DIO
CHRYSOSTOM

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DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

THE TWELFTH OR OLYMPIC DISCOURSE; OR, ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD

The Olympic Discourse was delivered by Dio at Olympia in the year A.D. 97 before a large audience of Greeks which had come to the city to witness the games, and in sight of the famous statue of Zeus which had been made by Phidias, the greatest of Greek sculptors, more than five centuries before.

After his introductory remarks, in which he tells us that he has just returned from the Danube, where the Roman army under Trajan was about to begin the Second Dacian War, he raises the question as to whether he shall tell his hearers about the land of the Dacians and the impending war, or take a subject suggested by the god in whose presence they stood. He chooses the latter and, after explaining that a conception of the nature of the gods, and especially of the highest one, is innate in all mankind, and that this innate conception and belief is strengthened by men's experiences and observations in the world about them, Dio gives a classification of the way in which a conception of and a belief in their existence are implanted in the minds of men. In section 39 he makes a classification into notions innate and notions acquired. Then in section 44 and following he subdivides the acquired notions into (1) the voluntary and hortatory, given by the poets, (2) the compulsory and prescriptive, given by the lawgivers, (3) those given by the painters and sculptors, and (4) the notions and concepts as set forth and expounded by the philosophers. He is careful, however, to point out that the poets, lawgivers, and sculptors and others would have
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no influence whatever if it were not for that primary and innate notion.

After this the speaker proceeds to what is the most important part of his address, in which he offers a great wealth of apparently original ideas as to what is the field and function of the plastic arts and what are their limitations. He puts his thoughts on this subject into the mouth of Pheidias, who takes the specific case of his own great statue of Zeus and attempts to show that he has used all the resources of the sculptor’s art in producing a worthy statue of the greatest of the gods. Pheidias in the course of his exposition says among other things that he took his conception of Zeus from Homer, and he makes a detailed comparison between the respective capacities of poetry and sculpture to portray and represent, to the decided advantage of poetry.

No ancient writer up to Dio’s time, whose works are extant, has given us such a full treatment of the subject. The others, such as Plutarch, make just a passing reference to the plastic arts. Certainly no one of them has made such a detailed comparison between them and poetry. Not until we come to Flavius Josephus do we find such a treatment of the subject, and Dio by many centuries anticipated the most important principles upon which the theory of Lessing’s Laokoon is based.

Paul Hagen, however, in his Quaestiones Dionae (Kilian 1887) attempts with some success to show by a comparison with certain passages in Cicero, Pliny, and Quintilian that Dio was not original in these theories of art, but got them from Pergamum, where there was a famous school of sculpture flourishing at this time. The best known example of its work is the ‘Dying Gaul,’ now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. Dio certainly was within easy reach of Pergamum at any rate. If he was not original in his ideas on art, he was at all events greatly interested in it, as is shown by his Thirty-
First Discourse.

Some maintain that Dio gave this address on more than one occasion and that traces of different recensions to make the address suit different places and audiences are to be found in the versions that have come down to us.
ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

12. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ

1 'Αλλ' ἂ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἕγι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέρους πλείοσι πέπονθα τὸ τῆς γλαυκοῦ ἀτόπον καὶ παράδοξον πάθος; ἐκείνην γὰρ οὐδὲν σοφωτέραν αὐτῶν οὔσαν οὐδὲ βελτίων τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ τουαύτην ὅποιαν ἔσμεν, ὅταν δῆποτε φθεγξηται λυπηρόν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἠδύνατον εἰς ἀλλα ὀρνεά, καὶ δὴν γε ἦδυ μόνον, τὰ μὲν καθιζόμενα ἐγκύτῳ, τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ περιπετομένα, ώς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καταφρονοῦντα τῆς φαυλότητος καὶ τῆς ἀοσθενείας: οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ φασιν ὅτι θαυμάζει τὴν γλαυκὰ τὰ ὀρνεά.

2 Πῶς δὲ οὖ τὸν ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὀρθῶν θαυμάζει, καλῶν οὖτω καὶ ποικίλων, ἐτὶ δ' αὖ τοῦ ἑπαρ-

1 δ' αὖ τοι Σάρπθα: δὲ αὖτον.

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1 This opening reminds one of Socrates' words at the opening of Plato's Gorgias (447 a) ἂλλ' ἂ τὸ λεγόμενον, κατάμεν ἑκτῆς Ἑκόμεν καὶ υπορεομέν—"Well, have I come when the feast is over, to use a familiar saying, and am I late?" καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέρους πλείοσι was evidently a proverbial expression. It occurs in almost the same form, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, at the beginning of Dio's Second Tarsian Discourse.

Dio's words are prompted by the sight of the vast throng.
DIO CHRYSTOS STOM

THE OLYMPIC DISCOURSE: OR, ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD

Can it be, Sirs, that here before you, just as before many another audience—to use a familiar saying—
I have met with the strange and inexplicable experience of the owl? For though she is no whit wiser than the other birds nor more beautiful in appearance, but on the contrary only what we know her to be, yet whenever she utters her mournful and far from pleasing note, they all flock to her—yes, and even when they merely see her, some alighting near and others circling about her, the reason being, as it seems to me, that they look with scorn upon her insignificance and weakness; and yet people in general say that the birds admire the owl.

Surely, however, the birds ought rather to admire the peacock when they see him, beautiful and many-coloured as he is, and then again truly when he lifts assembled to hear him in the Altis, or sacred grove, at Olympia, before the temple of Zeus with its world-renowned statue of that god, resplendent in ivory and gold. He also refers to the greatness of his audience in § 15.

2 Plutarch (Nicias 1. 9. 4) quotes Timaeus as saying το
Γυλίππων φανέρη καθάπερ γλαυκή πολλοί προσέπτησαν έτοιμως
οτανένου—"When Gylippus showed himself, many
flocked to him, as birds to an owl, with offers of military
service."
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

ρόμενον καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ κάλλος τῶν πτερῶν, ὅταν ἀβρύνυται πρὸς τὴν θήλειαν, ἀνακλάσας τὴν ὄψιν καὶ περιστήσας αὐτὸ πανταχόθεν ὅσπερ εὔειδες θέατρον ἢ τῶν γραφῆς μιμηθέντα οὐρανὸν ποικύλον ἁστρον, σὺν γε τῷ λοιπῷ χρώματι ἡ θαυμαστόν, ἐγγύτατα χρυσοῦ κυάνῳ κεκραμένον, καὶ δὴ ἐν ἄκροις τοῖς πτεροῖς οἶον ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνόπτων ἢ τινῶν δακτυλῶν τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ κατά τὴν ἀλλήν ὁμοιότητα; εἰ δ᾿ αὐτῷ ἔτι τι ἐθέλεις, σκοπεῖ τῆς πτερώσεως τὸ κούφον, ὡς μὴ χαλεπὸν εἶναι μηδὲ δύσφορον διὰ τὸ μέκιος. ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα ἕσυχον καὶ ἀπρεμοῦντα παρέχει θεώσασθαι ἐαυτὸν, ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ περιστρέφομεν: ὅταν δὲ βουληθῇ ἐκπλήξει, σειών τὰ πτέρα καὶ τινὰ ἁχον οὐκ ἁρδὴ ποιῶν, οἶον ἀνέμου κινήσαντος οὐ πολλοῦ πυκνῆ τινὰ ὠλην.

'Αλλ' ὥστε τὸν ταῦτα πάντα ταὐτὰ καλλωπιζόμενον τὰ ὀρέη βούλεται ὅραν οὕτω τῆς ἁγεδόνος ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἐσθεν ἐπορθυεομένης οὐ-

Δὲν πάσχει πρὸς αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὕτω τὸν κύκνον ἀσπάζεται διὰ τὴν μουσικήν, οὐδὲ ὅταν ὑμήν τὴν υπότην ᾧδὴν ἀτε εὐγήρως, ὑπὸ ἱδρυνῆς τε καὶ λήθης τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χαλεπῶν εὐφημῶν ἁμα καὶ προπέμπων ἀλῶν χαλεπῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐσθεν, πρὸς ἅλυτρον τὸν θάνατον—οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τότε ἀθροίζεται κηλούμενα τοὺς μέλεις πρὸς ὀχθὴν ποταμοῦ

1 χρώματι Arnim: σάμιατι.

1 Horace (Satires 2. 2. 25) says of the peacock, "spreads out a 'spectacle' with its painted tail"—picta pandat spectacula cauda. By Achilles Tatius (p. 22) the peacock
himself up in pride and shows the beauty of his plumage, as he struts before his hen with his tail spread out and arched all about him like a fair-shaped theatre ¹ or some picture of the heavens studded with stars—a figure well deserving of admiration for the colouring also, which is nearest to gold blended with dark blue; and then too on the tips of his feathers there are eyes, as it were, or markings like rings both in shape and in their general similitude. And, if you want something further, observe the lightness of his plumage, so light indeed that it is not an encumbrance nor hard to carry on account of its length. In the centre of it he offers himself to the spectator’s gaze, quite calm and unconcerned, turning himself this way and that as if on parade; and when he wishes really to astound us, he rustles his feathers and makes a sound not unpleasing, as of a light breeze stirring some thick wood.

But it is not the peacock with all this fine display that the birds want to see, nor when they hear the song of the nightingale as she rises at early dawn are they at all affected by her—nay, not even the swan ² do they greet on account of its music, not even when in the fullness of years it sings its last song, and through joy, and because it has forgotten the troubles of life, utters its triumphant notes and at the same time without sorrow conducts itself, as it seems, to a sorrowless death—even then, I say, the birds are not so charmed by its strains that they is said “to display the ‘theatre’ of its feathers” ²: τὸ θέατρον ἐπιδεικνύων τῶν πτερῶν—the likeness being in the theatre-shaped expanse of the tail-feathers.

¹ Just as Diô, the philosopher, is represented by the owl, so is the sophist represented by the peacock, and the poets by the nightingale and the swan.
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tυνος ἡ λειμῶνα πλατών ἡ καθαρὰν ἓνα λίμνης ἢ των σμικρὰν εὐθάλη ποταμίαν νησίδα.

5 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοσαῦτα μὲν θεάματα ἔχοντες τερπνὰ, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀκουόματα, τούτῳ μὲν ρήτορας δεινούς, τούτῳ δὲ ἵγγαγραφάς ὑδάτων ἐμέτρων καὶ ἁμέτρων λόγων, τούτῳ δὲ, ὡς ¹ ταῖς ποικιλοῖς, πολλοῖς ² σοφιστάς, δόξη καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐπαιρομένους οἶον πτεροῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγὼ πρόσιτε καὶ βουλεσθε ἀκούειν, τοῦ μηδὲν εἰδότος μηδὲ φάσκοντος εἰδέναι, ἄρ' οὐκ ὄρθως ἀπεικάζω τὴν οποιοῦν ὑμῶν τῷ περὶ τὴν γλαύκη γυγμομένη σχεδὸν οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίας τυνὸς βουλήσεως;

6 ὡς ³ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ λέγεται προσφιλές εἶναι τὸ ὀρνευ, τῇ καλλίστη τῶν θεῶν καὶ σοφωτάτη, καὶ τῆς γε ³ Φειδίου τέχνης παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐτυχεῖν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος αὐτήν συγκαθιδρύσατι τῇ θεῷ, συνδοκοῦν τῷ δήμῳ. Περικλέα δὲ καὶ

¹ ὡς added by Capps.
² τοῦτο δὲ ὡς before πολλοῖς deleted by Capps.
³ γε Reiske : τε.

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1 The words 'on some river's bank . . . in a river' are somewhat reminiscent of Homer (Iliad 2. 459-462):

"As many tribes of winged fowl, wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans, upon the Asian mead about Caïstrixius' streams, fly hither and thither, rejoicing in their wings and clamouring as they alight, while the mead resounds."

. . . ὡς τ' ὀρνιθῶν πετεινῶν ἐθνα πολλά,
χρινῶν ἦ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδερῶν,
Ἀσιών ἐν λευμῶι, Καῦστρων ἀμφὶ ἄδεωρα,
ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα ποτανται ἁγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσοι,
κλαυκηδόν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δὲ τε λειμῶν.
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gather on some river’s bank or on a broad mead or the clean strand of a mere, or on some tiny green islet in a river.¹

And since you likewise, though having so many delightful spectacles to behold, and so many things to hear—able orators, most charming writers of both verse and prose, and finally, like gorgeous peacocks, sophists in great numbers, men who are lifted aloft as on wings by their fame and disciples ²—since you, I say, despite all these attractions, draw near and wish to listen to me, a man who knows nothing and makes no claim to knowing, am I not right in likening your interest to that which the birds take in the owl, one might almost say not without some divine purpose? This purpose is seen in men’s belief that this bird is beloved of Athené also, the fairest of the gods and the wisest, and indeed at Athens it was honoured by the art of Pheidias, who did not count the owl unworthy to share a dedication with the goddess, the popular assembly approving; but Pericles and his own self

Themistius (336c) censures the sophists for using such language: "And do not think that I idly give myself airs with the swan and the nightingale, just as the elegant sophists, who embellish their speeches, use these birds as a sort of rouge"—καὶ μὴ με ἄλλως νομίση ὡραίεσθαι τῷ κύκνῳ καὶ τῇ ἄριδι, καθάπερ οἱ κομψοὶ σοφισταὶ οἱ κοσμούντες ταῦτα λόγους οἶον φυκῶς κέρατα τούτοις τοῖς ὀρνέοις.

² Cf. Plutarch (Moralia 78 a): “Theophrastus, admired for having many disciples” —Θεόφραστον ἐπὶ τῷ πολλὰς μαθητὰς ἔχειν διαμαζόμενον, and Theognis (237–239): "To you I have given wings, with which you will fly over the boundless main and every land, raised aloft, lightly"—

Σοί μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷο' ἐπὶ ἀπείρων πόντων
πωτησεὶ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενον
ῥηίδιος.
DIO CHRYSTOS TOM

αὐτὸν¹ λαθὼν ἐποίησεν, ὡς φασίν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

Οὐ μέντοι ταῦτα γε εὐτυχήματα νομίζειν ἐπειδὴ μοι τῆς γλαυκός, εἰ μὴ των φρόνησιν ἄρα 7 κέκτηται πλεῖω. οἴδει, οἴμαι, καὶ τὸν μῦθον Αἴσωπος ξυνέστησεν ὦτι σοφή οὖσα ξυνεβούλευε τοῖς ὀρνέοις τῆς δρωσ ἐν ἁρχῇ φυομένης μὴ ἐάσαι, ἀλλ’ ἀνελεῖν πάντα τρόπον ἐσεσθαι γὰρ φάρμακον ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἄφυκτον, ύφ’ οὗ ἀλώσονται, τὸν ἴζων. πάλιν δὲ τὸ λόγον τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπειρόντων, ἐκέλευε καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλέγεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα: 8 μὴ γάρ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ φυήσεσθαι. τρίτον δὲ ἰδοῦσα τοξευτὴν των ἀνδρα προέλεγεν ὦτι. Ὁδόσο δ’ ἀνήρ φθάσει ὑμᾶς τοῖς ὑμετέροις, πτεροῖς, πεζῶς ὄν αὐτὸς πτηνὰ ἐπιπέμπων βῆλη.

Τὰ δὲ ἡπίστει τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἀνόητον αὐτὴν

¹ αὐτὸν Jacobs: αὐτὸν.

¹ Dio refers to the statue of Athenē Parthenos, the most famous of the statues of Athenē made by Phaidias. This statue, nearly 40 feet high, stood in the cella of the Parthenon and represented the goddess as just having stopped out of her chamber to accept the worship of her people. The face, hands, and feet, where flesh was exposed, were represented by ivory, the drapery and ornaments by pure gold.

According to Plutarch (Pericles 31. 4-5) Phaidias, in the battle of the Amazons represented on the outer side of the shield of the goddess, carved a figure that represented himself as a bald old man lifting a stone with both hands and also inserted a good likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon.

² Bird-lime was made from the juice of the mistletoe, which grows on the oak. Athenaeus (451 d) says it was also made from oak-gum.
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he depicted covertly, so we are told, on the shield of the goddess.¹

However, it does not occur to me to regard all this as good fortune on the part of the owl, unless she really does in fact possess some superior sagacity. And this, I imagine, is the reason why Aesop composed the fable in which he represents her as being wise and as advising the birds, when the first oak tree began to grow, not to let it happen, but by all means to destroy the plant; for, she explained, the tree would produce a drug from which none might escape, the bird-lime,² and they would be caught by it. Again, when men were sowing flax, she bade them pick up this seed also, since if it grew, no good would come from it.³ And in the third place, when she saw a man armed with a bow, she prophesied, saying: "Yonder man will outstrip you with the help of your own feathers, for though he is on foot himself, he will send feathered shafts after you."⁴

But the other birds mistrusted her words of warning.

² Because nets for catching birds would be made from it.
⁴ The same idea is expressed by Aeschylus (frg. 139):

"So in the Libyan myth it is told
That once an eagle, stricken with a dart,
Said when he saw the fashion of the shaft,
'With our own feathers, not by others' hands,
Are we now smitten.'" (Plumptre's Translation.)

εἶδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυκῶν κλέος,
πληγέτω ἀπράκτω τοξικῶ τῶν αἰετῶν
εἰσεῖν ἑοντα μηχανήν πτερόματος,
τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
ἀπλακόμεθα.

For the same idea in English poetry see Waller, To a Lady singing a Song of his Composing; Byron, English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; Thomas Moore, Corruption.
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ήγοντο καὶ μαίνοντο ἐφασκοῦν ἅπερον δὲ
πειράμενα ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τῷ ἄντι σοφωτάτην
ἐνόμιζεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἐπὶ γὰρ, πρόσευσιν
ὡς πρὸς ἀπαντά ἐπισταμένην. η δὲ συμβουλεύει
μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτο, ὀδύρεται δὲ μόνον.

9 Ἡσώς οὖν παρειλήφατε ὑμεῖς λόγον των ἀληθῆ
καὶ ξυμβουλῆς συμφέρουσαν, ἧπερινα ξυνεβού-
λευσε Φιλοσοφία τοῖς πρότερον Ἐλληνίς, ἢ
οἱ τότε μὲν ἡγομέναι καὶ ἡγίμασαν, οἱ δὲ νῦν
ὑπομιμήσκονται καὶ μοι προσίαι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα,
Φιλοσοφίαν τιμῶντες ἢσπερ τὴν γλαύκη ἄφινον
τὸ γε ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀπαρρητάστατον οὖνεν. ἦγὼ
μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὕτω ξύνοιδα οὔτε πρότερον
ἐπόντει σπουδῆς ἐξίον οὔτε νῦν ἐπισταμένων
10 πλέον ὑμῶν. ἀλλὰ εἰσιν ἔτρεοι σοφοὶ καὶ μακάριοι
παντελῶς ἄνδρες, οὓς ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, εἰ βούλεσθε,
μηνύον, ἐκαρπον δύναμιτί δεικνύμενος. καὶ
γὰρ ἢν Δία τοῦτο μόνον οἶμαι χρήσιμον ἐχειν,
τὸ γινώσκειν τούς σοφοὺς τε καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ
πάντα ἐπισταμένους. οἰς οὖν ὑμεῖς θέλετε
ἐννεάναι τάλλα ἔσαντες, καὶ γονεῖς καὶ πατρι-
δάς καὶ βεβέλεια καὶ προγόνων τάφοις, ἐκεῖνοι
ξυνακολουθεῖτε ἐνθα ἂν ἄγωσιν ἡ καὶ μένουτες
ποι καθιδρυθῶσιν, εἰτε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὴν
Νίνο καὶ Σεμιράμιδος εἰτε εἰς Ἐκτροίς ἡ Σουσοῦς

1 ἄγωσιν Εμπαρίους: ἀποστὶν οὐ ἀπόστιν.

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1 His philosopher’s garb, long hair and beard, etc.
2 A reference to certain sophists.
3 Nineveh, and not Babylon, was founded by Ninus and Semiramis, but perhaps the text is corrupt here.
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

They considered her foolish, and said she was mad; but afterwards through experience they came to admire her and to consider her in very truth exceedingly wise. And that is the reason why, whenever she shows herself, they draw near to her as to one possessing all knowledge; but as for her, she no longer gives them advice, but merely laments.

So perhaps there has been delivered unto you some true word and salutary counsel, which Philosophy gave to the Greeks of old, but the men of that time comprehended it not and despised it; whereas those of the present day, recalling it, draw near to me on account of my appearance,1 thus honouring Philosophy as the birds honour the owl, although it is in reality voiceless and reticent of speech. For I am quite well aware that I have not hitherto said anything worthy of consideration, and that now I have no knowledge superior to your own. But there are other men who are wise and altogether blessed; and if you wish, I shall make them known to you, mentioning each one by name.2 For indeed this alone I consider to be profitable—to know the men who are wise and able and omniscient. To such if you are willing to cleave, neglecting all other things—both parents and the land of your birth, the shrines of the gods, and the tombs of your forefathers—following wherever they lead, or remaining wherever they establish themselves—whether in the Babylon3 of Ninus and Semiramis, or in Bactra,4 or Sousa,5

4 The chief city of Bactria, which corresponds to the modern Turkestan.
5 The capital of Ancient Persia; marked now by the so-called tomb of Daniel. See also vol. I, p. 251.
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η Παλμβάθροις. 1 η άλλη των πόλεων των ένδοξων
καὶ πλουσίων, χρήματα διδόντες ή καὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ
11 πείθοντες, εὐδαίμονεστέροι ἐσεθεὶς αὐτῆς τῆς
εὐδαίμονίας· εἰ δ᾿ αὐτοὶ μὴ βουλέσθη, καταμεμ-
φόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν ἡ πενίαν ἡ γύρας ἡ
ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γε νεῖσι μὴ φθονοῦντες μηδὲ
ἀφαιροῦμενοι τῶν μεγάστων ἀγαθῶν, ἐκούσα τε
ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ ἄκοντας πείθοντες ἡ βιαζόμενοι
πάντα τρόπον, ὥς ἂν παϊδευθέντες ἴκανοὶ καὶ
γενόμενοι σοφοὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἑλλησία καὶ βαρ-
βάροις ὁνομαστοί ὅσοι τὸ λοιπὸν, διαφέρουσι
ἀρετῆ καὶ δόξη καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δύναμιν τῇ πάσῃ
σχέδον. οὗ γὰρ μόνον πλούτῳ, φασίν, ἀρετῆ 3
καὶ κύδος ὑπηδεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτος 4 ἀρετῆ
συνέπεται εἰς ἀνάγκης.

12 Ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ἐναντίον τούδε τοῦ θεοῦ προλέγω
καὶ ξυμβουλεύω δι᾿ εὐνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν προσαγόμενος.
οἶμαι δὲ ἐμαυτῶν ἢν εἶναι 5 πρῶτον πείθειν καὶ παρα-
καλεῖν εἰ μοι τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡμικίας
ἐπεδέχετο· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη διὰ τὸ κωκοπαθεῖν, εἰ

1 Παλμβάθροι Geol: παλμβάδροι or παλμβάκτροι.
2 ἐσεθεὶ Morel: ἐσεθαί. 3 ἀρετῆ Sonny: ἀρετὴν.
4 πλούτος Armim: λόγος.
5 εἰνε added by Emperius, εἰναι by Capps.

1 Palibothra, or Pataliputra, famous city of Ancient India
and capital of Magadha; situated at the confluence of the
Erannobas (modern Son) and the Ganges. It was the
residence of Megasthenes during his stay in India about
305 B.C. He wrote a work called Τα Ἰνδίκα.
2 Heaiod (Works and Days, 313) says πλούτῳ δ᾿ ἀρετὴ καὶ
κύδος ὑπηδεῖ—“virtue and famo attend wealth.” Compare
Homer (Iliad, 17. 251): ἐκ δὲ Δίως τιμὰ καὶ κύδος ὑπηδεῖ.—
“from Zeus honour and fame attend,” and the Gospel
according to Matthew (6. 33) ἔργετε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν
καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ύμῖν.
or Palibothra,\textsuperscript{1} or in some other famous and wealthy city—giving them money or in some other way winning their favour, you will become happier than happiness itself. But if you are not willing to do this yourselves, mistrusting your own natural ability, or pleading poverty or age or lack of physical strength, you will at least not begrudge your sons this boon nor deprive them of the greatest blessings, but will entrust them to these teachers if they are willing to receive them; and if they are unwilling, you will persuade them or compel them by any and all means, to the end that your sons, having been properly educated and having grown wise, may thenceforth be renowned among all Greeks and barbarians, being pre-eminent in virtue and reputation and wealth and in almost every kind of power. For not only do virtue and renown attend upon wealth, as we are told, but wealth likewise and of necessity accompanies virtue.\textsuperscript{2}

This is the prophecy and counsel that I give you in the presence of yonder god,\textsuperscript{3} moved by a spirit of goodwill and friendship toward you. And I suppose that it would be my duty to urge and exhort myself first of all, if only the state of my health and my advanced age permitted, but the fact is that, on account of the infirmities which afflict me,\textsuperscript{4} I am under the necessity, if perchance I shall find it in any way

\textsuperscript{1} This reference is to the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The statue, about forty feet high if the base was included, represented Zeus seated in the front chamber of the temple facing the entrance and with his back to the wall. It was visible only at such festivals as this. At other times it was concealed by a magnificent curtain.

\textsuperscript{2} A reference to Dio's ill health caused by the hardships of exile. He refers to it also in §§ 15 and 19.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

πού τι δυνησόμεθα, εὑρέσθαι παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἄνδρῶν ὁσπερ ἀπερριμμένον ἤδη καὶ ἔωλον ¹ σοφίας λειψανον χῆτε ² τῶν κρειττόνων τε καὶ ζωντων διδασκάλων.

Ἐρώ δὲ ύμῶν καὶ ἄλλο ὁ πέπονθα τῇ γυλακὶ παραπλήσιον, ἔαν καὶ βούλησθε καταγελάν τῶν λόγων. ὁσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη αὐτὴ μὲν οὐδὲν χρῆται τοῖς προσπετομένοις, ἄνδρὶ δὲ ὀρνιθοθήρᾳ πάντων λυστελέστατον κτημάτων οὐδὲν γὰρ δὲί οὔτε τροφὴν προβάλλειν ³ οὔτε φωνὴν μιμεῖότατον, μόνον δὲ ἐπιδεικνύντα τὴν γυλακὴ πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχειν ὀρνέων οὕτω κάμοι τῆς σπουδῆς τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν ὀφέλος. οὐ γὰρ λαμβάνω μαθητάς, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχομι διδάσκειν, ἀτε οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπιστάμενος. ὡς δὲ ἐφεύσθημαι καὶ ἐξαπατῶν ὑποσχοόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω ταύτην τὴν ἄνδρεῖαν σοφιστὴ δὲ ἄνδρὶ ξυνών μεγάλα ἂν ωφέλουν ὀχλον πολῶν ἀθροίζων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρέχων ὅπως βούλεται διαθέσαι τὴν ἄγραν. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, οὐδεὶς με ἀναλάμβανε τῶν σοφιστῶν οὐδὲ ἠδονται ὄροντες.

Σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι πιστεύετε μοι λέγοντι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπειρίας τε κανεπιστημοσύνης τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, δῆλον ὡς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν, καὶ τούτο οὐκ ἔμοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ

¹ ἔωλον Reiske: βάλον. ² χῆτε Reiske: δὴ τι. ³ προβάλλειν Morel: προσβάλλειν.
⁴ οὐδὲν ἂν Jacobs: οὐδένα. ⁵ ὡς ὑπὲρ Pluflgk: ὠστε.

¹ See Themistius (20 a): "He does not permit the ancient views to wither"—μαραθέοσθαι οὐκ ἐξ ὧς ἀρχίας δόξας, and
possible, of discovering some bit of wisdom which has already been from the ancients cast aside as it were, and had grown stale 1 for lack of teachers who are both better and still living.

And I shall tell you of another respect too in which I am like the owl, even if you are ready to laugh at my words. For just as that bird makes no use herself of the others that fly to her side, but to the fowler is the most useful of all possessions—since he has no need to throw out feed or mimic a call, but merely to show the owl and then have a great multitude of birds—so I too have nothing to gain by the interest of the many. For I do not take disciples, since I know there is nothing I should be able to teach them, seeing that I know nothing myself; 2 but to lie and deceive by my promises, I have not the courage 3 for that. But if I associated myself with a professional sophist, I should help him greatly by gathering a great crowd to him and then allowing him to dispose of the catch as he wished. However, for some reason or other, not one of the sophists is willing to take me on, nor can they bear the sight of me.

Now I am almost sure that you believe me when I speak of my own inexperience and lack of knowledge—evidently on account of your knowledge and sagacity—and it seems to me that you not only believe me on this point, but would have believed in the same author (206 b): “For the examples from Homer I pass over as stale and excessively ancient”—τὰ γὰρ ἐξ Ὡμήρου παραδείγματα ὡς ἐως παραπαύματα καὶ λαβὲ ἀρχαῖα.

2 Socrates made this claim. See Plato (Apology 20 c, 23 b); cf. § 14 infra.

3 In Discourse 11. 23 also Dio speaks of boldness being required for lying.
καὶ Σωκράτει δοκεῖτε μοι πιστεύειν ἂν, ταύτα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προβαλλομένως πρὸς ἀπαντας ὡς οὐδὲν ἦδει· τὸν δὲ Ἰππιαν καὶ τὸν Πώλων καὶ τὸν Γοργίαν, ὃν ἐκαστὸς αὐτὸν μάλιστα ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἐξεπλήττετο, σοφοὺς ἦν ἄγειόσαλκοι καὶ μακαρίους.

15 ὅμως δὲ προλέγω μὴν ὅτι ἐσπουδάκατε ἄνδρὸς ἄκουσαί τουσοῦτον πλῆθος ὀντες οὔτε καλοῦ τὸ εἶδος οὔτε ἱσχυροῦ, τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ παρηκμακότος ἡδὴ, μαθητὴν δὲ οὔδενα ἑχοντος, τέχνην δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμην οὐδεμιᾶν ὑποχυιμενοῦν σχεδὸν οὔτε τῶν σεμιῶν οὔτε τῶν ἑλληνῶν, οὔτε μαντικῆν οὔτε σοφιστικῆν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ῥητορικῆν τινα ἢ κολακευτικῆν δύναμιν, οὐδὲ δείνοι ξυγγράφειν, οὐδὲ ἐργον τοι ἑχοντος ἄξιον ἐπαίνοι καὶ σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον κομψύτως.

Εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν δοκεῖτε τόδε λωτέρον καὶ ἄμεινον,

16 δραστέον τούτο καὶ πειρατέον ὅπως ἂν ἂν δυνατὸν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι λόγων ἀκούσαθε ὁποίων ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν νῦν, ἄλλα πολὺ φαινοτέρων καὶ ἀκοποτέρων,1 ὁποίους δὴ καὶ ὅρατε. χρῆ δὲ ἐὰν ὑμᾶς ἐμβραχῦ,2 ὅ τι ἂν ἐπίθη μοι, τούτῳ ἐπεσθαί, καὶ

1 ἀκοποτέρων Cocho: ἀκοποτέρων. 2 ἐμβραχῦ Gool: ἐν βραχεί.
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Socrates also, when he continually and to all men advanced on his own behalf the same defence—that he knew nothing; but that Hippias\(^1\) and Polus\(^2\) and Gorgias,\(^3\) each of whom was more struck with admiration of himself than of anyone else, you would have considered wise and blessed. But notwithstanding, I declare to you that, great as is your number, you have been eager to hear a man who is neither handsome in appearance nor strong, and in age is already past his prime, one who has no disciple, who professes, I may almost say, no art or special knowledge either of the nobler or of the meaner sort, no ability either as a prophet or a sophist, nay, not even as an orator or as a flatterer, one who is not even a clever writer, who does not even have a craft deserving of praise or of interest, but who simply—wears his hair long!\(^4\)

But if you think it a better and wiser course,\(^5\)
I must do this and try to the best of my ability. However, you will not hear words such as you would hear from any other man of the present day, but words much less pretentious and wearisome, in fact just such as you now observe. And in brief, you must allow me to pursue any thought that occurs to me and not become annoyed if you find me wander-

would belong philosophy, oratory, writing in verse or prose, sculpture, and painting; to the meaner, the trades and crafts among others. The prophet and the sophist, the orator and the flatterer, belong to the nobler and to the meaner divisions respectively.

Long hair was the badge of the philosopher, as Dio himself says in Discourse 35. 2 in no very respectful tone. In Discourse 72. 2 he refers to the derision caused by long hair.

\(^1\) Homer, Odyssey 1. 376; 2. 141,
μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐὰν φαύνωμαι πλανώμενος ἐν
tοῖς λόγοις, ἀσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
ἐξήκα ἄλομενος, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἀτε
ἀκούοντας ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ ἀδολέσχου.

Καὶ γὰρ δὴ τυγχάνω μακρὰν τινὰ ὁδὸν τὰ νῦν
πεπορευμένος, εὐθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρού καὶ τῆς Γετῶν
χώρας ἡ Μυσῶν, ὥσ φησιν ὁ Ὀμηρος κατὰ τὴν
νῦν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἔχουσι. ἤλθον δὲ αὐτὸ χρημάτων
ἐμπορός οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ στρατο-
πεδοῦ σκευοφόρων ἡ βοηθατῶν, οὐδὲ προσβείαν
ἐπρέπειου συμμαχικὴν ἡ των εὐφημον, τῶν
ἀπὸ γλώττης μόνον συνευχομένων, 2

γυμνὸς ἄτερ κόρυθος τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδὲ ἔχον
ἐγχος,

οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλο ὀπλουν οὐθέν. ὡστε ἑδαιμίζου
ὅπως με ἤνεχοντο ὀρώντες. οὔτε γὰρ 3 ὑπεύθυν
ἐπιστάμενος οὔτε τοξότης ἱκανὸς ὁν οὐθ' ὀπλίτης,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κούφων καὶ ἀνόπλων τὴν βαρείαν

1 ἐξήκα Reiske: ἐξήκα.
2 After συνευχομένων the MSS. have the following words, which Valesius bracketed: ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν χρη πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ ἄκουεν οὔδενος ἄλλ' ἡ μόνον σάλπιγγος ἱερὰς καὶ τῶν μακαρίων κηρυγμάτων, ὥς ὅσον μὲν νικᾶ πάλιν πάλιν, ὥσον τῶν ἄνδρων, ὥσον τριτέρων, ὥσον τὰ παγκράτια, ὥσον τὰ πέντε πάλιν, ὥσον τὰ μακαρία, ἐν ὑμῖν σχεδόν αὐτός ἄποφημι γενός αὐτοῦ δῆλον—[“There
is need to be concerned for naught else and to hear naught else except the sacred trumpet alone and the joyous proclama-
tions that this contestant has won the wrestling match for
boys, and that other the one for men, that this man has won
the pancratium, that man the pentathlon, and that third man
the footrace—at one bound, you might almost say, having
become happy by making himself, his nativo city, and his
whole race renowned.” See § 25.
3 γὰρ added by Wilamowitz. * αὐτὸν Capps: αὐτός.
ing in my remarks exactly as in the past I have lived a life of roving, but you must grant me your indulgence, bearing in mind that you are listening to a man who is a layman and who is fond of talking.  

For in fact, as it happens, I have just finished a long, long journey, all the way from the Ister and the land of the Getae, or Mysians as Homer, using the modern designation of the race, calls them. And I went there, not as a merchant with his wares, nor yet as one of the supply-train of the army in the capacity of baggage-carrier or cattle-driver, nor was I discharging a mission as ambassador to our allies or on some embassy bearing congratulations, the members of which join in prayers with the lips only. I went

Unarmed, with neither helm nor shield nor lance,

nor indeed with any other weapon either, so that I marvelled that they brooked the sight of me. For I, who could not ride a horse and was not a skilled Bowman or man-at-arms, nor yet a javelin-thrower, or slinger, belonging to the light-armed

1 See also Discourse 7. 1.
2 The Danube.
3 The Getae, a Thracian people, were called Daci by the Romans. The Mysi, to whom Homer refers, were also a Thracian people who crossed over from Europe to Asia at a very early period. Dio identifies the Mysi with the Moesi, who lived south of the Danube, and these Moesi with the Getae, or Dacians, who lived north of the river.
Dio wrote a historical work τὰ Περὶ Αὐτοκράτορα, now lost.
4 Homer, Iliad 21. 50.
Διό χρυσοστόμῳ

διπλών στρατιωτῶν οὐδ’ ἀκοντιστής ἢ λιθοβόλος, 
οὐδ’ αὖ τεμεῖν ὕλην ἢ τάφρον ὀρύττειν δυνάτος 
οὐδὲ ἀμήσαι χιλὸν ἐκ νεκροῦ λειμῶνος τυκνά 
μεταστρέφομενος, οὐδὲ ἐγείραι σκηνήν ἢ χάρακα, 
ὥσπερ ἀμέλεις ἁγυπτονταὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀπόλλε-
μοὶ¹ τινες ὑπηρέται—πρὸς ἀπαντᾶ δή ταῦτα 
ἀμηχάνως ἔχων ἀφικόμην εἰς ἄνδρας οὐ ναυθροὺς 
οὐδὲ σχολῆν ἄγοντας ἀκροάσθαι λόγων, ἀλλὰ 
μετεώρους² καὶ ἀγωνιόντας καθάπερ ἑποὺς 
ἀγωνιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπολήγων, οὐκ ἀνεχομένους 
τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δὲ καὶ προθυμίας κόπτον-
τας τὸ ἔδαφος ταῖς ὀπλαῖς. ἔνθα γε ὁ ὅρα 
πανταχοῦ μὲν ἕιρη, πανταχοῦ δὲ θύρακας, παντα-
χοῦ δὲ δόρατα, πάντα δὲ ἐπιπον, πάντα δὲ ὀπλῶν, 
πάντα δὲ ὀπλισμένων ἄνδρῶν μεστά. μόνος 
δὴ ἐν τοσοῦτοι φαινόμενοι βάθιμος ἀτεχνῶς 
σφόδρα τε εἰρήνικος πολέμου θεατής, τὸ μὲν 
σῶμα ἐνδείξη, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν προήκων, οὐ 
χρυσοῦν ἐσχήπτησαν σέρφῳ οὐδὲ στέμματα ιερὰ 
θεοῦ τῶν ἐπὶ λύσει θυγατρὸς ἦκων εἰς τὸ 
στρατόπεδον ἀναγκαίων ὁδῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιθυμῶν 
ἰδεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγωνιζό-
μένους ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ 
δυνάμεως, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ 
ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ 
πατρίδος. ἔπευγα οὗ 
τῶν καὶ 
δυναμὸν ἀποκείμας, 
μὴ τοῦτο ἡγησάσθω μηδὲς, 
ἀλλ’ εὐχής τοὺς 
μησθεὶς παλαιὰς ἐξερ 
ἀπεπράπη 
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 
ἀεὶ τὰ 
θεῖα 
κρείττων 
καὶ 
προοριστέρα 

νομίζων 
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἥλικα ἃν ἂν 

¹ ἀπόλλειοι οί οὐ πολεμικοῖ Ρούσχο: πολεμικοὶ.
² μετεώροι Χαοβί: ὑμετέροις.

1 This phrase is found in Xenophon, Anabasis 6. 1. 8.
troops who carry no heavy armour, nor, again, was able to cut timber or dig a trench, nor to mow fodder from an enemy’s meadow ‘with many a glance behind,’ nor yet to raise a tent or a rampart, just as certain non-combatants do who follow the legions as helpers, I, who was useless for all such things, came among men who were not dullards, and yet had no leisure to listen to speeches, but were high-strung and tense like race-horses at the starting barriers, fretting at the delay and in their excitement and eagerness pawning the ground with their hoofs. There one could see everywhere swords, everywhere corselets, everywhere spears, and the whole place was crowded with horses, with arms, and with armed men. Quite alone I appeared in the midst of this mighty host, perfectly undisturbed and a most peaceful observer of war, weak in body and advanced in years, not bearing ‘a golden sceptre’ or the sacred fillets of any god and arriving at the camp on an enforced journey to gain a daughter’s release, but desiring to see strong men contending for empire and power, and their opponents for freedom and native land. Then, not because I shrank from the danger—let no one think this—but because I recalled to mind an old vow, I turned my course hither to you, ever considering that things divine have the greater claim and are more profitable than things human, however important these may be.

2 ἵπποςται are servants of the hoplites in Thucydides 3. 17.
3 A reference to Trajan’s army preparing to attack the Getae, or Dacians, in the second Dacian War.
4 An allusion to Ἡμιδ 1. 13–15, whose Chryses came to the Greek camp before Troy to ransom his daughter.
Πότερον οὖν ἦδιον ὑμῖν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν καρφῷ περὶ τῶν ἐκεί διηγήσασθαι, τούτῳ τε ποταμῷ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς φύσεως ἣ ὄρους ὡς ἔχουσι κράσεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τοῦ γένους, ἐτι δὲ, οἴμαι, τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἥ μᾶλλον ἁίμασθαι τῆς πρεσβυτερᾶς τε καὶ μείζονος ἱστορίας περὶ τοῦτοῦ θεοῦ, παρ᾽ ὦ νῦν ἐσμέν; οὕτως γὰρ δὴ κακὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεὺς τε καὶ ἄρχων καὶ πρῶτων καὶ πατήρ, ἐτι δὲ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμων τιμίας, ὡς τοῖς πρότερον ἐμπείροις καὶ σοφοῖς ποιητικοῦ ἐδοξεῖν, εάν πως ἱκανοὶ γενώμεθα τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἄλογο βραχεῖ καὶ ἀποδέοντι τῆς ἀξιας, αὐτά που ταῦτα λέγοντες.2

Ἀρ′ οὖν κατὰ Ἡσίοδον ἄνδρα ἄγαθον καὶ Μοῦσας φίλον ἀριστέον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μάλα ἐμφρόνως οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐτόλμησεν ἁρξασθαι3 παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ διανοηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰς Μοῦσας παρακαλεῖ διηγησάσασθαι περὶ τοῦ σφετέρου πατρός; τῷ παντὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον πρέπον τόδε τὸ ἄσμα ταῖς θεαῖς ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰλιον ἐλθόντας ἀρείμμεν, αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ σέλματα τῶν νεών ἐφεξῆς, ὅν οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνωθεν ἠζανεν καὶ τίς4 ποιητής οφωτέρος τε καὶ ἀμείνων ἢ ἰ παρακαλών ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀδέ πως;

1 peri added by Reiske.
2 λέγοντες Reiske: λέγοντας.
3 ἁρξασθαι Reiske: ἐφασασθαι.
4 tis and ἢ added by Capps, found in some MSS.
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Now is it more agreeable and more opportune for you that I should describe what I saw there—the immense size of the river and the character of the country, what climate the inhabitants enjoy and their racial stock, and further, I suppose, the population and their military strength? Or should you prefer that I take up the older and greater tale of this god at whose temple we are now? For he is indeed alike of men and of gods the king and ruler and lord and father, and in addition, the dispenser of peace and of war, as the experienced and wise poets of the past believed—to see if perchance we can commemorate both his nature and his power in a brief speech, which will fall short of what it should be even if we confine ourselves to these two themes alone.

Should I, then, begin in the manner of Hesiod, a man good and beloved of the Muses, imitating the way in which he, quite shrewdly, does not venture to begin in his own person and express his own thoughts, but invites the Muses to tell about their own father? For this hymn to the goddesses is altogether more fitting than to enumerate those who went against Ilium, both themselves and the benches of their ships seriatim, although the majority of the men were quite unknown. And what poet is wiser and better than he who invokes aid for this work in the following manner?

1 In the works of Homer Zeus is often spoken of as Father, e.g. in the Iliad 1. 544, 4. 225, but the term βασιλεύς is never applied to him or to any other god, but only to man. The term δυνατ (lord or master) is applied to both gods and men. In Hesiod (Theogony 886) Zeus is called θεός βασιλεύς. For Zeus as dispenser of peace and war see, e.g. Iliad 22. 210–213. Compare § 78 of this Discourse.
Μοῦσα Πιερίchercheν ἀοιδήσθη κλείουσαι,
δεῦτε Δió ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ᾽ ὑμνεῖουσαι,
ὄντε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμός ἀφατοὶ τε
φατοὶ τε
ῥητοὶ τ᾽, ἀρρητοὶ τε, Δίος μεγάλουο ἐκήτη
ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριαίει, ῥέα δὲ βριαύοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥέα δ᾽ ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἀδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥέα δὲ τ᾽ ιθύνει σκολιῶν καὶ ἀγνόνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δῶματα ναίει.

υπολαβόντες οὖν ἐπάπτε πότερον ἁρμόξων ὁ λόγος
οὗτος καὶ τὸ ἀσμα τῆς συνόδῳ γένοιτ' ἂν, ὃ
παϊδες 'Ηλείων. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγεμόνες
τῆς πανηγύρεως, ἐφοροί τε καὶ ἑπίσκοποι
τῶν ἐνθάδε ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ. ἡ δὲ θεατὰς εἶναι
μόνον τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἡκοντας τῶν τε ἄλλων δήλον
ὅτι παγκάλων καὶ σφόδρα ἐνδόξων θεαμάτων
καὶ δὴ μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας καὶ τῷ
ὄντι μακαρίας εἰκόνος, ἂν ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι δαπάνης
τε ὑπερβολὴ καὶ τέχνης ἐπιτυχόντες τῆς ἀκρας
εἰργάσαντο καὶ ἀνέθεσαν, πάντων ὅσα ἔστών ἐπὶ

1 καὶ Wilamowitz : ἡ.
2 After λόγων Kayser proposed to insert the words found in
the MSS. after συνευχομένων in § 17 which are given in a
footnote there, Reiske proposed to insert them after ἡκοντας
in the next line, and Emperius after "Ολυμπον in § 26.

26
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

O ye Pierian Muses, who glorify man by your lays,
Draw nigh me, and sing for me Zeus your father,
and chant his praise.
It is he through whom mortal men are renowned or unrenowned;
At the pleasure of Zeus most high by fame are they crowned or discrowned;
For lightly he strengtheneth this one, and strength unto that one denies;
Lightly abases the haughty, the lowly he magnifies;
Lightly the crooked he straightens, and withers the pride of the proud,
Even Zeus who thunders on high, who dwelleth in mansions of cloud.¹

Answer, therefore and tell me whether the address I offer and the hymn would prove more suitable to this assemblage, you sons of Elis—for you are the rulers and the directors of this national festal gathering, both supervisors and guardians of what is said and done here—or perhaps those who have gathered here should be spectators merely, not only of the sights to be seen, admittedly altogether beautiful and exceedingly renowned, but, very specially, of the worship of the god and of his truly blessed image, which your ancestors by lavish expenditure and by securing the service of the highest art made and set up as a dedication—of all the statues which are upon the earth the most beautiful and the most

¹ Hesiod, Works and Days 1–8, translated by A. S. Way.

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γῆς ἀγάλματα, κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον, πρὸς τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ποίησιν, ὡς φασί, Φειδίου παραβαλλόμενον, τοῦ δισθόσιτος θλύγω νεῦματι τῶν ὀφρύων τὸν ἔυμπαντα "Ολυμπον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μάλιστα ἐναργῶς καὶ πεποιθῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν εἴρηκεν;

ἡ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ’ ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρόνίων, ἀμβρόσιαι δ’ ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσιιτο ἀνακτὸς κρατὸς ἀπ’ ἀθανάτω, μέγαν δ’ ἐλελυξεν "Ολυμπον.

ἡ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων σκεπτέων ἡμῖν ἐπιμελέστερον, τῶν τε ποιημάτων καὶ ἀναλημάτων, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς, εἴ τι τοιούτοτοι ἐστι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην περὶ τοῦ δαμινίου δόξαν ἅμα ἁμηγνύη πλάττον καὶ ἀνατυποῦν, ἀτε ἐν φιλοσόφῳ διατιμᾷ πάντα ὑπ’ ὀφθην;¹

27 Περὶ δὴ² θεῶν τῆς τε καθόλου φύσεως καὶ

¹ o财政部 added by Reiske; other editors regard the sentence as incomplete.
² δὴ Reiske: δὲ.

¹ Another reference to Phidias’ masterpiece, the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The god was seated upon a throne of cedar wood, every available part of which was adorned with smaller statues. The flesh was represented by ivory, the robe was of beaten gold. In his right hand Zeus held an ivory and gold statue of Victory, in his left hand he held a sceptre which was ornamented with various kinds of metal and surmounted by an eagle.

This statue needed repairs in the second century B.C., when Damophon of Messene was called in for the purpose. In A.D. 475 it was carried off to Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius I., where it was destroyed in a fire.

28
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

dear to the gods,¹ Pheidias having, as we are told, taken his pattern from Homer's poesy, where the god by a slight inclination of his brows shook all Olympus, as the great poet most vividly and convincingly has expressed it in the following verses:

He said, and nodded with his shadowy brows;
Wav'd on th' immortal head th' ambrosial locks,
And all Olympus trembled at his nod.²

Or, should we somewhat more carefully consider these two topics themselves, I mean the expressions of our poets and the dedications here, and try to ascertain whether there is some sort of influence which in some way actually moulds and gives expression to man's conception of the deity, exactly as if we were in a philosopher's lecture-room at this moment?

Now concerning the nature of the gods in general,

There are many references in ancient literature to the great admiration the statue aroused. Arrian (Dissertations of Epictetus, 1. 6) says that it was considered a calamity to die without having seen it. Quintilian (12. 10. 9) says, "This beautiful statue is even thought to have added something to the accepted religion"—cuius pulchritudo adieciisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur. Compare also §§ 51 and 52 of this Discourse.

¹ Homer, Iliad 528–530, translated by the Earl of Derby. Compare Milton, Paradise Lost 3. 135–137:

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
All heaven, and in the blessed spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffused.

That Pheidias selected the Zeus of Homer as pictured in the above passage in the Iliad is attested by other passages in ancient literature, e.g. Strabo 534 a; Valerius Maximus 3. 7. 4; Plutarch, Life of Aemilius Paulus 28. 2. See also this Discourse, §§ 26 and 62.
DIO CHRYSTOSM

μάλιστα τοῦ πάντων ἡγεμόνας πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ἐν πρῶτοις δόξα καὶ ἐπίνοια κοινῇ τοῦ ἐξομπαντος ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, ὀμοίως μὲν Ἔλληνων, ὀμοίως δὲ βαρβάρων, ἀναγκαίᾳ καὶ ἐμφυτοῖς ἐν παντὶ τῷ λογικῷ, γνωμένη κατὰ φύσιν ἄνευ θυτοῦ διδασκαλίου καὶ μυσταγωγοῦ χωρίς ἀπάτης, κεχώρηκεν ἐδήλου τῇ ἐνυγγένειαν τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ μαρτύρια τάληθοι, οὐκ ἔδωτα κατανυστάξαι καὶ ἀμελήσαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ παλαιστάτους·

28 ἀτε γὰρ οὐ μακρὰν οὐδὲ ἔξω τοῦ θείου διωρισμένοι καθ' αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῶ μέσω πεφυκότες, μᾶλλον δὲ συμπερφυκότες ἐκεῖνω καὶ προσεχόμενοι πάντα τρόπων, οὐκ ἐβάλαντο μέχρι πλείονος ἐξύνεοι μένειν, ἀλλὰς τε σύνεσιν καὶ λόγον ἐλπιότες παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀτε δὴ περιλαμβόμενοι πάντοθεν θείοι καὶ μεγάλοις φάσμασιν οὕρανοι τε καὶ ἄστρων, ἐτι δὲ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐνυγγάνοντες ποικίλοις καὶ ἀνομοῖοι εἰδευροὶ, δὴ εἰς τε ἀμηχάνους ὁρῶντες καὶ φωνάς ἀκούοντες παντοδιαπάσ ανέμων τε καὶ ὑλᾶς καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ βαλάντης, ἐτι δὲ ἔξων ἡμέρων καὶ ἄγριων, αὐτοὶ τε φθόνον θείοτον καὶ σαφέστατον ιέντες καὶ ἄγαπῶντες τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης

1 κεχώρηκεν Sappho, κατείχε Arnim: καὶ χαρὰς διὰ UBM.
χαρᾶς Ρ.Υ·
2 ἐδήλου Capps: διὰ.
3 παρ' Roiske: περί.

1 Here follows an account of the origin of man and of his first conception of God which has stoic and epicurean elements, but some of the ideas find their roots in Plato. See for example, Plato, Phaedrus 247 a; Republic 2. 376 a.
2 This idea of an innate conception of God (see also 39) is also found in Cicero, Laws 1. 8. 24. It is believed that both got the idea from Poseidonius, a stoic philosopher born about
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and especially that of the ruler of the universe,1 first and foremost an idea regarding him and a conception of him common to the whole human race, to the Greeks and to the barbarians alike, a conception that is inevitable and innate in every creature endowed with reason,2 arising in the course of nature without the aid of human teacher and free from the deceit of any expounding priest, has made its way, and it rendered manifest God's kinship with man and furnished many evidences of the truth, which did not suffer the earliest and most ancient men to doze and grow indifferent to them; for inasmuch as these earlier men were not living dispersed far away from the divine being or beyond his borders apart by themselves, but had grown up in the very centre of things, or rather had grown up in his company and had remained close to him in every way, they could not for any length of time continue to be unintelligent beings, especially since they had received from him intelligence and the capacity for reason, illumined as they were on every side by the divine and magnificent glories of heaven and the stars of sun and, moon, by night and by day encountering varied and dissimilar experiences, seeing wondrous sights and hearing manifold voices of winds and forest and rivers and sea, of animals tame and wild; while they themselves uttered a most pleasing and clear sound, and taking delight in the proud and intelligent

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φωνῆς τὸ γαύρον καὶ ἐπιστήμου, ἐπιθέμενοι σύμβολα τοῖς εἰς αὐ millennia ἀφικνουμένοι, ὡς πάν τό νοηθέν ὄνομάζει καὶ δηλοῦν, εὐμαρῶς ἀπείρων

20 πραγμάτων καὶ 1 μνήμας καὶ ἐπινοίας παραλαμβά

νουτες. πῶς οὖν ἀγνώτες εἶναι ἔμελλον καὶ μηδὲν λαμ ἐξειν ύπόνοιαν τοὺς σπείραντος καὶ φυτεύσαντος καὶ σφόδραντος καὶ τρέφοντος, παν-

tαχάθεν ἐμπιστεύθηκαν τῆς θείας φύσεως διὰ τῇ ὁψεως καὶ ἀκοής ζυγόπτυχης τε ἀπεκχήως αἰσθήσεως; νεμόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, δρόμων ὁ δ' ἔξ ὅρανοι φῶς,

τροφὰς δὲ ἀφθονοὺς ἔχοντες, εὐπορήσαντος καὶ

30 προπαρασκευάσαντος τοὺς προπάτορος θεοῦ: πρώ-

την μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόκρονοι 2 τὴν γεωδή,

μαλακῆς ἔτι καὶ πλούσιος τῆς ἴλυος τότε οὐσίας,

ἀπὸ ἄπο μητρὸς τῆς γῆς λυχνωμένου, καθάπερ τὰ φυτὰ νῦν ἐλκουστὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἱκμάδα, δευτέραν

de οἱ ἡδῆ προϊόντες 3 καρπών τε αὐτομάτων καὶ πόσα οὐ ὀκληρᾶς, ἀμα δρόσω γλυκεία καὶ

νάμασι νυμφών ποτίμως,

καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἦρτημένου καὶ τρεφό-

μενοι τῇ δυνατείᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιρροῆ, ἀερὰ

ύγρον ἔλκουστε, ὦστε 4 νήπιοι παιδεῖ, οὐποτε ἐπιλείποντος γάλακτος ἀεὶ σφυσι θηλῆς 5 ἐγκεκριμέ

31 νης. σχέδον γὰρ ἀν 6 ταύτην δικαιότερον λέ-

1 καὶ omitted in M, bracketed by Geel.
2 oi πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόκρονοι . . . λυχνωμένοι of the MSS. changed to dative by Wilamowitz who inserts καὶ before καθάπερ.
3 ol . . . προϊόντες Cohoon: τοῖς . . . προϊόντοι.
4 ὦστε Geel: ὦστε.
5 θηλῆς Morel: λήθης.
6 d Reiske: οὖν.
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quality of the human voice, attached symbols to the objects that reached their senses, so as to be able to name and designate everything perceived, thus easily acquiring memories and concepts of innumerable things. How, then, could they have remained ignorant and conceived no inkling of him who had sowed and planted and was now preserving and nourishing them, when on every side they were filled with the divine nature through both sight and hearing, and in fact through every sense? They dwelt upon the earth, they beheld the light of heaven, they had nourishment in abundance, for god, their ancestor, had lavishly provided and prepared it to their hand. As a first nourishment the first men, being the very children of the soil, had the earthy food—the moist loam at that time being soft and rich—which they licked up from the earth, their mother as it were, even as plants now draw the moisture therefrom. Then the later generation, who were now advancing, had a second nourishment consisting of wild fruits and tender herbs along with sweet dew and fresh nymph-haunted rills.¹

Furthermore, being in contact with the circumambient air and nourished by the unceasing inflow of their breath, they sucked in moist air ² as infants suck in their food, this milk never failing them because the teat was ever at their lips. Indeed, we should almost be justified in calling this the

¹ This phrase, which in Greek falls into the choriambic metre, is apparently quoted from some lyric poet. The phrase πότηρον νῦμα occurs in Philostratus, Epistles 10.
² According to Theophrastus (De Sensu) the breathing of moist air led to stupidity.
In what follows we have a reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries. On the fifteenth of Boëdromion (nearly our September) those who were to be initiated into the Mysteries assembled to be arranged and instructed under the guidance of experts called mystagogues (leaders of the mystae or novices).
first nourishment for both the earlier and the succeeding generations without distinction. For when the babe, still sluggish and feeble, is cast forth from the womb, the earth, its real mother, receives it, and the air, after breathing into it and quickening it, at once awakens it by a nourishment more liquid than milk and enables it to emit a cry. This might reasonably be called the first teat that nature offered to human beings at the moment of birth. So experiencing all these things and afterwards taking note of them, men could not help admiring and loving the divinity, also because they observed the seasons and saw that it is for our preservation that they come with perfect regularity and avoidance of excess in either direction, and yet further, because they enjoyed this god-given superiority over the other animals of being able to reason and reflect about the gods. So it is very much the same as if anyone were to place a man, a Greek or a barbarian, in some mystic shrine\(^1\) of extraordinary beauty and size to be initiated, where he would see many mystic sights and hear many mystic voices, where light and darkness would appear to him alternately, and a thousand other things would occur; and further, if it should be just as in the rite called enthrone-

Those accepted had to be free from crime and ignominy and be pure in heart and life. On the nineteenth the procession of novices and mystagogues moved off to Eleusis, where secret rites were held for four days in the τελεστήριον (initiation hall), a building 170 feet square with two entrances on each of three sides. This is the small building referred to in § 34. Round the walls ran seats capable of seating 3000 people, the small crowd referred to by Dio in the same section. This passage throws some light on the nature of those secret rites, about which very little is known.
 Dio Chrysostom

εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλοκαίριν ἡρωικῷ καθάσαντες 
τοὺς μυστέριους θεοτοκοὺς κύκλῳ περιποιοῦντες 
ἀρά γε τὸν άνδρα τούτον μηδὲν παθεῖν εἰκὸς τῇ 
ψυχῇ μηδὲ ὑπονόήσαι τὰ γυγνόμενα, ὡς μετὰ 
γνώμης καὶ παρασκεύης πράττεται σοφωτέρας, 
εἰ καὶ πάντα τις εὐθὺς τῶν μακρύθεν καὶ ἀνωνύμων 
βαρβάρων, μηδὲν οἰκήσῃ ἔξωθεν μηδὲ ἐρμηνεύω 
34 παρόντος, ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχήν ἔχουν; ἡ τούτο μὲν 
οὐκ ἀμυνόν, κοιμῇ δὲ Ξύμπαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων 
γένος τὴν ὀλόκληρον καὶ τῷ ὁμιλοῦν τέλειαν 
τελείαν μυστήριον, οὐκ ἐν οἰκήματι μικρῷ παρασκευασ-
θέντι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ὑλικοῦ βραχέος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, 
ἀλλὰ ἐν τάδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ποικίλῳ καὶ σοφῷ 
δημοσφημίῳ, μυρίων ἐκάστοτε θαυμαστῶν φανο-
μένων, ἐπὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων δύοις τοῖς τελευ-
ταίοις, ἀλλὰ θεῶν ἂναντῶν θεοτόκου τελούντων, 
νυκτὶ τε καὶ ἡμέρα καὶ φωτὶ καὶ ἄστροις, εἰ δέ 
εἰπεῖν, ἀνεχῶς περιποιοῦντών ἄει, τούτων ἐνυμ-
πάντων μηδεμίαν ἀνθρώπους μηδὲ ὑποβιάζαν λαβεῖν, 
μάλιστα δὲ τῶν κορυφαίον προετοίμασε τῶν ὅλων 
καὶ κατευθύνοντος τὸν ἄπαντα οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμου,

1 θρώνιος, so far as I know, occurs only here and in 
Manetho 4. 104. Manetho was an Egyptian priest, a con-
temporary of Dio. But in Plato, Euthydemus 277 d, we find 
the synonym θρώνιοι used to refer to a similar rite of the 
Corybantes. See the following note.

2 Just as in the initiation ceremony of the Corybantes. 
See Plato, Euthydemus 277 d: "These two are doing just the 
same as those in the initiation ceremony of the Corybantes 
when they make the enthronement about the man whom they 
are about to initiate. For in that case too there is dancing 
and jesting, as you know, if you have ever been initiated. 
And now these two fellows are doing nothing but circle about 
you and dance as it were in sport, as if intending to initiate

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ment, where the inducting priests are wont to seat the novices and then dance round and round them—pray, is it likely that the man in this situation would be no whit moved in his mind and would not suspect that all which was taking place was the result of a more than wise intention and preparation, even if he belonged to the most remote and nameless barbarians and had no guide and interpreter at his side—provided, of course, that he had the mind of a human being? Or rather, is this not impossible? impossible too that the whole human race, which is receiving the complete and truly perfect initiation, not in a little building erected by the Athenians for the reception of a small company, but in this universe, a varied and cunningly wrought creation, in which countless marvels appear at every moment, and where, furthermore, the rites are being performed, not by human beings who are of no higher order than the initiates themselves, but by immortal gods who are initiating mortal men, and night and day both in sunlight and under the stars are—if we may dare to use the term—literally dancing around them forever—is it possible to suppose, I repeat, that of all these things his senses told him nothing, or that he gained no faintest inkling of them, and especially when the leader of the choir was in charge of the whole spectacle and directing the entire heaven and uni-

you after that"—ποιετὸν δὲ ταῦτα ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυθάντων, οὗτοι τὴν θρόνων ποιῶσιν περί τοῦτον ὅν ἄν μελλον τελέιν καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τῆς ἄστι καὶ παιδία, εἰ δὲν τετέλεσα: καὶ νῦν τούτῳ συνεδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χορεύετον περὶ σὲ καὶ οἴον οργείαν παίζοντε, ὡς μετὰ τοῦτο τελέστε.

3 With αἰωθῆναι Dio refers to the visible gods such as the sun and with ὑποφλαῖον he refers to the supreme and invisible ruler of the universe, as von Arnim remarks.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

οὖν σοφοὶ κυβερνήτου νεῶς ἀρχοντὸς πάνω καλῶς
tε καὶ ἀνενδέως παρεσκευασμένης;

35 Οὐ γὰρ ἔπε τῶν ἁνθρώπων τὸ τοιοῦτον γεγο-
μενον θαυμάσαι τις ἂν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅπως καὶ
μέχρι τῶν θηρίων δικνεῖται τῶν ἄφρόνων καὶ
ἀλόγων, ὡς καὶ ταῦτα γεγονότες καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν
θεὸν καὶ προβαλόμεθα ζῆν κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου
θεσμὸν· ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄπειροκότως τὰ φυτά, οἰς
μυθεία μηδενὸς ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ ἄφιγα καὶ ἄφωνα
ἀπλῆ των φύσεως διουκούμενα, ὡς δὴ καὶ ταῦτα
ἐκουσίως καὶ βουλόμενα καρπῶν ἐκφέρει τὸν
προσήκοντα ἐκαστῶς· οὕτω πάνω ἐναργής καὶ
πρόδηλος ἡ τοῦτος τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμη καὶ δύναμις.

36 ἀλλ᾽ ἦτοι σφόνδρα γελοῖοι καὶ ἁρχάιοι δόξομεν ἐτὶ
tοῦτος 1 τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγγυτέρω φάσκοντες οἷνα τὴν
τοιαύτην ἐξέστην τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ τοῖς δένδροις
ὕπερ ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπειρίαν τε καὶ ἄγνοιαν; ὅποτε
ἀνθρωποί τινες σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι τῆς ἀπάτης
σοφίας, οὐ κηρὸν ἐγχειρεῖτε τοῖς ὅσιοι, ἀφετέρου,
οἷμαι, φασὶ τούς Ἰθακηνίους ναῦτας ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ
κατακούσαι τῆς τῶν Σειρήνων ὄρεις, ἀλλὰ μολύ-
βδον τῶν μαλθακῆς ὀμοῦ καὶ ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ
φωνῆς φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ, οἷμαι, πρὸ τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν
σκότος πολὺ προβαλόμενοι καὶ ἄχλυν, ὡς ἢ
"Ομήρος φησὶ κωλύσθαι τὸν κατάληφθεντα δια-
γεγονότες θεόν, ὑπερφρονοῦσι τὰ θεῖα, καὶ μίαν
ιδρυσάμενοι δαίμονα πονηρὰν καὶ ἀτοπον; 2 τρυ-

1 τοῦτοι added by Cupps.
2 ἀτοπον or ἄλογον Hertlein, ἀληθήριον Unger: ἄλων.

1 The Epicureans are meant. For a similar expression see § 11.

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verse, even as a skilful pilot commands a ship that has been perfectly furnished and lacks nothing?

That human beings should be so effectually would occasion no surprise, but much rather that, as we see, this influence reaches even the senseless and irrational brutes, so that even they recognize and honour the god and desire to live according to his ordinance; and it is still stranger that the plants, which have no conception of anything, but, being soulless and voiceless, are controlled by a simple kind of nature—it is passing strange. I say, that even these voluntarily and willingly yield each its own proper fruit; so very clear and evident is the will and power of yonder god. Nay, I wonder if we shall be thought exceedingly absurd and hopelessly behind the times in view of this reasoning, if we maintain that this unexpected knowledge is indeed more natural for the beasts and the trees than dullness and ignorance are for us? Why, certain men have shown themselves wiser than all wisdom;¹ yes, they have poured into their ears, not wax, as I believe they say that the sailors from Ithaca did that they might not hear the song of the Sirens,² but a substance like lead, soft at once and impenetrable by the human voice, and they also methinks have hung before their eyes a curtain of deep darkness and mist like that which, according to Homer, kept the god from being recognized when he was caught;³ these men, then, despise all things divine, and having set up the image of one single female divinity, depraved and monstrous,

¹ Homer, Odyssey 12. 173.
² Zeus with Hera: see Homer, Iliad 14. 342 and Discourse 11. 21.
³
 Dio Chrysostom

φην τινα ἣν ῥάθυμιαν πολλήν καὶ ἀνειμένην ὥβριν, Ἡδονήν ἐπονομάζοντες, γυναικεῖαν τῷ ὅντι θεόν, προτιμῶσι καὶ θεραπεύοντι κυμβάλοις τισίν ύποψοφοῦν 1 καὶ αὐλοῖς ὑπὸ σκότος αὐλουμένων, ἦς εὐωχίας οὐδείς ἐκεῖνος φθόνος, εἰ μέχρι τοῦ ἄδειν αὐτοῖς τὸ σοφὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς θερίσῃ ἡμῶν ἀφηροῦντο καὶ ἀπωκιζοῦν, ἐξελαιούντες ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἐκ τοῦτοι τοῦ κόσμου παντός, εἰς τινα χώρας ἀτόπους, καθάπερ ἀνθρώπους δυστυχεῖς εἰς τινα νῆσους ἐρήμους· τάδε δὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα φάσκοντες ἐγνώμονα καὶ ἀφρόνα καὶ ἀδέσποτα καὶ μηδένα ἠχοντα ἀρχοντα μηδὲ ταμίαν μηδὲ ἐπιστάτην πλανῶσθαι εἰκῇ καὶ φέρεσθαι, μηδενὸς μήτε νῦν προοούντος μήτε πρότερον ἐργασαμένον τὸ πᾶν, μηδὲ ὡσπερ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς τροχοὺς αὐτοὶ κινήσαντες εἶτα ἔδωσιν ἀμφατῶν φέρεσθαι.

38 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐπεξήλθεν ὁ λόγος καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκβάς· τυχών γὰρ οὐ βάδιον τὸν τοῦ φιλοσόφου νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἐπισχεῖν, ένθα ἄν ὀρμήσῃ, τοῦ ἐξυνάτωντος ἀεὶ φαινομένου ἐμφέροντος καὶ ἀναγκαίου τοῦ ἀκροώμενος, οὐ μελετηθέντα πρὸς ὑδώρ καὶ δικανικήν ἀνάγκην, ὡσπερ οὖν ἐφ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν φέρεσθαι.

1 ὀποθεμοῦσι Carpa, ἐποφόφοι Reiske, πολυφόφοι Horwerden: ἡ ψόφοις ου ἀφόφοις.

1 Dio refers to the soft tinkling of the sistrum in the worship of Isis.

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representing a kind of wantonness or self-indulgent ease and unrestrained lewdness, to which they gave the name of Pleasure—an effeminate god in very truth—her they prefer in honour and worship with softly tinkling cymbal-like instruments, or with pipes played under cover of darkness—a form of entertainment which nobody would grudge such men if their cleverness went only as far as singing, and they did not attempt to take our gods from us and send them into banishment, driving them out of their own state and kingdom, clean out of this ordered universe to alien regions, even as unfortunate human beings are banished to sundry uninhabited isles; and all this universe above us they assert is without purpose or intelligence or master, has no ruler or even steward or overseer, but wanders at random and is swept aimlessly along, no master being there to take thought for it now, and no creator having made it in the first place, or even doing as the boys do with their hoops, which they set in motion of their own accord, and then let them roll along of themselves.

Now to explain this digression—my argument is responsible, having turned aside of itself; for perhaps it is not easy to check the course of a philosopher's thoughts and speech, no matter what direction they may take; for whatever suggests itself to his mind always seems profitable, nay indispensable, for his audience, and my speech has not been prepared to "suit the water-clock and the constraint of court procedure," to use somebody's

2 This was the teaching of Epicurus. Compare Hippocrates 343. 20: "to wander senseless," ἔγνωκονα πλανᾶσθαι.
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς ἑξουσίας καὶ ἀδείας. οὐκοῦν
tὸ γε ἀναδραμέων οὐ χαλεπὸν, ὥσπερ ἐν πλῷ τῶς
ἰκανοῖς κυβερνήταις οὐ πολύ παραλλάξασι.

39 Τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξης καὶ ὑπολήψεως
πρώτην μὲν ἀτεχνῶς πηγὴν ἐλέγομεν τὴν ἐμφυτοῦ
ἀπασώ ἀνθρώποις ἐπίνοιαν, ἡς αὐτῶν γιγνομένην
τῶν ἔργων καὶ τάληθος, οὔ κατὰ πλαίσιν αυτάσσον
οὐδὲ ὡς ἐτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάνω ἴσχυρὰν καὶ ἄένων ἐκ
τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ παρὰ πάσι τοῖς ἐθνεσὶν
ἀρξαμένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, σχεδὸν τι κοινὴν καὶ
dημοσίαν τοῦ λογικοῦ γένους.

Δευτέραν δὲ λέγομεν τὴν ἡμικτήτου καὶ δὴ
οὐκ ἐτέρως ἡ γιγνομένη ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡ ἡμικτή
τε καὶ μύθους καὶ ἔθεσι, τοῖς μὲν ἀδεσπότοις τε
καὶ ἀγράφοις, τοῖς δὲ ἐγγράφοις καὶ σφόδρα
40 γνωρίμους ἔχομεν τοὺς κυρίους. τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης
ὑπολήψεως τὴν μὲν τινα ἐκουσίαν καὶ παραμυθη-
tικὴν φώμεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναγκαίαν καὶ προστακτικὴν.

1 λέγομεν τὴν Reisko: λεγομένην.
2 δὴ οὐκ ἐτέρως Capps, δὲ ἐτέρων Reisko: δὲ οὐδετέρων.
3 ἡ Capps, with all MSS. except M.

1 Compare Plato, Theaetetus 172 d: “The flowing water
urges me on”—κατεπείγει γὰρ ύδαρ ρέον. A reference to the
κλεφύθρα or water-clock, which was a receptacle filled with
water and having a small vent through which water trickled
slowly. Used to measure the time allotted to the speakers in
Athenian law courts. See Aristophanes, Wasps 93. 257; Aris-
totle, Constitution of Athens 67. 2.

2 See Cicero, Laws 1. 8. 4 for the same thought: “And so,
of all the many kinds of living creatures there is none except
man that has any concept of a god, while among men them-

selves there is no race so highly civilized or so savage that,
even if it does not know what sort of god it ought to have,
yet thinks that it ought to have one. This goes to show that
man recognizes God because in a sense he remembers and
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THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

eexpression, but allows itself a great deal of license. Well, it is not difficult to run back again, just as on a voyage it is not difficult for competent steersmen who have got a little off their course to get back upon it.

To resume, then: Of man’s belief in the deity and his assumption that there is a god we were maintaining that the fountain-head, as we may say, or source, was that idea which is innate in all mankind and comes into being as the result of the actual facts and the truth, an idea that was not framed confusedly nor yet at random, but has been exceedingly potent and persistent since the beginning of time, and has arisen among all nations and still remains, being, one may almost say, a common and general endowment of rational beings.

As the second source we designate the idea which has been acquired and indeed implanted in men’s souls through no other means than narrative accounts, myths, and customs, in some cases ascribed to no author and also unwritten, but in others written and having as their authors men of very great fame. Of this acquired notion of the divine being let us say that one part is voluntary and due to exhortation, another part compulsory and prescriptive.

recognizes the source from which he sprang”—Itaque ex tot generibus nullum est animal praeter hominem, quod habeat notitiam aliquid dei, ipsisque in hominibus nulla gens est neque tam mansueta neque tam fera, quae non, etiam si ignorant qualem habere deum debeat, tamen habendum sciatur. ex quo officiatur illud, ut is agnoscat deum qui unde ortus sit quasi recordetur et agnoscat.

3 Plato (Phaedrus 237d) speaks of two ‘ideas,’ the inborn desire (ἐσφυτος ἐπιθυμία) and the acquired opinion (ἐπίκτητος δόξα). See also his Republic 618 d.
λέγω δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐκουσίου καὶ παραμυθίας ἐχομένη τῆν τῶν ποιητῶν, τοῦ δὲ ἀναγκαίου καὶ προστάξεως τῆν τῶν νομοθέτων τούτων γὰρ οὐδετέρῳ ἴσχυσαί δυνατὸν μὴ πρῶτης ἐκείνης ὑπούσης, δι’ ἥν βουλομένους ἐνεγύγνωστο 1 καὶ τρόπον τινὰ προειδόσων αὐτοῖς αἰ τε προστάξεις καὶ παραμυθίαι, τῶν μὲν ὅρθως καὶ εὐμφώνως ἐξηγούμενῶν ποιητῶν καὶ νομοθέτων, τῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐποιήσεις, τῶν δὲ ἀποπλανωμένων ἐν τισιν. ἀμφοῖ τοῦ τοῦτο λεγομένου ποτέραν πρεσβυτέραν φώμεν τῷ χρόνῳ παρὰ γε ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἐλλησι, πολίσι, ἤ 2 νομοθεσίαι, οὔκ ἄν ἔχοιμι διατεινόμενοι ἐπείν τῷ παρόντι. πρέπει δὲ ἐσώς τὸ ἀξίημον καὶ πειστικὸν 3 ἀρχαιότερον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ ἔννοιας καὶ προστάξεως.

42 σχεδὸν οὖν μέχρι τούτῳ ὅμως πρόεισι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ περὶ τοῦ πρῶτου καὶ ἀθανάτου γονέως, ὃν καὶ πατρὼν Δία καλοῦμεν οἱ τῆς Ἐλλάδος κοινωνοῦντες, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων γονέων. καὶ γὰρ δῆ ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνους εὔνους καὶ θεραπεία τοῖς ἐκγόνους πρῶτη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀδίδακτος ὑπάρχει, τὸ γεννήσαι καὶ τρέψων καὶ στέργον τοῦ γεννητὸς εὐθύς ἀντιφιλούντος καὶ ἀντιθεραπεύοντος

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1 ἐνεγύγνωστο Capps : ἐγύγνωστο.
2 ἤ Dindorf : καὶ.
3 πειστικῶν Koehler : ποιητικῶν.

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1 That is, some of both the lawgivers and the poets.
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By the kind that depends upon voluntary acceptance and exhortation I mean that which is handed down by the poets, and by the kind that depends upon compulsion and prescription I mean that due to the lawgivers. I call these secondary because neither of them could possibly have gained strength unless that primary notion had been present to begin with; and because it was present, there took root in mankind, of their own volition and because they already possessed a sort of foreknowledge, the prescriptions of the lawgivers and the exhortations of the poets, some of them expounding things correctly and in consonance with the truth and their hearers' notions, and others going astray in certain matters. But which of the two influences mentioned should be called the earlier in time, among us Greeks at any rate, namely, poetry or legislation, I am afraid I cannot discuss at length on the present occasion; but perhaps it is fitting that the kind which depended, not upon penalties, but upon persuasion should be more ancient than the kind which employed compulsion and prescription. Now up to this point, we may almost say, the feelings of the human race towards their first and immortal parent, whom we who have a share in the heritage of Hellas call Ancestral Zeus, develop step by step along with those which men have toward their mortal and human parents. For in truth the goodwill and desire to serve which the offspring feel toward their parents is, in the first type, present in them, untaught, as a gift of nature and as a result of acts of kindness received, since that which has been begotten straightway from birth loves and cherishes in return, so far as it may, that which begat and nourishes and loves it, whereas
ὁπως ἂν ἦ δυνατόν, δευτέρα δὲ καὶ τρίτη, ἢ ἀπὸ 1 ποιητῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν, τῶν μὲν παραμονὴν μὴ ἀποστερεῖν χάριν τὸ προσβύτερον καὶ ἐγγενέσι, ἐτὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἁψῆ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἐπαναγκαζόντων καὶ ἀπελούστων κόλασιν τοῖς οὖ πειθομένοις, άνευ τοῦ διασαφεῖν καὶ δηλοῦν ὅποιοι τινὲς εἴσον οἳ γονεῖς καὶ τίνων εὐεργεσίαν 2 χρέος ὀφειλόμενου κελεύουσι μὴ ἀνέκτητον 3 εἶν. ἐν δὲ 4 τοῖς περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγων καὶ μύθως μᾶλλον ἐτι 5 τούτο ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἐπ’ ἀμφατέρων γιγνόμενον.

'Ορὼ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τοῖς πολλοῖς πανταχοῦ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν κοπῶδες καὶ τὴν 6 περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲν ἦττον οἷς μέλει πλήθους μόνον, οἷ 7 οὐδέν δὴ 8 προειπότες οὐδὲ διαστελλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τινος ἄρχης ἀρχὸμενοι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ’ αὐτόθεν, 9 ὡς φασιν, ἀπλύτως ποσὶ διεξάσαι τὰ φανερώτατα καὶ γημύνοτα. καὶ ποδῶν μὲν ἀπλύτων οὐ μεγάλη βλάβη διά τε πηλοῦ καὶ πολλῶν καθαρμάτων ἴστους, γλώττης δὲ ἀνεπιστήμων οὐ μικρὰ ξημα γίγνεται τοῖς ἀκρομένους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους, ὡς λόγον τινὰ 10 ἔχειν ἄξιον, συνεξανύσε καὶ συνεκπονεῖν, μέχρις ἄν ὡς ἐκ καμπῆς τινος καὶ δυσχωρίας καταστήσωμεν εἰς εὐθείαν τοὺς λόγους.

1 ἡ ἀπὸ added by Capps.
2 εὐεργεσίαν Emporius: εὐεργετῶν.
3 ἀνέκτητον Morel: ἀνέκτητον.
4 δὲ found in M.
5 ἐτι Wilamowitz: δὲ. Geel, followed by most editors, deleted the whole sentence.
6 τὴν Capps: τὰ.
7 οἷ added by Capps.
8 δὴ Emporius: δὲ.
9 αὐτόθεν Wilamowitz: αὐτό γε.
10 Jacobs deleted ἀκότως after τινὰ and ἔχων after ἄξιον.
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the second and third types, which are derived from our poets and lawgivers, the former exhorting us not to withhold our gratitude from that which is older and of the same blood, besides being the author of life and being, the latter using compulsion and the threat of punishment for those who refuse obedience, without, however, making altogether clear and showing plainly just who parents are and what the acts of kindness are for which they enjoin upon us not to leave unpaid a debt which is due. But to an even greater extent do we see this to be true in both particulars in their stories and myths about the gods.

Now I am well aware that to most men strict exactness in any exposition is on every occasion irksome, and that exactness in a speech is no less so for those whose sole interest is in quantity alone; these without any preface whatever or any statements defining their subject-matter, nay, without even beginning their speeches with any beginning, but straight off 'with unwashed feet,\(^1\) as the saying is, proceed to expound things most obvious and naked to the sight. Now as for 'unwashed feet,' though they do no great harm when men must pass through mud and piles of refuse, yet an ignorant tongue causes no little injury to an audience. However, we may reasonably expect that the educated men of the audience, of whom one ought to take some account, will keep up with us and go through the task with us until we emerge from bypath and rough ground, as it were, and get our argument back upon the straight road.

\(^1\) For another form of this expression, which means 'unprepared,' see Lucian, *Pseudologista* 4: ἀστράτος ποιεῖ.
Τριών δὲ προεκκειμένων ¹ γενέσεων τῆς δαμονίου παρ’ ἀνθρώπους ὑπολήψεως, ἐμφύτου, ποιητικῆς, νομικῆς, τετάρτην φῶμεν τὴν πλαστικὴν τε καὶ δημιουργικὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἁγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, λέγω δὲ γραφέων τε καὶ ἀνθριαντοποιῶν καὶ λιθοξόων καὶ παντὸς ἀπλῶς τοῦ καταξιώ- σαντος αὐτὸν ἀποφήμι μοιμητὴν διὰ τέχνης τῆς δαμονίας φύσεως, εἰτε σκιαγραφία μάλα ἀσθενεί καὶ ἀπαθηλῇ πρὸς ὅψιν, εἰτε ² χρωμάτων μίξη καὶ γραμμῆς ὀρώ σχεδὸν τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περι- λαμβάνουση, εἰτε λίθων γλυφαῖς εἰτε ξοάνων ἔργασίας, κατ’ ὀλίγου τῆς τέχνης ἀφαιρούσης τὸ περιττόν, ἔως ἂν καταλίθη αὐτὸ τὸ ³ φαινό- μενον εἴδος, εἰτε χωνεία χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐδὲ τίμια διὰ πυρὸς ἐλαθέντων ἡ ὑμέντων ἐπὶ τινος τύπους, εἰτε κηροῦ πλάσει ράστα ἰνακολοο- θοῦντος τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ πλεῖστον ἐπιδεχομένου τὸ τῆς μετανοίας: οἶος ἂν Φειδίας τε καὶ Ἀλκαμένης

¹ προεκκειμένων Arnim : προεκειμένων.
² εἰτε added by Carra.
³ αὐτὸ τὸ Emporius : τὸ αὐτοῖς.

¹ See Strabo 1. 2. 7–9, p. 19–20 for the enumeration of these four.
² Compare Plato, Critias, 107 c: “We use a rough sketch very dim and illusive”—σκιαγραφία δὲ ἀσαφεῖ καὶ ἀπαθηλῷ χρώμαθα. Such rough sketches were used in scene-painting.
³ Compare Cicero, De Divinatione, 2. 21. 48: “but when many things have been removed and the outlines of the features
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Now that we have set before us three sources of man's conception of the divine being, to wit, the innate, that derived from the poets, and that derived from the lawgivers, let us name as the fourth that derived from the plastic art and the work of skilled craftsmen who make statues and likenesses of the gods—I mean painters and sculptors and masons who work in stone, in a word, everyone who has held himself worthy to come forward as a portrayer of the divine nature through the use of art, whether (1) by means of a rough sketch, very indistinct and deceptive to the eye, or (2) by the blending of colours and by line-drawing, which produces a result which we can almost say is the most accurate of all, or (3) by the carving of stone, or (4) by the craft which makes images of wood, in which the artist little by little removes the excess of material until nothing remains but the shape which the observer sees, or (5) by the casting of bronze and the like precious metals, which are heated and then either beaten out or poured into moulds, or (6) by the moulding of wax, which most readily answers the artist's touch and affords the greatest opportunity for change of intention. To this class belong not only Pheidias but also Alcamenes and Polycleitus and have been reached, then one can perceive that what has now been polished had always been inside the block—sed cum multa sunt detracta et ad lineamenta oris perventum est, tum intellegas id quod iam expolitum sit intus fuisset.

4 For correction of error in original design or for improvement of it.

5 Greek artist and pupil of Pheidias.

6 Fl. 452–412, sculptor, architect, artist in toreutic. Exelled in making images of men as Pheidias did in making those of gods.
καὶ Πολύκλειτος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγλαοφῶν καὶ Πολύγνωτος καὶ Ζεδίς καὶ πρότερος αὐτῶν ὁ Δαίδαλος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέχρη τούτους περὶ τάλλα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν δεινότητα καὶ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεών εἰκόνας καὶ διαβέσεις παντοδαπᾶς ἐπιδεικνύστε, ἵδια τε καὶ δημοσία χορηγοὺς τὰς πόλεις λαμβάνοντες, πολλῆς ἐνέπλησαν ὑπονοίας καὶ ποικιλίας περὶ τοῦ δαμονίου, οὐ παντελῶς διαφέρομενοι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ νομοθέταις, τὸ μὲν ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσιν παράνομοι καὶ ταῖς ἐπικειμέναις ἐνέχωσιν ἡμῖν, τὸ δὲ ὀρῶντες προκατελημμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν τὴν ἐκείνων εἰδωλοποιίαν. οὐκοιν ἐβούλοντο φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπίθανοι καὶ ἄθεοις καμοποιοῦντες. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τοῖς μῦθοις ἐπόμενοι καὶ συνηγοροῦντες ἐπιλαττοῦν, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐλεσέφερον, ἀντίτεχνοι καὶ ὀμόσυνοι τρόπον τινὰ γεγονόμενον τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς ἐκείνοι δι’ ἀκοῆς ἐπιδεικνύστε, ἀτεχνῶς καὶ αὐτοὶ δι’ ὁψεως ἐξηγούμενοι τὰ θεῖα τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ ἀπειροτέροις θεοῖσι, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἱσχύν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἄρχης ἐκείνης, ὡς ἐπὶ τιμῆ καὶ χάριτι ποιοῦμενα τοῦ δαμονίου.

46 Καὶ µὴν δίχα γε τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ πρεσβυτάτης

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1 Father and teacher of Polygnotus. Famed as painter in first half of fifth century B.C.
2 One of the most celebrated Greek painters. Came to Athens about 463 B.C.
3 Fl. 424–380, celebrated Greek painter.
4 Mythical personage, whose name means ‘cunning craftsman.’ Said to have been very skilled sculptor and mechanic. Made the wooden cow for Pasiphaë and the labyrinth to hold the Minotaur.
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further, Aglaophon and Polygnotus and Zeuxis and, earlier than all these, Daedalus. For these men were not satisfied to display their cleverness and skill on commonplace subjects, but by exhibiting all sorts of likenesses and representations of gods they secured for their patrons both private persons and the states, whose people they filled with an ample and varied conception of the divine; and here they did not differ altogether from the poets and law-givers, in the one case that they might not be considered violators of the laws and thus make themselves liable to the penalties imposed upon such, and in the other case because they saw that they had been anticipated by the poets and that the poets' image-making was the earlier. Consequently they preferred not to appear to the many as untrustworthy and to be disliked for making innovations. In most matters, accordingly, they adhered to the myths and maintained agreement with them in their representations, but in some few cases they contributed their own ideas, becoming in a sense the rivals as well as fellow-craftsmen of the poets, since the latter appealed to the ear alone, whereas it was simply through the eye that they, for their part, interpreted the divine attributes to their more numerous and less cultivated spectators. And all these influences won strength from that primary impulse, as having originated with the honouring of the divine being and winning his favour.

And furthermore, quite apart from that simple

5 Compare Strabo 1. 2. 7–9 and § 57 of this Discourse.
6 Compare Herodotus, 1. 8: ἄντα γὰρ τυχθένει ἀνθρώποις ἑστα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν. See also § 79 of this Discourse.
ἐννοιας περὶ θεῶν καὶ ξυγγενῶς πάσιν ἄνθρωποις ἀμα τῷ λόγῳ φυσικής, πρὸς τοὺς τρισὶ τούτους ἐρμηνευσί καὶ διδασκάλοις ποιητικῆς καὶ νομοθετικῆς καὶ δημοσιογραφῆς, τέταρτον ἀνάγκη παραλαβεῖν, οὗτοι ράθυμοι οὐδὲ ἀπείρως ἡγοῦμενον ἐχεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, λέγω δὴ 1 τὸν φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα, ἦ λόγῳ 2 ἐξηγητὴν καὶ προφήτην τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἀληθέστατων ἰσως καὶ τελειότατων. 48 Τὸν μὲν οὖν νομοθέτην ἐάσωμεν τὰ νῦν εἰς εὐθύνας ἄγειν, ἄνδρα αὐτοτηρούν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῶν εὐθύνοντα: δέοι γὰρ ἄν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ φείδεσθαι καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσχολίας. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκάστου γένους προχειρισάμενοι τὸν ἄκρον σκοπῶμεν, εἰ τινὰ ὀφελείαν ἦ 3 καὶ βλάβην φανησονται πεποιηκότες πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις, ὅπως τὲ ἐχονοιν ὁμολογίας ἢ τοῦ διαφέρεσθαι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐνεπεται τῷ ἀληθείς μάλιστα, τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἀδόλῳ γνώμῃ σύμφωνος ὅν, πάντες τοιγαροῦν οὕτοι ἐξυνάδουσιν, ὀσπερ ἐνός ἰχνους λαβόμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σώζοντες, οἱ μὲν σαφῆς, οἱ δὲ ἀδηλότερον. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἰσως δέοιτο παραμυθέως ὁ 4 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φιλόσοφος, εἰ πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἁγιοῦ ποιήτου ἁγιομάτων ἢ μέτρων, καὶ ταύτα ἐν ὀχλῳ πανηγύρεως εκείνως φίλων δικαστῶν;

1 δὴ Capps: δὲ.
2 λόγῳ Venetian edition: λόγων.
3 ἦ Wilamowitz: τε.
4 ὁ added by Reiske.
and earliest notion of the gods, which develops in the hearts of all men along with their reasoning power,¹ in addition to those three interpreters and teachers, the poets, the lawgivers, and creative artists, we must take on a fourth one, who is by no means indifferent nor believes himself unacquainted with the gods, I mean the philosopher,² the one who by means of reason interprets and proclaims the divine nature, most truly, perhaps, and most perfectly.

As to the lawgiver, let us omit for the present to hale him here for an accounting; a stern man is he and himself accustomed to hold all others to an accounting. Indeed, we ought to have consideration for ourselves and for our own preoccupation.³ But as for the rest, let us select the foremost man of each class, and consider whether they will be found to have done by their acts or words any good or harm to piety, and how they stand as to agreement with each other or divergence from one another, and which one of them adheres to the truth most closely, being in harmony with that primary and guileless view. Now in fact all these men speak with one voice, just as if they had taken the one track and were keeping to it, some clearly and others less plainly. Would the true philosopher, perhaps, not stand in need of consolation if he should be brought into comparison with the makers of statues or of poetic measures, and that too, before the throng of a national festive-gathering where the judges are predisposed in their favour?

¹ Cf. § 27.
² See p. 18 f, note 4.
³ The Olympic Games offered many attractions to the people, and Dio feels that he must not hold them too long.
49 Ἐλ γάρ τις Φειδίαν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησον εὐθύνοι, τὸν ςοφὸν τοῦτον καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐργάτην τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ παγκάλου δημουργήματος, καθίσας δικαστάς τοὺς βραβεύοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ἁγώνα, μᾶλλον δὲ κοινὸν δικαστήριον ἐμπάντων Πελο-
πονησίων, ἐτι δὲ Βουστῶν καὶ Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τῶν πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἕπινην καὶ τὴν Ἁσίαν, οὐ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον ἀπαιτῶν οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα δαπάνης, ὁπόσων χρυσὸς ὀνήθη ταλάντων καὶ ἐλέφας, ἔτι δὲ κυπάριστος καὶ θύσων, πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς ἐργασίαν μόνιμος ὑλή καὶ ἀδιάφθορος,1 τροφῆς τε καὶ μισθῶν ἀναλώματος σι τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὐδὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄλλοις τε οὐ φαύλοις δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ 2 τελεστάτου μισθοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης Φειδία-
tαύτα μὲν γάρ Ἡλείαις προσήκοντα λογίσασθαι τοῖς ἀναλώσασιν ἀφθόνως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, 50 ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου φήσαμεν τῷ Φειδίᾳ προκείσθαι τὸν ἁγώνα· εἰ οὐν δὴ λέγοι τις πρὸς αὐτόν.

"Ω βελτιστε καὶ ἀριστε τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὡς μὲν ἢδυ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὁμοία καὶ τέρπων ἀμηχανον θέας εἰργάσω πᾶσιν Ἐλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὅσι ποτὲ δεύτο ἀφίκοντο πολλοὶ 51 πολλάκις, οὐδεὶς αἰνεῖ. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἄλογον ἄν ἐκπλήξειε 4 τοῦτο γε τῶν ἅλων φύσιν,

1 ἐντὸς ἐργασίαν μόνιμος ὑλή καὶ ἀδιάφθορος Arnim: ἐν τῇ ἐργασίᾳ μόνιμον ὑλὴν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον.
2 Goel restores the genitives for ἀνάλωμα and τὸν πλείστου καὶ τελεστάτου μισθοῦ of the MSS.
3 ὅς μὲν Venetian edition: ὅς μὲν οὖν.
4 ἄλογον ἄν ἐκπλήξειε Goel: ἄν ἄλογον ἐκπλήξει.
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Suppose, for instance, that someone were to take Pheidias first and question him before the tribunal of the Hellenes, Pheidias, that wise and divinely-inspired creator of this awe-inspiring masterpiece of surpassing beauty, and should appoint as judges the men who are directing this contest in honour of the god, or better, a general court of all the Peloponnesians and of the Boeotians, too, and Ionians and of the other Hellenes, wherever they are to be found in Asia as well as in Europe, and then suppose they should demand an accounting, not of the monies or of the sum spent on the statue—the number of talents paid for gold and ivory, and for cypress and citron-wood, which are durable and indestructible timber for the interior work, or of the expenditure for the maintenance and wages of the workmen, who were not few in number and worked for so long a time, the wages not only of the men in general, who were no mean artisans, but of Pheidias also, to whom went the greatest and fullest reward on account of his artistic skill—of these items, I say, it was fitting that the Eleans, who poured out their money so lavishly and magnificently, should have called for a reckoning; but as for us, we shall maintain that it is for something else that Pheidias must submit to trial. Suppose, then, that someone should actually say to him:

"O best and noblest of artists, how charming and pleasing a spectacle you have wrought, and a vision of infinite delight for the benefit of all men, both Greeks and barbarians, who have ever come here, as they have come in great throngs and time after time, no one will gainsay. For verily even the irrational brute creation would be so struck with awe if they
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

ei ðunaioi prosdeiv mònon, taûrôv te tòv ñel pròs tòn ðe tov boymi ãgômènov, òws ëkántas úpeîkeiv 1 toûs kataxhroménous, ei tina parèxoun toû ðeiv ãhrivn, ëti ðè áetèwv te kai úppwv kai leôntovn, òws to ãûmèrov kai ãyrivn ñbësxantàs toû ðuùmov pollhìn ãsuvxian ãneivn, teryphèntas 2 ùpÒ ðív ñèas: ãûbòptov dé, ðs ñin ãûntêlòs èpìpovos toû ñivhìn, pollhès ãnàntlòhs 3 ñmìforàs kai ëmpas èn toû ðìw ìmèè ûppivn ñdîw ëpìbàllàmènov, 4 kai ðs dòkë ìwv kai ñëntìnw stàs tûsède ðív ëikònov ëkklàsèsvi ñìv 5 ðàntìwv ñsà ën ãûbrôptivn ðìw ìmèè kai ñaalèpà ñgìnvntà pàðèvn. òûtwos ñûge ãsvèpèov kai èmiìxhàmèov ðèwmà, ñtecvòs

ûpesvòs tî ãkolòn te, kàkàvû ëpìlèvèov ñpàntovn.

tosòvton ñîw kai tosaútì ãhriv èpëstèvn ñpò ðív tèxhès. òûdè ýàr ñìv 6 ñûtvûn toû "Hfìaivtoû èkìs èngkàlësan tûsède tòv ërmwv, krìovntà pròs ñdônìv kai têrëvìv ãûbròptivns ñûmèwv.

Éi ð' að to ñpèpon èidòs kai tòv ñèìvan ñoroñv ñòs ðèov ñûçèos èðìmòúrgìov ñìv ðë ëpìtèrpetì ñrìsàmènov, ãûdròs te ñoroñv ñûpëvñv ðò ðàllòs kai ðò ñègyðos ñèìjà, plîhû ñ' 7 ãûdròs kai ñálà pvùsà ãs èpòõsàs, ñkòpìûmèn tòv ñûvû ùpèr

1 úpêkeiv Cohoon : úpêkeiv.
2 teryphèntas Geol : teryphènta.
3 ãnàntlòhs Dindorf : ãnàntlòhs.
4 Capps conjectures ìv'd èn ñûvû ñìdè èpìplàllòmènov—"which even in sweet sleep he could never forget." Arnim, condemnìng èpìbàllàmènov, suggests ñte ëmìbànvov.
5 ñì v added by Geol.
6 ñì PY, omitted by other MSS.
7 ñ' added by Capps. ñè ãûdròs Schwartz.
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

could catch merely a glimpse of yonder statue, not only the bulls\(^1\) which are being continually led to this altar, so that they would willingly submit themselves to the priests who perform the rites of sacrifice, if so they would be giving some pleasure to the god, but eagles too, and horses and lions, so that they would subdue their untamed and savage spirits and preserve perfect quiet, delighted by the vision; and of men, whoever is sore distressed in soul, having in the course of his life drained the cup of many misfortunes and griefs, nor ever winning sweet sleep—even this man, methinks, if he stood before this image, would forget all the terrors and hardships that fall to our human lot. Such a wondrous vision did you devise and fashion, one in very truth a

Charmer of grief and anger, that from men

All the remembrance of their ills could loose!\(^2\)

So great the radiance and so great the charm with which your art has clothed it. Indeed it is not reasonable to suppose that even Hephaestus himself would criticize this work if he judged it by the pleasure and delight which it affords the eye of man."

"But, on the other hand, was the shape you by your artistry produced appropriate to a god and was its form worthy of the divine nature, when you not only used a material which gives delight but also presented a human form of extraordinary beauty and size; and apart from its being a man's shape, made also all the other attributes as you have made them? that is the question which I invite you

\(^1\) The statue of Zeus was within the temple, where the bulls being sacrificed at the altar outside could not see it.

\(^2\) Homer, *Odyssey* 4. 221, translated by Mackail.
Διό ἀπολογησάμενος ἦκαν ὑπὸ τοὺς παροῦς, καὶ πεῖσας ὅτι τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἐξεύρεσε σχήματος τε καὶ μορφῆς τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, μισθὸν ἔτερον τοῦ παρ' Ἡλείων προσλάβοις ἅν 
53 μείξω καὶ τελείότερον. ὅρᾶς γὰρ ὅτι οὐ μικρὸς ἁγὸν οὐδ' ὁ κύδυνος ἦμαι. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ, ὅτε οὐδὲν σαφῆς εἴδότες, ἄλλην ἄλλος ἀνεπλάττομεν ἱδέαν, πᾶν τὸ θεῖον κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ φύσιν ἐκαστος ἤνδαλλόμενοι καὶ ὀνειρώττοντες· εἰ τέ ποι τινα μικρα καὶ ἄσημα συλλέγομεν 
54 τῶν ἐμπροσθεν εἰκάσματα τεχνῶν, οὐ πάνω τούτοις οὐτε πιστεύοντες οὐτε προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν. οὐ δὲ γε ἠσχύτερῃ ἠνίκησας καὶ ἐπεξήλλαξας 
55 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτον, ἐπειτα τούτοις ἄλλοις τῶδε τῷ φόσματι, θεοπέσιον καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀποδείξας, ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἱδότων δόξαν ἔτερον ἔτι λαβεῖν ῥαδίως. ἀρ' οὖν οἷς 
τὸν Ἰππὸν καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τοὺς τότε Ἡλείους διὰ χρημάτων ἄπορίαν τὸν μὲν ἁγώνα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ποιήσαι τῷ Διὶ πρέπουσαι, ἀγαλμα 
δὲ μηδὲν ἐξευρεῖν ἐπ' ἄνοματι καὶ σχήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, σχέδον τι προεχόμενος δυνάμει τῶν ἱστερον, ἡ μάλλον φοβηθέντας μῆποτε οὐ δύναντο 
56 ἢκαν ὑπὸ τὸν δυνατον. ἄν added by Geel. 
57 θεῖον Capps : θεντόν. Arnim dolotes πάν τὸ θεντὸν and is followed by Budó. Wilamowitz would substitute παντόθεν. 
58 συλλέγομεν Cohoon, συννοοοῦμεν Capps : συλλέγοντες. 
59 ἐπεξήλλαξας Emperius : ἐπεξελλάξας. 
60 οὐ δύναντο Schwartz : οὐκ ἐδύναντο UB οὐκ ἀν δύναντο P.

1 See p. 28, note 1.
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to consider now. And if you make a satisfactory defence on these matters before those present and convince them that you have discovered the proper and fitting shape and form for the foremost and greatest god, then you shall receive in addition a second reward, greater and more perfect than the one given by the Eleans. For you see that the issue is no small one, nor the danger, for us. Since in times past, because we had no clear knowledge, we formed each his different idea, and each person, according to his capacity and nature, conceived a likeness for every divine manifestation and fashioned such likenesses in his dreams; and if we do perchance collect any small and insignificant likenesses made by the earlier artists, we do not trust them very much nor pay them very much attention. But you by the power of your art first conquered and united Hellas and then all others by means of this wondrous presentment, showing forth so marvellous and dazzling a conception, that none of those who have beheld it could any longer easily form a different one. Pray, do you imagine that it was owing to lack of money that Iphitus and Lycurgus and the Eleans of that period, while instituting the contest and the sacrifice in such wise as to be worthy of Zeus, yet failed to search for and find a statue to bear the name and show the aspect of the god, although they were, one might almost say, superior in power to their descendants? Or was it rather because they feared that they would never be able adequately to portray

The Olympic Games are said to have been renewed by a certain Iphitus after a long interruption. See Pausanias 5. 8. 5; scholia to Pindar Olymp. 3. 20.

a Said to have helped Iphitus re-establish the Olympian Games, but according to Xenophon lived 200 years earlier.
ἀπομμήσασθαι διὰ θυτῆς τέχνης τὴν άκραν καὶ
tελειοτάτην φύσιν;

55 Πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα τυχόν εἴποι ἂν Φειδίας, ἀτέ
ἀνήρ οὐκ ἀγλωττος οὐδὲ ἀγλώττου πόλεως,
ἐτὶ δὲ συνήθης καὶ ἐταῖρος Περικλέους·

"Ἀνδρεὶς Ἔλληνες, οἱ μὲν ἄγνων τῶν πίποτε μέ-
γιστος· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ περὶ στρατηγίας
μᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ περὶ νεῶν πλήθους ἢ πεζοῦ
στρατοπέδου, πότερον ὅρθως ἢ μὴ διώκεται,
τὰ νῦν ὑπέχω λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν πάντων
κρατοῦντος θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνων ὅμοιοτος, ἐὰν,
εἴτε εὐσχημόνως καὶ προσεκινήτως γέγονεν, οὐδὲν
ἐλλείπουσα τῆς δυνάτης πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώ-
ποις ἀπεικασίας, εἴτε ἄναξία καὶ ἀπρεπῆς.

56 Ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῖν
ἐγενόμην ἐξηγητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἀληθείας,
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐφύν ἐτὶ 2 κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς Ἔλλαδος
οὐδέπω σαφῆ καὶ ἀραρότα δόγματα ἑχούσης
περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρας τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τὰ 3
περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἦδη πεπεισμένης καὶ νομίζοντος
Ἀχιλλῶς. καὶ ὅσα μὲν λιθοζόων ἔργα ἢ γραφέων
ἀρχαιότερα τῆς ἐμῆς τέχνης σύμφωνα ἦσαν, πλὴ
ν ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ποιήσεως, ἐὼ λέγειν·

57 δόξας δὲ ὑμετέρας κατέλαβον παλαιάς ἀκινήτους,
αῖς οὐκ ἴν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάτων, καὶ δημιουργοὺς

1 ὅμοιοτος Arnim: ὅμοιότητος.
2 ἐφύν ἐτὶ Αραγρ.: ἐφύν ὅτε.
3 τὰ added by Schwartz.
by human art the Supreme and most Perfect Being?"

Perhaps in answer to this Pheidias would say, since he was not tongue-tied nor belonged to a tongue-tied city, and besides was the close friend and comrade of Pericles: 1

"My Greek fellow-citizens, the issue is the greatest that has ever arisen. For it is not about empire or the presidency of one single state or the size of the navy or as to whether an army of infantry has or has not been correctly administered, that I am now being called to account, but concerning that god who governs the universe and my representation of him: whether it has been made with due respect to the dignity of the god and so as to be a true likeness of him, in no way falling short of the best portrayal of the divinity that is within the capacity of human beings to make, or is unworthy of him and unbefitting.

"Remember, too, that it is not I who was your first expounder and teacher of the truth, for I was not even born as yet when Hellas began to be and while it still had no ideas that were firmly established about these matters, but when it was rather old, so to speak, and already had strong beliefs and convictions about the gods. And all the works of sculptors or painters earlier than my art which I found to be in harmony therewith, except so far as the perfection of the workmanship is concerned, I omit to mention; your views, however, I found to be ingrained, not to be changed, so that it was not possible to oppose them, and I found other artistic

1 The Athenians in contrast to the taciturn Spartans approved of lengthy discussion and oratory. Pericles' eloquence helped him to maintain his political power in Athens.
ἀλλοὺς περὶ τὰ θεία, πρεσβυτέρους ἦμῶν καὶ
pολὺ σοφωτέρους ἀξιόντας εἶναι, τοὺς ποιητὰς,
ἐκείνων μὲν δυναμένων εἰς πᾶσαν ἐπινοιαν ἄγειν
dιὰ τῆς ποιήσεως, τῶν δὲ ἡμετέρων αὐτουργη-
mάτων μόνην ταῦτην ἦκαν ἐκόντων εἰκασίαν.
58 τὰ γὰρ θεία φάσματα, λέγω δὲ ἢλιον καὶ σελήνης
cαὶ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρων, αὐτὰ μὲν καθ'
αὐτὰ φανόμενα θαυμαστὰ πάντως, ἡ δὲ μίμησις
αὐτῶν ἀπλὴ καὶ ἀτεχνός, εἰ τις θέλει τὰ σελήνης
σχῆματα ἀφομοιοῦν ἡ τῶν ἢλιον κύκλων ἐτὶ δὲ
ἡδονα καὶ διανοίᾳ αὐτὰ μὲν ἔκεινα μεστὰ πάντως,1
ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰκάσμασιν οὐδὲν ἐνδεικνύμενα τοιαύτων
οἶδα οὔσι καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτως ἐνομιόθη τοῖς
59 “Ελλησί, νοῦν γὰρ καὶ φρόνησιν αὐτὴν μὲν
καθ' αὐτὴν οὔτε τις πλάσμης οὔτε τις γραφεὺς
eἰκάσων δυνατός ἦσται· ἀθέατοι γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων
καὶ ἀνιστόρητοι παντελῶς πάντες. τὸ δὲ ἐν
ὁ τούτῳ γνωριμενόν ἐστιν οὐχ ὑπονοοῦτες, ἀλλ'
eἴδοτες, ἐπ' αὐτὸ καταφεύγομεν, ἀνθρώπων
σῶμα ὡς 4 ἀγγείων φρονήσεως καὶ λόγου θεοῦ
προσάπτοντες, ἐνδείᾳ καὶ ἀπορία παραδείγματος
τῶν φαινομενὸν τε καὶ εἰκαστῶ πόλικαστον καὶ
ἀφανῆς ἐνδεικνυόμεναι ζητοῦτες, συμβολοῦ δυνάμει
χρώμενον, κρείττον ἡ φασὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοιᾶς
ζώοις τὸ θείον ἀφομοιοῦν κατὰ σμικρᾶς καὶ
ἀτόπους ἀφορμᾶς. δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑπερβαλῶν

1 πάντως Reiske: πάντων.
2 οὕτως Selden: οἴον.
3 oútw Capps: oútw.
4 ὡς Jacobs: καλ.

1 He means Homer; cf. next note.
2 i.e., sculpture could only be compared with sculpture as to
truthful portrayal, based on sculptors’ conception of the deity.
He refers to Homer; cf. section 62 infra.
portrayers of the divinity who were older than I and considered themselves much wiser, namely the poets,\(^1\) for they were able through their poetry to lead men to accept any sort of idea, whereas our artistic productions have only this one adequate standard of comparison.\(^2\) For those divine manifestations—I mean the sun and the moon and the entire heavens and the stars—while in and of themselves they certainly appear marvellous, yet the artist’s portrayal of them is simple and has no need of artistic skill, if one should wish merely to depict the moon’s crescent or the sun’s full orb; and furthermore, whereas those heavenly bodies certainly, taken by themselves, reveal in abundance character and purpose, yet in their representations they show nothing to suggest this: which perhaps is the reason why at first they were not yet regarded by the Greeks as deities. For mind and intelligence in and of themselves no statuary or painter will ever be able to represent; for all men are utterly incapable of observing such attributes with their eyes or of learning of them by inquiry. But as for that in which this intelligence manifests itself, men, having no mere inkling thereof but actual knowledge, fly to it for refuge, attributing to God a human body as a vessel to contain intelligence and rationality, in their lack of a better illustration, and in their perplexity seeking to indicate that which is invisible and unportrayable by means of something portrayable and visible, using the function of a symbol and doing so better than certain barbarians, who are said to represent the divine by animals—using as his starting-point symbols which are trivial and absurd. But that man who has stood out most
κάλλει καὶ σεμνότητι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεία, οχεδὸν οὕτως πολὺ κράτιστος δημιουργὸς τῶν περὶ τὰ
60 θεία ἀγαλμάτων.

Οὔδὲ γὰρ ὡς βέλτιον ὑπῆρχεν ἂν 1 μηδὲν ἱδρυμα μηδὲ εἰκόνα θεῶν ἀποδεδείχθαι παρ
ἀνθρώποις φαίη τις ἂν, ὡς πρὸς μόνα ὅραν δέον τὰ οὐράνια. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ξύμπαντα ὃ
γε νοῦν ἔχων σέβει, θεοὺς ἤγοντες μακαρίους μακρόθεν ὅρων· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ δαμόνων
γνώμην 2 ἰσχυρός ἔρως πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγνύθεν τιμῶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον, προσώπως καὶ
ἀπτὸμένους μετὰ πεθοῦς, θύοντας καὶ στεφα-
61 νοῦντας. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὡσπερ νήπιοι παῖδες πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀπεσπασμένοι δεινὸν ζημεῖον
ἐχοντες καὶ πόθον ὅργουσι χεῖρας οὐ παροῦσι
πολλάκις ὀνειρῶτοντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοὶ 3 ἀνθρώ-
ποι ἀγαπῶντες δικαίως διὰ τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ
συγγένειαν, προθυμοῦμενοι πάντα τρόπων συνεϊναί
tε καὶ ὀμλεῖν· ὅστε καὶ πολλοί τῶν βαρβάρων
πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία τέχνης ὅρη θεοὺς ἐπονομά-
ζουσι καὶ δέιδρα ἀργὰ καὶ αἰσχίνους λίθους, οὐδαμὴ
οὐδαμῶς 4 οἰκεῖότερα τὴν μορφήν. 5
62 Εἰ δ᾿ ὡμῶν ἐπαυτίος εἰμὶ τοῦ σχῆματος, οὐχ
ἀν φθάνοντε Ὁμήρων πρότερον χαλεπῶς ἐχοντες·
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μονὸν μορφὴν ἐγγυτάτα ταύτης 6

1 ὑπῆρχεν ἂν Capps: ὑπῆρχε.
2 For γνώμην Wilamowitz conjectured ὀρμήν.
3 θεοὶ Emperorius: θεοὺς.
4 The doubly emphatic οὐδαμὴ οὐδαμῶς is a familiar Platonic idiom. Cf. Phaedr. 78 d, Theaet. 176 c, Phileb, 29 b. Jacobs, followed by von Arnim, wrongly deletes οὐδαμῶς.
5 τὴν μορφήν Cohoon: τῆς μορφῆς.
6 ταύτης added by Capps.
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above others in respect of beauty and majesty and splendour,\(^1\) he, we may say, has been by far the greatest creator of the images of the divine beings.\(^2\)

For certainly no one would maintain that it had been better that no statue or picture of gods should have been exhibited among men, on the ground that we should look only at the heavens. For although the intelligent man does indeed reverence all those objects, believing them to be blessed gods that he sees from a great distance, yet on account of our belief in the divine all men have a strong yearning to honour and worship the deity from close at hand, approaching and laying hold of him with persuasion by offering sacrifice and crowning him with garlands. For precisely as infant children when torn away from father or mother are filled with terrible longing and desire, and stretch out their hands to their absent parents often in their dreams, so also do men to the gods, rightly loving them for their beneficence and kinship, and being eager in every possible way to be with them and to hold converse with them. Consequently many of the barbarians, because they lack artistic means and find difficulty in employing them, name mountains gods, and unhewn trees, too, and unshapen stones, things which are by no means whatever more appropriate in shape than is the human form.

"But if you find fault with me for the human figure, you should make haste to be angry with Homer first; for he not only represented a form most

\(^1\) i.e., of his conception of God.
\(^2\) He refers to Homer; cf. § 62 infra.
τῆς δημιουργίας ἐμμῆστο, χαίτας τε ὄνομάζων τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐτι δὲ ἀνθρεώνα εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ποιήσεως, ὥστε φησίν ἰκετεύειν τὴν Θετιν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ παιδός· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁμιλίας τε καὶ βουλεύσεις 1 καὶ δημηγορίας 2 ἐνεμεν 3 τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐτι δὲ ἐξ Ἰδής αἴφεις πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ Ὀλυμπον, ὑπονοεί τε καὶ συμπόσια καὶ μίξεις, μᾶλα μὲν ὑψηλὸς συμπαντα κοσμῶν τοῖς ἐπεσιν, ὅμως δὲ ἐχόμενα θνητῆς ὁμοιότητος· καὶ δὴ γε καὶ ὁπότε ἐτόλμησεν Ἄγαμέμονα προσευκάσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς κυριωτάτοις μέρεσιν εἰπὼν,

ὁματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἵκελος Διὸ τερπικεραίων,

τὸ δὲ γε τῆς ἐμῆς ἐργασίας οὐκ ἂν τις οὐδὲ μανεῖ

63 τινι ἄφομοιώσειεν οὐδενὶ ὄτιν 4 θνητῶ, πρὸς κάλλος ἢ μέγεθος θεοῦ συνεξεταξόμενον, ὅπου 5 γε ἐι μη Ὄμηρο ρολυ φανῳ κρείττων καὶ σωφρονεστερος ποιητής, τοῦ δόξαντος ὑμν ιασθέου τὴν αἰσθίαν, ἢν βουλευθῇ ζημίαν ἔτοιμος ὑπέχειν ἐγὼ. λέγω δὲ πρὸς τοῦ δυσαντον τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ

64 τέχνης· δαιμὸλες γὰρ χρήμα ποίησις καὶ πάντα τρόπον εὔπορον καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ χορηγία γλώττης καὶ πλήθει ρημάτων ἰκανόν εἰς αὐτοῦ πάντα δηλώσαι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλήματα, καὶ ὅπωσον διανοσθῇ σχῆμα ἢ ἐργον ἢ πάθος

1 βουλεύσεις Reiske: βουλήςεις.
2 δημηγορίας Reiske: δημιουργίας.
3 ἐνεμεν added by Capps. Goel proposed ἐν before τοῖς.
4 ὄτιν added by Capps, cf. Or. 23. 8: οὐδενὶ ΠΥ, οὐδὲ other MSS.
5 ὅπου Capps: ὅφ’ οὐ.

1 Homer, Iliad 2. 478, translated by the Earl of Derby.

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nearly like this statue of mine by mentioning the flowing locks of the god and the chin too at the very beginning of his poem, when he says that Thetis made supplication for the bestowal of honour upon her son; but in addition to these things he ascribes to the gods meetings and counsellings and harangues, then also journeyings from Ida to the heavens and Olympus, and sleep-scenes and drinking-bouts and love-embraces, clothing everything in very lofty poetical language and yet keeping close to mortal likeness. And the most striking instance of this is when he ventured to liken Agamemnon to the god in respect to the most distinctive features by saying,

His eye and lofty brow the counterpart
Of Zeus, the Lord of thunder.\(^1\)

But as to the product of my workmanship nobody, not even an insane person, would liken it to any mortal man soever, if it be carefully examined from the point of view of a god's beauty or stature; since, if I shall not be found to be a better and more temperate artificer than Homer, whom you thought godlike in his skill, I am willing to pay any fines you wish! But I am speaking with an eye to what is possible in my art. For an extravagant thing is poetry and in every respect resourceful and a law unto itself, and by the assistance of the tongue and a multitude of words is able all by itself to express all the devisings of the heart, and whatever conception it may arrive at concerning any shape or action or emotion or magnitude, it can never be at a loss,

\(^2\) i.e., less given to exaggeration than Homer was in his description of Agamemnon; cf. 'extravagant,' § 67.
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ἡ μέγεθος, οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειν, Ἀγγέλου φωνῆς πάνω ἐναργῶς σημαίνοντις ἐκαστὰ:

στρεπτῇ γὰρ γλῶσσα ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δὲ ἐνι μόθοι,

φησιν Ὀμηρὸς αὐτός,

παντοῖοι, ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.

κινδυνεύει γὰρ οὖν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀπάντων ἐνδεές γενέσθαι μᾶλλον η ἰωτῆς καὶ λέξεως:

τούτου δὲ μόνου κέκτηται θαυμαστῶν των πλούτων. οὐδὲν γοῦν παραλέλοιπεν ἀφθεγκτὸν οὐδὲ ἁσθαμον

τῶν πρὸς αἰσθήσιν ἀφικνουμένων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπιβάλλει τῷ νοηθέντι σαφὴ σφραγίδα ὁνόματος,

πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πλείους φωνάς ἐνὸς πράγματος, ἀν ὅποταν φθεγξηταί τινα, παρέσχε δόξαν οὔ

πολὺ ἁσθενεστέραν τάληθος. πλείστη μὲν οὖν ἑξουσία καὶ δύναμις ἀνθρώπων περὶ λόγου ἐνδείξα-

66 σθαι τὸ παραστάν. ἢ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν τέχνη μᾶ-

λα αὐθάδης καὶ ἀνεπιληπτος, ἀλλος τε Ὀμήρου,

τοῦ πλείστην ἀγονίως παρρησίαν, ὃς οὐχ ἔνα

εἴλετο χαρακτῆρα λέξεως, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἡλλη-

νικὴν γλῶτταν δημημένην τέως ἀνέμιξε, Δωρίεων

τε καὶ Ἰώνων, ἢτι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, εἰς ταύτῳ

κεράσας πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ χρώματα οἱ βαφέως,

1 What Greek tragedy could not depict by action it could describe in detail through a Messenger.

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since the voice of a Messenger\textsuperscript{1} can disclose with
perfect clearness each and all these things. For,
as Homer himself says,

For glib runs the tongue, and can at will
Give utterance to discourse in ev'ry vein;
Wide is the range of language; and such words
As one may speak, another may return.\textsuperscript{2}

Indeed, the race of men is more likely to run
short of everything else than of voice and speech;
of this one thing it possesses a most astounding
wealth. At any rate it has left unuttered and
undesignated no single thing that reaches our
sense perceptions, but straightway puts upon every-
thing the mind perceives the unmistakable seal of a
name, and often even several vocal signs for one
thing, so that when man gives utterance to any one
of them, they convey an impression not much less
distinct than does the actual thing itself. Very
great indeed is the ability and power of man to
express in words any idea that comes into his mind.
But the poets' art is exceedingly bold and not to be
censured therefor; this was especially true of Homer,
who practiced the greatest frankness and freedom
of language; and he did not choose just one variety
of diction, but mingled together every Hellenic
dialect which before his time were separate—that
of the Dorians and Ionians, and also that of the
Athenians \textsuperscript{3}—mixing them together much more
thoroughly than dyers do their colours—and not

\textsuperscript{2} Homer, \textit{Iliad} 20. 248–249, translated by the Earl of
Derby.

\textsuperscript{3} Compare Discourse 11. 23, where the Aeolic dialect also is
mentioned. See also Aristotle's \textit{Poetics} 1461 a.
οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρῶτερον,
eἰποὺ τὶ ῥῆμα ἐκκλειστὸς, καὶ τούτῳ ἀναλαβὼν
ἀστερ νόμισμα ἄρχαίον ἐκ θησαυροῦ ποθεν
ἀδεσπότου διὰ φιλορρηματίαν,1 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
βαρβάρων ὄνματα, φειδόμενος οὐδενὸς ὁ τι
μόνον ἥδονην ἢ σφοδρότητα ἐδοξὲν αὐτῷ ῥῆμα
ἐχειν πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μεταφέρων οὐ τὰ γευτινῶν
μόνον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγχύθεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλείστουν
ἀπέχοντα, ὅπως κηλήσῃ τὸν ἄκροστήν μετ’
ἐκπλήξεως καταγοατεύσας, καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα κατ’
χώραν ἑών, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μηκύνων, τὰ δὲ συναιρῶν,
tὰ δὲ ἄλλως2 παρατρέπων.

68 Τελευτῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέφαινεν οὐ μόνον μέτρων
ποιητὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων, παρ’ αὐτὸν φθεγγό-
μενος, τὰ μὲν ἄπλως τυθέμενος ὄνοματα τοῖς
πράγμασι, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς κυρίοις ἐπονομάζων,
οἷον σφραγίζει σφραγίζει ἐπιβάλλων ἐναργῆ καὶ
μάλλον εὐθήλον, οὐδενὸς φθόγγον ἀπεχόμενος,
ἀλλὰ ἐμβραχύ3 ποταμῶν τε μυμοῦμενος φωνᾶς
καὶ ὀλης καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ πυρῶς καὶ θαλάττης,
 tôn ἐθελαικοῦ καὶ λίθου καὶ ἐχυμανῶν ἀπλῶς
ζώων καὶ ὄργανων, τούτο μὲν θηρίων, τούτο
τὸ ὀρνίθων, τούτο δὲ αὐλῶν τε καὶ συρίγγων:
καναχός τε καὶ βόρμβους καὶ κτύπων καὶ δοῦπον
καὶ ἄραβον πρῶτος ἐξευρῶν4 καὶ ἀνομάσας
ποταμοῦς τε μορμύροντας καὶ βέλη κλάζοντα καὶ
βοῶντα κύματα καὶ χαλεπαίνοντας ἀνέμους καὶ
ἀλλα τοιαύτα δεινὰ καὶ ἄτοπα τῷ ὀντι θαύματα,
pολλὴν ἐμβάλλοντα τῇ γωμῇ ταραχὴν καὶ

1 φιλορρηματίαν Geol: φιλοχρηματίαν.
2 Geol conjectures ἄλλως for ἄλλως.

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only the languages of his own day but also those of former generations; if perchance there survived any expression of theirs taking up this ancient coinage, as it were, out of some ownerless treasure-store, because of his love of language; and he also used many barbarian words as well, sparing none that he believed to have in it anything of charm or of vividness. Furthermore, he drew not only from things which lie next door or near at hand, but also from those quite remote, in order that he might charm the hearer by bewitching and amazing him; and even these metaphors he did not leave as he first used them, but sometimes expanded and sometimes condensed them, or changing them in some other way.

"And, last of all, he showed himself not only a maker of verses but also of words, giving utterance to those of his own invention, in some cases by simply giving his own names to the things and in others adding his new ones to those current, putting, as it were, a bright and more expressive seal upon a seal. He avoided no sound, but in short imitated the voices of rivers and forests, of winds and fire and sea, and also of bronze and of stone, and, in short, of all animals and instruments without exception, whether of wild beasts or of birds or of pipes and reeds. He invented the terms 'clang' (kanache), 'boom' (bombos), 'crash' (ktupos), 'thud' (doupos), 'rattle' (arabos), and spoke of 'roaring rivers,' 'whizzing missiles,' 'thundering waves,' 'raging winds,' and other such terrifying and truly astonishing phenomena, thus filling the mind with great confusion and uproar. Consequently
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69 θόρυβον ὑστε οὐκ ἢν αὐτῷ ἀπορία φοβερῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ἤδεων, ἐτὶ δὲ λείων καὶ τραχέων καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐχόντων διαφορὰς ἐν τοῖς ἥχοις καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασιν. ὑφ’ ἦς ἐποποιίας δυνατὸς ἦν ὁ πολῖον ἐβούλετο ἐμπονήσας τῇ ψυχῇ πάθος.

Τὸ δὲ ἦμετέρον αὐτῷ γένος, τὸ χειρωνακτικὸν καὶ δημιουργικὸν, οὐδαμὴ ἐφικνεῖται τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὠλὴς προσδεμεθα, ἀσφαλοὺς μὲν ὑστε διαμεῖναι, οὐ πολὺν δὲ ἐγκύους κάματον πορισθῆναι τε οὐ βαδίας, ἐτὶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγων συνεργῶν. πρὸς δὲ αὐτῷ τούτως ἐν σχήμα ἐκάστης εἰκόνος ἀνάγκη εἰργασθαί, καὶ τούτο ἀκύνητον καὶ μένων, ὑστε τὴν πάσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔξωθεν φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν. τοῖς δὲ ποιηταῖς πολλὰς τινὰς μορφὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰ εἴδη περιλαβεῖν τῇ ποιήσει βάδιον, κινήσεις τε καὶ ἥσυχίας προστίθεντας αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἂν ἐκάστοτε πρέπειν ἠγώνται καὶ ἐργα καὶ λόγους, καὶ πρὸσεστιν, οὕτως τὸ τῆς χαλεπότητος καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρώνου. μιᾷ γὰρ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ ὀρμή τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεχθεῖς δ’ ποιηθῆς πολὺ τι πλήθος ἐπών ἠρυσεν, ὕστερ ἐκ πνεύμα

1 φοβερῶν Reiske: φανερῶν.
2 ἐργάσασθαι Wilamowitz.
3 παντοδαπὰ εἰδῆ Casaubon: παντοδαπὰς ἐπείδῃ of παντοδαπᾶς.
4 πρὸσεστὶ Capps with P: προσέτι.
6 ἐπών ἠρυσεν Selden: ἐπήρυσεν.

1 It was easy to find hard marble whose grain was coarse so that it resisted the chisel and was liable to chip, but it was not
he had no lack of fear-inspiring names for things and of pleasant ones, and also of smooth and rough ones, as well as of those which have countless other differences in both their sounds and their meanings. As a result of this epic art of his he was able to implant in the soul any emotion he wished.

"But our art, on the other hand, that which is dependent on the workman's hand and the artist's creative touch, by no means attains to such freedom; but first we need a material substance, a material so tough that it will last, yet can be worked without much difficulty and consequently not easy to procure;¹ we need, too, no small number of assistants. And then, in addition, the sculptor must have worked out for himself a design that shows each subject in one single posture, and that too a posture that admits of no movement and is unalterable, so perfected that it will comprise within itself the whole of the god's nature and power. But for the poets it is perfectly easy to include very many shapes and all sorts of attitudes in their poetry, adding movements and periods of rest to them according to what they consider fitting at any given time, and actions and spoken words, and they have, I imagine, an additional advantage in the matter of difficulty ² and that of time. For the poet when moved by one single conception and one single impulse of his soul draws forth an immense volume of verses, as if from a gushing spring

so easy to find blocks of the fine-grained easily worked Pentelic marble that were not streaked or otherwise imperfect.

¹ Cf. Plato Critias 107e: "For one must conceive of mortal objects as being difficult, and not easy, to represent satisfactorily"—οὐ γὰρ ὥς ῥάδια τὰ θνητὰ ἄλλ᾽ ὡς χαλεπὰ πρὸς δόξαν ὄντα ἀπεικόζειν δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι.
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wechat ὑδατος ὑπερβλύσαντος, πρὶν ἐπιλπεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ
dιαρρυθᾶν τὸ φάντασμα καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἢν
ἐλαβε. τὸ δὲ γε ἦμετερον τῆς τέχνης ἐπίπονον
καὶ βραδύ, μόλις καὶ κατ' ὁλίγον προβαίνον,
ἐτε, ὀμαί, πετρόδει καὶ στερεὰς κάμνον ὑλῆ.

71 Τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ἀνάγκη παρα-
μένειν τῷ δημιουργῷ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν
αὐτὴν ἄει, μέχρις ἀν ἐκτελέσῃ τὸ ἔργον, πολλάκις καὶ
πολλοὶς ἑτεσι. καὶ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὥσ ἐστιν ἰκοῖς
πιστότερα ὠμημα, ἀληθῆς ἡσως· πολὺ γε μὴν
δυσπιστότερα 2 καὶ πλείωνος δεώμενα ἐναργείας. 3
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὅψις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀρωμένοις συμβάλλει,
τὴν δὲ ἰκοῖνον οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἀναπτέρωσαι καὶ
παραλογίσασθαι, μμήματα 4 εἰσπέμποντα γεγο-

72 τευχένα μέτρος καὶ ἡχοὺς. καὶ μὴν τὰ γε
ἡμετέρα τῆς τέχνης ἀναγκαῖα μέτρα πλήθους τε
πέρι καὶ μεγεθοῦς· τοῖς δὲ ποιηταῖς ἐξέστι καὶ
ταῦτα ἐφ’ ὀποσονοῦν αὐξῆσαι. τουγαροῦ Ὀμήρῳ
μὲν βάδιον ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ἐρίδος,
ὅτι

οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βάινει·

ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀγαπητὸν δηποῦθεν πληρῶσαι τὸν ὑπὸ
Ἡλεῶν ἡ Ἀθηναῖων ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον.

73 Σὺ μὲν οὖν φήσεις, ὡς σοφῶτατε τῶν ποιητῶν
"Ομηρε, πολὺ τῇ τε δυνάμει τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ

1 κατ’ added by Reiske.
2 δυσπιστότερα Jacobs : δυσπιστότερα.
3 ἐναργειας Reisko : ἐνεργειας.
4 μμήματα Wilamowitz : μὴ ῥήματα.

1 Compare Cicero, Orator 2. 8, where in speaking of Pheidias he says: “In his mind resided a most splendid concept of

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of water, before the vision and the conception he had grasped can leave him and flow away. But of our art the execution is laborious and slow, advancing with difficulty a step at a time, the reason being, no doubt, that it must work with a rock-like and hard material.

"But the most difficult thing of all is that the sculptor must keep the very same image in his mind continuously until he finishes his work, which often takes many years. Indeed, the popular saying that the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears is perhaps true, yet they are much harder to convince and demand much greater clearness; for while the eye agrees exactly with what it sees, it is not impossible to excite and cheat the ear by filling it with representations under the spell of metre and sound. Then again, while the measures of our art are enforced upon us by considerations of numbers and magnitude, the poets have the power to increase even these elements to any extent. For this reason it was easy enough for Homer to give the size of Eris by saying,

With humble crest at first, anon her head,
While yet she treads the earth, affronts the skies.

But I must be content, I suppose, merely to fill up the space designated by Eleans or Athenians.

"Thou certainly wilt agree, O Homer, wisest of poets, who both in the power of thy poetry and in beauty, which beholding and keeping his mind fixed on it, he directed his art and hand in harmony with its likeness:

Ipsius in mente insidiebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque desinxus ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat.

2 Herodotus 1. 8. 3 See p. 51, note 6 and § 79.
4 Homer, Iliad 4. 443, translated by the Earl of Derby.
74 ο δὲ ἡμέτερος εἰρημικὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ πρᾶος, οἷος ἀστασιάτου καὶ ὁμονοούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἐμιστοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἡλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς βουλευσάμενος ἰδρυσάμην, ήμερον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐν ἀλύπῳ σχήματι, τὸν 2 βίον καὶ ζωῆς καὶ εὐμπάντων Δοτήρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κοινῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Σωτῆρα καὶ Φύλακα, ὥς δυνατὸν ἦν θυεῖ τῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν.

75 Σκόπει δὲ, εἰ μὴ πάσας ταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ πρέπουσαι εὐρήσεις τὴν εἰκόνα· Ζεὺς γὰρ μόνος θεῶν Πατήρ καὶ Βασιλεὺς ἐπονομάζεται, Πολιεὺς τε καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος, πρὸς δὲ ἀντούτοις 3 Ἰκέσιος τε καὶ Ξένιος καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις ἔχων πάσας ἀγαθὰς, Βασιλεὺς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ δύναμιν ἰόνομα χαμάνεν, Πατήρ, δε ὁμοιός, διὰ τὴν 4 κηδεμονίαν καὶ τὸ πρᾶον, Πολιεὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ὁφέλος, ὁμόγνως δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους κοινωνίαν θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπους, Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος, ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἕνναγει καὶ

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1 έπιδείξα = Rouse, ἐπιδείξα Geel: ἐπέδειξα or ἐπέδειξας.
2 τῶν Εμπερίων: τῶν or καλ.
3 αὐτούτωs Emperius: αὐτois or αὐτois.
4 τὴν added by Geel.

1 See for example, Iliad 2. 350–354.
time dost by far excel and wast practically the first to show the Hellenes many beautiful images of all the gods, and especially of the greatest among them, some images mild but others fear-inspiring and dread. But our god is peaceful and altogether gentle, such as befits the guardian of a faction-free and concordant Hellas; and this I, with the aid of my art and of the counsel of the wise and good city of the Eleans have set up—a mild and majestic god in pleasing guise, the Giver of our material and our physical life and of all our blessings, the common Father and Saviour and Guardian of mankind, in so far as it was possible for a mortal man to frame in his mind and to represent the divine and inimitable nature.

"And consider whether you will not find that the statue is in keeping with all the titles by which Zeus is known. For he alone of the gods is entitled 'Father and King,' 'Protector of Cities,' 'God of Friendship,' and 'God of Comradeship,' and also 'Protector of Suppliants,' and 'God of Hospitality,' 'Giver of Increase,' and has countless other titles, all indicative of goodness: he is addressed as 'King' because of his dominion and power; as 'Father,' I think, on account of his solicitude for us and his kindness: as 'Protector of Cities' in that he upholds the law and the common weal; as 'Guardian of the Race' on account of the tie of kinship which unites gods and men; as 'God of Friendship' and 'God of Comradeship' because he brings all men together

2 These titles of Zeus with the reasons for them are found in Aristotle, de Mundo 401 b, where we also read Zeôs kephalh, Zeôs meßsa, Diôs 3' ék pânta téntuktau—"Zeus is head, Zeus is middle, by Zeus all things have been made." Compare Plato, Laws 4. 715 e, and Dio, Discourse I. 39-40.
βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἄλληλοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἦ 
πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός, Ἰκέσιος δὲ, ὡς ἂν 
ἐπίκοις τε καὶ ἱλεως τοῖς δεσμένοις, Φύξιος δὲ 
διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφυξιν, Ξένιος δὲ, ὅτι δὲ 
μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἄμελευν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἠγείρα 
ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἔπικάρπιος, 
ἀτε τῶν καρπῶν αἰτίος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ 
δυνάμεως.

77 ὁσον δὲ ἦν ἐπιδείξαι ταῦτα μὴ φθεγγόμενον, 
ἀρα οὐχ ἰκανῶς ἔχει κατὰ τὴν τέχνην; τὴν μὲν 
γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα βούλεται δηλοῦν τὸ 
ἐσχυρὸν τὸν εἶδος καὶ τὸ μεγάλοπρεπὲς τὸν 
δὲ πατέρα καὶ τὴν κηδεμονίαν τὸ πρᾶον καὶ προσ-
φιλές τὸν δὲ Πολιεά καὶ Νόμιμον ἡ τε σειμότης 
καὶ τὸ αὐστηρόν τὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν 
ἐυγενείαν αὐτὸ ποὺ τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὁμοιὸν 
ὅν ἡδὴ σύμβολον. τὸν δὲ Φίλιον καὶ Ἰκέσιον καὶ 
Ξένιον καὶ Φύξιον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπλῶς 
ἡ φιλανθρωπία καὶ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν 
ἐμφανόμενον. προσομοίω δὲ τὸν Κτήσιον καὶ 
τὸν Ἐπικάρπιον ἡ τε ἀπλότης καὶ ἡ μεγαλοφροσύνη, 
δηλουμένη διὰ τῆς μορφῆς ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ διδότη 
καὶ χαριζομένω μάλιστα προσέοικε τἀγαθά. 

78 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς οἷον τε ἦν ἐμμησάμην, 
ἀτε οὐκ ἔχων ὁμομάσαι. συνεχῶς δὲ ἀστράπτοντα 
ἐπὶ πολέμιο καὶ φθορὰ πλήθους ἡ ἔπειδον καὶ 

1 ὁσον Cohoon, ὁσον δὲ Reisco : ὁσον δὲ or ὡς οὐδέν.
2 ἡδὴ σύμβολον Capps, αἰνιστέται διὰ συμβόλου conjectured by Armim : εἰδί συμβόλου.
3 ἡ added by Jacobs.
4 ἔπειδον added by Capps.
and willed that they be friends of one another and never enemy or foe; as 'Protector of Suppliants' since he inclines his ear and is gracious to men when they pray; as 'God of Refuge' because he gives refuge from evils; as 'God of Hospitality' because we should not be unmindful even of strangers, nor regard any human being as an alien; as 'Giver of Wealth and Increase' since he is the cause of all crops and is the giver of wealth and power.

"And so far as it was possible to reveal these attributes without the help of words, is the god not adequately represented from the point of view of art? For his sovereignty and kingship are intended to be shown by the strength in the image and its grandeur; his fatherhood and his solicitude by its gentleness and kindliness; the 'Protector of Cities' and 'Upholder of the Law' by its majesty and severity; the kinship between gods and men, I presume, by the mere similarity in shape, being already in use as a symbol;¹ the 'God of Friends, Suppliants, Strangers, Refugees,' and all such qualities in short, by the benevolence and gentleness and goodness appearing in his countenance. The 'God of Wealth' and the 'Giver of Increase' are represented by the simplicity and grandeur shown by the figure, for the god does in very truth seem like one who is giving and bestowing blessings.

"As for these attributes, then, I have represented them in so far as it was possible to do so, since I was not able to name them. But the god who continually sends the lightning's flash, portending war and the destruction of many or a mighty down-

¹ As explained supra, § 56.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὑπερβολὴ ἡ χαλάζης ἡ χιόνος, ἡ ταινώντα κυανὴν ἵριν, τοῦ πολέμου ξύμβολον, ἡ ἀστέρα πέμποντα ξυνεχεῖς σπινθῆρας ἀποβάλλοντα, δειπνὸν τέρας ναῦταις ἡ στρατιώταις ἢ ἐπιπέμποντα ἔριν ἄργαλέαν "Ελλησ καὶ βαρβάροις, ὥστε ἐμβάλλειν πολέμου καὶ μάχης ἀπαντον κάμνουσιν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀπειρηκόσιν. οὐδὲ γε ἱστάντα ἐπὶ πλάστηγγος ἀνθρώπων ἡμιθέους κῆρας ἡ στρατοπέδων ὀλων, αὐτομάτω ῥοπῇ κρυμμένας. οὐκ ἦν διὰ τῆς τέχνης μιμεῖσθαι οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὸν ἦθελησα γ' ἂν ποτε. βροντῆς γὰρ εἰδολον ἀφθογον ἡ στρατατής ἡ κεραυνοῦ εἴκασμα ἀλαμπές ἐκ τῶν τηδε γ' ὑπογείων μεταλλευμάτων πόον ἀν τι καὶ γένοιτο; ἔτι δὲ γην σειωμένην καὶ κινούμενον ὁλυμπὸν ὑπὸ νεύματι βραχεῖ τῶν ὄφρων η τίνα νέφους περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον

1 ὑπερβολὴ ΡΔ, ὑπερβολὴν other MSS.
2 στρατιώταις Geol: στρατιώτης.
3 η added by Geol.
4 ὥστε added by Arnim.
5 ἐμβάλλειν Arnim: ἐμβάλλει.

1 See Iliad 10. 5-8: "Even as when the lord of fair-tressed Hera lightens, fashioning either heavy rain unspeakable or hail or snow, when the flakes sprinkle the fields, or fashioning perhaps the wide mouth of bitter war:"

ὁς δ' ὅτε ἄν ἄστραπτῃ πόσις "Ηρής ἡμύκομοι, τεῖχων ἡ πολυν ὄμηρον ἀθέσαφον ἡ χάλαζων ἡ γιθέων, ὅτε πέρ τε χιῶν ἑπάλλυνεν ἀροῦρας, ἢσθ' ποθι πτολέμου μέγα στόμα σευκεναίοιν.

2 Compare Iliad 17. 547-549: "Like as Zeus spreadeth the bright rainbow from heaven for mortals to be a portent either of war or else of unkindly winter."

ἤτε πορφυρόν ιριν θυτοῖς ταινύσσῃ
Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, τέρας ξύμεναι ἡ πόλεμου ἢ και χειμώνος δυσθαλπέος, κ.τ.λ.

30
pour of rain, or of hail or of snow,¹ or who stretches the dark blue rainbow across the sky, the symbol of war,² or who sends a shooting star, which hurls forth a stream of sparks, a dread portent to sailors or soldiers,³ or who sends grievous strife upon Greeks and barbarians so as to inspire tired and despairing men with unceasing love for war and battle,⁴ and the god who weighed in the balance the fates of godlike men or of whole armies to be decided by its spontaneous inclination⁵—that god, I say, it was not possible to represent by my art; nor assuredly should I ever have desired to do so even had it been possible. For of thunder what sort of soundless image, or of lightning and of the thunderbolt what kind of likeness without the lightning’s flash⁶ could by any possibility be made from the metals taken from the subterranean workings of this land at least?⁷ Then when the earth was shaken and Olympus was moved by a slight inclination of the eyebrows, or a crown of cloud was about his head, it was easy enough for

³ Compare Iliad 4. 75–77: “Just as the son of Crones of crooked counsel hath sent a star, a bright portent either for sailors or for a broad host of the people; and many sparks stream from it”—

οἶνον δ’ ἀστέρα ἤκε Κρόνον πᾶς ἄγκυλομήτεω,
ἡ ναστηθείς τέρας ἡ στρατῶν εὐφέρει λαῶν,
λαμπρόν τοῦ δὲ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἑπετήρες ἑνταὶ.

⁴ See Iliad 11. 3: “And Zeus sent forth grievous strife to the ships of the Achaeans, holding a portent of war in her hands”—

Ζεὺς δ’ Ἐρείδα προιάλλεθα διὰς ἐπὶ νῆσας Ἀχαιῶν ἀργαλέων, πολέμων τέρας μετὰ χερσίν ἔχουσαν.

⁶ See Iliad 8. 69–71.
⁷ Referring to the silver mines at Laurium.
ΔΘΟΙ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΙ

"Ομηρὸς μὲν εἰπεῖν εὐμαρέσ καὶ πολλῇ πρὸς τὰ
tοιαῦτα ἀπαντα ἐλευθερία, τῇ δὲ γε ἡμετέρᾳ
tέχνῃ παντελῶς ἀπορον, ἐγγύθεν παρεχοῦσῃ 1
καὶ σαφῆ τὸν ἐλεγχὸν τῆς ὁφεως.

80 Εἰ δ' αὐτὸ τῆς ὑλῆς ἀσημότερον ἴμενταί
tὸς ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτῳ μὲν ἄληθες τε
καὶ ὀρθῶν· ἀλλ' οὖτε τοὺς δύνας οὔτε 2 τὸν
ἐλόμενον καὶ δοκιμάσαντα ἐν δίκῃ μέμφοιτ' ἀν.
οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐτέρα φύσις ἀμεινὸν οὐδὲ λαμπρο-
tέρα πρὸς ὄψιν, ὃν δυνατὸν εἰς χείρας ἀνθρώπων
81 ἀφικέσθαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν δημιουργίας. ἄερα
gε 3 καὶ πῦρ ἐργάσασθαι ἢ τὴν ἄφθονον πτηνὴν
ὑδατος ἐνεστὶ 4 τίσι θυητῶν 5 ὁργάνωις; ὄσον δ' 6
ἐν ἄπασι τούτοις στερεύων ἔρμα 7 εἰρκται. 8 λέγω
δὲ οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ σμίκρα καὶ
φαύλα, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἱσχυρὰν καὶ βαρεῖαν οὐσίαν
ιδέαν γε ἐκάστην 9 διακρίνοντα καὶ ἐμπλέκοντα εἰς
ταῦτὸ ἐκατόν συστῆσαι 10 γένος καὶ ἔμφων καὶ
φυτῶν, οὐδὲ θεοῖς πᾶσι δυνατὸν ἀλλ' 11 ἡ μόνῳ

1 παρεχοῦσῃ Capps: ἐχοῦσῃ.
2 οὔτε Dindorf: οὔτε.
3 γε Capps: τε καὶ.
4 ἐνεστὶ Capps: ἐν.
5 θυητῶν Capps: θυητῶι.
6 δ' Capps: τε.
7 ἔρμα Morel: ἔρμα.
8 εἰρκται added by Capps.
9 ιδέαν γε ἐκάστην Capps: ἰδέα τε ἐκαστὸν.
10 ἐκατόν συστῆσαι added by Capps as giving the required
sense.
11 ἀλλ' added by Capps.
Homer to describe them, and great was the freedom he enjoyed for all such things; but for our art it is absolutely impossible, for it permits the observer to test it with his eyes from close at hand and in full view.¹

"But if, again, anyone thinks that the material used is too lacking in distinction to be in keeping with the god, his belief is true and correct. But neither those who furnished it, nor the man who selected and approved it, has he any right to criticize. For there was no other substance better or more radiant to the sight that could have come into the hands of man and have received artistic treatment. To work up air, at any rate, or fire, or 'the copious source of water,'² what tools possessed by mortal men can do that? These can work upon nothing but whatever hard residuary substance is held bound within all these elements.³ I do not mean gold or silver, for these are trivial and worthless things, but the essential substance, tough all through and heavy; and to select each kind of material and entwining them together to compose every species, both of animals and of plants—this is a thing which is impossible for even the gods, all except this God alone, one may almost say, whom

¹ See Pliny, *Natural History* 35. 96: "Apelles also painted things that cannot be painted; claps of thunder, heat lightning, flashing lightning, which they (the Greeks) call brontē, astrape, and ceraunobolia"—Pinxit (Apelles) et quae pingit non possunt, tonitrus, fulgetra, fulgura, quae bronten, astrapen, ceraunoboliam appellant.

² That is, the ocean, 14. 246. The phrase seems to be taken from a lyric poet.

³ Euripides, *Helen*, 854 for the phrase ἔρμα στερεόν.
τούτῳ σχεδόν ὅν πάνυ καλῶς ποιήθης προσεῖπεν ἔτερος.

Δωδώναίε μεγασθενές ἀριστοτέχνα πάτερ.

82 οὗτος γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος καὶ τελείτατος δημιουργός, χορηγὸν λαβὼν τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης οὔ τιν 'Ήλείων τολίν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ παντὸς ὑλήν. Φειδίαν δὲ ἦ Πολύκλειτον οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀπαιτοῖτε πλέον ὀυδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μείζω καὶ σεμνότερα τῆς ἡμετέρας χειρωναξίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν

83 "Ἡφαίστων ὁ Ὠμηρός ἐν ἀλλοις πεποίηκεν ἐπίδεικνυμένον τὴν ἐμπερίαν, ἀλλὰ τεχνίτην μὲν θεῶν εὐπόρησεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐργόν, ὑλὴν δὲ ἐτέραν οὐκ ἐφίκετο εὐρεῖν. φησι γὰρ οὗτῳ:

χαλκὸν δὲ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλειν ἀτειρέα κασσίτερον τε καὶ χρυσὸν τιμήται καὶ ἄργυρον.

ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὖν ἤγγει λευκόν εὐδενὶ παραχωρήσαμι· ἀν1 κρεῖττονα ἐμοῦ ποτὲ γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν τέχνην, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Διό, δημιουργοῦντι τὸν ἀπαντὰ κόσμον οὐ χρή ἑμιβάλλειν οὔδένα θυγτὸν.

84 Ταῦτ᾽ οὖν εἰπόντα καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον τὸν Φειδίαν εἰκότως ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες στεφανώσαι ἃν.

"Ἰσως δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς λέληθεν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ὃν γέγονε, καὶ μάλα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, φιλοσόφοις τε ἀριστοτέως καὶ πληθεὶ ἀκούσαι, περὶ τε ἀγαλμάτων ἰδρύσεως, ὅπως δὲ ἰδρύοθαι, καὶ περὶ

1 παραχωρήσαμι' ἃν Pflugk: παραχωρήσαμι.

84

1 Pindar frg. 57 (Bergk).
another poet\textsuperscript{1} quite beautifully has addressed as follows:

Lord of Dodona,\textsuperscript{2} father almighty, consummate artist.

For he is indeed the first and most perfect artificer, who has taken as his coadjutor in his art, not the city of Elis, but the entire material of the entire universe. But of a Pheidias or of a Polycleitus you could not reasonably demand more than they have done; nay, even what they essayed is too great and august for our handiwork. Indeed, not even Hephaestus did Homer represent as showing his skill in other materials, but while he furnished a god as the craftsman for the making of the shield, he did not succeed in finding any different sort of material for it. For he speaks as follows:

The stubborn brass, and tin, and precious gold,
And silver, first he melted in the fire;\textsuperscript{3}

nay, I will not concede to any man that there ever has been a better sculptor than I, but to Zeus, who fashioned the whole universe, it is not right to compare any mortal."

So if Pheidias had said these things in his defence, I believe that the assembled Hellenes would have been justified in conferring a crown upon him.

But perhaps the majority of my hearers have failed to notice the several topics of my address, although, in my opinion, it has been quite as suitable for the multitude as for the philosophers to hear. It has dealt with the dedication of statues, how it should

\textsuperscript{1} Dodona, situated in Epirus. Most ancient oracle of Greece and dedicated to Zeus.

\textsuperscript{2} Homer, \textit{Iliad} 18. 474–475, translated by the Earl of Derby.
ποιητῶν, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἡ χεῖρον διανοοῦνται περὶ τῶν θεών, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῆς \(^1\) πρώτης ἐπινοιας θεοῦ, ποιά τις καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. πολλὰ δὲ, οἴμαι, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφρήθη τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς \(^2\) ἐπωνυμίας. εἰ δὲ μετ’ εὐφημίας τοῦ τε ἀγάλματος καὶ τῶν ὦν ἰδρυσμένων, πολὺ ἄμεινον. τῷ γὰρ ὅντι τοὐ- ροῦτος ἦμῶν προσορᾷ ἔσικε, πάνω εὐνοῦσ καὶ κηδόμενος, ὥστε ἔμοι γε μικρὸν φθέγγεσθαι δοκεῖ.

Τάδε μὲν οὖντως, Ἡλείοι τε \(^3\) καὶ σύμπασα Ἡλλας, καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἐπιτελεῖς, \(^4\) θυσίας τε θύουσα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν εὐκλεέστατον ἀγώνα τιθείσα ὡς \(^5\) ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εὐεξίας καὶ ρώμης καὶ τάχους, ὥστε τε ἐορτῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ἐθη λαβοῦσα διαφυλάττεις. ἄλλα ἐκεῖνο φροντίζουν σκοπῶ, οὕτως ἄμεινον ἀγαθῇ κομιδῇ ἔχει, ἀλλ’ ἄμα γῆρας λυγρῶν ἐχεις αὐξανεῖς τε κακῶς καὶ ἄεικέα ἐσσαί.

\(^1\) τῆς Reiske : τε. \(^2\) καὶ τῆς Cappi : κατὰ τὸς. 
\(^3\) τε Cappi : δὲ. Arnim reads ὡς σύμπασα, deloting Ἡλείοι δὲ καλ. 
\(^4\) ἐπιτελεῖς Arnim : ἐπιτελεῖ. 
\(^5\) ὡς added by Wilmowitz. 
\(^6\) σ’ MSS. of Odyssey : γε.
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

best be done, and with the poets, as to whether their conceptions of the gods are better or inferior, and also with the first conception of God, what it was and how it came into existence among men. And much too, I believe, was said about the power of Zeus and about his titles. If this was accompanied by a eulogy of the statue and of those who dedicated it, so much the better. For in reality the god now seems to us to have such an expression, altogether benevolent and solicitous, that I at least can almost fancy that he is speaking like this:

"All this rite, you Eleans and all Hellas, you are carrying out, as one may see, very beautifully and fittingly, by offering sacrifices of a magnificence in keeping with your means, and, above all, by holding as from the beginning this most renowned contest of physical condition, strength, and speed, and lastly, because you are preserving in regard to festive occasions and secret rites all the customs which you have inherited. But with deep concern I observe that

Yourself untended seem, and wretched age
With mean attire and squalor is your lot."\(^1\)

\(^1\) Homer, *Odyssey* 24. 249–250, translated by Mackail.
THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE:
IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BAN
ISHMENT

In the year A.D. 82, probably, Dio was banished by the
Emperor Domitian, not only from Rome and Italy but also
from his native Bithynia, on the charge of being in some way
implicated in the conspiracy of one of the Emperor’s relatives,
Junius Rusticus, as some including Mommsen maintain,
Flavius Sabinus as von Arnim with better reason believes.
Each of these men was related to the Emperor, Flavius
Sabinus being the husband of Julia, the daughter of Domitian’s
older brother Titus, who had been Emperor before him; and
each of them was executed on the charge of having conspired
against him. If it is Flavius Sabinus to whom Dio refers, then
since this man was executed in the year A.D. 82, we may infer
that Dio’s banishment began in this year, and it was intended
to last his lifetime. However, with the accession of Nerva in
A.D. 96 he was permitted to return.

In the Thirteenth Discourse Dio gives us an interesting
glimpse into his thoughts and feelings at that time. Adopting
the attitude of a Stoic, he resolved to endure his banishment
manfully and found that it was quite endurable. Then he
tells how at the urgent request of others he began to deliver
moral addresses to groups of people gathered to hear him.
In these addresses Dio did not attempt to give his own ideas,
but repeated as carefully as possible those of a certain Socrates.

The resumé of a part of Socrates’ teaching given in sections
14–28 Johann Wegehaupt (De Dione Xenophonis Sectatore,
p. 56 ff.) tries to show is taken from the Cleitophon, falsely
ascribed to Plato, Ferdinand Dümmler (Academica, p. 1–17)
that the Archelaus of Antisthenes is the common source of
both, and Von Arnim (Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa)
claims that one of the four hortatory addresses (προτεταυλοκ)
of Antisthenes is the common source.

The Thirteenth Discourse in the form in which we have it
breaks off suddenly, giving the impression that the end of it
has been lost.
13. ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ

1 "Οτε φεύγειν συνέβη με φιλίας ἑνεκεν λεγομένης ἀνδρὸς οὐ ποιηροῦ, τῶν δὲ τότε ευδαιμόνων τε καὶ ἄρχοντων ἐγγύτατα ὄντος, διὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ ἀποδανόντος, δι’ ἀ πολλοῖς καὶ ἁρείως πᾶσιν ἔδοκε μακάριος, διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων οἰκείωτητα καὶ ἕγγενείαν, ταύτης ἐνεχθέος ἐπ’ ἐμε τῆς αἰτίας, ὡς δὴ τάνδρῃ φίλον ὄντα καὶ σύμβουλον· ἔδοξε γὰρ τι τούτῳ ἐστὶ τῶν τυράννων, ὠσπερ ἐν Σκόπαις τοῖς βασιλεύσι συνθάπτειν οἰνοχόους καὶ μαγείρους καὶ παλλακὰς, οὕτως τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἄποδημοί- σκουσιν ἐτέρους προστιθέναι πλείους ἀπ’ οὐδεμᾶς αἰτίας· τότε δ’ οὖν, ἐπεί με φεύγειν ἔδοξεν, ἐσκόπουν πότερον ὄντως χαλεπὸν τι καὶ δυστυχὲς ἐν τῇ τῆς φυγῆς ὡς 1 κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, ἢ πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἑτερόν τι 2 πέπονθεν, ὅποιον λεγόμενον ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς μαντείας τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ βιῶλον 3 τινα ἡ λίθον αἴρουσαν σκοπότοιν ἐν τούτῳ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὐ πυθόμενοντας. καὶ δὴ ταῖς μὲν αὐτῶν φασὶ

1 ὡς added by Cohoon. 2 τι added by Capps. 3 βιῶλον Valerius: βιῶμον.
THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BANISHMENT

When it fell to my lot to be exiled on account of my reputed friendship with a man of good character and very closely connected with those who at that time were Fortune’s favourites and indeed high officials, a man who lost his life on account of the very things which made him seem fortunate to many men, and indeed to practically everyone, I mean his connection by marriage and blood with those officials; the charge brought against me being that I was that man’s friend and adviser—for just as among the Scythians it is the practice to bury cupbearers and cooks and concubines with their kings, so it is the custom of despots to throw in several others for no reason whatever with those who are being executed by them—so, at the time when my banishment was decreed, I began to consider whether this matter of banishment was really a grievous thing and a misfortune, as it is in the view of the majority, or whether such experiences merely furnish another instance of what we are told happens in connection with the divinations of the women in the sacred places. For they pick up a chance clod of earth or a stone, and try to see in it the answer to their enquiry. And, so the story goes, some find their clod light, while

DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

γίγνεσθαι κούφον, ταίς δὲ βαρών, ὡς μηδὲ κυώσαι δύνασθαι ῥαδίως.

3 Μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ φεύγειν καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι καὶ γήρας δὴ καὶ νόσος καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μὲν βαρέα φαίνεται καὶ χαλέπα, τοῖς δὲ ἐλαφρά τε καὶ εὔκολα: ἐκεῖ μὲν ἵσως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος διαφορὰν ἐλαφρύνοντος τοῦ δαιμονίου τὸ βάρος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρωμένου δύναμιν καὶ γνώμην.

4 Καὶ δὴ ἀνεμιμησκόμην ἙΟκυσέως τε παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ κατοδυρμένου ποιλάκις αὐτῶν, ἀνδρὸς ἰχθυὸς οὐδαμῶς τε ἄδυναται καρτερεῖν, πολλά ὀμως ἁνάξια λέγοντος καὶ θρηνοῦντος ἐκάστοτε παρὰ τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ πόθον τῆς πατρίδος. τέλος δὲ, ὡς φῆσιν ὁ ποιητής, ἐπεθύμει καπνὸν ἱδεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γῆς ἁνίκοτα, εἰ καὶ δειν παραχρήμα ἀποδυνάμευε, καὶ οὕτε τὰ πρότερον ἔργα παρεμυθέτῳ αὐτὸν οὔτε θεὸς μᾶλα καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ περὶ πολλοῦ πουμενῆ, ὡστε υποσχέσθαι ποιήσεων αὐτὸν ἀθάνατον, ἀλλὰ πάντων τούτων κατάσχων

5 ὅ τῆς πατρίδος πόθος τε καὶ ἔρως. πάλιν δὲ αὐ παρ’ ἐτέρω ποιητῇ τῶν ὑστερον τῆς Ἡλέκτραν πυθανομένην ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τυχηρῶς καὶ ἐλεοῦσαν αὐτὸν τῆς φυγῆς, οὕτω πως ἐρωτώσαν:

ποῦ γῆς ὁ τλήμων τλήμονας φυγάς ἔχει;
καὶ τὸν ωχ ἦττον ἐλεεινῶς ἀποκρινόμενον,

οὐχ ἕνα νομίζων θελεῖται πόλεως τόπον.

1 ἀποκρινόμενον Emperius: ἀποκρινάμενον.
2 νόμον in the MSS. of Euripides.
others find theirs so heavy that they are not able even to move it easily.

"May not exile after all," I thought, "and poverty, yes, and old age too and sickness, and all such things, appear heavy to some and grievous, but to others light and easy? For in the first case perhaps God lightens the weight according to the importance of the matter in question, and in the second case, I imagine, to suit the strength and will-power of the afflicted one."

And then I recalled Homer's Odysseus, who is always bewailing his lot, although he was a hero and quite able to endure. Yet he for all that says many unworthy things, and forever sits lamenting on the shore of the sea because he yearns for his native land; and finally, so the poet says, the longing came upon him to see smoke ascending from his own country, even if he should have to die straightway, and neither his former exploits could solace him nor a goddess very beautiful and good who cherished him, going so far as to promise to make him immortal; but all these things were outweighed by his yearning and love for his native land. And then again I recalled how in one of the later poets Electra, when enquiring about her brother in mournful fashion and pitying him for his exile, asks in somewhat the following fashion,

Where does the wretched man his wretched exile spend?
And he replies no less piteously,
In no one settled region doth he so waste away.

1 See Homer, Odyssey 1. 48–59.
2 Euripides, Electra 233–236.
DIO CHRYSOΣTOM

τὴν δὲ αἰθίς ἐρωτώσαν,
ἡποὺ σπανίζει τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου;
κάκεῖνον οὔτως λέγοντα:
ἐχει μέν, ἁσθενὴ δὲ, ἂτε φεύγων ἄνηρ,

6 πρὸς δὲ ¹ τούτοις μυρία δὴ τολμηθέντα τολμήματα
καὶ πολέμους πολεμηθέντας ὑπὸ φυγάδων, ὡπὼς
οὐκαδε κατέλθοιεν, πρὸς τε τοὺς δῆμοις καὶ τοὺς
τυράννους τοὺς ἐξελάσαντας παρὰ δύναμιν, μέγα
νομιζόντων, ² εἰ καὶ δέοι τελευταί μαχομένους ἐν
τῇ αὐτῶν γῇ.

Σύμπαντα ταύτα με ἐξέπληττε καὶ ἴνα γαζεῖ
δεινῶν ἤγεισθαι καὶ βαρὺ τὸ συμβεβηκός. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦμην ὅτι Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ βασιλεῖ
συνεβουλευσεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων συμβάντος τῶν φεῦ-
γεων ἐκόντα καταλιπόντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ μηδὲν
αισχύνεσθαι τούτου ἐνεκεν, εἰ δοξεῖ κακὸς εἶναι
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐτω πως θεσπίζασι.

7 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίωνος βασιλεὺς Μῆδοις γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυπήφιδα παρ' Ἐρμον
φεύγεων μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεύσαθι κακὸς εἶναι,
δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αἰδῶν νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὑνο-
μάζων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, καὶ τὸ
κακὸν εἶναι ἀντὶ τῆς δοξῆς τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς.

8 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐνεθυμοῦμην ἓτι οὐ πάντως ἡ φυγὴ
βλαβερὸν οὐδὲ ἀσύμφορον οὐδὲ τὸ μένειν ἀγαθὸν

¹ δὲ Geel: δὴ.
² νομιζόντων Reiske: νομιζόντας.

¹ Herodotus 1. 55, translated by Rawlinson, modified to suit the present context.
Then she again asks,

Does he perchance live scant of daily bread?

And he replies thus,

Nay, bread he hath, but strengthless, exile's fare.

And in addition to all this I recalled countless deeds of valour performed and wars waged by exiles seeking thus to be restored to their homes, wars waged beyond their strength against the popular governments and despoticisms by which they had been driven out, for they counted it a great achievement to fight on their own soil even if it meant their death.

All these recollections frightened me and forced me to consider what had happened to me a terrible and onerous thing. But again, I reflected that Croesus, the king of the Lydians, was advised by Apollo, when a certain mischance fell, to leave his kingdom and go voluntarily into exile, and not to feel himself disgraced if he should be looked upon by men as a coward, the oracle running somewhat as follows:

Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media:
Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles of Hermus;
Haste thee and no longer stay, nor have awe of being a coward.¹

It is evident that the poet uses 'awe' instead of 'shame' as is the custom the poets have, and 'being a coward' in place of 'being thought so by the many.' Then next the thought came to me that exile is not altogether injurious or unprofitable, nor
καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον. οὐ γὰρ ἄν τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν παρῆκεν καὶ συνεβούλευεν ὁ Ἅπολλων, τὸ φεύγειν, τὸ δὲ μένειν, ἀντικρὺς ἀπηγόρευε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀνδρὶ θεσπίζουν ὅσ ἦν ἐπιμελέστατος περὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τυσίας τε πλείονος ἔθετο καὶ μέγιστα ἀναθήματα πεπόμφει τῶν πάποτε ἀναθέτων εἰς Δελφοὺς.

9 Ταῦτα ἐνθυμομένως μοι ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς θεοῦ βαδίσαντα χρῆσαι οὐκ ἰκανῷ ἰκανῷ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὐ γὰρ περὶ νόσου μὲν καὶ ἀπαθίας, εἰ τῷ μὴ γίγνοντο πάθεις, καὶ περὶ καρπῶν ἰκανῶς συμβουλευόντος αὐτὸν, περὶ δὲ τοιούτου πράγματος ἦττον δυνητέσθαι. καὶ δὴ χρωμένως μοι ἀνεῖλεν ἀτοποί των κρῆσιμῶν καὶ ὁ ῥάδιον συμβαλεῖν. ἐκείνως γὰρ με αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττειν εἰς ὁ εἰμὶ πάση προθυμίᾳ ὡς καλὴν τυπα καὶ συμφέρουσαν πράξιν, ἐως ἀν, ἔφη, ἔπει τὸ ύστερον ἀπέλθης τῆς γῆς. καίτοι χαλεπῶν καὶ οὐδὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸ τετελεσθαι,

10 μὴ ὅτι κατὰ θεὸν ἐλογισάμην οὐν ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ὑδυσσείνι μετὰ τοσοῦτος πλάνους οὐκ ὑκνησεν ἀλάθαι πάλιν κατηγορίας, Τειρεσίου συμβολεύσαντος, ἄνδρος τεθνήκοτος, μέχρι ἃ ἂν ἄνθρωπος συμβάλη χειρὸς ἀκοῇ γεγονόςκουσι θάλατταν ἐμοί δὲ οὐ ποιησέων τουτο τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύνοντος;

Οὕτω δὴ παρακελευσάμενος ἐμαυτῷ μήτε δε- διέναι μήτε αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸ πράγμα, στολὴν τε ταπεινὴν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ταύτα κολάσας ἐμαυτὸν

1 ἰκανῷ Cohoon: ἰκανῷ.
2 καὶ οὕδε Arnim, καὶ Well: καὶ.
3 ἄνθρωπον Emperorius: ἄνθρωπον οὐ ἄνθρωπος.
4 τὸ added by Capps.

1 Compare Plato, Apology of Socrates, 20.
staying at home a good and praiseworthy thing. For Apollo would not have urged and advised the one course, to wit, going into exile, and have expressly forbidden the other course, staying, especially when prophesying to a man who had been most careful about divine observances and had offered the most sacrifices and sent to Delphi the largest votive offerings ever set up there.

Bearing in mind all these things I decided to go to the god’s temple myself and consult him, as a competent adviser,¹ according to the ancient custom of the Greeks. For surely, thought I, if he gives competent advice about sickness and, if children are not born to a man, about childlessness, and about harvests, he will not show any less ability about such a case as mine. And then when I consulted him, he gave me a strange sort of reply and one not easy to interpret. For he bade me to keep on doing with all zeal the very thing wherein I am engaged, as being a most honourable and useful activity, “until thou comest,” said he, “to the uttermost parts of the earth.” And yet lying is a harsh thing to impute and not consistent with even a man’s standards, to say nothing of a god’s. Accordingly I reflected that Odysseus after all his wanderings did not hesitate to roam once more, when he carried an oar as Teiresias, a man dead and gone, had advised him, until he should fall in with people who knew not the sea, even by hearsay;² and should not I follow his example if God so bade?

So after exhorting myself in this way neither to fear or be ashamed of my action, and putting on humble attire and otherwise chastening myself, I

¹ See Homer, Odyssey, 11. 119 ff.
11 ἡλῶμην πανταχοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀνθρώποι ὑμῖν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλης, οἱ δὲ πτωχῶν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ φιλόσοφοι. ἐνεβίδευ εἰμὶ συνεβή κατ' ὄλγοι τε καὶ οὐ βουλευσάμενοι αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μέγα φρονήσαντα τούτων τοῦ ὄνοματος τυγειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν καλομελεῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτοὺς ἀνακηρύττουσιν, ὡσπερ οἱ Ὕλυμπίασι κήρυκες· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόντων
12 οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἄει καὶ πᾶσι διαμάχεσθαι. τυχὼν δὲ τι καὶ ἀπολαύσαι τῆς φήμης συνεβή μοι. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἡρώτων προσίστες ὃ τι μοι ψάννετο ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακῶν· ἀστε ἱμαγκαζόμενη φρονιτεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἣν ἔχωμι ἀποκρίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν. πάλιν δὲ ἐκέλευνον λέγειν καταστάντα 1 εἰς τὸ κοινὸν. οὐκοῦν καὶ τούτο ἱμαγκαζον ἐγένετο λέγειν περὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἢφ' ὅν ἐμελλον ὄνωσασθαι τὰ ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα.

13 Ἐδόκουν δὲ μοι πάντες ἄφρονες, ὥς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, καὶ οὖδεὶς οὖδέν δὲν ἐδει πράττειν οὐδὲ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῶν παρόντων κακῶν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἐπιεικεστερον καὶ ἀμεινος βιώσεται, κυκώμενοι δὲ καὶ φερόμενοι πάντες ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ σχεδόν, περὶ τε χρήματα καὶ δόξας καὶ σωμάτων τινὰς ἢδονάς, οὖδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆς τούτων δυνάμενος οὐδὲ ἐλευθερώσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχήν· καθάπερ, σήμαι, τὰ ἐμπεσόντα εἰς τὰς δίνας εἰλούμενα καὶ περιπτρεφόμενα καὶ οὐχ οἷά τε 2 ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς

1 καταστάντα Pflugk, με καταστάντα Reiske: μεταστάντα.
2 After τε the MSS. have δυνάμενα, which Cobet bracketed.
proceeded to roam everywhere. And the men whom I met, on catching sight of me, would sometimes call me a tramp and sometimes a beggar, though some did call me a philosopher. From this it came about gradually and without any planning or any self-conceit on my part that I acquired this name. Now the great majority of those styled philosophers proclaim themselves such, just as the Olympian heralds proclaim the victors; but in my case, when the other folk applied this name to me, I was not able always and in all instances to have the matter out with them. And very likely, as it turned out, I did profit somewhat by the general report about me. For many would approach me and ask what was my opinion about good and evil. As a result I was forced to think about these matters that I might be able to answer my questioners. Furthermore, they would invite me to come before the public and speak: Consequently it became necessary for me to speak also about the duties of man and about the things that were likely, in my opinion, to profit him.

And the opinion I had was that pretty well all men are fools, and that no one does any of the things he should do, or considers how to rid himself of the evils that beset him and of his great ignorance and confusion of mind, so as to live a more virtuous and a better life; but that they all are being thrown into confusion and are swept round and round in the same place and about practically the same objects, to wit, money and reputation and certain pleasures of the body, while no one is able to rid himself of these and set his own soul free; just as, I fancy, things that get into a whirlpool are tossed and rolled without being able to free themselves from the
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

14 δινήσεως. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς καὶ μάλιστα καὶ πρώτον ἐμαυτὸν κατα-μεμφόμενος ἐνίοτε ὑπὸ ἀπορίας ἢ ἐπὶ τινα λόγον ἀρχαίον, λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινὸς Σωκράτους, ὃν οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖνος ἐπαύσατο λέγων, πανταχοῦ τε καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς βοῶν καὶ διατεινόμενος ἐν ταῖς παλαιότροις καὶ ἐν τῷ Δυκείῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ κατ᾽ ἀγοράν, ὑσπέρ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεός, ὡς ἐφή τις. οὐ μέντοι προσεποιοῦ-μην ἕμοι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ’ ὑσπέρ ἦν, καὶ ἥξιον, ἂν ἂρα μὴ δύναμαι ἀπομνημονεύσαι ἀκριβῶς ἀπάντων τῶν ῥημάτων μηδὲ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας, ἀλλὰ πλέον ἢ ἐλαττὸν εἴπω τι, συγγνώμην ἐχειν, μηδὲ ὅτι ταῦτα λέγω ἡ τυχάναι πολλοῖς ἔτεοι πρότερον εἰρημένα, διὰ τούτο ἢττον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἵσως γὰρ ἂν, ἐφθα, οὕτως μάλιστα ὡφεληθείτε. οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς παλαιοὺς λόγους ὑσπέρ φάρμακα διαπνεύσατος ἀπολωλεκέναι τὴν δύναμιν.

16 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὅποτ’ ἵδοι πλείονας ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, σχετικῶν καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν ἐβοᾷ πάνι ἀνδρείως τε καὶ ἀνυποστόλως, Ποῦ φέρεσθε,

1 ἐνίοτε Reiske: ἢν ἐνίοτε δὲ (δὲ καὶ by corrector) P, ἐνίοτε δὲ UBM.
2 τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ κατ᾽ Cobet: τῶν δικαστηρίων καὶ κατ’ UB, τῶν δικαστηρίων κατ’ MP.

1 At this point begins the passage ending in section 28, which is based on either the pseudoplato onc Cleitophon or on a source common to both it and this passage in Dio. See Introduction, p. 89.
whirling. While I was uttering these and similar upbraidings of all others, but first and foremost of myself, at times, when at a loss, I would have recourse to an ancient appeal made by a certain Socrates, one that he never ceased making, everywhere and to everyone, crying out and declaiming earnestly, in the wrestling schools and in the Lyceum and at the workshops and up and down the market-place, like a god swung into view by the machine, as someone has said. By no means, however, did I pretend that the appeal was mine, but gave the credit where it was due, and requested them, in case I were unable to recall accurately all the phrases, or even not all the thought, but should add or subtract anything, to grant me their indulgence and not to pay any the less attention to me just because I was repeating what happened to have been said many years before. "For perhaps," said I, "you will in this way derive the greatest benefit. For in truth," I added, "it is not at all probable that the words of old have evaporated like drugs and lost their power."

Now Socrates, whenever he saw several persons assembled, would cry out most bravely and frankly with indignant rebuke and censure, "Whither are you

2 The statement that Socrates never ceased making this appeal was made by Socrates himself according to Plato. See Plato, Apology of Socrates 29 d.

3 See the Pseudoplatonio Cleitophon 407 a for the same phrase. Dio was not thinking of the way the god was brought into view, but of the solemn admonitions which he gave from his elevated position. Plato in the Cratylus 425 d says that the writers of tragedy had recourse to a deus ex machina whenever they were in difficulties with the plot.

4 The "someone" is the man who used the preceding expression in the source which Dio used.
"ὁνθρωποι, καὶ ἀγνοεῖτε μηδὲν ὑδέν 1 τῶν δεόντων πράττοντες, χρήματων μὲν ἐπιμελοῦμενοι καὶ πορίζοντες πάντα τρόπον, ὅπως αὐτοῖ τε ἀφθονα ἔχητε καὶ τοὺς πασίν ἐτι πλείω παραδώσετε; αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παιδών καὶ πρότερον ὑμῶν τῶν πατέρων ἠμελήκατε ὁμοίως ἀπαντε, οὐδεμιὰν εὐρόντες οὐτε παίδευσαν οὔτε ἀσκησαν ἵκανην οὔδε ὦφελίμοιν ἀνθρώποις, ἣν παιδευθέντες δυνήσεσθε 2 τοὺς χρή- μασι χρησάμεν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ μὴ βλαβερῶς καὶ ἀδίκως, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύξετε, 3 ὁ σπουδαστέρον ἥγεισθαι τῶν χρημάτων ἐχρῆν, καὶ 4 νεὸς καὶ θυγατράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ φίλοις, κάκεινοι ὑμῖν.

17 Ἀλλὰ ἡ 5 κιθαρίζειν καὶ πολαίειν καὶ γράμματα μαθαίνεισον ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων καὶ τοὺς νεῖσθε διάσκειόν τε σωφρονεῖστε καὶ ἀμεῖνον οὐκήσατε τὴν πόλιν; καίτοι εἰ τις συναγογῶν τοὺς τε κιθαρίστας καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας καὶ τοὺς γραμματιστὰς τοὺς ἀριστὰ ἐπισταμένους ἐκαστὰ τούτων πόλων κατοικίσατε ἐν καὶ ἔθνος, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ποτὲ τῇ Ἡβραίᾳ, ποιὰ τις ἄν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ γενέσθαι πόλις καὶ τίνα οἰκεῖσθαι τρόπον; οὐ πολὺ κάκιον καὶ αἰσχρὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀλ- γυπτῶν κατήλων πόλεως, ὅπου πάντες κάτηλοι κατ- οικοῦσιν, ὁμοίως μὲν ἄνδρες, ὁμοίως δὲ γυναῖκες; οὐ πολὺ γελοιότερον οἰκήσουσιν τούτοι, οὐς λέγω

1 οὐδὲν in Plato, Cleitophon 407 b.
2 δυνήσεσθε Reiske: δυνήσονται.
3 ἀναπτύξεινus Carps: ἐπιτύχοις.
4 tois after kal deleted by Reiske. 5 ἡ Jacobs: οὐ.
drifting, men? Are you quite unaware that you are doing none of the things that you should do, in concerning yourselves with money and trying to get it in any way and every way, in order that you may not only have it in abundance yourselves, but may bequeath still more of it to your children? Yet the children themselves—aye, and earlier, yourselves, their fathers—you have all alike neglected, since you have found no education and no mode of life that is satisfactory, or even profitable, for man, which, if acquired, will enable you to use your money rightly and justly, instead of harmfully and unjustly, and to treat without hurt, not only yourselves, whom you should have considered of more value than wealth, but also your sons and daughters and wives and brothers and friends, even as they should treat you.

"But, pray, is it by learning from your parents to play the lyre and to wrestle, to read and write, and by teaching your sons these things that you think that your city will be inhabited by more disciplined and better citizens? And yet if one were to bring together all the cithara players and gymnastic masters and schoolmasters who have the best knowledge of their respective subjects, and, if you should found a city with them or even a nation, just as you at one time colonized Ionia, what sort of a city do you think it would be, and what the character of its citizens? Would not life be much worse and viler than it is in that city of shopkeepers in Egypt, where all shopkeepers settle, both men and women alike? Will not a much more ridiculous society be made by these

dria it was the chief port for the trade carried on between Greece and Egypt.
τούς τῶν ὑμετέρων παιδῶν διδασκάλους, οἱ παιδοτρίβαι καὶ κιθαρισταὶ καὶ γραμματισταὶ, προσλαβόντες τοὺς τε παραφυίους καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς;

18 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅσα μανθάνονσιν οἱ ἀνθρωποί, τούτου ένεκα μανθάνουσιν ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν ἡ χρεία ἐνστῇ πρὸς ὧν ἐμάνθανεν ἔκαστος, πούῃ τὸ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, οἷόν ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης ὅταν εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἔμβη, τῷ πηδαλίῳ κατευθύνων· 1 διὰ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐμάνθανε κυβερνάν· ὁ δὲ ἰατρὸς ἐπειδὰν παραλάβῃ τὸν κάμνοντα, τοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν διάστασιν ἰώμενος, οὐ ἔνεκα ἐκτῆσατο τὴν ἐμπειρίαν.

19 οὐκοῦν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐφθ., ἐπειδὰν δὲν τε βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οἱ μὲν ὑμῶν κιθαρίζουσιν ἀναστάντες, οἱ δὲ τινες παλαιέτες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀναγυνάσκετε τῶν Ὄμηρου τι λαβόντες ἢ τῶν Ἱούδου; ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμεινὸν ἤστε ἐτέρων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὀφεσθε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐσεθοί καὶ δυνῆςθαι τὰ τε κωνὰ πράττειν 2 ὀρθῶς καὶ τὰ ἰδια. καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ ταῦτας ταῖς ἐλπίδων οἰκεῖτε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς νίεις παρασκευάζετε ὡς δυνατοὺς ἐσομένους χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν, οἵ ἀν ἰκανῶς κιθαρίσσωι 3

Παλλάδα περσέπωλιν δεινάν

1 κατευθύνων Reiske: κατευθύνη.
2 πράττειν Dindorf: πράξειν UBP, πράξιν Μ.

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THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

teachers of your children of whom I speak—I mean the gymnastic masters, the cithara players, and the schoolmasters, including the rhapsodists and the actors?

"For mark you, everything that people learn, they learn simply in order that when the need arises for the things which each man has learned, he may do the work of his profession, the pilot, for instance, guiding the ship with the rudder as soon as he steps on board—for this is why he studied piloting—and the physician healing with his drugs and dietary regulations when he takes charge of his patient—the purpose for which he acquired his skill. And so, to take your own case," he continued, "when there is need of any deliberation concerning the welfare of your city and you have come together in the Assembly, do some of you get up and play the cithara, and certain other individuals wrestle, and yet others of you take something of Homer's or Hesiod's and proceed to read it? For these are the things that you know better than the others, and these are the things which you think will make you good men and enable you to conduct your public affairs properly and your private concerns likewise. And now, these are the hopes which inspire you when you direct your city and prepare your sons, thinking to qualify them to handle both their own and the public's interests if only they can play satisfactorily

Pallas, dread destroyer of cities,¹

¹ Lamprocles, fragment 1 in Bergk, Poetae Lyricae Graecae. Quoted in Aristophanes, Clouds 967, where the poet also is speaking of education.
ὁ ὦθος ἔδωκε βιβάζει πρὸς τὴν λύραν. ὅπως δὲ γνώσθησθε τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως μὲ τὸ ὀμονοίας πολιτεύσεσθε καὶ οἰκήσετε, μὴ ἀδικῶν ἄλλος ἄλλον μηδὲ ἐπι-βουλεύων, τούτῳ δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐμάθετε οὐδὲ ἐμελη-σεν ὑμῖν πάντοτε οὐδὲ νῦν ἐτὶ φροντίζετε. Καίτοι τραγῳδοὺς ἐκάστοτε ὄρατε τοὺς Διονυσίους καὶ ἔλεγε τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλο οἷος οὐδέποτε ἐνελθοῦν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τοὺς ἀγραμμάτους οὐδὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀπέ-άδοντας οὐδὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας παλαιῶν γίγνεται τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ ὅτι πένης τοὺς ἐστιν, οὐδεὶς ἐνεκα τούτου τραγῳδίαν ἐδίδαξεν. Τοναιτόν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἄτρεάς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονας καὶ τοὺς Ὀιδίποδας ἵνα τίς ἂν πάσας τὰς τραγῳδίας, οἱ πλείστα ἐκέκτητο χρήματα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυ-ροῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ ἁρακισμάτων καὶ δή τῶν δυστυχει-τάτων αὐτῶν γενέσθαι φασὶ χρυσοῦν πρόβατον.

καὶ μὴν ὁ Θάμυρις γε εὔ μάλα ἐπιστάμενος κιθαρίζειν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς Μούσας ἐρίζων περὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας, ἑτυφλώθη διὰ τούτο καὶ προσέτη ἀπέμαθε τὴν κιθαριστικήν. καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδην οὐδὲν ὠνήσεν αὐτὸν εὑρόντα τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τὸ

1 ὅλω Herwerden, cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1165 ἐπέβησεν ὅλων ποδί · τῷ.

1 That is, Atreus the son of Pelops. According to the version of the story which Dio seems to have in mind Atreus vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the most beautiful creature born in his flocks; but when the golden lamb was born, he disregarded his vow and hid the lamb in a chest. Then his brother
or 'with eager foot' betake themselves to the lyre. But as to how you are to learn what is to your own advan-
tage and that of your native city, and to live lawfully
and justly and harmoniously in your social and political
relations without wronging or plotting against one
another, this you never learned nor has this problem
ever yet given you any concern, nor even at this
moment does it trouble you at all. But although you
every year see the tragic performances at the
Dionysia and pity the misfortunes of the characters
in the exhibitions of tragedies, yet in spite of this
you have never reflected that it is not the illiterate
or the singers who sing out of tune or those who do
not know how to wrestle to whom these evils happen,
nor has anyone ever brought out a tragedy about a
man simply because he is poor. Quite the contrary!
It is heroes like Atreus, Agamemnon, and Oedipus who
form the subject of all the tragedies, as anyone may
see, men who possessed a wealth of gold and silver
and land and cattle; and indeed, for the most un-
fortunate of them they say a golden sheep was born.¹
And again, even Thamyris,² who was very proficient
in playing the cithara and strove with the Muses
themselves for the prize in music, was blinded because
of this and unlearned the art of playing the cithara in
the bargain. And his invention of the letters of the
alphabet availed Palamedes naught to save him from
Tyestes seduced his wife Aeropè, stole the lamb, and got
Atreus to agree that the one in possession of the lamb should be
king.

¹ A Thracian singer. See Euripides, Rhesus 915 ff. and
Homer, Iliad 2. 595, for the same story about him as Dio
gives here. A picture of the blinded Thamyris appeared in
Polygnotus' painting of the Underworld. See Pausanias
10. 30. 8.
μὴ ἄδικως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαῖων τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παιδευθέντων καταλευσθέντα ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλ’ ἔως μὲν ἤσαν ἁγράμματοι καὶ ἁμαθεῖς τούτου τοῦ μαθήματος, ξῆν αὐτόν εἰων ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐδίδαξε γράμματα καὶ τοὺς Ἀτρέιδας δῆλον ὅτι πρώτους, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τούς φρυκτοὺς ὅπως χρῆ ἀνέχειν καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ πρότερον οὐκ ἤδεσαν οὐδὲ καλῶς ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιμένες τὰ πρόβατα, τηνικαῦτα σοφότεροι γενόμενοι καὶ ἁμείνους ἀπεκτείναν αὐτόν.

22 Ἐι δὲ γε, ἔφη, τοὺς ῥήτορας οἷεσθε ἰκανοὺς εἶναι πρὸς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τέχνην ἄνδρας ἁγάθους ποιεῖν, θαυμάζω ὅτι οὐ καὶ δικάζειν ἐκείνους ἐπετρέφατε ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὑπὸς οὐκ, εἰ δυκαιοτάτους καὶ ἁριστους ὅπειλήσατε, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκείνους ἐπετρέφατε διαχειρίζειν. ὅμοιον γὰρ ὃν ποιήσατε ὥσπερ εἰ κυβερνήτας καὶ ναυάρχους τῶν τρυήρων ἀποδείξατε ὁ τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐκείνους κελευσάς.

23 Ἐι δὲ δὴ τις λέγοι τῶν πολιτικῶν τε καὶ ῥήτορον πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ταύτῃ μέντοι τῇ παιδεύσει χρώμενοι Ἀθηναίοι Περσῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοσοῦτοι μυρίασιν ἔποι ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν δίς ἐφεξῆς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἐλλάδα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δύναμιν καὶ

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1 ἀποδείξατε Emperius: ἀποδείξετε UBM, ἀποδείξετε P.
2 τριηρίτας Reiske: τριηρίτας UB, τριηλάτας MR.
suffering injustice at the hands of the very Achaeans who had been instructed by him and from being put to death by stoning. But as long as they were unlettered and unacquainted with this special learning of his, they permitted him to live. When, however, he had taught the others to read and write, and the Atreidae of course first of all, and along with their letters had shown them how to raise bale-fires and how to count the host—for previously they had not known how to count the multitude properly, as shepherds do their sheep— as soon as they had become more clever and proficient, then it was that they slew him.

"But if you really think," said he, "that the orators are qualified to deliberate and that their profession is competent to make men good, I am surprised that you have not entrusted the deciding of questions of state to them instead of to your own selves; and why, if you regard them as the best and most just of men, you have not allowed them to manage your finances also. No, for you would be acting just as if you were to appoint the marines or boatswains to be the helmsmen and captains of your triremes!"

Then if one of the public men and orators said to him in reply: "Anyhow it was this education that the Athenians had received and were using at the time when the Persians came with so many myriads against their city twice in succession, and against the rest of Greece: on the first occasion when the Persian king..."
στρατηγοῦς ἀποστεῖλαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅστερον
dὲ αὐτὸν Ἐξέσω παραγενομένου μετὰ παντὸς
tοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀπαντας τούτους ἐνίκησαν καὶ πανταχοῦ περιήγαν αὐτῶν
cαὶ τῷ βουλεύσεια καὶ τῷ máχεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς
πῶς ἂν ἤδυνατο περιεῖναι τηλικάτης παρασκευής
καὶ τοσούτου πλῆθους μὴ διαφέροντες κατ’ ἁρετήν;
ἡ πῶς ἂν ἁρετὴ διέφερον μὴ τῆς ἁρίστης παιδείας
tυγχάνοντες, ἀλλὰ φαύλης καὶ ἀνωφελοῦς;

24 Πρὸς τὸν τοιαύτα εἰπόντα ἐλέγεν ὅτι οὔδε
ęκεῖνοι ἦλθον παιδεῖαν οὐδεμίαν παιδευθέντες
οὐδὲ ἐπιστάμενοι βουλεύσεια περί τῶν πραγμάτων,
ἀλλὰ τοξεύων τε καὶ ἱππεύων καὶ
θηρᾶν μεμελετηκότες, καὶ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι τὸ σῶμα
αἰσχυστὸν αὐτοὺς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ πτύει ἐν τῷ φανερῶ
ταύτα δὲ αὐτοὺς οὔδὲν ἐμελλεν ὄντεσεν· ὡστε οὐδὲ
ἡν ἄρα τραχυνὸς ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲς οὐδὲ βασιλείς,
ἀλλὰ μυριάδες ἄνθρωπων ἀμίθητοι πάντων ἄφρο
καὶ κακοδαμώνων. εἰς δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς
ὑπῆρχεν ὥρθην ἔχων τίραν καὶ ἐπὶ ἱθάνου χρυσοῦ
καθίζων, ύπ. οὐ πάντες ἦσπερ ὑπὸ δαιμόνων
ἡλαύνοντο πρὸς βίαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡλάτταν,
οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ὅραν, καὶ μαστιγοῦμενοι καὶ
dēδότες καὶ ἱδοῦμενοι καὶ τρέμοντες ἰθαγκά
ζουτο ἀποθνήσκειν. ὡσπερ οὖν εἰ δύο ἄνθρωπῳ
παλαιν οὐκ εἰδότε ραλαιν, ὅ γε ἔτερος κατα-
βάλλων ἄν ἐνιοῦ τὸν ἔτερον, οὐ δὲ ἐμπερίαν,

1 The "Just Argument" makes the same claim in the Clouds of Aristophanes 985–6: "But still these are the things on which my education reared the men who fought at Marathon"—

ἀλλ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἄτιν ἂκιν,
ἐξ δὲ ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχους ἡ μὴ παιδευοίς ἔθεφαν.

II0
sent an army and generals,1 and later when Xerxes came in person with all the hosts of Asia; but nevertheless they conquered all these, and everywhere proved superior to them both in planning and in fighting. And yet how would they have been able to prevail over so great an armament and over so mighty a host, if they had not been superior in the qualities of valour? Or how would they have been superior in such excellence, if they had not enjoyed the most excellent education, but a poor and useless one?"

In answer to anyone using such arguments he would reply that neither had their enemies received any education before they came, nor did they know how to deliberate about affairs of state, but had simply been trained to shoot and ride and hunt, while they thought exposure of the body the most shameful thing, and spitting in public.2 "But those things," he said "were destined to avail them not at all; with the result that there was not even a general over them nor yet a king, but there were simply countless myriads of men, all foolish and doomed to an evil fate. However, there was one among them who had the right to wear his tiara upright and to sit upon a golden throne, by whom all were driven on by compulsion, as if by an evil spirit, some into the sea and some down from the hills; while scourged by the lash, in terror, and jostling one another and trembling, they were forced to die. Hence, just as if two men quite ignorant of wrestling were to wrestle together, one of them would sometimes throw the other, not because of his greater experience but by mere chance, and often the same

1 See Xenophon, Cyropaedia, 1. 2. 16.
ἀλλὰ διὰ τινα τύχην, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δίς ἔφεξης ὁ αὐτὸς, οὕτως καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Πέρσαι συμβαλόντες, τοτὲ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι περίθανοι, τοτὲ δὲ Πέρσαι, ὥσπερ ὤστερον, ὅτε καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως κατέβαλον μετὰ Δακεδαιμονίων πολεμοῦντες. ἐπεὶ έχοις ἂν μοι εἴπειν εἰ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμοισοτεροί καὶ ἀγραμματώτεροι γεγόνεσαν; ἐπευτα αὕτης ἐπὶ Κόνωνος, ὅτε ἐνίκησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ Κυίδου, ἀμείνων ἐπάλαιον καὶ ἕδων;

Οὕτως οὖν ἀπεφαίνεν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείᾳ χρηστῆς τυγχάνοντας. τούτο δ’, ἔφη, οὐ μόνον Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν συμβέβηκεν.

27 Καὶ μὴν τὸ γε ἀπαιδευτὸν εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον ὅπως χρῆ, μηδὲ ἰκανῶς παρεσκευασμένον πρὸς τὸν βίον, ζῆν τε καὶ πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν οὕτως μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲ αὐτῶς ἐκείνους ἀρέσκειν τοὺς γὰρ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀπαιδευτοὺς ψέγειν αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ δυναμένους ζῆν ὀρθῶς εἶναι δὲ ἀμαθεῖς οὐχὶ τοὺς υφαίνειν ἢ σκυτοτομεῖν μὴ ἐπισταμένους οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀρχεῖσθαι οὐκ εἰδότα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας ἢ ἐστὶν εἰδότα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι.

1 τότε Cassuon: ποτέ.
2 ἔφη added by Capps.
3 ἐπιστάμενον Venetian edition: ἐπισταμένως.

1 At the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. The Persians are credited with having tipped the scale in favour of Sparta.

II2
man would even throw his opponent twice in succession; so too, when the Persians clashed with the Athenians, at one time the Athenians prevailed and at another time the Persians, as at a later time, when they were fighting the Athenians with the aid of the Lacedaemonians, they even tore down the walls of their city. Yet would you be able to assert to me that at that time the Athenians had become less cultivated and more illiterate? Afterwards, again, in the time of Conon, when they won the naval engagement off Cnidos, were they more skilful at wrestling and singing odes?

This is the way, then, in which he would demonstrate that they were not receiving a useful education. And this, he said, had been the experience, not alone of the Athenians, but of practically all mankind, both in the past and in the present age.

"Furthermore," he would go on to say, "to be uneducated and to know none of the essential things, and to have no adequate preparation for life, and yet to go on living and to attempt while in that condition to carry on important matters of state—this cannot satisfy even the persons themselves; for they themselves criticize the ignorant and uneducated as not being able to live aright. And by the ignorant I mean, not those who do not know how to weave or how to make shoes, nor the people who cannot dance, but those who are ignorant of the things which one must know if he is to be a good and noble man."

² Since the naval engagement between the Athenians and Spartans off Cnidos was not fought until 394 B.C., and Socrates was put to death in 399 B.C., he could not have spoken this sentence.
Καὶ οὕτως δὴ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἤδει γὰρ ὅτι τούτῳ ζητοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσουν ἡ φιλοσοφήσουσι· τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὅπως τις ἔσται καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι ἡ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν· οὐ μὲντοι πολλάκις οὕτως ὁμοίαζεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ζητεῖν ἕκελεν ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται.

Πρὸς τε οὖν τοὺς ἀλλούς σχεδόν τι τὰ αὐτὰ διελεγόμην ἀρχαία καὶ ἑωλα, ¹ καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἶων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον ἠσυχίαν ἄγεων, ὁδοῖον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτόλμων διαλέγεσθαι λόγον, μὴ καταγελασθῶ τε καὶ ἀνόητος δὰξ φοβοῦμενος, ἀπε συνεδρῶς αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ ἀμαθίαν ἐνεβυμούμην δὲ.

Φέρε, ἡν ² μμούμενον τοιοῦτος τών διαλέγωμεν λόγον περὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδέν ἔστων αὐτῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ περὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας, καὶ ὅτι παιδείας πολλής καὶ ἀγαθῆς δέονται, τυχὸν οὐ καταγελάσοις μου ταύτα λέγοντος οὐδὲ φήσωσιν ἀνόητον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐξω λέγεω ὅτι εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἄνδρος ὅν οἱ τε Ἑλληνες ἑθαύμασαν ἀπαντεῖ ἐπὶ σοφία καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ’Ἀπόλλων σοφῶτατον ³ αὐτὸν ἡγήσατο· καὶ Ἀρχέλαος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πολλοῖς συγγεγογώς τῶν σοφῶν, ἑκάλει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ διώροις

¹ ἑωλα Σκοπεὶς: φαύλα.
² φέρε, ἡν Αρνίμ: φέρει Μ, φέρει εἰ UBP.
³ σοφῶτατον Καϊβέλ. Cf. Plato, Apology 21 a; σοφόν.
THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

And speaking in this manner he would exhort his hearers to take care to give heed to his words, and to pursue philosophy; for he knew that if they sought that which he recommended, they would be doing nothing else than studying philosophy. For if a man strives earnestly to be good and honourable, that is nothing but being a philosopher. However, he did not often use that word for it, but merely bade them to seek to be good men.

Now to my hearers I used to say practically the same things as Socrates did, things old-fashioned and trite though they were, and when they refused to leave me in peace even on reaching Rome itself, I did not venture to speak any word of my own, fearing lest I be laughed at and regarded as a fool, since I was well aware how completely old-fashioned and ignorant I was; and I said to myself:

"Come now, if I, copying the words of another, use such derogatory words about things which are highly regarded at Rome here, and tell them that not one of these things is a good, if I speak of luxury and intemperance, and tell them that what they need is a thorough and sound education, perhaps they will not laugh at me for uttering such sentiments nor declare that I am a fool. But if they do, I shall be able to say that those words were spoken by a man whom the Greeks one and all admired for his wisdom, and what is more, whom Apollo actually considered the wisest man in the world,\(^1\) while Archelaus, the king of Macedonia, who knew a great deal and had rise to him to come to Macedonia, offering

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\(^1\) See Plato, Apology of Socrates 23 a and compare Discourse 58. 8.
καὶ μισθῶς, ὥσπερ ἀκούοι αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου
tοὺς λόγους τοιούτους. 1

31 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπειρώμην διαλέγεσθαι
Ῥωμαίους, ἑπειδὴ με ἐκάλεσαν καὶ λέγειν ἥξιον, οὐ
cατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνων ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ
περιπάτοις· οὗ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν οὕτως ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ
πόλει συγγίγνεσθαι· πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀθρόοις εἰς ταῦτα
συνοίησαν, ὅτι δέονται παιδείας κρείττους καὶ
ἐπιμελεστέρας, εἰ μέλλουσιν εὐδαιμόνες ἐσεῦθαι
τῷ ὅντι κατ᾽ ἀλῆθειαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόξῃ τῶν πολλῶν
ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ νῦν· εἰ τις αὐτοὺς μεταπέσει
cαὶ διδάξει παραλαβὼν ὅτι τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν
ἔστω ἀγάθον, ὡτε δὲν σπουδάζουσι καὶ πάση
προθυμία κτῶνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν, ὅσοι ἂν πλείω
κτῆσωνται, τοσοῦτῳ ἀμενοῦ βιώσεσθαι καὶ μακα-

32 ῥωτερον· σωφροσύνην δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ
δικαιοσύνην ἐάνπερ ἐκμελετήσωσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
ἀναλάβωσι, διδασκάλους πολέν τούτων εὐρόντες
cαὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπάντων, ἀμελησάντες εἰτε
"Ἐλληνας εἴτε Ῥωμαίος, εἴτε τις παρὰ Ἐκύθαις
ἡ παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς ἀνήρ ἐστι διδάσκαλος ὅων εἰπον,
οὐχ 2 ὥσπερ, ομια, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἐπικήθης, ἀλλὰ 3
νὴ Δία ἱἀτρὸς τις θεραπεύεις ἐπιτάμενος τὰ
νοσήματα τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως ἰκανὸς ὅων λάθει
τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς νόσους, ὰστις ἀκολογίας καὶ
πλεονεξίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρρωστημάτων
dυνησᾶται ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν κρατοῦ-

33 μένους, τούτων δὲ 4 παραλαβόντας καὶ ἀγαγόντας,

1 τοιούτους Capps: τοιούτους.
2 οὐχ added by Capps.
3 ἀλλὰ Capps: ἦ.
4 δὲ added by Cohoon.
him gifts and fees that he might have the privilege of hearing him say such things."

And thus it came about that I too endeavoured to talk to the Romans when they had summoned me and invited me to speak, but I did not take them by twos and threes in wrestling-schools and cloistered walks; for it was not possible to meet them thus in that city; but when a great number had gathered in one place, I would tell them that they needed a better and more carefully planned education, if they were ever to be happy in truth and reality and not merely in the opinion of the majority, as was now the case; that if anyone should win them to this view and take them in charge and teach them that not a single one of those things is a good to which they devoted themselves and which they strove with all their zeal to acquire, in the belief that, the more they acquired, the better and happier their life would be; but that if they wholeheartedly practised temperance, manliness, and justice, and took them into their souls, securing from somewhere teachers who taught these things and all the other things too, not caring whether the men were Greeks or Romans, or, for that matter, if there is among the Scythians or the Indians a man who teaches the things of which I have spoken—not, as I think, archery and horsemanship, but far better, if there were a physician who, knowing how to treat the infirmities of the body, is in that way competent to heal the maladies of the soul—a teacher, I mean, who would be able to rid of licentiousness and covetousness and all such infirmities those who were dominated by them—of that man, I say, they should take possession and lead him to their
λόγω πεῖσαντας ἡ φιλία: χρήμασι μὲν γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν ἀνδρα πεισθήναι τοιούτων οὐδὲ ἄλλως δώρῳ: καταστήσαντας δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν νόμῳ προαγορέσας τοὺς νέους ἀπαντας φοιτῶν παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ συνεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἦττων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἐνώ ἂν ἀπαντεῖ σοφοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐρασθέντες, καταφρονήσαντες χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλεφάντως καὶ ὄψιν δὴ καὶ μύρου καὶ ἀφροδισίων, εἰδαίμονες οἰκῆσαι καὶ ἀρχοντες μᾶλιστα καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν, ἐπειτὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Τότε γὰρ, ἐφη, ἔσται ὡμῶν ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ ἁγιαρὰ καὶ ἀρχοντας κατ’ ἀλήθειαν· όσ τὸ γε νῦν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς ὑποπτον καὶ οὐ πάνω ἀσφαλές. ὅσω γὰρ ἂν, ἐφην, πλείων ἡ τε ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη γίγνεται παρ’ ύμῖν, τοσούτω ἐλαττὸν ἔσται τὸ τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὰ ἐλεφάντων σκέψι καὶ τὰ ἠλέκτρων καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ θύου καὶ ἐβενος καὶ οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμος καὶ τὰ ποικίλματα καὶ αἱ βαφαὶ, καὶ ξύμπαντα ἀπλῶς τὰ νῦν ἐν τῇ πάλει τίμια καὶ περιμ. ἀγήτα, ἐλαττῶνων αυτῶν δεήσοθε· ὅταν δὲ ἑληλυθοῦτες ὢτε ἐπ’ ἄκρον ἁρετής, οὐδενός· καὶ οἰκίας μικροτέρας καὶ ἀμείνους οἰκήσετε, καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον θρέψετε ἀνδραπόδων ἀργῶν καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν χρησίμων· τὸ δὲ πάντων παρα- δοξότατον· ὅσω γὰρ ἂν εὐσεβέστεροι καὶ ὀσιώτεροι γένσηθε, τοσοῦτω ἐλάττων ἔσται παρ’ ύμῖν ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὰ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ στεφανώ- ματα, καὶ θύσετε ἐλάττους θυσίας καὶ ἀπ’ ἐλάτ- τωνος διαπάνης, καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος τὸ νῦν παρ’
homes, inducing him to come either by argument or by friendship—for by money such a man cannot be induced nor by any other gifts—and after establishing him on their acropolis they ought to issue an edict bidding all the young men to resort to him regularly and associate with him, and equally the older men too, until all of them, having become enamoured of righteousness, and having learned to despise gold and silver and ivory, yea, and rich food too and perfume and the lust of the flesh, should thereafter live happy lives, and be masters first and foremost of themselves and afterwards of all other men as well.

"For only then," I continued, "will your city be great and strong and truly imperial, since at present its greatness arouses distrust and is not very secure. For," said I, "in proportion as courage, justice, and temperance increase among you, in that degree there will be less silver and gold and furniture of ivory and of amber, less of crystal and citron-wood and ebony and women's adornments and embroideries and dyes of many hues; in short, all the things which are now considered in your city precious and worth fighting for, you will need in smaller quantities, and when you have reached the summit of virtue, not at all. And the houses in which you live will be smaller and better, and you will not support so great a throng of idle and utterly useless slaves and—the most paradoxical thing of all—the more god-fearing and pious you become, the less frankincense and fragrant offerings and garlands there will be among you, and you will offer fewer sacrifices and at less expense, and the whole multitude that is now being supported in your city
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

...φομενον πολυ ελαττων έσται, καὶ ή ἕμπ- 
πασα πόλις, οὕσπερ ναῦς κουφισθείσα, ἀνακύμει 
τε καὶ πολυ έσται ἐλαφροτέρα καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρα.

36 τε καὶ πανταχόθεν εἰς ένα τότον ἥθροισται τόν τόπον, 
τρυφής ἐπικρατούσης καὶ πλεονεξίας, οὕμουν ἓστων 
ἀναφερόντων τούτων παρόντα διάκειται, χρημάτων ἕνεκα πλήθους, ὅ 
πάντα πανταχόθεν εἰς ένα τότον ἥθροισται τόν τόπον, 
τρυφής ἐπικρατούσης καὶ πλεονεξίας, οὕμουν ἓστων 

37 τε καὶ ἄναψαι. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἦττον γε 
πέφυκεν ἐξάπτειν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ύβριν καὶ 

Αὐτὸς έλεγον ὃς χαλεπὸν αὐτοὺς παιδευθήναι, 
ἐπεί καὶ τάλλα, ἔφην, οὐδενὸς βελτίως πρότερον 

1 ὅτε Geol and Jacobs: εἰ or ὁ.
2 ἐπινήσας Cocho, ἡσας Armin: κοσμήσας.
3 στρωμάτων Geol: συμμάτων.
will be much smaller; while the entire city, like a ship that has been lightened, will ride higher and be much more buoyant and safer. These same pronouncements you will find were made both by Sibylla and by Bacis,¹ if it be true that the two of them proved to be good soothsayers and seers. But as your possessions are now, on account of the great amount of wealth, all of which has been collected from all the world into this one place, luxury and covetousness being prevalent, the situation is similar to that in which Achilles, after heaping high the pyre of Patroclus with many logs of wood, with many coverlets and garments, and also with fat and olive oil in addition, summons the winds, with libations and the promise of sacrifices, to come and set it afire and burn it.² For such possessions as yours are no less likely to kindle the wanton spirit and licentiousness of human beings."

I did not, however, maintain that it was difficult for them to become educated, "for," said I, "although you have hitherto been no whit better than other men, you learned easily enough all the other things that you wished." I refer to horsemanship, archery, fighting in heavy armour . . .

¹ Neither Scylla nor Charybdis was originally the name of an individual, but the first was the designation of a type of prophetess, and the second of a type of prophet.
² See Homer, Iliad 23. 161-177, 192-216.
THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE:
ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I

Dio begins this Discourse by saying that the majority of men do not know the real difference between slavery and freedom, and after examining the question for some time, finally, in § 18, states his own view that freedom is the knowledge of what is allowable and what is forbidden, while slavery is the opposite. Then, identifying the free man with the king, he proceeds to prove the paradox that the king, or free man, may be such although he is kept in prison or suffers other seeming indignities.

The Discourse is very informal. Dio speaks in his own person up to the beginning of § 11 and then from that point on discusses the question with another. This would seem to put the Discourse in the period of Dio’s exile, when according to the confession in the Thirteenth Discourse his informal teaching of moral philosophy began and probably was chiefly carried on.

This Discourse along with the Fifteenth is our chief source for knowledge of the Stoic doctrine that the wise man alone is free. It is also found stated in the pseudo-Philonic treatise Περὶ τοῦ πᾶντα σπουδαίου ἐλεύθερον εἶναι (Every good man is free), in Cicero’s Paradoxa Stoicorum, Plutarch’s Περὶ εὐγενείας (On Nobility of Birth), and in Epictetus, Diatìbe 4. 1. All these passages may be derived from one common Stoic source as Kaibel says (see Hermes, vol. 23, 1888, p. 543, n. 3), if not from some Cynic earlier still. At least O. Hense (Rheinisches Museum, vol. 47, 1892, p. 219 ff.) shows that, in the treatise falsely ascribed to Philo, Bion’s Περὶ δουλείας (On Slavery) was used.

1 See Stobaeus 3. 2. 38.
14. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ Α

1 Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ φασὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μέγιστον τῶν ἁγαθῶν, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν αἰσχυντο καὶ δυστυχεστοτον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ὡς τὸ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἢ ὃ τι τὸ δουλεύων, οὐκ ἔσασθαι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲ ποιοῦσιν οὐδέν, ὡς ἔποιες εἰπεῖν, ὅπως τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκφεύγονται, τὴν δουλείαν, δὲ δὲ δοκεῖ ἀυτοῖς πολλοὶ ἄξιον εἶναι, κτῆσονται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ταῦτα πράττουσιν ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας διαστελλεῖ δουλεύοντας τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον καὶ

2 μηδεπώποτε ἐλευθερίας ἐπιτυγχάνειν. πλὴν τούτους οὐκ ἄξιον ἔσασθαι ὃ ὀντὸς οὐτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε φυλάξασθαι δύνανται ὁ τυγχάνοντος ἁγνοοῦντες. εἰ γοῦν ἐπιγνανον ἁγνοοῦντες πρόβατον καὶ λύκου ὃ τι 1 ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν, οἷως δὲ ἡγοῦντο 2 τὸ μὲν ὁφέλιμον καὶ κτῆσασθαι ἁγαθόν, τὸ δὲ βλαβερὸν καὶ ἀσύμφορον, οὐκ ὧν ἦν 3 θαμμαστῶν οὐδέν, εἰ τὸ μὲν πρόβατον ἐφοβοῦτο καὶ ἐφευγόν ἐνίοτε ὡς λύκον, τὸν δὲ λύκον προσίμενο καὶ ὑπέμενον, νομίζομεν πρόβατον, ἡ γὰρ ἁγνοῦν ὑποίκοι ἐργάζεται τοὺς οὐκ εἴδοται καὶ ἀναγκάζεται τάναντια φεύγειν καὶ διώκειν ὧν βούλονται καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων.

1 τι added by Morel. 2 ἡγοῦντο Ροισκό: ἡγοῦντο. 3 οὐκ ἦν ἦν Εμπερίου: οὐ καλόν.
THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE:
ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

Men desire above all things to be free and say that freedom is the greatest of blessings, while slavery is the most shameful and wretched of states; and yet they have no knowledge of the essential nature of this freedom and this slavery of which they speak. And, what is more, they do practically nothing whatever to escape the shameful and grievous thing, which is slavery, and to gain what they consider to be so valuable, that is, freedom; but on the contrary, they do the things which result in their continuing in slavery all their lives and never attaining to freedom. However, we should perhaps feel no surprise that these men are unable either to get or to avoid the thing of which they happen to be ignorant. For instance, if they happened to be ignorant as to what a sheep and a wolf are respectively, but nevertheless thought that the one was profitable and good to get while the other was harmful and unprofitable, it would not be at all surprising if they feared the sheep and fled from it at times as though it were a wolf, but let the wolf approach and awaited its coming, thinking it to be a sheep. For ignorance has this effect upon men who lack knowledge, and forces them to flee from and to pursue the opposite of what they desire to flee from and to pursue, and of what would be to their advantage.
3 Φέρε δὴ σκεψώμεθα εἰ ἂρα τι ὁ πολλοὶ ἐπί-
στανται περὶ ἑλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας σαφές.
ὡς γάρ τοι μάτην αὐτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα, οἱ δὲ
παντὸς μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἵσασιν.

Εἶ δὲν ἐροῦτο τις αὐτοὺς ὅ τι ἔστὶ τὸ ἑλευθερὸν
ἐναί, φαίην ὅ ὁμιοῦ τὸ μηδενὸς ὑπήκοον, ἀλλὰ
πράττειν ἀπλῶς τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐαυτῷ· τὸν δὲ
τούτο ἀποκρινάμενον ἐὰν τις ἐπεροτᾶ, εἰ ἐν
χρόῳ χορευτήν ὄντα μὴ προσέχειν τῷ κορυφαίῳ
μηδὲ ὑπήκοον εἶναι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄδειν τε καὶ
ἀπάδειν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῶ ἐπίη, τούτο καλὸν οἷοτα
εἶναι καὶ ἑλευθερίαν, τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον τούτου, τὸ
προσέχει καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἁγεμόνι τοῦ χοροῦ,
καὶ τότε ἀρχεσθαι καὶ παύεσθαι ἄδοντα ὅποταν
ἐκεῖνος κελεύοη, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι καὶ δουλοπρέπεις,
5 οὸν ἂν, οἴμαι, ὁμολογοῦ. οὐδὲ εἰ τις ἐρωτήσειε, πλέοντα μὴ φροντίζειν τοῦ κυβερνήτου μηδὲ
ποιεῖν ἀττ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος εἶπη, εἰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἑλευ-
θερίαν οὐστο· οἰον κελεύοντος καθήσαθαι ἑστάναι
ἐν τῇ νηλ', ἂν αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπίη, καὶ κελεύσῃ
ἀντλεῖν ποτε η ἑνεκέκειν τὰ ἱστιά, μήτ' ἀντληθαι
μήθ' ἀφαιρεῖν τῶν κάλων, οὐδὲ τούτον εἴποι
ἀν ἑλευθερὸν οὐδὲ ζηλωτόν, ὅτι πράττει τὰ
6 δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ, καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε στρατιωτὰς
οὐκ ἂν φαίη δουλοὺς εἶναι, διότι ὑπήκοοι εἰς τοῦ
στρατγοῦ, καὶ τότε ἀνίστανται ὅποταν ἐκεῖνος
προστάξῃ, καὶ σὺτον ἀφοῦνται καὶ ὅπλα λαμβάνουσι
καὶ παρατάττονται καὶ ἐπίσης καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν
οὐκ ἄλλως ἃ τοῦ στρατγοῦ κελεύοντος· οὐδὲ

1 μόνον Cohoon: μη.
2 αὐτῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ.
FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

Come then, let us consider whether the majority of men really have any clear knowledge about freedom and slavery. For it is quite possible that we are criticizing them without good reason, and that they know well what these are.

Now if one were to ask them what the nature of freedom is, they would say, perhaps, that it consists in being subject to no one and acting simply in accordance with one's own judgement. But if one were to go on and ask the man who made this answer whether he thought it a fine thing, and worthy of a free man, that when he is a member of a chorus he should not pay attention to the leader nor be subject to him, but should sing in tune or out of tune just as he took the notion, and whether he thought the opposite course, namely, to pay attention and obey the director of the chorus and to begin and to stop singing only at his command, was shameful and slavish, I do not think that he would agree. And again, if one were to ask whether he thought it was characteristic of a free man, when a passenger on board a ship, to pay no attention to the captain and refuse to carry out whatever orders he should give; for instance, to stand erect in the ship when ordered to sit down, simply if he took a notion to do so; and if he were on occasion ordered to bale or help hoist the sails, neither to bale nor lay hold of the ropes; this man, too, he would not call free or enviable, because he does what seems best to himself. And surely one would not call soldiers slaves because they are subject to their general's orders and spring to their feet the moment he gives a command, and partake of food and lay hold of their weapons and fall in and advance and retire only at their general's
DIO CHrysostom

gε τούς κάμνοντας, ὅτι πείθονται τοῖς ἱατροῖς,
7 οὗ διὰ τοῦτο φήσονται δούλους εἶναι· καὶ τοιούτη συμμετέχειν παραχρήμα 
καὶ τοιοῦτον καὶ διωμένους ἐπιθύμησιν· καὶ δοξήν ἔσται τῷ ἱατρῷ τοῦ κάμνοντα δῆσαι, παραχρήμα 
ἔδέθη, καὶ τοιοῦτον καὶ καθαίρεται καὶ 
τιμήθησται ἐφ’ ὅσον ἄν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ· ἐάν δὲ 
μὴ πείθηται, πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῶν ἱατρῶν 
ὑπαγόντιον, οὗ μόνον οἱ ἐλευθεροί, ἀλλὰ 
πολλὰς οἱ τοῦ νοσοῦντος οἰκίας αὐτοῖς κατα 
δούσι τὸν διεστότην, καὶ τῷ πῦρ καμίζουσιν, ὡς αὐτοῖς 
καθαίρεται, καὶ τάλλα ῥητετοῦσιν. μὴ οὖν οὗ 
φήμη ἐλευθερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων τοῦτον, ὅτι πολλὰ 
καὶ ἀνήθη ἔτερον κελεύντος ὑπομένει· οὐ γὰρ 
δήποτε τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέας Δαρείου οὐκ ἂν ἐφ’ 
ἐλευθερον εἶναι, ἐπείδη καταπεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ 
ἐπτού ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, τοῦ ἀστραγάλου ἐκχωρή 
σαντος, ὑπέκουν τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἐλκουσι καὶ στρεβ 
λοῦσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόδα, ὡς καταστήσεται τὸ 
ἀρθρον, καὶ τοῦτο Ἀργοπτίους ἄνθρωπος· οὐδὲ 
ἀν Ἐσέρην, ὅπως ἀναχωρήσων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος 
καὶ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ νησί πάντα ἐπείθετο τῷ 
κυβερνήτῃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην οὐκ 
ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτῷ ὅσον νεῦσαι ὅσον μεταβιβάζει· 
οὐκοῦν τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ἄνθρωποις ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ 
τὸ πράττειν ὅτι ἄν τις ἑθελῇ ἐλευθερίαιν ἐτί φή 
σουσιν εἶναι.
8 'Αλλὰ ἦσαν ἔρχομαι ὅτι οὖν μὲν ἔπτι τῶν αὐτῶν 
συμφέροντι ὑπακούοντα, ὡς οἱ πλέοντες τῶν

1 οὖκ οὖν τὸ Reiske: διοικοῦντι M, δοκοῦντι UB.

1 See Herodotus 2. 84.
order. Neither will they call persons who are sick slaves because they must obey their physicians. And yet the orders which they obey are neither insignificant nor easy to carry out, but at times they order them to do without both food and drink; and if the physician decides at any time to bind the patient, he is straightaway bound; and if he decides to use the knife or cautery, the patient will be burned and cut to the extent that the physician decides is best. And if the sick man refuses to obey, all the household will help the physician to cope with him, and not the free alone, but often the sick man’s domestics themselves bind their master and fetch the fire that he may suffer cautery, and give any other assistance. You do not say, do you, that this man is not free because he endures many unpleasant things at another’s command? Surely you would not have denied, for instance, that Darius, the King of the Persians, was a free man when, after suffering a fall from his horse in a hunt and dislocating his ankle, he obeyed the surgeons while they pulled and twisted his foot in order to set the joint, and that too although they were Egyptians. Nor, to take another instance, would you have denied that Xerxes was a free man, when on his retreat from Greece a storm arose and he while aboard the ship obeyed the captain in everything and would not permit himself against the captain’s judgement even to nod or to change his position. Therefore they will not persist in maintaining that rendering obedience to no man or doing whatever one likes constitutes freedom.

But perhaps they will counter by saying that these men obey for their own advantage, just as people
κυβερνήτη καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ στρατηγῷ, καὶ οἱ κάμυντες δὲ τῷ λατρῷ διὰ τούτο πείθονται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον ἀττα προστάτωοις οὕτοι ἢ τὰ συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ γε δεσπόται τοῖς δοῦλοις οὐ ταύτα ἐπιτάττουσιν ἡ ἐκείνους συνοίσει,

10 ἀλλὰ ὅπερ αὐτοῖς οἴκουσιν λυσιτελεῖν. τί δὴ; ἀρὰ γε συμφέρει τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸ τεθνᾶν τῶν οἰκέτην ἢ νοσεῖν ἢ πονηρῶν εἶναι; οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, οἷμαι, τὸ τε γῆν καὶ ὑγιαίνει καὶ χρηστόν εἶναι. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταύτα φανεῖται καὶ τῷ οἰκέτῃ συμφέροντα: ἀστεὶ καὶ τῷ οἰκέτῃ ὁ δεσπότης οὐδὲν ἦττον, ἀνυπερ ἐχθροῦ, τὰ συμφέροντα ἐκείνως προστάξεις ταύτα γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ φαίνεται συμφέρειν.

11 Ἄλλα ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἃν τις ἀργύριον καταβάλῃ, οὕτος ἔξ ἀνάγκης δοῦλός ἐστιν.
Οὐκος πολλοὶ περὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἔλευθερῶν καταβεβλήκασιν ἀργύριον, οἱ μὲν πολεμίοις, οἱ δὲ λησταῖς λύτρα διδόντες, οἱ δὲ τινες τὴν αὐτῶν τιμὴν καταβεβλήκασι τοῖς δεσπόταις; καὶ οὐ δήπον δοῦλοι εἶσιν οὕτοι αὐτῶν.

12 Ἅλλα μὴν ὅν ἂν ἐξῆ ἐτέρῳ μαστιγωσάι καὶ δῆσαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν καὶ ἄλλο ὅ τι ἂν βουλήσῃ ἐργάσασθαι, οὕτος ἐκείνου δοῦλός ἐστιν.
Τί δέ; οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῖς λησταῖς ταύτα ποιεῖν τοὺς ληφθέντας; καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον οὐ δοῦλοι εἶσιν. τί δέ; τοῖς δικασταῖς οὐκ ἔξεστι τιμῶν

1 ταύτα Reiske: τα αὐτὰ.

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1 For the argument that it is of advantage for the slave to have a master, just as it is for the master to have a slave, cf. Aristotle, Politics, Book I, cap. 5.
on shipboard obey the captain and soldiers their general, and that the sick for this reason give heed to their physician, that they prescribe nothing but what is for the advantage of their patients. But masters, they will assert, do not order their slaves to do what will benefit them, but what they think will be of profit to themselves. Well then, is it to the master’s advantage that his servant should die or be ill or be a knave? No one would say so, but would affirm that the contrary is to his advantage, namely that he should keep alive and well and should be an honest man. And these same things will be found to be for the advantage of the servant as well; so that the master, if indeed he is wise, will order his servant to do that which is equally to the servant’s advantage; for that will prove to be of advantage to himself as well.\(^1\)

—But the man for whom one pays down money is of necessity a slave.

_Dio_. But have not many men paid down money for many who are free, when they have paid a ransom, at one time to enemies in warfare and at another to pirates, and some few have paid their own value to their masters? And yet surely these last are not slaves to themselves!\(^2\)

—No, but whenever another has the power to have a man scourged or imprisoned or put to death, or have anything else done to him that he wishes, then that man is the slave of the other.

_Dio_. How is that? Do not pirates have the power to treat the men they have captured in this way? And yet none the less the captives are not slaves. Then again, have not judges the power to impose

\(^1\) At Athens and Rome slaves could buy their freedom.
καὶ δεσμοῦ καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἄλλου ὅτου ἂν βούλωνται πολλοῖς τῶν κρυνομένων; καὶ οὐ δὴπου δοῦλοι εἶσαι οὕτω. εἰ δὲ μίαν ἥμεραν, ἐν ἕκρινεται ἕκαστος, οὐδὲν τούτο· καὶ γὰρ μίαν ἥμεραν ἦδη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι δοῦλος;

13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐνὶ λόγῳ συλλαβόντα χρὴ ἀποφήνασθαι ὡς ὅτως μὲν ἔξεστιν ὁ βούλεται πράττειν, ἐλεύθερος ἔστιν, ὅτι δὲ μη ἔξεστιν, δοῦλος.

Οὐ δὲ 1 ἐπὶ τῶν πλεοντῶν οὐδὲ τῶν καμνοντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατευομένων οὐδὲ τῶν μανθανόντων γράμματα ἢ κυβαρίζειν ἢ παλαίειν ἢ ἀλλὴν τινὰ τέχνην ἔρεις αὐτό· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι τούτοις πράττειν ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ τε κυβερνήτης καὶ Ιατρὸς καὶ διδάσκαλος προστάτει. 2 οὐ τούτων οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξεστιν ἃ ἐθέλουσιν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἕαν τις παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κειμένους πράττῃ, ζημιοφυέται.

14 Οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων μὴ δὲ προστέτακται, ὅ περὶ τούτων ἔχων αὐτὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν ὡς βούλεται ἢ μη ἐλευθερος, ὁ δὲ τούναντιν ἀδύνατος δοῦλος.

Τί δὲ 3; οἷοι σοὶ ἔξειναι, ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἐγγράφως, αἰσχρὰ δὲ ἄλλως δοκεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄπαθα. λέγω δὲ ὅιον τελωνείῳ ἢ πορνοβοσκεῖν ἢ ἄλλα ὀμοια πράττειν;

Οὐ μὰ Διὰ φαίην ἃν οὐδὲ τὰ τοιαύτα ἔξειναι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἐπίκειται

1 οὗ δὴ Arnim: οὐδὲ. 2 προστάτει Valesius: πράττει. 3 δὲ Dindorf: δαλ.
the penalty of imprisonment or death or anything else they wish upon many of those who are before them for trial? And yet surely these men are not slaves. But if they are slaves for the one day during which they each are on trial, this means nothing; for is a man really ever said to have been a slave for one day?

—But surely we may put the matter briefly and declare that whoever has the power to do whatever he wishes is free, and that whoever has not that power is a slave.

Dio. No, you cannot say this in the case of those on board ship nor of the sick either, nor of those serving in the field, nor of those learning to read and write or to play the harp or to wrestle or to acquire any other art; for these have not the right to follow their own preferences, but must act as the captain, physician, or teacher, as the case may be, instructs. If that is so, then men in general are not allowed to do what they wish, but if they violate the established laws, they will be punished.

—Then I say that the man who has the power to act or not, just as he pleases, in regard to those matters which are not forbidden by the laws or enjoined by them, is free, and that the man who on the contrary lacks that power is a slave.

Dio. Well then, do you think that it is permitted to you to do all things, which, while they are not expressly forbidden by the laws, yet are regarded as base and unseemly by mankind? I mean, for example, collecting taxes, or keeping a brothel, or doing other such things.

—O no, indeed. I should say that it is not permissible for the free to do such things either. And
ζημιὰ τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἢ δυσχεραίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

15 Τί δὲ; τοῖς ἄκολαστοις ἀνθρώποις, ὥσα ποι- 

οῦσα διὰ τὴν ἄκολασίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἄνοιγτοις, ὥσα διὰ 

τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ἡ οὐσίας ἀμελεοῦντες ἡ σώματος ἡ 

ἀδίκως καὶ ἄγνωμόνως προσφερόμενοι ἀλλήλοις, 

οὐ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιξήμα τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἔστων; 

ἡ γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἡ τὴν οὐσίαν ἡ τὸ μέγιστον 

τὴν ὑποχήν τὴν αὐτῶν βλάπτονται.

Τούτῳ μὲν ἀληθῆς λέγεις.

Οὐκοῦν ἡ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα ἔξεστι πράττειν;

Οὐ γὰρ οὐν.

16 Ἕκι δὴ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν φαίλα καὶ ἀτόπα καὶ 

ἀσύμφορα οὐκ ἔξεστι πράττειν, τὰ δὲ δίκαια καὶ 

συμφέροντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ χρῆ φάναι ὅτι προσήκει 

τε καὶ ἔξεστιν;

Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.

Οὐκοῦν οὐδενί τὰ τε φαίλα καὶ ἀσύμφορα ποιεῖν 

ἀξίημον ἔστων οὔτε Ἐλληνι ἦκεν βαρβάρῳ... 3 

οὔτε ὑπὲρ ὅτου τις τιμῆν δεδωκεν ἀργῦριον;

Οὐ γὰρ οὐν.

Τὰ δὲ γε ἐναντία πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἔφειται, καὶ 

οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐφευμένα πράττοντες ἀξίημοι διατελ- 

17 οὔσων, οἱ δὲ τὰ κεκυλημένα ζημιοῦνται. ἄλλοι οὖν 

dοκοῦσι σου πράττειν ἔξωτον ὃ ὁ ἐπιστάμενοι 

taúta, καὶ ἄλλοι τάναντία ὃ ὁ ἀγνοοῦντες;

Οὐδαμῶς.

1 ἄγνοιαν Carp.: ἄνοιαν.
2 οὐκοῦν Dindorf: οὐκοῦν.
3 After βαρβάρῳ Arnim supposes a lacuna in which Dio 
opposed the buyer to the man who was bought with 
money.
FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

indeed for these acts the penalty fixed is to be hated or abominated by men.

\textit{Dio}. Well then, in the case of intemperate men, whatever acts they commit by reason of their intemperance, and in the case of the ignorant all that they do owing to their ignorance in neglecting either their property or their person or in treating their fellows unjustly and inconsiderately, do not all these things impose a penalty upon those that do them? For they are injured either in their person or in their property or, most serious of all, in their own soul.

—What you now say is true.

\textit{Dio}. Therefore it is not permissible to do these things either?

—No, certainly not.

\textit{Dio}. In a word, then, it is not permissible to do mean and unseemly and unprofitable things, but things that are just and profitable and good we must say that it is both proper and permissible to do?

—It seems so to me at any rate.

\textit{Dio}. Therefore no one may do that which is mean and unprofitable without suffering the penalty, whether he be Greek or barbarian . . . or a man for whom one has paid a price in cash?

—No, indeed.

\textit{Dio}. But the opposite things are allowed to all alike, and those who do what is allowed continue free from penalty, while those who do what is forbidden are punished. Now do you think that any others do what is permissible except those who know what that is, or that any others do the opposite except those who do not know?

—Oh, no!
Ούκοιν οἱ φρονίμοι ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀφρονεῖς ἢ βούλονται οὐκ ἔξον ἐπικεφαλοῦσα πράττειν· ὡστε ἀνάγκη τοῦς μὲν φρονίμους ἑλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ ἐξείναι αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὡς ἔθελοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοητοὺς δούλους τε εἶναι καὶ ἢ μὴ ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ποιεῖν;

"Ἰσώς.

18 Ούκοιν καὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν χρῆ λέγειν ἑπιστήμην τῶν ἐφεμένων καὶ τῶν κεκωλυμένων, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν ἄγνοιαν ὅν τε ἔξεστι καὶ ὃν μή. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οὐδὲν ἂν κωλύοι τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα πάνυ μεγάλην πιάραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα δούλον εἶναι καὶ μή ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ πράττειν μηδὲν ὃν ποιεῖ· πάντα γὰρ ἑπιζημίως καὶ ἄσυμφορως πράξει· ἄλλον δὲ τῶν δούλων δοκοῦντα καὶ ὄνομαξόμενον, οὐχ ἀποξόνα, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, ἃν οὕτω τόχῳ, πεπραμένον, εἰ δὲ ἄρα τούτο συμβαίνοι, πέδας πάνω παχεῖας ἔχοντα, μᾶλλον ἑλεύθερον εἶναι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

19 Ἐμοὶ μὲν σφόδρα δοκεῖ ἄτοπον, εἰ πέδας ἔχων τις ἡ ἑστηγμένος ἢ ἐν μυλώνι ἀλῶν ἑλεύθερος ἔσται μᾶλλον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

Τὶ δὲ; ἐν Ὄρθιη γέγονας;

"Εγώγε.

Ἐώρακας οὖν ἐκεῖ τὸς γυναῖκας τὰς ἑλευθέρας στιγμάτων μεστός, καὶ τοσοῦτοι πλεονά ἑκύουσα στίγματα καὶ ποικιλότερα ὅσῳ ἂν βελτίωσα καὶ ἐκ βελτιώνων δοκῶν; 2

1 ἐφεμένων Reiske: ἐφεμένων. 2 ἄγνοιαν Τ, ἀνοιαν UBM. 3 δοκῶν Ἐμπεριος: δοκῶσαν.

1 On the Thracians see Herodotus 5. 6, Clearchus in Athenaeus 524 d, Phanocles 25 ff. Just as in Discourse 10. 30 136
FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY

 Dio. Therefore, the wise are permitted to do anything whatsoever they wish, while the foolish attempt to do what they wish although it is not permissible; so that it follows of necessity that while the wise are free and are allowed to act as they wish, the ignorant are slaves and do that which is not allowable for them?

—Perhaps.

 Dio. Therefore we are forced to define freedom as the knowledge of what is allowable and what is forbidden, and slavery as ignorance of what is allowed and what is not. According to this definition there is nothing to prevent the Great King, while wearing a very tall tiara upon his head, from being a slave and not being allowed to do anything that he does; for every act that he performs will bring a penalty and be unprofitable. But some other man who is regarded as a slave and is so called, who has not once but often, if it so chance, been sold, and if it should so happen, wears very heavy fetters, will be more free than the Great King.

—To me it appears exceeding strange that one who wears fetters or has been branded or who grinds in a mill will be more free than the Great King.

 Dio. Well, now have you ever been in Thrace?

—Yes.

 Dio. Then you have seen the women there, the free women, covered with branded marks, and having the more such marks and the more elaborate in proportion to their social standing and that of the families to which they belong? 1

and 15. 20, Dio refers to the custom of foreigners to prove his own view. To do this was a practice of the Cynics, as Weber, De Dione Chrysostomo Cynicorum Sectatore, pp. 127–133, shows.

137
Τί οὖν δὴ τούτο;

"Ὅτι βασιλίσσαν, ὡς ἔσοικεν, οὐδὲν καλύτερες ἐστιν· βασιλέα δὲ οὐκι καλύτερες; οὐ τούτων οὐδὲ περὶ ἑκείνου τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἀκήκοας, παρ’ οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν πύργῳ πάνω υψηλῷ φυλάττεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ καταβήσει αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου; εἰ δὲ γε ἄκηκόεις, ἡπίστως ἄν ὅτι καὶ περιεργημένον ἔστιν ἐναὶ βασιλέα.· καὶ τυχόν ἠκουεῖς ἃν ἑκείνων τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζόμενος, εἰ διηγοῦσαν περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καὶ ἀπιστοῦντων ὅτι ἔστι τις βασιλεὺς περιελαύνων ἐφ’ ἁρματος καὶ ὅποι βουλέται ἀπίων.

'Ἀλλὰ δεδεμένον οὐκ ἀποδείξεις βασιλέα.

Οὐ τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων τυχόν · ἐπεὶ ὅ γε τῶν θεῶν βασιλεύσαν· ὃ πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτατος δεδεται, ὡς φασιν, εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν Ἡσίοδω τε καὶ Ὁμήρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις σοφοῖς ἀνθράσειν, οἱ περὶ Κρόνου ταῦτα λέγουσιν, καὶ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὑπ’ ἑξιροῦ ἀδίκως παθόντα τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου καὶ φιλτάτου, δῆλον ὅτι ὁς βασιλικὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ἑκεῖνῳ δρῶντος. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀγνοοῦντι καὶ οὐδέποτ’ ἄν οἴηθειν πτωχῶν ἢ δειμμότην ἢ ἄδειον γενέσθαι βασιλέα, καίτοι τὸν Ὁδυσσέα ἀκούοντες ὅτι πτωχὸς ὄν καὶ τοὺς μνηστήρας αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἄττων βασιλεὺς ἢν καὶ τῆς οἰκίας κύριος· ο δὲ

1 περιεργημένον ἐστιν εἶναι βασιλέα Roisko: δεδεμένον ἐστιν εἶναι βασιλεὰ περιεργημένον.

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1 A reference to the Mossynoceans, i.e. dwellers in mossys or wooden towers, who lived on the south shore of the Euxine or Black Sea. See Xenophon, Anabasis 5. 4 and especially § 26, Diodorus Siculus 14. 30.
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—Now, pray, what does this signify?

Dio. That, as it seems, there is nothing to prevent a queen from being tattooed; but do you think that there is anything to prevent a king? And further, have you never heard of that race, either, where the king is kept under guard in a very high tower and may not descend from that tower?1 But, if you had heard, you would have understood that it is possible for a man to be king even if kept closely confined. And you might perhaps have heard those people expressing surprise if you had tried to tell them about the Persian King, and refusing to believe that there is such a thing as a king who drives about in a chariot and goes wherever he wishes.

—But you cannot give an instance of a king who is in bonds.

Dio. No king of men, perhaps, and yet the King of the Gods, the first and eldest one, is in bonds, they say, if we are to believe Hesiod and Homer and other wise men who tell this tale about Cronus, and indeed he does not receive this treatment unjustly from a personal enemy, but from one most just who loved him dearly,2 who evidently treats him thus because it is fit treatment for a king and profitable to him. But they do not know this and would never imagine that a beggar or a prisoner or man without repute was once king, although they hear that Odysseus, for all his being a beggar and begging of the suitors, was none the less a king and the owner of the house,

1 The reference is to Zeus, who, according to one version of the myth, kept his father imprisoned in Tartarus. According to another version Cronus is now enthroned on the Isles of the Blest as ruler of the Titans. See Hesiod, Works and Days 169 ff., Pindar, Olympian Odes 2. 70 ff.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

'Ἀντίνον καὶ ὁ Εὐρύμαχος, οὔς ὁμορος ὄνομαζε βασιλέας, ἄθλιοι καὶ δυστυχείς· ἄλλα ταύτα μὲν, ὡς ἐφη, ἀγνοοῦσι σημεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς περιτιθέασι τιάρας καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ διαδήματα, μὴ λάθωσι βασιλεῖς οὕτως· ὥσπερ, οἴμαι, τοῖς βοσκῆ-μασί χαρακτηρας ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ δεσπόται, ὅπως 23 ἐπίσημα ἔσται. τοιγαροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς ὅπως μὲν ἔξει μόνος ὄρθην τὴν τιάραν ἐφρόνησεν, καὶ ἐξ τῆς ἄλλος τούτο ἐποίησεν, εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθνῄσκεως αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐ καλὸν 1 οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐν τοσαύτας μυρίαν ἀνθρώπων δύο εἶναι φοροῦντας ὅρθὰς 2 τιάρας· ὅπως δὲ τὴν γνώμην ὄρθην 24 ἔξει καὶ μηδείς ἄλλος φρονήσει αὐτοῦ 3 σοφώτερον ὁμοίως ἐμελεῖν. μὴ οὖν, ὦσπερ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς τότε τοιαύτα ὑπῆρχε σημεῖα, καὶ νῦν δὲ 4 τῆς ἔλευθερίας τοιαύτα ὑπάρχειν σύμβολα καὶ βαδίζειν πλοῦν ἑχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ δυνησόμεθα γνώναι τὸν ἔλευθερον ἢ τὸν δούλον.

1 οὐ καλὸν Wilamowitz: οὐκ ἄνων.
2 ὅρθὰς added by Casaubon.
3 αὐτοῦ Capps: αὐτοῦ.
4 δὲ Ὅμηρος 21: δὴ BM, δὲ U.
while Antinous and Eurymachus, whom Homer named 'kings,' were miserable and unfortunate wretches. But this, as I said, they do not know, and as badges of royalty they clothe themselves with tiaras and sceptres and crowns so that none may fail to know that they are kings; just as, I imagine, owners mark their cattle to make them easily distinguishable. This undoubtedly is the reason why the King of the Persians ordained that he alone should wear his tiara upright; and if anyone else did this, he straightway ordered his execution, in the belief that it was not good or advantageous that in the midst of so many myriads of people two men should wear tiaras upright; but that he should have his mind upright and that no one should have greater wisdom that himself, for this he had no concern. So I fear that just as in those days there were such symbols of royalty as we have described, so now also there ought to be similar badges to mark the free man, and that he ought to walk abroad wearing a felt skull-cap,¹ else we shall not be able to distinguish between the free man and the slave.

¹ The πίλεος, the forerunner of the modern liberty-cap, was worn by the Roman freedmen as a mark of their newly acquired freedom and by all the people at the Saturnalia. Cf. also Persius 3. 106 ad pilleos vocare.
THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE:
ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

This Discourse, just like the preceding one, deals with the distinction between freedom and slavery, and for the same reasons may be assigned to the period of Dio’s exile or later. Dio begins by reporting an informal debate on this question between two men, who from §§ 3, 5, and 7 we may suppose were Athenians. At the end of their debate Dio in § 24 gives the reasoned opinion of the audience that when one human being gets lawful possession of another with the right to use him as he likes, then the second man is the slave of the first. After this the question is raised as to what constitutes valid possession.

The first speaker (indicated by the letter A) is just such another man as the slave Syriscus in the Epitrepontes of Menander. Both are voluble aggressive debaters with a wealth of illustrations drawn from mythology and tragedy to enforce their points.

From an examination of Diogenes Laertius 2. 31, 6. 1, 6. 4, 6. 15 it has been inferred that Dio drew from Antisthenes for this Discourse. See Wegchaupt, op. cit., pp. 64–65.
1 'Αλλα μὴν ἐναγχασ παρεγενόμην τοι διαμφισβητούσι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἑλευθερίας, οὔκ ἐπὶ δικαστῶν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, οὔτωσι δὲ καὶ οὕτωσιν, ἐπὶ χρόνων πάμπολων. καὶ παρῆσαν ἐκατέρω τοῖς ἄνδροις οὐκ ἀλλοι οὐκ διείσδυσεν ἐπιμαζόμενοι. ἠτύχανον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πρῶτον ἀντιλέγοντες, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἡττώμενοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀτεροῖς καὶ διαπορῶν εἰς λοιδορίαν ἔτραπετο, ὡσπέρ εἰσοδε τούτο συμβαίνει πολλάκις, καὶ ὄνειδισεν οὐχ ὅσιος ἑλευθερον ὡσι τὸν ἄτερον. καὶ ὅσ πάνω πρῶς ἐμειδίασε τε καὶ ἐπεὶ.

2 Πάθεν δὲ; ἔστω, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰδέναι ὅσις δοῦλος ἡ ὅσις ἑλευθερος;
Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη· ἐπίσταμαι γοῦν ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ἑλευθερον ὡσι καὶ τούτοις ἄπαντις, σοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν προσήκον ἑλευθερίας.
Καὶ τινας τῶν παρόντων ἐγέλασαν. καὶ ὅσ οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἡχύνθη, ἀλλ' ὡσπέρ οἳ ἄνδρειοι ἀλεκτρυώνες πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν ἐπεγείρονται καὶ θαρροῦσιν, κακεῖνος ἐπηγέρθη καὶ ἑθάρρησε πρὸς τὴν λοιδορίαν, καὶ ἔρειν αὐτὸν ὅποθεν τούτο ἐπίσταται τὸ περὶ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου.

1 οὐχ ὅσ successfully defended by Wilstrand.
2 ἄνδρειοι Emperius: ἄνδρειο ὡς Μ, nothing in UB.
THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE:
ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

Recently, I assure you, I was present when two men were disputing at great length about slavery and freedom, not before judges or in the marketplace, but at their ease at home, taking a long time about it; and each of the two men had a considerable number of warm adherents. For they had been debating other questions before that, as is my impression; and the one who was worsted in the debate, being at a loss for arguments, became abusive, as often happens in such cases, and taunted the other with not being a freeman. Whereupon the first very gently smiled and said:

A. "But how can you say that? Is it possible, my good friend, to know who is a slave, or who is free?"

B. "Yes, it certainly is," replied the other. "I know at any rate that I myself am free and that all these men here are, but that you have no lot or share in freedom."

At this some of those present laughed, and yet the first man was not one whit more abashed, but just as gallant cocks are aroused at the blow of their masters and take courage, so he too was aroused and took courage at the insult, and asked his opponent where he got his knowledge about the two of them.
3 Ὅτι, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐπίσταμαι Ἀθηναίων ὄντα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, τὸν δὲ σὸν οἰκέτην τοῦ δεῖνος, εἰπὼν τούνομα.

Καὶ ὅσον, Τί οὖν, εἴπε, κατὰ τοῦτο κωλύει με ἐν Κυνοσάργει ἀλείφεσθαι μετὰ τῶν νόθων, εἴπερ ἐκ μητρὸς ἐλευθέρας, ἱσως δὲ καὶ ἁστής, τυγχάνω γεγονός καὶ πατρὸς οὗ σὺ φής; ἦ οὐ πολλαί ἀσταί γυναῖκες δι’ ἐρημίαν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν αἱ μὲν ἐκ ξένων ἐκόψαν, αἱ δὲ ἐκ δούλων, τυνὲς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσαι τοῦτο, τυνὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάμεναι; καὶ οὐδεὶς δούλος ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ Ἀθηναίως, τῶν οὗτως γεννηθέντων.

4 Ἀλλ’ ἐγώ σου, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐπίσταμαι ὁμοδούλων τοῦ πατρός.

Ἐπευ, ἔφη· τὴν δὲ σαυτοῦ ὀλοθα;

Πάνω μὲν οὖν ἁστὴν ἐξ ἀστῶν καὶ προϊκα ἱκανήν ἐπετηνεγμένην.

Ὑπὸ καὶ ἐχοις ἄν ὁμόσας εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐν οὖ φήσων ἐκεῖνη, ἐκ τούτου γέγονας; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τηλέμαχος οὗ πάνω ἥζιον διατείνεσθαι ὑπὲρ Πηνελόπης τῆς Ἰκαρίου, σφοδρα σώφρονος δοκούσης γυναικός, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει τῶν Ὀδυσσέα ἀποφαίνουσα αὐτοῦ πατέρα· σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον

1 ὅτι Cobet: ei M, nothing in UB.
B. "Because," said he, "I know that my father is an Athenian, if any man is, while yours is the slave of so-and-so," mentioning his name.

A. "According to this, then," said the first man, "what is to prevent me from anointing myself in the Cynosarges¹ along with the bastards, if I really am the son of a free-born mother—who is, perhaps, a citizen into the bargain—and of the father whom you mention? Have not many women who are citizens, embarrassed by the scarcity of eligible men, been got with child either by foreigners or by slaves, sometimes not knowing the fact, but sometimes also with full knowledge of it? And of the children thus begotten none is a slave, but only a non-Athenian."²

"Well, in your case," he rejoined, "I myself know that your mother is a slave in the same household as your father."

"Very well!" said the first man, "Do you know who your own mother is?"

"Why certainly; a citizen born of citizens, who brought to her husband a pretty good dowry too."

"Could you actually take your oath that you are the son of the father of whom she says that you are? Telemachus, you know, did not care at all to insist in support of Penelope, the daughter of Icarius, who was regarded as a very chaste woman, that she spoke the truth when she declared that Odysseus was his father.³ But you, not only in support of yourself

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² In 451–0 B.C. the Athenians passed a law that no child should be admitted to citizenship whose father and mother were not Athenian citizens married in accordance with the laws.
³ See Homer, Odyssey 1. 215 ff.
ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ ἂν ἢ καὶ τῆς σῆς μητρός, ἕαν κελεῦσῃ σὲ τις, ὀμόσαις, ὡς ἢ ἐσθήκεν, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ δούλης ἴστινουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν ποτε ἐκύψεν, ὥσπερ ἢν

5 λέγεις ἐμὴν εἰναι μητέρα. ἀδύνατον γάρ σοι δοκεῖ εἰναι ἐξ ἅλλου ἀνδρός κυκτίω ἐλευθέρου ἢ καὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς δεσπότου; οὐ πολλοὶ Ἀθηναίων συγγένναται θεραπαίναι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τινες κρύφα, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανέρως; οὐ γὰρ δήποτε βελτίως εἰσὶ πάντες τοῦ Ἡρακλείου, ὦς οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰαρδάνου δούλη συγγενέσθαι ἀπηξώσεν, ἐξ ὧς ἐγένοντο

6 οἱ Σάρδεων βασιλεῖς. ἔτι δὲ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, ὡς ἐνεκε, Κλυταμήστρα, Τυντάρεω μὲν θυγάτηρ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονος, μὴ μόνον Ἀγαμέμνονι συνείναι τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνδρί, ἄλλα καὶ ἀποδημητάντως ἐκείνου Ἀγιόθω συγγενέσθαι, καὶ Ἀρρόπη ἢ Ἀτρέως γυνὴ τὴν Θυέστου προσδεξάσθαι ὁμιλίαν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλαὶ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐνδόξων καὶ πλούσιων ἄνδρῶν γυναῖκες ἐτέρως συγγέννασθαι καὶ παιδιᾶς ἐνίοτε ἐξ ἐκείνων πουέσθαι; ἢν δὲ οὐ λέγεις θεραπαίναν οὕτως πάνω ἀκριβῶς φιλάττειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, ὅστε μὴ ἢν ἐτέρω

7 συγγενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ διαβεβαιῶ ὡς ἐκάτερος ἰμών ἐστι τῆς δοκούσης καὶ λεγομένης μητρός. καίτοι πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἔχοις ὧν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν πάνω γνωρίμων, οὐ ἔφανησαν ὑστερον οὐ μόνον πατρός, ἄλλα καὶ μητρός, οὐχ ἢς ἐλέγοντο, ὕποβολμαίοι ποθεν

1 ἂν Geel: ἄλλα UB, nothing in M.
2 ὀμόσαι ὡς Geel: ὀμόσαι ἰσώς.

1 See Herodotus 1. 7.
and of your mother, would take oath apparently, if anyone should bid you, but in regard to any slave woman as to who the man was by whom she was got with child, such a slave woman as you say that my mother was. Pray, does it seem to you impossible that she should have been got with child by some other man, a freeman, or even by her own master? Do not many Athenian men have intercourse with their maidservants, some of them secretly, but others quite openly? For surely it cannot be that every Greek is superior to Heracles, who did not think it beneath him to have intercourse even with the slave woman of Iardamus, who became the mother of the kings of Sardis. And further, you do not believe, as it seems, that Clytemnestra, the daughter of Tyndareüs and the wife of Agamemnon, not only lived with Agamemnon, her own husband, but also, when he was away, had relations with Aegisthus, and that Aeropè, the wife of Atreus, accepted the advances of Thyestes, and that many other wives of distinguished and wealthy men in both ancient and modern times have had relations with other men and sometimes have had children by them? But she who you say was a maidservant was so serupulously faithful to her own husband that she would not have had relations with any other man! And further, in regard to yourself and me as well you asseverate that each of us was born of the woman who is reputed to be and is called his mother. And yet you might name many Athenians, and very prominent ones too, who turned out later not only not to have been the sons of the father but not even those of the mother to whom they were attributed, having been supposititious children of unknown origin who had
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τραφέντες. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ ἐκάστοτε ὅρας δεικνύμενα καὶ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν κωμῳδιδασκάλων καὶ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, καὶ ὅμως οὐδὲν ἠττον ἵχνης καὶ περὶ σαντοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὥς εὖ εἰδὼς ὅπως γεγονόμεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν. οὐκ οἴσθα, ὡς ὅτι κακηγορίας1 δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος γράφασθαι τούτων, ὅσ ὁν βλασφημὴ τινα οὐκ ἔχων ἀποδείξαι περὶ ὧν λέγει σαφὲς οὐδέν;

Καὶ ὅσ, Ἐπίσταμαι γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἐλευθεραι γυναίκες ὑποβάλλονται πολλάκις δι’ ἀπαίδευσιν, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται αὐταῖ κυνήσαι, βουλομένη κατασχεῖν ἐκάστη τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ τὸν οἶκον, καὶ ἀμα οὐκ ἀποροῦσαι ὅπολθεν τοὺς παιδὰς θρέψουσι.2 τὰς δὲ δούλας τούναντιον, τὰς μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τόκου διαφθειροῦσας, τὰς δὲ υἱῷ, ἐὰν δύνωνται λαθεῖν, τὸ γενόμενον ἐνίοτε 3 καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν υπειδότων, ὅπως μὴ πράγματα ἔχωσιν παιδοτροφεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενα πρὸς τῇ δουλείᾳ.

9 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη, πλὴν γιὰ τῆς Οἰνέως, τοῦ Πανδίωνος, εἶπε, νόθου παιδὸς. ὁ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον νομεύεις ὃ ἐν ταῖς Ἐλευθεραῖς καὶ ἥ γυνὴ ἡ τοῦ νομέως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔξετίθεσαν αὐτοι γεννησάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια εὑρόντες ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ παιδία, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου ποτὲ ἤταν, ἀνελόμενον ἐτρέφον ὡς αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ υἱῷ ἑκόντες οὐδέποτε ὑμολόγησαν ὅτι ἀλλότριοι ἤταν. οὐ

1 κακηγορίας Reiske: κακηγορίας.
2 θρέψουσι Wilamowitz: θρέψωσι.
3 ἐνίοτε Dindorf: ἐπὶ.

1 Pandion, son of Cecrops, had a natural son Oeneus. See Apollodorus 3.15.1; Pausanias 1.5.2; Euripides, Medea 660.
FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

been reared as sons. And such incidents you yourself are constantly seeing exhibited and described by the writers of comedy and in tragedies, but nevertheless you go on in the same old way, making positive statements about yourself and about me, as if you knew for a certainty the circumstances of our birth and the identity of our parents. Do you not know," he continued, "that the law permits anyone to bring an action for libel against the man who slanders without being able to adduce any clear proof of his statements?"

B. And the other man replied, "Yes, I know that freeborn women often palm off other persons’ children as their own on account of their childlessness, when they are unable to conceive children themselves, because each one wishes to keep her own husband and her home, while at the same time they do not lack the means to support the children; but in the case of slave women, on the other hand, some destroy the child before birth and others afterwards, if they can do so without being caught, and yet sometimes even with the connivance of their husbands, that they may not be involved in trouble by being compelled to raise children in addition to their enduring slavery."

A. "O yes, certainly," the first man replied, "if you make an exception of the slave girl of Oeneus, the bastard son, as he alleged, of Pandion.¹ For Oeneus’ herdsman, who lived at Eleutherae, and that herdsman’s wife, so far from exposing their own children, took up other people’s children whom they found by the roadside, without having the least notion whose children they were, and reared them as their own, nor at any time afterwards were they willing to admit that they were not their own. But you,
Δ' ἔσως καὶ τὸν Ζήθον καὶ τὸν Ἀμφίονα ἐλοιδορεῖς ἂν, πρὸν ψανεροὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ διώμυσο ὡς περὶ δούλων τῶν τοῦ Διὸς νιέων.

10 Καὶ οὐ γελάσας πάνυ εἰρωνικῶς, Τούς τραγῳδοὺς, ἔφη, καλεῖς μάρτυρας; Ὁ εἰς πιστεύουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ Ἑλληνες: οὗς γὰρ ἔκεινοι ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἡρωικά, τούτοις φαινονται ἐναγίζοντες ὡς ἡρωικά, καὶ τὰ ἡρώα ἐκείνοις ἁκοδομημένα ἑδεῖν ἔστων. ὁμοίως ¹ δὲ ἐννόησον, εἰ βουλεί, καὶ τὴν Φρυγιὰν τὴν Πριμίου δούλην, ἢ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ Ἰδῃ ἐξέθρησεν ὡς αὐτῆς νιέα, λαβοῦσα παρὰ τοῦ ἄνδρος βουκόλου ὄντος, καὶ τὴν παιδοτροφίαν ὑπὸ χαλεπῶς ἐφερεν. Τῇ λεφον δὲ τὸν Λύγης καὶ Ἡρακλέους οὐχ ὑπὸ γυναικός, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ ἐλάφου τραφήναι λέγουσιν. ἡ δοκεῖ σοι ἐλαφος μᾶλλον ἐλέησαι ἃν βρέφος καὶ ἐπιθυμήσαι τρέφειν ἡ ἄνδρωπος, ἐὰν τύχῃ δούλη οὖσα; φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, εἰ δὲ δὴ προσομολογήσασί σοι τούτους εἶναι μοῦ γονέας, οἷς σὺ φής, πόθεν οἴοθα περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δούλειας; ἢ καὶ τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἤπιστο σαφῶς καὶ ἔτοιμος εἰ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων κατόμυνσαι ἐκατέρου ὡς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δούλων γεγονέσαν ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τοὺς ἐτὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπαντᾶς;

¹ ὁμολογεῖ Ψιλαμωνίτης: οἷος.
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perhaps, would have abused both Zethus and Amphion before their identity became known, and would have taken solemn oath that the sons of Zeus were slaves."¹

B. Then his opponent laughed very ironically and said: "Aha! is it the tragic poets to whom you appeal as witnesses?"

A. "Yes indeed," said the other man, "for the Greeks have confidence in them; for whomsoever these poets exhibit as heroes, to them you will find all Greeks offering sacrifice as heroes, and you may see with your eyes the shrines which the people have erected in their honour. And in the same manner consider, if you please, the Phrygian woman, who was the slave of Priam, who reared Alexander on Mount Ida as her own son after taking him from her husband, who was a herdsman, and raised no objection to her rearing the child. And Telephus, the son of Auge and Heracles, they say was not reared by a woman but by a hind. Or do you think that a hind would have more compassion on a babe and desire to rear it than a human being would if she happened to be a slave? Come now, in Heaven's name, if I should go so far as to admit to you that my parents are those whom you say they are, how can you know that they are slaves? Or were you really sure who their parents were, and are you ready to take your solemn oath in regard to each of them also that both were born of two slaves—they and their progenitors back to the very beginning—all of them?² For it is

Euripides wrote a famous play called Antiope, to which the speaker B indirectly refers when he speaks of 'tragic poets.'

² Cf. Plato, Theaetetus 175 a, where Socrates says that every man has many slaves among his ancestors.
Δήλων γὰρ ὡς ἐάνπερ ἐλεύθερος ἦ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους, οὐκέτι οἶδον τε τοὺς ἀπ᾿ ἐκείνου δούλους ἀρθῶς νομίζεσθαι. τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δυνατὸν ἔστων, ὡς θελήστω, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος εἶναι τι γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ὦ γὰρ ἀπειροῦ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἐλάττουσι δὲ τούτων οἱ δεδουλευκότες· καὶ γῆ Δία τύραννοι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δεσμῶται καὶ στιγματίαι καὶ κάπηλοι καὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τῶλλα ὁσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔστων, ἀπάσας μὲν ἐργασίας, ἀπαντασὶ δὲ βίους, ἀπάσας δὲ τύχας καὶ ξυμφοράς μετηλαχότες. ἢ οὐκ οἰκεῖα ὅτι τούτου ἐνεκεν τά τῶν ἡρώων λεγομένων γένη εὐθὺς εἰς θεοὺς οἵ ποιηταί ἀναφέρουσιν, ὥστε μηκέτι ἐξετάζεσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον; καὶ τούς γε πλείονας αὐτῶν φασιν ἐκ Διὸς γεγονέναι, ῥα μὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ οἰκουσαὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπώνυμοι εἰς τοιαῦτα ἐμπίπτωσιν, ἢ δοκεῖ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁνείδη εἶναι. ὥστε, ἐπερ οὖν ἔχει τα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοι σοφώτεροι ἡμῶν φασιν, οὐδὲν αὐν μᾶλλον σοι προσήκοι ἐλευθερίας κατὰ γένος ἢ ὅτι ως τῶν σφόδρα δοκοῦντων οἰκετῶν· εἰ μή ἂρα καὶ οὐ φθάσεις ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Δία ἢ Ποσείδῶνα ἢ Ἀπόλλωνα τοὺς σαυτοῦ προγόνους· οὐδὲ γε ἐμοὶ δουλείας.

13 Τὸ μὲν τοῦτων, ἐφή, τοῦ γένους καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἐώμεν, ἐπειδὴ οὖν σοι δοκεῖ ἀ- στάθμητον εἶναι· ὡσα γὰρ τοι ἀναφανής ὡσ- περ Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζήθος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου

1 μᾶλλον σοι Arnim: μᾶλλον σοι.

1 See note 1, p. 152, supra.
clear that if any member of a family is free-born, it is no longer possible rightly to regard his descendants as slaves. And it is impossible, my good sir, that from all eternity, as the saying is, there should be any race of men in which there have not been countless numbers free and not fewer than these in number those who have been slaves; and indeed, tyrants and kings and prisoners and branded slaves and shopkeepers and cobblers and all the rest such as are found in the world of men, so that among them they have had experience of all the occupations, all the careers, all the fortunes, and all the mischances. Or do you not know that the reason why the poets trace the families of so-called heroes directly back to the gods is simply that the character in question may not be investigated further? And quite the majority of them men say are sprung from Zeus, in order that they may not have their kings and the founders of their cities and their eponymous heroes getting into predicaments of the kind that are regarded among men as disgraceful. Consequently, if it really is with men as we and others wiser than we claim, you can have no greater share in freedom on the score of family than any one of those who are regarded as out-and-out slaves—unless, of course, you too make haste to trace your own ancestry back to Zeus or Poseidon or Apollo—and I no greater share in slavery."

B. "Well then," said the other, "let us drop all this about family and ancestors, since you think it is so difficult to determine; for it is quite possible that you will turn out to be just like Amphion and Zethus, and like Alexander the offspring of Priam.  

2 Alexander, or Paris, did not find out who his parents were until he reached maturity.

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γεγονός. ἀλλὰ σὲ γε αὐτὸν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα δουλεύοντα.

Τί δὲ; εἶπε, δοκοῦσι σοι πάντες οἱ δουλεύοντες δοῦλοι εἰναι, ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλευθεροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀδίκως δουλεύων; ὡς τινες ἡδή καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελθόντες ἀπεδείξαν ἐλευθεροὺς ὄντας ἐαυτοὺς, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ ἀνέχονται μέχρι παντός, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀποδείξεις φανερῶς περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἥ οἷς ἁν μὴ χαλεπὸς ὅσι οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῶν δοσ-πόταί. ἔπει σέρε, Ἐὔμαιος, ὁ Κητσίου τοῦ Ὄρμενον ἀνδρὸς πάνυ ἐλευθεροῦ καὶ πλοῦσιον παῖς, οὐκ ἐδούλευεν ἐν Ἰθάκη παρ' Ὀδυσσεί καὶ Λαέρτη; καὶ ἐνόν αὐτῶ ἀποπλεῦσαι πολλάκις οἴκαδε, εἰ ἐβούλετο, οὐδέποτε ἥξισε. τί δὲ; Ἀθηναῖοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ληφθέντων οὐκ ἐδούλευον ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐλευθεροὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἐν ἄλλας πολλαῖς μάχαις οἱ αἱει αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονόμενοι, οἱ μὲν χρόνον τυά ἔως ἡν εὐρωποῖ τοὺς λυσομένους, οἱ δὲ μέχρι παντός; ὡπότε καὶ ὁ Κάλλιον υἱὸς ἔδοξε δουλεύειν πολυν χρόνον ἐπὶ Θράκης μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἱν Ἀθηναίοι περὶ Ἀκανθὸν ἡττήθησαν ὡστε καὶ ὕστερον διαφυγὼν

1 ἑιναι added by Capps. 2 δουλεύων added by Cohoon. 3 μὴ added by Pflugk.

1 Cf. Aristotle's argument in Politics, 7 ff., and 18 ff., where the illustration is given of free men who have been kidnapped into slavery.

2 The faithful swineherd. See Homer, Odyssey, 15. 413 ff.

3 Dio refers to the Athenians who were taken prisoner by the Syracusans in 413 B.C., when the Sicilian expedition was utterly defeated.

4 This son of Callias is probably referred to in a fragment of Metagenes quoted in a scholium to Aristophanes, Wasps 156
But as for you, your own self, we all know that you are in a state of servitude."

A. "What," said the first man, "do you think that all those who are in a state of servitude are slaves? But are not many of these, although free men, yet held unjustly in servitude? Some of them have already gone before the court and proved that they are free, while others are enduring to the end, either because they have no clear proof of their freedom, or else because those who are called their masters are not harsh with them. Consider, for instance, the case of Eumacus, the son of Ctesias, son of Ormenus: he was the son of a man who was altogether free and of great wealth, but did he not serve as a slave in Ithaca in the households of Odysseus and Laerces? And yet, although he could, time and again, have sailed off home if he had so wished, he never thought it worth while. What, did not many Athenians among those made prisoners in Sicily serve as slaves in Sicily and in the Peloponnese although they were free men; and of those taken captive from time to time in many other battles, some only for a time until they found men who would ransom them, and others to the very end? In the same period too, even the son of Callias was thought to have been in servitude a long time in Thrace after the battle in which the Athenians suffered a defeat at Acanthus, so that

1221 (Frag. 13 Kock): "Who is a citizen now except Saces the Mysian, or Callias' bastard son?"—

No mention is made elsewhere of a defeat of the Athenians at Acanthus. Perhaps Dio is thinking of the year 424 B.C., when Acanthus abandoned the Athenian Confederacy and went over to Brasidas.
καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἦμιφισβήτει τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχε τοῖς εὐγενεῖσιν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, οἵματι, ἕνωσαν, ἤν γὰρ οὐκ υἱός, ἀλλ' ἵπποκόμος Καλλίου, τὴν δὲ ὅψιν ὅμοιος τῷ τοῦ Καλλίου μειρακίω, ὁ ἐστικεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαν. ἐτει ὅλην ζητεῖν ἀκριβῶς καὶ γράμματα ἦπιστατος· ἀλλὰ ἐπερεῖ γε μιρόι τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν. ἔπει καὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε δουλεύων ὁμάς ἀποσυγνώσκῳ πολλοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθεροῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἔαν μὲν Ἀθηναῖων τίς ἄλοις κατὰ πόλειμον εἰς Πέρσας ἀπαχθῆ ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία εἰν εἰς Ὁράκην ἢ Ὁκελλοῦ ἀχθεῖς ἀμεμποληθῆ, φήσομεν ἐλευθεροὶ όντα δουλεύσων· εὰν δὲ Ὁρακών τις ἡ Περσῶν, μὴ μόνον εξ ἐλευθερῶν γεγονός ἐκεί, δεῦρο ἀρχηθῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάστου τυὸς ἡ βασιλέως υἱός, οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐλευθεροῖς εἶναι. οὐκ οἴσθα τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐφη, νόμον, παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις, οὗτοι ψήνει τὸν 3 δοῦλον γενόμενον οὐκ ἐὰς μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας; τὸν δὲ Καλλίου υἱὸν, εἴπερ όντως ἐνώθη τὸτε 4 ἄλοις, ἀφικόμενον ἐκ Ὁράκης, συχνὰ ἐτῇ γεγονότα ἐκεῖ καὶ πολλῶν μεμαστυγωμένων, οὕτως ἂν ἥξιον τῆς πολιτείας ἀπελαύνειν· ἐνίστε ὅστε 5 καὶ ὁ νόμος οὔ φησι δοῦλους γεγονέναι τοὺς ἀδίκως δουλεύσαντας. τί δὲ καὶ ποιούντα με ἐπίστασαι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ τί πάσχοντα, ὅτι με φῆς ἐπίστασαι δουλεύσαντα; Τρεφόμενον ἔγγυῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσποτῶν καὶ
1 ἡληπίζειν Morel: ἡληπίζειν.
2 After καὶ the MSS. have τῶν, which Wifstrand deletes.
3 φύσει τῶν Wifstrand, τῶν φύσει Morel: φησι τῶν.
4 τότε Emperius: ποτέ.
5 The MSS. word-order ἐνίστε ὅστε is successfully defended by Wifstrand.
when he escaped afterwards and reached home he
laid claim to the estate left by Callias and caused a
great deal of trouble to the next of kin, being, in my
opinion, an impostor. For he was not the son of
Callias but his groom, in appearance resembling
that boy of Callias who did lose his life in the
battle; and besides he spoke Greek accurately and
could read and write.—But there have been in-
numerable others who have suffered this fate, since,
even of those who are in servitude here at the present
time firmly believe that many are free-born men.
For we shall not assert that any Athenian who is free-
born is a slave if he has been made a prisoner in war
and carried off to Persia, or even, if you like, is taken
to Thrace or Sicily and sold like a chattel; but if any
Thracian or Persian, not only born there of free
parents but even the son of some prince or king, is
brought here, we shall not admit that he is a free
person. Do you not know,” he continued, “the law
they have at Athens and in many other states as well,
which does not allow the man who was born a slave
to enjoy the rights of a citizen? But the son of
Callias, if he actually did escape from captivity on
that occasion, after reaching home from Thrace,
even though he had spent many years there and had
often been scourged, no one would think it right to
exclude from Athenian citizenship; so that there are
occasional instances where the law too denies that
those who have been unjustly in servitude have
thereby become slaves. In heaven’s name, I ask
you, what is it that I do of which you have knowledge,
or what is it that is done to me, which justifies your
saying that you know that I am in a state of slavery?”

B. “I know that you are being kept by your
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἀκολουθοῦντα ἐκείνῳ καὶ ποιοῦντα ὃ τι ποτ’ ἐκείνος προστάττων ἐι δὲ μὴ, παιδευμένου.

Οὕτως μὲν, ἐφε, καὶ τοὺς νῦν ἀποφαίνεις δούλους τῶν πατέρων· καὶ γὰρ ἀκολουθοῦσιν πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων καὶ εἰς γυμνάσιον βαδίζουσι καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέρουν, καὶ τρέφονται πάντες ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων καὶ παῖδεστὶ πολλάκις ὑπ’ αυτῶν, καὶ πείθονται ὧ τι ἀν ἐκείνοι προστάττοντοι αὐτοῖς. καὶ τοιοῦ ἑνεκα τοῦ πειθεσθαί καὶ πληγασμένους, λαμβάνειν, καὶ τῶν γραμματιστῶν οἰκέτασ φήσεις τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας δεσπότας εἶναι τῶν μαθητῶν ἢ τοὺς ἀλλ’ τι διδάσκοντας· καὶ γὰρ προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τυπτούσι μὴ πειθομένους.

Νὴ Δι’, ἐφε’ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐστὶ τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις διδασκάλιοι δῆσαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς οὐδὲ ἀποδόσθαι οὐδὲ γε εἰς μυλώνα· ἐμβαλεῖν· τοῖς δὲ γε δεσπότας ἀπαντα ταῦτα ἐφείμενα ἐστὶν.

Ἰσως γὰρ οὐκ οἶσθα ὑπὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς καὶ σφόδρα εὐνομομένους ταῦτα ἢ λέγεις ἐξεστὶ τοὺς πατράς περὶ τοὺς νεῖας, καὶ δῆσαι ἐὰν βούλωνται, καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι, καὶ ὁ ἐτεῖ τούτων χαλεπῶτερον· ἐφείται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκτείνῃ μήτε κρίνωται μήτε ὅλως αἰτιασαμένους· ἄλλ’ ὅμως οὖν ἦτεν οὐ δοῦλοι εἰς τῶν πατέρων, ἄλλα νεῖας. εἰ δὲ δὴ ὑπὶ μάλιστα ἐδοῦλευσιν καὶ δοῦλος·

1 μυλώνα Dindorf: μύλωνα.
2 δῆσαι Wistrand: δῆ καί.
3 ὁ ἐτεῖ Pflugk, τὸ ἐτε Wilamowitz: ὁ τι.
4 οὐ added by Emperius.
5 δοῦλος Reiske: δοῦλον.
master, dance attendance upon him, and do whatever he commands; or else you take a beating."

A. "According to that," said the first man, "you can make out that sons also are the slaves of their fathers; for they dance attendance upon their fathers, often, if they are poor, walking with them to the gymnasium or to dinner; and they without exception are supported by their fathers and frequently are beaten by them, and they obey any orders their fathers give them. And yet, so far as obeying and being thrashed are concerned, you can go on and assert that the boys who take lessons of schoolmasters are likewise their servants and that the gymnastic trainers are slave-masters of their pupils, or those who teach anything else; for they give orders to their pupils and trounce them when they are disobedient."

B. "Indeed that's true," replied the other, "but it is not permissible for the gymnastic instructors or for the other teachers to imprison their pupils or to sell them or to cast them into the mill, but to slave-masters all these things are allowed."

A. "Yes, but perhaps you do not know that in many states which have exceedingly good laws fathers have all these powers which you mention in regard to their sons, and what is more, if they wish to do so, they may even imprison or sell them; and they have a power even more terrible than any of these; for they actually are allowed to put their sons to death without any trial and even without bringing any accusation at all against them;¹ but still none the less they are not their fathers' slaves but their sons. And even if I was once in a state of slavery in the

¹ The early Roman law permitted this.
DIO CHRYSTOS

εξ ἀρχῆς ὑπήρχον δικαίως, τί με, ἔφη, κωλύει νῦν ἔλεευθερον εἶναι μηδενὸς ἔλαστον, σὲ δὲ αὐ τοὐ

ραντίον, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα εξ ἔλεευθέραν ἤσθη, δοῦλον εἶναι παντὸς μάλλον;

21 Ἡγὼ μὲν, εἶπεν, οὐχ ὅρω ὅπως ἔλεευθερος ὁν δοῦλος ἐσομαι. σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἔλεευθερον

γεγονέναι, ἀφέντος τοῦ δεσπότου.

Τί δὲ, ὦ λύστε, ἔφη, οὔθεις ἂν γένοιτο ἔλεευ-

θερος μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀφεθείς;

Πῶς γάρ; εἶπεν.

"Ὅτως Ἀθηναίων ψηφισαμένων μετὰ τὴν ἐν

Χαρισμεία μάχην τοὺς συμπολεμήσοντας 1 οἰκέτας

ἔλεευθέρους εἶναι, εἰ προῦβη ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ μὴ

διελύσατο θάττον ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς αὐτούς, πολλοὶ

ἀν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκετῶν ἡ μικροῦ πάντες

ἔλεευθεροὶ ἦσαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἐκαστὸς

ἀφεθείς.

"Εστώ τοῦτο γε, εἰ δημοσίᾳ σε ἡ πόλις ἔλεε-

θερώσει.

22 Τί δὲ; ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκῶ ἔλεευθερώσαι;

Εἰ γε ἀργυρίων ποθὲν καταβάλοις τῷ δεσπότῃ.

Οὐ τοῦτον φημὶ τοῖς τρόποις, ἀλλὰ ὀντὸς Κύρος

οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέρσας ἀπαντας

ἡλεευθέρωσε, τοσοῦτον ὄχλου, οὕτε ἀργυρίων οὐδὲν

καταβαλὼν οὕτε ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀφεθείς. ἡ

1 συμπολεμήσοντες Kayer: συμπολεμήσοντας.

1 i.e., rather than the owner.
fullest sense of the term and had been a slave justly from the very beginning, what is to prevent me now," he continued, "from being just as free as anybody else, and you in your turn, on the contrary, even if you most indisputably were the son of free parents, from being an out-and-out slave?"

B. "For my part," rejoined the other, "I do not see how I am to become a slave when, in fact, I am free; but as for you, it is not impossible that you have become free by your master's having emancipated you."

A. "See here, my good fellow," said his antagonist, "would nobody get his freedom unless emancipated by his owner?"

B. "Why, how could anybody?" asked the other.

A. "In the same way that, when the Athenians after the battle of Chaeronea passed a vote to the effect that those slaves who would help them in the war should receive their freedom, if the war had continued and Philip had not made peace with them too soon, many of the slaves at Athens, or rather, practically all of them, would have been free without having been emancipated one at a time by their respective masters."

B. "Yes, let that be granted—if the state\footnote{1} is going to free you by taking official action."

A. "But what have you to say to this: Do you not think that I could liberate myself?"

B. "Yes, if you should raise the money somewhere to pay your master with."

A. "That is not the method I mean, but the one by which Cyrus freed not only himself but also all the Persians, great host that they were, without paying down money to anyone or being set free by any master.
oúk οἴοθα ὅτι λυγνοφόρος ἢν Κύρος Ἀστυάγος, καὶ ὅποτε μὲν ἤδυνηθῇ καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἐλευθερὸς ἡμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης;
Εἶνεν ἐμὲ δὲ πῶς φῆς δούλον ἂν γενέσθαι;
"Οτι μύριοι δήποτε ἀποδύδονται ἐαυτοὺς ἐλευθεροὶ ὄντες, ὡστε δουλεύειν κατὰ συγγραφὴν ἐνίστε ἐπὶ οὐδενί τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χαλεπώτατοις.

Τέως μὲν οὖν προσείχον τοῖς λόγοις οἱ παρόντες, ὡς οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένων μᾶλλον ἡ μετὰ παιδίας. ὦστερον δὲ ἐφιλονίκου, καὶ ἔδοκεν ἀτοποῦν ἐναι, εἰ μηθὲν ἔσται εἰπεῖν τεκμήριον, ὧ τις ἀναμφιλόγος διακρινεῖ τόν δοῦλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἀλλ' εὐμαρές ἔσοτο περὶ παντὸς ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν. ἀφέντες οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου σκοπεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δουλείας, ἐσκόπουν ὡστε εἰς δοῦλος. καὶ ἔδοκεν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε τῆς κεκτημένου κυρίως, ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ἡ βοσκημάτων, ὡστε ἐξείναι αὐτῷ χρήσθαι ὃ τι βοῦλεται, οὕτως ὅρθως λέγεσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι δοῦλος τοῦ κεκτημένου.

Πάλιν οὖν ἡμεσθήτει ὃ περὶ τῆς δουλείας

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1 λυγνοφόρος Hercher: λυγνοφόρος.
2 ὅποτε γ' ἐνεθυμήθη Emperius:
3 διακρίνει Arnim: διακρίνει U, διακρίνη BM.

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1 Cyrus the Great, who threw off the yoke of the Medes.  
2 The MSS. have "lampmaker," for which Hercher proposed "lampbearer." We learn nothing of either function in the accounts of Cyrus. Cyrus was the βυνατριδός "daughter's son" of Astyages, King of the Medes.
FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

Or do you not know that Cyrus 1 was the vassal 2 of Astyages and that when he got the power and decided that the time was ripe for action, he became both free and king of all Asia?"

B. "Granted; I know it. But what do you mean by saying that I might become a slave?"

A. "I mean that great numbers of men, we may suppose, who are free-born sell themselves, so that they are slaves by contract, sometimes on no easy terms but the most severe imaginable." 3

Now up to this point the audience paid attention to their arguments, under the impression that they were not made so much in earnest as in jest. Yet afterwards they fell to wrangling and were inclined to the opinion that it was a strange thing if it was going to be impossible for a man to cite any evidence by which the slave could be unequivocally distinguished from the free man, but that it would be easy to debate and argue about every individual case. So they dropped their discussion about the particular man in question 4 and his slavery, and proceeded to consider the general question: Who is a slave. And the consensus of their opinion was that when anyone gets possession of a human being, in the strict meaning of that term, just as he might of any item of his goods or cattle, so as to have the right to use him as he likes, then that man is both correctly called and in fact is the slave of the man into whose possession he has come.

Consequently, the man who had objected to being

3 Educated Greeks would hire themselves out as companions in wealthy houses and often perform very exacting service.
4 The first of the two disputants.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀντιλέγων ο’ τι ποτὲ εἰη τὸ κύριον τῆς κτή- 25 σεως. καὶ γὰρ οἷκίαν καὶ χωρίον καὶ ἵππον καὶ βοῦν πολλοὺς ἡδη φανήναι τῶν κεκτημένων πολὺν χρόνον οὐ δικαίως ἔχοντας, ἐνίοι πο τα καὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρειληφότας· οὕτως δὴ καὶ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἄδικως κεκτήσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν κτωμένων ἄει 1 τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὅσπερ καὶ τὰ ἀλλα ἔμπαντα, οἱ μὲν παρ’ ἄλλων 2 λαμβάνοντω ἡ χαρισμάτω τινὸς ἡ κληρονομήσαντες ἡ πρια- μενοί, 3 τινὲς δὲ ἀξί ἀρχὴς τοὺς παρὰ σφίκι γεννη- βέντας, οὓς οἰκογενεῖς καλοῦσι. τρίτοις δὲ κτήσεως τρόπος, ὅταν ἐν πολέμῳ λαβών αἰχμάλωτον ἡ καὶ λησάμενος, κατὰ τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἔχη κατα- δουλωσάμενος, ὅσπερ, οἴμαι, πρεσβύτατος ἀπάντων ἔστιν. τοὺς γὰρ πρώτους γενομένους δούλους οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐκ δούλων φίλαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ληστείας ἡ πολέμῳ 4 κρατηθέντας οὕτως ἀναγκα- 26 θήναι δουλεύειν τοῖς λαβοῦσι. οὐκοῦν οὕτος ὁ παλαιότατος τρόπος, εἰς οὗ πᾶντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἠρτηται, σφόδρα ἀσθενής καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχον ἰσχυρόν· ὅταν γὰρ ποτὲ δυνηθῶσιν ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀποφυγεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐλευθέρους εἰναι αὐτούς, ὥσ ἄδικως δουλεύοντας· ἀφετε οὐδὲ πρῶτον ποτε δοῦλοι ἦσαν. ἐνίοτε δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἀπέφυγον τὴν δουλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας κατεδουλώ-

1 del Cohoon: εἶναι.
2 παρ’ ἄλλων Reiske: γὰρ ἄλλως.
3 κληρονομήσαντες ἡ πριαμενοί Reiske: κληρονομήσαντος ἡ πριαμενοῦ.

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called a slave raised the further question as to what constituted the validity of possession. For, he said, in the case of a house, a plot of land, a horse, or a cow, many of those who had possession had in the past been found to have held them for a long time unjustly, in some instances even though they had inherited the things from their fathers. In precisely the same way it was possible, he maintained, to have gained possession also of a human being unjustly. For manifestly of those who from time to time acquire slaves, as they acquire all other pieces of property, some get them from others either as a free gift from someone or by inheritance or by purchase, whereas some few from the very beginning have possession of those who were born under their roof, 'home-bred' slaves as they call them. A third method of acquiring possession is when a man takes a prisoner in war or even in brigandage and in this way holds the man after enslaving him, the oldest method of all, I presume. For it is not likely that the first men to become slaves were born of slaves in the first place, but that they were overpowered in brigandage or war and thus compelled to be slaves to their captors. So we see that this earliest method, upon which all the others depend, is exceedingly vulnerable and has no validity at all; for just as soon as those men are able to make their escape, there is nothing to prevent them from being free as having been in servitude unjustly. Consequently, they were not slaves before that, either. And sometimes they not only escaped from slavery themselves, but also reduced their masters to
σαντο. κανταύθα ἥδη, φασίν, ὀστράκου μεταπεσόντος ἀπαν γίνεται τοῦνατίον τῶν πρότερον.

Εἰπεν οὖν τις τῶν παρόντων ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοὶ ἵσως οὐκ ἦν λέγουντο δοῦλοι, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ ἐκεῖνων γενομένων καὶ τοῖς δευτέρους καὶ τοῖς τρίτοις κυρίως ἦν ἡ δη προσήκοι τοῦ δύναμτος.

27 Καὶ πῶς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἄλων ἄλων ποιεῖ δουλεύειν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐλακκοῦσι μᾶλλον τούτον προσήκοι ἢ τοῖς ἐκ ἐκεῖνων· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐκ δούλων γεγονέναι, δήλον ὅτι ἐκ ἐλευθερῶν ὄντες τῶν ἐλακκότων οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἦν ἀλλὰ οἰκέται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ δρόμεν ἐκεῖνος Μεσσηνίους, δὴ ὡσπον ἔτων οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκο-μίσατο τὴν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦττήθησαν ἐν Δεύκτριοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι, στρατεύ-σαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον Θηβαίοι μετὰ τῶν συμ-μάχων ἡμάγκασαν τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἀποδοῦναι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὃσοι οὐκ ήσαν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνων γεγονότες, δουλεύοντας πρότερον παρὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,1 τοὺς Εἰλωτας λεγομένους, κατ-ψίκαν πάλιν εἰς Μεσσηνίην. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδεὶς φήσων ἀδίκως πεποιηκέναι τοὺς Θηβαίοις, ἀλλὰ παγκάλως καὶ δικαίως. ὦστε εἰπερ οὖν τὸ τρόπος οὐ δίκαιος ἐστὶ τῆς κτήσεως, εἰς οὐ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, κινδυνεύεις μηδὲ ἄλλος μηθεὶς εἴναι, μηδὲ τῷ ὄντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν δοῦλος λέγεσθαι.

28 μίσατο τὴν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦττήθησαν ἐν Δεύκτριοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι, στρατεύ-σαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον Θηβαίοι μετὰ τῶν συμ-μάχων ἡμάγκασαν τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἀποδοῦναι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὃσοι οὐκ ήσαν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνων γεγονότες, δουλεύοντας πρότερον παρὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,1 τοὺς Εἰλωτας λεγομένους, κατ-ψίκαν πάλιν εἰς Μεσσηνίην. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδεὶς φήσων ἀδίκως πεποιηκέναι τοὺς Θηβαίοις, ἀλλὰ παγκάλως καὶ δικαίως. ὦστε εἰπερ οὖν τὸ τρόπος οὐ δίκαιος ἐστὶ τῆς κτήσεως, εἰς οὐ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, κινδυνεύεις μηδὲ ἄλλος μηθεὶς εἴναι, μηδὲ τῷ ὄντι κατ’ ἀλήθειαν δοῦλος λέγεσθαι.

1 παρὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Reiske: γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

1 An expression derived from the game ostraka, played with sherds (ostraka); cf. Suidas s. ὀστράκου περιστροφή and vol. I., p. 219, footnote.

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slavery. In this case, also, we have now found that ‘at the flip of a shell,’¹ as the saying goes, their positions are completely reversed.

At this point one of the audience interjected that while those men themselves perhaps could not be called slaves, yet their children and those of the second and third generations could quite properly be so designated.

“But how can that be? For if being captured makes a man a slave, the men who themselves were captured deserve that appellation more than their descendants do; and if it is having been born of slaves that makes men so, it is clear that by virtue of being sprung from those who were taken captive and were consequently free-born, their descendants would not be slaves. For instance, we see that those famous Messenians after the lapse of so many years recovered not only their freedom but their territory as well. For when the Spartans were defeated at Leuctra ² by the Thebans, the latter marched into the Peloponnese supported by their allies, and not only compelled the Spartans to give back the Messenian territory, but settled in Messene again all the original Messenians’ descendants, the Helots as they were called, who had previously been in servitude to the Spartans. And not a man says that the Thebans therein acted unjustly, but all agree that altogether nobly and justly. Consequently, if this method of gaining possession, from which all the others take their beginning, is not just, it is likely that no other one is either, and that the term ‘slave’ does not in reality correspond to the truth.

¹ In 371 B.C.
29 Ἀλλὰ μὴ οὖχ οὗτος ὁ λεγόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὗ ὁ δούλος, ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἀργυρίον τις τοῦ σώματος κατέβαλεν ἂς ἂν ἐκ δοῦλων λεγομένων ἡ γεγονός, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὡςπερ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπῆς. τῶν μὲν γὰρ λεγομένων δούλων πολλοὺς ὁμολογήσομεν δήπου εἶναι ἐλευθεροῦσι, τῶν δὲ γε ἐλευθερῶν πολλοὺς πάνω δουλοπρεπεῖς. ἦστι δὲ ὡς περὶ τοὺς γενναίους καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς. τούτους γὰρ οἱ εἰς ἀρχῆς ωὐσυμασαν τοὺς εὐ γεγονότας πρὸς ἀρετήν, οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν εὐσώ ητερον δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι πλουσίων καὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων ὑπὸ τῶν εὐγενεῖς ἐκλήθησαν. τούτου δὲ σημείου σαφέστατον. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀλεξτρυόνων καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τῶν κυνῶν διέμενε τὸ ὅνομα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰχε τὸ παλαιόν. ὁ γὰρ ἱππὸν θεασάμενος θυμοειδῆ καὶ γαῦρον καὶ πρὸς δρόμον εὑ ἔχοντα, οὐ πυθόμενος εἶτε εἰς Ἀρκαδίας ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἔτυχεν ἂν εἴτε ἂκ Μηδίας εἴτε Θετταλός, φησίν εὐγενῆ τὸν ἱππον αὐτοῦ κρίσων. ὁμοίως δὲ ὅσ ἂν ἐμπειρὸς κυνῶν, ἐὰν κύνα ὑδὴ ταχεῖαν καὶ πρόθυμον καὶ συνετὴν περὶ τὸ ἰχνος, οὐδὲν ἑπιζητεῖ πότερον ἐκ Καράν τὸ γένος ἡ Δάκαις ἡ ἄλλαχοθεν ποθέν, ἄλλα φησὶ γενναίαν τὴν κύνα τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπ᾽ ἀλεξτρυόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱψών. οὐκοῦν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων οὗτος ἢχοι ἂν. ὥσπερ ὅσ ἂν ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καλῶς γεγονός, τούτον προσήκει 1 οἱ πολλοὶ Reiske: ὁ ἐλευθερος. 2 ἦστι δὲ ὡς περὶ Emporius: ἦτι δὲ ὡςπερ. 3 ἱππὸν added by Reiske. 4 αὐτῶν Venetian edition: αὐτῶν.
"But perhaps it was not in this way that the term 'slave' was originally applied—that is, to a person for whose body someone paid money, or, as the majority think, to one who was sprung from persons who were called slaves, but rather to the man who lacked a free man's spirit and was of a servile nature. For of those who are called slaves we will, I presume, admit that many have the spirit of free men, and that among free men there are many who are altogether servile.\footnote{See Aristotle, Politics, i. 6.} The case is the same with those known as 'noble' and 'well-born.' For those who originally applied these names applied them to persons who were well-born in respect to virtue or excellence, not bothering to inquire who their parents were. Then afterwards the descendants of families of ancient wealth and high repute were called 'well-born' by a certain class. Of this fact there is the clearest indication: for in the case of cocks and horses and dogs the designation was retained, just as it had been applied to men in olden times. For instance, when one sees a spirited and mettlesome horse that is well built for racing, without stopping first to enquire whether its sire by any chance came from Arcadia or from Media or is Thessalian, he judges the horse on its own merits and says that it is 'well-bred.' And it is the same with any connoisseur of dogs: whenever he sees a dog that is swift and keen and sagacious in following the scent, he does not go on to enquire whether it is of Carian or Spartan or some other breed, but says that it is a 'noble' dog. And it is exactly the same in regard to the cock and the other animals. Therefore it is clear that it would be the same in the case of man also. And so when a man is well-born in respect
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γενναῖον λέγεσθαι, καὶ μηθεὶς ἐπιστήται τοὺς γονέας αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς προγόνους.

' Αλλὰ μὴν οὐχ οἶδον τε γενναῖον μὲν εἶναι τινα, μὴ εὐγενὴ δὲ τοῦτον, οὐδ’ εὐγενὴ ὄντα μὴ ἐλευθερον εἶναι· ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἁγεννὴν πᾶσαν ἀνάγκη δούλων εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τὸ τῆς δουλείας ἐθος ἢ ἐπὶ τε ἢππων λέγεσθαι καὶ ἀλεξτρώμων καὶ κυνῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλους μὲν γενναῖους εἶναι ἐλέγομεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρους, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν δούλους, ἄλλους δὲ ἁγεννεῖς.

32 'Ομοίως δὴ καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἄλλους μὲν εἰκός ἐστι γενναίους καὶ εὐγενεῖς λέγειν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρους, ἄλλα τοὺς αὐτούς, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν ἁγεννεῖς καὶ ταπεινούς, ἄλλους δὲ δούλους.

Καὶ οὔτω δὴ ἀποφαίνει ὁ λόγος οὗ τοὺς φιλοσοφοὺς μεταφέροντας τὰ ὅνοματα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν.

1 πᾶσα Reiske : πάντα.
to virtue, it is right to call him 'noble,' even if no one knows his parents or his ancestors either.

"But," you will object, "it is impossible for anyone to be 'noble' without being 'well-born' at the same time, or for one who is 'well-born' not to be free; hence we are absolutely obliged to conclude that it is the man of ignoble birth who is a slave.\(^1\) For surely, if it were the custom to use the terms freedom and slavery with reference to horses and cocks and dogs, we should not call some 'noble' and others 'free,' nor say that some were 'slaves' while others were of 'ignoble' birth or breed.

"In the same way, then, when we are speaking of men, it is not reasonable to call some 'noble' and 'well-born,' and others 'free'; but we should make no distinction between the two classes. Nor is it reasonable either to say that some are of ignoble birth and mean, and that others are slaves.

"In this way, then, our argument shows that it is not the philosophers who misuse the terms but the common run of ignorant men, because they know nothing about the matter."

\(^1\) Cf. a statement attributed to Socrates in Diogenes Laertius 2. 31: When a certain man said to him (i.e. Socrates) that Antisthenes was born of a Thracian mother, he replied, "Did you think that he would be so noble, if born of two Athenians?"—Σῶ δ' φοι . . . οὕτως ἄν γενναίον ἐκ δυσαίν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι;
THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

This Discourse, given in the form of an address (διάλεγοντας), would seem also to belong to the period of Dio’s exile, because it was then that he needed the comfort which this discourse gives. He teaches the Stoic doctrine that since there are so many things in life to hurt us, we should fortify our spirits so as to be insensible to them.

Von Arnim (Leben und Werke, p. 267 ff.) draws attention to the fact that this Discourse, just like Discourses 14, 17, 24, 27, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, and 80, begins by mentioning a common fault of ordinary men in order to combat it.
16. ΠΕΡΙ ΛΥΠΗΣ

1 Τὸ μὲν ὦφ’ Ἡδονῆς κρατεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς αἰτίαν ἵς ἔχει· κηλούμενοι γὰρ καὶ γοητευόμενοι παρὰ ταῦτη μένουσι· τὸ δὲ Λύπη δεδομένη παντελῶς ἀλογον καὶ θαυμαστόν. ὁδυνώμενοι γὰρ καὶ βασανίζόμενοι τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ πασῶν βασάνως μένομεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἔλευθεροῦν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντα τῆς ἀληθέντας ὑπομονῆς ὑπομονήν; καίτοι τί μὲν ταπεινώτερον ἀνδρὸς λυπουμένου; τί δὲ οὕτως αἰσχρὸν θέαμα; καθικνεῖται καὶ γὰρ, οἷμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦτο συστέλλει καὶ 2 σκυθρωτὸν καὶ δυσειδὲς ὀφθηναι παρέχει. τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον εἰκεν τῇ φορᾷ τῆς διανοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσμηχανοῦσαί τις ἐξώθεν, οἷον μέλαιναν ἑσθῆτα καὶ συμπλοκὰς χειρῶν καὶ ταπεινὰς καθέδρας, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων πάντων ἀναγκάζεσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὴν διάνοιαν μηδέποτε ἀφίστασθαι τῆς λύπης, ἀλλ’ ἄει μιμημονέων τοῦ ὑπεύθυνος, διεγνωκότας δὴ ἔσεσθαι τινὰ ἀπαλλαγὴν τούτου καὶ μὴ πάντως ἄει φανεῖσθαι τινὰ αἰτίαν τοῦ πάθους, οὐχὶ σφόδρα εὔθεσσι· η γὰρ προσήκοντος βάνατος ἡ νόσος ἐκείνων τινὸς ἦ καὶ αὐτοῦ· πρὸς δὲ

1 τὸν added by Dindorf.  
2 τῶν Capps: καὶ.  
3 δὴ Arnim: μη.
THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

That the majority of us are mastered by Pleasure can perhaps be explained: it is because we are under her spell and witchery that we stay in her company, whereas accepting servitude to Pain is altogether irrational and strange. For although suffering pain and agony from the severest of all tortures, we nevertheless remain in it and do not accept the word of reason that frees and delivers us from our distress. And yet what more abject creature is there than a man who is held in thrall to Pain? What sight is there so shameful? For it seems to me that his condition actually affects his body also, and makes it shrunken and scowling and distorted in appearance. But this yielding to the mind’s disturbance, and not only that but also the devising of certain external signs of it, such as black raiment, wringing the hands, sitting in a dejected posture, so that by all these the mind is in a certain sense compelled never to get away from its pain and distress, but to be always conscious of being in pain, although one knows perfectly well that there will be some relief from this and that there will not be found always and ever some cause for the suffering—is this not utterly silly? For instance, either the death of a relative, or the illness of one of them, or of oneself, may

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{4}} \text{\textit{\textalpha\textepsilon\nu\epsilon\omicron\sigma\delta\alpha}} \text{Dindorf: \textsigma\nu\epsilon\omicron\sigma\delta\alpha}. \]

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τούτος ἀδόξια, χρημάτων ἀποβολή, τὸ μὴ περάναι ἡ τῶν προκειμένων ἡ παρὰ τὸ δέον, ἀσχολία, κἂν δυνοῖ, μυρία ἀλλὰ διὰ συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνάγκη τούτων ἀεὶ τι παρείναι τὸ δὲ τε-4 λευταῖον, ἂν ἄρα γίγνηται 3 χρόνος ἐν ὁ μηδὲν ἀπαντᾷ δύσκολον ἀλλὰ τοῦ τὸ προσδοκᾶν αὐτὰ καὶ γυγνώσκειν ἃς δυνατὸν ἐστὶ συμβῆναι καθάπεται τῆς γνώμης τῶν οὕτως διακειμένων οὐκοῦν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παραμυθίαν—ἀνήνυτον γὰρ τὸ πράγμα καὶ λυπηρός ἐστὶν ὁ βίος—ἀλλὰ ὅλως ἐξελόντα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦτο κρίναντα βεβαιῶς ὅτι μὴ λυπητέον ἐστὶ περὶ μηδενὸς τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐλευθεριάζειν, καὶ πάντων ἀδεία τῶν δυσχερῶν ἐσται οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτὸ δεινὸν ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἀθενείας τῆς ἡμετέρας γίγνε-5 ται τοιοῦτον οὐ γοῦν πολλοὶ, εἶτα 4 γένηται τι τῶν νομίζομένων ἀτόπων, αἱ τούτῳ μημονεύουσι, δυσχεροῦσιν ὅπῃ τῆς μνήμης, ὅμοιον δὴ τὰ πάσχοντες τοῖς παιδίοις καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ πυρὸς ἄμασθαι προθυμεῖται καὶ τοις ὑφὸν ἀλγοῦντα καὶ ἀφῆς ἅμεται πάλιν.

6 "Ωσπέρ οὖν τοῖς εἰς πόλεμον ἐξισώσων οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὁφελῶς, ἀν γυμνοὶ προελθόντες ἐπειτα ἐκαστὸν τῶν φερομένων βελῶν ἐκκλίνειν ἐθέλωσιν οὐ γὰρ ἐνι φυλάττεσθαι πάντα, δεὶ δὲ θύρακος ὁστεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἅλλης πανοπλίας, ὤστε, κἂν

1 περάναι Ἐμπεριος: παρείναι.
2 ἡ Venetian edition: ἡ UB, omitted by M.
3 γίγνηται Selden: γίγνοικηται.
4 εἶτa, Jacobs: κἂν.

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occur and besides these, loss of reputation, a financial reverse, complete or partial failure in some undertaking, pressure of affairs, danger, and all the countless other misfortunes which occur in life (and one of these is practically sure always to be present); and finally, if after all a time does come when no trouble confronts one, yet all the same, the constant expectation of such things and the knowledge that they may occur will lay hold upon the mind of those who are of that temperament. Therefore one should not seek a special consolation for each of these troubles—for the task would be endless, and life is full of painful things—but one should tear that morbid state out of his soul completely, get a firm hold on the truth that the intelligent man ought not to feel pain about anything whatever, and be a free man henceforth. Then there will be release from dread of all that causes distress. For in fact there is nothing that in itself should cause fear; it is only false opinion and weakness on our part that make it so. The great majority, for instance, whenever any one of the things happen which are commonly regarded as untoward, keep continually recalling that thing, distressing though the recollection is, their state of mind being something like that of children, who are bent on touching the fire, for example, although they suffer great pain in doing so: yet if you give them permission they will do it again.

So, just as when men go forth to war it is no use for them to march out without their armour and then merely hope to dodge each flying missile, for it is impossible to guard against them all; but the soldier needs a stout breastplate and his full panoply too,
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ἐμπέση τι, μή δικνείσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν βίον προελθοῦσιν οὐχ οἶον τε ἐκκλίνειν οὐδὲ φυλάττεσθαι ὡστε ὑπὸ μηδενὸς παίεσθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης, μυρίων ἐφ’ ἐκαστον φερομένων, ἀλλὰ διανοιας ἰσχυρὰς ἔστιν ἡ χρεία, μάλιστα μὲν ἀτρώτου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν εἰκούσης, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μη γε ἐβαδὼς μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος τυτρωσκομένης· ἐπεὶ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη κεντεῖσθαι καὶ μυρία τραύ-7 ματα λαμβάνειν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς πόδας ἔχοντες ἀπαλοῦς καὶ παντελῶς ἀτρώτους, ἐπειτα γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς βαδίζοντες, οὐδέποτε τοιαύτην εὐρήσουσιν ὑδὸν ὡστε μή νύττεσθαι μηδὲ ἄλγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τυχόν αὐτῶν ἀπτεται· τοὺς δὲ ἤσκηκόσιν οὐδὲ ἡ πάνω τραχεία χαλεπή.

Τοσούτων οὖν δυσκόλων ὄντων ἀπὸ τῶν 2 τοῦ σώματος ἄρξαμένους, τί δεῖ προσδοκᾶν, ἢ πῶς ἄνευτι, ἐκαστον τούτων αἰσθανόμενον καὶ βαδίως ἐνδιδόντα μὴ κακοδαιμονέστατον ἀπάντων εἶναι, ἅ εἰ 3 προσευχόμενον τοὺς θεοὺς ὅπως μὴ τούτο 8 μηδὲ τούτο συμβῇ· καθάπερ εἰ τις ἐν ὀμβρῳ πορευόμενος σκέψασιν μὲν ἔχοι μηδὲν, εὐχοίτο δὲ μόνον ἐκαστὸν τῶν σταλαγμῶν διαφυγεῖν (πολὺ γοῦν τῶν σταλαγμῶν συνεγειστέρα ἐστὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ τὰ 4 παρὰ τῆς τύχης), ἡ νὴ Δία εἰ τις πλέων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς οἰαξι προσέχειν καὶ τὸ προσπίπτον δέχεσθαι καλῶς εὐχοίτο μηδὲν τῶν κυμάτων κατὰ τὴν ναῦν γενέσθαι. Ψέρε γάρ,
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so that, even if a missile does strike him, it may not penetrate—in the same way those also who have marched out into life cannot possibly dodge or so guard themselves as not to be struck by any of Fortune’s shafts, thousands of which are flying against each man; but what they need is a stout heart, preferably invulnerable and yielding before no blow; or if that may not be, at least one that is not easily wounded or by any ordinary blow; for otherwise it must often be stabbed and receive a thousand wounds. Why, those who have feet which are tender and not calloused at all by use, and then attempt to walk with them bare, will never find a road so smooth that their feet will not be gashed or in pain, but any little thing hurts them; whereas for feet hardened by practice not even the roughest road causes trouble.

Therefore, since there are so many distressing things, beginning with those due of the body, what should anyone expect, or how is it possible, for anyone who pays attention to each of them and easily gives way, to avoid being the most unhappy man alive, ever praying the gods that this or that may not happen? It is just as if a man should go out in a rain without any covering, and should trust merely to prayers for avoiding each single drop¹ (and yet much thicker than the raindrops are the afflictions which Fortune sends); or exactly as if a man sailing a boat, instead of giving his attention to the steering-oars and meeting skilfully each oncoming wave, should pray that none might strike the ship.² Just

¹ For this figure cf. Demosthenes 9. 33.
² Cf. Demosthenes 9. 69.
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9 ὃ μᾶταιε, κἂν πάντα σοι τὰλλα ἔχῃ κατὰ τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε εἰς τὴν ἐποιοῦσαν ἥμεραν βιώσεσθαι τίνα ἔχεις πλατῖν κἂν μὴ μεταξὺ πάντων ἀθρόως ἀφαιρεθήναι τῶν δοκοῦντων ἀγαθῶν; οὐκοῦν σε περὶ τούτου πρώτων προσήκει λυπεῖσθαι καὶ δεδείναι, τὴν ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πράγματος. ἀν δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐννοηθῆς ὅτι μυθεῖς ὅλως ἔστι τοῦ βίου κυριος, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ μακάριοι καὶ λίαν εὐδαίμονες δόξαντες εἰναι τεθνήκασι καὶ οὐκ πάρεστιν ἢδη τούτο τὸ πέρας, κἂν ἐπὶ πλείοντον ἔλθης τοῦ βίου, πολὺν λίπον ἠγέρσῃ καὶ μεγάλην εὐθείαν τὸ νομίζειν ὅλως τι δεινὸν εἰναι τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ μέγα ἢ θαυμαστόν, δίχα γε ἐνὸς τοῦ χωρίς λύπης καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν μίαν γοῦν ἥμεραν διαγαγεῖν.

10 Τὸν Ἰάσονα φασὶ χρισάμενου δυνάμει τνί, λαβόντα παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας, ἐπειτα, οἷμαι, μήτε παρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος μηδὲν παθεῖν μήτε ὅπο τῶν ταύρων τῶν τὸ πῦρ ἀναπνεότων. ταύτην οὖν δὲ κτῆσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας, τούτεστι τῆς φρονήσεως, λαβόντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπάντων καταφρονεῖν. εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα πῦρ ἡμῖν καὶ πάντα ἀὕπνοι δράκοντες.

1 κύριος Wilamowitz: χρόνος.
2 χρισάμενον Roiske: χρησάμενον.

1 The king of the Colchians promised to give Jason the golden fleece if he would yoke to a plough two fire-breathing bulls and sow the dragon teeth which had not been used by Cadmus. From the king’s daughter, Medea, by promising to marry her and take her back to Greece with him, Jason got the magic salve which enabled him to resist fire and steel and put to sleep the dragon which guarded the golden fleece. This magic
SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN

think, you misguided man—even if everything else turns out as your heart wishes, yet what assurance have you of living even till the morrow, and not being suddenly, in the midst of everything, torn away from your fancied blessings? Consequently, this is the first thing about which you should be in painful anxiety and fear—the uncertainty of everything. Yet if you have the wisdom to reflect that absolutely no man is master of his life, but that all those who have been thought blessed and exceedingly fortunate are dead, and that this goal awaits you at any moment, even if you live to the ripest old age, you will consider it great nonsense and utter simplicity to imagine that anything at all which happens is terrible or great or marvellous, except this one achievement of living at least one day free from painful fretting, fear, and similar emotions.

The story goes that the famous Jason anointed himself with a certain potent salve\(^1\) which he got from Medea, and it was after that, I fancy, that no harm came to him from either the dragon or the bulls which belched out fire. This, therefore, is the potent thing of which we should acquire possession, getting it from Medea, that is, from Meditation or Intelligence,\(^2\) and then with our intelligence look with scorn thenceforth upon all things. Otherwise everything will be fire for us and everything sleepless dragons.

salve, or drug, was extracted from a plant with a saffron-coloured flower, said to have sprung from Prometheus' blood. Cf. Apollodorus I. 9. 23 and Frazer's note in vol. I., p. 111 (L.C.L.).

\(^2\) In Stobaeus 3. 29. 92 we read: "Diogenes used to say that Medea was wise, but not a sorceress"—ο Διογένης ἔλεγε τὴν Μηδείαν σοφὴν ἄλλ' οὐ φαρμακίδα γενόθαι.
Καὶ τῶν λυπουμένων ἐκαστὸς αὐτῷ τὸ συμβεβηκός φησὶν εἶναι δεινότατον καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐξίον λύπης· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φερόντων ἐκαστὸς, δὲ φέρει, τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖ βαρύτατον. ἔστι δὲ ἀσθενοῦσα τοῦτο καὶ φαύλου σώματος· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἑτέρος λαβὼν ὁν̄ ἰσχυρότερος ῥᾴδιως οἴσει.1

1 Sonny considered the final paragraph a fragment drawn from an essay by another author. Arnim believed that it is either (especially the last sentence) very corrupt or composed by another than Dio.
SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN

And yet every man who suffers pain and distress of spirit says that what has happened to himself is a most terrible thing and most worth grieving over, just as every person who carries a load imagines that what he is carrying is very heavy. But this really indicates a weak and sickly body, for another and stronger man will take and carry the same load easily.¹

¹ Dio means that the man of strong spirit will endure the troubles of life easily, just as the man of strong body will carry a load easily.
THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE:
ON COVETOUSNESS

After saying by way of preface that men often know what is right, but still fail to do it and need to be admonished again and again, Dio proceeds to point out the evils that come in the train of covetousness, and the blessings that follow from contentment. In these strictures on covetousness he makes considerable use of that passage in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* where the poet speaks of the evils of ambition, thus apparently showing that he considered the two vices to be fundamentally one and the same.
17. ΠΕΡΙ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΞΙΑΣ

1 Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ τούτων οἴονται δὲ νῦν λέγειν ὑπὲρ δὲν ἔκαστος οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ἁληθὴ δόξαν, ὡσποδὲ ἀκούσαντες ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀγνοοῦσι μάθησιν· περὶ δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως φανομένων περιττῶν εἶναι διδάσκειν. ἕγω δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐώρων ἡμᾶς οἷς νομίζομεν ὅρθως ἔχειν ἐμμένοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἔξωθεν πράττοντας τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης ὑπολήψεως, οὐδὲ ἂν αὐτὸς ὄμην ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διατεῖνασθαι περὶ τῶν 2 προδήλων. ἔπει δὲ οὐχὶ τὴν ἁγνοιαν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τοσοῦτον ὀρῷ λυποῦσιν ὅσον τῷ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων διαλογισμοῖς μηδὲ ἀκολουθεῖν αἷς ἔχομεν αὐτοὶ δόξας, μεγάλην ὠφέλειαν ἡγοῦμαι τὸ συνεχῶς ἀναμμηνεύσει καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου παρακαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἔργῳ τὸ προσήκον.

"Ὡσπερ γάρ, οἴμαι, καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς καὶ τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὅρῳμεν πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ προστατεύοντας, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἄκηκοῦτον οἷς ἂν κελεύσων, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἁμελοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ προσέχοντας βλέπωσιν, οὕτως καὶ κατὰ

1 δὲν added by Casaubon.
THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON COVETOUSNESS

The majority of men think that they should speak only on those subjects concerning which the common man has not the true opinion, in order that they may hear and get guidance on the matters whereof they are ignorant; but regarding what is well known and patent to all alike they think it superfluous to instruct. Yet for my own part, if I saw that we were holding to what we believe to be right and were doing nothing out of harmony with the view we already have,¹ I should not myself hold it necessary to insist on matters that are perfectly clear. However, since I observe that it is not our ignorance of the difference between good and evil that hurts us, so much as it is our failure to heed the dictates of reason on these matters and to be true to our personal opinions, I consider it most salutary to remind men of this without ceasing, and to appeal to their reason to give heed and in their acts to observe what is right and proper.

For instance, just as we see physicians and pilots repeating their orders time and again to those under their command, although they were heard the first time—but still they do so when they see them neglectful and unattentive—so too in life it is

¹ For the interpretation here given to the phrase τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης ὑπολήψεως cf. Demosthenes, De Corona 223.
τὸν βίον χρήσιμον ἐστὶ γίγνεσθαι πολλάκις περὶ
tῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους, ὅταν εἰδῶσι 1 μὲν οἱ
πολλοὶ τὸ δέον, μὴ μέντοι πράττωσιν. οὐ γὰρ
3 ἐστὶ τέλος οὔτε τοῖς κάμνουσι τὸ γνῶναι τὸ συμ-
φέρον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ οἷμαί, τὸ χρῆσασθαι; τούτο
γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρέξει τὴν ψυχήν οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις
τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ τε 2 ωφελοῦντα καὶ βλάπτοντα πρὸς
tὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ διαμαρτάνει τῇ τούτων
αιρέσει. καθάπερ γὰρ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμών-
τας ἐπισταμένους μὲν ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸ προσάγει
τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰς χειρὰς, ἀμοι δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας
ἀπέχεσθαι, παραπλησίως καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα πράγ-
ματα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ λίαν εἰδότες ὡς οὐ λυσιτελεῖ
4 τι ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἤττου ἐμπίπτονσιν εἰς αὐτὸ. 
τὴς
γοῦν οὐκ οἶδε τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὡς μέγα ἐστὶν κακῶ
τοῖς ἐχουσίν; ἀλλ’ ὁμοιοὶ μυρίοις ἂν τις ἀκρατεῖς
ἐφοι. καὶ νὴ Δία γε τὴν ἀργίων ἀπαντεὶ ὑσαιν
ὡς οὐ μόνον οὐχ οἰα τε πορίζει τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὸ
ζῆν, ἀλλ’ ἐτὶ 3 καὶ τὰ ὁντα ἀπόλλυσι· καὶ τοῖς
τῷ ὅντι 4 πλείους ἔστιν εὑρεῖν τοὺς ἄργους τῶν
5 ἐθελῶντων τι πράττειν, ὀθεν, οἷμα, προσήκει
tοὺς ἀμείωνον φρονοῦντας αἰεὶ συνεχῶς ὑπὲρ τούτων
λέγειν, ἐάν πως γένηται δυνατὸν ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ
βιάσασθαι πρὸς τὸ κρείττον. ἂσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
μυστηρίοις ὁ ἱεροφάντης οὐχ ἀπαξ προσαγορεῖε
τοῖς μυστηρέως ἐκατόν ἄν χρῆ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων λόγους ὁσπερ

1 εἰδῶσι Venetian edition: ἰδοὺ.
2 τε Reiske: γε.
3 καθ᾽ ἐρείκα: ὅτι.
4 καὶ τῷ ὅντι Capra, καὶ τῷ τῶν τοι ᾧν τὸν Εμπερῖο, καὶ τῷ
σχεδὸν τῷ Armin: καὶ τῷ ὅντι.

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useful to speak about the same things repeatedly, when the majority know what is their duty, but nevertheless fail to do it. For it is not the main thing that the sick should know what is beneficial to them, but, I suppose, that they should use the treatment; since it is this that will bring them health; nor that men in general should learn what things are helpful and what are injurious to their lives, but that they should make no mistake by their choice between these. For just as one may see persons who are suffering from ophthalmia and know that it hurts to put their hands to their eyes, but still are unwilling to refrain from so doing, so likewise in regard to matters in general, the majority, even though they know perfectly well that it is not advantageous to do a certain thing, none the less fall to doing it. Who, for instance, does not know that intemperance is a great evil to its victims? But for all that you can find thousands that are intemperate. Yes, and idleness everybody must certainly know is not only unable to provide the necessaries of life, but, in addition, is destructive of what one already has; and yet in very truth you can find more idlers than men willing to work. Consequently, in my opinion it devolves upon the more thoughtful on all occasions and continually to speak of these matters, in the hope that it may prove possible to make men change their ways and to force them to the better course. For just as in the Mysteries the initiating priest more than once explains beforehand to those who are being initiated each single thing that they must do, in like manner it is profitable that the words concerning things beneficial be repeated often, or
τινά πρόρρησον ιερὰν λυσιτελεῖ πολλάκις, μάλλον
dé áei légesthai. tā yōu flegmamiónonta tōn
σωμάτων oúk eúthas ènédwke prós tīn prōtēn
καταίονησιν, ἀλλ' άν συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποὺ τις,
ἐμαλάχθη καί ῥάον ἔσχεν· οὐκοῦν ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν
ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν πολλῶν flegmionēn ἀγαπητὸν εἶ
τὸς δύνατο πραῖναι διηνεκῶς τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενος.

Φημὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας εἰδέναι μὲν
ἀπαντας ὡς οὔτε συμφέρουν οὔτε καλὸν ἔστων,
ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αὐτῶν, μὴ μέντοι
γε ἀπέχεσθαι μηδὲ θέλειν μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἰσον
ἐχεῖν τῷ πέλας. καίτοι τῆν μὲν ἀργίαν καὶ τὴν
ἀκρασίαν καὶ καθόλου πάσας ἀπλῶς τὰς ἄλλας
κακίας εὐροῖ τις ἃν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔχουσι βλαβεράς,
καὶ νουθεσίας μὲν, οἶμαι, καὶ καταγνώσεως τοὺς
ἐν τοῖς τούτων ὑπάρχοντας δικαίως τυγχάνοντας,
οὐ μὴν μισουμένους γε οὐδὲ κοινοὺς ἀπασί δοκοῦντας
ἐχθροὺς· ἡ πλεονεξία δὲ μέγιστον μὲν ἕστων
ἀυτῶν των κακῶν, λυπεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πέλας. καὶ
tὸν πλεονέκτην οὐδεὶς ἔλεε δητουθεν οὐδὲ ἁξιὸ
διδάσκειν, προβάλλονται δὲ ἀπαντες καὶ πολέμων
ἀυτῶν νομίζουσιν. ἔκαστος οὖν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐ
βούλεται γνῶναι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τοιαύτης πονηρίας,
ἐνοποιάτω πῶς αὐτὸς ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας

1 μὲν added by Pflugk.
2 τῶν αὐτοῦ Cappes, αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν or αὐτῶν.

1 Dio here echoes the first line of Menander, Frag. 557
Kock: "In the front ranks of man's woes is grasping greed.
For they who are fain to annex their neighbour's holdings
frequently are defeated and fail, and to their neighbours'
rather, all the time, just like some sacred admonition. We know, for instance, that inflamed parts of the body do not yield at once to the first fomentation, but that if the treatment is continued, the swelling is softened and relief is given. So in a like manner we must be well content if we are able to assuage the inflammation in the souls of the many by the unceasing use of the word of reason.

So I maintain in regard to covetousness too, that all men do know it is neither expedient nor honourable, but the cause of the greatest evils; and that in spite of all this, not one man refrains from it or is willing to have equality of possessions with his neighbour. And yet you will find that, although idleness, intemperance and, to express it in general terms, all the other vices without exception are injurious to the very men who practice them; and although those who are addicted to any of them do deservedly, in my opinion, meet with admonishment and condemnation, still you certainly will find that they are not hated or regarded as the common enemies of all mankind. But greed is not only the greatest evil to a man himself, but it injures his neighbours as well.  

And so no one pities, forsooth, the covetous man or cares to instruct him, but all shun him and regard him as their enemy. If, then, each of those here present wishes to know the enormity of this wickedness, let him consider how he himself feels toward possessions contribute their own in addition.” (Allinson in L.C.L. p. 495):

πλεονεξία μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων κακόν
οἱ γὰρ θέλοντες προσλαβεῖν τὰ τῶν πέλας
ἀποτυγχάνουσι πολλάκις μικρόμενοι,
τὰ δὲ ἰδία προστίθεντο τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις.

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πλεονεκτεῖν. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν συμβάλοι πῶς καὶ
tους λοιποὺς ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἐκείνον ἔχειν, ἦν
ὥ τοιοῦτος. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε Εὐριπίδης, οὐδενός
ἡττον ἔνδοξος ὃν τῶν ποιητῶν, τήν Ἰσοκάστην
eἰσάγει λέγουσαν πρὸς τὸν Ἐτεοκλέα, παρακαλοῦ-
sαν αὐτὸν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν ἄδελφόν,
οὕτω πως:

9

τὶ τῆς κακίστης δαμόμων ἐφίεσαι
πλεονεξίας, παῖ; μὴ σὺ γ'. ἄδικος ἡ θεός.
πολλοὺς δ' ἐσ ὀίκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαιμόνιας
eἰσχῆλθε κἀξῆλθ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων
ἐφ' ὃ σὺ μαίνει. τούτο κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,
ισότητα τιμᾶν καὶ φίλος εἶναι φίλοις
πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμάχους
συνδέειν. τὸ γὰρ ἴσων νόμων ἀνθρώποις ἐφ',
τῷ πλέον δ' ἀεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται
tοῦλασσον, ἕχθρας θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται.

10

παρεθέμην δὲ ἔξης τὰ ἰαμβεῖα. τὸ γὰρ τοῖς
καλῶς εἰρημένοις αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νοῦν ἐχοῦτός
ἐστιν.

Ἐν δὴ τούτοις ἀπαντά ἐνεστὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα
ἐκ τῆς πλεονεξίας, ὅτι μήτε ἑδικεῖ μήτε κονῆ
συμμέρει, τοῦντιον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀίκων εὐδαι-
μονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεως ἀνατρέπει καὶ διαφθείρει
καὶ πάλιν ὡς νόμος ἀνθρώποις τιμᾶν τὸ ἴσων,
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κονῆς φιλίαν καὶ πάσιν εἰρήμην

1 Eurlpides' text has φιλοτιμίας, "ambition."
2 Eurlpides' text has κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον.
3 Eurlpides' text has ἡ φίλους ἂν.
4 Eurlpides' text has συνδέε.
those who attempt to overreach him; for in this way he can get an idea as to how other men must feel toward him if he is that sort of man. And further, Euripides too, a poet second to none other in reputation, brings Iocasta on the stage addressing Eteocles and urging him to refrain from trying to overreach his brother, in some such words as these:

At greed, the worst of deities, my son,
Why graspest thou? Do not; she is Queen of wrong.
Houses many and happy cities enters she,
Nor leaves till ruined are her votaries.
Thou art mad for her!—'tis best to venerate
Equality, which knitteth friends to friends,
Cities to cities, allies to allies.
Nature gave men the law of equal rights,
And the less, ever marshalled against
The greater, ushers in the dawn of hate.¹

I have quoted the iambics in full; for when a thought has been admirably expressed, it marks the man of good sense to use it in that form.²

In this passage, then, are enumerated all the consequences of greed: that it is of advantage neither to the individual nor to the state; but that, on the contrary, it overthrows and destroys the prosperity of families and of states as well; and, in the second place, that the law of men requires us to honour equality, and that this establishes a common bond of friendship and peace for all toward one

¹ Euripides, Phoenician Women 531–540 as modified by and adapted from Way in L.C.L. Cf. Plato, Republic 349 b ff.
² And yet Dio alters the poet’s text in four places, in order to make the quotation support his argument better. Cf. critical notes on the text.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πρὸς ἄλληλως ποιεῖ, τάς δὲ διαφορᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐμφύλιους ἔριδας καὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτερον συμβαίνοντας ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλείωνος ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἔκαστος καὶ τῶν ἰκανῶν ἀπο-

11 οτερεῖται. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τι τοῦ ζῆν ἀναγκαίω-

terον ἔστιν, ἢ τί τούτου περὶ πλείωνος ἐποίηται πάντες; ἀλλ' ὁμως καὶ τοῦτο ἀπολλύοντοι χρη-

μάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν. μετὰ ταύτα τοῖνυν ὃ

αὐτὸς ποιητῆς οὐ φησίν ἐν τοῖς θείοις εἶναι πλεονεξίαν. διὰ τούτο ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀγήρω

μένειν αὐτά, τὴν προςήκουσαν ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἑαυτῷ

τάξιν φυλάττοντα, τὴν τε νῦκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν

καὶ τὰς ὄρασι. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τούτων εἴχε τὸν τρόπον,

οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν δύνασθαι διαμένειν. δειν

οὖν καὶ τοῖς θείοις ἡ πλεονεξία φθορὰν ἐπιφέρῃ,

τὴ χρῆ νομίζειν τάνθρωπεια πάσχειν ἀπὸ ταύτης

τῆς νόσου; καλῶς δὲ μέμνηται καὶ μέτρον καὶ

σταθμῶν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν

μηδένα μηδενὸς τούτων εὐρημένων.

12 'Ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος καὶ πλέον εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς

φησὶ τὸ ἡμοῦ, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν βλάβας,

οἵμα, καὶ ζημίας λογιζόμενος. τὸ γὰρ πώποτε

ἡ βασιλεύς ἡ δυνάστης ἡ δῆμος ἐπιχειρήσας

ὑπερβήναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοῦ πλείωνος ὀρεχθῆναι

οὐχ ἀπασαν μὲν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ενδαιμονίαν ἀπ—

1 καὶ γάρ τοι Σοννυ: καίτοι.

2 πλείωνος Reiske: πλείστου.

3 αὐτῶν Dindorf: αὐτῶν.

4 ὡς ὑπὲρ Casaubon: ὁσπερ.
THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

another, whereas quarrels, internal strife, and foreign wars are due to nothing else than the desire for more, with the result that each side is deprived even of a sufficiency. For what is more necessary than life, or what do all men hold as of more importance than this? But nevertheless men will destroy even that for money, and some too have caused even their own fatherlands to be laid waste. The same poet then goes on to say that there is no greed among the divine beings, wherefore they remain indestructible and ageless, each single one keeping its own proper position night and day and through all the seasons. For, the poet adds, if they were not so ordered, none of them would be able to survive. When, therefore, greed would bring destruction even to the divine beings, what disastrous effect must we believe this malady causes to human kind? And he aptly mentions measures and weights as having been invented to secure justice and to prevent any man from over-reaching another.¹

And Hesiod says that the half is even more than the whole,² having in mind, I presume, the injuries and losses resulting from greed. For what king or potentate or people has ever attempted to transgress the principle of justice and grasp at the greater share but he has lost all his former felicity

¹ Dio gives a very free interpretation of the words of Iocasta, *ibid.* 541–546, where her argument is that Equality is the principle which governs the universe, in which

The sightless face of Night, and the Sun's beam
Equally pace along their yearly round,
Nor either envieth that it must give place.
Sun, then, and Night are servants unto men.

Way in L.C.L.

² Works and Days, v. 40.
έβαλε, μεγάλαις δὲ καὶ ἀμηχάνοις ἐχρήσατο συμφοραῖς, ἀπασι δὲ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν παραδείγματα ἐμφανὴς τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς πονηρίας κατέλιπεν; τὴς τῶν ἐλαττοῦσαν βουλομένων καὶ τῆν δοκοῦσαν ἤτταν ῥαδίως ὑπομένειν οὐ πολλαπλάσια μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐκτήσατο, αὐτομάτως αὐτῷ καὶ δίχα πόνου περιγυμνόμενα, πλεῖστον δὲ χρόνον τὴν εὐθυμεῖν κατέσχεν, ἀσφαλέστατα δὲ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς;

13 Ἀυτίκα γοῦν οἱ τῆς Ἰοκάστης υἱὲς οὐκ, ἐπεὶ διέστησαν τοῦ πλείονος χάριν, ο μὲν μόνος ἄρχειν βουλομένος, ο δ’ ἐξ ἀπαντος τρόπου ἤττῆσιν κομίσασθαι τῆς δυναστείας τὸ μέρος, οὐκ ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἄλληλους ἀπέκτειναν, μεγάλων δὲ κακῶν αὐτούς κατέστησαν τοὺς συναρμαμένους ἀμφότεροι, τῶν μὲν ἐπιστρατευσάντων παραχρήμα ἀπολομένων, τῶν δὲ ἀμμαμένων 1 μετὰ μικροῦ ἤττησέντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐκ ἔλεγεν ταφήναι; 14 καὶ μὴν δ’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς πλεονεξίαν, τοῦ τῆς Ἐλένην ἀρπάσαντος καὶ τᾶ τοῦ Μενελάου κτήματα, οὐ την 2 μεγίστην τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκούντες πόλιν ἀπώλειν μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ χρήματα ὄλγα τηλικαίῳ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔτευσαν. τοῦ τῶν Ἐρέξης, τῆς ἔτερας ἄπειρον κύριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ τοσοῦτον στόλον καὶ τοσοῦτα μυριάδας συναγαγὼν ἤνεγκεν, ἀπασι μὲν αἰσχρῶς ἀπέβαλε τὴν δύναμιν, μόλις δὲ τὸ σώμα ἱσχύσε διασώσαι φεύγων αὐτός. πορθοῦμένης δὲ μετὰ

1 ἀμμαμένων Emperius: αἰτωμένων.
2 την added by Wilamowitz.
and has suffered great and overpowering disasters, bequeathing to all men thereafter unmistakable examples of folly and wickedness? Or of those who were willing to receive the lesser share and to endure cheerfully the seeming defeat, what man has not gained more than the others many times over, things that accrued to him automatically and without effort on his part, and has gained for the longest time fair prosperity and in the greatest security has enjoyed Fortune's blessings?

Illustrations are at hand: Did not the sons of Iocasta, when they became at variance in their desire for more, the one wishing to be sole ruler, and the other seeking by fair means or foul to secure his portion of the kingdom—did they not, though brothers, slay each the other and bring the greatest evils, both of them, upon those who espoused their causes, since the invaders of the land straightway perished, while those who fought to defend it were worsted soon after because they would not allow the corpses to be buried? And again, on account of the greed of one man who carried off Helen and the possessions of Menelaus, the inhabitants of Asia's greatest city perished along with their children and wives, and for harbouring one woman and a little property they paid so huge a penalty. Then take the case of Xerxes, the master of the other continent. When he cast covetous eyes upon Greece too, and collected and brought against her so mighty a fleet and so many myriads, he shamefully lost all his armament and with difficulty saved his own person by taking to flight himself; and after-

1 Eteocles and Polynices.
DIO CHRYSOΣTOM

ταύτα τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη
15 φέρειν ἡμαγκάζετο. καὶ μὴν Πολυκράτην φασίν,
ἔως μὲν Σάμου μόνης ἦρχεν, εὐθαυμονέστατον
ἀπάντων γενέσθαι. βουλόμενον δὲ τι καὶ τῶν
πέραν πολυπραγμονέων, διαπλεῦσαντα πρὸς Ὀροῖ-
την, ὡς χρήματα λάβοι, μηδὲ ραδίου γε θανάτου
tυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου
dιαφθαρῆται.

Ταύτα μὲν, ὡς παραδείγματα ὑμῖν, ἐκ τῶν
σφόδρα πολαιῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταύτα καὶ τῶν ἐν
πονήμασι καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἱστορομεμένων παρῆρεγκα.
16 ἀξίων δὲ ἐνθυμηθήναι καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὡς κἀκεῖνοι
κολάζειν πέφυκε τοὺς πλεονεκτοῦντας. Λακεδαι-
μονίοις γὰρ χρωμένοις, εἰ διδασκόν αὐτοῖς τὴν
Ἀρκαδίαν, οὐ μόνον ἀπείπε καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν
ἀνείδισεν, οὕτως εἰπόν.

'Ἀρκαδίην μ’ αἰτεῖς, μέγα μ’ αἰτεῖς, οὕτω
δοόσω:

ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε, προειπὼν
μὲν τὸ μέλλον, οὕτως δὲ ὡστε ἐκεῖνος μὴ συνέτας
ἐπὶ Τεγέαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῖς γυγνωσκομέναις
ὑπὸ πάντων συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν. καίτοι
φανερῶς τὴν 'Ἀρκαδίαν αὐτοῖς ἀρνοῦμενοι οὐδὲ
τὴν Τεγέαν ἐδίδου. τὸ γὰρ ἱσχυρότατον1 τῆς Ἀρ-
καδίας καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτ’ ἦν. ἀλλ’ ὀλοις2 διὰ
tὴν πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲ δῦτα ἠχουσίν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ τῶν λεγομένων αἰσθάνονταί.

1 ἱσχυρότατον Pflugk: ἱσχυρόν.
2 ὀλος Sonny: ὀμοι.
wards he was forced to endure the ravishing of his
country and of his cities on the seacoast. As a
further illustration take Polycrates: They say that
so long as he was ruler of Samos alone he enjoyed
the greatest felicity of any man in the whole world;
but that when he wished to meddle somewhat in the
affairs of the people of the opposite mainland and
sailed across for the purpose of getting money from
Oroetes, he met with no easy death, but was impaled
by that barbarian prince and thus perished.¹

These instances, in order that they be warning ex-
amples to you, I have taken not only from exceedingly
ancient, but also from subsequent times, and as related
both in poetry and in narrative prose. Then it is
worth your while to call to mind the attitude of the
god likewise, that he also by his very nature punishes
the covetous. When, for instance, the Spartans
consulted his oracle to ask if he gave Arcadia to them,
he not only refused them, but rebuked their insatiable
greed in the following words:

Arcadia thou askest of me? 'Tis much! Nay,
give it I'll not,

but also imposed a penalty upon them and foretold
the future, yet in such a way that they did not under-
stand, but marched against Tegea to meet with
disasters known of all men. And yet, while plainly
denying Arcadia to them, he would not give them
Tegea either. For this was the strongest and
most important place in Arcadia.² But, speaking
generally, the majority of mankind are so covetous
that they have not even ears to hear, nor do they
so much as understand words of warning when
spoken.
17 Πάλιν τοίνυν Ἀθηναίοις ἐρωτώσῃ περὶ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας ἔχρησε προσλαβεῖν τῇ πόλει τὴν Σικελίαν, λόφον των δὲ ἔγγος ὡντα τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν παρακεκιμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἠμέλησαν· οὕτως ἐκφρόνει ὑπῆρξον διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πλείονος, ὡστε τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον λέγειν ἐν ἑνὶ τείχει περιλαβεῖν τὸς Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ μωρίων ποιον στάδιον οὖσαν νῆσον. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖσθε πλεύσαντες οὐ μόνον Σικελίας διήμαρτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστερηθησαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐπείδον ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγενημένην.

18 Καὶ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰ θέλοι τις ἐπεξείναι, δῆλον ὡς οὐδ’ ἐν ἑτεί ἐπιλείψει. σκοπεῖτε δ’ ὅτι τὴν ἱσχὺν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἁγαθῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ’, οἴμαι, τοῖς ἐπ’ ἄκρον ἱσχύσαι καὶ λιαν ὑπερβάλλουσι τῇ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα εὐθέα συμφέρει μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἀφελείν· τὸ γὰρ πλέον, οἴμαι, τοῦ συμμέτρου παγχάλευν. ὅμως δ’ πλοῦτος ἔχων τὴν 3 χρείαιν, ἐὰν μὲν ἡ μέτροις, οὐ λυπεῖ τοὺς ἔχοντας, ἀλλ’ εὐχερέστερον καὶ νὴ Δὲ ἀνεπιδεῖ παρέχει τὸν βιον· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερβάλη, πλείονας παρέχει τὸς φροντίδας καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῆς δοκούσης ἡδονῆς, καὶ πολλοὶ μετενόησαν σφόδρα πλουτήσαντες, οἱ δὲ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀποροί καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων κατέστησαν.

19 Εἰλὲν’ ἀλλ’ ἐν ἑμῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν ἐκαστον ἐθέλοι πλεονεκτεῖν, ἐσθ’ ὅπως

1 οὐδ’ ἐν ἑτεῖ Emperius: οὐδὲν ἐτι.
2 σκοπεῖτε Emperius: σκοπεῖ Μ, σκοπεύν UB.
3 τὴν Emperius: τινα.
At another time, when the Athenians asked about the island of Sicily, the oracle answered that they should annex to their city 'Sicily,' this being the name of a hill near the city. But they paid no attention to what was near at hand and before their eyes; so bereft of sense were they on account of their lust for more, that they imagined the god was telling them to enclose within one wall Athens and an island some ten thousand stades distant. As a result they sailed thither, and not only failed to get Sicily, but lost Attica as well, and saw their city itself in the hands of her enemies.

And if you should wish to enumerate all such examples as these, it is clear that not even in a year's time would you run out of them. Then consider, I beg of you, that most men regard physical strength as one of the blessings of life; yet I believe that in the case of those who have the greatest physical strength and greatly excel in bodily vigour, it is of advantage to sacrifice a part of this; for in my opinion what exceeds the right proportion is very troublesome. In the same manner wealth which may be put to use does not, if it be moderate, injure its possessor, but makes his life easier and certainly frees it from want; but if it becomes excessive, it causes far more worries and troubles than that which passes for pleasure; and many have rued the day when they acquired enormous wealth, while some for this very reason have come to lack even the barest necessities.

So far so good! But let us take our own selves: If each element that makes up our being should wish to have the advantage, would it be possible for us to

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1 That is, of Athens; see Pausanias 8. 11. 12.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

tὸν βραχύτατον καὶ ῥὸν διαμεῖναι δυνησόμεθα; λέγω δὲ ὅτι εἰ πλέον τιν τοῦ συμμέτρου αἵμα γίγνοιτο, ἢ νὴ Δία τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θερμὸν ὁ τι δήποτε ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιτεύγα τοῖς τὴν σύμμετρον καὶ τὴν προστίκουσαν, οὐχὶ μεγάλας ἐπίστασθε καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐκ τούτων ἀπαντᾶν νόσους; ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων, εἰ πλεονεκτήσει τῶν χορδῶν τις τῇ τάσει, πρὸς τοῦ Δίας οὐκ ἀνάγκη πᾶσαν λειτουργεῖ τὴν ἁρμονίαν;

20 Σφόδρα δ᾽ ἐγώ θαυμάζω τι ἂν ἐποιήσαμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ἐλάχιστον παρὰ τῶν θεῶν μέτρων εἴχομεν· ἀλλ᾽ ὡσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα παρασκευαζόμενοι πλέον ἄλλος ἄλλων φιλοτημούμεθα ἔχειν. ὡσπερ οὖν εἰ τις εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡ δ᾽ ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, εὰν πλείστως διαγένηται χρόνος, ἔχει πλοῦν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐνιαυτῷ σίτα ἐμβάλοντο, ἀνόητος δόξει· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰ τις ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι πλεῖον τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν οὐκ ἂν βιώσειν, εἰς ἐτη χίλια πορίζοτο βίον οὐκ ἵσως καὶ ὀμοίως ἂν εἴη μανόμενος; ἐνιοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοσάτα παρασκευάζονται, ὡς εἰ γ᾽ ἐπλεον, εὑθὺς ἂν καταδύναι τὴν ναῦν. καὶ νὴ Δία γε συμβαίνει μυρίως.

21 Ἐἴπε· εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἐφ᾽ ἐστίνας κεκληκὼς δέκα ἀνθρώποις ἢ πεντεκαλδέκα, τοσοῦτοις αὐτῶν ἐμπλήσας δέον, ὅ δὲ πεντακοσίους ἢ χιλίους ἐτοιμάζοι τροφῆν, οὐ παντελῶς ἐξεστάναι δόξει;

1 χορδῶν Cochoon: φθόγγων.
2 οὗ γε Capps, οὗ γε καὶ νῦν Emperius, οὔπερ καὶ νῦν Arnim: ἀλλ᾽.
3 οὐκ ἵσως καὶ ὀμοίως Rousse: ἵσως οὐχ ὀμοίως. Goell and Arnim delete ἵσως.
4 τοσοῦτος Capps: τούτους.
THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

keep alive for the shortest time? I mean, for example, if the blood should increase a little beyond the proper proportion, or even if something or other in us should increase the pressure of the warm breath beyond its due and proper proportion, do you not know that serious and dangerous illnesses inevitably come on? And in the harmonies of these instruments of our bodies, if any one of the strings should get more than its share of tension, in Heaven’s name must not the harmony as a whole be destroyed?¹

As for me, I wonder greatly how we should have acted if we had not received the shortest span of life from the gods! However, just as if we were making our plans for an endless life, we strive earnestly each to have more than his neighbour. Just as any man, then, who knowing that he has a voyage of only two or three days’ duration at the most before him, should nevertheless put enough provisions on board to last a year, will be regarded as a fool; in the same way, any man who, being fully aware that he could not live more than the allotted span of seventy years, should provide himself with substance to last him a thousand years would he not be equally and in the same way insane? Indeed there are some who lay in stores so great that, if they were out at sea, their ship would founder at once. And I swear it does happen to countless numbers.

So much for that. Well then, if a man has invited ten or fifteen guests to a banquet and although needing to satisfy only so many, should then go on and make ready food enough for five hundred or a thousand, will he not be thought to be quite out of his

¹ Cf. Plato, Republic I. 349d ff.
τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰδότες τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας εὐαρείμητους τινὰς· ἐσθήτος γάρ, οἷμαι, καὶ σκέπης καὶ τροφῆς δεόμεθα· ἐπειτα κατα-
τευόμεθα ὡσπερ στρατοπέδῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συν-
ἀγοντες· καὶ νὴ Δία γε εἰκότως. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ
βόσκουσιν παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στρατό-
πεδον. καὶ ἐσθήτα μὲν οὐδεὶς βουλεῖται μείζω
τοῦ σώματος ἐχειν, ὡς δύσχρηστον ὁν· οὐσίων δὲ
τῷ παντὶ μείζῳ τῆς χρείας ἐχεὶν ἀπαντες ἐπιθυμοῦ-
σιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι τούτῳ ἐκείνου χαλεπώτερον.

22 Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι Κροῖσος καλῶς ὁ Λυδός, τὴν
ἀπληστιάν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλέγξαι βουλόμενος,
εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς εἰσαγαγῶν τινὰς τοσοῦτο
χρυσίου αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπετον ἐξενεγκεῖν ὡς ἐκαστὸς
ἀν δύνηται τῷ σώματι. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς οὐ
μόνον τὸν κάλπον ἐμπλήσατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ
κεφαλῇ τοῦ ψήγματος ἐκφέρειν καὶ τῷ στόματι,
καὶ μόλις πορεύεσθαι πάνυ γελοίους καὶ διεστραμ-
μένους. οὗτως ἴγωμαι1 καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον
πορεύεσθαι τινὰς ἀσχημονοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς πλεονε-
ξίας καὶ καταγελάστους ὄντας.

1 ἴγωμαι: Capps: οὖν. Reiske retains οὖν and adds ἴγωμαι
after βίον.
THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

mind? In like manner we also, although we know that the needs of the body are easy enough to count—for clothing, I suppose, and shelter and nourishment we do need—nevertheless strain ourselves to the utmost as if we were gathering supplies for an army and, I swear, there is good reason for our doing so; for the great majority are feeding in their hearts a whole army of desires. As for clothing, nobody wants to have it too large for his body, knowing that it would be inconvenient to wear; but property altogether too large for their needs all men crave, not understanding that this is more objectionable than the other.

I think, too, that Croesus the Lydian, when he wanted to expose the insatiable greed of men, did this admirably. He conducted a group of men into his treasure-house and permitted them to take away just as much gold as each man could carry on his person. For we see that most of them not only filled the bosoms of their clothing, but carried away some of the dust upon their heads and in their mouths and that they could scarcely walk, cutting a ridiculous figure, all twisted out of shape as they were. In life also, methinks, certain men walk along in an unseemly posture and cut a ridiculous figure on account of their greed.

1 See Herodotus, 6. 125 and compare Discourse 78. 32.
THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE:
ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

Dio Chrysostom, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Quintilian, gave select lists of authors for students to read. The fact that there are no great divergences in these lists gives the impression that there was general agreement in the ancient schools as to which were the best authors for students. Dio’s list we expect to differ in some respects from Quintilian’s because Quintilian, whose primary interest was in the Latin language, gives a select list of Latin writers as well; and in the second place, Dio was giving advice to a wealthy and influential man of mature years who wished to take some part in public life, but lacked the leisure or the inclination to work hard in order to fit himself for this, whereas Quintilian was writing for the benefit of youths whose chief interest was in the eloquence of the bar.

After complimenting this prosperous man and eulogizing oratory Dio proceeds to give his list, naming poets, historians, orators in this order; and then, without regard to the type of their literary works, he refers in general terms to the followers of Socrates. Through mentioning them last he gains a good opportunity to speak at length and in the highest terms of Xenophon, whom he so greatly admired, in this respect differing somewhat from the majority of modern critics.

In poetry it is the writers of Comedy and Tragedy that are really useful for the purpose he has in view, although the epic poet Homer is, of course, supreme. Other types of poetry his wealthy friend will not have time to read. Among the historians he gives the first place to Thucydides, and among the orators to Demosthenes, although he believes that Hypereides and Aeschines will be of more practical benefit because not so difficult to imitate. It is at first sight strange that he does not
mention Isocrates at all, but probably he thought his long involved sentences not a suitable model for his correspondent. Of philosophers Dio names none at all if we except the indirect reference to Socrates, although we know from his writings that he must have been familiar with Plato; and the only reference to philosophy is where he says, apparently with approval, that Euripides had some knowledge of it. Quintilian on the other hand ends his list of Greek writers by naming as philosophers Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Theophrastus.

Then comes the question as to whether this man in training himself to be an orator should write or dictate to a secretary. Dio thinks it better for him to dictate and advises him especially not to write school exercises, in all this taking a position opposite to that of Quintilian.

As to when Dio wrote this letter and to whom, great diversity of opinion prevails, since we have nothing to guide us except the contents of the letter itself and our imperfect knowledge of Dio’s life and the progressive change in his views. However, since Dio represents himself as considerably younger than the man he addresses, who was at the height of his powers, it does seem reasonable to refer this letter to the period before Dio’s banishment. Even then he was probably at least forty years old. A further consideration is the fact that Dio does not recommend the reading of any philosophical works to this would-be orator, as he certainly would have done after he became a convert to philosophy.

Von Arnim, who takes ὑπερηνησις in § 16, where Dio is speaking of the advantages to be derived from a study of Xenophon’s speeches, to mean ‘provincial Governors,’ βασιλικοὶ to mean ‘imperial officials,’ and πλῆθος ‘the commons or citizen body’ of a Greek state, notes that ὑπερηνησις (soldiers) are not expressly mentioned, and infers from this that Dio’s correspondent has nothing to do with soldiers, but does have to deal with Roman provincial governors and imperial officials, and therefore is not a Roman himself, but a local Greek official occupying a high position in some large Greek city of Asia Minor. Von Arnim further supports this view by observing that, according to Dio, Xenophon’s speeches teach “not to trust too readily those in authority over you” —good advice for a Greek subject to Romans, and how a statesman can encourage the despondent—knowledge not needed by a Roman governor. He concludes his argument
by saying that a Roman studied rhetoric solely for formal intellectual training. It might be objected, however, that Cicero and Caesar did not study it for this purpose alone.

As to why this man of high position wished such elementary instruction, and he a Greek, Dio suggests that for some especial reasons he had failed to get rhetorical training in his youth, or that he lived far removed from the centres of Greek culture. Finally, von Arnim faintly hints that Dio's correspondent may have been Vespasian before he became emperor. Wilhelm Christ suggests that the man was Nerva before his elevation to the position of emperor, while Hammer and Lemarchand support the view that Dio's letter was not addressed to any actual person.
18. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΓΟΥ ΑΣΚΗΣΕΩΣ

1 Πολλάκις ἐπαινέσας τὸν σὸν τρόπον ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἁγαθοῦ καὶ ἀξίου πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, οὐδέποτε πρότερον ἐθαύμασα ὡς νῦν. τὸ γὰρ ἡλικίας τε ἐν τῷ ἀκμαιοτάτῳ ὄντα καὶ δυνάμει οὐδὲνς λειπόμενον καὶ ἄφθονα κεκτημένον, καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας ὦσης δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τρυφῶν, ὦμως ἐτι παιδείας ὅρεγεσθαι καὶ φιλοκαλεῖν περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ μὴ ὁκνεῖν, μηδὲ εἰ πονεῖν δέοι, σφόδρα μοι ἔδοξε γενναίας ψυχῆς καὶ οὐ φιλοτήμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι φιλοσόφου ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ ἀριστοὶ οὐ μόνον ἀκμάζειν μανθάνοντες, ἀλλὰ 2 καὶ γνώσκειν ἔφασκον. πάνυ δὲ σὺ μοι δοκεῖς φρονεῖν, ἡγοῦμενος πολιτικῷ ἀνδρὶ δεῖν λόγων ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱσχύειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι πλείστη ἀπὸ τούτου ὑφέλεια. τίνι μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἀνθρωποὶ δείκνυσιν ἢ λόγῳ; τίνι δὲ ἐξυβρίζοντες καὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι καθαροῦνται καὶ κολάζονται;
THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

Although I had often praised your character as that of a good man who is worthy to be first among the best, yet I never admired it before as I do now. For that a man in the very prime of life and second to no one in influence, who possesses great wealth and has every opportunity to live in luxury by day and night, should in spite of all this reach out for education also and be eager to acquire training in eloquent speaking, and should display no hesitation even if it should cost toil, seems to me to give proof of an extraordinarily noble soul and one not only ambitious, but in very truth devoted to wisdom. And for that matter the best of the ancients said that they went on learning not only in the prime of life but also as they grew old.¹ And you, as it seems to me, are altogether wise in believing that a statesman needs experience and training in public speaking and in eloquence. For it is true that this will prove of very great help toward making him beloved and influential and esteemed instead of being looked down upon. For when men are afraid, what does more to inspire them than the spoken word? And when they wax insolent and uplifted in spirit, what more effectively brings them down and chastens

¹ Solon said: "I keep learning many things as I grow old"—γράσκω 8' αει πολλά διδασκόμενος. See Plutarch, Life of Solon 31b, and compare Cicero, De Senectute 8. 26.
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τίνι δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπέχονται; τίνα δὲ νουθετοῦντα πραότερον φέρουσιν ἢ οὗ 1 λόγῳ εὐφραίνονται; 2
3 πολλάκις γοῦν 3 ἔστιν ἱδεῖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναλίσκοντας 4 μὲν ἐτέρους καὶ χαρίζομένους καὶ ἀναθήμασι κοσμοῦντας, ἐπαινούμενος δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων αὐτίως. διὸ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἀρχαῖοί καὶ παρὰ θεῶν τὴν ποίησιν λαβόντες οὕτε τοὺς ἱσχυροὺς οὕτε τοὺς καλοὺς ὡς θεοὺς ἔφασαν ὅρασθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ συνεώρακας καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖς πράττειν, ἐπαινῶ σε καὶ ἀναμάζω.

4 Χάριν δὲ οὐ τὴν τυχόνσαν οἶδα ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτόν, ὅτι με πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἐγκείρημα χρήσιμον σαυτῷ νενόμικας. μέχρι νῦν μὲν γὰρ, ὦσπερ τις ἐφή τῶν πολιαίων αὐτῷ ἰκανός 5 εἶναι μάντις, καγὼ ἐξαρκεῖν ζῷμην ἐμαυτῷ περὶ τοὺς λόγους, μόνις καὶ τοῦτο. οὐ δὲ μὲ ἐπαίρεις καὶ θαρρεῖν ἀναπείθεις, εἰ ἀνδρὶ καὶ παθεῖσας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἢκοντι καὶ τηλικοῦτῳ δύναμαι χρήσιμος εἶναι. δυναίμην δὲ ἂν τυχόν, ὦσπερ ὄδον ἵντι μάλα ἰσχυρῷ καὶ ἀκμᾶζοντι παῖς ἢ τις πρεσ-

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1 ἢ οὗ Herwerden: οὗ.
2 εὐφραίνοντα Reiske: εὐφραίνοντα UB, εὐφραίνοντας M.
3 γοῦν Wilamowitz: οὖν.
4 ἀναλίσκονταs Casaubon: ἀναλίσκοντας.
5 ἰκανός Goerlitz: κακός UB, κακῶς M.

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1 But Homer does apply the term θεοειδής (godlike in appearance) to Alexander or Paris (Iliad 3.10), to Telemachus (Odyssey 14.173) and the term θεοεἰκελος (godlike) to Achilles (Iliad 1.131). Then Sappho (Supp. 20 o. 6) applies this latter term to Hector and Andromache. Plutarch (2. 988 d) says: "The poets call the beautiful 'godlike in form'"—οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς καλοὺς θεοειδέσ ὀνομάζουσιν.

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them? What has greater influence in keeping them from indulging their desires? Whose admonitions do they endure more meekly than the man's whose speech delights them? Time and again, at any rate, there may be seen in our cities one group of men spending, handing out largess, adorning their city with dedications, but the orators who support these measures getting the applause, as though they and not the others had brought these things about. For this same reason the poets of the earliest times, who received their gift of poetry from the gods, never spoke of either the strong or the beautiful as being 'looked upon as gods,' but reserved this praise for the orators. So it is because you not only have observed all this, but are also endeavouring to put it into practice that I commend and admire you.

And I acknowledge on my own behalf a gratitude beyond the ordinary because you have believed that I could be useful to you in carrying out this purpose and this endeavour. For up to the present, as one of the writers of old said that he was 'a good enough prophet for his own self,' so I too considered that I should do well enough for myself in oratory, though barely even that. But you elate me and persuade me to take courage, in the hope that I can be of use to one who not only has attained so high a degree of culture, but is also as gifted as yourself. And perhaps I could, just as a boy or some aged herdsman might, be useful to a strong and vigorous

2 A reference to Plato, Phaedrus 242 c: "Now I am in truth a seer, although not a good one, but, just as is the case with those who write a poor hand, merely sufficient for myself alone'—εἰμὶ δὴ οὖν μάντις μέν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ σπουδάζω, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ γράμματα φαίλοι, δὲν μὲν ἐμαυτῷ μόνον ἰκανός.
DIO CHrysOSTOM

βύτης ἐνίοτε νομεύσ ἐπίτομον δείξας ἡ λεωφόρον, ἢν οὐκ ἔτυχεν εἰδώς.

5 Ἀλλ’ ἦν μὴ πολλὰ ¹ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ἦδη οἷς προσέταξας ἐγχειρητέον.

Μειρικώς μὲν οὖν ἡ νέῳ ἄνδρὶ τοῦ τε πράττειν ἀποχωρήσαι βουλομένω καὶ πρὸς ἄσκήσει γενέσθαι καὶ δύναμιν περιποίησασθαι ἁγωνιστικὴν, ἑτέρων ² ἔργων ³ τε καὶ πράξεων δεῖ. οὐ δὲ οὔτε ἀπειρος τοῦ ἔργου οὔτε ἀπολυπεῖν τό πράττειν δύνασαι οὔτε χρήζεις δικανικῆς δυνάμεως τε καὶ δεινότητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἄνδρὶ πρεποῦσης τε ἁμα καὶ ἄρκουσις. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ πρώτων ἰσθι, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σοι πόνον καὶ ταλαιπωρίας. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀσκήσαντι ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προάγει, τῷ δὲ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον χρησαμένῳ συλλήψθη ⁴ τήν ψυχήν καὶ ὀκνήραν ποιεῖ προσφέρεσθαι, καθάπερ τοὺς ἀσυνήθεις περὶ σώματος ἄσκησιν εἰ τις κοπώσεις βαρυτέρους γυμνασίως, ἀσθενεστέρους ἐποίησεν. ἀλλὰ ὦστερ ⁵ τοὺς ἄθθεσι τοῦ ⁶ ποιεῖν σώμασιν ⁷ ἀλείψεως ⁸ δεῖ μᾶλλον καὶ κινήσεως συμμέτρου ἡ γυμνασία, οὔτω σοὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιμελείας ⁹ ἐστὶ χρεία μᾶλλον ἡδονῆς ¹⁰ μεμγυμνῆς ἡ ἄσκησεως καὶ πόνου.

¹ λέγω added by Dindorf after πολλὰ.
² ἁγωνιστικὴν, ἑτέρων Capps: ὁ ἁγωνιστέρων Μ, ὁ ἁγὼν ἑτέρων UB, ἑτέρων T.
³ λόγων instead of ἔργων conjectured by Capps, cf. § 17 infra.
⁴ Instead of συλλήψθη Casaubon conjectured συλλυπηθεῖν.
⁵ ὦστερ Dindorf: ἦσ.
⁶ ἄθθεσι τοῦ Pflugk: ἄθθεσι Μ, ἀθέστους UB.
⁷ σώμασιν Emperius: σώματος.
⁸ ἀλείψεως anonymous emendator in Reiske: ἀπολείψεως.
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wayfarer in pointing out a shorter road or a beaten track of which he did not happen to know.

But to cut my preface short,¹ I must at once endeavour to carry out your instructions.

For a mere lad, now, or a young man who wishes to withdraw from political life and devote himself to training and to the acquisition of forensic ability, there is need of a different regimen in both tasks and activities. But you are not unacquainted with the task, nor are you able to forsake the political career, nor is it the eloquence and effectiveness of a pleader in the courts of law of which you stand in need, but rather that which is alike fitting and sufficient for a statesman. So first of all, you should know that you have no need of toil or exacting labour; for although, when a man has already undergone a great deal of training, these contribute very greatly to his progress, yet if he has had only a little, they will lessen his confidence and make him diffident about getting into action; just as with athletes who are unaccustomed to the training of the body, such training weakens them if they become fatigued by exercises which are too severe. But just as bodies unaccustomed to toil need anointing and moderate exercise rather than the training of the gymnasion, so you in preparing yourself for public speaking have need of diligence which has a tempering of pleasure rather than laborious training.

¹ πολλὰ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος—"many words before action" is apparently a proverbial expression.

² ἐπιμελεῖς Emperius: ἐπιμέλεια B, ἐπιμελεῖα UM.
³ ἕδονῆ Emperius: ἕδονῆς.
Τῶν μὲν δὴ ποιητῶν συμβουλεύσαμ' ἂν σοι Μενάνδρῳ τε τῶν κυμικῶν μὴ παρέργως ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ Εὐριπίδῃ τῶν τραγικῶν, καὶ τούτοις μὴ οὕτως, αὐτὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἑτέρων ἐπισταμένων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ἦδέως, εἰ δ’ οὖν, ἀλώπυς ὑποκρίνασθαι πλείων γὰρ ἡ αἰσθήσεις ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἀσχολίας. καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν σοφωτέρων αὐτιστηταί μὲ ὅς προκρίναντα, τῆς ἀρχαιας κωμῳδίας τὴν Μενάνδρου ἡ τῶν ἀρχαιῶν τραγῳδῶν Εὐριπίδην οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰς πολυτελεστάτας τροφὰς συντάττουσι τοῖς θεραπείας δεομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὀφελίμους. πολὺ δ’ ἂν ἔργον εἴη τὸ λέγειν ὡς ἀπὸ τούτων χρήσιμα· ἡ τε γὰρ τοῦ Μενάνδρου μίμησις ἀπαντὸς ἢδους καὶ χάριτος πᾶσαν ὑπερβέβληκε τὴν δεινότητα τῶν παλαιῶν κυμικῶν, ἡ τε Εὐριπίδου προσήνεια καὶ πιθανότητα τοῦ μὲν τραγικοῦ ἀπαθανατισμοῦ καὶ ἀξιώματος τυχὸν οὐκ ἂν τελέως ἐφικνοῦτο, πολιτικῶ δὲ ἀνδρὶ πάνυ ὀφελίμος, ἐτὶ δὲ ἥθη καὶ πάθη δεινὸς πληρώσαι, καὶ γνώμας πρὸς ἀπαντὰ ὀφελίμους καταμίγνυσι τοῖς ποιήμασιν, ἄτε φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπειρος ὡν.

8 "Ομορος δὲ καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μέσος καὶ ύστατος, παντὶ παιδί καὶ ἄνδρι καὶ γέροντι τοσοῦτον ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ διδοῦς ὅσον ἐκαστὸς δύναται λαβεῖν. μέλη

1 ἀλλὰ δι’ added by Emperius.
2 ἀναγιγνώσκειν Valesius: γιγανώσκειν UM, γιγανώσκειν B.

1 Cf. Longinus, De Sublim. 16. 3: "Moreover the poet in his oath does not make divinities of the men—οὐχὶ ἀπαθανατὶς.
EIGHTEEN DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING

So let us consider the poets: I would counsel you to read Menander of the writers of Comedy quite carefully, and Euripides of the writers of Tragedy, and to do so, not casually by reading them to yourself, but by having them read to you by others, preferably by men who know how to render the lines pleasurably, but at any rate so as not to offend. For the effect is enhanced when one is relieved of the preoccupation of reading. And let no one of the more 'advanced' critics chide me for selecting Menander's plays in preference to the Old Comedy, or Euripides in preference to the early writers of Tragedy. For physicians do not prescribe the most costly diet for their patients, but that which is salutary. Now it would be a long task to enumerate all the advantages to be derived from these writers; indeed, not only has Menander's portrayal of every character and every charming trait surpassed all the skill of the early writers of Comedy, but the suavity and plausibility of Euripides, while perhaps not completely attaining to the grandeur of the tragic poet{1} way of deifying his characters, or to his high dignity, are very useful for the man in public life; and furthermore, he cleverly fills his plays with an abundance of characters and moving incidents, and strews them with maxims useful on all occasions, since he was not without acquaintance with philosophy.²

But Homer comes first and in the middle and last, in that he gives of himself to every boy and adult and old man just as much as each of them can take.

² Quintilian (Instituto Oratoria 10. 1. 68–70) also gives the preference to Euripides and Menander, and for the same reasons.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

dè kai ἐλεγεία καὶ ἵμμικοι καὶ διθύραμβοι τῷ μὲν σχολῆν ἄγοντι πολλοῦ ἄξια· τῷ δὲ πράττειν τε καὶ ἀμα τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐξεῖν διανοούμενως οὖκ ἂν εἴη πρὸς αὐτὰ σχολὴ. τοῖς δὲ ἰστορικοῖς διὰ πολλὰ ἀνάγικη τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐνυγχάνειν, ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τῶν λόγων τὸ ἐμπειρόν εἶναι πράξεων καὶ ἐνυγχῶν καὶ δυστυχῶν οὐ κατὰ λόγον μόνον, ἀλλὰ εἰς τοῖς καὶ παρὰ λόγων ἀνδράσι τε καὶ πόλεσι συμβαίνουσῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν προαιρουμένων. ὁ γὰρ πλέοστα ἐστέρως συμβάντα ἐπιστάμενος ἁριστά οἷς αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρεῖ διαπράζεται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων ἀσφάλῶς, καὶ οὔτε εὐ πράττων παρὰ μέτρον ἑπαρθήσεται, δυσπραγίαν τε πάσαν οὐσεὶ γενναίως διὰ τὸ μηδὲ ἐν οἷς εὐ ἐπράττεν ἀνενόητος εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβολῆς.

10 Ἡροδότῳ μὲν οὖν, εἰ ποτε εὐφροσύνης σου δεῖ,1 μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐντεῦθεν· τὸ γὰρ ἀνεμένου καὶ τὸ γλυκὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέξει μυθώδεις μᾶλλον ἡ ἰστορικῶν τὸ σύγγραμμα εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἄκρων Θουκυδίδης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων Θεόπομπος. καὶ γὰρ ῥητορικῶν τι περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν λόγων ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατος οὐδὲ ὀλίγωρος 2 περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, καὶ τὸ βάθυμον περὶ τῶς λέξεως οὐχ οὐτῳ φαύλον

1 εὐφροσύνης σου δεῖ Geel: εὐφροσύνης οἱ M, ἔφορον σοι U, σύμφορον σοι B.
2 ὀλίγωρος Reiske: ὀλίγος BM, ὁ λόγος U.

1 Cf. Aristotle, Poetics 1452 a 21.
2 Theopompus of Chios, born about 378 B.C., attended the
EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING

Lyric and elegiac poetry too, and iambics and dithyrambs are very valuable for the man of leisure, but the man who intends to have a public career and at the same time to increase the scope of his activities and the effectiveness of his oratory, will have no time for them. But the historians for many reasons the statesman must read attentively, because, even apart from the speeches they contain, it is most essential that the statesman, the man who chooses to conduct public affairs, should be acquainted with measures and successes and failures, which happen not only in accordance with reasonable expectation, but also at times contrary thereto, to both men and states. And the reason for this statement is that it is the man with the widest knowledge of what has happened to others who will best carry out his own undertakings, and, so far as it is possible, safely, who will not be unduly elated in the hour of success, while every reverse he will bear nobly because of the fact that even in his successes he was never unaware of the possibility of a change to the opposite fortune.¹

As for Herodotus, if ever you want real enjoyment, you will read him when quite at your ease, for the easy-going manner and charm of his narrative will give the impression that his work deals with stories rather than with actual history. But among the foremost historians I place Thucydides, and among those of second rank Theopompos;² for not only is there a rhetorical quality in the narrative portion of his speeches, but he is not without eloquence nor negligent in expression, and the slovenliness of his diction is school of rhetoric which Isocrates opened on that island. None of his works has come down to us.
DIO CHRYSOCTOM

ὅστε σε λυπῆσαι. Ἄφορος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ὑπτιόν καὶ ἀνειμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοι οὐκ ἐπιτῆδειον.

11 Τῶν γε μήν ῥητόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους τίς οὐκ ἐπισταται, Δημοσθένην μὲν δυνάμει τε ἄπαγγελιάς καὶ δεινότητι διανοίας καὶ πλῆθει λόγων πάντας τοὺς ῥήτορας ὑπερβεβληκότα, Λυσίαν δὲ βραχύτητι καὶ ἀπλότητι καὶ συνεχεία διανοίας καὶ τῷ λεληθέναι τὴν δεινότητα; πλὴν οὖν ἂν ἐγὼ σοι συμβουλεύσαμι τὰ πολλα ποιότοις ἐνυγχάνει, ἀλλ’ Ἡπερείδη τε μᾶλλον καὶ Λασχύν’ τούτων γὰρ ἀπλοῦστερᾳ τε αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ εὐληπτοτερᾳ αἱ κατασκευαὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀνομάτων οὕδεν ἔκεινων λειπόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡπαφροτέρῳ τούτων ὀντὶ καὶ ἐμφαίωντι τις ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπλότητα καὶ γενναιότητα τοῦ τρόπου.

12 Ἔνταῦθα δὴ φημὶ δεῖν, καί 1 εἰ τις ἐνυγχῶν τῇ παρανέσει τῶν πάνω ἀκριβῶν αἰτιάσεται, μηδὲ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ ὁλίγων πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπελώρως ἔχειν, λέγω δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντιπατρον καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Πλουτίωνα καὶ Κόνωνα καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην

1 καὶ Arnim: καὶ.

1 Ephorus, born between 408 and 405 B.C. at Cymé in Asia Minor, was also a pupil of Isocrates.
2 Not the legendary lawgiver of Sparta, but one of the ten Attic Orators. One of his speeches is extant.
3 Lucian (Lexiphanes 23) gives the opposite advice.
4 Antipater, a rival of Theodorus of Gadara, was perhaps identical with Antipater of Damascus, the father of the historian Nicolaus, born 64 B.C.
5 Theodorus of Gadara, eminent rhetorician in the age of Augustus. Tiberius during his retirement at Rhodes was one of his hearers.

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not so bad as to offend you. As for Ephorus,\(^1\) while he hands down to us a great deal of information about events, yet the tediousness and carelessness of his narrative style would not suit your purpose.

When it comes to the orators, however, who does not know which are the best—Demosthenes for the vigour of his style, the impressiveness of his thought, and the copiousness of his vocabulary, qualities in which he surpasses all other orators; and Lysias for his brevity, the simplicity and coherence of his thought, and for his well concealed cleverness. However, I should not advise you to read these two chiefly, but Hypereides rather and Aeschines; for the faculties in which they excel are simpler, their rhetorical embellishments are easier to grasp, and the beauty of their diction is not one whit inferior to that of the two who are ranked first. But I should advise you to read Lycurgus\(^2\) as well, since he has a lighter touch than those others and reveals a certain simplicity and nobility of character in his speeches.

At this point I say it is advisable—even if some one, after reading my recommendation of the consummate masters of oratory, is going to find fault—also not to remain unacquainted with the more recent orators, those who lived a little before our time;\(^3\) I refer to the works of such men as Antipater,\(^4\) Theodorus,\(^5\) Plution,\(^6\) and Conon,\(^7\) and to similar

\(^6\) Plution, mentioned also by Seneca and by Eusebius, who calls him a celebrated teacher of rhetoric.

\(^7\) Conon, perhaps the grammarian of the age of Augustus. He was the author of a work entitled διηγήματα (Narratives), addressed to Archelaus Philopater, king of Cappadocia. An epitome of the work is preserved in the Bibliotheca of Photius, who praises his Attic style.
DIO CHRYSEOSTOM

ὑλη. αἱ γὰρ τούτων δυνάμεις καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν εἶνεν ἡμῖν ὑφέλιμοι, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἐνυγχάνοιμεν αὐτοῖς δεδουλωμένου τὴν γνώμην, ὡσπερ τὸις παλαιοῖς. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ δύνασθαι τι τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτιάσασθαι μάλιστα θαρροῦμεν πρὸς τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἤδιον τις παραβάλλει αὐτὸν ὃ πείθεται συγρινόμενος οὐ καταδεέστερος, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ βέλτιων ἂν ἡ φαύνεσθαι.

Τρέφομαι δὲ ἡδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικοὺς, οὓς δὲ ἀναγκαιοτάτους εἰναὶ φήμι παντὶ ἀνδρὶ λόγων ἐφιεμένω. ὡσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄψιν ἄνευ ἄλων γεύσει κεχαρισμένων, οὕτως 3 οὐδὲν εἶδος ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀκοῇ προσημεῖ ἃν γενέσθαι χάριτος Σωκρατικῆς ἀμορφοῦ.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους μακρὸν ἂν εἶη ἔργον ἑπανείν καὶ ἐνυγχάνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ τυχόν. 14 Ἐνοφῶντα δὲ ἐγωγεῖ ἡγοῦμαι ἀνδρὶ πολιτικῷ καὶ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἑξαρκεῖν δύνασθαι εἰτε ἐν πολέμῳ τις στρατηγῶν εἰτε πόλεως ἀφηγούμενος, εἰτε ἐν δήμῳ λέγων εἰτε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ, εἰτε καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μὴ ὃς ρήτωρ ἐθέλοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς πολιτικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς ἀνὴρ τὰ τῷ τουούτῳ προσήκοντα ἐν δίκη εἰπεῖν πάντων ἀριστος ἐμοὶ δοκεὶ 4 καὶ λυσιτελέστατος πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα Ἐνοφῶν. τὰ τε γὰρ διανοήματα

1 ἡμεῖς Cohoon: ἦ BM, ἦ U.
2 ἕν added by Arnim.
3 Arnim would add λόγων after οὕτως, unnecessarily.
4 δοκεῖ added by Emporius.
EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING

material. For the powers they display can be more useful to us because, when we read them, our judgment is not fettered and enslaved, as it is when we approach the ancients. For when we find that we are able to criticize what was been said, we are most encouraged to attempt the same things ourselves, and we find more pleasure in comparing ourselves with others when we are convinced that in the comparison we should be found to be not inferior to them, with the chance, occasionally, of being even superior.

I shall now turn to the Socrates,¹ writers who, I affirm, are quite indispensible to every man who aspires to become an orator. For just as no meat without salt will be gratifying to the taste, so no branch of literature, as it seems to me, could possibly be pleasing to the ear if it lacked the Socratic grace.

It would be a long task to eulogize the others; even to read them is no light thing. But it is my own opinion that Xenophon, and he alone of the ancients, can satisfy all the requirements of a man in public life. Whether one is commanding an army in time of war, or is guiding the affairs of a state, or is addressing a popular assembly or a senate, or even if he were addressing a court of law and desired, not as a professional master of eloquence merely, but as a statesman or a royal prince, to utter sentiments appropriate to such a character at the bar of justice, the best exemplar of all, it seems to me, and the most profitable for all these purposes is Xenophon. For not only

¹ By the Socrates Dio means those writers, such as Plato and Xenophon, who came under the personal influence of Socrates.
σαφῆ καὶ ἀπλὰ καὶ παντὶ ῥᾴδια φαινόμενα, τὸ
tε εἴδος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας προσηνέκαὶ κεχαρισ-
μένου καὶ πειστικοῦ, πολλὴν μὲν ἔχον πεθανότητα,
pολλὴν δὲ χάριν καὶ ἐπιβολὴν, ὥστε μη λόγων
dεινοτητὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γοητεία ἑσεῖκεν τὴν
dύναμιν. εἰ γοῦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτοῦ τῇ περὶ
tῆς Ἀνάβασιν πραγματείαν σφόδρα ἐπιμελῶς
ἐντυγχαίνῃ, οὐδένα λόγον εὐρήσεις τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ
λεχθῶν δυσηθομένων, ὅν 1 οὐ διείληπται καὶ
κανόνος ἂν τρόπον ὑπάσχοι τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀπευθύνῃ η ἡ μυθισταθεὶ βουλομένω. εἰτε γὰρ
θαρρῶν χεῖρας καταπεπτωκότας χρήσι-
μον πολιτικῆ άνδρὶ, καὶ πολλάκις ἡ χρῆ τοῦτο
ποιεῖν δείκνυσιν εἰτὲ προτρέψαι καὶ παρακαλέ-
σαι, οὕτως Ἐλληνικῆς φωνῆς ἐπαίνων ὧν ἂν
ἐπαρθείν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς Ἐνορφῶντος λόγοις:
ἔμοι γοῦν κινεῖται ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐνίοτε διακρῖν
μεταξὺ τοσούτων 2 τῶν ἔργων τοῖς λόγοις ἐντυγ-
χάνων εἰτε μέγα φρονοῦσι καὶ ἐπηρεμένοις
ὀμλησὶ φρονίμως καὶ μήτῃ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν
dυσχερανάτων μήτε ἀπερπῶς δουλώσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ
dιάνοιαν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνους κεχαρισμένον ἐκ παντὸς
ποιήσαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔνεστιν. καὶ ἀπορρήτους δὲ
λόγους ὡς προσήκει κρῆσασθαι καὶ πρὸς στρατη-
γοῦς ἀνευ πλῆθους καὶ πρὸς πλῆθος κατὰ 3 ταῦ-
tό, καὶ βασιλικῶς τίνα 4 τρόπον διαλεγόμεναι, καὶ
ἐξαπατῆσαι ὅπως πολεμίους μὲν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ
φίλους δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι, καὶ μᾶτην ταραττο-

1 όν Reiske: ὁς.
2 τοσούτων τῶν Cohoon: τοσούτων τῶν M, τοσούτων U.
3 von Arnim inserts οὗ before κατά, wrongly.
4 τίνα Emperius: τίνα.
are his ideas clear and simple and easy for everyone to grasp, but the character of his narrative style is attractive, pleasing, and convincing, being in a high degree true to life in the representation of character, with much charm also and effectiveness, so that his power suggests not cleverness but actual wizardry. If, for instance, you should be willing to read his work on the March Inland very carefully, you will find no speech, such as you will one day possess the ability to make, whose subject matter he has not dealt with and can offer as a kind of norm to any man who wishes to steer his course by him or imitate him. If it is needful for the statesman to encourage those who are in the depths of despondency, time and again our writer shows how to do this; or if the need is to incite and exhort, no one who understands the Greek language could fail to be aroused by Xenophon's hortatory speeches. My own heart, at any rate, is deeply moved and at times I weep even as I read his account of all those deeds of valour. Or, if it is necessary to deal prudently with those who are proud and conceited and to avoid, on the one hand, being affected in any way by their displeasure, or, on the other, enslaving one's own spirit to them in unseemly fashion and doing their will in everything, guidance in this also is to be found in him. And also how to hold secret conferences both with generals apart from the common soldiers and with the soldiers in the same way; the proper manner of conversing with kings and princes; how to deceive enemies to their hurt and friends for their own benefit; how to tell the plain truth to

1 i.e. apart from the generals. Von Arnim's insertion of the negative shows a misunderstanding of the thought.
μένοις ἀλύπως τάληθες καὶ πιστῶς εἶπεν, καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι, καὶ οἱς ἐξαιτατῶσι οἱ ὑπερέχοντες καὶ οἱς καταστρατη-
γοῦσι καὶ καταστρατηγούσι τοῖς ἄνδρωποι, πάντα ταῦτα ἐκανὼς τὸ σύνταγμα περιέχει. ἂτε γὰρ,
οἵμα, μυγνὺς τοῖς πράξει τοὺς λόγους, οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς παραλαβὼν οὐδὲ μιμησάμενος, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς
πράξας ἀμα καὶ εἰπὼν, πυθανωτάτους ἐποίησεν ἐν ἀπασὶ τοῖς συντάγμασι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μᾶλλον,
οὐ ἐπιμηθεῖες ἐτύγχανον. καὶ εἰδ’ ὑσθι, οὐδένα
σοι τρόπον μεταμελήσῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βουλῇ καὶ
ἐν δήμῳ δρέγοντος σοι χείρα αἰσθήσῃ τοῦ ἄνδρός,
ei αὐτῷ προβῆμας καὶ φιλοτίμος ἐντυγχάνοις.

18 Γράφειν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἑαυτῷ ἄλλ’ ἢ σφόδρα ἀραῖος, ἐπισιδόναι δὲ μᾶλλον. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότερος 1 τῷ λέγοντι ὁ ὑπαγορεύων
tοῦ γράφοντος, ἐπειτα ἐλάττων πόνω γίγνεται,
ἐπειτα πρὸς δύναμιν μὲν ἦττον συλλαμβάνει τοῦ
γράφειν, πρὸς ἐξ’ δὲ πλεῖον. καὶ γράφειν δὲ
οὐ ταύτα σε ἁξίῳ τὰ σχολικὰ πλάσματα, ἀλλ’,
eἰπερ ἁρα, τινὰ τῶν λόγων, οἷς ἐν ἡσθῆσ ς ἐντυγχά-
νων, μάλιστα τῶν Ξενοφωντέων, ἡ ἀντιλέγοντα
tοῖς εἰρημένοις ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ ἑτερον τρόπον ὑπο-
βάλλοντα. καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεις μέντοι, εἰ σοι βίδων
μεμνῆσθαι, τὰ ἐκείνων ἁμείνον. τῶ τε γὰρ

1 ὁμοιότερος Reiske: ἐτοιμότερος.

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1 That is, the Anabasis or Journey Inland. It is strange that Dio does not also mention Xenophon’s Cyropaedia.
2 So Rhys Roberts renders δύναμιν in his list of rhetorical terms used in literary criticism.

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those who are needlessly disturbed without giving offence, and to make them believe it; how not to trust too readily those in authority over you, and the means by which such persons deceive their inferiors, and the way in which men outwit and are outwitted—on all these points Xenophon's treatise gives adequate information. For I imagine that it is because he combines deeds with words, because he did not learn by hearsay nor by copying, but by doing deeds himself as well as telling of them, that he made his speeches most convincingly true to life in all his works and especially in this one which I chanced to mention. And be well assured that you will have no occasion to repent, but that both in the senate and before the people you will find this great man reaching out a hand to you if you earnestly and diligently read him.

Writing, however, I do not advise you to engage in with your own hand, or only very rarely, but rather to dictate to a secretary. For, in the first place, the one who utters his thoughts aloud is more nearly in the mood of a man addressing an audience than is one who writes, and, in the second place, less labour is involved. Again, while it contributes less to effectiveness in delivery than writing does, it contributes more to your habit of readiness. But when you do write, I do not think it best for you to write these made-up school exercises; yet if you must write, take one of the speeches that you enjoy reading, preferably one of Xenophon's, and either oppose what he said, or advance the same arguments in a different way. And yet repeating what his speeches contain is better still if you have a good memory for it. For this makes one thoroughly
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

τρόπῳ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν διανοημάτων πάνω συνήθεις ποιεῖ. λέγω δὲ οὗ ἢνα σύνταγμα τί οἶλον, ὥσπερ οἱ παιδεῖς, εἰρων συνάπτης, ἀλλ᾽ ἢνα, εἰ τί σοι σφόδρα ἄρεσει, τούτο κατάσχης. πλείοντα περὶ τούτου μειρακίω ἅν ἔγραψα, σοι δὲ ἄρκει τοσαῦτα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἑλάχιστον ἀναλάβοι, πολὺ ὀνήσει· καὶ εἰ δυσκό- λως ἔχωι καὶ μετὰ ὀδύνης πράττοις, οὐκ εἴ ἀπαντος ἄναγκαιον.

20 Ἀλλὰ ἑοικα μὲν πάνω μηκόναι τὴν συμβουλίαν· σοὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναπείσας καὶ προκαλεσάμενος· ὥσπερ οἰ ἐν πάλη ὑπερέχοντες τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ὑπείκοντες ένιοτε ἐποίησαν 1 αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι ὑσχυροτέρους εἶναι· καὶ σοὶ ἑοικας, ἃ κρείττον τυγχάνεις εἰδώς, ἐμὲ προτρέψαι ὡς ἔλαττον ἐπισταμένῳ γράφαι. βουλοίμην δ᾽ ἂν, εἰ σοι κεχαρισμένον εἰνη, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ποτε ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, ἢν καὶ ἑντυγχάνοντες τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν χρήσιμοι τι γενοίμεθα. 2

21 ὥσπερ τοῖς ζωγράφοις καὶ πλάσταις οὐκ ἀπόχρη εἵπειν ὅτι δεῖ τουάδε τὰ 3 χρώματα εἶναι καὶ τουάδε τὰς γραμμὰς, ἀλλὰ μεγίστη ὑφέλεια, εἰ τις αὐτοὺς ἡ γράφωτας ἡ πλάττοντας ἦδοι· καὶ ὡς τοῖς παιδοστρίβαις οὐκ ἄρκει εἵπειν τὰ παλαίσματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι ἀνάγκη τῷ μαθη- σομένῳ· οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συμβουλίαις

1 ἐποίησαν Emperius: ἀνέπεισαν UB, ἂν ἐπεισαν M.
2 γενοίμεθα Emperius: ἐγενόμεθα.
3 τὰ added by Pfugk.
familiar with both the way he expresses his thoughts and the accuracy with which his thoughts are conceived. I say this, not to encourage you to string together line for line an entire treatise, as schoolboys do, but that you may thoroughly master anything that happens to please you especially. I should have written at great length about this to a lad, but for you, thus much is sufficient. For if you call to memory only very small portions, you will derive great benefit; whereas if you should feel disinclined and find the effort painful, this work is not absolutely necessary.

Well, I seem to have extended my advice to great length, but you yourself are to blame for that by persuading and challenging me. Just as expert wrestlers sometimes give way to those who are weaker and make them believe that they are stronger, so you seem to have led me on to write and tell what you, as it happens, know better yourself, just as if you did not know it so well. But I should prefer, if it proved agreeable to you, that we should get together some time and by reading the ancient writers and discussing them render some service to each other. Just as it is not enough to say to painters and to sculptors that their colours should be just so and that their lines should be just so, but they derive the greatest help if the critic can see them at work, painting or modelling; and just as it is not sufficient for the gymnastic masters to name the different holds in wrestling, but they must go on and demonstrate them to the youth who wishes to learn: so too in consultations like this, the help

1 Dio has in mind the young artists who need criticism and instruction; and so it is the youth who are trained in wrestling.
DIO CHRYSOStOM

πλείων ἡ ωφελεία γίνοντ' ἂν, εἰ τις αὐτῶν πράττοντα ἢδοι τὸν συμβεβουλευκότα. ὡς ἔγγυς, καὶ εἰ ἀναγγειλόντος μὲ δέοι σοὶ ἀκρωμένου, τῆς σῆς ἐνεκα ωφελείας οὐκ ἂν ὁκνήσαιμι, στέργων τέ σε καὶ τῆς σῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀγάμενος καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ τιμῆς χάριν εἰδώς.
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would be greater if one were to see the man who has given the advice in action himself. I declare for my part that even if I had to read aloud to you while you listened, for the sake of helping you I should not hesitate, since I both love you and admire you for your ambition, and am grateful for the honour you have shown me.
THE NINETEENTH DISCOURSE:
ON THE AUTHOR'S FONDNESS FOR LISTENING TO MUSIC, THE DRAMA, AND ORATORY

In this fragment Dio relates an incident which occurred during his exile. He had come to Cyzicus to meet some friends and fellow-townsmen who evidently wished him to deliver an address in which he should tell the story of his wanderings; but he was saved from doing so by the arrival of a bard who drew the attention of all, Dio included, to himself. Then he speaks of the great pleasure he gets in listening to those who sing and play the lyre and to actors. This leads him to refer to the state of Comedy and Tragedy in his day. At this point the Discourse as we have it breaks off, and we can only conjecture as to what was the subject of the Discourse proper. Possibly Dio went on to speak in detail of music or of the drama.

This pleasing introduction to his main subject reminds us of the seventh Discourse, in vol. I., where Dio tells of his experience with the hunters of Euboea in order to secure our attention to what follows.
DIO CHrysostOM

'Επει γὰρ ἦκεν δ' ἀριστός τῶν νῦν κιθαριστῶν, ὡς δ' ἐνιοί φασὶν, οὐδὲ τῶν πρῶτον οὐδὲνος εὐδεέστερος, ἀλλ' οὖδὲ Ἁρίωνος τοῦ ἐκ 1 πελάγους, μαντευόμενοι δὴλον ὅτι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἰδεῖεν τὸ σαφὲς οὐκ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι; ὡς δ' οὖν τάχιστα ἤσθοντο ἐπιδημοῦντα τῶν άνδρα, εὐθὺς καὶ σπουδῆ ἄμήχανος καὶ πάντες ἐβάδιζον εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον.

3 ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐξείναι νομίζων καὶ ἦμων ἀκούσαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν οὕτω καλῆς εὐωχίας ἐν ἀνθρώπως τρισχιλίως καὶ πλείστως, ἤκουν ἐν πρῶτοις πάνω θαρρῶν. εἰμὶ δὲ φιλήκος καὶ φιλόμουσος ἀτεχνῶς, οὐ πάνω ἐμπειρὸς ὃν μουσικής ἠστε εἴπερ ἔπειν γεγονὼς κατὰ ταῦταν ὁΡφεῖ, δοκῶ μοι, πρῶτος ἂν ἐπηκολουθοῦν, εἰ καὶ ἔδει μετὰ νεβρῶν τινων ἡ μόσχων, οὐδὲν αἰδούμενος ἐπελεῖ καὶ νῦν ταῦτα τοῦτο πάσχω πολλάκις, ἐπειδὰν εἰσαφίκωμαι σοφιστοῖς, διὰ τὴν προσοχήν μοι ἀκρασίαν 2 περὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ μετὰ τοιούτων συναγελάζομαι θρεμμάτων, ὁραίων καὶ καλῶν, ἄλλως δὲ θορυβοῦντων καὶ σκιρτῶν προθυμομένων.

4 Τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθα πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς τε καὶ θητορας ἀπαντας σχεδόν. καθάπερ οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ τοὺς μετρίως ευπόρους μακαρίζουσι διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄπορίαν κάγῳ τοὺς ἀμηγέτη δυνατοὺς λέγειν θαυμάζω καὶ ἀγαπῶ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸς ἀδύνατος

1 τοῦ ἐκ Reiske: ἐκ τοῦ.
2 ἀκρασίαν Casaubon: ἀκράσιαν UB, ἀκράσιαν M.

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NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON MUSIC

For there came to Cyzicus a bard who, as some assert, is the best of those of this time and in fact a man inferior not even to any of the great bards of the past, nay not even to Arion, who was saved from the sea—they must evidently have judged by divination, for how else could they be sure when they had not heard that famous bard of old?—and as soon as they learned that the man was in town, straightway tremendous interest was aroused and all the people began to wend their way to the senate house. So I too, thinking that I also might listen and thus enjoy a share in such a splendid entertainment, as one of the throng of three thousand and more, arrived among the first, very expectant indeed. I am fond of indulging my ears and absolutely devoted to music, although I have no great skill myself in it; so that, if it had been my fortune to live in Orpheus’ time, I fancy that I should have been the first one to follow in his train, even though I should have been obliged to mingle with a drove of fawns and calves; and I should have felt no shame. For even now I am often affected as they were, whenever I attend a sophist’s lecture, on account of the uncontrolled craving which possesses me for the spoken word; and so I herd with the sort of creatures I have mentioned, graceful and beautiful, to be sure, but yet noisy and eager for a chance to kick up their heels.

And this is the way I have nearly always been affected when listening to sophists and orators. Just as beggars on account of their own destitution envy the moderately well-to-do, so I admire and applaud those who are in any way at all proficient in speech, because I myself am lacking in such
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΩΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐίναι λέγειν. τὸ μέντοι τῶν κιθαρώδῶν τε καὶ
νὴ Δία τῶν ὑποκριτῶν οὐ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον μοι δοκεῖ
διαφέρειν πρὸς ἴδινὴν. ἦ τε γὰρ φωνὴ μείζων
καὶ δῆλον ὧτι ἐμμελεστέρα, ἦ τε λέξεις 3 οὐκ
αὐτοσκέδιος, ὡσπερ ἦ τῶν ρητόρων ἐξ ὑπογύνου
τὰ πολλὰ πειρωμένων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ποιητῶν ἐπι-
5 μελῶς καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν πεποιηκότων. καὶ τὰ
γε 4 πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἀρχαία ἐστὶ καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρων
ἀνδρῶν ἦ τῶν νῦν. τὰ μὲν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἄπαντα,
τῆς δὲ πραγματίας τὰ μὲν ἱσχυρά, ὡς έοικε, μένει-
λέγω δὲ τὰ ἱαμβεία, καὶ τούτων μέρη διεξάγω
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις· τὰ δὲ μαλακώτερα ἐξερρήκε,καὶ
τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη· οὐσπερ, οἷς, τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τῶν παλαιῶν ὡς μὲν ἐστὶ στερεὰ τοῦ σώματος
ὑπομένει τῷ χρόνῳ, τὰ τε ὅστα καὶ οἱ μύες, τάλλα

1 ἦ added by Emperius.
2 ἐμμελεστέρα Wilamowitz : ἐπιμελεστέρα.
3 λέξεις Reiske, ἔξις BM, ἔξις U.
4 γε Reiske : τε.

1 Dio means that when a comedy of earlier times was presented, every part of it was played—the choral or lyrical parts as well as the dialogue—but that in giving a tragedy they dispensed with the chorus and the lyrical parts which it sang, and that even some of the dialogue was omitted. In this way those tragedies of an earlier time were adapted to the taste of Dio's time and made similar to tragedies written then.

At first the songs of the chorus had been integral parts of the tragedy. The chorus itself played the part of an actor. But after Aeschylus introduced a second actor, the chorus became less important; and still less so when Sophocles introduced a
proficiency. But I must say that the performance of those who sing to the harp, aye, and of the actors too, seems to me in no small degree superior in the pleasure it gives. For their voices are louder and undoubtedly better modulated, while their language is not extempore like that of the orators, who generally try to speak without preparation; but poets have composed painstakingly and at their leisure. And the most of what they give us comes from ancient times, and from much wiser men than those of the present. In the case of comedy everything is kept; in the case of tragedy only the strong parts, it would seem, remain—I mean the iambics, and portions of these they still give in our theatres—but the more delicate parts have fallen away, that is, the lyric parts.¹ I might illustrate by the case of old men: all the firm parts of the body resist the ravages of time, namely, the bones and the third actor. Then Euripides showed a tendency to write the choral parts as separate songs, but nevertheless they are more or less relevant to the action of the play. It remained for Agathon, born about 446 B.C., to make the chorus sing musical interludes which had no connection with the subject-matter of the tragedy (see Aristotle, Poetics 1456 a). And later the tragic chorus was often, and then usually, dropped altogether in stage performances. Official records as early as the third and second centuries B.C. attest to his. However, even in Dio’s time tragedies sometimes had a chorus.

In Comedy a regular chorus was kept down to at least the middle of the fourth century B.C., as statements of Aeschines and Aristotle and certain inscriptions go to show. Yet since in the plays of Menander (342–291 B.C.) which were found in Egypt in 1905 the lyric parts are omitted from the MS., and their position merely indicated by the word χορος (chorus), it seems probable that by his time the lyric or choral parts had already ceased to have any close connection with the development of the plot.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

dé ἐλάττω γίγνεται.1 οὐκοῦν τὰ σώματα ὀρᾶται τὰ τῶν παντελῶς γερόντων ἐνδεδωκότα καὶ λαγαρά· ὅσοι δ' αὖ παχεῖς γέροντες ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς, ἱσχυροὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς προσόντος ἐτι, πιμελῆς δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν σαρκῶν, ὑπραφεῖς δὴ ὀρῶνται καὶ νεώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς.2

1 γίγνεται Emperius: τείνεται.
2 Selden believed a good deal was lacking at the end.
muscles; but everything else shrivels up. This is the reason that the bodies of extremely old men are seen to be wasted and shrunken, whereas all those old men who are corpulent because of their wealth and luxury, although they have no strength left but only fat instead of flesh, do seem well nourished and younger to the great majority.¹

¹ The cause of the corpulence of some old men has nothing corresponding to it in Tragedy, so that here Dio is wandering from his subject—a thing which he himself more than once admits that he is prone to do.
THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE:
ON RETIREMENT

Here Dio discusses the real meaning of 'retirement.' It does not consist in going away somewhere to avoid a duty or a danger, or even to get freedom from distraction. To retire in the true sense is to fix one's mind upon the things that truly matter and to disregard trivial things and distractions from without. Retirement from the haunts of men merely affords foolish and wicked men an opportunity to give themselves up to their foolish and wicked thoughts and to plan how they may make their imaginings come true. Nothing is said of the good use to which the good may put such retirement. The similarities between this Discourse and Seneca's fifty-sixth Letter led E. Weber (De Dione Chrysostomo Cynicorum Sectatore, p. 126) to the conclusion that Dio and Seneca drew from a common Stoic or Cynic source.

Von Arnim, who maintains that Dio, with the disappearance of his anti-monarchical feelings, dropped the use of the word μόναρχοι ('monarchs'), which occurs in § 24, would place this Discourse in the reign of Domitian. We may be sure at any rate that it was not written in Dio's youth, when he was a sophist.
20. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΕΩΣ

Τι γάρ ποτε το τῆς άναχωρήσεως ἐστι καὶ τίνας Χρῆ τιθέναι τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας; ἃρα γε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἑργῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ πράξεων ἀφισταμένους, τούτους χρῆ φάσκειν ἀναχωρεῖν; οἷον εἰ τις Ἄθηναῖος ὄν, δεόν αὐτῶν στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Λακεδαίμονίων εἰσβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἡ Φιλίππου ἐπιόντος ἡ ἄλλων πολεμίων, οὗ δὲ ἀναχωρήσειν 1 εἰς Μεγαρα Ἡ Ἀγυιναν ἑνεκα τοῦ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν, οὗτος ἃν 2 ἀνακεχωρηκέναι λέγοιτο; ἡ εἰ τις συγνήν οὐσίαν κεκτημένος ἑνεκα τοῦ διαφιγεὶν 2 τὰς λειτουργίας ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως; ἡ εἰ τις ἰάσθαι τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἰκανὸς ὄν, καὶ φίλων δὴ καὶ ἐπιτηδείων αὐτῶ καμάντων, ὅπως μὴ κακοπαθῆ καὶ πράγματα ἐχὴ τούτων θεραπεύων, ἀπολύσαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποδημήσειν εἰς ἑτέρον τόπον, ἡ εἰ τις ἄλλος, ἐν πόλει δεόν ἐξετάζεσθαι

1 ἀναχωρήσειν Emperius: ἀναχωρήσει.
2 ἃν added by Emperius.

1 Compare Lycurgus, Against Leocrates 21 ff.
2 The λειτουργία was a public service which wealthy men of Athens, and of some other Greek states, were required to perform at their own expense in order to lighten the financial burdens of the state as such. At Athens there were both ordinary and extraordinary ones. Of the former kind the most important was the χορηγία, that is, paying the expense
THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE:
ON RETIREMENT

Just what, pray, is the meaning of the word 'retirement,' and whom should we define as men who are 'retiring'? Is it those who are giving up their proper tasks and activities of whom we should say that they are retiring? For example, if some one enjoying Athenian citizenship, when the obligation falls on him to serve in the field in defence of his country because the Spartans have invaded Attica, or Philip is attacking them, or some other enemy, should retire or withdraw to Megara or Aegina in order to avoid serving or risking his life, could this man be described as having retired? Of if some one who possesses a great fortune should for the sake of avoiding the public services required of the rich leave the city? Or if a man who is qualified to heal the sick, and then when the sick are friends and intimates of his, should abandon them and go on a visit to some other place in order to avoid catching the disease and the trouble of treating them? Or if somebody else, on being required to present himself for public of outfitting and training a chorus for one of the Athenian state festivals, in which were included the tragic contests and later, the presentations of comedies; next in importance was the τριηραρχία, which imposed the obligation to equip a trireme and to maintain it in service for a year.
καὶ αὐτῶν, ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχαῖς ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ φυλακάς των φιλάττειν, ἀγρυπνῶν μὴ βούλουτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τούτων ἀπηλλαγμένος ἀπάντων ἔσται καὶ μηδὲ εἰς αὐτῶν ἔξελεγξει 1 μηδὲ κωλύσει 2 πόνοντα καὶ καθεύδοντα καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντα, ἑτέρωσε ἀποχωροῦντοι—ἀρα τούτως ἀναχωρεῖν ῥητέον; ἀλλ' οὖν μὲν δῆλον ὅτι φεύγονσι τε καὶ ἄραπτενούσι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εὑρεῖ ὁ πρόφασις αὐτοῖς οὔτε οὔδε συγγνώμη τῆς τοιαύτης σχολῆς τε καὶ ἀποδράσεως.

3 Μὴ οὖν τούς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν οὗ προσηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς ἁσχολῶν ἀπίνοντας καὶ σχολήν τινα πορίζοντας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑνοξλούντων μάτην ῥητέον ὡς ἀναχωροῦντας. ἀλλ' οὖν μὲν, οὐ χὸς μεταβάς ἐκ πόλεως τινὸς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἢ ἐκ τόπου εἰς ἑτέρον τόπου ἀναχωρεῖν λέγοιτ' ἄν· ὅποι γὰρ ἂν ἀφίκηται, πολλὰ ἂν εὑρεῖ τὰ ἐμποδίαν αὐτῶν γιγνόμενα καὶ οὐκ ἑώντα τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄνωτα ναὶ καὶ τὸ πίνοντα ἢ κυβερνᾶν ἢ ἂλλα τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ ἀσμηφόρων πράττοντα διατελεῖν, πανταχοῦ τοιαύτα ἔστων, καὶ τὸ συνδιατρίβειν ἀεὶ τῷ ἐνυπόκοιται ἀδολεσχοῦντα καὶ ἀκοῦοντα λόγων οὔτεν χρησίμων ἢ περὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα διατρίβειν ἢ τὰ 3 τοῦ δεῖνος, ὡς ἔφη 4 τις. οὐ γὰρ ἔστων ἀνόητος τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς κύριος, ἀλλὰ βεβομένος τε καὶ ἀγόμενος βαδίσω ὑπὸ τῆς τυχοῦσης προφάσεως καὶ ὀμιλίας.

1 ἔξελεγξει Wilamowitz: ἔξελεγξη.
2 κωλύσει Wilamowitz: κωλύση.
3 τὰ Morel: τὸ.
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duty in the city along with the rest, should be unwilling to hold an office or assist those in office or do any service as guard which would necessitate his losing sleep, but in order to be rid of all these duties and not let even one man call him to account or hinder him from drinking and sleeping and loafing, should retire to some other place—should these men be described as 'retiring'? No, these men are evidently fleeing and deserting, and there can be no excuse for them or pardon for taking a vacation in this manner and running away.

It may be, then, that it is those who withdraw from unprofitable enterprises and time-consuming activities which do not properly concern them, and who get themselves some leisure from useless annoyances, that should be defined as 'retiring.' But if that is right, it is not the man who has moved from some city to another one or from one place to another that could be described as 'retiring.' For wherever he goes, there will be many things getting in his way and not allowing him to do the things which properly concern him. For the fact is that spending much time in somebody's company and in continual drinking, or dicing, or in doing some other harmful and unprofitable thing are practices to be met with everywhere — and wasting all one's time in palaver-ing with anyone you happen to meet, and in listening to talk that is utterly futile, or spending your time discoursing about the affairs of the Emperor or of what's his name, as some one has said. For the fool is not master of his own soul, but is whirled this way and that and is easily led by any chance pretext or association.

1 Cf. Lysias 16. 11 and Isocrates 15. 286 ff.
 Dio Chrysostom

"Ωστε οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι, καθάπερ οἱ άσωτοι τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο ἀποδοῦναι λόγον πρὸς ὅ τι ἁνηλώκασιν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν, φαίνεται δ’ ὁμως ἁνηλώμενα πάνυ συχνὰ χρήματα, οὐδὲ οὗτοι τοῦ χρόνου τε καὶ βίου δύναντ’ ἂν ἀποδοῦναι λόγον, πρὸς ὅ τι ἐκάστην ἥμεραν ἁνήλωσαν ἡ μῆνα ἡ ἐνιαυτὸν: φαίνεται δ’ οὐν παρὶν δ’ βίος καὶ δαπανῶμενος ὁ χρόνος, οὐκ ὀλγον ἄξιος τοῖς ἁνθρώποις οὐδὲ ἔπτονος, ἐμοὶ δοκείν, ἡ τὸ ἀργύριον. Αὐτὸν μᾶς δραχμὴν ἀπολογίην ἀνάγκη αἰσθέθαι καὶ δηηθῆναι ἀμηγέτη. εἰ δε καὶ πλείους τις ἐκβάλοι, οὐ πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἑπὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πράσις ἔχοντες. λέγω δ’ οὐν διὰ τῆν ἁμέλειαν λυτοῦμενοι καὶ δακνῶμενοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μῆ προσέχειν έφ’ οίς ἄξιον ἡν δάκνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλεία τῶν δραχμῶν. ἡμέρας δε ἐξελθοῦσης καὶ ἀπολογίης καὶ δύο καὶ πριῶν οὐδείς ἐστιν ὧς ἐφρόν-τισεν. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ μὲν δύνανται ἐκοεῖσθαι τὸ τοσοῦτον, ὅτι εἰ μῆ προσέξουσι μηδὲ φροντιοῦσι τῶν τοιούτων, λάθοι ἂν αὐτοὺς ή σύμπασα οὐσία διαρρεῖσα καὶ ἀπολογίης. ενταῦθα δε οὐ δύνανται ταῦτῳ τούτῳ λογίσοσθαι, ὡς εἰ μῆ προνοήσουσιν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ φυλάξουσι μῆ εἰκῇ προϊέναι, λάθοι ἂν αὐτοὺς δ’ σύμπασ βίος διαρρεῖς καὶ ἀπολογίαις.

"Αλλ’ ὅτι γε οὐ τόπος ἐστὶν δ’ παρέχων, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποδημησάι, τὸ μῆ μηθ’ ἀττα πράττειν, θηλοῦν, οὐδὲ

1 ἐκβάλοι Emperius: ἐκβάλλοι Venetian edition, ἐκβάλη Μ, ἐκβάλη UB.
2 δύνανται Morel: δύνανται.
3 τοσοῦτον Capps: τοιοῦτον.
4 δηλον added by Cohoon.

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Consequently the majority of men are just like spendthrifts, who would be unable to render an accounting for the money they have spent, explaining what they have spent each several item for, although enormous sums have clearly been expended: so neither could these men render an accounting for their time and their past life, nor explain for what they have spent each day, or month, or year, although life is clearly passing by and time being spent, this being of no little value to man, of no less value to him, in my opinion, than money. But all the same, when one drachma has been lost, the man cannot help noticing it and being in some way distressed; and if a person loses several, there are not many who remain undisturbed by such a matter. I do not mean that they are pained and hurt because of their carelessness and because they failed to give heed to avoid such conduct as should properly have hurt them, but simply at the loss of the drachmas. But when a day is gone and lost, or two or three of them, there is no one who gives that a thought! Yet in the one case they are able to reckon thus much: that if they fail to give heed and take thought of such matters, all their property may slip away and be lost without their noticing it. But in the matter we are now discussing, men are not able to apply the same method of reckoning in order to reach the same conclusions, to wit, that if they do not take thought for each day and watch lest they aimlessly throw it away, their whole life may slip away and be lost before they know it.

But clearly it is not the place where you are nor this going abroad that affords an escape from doing sundry trivial things, nor is it even one's having
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eἰς Κόρινθον ἡ Θῆβας ἀνακεχωρηκέναι, τὸ δὲ τὸν
βουλόμενον πρὸς αὐτῷ εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Θῆβαις
καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ πανταχοῦ σχέδουν οὗ τις ἂν
ἀπέλθῃ 1 τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔνεστι τὸ
τε ἀργεῖν καὶ τῷ ῥαβδεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπορῆσει
προφάσεως, ὡσποῦ ἂν τύχῃ ἂν, δὴ ἢν βλακεύων
tε καὶ ἀσχολούμενος ἀναλώσει καὶ πάνω πολὺν
8 χρόνον, ἂν οὐτως τύχῃ. μὴ οὖν βελτίστῃ καὶ
λυσιτελεστάτῃ πασῶν ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναχώρησις καὶ
τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν, εάν τ' ἐν
Βαβυλῶνι τύχη τις ὡς ἐάν τ' Ἀθήναις εάν τ' ἐν
στρατοπέδῳ ἐάν τ' ἐν νῆσῳ μικρῆ καὶ μόνος. αἱ γὰρ
τοιαύταν ἀναχώρησεις καὶ ἀποδημίαι μικρὰν τίνα
ἐχουσι βοηθήν πρὸς το σχολῆν ἄγεων καὶ τὸ πράττειν
τὰ δέοντα· ὡσπορ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἐφ' ἐτέρας καὶ
ἐτέρας κλίνασι κατακλίνοισθαι φέρει μὲν τινα ἐν ὂστε
9 ἀπαλλαξαί. Ἰδεῖν τε ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ πάνυ πολλῷ
θορῶβῳ τε καὶ πλῆθει ὁ κωλυόμενον πράττειν
ἐκαστόν το αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ὁ τε αὐλῶν ἡ διδάσκων
αὐλεῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, πολλάκις ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ
to διδασκαλεῖν ἐχον, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἔξιστησι τὸ

1 ἀπέλθῃ Dindorf: ἀπέλθοι.

1 Corinth was noted for its elegant and expensive women, Thebes for its dullness. Cf. the proverb: “Not every man can afford the trip to Corinth”—οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ἐπλοῦς.

2 Seneca (Letters 56, 5) says: “Of what advantage is silence all around if the feelings are clamouring?”—Quid prodest
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retired to Corinth or to Thebes, but rather the being occupied with one’s own self, when one so wishes. For in Thebes and in Megara, yes, anywhere almost that one may go, whether in Greece or in Italy, it is possible for one to live in idleness and to take one’s ease; and one will not lack a pretext, wherever he happens to be, for spending quite a good deal of time, if it so happens, in busying one’s self with affairs as well as in loasing. I am therefore inclined to think that the best and most profitable kind of retirement is retirement into oneself and giving attention to one’s own concerns, whether one happens to be in Babylon, or in Athens, or in a military camp, or alone on a little island. For retirements and sojournings abroad of the kind we have mentioned conduce very little to one’s having leisure and doing only what one ought to do. Sick persons, for instance, by changing from one bed to another do sometimes get a little relief, but certainly not enough nor such as would rid them of their malady. And we often see how even in the midst of a very great turmoil and throng the individual is not hampered in carrying on his own occupation; but, on the contrary, the man who is playing the flute or teaching a pupil to play it devotes himself to that, often holding school in the very street, and the crowd

totius regionis silentium si adfectus fremunt?—Compare also Horace, Epistles I. 11. 27-30: “Their sky, not their soul, those change who run across the sea. A strenuous inactivity busies us. We seek the good life in ships and chariots. What you seek is here, is at Ulubrae, if you possess an unruffled soul”—Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt. Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis hic est, est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.
πλήθος οὐδὲ ὁ θόρυβος τῶν παριόντων, ὁ τε ὀρχούμενος ὄμοιως ἡ ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος πρὸς τούτων ἔστιν, ἀμελήσας τῶν μαχομένων τε καὶ ἀποδιδομένων καὶ ἄλλα πραττόντων, ὁ τε κηθαριστὴς ὁ τε ζωγράφος· ὁ δὲ πάντων σφοδρότατον ἕστιν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκαλοι μετὰ τῶν παιδών ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καθήνται, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμποδών ἕστιν ἐν τοσοῦτο πλήθει τοῦ διδάσκειν τε καὶ μανθάνειν. ἢδη δὲ ποτε εἰδὼν ἐγὼ διὰ τὸ ἐποδρόμων βαδίζων πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπως ἀλλο τι πράττοντας, τὸν μὲν αἰλουτά, τὸν δὲ ὀρχούμενον, τὸν δὲ θαῦμα ἀποδιδόμενον, τὸν δὲ ποιήμα ἀναγιγνώσκοντα, τὸν δὲ ἄδοντα, τὸν δὲ ἰστορίαν τω ἡ μύθον διηγούμενον καὶ οὐδὲν εἰς τούτων οὐδένα ἐκώλυσε προσέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ προκείμενον πράττειν.

11 Καίτοι τούτων οὐδέν ἔστι τῶν ἐργῶν ὑπολαβεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ καθίστησι καὶ καταφρονεῖ ποιεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. παιδεία δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φιλοσοφία, αἱ μάλιστα τούτο διαπράττονται, πολλῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως τυγχάνουσι δεδομεν· καὶ ὦστερ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πανταχόθεν ἔστι σωπητή τε καὶ ἡσυχα, οὐ δυνατὸν ὑπνοῦν μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς φιλολόγοις· εἰ μὴ πάντες ὑποσυγκήουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ μήτε ὅραμα μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔσται μήτε ἀκούσματος ἀκούειν μηδενός, οὐκ ἄρα οἷα τε ἐσται ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς αὐτής 2 προσέχειν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα γιγνεσθαι.

12 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ γε οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης

1 σφοδρότατον Emperius: φοβερῶτατον.
2 αὐτής Reiske: αὐτής BM, αὐτοῖς.
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does not distract him at all, nor the din made by the passers-by; and the dancer likewise, or dancing master, is engrossed in his work, being utterly heedless of those who are fighting and selling and doing other things; and so also with the harper and the painter. But here is the most extreme case of all: The elementary teachers sit in the streets with their pupils, and nothing hinders them in this great throng from teaching and learning. And I remember once seeing, while walking through the Hippodrome,\(^1\) many people on one spot and each one doing something different: one playing the flute, another dancing, another doing a juggler’s trick, another reading a poem aloud, another singing, and another telling some story or myth; and yet not a single one of them prevented anyone else from attending to his own business and doing the work that he had in hand.

However, you will object, there is none of these occupations that concentrates the mind, steadies it, and causes it to look with disdain upon all other things; and education, apparently, and philosophy, which best accomplish this, do require great seclusion and retirement; and, just as the sick, unless there is silence and quiet all about them, are unable to get any sleep, so, you see, it is with seekers after learning—unless everybody about them is quiet, and unless there is nothing distracting to be seen or heard, their mind will find it impossible to give attention to its own affairs and to concentrate on these.

Yet I for my part notice that people who live

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1 The hippodrome, or track for chariot-racing, was found in many ancient cities. The most famous one was at Olympia. For a description of it see Pausanias 6. 20. 10 ff.
οὐδὲν πάσχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι δυναμένους ἡ βουλοῦνται διανοεῖσθαι καὶ λέγοντας καὶ ἀκούοντας καὶ καθεύδοντας ὅπόταν αὐτοῖς ἢ καιρός, ὅτι οὐδὲν αἴτονται προσήκειν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ψόφου 1 τοῦτον οὐδὲ φροντίζουσιν. εἰ δὲ γε ἐβουλοῦντο προσέχειν ὅπότε μείζων ἢ ἐλάττων γίγνοιτο ἡχος ἢ διαριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα τὰ 2 προσπλήκτοντα ἡ τοὺς λάρους τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅρνεα ὅραν, ὅπως ἐπιπέτονται ἐπὶ τὰ κύματα καὶ νῆχονται ῥαδίως ἐπ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν αὐτοῖς σχολὴ ἀλλ' τι ποιεῖν.

13 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις δυνατός ἐνοίχησα περὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ βορύβου του κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει ταύτα τῶν ἐν τῇ βαλάττῃ γιγνομένων, οὐκ ἂν ἐνοχλοῦτο ὑπὸ πάντων. 3 ἀλλ' τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὡς ἐνοχε, πολλοὶ ἄξιοι τι 4 μάθημα καὶ διδαγμα, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθικεῖν ἑπεσθαὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ἀλλ' ἁπτα τρέπεσθαι ἡ τὰ τε προκείμενα καὶ

14 δοκοῦντα ὅρθως ἑχειν καὶ ἦμιν 5 οὕτως ἐνθύμεισα ἡ ψυχὴ λόγῳ δυνάσται ἐπίαντα διαπράττεσθαι τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτή, ἡ δὲ ρεμβομένη τε καὶ ἀλώουσα καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπ' ἀλλο τρεπομένη, ὅταν τι προφανῇ ποτε ἡδονὴ του ἢ βαστώνην ἔχον, ἄσπερ ὑδατός ἐν ἐτεροκλινεὶ χωρίῳ ὅποι ἐτυχε τρεπομένου, οὐδὲν ἄν ὕφελθει 6 οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς πάσης ἡσυχίας τε καὶ ἔρημίας.

15 Ὁδα γὰρ ἔγινε καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὰς μὲν καλῶς

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1 ψόφου Morel: φόβου. 2 τὰ added by Reiske.
3 ὑπὸ πάντων: ὑπ' αὐτῶν Goet.
4 ἄξιον τι Capps: ἄξιον τά.
5 For ἦμιν Selden proposed ἡ μὲν.
6 ὕφελθει Caubon: ὕφελθη.
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by the sea are not affected by its sounds, but are able to put their minds on anything they like, that they speak and listen and sleep when they feel that the time has come for these things, because they think that the sound is no concern of theirs and so do not mind it. But if they did care to take notice when the roar increased or diminished, or to count the waves that break upon the shore, or to watch the gulls and other birds, how they alight on the waves and float easily on them, they would not have time to do anything else.

So, too, the man who can bring himself to reflect in regard to the crowds and the din they cause and their various affairs, that these things differ not one whit from what takes place on the sea, will not be troubled by any of them. Nay, we have in this, it would seem, a very valuable lesson and bit of instruction—that we should accustom the mind to follow reason and not to let it be diverted to any other thing whatsoever than the matters which are before it and thought to be fitting. And when we have thus accustomed the mind by reason will be able to accomplish all its proper work; but the mind that spins this way and that and fidgets and turns to one thing after another, whenever anything comes in sight at any time which offers some pleasure or relaxation, like water that turns in every way as it chances on a piece of uneven ground, will derive no benefit whatever from even perfect quiet and seclusion.

I myself know that when well trained and willing

1 Socrates was ever exhorting his hearers to do this. See, for example, Plato, Gorgias 527 e.
2 The phrase καλὸς ἄχθειας occurs also in Xenophon, Memorabilia of Socrates 4. 1. 3.
ἀχθείσας καὶ φιλοπόνους, ἐπειδὰν ἄφεθὼς, εὐθὺς ἀναζητοῦσας τὸ ἄχνος, καὶ οὐδὲ έἰ πάντες ἀποκαλοῦσαν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τοῦτο ἀπολειποῦσας, οὐδὲ έἰ πολλαὶ μὲν φωναὶ πανταχόθεν φέρουσι, πολλαὶ δὲ οὐ σμαί ἀπό των καρπῶν καὶ ἄνθων ἐμπλέκουσι, πολὺ δὲ έπήθος ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐρωτίων φαίνοντο καὶ ἴμητα τὰ μὲν ἰππῶν, τὰ δὲ βοῶν, τὰ δὲ προβάτων οὐδέν οὔτε ὧν τούτων οὔτε ιεράν οὐ εὐθάναται αὐτῶν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνα παριθοῦσα πανταχόθεν ἐκλέγει τὸ ἄχνος ἀκαίειν ἐπεται μέχρις ἂν εὐρή τι καὶ ἀναστήσῃ τὸν λαγών, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα κατέχει διάκουσα, δι’ ὅπων ἂν ποτε ἤδη χωρίων, καὶ οὔτε πεδίον οὔτε ὄδος οὔτε τὰ λιβάν τραχέα οὔτε χαράδρα ἢ βεῦμα ἀποκωλύει αὐτήν, πολλοὺς τινας δρόμους τοῦ λαγώθεντος καὶ πειρωμένου

16 ἐξαπατάν τὰς δὲ ἀμαθεῖς τε καὶ ἀπαιδευτοὺς κόσμους βραδέως μὲν αἰσθανοῦμεν, ταχέως δὲ ἀπαγορευοῦσας, εἰ δὲ ποθὲν ἀλλαχόθεν προσπέσου σθοῦσ, εἰτε ὅλακης κυνῶν εἰτε ἀνθρώπων φθεγ-ξαμένων ὁδιοπόρων ἢ νομέων, εὐθὺς ἀνακυπτοῦσας ἐκ τοῦ ἄχνους κακεῖ φερομένας. τούτων δὴ πάντων, ὅπερ ἔφη, τὸ ἔθος αὐτῶν. ἰδιόως δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπερήφανον ἐθισέν ἂν δὲοι μηδέποτε ἀποτρέποντι μηδὲ ἀναχωρεῖν τοῦ δοκοῦντο εἶναι προσήκοντος ἐργον. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ ῥᾴδιον περιγενέσθαι οὐδὲ ἐξεργάσασθαι οὐδὲν ἰκανός.

17 Ἡ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις καὶ ἴσωσίαις, οὐκ ἐναυθα μάλιστα ἀνευρήκασιν οἱ ἄνοιγοι ἀνθρώποι, ὅπως μηδὲν διανοοῦσιν τῶν δεόντων, ἐτέρα

1 φιλοπόνους Dindorf: φιλοτύνων.
2 ἀπολειποῦσας Wlamowitz: ἀπολειπούσας.

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dogs are unleashed, they straightway pick up the trail, and not even if all the hunters should try to call them back, would they ever leave it; no, not even if many voices from all sides should reach them, and many odours emanating from the fruits and flowers should be mingled with the scent, and a great host of men and other creatures should come to view, and tracks of horses here and of cattle or sheep there. Such a dog sees none of these things, notices none of them, but disregarding all those other things, picks out the trail on all sides and follows it until she finds and puts up the hare; and after this she keeps up the pursuit, no matter what country she has to pass through, and neither plain nor road nor exceedingly rough ground, nor ravine nor stream can stop her, in spite of all the doublings the hare makes in its attempts to put her off the scent. But ignorant and untrained dogs I find are slow to pick up the trail and quick to give up the chase, and if a noise reaches their ears from any quarter, whether the barking of dogs, or the shouting of men, whether wayfarers or herdsmen, they straightway lift their noses from the trail and rush off in that direction. For all these things, just as I have said, habit is responsible. And in the same way the mind also should be made accustomed never to turn aside or withdraw from what it regards as its proper work. Otherwise it will not be easy to rise above one's surroundings or to accomplish anything satisfactorily.

Or is it not in wildernesses and places undisturbed by sounds, or chiefly there, that foolish men, trying not to concentrate their thoughts upon the essential

* πολυ δε Reiske: πολυ τε.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διανοήματα, οἷς ἀγαπῶσιν ἔννοιτες, τυραννίδας τε καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα θαυμαστὰ ἀναπλάττοντες αὐτοῖς; οἱ μὲν θησαυροὺς τινας ἀνασκάπτοντες 1 χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου πλῆθος ἐξαίφνης ἀμήχανον ὦσιν κτώμενοι, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς τε καὶ μονάρχους πόλεων τε καὶ έθνῶν ἀποδεικνύντες σφαίρας αὐτοὺς, ἐπειτα ἦδη τὰ ἐξῆς περὶ τὴν τυραννίδα πάντα πράττοντες, τοὺς μὲν τινας ἀποκτινώντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐλαύνοντες, παρθένοις δὲ καὶ μειρακίους καὶ γυναιξὶ πλησιάζοντες αἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐντιάσεως δὲ 2 καὶ ἐυωγίων τῶν πολυτελεστάτων μεταλαμβάνοντες, 18 οἱ δὲ τινές ἀργύριον ἐκδανείζοντες ἢ ἄλλας ἐργασίας, οἷον ἐγρηγορότες τε καὶ ὁρῶντες ὑμείρατα ποικίλα καὶ παντόδαπα πλάττοντες αὐτοῖς. ἐνιότε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ὁνειράτων τούτων ἀποβαίνει καὶ ὑπάρ αὐτοῖς τὰ φαυλότατα καὶ ἀτοπώτατα. τυραννίδες μὲν γὰρ οὐ πάνυ τι ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων γίγνονται οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει ἡ τυραννίς ὑπὸ βαθύμου τε καὶ τρόπου τινα ἂει κοιμομένης διανοίας θηρεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ὑπὸ δριμείας τε καὶ ἀγρύπνου φροντίδος. διατάναι δὲ καὶ ἔρωτες καὶ τοιαῦτα τινες διατριβαι πολλοῖς ἦδη πολλάκις ἀπήντησαν.

19 Ὅλον δὴ ἐγὼ οἶμαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅς ἔτυγχανε σχολήν ἄγων ἐν τῇ Ἡθῇ περὶ τὰ βουκόλων, τοιαύτης ἐννοίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶ γενομένης ὡς ἀρα εὐδαιμόν τε καὶ μακάριον τὸ τὴν πασῶν καλλιστήν γυναῖκα ἔχειν, καὶ οὔτε βασιλεία τοῦτον ἀξίων τοῦ χρήματος οὔτε πλοῦτος οὔτε κρατεῖν μαχόμενον

1 ἀνασκάπτοντες Geel: ἀναπλάττοντες.
2 δὲ added by Empérius.
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things, have conjured up many strange imaginings, things amid which they yearn to live, shaping for themselves in fancy sovereign power and riches and other such marvels? Some dig up treasures of gold and silver and thus suddenly come into possession of an enormous quantity of them; and others make themselves emperors and absolute rulers of cities and nations, then straightway putting into practice everything that goes with a tyranny: putting some to death and banishing others, making free with any virgins or boys or matrons that they choose, and taking part in the most costly banquets and feasts; others put out money on usury or engage in other enterprises, dreaming all kinds of bright dreams to themselves just as if they were wide awake with their eyes open. Aye, and sometimes, to be sure, as the result of these dreams there comes for them the most trivial and absurd awakening from such dreams! For tyrannies are not at all likely to spring from such things, since a tyranny is not apt to be sought by a mind that is slothful and in a sense always asleep, but on the contrary, by keen and unsleeping thought. But lavish expenditures, love intrigues, and such like adventures have undoubtedly often fallen to the lot of many.

I may cite Alexander\(^1\) as an instance: I fancy that, when he happened to be enjoying a respite from his herdsman’s duties on Mount Ida, the thought and with it the desire came to him, what a fortunate and blissful thing it would be to have the most beautiful woman in the whole world to wife, and that neither a throne was as valuable as this prize, nor wealth, nor the conquest of the whole world in war; next he

\(^1\) More commonly known as Paris.
 Dio Chrysostom

ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ ταύτα ἡ ἡ διανοεῖσθαι τις τε δὴ καὶ παρὰ τίσιν ἡ ἦτατη γυνὴ καὶ 20 πόθεν ἄν αυτῷ τοιοῦτος ὑπάρξαι γάμος. καὶ δὴ τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἰλίῳ νύμφας καὶ παρθένους ἀτε τύραννος ὡν ἵππος καὶ οὐκ ὑπὲρ ἥξιας αὐτῶν 3 τυχεῖν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς Λυδίαν τε καὶ Φρυγίαν, τὰς τε ἐν Λέσβῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν Μυσίᾳ γυναικάς ὑπερεώρα, πυθανόμενος δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τινὰ εἰναι Διὸς λεγομένην θυγατέρα, Μενελάῳ συνοικοῦσαι, ἄνδρι βασιλεῖ καὶ βασιλέως ἀδελφῷ τῆς ξυμπάσης Ἑλλάδος, ἢν ἐμφύσευσάν τε καὶ ἐσπευσάν λαβεῖν πολλὰ ἕδα καὶ δύορα διδόντες οἱ πρῶτοι τε καὶ ἄκροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔλεγετο εἰναι Πολυδεύκους καὶ Κάστορος, Διὸς νεὼν γενομένων ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτῷ ταύτην 21 γενέσθαι τὴν γυναίκα. ἄλλως μὲν οὖν οὐ πάντι ἡ ἡγεῖτο δυνατὸν εἰ δὲ θεὸς τις ὑπόσχοτο καὶ δοῦν, τὰς ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον. καὶ τῶν δὴ θεὸν ἄλλην εἰκὸς τὰς τοιαύτας χαράζεσθαι χάριτας ἢ τὴν κρατοῦσάν τε καὶ ἀρχοῦσαν τῶν περὶ τοὺς γάμους τε καὶ ἔρωτας; οὐκοῦν 3 ἐκείνης διδοὺσας ἀδύνατον ἢεῖτο τὸν γάμον. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐκείνη πείσαι χαρίσασθαι ἢ εἰ τρόπον τϊνὰ γίγνετο αὐτὸς προσφιλής τῇ θεῷ καὶ δωρεάν τινα καὶ χάριν δεδωκός; ἀλλ' οὔτε χρημάτων αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν δεομένην, ὁτε χρυσῆν οὔσαι καὶ πάντα χρήματα άπλῶς κεκτημένην.

1 te Emperor: δὲ.
2 αὐτῶ added by Armin.
3 οὐκοῦν Armin: οὐκοῦν.

1 That is, Agamemnon.
2 Aphrodite is here called 'golden' because of the wealth of her shrines and the golden adornment of her statues. In 262
began to speculate as to who and where this woman of his fancy might be, among what people she lived, and by what means he could compass so splendid an alliance; and so he began to despise the nymphs and maidens of Ilium with a prince's disdain and to think them not worth his winning, and in the same way also he despised the women of Lydia and Phrygia, and those in Lesbos and Mysia. But learning that in Sparta there was a certain reputed daughter of Zeus, living in wedlock with Menelaus, a king in his own right and brother of the king of all Greece,¹ a woman whom the first and foremost of the Greeks had wooed and sought to win by offering many wedding-gifts and presents and, to crown all, that she had, according to report, brave brothers twain, Polydeuces and Castor, true sons of Zeus. So he coveted this woman for his wife. Now in the ordinary course of events he thought that this was not at all feasible, but that if some god should promise and give her, so wild an ambition might perhaps be realized. What goddess, then, he asked himself, was likely to grant favours of this kind other than she who held authority and ruled over all that pertained to marriage and to love? Therefore, if she offered him this bride, he thought the marriage not impossible. How, then, could he persuade her to grant him this favour unless in some way he should ingratiate himself with the goddess by giving her some boon or favour? But he reflected that she did not stand in need of wealth, since she was 'golden'² and possessed all the wealth in the world, absolutely;

² passages such as Homer, Iliad 5. 427 and 19. 282 the term refers primarily to her radiant beauty. See also the footnote on p. 261 of vol. I.
οὔτε θυσίων πάντας γὰρ αὕτη πανταχοῦ θύειν·
οὔτε ἄλλη των ὅμιλων καὶ δεησει ῥαδίως ὑπα-
κούσαι ἂν· ἀλλ’ εἰ ὦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖ 1 καὶ
ὁ πάντων τιμώτατον νενόμικε, τοῦτο προσθείη
τις αὕτῃ καὶ μαρτυρήσειεν ὡς ἐστι καλλίστη,
22 τάχ’ ἂν ἀγαπήσαι αὕτην. νικᾶν δὲ καὶ προκρι-
νεθαι κατὰ τούτο τίνος ἂν ποτε ἀξιώσειν ἢ
θεών τῶν πρώτων καὶ μεγίστων, Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ
Πρασ; καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, εἰ φαίνοντο ἐκεῖναι
μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά παρεχόμεναι δώρα ἔννεκα
τῆς νίκης. οὖτω δὴ διελθῶν τε καὶ ἐξεργασάμενος
τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν, οἶον μυχῆς ἐν
ὑπνῷ φαντασίας καὶ δόξαις 2 ἐπακολουθοῦσης
καὶ μακρὸν τι καὶ συντεταγμένον ὑφανωστῆς
ὀναρ, κριτῆς τε ὑπὸ Διὸς γίγνεται τῶν θεῶν· καὶ
τὰς μὲν ἄλλας, 3 αὕτας τε ὑπερεῖδε καὶ τὰ δώρα
αὐτῶν, τὴν δὲ προέκριται ἐπὶ μισθῷ τε καὶ δόρῳ
τῷ λαβεῖν τὸν γάμων ἐκεῖνης τῆς γυναίκος ὑπὲρ
ἡς ἐνευμηθῆ τε καὶ εὔξητο.

23 Εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τούτο βουκόλος καὶ ἰδιώτης
ἐτυχεὶν ὢν, οὐδὲν ἂν πράγμα ἀπήνητησεν ἐκ τοῦ
τοιούτου ὅνερατος. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδῆ τύραννος
καὶ δυνάστης ἢ καὶ πλουτῶν τε ἱσχύοι καὶ
ἀρχὴ 4 πόλεως τῆς τότε μεγίστης καὶ τῇ τῶν
γονέων πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοία, τα λοιπὰ ἢδη ἔργῳ
ἐξεργάσατο ὡς ἐπὶ τούτως ἀληθῶς γεγονόσι
ναῦς τε ναυπηγησάμενος καὶ ἔταργος συναγαγών·

1 ἐπιθυμεῖ Arnim: ἐπεθυμεῖ.
2 φαντασίαις καὶ δόξαις Roiske: φαντασίας καὶ δόξαις.
3 ἄλλας added by Capps.
4 ἀρχή Emperius: ἀρχήν M, ἀρχεῖν UB.

1 i.e., if unaccompanied by a gift of some sort.
nor sacrifices either, since all men everywhere offered her sacrifice; nor would she readily heed anything else one might say or any mere petition. But if, he thought, one were to present her with the thing which she desired most of all, what she had looked upon as the most valuable thing in the world, and should bear witness for her that she was the most beautiful goddess, perhaps she would consent. Then to win the victory and to be preferred in this contest of beauty—over what divinity, he asked himself, would she think she could afford to prevail except over the foremost and greatest of them, Athena and Hera? And this would be all the more so if these two should put in an appearance, offering great and wonderful gifts for the sake of winning. So after canvassing the matter in this way and elaborating his own imagining and conceit, like a soul which in its sleep follows out its phantasies and imaginings and spins out some long and coherent dream, he is appointed by Zeus, he fancies, umpire over the goddesses; and as to the other goddesses, he disregarded both their persons and their gifts, and chose the third in return for the bribe and gift of winning that woman as wife who had been the object of his thoughts and for whom he had prayed.

If, then, he had been nothing more than a herdsman and a commoner in rank, no trouble would have come to him from that ambitious dream. But as it was, since he was of kingly blood and a mighty prince, and of great influence owing to his wealth and the dominion over the greatest city of those days, and the affection which his parents bore for him, he forthwith realized the rest of his dream, just as if the first part had actually happened; and after building
καὶ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σπάρτην καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενον τὴν Μενελάον καὶ Ἑλένης καὶ ἔκειν πυχών, ἀναπείσας καταλυεῖν αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦκεν ἄγων εἰς Τροίαν πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν πραγμάτων καὶ συμφορῶν ἀρχήν.

24. Οὕτως αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀδυνάτου ψυχῆς ἐννοοῖ τε 1 καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑπηνέμοι 2 τε καὶ ἀδρανεῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν γίγνεται χαλεπόν, ἀλλ’ ὁσπερ τὰ τῇ ὁντὶ ὑνεῖρα τα ἀναστάντων εὐθὺς οἴγεται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, ὥσ φασι, τὸν ἦλιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπομένει, παραπλησίως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐχεῖ 3 ἐπιθυμήματά τε καὶ ἐλπίσματα, τὰ 4 δὲ τῶν μονάρχων ἢ πλουσίων ἢ ἀλλὴν τινὰ ἐχόντων δύναμιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀφικνεῖται πολλάκις χαλεπὸν τε καὶ φοβερόν. καὶ ἔστων ὀμοίων, ὁσπερ ἐμὸι δοκεῖ, τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπηνεμίως γεννήμασιν. φασὶ γάρ δὴ ὡς γίγνεσθαι οὕτως ἄνευ συνουσίας τε καὶ μίξεως ἄρρενου, ἀ καλοῦσιν ὑπηνέμια, ὡς ὑπ’ ἄνεμων πρόσπεσόντος γεγομένα. ὥθεν δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος, ἐμὸι δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἡγησάμενος οὐδὲ ἀπίθανον τοῖς ἄνθρώποις φανῆναι ἢππων ὑπηνεμίων γένος, τὸν Βορρᾶν ἐφ᾽ ἐρασθέντα Τρωικῶν τινῶν ἢππων ἐμπλήσας τε αὐτὰς γονῆς καὶ γένος ἢππων ἐξ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. ὀμοίως φιλεῖ 5 πολλάκις ἐκ τινος ἐνθυμήματος ψευδοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτον ἀποβηθήναι πράγμα ἀλθῆς. 6

1 ἐννοοῖ τε Emperius: ἄνοια τε UM, ἄνια τε B.
2 ὑπηνέμοι Dindorf: ὑπηνέμοι.
3 ἐχεῖ Reiske: ἐχειν.
4 τὰ Selden: ταῖς.
5 ὀμοίως φιλεῖ (or ὄντε) added by Cohoon.
ships and assembling a retinue, he sailed for Greece and Sparta, entered the home of Menelaus and Helen, where he was hospitably received, induced her to leave her husband and Hellas, and then returned to his home, bringing into Troy the beginning of many grievous troubles and disasters.

Thus, whereas the thoughts and desires of the soul of a man in private station and without influence are wind-begotten and ineffectual, and no difficulty arises from them, but just as real dreams are gone at once when the dreamers rise from their beds, and no part of them can endure the sun or the day, as the saying is, so it is with desires and hopes of this kind; yet those of monarchs, on the other hand, or of men of wealth or of those who possess some other power, quite often reach a fulfilment that is both grievous and terrible. And this sort of thing, in my opinion, is just like wind-begotten products of generation. For they do indeed say that some eggs are produced in this way without the intercourse and impregnation of the male seed, and they are called wind-eggs as if begotten by a gust of wind. And this is the reason, as it seems to me, why even Homer, in the belief that it was not impossible or incredible that a wind-begotten breed of horses should have appeared to men, said that the North Wind, becoming enamoured of some Trojan mares, impregnated them with his seed so that a breed of horses came from them. In like manner, what begins with a mistaken and impossible idea often ends in an accomplished fact.

1 See Homer, Iliad 20. 223–229.
Εἴρηται δὲ μοι πάντα ταῦτα ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκτροπῆς, ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζεσθαι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι πανταχοῦ τε καὶ ἐν ἀπαντὶ θορύβῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπάσῃ ἡσυχίᾳ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἡσυχίας οὐδὲν μεῖζον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς ἀνοῆτοις τῶν ἰθρώπων πρὸς τὸ μὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἀτοπα διανοεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν.
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All that I have said follows from that initial digressive remark that the mind should accustom itself to do and think what is essential to it everywhere, even in a perfect din as well as in perfect quiet. Otherwise seclusion and quiet offer no advantage and no greater safeguard, for men who are fools, to keep them from conceiving and committing many strange and wicked deeds.
THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

The date of this Discourse may be determined roughly from a consideration of § 10, where Dio says that everybody wishes that Nero were still alive. This statement was approximately true if made in the reign of the bloodthirsty tyrant Domitian. At that time even Dio, who was unjustly suffering exile by Domitian’s orders, would have preferred Nero. In the good reigns of Vespasian and Titus, who preceded Domitian, and of Nerva and Trajan, who followed him, Dio could not have made that statement. Then too, at Domitian’s death in A.D. 96 Nero would have been in his sixtieth year had he lived, so that in the following period, some twenty-eight years after Nero’s death, it is unlikely that the great majority, as Dio says in the same section, still believed him to be alive. Finally, at the end of this section Dio’s companion accuses him of “everlasting” ridiculing his fellow-men. This was a characteristic of the Cynic philosophers, and we infer from the thirteenth Discourse that Dio did not appear in the rôle of a philosopher before his banishment, even if he was converted to a belief in philosophy prior to this.

At the opening of the Discourse Dio is led by the sight of the statue of a handsome youth to express regret that beauty among males is dying out because unappreciated, while that of females is increasing. If, then, there are no longer any really handsome men, we Greeks are coming round to the view of the Persians that women are superior to men in beauty. The mention of the Persians leads Dio to speak of certain unnatural sexual practices among them, and this in its turn recalls to his mind the wickedness of Nero. Finally Dio’s companion gets a chance to ask about the parentage of the young man represented by the statue and is told that he has no father. However, he is distinctly Greek in type, for Dio maintains that there is a distinctly Greek type of beauty.

This Discourse, then, is in the form of conversation between Dio and another man, younger probably and a Greek also, in which Dio informally gives some of his views on beauty. One cannot fail to notice the discursiveness and loquacity so characteristic of our author.
21. ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΛΟΥΣ

Δ. Ἡμεῖς ψηλός ὁ νεανίςκος καὶ ὁ ἀραῖος. ἔτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ τὸ εἴδος, οἷον ἐγὼ οὖς ἐώρακα τῶν νῦν, ἄλλῃ ἕκαστο τῶν Ὁλυμπίαιν ἀνακειμένων τῶν πάνω παλαιῶν· αἰ δὲ τῶν ύστερον εἰκόνες ἀεὶ χεῖρας καὶ ἀγεννεστέρων φαίνονται, τὸ μὲν τι ύπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον καὶ αὐτοὶ τιούστοι εἰδὼν.

Ἡ δευτέρα λέγεις, εἰ ὧσπερ φυτὸν τι ἡ ζώον ἐκλεισάται τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ καλοί, οἷον δὴ φασί τοὺς λέοντας παθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἐτι αὐτῶν εἰναι τὸ γένος· πρῶτον δὲ ἦσαν καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· εἰ οὕτως οἴχεσαι δὴ κάλλος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.

2. Δ. Τὸ γε ἀνδρεῖον, ὡ βελτιστείτε· τὸ μὲντοι γυναικεῖον ἅπας πλεονάζει. ἀνὴρ δὲ καλὸς καὶ σπάνιον μὲν γίγνεται νῦν, καὶ γενόμενος τοὺς πλείστους λανθάνει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ οἱ καλοὶ ἑποί τοὺς ὅρεωκόμους. εἰ δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἀφαίνο τὸ

1 After μὲν Empiricus added εἰ.
2 γενόμενος Empiricus: γενόμενος B, γενόμενος UM.
3 ἀφαίνο Reiske: ἀφαίνο.

1 For this meaning of ἀρχαῖον see Plutarch, Life of Pericles 13. 3, where is he speaking of the public buildings which Pericles had erected: "Each of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique; but in the freshness of its vigour, it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought."
THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE:
ON BEAUTY

Dio. How majestic the youth is and handsome; and, what is more, his appearance is ancient or classic¹ in type, such as I have not seen in our modern statues, but only in those set up at Olympia, the very old ones. The images of the subsequent periods even show a steady decline and clearly represent less noble features, to some extent owing to the sculptors, but chiefly because the persons portrayed are themselves like their statues.

Interlocutor. It is surely a sad state of affairs, according to what you say, if the beautiful have died out in the course of time just like some plant or animal—the fate which they do say has overtaken the lions in Europe; for the race of lions is now extinct there, though formerly they were to be found in Macedonia and in other places as well—it is unfortunate, I repeat, if beauty has really disappeared from mankind in this way.

Dio. Masculine beauty at least has, my good sir; feminine beauty, however, is perhaps increasing. But a handsome man is not only getting to be a rare sight nowadays; but when there is one, the majority fail to notice his beauty, much more than muleteers fail to observe beautiful horses. And if people

(Perrin in L.C.L.)—κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἔκαστον εὐθὺς ἕν τὸ τέτε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι τὸν πρόσφατὸν ἔστι καὶ νεομυγόν.  

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τῶν τοιούτων, μεθ' ἑβρεώς καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν; ἀστε μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ γενόμενοι ταχὺ λήγειν καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡ ἁρετή ἐπαίνῳ αὐξεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὑπὸ τῶν τιμῶντων αὐτό καὶ σεβομένων ἀμελούμενον δὲ καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰς αὐτὸ βλέποντος ἡ ποιηρῶν βλεπόντων οβένωται, ὡσπερ τὰ κάτοπτρα.

*Ἀρ' οὖν, ὅπερ Ἀθηναίοι πολλάκις, καὶ ἦμᾶς χρῆ ἀναρχίαν ἰ ἀναγράφειν τὸν παρόντα καίρον, ὅς οὐδένος διὸς καλοῦ;*

Δ. Ναι μὰ Δία, ὡς Πέρσαι γε ἐνόμιζον. Ἐλλή
νων δὲ οὐδεὶς πλὴν ἡ εἰς τις ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα. ἡ οὐκ οἶδα Κριτίαν τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα, ὡς κάλλιστον ἐφῃ ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς ἔρρεοι τὸ ὥθημα, ἐν δ' αὖ τῶν θηλείων τουναντίον; οὐκοῦν δικαίως Ἀθηναίοι νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἴλοντο ἐπὶ γε τῶν μεταγράφοι τῶν παλαιόσ νόμων, ὡς οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἐλπιζεν.

Εἶπεν· οἶ δὲ Πέρσαι πῶς ἐνόμιζον;

Δ. Οὐ γὰρ φανερῶν, ὅτε εὐνούχους ἐποίουν τοὺς καλοὺς, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς κάλλιστοι ὄψιν; τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν ὕστοτι πρὸς κάλλος τὸ ὥθημα. ὥχεδὼν δὲ

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1. Casaubon added κάλλος before ἀναρχία unnecessarilly.
2. πλὴν ἡ εἰς Capps (ἡ εἰς Arnim): ἡ εἰ.

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1. The Athenians elected annually nine magistrates called archons. If in any year they did not have archons, that year was called ἀναρχία, i.e., a period without an archon. Such was the year of the Thirty Tyrants. Here the word is used to mean a period without a handsome man, as the context shows. For the meaning of ἀναρχία see Xenophon, Hellenica 2. 3. 1 and Aristotle, Constitution of Athens 13. 1.

2. Critias, who had followed Socrates, was the most prominent of the Thirty Tyrants who, put in power
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do by any chance take an interest in handsome men, it is in a wanton way and for no good purpose. The result is, in my opinion, that even the handsome men that do appear speedily drop out and disappear. For it is not only virtue that is increased by commendation, but so is beauty likewise by those who honour and revere it. But when it is disregarded and esteemed by no one, or when wicked men esteem it, it fades away like reflections in a mirror.

Int. Should we, then, adopt the frequent practice of the Athenians and in a similar way record the present time as being an interregnum because there is no beautiful man?

Dio. Yes indeed we ought, at least as the Persians regarded beauty; but no one of the Greeks so regarded it, except one of the Thirty. Or do you not know the story about that Critias, who was a member of the Thirty? He said that the most beautiful figure among males was the effeminate, but among the females, on the other hand, the opposite. Therefore the Athenians were justified in choosing him as lawgiver that he might alter the old laws, for in fact he left not one of them unchanged.

Int. Very well! But how did the Persians regard beauty?

Dio. Why, does it need any explanation, seeing that they made eunuchs of the beautiful males in order that they might have them as beautiful as possible? So greatly superior in beauty did they think the female to be. And practically all the

through the influence of the Spartans, ruled Athens in 404 B.C.

a The Thirty were appointed to draw up a new code of laws on the basis of "the constitution of the fathers."

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καὶ πάντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἂπερ τὰ ἄλλα ζωὰ, διὰ τὸ μόνον τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐννοεῖν. ὡς οὖν λέγεται Δαίδαλος ποιήσαι τὸν ταῦρον ἐξαπατῶν, περιτείναι τῷ ξύλῳ δέρμα βοὸς, κάκευνοι γυναικῶς εἰδος περιτείδαι τοῖς ἄρρεσι, ἀλλος δὲ οὐκ ἐπιστανται ἕραν. ἦσως δὲ καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὐτία τοῖς Πέρσαις, τὸ μέχρι πολλοὶ τρέφονται ὑπὸ τε γυναικῶν καὶ εὐνούχων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, παιδὰς δὲ μετὰ παιῶν καὶ μειράκια μετὰ μειρακίων μὴ πάντα συνείναι μηδὲ γυμνοῦσθαι ἐν παλαιστραῖ καὶ γυμνασίοις. οθεν ἐγὼ ὅμως ἐμβῆναι αὐτοῖς τῶις μητράσι μίγνυσθαι. ὀσπερ οἱ πῶλοι, ἐπειδὰν ἄδρότεροι δυντε ἀκολουθῶσιν ἐτὶ τοῖς μητράσιν, ἐπιβαίνεις ἔγγονος. τὸ μέντοι τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἐναυθα δείκνυσι τὴν ἰσχύν. κάλλιον μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολὺ ἵππος ὄνοι, οἱ δὲ γε ὄνοι οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἵππων διὰ τὴν φύσιν, εἰ μὴ ὅσ ἂν ἦ τεθραμμένος ἵππον γαλακτώ. ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἵππος πωλευθὲς ὑπὸ ὄνου τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία παράνομον τι ἐστι. Νέρωνα γοῦν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. ἔφ

van Herwerden suggested that Dio wrote ἡ ἀρράνων σουσοῦ, “intercourse with males,” which was toned down under Christian influence to ἡ ἐξουσία.

1 Daedalus, a mythical personage, whose name means ‘cunning craftsman’—according to one version of the old Cretan myth about King Minos and his wife Pasiphaë that can be traced back as far as a lost play of Euripides called The Cretan Women—made a wooden cow to enable her to satisfy her passion for the bull sent by Poseidon. By doing this he angered Minos, who shut him up in a prison, from which he escaped by the use of wings. For a reference to this cow see Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars 12. 2.
barbarians treated them in the same way, just as they did the animals—because the only thing they thought of was the lust of the flesh. Then, just as Daedalus is said to have acted when he deceived the bull by stretching a cow's hide over a framework of wood,¹ so they try to put a feminine appearance on the males, being incapable of loving them in any other way. But perhaps in the case of the Persians the way the boys are reared is the cause, I mean that for a long time they are brought up by women and the older eunuchs, and that young boys do not associate much with other young boys, nor the striplings with others of their own age, and that they do not go naked in the wrestling schools and gymnasias.² This is the reason why, in my opinion, cases have occurred where they had intercourse with their mothers; just as colts, when they still follow their dams although fairly well grown, try to cover them. Moreover, the influence of their nurture is shown in the following case also. A horse is certainly far more beautiful than an ass, but yet the asses, because they are of a different breed, feel no passion for mares, except when they have been raised on mares’ milk; and similarly, a horse that has been suckled by an ass is affected in the same way.³

In human beings unlimited power also is a lawless sort of thing.⁴ Take Nero for instance: we all

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² Young boys at Athens did all of these things.
⁴ See vol. I, p. 40, for about the same thought; and cf. critical note, p. 276.
This youth, whose name was Sporus, possessed a striking resemblance to Nero's second wife, Poppaea Sabina. After her death Nero had him mutilated, gave him the name Sabina, and in A.D. 67 publicly went through the ceremony of marriage with him in Greece. This Sporus was present at Nero's suicide. Afterwards he was intimate with Otho, whose wife Poppaea Sabina was before she married Nero. Sporus committed suicide under Vitellius to avoid appearing on the stage under degrading circumstances. See Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars, 6. 28.
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know how in our own time that he not only castrated the youth whom he loved, but also changed his name for a woman’s, that of the girl whom he loved and his subsequent wife, for whom he conceived a passion and wedded after openly incarcerating his former wife, to whom he was already married when he became Emperor.

Int. And what was the woman’s name which he gave to the eunuch?

Dio. What concern of yours is that? At any rate she was not called Rhodogunê. But that youth of Nero’s actually wore his hair parted, young women attended him whenever he went for a walk, he wore women’s clothes, and was forced to do everything else a woman does in the same way. And, to cap the climax, great honours and boundless sums of money were actually offered to anyone who should make him his wife.

Int. Well, then, did they actually promise to do so?

Dio. Why should they not have promised that man who offered so much? Or do you not know how great the might of the giver is? For example, wherever and whenever it is necessary to appoint an Emperor, they choose the wealthiest man, any one from whom they hope to get the most money; but as to the other qualifications, they do not care what sort of man he is, even if he sooner or later is to geld them all after taking over the government—

2 She was Octavia, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Messalina.

3 Rhodogunê was the daughter of Arsaces VI., also called Mithradates I., who greatly extended the Parthian empire. After defeating and capturing Demetrius Nicator in 138 B.C. he gave Demetrius this daughter in marriage.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

tou's te allos apantas kai autous ek einous tou's eilephotai ta xhrismata, kai eti pantwn autous 9 kai tw'n uparchonton aphaireseebhai. tou'to de maliosta perimn o Néron, kai outheis anteleven autw' peri oudenvos 6 ti ei poi ou'd' adunaton efh einae 6 keleusein, woste kai el peteisbai keleuoi tw'k, kai tou'to upescheto autw', kai suxvnon xronon etrefeito eivnon par' autw' en tw'k basileiois, 6s petpomeneos. monos ghar de oudeina trpovn efeidevo xhrmatwv, oute didous oute lamabwv, dia monh mnetoi tauithe thn ubrion kai apethane thn eis thn eunovxhov. ormaiheis ghar ezhnegeken autov th bouleumata tois peri auton' kai outhos apesthson ap' autov kai hagnkasen sth potere trpov apoleonthei auton' oudepw ghar kai thn 10 tou'to ge deilov estin'. etpei tw'n ge allwv evneken oudein ekolovn autov basileuein thn apanta xronov', on 1 ge kai thn eti pantes epithymowbei zhn. ol de pleistoi kai ointai, kaiper 2 trpovn twa oux aptax autov thevnikotos, allla pollakis meta tw'n sofistor oibentenwv autov zhn.

Sv men aei logous aneuropseis, woste diapowwe ta tw'n anbropwv, kai thn ex oudevos, wse eitein,

1 or added by Casaubon. 2 kaiper Emporius: kal.

2 The allusion is to the false Neros. The first of these appeared in A.D. 69. He was a slave from Pontus or else a freedman from Italy. See Tacitus, Histories 2. 8 and 9; Cassius Dio 64. 9. Then Zonaras (Chronicles 11. 18) mentions a pretender, Terentius Maximus of Asia, who appeared in the reign of Titus (A.D. 79-81) and was supported by the Parthians. Probably there is a reference to the same pretender in Tacitus, 280
everybody including the men who have received the money, and, besides, intends to deprive them of every blessed thing they have. This, indeed, was especially true of Nero, and no one contradicted him in anything, whatever he said, or affirmed that anything he commanded was impossible to perform, so that even if he ordered anyone to fly,¹ the man promised that too and for a considerable time he would be maintained in the imperial household in the belief that he would fly. For Nero was the only man who was utterly regardless of money both in giving and in taking. It was solely on account of this wantonness of his, however, that he lost his life—I mean the way he treated the eunuch. For the latter in anger disclosed the Emperor’s designs to his retinue; and so they revolted from him and compelled him to make away with himself as best he could. Indeed the truth about this has not come out even yet; for so far as the rest of his subjects were concerned, there was nothing to prevent his continuing to be Emperor for all time, seeing that even now everybody wishes he were still alive. And the great majority do believe that he is, although in a certain sense he has died not once but often along with those who had been firmly convinced that he was still alive.²

Int. You are everlastingly hunting up reasons for ridiculing what your fellow-men do and think, and now with scarcely a shadow of a pretext you _op. cit._ 1. 2. Suetonius at the end of his _Life of Nero_ speaks of a man who came forth twenty years after Nero’s death, that is, in A.D. 88, claiming to be Nero and supported by the Parthians. Whether he is the same man as the preceding is not clear. However, from Tacitus, _op. cit._ 5 we conclude that there were several false Nepos.
ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἔλθεις. ὁ δὲ ἐβουλόμην ἐρέσθαι, οὐκ ἔισασας.

11 ᾿Δ. ὡς γὰρ μου καταφρονεῖς καὶ ἡγῇ με ληρεῖν, ὦτι οὐ περὶ Κύρου καὶ Ἀλκηβίαδου λέγω, ἀπερ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐτί καὶ νῦν, ἀλλὰ Νέρωνος καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων, νεωτέρων τε καὶ ἀδόξων ὧν μημονεύω. τούτου δὲ αὐτίον τὸ μὴ πάνυ φιλεῖν τοὺς πραγμάτων μηδὲ ξηλοῦν· ἐπεὶ οἴδα ὦτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἐν τραγῳδία τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ὑνομάξεων, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαίον τινος ἕδει1 πράγματος καὶ οὐδὲ πάνυ πιστοῦ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐμπροσθεν οὐκ ἠχοῦντο τοὺς τότε ὄντας ὑνομάξεων καὶ λέγοντες καὶ γράφοντες· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἔξ

12 ἀπαντος ὑνομάξεως ξητοῦσιν. ἦτιν δὲ τῇ σοφίᾳ πράττουσιν αὐτό, ἐγὼ σοι ἐρῶ—καὶ ἡ πάντα φιλαρεῖν με ψῆς· ἀλλ’ ᾿ωσ γνώσοι πολλοῦ 3 δὲω—4 πάντως γάρ τιν 5 τῶν βιβλιοποιῶν προσέχεις; Διὰ τὸ δὴ τούτῳ με ἔρωτᾶς;

᾿Δ. ὡσ εἴδοτες τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν βιβλίων σπουδάζομεν ὡς ἀμενον γεγραμμένα καὶ ἐν κρείττοσι βιβλίως, ὦι δὲ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν νῦν καταθέντες εἰς σῶτον, ὅπως τὸ γε 7 χρώμα ὄμοια γένηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, καὶ προσδιαφθείραντες 8 ἀποδιδόνται ὡς παλαιά. ἀλλὰ τί ἢν ὦ πάλαι δὴ ἐρέσθαι σπεύδεις;

13 Περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ νεωτέρου, ὅστις τέ ἐστι καὶ

1 For ἕδε Reiske proposed δεί.
2 For καὶ Jacobs conj. ὡς, Reiske ἢν.
3 πολλοῦ Arnim: ὁμοῦ M, ὁποῦ UB.
4 δὲω Arnim: δέω. 5 τιοι Cohoon: τιω.
6 βιβλίως Casaubon: βιβλίως.
7 γε Casaubon: τε.
8 προσδιαφθείραντες Rouso: προσδιαφθείροντες.

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have got round to this topic. Consequently you have given me no chance to ask a question I wanted to ask.¹

Dio. Oh yes, I suppose you look down on me and think that I am drivelling because I am not talking about Cyrus and Alcibiades, as the wise-acres do, even at this late date, but about Nero and subjects of that kind, more recent and inglorious, which I can remember. The reason for this is that I do not much care for the writers of Tragedy nor try to emulate them; for I know that it is a disgrace to mention people of the present day in a tragedy, but that it is some ancient event which I should have touched upon and one not very credible either. Yet men of former times certainly were not ashamed to name people of their own day whether in speaking or in writing; but those of the present day strive to name the ancients on any pretext. I shall tell you what wisdom they show in doing this—and don’t you declare everything I say is nonsense; perhaps, however, it is anything but nonsense—for surely you have noticed what some of our booksellers do?

Int. Just what is your reason for asking me this?

Dio. Because they, knowing that old books are in demand since better written and on better paper, bury the worst specimens of our day in grain in order that they may take on the same colour as the old ones, and after ruining the books into the bargain they sell them as old. But what was it that you have been wanting all this while to ask me?

Int. It is about this young man here. Who is

¹ He asks it in § 13.
οὕτως. Ὅσα εὐθὺς πᾶσαν ὑποτευκίων οὐδένα πάντες οὕτως ἐξεπλαγήν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡλικία παῖδα αὐτὸν ἑυδείκνυσιν ἐκκαίδεκα ἵκιος ἡ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἑτῶν· τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ὑδάνδος ἦττον τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἡ δὲ αἰδὼς τοσαυτὴ ἢστε καὶ τὸν προσιόντα αἰδεῖσθαι εὐθὺς ποιεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἔστων ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ὅραν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβλέψειεν ἀπὸ τύχης. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἀναίδης οὐδὲ λίθινος ἔστων ὅστις ὑπομενεῖ καὶ ἀντιστῆσεται ὅραν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἀνάγκη τραπέζαι καὶ μεταβαλέσθαι τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ. τούτο δὲ ἐγὼ τὸ πάθος πάνω θαυμάζω, ὅτι τὸ κάλλος, ἐὰν μετὰ αἰδῶς ἔ, καὶ τοὺς ἀναίδεις τρέπει τε καὶ ἀναγκάζει αἰδεῖσθαι.

14 Δ. Ἡ ίσως γὰρ οὐ προσενόθησα τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὑδασι γεγομένον.
Τι δῆ; Δ. Ὡς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπιλάμψαντος εἰς τὸ κατ’ εὐθὺς μάλιστα ἀντιλάμπει. καὶ ἦς εὖρακας ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις τὸ κινοῦμενον καὶ περιτρέχον φῶς, οὐκ ὁ ἄληθινον, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑδασιν αὐγῆς τοῦ ἡλίου γεγονὸς πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα κατ’ εὐθὺς. τοιοῦτον οὖν τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄληθινῆς αἰδοῦς ἀντιλάμπει τε καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς ὀρῶντας· ἐπείτ’ εὐθὺς ἀπελθόντες ἀναίδεις εἶσαι.

Ὡς ἐμοίγε καὶ ὁ παιδοτρίβης εἴδοκε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἑνθοσιῶν τε καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένος.

1 After οὕτως the MSS. have ὧς, which von Arnim bracketed.
2 οὕτως added by Casaubon.
3 ὀρῶντας Casaubon: ὀρᾶντας.
he and to whom does he belong? I declare that I have never been so struck with admiration for anyone. For while his appearance shows him to be a boy of sixteen perhaps, or seventeen years, he is as tall as any man; and then his modesty is such that he makes anyone approaching feel abashed at once. And it is impossible to gaze longer at his face unless he himself should chance to look away. For no one is so shameless or made of stone as to hold his ground and stand looking at him face to face, but one must at once turn away and drop one's eyes. And this effect surprises me very much—that beauty when combined with modesty makes even brazen-faced men turn away and forces them to feel abashed.

_Dio._ Yes, for perhaps you have not noticed what occurs in the water.

_Int._ What is that?

_Dio._ That when the sun is shining straight down, the reflection is strongest. And perhaps you have seen on walls a moving and dancing light, not a real light, but the reflection of the sun's light in the water—in contrast to the most direct reflection. Now there is a somewhat similar reflection from true modesty, which makes the beholders appear to be abashed. Then as soon as they go away, they are once more unashamed.¹

_Int._ Just as I thought that even the gymnastic trainer, hardened as he is, seemed in the youth's presence to be, as it were, dumbfounded as well as entranced.

¹ Xenophon (*Symposium* 1. 8–10) also compares beauty to light, praises it when combined with modesty, and speaks of its ennobling effect on the beholder. Cf. also what Dio says in *Discourse* 12. 51.
Δ. Οὐκοῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσεις, ἐπειδὰν πῦθη ὃτι οὗτος τοιούτος ὄν σοῦδενὸς ἐστιν.
Πῶς λέγεις μηδενὸς εἶναι αὐτῶν;
Δ. Οὕτως ὁπως σὺ ἐπίθου ὅτον ἐστίν. οἴμαι γὰρ ἑρωτάν σε ὅτον υἱός ἐστιν.
'Αλλ' ἢ τῶν Σπαρτῶν ἐστιν εἰς;
Δ. Πρέποι μὲν ἂν τῷ μεγέθει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἄνδρείᾳ, εἴ γε ἐπιεικεῖς ἦσαν καὶ φιλάνθρωποι τὰς φύσεις ὡσπερ ὄθε, ἅλλα μὴ παντελῶς σικερῷ καὶ ἄγριῳ, τῆς γῆς τὰ τέκνα: ἐπεί τὸ γε 2 σῶμα οὐ φαύλως εἰκάζεις Βοιωτῶς μᾶλλον εἰκάζων αὐτὸ ἡ Δακωνικῶ τε καὶ 'Αστικῶ. ὃτι μὲν γὰρ Ἐλληνικὸν ἄκρως ἐστίν, ὃ δὲὶ δῆπον ἄγνοησαι.
10 Τῇ γὰρ; εὐθεὶς ἂν τῷ γένους διαφορὰ πρὸς γε τὸ κάλλος; ἦν οὐδένα οἴει γίγνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις καλῶν; 3
Δ. Ἁλλ' οὐκ οἴει τὸ μὲν τῷ βαρβαρικῶν εἶναι, ὡσπερ εἴδος, καὶ κάλλος, τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικόν, ὡσπερ καὶ φυσῆ καὶ ἑσθήτα: ἅλλ' ὀμοίως σοι δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καλὸς Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἑκτωρ;
Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς περὶ ἄνδρείου τοῦ Ἑκτορος δο ποιητῆς διέξεισιν;
Δ. Ὁπον γε τὰς ναῦς ἐμπίπτρησιν' οὐ γάρ, οἴμαι, περὶ κάλλους ἐπρέπεν αὐτόθι 4 μεμνησθαι.

1 After σοῦδενὸς the MSS. have υἱός, which Emperius bracketed.
2 τὸ γε Πλύγκ : γε τὸ.
3 The words ἦ οὐδένα . . . καλῶν moved here by Casaubon from their position after εἴδος καὶ κάλλος (two lines infra) in the MSS.
4 αὐτόθι Capps : αὐτοῦ ἔτι οὐ αὐτοῦς ἔτι.
TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY

Dio. Therefore you will be all the more surprised to learn that this handsome youth belongs to no one.

Int. What do you mean by his belonging to no one?

Dio. Just what you meant by asking to whom he belongs. For I suppose you were asking whose son he is.

Int. Well, is he one of the Sown Men? 1

Dio. That would be in keeping with his stature and manliness, if they had been gentle and kindly in disposition, just as this youth is, and not altogether rough and wild, real children of the earth; for as to his physique, you are not far wrong in likening him to a Bocotian rather than to a Spartan or an Athenian. For that he is utterly Greek, I presume is quite patent.

Int. Why, I should like to know? Can there be any racial distinction as regards beauty? Or do you think that no handsome man is to be found among foreigners?

Dio. Well, do you not think that there is a foreign type of beauty, as there is of general appearance, and an Hellenic type, just as their language and dress differ, or do you think that Achilles and Hector were handsome in just the same way?

Int. Why, does not the poet discourse about Hector as a brave man only?

Dio. Yes, where he is setting fire to the ships. For it would not, I think, have been fitting to mention beauty at that point. But after he had

1 The Σπαρτιταί, or 'Sown Men,' sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, the builder of the citadel of Thebes. The five who survived became, according to tradition, the ancestors of the Thebans, that is, Bocotians.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

teleutήσαντος δὲ καὶ γυμνωθέντος ἐκπλαγῆναι φησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἰδόντας, οὕτω πως λέγων

οἱ καὶ θησαυρὸν φυῆ καὶ εἶδος ἄγητον Ἅκτωρος.

17 οὖ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς πρότερον, οἷμαι, σχολὴ θησαυροῦ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν σαφέστερον ἐπέξεισιν καὶ 1 ὦς οὐ περὶ ἄλλου τυγὸς τῶν καλλίστων. τὴν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν χαρίεσαν αὐτοῦ φησιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν κόμην πάνω μέλαιναν καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐ σκληρον. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως εἶδους οὐδὲν λέγει καὶ ἐκαστον ἄλλ᾿ ἢ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι ξανθὸς ἦν, καὶ περὶ τῆς Εὐφόρβου κόμης καὶ Πατρόκλου ὡς μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τελευτησάντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ομογένων τι περὶ ἐκάστου καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν καλλίστων. πλὴν ὅτι γε οὐδεὶς ἄν 2 εἶποι τούτῳ δημοῦς ἢν εἶναι καλοῦς, οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ Εὐφόρβον ἢ Τρώῳ ἐοικέται τι Μενελάως καὶ Πατρόκλως καὶ Νιρέε, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις Σέσωστρον τὸν Ἀγάμπτην ἢ Μέμνονα τὸν Αιθίοπα ἢ Νινύαν 4 ἢ Εὐρυπυλον ἢ Πέλοπα.

1 kal added by Cohoon. 2 ἄλλ᾿ added by Reiske.
3 oudeis an Cassubon: oude kai.
4 Nuniav Reiske: Niniav.

1 Homer, Iliad 22. 370 f. 2 κυνάειai Iliad 22. 402.
3 Iliad 22. 373: μαλακώτερος . . . ἢ ὅτε νήμα ἐνέπρησεν.
4 Iliad 17. 51: "that was like the hair of the Graces."
5 Brave Trojan slain by Menelans, who dedicated his shield in the temple of Hera near Mycenae. Pythagoras said he had been Euphorbus in a previous incarnation and to prove it identified this shield at sight and took it down.
6 Troilus, son of Priam, or Apollo, and Hecuba, slain by Achilles.

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TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

been slain and stripped, the Achaeans were simply amazed on beholding his beauty, so the poet says in about the following words:

"Then gazed they upon the wonderful form and beauty of Hector." 1

For I imagine that before this they had been too busily occupied to gaze upon him critically. And the poet goes on to describe him more vividly, one may almost say, and in greater detail than he describes any other of the most handsome men. For he says that his head was graceful, his hair quite black, 2 and his body not hard. 3 But about Achilles' appearance he gives no detail except to say that his hair was auburn; and he mentions the hair of Euphorbus and of Patroclus as of men who had died in the very prime of life; 4 and about each of the other men and most beautiful women he has very little to say; however, nobody would assert that these men could have been handsome in the same way, or that Alexander, or Euphorbus, 5 or Troilus 6 bore any resemblance to Menelaus and Patroclus and Nireus, 7 any more than among the barbarians Sesostris 8 the Egyptian did or Memnon 9 the Ethiopian, or Ninyas, 10 Eurypylus, or Pelops.

7 Handsomest man among the Greeks after Achilles, but unwarlike. Slain by Eurypylus or Aeneas.
8 Mythical king of Egypt to whom the Greeks attributed all great Egyptian exploits.
9 Beautiful son of Tithonus and Eos. Was king of the Ethiopians who came to the aid of Priam. Identified with the Egyptian king Amenhotep III., a colossal statue of whom is still standing. Concerning his beauty and that of Eurypylus see Homer, Odyssey 11. 520–522.
10 Son of Ninus and Semiramis, the founders of the Assyrian empire and builders of Nineveh. Semiramis was famed for her beauty, but concerning her son no other ancient author testifies.
THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR

We have here just a fragment of this Discourse. In § 3 Dio does mention his subject, but all that precedes and follows is of an introductory nature. He says that there are many questions which are the common concern of both philosophers and orators. One class of these common questions comprises those which have to do with the state (πολιτικὰ ζητήματα); and some of these, such as that about peace and war, have to do with what is advisable. Then in questions of advisability the philosophers and orators make a division, the philosophers dealing with those of a general nature and the orators with particular cases.

This was the division made by Posidonius, the distinguished Stoic philosopher, born in 135 B.C. at Apamea, a city not far from Dio’s native Prusa. That the followers of Plato and Aristotle made the same division appears from Cicero, De Oratore 1. 45 and 46. In this matter, then, Dio is clearly siding with the philosophers against the rhetoricians or teachers of oratory such as Hermagoras, who claimed all political questions for oratory and rhetoric. It is possible that what Dio says here is based upon Posidonius, as von Arnim thinks, and at any rate we may conclude that Dio composed this Discourse after his conversion to philosophy.
22. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ

Πολλά μὲν καὶ ἄλλα εὑροὶ τις ἢν καὶ ξύμπαντα ἀτεχνῶς τὰ ἑργού τινὸς ἐχόμενα καὶ πράξεως κοινὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, καὶ ῥήτοροιν ὅσοι μὴ ἁγοραίοι μηδὲ μίσθαρνοι, πρὸς χρήματα δρῶντες μόνον καὶ τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς ἀμφιλογίας περὶ συμβολαίων ἢ τινων δανείων ἐπὶ τόκῳ 1 ἄλλα 2 δημοσία συμβουλεύειν καὶ νομοθετεῖν ἀξιούμενοι· καθάπερ, οἷμαι, Περικλῆς καὶ Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐτί πρότερον καὶ Κλεοθένης, καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐως ἐτί ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγώγος 2 ἢνείχετο καλούμενοι· Ἀριστείδῆ ἠν γὰρ καὶ Λυκούργον καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, καὶ εἴ τις ἐτερὸς τοιοῦτος, φιλοσόφους 3 ἐν πολιτείᾳ θετέοιν ἢ ῥήτορας κατὰ τὴν γενναίαν τε καὶ ἀληθῆ ῥήτορικήν· λέγω δὲ οἷον περὶ τὸ ἄγωνος τῶν νέων συμβουλεύοντας καὶ νομοθετοῦντας, ὡσπερ

1 δανείων ἐπὶ τόκῳ added by Cohoon, τοιοῦτων by Reiske.
2 ἄλλα added by Arnim.
3 φιλοσόφους Morel: φιλόσοφος.

1 Not the historian, but the leader of the aristocratic party in opposition to Pericles. He was ostracized in 444 B.C.
2 The term ῥήτωρ means primarily ‘public speaker,’ no matter what the subject of his address, but it was usually applied to those who addressed the people on political questions. Here Dio distinguishes between the greater and more philosophical statesmen, such as Solon, and the lesser statesmen and
THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE:
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Many things in general and absolutely everything involving any work or activity will be found common to philosophers and orators—all those orators, that is, who do not carry on their business in the marketplace and work for hire with their eyes fixed on matters of money only and on private disputes regarding contracts or loans out at interest, but aspire to advise and legislate for the state. That is, I think, what Pericles and Thucydides 1 must have done at Athens, and Themistocles still earlier, and Cleisthenes, and Peisistratus, so long as he still let himself be called 'orator' and 'popular leader' 2—for Aristeides, Lycurgus, Solon, Epaminondas, and others of the same sort should be regarded as philosophers in politics, or orators in the noble and real sense of the term. And I use the word 'philosopher' of men who, for example, deliberate and legislate about the training of the politicians, such as Pericles and Themistocles. Ρήτωρ could also mean one who pleaded in the courts, i.e. an advocate, and finally, a teacher of rhetoric.

δημαγωγός means literally 'leader of the people' and at times has this meaning, as it has here; but more often it was used in a bad sense to mean a political agitator appealing to the cupidity or prejudice of the masses in order to further his own interests.
Εν Δακεδαίμονι Λυκούργος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς ὀμιλίας καὶ περὶ χρημάτων κτήσεως, ὅσην τε καὶ ὅπως δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ γάμου καὶ περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ περὶ νομίσματος καὶ περὶ τιμής καὶ ἀτμίας καὶ περὶ οἴκων κατασκευῆς, πότερα χρῆ τετειχισμένην οἰκεῖν πόλιν ἢ καθάπερ ὁ θεὸς παρῆνεσε Δακεδαμονίοις, ἀτείχοντο, καὶ περὶ ἀσκήσεως τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ τάξεως, οὐ μόνον ὀπλιτικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶον Ἐπαμεινώνδας εὑρείν λέγεται, τοὺς ἔραστὰς μετὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων τάξας ὥσα σώζοντο μᾶλλον καὶ μάρτυρες ὅσων ἀλλήλους τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς κακίας· καὶ τὸν λόχον τοῦτον, ἔρευν ἐπονομασθέντα, κρατήσας Δακεδαμονίων τῇ περὶ 3 Λεώκτητα μάχῃ, ἄμπαντών 3 ἑκείνως ἐπομένων τῶν Ἐλλήνων. τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, καὶ πολλάκις πολλοὶς παρέπτυτε, περὶ τε εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου, ὅ νῦν τυχάνει ζητοῦμεν.

Πάν δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος παρὰ τοὺς φιλοσόφους καλεῖται περὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος, οὗν εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πολιτευτέον, εἰ βασιλεία 4 χρηστέον ἢ δημοκρατία ἢ ἄλλη τοῖς καταστάσει πολιτείας· ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ τοῦτο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, εἰ πολεμητέον.

Οὕ γὰρ μόνον ἀπλῶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἤπτοῦσιν περὶ τοῦτων, ἀλλὰ πηνίκα καὶ πρὸς τίνας καὶ τίνος συμβάντος ἢ μὴ συμβάντος ἕκαστα τούτων

1 πολεμικῶν Εμπερίου: πολεμικῶν.
2 ἐπονομασθέντα Reiske: ἐπονομάζαντα.
3 περὶ added by Εμπερίου.
4 βασιλεία Reiske: βασιλεία.

1 In 371 B.C.
TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON PEACE

young, just as Lycurgus did at Sparta, and about the association of ‘lovers,’ about the acquisition of money—how much one should make and in what manner—about marriage, about the duties of citizenship, about coinage, about civic rights and the loss of them, about the setting up of households, and as to whether one should live in a walled city or, as the god advised the Spartans, in an univalled one; about training for war and the organization of not merely the heavy-armed troops in general, but also of the formation which Epaminondas is said to have invented, in which he put the ‘lovers’ along with their beloved in order that they might have a better chance of coming through safely and might be witness to one another’s courage or cowardice—and history tells us that this Sacred Band, as it was called, conquered the Spartans in the battle of Leuctra 1 though these were supported by all Greece. But the main question of all, and one with which many have often had to deal, concerns peace and war; and this now, as it so happens, is my theme.

All problems of this sort are called by the philosophers questions of propriety: for example, whether one should marry, whether one should go into public life, whether a monarchy should be adopted, or a democracy, or some other form of government; and in these subjects, in my opinion, is included this one too, whether war should be entered into.

Indeed the philosophers not only considered these questions in their general aspect, but also these: when, with reference to whom, and after what occurrence or non-occurrence each separate action
πρακτέον. Διαφέρει δὲ τοσούτον, ὅτι οἱ γε ρήτορες ἐπὶ τῶν ἦ τῶν σκοποῦσιν, οἷον εἶ συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Πελοποννησίοις ἢ βοηθείν Κερκυραίοις πρὸς Κορυθίους ἢ Φιλίππωι συμμαχῆσαι Θηβαίοις ἐπὶ Φωκέας ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαβητήν εἰς τὴν Ἁσίαν. ἐν γὰρ ταύταις ἀπάσαις ταῖς βουλαῖς οὐχ ἦκεντα ἐμπίπτει καὶ τὸ τοσούτον, εἰ δικαιον τοῖς μὴ προοδικήσασι πολεμεῖν· εἰ συμβεβηκέν ἀδίκημα παρὰ τούτων οῖς διανοοῦνται πολεμεῖν, πηλίκον τι τούτο τὸ 1 συμβεβηκός.

Οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ πόρρωθεν τὰ πράγματα ὅρωσιν, ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐξετάζοντες ὅποι ἢ ἄττα ἔστίν. πολὺ γὰρ κρείττον τὸ βεβουλεύσαντι περὶ ἀπάντων ἐκ πλείονος καὶ διεννυκότας, ἐπειδὴ ἢ ἀκρῶς πράγματος καύρος, αὐτοῦς τε εἰδότας ἔχειν χρήσθαι καὶ ἑτέρους παρανεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τρόπον τών ἐξαιρήσεως ληφθέντας ταραττεῖν καὶ αὐτοσχεδίαζεν περὶ ὅν οὐκ ἔσασθαι. ὅ οἱ μὲν γὰρ ρήτορες, δὴν δὲν σκοπεῖν περὶ τῶν, οὐδὲν εἰδότας τῶν ἄλλων πλέον οὐδὲ ἐσκεμμένοι πρότερον, ἀμα τε αὐτοὶ βουλεύονται τρόπον τών καὶ συμβουλεύουσιν ἑτέρους. οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ πέρι τῶν πράξεων προοίδασι καὶ πάλαι βεβουλεύ-

1 τὸ added by Pfugk.

1 Corcyra, the modern Corfu, was a colony of Corinth founded about 700 B.C. In 427 B.C. during the Peloponnesian War Corinth released some Corcyrean prisoners on the understanding that they were to win over Corcyra from Athens to the support of Corinth. They did secure the support of the oligarchic party there.

2 Philip of Macedon helped the Thebans against the Phocians in the Phocian or Sacred War and conquered them in 346 B.C. 296
TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON PEACE

should be taken. But there is this important difference—that the orators consider definite cases; for example, whether it is of advantage for the Athenians to make war on the Peloponnesians, for the Coreyraeans to go to the help of the Corinthians,\(^1\) for Philip to support the Thebans in the war against the Phocians,\(^2\) or for Alexander to cross over into Asia. Then too, in all these deliberations the following sort of question is apt to crop up: Is it right to go to war with those who have not provoked a war by some wrongful act? if a wrong has been done by those against whom you propose to wage war, how serious is this wrong which has been done?

But philosophers look at events from a distance and examine into what their character is in the abstract; for it is much better to have already deliberated about everything a long time in advance and since they have already reached a decision, to be able, when the moment for any action has come, with full knowledge either to handle the situation themselves or to give advice to the others,\(^3\) and not to be caught off their guard, as it were, and so be in a state of confusion and obliged to resort to improvising measures concerning situations of which they have no knowledge. For whenever the orator-politicians have to consider any question, since they know nothing more than anybody else and have not considered the matter before, in a sense they both deliberate themselves and give advice to the others at one and the same time. The philosophers, on the other hand, know in advance about the course to be adopted and have deliberated

\(^3\) That is, to the men of action, the generals, or to the citizens.
μένοι τυγχάνουσιν· ὅστε ἂν τις αὐτοὺς παρακαλῇ συμβουλούσι τῶν πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἑθῶν ἢ τῶν βασιλείων, κρείττον ἔξουσι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὐ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, πάλιν δὲ τᾶς παντεία, δι’ ὄργην ἡ φιλονικίαν ἢ χρήμασι πληγέντες, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τρυπάνης, ἐφή τις, οἶμαι, τῶν ῥήτορῶν αὐτῶν, κατὰ τὸ λῆμμα ἀεὶ βέποντες. λέγω δὲ οὐ ψέγων ῥήτορικὴν οὐδὲ ῥήτορας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς προσποιομένους τὸ πρᾶγμα.
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upon it long beforehand. Consequently, if they are called in to advise cities, nations, or kings, they are in a better and safer position to set forth, not just what occurs to them, nor one thing at one moment and the opposite at the next, influenced by anger, contentiousness, or bribery, acting just as the tongue of a balance does, as I believe some one of the orator-politicians themselves said, ever tipping according to what is received.\(^1\) And I say this, not to criticize the art of oratory, or the good orators, but the poor ones and those who falsely claim that profession as their own.

\(^1\) Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 298: "tipping toward what is received as the tongue of a balance does"—οὐσερ ἅπτετεν ἰδίων πρὸς τὸ λῆμμα. λῆμμα more than hints at a bribe.
THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
THAT THE WISE MAN IS
FORTUNATE AND HAPPY

This is one of the twelve discourses that are in the form of a dialogue between Dio, the teacher, and one of his pupils, reported directly. It would appear to reproduce an actual teaching experience of Dio's in which he sets forth the Stoic doctrine that only the wise man is happy.

The line of thought is as follows: Homer and Euripides have said that man is unfortunate and unhappy; but just the opposite is true, or rather, partially true. For each man has a fortune or guiding spirit; and if this fortune or guiding spirit is good, then the man is good-fortuned (i.e., fortunate) and happy. But if the man has a bad fortune or guiding spirit, then the man is bad-fortuned (i.e. unfortunate) and unhappy. But if the guiding spirit is good in the sense that it gives good fortune, it is also good as meaning 'just and useful and sensible'—which is a non sequitur—and since it apparently gives its own qualities to the man who has it, this man is at the same time also just and useful and sensible, in other words, wise. The good δαίμον, to use the Greek word, being good in both senses, gives both happiness and wisdom. The two are inseparable.

Then the pupil raises the question as to whether any guiding spirit can be bad, since all are divine; and Dio admits that he has merely been accepting the popular belief, not following his own, in assuming that some guiding spirits are good and others bad. He really believes with the philosophers that all guiding spirits are good. If a man listens to his good and wise guiding spirit, he gets at one and the same time both happiness and wisdom; if he does not, he is both unhappy and a fool. Therefore, only the wise man is happy.

1 The word δαίμον means guiding or guardian spirit, genius, or the lot or fortune which that genius was believed to give a man. Therefore, ὑπὸ δαίμον means primarily 'blessed with a good guiding spirit or genius.' Then, since the good genius was believed to give good fortune, the word came to mean fortunate; and since the fortunate man should be happy, the word came also to mean happy. Often all three meanings are suggested by the word.
23. ΟΤΙ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ Ο ΣΟΦΟΣ

Δ. Πότερον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι ἀνθρώπως εὐδαιμών, εἰ δὲ μὴ, γεγονέναι ἢ ἔσεθαι, ἢ ἀδύνατον ἢγῆ τὸ τοιοῦτον περὶ ἀνθρώπου, ὡσπερ εἰ τις ἀθάνατον ἀνθρώπου λέγω εἶναι; ἦσως γὰρ ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοις δόξαν 'Ομήρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις συνονόμαι τῶν ποιητῶν.

Καὶ ποῦ ἀποφαίνεται περὶ τούτου "Ομήρῳ;

Δ. "Οποιου πεποίηκε τὸν Δία λέγοντα αὐτὸν, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς οὔδεν φησίν ὅικροι-τερον εἶναι ἀνδρός ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων,

ὅσα τε γαῖαν ἐπὶ πνεύει τε καὶ ἑρπεῖ.

οὗ δοκεῖ σοι τὴν διζῶν ἀντικρυς κακοδαιμονίαν τινά λέγειν;

"Εμοῦγε.

2 Δ. "Ετέρος δὲ ποιητὴς οὐκ ἰδία οὖτως, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ πρὸς θέατρον ἄγωνιζόμενος εἰσηγεῖται τὸν φύτα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσον ἐρχεται κακά,

τὸν δ' αὐθανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον χαίροντας καὶ συνηθομένος οἴεται δεῖν ἐκπέμπειν.

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1 Homer, Iliad 17. 477.
2 Euripides, Cresphontes, fragment 452 (Nauck). Herodotus (5. 4) says that the Trausi, a Thracian tribe, did lament when a child was born and rejoice when a man died.

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THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: THAT THE WISE MAN IS FORTUNATE AND HAPPY

Dio. Do you believe man is happy, and if not, that he has been or will be; or do you hold that such a thing as this is impossible to predicate of man, just as if a person were to say that man is immortal? For it is, perhaps, possible that you hold the same view as Homer and a good many others of our poets.

Interlocutor. And where does Homer express his view on this question?

Dio. Where he has represented Zeus himself, and not some other one of the gods, as saying that none of all living creatures is more miserable than man,

Of all that breathe and move upon the earth.¹
Do you not think that by misery he means expressly some great unhappiness?

Int. I do.

Dio. And another poet, not speaking of any particular man, but expressing a general sentiment to the audience in a contest of tragedies, proposes that we should

That man bewail who’s born, and all life’s ills confronts,
But him who’s dead and free from all his toils ² he thinks we should “with joy and gladness speed from out the house.”

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"Εστι ταῦτα.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν ὄρθως παρῆκεν, εἰ γὰρ ἀπαξ δεῖ 1 κλαίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, καὶ γενομένους προσήκει θρηνεῖν τῶν ἐσομένων αὐτῶν κακῶν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τελευτάσιας, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασιν, καὶ ζῶντας, 2 ὡς 3 εἰσὶν ἐν κακοῖς. ὡστε ἥρα ἂν εἰ ἀκατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν μηδέποτε παύσασθαι ὀδυρομένους πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀπόδονων. ἔκειναι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἥρας λέγονταί θρηνεῖν τῶν Ἰτυν τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους εἰκὸς ἢν θρηνεῖν καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμώνος. πάσῳ δὲ βέλτιον τοὺς γενομένους ἐὰν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσσαι ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπαργάνοις ἔνειλοντας καὶ λούοντας 3 καὶ τιθημομένους τοσαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ὅπως ἀθλιοὶ ἔσονται· ἐχθρῶν γάρ, οὐ φίλων οὐδὲ κηδομένων ποτὸ τοιοῦτο· καὶ 4 νὴ Δία αὐτοὺς πρῶτους ἀπαλλάσσει τοῦ βίου; κυδυνεύουσι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον μόνοι φρόνιμοι γενέσθαι σι γενόμενοι ἐν Κόλχῳ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ δράκοντος οὐδόντων, οὓς ἐσπειρεῖν Ἰάσων. οὕτω γὰρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἡθοντο γεγονότες, εὐθὺς ἀλλήλους ἀνήρουν, ἕως οὐδένα ἐλιπον, βοηθοῦντες

1 δεῖ Geel: ἔδει.
2 ζῶντας Casaubon: πάντας.
3 λούοντας Selden: λύοντας.

1 Itys, son of Tereus and Procnê, was killed by his mother and his flesh served to his father Tereus because the father had been unfaithful and married Procnê’s sister Philomela. On learning what flesh he was eating, Tereus pursued the women with an axe. Then Procnê was turned into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow, and Tereus into a hoopoe.
2 Jason went to Colchis, a country at the east end of the Euxine or Black Sea, to get the golden fleece. He was promised it if he would plow a field with two fire-breathing.
TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

Int. That is so.

Dio. Well, that was not sound advice he gave; for if we ought to weep once for mankind because of their misfortune, then it is fitting that we should both bewail their lot when they are born, because of all the evils that are in store for them, and when they die, because they have had experience of many terrible sufferings, and likewise while they live, because they are in the midst of evils. Consequently there would never be a fitting time, according to the poet, for men to cease lamenting—much more truly than for the nightingales. For while those creatures are said to mourn for Itys in the springtime only—yet in the case of human beings it stands to reason that they should mourn both summer and winter. But how much better it would be to let them perish at once of their ills as soon as they are born, instead of wrapping them up in swaddling clothes and bathing them and nursing them and giving them so much care, simply in order that they may be wretched—for such solicitude would beset enemies, not friends or those who care for them—or, better still, to remove their own selves from life in the first place! For it is very likely, according to this line of reasoning, that the only sensible people to be born were those born in Colchis from the dragon's teeth which Jason sowed. For these people, just as soon as they understood that they were born, forthwith proceeded to make away with one another until they left not one, helping one brazen-footed oxen and sow in it the dragon teeth that had not been used by Cadmus at Thebes. From these teeth sprang armed men, who, when Jason threw a stone into their midst, fought until they had killed one another.
ἀλλήλους δήλον ὅτι καὶ διὰ φίλιαν τοῦτο πράττοντες, οὐ δὲ ἐξήραν.

5 Ἀλλὰ οὕτως γε ὁ ποιητὴς λυρεῖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεται. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ταράττει με, ὅτι οὕτω σοφὸς ἄν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτην ἀπεφήνατο τῇ γνώμῃ.

Δ. Καὶ τί ἄτοπον εἰρήκεν; οὐ γὰρ ὃς ἀπαντεῖς οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἄθλιοι εἰσὶ φησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐθέν ἐστι ζῷον ἀνθρώπου ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ γε 2 ἄθλιον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλεια καὶ ἢμεῖς φαίμεν ἂν. ἠκούει γὰρ τοι καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ὁ ἀνθρώπος κακοδαίμων ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ εὐδαίμων. ἔπει τοι καὶ μόνος ἄφρων, ὥσπερ καὶ φρόνιμος. οὐτε γὰρ ἄδικος οὔτε ἀκόλαστος εἰη ἂν ἢπος ἡ σὺς ἡ λέων, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἀμουσος οὐδὲ ἀγράμματος.

6 Ἀλλὰ καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς διωρθῶσαι τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, καὶ ἀποκρίνομαι 3 ὅτι ἢγοῦμαι ἀνθρώπων εὐδαίμονα εἶναι.

Δ. Ἄρ' οὖ ὁ δαίμων ἄγαθός ἐστι, τοῦτον εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι φήσι, οὐ δὲ μοχθηρός, 5 κακοδαίμόνα;

Ἐγγυεῖ.

Δ. Δαίμονα δὲ ἄλλως ἀγαθῶν λέγεις;

1 ἄν added by Arnim. 2 γε Casaubon: δὲ.
3 ἀποκρίνομαι Arnim: ἀποκρίνασθαι.
4 Ἄρ' οὖ ὁ δαίμων Emperius: Ἄρ' ὁ εὐδαίμων M.
5 οὐ δὲ Emperius: οὐδὲ M.

1 Euripides.
2 This view that a man’s δαίμων may be good or bad is called the popular one in § 9. It is somewhat like the view which Dio takes for granted in Discourse i. 42 and makes Diogenes explicitly
TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

another, evidently, and doing this through friendship, not through hatred.

Int. Well, for my part, I think that what this poet \(^1\) says is nonsense. But Homer’s statement disturbs me because, wise though he was, he expressed that view about mankind.

Dio. And what absurdity is there in it? He does not say that all men without exception are wretched, but that there is no creature more wretched than man when he is wretched, just as we too undoubtedly should say; for, mark you, man is perhaps the only unfortunate creature of them all, just as he is the only fortunate one; for, you see, man alone is said to be ‘senseless,’ just as man alone is said to be ‘sensible.’ It is clear that a horse cannot be either unjust or dissolute, nor can a pig or a lion, just as it cannot be uncultured or illiterate.

Int. Well, I think you have made an excellent correction of Homer’s statement, and I reply that I believe man is fortunate.

Dio. Then when a man’s fortune or guardian spirit is good, you maintain that the man is fortunate, but when it is bad, that he is unfortunate, do you? \(^2\)

Int. I do.

Dio. And do you speak of a guardian spirit as good in a different sense?

state in Discourse iv. 80, that each man’s mind (νοῦς) is his \(δαίμον\) and may be good or bad. The philosophical view stated in § 9, which Dio says is his own, is that the \(δαίμον\) of every man is good. This was the Stoic belief. See Posidonius as quoted by Galen in De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis 5. 6, page 489 and Zeller 3. 1. 313 ff. In Discourse xxi. Dio regards the \(δαίμον\)s, not as spirits or minds ruling men from within, but as men such as popular leaders, kings, or tyrants, or generals who rule other people and direct their destinies.
"Ἡ πῶς γε;

Δ. Ὡσπερ ἄνθρωπον, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον θεόν· ἦ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴπερ νομίζεις ἀγαθοῦς εἰναι, οὐ δικaiοὺς νομίζεις καὶ φρονίμους καὶ σώφρονας καὶ τᾶς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ ἁδικοὺς καὶ ἀνοίητους καὶ ἀκολάστους;

Οὐδαμῶς ἔγγυε.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ δαίμονα, εἴπερ τινὰ ἁγαθὸν ἡγη, δῆλον ὃς δίκαιον ἡγη καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ φρόνιμον;

Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

Δ. Ἡ γὰρ ὅν κακὸν τινα νομίζεις, πονηρὸν οἶει τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἁδικὸν καὶ ἀνοίητον;

'Ανάγκη πάντως.

Δ. Τι δαί; οὐ τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐκαστὸν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δαίμονα βιοῦν, ὥσποῦς οὖ ἦ ποτε, ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ἑτέρον;

Οὐδαμῶς καθ᾽ ἑτέρον.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν τὸν τυχόντα ἁγαθὸν δαίμονος ἡγη δικαίως ζήν καὶ φρονίμως καὶ σωφρόνως; τοιοῦτον γὰρ ὀμολογεῖς εἶναι τὸν δαίμονα αὐτοῦ.

Πάνυ γε.

Δ. Τὸν δὲ μοχθηρὸν δαίμονος πονηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως καὶ ἀνοίητως καὶ ἀκολάστως;

Φαίνεται τάτα συμβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων νῦν.

Δ. Ἄρα ὅστις ἄνθρωπος νοῦν ἔχων ἑστὶ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σωφρός, οὕτως εὐδαιμόνως ἑστὶν ἁγαθὸ

1 ἦ added by Reiske.
TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

Int. What do you mean?
Dio. In the sense in which a man is good and, still more, a god; or if you do think that the gods are good, do you think that they are not just and sensible and self-controlled and in possession of all the other virtues, but unjust and senseless and intemperate?
Int. I certainly do not.
Dio. Then in the case of a guardian spirit also, if you really consider any to be good, is it not clear that you consider it just and useful and sensible?
Int. Why, of course.
Dio. Pray, when you think that any person is bad, do you believe that he is at the same time evil and unjust and senseless?
Int. Most assuredly so.
Dio. Well, then, do you not think that each man lives under the direction of his own guiding spirit, of whatever character it may be, and is not directed by a different one?
Int. Certainly not directed by that of a different one.
Dio. Then do you believe that the man to whom Fortune has given a good guardian spirit lives justly and prudently and temperately? For this is the character that you agree his spirit has.
Int. Certainly.
Dio. And that the man to whom Fortune has given the bad guardian spirit lives wickedly and senselessly and foolishly and intemperately?
Int. That appears to follow from what we have just said.
Dio. Then when a man is in possession of intelligence and is just and temperate, is this man fortunate because he is attended by a good spirit;
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

δαίμονι συνών· ὡστὶς δὲ ἀσελγῆς καὶ ἂφρων καὶ πανούργος, ἀνάγκη κακοδαίμονα φάσκειν ἐκείνου κακῷ δαίμονι συνεξενυμένου καὶ λατρεύοντα;

'Αληθές.

8 Δ. Σοφὸν δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ καλεῖς ἢ τὸν φρόνιμον ἀνθρώπον καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἀνδρείον, φαύλον δὲ τὸν ἀδικον καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ δειλόν;

Φημί.

Δ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἔτι δαίμαζε τῶν λεγόντων, ὅτι μόνον καὶ πάντα φασὶ τὸν σοφὸν εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα ὄντων οὐ κακοδαίμονα· ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ.

9 Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δοκεῖς μοι οὐ παρὰ δόξαν διειλέχθαι· ὅπως δὲ χρῆ δαιμόνιον τι ποιηρὸν ἤγείσθαι καὶ ἀδικον καὶ ἀνόσιον, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. Ἀλλως τε οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων ἔστώ, εἴπερ θεὶον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἤγείσθης, τοιοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνειν.

Δ. 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δόξαν διειλεγμαί τὰ πολλὰ, πλὴν γε αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πᾶς καὶ μόνος εὐδαιμόνων ὁ σοφός· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως

10 μὴ δοκῶ βιάζεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ φέρε, εἰ οὗν ἢ ἤγείσθη τὸ δαιμόνιον θείον καὶ ἄγαθὸν καὶ μηδενὶ κακοῖς μηδενὸς αὐτίων, πῶς φατε γίγνεσθαι κακοδαίμονα ἀνθρώπου; ἢ ὅταν μὴ προσέχοις μηδὲ πείθωνται τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἀγαθῷ ὄντι; ὀσπέρ εἰ νομίζομεν τοὺς ιατροὺς ἀπαντας ἄγαθοὺς

1 oὐν Cohoon: οὐχ.

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2 νομίζωμεν Reiske: νομίζεσ.
but when a man is dissolute and foolish and wicked, must we maintain that he is unfortunate because he is yoked to a bad spirit and serves it?

*Int.* True.

*Dio.* And do you describe as wise anyone except the man who is sensible and just and holy and brave, and as a fool him who is unjust and unholy and cowardly?

*Int.* I do.

*Dio.* Then you should no longer be surprised when people say that they hold the wise man alone and without exception to be fortunate or happy, whereas of fools there is none that is not unfortunate or unhappy; you should agree to this inasmuch as you also seem to hold that view.

*Int.* What you have said so far I think has been quite reasonable; but how are we to consider any spirit to be wicked and unjust and senseless, I am unable to say; and besides, it is not like you philosophers, if you really hold that the guiding spirit is divine, to assume any such thing.

*Dio.* Well, just now I have not been expressing my own view for the most part except in this one matter—that I believe every wise man is fortunate and happy and he alone; but in everything else I have accepted the views of the majority of men, that I may not seem to be forcing my own views on them. For just consider: If you really believe that the guiding spirit is divine and good and the author of no evil to anyone, how do you explain a man's becoming unfortunate, that is, unhappy? Or does that happen when he does not heed or obey his guiding spirit, this being good? It is just as if we should think that all physicians are good in the matters of
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἶναι τὰ τῆς τέχνης καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν πονηρὸν ἰατρὸν μηδὲ βλαβερόν, τῶν δὲ καμνότων κακῶς τινας πράττοντας βλέπομεν ¹ καὶ βλαπτομένους ἐν ταῖς νόσοις· δῆλον ὅτι τούτοις ἂν φαὶμεν μὴ ἐθέλειν τὰ προστατόμενα ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πειθο-μένους ἀνάγκη καλῶς ἀπαλλάττειν· καὶ ὃ τι ἂν γίγνοιτο ὅν ὁ θαυμάζοι τις. ³

Ὅτως ὅ ἔχει.

11 Δ. Πότερον οὖν δοκοῦσι σοι οἱ ἁγκρατεῖς ὄντως ἔδωκαν καὶ σώφρονες καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες, οὕτω ἐπειθέοις ἂν τοῖς ἰατροῖς τοῖς ἐμπείροις καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα προστάτουσι, ἣ τούναντιν οἱ ἁνόητοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι;

Δῆλον ὅτι οἱ ἀκόλαστοι.

Δ. Τί δὲ; τῷ δαίμονι χρηστῷ ἄντι πειθεῖσθαι καὶ ζῆν, ἐκεῖνον πότερον ἢ γῆ τῶν σωφρόνων εἶναι καὶ νοοῦν ἔχοντων ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀνοητῶν;

Τῶν σωφρόνων.

12 Δ. Τὸ δὲ γε μῆ πειθεῖσθαι μηδὲ προσέχειν ἀλλ' ἐναντίως τῷ θεῷ τε καὶ δαίμονίῳ πράττειν, τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀγνώμονων;

Πῶς δ' ἂν ἄλλως λέγοιμεν;

Δ. Εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους τῷ δαίμονίῳ τοιοῦτοι ἄντι εὐδαιμόνας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας κακοδαιμόνας;

'Ανάγκη.

¹ βλέπομεν Reiske: βλέπομεν.
² ὃ τι ἂν (Carpe) γίγνοιτο Cohoon: τι ἂν γίγνεσθαι.
³ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοι τις Carpe, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζομεν, Reiske: θαυμάζειν.

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their profession and that none of them is a bad physician or harmful, but yet should see some of their patients doing poorly and suffering harm in their illnesses; evidently we should say that they refuse to obey orders and that such patients as do obey cannot but come through well; and nothing that should happen to them would surprise anyone.

Int. That is right.

Dio. Do you think, therefore, that the really self-controlled and sober and sensible patients are those who would disobey their physicians when these are skilled and prescribe the treatment that is good for them, or, on the contrary, the senseless and uncontrolled?

Int. Evidently the uncontrolled.

Dio. Then again, do you hold that to obey the guardian spirit when it is good, and to live in conformity with its direction, is a mark of those who are temperate and sensible or of those who are wicked and senseless?

Int. Of those who are temperate.

Dio. And that to refuse to obey and give heed and to act contrary to that which is divine and from the guardian spirit is a mark of the bad and foolish?

Int. How could we say anything else?

Dio. And that those who obey the guiding spirit, since it is of this character, are 'fortunate and happy,' and that those who disobey are 'unfortunate and unhappy?'

Int. Necessarily so.

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4 οὐτος ἔχει Reiske: οὗτος ἔχειν.
5 οὐ: added by Geel.
6 δι' τών Cohoon: εἶναι, which Geel deletes.
Δ. Οὐκοῦν κἂνταῦθα συμβαίνει τὸν μὲν σοφὸν καὶ φρόνιμον εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι πάντα, τὸν δὲ φαύλοι κακοδαιμόνα, οὐχ ὡς τὸ δαίμονιον κακοῦ ὄντος, ἀλλ’ ὡς αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχονται ἕκεινῳ χρηστῷ ὄντι.

1 προσέχοντα Reiske: προσχόντα.
TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

Dio. Therefore, here also it turns out that the wise and sensible man is 'fortunate and happy' in every case, but that the worthless man is 'unfortunate and unhappy,' not because his guardian spirit is bad, but because, although it is good, he does not heed it.
THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON HAPPINESS

This Discourse, like the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, begins by saying that the majority of men act wrongly in respect to something and then proceeds to set them right. This same admonishing attitude is found also in Discourse 13. 16–28, where Dio tells of the beginning of his ‘preaching’ activity during his exile. For this reason von Arnim believes that all these Discourses, except the last of course, belong to the period of Dio’s exile.

The great majority of men, says Dio, select their occupation in life without first considering the important question of what the life of man should be, and what is the highest good for him, the ideal toward which he should strive. Only the man who knows what this highest good is and subordinates everything else to it can gain true success and happiness.
24. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ

Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν πεφροντικασιν ὅποιον χρή εἶναι οὐδὲ ὧ τι βέλτιστον ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν, οἱ ἕνεκα χρή πάντα τάλλα πράττειν, ὅδια δὲ ἐσπουδάκαςιν οἱ μὲν ἅπαντες, οἱ δὲ στρατηγεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἀγωνίαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ μονοκτηνίας, ἀλλοι περὶ γεωργίαν, ἀλλοι δύνασθαι λέγειν. ἦντα δὲ χρείαν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τούτων ἕκαστον ἢ τί τὸ ὀφελός έξ αὐτοῦ γίγνοντ' αὖ, οὐκ ἔσται

2 οὐδὲ ξένης. τουχαρῶν ἁπαντείας μὲν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται τίνες, οἱ ἄν φιλοπονόσιν αὐτὸ καὶ ἑκκεμελετῶσιν, καὶ παλαιάσαι ἀλλοι ἄλλων ἰκανότεροι καὶ πυκτεύσαι καὶ δραμεῖν καὶ τάλλα ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ τοῦ σπόρου μὴ διαμαρτεῖν, καὶ πλέοντες μὴ διαφθείραι τὴν νάν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ μονοσκήνην τίνες ἐπίστανται βέλτιον ἐτέρων· ἀγαθον δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ φρόνιμον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἴδοτα ὡστὶς ἐστὶν ὁ χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ νοῦν ἔχων, οὐδένα τούτων ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν.

8 Αὐτίκα περὶ τὸ λέγειν πάντως ἐσπουδάκασι

1 φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτὸ καὶ Empetius: φιλοπονῶσι καὶ UB, φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτοὶ M.
2 πάντως Geel: πάντες.

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1 See Horace, Odes 1. 1. for a similar reference to the different interests and occupations of men.
2 The same three types of oratory, the forensic, the deliberative, and the epideictic, are mentioned by Aristotle in his 318
THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE:
ON HAPPINESS

The majority of men have not as a rule concerned themselves at all with the question of what kind of men they ought to be, nor of what is ideally man's best good, to the attainment of which he should direct all his other activities; but, each in accordance with his taste, they have devoted themselves, some to horsemanship, some to military commands, some to athletic competitions, others to music, or farming, or expertness in oratory.¹ But what practical utility each of these pursuits has for themselves, or what possible advantage may accrue from it, they do not know or even try to ascertain. The consequence is that while some become good horsemen—in case they work hard at that and train diligently—and some become more efficient in wrestling than others, or in boxing, or running, or in other contests, or in avoiding crop failures, or in sailing the seas without wrecking their ships, and in knowledge of music some surpass others; yet the good and prudent man, one who can answer the all-important question, 'What man is he who is virtuous and intelligent?' cannot be found among them all.

Take oratory,² for instance. There are many well-

Rhetoric 1. 3. 3. Plato (Euthydemus 305 b) used the same expression ‘plead in courts of law.’
πολλοί τῶν ἄλευθέρων, καὶ φιλοτιμοῦν εἰναι δοκούν
tων, οἱ μὲν ἄστε ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνίζονται, καὶ πρὸς
dήμον λέγοντες, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἱσχὺν πλέον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρᾶττειν ὁ τι ἂν αὐτοὶ
θέλωσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἔνεκα τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
πράγματος, ὅπως δεινοὶ νομίζωσιν. τινὲς δὲ
αὐτὴς φασὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ τούτων
οἱ μὲν λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ συγγράφοντες μόνον, οὕς
ἐφή τις τῶν πρότερον μεθόρια εἶναι τῶν φιλοσόφων
καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν. ὅτι δὲ συμφέρει πράττονσιν
ἡ πρὸς ὁ τι ἡ δόξα αὐτοῖς ὑφέλιμος ἢ τι τῆς
ἐμπειρίας ταύτης ὀφελοῦ, οὐ σκοποῦσιν.

4 Εγὼ δὲ φημὶ πάντα τάλλα δίχα τῆς τοιαύτης
ἐπιμελείας καὶ ξητήσεως ὀλίγον ἄξια εἶναι, τῷ
δὲ ἐκείνῳ ἐννοῆσαντι καὶ ξυνέντι, τούτῳ καὶ τῷ
λέγειν καὶ τὸ στρατηγεῖν καὶ ὁ τι ἂν ἄλλο ποιῇ,
ξυμφέρον τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ γίγνεσθαι,
ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ ἐαυτὸ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων
ἀνοίητων, οἴοιπερ εἰσίν οἱ πολλοί, ἡ τὸ δύνασθαι
ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡ τὸ ἡδεῖς ζῆν οὐδὲν ἂν διαφέροι
πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ ψέγεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἱσχύειν
καὶ ἐπιπόνως ζῆν.

1 Plato (op. cit. 305 c) speaks of one such man and credits
Prodicus with the statement that these men occupy the
border between philosophy and politics. Isocrates would be
an example of such a man.
TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: HAPPINESS

born men and, in public estimation, ambitious, who are whole-heartedly interested in it, some that they may plead in courts of law or address the people in the assembly in order to have greater influence than their rivals and have things their own way in politics, while the aim of others is the glory to be won thereby, that they may enjoy the reputation of eloquence; but there are men who say they desire the mere skill derived from experience, some of these being indeed speakers, but others only writers, of whom a certain man of former times said they occupied the borderland between philosophy and politics. But what their activity profits them, or to what end the glory is of use to them, or in what respect this experience is worth their while, all this they fail to consider.

But as for me, I claim that, without this knowledge of which I speak and the quest for it, all the other things are little worth; but that for the man who has reflected upon that important point and has come to understand it, then practicing eloquence, exercising military command, or any other activity that may occupy him, is to his advantage and is directed toward a good. For the truth is that, for and of itself, receiving the approbation of senseless persons, which is just what the majority are, or having influence with men of that kind, or leading a pleasant life, will not, so far as happiness is concerned, be one whit better than being censured by them, or having no influence, or leading a laborious life.

2 See Plato, Crito 47a–c as to the foolishness of being guided by the opinion of the many.
THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE:
ON THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

This Discourse, like the twenty-first, twenty-third, and twenty-sixth, is one of the twelve Discourses which are in the form of a dialogue reported directly and are believed to belong to the period of Dio's exile, although in this case after the first few exchanges Dio does all the speaking. He introduces and illustrates the apparently original view, a suggestion for which he may have got from Plato's Republic 540 b, that the 'guiding spirit' (δαίμον) is not something within the man himself, but is some other man who controls him and determines his destiny. One man may even control a great number of men, such as are found in a city, a race, or an empire, and be the cause of their faring well or ill. In this case he is their δαίμον.

Even though Dio does not in this Discourse keep his promise given at the outset, to tell about the view of the philosophers that only the wise man is happy, yet the Discourse appears to be complete in the form in which we have it.
25. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ

Φασὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους λέγειν ὡς ἄρα εὐδαίμων εἶναι μόνος ὁ σοφός.
Α. Δέχονται γάρ.
*Αργὸν ὥσπερ ἀληθῆ σοι δοκοῦσι λέγειν;
Α. Ἐμοιγε.
Τι οὖν οὐχὶ κάροι ἔφρασας τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν;
Α. Ἐὰν ἔμοι σοὶ πρῶτον εἴπης ὅ τι νομίζεις τὸν δαίμονα εἶναι.

*Εγὼ μὲν τὸ κρατοῦν ἐκάστου καὶ καθ’ ὅν ἕτοι τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐκαστος, ὅμοιως μὲν ἐλεύθερος, ὅμοιως δὲ δοῦλος, καὶ πλοῦσιος καὶ πένης καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱδιώτης, καὶ πράττει ὁ σὰ ἀν πράττῃ.
Α. Τούτῳ δὲ ἐν αὐτῶ νομίζεις εἶναι τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ, τὸ κρατοῦν ἐκάστου, ὃ δαίμονα καλεῖς; ἢ ἔξω τι 1 ὃν, ἄρχον τε 2 καὶ κύριον τοῦ ἄνθρωπου;

1 ἔξω τε Capps: ἔξωθεν. 2 ἄρχον τε Reiske: ἄρχοντα.

1 The Stoic view. The Academy held practically the same view. Cf. Plato, Alcibiades 134a: "Then, unless a man is self-controlled and good, it is not possible for him to be wise"—οὐκ ἄρα ὁλὸν τε, ἐὰν μὴ τις σώφρων καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἂν, εὐδαίμονα ἔλναι, and Xenocrates as reported by Aristotle, Topica 2. 6, 112 a. 37: "Xenocrates says that it is the man who has a good soul who is happy"—Ξενοκράτης φησὶν εὐδαίμονα ἔλναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σοφότατον; and see Discourse 23. 8, where Dio speaking as a Stoic says that the wise man is sensible, just, holy, and brave.

For the meaning of 'happy' see p. 301, n. 1.

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THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

Interlocutor. People say the philosophers maintain that really only the wise man can be happy.¹

Dio. Yes, that is what they maintain.

Int. Well, do you think they speak the truth?

Dio. I do.

Int. Then why have you never stated their view to me?

Dio. I will, if you tell me first what you think the guiding spirit is.

Int. For my part, I believe that it is that which controls each individual and under whose direction each human being lives, alike whether he be a free man or a slave, whether he be rich or poor, a king or a plain citizen, and no matter what his business in life is.

Dio. And do you think that this principle is within the man himself, this thing which controls the individual, which we call the guiding spirit,² or that, while being a power outside of the man, it yet rules him and is master of him?

² Dio's word is δαιμων; other writers identify the inner spirit with τρόπος or ἂνδας. Cf. Epicharmus, frag. 258 Kaibel: "Character is man's good guiding spirit, but in some cases it is bad"—δ τρόπος ἀνθρώπου δαίμων ἄγαθος, οἷς δὲ καὶ κακὸς; Heracleitus, frag. 119: "Character is man's guiding spirit"—ῥόδος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων; and Menander, Epitreponies 179 ff.
Δ. ἄρα γε ἄνθρωπον ἄτερον; ἐστὶ γὰρ που ἄνθρωπος, ὁ μὲν τινὸς ἐνὸς κρατῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν, καὶ ἄγων ὅτι τε καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸς βουλεύει ἢ τοι πειθοὶ ἢ βια ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις. λέγω δὲ οὕτων ἄγωντον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε δημαγωγοὺς, οἷς πάντα πείθονται αἱ πόλεις καὶ ὅπως ἄν ἐκεῖνοι ἔξηγονται καὶ συμβουλεύουσιν, οὕτω πράττοντοι, ἐὰν τε πολλοὶς συμβουλεύωσιν ἐὰν τε εἰρήνην ἄγων ἐὰν τε τείχη οἰκοδομεῖσθαι ἐὰν τε τρίηρεις κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐὰν τε θυσίας θύειν ἐὰν τε ἐκβάλλειν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἢ χρήματα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ἀποσφάττειν καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅσοι ἀρχιμνοὶ καταβαλόντες ἢ ἀλλω τῷ τρόπῳ κέκτησαί τινα. ὅσον ἔνει Δυκαργόν τε Λακεδαίμονίων δαίμονα καλοῖς—ἐκεῖνον γὰρ κελεύσαντος ἢ τίνι μαστυγοῦνται Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ θυρανλοῦνται καὶ γυμνητεύουσι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ δοξαστὰ ἢ ἄτεροι ἀνέχονται—καὶ Πεισιστρατοῦ Αθηναίων τῶν πρότερον. οἴσθα γὰρ δήπου ὅτι Πεισιστράτου προστατοῦντος καὶ ἄρχοντος εἰς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐ κατήσαν ὁ δήμος, ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ διατρίβοντες γεωργοὶ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον ψιλῆν καὶ ἀδενδρον οὖσαν, ἐλαίαις κατεφύτευσαν, Πεισιστράτου προστατάξαντος καὶ τὰλλα ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι ἐβουλευοῦσιν, οὕτως ἐπράττον.
TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

_Int._ The latter is my belief.
_Dio._ Do you mean a different person? For I suppose it is a person who in one case controls one particular man, and in another case many men, one who leads them where and how he himself wishes, by using either persuasion, or force, or both. And I am saying nothing that is unknown, but refer to the popular leaders whom the cities obey in everything and do exactly as those men direct and advise, whether they advise them to go to war, or to remain at peace, or to build fortifications, or to construct triremes, or to offer sacrifices, or to banish some of their number, or to confiscate their property, or even to cut their throats; and I refer also to both kings and tyrants, and likewise to all masters of servants, who whether by paying down money for a person or by some other means have got anybody into their possession. It is just as if you should call Lycurgus a guiding spirit of the Spartans—for at his command even now the Spartans are scourged and sleep in the open and go lightly clad and endure many other things that would seem hardships to other peoples—and Peisistratus the guiding spirit of the ancient Athenians. For you know, I presume, that when Peisistratus was leader and ruler, the people did not come down to the city, but stayed on the land and became farmers, and that Attica, which was formerly bare and treeless, they planted with olive trees by the order of Peisistratus, and in everything else they did exactly as he wished.

And, later on, one might perhaps say that not only

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1 Nearly the same view is expressed in Discourse 3. 6–7.
ΩΣΜΟΣΟΚΛΕΑ καὶ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΑ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ: ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ἈΝΗΚΟΟΣ ΔΗΣΟΝ ΤΥΧΑΝΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΙΝ ΆΝΘΡΩΝ, ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ, ΟΤΙ ΝΑΧΜΑΧΕΙΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΣ ἩΝΑΓΚΑΣΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΡΟΕΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΑΙΝ ΙΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΦΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΓΩΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΝΑΥΣΙ ΠΟΥΣ ΣΑΘ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΣΦΕΤΕΡΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΩΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑΙ ΤΕΧΝΑΙ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΩΝ Ἡ ἘΝΕΝΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΣΤΑΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕΝ ΑΥΤΟῖΣ, ὩΝ ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΣΟῦΤΟΝ ἘΠΡΑΤΤΟΝ ἘΦ ὈΣΟΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΠΑΡΗΝ, ΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΥΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟῦ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΣΤΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑΙΤΑ ΑΛΛΟΥΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ ἨΟΣ ΦΗΣΕΙΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ, ΟΙΝΟΝ 'ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΛΕΙΝΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ 'ΥΠΕΡΒΟΛΟΝ, ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΙΝΑΣ ἘΠΙΕΙΚΕΙΣ ΤΥΧΟΝ, ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΥ ΠΟΥΡΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΕΠΟΥΣ.

5 ἜΤΙ ΔΕ ΚΥΡΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΣΩΝ ἘΠΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ  

1 δαίμονα γενέσθαι, δαίμονα 2 βασιλικόν τινα καὶ ἐλευθέριον, δς δουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς Μήδοις πρότερον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφεῖλετο καὶ πάντων ἀπέφηνε δεσπότας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. Ἐτὶ δὲ Καμβύσην

1 Ἐπὶ χρόνον τινά Cohoon: ἀπὸ χρόνον τινὸς.
2 δαίμονα Cohoon: καὶ, which Reiske deleted.

1 That is, Themistocles when Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 B.C.
2 The chief seaport of Athens and about 5 miles away. A thick wall was built all round the Munychian peninsula in which the Peiraeus was. This wall kept close to the sea and was continued along the north side of the harbour of Cantharus. The entrances to the harbour of the Peiraeus and to the two small havens of Munychia and Zea on the east side of the peninsula were fortified with moles. 90 stades are approxi-
TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

others but Themistocles and Pericles also became guiding spirits; for I take it that you have heard about these two men, how the one \(^1\) compelled the Athenians, who had been foot soldiers before, to fight on the sea, to give up their country and their city to the barbarians, as well as the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors, and stake all their fortunes on their fleet, and afterwards to fortify the Peiraeus \(^2\) with walls of more than ninety stades in length and enjoined upon them by his orders other measures of the same kind, some of which they continued to carry out only as long as he was present, and others even when he was in banishment and after his death. \(^3\) Yes, and at a still later time certain other men, you may perhaps say, have become guiding spirits of the Athenians, for example, Alcibiades the son of Cleinias, and Nicias, \(^4\) Cleon, \(^5\) and Hyperbolus \(^6\) — some few of them honourable men perhaps, but the rest utterly wicked and cruel.

Then again you might say that Cyrus \(^7\) became for a time a guiding spirit of the Persians, a spirit kingly indeed and liberal in character, who, when the Persians were enslaved to the Medes, gave them liberty and made them masters of all the peoples of Asia; and you

mately 10·34 miles. Thucydides 2. 13. 7 gives the distance as 60 stades.

\(^1\) Nothing is said about the achievements of Pericles.

\(^2\) Athenian general and leader of the aristocratic party who opposed Alcibiades and thoroughly disapproved of the Sicilian expedition.

\(^3\) Originally a tanner. Opposed Pericles and for six years of the Peloponnesian war led the party opposed to peace.

\(^4\) Athenian demagogue of servile origin who came into prominence during the Peloponnesian war.

\(^5\) Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire.
καὶ Δαρείον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐφεξῆς, τὸν μὲν Καμβύσην τά τε χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀναλίσκοντα καὶ αὐτοὺς κατατοξεύοντα καὶ στρατελάσ προστάσιον καὶ συνεχείς καὶ μηδέποτε ἑώτα σοὶ Μένιου· τὸν δὲ Δαρείον χρήματα μὲν ὡς οἶδον τε πολλὰ συναγαγόντα καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ γενόμενοι αὐτῶν ὅπως ἐργασθήσεται, πολέμους δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀναγκάζοντα πολέμειν χαλεποὺς καὶ ἐπικυδίους, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὸν πρὸς Σκύθας καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Νουμᾶν μὲν Ἔρωμαιοι τυχὸν ἀν λέγοιεν αὐτῶν ἕδαιμονα, Καρχηδόναν δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀννίβαν, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἡ Φίλιππου, ὅς Μακεδόνας ταπεινοῦς ὄντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσαντος Ὀλυμπίους τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἱσχυροὺς ἐποίησε καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπάσης Εὐρώπης ἐγκρατεῖς. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὠστερὸν μετ’ ἐκείνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξαγαγὼν ἅμα μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπέδειξεν, ἅμα δὲ πενιχροτάτους, καὶ ἄμα μὲν ἱσχυροὺς, ἅμα δὲ ἀσθενεῖς, φυγάδας τε καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς αὐτοὺς, Αἰγυπτῶν τε καὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα καὶ Ἐκβάτανα προσθείσ,

1 αὐτῶν Εμπερίου, αὐτῶν Μ, αὐτῶν UB.
2 τε Κοχούν, μὲν Ρείςκε, δὲ.

1 Second of that name and son of Cyrus the Great, reigned 529–522 B.C., conquered Egypt, but was unsuccessful against the Ammonians and the Ethiopians.
2 Defeated at Marathon by the Athenians.
TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

might go on to name Cambyses and Darius and their successors: Cambyses, who squandered their money, shot his subjects down, sent them on toilsome campaigns without intermission, and never allowed them to stay at home; and Darius, who amassed as much money as possible, caused the land to be cultivated, and like the other forced them to wage difficult and dangerous wars, for instance, as I recall, the one against the Scythians and the one against the Athenians.

And thus also by the Romans Numa might perhaps be named as their guiding spirit, and Hanno and Hannibal by the Carthaginians, and Alexander, by the Macedonians, or else Philip, who, when the Macedonians were inglorious and weak, and his father had ceded part of his kingdom to the Olym-thians, made them strong and warlike and masters of nearly all Europe. Then afterwards Alexander, succeeding Philip, led them over into Asia and made them at once the wealthiest of all peoples and at the same time the poorest, at once strong and at the same time weak, the same men being both exiles and kings, because while he annexed Egypt, Babylon, Sousa, and Ecbatana, he deprived them of Aegae.

3 Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, revered by the Romans as the author of their whole religious worship.

4 A great exaggeration. By defeating the Greeks at Chæronea in 338 B.C. he did put an end to the independence of Greece. His father was Amyntas II., who reigned 390–369 B.C.

5 Called Shusan in the Old Testament. It was the winter residence of the Persian kings.

6 Capital of the Median kingdom and afterwards the summer residence of the Persian and Parthian kings.

7 Also called Edessa. It was the ancient capital of Macedonia and the burial-place of the Macedonian kings.
Αλγάς δὲ καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δίον ἀφελόμενος.

7 Καρχηδονίους δὲ Ἐννῶν μὲν ἀντὶ Τυρίων ἐποίησε Δίβυας, καὶ Διβύην κατοικεῖν ἀντὶ Φοινίκης, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκτήσας καὶ συχνὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ λιμένας καὶ τριήρεις, καὶ πολλῆς μὲν γῆς, πολλῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἄρχειν. Ἀννίβας δὲ πρῶς τῇ Διβύῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτῆς κρατήσας παρέσχεν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτης αὐθίς δὲ αὐτῶς ἐγένετο ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν μεταβάλειν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, πολλοὺς πρώτοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας, καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχών αὐτὴν ἔλειν τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐ βουληθείς δὲ, ὥς φασί, διὰ τοὺς οἴκους ἀντιστασίας.

Καίτων 1 τούτων ἵνως οὔτε Καρχηδονίους οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις ἁγάθον δαίμονα προσήκει 2 αὐτῶν 3 καλέσαι. Νουμᾶς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην παραλαβῶν μικρῶν καὶ ἀδοξον ἔτι, ἐν ἄλληρα χώρα δὲ ὁμισμένην 4 καὶ σύγκλιδας καὶ πονηρῶς ἔχουσαν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς προσχώροις πάσιν ἐχθροὺς καὶ πένητας καὶ ἄγριους καὶ ἐπικυνούντως ζῶντας διὰ 5 τὴν Ῥωμιλοῦ χαλεπότητα, τὴν τε γῆν 6 αὐτοὺς βεβαίως ἔχειν ἐποίησε καὶ

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1 καίτων Capps: καί.
2 προσήκει Reiske: προσήκειν.
3 αὐτῶν Emporius: αὐτῶν.
4 δὲ ὁμισμένην Emperius: διωμισμένην.
5 διὰ added by Emperius.
6 χαλεπότητα, τὴν τε γῆν Emporius: χαλεπωτάτην τε γῆν Μ, χαλεπωτάτην γῆν UB.
TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

Pella,¹ and Dium.² And the Carthagians Hanno³ made Libyans instead of Tyrians, forced them to live in Libya instead of Phoenicia, caused them to possess great wealth, many trading-centres, harbours, and warships, and to rule over a vast land and a vast sea. Then in addition to Libya, Hannibal enabled them to control Italy itself for a period of seventeen years; but after that he was responsible for their being driven from their homes and for their capital itself being moved at the order of the Romans,⁴ after he had previously slain great numbers of these Romans and come within a little of taking Rome itself, although, men say, he had no desire to do this, on account of his political opponents at home.

And yet Hannibal, perhaps, neither the Carthaginians nor the Romans could fittingly claim as their good guiding spirit. But Numa took over Rome when it was still small, unknown to fame, and situated in a land owned by others, when it had as its inhabitants an unprincipled rabble, who were, besides, at enmity with all their neighbours, were both poverty-stricken and savage, and lived a precarious existence because of the harshness of Romulus’ rule; caused them to hold their land in security and to be

¹ Made capital of the Macedonian kingdom by Philip. There Alexander the Great was born.
² A city in Macedonia at the foot of Mt. Olympus on the north side. About two miles from it was the grave of Orpheus. See also vol. I., p. 50, n. 2.
³ Son of Hamilcar I. and probably identical with the African explorer of that name and with the general surnamed Sabellus. His date is uncertain.
⁴ Not quite accurate. In the year 149 B.C. the Romans bade the Carthaginians dismantle their city and move at least ten miles from the sea. They preferred to fight, and their city was destroyed. Captive suggests καταβαλείν (being destroyed).
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φίλους εἶναι τοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ νόμους καὶ θεοῦς καὶ πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο, καὶ πάσης αἰτίας ὑπῆρξε τῆς λεγομένης ὤστερον εὐθαμονίας.

9 "Ἐχομι δὴ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν πόλεων καὶ γενῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν τῇ καὶ κακῶς πραξάντων διὰ τινὰς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν γενομένους καὶ προστάτας ἀλλὰ ἢκανάς σωμαὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἐνδεδείχθαι. εἰ δὴ τούτους καλεῖς δαίμονας οἱ τῶν υπ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ δὴ οὐδὲ ἐκαστὸς βέλτιος ἢ χείρον ἐπραξάν, ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούομι.

1 οὕτως Cohoon: ὡς.
TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

on terms of friendship with their neighbours, and
gave them a code of laws, and gods to worship, and a
political constitution, thus becoming the author of all
their subsequent felicity of which all men speak.

I could go on to speak in the same way about the
other cities, and races, and populations which have
fared well or ill on account of certain men who
were their rulers and leaders. However, my own
opinion has, I think, been made sufficiently clear.
So, if you do call those I have mentioned in very
truth guiding spirits of those who were under their
sway and who severally fared better or worse on
account of them, I should be glad to hear what
you have to say.
THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION

This is another of the twelve dialogues reported directly and probably all written by Dio while in exile. In this one Dio considers with his interlocutor the meaning of ‘deliberation’ (τὸ βουλεύεσθαι). It does not mean making a blind guess as to the truth of something. There must be some knowledge, however imperfect, upon which to base the conjecture. If, on the other hand, there is complete knowledge of the thing, no room is left for conjecture, that is, deliberation. Then Dio attempts to show that one cannot deliberate about the future because it is non-existent. One must have something real about which to deliberate. This position rather surprises us, because deliberation is most naturally about some course of action in the future. After this Dio, unconsciously perhaps, shifts his position and maintains that to deliberate is to form correct conclusions about a matter from a full knowledge of all the factors involved. However, one must admit that it was Dio’s companion, rather than Dio himself, who was so certain that deliberation comes into play only in those cases where there is some knowledge, but not enough to enable one to decide with certainty. Dio concludes by exhorting men earnestly to strive to gain full knowledge about the most important things in life in order that their deliberations in these matters may lead to the right conclusions.

Sonny (Ad Dionem Chrysostomum Analecta, p. 196 f.) expresses the view that this Discourse and the pseudo-Platonic Sisyphus, which apparently was written about 350 B.C., were drawn from a common source, while Dümmel (Academica, p. 194) would go further and name Antisthenes’ paradox ὃ τι οὐκ ἐστι ξηρεῖ (seeking that which is not) as this common source. On the other hand, Hirzel (Der Dialog, II., p. 105), von Arnim, as one may infer from his note on §§ 4–5, and Wegehaupt (De Dione Chrysostomo Xenophonis Scolatore, p. 65 ff.) maintain that Dio used the Sisyphus directly. Wegehaupt points to so many parallels between this Discourse and the Sisyphus as to make his theory appear very reasonable. If this theory is not correct, then Dio and the author of the Sisyphus followed their common source very closely.
26. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΘΑΙ

Πάλαι, καθήμενος καὶ ἵµῶν ἀκούων, ὡτε πολλὰς ὥρας διετρίβητε παρὰ τινὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν βουλευόµενοι περὶ τῶν πραγµάτων, σκοπῶν παρ’ ἑµαυτῷ καὶ ἀναζητῶ τι ἐστὶ τούτῳ ὃ φατε βουλευεσθαί ἢ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ βουλευεσθαί. ἢ ἀρα γὰρ περὶ τούτου τις βουλευεται τοῦ πράγµατος ὁ οἶδε τε καὶ ἐπίσταται;

Ὅν δοκεῖ μοι περὶ ὃν τις οἶδε, περὶ τούτων βουλευεσθαί, ἀλλὰ ἢδη εἰδέναι.

Τῇ δαί; ἢ οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ ἐπίσταται, περὶ τούτων ὃσπερ διαµαντεύοµενος καὶ ἀναζητῶν γνῶναι ὃ οὐκ οἶδεν;

Ὅν δοκεῖ μοι οὐδὲ οὕτως δύνασθαι βουλευεσθαί περὶ τούτων περὶ ὃν οὐδεµίαν ἐπιστήµην ἔχει.

2 Ἀρα οὖν μὴ τοιόνδε τι ἢ τὸ βουλευεσθαί, ὡστε τινὰ µὲν εἰδέναι, τινὰ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ τούτο ἢ περὶ οὐ βουλεύονται ἄνθρωποι; ἵνα δὲ µᾶλλον τῶ λόγῳ παρακολούθησωμεν, δι’ εἰκόνος τινὸς ἐπιδείξοµεν αὐτὸ. ὑποτιθέµεθα γὰρ εἰδέναι µὲν

1 πολλὰς ὥρας Cobet: πολλὰς ὥρας.
2 The phrase ἢ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ βουλευεσθαί was deleted by Emperius, followed by Arnim and Budé, as being a repetition of the preceding. It may well be, however, Dio’s own closer definition of the problem: ἢ ὃ τι U, ἢ omitted by M.
3 ἢ after οὐδὲ deleted by Reiske.

1 The Sisyphus has the same sub-title,
THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE:
ON DELIBERATION

Dio. For a long time, as I sat and listened to
you men when you spent many hours at the home
of one of our public men in deliberating about certain
affairs of state, I have been considering by myself
and examining the meaning of that which you call
deliberation, or what deliberation in the abstract is. Does a person really deliberate about a matter which
he knows and understands?

Interlocutor. I do not think that when a person
knows certain things, he deliberates about them, but
that he already knows them.

Dio. Well then, when there are things he does
not know or understand, is it about these that he
deliberates, casting about as it were like a diviner,
and thus seeking to find out what he does not know?

Int. It does not seem to me that this man, either,
can deliberate about things when he has no know-
ledge about them.

Dio. Then can deliberation be something like
this—that when men know some things but do not
know other things, this is the subject about which
they deliberate? And in order that we may follow
the argument better, we shall make it clear by an
illustration. For instance, we assume that we know

2 Cf. Sisyphus 387 c. 3 Ibid. 387 d. 4 Ibid. 388 a.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

ημᾶς Χαρικλέα καὶ Χαρίζενον, ὅπου δὲ οἰκοῦν, ἀγνοεῖν, στοχάζεσθαι δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶν.
3 μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ἤ τὸ βουλευέσθαι, ἢ ἦστε ἄξιον οἴδαμεν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ ἄξιον οἴδετο ὡς μὲν τεκμαίρεσθαι ἢ; καθάπερ οἱ ἀρτιαίοντες ὡςαι μὲν ὅτι ἐν ταῖς κληρονομίαις εἴχοντο καὶ οidepressίας ἂν εἴδοσθαί, μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι τοιοῦτον ἢ, ὡς ἔδειχεν μὲν τι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἄγνωσθαι, στοχασάμενοι ἐνότε προβαλαίμεν τούτως ἑπετύχομεν καὶ μετ’ οὐδεμιᾶς ἑπιστήμης;

4 Φέρε γὰρ ἰδώμενον ὑποθέσω ἐστι τὸ πράγμα. τὰ ὅντα καὶ ἐστί καὶ ἔγενετο καὶ ὑφέστηκε, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὅντα οὔτε ἐστὶν οὔτε ἔγενετο οὔτε ὑφέστηκεν. οὐ δὲ καὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἡδή ὅντων· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ οὐδέν ὄφελος περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ὑφεστηκότων βουλευέσθαι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν; ἵνα μὴ γένηται τὰ γεγονότα; οὐ δύναμαι μὴ γεγονέναι. ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ ἢ τὰ

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1 The phrase μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ἤ τὸ βουλευέσθαι of the MSS. was deleted by Arnim followed by Budé. ἄρα Emperius: ἄρα.
2 ἢ added by Wegesahaupt.
3 Sonny would add ἢ τοσοῦτον.
4 ἀγνωσθεῖν Emperius: ποιοῦμεν.
5 ἐστιν Dindorf: ἐστὶ.

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1 Cf. Sisyphus 388c.
2 In the game ἀρτιαίομος the challenger asked another to guess whether the objects held in his closed hand were odd or even in number. In Aristophanes, Ploutos 816, where we read στατήριοι δ' οἱ θεράπτοντες ἀρτιαίομεν χρυσοῖς, the game seems to have been to guess the number of coins, for the denomination of the stater was known—two drachmas. Ibid. 1057 the
THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

Charicles and Charixenus, but do not know where they live, and so are making conjectures about their place of residence; is not this deliberation—the drawing of inferences from what we do know about that which we do not yet know? ¹ Or, just as people playing at odd and even ² know that the challengers have something in their hands but not how much; yet sometimes they do hit upon the right answer and in that way come off victorious. ³ May we conclude, then, that deliberation too is like this—that though there is something we do know, yet concerning all the other things which we do not know, we make a guess and sometimes accidentally hit it although without any knowledge?

Now come, let us see what the nature of the thing is: ⁴ Things which are in being both are, and have come to be, and exist, while things that are not in being neither are, nor have come into being, nor do they exist. Now we do not need deliberation for things which are already in being; for there is no profit in deliberating about things which have come into being and exist. In fact, what imaginable reason will we have for deliberating about them? In order that things that have come into being may not come into being? It is impossible for them not to have come into being. Well, is it in order that things which are
game proposed was merely guessing the number of teeth the old hag had left.
³ Cf. Sisyphus 387 d.
⁴ von Arnim feels that §§ 4–5 do not fit into the context. In the Sisyphus 390 d–391 c this part of the exposition does come in more naturally because Socrates has just expressed the view that one man cannot deliberate better than another because deliberating is like shooting an arrow at random when there is no target to aim at.
δόντα; πώς; 1 δυνάμεθα ποιήσαι μή εἶναι οὕτως ὡς ἑγένετο; ἀλλ' ἂν μὴ ὑφεστήκη; τάν τὸ ὁν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ὄντων

5 τί ἂν τις καὶ βουλεύοιτο; περὶ τῶν οὖν βουλευόμεθα; περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ὡς δ' ὁ λόγος ὑποδείκνυσι. τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα οὐτε ἐστὶν οὐτε γέγονεν οὐτε ὑφεστήκεν. περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων οὖν τίς δύναται βουλεύεσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑφεστάτων; τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ὃν οὐδὲν ἐστί. περὶ δὲ τοῦ οὖκ ὄντος οὐδεὶς δύναται βουλεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς ἃρα δύναται βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ ἐπὶ ὄντι 2 τινὶ ἐστὶν. τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐκ ἐστὶν. οὐκ ἃρα οὔδε τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων δύνατ' ἂν εἶναι.

6 Τί οὖν; ὁ ἄμονος καὶ ὁ ἀνεπιστήμων ἀρμονίας καὶ μέλους καὶ ὑμνημοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτων τάξεως καὶ κινήσεως δύνατ' ἂν καλῶς βουλεύσασθαι περὶ μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν;

Οὔδαμως.

Τί δὲ; ὁ γεωμετρίας ἅπειρος περὶ σῶματος καὶ μῆκους καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους βουλευόμενος ἂν καλῶς βουλεύοιτο;

Οὔδε οὕτος.

Τί δὲ; ὁ νεώς ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος περὶ νεῶς ἄρχῆς καὶ ἔργων κυβερνητικῶν ἰκανῶς ἂν βουλευόμενος βουλεύοιτο;

Οὔδε οὕτος.

1 πώς; δυνάμεθα Cappe: πώς δυνάμεθα.
2 ὅτι added by Cappe.
in being may not be? Absurd! Can we prevent their being just as they have come to be? Well, is it in order that they may not exist? Everything which is in being has existence. But about things that are in being why should a person deliberate anyway? About what things, then, do we deliberate? About the future, as the argument suggests. But the future neither is, nor has been, nor exists. Hence, about things that are not and do not exist, who is able to deliberate? For the thing not in being is nothing, and about that which is not no one can deliberate. Hence no one can deliberate about things which are yet to be; for deliberation deals with a thing that is, and that which is yet to be does not exist. Therefore deliberation cannot possibly be about the future either.

Take another case: Would the unmusical person and the one who has no knowledge of harmony, melody, rhythm, and their arrangement and movement be able to deliberate successfully about music and the operations involved in music?¹

Int. Certainly not.

Another point: Would the man who has no knowledge of geometry, in deliberating about a solid body, its length, width, and height, deliberate successfully.²

Int. No, he also would not.

Dio. Then further: Would the man who does not know how to command a ship, in deliberating about the command of a ship and the duties of the captain, deliberate competently?³

Int. No, he would not, either.

¹ Cf. Sisyphus 389 c-d. ² Ibid. 388 e. ³ Ibid. 389 c-d.
"Ὅστις ἄρα οὐδὲν ἴκανὸς περί οὐδενὸς οὔτε πεπαίδευται οὔτε οἴδεν, οὗτος οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτου ἴκανός ἐστιν. χρὴ οὖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μάλιστα φρονήσεως καὶ παιδείας, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἡ ῥάδιον περὶ ἀπάντων πραγμάτων βουλεύσασθαι καὶ εἰδέναι τὸ συνοίων ἐκάστη βουλή καὶ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ οἱ μουσικοί καὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι καὶ οἱ κυβερνηταὶ περὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἔργων τεχνικῶν 3 σκέπτονται καὶ ἀπαντεῖς οἱ περὶ τι δενοί, καὶ συνείλατε περὶ αὐτῶν ἴκανοι 4 εἰσιν, οὕτω δὴ 5 καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἴκανοι ὠμεν βουλεύομαι καὶ λέγειν. ἀτοπον γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀρτιάζοντας σύνεσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζοντας καὶ μὴ ὀρῶντας τοῦτο περὶ οὗ ἀποφαί- νονται, τοὺς δὲ περὶ πραγμάτων βουλευομένους μὴτε ξύνεσιν μὴτε ἐπιστήμην μὴτε ἐμπειρίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ τούτων ἐνίοτε τῶν μεγίστων ὄντων, περὶ ὀμοιοίας καὶ φιλίας οἰκίων καὶ πόλεων καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου καὶ περὶ κατοικίσεως καὶ περὶ κατοικίσεως, περὶ τε παῖδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν.

1 ὠστίς ἄρα Wilamowitz: ἄρα ὠστίς.
2 οὔτε . . . οὔτε Empirius: οὔδε . . . οὔδε.
3 τεχνικῶς or μετὰ τέχνης Cohoon: ἀτεχνως.
4 ἴκανοι added by Reiske.
5 δὴ Empirius: δεὶ M, δὲ UB.
THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

Then a person who has had no competent education and no knowledge whatever about a thing is not competent to deliberate about it, either. Therefore it is necessary to give the greatest attention to prudence and education, in order that it may be easy for us to deliberate about all things whatsoever and to know what is going to suit each deliberation and not to make serious mistakes; but just as musicians, geometericians, and ship-captains consider with professional skill their own particular work, and as all persons who possess skill in any matter are also competent to understand their work, in like manner let us also be competent to deliberate and speak about our own business. For it is absurd that while those playing at odd and even show intelligence, and that too when they are guessing and do not see the thing about which they make a guess, yet those who are deliberating about public matters should display neither intelligence, nor knowledge, nor experience, although these matters are sometimes of the greatest importance, such as concord and friendship of families and states, peace and war, colonization and the organization of colonies, the treatment of children and of wives.2

1 Sisyphus 390 b.
2 Herwerden in Mnem. XXXVII, p. 321, argues plausibly that the conclusion of this Discourse is missing.
THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

Dio begins by saying that it is at symposia and at the great national festivals that the characters of men are shown most clearly. Then, after speaking of the varied effects of wine on men according to their characters, he passes on to a description of the different types of men seen at one of the national festivals such as the Isthmian games. The last type mentioned is the philosopher, who finds it just as difficult to get the attention of men as the physician does. The elaboration of this thought, and the comments on the foolishness of men in giving no heed to either their bodies or their souls, take up the second half of the Discourse.

From this brief outline it will be seen that the title is not very suitable. What Dio says about symposia and national festivals is merely to gain attention for his real theme, which is the folly of men in taking no thought of either body or soul until trouble is actually upon them. It is very natural for Dio here, as in other parts of his writings, to refer to bodily infirmities, because he suffered from ill health himself as a result of the hardships incurred in exile.

The simplicity of the ideas expressed and their similarity to those found in the eighth and ninth Discourses, which belong to the period of Dio’s exile, make it seem probable that this Discourse also was written in that period.
27. ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΩΙ

Οἱ ἀνθρώποι γίγνονται καταφανεῖς ὁποῖαν ἔχουσι διάνοιαν ἐκαστὸς ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεαις οὐχ ἦττον ἡ εἰ τοῖς συμποσίοις, πλὴν ὅτι πουκιλώτερον τὸ τῶν πανηγύρεων καὶ χρόνου πλείονος.

Οὖκοιν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια δῆπον οἱ μὲν τινες ἀφικνοῦνται τοῦ πιεῖν ἐνεκεν καὶ οὐθὲν ἄλλο πράττοντων, ὡσπερ οἱ διψοῦντες τῶν ὀδοιπόρων, ἐπειδὰν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ κρήνην τινά, πίνοντων ἐπικύψαντες. ἄλλα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐμπληθέντες καὶ τὸ δύσος ἀποσβέσαντες ἡσυχῆ ἀπαλλάττονται, οὕτε πράξαντες 2 οὕτε εἰπόντες ἀτοπον οὐθέν, 3 οἱ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ ἐνίοτε καὶ λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογῶν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς δεομένους αὐτῶν αἰ τε Νύμφαι καὶ δ Ἔλινυσος. ἄλλα ἄτε διηύραμβος

1 τὸ Εμπερίου: τὰ. 2 πράξαντες Εμπερίου: κράξαντες. 3 οὐθέν added by Arnim.

1 The *panegyris* was an assembly of the people of a particular district, province, tribe, or nation to worship at a common sanctuary. In addition, there were spectacles, amusements, games, chariot races, political discussions and resolutions, buying and selling, etc. For further details see § 5 of this Discourse, and Discourses eight and nine. In many respects it resembled a modern fair. As illustrations we think first of the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

2 The *symposium* (a drinking together) was the name given the entertainment which followed a δεῖπνον or dinner-party. In it the pleasure of drinking wine was heightened by agreeable conversation, music, dancing, games, philosophical discussion, etc.
THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

The qualities of mind and character of individual men stand revealed at our national festivals¹ no less than at symposia,² except that at festivals the revelation is more varied and extends over a longer period of time.³

As to symposia, we may assume that some persons attend for the sake of drinking and devote themselves to that, just as thirsty wayfarers when they come to a spring stoop down and drink. Yet travellers, when they have drunk their fill and quenched their thirst, quietly go their way without having done or said anything indecorous, but the others, on the contrary, both say and do many disagreeable things at times. For Dionysus does not welcome his votaries who need him with the same sort of welcome as the Nymphs do theirs;⁴ but since he is of a frenzied nature

³ For the same thought cf. Discourse 8. 6; 30. 33; 32. 53; 33. 14 f.
⁴ In other words, the effects of wine and of water upon those who partake of them are quite different.

Dionysus, the god of wine, was the son of Zeus, the god of thunder and lightning. When Zeus appeared in that character before Semelè, the mother of Dionysus, she was consumed by the lightning, but her child was saved. The nymphs, goddesses of lesser rank, were attached to various kinds of places. Dio is here thinking of those who haunted springs, who were called specifically ναύλατος. Cf. Discourse 12. 30 νάμαιν νυμφῶν ποτήριοι, "drinkable rills of nymphs."
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

'ών δ' Διόνυσος καὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ καὶ βροντῆς γενόμενος, ὥς φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, τοὺς ἀμαθέστερον χρωμένους ἀτεχνῶς πυρὸς πλημμένους καὶ τῷ ὄντι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐμβρονητοὺς ἐποίησεν. οὐδεὶς μὲν οὖν σχεδόν τι μανώμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ δρᾶσιν, ὡσπερ Ὅμηρος φησι τὸν Κένταυρον μεθυσθέντα ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πειρίθου οἰκίᾳ κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι.

3 καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ φίτες ἀδολέσχαι οἶον ἀκροατῶν τινῶν λαβόμενοι τῶν συμποτῶν ἀναιαθήτους καὶ μακροὺς διατίθενται λόγους: οἱ δὲ ἄδουσι καὶ ἀπίδουσι, σφόδρα ᾠμουσι οὐτες, καὶ σχεδόν τι μᾶλλον λυποῦσι τῶν μαχομένων καὶ λαοδρομοῦσιν. ἦτεροι δὲ αὐστηροὶ καὶ σάφρονες εἶναι λέγοντες ἀποκαίουσιν ἀθανατε, μήτε ποτὸ τὸ μέτριον μήτε

4 λαλάς κοιμώνειν ἄξιοντες. δὲ δ' ἂν ὃ πρῶς ἄνηρ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἰκανῶς ἡρμοσμένος, τῶν τε ἄλλων ῥαδίως ὑπομένει τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ αὐτὸς εὐσχημονεῖ· ὥς οἰον τὸν ὁ ἀμαθὴς ἱρον εἰς τὸ δέον καδιστὰς ρυθμοῦ τε καὶ μελέτι τῷ προσήκοντι, τοὺς τε οἰκείους λόγους εὐσφέρου καὶ δεξιότητι καὶ πειθοὶ προσαγόμενος τοὺς παρόντας, ὡστε ἐμελέστερον καὶ φιλικότερον ἑυνέιναι ἀλλήλους.

5 Ἄν, μὲν δὴ τῶν συμπωσίων τοιαύτα ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πανηγύρεις, οἱ μὲν ἰστορίας

1 μέτριον Geel: μέτρων. 2 εὐσχημονεῖ added by Reiske.
3 τὸν added by Cohoon.

1 See Homer, Odyssey 21, 295-298 and Ovid. Metamorphoses 12. 219. Peirithoüs, leader of the Lapithae in Thessaly, invited the Centaurs to his wedding feast, when one of them, named Eurytion (Eurytus according to Ovid), became drunk with wine and attacked the bride Hippodameia. Πειρίθους shortened to Πειρίθους, gen. Πειρίθου.
THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

and the child of lightning and thunder, as the poets say, he literally fills with fire those who use him in too ignorant a way, and actually makes the majority of them thunderstruck or stupefied. Nay rather, his votaries, being practically crazed, do many evil things, just as Homer says of the Centaur that in a fit of drunkenness he wrought evil in the home of Peirithoüs.¹ And others, too, who are naturally loquacious, feeling that they have got their table-companions for an audience, recite stupid and tedious speeches; while still others sing in tune and out of tune,² although they have no gift whatever for music; and one might almost say that they give more annoyance than those who quarrel and use abusive language. But there is another class of men who claim to be abstemious and temperate, that bore people to death by their disagreeable manner,³ since they will not condescend either to drink moderately or to take part in the general conversation. But the man that is gentle and has a properly ordered character, easily endures the rudeness of the others, and acts like a gentleman himself, trying to the best of his ability to bring the ignorant chorus into a proper demeanour by means of fitting rhythm and melody. And he introduces appropriate topics of conversation and by his tact and persuasiveness attempts to get those present to be more harmonious and friendly in their intercourse with one another.

So much for symposia. But people also attend the national festivals, some just to see the sights

¹ See Discourse 14. 4 for the same expression.
² See Demosthenes 21. 153 for the same expression.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἔνεκεν τῶν τε ἄλλων θεαμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ τούτων ὁσοὶ σφόδρα ἐσπουδακότες περὶ τὸ πράγμα, διατελοῦσιν οὐθέν ἄλλο πράττοντες εἰς ἐωθικοῦ· πολλοὶ δὲ ἁνια κομίζοντες παντοδαπά, ἀγοραῖοι ὁχλος, οἱ δὲ τινὲς έαυτῶν ἐπιδειξάμενοι τέχνας καὶ δημιουργίας, ἄλλοι δὲ σοφίαν τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐκφαινόντες, πολλοὶ μὲν ποιήματα ἐπιδεικνύτες τραγῳδίας τε καὶ ἑπόν, πολλοὶ δὲ καταλογάδην συγγράμματα, τὸν σχολήν ἔνεκεν ἥκοντα καὶ ραθυμεῖν βουλόμενον ἐνοχλοῦντες· οὗτοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐνίκασι τοῖς μιμορίζοντι καὶ ἄδουσιν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, ὃν ἐς ἀνάγκης ἀκούσει ἔστι, καὶ μὴ θέλη της.

Ἐν τούτωι δυνάμενοι λόγους εἰπεῖν ωφελίμους καὶ συμφέροντας καὶ τὴν ὀλὴν σύνοδον εὐσχημονεστέραν καὶ ἀμείων παρασχεῖν, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἄλλων ἱστικῶν ἀγεῖ καὶ τρέπεται καθ’ αὐτῶν.

7 Πεπόνθασί γὰρ δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγους ὅπερ, οἴμαι, πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν φάρμακα. οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς πρόσεισιν οὐδὲ ὅνειται πρὶν ἢ περιπτεσέιν φανερῶ νοσήματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τοῖς σωμάτοις· οὕτω τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀκούειν ἐθέλουσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ, ὅτι ἄν μὴ λυπηρὸν τι ξυνενεχθῆ καὶ τῶν δοκοῦντων χαλεπῶν. αὐτίκα τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα, ὅποιαν τινὰ φασίν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν, οἶον χρήματα εἰσδανείζοντα· τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα· καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ τέκνων σωζομένων καὶ γυναικῶς, καὶ των δίναμων καὶ

1 αὐτῶν Dindorf: αὐτῶν.
2 εἰσδανείζοντα Goell: ἐκ δανείων τὰ.

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and the athletic contests in particular; and all those who take a very great interest in these continue doing nothing else from early dawn. Many too bring in merchandise of all sorts, the tradespeople, that is; and some display their own arts and crafts; while others show off their accomplishments, many of them declaiming poems, both tragedies and epics, and many others prose works, so that they annoy the man who has come for a rest and wishes to have a holiday. And these people seem very much like those who hum tunes and sing songs at the symposia, whom you cannot help hearing even if you do not wish it.

But the man who in the midst of these folk has the ability to speak words edifying and profitable and thus make the whole gathering more decorous and better, because of the general disturbance and the great throng of those of the other sort keeps quiet and withdraws into himself.

For really most men feel towards the words of philosophy exactly as they do, I believe, toward the drugs which physicians administer; that is, no one resorts to them at first, nor buys them until he contracts some unmistakable illness and has pain in some part of his body. And in the same way people are, as a general rule, not willing to listen to the words of the philosopher until some affliction visits them, something which men consider grievous. To give an illustration: the prosperous man—I use the term in the sense in which the majority use it—for instance, a man who derives a large income from his loans, or has a good deal of land, and not only enjoys good health, but has children and a wife living, or a man who has some position of
ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα μεγάλην ἀνευ πολέμου καὶ στάσεως καὶ τινων φανερῶν κινδύνων, οὐκ ἂν εὑροι τις ῥαδίως προσέπτα τοῖς τοιοῦτοισ οὐδὲ ἄξιοντα
κοινονεῖν τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγων. εἰ δὲ τῷ ξυμβαίης τι πταίσμα κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ ἢτοι πένης ἐκ πλουσίου γένοιτο ἢ ἀσθενής καὶ ἀδύνατος ἐκ δυναμένου ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἔχων λύπην, οἱ δὲ οἰκεύοστρόφοι πως διατίθενται πρὸς τῷ πράγμα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὑπομενοῦν τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων λόγους καὶ πώς φασὶ δεῖσθαι παραμυθῶς. κἂν ἀπολέσαι τύχη τινὰ 2 τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ παῖδα ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἄξιοις ἐξισθαῖν τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ παρηγορεῖν, ὡς τότε 3 δέον σκοπεῖν ὅπως μετρίως φέρῃ τις τὰ γυνόμενα καὶ δυνήσονται ἀντέχειν τοῖς λοιποῖς, πρότερον δὲ οὗτος ὡσπέρ 4 καὶ περὶ τὸ σώμα ἔχουσι σχεδὸν οἳ ἀνόητοι τὸν μὲν ἄλλου χρόνου οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς μέλει ὅπως δύνησται ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ 5 συνίστασθαι καὶ οὕς ἄλλης διαίτης ὡς οἶνον τε ἀκολάστως καὶ ἀδελφοὶ κράτωσι, ἐάν δὲ 6 ἀρα τῆς καταλαμβάνης κόπος καὶ πυρετὸς 7 περὶ τὰς τοῦ ἀέρος μεταβολὰς, καὶ 8 θεραπεύως σφαῖς κελεύουσι μεστοὶ ὄντες ἀταξίας πολλῆς καὶ νοσημάτων ἱσχυρῶν, οἶνον εἰκὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτος καταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἰατροῦ δεήσονται, τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ σκοπούσιν.

1 καὶ added by Dindorf.  2 τινὰ Emperius: τινὰς.
3 ὡς τότε Reiske: ὡς τὸ M, ὡστε τὸ UB.
4 ὡσπέρ Emperius: ὡς γάρ.
5 The words ἀλλὰ . . . χρόνου moved here by Casaubon from their position after μεταβολὰς (infra) in the MSS.
6 δὲ added by Casaubon.
7 pυρετὸς added by Reiske.
8 Emperius deleted καὶ.
THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

authority and a high office without war, or rebellion, or any open dangers—such a person you would not easily find approaching these philosophers, or caring to listen to the teachings of philosophy. But if some disaster should overtake any one touching his livelihood, and he should become either poor after having been wealthy, or weak and powerless after having been influential, or should meet with some other misfortune, then he becomes much more friendly disposed toward that craft, somehow manages to endure the words of the philosophers, and practically admits that he needs comfort. And if it is his misfortune to lose any of his relatives, either his wife, or a child, or a brother, he asks the philosopher to come and speak words of comfort, as if he thought it were only then necessary to consider how one may endure with resignation what happens and be able to face the future; before that he does not. It is much the same as the feeling of ignorant persons in regard to their bodies: ordinarily they have no concern whatever about their health, but enjoy foods, wine, and women, and all their other regimen as intemperately and unconcernedly as possible; but if any weariness or fever does unexpectedly seize them owing to the changes in the weather, then they indeed demand to be treated, since their health is greatly disordered and they are suffering from severe illnesses, such as you expect would attack people of this sort. But how to avoid having any need of a physician is a problem which they do not consider at all.¹

¹ In Discourse 8, 6 ff. Diogenes says that physicians have the advantage in being consulted more readily than philosophers are.
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS II

Dio, accompanied by at least one friend, comes up from the harbour—of Naples presumably—to witness the athletic contests then being held, and has his attention drawn especially to a tall handsome boxer who is training, surrounded by a great crowd of admirers. On asking one of the bystanders who the man is, he learns that it is the boxer Iatrocles, so often the antagonist of Melancomas, who has recently died. This bystander speaks in the highest terms of Melancomas both as a boxer and as a man, and is evidently greatly distressed by his death. Thereupon Dio offers various reflections to comfort him.

von Arnim, chiefly from a study of this Discourse and the following one, which is the funeral oration for Melancomas,

Some of the codices which contain all of Dio's eighty extant Discourses have these Discourses arranged in the order followed in this edition. This has been the common and accepted order, and the Discourses are always referred to by the numbers of this arrangement. But the other complete codices use a different order, which was followed by Photius, von Arnim in Hermes, vol. 20, has shown this to be the earlier and preferable order. He introduced it in his edition of Dio, and was followed by De Budé in his.

The MSS. U, B, and M, which give the Discourses in the common and accepted order, put Melancomas II, before Melancomas I, so that they appear as Nos. 28 and 29 in the series; but these MSS. show in two ways that this order is not the natural one. The Discourse that would naturally come second is called II; and then the added words, "in its position I," (τῇ τὰξι̣ α"') indicate once more that this natural order has been reversed.
comes to the conclusion that the occasion of it was the Games in honour of Augustus (Ludi Augustales) as held at Naples in the year a.d. 74, when Titus, soon to be emperor and now thirty-three years old—Dio himself would be of about the same age—was either Director of Games (γυμνασιάρχης) there or Exhibitor of Games (ἀγωνοθέτης).

On the other hand, Lemarchand (Dion de Pruse, Les Œuvres d’avant l’Exilé, p. 30 ff.) gives various reasons for thinking that Melancomas is a purely imaginary character. He considers it rather remarkable that, apart from one passage in Themistius (i.e. Oration 10, p. 139), who got his information from Dio (see Scharold, Dio Chrysostomus und Themistius, Burghausen 1912), there is no other reference in ancient literature to this incomparable athlete and boxer, no inscription that has come to light commemorating any victory of his. He also shows in detail that this Melancomas is the embodiment of all the youthful qualities and virtues for which Dio shows admiration in other Discourses, and that Dio at times, as in the Euboean Discourse, describes what is ideal rather than actual. And in Dio’s time, he adds, the Romans began to take an interest in athletics, so that outstanding athletes came from Greece and Asia Minor to give exhibitions—note that Melancomas’ father is represented as coming from Caria in Asia Minor. Their contests served to recall the glorious past of Greece. Therefore, may not Dio, who was an ardent Hellenist and who looked with disapproval on the cruel gladiatorial exhibitions (see Discourse 31.121), have wished to increase the interest in athletics by creating and describing this ideal athlete, this gentle boxer, who would not think of injuring his opponent by striking him with his fist armed with the terrible caestus? But this gentleness would make little appeal to most men of Dio’s time.

As a literary effort the twenty-eighth Discourse is superior to the twenty-ninth, and toward the end the hortatory and preaching element, which is regarded as typical of what Dio wrote during his exile, is somewhat in evidence. It is possible, then, that this Discourse was written considerably later than the following one.
28. ΜΕΛΑΓΚΟΜΑΣ Β, ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Α

Ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος εὔθὺς ἐβαδίζομεν, ὃψόμενοι τοὺς ἁθλητάς, ὡς ἃν τὴν ὅλην ἐπιθημίαν πεποιημένην κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἁγώνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἦμεν, τοὺς μὲν τιναῖς ἑωρώμεν ἐν τῷ ὀρέῳ ἐξω τρέχοντας, καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν παρακελευμένων ἦ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως γυμναζομένους, τούτους μὲν οὖν οὕκ ἑδόκει προσέχειν· ὅπου δὲ 2 πλείστων ὅχλον ἤδοιμεν, ἔκει ἐβαδίζομεν. ὑρώμεν οὖν πάνω πολλοὺς ἑστηκότας πρὸς τῇ ἕξεδρᾳ τοῦ Ἰπποκλέους καὶ ἑτέρους ἀεὶ προσάγοντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄπιόντας διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἱδεῖν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἑπειρώμεθα ὡρᾶν ὑπερκύπτοντες, καὶ μᾶλις ἑωρώμεν τοῦ 1 γυμναζομένου τὴν κεφαλήν καὶ τὰς χείρας ἀνατεκτάκοτος. ἔπευγα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐνδοτέρω ἐγενόμεθα. ἢν οὖν νεανίσκος πάνω μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἐτὶ δὲ, ὡς εἰκὸς, μεῖζον αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλλιον ὑπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας τὸ σῶμα ἑφαίνετο. πάνω δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐγυμνάζετο καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος, ὡστε ἄγωνιζομένῳ μᾶλλον 3 ἑώκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσατο γυμναζόμενος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεχώρει, κατενοοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελέσα.
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS II

After coming up from the harbour, we strolled over at once to have a look at the athletes, just as if the sole purpose of our trip had been to view the contests. When we got near the gymnasium we saw a number running on the track outside of it, and there was a roar as the crowd cheered them on; and we also saw the athletes who were exercising in other ways. To those, however, we thought it hardly worth while to pay attention; but wherever we saw the biggest crowd, there we would stroll. So we noticed a great number of people standing near the Arcade of Heracles and a stream of others coming up, and some also going away because they could not see. At first we tried to see by looking over other people’s shoulders, and with difficulty managed to catch a glimpse of the head of a man who was exercising with his hands up.¹ Then we gradually got in closer. He was a very tall and beautiful young man; and besides, the exercises he was taking made his body seem, quite naturally, still taller and more beautiful. He was giving a most brilliant performance, and in so spirited a way that he seemed more like a man in an actual contest. Then, when he stopped exercising and the crowd began to draw away, we studied him more

¹ He was shadow-boxing.
στεροῦν. ἦν δὲ ὁμοίος τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀκριβῶς εἰργασμένοις· εἰκὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ χρώμα ὁμοίον χαλκῶ κεκραμένω.

4 Ἡπείρ δὲ ἀπηλλάγη, τῶν παρόντων τινὰ ἡρόμεθα πρεσβύτην ὅστης εὖς· καὶ ὁς οἰκυθρωπᾶσας·

Οὗτος μὲντοι Ἰατροκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Μελαγκόμα ἀνταγωνιστὴς καὶ μόνος ἑκεῖνῳ όυκ ἀξιῶν παρα-

χωρεῖν, τὸ γοῦν ἐφ’ ἐαυτῷ. οὐδὲν μὲντοι πλέον ἐπολεῖ· ἢττάτο γὰρ αἰὲ, ἐνίοτε δὲ ὅλης τῆς

ἡμέρας ἀγωνισάμενος· ἥδη μὲντοι ἀπειρήκηκε, ὡστε τὸν τελευταίον τοῦτον ἀγάμα τὸν ἐν τῇ

Νεαπόλει οὐδένα ταχύτερον τοῦτον ἐνίκησεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ὅρατε ὅσον φρονεῖ καὶ ἐν ὅσῳ πλήθει

γυμναζέται. οἴμαι δὲ ἔγνωγε καὶ ἑπιχαίρειν αὐτὸν ἑκεῖνο. καὶ εἰκὸς μὲντοι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῦτον τὸν

στέφανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾷ ἐπισταται αὐτοῦ ὄντας.

5 Ἡ γὰρ, ἐφην, τέθνηκεν ὁ Μελαγκόμας; ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ὅνομα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἥδειμεν, αὐτῶν οὐδεπώποτε ἱδόντες.

Οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γε, εἴπεν, ἀλλὰ τρίτη ποι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ταφῆς.

Τοῦ δὲ, εἴπον, τοῦτον διέφερε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ, πότερον μεγέθει ἡ εὐψυχία;

'Εκεῖνος, ἐφη, ὦ βέλτιστο, πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὁυχὶ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν μόνον, εὐψυχότατος καὶ

μέγιστος ἐφ’ ἐνὶ δὲ κάλλιστος. καὶ εἰ γε ἱδιώτης ἔμεινε καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἐπραξε, δι’ αὐτὸ

ποι τὸ κάλλος περιβόητος ἄν ἦν· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν

1 Cf. Discourse 12. 2. Dio refers to Sicyonian blending of copper and tin which produced rich brown.

2 The prize for boxing at the games then being held.
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

closely. He was just like one of the most carefully wrought statues, and also he had a colour like well blended bronze.\(^1\)

After he had gone, we asked one of the bystanders, an old man, who he was; and the man said with a frown:

"Why that is Iatrocles, the opponent of Melancomas, the only man who would not give in to him, at least, that is, if he could help it. Still he could not get the better of him, for he was always defeated, sometimes after competing for a whole day. However, Iatrocles had already given up trying, so that in the last contest here in Naples, Melancomas defeated no opponent more quickly than he did Iatrocles. But you see how confident he is now, and how large a crowd he has about him as he takes his exercise. For my part, I really believe that he feels a malicious joy at the other man’s misfortune; and naturally enough, for he knows that not only the next crown\(^2\) but all others are now his own."

"What!" I exclaimed, "Is Melancomas dead?"—for even we knew his name at least, although we had never seen the man himself.

"Yes," he replied, "he died not long ago. I believe this is the second day since he was buried."

"And in what respect," I asked, "was he superior to this man and to the others also? Was it in size, or in courage?"

"That man, sir," he replied, "was more courageous and bigger than any other man in the world, not merely than any of his opponents; and furthermore, he was the most beautiful. And if he had remained an amateur and had not gone in for boxing at all, I believe that he would have become widely known
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

ἐπέστρεφεν ἀπαντας, δόποτε ἀπίοι που, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ νυκτὸς ἀποτιθέντων ἀλλω τῷ γυναῖκεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπετιθένσεν ἢ λανθάνειν· ἀπο δοσμανίου δ' ὅπερ ἦσσων ὅστις ἄλλον ἔθεατο, πολλῶν μὲν παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν γυμναζόμενων. εἰσοδήματος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους εἰς τρυφήν ἁγεῖν καὶ τοὺς μετρίως αὐτοῦ μετειληφότας, τοιούτως ὁν τὸ εἰδος ἔτι σωφρονέστερος ἦν· καὶ καταφρονῶν δὲ τοῦ κάλλους οὔδεν ἤττον ἐΘΥΛΑΤΤΕΝ αὐτοῦ ἐν οὕτω χαλεπῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι. πυγμήν γοῦν ἀγωνιζόμενος οὕτως ὑγῆς ἤν ὁσπέρ τῶν δρομέων τις, οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα γεγόματο καὶ τοσοῦτο περιή τοῖς πόνοις, ὁστε δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐξῆς μένειν ἀνατετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ οὔκ ἂν ἐθεν οὔδεις ὑφέντα αὐτὸν ἢ ἀναπαυσάμενον, ὁσπέρ εἰσόθασιν. πρότερον δὲ ἡμάγκαζε τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειτεῖν, οὐ μόνον πρὶν αὐτὸς πληγήναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν πλῆξαι ἐκεῖνους· οὐ γὰρ τὸ παίειν καὶ τυπρόσκεισθαι ἀνδρεῖαν ἐνόμιζεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἶναι μὴ δυναμένον πονεῖν καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι βουλομένων· τὸ δὲ ἀνέχεσθαι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ μήτε τοῦ βάρους τῶν χειρῶν ἄττασθαι μήτε τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνδεῖ γίγνεσθαι μήτε τῷ καύματι ἂξθεοταί, τὸ δὲ εἶναι γενναῖον.
simply on account of his beauty; for even as it was, he attracted everybody's attention whenever he went anywhere, even that of people who did not know who he was. And yet he did not dress up in fine clothes or in any other way try to attract notice rather than to remain inconspicuous; but when he was stripped, nobody would look at anyone else, although many boys and many men were training.¹ And although beauty is wont to lead to softness, even with those who are only moderately endowed with it, beautiful as he was, he was even more remarkable for his self-control and moderation; and though despising his beauty, he none the less preserved it in spite of his rough profession. At any rate, although boxing was his specialty, he remained as free from marks as any of the runners; and he had trained so rigorously and went so far beyond others in toilsome exercising that he was able to remain for two whole days in succession with his hands up, and nobody could catch him letting them down or taking a rest, as athletes usually do. Then he used to force his opponents to give up, not only before he himself had received a blow but even before he had landed one on them. For he did not consider it courage to strike his opponent or to receive an injury himself, but thought this indicated lack of stamina and a desire to have done with the contest.² But to last out the full time without either being done up by the weight of his arms, or becoming out of breath, or being distressed by the heat—that, he thought, was a splendid achievement.”

¹ Cf. Discourse 29. 3 ff.
² For the contents of §§ 5–7 cf. Discourse 29. 4–8 and Themistius 10. 139. Themistius got this information from Dio.
Όρθως μέντοι, ἔφην ὑπολαμβάνων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οἱ φαινότατοι τὰ ὀπλα ρίπτουσιν, εὕ1 εἰδότες ὅτι γυμνοὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τιτρώσκωντο. οὗτῳ μᾶλλον ἦττάνται τοῦ κόπου ἢ τῶν τραυμάτων.  

9 Τοιγάρτοι, εἶπεν, ἀφ’ οὔτερ ἡρῴατο ἀγωνί- 

ζεσθαί Πυθός, πρῶτος μὲν ὄν ἵσμεν ἀλειπτος2 

dιεγένετο, πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους στεφάνους 

ἀνελόμενος καὶ ἀνταγωνισταῖς οὔτε φαύλους οὔτε 

ὀλίγους χρησάμενος. καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ἐνδοξότατον3 

ὅντα, τὸν Μελαγκόμαν ἐκείνου τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς 

Καρίας, ἄλλους τε ἀγῶνας καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι υπή-

ῥαντα, οὖσῶν ἀνήρ ἄν ὑπερβάλετο: οὐ γὰρ 

ἐκείνοις ἀλειπτος. τοιοῦτος μέντοι ἂν ἄλλως 

eteleúttete, τῶν μὲν πάνω τῆς ἄθλησεις ἐπὶ 

πλείστον ἐλθὼν, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τερπνῶν 

οὖθενος πειραθεὶς. οὔτω δὲ σφόδρα φιλότιμος 

ὑπήρξεν ὡστε καὶ ὁτε ἀπέθνησεν Ἀθηνοδόρου 

τοῦ παγκρατιστοῦ, φιλοῦ οὗτος ἀπὸ παιδός, 

ἐπιθυμάντε Πόσα τυχεὶ ἢν ἡμέραι λουπαὶ τοῦ 

ἀγῶνας. καὶ ταῦθ’ ἀμα λέγων ἐδάκρυεν ὁ 

πρεσβύτης. 

11 Ἀλλὰ σοι μέν, ἔφη, συγγνώμη ὑπερλυπουμένω 

dia τὸ πάντως προσήκειν τι σοι αὐτῷ. 

Μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἶπεν, οὖν ἑμοῦ. οὗτὲ γὰρ 

ἀπὸ γένους μοι ἴν οὗτε ἐγάμναζον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ 

tῶν παιδῶν τινά τῶν παγκρατιστῶν. ο δὲ 

1 εὗ Jacobs: οὖκ. 

2 ἵσμεν ἀλειπτος Casaubon: ἵσμεν . . ππος UB (Room 

for four letters in lacuna), οἰς μελάνις Reiske: ἐνδοξότερον. 

3 Cf. Discourse 8. 18 and 19. 13. 

2 Cf. Discourse 20. 11. 

5 That is, in his youth.
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

"He had the right idea though," said I, breaking in. "For in war too the worst soldiers throw away their shields though they know well enough that when unprotected they are more apt to be wounded. Thus, we see, they are overcome more by their exhaustion than by their wounds." ¹

"That is just the reason," he rejoined, "why, from the time Melancomas began to compete in the Pythian games, he was the first man to our knowledge who remained undefeated, after winning the most and the greatest crowns and facing antagonists who were neither negligible nor few in number.² And his own father—a very famous man, the well-known Melancomas who came from Caria and among his other victories also won at Olympia—he had surpassed before he came to manhood; for his father did not remain undefeated.³ However, splendid as this young athlete was, he came to a wretched end, after enduring the laborious work of athletics to the uttermost without experiencing any of the joys of life. And he was by nature so exceedingly ambitious that even on his deathbed he inquired of Athenodorus, the pancratiast,⁴ who had been his friend from boyhood, just how many days of the athletic meet were left." And as he said this, the old man burst into tears.

"Ah!" said I, "it is pardonable in you to grieve so excessively; he must certainly be related to you in some way."

"In heaven's name no," he answered, "no relation of mine. For he was neither a blood kinsman of mine, nor was he trained by me; no, I trained one of the boys among the pancratiasts. As for him, he was

⁴ A youth who competed in both wrestling and boxing.
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ἄνθρωπος τουοῦτος ἂν ὡστε πάντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ λυπεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἐκεῖνον.

12 Οὗκοιν, ἐφη, ἄθλιον δεὶ καλεῖν αὐτὸν· τοῦναντίον γὰρ εὐδαιμονέστατος ἂν εἶη καὶ μακαριώτατος, εἴπερ οἶος λέγεται ἂν· ὃ καὶ γένους ὑπῆρξε λαμπρὸν τυχεῖν καὶ κάλλος, ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρείας καὶ ἵσχυος καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστι· τὸ γε μὴν θαυμαστότατον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀήττητον γενέσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόνον καὶ καύματος καὶ γαστρός καὶ ἀφροδισίων· δεὶ γὰρ πρῶτον τούτοις ἀήττητον εἶναι τῶν μέλλοντα ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν λειφθῆσθαι. 1 ἡδονᾶς δὲ τὶς μείζωνας ἡσθῆ, ὡστὶς ἀφιλοτιμότατος ὃν ἀεὶ ἐνίκα καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἡσθάνετο; καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἀγαπῆσαι οἱ θεοὶ καὶ μᾶλιστα τῇ τελευτῇ τιμῆσαι, ὅσ ἂν μηδενὸς πειραθεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτῷ ἂν προβαίνοντι ἀντὶ μὲν καλλίστου ἀἰσχροτέρῳ γέγνεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀσθενεστέρῳ, ὅσως δὲ καὶ λειψθηλὴι ποι. 2 ὡστὶς δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς συναπέρχεται τὰ ἀριστα πράξεις, ὡστὸς εὐδαιμονέστατα τελευτά. εὐροὶ δ' ἂν τὶς καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ὡκυμόρους.

1 λειψθῆσθαι Casaubon: λειψθηλὴι.
2 ἡσθὴ ὡστὶς Emperius: ἡ ἐσθ' ὡστὶς.

1 Cf. what Herodotus (1. 31 ff.) says about the two young men, Cleobis and Biton, who in their lives and deaths were much like Melancomas.
2 Cf. Xenophon, Apology of Socrates 6 and Memorabilia 4. 8. 8.
3 Cf. Menander as reported by Plutarch in Consolation to Apollonius 119 e, Frag. 125 (Kock): “He whom the gods love
such a splendid fellow that all who know him felt grief at his death."

"Then," said I, "you have no reason for calling him wretched. On the contrary, he must be most blessed and fortunate if he was the sort of man report makes him. It was his good fortune to come of an illustrious family, to possess beauty, and, in addition, courage, physical strength, and self-control—things that are certainly the greatest blessings. But what was indeed the most surprising thing about a man is, to have remained undefeated not only by his opponents but also by toil and heat and gluttony and sensuality; for the man who is going to prove inferior to none of his opponents must first be undefeated by these things. And as for pleasures, who ever enjoyed greater than he, who, being very ambitious, always won, and being admired, knew that he was admired? And it seems to me that the gods loved him exceedingly and honoured him especially in his death, in order that he might experience none of life's great sorrows.¹ For if his life had been spared, he would inevitably have become more ugly after being most beautiful, weaker after being strongest,² and perhaps have been defeated too. But the man who passes away in the midst of the greatest blessings after the finest achievements, that man has the happiest death; and you will find that in ancient times too, those whom the gods loved had a short span of life."³

dies young."—ἐν οἷς θεοὶ φιλοῦν ἀποθνῄσκει νέος: Plautus, Bacchides, 4. 7. 18 f.: Quem di diligunt adulescens moritur; Lord Byron, Don Juan 4. 12; Dio, Discourse 29. 20. Wordsworth in The Excursion says, "The good die first." The same idea is found in Homer, Odyssey 15. 245-247 and in Plutarch, op. cit. 111 b.
Τίνας, ἔφη, τούτους λέγεις;

14 Τὸν Ἀχιλλεά, εἶπον, καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Ἐκτόρα καὶ Μέμνονα καὶ Σαρπιδόνα. ἔτι δὲ ἄλλους ὀνομάζοντος ἐμοῦ,

Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, καλῶς εἶπας εἰς παραμυθίαν ἄνθρωπων, καὶ ἔγραψε ἐβουλόμην σου ἐτι ἄκοινεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡρα γυμνάζειν τὸν παιδα, καὶ ἀπέρχομαι.
"Whom do you mean?" he asked.
"Achilles," I replied, "and Patroclus and Hector and Memnon and Sarpedon,"¹ and as I was going on to name still others, he exclaimed:
"What you have said is well suited to comfort those who are in mourning, and I wish that I could listen to you longer; but really it is high time for me to be at the training of the boy, and I am off."

¹ See Discourse 29. 20 for a somewhat longer list. Sarpedon, a Lycian prince and ally of the Trojans, who was slain by Patroclus. Not to be confused with his grandfather of the same name, who lived for three generations.
THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE:
MELANCOMAS I

This Discourse is in the form of a funeral oration for a young boxer Melancomas, who had died very suddenly. As to the question whether there ever was such a Melancomas and as to the time and place of this oration the reader is referred to the Introduction to the preceding Discourse.

If we follow von Arnim and others in believing that there really was such a Melancomas and that this funeral oration really was delivered, then arises the question of who delivered it. Apparently it was not Dio himself, because the speaker had been a close friend of the deceased and was deeply moved by his death; while Dio, on the other hand, had known Melancomas only by name, as he says in Discourse 28. 5. Then too, the speaker represents himself as quite youthful and not a fluent speaker. But if Dio merely wrote the oration for some one else to deliver, who was that person? One thinks first of Titus, who according to a Neapolitan inscription was the agonothete at the Games in Naples three times and gymnasiarach once before A.D. 81 and was reputed to have been a lover of Melancomas. (Cf. Themistius, Oration 10, p. 139 Hard.). But it seems unlikely that a man of Titus’ disposition, high place, and maturity—he was possibly thirty-three years old at the time when this oration is supposed to have been delivered—and fresh from the capture of Jerusalem, would have represented himself as youthful and immature; or have ranked athletics higher than warfare, as the speaker does in § 15. It is more likely that this oration was delivered by a Greek who was a high official at the Games.

The thought content of this Discourse and the information given about Melancomas are practically the same as in the preceding Discourse; but a good deal more is said in praise of the deceased; and athletics, as already said, are put on a higher plane than warfare.

1 After the numeral A’ the MSS. add τῇ ταξιν β’—“in its position II.”
29. ΜΕΛΑΝΚΟΜΑΣ Α, ΤΗ ΤΑΞΕΙ Β

'Αλλ' ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδ' ὦ τι εἶπω ἐπεισὶν ὑπὸ λύπης ἁμα καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πάθους. οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢν ἔχω μᾶλλον ἐτέρου μοι τῶν ποιητῶν οἰκεῖον τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ μοι φίλος ἢν Μελανκόμας ὑπὲρ ἀπάντας, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐπίστανται οἱ πλείους. καὶ ἔμοι γινεῖ ἄτοπον φαίνεται τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἔδος, ὅτι τοῖς πλείστα τυπουμένους μάλιστα προσήκειν δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς λέγειν. οἱ γὰρ σφοδρότατα ἀνυμένου ἀδύνατοι λέγειν ἢν αὐτοῦ τούτου εἰσίν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τούτῳ εἰμὶ, ἐν ὧν ἡ μὲν τοῦ λόγου δύναμις ήτον ἀπασιν ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι ἱσχυρότατον γίγνεται. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τιμωτέρος μὲν στρατηγοῦ ἐπαίνος ἐπὶ στρατιώτῃ ἁγαθῷ τελευτάσαντι, τιμωτέρος δὲ παντὸς ἄρχοντος ἡ ἱδιότης, καίμοι λεκτέον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔνεκεν ὡς ἄν δύναμαι. πρέπει δ' ἂν τῇ ἐκείνου ἄρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ νεότητι μηδὲν μακρὸν ἀπαίτεῖν μηδὲ ἀκριβῆ μᾶλλον ἡ γενναίοι τῶν ἐπαίνον.

1 φαίνεται τὸ Εμπερίου: φαίνετο Μ, ἐφαίνετο τὸ UB.
2 πλείστα Εμπερίου: ἡκιστά.

1 Cf. note on the title of Melancomas II.
2 Cf. Sophocles, Trachinians 137: χαίρειν τε καὶ στέρεσθαι.
THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE:
MELANCOMAS I

Ah sirs! I cannot think of anything at all to say, so great is my grief alike and my consternation at this sudden bereavement; for not only on account of the office which I hold does the disaster come home to me more than to any other citizen, but Melancomas was also a personal friend of mine beyond all others, as most of you know. And to me at least it seems an absurd custom, when citizens die, that those most deeply afflicted should be thought the most fitting persons to speak at their obsequies; since those who are most grief-stricken are for that very reason incapable of speech. Moreover, I am at the time of life when all men find that, while their ability to speak is always less than it was, yet the emotions of both joy and sorrow are greatest in intensity. Since, however, a eulogy spoken by a general over a good soldier who has passed away does him a greater honour, and one spoken by any ruler a greater honour than one spoken by a private citizen, so it devolves upon me also, in view of the office I hold, to speak to the best of my ability. And it would be in keeping with the merit of the deceased and my own youth to demand of me no lengthy or studied eulogy, but praise that comes from the heart.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας ἀληθοῦς ἔτυχεν. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλούσιῳ συνέβη τυχεῖν προγόνων, οὐ μὴν οὖδ' εἰ βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα φαιλων, 3 ὅδε ἂν εἰη καλῶς γεγονός, ἀλλ' οἱ φύντες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, ὡσπερ ὅδε. ὃ γὰρ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν διήνεγκε τοῖς καλλίστοις, εὐφυχίᾳ καὶ ρώμῃ. δηλοῦσι δὲ αἰ νῦκαι ἃς ἐνίκησε καὶ Ὀλυμπίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγώνισιν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφι καλλιστος ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τῶν νῦν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὃς ἔνεστιν εἰκάζειν εκ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς, καὶ ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐξ ἀπαντος τοῦ χρόνου ἀναμασμένων ἐπὶ κάλλει, ὡσι θητοὶ ἐγένοντο. 4 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν νεομασμένων καλῶν, μέρη τυχὲ τοῦ σώματος εὐπρεπῆ ἐχουτες, ἐπειτα δέ ἐδοξαζ καλοί, τῆς οὕσεως ἀει τὰ ἂδιάτη βουλομένης ὀρᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἡπτῶν ἀμελούσης. οἱ δὲ τινες φύσει μὲν εὐειδοὺς σώματος οὐκ ἔτυχον, ὥρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπήλθεν. ¹ ἑπτώμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες κάλλος αὐτὴν ἀνόμασαν, ἀνθοῦσης ἀεὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐν ἄπασι καὶ ζῶοις 6 καὶ φυτοῖς. τοιοῦτοις μὲν οὖν μυρίους ἂν εὑροί τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὅτε μὲν καλοὺς δοκοῦντας, ὅτε δὲ αἰσχροὺς, καὶ τοῖς μὲν σφόδρα ἀρέσκοντας, παρ' ἐτέρους δὲ οὐδενὸς λόγου τυγχάνοντας. ὁλοκληρον δὲ καὶ ἀληθινὸν κάλλος θαυμαστὸν εἰ τῷ ὑπηρέτω ὡσπερ τῶδε. ἐν ἄπαντι μὲν γὰρ

¹ For ἐπῆλθεν Reiske proposed ἐπήνθεν.

1 Cf. Dio, Discourse 15. 29.
2 Cf. Discourse 28. 9 ff.

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In the first place, he had the good fortune to be truly well-born. For it is not because he chanced to have forebears who were rich—nay, not even if they were kings but in other respects were quite without merit—that this man was well-born. That term applies to those who have come from good parents, as this man did.¹ For his father stood out conspicuous among all men of his time for those fairest gifts—nobility of soul and bodily strength. This is proved by the victories that he won, both at Olympia and in the other games.²

Then he was himself by nature's gift the most beautiful of men, not only of those of the present day but, as one may infer from his surpassing beauty, of absolutely all those of all time who have been renowned for beauty, all those, I mean, who were born mortal. For the majority of those who have been regarded as beautiful because they did possess comeliness in certain parts of their body afterwards have got the reputation of being beautiful; since the eye ever wishes to direct itself to the most pleasing things to the neglect of what is inferior. And certain others were not favoured by nature with a beautiful body, but a lovely prime had arrived for them, so that those who met them, succumbing thereto, called it beauty, since the heyday of life always bourgeois in all animals and plants alike. Thousands of persons of this sort can be found who at one time seem beautiful and at another time ugly; and though they please some exceedingly, with others they get no notice at all. But when it is a question of perfect and true beauty, it would be surprising if anyone ever possessed it as this man did. For he had it in his whole body and always

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6 Τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδιώ-
ταις ἐξεταζόμενοι διέφερεν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ὁλίγων
θεωρούμενος ὑπὸ τοὺς ἑθαυμαζότες, ἀλλὰ μήν
ἀεὶ δῆτον ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων καλλίστοις, ἀμα τοῖς
ἀθληταῖς ὦν. οἱ γὰρ μέγιστοι καὶ εὐειδέστατοι καὶ
πλείστης ἐπιμελείας τῶν σωμάτων τυγχάνοντες
οὐδὲ εἰσίν. ἐσφάλης 1 δὲ μικρὸν δεῖν ὑπὸ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις ὁδεγμα τῶν ἐνδοξών
οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐνθα μὴ ἀφικέτο· καὶ παρὰ
πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τὴν αὐτὴν εἰς ἄντις, όσο ὀδενα
ιδοῦσι καλλίστα. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ πλείστων μὲν θαυμασ-
θέως, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καλλίστοις μόνος ἔχων τὴν ὑπέρ
τοῦ κάλλους φήμην δῆλον ὥς θείας τινὸς μορφῆς
ἐτυχεν.
7 Ἐγὼ δὲν πρῶτον εὐδαμονίζω τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῶν,
ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἀριθμότατον,
καὶ ἦδιστον μὲν, θεοῖς, ἦδιστον δὲ ἀνθρώποις,
ἀλητώτατον δὲ τῷ ἔχοντι καὶ ἐπιγνωσθήσατι ἔρριτον.
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ λάθοι τινὶ προσόντα,
καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη 2 καὶ φρόνησις, εἰ
μὴ τύχοι ἔργου τινὸς ἀποδεικνύστοι· τὸ δὲ κάλλος
οὐχ οὗν τε λανθάνειν. ἀμα γὰρ τῷ ἔχοντι
φαίνεται· εἵποι δὲ ἀν τις ὄντι καὶ πρότερον· οὕτως 3

1 ἐσφάλης Ἐμπεριος: ἐσφάλη UB, ἐσφάλθ M.
2 καὶ σωφροσύνη added by Dindorf.
3 οὕτως Στοβαευς: ὦμοι.

1 For the same thought see Xenophon, Symposium 4. 17, and for the opposite thought Discourse 28. 13.
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to the same degree, both before he reached years of manhood and afterward; and he would never have lived long enough, even if he had reached an extreme old age, to have dimmed his beauty.¹

And here is an indication of the surpassing quality of his beauty: not that he stood out pre-eminent in any company of professional men, or was admired merely by some few who saw him, no indeed, but that he was always admired when in a company of those who are perhaps the most beautiful men in the world—the athletes among whom he moved. For the tallest and most comely men, whose bodies receive the most perfect care, are these. And he was seen by practically all mankind. For there was no city of repute, and no nation, which he did not visit; and among all alike the same opinion of him prevailed—that they had seen no one more beautiful. And since he was admired by the greatest numbers, and amongst the most beautiful men he alone possessed the fame of sheer beauty, it is evident that he was blest with what we may term a form truly divine.

I therefore in the first place felicitate him for his beauty, a thing which certainly is the most conspicuous of the blessings that can fall to man, which, while being most pleasing to gods and most pleasing to men, is yet fraught with least pain to its possessor and is easiest to recognize. For while the other blessings that a man may have might easily pass unnoticed, such as courage and temperance and wisdom, unless some deed should happen to reveal them, yet beauty cannot remain hidden. For it becomes manifest the moment its possessor appears; nay, one might say that it becomes manifest even

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δὲ εἰτεῖ τιλαθήσων αὐτοῦ παρέχειν. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοὺς ἀγαθοῖς ὑπὲρ συνθεῖται καὶ δυσμενεῖς γίνονται. τὸ δὲ κάλλος τοὺς αἰσθανο-μένους αὐτοῦ φίλους ποιεῖται καὶ οὐδένα ἐχθρὸν ἔχει γίγνεσθαι.

8 Ἐὰν δὲ τῆς φησὶν κάλλους με ποιεῖσθαι ἐγκόμια, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὐκ οὖν ἢ ὧρθως αἰτιῶτο. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐπαινοῖς ἀνδρὸς ἢ πέγατο ἔπειδαν τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ ἐπεξέσωμεν. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίλογον ἔτι ἐναί τινα τοιοῦτον, τότε ἀποδεικ-νύναι χρὴ; ὅποι δὲ γιγνώσκεται, τὴν φύσιν ἐπαινεῖν τοῦ προσόντος ἀγαθοῦ τιν. ὃ γὰρ τούθε ἐπαινοῖς ἀμα δὲ ἐν εἰς καὶ τοῦ ἐχόντος αὐτοῦ.

Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις θαυμάσει Μελαγκόμαν, ὅτι μορφὴ τοιοῦτος ἢν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ διήρκειν. 9 δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐμοῦγε τῇ ψυχῇ φιλονικήσαι πρὸς τὸ σώμα καὶ σπουδάσαι ὅπως ἢν διὰ ταύτην ἐνδοξό-τερος γένηται. γνώσις οὖν τῶν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἔργων κάλλιστον ἀμα καὶ ἐπιπονώτατον τὴν ἀθλησιν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἠλθεν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμικῶν ὁ τε καιρὸς οὐκ ἢν ἢ τε ἀσκησις ἑλαφροτέρα. φαίην δ' ἄν ἐγνωγε καὶ ταύτη 9 ἠττονα εἶναι, μόνης γὰρ εὐπορίας ἐπίδειξες ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἢ δὲ ἀθλησις ἀμα μὲν ἀνδρείαν, ἀμα δὲ ἴσχυν, 10 ἀμα δὲ σωφροσύνην ἐμποιεῖ. καὶ τοῖνυν τῆς

1 ἀμφίλογον Reiske: ἀναμφίλογον.
2 γιγνώσκεται Emperius: γιγνεται.
3 ταύτη Wifstrand: ταύτης.

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sooner, so penetrating is the impression it makes on the senses. Furthermore, most men envy all other blessings and become hostile to their possessor, but beauty makes friends of those who perceive it and allows no one to become an enemy.¹

But if anyone says that I am uttering an encomium of beauty and not of the man himself, his criticism is unjust. To illustrate: it would be called a eulogy of a man if we should dwell upon his manly courage. Very well, then: when it is a matter of dispute as to whether a person possesses any given quality, then it is necessary to prove he does; but when he is known to possess it, we need only to praise the nature of the good trait which is admittedly his. For the eulogy of this will be at the same time also a eulogy of its possessor.

And what is most admirable in Melancomas is that, with all his beauty of figure, he surpassed in manly courage. Indeed, it seems to me that his soul vied with his body and strove to make herself the means of his winning a greater renown. He therefore, recognizing that, of all the activities conducive to courage, athletics is at once the most honourable and the most laborious, chose that. Indeed, for the soldier’s career no opportunity existed, and the training also is less severe. And I for my part would venture to say that it is inferior also in that there is scope for courage alone in warfare, whereas athletics at one and the same time produce manliness, physical strength, and self-control.²

¹ Cf. Discourse 28. 5 and 6. Perhaps Dio got some of these ideas on beauty from Plato’s Phaedrus, 250 b–c.
² The whole of § 7 is copied out in Stobaeus, Florilegium 65. 9.

² Cf. §§ 15 and 16.
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ἀθλήσεως εἶλετο οὐ τὸ βῆστον, ἀλλὰ τὸ χαλεπώτατον· πυγμὴν γὰρ ἦκερεν. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἔργου ἐπ’ ἄκρον ἔλθειν, μήτε γε ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, ἀπ’ ὁδεῖ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξεύρει καὶ τοὺς ἁγῶνας, ἐν οἷς ἐνίκησε, πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς περιττόν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐτέρους ἀν εἴποι τις τῶν αὐτῶν τυχόντας. ὁ δ’ ἡθεὶ

11 ὑπηρέξεν, ἐπίστασθε μὲν ὅμοιως, δι’ αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο βητέον· τοῖς γὰρ μηδὲ εἰδόσων οὐδὲ πιστεύσαι βᾶδιον· ὅτι τοσοῦτοι ἀνταγωνισταίς χρησάμενοι καὶ οὕτως ἁγάθοις ὑπ’ οἴδενος ἡττήθη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀεὶ πάντας ἐνίκα. καίτοι οὔτε στρατηγὸν εὐροὶ τις ἂν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἄχρητητον οὔτε ἀριστέα πολεμικῶν, 1 δι’ οὐκ ήδη ποτὲ καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐκ μάχης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτι ταχέως ἐπελεύσης, διὰ τοῦτο φαίη τις ἂν ἄχρητητον 2 διαγενέσθαι· πολὺ γὰρ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀρ’ 3 ἁγῶνας ἡγουμένας· ἐν δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ τὸ σφάλλεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἂν τις αὐτοῦ κατεπλάγη, τὸ μήτε παιόμενον αὐτὸν μήτε παιόντα νικάν· τοσοῦτο τῇ ρώμῃ περιήν καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι πονεῖν. 12 πολλάκις γὰρ δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἡγουμένας ἐν τῇ σφοδρότατῇ ὕπα τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ δυνάμενος θάττων ἂν περιγενέσθαι παῖσιν οὐκ ἐβούλετο,

1 πολεμικῶν Arnim: πολιτικῶν Μ, πολέμων UB.
2 ἄχρητητον Cassubon: αὐτῶν.
3 ἀρ’ Cohoon: ὃν, which Reiske deleted.
not the easiest branch of athletics, but the most laborious, since he trained for boxing. Now it is difficult to reach the top even in the humblest branch, let alone to surpass all others in the greatest and most difficult one, as this man did.

To give the full record, one after another, of his crowns and the contests in which he won them is superfluous in the presence of you who know of them, and especially since anyone could name others who gained these same victories. But that which has fallen to the lot of no one else, although you are aware of it as well as I, yet for that very reason must be mentioned; for even those who do not know of it also find it difficult to credit—I mean that, although he met so many antagonists and such good ones, he went down before none of them, but was himself always victorious. ¹ Yet you could find in all the past no general who was never defeated, no hero in war who did not actually some time or other flee from battle. For one could not say of our friend that he remained undefeated simply because he died early, since, after all, he went through far more contests than anyone else; and the chance of losing depends upon the attempts made and not upon the length of life. Furthermore, a person might have been amazed at this—that he won all his victories without being hit himself or hitting his opponent, so far superior was he in strength and in his power of endurance. For often he would fight throughout the whole day, in the hottest season of the year, and although he could have more quickly won the contest by striking a blow, he refused to do it,

¹ Cf. Discourse 28. 9.
νομίζων τὸ μὲν πληγῇ νικῆσαι καὶ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου ἔσθι ὅτε εἶναι τὸν βέλτιστον, εἰ τύχου τὴν δὲ ἀληθεστάτην νίκην, ὅταν ἀτρωτὸν ἀναγκάσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀπειπεῖν οὐ γάρ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀλλὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἦττησαί τοῖς ὑπολεκόμενοι καὶ τὸ ὁλο τῶν σώματι ἀπειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μή τῷ πληγέντι μέρει, λαμπρῶν. τὸν δὲ ἐπειγόμενον ὑς οἷον τε τάχιστα νικῆσαι καὶ παῖντα καὶ συμπλεκόμενον αὐτὸν ἦττησαί τοῦ καύματος καὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

13 Εἰ δὲ τις ὁ πολιμβάνει, ἐννοεῖτο ὅτι οὕς καὶ ἔλαβοι, μέχρι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἴσχυς πάρεστι, οὐτὲ ἀνθρώπους οὗτο κυσών ὅμοιο χωροφυϊν, ὅταν δὲ ἦττησι καὶ κάρη, την κατά συμπλέκεται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθέλει τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἡ πονεῖν ἐπὶ διωκόμενα. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ ἀνδρὲς ἐν πολέμω, καὶ τοι εἴδοτες ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν παῖντο φεύγοντες ἢ μένοντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ βουλεῦσθαι πλεῖον χρόνον κάμνειν ἀπόλησε παραδόντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὅπισθεν παλεῖν. οὕτω τὸ γε τραυμάτων καταφρονεῖν οὐκ ἀνδρεῖας ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ τοοναιτίων.

14 Οἶμαι δὴ ἐν ταύτῃ πάντα εἰρήνη βαι καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ περὶ εὐφυχίας καὶ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης. εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐγκρατής τε καὶ σώφρων ἢ, οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, τοσοῦτο τῇ ῥώμῃ ὑπέρεσχεν οὐδὲ εἰ φύσει ἰσχυρότατος ὑπήρχεν. καὶ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν ὅσκυσαμι εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ τῶν

1 φαυλοτάτου Roisko: φαυλοτέρου.

1 Cf. Discourse 28. 7 f.
thinking that it was possible at times for the least competent boxer to overcome by a blow the very best man, if the chance for making it were offered; but he held that it was the truest victory when he forced his opponent, although uninjured, to give up; for then the man was overcome, not by his injury, but by himself; and that for an adversary to give up because of the condition of his whole body and not simply of the part of his body that was struck, meant brilliant work on the part of the victor; whereas the man who rushed in to win as quickly as possible by striking and clinching was himself overcome by the heat and by the prolonged effort.¹

But if anyone does not look at the matter in this light, let him reflect that boars and stags, as long as their strength holds out, do not come to close quarters with either men or dogs, and that it is only when they give out from exhaustion that they come in close and prefer wounds and death to enduring the fatigue of pursuit any longer. It is the same with men in war: although they know well that they are more likely to be struck when in flight than when they stand their ground, yet because they are unwilling to suffer distress through weariness any longer, they retire, in this way exposing themselves to the blows of their enemies in their rear. Therefore contempt for wounds is not a mark of courage but of the opposite.

So I think that under one and the same head everything has been said, not only about manliness and courage, but also about self-control and about temperance. For if Melancomas had not been self-controlled and temperate, I imagine that he would not have been so superior in strength, even if nature did make him the strongest man. And I for my part
παλαίων ἡρώων, οὐς ἀπαντεῖς ὑμνοῦσιν, οὐδένος ἐλάττονα ἀρετὴν εἶχεν, οὕτε τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ πολεμισάντων οὕτε τῶν ὑστερον ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄμυναμένων. καὶ εἰ γε τότε ἐγένετο, ἀπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπραξεν ἀν.

15 Καὶ καθόλου δὲ ἔγγισε τούτο τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετῆς προκρίνον, ὡτι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐνθάδε ἀριστοὶ κακεὶ ἰδιαφέρουν ἀν: ὥστε ἱσχυρότερος 2 τῷ σώματι καὶ πλεῖον χρόνον πονεῖν δυνάμενος, οὕτως, ὁμια, 3 καὶ ἤνευ ὀπλων καὶ σῦν ὀπλοὺς κρείττων ἐστίν: ἔπειτα ὅπως ὄμοιον πρὸς ἴδιωτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ τῇ παντὶ φαυλοτέρους καὶ 4 εἰς ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τοὺς κρατίστους ἔχειν ἀντιπάλους. κακεὶ μὲν ἀπα ὁ κρατήσας τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἦστε μὴ ἀδίκης ἔχειν τόν αὐτὸν ἀντιπάλον· ἐνθάδε δὲ ἡ νικη περὶ τῆς ὕμερας ἐκείνης ἐστίν, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἡπτωμένους ὀμοίως ὁ νικῶν ἀνταγωνιστάς ἔχει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βουλόμενων. ἔτι δὲ 5 ἐνθάδε μὲν ὁ κρείττων τοῦ ἡπτονος περίεστιν: οὐδενὶ γάρ ἄλλω ἡ τῇ εὐφυχίᾳ καὶ ἰοχὺ δεὶς κρατεῖν· ἐν δε τῶν πολέμων ἡ τοῦ σιδήρου δύναμις, πολύ κρείττων οὐδά τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, οὐκ ἐὰν τῆς τῶν σομάτων ἀρετῆς ἐξετάζεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ πρὸς τῶν χειρόνων γίγνεται. ὡσα δὲ αὐτὶ ἀθλησέως, καὶ περὶ ἀθλητοῦ εἰρήκα ἐν ἀποδείχθεντος γε ὅτι ἀριστός ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ.

1 κακεὶ Emperius: ἐκεῖ.
2 ἱσχυρότερος Emperius: ἱσχυρότατος.
3 οἱμαί Emperius: ὁ μοι.
4 καὶ Cappes: ἡ.
5 δὲ added by Reiska.
6 Selden proposed to delete καὶ.

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should not hesitate to say that even of all the ancient heroes whose praises everyone chants, he possessed valour inferior to none, inferior neither to those who warred at Troy nor to those who in later times repulsed the barbarians in Greece. Indeed, if he had lived in their day, his deeds would have matched theirs.

And, speaking generally, I give athletics the preference over distinction in warfare on the following scores: first, that the best men in athletics would distinguish themselves in war also; for the man who is stronger in body and is able to endure hardship the longer time is, in my opinion, he who, whether unarmed or armed, is the better man; second, it is not the same thing to contend against untrained opponents and men who are inferior in every way, as it is to have for one's antagonists the best men drawn from the whole inhabited earth. Besides, in war the man who once conquers slays his antagonist, so as not to have the same opponent the second time; whereas in athletics the victory is just for that one day, and afterwards the victor has for his opponents, not only the men he has beaten, but anyone else who cares to challenge. Further, in athletics the better man proves superior to the inferior man, since he must conquer with nothing else but his courage and physical strength; while in war the might of steel, which is much superior to mere human flesh, does not allow the excellency of men's bodies to be tested and often takes the side of the inferior man. Moreover, everything that I have said about athletics I have also said about one who as an athlete, aye, and one who has been proved to be the best of the men in

1 Cf. § 9.
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ἔσως δὲ κάμοι καὶ τοὺς παροῦσι προσήκων ὁ λόγος, ὥστε τοῦτο ἄριστον ὅν ἄποφαινεν.

"Ὅτω γὰρ ὑπήρξε μὲν κάλλος σώματος, ὑπήρξε δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ εὐφυχία, ἔτι δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ἀήττητον γενέσθαι, τίνα ἂν τοῦτο τοῦ ἄνδρὸς εὐδαιμονεστέρον τις φήσειεν; καίτοι 3 τοιούτῳ 4 παραγενέσθαι χαλεπωτάτω ἐστὸν ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη: κάλλος γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα δὴ χαυνοὶ καὶ ἀναπείθει τρυφάν, ὡς ἂν δόξης μὲν ἐτέρας οὐ δεομένους, ὅταν τις περιβοτῆς ἢ το εἶδος, ἡδίνονος δὴ οὔσης τῆς ῥῆθυμας. εὑροὶ δὲ ἂν τις εἰς ἄρχης ἀναλογικόμενος τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πρότερον τοὺς δὴ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας οὐδὲ ἄρετής ἔργον ἀποδειξάμενος, ἀλλὰ Γανυμήδης μὲν διὰ τὸ παῖς ἀφαινθῆναι εἰς ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἐδόκη πρᾶξει λαμπρόν·

18 περὶ δὲ Ἀδώνιδος ἡ Φάωνος 5 ἡ τῶν ὄμοιων, οσοὶ περιττῆς δόξης ἐπὶ τῷ εἴδει ἐτυχον, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀκούομεν. μόνος δὲ ἂν εἴποι τις ἀνδρείους τῶν ἀγαν καλῶν Θεσεία καὶ Ἄχιλλεα, καὶ τούτους οὐ πάνυ ἡ σωφροσύνη ὑπήρξεν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἐλένη πρὸς βίαιν ἥρπασεν, ὅ δὲ ἐστασάζετ ἐπὶ Τρολας ὅν

1 ὅν added by Capps.
2 γενέσθαι Εμπρείου: γίνεσθαι.
3 καίτοι Capps: καί.
4 καὶ τοιοῦτο Sonny: καίτοι αὐτῷ τούτῳ.
5 Φάωνος Wifstrand: Ἰασιῶνος Εμπρείου: ἴασιωνος.

1 That is, conducive to the development of the virtues; cf. § 21.
2 A beautiful youth beloved by Aphroditē.
that profession; and perhaps both for me and for this audience my speech may appropriately show that this is for the best.¹

Now since his was beauty of body, his was courage and a stout heart and, besides, self-control and the good fortune of never having been defeated, what man could be called happier than he? And yet for a man like him these twin virtues, courage and self-control, are most difficult to achieve; since beauty is stronger than any other influence to make people conceited and to entice them to a life of luxury and ease, as though they had no need of any other glory when they are noted for their comeliness, and as though an idle life were more pleasant. And one might find in reckoning over the most beautiful men of former times from the beginning that the great majority of them did no deed which gave proof of manliness or of virtue in general. Nay, while in the case of Ganymede they thought it was because he disappeared from the sight of man when a boy that he did not perform any brilliant exploit; yet regarding Adonis,² or Phaon,³ or similar men, all of whom gained extraordinary fame for their loveliness, we hear nothing except about their beauty. The only exceedingly beautiful men who were brave that we can mention were Theseus and Achilles, and these men did not have very much self-control; for otherwise the former would not have carried off Helen by force,⁴ and the other would not have quarrelled at

¹ A boatman of Mitylene who was given youth and beauty by Aphrodité. Sappho because slighted by him threw herself from the Leucadian rock, so the story has it. Iasion (see critical note), son of Zeus and Electra, was beloved by Demeter.

² See Herodotus 9. 73 and Plutarch, Life of Theseus 31–33.
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ἐνεκεν ἐστασιάζειν. Ἰππολύτω δὲ σωφροσύνη μὲν ὑπήρξεν, ἀνδρεία δὲ ἁδηλον εἰ παρῆν· οὐ γαρ ἄληθες τεκμήριον κυνηγεσία.

19 Ἀλλ' οὖς δὴ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγάθα ἐκτίσατο, ἄξιος ἂν εἶναι τῆς τελευτῆς εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι. εἰ μὲν γαρ ὁ πλείστος ἀνθρώπους χρόνος ἀριστοὶ ἦν, ταύτη ταῖς αὐτῶν ἡλιθίρατοι παντὸς ἀνθρώπου βίου δεδομένου, πλείστους ἂν εὗροι τις, οἷς πολὺ ἄμεινον ἔχεν, εἰ θάττων ἐπελεύσθησαι τοσαῦτα συμφορὰ καταλαμβάνονοι. ἔτι δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς ἐξωχωτάτους ἀκούομεν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλθόντα τοῦ βίου, Πάτροκλον τε καὶ Ἀντίλοχον, ἔτι δὲ Σαρπιδώνα καὶ Μέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα καὶ Ἰππόλυτων τοὺς τε Βοιωτοὺς Ἡμων καὶ Ἐφιάλτην, οὐδὲ μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους γενέσθαι φησίν ὁμηρὸς μετὰ Ἡμίωνα, αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνου. ἀλλ' οἴδε ὁ ἅγιος ἀφροσύνην ἀπώλοντος τούς δὲ ἄλλους οὐδὲν, θεῶν παῖδας καὶ ἀπογόνους εἶπον. οὐκ ἂν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶς παιοὶ καὶ οὖς μάλιστα ἐφίλουν ταχείαν ἐποίησαν τὴν τελευτήν, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτῳ ἐτύδεντο.

20 Ταύτα οὖν, ὁ ἀνδρείας, λογιζομένοις ὅμοἰς ἐκείνοις, συγκεκάρων νομίζειν χρὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἦττον διὰ τοῦτο ἐφίεσθαι τῶν πόνων καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ὡς, εἰ τινὶ συμπέσοι τελευτήσαι ταχύτερον, ἀνόητος ἐσόμενος τῶν ἀγαθῶν τινος.

1 οἴδε Arnim: oíde M, oí UB.
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Troy for the reasons that he did. Hippolytus\textsuperscript{1} did have self-control, but it is not clear whether or not he had manly courage, since hunting is no real proof of it.

But the man who actually gained all the blessings found among mankind must be worthy to be accounted happy in his death also. For if the longest possible time were best for man, we might well have lamented over him in that regard; but as it is, seeing that all the life given to man is but short, you will find that with very many men it would have been much better if they had died sooner, so many are the misfortunes that overtake them. Again, in the case of the most eminent men of ancient times, history tell us that none of them reached a great age, neither Patroclus nor Antilochus, and further, neither Sarpedon, nor Memnon, nor Achilles, nor Hippolytus; nor the Boeotians, Otus and Ephialtes, who, Homer says, were the tallest and handsomest men ever born next to Orion,\textsuperscript{2} nor Orion\textsuperscript{3} himself. But these men perished owing to their folly, while the others whom I have mentioned were called by men children and offspring of gods. Now the gods would not have given an early death to their own children and those whom they especially loved if they did not consider this a good thing for mankind.

Therefore, sirs, you should take these considerations into account and regard him as blessed, and should yourselves therefore be none the less eager for toil and the distinction it brings, since you may be sure that, if it should be anyone’s lot to die too soon, he will be without part in any of these blessings; for the man

\textsuperscript{1} Handsome Boeotian giant and hunter. Placed among the stars after his death.
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ό γὰρ εὐκλεοῦς δόξης τυχῶν μεστὸς ἅπεισι τῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμναζόσθη προθύμως καὶ πονεῖτε, οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι νομίζοντες αὐτοῖς ἀπολελείφθαι τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἰδίων ἐργῶν ἀξίως· καὶ φρονεῖτε δὲ ἐπ’ αυτοῖς ὡς ἦν ἀνήρ ἁνδρας ¹ πρὸς ἑπανον καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν βιοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄντας ἀσκητὰς. τὸν δὲ ὀποιχόμενον μνήμης τιμᾶτε, μὴ δάκρυοι· οὐ γὰρ πρέπει ἂν ἦδε τῇ τιμῇ γενναίος ὑπὸ γενναίων, οὔτ’ ἂν Ἄμηρον ἑπαινέσαμι, ὅτι φησὶ δεῦσοι τά τε ψαμάθους καὶ τὰ ὑπλα τοῖς δάκρυσι τῶν Ἀχαίων. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ποιητικῇ μᾶλλον ἥκολούθησεν ἣδονῆς, βρήμων ὑπερβολῶς ἐπιδειξάμενος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγκρατῶς φέρετε.

¹ ἁνδρας Morel: ἀνδρός.
who gains fair renown departs laden with blessings. Come then, train zealously and toil hard, the younger men in the belief that this man's place has been left to them, the older in a way that befits their own achievements; yes, and take all the pride in these things that men should who live for praise and glory and are devotees of virtue. And as for the departed, honour him by remembrance, not by tears; for that tribute would not be a seemly one for noble men to give a noble man, nor should I commend Homer for saying that the sands and their armour were bedewed with the tears of the Achacans.\textsuperscript{1} However, he aimed rather to give poetie pleasure when he pictured excessive lamenting, but do you bear your grief with self-control.

\textsuperscript{1} See Homer, \textit{Iliad} 23. 15 f.
THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE:  
CHARIDEMUS

At the beginning Dio is speaking with a certain Timarchus and the younger of his two sons, also named Timarchus, about the death of the older son, Charidemus, who had had a great love and admiration for Dio. From the father Dio learns that Charidemus shortly before his death had dictated an address for the consolation of his father, brother, and friends. On learning this Dio at once urges the father to read the address to him and the father compiles.

In this address three possible explanations of the life of man are offered. According to the first one, §§ 10–24, this world is a prison in which men are punished by the gods, who hate them because they are of the blood of the Titans. When any man's punishment is completed, or he has left a son to suffer punishment in his stead, he is allowed to escape by death. According to the second explanation, §§ 26–27, this world is a colony founded by the gods for men, their descendants, whom at first they kept under their protection, but afterwards allowed to shift for themselves. The third explanation represents this world as a beautiful palace where men are entertained at a banquet from which God summons to himself those who have comported themselves best.

After hearing this address Dio commends it highly and attempts to console the bereaved father and the younger son.

In form this Discourse is a dialogue, reported directly, which contains a verbatim report of Charidemus' address, which, in its turn, is made up almost entirely of indirect reports of what certain men, not definitely indicated, have said in explanation of man's life in this world. The important part of the Discourse is, of course, Charidemus' address, which gives these three explanations, while the conversation between Dio and the two bereaved ones is merely a framework to hold it.  In
Plato's *Phaedo* also, which according to Philostratus (*Lives of Sophists*, 8. 1 f. K.) was Dio's favourite book on philosophy, the important part consists of the last words of Socrates as reported by *Phaedo* to his friend Echecrates. Corresponding to these last words of Socrates we have here the deathbed message of Charidemus. And further, Charidemus shows in the face of death the same fortitude and resignation that Socrates did.

But did such a person as Charidemus, Dio's ideal of a young religious philosopher, ever have an existence, as Socrates did; or have we merely a product of the imagination? von Arnim feels sure that he is a real character, while others are not so certain. On this point there is the same difference of opinion as there is regarding the actuality of Melancomas, Dio's ideal young athlete. All, however, seem agreed that the conversation between Dio and the two bereaved is fictitious. But those who believe that Charidemus is a real character have next to consider whether the address on the life of man is really his work, modified perhaps by Dio, or whether it is altogether Dio's. von Arnim thinks that the address is not at all like any of Dio's work, but Friedrich Wilhelm (*Philologus*, vol. 75, 1918, pp. 364–365) has pointed out enough ideas of Dio's in it that are found in other Discourses of his, and also enough of his familiar words and phrases, to refute this view.

In the next place, can we identify the man who, Charidemus says, offered him the explanation that this world is a prison? Dümmler (*Academica*, p. 90 f.) and Hagen (*Questions Dionae*, p. 21) suggest that he is the Cynic philosopher Antisthenes, while Friedrich Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*, p. 367, footnote) maintains that he is a fictitious character. But we note that, although Charidemus begins giving this explanation with § 10, he gives no hint of its source until he reaches the end of § 19, where, as if forgetting himself for the moment, he speaks as if it were his own. Then, at the beginning of § 20, he credits a wandering philosopher with giving him when a child some details about the chain to which all men are bound. After giving these details and therewith finishing the first explanation of man's life, Charidemus says in § 25 that he believes this explanation comes from 'some morose man who had suffered a great deal in his life and only late had gained true education' (just like the two dogs in Discourse 7. 17).—It is this description of the man which makes Dümmler, Hagen, and Sonny
think of Antisthenes. Now is Charidemus crediting this 'morose man' with the first explanation as a whole, or only with the part beginning with § 20? If the latter is the case, and the 'wandering philosopher' is identical with the 'morose man,' then Dio himself answers fairly well to this description. For Dio became a wandering philosopher during his exile and only then, as he believed, got true education, when he was 42 years of age or older. This would be 'late in life' for getting an education; or does he mean that this 'morose man' learned later not to regard this world as a prison? And it may well be that he was made 'morose' for the time being from having 'suffered a great deal in his life.' Is Dio thinking of himself when he uses these words, just as he is in Discourse 12. 51, where he speaks of a 'sore distressed soul, having in the course of life drained the cup of many misfortunes and griefs, nor ever winning sweet sleep'? And besides, would not the injustice of his exile and the hardships which he endured tend to make him have a gloomy outlook on life and accept the opinions of those who regarded this world as a prison?

Of course, when we identify the 'morose' man with the 'wandering philosopher' the first part of the explanation, where the world is spoken of as a prison, is not really credited to any one person, but it would seem reasonable to suppose that the man believing the second part of the first explanation would accept the first part also, especially as the idea of men being bound to a chain is common to both. On the other hand, if we think of the 'morose man' as not identical with the 'wandering philosopher,' then in this morose man with his many sufferings in life we still have a fairly good description of the exiled Dio with only the one detail of his wandering life lacking, and the first explanation as a whole is definitely ascribed to him.

Once more, who is the 'peasant,' also mentioned in § 25, 'who spoke with a very rustic drawl and accent,' the one from whom Charidemus says he heard the second and third explanations? Dümmier believes that it was one of the later Cynics, possibly Bion; but Somm, while agreeing in the main, thinks that this later Cynic was more likely Cleanthes, because the man is described as a peasant. For Diogenes Laertius (7. 2, pp. 168–171) says that Cleanthes made his living by watering a garden and digging earth. And further, the words 'in praise of Zeus and the other gods' may refer to Cleanthes'
Hymn to Zeus. Friedrich Wilhelm, on the other hand, thinks that this peasant is a purely imaginary character.

But no matter how we identify the 'morose man' and the 'peasant,' it seems reasonable to suppose that the three explanations of life represent three stages in Dio's own belief. After returning from exile he naturally acquired a more cheerful outlook on life and came to think of the gods as merely having become indifferent to men, and then later the prison has become a beautiful palace in which the king of the gods gives royal entertainment to men and rewards the best. Yet some parts of Dio's belief did not change. He believed throughout that the gods exist, that they have something to do with man, and that man may overcome evil and receive his reward.

And finally, there is the question as to the immediate and the ultimate sources of these three explanations of life and this world. Of course, if we believe that Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic sect, offered the first and Cleanthes the second and third, for us a good deal of the question is settled. If we do not, then there is a great uncertainty. However, it has been shown that the idea of the world as a prison is Pythagorean and Orphic in origin,¹ while Friedrich Wilhelm has offered a good many reasons for believing that Dio drew upon Poseidonius for parts of all three explanations, although he with others thinks that there is a large Cynic element in the third. And since there are some thoughts that can be paralleled in Xenophon and Plato, it is reasonable to suppose that Dio drew to some extent also from these, his favourite authors.

30. ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

1 Δ. Ἀκηκόειν μὲν καὶ πρῶτερον πρὸν ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν πρὸ ἱκανοῦ περὶ τῆς Χαρίδημου τελευτῆς. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπινθανόμην, ὡς παρέβαλεν δευρί, περὶ τὲ ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ μάλιστα δὴ περὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπου τε εἶπεν καὶ ὁ τι πράπτοιεν. καὶ μοὶ τὶς ἐντυχὼν ὁ πάνυ τι αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἠκούσα εἰ τοὺς Τιμάρχου νεῖς λέγων καὶ ἑκατοντοστος, τοῦτον ἐπήλου, τὸν νεώτερον δὴ λέγων, ἐν Μεσσήνη ἔτι εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸ πένθος τάδελφοι.

2 τελευτήσαι γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον. φανερὸς ὃν ἦν Χαρίδημον ἀπαγγέλλων τεθυκέναι καὶ τὸτε μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ ἀμφιβολίᾳ τις εἶναι, καὶ οὔπω τὰ σωφῶς τάνθρωπον εἰρηκότος: αὖθις δὲ ἀκριβεστερόν ἐγνώμεν. καὶ οἴμαι γε ἐμαυτὸν οὐ πολὺ τι ἔλαττον ὡμῶν διηθήναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον φάναι οὖ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἠμῖν, εἰ τις ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον ἐφίλει ὑμῶν τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ οὔτοι οὐ μέγα ἰσχύειν ἐοικεν ἡ φύσις ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις. οἶνον τι καὶ περὶ τούτων τὸν Ὀπούντιον

1 Arnim: ἐνέτυχεν.
2 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἠκούσα Dindorf: ἀλλ' σὲ ἠκούσα M, ἀλλ' ὡς ἦκουσε γὰρ B.

1 He is addressing Timarchus the father.
2 A slight exaggeration, as we see from the next words.
THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE:
CHARIDEMUS

Dio. I had heard about the death of Charidemus some time ago, even before I saw you;\(^1\) for when I landed here, I straightway made inquiries about certain other persons and most especially about these two, wishing to learn where they were and how they were getting on. Then I chanced upon a man who did not know them very well, but had merely heard their names,\(^2\) who asked me if I meant the sons of Timarchus; and when I replied in the affirmative, he told me that this one, meaning the younger, was still in Messenia with you on account of his mourning for his brother; for, he said, the elder of the two had died. So it was clear that he was reporting the death of Charidemus. Yet even then there appeared to be some uncertainty, although the man had spoken clearly enough; but afterwards we came to know with more certainty. Now I believe that I myself was almost as deeply pained as you men were; for to say 'more pained' would not be right nor proper for me, even if it were indeed true that one had loved him more than you, his father and his brother, did. And yet the strength of natural affection does seem to be not very great in persons of the common sort. Something like this happened, I hear, in the case of our Opuntian\(^3\)

\(^3\) That is, from Opus, a town of Locris.
διοκοῦν γεγονέναι χαρίεντα καὶ κομψον νεανίσκον ἀποβαλόντα, ἦμετερον κάκεινον ἑταῦρον. ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἔλαττον αὐτὸν λυπηθῆναι φασίν ἢ ἐὰν τό ἄλλο τῶν ἐκ τῆς οὐκίας ἀπολωλέκει. ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς γε πάνυ εὐκατον ἀχθομένω τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ οὐδέν θαυμαστόν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ Ἐλλάδι πάση ἀφέλμος ἡν τοιοῦτος ἄνηρ ἐν τῷ βίῳ διαγενόμενος οἷος δὴ Χαρίδημος τάχα ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐγωγε ἐκείνου μειρακίου ὁντος οὐδένα ἐγνων εὐψυχότερον οὐδὲ ἁμεινὸν πεφυκότα.

4 Ὁ. Εἰ γε ἃδεις ὅπως διέκειτο πρὸς σὲ, πολὺ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνεκωμίαξε αὐτὸν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔδοκε κάροι τοῦ πατρός, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων σὲ προτιμάν, ὅσ γε καὶ ἐν τῇ νόσῳ κάπειδῇ πρὸς αὐτῷ σχέδον τι τῷ θανάτῳ ἦν, καὶ ἦμων ἐνδον οντῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἔγγενων καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ γνωρίμων σὲ ὑπόμαξ. τὸ παράπαν πάνυ μόλις ἡδὴ φθεγγόμενος, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκελευνέ 

5 ἔλεγεν; ὅταν σοὶ ἐντύχωμεν, ὅτι σοὶ μεμνημένοι ἐτελεύτα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ συνεῖναι αὐτῷ καὶ δια- 

έγεσθαι ἔσω ὑστάτου παρέμεινεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα 

καὶ ξῶν οὕτω διέκειτο ὡς τῷ σιωπη καὶ τῷ 

βαδίσματι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι σε ἐμμεῖτο, ὥσ 

ἔλεγον οἱ εἴδοτες.

1 Dio says at the beginning of Discourse 7 that he is garrulous in his old age after returning from exile; and this
friend here after he had lost a son, an agreeable and clever young man, who also was our companion; but nevertheless they tell me that he grieved less over his death than if he had lost anything else out of his house. You two, however, seem to be very much distressed by your affliction, and no wonder; for such a man as Charidemus certainly would speedily have turned out to be, would have been useful, not only to your city, but to all Hellas, if he had lived. I, for my part, never knew any young lad of higher spirit than he nor of better natural parts.

Timarchus. Yes, and if you knew how he felt towards you, your praise would be much warmer. It seemed to me that he held you in more honour than he did even me, his father, not to mention other people, since in his illness and even when he was practically at death’s door, and we were at his bedside along with other relatives, fellow citizens and acquaintances, he kept mentioning you by name, although by then he could scarcely speak at all, and bade us say when we met you that he was thinking of you when he died. For he retained consciousness and the power to speak up to the very last. Furthermore, even when he was alive and well, he was so attached to you that he imitated you in his taciturnity,¹ his gait, and in all other respects, as people who knew used to say.

Dio. Oh no, he was not imitating in those matters either me or anybody else; but they were natural with him. Perhaps you did not notice it at first when he was still a child; then as he grew older, it became more marked. For a manly and dignified present Discourse evidently belongs to this same post-exilic period.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐκείνων ἔπρεπεν ἡ ἄλλας τινὶ τὸ τε ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ σεμύνον τοῦ σχήματος. ἄλλα μὴ τι ὡμᾶς ἔλυπεν τούτους ἡ σκυθρωπότερος ὡμῖν ἐφαίνετο;

Τ. Ἔμοι μὲν γὰρ ἑδόκει τοῦναντίον πολλῶν ἑλαρώτερος καὶ πρὸς τὸ παῖζειν ἔτοιμος, ὅσι ἐλευθερίας παιδίας, καὶ ἀεὶ πως μειδίαν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις, γελῶντα δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνέδην οὐ πολλάκις εἶδον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ἔλυπεν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον ἦσαχόντος οἱ πολῖται δύο καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐτελεύτησεν· ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ ἐνδοξοὺς.

6 Δ. Ἀλλ’ ἡ 1 τι ἄλλο ὡμῖν ἐπέστειλεν ἡ διελεύκη τελευτῶν;

Τ. Πολλὰ καὶ δαιμόνια, ὡς γε 2 ἔμοι δοκεῖ πατρὶ ὅντι. 3 δὲ γε ἐν τούτω τῆς ἡλικίας ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεθυστάμενος οὐχ ὡσπερ ἔλοφύρατο αὐτὸν ἡ λυπουμένων ἐώκει, ἄλλα τοῦναντίον ἡμᾶς παρεμυθεῖτο. καὶ τὰ γε τελευταῖα τὸν παῖδα καλέσως ἐκέλευε γράφειν, ὡσπερ ἐνθουσιών, παράκλησιν τυλα ἡμῖν, ὡστε ὑπενόσουν ἐγὼ μὴ ἀρα ἐξεσπερχώς ἡδη διὰ τὸν βάλαντον ταῦτα ποιοί· πλὴν δὲν οἱ παρόντες θαυμαστῶς ἐπήμουν.

Δ. Ἐχεις οὖν τὰ γεγραμμένα;

7 Τ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

Δ. Θέλεις οὖν 4 εἰπεῖν;

Τ. Ἀλλ’ αἰσχύνομαι μὴ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ὡς ὑπὸ νεωτέρου τε καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ εἰρήμενα.

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1 Ἡ Reiske: εἰ.
2 ὡς γε Selden: ὡστε.
3 πατρὶ ὅντι Selden: πάτριον τι.
4 θέλεις οὖν Emperius: κέλευσον.

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bearing came much more naturally to him than to anybody else. But I wonder if he pained you at all by these characteristics or appeared to you to be somewhat gloomy of countenance.

Tim. No, on the contrary, I thought that he was more cheerful than many and ready to play such games as were proper for free-born children, and always somehow ready to give a smile to people whom he knew; but I did not often see him laughing without restraint. So he caused us no worry; and what is more, he won the commendation of many people, and our fellow citizens had more respect for him, although he was only twenty-two years old—for that was his age when he died—than they had for those who were older and in the public eye.

Dio. But did he give you any other commission or say anything else on his death-bed?

Tim. Yes, many remarkable things—at least, so I, his father, think. For, although he was departing from life at such an early age, so far was he from lamenting his fate or showing any grief that on the contrary he tried to comfort us. Then finally, he called the servant and dictated to him, like one inspired, an address for our consolation, so that I began to suspect that perhaps it was because his mind was now wandering on account of the nearness of death that he was doing this. Those who were at his bedside, though, praised it highly.

Dio. Pray, have you what he wrote?

Tim. Yes, indeed.

Dio. Then are you willing to repeat it?

Tim. O yes, only ashamed for fear that it is not in proper shape, because it was spoken by a comparatively young man and at such a time. For I
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔδωκε μοι μᾶλλον ἕνδος σοῦ 
παρόντος ἀν εὐλαβηθῆναι ὦ τι εἴπεν 1 ἢ τῶν ἄλλων 
ἀπάντων.

Δ. Οὐ πρὸς ἀλλότριον ἀναγνώσῃ, ὥς βέλτιστο, 
καὶ ἀμα ὑπὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ποθῷ γνῶναι τοσοῦτον 
διὸν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφ' ἦς ἔλεγεν, εἰ τῷ ὅντι εὐθύμως 
καὶ θαρρῶν ἀπέθνησεν.

8 Ὑ. Ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα:

ο' λόγος τοῦ Χαριδῆμου τελευτῶντος 2

Τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω γέγονεν ὡς ἔδοξε 
τῷ θεῷ, χρῆ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου γυγνομένων 
χαλεπῶν ἤγείραθι μηδὲ δυσχερῶς φέρειν, ὡς 
παρανύσον ἄλλοι τε σοφοὶ καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα

"Ομηρος, λέγων μηδαμὴ ἀποβλήτα ἐσαι ἀνθρώπων 
τὰ θεῶν δώρα, καλῶς ὁνομάζων δώρα τὰ ἔργα 
τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἀπαντά ἄρα ὑπὸ ὅντα καὶ ἐπ' ἄρα 
διὰ γυγνόμενα. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτω φρονῶ καὶ δέχομαι 
πράσῳ τὴν πεπρωμένην, οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ καρφῷ 
ταῦτα λέγων, ἄλλα παρούσης τε αὐτῆς. καὶ τὴν 
τελευτὴν ὅρων οὕτως ἐγγίθεν. ὡμεῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ 
πιστεύοντες, ἐπειδῆ καὶ μᾶλλον ὡμῶν ἐπεμελή-

θην ἀληθείας, καθ' ὅσον οἱ τε ἐστε, μὴ συγ-

χωρεῖτε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ δεινοῦ 
συμβεβηκότος, μηδὲ εἰ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν δυσχερέστατον 
ἐλθοῖ τῶν λόγων.

1 ὥς τι εἴπεν Capra: τι εἴπειν.
2 The heading is supplied by the translator.

1 Hagen points out that there are certain places where Dio 
puts his own ideas into the mouth of someone else. See, e.g. 

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really thought that he would have been more careful in what he said, had you been the only one present, than he was with all the rest there.

Dio. It is no outsider that you will be reading to, my good friend; and, at the same time, it is not the style that I am anxious to observe so much as what his state of mind was as revealed by what he said, whether he was really of good cheer and courageous on his deathbed.

Tim. Well, here it is: 1

The Dying Words of Charidemus

"What has happened to me has happened in accordance with God's will; and we should not consider anything that he brings to pass as harsh, nor bear it with repining: so wise men advise us, and Homer not least when he says that the gifts of the gods to man should not be spurned by man rightly calling the acts of the gods 'gifts,' as being all good and done for a good purpose. As for me, this is my feeling, and I accept the decree of fate calmly, saying this, not at any ordinary time, but when that fate itself is present, and I see my end so near at hand. And do you, I pray, believe me, since I have had even greater concern for the truth than for you, and, so far as in you lies, do not give way to your grief, knowing that nothing terrible has befallen me; no, not even if one offers the explanation of death which is the most difficult to accept.

1 For Theognis 1001; Euripides, Hypsipyle, Frag. 757 Nauck. 2
2 See Iliad 3. 65.
3 Cf. Discourse 23. 10; 32. 14; Plato, Republic 380 c.
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

10 Λέξω δὲ αὐτὸν ὡμῶν οὕτω ποιοὶ τοὺς ὄντα οὐδὲ χαρέως· οὐ γὰρ, οἴμαι, πρὸς χάριν τὴν ἡμετέραν γέγονεν· ἔχοντα δὲ τι βαθμοῦ τούτων ἵππως· οὐ τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἰματός ἐσμὲν ἥμεις ἁπάντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι. ὥς οὖν ἐκεῖνοι ἐχθρῶν ὄντων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πολεμησάντων οὐδὲ ἥμεις φίλοι ἐσμὲν, ἀλλὰ κολαξῶμεθα τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τιμωρία γεγόναμεν, ἐν φρονμαὶ δὴ ὄντες ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοσότον χρόνον ὡσον ἐκαστοί ζῶμεν. τοὺς δὲ ἀποδεξουκοντας ἥμων κεκαλασμένους ἡδή ἱκανῶς λύσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

11 Εἶναι δὲ τῶν μὲν τόπων τούτων, ὅν κόσμον ὀνομάζομεν, δεσμωτήριον ὕπ’ τῶν θεῶν κατ- εσκευασμένον χαλεπόν τε καὶ δυσάρεων, οὐδέποτε τὴν αὐτῆς κράσιν τε καὶ στάσιν τοῦ ἀέρος φυλάττον, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ψυχρόν τε καὶ παγερόν, ἀνέμου τε καὶ πηλοῦ καὶ χιόνος καὶ ὠδατος ἑμπεπλησμένον, ποτὲ δὲ αὐθ’ θερμὸν τε καὶ πυγηρόν· μικρὸν δὲ των παντελῶς καιρόν τοῦ ἔτους μετρίως ἔχειν· καταπληστεῖν δὲ καὶ προστήρας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τυφώνας ἐγγίγνεσθαι καὶ πολλάκις σεῖσθαι κάτωθεν ὅλον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα εἶναι κολάσεις δεινῶς. ἐκπλήττεσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστοτε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅποτε συμβαινοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτους

1 After warring against the gods for ten years they were defeated and hurled into a cavity below Tartarus. Cf. Lobeck, Aglaophon p. 565, where it is said that the bodies of the Titans were burned with fire from heaven and reduced to ashes and "that from those ashes of the Titans ancient readers of Orphic hymns assert that the human race sprang"—“Ex
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This explanation I will now give to you, although it is very likely not at all cheering, nor pleasing—for I imagine it was not devised to please us—and it has something of the marvellous about it perhaps. It is to the effect that all we human beings are of the blood of the Titans. Then, because they were hateful to the gods and had waged war on them, we are not dear to them either, but are punished by them and have been born for chastisement, being, in truth, imprisoned in life for as long a time as we each live. And when any of us die, it means that we, having already been sufficiently chastised, are released and go our way.

This place which we call the universe, they tell us, is a prison prepared by the gods, a grievous and ill-ventilated one, which never keeps the same temperature and condition of its air, but at one time is cold and frosty, and infected with wind, mud, snow, and water, and at another time again is hot and stifling; for just a very little time of the year it is endurable; it is visited by cyclones, typhoons occur, and sometimes the whole of it quakes to the very bottom. Now all these are terrible punishments. For men are invariably dismayed and terrified by them whenever they occur. Then in addition

hoc Titanio cinere genus humanum ortum praedicant Orphicorum carminum lectores antiqui."

a Cf. Plato, Cratylius 400 a, where Orpheus and his followers are credited with the doctrine that the soul is punished in the body, its tomb.

a Cf. Plato, Phaedo 62 b: “The statement found in esoteric doctrines that we human beings are in a sort of prison”—δ... ἐν ἀπορρήτως λεγόμενοι... λόγος ὡς ἐν τινι φρονεῖ ἐσμὲν καὶ ἄνθρωποι, and Gorgias 493 a, where some Sicilian or Italian (Pythagoras presumably) is referred to in connection with the idea that the body is a tomb.

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οὐκ ἀνεχομένους τοῦ ἁέρος τὴν φαυλότητα καὶ
tὰς μεταβολὰς ἑτέρας αὐτὴν ἡ μηχανάσσα μικρὰ
δεσμωτήρια, τὰς τε σκίας καὶ πόλεις, ξύλα καὶ
λίθους ξυνιθέντας, ἀσπερ ἐὰν τις ἐν μεγάλῃ
eἰρκτῇ ἑτέρας βραχυτέρας ἐνοικοδομοῖ.
Καὶ τὰ φυόμενα ταῦτα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐκ
gῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ παραμένειν ἠμᾶς γίγνεσθαι, καθάπερ
dεσμώταις τροφῆν διδομένην ἀρδή τε καὶ φαύλην
ἡμᾶς δὲ ἄλλως ἁγαπάν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τε καὶ
ἀπορίαν. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν κολαζομένων,
ἀνὴ ἃν παράγαρ τις, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ συνηθείας
ηδέα φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σιτία τὴ
μὲν ἀληθεία πονηρὰ εἶναι καὶ διεφθορότα, δηλοῦσθαι
dὲ τὴν διαφθορὰν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενείας.
ἐτι δὲ μὴδε ἐξ ἐτούκου πορίζεσθαι μηδὲ πᾶσιν
ἀφθονα ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀμηχάνων πόνων
καὶ κακῶν.
Εὐγκείρησθαι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν βασιν-

ζόντων, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ λύπας καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ φόβους
καὶ φροντίδας καὶ μυρία πάθη τοιαῦτα ἔχειν
ἐν ἑαυτῇ, καὶ δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τούτων
ἀεὶ κατατείνεσθαι καὶ στρεβλοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ
ὁστις ἐπιεικέστερον διάκειται, καθόλου μὲν ἀπήλ-
λακταῖ τούτων οὐδενὸς, ἀσπερ δὲ ἡμῖν ἐνδὲν
κατακεκλεισμένα ἔχει, μετὰ δὲ ὁμοίας καὶ πειθοῦς
τοιού ἡμαγακασμένα ἡρεμεῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ συμφρόν
παύσαιτο κατεπάθων καὶ προσέχων, αὐτίκα δὴ

μάλα κινούμενα. τὸ δὲ σῶμα εἰλίγγους τε καὶ
σπασμοὺς καὶ ἐπιληψιῶς καὶ τάλλα νοσήματα,
to all this, because men cannot endure the bad air and changes of temperature, they devise for themselves other small prisons, namely, their houses and cities, which they construct of timber and stone, just as if a person should build other smaller enclosures inside of a large one.

And the plants which grow all about us and the fruits of the earth are created, they assure us, simply in order that we may serve out our time here. They are just like the unappetizing and wretched food which is given to prisoners, but we nevertheless put up with it on account of the necessity which is upon us and our helplessness. For in the case of men who are being punished by us, whatever is furnished appears appetizing because they are hungry and used to it. These foods are in reality bad and spoiled, and that they are spoiled is shown by the frailty of our bodies. And, further, it is not even furnished us ready at hand, nor yet supplied in abundance to everyone, but must be won with intolerable toil and hardships.¹

"Also, we are composed of the very things which torture us, namely, soul and body. For the one has within it desires, pains, angers, fears, worries, and countless such feelings; and by day and by night it is ever racked and wrenched by them.² Even the man who is of a better bodily condition than most, is free from none whatever of these troubles, but has them shut up within him just like wild animals compelled to keep quiet by force and persuasion alike; but if he stops singing charms to them and watching them, for even a short time, they instantly become very active. Our body too is subject to vertigo, convulsions, epilepsy, and other diseases, so numerous
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οδα οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δυνατὸν διελθεῖν, ὥς ἂν αἷματος καὶ πνεύματος μεστὸν, ἕτε δὲ ἐκ σαρκῶν τε καὶ νεῦρων καὶ ὀστέων συγκείμενον, ἐκ μαλακῶν τε καὶ σκληρῶν καὶ ὑγρῶν καὶ ἔρημων, ὅταν ἕναντιωτάτων, τὰ τε αὐτία, ὅπερ εἶπον, μοχθηρὰ ὄντα καὶ τὸν ἄερα ἀνωμαλον προσπίπτοντα τὰς μὲν ἐπιτείνεις τῶν νόσων, τὰς δὲ ἀνακυνεῖν, οὐ δοκοῦσας μὲν εἶναι πρότερον, ἐνοῦσας δὲ ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν σωμάτων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐνδον ἐγκείσθαι τὰ κακὰ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἔτέρας δὲ ἐξωθεὶν κολάσεις, ἐλαφροτέρας, εἰ τις αὐτῶς παραβάλλοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως. ἢ γὰρ πυρὸς τε καὶ σιδήρου φύσις καὶ πληγῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀξεία καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαλλάττει τῆς αἰσθήσεως, εἰ τις καὶ σιμπρῶν ὑπερβάλλοι. ἐν δὲ ταῖς νόσοις ἐνίοτε παρατείνουσι καὶ πάνω πολὺν χρόνον.

17 Τουαίσθε μὲν δὴ καὶ τοσαίσθε βασάνους ξυνεχομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῷ τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ τῷ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ μένειν τὸν τεταγμένον ἐκάστον χρόνον, καὶ μὴ πρὶν ἀπενάντι τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὶν ἀν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενοι ἄλλον ἀνθρώπον καταλίπη διάδοχον τῆς κολάσεως, οἱ μὲν ἐνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείους. μενεῖν δὲ οὐχ ἐκόντας, ἀλλὰ μιὰ πάντας ἀλύπει δεδέσθαι τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, καθάπερ καὶ υφ’ ἡμῶν ἰδεῖν ἐστιν ἐν ἀλύπει μιὰ δεδεμένους πολλοὺς ἐφεξῆς, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν σμίκρους, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροὺς, τοὺς δ’ εὐπρεπέις, οὐδὲν δὲ ἠτόν ἀπαντᾶε ἐπ’ ἵσης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἐχεσθαι.

1 ὅντων Cohoon: ἐκ τῶν.
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that it is not even possible to enumerate them, since it is full of blood and air, and, further, is composed of flesh and sinews and bones, of both soft and hard things, of moist and dry things, complete opposites. Then our foods, as I said, being bad and the weather variable, aggravate some of our diseases and bring on others, which, though they do not seem to be there at first, yet are actually inherent in the nature of our bodies. These are the evils which lie within our own selves. The other chastisements, which come from without, are lighter in comparison with those that come from our own nature. For the effect of fire or steel, of blows, or of other things is sharp and quickly passes from consciousness even if it becomes at any time a little excessive. But in the case of diseases sometimes the effects last for a very long time.¹

"Such, then, are the tortures, and so numerous, by which men are afflicted while they remain in this prison and dungeon, each for his appointed time; and the majority do not get out until they produce another person from their own loins and leave him to succeed to the punishment in their stead, some leaving one and others even more. They do not stay voluntarily, but are all bound fast by one chain, body and soul, just as you may see many persons bound by us by one chain in a row, some of them small, some large, some ugly and some good looking; but none the less all of them are held on equal terms in the same constraint.²

¹ Dio is speaking from personal experience.
² Cf. Discourse 80. 7.

² ἕλαφροτέρας added by Cohoon; Arnim wrote ἔλαφροτέρας in place of ἔφρας.
"Omoíws de kai taíís túchais te kai dóxais kai
tímaí úllhíwn úperéchein, òster toís sómásmu, eínai gár toûs mén basileáas, toûs de ídóta, kai
toûs mén plousíous, toûs de ápórous. kai
ôúdein ye para toûto élattôn kákkopatêi kai
syñéksethai tû autê deûmê toûs eúdaímonas
calouménu toûs peûptwn te kai ãódous, allá
malloû toûtoj ëkéinous. Ísychotérous gár oudí
autês kexalásothi toû deûmô kai lágaroûteron
ékastw periçeîta, toûs de basileúthi kai
trásinous, oí de pefusunénu tû ëphunê kai
ofóдра eûektouïj, malloû ëngkêthai kai óliænu
òster en toûs tû sómata deûménous toûs pakhês
te kai óngkôdeis tûwn leptôn te kai átrôfwn
malloû de deûmô pîêjên: nivâs méntoi kai lâw
ólívous párèsin tîva ëxheî en êk toû theô, kai
dedéseî mén, êlafrôs de pânû de' ëpizeiæv,
ùper ûn aûðis lézomen.

Prîteron de eîpeîn ãzîon, ës èngw pote ëkouvûa
ândròs ãgrûtoû paíz ōn, òpolaîn tîva ëfaskên
eînai tûn ãlûson, ouî poun tâísde ëmòsan, ëk
sódhrou te kai ñalokou pêpouîmenên, polû méntoi
kratãioteiran, tò de ñkîma kai tûn plôkûn para-
pûsian. òster gár aûde eisîn ëk krûkon tîwû
kexalkeumênai di' ûllhíwn diaðeblûmenên, kai
touto àpí ãrzîs méçri telous: ouîw ûn ëk kâkeînên

1 Cf. Discourse 80. 11 ff. and Seneca, De Tranqüillitate
Animi 10. 3: "We are all bound to fortune: the chain of
some is golden, of others loose, of yet others tight and foul.
But what difference does it make? The same custody
surrounds all without exception... One man public
office binds, another wealth. Some men bear the weight
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"And, likewise, men are superior one to the other in their fortunes, reputations, and honours, just as they are in their bodies. Some of them are kings, others are in private station, some are wealthy, and others are without means. Yet no whit less on this account do the fortunate, as they are called, suffer and are held fast in the same bondage, than do the poor and unknown, nay, they suffer more than the others.\(^1\) For since the poor are leaner, the bond which lies about each of them is looser and easier. But as for kings and tyrants, just because they are puffed up in soul and are in exceedingly good bodily condition, so the chains lie heavier upon them and gall them the more; exactly as in the case of persons whose bodies are bound, the fetter pinches the stout and bulky more than it does the thin and under-nourished. However, a very few enjoy some relief by the kindness of God; and while they are indeed bound, yet the bond is very light on account of their goodness—a class of men concerning whom we shall speak again.\(^2\)

"But first it is right to say that once when a child I heard a wandering philosopher explain what the nature of the chain is, that it is not at all like such chains as we have, made of iron or bronze as our chains are, but much stronger, and yet similar in form and construction. For just as our chains are forged out of a number of links that are interlocked with one another, and that from one end to the other; of high station, others of low"—cum fortuna copulati sumus: aliorum aurea catena est, aliorum laxa, aliorum arta et sordida, sed quid refert? eadem custodia universos circumdedit... alium honores, alium opes vinciunt. quosdam nobilitas, quosdam humilitas premit.

\(^2\) He does so in § 24.
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έχειν, ἦ δὴ ἔφαμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ τῶν
21 θεῶν δεδέσθαι. συνηρτήσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπασών
εἰς ἡδονὴς τε καὶ λύπης, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἀλλήλων
πεπλέχθαι, τὸ τε ἡδὺ καὶ λυπηρὸν, καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ
τὸ έτερον ἐὰν ἀνάγκης ἢ ἀκολουθεῖν, ὡσπερ, οἴμαι,
τοὺς κρίκους τῆς ἀλύσεως· ἐπεσθαί δὲ ταῖς μὲν
μεγάλαις ἡδοναῖς μεγάλας λύπας, ταῖς δὲ σμικραῖς
σμικροτέραις, καὶ τῷ γε μεγίστῃ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐπὶ τέλους
εἶναι τὸν θάνατον. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ λύπην πρὸς αὐτοῦ
συμβαίνειν μεγάστην· δήλον γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶν
ἀνθρώπων μείζων ταύτης τῆς λύπης καὶ οὐδής
τῆς ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον.

22 Ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα έτερα εἶναι δεσμά,
τοῖς μὲν ἐλάττω, τοῖς δὲ μείζω περικείμενα
ὡσπερ πέδας· καλεῖσθαι δὲ υψὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶς
ἐλπίδας. ὡσπερ οὖν τὰς πέδας κατωτάτῳ τοῦ
σώματος εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσιν,
οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας κατωτάτω εἶναι καὶ περὶ τὸ
teleutaiou méros tου βίου, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ
krateίν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀναγκάζειν πάντα
πάσχοντας ὑπομένειν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνοίως
tε καὶ ἠλιθίως ὑπερόγκους τε εἶναι τὰς πέδας
taútaς καὶ σφόδρα παχεῖας, τοῖς δὲ κομψότεροις
κεχαλάσθαι τε καὶ λεπτᾶς περικείνθαι.

23 Καὶ γὰρ τοι προσελκαξε καὶ ῥήνῃ τι,1 πάνυ
ἀνδρικῶς ἐπόμενος τῇ εἰκών· τοῦτο δὲ ἐφή μόνους
εὐφράκτειν τοὺς κομψοὺς τε καὶ δρμεῖς. ἀποκε-
κλείσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ πάνυ ἄκριβῶς, ὡσπερ εἰ τις ἐν
desmωτηρίῳ ῥήνῃ ἀποκρύψειν, ὅπως μηδεῖς
tῶν desmωτῶν λάβοι, ἑπείτα λύσειν ἑαυτόν.

1 ῥήνῃ τι Pflugk: ῥήνη τινι UB, ῥήνη τινι M.
so too is that other one by which we asserted that men are bound by the gods. This chain, he said, is composed entirely of both pleasure and pain, and these things are intertwined, the pleasant and the painful, and the one always of necessity follows the other, just as, I suppose, are the links of a chain. Great pleasures are followed by great pains, the small pleasures by smaller pains, and the very greatest pleasure at the end is death. This is the reason that the pain which comes before death is the greatest; for it is clear that man has no greater pain and suffering than this which ends in death.

"He said, further, that for each man there are other bonds, in some cases lighter, in other cases heavier, which lie upon him just like fetters: they are called hopes by us. Now just as the fetters are at the lowest part of the body and around our extremities, so the hopes too are at the very bottom and surround the final part of our life. They most of all hold men in their thrall and compel them to endure even though they suffer all tortures. In the case of the senseless and foolish, these fetters are massive and exceedingly thick, but for the more intelligent, the shackles that surround them are loose and light.

"And, mark you, he also compared something to a file, very manfully sticking to his parable. This, he said, is found only by the intelligent and shrewd; for it is locked away very carefully, just as a person might hide a file in a prison in order that none of the prisoners might get hold of it and then free

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1 For this idea of opposites see Plato, *Phaedo* 60 b-c.
2 Cf. Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 11. 46 f.: "For his limbs are bound by greedy hopes"—δεδεται γὰρ ἀναιδεῖ ἐλπίδα γυίᾳ. Note the paronomasia in πέδας, ἐλπίδας (hoops, hopes).
τοὺς οὖν φιλοτίμους καὶ φιλοσόφους μόλις μέν, ὡμῶς δὲ ἀνευρίσκειν. καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν αὐτὸ λόγον. ἐπειδὰν οὖν τάχιστα εὑρωσί, χρῆσθαι τε καὶ ρινὰν τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ποιεῖν τῆς ἀλύσεως τὸ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὡς οἶον τε ἵσχυστατον καὶ ἀσθενεστατον, μέχρις ἂν ὡς 1 διωτὸν κατεργάσωνται τὰς τε ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας. βραδύ δὲ τούτο γίγνεται. μόλις γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος, ἀτε στερεῶν οὐτῶν καὶ ἀδαμαντών, καθικνεῖται καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεσθεῖε, παντελῶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δύνατο διαπανῆσαι καὶ διελέιν. ὅτι δ᾽ ἂν ἐγγένηται τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον καὶ φιλοσόφους αὐτῷ θρήσκηται δι᾽ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐφ᾽ οὗν οἶον τ᾽ ἔστιν, εὐχερῶς Ἡδῆ τὴν προμαίνειν φέρει καὶ περιέρχεται παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνίπτερον λευμένος, καὶ τοῦ χρεῶν ἐπιστάντος ῥαδίως ἀπεισώ, ὡς ἂν οὐκέτι βία κρατοῦμενοι οὐδὲ σφυγγόμενοι. ἐκ τούτων ἐνίοτε οἱ θεοὶ τινας καὶ παρέδρους ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦνται δι᾽ ἄρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν, καθόλου τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπαλλάσσαντες.

25 Ταῦτα μὲν τις εἶπεν ἀνὴρ δυσάρεστος, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ πολλὰ λευμένους κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὡς παιδείας ἀληθοὺς ἢσθημένος, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῆ γε οὐδὲ πρέποντα θεοῖς. ἔτερος δὲ βελτίων ἐστὶ τοῦτο λόγος, δὲν πολὺ ἂν εἴπομη προθυμότερον. Ἡκουσα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου γεωργοῦ ἐν ἀγροίκῳ τυλίον ῥυθμῷ

1  Ὁ Selden : Ὁ B, Ὁ U, Ὁ M.

1 As contrasted with that part of the chain which holds the other prisoners.
2 Cf. Discourse 80. 8.
himself. Now the ambitious and industrious have trouble in finding it, but still they do find it. And the name they give to it is 'Reason.' Then, as soon as they find it, they use it to file the fetters and make the part of the chain that binds themselves\(^1\) as thin and weak as possible, until they overcome the pleasures and pains so far as one may. But this is slow work. Only with difficulty does their 'reason' affect the chains because they are of adamantine hardness,\(^2\) and it wears them away only gradually, but is not able to wear them entirely through and tear them asunder. And when a man does get hold of this remedy, and uses it industriously by day and night to the best of his ability, he now endures his confinement cheerfully, walks around past the others as if he were a free man, and when his fated time comes, he goes his way without hindrance, as though no longer restrained by force or clamped to the chain.\(^3\) Of such men the gods at times make some their coadjutors on account of their virtue and wisdom, after completely freeing them from their punishment.\(^4\)

"Now this explanation was given, in my opinion, by a certain morose man who had suffered a great deal in his life and only late had gained true education;\(^5\) but it is not the right explanation, nor one that befits the gods. There is another one better than that, which I am much more eager to give. I heard it from a peasant who spoke with a very rustic drawl

\(^1\) Cf. § 43 of this Discourse and the pseudo-Platonic *Axioclaus* 365 b: "Men should go to meet their fate cheerfully and almost singing in triumph" (just like the swan in Discourse 12, 4)—δει... εὐθύμως, μόνον οὐχὶ παντίτινας, εἰς τὸ χρεῶν ἀπίνεια.


\(^3\) See p. 396 at bottom.
καὶ μέλει· πλὴν τούτο μὲν ἵως οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς δεῖ μμετέχον, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν αὐτὴν ἀπομινηθῆναι πειρασόμεθα.

26 Ἑλεγε δὲ ὑμῖν τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ὡς ἄγαθοι τε εἶναι καὶ φιλοῖς ἡμᾶς, ἀτε δὴ ἔγγενεις ὅντας αὐτῶν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν θεῶν, ἐφὼ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι γένος, οὐκ ἀπὸ Τιτάνων οὐδὲ ἀπὸ Γυγάντων. ὃτε γὰρ τὰ σύμπαντα ἔσχων, ὥσπερ ἀποκινοῦν των αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐρήμῃ οὐσία κατοικίας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφ’ ἱπτοσί τιμαῖς καὶ ὀλβίῳ, δικαίως δὲ καὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς· ὥσπερ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις καὶ εὐδαίμονες τὰς μικρὰς κατοικίζονται καὶ μοι ἕδοκει λέγειν οὐ προστιθεῖσι αὐτὸς τὰ ὀνόματα, ὅλον Ἀθηναῖοι Κυθήρεις ἡ Σιρίφιοι ἡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κυθηρίους τὸ παλαίν ἐπὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄψιν· καὶ μαμήματα γε παρ’ ἐκάστους τούτους ἰδεῖν ἔστι τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἢν οἱ κτισαντες ἔχουσιν, ἀσθενῆ δὲ πάντα καὶ χείρωνα. τὴν μέντοι δια-27 φορότητα οὐκ ἢσθην εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄτε ἀνθρώ-πους ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν θεῶν ὑπερο-κῆν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπειροῦν των εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἑτυχε νεοκατάστατος ὃν οὗ βίος, τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς

1 τε εἶναι Arnim : τὸ εἶναι.
2 ὅντας Reiske : ὅντας.
3 αὐτῶν Arnim : αὐτῶν.
4 έθῶν Selden : θεῶν.

1 Cf. Discourse 36. 39.
2 Cf. Plato, Phaedo 62 b: "that those who care for us are gods"—το θεοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους
3 Cf. Discourse 12. 32; Aratus, Phaenomena 5; Cleanthes Hyman to Zeus 5; Acts of the Apostles 17. 28: "For we are really his offspring"—τοῦ γὰρ καὶ λεῖας ἵομεν.
4 Cf. Plato, Critias 109 b; Maximus Tyrius 1 c-f; Euryphamus in Stobaeus’ Florilegium 4. 39. 27, p. 915, 9 f.: 420
and accent. However, perhaps there is no need for us to imitate this, and we shall attempt merely to record his thought.

"He said, in reciting the praises of Zeus and the other gods,¹ that they are good and love us² as being of kin³ to them. For it is from the gods, he declared, that the race of men is sprung and not from Titans or from Giants. For when they got the universe into their power, they established mankind upon the earth, which was hitherto uninhabited, as a sort of colony made up of their own people, on the basis of inferior honours and felicity, but with the same righteous laws as their own; precisely after the fashion in which great and prosperous cities found the small communities.⁴ And I thought that he meant, without expressly adding the proper names, just as Athens colonized Cythnos and Scriphos, or Sparta founded Cythera in ancient times, giving them the same laws as they themselves had. And in these various colonies you may behold copies of the customs and the form of government which their founders enjoy, but all are weak and inferior. However, the superiority of the colonizers over their colonies is not as great; for in the one case it is the superiority of men over men, whereas the greater excellence of the gods as compared with ourselves is an infinite one. Now, as long as life was but newly established, the gods both visited us in person and

"The divinity settled man, the most thoughtful animal, in the world"—τὸ ὕμην ἄθρωπον, πολυφρονέστατον ζωὸν ἐς τὸν κόσμον κατόκησεν; Cicero, De Legibus 1. 7. 23: "This whole universe should be considered as one common state of gods and of men"—Universus hic mundus una civitas . . . communis deorum atque hominum existimanda; Cicero, De Natura Deorum 2. 62. 154.
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te paragignothesai kai pe'mpein o'sper armostas
par' auton arxontas tos 'eipimelhsonou's, oion 'Hrakleia te kai Diównouson kai Perseia kai
tois allous, ou's akou'men theon pайдas, tois
dè ekgonous gevësai par' hemi' evpeita õsteron
evssai di' auton oikein õpws õn dynómeda. kai
tôte dh tâ amartíma ta kai tás ádikias xumvhrainai.

28 *Hide dè kai etérain w'dhn, òs õ me'n kosmos
oikos esti pânu kalos te kai theos õpô theon te
cateskeusaménos: õster õpô tov eudaimonon
te kai plousiow kaloumémonov õndrôn óstina
òrwmén kateskeusaménoous stathmous kai kíssì,
kai chrusó kai grafaíz tîn te órhoñ kai toíchos
kai õұras eirγasaménoous:1 õmous gevwnenai tov
kósmon elw õpodochn te kai euvfovsin õndrôn
en, eueidh kai poukìlon õstrous te kai õlíw kai
sehîn kai yì kai thaláth kai futois, á dh
toj theon ploutóu kai téxh's tîs ékeínon estîn.

29 Paragignothesai dè tois õndrów ton eis auton
ëorstásontas, õpô toû basilewv tov theov kekly-
ménoous èn' euvxían tîn kai õolhna lamprán,
ápântwn apolauvontas tón ágavón. katakeúsai
dè allous allachì, katháper èn deínwv, tois me'n
ámeínonos xóras, tois dè faulóteras tuxóntas.
ènai dè pânta õmous tois par' hemi' gnwroméno
èn tois õpodochás, plîn õs mikros kai agenéva

1 eirγasaménoous Casaubon: eirγasaménois BM, eirγasaméno U.

The governors which the Spartans sent out after the Peloponnesian War to keep in order the cities which they had conquered were so called.

2 Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations 1. 12. 28; Plato, Laws 4. 713d.

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sent harmosts, as it were, from their own number at first to look after us, such as Heracles, for example, Dionysus, Perseus, and the others, who, we are told, were the children of the gods, and that the descendants of these were born among us. Afterwards they permitted us to manage for ourselves as best we could. And then it was that sin and injustice began.

"The peasant also chanted a second monody, telling how the universe is a house very beautiful and divine, constructed by the gods; that just as we see houses built by men who are called prosperous and wealthy, with portals and columns, and the roof, walls, and doors adorned with gold and with paintings, in the same way the universe has been made to give entertainment and good cheer to mankind, beauteous and bespangled with stars, sun, moon, land, sea, and plants, all these being, indeed, portions of the wealth of the gods and specimens of their handiwork.

"Into this universe comes mankind to hold high festival, having been invited by the king of the gods to a most splendid feast and banquet that they may enjoy all blessings. They recline in different places, just as at a dinner, some getting better and others inferior positions, and everything resembles what takes place among us at our entertainments, except that we are comparing the

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3 Cf. Discourse 36. 23; Plato, Laws 713d and Timaeus 40d, and following.
4 Cf. 26. The first is in §§ 26, 27.
5 Cf. Discourse 12. 28 f.; Cicero, De Natura Deorum 2. 39, 98.
6 Cf. pseudo-Aristotle Περὶ κόσμου c. 5, p. 396 b, 27 f. and c. 6, p. 400 a, 2 f.
7 Cf. Discourse 12, 30 f. and Plato, Politicus 272a.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

θεία καὶ μεγάλα εἰκάσαι. φῶς τε γὰρ ἡμῖν παρέχειν τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ λαμπτήρων τυφῶν, τότε μὲν πλεοῦν, τότε δὲ ἔλαττον, τὸ μὲν νυκτός, τὸ δὲ ἡμέρας: καὶ παρακεῖσθαι δὴ τραπέζας πάντων μεστάς, σίτου τε καὶ ὅπωρας, τῆς μὲν αὐτομάτου, τῆς δὲ εὐργασμένης, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ κρεῶν, τῶν μὲν ἡμέρων, τῶν δὲ ἀγρίων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ θαλάττης. εἰναι δὲ τὰς τραπέζας ἐφη, πάνω ἀγροίκως λέγων, τοὺς τε λειμώνας καὶ πεδία καὶ νάπας καὶ ἄκτας, ἐν οἷς τὰ μὲν φύεσθαι, τὰ δὲ νεῖμεσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηρᾶσθαι. ἄλλα δὲ ἄλλους πλεόνα παρεῖναι, πρὸς αἰς ἥν ἐκαστοι τραπέζαις κατακλιθῶσιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θαλάττη τυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς πεδίοις, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ὀρει.  

31 διακονεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς "Ωρας, οία δὴ νεωτάτας οὖσας τῶν θεῶν, εἴ μὲν ἀμπεχομένας, καλὰς δὲ ἱδεῖν, οὕτως ποὺ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένας, ἄλλα παντοίων ἀνθῶν στεφάνους. διανέμειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τάλλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἐστιάσεως, τὰ μὲν παρατιθέσαις, τὰ δὲ αἱροῦσας κατὰ καιρὸν. γήγεραί δὲ χοροὺς καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν εὐπάθειαν ἀπασαν. τὸν μὲντοι πόνον τοῦτον, δυ ἐχεῖν δοκοῦμεν ἐν 2 γεωργίας τε καὶ θῆρας καὶ φυτείας, εἰναι τοσοῦτον δουν τοῖς κατακειμένοις τὸ ἐπορέξασθαι τινος καὶ τῇ χειρὶ λαβεῖν. δὲ δὲ ἐφη, ἄλλον ἄλλαξῃ κατακεῖσ-

1 γὰρ after παρ' deleted by Roiske.
2 ἐν added by Arnim.

1 Cf. Discours 12. 29; Genesis 1. 16.
divine and great with the small and mean. For the gods furnish us with light of two kinds by means of lamps as it were, at one time a brighter and at another a dimmer light, the one at night and the other by day; and tables are set beside us, loaded with everything, with bread and fruit, some of it wild and some cultivated, and with meats too, some from domestic animals, some from wild, and fish also from the sea. And these tables, the peasant said, speaking like a true rustic, are the meadows, plains, vales, and coast-land, on which some things grow, others pasture, and yet others are hunted. And different persons have different things in greater abundance according to the tables at which they have severally reclined. For some happen to have settled by the sea, others on the plains, and yet others in the mountains. And the waiters are the Seasons, as being the youngest of the gods, beautifully dressed and fair to behold, and they are adorned, not, methinks, with gold, but with garlands of all manner of flowers. And some of the flowers themselves they distribute and also attend to the viands of the banquet in general, serving some and removing others at the right time. And there is dancing and every other sort of merrymaking. Furthermore, that labour which we think we undergo in farming and hunting and the care of the vines, is no more than it is for those at a table to reach out for a thing and take it in their hand. To return now to my statement that different persons reclined in different places, the reason for

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2 Daughters of Zeus and Themis. Cf. what is said about them in § 42 and see pseudo-Aristotle, Περὶ κόσμου σ. 5, 397 a, 12 f.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

θαυ, τούτου καὶ ἡ κράσις τῶν ἁέρων αἰτία. τοὺς γὰρ πρῶτους καὶ τοὺς υπότατους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι τούς μὲν ἐν ψύχει, τούς δὲ ἐν ἀλέα, τοὺς μὲν ἐγγύς τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πόρρω.

33 Τῇ οὖν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ εὐωχίᾳ χρῆσθαι οὐχ ἀπαντασ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ ἐκαστὸν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄσωτος καὶ ἀκρατεῖς οὔτε ὁμαν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀκοίνεις οὐδενὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐγκεκυφότας ἐσθίεις, ὥσπερ ἐν συφεὶ ὃς, ἐπειτα νυστάξεις, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν μὴ ἄρκεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὰ παρρωτέρω διατείνει τὰς χεῖρας, αὐτὸν μεσογείους οὖν ἑζόνων ὁρέγεσθαι

34 καὶ πράγματα ἔχειν: ἄλλους δὲ ὑπλήκτους τε καὶ ἀθλίους οὕτως, φοβομένους μὴ ποτὲ αὐτοῖς ἐλλήπη, πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνάγεις καὶ σωρεύει ὅσ᾽ ἂν δύνωνται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅταν αὐτοὺς ἀπίειν δὴ, πορεύεσθαι μηδενὸς μετασχόντας, ἀλλὰ πάνω ἐνδεεῖς, καταλείπεις δὲ ταῦτα ἐτέροις: οὗ γὰρ εἶναι φέρεσθαι μὲθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. τούτους μὲν οὖν καταγελάσθαι τε καὶ ἀσχημονεῖν. ἐτέρους δὲ πεπτεῦει, τοὺς δὲ ἀστραγάλους παίζειν: εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πεπτούσ τε καὶ ἀστραγάλους οὐχ οἷος ἢμεῖς ὁνομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν χρυσοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροὺς, δὴ δὴ νόμιμα καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, υπὲρ οὗ διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ξητεῖν ἑκαστὸν πλεονεκτεῖν. πλείστον δὴ θόρυβον τούτους καὶ ἀκοσμίαν παρέχειν, τοὺς δὴ κυβεγκούσας, καὶ δοκεῖν τῶν συμποτῶν ἀγδεστάτους. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἤναι καὶ τιτρώσκειν

35 ἄλληλους. μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς μεθυσκομένους ταῦτα

1 δο' Casaubon: ὃς M, ὅς UB.
THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

that is the differences in the climate. For those at the head of the tables and those at the foot, more than of the others, are either in the cold or in the heat, because they are either near the light or far from it.

"Now all, so the man continued, do not enjoy the merrymaking and banqueting in the same way, but each according to his own nature. The dissolute and intemperate neither see nor hear anything, but bend over and eat, like pigs in a sty, and then nod in sleep. Again, some of them are not satisfied with what is near, but reach out their hands for the things that are farther away, as, for example, people living inland want fish and take trouble to get it; while others, who are insatiable and wretched, fearing that food will fail them, collect and pile up for themselves as much as they can, and after this, when they have to go, they depart without having a share of anything, but utterly destitute, and leave these things to others; for they cannot take them with them. Now these persons are a laughing-stock and disgrace. Others play at draughts and yet others with dice; but the draughts and dice are not like those to which we give these names, but are made some of gold and some of silver—we call them coins—and over them they quarrel and each seeks to get the greater share. It is these last-named men who cause the greatest uproar and disorder—I mean those who play at dice—and they appear to be the most disagreeable of the revellers. Sometimes, too, they fight and come to blows and wound one another. But it is the drunken who are most inclined to act this way.

1 Cf. Discourse 27. 1; 32. 53; 33. 14 f.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

δρᾶν. μεθύσκεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ οἴνου, καθάπερ τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ ἑστιάσει τὸ πόμα παρέχει τοὺς θεοῦς, ὡστε ἐξελέγχεσθαι τὸν ἐκάστον τρόπον. δύο δὲ οἰνοχόους ἐφεστάναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα, τὴν δὲ θηλειαν· ὁνομάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖν τὸν μὲν Νοῦν, τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν φρονίμους τὸν ἄρρενα οἰνοχόον ἔχειν, καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου μόνον τούτους δέχεσθαι σπανίως τε καὶ σμικραίς κύλιζε καὶ πάνω ἀσφαλῶς κεκραμένον· κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐνα κρατήρα, τὸν γε τῆς Σωφροσύνης. ἐστάναι γε μὴν ¹ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ διαφέροντας τῇ γεύσει ὁσπερ οἶνων πολλῶν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἄργυροις τε καὶ χρυσοῖς· ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ζώα ἐξουθεν κύκλῳ ἔχειν καὶ ἔλικάς τινας καὶ τορείας. τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφροσύνης λείον τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ μέγαν καὶ ὅσ ἂν εἰκάσαι τις ὀρῶν χαλκοῦν. δειν ῆν ² οὖν ἐκείθεν πολλαπλάσιον λαμβάνοντας καὶ ἐγκεραμώντας ομικρόν τι τῆς ἡδονῆς πίνειν. οἷς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ Νόος οἰνοχόος, οὕτως οἰνοχεῖν, φοβοῦμεν καὶ προσέχοντα μὴ τῇ τῆς κράσεως ἀμαρτῶν σφήλῃ τὸν δαιτυμόνα καὶ καταβάλῃ. τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν τοῖς μὲν πλείστους ἄκρατον τὴν ἡδονῆν ἔγχειν, μηδὲ μικρὸν σωφροσύνης παραμυγνίουσαν, τοῖς δὲ ὀλύοις τι παντελῶς λόγου ἐνεκεν. τούτῳ δὲ εὔθυς ἐξίστηλον γίγνεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ φαίνεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ

¹ γε μὴν Cohoon: γὰρ. ² δειν Emperius: δείν.
THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

However, it is not wine that makes them drunk, as it is with us, but pleasure. For this is the beverage that the gods furnish at this banquet to which all mankind is invited, so that the character of each man may be revealed. And two cup-bearers stand at their elbows, one male, the other female; the one of them is called Intelligence and the other Intemperance. Now those banqueters who are sensible have the male cup-bearer and from him alone they accept the drink sparingly, in small cups, and only when it has been so mixed that it is quite harmless; for there is only one bowl,\(^1\) that of Sobriety, has been placed before them, nevertheless there are many bowls available for all and differing in taste, as though filled with many kinds of wine, and they are of silver and of gold; and besides, they have figures of animals encircling them on the outside and certain scrolls and reliefs. But the bowl of Sobriety is smooth, not large, and of bronze, to judge by its appearance. So from this bowl they must take many times as large a portion and mix with it a little of the pleasure and drink. Now for those whose cup-bearer he is, Intelligence pours out the wine just so, fearing and giving close heed lest in some way he should fail to get the right mixture and cause the banqueter to stumble and fall. But Intemperance pours out a neat draught of pleasure for the great majority without mixing even a little of sobriety with it, though for some she puts in just a very little for the name of it; still this little straight-way disappears and is nowhere to be seen. And

\(^1\) As appears from what follows, this is not the bowl in which the wine of pleasure is mixed with the water of sobriety, but a receptacle for the undiluted wine.
Πίνοντας μη διαλείπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισπέρχειν τε αὐτὴν καὶ κελεύειν θάττων λέναι παρ' αὐτούς, καὶ προαρπάζειν ἐκαστὸν. τὴν δὲ ἐπελεγεσθαί καὶ περιτρέχειν ἀσθμαίνουσαν καὶ ῥεομένην ἱδρῶτι.

39 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐκείνης ἐστιάστωσ ὀρχείσθαί τε καὶ κυλίσθαι προπιπτοντας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ βοῶν, οὐ δὴ ποιοῦσιν οἱ μεθυσθέντες ὑπὸ οἴνου· πλὴν οὗτοι μὲν ἐπ' ὅλον καὶ μετρίως· μικρὸν γὰρ ἔσχασκι καταδρόθηκιν, ἐπειτὰ ἄμελεν ἑαυτῶν ἐχοσιν, ἀτε ἐλαφρᾶς ὀὕτης τῆς μέθης· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἠδονῆς καρπωθέντες ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ ἵσχυρότερον πόματις κατεχόμενοι δι' ὅλον τοῦ βίου ταῦτα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστων ἀπαλλαγῆναι ζώσαι εἰ μὴ γε' ἀποθάνοντες. 2 οὕτως γὰρ ὑπὸς ἔστὶ τῶν οὕτως μεθυσκομένων καὶ μόνως αὐτούς ὑφελεῖ· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἔσχασκιν ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς· γίγνεται δὲ μετὰ σπαραγμοῦ τε καὶ λύπης τῆς ἐσχάτης τὸ τῆς ἠδονῆς ἐκβάλλειν. ὅστις δ' ἂν ἴσχυση, κοὐφίζεται καὶ ῥαῦν διάγει τὸ λοιπὸν. σπαρόν ὅπε τοῦτο συμβαίνει τὸ ἐθέλειν ἐξεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μάλλον πίνειν ἐθέλουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ παύονται τοῦ δῆμους, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ σφοδρότερον ἐχοσιν, καθάπερ οἱ τῷ οἶνῳ ἄκρατος χρώμενοι.

41 Οὕτωι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι ἐστί καὶ καταισχύνουσι καὶ ὑβριζοῦσι τὴν χάριν τῶν θεῶν· οἱ δὲ μετροὶ τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τῇ μὲν ἠδονῆς πράως χρώνται καὶ διὰ χρόνου φοβούμενοι· ὦσπερ δὲ ἀνθρώπος ἑλεύθερος κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν 3 τῶν κρευττόνων, βασιλέως ἡ δυνάστου, τοῦ μὲν ἐσθλείν καὶ πίνειν ἀμελεῖ· πλὴν ὅσον ἀναγκαίον, προσέχει δὲ τοῖς

1 ἐλαφρὰς Dindorf: ἐλαφρὰς U, ἐλαφρὸς BM.
2 ἀποθάνοντον Emperius: ἀποθάνοντων M, ἀποθάνωσιν UB.
the drinkers do not take intervals of rest, but hurry her on and bid her come faster to them, and each one of them grabs first at what she brings. But she hurries and runs about panting and dripping with sweat. Some of her guests dance and lurch, falling prostrate in the sight of all, and fight and shout, just as men do who are drunken with wine. However, these do so only for a little while and moderately; for they are content to sleep a little while, and after that they feel better than ever, since their intoxication was slight. But those who have become stupefied by pleasure, being affected by a stronger potion, act this way all through life; and it is impossible for them to get free while they live but only when dead. For death is the only sleep for people intoxicated in this way and it alone helps them. Many too vomit from surfeit, and it is accompanied by retching and the severest pain—this casting out of the pleasure. But whoever persists is relieved and gets on better for the future. Yet it rarely happens that a person wishes to vomit; much rather do they wish to keep on drinking. For their thirst does not cease, but ever becomes more intense, just as with people who use untempered wine.

"Such, then, is the character of these people, and they disgrace and insult the bounty of the gods; whereas the temperate and reasonable enjoy pleasure in moderation and at intervals, owing to their fear; and just as a gentleman who has been invited by some superior, such as a king or a prince, neglects the food and drink, except in so far as he cannot avoid eating and drinking, and pays attention

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\(^a\) τινος Dindorf: τινον.
DIΟ CHΡYSΟSTΟΜ

ἐνδον καὶ τούτως τέρπεται. κάκεινοι μέθης μὲν καὶ πεττῶν καὶ ἀστραγάλων ἁμελοῦσιν, ὅρωςι δὲ τάνδον ὅπως ἔχει, καὶ τὸν τε ἀνδρῶν ἐν ὧ κατάκειναι θαυμάζουσι τε καὶ ξητοῦσιν ὅπως γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὁσπερ γραφάς τινας εὐειδεῖς καὶ καλὰς κατανοοῦσι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκονομιὰν τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ τὰς Ὄρας, ὥς εὗ τε καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἀπαντᾷ πράττουσι, καὶ προσέχουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μόνοι ὁ δὴ τοῦ κάλλους αἰσθάνονται. μέλει δ’ αὐτοῖς ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσιν ὡς τυφλοὶ τε καὶ κωφοὶ μετεληφέναι τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντες ἡχοί τι εἰσέην περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ τις πυνθάνοιτο, αἱ τε εἰδον ἃ τε ἐγνωσαν. καὶ ταῦτα φροντίζοντες καὶ μετὰ νοοῦ τῆς ἱδρυνῆς ἐμελῶς μετέχοντες διάγουσι, εἰς ἐνὶ διαλεγόμενοι καὶ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὁμοιοί. ἐνίοτε δὲ μεγάλης κραυγῆς γενομένης καὶ θορύβου παρὰ τῶν μεθυόντων κάκεισε ἀπέβλεψιν, ἐπειτα εὐθὺς πάλιν πρὸς ἐαυτοῖς ἐγένοντο.

43 Καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀπιέναι δεή, οἱ μὲν ἄσωτοι καὶ ἀκρατεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκολουθοῦντων ἔλκονται καὶ σύρονται μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ νοσημάτων κεκραγότες καὶ οἰμώζοντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες οὕτε ὅποι παρήλθον οὕτε ὅπως εἰστιάθησαν, κἂν πάνω πολὺν τις αὐτῶν μείνῃ χρόνον. οἱ δὲ ὁρθοὶ τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ποιῶν ἀπέςα, προσαγορεύσαντες τοὺς φίλους, φαινοὶ τε καὶ γεγονότες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄσχημης μονησάντες. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἑπισκοπῶν καὶ

1 οἰκονομιὰν Reiske: οἰκοδομιὰν.

1 Cf. § 31. 2 Cf. Discourse 13. 31. 3 Cf. § 24.
THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

to what is in the palace and enjoys this; so the
reasonable neglect the drinking and draughts and
dice, and look at the state of the things within, admire
the banqueting-hall in which they are reclining,
try to learn how it was made, and observe everything
that is in it, just as they would some fair and beautiful
paintings; and they notice the management also
and its orderly system, and the Seasons too, observing
how well and intelligently they do everything; they observe attentively all these things and alone
perceive their beauty. They are anxious also not
to appear to take part in all this like persons who are
blind and deaf, but they wish to have something to tell
about it when they leave, if anyone should ask them
about what they saw and observed. And throughout
the banquet they continue to take thought for these
things and to enjoy the pleasure intelligently and
moderately, while they debate man to man, or in
congenial groups of two or three. Sometimes, how-
ever, when a great noise and disturbance is caused by
those who are drunk, they look in their direction
and then straightway again give attention to their
own concerns.

"And when they have to depart, the dissolute
and intemperate are pulled and dragged away by
their slave attendants with discomforts and spells
of sickness, shouting and groaning the while, and
having no knowledge whatever where they have
been or how they have feasted, even if one or another
of them remains a very long time. But the others
depart erect and standing securely upon their own
feet after bidding farewell to their friends, joyous
and happy because they have done nothing un-
seemly. God, therefore, looking upon these things
πάντας ὁρῶν, ὡς ἐν ἱδύω ὀικω, ὅπως ἔκαστος εἰστιάτο, τοὺς βελτίστους ἀεὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν καλεῖ, κἂν τὴν σφόδρα ἀρέσθεις τύχη, μένειν αὐτοῦ κελεύει καὶ συμπότην καὶ ἑταίρον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοῦ νέκταρος ἡδη οὗτος εὐωχεῖται. τούτῳ δὲ έσουκε μὲν τῷ τῆς σωφροσύνης πώματι, διανγέστερον δὲ ἐστιν ἐκείνου πολὺ καὶ καθαρότερον, ὡς ἂν, οἶμαι, θέλας ὁν καὶ ἀληθοὺς σωφροσύνης."

45 Δ. Παπαὶ, ὁ Χαρίδημε. οἷος ὀν ἦμεν τέθνηκας, ὡς πολὺ τῶν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἄνθρωπων ὑπερέξειν ἔμελλες, οίαν δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς πολιταῖς ἐπίδειξιν σαυτοῦ παρέσχε, μᾶ Δι’ οὐ λόγων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλης καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἀνδρείας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐχω ὅπως παραμυθήσωμαι ὡμᾶς τοιούτου στερηθέντας μὴ βαρέως φέρειν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν οἶσι τέ εἰμι ἰκανῶς παραμυθήσασθαι εἰ τῷ παρόντι. οὐ δὲ, ὁ Τίμαρχε, μόνος δύνασαι τὸν πατέρα τοῦτον κουφίζειν καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἐὰν μέλῃ σοι μὴ πολὺ ἐκείνου καταδεικτέρω φαίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀτοπον, εἰ τὴν μὲν οὐσίν αὐτὸν τὴν μὲν ἡδη παρειληφας τοσαύτην οὐσαν, τὴν δὲ αὐθες λήψῃ τοῦτο ἀποθανόντος, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ δάρσος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλλίστων ἐρασθήμαι ἀφήσεις, ὡς κατὰ γε ταύτα οὐδὲν ἐκείνῳ προσῆκων.

1 πάντας Arnim: πάντα.
THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

and observing all the banqueters, as if he were in his own house, how each person has comported himself at the banquet, ever calls the best to himself; and if he happens to be especially pleased with any one, he bids him remain there and makes him his boon companion;¹ and thenceforth this man regales himself with nectar. This resembles the beverage of Sobriety, but is clearer by far than the other and purer because, as I think, it belongs to divine and true sobriety.”

Dio. Alas, Charidemus, what a man has been lost to us in your death! How far you would have surpassed the men of your generation, and what a splendid revelation of your character you have given to your father and your fellow citizens, a display, not of words assuredly, but of great and true manliness. For my part, I know not how to console you of his family, bereft of such a man, by exhorting you not to sorrow too deeply, for I am not able adequately to console even myself for the present. You alone, Timarchus, are able to lighten this father’s grief and to bring healing to his misfortune, by making it your concern not to be found much inferior to the departed. For it would be strange indeed if, while you have already received part of his property, great as it was, and will receive the other part in the future when your father here dies, yet you should forsake sobriety, courage, and a love for all that is most beautiful, as if in these matters you were of no kin at all to Charidemus.

¹ Cf. Epictetus, Enchiridion c. 15: “Then you will be not only a boon companion of the gods, but will also assist them in governing”—τότε οὐ μόνον συμπότης τῶν θεῶν ἔσῃ ἅλλα καὶ συνάρχων.
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