughout the year,¹ for such is the climate of Egypt. It seems to me that some of the later poets too have an inkling of the facts. One of the tragic poets, for instance, says that Helen immediately upon her return was the object of Orestes’ plotting and that on the appearance of her brothers she was not to be found.² Now the poet would never have so represented it in his play had it been an established fact that Helen lived in Greece after the war, and as the wife of Menelaus.

This is the gloomy and weak state into which the fortune of Greece fell after the war, while that of Troy became much brighter and more glorious. On the one hand, Aeneas was sent by Hector with a large fleet and force of men and occupied Italy, the most favoured country in Europe; and, on the other, Helenus penetrated into the interior of Greece and became king of the Molossians and of Epirus near Thessaly. And yet which was the more probable: that a vanquished people should sail to the land of their conquerors and reign among them, or that, on the contrary, the victors should sail to the land of the conquered? Furthermore, if, when Troy fell, Aeneas, Antenor, Helenus, and their people fled, why did they not betake themselves anywhere else rather than to Greece and Europe, or content themselves with occupying some place in Asia, rather

¹ Euripides, Orestes 1625 f. Apollo, addressing Orestes, tells him that Helen has escaped from his murderous attack and will be the companion of her brothers, Castor and Pollux, in the sky.
 Dio Chrysostom

εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπλευν ὑφ' ὧν ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο; πῶς δὲ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀπαντεῖς εἰς σμικρῶν οὐδὲ ἀνωνύμων χωρίων, ἢξον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατασχεῖν; ἄλλ' ἀπείχοντο διὰ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς. ὅμως δὲ Ἔλευσις οὐκ ὄλγον αὐτῆς ἀπετέμετο, τὴν Ἡπείρον. Ἀντίμωρ δὲ Ἔνετῶν ἐκράτησε καὶ τῆς ἀρίστης γῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀδριαν. Αἰνείας δὲ πάσης Ἰταλίας ἐβασίλευσε καὶ πόλιν

139 ὡς εἰς τὴν μεγάστην πασῶν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν πράξαι φυγάδας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ταῖς οἰκοθεν ξυμφοραῖς καταβεβλημένους, ἄλλ' ἀγαπάν εἰς τὴς αὐτοῦς εἰς κατοικεῖν. ἄλλως τε μετὰ πόιας ἀφορμῆς ἀφίκομεν χρημάτων ἢ στρατιῶς διὰ μέσου τῶν πολεμίων φεύγοντας, ἢμπετρησμένης τῆς πόλεως, πάντων ἀπολωλότων, ὅπου χάλεπον ἢν τὰ σώματα αὐτὰ διασώσαι τοὺς ἱσχύοντας καὶ νέους, ἄλλ' οὐ μετὰ παῖδων γυναικῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ χρημάτων ἀπανίστασαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἀδοκήτως τε καὶ παρ' ἐπίδαις ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως, οὐχ ὡσπερ εἰώθασι κατὰ σπονδάς κατ' ὀλγον ἔκλειπειν; ἄλλα τὸ γενόμενον δυνατὸν γενέσθαι.

140 Τὸν δὲ Ἕκτορά φασιν, ὡς ἀπέπλευσαν οἱ 'Αχαιοὶ, πολλοῦ πλῆθους εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνελθόντος καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων ἀπέναι βουλομένων ἀπαντῶν, ἢτὶ δὲ ὄρθωτα τὸν Αἰνείαν οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον, εἰ μὴ μέρος λάβοι τῆς ἀρχῆς—ταῦτα γὰρ ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν Πρίαμον αὐτῷ διαπολε-

1 Rome is meant.
2 i.e., assuming that the Trojans were the victors.
THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

than sail straight to the land of those who had
driven them out? And how did they all come to
rule over regions by no means small or obscure,
when they might have seized Greece also? But,
one says, they refrained on account of their oaths.
Still, Helenus cut off no small part of it, namely,
Epirus. Then Antenor acquired dominion over the
Heneti and the very best land about the Adriatic,
while Aeneas became master of all Italy and founded
the greatest city in the world.¹ Now it does not
stand to reason that men driven into exile and
crushed by calamities at home accomplished such
things, but rather that they would have been
satisfied to be allowed to settle anywhere, es-
pecially when one considers with what humble
resources whether of men or of money they would
have had to come, fleeing through the midst of the
enemy, their city lying in ashes and everything lost,
when it would have been hard for the young and
vigorous to save even their lives, to say nothing
of setting forth with wives, children, parents, and
property, when, to make matters worse, their city
had been taken suddenly and contrary to their
expectation, and they would not have departed
gradually as men are wont to do when there has
been a formal agreement. Nay, what did happen
was a thing that could happen.²

The story goes that after the Achaeans sailed
away there was a great multitude assembled in the
city, and that the allies were not all inclined to
depart, and that, further, Hector discovered that
Aeneas would not be satisfied if he did not get some
share in the royal power, as Priam had promised him,
so he claimed, if he saw the war through to the end

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μήσαντε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐκβαλόντι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς —οὗτῳ δὴ τὴν ἀποκίαι στείλαι χρημάτων τε ὑπὸ φεισάμενου καὶ πλῆθος ὀπόσου αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο 141 πέμψαντα μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ὅσο ἄξιοι μὲν εἴη βασιλευεῖν καὶ μηδὲν καταδεσσέραν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τῆς αὐτοῦ, προσήκειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἑτέραν κτήσασθαι γην· εἶναι γὰρ οὐκ ἀδύνατον πάσης κρατῆσαι τῆς Εὐρώπης· ποὺς δὲ οὗτως γενομένων ἐλπίδας ἔχειν τοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀρχεῖν ἐκατέρως τῆς Ἁπείρου, ἐφ’ οἷον 142 ἂν σώζῃ τὸ γένος. ταῦτα δὴ ἄξιοντος Ἐκτόρος ἐλέσθαι τὸν Ἀινέλαν, τα μὲν ἐκεῖνο χαριζόμενον, τα δὲ ἐπιτίθοντα μειζόνον τεύξεσθαι· οὗτῳ δὴ τὴν ἀποκίαι γενέσθαι ἀπὸ ἱσχῦν καὶ φρονήματος ὑπὸ τὰ ἀνθρώπων εὐτυχόντων παραχρήμα τε δυνηθήναι καὶ εἰσαύθεις. ὅρωντα δὲ Ἀντήνορα Ἀινέλαν στελλόμενον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμήσαι Ἐλυρώπης ἐπάρξαι, καὶ γενέσθαι στόλον ἄλλου τοιὸντον. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντα Ἐλευθερὸν ὡς ἐπίταύμενον Δημήθιον δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρός, καὶ λαβόντα ναῦς καὶ στρατιὰν ὡς ἐφ’ ἐτοιμὸν τὴν Ἐλλάδα πλεῦσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ὅλην τὴν 143 ἐκπονδόν. οὗτῳ δὴ καὶ Διομήδην φεύγοντα ἔξ Ἀργοὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἀινέλου 3 στόλον ἐπύθετο, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἅτε εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῦς γενομένης, δεηθῆναι τε βοηθείας τυχεῖν, διηγησάμενον τὰς τε Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ συμφορὰς. τὸν δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ὀλίγας ναῦς καὶ μέρος τι παραδοῦναι τῆς στρα—

1 Alvelain Morel: "Εκτόρος.
2 τὴν added by Reiike.
3 Alvelain Geel: Alvela M.
and expelled the Achaeans; so Hector sent the colonists forth, generously supplying means and despatching with Aeneas as large a force as he wished, with all goodwill. He assured Aeneas that he was fully entitled to reign and have an authority no whit inferior to his own, but that it was better for him to get another country; because it was not impossible for Aeneas to become master of all Europe, and in that event he had hopes that their descendants would be rulers of both continents as long as their race endured. Accordingly, Aeneas adopted the suggestion of Hector, partly to please him, partly because he hoped to achieve greater things. So thanks to vigour and spirit the colony became an actuality and under the guidance of fortune's favourites was a power at once and in future times. Then Antenor, so they say, on observing Aeneas' preparations, likewise desired to get a kingdom in Europe. So another similar expedition was fitted out. The story adds that Helenus, complaining that he was getting less than Deiphobus, petitioned his father, obtained a fleet and army, and sailed to Greece as though it were waiting for him, and occupied all the territory from which the treaties did not exclude him. And so it happened that when Diomede in exile from Argos heard of Aeneas' expedition, he came to him, since peace and friendship existed between them, and asked his help, after relating the misfortunes that had befallen Agamemnon and himself. Aeneas welcomed him and his little fleet of ships and gave him a small part of his army, since he had brought

4 δειγησάμενον Ῥείσκε: δειγησάμενος.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

144 τιάς, ἐπειδή πᾶσαν ἔσχε τὴν χώραν. ὡστερον 
δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ Δωριέων, 
ἀποροῦντας ὅποι τράπωνται δι’ ἀσθένειαν, εἰς 
τὴν Ἄσιαν ἐλθεῖν ὡς παρὰ φίλους τε καὶ ἑυσπόν-
δους τοὺς ἀπὸ Πριάμου τε καὶ Ἐκτορος, Δέσβουν 
tε 1 οἰκήσαι κατὰ φιλίαν παρέντων 2 καὶ ἄλλα 
οὐ μικρὰ χωρία.

"Οστις δὲ μὴ πείθεται τούτοις ὑπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς 
δόξης, ἐπιστάσθω ἀδύνατος ὃν ἀπαλλαγήναι 
ἀπάτης καὶ διαγρώναι τὸ ψευδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλη-
145 θοῦς. τὸ γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ὑπὸ 
ἀνθρώπων ἡμιθίων οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἱσχυρὸν οὐδὲ ὅτι 
tὰ ψευδὴ ἐλέχθη παρὰ τοὺς πρότερον. ἐπεὶ τοῖς 
περὶ ἀλλῶν πολλῶν καὶ διαφέρονται καὶ τάναντια 
δοξάζονται, ὅποι εὐθὺς περὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέ-
μον, οἱ μὲν φασὶν ὡστέραν γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ 
Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίαν τῆς ἐν Πλαταιῶν μάχης, 
οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐργῶν τελευταίον εἶναι τὸ ἐν Πλαταιῶν:

146 καίτοι γε ἐγράφῃ παραχρήμα τῶν ἐργῶν. οὐ 
γὰρ ἰσασθείς οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ ἀκριβές, ἀλλὰ φήμης 
ἀκούοντοι μόνον, καὶ ταῦτα οἱ γενόμενοι κατὰ 
tὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον οἱ δὲ δεύτεροι 3 καὶ τρίτοι τελέως 
ἀπειροι καὶ δὲ τὶ ἄν εἰσθη τὰ παραδέχονται 
ῥαδίως. ὡφότε τὸν Σκιρίτην 4 μὲν λόχον ὀνο-
μάζονι Λακεδαιμονίων μηδεπώποτε γενόμενον, 
ὁς φησὶ Θουκυδίδης, Ἄρμοδιον δὲ καὶ Ἀριστο-

1 Δέσβου τε Geel: λαβόντας.
2 παρέντων Wilamowitz: παρέντες.
3 δεύτεροι Reiske: ὡστεροί.
4 Σκιρίτην Empereur: σκιρίτην οὐ σκιρίτην.
THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

all the country under his sway. Later those Achaeans who had been driven out by the Dorians, not knowing in their weak condition which way to turn, made their way to Asia and to the descendants of Priam and Hector as to friends and allies, and then, with the friendly consent of these, founded Lesbos, whose inhabitants allowed them to do so through friendship, and other not inconsiderable places.

If anyone does not accept this account under the influence of the old view, let him know that he is unable to get free of error and distinguish truth from falsehood. The fact that a thing has long been accepted by foolish people is not a weighty consideration nor the fact that the falsehoods were current among those of former times. You see, in regard to many other matters also men differ and hold contrary views. In regard to the Persian War, for instance, some hold that the naval engagement off Salamis took place after the battle of Plataea, others that the affair at Plataea was the last of the events; yet a record was made immediately after the events occurred. For most people have no accurate knowledge. They merely accept rumour, even when they are contemporary with the time in question, while the second and third generations are, in total ignorance and readily swallow whatever anyone says; as, for example, when people speak of the Scirite company in the Lacedaemonian army, which, as Thucydides says, never existed, or when the Athe-

1 It is not known who, if any, held this view. The battle of Salamis was fought in 480 B.C.; battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.

2 Thucydides 5. 67 and other historians speak of the Scirite company. But in 1. 20 Thucydides denies the existence of the Pilana company which others had attributed to the Spartan army. The error is Dio's.

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γείτονα πάντων μάλιστα Ἀθηναίοι τιμῶσιν, ὡς ἔλευθερώσαντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνελόντας τὸν 147 τύραννον. καὶ τί δεὶ ταῦθρατεία λέγειν, ὅποιν τὸν μὲν Οὐρανὸν πεῖδουσι καὶ τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς ἐκτιμηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κρόνου, τὸν Κρόνον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς; τοῦ γὰρ πρώτου καταλαβόντος, ὃσπερ εἴδωθεν, ἄτοπον τι, ἄτοπον τὸ μὴ πεισθῆναι1 ἔτι.

Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὄμηρου ἀπολογήσασθαι, ὡς οὐκ ἀνάξιον ὀμολογεῖν αὐτῷ ψευδομένῳ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πολὺ2 ἐλάττω τὰ ψευσματὰ ἑστὶ τῶν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐπειτα ὡφέλειαν τίνα εἴχε τοῖς τότε Ἐλλησίον, ὅπως μηθ' θορυβηθώσιν, εἰ δὲ γένηται πόλεμος αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ὃσπερ καὶ προσεδόκατο. ἀνεμέσητον δὲ Ἐλληνα δόντα τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ πάντα τρόπον ὑφελεῖν. 148 τούτῳ δὲ τὸ στρατήγημα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἑστίν. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἢκουσα Μηδίου λέγοντος ὅτι οὐδὲν ὀμολογοῦσιν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν παρὰ τοὺς Ἐλλησίους, ἀλλὰ Δαρείου μὲν φασιν ἐπὶ Νάξον καὶ Ἐρέτριαν πέμψαι τοὺς περὶ Δατίῳ καὶ Ἀρταφέρνῃ, κάκεινος ἑλόντας τὰς πόλεις ἄφικέσθαι παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁμοψυχῶν δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑββοιαν ὄλγοις καὶ ἀποσκεύαζεν πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐ πλεῖον τῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ γενέσθαι τινὰ μάχην τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τοὺς 149 αὐτῶθεν ἐκ τοῦ τόπον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἐρέχθην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσαντας Δακεδαμόνιοις μὲν νικήσαι περὶ Θερμοπούλας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι Δεσπότην, τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

1 ἄτοπον τι added by Cohoon. μὴ is found only in T.
2 οὐ before πολὺ deleted by Geel.
nians give the highest honours to Harmodius and Aristogeiton,\(^1\) under the impression that they had freed the city and slain the tyrant. But why speak of human affairs when people maintain and dare to say that Uranus was mutilated by Cronus, and the latter by Zeus?\(^2\) Just as soon as anyone has thought of an absurdity, as often happens, it is absurd to refuse to believe it.

But I wish to offer a defence in behalf of Homer by saying that there is nothing wrong in accepting his fictions. First, they are much less serious than the falsehoods told about the gods. Second, there was some advantage in them for the Greeks of those days, since they saved them from being alarmed in case war, as was expected, arose between them and the people of Asia. We can pardon one who, being a Greek, used every means to aid his countrymen. This is a very common device. I heard, for instance, a Mede declare that the Persians concede none of the claims made by the Greeks, but maintain that Darius despatched Datis and Artaphernes against Naxos and Eretria, and that after capturing these cities they returned to the king; that, however, while they were lying at anchor off Euboea, a few of their ships were driven on to the Attic coast—not more than twenty—and their crews had some kind of an engagement with the inhabitants of that place; that, later on, Xerxes in his expedition against Greece conquered the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae and slew their king Leonidas, then captured and razed the city of the Athenians and sold into slavery all

\(^1\) They slew Hipparchus, but he was not the tyrant of Athens. Hippias was the tyrant. See Thucydides I. 20.

\(^2\) The mutilation of Cronus by Zeus is a version found probably only here.
πόλιν ἔλοντα 1 κατασκάφαι, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ διέφυγον ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντα καὶ φόρους ἐπιθέντα τοὺς Ἑλλησίων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπελθείν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ψευδὴ ταῦτα ἔστιν οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὅτι δὲ εἰκὸς ἢ, τὸν βασιλέα κελεύσαι στρατεύσαι 2 τοῖς ἄνω ἔθνεσιν οὐκ ἄδυνατον, ἦν μὴ θορυβᾶσθιν. εἰ δὴ καὶ Ὁμήρος ἐποίει τούτῳ, συγγιγνώσκειν ἄξιον.

150 Ἐσος ἄν οὖν εἰποι τις ἀνήκοος, οὐκ ὅρθως Ἑλληνας καθαίρεις. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐτὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ ἔστι δέος μὴ ποτε ἐπιστρατεύσωντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τινές; ἢ τε γὰρ Ἑλλάς ὕφη ἐτέροις ἔστιν ἢ τε Ἀσία. τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ὅλιγον ἄξιον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ ἦδειν ὅτι πείσω ταῦτα λέγων, ἵσως ἄν ἐβουλευσάμην μὴ 3 εἰπεῖν. ὅμως δὲ μείζω καὶ δυσχερέστερα οὐνεῖδη φημὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀφελεῖν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐλεῖν τινα πόλιν οὐδὲν ἀτοπου, οὐδὲ γε τὸ 4 στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ χώραν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσήκουσαν ἐπείτα εἰρήνη ποιησαμένους ἀπελθεῖν, οὐδὲ γε ἄνδρα ἀναβοῦ ὅντα τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ὤμοιον τελευτῆσαι μαχομενον, οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὐεῖδος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδεξαίοτα ἄν τις μέλλων ἀποδυνάμειν, ὡσπερ ὅ γε 5 Ἀχιλλεὺς πεποίηται λέγων,

ὅς μ᾽ ὁφελ᾽ Ἐκτωρ κτείναι, ὃς ἐνθάδε τέτραφ' ἀριστός.

1 ἔλοντα Emperius: ἔχοντα.
2 The sentence is corrupt, but the general meaning required by the argument is clear. The translation attempts to indicate this.
3 μὴ added by Emperius. But the corruption may go deeper.

560
who did not escape; and that after these successes he laid tribute upon the Greeks and withdrew to Asia. Now it is quite clear that this is a false account, but, since it was the natural thing to do, it is quite possible that the king ordered this story to be spread among the inland tribes in order to keep them quiet. So if Homer used this same device we ought to forgive him.

Perhaps, however, some uninformed person may say, "It is not right for you to disparage the Greeks in this way." Well, the situation has changed and there is no longer any fear of an Asiatic people ever marching against Greece. For Greece is subject to others and so is Asia. Besides, the truth is worth a great deal. And in addition to all this, had I known that my words would carry conviction, perhaps I should have decided not to speak at all. But nevertheless I maintain that I have freed the Greeks from reproaches greater and more distressing. That a man should fail in the capture of a city is nothing unusual, nor is it, either, to have made a campaign against a country which was no concern of theirs and then to have retreated after making peace; and for a man of noble spirit to fall in battle by the hand of a worthy foe, that too is no reproach. Nay, a man who is on the point of death might well meet it as Achilles is represented to have done when he said,

"Would that Hector, the most brave
Of warriors reared upon the Trojan soil,
Had slain me." 1

1 Iliad 21, 270.

4 ἔν τὸ Εμπερίου: ἐλέγετο.
6 ο ἔν Εμπερίου: γὰρ οὐ γε.
152 τὸν δὲ ἀριστον ὑντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων υπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθανεῖν τῷ ὑντι μέγα ὑνειδος· ὁμοίως δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐχειν δοκούντα καὶ σωφρονεστατον εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρώτον μὲν τὰ πράσβατα καὶ τοὺς βοῦς ἀποσφάτ- τειν, βουλιόμενον ἀποκτείναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὥστε- Ῥον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὑπλων ἐνεκεν αἰσχίστον.1

153 πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι Ἀστυνακτα μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ παίδα ὑντων ὁμοί ἀνελεῖν βίψαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ταῦτα κοινὴ δόξαν 2 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τοῖς βασιλεύσι· Πολυξένην δὲ παρθένον ἀποσφάτειν ἐπὶ τάφῳ καὶ τοιαύτας χείσθαι χρὰς τῷ τῆς θεᾶς νείε· Κασσάνδραν δὲ, παναγὴ 3 κόρην, ἰέρειαν τοῦ Ἀττίλλωνος, ἐν τῷ τεμένει φθαρῆναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐχομένην τοῦ ἀγάλματος, καὶ τοῦτο πράξαι μηδένα τῶν φαύλων μηδὲ τῶν

154 ἀναξίων, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις· Πρίαμον δὲ τοῦ βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν ἔσχατῳ γῆρα κατα- τρωθέντα παρὰ τοῦ τοῦ Διὸς βωμὸν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ γένος ἦν, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ σφαγῆναι, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο εἰργάσθαι μηδένα τῶν ἀφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως νιών, καὶ ταῦτα ἐστιαθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σωθέντα ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου πρότερον· Ἐκάβην δὲ, δύστην τοσούτων μητέρα παιδῶν, Ὀδυσσεῖ δοθῆναι ἐπὶ υβρεὶ, ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κακῶν πάνυ γελοῖος κύνα γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ

1 αἰσχίστον Wilamowitz: αἰσχιστον ἄν, αἰσχίστα, or αἰσχιστα ἄν.
THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

But for the bravest of the Greeks to be slain by the most contemptible man among the enemy, that indeed is a great reproach; and likewise for one who was reputed to be a man of intelligence and the most temperate of the Greeks to begin by slaughtering the sheep and oxen when he meant to slay the kings and then to despatch himself, all for the sake of a suit of armour, is most shameful. Furthermore, when Astyanax, the son of a noble warrior, is so brutally slain by being hurled from the city walls, and indeed by the united decision of army and kings; when the maiden Polyxena is sacrificed at the tomb and such libations are made to the son of a goddess; when Cassandra, a consecrated maiden and priestess of Apollo, is outraged in the sanctuary of Athena while clinging to the goddess’ statue, and this is done, not by some obscure or worthless man, but by one of the most prominent leaders; when Priam, the king of Asia, in extreme old age is wounded beside the altar of Zeus, from whom he was descended, and is slaughtered upon it, and no obscure man perpetrates this deed either, but the very son of Achilles, in spite of the fact that Achilles, his father, had entertained Priam and spared his life on a former occasion; 1 when Hecuba, the sorrow-stricken mother of so many children, is given to Odysseus to her shame and under the weight of her miseries is changed to a dog 2—an utterly ridiculous idea; and when the lord

1 Iliad 24. 468 f.
2 See Ovid, Metamorphoses 13. 569 f.

2 δόξαν Εμπεριοὺς: δόξαντα.
3 παραγη Εμπεριοὺς: παραγη or πανευπρεπη.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

βασιλέα τῶν Ἐλλήνων τῆς ἱερᾶς κόρην τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε γῆμαι διὰ τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸν ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα, οὗτος ἔδοξε τεθνηκέναι δικαίως: πόσον κρείττῳ ταύτα μὴ γενόμενα τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἢ Τροίαν ἁλὼναι;

1 τοῦ Rhodomann: ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐ ὡς τοῦ.
of the Greeks takes as his bride that holy virgin of
Apollo, whom no one had dared to marry for fear of
the god—an act for which he is held to have met a
deserved fate—how much better for the Greeks
never to have committed these excesses than to
have captured Troy!
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