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DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

III
DIO
CHRYSSOSTOM

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

III

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MOMLI
PREFACE

The first Oration in this volume, addressed to the Rhodians, is the work of Professor J. W. Cohoon, as were the first two volumes of Dio Chrysostom in the Loeb Classical Library. Unfortunately Professor Cohoon was obliged to relinquish further work upon this author and Professor H. Lamar Crosby is responsible for Orations XXXII-XXXVI in this volume and for the remaining two volumes.

THE EDITORS.
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DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE:
THE RHODIAN ORATION

Some information about the island of Rhodes and its capital city of the same name may contribute to an appreciation of this Discourse.

The island, which has an area of approximately 424 square miles, lies in the extreme eastern part of the Aegean Sea and is about ten miles south of Cape Alypo, the ancient Cynossema Promontorium, on the coast of Asia Minor. From it one can see to the north the elevated coast of Asia Minor and in the south-east Mount Ida of Crete. It is still noted for its delightful climate and its fertile soil.

There is a legend that the earliest inhabitants of Rhodes were the Telechines, skilled workers in metal, and the Children of the Sun, who were bold navigators; yet, whatever the racial affinity of these people may have been, in historic times the population was Dorian.

In the fifth century before Christ its three cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus were enrolled in the Delian League, but in 412 B.C. they revolted from Athens. Then in 408 they united to form the new city of Rhodes on the north-east tip of the island. This city presented a very impressive appearance, laid out as it was by the architect Hippodamus in the form of an amphitheatre on a gentle slope running down to the sea.

After the founding of this city the prosperity and political importance of the island steadily increased. It threw off the yoke of Athens in the Social War, 357–354, and although it submitted first to Mausolus of Caria and then later to Alexander the Great, it reasserted its independence after the latter's death, greatly expanded its trade, and became
more powerful than before, so that its standard of coinage and its code of maritime law became widely accepted in the Mediterranean. In 305-4 the city successfully withstood a siege by the redoubtable Demetrius Poliorcetes, who by means of his formidable fleet and artillery attempted to force the city into an active alliance with King Antigonus. On raising the siege Demetrius presented the Rhodians with his mighty siege-engines, from the sale of which they realized enough to pay for the Colossus, the celebrated statue of the Sun-god, one hundred and five feet high, which was executed by Chares of Lindus and stood at the entrance of the harbour.

In 227 Rhodes suffered from a severe earthquake, the damages of which the other states helped to restore because they could not endure to see the state ruined. Chiefly by her fleet Rhodes supported Rome in her wars against Philip V of Macedon, Antiochus III., and Mithridates, who besieged the city unsuccessfully in 88. It assisted Pompey against the pirates and at first against Julius Caesar; but in 42 that Caius Cassius who formed the conspiracy against Caesar’s life captured and ruthlessly plundered the city for refusing to submit to his exactions; and although befriended by Mark Antony after this, it never fully recovered from the blow. In the year 44 of our era, in the reign of Claudius, it lost its freedom temporarily, but recovered it at the intercession of Nero, who throughout his life remained very friendly to Rhodes. Then at the beginning of the reign of Vespasian it was reduced to a Roman province. This has been considered the end of Rhodes’ freedom. Von Arnim, however (Leben und Werke, 217-218), gives good reason for believing that Rhodes was given its freedom again for a short time under Titus. This view is accepted by Van Gelder (Geschichte der alten Rhodier, 175), who suggests that this may have occurred somewhat later under Nerva or Trajan, by Hiller von Gaertringen in his article on Rhodes in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. V., col. 810, and by Lemarchand in his Dion de Prusa, 84.

Rhodes was noted for its paintings and its sculpture. In Dio’s time the city is said to have had 3000 statues. (See Pliny the Elder 34. 7. 36 and cf. § 146 of this Discourse.) Then too it was the birthplace of the philosopher Panaetius, whose pupil, the philosopher and historian Poseidonius, had his school there; Apollonius Rhodius also spent part of his
life there; and in this city both Cicero and Caesar in their youth studied rhetoric under Apollonius Molo.

This Rhodian oration, by far the longest of Dio's extant Discourses, purports to have been delivered by Dio before the Rhodian Assembly. In it Dio urges the Rhodians by all possible arguments to give up their bad habit of not actually having the statue of a man made and set up when one was decreed him as an honour, but of simply having his name engraved on some statue already standing, after first chiselling out the name, if any was there, which was already on the statue.

This Discourse throws an interesting light upon the time in which Dio lived. Then it was thought one of the highest honours for a man to have a statue of himself which was erected by public decree in a city like Rhodes, so that even Romans sought this honour. No doubt it was because so many Romans whom Rhodes could not afford to offend brought pressure to bear in order to secure the honour of a statue, that this practice of 'switching inscriptions' developed. The city already had some 3000 statues in its temples and streets, and yet many others were anxious for the honour of a statue. This was all the vogue at that time. Lemarchand (op. cit., 58) quotes from Cicero, Plutarch, Philo, Favorinus, Pausanias, Pliny the Elder, and Dio Cassius to show that the practice was not unknown elsewhere. Yet perhaps it had well-nigh ceased by Dio's time, for in §§ 105–106, 123 he says that the Rhodians alone are guilty of it.

Von Arnim thinks that this address was not actually delivered, that it was merely written. The Rhodians, he says, met in Assembly to deal with matters of state, would not have been willing to listen to such a "long-winded expectoration" on a subject not on the order of the day. He points also to the unusually careful avoidance of hiatus. Lemarchand, on the other hand, who believes that we have here at least two addresses by Dio on the same subject, which were later made into one by some editor (perhaps by Dio himself, who then carefully removed cases of hiatus), thinks that at least the first address was actually delivered. He feels that the speech is not a unit on account of the numerous repetitions and contradictions in it which he lists, and on account of two different styles and tones, the one dry and dull, the other vigorous and at times impassioned.
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Von Arnim, in attempting to date this Discourse, takes into account three factors: Rhodes is a free city (see for example §§ 111-113), Nero is dead (as may be inferred from §§ 148-150), and the Discourse shows Dio as a sophist, yet not hostile to philosophy, as he was in early life according to Synesius. To be sure Rhodes was free until 70 or 71 of our era, but he feels that even then Dio, who would have been about twenty-four years old, he says (about thirty would be nearer the truth if Dio was born about A.D. 40), would still have been too immature to compose such a speech as this. Therefore he would put this speech in the reign of Titus, when, as he attempts to show, Rhodes regained its freedom for a time.

Lomarchand, on the other hand, with his theory of two speeches, at least, combined into one, would place the first speech in the early years of Vespasian's reign, when Rhodes had just lost its freedom. For in this first speech Dio does not once refer to the freedom of Rhodes and sections 45-46 imply that it is not free, he says. The second speech, where Rhodes is spoken of as free, he would put in the reign of Titus; and he would accept von Arnim's contention that Rhodes then regained its freedom for a short time.
ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

31. ΡΟΔΙΑΚΟΣ

1 Ἐκός μὲν ἦστιν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ράδιοι, τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑμῶν ἐμὲ νομίζειν ὑπὲρ ἱδίου τινὸς πράγματος ἐντευξόμενον ὑμῖν ἀφίχθαι· ὡστε ἐπειδὰν αἰσθηθεῖ τῶν ὑμετέρων τὴ κοινῶν ἐγχειροῦντα ἑπανορθοῦν, δυσχέραιτε ἃσως, εἰ μὴτε πολίτης ἢν μὴτε κληθείς ὡφ' ὑμῶν, ἐπειτα ἀξιῶ συμβουλεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ἢν σκεφόμενοι συνελη-

2 λύθατε. Ἔγω δὲ ἂν μὲν ὑμῖν ἀκούσασιν ἡ μηθὲν τῶν δεόντων ἢ περὶ τινὸς τῶν μὴ πάνω ἀναγκαῖον φανῶ λέγοιν, δικαίως ἂν ἀμφότερά φημι δόξειν, ἀμα εὐχῆς καὶ περίεργος· ἐὰν δ' ὃς οἶδαν τε καὶ περὶ μεγίστου πράγματος, καὶ τούτου σφόδρα φαύλως ἔχοντος, ὡστε δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διαβεβλήθαν καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντας καθ' ὑπὸ τοῦτο δόξης οὐ προσηκούσης τυγχάνειν, εἰκότως ἂν μοι χάριν ἔχοιτε καὶ νομίζωτε εὖν οὖν ἐαυτοῖς. δῆλον γάρ ὃς εἰ καὶ 1 μὴ πάνυ τις ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾷ, τοῖς

1 καὶ added by Cohoon.

1 The application is obviously to Dio himself.
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It is reasonable to suppose, men of Rhodes, that the majority of you are thinking that I have come to talk to you about some private matter; consequently, when you perceive that I am attempting to set right a matter which concerns your own general interests, you will perhaps be vexed that I, who am neither a citizen nor have been invited to come here, yet venture to offer advice, and that too concerning no one of the subjects for the consideration of which you have assembled. But for my part, if after hearing me you find that the topic on which I am speaking is either inappropriate or not altogether urgent, I say that I shall be rightly regarded as both foolish and officious. But if you find that my topic is really of the greatest possible importance, and, furthermore, that the situation of which I speak is very bad indeed, so that the state as such is in evil repute on that account, and that you yourselves, one and all, though you bear a good reputation in everything else, in this one matter do not enjoy the general esteem to which you are entitled, you would have good reason to be grateful to me and to regard me as a true friend of yours. For it is evident that even if any person is not altogether content with you, the
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γε ἀλλοις οὐθέν μέλει δήπου τῶν ὑμῶν τίνα φερόν-3 τῶν αἰσχύνην ἤ βλάβην. οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον, εἰ μὲν ἀργυρίον τις ὑμῖν ἐχαρίζετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἥν ἡ μέτοικος, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἠγείρει ψευδεργοῦν, ὥστε, μηδὲν προσήκειν δοκῶν, ἐφιλοτε-μεῖτο μηδ' ὑμῶν ἀπαιτοῦντων, συμβουλεύοντος δὲ τι τῶν χρησίμων δυσχερέστερον ἀκούσεις, ὥστε ἂν μὴ τόξη κληθεὶς ἡ μὴ πολίτης ὑπάρχῃ; καὶ τοῖς χρημάτων μὲν οὐθ' ὑμεῖς σφόδρα ἴσως ἐν τῷ παρόντι δείσεις, καὶ μυρίων ἐστίν εἰρεῖν, οἷς μᾶλλον ἂν ἂν ἀφελεσθαί τῶν ὄντων συνεφερε-γνώμης δὲ ἀγαθῆς οὐκ ἐστίν οὐδεὶς ὁ μὴ δεόμενος ἐν παντὶ καρπῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντα τῶν βίων, οὐδ' ὁ κάλλιστα πράττειν δοκῶν.

4 Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τινός τῶν προκειμένων ἔλεγον, οὐθέν ἂν ὡς ἂν ἂν τῆς ἡλικίας ἀφελεσθῆσθαι εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τὸ δεόν εἰρεῖν σκο-ποῦντάς γε ἀπαξ. ἐπεί δὲ ὡς ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξε-τείτε τὴν ἁρχὴν ὅπως ποτὲ ἔχει, τούτῳ φημι δείξειν αἰσχύντα γυνώμενον, πῶς οὖν ἂν ἐξ ἐπει-παντελῶς ὑμῖν χρήσιμον πράγμα πεποιηκός, ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ φανῶ φευδόμενος; νομίζω δ' ἐξωγε πάντα μὴν προσήκειν ἀποδέχεσθαι τῶν δι' εὐνοιαν ὅτι οὐν λεγόντων καὶ μηδένα ὀχληρῶν

1 ἂν added by Emporius, Geel.
2 ἀφελεσθαί Cohoon, ἀφελεσθαί Wess, Nabor, Schwartz. ἀποβαλοῦσα Geel: ἀφελεσθαί.
3 ἂν added by Reiske.
4 ἔχει Reiske: ἔχει BM, ἔχει U.
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world at large, as you presumably know, cares not at all about those matters which may bring upon you some shame or injury. Is it not, therefore, very strange that, whereas if a man, a foreigner or a resident alien, were offering you a gift of money out of his own means, you would not consider him officious just because, although under no apparent obligation to do so, he was zealous on your behalf even though you did not demand it, and yet, if a man offers you useful advice, just because he happens not to have been invited to do so or is not a citizen you are going to listen with considerable vexation to whatever he has to say? And yet as for money, perhaps you are in no pressing need of it at the moment, and, besides, thousands can be found to whom it would be a greater benefit to have taken away from them some of the money they have; but as for good advice, there is no one who does not stand in need of it at every moment and for every circumstance of life, even the man who is regarded as most successful.

Now if I were speaking about one of the questions which are before you, you would not be so greatly benefited by me, for you would be reasonably sure to arrive at the proper conclusion by yourselves if you were once to consider the problem. But since, in discussing a matter concerning which you are not even making any attempt at all to ascertain what the situation is, I assert that I shall prove that it is being most disgracefully managed, shall I not have done you an altogether useful service—that is, if I shall, indeed, prove not to be misrepresenting the facts? And what I think myself is, that it is right to welcome any man who, moved by a spirit of friendliness, has anything whatever to say, and to regard no such one
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ποιείσθαι τών τοιούτων, μάλιστα δε ύμᾶς, ἀνδρεῖς Ῥόδιοι. δὴ λογίᾳ, ὅτι τούτου χάριν σήμερε βουλεύομενοι καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐ καθάπερ ἄλλοι δυσκόλως καὶ διὰ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερῶν τυχές εἶναι δοκούστων, ὅπως ύμῖν ἦ σχολὴ περὶ πάντων ἄκουσιν καὶ μηδὲν ἀνεξέταστον παραλίπητε.

5 Ῥάττε μὲν οὖν ἡν ἀναγκαῖον προεπείν, ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν ύμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ βαδιοῦμαι, τουσὶν ὑπειπόν, ὅτι μοι προσήκειν δοκεῖ πάντα μὲν πράττειν δικαίως καὶ καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον, ἄλλως τε τοὺς δημοσία ποιοῦστας ὅτιον, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοινὰ υπάρχει φανερώτερα, ἥν ἂν ἐκαστὸς ἰδίᾳ πράττῃ μὴ δέον, ἄλλα καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνο ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμαρτήματα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀποφαίνει τὴν πόλιν φαύλην, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοσία γιγνομένων ὅμως δὲν προσήκει τρόπον ἀνάγκη δοκεῖν καὶ τοὺς 6 καθ' ἑνα μοχθηρούς. ὅποιοι γὰρ ἂν ὅσιν οὐ πλείους ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, τουσὶν φαίνεται καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἥθος· τὰ γὰρ τούτους ἀρέσκοντα ἴσχυε δήπουθεν, οὐχ ἐτέρα. μάλιστα δ' ἂν φαίην ἐγώγε τοὺς καλλίστους καὶ σεμνοτάτους οἰκεῖον εἶναι χρῆσθαι προσέχοντας· παρ' οἷς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄμελεταί, καὶ κακίαν τινὰ ἐμφαίνει τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε ἄλλων οὐδὲν οἶνον τε ἐπιτηδεῖος 7 πράττεσθαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχθημεν, ἀ δὲ μέγιστα ἰγέτονθα, τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κάλλιον οὐδὲ δικαιότερον ἢ τιμῶν τοὺς ἅγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τῶν εὗ ποιησάντων
as a nuisance, and especially, that you, men of Rhodes, should do so. For evidently the reason that you come together to deliberate every day and not, as other people do, reluctantly and at intervals and with only a few of you who are regarded as free-born being present, is that you may have leisure to hear about all matters and may leave nothing unexamined.

So much it was necessary to say by way of preface in order that you might understand the situation at the very beginning; and now I shall proceed to the subject itself, after simply adding that I think it is our duty to conduct all the affairs of life justly and honourably, and especially is it the duty of those who do anything in the name of the people; not only because official acts are more readily observed than private misdeeds, but also because, while the mistakes of persons in private station do not at once put the city in a bad light, improper action in public affairs inevitably causes every individual citizen to be looked upon as a knave. For in a democracy the character of the majority is obviously the character of the state, since it is their will, surely, and no one's else, that prevails. And I myself would venture to say that it is especially fitting that the majority should scrupulously observe the noblest and most sacred obligations; for in the state where such considerations are neglected, such neglect even reveals a sort of vicious defect in the body politic and no other matter can be properly administered. Furthermore, if we except the honours which we owe the gods, which we must regard as first in importance, of all other actions there is nothing nobler or more just than to show honour to our good men and to keep in remembrance those who have served us well—
μεμνημέθαι νομίζω μηδὲ λόγου δεύσθαι. καίτοι καὶ τὸ συμφέρον οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐν τούτῳ τις ἡν ἰδοι. τοὺς γὰρ σπουδαίους οὖνας περὶ τοὺς εὐεργετάς καὶ τοῖς ἡγαπηκόσι δικαίως χρωμένους πάντες ἤγονται χάριτος ἀξίους καὶ βουλουτ' ἂν ἐκαστὸς ὥφελεν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ¹ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς εὑνωοῦντας καὶ συμπράττοντας, ὅταν ἦ καιρός, καὶ πόλεις πᾶσαι καὶ ἱδιώτης ἀσφαλέστερον διάγει.

8 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἤγεισθε, ἀνδρεῖς Ῥώδιοι, πάνυ φαύλως παρ' ὑμῖν ἐχοντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀξίως, τὰ περὶ τοὺς εὐεργετάς λέγω καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἀρκήθηνεν ὑμῶν ὅτως τῷ πράγματι χρωμένων—πόθεν; τούτων γὰρ, ὅσπερ ἅλλο τι τῶν ὑμετέρων διαφερόντως ἂν τις ἀποδέχατο καὶ θαυμάσειν, οὕτω μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ τιμῆς μάλιστα προνοῆσαι: γνοῖν δ' ἂν τις εἰς τὸ τῶν εἰκόνων πλῆθος ἀπειδῶν—μοχθηρὸν δὲ ἅλλος κατεσχηκότος ἔθους ἐκ τῶν χρόνων, καὶ μήτε τιμωμένον λοιπὸν παρ' ὑμῖν μηδενός, εἰ βουλεύετε τάληθες εἰδέναι, τῶν τε πρότερον γενναίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν προθύμων, οὐκ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ βασιλέων καὶ τῶν δήμων ὑβριζομένων καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἀποστεροῦμεν. ὅταν γὰρ ὑπηφίστησθε ἀνδριάντα τινὶ· βραδίως δὲ ὑμῖν ἔπεισι τούτο τοῦτο νῦν ὡς ἄν ἄφθονον ὑπάρχον.

¹ For this practice elsewhere cf. Cicero, Ad Atticum 6. 1. 26, Equidem valde ipsae Athenas amo, volo esse aliquod monumentum. odi falsas inscripitiones statuarium alienarum. See also Plutarch, Life of Antony 60; Favorinus in Dio 37. 40; Pausanias 2. 17. 3; Dio Cassius 50. 28; 63. 11; Philo, Legatio in Gaum 20; Pliny the Elder H.N. 35. 2. 4.
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that is my opinion and needs no argument; and yet one may most clearly see in the principle also a practical advantage. For those who take seriously their obligations toward their benefactors and mete out just treatment to those who have loved them, all men regard as worthy of their favour, and without exception each would wish to benefit them to the best of his ability; and as a result of having many who are well-disposed and who give assistance whenever there is occasion, not only the state as a whole, but also the citizen in private stations lives in greater security.

It is in regard to these matters, men of Rhodes, that I ask you to believe that the situation here among you is very bad and unworthy of your state, your treatment, I mean, of your benefactors and of the honours given to your good men, although originally you did not handle thematter thus—most assuredly not! Why, on the contrary, just as a person might very emphatically approve and admire any other practice of yours, so it is my opinion that you once gave very especial attention to bestowing honours, and one might recognize this to be so by looking at the great number of your statues—but it is only that a habit in another way bad has prevailed here for some time, and that nobody any longer receives honour among you, if you care to know the truth, and that the noble men of former times who were zealous for your state, not alone those in private station, but also kings and, in certain cases, peoples, are being insulted and robbed of the honours which they had received.¹ For whenever you vote a statue to anyone—and the idea of doing this comes to you now quite readily because you have an
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ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὖκ ἂν αἰτιασαίμην, τὸ χρόνον τινὰ καὶ διατριβὴν προσεῖναι: τοῦνατίον γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐστηκεν ὅν ἂν εἴπητε, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἡ ὕψησθαι. 

συμβαίνει δὲ πράγμα ἀτοπώτατον· ὁ γὰρ στρατη-

γός ὅν ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ τῶν ἀνακειμένων τούτων ἀνδριάντων ἀποδείκνυσιν· εἶτα τῆς μὲν πρότερον ὁφθαλμῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀναρέθεις, ἐτέρου δ’ ὄνοματος ἐγχαραχθέντος, πέρας ἔχει τὸ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ λοιπὸν τέτευχη τῆς εἰκόνος ὁ δόξας ὑμῶν ἄξιος, πάνω ῥαδίως, οἶμαι, καὶ λυσιτελῶς οὕτως ἀναποιμένοις, ὡστε θαυμαστὴν εἶναι τὴν εὐπορίαν καὶ τὸ πράγμα εὐχῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μόνοις ὑμῖν ἔστιν δὲν ἂν βούλησθε ἵσταναι χαλκοῦν δίχα ἀναλώματος καὶ μηδεμίαν δραχμῆν μήτε ὑμῶν καταβαλόντων 10 

μήτε τῶν τιμωμένων. τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἀγαθεῖν τῆς σοφίας τὴν πόλιν;

’Ἀλλ’, οἶμαι, πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γυγνομένων καὶ μετὰ πόνου πλεῖονος καὶ δαπάνης οὐ σμικρᾶς ἐστὶ προῖκα καὶ πάνω ῥαδίως ποιεῖν, εἰ τις ἀμελεῖ τοῦ προσήκοντος καὶ τοῦ πράττειν ἀληθῶς. ὅδε εὐθὺς τὰς θυσίας, ὡς ἐκάστοτε τελοῦμεν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐστὶ μὴ θύσαντας φάσκειν τεθυκέναι, μόνον, ἂν δοκῇ, στεφανοσαμένους καὶ τῷ βωμῷ προσ-

ελθόντας καὶ τῶν οὐλῶν 2 θυγγάνοντας καὶ τάλλα ποιοῦντας ὑς ἐφ’ ἱεροφρυγίας. τί δ’; οὐχὶ

1 καὶ deleted by Arnim.
2 οὐλῶν Valesius: οὐδάν UB, οδῶν M.
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abundant supply of statues on hand—though for one thing I could not possibly criticise you, I mean for letting a little time elapse and delaying action; for, on the contrary, as soon as any person is proposed for the honour by you—presto! there he stands on a pedestal, or rather, even before the vote is taken! But what occurs is quite absurd: your chief magistrate, namely, merely points his finger at the first statue that meets his eyes of those which have already been dedicated, and then, after the inscription which was previously on it has been removed and another name engraved, the business of honouring is finished; and there you are! The man whom you have decreed to be worthy of the honour has already got his statue, and quite easily, it seems to me, and at a good bargain, when you look at the matter from this point of view—that the abundance of supply is wonderful and your business a thing to envy, if you are the only people in the world who can set up in bronze any man you wish without incurring any expense, and in fact, without either yourselves or those whom you honour putting up a single drachma. Who, pray, from this point of view, could help admiring the cleverness of your city?

But I imagine that many things in life which require both special effort and no little expense can be done without cost and quite easily, if one disregards propriety and sincerity. Take, for instance, the sacrifices which we duly offer to the gods: it is possible simply to say they have been offered without offering them, merely, if you please, putting on our wreaths and approaching the altar, and then touching the barley groats and performing all the other rites as we do in an act of worship. And here is an idea! We
ταύτῳ ίερείου Ἀπασίν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι προσάγοντας, τῷ τοῦ Διός, τῷ τοῦ Ἡλίου, τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ πανταχῇ κατασπείσαντας πάσιν ὀσέσθαι τεθυκέναι τοῖς θεοῖς οὐ ράδιον; τίς δ’ ὁ καλύπτων; εῶς δὴ δὴ βωμὸν ἡ ναὸν νῦν τινος ἱδρύσασθαι θελήσωμεν καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντων εἰσὶ παρ’ ύμῖν τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἀδύνατον οἴομαι καὶ κρείττω κατασκευάσαι τοῦ πρῶτον καὶ διὰ πλειόνων τιμῶν προσέλθαι τῶν αὐτῶν: ἀρ’ οὐχ ἐτοιμον ἐξουκίσαι τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἡ μετ- ενεγκεῖν τι τῶν ἡδῆ καθιερωμένων; ἡ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀλλὰζει μόνον, ὅ νῦν ποιοῦμεν; καίτοι τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὸν Ἡλίου καὶ τὸν Διόνυσου ἐνιοὶ φασὶ εἴναι τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ ύμεῖς οὕτω νομίζετε, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπλῶς τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας εἰς μίαν τινὰ ἵσχυν καὶ δύναμιν συνάγονσιν, ὡστε μηδὲν διαφέρειν τὸ τοῦτον ἡ ἐκεῖνον τιμᾶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐθέν ἔστι τοιοῦτον. ἄλλ’ ὁ διδοὺς τὰ τοῦτο ἔτερῳ τοῦτον ἀφήρηται τῶν ἕαυτος.

12 Νὴ Δία, ἄλλ’ οὐχ ὄμοιον τὸ παραβαινεῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ 1 τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Οὐδ’ ἐγὼ φημ. παραβαινεῖν δὴ ὀμοῖον ἔστι καὶ τὰ 2 πρὸς τούτους, ὅταν τις αὐτοῖς μὴ ύμιῶς προσφέρεται, μηδὲ τοὺς μὲν εὐληφότας ἕων ἔχειν ἄ γε δικαίως ἔλαβον, τοῖς δὲ ἄξιοις 3 δέξασι τῶν αὐτῶν ὁ φησιν οὖν τῶς διδούς, ἅλλα τοὺς μὲν ἀποστερῶν τῆς δωρεᾶς, τοὺς δὲ ωσπερ ἐνεδρεύων

1 καὶ Cobet: ἡ. 2 ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ Emperius: ἔστιν ἐκαστὰ. 3 ἄξιοις Reiske: αἰτίοις.

1 For this view see Antisthenes Φυσικός, Frag. 1, Winkelmann.
might lead the same sacrificial victim up to all the statues in turn: to that of Zeus, to that of Helius, to Athena's, and after pouring libations at each one, make believe that we have sacrificed to all the gods—would not that be easy? Who is going to prevent our doing this? And if we wish now to set up an altar or a temple to some god—for even though altars of all the gods are to be found among you, I take it that it is not impossible both to build a better altar than the last one you built and also deliberately to honour the same god by a greater number of them—is it not quite feasible to dispossess one of the other gods, or to shift one that has been already consecrated? Or else simply to alter the inscription—exactly as we are now doing? Indeed, some do maintain that Apollo, Helius, and Dionysus are one and the same, and this is your view, and many people even go so far as to combine all the gods and make of them one single force and power, so that it makes no difference at all whether you are honouring this one or that one. But where men are concerned the situation is not at all like that; on the contrary, whoever gives A's goods to B robs A of what is rightfully his.

"Yes, by Zeus," someone says, "but there is no similarity between violating our obligation towards the gods and that toward men."

Neither do I say there is. But still it is possible to violate one's obligation towards men also, when one does not deal honestly with them, when one does not even permit those who have received anything to keep what they have justly acquired, or actually gives what the giver asserts he is giving to those who have been considered worthy of the same reward, but deprives the one class of their gift and deceives and
13 καὶ παραλογιζόμενος. ἢ μὲν οὖν φύσις τοῦ πράγματος ὁμοία καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ὅτι οὖν μετὰ ἀπάτης καὶ φενακίσμοι καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης μικρολογίας ταύτο διαφέρει δ', ὅτι τὰ μὲν περὶ τούς θεοὺς γιγνόμενα μὴ δεόντως ἀσεβήματα καλεῖται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀδικήματα, τούτων τῆς μὲν ἀσεβείαν ἔστω μὴ προσεῖναι τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεταζομένῳ πράγματι· τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ,
14 εἰ μὴ δοκεῖ φυλακῆς ὑμῶν ἢξιον, ἀφείσθω. καίτοι καὶ τὴν ἀσεβείαν εὑροὶ τις ἂν ὦσι τῷ τοιούτῳ προσοῦσαι· λέγω δὲ οὐ περὶ ὑμῶν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς πόλεως· οὔτε γὰρ ὑμῖν ποτὲ ἐδοξεῖ ποτὲ δημοσιώς γέγονεν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ σκοπῶν καὶ ἰδίων τὸ πράγμα· τὰ γὰρ περὶ τοὺς κατοικομένους γιγνόμενα οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀσεβήματα κέκληται καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης τυγχάνει παρὰ τοὺς νόμους,1 εἰς οὓς ἂν ποτὲ ἦ; τὸ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἑγαθεῦς καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐφράγετας ὑβρίζειν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν καταλύειν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀναιρεῖν ἐγώ μὲν οὐχ ὄρο πῶς ἂν ἄλλας ὁμομάζοιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας εὐφράγετας οἱ ἀδικοῦντες οὐκ ἂν εὐθύγειοι εἰς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦδε τοῦ ὀνείδους. οἱ γοῦν περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, ὅτι τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης ὑπῆρξαν εὐφραγεῖα ἐβίοι ἡμῖν, εἰκότως ἀσεβεῖν δοκοῦσιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἢστε δήποθεν, ὅτι κἀν σπείρῃ τις αὐτοῖς κἀν θυμάσθη μόνον κἀν προσάφηται, μεθ' ἦσ μέντοι προσήκει διανοίας, οὐχέν ἐλαττον πεποίη-

1 For parà tois nómos Wilamowitz conjectured parà tois palloiós. ;

18
hoodwinks the other. Now the essential nature of the act is the same,¹ and doing anything whatever with deceit and trickery and the extreme of niggardliness amounts to the same thing; but there is this difference, that unseemly actions in what concerns the gods are called impiety, whereas such conduct when done by men to one another is called injustice. Of these two terms let it be conceded that impiety does not attach to the practice under examination; and henceforth, unless it seems to you worth guarding against, let this matter be dropped. And yet even impiety might perhaps be found to attach to such conduct—I am not speaking about you nor about your city, for you never formally approved nor has the practice ever been officially sanctioned; I am considering the act in and of itself from the private point of view—for is it not true that wrong treatment of those who have passed away is rightly called impiety and is given this designation in our laws, no matter who those are against whom such acts are committed? But to commit an outrage against good men who have been the benefactors of the state, to annul the honours given them and to blot out their remembrance, I for my part do not see how that could be otherwise termed. Why, even those who wrong living benefactors cannot reasonably be clear of this reproach. At any rate those who wrong their parents, because these were the authors of the first and greatest benefaction to us, are quite fairly held guilty of impiety. And as for the gods, you know, I presume, that whether a person makes a libation to them or merely offers incense or approaches them, so long as his spirit is right, he has done his full

¹ i.e. whether it affects gods or men.
κεν' ουδὲ γὰρ δεῖται τῶν τοιούτων οὐθενὸς ἵπτως ὁ θεὸς οἶκον ἀγαλμάτων ἢ θυσιῶν. Ἀλλὰς δὲ οὐ μάτην γίγνεται ταῦτα, τὴν προθυμίαν ἢμῶν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐμφανόντων πρὸς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι δέονται καὶ στεφάνου καὶ εἰκόνος καὶ προεδρίας καὶ τοῦ μνημονεύσθαι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἣδη τεθνήκασιν, ὅπως ἀνδράντος τύχωσι καὶ κηρύγματος ἡ τιμῆς ἐτέρας καὶ τοῖς ἀδότες καταλύσις δόξαι τινὰ ἐπιεἰκῆ καὶ μνήμην ἐαυτῶν. εἰ γοῦν τις ἤμων πῦθοιτο, ἀπάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἀνηρθημένων καὶ μηδεμᾶς εἰς ὑστερον μνήμης ἀπολειπομένης μηδὲ ἐπαίνοι τῶν εὖ πρακτὴντων, εἰ καὶ 1 πολλοστὸν ἤγείσθη μέρος ἃν γεγονέναι τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρὰ πάσιν ἄνδρῶν ἢ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ποτὲ προθύμως ἡγούμενων ἢ τῶν τυράννων καθηρηκότων ἢ τῶν ἐαυτοὺς ἢ τέκνα προεμένων 2 ένεκα 3 κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἢ τῶν πόνους μεγάλους πονησάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁρετῆς, ὡστερ Ἡρακλέα φασὶ καὶ Θησέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμιθέους ποτὲ ἡρωᾶς, 17 οὔκ ἄν οὐθένα εἰσεῖν οἷμαι. τὸ γὰρ προκαλοῦμεν έκαστον καὶ κωδύνων καταφρονεῖν καὶ πόνους ὑπομένειν καὶ τὸν μεθ' ἠδονῆς καὶ ραθύμιας ὑπεροφάνει βλοῦν οὔκ ἄν ἄλλο τις εὐροὶ παρὰ γε τοῖς πλείστοι. τοῦτο ἐστι τὸ ποιοῦν ἐν

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1 καὶ added by Reiske.
2 προεμένων Dindorf; προηρημένων UB, προερημένων M, προεμένων T.
3 ένεκα Dindorf: οὖνεκα.

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1 For the same thought cf. Seneca, De Beneficiis 1. 6. 3; Poseidonius in Cicero, De Natura Deorum 2. 28. 71; Xenophon,
duty; for perhaps God requires no such thing as images or sacrifices at all. But in any event these acts are not ineffectual, because we thereby show our zeal and our disposition towards the gods. But when we come to men, they require crowns, images, the right of precedence, and being kept in remembrance; and many in times past have even given up their lives just in order that they might get a statue and have their name announced by the herald or receive some other honour and leave to succeeding generations a fair name and remembrance of themselves. At any rate, if anyone should inquire of you, all things such as these having been taken away and no remembrance being left for future times nor commendation given for deeds well done, whether you think there would have been even the smallest fraction of men who are admired by all the world either because they had fought zealously in some war, or had slain tyrants, or had sacrificed themselves or their children in behalf of the common weal, or had undergone great labours for virtue’s sake, as they say Heracles did, and Theseus and the other semi-divine heroes of the past, no man here among you, I think, would answer yes. For you will find that there is nothing else, at least in the case of the great majority, that incites every man to despise danger, to endure toils, and to scorn the life of pleasure and ease. This is the reason why brave men are

Memorabilia 1. 3. 3; Agesilaus 11. 2; Epictetus, Encheiridion 31; Dio Chrysostom 3. 52; 4. 76; 13. 35; 33. 28; Horace, Odes, 3. 23; The Old Testament, Isaiah 1. 11 ff.; Psalm 51. 16–17.

2 Heracles, the pattern of the Cynics, according to them pursued virtue for its own sake, and Dio usually so represents him.
ταῖς μάχαις τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐμπροσθεν εὐρίσκεσθαι τετρωμένους καὶ μὴ μεταστραφέντας οἴχεσθαι, πολλάκις ἐτοίμου τῆς σωτηρίας ἀποκειμένης. διὰ τούτο φησιν ὁ ποιητής τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μὴ θελήσαι γνηράσαντα ἀποθανεῖν οἷκοι, καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα μόνον στῆναι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δέοι, πᾶσι μαχούμενοι. τοῦτο ἦν τὸ ποιήσαν Λακε- δαιμονίων τινὰς ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ἀντιτάξασθαι πρὸς τοσαῦτας Περσῶν μυριάδας. τοῦτο ἔποιησε τοὺς ὑμετέρους προγόνους ἀπασαν γην καὶ βάλαται ἐμπλῆσαι τροπαίων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἐλλάδος τρόπον τινά ἔσβεσμενης μόνους ἐφ' αὐτοῖς 1 διαφυλάξαι τὸ κοινὸν ἄξιωμα τῶν Ἐλλήνων εἰς τὸν νῦν παρόντα χρόνον. οἴδεν εἰκότως μοι δοκεῖτε μείζον ἀπάντων ἔκεινων φρονεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἅρχῃ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρ- βάρους εὐνυχήσαντες καὶ λαμπροὶ φανέντες τὰ λοιπὰ ἔξημαρτον, φθόνου μᾶλλον καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ φιλονικίας ἦπερ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι, μέχρι μηδενὸς ἔξωθεν ἐνοχλοῦντος αὐτοῦ παρείθησαν καὶ πάντα ἥδη τὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι δεσπότην ἐκάλουν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτοι πολέμους κατωρθώκοτες ἀπανταὶ οὐχ ἤττον καλῶς 2 διελύσασθε ἣ γενναίως ἐπολεμήσατε. πλὴν ἐκεῖνό γε δῆλον ἔστων, ὅτι μὴ γέ μεῖς μήτε ἄλλοι τινὲς, οἱ δοκοῦσιν Ἐλλήνων ἡ βαρβάρων μεγάλοι

1 αὐτοῖς Roiske: αὐτοῖς UM, ἑαυτοῖς B.
2 διελύσασθε Arnim: ἀνεφέλεσθε. Cf. Isocrates Panegyric 172: “For we do not settle our wars, but only postpone them”—οὐ γὰρ διαλυόμεθά τούς πολέμους ἀλλ’ ἀναβαλλόμεθα.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

found on the battlefield wounded in front instead of having turned and fled, though safety was often ready at hand. This is what the poet gives as Achilles' reason for refusing to grow old and die at home,¹ and for Hector's standing alone in defence of his city, ready if need be to fight against the entire host. This is what made a mere handful of Spartans stand in the narrow pass against so many myriads of Persians.² It was this which made your ancestors fill every land and sea with their monuments of victory, and when the rest of Hellas in a sense had been blotted out, to guard the national honour of the Hellenes by their unaided efforts up to the present time.³ For this reason I think that you are justified in feeling greater pride than all the rest of them taken together. For whereas the others at the beginning did win successes against the barbarians and made themselves a brilliant name, for the rest they failed by giving a display of jealousy, folly, and quarrel-someness rather than of virtue, until, although no foreign power was troubling them, they deteriorated of themselves and finally invited anyone who wished to be their master. But you Rhodians, who have won so many wars, have settled them all no less honourably than you have gallantly waged them. However, this much is clear, that neither you nor any others, whether Greeks or barbarians, who are thought to

¹ Achilles' mother, Thetis, told him that it was his fate either to gain glory and die young, or to live a long but inglorious life. Achilles chose the former.
² Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans was slain in 480 B.C. while trying to hold the western end of the pass of Thermopylae against the vast army of Xerxes. See Herodotus 7. 200-233.
³ Cf. Demosthenes 20 (Against Leptines) 64 f.
DIO CHrysostom

gενέσθαι, δι’ ἄλλο τι προῆλθον εἰς δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν ἢ τῶν κατὰ μέρος φιλοτιμῶν 1 τυχόντες καὶ περὶ πλείονος τοῦ ζῆν ἡγουμένων τὴν ύστερον εὐφημίαν. ἡ γὰρ στήλη καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἑστάναι μεγα δοκεῖ τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδράσι, καὶ μισθὸς οὐτός ἄξιος τῆς ἁρετῆς τὸ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἀνηρρήσθαι τὸ ὄνομα μηδ’ εἰς ἱσον καταστῆναι τοῖς μὴ γενναμένοις, ἀλλὰ ἵνα τι λιπέσθαι καὶ σημεῖον, ως ἂν εἴποι τις, τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας.

21 Τούς ἀγωνιστὰς τούτους δράτε ὅσα πάσχουσι γυμναζόμενοι, διαπαθῶντες, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀποθησκεύσειν αἱροῦμενοι πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἄθλοις. τί οὖν; εἰ τις ἄνελοι τῶν στέφανων, οὐ χάριν φιλοτιμοῦνται, καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφήν τὴν ἐσομένην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Πυθοῖ τῆς νίκης, ἃρ’ οἴσθε μίαν ἥμεραν αὐτούς ἀνέξεθαι τὸν ἄλλον μόνον, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τῷ πράγματι πρόσεστιν ἀγωνία καὶ χαλέπα; τί δ’; ἐὰν γένηται δήλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὴν εἰκόνα, ἢν ἂν στήσωσιν, ἐτερος αὐτοῦ πονηστεί, τὸ μὲν τοῦ θέντος ὄνομα ἀνελών, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπιγράφας, ἐτι θεασομένου ἤγείσθη ἑλθεῖν ἂν τινα ἐκεῖσε, οὐχ ὅπως ἀγωνιοῦμεν; ὅθεν, οἷμαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἅπαξ ἱκάζονται τῆς τοιότητος μαρτυρίας. ἀπασι γὰρ ἐστὶν περὶ πολλοῦ τὰ τῆς ἁρετῆς σύμβολα, καὶ οὐδεὶς αἱρεῖται τῶν πολλῶν, ὃ τι ἂν οὕτως καλὸν εἶναι, μόνον αὐτῷ πεπράξθαι, μηδένα δὲ εἴδεναι.

1 φιλοτιμῶν Reiske: φιλοτιμῶν.

1 For the thought of §§ 16–22 cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 64; 23. 136; Aeschines In Oles. 245 f.; Lycurgus, In Leocr. 46; Cicero, Pro Archia 11. 26.
2 Cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 41.
have become great, advanced to glory and power for any other reason than because fortune gave to each in succession men who were jealous of honour and regarded their fame in after times as more precious than life. For the pillar, the inscription, and being set up in bronze are regarded as a high honour by noble men, and they deem it a reward worthy of their virtue not to have their name destroyed along with their body and to be brought level with those who have never lived at all, but rather to leave an imprint and a token, so to speak, of their manly prowess.¹

You see what hardships these athletic competitors endure while training, spending money, and finally often even choosing to die in the very midst of the games. Why is it? If we were to abolish the crown for the sake of which they strive, and the inscription which will commemorate their victory at the Olympian or the Pythian games, do you think that they would endure for even one day the heat of the sun, not to mention all the other unpleasant and arduous things which attach to their occupation? Well then, if it becomes clear to them that any statue of them which their countrymen may set up another man is going to appropriate, first removing the name of the victor who dedicated it and then putting his own name there, do you think that anyone will go there any longer even to witness the games, to say nothing of competing? It is for this reason, I think, that kings, too, claim such testimony as this.² For all men set great store by the outward tokens of high achievement, and not one man in a thousand is willing to agree that what he regards as a noble deed shall have been done for himself alone and that no other man shall have knowledge of it.

¹²

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Πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ἀρα ἀγνοεῖτε τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἐκεῖνος μόνον ἀτύμοις ποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον τῶν εὐνοησόντων καὶ προθυμησομένων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς; μηδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο εἰσέλθη μηδένα ὡμῶν ὅτι εἴπερ ἄρα μίαν τιμήν καταλύσετε τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων, αἱ λοιπαὶ δὴ εἰσὶν ἀναφαίρετοι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ τὴν μεγίστην ἀναιροῦντες καὶ ἦς μάλιστα ἐκατοστὸς ἐπιθυμεῖ τυγχάνειν, ὀμολογοῦσι δὴ πουθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλείονος μέρους τὴν πόλιν βλάπτειν, εἰ γέ φασι βλαβέροι εἶναι τὸ πάσας αὐτὰς καταλαμάθηαι.

23 Πρὸς τοῦτω δὲ κάκεινό ἐστιν, ὅτι παρ’ οἷς ἄν ἐν τὲ κινηθῇ, παρ’ ἐκείνοις κεκύηται πάντα ὁμοιώς καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων βέβαιοι οὐδὲν ἐστιν. οἱ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν παραβάντες, καθ’ ἣν οὐκ ἄν ἐδόκει τι συμβῆναι, καὶ ταύτην παρ’ οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενοι, πάντα λελύκασιν ὅ τὴν αὐτὴν εἰχε πρόφασιν τοῦ μένειν βέβαια. οἶδον εἰ τις μίαν λύσαι τῶν τιμωρίων ἡντυναυῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλων οὐδεμιᾶν ἵσχυρὰν καταλέλοιπεν. εἰ δὲ γέ τις τὴν μεγίστὴν ἀνέλοι, φυγὴν ἢ θάνατον, τὰ γε ἐλάττω τῶν ἐπιτυμίων λοιπὸν ἀνάγικη μηδὲ γεγράφθαι δοκεῖν. ὡσπερ οὖν οἱ παραχαράτ-

1 Cf. Demosthenes, In Lept. 22: “And no one will be willing to do us a service if he sees that those who did so in the past have been wronged”; also ibid. 7, 17, 50, 155.

2 The ‘principle’ in this case being that all citizens should have all possible incentives for serving the state and enhancing its glory, and the ‘certain thing’ (evidently undesirable since it was to be prevented from happening) being the annulling of the chief incentive, the public bestowal of honours like statues.
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In Heaven's name, do you fail to recognize that this action of yours not only deprives those men of honour, but also leaves the city destitute of men who will be well-disposed and strenuous in her behalf? For let not the thought enter the mind of any of you, that even if you do abolish that one honour, the honour of the grant of a statue, the other honours, nevertheless, cannot be taken away. For, in the first place, those who annul the greatest honour and that which every man is most anxious to gain, admit, I presume, that they are doing injury to the state in the greatest degree, since they concede that it would be injurious that all honours should have been abolished.

Moreover, there is this also to be considered—that wherever one part of an institution has been changed, there all parts alike have suffered change and no similar institution is secure. For those who have infringed the principle by observing which it was believed that a certain undesirable thing would not happen, and because they thought the principle was of no importance, have thereby undermined every institution whose stability rested upon the same premises. For instance, if a person should do away with any one whatsoever of the penalties of the law, he has not left any of the others secure either. And if a man were to do away with the greatest of your punishments, banishment or death, it would necessarily be thought in the future that the lesser penalties also were not even on the statute books. Therefore, just as

3 Cf. Demosthenes, In Lept. 120: "Whenever you take away any of the gifts which you once gave to anybody, you will destroy the confidence which the recipients have had in all your other gifts."
τούτες τὸ νόμισμα, κἂν μέρος λυμήνωνται, τὸ
σύμπαν διεθθαρκέναι δοκοῦσι υποπτὸν ὑποτί-
σαντες, ὡμοίως ὦ τῶν τιμῶν τύχας ἡ τῶν τιμωρίων
ἀναιροῦντες ὅλον τὸ πράγμα καταλύνουσι καὶ
25 τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξιον δεικνύουσι. καὶ μὴν εἰ τίς
με ἔροιτο, τὴν μεγίστην ὡς οἶον τε ἐκεῖνοις
βλάβην φερόντων, τοῦ τε τὰς τιμὰς ἀπίστως
ἐξειν καὶ τοῦ τὰς τιμωρίας ἀσθενῶς, εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν
ἀμφότερα εὐλαβηθῆναι, πότερον αὐτῶν ἐπιεικέστε-
ρον κρίνω καὶ μετριωτέρον ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἂν
διστάσας τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας εἴπομι· εἰ γε
tούτῳ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνενεγκείν εἰς φιλανθρωπία,
eἰς ἐλέους, εἰς ἀλλα τοιαύτα, ἀπερ ἐστὶν οἰκεία τοῖς
χρηστοῖς· τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄνδρῶν ἐπιλαμβά-
νεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἁρετῆς ἄλλα ἀποστερεῖν οὐκ
ἐν τυχάνειν οὐδεμιᾶς εὐπρεποὺς προφάσεως,
ἀλλ' ἀχαριστία, φθόνος, μικρολογία, πάσι τοῖς
αἰσχίστοις ἀνάγκη προσήκειν. ἔτι δὲ οἴ μὲν
tους ὄντως 3 πονηροὺς ἑττον κατείργουσι, τὰς
κολάσεις ἀνείνετε· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ τὰ μέγιστα
ἐξαμαρτάνουσι περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας. τοσοῦτω
δὲ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνον κάκιον ὡς τὸ αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖν τοῦ
μη σφόδρα κωλύειν ἔτερον.

Οὐ τούνων οὔδὲ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μὴ τούτῳ
ὑπάρχει μεγίστον τῶν δεδομένων τοις· δίχα γὰρ
τοῦ πάσιν εἶναι φαινοῦν ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντία ἔρουσιν
οἱ λέγοντες. φασί γὰρ ἀνάγκην εἶναι πολλοὺς

1 ὑποπτὸν Cappe: ὑπαίτιον.
2 φθόνῳ Reiske: φθόνος UB, φθόνως M.
3 ὄντως Cappe: οὔτας.

1 Cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 154; In. Tim. 215.
2 Cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 5 ff.; 39.
men who falsely stamp the currency, even if they injure only a part, are regarded as having ruined the whole by making it suspect, in like manner those who annul any of the honours or the punishments are doing away with the whole system and showing that it is worth nothing whatever. Moreover, if anyone were to put this question to me: Admitted that each of the two things causes the greatest possible harm, namely, that there should be no confidence in the honours which a city bestows and that the punishments it inflicts should be ineffectual, if it is not possible to guard against both, which of them I consider more conducive to justice and characteristic of more respectable men, I should unhesitatingly say in reply, "That its punishments should be ineffectual," since this can be credited to humanity, to pity, and to other sentiments of that nature, the very qualities that characterize good men. But to let the memory of the noblest men be forgotten and to deprive them of the rewards of virtue cannot find any plausible excuse, but must be ascribed to ingratitude, envy, meanness and all the basest motives.¹ Again, whereas the former, when they relax their punishments, merely slacken their constraint upon those who are really bad, the latter are themselves committing the greatest sins against their benefactors. This is just as much worse than the other as committing a wrong yourself is worse than failing rigorously to prevent another man from committing a wrong.²

So, then, it cannot be said, either, that this is not the greatest of the gifts that have been given to any persons, since, apart from the fact that the truth is patent to everyone, those who deny it will be contradicting themselves. For they protest that it is
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ἐν τῷ παρόντι τιμᾶν τῶν ἡγουμένων, οἷς ἀπασχολόμεθα, εἰκόνος εἰ δεηθεὶς κατασκευάζεσθαι, μεγάλην τινὰ ἐσεθαί τὴν διαπάνην, ὡς τὰς γε ἀλλὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ὁδοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ ἀποδεξομένων αὐτῶν ὡς πολὺ ἐλάττους. τὸ μὲν δὲ τῆς διαπάνης οἰκὸν ἐστὶν ὄβεσθε μετὰ μικρὸν· τὸ δὲ μεγίστην εἶναι τῶν τιμῶν, ἢν ἀφαιρεῦται τοὺς εἰληφότας πρῶτον, ἐκ τοῦτων ὀμολόγηται.

Καὶ μὴν ἀτόποπος γε ὄντος τοῦ τινα παρεῖναι τῶν ἄξιων τιμῆς καὶ μηδεμίαν παρασχεῖν ἄμοιβὴν τῆς εὐεργεσίας, ὡς πάντων μάλιστα ἀνάγκη τούτους ὀμολογεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ μετριώτερον τιμῆσαι τινα τῆς ἄξιας δεινὸν οἰονται, τὸ τιμᾶνται, ἐπειτα δ' οὐδὲν αὐτωμένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ δοθέντα πῶς οὐχ ὑπερβολὴν ἀδικίας ἔχει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀχαρίστειν ἔστι τοῖς εὐεργεταῖς, τὸ δὲ ὑβρίζειν εἰς αὐτούς, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ μὴ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας, τὸ δὲ ἀτιμᾶσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀ δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἐπεικεσιν ὀφείλειν οὐ παρέχουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ λόγους ἐστὶ γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀκρως πονηρῶν, ταῦτα πράττοντες κατ' αὐτῶν. εἰ γοῦν τις τῶν ποτε νομισθέντων μετρίων αὕτης ἀνήκεστον ἀμάρτοι τι καὶ χαλέπων, οἶνυ εἰ προδοσίαιν βουλεύσειν ἡ τυραννίδα, τῶν τοιούτων ἔθος ἐστὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἀναιρεῦσθαι, κἀν ἐπιγραφῆς τίνος πρῶτον ὡς τετυχότες. εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τῶν αὐτῶν ἄξιον ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀμολογουμένως ἀρίστους,

* For the view that the honour should be left see Favorinus in Dio 37. 31.
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necessary to honour many of the leading men at the present time, and that if it proves necessary to get statues made for them all, enormous expense will be incurred, since the other honours are not in keeping with their position, and the men themselves would not accept them, as being far too inadequate. As to the matter of expense, you will see in a short time what there is in that plea. But that this is the greatest of your honours which they are taking away from the former recipients, is by this protest conceded.

Again, since it is preposterous to pass over any one of those who are worthy of honour and to offer no recompense for his benefaction, as those men above all others must admit who think it a terrible thing even to bestow a lesser honour than a person deserves; is it not an excess of wrong-doing to honour men and then, though having no fault to find with them, to deprive them of what has been given them? The one act, namely, means being ungrateful to your benefactors, but the other means insulting them; the one is a case of not honouring the good men, the other, of dishonouring them. For whereas in the one case you merely fail to grant to men of excellent character what you believe is their due, in the other case you give them the treatment which is customarily accorded to men who are utterly base. If, for instance, any man who formerly was thought respectable should afterwards commit any unpardonable and grievous sin, such as plotting treason or a tyranny, the practice is to revoke this man's honours, even if previously he had received the honour of an inscription. Then is it not a disgrace for you to consider that men who are admittedly the noblest deserve the same treatment as that which the laws command to be
Διος Χρυσόστομος

δὲν τοὺς ἁσβεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀνοσίους τυγχάνειν οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οἷς οὐδὲ ταφῆς μέτεστιν;

29 ὅστε μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὅσην παρ' ἐτέρους ἔχουσι τοὺς τιμᾶσθαι πάντες ἐπιθυμίαν, τοσαύτην ἦ καὶ πλείονα ἐξεῖν παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅπως μηδέποτε τεύξονται τῶν τοιούτων μηδενὸς ὅσω τῇ ὑβρίν ἐκαστός καὶ τὸ προπηλακισθῇμαι μεῖξον ἤγείται κακόν ἢ τῆν τιμὴν ἀγαθὸν νενόμικεν. εἴ γοῦν τινα καλοῦτε εἰς προεδρίαν ἡ πολίτην ἀναγράφοιτε, μελλόντες ὑστερον ἀναστήσειν ἡ τὴν πολυτείαν ἀφελεῖσθαι, πολλὰ ἂν ἑκατέρεις ὑμᾶς εὰν αὐτῶν. τοὺς γοῦν τυράννους ἡ τοὺς βασιλέας, ἢν αἴθιοι οἱ βιαλῶς ἀρχέτεντες καὶ παρανόμως τὰς εἰκόνας ἀνεῖλον καὶ τὰ ὄνοματα ἡφάνισαν, ὅπερ, οἴμαι, καὶ ἐρ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκε, διατενάμενος εἴπομ' ἂν, εἰ προήξασαν τοῦτο ἐσόμενον, μὴτ' ἂν εἰκόνας ἑαυτῶν ἐδασι τίνα στήσαι μήτε ὄνοματα ἐγγράψαι.

30 Καίτοι τούτο οὐ μόνον ἐκείνους ἀδικομένους καὶ δεινὰ πάσχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν δεικνυσι κεφήν, δι' ἣν ἵσως ὑμᾶς τινες αξιώσουσί τοῦτο ποιεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὸν πράγματος οἶδαν. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἢμα καὶ συμφέρον φήσουσιν εἶναι καὶ ὑστέρους ἡ τιμῶν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπεναντίον ἐστὶ τοῦτω τοὺς πρότερον οὖτω τετιμημένους ὑβρίζειν; ὦ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον τις οὐκ ἂν εἴλετο λαβεῖν, εἰδὼς τοῦτο ἐσόμενον, πῶς

1 εἶναι καὶ ὑστέρους Cappe, νεωτέρους Schwartz, εἶναι τὸ ἐτέρους καὶ ἐτέρους Sonny: εἶναι τὸ ἐτέρους οὔτων αἰ τι ἐτέρους.

1 On the thought of §§ 27–28 cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 97 and 117.
imposed on the impious and unholy, men who have not even a claim to burial? Consequently, I think that, great as is the desire which all men have to receive honour among other peoples, they will have just as great a desire, or even a greater, that they may never receive any such honour among you; inasmuch as everyone considers the insult and contumely to be a greater evil than he has regarded the honour a good. If, for instance, you were to invite anyone to take a seat of honour or should enroll him as a citizen with the intention of afterwards unseating him or depriving him of his citizenship, he would earnestly implore you to leave him alone. Take tyrants, for instance, or those kings whose statues were destroyed afterwards and whose names were blotted out by those who had been governed with violence and in defiance of law—the very thing, I am inclined to think, that has happened in your time also—I should emphatically say that, if they had foreseen that this was going to take place, they would not have permitted any city either to set up statues of themselves or to inscribe their names upon them.

And yet this argument shows, not only that these men are suffering injustice and outrageous treatment, but also that the argument by which some will perhaps urge that you shall continue your present practice is only an empty subterfuge, or rather, that it argues against the practice. I mean, if they shall say that it is both necessary and expedient to honour men of a later time also, is it not the very reverse of this to insult the men who in the past have received these honours? For what any man of former times would not have chosen to accept if he had known that this was going to happen, is it at all
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eikós ἐστὶ τῶν νῦν τινὰ ἣδεως λαμβάνειν ὅρωντα τὸ
γιγνόμενον; ὥστ' εἰ μὴ καὶ δὲ ἐκείνους τοὺς
θάττον εὐθεργέτας, ἀλλὰ τούτους γε οὐς νῦν τιμῶ-
31 μεν, εἰκὸς ἂν φυλάξασθαι τὸ πράγμα. πάντες μὲν
γὰρ ὑπόπτως ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τούτων διδόμενα
οὐς ἵσασι τῶν πρῶτον τινὰ ἐπαινεθέντων καὶ
dοξάτων φίλων οὕτως ἀμελοῦντας, μάλιστα δὲ
οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνοντες, ὃν τοὺς εἰληφότας
ὁρῶσιν ἀπεστερημένους. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὅπως
αὐτοὶ λάβωσι τοῦτο γίγνοντο, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅπως
dοκῶσι εἰληφέναι, παντελῶς ἢδη τὸ πράγμα
εἰρωνείαν καὶ χλεύην νομίζουσιν. πολὺ δὲ βέλτιον
ὥν λέγειν τοὺς βουλομένους ποιῆσαι καὶ μικρὰ
ὑμᾶς τῶν τάχιων τετιμημένων, ὅτι μηκέτι μηδεμία
χρεία τοῦ τιμῶν τινὰ ἐστὶν, ἡ τούναντίον οὖ
τῇ μεγίστῃν φασὶν εἶναι τῇ πόλει χρείαν καὶ
πρὸς πλείονας νῦν ἡ πρῶτον, τοῦτο διαβάλλειν.
32 Καίτοι μᾶ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὖθ' εἰ τὴν
ἀνωτάτην χάριν υμῶν ἐξειν ἐμελλόν οἱ δοκοῦντες
νῦν τῶν εἰκόνων τυγχάνειν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινέσειν
τὸν δήμον, οὖθ' οὕτως ἔχρην αὐτὸ γίγνεσθαι.
τὸ γὰρ μόνον ἥτετίν ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις ἀρέσαι τινὰ
ποιῆσαι καὶ προσαγάγοιτο, εἰ δὲ ἄλλον δὲν οὐ
προσήκειν ἀδικήσει τοῦτο ποιῶν ἡ καθολοῦ τι

1 tina deleted by Emperius.
2 Arnim deleted poihsai.
reasonable to suppose that any man of the present
day is glad to accept when he sees what is being
done? Consequently, even if not on account of
those former benefactors, yet at any rate on account
of these whom we are now honouring, it stands to
reason that you should guard against the practice.
For all men look with suspicion on gifts which are
proffered by those who to their knowledge dis-
regard in this manner any person who formerly
received public commendation and was regarded
as a friend; but those men are especially suspicious
who are getting the very honours of which they see
that the previous recipients have been deprived. But
if your motive should be that they were to receive
this honour themselves, or, rather, be thought to have
received it, they must at once look upon the action as
downright pretence and a mockery. It would be
much better to tell those who prefer to have you give
yourselves very little concern about those who have
previously been honoured, that there is no longer any
need for honouring anybody at all, rather than, on
the contrary, to bring into disrepute that practice
which men say your city has the greatest need of
and with respect to a greater number of persons
now than ever before.
And yet, by Zeus and the gods, even if those
who think they are now getting statues were
going to feel the warmest gratitude towards you
and to praise your democracy to the skies, not even
so should this thing have been done. For merely
to seek how one can please a person in what one
does and how win his good will, and not to
consider whether one will be wronging another
person whom one should not wrong by so doing, or
μη δέον πράξει, μη σκοπείν, ουτε μα τοις θεους ἐλευθέρων ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ουτε μετρίων το ἢθος. ουδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν πάνω ποιημῶν προαρεῖται τι φαύλον, εἰ μη συμφέρειν ἐαυτῷ νομίζει πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ἀλλ' ἐστιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἡ μοχθηρία τὸ κέρδος ἕνεκα καὶ χρείας μηδενὸς αἰτχραὶ μηδὲ ἀδίκου πράγματος ἀποστρέφεσθαι. 33 οὐκοῦν οὐ τῶν μὲν παρόντα θεραπεύων, ὅλογωρων δὲ τού θαττόν φίλου, καὶ τῆς μὲν γεγενημένης χρείας ἐπιλελησμένος, τὴν δ' ἐλπιζομένην ὑφελείαν περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμενος, δρ' οὐκ ἵστε ἣταυς τυγχάνει προσηγορίας; οὗ κάλαξ ὁ τοιοῦτος ὑνομάζεται παρὰ πᾶσιν; οὐκ ἄγενης, οὐκ ἀπίστου δοκεῖ; ὦν τοίνυν οὐδὲ τοῦτο περιγίγνεται τῇ πόλει, τὸ θεραπεύεσθαι τών ὑπὸ αὐτῆς καὶ μεγάλου τυχὸς οὐέσθαι τυγχάνειν ὥν ἐν τὰ ὄνοματα ἐπιγράφηται. τούναντίον γὰρ δυσχεραίνουσα καὶ μέμφονται παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἄλλως, προσκρούοντες οὐ θέλοντες. ἡ νόμισμα μὲν εἰ τῷ χαρίζοντι καὶ κιβδηλον, ουδεὶς ἃν ἐκὼν λάβοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑβρίν ἡγοῖντο ἡ δωρεάν τὸ γεγονόμενον; τιμὴν δὲ κιβδηλον καὶ μηδὲν ἔχουσαν υγίες νομίζετε δέχεσθαι τοὺς νοῦν ἐχοντας; 34 ἀλλ' ἐαν μὲν οἰκεῖν τις ἀλλότριον ἡ σκεῦος ἀποδῶσαι ψευδάμενος ὡς ἐαυτοῦ, σφόδρα ἐκακος ἀγανακτεῖ τῶν ἡπατημένων, καὶ ἱσταμένην, ἐν, εἰ μή κἀν τὸν ἔξτημον στίχον ὑμεῖς. εἰ δ' ἀποστρέψασθαι Cohoon: ἐπιστρέφεσθαι. χαρίζοσθε Reiske: χαρίζοσθε EM, χαρίζοσθαν B. κἀν added by Schwartz.
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will be doing anything at all that one should not—by the gods I declare this befits neither liberal-minded men nor men of decent character. For no one, even the most wicked, chooses any base action which he does not think is to his own advantage at the time, but the essence of wickedness consists in being led by the desire for gain and profit to shrink from no base or unjust action and not to care about the nature of the act, but only whether it is profitable. Therefore, the man who courts the person who is present but slights his former friend, and having forgotten the service this friend has rendered, places the highest importance upon the hoped-for benefit from the other—do you not know the term that is applied to him? Is such a man not called a toady everywhere? Is he not considered ignoble, a man not to be trusted? As the case now stands, therefore, the city does not even get the advantage that sundry men are courted by her and so think they are getting a grand thing when their names are put into an inscription. For in fact the opposite is the case: they are annoyed and find fault when by themselves, even if on other occasions they are silent because they do not wish to give offence. Or if you should offer a man a counterfeit coin as a present, there is nobody who would ever willingly take it but would consider the offer an insult rather than a gift, and yet do you imagine that a counterfeit honour, a thing utterly worthless, is ever accepted by persons who have any sense? Yet if any one sells another man's slave, or chattel, falsely claiming that it is his own, the man who is deceived is without exception very indignant, and it would surprise me if you would not even punish the offence with death; but if
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

αλλοτρίαν τις εἰκόνα καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἐξαπατηθεῖς λάβοι παρὰ τῶν μὴ κυρίων. ὁ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλῳ δῶ τις, τοῦτον κύριον οὐκέτ’ ἐστὶν ἐτέρῳ διδόναι· χάριν αὐτὸν οἰεσθε τοῖς παρακρούσαι-35 μένοις ἔχειν; δέομαι δέ, ἃν οἱ λόγοι φαίνωνται πικρότεροι, μηθὲν ἐμοὶ δυσχεραίνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμᾶς φημὶ τούτῳ ποιεῖν, τρόπον δὲ τινὰ ἀκούσῃς τῆς πόλεως αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ 1 πράγμα εἰ τοιοῦτον ἔστω· ὅστε πάναισχρον δοκεῖν εὐεργετό-μενον, τοσοῦτω προβομήτερον ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅστε ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς αἰσχύνης. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυσχερῆ χωρὶς ὁδύνης ἔστων ἱσασθαι, πολλάκις δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημεῖον ὑπάρχει τοῦ σφόδρα ἐπειγεν τῷ θεραπεύαν, τὸ σφόδρα ἀλγεῖν τῷ θεραπεύομενον.

36 ὁ τοῖνυν ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, οὐδ’ ἃν νῦν ὁκνήσαμι εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πανταχοῦ μὲν οἰκείον ἔστιν φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἁνδρας ὑγιείς καὶ μηδὲν παλιμπολοῦν ἔχουσας μηθὲ δυσχερῆ, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον ἀπάθης καὶ πονηρίας ἀπηλλαγμένους· λέγω δὲ τοὺς ὑμῖν ὄμοιος· μάλιστα δέ, οἷοι, περὶ τὸ τιμῶν καὶ τὰς δωρεάς. τὸ γὰρ αἰσχύνην τινα προσάπτειν τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ τὸ ἀδίκως ποιεῖν τὸ πάντων δικαιοτάτον οὐδ’ αἰσθανομένων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως. ὅσπερ οὖν οἱ παρανομοῦν-τες εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν εἰς ἄλλ’ ὅτιοι ἀμαρτανόν- των χείρους εἰσίν, οὕτως οἱ περὶ ταύτα ἀδικοὶ 37 καὶ πονηροὶ φαινόμενοι. τὸ γὰρ ἔστων ἱερώτερον

1 δὲ Morel: τε.
a person should be tricked into taking another man's statue to which he has no right from those who have no authority to give it—for what a person gives to another, he no longer has the authority to give to yet another—do you think that he is grateful to those who have duped him? But I ask you, if my words seem rather bitter, not to be at all vexed at me; for I am by no means saying that it is you who do this, but that it happens, in a manner of speaking, against the wish of your city. Still, if the practice is of such a nature that it seems utterly shameful when subjected to examination, the more eagerly ought you to listen to the speaker, so as to be free from the shame of it for the future. For neither can our bodily troubles be healed without pain; and often the very presence of marked pain in the part treated is itself an indication that the treatment is making marked progress.

So what I said at the beginning I would not hesitate to say at this point also—that in every situation it is proper that good men should show themselves to be morally sound and to have in their character no equivocal or hateful trait, but, on the contrary, should be utterly free from deceit and baseness—I mean men who are like yourselves—and I think this applies especially to conferring honour and the giving of gifts. For to put any shame upon a noble practice, and to carry out unjustly that which is the most just thing in the world, is the mark of men who have no delicate sense of the nature of each act. Hence just as those who commit sacrilege are worse than those who err in respect to anything else, so too are those who prove unjust and wicked in the matter under discussion. For what is more
τιμής ἡ χάριτος; οὐκ ἔστε ὅτι καὶ θεάς νομίζουσιν
οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς Χάριτας; ἐὰν
οὖν τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν περικόπτη τις ἡ τοὺς
βωμοὺς ἀνατρέπῃ, τοῦτον ἤγεισθε ἀσεβεῖν· ἐὰν
δὲ αὐτὸ λυμήρηται καὶ διαφθείρῃ τὸ πράγμα,
ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τὰς θεὰς ἀνομάσθαι συμβεβηκε, μὴ
ὁν δεὶ τρόπον χαριζομένου, ἀλλ’ ἀγεννώς καὶ
ἀνελευθέρως καὶ μετὰ τέχνης τοὺς εὐεργετάς
ἀχαριστῶν,1 αὐτὸν φρονεῖν φήμομεν καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων εἶναι συνετῶτερον; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν κατίλοις
τους ἐν τοῖς μέτροις κακουργοῦντας, οἷς ὁ βίος
ἐστὶν αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ αἰσχροκερδείας, μισεῖτε καὶ
κολάζετε. τὴν δὲ πόλιν, εἰ δόξει περὶ τούς ἐπαίνους
tῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πανυργεῖν καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς
cατηλεῖν, οὐκ ἀισχύνεσθε,2 παλίμβολα καὶ
παλίμπρατα ποιοῦσιν τὰ σεμνά; καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο
ἔνθυμείσθη ὅτι μηδὲ τοὺς κατίλοις μηδεὶς ἔτι
ῥαδίως πρόσεις, παρ’ οἷς ἦν πονηρὰ ἢ τὰ μέτρα;
Καὶ μὴν ὅτι φύσει τὸ πράγμα τοιοῦτον ἔστιν,
οὐχ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸ ἐξονειδίζει, θεάσασθε οὕτως;
eἰ γὰρ τις πῦθοιτο ὑμῶν πότερα βούλεσθε τοὺς
tιμωμένους υἱ’ ὑμῶν, οἷς οἴεσθε διδόναι τὰς εἰκό-
nας, ἐπίστασθαι τάληθες καὶ τὸ γυνόμενον οἶνον

1 ἀχαριστῶν Reiske: ἀχαρίστως BM, καὶ ἀχαρίστως E.
2 ἀισχύνεσθε Cobet: ἀισχύνεσθε.

1 The Graces were usually described as the daughters of Zeus and as being three in number. To the Greek they were the personification of all the qualities expressed by χάρις, of which ‘gratitude’ was one and ‘grace’ another. Here follows a play upon these two meanings of the word χάρις. Cf. Plato, Laws 11, 912 b–c. This allegorizing theory is said to
sacred than honour or gratitude? Do you not know that the majority of men regard the Graces as indeed goddesses? Therefore, if anyone mutilates their statues or overturns their altars, you hold this man guilty of impiety; but if injury or ruin is done to that very grace (charis) from which these goddesses have derived their name (Charites) by anyone’s performing a gracious act in a way that is not right, but in an ignoble, illiberal, and crafty manner showing rank ingratitude to his benefactors, can we say that such a man has sense and is more intelligent than his fellows? Nay, tradesmen who cheat in their measures, men whose livelihood from the very nature of the business depends upon base gain, you hate and punish; but if your city shall gain the reputation of playing the knave in connection with her commendations of good men and of making a traffic of her gifts, will you feel no shame that she makes her sacred awards equivocal and subject to repeated sale? And do you give not even a thought to this truth—that nobody will ever again willingly have dealings with those tradesmen whose measures are dishonest?

And besides, that the practice is in essence such as I have shown, and that it is not my speech which casts reproach upon it, I ask you to see from the following consideration: If anyone were to inquire of you whether you prefer, in the case of those who receive honours from you and on whom you think you are bestowing the statues, that they should know come from the Stoic Chrysippus. Cf. Seneca, De Beneficiis 1. 44 and see Charly Clerc, Les Théories relatives au Culte des Images, page 107, note 3.

2 For this sentence cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 9.
DIO CHRYSTOPHOM

ἐστιν ἡ λαυθάνεως αὐτοῦς, οὐκ ἄθιλὼν ἐστιν ὃ ἄν εἴποιτε εἰ δινοῦτες. τί γὰρ ἐκώλυσεν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γράφειν ὡσπερ τάλλα καὶ τοῦτο, εἰναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῖς μίαν τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἡ τὴν τοῦ δεινὸς, εἰ κακεινὸς ἐβουλευθε γιγνώσκειν; ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε, οἷμα, τοῦτο ἐγράφετε. ¹

30 οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα ὁρθῶς καὶ μηθὲν ἔχοντα ἀτοπον οὐδὲῖς περιστέλλει, δηλοῖν ἐστιν. ὅτι δὲ ἦκιστ' ἄν τις φυλάξαμε τοὺς εἰ πάσχοντας εἰδέναι τίνα πρόπον τῆς χάριτος τυγχάνομει καὶ τῶν γιγνόμενων περὶ τῆς τιμῆς ὅτιοιν, εἶ γέ τις ἀπλῶς αὐτὸ πράττοι καὶ δικαίως, ἔτι ² μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ πρώτου φανερότερον· ὅστε ἀνάγκη τὸ συμβαίνον εἰναι πανταχῇ φαύλου καὶ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἱδιώτη πρέπον. ὃ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς τινας εἰ δνοιεῖ, ἦ ³ παθὼν πρότερος ἥ νή Δία κατάρχων καὶ προκαλούμενος εἰς φιλίαν, παρακρούμενος καὶ φενακίζων, τί ἃν οὖντος ἀλλως ποιήσειν;

'Ἐπίστασθε τοῖνυν ὅτι μηδένα λαυθάνει τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ διαβόητον καὶ τῶν παρὰ πᾶσι θρυλουμένων, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ λίαν κατακόρως καὶ ἀνέδην ⁴ αὐτῷ κέχρηται τινες, ἀλλὰ ὅτι καὶ ⁵ παρ' ὑμῖν πράττεται. τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως

¹ So BMJ, ἐγράφετε Ἐ; Arnim ἐγγράφετε.
² ἔτι Aldine edition: ἔστι.
³ ἦ added by Capra.
⁴ ἀνέδην Davis: ἀναλήγη.
⁵ ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀλλά καὶ ὅτι Emporius.
the truth and what sort of transaction it is, or that they should be kept in ignorance, it is perfectly clear what you would say if you are in your right senses. For what was there to prevent your writing explicitly in the decree to begin with, just like its other provisions, this also: that 'their statue shall be one of those already erected' or 'shall be So-and-so's', if you really wanted the recipients also to understand? But you will never put this in your decrees, I warrant! Well, it is perfectly clear that no one tries to disguise things that are done in a straightforward fashion and have nothing irregular about them. And I think it is even more obvious that nobody would be in the least inclined to take precautions to prevent men who are receiving favours at their hands from knowing in just what manner they were getting them and anything whatsoever that was being done in connection with the honour, at least if the action taken were done in a sincere and honourable way. So what is now happening must necessarily be contemptible in every way and ill-befitting for even a man in private station. For the man who, in the very act of doing a kindness to others either because he has previously received a kindness from them, or because he is actually taking the initiative and inviting them to be his friends, then deceives and cheats—what would such a man do in an honest fashion?

So, then, you do know that no one is unaware of what is going on, nay, it is notorious and on everybody's tongue, not only now that certain cities have followed this practice to great excess and with utter lack of restraint, but because it is being done even among you. For the high standing of your city and
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδὲν ἀγνωστον εἰς τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸ σεμινότερον ὡμᾶς ἀπάντων ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔαυτος ἅγειν, ἠτὶ δὲ, οἶμαι, τὸ πράττειν ἀριστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνον κινεῖ καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν, ὡστε πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐξετάζοντας, εὰν τι δοκήτε ἀμαρτάνειν. οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν ὄλως ὁ τι  
πράττουσιν ἀγνοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντες κακίας τούτο σημεῖον ἐκφέρουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀμηδεῖς ἀγνοεῖ  
λανθάνουν νομίζοντες, εὐθείας. οῖς ἀμφοτέροις οὐκ ἂν ἐλούσθη ἐνοχον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν.

41 Νη Δία, ἀλλὰ διαπανήσομεν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς οὕσιν χρησώμεθα, καὶ πόσων δεῖσθε χρημάτων, εἰώ πῦσιν κατασκευάζομεν ἀνδριάντας δοσις ψηφιζόμεθα;

Καὶ πόσων κρείττον ἐλάττουσι διδόναι τὴν δωρεὰν ἡ πλείους ἐξαπατάν, μέλλοντας γε  
ὡτ' ὁπλίσων καταγιγνώσκεσθαι καὶ μισεῖσθαι, σαφῶς εἰδότων δὲ ποιεῖτε;

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν οὐ σφόδρα ἐπιευκεῖς εἰσών, οὐδὲ ὅπωσδήποτε ἱστατε νῦν, ὁ μηδαμὴ φρονοῦντες εἶπον ἢ, ὁ ὅπατε τὸ γεγυμένων. διὰ γὰρ τοὺς φαύλους ἀδικεῖτε τοὺς χρηστούς. ὅτι γὰρ ὡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μὴ ἑθαυμάζον εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἀνάξιον τίνα, ἐγὼ διαβεβαιωσαίμην ἢν. εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοῦς τιμᾶτε, τοὺς γε τοιούτους εἰκὸς ἄχθεσθαι τῷ πράγματι. τίς γὰρ ἀν μέτριος ἀνδρωπος βουλοῦτο ἐτερον κακῶς πάσχει καὶ τῶν δικαιῶς δεδομένων ἀποστερεῖσθαι δι' αὐτῶν; ἡ πῶς οὖκ ἂν ὁργίζοι-

1 ὅλως ὁ τι Armim: ὅπως ὁ τι MSS, ὅπως deleted by cor-
rector in E.
2 οἱ Casaubon: τι.

1 Cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 39 and 47.
her greatness allow nothing that goes on here to remain unknown; and the greater decorum of your conduct as compared with that of any other city; and, besides, I presume, your being the most prosperous of the Greeks, all arouse dislike and jealousy, so that there are many who watch to see if you appear to be at fault in any matter. Therefore those who prefer that what they do shall remain utterly unknown thereby reveal a sign of baseness, while those who think that what nobody is ignorant of goes unnoticed show their simplicity; and you would not care to have your city held guilty of both these faults!

"Oh yes!" you say, "but we shall be put to expense if we do not use those we already have! And what sums will be required if we are to have new statues made for all those to whom we vote them!"

And how much better it would be to make the gift to fewer persons rather than to deceive a larger number, since you will be condemned and hated by a larger number, for they know well what you are doing!

Again, if they are not very distinctly superior men whose memorial you are now setting up in some fashion or other—and if you are wise, you will by no means say that they are—see what takes place: on account of the inferior you are wronging the excellent; for your ancestors, I dare assert, did not bestow their admiration at random or upon any undeserving person. On the other hand, if you are honouring good men, then these have good reason to be indignant at your action. For what fair-minded man would wish another to be ill-treated on his account and deprived of what had been justly given? How could he help being angry at such
το ἑπὶ τούτω γιγνομένω μάλλον ἦπερ εἰδεῖς χάριν; ἡ γυναῖκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἂν ύπομείνα εἰς χρηστὸς ὄν διὰ μοιχείαν λαβεῖν, ὡς τὸν πρότερον ἔχοντα ἠδίκησε· μάλλον δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν ὅλως λάβοι ἡ ἴδεως παρὰ ἄνδρος ἐτέρου· καίτοι πολλάκις γίνεται τούτο ὡς μετὰ πονηρὰς αἰτίας· τιμὴν δὲ, ἂν οὐκ ἔστι δικαίως ἀπ᾿ ἄλλον λαβεῖν οὐδὲ χωρὶς ὑβρέως τῆς εἰς ἐκείνου, ἀγαπᾶν των οἴεσθε, καὶ ταῦτα μηδ’ αὐτὸν ἐλπίζοντα ὡς οὐθὲν ἂν πάθοι τοιούτοι; ἄλλ’ ἄνδράποδον μὲν τις ὁνομένως εἰ ποτὲ ἀπέδρα σκοπεῖ καὶ εἰ μὴ παρέμενε τῷ πρῶτῳ δεσπότῃ· δωρεὰν δὲ καὶ χάριν ἂν ἀπιστὸν ἠγεῖται καὶ σαφῶς οἴδε μηδὲν ἔχουσαν βέβαιον, ἐκὼν ἂν πρόσοιτο;

43 Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, καὶ τῖς ἄν τούτων ἄματο· οἱ δὲ γε παρεστῶτες αὐτοῖς Μακεδόνες, οἰδὶ δὲ Λακεδαίμονι· καὶ νὴ Δία τούτων ἀπτόμεθα.

Καίτοι τοὺς μὲν πρότερον κειμένους πάντας ἡ τούς γε πλείους διʼ εὐεργεσίαν φήσετε τεθήναι, τῶν δὲ νῦν τιμωμένων πολλοὺς διʼ ἱσχύς θεραπεύεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ποτέρους αὐτῶν δικαιότερον ἔστι ποιεῖν περὶ πλείους, εάνω τὸ δὲ, εἰ μὴ πᾶσι τὰ δοθέντα δικαίως ὑπάρξεῖ, ποτέρους μᾶλλον

1 λάβοι Εμπεριος: λάβη.
2 νὴ Δία Εμπεριος: διὰ τή.

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1 On the principle involved cf. § 64 and § 94 ad fin.
2 Among other uses ὑβρις was a legal term. Aristotle (Rhetoric II. 2. 5, 1378b) defines it as “doing or saying anything to cause the complainant shame.” At Athens an indictment could be brought before the thesmothetes against anyone guilty of this. See Demosthenes In Mid. 47. The
treatment, instead of feeling grateful? To take another case: no man, if he were honourable, would consent to get a wife through having committed adultery with her, because by that act he had done an injury to her former husband;\(^1\) or rather, a man would not willingly take any woman at all away from another, her husband, although this is often done without any base motive. But an honour, which it is not possible justly to take away from another person or without inflicting an injury\(^2\) on him—do you think that anyone cares to have, even though he is not expecting to be subjected to any such treatment himself? Nay, a man who is buying a slave inquires if he ever ran away, and if he would not stay with his first master; but a gift or a favour which a man believes was not given in good faith and which he knows well enough has no permanence in it at all—would he willingly accept that?

"Yes," you say, "for the majority of them are Romans and who would think of touching\(^3\) them? But those who stand beside them here are Macedonians, while these over here are Spartans, and by heavens, it is these we touch."

And yet all that stood here formerly, or the most of them at any rate, you will admit were erected in acknowledgement of a benefaction, whereas of those now receiving honour many are being courted owing to their political power. Now the question which of the two classes has the greater right to be held in higher regard I will pass over; but this further question, which of the two classes—assuming punishment was a fine or imprisonment. Taking a man's statue from him would cause him shame.

\(^3\) This is, of giving their statues to others.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

eikōs ἐπ’ ἀδήλῳ λαμβάνειν, οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς τούτους λαμβάνειν. πάντες γὰρ οἶδασιν ὅσω βεβαιοτέρων ἐστιν εὐφρενία δυνάμεως. ἦσχυν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἦπτινα οὐκ ἀναριέτη χρόνος, εὐφρενίας δὲ
44 οὐδεμίαν. ὃν οὖν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐκείνην ἄφην, ἀληθὴ τρόπον τινὰ οὖσαν, τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀγδέστερον ἔχειν τοὺς οὖτω ¹ τιμᾶσθαι ξητοῦντας καὶ τὸ συμβαίνον εἰς ὑβριν λαμβάνειν καὶ κατα-
φρόνησιν ἑαυτῶν· ἀλλὰ τούτο γε εἰδέναι φημὶ βεβαιῶς ὅτι μηδὲ χάριν ὑμῖν μηδεμίαν οἴδασιν μηδ’ οἶονται τυγχάνειν μηδενός, τὸ γυγνόμενον εἰδότες καὶ τὴν ῥαδιουργίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ· πρὸς τοῦ
Dióς, εἰθ’ α καὶ τούτων δεχομένων οὐκ εἰκὸς ἢν ἀφαιρέσθαι τοὺς ἐμπρόσθεν εἰληφότας, ταῦτα ἀφαιρώμεθα τοὺς ἔχοντας οὐδὲ ἐτέρους διδόντες;
45 Καὶ μὴν εἰ γε ἐν οἷς ή πόλις δοκεῖ τινος δεῖσθαι, τὴν δαπάνην μόνον οὐφόμεθα καὶ τὸ πῶς ἐν εὐ-
χερέστατα γένοιτο,² μηθὲν ἄλλο εξετάζοντες, τὶ κωλύει μὴ μόνον ταῦτῃ ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐτοίμῳ τὴν δωρεάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο τὶ θέλητε χαρίσασθαι τωι, γην, ἀργύριον, οἰκίαν, τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφαιρο-
μένους; ἢ τὶ δὲ πόρους ζητεῖν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀναλίσκειν, ὅταν ἢ καιρὸς ἡ τεῖχος ἐπισκευά-
ζειν ἡ ναῦς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ τοῦ δεῖνος λαβεῖν ἢ

¹ τοὺς οὖτω Reiske: τοσούτω.
² γένοιτο Emperius: γένηται.

48
that the honours granted are not to belong rightfully
to all—can more reasonably be expected to take them
on the basis of so uncertain a title, this question, I
say, even these men themselves know well how to
answer. For all know how much more permanent
a benefaction is than power, for there is no strength
which time does not destroy, but it destroys no
benefaction. Assuming, therefore, that we may
reject that extreme view, which in a sense is true,
that those who are seeking to be honoured in this
way are quite displeased with your city and take
what is done as an insult and affront to themselves,
yet at least I assert positively that they feel no
gratitude whatever to you and do not think that they
are getting anything, knowing as they do what is
taking place and the unscrupulousness displayed
in it. In heaven’s name, when even if the men in
question do accept from us honours which we should
have no right to take away from their former re-
cipients, are we, then, to take them away from who-
ever possesses them, even though we do not really
‘give’ them to another set of men?

Furthermore, if in cases where the city is thought
to need anything, we shall consider the expense
alone and how the thing can be done most easily,
examining into no other aspects of the matter, what
is to prevent our having not only this gift ready at
hand, but any other favour you may wish to bestow
upon any one, such as land, money, or a house, by
simply taking them away from those who have them?
Or what need is there to seek ways and means and
to expend the public money when occasion arises to
repair either a wall or ships, instead of merely taking
So-and-so’s property, either that of some citizen or
τὰ τῶν πολυτῶν τίνος ἢ τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων παρ’ ὑμῖν;

'Αλλὰ νῦν Δία βοήσονται καὶ δεινὰ φήσουσιν πάσχειν.

46 Οὐκοῦν ἔξεσται δῆποθεν μὴ προσέχειν αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ εἰ νῦν εἰσάν εἴπ᾽ οὖς ἢν ἐλθοῦν ὑμῶν ταῦτα παρακώντων, πρότερον γε οὐκ ἦν ἐτέρος οὐδεὶς τοῦ δήμου κυριώτερος.

'Ἀρ’ οὖν οἱ τότε οὖντες οὕτω προσεφέροντο τοῖς κατὰ μέρος;

Πόθεν; οἱ τούτο πάντων ἦγοιντο χαλεπώ- τατον, καὶ τοῖς θεως ἐπευκόντο μηδέποτε συμβήναι τοιοῦτον καίρον ἐν ὧδε δεησει καὶ ἄνδρα ἐκαστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδίων εἰσενεγκεῖν· καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον 1 σπανίως ποτὲ παρ’ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι φασίν, οὐδὲ ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς πολέμοις, ἀλλ’ εἰ ποτὲ ἐσχάτως ἡ πόλις ἐκκυδάνευσιν.

47 Ἰσως οὖν ἐρεῖ τις ὡς οἱ γε άνδριάντες τῆς πόλεως εἰσών. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χώρα τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν κεκτημένων ἐκαστος κύριος ἐστὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ κοινῇ μὲν ἐὰν πυνθάνοται τις τίνος ἐστὶν ἡ νῆσος ἡ τίνος ἡ Καρία, φήσουσι Ἀρδίων. ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως ἐρωτᾶς, τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἡ τῶν ἀγρών, δῆλον ὅτι πεύος τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀπλῶς μὲν πᾶσας

1 καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον Ἐμπερίου: καίτοι τούτο.

1 Apparently he means the Romans.
2 Greek cities as a rule had no regular direct taxation. At Athens a special levy was made in emergencies. For cases see Demosthenes 18, 66; 20, 10; 22, 76. In 428 such a special tax was levied to enable Athens to continue the war.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

of one of the strangers who are sojourning among you?

"Never, by Zeus," you say, "they will raise an outcry and say that it is an outrage."

Then it will be possible, presumably, to pay no attention to them. For even if there are now those\(^1\) to whom they can appeal when you act this way, in the old days, at any rate, there was no person who had greater authority than the people.

"Can it be that the men of that time treated individuals in that way?"

What nonsense! Why, they considered it to be the worst thing imaginable, and prayed the gods that the time might never come in which it would be necessary that each individual citizen should ever be obliged to pay a tax out of his own private means; and it is said that so extreme a measure has only rarely been taken among you in spite of all your wars, except at a time when your city was in extreme peril.\(^2\)

Now perhaps some one will say that the statues belong to the city. Yes, and the land also belongs to the city, but none the less every one who possesses any has full authority over what is his own. Speaking in a political sense, if anyone inquires who owns the Island\(^3\) or who owns Caria, he will be told that the Rhodians own it. But if you ask in a different sense about this specific estate here or this field, it is clear that you will learn the name of the private owner. So also with the statues; in a general

against Sparta, when all except the reserve funds had been exhausted by the siege of Potidæa. Those with a capital of less than one-sixth of a talent were exempt.

\(^1\) He means the island of Rhodes, upon the north-eastern tip of which the city of Rhodes was situated.
Ροδίων εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἵδια δὲ ἐκάστην τοῦ δείνος, ἡ τοῦ δείνος, ὃ ἦν ποτὲ ἦ δεδομένη. καίτοι τὰ μὲν χωρία καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰλλα κτήματα οὖκ ἦν εἰδείσι ὅν ἔστιν, εἰ μή πυθόμενος: ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐπιγέγραπται, καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα σώζει τοῦ λαβόντος, ὥστε εὐθὺς εἶναι προσελθόντα εἰδέναι τίνος ἔστιν. λέγω δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἔτι μένει τάληθες.

48 Καὶ μὴν τὸ γε ἐν κοινῷ κεῖσθαι γελοιοτάτον ἔστιν, εἰ τις ἁρα σημεῖον ἦγεῖται τοῦ μὴ τῶν εἰληφότων αὐτὰς ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. οὔτω μὲν γὰρ ἢζεσται λέγει καὶ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πυπασκόμενα τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τὰ πλοία δήποτεν οὐχὶ τῶν κεκτημένων, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπείπερ ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐστήκεν.

"Ὁ τούτων Ἰκουσά τινος ὑπὲρ τούτου λέγοντος ὡς ἱσχυστάτον, οὐκ ἂν ἀποκρυφαίμην, ὅτι δημοσία τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀπειγράφασθε ὑμεῖς. τι οὖν τούτο ἔστιν; καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄντικρυς χώραν καὶ Κάρπαθων ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον, ἐτέρας νῆσος καὶ καθόλου πολλὰ ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν, ὁ κοινῆ μὲν ἀπειγράματο ἡ πόλις, διήρηται δὲ εἰς τοὺς κατὰ μέρος. ὅλως δὲ οὐκ εἰ μὴ τούτον τὸν τρόπον

1 τὴν added by Cappe.
sense men say that they belong to the people of Rhodes, but in the particular or special sense they say that this or that statue belongs to So-and-so or to So-and-so, naming whatever man it has been given to. And yet, whereas in the case of estates, houses, and other possessions, you cannot learn who owns them unless you inquire, the statue has an inscription on it and preserves not only the name but also the lineaments of the man to whom it was first given, so that it is possible to step near and at once know whose it is. I refer to those on which the truth is still given.\(^1\)

Moreover, the plea that they stand on public property is most absurd, if this is really held to be an indication that they do not belong to those who received them, but to the city. Why, if that be true, it will be possible to say that also the things which are on sale in the centre of the market-place belong to the commonwealth, and that the boats, no doubt, do belong, not to their possessors, but to the city, just because they are lying in the harbours.

Then, too, an argument which I heard a man advance, as a very strong one in support of that position, I am not disposed to conceal from you: he said that you have made an official list of your statues. What, pray, is the significance of that? Why, the country lying opposite us,\(^2\) Carpathos yonder,\(^3\) the mainland,\(^4\) the other islands, and in general many possessions can be found which the city has listed in its public records, but they have been parcelled out among individuals. And in fine,

\(^4\) As a reward for assisting the Romans in the war against Antiochus, Rhodes was given control of South Caria, where the Rhodians had had settlements from an early period.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐκαστὸς τὴν εἰκόνα ἔχει τῶν τιμηθέντων, καθάπερ
ἀν ἄλλο τι κτησάμενος, διὰ τούτο ἂν ἐλαττων
αὐτῶ προσήκειν λέγοιτο ἢ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι διὸν-
tων ὁμοῦ ἐπέρω τὴν ἕκεινον. μυρίων γὰρ ἐυρή-
σετε τρόπους, καθ’ οὗ ἐκαστὸν τί φαμεν εἴναι,
καὶ πλεῖστον διαφέροντας, οἷον ἐρωτώμην, ἀρχὴν,
γάμον, πολιτείαν. ὅσον οὐτε ἀποδόσαι τι ἐξεστὶ
tοῖς ἔχουσιν οὕτε ὅπως ἃν τις ἐθέλη χρῆσθαι.

50 κοινὸν δ’ οὖν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμίσται δίκαιον, τὸ
πάντο’ ὡσα δικαιῶς τις ἔλαβεν, ἂν τε καθάπαξ
τῇ λαβών, ἂν τε ἓσ τινα χρόνον, καθάπερ, οἶμαι,
τὰς ἀρχὰς, βεβαιῶς ἔχειν καὶ μηδένα αφαιρεῖσθαι.

πῶς οὖν δικαιότερον ἄτιν ὁτιοῦ ἐχειν ἢ ἐὰν τὶς
ἀνήρ ἅγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ χάριτος ἅξιος ἀντι
πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τόχοι τυμῆς; ἢ παρὰ τῶν
κυριώτερον καὶ μείζονον ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Ἐρωτῶν
δήμου καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο
οὐ σμικρῶν ἐστι, τὸ μὴ Καλυμνίους εἶναι τοὺς
δεδωκότας ἢ τοὺς κακοβουλους τούτους Καυνίονσ.

ἀσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν, ὅσοι τὶς ἃν κρεῖττο
καὶ πιστότερον δεκμηνη, παρ!’ οὖ τυγχάνει τι
κτησάμενο, τοσούτῳ κρατεῖ καὶ οὕδεις ἃν
ἀμφισβητήσειν αὐτῷ. καλτοὶ πᾶσα πόλις, ἦν

1 i.e., in perpetuity.
2 Calymna, a small island near Cos and about 65 miles
north-west of Rhodes. It was a colony of Epidaurus.
3 Caunus was a city on the coast of Caria and north-east of
Rhodes. See § 124, where it is coupled with Myndus, and
§ 126, where it is said to be doubly enslaved.

Probably the Caunians are here called foolish because in
88 B.C. they helped carry out, and with especial fury, Mithri-
dates' orders to massacre all Italians in Asia Minor (see

54
even if each man who has been honoured does not in this sense ‘possess’ his statue as he would possess anything else he has acquired, it cannot for that reason be said that it belongs to him any the less or that he suffers no wrong when you give his statue to another. For you will find countless senses in which we say that a thing ‘belongs’ to an individual and very different senses too, for instance, a priesthood, a public office, a wife, citizenship, none of which their possessors are at liberty either to sell or to use in any way they like. But certainly a common principle of justice is laid down in regard to them all, to the effect that anything whatsoever which any one has received justly—whether he happens to have got it once for all or for a specified time, just as, for instance, he obtains public offices—that is his secure possession and nobody can deprive him of it. How, then, is it possible to have anything more justly, than when a man who has proved himself good and worthy of gratitude receives honour in return for many noble deeds? Or from whom could he receive it that has fuller authority and is greater than the democracy of Rhodes and your city? For it is no trifling consideration that it was not the Calymnians who gave it, or those ill-advised Caunians; just as in private business the better and more trustworthy you prove the man to be from whom you obtain any possession, the stronger your title to it is, and by so much more no one can dispute it. Yet any

Appian 23). As a punishment for this Sulla made them once more subject to the Rhodians, from whom the Romans had freed them. Cicero (ad Quintum fratrem 1. 1. 11. 33) refers to this and says that they appealed to the Roman senate—probably in vain—to be freed once more. See p. 130, note 1.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

αὖ εἴπη τις, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἰδιῶτου, κἂν ὁ σεμνότατος ὁ, πιστοτέρα τῷ παντὶ καὶ κρείττων, καὶ τὰ κοινῆ γεγονόμενα τῶν κατ’ ἰδίαν πραττομένων ἵσχυρότερα.

51 Σκοπεύετε δὲ ὅτι πάντες ἦγονται κυριώτερα ταύτα ἔχεν, ὅσα ἂν δημοσία συμβάλλει διὰ τῶν τῆς πόλεως γραμμάτων. καὶ οὐκ ἐνι λυθήναι τῶν οὕτω διωκημένων οὐδέν, οὕτ' εἰ τις ἀνήσιατο παρὰ τοῦ χωρίου ἡ πλοῦσι τῇ ἀνδράποδοι, οὕτ' εἰ τῷ δανείσθεν, οὕτ' ἂν οἰκήτην ἄφῃ τις ἐλεύθερον οὐτ' ἂν δῦ τιν ¹ δωρεάν. τὶ δὴ ποιτ' οὔν συμβείηκε ταύτ' εἶναι βεβαιώτερα τῶν ἄλλων; ὅτι τὴν πόλιν μάρτυρα ἐπονήσατο τοῦ πράγματος ὁ τούτοι τὸν τρόπον οἰκονομήσας τι τῶν ἕωςτο. πρὸς τοῦ Διός, εἰθ' ὅν μὲν ἂν τις παρ' ἰδιῶτου τύχῃ διὰ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως ἀφαιρεθήσεται τούτων. ἂ δὲ τις εἴληφεν οὐ δημοσία μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ δήμου δεδωκότος, οὐκ ἐστὶν βέβαια; καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλων γενόμενων τούτοι τὸν τρόπον οὐ λυθήσεται διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἂ δ' ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ πεποίηκε, ῥαδίως οὕτως ἄνελεί; καὶ ταύτα οὖχ ὃς ἐδωκεν, ὡμοίως ἀφαιρουμένη κατὰ κοινῶν, ἄλλ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ἂν τῇ στρατηγῷ, ἐξουσίαν ἐξωντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν; καὶ μὴν καὶ γράμματά ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ περὶ τούτων, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἐφην. τὰ γὰρ ψηφίσματα γέγραπται διήποθεν τὰ τῶν

¹ τινι Cohoon: τινα.

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¹ For the thought see Demosthenes In Lept. 15 and 36.
² Cf. Discourse 38. 29 at the end and Dem. ibid. 136.
³ στρατηγός was the general title of the chief magistrate of independent or semi-independent Greek communities and leagues under Roman domination.
city which one might mention is in every way better and more trustworthy than one private citizen, even if he has the highest standing,¹ and arrangements made by the state are more binding than those which are negotiated privately.

Then consider, further, that all men regard those agreements as having greater validity which are made with the sanction of the state and are entered in the city’s records; and it is impossible for anything thus administered to be annulled, either in case one buys a piece of land from another, a boat or a slave, or if a man makes a loan to another, or frees a slave, or makes a gift to any one. How in the world, then, has it come to pass that these transactions carry a greater security than any other? It is because the man who has handled any affair of his in this way has made the city a witness to the transaction. In heaven’s name, will it then be true that, while anything a person may get from a private citizen by acting through the state cannot possibly be taken from him, yet what one has received, not only by a state decree, but also as a gift of the people, shall not be inalienable?² And whereas an action taken in this way by anybody else will never be annulled by the authority of the state, yet shall the state, in the offhand way we observe here, cancel what it has itself done?—and that too, not by taking it away in the same manner in which it was originally given, that is, by the commonwealth officially, but by letting one man, if he happens to be your chief magistrate,³ have the power to do so? And besides, there are official records of those transactions of which I have spoken; for the decrees by which honours are given are recorded, I take it, and

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²
³
τιμῶν καὶ δημοσία μένει τῶν ἀπαντα χρόνων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποδοῦναι χάριν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς γίγνεται παρ’ ὑμῖν, τὸ δ’ ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς εἰληφότας πάνω ῥάδιως. εἰτα τὸ μὲν οὐχ οἶδον τε γενέσθαι δίχα ψηφίσματος, ἀπαντῶν ὑμῶν πεισθέντων, τὸ δὲ ἔθει τινὶ συμβαίνει, κἂν εἰνὶ δόξῃ μόνον πλὴν ὡς ἐφήν ὦτι δημοσία ταῦτα ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰκόνων, τὸ τε ὄνομα τοῦ τιμηθέντος καὶ τὸ δεδωκέναι τὸν δήμον, καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κεκεκένων.

54 Ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι τὸ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς οὐδὲ τὸ ἐν κοινῷ κείσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ τῶν εἰληφότων εἶναι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, πάλαι μὲν ἵσως ὑπάρχει δήλον: ἀλλ’ ὡστε μὴ ἐπιχειρήσω μὴ δένα ἀντειπεῖν, ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν ἐρώ. ὡστε πον τοὺς Ἐφεσίους, ὦτι πολλὰ χρήματα παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἔστι, τὰ μὲν ἱδωτῶν, ἀποκείμενα ἐν τῷ νεῖν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οὐκ Ἐφεσίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένων καὶ τῶν ὅποθεν δὴποτε 1 ἀνθρώπων, τὰ δὲ καὶ δήμων καὶ βασιλέων, ἀ τιθέασι πάντες οἱ τιθέντες ἀσφαλείας χάριν, οὔτε δὲν ὑπεντῆτε τολμήσαντος ἅδικησαι τὸν τότον, καὶ τοῦ καὶ πολέμων ἡδη μυρίων γεγονότων καὶ πολλάκις ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως. οὐκοῦν ὦτι 2 μὲν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται τὰ χρήματα, δήλον ἐστιν: ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσία κατὰ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἔδος αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις

1 δήποτε Emperius: δήποθεν BM.
2 ὡς before ὦτι deleted by Pflugk.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

remain on public record for all time. For though repaying a favour is so strictly guarded among you, yet taking it back from the recipients is practised with no formality at all. Then, while the one action cannot be taken except by a decree passed by you as a body, yet the other comes to pass by a sort of custom, even though it is the will of only one person. Note, however, that, as I said, these matters have been recorded officially, not only in the decrees, but also upon the statues themselves, on which we find both the name of the man who received the honour and the statement that the assembly has bestowed it, and, again, that these statues are set up on public property.

Well then, that there is nothing in the official list,¹ or in the fact that these memorials stand on public property, which tends to show that they do not belong to those who have received them, has perhaps long been evident; but in order that nobody may even attempt to dispute it, let me mention this: You know about the Ephesians, of course, and that large sums of money are in their hands, some of it belonging to private citizens and deposited in the temple of Artemis, not alone money of the Ephesians but also of aliens and of persons from all parts of the world, and in some cases of commonwealths and kings, money which all deposit there in order that it may be safe, since no one has ever yet dared to violate that place, although countless wars have occurred in the past and the city has often been captured. Well, that the money is deposited on state property is indeed evident, but it also is evident, as the lists show, that it is the custom of the Ephesians to have these deposits

¹ Of statues; cf. §§ 48 and 53.
55 ἀπογράφεσθαι. τί οὖν; ἃρα γε καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅταν ἡ χρεία τις, ἡ δανείζονται γοῦν, οἱ τάχα δόξει μηδὲν εἰναι δεινῶν; ἀλλ', οἴμαι, πρότερον ἄν περιέλθουν τὸν κόσμον τῆς θεοῦ πρὶν ἡ τούτων ἁβαθαι. καίτοι τοὺς Ἑφέσιους οὐκ ἂν εἴποντε εὐπορωτέρους αὐτῶν. τοὺν αὐτῶν γὰρ ὑμεῖς μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἢτε πλουσιώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ νῦν ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐστε· ἐκεῖνους δὲ πολλῶν ἔστω ᾧδειν καταδεήστερον πράττοντας.

56 Μὴ τούτων εἴπητε, ἔκεινα μὲν ἐστω ἀνελεοσθαὶ τοῖς θείοις, τῆς εἰκόνος δὲ οὐθεὶς οὕτως ἐστὶν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ κύριος, καὶ μὴ τὸ πράγμα αὐτοῦ ἡγοῦσθε: τὸ γὰρ μὴ πάντω εὐθὺς τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τὰ ἐν κοίνων ἀλιμανικαὶ καὶ δημοσίας ἀπογραφῆς τυχόντα δεῖξαι βουλόμενος ὡς τύπῳ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐχρησάμεν. τὸ μεντοὶ μηθένα πρὸς ἅλλο τι τὴν εἰκόνα ἔχειν ἢ τὸ ἐστάναι παρ' ὑμῖν, ὃ μόνῳ διαφέρουσιν οὔτοι τῶν ἐκεῖ τὰ χρήματα τιθέντων, ἐτί μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐστιν. ἢ γὰρ μηδὲ τοὺς λαβοῦσιν ἐξεστὶν ἀνελείν, ἡπον γε τοῖς δεδικόσιν ἐξεῖναι προσήκει; 

57 Καθόλου δὲ ἄλλωσ ἐγγυεῖς φιλονεικεῖν ἐσοικα πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα δὴ ὡς τῆς πόλεως πάντες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀνδριάντες. ἐπεὶ τοῦτο γε οὐθέν ἐστι σημεῖον

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1 εἴπητε Cohoon, el Casaubon and most editors: ἦ.
2 ὡς τύπῳ Emperorius: τούτῳ EB, ὡς τούτῳ M.

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1 From this passage, taken together with others such as CIG II, No. 2953b; Plautus, Bacchides 312; Caesar, Civil War 3, 33, we conclude that in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus there was a treasure-house or bank under official control. According to Nicolaus of Damascus, fragment 65, money was lent. Aristides (Oration 42. 522) calls Ephesus 60.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

officially recorded. Well then, do they go on and take any of these monies when any need arises, or do they 'borrow' them at any rate—an act which, perhaps, will not seem at all shocking? No; on the contrary, they would sooner, I imagine, strip off the adornment of the goddess than touch this money. Yet you would not say that the Ephesians are wealthier than yourselves. The very opposite is the case, for not only were you the richest of the Greeks in former times, but now you are still richer; whereas the Ephesians, one can see, are less prosperous than many.

Pray do not say to this: "The people who deposited that money have the privilege of withdrawing it, but no one has in this way the disposal of his own statue," and do not consider the cases dissimilar. For in my desire to show that not all things deposited in a public place and recorded officially belong forthwith to the city, I used this case as an illustration. The fact, however, that no one has a statue for any other purpose than to stand in your midst—the one respect in which these men differ from those who deposit their money there—speaks still more in their behalf. For when it is not lawful for even the recipients of gifts to annul them, can it possibly be right that the donors should have the power to do so?

However, I seem to be arguing quite needlessly against the man who asserts that all the statues belong to the city; for this is no indication that

'the common treasury and the refuge for necessity': ταμείου κοινού καὶ χρείας καταφυγῆ. See p. 70, note.

2 Athens borrowed from her own temple-treasuries during the Peloponnesian War, and paid interest.

3 At Ephesus; see § 54.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ὅς οὖν ἦστιν ἀτοποῦ τὸ γιγνόμενον. τὰ γοῦν ἐν τοῖς λεποῖς ἀναθήματα, ἡ κατασκευάσσα ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων ἀνατέθεικεν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητήσειν ὥσος οὖ δημόσια ἦστιν. ἀρ’ οὖν οὖν οὖν δεινόν, εἰ καταχρηστόμεθα τούτοις προς ἄλλο τι;

Νῆ Διά, ταῦτα γὰρ ἦστιν ἀναθήματα, αἰ δ’ εἰκόνες τιμαί· κάκεινα δεδοται τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς ἁγάθοις ἄνδράσιν, οἴπερ εἰσὶν ἕγγυστα αὐτῶν.

58 Καίτοι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ λέγονται καὶ εἰσιν. εἶτα ἡμᾶς μὲν ὡς ὧ τῶν κτημάτων τι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀφαιρεύμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους βλάπτη τις τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ἀδικεῖ τῷ παντὶ πλεον· τοὺς δὲ γε γε θεοὺς φήσομεν, ὡς ἐοικε, τῶν φίλων μᾶλλον ὠλγωρεῖν ἡ τῶν κτημάτων;

Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν προσήκειβεθαῖφως ἐχειν τοὺς κτησαμένους, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ παρ’, ὅμως, οἱ μέγιστον φρονείτε ἐπὶ τῷ νομίμῳ καὶ δυκαίως διοικεῖν τὰ παρ’, ἐαυτοῖς, μᾶλιστα δὲ, οἴμαι, τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς χάριτας· οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φαύλος ὄν τὰς ἐν ἔξω, χρήματα, οἰκίας, ἀνδράποδα, χώρας, ταῦτα δὲ μόνοις ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἐπισκέψιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἦστι κεκτήσασθai καὶ δι’ ἐτέρου τρόπου, κηριονομήσαντα ἡ πριάμενον.

1 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλ’ ἂν Arnim, ἄλλ’ ὡς ἂν Cohoon.
2 τις most MSS, τι Μ.

1 That God loves the good is a Stoic idea. Cf. Discourses 1. 16; 3. 51, 53; 33. 28; 39. 2 and see H. Binder, Dio Chrysostom and Poseidonius, pp. 81, 88.
what is being done is not an outrage. For instance, consider the votive offerings in the sacred places: the city made them at its own expense and dedicated them. No one would dispute that they are the property of the people. Then will it not be an outrage if we misappropriate them for some other purpose?

"Yes, by heaven," you rejoin, "for these are dedications, but the statues are marks of honour; the former have been given to the gods, the latter to good men, who, to be sure, are nearest of kin to them."

"And yet," I reply, "all men of highest virtue are both said to be and in fact are beloved of the gods. Can it be, then, that while not he who deprives us of any of our possessions, but whoever does an injury to our friends, is guilty of an altogether greater wrong, yet we are to say of the gods, as it seems we are doing, that they are more inclined to slight their friends than they are their possessions?

Nay, on the contrary, it is right that in regard to all sorts of possessions those who have acquired them should be secure in their tenure, especially in a democracy and among a people like yourselves, who take the greatest pride in having matters in your state handled in accordance with law and justice, and above all, I should imagine, your honours and expressions of gratitude; not only because even a man of no account might have all other things, such as money, houses, slaves, lands, whereas those two are possessions enjoyed by virtuous men alone, but also for the reason that these things can be acquired through some other means, such as inheritance or purchase, whereas such things
59 Καὶ μὴν ὃν γε τὴν τιμὴν κατέβαλε τοῖς κυρίοις, οὐδ’ ἀμφισβητεῖ δὴπουθέν ούδεὶς ὡς ὦν δίκαιον ἐστιν ἐὰν ἔχειν αὐτὸν, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον ὀσωπερ ἐν πλείονα ἢ δεδωκώς. οὐκοῦν ἀπαντες ὦτοι δεδώκασι τιμήν ἐκατότου τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ὄνδε μετρίων, οἱ μὲν στρατηγίας λαμπρῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πρεσβεῖας, οἱ δὴ καὶ τρόπαια ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ χρήματα ἵσως, οὐ μᾶ Δία χίλιας δραχμάς οὐδὲ πεντακοσίας, ὅσων ἐστιν εἰκόνας ἀναστήσει.

60 Τί οὖν; οὐχὶ νενόμισται παρά γε τοῖς μὴ παντόποιοι ἀδίκως τὸν ἀποστεροῦμένον τινος κτήματος ὁ γοῦν κατατέθεικε κομίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν εἰληφότων; ἄρ’ οὖν ἐθέλοιτ’ ἂν ἀποδοθοῦν τὰς χάριτας, ἀνθ’ ὄν ἐφηφύσασθε ἐκείνοις τοὺς ἀνδριάντας; λυσιτελὲι γοῦν ὑμῖν ἐκτίνουσιν, ἔπειδὴ τὸ λυσιτελὲς ὀνυνται δὲιν τινες ὅραν ἐξ ἀπαντος. ἦλθον οὖν ἡ πόλεμον ἢ τῆς κατωρθώσκως, ὅν εἰ μὴ συνέβη κατορθώσαι τοῖς τοτε, ἡμεῖς οἱ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἶχομεν τὴν πόλιν, ἢ τὴν ἔλευσθαι ἡμῶν κεκομιμομένος ἢ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ὑπάρχῃ τις; οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν σαφῶς εἰπεῖν τίνες εἰσὶν οἳς

1 For εἰκόναs Wilamowitz conjectured εἰκόνα.
as honours and grateful recognition are acquired through virtue alone.

Furthermore, those things for which a man has paid the price to their owners nobody even thinks of maintaining, I presume, that he cannot justly be permitted to keep for himself, and the more so, the greater the price he has paid. Well, each and every one of these men has paid a price for his statue and no moderate price either; some of them brilliant service as generals in defence of the city, others as ambassadors, while others have given trophies won from the enemy, and certain others money as well, perhaps—not, by heavens, a mere matter of a thousand or five hundred drachmas, sums for which it is possible to erect statues.

Well, what then? Is it not the established usage, at any rate among men who are not utterly lacking in sense of justice, that whoever is dispossessed of any piece of property should recover at least what he paid from those who have seized it? Would you, then, be willing to give back the favours in return for which you voted those honoured men their statues? It is to your advantage, at any rate, to make payment—since there are those who think a man ought to look out for his own advantage from whatever source.¹ Therefore, if a man has carried through a war successfully, a war so threatening that, had he not had the good fortune to win it for the people of his day, we who now live would not have our city, or if he has won back our freedom for us, or is one of the Restorers ² of our city—for we cannot state specifically what persons have enjoyed

¹ The Greek phrase is "οικήματα καὶ κτησιματα τῆς πατρίδος, as its Greek equivalent.

² The Greek phrase is "Σωτήρ καὶ Ρεστορής τῆς Πατρίδος."
συμβεβήκεν ἡ συμβήκεται, τοῦ πράγματος εἰκῆ γιγνομένου καὶ μόνον ἔθει τινί. μὴ δυσχερέσ εἰπεῖν ἢ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἀποστήναι δεῖσει βουλομένους 1 γε τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ δὴ τις εἴη τι τοιοῦτον δεδωκὼς ὁ μηδὲ βουλὴθέντας ἀποδοῦναι δυνατόν· μυρίοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τὰς ψυχὰς προειμένοι ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἐμὴν ἐσωμενοῖ τῆν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, καθάπερ εἴπον καὶ πρότερον, ἃρ' οὐ δεινὰ πάσχοντο;

62 Οὐ τοῖςσιν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐχὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν οἱ ταύτ' εἰληφότες. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντὰ ὀφείλουσι τὰ τῶν προγόνων οὐχ ἢττον αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνοι 2 εἰς οὓς ἂν ποτε καθήκη τὸ γένος. οὐ γὰρ ἀφίστασθαι γε φήσετε τῆς διάδοχης. εἰτα πάνω ὅσα ἐξ ὧν τότε ἐκεῖνοι τῶν εὑριστήκασι καὶ προνυμοῦμεν πάσχοντες ἢ δρώντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συνήχθη 3 κρήσιμα καὶ μεγάλα, ὃμων ἔστιν τοῦ ἡ ἀδικία τῆς πόλεως, τὸ μέγεθος, τὸ χωρίς μιᾶς αὐτῆς πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχειν. εἰ τοῖςσιν, ὡτι μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν εἰλήφασι διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον ἄδικείν οἶλεθε, ἢ εἰ τί τῶν ἄλλως 4 ὑπαρχόντων τινὸς ἀφαιρεῖσθε, τῶν ἂγαν τὶ φανερῶν ἁγνοεῖτε· πρῶτον μὲν ὧτι πάντες οἱ τίνα ἀποστεροῦντες ὅτιοι κἀκεῖνον ἄδικοςοιν οὐχ ἢττον, παρ' οὐ ποτ' ἂν τοῦτο εἰληφότες τύχη.

63

1 βουλομένους Emporius: βουλομένους EEB, μὴ βουλομένου M.
2 αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνο Cohoon, αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοi Schwartz: αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων. αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων εἰς ὅσου Capps.
3 συνήχθη Reiske: συνήθη.
4 ἄλλως Arnim: ἄλλων.

1 Romo.
this good fortune, or will enjoy it, since that comes as it will and only by caprice, so to speak—I am afraid the conclusion may be unpleasant to state, namely, that if we wish to do the right thing, we shall actually have to cede to him the city herself! But if there should be any man who has indeed made such a splendid offering that even with the best of intentions we are unable to repay him—and countless are those who have sacrificed their lives on behalf of the city and at the price of life itself have bought their statue and the inscription—are they not, as I asked before, being treated shamefully?

And what is more, we cannot say that it is not ourselves who have received these benefits. For, in the first place, all the obligations incurred by our ancestors are debts which are owed, no less than they were owed by the ancestors themselves, by all those to whom their blood has descended. For you will not say that you withdraw from the succession! In the second place, all the benefits, valuable and great as they are, which have accrued from the services which certain men rendered to your ancestors in their time, and from what they gladly suffered or did in their behalf, are now yours: the glory of your city, its greatness, its pre-eminence over all other cities save one.¹ If, therefore, simply because these benefactors did not receive their gifts from you directly, you think you are committing a lesser wrong than if you take away from a man a piece of property that came into his hands in some other way, you are blind to truths most patent: first, that all those who deprive anybody of anything whatsoever do just as great a wrong to the man from whom he once happens to have received it; for instance,
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οἶον οἴ τῶν δημοσίων τι καταλύοντες οὐκοδομημάτων, ὃς τῶν καθ’ ἑνὰ ἐποίησε χαριζόμενος ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον ἂν δόξειαν 1 τὸν ποιήσαντα ἀδικεῖν ἢ τὴν πόλιν. οὐκοίνον ὃ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ 2 ἡ πόλις ἢ τι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινὶ δεδωκυία πρὸς τὸν ἀφαιρούμενον τοῦτο. τοιγαροῦν 3 ὅμως πρὸς ἐκείνους, ὃν τὰς εἰκόνας ἀνεστήσατε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὁμαί, τὴν δεδωκυίαν ἀδικεῖτε, τοῦτ’ ἐστιν ἑαυτοὺς. ἂλλ’ ὃ μὲν εἰς ἅλλον ἀμαρτῶν ἀστε ἑαυτὸν ὠφελήσαι κακῶς μόνον ἐστὶν ἐνοχὸς ἐν 4 τοῖς πολλοῖς· ὃ δ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀδικῶν ἐν οἷς ἑτέρου, τῆς μὲν πονηρίας ὑπερβολῇ τινὰ ἐδείξειν, ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ ἀνόητος δοκεῖ.

Πρὸς τούτω δ’ ἂν ἵδοι τις καὶ ἑτέρου’ ὃ μὲν ἀφαιρούμενος ἀπλῶς ὃ τις ἐξει δικαίως, ὅτω δήποτε τρόπῳ κτησάμενος, καὶ’ αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα ἀμαρτάνει, φύσει τι ποιῶν ἀτοποῦν. ὃ δὲ τῶν ύφ’ ἑαυτοῦ δεδομένων ἐν μέρει τιμῆς καὶ χάριτος τινὰ ἀποστερῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο παραβαίνει, καθ’ ὃ προσήκει μηδένα βλάπτειν, ἄλλα καὶ χρηστὸν ἀνδρα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τοῦτον ὃν ἤκιστα αὐτῷ προσήκεν. οὐδαμῇ γὰρ ἴδειν ἐστὶ τοῖς φαύλους τὰς τιμὰς διδομένας οὐδὲ ύφ’ ὃν μηδέν εὐ πεπόνθαιον.

65 ὅσω δὴ χειρὸν τὸ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τιμῶς ἢ τὸ τοὺς ἀλλού, καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἐνεργεῖται βλάπτειν τοῦ τῶν τυχόντα ἀδικεῖν, οὐδένα λανθάνει.

Καὶ τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς Ἑφεσίους, εἰ τις ἀφέλοι

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1 δόξειαν: Dindorf: δόξει EB, δεξαμεν M.
2 καὶ: Jacobis: καὶ el EB, καὶ M.
3 τοιγαροῦν: Emperius: ἄρ’ αὖν EB, ἄρα M.
4 ἐν added by Well.
those who demolish any public building which some individual benefactor built as an expression of his gratitude to you, would seem to wrong the builder more than the city. Therefore, when it is the city that has given something to one of its own citizens, the same argument applies to the man who would deprive him of this. For this reason, in addition to wronging the persons whose statues you have set up, you are also, in my opinion, wronging the city which gave them, that is, your own selves. But whereas he who sins against another man and thereby benefits himself is guilty of wrongdoing only, in the eyes of the majority, he who wrongs his own self while wronging another man shows an exceeding measure of depravity and is looked upon as needlessly a fool also.

Besides this, one might consider another point also. The man who simply takes away from any one that which is justly in his possession, no matter how he got it, errs in this very act, since he is doing a thing which is by its very nature unseemly; but the man who deprives any one of what he himself has given in the way of honour and gratitude, not only violates that universal principle which says that we should injure no one, but also does wrong to a good man, and that, too, the man whom he ought least of all to wrong. For in no case do you see honours being given to worthless men or to those from whom no benefit has been received. How very much worse it is to rob good men of honours bestowed than to rob anybody else, and to injure your benefactors than to injure any chance person, is something that nobody fails to see.

Moreover, let us take the case of the Ephesians:
τὸ 1 πρὸς τὴν θεόν, κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο φαίη τις ἀν ἀμαρτάνειν, λαβόντας ἀν’ ἐκεῖνων τῶν χρημάτων· τοὺς δὲ ὡς οὕτω προσφερομένους ταῖς εἰκόσιν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρήμενα δήποθεν, ὡς καὶ ἤπειρον προσήκοντας ἀνθρώπους ἐμελλον ἀδικεῖν, ὡς τΟΙς πολλοῖς οὐδὲ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος αἰτίαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παρακαταθήκην τινὰ μὴ φυλάξασιν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πιστεύσειν· τοὺς δὲ ὠβρίζοντας εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας οὐδεὶς κρίνει χάριτος ἄξιον. ὥσθ’ ὁ κόμωνος ὑμῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ μηκέτ’ εὐ πάσχειν ὑπὸ μηδενός, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐν τῷ μηκέτι φυλάττει τὰ ἀλλότρια.

66 Βουλομαι τοῖνυν ὑμετέρον τι ἔργον εἰπεῖν οὐ πάλαι μὲν γεγονός, εὐδοκιμοῦν δὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν οὐχ ἥττον τῶν πάνω παλαιῶν, 3 ἢ εἴδητε παραθέντες εἰ καθόλου τούς τοιούτους ἄξιον 4 ἐστι τοιούτον τι ποιεῖν. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν ἐκείνου Ρωμαίων πόλεμον, ὃν πρὸς ἄλληλος ἐπολέμησαν, οτὲ ὑμῖν ἀνυχήσαι συνέβη διὰ τὴν

1 ἄφελοι τῷ Emporius: ἄφελοι τῷ τῶν EB, ἄφελοιτο M.
2 ὡς added by Selden.
3 παλαιῶν Casaubon: χαλεπῶν.
4 ἄξιον Morol: ἄξιος.

1 In the plain outside the walls of Ephesus was the famous temple of Artemis, or Diana, which was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. It contained an image of the goddess which was believed to have fallen down from Zeus. See Acts of the Apostles 19. 23–28 and 35, and § 54 supra.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

Leaving aside scruples having to do with the goddess,\(^1\) one would say that they commit a misdeed if they take from the deposits to which I have referred, so far as the act itself is concerned; \(^2\) but that people who treat the statues in this way do an injustice, not merely, to be sure, for the reasons already given—that they would be wronging persons in no wise related to themselves, the majority of whom they did not even know—but also on account of the ill repute which arises from their act. For to those who have not taken good care of a deposit entrusted to them nobody would thereafter entrust any of his own property; but those who insult their benefactors will by nobody be esteemed to deserve a favour. Consequently, the danger for you is that you will no longer receive benefactions at the hands of anybody at all, while the danger to the Ephesians is merely that they will no longer have other persons' property to take care of.

I wish, moreover, to mention a deed of yours which took place not very long ago, and yet is commended by everyone no less than are the deeds of the men of old, in order that you may know by making comparison whether on principle it is seemly for people like you to be guilty of such behaviour as this. After that continuous and protracted civil war among the Romans,\(^3\) during which it was your misfortune to suffer a reverse on account of your

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\(^1\) Even if the acts were not a sacrilege, a sin against the goddess, cf. §§ 54 ff.

\(^2\) He refers to the battles between the leaders of the aristocratic and the popular party at Rome which began with the fighting between Marius and Sulla and ended with the victory of Augustus over Mark Antony at Actium in 31 B.C.
πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πέρας εἰχε τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πάντες ὄντων σεσωσθαί, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις-νόσοις πολλάκις δεινοὶ τινος ἐδέησε βοηθήματος, καὶ τότε ἐδοξεῖ τὰ πράγματα ἄγιε ἐποιήσειν. ἂθεν πάσιν ἐβάθη

67 τοῖς ἐξωθεὶς χρεῶν ἄφεσις. ἀσμένως δὲ αὐτῶν προσεμένων καὶ τὸ πράγμα δωρεάν ἄγοντες ὁμοίως, μόνι τῶν ἄλλων ύμεῖς οὐκ ἐδέχασθε, καίτοι τῆς ἀλώσεως ύμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐφην, ἀρτι γεγενημένης καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς οἰκίας μόνον εἰκότων· ἀλλ' ὁμοὶ δεινῶν ύμῶν ἐδοξεῖ τὸ ἐν ὁποίῳ ἄρτητο καρδίᾳ παραβιβάσα τί τῶν δικαίων καὶ διὰ τόσος συμφοράς τόσος καταλαβόντας ἐτι καὶ τήν πίστιν ἀνελεῖν τήν παρ' αὐτοῖς· καὶ τάλλα πάντα Ῥωμαίοις παραχωροῦντες οὐκ ἠξιώσατε καὶ τότε τοῦτο παραχωρήσας, τὸ μηδέν αἰσχρὸν ἀφεῖσθαι κέρδους ἐνεκά. ὡν γὰρ, οἴμαι, τήν ἐκείνων πόλιν ἐωρᾶτε μὴ δεσθεῖσαν δι' ἀρετὴν ἁμα καὶ εὐτυχίαν, τούτων τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπεφήνοντε μὴ δεσμένην διὰ μόνῃ τήν ἀρετήν. οὐ τοῖνον ἠθεῖτε ἠλαττόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥόδιοι, τῇν χαρίν ὀφείλεσθαι τοῖς εὐ ἐποιηκόσιν ἢ τοῖς συμβάλλονις τὸ χρέος.

68 Εἰτα τὸ μὲν μῆ ἐκόντας ἐκτίνειν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα δεινῶν ύμῶν ἐδοξεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀποδόντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι

1 ἐωρᾶτε Morol: εὑρετε EB, εὑρετε M.
2 τούτων Cohoon: τούτων.
3 συμβάλλονις συμβαλλοτι Reisko.

1 Rhodes espoused the cause of Julius Caesar, in punishment for which Cassius captured and plundered the city in 42 B.C. See page 2, and page 106, note 1.
sympathy with the democracy,\(^1\) when, finally, the terrible scenes came to an end, and all felt they were safe at last, just as in a severe illness there is often need of some heroic remedy, so then, too, the situation seemed to require a similar corrective measure. Consequently all the provinces were granted a remission of their debts.\(^2\) Now the others accepted it gladly, and saw in the measure a welcome gift; but you Rhodians alone of all rejected it, although the capture of your city had recently occurred, as I have said, and the enemy had spared nothing in the city except your dwellings. But nevertheless, you thought it would be a shame to violate any principle of justice in any crisis whatsoever and on account of the disasters that had befallen you to destroy your credit to boot; and while deferring to the Romans in everything else, you did not think it right to yield to them in this one respect—of choosing a dishonourable course for the sake of gain.\(^3\) For the things, methinks, which you saw that Rome did not lack because of its high character at once and of its good fortune, these you demonstrated that your city did not lack, because of its high character alone. Certainly you will not say, men of Rhodes, that gratitude is owing less to those who have done a service than to those who were ready to contribute the amount of your debt.\(^4\)

After that, though you thought it a scandal not to pay your debts willingly, yet is it an equitable

\(^1\) Perhaps he refers to the relief which Augustus afforded the various provinces on his visits to them.

\(^2\) In 30 B.C. Augustus allowed the cities of Asia Minor, which was ruined financially, to declare bankruptcy, but, as we read here, Rhodes refused to avail herself of this concession.

\(^3\) Cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 12.
μέτριον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ μετὰ πάντων ἀσχημονεῖν τοῦ μόνου αἰσχίνον ὑπελήφατε. καὶ τοσαῦτης μεταβολής καθ' ὅν εὖρηκα καὶ ρόν γενομένης καὶ περὶ πάντα, συγχύσεως, τά γε ¹ δοθέντα ὑπήρχε βεβαιῶς ἢγεὶν τοὺς προειληφόσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτολμήσει εἰςπράττειν τοὺς ἡδί τις κεκοιμισμένοις. ὥμεις δὲ νῦν οὐδὲ ἢ ἐφύητε διαλύσαι τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἠτε, ἀλλ' οἱ μηδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν μηδὲν ὑπομείναντες τότε τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ταῦτα ἑπτακόσιτε, νῦν εὐ- τυχοῦστε πράττετε δὲ μηδὲ ἐκείνων τότε μηδὲ εἰς.

Καὶ τοῦ μὲν περὶ ² τῶν χρεῶν γεγονός εὐροὶ τοῖς ἄν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ καὶ Σόλωνα λέγεται παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ποτὲ ποιήσαι. διόχα γὰρ τοῦ πολλάκις ἀναγκαίως αὐτὸ συμβαίνειν ἢ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν δεδαυειμένων, ἔστι οὖτε οὐδὲ ἄδικως γίγνεται διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν τόκων, ὅταν τινὲς πολλαπλασίως ³ ωσιν ἐν τούτοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα κεκοιμισμένοι. τὸ δὲ τὰς χάριτας τὰς ἀντὶ τῶν εὐεργεσίων ἀπο- στερεῖθαι τοὺς εἰληφότας οὔτε ἀφορμὴν οὐδεμίαν δύναται παρασχεῖν εὐλογον οὔτε εἰσηγήσατο οὐδεὶς πώποτε, ἀλλὰ μόνον τούτου σχεδὸν ἀπάντων οὐδέποτε καιρὸς γέγονε.

¹ γε Εμπωρίου: τε. ² περὶ added by Capps. ³ πολλαπλασίως Capps: πολλάκις.

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¹ Cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 12.
² There seems to be no reference to any particular event in this passage; at any rate no light is thrown by anything that is known from other sources upon just what τὰ δοθέντα in line 4 of the text means. But the words would seem to refer to ‘gifts’ of some sort rather than, for instance, to advances or loans of money.
³ Solon relieved Athenian debtors of a part of their debts, chiefly by a depreciation of the coinage. This disburdening measure was called the σεσάχθεια or ‘shaking off of burdens.’
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act, having discharged an obligation, then to rob the recipient of his requital?¹ For surely you have not supposed that it is more shameful to act dishonourably in common with all the world than to be alone in so doing! And yet when that great revolution occurred at the time I have mentioned and there was repudiation of every kind, the gifts which had been made remained undisturbed in the possession of those who had received them previously, and no one was so bold as to try to exact a return from those who already had anything.² You, however, are at this present time not leaving undisturbed even what you were so prompt to pay to your benefactors, but although at that time you would not consent to follow in any respect the same course as all the others took, and that too, in spite of the reverses you had suffered, now when you are prosperous you do what not a single one of the peoples in that crisis did!

And yet the action taken in regard to the debts you will find was taken at other times as well; Solon, for instance, is said to have taken it once at Athens.³ For apart from the fact that this measure often becomes necessary in view of the insolvency of those who have contracted loans, there are times also when it is even justifiable on account of the high rate of interest, on occasions when lenders have got back in interest their principal many times over. But to deprive the recipients of the tokens of gratitude which they have received in return for their benefactions can find no plausible excuse, nor has anyone ever yet formally proposed the adoption of this procedure; no, this is almost the only thing in the world for which there has never yet been found any occasion.
Καὶ μὴν δύο ταῦτα ὁμοίως τῆς μεγάλης
φυλακῆς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἥξιωται καὶ ἁρᾶς καὶ ἐπιτιμίων τῶν ἐσχάτων, ἐὰν τις εἰσάγῃ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς ἢ ὡς τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσσον εὑρίσκει πορεύεται τούτων τούν τὸ μὲν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν οὐ γέγονεν τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, ὃ μὴν ὁλος ἦσμεν εἰ ποτὲ συνέβη, σκέψασθε παραδένετε τῷ νῦν ἑξεταζομένῳ πράγματι. τῆς μὲν γε χάρας ἀνωθέν διαρουμένης, τούτῳ ἂν εὕη δεινότατον τὸ ἐξ ἵνα γίνεται τὸν ἑξοντα πρότερον τῷ μὴ κεκτημένῳ, τῆς δὲ εἰκόνος ἐτέρῳ δοσείσθαι οὐδαμῶς ἵνας ἐστίν ὃ ἀφαιρεθεῖσι τῷ λαβότε. δὲ μὲν γὰρ τέτευχεν, εἴπερ ἄρα, τῆς τιμῆς, τῷ δὲ οὔθεν περίεστι.

71 Φέρε τούνων, εἴ τις ἐρωτό τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑμῶν ἐφεστῶτα καὶ κελεύοντα ἐκχαράττειν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, ἐτερον δὲ ἐγγράφεως, τό ἐστι τὸ γιγνόμενον; ἢ νὴ Δία πέφηνε τι δεινὸν εἰργασμένος τῇν πόλιν τοσοῦτοι ἐτεσιν ὑστερον οὗτος ἁνήρ; πρὸς τῷ Διὸς οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ διατραπήναι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐὰν ἢ μέτριος; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐμα καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην ἐρυθριάζειν. εἴ δὲ δὴ παιδεὶς ἢ συγγενεῖς τινὲς παρατύχουσιν τάνδρος ἐκεῖνον, πόσα οἴκεσθε ἀφήσεις αὐτοὺς δάκρυα, ἐπειδὰν ἄρξηται τὶς ἀφανίζειν τὸ ὅνομα; οὐμενούν. 72 ἀλλὰ ἐνοτήσονται πάντες εἰς ὑμᾶς παριστάτε,
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Furthermore, the following two practices have alike been considered worthy of being most carefully guarded against in our laws and as deserving of execration and the most extreme penalties, namely, a proposal that debts be cancelled, or that the land ought to be redistributed. Well, of these two measures, the former has never been adopted in your city; the latter, however, of which we have not the slightest knowledge that it ever has been taken, please consider by comparing it with the practice now under examination. If the land were being parcellled out anew, the very worst consequence would be that the original holder should be put on an equality with the man who possessed no land at all; but where a man’s statue has been given to another, the one who has been robbed is by no means on an equality with the man who received it. For the latter has gained the honour, if you can really call it such, whereas the other has nothing left.

Come, then, if any one were to question the magistrate who is set over you, who commands that the inscription be erased and another man’s name engraved in its place, asking: “What does this mean? Ye gods, has this man been found guilty of having done the city some terrible wrong so many years after the deed?” In heaven’s name, do you not think that he would be deterred, surely if he is a man of common decency? For my part I think that even the mason will blush for shame. And then if children or kinsmen of the great man should happen to appear, what floods of tears do you think they will shed when some one begins to obliterate the name? No, not they merely, but everybody will protest, coming before you, in your assembly, creating
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eis tōn dēmou, boōntes. ἂρ' οὖν, οὔθ' ἂν τοιοῦτο συμβη, κωλύσετε οὐδὲ ἐπιστραφήσεσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν τοιοῦτον περὶ ὑμῶν ὑπολάβοιμι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ νῦν φημι λανθάνειν αὐτὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσσετε γνώντες· οὐκοῦν νῦν γε ἐπίστασθε δήπουθεν τὸ πράγμα ὅλον, ἀστεὶ καθα- 
παξ κωλύσαι προσήκει.

Νὴ Δία, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷοι ἐστί, πολλῶν ὄντων οἷς μηδεὶς προσήκει, καὶ τοῦ πράγματος συμβαίνοντος ἐπ' οὖν ἔναν τῶν γνωρίμων.

73 'Εγώ δ' ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἴ τινες ἀγνοοῦσι προσ-
ήκοντας έαυτοῦς ἐνίους τούτων, ὅπερ εἰκός, διὰ τούτου ἐλαττον ἀδικοῦνται τῶν προγόνων ἀτιμαζο-
μένων, ἀφίημι· χαλεπότερον δὲ ἄλλως εἶναι μοι 
δοκεῖ τὸ γιγνόμενον εἰς ἑκείνους, οἷς μηδὲ ἔστω 
οικεῖος μηδὲ εἰς ἔτι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ζώντων 
δοκεῖ δεινότερον εἶναι τούτους ἀδικεῖν οἷς μηδὲ 
εἰς ἔστω ὁ βοήθων ἔτι. ἐπεὶ κατὰ γε τούτῳ 
λεγέτωσαν μηδὲν εἶναι χαλεπὸν μηδὲ τὸ τοὺς 
ὀρφανοὺς βλάπτειν τοὺς παντάπασιν ἐρήμους, οἱ 
μήτε έαυτοῖς ἀμύνειν δύνανται μήτε ἄλλον ἔχουσι 
τοῦ κηδόμενον. ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς τοῦντιον καὶ μᾶλλον 
ἐπὶ τούτους ἀγανακτεῖτε καὶ δημοσίᾳ καθίστασθε 
ἐπιτρόπους, ὅπως μηδὲν ἄδικονται.

74 Καθόλου δὲ πάντων ἃν μέλλουσι ἐρεῖν λόγων 
οὐδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐπιεικὲς οὐδέν, ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν
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an uproar. Let me ask you, then: Even if such a demonstration does occur, will you refrain from trying to prevent the deed, and take no notice at all? I for my part cannot conceive of your taking such a course, but rather maintain that even now you do not know that this is going on, but that you will not permit it, now that you have learned of it; anyhow you know it all now at any rate, I imagine, so that it is your duty to put a stop to the practice once for all.

"Oh! but assuredly your illustration is not apposite," someone may object, "since many of them are persons who have no surviving relative and the practice is not followed in the case of any person who is well known."

Well, for my part, I will pass over the point that even if some are unaware, as is likely, that some of these honoured men are related to them, yet none the less on this account they suffer an injustice if their ancestors are dishonoured. But far more grievous at all events, it seems to me, is the wrong done to those honoured men who have not one single surviving relative. For in the case of the living it seems a greater indignity to wrong those who have not even one person left to help them. For on that principle you might as well say that it is not cruel to injure orphans either, children utterly alone in the world, who cannot protect themselves and have no one else to care for them. But you, on the contrary, look upon such conduct with even greater displeasure, and through the state appoint guardians to protect them from any possible wrong.

But, speaking in general terms, while none of the pleas that these people intend to urge has any
ἀτοπώτατος, ὡς ἄρα οὐδενὸς ἀπτονται τῶν γνωρίμων ἀνδριάντων οὐδὲ οὐς ἐπίσταται τίς ἢν εἰσών, ἀλλὰ ἀσήμως τις καὶ σφόδρα παλαιώς καταχρώνται. καθάπερ εἰ τις λέγει μηδένα τῶν ἐπισφανῶν ἀδικεῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καὶ οὐς μηδεὶς οἴδεν. καὶ τοῖς μὰ τὸν Δία οὐχ ὀμοίων. εὖ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ζωσὶ καὶ δὲ εὐγένειαι καὶ δὲ ἄρετὴν ἄλλος ἄλλου φανερώτερός ἐστι, καὶ διὰ πλούτου τοῦτο συμβαίνει καὶ δὲ ἐτέρας προφάσεως ἀξιολόγους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν εἰκόνων μὴ τούναντιν λέγω τις ἢν ὡς εἰσών αὐτὶς βελτίων ἀνδρῶν. οὐ γὰρ δὲ ἀγένειαι ἢ κακίαι τινὰ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα αὐτούς, οὐ γε τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς λαμπροτάτους τετεύχασιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μὴκος χρόνου τοῦτο γέγονεν.

78 Ὄσω τοῖνυν τοὺς πρῶτον δεῖ τῶν ἐπιγνωμένων πάντες ἡγοῦνται φύσει κρείττους, καὶ πάλαι τὸ τοῦ τυχεὶν τινας τοῦτον σπανιώτερον ὑπήρχε, τοσοῦτω περὶ ἁμέλους ἀνδρας καὶ μεικτών ἁγαθῶν αὑτῶν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀμαρτάνειν. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, δῆλον. τοὺς τε γὰρ σφόδρα ἀρχαῖους ἡμεθέους ὄντας ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτούς οὐ πολὺ ἐκείνων χείρονας.

1 πάλαι τὸ Αρνίμ: τὸ πάλαι.

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1 Cf. §§ 80, 124, 126, 163; Discourse 21. 1 ff. and Discourse 16. This is a Stoic doctrine said to be due to Chrysippus. Cf. Lucian, Rhetorum Præceptor 9; Themistius, Oration 22, p. 281 A; Plato, Laws 10, p. 886 C; Lucretius, 2. 1157 ff.; Seneca, Epistle 90. 44: "Still I cannot deny that in the past there existed men of lofty spirit and, if I may say so, fresh from the gods. For there is no doubt whatever that the world,
equitable basis whatever, the most absurd plea of all is to say that after all they are not molesting any of the statues of well-known persons, nor those whose owners any one knows, but that they take liberties with sundry insignificant and very ancient ones. It is as if a person should say that he did not wrong any prominent citizen, but only those of the common crowd, persons whom nobody knows! And yet, by heavens, I maintain that the two cases are not alike. For in the case of the living one person is more prominent than another owing to his good birth or his good character, and it may also be on account of his wealth or for other good reasons; but in the case of the statues, on the contrary, one cannot point to one group and say 'These are statues of better men.' For it is not due to their humble birth or any baseness that we do not know them, seeing that they have received the same honours as the most famous men, but our ignorance has come about through lapse of time.

Moreover, insofar as the men of the past were, as all believe, always superior by nature to those of the succeeding generations,¹ and as in ancient times it was a rarer thing for any men to receive this honour, just in so far were those better men and the authors of greater blessings against whom it is acknowledged we are sinning. And that both these statements are true is clear, for we know that the exceedingly ancient men were demi-gods and that those who followed them were not much inferior to them; in

before it was worn out, produced better things.”—Non tamen negaverim fuisse alti spiritus viros et, ut ita dicam, a dis recentes. neque enim dubium est quin meliora mundus nondum effetus ediderit.
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ἐπείτα τοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἐλάττονας ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ τέλος τοὺς νῦν ὅποιον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἴδαμεν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀποθηκακουσί πάσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἢν ἐστάναι χαλκοῖς, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τις ὑπερφυὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ πράξει: νῦν δὲ τοὺς καταπλέοντας τιμῶμεν, ὡστ' εὐπερ ἄρα, τοὺς ὑστερον μᾶλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐγνώσατα τοῦ 1 νῦν ἀνακει-76 μένους μεταποιητέον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἁγνοεῖτε δήποτε ὧτι πάντες οἱ νῦν ἐχούντες τοὺς παλαιοὺς τῶν φίλων μᾶλλον ἁγαπῶσι καὶ περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦνται τῶν δι' ὀλύγον γεγονότων, καὶ τοὺς γε πατρικοὺς τῷ παντὶ πλέον ἢ τοὺς υφ' αὐτῶν ἐγνωσμένους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τούτους παραβιανόντες μόνους αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους τι λύνοντες καὶ τῶν κτησμαμένων 77 αὐτοὺς ὄλυγωροῦσιν. καθόλου δὲ, ὡσπερ ὅταν τῶν ζῶντων τις ἑξετάζηται παρ' ὑμῖν, δι' αὐτοὶ μὴ σφόδρα οἴδατε ἢ παντάπασιν ἁγνοεῖτε, τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις αὐτῶν 2 προσέχετε καὶ τίθεσθε τὴν ψήφον κατὰ τοὺς μάρτυρας, ἀλλὰς τέ ἄν ἄλλων φιλῶν καὶ νῦν ποιήσατε· ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἀνδρῶν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν, οὐς φασὶ μηδένα εἰδέναι τῶν ζῶντων, παρὰ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων αὐτοὺς μᾶθετε. οἱ τοῖς τότε ὄντες καὶ σαφέστατα ἐκεῖνον εἰδότες ἐνεργέτας ἡγοῦντο τῆς πόλεως

1 τοῦ added by Arnim. 2 αὐτοῦ Cappe: αὐτούς.

1 For instance, in the Athens of Demosthenes in this class were the statues of only Solon, Harmodius, Aristogeiton, Conon, Iphicrates, and Chabrias. See Wenckbach, Quaestiones Dionae, p. 59.
3 That is, their own forefathers.
the second place, we understand that their successors steadily deteriorated in the course of time, and finally, we know that the men of to-day are no better than ourselves. Indeed formerly even those who gave their lives for the state were not in all cases set up in bronze, but only the occasional man who performed extraordinary and wonderful exploits; but now we honour those that land at our ports, so that we should transfer to new owners, if transfer we must, rather the later statues and those which have been set up nearest to the present time. For you are not unaware, I presume, that all persons of good sense love their old friends more and esteem them more highly than those who have become friends but recently, and that they honour their ancestral family friends altogether more than they do those whose acquaintance they themselves have made. For any who transgress the rights of these latter wrong them alone, but those who annul any of the rights of the former must also despise the men who acquire their friendship. And, to state a general principle, just as when any man now living whom you do not know very well personally or not at all is being subjected to a judicial examination in your courts, you listen to those who do know him and cast your vote according to what the witnesses say, especially if they are not knaves; so do the same thing now also. Since we too are speaking concerning men whom they say that no one now alive knows anything about, learn from those who did know them. Well then, those who lived in their time, who knew them perfectly, regarded them as benefactors of the city and considered them worthy

4 Cf. § 131. 5 Cf. § 61.
καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἥξιουν. ὦς οὗ θεμιτῶν ὑμᾶς ἀπιστεῖν, ὑμετέροις γε οὗι προγόνοις, οὐδὲ φήσαι πονηροῦ.

78 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἔστων εἰπεῖν, ὡς κατὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσχήκασι τὰς τιμάς· οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ᾽ ὡς περὶ δείξουσι πλείονα ἐκείνους χρόνον τιμωμένους ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡ τὴν πόλιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εὗ πεπονθοῦν. ἀὕστερ οὖν ὁ χρέος πάλαι μὲν οφείλων, πάλαι δὲ ἀποδοὺς, οὐθέν πλέον τι πεποίηκε τοῦ νῦν ἀποδιδόντος ὁ ἅρτον εἰληφεν, ὁμοίως οὐδὲ εἷς τις πάνυ πρὸ πολλοῦ τινα ἡμεῖς τότε εὗ παθὼν. ἀλλως δὲ ἔτει, ἕ μὲν ἀτέλειαν ἡ χρήματα ἡ γῆν ἡ τοιοῦτον τί δεδωκότες ἀφηρεῖσθε, μᾶλλον ἠν ἵσως ἡδικοῦντο οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰληφότες· ὁ γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ κατασχὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑφεληταί τι καὶ προείληφεν. ἔπὶ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς οὐδέν ἔστι τοιοῦτον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν εὐποροῦστεροι καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον· ὁ γὰρ ἐκτήσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἔχουσιν· τοῖς δὲ τοῦναντίον ἀτμιοτέρους ὑπάρχει γεγονέναι. ὁποὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάττων ἡ ξεμία τοῖς πολὺν χρόνον καρπωσαμένους, ὁποὺ δὲ ἡ ἀτμία μείζων τοῖς σφόδρα παλαιὰς τιμῆς ἀφαίρουμένους.

1 ὁ ἅρτον Cappa: ὁ τι Arnim: δτε.
2 δὲ Cohoon: τε.
3 ἀφηρεῖσθε Casaubon: ἀφαιρεῖσθε EB, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι Mv.

1 Cf. Demosthenes In Lept. 47 and 119.
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of the highest honours. These are witnesses whom you have no right to disbelieve, being indeed your own forefathers—nor yet to declare that they were knaves.¹

Furthermore, you cannot advance any such argument, either, as to say that those who were honoured long ago have held their honours for a long time. For it will not be possible for you to prove that those men have been honoured for a longer time by the city than the city has been the recipient of their benefactions. Hence, just as a man who incurred a debt long ago and long ago repaid it has done not a whit more than the man who pays back now what he has just received, so does a similar statement apply if it was very long ago indeed that a man requited another for a benefit received from him at that time. But the case would be different if you had given exemption from taxes, money, land, or some other such thing and were now taking it away—then perhaps those who would have received such an exemption afterwards would indeed suffer a greater wrong; for the man who has held such things for any length of time has received benefit and advantage therefrom already. But in the case of an honour conferred there is nothing like this. For whereas the former are better off for the future as well, since what they acquired then is the source of wealth which they enjoy now; the others, on the contrary, find that they have suffered an actual diminution of their honours. For in the one case the loss is less because the men have enjoyed the usufruct for a long time, but in the other case the dishonour is greater, since the victims are being deprived of a very ancient honour.

85
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80 "Ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲ ἀσεβείας ἀπήλλακται τὸ γιγνόμενον, μάλιστα ὅποι τρόπον δείξω, κἂν ὑπερβολής ἐνεκα δόξῳ τισί λέγειν, οὐχ, ὡς πρότερον εἶπον, ὅτι πάντα ἀπλῶς ἀσεβη-ματά ἐστι τὰ περὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας γιγνόμενα, ἀλλὰ ὅτι καὶ πάντες ἤρωας νομίζουσι τοὺς σφόδρα παλαιούς ἄνδρας, κἂν μὴ δὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔχωσιν, δ' αὐτοῖς, οἴμαι, τὸν χρόνον. τούς δὲ δὴ σεμνοὺς οὕτως καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἡξιωμένους, ὅν ἐνοι καὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἐσχήκασιν ἢρώων, τοὺς τοσοῦτα ἐτη κειμένους, ὅστε καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐπιλειποῖναι, πῶς ἐν τῆς αὐτῆς τυγχανείς προσηγορίας ἢς τις τεθνηκότες ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἢ μικρόν ἐμπροσθεν. ἀλλὰς τε μηδενός ἄξιοι φανέντες, καὶ μὴν τὰ γε εἰς τοὺς ἢρωας ἀσεβημάτα τοῦ ἀμφιοβηθήσεως οὐδές ὅσοι οὐχὶ τῆν αὐτὴν ἔχει τάξιν, ἢν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. τί οὖν, ὃν ἀδίκημα ἐστὶ τὸ τὴν μνή-μην ἀναιρεῖν: τὸ τὴν τιμῆν ἀφαίρεσθαι: τὸ ἐκκόπτειν τὸ ὅνομα; δεινὸν γε καὶ σχέτλιον, 82 ὁ Ζεὺς. ἀλλ' εάν μὲν στέφανον τις ἀφέλῃ τὸν μίαν ἓσως ἢ δευτέραν μενοῦτα ἡμέραν, ἡ κηλίδα τυι τῷ χαλκῷ προσβάλῃ, τούτων ἡγήσεσθε ἀσεβείων, τόν δὲ ὅλως ἀφανίζουσαι καὶ μετατιθέν-τα καὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν δόξαν οὕτως ποιεῖν ἀτοποῦ; ἀλλ' εάν μὲν δοράτον ἐξῆλθη τις ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἡ κράνους ἀπορρήξῃ τὸν λόφον ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοῦ βραχίωνος ἡ χαλινῶν ἔπου, τῷ δημοσίῳ τούτων εὐθὺς παραδώσετε, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπομενεῖ

1 deίξω added by Capps; Arnim indicates a lacuna.
2 κἂν Geel: δὲν.

1 Cf. § 75. 2 As heroes.
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And that the present practice is not free from impiety either, especially in view of the way these men describe it, I shall now prove, even if some will think that I speak with intent to exaggerate—not, as I said before, because offences committed with reference to the dead are all without exception acts of impiety; but also because it is generally believed that the men of very ancient times were semi-divine, even if they have no exceptional attribute, simply, I presume, on account of their remoteness in time. And those who are so highly revered and have been held worthy of the highest honours, some of whom actually enjoy the mystic rites given to heroes, men who have lain buried so many years that even the memory of them has disappeared—how can they possibly be designated in the same way as those who have died in our own time or only a little earlier, especially when these latter have not shown themselves worthy of any honour? And assuredly, acts of impiety toward the heroes everyone would agree without demur should be put in the same class as impiety toward the gods. Well then, is it not a wrongful act to blot out their memory? To take away their honour? To chisel out their names? Yes, it is a shame and an outrage, by Zeus. But if anyone removes a crown that will last perhaps one or two days, or if one puts a stain on the bronze, you will regard this man guilty of impiety; and yet will you think that the man who utterly blots out and changes and destroys another’s glory is doing nothing out of the way? Why, if anyone takes a spear out of a statue’s hand, or breaks the crest off his helmet, or the shield off his arm or a bridle off his horse, you will straightway hand this man over to the executioner, and he
τιμωρίαν τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, ὁσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ πολλοὶ τεθνήκασι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν λέγουσιν αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῶν ἀνωνύμων τινὰ καὶ σφόδρα παλαιῶν ἐλωβήσαντο εἰκόνων. δημοσία δὲ ἡ πόλις τῷ παντὶ χείρων καὶ φαυλοτέρα φανεῖται περὶ τοὺς ἡρωκας;

Καὶ τούνων ἔδω εἰσηθή τις εἰσελθὼν ὅτι πεφύρμαται τις ἕξους ἡ καὶ πολίτης ἡ χείρα ἡ δάκτυλον ἀφαιρὼν ἀνδριάντος, βοήσασθε καὶ παραχρήμα ἐπιθεῖται κελεύσετε ἐπὶ τὸν τροχόν. καίτοι χειρὸς μὲν ἀφαιρεθείσης ἡ δόρατος ἡ φιάλης, ἕως τύχη κρατῶν, ἡ τιμὴ μένει καὶ τὸ σύμβολον ἔχει τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ τιμηθείς, ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς μόνος ἐλάττων γέγονεν· τῆς δὲ ἐπιγραφῆς ἀναρωμεμένης ἀνήρηται δήπουθεν καὶ ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ δοκεῖν ἄξιον ἐπαίνου γεγονέναι τὸν ἀνθρωπον.

Βούλομαι τούνων, ὅπερ Ἀθήνης μὲν οἶδα γυνόμενον, οἴμαι δὲ κἂνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι κατὰ νόμον πάνω καλῶς ἔχοντα, εἰπεῖν πρὸς ῥμᾶς. εἰκῇ γὰρ ὅταν δημοσία τινὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθεινὼν ἐπὶ ἀδικήματι, πρότερον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐξαλείφεται. τίνος ἕνεκα; ἐνὸς μὲν, ὅπως μηκέτι δοκῶν πολίτης εἶναι πάσχῃ τι τοιοῦτον, ἄλλ' ὡς δυνατὸν ἄλλοτρος γεγονώς· εἰτ', οἴμαι, καὶ τῆς τιμωρίας αὐτῆς τοῦτο μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δοκεῖ, τὸ μηδὲ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔτι φαίνεσθαι τοῦ προελθόντος εἰς τοῦτο κακίας, ἄλλ' ἤφανενθα παντελῶς, καθάπερ, οἴμαι, τὸ μὴ θάπτεσθαι τοὺς προδότας, ὅπως μηδὲν

1 καὶ ἡ μαρτυρία Cohoon: ἡ μαρτυρία κατ. 2 τοῦ Σαπραῖ: τὸ.

1 From the list of citizens; cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, 2.51.
2 The full form of the appellation would give the man’s name and the country of his origin, e.g. ‘Solon of Athens.’

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will suffer the same punishment as temple-robbers—just as many undoubtedly have already been put to death for such reasons—and they give them no more consideration because it is one of the nameless and very old statues they have mutilated. Then shall the city in its official capacity prove altogether worse and more contemptible in the treatment of its heroes?

Again, if a person comes in and says that some stranger or even citizen has stolen either a hand or a finger that he has taken from a statue, you will raise an outcry and bid him be put to the torture forthwith. Yet, even though the statue has been deprived of a hand or a spear, or a goblet if it happens to be holding one, the honour remains and the man who received the honour retains the symbol of his merits; it is the bronze alone that has suffered a loss. But when the inscription is destroyed, obviously its testimony has also been destroyed that the person in question is "considered to have shown himself worthy of approbation."

And so I now wish to tell you of a practice which I know is followed at Athens, and here too, I imagine, in accordance with a most excellent law. In Athens, for instance, whenever any citizen has to suffer death at the hands of the state for a crime, his name is erased first. Why is this done? One reason is that he may no longer be considered a citizen when he undergoes such a punishment but, so far as that is possible, as having become an alien. Then, too, I presume that it is looked upon as not the least part of the punishment itself, that even the appellation should no longer be seen of the man who had gone so far in wickedness, but should be utterly blotted out, just as, I believe, traitors are denied

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ἡ σημεῖον εἰς αὐτὸς ἀνδρὸς ποιημαθ. φέρε οὖν, ἐὰν εἰπῃ τις ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐεργετάσις τούτῳ γίγνεται παρ’ ὑμῖν, ὁ παρὰ πολλοίς ἔδος ἐστίν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακούργοις, ἃρ’ οὐ σφόδρα ἀληθεύετε; μὴ τοῖνυν ἀχθεσθῆτε τῷ νῦν αὐτῷ δοκοῦντε εἰρηκέναι· τοῦ γὰρ μηκέτε μηδ’ ἂει λέγεσθαι γένοιτ’ ἃν ὑμῖν αὑτοῖς.

Καὶ μὴν εἰάν τις ἐν μόνον ἐκχαράξῃ μῆμα ἀπὸ στήλης τινὸς, ἀποκτενεῖτε αὐτῶν, οὐκέτι ἔσται συνάσπεσε ὁ τι ἦν ἡ περὶ τόνος, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἐλθὼν οὐ τὰ δημόσια ὑμῖν γράμματα ἔστι, κεραίων νόμον τινὸς ἢ ψηφαίματος μιὼν μόνην συλλαβῇ ἔξαλεψειν, οὕτως ἔστε ὕσπερ ἄν εἰ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τι καθέλητι. οὐκοῦν ὁ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναιρῶν εἰκόνας τινὸς ἢττον τι ποιεῖ τοῦ τὴν στήλην ἀποχαράττοντος; καὶ μὴν ὅλον γε ἔξαλεψεῖ τὸ ψῆφισμα, καθ’ ὁ τὴν τιμῆν ἐκείνος ἔλαβε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄκυρον ποιεῖ τὸ ἑγγραμμένον. ἀλλ’ εἰ τις καταδικασθεὶς ὑπὲρ ὅτου δήποτε ἐπὶ τις διαδρασάμενος ἔξαλεψειν ἔστε, καταλύειν δόξει τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπεὶ δεινότερον ὑμῖν δοκεῖ τὸ ἔρμας τινὰ ἀπαιλάττειν αὐτὸν τοῦ τιμῆς ἀποστερεῖν ἅλλον.

1 τὸ added by Capps. 4 ἐπὶ Cohoon: καλ. 3 δόξει Pflugk: εὐδόκη.

1 This probably refers to a work of sculpture by Lysippus which represented the Sun-god standing in a four-horse chariot. The people of Rhodes, who highly honoured the Sun-god, were very proud of this sculpture. See also note on Helius in § 93, and cf. Dio Cassius (47. 33): "Cassius appropriated their
burial, so that in the future there may be no trace whatever of a wicked man. Come, therefore, if anyone says that in the case of benefactors the same course is followed in your city as is customary among many peoples in the case of evil-doers, will you not be exceedingly offended? Then do not be vexed at the man who seems to have given expression to this criticism on the present occasion, for you may find that he is to be thanked for its not being said again in the future or even always.

Again, if any one chisels out only one word from any official tablet, you will put him to death without stopping to investigate what the word was or to what it referred; and if anyone should go to the building where your public records are kept and erase one jot of any law, or one single syllable of a decree of the people, you will treat this man just as you would any person who should remove a part of the Chariot.\(^1\) Well then, does the man who erases the inscription on a statue commit a less serious offence than the man who chisels something off the official tablet? Indeed the fact is that he erases the entire decree by virtue of which that man received his honour, or rather he annuls the record of it. But if anyone who for any offence whatever is condemned to some punishment erases his own name secretly or by intrigue, he will be thought to be destroying the constitution. Accordingly, you think it a more serious matter for a person to free himself from punishment than to deprive another man of his honour!

ships, their money, and their sacred treasures except the chariot of the Sun\(^1\)—τὰς δὲ ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ ιερὰ πλῆν ντο ἄρματος τοῦ Ἡλίου παρευπάσατο ὁ Κάσσιος.
Οὐ τούτων οὖδὲ ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν ἁφετέοι, ἔπειτε τοὺς λόγους ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀσβεσματι ἐποιησάμην. ἐπιστασθε γὰρ σαφῶς ὦτι ἀπασα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἱερὰ, τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων πολλοὺς ἂν εὑροίτε τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱεροῖς ἐστηκότων τοῦτο πεποιηθάτας. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχαιοτάτους συμβέβηκε τούτους εἶναι, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν δὲν ἄν ἑκαστός ἐθέλῃ θεραπεύειν, ὡς ὃμων τιμῶντων, φιλοτιμεῖται τούτον ὡς κάλλιοτα ἐστάναι. καὶ τὶ δεῖ λόγων; οἷμαι γὰρ μηθένα 1 ἃν ἀντεπείν 2 ὦτι καὶ τῶν οὕτως κειμένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ 3 καθάπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ἔλεγον, οἱ πλείους εἰσὶ μετανομασμένοι, τινὲς δ', οἷμαι,

καὶ σφόδρα ἐγγὺς παρεστάτες τοῖς θεοῖς. ἐθ' ὅποι μηθὲ τοὺς κακῶν δρᾶσαντας ἐάνπερ καταφύγω- σιν ἐθος ἐστὶν ἁδικεῖν, τοὺς εὐεργέτας οὐ δεινὸν εὰν φαινόμεθα ἁδικοῦντες; καὶ τὴν ἀσυλίαν ἦν παρέχουσι τοῖς φαύλοις οἱ τοιοῦτοι τόποι, μόνοις, ὡς ἔουσ, τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς οὐ δυνήσονται παρέχειν; ἀλλ' εάν μὲν θυματήριον τις ἄλλαξῃ τῶν εὐδοκ. ἀνακειμένων 4 ἣ φιλήν, ἱερόσυλος οὐχ ἢττον

νομισθήσεται τῶν υφαιρομένων; εάν δὲ εἰκόνα ἄλλαξῃ καὶ τιμῆς, οὐ θέλειν ἄτοπον ποιεῖ; καίτοι καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας οὐχ ἢττον ἀναθήματα εἶπον τις ἃν εἶναι τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς: καὶ πολλοὺς

1 μηθένα Reiske: μηθέν UM, μηθὲν B.
2 ἃν ἀντεπείν Reiske: ἀντεπείν M, ἃν τι ποιεῖν UB.
3 καὶ μὴ Wilamowitz: μὴ καὶ M, μὴ UB.
4 ἀνακειμένουs Carrs: κειμένουs.

1 And hence share somewhat in their sanctity.
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Neither can I, furthermore, pass over another thing, inasmuch as I have based my argument on the assumption of an act of impiety. For you Rhodians are perfectly aware that, while the whole city is sacred, yet you will find that many of the statues which stand within your very sanctuaries have been subjected to this indignity. For it so happened that these are very ancient; and whenever one of your chief magistrates wants to flatter any person, he is always eager, carrying out the idea that you are giving the honour, to have him set up in bronze in the finest possible place. What need is there of words? For I suppose that no one would deny that even of the statues so placed, even though the facts do not exactly accord with the statement I made a moment ago, the greater number have had the names on them changed, and some, I believe, that stand very close indeed to the statues of the gods.¹ What then? Is it not outrageous if we shall be found to be wronging our benefactors in the very place where it is not the custom to wrong even those who have committed some evil deed, if they flee there for refuge? And are such places to be unable, as seems to be the case, to afford to good men alone the sanctuary they afford to worthless men? Nay, if anyone merely shifts from its position a censer or a goblet belonging to the treasures dedicated inside a temple, he will be regarded as guilty of sacrilege just as much as those who filch those sacred things; but if it is a statue and an honour that he shifts, does he do nothing out of the way? And yet any of us could say that the statues too are just as much votive offerings belonging to the gods, that is, the statues which stand in gods' sanctuaries; and one may see

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Δι’ ἂν τούτων πειράσονταί τινες τὸ πράγμα ἀποφαίνει ἑπεικεστερον, τῷ παντὶ χείρον ἀποδείξουσιν ὅταν λέγωσιν τοῖς σφόδρα ἀρχαῖοις καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τινὰς εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιγράφουσιν. εἰ γὰρ δοιχ τις αὐτῶς οὕτως τοῦτο ἔχειν, οὐκ ἂν εἴπομι τὸ πρόχειρον ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ποιοῦμαι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκείνων φημὶ δεῖν ἀπτεθαί. σκοπεῖτε γὰρ, ἀνδρεῖς Ἱοέω, τὴν αἰτίαν, δι᾿ ἣν εἰκὸς τελῆσαι τινὰς οὕτως. οὐ γὰρ ἐκλαθέσθαι γε οὐδὲ ὁκνήσαι τὸν ἱστάντα εἰκὸς οὐδὲ φείσωσθαι τῆς εἰς τοῦτο δαπάνης· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὐδεμία. λοιπὸν οὖν τῶν δύο βάτερον, ἣ τῷ σφόδρᾳ εἶναι τινὰς μεγάλους καὶ κατ’ ἀλλήλειαν ἦρωας οὐκ ὄφοντο δεῖν ἐπιγράφειν, ὡς ἂν ἀπαστὶ γυνωρίμους ὄντας, ἠγούμενοι

1 Arnim suspected a lacuna after ἐπιγράψῃ.

1 I.e., the private ones as contrasted with those set up by the state.
2 On the coast of Asia Minor north-west of Smyrna. The man of Cymē was Aristodicus, the nestlings were sparrows; cf. Herodotus 1. 169.
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many of them inscribed to that effect; for instance, "So-and-so set up a statue of himself (or of his father, or of his son) as dedicate to a god" (whatever god it might be). Hence, if one removes the name of the person so honoured from any of the other dedications and inscribes the name of a different person, are we to say that the person now in question is alone not guilty of impiety? Apollo would not allow, as you know, the man of Cymê to remove the nestlings from his precinct, saying that they were his suppliants.

Moreover, the arguments by which some persons will attempt to make the practice appear more consistent with honour will prove it to be in every way less creditable: for instance, when they say that it is the very old statues that they misuse and that some of them also bear no inscriptions. Well, if one were inclined to concede to them that this is the case, I should not make the obvious retort, that, after all, I am at present speaking about those which do bear inscriptions; on the contrary, I maintain that they have no right to touch those others either. As for my reasons, just consider, men of Rhodes, what the motive was which in all probability led in certain cases to the statues being set up uninscribed. For it is not reasonable to suppose that the man who set them up merely overlooked this matter, or hesitated to inscribe the names, or wanted to save the expense of an inscription; for there was no expense. There remains, consequently, one of two possible reasons: in the case of some, since they were very great men indeed and in very truth heroes, it was considered unnecessary to add an inscription, in the thought that the statues would be recognized by everybody and because it was believed that, on
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

diὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τότε οὕσης δόξης εἰς ἄπαντα καὶ τὸν αὐθικὸς χρόνον παραμενεῖν τὸ ὄνομα. ἦ τῷ τῶν ἡμιθεῶν ἡ καὶ θεῶν ὄντας ὕστερον ἄγνοηθήναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον. τοὺς γὰρ θεοὺς ἐπιγράφειν οὐκ ἔστω ἔθος· ὡς ἔγνωκε οὐκ ἀπελπίζω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς εἶναι τοιούτους. ἐν γοῦν Θήβαις Ἀλκαῖος ἀνάκειται τις, διὸ 'Ἡρακλέα φασίν εἶναι, πρότερον οὕτω καλούμενον· καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἔλευσινίου μῦστον παιδὸς εἰκών οὐκ ἔχουσα ἐπιγραφήν· κάκεινον εἶναι λέγονσιν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ παρ' ἐτέρους οἴδα πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἡμιθέων, τοὺς δὲ Ἱρώνων, ἀνδριάντας, οἶον Ἀχιλλεώς, Σαρπιδώνος, Θησεώς, διὰ τοῦτο ἀρχῆθεν οὐκ ἐπιγραφέντος καὶ Μέμνονος ἐν Δηνύττῳ κολοσσὸν εἶναι τοιούτουν λέγονσιν. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐνίων μὲν ἡ δόξα παρέμεινε καὶ διεφύλαξε τὴν φήμην ὁ χρόνος· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πάντων συνηνέχθη δι' ἣν δῆτος' οὐν αὐτῶν. οὐκοῦν καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τινὰς τοιούτους. οἶον οὖν ἔστω 'Ἡρακλέους ἡ Τηλαπόλεμον φέρ' εἰπέων ἡ τῶν Ἡλίου παιδῶν τινὸς ἀνδριάντα διδόναι τῷ δεῖν, χρηστῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τιμῆς ἀξίων· πάντες γὰρ ἐστωσαν, οὗ η ἄποισ θεραπεύει, τοιοῦτοι,
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account of the surpassing glory then ¹ attaching to these men, their names would remain for all future time; or else because the persons honoured, being the sons of certain demi-gods or even of gods, had later through lapse of time been forgotten. For it is not the custom to put inscriptions on the statues of the gods, so that I rather expect that some of the others, too, are in this class. In Thebes, for example, a certain Alcacus ² has a statue which they say is a Heracles and was formerly so called; and among the Athenians there is an image of a boy who was an initiate in the mysteries at Eleusis and it bears no inscription; he, too, they say, is a Heracles. And in various other places I know of many statues, some of which repre-
sent demi-gods and others heroes, as, for example, Achilles, Sarpedon,³ Theseus, which for this reason had not been inscribed from the first; and they say there is in Egypt a colossal statue of Memnon similarly uninscribed.⁴ But in the case of some of them their glory has remained and time has guarded their fame; but for some reason this did not happen in the case of all of them. Therefore, among you also it is not impossible that there are some like these. So you might, for instance, be giving a statue of Heracles, or, let us say, of Tlepolemus,⁵ or of one of the children of Helius,⁶ to So-and-so, no doubt an excellent man and deserving of honour. For even supposing all are such whose favour the city seeks to win—and

sentenced Sesostris. After Cambyses cut the statue in two, the lower part, which remained on its base, emitted a musical sound at sunrise.

³ Son of Heracles and King of Argos. Slain by Sarpedon.
⁵ The Sun-god, the son of Hyperion and Thea, worshipped in many parts of Greece and especially in Rhodes; see § 86, note 1. One of his sons was Phaethon.
καὶ δεῖ γε εὑχεσθαι πάντας εἶναι χριστοῦς, μάλιστα
dὲ τοὺς ἡγουμένους. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὁμοιοπόθεν; οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ φήσαιεν ὅλγον αὐτῶν ἑλάστους ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ κἂν φοβηθεῖεν εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον. ἄρ' ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τούτων ἄρχομένως, λέγω δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἑχόντων τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπὶ πάντας μεταφέρειν, ἥ σφόδρα εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων φευστεῖν;

94 Καίτω τὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχαίοτητος ὁμοίων ἐστιν ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ τις λέγοι μηδὲ τους τυμβωρυχοῦντας τοὺς σφόδρα παλαιόν τάφους μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν, ότι μηδὲς αὐτοὶς προσήκει μηδὲν ἵσμεν ὁτινές εἶσον. ὁ μὲν οὖν τάφος οὐκ ἔστι σημείων ἁρετῆς, ἀλλ' εὐπορίας, οὓδε ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι κειμένους ὡς ἦσαν ἀγαθοί, πλὴν εἰ μὴ γε δημοσία τις φαίνοντο τεθαμμένος, ὅπερ, οὕμαι, τρόπον τινά τούτωι συμβέβηκεν. ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν δὴ ἀνδραγαθίαν δίδοται καὶ διὰ τὸ ὁδέαν τινὰ πρότερον γενναίον ὧτι γὰρ οὗδεὶς ἑστάθη τούτων ἄλοις κλέπτων οὗδε μοιχεύων, οὐκ ἄδηλον ἕστων. οὔδε γε ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχόντων, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶδον τε ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις.

95 "Οτι τοίνυν καὶ θείας τινὸς δυνάμεως καὶ προνοίας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, οἱ τοιοῦτοι μετέχουσιν, ἐπ᾿ ὃ ποῦ ἄρα τούτως ἐστὶν; οὐκ ἔτη τοῦτοι παραβουλοῦσιν, ἐπ᾽ ὃ ποῦ ἄρα τούτως ἐστὶν; οὐκ ἔτη τοῦτοι παραβουλοῦσιν, ἐπ᾽ ὃ ποῦ ἄρα τούτως ἐστὶν.

1 δὲ added by Reiske.
2 dia τὸ Casaubon: δεὶ M, δὴ τῷ UB.

1 For example, in Athens graves which lay in a circumscribed portion of the Outer Ceramicus could be assumed to hold the bones of soldiers who had died in war or of statesmen who had
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we may well pray that they may all be good men, and especially your rulers—yet they are not the equals of those great men of the past. How could they be? Not even the men themselves would maintain that they are only a little inferior to them; nay, they would actually be afraid to make any such claim. Does it seem to you from the arguments which have been advanced that you should choose to begin with those statues—I mean with those which have no inscription—and extend the practice to all, or that you should very decidedly spare all of that kind?

And yet, after all, this plea of ignorance and of antiquity is about the same as if a person should say that those who rifled the very old tombs do no wrong, on the ground that no one of the dead is related to them and we do not even know who they are. No, the tomb is rather an indication, not of its occupant’s excellence, but of his affluence; nor can we say of those who rest in sepulchres that they were good men, except where there is evidence in a particular case that the person had received burial by the state,¹ just as I suppose happened to those men in a sense. But the statue is given for distinguished achievement and because a man was in his day regarded as noble. For that no one of these men was given a statue who had been convicted of theft or adultery is perfectly clear; nor was the award made for ordinary performances, but for the very greatest possible deeds.

Again, because men such as these also share in a sort of divine power and purpose, one might say, I wish to tell of an incident that happened in the case

been honoured by the state; cf. Thucydides 2. 34. 5 and Judeich, Topographie von Athen,² pages 400 ff.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀνδριάντος τι βούλομαι γεγονός εἶπεῖν. Θεαγένης ἢν Θάσιος ἀθλητής· οὗτος ἐδόκει ῥώμη διενεχέειν τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν, καὶ δὴ σὺν ἐτέρους πολλοῖς καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι τρίς εἰλήφει στέφανον. ὥσ δ' ἔπαισατο καὶ ἤκεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος παρακμάσαντος ἢν ἄνηρ οὐδενὸς χείρων περὶ τὰ κοινά, ἄλλα ὡς οἶν τε ἀριστος. ἐντεῦθεν, ὅπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἔχθραν των προήλθε τῶν πολιτευμένων. ὥ δὲ ζωτὶ μὲν ἐφόνει μόνων, τελευτήσαντος δὲ πράγμα πάντων ἀνοητότατον καὶ ἀσεβέστατον ἔποιει· τὸν γὰρ ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐστώτα ἐν μέση τῇ πόλει νῦκτωρ ἐμαστίγον· τοῦτον οὖτος ἐπεὶ τῶν νεφελήσαντος αὐτῷ κινηθείς ποτε ἐκ τῆς βάσεως ἠκολούθησεν ἀμα τῇ μάστυγι καὶ κτεῖνε τὸν ἄνδρα· νόμου δὲ οὗτος καταποντίζειν κρίνεται, εάν τι τῶν ἀφύχων ἐμπεσόν ἀποκτείνῃ τινά, οἱ τοῦ τεθνεώτος προσήκοντες αἴροντι δίκη τοῦ ἄνδριάντα καὶ κατεπόντωσαν. λοιμοῦ δὲ συμβάντος, ὡς φασί, χαλεπωτάτου, καὶ τῶν Θασίων οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ λήξαι δυναμένων τῆς νόσου, καὶ τελευταίον χρωμένων, τοὺς φυγάδας αὐτοῖς ἀνείπε

1 κρίνεται Selden: κρίνοντας M, κρίνοντος UB.

1 Pausanias (6. 11) says that Theagenes showed quite unusual strength even as a boy, for when he was only nine years old, on his way home from school one day he took the bronze statue of one of the gods which was standing in the market-place and carried it home on his shoulder. As an athlete he was said to have won 1,400 crowns in all.

100
of a statue. Theagenes was a Thasian athlete. He was thought to surpass in physical strength the men of his own day, and in addition to many other triumphs had won the victor’s crown three times at Olympia. And when he gave up competing and returned to his native city, thenceforth, though his body was past its prime, he was a man inferior to none in the affairs of his country, but was, so far as a man may be, a most excellent citizen. For that reason, probably, he incurred the enmity of one of the politicians. And although while he lived, the other man merely envied him, yet after the death of Theagenes the other committed a most senseless and impious act; for under cover of night he would scourge the man’s statue, which had been erected in the centre of the city. Consequently, whether by accident or because some divinity was incensed at him, the statue at one time moved from its base and, following the lash back, slew the man. And since there was a law which required, in case any inanimate object should fall upon a person and cause his death, that they should first give it a trial and then sink it in the sea, the relatives of the dead man got judgment against the statue and sank it in the sea. And then, when a most grievous pestilence broke out, so they say, and the people of Thasos, being unable in any way to get rid of the plague, finally consulted the oracle, the god announced to

3 Apparently the lash became entwined about the statue so that when the man jerked to free it, he pulled the statue over.
4 Like Draco’s law in Athens, according to Pausanias, i.e. Cf. Eusebius (Praeparatio Evangelica 5. 34) who quotes the exact words from Oenomaus, who probably got them from Callimachus’ Πείρα ὕσυμων (On Contests); Favorinus in Dio 37. 20 ff.; Lucian, Assembly of the Gods 12.
κατάγειν ὁ θεός. ὡς δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν ἢν ἀπάντων κατελημονοῦν, τρωμένοις αὖθις λέγεται τῇ Πυθίαιν οὐτῶς ἀνείπειν:

Θεαγένους δ’ ἐλάθεσθε ἐνὶ ψαμάθουσι πεσόντος· κεῖθε νῦν ὃ πρὶν μυριάεθος ἄνηρ.

ο καὶ δὴλον ὦτι καὶ τὸ πρῶτον οὐχὶ τῶν φιγῶν ἐνεκ’, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἐχρήσθη καὶ τὸ συμβάν οὐ δὲ ἀλλην τώ ἐλτίαν ἐγένετο.

98 Καὶ μηδεῖς ἑκένω ὑπολάβη.
Τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀφανίζομεν ἢ ῥητοῦμεν;

'Ἀλλ’ ἀτυμάζετε ἑκένους ὃν εἶσι, καὶ ἀφαιρείσθε τοὺς ἑχοντας, ὅπερ καὶ τότε ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ οὐκ εἰκός ἢν φροντίσαι αὐτῶν. μὴ τούνυν τοῦ Θασίου μὲν ἠγεῖσθε ὑβρισθέντως οὔτως ἀγανακτήσαι τὸ δαιμόνιον, τῶν δὲ παρ’ οὗν τετεμμεμένων μηδένα θεοφιλὴ εἶναι μηδὲ ἡρωα.

99 Οὐ τούνυν οὖδὲ τοῦτο ἔστων εἰπὲιν ὅπως οὐκ ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἐχθραν ὑπ’ ἐνίων τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἐὰν ἀρὰ τύχῃ τις τῶν στρατηγοῦντων μισῶν των τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν. τὸ γοῦν τοῦ Θεαγένους ἄκηκοςε ὡς συνεβή διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν ξηλοτυπίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας. καὶ γὰρ εἶ νῦν εἰπ’ μόνοις

1 κατελημονοῦν Cohon : ἀπελθώσων.
2 ἐνεκ’, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον Cohon : ἐνεκα τοῦτο.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

them that they should "restore the exiles." When all who were in exile had returned and no improvement came, and the Thasians consulted the god again, the story is that the Pythian priestess gave them the following reply:

"Him that did fall in the ocean's deep sands you now have forgotten,
Even Theagenes staunch, victor in myriad games." ¹

These lines make it evident both that the oracle was not delivered in the first place for the exiles' sake but for Theagenes', and also that what afterwards happened ² had been due to no other cause.

And let no one interrupt and say:
"What of it? Do we make away with our statues or throw them aside?"

No, but you are dishonouring the men whose statues they are and you are robbing their rightful owners, just as the god felt on the occasion to which we refer, since it is not reasonable to suppose that it was the image of bronze about which he was troubled. Do not, therefore, think that, although the god was so indignant at the insult shown to the Thasian, no one of those who have been honoured in your city is dear to Heaven or that none is a hero.

Neither can we be so sure, moreover, that such treatment might not be brought about by some persons through hatred, I mean if it so happens that one of your chief magistrates has a grudge against any of his predecessors. You have heard how the Theagenes incident, at any rate, grew out of political envy and jealousy. For even if they urge that now they

² The outbreak of the plague.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

τοῖς παλαιοίς αὐτό φασί ποιεῖν, χρόνου γε προϊόντος, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ πάντων ἄει συμβαίνει τῶν φαύλων ἑδῶν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλέον προελθεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ οὔτ' αἰτιάσασθαι οἶον τε, ἐπ' αὐτῷ γε ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος.

Νὴ Δὴ, ἄλλα κωλύσουσιν οἱ προσήκοντες.

Ἐὰν οὖν ἀπόντες ἡ ἀγνοήσαντες τύχωσιν, ὅταν γνώσι, τί ποιήσομεν; ἅρα γε δεησι τοῦτον ἐκχαράττειν πάλιν, δόν ἂν φθάσῃ τις ἐπιγράψῃς;

100 Πάνω τούτων ὄντος ἄτόπος τῷ γιγνομένῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνεβοῦ, ἦττον ἂν δεινὸν ἦν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοιαύτην πρόφασιν συνέβαινε, δός οὖν τινὲς φασι, ὡς ἀπολογούμενοι περὶ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ἀργύριον πράττειν ὅτι οὗ τῶν ἄλλως αὐθερίων ἀπαντεῖς αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦνται τοῦ καθ' ἐτέραν τινὰ αἰτίαν. ὅταν οὖν προβαλλόμενοι τὴν δαπάνην καὶ τὸ δὲν ἀναλίσκεις εἰ ποιήσασθε ἑτέρους ἀνδριάντας, ἀξιόθεν παρατίθεμεν τὸ πράγμα, δῆλον ὅτι μεῖξον τὸ ὅνειδος κατασκευάζουσιν, εἰ χρημάτων ἑνεκα, δόξητε, καὶ ταῦτα πλουτοῦντες, ὡς οὔδενες ἄλλοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων.

101 Καὶ τοι τῇ δήποτε ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν οὔθεν ἐγέλυνε τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν πλείονα ἢ νῦν ἔχετε ὑμεῖς; ὅτι γὰρ οὔθ' ἢ νῆσος χελών γέγονε καὶ τὴν Καρίαν καρποῦσθε καὶ μέρος τῆς Δωρίας καὶ πόλεις ὑποφόρους κέκτησθε, καὶ

1 εἰ ποιήσασθε Wilamowitz: ἥ ποιήσασθαι.
2 δόξητε Arnim: δόξουσι.

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1 Cf. §§ 140–142.
2 That is, of the στρατηγὸς; cf. § 133.
follow this practice only in the case of the old statues, yet as time goes on, just as ever happens in the case of all bad habits, this one too will of necessity grow worse and worse.\(^1\) The reason is that it is utterly impossible to call the culprit to account because the whole business from first to last lies in his\(^2\) hands.

"Yes, by heavens," you say, "but the kinsmen will certainly put a stop to it."

Well then, if the kinsmen happen to be absent or to have had no knowledge of the matter, what do we propose to do when they do learn of it? Will it be necessary to chisel out again the man's name which someone has been in a hurry to insert?

Again, since this practice is quite improper, or impious rather, it would be less of an outrage if it were not done under the pretext which some offer by way of excusing the city. For everybody considers it a greater disgrace to do for money anything whatsoever that is in other respects disgraceful, than to do it for any other reason. So when they put forward as a plea the cost and the necessity of going to heavy expense if you shall ever undertake to make another lot of statues, and thus seek to condone the practice, it is clear that they make the reproach all the worse, since men are going to think that you are doing a wrong thing for the sake of money, and that too although you are rich, richer than the people of any other Hellenic state.

And yet why, pray, did not something like this happen in the time of your ancestors, seeing that they had no more wealth than you now possess? For you must not suppose that anyone is unaware that your island has not deteriorated, that you draw revenue from Caria and a part of Lycia and possess
χρήματα άει πολλά ύπο πολλών ἀνατίθεται 1 τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῶν πρώτερον οὐδεὶς ἀϕήρηται, μηθένα νομίζετε ἄγνωστων.

102 Καὶ μὴν οὖδὲ δαπανᾶν φήσετε τῶν 2 τότε μᾶλλον, τότε μὲν γὰρ εἰς πάνθον ὤσα καὶ νῦν ἀνηλίκετο, πανηγύρεις, πομπάς, ἱερουργίας, εἰς τὰ τεχνήν, τοῖς δικάζοντι, τῇ βουλῇ. νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πρώτερον. τὰς γὰρ εἰς τῶν πόλεων δαπάνας σχεδὸν τὶ συνεχῶς αὐτῶν πολεμοῦντων καὶ οπάνων, εἰ ποτὲ, ἀναπαυομένων, οὐκ ἐν συμβάλλειν, οἷμαι, τοῖς ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεγυμόνειος

103 ἀναλώμασιν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίων ἐκατόν νεῶν ἥ καὶ πλειόνων στόλον ἀποστείλαμι καὶ πάλιν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριάκοντα ἑτέρων, καὶ τούτου ἐσθ᾽ ὦτε μὴ καταλύειν τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων ἑτῶν· οὐδὲ συνεχῶς τριήρεις πλεῖν, οὐ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας, ἀλλ' ὦτε μὲν εἰς Αἰγυπτίου, ὀτε δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἑβρεῖν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ὡκεανῷ· οὐδὲ ξένους στρατιώτας τρέφειν τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὴν χώραν φυλάττοντας, καὶ δ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἰδεῖν ἔστι, μηθ' καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐναυτὸν ἦ δυσών ἀφράκτους ἀπαντῶν

104 εἰς Κόρινθον. καὶ λέγω ταῦτα οὐκ ονειδίζων οὐδὲ τῶν προγόνων ὡμᾶς χείρονας ποιῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι μὴ δύνασθε ταῦτα πράττειν ἑκεῖνοι,

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1 ἀνάτιθεται Dindorf: ἀνατίθεται.
2 τῶν added by Wilamowitz.

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1 According to Kromayer (Philologus N.F., X, p. 479 f.) the first two numbers are too high. In the year 42 B.C. the Rhodians could find only 33 ships with which to meet Cassius'
tribute-paying cities, that large sums of money are continually being entrusted to your commonwealth by many men, and that none of the earlier depositors has withdrawn anything.

Furthermore, you will not claim that you have heavier expenses than had the men of those earlier times, since in that period there were expenditures for every purpose for which they are made now—for their national assemblies, sacred processions, religious rites, fortifications, jury service, and for the council. But in these days the heaviest outlays of those borne in earlier times do not exist. For instance, their expenditures for war, seeing that they were almost continually at war and rarely, if ever, had a respite, are, in my opinion, not to be brought into comparison with those which are made in times of peace. Indeed, it was not the same thing at all to send out an expedition of one hundred ships or even more, and again, one of seventy and then a third of thirty others,¹ and then sometimes not to disband this expedition for three or four years; or for warships to sail continuously, not merely across to Cyprus and Cilicia, but sometimes to Egypt and at other times to the Black Sea and finally on the Ocean itself, or to keep mercenary soldiers to garrison the forts and the country—it is not possible to compare all that with what may now be seen in our time, when you appear with merely one or two undecked ships every year at Corinth. I say all this, not by way of reproaching you, nor to show that you are inferior to your ancestors; for it is not because you are unable to match their deeds, but because the

80. He says that they never sent more than 20 ships to help the Romans. See also § 113.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀλλ' ὅτι καιρὸς οὐκ ἦστε τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν εἰρήνῃ διάγετε. δὴ λοια γὰρ ὃς κάκεινοι ¹ μᾶλλον ἐβούλοντο μὴ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐπόνουν, ἵνα καταστῇ ποτὲ τὰ πράγματα: πλὴν ὅτι γε οὐκ ἦσαν ὑμῶν ἀνήλισκον. ἵνα γὰρ τάλα αὕτη τις, τὸ τῶν νεφρῶν, τὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν, τὸ τῶν μηχανπάτων, δ' ² νῦν εἶπον, αὐτὸ δὴ τούτο τὸ τῶν τεχνῶν οὐκ ἦστε ὁμοιοι, ὡς ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἐπισκευάζεται. καὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ θεῖος ἐπιμελείας θή τις μὴ διαφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τοι σχολὴ γίνεται καὶ κατ' ὀλγὸν καὶ ὑπνίκα τὸς βούλεται· τότε δὲ οὐκ ἢν αὐτὰ μὴ ἐστάναι. καὶ νῦν μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν δοκιμασθήσομεν οὐκοδομεῖται, τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

105 εἶτε· οὔ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἦστε εἰπέτειν ὡς πλείονας τιμᾶτε· τὸ γὰρ πλῆθος αὐτὸ δηλοὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκεῖνων τοῦ χρόνου κειμένων ἀνθρώπων. χωρὶς δὲ τοῦτο τὸς ἅν εἴποι πλείοις εἶναι τοὺς νῦν φίλοις μουμουμένους περὶ τὴν πόλιν;

Νὴ Δία, ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τοὺς ἠγεμόνας τιμῶν ἄπαντας.

Τῇ δ', οὐχὶ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ Μυτιληναίοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους θεραπεύοντων; ἀλλ' ὑμῶς ὅταν δόξη τινὰ στήσαι χαλκοῦν, ἱστάσε καὶ τῆς εἰς τούτῳ δαπάνης εὔποροῦσιν. καὶ μὴ νῦν τὸν ήδη ἠκούσα 'Ροδίου λέγοντος· οὐχ ὑμῶν τὰ ἐκεῖνων καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ μόνον ὑπάρχειν τὴν

¹ κάκεινοι Pflugk: ἐκεῖνοι.
² δ' Reiske: α.
occasion for such things is past, that you live in uninter-
rupted peace. For it is clear that they too would have
preferred to keep out of danger, and that their object
in exerting themselves was in order to win security
in the end. The point I am making, however, is
that their scale of expenditures was not on as low a
level as yours. To pass over the other items, such
as your shipyards, the arms and armour, the war
engines, the mere upkeep of the walls, to which I
just made reference, as they are now kept up in your
time, is assuredly not comparable. For if one does
suppose that there is no difference in the care given
to them, yet, you see, they are kept in shape
in a leisurely fashion, a little at a time, and whenever
a magistrate so desires; but in former times they had
to be kept standing. And while now they are built to
be tested by yourselves, then they were to be tested
by the enemy. So much for that. Well then,
neither can it be said that the persons you honour are
more numerous; for the mere number of the statues
standing which date from that time reveals the truth.
And apart from that, who would say that those who
are zealous to serve the state are now more numerous
than then?

Oh yes! you may say, "but we simply must
honour the commanders who rule over us, one
and all."

What of it? Do not also the Athenians, Spartans,
Byzantines, and Mytileneans pay court to these
same? But nevertheless, whenever they decide to
set up in bronze one of these, they do so, and they
manage to find the cost. Indeed I once heard
a certain Rhodian remark—"The position of those
people is not comparable to ours. For all that they,
 Dio Chrysostom

ἐλευθερίαν δίχα Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τούτους δὲ μηδὲν μέγα κεκτήσατε: τὴν δὲ ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἐπίφθονον εἶναι παρὰ πάσιν, ὡς ἁριστα πράττουσαν: διόπερ αὐτὴ πλείοναν δεῖν τῶν εὐνοοῦντων. ἐτὶ δὲ μηδένα τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαφέρεσθαι παρὰ τούτῳ ἐστάναι, τῆς δὲ γε ἐνθάδε τιμῆς οὐκ ἄρελεῖν.

107 Ταύτα δὲ ἔστι μὲν ἄλληθ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀφειλετε ἀποστῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ τοῦ πράγματος. τοὺς τε γὰρ λόγου ἔχοντας ταύτης τῆς παρ’ ὑμῖν τιμῆς 1 εἰκὸς ἐστὶ μὴ παραπέμπειν μηδὲ τὸ 2 πῶς αὐτῆς τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἁμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν σκοπεῖν τοὺς τε ἐπίφθονον εἶναι τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς πόλεως ὁμολογοῦντας οὐκ εἰκὸς ἢν ὑπολογϊζεσθαι τὸ τῆς δαπάνης. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τοσοῦτοι διὰ τοῦτο πλείους τιμᾶτε τῶν ἄλλων ὥσι πλείονα κακελών κέκτησθε.

Καὶ μὴν τῶν γε αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ νῦν ποιεῖσθε εἰκόνας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν ἐπ’ αξιώματος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμᾶς λέγησαν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔστι τὸ τούτου ἱστασθαι τῶν τρόπων. ἂν γὰρ τίνας τιμήσῃς λοιπὼν, οὕτως αἰχθόν καὶ ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔργον διαπράττεσθαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπασιν ὁμοίως προσεφέρεσθε δίχα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, οὗκ ἂν οὕτως ἡλέγχεσθε. νῦν δ’ εἰσὶν οὐς αὐτοὺς 3 ἱστατε: ὡστε τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων

1 ταύτης and τιμῆς added by Capps, cf. schol. in U συνεξακουστέου τιμῆς, and superscript in T τιμῆς δηλοντί. εἰκόνας Wilamowitz.
2 τὸ Reiske : τοῦ.
3 αὐτοὺς Selden : αὐτοῖς.

1 That is, to the really important Romans whom the Rhodians wish to honour.

110
the Athenians excepted, possess is liberty and the Athenians have no great possessions either; but our city is the envy of all because it is the most prosperous, and consequently it needs a greater number of loyal friends. Furthermore, none of the Romans particularly cares to have a statue among those peoples, but they do not despise that honour here."

All this is true, and that is all the more reason why you should give up that practice. For we may reasonably assume that those who put any value upon having this honour in your city do not overlook the manner in which they get it, but at the same time take into consideration also the spirit in which you give it; and on the other hand, it would not be reasonable to assume that those who acknowledge that the wealth of their city arouses envy should take into account the matter of the expense. For assuredly you do not because of that consideration honour a greater number than do the other states in proportion to the relatively greater wealth which you possess.

And besides, even at this moment you are having statues made of the emperors and of other men also who are of high rank. For even you must have noticed that to be set up in your present way means nothing! ¹ Whom, then, do you think of honouring in the future that you continue a practice so shameful and so unworthy of your own selves? I ask this because, if you were treating everybody alike with the exception of the emperors, you would not be shown up as you are being at present. But as it is, there are persons for whom you do set up statues of themselves; consequently from these cases you make it evident to all the others that you are not really
ὁτί οὐ τιμᾶτε αὐτοὺς. εἰ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ
tῶν μηδὲν ἄν ὑφελησάντων εἰσὶν οὖτοι, τίνος
χάριν ἀσχημονεῖτε; ἢ τι βουλόμενοι τούτους
θεραπεύετε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐνόν ὑμῶν ἀλλας ἐπιμελεῖ-
σθαι; καὶ γὰρ ξένια πλείω καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς
ἐλευθέριον τοὺς πολλοὺς ἰκανόν, κἂν βελτίων ἢ
tις, ἐτι καὶ ψήφισμα ἢρκεσεν ἀπλοῦν, εἰτ' οὖν ἐἰς
tὸ πρωτανείον ἢ ἐἰς προεδρίαν ἐκλήθη. νυνὶ μὲν
γὰρ δοκεῖτε, ὥσπερ οἱ σφόδρα γέμοντες τῶν
ναυκλήρων καὶ χειμαζόμενοι διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκβολὴν
ποιεῖται τῶν ἀνδριάτων.

109 Καὶ τοι ἀφέν, εἰ τις ὑμῶν ἠλεγεν ὁς ἀρα ἀποδόςθαι
προσήκει τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν, ὡς εὐπορήσατε
χρημάτων, οὐκ ἔστων ὅπως οὐκ ἂν ἄν
ἀνδράποδον ἡγήσασθε εἰναὶ τὸν λέγοντα. 

µυν τοῖον αὐτὸ
tοῦτο ποιεῖτε: ὅσου γὰρ ἀνδριάς γένοντ' ἂν,
τοσοῦτον ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κερδαίνετε: πλὴν ὅτι
γε ἀυτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθε αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἔπ' ἐξαγωγῆ,
καθότερο, οἷµαι, τὰ σφόδρα ποιηρὰ ἀνδράποδα.
καθόλου δὲ εὐ ἰστε ὅτι μηδέν ἐστι τῶν τοιούτων
μέγα μηδὲ τίμιον ἀλλας, εἴ µὴ παρὰ τοὺς διδάκτας,
ἔαν διδώσων ὡς τοιοῦτον ὅν. εἰ δὲ τῶν ἄνω
ὁ τι ἂν θέλῃ τις ῥαδίως καὶ τῷ τυχόντι παρέχοιεν;
110 ταχὺ δόξει τοῦ μησεώς ἄξιον. διὰ τοῦτο σεμνο-
τέρον ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν κληθήναι εἰς προεδρίαν
ἀπαξ τῆς παρ' ἐτέροις εἰκόνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν

1 µηδὲν ἄν Post: µηδένα.
2 εἰτ' οὖν added by Post, ὃ by Soldan.
3 ἢ Cassaubon: εἰ UB, om. M. 4 ἢ added by Pflugk.
5 κερδαϊνετε Cassaubon: κερδανεὶτε UBT, κερδανεϊται M.
6 ὅν added by Capps, as in § 142. Cohoon would add δεί after ὅν.
7 παρέχοιεν Pflugk: παρέχειν.
8 παρ' ὑμῖν κληθήναι Empirius: κληθήναι παρ' ἐτέροις.
honouring them. And if these persons are commoners and could have rendered no service at all, what motive have you for this unseemly conduct? What is your object in courting the favour of those persons, and that too when it is possible for you to show your solicitude for them in other ways? For the fact is that for the commoners several gifts of friendship and lavish entertainment were sufficient; and if a person is of higher rank a simple decree in addition was enough, whether indeed he was invited to dine in the city hall or to take a seat of honour. For as things are, you give the impression that you are doing what ship-captns do whose vessels are heavily laden and consequently in danger of foundering—jettisoning your statues!

But come, consider: if anyone told you that it was better after all to sell the most of them in order to be well supplied with funds, you could not possibly help considering the speaker a base slavish sort of man. Yet this is just what you are doing now; for what a statue would cost to make is just so much gain for you; except that you are selling them to yourselves and not for export, just as you deport to foreign parts, I presume, your vilest slaves. But in general, you well know that there is nothing great or valuable in such gifts anyhow, except as it is in the givers—if they give it for what it is. But if a man makes a present from his own property of whatever any person wants, giving it carelessly and to any person that comes along, soon the gift will be looked upon as utterly valueless. For this reason it is a matter of greater pride to the recipient to be invited to a seat of honour just once in your city than to get a statue elsewhere. And a
καθημένους ἐπαινέσαι λαμπρόν· ἄλλοι δὲ οὐδὲ ἂν διαρραγώσι κεκραγότες οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἵκανῶς τιμᾶν.

Τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι στέφανον ἵστε δὴ πουθενεὶ ἐλάϊνον ὁμοτι, καὶ τοῦτον πολλοὶ προτετμήκασι τοῦ ἔτη, οὐχὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ φυομένης ἐλαίας ἔχουσις τι θαυμαστὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ ῥαδίως μηδ' ἐπὶ μικρῷ δίδοται. τοιγαροῦ ἐγγυστα, ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπισταθεὶ, τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τις οὕτω σφόδρα ἡττήθη τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ἐπεθύμησε τῆς ἐκεῖ νίκης ὅστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι πάρ' Ὡλείοις, καὶ τοῦτον ὄρον ἡγήσασθαι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας. εἶ δὲ γε πάντας ἐπιστέφανον τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἄφωνουμένους τῶν ἡγομένων, τῶν ἡμῶν, ἄν 1 ζηλοὺς ἡ ποῖαν ἐτὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὁ στέφανος; ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος γε 111 φασὶ μηδὲ τὸς ἐπιστολὰς λύειν, ὅσ ἂν γράψασι τῶν ἄθλητῶν τις συνιστάτες, πρὸ τοῦ ἀγωνίσηται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐδένα πῶς ποτὲ αὐτοῖς ἡνεχεί κύδυνον, ἄλλα τούναντίον τιμὴν καὶ ἐπανοὶ τῷ δοκεῖν ἂξιούς εἶναι βραβεύσει τὸν ἄγναν. μὴ γὰρ οἷοθε 'Ῥωμαίους ὀὐτῶς εἶναι σκαῖρους καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ὅστε μηδὲν 2 ἀἱρεῖσθαι τῶν ὥς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρων εἶναι μηδὲ καλὸν, ἄλλα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀνδραπόδων κρατεῖν.

112 Ἐλθα 'Ὡλείοι μὲν οὕτως ἄξιούσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν, οὐδὲν Πελοποννήσιων κατὰ γε τῶλα ἀμείνους ὄντες· ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς παρίοντας ὅσικατε,

1 ᾧ added by Arnim.
2 μηδὲν' Budo: μηδὲν UM, μήδενa B.

1 This emperor was Nero. See Dio Cassius 63. 14; Suetonius, Life of Nero 24.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

resolution of commendation voted by you from your seats in the assembly is a splendid distinction; but other peoples, even if they burst their lungs with cheering, seem not to show honour enough.

You doubtless know that the Olympian crown is of olive leaves, and yet this honour many people have preferred to life itself, not because there is anything wonderful about the olive that grows there, but because it is not given carelessly or for slight achievement. This explains why very recently, in our own time, one of the emperors, as you know, was so taken with this practice and was so eager to win the victory there that he actually competed at the Elean festival and considered this the height of happiness. But if it had been their custom to crown all the potentates that came to the spectacle, what emulation would the crown any longer have aroused and what sort of glory would it have won? On the contrary, they say that the Eleans do not even open the letters written by those who would recommend a particular athlete, until he has competed. And this has never brought upon them any risk of harm, but, on the contrary, honour and applause, because they are considered worthy to supervise the games. For you must not suppose that the Romans are so stupid and ignorant as to choose that none of their subjects should be independent or honourable but would rather rule over slaves.

Then again, whereas the Eleans, who are not superior in other respects to any of the other Peloponnesians, put so high a value upon their own position, are you Rhodians so afraid of all your

2 Casaubon thinks that some of the emperors would at times recommend an athlete, while Reiske thinks that other Romans in high position also did it.

115
καὶ ἕνα των μὴ στήσητε χαλκοῦν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οίεσθε ἀποβαλεῖν; ¹ ἀλλ' εἰ γε οὗτω σφόδρα ἐπισφαλῆς ἐστὶν ὡστε ἐκ τῆς τυχοῦσης προφάσεως περιαρεθῆναι, δουλεύειν ὡμίν τῷ παντὶ βέλτιον ἤδη. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τῷ σῶμα οὕτως ἐπικυνδύνως ἔχουσιν ὡστε μηκέτ' ἀνενεγκεῖν τεθνάναι κρεῖττον ἡ ξῆν. εἰ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἡ μὲν ἐκ τοσοῦτον χρόνου πίστις καὶ πρὸς τὸν δήμον εὔνοια τὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ κοινωνία πάσης τύχης οὐ δύναται βεβαιῶν τὴν πολιτείαν, οὐδὲ Μιθριδάτης καθαιρεθείς οὐδ' Ἀντίοχος, οὐδ' ἡ τῆς δολάτης ἀρχὴ παραδοθεῖσα διὰ πολλῶν κυνδύνων καὶ πόνων, οὐδ' οἱ πρὸ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν ὀρκοὶ τῆς φιλίας, οὐδ' αἱ παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν Δία στήλαι κείμεναι "μέχρι νῦν, οὐδ' ἡ μέχρι Ὄμεικανοῦ συγκυνδυνεύσασα δύναμις, οὐδ' ἡ τὸ τελευταῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄλοιπα πόλις, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα κολακεύσετε ἄγεννώς, πάντα ταῦτα ἀνατέρπαται, ὡς ἀεὶ προσδοκῶν ὀργήν τινα ἡ μῖσος, σφόδρα ύμῖν φαύλως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἰδρυσθεὶς ἰσχυροῦ. καὶ ἐγὼ γινεῖς φαῖνην ἄν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀκούσεσθε, κρεῖττον ύμῶν ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μέσην ¹¹₄ δουλεύοντας ἡ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλγύπτω καὶ Διβύη. τὸ

⁴ ἀποβαλεῖν Seldon: ἀποβάλλειν.

¹ At the time when Dio was speaking, whenever that was, Rhodes seems to have been a civitas libera et foederata, but in danger of losing that position.
² I. Q. xii, No. 58, says that Hermagoras, son of Phaenippus, as a prytanist gave expression to the εὐνοια
casual visitors that you think if you fail to set up some one person in bronze, you will lose your freedom. But if your freedom is in so precarious a state that it can be stripped from you on any petty pretext, it would in every way be better for you to be slaves forthwith. So too when men’s bodies are so dangerously ill that there is no longer hope for their recovery, death is better than life. Why, if your long-standing loyalty and good will toward that people, and your having shared with them every fortune, are unable to give your state security, nor yet the subjugation of Mithridates or of Antiochus, nor the command of the sea which you have delivered over to them at the cost of so many dangers and hardships, nor the vows of friendship taken so many years ago, nor the tablets which up to the present time have stood at the very side of your statue of Zeus, nor your mighty fleet, which has shared in their battles as far as the Ocean’s edge, nor finally, the capture of your city endured for their sake, yet if you omit to flatter ignobly this man and that man, all these things have come to naught—if this is your condition, so that you are always expecting some outburst of wrath or hatred, then your position is extremely wretched and rests upon no firm foundation. And I, for my part, would say, even at the risk of angering you, that slaves in the interior of Phrygia, and those in Egypt and Libya, fare better than yourselves. For it is less
good will) and πίστις (loyalty) of the state of Rhodes to Titus and his house, and to the senate and Roman people.

3 On these the treaty between Rome and Rhodes would be recorded.
4 See § 103 and note.
5 By Cassius in 42 B.C. See note on the Chariot § 86.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

gάρ ἀγνοεύμενον καὶ μὴ δοκοῦντα μηδένος ἄξιον
ποιεῖν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αἰσχρόν· τὸ δὲ οὕτως ὑπάρχοντος ἐπισήμους καὶ βασιμαξομένους παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκην ἐχεῖν ὁσπέρ τοὺς ἀγεννεῖς κῦνας σαίνειν τὸν παριόντα δεινὸν.

Φέρε τούνων, εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντας δέοι τιμῶν οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν θείῃ τις εἶναι περὶ τὴν πάλιν, πόσῳ κρείττον αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμα προσπερίηθαι τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος, ἐν', ἐὰν βούληται, στήριγμα παρ' ἐαυτῷ;

115 Νη' Δι', ἀλλ' αἰσχρόν, εἰ τοσοῦτον στενοχωρίων ὀμολογήσομεν, καὶ Ῥοδίων οὐκ ἄξιον.

Καίτοι 2 τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰς φρονῶν ἐλοίτο πένης δοκεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ποιηρός; ἢ τὸ νυνὶ γεγυμνωμένον ἔττον ὦμην δοκεῖ τινος αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, τὸ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ὑμῶν δύνασθαι των διηγεῖσθαι, καθάπερ τὰς οἰκίας, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἢν αὐτὴ τοῦ δείνος, νῦν δὲ τοῦ δείνος γέγονεν, ἢν δ' οὕτως τελευτήσῃ, πάλιν ἔσται τοῦ κληρονομήσαντος ἢ τοῦ πριμένου; καίτοι τὴν εἰκόνα οὐκ ἔστων οὐδενὶ δικαιῶς μεταβείναι, καθάπερ τὴν οἰκίαν.

116 Ἡδὲ τούνων ἥκουσά τι 3 καὶ τοιοῦτον τινός ἀποσχεδιάζοντος, ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἐτέρωσ ἰδεῖν ἔστι τοῦτο γεγυμνομένον· πάλιν δὲ ἐτέρου, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ πράττεται νῦν, οἷς οὐκ

1 οὕτως Wilamowitz: ὅπως.
2 καίτοι Carra: καλ.
3 ἥκουσά τι Valesius: ἥκουσε.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

shameful that a man who is unknown and thought to be utterly without desert should resort to any and every expedient; but that a people so distinguished as yourselves and so admired throughout the world should be constrained like low-bred curs to fawn upon every passer-by, is scandalous.

Come then, tell me this: Suppose that it should be necessary to honour all the world in this fashion and that we should assume the city to be in desperate financial straits, how much better it would be to send the simple decree in which the statue is voted to each man so honoured, in order that, if he chooses, he may set it up at his own expense!

"Good heavens!" you exclaim, "but it would be a disgrace if we are to admit such straightened circumstances, and beneath the dignity of the people of Rhodes!"

And yet what person in his right mind would not prefer to be thought poor rather than unprincipled? Or does the present situation seem to you in a less degree disgraceful than any other—that a person is able to describe your statues in the same way as your houses, saying that this one used to belong to So-and-so but that now it has come into the hands of So-and-so; and when the present owner dies it will in turn belong to whoever has inherited it—or who buys it? And yet it is not possible for any right-minded man to transfer the ownership of a statue as he does that of a house.

Well, I once heard a man make an off-hand remark to the effect that there are other peoples also where one can see this practice being carried on; and again, another man, who said that even in Athens many things are done now which any one, not without
ἀπεικότως ἄν τις ἐπιπλήξευεν, οὐ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς· οὐ γε τὸν δεία
μὲν Ὀλυμπίων κεκλήκασιν οὐδὲ φύσει πολίτην
ἐαυτῶν, Φοίνικα δὲ ἀνθρωπόν οὐκ ἀπὸ Τύρου καὶ
Σιδῶνος, ἄλλ᾽ ἀπὸ κόμης τινὸς ἡ τῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ
tαύτα πιπτούμενον τοὺς βραχίωνας καὶ περιδήματα
φοροῦντα· τὸν δεία δὲ τὸν εὐχερῆ λίιν ποιητήν,
ὁς καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ποτὲ κανθάδε ἐπεδείξατο, οὐ
μόνον χαλκοῦν ἐστάκασιν, ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ Μένων-
δρον. λέγειν δὲ εἰώθασιν οἱ διασύροντες τὴν
πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Νικάνορος
εἰκόνος, ὡς ¹ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἐκνήσατο.

117 ἔγει δ᾽ εἰ μὲν τις ἡ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιτιμῶν
λέγει ταύτα, καὶ δεικνύς οὐκ ἄνταξας ἄξιοὺς τοὺς
ἐνοικοῦντας τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ τῆς δόξης, ἂν οἱ
πρῶτοι γενόμενοι κατέληπτον, ἡ καθόλου τὴν
Ἐλλάδα ἐλεύθερον εἰς ὁ πέτυχεν, ὅταν τουαῦτα
πράττωσιν οἱ χρόνον τινὰ δόξαντες αὐτῆς προεστά-
ναι, καλῶς αὐτὸν ἤγονμαι λέγειν· εἰ δ᾽ ὅτι προσ-
ήκει μηδ᾽ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν μέγα φρονεῖν μηδ᾽ ἐκείνων

¹ ὡς Post: ὅσ.

¹ Cf. Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana 8, 7: τοὺς
Ολυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιάδε ἐπωνυμίας ἐθέτο ('Ἀθηναίοι).
² On this meaning of εὐχερῆς, the opposite of δυσχερῆς
'finical', 'fastidious', 'particular', see Shorey Classical
and Hist. Anim. 595 a 18: ὃς εὐχερέστατον πρὸς πᾶσαν τροφὴν
ἔστων. The glutton and the pig are typical of this quality,
and Dio obviously so characterizes this poet.
³ Pausanias (1. 21. 1) says: "The Athenians have statues
of their writers of Tragedy and of Comedy set up in their
theatre, mostly mediocrities, for except Menander, there is
no writer of Comedy of outstanding ability." The inscribed
basis of Menander's statue, found in the theatre, is extant:
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

justice, could censure, these being not confined to ordinary matters, but having to do even with the conferring of honours. "Why, they have conferred the title of 'Olympian'," he alleged, upon a certain person he named, "though he was not an Athenian by birth, but a Phoenician fellow who came, not from Tyre or Sidon, but from some obscure village or from the interior, a man, what is more, who has his arms depilated and wears stays"; and he added that another, whom he also named, that very slovenly poet, who once gave a recital here in Rhodes too, they not only have set up in bronze, but even placed his statue next to that of Menander. Those who disparage their city and the inscription on the statue of Nicanor are accustomed to say that it actually bought Salamis for them. But I, for my part, if any one makes these statements either to reproach the Athenians and to show that its present inhabitants are not worthy of it or of the glory which the Athenians of old bequeathed to them, or to express in a general way a feeling of commiseration for Hellas, that she has fallen so low an estate, when such acts are committed by a people who for a time were regarded as the foremost of the race, I believe he is right; but if it is his thought that you also should be lacking in pride

I.G. II², 3777. Friedländer (Silbenschatz des Roms, Vol. 3, p. 224) says that this poet may have been Q. Pompeius Capito, who also appeared as an improvisator.

Pausanias (2. 8. 6) says that Aratus of Sicyon (not Nicanor) persuaded Diogenes, Macedonian commandant of the Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium, to surrender them for 150 talents, and that of this sum he himself contributed one sixth for the Athenians. Nicanor of Stageira, a friend of Cassander, captured the Peiraeus in 319 B.C.
κρείττον, ούκ ἔχω τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀναισθη-
σίας εὑπείν τοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος. οὐ γὰρ ὁν
tρόπον τὰ καλῶς παρ’ ἑτέρους γινόμενα πᾶσιν
ἔθος ἔστι λέγειν ζῆλον καὶ προτροπῆς ἐνεκεν,
όμως καὶ φαίλον τι πράττηται παρ’ ἄλλοις,
δεῖ τοῦτο μνημονεύειν, ὡστε μιμεῖσθαι, τοῦντιν
δὲ ὕπερ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι καὶ ἡ λαθεῖν εἰς τὶ
tοιοῦτον ἔμπεσόντας. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶν
τις ἐκείνους ταῦτα ἐλεγε καὶ μηδὲν χείρονος
δόξης ἀποφαίνων ἐπιτυγχάνοντας, ἢ μὲν ἂν
δῆτονδε εὐθρῆς, μάλλον δὲ ἀναισθής. πλὴν κατὰ
γε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην οὐ 1 παρείχε τωλ ἀφορμὴν
tοῖς ἀμαρτάνειν βουλομένους. εἰ δὲ ὁσ αὐτοχρᾶ
καὶ ὅνειδη πάντες αὐτὰ προφέρουσι καὶ οὔθες
ἀν εἶπο τῶν ἐγκαταμαζόντων τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτο
οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἤτοι βλασφημῶν τις ἡ καθαπτόμενος
ἀλλος καὶ ἐπιπλήττων, παντελῶς εὐθρῆς δὲ 2
dιὰ τῶν τοιούτων ύμᾶς προτρέπειν δοκῶν ὡστε
ἀμελεῖν τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς. καθάπερ εἰ τις
ἀθλητὴν πείθων ἀπειπεῖν καὶ προέσθαι τῶν στέ-
φανον ἀργυρίου λέγοι πρὸς αὐτῶν. Οὐχ ὅρις
ἐκείνου τῶν παραχωρήσατα πρὸ σοῦ μαστι-
γοῦμενον; ἢ νὴ Διὰ εἰ τις τῶν ὑποκριτῶν τινὶ 3
δεικνύει τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας 4 καὶ συριττομένους

1 οὗ added by Capps.
2 δὲ added by Reiske.
3 τιν added by Arnim.
4 ἐκπίπτοντας Reisko: ἐκεῖ πίπτοντας.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

and should be no better than they, then I am unable to characterize the utter lack of fine feeling shown by the speaker. For as it is the custom of all men to recount the admirable institutions and practices which are found among other peoples for the purpose of encouraging eager emulation of them, we should not in the same way mention any bad practice that is current elsewhere for the sake of encouraging imitation of it, but, on the contrary, only in order that one's people may be on their guard against it and may not fall unawares into that sort of thing. Indeed if a man were in fact reciting any such things by way of praising that other people and of showing that they enjoyed a reputation no whit worse on that account, he must surely be reckoned a simple, or rather a reckless, person; but yet according to his own opinion he was not offering any incentive to those wishing to do wrong. But if all men cite these practices as a shame and a reproach and not one of those who eulogize the city would mention any such thing, but only a person who wanted either to slander or in some other way to criticize and assail it, that man is an utter simpleton who thinks that by such means he could induce you to abandon your own customs. It is just as if a person, in trying to persuade an athlete to give up and forego the crown for the price of a piece of silver, should say to him: "Do you not see yonder man, the one who is being scourged, just in front of you, because he dropped out of the contest?"² Or, by heavens, just as if a man should point out to one of the actors several who were being hissed off the stage, and should offer this sort of encouragement: "See to it that you also pay no
τοιαύτα παραμυθεύτω: "Ὅπως μηδὲ σὺ προσέξεις, ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως ἀγωνιεῖ. Καὶ νῦν ὑμῶν σχεδόν ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν. Οὐκ ὁρᾶτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς ἁσχη-
μονούσιν, ὡς κακῶς ἀκούσαν, ὡς παράδειγμα ¹ πᾶσιν εἰσὶ τῆς ἁγιασμένης καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως ἦν ὑβρίζουσιν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα;

120 Καίτοι πότερον θῇ τις αὐτοὺς ἀνταγωνιστᾶς ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ ἀξιούσιν, ἡ μάλλον, ὁ τῷ παντὶ βέλτιον καὶ δικαιότερον, καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὁμοίους μερίτας ὑμετέρους ² ἢ ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνων; ἀλλ’ οὔτε τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀμαρτάνοντας εὐλογοῦν ἐστι μιμεῖ-
σθαι, τοῦναντίον δὲ τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον κατορθοῦν, ἵνα τῷ παντὶ φανήσῃ προεχόμενες αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων κακίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἁρετὴν εὐδοκίμητε: οὔτε τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ προσήκοντας, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν κοιλεῖν, εἰ δ’ οὖν, ³ αὐτοὺς γε πειρᾶσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐργοῖς τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ἐκεῖνων ἐλάττων ποιεῖν.

121 "Εστι δ’ εἰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοις μηδὲν αὐτῶν διεφέρετε, οὔδεν ἵσως ἑδει ⁴ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φιλοτι-
μείσθαι καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως κρείττους δοξεῖτε. νῦν δὲ οὔθεν ἐστιν ἐφ’ ὅτα τῶν ἐκεῖ γίγνομενων ὁμίκ αἰσχυνθεῖτι τις. οὖν εὐθὺς τὰ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ὁμιῶν σφόδρα ἐξηλώκασι Κορινθίους,

¹ παράδειγμα Empirius: παραδείγματα.
² μερίτας ὑμετέρου Cupps, of. Pollux 8. 136, and Ditten-
bergcr, Syll. 134, 1. 8 and note: μέρος ὑμετέρου.
³ εἰ δ’ οὖν Wyttenbach: εἰ γοῦν Μ, ἡγουν B, ἡγέοι οὖν U.
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attention to your part, but go through the performance the way they did." And now those whom we have just described are to all intents and purposes saying to you: "Do you not see how the Athenians are disgracing themselves, how they are getting a bad name, how they are an example to all the world of baseness and of the kind of insolence with which they outrage their own country?"

And yet, let me ask, shall anyone class the Athenians as your rivals, as these persons demand, or rather—and this is in every way better and fairer—hold both them and the Spartans and all others like them to be your co-partners, or you theirs? But it is not sensible to imitate your rivals when they err, but on the contrary to endeavour so much the more to do right yourselves, in order that you may be found superior to them in every respect and ever win credit, not only on account of their demerits, but also on account of your own virtue; nor should you copy your friends and relatives, but should try to check them if possible, or, if you do copy them, should by the merit of your own conduct try to minimize their shortcomings.

Moreover, if you were no whit superior to the Athenians in other respects, perhaps you would not find it necessary to feel any jealousy of them in this one matter and to consider how you might have a reputation better than theirs. But as matters now stand, there is no practice current in Athens which would not cause any man to feel ashamed. For instance, in regard to the gladiatorial shows the Athenians have so zealously emulated the Corinthians, or rather,

4 ἂν Reiske: ἂν.
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μᾶλλον δ’ ύπερβεβλήκασι τῇ κακοδαμονίᾳ κάκεινος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας, ὡστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι μὲν ἑξώ τῆς πόλεως θεωροῦσιν ἐν χαράδρα τινὶ, πλῆθος μὲν δυναμένω δέξασθαι τόπῳ, ῥυπαρῷ δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ὅπου μηδεὶς ὃν μηδεὶς θάψει μηδένα τῶν ἐλευθέρων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ θεώντας τὴν καλὴν ταύτην θέαν ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκροπολιν, ὦ τῶν Διόνυσον ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν τυθέουσιν ὡστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τινα σφάττεσθαι τοῖς θρόνοις, οὐ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς ἀνάγκη καθίζειν. καὶ τὸν εἰπόντα περί τούτων φιλόσοφον καὶ νοοβεβλήσαντα αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπεδεξαντο οὐδὲ ἐπήνεσαν, ἀλλ’ οὔτως εὐθυγχρανίως, ὡστε ἢκεῖνον γένει μὲν ὄντα ἠρμαίων μηδενὸς ὑστερον, δόξαν δὲ τηλικαυτὴν ἁχοντα ἡλίκης οὐδεὶς ἐκ πάνω πολλοῦ τετύχηκεν, ὦμολογούμενον δὲ μόνον μᾶλιστα μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἀκολουθοῦσις βεβισκέναι τοῖς λόγοις, καταλπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι διατρίβειν ἀλλαχόσε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες Ῥόδιων, τοιούτων οὐδὲν ὑπομείνατε, παρ’ οἷς γένει μὲν ὄντα Καρπα, ὄντα μὲν γένει Εμπερίου: μὲν ὄντα γένει.

1 According to Curtius (Peloponnesus 2. 527) Dio is here referring to a rocky depression at the foot of a hill east of the new town. This depression was enlarged by the Corinthians to form an amphitheatre, which one could not see until he came to the very crest. Friedländer, however, thinks that Dio refers here to the natural depression before it was made into an amphitheatre. Otherwise he would have described it differently because it is called a splendid structure in the 4th century A.D. See Harold North Fowler, Vol. I of the American School at Athens Corinth series, chapter “Topography”.

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have so surpassed both them and all others in their mad infatuation, that whereas the Corinthians watch these combats outside the city in a glen, a place that is able to hold a crowd but otherwise is dirty and such that no one would even bury there any freeborn citizen, the Athenians look on at this fine spectacle in their theatre under the very walls of the Acropolis, in the place where they bring their Dionysus into the orchestra and stand him up, so that often a fighter is slaughtered among the very seats in which the Hierophant and the other priests must sit. And the philosopher who spoke about this matter and rebuked them they refused to obey and did not even applaud; on the contrary, they were so incensed that, although in blood he was inferior to no Roman, but enjoyed a reputation greater than any one man has attained for generations, and was admittedly the only man who since the time of the ancients had lived most nearly in conformity with reason, this man was forced to leave the city and preferred to go and live somewhere else in Greece. But you, O men of Rhodes, would not tolerate any such thing as that, since among you there is a law which

2 At the City Dionysia a statue of the god was escorted by the Διονύσως from the Dipylon Gate and placed in the orchestra of the theatre. See I.G.II², l. 11.

3 In a note on Philostratus, op. cit. 4. 32, where Apollonius is represented as saying σὺ δέ, Διόνυσε, μετὰ τοιούτου σιμεω τὸ θεάτρου φοιτήσεις; Valclesius offered reasons for believing that the philosopher here referred to was Apollonius of Tyana. The description given above fits Apollonius except that he appears to be a Roman. Consequently it is now generally believed that this philosopher was Musonius Rufus, whom Dio, owing to his admiration of the man whom he knew personally, praised so highly. Did not Musonius Rufus convert Dio to a belief in philosophy?
νόμος ἐστὶ τὸν δημόσιον μηδέποτε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

123 'Τίνος οὖν ἐνεκα ἐπεμνησθην; ἂν μὰ τὸν Δία λοιδορῆσαι βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοῦναντίον γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐλεεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπέρχεται τοῖς μετρίοις· ἄλλῳ ὡς εἰδήθ᾽ ὅτι λοιπὸν ὑμῖν οὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἄλλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰ τις σωφρονεῖ. καίτοι πάντα ὡσα ἂν εἴποι τις κατὰ Ἀθηναίων ἢ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ καθ᾽ ὧν δῆποτε, παρ᾽ ὅις ἄλλα τῶν φαινὼς ἔχει καὶ σφόδρα ὄλγωρως, ἐμοὶ συναγω- νιζόμενος τὸ γὰρ τῶν εἰκόνων οὐκ ἐστὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱδεῖν οὗτω γυγνόμενον· ὡσθ᾽ ὅ γε μηδὲ παρ᾽ ἐκείνους ἁμαρτάνεται τοῖς ἐσχάτους ἀπολωλός, πῶς οὖν ἂν ὑπερβολὴν τινα ἔχοι τῆς ἀτοπίας;

124 "Εστι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὰ τὰ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς τινὰ παρατεθέντα ἀποδείκνυσι τοῦτο. εἰ γὰρ τὸ τῶν νῦν τινα παραστήσῃ τῶν ἄρχαιών τινὶ δοικεὶ δεινὸν, πόσῳ δεινότερον τὸ οὕτως ἀφελέσθαι τινὰ ἐκείνων τῆς τιμῆς, ὥστε ἐτέρῳ δοῦναι; καὶ εἰ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιγράψῃ τινὸς ἄλλω τῶν πολὺ ἐλάττων τηλικαύτην κατάγνωσιν φέρει, τὸ ἐξαλείψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, ποίον τι φαίνεσθαι νομίζετε;

1 ἐπεμνησθην Emperius: ὑπεμνησθην.
2 τινα added by Cupps, αὐτῶν ἁμαρτήματα Arnim.
prescribes that the executioner must never enter the city.

What, then, was my object in mentioning this? Not, I assure you, any desire to abuse the Athenians; for, on the contrary, all decent men instinctively feel pity for them; it was rather in order that you might know that from this time on your reckoning is not with them but with your own selves and with all others who are sober-minded. And yet everything that might be said in criticism of the Athenians or of the Spartans or any other peoples among whom are found other practices which are bad and due to gross carelessness, will reinforce my argument; for in the matter of statues you can find no such abuse among them as prevails here; must we not, therefore, of necessity conclude that this particular form of wrongdoing, which is not practiced even among those we have mentioned who are utterly lost to shame, is beyond all exaggeration monstrous? ¹

And this characterization becomes still more convincing if some few details of what happens in connection with the honours you grant are brought into comparison by themselves. If, for instance, it is considered an outrage to place any man of the present day beside any of the ancients, how much more of an outrage is it to deprive, as you are doing, an ancient of his honour for the purpose of bestowing it upon another? And if the inscribing of one person's name over that of another and a much inferior person brings so great condemnation, completely to erase and remove the name of the better man, if it so happens—in what sort of light do you think this act appears?

¹ Cf. § 75 and note.
Καὶ μὴν εἰ τις ὑμᾶς Καυνίων ὡς Μυριδάς ὀμοίως εἶναι λέγω, σφόδρα ὁργεῖσθαι καὶ βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν ἤγγισθε κατὰ τῆς πόλεως· πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔθ' ὑμῖν ἀπολογίαν τινὰ φέροι περὶ τινὸς τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ καὶ παρ' ἑκείνους αὐτὸ γίγνεσθαι; καθά-περ εἰ καὶ τὰ τείχη τις οὕτως δεῖν λύσαι τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἢ καὶ καταπίπτοντα εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἑτέρους πέπτοκε, μᾶλλον δὲ πίσι τοῖς ἄλλοις σχεδόν. καίτοι τὰ μὲν τείχη διὰ τὴν εἴρημιν καὶ τὴν δουλείαν ἐώτῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἄν το μὲν ἄπαντες εὑχονται, τὴν εἴρημιν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐστὶ κακίας σημείων· τὸ δὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἐνεργετῶν οὕτω προσφέρεσθαι δὲ ἀχαριστῶν γίγνεται. φαίνησθι δ' ἂν ἐγώγεν παρὰ τούτοις μηδὲ ἐνεργεῖται ἀδικεῖσθαι· τίς γὰρ παρὰ Καυνίως γέγονε γενναῖος ἄνήρ; ἢ τίς πῶτοτε ἑκείνους ἀγαθὸν τι πεποίηκεν; οὐ γε δουλεύουσιν αὐξ ὑμῶν μόνοις, ἄλλα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἀνοίας καὶ μοχθηρίας διπλὴν αὐτοῖς τὴν δουλείαν κατασκευάσαντες. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τις ἂν εἶποι τῶν ὀμοδόξων.

126 Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ καθόλου τοὺς 1 τηλικοῦτον ἐφ' αὐτοῖς 2 φρονοῦντας ἡλίκους ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὐ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀποβλέπειν οἶομαι δεῖν ἐν ὦς

1 τοὺς Ἐμπορίους: καίτοι.
2 ἐφ' αὐτοῖς Reiske: ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

1 At some period between 70 and 60 B.C. the Caunians, who had been made tributary to Rhodes by Sulla in punishment for their part in the massacre of Italians in Asia Minor in 88 on orders by Mithridates, appealed to the Roman senate to be allowed to pay tribute to Rome rather than to Rhodes; see Cicero, Ad Quintum fratrem 1. 1. 11. 33. This passage in Dio
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Moreover, if anyone says that you are no better than the Caunians or Myndians, you will be very angry and think that he is slandering your city; how, then, could any man any longer bring forward before you in defence of any practice prevalent among you the argument that that very thing is done by those other peoples also? It is just as if a person thought that you ought to demolish your own walls, or let them lie when they fall, simply because they lie fallen in the other cities, or rather, in practically all the others. Yet with them the walls are neglected because of their condition of peace and servitude, one of which everybody welcomes, to wit, peace, whereas the other is no longer a sign of baseness; but when people treat in this way their benefactors of long ago, the reason is ingratitude. But I for my part venture to assert that even among your neighbours yonder wrong is not done to benefactors! For who among the Caunians has ever proved himself a noble man? Or who has ever conferred any benefaction upon them? Why, they are in a state of abject slavery, not alone to you but also to the Romans, on account of their excessive folly and wickedness having made their slavery a double one. And this one might also say about others who have the same reputation.

But, speaking generally, I think that a people who take such pride in themselves as you justly do should not, in shaping their conduct, keep their eyes on these

leads us to infer that their petition was rejected and that they were required to pay tribute to both Rhodes and Rome. See also page 54, note 3.

2 Myndus was a city of Caria near Halicarnassus.
3 And hence entitled to a mark of honour by some state.
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πράττουσιν, ἄλλως τε τοὺς τοσούτον χείρονας, ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν δόξαν καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα. γελοῖον γὰρ ἂν ἦν, εἰ τῶν ὑμετέρων τις πολιτῶν, Δαυρίεις ἐκεῖνος ἦν Λεωνίδας, οὐς τοσαυτάκες φασίν 'Ολυμπίασι νικήσαι, πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ ὄρων ἐγγυμάζετο, καὶ ταῦτα γε μηδέποτε στεφάνωθεντα. τοῖς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίως ἢ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰ βούλεσθε ἀντεξετάζεται, συγχωρῶ τοὺς τότε οὕσων, ὅτε αὐτοῖς εἰκότως ἀν τὶς τῶν 127 ὅμοιων ὑμῖν συνεκρίνετο. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἂθλητήν τῶν φιλοτιμούμενον ἐτί καὶ μηδέποτα παραχωρῶντα τῆς λαχύνος οὐ τοὺς νοσοῦντας εὐλογῶν ἐστι προκαλεῖσθαι τῶν καθ’ αὐτῶν ἐνδοξῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς τεθνεώτας, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν εἰέν τινος ἐρρωμένοι, πρὸς ἐκεῖνους ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς νίκηςει δὲ μή, τοιοῦτον τι πράξαι ξητεῖν, ὁ μηδενικός αὐτῶν ἀσθενεστέρον δεῖξει τῶν πρώτων. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑγιὴς οὕτως ἔστι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγος. εἰ δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι τι δεῖ, μήτε πρὸς τοὺς τότε, οἱ ἧσαι κράτιστοι, παραβάλλοντες εξετάζετε τὸ πράξμα, μήτε πρὸς τοὺς νῦν οἱ μηδενικάς τῶν φαινομένων διαφέροντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς μέσους αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἔτη τούτων ἐλάττωνας.

1 Cf. Demosthenes 20. 10, 142, 165; 22. 76.
2 The Rhodian athlete Diagoras had three sons, all athletes, of whom Doricus was the youngest and most famous. He was victor in the pancratium at three successive Olympiads. The second of these victories is mentioned in Thucydides 3. 8. He also had eight victories in the Isthmian games and seven in the Nemean, while he is said to have won in the Pythian games without a contest. Cf. Pindar Ol. 7.
3 Leonidas, also a Rhodian, was twelve times victor in the foot-race. See Pausanias 6. 13. 4.
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others, especially on those who are so much their inferiors, but rather upon their own reputation and the proud position of their city. It would have been absurd if one of your own citizens, that famous Doricus, or Leonidas, men who are said to have won so many victories at Olympia, had done his training with his eye on some other athlete, and him a man who had never been crowned. However, if you wish to measure yourselves against the Spartans or the Athenians, I concede the point in regard to the Athenians of the olden days, when any people similar to yourselves might with good reason have tried to be comparable to them. Take, for instance, the athlete: If he is still eager for honours and is not yet declining in bodily vigour, it is not sensible for him to challenge the famous prize-winners of his own time who are sick, nor yet the dead, nay rather, if there are any who are at the top of their strength, he should select these and strive with them for the victory; but if none such are available, he should aim to achieve an exploit of such a kind as will show that he is no whit inferior in strength to any athlete of former times. That is sound reasoning about such matters. But if after all it is necessary to make some concession, do not test the question by making a comparison with the peoples who in former times were the strongest, nor yet with those of the present day who are no better than any people of the most worthless sort, but measure yourselves against those who are in between, or against those who are still lower in the scale than they.

4 Cf. § 117.
5 Cf. for a similar sentiment Demosthenes 18. 319, Aeschines 3. 189.
Παρὰ τοῖνυν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κατὰ Φιλιππον, μᾶλιστα δὲ ὅτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρακεχωρήκεσαν, τῆς δὲ ἐλευθερίας μόνης λοιπὸν ἀντείχοντο, Λεπτίνης τις εἰσήγησεν νόμον ὅσ' ξρῆ 1 τὰς ἄτελειας ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς ἔχοντας παρὰ τοῦ δῆμου, διὰ τῶν ἀφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος, καὶ μηκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξειναι διδόναι μηδενὶ τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην. τὶ οὖν; ἐσθ' ὅπως παρεδέξαντο τὸν νόμον; οὕμενοι, ἄλλα ἐάλω γραφῆς. φέρε τοῖνυν συμβάλλετε τοῦτο τῷ ἔθους ἐκείνῳ τῷ νόμῳ, κἂν μὲν ὑμῖν κατὰ τι βέλτιον 2 φαίνηται, φυλάξατε αὐτὸ καὶ πονήσατε ἴσχυρότερον πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν. ὅπερ εὗ ἀνάγκης γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ λυθήσεται νῦν· εὰν δὲ πανταχῦ σκοπούμενοι χείρων εὐφράκητε, 3 μμησάσατε τοὺς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον ἄτοπον τοῦ τότε λυθέντος ὅπ' ἐκείνων καὶ ὑμεῖς νῦν λύσατε.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ψευδῆ τὴν πόλιν δεικνύονται καὶ περί τὰς δωρεὰς ἀπίστου καὶ τὸ τούς εὐεργέτας ἀδίκειν, ἀφαρουμένους 4 αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμοιβάς, κατὰ 5 πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπ' ἠσθ' κοινὰ ἀμφοτέρους πρόσεστιν· ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐκ ἤν μηδὲν ὡφελήσθαι 6 τοὺς τὴν ἄτελειαν ἐσχηκότας· ἃ γὰρ ἐκτήσαντο

1 χρῆ Arnim : χρῆν.
2 βέλτιον added by Arnim, ἀμείων by Solden.
3 εὐφράκητε Reiske : εὐφράκηται.
4 ἀφαρουμένους Arnim : ἀφαρουμένην.
5 κατὰ Carpz : καὶ.
6 ὡφελήσθαι Emperius : ὡφελήσαι.
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Well then, among the Athenians of the time of Philip, and at very near the time when they had given up the primacy among the Greeks and their liberty was the only thing to which they still clung, there was a certain Leptines who proposed a law to the effect that all should be deprived of the privileges of exemption from public duties\(^1\) who had received it from the people, with the exception of the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and that for the future it should be no longer permissible to grant to any one this gift. Well, what happened? Did they by any chance accept that law? They did not, but the law’s proposer was convicted on an indictment for introducing an illegal measure. Come then, compare this custom with that law, and if it seems to you in any way better, retain it and make it stronger for the future—which is bound to happen if it is not abolished now—but if after considering it on all sides you find it to be inferior, then imitate the Athenians of that early period and abolish now that practice which is more monstrous than the one abolished formerly by them.

However, as to any attempt to show that the city is insincere, is faithless in its gifts, and that it wrongs its benefactors by robbing them of their rewards—such reproaches apply in all respects equally to both Athens and Rhodes. But whereas at Athens those who had formerly received exemption from public burdens could not possibly have received no benefit at all—for whatever they had previously acquired

\(^1\) This was in 356 B.C., and the speech of Demosthenes Against Leptines was delivered in 355 in an action challenging the legality (γραφή παρανόμων) of the proposal. The present passage is the only direct testimony that Leptines lost his case. On the λατρουπλατ see Vol. II, page 276, note 2.
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ἐκ τῆς ἀφέσεως εἰς ἀπαν αὐτοῖς ἔμενε ὡς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, καὶ ἔμελλον εὐπορώτεροι δι' αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ γε τῆς εἰκόνος ἀφαιρεθεῖσον ἐκ τοῦ τετειμῆθαι πρότερον οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν περίεστι δίχα γε τῆς ὑβρεως καὶ τῆς ἀτμίας. πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τιθεὶς τότε τὸν νόμον ἔστων ἄν κατηγόρει τῶν εἰληφότων τὴν ἀτέλειαν καὶ πονηροὺς ἀπέφανε τοὺς πλείους, οὐ μόνον ἀναξίους χάριτος· ὡστε τούτ' εἶναι τὸ δεινὸν ὅτι μὴ πᾶσιν ἐγκαλῶν πάντας ἀπεστέρευ τὰς δωρεὰς. ἐνθάδε δὲ οὐδ' ἔνεστι τοῖς ἀφελομένους εἰπεῖν τι κατ' ἐκείνων' οὐς γὰρ μηδ' ἤσασί, ὡς ἕσων, πῶς αὐτοῖς αὐτίσθαι δυνατόν; ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν νόμος ἐξαιρέτους τινὰς ἐπολεί τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα δοκοῦντας εὐεργετηκέναι τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς ἀφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος· ἐνθάδε δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστων ἐξαιρέτων. τῷ γὰρ ἀγράφῳ τὸ πράγμα γέννεσθαι καὶ μήτε κατὰ νόμον μήτε κατὰ ψήφισμα περὶ οὐδενός ὀλως ἀπείρηται, καὶ ἐπὶ παντὶ συμβῆναι δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἐφ' ὅτι ποτὲ ἂν δόξῃ τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε νόμος δεινὸν ἐδόκει ποιεῖν ἀφαιροῦμενος τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὡστε μηδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖναι ψηφίσασθαι τὴν

1 ὡς καὶ Budé omits with UBT; Wilamowitz and Arnim deleted ὡς.
2 οὖδ' ἔνεστι Emporius: οὐδὲν ἔστι.
3 ὡς added by Capp; φασὶ deleted by Jacobs, Arnim, Budé: Ἰσαῖα φασὶν (or φασὶ) BTU, Ἰσαὶ φασὶ M.
from the immunity remained theirs in every respect for the future as for the past, and they could not fail to be better off on account of it; those, on the other hand, who have had their statues taken away from them have nothing left over from the honour they had formerly enjoyed—except the insult and the dishonour. And, in addition, the Athenian who, on the occasion I have mentioned, proposed the law attacked a considerable number of those who had received exemption from public duties and tried to show that the majority of them were knaves, not merely unworthy of any favour, so that the unfairness of it was that, while not accusing all, he was proposing to deprive all of their gifts. But in Rhodes here it is utterly impossible for those who have deprived men of their statues to say anything against them; for when they do not even know who the original recipients were, as they admit, how is it possible to bring a charge against them? Furthermore, that law proposed to make an exception in favour of those who were regarded as having conferred the greatest benefactions upon the city, to wit, the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, but here no exception is made. For since the practice is carried on without any record being kept and is not regulated by either law or decree, absolutely no concession is made for anyone, and this indignity may happen to anyone at the pleasure of the chief magistrate at any time. Again, the Athenian law was thought to be committing an outrage in depriving the people of their authority in the matter, so that not even in the future would it be possible for them to vote

1 Cf. supra § 77.
δωρεάν ταύτην. καὶ πόσῳ κρείττον τὴν ἁρχὴν
cωλύσαι τι διδόναι τὸν δῆμον, εἰ μὴ συνεφερε
τῇ πόλει, ἢ ἕ 1 καταλυπόντα τὸ χαρίζοντα, τὸ
ἀφαιρέσθαι ταύτα ἐφ’ ἐνι ποιήσασθαι; αὐσχροῦ
γὰρ οὖν, ὡς οὕδ’ ἂν εἰς ἀντειπο, τοῦ ἀφαιρεί-
σθαι τοὺς λαβόντας τι, κατὰ μὲν τὸν νόμον τούτο
ἄπαξ ἐγίνετο, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔθος ἂει συμβαίνει.

134 Καὶ μὴν εἰ δοκεῖ δυσχερές τὸ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
tυνοσ ἐξουσίας τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὡμεῖς ἀφαιρεῖσθε τὴν
ἐξουσίαν τοῦ φιλάττειν βέβαια τὰ δοθέντα τοὺς
λαβόντων. ὅτι γὰρ ἂν ὡμεῖς δώτε τὴν τιμὴν,
οὐκέτ’ ἐστ’ ἐφ’ ύμῖν τὸ ἐὰν ἔχειν αὐτῶν· ἀλλ’
εἰς ἄνὴρ ἂεὶ τούτων κύριος, ὁ στρατηγὸς. καί-
tοι χειρόν ἔστι τὸ ἔθει μὴ ἐφ’ ύμῖν εἶναι τοῦ κατὰ
νόμον κεκωλύσωσι. 2 οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀφήρηται
τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦτον τρόπον τινά, ὅ πραπτεῖν
ἐαυτοῦς νόμω κεκωλύκασιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπέστησαν

135 ἐκόντες διὰ τὸ συμφέρον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἔθους οὐδὲ
tοῦτο ἔστω εἴπειν ὅτι αὐτοὺς, εἰπερ 3 ἀρα,
ἀφήρηται τοῦτ’ ὑπὲρ οὗ μήτε ἐκριναν μήτε
ἐβουλεύσαντο.

Καὶ μὴν ἔκει γε παραμυθίαν τυνά ἔσχον τὸ
tοῦ πράγματος ἱσον καὶ κοινόν, ἀπάντων ὁμοῖος
ἀφαιρομενῶν τὰς ἀτελείας, παρ’ ύμῖν δὲ ὅσ
ἀν τύχῃ τῆς εὐκόνους ἀφήρηται καὶ πολλάκις

1 ἡ added by Selden.
2 κεκωλύσωσι Reiske: κεκωλυκάσω.
3 αὐτούς, εἰπερ Plügk: αὐτούς περ UM, αὐτούς περ B.

1 This is Demosthenes’ chief argument against the proposal
of Leptines; in § 4 he asks: “Shall we, then, make a law that
hereafter neither Council nor Assembly shall be permitted to
deliberate or to vote on a similar subject?”

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this gift. Yet how much better to prevent the people from granting any honour or any privilege at all if it were not of advantage to the city to do so, than, while leaving the right to confer a favour, to place the power of taking it away in the hands of one man! For while it is disgraceful, as no man would deny, to take any gift away from those who have received it, according to that Athenian law this was happening just once, but according to this Rhodian custom it takes place all the time!

Besides, if it appears vexatious that your city should be deprived of any power, it is you your own selves who are depriving it of the power to guarantee for the recipients the security of its gifts. For whenever you confer this honour upon a man, it is no longer in your power to allow him to keep it; on the contrary, one official always has this in his control, namely, the chief magistrate. And yet, it is worse for you to lack this power owing to custom than to be estopped by law. For in the one case men in a certain sense have not been deprived of the control of that which they have by law estopped themselves from doing, but they have renounced their right willingly because of the advantage thereby gained. But when we have to deal with a custom, one cannot even say that men have deprived themselves—if deprived they have been—of a thing on which they have neither passed judgment nor deliberated.

And although in Athens the people had some consolation—in that the measure was impartial and general, since all alike were being deprived of their exemption from public burdens—here it is only the recipient of the statue who has been deprived of it,
 Dio Chrysostom

ὁ ς βελτίων. ἐτὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐχ ἵνα ἄλλος λάβῃ, τὸν ἔχοντα ἀφφειτό ὁ νόμος· παρ’ όμίην δὲ τούτου χάριν γίγνεται, οὗ τῷ παντὶ λυπρά-136 τερόν ἐστὶ τοῦ μόνου ἀποστερεῖσθαι. καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνο γε οὐδεὶς ἄγνοεῖ δήποτεν, ὅσως δοκεῖ χαλεπώτερον τὸ δὲ ἄλλον τι πάσχειν τοῦ δι’ αὐτὸν. οὐκοῦν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ νόμου συνέβαινεν, ἵνα μὴ τινες ἔχωσι τὰς ἀτελείας, περὶ ἄν ὡς ἀναξίων ἔλεγεν, ἀποδύσαι τοὺς λοιποὺς· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρ’ όμίην ἔδοξας, ἵν’ ἄλλοι λάβωσι, τοὺς 137 ἔχοντας ἀποστερεῖσθαι γίγνεται. τῷ παντὶ δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς πάσχοντι βαρύτερον.

Εἰ τούτων ἐφ’ ὅν μάλιστα ἀνήκεστόν ἂν, ἐπὶ τούτων βούλοιτο τις ἰδεῖν, τίνας ἂδικεὶ τούτο τὸ ἔθος καὶ τίνας ἔμελλε λυπῆσεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ νόμος, ἀφελὼν μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐχοντας ἀτελείαν, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς εἰκόνος τετυχηκότας, οὕτω σκοπεῖτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκατέρων. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ οὐδὲ ἐπασχοῦν οὐδέν, δὲ γὰρ εἰληφθέντων ἄν ἐν προσθήκης μέρει, τούτῳ ἀπώλλυν, τῆς μεῖ-

1 ὁ added by Pfungk.
2 ἀποδύσαι Cohoon, ἀπολλύναι Wilamowitz: ἀποδύσαι.
3 Arnim deleted § 136 καὶ μὴν . . . through βαρύτερον § 137.
4 ἀνήκεστον Cappa: ἀναγκαῖον.
5 μὴ μόνον τοὺς Cohoon: τοὺς μὴ μόνον.
6 τοὺς instead of τῆς UBT, M in margin; Budé retains τῆς.
7 ἄν added by Cappa.
and often he is the better man. Moreover, in Athens it was not in order that another person might receive the exemption that the law proposed to take it away from the possessor, but in your city that is precisely why it is done, a thing that is altogether more distressing than merely to be dispossessed. Furthermore, no one, I presume, is unaware how much more grievous it seems to suffer any harsh treatment on account of another than it is to suffer it on your own account. So, whereas it was the intention of the Athenian law to divest all others of their privilege of exemption in order to prevent certain men, whom it designated as undeserving, from retaining theirs, the result of your custom is that the owners of statues are robbed of them in order that others may receive them; and this treatment is altogether more grievous to those affected.

If, further, any one wishes, confining his consideration of the matter strictly to those cases in which the loss suffered is most nearly irreparable, to ask who are being wronged by this custom of yours and who were bound to be hurt by that Athenian law, let him disregard, not only those who were enjoying exemption from public burdens there, but also those who have received a statue here, and then let him consider those who are not in either class.¹ Since those who had been honoured at Athens were in a sense not suffering any loss at all, for it was only what they would have received

¹ That is, (1) those who had not had the tax-exemption privilege at Athens and (2) those who have not been honoured with a statue in Rhodes.
ζονος δωρεᾶς αυτοῖς τηρουμένης· επὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἵσος 1 ἃν γένοιτο σὲ λόγος. ἀλλ᾿ ἔστι μὲν δὴλον καὶ αὐτόθεν, οἴμαι, τὸ πράγμα· ὅσιον γὰρ τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος μείζων ἦ 2 τὸ τῆς ἀπελεύθερας, τοσούτω κρείττονες οἱ τούτου τυχόντες. ἔτι δ᾿ ἂν αὕτω γένοιτό γε σὲ λόγος 3 φανερώτερος. 4

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπελεύθερα τουσ λαβόντας εὐποροτέρους ποιεῖ, καὶ οὕτω μᾶλλοτα ἐπιθυμοῦσαν αὐτῆς οὕτως ὑπόνες ἃν ὦσι περὶ χρήματα ἐσπούδακότες, ἢ δὲ εἰκὼν τὸ σεμνὸν μόνον ἔχει καὶ τὸ τῆς τιμῆς· ὅσῳ δὴ πάντες εὐποιομεν ἃν κρείττονας τοὺς προῖκα καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον ἔνεκεν αἴρουμένους εὐ τιμας ποιεῖν τῶν ἐπ᾿ ἄργυρῳ καὶ διὰ κέρδος, τοσούτω ψαλίν αὐτὸν ἃν ἐγνώγε οὐ μόνον ἀμείνους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ βελτίων ὑμᾶς καλύεν εὖ πάσχειν ἦπερ ἐκεῖνος ὅ νόμος.

'Αλλ᾿ ἐγνώγε ἀπορῶ τί δῆποτε οὐχὶ καὶ νόμον τίθεσθε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καθ᾿ ὃν ἔσται 5 τὸ λοιπόν, εἰπερ ὑμῖν ἀρέσκειν.

Νὴ Δὲ, αἰσχύνη γὰρ οὔ μικρὰν ἔχει νόμος τοιοῦτος ἐν τῇ πόλις κείμενος.

Εἶτα δ᾿ γράφειν αἰσχρὸν ἥγεισθε, τούτῳ ποιεῖν οὐκ

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1. ἵσος Emperius: ἵσος.
2. ὦ Casaubon: καί.
3. After λόγος the MSS. have ἀλλ᾿ ἔστι μὲν δὴλον καὶ αὐτόθεν οἴμαι τὸ πράγμα, which Reiske deleted.
4. φανερώτερος Reiske: φανερώτερον.
5. For ἔσται Herwerden proposed ἔξεσται.

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1 He means that the law would have deprived them of the continued benefit of the exemption (the 'supplement'), but would have taken from them neither the material benefits they had already enjoyed nor the honour conferred by the original grant. This honour he calls 'the greater gift,' as the sequel shows.
2 The other gifts' being such honours as the front-sea.
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by way of a supplement that they were losing, whereas the greater gift continued to be theirs; but as regards the other gifts, the reckoning would come out the same for both classes. But, I think, the case is quite self-evident: For in proportion as the grant of a statue is a greater honour than the exemption, in just that degree those who receive the former are superior men. The argument can be made still clearer, though, if stated thus: Whereas the exemption from public burdens makes the recipients of it wealthier, and those men are especially eager for it who are interested in money-making, the statue implies only dignity and honour; so just in proportion as those are superior men, as we would all agree, who choose to confer benefits upon others without remuneration and rather for reputation’s sake than those who set a price upon it and are moved by desire for gain, by just so much, as I at least would assert, are not only they better men whom this custom of yours wrongs, but also by just so much are those persons whom you are preventing from conferring benefits upon yourselves superior to those whom the Athenian law prevented from benefitting the Athenians.

But for my part I am at a loss to understand why on earth you do not pass a law on this matter to regulate it for the future, if such is your pleasure.

"Good heavens!" you exclaim, "Why, the existence of a law like that in a city brings no little shame."

And so it is not disgraceful to do what you

privilege (proedria), dinner in the prytaneion, a golden crown, and the like. Those who had lost the tax-exemption at Athens and those who had never been honoured by a statue at Rhodes were on a parity as regards the other, the prospective, honours.
 Dio Chrysostom

αἰσχρόν ἦστι; καίτοι 1 πόσω κρέοττον μὴ χρὴσθαι ταῖς τῶν φαιλως γεγραμμένων ἡ φαίλα 2 ποιεῖν; ἡ ποτέρους ἄν εἴποιτε βελτίως, τοὺς οὕτως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὰ ἁτοπα, ἢστε ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ δεδομένων, ἡ τοὺς οὐ συγκεκριμένα πράττοντας;

140 ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼν φαίνῃ ἃν, ὀμολογούμενου τοῦ μηδαμῶς ἰδὼν μηδὲν ἀδικον πράττειν μηδὲ ἀπρεπές, παρ᾽ οἷς ἃν νόμῳ γλύγηται τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἔττονα ἃν 3 ἔχειν κατηγορίαν ἢ παρ᾽ οἷς ἃν κατὰ ἔθος. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἤτος ἑστι, καὶ οὐκ ἃν ποτὲ γένοιτο χείρων, οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν οὔτε ἄφελειν οὔτε προσδείναι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις· τὸ δὲ γε ἔθος, ἃν ἢ φαίλαν, ἀνάγκη καὶ φαιλότερον ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι τῶν μὴ κατειλήφθαι μηδὲ ὑρίσθαι. λέγω δ᾽ οἷον εὖθυς τούτο φασί τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν συντετριμμένων καὶ οὔθε ἐφεστώτων ἐπὶ 4 ταῖς βάσεως· τοῦτοις γὰρ ἀποχρῆσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπίσκευαξοντας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ εἰς ἀρχῆς ποιοῦντας ἑτέρους· εἰθ᾽, ὀπερ λοιπὸν, τοὺς ὑγιεῖς μὲν, οὔκ ἔχοντας δὲ ἐπιγραφάς, ἐπιγράφεσθαι· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ- γεγραμμένων τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν· ἔστω γὰρ δὲ λέγουσιν ἄλλης· εἰς ὅστερον ἀνάγκη μηδεμίαν εἶναι διάκρισιν· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων

142 οὕτως ἔχει, δαπάνης, ἀκοσμίας, τρυφῆς· οὐδὲποτε τῶν χειρόνων ἔθων οὐδὲν εὐρήσετε ἢστάμενον οὔθεν;

1 καίτοι Arnim: καὶ.
2 φαίλα supplied in lacuna by Carps, μηδὲ γράφαντας by Arnim, μη γεγραμμένων by Herwerden.
3 Wilamowitz followed by Arnim would delete ἃν.
4 Reiske followed by Arnim would change ἐπι to ἐπὶ.

1 Cf. page 105, § 99.
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think it is disgraceful to enact in writing? And yet how much better it is to refrain from following any written laws which are badly conceived than to do bad things! Or which class of men would you call the better, those who are so disposed toward improper things that they refrain from doing them even when they are authorized, or those who do them even though they are not allowed? But as for me, I would say that, while it is agreed that one should by no means do any unjust or unseemly act, yet among peoples where such acts are under the control of law there would be less cause for reproach than among people where they are regulated by custom. For, in the first place, the law is explicit and can never become worse, since it is not possible either to take away from or add to its written terms; whereas the custom, if it is a bad one, must necessarily become steadily worse because it is not clearly apprehended or defined.¹ I mean, for instance, the case we now have before us: they tell us that this practice began with the statues that were broken and not even standing on their pedestals; it was these that the chief magistrates used after repairing them and in a way making them altogether different; then the next step was that those which were well preserved but bore no inscriptions were inscribed; and at last came the taking of some statues which did have inscriptions on them, provided they were very old. Well, let us assume that their statement of the case is true. In the future there will necessarily be no distinction made at all—for this is the way it is with all other evils, such as extravagance, disorderly conduct, luxury—you will never find any really bad custom halting or remaining stationary until it

¹
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diaμένου, ἕως ἃν παντάπασι κωλυθῇ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ δέχεσθαι πρόσθεσιν ἂεὶ καὶ τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀνεξέλεγκτον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν φαύνεσθαι ῥαδίως, ὅσῳ τοῦτο ἐκείνου κάκιον, ἔπὶ πάν πρόεισιν, ὥσπερ, οἷμαι, καὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν τινα καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ὁσα εξ ἀνάγκης αὐξεσθαι φύσιν ἔχει.

Πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ κάκεινο ἔστιν: οἱ μὲν νόμω τι πράττοντες ποιηρὰν οὐχ ὡς τοιοῦτον ὅν αὐτὸ πράττονσιν, ἀλλὰ εἰςπατημένοι τοὺς δὲ ἐθεὶ φαιλα ποιοῦντας ἀπαντεῖν αὐν φαιν εἰδότας ἀμαρτάνειν, ἢ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι γεγραφθαί δοκεῖ.

143 Μὴ τοίνυν εἰ πρότερον ἥρξατο καὶ χρόνος πλέων γέγονε, διὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττον ὑμῶν νομίζετε προσήκειν αὐτὸ ἄνελείων. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤττονα αἰσχύνην ὃφλουσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν παραδεξαμένων, ἀλλὰ τοναντίον μᾶλλον ύπόκεινται τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτίκα. τὸ μὲν γε πρῶτον γνωρίσκοντον οὐδὲ λαθεῖν ἀδύνατον τοὺς τότε, καὶ ταῦτα φυλαττομένων ἐπὶ τῶν ποιοῦντων τὸ δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ συμβαίνων ἀνάγκη μηδένα ἀγνοεῖν, ἀλλὰς τε παντελῶς ἀνηρμημένης ὑμῖν τῆς προφάσεως ταύτης, οἳ γε περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου κάθησθε κρίνοντες. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ἀρξασθαί τῶν ἔδει τῶν καλῶν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ἄκνεῖτε διὰ τοῦτο,

1 For διαμένου UM have διδόμενου.
2 ἀνάγκης Capps exempli gratia; ''non intellego'' Arnim: ἄπαντος.
3 ἔν added by Capps cf. § 109.
4 αὐτὸ ἄνελείαν Pflugk: αὐτὸν ἄνελείαν M, αὐτῶν ἄνελείαν UBT.
5 ὑμῖν Salden: ὑμῖν.
is utterly suppressed. For because it continually receives some accretion and because a gradual process is almost impossible to detect and does not readily become perceptible to anyone, inasmuch as the present state is worse than the former it goes on to extremes as, I believe, is the case with some ulcers and all those diseases whose nature it is inevitably to get worse.\footnote{The text here has caused considerable trouble to editors, but with the changes suggested in the critical notes it yields at least a logical sense.}

Then there is this further consideration—that those who do anything which the law makes wrong, do it, not as being such, but under a misconception, whereas with those who do things which custom regards as base, would one and all admit that they sin deliberately, those acts being of such a kind that even the perpetrators themselves think they are not fit to be forbidden by an enactment.

Moreover, just because the practice began some while ago and considerable time has elapsed, do not for this reason consider that it is any the less your duty to get rid of it; for those people who perpetuate such practices as this incur no less disgrace than those who first allowed them; nay, on the contrary, they are more exposed to the attack of any who wish to censure. When the thing was done first, it may well have even escaped the notice of the people of that time, particularly as those who practised it were still cautious about it; but when a thing has been going on for a long time, nobody can be unaware of it; and, besides, that excuse has been completely taken away from you, because you are sitting here passing judgment on this very matter. Therefore, just as if you felt it to be necessary to initiate some honourable usage, you would not hesitate on that
δομώς εὐλόγως ἔχει, καὶ λύσαι τι τῶν φαύλων
144 δὲ. μὴ τοῖςν ὁ χρόνος ὁφελείτω τὸ ἔθος,
εἰτέρ ἐστὶ μοχθηρόν, ὡς πάλαι νομίζω πεποιη-
κέναι φανερῶν. οὐ γὰρ εἰ πολὺν χρόνον ἔβλαιμεν
ήμας, διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι προσήκειν αὐτὸ μηδέποτε
παύσασθαι βλάπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν
ἐκ πολλῶν λαβόντες ἀφῆσετε τοῦ χρόνου χάριν
οὐ διῆλθε πονηρὸς ὁμ. οὐδὲ γε εἰ τις νόσον
ἰάσασθαι δύνατο ἐνοχλοῦσαν πάλαι, φείδοιτ' ἂν
145 εἴ ἀρχῆς ὑμαίνειν. ¹ οἶμαι δὲ ἦμᾶς, εἰ τις θεῶν
φανερῶν ἦμῖν ποίησε τὸ μέλλον αὐτὸς ποτὲ
λυπήσειν τὴν πόλιν, πάντως φυλάξεσθαι τούτο,
ἐν ἦμῖν γε ὅν εἰτα τοῦ μὲν ἐτέρους βλάψοντος
οὐκ ἀμελήσετε, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσται, ² τὸ
δὲ ἦμᾶς αὐτοὺς τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικοῦν ἔστε, ³
eἰ πρότερον ἦρξατο; τούτῳ μὲν οὖν παντελῶς
εὐθές, εἰ τις οἶεται μηδέποτε δεῖν καλύσαι τὸ
συνήθως μὲν, ἀτόπως δὲ γιγνόμενον.
146 Ἄξιω δὲ ἦμᾶς ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμηθήναι μάλλον,
ὅτι πολλῶν ὄντων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ' οίς ἄπασιν
εὐλόγως σεμνώσθηκα, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νόμων
καὶ τῆς εὐπάθειας τῆς περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐφ'
οίς καὶ μάληστα φιλοτιμεῖσθε, ἐπειτα, οἶμαι, καὶ
τῶν τοιούτων, ιερῶν, θεάτρων, νεωρίων, τειχῶν,
λιμένων, ὅν ⁴ τὰ μὲν πλούτου ἐμφαίνει καὶ μεγα-

¹ For φείδοιτ' . . . ὑμαίνειν Arnim suggests φοβοῖτ' ἂν τὸ
εἴ ἀρχῆς πάλιν ὑμαίνειν.
² ἐσται Reisko: ἐστιν M, ἐστὶ UB.
³ For ἐ Wilamowitz, Arnim read ἐστι.
⁴ ὅν added by Selden.

¹ That is, because of its being an innovation.
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account, so you have every reason now to act with equal readiness if it is desirable to abolish some unworthy practice. Therefore, do not let its antiquity support the custom if it is really a vicious one, as I think I have long since made clear. For I do not think that just because a thing has injured you for a long time it ought never to cease injuring you. For instance, if you take into custody a man who has been wicked for a long time, you will not release him on account of the length of time which he has spent in being a bad man. Nor yet if a person should be able to cure a disease that had long been harassing him, would he count the cost of enjoying good health all over again. And you, in my opinion, if some god should reveal to you a thing that your city was sure to regret some time in the future, would by all means take measures to prevent it, if it lay in your power to do so. Then, while you will of course not neglect guarding against anything that will harm others simply because the injury will be in the future, are you going to give free rein to that which is now doing the greatest injury to yourselves, because it originated in the past? Nay, it is utterly foolish for a man to think that he should never check a practice which, while customary, is nevertheless shocking.

I ask you to bear in mind, rather, that, although there are many things about your city on all of which you have a good right to pride yourselves—your laws in the first place, and the orderliness of your government (things of which you are wont to boast most), and, in the second place, I imagine, such things also as temples, theatres, shipyards, fortifications, and harbours, some of which give evidence of your wealth and high aspirations and the greatness
λοφυχίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πρῶτης δυνάμεως, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείαν, οὕτων ἦττον ἦδεσθε ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀνδριάντων, 147 εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ μόνον κόσμου φέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὡσπερ ἄλλο τὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἱσχύν τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ἢκιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι καὶ τὸ ἱθὸς. οὐτε γὰρ εὖ πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ πολλῶν οἱ τυχόντες οὔτε θέλουσι οὔτε ἦσος δύνανται πολλοὺς τιμᾶν. ἐτι δὲ κάκεινό ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὸ 1 πλείστους εἶναι παρ’ ὑμῖν ἀνδριάντας τοῦτο 2 συμβέβηκεν, ἄλλ’ ὅμως, καὶ διὰ τὸ 'Ρωμαίους πολλάκις πανταχόθεν εἰληφότας κατασκευὴν ἰερῶν καὶ βασιλείων μηδέποτε κυκῆσα τῶν παρ’ ὑμῶν μηδέν· ὅπου καὶ Νέρων, τοσαύτην 3 ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τοῦτο ἔχων, ὅστε μηδὲ τῶν ἔξ ‘Ολυμπίας ἀποσχέσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν, καίτοι πάντων μάλιστα τιμήσας ταῦτα τὰ 4 ἱερά, ἐτι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως Ἀθηναίων μετενεγκεῖσθαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Περγάμου πολλοὺς, αὐτῷ προσήκοντος ἐκείνου τοῦ τεμένουσ’ περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν παρ’ ἄλλοις τὶ δεὶ λέγειν; τοὺς παρὰ μόνον ὑμῖν εἶσας, καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπι- εδείξατο εὐνοιαν καὶ τιμήν ἁμα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡστε τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν ἵερωτέραν κρῆναι τῶν πρῶτων

1 For διὰ τὸ Wilamowitz, Arnim read διὰ τοῦτο.
2 Arnim deletes τοῦτο.
3 tosaúthyn Reiske: tosaúthyn.
4 tauta ta Reiske: tauta panta ta.

1 Cf. Demosthenes 24. 210; Lycurgus, Against Leocrates 75, 17, 150; Lysias 12. 99.
150
of your former power, others of your piety toward the gods— you rejoice no less in the multitude of your statues, and rightly; for not only do such things do you credit just as any of your other dedicated monuments do, but they also more than anything reveal the strength of your city and its character. For it is no ordinary people that receives benefactions from many or that wishes or perhaps has the means to honour many. And note this also—that it is not only because the statues you have here are very great in number that the practice in question has arisen, but also, I think, because the Romans, who have often seized from every land the furnishings of sacred places and of palaces, have never disturbed any of those which you possess. Why, even Nero, who had so great a craving and enthusiasm in that business that he did not keep his hands off of even the treasures of Olympia or of Delphi—although he honoured those sanctuaries above all others—but went still farther and removed most of the statues on the Acropolis of Athens and many of those at Pergamum, although that precinct was his very own (for what need is there to speak of those in other places?), left undisturbed only those in your city and showed towards you such signal goodwill and honour that he esteemed your entire city more sacred than the foremost

3 3000 in number according to Pliny the Elder, 34. 7. 36.
3 An exaggeration probably. See Pliny the Elder, N.H. 34. 7. 36.
4 Pergamum was famous for its sculptures. Among the most notable was the colossal frieze illustrating the battle of the gods and the giants, now in Berlin. See the Introduction to the Twelfth Discourse.
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149 ἰερών. ἦστε γὰρ Ἀκρατον ἐκεῖνον, ὡς 1 τὴν οἰκουμένην σχέδον ἀπασαν περιελθὼν τούτου χάριν καὶ μηδὲ κύριν παρεῖς μηδεμίαν, ὡς κανθάδε ἦκε. λυπουμένων δ’ ὑμῶν, ὅπερ εἰκός, κατὰ θέαν ἔφη παρεῖναι· μηδὲ γὰρ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν μηδενὸς ἀφασθαι τῶν ἐνθάδε. τοιγαροῦν δίχα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ὑφεως κόσμον καὶ δόξαν ὑμών ἐτέραν περιποιήει τὸ τῶν εἰκόνων πλῆθος. τῆς γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἑγουμένους φιλίας καὶ τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνων ἐντροπῆς ἀπόδειξις φαίνεται ταύτα. εἶτα ὁμαῖοι μὲν καὶ Νέρων οὕτω τὰ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐτήρησαν καὶ σεμνὰ ἔκριναν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐ φυλάξετε; καὶ Νέρων μὲν ὁ τῶν βασιλέων σφοδροτατος καὶ πλείστων αὐτῶν διδοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀπασαν ἐξουσίαν2 πάντ’ ἐλάττω νεομικώς οὐδενὸς ἀφελέτου τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν παρὰ μόνοις Ῥοδίους τιμηθέντων αὐτοὶ δ’ ὑμεῖς ἀφαιρείσθε; καίτοι3 πόσῳ κρείττον ἦν κανθάδε ταύταν γεγονεναι; παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους μένει τὰ τῶν τιμηθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς οὐδεὶς ἄν ἀπαλείφειν· ὑμεῖς δ’ ὦσπερ κακὸν τι πεπουθότες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰχαράττετε.4 καίτοι, φαίνη τις ἄν, εἰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀνηρούντο, μηδὲν5 οὕτως ἀδικείσθαι

1 Ἀκρατον ἐκεῖνον, ὡς Valeius: ἀκρα τῶν ἐκεί μόνος UB, ἀ κρατῶν ἐκεῖ μόνος M.
2 Pflugk proposed πλείστη τον αὐτῶ διδοὐς καὶ πρὸς ἀπασαν ἐξουσίαν.
3 καίτοι Capps: καὶ.
4 Arnim deleted καὶ πόσῳ ... ἐκχαράττετε.
5 μηδὲν Empurius: μηδὲ.
sanctuaries. You remember the notorious Acritus, who visited practically the whole inhabited world in this quest and passed by no village even—you recall how he came here likewise, and when you were, quite naturally, distressed, he said he had come to see the sights, for he had no authority to touch anything here. Therefore, apart from the beautiful sight which all the world may enjoy, the great number of your statues brings you also a renown of another sort! For these things are manifestly a proof of your friendship for your rulers and of their respect for you. So then, when the Romans and Nero guarded your possessions so scrupulously and esteemed them inviolate, shall you yourselves fail to protect them? Nero, that most immoderate of emperors, who took the most liberties and considered everything subject to his own unlimited power, took away the statue of no one of those who had received honour from the people of Rhodes, and from them only. And do you, your own selves, rob these men? Yet how much better it would have been, had the same thing happened here also! I mean that whereas elsewhere the names of the men who have been honoured are left and no one would think of erasing the inscriptions, you chisel them out just as if the men had done you some wrong. And yet, one might say even if your statues were being carried off by the emperors, the men were not being so grievously wronged as at present; for the emperors were engaged in removing such things, not

1 Freedman of Nero, of unscrupulous character, who in A.D. 64 plundered the art treasures of Greece and Rome at the command of Nero. See Tacitus, Annals 15. 45; 16. 23; CIL. 6. 9741.

2 Cf. Cicero, Against Verres 2. 4. 13 for a similar instance.
τοὺς ἀνδρας. οὐ γὰρ ὡς διώσοντες ἑτέρους, ἀλλὰ κόσμου δεόμενοι μετέφερον, ὡστ' ουδεὶς ἄν αὐτῶν ἀφῆρει τὸ ὄνομα, οὐδ' αὐχεῖρον ἀπῆλ- λαττον ἀντὶ Μεγάρων καὶ Ἑσπιδαύρου καὶ τῆς Ἀνδρίων ἦ Μυκονίων 1 ἄγορᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱεροῖς ἀνακείμενοι. καὶ ταύτ᾿ αφῇ τις, 2 βέλτιον ἦν 3 τὸ γε καθ' ὑμᾶς οὕτως αὐτῶν ἡφαίσθαι τᾶς τιμᾶς. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπήρχεν ἀμάρτημα ὑμέτερον, οὓς αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐνεργέτας ἂν τοὺς 4 ἐαυτῶν ἠδικεῖτε καὶ τοὺς ἡρωας, ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρα, συνηδικεῖσθε 5 αὐτοῖς.

152 Καὶ μὴν εἰ τις ὑμῶν πῦθοι, εἰ καὶ δόξει γελοιότερον, τί δὴπτει οὖθ' ὑμεῖς οὕτ' ἄλλος ουθεὶς πηλίους ποιεῖσθε τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν κριθέν- των ἁξίων εἶναι τῆς διωρεῖς ταύτης, εὐχερέστερον δήποθεν ὃν καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡ παντελῶς μικρὰν δαπάνην ἔχον, φαίνετ' ἂν, οἶμαι. Οὐ μόνον 6 διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑβρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ διαμένειν, εἰ δυνατόν, εἰς ἂς τιμᾶς τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἄνδρῶν. νῦν τοῖνυν ἐπίστασθε τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ὑμῶν ἀπαντας κηρίων ὄντας ἀσθενεστέροις. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τῶν ἠλιον φέροισι, τοῦτο δεῖ σκοπεῖν· ὧπο γὰρ τῆς κολακείας τῆς πρὸς ἑτέρους διαφθείρονται, καὶ τῷ δεῦν δόξη καὶ τῷ δεῦν δι' ἡνδήποτ' 153 αἰτιαν, οὐκέτι εἰσιν οἱ πρότερον. πολὺ δὲ 7

1 Μυκονίων Εμπεριος: μυκηταῖον.
2 καὶ ταύτ' αφῇ τις Εμπεριος: καὶ ταύτα φη τις Μ, καὶ ταύτα φη τις B, ταύτα φης τις U.
3 ἦν Arnim: ἦ.
4 ἀν τοὺς Εμπεριος: αὐτοὺς.
5 συνηδικεῖσθε Cobet: συνηδικεῖσθαι M, συνηδίκησοθε UB.
6 μόνον added by Εμπεριος.
7 δὲ Geel: δὴ.
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with the intention of giving them to others, but because they wanted objects of embellishment, so that none of them would think of removing the name, nor would the persons be any the worse off because, instead of being set up as offerings at Megara or Epidaurus or in the market-place of Andros or of Myconos, they were set up in the sacred places of the Romans. But dismissing these considerations, it would have been better, so far as you are concerned, had these men's tokens of honour been thus obliterated. For then there would be no fault on your part, nor would you yourselves be wronging your own benefactors and your heroes, but, if there were any wrong at all, you would be suffering it in common with them.

And further, if anyone should inquire of you, absurd though it may seem, why on earth do neither you nor anyone else make of clay the statues of those who have been adjudged worthy of this gift, since that, no doubt, is easier to manage and involves very little or no expense, you would reply, I suppose: "Not only to avoid giving insult but also in order that the honours which are given to good men may abide forever if that is possible." Yes, but as the case stands, I would have you know that all your statues are less permanent than waxen ones. For it is not a question of whether they can endure the sun, since it is the desire to flatter another group of men which ruins them; and if it seems good to this or that magistrate for any reason whatsoever, the honoured men of former times are no more! ¹

¹ Lucian (Charon, § 23 f.) represents Hermes as saying that not only the great men of the past but even famous cities and rivers are no more.
χείρων ἡ τοιαύτη διαφθορά. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἠλέγχετ' ἂν ἡ τῆς ὄλης ἀσθένεια, νυνὶ δὲ ἡ κακία τῆς πόλεως φαίνεσθαι δοκεῖ. τοιγαροῦν ὁμοίως δίδοτε τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, ὡσπερ οἱ τὰς κόρας ταύτας ὄνομέμενοι τοῖς παισίν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι διδόσαν οὕτως, ὡστε¹ λυπεῖσθαι μετ' ὀλίγον συντριβέντων.

Ἀρα ἀγνοεῖτε τὴν προσούσαν αἰσχύνην τῷ πράγματι καὶ πόσον γελώντα ὄφλετε δημοσία 154 ψευδόμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα φανερῶς οὕτως; ἐν γούν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι γράφετε, στῆσαι δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ δεώνος. Πῶς, εἰποὶ τις ἂν ὦμιν, ἄνδρες Ἄρδεων, στῆσαι γράφετε τὴν ἐστώσαν, ἐὰν οὕτως τύχη, πρὸ πεντακόσιων ἑτῶν; εἶτα τῶν μὲν γυναικῶν τὰς ὑποβαλλόμενα παιδία ποιηρᾶς κρίνετε καὶ δεινὸν τι ποιεῖν ἴσεσθε καταψευδομένας; αὐτὸι δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε ταύτο² ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, ὅν οὐκ εἰσὶ, τοῖς ἑώρατε λέγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄντικοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως σκωμματῶν; φασὶ γούν πολλοὶ τοὺς Ἄρδεων ἀνδριάντας ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς ὑποκριταῖς. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐκατον ἀλλοτε ἄλλον εἰσίναι,³ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ὦμιν ἀλλοτε ἀλλα λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα καὶ μικροῖ δεῖν ὑποκριμομένους ἐστάναι. τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν νῦν μὲν εἶναι ᾔδελφος, νῦν δὲ

¹ Reiske added μηδὲν after ὡστε.
² ταύτῳ Arnim: τούτῳ.
³ ἐσίναι correction in T, ἐσείναι UBM.

¹ The dolls are supposed to be of baked clay, and if they also had jointed limbs they were very fragilo.
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And this sort of destruction is much worse; for in the old days the fragility of the material would be blamed, but now men think it is the city's moral weakness that is being brought to light. And so you go on handing out your statues very much as parents do who buy for their children these cheap dolls. For they too are so casual about their gifts that very soon there is sorrow—when the gifts have fallen to pieces!¹

Can it be that you are unaware of the shame which attaches to this practice, and how ridiculous you make yourselves by this deception practised by your state, and that too so openly? For instance, in your decrees you propose 'to erect a statue of So-and-so.' "But just how," someone might ask you, "do you propose, men of Rhodes, to 'erect' the statue that has been erected possibly for the last five hundred years?" After doing that, can you adjudge those women who palm off other women's children as their own² to be wicked and regard their deception as a horrible thing, while you yourselves are not ashamed of doing the same thing with your images by saying that the statues belong to those to whom they do not belong, and that too when you cannot help hearing of the jests with which your city is reviled? For instance, many people assert that the statues of the Rhodians are like actors. For just as every actor makes his entrance as one character at one time and at another as another, so likewise your statues assume different rôles at different times and stand almost as if they were acting a part. For instance, one and the same statue, they say, is at

¹ For this practice see Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazousai 502 ff.
DIO CHRYSTOSM

'Ρωμαίον, πάλιν δ', ἃν ὦτω τύχη, Μακεδόνα ἡ Πέρσην καὶ ταύτ' ἐπ' ἐνίων οὐτως ὦστε τὸν ἱδόντα εὖθὺς εἰδέναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐσθής καὶ ὑπόδεις καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἔτερα τὸ φεύγωμα ἔλεγχει. 156 καὶ μυρία έδω τῶν γυνομένων, οἷον τὸ πολλάκις ἄνδρος σφόδρα γέροντος εἰκονί νέου τινὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιγράφειν, θαυμαστὴν τινα, οἷμαι, δωρεάν εὐρηκότων ὑμῶν, εἰ μετά γε τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας δίδοτε καὶ πάλιν ἁθλητοῦ τινος ἄνδριάντα ἐστάναι, ὡς ὄντα ἄνθρωπον παντελῶς ἀοδενωθέ καὶ μετρίου τὸ σῶμα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰππεύοντα τὸν δείνα ὀρᾶσθαι παρ' ύμῖν ἡ πολεμίως συνεστώτα ἡ στράτευμα ἐκτάσσοντα ἄνθρωπον ὑδεποτότε τῆς γῆς ἀφάμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖ ποσίν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμῶν καταβάντα τῶν φερόντων ὑδέν ἵσως ἅτοτοιν ἀλλ' ο δεῖνα γε ἐστηκε πυκτεύων παρ' ύμῖν.

157 Καὶ λέγω ταύτα μα τὸν Δία οὐκ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι βουλόμενος ύμῶν οὐδὲ διασύρων τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὡς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον εαυτῆς μηδὲ ἀλλότριον τῆς ἅλλης εὐκοσμίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φαίνηται ποιοῦσα. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τις ἃν εἰκότως προαχθῆναι διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄπαντας εὖνοιαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὗ μόνον διὰ τὴν πρὸς ύμᾶς, εἰ τι ἄρα ἐνθάδε

1 Dio seems to be giving examples of especially ridiculous substitutions of distinguished names placed on statues of earlier men of a character wholly incongruous with that of the present owner. By way of a climax he probably, as von Arnim
one time a Greek, at another time a Roman, and later on, if it so happens, a Macedonian or a Persian; and what is more, with some statues the deception is so obvious that the beholder at once is aware of the deceit. For in fact, clothing, foot-gear, and everything else of that kind expose the fraud. And I pass, over countless instances of what happens, such as that often the name of some young man is inscribed on the statue of a very old man—a most wonderful gift, me thinks, you have discovered, if along with the honour you can also make a present of youth; and again, we hear of a statue of a certain athlete which stands here, that it represents an utter weakling of a man, quite ordinary of body. For while we admit that there is perhaps no incongruity in your having before everybody’s eyes in your city the figure of So-and-so mounted upon a horse in the act either of grappling with a foe man or of marshalling an army, even though he was a fellow who never touched the earth with his own feet or descended from the shoulders of the carriers who bore him; but what can one say of So-and-so, who stands in your midst in the pose of a boxer!\footnote{1}

Now I say all this, I assure you, with no desire to incur your hatred or to disparage your city, but in order to prevent its being found doing anything unworthy of itself or alien to the general decorum of its public life. And it seems to me that anyone would have good reason for being moved, by his good will toward all the Hellenes, and not alone toward you, if in fact there should be any practice here in Rhodes that is not as it should be, to mention it and thought, used the proper names of the two effeminate persons who in the manuscripts are referred to as ‘So-and-so.’\footnote{2}
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ἔχοι μὴ καλῶς, εἰπεῖν καὶ μηνύσαι. πρότερον
μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν συνειστήκει τὸ κοινὸν ἄξιομα
καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ηύξον, ὡμεῖς, Ἀθηναῖοι,
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἡθαῖοι, χρόνον τινὰ Κορίνθιοι,

τὸ παλαιὸν Ἀργεῖον· μνή δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων
οὐθέν ἐστιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅλως ἀνήμηνται
καὶ ἀπολώλας, οἱ δὲ ἀσχημονοῦσι πράττοντες
οὐα ἀκούσετε καὶ πάντα τρόπον τὴν παλαιὰν δόξαν
ἀφανίζοντες, οὐδὲνοι τρυφάν οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ
κέρδος ἀρθυμοῦντες τὸ μηθένα κωλύειν αὐτοὺς
ἀμαρτάνοντας. λοιπὸν ἓ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε· καὶ γὰρ
μόνοις ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει τὸ δοκεῖν ὅτι τῶν τινῶν ἐγε-
γονέναι καὶ μὴ τελέως καταπεφρονήθαι. διὰ
μὲν γὰρ τοὺς οὕτως χρωμένους ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρί-
σιν, ὡς ἀληθεύοντες ἐνοὶ λέγουσιν, οὐθὲν ἐκόλουθε
πάλαι Φρυγῶν πάντοις Ἡ Θρᾴκων ἀτιμοτέρους

γεγονέναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ὡσπερ οὖν οἰκίας
ἡρμημένης εὐδαιμονος καὶ μεγάλης, ὅταν εἰς
ἐτι λοιπὸς ἢ διάδοχος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ πάντα ἐστίν,
καὶ οὕτως ἀμαρτάνῃ τι καὶ ἀκούῃ κακῶς, τὴν
ὅλην δόξαν ἀφανίζει τῆς οἰκίας καὶ πάντας κατ-
αισχύνει τοὺς πρότερον, οὕτως τὰ ὑμετέρα νῦν ἔχει
πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε πρωτεύειν αὐτῆς,
ἀνδρεὶς Ῥώδιοι, μὴ οἴεσθε. τῶν γὰρ ἥλιων ἔτη
καὶ τῶν ἀνθανομένων τιμῆς Ἡ ἀδοξίας ἐστὶ πρώ-
τος εἶναι. τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων οἴχεται καὶ πάντα τρό-

1 λοιπὸν Reiske: λοιπὸν.
make it known to you. For in the past, indeed, many elements contributed to the high standing in which we all share, and many peoples exalted Hellas—you, the Athenians, the Spartans, the Thebans, the Corinthians for a while, and in ancient times the Argives; but at the present time all the rest count for naught. For while some of them have been utterly destroyed and have perished, others disgrace themselves by doing the sort of things of which you hear and in every way blotting out their ancient glory, thinking that they are having an easy life, fools that they are, and counting it gain that there is no one to keep them from erring. But you are left, for you alone still are believed to have proved yourselves to be in truth a people of consequence and not utterly despised. In fact, because of those who treat as they do their native countries, there was nothing to prevent the Hellenic race from having become long since—as some men are saying with perfect truth—more despised than the Phrygians or Thracians. Therefore, just as, when a prosperous and great family has been left desolate and only one male descendant survives, everything depends upon him, and if he errs in any way and bears a bad name, he destroys all the glory of his family and puts shame upon all those who preceded him, so too is your position now in respect to Hellas. For you must not take it for granted, Rhodians, that you hold first place in Hellas, nay you must not. For it is only those Hellenes who still live and are sensible of the difference between honour and dishonour of whom it is possible for any to be first. But all the former are past and gone, have perished in an utterly shameful

\[1\] Cf. Dio 34. 51; 38. 28 ff. and 40.
πον αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐλεεινῶς διέθεσαται: καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπινοησώμενον λοιπὸν ἔστι τῶν ἄλλων 1 τὴν ύπεροχὴν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν πράξεων τε καὶ παθῶν 2 εἰς 160 γε τοὺς νῦν 3 ἀνδρας ὀρῶντα. ἀλλ’ οἱ λίθοι μᾶλλον ἐμφαίνουσι τὴν σεμινότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων· ἐπεὶ αὐτούς γε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς πολιτευμένους οὐκ αὖ εἴποι τις οὐδὲ Μυσῶν ἀπογόνους· ὅστε ἔμοιον δοκοῦν τῶν ὀστῶν οἰκουμένων οἱ τελέως ἀνηρημέναι πόλεις κρεῖττον ἀπαλλάττειν. ἧνης γὰρ ἡ τούτων μνήμη μένει, καὶ τὸ ὅνομα δι’ οὐθέν ὑβρίζεται τῶν πρῶτων καλῶν· ὀστερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν τεθνεῶτων τῷ παντὶ βέλτιον τὰ σώματα ἀνηρήσχου καὶ μηδένα ὅραν ἡ φαίνεσθαι σοφόμενα.

161 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως πλεῖω τῶν εἰκότων ἐπηλθέ μοι μεθανώντος τῆς ὅλης καταστάσεως, ἐκεῖνο δ’ ὑμῖν ἐβουλόμην ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι μόνοι καταλείπεσθε τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οἷς ἂν καὶ παρανέσαι

1 τῶν ἄλλων added by Capps.
2 πράξεων τε καὶ παθῶν Capps, assuming a lacuna after τῶν: παθῶν all MSS. Most editors have assumed that παθῶν is corrupt: πατέρων or πάλαι or παλαιῶν Reiske, πατρίδων Selden, προγόνων Cobet, πόλεων Pflugk, retained by Arnim. Emperius and Bude retained the MSS. reading.
3 νῦν added by Capps.

1 The contrast seems to be between the unworthy Hellenes who have perished and those of the survivors who have held fast to principles of honour.

The tone of this passage is that of the Greek panegyrists, who dwell as much upon the hardships the forefathers endured (τὰ πάθη) as upon their achievements—e.g. the fate of Leonidas
and pitiable way; and as to the rest, it is no longer possible to form a conception of the pre-eminence and splendour of their deeds and, as well, their sufferings, by looking at the men of the present time. Nay, it is rather the stones which reveal the grandeur and the greatness of Hellas, and the ruins of her buildings; her inhabitants themselves and those who conduct her governments would not be called descendants of even the Mysians. So to me, at least, it seems that the cities which have been utterly destroyed have come off better than those which are inhabited as they are now. For the memory of those men remains unimpaired, and the fame of those noble men of the past suffers insult from naught; just as it is true, methinks, with the bodies of the dead—it is in every way better that they should have been utterly destroyed and that no man should see them any more, than that they should rot in the sight of all!

And although these thoughts, which have come to me as I have portrayed the situation as a whole, have perhaps been more numerous than is usual, yet it was my wish to make this point clear to you—that you alone are left of Hellenic peoples to

and his men at Thermopylae, of the Athenians when they left their city, to be burned and sacked by the Persians, etc. The critical notes, however, should be consulted; for the text without supplements is far from satisfactory and no conjectures have a claim to certainty.

2 The Mysians were regarded with contempt by the Mediterranean peoples, a feeling expressed by the proverb “the lowest of the Mysians” (Μυσῶν τὸν ἱσχαροῦ); cf. Plato Theaetetus 209 B, Cicero Pro Flacco 27: “Quid in Gracco sermone tam tritum et celebratum quam si quis despicatui dicitur ut ‘Mysorum ultimus’ esse dicatur?"
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

tis kai perì òun èstwn òti luptethnai dokoûntωn ãmαρτάνειν.

Εἰκότως òan òun prósschouete ãutōi kai pάnta tâ toiauta ëxetástouete ãkribêsteron tōn proçgônōw, èkeînous mēn γαρ òen polloîs ùpîrhekun ëtērōi òh têis ãrētêis èpideixeis, òen tō proçestâna tōn ãllwn, èn tō boñtheîn toîs ãdikoumênois, èn tō ñummaçhous ktaçthai, póleis oikîçeis, nîkâv polêmôswta, ùmîn dê toioûton mēn ouðêv prâttew ënestw.

162 katalêpetai Ð', oîmai, tò ãéntwv proçestâna kai tîn pólîn òiôkeîn kai tò tîmēsaî tîna kai krotalîsaî mî toîs polloîs ômooîs kai tò boulêîsaî kai tò dikásai kai tò toîs òheîs ðûsai kai tò ãgeîn ëorîthn: òen òis ãpâsow ëstî bêlîous tōn ãllwv fâîwthai. tounartoi kai tâ toiauta ùmîn êpâwv tughînai (kai ãgynôsketai parâ pâwv ouç òs mikrâ) tò bâdisma, òh koura, tò mîdêna sôbeîn dîa tîs pôlews, ânagkâzethai dê dîa tîn ûmetêran swîthêian kai toûs ëpidêmouântas ëxenos kâhestótwos ¹ pòreúwthai kâthâper, oîmai, kai toûs âgrôikous ìdeîn ëstîn, òtan eîs palaiotran òh ãymnâsion ëlwsw, õîtw ãrûthwmuî̂s ² kînovmênous: ëti prôs tûtoû têis ësthîtos ð trîpòs, tò ësos ³ òan tûi gelêîon fânêv, têis porfûras tò métron tâ fânerôtera êdî, tò

1 kâhestótwos Reiske: kâhestótwes.
2 ãrûthwmuî̂s Pflügg: ãrûthwmuos B, ãrûthwmos M, ãrûthwmos U.
3 tò ësos Geel: toîs òs.

¹ The hegemony in political matters having passed to the Romans.
² Cf. the advice given to the people of Alexandria in Discourse 32. 74 ff. Cf. also Demosthenes In Mid. 158.
who advice could be offered and regarding whom it is still possible to grieve when they seem to err.

It would, therefore, be reasonable to expect you to give heed to yourselves and to examine all such matters as these more carefully than did your ancestors. For whereas they had many other ways in which to display their virtues—in assuming the leadership over the others, in lending succour to the victims of injustice, in gaining allies, founding cities, winning wars—for you it is not possible to do any of these things. But there is left for you, I think, the privilege of assuming the leadership over yourselves, of administering your city, of honouring and supporting by your cheers a distinguished man in a manner unlike that of the majority, of deliberating in council, of sitting in judgement, of offering sacrifice to the gods, and of holding high festival—in all these matters it is possible for you to show yourselves better than the rest of the world. That indeed is the reason why you are admired for such characteristics as I shall mention—and they are regarded by all the world as no trifling matters—your gait, the way you trim your hair, that no one struts pompously through your city's streets, but that even foreigners sojourning here are forced by your conventional manners to walk sedately; just as, I fancy, one may see even the country clowns, when they enter a wrestling-school or a gymnasium, move their limbs less clumsily than is their wont. Then again, take the mode you affect in dress—which perhaps some appears ridiculous—the width of the purple stripe; we come now to things still more noticeable—your remaining silent as you watch the games,
μεθ' ἧσυχίας θεωρεῖν, ὁ ποππυσμός: πάντα 
ταύτα σεμνὴν τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖ, διὰ ταύτα πάντα 
τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρειν δοκεῖτε, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπασι 
θαυμάζεσθε, ἀγαπάσθε· τῶν λιμένων, τῶν τειχῶν, 
tῶν νεωρίων μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς κοσμεῖ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσιν 
ἀρχαῖον καὶ Ἑλληνικόν, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν μὲν ὅταν 
tις γένηται, εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποβάντα εἰδέναι, 
κἂν τέχνη βάρβαρος ὄν, ὅτι οὐ 1 πάρεστιν εἰς 
tινα πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἢ τῆς Κυκλίκιας· παρ' 
ἄλλους δέ, ἂν μὴ τις ἀκούσῃ τοῦ τόπου τὸ ὄνομα, 
φέρε εἰπεῖν ὅτι καλεῖται Αὐκεῖον ἢ 'Ακαδήμεια, 
μηθὲν διαφέρειν.

164. Τώνοι σὺν χάριν ταύτα παυόμενος ἤδη λέγω καὶ 
tί δηλώσαι βουλόμενος; ὅτι τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον 
ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ μηθὲν παραπέμπειν 
tῶν γυνομένων. κἂν οὕτως ἔχχετε ἐν ἀπασί 
οἷς πράττετε, ἵσως οὐθὲν δοξῆτε κακίους εἰναὶ 
tῶν προγόνων. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει 
dιαφυλάττει ἐαυτοὺς καὶ μένει ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς 
165 σχήματος θαυμαστὸν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· καθάπερ, 
οἷς, κατ' 2 τῶν πλεύτων ἰδεῖν ἐστι· χειμῶνοι 
μὲν ἐπιπεσόντος ἢ σφοδροῦ τοῦ 3 πνεύματος μηδὲ 
tοὺς ἀσελγεστάτους αὐτῶν αἰσχρόν τι ποιοῦντας, 
ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνῳ τῷ πλεῖν ὄντας, ἐν δὲ τῇ γαλήνῃ 
kαὶ τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἐπιπολάξουσαν 
tὴν ὑβρίν, κἂν μὴ ὅσιν ἀκόλαστοι· τὸν αὐτὸν,

1 oū added by Casaubon. 2 κατ' Arnim: κατ.
3 του Post: τοῦ.

1 Cf. § 75.
2 On this use of archaion, about our "classic," cf. Plutarch, 
Pericles xiii. 3: "each one of them (the buildings of Pericles),
in its beauty, was even then and at once antique."

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THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

your applauding by making a clucking sound with your lips\(^1\)—all these manners lend your city dignity, they all cause you to be looked upon as superior to the others, for all these customs you are admired, you are loved; more than by your harbours, your fortifications, your shipyards are you honoured by that strain in your customs which is antique\(^2\) and Hellenic, so that when anybody comes among you he recognizes instantly on disembarking, even if he happens to be of barbarian race, that he has not come to some city of Syria or of Cilicia. But in other cities, unless the stranger hears some one mention the name of the place he sees, that it is called, let us say, 'Lyceum' or 'Academy,' they are all alike to him!

What is my object, then, in mentioning these matters when I am about to conclude, and what do I wish to make clear? It is that you ought to be all the more jealous about your city and to be indifferent to nothing that takes place here. And if you have this spirit in everything you do, perhaps men will think that you are no whit worse than your ancestors. For that you do preserve your character in your present situation, and hold fast to your rôle of moral excellence is, in my opinion at least, an admirable thing. An apt illustration is found, I think, in the conduct of men on board a ship at sea: when a storm strikes them or a hurricane, not even the most wanton of them is to be seen doing anything base; but they are all giving undivided attention to the sailing; whereas in fair weather recklessness prevails among both the sailors and the passengers, even if they do not indulge in licentiousness.\(^3\) In

\(^3\) For the same illustration see Xenophon, Memorabilia 3. 5. 6.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οἴμαι, τρόπον ὁ μὲν πόλεμος ἐξωθε καὶ τοὺς φαυλοτέρους ἐγείρειν καὶ κρατεῖν, ἐν τοσαύτῃ δὲ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀρίστων ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν εἰς μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην μηδὲ ἀταξίαν ὑπενεχθήναι.

1 ὁ μὲν πόλεμος Emperius: ὁ πόλεμος M, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος UB.
2 ἔστιν added by Arnim.
THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

des the same way I believe that war is wont to arouse and to sway even the meaner souls;¹ but in such peaceful and quiet times as these, it is the part of the best men not to drift into any shameful or disorderly practices.

¹ Cf. Plato, Politicus 6, p. 488.
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE:
TO THE PEOPLE OF ALEXANDRIA

This Discourse was delivered before the people of Alexandria in their great theatre. Public meetings were not infrequently held in Greek theatres. The purpose of this particular meeting is not known, but the great length of Dio's address and the seeming patience with which his audience listened to him lend colour to the supposition that Dio was known to be the hearer of an important message, and the people had assembled especially to receive it. Arnim, who argues with plausibility that the speech was delivered in the reign of Trajan, regards Dio as being, in fact if not in name, the emissary of that emperor. Several passages recall thoughts and phrases found in the four Discourses on Kingship, which are thought to have been addressed to Trajan, and Dio speaks as one who enjoys the friendship of the emperor.

Our Discourse is notable for the frankness with which the speaker attacks the foibles and vices of the populace for which the Alexandria of that day was so notorious. Not all the allusions can be explained with certainty, for the history of the period is none too well documented. The very scarcity of contemporary documents, however, lends especial value to the testimony of Dio. Modern writers have drawn heavily upon his statements.
32. ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ

1 Ἄρα γε βούλοισθ’ ἃν, ὃ ἄνδρες, σπουδάσαι χρόνον σμικρὸν καὶ προσέχειν; ἐπειδὴ παλίσχοντες ἄει διατελεῖτε καὶ οὐ προσέχοντες καὶ παιδιᾶς μὲν καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ γέλωτος, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οὐδέποτε ἀπορεῖτε· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ γελοῖοί ἔστε καὶ ἡδεῖς καὶ διακόνους πολλοὺς τούτων ἔχετε· σπουδής·

2 δὲ ύμῶν τὴν πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύον ὅρω οὔσαν. καίτοι τωὲς ἐπανοῦσιν ύμᾶς ὡς σοφούς τε καὶ δεινούς, ὅτι τοσαῦτας μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ἄμα καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐννοεῖτε καὶ τὰχά φθέγγεσθε ὁ τι ἂν ἐννοήσητε· ἐγὼ δὲ μᾶλλον ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐπήμουν. βραδὺ μὲν φθείρομένους, ἐγκρατῶς δὲ συγώντας, ὅρθῶς δὲ διανοοῦμένους· ὡς καὶ νῦν ποιῆσατε, ἵνα κτήσησθε πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ καὶ νὸν ἐτερον μεῖζω τε καὶ σεμνότερον, ὅτι τοσοῦτοι οὖνες λόγων χρησίμων γενομένων ἀπαντες ἐσώπησατε, καὶ πρὸς τούτω ἐδείξατε ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ ἱκανοὶ νοῆσαντες εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούσαντες νοῆσαι. χοροῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαίνος τὸ ἄμα εἴπεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοι· τι γὰρ, ἂν κοινῆ πάντες ἀποτυγχάνωσι τοῦ μέλους; δὴ καὶ τὸ καλὸς ἀκούσαι.

3 Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀμαρτάνετε τὸ Ἀθηναίων ποτὲ
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE:
TO THE PEOPLE OF ALEXANDRIA

My friends, would you kindly be serious for a brief while and give heed to my words? For you are forever being frivolous and heedless, and you are practically never at a loss for fun-making and enjoyment and laughter—indeed you yourselves are naturally inclined to laughter and jollity, and you have many who minister to such tendencies—but I find in you a complete lack of seriousness. And yet there are those who praise you for your wisdom and cleverness, asserting that, although you assemble here in thousands, you not only can conceive what is fitting but at the same time are quick to put your conceptions into words. But I for my part should prefer to praise you as being slow to speak, indeed, and self-restrained enough to keep silent, and yet correct of judgement. Pray display these qualities now, in order that you may acquire, in addition to that other praise, new praise of a different nature, both greater and more honourable—for having all become silent in this great throng when useful counsel was being given and, furthermore, for having shown that you can not merely think before you speak but also listen before you formulate your thought. For while it is praising a chorus to say that they all speak the words together in unison—or rather not even a chorus, for what if all in common miss the tune?—the highest praise you can accord a mass-meeting is to say that it listens well.

For nowadays, you know, you make the mistake
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΝ

άμάρτημα. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνος εἰπόντος, εἰ δὲλονσιν ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς ὤσι τῶν παιδῶν, οἱ δὲ τρῆσαντες τὸ ἔτερον ἵνα χρυσίον ἐνέβαλον, οὐ υπενέτας τοῦ θεοῦ. τούτο μὲν γὰρ κόραις μᾶλλον ἔπρεπε καὶ παῖς Λυδῶν Ἡ Φρυγῶν. Ἐλλήνων δὲ παισὶ, καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ προστάζαντος, οὐκ ἄλλο ἡμοίζεν ἡ παιεῖα καὶ λόγος, ὅτι οἱ τυχόντες εἰκότως ἄνδρες ἁγαθοὶ γίγνονται καὶ σωτήρες τῶν πόλεων.

4 Ἕκεινοι μὲν οὖν κακῶς ἔχρησαντο τοῖς ὤσι τῶν παιδῶν, ἰμεῖς δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν κάκιον. δὴμον γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκοὴ τὸ θέατρον· εἰς τοῦτο δὲ καλὸν μὲν ἡ τίμιον οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ πανέως ποτὲ εἰσέρχεται: κρουμάτων δὲ ἀεὶ μεστῶν ἐστιν καὶ βορίθου καὶ βαμμολοχίας καὶ σκωμμάτων οὐδὲν ἐκείς χρυσῆ. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ὅρθως ἔφην ἀπορεῖν ὑμᾶς σπουδής. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ σπουδαῖοι ἔστε οὔτε οἱ ὑμετέροι συνήθεις καὶ πολλάκις εἰς υἱὸς εἰσιόντες,

μὴν τ' ὀρχησταὶ τε χοροτυπήσων ἀριστοί,

ἵππων τ' ὀκυκότων ἑπιβήτορες, οἵ κε τάχιστα

ηγεραν μέγα νεῖκος ἀπαίδευτοι θεαταῖς,

νηπιάχοις, ἔμνυν δὲ κακὸν πολέμωσοι φέρουσιν.

1 τὸ ἔτερον wrongly suspected by Herwerden.
2 ἡμοίζεν ἡ Morel: ἡμοίζε or ἡμοίζε δὲ.
3 ἀν after eikotws deleted by Emperius.

Nowhere else recorded. Men and boys of eastern nations wore earrings, but for a Greek it was a mark of effeminacy (Athenaeus 12. 46). Herwerden suspected τὸ ἔτερον, but Isidorus Hispalensis, Etymologiarum 19. 31. 10, s.v. inaurae, says: Harum asus in Graecia: puellae utraque aure, pueri tantum dextra gerebant. A like tradition may be dimly
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

which the Athenians once made. I mean, when Apollo said that, if they wished to have good men as citizens, they should put that which was best into the ears of their boys, they pierced one of the ears of each and inserted a bit of gold,\(^1\) not understanding what the god intended. In fact such an ornament was suitable rather for girls and for sons of Lydians and Phrygians, whereas for sons of Greeks, especially since a god had given the command, nothing else was suitable but education and reason, for it is natural that those who get these blessings should prove to be good men and saviours of the state.

The Athenians, as we see, made a bad use of the ears of their sons, but you are making a worse use of your own. For the organ of hearing of a people is the theatre, and into your theatre there enters nothing beautiful or honourable, or very rarely; but it is always full of the strumming of the lyre and of uproar, buffoonery, and securrility, things that bear no resemblance to gold. For that reason, therefore, I was right in saying that you lack seriousness; for neither are you yourselves serious, nor are they serious with whom you are familiar, and who often come before you in the guise of

Both mimes and dancers plying nimble feet,
And men astride swift steeds, most apt to stir
Dire strife amid spectators crude—the fools!—
And bring a general ruin to multitudes.\(^2\)

mirrored in Aristotle's remark (Problemata 32. 7) that 'women call the one ear male, the other female.' Possibly some significance may be found also in the observation made by Xenophon (Anabasis 3. 1. 31), that the man who had been posing as a Greek was found to have both ears pierced.

\(^2\) A cento composed of Iliad 24. 261, Odyssey 18. 263–4, and Iliad 16. 262.
5 τούτο γάρ ἂεὶ ὀρατε καὶ περὶ τοιαύτα ἦστε, ἀφ' ὧν
νον μὲν ἡ φρόνησιν ἡ δικαιαν διάθεσιν ἡ πρὸς
θεοὺς εὐσεβείαν οὐκ ἔστι κτήσασθαι, ἐριν δὲ
ἀμαθῆ καὶ φιλοτιμίαι ἀμέτρον καὶ κενὴν λύπην
καὶ χαρὰν ἰνόητον καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ δαπάνην.

Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀποτρέπων οὐδὲ καταλύειν
κελέων τὸς τοιαύτας ψυχαγωγίας καὶ ἀπάτας
τῆς πόλεως· μανοῖμην γάρ ἂν ἃλλ' ἄξιων ὑμᾶς,
ἀσπερ τούτους ἐτοίμως καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοὺς
παρέχετε, οὕτω καὶ λόγου χρηστοῦ ποτε ἀκούσαι
cαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι δέξασθαι παρρησίαν·
6 ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὧν μικρῷ πρότερον
ἐμνήσθην, οὐ πάντως εὐρήσομεν ἀμαρτάνοντας·
ἀλλὰ τούτο γε ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πάνυ καλῶς ἔποιον, ὅτι
tοὺς ποιηταῖς ἐπέτρεπον μή μόνον τοὺς κατ'
ἄνδρα ἑλεγχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὴ τὴν πόλιν, εἰ τι 1
μή καλῶς ἐπραττόν· ὥστε σὺν πολλοῖς ἐτέροις καὶ
tοιαύτα ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις λέγεσθαι:

δήμος πυκνής, δύσκολον γερόντιον.
ὑπόκωφον,
καὶ
τὶ δ' ἐστ' Ἀθηναίοις ἀπώμοτον; 3
καὶ ταῦτα ἦκουν ἐορτάζοντες καὶ δὴ 4 δημο-
κρατούμενοι, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν σφετέρων πολιτῶν,

1 εἰ τι Pflugk: ἐστι or ἐν ὅτι.
2 'Αθηναίοις Geol: 'Ἀθηναῖος or 'Ἀθηναῖος τὸ.
3 ἀπώμοτον Suidas: ἀνώμοτον οὐ ἀνώμωτον.
4 καὶ δὴ Crosby: καὶ.

1 Horace, Satires 1. 4. 1–5, calls attention to this licence
enjoyed by Old Comedy.

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That indeed is the nature of what you regularly see, and you are devoted to interests from which it is impossible to gain intelligence or prudence or a proper disposition or reverence toward the gods, but only stupid contention, unbridled ambition, vain grief, senseless joy, and raillery and extravagance.

In saying these things I am not trying to divert you from such entertainments and pastimes of your people or bidding you put an end to them—I should be mad to attempt that—but I am asking, that just as you devote yourselves readily and constantly to that sort of thing, so you should at length listen to an honest speech and welcome a frankness whose aim is your own welfare. Why even the Athenians, to whom I referred a moment ago, we shall find to have been not always in error. On the contrary, at least this custom of theirs was very much to their credit—that they gave their poets licence to take to task, not merely persons individually, but even the state at large, in case the people were doing something unseemly. Accordingly, among many other illustrations that might be cited, we find in their comedies utterances such as these:

Old Demos of Pnyxtown, testy little old man,
A bit inclined to deafness, and

What deed is there that Athens would abjure?

And, moreover, they listened to these sayings while holding high festival, even during the democratic regime, at a time when they were not only in complete

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 Dio Chrysostom

εἴ τινα ἤθελον πρὸς ὅργην ἀπολέσαι τῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων, κύριοι καθεστηκότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς, εἶ ἐβούλοντο, μηδὲν ἀνδὲς ἀκοῦειν.

7 Ὡμίν δὲ οὕτε χορὸς ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος οὕτε ποιήσῃ οὕτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, ὅσ ποτε ὑμεῖς μετ’ εὐνοιασ καὶ φανερὰ ποιήσει τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀρρωστήματα, τοιγαροῦν ὅταν ποτὲ φαίνεται τὸ πράγμα, προθυμιώμενος δύχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸτε νομίζειν ἑορτὴν ἁγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ βαρύνεσθαι, κἂν ἄρα, δυσωπεῖται ἐξείπθει, 'Πηνίκα παύσεται;' καὶ 'Πότε εἶσεις θαυματοποιός;' ἢ Ἁρρός ἢ τοιοῦτον ἐτερον; ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἀν ὑμῖν πάρεστι, καὶ οὐ δέος μὴ ποτὲ ἐπιλήψῃ τῶν δὲ τοιούτων λόγων δι’ οὓς ἄνθρωποι εὐδαιμονοῦσι καὶ κρείττους καὶ σωφρονέστεροι γίγνονται καὶ βελτίων οἰκεῖν δύνανται τὰς πόλεις, οὐ πολλάκις ἀκηκόατε: οὐ βούλομαι γὰρ εἶπεῖν, ἀνήκοι ἐστε.

8 Καὶ τούτῳ ἵσως οὐ δι’ ὑμᾶς. δηλώσετε δὲ, ἃν ἀνάσχησθε τῆμερον: ἀλλὰ μάλλον παρὰ τοὺς καλουμένους φιλοσόφους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅλως εἰς πλῆθος οὐκ ἵσαι οὕδε θέλουσι διακιν- δυνεύειν, ἀπεγνωκότες ἵσως τὸ βελτίως ἃν ποιήσαι τοὺς πολλούς: οἱ δ’ ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις

1 ἀπολέσαι Reiske: ἀπολέσαι.
2 δυσωπεῖται Reiske: δυσωπήσει.
3 Πηνίκα Casaubon: ἃνικα.
4 'Αρρός' ἢ τοιοῦτον ἐτερον Crosby: Ἁρρός ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐτερος.
Reiske deletes ἢ after Ἁρρός.

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control of their own citizens, in case they desired in a
fit of anger to destroy anyone who used such language,
but also when they exercised authority over the
other Greeks as well, so that they might have avoided
listening to anything disagreeable, had they so
desired.¹

But you have no such critic, neither chorus ² nor
poet nor anyone else, to reprove you in all friendliness
and to reveal the weaknesses of your city. There-
fore, whenever the thing does at last appear, you
should receive it gladly and make a festival of the
occasion instead of being vexed; and even if vexed,
you should be ashamed to call out, "When will
the fellow stop?" or "When is a juggler coming
on?" or "Rubbish!" or some such thing. For, as I
have said, that sort of entertainment you always
have in stock and there is no fear that it will ever
fail you; but discourses like this of mine, which make
men happier and better and more sober and better
able to administer effectively the cities in which they
dwell, you have not often heard—for I do not care
to say that you would not listen to them.

And perhaps this situation is not of your making, but
you will show whether it is or not if you bear with
me today; the fault may lie rather at the door of
those who wear the name of philosopher. For some
among that company do not appear in public at all
and prefer not to make the venture, possibly because
they despair of being able to improve the masses;
others exercise their voices in what we call lecture-

¹ Aristophanes, Acharnians 377–82, 502–3, 659–60, Wasps
1284–91, implies that Cleon tried to curtail the licence of the
poet, but without success.
² In the parabasis of comedy the chorus was especially
outspoken in its criticism of men and affairs.
Διο Χρυσοστόμος

ἀκροατηρίως φωνασκούσιν, ἕναπόντους λαβόντες ἀκροατάς καὶ χειροθείες εἰσαυτοῖς. τῶν δὲ Κυνικῶν λεγομένων ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πλῆθος οὐκ ὄλγον, καὶ καθάπερ ἄλλου τινὸς πράγματος καὶ τούτου φορὰ γέγονε, νόθουν ἄνευ γε καὶ ἄγεννες ἀνθρώπων οὐθέν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐπισταμένων, ἀλλὰ χρείων προβής. οὕτω δὲ ἐν τε πριόδοις καὶ στενωποῖς καὶ πυλώσων ἵρων ἄγειροντες καὶ ἀπαιτῶν παιδάρια καὶ ναύτας καὶ τοιούτον ὄχλον, σκόμματα καὶ πολλὴν σπερμολογίαν συνείροντες καὶ τὰς ἀγοραίους ταύτας ἀποκρίσεις. τοιγάροι δὲ ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐθέν ἐργάζονται, κακὸν δὴ ὡς οἶον τὸ τὸ μέγιστον, καταγελάντες ἔθλιζοντες τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὡσπερ ἄν εἰ παῖδας τις ἐθίζοι διδασκάλων καταφρονεῖν, καὶ δέον ἐκκοπτεῖν τὴν ἄγερωχλαν αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ ἐτὶ αὐξοῦσιν.

10. Τῶν δὲ εἰς ὑμᾶς παριόντων ὡς πεπαιδευμένων οἱ μὲν ἐπιδεικτικοὺς λόγους καὶ τούτους ἀμαθεῖς, οἱ δὲ ποιήματα συνθέντες ἄδοουσιν, ὡς πάνω φιλωδῶν ὡς καταγελάσεις. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰς ποιητὰς καὶ ῥήτορες, οὐδὲν ὅσως δεινῶν· εἰ δὲ φιλοσόφοι ταύτα πράττουσι κέρδους ἐνεκεν καὶ δόξης τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀφελείας, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν. ὅμοιον γὰρ ὡσπερ εἰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐπὶ κάμινον ἀνθρώπους εἰσιῶν τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς θεραπείας ἀμελήσεις, στεφάνους δὲ καὶ ἑταῖρας καὶ μύρου αὐτῶς εἰσφέροι.  

1 φωνασκούσιν Geol: φωνάς ἀσκούσιν.  
2 γέγονε, νόθον Cobet: γέγονεν οὐθέν.  
3 παριόντων Cobet: προϊόντων.
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

halls, having secured as hearers men who are in league with them and tractable. And as for the Cynics, as they are called, it is true that the city contains no small number of that sect, and that, like any other thing, this too has had its crop—persons whose tenets, to be sure, comprise practically nothing spurious or ignoble, yet who must make a living—still these Cynics, posting themselves at street-corners, in alleyways, and at temple-gates, pass round the hat and play upon the credulity of lads and sailors and crowds of that sort, stringing together rough jokes and much tittle-tattle and that low badinage that smacks of the market-place. Accordingly they achieve no good at all, but rather the worst possible harm, for they accustom thoughtless people to deride philosophers in general, just as one might accustom lads to scorn their teachers, and, when they ought to knock the insolence out of their hearers, these Cynics merely increase it.

Those, however, who do come before you as men of culture either declaim speeches intended for display, and stupid ones to boot, or else chant verses of their own composition, as if they had detected in you a weakness for poetry. To be sure, if they themselves are really poets or orators, perhaps there is nothing so shocking in that, but if in the guise of philosophers they do these things with a view to their own profit and reputation, and not to improve you, that indeed is shocking. For it is as if a physician when visiting patients should disregard their treatment and their restoration to health, and should bring them flowers and courtesans and perfume.

4 καὶ τούτους Αρνίμ, πρὸς τοὺς Ρείσκε: καὶ τοὺς. Geel suspects a lacuna after ἀμαθεῖς.

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11 Ὡνεὶς δὲ ὀλίγου παρρησίαν ἀγηρόχασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ταύτην ἐνδεῶς, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμπλῆσαι τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν οὐδ' ὡστε διατελέσαι λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἡ δύο ῥήματα ἐπιτόντες, καὶ λοιδορήζαντες μᾶλλον ἡ διδάξαντες ὑμᾶς, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπίασιν, εὐλαβούμενοι μὴ μεταξὺ θορυβήσετε καὶ πάρα·

πέμψητε αὐτούς, ὡσπερ οἱ χειμῶνοι ἀποτολμώντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν βραχὺν τινα καὶ σύντομον πλοῦν. ἀνδρα δὲ λαβεῖν καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδόλως παρρησιαζόμενον, καὶ μὴν δόξης χάρων μὴ ἐπ' ἀργυρῷ προσποιούμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ εὐνοια καὶ κηδεμονία τῶν ἄλλων ἐτοιμον, εἰ δέοι, καὶ κατα·

γελᾶσθαι, καὶ ἀταξιαν πλῆθους ἐνεγκείν καὶ ἀδύναν, οὐ ράδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω εὐνυγοὺς πόλεως, ἐν τοσαύτη σπάνει γενναίως καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, ἀφθονία δὲ κολάκων καὶ γοῆτων καὶ σοφιστῶν.

12 Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμάντοι μοι δοκῶ προ·

ελέσθαι τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δαμονίου τινὸς γνώμης. ὅπο γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ προνοοῦσι, ἐκεῖνοι παρασκευάζουσι καὶ συμβούλουσι ἀγαθοὺς αὐτομάτους καὶ λόγους ἐπιτηθείους καὶ ξυμφέροντας εἰρήθαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἥκιστα ὑμᾶς ἀπιστεῖν χρή, παρ' οἷς μάλιστα μὲν τιματί τὸ δαμόνιον, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸ δέλκυσι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μόνον οὐ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν διὰ των χρησμῶν καὶ δι'

1 ῥήματα Casaubon: ρήμα.

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2. Dio may have Socrates in mind, but the daimonion of Socrates served to check, not to impel.

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THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

But there are only a few who have displayed frankness in your presence, and that but sparingly, not in such a way as to fill your ears therewith nor for any length of time; nay, they merely utter a phrase or two, and then, after berating rather than enlightening you, they make a hurried exit, anxious lest before they have finished you may raise an outcry and send them packing, behaving in very truth quite like men who in winter muster up courage for a brief and hurried voyage out to sea. But to find a man who in plain terms and without guile speaks his mind with frankness, and neither for the sake of reputation nor for gain makes false pretensions, but out of good will and concern for his fellow-men stands ready, if need be, to submit to ridicule and to the disorder and the uproar of the mob—to find such a man as that is not easy, but rather the good fortune of a very lucky city, so great is the dearth of noble, independent souls and such the abundance of toadies, mountebanks, and sophists.

In my own case, for instance, I feel that I have chosen that rôle, not of my own volition, but by the will of some deity. For when divine providence is at work for men, the gods provide, not only good counsellors who need no urging, but also words that are appropriate and profitable to the listener. And this statement of mine should be questioned least of all by you, since here in Alexandria the deity is most in honour, and to you especially does he display his power through almost daily oracles and dreams.

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2 Serapis. He had much in common with Aesclepius, with whom he was frequently identified (Tacitus, Historiae 4. 84). The cult was widespread, but its most famous centre was at Alexandria (Pausanias 1. 18. 4).
Όνειράτων, μή οὖν οίκεσθε κοιμωμένων μόνον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, κατ' ίδιαν ἐκάστῳ μηνύ- 
οντα τὸ συμφέρον, ἔγχρηγορότων δὲ ἀμελεῖν καὶ 
κοινῇ καὶ ἀθρόοις μηδὲν ἀν δεῖξαι τῶν χρησίμων. 
pολλάκις γὰρ ήδη καὶ ύπαρ ὄνησε καὶ μεθ' 
ἡμέραν ἀναργώς προεἶπεν. Ἡστε δὴπο τὰς τοῦ 
"Απίδος φήμας ἐνθάδε ἐν Μέμφει πλησίον ὕμων, 
ὅτι παῖδες ἀπαγγέλλουσι παῖζοντες τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ 
θεῷ, καὶ τοῦτο ἁψευδές πέφηκεν. δὲ δὲ ἡμέτερος 
θεὸς, οἶμαι, τελείωτερος ὁ ὃν, δι' ἀνδρῶν ὕμᾶς καὶ 
μετὰ σπουδῆς βουλεῖται ὑφελεῖν, οὐ δι' ὀλίγων 
ῥημάτων, ἀλλ' ἄχυρα καὶ πλῆρει κληδώνι καὶ 
λόγῳ σαφεῖ, διδάσκοντι περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, 
ὁν ὑπομένετε, μετὰ γνώμης καὶ πειθὸς.

Καὶ πρῶτον γε ἀπάντων, ἕνα, οἴην ἐκρήγνυτε ἐργάζωμαι, 
τούτῳ πείσθητε βεβαιώς, ὅτι 
τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ πάνθ᾽ 
ὄμοιος ἐστὶ δαιμόνια, καὶ πλέον τὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας 
τύχῃ κυβερνήτου, καὶ ἔθνος ἡ πόλις χρηστῶν 
ηγεμόνων, καὶ ἰστρός ἐν καιρῷ παραγένηται τῷ 
κάμνοντι, καὶ τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι χρῆ βοηθὸν ἦκεν 
παρὰ θεοῦ, καὶ λόγων τις ἀκούσῃ φρονίμων, ἐκεῖ-

θεὶν ἐπιπεμφθῆναι. καθόλου γὰρ οὐδὲν εὐδαιμον 
οὐδ' ὑφελεῖν, δ'] μὴ κατὰ γνώμην καὶ δύναμιν 
τῶν θεῶν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ

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1 For μόνον Cobet conjectured μὲν. 
2 κατ' after θεόν deleted by Reiske. 
3 ἡμᾶς Reiske: ὕμᾶς.
Think not, therefore, that the god exercises his watchful care only over sleeping men, disclosing to each in private what is for his good, but that he is indifferent toward them when they are awake and would not disclose to them, in public and collectively, anything beneficial; for often in the past he has given aid to men in their waking moments, and also in broad daylight he has clearly foretold the future. You are acquainted no doubt with the prophetic utterances of Apis here, in neighbouring Memphis, and you know that lads at play announce the purpose of the god, and that this form of divination has proved to be free from falsehood. But your deity, methinks, being more potent, wishes to confer his benefits upon you through the agency of men rather than boys, and in serious fashion, not by means of few words, but with strong, full utterance and in clear terms, instructing you regarding most vital matters—if you are patient—with purpose and persuasiveness.

And first of all—to begin, as I ought, with matters close at hand—rest assured of this, that all things which happen to men for their good are without exception of divine origin; not only is this true if a voyager has the luck to find a pilot with experience, or a nation or a city to secure good leaders, but also if a physician arrives in time to save his patient, we must believe that he is a helper come from god, and if one hears words of wisdom, we must believe that they too were sent by god. For, in general, there is no good fortune, no benefit, that does not reach us in accordance with the will and the

1 Pausanias 7.22.2–4 tells briefly of this oracle. Apparently the chance utterances of lads playing near the shrine were thought to reveal the god's response.
πάντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοὶ κρατοῦσι καὶ διανέμουσι δαφνάῳ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι δέχεσθαι· τὰ κακὰ δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν, ὡς ἕξ ἐτέρας τινὸς πηγῆς ἔρχεται 1 πλησίον οὕσης παρ’ ἧμιν, ὁσπερ ἐπὶ τούθε τοῦ ὦδατος τὸ μὲν σαῦξον καὶ τρέφον καὶ γόνιμον ὄντως ἄνωθεν ποθεν ἕκ δαιμονίου τινὸς πηγῆς κάτεισι, τοὺς ῥυπαροὺς δὲ ὅχετος καὶ δυσάδεις αὐτοὶ ποιούμεν καὶ ἄφ’ ἧμιν οὕτω ἑστανται. διὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἄνοιαν καὶ τρυφήν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν δυσχερής ὁ βίος καὶ μεστὸς ἀπάτης, πονηρίας, λύπης, μυρίων ἀλλων κακῶν.

16 Τούτων δὲ ἐν ἱμαμα καὶ φάρμακον ἐποίησαν οἱ θεοὶ παιδείαν καὶ λόγον, ὡς διὰ βίου μὲν τις χρόμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἦλθε ποτὲ πρὸς τέλος ὕγιες καὶ εὐθαμον· οἱ δὲ σπανίως καὶ διὰ χρόνου ποτὲ περιτυχόντες

ἀλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ’ ἐτερήμεροι, ἀλλοτε δ’ αὐτε τεθνᾶσιν·

ὥς δὲ ἦδη ποτὲ ἔξαισιν δεινῶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτοὶ ἀπετράπησαν. οἱ δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἀπειροῦντο συνομοῦντοι 2 λόγῳ τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑπέχοντες ὀλοκλήρους ἄθλους μεθεμίαν σκέπην μηδὲ προβολὴν ἔχοντες ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν,

ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀκαλύπτῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ βίῳ χειμαζόμενοι,

1 τῶν after ἔρχεται deleted by Arnim.
2 σωφρονίζοντι Reiske: σωφρονοῦντι.
power of the gods; on the contrary the gods themselves control all blessings everywhere and apportion lavishly to all who are ready to receive; but evils come from quite a different source, as it were from some other fount close beside us. Take for example the water of Alexandria—that which keeps us alive and nourishes us and is truly the author of our being: it descends from some region up above, from some divine fount; whereas the filthy, evil-smelling canals are our own creation, and it is our fault that such things exist. For it is through man’s folly and love of luxury and ambition, that life comes to be vexatious and full of deceit, wickedness, pain, and countless other ills.

However, for these maladies one remedy and cure has been provided by the gods, to wit, education and reason, and the man who throughout life employs that remedy with consistency comes at last to a healthy, happy end; but those who encounter it rarely and only after long intervals,

Alternate live one day, are dead the next.¹

But, nevertheless, there have been occasions when even such persons have been turned aside when portentous disasters were impending. But those who are wholly unacquainted with the remedy of which I speak, and never give ear to chastening reason, are utterly wretched, having no refuge or defence against their sufferings,

But storm-tossed on the sea of life they drift,
Devoid of shelter and in misery,²

καθάπερ σκάψει σαθρῷ καὶ λευμένῳ πάντως, ἐν ἕν ἀγνώμονι γνώμη καὶ πονηρίᾳ.

17 Συμβαλλείς δὲ τούς κακίστους καὶ ἀτυχεστάτους ὡς πορρωτάτους φεύγων ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ἂν βιάζηται τὸς, ἄσπερ, οἷμαι, καὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν τὰ δυσχερή λιῶν ὦν ἐὰν προσάψασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ σημεῖον ἐστὶ τοῦ πάντων πονηρῶς αὐτὰ ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι παρ’ ἄτεροις ἡσαυ ἱατροὺς οὐχ ἐκόντες ἱσχυροτέρους. διότι γὰρ θεραπεῖα κακίας καὶ πρόνοια, καθάπερ τῶν ἄλλων νόσων, ἢ μὲν ἑοικία διαίτη καὶ φαρμάκια, ἢ δὲ καύσει καὶ τομῇ, προσήκουσα μᾶλλον ἄρχουσι καὶ νόμοι καὶ δικασταῖς, οἱ τὸ περιττὸν δὴ καὶ ἀνίατον ἐξαρωβοῦν. βελτίως δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ ῥαδίως αὐτὸ πράττοντες, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔργον εἶναι φημὶ τῶν δυναμένων διὰ πειθοῦς καὶ λόγου ψυχᾶς πραΐνει καὶ μαλαττείν. οὔτοι δὲ σωτηρίες εἰσὶ καὶ φύλακες τῶν οἰων τε σώζουσα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τέλος τὴν πονηρίαν εἴργοντες καὶ κατέχοντες.

Δεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐκατέρων ταῖς πόλεσι, πολὺ δὲ ἐπιεικεστέρων 4 τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἔξουσιαις. κολάζειν μὲν γὰρ προσῆκει φειδόμενον, διδάσκειν δὲ μὴ φειδόμενον· καὶ χρηστοῦ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡγεμόνος συγγνώμη, φιλοσόφου δὲ κακοῦ μὴ πικρόν εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τιμωρίας σκληρὸν 5 ἀπόλλυσι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πικρὸν σύμψεων πέφυκε. κινδυνεύει

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1 πάντως, ἐν Reiske, πάντας ἐν Selden, τῇ αὐτῶν ὕπ πλανῶμεν Εμπερίου, πλανῶμεται ἐν Jacobi: πάντων ἐν.
2 οὐχ ἐκόντες Selden: οὐκ ἐχόντες.
3 κακίας καὶ Reiske: καὶ κακίας.
4 ἐπιεικεστέρων Casaubon: ἐπιεικεστέρων.
5 σκληρὸν Casaubon: πλῆρες.

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as if embarked upon a rotten and wholly shattered hulk, amidst a sea of senseless opinion and misery.

And it so happens that it is the most depraved and unfortunate men who flee the farthest from the voice of reason and will not listen to it, not even if you try to force them—just as, I fancy, those sores which are especially distressing shrink from the touch, and that in itself is a sign of their extremely bad condition. But such sufferers will have to visit a different kind of physician, however unwillingly, whose treatment will be more drastic. For there are two systems for the treatment of vice and its prevention, just as there are for maladies in general: the one may be likened to dieting and drugs, and the other resembles cautery and the knife, this being more suitable for the use of magistrates and laws and jurymen, that is, for those whose business it is to remove growths that are abnormal and incurable. But much to be preferred are those who do not lightly resort to removal. The other treatment is, I claim, the proper function of men who have the power through persuasion and reason to calm and soften the soul. These indeed are saviours and guardians of all who can be saved, confining and controlling vice before it reaches its final stage.

It is true, no doubt, that both types of practitioners are required by the state, but the type to be found in public office should be much the milder of the two. For in administering punishment one should be sparing, but not so in imparting instruction; and a good prince is marked by compassion, a bad philosopher by lack of severity. For while the harshness of the one in punishing destroys, the other's severity of speech is by nature salutary. It is likely,
μέντοι πολλή τις εἶναι σπάνις ὑμῖν τῶν τὸ 
'ὐστερον ἐπισταμένων· οὐτε γὰρ χρήματα αὐτοῖς 
οὐτε δύναμις περιγίγνεται διὰ τούτου, ἀλλ' 
ἀπόχθεια μᾶλλον καὶ λοιασία καὶ προπηλακισμός·
ἀν ἵσως οὐκέτι δει 2 φροντίζειν. τοιγαροῦν διὰ τὴν 
ἐκεῖνων ἀναχώρησιν καὶ σκωτὴν ἑρίδων ὑμῖν 
φύεται πλῆθος καὶ δικών καὶ βοηθαὶ τραχεία καὶ 
γλώτταί βλαβεραί καὶ ἁκόλαστοι, κατηγοροι,
συκοφαντήματα, γραφαί, ρητόρων ὁχλος, καθάπερ,
οἶμαι, δι' ἕνδειαν ἱστρῶν ἢ δι' ἀπειρίαν πλείον 
ὁι θαπτόντες γίγνονται.

20 Καὶ τούτων ἐν ἁρχῇ μὲν ἠτιασάμην τοὺς μὴ 
παριόντας εἰς τὸ πλῆθος μὴδὲ τολμῶντας ὑμῖν 
διαλέγοντας, ἀλλὰ σεμνοὺς μὲν εἶναι βουλομένους,
ἀνωφελεῖς δὲ ὅρμων τοὺς καὶ ὅμοιοὺς τοῖς ἀγνενέσι
τῶν ἀθλητῶν, οἱ τὰς παλαιότερα ἐνοχλοῦσι καὶ
τὰ γυμνάσια χειρονομοῦντες καὶ παλαιόντες, εἰς δὲ 
τὸ στάδιον οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ίέναι, τὸν ἕλιον καὶ τὰς
πληγὰς ψφορώμενοι. τὸ μέντοι πράγμα δυσχερῆς
ὅντως καὶ δι' ὑμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον ἐνεγκείν
τοσοῦτον πλῆθος θόρυβον οὐδὲ μυρίσιν ἀνθρώπων
ἀπείροις ἐναντίον βλέψαι χωρίς ὡδῆς καὶ κιθάρας.
τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἔστι πρὸς τὸν
δήμον ὑμῶν, καθάπερ στέαρ φασίν ἐνίων ζῴων
ὠφελεῖν πρὸς τι τῶν χαλεπῶν. 4

21 'Εγὼ γοῦν, εἰ ἦν ὃδικός, οὐκ ἂν δεύρο εἰσῆλθον

1 τὸ added by Reiske.
2 οὐκέτι δεῖ] οὐκ ἦν Reiske.
3 ἀνθρώπων Reiske: ἀνθρώπως.
4 ὡφελεῖν πρὸς τι τῶν χαλεπῶν deleted by Weil, unnecessarily. Arnim believes corrupt and suggests addition of καὶ ἱστρῶν ἑρίδων after χαλεπῶν, apparently unwilling to construe στέαρ with ἐνίων ζῴων.
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however, that you have a great dearth of men who are expert in the latter branch of healing; for its practitioners gain neither wealth nor power thereby, but rather hatred, abuse, and reviling, though perhaps one should pay no more attention to such things. Accordingly, when the philosophers quit the field and are silent, there springs up among you a multitude of quarrels and lawsuits, harsh cries, tongues that are mischievous and unrestrained, accusers, calumnies, writs, a horde of professional pleaders—just as, I suspect, the lack of physicians, or else their incompetence, accounts for the increase in number of the undertakers!

In my opening remarks¹ also I laid the blame for this upon the philosophers who will not appear before the people or even deign to converse with you, but, while wishing to maintain their dignity, are seen to be of no utility, and like those degenerate athletes who are a nuisance to wrestling-schools and gymnasia with their make-believe sparring and wrestling, but refuse to enter the stadium, viewing with suspicion the sun’s heat and the blows. However, the trouble becomes truly difficult because of you. For it is not easy to endure the uproar of such a crowd as this, or to face countless thousands of human beings without the support of song and lyre. For music is an antidote in dealing with the populace of your city, just as, we are told, the fat of certain creatures is beneficial in dealing with one of the serious disorders.²

I, for instance, had I the gift of song, should not have come here before you without some

¹ § 8.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δίχα μέλους τινὸς ἡ ἄσματος. νῦν δὲ τούτου μὲν ἀπορῶ τοῦ φαρμάκου· θεὸς ὃ, ὁπερ ἐφην, θαρρήσαλ μοι παρέσχεν,

ὅσ τε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφελετοῦν μίκης

ῥηθῇς, τοτε δ’ αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει.

εἰ οὖν τὰ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ἔπη κἀγὼ λέγομι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ πεποίηται Καλυψοὶ ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγγελίας, ἣν ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ὅσιος ἑκόμιζε, τάχ’ ὃν ληρέω με φαίνετε, ῥητέα δ’ ὅμως.

Ζεὺς ἐμὲ γ’ ἤμων ἔτη ἔλθεμεν οὐκ ἠθέλοντα· τίς δ’ ἂν ἐκὼν τοσοῦτον διαδράμοι ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ ἀσπετοῦ; οὐδὲ τις ἁγχι βροτῶν πόλις.

22 Ἐκεῖνος μὲν θεὸς ὃν καὶ πετόμενος δυσχεραίνει τά κύματα καὶ τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν μεταξὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρημίν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνθρώπως οὐδεὶς οὐδαιμόθεν ἐν τριβωνίω φαύλῳ μήτε ἄδειαν ἡδὺς μήτε μεζὸν ἐτέρου φθεγγόμενος, οὐκ ἀρὰ ἐδεισα τὸν ὑμετέρον θρούν οὐδὲ τὸν γέλωτα οὐδὲ τῆς ὀργῆς οὐδὲ τοὺς 3 οὐριγμούς οὐδὲ τὰ σκάμματα, οἱς πάντας εκπλήττεται καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντων ἀεὶ περίεστε καὶ ἱδιωτῶν καὶ βασιλέων; καὶ ταύτα ἀκούων Ὀμήρου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ἤμοιοντων ἀεὶ τὸν ὄχλον ὑσ

1 ἑκόμιζε Pflugk: ἑνμίζε.
2 τάχ’ ὃν Wilamowitz: τάχα.
3 toûs added by Arnim.
tune or lay. But the truth is, I lack that magic spell; yet a god, as I said,\(^1\) has given me courage, the god

Who routs with ease at times the hero brave
And robs him of his conquest, then again
Himself doth urge and cheer to victory.\(^2\)

If, then, in addressing you I were to use the words of Hermes as he is portrayed in the Odyssey, excusing himself to Calypso for the unpleasant message that he bore for her, no doubt you would declare that I was talking nonsense, and yet speak them I must:

Zeus bade me hither come, though I was loath;
For who of his own choosing would traverse
The salty sea so vast, unspeakable?
Nor is there near a town of mortal men.\(^3\)

If Hermes, a god and a winged god besides, complains of the waves and the sea and the lack of cities and men on the way, was I, a mere mortal, a nobody from nowhere, clad in a mean cloak, with no sweetness of song and a voice no louder than common, not afraid of your noise, your laughter, your anger, your hissing, your rough jokes—the means by which you terrify all men and always dominate men everywhere, both private citizens and princes—and that too, though I hear Homer and the other poets constantly singing of the mob as being cruel and

\(^1\) § 12.
\(^2\) Iliad 17. 177–8, slightly modified. Hector is justifying his conduct to Glauceus.
\(^3\) Odyssey 5. 90–101. The message borne by Hermes is a command to release Odysseus.
χαλεπόν τε καὶ ἀπειθῇ καὶ πρὸς ὑβριν ἔτοιμον,
tοῦ μὲν οὕτω λέγοντος:

κυνήθη δ' ἀγορῆ, ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης
πόντου Ἰκαρίων, τὰ μὲν τ' Ἑυρόσ τε Ὁντος τε
ἀροὶ ἐπαίξας πατρὸς Διὸς ἐκ νεφέλων

ἐτέρου δὲ πάλιν αὖ,

δήμος ἄστατον κακὸν,
καὶ θαλάσσῃ πάνθ' ὅμοιον ὡς ἄνεμον ῥυπίζεται.
καὶ γαληνὸς ἦν τύχη, πρὸς πνεύμα βραχὺ
kορυφεῖται,
κἂν τις αἰτία γένηται, τὸν πολίτην κατέπειν.

τάχ' ἂν 3 οὖν καὶ υμεῖς ἐμὲ τῷ θορύμῳ καταπίνοτε
καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ, θυμόμενον ὑμᾶς ὦφελεῖν. μείν-
αντες δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαντες διὰ τέλους πάσι βασιλεῖ
δόξετε, καὶ οὐ μόνον κρουμάτων ἐμπείροι καὶ
δραχμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων φρονίμων, ὡς κάμοι
πρὸς τοὺς αἰτιωμένους καὶ καταγγέλοντας,
ὅτι δεύτερο εἰσήλθον, ἢ δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαί
αἰτιάζονται γάρ, εὐ δικαίου, καὶ φήσουσι δοξο-
κόπον εἶναι καὶ μαυνόμενον, ὡς τοὺς ἀμαντὸν ὅχλον
καὶ θορύμῳ παρέβαλον· ὅπως οὖν ἔχω λέγειν
ὅτι οὐ πᾶν πλήθος ἄσελγές ἢ σιν οὐδὲ ἀνήκουν,
οὔτε ὑπὸ παντός δεῖ τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους φεύγειν.

Σαφέστερον δ' ὑμῖν, εἰ βούλεσθε, διελεύσομαι

1 ἂν τύχη Καύσος: ἐντείχῳ τε ἠντε ἰχθὺι τε ἠντ' χαρά.
2 πρὸς Reiske: πάν.
3 τάχ' an Pflugk: τάχ'.

1 Iliad 2. 144–6.
2 Kock, Com. Att. Frag., Adespora 1324. This bold simile was paraphrased by Demosthenes, De Falsa Legatione 194.
unruly and prone to violence? This is what Homer has to say:

Then stirred was the assembly, as the sea
Sends forth long billows on the Icarian deep,
Billows the Southeast wind doth raise, with force
Rushing from out the clouds of Father Zeus; ¹

and here are the words of another:

Unstable and evil is the populace,
And wholly like the sea: beneath the gale
’Tis fanned to fury; should a calm ensue,
A little puff doth ruffle it. So let
Some charge be made, the victim is engulfed.²

So you too perhaps might engulf me with your uproar and your turmoil, in spite of my desire to serve you. But if you wait and hear me through, all men will think you wonderful, and will give you credit for acquaintance, not alone with twanging lyres and dancing feet, but with words of wisdom too, that I also may thus have a just defence to offer those who blame and condemn me for coming here; for they will blame me, you may be sure, and will say that I am a notoriety-hunter and a madman to have thus exposed myself to the mob and its hubbub. Let me, then, be able to assert that not every populace is insolent and unwilling to listen, and that not every gathering of the people must be avoided by men of cultivation.

But I will explain to you more clearly, if you wish,

¹38: ὁ μὲν δὴμός ἐστιν ἀσταθμητότατον πράγμα τῶν πάντων
καὶ ἀσωμβλητότατον, ὡσπερ θάλαττ’ ἀκατάστατον, ὡς ἂν τόχη
κυνοφυίνοι. The verses have been attributed either to Solon or Archilochus or to some dramatist.
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περὶ δῆμου φύσεως, τούτ᾿ ἐστι περὶ ύμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τι τῶν χρησίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν ύμᾶς ὠφελήσεις ἢ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς εἰ λέγομεν. φημὶ δὴ δῆμον ἐνκέναν μάλιστα ἄνδρὶ δυνάστῃ καὶ σφόδρα ἅγιαρῷ, μεγάλην τινὰ ἐξουσίαν καὶ ρώμην ἔχοντι, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μείζονι δυνάστῃ καὶ ἀρχοντι πλεόνων, ὀσφυπερ ἄν αὐτὸς ἢ πλείων ὁ δῆμος καὶ πόλεως γενναιοτέρας.  
26 ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ βασιλεῖς, θεοὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν κοινὴ γεγονότες, ηθελόντες δὴν τοις καὶ προστάται 
χρηστοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, τῶν μὲν ἄγαθῶν ἑκουσίων 
tαιμίᾳ, τῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν σπανίως μεταδίδοντες καὶ 
κατὰ ἀνάγκην, κόσμῳ πόλεων ἡδόμενοι. οἱ δὲ 
tούτων κληροὶ καὶ ἄγριοι τύραννοι, χαλεποὶ 
μὲν ἀκοῦσαι, χαλεποὶ δὲ συμβαλεῖν τούτων ἢ 
μὲν ὀργῇ πρὸς πάντα ἐτοιμοῖ, ἀσπερ θηρίων 
ἀνημέρων, τὰ δὲ ὅτα ἐμπέφρακται, καὶ πάροδος 
οὐκ ἔστων εἰς αὐτὰ λόγους ἐπιεικέσις, ἀλλὰ 
κολακεία καὶ ἀπάτη κρατεῖ παρ’ αὐτοῖς.  
27 Ὄμοιος δὲ καὶ δῆμος ὁ μὲν τις εὐγνώμων καὶ 
πρᾶος καὶ γαλήνως ὑπὸς, οἷος γεύσασθαι παρρη-
σίας καὶ μὴ πάντα ἐθέλεις τρυφῶν ἐπιεικῆς, 
μεγαλόφρων, αἰδούμενος τοὺς ἄγαθους καὶ ἄνδρας 
καὶ λόγους, τοὺς νουθετοῦσι καὶ διδάσκουσι χάριν 
eιδώς: ὃν ἔγω τίθημι τῆς θέας καὶ βασιλικῆς 
φύσεως, καὶ προσεῖναι φημὶ καὶ διαλέγεσθαι

1 We need not suppose that Dio is addressing an official assembly of the people. The crowd in the theatre is so large and representative that, like Aristophanes, he identifies it with the government.

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the nature of the demos, in other words, the nature of yourselves. In fact such an explanation is a useful thing, and it will do you more good than if I were to speak about heaven and earth. Well then, I claim that the demos most closely resembles a potentate, and a very strong one too, one that has great authority and power, and a more powerful potentate and holding sway over a greater number in proportion as the people itself is more numerous and belongs to a prouder city. Among these over-lords, then, are included kings, who have been deified for the general safety of their realm, real guardians and good and righteous leaders of the people, gladly dispensing the benefits, but dealing out hardships among their subjects rarely and only as necessity demands, rejoicing when their cities observe order and decorum. But others, on the contrary, are harsh and savage tyrants, unpleasant to listen to and unpleasant to meet; their rage is prompt to rise at anything, like the rage of savage beasts, and their ears are stopped, affording no entrance to words of fairness, but with them flattery and deception prevail.

In like manner democracy is of two kinds: the one is reasonable and gentle and truly mild, disposed to accept frankness of speech and not to care to be pampered in everything, fair, magnanimous, showing respect for good men and good advice, grateful to those who admonish and instruct; this is the democracy which I regard as partaking of the divine and royal nature, and I deem it fitting that one should

2 The προςτάτης was one whose influence determined policy in a democracy. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens 28, calls the role of such leaders from Solon to Cleophon.

3 Closely resembles Or. 1. 23-24.
τούτω πρέπειν, καθάπερ ἵπτον γενναῖον ἐξ ἠνίας εὐτελοὺς πράως ἁγοντα, οὐδὲν δεόμενον ψαλίων.

28 οἱ δὲ πλείους καὶ 1 θρασεῖς καὶ ὕπερηφανοι, δυσάρεστοι πρὸς ἀπαντα, ἀβίκοροι, τυράννους ὁμοίοι καὶ πολὺ χείρους, οἷα δὴ τής κακιᾶς αὐτῶν οὐσίας οὐ μᾶς οὐδὲ ἀπλῆς, ἀλλὰ συμπεφορημένης ἐκ μυρίων. ὦστε πάνω ποικίλον τε καὶ δεινὸν εἶναι θηρίων, οἷα ποιηταὶ καὶ δημιουργοὶ πλάττονσι Κενταύρους τε καὶ Σφίγγας καὶ Χιμάρας, ἐκ παντοδαπῶν φύσεων εἰς μίαν μορφὴν εἰδώλου ἐξυνθέντες. τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ τέρατι εὐμπλέκεσθαι καὶ ὁμόσε ἣναι μανομένου τυός ἀληθῶς ἔργον ἤ σφόδρα ἀνδρείον καὶ πτηνοῦ, Περσέως ἡ Βελλερόφόντου.

29 Τὸν οὖν 2 τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δήμου, τὸν ἄπειρον, ὡς φαιν, τῆς ποίας μερίδος θῶμεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς τῆς βελτίωνος οὖσιν ὡμὸν παρέσχει καὶ ἐμαυτῶν ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἄλλος προαρχὴται τῶν ἐμοῦ κρειστῶν. 3 καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν ἂν 4 παρέχοιτε θέαμα κάλιον καὶ παραδοξότερον αὐτῶν σωφρονοῦντων καὶ προσεχόντων. θείων γὰρ δὴ καὶ σεμνῶν ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δήμου πρόσωπον πρᾶζον καὶ καθεστικὸς καὶ μῆτε γέλωτι σφοδρῷ καὶ ἀκολάστω βρασσόμενον μῆτε θορίῳ συνεχεί

1 καὶ Crosby: καὶ οἱ. Reiske deletes καὶ οἱ.
2 οὖν Emperius: γοῦν.
3 Arnim suspects a lacuna here, suggesting the transposition of καίτοι ... ἦσαν ἀπαντάν from § 33 to fill it.
4 οὐδὲν ἄν Emperius: οὐδὲν.
5 παρέχοιτε Crosby: ἔχοιτε.

1 Plutarch, Lives 853 B, says that Demosthenes thus apostrophized Athena: Οἱ δὲ ἱεροὶ Πολῖδος, τί δὴ τροφί τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις χαίρεις θηρίοις, γλαυκί, καὶ δράκοντι, καὶ δήμῳ; 198
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approach and address it, just as one directs with gentleness a noble steed by means of simple reins, since it does not need the curb. But the more prevalent kind of democracy is both bold and arrogant, difficult to please in anything, fastidious, resembling tyrants or much worse than they, seeing that its vice is not that of one individual or of one kind but a jumble of the vices of thousands; and so it is a multifarious and dreadful beast, like those which poets and artists invent, Centaurs and Sphinxes and Chimaeras, combining in a single shape of unreal existence attributes borrowed from manifold natures. And to engage at close quarters with that sort of monster is the act of a man who is truly mad or else exceedingly brave and equipped with wings, a Perseus or a Bellerophon.

So, applying our analysis to the populace of Alexandria, the 'unnumbered multitude,' to use the current phrase, in which class shall we put it? I for my part offered you my services on the assumption that you were of the better sort; and perhaps someone else, one of my superiors, will decide to do likewise. And assuredly you Alexandrians could present no more beautiful and surprising spectacle than by being yourselves sober and attentive. For indeed it is a supernatural and truly solemn and impressive sight when the countenance of the assembly is gentle and composed, and neither convulsed with violent and unrestrained laughter nor distorted by continuous and disorderly clamour, but, on the

2 Trajan? Cf. §§ 95 and 96, in which Dio hints at a coming visit of the emperor.

3 Possibly a reminiscence of Aristophanes, Knights 396: καὶ τὸ τοῦ δήμου πρόσωπον μακκοῦ καθήμενον.
καὶ ἄτακτῳ τεταραγμένον, ἀλλ' ἀκοὴ μία τοσοῦτε πλήθους.

30 Ἡδετε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ όταν τὰ συνήθη θεωρήτε, οἶοι ἔστε. ἐμοὶ γὰρ νῦν μὲν ἀξιοθέατοι δοκείτε εἶναι καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ βασιλεύσιν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστώς ὅς οὐκ ἂν εἰσελθὼν καταπλαγεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τιμήσειν· ὡστε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτο γε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος παρέσχηκεν οὐ μικρὸν, μίαν ὥραν σωφρονήσαι. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς νοσοῦσι μεγάλη ῥοπῇ πρὸς σωτηρίαν μικρὸν ἡσυχάσσων. ¹ ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις σπουδαίας, όταν ὑμῖν ἐμπέσῃ τὸ τῆς ἀταξίας πνεῦμα, ὡσπερ ἂν τραχὺς ἄνεμος κωνήσῃ βάλανταν ἴλυώδη καὶ ρυπαράν, ἀτεχνῶς, οἷμαι, καθ’ ὁμηρὸν ὅραται ἄφρος τε καὶ ἄχνη καὶ φυκίων πλῆθος ἐκχεομένων· ὅσαῦτως δὴ καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν σκώμματα, πληγαὶ, γέλως.

31 Τίς ἂν οὖν τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἐπανέσειεν; οὐ γὰρ διὰ τούτο καὶ τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν εὐτελέστεροι φαίνεσθε; καὶ πρότερον των εἱρηκέναι φασί· τὸ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέων πλῆθος τί ἂν εἶποι τοῖς, οἷς μόνον δὲι παραβάλλει τὸν πολὺν ἄρτον ἃν θέαν ὑπὲρν· ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς μέλει; οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μέν, ἂν τις ἄσχημον τῶν μειζόνων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πάντων ὀρώντων, κατα-φρονήσετε αὐτοῦ καὶ νομιεῖτε οὐδενὸς ἄξιον,

¹ ὡστε . . . ἡσυχάσσω deleted by Geel because of resemblance to § 33.
² ἂν τραχὺς Emperius: οὖν ταχὺς.
³ After ἄρτον Friedlaender delotes, as a gloss, οὕτω γὰρ εἰρήθαι πολὺ βέλτιον: ‘for so to express it is far better.’

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¹ A medical maxim repeated in § 33.
² See Ἱδαὶ 9. 4–7, of which it seems to be a reminiscence.

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contrary, listening as with a single pair of ears, though so vast a multitude.

But consider yourselves at this moment and then what you are like when you are watching the performances to which you are accustomed. For, to my mind, you now appear to be a sight worth seeing, for kings as well as for plain citizens, and there is nobody who would not admire and honour you as soon as he came into your presence; and so if this address of mine has accomplished nothing else, it has at any rate rendered you this service, and no small one—one hour of sobriety! As, for instance, it is of critical importance toward the recovery of the sick to have had a brief interval of calm.\(^1\) However, amid the varied activities which occupy your attention, whenever there falls upon you the blast of turbulence, as when a harsh gale stirs up a muddy, slimy sea, as Homer says, we see froth and scum and a mass of seaweed being cast up on the beach;\(^2\) so exactly with you, I fancy, we find jibes and fisticuffs and laughter.

Who, pray, could praise a people with such a disposition? Is not that the reason why even to your own rulers you seem rather contemptible? Someone already, according to report, has expressed his opinion of you in these words: "But of the people of Alexandria what can one say, a folk to whom you need only throw plenty of bread and a ticket to the hippodrome,\(^3\) since they have no interest in anything else?" Why, inasmuch as, in case a leading citizen misbehaves publicly in the sight of all, you will visit him with your contempt and regard him as a worthless fellow, no matter if he has authority a thou-

\(^{3}\) Cf. Juvenal 10. 81: *panem et circenses.*
καὶ μυριάκης ὑμῶν ἔχη τών ἐξουσιαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ δύνασθε σεμνοὶ δοκεῖν καὶ σπουδαῖοι τοιαῦτα
32 πράττοντες. οὖν ἦστε ὅτι ὦσπερ ἡγεμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς ὅταν προέλθη, τότε σαφέστατα ὁρᾶται καὶ δεῖ μηδὲν ἄγεννες μηδὲ αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν· παραπλησίως καὶ δήμος, ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα ἐπὶ προέλθη καὶ ἀθρόος γένηται· κρῆ μὲν γάρ, ὦμαι, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν χρόνων σωφρονεῖν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὦμως ὅ τι οὖν ἂν πρᾶπτῃ τις καὶ αὐτὸν, οὐ κοινὸν ἐστι
tοῦτο σοῦ τῆς πόλεως. ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ δὲ βλέπεται τὸ δημόσιον ἣδος. ὑμεῖς δὲ μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα ἀφυλάκτως ἔχετε καὶ προῆσθεν τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως. ὦσπερ αἱ κακαὶ γυναῖκες, δένναις, καὶ ὅμοιοι μὴ σωφρονῶσιν, ἔρως γε
προϊέναι κοσμῆσιν, αἱ δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς πλείοντα ἁμαρτάνουσιν.
33 Τί οὖν, τάχα ἔρει τις, τοῦτο μόνον ἁμαρτά
νουμεν, τὸ φαύλως θεωρεῖν; καὶ περὶ τοῦτοι
μόνον λέγεις ἠμῖν, ἀλλὰ δ' οὐθὲν; δεδουξά ἀμα τὸ
περὶ πάντων ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ τοῖς τάχα φήσει
tις ὡς πολλὰ λέγων οὐθέν ὑμῶν συμβεβούλευκα
οὐδὲ εἰρηκα σαφῶς, ἐφ' ὅ μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶ.
tοῦτο δὲ ἔργον εἶναι τοῦ διδάκτορος. ἔγω δὲ
καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι πολλὰ καὶ χρῆσμα εἰρηκέναι
τοὺς προσέχουσι καὶ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ δήμου
φύσεως καὶ περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἀκοῦες, κεὶ μὴ πείθεσθε,3
λόγων. τοῦτο γάρ, ὦμαι, καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον

1 ταῦτα Reiske: τοῦτο.
2 δ' τι οὖν Reiske: διαν.
3 κεὶ μὴ πείθεσθε Emporius: καὶ μὴ πείθεσθαι.

1 See especially §§ 12, 13, and 25–29.

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sand times as great as yours, you yourselves cannot succeed in maintaining a reputation for dignity and seriousness so long as you are guilty of like misconduct. Do you not know, that just as a prince or king is most conspicuous when he appears in public and therefore should do nothing ignoble or disgraceful at such a time, the populace also is in like case when it too appears in public and forms a throng? One ought, of course, in my opinion, to behave with sobriety at other times as well; still whatever a man does privately does not concern the general public or the state, but in the theatre the people's character is revealed. But with you it is there above all that you are off your guard and will prove traitors to the good name of your city: you act like women of low repute, who, however wanton they may be at home, should behave with decorum when they go abroad, and yet it is especially in the streets that they are most guilty of misconduct.

"How now," perhaps someone will say, "is that our only fault, our bad behaviour at the theatre? Is that all you have to say to us and nothing more?" I dread the thought of attacking all your failings in one indictment. And yet perhaps someone will claim that, despite my long harangue, I have given you no advice and have not made clear what it is I criticize you for most; and that such is the function of anyone who offers instruction. But for my own part I believe that I have already made many valuable observations—at least for those of you who have been listening—regarding the god, the nature of the demos, and your duty to listen to counsel even though you are not convinced by what is said.¹ For the most urgent need of all, I fancy, was that I should
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ἡν, παρασκευάσαι πρῶτον ὡμᾶς ὑπομένοντας ἀκούειν. ὥστ', εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο παρέσχηκεν ὡμῖν μέγα ὁ λόγος, τοῦτο γοῦν ὁτι τοσοῦτον χρόνον καθησθεὶς σωφρονοῦντες. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς νοοῦσι μεγάλη ῥοπὴ πρὸς σωτηρίαν μικρὸν ἴσυχάσασιν.

καὶ μὴν περὶ γε τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μὲν πάντα ἐπεξελθεῖν, καὶ τάντα ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ, καὶ τελέως ὡμᾶς ἀναγκάσαι καταγγέλλω τῆς κακίας καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων οὐ δυνατόν·

οὖν ἐὰν μοι δέκα μὲν γλώσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶναι,

φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δὲ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη· εἰ μή Ὁλυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι, Διὸς αἰγίλοχου θυγατέρες, μηνσαίαθ' ὅσῃ κακότης 1 παρὰ πᾶσιν,

οὐχ ὡμῖν μόνοισ.

35 Αὐτὸ δὲ τούτο περὶ οὗ λέγειν ἡρξάμην, ὃρατε ἡλίκον ἐστών. ὅπως μὲν γὰρ ἐστιάσθη καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἡ κοιμᾶσθε ἡ διοικεῖτε τὴν οὐκίαν ἐκαστὸς οὐ πάντ' ἰηλός ἐστών. ὅπως μὲντοι θεωρεῖτε καὶ ποιῆν των ἐνθάδε ἐστὲ ἄπαντες Ἔλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι ἰσαίσιν. ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὡμῶν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πλείστον ὅσον διαφέρει καὶ περιφανῶς ἀποδεδείκται δευτέρα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἴλιον.

36 ἡ τε γὰρ Ἁγιοπτος 2, τηλικοῦτον ἔθνος, σῶμα τῆς πολεώς ἑστι, μᾶλλον δὲ προσβήκη, τοῦ τε 3 ποταμοῦ τὸ ἵδιον τῆς φύσεως 4 παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους

1 So Morel: μηνσαίαθ' ὅσῃ ὑπὸ Ἰλιον ὅσῃ κακότης.
2 ὡμῶν after Αγιοπτος deleted by Reiske.
3 τοῦ τε Reiske: τοῦ τε γάρ.
4 φύσεως Emperius: φύσεως καλ.

1 Cf. § 30.
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first put you into a frame of mind to listen patiently. And so, if my address has accomplished nothing else of much importance to you, I have this at least to my credit, that for this space of time you have kept your seats in self-restraint. For, let me remind you, with the sick it is of critical importance toward recovery to have had a brief interval of calm.¹ And, on my word, to examine into all your failings, and that too in one day's time, and to force you to condemn utterly all your vice and your shortcomings, is not within my power,

E'en though I had ten tongues, as many mouths,
A voice unyielding, in my breast a heart
Of bronze; unless the heavenly Muses, sprung
From Aegis-bearing Zeus, should call to mind
The varied evils found in all mankind,²

and not in you alone.

But to take just that topic which I mentioned in the beginning, see how important it is. For how you dine in private, how you sleep, how you manage your household, these are matters in which as individuals you are not at all conspicuous; on the other hand, how you behave as spectators and what you are like in the theatre are matters of common knowledge among Greeks and barbarians alike. For your city is vastly superior in point of size and situation, and it is admittedly ranked second among all cities beneath the sun.³ For not only does the mighty nation, Egypt, constitute the framework of your city—or more accurately its appanage—but the peculiar nature of the river, when compared with

¹ Iliad 2. 489–92, slightly modified by Dio.
² Rome of course stood first.
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ἀπαντας λόγου μειξου, τό τε θαυμαστόν αυτοῦ καὶ τό ωφέλιμον, τήν τε θάλασσαν τήν καθ’ ὑμᾶς 1 ἀπασαν ἐκδέχεσθε, κάλλει τε λιμένων καὶ μεγέθει 2 στόλου καὶ τῶν πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων ἄφθονια καὶ διαθέσει, καὶ τήν ἐξωθεὶν ὑπερκειμένην ἔχετε, τήν τε Ἕρυθράν καὶ τήν Ἰνδικήν, ἦς πρότερον τούνομα ἰκουσάνα χαλεποῦ ἢν. ὡστε τάς ἐμπορίας οὐ νήσουν οὔδε λιμένων οὔδε πορθμῶν των καὶ ίσθμῶν, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης γίγνεσθαι παρ’ ὑμῖν. κεῖται γὰρ ἐν συνδέσμῳ τῷ τῆς ὦλης γῆς καὶ τῶν πλείοντον ἄρθρωσιμένων ἐθνῶν, ὡσπερ ἀγώρα μᾶς πόλεως εἰς ταῦτο ἔσοραντο πάντας καὶ δεικνύουσα τε ἄλληλοις καὶ καθ’ ὑς οἷον τῷ ὁμοφύλους ποιοῦσα.

37 Ἰσως οὖν χαίρετε ἰκουσάντες, καὶ νομίζετε ἐπανείσβαντα ταῦτα ἐμοῖ λέγοντος, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀεὶ θωπευόντων ὑμᾶς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπήνεσα ὤδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ λιμένας καὶ τόπους καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς. ποῦ γὰρ ἐποὺ ὦς ἐστε φρόνιμοι καὶ σῶφρονες καὶ δίκαιοι; οὐχὶ τάναντια τούτων; ἐστι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐπανος εὐραξία, πραότης, ὁμόνοια, κόσμος πολυτείας, τὸ προσέχον τὸι ὀρθῶς λέγοντο, τὸ μὴ πάντοτε ἐνεπε νηδονάς. ἀναγωγαὶ δὲ καὶ κατάρσεις 3 καὶ πλῆθους ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ὁμίλων καὶ νεών πανηγύρεως

1 Seldon would read ἦμᾶς.
2 μεγέθει: Emperius: μεγεθη.
3 κατάρσεις: Emperius: ἀνακρίσεις.

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1 Herodotus had paid high tribute to the Nile. See especially 2. 14 and 19.
2 In earlier times it was usual to include both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean under the term Ἕρυθρά.
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all others, defies description with regard to both its marvellous habits and its usefulness; and furthermore, not only have you a monopoly of the shipping of the entire Mediterranean by reason of the beauty of your harbours, the magnitude of your fleet, and the abundance and the marketing of the products of every land, but also the outer waters that lie beyond are in your grasp, both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, whose name was rarely heard in former days. The result is that the trade, not merely of islands, ports, a few straits and isthmuses, but of practically the whole world is yours. For Alexandria is situated, as it were, at the crossroads of the whole world, of even the most remote nations thereof, as if it were a market serving a single city, a market which brings together into one place all manner of men, displaying them to one another and, as far as possible, making them a kindred people.

Perhaps these words of mine are pleasing to your ears and you fancy that you are being praised by me, as you are by all the rest who are always flattering you; but I was praising water and soil and harbours and places and everything except yourselves. For where have I said that you are sensible and temperate and just? Was it not quite the opposite? For when we praise human beings, it should be for their good discipline, gentleness, concord, civic order, for heeding those who give good counsel, and for not being always in search of pleasures. But arrivals and departures of vessels, and superiority in size of population, in merchandise, and in ships,
καὶ λιμένος καὶ ἁγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἔγκαμον, οὐκ ἔπελεος· οὐδέ γε, ἀν ὑδωρ ἐπανή τις, ἀνθρώπων ἐπαυγος οὐτός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ φρεάτων· οὐδὲ ἄν περὶ εὐκρασίας λέγη τις, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰναί φησιν ἀγαθοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν· οὐδὲ ἄν περὶ ἱερῶν, τὴν πόλιν ἐπαυγεῖ· πόθεν; ἀλλὰ θάλασσάν ἢ λίμνην ἢ ποταμόν. ὅμεις δὲ, ἂν ἐγκυμώμαξη τις τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐπάρσεθε, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ρέοντες ἀπὸ Ἀλιοπόλις. σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις χαίρονσι, καὶ μακαρίους ἐαυτοὺς κρίνοντιν, ἄν οἰκώσι καθ’ Ἄμηρον νῆσον ἐνδρήσασθαι ἡ βαθείαν ἡ τῶν ἡπειρῶν εὐβοτον, εὐμηλον, ἡ πρὸς ὤρεις σκιεροὶς ἡ πηγαῖς διανυγέσθαι· ὅπως οὐδὲν ὕδιον ἑστὶν ἐκεῖνων ἀρετῆς δὲ οὐδὲ ὅναρ αὐτοῖς μέλει.

39 Ἔγω δὲ τούτων ἐμνήσθην οὔτε ὡμᾶς ἐπαίρων οὔτε τοῖς συνήθως ὑμνοῦσιν αὐτὰ ῥήτοροι ἢ ποιηταῖς παραβάλλων ἐμαυτόν. δεινοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μεγάλοι σοφοίτα, καὶ γόρτες· τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα φαύλα καὶ πεζὰ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, οὐ μέντοι περὶ φαύλων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ λεγόμενα αὐτὰ οὐ μεγάλα, περὶ μεγίστων δὲ ὡς οἶλον τε.1 καὶ νῦν εἶπον τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, δεῖξαι βουλόμενος ὡμῶν ὡς ὧ τι ἢ ἀσχημονήτηε οὐ κρύφα γίγνεται τούτο οὐδὲν ἐν ὅλοις, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀπασίν ἀνθρώπωισ. οἴρῳ

1 τὰ μὲν ... οἶλον τε deleted by Emperius.
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are fit subjects for praise in the case of a fair, a harbour, or a market-place, but not of a city; nay, if a man speaks in praise of water, he is not praising men but wells; if he talks of good climate, he does not mean that the people are good but the land; if he speaks of fish, he is not praising the city—how absurd!—but a sea, a lake, or a stream. Yet if someone eulogizes the Nile, you Alexandrians are as elated as if you yourselves were rivers flowing from Ethiopia. Indeed, it is safe to say that most other people also are delighted by such things and count themselves blessed if they dwell, as Homer puts it, 'on a tree-clad isle' or one that is 'deep-soiled' or on a mainland 'of abundant pasture, rich in sheep' or hard by 'shadowy mountains' or 'fountains of translucent waters,' none of which is a personal attribute of those men themselves; however, touching human virtue, they care not at all, not even in their dreams!

But my purpose in mentioning such matters was neither to elate you nor to range myself beside those who habitually sing such strains, whether orators or poets. For they are clever persons, mighty sophists, wonder-workers; but I am quite ordinary and prosaic in my utterance, though not ordinary in my theme. For though the words that I speak are not great in themselves, they treat of topics of the greatest possible moment. And what I said just now about the city was meant to show you that whatever impropriety you commit is committed, not in secrecy or in the presence of just a few, but in the presence of all mankind. For I behold among you, not

εὔβοτον εὔμηλον is applied to an island (Odyssey 15. 406) and δρεα σκιδένα, not ακηρά, occurs three times in all.

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γὰρ ἔγγυς οὗ μόνον Ἑλλήνας παρ’ ὑμῶν οὐδ’ Ἰταλοὺς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον Συρίας, Λιβύης, Κιλικίας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνους Αἰθίοπας οὐδὲ Ἄραβας ἀλλὰ καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Ἰνδῶν τίνας, οἱ συνθεώνται καὶ πάρεισιν ἐκάστοτε ὑμῶν. ὅστε ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀκούετε ἐνός, ἂν οὗτω τύχῃ, καθαρόντοι, καὶ τούτου 1 οὐνήθους, ἀκούεσθε δὲ ὑπὸ μυρίων ἐθνῶν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὀρᾶτε μὲν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμῶν ὄχθος, ὀρᾶσθε δὲ ὑπὸ τοσούτων μὲν Ἑλλήνων, τοσούτων δὲ βαρβάρων.

41 Ἰ.theta γὰρ οἷῳ οἴσθηθε τούτους ἐπὶ γῆς πέρατα ἐλθόντας λέγειν; οὐχ ὡς πόλων εἴδομεν τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ναομαστὴν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεαμάτων πάνων κρείττον θέαμα, κόσμῳ τε ἱερῶν καὶ πλῆθει πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων περιουσία, πάντα ἀκριβῶς διεξόντας ὡς ἂν δύνανται τοῖς αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ μικρῶν ἐμπροσθεν εἶπον, τὰ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεου· μανομένην δὲ ὑπὸ φῶς καὶ δρόμων ἱππικῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἄξιον πράττοντες ἐν τούτους 2 ἐαυτῆς; οἳ γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ θύοντες μὲν εἰς μέτριοι καὶ βαδίζοντες καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τάλλα πράττοντες· ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὸ

1 τούτου Reiske: τοῦ.
2 τούτους Selden: τοῖς.
merely Greeks and Italians and people from neighbouring Syria, Libya, Cilicia, nor yet Ethiopians and Arabs from more distant regions, but even Bactrians and Seythians and Persians and a few Indians, and all these help to make up the audience in your theatre and sit beside you on each occasion; therefore, while you, perchance, are listening to a single harpist, and that too a man with whom you are well acquainted, you are being listened to by countless peoples who do not know you; and while you are watching three or four charioteers, you yourselves are being watched by countless Greeks and barbarians as well.

What, then, do you suppose those people say when they have returned to their homes at the ends of the earth? Do they not say: "We have seen a city that in most respects is admirable and a spectacle that surpasses all human spectacles, with regard both to beauty of sanctuaries and multitude of inhabitants and abundance of all that man requires," going on to describe to their fellow-citizens as accurately as possible all the things that I myself named a short while ago—all about the Nile, the land, and the sea, and in particular the epiphany of the god;¹ "and yet," they will add, "it is a city that is mad over music and horse-races and in these matters behaves in a manner entirely unworthy of itself. For the Alexandrians are moderate enough when they offer sacrifice or stroll by themselves or engage in their other pursuits; but when they

¹ It would seem that Serapis, like Asclepius, with whom he was sometimes identified, showed himself in dreams to those who consulted his shrine (§ 12). Such epiphanies were not infrequent in other cults.
θέατρον εἰσέλθωσιν ἢ τὸ στάδιον, ὥσπερ φαρμάκων αὐτοῖς ἔκειτα κατορωμαγμένοιν, οὐδὲν ἀδάσι τῶν προτέρων οὐδὲ ἀισχύνονται λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὅτι ἀν αὐτοῖς ἐπέλθη. τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ἐστούδαικότες περὶ τὴν θέαν οὐχ ὅρῶσι καὶ ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσι, σαφῶς ἐξ-εστηκότες καὶ παρανοοῦντες, οὐκ ἀνδρεῖς μόνοιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσις καὶ γύναικα. ἐπειδὰν δὲ παύσηται τὸ δεινὸν καὶ διαλυθῶσι, τὸ μὲν ἀκμαίοτερον ἐσβεσται τῆς ταραχῆς; ἔτι δὲ ἐν τε συνόδοις καὶ στενοποίος μένει καὶ δι’ ὀλίς τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ συχνὸς ἡμέρας· καθάπερ ἐμπρήσμου μεγάλου λήξαντος ἢδει τούτῳ μέχρι πολλοὶ τὴν τε λίγην καὶ μέρη τυν ἡλεγομένα. καὶ οὐκ ἔρει τις τῶν Περσῶν ἢ τῶν Βακτρῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἱσασιν ἐπιπεύειν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀριστοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἐπιπεῖς· τὸ γὰρ πράγμα ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐπιτηδεύουσι· ἀλλ’ ὀμοὺς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οὐδ’ αὐτὸ ὀμοιον τε πεπόνθασιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδεπότε οὐκ θυγόντες οὐδ’ ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ παροιμίας οὐδ’ δύνασθε κατέχειν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ’ ἐστε ὀμοί χωλοὶ ὑπὲρ δρόμου ἐρίζουσιν· τουγαροῦ δειλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀστράτευτοι πολλὰς ἡδῆ νεικήκηκατε ἦπερ χαρακτικάς.

44 Σκοπείτε δὲ μὴ περὶ ὅμοιν ἀληθέστερον οὕτω Λέγωσιν ἢ περὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων Ἀνάχαρσιν τῶν

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1 As we might say, 'the atmosphere was charged with malign influence.' Rouse suggests that Dio may have had in mind the practice of burying charms.
enter the theatre or the stadium, just as if drugs that would madden them lay buried there,\(^1\) they lose all consciousness of their former state and are not ashamed to say or do anything that occurs to them. And what is most distressing of all is that, despite their interest in the show, they do not really see, and, though they wish to hear, they do not hear, being evidently out of their senses and deranged—not only men, but even women and children. And when the dreadful exhibition is over and they are dismissed, although the more violent aspect of their disorder has been extinguished, still at street-corners and in alley-ways the malady continues throughout the entire city for several days; just as when a mighty conflagration has died down, you can see for a long time, not only the smoke, but also some portions of the buildings still aflame.” Moreover, some Persian or Bactrian is likely to say: “We ourselves know how to ride horses and are held to be just about the best in horsemanship”\(^2\)—for they cultivate that art for the defence of their empire and independence—“but for all that we have never behaved that way or anything like it”; whereas you, who have never handled a horse or mounted one yourselves, are unable to restrain yourselves, but are like lame men squabbling over a foot-race. That may explain why, cowards and slackers though you are, you have won so many cavalry battles in the past!\(^3\)

And take heed lest these people prove to have spoken more truthfully about you than Anacharsis

\(^1\) Cf. Herodotus 1. 136: “Their sons are carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year in three things alone—to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth.”

\(^2\) Is Dio hinting that Alexandria depended upon mercenaries, or is he alluding to some recent military reverse?
Σκύθην φασίν εἰπεῖν: ἐδόκει μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῶν σοφῶν: ἦκε δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα θεασόμενος, οἶμαι, τά τε ἔθη καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· ἐλεγεν οὖν ὡς ἔστων ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποδεδειγμένων χωρίων, ἐν φα μαίνονται καθ’ ἡμέραν, τὸ γυμνάσιον λέγων· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐλθόντες ἀποδύσωνται, χρίονται φαρμάκων. τοῦτο δὲ ἔφη κινεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν μανίαν. εὖδος γὰρ οἱ μὲν τρέχουσιν, οἱ δὲ καταβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλους, οἱ δὲ τῷ χείρῳ ἀνατείναντες μάχονται πρὸς οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ παίονται. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀποξυσάμενοι τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοῖκα σκωφρονοῦσιν, καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ἔχοντες βαδίζουσιν κατὰ ὁρώντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις.

45 Ἡκεῖνος μὲν παιδίων καὶ καταγελῶν οὐ φαίλου πράγματος, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· περὶ δὲ ὑμῶν τί ἂν τις ἔχων λέγειν; καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὅταν συνέλθητε, πυκτεύτε, βοάτε, ρίπτετε, ὀρχείσθε, ποίω χρισάμενοι φαρμάκων; δῆλον ὅτι τῷ τῆς ἀνοίας· ὡς οὐκ ὄν γὰρ ἔτι ἐπεικῶς αὐτὰ ὅραν, ὁμη γὰρ τούτῳ μὲ ὄσεσθε λέγειν ὡς οὐ χρῆ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γίγνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς πόλεις; χρῆ γὰρ ἵνα καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀδελφεῖαν καὶ σχολὴν ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν βελτι-
the Scythian is said to have spoken about the Greeks—for he was held to be one of the sages, and he came to Greece, I suppose, to observe the customs and the people.¹ Anacharsis said that in each city of the Greeks there is a place set apart in which they act insanely day after day—meaning the gymnasium—for when they go there and strip off their clothes, they smear themselves with a drug.² “And this,” said he, “arouses the madness in them; for immediately some run, others throw each other down, others put up their hands and fight an imaginary foe, and others submit to blows. And when they have behaved in that fashion,” said he, “they scrape off the drug and straightway are sane again and, now on friendly terms with one another, they walk with downcast glance, being ashamed at what has occurred.”

Anacharsis was jesting and making sport about no trifling matter, it seems to me, when he said these things; but what might a visitor say about yourselves? For as soon as you get together, you set to work to box and shout and hurl and dance—smeared with what drug? Evidently with the drug of folly; as if you could not watch the spectacle sensibly! For I would not have you think I mean that even such performances should not take place in cities; for perhaps they should, and it may be necessary, because of the frailty of the masses and their idle habits; and possibly even among better

¹ Herodotus (4. 76) tells of this visit. Lucian tells of it at much greater length and in idealized form in his Scytha. Dio's version seems to have been drawn from the source represented by Diogenes Laertius 1. 104.
² Olive oil.
DIO CHRYSTOM

όνων εἰσὶν οἱ δεδομένοι διατριβῆς των καὶ παραμυθίας ἐν τῷ βίῳ. δεὶ δὲ μετὰ κόσμου καί
46 σχήματος πρέπειντος ἀνθρώπους ἐλευθέρους. οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τούτο οὐτε τῶν ἱππῶν οὐδεὶς δραμεῖτα
βράδιν οὐδὲ χείρον ἄστετος τις τῶν ἀδῶντων, ἅν εὐσκημονήτη ὑμεῖς. νοι δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἴμιμων
τινὰ ἐκπεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθε καὶ συμφορὰν πασῶν μεγίστην· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκπίπτοντες
ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ προσόποντος καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς ἐαυτῶν οὐ φροντίζετε. καὶ μὲν ὑμὰν ὁ
κυθαριστὸς ἐκμελῶς ἀδὴ καὶ παρὰ τὸν τόνον, συνίετε· αὐτοὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἐξω τῆς ἀρμονίας
τῆς κατὰ φύσιν γυγνόμενοι καὶ σφόδρα ἀμούσως ἐχοντες οὐ διαφέροντε.

47 Καίτοι πόσοι διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἀπολώλασιν; ἄδοξοι μὲν γε 1 πάντες. αἱ δὲ Σειρῆνες ἄλλο
τι ἐποίουν, ὡς ὁ μυθός φησιν; οὐκ ἀπώλλυν τοὺς σφόδρα ἡσθέντας αὐτῶς; ἀλλ' εἰκαίναι μὲν
ἐν ἑρήμῳ ἤσαν πελάγει καὶ μακρὰν ἀπωκισμέναι καθ' αὐτῶς ἐπὶ σκοτέλου τινὸς, ὅπου μηδεῖς
ῥαδίως παρεβαλλεί· κακεὶ δὲ ὁ νοῦν ἔχων ἐσώθη καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἤκουσαν. οὐτοὶ δὲ σχεδὸν ἐν
μέσῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν τῇ πολυανθρωπωτάτῃ πασῶν πόλει τοιαῦτα ἐργάζονται, μᾶ Δί' οὐ δι'
αὐτῶν των ἡδονὴν ἡ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν

1 μὲν γε Καρπο: μὲν γὰρ.

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1 The underlying meaning of §§ 47–50 is by no means clear. At first one takes 'destruction' to mean moral ruin, but later it seems to mean loss of life, either by decree of the court or as the result of a duel between rival admirers or
people too there are those who need some diversion and amusement in life, but they should take it with decorum and as befits free men. For it will not cause any of the horses to run more slowly or any of the singers to sing less pleasingly if you preserve a due decorum. But as things are now, if one of the charioteers falls from his chariot, you think it terrible and the greatest of all disasters, whereas when you yourselves fall from the decorum that befits you and from the esteem you should enjoy, you are unconcerned. And if you hear the harpist sing out of tune or off pitch, you are well aware of it, whereas when you yourselves utterly abandon the harmony prescribed by nature and are most discordant, you are quite indifferent.

And yet how many here have met destruction because of these allurements? ¹ Loss of reputation, at any rate, everyone has suffered. And did the Sirens do anything else according to the story? ² Did they not regularly destroy those who took extravagant delight in them? Yet the Sirens dwelt in a lonely sea and far away, all by themselves, on a lofty cliff, where no one could easily approach; and even there the man of sense escaped in safety and heard them with composure. These entertainers of Alexandria, however, ply their trade in what is practically the centre of the civilized world and in the most populous city of all, not, by Zeus, because of any charm or power of their own, but rather because

the suicide of a disgraced and desperate man, or possibly an incident of the rioting of which we hear.

¹ The Sirens appear first in Odyssey 12, Odysseus of course being 'the man of sense.' However, Homer places them, not on a lofty cliff, but in a flowery meadow.
Τυμετέραν ἀβελτερίαν. διὰ τί γὰρ ἔξω παραπλησίως ἀκούονται τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ πολλάκις ἀγδειχτέον; μὴ τὰ ὀτα ἐπαληθεύτηται τῶν ἑκεί;

Τῇ οὖν τούτῳ δείκνυσι; μὰ Δί’ οὐ μουσικής ὦς ὑπερβολὴν τέχνης, ἀλλ’ ἀκροατῶν κουφώτητα καὶ πόλεως ἀσθένειαν. φασὶ γοῦν ἢδη τών ἀπολωλότων διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην πρόφασιν νεανιεύσασθαι, μὴ παρατυμμένους τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ προσληφοῦντας, ὡς ἄκούσωσιν ἐπὶ πλέον. τούτῳ δ’ ἔστ’ θαυμαστόν ἐπ’ οὐνείδει καὶ καταγέλωτι τῆς πόλεως, εἰ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστεῖς καὶ τυραννοκτόνοι μνημονεύονται, σωτηρίας ἐνεκεν τῶν πατρίδων ἐπιδιδόντες αὐτοῦς· παρὰ ἃ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ χορῆς τούτῳ πάσχουσι καὶ δι’ ἡδονῆν μικράν, μᾶλλον δὲ δόξαν κενῆν. οὐ γὰρ ἡδόμενοι τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἰόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι προένται σφάς αὐτοῦς.

Τοσαύτῃ δ’ ἐστὶ δυστυχία τῶν ταλαιπώρων, ὡστε ἀνδρεῖον ἢγοοῦται τὸ πάντων ἀνανδρότατον καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ αἰσχυστὸν. ἐλοίμην γὰρ ἂν ἐγωγε ληστεύων ἀποθανεῖν ἦ διὰ τοιαύτην ἀλτίαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄνδρός πονηρὸν θάνατος, τὸ δὲ ἀνδραπόδου δυστυχοῦς. κάκεινοι μὲν ἄδικηθείς ἢσως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦλθεν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους ἀμινα-σθαι πειρόμενος καὶ τάχα τι καὶ γενναίον

1 πειρόμενος Arnim, προβέμενος Casaubon: προέμενος.

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of your fatuity. For why is it that outside Alexandria they produce an impression quite like that produced by the usual run of performers, nay, frequently have been thought to be unpleasant? Can it be that the ears of the people in those places have been stopped?

What, then, does their success with you signify? Not, by Zeus, musical power or artistic pre-eminence, but rather the shallowness of you listeners and the weakness of your city. It is said, at any rate, that some who have already met their ruin through such a cause, instead of trying by entreaty to escape their death, with youthful bravado have implored the privilege of listening to their destroyers even more. And here is an amazing thing which brings reproach and ridicule upon the city—that whereas elsewhere nobles and tyrannicides are held in memory because they gave their lives for the salvation of the fatherland, with you it is for a bit of catgut that men meet their fate and because of an enjoyment that is fleeting, or, more properly, a fancy that has no substance. For it is not through real enjoyment so much as through wishful thinking that these men sacrifice their lives.

And so great is the misfortune of the poor wretches, that they regard as manly what is most unmanly of all, and as dignified what is most shameful. Why, I would rather be put to death for robbery than for such a cause. For in the one case it is the death of a bad man but a man, in the other of a slave in hard luck. The one possibly came to such a pass because he had been wronged and was striving to get redress over and above the laws, and it may be that he might have achieved something actually noble, had
Εἰπώνατο πρᾶξαι, 1 μὴ τοιούτου τυχῶν δαίμονος· ὄσι δὲ κραυγῇ μόνον καὶ ἀνοίᾳ διὰ 2 δυστυχῆ φθόγγον καὶ κακῆν ἐγκλισιν καὶ τὰς ἐκμελεῖς καμπᾶς καὶ λήρους καὶ κυνημοῦς καὶ ὀλέθρους ἀκλεώς ἀπολλύμενος. ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος μνίας θάνατος. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνας ὃ τι ἠν γενομέναις ὁ γλυκὸς φανῇ, πρὸς αὐτῷ 3 διαφθείρονται. τί οὖν τούτῳ λαμπρῶν, ὃ κακοδαίμονες; ὑπὲρ μὲν γὰρ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ πατρῴων γερῶν καὶ νόμων καὶ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως, εἶ δέοι, πονεῖν καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγαθῆς ἔστι καὶ οὐ φιλοζόμοι ψυχῆς· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τιθεμένης ἀπάγωγον, καθάρματος ἀγεννοῦ καὶ ζῆν οὐκ ἄξιον, πόσης αἰσχύνης; 

Καὶ τούτους μὲν εἴσωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ θεά τὰ γεγονόμενα οὐκ αἰσχρὰ καὶ μεστὰ πάσης ὑβρεῖς, τὸ 4 ἀνατετάσθαι καὶ ἀποβλέπειν, μόνων οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς χείλεσιν τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχοντας, 5 καθάπερ, οἷμαι, διὰ τῶν ὧτων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν δεχομένους, σωτῆρα καὶ θεόν καλοῦτας 6 ἀνθρωπον ἄθλιον; πόσον τὰ νὰ γέλωντα τοὺς θεοὺς υμῶν καταγελᾶν οἴεσθε, ὅταν πάλιν ἐκείνους προσκυνοῦντες ταῦτα προσφέρησθε 7 καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκάζοντες τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον; ἀλλ’ ἐστὶν εὐγνώμων ὁ θεός, ὃς θεός, οἷμαι, καὶ φέρει πράως τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνοιαν. τοιγαροῦν ὡς παισίω υμῖν παιδαγωγοὺς δέδωκε τοὺς φρονιμωτέρους τῆς πόλεως, μεθ’ ὧν

1 πρᾶξαι Reiske: πρᾶξαι.
2 διὰ δυστυχῆ Reiske: δυστυχῆ.
3 πρὸς αὐτῷ M, πρὸς αὐτὸ UB.
4 τὸ added by Reiske.
5 ἔχοντας Reiske: ἔχοντες.
6 καλοῦντας Reiske: καλοῦντες.
7 προσφέρησθε. Empirius: προσφέρεσθε ορ προσφέρεσθαι.
he not encountered such an evil genius; but the other
came to his inglorious end merely through shouting
and a frenzy caused by an ill-starred voice and a
wicked nod of the head, by dissonant variations and
nonsense and a cynical, pestilential behaviour. But
such is the death of a fly! For whatever tastes sweet
to the fly is the thing at which it meets destruction.
What distinction, then, can your conduct bring you,
you luckless creatures? For whereas in the cause of
justice and virtue and ancestral rights and laws and
for a good king, a noble soul, one that does not cling
to life, will, if need be, suffer and even die; yet if a man
hangs himself for the sake of his chorus-girl, a low-born
outcast, not fit to live, what depths of disgrace does
that betoken!

And now let us say no more about these poor
unfortunates; but, directing our attention to the
spectacle itself, is the conduct of the spectators not
disgraceful and replete with every variety of wanton-
ness?—I mean the intensity of their gaze, their souls
all but hanging on their lips—as if, one would
think, it were through the ear that men receive
felicity—and applying the terms 'saviour' and
'god' to a pitiful human being! With what bound-
less laughter, think you, must the gods laugh you to
scorn, when next in your worship of them you conduct
yourselves in the same fashion and find yourselves
compelled to use those same terms in honouring the
deity? However, god is indulgent, I suppose, since
he is god, and he treats lightly the folly of the masses.
Accordingly to you as his children has he given as
guardians and guides those who are more prudent
than you Alexandrians, and by their companionship,
not only at the theatre but elsewhere too, your
καὶ θεωρεῖτε καὶ τάλλα ἀμεινὸν πράττετε. ἔπει πῶς ἂν ἀπείχεσθε ἄλληλων; Καὶ τοῦ ποίους τυνὰς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἤγοιθε αὐθρώπους, οὐς ἔλευθερία μὴ συμφέρει; ἢ Ἡ Δία, τὸ γὰρ πράγμα ἐστὶ φύσει τοιοῦτον. οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἄλλως πόλεως ἢδυουσί καὶ Ἡ Δία αὐλοῦσι καὶ τρέχουσι καὶ πάντα ὧσα γίγνεται καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ παρ’ ἐτέρους τυσίν; ἀλλ’ οὐδαμοὶ τοιοῦτος ἔρως ἐστὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὐδέ ὀνόματος. 52 ἢστε Ὁδίους ἐγγύς οὕτως ὑμῶν ἐξόντος ἐν ἔλευθερίᾳ καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας. ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐκείνους οὐδὲ τὸ δραμεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει δοκεῖ μέτρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ζένων ἐπιπλήττουσι τοῖς εἰκῇ βαδίζουσι τοὺς γιαραροὺς εἰκότως εὐδοκιμοῦσι καὶ πάσης τιμῆς τυγχάνουσι. αἰδοῦμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πρῶτοι καὶ μηδὲν ἀνόητον ποιοῦντες εἰκότως, οἶμαι, παρὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αἰδοὺς τυγχάνουσιν. Ἔπει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐρήσομεν τὰ πλεῖστα ταῦτα πράττοντας τοῖς ἀνόητοι τοὺς σώφρονας, οἷον ἐσθίοντας, βαδίζοντας, παίζοντας, θεωροῦντας. 53 ἡ γὰρ φύσις ἀναγκάζει πολλῶν ὁμοίων δεικταῖς διαφέρουσι μέντοι περὶ ταῦτα πάντα. αὐτίκα ἐστιοῦμενοι πρῶτον οἱ μὲν οὕτε ἀμαθῶς οὕτε ἀπετῶς διάγονοι, ἀλλ’ εὐσχήμονως ἄμα καὶ

1 καὶ deleted by Arnim. 2 ἡμῖν Crosby: ὑμῖν. 3 παρὰ τε Reiske: παρὰ γε.

1 A grim joke referring to the presence of Roman troops in Alexandria. See § 71 and Arnim, Dio von Prusa, p. 438. The point of the joke—which must have been plain enough to the audience—is made plainer for the modern reader by the emphasis on freedom in what follows.
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conduct is improved. For otherwise how could you keep your hands off one another?

And yet what kind of human beings do you think they are for whom freedom is not advantageous? "None, by Zeus," someone says, "for freedom is by nature advantageous. For do not other cities also have singing, aye, by Zeus, and flute-playing and foot-racing and all those other entertainments that are found, not only here in Alexandria, but among certain other people too?" Aye, but nowhere is there such a passion for that sort of thing, such a mad desire, as with yourselves. For example, you know that the Rhodians, your near neighbours, enjoy freedom and complete independence of action; however, in Rhodes even running within the city limits is held not to be respectable, but, on the contrary, they even reprove strangers for being careless in their walk. So it is with good reason that the Rhodians should enjoy fair renown and universal honour. For since they are the first to show respect to themselves and to refrain from any foolish act, it is with good reason, I believe, that they have the respect of men in general and of their leaders as well.

The fact is, we shall find that in most other matters too the wise engage in the same activities as the foolish, such as eating, walking, playing, attending the theatre and the games. For nature compels them to have many needs in common with the foolish; there are, however, differences of behaviour in all these matters. Take feasting as the first instance: whereas the wise behave neither boorishly nor regardless of decorum, but with elegance combined with courtesy, as men

2 See Or. 31. 162.
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προσηνώς, εὐωχίας, οὐ παρουσίας, ἄρχοντες, ϕιλοφρονούμενοι τοὺς συνόντας, οὐ δρασινήμενοι πρὸς αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ ἀπηνώς καὶ ἀκολάστως, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ἀταξίας ὀργιζόμενοι καὶ γελῶντες, πλεονεκτοῦντες ἀλλήλους, οὐ παρακαλοῦντες, 1 τελευτῶντες ἀπίασι κακῶν τι τοῖς συμπόταις δόντες ἢ παρ’ ἐκείνων λαβόντες· οἶαν ποτὲ γενέσθαι φασὶ Κενταύρων συνούσιαν.

54 Καίτοι2 τι δεῖ τὰλλα ἐπεξείναι καθ’ ἐκαστὸν; ἀλλὰ τὸ βαδίζειν, ὁ κοινὸν ἔστι καὶ ἄπλοῦν δῆμουθεν, τοῦ μὲν ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἡσυχίαν τοῦ πρόπου καὶ τὸ προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ, τοῦ δὲ ταραχὴν καὶ 3 ἀναίδειαν· σπουδὴ πρόσεισι, φθέγγεται βαδίζων, ἢ εἰσπεσόν 4 τινὰ ἔσωσε, μάχεται πρὸς ἑτέρουν. ὅμοιως καὶ περὶ τὰς θέας οἱ μὲν εἰσαν ἀπληστοί καὶ λίχνοι καὶ περὶ πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπηρεμένοι τὰ τυχόντα, οἱ δὲ κοσμίως καὶ μετ’ εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν. ἀλλ’ ὦν χρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκπεπληγμένοι καθῆκασθαί, ἀναπηδᾶτε τῶν ὄρχηστῶν μᾶλλον, συντείνεσθε ὑπὸ τῶν ἁματῶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἢ μέθυ πρὸς ὠδὴν τρέπει καὶ ὀρχηστὴν· παρ’ ὅμως δὲ τοῦτον ἑστίν. ἢ γὰρ ὠδὴ μέθυν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ παράνοιαν. οἶνον μὲν οὐν τοιαύτη φύσις, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι σωφρονεῖν,

1 οὗ παρακαλοῦντες] καὶ προκαλοῦντες Herwerden, καὶ παρακαλοῦντες Arnim.
2 Καίτοι Capp.: καί.
3 καὶ added by Wilamowitz.
4 ἢ εἰσπεσόν Capp., εἰμπεσόν Empirius, πεσόν Arnim: ἢ πεσόν.

1 The famous wedding party of Peirithoús and Hippodameía. The fight that ensued between Lapiths and Centaurs was a favourite subject with the Greek artist.

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beginning a joyous feast and not a drunken debauch, being gracious toward their companions, not subjecting them to effrontery; the foolish, on the other hand, behave disgusting and without restraint, giving vent to anger or to laughter with shouts and disorder, trying to get more than their companions, not inviting them to partake, and finally, before leaving for home, either they have done some damage to their fellow banqueters or received damage themselves, as we are told was the case at the party once held by the Centaurs.¹

And yet why run through all the other differences one by one? But just take walking, for example, an activity common to all men and surely a simple one. One man’s gait reveals the composure of his nature and the attention he gives to his conduct, while that of another reveals his confusion of mind and his shamelessness: he is hurried as he approaches, talks as he walks, or bursts in and jostles someone, comes to blows with someone else.² Similarly also with reference to the theatre: some persons are insatiable and greedy and all aflutter over everything alike, however commonplace, but others participate in the spectacle decorously and in peace. But not so with you; on the contrary, you sit dumbfounded, you leap up more violently than the hired dancers, you are made tense with excitement by the songs: for while other people are moved to song and dance by drink, with you the opposite is true—song is the occasion of drunkenness and frenzy. So while wine’s natural effect is as we have seen, producing inability to pre-

¹ See Demosthenes 37. 52, 55; 45. 77 for the conventional Greek attitude regarding men’s gait and general comportment.
διο chrysostom

ἀλλὰ πολλὰ δυσχερῆ πράττειν ἀναγκάζεσθαι
tοὺς σκαῖρος αὐτῷ καὶ ἁμέτρως χρωμένους·
ὑπὸ δὲ φύσις σφαλλομένους καὶ πολὺ κάκιουν
ἐχοντας τῶν παροιμιώντων εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρχης,
οὐχ ἠσπερ ἐν τῷ πότῳ προϊόντας, οὐκ ἔστων
50 ἀλλοὺς ἰδεῖν. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνίοτε τῶν βαρβάρων
μέθην φασί γίγνεσθαι πραεῖαν δι’ ἄτμοδθθυμιω-
μένων 1 τινῶν· ἐπευτὰ χαίροντι καὶ ἀνίστανται
γελώντες καὶ πάντα ποιοῦν ὅσα ἀνθρωποὶ
πεπωκότες, οὐ μέντοι κακῶν οὐδὲν ἀλλήλους
ἐργαζομένα· τῶν δὲ Ἕλληνων ὤμεις μόνοι δι’
 AppState καὶ φωνῆς αὐτὸ πάσχετε, μᾶλλον δὲ
ληρεῖτε ἐκεῖνων καὶ κάκιον 2 παραφέρεσθε καὶ
μᾶλλον ἔοικατε κραυγαλῶσιν.

Καῖτοι τά τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ τά τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
ηπια δῶρα καὶ προσηνῇ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ Παιήνα
καὶ Ἀλέξικακον προσαγορεύοντον, ὡς ἀποτρέπον-
ta τῶν κακῶν καὶ υγείαν ἐμποιοῦντα ταῖς
ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν, οὐ νόσου οὐδὲ μαλίαν· ταῖς δὲ
παρθένους, ὡς ἂν αἰδομένας τε καὶ σώφρονας·
57 ἢ τε μουσικὴ ἑραπείας ἑνεκα τοὺς ἄνθρωποις 3
εὐρήσατι δοκεῖ τῶν παθῶν καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῦ 4
μεταστρέφειν ψυχὰς ἀπηνῶς καὶ ἀγρίως διακειμένας.
διὰ τούτο καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐνιοὶ πρὸς λύραν

1 ψυμιωμένων] θυμαμάτων Schwartz and Wilamowitz,
θυμιωμένων B.
3 τοῖς ἄνθρωποις Reiske: τῶν ἄνθρωποιν.
4 τοῦ added by Capps.
serve one's self-control, but on the contrary forcing those who use it stupidly and in excess to commit many distasteful acts, yet men intoxicated by song and in far worse condition than those who are crazed by wine—and what is more, at the very start and not by easy stages as at a drinking party—such men, I say, are to be found nowhere but in Alexandria. Among certain barbarians, it is true, we are told that a mild kind of intoxication is produced by the fumes of certain incense when burned. After inhaling it they are joyful and get up and laugh, and behave in all respects like men who have been drinking, and yet without doing injury to one another; but of the Greeks you alone reach that state through ears and voice, and you talk more foolishly than do those barbarians, and you stagger worse and are more like men suffering the after-effects of a debauch.

And yet the arts of the Muses and Apollo are kindly gifts and pleasing. For Apollo is addressed as Healer and as Averter-of-Evil, in the belief that he turns men aside from misfortune and implants health in soul and body, not sickness or madness; and the Muses are called maidens, implying their modesty and their chastity. Furthermore, music is believed to have been invented by men for the healing of their emotions, and especially for transforming souls which are in a harsh and savage state. That is why even some philosophers attune themselves

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1 Dio is here recording the practice in such vague terms that one cannot tell whether he had more exact knowledge or not. The effects which he mentions might have been produced by hasheesh. Pliny, Hist. Nat. 24. 164, speaks of an herb called gelotophyllis which, when mingled with wine and myrrh, produced great mental excitement and immoderate laughter.
DIO CHRYSOYSTOM

αύτούς ἤρμόσαντο ἐσθεν, ἀποταύνοντες τῆς διὰ τῶν ὁμεράτων ταραχῆς. καὶ θεοὺς μετὰ μέλους θύῳμεν, ὅσα εὑσκατοι καὶ καθεστηκότες ἀμέν. ἔτερος δὲ αὐ τρόποις αὐλοῦ τε καὶ ἰδής ἐν πένθεσιν, ἱμαύων, οἷμαι, τὸ σκληρῶν καὶ ἀτεγκτον τοῦ πάθους, ἔνθετεραν δὲ τὴν λύπην ἐγκατ-μένων δι’ ἱδής λαυθανόυσης μετὰ γόνων, οὕστε ὅι ἱατροὶ τὰ φλεγμαίνοντα τῶν ἐλκών ἱγραίνοντες καὶ μαλακοποιοῦντες ἀνώδυνα ἔθηκαν.

58 ... Οὐχ ἂντον δὲ καὶ περὶ συνουσίας ἐδοξε πρέπεων ἡ μονουκῆς δύναμις, ἄρμονιαν καὶ τάξιν αὐτό-ματον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπεισάγουσα καὶ τὸ σφα-λερόν τῆς ἐν οἷς τέρψεως παραμιθουμένη μετὰ ξυγγενοῦς δυνάμεως, ἣτερ αὐτό 1 συγκεραμε-μένων ἐμμελές γίγνεται καὶ μέτριον. ταύτα δὴ πάντα ἀνέστραπται νῦν καὶ μεθέστηκεν εἰς τοῦναντιόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ Μοῦσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκ Κορυ-βάντων τινῶν κατέχεσθε, καὶ πιστὰ ποιεῖτε τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν μυθολογῆματα· ὡς ἔκεινοι γε παρεισάγουσι. 2 Ἡκάχχας τινὰς μανωμένας ὑπὸ μέλους καὶ Σατύρους· οὐκοῦν ὑμῖν τὰ τῶν νεβρίδων τε καὶ θύρων ἐνδεὶ καὶ τὸ λέοντας φέρειν ἐν ταῖς ἄγκαλισι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖτε διουκέναι Νῦμφαις καὶ Σατύροις. Ἡμαῖρ οἱ γὰρ ἄει καὶ φιλογέλωτες καὶ φιλορχησται· πλὴν οὐκ αὐτόματος ὑμῶν ἀναβλύει δισάγασιν ὁ οἶνος ἐκ

1 ἤτερ αὐτό Εμπεριὺς: ἄσπερ αὐτῷ.
2 ἕκεινοι γε παρεισάγουσι Εμπεριὺς: ἕκεινοι τε γὰρ εἰσάγουσι.

The Greeks took their music seriously. Its effect upon morals is a familiar topic in Plato.

More than one Greek dramatist dealt with the Bacchante, but Dio seems to have in mind the Bacchae of Euripides.

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to the lyre at dawn, thereby striving to quell the confusion caused by their dreams. And it is with song that we sacrifice to the gods, for the purpose of insuring order and stability in ourselves. And there is, moreover, a different type of song, accompanied by the flute, that is employed at time of mourning, as men attempt, no doubt, to heal the harshness and the relentlessness of their grief and to mitigate the pain by means of song; song that operates scarce noticed amid lament, just as physicians, by bathing and softening wounds that are inflamed, remove the pain.

And the spell of music has been deemed no less appropriate also in social gatherings, because it brings harmony and order spontaneously into the soul and along with a kindred influence abates the unsteadiness that comes from delight in wine—I mean that very influence blended with which the unsteadiness itself is brought into tune and tempered to moderation.¹ All this, of course, in the present instance has been reversed and changed to its opposite. For it is not by the Muses but by a kind of Corybantes that you are possessed, and you lend credibility to the mythologizings of the poets, since they do indeed bring upon the scene creatures called Bacchants,² who have been maddened by song, and Satyrs too. No doubt in your case the fawn-skin and the thyrsus are lacking, nor do you, like the Bacchants, bear lions in your arms;³ yet in all else you do appear to me to be quite comparable to Nymphs and Satyrs. For you are always in merry mood, fond of laughter, fond of dancing; only in your case when you are thirsty wine does not bubble up of its own

¹ Euripides, Bacchae 699–700, says ‘wolf-cubs,’ not ‘lions’; Dio may be thinking of Agave (1278–9).
πέτρας ποθέν τινος ἡ νάπη, οὐδὲ γάλα καὶ μέλι δύνασθε εὐχερῶς οὔτως ἔχειν ἀκραῖος δακτύλους διαμώντες χθόνα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ 1 τὸ ὕδωρ ὑμῖν ἀφικνεῖται δεύρῳ αὐτόματον οὐδὲ τὴν μάζαν ἔχετε ἐν ἔξοψιᾷ δήπουθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρειττόων χειρὸς λαμβάνετε. ὡστε ἓσως καιρὸς ἤν ὑμᾶς παύσασθαι βακχεῖων καὶ προσέχειν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς. νυνὶ δὲ ἂν μόνον ἀκούσητε χορδῆς, ὡσπερ σάλπιγγος ἀκηκοάτε, οὐκέτι δύνασθε εἰρήνην ἀγειν.

60 Ἀρά γε μὴ Δακεδαμονίους μιμεῖσθε; φασὶ γοῦν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἄρχαίον πρὸς αὐλὸν πολεμεῖν· ἀμείβε ὡς δὲ πρὸς κυθάραν αὐτὸ δράτε. ἡ βούλεσθε, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τοὺς δήμους κἀγὼ παρέβαλον, Νέρωνι φαινέσθαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες νόσσον; ἀλλ' οὕτω ἐκείνων ἄνησθεν ἡ λίαν ἐμπειρία περὶ τούτῳ καὶ σπουδή, καὶ πόσω κρείττον μιμεῖσθαι τὸν νῦν ἄρχοντα παιδεία καὶ λόγῳ προσέχοντα; οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθε τὴν αἰσχρὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀμετρον φιλοτιμίαν; οὐ φυλάξεσθε τοὺς ἄλλους σκώπποντες, καὶ ταύτα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, εἰ θεμιτῶν εἰπέων, οὐδέν μέγα οὐδὲ θαυμαστὸν

61 ἔχονσιν; εἰ γὰρ Ἰσμῆνας γυλεὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ Τιμόθεος ἱδεῖν ὁ παλαιὸς ἡ Ἀρίων, ὑφ' οὗ

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1 οὐδὲ οὗτος: οὖτε.

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1 Bacchae 708-10.
2 Cf. §§ 25-8.
3 Nero's infatuation for music and poetry and the stage is well known. Tacitus refers to it briefly in his Annals; but see especially Suetonius, Nero, 20–23, 38. 2, 41. 1, 49. 3. Suetonius reports, among other things, that Nero recited
accord from some chance rock or glen, nor can you so readily get milk and honey by scratching the ground with the tips of your fingers;\(^1\) on the contrary, not even water comes to you in Alexandria of its own accord, nor is bread yours to command, I fancy, but that too you receive from the hand of those who are above you; and so perhaps it is high time for you to cease your Bacchic revels and instead to turn your attention to yourselves. But at present, if you merely hear the twang of the harp-string, as if you had heard the call of a bugle, you can no longer keep the peace.

Surely it is not the Spartans you are imitating, is it? It is said, you know, that in olden days they made war to the accompaniment of the pipe; but your warfare is to the accompaniment of the harp. Or do you desire—for I myself have compared king with commons\(^2\)—do you, I ask, desire to be thought afflicted with the same disease as Nero? Why, not even he profited by his intimate acquaintance with music and his devotion to it.\(^3\) And how much better it would be to imitate the present ruler in his devotion to culture and reason!\(^4\) Will you not discard that disgraceful and immoderate craving for notoriety? Will you not be cautious about poking fun at everybody else, and, what is more, before persons who, if I may say so, have nothing great or wonderful to boast of?\(^5\) For if an Ismenias were piping in your presence or a Timotheus\(^6\) of early times were singing or an Arion, the Sack of Ilium while Rome burned, and that just before killing himself to escape his pursuers he repeated a line from Homer.

\(^1\) Trajan; though the scholiast says Vespasian.
\(^2\) The musicians of Alexandria.
\(^3\) Famous poet and musician, about 450-360 B.C. Dio seems to allude to him in § 67, with which compare Or, 33. 67.
λέγουσιν ἄδοντος ἐν τῷ πελάγει τοὺς δελφίνας ἀφικέοσθαι πρὸς τὴν ναῦν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκπεσόντα αὐτὸν κατὰ τύχην τινά ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ σώσαι, πῶς ἂν διέκειοθε; τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐδές Ἄμφιων οὐδὲ Ὄρφεὺς; ὃ μὲν γὰρ νῦν ἦν Μοῦσας, οὐ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμουσίας αὐτῆς γεγόνασι, διαστρέφαντες καὶ κατάξαντες τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ μέλους καὶ πάντα τρόπον λυβησάμενοι τὴν ἄρχαίαν μούσικήν.

62 Τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἤδη τελειον ἡ γενναίον ρυθμόν ὁ ὁδυστής τε εἰπέων; ἀλλὰ ἂματα γυναικῶν καὶ κρούματα ὀρχηστῶν καὶ παρουσίας τερατισμάτων, ᾧστερον κακοὶ καὶ περίεργοι μάγειροι, συντρίφαντες, εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἰδιώτας καὶ λίγους ἀκροατὰς κυνόσων. τοιοφαροῖν οὐκ ἀπὸ κύκων οὐδὲ ἄγιδον, ὃς ἦσος αὐτῶν ἄνωμας ἄρα παρὰ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀλλ', ὃς οἶκε, κνυζημίοις καὶ υληγοῖς εἰκάζετε: καὶ τῶν ἱλισθόροις μὲν ἦδειν οὔτως καλομένους, καθαροῖς δὲ Κυνικοὶ παρὰ μόνους ὑμῖν γεγόνασιν. ὃ μὲν οὖν Ἄμφιων πρὸς τὸ μέλος, ὃς φασιν, ἥγειρε καὶ ἐπύργου τὴν πόλιν, οὗτοι δὲ ἀνατέσσωντε καὶ καταλύοντως. καὶ μὴν δὲ γε Ὄρφεὺς τὰ τῆς θεριᾶ ἡμέρον καὶ μοστακά ἐποίει διὰ τῆς ἄδης, οὗτοι δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀνθρώπους ὑπνάτας, ἠγρίους πεποίηκασι καὶ ἀπαθεύτους.

1 αὐτῆς Εμπερίου: αὐτοῦ.
2 διαστρέφαντες Casaubon, διαστρέφαντες Reiske: διαστρέφαντες UB, διό τε τρέφαντες.
3 παροινίας τερατισμάτων Crosby, παρουσίας τερατισμάτων
4 εἰς τοὺς νόμους Εμπερίου: τοὺς νόμους, which Arnim deletes.
5 κνυζημίοις Casaubon: κνυζημίοις UB, κακημίοις M.

1 See Herodotus 1. 24.

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at whose song, according to tradition, the dolphins in the deep flocked to his ship and afterwards, when he had plunged overboard, rescued him by lucky chance and brought him safe ashore—if those artists were performing for you, what would be your state of mind? For among these performers here there is no Amphion and no Orpheus either; for Orpheus was the son of a Muse, but these are unmusical offspring of Disharmony herself, having perverted and shattered the majesty of song and in every way outraged the grand old art of the Muses.

For who of the lot can produce a finished song or a noble rhythm? Nay, it is a potpourri of effeminate ditties and music-hall strumplings of the lyre and the drunken excesses of monsters which, like villainous cooks with an itch for novelty, they mash together to form their arias and thus excite an ignorant and avid audience. Accordingly not from swans or nightingales has their passion got its name with you, but rather, as it seems, you liken it to the whining and howling of dogs; and yet, while I knew that there are philosophers called Cynics, harpists of that canine breed have been produced in Alexandria alone. So while Amphion to the accompaniment of his melody, according to the tale, built the walls and towers of his city, these creatures are engaged in the work of overturning and destroying. And as for Orpheus, by his song he tamed the savage beasts and made them sensitive to harmony; yet these performers here have turned you human beings into savages and made you insensible to culture.

\[2\] At the music of Amphion the stones of their own accord moved into place to form the walls of Thebes.

\[3\] Calliope.
63 "Εξω δὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἶπεῖν λόγον ἀνθρώπου Φορμός ἀκούσας, Δισύπου συγγενοῦς, δέυρο ἐπιδημήσαντος, δὲν εἰς Ὄρφεα καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔλεγεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὑμετέρων σκωμμάτων ἀτοπώτερος καὶ μακρότερος. σκοπεύετε οὖν, εἶ βουλεσθε ἀκούσαι, καὶ μὴ δυσχεράνητε. ἔφη τοῖνυν ἐκεῖνος περὶ τὴν Ὀρφικὴν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τὸν Ὅρφεα μελωδεῖν, καθάπερ εἰρηται, κακεῖ τὰ ζῶα προσιέναι αὐτῷ, πολύ τι πλῆθος, οἶμαι, πάντων τῶν ¹ θηρίων. πλέιστα δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τούς τε ὅρνιθας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα. τούς μὲν γὰρ λέοντας καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα διὰ τὴν ἄλκην καὶ τὴν ἀγριότητα δυσπιστότερα εἶναι, καὶ τὰ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως πελάξειν, τὰ δὲ εὐθὺς ἀποχωρεῖν, οὐχ ἠδόμενα τῷ μέλει. τὰ δὲ πτηνὰ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα μάλλον τε προσιέναι καὶ μηκέτ' ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. τὰ μὲν, οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ εὐήθεις καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν, τῶν δὲ ὅρνιθων μουσικὸν δῆπον τὸ γένος αὐτὸ καὶ φιλωδόν. ζώντως μὲν οὖν Ὅρφεως συνεπεσθαι αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἀκούσαντα ² ὃμοι καὶ νερόμενα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἐν τε τοῖς ὀρεσὶ καὶ περὶ τὰς νάπας τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβειν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐρημωθεὶν ὁδύρεσθαι καὶ χαλεπώς φέρειν· ὥστε τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Καλλιόπην διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν υἱόν εὐνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν αὐτησιμένην παρὰ Δίος τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν μεταβαλέων εἰς ἀνθρώπων τύπον, τὰς μέντοι ψυγάς διαμένειν, οἷοι πρότερον ἦσαν.
65 Χαλεπῶν οὖν ἦδη ἔστι τὸ λειτομένον τοῦ

¹ πάντων τῶν Capra, πανταῖων Arnim: τῶν πάντων.
² After ἀκούσαντα Arnim deletes αὐτοῦ.
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And I have, furthermore, a story to tell that I heard from a Phrygian, a kinsman of Aesop's, who paid a visit here, a story that he told about Orpheus and yourselves. However, that story is more weird and lengthier than your jokes. Consider, therefore, if you wish to hear it, and don't be vexed if I tell it. Well then, the man from Phrygia said that Orpheus sang his songs throughout Thrace and Macedonia, as we have been told,¹ and that the creatures there came up to him—a great company, I imagine, of all the animals. "And," he continued, "most numerous among them were the birds and the sheep. For the lions and other animals of that sort were more distrustful because of their strength and savage nature, and some would not even come near him, while others immediately withdrew, not being pleased with the music; but the feathered creatures and the sheep not only came to him more readily but also did not leave him afterwards—the sheep, no doubt, because of their guilelessness and fondness for human society, while the birds, of course, are a musical tribe themselves and fond of song. So then, as long as Orpheus was alive they followed him from every quarter, listening as they fed—for indeed he spent his time for the most part on the mountains and about the glens; but when he died, in their desolation they wailed and were distressed; and so it came about that the mother of Orpheus, Calliope, because of her goodwill and affection toward her son, begged Zeus to change their bodies into human form; yet their souls remained as they had been before."

Well, the remainder of the tale from this point on is

¹ The phrase seems to refer to the preceding section, which, however, does not name Thrace and Macedonia.
λόγου, καὶ δεδομένα πρὸς ὑμᾶς σαφῶς αὐτὸ εἶπεν. ἔλεγε γὰρ ἐκείνων γένος τι φῦναι Μακεδόνων, καὶ τούτῳ αὐθίς ὑστερον μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβὰν ἐνθάδε οὐκέτι. καὶ διὰ τούτο δὴ τῶν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρεων δὴμον ἄγεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ ψυχῆς, ὡς οὐδένας ἄλλους, καὶ ἁκούσωμι κυβάρας ὁποιασοῦν, ἐξεστάναι καὶ φρύτευν κατὰ μνήμην τὴν Ὀρφέως. εἶναι δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ κούφου καὶ ἀνόητον, ὡς ἐκ τοιοῦτον οπέρματος ἐπεὶ τοὺς γε ἄλλους Μακεδόνας ἀνδρείους καὶ πολεμικοὺς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἱθὸς βεβαιοῦσι.

66 Ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κυθαρωδῶν τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐτερον τοιοῦτον τυμα λόγον. τὰ γὰρ ἔμα ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ὀρφέα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἠδεσθαι μόνον καὶ ἐκπεπλήχθαι, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ μηδὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῶν κυνῶν δὲ ἐνίους, οἷα δὴ γένος ἀναιδῆς καὶ περιέργων, ἐπιδέσθαι τῇ μουσικῇ, καὶ μελετᾶν τὸν εὐθὺς ἀπωνότας καὶ αὕτους καὶ τὰ εἰδή μεταβαλόντας εἰς ἀνθρώπους διαφυλάττειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. εἶναι δὲ τούτῳ αὐτὸ τὸ γένος τῶν κυθαρωδῶν. διό μή δύνασθαι παντάπασιν ἐκβῆναι τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν μὲν τὶ διεσώζειν τῆς Ὀρφέως διδασκαλίας, τὸ πολὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔμμενεν κύνειον τοῦ μέλους.

67 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἐπαιξὲν ὁ Φρύξ. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν βούλομαι Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον ἐπείν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι προσηνέχθησαν ἀνδρὶ κυθαρῳδῷ θαυμα-

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1 ἐπὶς added by Reiske.
2 αὐθίς Emporius: εὐθὺς.
3 ἐτερον Reiske: ὑστερον.
4 μεταβαλόντας Reiske: μεταβαλόντα UB, μεταβάλλοντα M.
painful and I am reluctant to tell it to you in plain language. For the Phrygian went on to say that from those wild creatures whom Zeus transformed a tribe of Macedonians was born, and that it was this tribe which at a later time crossed over with Alexander and settled here. He added that this is the reason why the people of Alexandria are carried away by song as no other people are, and that if they hear music of the lyre, however bad, they lose their senses and are all aquiver in memory of Orpheus. And he said that they are giddy and foolish in behaviour, coming as they do from such a stock, since the other Macedonians certainly have shown themselves to be manly and martial and steadfast of character.

The Phrygian also spoke regarding the harpists of your city about as follows: He said that in their association with Orpheus the other animals merely experienced pleasure and wonder but made no attempt at imitation; but that some of the dogs, being of course a shameless and inquisitive breed, applied themselves to music and then and there began to practice it, going off by themselves, and that after they had been changed to human form they maintained their addiction to the art. And he declared that this very breed is the stock from which the harpists sprang; therefore they have been unable wholly to slough off their own nature, but, while retaining some small part of the instruction derived from Orpheus, for the most part their music has remained canine in character.

All this the Phrygian spoke in jest. But I want to tell you something that happened at Sparta, how the people of that land behaved toward a harpist who was
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΝ

ζομένω τότε ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησιν. ὅτι γὰρ λιαν ἦδον ἐδόκει καὶ περιττὸς εἶναι, μὰ Διὰ οὐκ ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν, ἄλλῳ ἀφείλοντο τὴν κιθάραν καὶ τὸς χορδᾶς ἐξέτεμον, ἀπείναι προειπόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τὸ πράγμα οὕτως ὑφεωρώντο καὶ ἐφύλαττον τὰ ὅτα, ὡς ἄν μὴ διαφθαρῶσιν αἳ ἀκοαὶ μηδὲ τρυφερῶτεραι γένωνται τοῦ δέοντος. ὑμεῖς δὲ οὕτως ἀγεννῶς δεδούλωσθε ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἡδονῆς.

68 Δι' ὑμᾶς δὲ ἦδη μοι δοκεῖ τὸ πράγμα καὶ τῶν ρητόρων ἀπετεθαί καὶ φιλοσόφων ἐνίων μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ρήτορας οὐδὲ γνώναι βάδιον. ὡς γὰρ ὤρωσι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν περὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, πάντες δὴ ἄδουσι καὶ ρήτορες καὶ σοφισταί, καὶ πάντα περαινείται δὲ ἠδῆς ἄστ', εἰ τις παρόι δικαστήριον, οὐκ ἄν γνοῖ τροίδος πότερον ἐκδον πίνουσιν ἡ δικάζονται. καὶ σοφιστοῦ δὲ οἴκημα πλησίον ἢ, οὐκ ἔσται γνώναι τὴν διατριβήν. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ προϊόντες ἦδη γυμνάσονται πρὸς μέλος καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἱέρωνται. περὶ γὰρ τῆς τέχνης καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν διαλέγουνται ἁδονές.

69 Καθὼς τε δ’ ὁ βίος σχεδὸν ἀπασ γεγονεναι κὼμος εἰς, οὐχ ἦδος οὐδὲ πράος, ἄλλ’ ἀγρίος

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1 ἀπείναι προειπόντες Reiske: ἀπέιναι προειπόντες.
2 καὶ after γυμνάσονται deleted by Empiricus.
3 ὑμῖν Capps as in T: ὑμῖν.

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1 Cf. Or. 33. 57.

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much in vogue among the Greeks in those days. Just because this harpist had the reputation of being very charming and unusual, they did not, by Zeus, honour him, but instead they took his harp from him, cut away the strings, and ordered him to leave their city.\footnote{Such, you see, were the misgivings the Spartans entertained regarding his calling and such the care they took of their ears, lest their hearing be corrupted or become more fastidious than was fitting; but you have been thus ignominiously enslaved by that kind of pleasure.}

And through your influence, it would seem, the disease is already affecting, not only public speakers, but some philosophers as well—though it would be more correct to say that public speakers are no longer easy to recognize. For since they observe your interest in singing and your passion for it, they all sing now, public speakers as well as sophists,\footnote{‘Public speakers’ (φιλόσοφοι) would include teachers of rhetoric, politicians, and lawyers; the sophists lectured on a variety of topics, including philosophy.} and everything is done to music; if you were to pass a courtroom, you could not easily decide whether a drinking-party was in progress or a trial; and if there is in your neighbourhood a sophist’s lecture-room, you will be unable to distinguish the lecture. And in my opinion people will presently go so far as to use song to accompany their exercise in the gymnasium, yes, even to heal the sick. For even now, when physicians discourse to you on their art, they chant.

But in all likelihood life with you has become, one may almost say, just one continuous revel, not a sweet or gentle revel either, but savage and harsh, a revel
καὶ χαλεπῶς, ἀμα ὀρχουμένων, τερετιζόντων, μαμφονοῦντων. οἱ δ’ οὖν Δακεδαμινοὶ πλεῖστον ὑμῶν διέφερον, περὶ ταῦτα, ὡς ἐφη, εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχεῖν ἤσαν ἰκανοί, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων προέστησαν πολλὰ ἔτη, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους ἐνίκων ἀεὶ πάντας, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς ἐπίστασθε. τοιγαροῦν εἰ μὴ τῶν προεοτηκότων ἐτύχετε, χαλεπῶς ἂν, οἶμαι,

70 καὶ ἑσῶσθε, τεκμῆρον δὲ τὰ τελευταία συμβάντα περὶ ὑμᾶς. ὅτε γὰρ καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἦτε, οὐχ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν περὶ αὐλησίαν ἤσχολεύτο καὶ μόνῳ τούτῳ προσεῖχεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπεχθῶς, πρὸς ἄλληλους δὲ στασιαστικῶς διέκεισθε, χωρὶς ἐκαστοί καὶ καθ’ αὐτοὺς διαφθείροντες τὰ πράγματα, Σιμάριστοι καὶ τοιαύτ’ ἐτέρα ἐταφειών ὁνόματα· ὅστε φυγεῖν αὐτοῦ ἡμαγκάσατε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατιέναι πολέμῳ καὶ διὰ Ῥωμαίων; καὶ τέλος ἐκείνος μὲν αὐλῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὀρχουμενοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπωλέσατε. καὶ νῦν οὔτως ἑπιευκεῖς ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας εἰς ὑποψίαν αὐτοὺς καθ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤγαγετε, ὅστε ἑπιμελεστέρας ἡρήναι φυλακῆς ὑπῆρξαν ἡ πρότερον καὶ τούτο εἱργασθεὶ δι’ ἀγερωχίαν, οὐκ ἑπιβουλεύσατε. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἂν ἀποσταθῆνα τινος; πολεμήσατε δ’ ὡς ὑμεῖς μιὰν ημέραν; οὐκ ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ ταραχῇ μέχρι σκωμμάτων ἔθραυσοντο οἱ πολλοὶ, τινὲς δὲ

71 ἑπιμελεστέρας Casaubon: ἑπιευκεστέρας.

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1 Thermopylae was at least a ‘moral victory.’
2 The Romans.
3 Ptolemy XI (80–51 B.C.), nicknamed ‘The Piper,’ was driven into exile in 58 B.C. and restored by Aulus Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, three years later.

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of dancers, whistlers, and murderers all combined. But the Spartans were vastly different from you Alexandrians, for they were cautious in these matters, as I have said. For while they showed capacity to rule, having held the leadership in Greece for many years and being always victorious over the barbarians without exception, you do not understand even how to be good subjects. Therefore, if you had not been fortunate in your present leaders, hardly, I fancy, would your existence be secure. As evidence I cite the most recent chapters in your history. For instance, when you were still independent, did not your king busy himself with piping and concentrate on that alone; and were you not on hostile terms with him and torn with faction among yourselves, each faction separately and independently working the ruin of the state—Simaristoi and other parties of like names—in consequence of which you forced your king to flee, and later on to obtain his return by means of war, and with the aid of Romans, too? And finally he with his piping and you with your dancing destroyed the state. And though you now have such reasonable men as governors, you have brought them to a feeling of suspicion toward yourselves, and so they have come to believe that there is need of more careful watchfulness than formerly; and this you have brought about through arrogance and not through plotting. For would you revolt from anybody? Would you wage war a single day? Is it not true that in the disturbance which took place the majority went only as far as jeering in their show of

4 By having invoked the aid of Rome? Dio seems to say that independence was lost under 'The Piper,' which is manifestly false.

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ὁλύγοι βάλλοντες ὃ τι ἔτυχον ἀπαξ ἡ δίς, ὦσπερ οἱ καταχέοντες τῶν παριόντων, κατέκευτο εὐθὺς ἄδοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρμους ἦσαν, ὦσπερ ἐν ἔορτῇ πιούμενοι: ¹

72 Καὶ μὴν ἐκείνῳ μέμνησθε τὸ γελοῖον ὡς ὃ βελτιστὸς ὡμῶν Κόνων ἔχρησατο προελθὼν, οὐ μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος ὡμῶν συνειστήκει, καὶ δεῖξας τινὰ τόπον βραχῶν προηγόρευεν ὡς εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ προέλθοι, νευκηκῶς ἐν καὶ δέοι ² ὡμᾶς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ παραχωρεῖν· εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς, ἡφή, τετάρα ἡ πέντε βῆματα νικᾶτε, καγώ βαδίσαι ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε, φεδόμενος ὑμῶν καὶ καταγελῶν καὶ καθάπερ παίσοι προσπαίζων. ἐπεὶ ³ τὸ στράτευμα ἐφευστήκει κάκεινος οὐδένα εἰς ἀπεσθαί, γυμνοὺς ἀπανταὶ όραν καὶ ἐτοίμους ἀπολλυσθαί. τί οὖν; ἐβιάζαντο μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ προσπετεῖς καὶ ἀκόλαστοι καὶ ἐπήπτης ἀνατρέψαι ⁴ καὶ συγχέαι πάντα ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, καὶ οὐ πρῶτον ὡμᾶς ἀνήκαν ἐως ἐγεύσασθε πολέμου καὶ τὸ δείνον ἄχρι πείρας προῆλθεν.

73 Τί δὴ καὶ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην; ὅπως εἰδήτε τὰ φυώμενα ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ταύτης ἀταξίας. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοὺς οὕτως ἐπτομέμνους περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ μηδενὸς ἄξια, φαύλως καὶ ἀκρατῶς ἔχοντας ἐν τούτοις ὡς πράττουσι καὶ ἄραν ἡμέραν,

¹ πιούμενοι Cassiobon: πιούμενοι.
² δέοι Selden: δέον.
³ ἐπεὶ Valerius: ἐπὶ.
⁴ ἀνατρέψαι Reiske: ἀνατρέψατε.

¹ Cf. Aristophanes, Acharnians 610–17: ὦσπερ ἀπονίπτρον ἐκχεῖσαντες ἐσυνέραξαν, ἀπαντεῖς ἐξίστωπον παρῆμεν οἱ φίλοι.
² Dio is our only authority for this disturbance.
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courage, while only a few, after one or two shots with anything at hand, like people drenching passers-by with slops, quickly lay down and began to sing, and some went to fetch garlands, as if on their way to a drinking party at some festival?

And surely you recall that comical incident—how the excellent Conon treated you when, advancing to the place where your forces were most concentrated and pointing out a little stretch of ground, he declared: "If I can get there by myself, I am the victor, and you must depart by yourselves and leave the field; but if you," said he, "can win your way as much as four or five steps, I will take a walk myself." This he said out of a desire to spare you, laughing at you and playing with you as if you were children; since the army had halted and he would not permit a single soldier to lay hands on you, seeing, as he did, that you all were unarmed and faced with destruction. What then? Force was next employed by the headstrong and unruly spirits, who purposely aimed at a complete overthrow and utter chaos, and they did not let you go until you had had a taste of warfare, and what you formerly had dreaded had become a matter of bitter experience.

Why, then, have I mentioned these events also? Because I wanted you to understand the natural outcome of this disorderliness that rules your lives. For it is not possible that those who get so excited over trifles and things of no importance, those who behave so thoughtlessly and with such lack of self-control in these matters of daily life, should be temperate in other matters and competent to plan

* Unknown. Apparently the commander of the Roman troops in Alexandria.
τάλλα σωφρονεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν μειζόνων ὀρθῶς
βουλεύεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ τῶν τρόπων κουφότητι καὶ
tὸ ἀλόγιστον οὐκ ἐξέ μενεὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλάπτοσιν,
οὐδ’ ἔχει μέτρον οὐδὲν ἢ ἀνοια τῶν ἀμαρτημά-
tων, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὁμοίως πρὸεισά καὶ παντὸς
ἀπτεται μετὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς εὐχερείας. μὴ οὖν οἴεσθε
περὶ μικρῶν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἢταν τίς ὁμιλε
λέγηται περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτρως θορύβων. οὐ
γὰρ οὕτως ἢ πενία ταχὺ πέφυκε συμβαίνειν διὰ
τὰς κατ’ ὁλόγον ξημίας, ὡς ἢ κακία πρόεσων
ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος τούτων ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ
tελευταίων ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πέρας καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον
αὐξηθεῖσα ἤγαγεν.
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ 1 τὰ περὶ τὸ θέατρον. ἀλλ’
ὅταν εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἔλθητε, τίς ἢν εἰσεῖν δύνατο
τὰς ἐκεῖ κραυγὰς καὶ θόρυβον καὶ ἄγωνιὰν καὶ
σχημάτων μεταβολὰς καὶ χρωμάτων καὶ βλασ-
φημίας οἶας καὶ ὅσα ἀφίητε; εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοὺς
ἵππους ἐσφάγνετε ἀμιλλωμένους καὶ τούτους συνή-
θεις, αὐτοὶ δ’ ὑπὸ μαστίγων ἕλαυνεσθε τῶν ἐν
ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, οὐκ ἢν οὕτως χαλεπῶς δι-
75 ἐκείσθε. αὐτὸν γὰρ, οἴμαι, τὸν Ἑξίονα λήρον
ἀποφαίνετε τὸν ἐν τῷ τροχῷ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς
ἐνδεδεμένου καὶ κολαζόμενον διὰ τοιαύτην τινὰ
ἀσέβειαν. φέρε ὦν, εἰ μεταξὺ θεῶν τις ὁμί
ἐπιστὰς εἰποὶ διατείναμενος,

δαιμόνιοι, μαίνεσθε καὶ οὐκέτι κεύθετε θυμῷ
βρωτῶν οὐδὲ ποτήτα.

1 Ὑπ’ Emperius: ἢδη.

1 Apparently the whips wielded by the Furies.
wisely regarding things of greater moment. For the frivolity of your conduct and your lack of reason do not permit you to call a halt at things of minor importance, and the folly of your misconduct knows no bounds, but instead goes right on to any length without discrimination, and touches everything with equal recklessness. So do not think that a man is dealing with trifles when he speaks to you about your disorders in the theatre. For poverty follows quickly enough from gradual losses, but not as quickly as wickedness progresses from these successive errors, until finally, having attained its growth, it brings men to the very end—destruction.

So much, then, on the subject of the theatre. However, when you enter the stadium, who could describe the shouts you utter there, and your hubbub and anguish and bodily contortions and change of colour, and the many awful curses that you emit? For if you were not merely watching the horses race—and horses, too, that are used to racing—but were yourselves being driven by the whips of tragedy, you would not exhibit the agony you do. Why even Ixion himself, methinks, you show to have been a second-rater, the Ixion who is represented by the poets as bound on the wheel and punished for some such impiety as yours. Well then, if in the midst of it all some god should take his stand beside you and in a loud voice should say:

"Fools, you are mad; no more your spirit hides
Your food and drink."

Arnim views this clause as an interpolation, but the reference may be to the degree of impiety rather than the kind.

Odyssey 18. 406–7. Telemachus upbraids the suitors at their final banquet before the slaughter.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

tί σφόδρα οὖτω κυκάσθε; τίς ἡ σπουδή; τίς ὁ ἀγών; οὐ γὰρ Πέλοψ ἐστὶν ὁ διώκων, οὐδὲ Ὀλύμπαος οὐδὲ Μυρτίλος, οὐδὲ γυναικὸς οὐδὲ βασιλείας οὐδὲ βασιλέας ἄνθρωπον πρόκειται κρίσις, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁ ἀγών ἀνδραπόδων ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀγγελίας, νῦν μὲν ἔτησεμένων νῦν δὲ νικώντων, ἀκόλουθον 76 τῶν αὐτῶν. εἰ λέγοι ταῦτα, τί ἐρεῖτε; ἡ δὴ λογία ὅτι οὐδ' ἀκούσεοθε παρ' ἐκείνων τὸν καίρον, οὐδὲ ἂν αὐτός ἥμων ὁ τοῦ Πέλοπος διαλέγηται πρόγονος;

Τίνα οὖν εὐρή τις ἐπικουρίαν ἢ τίνα ἐξελάσσασθαι δεῖ δαμόνων; ἔστιν ὁ Ολυμπίας κατὰ μέσον τοῦ ἑπτάρρομον Ταραξάμπου Ποσειδῶνος βαμβοὺς, ἔνθα μάλιστα συνεβαίνει τοῦ ἐπούς πτοείσθαι καὶ πλείστα διαφθείρεσθαι τῶν ἅμαδων. έδοξέν οὖν τοῖς Ἡλείοις ὡς δαιμονίου τινὸς ὄντος ἱδρύσασθαι βαμβ. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φασίν ἀπ' 77 ἐκείνων γεγονέναι τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλῆ. πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον ἔγνως ὑμῖν συμβουλεύω τὸν θεόν τοῦτον ἐξελάσσασθαι καὶ βαμβ. ἱδρύσασθαι τοῦ αὐτῶν, μᾶ Δι' ὅνων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅπως μὴ ταράττησθε μηδὲ ἐκπίπτητε τῆς τάξεως. μὴ γὰρ δαιμόνια πάντ' ἡ ἡ τοιαύτα καὶ μείζονας δεόμενα ἀποτροπῆς. φασίν ἀρχαίαν βασιλίδα ἐν Κρήτῃ τῶν Ἡλιαδῶν ἔρασθήναι ταύρου, καὶ συγγενεμένην χαλεπὸν τι καὶ μέγα τεκείν τέρας.

1 After Murtílos Crosby deletes as a gloss ὁ μὲν δεύτερος ἀπὸ Διὸς γεγονός, ὁ δὲ Ἴημος παῖς: “the second sprung from Zeus, the other Hermes’ son.”
2 πάντ' ἡ Pflugk: πάντη.

1 Myrtílus is famed as the charioteer of Oonomaía, whom he betrayed in his well-known race with Pelops.

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Why are you so violently disturbed? What is the excitement? What the contest? For it is not Pelops who is driving, or Oenomai, or Myrtillus, nor is it a question of a kingship or a wife or a death that hangs in the balance, nay, it is only a contest of slaves for a paltry bit of silver, slaves who sometimes are defeated and sometimes victorious, but slaves in any case.” If the god should speak thus, what would your reply be? Or is it clear that you would not even listen at such a moment as that, not even if the grandsire of Pelops were himself the speaker?

What succour, then, can one find, or what divine power must one propitiate? There is at Olympia, at the centre of the race-course, an altar to Poseidon Taraxippos, or Terror of Horses, on the spot where it happened that the horses most frequently became frightened and where many chariots were smashed. So the Eleans decided to erect an altar on the spot, believing that some deity was there. And from that time forward, they say, the place has been safe. Well then, much more earnestly do I advise you to propitiate this god and raise an altar of the same kind, not, by Zeus, for the sake of the horses, but rather for the sake of yourselves, so that you may not be terrorized yourselves or be pitched headlong from your proper station. For perhaps all such disasters are the work of a deity, requiring unusual efforts to avert. It is said that an ancient Cretan queen, one of the daughters of Helius, became enamoured of a bull, and that after union with him she brought forth a savage, mighty monster. So I myself am appre-

2 Zeus.
3 See Pausanias 6. 20. 15–19.
4 The familiar tale of Pasiphaë and the Minotaur.
ДЕДΟΙΚΑ ΔΗ ΚΑΓΩ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ἕΡΩΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ, ΜΗ ΤΙ ΔΥΣΧΕΡΕΣ ΥΜῊΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΟΝ ἘΝΕΓΚΗ ΤῊΧΡΟΝΩ. ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤῊ ΞΩΦΟΝ ἈΓΑΠΗΘῊΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡ' ΥΜῊΝ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΟΥΝ. ΚΑΙ ΒΝΩΝ ἘΣΤΙΝ ΕΝ ΤῊ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΤΟΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ἸΠΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΗΣ ΑΒΑΤΟΝ. Ο ΓΑΡ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΣΥΝΚΑΘΕΙΡΒΕ ΤῊΝ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΤῊ ἸΠΠΩ, ΚΑΙ ΦΑΣΩΝ ΟΥΤΩ ΔΙΑΦΘΑΡΗΝ ΝΑΙ ΤῊΝ ΚΟΡΗΝ. ΣΚΟΠΕΙΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΥΠΟ ΤῊΣ ΤΟΥΑΥΤΗΣ ἘΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΣ ἈΠΟΛΗΓΗΣΟ΢Η.

ΠΟΙΟΣ ΓΑΡ ὩΜΗΡΟΣ Ἡ ΤῊΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ ΤᾹ ΣΥΜΒΑΙΝΟΝΤΑ ΕΠΙΕΙῊΝ; ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΤΩς ΕΚΕῖΝΟΣ ΦΗΣΙ ΤᾹ ΑΡΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΕΙΝῊΑ ΓᾲΝΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΞῊΚΑΙ ΑΦΟΘΡΑ ΥΨΙΛῊΑ ΚΑΤᾹ ΤῊΝ ΔΡΟΜΟΝ, ὩΣ ΤᾹΣ ΥΜΕΤΕΡᾹΣ ΨΥΧῊΣ ΙΔΕΙῊΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΑΣΧΟΥΣΑΣ. ΦΗΣΙ Δ' ΟΥΤΩΣ, ΨΩ ΥΜῊΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΙΣ ΤῊ ΜΙΚΡῸΝ·

ΑΡΜΑΤΑ Δ' ἈΛΛΟΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΧΒΟΝΙ ΠΙΝΝΑΤΟ ΠΟΥΛΙΒΟΤΕΙΡΗ,
ἈΛΛΟΤΕ Δ' ἈΤΕΧΑΣΚΕ ΜΕΤΗΡᾹΡΑ. ΤΟΙ Δ' ΕΛΑΤΗΡΕΣ ΕΎΣΤΑΣΑΝ ΕΝ ΔῊΡΟΙΟΙ, ΠΑΣΑΣΕ ΔΕ ΘΥΜΟΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΙΕΜΕΝΩΝ, ΚΕΚΛΟΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΟΙΣΟΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ ἸΠΠΟΙ.

80 ἘΝΤΑΘΑ ΤΟUS ΜΕΝ ἩΝΙΟΧΟUS ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΈΝ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤᾂΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ, ΤΟUS ΔΕ ΘΕΑΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΣΥΧΙΑΝ ΘΕΩΡΟΥΝΤΑΣ, ὩΣΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣῊΚΕ. ΜΟΝΟΝ Δ'  

1 After χρόνω Selden and editors delete as an interpolation πάλιν δε ἐτέραν παρθένον ποταμοῦ τῶν ἑρωθείσαν κ.τ.λ.: “And again, that another virgin, having become enamoured of a certain river, paid daily visits to the stream, and took the foam in her arms and received the water in her bosom.”
hensive lest this passion for horses that infects the city may in time bring forth some strange and distressing offspring for you. They say also that at Athens this very species that you so much admire became the object of infatuation, and today there is in that city a site that bears the name, Sanctuary of Horse and Maiden.¹ For the maiden’s father confined his daughter along with the horse, and thus, they say, she was ruined. And do you beware lest you also through a passion like that be destroyed.

For what Homer or what mortal man at all can describe the things that happen here? For example, in Homer’s narrative the chariots do not sink so low at times and then rise so high on the course as your spirits may be seen to rise and fall. And this is the way he puts it, if I may favour you with a short passage:

At times the cars clung close to bounteous earth,
At times they bounded high; the drivers still
Stood firm, though hearts did pound as each man strove
To win the goal, and each called to his team.²

In this passage it is the charioteers who are represented as contestants and rivals, while the spectators look on in silence,³ as indeed was fitting. And only

¹ Pausanias does not mention this sanctuary. He does, however, record that Poseidon and Athena share with Demeter and her daughter a shrine on the road to Eleusis (1. 37. 2); he also reports that Poseidon and Demeter once held intercourse as horse and mare (8. 25. 5). Dio’s allusion may be the outgrowth of some such traditions.
² Iliad 23. 368-72. Taken from the account of the chariot race at the funeral games held in honour of Patroclus.
³ Iliad 23. 448.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐπὶ τῷ τελεί φησιν Ἀκάντα τὸν Λοκρὸν ὅραν ἀπρεπέστερον καὶ λοιδορεῖςαὶ Ἰδομενεὶ περὶ τῶν ἑπτάν τῶν Ἐλυμήλου. οὗτος μὲν τοῖς ἐστὶν ὃ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αἰθίς ἀσεβῆσας ἄλισκομένης τῆς Τροίας, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ διὰ τοῦτο κεραυνοθεῖς καὶ τοῦ χειμώνοις καὶ τῆς ναναγίας τοῖς πάσιν αἰτίος γενόμενος. ὃ γὰρ ἐν τοιούτω ὁρασίας καὶ προπετῆς οὐδὲ τάλλα εἶναι δύναται σώφρων, ὥσπερ καὶ εἰπὼν ἦδη.

81 Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτο παράδειγμα κακίας καὶ ἀνοίας ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων οἴπερ παρ’ ὑμῖν, πλὴν ὅτι μάχεσθαι γε οὔδεις ἰκανός ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀριστεύειν οὐδὲ αἱρείων πόλεις, ὡς ἐκείνος. ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ θεᾷ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μάλλον πέτεσθε τῶν ἑπτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ γελοῖος ἐλαύνετε καὶ ἰησοῦτε καὶ διώκετε καὶ ἤγείσθε καὶ πίπτετε. τοιγαροῦν οὐ κακῶς τις παρεποίησε τῶν σαπρῶν τοιτῶν ποιητῶν.

82 ἄρματα δ’ ἄλλοτε μὲν χθονὶ πῦλνατο πουλυ-βοτερῆ, ἄλλοτε δ’ ἀείσκοις μετήμωρα: τοί δὲ θεαταὶ θώκος ἐν σφετέροις οὐθ’ ἐστασαν οὔτε κάθητο, χλαυρὸι ύπαί δείους πεφοβημένοι, ἦδ’ ὑπὸ νείκης

1 ὅραν] ὁργὶν Ungor, ὁρμὰν Geal, ὅραν Cobet, βοᾶν, Post.
2 αὐτὸς τε Εμπερίους: αὐτὸς δὲ.
3 ἀνοίας] ἄνηρ ἐς Arnim.
4 ὁμοίως κακὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων οἴπερ Croaby, ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τοῖς Εμπερίους, ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τοῖς Arnim, ὁμοίως δ’ οὐ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τοῖς Cassubon, ὁμοίως οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἄνθρωπων, οὐδεὶς Selden: ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τοῖς.

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THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

at the end does the poet say that Ajax the Locrian behaved in rather unseemly fashion as a spectator by abusing Idomeneus with reference to the horses of Eumelus.\textsuperscript{1} It was Ajax, moreover, who also was guilty of impiety toward Athena at the capture of Troy\textsuperscript{2} and on that account was himself smitten with a thunderbolt and thereby caused the storm and shipwreck that befell them all.\textsuperscript{3} For the man who in such matters as those is brazen and forward cannot act sanely in other matters, as I have said before.\textsuperscript{4}

Here, then, you have an instance of wickedness and folly alike, and from men also such as are at Alexandria, except that in fighting, in deeds of valour, and in capturing cities no man here is the equal of Ajax. But among you not a man keeps his seat at the games; on the contrary you fly faster than the horses and their drivers, and it is comical to see the way you drive and play the charioteer, urging the horses on and taking the lead and—getting spilled.\textsuperscript{5} And so it is no bad parody that has been composed by one of your feeble versifiers:

At times the cars clung close to bounteous earth,
At times they bounded high; but in their seats
The gaping crowd did neither stand nor sit,
Pallid with fear and fright, and in their zeal

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Iliad} 23. 473–98.
\textsuperscript{2} The allusion may be either to the seizure of Athena’s image or—the later version—to the violation of Cassandra at Athena’s altar.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Odyssey} 4. 499–510; \textit{Aeneid I}. 30–45.
\textsuperscript{4} § 73.
\textsuperscript{5} Manifestly the sort of conduct on the part of the spectators that may be paralleled at football matches when the crowd unconsciously pushes in the effort to advance the ball.

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Διος Χρυσοστόμων

ἀλληλουσί τε κεκλόμενοι καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖς
χεῖρας ἀνίσχοντες μεγάλ’ εὐχετώντω ἐκαστοὶ.
ηὔτε περ’ κλαγγή γεράνων πέλει ἣ ἱκολούν,
αὖτ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν ζῷδον¹ τ’ ἐπιον καὶ ἄθεσφατον
οἶνον,
κλαγγὴ καὶ γε πέτονται ἐπὶ σταδίῳ κελεύθου.
οἱ δ’ ὠστε ψαρῶν νέφος ἔρχεται ἣ κολοῦν
83 οὐδ’ οἰκλήγοντες, ὅτε προῖδωσι λόντα
ἐπιον, δ’s ἄνθρωποι φῶνον φέρει ἥλιοισιν·
ὡς οἱ οἰκλήγοντες ἐπ’ ἀλλήλουσιν ἐπιτον.
ὡς δ’ ἀνέμοις έξισις φορέει λεπάς κατ’ ἄλωσα,
ὡς δ’ ἀναμαμάει βαθέ’ ἁγίεα θεσπίδαις πῦρ,
πάντῃ δ’ εὐλοφῶν ἀνέμος φέρει, οἱ δ’ τε θάμνοι
πρόριζοι πιπτοὺσιν ἐπεγόμενοι πυρὸς ὀρμή·
ὡς οἱ μὲν μάραντο πυρὸς δέμας· οὐδὲ κε φαίης
οὐτε ποτ’ ἥλιον σῶν ἐμμεναί οὐτε σελήνην.
84 οὕπερ φύλλων γενεή, τοῖς δ’ καὶ ἄνδρὼν,
ἄνδρῶν κουφονῶν, φιλαοιδοτάτων, ἀγεράχων,
ἡχὴ δ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἴκετ’ αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐλάς.²
ὡς δ’ τις εἰπεσκεν ἵδ’ ἐς πλησίον ἀλλόν
οἶνοβαρές, κὺνὸς ὀμματ’ ἔχων, κραδήν δ’
ἐλάφοιο,
τί πτώσεις; τί δ’ ὀπιπεύεις κατὰ ἅρμ’ ἐν
ἄγωνι;
εἰ δ’ ἀγε νυν πείρησαι, ἣν κυνάθεις ³ ἀποτίνης.⁴
τὸν δ’ αὖθ’ Ἰπποκῶν ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέ-
εἰπε·
τέττα, σιωπὴ ἰσο, ἐμῶ δ’ ἐπιπείδεο μῦθω.
ἡπεδαίος δὲ νῦ τοι θεράπων, βραδεῖς δέ τοι
ἰπποι.

¹ ζῷδον Morol: ζῷθον.
² αὐλάς Reiske: αὐγάς.
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

To win they shouted each to each, and, hands
Upraised, they vowed great offerings to all the gods.
Just as the scream of cranes or cry of daws
Doth rise, when they have drunk of beer and
wine
O'ermuch, and clamourous they fly to reach
The course; as daws or starlings in a cloud
With baleful screaming swoop, when they behold
A horse onrushing, bearing death to fools;
So these with yells upon each other fell.
Just as the wind o'er sacred floor doth bear
The chaff, as flaming fire doth sweep deep glens,
Whirled by the wind now here now there, and
'neath
Its onslaught thickets shrivel, root and branch;
So these did strive like fire; nor couldst thou say
That either sun or moon was safe from them.
Just like the growth of leaves, so that of men,
Shallow of mind, devoted to song, and proud,
And from both sides the noise pierced heaven's
vault,
The courts of Zeus. And thus one turned and
spake
Unto his neighbour: "Heavy with wine art thou;
Thou hast the eyes of a dog, the heart of a hind.
'Why dost thou quake and stare at a car in the
race?
Just try me, then, if thou wouldst mangled lie."
Hippocœon to him made this reply:
"Kind sir, in silence sit and heed my word:
A weak thing is thy driver, slow thy team."

3 καυβθείς Emperius: καυβθείς.
4 ἀποτίνης Reiske: ἀποτείνης.
Τὸν δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπὸ ζυγόφων προσέφη πόδας αὐλός ἅποις:
οὕς ὁρᾶσι οἷς κἀγὼ καλὸς τε μέγας τε;
ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοι κάμοι θάνατος καὶ μωίρα κραταίη.
αἰ γὰρ πως ὑμᾶς γε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνθάδε πάντας
ὁπλήνετας ἐθηκε θεᾶ λευκόλευκος Ἡρη,
ὡς μὴ μοι τρύζητε καθήμενοι ἀλλοθεν ἄλλος.
ὡς ἐφαθ’. οἱ δ’ εὐχοντο Διὸ Κρονίων ἀνακτι.

Ταῦτα μὲν ὑμῖν ἄπο πολλῶν καὶ φαύλων ὀλίγα,
ὅπως μὴ μόνοι δοκήτε εἶναι γελοιοί. καὶ μὴν
αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ἄνδρες Ἀλεξάνδρεις, τοὺς πυνθανο-
μένους περὶ τῆς πόλεως τὰ μὲν ἀλλ’ ἄκουειν
θαυμαστὰ οἷα, περὶ δὲ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μὴν σεμνὸν
λέγοντας μη’ ἄξιον ζηλοῦ, τούναντιν δὲ ὃς
φαύλους τοὺς ἄνθρωπος διαβεβλῆσαν, μῆμοι
καὶ γελωτοποιούσι μᾶλλον, οὐκ ἄνδρας ἐρρωμένους,
ὡς τῶν καμικῶν ἑπὶ τις ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις.

ἀκόλαστος ὁχλος ναυτική τ’ ἀταξία.

ἐστι γὰρ ὄμοιον ὡσπερ εἰ οὐκίαν μὲν τις ἰδοι πάνω
καλὴν, τὸν δὲ δεσπότην αὐτὸν ἄνδραποδον μηδὲ
θυρωρεῖν ἄξιον. τῷ παντὶ γὰρ κρέαττον ἐρημιάν
καθόραν ἥ δικαστέντες ἄνθρωπος εὐπόρους καὶ
πλῆθος ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπον ἄθλιων καὶ μαυρώμενων,

1 ἥ and καὶ Wilamowitz; καὶ and ἥ.

1 This 'parody' is a cento in the making of which the author—doubtless Dio himself—has levied upon virtually the whole of the Iliad. It contains scarcely a phrase that may not be traced to that poem, but the combination is intentionally ludicrous.

2 Euripides, Hecuba 607. Spoken by Hecuba with reference to the Greek forces. Either Dio's memory failed him.
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

To him then spake the charger fleet from 'neath
The yoke: "See'st not how fine a steed am I,
How handsome and stalwart? Still for even me
Doth wait grim death and stubborn-hearted fate.
I would that you yourselves had all received
From white-armed Hera just such hooves as mine;
No more would you sit and murmur each to
each."

He spake. But they made vows to Zeus the
King.¹

There you have just a few out of many sorry
verses, to prove that you are not the only ones to
seem ridiculous. And certainly it is disgraceful,
men of Alexandria, that those who inquire about your
city are told how wonderful everything else is here,
but that with respect to yourselves nothing is men-
tioned of which to be proud or fit to emulate, but that,
on the contrary, you are given a bad name as being
worthless fellows, mere mimes and buffoons instead of
men of real valour, as one of the comic poets said of
people like yourselves,

An unbridled mob, a disorderly gang of tars.²

In fact it is just as if you should see a house that is
very beautiful, but should discover that the master
himself is a slave and not fit to be even the porter.
For on the whole it is better to face empty benches ³
than to behold no more than fifteen substantial
citizens in the midst of an innumerable horde of
wretched, raving creatures, a sort of concentrated

or some comic poet did use the line, wilfully substituting
ἀναξία for ἀναρχία. Arnim would save Dio's reputation by
deleting the quotation.

² Perhaps ἐρημία means wilderness.
Dia Chrysostom

68 Ουδέ γάρ το τοῦ Σέρζου στράτευμα λαμπρὸν ἦν, πλὴν εἰ μή τι διορύττειν ἢ διασκάπτειν ἢ τοιοῦτον ἐτερον ἔργον πράττειν, οὐδὲ ἦ τῶν Ἰρώων πόλις εἰδαλίμων, ότι πονηρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων ὑπήρξε πολιτῶν. καίτοι μεγάλὴ τε καὶ ἐνδαξίος ἦν ἀλλ’ ὅμως ο τῆς Ἰθάκης πολλῆς ἐπόρθησεν αὐτήν, ο τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ ἀδόξου σφόδρα οὐσιν εὐρύχωρον. φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ καὶ ὡμεῖς ἀπόληγος ἐκείνους παραπλησίως, εἰ καὶ ψυχρότερον ἔστω εἰπεῖν ὅτι κάκειν ὑπὸ ὑπον τῶν φθαρῆται λέγεται. πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἰσως ψφ’ ἐνός, ὡμεῖς δὲ υπὸ πλειόνων ἐαλώκατε. μὴ γάρ τούτῳ μόνῳ ἠγείσθη θλωσιν εἰς πόλεως, ἂν τινες τὸ τεῖχος καταβαλῶτες ἀποσφάττωσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπάγωσι καὶ τὰς οἰκίας κατακάσωσιν. αὕτη μὲν ἰσως τελευταία καὶ πρὸς ὅλιγον γνωμενὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἑλεῖσθαι τοὺς παθόντας ἢ καταγελάσαται παρασκενάζουσα· παρ’ οἷς δ’ ἂν ἤ πάντων ἀμέλεια τῶν καλῶν, ἐνός δὲ πράγματος ἀγνησίους ἔρως, καὶ πρὸς μόνον τούτῳ ἀποβλέψωσι καὶ περὶ τούτῳ διατρίβουσι ἀεὶ τιθῶντες καὶ μανόμενοι καὶ παίοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀπόρρητα λέγοντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς πολλάκις

1 ἃν added by PfuguK.
2 διατρίβουσι ἀεὶ Koisko: διατρίβουσι ἢ M, διατρίβουσι ἢ UB.

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dunghill piled high with the sweepings of every kind. Why, the word 'city' could not justly be applied to a community composed of men like that,¹ any more than 'chorus' befits a chance company of nondescripts or 'army' just any mob!

For example, even the host of Xerxes was not brilliant, except at breaching a wall or digging a canal or some other manual labour;² nor was the city of the Trojans fortunate, since it consisted of depraved, licentious citizens. And yet it was both large and famous; but still the man from Ithaca ³ sacked it, yes, the man from that tiny, inglorious island sacked a city of exceeding wide domain. Therefore I fear that you also may perish like those Trojans—if I may be permitted the trite observation that Troy also is said to have been destroyed by a certain horse; however, while the Trojans perhaps were taken captive by a single horse, your capture is the work of many horses. For you must not think that the taking of a city consists alone in levelling its ramparts, slaughtering its men, leading its women into captivity, and burning its dwellings; nay, those happenings may mark the final stage, a stage of short duration and one that makes the victims more deserving of pity than of ridicule; but in the case of people who disregard all that is noble and are passionately enamoured of one thing that is ignoble, who centre their attention upon that alone and spend their time on that, constantly leaping and raving and beating one another and using abominable language and often reviling even the

¹ Dio gives a definition of 'city' in Or. 36. 20.
³ Odysseus.
λουδορούντες καὶ τὰ ὀντα ῥητούντες καὶ γυμνοὶ βαδίζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς θέας ἐνίστε, τούτ’ ἐστὶν αἰσχρὰ πόλεως καὶ ἐπονείδιστος ἄλως.

90 Καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἐαλωκέναι φαμέν οὐχ ὑπὸ ληστῶν μόνον ἡ ἐτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ γαστρός καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς φαύλης ἐπιθυμίας. αἰχμαλωτος οὐν γενέσθαι καλῶς ἢν λέγοντο καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ πόλις, ἂτις ἢν τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀφεμένη καὶ μήτε ὅρωσα μηδὲν μήτε ἀκούσα τῶν φερόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀφεδείσα ὑπὸ μέθης ἢ φόδης γυναικῶν ἢ ἀρμάτων ἄγνηται καὶ φέρηται καὶ πάσα δὲ ὅλης θορυβήται περὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκφρονῇ καὶ νὴ Δία ἐαλωκέναι λέγοντ’ ἢν καὶ κατὰ κράτος δὲς οὗτως ἐάλωκεν καὶ περιηγκωνίσθαι. οὔ γὰρ ἂν μὲν τὸ σώμα τινος κρατήται καὶ περιέχεται δεσμοῖς τισιν ἢ φρουροῖς, τὰ δυσχερὴ δὲ ταῦτα νομίζειν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ δουλείαν καὶ ἀπαγωγῆν, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἡνδραποδομένης καὶ ἀπολωλυόμενος εἰρωνεύεσθαι καὶ ὑποτιμάσθαι.

91 Καίτω δεινὰ μὲν που καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάστων τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῷ παντὶ δὲ αἰσχῶν δημοσίᾳ φαινόμενα, καὶ γὰρ αἱ λοιπαὶ νόσοι μέχρι μὲν τῶν καθ’ ἐνα εἰσὶν οὐ μεγάλης οὐδὲ φοβερὰς προσηγορίας τυγχάνουσιν· ὅταν δὲ κοινὸν γένηται τὸ πράγμα,

1 ἡ ἐτέρων U, ἡ ἐταίραν IV, ἡ ἐταίραν B; deleted by Reiske.
2 ἐκφρονῇ Emperius: ἐκφρονεῖ σε ἐκφρονή.
3 δὲς οὗτος Emperius: ὁς οὗθ᾿.
4 ἐάλωκεν Geel: ἐαλωκέναι.
5 ἀπαγωγῆν Emperius: ἀπάτην.
6 ἐκάστων Emperius: ἐκάστῳ.
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gods themselves and flinging away their own belongings and sometimes departing naked from the show—that is a disgraceful, an ignominious capture for a city.

For I assert that men have been taken captive, not by pirates only or other persons, but also by a courtesan or gluttony or by any other low desire. The term ‘captive,’ then, may well be used, not only of a person, but of a city too, provided that city, abandoning the nobler pursuits and having neither eyes nor ears for anything conducive to salvation, but yielding instead to the clutches of drink or singing girls or racing chariots, is made the prize of conquest and thrown into utter confusion thereby and bereft of its senses. Yes, by Zeus, the man who has experienced such a capture might well be said to have been taken by storm and manacled to boot. For if when a man’s body has been overpowered and confined by chains or guards, we consider that these disagreeable happenings constitute captivity and slavery and violent seizure, when the soul has been taken captive and ruined, we should not dissimulate or underrate it.

And yet, while such experiences are doubtless terrible even in the case of individuals, they are altogether more disgraceful when they happen to a people. For indeed all other afflictions, as long as they affect a single person, receive no great or awful label; but when the visitation becomes

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1 Dio seems to be referring to such exuberance of conduct as the tossing away of hats and caps at a modern football match.

2 The contrast between soul and body bears general resemblance to that which pervades the attitude of Socrates at his trial. See, for example, Plato, Apology 28 b.
τότε λοιμός καλεῖται. καθόλου γὰρ πάντα ἁμαρτήματα εὑροὶ ¹ τις ἂν πανταχοῦ, καὶ οἰνόφλυγες καὶ πόρνοι καὶ γυναιμανεῖς ἐν πάσαις εἰσὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ² τοῦτο χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ ύπερβάλλον· διαν δὲ ἐπικρατῆ τὸ πάθος καὶ βλέπηται κοινῶν, τότε ἐπίσημον καὶ μέγα καὶ δημοσίᾳ γίγνεται.

1. σφόδρα ἐρήμων καὶ μικρῶν, έν ἀ νή καθ’ ἡμέραν τις πυρέττει πάντως; ἀλλὰ Καυνίους μόνον οὐ ³ παρεῖληφε κάκεινων κοινῶν ⁴ ἐστι τὸ διείσδυος, ὅτι πάντες αὐτὸ πάσχουσιν. ὠσπερ καὶ ἀπο τῶν βελτιώνων τινῶς ἔθαυμασθησαν καὶ δόξαι ἔσχον. πόσους γὰρ οἶδεθε Ἀθηναίων ἢ Μεγαρέων ἢ Κορινθίων τὰ σώματα ἀσκεῖν καὶ ζῆν φιλοπόνως; πολλοὺς δήλον ὅτι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ύπέρ τῶν πατρίδων γίγνεσθαι.

2. τὰ ὄν χ οὐνόι ⁵ Δακεδαμόνοι τοῦτ' ἔσχον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τῆς δόξης ἀπολαύσωσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν; ὅτι κοινῆ ⁶ ἐκτίθησαν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους τὰ περὶ τοὺς λόγους μᾶλλον ἐπιτιθεύοντας καὶ πούνων καὶ χορούς ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοῖς τοῦτ’ ⁷ ἐποίησε θαυμάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, σκοπεῖε δὲ μὴ ὑμεῖς οὐχ ὀμοίας μεταλάβητε δόξης τοῖς Ἀθηναίως καὶ Δακεδαμόνοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐτέρας τισίν· οὐ βουλόμαι γὰρ ὄνομάσαι.

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¹ εὑροὶ: Reiske: εἶποι.
² οὐδὲ: Emporius: οὐδὲν.
³ οὐ: added by Crosby.
⁴ κοινῶν: added by Weil.
⁵ μόνοι: Reiske: μόνον.
⁶ κοινῆ: Cassaubon, κοινή: Post: καὶ ὄν.
⁷ αὐ τοῦτ’: Emporius: αὐτοῦς.
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general, then it is called a plague. For, on the whole, all varieties of human weakness might be discovered anywhere at all, and drunkards, perverts, and woman-crazed wretches are present in every city; and yet not even that condition is disturbing or beyond endurance; but when the malady becomes prevalent and a common spectacle, then it becomes noteworthy and serious and a civic issue.

For example, what city is there, unless it be one very sparsely populated and small, in which day by day there is not at least one person ill with fever? However, fever has all but taken possession of the Caunians, and in their case it is a reproach to the community, because they all suffer from it 1; just as also certain peoples have won admiration and esteem for traits that are better. For instance, how many Athenians or Megarians or Corinthians, do you suppose, used to cultivate their bodies and live laborious lives? Many, obviously, and especially in the days when they had to be valiant in defence of their countries. Why is it, then, that the Spartans alone among them got a name for that and have enjoyed the reputation ever since? It is because as a people they acquired the love of honour. And as to the Athenians, because they were more devoted to the cultivation of the arts of speech and poetry and choral song and dance, that devotion, for the same reason, caused them in their turn to be admired in these fields. But take care lest the reputation that you gain resemble, not that of the Athenians and the Spartans, but rather that of certain others—for I do

1 Caunus was a Carian city near the coast and in the neighbourhood of swampy land. Strabo (14. 2. 3) bears eloquent testimony to the truth of Dio's words.

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οπερ γάρ ἦδη πολλάκις εἶπον, αἰσχίνω τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ καταγέλαστα μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἦ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. 94 ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις καὶ διασκευαῖς Καρίωνα μὲν εἰσάγοντες μεθύοντα καὶ Δᾶνον οὐ σφόδρα κινοῦσι γέλωτα, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα τοιοῦτον ὄρωσι γελοῦν δοκεῖ, παραφερόμενον, καὶ καθάπερ εἰσώθασιν, ἐν κρακωτῶ, παραπληγώς καὶ δήμος οὖτως μέγας 1 μυρίζων διὰ βίου καὶ πάλιν ἰμοχών χωρίς ἵππων αἰσχρὸν γίγνεται καὶ κατα- γέλαστον. αὐτὸ γάρ τοῦτο Εὐριπίδης τὸν Ἡρακλέα φησὶ παθεῖν μανόμενον.

ἐκ τοῦδε 2 βαίνων ἀρματ’ οὐκ ἔχων ἔχειν ἔφασε, δίφρου δ’ εἰσέβαινεν ἄντυγας κάθευν 3 κέντρον δῆθεν ὡς ἔχων χερί.

95 μὴ οὖν καὶ ὡμεῖς 4 κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν ἐπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρων καὶ γάρ αὐτὸς ἐλέγει Δῖός υἱὸς εἶναι. μᾶλλον δ’ ἴσως οὐχ Ἡρακλεῖ προσέοικεν ὑμῶν ὁ δήμος, ἀλλὰ Κενταύρω τυγχ. ἡ Κύκλωπε πεπωκότε 5 καὶ ἔρωτι, τὸ μὲν σώμα ἵσχυρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ἁμαθεί.

1 μέγας Selden : μέγα.
2 ἐκ τοῦδε Euripides : αὐτοῦ δὲ.
3 κάθευν Euripides : καὶ ἔτεεν.
4 ὡμεῖς Cassaubon : ὡμαῖ.
5 πεπωκότε Boiskò : πεπωκότε.

1 See especially § 91.
2 'Reovies' is an attempt to harmonize διασκευαίς with the context. The word commonly means 'revisions' of scholarly nature. Suidas, s.v. Timotheus, lists eight διασκευαί among the works of that well known poet, but we do not know their nature. The term is not recognized as a label for a particular dramatic genre.

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not care to name them. For, as I have often said, shameful conduct is more shameful and ridiculous when it involves whole cities. Just as in the case of comedies and revues when the poets bring upon the scene a drunken Carion or a Davus, they do not arouse much laughter, yet the sight of a Heracles in that condition does seem comical, a Heracles who staggers and, as usually portrayed, is clad in womanish saffron; in much the same way also, if a populace of such size as yours warbles all through life or, it may be, plays charioteer without the horses, it becomes a disgrace and a laughing stock. Indeed this is precisely what Euripides says befell Heracles in his madness:

Then striding to a car he thought was there,
He stepped within its rails and dealt a blow,
As if he held the goad within his hand.

Maybe, then, like so many others, you are only following the example set by Alexander, for he, like Heracles, claimed to be a son of Zeus. Nay rather, it may be that it is not Heracles whom your populace resembles, but some Centaur or Cyclops in his cups and amorous, in body strong and huge but mentally a fool.

3 Slave names familiar in comedy, symbolizing slaves as a class.
4 Heracles plays a comic rôle in comedy (e.g., Aristophanes, Wasps 60, Peace 741) and also in satyr-drama and tragedy (e.g., Euripides, Alcestis 747-66) as glutton and heavy drinker. His womanish masquerade at the court of Omphalé, to which Dio alludes, also lent itself to travesty.
5 Cf. § 81.
7 Cf. Or. 1. 7 and 4. 19.
Πρὸς τοῦ Διώς οὐχ ὀρᾶτε ὅσην ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑμῶν πεποίηται τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμέλειαν; οὐκοῦν χρῆ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κρείττων ποιεῖν, μᾶ Δι’ οὐ κρήναις οὔδε προπολαίοις· εἷς 1 ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ οὐ δύνασθε ὑμεῖς ἀναλίσκειν, οὔδὲ ἀν ὑπερβάλουσθε ποτε, οἴμαι, τὴν ἐκείνου μεγαλοψυχίαν· ἀλλ’ εὐταξία, κόσμῳ, τῷ δεικνύειν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς σωφρόνας καὶ βεβαιοὺς. οὕτως γὰρ ἐν οὕτῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι μετανοήσει2 καὶ πλείονα ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσεται. καὶ ἕως ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἑνθάδε ἀφίξεως παράσχοιτε πόθον. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως τὸ κάλλος τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων προσάγειν αὐτὸν δύναται· πάντα γὰρ κρείττων καὶ πολυτελεστερα ἔχει τῶν ὅπου δήποτε. 3 ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀκούσῃ τοὺς ὑποδεξομένους αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως ἄξιοι καὶ τῶν πεπομένων ἐκαστος καὶ διοικοῦντων ὑμᾶς προτιμήσῃ. 4 μὴ γὰρ οἶει ταῦτα ὡμᾶς μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν καταπλεόντων, ὅποιοὶ τῶν τυχάνων ὄντες, καὶ τοιαύτην ἔχειν γνώμην εὐθὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἶος 5 ἀν μετάσχητε τῆς φήμης, ἔκεινος δὲ περὶ ὑμῶν μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὅποιος δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δήμος. οὐκοῦν ἂν ἀκούσωσιν ὁτι φρόνιμος, ἀλλ’ οὐχ οἷα τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα, ὡς ἐπτοημένοις, ὡς εὐχερῆς, τὰ μικρὰ θαυμάζων, ἦττων. 6

1 εἷς added by Casaubon.
2 μετανοήσει Pflügk: μετανοήσει.
3 ὅπου δήποτε Dindorf: ὅποιδήποτε.
4 προτιμήσῃ Emperius: προτιμήσει.
5 οἶος Emperius: ὃς B, ὃς UM.
6 ἦττων Reiske: ἦ τῶν.
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

In heaven’s name, do you not see how great is the consideration that your emperor has displayed toward your city?¹ Well then, you also must match the zeal he shows and make your country better, not, by Zeus, through constructing fountains or stately portals—for you have not the wealth to squander on things like that, nor could you ever, methinks, surpass the emperor’s magnificence ²—but rather by means of good behaviour, by decorum, by showing yourselves to be sane and steady. For in that case not only would he not regret his generosity because of what has happened,³ but he might even confer on you still further benefactions. And perhaps you might even make him long to visit you. For it is not so much the beauty of your buildings that might attract him, for he has buildings of every kind finer and more costly than anywhere; but he may be attracted when he hears that the people to receive him are worthy of his favour and his trust, and when each of his emissaries and ministers speaks highly of you. For you must not imagine, that, although you yourselves inquire about those who enter your harbour, what kind of people they may chance to be, and your judgement concerning them at once corresponds to their reputation, yet the emperor’s agents are not curious to learn what kind of people the Alexandrians are. Therefore, if they hear that you are sensible, and not, as is now the common report, flighty, easy-going, inclined to admire petty things,

¹ Arnim, Dio von Prusa, p. 426, refers this to some recent gift from Trajan to be employed on public works. The next sentence ends plausibility to this interpretation.
² For Trajan’s activity in public works at Rome, see Cambridge Ancient History 11. 205–7.
³ Doubtless the riot referred to in §§ 71 and 72.
τοῦ τυχόντος, ἐραστὴς ἦν ὁχὼν καὶ κιθαριστής, οὐκ ἀδηλον ὡς ἔξουσιν.

97 Θεόφιλον φασὶ παρ' ὑμῖν γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν σιωπῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ἐθέλειν διαλέγεσθαι. κατοι τινὰ γνώμην νομίζετε αὐτὸν ἢ ἐξεῖν; πότερον ὡς σοφοὺς ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ δεομένους θεραπεῖαι; ἢ μᾶλλον ὡς ἀνικτῶν ἀπεγνωκέναι; παραπλήσιον γάρ, ὡσπερ εἰ τις τῶν ἐμπόρων πολλὰ καὶ τίμια ἔχων καταπλεὐσεῖν εἰς πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἀνέμων των ἡ τύχης ἄλλης κρατούμενος καὶ διατρίβων ἐκεί χρόνου συνχών μήτε προθείς τῶν ἑκῶν μηδὲν μήτε δεῖξει μηδέποτε. δὴ λοιπὸν γάρ ὡς ἐσχάτην τινὰ αὐτῶν πενιὰν κατεγνωκός ἢ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἂν θέλοι μᾶτην ἐνοχλεῖταί, σαφῶς εἰδῶς ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν ἔνοχαίτω τῶν ἄνθρωπων τούτων οὐθεὶς οὔτ' ἂν ἔσως προσέλθοι. καὶ Θεόφιλος τοῖνοι πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ μεγάλα ἔνδοι ὑμῖα κατείχε παρ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα, συνειδῶς ὑμῖν τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν, οὐ χρημάτων, ἄλλα νοῦ καὶ συνέσεως. τού γαρ τεθηκε κατασωπήσας ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὑμεῖς τού δεῖνός μὲν πολλάκις ἀκηκόατε καὶ διαμέμησθέ τῶν σκωμμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ δεῖνος ἀσμάτων, Θεόφιλον δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ποτὲ ἢκουσάτε· ὡσπερ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς έν τῷ Ἀττική κανθάρους, τοῦ καθαρωτάτου μελιτος ὄντος, τοῦ μὲν μηδέποτε γευσάσθαι, μηδ' ἂν ἐκχεῖται, τῆς δὲ ἔτερας τροφῆς.

1 πραγμάτων after τυχόντος deleted by Arnim.
2 προσέλθοι Hemsterhuis: προσέλθοι.
3 κατείχε added by Reiske.
4 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ καταδικάσας αὐτήν after πόλιν deleted by Reiske.
with a weakness for trivialities, passionately devoted
to jockeys and harpists, there is no doubt how they
will feel.

Theophilus,¹ they say, who proved himself a man
of wisdom here in Alexandria, preserved silence to-
ward you and would hold no converse with you. And
yet what do you think was his purpose? Was it
because he thought you to be wise yourselves and in
no need of treatment: or rather had he despried of
you as being incurable? For it is very much as if a
trader with many precious wares should land at a city,
and then, constrained by certain winds or by some
mischance, should spend a long time there without
either setting out any of his wares or displaying them
at all; for evidently it would be because he was con-
vinced either that the inhabitants were in extreme
poverty, or else that they were ignorant, and so he
would be unwilling to go to useless trouble, feeling
certain that no one of the inhabitants would either
make a purchase or, perhaps, come to see him.
Theophilus too, we conclude, though he had many
notable wares inside of him, kept them to himself,
being aware that you were extremely poor, not in
money, but in judgement and understanding. Well,
then, he is dead, having by his silence passed adverse
judgement on your city, and, though you have often
heard so-and-so speak and can well recall his jokes,
and also the songs of what’s-his-name, I am not sure
that you have ever heard Theophilus; just as some-
one has said of the beetles in Attica, that, though
Attica has the purest honey, the beetles never taste
of it, not even if it is poured out for them, but only
of the other kind of food.²

¹ Unknown. ² I.e., dung; cf. Aristophanes, Pax, 1–18.
'Αλλ' εστέ ἱλαροί καὶ σκῶφαι πάντων δεινότατοι, οὐ δῆμον τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα· πόθεν; οὐδὲ πόλεως, ἄλλα Θερσίτου τυώς· αὐτὸν γοῦν ἔκεινον εἴρηκεν ὁμηρὸς ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησίων ἀφικέσθαι γελωτοποιόν, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον λέγοντα, ἄλλ' ὦ τί οἱ εἰσαῖτο γελοῖον 'Αργείουσιν ἔμμεναι.

ἄλλ' οὐ τὸ γελοῖον ἁγαθόν ἐστὶν οὐδὲ τύμον, ἄλλα τὸ χαῖρειν· ἀπορία δὲ καὶ ἁγνοία χαρᾶς ἄνθρωποι διώκουσι γέλωτα. τὴν γοῦν βοτάνην ἀκηκόατε τὴν σαρδόνιον καλουμένην, ἢ γέλωτα μὲν ποιεῖ, ἵ πεῖ σφόδρα σῦτως περιέχεσθε τοῦτον, μὴδὲ ἁμοίοις καὶ φορτικάς καὶ ἁμαθείς ποιεῖτε τὰς Χάριτας, ἄλλα μᾶλλον Εὔρυπιθην μμεῖσθε σὺν τῷ λέγοντα·

μὴ παυσάιμην τὰς Χάριτας. Μοῦσαίς ἀναμυνόν, ἀδίσταν συζυγίαν,

ίνα μὴ τὸ Μουσείον ὅμων ἄλλως εἶναι δοκῇ τόπος ἐν τῇ πόλει, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἄλλοι τόποι μάλιν προσαγορεύονται, τὸ πράγμα μὴ ἔχοντες μετὰ τοῦ ὁνόματος.

1 'Αλλ' γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ κάμοι συμβέβηκεν ὁ φασιν Ἀιγυπτιῶν τινὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἀρχαιῶν μονοι-

1 Πιαδ 2. 214–6.
THE THIRTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

But, someone will say, you are a jolly folk and the best jesters in the world. That is no calling for a people—how could it be?—nor for a city, but rather for a Thersites. At least Homer says that Thersites himself came among all the Greeks as a jester, not speaking with decorum,

But what he thought would make the Argives laugh.¹

Yet not what makes men laugh is good or honourable, but rather what makes them joyful; and for lack of joy and for ignorance thereof men seek laughter. You must have heard of the plant called Sardonian, which produces laughter, to be sure, but a laughter which is distressing and disastrous.² Therefore be not so devoted to that laughter, nor cause the Graces to be unmusical and vulgar and boorish, but rather imitate Euripides in these lines of his:

May I ne’er cease to join in one
The Muses and the Graces;
Such union is surpassing sweet,³

and thus will your Mouseion⁴ be regarded, not just as a place in the city, as indeed, I fancy, there are other places with labels devoid of meaning, not possessing a character to match the name.

But enough of this, for I fear that I too have had the experience that they say befell a certain Egyptian, a musician of the very early school. For

¹ Euripides, Heracles 673-5. Dio’s reading differs slightly from the text of the poet.
² The famous Alexandrian centre for intellectual interests of all sorts. Dio, of course, like a good Greek, is toying with etymology.
κἂ. ἐκεῖνῳ γὰρ τὸ δαιμονίον ποτε προειπεῖν καθ’ ὑπνόν ὡς εἰς ὠνοματερά. καὶ δὴ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἵνα χρόνον οὐ προσέχειν οὐδὲ ἐφροντιζεῖ τοῦ ὀνείρατος, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τύραννος τῶν Σύρων ἦκεν εἰς Μέμφιν, ἐκπληττομένων αὐτοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐκάλεσεν. ἐπεδείκνυο ὁν πάση προθυμία καὶ τάκριβηστερα τῆς τέχνης: δὲ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ σύνεσεις μουσικῆς, ἐκέλευσε παιδασταὶ αὐτοῦ ἀτμιάσασθαι. δὲ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐκείνου τοῦ ὀνείρατος, Τοῦτ’ ἦν ἀρα, ἐφη, τὸ εἰς ὄνομα όμοιο ἄδειον. δὲ δὲ τύραννος ἀκούσας τῶν ἐρμηνευόντων ὡς ἐλέγεν ἐδει καὶ ἐμαυτῆγοι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτο ἁπλώς ἐξήγηκεν. αὐτῶν γενέσθαι.

1 μὲν ἄλλον Reiske: μέλλοντα.
2 τούτο Reiske: τοῦ.
the story goes that the deity once told that musician in a dream that he was destined to sing into an ass's ears. And for a while he paid no heed and gave no thought to the dream, as being a matter of no consequence. But when the tyrant of Syria came to Memphis, since the Egyptians admired the artist greatly, he summoned him. So the musician gave a performance with all zest and displayed the more intricate phases of his art; but the tyrant—for he had no appreciation of music—bade him cease and treated him with disdain. And the musician, recalling that forgotten dream, exclaimed, "So that was the meaning of the saying, 'to sing into an ass's ears'". And the tyrant, having heard from his interpreters what the musician had said, bound and flogged the man, and this incident, they say, was the occasion of a war.\footnote{This story may have been of Dio's own manufacture, since it occurs nowhere else and resembles other tales of his that are thought to be apocryphal. Both the period and the people alike are unknown.}
THE THIRTY-THIRD, OR FIRST
TARSIC, DISCOURSE

In this Discourse Dio appears to be addressing a public
gathering of the people of Taras on invitation. Like
the comic poets to whom he refers, he treats his audience to
λαξάπεια, inveighing against their wantonness and moral
decay. Fully half of what he has to say is concerned with
what he calls ρέγκαν. Though his treatment of that topic
is manifestly humorous, it is designed to make palatable the
serious charges that he desires to make.

The word ρέγκαν is said to mean now 'snort,' now 'snore.'
For lack of an English word of like flexibility, the translator
has elected to use consistently that one of the two conventional
meanings that seemed the better adapted to the majority
of occurrences. 'Snort,' however, is doubtless inadequate
as an interpretation of Dio's meaning. He himself appears
to be perplexed as to the proper label for the sound to which
he has applied the term (55). He does give some clues.
It is a sound made by some persons when asleep (33), by small
boys, and by some mature men of good standing (33-34).
It might be taken to denote the presence of a brothel (36).
It is made by persons of uncertain sex (36). It is more
suitable for the elderly (45). It is produced by the nose
(50). It is a symptom of bad morals (50-51). It is not
clucking or smacking of the lips or whistling, nor is it employed
by shepherds, plowmen, huntsmen, or sailors (55). It is a
sound peculiar to neither man nor woman, not even to a
harlot, but rather to a male of the most debased sort (60).
If, then, Dio himself, in spite of elaborate efforts to define
the sound, has found no better term to symbolize his meaning,
perhaps indulgence may be shown the translator.

To the modern reader Taras inevitably suggests the name
of Paul. The picture of that ancient city, half Greek and
half oriental, to be found in this Discourse and in the one to
follow, awakens the keener interest for that reason. Sir
William Ramsay holds that the Athenodorus of whom we
hear exerted an influence upon the thought of Paul. Arnim
assigns the present Discourse to Dio's latest period.
33. ΤΑΡΣΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

1 Ἔγω θαυμάζω τί ποτ' ἔστι τὸ ύμετερον καὶ τί προσδοκῶντες ἢ βουλόμενοι τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους διαλέγεσθαι ύμῶν ξητείτε, πότερον εὐφώνος οἶσθε εἶναι καὶ φθέγγεσθαι ἦδιον τῶν ἄλλων, ἔπειτα ὅσπερ ὀρνέων ποθείτε ἀκούειν μελῳδοῦντων ύμῶν, ἡ δύναμιν ἄλλην ἔχειν ἐν τε ὄνομασι καὶ διανοήμασι δρμιντέρας τινὸς πειθοῦς καὶ τῷ ὄντι δεινῆς, ἢν καλείτε ῥήτορικήν, ἐν τε ἁγοράς καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα διυναστεύουσαν, ἡ τινα ἐπαινοῦν καθ' αὐτῶν ἄκοιδεσθαι οἴθ'μενοι καὶ δημόσιον ύμον τῆς πόλεως, περὶ τε Περσέως καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ τῆς τριαίνης καὶ περὶ χρησμῶν τῶν γενομένων, καὶ ὡς ἐστε Ἔλληνες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ἔτι βελτίως καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς ἔχετε ἡρωᾶς καὶ ἡμιθέους, μάλλον δὲ Τιτάνας·

2 ἔτι δὲ, οἴμαι, περὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Κύδνου, ὡς δεξιώτατος ἀπάντων ποταμῶν καὶ κάλλιστος, οἱ τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν πίνοντες ἀφνειοί καὶ μακάριοι καθ'

1 τοῦ τῆς τριαίνης Σαρρά, τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῆς τε τριαίνης Valesius: τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῆς τριαίνης.

2 δεξιώτατος] λειώτατος Nábor.

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1 Tarsus, as a semi-oriental city, may well have been touchy regarding its claim to Hellenic origin. Thoro does not seem to have been agreement as to the founder. Dio himself is not consistent on that topic: here he speaks of 274
THE THIRTY-THIRD, OR FIRST TARSIC, DISCOURSE

I wonder what on earth is your purpose, and what your expectation or desire, in seeking to have such persons as myself discourse for you. Do you think us to be sweet-voiced and more pleasant of utterance than the rest, so that, as if we were song-birds, you long to hear us make melody for you; or do you believe that we possess a different power in word and thought alike, a power of persuasion that is keener and truly formidable, which you call rhetoric, a power that holds sway both in the forum and on the rostrum; or is it because you expect to hear some laudation directed at yourselves, some patriotic hymn in praise of your city, all about Persens and Heracles and the Lord of the Trident and the oracles that you have received, and how you are Hellenes, yes, Argives or even better, and how you have as founders heroes and demigods—or, I should say, Titans? ¹ You may even, methinks, expect to hear a eulogy of your land and of the mountains it contains and of yonder Cydnus, how it is the most kindly of all rivers and the most beautiful and how those who drink its waters are ‘affluent and blessed,’ to use the words

¹ founders’ but in section 47 he calls Heracles ‘the founder.’ Other deities especially honoured by the Tarsians were Persens, Apollo, and Athené. According to Strabo (14. 5. 12) the city was founded by Triptolemus and a band of Argives. To this list of possible founders Capps by his plausible emendation adds Poseidon. See critical note.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

"Ομηρον. ταύτα γὰρ ἔστι μὲν ἄληθῆ, καὶ συνεχῶς αὕτα ἀκοῦετε τῶν τε ποιητῶν ἐν μέτροις καὶ ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν αὕτω τούτῳ ἔργον πεποιημένων ἐγκωμιάζειν, δεῖται δὲ μεγάλης τινος παρασκευῆς 3 καὶ δυνάμεως. τί οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐπιτίθετε ἔρειν; ἢ τί μάλιστα ἀκοῦσαι σπεύδετε παρὰ ἀνδρῶν οὓς εὐτραπέλων οὓδε πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν εἰδότων οὖδε αἰμιλίων οὖδὲ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ὕοντων ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐ χρήματα ἐπιτίθεντες παρ᾽ ἡμῶν 1 οὖδε ἄλλο τι δόθηκεν καὶ πάνυ ἐπίσταμαι.

Φέρε οὖν ἔγγυη ἐπιτε τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ὑπόνοιαν. 4 δοκεῖτέ μοι πολλάκις ἀκηκοοίναι θείων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ πάντα εἰδέναι φασί καὶ περὶ πάντων ἔρειν ἢ διατέτακται καὶ τίνα ἔχει φύσιν, περὶ τε ἁνθρώπων καὶ δαμόνιων 2 καὶ περὶ θεῶν, ἔτι δὲ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θαλάττης, καὶ περὶ ἥλιου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων, καὶ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, καὶ περὶ φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων. ἐπειτέ, οἴμοι, προσελθόντες ὑμῶν πυθόμεθα τί βούλεσθε αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τίνος, κατὰ τὸν Πινδαρον,

'Ἰσμήνον ἣ χρυσηλάκατον Μελίαν ἢ Κάδμον· ὅ τι δ᾽ ἂν ἄξιωσθε ὑμεῖς, ἐνθεν ἠλὼν 3 ἄθροιν καὶ

1 ἡμῶν Τ.: ὑμῶν UBM.
2 δαμόνιων] δαμόνων Emperius.
3 ἠλὼν Reiske: ἠλθών.

1 Iliad 2. 525: ἄφνειοι, πνευτες οὐδέρ μέλαν Αἰοληποίο.
2 Aristotle has left us a work entitled περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς. Plato too dealt with this topic. Cf. Phaedo, 95 E.
3 Lucian, Demosthenis Encomium 19, quotes the entire sentence, which contains a remarkable list of alternatives proposed by the poet. See Sandys, Odes of Pindar (L.C.L.), p. 512. 276
of Homer. For such praise is true indeed and you are constantly hearing it both from the poets in their verse and from other men also who have made it their business to pronounce encomia; but that sort of performance requires ample preparation and the gift of eloquence. What, then, do you expect us to say? Or what above all are you eager to hear from men who are not of nimble wit and know not how to make gratification the aim of their discourse, who are not flatterers nor moved by insolence to mount the platform? For that you are not expecting money from us nor any other contribution, I am well aware.

Well then, let me state my own suspicions. You seem to me to have listened frequently to marvellous men, who claim to know all things, and regarding all things to be able to tell how they have been appointed and what their nature is, their repertoire including, not only human beings and demigods, but gods, yes, and even the earth, the sky, the sea, the sun and moon and other stars—in fact the entire universe—and also the processes of corruption and generation and ten thousand other things. And then, methinks, they come to you and ask you what you want them to say and upon what topic—as Pindar puts it,

Ismenus or Melia of the golden distaff or noble Cadmus;

and whatsoever you may deem suitable, the speaker starts from there and pours forth a steady and copious

\[4\]  Reiške’s attractive emendation, \(\tau\nu\theta\nu \varepsilon\lambda\omega\nu\), is seemingly an epic phrase—cf. Odyssey 8, 500—employed with humorous intent.
ΙΩ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

πολὺν ἀφήσει τὸν λόγον, ὡσπέρ τι βεῦμα ἁφθονον
5 ἐν αὐτῷ κατακεκλεμένων. ἔπειθ' ὤμεῖς ἀκοῦντες
τὸ μὲν ἐξετάζειν καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡ ἀπίστευν ἄνδρι
σοφῷ φαινον ἤγείσθε καὶ ἀκαίρον, ἀλλὰς δὲ
τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ταχυτητί τῶν λόγων ἐπαίρεσθε
καὶ πάνω χαίρετε ἀπευστὶ ξυνείροντος 1 τοσοῦτον
ὀχλον ῥημάτων, καὶ πεπόνθατε ὀμοιον τοῖς
ὁρῶσι τοὺς ἰπποὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ ρυτήρος θέοντας;
οὐδὲν ὕφελομενοι ϑαυμάζετε 2 ὦμος καὶ μακάριων
φατε κτῆμα. καίτοι 3 τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἵδεῖν ἐστιν
οὐ τοὺς δεσπότας χρωμένους πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ
φαίνον ἀνδράποδον.

6 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τουάδε ἀκράσις θεωρία τις οὖσα
καὶ πομπὴ παραπλήσιον ἔχει τι τάς ἐπιδείξειν
τῶν καλουμένων ἱατρῶν, 4 οἱ προκαθίζοντες ἐν τῷ
μέσῳ ἐξιμβολᾶς ἄρθρων καὶ ὀστέων συνθέσεις καὶ
παραθέσεις καὶ τουαθ' ἔτερα ἐπεξίασι, πόρους
καὶ πνεύματα καὶ διηθήσεις. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ
κεχίνασι καὶ κεκηληται τῶν παιδίων μᾶλλον.
ὅ δ' ἀληθής ἱατρὸς οὐκ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος οὔτε ὦμος
διαλέγεται τοῖς ὀντὼς δεομένως πόθεν; ἀλλὰ
προσέταξε τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, καὶ φαγεῖν βουλόμενον ἢ
πιεῖν ἐκώλυσε, καὶ λαβῶν ἔτεμεν ἀφεστήκος τι
7 τοῦ σώματος. ὡσπέρ οὖν εἰ συνελθόντες οἱ κάμπον-
τες εἰσ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐπεκώμαζον καὶ κωθω-

1 ξυνείροντος Casaubon: ξυνείροντες.
2 ἀφαυμάζετε Schwartz deletes δὲ.
3 καίτοι Reiske, καίτοι καὶ Wilamowitz: καί.
4 ἱατρῶν] ἱατροσοφιστῶν οἱ λογικῶν Arnim.

1 Strabo (14. 5. 13) stresses the enthusiasm for education displayed by Tarsus in his day. He ranks it above Athens

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flood of speech, like some abundant river that has been dammed up within him. Then, as you listen, the thought of testing his several statements or of distrusting such a learned man seems to you to be shabby treatment and inopportune, nay, you are heedlessly elated by the power and the speed of his delivery and are very happy, as, without a pause for breath, he strings together such a multitude of phrases, and you are affected very much as are those who gaze at horses running at a gallop—though not at all benefited by the experience, still you are full of admiration and exclaim, "What a marvellous thing to own!" And yet in the case of the horses it is frequently not the owners who may be seen handling the reins, but rather some worthless slave.

Well then, the sort of recitation of which I speak, being a kind of spectacle or parade, has some resemblance to the exhibitions of the so-called physicians, who seat themselves conspicuously before us and give a detailed account of the union of joints, the combination and juxtaposition of bones, and other topics of that sort, such as pores and respirations and excretions. And the crowd is all agape with admiration and more enchanted than a swarm of children. But the genuine physician is not like that, nor does he discourse in that fashion for the benefit of those who actually need medical attention—of course not—but instead he prescribes what should be done, and if a man wants to eat or drink, he stops him, or he takes his scalpel and lance some abscess of the body. Just as, therefore, in case the sick were to assemble and then proceed to serenade the physician and call and Alexandria in that regard, but adds that Tarsus did not attract foreign scholars as they did.
νίζεσθαι ἦςίουν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς κατ' ἐλπίδα τὸ πράγμα ἀπήτωσεν, ἀλλ' ἴσος ἦ γανάκτουν πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν, τούτ' Ῥ οἱ πεπουθέναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξυνότας ἐπὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ λέγειν κελεύοντες, ἀγνεστοὶ δὴλον ὅτι τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ὄντες λόγων, ἐπειθ' ἦδυ τι καὶ προσηνε ἀκούσε-οθαν προσδοκῶντες.

Φέρε δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἀρα ἀνέξεσθε, εἰ δὴ μὴ πάνη τὰς τῆς παρρησίας χρώτοι μηδὲ ἐπὶ πῶντα ἔρχοιτο τὰ προσόντα ὡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἴποι τι μῶνον ἡ δεύτερον; σκοπεῖτε δὴ μὴ ταῦτο πάσχετε ; Ιλιεύον ἔκεινοι, οἱ τραγῳδόν τινα ἐπιδημή-σαντα ἱνώχλουν, ἐπιδείξεσθαι κελεύοντες, ὅ δὲ ἐὰν αὐτοὺς ἦςίουν καὶ τῆς ἰσχύλαν ἀγεν. ὅσω γὰρ ἄν, ἐφι, κρείττον ἀγωνίσαμαι, τοσοῦτον φανήσεθε ὑμεῖς ἀτυχέστεροι. τὸν οὖν φιλόσοφον κρείττον ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς συμπώντα ἔαν.

Σκοπεῖτε δὲ τὸ πράγμα ὅλον ἔστιν. Ἀθή-

ναίοι γὰρ εἰσοθήτες ἀκούειν κακῶς, καὶ νὴ Δία ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβόντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ὡς λοιδορηθησόμενοι, καὶ προτεσθεικότες ἀγωνα καὶ νίκην τοῖς ἁμενοι αὐτὸ πράττονα, οὐκ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο εὐρόντες, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλεύσαντος, Ἀριστοφάνοις μὲν ἠκούοι καὶ Κρατίνου καὶ Πλάτωνος, καὶ τοῦτον οὕδ' κακὸν ἐποίησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Σωκράτης ἀνευ σκηνῆς καὶ ἱκρίνω ἐποίει

1 τούτ' Ῥ ταῦτο Εμπερίου. 2 εἰ Εμπερίου: ἤμ.
3 πάσχετε Εμπερίου: πάσχοντε.

1 Apparently he would have acted the Fall of Troy.
2 Presumably the god Dionysus. We have no record that he gave such advice, but Dio might well assume it, since the drama was an element in his worship.
for a drinking-bout, the outcome would not meet their expectation, nay, they might well be annoyed at their reception, such it seems to me, is the situation of the masses when they gather before a man like me and bid him make a speech, obviously never having sampled the words of truth and consequently expecting to hear something sweet and pleasant.

Come then, tell me, in heaven's name, will you be indulgent toward a speaker, provided he is not wholly outspoken and does not touch upon all the ailments that afflict you, but rather confines himself to just one item or maybe two? Take care, I warn you, lest you meet with the same experience as those people of Ilium, who, when a certain tragic actor paid them a visit, annoyed him by demanding an exhibition of his skill, until he finally bade them to let him alone and keep quiet. "For," said he, "the better my performance, so much the more hapless will you appear."¹ So, then, with the philosopher, it is better for the masses to let him hold his tongue.

But consider what the situation is. The Athenians, for example, being accustomed to hearing themselves abused, and, on my word, frequenting the theatre for the express purpose of hearing themselves abused, and, having established a contest with a prize for the most proficient in that sort of thing—not having hit upon the idea by themselves but acting upon the advice of the god²—used to listen to Aristophanes and Cratinus and Plato³ and inflicted no punishment on them. But when Socrates without the protection of stage and benches undertook to carry out the

³ The comic poet, not the philosopher—contemporary with Aristophanes and Cratinus.
 Dio Chrysostom

to tov theou prōstagma, oui koridakìswon oudè
10 teretìzwon, oui upémeinai. ékeinoi mèn gár urb-
osemenoi kai dediotes tov dèmuon òs deospòthn
Iðwpevnon, ñrèma dáknoventes kai metà gèlwtovs,
òsper ai tithá tois paidíois, òtan dèi ti tòv
áppostéron piev, autai1 prosoferevoui melítì
khríassai òn tì kúlika. toñgarov òblapton oui
ìtton ñper wphédoun, ágérwchiás kai skwmátwv
kai bòmologías òanapimplántes tìn pòlin. ò de
philòsophos ñlegxe kai ènoutrétei.
11 Katì ìn òsw to loidoreív kai tìn ábelteríand
òn ëkástov kai tìn poìneríá faneráv poiev
kretíton èstì tov xarízontai dia tòv lógwv kai
tois égkùmiois: thruptew tois òkouontas, oui
ìkouta ékeíhein eìsebhe. dúo gár poìnetów gego-
ñóstow ès òpantos tov aiòvov, ois oudeína tòv
àllon èmmballhn ñxion, ñmèròs te kai 'Arkhlò-
chov, toútovn 'Omírov mèn sxèdon pànta ènèkwa-
ìasate, kai òthrià kai futà kai àdno kai ñhì kai
òplh kai òppous, kai oudeí èstì ouò ménoùthi
khòs èpàiyov te kai tìmè, òs òn èpì poi tìs,
parglhev. ènas2 goìv monon ès òpánttwv èblass-

1 autai Crosby, autá Geel: autai.
2 ènas Crosby, òv Reisko: òv or òv.

1 Socrates interpreted the well-known oracle of Apollo as
equivalent to an order to devote his life to the examination
and correction of his fellow-citizens, a procedure which, as
Socrates himself perceived, they found most irritating. See,
for example, Plato, Apology 21 c–23 b.
2 Whatever timidity Aristophanes displayed was of the
ironic sort.

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instructions of his god,² indulging in no vulgar dances
or idiotic piping, they would not endure it. Those
comic poets, you see, being distrustful and timid,²
flattered the assembled multitude as one flatters a
master, tempering their mild snapping with a laugh,
just as nurses, whenever it is necessary for their
charges to drink something rather unpleasant, them-
selves smear the cup with honey before they hold it
out to the children.³ So it happens that the comic
poets did no less harm than good, by infecting the city
with effrontery and gibes and ribald jests. On the
other hand, the philosopher censured and rebuked his
auditors.

And, indeed, how much better it is to abuse people
and to hold up to the light each man's stupidity and
wickedness than to court favour by what is said and
by compliments debase one's auditors, you will
discover best from what I am about to tell you.
For while there have been since the world began two
poets with whom no other poet deserves to be com-
pared, namely, Homer and Archilochus,⁴ one of them,
Homer, praised practically everything—animals,
plants, water, earth, armour, and horses; in fact it
may be said that there is nothing which he failed to
mention with praise and honour. At any rate, there
is only one out of all the characters in his poems about
whom he said harsh things, namely, Thersites, and

³ Cf. Lucretius 1. 936–8:

sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore.

⁴ Cf. Velleius 1. 5: neque quemquam alium cuivis operis
primus fuerit auctor, in eo perfectissimum praeter Homerus et
Archilochum reperiemus.
12 φήμηςε Θερασίτην, καὶ τοῦτον λιγὸν εἶναι φησιν ἁγορητὴν. Ἀρχιλόχος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑναντίαν ἥκε, τὸ 1 ψέγευν, ὄρῳν, οἶμαι, τοῦτον μᾶλλον δεσμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ψέγει. τοιγαρ- ὠν μόνος καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ πρὶν ἡ γενέσθαι τῆς μεγάλης ἔτυχε μαρτυρίας παρὰ τοῦ δαμανίου. τὸν μὲν γε ἀποκτείναντα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐξελαιών ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ Μούσων αὐτὸν ἀνείπε τεράποντα ἀνηρρηκέναι. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς ἀπελογεῖτο ἐν πολέμῳ λέγων ἀποκτείνας, πάλιν Μούσων τεράποντα ἐφη τὸν Ἀρχιλόχον. τῷ πατρὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρωμένῳ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀδανατὸν οἱ παῖδα γενήσεσθαι προεῖπεν.

13. "Ὡσθ' ὁ λοιδορεῖν ἰκανὸς καὶ καθάπτεσθαι καὶ φανερὰ τῷ λόγῳ ποιεῖν τὰ ἀμαρτήματα δῆλον ὅτι κρείττον ἑστὶ καὶ προκέκριται τῶν ἐπαινοῦντων. εἰ δ' ἄρα ὑμεῖς ἐπαινούμενοι μᾶλλον ἠθεοθε, ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ἴτεον. ὅταν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτὸν τινά ἤθητε κολακεύοντα ἐν ἁπάσω οἷς ποιεῖ καὶ χαρίζομενον ἐν τροφαῖς, ἐν ἐσθήσι, καὶ περιστάντα ἀκόλαστον, τούτου οἶεσθε κολακεύ- σεις καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ παρὰ τούτου προσδοκᾶτε λόγον Ἱδὼν, ὅν ὑμεῖς ἐπαινοῦν ὁνομάζετε, τρυφώντα ἡ παρὰ τρυφώντος. ὅταν δὲ αὐχμηρῶν τινα καὶ συνεσταλμένον ἤθητε καὶ μόνον βαδίζοντα, πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐξετάζοντα καὶ λοιδοροῦντα, μὴ 1 ἥκε, τὸ Selden: ἥκετο.

1 Iliad 2. 246.
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even Thersites is called a 'clear-voiced speaker.'
But Archilochus went to the other extreme, toward censure—seeing, I imagine, that men have greater need of that—and first of all he censures himself. That is why he alone, not only after his death, but before his birth, obtained the highest tribute from the deity. Certainly Apollo drove his slayer from the temple, declaring that he had slain a servant of the Muses. And again, when the man stated in self-defence that he had slain him in war, once more Apollo called Archilochus a servant of the Muses. And when the father of Archilochus was consulting the oracle prior to the birth of his son, Apollo prophesied that he was destined to have a son who would be immortal.

So, you see, he who is good at rebuking and upbraiding, and at revealing by his words the sins of men, is evidently superior and preferred above those who praise. If, then, it is praise that gives you more delight, you must betake yourselves to other men than me. Therefore, whenever you see someone flattering himself first and foremost in everything he does, and courting favour by his table and his dress, and moving about in licentious fashion, you may be sure that man will flatter you as well, and you may expect from him sweet words, which you call praise—dainty language from a dainty man. But whenever you see someone who is unkempt and wears his garments closely wrapped about him and has no companions on his walks, a man who makes himself the first target for examination and reproof, do not

fuller form of the Pythia's words: Μονσάων θεράποντα κατ’-έκτανες: Εξω ημών.

3 A manifest description of the speaker.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

ζητεῖτε παρὰ τοῦ τοιούτου μηδεμίαν θωπελαν μηδὲ ἀπάτην, μηδὲ τὸν δεξιόν ἐκεῖνον καὶ προσηνὴ λόγον, δε δὴ μάλιστα διατρίβει περὶ δήμους καὶ σατράπας καὶ τυράννους.

οὕτω τοιοῦτον εἰς ὑποδρηστήρας ἐκεῖνων, ἀλλὰ νέου, χλαίνας εἰς εἰμένοι ἴδε μυθῶν, αἰεὶ δὲ λυπαροὶ κεφαλᾶς καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα.

οἴδε μὲν γὰρ ὦσπερ ἐπίκωμοι τινες ἢκουσαν εἰς τὸν βίων αὐλούμενοι καὶ ἀδόμενοι καὶ μεθύοντες εἰς ἐορτήν τινα καὶ πανήγυριν ἀσώτων εἰσβεβλητέκεναι νομίζοντες.

15 Ἄλλος ὄστες ὄδων ὅσα δεινὰ καὶ δυσχερή καὶ ὅτι μεστὰ πάντα πολεμίων καὶ ἔχθρῶν, ὅπου τρυφὴ καὶ ἀπάτη δυναστεύουσαν,

αὐτὸν μὲν πληγῆσαι ἁυκελίθησαι δαμάσσας, σπεύρα κακὶ ἀμφὶ ἁμοίους βαλὼν, οἰκῆ ἐουκάς, ἀνδρῶν βρυπτομένων κατέδυ πόλιν εὐρυ-ἀγνιὼν.

ἐν' οὐδενὶ κακῷ τῶν πέλας, ὦσπερ Ὁδυσσέως ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν μυστήρων ἢκε τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ-ναντίον ζητῶν ἀν ἄρα τι δύνηται λαθῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐργάσασθαι: τι δή κυνεῖτε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ τὶ προ-καλεῖσθε δύσκολον τινα καὶ ἄγριον ὑμῖν φανο-μένου δημηγόρῳ; οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν παρεσκεύασται τὰ ᾧτα δέξασθαι τραχεῖς τε καὶ στερεοὺς λόγους.

1 οὕτω τοιοῦτον Ὅμηρος: οὕτω τοιοῦτοι.
2 ἄλλος ὄστες Εμπεριος: ἄλλος δὲ τις.
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expect from such a man any flattery or deception, or that clever and seductive language which is most in use in dealing with democracies and satraps and dictators.

Not so are they who wait upon such men,
But rather youths with handsome cloaks and frocks,
Whose locks are ever sleek, whose faces fair.¹

Aye, for these men enter upon life as if they were going to some revel, piping and singing and drinking on the supposition that it is a kind of festival or conclave of wastrels into which they have burst.

But if a man, having seen how much there is that is dreadful and hateful in the world, and that everywhere are countless enemies, both public and private, with whom wantonness and deceit hold sway,

Subdues his body with injurious blows,
Casts round his shoulders sorry rags, in guise
A slave, steals into the wide-wayed town of those
Who hold debauch,²

meaning no harm to his neighbours—such as Odysseus meant to the suitors when he came in that guise—but on the contrary seeking if perchance he may unobtrusively do them some good—if, I say, such a man comes among you, why do you stir him up, or why do you call upon one who will appear to you to be a churlish and savage person as a speaker? For your ears have not been prepared for the reception of

² Odyssey 4. 244–6. In Dio’s text ὑποτομέων has displaced συμαντέων of Homer. The words immediately following the quotation suggest that Dio was quoting from memory and thus confused the visit of Odysseus to Ilium, of which Homer was speaking, with his return to Ithaca.
Αλλ' ὠσπερ ἄσθενεὶς ὅπλαὶ κτημῶν τῶν ἐν μαλακοῖς τε καὶ λείοις τραφέντων χωρίοις, ὡμοίως ἦτα τρυφερά ἐν κολακείᾳ τραφέντα καὶ λόγους ἰευδέας.

16 Τῇ οὖν προβουμεῖσθε ἄκουευν ὅπως οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε; ἄλλα μὴν τοιοῦτον πεπόνθατε οἷον Αἰσώπος ἔφη τοὺς ὄφθαλμους παθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐαυτοῦ μὲν ἐνόμιζον πλεῖστον εἶναι ἄξιος, τὸ στόμα δὲ ἐώρων ἀπολαβὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ δὴ τοῦ μέλιτος ἥδιστον ὄντος. οὐκόν ἡγανάκτοις τε καὶ ἐμέμφοντο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐνήκε τοῦ μέλιτος, οἱ δὲ ἐδάκνουσί τε καὶ ἐδάκρυσαν καὶ ἀφῆσε αὐτῷ Ἡγοῦντο. μὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπιζητήσετε γεύσασθαι τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγων, ὠσπερ ὀφθαλμοὶ μέλιτος· ἐπειτα, οἷμαι, καὶ δακνώμενοι δυσχερανεῖτε καὶ φήσετε ᾧς οὐδαμῶς φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἄλλα λοιδορίαν καὶ βλάβην.

17 Ἡγεῖσθε μὲν γὰρ, ὅ ἄνδρες, εὐθαλάμων ἐαυτοὺς καὶ μακαρίους, ἐπειδὴ πόλως τε μεγάλην οἰκεῖτε καὶ χώραν ἁγαθὴν νέμεσθε καὶ πλεῖστα δὴ καὶ ἀφθονώσατα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄρατε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ποταμὸς ὃμιν οὕτος διὰ μέσης διαρρέει τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ μητρόπολις ἡ Ταρσοῦς τῶν κατὰ Κιλικίαν. ὦ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος, ὅν φημι

1 ἐαυτοῦ Casaubon: τοῦτος.
2 ἐνήκε τοῦ Reiske: ἐνήκετο τοῦ οὐ ἐνήκετο τοῦ.
3 ἐδάκνουσί τε Selden: ἐδάκνουσί (οὐ δάκνουσι) τάτε.
harsh and stubborn words; nay, as the hooves of cattle are tender when they are reared in soft, smooth country, so men's ears are dainty when reared in the midst of flattery and lying speech.

Why, then, are you eager to hear what you will not endure? Something must have happened to you like what Aesop says happened to the eyes. They believed themselves to be the most important organs of the body, and yet they observed that it was the mouth that got the benefit of most things and in particular of honey, the sweetest thing of all. So they were angry and even found fault with their owner. But when he placed in them some of the honey, they smarted and wept and thought it a stinging, unpleasant substance.\(^1\) Therefore, do not you yourselves seek to taste the words that philosophy has to offer, as the eyes tasted honey; if you do, methinks, not only will you be vexed when they cause a smart, but perhaps you will even say that such a thing cannot possibly be philosophy, but rather abuse and mischief.

The fact is, my friends, that you consider yourselves fortunate and blessed because your home is in a great city and you occupy a fertile land, because you find the needs of life supplied for you in greatest abundance and profusion, because you have this river flowing through the heart of your city, and because, moreover, Tarsus is the capital of all the people of Cilicia.\(^2\) But Archilochus, who, as I have

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\(^1\) This fable seems to be recorded by no one but Dio.

\(^2\) Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1. 2. 22–3, bears witness to the natural advantages of Tarsus. When Cilicia became a Roman province, Tarsus was made its capital.
Ἀπόλλωνι ἄρεσαι, περὶ στρατηγοῦ λέγων οὔτω φησίν.

οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλυμένον ἐν σώματος μεγέθει καὶ κόμη τίθεσθαι τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὀφέλος, πόλων δὲ ἢ ἐπανέσαι ποτὲ εἰς ταῦτα ὀρῶντα, πολταμοῦ καὶ βαλανεία καὶ κρήνας καὶ στοάς καὶ πλῆθος οἰκίων καὶ μέγεθος κόμη γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ βοστρόχως ταῦτα ἔοικεν ἀλλ’ ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν τούτων προκρίνα σιμφράν τε καὶ ὀλίγην σωφρόνως οἰκουμένη καὶ ἐπὶ πέτρας.

Αλλὰ Ἀρχιλόχος μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, Ὁμηρος δὲ πῶς; οὐκ ὃ μὲν Ὁδυσσεὺς νησιώτης ἢν οὕτω τῶν συμμετρῶν νήσων πόθεν; οὐδὲ τῶν ἐγκάρσων, ἀλλ’ ἢν μόνον ἐπανέσαι θέλων αὐγῆτοτον εἰρηκεν. ἀλλ’ ὁμοί φησὶ τῇ τούτου βουλή τε καὶ γνώμη καὶ τὴν Τροίαν αἰρέθηναι, τηλικαύτην πόλιν καὶ τοσούτων ἄρχουσαν.

ὅσσον Δέσβος ἀνω μακάρων ἔδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει καὶ Φρυγίᾳ καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων.

1 διαπεπλυμένον Hemsterhuis: διαπεπλεγμένον.
2 ἐν τούτων Gow: ἐν τούτῳ.
3 ἀλλ’ ἢν Casaubon: ἀλλ’ ἢ or ἀλλή.
said, found favour in the eyes of Apollo, in speaking of a general thus expresses his opinion:

A general who is tall doth please me not,
Who walks with legs apart, delights in curls,
And shaves the hair that grows upon his calves.

'Nay,' says he, 'let me rather have one who is bandy-legged, stands firmly, and has hairy shins.' ¹ Therefore you must not think that if Archilochus had no love for the sort of general he has described and did not gauge the value of a general by his height or hair, he would ever have praised a city because he found in it such things as rivers and baths and fountains and porticoes and a multitude of houses and a wide extent of space, for such things are simply like hair and ringlets on a man; to me at least it appears that in place of these things he would have preferred a city that is both small and weak, even if perched upon a rock, provided it is wisely managed.²

Well, there you have what Archilochus has to say, but how about Homer? Did not Odysseus come from an island, and not even from one of medium size—of course not—nor yet from a fertile one, but rather from one of which the poet could only say by way of praise that it 'pastured goats'?³ But still Homer says that it was by that man's counsel and judgement that even Troy was taken, a city that was so great, and held sway over so many peoples,

Seaward as far as Lesbos, the abode
Of gods, and, landward, Phrygia and the stream
Of boundless Hellespont; ⁴

² This sentiment is contained in a couplet from Phoebus cited by Dio 36. 13.
³ Odyssey 4. 606.
⁴ Iliad 24. 544-5.
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ἡν πάντας φησὶ μυθεῖσθαι πολύχρωσον, πολύχαλκον,
20 μὴ τι οὖν ἀνήσκαν αὐτούς ἢ τοῦ πλούτου τὸ μέγεθος
ἡ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος ἢ
τῶν πεδίων ἢ τῆς Ἰδής τὸ κάλλος ἢ τοῦ Σιμό-
εντος ἢ τοῦ Σάνθου τοῦ δωγήντος,

ὁν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς;

καίτοι φησὶ καὶ πηγάς τινας πάνω καλὰς ἐν τῷ
προαστείῳ, τὴν μὲν ἀλεευνῆν ¹ καὶ σφόδρα προση-
νοὺς ὑδατος, ὡστε καὶ κατ' ἄυτος ἐγεί-
ρεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐσκοῦσαν τῇ ψυχρότητι κρυοτάλλῳ
τοῦ θέρους, ὡστε καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος μὴ
dυσχέρως πλάνεως τὰς καλὰς Γρώνων βυγατέρας.
21 οὐ μόνον δὲ πλούτως καὶ χώρας ἁρετή καὶ πλῆθει
dιέφερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποι κάλλιστοι παρ'
αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ
ἔποι ἀγάπην, καὶ θεοφιλεὶς ἐδόκουν εἶναι,
καὶ τείχει καρτερωτάτω περιπεφραγμένου ἦσαν.
 τὸ μὲν γε τεῖχος αὐτοῖς Ποσειδώνος ἔργων ἢν
καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου
πόλεως εὐκείνην ἐφή μάλιστα ἀγαπήσαν. τάχος
δ' ἔππων, ὡστε ἐπ' ἀκρῶν θεῶν τῶν σταχών.
ἐπὶ κάλλει δὲ Γανυμήδην ὁ Ζεὺς ἐποιήσατο
οὐνοῦν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπη-
κολούθησαν ἡ ἀρίστη τῶν ἑκείθεν γυναικῶν.
τὴν δὲ Κασσάνδραν ὁμοίρος οὐ φησὶ λείπεσθαι
τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸ εἶδος.

¹ ἀλεευνῆν God: ἀνεμένην.

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¹ Iliad 18. 288–9. ² Iliad 14. 434.
³ Iliad 22. 147–55. ⁴ Iliad 5. 263–73.
⁵ Iliad 21. 441–9. Homer, however, states that Poseidon alone built the wall, while Apollo was tending the herd of Laomedon.

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a city which he declares all men call 'rich-in-gold, rich-in-copper'. Did Troy receive any benefit from either the magnitude of its wealth, or the number of its subjects or allies, or the beauty of its fields, or of Mt. Ida or Simois or 'eddying Xanthus',

whom Zeus the immortal created? And yet the poet says that there were also certain springs of rare beauty in the suburbs, one that was warm and whose waters were most pleasant, such that steam actually rose from it, and the other as cold as ice, even in summer, so that both in summer and in winter the lovely daughters of the Trojans could do their washing without discomfort. And not only were the Trojans distinguished for wealth and richness of soil and number of inhabitants, but also human beings born at Troy were very beautiful, both men and women, horses were very fleet, the people were held to be dear to the gods, and they were fenced about with a circuit-wall most strong—in fact that wall of theirs was the work of Poseidon and Apollo. Moreover, Zeus declared that of all the cities beneath the sun he loved that city most. Such was the fleetness of their steeds that they could run upon the tips of the heads of grain, such the beauty of Ganymede that he was made the cupbearer of Zeus; and Alexander lured away from Greece the noblest woman of that land; as for Cassandra, Homer declares that she was not inferior to Aphrodite in beauty.

6 Iliad 4. 44–7.
7 This striking phrase is not found in Homer.
9 Iliad 24. 699.
22 Ἄλλῳ δέως, ἐπειδὴ τρυφή καὶ ὑβρὶς εἰσήλθεν αὐτοῦς καὶ παιδείας καὶ σωφροσύνης οὐδὲν ἔστω ἄσιστα, πολύ πάντων ἀτυχέστατοι τις γεγονάσιν, οὐχ ἢ σύμπασα χθῶν ταῖς συμφόραίς αὐτῶν διατεθρύληται; καὶ οὐδὲν ὠνησθεν αὐτοῦς οὔτε τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τάχος οὔτε ὁ Ζεὺς οὔτε ὁ Γανυμήδης, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἄνδρος ἐξ οὐτῶν λυπρᾶς καὶ ἀδόξου πόλεως ἀπώλειον καὶ ἀσχύσει τῆς Ἰθάκης πολιτείας περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλίου πάντων, καὶ τὴν εὐράγωναν ἀπασαν πορθῆσαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν;

23 Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖθ' οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἐτι τοὺς ἁσελγεῖς καὶ ἀφρονας καὶ ἀκολάστους καὶ πρὸς ὑβριν ἔγκλινοντας καὶ παθημάτων καὶ τρυφήν. ὡστε μὴ τούτως θαρρείτε μηδὲ ἀποδέχεσθε τὸν συνήδομεν ὑμῶν καὶ θαυμάζοντα λόγον μηδὲ τοὺς δεινοὺς ἐγκωμίζειν ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐξαιτατῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ μάτην ἐπαιρουσίνω, ἀριστερὰς παῖδας ἀλλὰ μάλλον, ὃς ὑμῶν δεῖξει τὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ πρῶτον ἀπάντων, ἄν δύνηται, παρασκευάσει φρονεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι τούτων ἦν ένεκεν, ἢν εἰπον, οὐκ ἐστε εὐδαιμόνες, οὖθ' ἂν ὁ Νείλος ὑμῶν διέρχηται τὴν πόλιν τῆς Κασταλίας γενόμενος διαγενέστερος, οὗθ' ἂν ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἐνθάδε φανεὶς μὴ κατὰ ψήγμα τὸ χρυσίον ὑμῶν φέρῃ, καθάπερ φασὶ Λυδοῖς πρότερον, ἄλλ' ἀδροὺς ἀριστερὰς ἢν, μηδ' ἂν Αὔγυπτον ὡς ἐγκαταλείπῃ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν οἰκοδομήμάτων ύπερβάλλοντο

24 εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα δύναται ποιεῖν ἄνθρωπος μακρίρος, ποταμὸς ἡ κράτις ἀέρος ἡ τόπος γῆς ἡ καὶ θαλάτ-
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But despite all that, because luxury and insolence came among them and they thought they had no need of culture and sobriety, they have become by far the most unfortunate of all men. Has not the whole earth been filled with the tale of their disasters? Yea, neither the speed of their horses nor Zeus nor Ganymede availed them aught, but a man from a city so wretched and obscure destroyed them, and that citizen of Ithaca was able to overcome the men of Ilium one and all and to pillage utterly and destroy the wide-wayed land.'

Aye, the gods no longer love men who are wanton and senseless and unrestrained and inclined toward insolence and laziness and luxury. Therefore, rely not on these speakers of yours and do not accept their words of congratulation and admiration or the men themselves who are so clever at singing praises; for they only deceive and vainly excite you like foolish children; but rather welcome the man who will point out to you some of your faults, and will first of all, if he can, enable you to think, because such things as I have named do not make you blessed, not even if the mighty Nile itself should flow through your city with waters clearer than Castalia; not even if Pactolus, appearing here, should bear to you its gold, not grain by grain, as they say it used to do for the Lydians in days gone by, but in a mass like mud; not even if you should surpass Egypt and Babylon in the costliness of your buildings. For if these are the things which can make men blessed—rivers or climate or situation or even harbours opening on the

1 Dio expresses this thought in similar language in 32. 88.
2 A tributary of the Hermus and famous in antiquity for the wealth of gold it brought to Lydian Sardis.


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της λιμένες¹ ἡ ναὸς ἡ τεῖχος, οὐκ ἑστών εἰπεῖν ὅσων λείπεσθε.

Βυζαντίουσ ἑκεῖνους ἀκούετε παρ' αὐτὸν οἰκούντας τὸν Πόντον, μικρὸν ἔξω τοῦ στόματος,² αὐτομάτων ἱχθύων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκπυττότων ἐνίστε· ἀλλ' ὅσοις οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι διὰ τὸν ἱχθὺν εὐδαίμονας Βυζαντίουσ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς λάρους, οὐδὲ Ἀγγυπτίους διὰ τὸν Νείλον οὐδὲ Βαβυλωνίους διὰ τὸ τεῖχος. οὐχ ὁ Πηνείος δι' ἐρήμου βεῖ Θετταλίας; οὐχ ὁ Λάδων διὰ τῆς 'Ἄρκαδίας ἀναστάτου γενομένης; οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύδνος ἀνω καθαρώτερος; διὰ τούτω βελτίως φήσετε ἑκεῖνους ἑαυτῶν; ἠσω μὲν ἀληθεύετε, ἐὰν λέγητε· ὦ μὴν ἐρεῖτε.³ τοὺς γὰρ ἀπείρους τρυφῆς καὶ πανυφραγίας, τούτους ἐγὼ φημι πράττειν ἄμεινον. τι δ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰταλίας; οὐ Σύβαμις μὲν ὀσώ μάλιστα ἐτρύφησεν, τοσοῦτον θαττον ἀπόλετο; Κρότων δὲ καὶ Θούριου καὶ Μεταπόντιου⁴ καὶ Τάρας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀκμάσασαι καὶ τηλικαύτην ποτὲ σχοῦσαι δύναμιν, ποιὰς πόλεως οὐκ εἰδο νῦν ἐρημώτεραι;

¹ λιμένες] ἡ λιμένος Reiske.
² Assuming a lacuna Arnim supplies after στόματος, exempli gratia, καὶ πλέοστον ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου κερδαιόντας.
³ ἐρεῖτε Reisko: ἐρήταιν.
⁴ Μεταπόντιον Schwartz: Μεταπόντιοι or Μεταποντίων.

¹ Aristotle, Politics 1291 b. 23, notes the importance of the fishing industry at Byzantium but fails to record the phenomenon here mentioned by Dio.
² Thessaly no doubt had little political importance in Dio’s day, but the adjective which he applies to it seems overdrawn. He may have depended on hearsay.
³ Cf. Strabo 8. 8. 388: διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς χώρας παντελῆ κάκωσιν 296
sea or temples or fortifications—it is impossible to list the cities that surpass you.

You are told that the people of Byzantium yonder, who dwell close beside the Pontus itself but a short distance outside its entrance [reap much profit from their situation], since from time to time fish are thrown out upon their shores without man’s intervention; but still no one would call Byzantines blessed because of the fish—unless he would say the same of cormorants—nor would he call Egyptians blessed because of the Nile, or Babylonians because of their wall. Does not the Peneus flow through a Thessaly that is desolate? Does not the Ladon flow through an Arcadia whose people have been driven from their homes? Is not the Cydnus itself purer higher up? What then? Will you say that on that account the people in that region are superior to yourselves? You might be speaking the truth if you said they were—though you will not say it—for those who are unacquainted with luxury and rascality are in my opinion better off. What of Italy itself? Take Sybaris, for example; is it not true that the more luxurious it became the more speedily it perished? And as for Croton, Thurii, Metapontum, and Tarentum, in spite of the high level of prosperity to which they each attained and the great power that once was theirs, what city is there that they do not now surpass in desolation?

οὐκ ἄν προσήκει τοι παραμορφεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν (τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν):
αἱ τε γὰρ πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πολέμων ἠφανίσθησαν...τὴν
tε χώραν οἱ γεωργήσαντες ἐκλελοίποσαν, κ.τ.λ.

4 Sybaris, proverbial for luxury, was destroyed in 510 B.C.
5 These four cities of southern Italy at the close of the second Punic war fell permanently into the hands of the Romans and rapidly decayed.
26 Πολύ δ' ἂν ἔργον εἴη πάντας ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς διὰ τρυφῆν ἀπολωλότας, Λυδίως πάλαι, Μήδειος, Ἀσσυρίους πρότερον, τὰ τελευταία Μακεδόνας, οἳ νεωστὶ μὲν τὰ ράκη¹ περιηγημένοι καὶ ποιμένες ἀκούστας, τοὺς Ὑπερὶ περὶ τῶν μελινῶν μαχαίρες, τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐκράτησαν, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβησαν, ἄχρι Ἰνδῶν ἐξαβαν. ἔπει δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ Περσῶν ἔλαβον, τούτοις ἐπηκολούθησε καὶ τὰ κακά.

27 τοιχαροῦν ἂμα σκηνῆτρα καὶ ἄλογηγίδες καὶ Μυθική τράπεζα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν εξέλιπεν, ῥώτε νῦν εἰ τις διέρχοτο Πέλλαν, οὐδὲ σημείων ὀφεται πόλεως οὐδεν, δίχα τού πολὺν κέραμον εἶναι συντετριμμένον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. καὶ τοὺς μένει τὰ χώρα τῶν πόλεων, ὅποιον καὶ τῶν ἔθνων, οὐ καὶ πρότερον ἢν, καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐτρεῖβεν, οὐδὲ τινὶ τοιοῦτον ἢν ἐτερόν ἄλλος οὖν ὃν ἂν πολυτελεία καὶ τρυφή ἠβηται, τούτους οὐκ ἔστι πλεῖστο χρόνον διαγενέσθαι.

28 ὅταν ἔσχε τοὺς κριοὺς μηδὲ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανάς οὕτως ἀνατρέπειν ὡς τρυφῆν, εἴτε ἄνδρα βουλεῖται τις πεπτωκότα ἰδεῖν εἴτε πόλιν. οὐ ποταμὸς ἐστὶν οὐδὲ πεδίον οὐδὲ λιμὴν ὁ ποὺ ἐνόμημον πόλιν οὐδὲ χρημάτων πλῆθος οὐδὲ οἰκοδομήματων οὐδὲ θησαυροὶ θεῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν προσέχει τὸ δαμόνιον· οὐδὲ ἂν εἰς

¹ ράκη] νάουκή Εμπεριος.
² άλλος Ρεϊσκο: άλλος.
³ οὐδὲ τι Κροσβύ: οὐδὲ εἴ τι.
⁴ όμος] οἶως Γεηλ.

¹ Pella was the ancient capital of Macedonia. Dio again exaggerates, for Lucian, Alexander 6, states that Pella still (ca. A.D. 150) had some inhabitants.
² Diodorus 20. 48. and 91 tells of these siege-towers. They
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But it would be a vast undertaking to attempt to catalogue all who through luxury have suffered ruin: the Lydians long ago, the Medes, the Assyrians who preceded them, and lastly the Macedonians. For the Macedonians, although they had but lately shed their rags and were known as shepherds, men who used to fight the Thracians for possession of the millet-fields, vanquished the Greeks, crossed over into Asia and gained an empire reaching to the Indians; yet when the good things of the Persians came into their possession, the bad things also followed in their train. Accordingly both sceptre and royal purple and Median cookery and the very race itself came to an end, so that to-day, if you should pass through Pella, you would see no sign of a city at all, apart from the presence of a mass of shattered pottery on the site.¹ And yet the districts belonging to the cities and peoples I have named still remain just as they used to be, and no one has diverted the rivers into other channels, nor was anything else of that sort different once from what it is today; but in spite of that, whatever is touched by extravagance and luxury cannot long endure.

For think not that rams and siege-towers ² and the other engines of war are as ruinous as luxury, whether it is a man whom one wishes to see prostrate or a city. No, it is not river or plain or harbour that makes a city prosperous, nor quantity of riches or multitude of houses or treasuries of the gods—objects to which deity pays no heed—nay, not even if some people do

¹ may have been the invention of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who used them effectively against Rhodes. Ammianus, who has no Latin term for the device, describes it at some length (23. 4. 10-13).
Τὰς πόλεις τινὲς μεταφέρωση τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰς πέτρας ἔχων πολλῇ ταλαπωρίᾳ καὶ πόνους καὶ μυρίους ἀναλώμασιν. ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη καὶ νοῦς ἔστι τὰ σώζοντα. τάυτα ποιεῖ τοὺς χρωμένους μακαρίους, τάυτα τοῖς θεοῖς προσφιλεῖς, οὕτω λῃβαντός οὐδὲ σμύρνα πόθεν; οὐδὲ ρίζαι καὶ δάκρυα δένδρων οὐδὲ τὰ Ἰωνίων καὶ Ἀράβων φρύγανα. ἦμείς δὲ, ἂν μὲν ἐκ τύχης ὁ ποταμὸς μεταβάλη καὶ ὠηθηθείς ἀνέκδοτος, ἄκοιμησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πρῶτους ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτίκα λέγετε: τῶν δὲ τρόπων τῆς πόλεως μεταβάλλοντας ὑρώτετε καὶ χείρω γυγνόμενον καὶ τεταραγμένον ἂν μᾶλλον οὐ φροντίζετε. ἄλλα ὦδωρ μὲν οὐ μόνον πίνειν βούλεσθε καθαρῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ὄραν· ἦδος δὲ καθαρῶν καὶ μέτριων οὐ ἦτείτε. καίτοι πολλάκις ἀκοῦσαί τινων ἐστί· μὴ γὰρ ἦμείς οἱ μόνοι μεταβεβληκαμεν, ἄλλα σχεδὸν Ἀπαντεῖς. ἔστι δὲ τούτο καθάπερ ἐὰν τις ἐν λοιμῷ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἡ τοὺς πλεῖστοις νοσεῖν μηδὲμιαν ἐθέλεις ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὡςτε αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνεις, τῇ Δίᾳ ἐν βαλάττῃ χειμαλζόμενος, ἕπειτα πάντας ὀρῶν; τοὺς ἐν τῇ νη ἐκδυνεύοντας ἀμελεί τῆς σωτηρίας. τί δὲ; ἄν οὸς καταδύνηται στόλος, διὰ τοῦτο ἤττον ἐστίν ἀτοπον τὸ ξυμβαίον;  

31 Τί σον ἄμαρτανομεν ἡμεῖς; τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔως γελοιον γὰρ, εἰ τις πρὸς τὸν ὅλως οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον κινθαρίζειν, ἕπειτα ὡς ἐτυχε κρούοντα, ἐπιχειροὶ

1 ὀρῶν Geol: ὀρᾷ.

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1 For building purposes.
THE THIRTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

transport to their cities the mountains and rocks\(^1\) at the cost of great physical pain and labour and untold expense, does that bring happiness; instead it is sobriety and common sense that save. These make blessed those who employ them; these make men dear to the gods, not frankincense or myrrh, God knows, nor roots and gum of trees or the fragrant herbs of India and Arabia.\(^2\) But as for you, if by chance the river shifts its course and flows with more turbid stream than usual, you are annoyed and feel that you must offer an explanation to people who have come to Tarsus for the first time; on the other hand, though you see the manners of the city shifting and growing worse and ever more and more disordered, you pay no heed. Yet, though you want water to be pure, not only for drinking but also for sightliness, you fail to seek a character that is pure and free from excess. Indeed one may often hear men say: "Yet perhaps it is not we alone who have changed, but practically everybody." But that is just as if in time of epidemic someone, because all, or nearly all, were ill, should not care to take any precautions for his own health, or, by Zeus, as if a man storm-tossed at sea, perceiving that all on board were in peril, should therefore neglect his own safety. What! If an entire fleet goes down, does that make the disaster any the less portentous!

"Well, what is the fault we are guilty of?" Your other faults I shall refrain from mentioning. For it would be ludicrous if one should try to tell a man who has absolutely no knowledge of the harp, and yet goes on to strike its strings at random, what

\(^2\) For the aromatic plants and trees of India and Arabia see Diodorus 2. 49, 3. 46; Strabo 15. 1. 22, 16. 4. 25.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

λέγειν ὃ τι ἡμιρεῖν ἡ τίνα φθόγγον παρέβη. 
tοσοῖτοι δὲ μόνον εἰπεῖν ἄξιον, ὃ μηδεὶς ἀν ἀρνη-
σαυτόν φημὶ δὴ θαυμαστόν τι πάθος ἐν τῇ πόλει 
tαύτῃ πεπονθέναι πολλοὺς, δὲ παρ’ ἄλλους τις 
πρότερον ἦκουνον μάλλον ὃ παρ’ ὑμῖν γνωμένον.
32 τὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐστιν ἃν μὴ δύναμαι δηλώσαι σαφῶς,
ἀλλὰ υμεῖς γε πειράσθε ὑπονοεῖτε· καὶ μηδεν 
νομίζετε τῶν ἀπορρήτων λέγειν μηδ’ ὁ κρύπτουσιν
οἱ ποιοῦντες, εἰ καὶ σφόντα δοξεῖ θαυμαστὸν.
μεταξὺ γοῦν ὅρθοι βαδίζοντες, λαλοῦντες οἱ πλεῖοις
καθεύδουσι· εἰ δ’ ἐγρηγορέναι τοῖς πλείσιν
dοκούσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶκε τοῦτο. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς λαγὸς
φήσει τις ἐγρηγορέναι τῶν ἀπείρων εάν ὑδὴ
κομμωμένους. πόθεν οὖν ἐγνώσθη τοῦτο; ἐξ ἐτέρων
τινῶν, ἃ σημειά ἐστι τοῦ καθεύδειν· ἐπεὶ τὰ 
γε ὀμματα αὐτῶν ἀναπέπτται.
33 Τὸ οὖν οὕτω ποιοῦσι κομμωμένους; πολλὰ μὲν δὴ
τὰ γε ἂλλα· σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντα ὑνερμωσίν ἐοικεν
αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα· καὶ γὰρ χαίρουσι μάτηρ καὶ λυποῦ-
νται καὶ βρασύνονται καὶ δεδοκισι, μηδενὸς ὄντος,
καὶ σπουδάζουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἔπιθυμοῦσι,
καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὄντων
οὐκ αἰσθάνονται. πλὴν ταῦτα μὲν ὅσως κοινὰ
καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔστιν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ, οἷμαι, φανερώτατον
ὑπὸν τεκμήριον ποιοῦσι, ἰέγκουσιν. ὦ γὰρ ἔχω

1 This peculiarity of the rabbit was so widely known that
it passed into a proverb. Cf. Suidas, s.v. λαγῶς καθεύδων: ἐπὶ τῶν προσποιομένων καθεύδειν. It is noted also by Pliny,
Naturalis Historia 11. 147: Quin et patentibus (oeulis) dormiant lepores multique hominum, quos corupaneant Graeci dicunt.
2 In the preceding section Dio attempts to prepare his
audience for this troublesome word by stating that they
particular mistake he has made or what note he has misplayed. But so much at least is worth mentioning, and nobody could deny it: I assert that an amazing thing has happened in this city to many people, something that I used to hear occurred formerly in other cities rather than at Tarsus. However, if I prove unable to explain clearly what that thing is, at least you may try to guess my meaning; and, furthermore, do not think that I am telling any secret or something that the guilty ones attempt to disguise, no matter if their conduct does appear most amazing. At any rate, however amazing it may be, while on your feet, walking or talking, most of you all the while are fast asleep; and even if you seem to most men to be awake, that would mean nothing at all. For instance, anyone unacquainted with rabbits will say they are awake, even if he sees them sleeping.\textsuperscript{1} How, then, has this state been recognized? From certain other signs which indicate their sleeping, since their eyes at least are wide open.

What, then, do these people do that marks persons who are asleep? Many indeed are the other symptoms; for practically all their actions bear a resemblance to the dream state. For example, they experience joy and sorrow, and courage and timidity, for no reason at all, they are enthusiastic, they desire the impossible, and what is unreal they regard as real, while what is real they fail to perceive. However, these traits, perhaps, they share in common with ourselves. But this, in my opinion, is the clearest mark of slumber—they snort.\textsuperscript{2} For, by heaven, I have

must guess at his meaning if he fails to make it plain. For a summary of his usage of the term consult the Introduction to the Discourse.
μᾶς τοὺς θεοὺς εἰπεῖν εὐπρεπέστερον. καὶ τοῖς κοιμωμένων ὄλγοι μέν, οἱ τούτο πάσης χουσι τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοῖς μεθύοντι εὐμβαίνει καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλησθείσαι καὶ τοῖς μὴ καλῶς κατακεμένοις.

34 Εγὼ δὲ φημὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρᾷ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖν καὶ δημοσίᾳ καταισχύνειν, καὶ τῆς μεγίστην ὑβρίν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ὑβρίζειν τοὺς μεθὰ ἡμέραν τούτους κοιμώμενους, καὶ δικαίως ἂν αὐτοῦς ἐξορισθῶν καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ πανταχόθεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτριον ἔστι τὸ γνυμόμενον οὐδὲ σπανίως συμβαίνον, ἀλλ' ἂεί καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀπελή τις καὶ παληγὰ καὶ καταγελά. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἥδη ἡμίθεος ἔστι καὶ τοῖς πάνυ ωμάραί παισί, καὶ τῶν τελείων ὅσοι δοκοῦσιν αἰδεοῦντας, προάγονται πολλάκις ὁπερ ἐπιχωρίῳ τινὶ χρήσθαι, καὶ ἐπιστῆσαντες διατραπώσουν, ἀνέπνευσαν γοῦν ὁμοῖον.

35 Εἴ δὲ τις ὑπήρχε τοιαῦτη πόλις, ὥστε αἰεὶ θρηνοῦντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἀκούειν καὶ μηδένα δύνασθαι δίχα τῆς δυσφημίας τούτης προελθεῖν μηδὲ ἐπὶ ὄλγον, πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς ἐστίν ὅστις ἂν ἴδεως ἐπεδήμησε; καὶ τοῖς τὸ μὲν θρηνεῖν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἄτυχίας ἔστι σημεῖον, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀνασχυτίας, ἀσελγείας τῆς ἐσχάτης. οὐκοῦν εἰκός ἐν δυστυχεῖσι μάλλον ἀνθρώποις ἐβέλειν διατριβέν ἢ ἀκολάστους. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐλοίμην ἀκούειν οὐδὲ αὐλοῦντων δυνηκῶς. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἔστι τοιοῦτος τόπος, ἐν φ' συνεχῆς ἐστὶν ἢ ἥχος εἴη αὐλῶν εἴη ὃ ὅσοι εἴη κιθάρας, οἶον δὴ φασι

1 ἐπιχωρίῳ Arnim, ἦπει δ' ὁφθα Emporius: ἐπὶ δόρφῳ.
THE THIRTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

no more becoming name to give it. And yet even among sleepers few suffer from that affliction, while with everybody else it occurs only when men are drunk, or have gorged themselves with food, or are reclining in an uncomfortable position.

But I claim that such conduct shames the city and disgraces it as a state, and that the greatest outrage is dealt to their country by these daytime slumberers, and that they would deservedly be banished, not only by you, but by all men everywhere. For indeed this habit is no trifling matter nor of rare occurrence either; nay, it occurs all the time and everywhere in the city, despite all threats and jests and ridicule. And what is more, the sound is by now habitual even with the very small boys, and such adults as have a reputation for good form are often led to indulge in it as a kind of local usage, and even though they may check it in embarrassment, at any rate they have given vent to a sound quite similar.

Now, if there existed any city in which you were continually hearing persons making lament, and in which no one could walk even a short distance without encountering that ill-omened sound, is there anyone, by Zeus, who would like to visit such a place? And yet lamentation, one might say, is a sign of misfortune, whereas the sound of which I am speaking is a sign of shamelessness and of extreme licentiousness. Surely it is reasonable that men should prefer to spend their time among those who are unfortunate rather than among those who are licentious. I for my part would not choose to hear even the pipes constantly; nay, if there exists a place in which there is a constant sound of pipes or song or lyres, as indeed they say is the case with the
τὸν τῶν Σειρήνων εἶναι σκόπελον ἀεὶ μελῳδούμενον, οὐκ ἄν δυναίμην ἐκεῖσε ἐλθὼν διάγεισιν. τὸν
d&epsi6; γε ἀγρίων τούτων καὶ χαλεπῶν ἦχον τίς ἂν μέτριος ἀνθρώπως ύπομείνειν; ἂλλ" ἐὰν μὲν τις οἴκημα
παριῶν ἀκούσῃ τοῦ τοιοῦτο, δῆλον ὅτι φήσει χαματπεινὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι. τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῇ φήσονσιν, ἐν ῥ πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν εἰς ἐπικρατεῖν
φθόγγος, καὶ οὐτε καιρὸν οὐτε ἡμέραν οὐτε τόπον ἔξασθεν οὐδένα ποιοῦται, ἂλλά ἐν στενῶ
ποῖς, ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν ἀγοραῖς, παρὰ τὸ θέατρον, ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ δυνατεύει τὸ πράγμα; καὶ ἀλλούντος μὲν ἐσθιεν οὐδένος ἀκήκοα ἐγὼ μέχρι
νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τούτο δὲ τὸ θαυμαστὸν μέλος εὐθὺς ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυνέται.

37 Καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν ὡτι ὡσς τινὲς ληρεῖν
με νομίζουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξετάζοντα, καὶ μηδὲν
εἶναι παρὰ τούτο, μόνον ἂν τὰ λάχανα ἀμάξως
εἰσφέρητε καὶ πολλοὺς ἄρτους θεωρήτε ἐν τῷ
μέσῳ καὶ τὸ τάριχος ἡ ἡ καὶ τὰ κρέα. σκοπούν-
των δὲ ὃμως αὐτοὶ τὸ πράγμα οὕτως. εἰ τις
αὐτῶν παραγένοιτο εἰς πόλιν, ἐν ῥ πάντες ὃ τι
ἀν δεικνύσαι τῷ μέσῳ δακτύλῳ δεικνύσαι,
κἂν δεξιὰν ἐμβάλῃ τις, οὕτως ἐνέβαλε, κἂν προ-
τεύῃ τὴν χείρα ὅλως, κἂν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονῶς,
κἂν οἱ δικασταὶ τὴν ψήφον φέρως, ποίαν τινὰ
ήγερονται τὴν πόλιν ταύτην; ἐὰν δὲ ἀνασυρά-
μενοι πάντες βαδίζωσιν, ὅσπερ ἐν λίμνῃ; ἄρα

1 ῥ Crosby, ᾧ θ Reisko: ῥ.
2 ἐμβάλῃ τις] ἐμβάλλῃ τις Reisko: ἐμβαλεῖν M.
3 ὅλως] οὕτως Reisko.

1 See note on Or. 32. 47.
Sirens’ crag, which ever resounds with melody, I could not bring myself to go and live there. But as for that boorish and distressing sound you make, what ordinary mortal could endure it? Why, if a man in passing by a house hears a sound like that, of course he will say it’s a brothel. But what will men say of the city in which almost everywhere just one note prevails, and whose inhabitants make no exception of season or day or place, but, on the contrary, in alley-ways, in private houses, at market, at the theatre, in the gymnasium this snorting is dominant? Besides, while I have never up to the present moment heard anybody play the pipes at sunrise in the city, this amazing tune of yours starts going at break of day.

However, I am not unaware that some may believe that I am talking nonsense when I inquire into matters such as this, and think that this snorting makes no difference, provided only that you continue to bring in your vegetables by the wagon-load and to find bread in abundance for all to buy, and your salt fish and meats as well. But still let them consider the matter for themselves in this way: Supposing one of them came to a city in which everybody always uses his middle finger in pointing to anything, and, if he offers his right hand, offers it in that fashion, and, if he extends his hand for any purpose, either for voting in assembly or in the casting of his ballot as a juryman, extends it so, what sort of place would the newcomer think that city to be? And suppose everybody walked with his clothes pulled up, as if wading in a pool? Are you not aware

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2 An indecent gesture. See scholium to Aristophanes, Clouds 653: ἰδίως τῶν μέσων δύτων ἀλαχρός, and also Juvenal 10.53: mediumque ostenderet unguem.
ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ καθ' ὑμῶν ἀφορμῆν
δεδωκότα βλασφημίας; ὡστε δημοσίᾳ κατὰ τῆς
πόλεως ἔχειν ὅ τι λέγωσι τοὺς ἀπεχθῶς ὑμῶν
dιακειμένους; ἀλλὰ πόθεν τοὺς Κέρκωπας 1
ὑμῶν ἐπιβοῶσι; καίτοι 2 οὐ φασι δεῖν διαφέρειν
οὐθ' ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπὲρ ὃν ἐτεροὶ λέγουσιν,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμών αὐτοὶ ποιεῖτε. 3 Φέρε, ἃν καταλάβῃ
τοιοῦτο πάθος δημοσίᾳ τών, ὡστε γυναικῶν
λαβεῖν φωνὴν ἀπαντάς καὶ μηδένα δύνασθαι μήτε
νέον μήτε προσβύτερον ἀνδριστὶ 4 μηδὲν εἰπεῖν,
οὐ δόξει χαλεπόν εἶναι καὶ παντός, οἷμαι, λοιμοῦ
βαρύτερον, 5 ὡστε πέμποις ἂν ἔλθῃ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ
δαιμόνιον πολλὰ ἑλάσκωντο; καίτοι τὸ μὲν
gυναικών αἰφνίδια φωνὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ φωνὴν
ἀφιναί, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἃν ἀκούσῃν γυναικὸς δυσχε-
ράνειν. ὃ δὲ τοιοῦτο ἥχος τίνων ἔστιν; οὐχὶ
tῶν ἀνθρωπών; οὐχὶ τῶν τὰ αἰδῶν ἀποκεκομ-
μένων; οὐδὲ τούτων ἂεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντάς, ἀλλὰ
Ἰδιον αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξομβολοῦ.

Φέρε δ' εἰ κατεξωσμένου πάντας ἐβαδίζεστε ἡ
τυπανιζόντες, καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν ἐδόκει τοῦτ' εἶναι
χαλεπόν; εἰ συνεβαινεν ὑμᾶς υψηλῆν τίνα ἔχειν

1 τῶν Κέρκωπας Selden, τὰς Κερκύδας Reiske: τὰς Κερκύδας.
2 καίτοι Reiske: καί.
3 ἢ ἄρα ἀγνοεῖτε ... αὐτοὶ ποιεῖτε rejected by Arnim as a
revised version of καίτοι μὲ ὅν λέηθεν ... τὰ κρέα in § 37.
4 ἀνδριστὶ Emporius, ἀνδρεως Reiske: ἄνδρα.
5 After βαρύτερον the MSS. read οὖ γὰρ τὸ πυρέττειν αἰσχρὸν
οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποθυμῆσειν, which Arnim deletes.

1 A mythical pair of ape-like men closely associated with
Heracles and a natural subject for comic treatment. The
intimate connection between Tarsus and Heracles lends plausi-
bility to Selden’s conjecture.
that such conduct has provided occasion for slander against you, with the result that those who are ill-disposed toward you are supplied with material wherewith to defame you as a people? Well, how comes it that people shout at you the name Cercopes?¹ And yet men say that it should make no difference either to you or to anybody else what others say, but only what you yourselves do. Well then, supposing certain people should as a community be so afflicted that all the males got female voices and that no male, whether young or old, could say anything man-fashion, would that not seem a grievous experience and harder to bear; I'll warrant, than any pestilence, and as a result would they not send to the sanctuary of the god and try by many gifts to propitiate the divine power? And yet to speak with female voice is to speak with human voice, and nobody would be vexed at hearing a woman speak. But who are they who make that sort of sound? Are they not the creatures of mixed sex?² Are they not men who have had their testicles lopped off? Nay, even they do not always make that sound, nor to all persons, but it is reserved for themselves, a sort of password of their own.

Come, suppose you all were accustomed to walk with clothes girt tight, or playing the tambourine,³ and that this practice did not seem to you at all vexatious. Suppose you happened to possess a lofty rock,

² The word ἄνδρογυνὸν had several meanings, none of them complimentary. See Suidas s.v. Cf. Plato, Symposium 189E: ἄνδρογυνὸν γὰρ ἐν τότε μὲν ἡν καὶ ἐλθος καὶ ὅνυμα ἐξ ἀμφότερων κοινῶν τοῦ τε ἄρενος καὶ θῆλεος, νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν ἀνείδει ὅνυμα κείσεσθαι.
³ Both traits characteristic of women.
 Dio Chrysostom

"Διὰ δὲ δὴ όρος 1 υπερκείμενον, ὡσπερ ἐτεραὶ πόλεις, ὅπως τις ἀνέλθων ἐκαστον μὲν σαφῶς ἄκουειν μὴ σύναιτο, τὸν δὲ ξύμπαντα θρόνυ, ποῖος ἤχος ὑμῖν ἂν 2 ἀνενεχθῆναι δοκεῖ 3; ἢ δὴ λέγω ὅτι ὁ 40 τοῦ πλείονος ὡσπερ ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ κρατοῦντος; εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκοῆς δέοι τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡσπερ Ἡμηρος φησι προσιῶντα 5 τὸν Ὁδυσσέα τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ μὴ περιμεῖν ὀλοκλαύον τοὺς μυθιστήριας ἐστιομένους, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμαιόν, ὅς αὐτὸν ἢ κιθάρα περιήγηκε,

γυμνόσκειν δὴ ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δαίτη τίθενται·
kαὶ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῶν Κυκλάδων ἀκούοντα
tῶν τε προβάτων βληχωμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῆς
gωνίας, ὡς ἂν, ὅμαλα, νεμόντων, νοεῖν ὅτι ποιμένων
41 τινῶν ἐστιν ἡ χώρα. φέρε καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰ τις ἐκ τοῦ
φερομένου ἤχου πάρρωθεν εἰκάζοι, ποίους ἂν 6
ἀνθρώποις ὑπολάβοι εἶναι καὶ τί πράττειν; οὗ
gὰρ ἢκανοῖ ἐστε οὔτε βουκολεῖν οὔτε ποιμαίνειν:
kαὶ πότερον ὑμᾶς Ἀργείων ἀπόκους, ὡς λέγετε,
φήσει τις, ἡ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνων Ἅραδίων; καὶ πότερον Ἑλλήνων ἡ Φοινίκων τοὺς ἀνελγεστάτους;
Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι μᾶλλον προσήκειν ἄνδρι σῶφρονι εν τοιαύτῃ πόλει κηρὸν ἐπαλεύσαι 7

1 ὁρὸς Reiske: ἅρος.
2 ἂν added by Reiske.
3 δοκεῖ| ἐδόκει Arnim.
4 ὅ added by Reiske.
5 προοίμτα Reiske: προοίμτα.
6 ποίους ἂν Crosby, οἴους ἂν Reiske: οἴους.
7 ἐπαλεύσαι Reiske: ὑπαλίψαι οὗ ἀλεύσαι.

1 Odyssey 17. 269. Dio has adapted the line somewhat to serve his purpose. He might well have included in his quotation the next two verses, had not the poet introduced also κηροῦ, which does not suit our passage.

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or, by Zeus, an overhanging mountain such as other cities have, and that a man who made the ascent could not hear distinctly individual voices but only the general murmur, what kind of sound do you think would have been borne aloft to him? Would it not, evidently, be the sound made by the majority, prevailing as if by harmony of tone? And suppose one had to guess from what was heard who made the sound, as Homer says about Odysseus when he approached his own home, that he did not have to wait to see the suitors at their feast but straightway said to Eumaeus, as the note of the harp smote his ear, that he

Knew well that many were feasting in his hall;¹ and again, when from the island of the Cyclopes he heard both the bleating of sheep and the voices of men (as he would, methinks, if they were pasturing their sheep), that he perceived that it was the country of shepherds ²—well then, suppose that a man were to judge you too by the sound that came to him from a distance, what kind of men would he guess you were and what your occupation? For you haven’t the capacity for tending either cattle or sheep! And would any one call you colonists from Argos,³ as you claim to be, or more likely colonists rather of those abominable Aradians?⁴ Would he call you Greeks, or the most licentious of Phoenicians?

I believe it is more appropriate for a man of sense to plug his ears with wax in a city like yours

² Odyssey 9. 167. Homer does not make Odysseus draw the inference with which Dio credits him.
³ See § 1.
⁴ Aradus was a tiny island off the coast of Phoenicia.
τοῖς ὦσιν ἦ εἰ τὰς Σειρῆνας παραπλέων ἐτυχεν, ὅπως μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρχε θανάτου κόμνοις, ὅπου δὲ
42 ἀσελγείας, ὑβρεως, τῆς ἐσχάτης διαφθορᾶς. καὶ
πρόσεστιν οὐδεμία τέρπις οὐδ’ ἱστορία δήποι.
πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἡ παραίνεσις τῶν ἀμεινών ἐκράτει, νῦν δ’, ὡς ξοικέ, τῶν χειρόνων. θαυμάσαι
δ’ ἂν τις τὴν αὐτίαν τοῦ ζηλοῦν αὐτὸ τοὺς πλεῖους
ἐνθάδε ¹ καὶ συνηθέστερον ἂεί γίγνεσθαι προβαίνων.
ἀσπερ Ἰωνική τις ἐκράτησεν ἄρμονία καὶ Δώριος
καὶ Φρύγιος Ἀλλη καὶ Δύδιος· οὕτως νῦν ἡ τῶν
Ἀραδίων κρατεί μουσική, καὶ τὰ Φοινίκων ὑμῖν
κρούματα ἀρέσκει, καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τοῦτον ἐξαιρε-
ρέτως ἡγαπόκατε, ἀσπερ ἑρευνήσας τὸν σπονδεῖον.
43 ἡ καὶ γένος τι πέφημεν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς ῥητὶ
eὐμούσοις, ἀσπερ τοὺς κύκνους φασὶ τοῖς πτεροῖς,
ἐπειτὰ τῶν λυγυφώνων τρόπων ὀρνέων τέρπουσι
ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἐξυμπόσια,
μηδὲν δεόμενοι λύρας μηδὲ αὐλῶν; ἀρχαία δὴ
tαύτα καὶ σκληρῶς τε ² καὶ ἀγροῖκον των
μουσικῆς ὄργανα. νῦν δὲ τρόπος ἀλλος ἀνθεὶ,
βαρβίτων κρείττων καὶ προσηνέστερος. οὐκοῦν
μετὰ χρόνον καὶ χοροῦ ὑπὸ τῷ μέλει τούτῳ
στησόμεθα παιδῶν καὶ παρθένων ἐπιμελῶς ἐκδίδα-
ξαντες.
44 Ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἀξίωσε θεός ἄκοιντες σαφῶς οἶδα,

¹ ἐνθάδε Roiske: ἐνθά δή. ² τε Crosby: ἔτη.

¹ Strabo (14. 5, 13–15) paints an interesting picture of intellectual life at Tarsus and lists a number of philosophers,
than if he chanced to be sailing past the Sirens. For there one faced the risk of death, but here it is licentiousness, insolence, the most extreme corruption that threatens. And here we find no real enjoyment and no love of learning either, I imagine. At any rate in days gone by it was the counsel of the better citizens that had its way, whereas now, it seems, it is the counsel of the worse. And one might wonder why the majority here in Tarsus follow that baser counsel so eagerly, and why that tendency is constantly growing more general as time goes on. Just as formerly an Ionian mode became dominant in music, and a Dorian, and then a Phrygian also, and a Lydian, so now the Aradian mode is dominant and now it is Phoenician airs that suit your fancy and the Phoenician rhythm that you admire most, just as some others do the spondeic. Or can it be that a race of men has been created with the gift of music in their noses (as swans are said to have the gift of music in their wings), so that like shrill-voiced birds these men delight one another in the streets and at symposia without any need of lyre and pipes? No doubt the lyre and pipes are antiquated and, furthermore, instruments that produce a harsh and rustic kind of music. Ah well, another style now is flourishing, superior to lyres and more agreeable. Therefore, in course of time, we shall even institute choruses to accompany that variety of tune, choruses of boys and girls, most carefully instructed.

Well, I understand perfectly that you are vexed poets, and grammarians there in residence. Those days had passed.

καὶ προείπον ὅτι τοὺς λόγους ἀποδέξεσθε οὐχ ἤδεως. ὥμεῖς δὲ ἵσως με περὶ ἀστρων καὶ γῆς ἐδοκεῖτε διαλέξεσθαι. καὶ τινὲς μὲν ὑμῶν ὀργίζονται καὶ φασί με ὑβρίζειν τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας οὐκ αἰτιῶνται· τινὲς δὲ ἵσως καταγελῶσιν, εἰ περὶ μηδενὸς κρείττονος εὕρουν εἰπεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅρω καὶ τοὺς ἱατροὺς ἔσθι ὅτε ἀπτομένους ὁμ οὐκ ἦν ἠθελον, οὐχὶ τῶν καλλίστων τοῦ σώματος, καὶ πολλοὺς οἶδα τῶν θεραπευομένων ἀγανακτοῦντας, ὅταν ἀπτηταὶ τοῦ πεπονθότος. ὁ δὲ πολλάκις ἀμύττει τοῦτο καὶ τέμνει βοῶντος. οὕκουν ἀνήσω περὶ τοῦτοι λέγων, πρὶν ἃν σφόδρα δηχθῆτε. καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἁσθενοῦς φαρμάκου τυγχάνετε τοῦ λόγου τούτου καὶ πολὺ ἐλάττωνος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἁζίαν.

45 Ὅγε δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, οὐς τιμᾶτε, ἀποκρίνασθε μοι προθύμως, εἶ τις ὑμῶν ἐβούλετο γνωάκα τοιαύτην ἔχειν, λέγω δέ, ὅσπερ κιθαρίστρια καλεῖται γυνὴ καὶ νῆ Δία αὐλητρίς ἢ ποιήτρια καὶ τάλλα ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οὕτως ἢν ἂν τις συνήθως ὁμομάσειν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνετε μηδὲ ἀχθεσθε· τοὺς γὰρ λόγους τούτους αὐτὸ παρέχει τὸ πράγμα τῷ βουλομένῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, οὐκ ἔγὼ ποθεν ἀνευρίσκω.
with me for what I have been saying, and indeed I told you beforehand that you would not receive my words with any pleasure. However, you may have supposed that I was going to discourse on astronomy and geology. And though some of you are angry and claim that I am insulting your city, still they do not blame those who are guilty of the things I mention; on the other hand, others may be laughing at me because I could find nothing better to talk about. However, I find that physicians too sometimes handle things they would rather not, parts of the body that are not the most beautiful, and many of their patients, I know, are irritated when the physician touches the sore spot. But he often scarifies and lances it despite the outcry. I, therefore, shall not cease to talk upon this theme until I make you smart indeed. And yet, after all, it is a very mild medicine you are getting in this speech of mine, much less severe than your case calls for.

Come now, in the name of Heracles and Perseus and Apollo and Athenê and the other deities whom you honour, tell me freely whether any one of you would want to have a wife like that—I mean a wife whom men would habitually call by a name derived from the practice of which I speak, just as a woman receives the name of harpist or flautist or poetess, and so forth, each in keeping with its own activity. And pray do not be displeased or vexed; for these words of mine are words that the situation itself supplies to any man who chooses to deal with the subject, rather than some invention of my own.

That is, the practice of “snorting.” Arnim believes that after the word Ἐργησία the text has lost a noun descriptive of that particular activity, e.g., Ἐργησία.
γυναικὶ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτῃ ἐξουκεῖν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐθελήσειν οὐμὰν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις ταλάντοις, οἷμα, θυγατέρα δὲ σχεῖν ἔλοιπον ἂν; ἀλλὰ νὴ Διὰ μητέρα πῶς οὐ 1 χαλεπὸν τοιαύτην ἐχεῖν καὶ γηροβοσκεῖν· σεμνὸν γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πρεσβυτέροι πρέπον μᾶλλον. εἰ δὲν οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν γυναικὸς ἡ θυγατρὸς οὐδ' ἀκούοντες ἀνέχεσθε, πόλιν δὲ τοιαύτην καὶ πατρίδα οἰκεῖν οὐ δεινὸν ὑμᾶν δοκεῖ; καὶ ταῦθ', ὁ τῷ 2 παντὶ χαλεπώτερον, οὐ τοιαύτην οὔσαν εἰς ἀρχής, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοὶ ποιεῖτε; καὶ τοιούτω πολλῶς ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἡ πόλις, ὡςτε καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τῷ ἀξίωμα ἔχει τὸ τῆς μητρόπολεως. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὔτε τοῦ ὑμῶν ὑπόματος οὔτε τῆς ἀρχαιότητος οὔτε τῆς δόξης φείδεσθε. 47 τί ἐν οὐσεῖν, εἰ καθάπερ εἰκὸς ἔστι καὶ φασι τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἦρωας ἡ θεοῦσ πολλάκισ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τοὺς ἄλλους ὄντας ἀφαιέοι ἐν τε θυσίαις καὶ τισιν ἐορταῖς δημοτελέσιν, ἐπειδ' ὁ ἀρχιγνώσι ὑμῶν Ἡρακλῆς παραγενόιτο, ἦτοι πυρᾶς οὐσίς, ἢν πάνιν καλὴν αὐτῷ ποιεῖτε, σφόδρα γε ἃν αὐτὸν ἴσθησαι τοιαύτης ἀκούσαντα φωνῆς; οὔκ ἂν εἰς Ὀράκην ἀπελθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ Ἑλβύνη καὶ τοῖς Βουσίριδοις ἡ τοῖς Διομήδοις ἀπογόνοις ψέουσι 3 παρεῖναι; τί δέ; τὸ Περσεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἄντως ὑπερτηθήναι δοκεῖ τὴν πόλιν;

1 μητέρα πῶς οὗ Schwartz and Wilamowitz, μητέρα πῶς; οὗ Geel: μητέρα; πῶς οὐ.
2 ταῦθ', ὁ τῷ Reiske: ταῦθ' οὕτω οτὲ ταῦθ' οὐ τῷ οταῦτα οὐ τῷ.
3 θύσαι Reiske: θύσαι.

1 In memory of his death and deification.
2 Busiris, mythical king of Egypt, and Diomedes the Thracian were both slain by Heracles.

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THE THIRTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

Well then, no one among you would be willing to live with a wife like that, not even, methinks, for five hundred talents; then would he choose a daughter of her kind? I grant you that perhaps, by Zeus, it may not be so distressing to have a mother of that sort and to support her in old age; for evidently snorting is a solemn performance and rather suited to the elderly! Very well, then if, when it is a question of wife or daughter, you cannot endure even to hear of such a thing, does it not seem to you an awful calamity to reside in a city or a country of that kind? And furthermore—a thought which makes it altogether more distressing—a city or a country which was not like that to begin with, but which you yourselves are making so? And yet the city in question is your mother-city, and so it has the dignity and the esteem belonging to a mother-city; but still neither its name nor its antiquity nor its renown are spared by you. What would you think, if, just as you might reasonably expect (and as men report) that founding heroes or deities would often visit the cities they have founded, invisible to everybody else (both at sacrificial rites and at certain other public festivals)—if, I ask you, your own founder, Heracles, should visit you (attracted, let us say, by a funeral pyre such as you construct with special magnificence in his honour¹), do you think he would be extremely pleased to hear such a sound? Would he not depart for Thrace instead, or for Libya, and honour with his presence the descendants of Busiris or of Diomedes² when they sacrifice? What! Do you not think that Perseus³ himself would really pass over your city in his flight?

¹ For the prominence of Perseus at Tarsus see also §§ 1 and 45.
Καίτοι τί δεῖ μεμνήσθαι θεῶν; ἀλλὰ Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ πρύτανις ἑγεμόνευσις, ὅν ἦδετο ὁ Σεβαστός, ἀρα οἴεσθε, εἴπερ ἔγινο τουαύτῃν οὔσαν τὴν πόλιν, προύκρινεν ἴν τῆς μετ᾽ ἐκείνου διατριβῆς τὴν ἐνθάδε; πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἐπ᾽ εὐταξία καὶ σωφροσύνη διαβόητος ἢ ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις καὶ τοιούτοις ἀνέφερεν ἀνδρας· οὐν δὲ ἑγὼ δέδοικα μή τὴν ἐναντίαν λάβῃ τάξιν, ὡστε μετὰ τῶνδε καὶ τῶνδε ὑνομάζεσθαι. καίτοι πολλὰ τῶν νῦν ἔτι μενόντων ὅπως δῆποτε ἐμφαίνει τὸ σώφρον καὶ τὸ αὐτότητον τῆς τότε ἀγωγῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐσθήτα τῶν γυναικῶν, τὸ τούτων τὸν τρόπον κατεστάλθαι καὶ βαδίζειν ὡστε μηδένα τοῖς αὐτῶν μέροι μήτε τοῦ προσώπου μήτε τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος, μηδὲ αὐτὰς ὅραν ἔξω τῆς ὀδοῦ μηδέν. καίτοι τί δύνανται τοιούτοιν ἱδεῖν οἷον ἀκούοντες; τουγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅτων ἀφίγαμαν τῆς διαφθορᾶς ἀπολάλασιν αἱ πλείους. τῇ γὰρ ἀσέλγεια καὶ δι᾽ ὅτων καὶ δι᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν πανταχόθεν εἰσδύεται. ὡστε τὰ μὲν πρόσωπα κεκαλυμμέναι βαδίζουσιν, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ἀκαλύπτω καὶ σφόδρα ἀναπεπταμένη. τογαροῦν ἄξιον τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦν ἐν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὡστερ οἱ γεωμέτραι.
THE THIRTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

And yet what need have we to mention deities? Take Athenodorus,¹ who became governor of Tarsus, whom Augustus held in honour—had he known your city to be what it is to-day, would he, do you suppose, have preferred being here to living with the emperor? In days gone by, therefore, your city was renowned for orderliness and sobriety, and the men it produced were of like character; but now I fear that it may be rated just the opposite and so be classed with this or that other city I might name. And yet many of the customs still in force reveal in one way or another the sobriety and severity of deportment of those earlier days. Among these is the convention regarding feminine attire, a convention which prescribes that women should be so arrayed and should so deport themselves when in the street that nobody could see any part of them, neither of the face nor of the rest of the body, and that they themselves might not see anything off the road.² And yet what could they see as shocking as what they hear? Consequently, beginning the process of corruption with the ears, most of them have come to utter ruin. For wantonness slips in from every quarter, through ears and eyes alike. Therefore, while they have their faces covered as they walk, they have their soul uncovered and its doors thrown wide open. For that reason they, like surveyors, can see more keenly with but one of their eyes.³

And while this nasal affliction⁴ is wholly manifest, but also by Cicero, whom he aided in the composition of the De Officiis. His friend Strabo has much to say of him.

¹ This prescription may have been due to the oriental element at Tarsus.
² That is, peeping through the veil.
³ That is, 'snorting.'
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ τοιούτῳ ῥυθμῷ. μὴ γὰρ οἴσεσθε, ὅσπερ ἐτέρων ἔτερα ¹ πολλάκις εἰς τινα μέρη κατασκιάττει, χείρας ἢ πόδας ἢ πρόσωπον, οὕτω καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐπιχώριον τὶ νόσημα ταῖς μυιν ἐμπεπτωκέναι, μηδ’ ὅσπερ Λημνίων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τῇ Ἀφροδιτῇ ὀργισθέεσσαι λέγουσι διαφθείραι τὰς μασχάλας, κἂνθάδε νομίζετε τῶν πλειώνων διεφθάρησα τάς μίνας ὑπὸ διαμοίων χόλου, κάπετα τοιαύτην φανήν ἀφύναν: τόθεν; ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ σημεῖον τῆς ἐσχάτης ὦβρεως καὶ ἀπονοίας καὶ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων καὶ μηδὲν ἀισχρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι. φημὶ δὴ διαλέγεσθαι ταύτα ² ὦμοιώς καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ βλέπειν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐκκήλην οὕτω ποιεῖν διὰ τῶν ὦματός δύνανται, ὥστε ἐπιστρέφειν ἀπαντας, ἡ μηδέπω τὴν τέχνην ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προωγήχασιν, οὐδὲν ἐπεικέστερον τάλλα ἔχουσιν.

Εἰτ’ ἠχθεσθε τοῖς Λιγνεῦσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀδανεῦσι, ὅταν ὰμαῖς λοιδορῶσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνους μαρτυροῦντας ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγουσι τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν οὐκ ἐξελαύνετε τῆς πόλεως; οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι τὸ μὲν ποιεῖν τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν ὑποθύμαι ἐπὶ τῶν πλείτων μόνον ἔχει, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδρακεν οὐδὲν τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ σκότει ποι κρύφα λανθάνοντες ἀσεβοῦσιν οἱ κακο-

¹ ἔτερα added by Capps.
² ταύτας Kohler, τούτους Arnim: τούτους.

¹ See Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 1. 17 (Frayser, L.C.L.): The Lemnian women did not honour Aphrodite, and she visited them with a noisome small . . ., αἱ Λημνῖαι τῇ Ἀφροδιτῇ οὐκ ἐτύμων· ἢ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐμβάλλει δυσομίαν.
² Aegae and Adana were Cilician towns not far east of
it is inevitable that everything else also must be a fit accompaniment for a condition such as that. For you must not suppose that, just as other disorders often attack certain particular parts of other people, such as hands or feet or face, so also here among you a local disorder has assailed your noses; nor that, just as Aphrodite, angered at the women of Lemnos, is said to have polluted their armpits,¹ so also here in Tarsus the noses of the majority have been polluted because of divine anger, in consequence of which they emit that dreadful noise. Rubbish! No, that noise is a symptom of their utter wantonness and madness, and of their scorn for all that is honourable, and their belief that nothing is dishonourable. So I assert that the talk of these women is quite in keeping with their gait and the glance of their eye. And if they cannot make anything so manifest by means of their eyes as to cause everyone to turn and gaze at them, or if they have not yet carried their art so far, still they are by no means the more respectable in other ways.

In view of that are you irritated at the people of Aegae and of Adana ² when they revile you, while on the other hand you fail to banish from Tarsus those of your own people who testify to the truth of what your neighbours declare? Do you not know that, while the charge of doing some forbidden thing, something in violation of Nature’s laws, in most cases rests only on suspicion, and no one of the masses has really seen anything at all, but, on the contrary, it is in some dark and secret retreat that the wretched culprits commit their heinous deeds all unobserved;

¹Tarsus and envious of its power and authority. See Or. 34. 10, 14, and 47.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΝ

dαίμονες· τὰ δὲ τοιαύτα ξύμβολα τῆς ἀκρασίας μηνύει τὸ ἄθος καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἡ φωνή, τὸ βλέμμα, τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ δὴ ¹ καὶ ταύτα ² δοκοῦντα σμικρά καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ, κουρᾶ, περίπατος, τὸ τὰ ὁμοῦτα ἀναστρέφειν, τὸ ἐγκλίνειν τὸν τράχηλον, τὸ ταῖς χερσῖν ὑπτίας διαλέγεσθαι. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε αὐλήματα μὲν καὶ κρούματα καὶ μέλη τὰ μὲν ἐμφαίνει τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, τὰ δὲ τὸ θῆλυ, κινήσεις δὲ καὶ πράξεις μὴ διαφέρειν μηδὲ εἶναι μηδένα ἐν τούτοις ἔλεγχον.

53 ἴδην Βούλωμαι τινα λόγον ὑμῖν εἴπειν, ὅν ἴσως καὶ ἀλλοτε ἀκριβῶς. τῶν γὰρ εὐθάδε δεινῶν τινα λέγουσιν εἰς τινα πόλειν ἐλθείν ³ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτο ἑργὸν πεποιημένον, ὡστε εὐθὺς εἰδέναι τὸν τρόπον ἐκάστου καὶ διηγεῖσθαι τὰ προσόντα, καὶ μηδενὸς ὁλος ἀποτυγχάνειν· ἀλλ' ὁσπέρ ἢμείς τὰ ζῷα γηγυνώσκομεν ὁρῶντες, ὡτι τούτο μὲν ἐστι πρόβατον, εἰ τύχω τούτο δὲ κύων, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπος ἡ βοῦς· οὕτως ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠπίστατο ὡρῶν καὶ λέγειν ἢδύνατο ὡτι οὕτος μὲν ἀνδρεῖος, οὕτος δὲ δειλός, οὕτος δὲ ἀλαζών, οὕτος δὲ ὑβριστής ἢ κίναιδος ἢ μοιχός.

54 ὡς οὖν θαυμαστὸς ἢν ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ οὐδαμῇ διημάτανε, προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ σκληρόν τινα τὸ σῶμα καὶ σύνοφρον ἄνθρωπον, αὐχμῶντα καὶ φαύλως διακειμένον καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν τύλουσ ἑχοντα, φαίνων τι καὶ πραξὶ περιβεβλημένον ἤματον,

¹ καὶ δὴ Wilamowitz: ἰδη. ² ταύτα] ταύτα τὰ Reiske. ³ ἐλθείν added by Koehler.

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yet such symptoms of their incontinence as the following reveal their true character and disposition: voice, glance, posture; yes, and the following also, which are thought to be petty and insignificant details: style of haircut, mode of walking, elevation of the eye, inclination of the neck, the trick of conversing with upturned palms. For you must not think that the notes of pipes and lyre or songs reveal sometimes manliness and sometimes femininity, but that movements and actions do not vary according to sex and afford no clue to it.

But I should like to tell you a story, one that you may possibly have heard before. It seems that one of the clever people of Tarsus—so the story runs—once went to a certain city. He was a man who had made it his special business to recognize instantly the character of each individual and to be able to describe his qualities, and he had never failed with any person; but just as we recognize animals when we see them and know that this, for instance, is a sheep, if such is the case, and this a dog and this a horse or ox, so that man understood human beings when he saw them and could say that this one was brave and this one a coward and this one an impostor and this man wanton or a catamite or an adulterer. Because, therefore, he was noted for his display of power and never made a mistake, the people brought before him a person of rugged frame and knitted brows, squalid and in sorry state and with callouses on his hands, wrapped in a sort of coarse, gray mantle,

1 Dio leaves us in the dark regarding the precise form of most of the things here criticized. What was the significance of the upturned palm? Merely an oriental gesture?

2 Diogenes Laertius, 7. 173, tells this story of Cleanthes.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

dasun einos touv sevou kai faivous kekarmenon kai touv hxioune eipein ostitis hyn. O de oes polon xronov eira, televaion oknov moi dokei to paristamenon legein ouk efhi xynianai, kai badizein auton ekelleousen. Haddi de apochoiron ptaarvtnai kakeinos evthis anebosken ois eih kinaidos.

55 Eita ep anvrwpon mene o pttarmos exilegeze touv tropeon kai prs ta alla panta isxuse to mi lathen. Polon de ouk an en ti touwn diabalo kai doxiis anapleseis ponhathai, kai tath' oupou mi deitai deino tov sunhontos tivos esti simeiou; all' egwye thdolimh an1 hdeis touv empeirwn tivn tovto eonev h ti boiletei deilou. Oute gar klasmous outhe poppavsmos outhe surnymos esthn h tivos estin oikeion egron kai pote malista gignomenon outhe gar nemoiwn outhos outhe arousin outhe kynigeontos, all' ounde

56 naoutov2 estin h phoin. Poteron ouv psaxamie-

wov allhous h kalovton h philofronoumenov; all' wosper umenaios idion ti melos estin arxaiov epi tivn gamaontow, outhos kainos outhos eirhetai rymdos allhs tivos eorths.

'All' apelewssethe aganaktontes kai leitert-
kenei me faskontes, el tosoitouvs logous matih

1 an added by Dindorf.
2 oude naoutov Selden: oude (oude) auton.
3 After philofronoumenov Vahlen conjectured oumeonov.

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his body shaggy as far as the ankles and his locks wretchedly shingled; and our friend was asked to tell what this man was. But after he had observed the man for a long while, the expert finally, with seeming reluctance to say what was in his mind, professed that he did not understand the case and bade the man move along. But just as the fellow was leaving, he sneezed, whereupon our friend immediately cried out that the man was a catamite.¹

You see, then, that the sneeze revealed the character of a man, and in the face of all his other traits was sufficient to prevent his eluding detection; and might not some such thing subject a city to false accusations and infect it with an evil reputation, and that too in a matter requiring no expert to determine what disorder the trait betokens? However, I for my part should like to ask the experts what this snorting resembles or what it means—for it is neither a clucking sound nor a smacking of the lips nor yet an explosive whistling—or to what line of work it is related and when it is most likely to be made; for neither shepherds nor plowmen nor huntsmen employ that sound, nor does it belong to sailors. Is it, then, a sound made by men when they greet one another or call to one another or display affection? On the contrary, just as the hymeneal is a special song of early origin and used at weddings, so this must be a rhythm of recent origin, no doubt, and used at a different kind of festival.

However, you will depart in high dudgeon, declaring that I have talked nonsense, if I have uttered

¹ The sneeze is a well-known omen and doubtless capable of varied meanings in keeping with varied conditions; but it is not clear why so specialized a meaning should have been given in the present instance.
διεθέμην καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν χρησίμων. μηδεμίαν γὰρ ἐκ τούτου βλάβην ἀπαντῶν μηδὲ ¹ χείρον
57 οἰκείσθαι τὴν πόλιν. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἐλλησι πρότερον δεινὸν ἔδοκεί τὸ μετακινεῖν τὴν μου-
νικὴν, καὶ κατεδών πάντες τῶν βυθμὸν εἰσαγόν-
tων ἔτερον καὶ τὰ μέλη ποικιλότερα ποιοῦντων,
ὡς διαφθειρομένης ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις τῆς Ἐλλάδος. οὕτω σφόδρα τὰ ἄτα ἐφύλαττον, καὶ τηλικαῦτην ἡγοῦντο δύναμιν τὴν ἄκολην ἔχειν, ὅστε θηλύνει
τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἀνεκείσθαι τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης,
εἰ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνδοῦτα τὰ τῆς ἀρμονίας. τοιγαροῦν
φασι Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπειδὴ Θυμόθεος ἦκε παρ'
αυτούς, λαμπρός ὁν ἡδὴ καὶ δυναστεύων ἐν τῇ
μουσικῇ, τὴν τε κιβάραν αὐτὸν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τῶν
χορδῶν τὰς περιττὰς ἐκτεμεῖν. καὶ ὡμεῖς, ἄνδρες
Ταρσεῖς, μμήσασθε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐκτέμετε
τὸν περιττὸν φθόγγον.
58 Ὁ παλαιὸς μὺθός φησι τὴν Κύρκην μεταβάλ-
λειν τοὺς φαρμάκους, ὡστε σὺς καὶ λύκους ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων γέγνεσθαι· καὶ ταύτα ἀπιστοῦμεν
Ὀμήρου λέγοντος,
οὶ δὲ συνὶ μὲν ἔχον κεφάλας φωνῆν τε τρίχας
tε
καὶ δέμας.

¹ μηδὲ Selden: μηδὲν.

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¹ The important position assigned to music in Greek education is a notable phenomenon. Plato devotes much space to the subject in books 3 and 4 of his Republic. Especially apposite is Republic 424 C. See also Aristophanes, Clouds, 908–72.
so many words in vain and to no useful purpose. For you will assert that no harm is encountered in consequence of this snorting and that the city is none the worse in its administration because of it. But among the Greeks in times gone by it used to be regarded as an awful thing to tamper with the art of music, and they all cried out against those who tried to introduce a different rhythm or to complicate the melody, holding that Greece was being corrupted in the theatre. So carefully did they safeguard their ears; and they attributed to what was heard such power as to effeminate the mind and violate the virtue of self-control if the principles of harmony should give way ever so little. For instance, they say that the Spartans, on an occasion when Timotheus was visiting their city, he being already an artist of distinction and an authority in music, not only took away from him his lyre but even cut out the superfluous strings. Do you likewise, men of Tarsus, in imitation of the Spartans, cut out the superfluous sound.

The ancient story relates that Circe worked transformations by means of her drugs, so that swine and wolves were produced from men; and we are incredulous when Homer says:

Both heads and voice and hair of swine had they, And e’en the shape.

Dio tells the same story in 32. 67 but without specifying the victim. The “superfluous strings” presumably were strings 8 to 11, the lyre usually having no more than seven. Timotheus himself (Perryae 215–43) refers to his quarrel with the Spartans with reference to his innovations and boasts that he had added an eleventh string to the ten of Terpander.

Odyssey 10. 239–40.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

άλλ' ἐκείνως ἢ μὲν τὸν νοῦν μένειν φησὶν ἐμπεδοῦν, τούτων δὲ ὁ νοῦς πρῶτος ἀπόλοιπε καὶ διεφθαρταῖ, καὶ μὴν οὐχ οὕτω δεινὸν ἔστων, εἰ ἁνθρωποι μεταξὺ προβάτων φωνήν λάβοιεν οὐδ' εἰ βοῶν, οὐδ' ἂν χρειμετίζωσιν οὐδ' ἂν ὑλακτώσων, ὥσπερ τὴν Ἐκάβην οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς δεινοῖς τελευταίοις ποιήσαι τὰς 'Ερυμᾶς χαροπὰν κύνα.

χάλκεον δὲ οἱ γνάθων ἐκ πολιάν φθεγγομένας ὑπάκουε μὲν Ἰδα Τένεδος τε περιρρῦτα Θρηκικοὶ τε φιλῆμενοι πέτραι.3

60 οὐχ οὕτω φημὶ τούτ', εἶναι τὸ τέρας δεινὸν οὐδ' ἀποτρόπαιον, ὡς ὅταν ἀνὴρ τὸν καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἔχων τὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν φωνήν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰ σημεία τῆς φύσεως μὴ δυνάμενος ἀνελεῖν, μηδὲν ἂν ἄπαντα ποιήσαι περιστέλλων, καθάπερ φώρια κλέπτης, ὑπ' Ἐρυμῶν τῶν τυπόμενος καὶ διαστρεφόμενος καὶ πάντα τρόπον διακλάμενος πάντα βούληται ποιεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὡς πέφυκε.4 κάπετα Πρωτέως τῶν δύσην ἀλλάττων καὶ μετατιθεῖσ αὐτῶν ἔξευρη φωνῆν ἀφεῖναι μήτε ἀνδρὸς μήτε γυναικὸς μήτε ἄλλου τῶν ἄνω,5 μιμούμενος μὴδὲ χαμαιτυπὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαμαιτυποῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχίστου ἐργοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀσελγεστάτης πράξεως ὥσπερ ἂν φθεγ-

1 ἐκείνως Reiske: ἐκείνως.
2 βοῶν Reiske: βοῶν.
3 filēmenoi pétrai Jacob: fīlānemoi γε pétrai Geol, fīlēmenoi γάρ Wilamowitz: fīlēn ἐμοίγε.
4 Emporius regards πάντα βούληται... ὡς πέφυκε as trochaic tetrameter.
5 After ζώου the MSS. read μιρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρόγυνον, which Emporius deletes.
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*Their* minds, however, remained steadfast, he says, whereas the mind of the men of Tarsus has been the very first thing to be ruined and utterly corrupted. And really it is not so terrible that human beings should for a time take on the voice of sheep or kine or that they should neigh or howl—as indeed the poets say of Hecuba, that, as a climax to all her terrible misfortunes, the Furies made her

Like to a hound with flashing eyes; and when
She poured her brazen cry from hoary jaws,
Ida gave ear and sea-girt Tenedos
And all the wind-swept crags of Thrace.¹

Not so terrible, in my opinion, nor so abominable was that portent as when someone who is a male and retains a male’s distinctive marks and his proper speech—being incapable of eradicating also the marks of Nature, even though he makes every effort to hide them from the world, just as the thief hides stolen goods—being smitten by Furies and perverted and in every way made effeminate, is ready to do anything at all, but nothing in accord with his own nature. And then, ‘some Proteus like,’ in the course of his changes and bodily transformations he discovers how to emit a sound belonging to neither man nor woman nor to any other creature, not even patterned after a harlot in the practice of her calling but rather, it would seem, producing such a sound as he would make if engaged in the most shameful action, the most licentious conduct, and, what is


6 After ἀλλὰ Wilamowitz adds τό.
7 τοῦ αἰαχίστου Ἰακώβος: τοῦ λαχίστου οὐ τούλαχίστου.
DIO CHRYSTOSMÔN

γόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκφανοῦς ὦντος

61 ἧλιον πολλῶν παρόντων. οὐχ οὕτω δεινὸν ἢ τὸ

τὰς βύρσας τῶν βοῶν ἔρπεω οὐδὲ τὸ μυκάσθαι τὰ

κρέα.

Ποίος οὖν ὁ Ὁμήρος ἢ τὸς Ἀρχίλοχος ἱσχύει τὰ

κακὰ ταῦτα ἔξοσαι; δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔμοιγε νη τὸν

Ἱππάλεα γενναίου τυπὸς καὶ τραγικοῦ δεισθαὶ

ποιητοῦ τὸ τούτων 1 τῶν ἄνθρώπων, ὥστε δυνή-

σαι κατασχεῖν καὶ ἀνακόψαι τοσαῦτην φορὰν· 2

ὡς ἦδη μανία τὸ γυγνόμενον ἔσοικεν αἰσχρῇ καὶ

62 ἀπρεπεί. καὶ τούτο τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἀπρεπείας

καὶ ἀνασχυντίας κύκλῳ περιοῦν ὡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάντα

ἄγει τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἔργα καὶ φωνᾶς καὶ σχῆματα,

καὶ παντὸς ἀπτεται καὶ καθυκνεῖται μέρους,

ποδῶν, χειρῶν, ὄμματών, γλώττης. οὐκοιν ἦμων

ὀφελοὺς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀνειμένης ταύτης καὶ

ἀσθενοῦς παραμυθίᾶς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον Στεντορός
twos xreía fhegygómēnu charkeon h oicódreou, òs

ἐμοῦ βοήσεται 3 μείζον καὶ σαφέστερον. ὀρᾶτε

63 γὰρ οἱ πρόεισιν. γενείων τὸ πρῶτον εὐρέθη

κουρά, καὶ τούτο ἐδόκει μέτριον, τὸ μή σφόδρα
cadeikénavi, μηδ' ἐπὶ πλέον, ἀλλὰ πρῶς ἐπανορ-

θοῦν τὴν φύσιν. οὐκοιν οἱ τοιοῦτος ἐδόκει

πολλοῖς ἐπιδέξιοι. εἶτα ἐξύρων μέχρι τῶν

1 τούτων added by Reiske.
2 φθοράν Geel. 3 ἐμοῦ βοήσεται Koehler: ἐμβοήσεται.
more, in the light of day, under the rays of the sun, and in the presence of many. Not so terrible a portent was it when the hides of cattle crawled and their flesh bellowed.\footnote{1}

What Homer, then, or what Archilochus has the power to exorcize these evil doings? For it seems to me, by Heracles, that a noble and tragic kind of poet is needed by the conduct of these men, one who will be able to check and repel so mighty a surge of evil; since what is taking place already is like a madness that is disgraceful and unseemly. And this plague of impropriety and shamelessness, as it goes on its rounds among you, is already leading to every sort of deed and cry and posture, and attacking and invading every portion of your bodies—feet, hands, eyes, and tongue. Therefore, I can do no good at all, nor can this easy-going, feeble exhortation to which you have listened; no, a Stentor is required with throat of bronze or iron,\footnote{2} who will be able to shout more loudly and more clearly than I can. For consider the progress of the malady. The first innovation consisted in trimming the beard; and this was looked upon as moderate enough, merely not to let it grow too long, and nothing more, but just to make a slight improvement upon Nature. Well then, the man so trimmed was thought by many to look smart. The next step was to shave as far as

\footnote{1} An allusion to the portent that attended the eating of the kine of Helius by the comrades of Odysseus \textit{(Odyssey 12. 394–6)}.  
\footnote{2} Considering the later fame of Stentor, it is surprising to discover that Homer refers to him but once, \textit{Iliad 5. 786–67}}
 Dio Chrysostom

παρείσων. οὐδὲ τούτο πως ἔδει τιν. ἀλλ' ὁμως ὁ κομικός καὶ τοῦτον ἐκκέλευσε κατακάεων
ἐπὶ φαλήτων συκίων ἐκκαίδεκα.

Πλὴν εἶχον εὐειδὴ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ παιδικὰ παρ' ἡλικίαν τῆς λάχνης ταύτης ἀπηλλαγμένα. εἶτα, τοῦτο λοιπὸν ἐτί, τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὸ στέρνον, ἢν καὶ τάλλα ὤμοιοι παῖσιν ὄσιν. εἶτα μέχρι τῶν βραχίων, εἶτα ἐπὶ τὰ αἰδώλα μετέβαινον, ἡ καὶ τὸ ἱβάν δοκεῖν περιττὸν. σκόπτεται δὴ καὶ καταγελάται παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ νέους ἡ τῆς φύσεως τέχνη, καθάπερ ἁρχαία τις οὐσι καὶ σφόδρα εὐθύθες, ἀξρεία καὶ περιττὰ προσθεῖσα τῷ σώματι. τί γὰρ ὑμῖν ὀνύχων ἐδεί, τί δὲ τριχῶν; ἄλλ' οὐδὲ χειρῶν ὑς οὐδὲ σπόδων. ὁμοία μόνον ὑμῖν ἐδεί ποησαί καὶ γαστέρας καὶ τροφήν παραθέναι καὶ τάλλα ὅπως ἐστιν ἀπολαύειν. τούγαρον αὐτοὶ περικόπτομεν ἐαυτοῦς, καὶ τὰ μὲν γένεια καὶ τὴν ἑβην ἀφαιροῦμεν, ἀ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἵδια ἐστὶν· εἰ δὲ ἦν δυνατὸν παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν προσλάβειν ἑτέρα, δὴ οὗτος τὸν παντελῶς τότε ὁμιλεῖν εὐδαίμονες, οὐ καθάπερ μόνον ἐνδεείς ὄντες, ἀλλ' ὀλόκληροί τινες καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἄνδρόγυνοι.

1 τοῦτο περὶ Emporius: τοῦτο πως ὁτ τί τοὺς τοὺς.
2 καὶ after ἡλικίαν deleted by Emporius.
3 λάχνης Casaubon: ἀχνῆς.
4 λοιπὸν ἐτί, τὰ Ἰακώβη: λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὰ.
5 ὁμοίοι Koehler: ὄμωια.
6 ὅσιν Crosby: ὅμεν.
7 μετέβαινον Arnim: μεταβάν.
8 δοκεῖν Carps: δοκεῖ.
9 ἀξρεία καὶ Roiske: καὶ ἀξρεία.
10 ὑμῖν Crosby: ὑμᾶς.

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the cheeks; and even that was nothing terrible; and yet the comic poet did bid that even such a man be burned

Upon a heap of sixteen fig-wood phalluses.

However, they did have faces that were comely and boyish beyond their years when rid of that down. Next—since this was still to try—they shaved the legs and chest, to insure that in all other respects as well they might resemble boys. Then they progressed as far as the arms; then shifted to the genitals, where evidence of youthful vigour is indeed superfluous. Thus ridicule and scorn are being showered by the clever younger set upon the artistry of Nature as being something out of date and extremely foolish, seeing that she has attached to the body things that are useless and superfluous. For instance, what need had you of nails and hair? No, not even of hands, perhaps, or feet. All that Nature had to do for you was to create genitals and bellies and to supply food and the other things from which one may derive enjoyment. That is why we trim ourselves and remove from our chins and private parts the hair which is distinctive of the full-grown male. And, if it were possible to borrow from the female certain other attributes, clearly then we should be supremely happy, not defective as at present, but whole beings and natural—epicenes!

1 "As far as the cheeks" in this context seems to mean the whole face, the previous stage involving merely trimming, not shaving, and the next stage involves the legs and chest.
THE THIRTY-FOURTH, OR SECOND TARSIC, DISCOURSE

This Discourse, like the one preceding, was evidently delivered before a public gathering of the citizens of Tarsus. Which of the two was the earlier we have no means of knowing. Both seem to belong to Dio's later years. Yet the tone of each is so distinct as to proclaim two separate visits. In the one the speaker has much to say regarding the decadence of the times, but he still feels at liberty to treat that theme in lighter vein, laughing both at and with his audience and interlarding his remarks with quotations from the ancient poets and with literary criticism, and in general showing himself quite at ease, as indeed would befit one who spoke on invitation. In the other there seems to be no question of an invitation: Dio comes as a messenger from God in times of need. He gives not a single line of verse, and his only reference to classic times consists in the citation of Sparta and Athens as horrible examples of the fate reserved for arrogance and selfishness. The few touches of humour only serve to emphasize the speaker's earnestness.

Thus the two speeches serve to complement each other and to reveal a proud city of ancient origin, thoroughly alive, though suffering from the natural results of too great prosperity. Despite the oriental element in the population, Tarsus could be relied upon to understand allusions to Greek poetry and myth and history, and the gymnasion and the sports connected with it might well explain Paul's fondness for athletic phrase and imagery.
34. ΤΑΡΣΙΚΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 Οὐκ ἄγνωσ ἡμὲν, ὁ ἀνδρὲς Ταρσείς, ὧτι νομίζεται καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς πολίτας παριέναι καὶ συμβουλεύειν, οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους, ἐτὶ δὲ τοὺς καλῶς λελειτουργηκότας. οὐ γὰρ εὐλογοῦν ἵππως τῆς μὲν οὐσίας τῆς τῶν πλουσίων μετέχειν ὑμᾶς τὸ μέρος, τῆς δὲ διανοίας μὴ ἀπολαύειν, ὅποια ποτ' ἄν ἦν. καὶ τοι κιθαρωδῶν γε ἄπόταν ἀκούειν ἐμπλήσητε ἡ αὐλητῶν ἡ ἀθλητάς θεωρεῖν, οὐ καλεῖτε τοὺς πλουσίους οὐδὲ τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς επισταμένους καὶ δυναμένους, οὐχ ύμεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι.

2 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο λαυθάνει με, ὧτι τοὺς εἰν τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι σύνθες μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς Κυνικοὺς καλεῖν. οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐδὲν οἴονται διαφέρειν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἱκανοὺς εἶναι περὶ πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ σωφρονεῖν ἤγουνται, μανωμένους δὲ τινας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ταλαιπώρους εἶναι.

1 λαυθάνει με Goel: λαυθάνειν.
2 Reiske would add διαλέγεσθαι after πραγμάτων, Wilamowicz συνδιάλεγεσθαι.

These special services, called liturgies, were a form of tax imposed upon the wealthier citizens and involved the outlay of money for such public needs as the equipping and training of a chorus or the maintenance of a trireme. Some-
THE THIRTY-FOURTH, OR SECOND TARSIC, DISCOURSE

I AM well aware, men of Tarsus, that it is customary both here and elsewhere for citizens to mount the platform and give advice; not just any citizens, but those who are prominent and men of wealth, and particularly those who have honourably performed their special services toward the state.¹ For it is not reasonable, if I may say so, that you should have your share in the possessions of the wealthy but fail to profit by their intelligence, whatever that may be. And yet, whenever you wish to listen to harpists or pipers or to enjoy the sight of athletes, you do not call upon only men of wealth or your fellow citizens, but rather upon those who have expert knowledge and capacity, and this is true not only of you but of everybody like you.²

However, I am well aware also that it is customary for most people to give the name of Cynic to men who dress as I do;³ and not only do they think Cynics to be no better than themselves and incompetent in practical affairs, but they consider them to be not even of sound mind to begin with, but a crazy, times the liturgy was performed in niggardly fashion; cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1150-5.

² That is, citizens of all Greek states.

³ For the conventional appearance of the philosopher and the popular attitude toward it see Or. 33. 14 and 72. 2.

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σκόπευν δὲ καὶ καταγελάν ἔνιοι τούτων ἐτοίμως ἔχουσι καὶ πολλάκις μηδὲ συγώσῳ ἐπιτρέπειν, οὐχ ὅπως λεγόντων ἀνέχεσθαι.

3 Ἡτί δὲ φασίν ὡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ λίαν παρωξύνθαι πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ καταράσθαι γε, οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἔνιοις ¹ αὐτῶν, πάντων μὲν εὐλαβῶς καὶ μετρῶς τοῦτο ποιοῦντας, ὅτι μὴ κοινῇ κατὰ ² πάντων ἐβλασφημεῖτε, εἰ τί οἱ ἐνθάδε ἡμάρτανον, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ᾗς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι, εἴπερ κατηρᾶσθε, οὐ τῶν φιλοσόφων. οὐ γάρ ἔστων οὐδεὶς φιλόσοφος τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονηρῶν, οὐδὲ ἀν τῶν ἀνδριάντων περίη ³ γυμνότερος. οἱ δὲ δὴ τὴν πατρίδα βλάπτοντες καὶ συνιστάμενοι κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν πόρρω ποὺ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι μοι τοῦτο τὸν ὄνοματος.

4 Τι ⁴ ποτ' οὖν ⁵ ἐλπίσας καὶ τί βουλήθεις παρελήλυθα τοιοῦτος ὃν ἐν καιρῷ τοιοῦτῳ; μανίας γὰρ τοῦτο ἀληθινῆς. ὅτι μηδὲν οὗτος δέομαι παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὅφελείας ἕνεκα ἐσπούδακα. ἐὰν οὖν μὴ ἀνάσχησθέ μου, δῆλον ὅτι ὡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ἐμὲ, ζημιώσετε. καίτοι οὐ ⁶ προσήκει

¹ εἰνίοις Geel: οἰς.  ² κατὰ Reiske: μετὰ.
³ περίη Empirius: περ ἢ or ἀνπερ ἢ.
⁴ τί Pfugk: ὅτι.  ⁵ οὖν Empirius: ἀν.
⁶ οὐ deleted by Reiske.

¹ The special grievance to which he refers—like so many of the allusions in this Discourse—has escaped our knowledge. We do know that, for a time at least, philosophers played a
wretched lot. And some are prone to mock and ridicule such people, and all too often not even to endure their silence, much less listen patiently when they speak.

And furthermore, I hear that at the present moment you have a special grievance against philosophers, and indeed that you uttered curses against them—not as a class, to be sure, but in a few instances, displaying great reserve and moderation in so doing, inasmuch as you refrained from cursing philosophers in general if merely the philosophers in Tarsus were guilty of some blunder, but possibly failing to note that, though you cursed indeed, it was not really at philosophers. For no one is a philosopher who belongs among the unjust and wicked, not even if he goes about more naked than statues are. But those, in truth, who seek to harm their fatherland and band together against their fellow-citizens seem to me somewhat far removed from that classification.

Then in what expectation and with what purpose has a man of my stamp come before you at such a crisis? For such a step savours of real madness. I am here because there is nothing which I myself require of you, while on the contrary I have been much concerned to be of service to you. If, then, you refuse to bear with me, clearly it will be your loss and not my own. Yet is it not fitting, if you believe prominent part in the affairs of Tarsus. Cf. Or. 33. 48 and Strabo 14. 14.

2 Here and in the sentence to follow Dio dwells on the literal meaning of philosopher: lover of wisdom.

3 Cf. Or. 35. 3. Possibly Dio has in mind the Gymnosophists of India (Brachmanes); cf. Lucian, Fugitivi 6 and 7.
 Dio Chrysostom

γε ὤμην, εἰ ἴηγείσθη καὶ τῷ ὄντι μαίνεσθαι, δι' αὐτὸ τούτῳ ἀκούσω; μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε ἀετῶς μὲν καὶ ἰέρακας προσημαίνειν ἀνθρώποις τὸ δέον, καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων συμβουλὴν πιστὴν εἶναι διὰ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ τὸ θείον, ἀνδρὰ δὲ ἀφίγμενον οὕτως καὶ μηδαμόθεν ὤμην προσήκοντα μὴ κατὰ τὸ δαμόνιον ἥκειν ἑροῦντα καὶ συμβουλεύ-θεντα. καὶ τοῦ τὰ μὲν τῶν οἰωνίων εἰκάζειν δεῖ, τῶν δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἀκούσας συνεῖναι καὶ σκέψασθαι, εἰ σην ἀρά σαι δὲ ἡ ὁρήσιμον.

Βούλομαι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐμνήσθην, ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τι συμβαίνει εἰπεῖν, ὑ' εὐθὺς ἐνθέντη μου καταγελάων ἔχοιτε. ἀνὴρ Φρυξ ἐπὶ κτήνους ἐβάζετο. ὡς δὲ εθεάσατο τινα κορώνην, οἰωνισάμενος, οὐ γὰρ Φρύγες τα τουαλτα δευνοῖ, λίθοι βάλλει καὶ πὼς τυγχάνει αὐτῆς. πάνω οὖν ἧσθη, καὶ νομίσας εἰς ἐκείνην τετράφθαι τὸ χαλεπῶν ἀναρεῖται καὶ ἀναβὰς ἡλαυνεῖ. ἢ ἀν μικρὸν διαλπτούσα ἀνέσφηλε· τὸ δὲ κτήνος πτώθηκεν ἀποβάλλει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ δὲ πεσὼν κατάγνωσι τὸ σκέλος. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπῆλλαξεν, 6 ἀχάριστος γενόμενος περὶ τὸ σύμβολον. ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺ μοι δοκῶ τῆς κορώνης ἀσφαλέστερου βεβουλεύσας καὶ πρὸς εὐγνωμονεστέρους ἄνδρας

1 εἰ Jacobs: ἐνα, 2 τῶν Jacobs: αὐτῶν, 3 ἔχοιτε Emperorius: ἔχοιτε.

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1 Madness was early associated with divine inspiration and guidance.
2 The subject of omens and their interpretation.
3 Dio is making a frank appeal for the good-humoured
that I am really mad,\(^1\) that you should for that very reason listen to me? For you must not think that eagles and falcons foretell to mankind what is required of them and that the counsel derived from such creatures is trustworthy because of its spontaneity and its divine inspiration, while refusing to believe that a man who has come, as I have come, having no connection with you from any point of view, has come by divine guidance to address and counsel you. Moreover, the messages of birds of omen require conjecture for their interpretation, whereas, as soon as one has heard my message one can understand its meaning and can take it under consideration, if in fact it clearly is something useful.

But now that I am on the subject,\(^2\) I want to tell you something that happened in Phrygia, in order that at the very outset you may have an opportunity to laugh at my expense.\(^3\) A man of Phrygia was riding on an ox. And when he spied a crow, having made the proper observation of the omen (for Phrygians are clever at that sort of thing), he hurled a stone at it and, by good luck, struck the bird. Accordingly he was much pleased, and, thinking that his own ill-fortune had thus been diverted to the crow, he picked up the bird, remounted the ox, and rode along. But the crow after a brief interval recovered; and the ox, taking fright, threw the man, and he broke his leg in the fall. So that is the way he fared for having shown ingratitude for the sign.\(^4\) But I, methinks, have planned much more safely than the crow, and have come to men who are more sympathy of his audience, a purpose which he successfully achieves.

\(^4\) This sounds very like a fable of Aesop.
pecial υπομένει, πρώτον μὲν έκείνου, εἰ μὴ σαφῶς ἴστε, ἐπιδείξω, ὅτι δεῖον γνώμης ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ τοιαύτα ὑμῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐστὶν ὡστε βουλὴς ἄξια ἐναὶ καὶ πολλῆς προνοίας. Ἐπειδή, ὅτι μηδεὶς ὑμῶν δύναται ῥαδίως τούτων τὸ δέον παρανέσαι, οἱ μὲν ἁγνοὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος, οἱ δὲ τινὲς καὶ δειλὰ τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τῇ πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν ἴσως μᾶλλον ἐνοικοποιήσετε. Ἐπειτα, ὅν αὐτῶς ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τούτων, καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ πῶς καθόλου προϊσταμένοις τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἀπαντα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸς οἴκομαι συνοικοῦν χρόνον.

Τῷ μὲν γὰρ, ἀνεστρέψαις, συμβέβηκε μὲν πρῶτον εἶναι τοῦ ἑπτανούς, οὐ μόνον τῷ μεγίστῃ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν τῶν τῶν ἔν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ καὶ μητρόπολιν εἰς ἀρχὴν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τὸν δεύτερον Καῖσαρα ὑπὲρ πάντας ἐσχῆτε οἵκειος ὑμῖν διακείμενον, τὸ γὰρ δι’ ἐκείνων ἀπόχρησις τῇ πόλει συμβαίνει καὶ ἑκάστως αὐτῶν εἶνον ὑμῖν ἐποίει καὶ σπουδάζειν, ὅπως μείζονες ὑμῖν φανήσονται τῷ δι’ αὐτῶν πρὸς συμφορῶν αἱ παρ’ αὐτῶν χάριτε. Ἡ τογαροῦν ἃ

1 ὑμᾶς Morel: ὑμᾶς.
2 πράξας Emperius: πράξας ἃν.
3 προϊσταμένοις Reiache: προϊσταμένοις.

1 Cf. Or. 33. 17. Note that the word "περὶ τοῦ παρόντος" no longer bears the ancient meaning, "mother-city," but has come to mean very much what it means to us today, "city." "From the start" refers, not to the founding of Tarsus, but presumably to the creation of Cilicia as a Roman province in 68 B.C., from which time Tarsus seems to have played a leading role.
THE THIRTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

considerate than the Phrygian. For if I seem to you to be talking rubbish, you will surely not pelt me with stones but will merely raise a hubbub.

Well then, since you are silent and indulgent toward me, first of all I wish to point out to you one thing, in case you are not fully aware of it—that you need good judgement in the present emergency, and that your problems are such as to merit counsel and much foresight; secondly, that no man in this company can readily advise you as to the proper course of action, some being really ignorant of your true advantage and some being swayed by fear of you or of others, and in certain instances, I dare say, looking rather to their own interests. Next I shall indicate my own opinion with reference to these affairs and suggest by what course of action on your part at the moment and by what general policy in your leadership of the city, things will, as I believe, work out in all respects to your advantage for the future also.

For, men of Tarsus, it has come to pass that you are foremost among your people, not merely because your city is the greatest of all the cities of Cilicia and a metropolis from the start,1 but also because you beyond all others gained the friendly support of the second Caesar.2 For the misfortune that befell the city on his account naturally made him well disposed toward you, and eager that the favours received at his hands should appear in your eyes of greater importance than the misfortunes he had occasioned.3 Accordingly everything a man might

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1 That is, Augustus.
2 Loyal to the Caesars, Tarsus had opposed Cassius and his associates; but in 42 B.C. Cassius entered the city and levied a contribution of 1500 talents. Cf. Cassius Dio 47. 30–31.
tis an filous ontos kai symmáchoi kai tēlikainh
prosymián epitexzaménois kákeinos òmwn parésche,
chóran, nómos, tímēn, éxousian ton potamou,
tís thalattēs tís kath áutois. 1 óthen tachú meléwn
egéneto ò polis kai dia to òmē polútwn xronón
dielethei ton apò tís állosèos, katháper ois megalē
mēn nósw χρησάμενου, tachú 8' anapsfihlantes,
epieidhā týchousen 2 ikanēs tís metà tauta epime-
meleías, pollákhis mállon evéktēsasan.

9 Kalí mēn tá ge éfezēs, oux òs 3 oietai tis,
ánwse tìn polin to genésthai tinás tinw òmwn
hgemónon biaoun kai toutous epitexelthein òmēs.
pros méν
gi to fainhνaí tinw ónta 4 kai μη mónon éautōis,
àllá kai tois állois 5 boipthēsai, kai nè Día óste
tous aúthis dînérōteron ézamartáneis, sunevne-
ke to dikyn ékeinou òpouσèin' állos de tìn
polin építboonon époíhse kai dunamestérous òmēs
dokein fúseis kai rádious aítiaσai. to gar pol-
lákis ègkalhei ήdha potè éedose toû sukoφanteîn
sēmeion, állos te óptotan peri ẖgmemónon ò logos
h prós ẖgmemonas. ou gar tō pléon tī paschēn,
àllá tō μη èdēleiv árkhēthai tìn apéxethian
òpousoúsi glýnestein.

1 áautois Reiske: aúthn.
2 epitexhous Reiske: epituxhous.
3 oux òs Empirius: òs ouk.
4 After ónta Reiske adds òmēs.
5 After állois Arnim adds ikanouς.

1 After Philippi both Augustus and Antony showed special
favour to Tarsus. Among other things, independence and
exemption from taxation were granted the city. Cf. Cassius
Dio 47. 31 and Appian, Bellum Civile 5. 7.
bestow upon those who were truly friends and allies and had displayed such eagerness in his behalf he has bestowed upon you:¹ land, laws, honour, control of the river and of the sea in your quarter of the world. And this is why your city grew rapidly, and also because not much time had elapsed since its capture;² just as with men who have experienced serious illness but have speedily recovered: when they receive adequate care thereafter, they are frequently in better health than before.

Furthermore, as to subsequent events at least, contrary to popular belief it benefited your city when some of your superior officers proved to be men of violence and you proceeded to prosecute them.³ Certainly in order to show that you amounted to something, and could aid yourselves and others too—and also, by Zeus, to make their successors not quite so ready to do wrong—it was really beneficial for those men of violence to pay the penalty for their misdeeds; and yet, in another way, it made the city an object of hatred, and gave you the reputation of being naturally captious and prone to bring accusations rashly. For to make many accusations has ere this been held to be a sign of malicious prosecution, especially when the accusation involves men in authority, and is brought before men in authority. For people suspect that the hostility arose, not because you were treated too severely, but because you were unwilling to submit to authority.

² That is, by Cassius.
³ Cf. § 42. Dio appears to use the term ἰγαμώπος repeatedly in this Discourse with reference to ‘leaders’ who owed their authority, not to election, but to appointment.
10 Πάλιν τούτων ἑτερον πράγμα συμβαίν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τρόπον των ὑμῶν τούτως γέγονεν. οἱ γὰρ Ἀγαθοὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀνόητον ἐπενελόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὸ περὶ τᾶς ἀπογραφᾶς ἔξωμαρταντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπτασαν, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν καθ' ὑμῶν φθόνον καὶ τοιαῦτην τῶν ἡμῶν διάβολην εἰργάσαντο πρὸς τὴν πάλιν ὑπὸ ἐπαχθη καὶ βαρεῖαν ταῖς ἄλλαις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτον χρόνου· τὰ δὲ νῦν οἳ γε 1 Μαλλότωι διαφέρονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπαιντα ἄδικοιντες καὶ ὑπασινόμενοι, τῷ δὲ ἀσθενεὶς εἶναι καὶ πολὺ ἦττος 2 μᾶλλον τὴν τῶν ἄδικουμενῶν τάξιν αἱ λαμβάνοντες. οὐ γὰρ ἃ ποιοῦσιν ἐνιοῦ σκοποῦσι, ἄλλα τῶν ὅντες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄδικοιντας ἡ βλαζομένους ἐθέλουσιν ἐξεταζεῖν πολλάκις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰκὸς βιαζεῖσθαι τῷ δύνασθαι πλέον. εἰ γαρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπράξῃ τὶ τοιοῦτον οἶνον ὡς ἐκεῖνων νῦν γέγονε, πορθέων ἂν ἐθοκείτη τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἀποστάσεως ἀρχεῖν 3 καὶ πολέμου, καὶ στρατοπέδου δεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.

12 Ὅμοιαν δεινὰ πάσχομεν, ἐρεῖ τις, εἰ τούτως μὲν ἐξέσται ποιεῖν ὁ τι ἄν ἐθέλωσι καὶ τοῦτο ἀπολαύ-

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1 γε Reiske: τε.
2 del after ηττος deleted by Emperius.
3 ἀρχεῖν Casaubon: ἀρχῆν.

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1 A Cilician city some miles east of Tarsus, on the gulf of Issus, now Ayas Kalâ. Cf. also §§ 14, 47, 48.
2 The precise nature of the "registers" is unknown; but the incident is typical of the general resentment in Cilicia at the overlordship of Tarsus. Cf. especially § 14.
THE THIRTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

To continue then, another happening in which you were concerned has, in a measure, turned out like that just mentioned. For the people of Aegae, having resumed a foolish quarrel with you, being at fault in the matter of the registers, did indeed fail in that enterprise, but they made the dislike against you still greater, and they stealthily developed a prejudice against your city as being obnoxious and oppressive toward the other cities. And these instances, it is true, are drawn from times gone by; but at this present moment the people of Mallus certainly are at odds with you and, although wholly in the wrong themselves and guilty of insolence, yet because of their weakness and their great inferiority as compared with you, they always assume the air of being the injured party. For it is not what men do that some persons consider but who they are; nor is it the wrong-doers or those who actually resort to force whom they often wish to criticize, but rather those who may be expected to resort to force because they have the greater power. At any rate, if anything had been done by you such as has been done by Mallus in the present instance, people would think that you were sacking their cities and starting a revolution and war, and that an army must take the field against you.

"Well, it is a shame, then," someone will say, "if they are to be at liberty to do whatever they

3 On the river Pyramus, a short distance east of Tarsus. The quarrel involved certain territorial claims as well as the requirement that Cilicians come to Tarsus for certain religious and judicial purposes. Cf. §§ 43-47.

4 Presumably Mallus had seized the territory in dispute, territory which Dio calls worthless (§§ 45-6).
σουσίτης ἐρημίας τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἦμεῖς δὲ κωνδυνεύσομεν, εάν μόνον κινηθῶμεν. ἐστω δεινὸν καὶ ἐδικον ἀλλ’ οὐκ, εἰ τι μὴ δίκαιον πέφυκε γίγνεσθαι, δεὶ πρὸς τούτο φιλονικοῦντας αὐτοὺς περιβάλλειν ἀτόπῳ τινὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ προορᾶν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ συμβαίνον ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ περὶ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς, ὅταν ἐλάττων πρὸς πολὺ μείζῳ μάχηται. τῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔξεστι παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀκών ἀμάρτητι τι, μαστίγωνται τὸν δ’ οὐδεὶς ὥρᾳ πάνθ’ ἀ δύναται ποιεῖνα. τοιγαροῦν κακεὶ σωφρονοῦντος ἀνδρὸς ἐστι καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις κρείττονος τῇ δυνάμει περιεῖναι, τὰς δὲ πλεονεξίας ταύτας εἶν, καὶ ύμεῖς ἄν ἐχήτε νοῦν, τοῖς δικαίως περιεσθῆνε καὶ τῷ μεγάθει τῆς πόλεως τῶν φθονοῦντων, πρὸς ὄργην δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦντες δράσετε. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄθις, ὢσπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ προεθέμην.

14 Νῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπέεξειμι διὰ πλεῖόνος σκέψεως, ἢς φημι δεῖσθαι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καὶ ὤμοις ἢ μὲν γε τῶν Μαλλωτῶν ἀπέγεισα καὶ στάσις ἢπτον ὀφείλει λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς. τὸ δὲ Σολείς τούτος καὶ Ἀδανέως καὶ τῶν ἰσως ἄλλοις ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρύνεσθαι καὶ βλασφημεῖν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ὑπακούειν ὑθελείν, ὑποϊς ποιεῖ τοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς Ἀγαίους

1 ἀπολαύσομαι Reiske: ἀπολαύσοι.
2 εἶν, καὶ ύμεῖς ἄν Reiske: εἶν ύμεῖς.

1 Athletic scenes on Greek vases depict an official with arm upraised to administer punishment for infraction of the rules. On scourging athletes cf. Or. 31. 119.
2 § 7.
3 Soli and Adana were near neighbours of Tarsus, to west and east respectively.

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please and to derive that advantage from their very helplessness, while we are to be in danger if we make a single move." Granted that it is a shame and unfair, still, if some unfairness is the natural consequence, you should not through obstinacy on that point cause yourselves to be involved in an absurd situation, but should rather look to the future and be on your guard. For what is happening to you resembles what happens in the case of athletes when a smaller man contends against one much larger. For the larger man is not allowed to do anything contrary to the rules, but even if unwittingly he is guilty of a foul, he gets the lash;¹ whereas nobody observes the smaller, though he does anything within his power. Accordingly not only in athletics is it the part of a man of discretion and one who is really the better man to win by his strength and overlook these unfair advantages, but also in your case, if you are sensible, you will by justice and by the greatness of your city overcome those who bear you malice, and you will do nothing in anger or vexation. And on that subject more later, as indeed, methinks, I promised in the beginning.²

But at the moment I shall treat the other items that still remain, giving to them that fuller consideration which I claim is required by the present crisis. At any rate the hatred and rebellion of Mallus ought to disturb you less than it does. But the fact that your neighbours in Soli and in Adana,³ and possibly some others, are in a similar frame of mind and are not a whit more reasonable, but chafe under your domination and speak ill of you and prefer to be subject to others than yourselves—all this creates the suspicion that possibly the people of Aegae and
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

τάχα μηδὲ τοὺς Μαλλώτας παντάπασιν ἀδίκως ἀχθεσθαί, μηδὲ τοὺς μὲν φθόνοι, τοὺς δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους ἡλιοτριῶσθαι πρὸς ύμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἴσως εἴναι τι 1 τοιοῦτον περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑβρίζειν πως καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν τοὺς ἑλάττωνας. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστι μὲν οὐκ ἀλήθη, ταῦτα δ' ἂν 2 ύμᾶς ὡς ἀλήθη βλάψειεν.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰ 3 πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ύμῶν ὡς ἔχει λογίσασθε. πρῶτον μὲν ὑποψία μόνον ὑπήρχεν ὡς οὐχ ἦδεως ύμῶν δικειμένων, ἀλλ' ὑμως ἐκείνος τε ἐπολυτεύετο πρὸς ύμᾶς καὶ ύμεῖς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ φανερὸν οὐδὲν ἦν· ἀρτί δὲ ύμεῖς τε τῷ δοκεῖν ἑλάττωσθαι παροξυσθέντες εἰπατέ τι κάκευνος πρόχειρη καὶ γράφαι πρὸς ὅργην καὶ ποιήσαι τοῦθεν, ὅπερ μὴ πρῶτον.

16 Νὴ Δία, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς 4 καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἅλλοις ἡμῖν 5 ὡς δεῖ πρόεισιν. οὐ χθὲς καὶ 6 πρὸχνυ χωρίς ἢν δὴ ὡς καὶ χωρίς ἡ βουλή καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ καὶ 7 αὐτῶς οἱ γέροντες, ἵδια 7 τὸ συμφέρον ἐκάστων 8 δῆλον διὰ σκοποῦντων; ὥσπερ εἰ καταπλεύτων 9 ἵδια μὲν οἱ ναῦται τὸ

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1 τὰ Casaubon: τὰ.
2 ταῦτα δ’ ἂν Emperius and Koehler: ταῦτα δ’.
3 τὰ added by Reiske.
4 νὴ Δία, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς Casaubon: νὴ δία ἀλλὰ γε νὴ δία τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς M; νὴ δία ἀλλὰ γε νὴ δία διὰ τῆς πόλεως ύμῶν αὐτῆς UB.
5 ἡμῖν Capps: ύμῖν.
6 οὐ χθὲς καὶ Willamowitz: οὐχ ὡς.
7 ήδια Vallesius: διὰ.
8 ἐκάστων Reiske: ἐκάστων.
9 καταπλεύτων καὶ τὰ πλεύτων M, κοινῇ (or ἂμα) πλεύτων Emperius, πλεύτων Armim.

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1 The term στρατηγός occurs in the records of many cities of that day. His functions and authority were not always
of Mallus also are not wholly unwarranted in their vexation, and that their estrangement has not been due in the one instance to envy and in the other to a determination to get unfair advantage, but that possibly there is an element of truth in what they say about your city, namely, that it does somehow bully and annoy peoples who are weaker. For although these charges are not actually true, still they might do you the same harm as if they were.

Well then, consider also the nature of your relations with the general.¹ At first there was merely distrust, on the assumption that you were not agreeably disposed toward him; but still he performed his civic duties toward you and you toward him, and there was nothing visible on the surface; but recently you, irritated by the thought that you were getting the worst of it, made a statement, and he on his part was moved to write angrily and to put that anger into operation, a thing he had never done before.

'Yes, by Zeus,' some one may retort, 'but at least the business of the city itself and our dealings with one another are proceeding as they should.'² Is it not true that but a day or two ago the Assembly took one course and the Council another and that the Elders² still maintain a position of independence, each body clearly consulting its own self-interest? It was just as if, when a ship is putting in for shore,

the same. Cf. Mitteis und Wilcken, Grundzüge und Christomathie der Papyroskunde, s.v. ὁπατηγός. The precise status of the general at Tarsus is unknown. Was he chosen by the citizens or appointed by Rome? Was it to Rome that he wrote? Possibly he was at odds with the prytanis (§ 42).

² Poland, Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesen, p. 99, maintains that the Elders formed a distinct political organization both in Tarsus and in many other cities of that time.

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συμφέρον αὐτοῖς ζητοῦειν, ἵδια ¹ δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης ἵδια δὲ ὁ ναύκληρος. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πολλάκις ταύτα λέγεται, ἀλλ' ὅπως προσήκει μὴ ² διὰ τοῦτο παραπέμπειν. οὐ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτος ρηθὲν οὐδὲ ὁ μὴ πρὸτερόν τις ἥκουσε δὲὶ προθύμως ἀποδέχεσθαι, τὸ δὲ οἰκεῖον τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὸ χρείαν τῳ ἔχον.

17 Νῦ Δία, ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁμολογήκαμεν καὶ κοινῇ βουλευόμεθα. καὶ τὸς ἂν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ βέβαιον ἡγήσατο τὴν τοιαύτην ὁμόνοιαν, τὴν ὑπ' ὀργῆς μὲν γενομένην, τριῶν δὲ ὁμοίου ἡ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμιᾶς ἐν πόλει ἀσφαλῶς εἶποι τις ὁ ἀν ³ τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ πυρεττοῦτα. μὴ τοῖνυν μηδὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ὁμονοεῖν λέγετε, πρὶν ἄν ὑμῖν μάλιστα μὲν πολλαπλάσιος διέλθη χρόνος: εἰ δ' ὅπου, τοσοῦτος ⁴ ὅπου δὴ διεφέρεσθε ⁵ μηδ' εἰ ταῦτα ποτ' ἐφθέγξαοσθε ⁶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχετε ⁷ ὀρμηθε, καὶ δὴ νομίζετε ἐξηρῆσθαι τὸ νόσημα τῆς πόλεως. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀναρμόστοις ὀργάνοις ἐνότε τοι φθόνοι συνεφώνησαν πρὸς ὀλίγον, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀπάδουσιν. ἀδιπερ ὅπου τὸ μὲν τρώσαλ τι καὶ διελείπον ταχὺ γίγνεται καὶ πάνω ραδίως, τὸ

¹ ἵδια Valesius: διὰ.
² ἀλλ' οὖν προσήκει μὴ] προσήκει μὴ Μ, ἀλλ' οὖ προσήκει Reiske, ἀλλ' οὖ προσήκει με Wendland.
³ ἀν added by Dindorf.
⁴ τοσοῦτος Casaubon: τοσοῦτον.
⁵ δὴ διεφέρεσθε Reiske, δὴ διαφέρεσθε Euporius: μὴ διαφέρεσθαι.
⁶ εἰ . . . ἐφθέγξαοσθε Pflugk: εἰ τ' αὐτόποτε φθέγξαοσθαι.
⁷ ἔσχετε Pflugk: ἔχετε.

¹ Dio seems to be apologizing for comparing Tarsus to a ship and warning against treating the comparison lightly.
THE THIRTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

the sailors should seek their own advantage, the pilot his, and the owner his. For even if this comparison¹ is made repeatedly, still it is your duty not on that account to disregard it. For it is not that which is told for the first time nor that which one has never heard before which one should eagerly accept as true,² but rather that which is germane to the situation and may be put to some practical use.

"Oh yes," you may reply, "but now we have reached an agreement and are united in our counsel." Nay, who could regard as safe and sure that sort of concord, a concord achieved in anger and of no more than three or four days' standing? Why, you would not say a man was in assured good health who a short time back was burning with fever. Well then, neither must you say you are in concord until, if possible, you have enjoyed a period of concord many times as long as that—at any rate as long as your discord—and just because perhaps on some occasion you all have voiced the same sentiment and experienced the same impulse, you must not for that reason assume that now at last the disease has been eradicated from the city. For the fact is that with discordant instruments of music sometimes the notes do sound in unison for a brief moment, only straightway to clash again. Or again, just as the act of wounding and dismembering takes place quickly and quite easily, but the process

as a figure that is trite. The passage has caused some trouble, but the text seems sound.

¹ Dio may have in mind the saying of Homer, Odyssey 1. 351–2: "for men praise that song the most which comes the newest to their ears" (Murray, L.C.L.).
Διό Χρυσοστόμος

δὲ συμφύσαι καὶ συνάγαγεῖν χρόνου δεῖται καὶ
προσοχῆς, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔχει· τὸ
μὲν διενεχθῆναι καὶ στασίασαι πρόχειρον καὶ
dιὰ μικρὰ συμβαίνει πολλάκις, τὸ δὲ καταστήναι
καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν λαβεῖν διάθεσιν καὶ πίστιν
μᾶ. Δὲ οὖν ἐστὶν εἰσόντας οὐδὲ δύσκινας μετανοεῖν
εὑρᾶς ἔχειν.

19 Ἡσυχὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐ παρὰ μόνοις ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ μεγάλης τινὸς τοῦτο
δεῖται θεραπείας, μᾶλλον δὲ εὐχῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν
ἄλλως ἢ τῶν κυνωντων κακῶν καὶ παραστάσεων
ἀπολυθέντας, φθόνου, πλεονεξίας, φιλονεκίας,
tοῦ ξητεῖν ἐκαστοῦ αὐξεῖν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τὴν
πατρίδα καὶ τὸ κοινῆ συμβέρον εἰσαντα, συμ-
pνεύσαί ποτε ἱσχυρῶς καὶ ταῦτά προελέσαι. ὡς
παρ’ οἷς ἄν ἱσχύς ταύτα καὶ τοιαῦτ’ έτερα,
tοῦτος ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἐπισφαλεῖς εἶναι
καὶ διὰ μικρὰ συμπέπτεν καὶ θορυβεῖσθαι,
καθάπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ πνευμάτων ἐναντίων ἰσχυόν-
tων. ἐπεὶ τοις μηδὲ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθ’
ἀμονοσίων μηδ’ ὑμᾶς τῶν δήμων. εἰ γοῦν 
τις ἐπεξίοι πάντας, δοκεῖ μοι μηδ’ ἄν δυὸ ἄνδρας
εὑρέων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντας, ἀλλ’
ώσπερ ἕως τῶν ἀνάτων καὶ χαλεπῶν νοσημάτων,
δι’ ἀλλῶν εἰσθεν ἐρχεσθαι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ
οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μέρος εἰς δ’ μὴ κάτεισιν, οὕτως ἢ

1 οὐ παρὰ μόνοις Casaubon: συναραττομένοις οὐ συμπραττο-

2 φθόνου Reiske: φόνου. 3 εάσαντα Reiske: εάσαντας.

4 ἐναντίων Reiske: ἐναντίως.

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of healing and knitting together requires time and serious attention, so it is also in the case of cities: quarrelling and party strife are within easy reach and frequently occur for paltry reasons, whereas men may not, by Zeus, immediately arrive at a real settlement of their difficulties and acquire the mental state and the confidence of their neighbours befitting such a settlement merely by claiming to be repentant, nor yet by being thought to be repentant.

For not among you alone, I dare say, but also among all other peoples, such a consummation requires a great deal of attentive care—or, shall I say, prayer? For only by getting rid of the vices that excite and disturb men, the vices of envy, greed, contentiousness, the striving in each case to promote one’s own welfare at the expense of both one’s native land and the common weal—only so, I repeat, is it possible ever to breathe the breath of harmony in full strength and vigour and to unite upon a common policy. Since those in whom these and similar vices are prevalent must necessarily be in a constant state of instability, and liable for paltry reasons to clash and be thrown into confusion, just as happens at sea when contrary winds prevail. For, let me tell you, you must not think that there is harmony in the Council itself, nor yet among yourselves, the Assembly. At any rate, if one were to run through the entire list of citizens, I believe he would not discover even two men in Tarsus who think alike, but on the contrary, just as with certain incurable and distressing diseases which are accustomed to pervade the whole body, exempting no member of it from their inroads.

\[5 \varepsilon \pi \varepsilon \nu \Re t \kappa o : \xi \chi e \nu.\]
τραχύτης αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ μικρὸν δεῖν ἀπαντᾶς ἀλλήλων ἀπεστράφθαι διαπεφούτηκε τῆς πόλεως.

21 Ἡνα γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν ἅφω καὶ τὸν δήμον τοὺς τε νέους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας, ἔστι πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλγον ὁσπερ ἔσωθεν τῆς πολιτείας· τούτους δὲ εἰσώθαις ἔνιοι λινουργοῦσι καλεῖν· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν βαρύνονται καὶ φασὶν ὁχλον εἶναι περίσσον καὶ τοῦ περὶ χου ὁ στᾶσις αὐτῶν, ποτὲ δὲ μέρος ἱγοῦται τῆς πόλεως καὶ πάλιν ἀξιοῦσιν, όσοι εἰ μὲν οἷοσθεν βλάπτειν ὑμᾶς καὶ στᾶσεως ἀρχῶν καὶ ταραχῆς, διὸς ἐχρῆν ἀπελάσαι καὶ μὴ παραδέχεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. εἰ δὲ τρόπον τινά πολίτας ἐλαιν τῶ μὴ μόνον οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γεγονέναι τοὺς πλεῖους ἐνθάδε καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀλλήν ἐπίστασθαι πόλιν, οὔδε ἀτιμάζεις δήπον

22 προσήκει ὁυδὲ ἀπορρηγνυόντες αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ ἐς ἀνάγκης ἀφεστᾶσι τὴν γνώμην τοῦ κοινῆ συμφεροντος, οὐκεδιδόμενοι καὶ δοκοῦντες ἀλλότριοι. τούτου δὲ οὔθεν ἐστὶ βλαβερώτερον ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔδὲ ὁ μᾶλλον στᾶσις ἐγείρει καὶ διαφοράν. ὁσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὁ προσγενόμενος οἶκος, ἀν μὲν οἰκεῖος ἢ τῷ λοιπῷ σώματι καὶ συμφυής,

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1 τοὺς τε Ἐμπορίους: τε τοὺς.
2 ποτὲ UB] πάν M, πάλιν Ἐμπορίου.
3 πάλιν] πολλοῦ Reiske.
4 πολίτας Reiske: πολίτας οτ πολιτείας.
5 τῷ Reiske: τῷ.
6 προσήκει Casaubon: προσήκειν.
7 κοινῆ Reiske: κοινῇ.
8 διαφοράν Emporius: διαφθοράν.

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1 The phrase τοὺς τε νέους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας seems natural enough in such a connection, but see § 16 and Poland, Geschichte
so this state of discord, this almost complete estrangement of one from another, has invaded your entire body politic.

For instance, to leave now the discord of Council and Assembly, of the Youth and the Elders,¹ there is a group of no small size which is, as it were, outside the constitution. And some are accustomed to call them 'linen-workers,'² and at times the citizens are irritated by them and assert that they are a useless rabble and responsible for the tumult and disorder in Tarsus, while at other times they regard them as a part of the city and hold the opposite opinion of them. Well, if you believe them to be detrimental to you and instigators of insurrection and confusion, you should expel them altogether and not admit them to your popular assemblies; but if on the other hand you regard them as being in some measure citizens, not only because they are resident in Tarsus, but also because in most instances they were born here and know no other city, then surely it is not fitting to disfranchise them or to cut them off from association with you. But as it is, they necessarily stand aloof in sentiment from the common interest, reviled as they are and viewed as outsiders. But there is nothing more harmful to a city than such conditions, nothing more conducive to strife and disagreement. Take for example the human body: the bulk that comes with the passing years, if it is in keeping with the rest of the person and natural to it, produces des griechischen Vereinswesens, p. 95. Poland cites evidence to show that both groups formed political organizations.

¹ Poland, op. cit., p. 117, views the "linen-workers" as a gild. It may be remarked that weavers are said to be in relatively low repute in the Orient to-day.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εὐεξίαν ποιεῖ καὶ μέγεθος· εἰ δὲ μὴ, νόσου καὶ διαφθορᾶς αὑτῶς γίγνεται.

23 Τί οὖν σὺ κελεύεις ἡμᾶς; τοὺς ἀπαντᾷς ἀναγράφαι πολίτας, ναὶ φημὶ, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄξιοις, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὑπερθείσες, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ εἰσὶ, νομίζεις. οὐ μὲν γάρ, ἂν τις καταβάλῃ πεντακοσίας δραχμῶν, δύναται φιλεῖν ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἄξιος γεγονέναι· εἰ δὲ τις ἡ πένης ὧν ἡ πολιτογραφοῦντὸς τινος οὐ μετείληφη τοῦ ὅνοματος, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς παρ' ὑμῶν γεγονός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προγόνων, οὐ χάρις ἐστιν ἀγαπᾶν τὴν πόλιν ὤν ἡ γείσομαι πατρίδα, καὶ λίνον μὲν εἰ τις ἐργάζεται, χείρων ἐστὶν ἐτέρου καὶ δεῖ τοῦτο προφέρειν αὐτῷ καὶ λοιποῦ σὺν. βαφεῖς δὲ ἡ σκυτοτόμος ἡ τεκτών ἐὰν ἢ, οὐδὲν προσήκει ταῦτα ὑπερθέξει.

24 Καθόλου δὲ οὐ τούτῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ οἶδ᾽ ἐστι δεῖξαι προσήκον ἰσως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο σαφές ὑμῖν ποιήσων, ὅπως διάκεισθε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ νὴ Δία εἰ πιστεύειν ὑμᾶς ἄξιον τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει καὶ κατ᾽ ἀλλήλειαν οἰκεῖσθαι νῦν συμπεπνευκέναι.

1 ναὶ φημὶ omitted by M, deleted by Arnim.
2 ἀλλὰ μηδὲ Wilamowitz, ἀξιοῦν Casaubon: αὐτῶν.
3 ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀλλὰ μὴ Reiske, ἀμα μηδὲ Wilamowitz.
4 αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν.
5 ἡ πένης ὧν] πένης ὧν B, εἰς πένης ὧν M, ἡ πένης ἐστὶν Emperius.
6 λίνον Arnim: θεῦν.
7 ἡ added by Casaubon.
8 ταῦτα Casaubon: αὐτὰ.
9 οὐ added by Casaubon.
10 ποιήσων Reiske: ποιών.
11 ei added by Emperius.
well-being and a desirable stature, but otherwise it is a cause of disease and death.

"Well then, what do you bid us do?" I bid you enroll them all as citizens—yes, I do—and just as deserving as yourselves, and not to reproach them or cast them off, but rather to regard them as members of your body politic, as in fact they are. For it cannot be that by the mere payment of five hundred drachmas a man can come to love you and immediately be found worthy of citizenship;\(^1\) and, at the same time, that a man who through poverty or through the decision of some keeper-of-the-rools has failed to get the rating of a citizen—although not only he himself had been born in Tarsus, but also his father and his forefathers as well—is therefore incapable of affection for the city or of considering it to be his fatherland; it cannot be that, if a man is a linen-worker, he is inferior to his neighbour and deserves to have his occupation cast in his teeth and to be reviled for it, whereas, if he is a dyer or a cobbler or a carpenter, it is unbecoming to make those occupations a reproach.\(^2\)

But, speaking generally, it was not, perhaps, with the purpose of treating this special one among the problems of your city nor of pointing out its seriousness that I came before you, but rather that I might make plain to you how you stand with regard to one another, and, by Zeus, to make plain also whether it is expedient that you should rely upon the present system and believe that now you are really

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\(^1\) Tarsus was evidently a timocracy.

\(^2\) St. Paul was a tent-maker (Acts 18. 3), yet he claimed to be a 'citizen' of Tarsus (Acts 21. 39).

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\(^{12}\) οὐκεθαί ὑπ' Κασαυβων: οὐκεθε ὑπ'.
οικίαν γὰρ ἔγγυε καὶ ναῦν καὶ τάλαμα οὕτως ἀξίων
δοκιμάζει, οὐ τὸ παρὸν 1 σκοποῦντας, εἰ σκέπει
νῦν καὶ μὴ δέχεται τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καθόλου
πῶς παρεσκεύασται καὶ πέπηγεν, εἰ μηδέν ἐστι
25 διεστηκός μηδὲ σαθρόν. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε ἐφην τὸ
πρότερον αὐξήσαι τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο οὐχ ὅρῳ νῦν
ὑμῖν ὑπάρχον, τὸ ἐξαίρετον εὐεργεσίαν καὶ χάριν
καταθέσαι τῷ κρατοῦντι, δῆλον ὅτι τῷ μὴ
dεηθήναι μηδενὸς αὐτὸν τοιούτου· πλὴν ὅτι γε 2
μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔξετε πλείον πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἀφοῦ
ἐν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου 3 τότε δὲ εύνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν
ἐτύχετε, ταῦτα ὀφείλετε φυλάττειν τὸν λοιπὸν
χρόνον δὲ εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν αὐτίαν διδόναι
καὶ αὐτῶν.

26 Καὶ μηδεῖς με νομίσῃ ταῦτα λέγειν ἀπλῶς
ἀπάντων ἀνέχεσθαι παρανοοῦντα νῦν καὶ πάντα
πάσχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως ἐμπειροὶ τῶν καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς
ὀντες καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον βουλεύσθη 4 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
οὕτως ἀπαντήτε 5 τὸν παριὼν μὴ βαδίσω 6 ὑμῖν
μηδὲ τῶ ἐπέλθῃ μηδὲν εἰσηγεῖται, πάντα δὲ
εἴδοτα καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐσκεμμένον. καὶ γὰρ
ιατρὸν, ὅστις ἑξήτακεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοῦ κάμνοντος,
ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν λανθάνειν, τοῦτον εἰκὸς ἄριστα
θεραπεύειν.

1 τὸ παρὸν Casaubon: τότον.
2 εἰ after ye deleted by Emporius.
3 ἐκείνου Reiske: ἐκεῖνος.
4 βουλεύσθη Casaubon: βουλεύσθη.
5 ἀπαντήτε Casaubon: ἀπαντήτε ὧρ ἀπαντήτα
6 μὴ βαδίσω Emporius: μὴ δὲ βαδίσω.

1 See § 7.
united. Take, for example, a house or a ship or other things like that; this is the way in which I expect men to make appraisal. They should not consider merely present conditions, to see if the structure affords shelter now or does not let in the sea, but they should consider how as a whole it has been constructed and put together, to see that there are no open seams or rotten planks. And I must add that I do not find existing in your favour now that asset which I said had in the past increased the prestige of Tarsus—your having placed to your credit with the Emperor exceptional service and kindness—evidently because he has no further need of such assistance. However, the fact remains that you have no advantage with him over the other dominions; consequently what you obtained from Caesar on that former occasion through your loyalty and friendship you should safeguard for the future through good behaviour and through giving no occasion for criticism.

And let no one suppose that in saying this I am advising you to put up with absolutely anybody and to endure any and every thing; nay, my purpose is rather that you, being acquainted with your own situation, may not only take better counsel in the present instance, but may also in the future demand that the man who comes forward to speak shall make his proposals to you, not in an off-hand manner nor on the inspiration of the moment, but with full knowledge and after careful examination of every detail. For the physician who has investigated minutely the symptoms of his patient, so that nothing can escape him, is the one who is likely to administer the best treatment.
"Οτι μεν οὖν δεῖται τὰ παρόντα προσοχῆς καὶ βελτίωνος συμβούλου τῶν ἀπὸ τὴς τύχης καὶ δι’ ἀργύριον ἢ διὰ γένος παρίοντων, ἐνθένδε ὀράτε πως. ὅταν γὰρ μήτε αὐτοὶ βεβαιῶς ὁμονοήτε μὴθ' αἱ 2 πλείους τῶν πέριξ πόλεων οἰκεῖως ὑμῖν ἔχωσιν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν φθονῶσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἀπεχθάνωνται διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας ἀμφισβητεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὅτως γε ἐνοχλεῖσαι λέγωσιν, ὅ δὲ στρατηγὸς οὐρται μὲν τὰ βελτίω φρονεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ 3 ὑμᾶς, ἣναγκασμένοι δὲ ἢτε ητε 4 προσκρούσαι καὶ πρότερον ἀλλήλοις, ἐτι δὲ ἐπίθυσον τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς πόλεως νομίζῃσθε καὶ τῷ πολλά τῶν ὄντων ἀπολαβεῖν δυνῆσεσθαι· πώς οὖχι διὰ ταῦτα ἐπιμελεῖσαι καὶ περιεσκεμμένης γνώμης δεῖσθε;

28 Τί οὖν; οὐχ ἢκανοὶ ταῦτα οἱ πολῖται συνιδεῖν καὶ παρανέσαι; πόθεν; εἰ γὰρ ἤσαν ἢκανοὶ τὸ δέον εὐρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ προεστῶτες καὶ πολιτευόμενοι, πάντες ἄν ἂν καλῶς ἀπῆλαττων καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἦσαν κακῶν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτόματος ἀλλως ἐπέλθωσι τοῦ συμφορᾶ. ἀλλ’, οὐμαι, καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν πλείονα εὐροὶ τις ἢν συμβεβηκότα δεινὰ ταῖς πόλεσι δι’ ἄγνοιαν τοῦ συμφέροντος καὶ τὰ τῶν προεστῶτων ἀμαρτήματα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ παρὰ τῆς τύχης.

1 οὖ after συμβούλου deleted by Arnim, with M.
2 μηθ’ αἱ Emperius: μηθ’ αἱ or μηθὲ.
3 αὐτοῦ Casaubon: αὐτοῦς.
4 ἢτε Reiske: ἐστε.
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That your present situation, then, demands careful attention, and a better adviser than those who ascend the rostrum by chance or for mercenary reasons or because of family position, you can perceive in some measure from what follows. For at a time when your own harmony is not assured, and when most of the cities that surround you are not on friendly terms with you, but some are envious through long rivalry with you, while others are actively hostile because of disputes over territory, and still others claim to be subject to annoyance in one form or another, and when the general supposes, to be sure, that your feeling toward him is improving, although you and he have been compelled to clash with one another even previously, and when, furthermore, you are viewed with jealousy because of the very magnitude of your city and the ability you will have to rob your neighbours of many of their possessions—at a time like this, how can you for these reasons fail to require careful and well-considered judgement?

"Well then," you interject, "are not the citizens competent to appraise this situation and to give advice regarding it?" Absurd! For if the leaders and statesmen in the cities were competent to hit upon the proper course, all men would always fare handsomely and be free from harm—unless of course some chance misfortune should perversely befall one city or another. But on the contrary, in my opinion, both in former days and at the present time you would find that more dreadful things have happened to cities through ignorance of what is to their interest and through the mistakes of their leaders than the disasters that happen by divine will or through mere chance.
29 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν δυνάμενοι τῶν δεόντων ἰδεῖν οὐδ’ ἐπιμέληθέντες αὐτῶν πρότερον, μηδὲ κάμην ὄντες ἴκανοι διουκήσαι κατὰ τρόπον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἢ γένους συνιστάμενοι προσέρχονται τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι. τινὲς δὲ ταύτην ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἃν ῥήματα συμφορώσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν πολλῶν ὅπωσδὴ Ἰάττον συνείρωσι, μηδενὸς τάλλα ἀμείων ὄντες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διὰ μὲν τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῆς ἐνεκεν οὐ, λοιπὸν δὲ διὰ δόξας καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι πλέον ἔτέρω καὶ στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας καὶ πορφύρας διώκοντες, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέποντες καὶ τούτων ἐξηρτημένων τοιαῦτα πράττοντι καὶ λέγοντιν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ τινες εἶναι δόξοσιν.  

30 τουγαροῦν ἐστεφανωμένους πολλοὺς ἵδεῖν ἐστὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην πόλιν καὶ θύσιν ἐν κοινῷ καὶ προϊόντας ἐν πορφύρα. γενναῖον δὲ καὶ φρόνιμον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεμόνα ὄντως τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδος καὶ φρονοῦντα καὶ λέγοντα τάληθη καὶ δι’ ὑπὸ ἀμείων οἰκεῖται καὶ μετέσχηκεν ἀγαθῶν τινος ἡ πειθομένη πόλις, σπάνιον εὔρειν.  

31 Καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνει τρόπον τινα. όταν γὰρ οὐμνται τοὺς λελειτουργηκότας ἦ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔαυτοῖς δεῖν συμβουλεύειν,

1 ὅπωσδή Geel: ὅπως δή.  
2 δόξοσιν Arnim: δόξωσιν ορ δόξωσι.  
3 τάληθη Reiske: ἀληθῆ.  
4 τοὺς λελειτουργηκότας ἦ, τοὺς μέλλοντας Reiske: τοὺς μέλλοντας ἦ τοὺς λελειτουργηκότας.

1 Greeks had long awarded crowns as a mark of distinction for public service.
THE THIRTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

For sometimes men without any ability to perceive what is needful, men who have never given heed to their own welfare in the past, incompetent to manage even a village as it should be managed, but recommended only by wealth or family, undertake the task of government; still others undertake that task in the belief that they are displaying diligence if they merely heap up phrases and string them together in any way at all with greater speed than most men can, although in all else they are in no way superior to anybody else. And what is most serious is that these men, not for the sake of what is truly best and in the interest of their country itself, but for the sake of reputation and honours and the possession of greater power than their neighbours, in the pursuit of crowns and precedence and purple robes, fixing their gaze upon these things and staking all upon their attainment, do and say such things as will enhance their own reputations. Consequently one may see in every city many who have been awarded crowns, who sacrifice in public, who come forth arrayed in purple; but a man of probity and wisdom, who is really devoted to his own country, and thinks and speaks the truth, whose influence with the city that follows his advice insures better management and the attainment of some blessing—such a man is hard to find.

Yes, this is bound to happen, one might say. For when men think it is those who have performed liturgies or will some day do so who should counsel

² Literally, the privilege of a front seat.
³ An innovation of Roman times.
⁴ Cf. §1. Since the liturgies were assigned to men of wealth, it was easy to know in advance who were likely to be called upon for such service.
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καὶ ἣ τις γυμνασίαρχος ἥ δημιουργὸς τις, τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μόνῳ λέγειν ἐπιτρέπωσιν ἡ νῦν Δία τοῖς καλουμένοις ρήτοροι, ὁμοίων ἐστὶν ὡσπερ ἃν εἰ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐκάλουν μόνους ἡ τοὺς κηθαράδους ἡ τοὺς τραπεζίτας. τογαροῦν ἀνθρωποί παρίασι 2 καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ δοξολόποι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους θόρυβον κεχηροῖτες, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀσφαλοῦς οὐδὲ συνέντες 3 λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐν σκότει βαδίζοντες κατὰ τὸν κρότον ἀεὶ καὶ τὴν βοὴν φέρονται.

32 Καίτοι κυβερνήταις εἰ τις λέγοι αὐτοῖς ὡς δεῖ 4 ζητεῖν ἐξ ἀπαντὸς ἀρέσκειν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις, καὶ κροτουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι θέλωσιν, οὕτως κυβερνᾶν, οὐ μεγάλοι τινὸς αὐτοῖς δεὴσει χειμῶνος, ὥστε ἀνατρέψαι. πολλάκις γοῦν ἄγροικοι ἀνθρωποὶ ναυτιῶν ἡ γύναιον, ἕαν ἰδῇ πέτρας, γῆν ἐωρακέναι δοκεῖ καὶ λιμένα, 5 καὶ δεῖται προσεχεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν σύμβουλον τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸν ἄξιον προετάναι πόλεως φημι δεῖν πρὸς ἀπαντα μὲν ἀπλῶς παρεσκευάσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα δυσχερῆ, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους ὅργην, καὶ ταῖς ἄκραις ὁμοίων εἶναι ταῖς ποιοῦσαι τοὺς λιμένας, αὕτως ἀπασαν ἐκδέχονται τὴν βίαν τῆς θαλάττης, τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς ἀκίνητον καὶ γαληνῶν φυλάττουσι, κάκεινον

1 καὶ after τις deleted by Arnim.
2 παρίασι Casaubon: χαίροναι.
3 συνέντες Casaubon: συνέντες.
4 ὡς δεὶ Geel: ὡστε.
5 λιμένα Reiske: λιμένας.

1 An important liturgy at Tarsus. Antony gave the city a gymnasium and appointed Boethus gymnasiarch.
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them, and when, provided a man is gymnasiarch ¹ or demiourgos,² he is the only one whom they allow to make a speech—or, by Zeus, the so-called orators ³—it is very much as if they were to call upon only the heralds or the harpists or the bankers. Accordingly men come forward to address you who are both empty-headed and notoriety-hunters to boot, and it is with mouth agape for the clamour of the crowd, and not at all from sound judgement or understanding, that they speak, but just as if walking in the dark they are always swept along according to the clapping and the shouting.

And yet if someone should tell pilots that they should seek in every way to please their passengers, and that when applauded by them they should steer the ship in whatever way those passengers desired, it would take no great storm to overturn their ship. Frequently, you know, a seasick landlubber or some nervous female at the sight of rocks fancies that land and harbour are in view and implores the skipper to steer for shore. But I say that the counsellor who is a good counsellor and fit to be leader of a city should be prepared to withstand absolutely all those things which are considered difficult or vexatious, and especially the vilifications and the anger of the mob. Like the promontories that form our harbours, which receive the full violence of the sea but keep the inner waters calm and peaceful,

² Thucydides (5.49.9), Demosthenes (18.157), and Polybius (23.5.16) testify to the existence of such an official in the Peloponnese. At Tarsus he seems to have stood first in authority.
³ The phrase of ἑτοπες seems to signify a definite standing at Tarsus. It is frequent in Greek literature.
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δὲ ἐκκεῖοσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, κἂν ὁργισθῆναι ποτὲ θέλῃ κἂν κακῶς εἰπεῖν κἂν ὀτιοῦν ποιῆσαι, πάσχειν δὲ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τουιότων θορύβων, μήτε ἂν ἐπανήγαίη, διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαίρεσθαι, μήτε ἂν ὑβρίζεσθαι δοκῇ, ταπευνοῦσθαι.

34 Τὸ μέντοι γε παρ’ ὑμῖν γεγυμόμενον οὐ ¹ του- ούτων ἐστι. οὔδείς, ὡς ² ἐγὼ πωλθάνομαι, τῶν πο- λιτευμένων τούτω ἐξεῖ ³ προκείμενον οὐδ’ ἐστὶν ἐτὶ τῶν κοινῶν· ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ὁλῶς ἀφεστάσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ παρέργου προσίσων ἀπτόμενοι μόνον ⁴ τοῦ πράγματος, ὥσπερ οἱ αποιδὴς θυγγάνοντες, οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖ εἰναι λέγοντες ἀναθείναι αὐτοὺς ⁵ πολιτεία. κατ’ οὐδεὶς ναικιληρεῖν μὲν ἦ δανείζειν ἦ γεωργεῖν οὖδεὶς ἂν ἑκάνω σύνωντο πάρεργον αὐτὸ ποιοῦμενος, πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ πάντα ἐμπροσθεν τούτων τιθέντες. ἐν οὖ ⁶ ἂν εἰς ἀρχήν τινα καταστῶσιν, ἐν ἐκείνῃ μόνον συντόσσων ἀφασθαί τινος πράξεως, ὡσπὸς ἀπέκλησον ἐνδοξότεροι, τοῦτο μόνον σκοποῦστε. τουγαροῦν πρὸς ἐξὶ μὴνάς εἰςων ὑμῖν ἀνδρείας, πολλάκις οὖδέ ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως. ὡστε νῦν μὲν ἐστὶν οὕτως ὁ λέγων, κατ’ ἐκείνως ἐτὶ εὐθὺς ἀλλος, εἰδ’ ἐτερος· καὶ τὸν ⁷ πρὸ τριάκοντα

¹ οὗ added by Reiske.
² οὔδείς, ὡς Emperius, οὐδ’ εἰς, ὡς Reiske: οὐδ’ ἴσως or οὐδὲ ἴσως.
³ ἐξεὶ Reiske: ἐκείνω.
⁴ μόνον Casaubon: μόνου.
⁵ αὐτοὺς Emperius: αὐτοὺς.
⁶ κατ’ ἐκείνω Welz (who omits ἐτὶ): κἀκελέω.
⁷ τὸν added by Wilamowitz.

¹ That is, the stalwart leadership advocated in the preceding paragraph.

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so he too should stand out against the violence of the people, whether they are inclined to burst into a rage or abuse him or take any measures whatever, and he should be wholly unaffected by such outbursts, and neither if they applaud him, should he on that account be elated, nor, if he feels he is being insulted, should he be depressed.

However, what happens at Tarsus is not like that. No one of your statesmen, as I am told, holds that to be his function, nor is it so any longer with the commons; but, on the contrary, some persons stand absolutely aloof, and some come forward to speak quite casually, barely touching on the issue—as people touch the libation with their lips—claiming that it is not safe for them to dedicate their lives to government. And yet, though no one could be successful as a ship-owner or money-lender or farmer if he made those occupations a side-issue, still men try to run the government out of their spare time and put everything else ahead of statecraft. And some, in case they do accept office, seek therein only to engage in some enterprise out of which they may emerge with added glory for themselves, making that their sole aim. Accordingly for six months they are your 'men of valour,' frequently not to the advantage of the city either. And so at one moment it is So-and-so who makes the motions, and hard upon his heels comes someone else in quick succession, and then a third; and he who but one brief month

\[ \text{APPARENTLY the regular term of office at Tarsus and not restricted to the prytanis (§ 36). No wonder the administration of affairs was chaotic! On the prytanis, see also § 42. Aristotle, Politics 1305 a, states that Miletus too had a single prytanis.} \]
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ημερῶν λαμπρὸν καὶ μόνον φάσκοντα κηδεσθαι τῆς πόλεως οὐδ’ ἵδειν ἔστι προσίοντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,

36 καθάπερ, οἴμαι, τῶν πομπευόντων αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ὁφθήναι ἐπιθυμῶν κατὰ τοῦτο· ἔσπούδακεν,

ἔως ἄν παρέλθῃ, μικρὸν δὲ ἀποστάσις ἐλυσε τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἐστὶ καὶ ὅπως δήποτε ἀπέσων. ἔχρην μέντοι τὸν μὲν 2 πρυτανευόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς ἑκατέρους ἠγεῖσθαι μέτρων· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ νόμος κελεύει· τὸν μέντοι γε πολυτευουμένον τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κουιών ἐπιμελείας καὶ σπουδῆς μὴ μὰ Δία καίρον των ἐξαιρετῶν ἔχειν, καὶ ταύτῃ βραχὺν ὀὔτως, ἀλλ’ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀποδέσοσθαι καὶ ἀεὶ παραμένειν. νῦν δὲ ὄσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἀπογείοις, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν γνώφων πνεύματι πλέοντες, οὔτως φέρεσθε, ἄνδρες Ταρσεῖς,

οὗτος ἡ τοιαύτης πολυτελίας, οὔτε ἐκεῖνον τοῦ πλοῦτος βέβαιον οὐδ’ ἀσφαλές ἔχοντος οὐδέν. διαρκέσαι μὲν γὰρ ἄχρη παντὸς ἡ διαστήματος δίχα 3 οὐχ οἶαι τέ εἰσιν αἱ τοιαύται προσβολαί, πολλάκις δὲ κατέδυσαν ἀκεραίως 4 προσπεσοῦσαι. ἐδει δὲ τῶν οὗτως μεγάλην καὶ λαμπρὰν ἔχειν τοὺς ἄληθῶς προνοοῦντας. ταύτῃ 5 δὲ ὅσιοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφημέρων τούτων καὶ πρὸς ὅλγον δημαγωγῶν οὐδὲν ἐστίν ἀγαθὸν παθεῖν.

38 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων πολλὰ ἂν ἔχοι τις λέγειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἃφ’ ἡς ἐπεδήμησα ἡμέρας ὑμῖν γέγονα δημαγωγὸς, καὶ

1 κατὰ τοῦτο· Emperius: καὶ τοῦτο.
2 μὲν added by Emperius.
3 δίχα added by Capps; Casaubon deleted ἡ διαστήματος.
4 ἀκεραίως] ἀκαλρως Reiske.
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ago was resplendent and claimed to be the only one who cared for the city cannot be seen even coming to the assembly. It reminds me of a parade, in which each participant, eager to catch the public eye, exerts himself to that end until he has passed beyond the spectators, but when he gets a short distance away, he relaxes his pose and is just one of the many and goes home in happy-go-lucky style. However, while your president should regard his six months as the limit to his term of office—for so the law prescribes—still the statesman should not, by heaven, observe any set term for the exercise of benevolence toward you and of care and concern for the commonwealth—and that too a term so brief—nay, he should strip for action for that very purpose and hold himself in readiness for service constantly. But at present, just like men who sail with offshore breezes—or rather with gusts from the storm-clouds—so are you swept along, men of Tarsus, though neither such statecraft nor such voyaging has aught of certainty or of safety in it. For such blasts are not the kind to last for ever or to blow devoid of interruption, but they often sink a ship by falling upon it with undiminished violence. And a city of such size and splendour as your own should have men who truly take thought on its behalf. But as things go now, I dare say, under these transitory, short-lived demagogues no good can come to you.

Well then, on these topics, as well as on countless others too, there is a great deal one might say. But since I myself also from the very day of my arrival here have played the demagogue for you,

5 ταῦτα Ἐμπερίου: αὐτὴν or αὐτήν.
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ταῦτα ἐπιτυμῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὡμοὶ δὲ εἶπεῖν ἀπερ ὑπεσχόμην, ἀ γυγνώσκῳ περὶ τῶν παρόντων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν. ἔσται δὲ μοι περὶ πάντων ὁ λόγος. φημὶ δὴ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμοίων τοὺς ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει τυγχάνοντας, ὅποια δὴ τὰ νῦν ἐστὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν, οὕτω προσήκειν φρονεῖν, ὡς μήτε πάντα ἀνεξομένους καὶ παρεξόντας αὐτοὺς ἀπλῶς χρήσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἔξοψιας, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ θέλωσιν, κἂν εἰς ὅτι οὐκ ὑπουργοὶ ὑψίσταται ἢ πλεονεξίας, μήτε ὡς ὁλίγως μηδὲν ὀφειλόντας διακεῖσθαι, μήτε προσδοκῶν ὅτι Μίνως τοῖς ὕμων ἀφίξεται νῦν ἡ Περσεύς ἐπιμελησόμενος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ’ ἀπαν ἀποστήμων τοῦ βοήθειν αὐτοὺς ἄνδραποδῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ δυσχέρες, εἰ μηδὲν ὁκνος μηδὲ ὑποφίλα καταλειφθῆσαι τοῖς ἀγνωμονοῦσιν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ πάντα ἔξετάζειν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὕμων ἐστιν. ἡν γὰρ ἀλόγως ἐνιότε ἐγκαλεῖν δόξητε καὶ τοῖς ὕμων περιγενήτας. διὰ πολλὰς δι’ ἂν αὐτίας τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ. δέδοικα μὴ τελέως ἀποβάλλητε τὴν παροσίαν. ἡράτε ὅτε τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς κατηγορέων ἐψηφίσαντο.

1 ὡμοὶ δὲ εἶπεῖν Crosby, ὡμοὶ εἴπομ’ ἂν Emperius: ὡμοὶ εἶπεῖν.
2 αὐτοὺς Emperius: αὐτοῖς.
3 ἂν added by Emperius.
4 ἀποστήμων Wytenbach: ἀποστον εἶναι.
5 δόξητε Reiske: δόξετε.
6 ἀπλῶς Arnim: αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς.

1 Cf. §§ 7 and 24. The logical nexus may not be apparent on the surface. In the first sentence of the paragraph Dio seems to be dismissing the topic just treated; but then he recalls that he has not wholly fulfilled his promise. His
and that too though I find fault with men of that sort, I must notwithstanding express my opinion regarding your present situation, as indeed I promised to do.\textsuperscript{1} And first of all, your dealings with the general—but what I have to say will cover everything. Very well then, I say that men who find themselves in such a situation as yours,\textsuperscript{2} which of course is the common situation everywhere today, should be so minded as not, on the one hand, to submit to any and every thing and allow those in authority to treat them simply as they please, no matter to what lengths of insolence and greed they may proceed; nor, on the other hand, to be disposed to put up with nothing disagreeable whatever, or to expect, as you might, that some Minos or Perseus\textsuperscript{3} will arrive in these days to take care of them. For to refrain entirely from coming to one's own assistance is the conduct of slaves, and it is a serious matter if no remnant of hesitancy or distrust is to be left in the minds of those who deal unfairly. And yet for the populace to incur hatred and be constantly prying into everything is not to your advantage either. For if you get the reputation of making complaints now and then without good reason, and someone gets the better of you—and there are many reasons why this might happen—I fear that you may lose the right of free speech altogether. Pray consider what the people of Ionia have done. They have passed a decree prohibiting accusations against anyone at all.

calling himself a demagogue resembles the device employed in § 5 to win the crowd to his side by a touch of humour.

\textsuperscript{2} Apparently he refers to the situation of control by officials sent from Rome.

\textsuperscript{3} Minos is selected as typifying wisdom and justice, Perseus as having a special interest in Tarsus.

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dεί δὴ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἀπαντα ταῦτα προορᾶσθαι, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ τοὺς ἀπείρους ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι βαδίως ἄφεντας τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῖς 1 ἀνόπλους εἶναι τῷ λοιπὸν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν ποιῆσαι, μηδὲν ἀποσφάττη τις.

40 Ἐκείνο μεντοι καθόλου λέγω, τὴν τοιαύτην ἀνάτασιν ἡμᾶς συμφέρειν, καθμὴν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι διεγνωκότες εἰς ὑποψίαι ἐρχεσθε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀλλ' ἂν μὲν ἄν κρίνητε ἐξανρήσασθαι καὶ δοκὴ τοιαύτα ἀδικεῖν, ὅποτε παραπέμψαι 3 μὴ συμφέρειν, τούτον ἡς ἐξελέγχοντες παρασκευάζεσθε, καὶ τὴν γνώμην εὐθὺς ἔχετε ὡς πρὸς ἔχθρον καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα ὑμῖν. περὶ οὖ δ' ἂν ἄλλως 4 προνοήτε, ἢ 5 μηδὲν ἡ μὴ μεγάλα ἀμαρτάνειν ἡ 6 δι' ἢν δήποτε αὐτίαν μὴ νομίζητε 7 ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, τούτον μηδὲ ἐρεθίζετε μηδὲ εἰς ὅργην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀγετε ἢ ὅπερ, οἷμαι, τὰ βάρη ταῦτα, ἂν μὲν σφόδρα πιέζῃ καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι μὴ δυνάμεθα, ἔπτομεν ὡς τάχυστα ἀπορρῆψαι, μετρίως δὲ ἐνοχλούμενοι καὶ ὅραντες ἀνάγκην οὗτοι φέρετε ἢ τοῦτο ἡ μεῖζον ἔτερον, σκοποῦμεν ὡς κουφότατα ἐπέστασι.

Ταύτα ἐστι σωφρονούσης πόλεως. οὕτως καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν ὡμᾶς οἱ πλείους καὶ φοβήσεται τις ἂδικεῖν, καὶ οὐ 8 μὴ πλήθος ἂδικον μηδὲ

1 τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῖς] τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῖς ἄπλον Reiske, τὸ παλτὸν Wilamowitz.
2 ἀνάτασιν Valesius : ἀνάτασιν.
3 παραπέμψαι Reiske : παραπέμψειν.
4 περὶ οὖ δ' ἂν ἄλλως Stedlen : περὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ὡς.
5 οὐ added by Crosby: Arnim notes lacuna.
6 ἡ added by Reiske.
7 νομίζητε Reisko : νομίζειν.
8 οὐ added by Dindorf.
THE THIRTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

So men of sense should foresee all these contingencies and not, like men inexperienced in fighting, rashly abandoning the equipment they have, be defenceless from then on and unable to act at all, not even if an enemy threatens them with slaughter.

This, however, I declare as a general principle: that so uncompromising a policy on your part is in no way beneficial, a policy which, although you have no intention to proceed to active measures, nevertheless makes you incur the distrust of your superior officers; but on the contrary, when you decide that you are going to remove some one, and it is thought that he is guilty of such misdeeds that it is not expedient to ignore them, make yourselves ready to convict him and immediately behave toward him as toward a personal enemy, and one who is plotting against you. But regarding a man concerning whom you foresee a different outcome, if you believe him to be guilty of no misdeeds—or none of any importance—or if for whatever reason you do not believe him to deserve such treatment, do not irritate him or move him to anger against the city. In very much the same way, I fancy, if those burdens that we bear are very oppressive and we cannot endure them, we seek to cast them off as speedily as possible, whereas if we are only moderately inconvenienced by them and see that we must carry either the load we have or another that is greater, we consider how they may rest upon our shoulders as lightly as possible.

That is the policy of a prudent state. Under such a policy not only will most people be fond of you, but a man will fear to do you wrong, and men in general will not think you to be a wicked populace or an
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΙ

ἀλόγιστον ὁχλον ὑμᾶς νομίσωσιν, ἵνα μὴ των καὶ φορά χρώμενον. τούτι μὲν γὰρ δὲ ποιεὶ νῦν ὁ πρύτανις καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόητον ἢν ἄν, εἰ καὶ διεγνώκετε κατηγορεῖν· μηδέπω μέντοι καιρὸς ἢ φανερῶς οὕτως διαφέρεσθαι καὶ προλέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν ἐν καιροῖς ἀναγκαῖοι τῇ πόλει παρέσχεν αὐτὸν καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐδοξεῖ δυνόν ἥγεμόνων κατηγορήσας ἐφεξῆς, οἰ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι τοιούτου τινὸς ἑργον δειν αὐτοῖς. τούτῳ δὲ ὁμοίων ἔστων, ὥσπερ εἰ τις ἰατρὸν ἰδῶν εἰς τι τῶν ὁφελίμων φαρμάκων ἔκ μέρους τι μυγνύτα καὶ θανάσιμων, μηδὲν ἄλλο εἰδῶς, μήτε ὅπως συνετέθη μήτε ὅποσον δεῖ λαβεῖν, μμεισθαι βούλοιτο. τὸ μὲντοι αὐτο- σχεδιάζειν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ προεστάναι πόλεως ἡγεῖσθαι παντὸς εἴναι τοῦ ἐλπίσαντος οὐ πολὺ τῶν τοιούτων ἀφέστηκεν.

43 Ἔγω δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Μαλλώτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις εἰπὼν ἐτὶ παύσωμαι· καὶ γὰρ ἰκανῶς ἀνέχεσθαι δοκεῖτε μοι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους, λέγω δὲ Μαλλώτας, εἰ τι πεποιηκασων ἀγνωμόνως, ὡσπερ πεποιηκασι, τὴν ὄργην κατα- βαλόντες καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἣν ἐνομίζετε ὁφεί- λεσθαι ὑμῖν, αὐτοῖς χαρισάμενοι, περὶ τοῦ πράγμα- τος διακρίθητε τοῦ πέρι τῆς χώρας, τὸ φέρειν τά

1 νομίσωσιν Dindorf: νομίζωσιν.
2 λαμπρὸς Casaubon: λαμπρὸν.
3 δυον Arnim, δύο δῆ Emperius: δύο δ'.
4 φαρμάκων Reiske: φάρμακων.
5 δεί added by Emperius.
6 τὸ μὲντοι Capps, τὸ μὲν οὖν Emperius: μὲν.
7 τοῦ περὶ τῆς χώρας Capps: καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς χώρας, which Selden deletes.
unreasoning mob, a mob that acts on a kind of impulse and in headlong fashion. For this thing that your president is now doing\(^1\) would truly be altogether foolish, even if you were of a mind to bring accusations—though perhaps it may not yet be the proper moment to quarrel so openly and to make pronouncements; but remember that as soon as one of your fellow-citizens has in a moment of urgent need placed himself at the disposal of the state and gained a brilliant reputation by accusing two officials in quick succession, the masses think that they too must try some such exploit. But that is very much as if a man, on seeing a physician mix with some beneficent drug a small portion also of one that is deadly, and without any further knowledge as to how the medicine was compounded or how much to take, should wish to follow his example. Yet surely the belief that impromptu action in matters of highest moment and political leadership are within the competence of any one who has aspired to undertake it is not far removed from such behaviour.

However, when I have made a few more remarks regarding your dealings with the people of Mallus and with the other cities, I shall cease; for you seem to me to have displayed sufficient patience. Well then, with reference to the first—I mean the people of Mallus—if they have behaved at all senselessly, as indeed they have, lay aside your anger, graciously forgive them the revenge that you thought to be your due, and come to terms regarding your boundary dispute, believing that to endure such

\(^1\) We cannot be sure what Dio has in mind. Perhaps in the crisis to which he refers so often the *prytanis* has taken sides with the people against the general. There may have been talk of removing the general from office.
DIO CHRYSTOS

τοιαῦτα καὶ μὴ 1 ϕιλονεικεῖν, τοῦθ', ὡσπέρ ἐστίν, ἥγησάμενοι μέγα καὶ τῷ παντὶ κρείσητόνς ύμνῶν ἀνδρῶν,

44 ἄλλως τε 2 πρὸς τοσοῦτον καταδεικτέρους. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ κάρυτος μὴ Μαλλωτῶν ἐσομένων 3 ἀσθενέστεροι δόξετε. μηδὲ τοὺς παραξεύοντας ύμᾶς ἀποδεξάσθε, 4 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτοὶ δικασταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ τὸ πράγμα ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάσαντες ἀνευ πάσης ἀπεχθείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς 5 χάριτος κατάθεσθε, μὴ μόνον ἀποστάντες τῆς ἔριδος καὶ τοῦ ζητεῖν ἐξ ἀπαντος πλέον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ συγχωροῦντες τε καὶ παρέντες αὐτοῖς ὃ τι ἂν ἦ χέριν. ὡσπερ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἑλιστῶν ἐπανεῖτε τοὺς εὐγνώμονας καὶ βλαβημένας τινὰ 6 μᾶλλον αἰρουμένους ἡ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς τίνας, αὐτῶ καὶ κοινὴ συμβαίνει τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν.

45 Ἄμ εὖν οὖν θίνες καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ χωρίον οὐδένος ἄξια· τὸ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ τούτων πρόσωπος ἡ λυσθέλεια; τὸ μέντοι χρηστοὺς φαίνεσθαι καὶ μεγαλόφρονας οὐκ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅσον 7 νομίζεται δικαίως ἄξια· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀμλλάζει πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, καὶ τὸ 8 φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας ἄρχειν, καὶ τούτως περείναι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ κρατεῖν ἡ καλλιστή πασῶν νίκη καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη. τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀπαντος τρόπον ζητεῖν μαχομένους ὑπέρεχειν ἀλεξυπώνων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον γενναίων ἡπερ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὰς θίνες έμελλε Μαλλὸς 9 μείζων ἐσεσθαι

1 μὴ added by Reiske.
2 ἄλλως τε Casaubon: ᾧς ὡς ἄλλως or ὡστε ἄλλως.
3 ἐσομένων] ἕσομένων Selden.
4 ἀποδέξασθε added by Crosby, ἀκοὔετε by Casaubon.
5 αὐτοὺς Reiske: αὐτοῖς.
treatment and not to court a quarrel is, as in fact it is, a great achievement and one befitting men who are altogether superior, especially in relation to men so vastly inferior. For there is no danger that you will be thought weaker than any men of Mallus that the future may produce. And do not listen to those who try to stir you up, but, if at all possible, act as your own judges, and, examining the matter with care, apart from all malice or partiality for your own interests, make a settlement of the trouble; do not merely refrain from strife and from seeking to gain the advantage by any and every means, but concede and yield to them anything within reason. For just as you have words of praise for those in private life who are reasonable and prefer occasionally to submit to wrong rather than to quarrel with people, so also in public relations we find that cities of that sort are in good repute.

No, sand-dunes and swamp-land are of no value—for what revenue is derived from them or what advantage?—yet to show one's self to be honourable and magnanimous is rightly regarded as inexpressibly valuable. For to vie with the whole world in behalf of justice and virtue, and to take the initiative in friendship and harmony, and in these respects to surpass and prevail over all others, is the noblest of all victories and the safest too. But to seek by any and every means to maintain ascendancy in a conflict befits blooded game-cocks rather than men. It may be true that, if Mallus because of the dunes and the

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6 των Capps: των, which Wilamowitz deletes.
7 ὅσοι Reiske: ὅσον év.
8 τὸ added by Arnim.
9 ἑμελλή Mallós Casaubon: ἑμελλή μάλως or ἑμελλεν ἄλλως.
DİO CHRYSOSTOM

tῆς Ταρσοῦ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου νομήν, τάχα ἐδει ἡσυχαζειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. νυνὶ δὲ αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλως ἑστὶν ὑπὲρ ὧν διαφέρεσθε. τί οὖν οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι κατεφρόνησαν; ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ βελτίων ὑμῶν. ὑμεῖς δὲ γε βουλεύθηνε πρὸς τοῦ Διός. 2 ἀλλ' ἐγγυς ἡς ἱσόμερος ἐπιτιμήσας λόγῳ πέμψαντας αὐτοῖς 3—τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὑπερεχόντων καὶ φρονούντων—τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κεκυνθοῦν ὡς καὶ καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὴν εξουσίαν εὐθὺς καὶ νομίζειν ὑβρίζεσθαι μικροπολιτῶν μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἑστίν.

47 Ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὑμᾶς ἄξιον προσφέρεσθαι πρῶς καὶ κηδεμονικὸς καὶ φιλοτιμῶς καὶ μὴ ἀπεχθῶς. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκόντες ἀκολουθήσοντο ὑμῖν ἀπαντες βαυμάζοντες καὶ ἀγαπῶντες. ὃ μεῖζὸν ἑστὶ τοῦ θύειν 4 παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ δικάζεσθαι Μαλλών. 5 ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἠντινοῦν ἔχει ωφέλειαν, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ θυσίαν δεύο ς τοὺς Ἀδανεὺς ἡ τοὺς Λιγαίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ πον καὶ ἀπάτην καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἄλλως ἀνόητον.

48 ἡ δὲ εὐνοια καὶ τὸ φαύνεσθαι διαφέροντας ἀρετῇ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, ταῦτα ἑστὶν ὅντως ἀγαθά, ταῦτα ἑστὶν ἄξια ζήλου καὶ σπουδῆς. ὅ καὶ σκόπειτε, ὅς τά γε νῦν γέλως ἑστίν. καὶ εἶτε

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1 ἐδεὶ Selden: ἐδεὶ.
2 Arnim marks a lacuna at this point.
3 αὐτοῖς Arnim: αὐτοῖς.
4 θύειν Valckenaeer: εἴναι.
5 Μαλλῶν Casaubon, ἀλλοὺς Valesius: μᾶλλον.

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1 That is, "better than you are." Dio taunts his audience with expecting from their foes a higher moral standard than they themselves maintained.

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pasturage on the sand were likely to become greater than Tarsus, you ought possibly to show so much concern; but as it is, disgrace and mockery are all you stand to gain from the objects of your quarrel. "Why, then," you may ask, "did not the people of Mallus scorn those things?" Because they are no better than you are. But, by heaven, it is you who want them to be so.\(^1\) However, what I thought fitting was that you should send them messengers and file an oral protest—for that would have been the procedure of superior and sensible men—but to be unduly excited and to have recourse immediately to the assertion of your authority and to feel insulted is rather to be expected of small-town folk.

So also with reference to the other cities, I ask that you behave mildly, considerately, with regard to your honour, and not in a spirit of hostility and hatred. For if you do, all men will follow your leadership willingly, with admiration and affection; and that is of more importance than to have Mallus sacrifice in Tarsus and there conduct its litigation.\(^2\) For it is of no advantage to you at all to have the people of either Adana or Aegae come to Tarsus to offer sacrifice; it is merely vanity and self-deception and empty, foolish pride. On the other hand, goodwill and a reputation for superiority in virtue and kindliness—those are your true blessings, those are the objects worthy of emulation and serious regard. And you should pay heed to them, since your present behaviour is ridiculous. And whether it is a question of

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\(^2\) The 'allies' of Athens in the fifth century B.C. had to settle inter-state disputes in Athenian courts. They were not, however, compelled to worship in Athens. For the quarrel between Aegae and Adana and Tarsus, see also Or. 33. 51, and 34. 10 and 14.
Αλγαῖοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶτε ᾿Απαμεῖς πρὸς ᾿Αντιοχεῖς εἶτε ἐπὶ τῶν πορρωτέρω Σμυρναῖοι πρὸς ᾿Εφεσίους ἐρέσουσι, περὶ ὅνου σκιάς, φασί, διαφέρονται. τὸ γὰρ προεστάναι τε καὶ κρατεῖν ἄλλων ἐστίν.

49 Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦν ποτε ᾿Αθηναῖοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ξηλοτυπία, καὶ τὸ γεί πρῶτον ἔγοντο οἱ Λάκωνες, ἐίτε συνέβη πρὸς τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους μᾶλλον ἀποκλίναι τοὺς ᾿Ελλήνας μετά τὰ Μηδικά. τί όν τὸ Σπαρτιάτης; καὶ τὸν νησιώτην καὶ τὸν ᾿Ιωνα καὶ τὸν ᾿Ελλησπόντιον ἄφεις αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνιζε, καὶ τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ἑώρα, σαφῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας οὐδὲν δεῖ περὶ πλείους ποιεῖσθαι. τοὺς γαρον μάλιστα εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον.

50 τοῖς δὲ ᾿Αθηναίοις συνέβη, μέχρι μὲν οἰκεῖως πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ πόλεις εἶχον 2 καὶ 3 κατ’ εὐνοιαν ἤγοντο, εὐδαιμονεῖν, 4 μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ, ὡς ἐγκληματα καὶ φθόνος αὐτοῖς συνελέγη καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἄρχειν ἥξιον, πολλά καὶ δυσχερὴ παθεῖν καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ἀπολέσαι τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν εὐσφημίαν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐσχύν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τελευταῖον ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐχθροῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις 5 ὀρμοῖς, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινοι

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1 ge Casaubon: τε.
2 εἶχον Emperius: ἔσχον.
3 καὶ added by Selden.
4 εὐδαιμονεῖν added by Crosby; Selden noted the lacuna.
5 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Reiske: τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

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1 Dio seems to mean the Apamea and Antioch of Commagenê, north-east of Tarsus. The precise nature of their dispute is unknown; the same holds good regarding Smyrna and Ephesus.
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Aegaeans quarrelling with you, or Apameans with men of Antioch,¹ or, to go farther afield, Smyrnaeans with Ephesians, it is an ass's shadow, as the saying goes, over which they squabble;² for the right to lead and to wield authority belongs to others.³

Yes, there was a time in days gone by when jealous rivalry existed also between Athens and Sparta; and, at first, Sparta held the ascendancy, and then it came to pass that the Greeks inclined rather toward Athens, after the Persian wars. What, then, did the Spartan do? Abandoning his claims upon the islander, the Ionian, and the Greek of Hellespont, he proceeded to teach himself self-control and confined his attention to the affairs of Sparta, understanding clearly that nothing should be held more dear than law and order. Accordingly Sparta achieved its greatest prosperity during that period. And as for the Athenians, it so happened that, as long as the cities were on friendly terms with them, and the Athenians behaved kindly as their leaders, they too prospered; but afterwards, when accusations and ill-will toward them accumulated and they saw fit to rule unwilling subjects, they suffered many disagreeable things. And the first thing of all to happen was to lose their commendation and good repute, and next to lose their power and wealth, and finally to become subject to their foes. And the Spartans had a similar experience: when they too

² A proverbial saying used by Sophocles, Plato, Aristophanes and others. The proverb seems to have originated in an amusing tale recorded by pseudo-Plutarch (Vitae X. Oratorum, p. 401) and included among the fables of Aesop. Vid. Halm, Fabulæ Aesopicæ, 339.
³ Rome, after all, was supreme.
πάλιν εἶχον τὰ 1 τῆς ἄρχης, ἀποστάντες τῆς πρῶτερον 2 γνώμης, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. 51 καίτοι τὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνων εἶχεν ἀληθῆ δύναμιν καὶ μεγάλας ὁφελείας, εἰ δεὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας οὕτως καλεῖν· τὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν ἀμφισβητήματα καὶ τὰ αὐτίκα τῆς ἀπευθείας κἂν αἰσχυνθήναι μοι δοκεῖ τις ἄν ἰδὼν· ἔστι γὰρ ὁμοδούλων πρὸς ἁλλήλους ἐρξόντων περὶ δόξης καὶ πρωτείων.

Τῇ οὖν; οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, περὶ οὗ χρή σπουδάζειν· ἔστι τὰ μέγιστα καὶ μόνα σπουδῆς ἀξία καὶ τότε ὄντα καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ἔσομενα· ἤν οὐκ ἔχει δήποτεν τις ἐξουσίαν οὔτε 3 ἀλλο παρασχεῖν οὔτε 4 ἀφελεῖσθαι 5 τὸν κτησάμενον, ἀλλ' ἂν ἔστων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἢ κἂν πόλις· 7 ὑπὲρ δὲν ἰσως μακρότερον

52 λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. καίτοι μὲ οὗ λέληθεν ὅτι τοὺς φιλοσόφους πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν ἐκλύειν ἄπαντα καὶ ἀνέναι τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων σπουδὰς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βλάπτει σὰρ σᾶς· ἃστερ εἰ τις τῶν μουσικῶν σκοπεῖν 8 βούλοιτο 9 ἀρμοζόμενον, κάπετευ 10 ἀνάντα ὀρῶν 11 τῶν φθόγγων τινᾶς καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρους

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1 εἶχον τὰ] εἶχοντο Reiske.
2 αὐτοῖς after πρῶτερον deleted by Dindorf.
3 οὔτε Εμερίου: οὐδέ. 4 οὔτε Εμερίου: οὐδέ.
5 δύναται after ἀφελεῖσθαι deleted by Cobet.
6 κτησάμενον Εμερίου: χρησάμενον.
7 πόλις Dindorf: πολιτῆς.
8 σκοπεῖν added by Crosby, ἰδεῖν by Reiske.
9 After βούλοιτο Reisko conjectures λῦραν.
10 κάπετευ' Crosby: ἐπευτ'.
11 ὀρῶν added by Reiske.

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1 A fair summary of the course of Greek affairs during the century following the Persian wars.

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once more held the reins of empire, departing from
their own former principle, they found themselves in
the same position as the Athenians.1 And yet those
states of old possessed real power and great utility,
if it be correct to call self-seeking by that name;
whereas anyone seeing the disputes and occasions
for hostility of the present time would, methinks,
blush for shame, for in reality they make one think
of fellow-slaves quarrelling with one another over
glory and pre-eminence.

What then? Is there nothing noble in this our
day to merit one’s serious pursuit? The greatest
things, yes the only things worthy of serious
pursuit, were present then, are present now, and
always will be; and over these no man, surely,
has control, whether to confer them on another or to
take them away from him who has them, but, on the
contrary, they are always at one’s disposal, whether
it be a private citizen or the body politic. But the
discussion of these matters perhaps would take too
long. And yet I am not unaware that the philosophers
are believed by many to be engaged in relaxing
everything and in slackening the serious pursuit
of practical affairs and on that account in working
more harm than good.2 It is just as if one should
wish to watch a musician tuning his instrument, and
then, seeing the same man slacken some strings3

2 This criticism of the philosopher is as old as Plato, who
devotes much space in his Republic to the defence of real
philosophers as practical men. See especially Republic 473 D,
487 B–489 D. Cf. Plutarch, Moralia 776 C, for a vigorous
refutation of the charge of impracticality.
3 For this unusual meaning of ἄκρογγα, cf. Or. 10. 19.
Philostratus, Apollonius 5. 21, uses that word of the ‘stops’
of a pipe.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

53 ἐπιτείνοντα σκώψει 1 τὸν αὐτὸν. 2 ἔχει δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράγματα ὅτως. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πονηραὶ καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς σπουδαὶ καὶ φιλοτιμοῦμεν μᾶλλον εἰσὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐντεταμέναι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ αὑτοὶ 3 δι’ αὐτοὺς ἀπορρήγγυνναι πάντες· αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν καλλίστων ὅλως ἐκλύονται. θεάσασθε δ’ εὐθέως, εἰ βουλεσθε, τὴν τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἐπίτασιν, τὴν τῆς ἀκρασίας.

Ἀλλ’ ἔοικα γὰρ πόρρω προάγειν, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς γαλήναις μακρότερον νηχόμενοι, τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορᾶν.

1 ἐπιτείνοντα σκώψει Crosby, ἐπιτείνοντα σκώψαι Arnim, ἐντείνοντα σκώψει Soldon: ἐντείνοντας ὅψει.
2 τὸν αὐτὸν] τὸν τὸνον Capps, ὡς τοῦναντίον αὑτῷ πράττοντα Arnim.
3 αὐτοὶ added by Capps.
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and tighten others again, should scoff at him. That in fact is precisely the situation in civic matters. For the base and unprofitable pursuits and ambitions have become more tense than is fitting, and all who are swayed by them, through no one’s fault but their own, become broken men, as one may say; but those pursuits and ambitions which aim at what is noblest are wholly relaxed. And consider, for example, if you will, the tension that marks covetousness, that marks incontinence!

But I seem to be going too far afield, and, like those who in calm weather swim too far, I seem not to foresee what lies ahead.¹

¹ This sudden termination of the theme is a bit perplexing. The figure contained in Dio’s concluding sentence suggests the fear of ‘stormy weather.’ Possibly he sensed that his hearers were getting restless.
THE THIRTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE, DELIVERED IN CELAENAE IN PHRYGIA

Celaenae, as Dio himself tells us, was situated at the headwaters of the Maeander in the heart of Phrygia, on the main highway between East and West and was the focus of five other well-marked natural routes (Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia). From Herodotus (7. 26) we learn that Xerxes paused there on his way to Greece; and there too the younger Cyrus tarried thirty days in 401 B.C. while assembling his forces (Xenophon, Anabasis 1. 2. 5–8). Despite its manifest importance, Celaenae does not appear again in literature until Roman times. In fact Strabo, who devotes considerable space to the site (12. 8. 15–18), uses the name Apamea rather than Celaenae. He explains that Antiochus Soter (280–261 B.C.), on moving the inhabitants a short distance away, renamed the settlement in honour of his mother. According to Ramsay, the old name was revived in the second century of our era, presumably in consequence of a ‘re-invigorated national sentiment.’

Arnim locates this Discourse in the same general period of Dio's career as the three that precede it. We are in the dark regarding the occasion of its delivery. Dio seems to be quite at his ease and enjoys the opportunity to introduce himself and to flatter and amuse his audience. Much of what he says was doubtless uttered with a twinkle of the eye.
35. ΕΝ ΚΕΛΑΙΝΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ

1 Οὐκ ἐπιδειξόμενος ὑμῖν, ὥς ἄνδρες, παρῆλθον οὔτε ἁγιορίον παρ’ ὑμῶν δεόμενος οὔτε ἔπαινον προσδεχόμενος. ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ οὐτός ἵκανως παρεσκευασμένος, ὡστε ὑμῖν ἀρέσαι λέγων, οὔτε ὑμᾶς οὕτως ἔχοντας, ὡστε προσδειναν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. πλείστον δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς ὑμετέρας βουλήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς πέφυκα καὶ φαύλως διαλέγεσθαι καὶ οὖν ἄμενον τῶν τυχόντων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἑαυτοὶς τῶν ἑαυτῶν καὶ περιττῶς ἐπιθυμεῖτε ἄκοινεν καὶ μόνων ἀνέχεσθε τῶν πάνω δεινῶν.

2 Οὐ δὴ 1 τοῦτον χάριν προῆλθον, ἵνα με θαυμάσῃ τε; οὔ γὰρ ἐστιν ὅτι ἂν ἐγὼ χαυμασθείην ὑφ’ ὑμῶν, οὔτε ἂν ἀληθεστερὰ λέγων τῶν Σιβύλλης ἡ Βάκιδος. ἀλλὰ ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑποβλέπῃ με μηδὲ πυνθάνηται παρ’ ἐστέρων ὅστις εἰμὶ καὶ ὅποθεν ἔλθομι. νῦν γὰρ ἰσως ὑπονοοῦσιν εἴναι με τῶν σοφῶν ἄνθρώπων καὶ πάντα εἰδότων, γελοίως καὶ ἀτόπως τεκμηρίως χαράμενοι, τῷ κομαν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτίκον ὑπῆρχεν ἄρετὴς καὶ σωφροσύνης, οὐδεμᾶς ἂν ἐδείτο μεγάλης οὐδὲ χαλεπῆς δυνάμεως τὰ τῶν ἄνθρώπων.

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1 οὐ δὴ Selden: οὔτε.

1 The Sibyl and Bacis occur together also in Or. 13. 36.
2 Regarding his long hair, cf. also 12. 15 and 72. 2.

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Gentlemen, I have come before you not to display my talents as a speaker nor because I want money from you, or expect your praise. For I know not only that I myself am not sufficiently well equipped to satisfy you by my eloquence, but also that your circumstances are not such as to need my message. Furthermore, the disparity between what you demand of a speaker and my own powers is very great. For it is my nature to talk quite simply and unaffectedly and in a manner in no wise better than that of any ordinary person; whereas you are devoted to oratory to a degree that is remarkable, I may even say excessive, and you tolerate as speakers only those who are very clever.

Nay, my purpose in coming forward is not to gain your admiration—for I could not gain that from you even were I to utter words more truthful than those of the Sibyl or of Bacis—but rather that no one may look askance at me or ask others who I am and whence I came. For at present quite possibly people suspect that I am one of your wiseacres, one of your know-it-alls, basing their suspicion upon a ludicrous and absurd bit of evidence, namely, that I wear my hair long. For if long hair were accountable for virtue and sobriety, mankind would need no great power nor one difficult of attainment.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

3 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ δεδομα μη οὔδὲν ἢ τοῖς ἄνοητοις ὀφελος τοῦ κομάν, 1 οὔδ' ἢ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτὴν γένωνται δασεῖς, καθάπερ 'Αριστομένη τῶν Μεσσηνίων φασιν, ὃς πλείστα Λακεδαιμονίως πράγματα παρέσχε, καὶ πολλάκις ἄλοις ἄπεδρα παρ' αὐτῶν, 2 τοῦτον, ἔπει δὴ ποτε ἀπέθανεν, οὔτως ἔχοντα εὑρεθῆναι. φημὶ τούνων οὔδὲν ὀφελος εἶναι τοῖς γυμνῆσι τούτοις, οὔδ' ἢν πελτασταὶ γένωνται, 3 πρὸς γε τὸ δίκαιον καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀληθῆ καὶ φρόνησιν, οὔδ' ἢν ἑτα μᾶλλον ἀποδύσωνται καὶ γυμνοὶ περιτρέχωσι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ τὴν Μήδαν καὶ Ἀράβων στολήν λάβοντο, ὡσπερ οὔδὲ αὐλεῖν ἱκανοὶ ἐσονται τὰ τῶν αὐλητῶν ἐνδεδυκότες. οὔδὲ γὰρ τοὺς ὅνους ἵππους γενέσθαι δυνατόν, οὔδ' ἢν ἑτα πλεῖον τὰς βίνας ἀνατμηθῶσιν, οὔδ' ἢν τὰς γνάθους τρήσαντες αὐτῶν ψάλιον ψάλιον 4 ἐμβάλωσιν, οὔδὲ ἢν ἀφέλῃ τις τὰ σάγματα. 5 ἄλλα ὁγκήσονται πρὸ τῶν τειχών πάνυ μέγα καὶ τὰλλα ποιήσουσι τὰ πρέποντα αὐτοῖς.

4 Ὡστε μηδεὶς ἐνεκα τοῦ σχήματος νομισάτω

1 ωσπερ οὐκ ἐστιν (just as in fact they don't) after κομάν deleted by Emperius.
2 παρ' αὐτῶν] deleted by Cobet.
3 οὔδ' ἢν πελτασταὶ γένωνται suspected by Emperius, deleted by Arnim and Bude.
4 ψάλιον Valesius: ψέλιον.
5 σάγματα Casaubon: ἀγάλματα.

1 A romantic hero commonly associated with the second Messenian war. Pausanias tells his exploits at much length (4. 14. 7 to 4. 24. 3). For the portent of the shaggy heart, see Pliny, Nat. Hist. 11. 184–5.

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However, I fear that fools get no good from their long hair, not even if they get shaggy to the very heart—as in the case of Aristomenes, the Messenian, who caused a deal of trouble for the Spartans, and who, though taken captive many times, always managed to escape from them—he, we are told, when at last he met his death, was found to be in that condition. I claim, therefore, that these nude philosophers get no good from their shagginess—not even if they should join the light infantry—at least with regard to justice and true sobriety and wisdom, nay, not even if they should strip off still more clothing and run about stark naked in winter time, or else adopt the garb of Medes and Arabs; just as they will not acquire proficiency with the flute by merely donning the costume of flautists. Neither can asses become horses even if they have their nostrils slit still more, or even if they have their jaws bored and a curb-chain placed between their teeth, or even if their pack-saddles are taken from them; nay, they will still bray before the walls right lustily and perform the other acts that befit their nature.

Therefore, let no one suppose that my guise

2 Cf. Or. 34. 3, where reference is made to the scanty clothing of certain would-be philosophers. In the present passage he seems to be toying with the double meaning inherent in ἔκμυθες: ‘naked’ (or lightly clad) and ‘light-armed soldiers.’ This accounts for the following clause, which contains the term πελατστή, its synonym. The word-play is aimed to make his victims still more ludicrous. Emperius, however, was suspicious of that second clause.

3 That is, go to the other extreme and muffle up.

4 Phrygia was the home of the flute.

5 Asses would be familiar objects at such a trading centre as Celaenae.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

diaphérein με μηδενὸς μηδὲ τοῦτῳ πεποιθότα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ νατίον ὅραν, ἐὰν μὲν ἥσυχιάν ἁγίων καθάπαξ καὶ διαλέγωμαι μηδενί, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὑπονοεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἂν, οἴμαι, σεμνονόμενον, ὡς σπουδαῖον κρύπτοντα. πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐδαυμάσθησαν, τὸ σιγάν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καταστάς μηδενὸς ἁμενον λέγων φαινομαι τῶν κατήλων καὶ τῶν ὀρεικόμων, οὐκ ἐνοχλήσειν, σαφῶς αὐτοὺς ἐωρακότας ὅποιος εἴμι.

5 Ἐφεδον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἰδεῖν ἐστι γνωνόμενον· οἶον ἐπειδᾶ πνεύματος ἐχεῖν τυνά �� τοῦτο αὐτό, ὁ τυγχάνονσι ζητοῦντες, προσάει καὶ ἀνερευνώσι. ἔως οὖν περιστελῆ καὶ μὴ ἐθέλῃ δεικνύειν, ἔτοι μᾶλλον ὑπονοούσων· ἔδε παραχρῆμα ἀποκαλύψῃ καὶ γένηται φαινὸς οὐκ ἔχων οὐδὲν, ἀπίασι, δημαρτηκῆναι νομίσαντες. πολὺ δὴ κρείττον τοῖς οὖ δεομένοις δόξῃ ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ φανερῶν τῷ λόγῳ ποιεῖν �� αὐτὸν τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐξενέαυ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅποιος ἐστιν. οἴμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς καταφρονήσειν σαφῶς, ὡς ἔγνωκεν νῦν πέπονθα, καὶ οὐ ξυνῆσειν ἄλληλων ἕμας, οὔτε ἐμὲ τῶν ἀκούοντων οὔτε ἐκείνους τοῦ λέγοντος.

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1 ὅραν] ὅρῳντα Arnim, ἀπαν Pflugk.
3 περιστελῆς] περιστελῆ Reiske.
4 After ποιεῖν Arnim suspects a lacuna.
5 οὔτε Emperius.

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1 Cf. Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, Act. 1, Scene 1, where the same idea is ably put by Gratiano.

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makes me different from any other man, or that it is this that gives me confidence to speak. On the contrary, let it be understood by all that I can see that, if I keep absolutely silent and do not talk with anyone at all, people are much more likely to distrust me, I fancy, as giving myself airs, as concealing something of importance—for, in fact, in many instances men have won admiration merely by reason of their silence;¹ whereas, if I take my stand in your midst and show myself to be no better as a speaker than any huckster or muleteer, I see that none will be vexed with me, once they have seen for themselves what sort of man I am.

This is virtually what you may see occurring with other men also. For example, when certain people suspect a man of having the very thing for which they happen to be searching, they go up to him and put him through a close questioning. If, then, he draws his cloak about him and declines to uncover, they are all the more suspicious, but if he immediately unwraps and it becomes evident that he is concealing nothing, they go away convinced that they have been in error. You see, it is far better for those who are not seeking notoriety to disclose themselves to the people, and for a person by speaking to reveal himself for the benefit of those who can understand what sort of man he is. For I fancy that they will clearly show contempt for me, to judge by the treatment I have been receiving,² and that we shall not understand one another, neither I my audience nor they

² Dio seems to indicate that his audience has been displaying either restlessness or amusement. Or possibly his words refer to some gossip of which he had been the subject upon coming to Celaenae.
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tούτου δὲ αὐτίνι ἐγώγε θείην ἃν ἐμαυτὸν μᾶλλον ἡ ὑμᾶς.

6 Μιὰ μὲν οὖν αὐτῇ πρόφασις τοῦ προελθεῖν, ἐτέρα δὲ τὸ φοβείσθαι μὴ διαθαρρᾶν αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν ύμετέραν ὑποψίαν καὶ τῷ ὑμιᾷ νομίσω προσείναι σπουδαίον τι ἐμαυτῷ. μεγάλης γὰρ διανοίας καὶ δυνάμεως έοικε δεῖν, ὅταν θαυμάσωσιν ἕνα πολλοὶ καὶ διαφέρειν ἡγώνται τῶν άλλων, εἰ μέλλει σωφρονέιν οὕτως δ ἄνηρ καὶ μηδὲν ἀνόητον πάσχειν μηδὲ ἐπαίρεσθαι τοῖς τῶν 1 πολλῶν λόγοις, ὃσπερ πτεροῖς· καθάπερ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πεποίηκεν "Ομηρος διὰ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ὑπὸ τῶν ὁπλών ἐπαίρομενον καὶ φερόμενον·

τῷ δ’ αὐτε πτερὰ γίνετ’, ἀειρε δὲ ποιμένα λαὼν.

7 Ἡλίκη δὲ ἔστων ἡ τῶν πολλῶν δύναμις τοῦ πείθειν ὅ τι ἄν αὐτοὶ θέλοσιν, οὐχ ἢκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν παιδῶν μάθοι τις ἂν· ὅταν ἀνθρώπως σωφρονοῦντι παιδάρια ἀκολουθῆ, φάσκοντα μαῖνεσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἀπεισοῦν ἀγανακτῶν καθ’ αὐτῶν, ἐπειτὰ προσκρούων ἄει καὶ λοιποροῦμενος ἐκάστῳ καὶ διώκων αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἑπαθεῖν, ἐξέστη τελευτῶν, καὶ τὴν φήμην ὑπέλαβε θείον 2 εἶναι, οὐ μόνον τὴν τῶν ἄνδρῶν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν τῶν παιδῶν.

8 Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένος ἐντεῦθεν αὐξῆσθαι ποθεν. ἐπειδὰν πολλοὶ νεανί-

1 τῶν added by Geal.
2 θείον Carps: θεόν.

1 Iliad 19. 386.

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their speaker. And the blame for this misunderstanding I would set down to my account rather than to yours.

This, then, is one reason for my coming forward. But there is another reason—my fear that I myself may become spoiled through your suspicions of me and come to believe that there is actually something of importance in my make-up. For when many people display admiration for one man and consider him superior to the rest, great wisdom and strength of character are seemingly needed if he is to preserve his common sense and not be made a fool or be uplifted, as by wings, by the words of the crowd—as Homer has portrayed Achilles,1 through vainglory because of his new armour, being uplifted and in full career:

To him they were as wings and raised aloft
The shepherd of the host.1

And how great the power of the populace is to make men believe anything they please may perhaps best be learned from children: when a sane man is followed by urchins who keep calling him crazy. For at first the man goes away inwardly annoyed, and then, from constantly falling foul of them and reviling and chasing them one by one, he gets into that very state and ends by going mad, and the spoken word he took to be a manifestation of deity,2 not merely the utterance of men, but even that of boys.

And, methinks, the tribe of sophists also owes its development to some such cause as this. When a lot

1 Cf. Aristophanes, Birds 720, on φωνη as the voice of God. Cf. also Odyssey 20. 100–21.
σκοί σχολήν ἄγουντες ἕνα θαυμάζωσι πηδῶντες, καθάπερ αἲ Βάκχαι περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τούτον τὸν ἀνθρωπόν οὐ πολλῶ τινὶ χρόνω πολλοῖς τῶν ἄλλων 1 δόξαι τι λέγειν. σχεδόν γὰρ ἤσπερ οἱ γονεῖς διαλέγεσθαι τὰ παιδία διδάσκουσιν, ἐπὶ παντὶ χαίροντες ὡ τι ἂν εἴπωσιν οὐκοῦν ἐκ τούτων θαρρεῖ καὶ μᾶλλον πρόεισι 2 καὶ σαφέστερον ἄει διαλέγεται καὶ τέλος ἔξεμαθε τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἠγούντων, ἐὰν τῇ Ἑλληνεσ ὧσιν ἐὰν τε βάρβαροι· καὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἀνάγκη τῇ διάνοιᾳ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἀναλαβέων, τοιαύτα καὶ λέγοντας καὶ διανοούμενους, ὧποιοί ποτὲ ἂν οὗτοι τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ πλείονες ἐπιευκέως ἡλίθιοι καὶ δυστυχεῖς.

9 Οὕτως μὲν οὗν ἰσως οὐ μέγας κίνδυνος, εἰ τις αὐτῷ 3 καὶ ἔτεροι 4 δοκεῖ δεινῶς εἶναι καὶ περιάξει πλήθος ἄνθρωπων ἀνοήτων· ἤσπερ τὸν Ὁρφέα φασὶ τὰς δρῶς καὶ τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς λίθους· τὸ δ' αὐτῶν ἀνόητων ὄντα καὶ δειλῶν καὶ ἀκόλαστον καὶ μηδὲν διαφέροντα τῶν βοσκημάτων ἀρετής τι νομίζαι 5 προσήκειν αὐτῷ καὶ καλοκαγαθίας, τούτο δὴ παντελῶς δεινῶ καὶ τῆς χαλεπωτάτης πασῶν ἀνοίας καὶ μανίας. ἀλλ' ὅταν φήμη καταλαμβάνῃ τινὰ καὶ τοιοῦτος ἄρξηται λόγος ὑποτύφεσθαι, δεὶ περρητικόν ἐκποδήδαν γυμνῶν εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἐπιδιούντα πάσιν ὑπὶ μηδενός ἐστὶ βελτίων. εἰάν δὲ ἐπακολούθη τις φάσκων

1 πολλοῖς τῶν ἄλλων] πολλοῖς τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐαυτῷ Emperius, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ἄλλων Herwerden.
2 πρόεισι Reiske: πρόσεισι.
3 αὐτῷ Casaubon: αὐτῷ ορ αὐτῷ.
4 ἔτεροι Casaubon: ἔτεροι.

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of young men with nothing to do go leaping about a
man with cries of admiration, as the Bacchants leap
about Dionysus, inevitably that man after no great
lapse of time will gain a reputation with many others
for talking sensibly. Why, that is very much the way
in which parents teach their children how to talk,
expressing keen delight over anything the children
may utter. Accordingly, in consequence of that
applause, the children take courage and make further
progress and keep speaking more and more distinctly,
until finally they have mastered the language of
their associates, be they Greeks or barbarians. The
sophists also can't help adopting the thought of their
listeners, saying and thinking such things as fit the
nature of those listeners, whatever it happens to be;
but the majority of these are pretty much simpletons,
victims of an unkind fate.

Well then, conceivably there is no great risk in-
volved if a man appears to himself and others to be
clever, and draws in his train a crowd of fools—just
as it is said of Orpheus, that he drew to himself trees
and rocks and stones—but that, while himself a fool,
a coward, intemperate, in no wise superior to dumb
cattle, a man should believe that he has any claim to
virtue and gentility—that indeed is utterly pre-
posterous and a mark of the most grievous folly and
madness. Nay, whenever fame lays hold upon a
man and that sort of talk starts to smoulder, he
should tear off his garments and leap forth naked
upon the public highways, proving to all the world
that he is no better than any other man. And if
someone follows at his heels claiming to be his

\[6 \text{\textit{vomloas}} \text{ Reiske: } \textit{vomloas}.\]
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐναι μαθητής, ἀπελαύνειν πάιοντα καὶ βάλλοντα ταῖς βωλοῖς καὶ τοῖς λίθοις, ὡς ἀνόητον ἡ πονηρόν.

Δέγω δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἀπαντάς: εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως τὸ πράγμα πράττοντες, οῖς ἔδει σπένδειν καὶ θυμίας. ἀλλ' οὗς ἕνας ῥομφαῖος ἅμα ἀποδεικνύον.— τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας κομήτας, καθάπερ τοὺς ἑρέας τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μακαρίους λέγω, τοὺς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντας τῶν ἑρέων, τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἤπειρων τῆς ἐτέρας ὅλης. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ ποιοῦντα καὶ τούτους εὐδαιμόνας, στέφανος καὶ πορφύρα καὶ παιδάρια κομὴντα λυβανωτὸν φέροντα.

11 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπως ποτὲ ἔχει, λελέχθων: τὸ δὲ κομὰν οὐ χρὴ πάντως ὑπολαμβάνειν ὡς ἄρετῆς σημείων. πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ διὰ θέον τῶν κομῶν ἀνθρωποῦ καὶ γεωργοῦ κομήτα, μηδὲ τοῦνομα ἀκούσαντες ποτέ τὸ φιλοσοφίας, καὶ νὴ Δία οἱ πλεῖοι τῶν βαρβάρων, οἱ μὲν σκέπης ἐνεκεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρέπειν αὐτῶς νομίζοντες τούτων οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπίφθονος οὐδὲς οὐδὲ κατα-

12 γέλαστος. ἵσως γὰρ ὅρθως αὐτὸ πράττουσιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς λαγῶς ὅρατε τοὺς πάνυ ἄσθενεις ὑπὸ τῆς δασύτητος σῳζόμενους, καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων

1 ἀλλ’ οὗς Casaubon: ἀλλοὺς.
2 ἡ τέτταρας κομήτας BJ ἡ τέτταρας κομήτας Μ, ἡ τέ γὰρ ἀσκομήτας Υ, ἡτε γὰρ ἀσκομήτας Τ, ἡ τέτταρας κομήται Arnim.
3 ἐτέρας Mommsen: ἐστέρας.
4 δὴ Arnim: ἔστη.
5 καὶ added by Emperius.
6 After τούτων Reiske adds 8°.

1 Cf. Or. 32. 61–6.
pupil, he must try to drive him away, striking him with his fists and pelting him with clods of earth and stones,\(^1\) knowing that the fellow is either fool or knave.

However, my remarks are not levelled at all sophists, for there are some who follow that calling honourably and for the good of others, men to whom we should pour libation and offer incense; nay, I mean rather those whom they appoint to serve you as experts in wisdom, three or four long-haired persons like the high-priests of your local rites. I refer to the 'blessed ones,' who exercise authority over all your priests, whose title represents one of the two continents in its entirety.\(^2\) For these men too owe their 'blessedness' to crowns and purple\(^3\) and a thron of long-haired lads bearing frankincense.

Well then, whatever be the truth in these matters, let this suffice. However, I still maintain that long hair must not by any means be taken as a mark of virtue. For many human beings wear it long because of some deity; and farmers wear long hair, without ever having even heard the word philosophy; and, by Zeus, most barbarians also wear long hair, some for a covering and some because they believe it to be becoming. In none of these cases is a man subjected to odium or ridicule. The reason may well be because their practice is correct. For instance, you observe that rabbits,\(^4\) weak creatures that they are, are protected by their shaggy coats,

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\(^1\) Cf. Or. 34. 29-30.
\(^2\) Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pp. 436-7, refers this to the Asiarchos, or Highpriest of Asia, as he is called in two inscriptions. The two continents were manifestly Asia and Europe.
\(^3\) Dio is familiar with rabbits. Cf. 33. 32.
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τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐξαρκεῖ τὰ πτερὰ ἐφρευν
τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ. ¹ ήμεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν
κόμην ἀφαίρομεν, ὅπερ οἱ νομεῖς τῶν ἵππων,
ἀς ἄν ἐθέλωσι παραβαλεῖν ² τοὺς ὄνοις, καὶ τὰ
γένεια ἀποκείρομεν, τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς σκέπομεν. ³
τοὺς δὲ ἀλεκτρυνόνας ὀρῶμεν οὐδὲνος τοιοῦ-
του προσδειμένους, ὥν ἄνθρωποι, ⁴ σιωπᾶς καὶ
πῖλους καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἔλθερα ἐξουράριστον. ⁵
καίτοι ⁶ ποῖος ἂν γένοιτο πῖλος Ἰρκανδικὸς ἢ Ῥακωνικὸς
μᾶλλον ἀμοίβας τῆς αὐτοῦ κόμης ἐκάστῳ;
καὶ τί δεῖ, φησί, τοσοῦτον τῶν ⁶ σκεπασμάτων;
οὐδὲν τοῖς γε πλουσίοις ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲ
χείρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν. ⁷

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅρω καὶ ταῦτα τὴν πολυν οὐδεμιᾶς
ἐνδεικτέραν τῶν πρώτων, καὶ ἔννοιαν καὶ
ἀγαπῶ. τῆς γὰρ ἁπείρου τὸ καρτερώτατον
νέμεσθε καὶ πιότατον, πεδίων δὲ ⁸ καὶ ὅρων
μεταξὺ καλλιστῶν ἵδρυσθε, καὶ πηγὰς ἀφθο-
νωτάτας ἔχετε καὶ χώραν εὐκαρποτάτην ἔυμπαντα
μυρία φέρουσαν,

πυροῦσ τε ζειάς τ' ἦδ' ⁹ ἐφρυφυὲς κρῆ λευκῶν,

¹ διότι έξ αὐτῶν πέφυκεν after ὕδωρ deleted by Sonny as the gloss of some Christian writer who had in mind Genesis 1. 20.
² παραβαλεῖν] ὑποβαλεῖν Cobet.
³ σκέπομεν Jacobs: πλέκομεν.
⁴ τοὺς δὲ ἀλεκτρυνόνας . . . ἄνθρωποι deleted by Emporius.
⁵ καίτοι UB: καὶ other MSS.
⁶ τῶν Crosby: δυτῶν.
⁷ After ποδῶν Reiske suspects a lacuna. Arnim brackets §§ 11 and 12 as having been misplaced; see note 4, page 403.
⁸ δὲ Reiske: τε.
⁹ τ' ἦδ' Homer: τε έιδ' M, τε ήδ' UB.

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and that among the birds even the weakest find their feathers a sufficient protection against wind and rain. But as for us human beings, while we shear off our locks (just as horse-breeders shear the manes of mares\(^1\) that they plan to mate with asses) and also shave our beards,\(^2\) we make coverings for our heads. Yet we observe that cocks require nothing extra as human beings do, goat-skin coats and caps of felt and other similar coverings which we stitch together. And yet what cap of Arcadian or Laconian make could be more suitable than a man’s own hair? “Besides,” someone will ask, “what need is there for so many coverings for the body?” No need, at least for men of wealth; indeed they do not need hands or feet either.\(^3\)

But [speaking of protection],\(^4\) I perceive that this city of yours also is inferior to none of the first rank, and I rejoice with you and am content that it is so. For example, you occupy the strongest site and the richest on the continent; you are settled in the midst of plains and mountains of rare beauty; you have most abundant springs and a soil of greatest fertility, bearing, all told, unnumbered products,

Both wheat and spelt and broad-eared barley white;\(^5\)

\(^1\) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 10. 180, in reporting the practice, adds that it was intended to make the mare properly humble. See also Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 2. 10 and 12. 16.

\(^2\) Dio criticizes shaving also in 33. 63.  
\(^3\) Cf. Dio 33. 64.

\(^4\) Possibly this phrase may represent the transition, which is none too clear on the surface. Arnim regards §§ 11 and 12 as an intrusion from another passage; but that supposition does not provide any better connection, and the extended treatment of the topic of long hair is quite in keeping with Dio’s habits.

\(^5\) *Odyssey*, 4. 604.
καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἀγέλας, πολλὰς δὲ ποίμνας ποιμαίνετε καὶ βουκολεῖτε. τῶν τε ποταμῶν οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ πολυωφελέστατοι τὴν ἄρχην ἐνθένδε ἔχουσιν, ὦ τε Μαρσύας οὔτος, διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν ῥέων, ὦ τε Ἄργας, ὦ τε Μαίανδρος, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν θειότατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὦς ἔλιπτον μυρίας καμπάς σχεδὸν τύ τὴν ἀρίστην τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπεισόν. τῆς τε Φρυγίας προκάθησθε καὶ Λυδίας, ἔτι δὲ Καρίας, ἄλλα τε ἔθνη περιοικεῖ πολυανδρότατα, Καππάδοκες τε καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Πισίδαι, καὶ τούτοις ἂπασον ἀγορὰν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐξόνοδον παρέχεσθε τῇν αὐτῶν πόλιν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ἀνωνύμων πόλεων, τούτῳ δὲ πολλὰς εὐθαίμων καὶ κωμίας ὑπηκόους ἔχετε. οὐμεῖον δὲ μέγιστον τῆς δυνάμεως ὑμῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φόρων. ὥσπερ γάρ, οἴμαι, τῶν ὑποζυγίων κράτιστα δοκεῖ τὰ πλείστον ἔλκοντα, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων εἰκὸς ἀρίστας εἶναι τὰς πλείστον ἀργύρων ὑποτελούσας.

14 ἰγραθὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπεισόν. τῆς τε Φρυγίας προκάθησθε καὶ Λυδίας, ἔτι δὲ Καρίας, ἄλλα τε ἔθνη περιοικεῖ πολυανδρότατα, Καππάδοκες τε καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Πισίδαι, καὶ τούτοις ἂπασον ἀγορὰν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐξόνοδον παρέχεσθε τῇν αὐτῶν πόλιν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ἀνωνύμων πόλεων, τούτῳ δὲ πολλὰς εὐθαίμων καὶ κωμίας ὑπηκόους ἔχετε. οὐμεῖον δὲ μέγιστον τῆς δυνάμεως ὑμῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φόρων. ὥσπερ γάρ, οἴμαι, τῶν ὑποζυγίων κράτιστα δοκεῖ τὰ πλείστον ἔλκοντα, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων εἰκὸς ἀρίστας εἶναι τὰς πλείστον ἀργύρων ὑποτελούσας.

15 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ δίκαι παρ' έτος ἂγονται παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ἐξυνάγεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπειρον δικαζομένων, δικαζόντων, ῥητόρων, ἤγεμώνων, υπηρετῶν, οἰκετῶν, μαστροπῶν, ὀρεοκόμων, καπηλῶν, ἐταίρων 5 τε καὶ βαναύσων. ὦστε τά τε ὠνια τοὺς ἑχοντας πλείστης ἀποδίδοοθαὶ τιμῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μήτε

1 Ἄργας Casaubon: "Orbas or νόρβας.
2 ὦς added by Casaubon.
3 ὥσπερ γάρ Crosby, ὦς γάρ Arnim: ὥσπερ.
4 πλείστον Arним: πλεῖον ον πλέον.
5 ἐταίρων Jacobs, ἐτέρων τε Emperius: ἐταίρων.

1 Greeks commonly deified rivers.
and many are the droves of cattle and many the flocks of sheep you tend and pasture. And as for rivers, the largest and most serviceable have their source here—the Marsyas yonder, bearing its waters through the midst of your city, and the Orgas, and the Maeander, by far the most godlike and the wisest of all rivers, a river which with its countless windings visits, one may almost say, all that is best in Asia. Furthermore, you stand as a bulwark in front of Phrygia and Lydia and Caria besides; and there are other tribes around you whose members are most numerous, Cappadocians and Pamphylians and Pisidians, and for them all your city constitutes a market and a place of meeting. And also many cities unknown to fame and many prosperous villages are subject to your sway. And a very great index of your power is found in the magnitude of the contributions with which you are assessed. For, in my opinion, just as those beasts of burden are judged to be most powerful which carry the greatest loads, so also it is reasonable to suppose that those cities are the most considerable which pay the largest assessments.

And what is more, the courts are in session every other year in Celaenae, and they bring together an unnumbered throng of people—litigants, jurymen, orators, princes, attendants, slaves, pimps, muleteers, hucksters, harlots, and artisans. Consequently not only can those who have goods to sell obtain the highest prices, but also nothing in the city is out of

2 Cf. Strabo 12. 8. 15–18 for the geography of the district.
3 This is true, for Celaenae was near the eastern border of Phrygia, astride the main highway between the East and West. Cf. Introduction.
4 Strabo (12. 8. 15) confirms this.
τὰ ζεύγη μὴτε τὰς οἰκίας μὴτε τὰς γυναῖκας.

16 τοῦτο δὲ οὐ σμικρὸν ἔστι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν· ὁποὺ γὰρ ἂν πλείστος ὁχλὸς ἀνθρώπων ξύνη, πλείστον ἀργύριον ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεὶ γίγνεται, καὶ τὸν τόπον εἰκὸς εὐθηνεῖν ὁσπερ, οἴμαι, φασὶ τὴν χώραν, οὐ ἂν πρόβατα πλείστα αὐλισθῆ, κρατίστην γίγνεσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς διὰ τὴν κόπρον, καὶ πολλοὶ δέονται τῶν πομμέων παρ᾽ ἀυτοῖς αὐλίζειν τὰ πρόβατα. τουγαροῦν μέγιστον νομίζεται πρὸς ἴσχυν πόλεως τὸ τῶν δικῶν καὶ πάντες ἔσπουδάκασιν ὑπὲρ οὐδενῶς οὕτω. μέτεστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς πρώταις πόλεσιν ἐν μέρει παρ᾽ ἔτος. φασὶ δὲ νῦν ἔσεσθαι διὰ πλείνονος χρόνου, τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους οὐχ ὑπομένειν ἐνεχχώς ἐλαύνεσθαι πανταχοῦ. καὶ μὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἀσίας μέτεστιν ὑμῖν τῆς τε δαπάνης τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐκεῖναις ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς ἐστὶ τὰ ἱερά.

Οὐκοῦν ἔγγυε ταύτης εὐποριομετέραν ἐπίσταμαι πόλιν οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων ἁμενον ἡμιότας, χωρίς

18 Ἰνδῶν. ἐκεὶ γὰρ, ὡς φασί, ποταμοῖρρέουσων οὐχ ὁσπερ παρ᾽ ὑμίν ὑδατος, ἀλλὰ σε μὲν γάλακτος, δὲ οἶνον διαυγοῦσ, ἀλλος δὲ μέλιτος, ἀλλος δὲ ἐλαιοῦ. Ρέουσι δὲ ἐγγύθεν ἔκ λόφων, ὁσπερ ἐκ μαστῶν τῆς γῆς. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τῶν παρ᾽ ἕμιν ἄπειρον διαφέρει πρὸς τε ἔδοινη καὶ δύναμιν.

1 See also §15. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, p. 428, note 5, names Apamea (Celaenae) and Eumenea as the foremost cities thus to share in the court business; but he would interpret παρ᾽ ἔτος in such a way as to include also Aemonia.

2 Ramsay, op. cit., p. 429, note 2, refers this to the emperor worship, for which the cities were assessed.
work, neither the teams nor the houses nor the women. And this contributes not a little to prosperity; for wherever the greatest throng of people comes together, there necessarily we find money in greatest abundance, and it stands to reason that the place should thrive. For example, it is said, I believe, that the district in which the most flocks are quartered proves to be the best for the farmer because of the dung, and indeed many farmers entreat the shepherds to quarter their sheep on their land. So it is, you see, that the business of the courts is deemed of highest importance toward a city's strength and all men are interested in that as in nothing else. And the foremost cities share this business each in its turn in alternate years. However, it is said that now the interval is going to be longer, for they claim that the people resent being constantly driven here and there. Yes, and you share also in the sanctuaries of Asia and in the expenditures they entail, quite as much as do those cities in which the sanctuaries are.

Accordingly I know of no city that is more favoured by fortune than Celaenae and no people that leads a better existence—save only the people of India. For in India, according to report, there are rivers, not of water as in your land, but one of milk, one of translucent wine, another of honey, and another of olive oil. And these streams spring from hills near by, as if from the breasts of Mother Earth. And all these products are immeasurably superior to those we have both in flavour and in potency.

\(^3\) Dio could have found material for this idyllic story in many writers from Herodotus on. Lucian, *Vera Historia*, 2. 6-16, outdoes Dio in the marvels listed, though the resemblance to our passage is striking.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθάδε γλύσχρως καὶ μόλις ἀπὸ ζώων των καὶ φυτῶν συλλέγομεν,1 καρποὺς ἔχουν ἄρειζοντες 2 καὶ τροφῆν ζώων βδάλλοντες καὶ βλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖ τῷ παντὶ καθαρώτερα, χωρίς, οὐμα, βίας καὶ πανουργίας. οἴ δὲ ποταμοὶ οἴουσιν ἐνα μήνα τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ φόρος οὐτός ἐστιν αὐτῷ, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν χρόνον τοῖς δημόταις.

19 Ἐνυίασιν3 οὐν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν μετὰ παιδιών καὶ γυναικῶν εἰς τὸν πνεύμα καὶ πρὸς ταῖς μέγιστα τῶν ποταμῶν παῖζοντες καὶ γελώντες, ἥν ὁ ἐπ’ εὐωχίαν, φύεται δὲ παρὰ ταῖς οὐχαίς ὁ τῶν λυτῶν ἱσχυρός καὶ σχεδὸν ἄπαντων συνίων ἠδυστος, οὐχ ἄσπερ ὁ παρ’ ἡμῶν τετράποσι τροφῆ, καὶ πολλὰ σήματα καὶ σέλων, ὡς ἤν εἰκάσειέ τις ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος· τὴν τὰ ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀξίων συμβάλλειν. γίγνεται δὲ αὐτόθι ἐτερὸς σπέρμα, τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κρίθων ἀμείων τροφῆ καὶ μᾶλλον ξυμφέρουσα. φύεται δὲ ἐν κάλυξι μεγάλαις, οἶνον ῥόδων, εὐσμοτέραις δὲ καὶ μείζονων. ταύτας τὰς βίζας καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἐσθίουσιν, οὐδὲν πυνήσαντες.

20 Εἰσὶ δὲ ὅχετοι πολλοὶ ρέοντες ἐκ τῶν ναμάτων, οἱ μὲν μείζον, οἳ δὲ ἐλάττουσιν, ἑμμυγμύνουσι ἄλληλοις, τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεποικότων, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. μεταχειροῦσιν δὲ ῥαδίως, ἄσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἐν τοῖς κήπῳς ὕδωρ. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ λοιπὰ

1 συλλέγομεν added by Wilamowitz.
2 βρίζοντες] Scholiast to B: ἑθοντες, πείζοντες· λαμβάνεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυνύοντος. Emperius deleted καρποὺς . . . βλάττοντες.
3 Ἐνυίασι Morèl: Ἐνυέισιν.

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For what we have in our country we gather in scanty measure and with difficulty from certain animals and plants, crushing the fruits of trees and plants and extracting the food of living creatures by milking and by robbing the hive; while the products of India are altogether purer, untainted, methinks, by violence and ruthlessness. Moreover, the rivers flow during one month for the king, and that constitutes his tribute, while for the rest of the year they flow for the people.

So every day the Indians assemble with their children and their wives at the springs and river-banks, sporting and laughing as if in expectation of a feast. And by the banks there grows the lotus—a sturdy plant and, one might say, the sweetest of all foods, not, as the lotus in our land, mere fodder for quadrupeds—and also much sesame and parsley, at least as one might judge from the outward similarity of those plants, although for quality they are not to be compared. And that country produces also another seed, a better food than wheat and barley and more wholesome. And it grows in huge calyxes, like those of roses but more fragrant and larger. This plant they eat, both root and fruit, at no expense of labour.

And there are many canals which issue from the rivers, some large and some small, mingling with one another and made by man to suit his fancy. And by their aid the Indians convey with ease the fluids I have named, just as we convey the water of our gardens. And there are baths also close by at their

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1 That is, of the olive tree and the grape-vine.
2 This account of the lotus and of the 'other seed' may be due to Herodotus 2. 93.
πλησίον αὐτοῖς ὕδατος, τὸ μὲν θερμὸν λευκότερον ἄγρυρον, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βάθους καὶ τῆς ψυχ-ρώτητος κυανοῦν. ἐνταῦθα νῆχονται γυναῖκες ἀμα καὶ παιδεῖς, καλὸν πάντες. ἔπειτα, οἴμαι, κατακλώντες ἐν τοῖς λειμώσου ἁδουσί καὶ μινυρί-ξουσίν.

21 Εἰς δὲ λειμώνες αὐτοῖθι πάγκαλοι καὶ φύσις ἄνθρωποι καὶ δένδρων παρεχόμενοι τὴν μὲν σκιὰν ἄνωθεν εἰς ύψους, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν ἐν ἐφωτισμῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις λαβέων νεόντων τῶν κλάδων. οἱ τε ὄρνης κατάδουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὀργάσι 1 ἐγκαθήμενοι, πολύ τι πλῆθος, οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ ἀκρέμονων, εὐφωνικοτέροι τῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν ὀργάνων. πνεύμα τε ἀεὶ μέτρων διαρρέω, καὶ τῶν ἀέρων ἡ κράσις ὁμοία διὰ παντός, μάλιστα δὲ ἔοικεν ἄρχομενός θέρει. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὦ τε οὐρανός ἐκεῖ καθαρώτερος καὶ τὰ ἄστρα πλείω καὶ λαμ-πρότερα. Ξώσι δὲ 2 πλείον τετρακοσίων ἑτῶν, πάντα τὸν χρόνον τούτον ὠραίοι καὶ νέοι καὶ οὕτε γηρᾶς ἐστὶν παρ’ ἐκείνους οὕτε νόσσοι οὕτε πενία.

22 Τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ τοσούτων ὑπαρχόντων ἄγαθῶν, ὁμισὶ εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι καλούμενοι Βραχιάνες, οἱ χαίρει έισάντες τοὺς τοιαύτους σώματος έκείνους καὶ τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐρρημένους ἐκτρα-πέντες ἰδία τι ἐξυλλογίζοιται καὶ φροντίζουσι, πόνου τε θαυμαστοὺς ἀναλαβόμενοι τοῖς σώμασιν οὐδένος ἀναγκάζοντος καὶ καρτερήσεις δενάς ὑπομένοντες. φασὶ δὲ ἐξαίρετον αὐτοῖς εἶναι μίαν πηγὴν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας, πολὺ πασῶν

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1 ταίς ὀργάσιν Herwerden: τοῖς ὁρεω.  
2 ou after δὲ deleted by Emporius.
disposal, the water of which in the one case is warm
and whiter than silver and in the other it is blue
from its depth and coldness. In these they swim,
women and children together, all of them beautiful.
And after the bath, I dare say, reclining in the
meadows they sing and hum.

And there are in that land meadows of utter beauty
and a variety of flowering trees that provide shade
from high above, though they bring their fruit within
reach of all who wish to pluck it as the branches nod.
And the birds charm them by their song, some
seated in the meadows, a great flock of them, and
some high up among the topmost branches, their
notes more tuneful than those of our musical instru-
ments. And a gentle breeze is ever blowing, and the
climate is nearly constant throughout the year, and
it resembles most closely that of early summer.
And what is more, not only is their sky clearer, but
also the stars are more numerous and more brilliant.
And these people live more than four hundred years,
and during all that time they are beautiful and
youthful and neither old age nor disease nor poverty
is found among them.

So wonderful and so numerous are these blessings,
and yet there are people called Brachmanes 1 who,
abandoning those rivers and the people scattered
along their banks, turn aside and devote themselves
to private speculation and meditation, undertaking
amazing physical labours without compulsion and
enduring fearful tests of endurance. And it is said
that they have one special fountain, the Fountain

1 On the Brachmanes, see also Or. 49. 7. Strabo (15. 59–
71) assembles further details drawn from many sources.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἀρίστην καὶ θειοτάτην, ἃς οὐδέποτε ζεύσασθαι τοὺς ἐμπιμπλαμένους.1 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκείθεν λόγος ἔστιν ἀφευδής. ἣδη γὰρ τινὲς τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἑφασαν· ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ τινες ἐμπορίας ἐνεκεν· οὖτοι δὲ ἐπιμείνονται τοῖς πρὸς θαλάττη. τοῦτο δὲ ἀτιμῶν ἔστιν Ἰνδῶν τὸ γένος, οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι ζεύγους2 αὐτοὺς.

Τοῦτοις ἀνάγκη ὁμολογεῖν ὑμῶν ἐνδαιμονεστέρους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὑμᾶς, πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔτι γένους, τῶν πολυχρυσοτάτων. τὸ δὲ χρυσῶν λαμβάνοντα παρὰ μυρμήκων, οὕτω δὲ εἰσὶν ἀλωπέκων μελίσσες, τάλα δὲ ὁμοίω τοῖς παρ’ ἡμᾶς. ὥρυττοι δὲ κατὰ γῆς, ὅσπερ οἱ λυτοὶ μύρμικες. δὲ χοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ χρυσῶν καθαράτατον πάντων χρυσῶν καὶ στιλπνώτατον. εἰσὶν οὖν πλησίον ἑφεξῆς, ὅσπερ κολωνοῖ τοῦ ψῆφισματος, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄπαν ἀστράπτει. χαλεπὸν οὖν ἴδειν ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦλιον, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπίχειρον ῥοῦντων ἴδειν τὰς ὑφεὶς διελθάρσαν. οἱ δὲ προσοικοῦντες ἀνθρώποι τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν διελθόντες, ἔρημον οὖσαν οὐ πολλήν, ἐφ’ ἄριστων, ὑποξεύσαντες ὑπ’ εἴσοδος τοῖς τάχιστοιο, ἀφικνοῦντας τῆς μεσομηδείας, ἤνικα διδύκασι κατὰ γῆς ἔπειτα φεύγουσι τὰν χοῦν ἀρπάσαντες. οἱ δὲ αἰσθανό-

1 χεύσασθαι τοὺς ἐμπιμπλαμένους Cohut, τοὺς γευσαμένους ἐμπιμπλαμένους Reiske: χεύσασθαι τοὺς ἐμπιμπλαμένους.
2 χεύσασθαι Lobeck.

1 Strabo (15. 2–4) speaks of the dearth of trustworthy information regarding India. By Dio’s time many Greeks were sailing to India, and the mercantile class knew a great deal about the land.
2 Dio seems to mean ‘these people of the coast’ when he says that they were in ill repute. It looks like a tardy
THE THIRTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

of Truth, by far the best and most godlike of all, and that those who drink their fill thereof have never been known to lie. Regarding conditions in that land, then, it is a true story that you have heard. For some of those who have been there have vouched for it; though only a few do go there, in pursuit of trade, and they mingle only with the people of the coast. And that branch of the Indian race is in low repute, and all the others say harsh things of them.

It must be admitted that the people of India are more fortunate than you are, but that you are more fortunate than all others—with the exception of just one more race of mortals, namely, those most rich in gold. And their gold is obtained from ants. These ants are larger than foxes, though in other respects similar to the ants we have. And they burrow in the earth, just as do all other ants. And that which is thrown out by their burrowing is gold, the purest of all gold and the most resplendent. Now there are close to one another a series of what might be called hills of gold dust, and the whole plain is agleam. Therefore it is difficult to look thereon in the sunlight, and many of those who have made the attempt have lost their sight. But the people who live near that land, having traversed the intervening territory (desert land of no great extent) in chariots drawn by horses of greatest speed, arrive at midday, at which time the ants have gone underground; and then these men seize the gold that has been cast forth and flee. And the ants, becoming

admission that perhaps his tale may not be trustworthy. The tall stories with which he closes his Discourse, while doubtless intended to amuse, may also have been aimed as a sly thrust at his audience.
μενοι διώκοντοι καὶ μάχονται καταλαβόντες, ἐως ὅν ἀποθάνωσιν ἢ ἀποκτείνωσιν. Ἀλκιμῶτατοι γὰρ εἰς θηρίων ἀπάντων, ὥστε οὐδοὶ γε ἐπίστανται τὸ χρυσὸν ὅπόσου ἐστὶν ᾧξιον, καὶ οὐδὲ προέπτευται πρότερον ἢ ἀποθανεῖν.

25 Φέρε δὴ τίνας ἄλλους τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς εὐδαιμονικοῦμας ἀκούομεν; Βυζαντίους, χώραν τε άριστην νεμομένους καὶ βαλαστὰν εὐκαρποτάτην. τῆς δὲ γῆς ἠμελήκασι διὰ τὴν ἁρετὴν τῆς βαλάττης, ἢ μὲν γὰρ διὰ μακροῦ φέρει τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ δεὶ λαβεῖν ἑργασμένους, ἢ δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν πονήσασιν.

1 This story of the ants seems to have been taken out of Herodotus 3. 102-3, where the scene is laid in India. Herodotus names the Persians as his informants.
THE THIRTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

aware of what has happened, give chase, and, having overtaken their quarry, fight until they either meet their death or kill the foe—for they are the most valiant of all creatures. And so these at any rate know what their gold is worth, and they even die sooner than give it up.

Well then, what other people among the nations of our time are said to be fortunate? The people of Byzantium, who enjoy a most fertile land and a sea abounding in fruits. But they have neglected the land because of the excellence of the sea. For whereas the land produces its fruits for them only after a long interval of time and toil is required to secure them, the sea yields up its treasures at once without any labour on their part.

Cf. Or. 33. 24, where Dio refuses to call the people of Byzantium ‘fortunate’ because of the abundance of fish and the ease with which they are taken. Our passage is in lighter vein and contains no question as to the propriety of the adjective. The Discourse stops very abruptly at this point. It seems likely that the original ending has been lost.
THE THIRTY-SIXTH, OR BORYSTHENITIC, DISCOURSE, WHICH 
DIO DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE 
LAND

In this Discourse Dio recounts for the benefit of his fellow-
townsmen a conversation which took place between himself 
and certain citizens of Borysthenes in Pontus. Borysthenes 
was an ancient Greek trading-centre near the mouth of the 
Hypanis (Bug), and Dio states that he had gone there in the 
hope of pushing into the interior for the purpose of visiting the 
Getae, whose culture he was to describe in Ῥιχοῦκα, a work no 
longer extant.

Arnim holds that Dio was in Borysthenes in A.D. 95 and 
suggests that his failure to reach the land of the Getae at 
that time may have been due to trouble between Rome and 
Dacia. It is plain that he had met with disappointment and 
that people knew of his purpose to leave Borysthenes by ship. 
If Arnim’s date is correct, his destination could hardly have 
been Prusa—despite the word οἰκαδε used by Hieroson in 
section 25—for in A.D. 95 he was still an exile. However, he 
seems to have been at home as early as A.D. 97, and Arnim 
supplies arguments in favour of A.D. 101 as the year in which 
he made this report to the people of Prusa.

The narrative opens in leisurely manner and with a natural 
charm somewhat reminiscent of the opening of Plato’s 
Phaedrus, to which, indeed, Dio may have owed also some of 
the ideas to which he gives expression, although for the most 
part he seems to be employing Stoic doctrine. In the course 
of his account he introduces a myth which he ascribes to the 
Zoroastrian lore of the Magi. That myth is responsible for not 
a little of the fame enjoyed by this Discourse. Dio, like Plato, 
was fond of myths and used them to good advantage. Some
of them at least are believed to have been his own invention; what shall we say of this one?

It would not be surprising if the Greek world of that day had some acquaintance with Zoroastrianism. The name Zoroaster occurs in Greek as early as the pseudo-Platonic Alcibiades, and Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and other Greeks who antedate Dio have not a little to tell of the Magi, some of the information being demonstrably authentic. Hirzel (Der Dialog) is of the opinion that, whatever may be true of other myths in Dio, this one at least emanates from Zoroastrian sources, and Jackson (Zoroastrian Studies) shares that belief, though admitting that 'the conception may have received some Greek colouring in its transmission.' Whatever Dio’s indebtedness to the Magi, resemblances between their extant records and this myth are so slight as to warrant the belief that in its present form it is Dio’s own creation, in the formation of which he may have drawn upon more than one source of inspiration, among which it seems safe to suggest the Phaedrus and the Timaeus of Plato, as well as familiar Stoic concepts on related subjects.
19. ΒΟΡΥΣΘΕΝΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΟΝ ΑΝΕΓΝΩ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Ἡσύχασαν μὲν ἐπιδημῶν ἐν Βορυσθένει τὸ
θέρος, ὡς τότε εἰσέπελυον μετὰ τὴν φυγήν, βουλό-
μενος ἐλθεῖν, εὰν δύνωμαι, διὰ Σκυθῶν εἰς Γέτας,
ὅπως θεάσωμαι τἀκεῖ πράγματα ὅποιά ἔστι.
καὶ δὴ καὶ περιεπάτησαν περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν
παρὰ τὸν Ἐπανω. ἦ γὰρ πόλις τὸ μὲν ὄνομα
ἐξήφεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένου διὰ τὸ κάλλος
καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κεῖται δὲ πρὸς
tῷ Ἐπανώδι, ἢ τε νῦν καὶ ἢ πρότερον ὀ wchar
ἀναφέρει, οὐ πολὺ ἄνωθεν τῆς Ἰππολάου καλου-
2 μένης ἀκρας ἐν τῷ κατ' ἀντικρύ. τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι
τῆς χώρας δὲν καὶ στερεῶν ἔστωρ ἐμβολον, περὶ
δ συμπίπτουσιν οἱ ποταμοί. τὸ δὲ ἐνετείθεν ἢ ἄθο-
λιμνάζουσι μέχρι βαλάττης ἐπὶ σταδίους σχεδὸν τι
dιακοσίους. καὶ τὸ εὑρός οὐχ ἤπτον ταύτῃ ἡ
tῶν ποταμῶν. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πλέον τέναγος

1 Also called Olbia (Herodotus 4. 18, Strabo 7. 3. 17), an
important trading-centre on the right bank of the Hypanis
(Bug), about four miles above the junction with the Borys-
thenes (Dnieper).

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I happened to be visiting in Borysthenes during the summer, for I had sailed there then, after my exile, with the purpose of making my way, if possible, through Scythia to the Getan country, in order to observe conditions there. Well, one day toward noon I was strolling along the Hypanis. I should explain that, although the city has taken its name from the Borysthenes because of the beauty and the size of that river, the actual position, not only of the present city, but also of its predecessor, is on the bank of the Hypanis, not far above what is called Cape Hippolaüs, on the opposite shore. This part of the land, near where the two rivers meet, is as sharp and firm as the beak of a ship. But from there on these rivers form a marshy lake down to the sea for a distance of approximately two hundred stades; and the breadth of the two rivers in that district is not less than that. The fact is that most of that stretch

2 The word τότε presumably refers to τὸ Θέρος; unfortunately we are not told which summer. Of course summer was the season best adapted to travel, and that may be the sole reason why Dio uses the phrase.

2 Herodotus (4. 53) is the only other Greek to mention this cape.
καὶ γαλήνη ταῖς εὐδιαίσ ὦσπερ ἐν λίμνῃ γίγνεται σταθερά. 1 ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεξιοῖς φαίνεται ποταμός, καὶ τεκμαίρονται οἱ εἰσπλέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος τὸ βάθος. ὅθεν περι καὶ ἔζησι, διὰ τὴν ἴσχυν τοῦ ῥοῦ· εἰ δὲ μῆ, ῥάδιως ἃν ἐφράτττετο 2 τοῦ νότου πολλοῦ κατὰ στόμα εἰσπνέοντος. τὸ δὲ λουτόν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐλώδης 3 καὶ δασεῖα καλάμως καὶ δένδροις. φαίνεται δὲ τῶν δένδρων πολλὰ καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ, ὡς ἱστοῖς προσεωκέναι, καὶ ἤδη τυνὲς τῶν ἀπειροτέρων διήμαρτον, ὡς ἐπὶ πλοῖα ἐπέχοντες. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλων ἐστὶ τὸ πλῆθος, ὅθεν οἱ πλεόνες τῶν βαρβάρων λαμβάνουσιν ἀνούμενοι τοὺς ἁλας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Σκυθῶν οἱ Χερρόνησον οἴκοντες τὴν Ταυρικήν. ἐκδιδόσαι 4 δὲ οἱ ποταμοὶ εἰς θάλασσαν παρὰ φρούριον Ἀλέκτορος, δὲ λέγεται τῆς γυναικὸς εἶναι τοῦ Σαυροματῶν βασιλέως.

4 Ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ τῶν Βορυσθεντῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἐστὶν οὐ πρὸς τὴν παλαιὰν δόξαν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἁλώσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους. ἄτε γὰρ ἐν μέσως οἰκούσα τοῖς βαρβάροις τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνου, καὶ τούτοις σχεδὸν τὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῦταῖς, ἀεὶ μὲν πολεμεῖται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐάλωκε· τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν καὶ μεγίστην ἁλωσιν οὔ πρὸ

1 σταθερά] σταθερῆ Reiske.
2 ἐν ἐφράτττετο Arnim: ἐνεφράτττετο UB, ἐνεφράτττετο M.
3 ἐλώδης Emperius: ἐλώδης.
4 ἐκδιδόσαι Emperius: ἐκδιδόσαι UB, ἐκδιδόσων M.
5 δὲ added by Reiske.
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consists of shoals, and in fair weather unruffled calm prevails as in a swamp. But on the right there are signs of a river, and sailors inward bound judge its depth by the current.¹ And this explains why the water does make its way out to sea, because of the strength of the current; but for that it would easily be held in check when the south wind blows strongly dead against it. As for the rest, we have only muddy shore overgrown with reeds and trees. And many of the trees are to be seen even in the midst of the marsh, so as to resemble masts of ships; and at times some who were less familiar with those waters have lost their way, supposing that they were approaching ships. And it is here also that we find the vast number of salt-works from which most of the barbarians buy their salt,² as do also those Greeks and Scythians who occupy the Tauric Chersonese.³ The rivers empty into the sea near the Castle of Alector,⁴ which is said to belong to the wife of the Sauromatian ⁵ king.

The city of Borysthenes, as to its size, does not correspond to its ancient fame, because of its ever-repeated seizure and its wars. For since the city has lain in the midst of barbarians now for so long a time—barbarians, too, who are virtually the most warlike of all—it is always in a state of war and has often been captured, the last and most disastrous capture occurring not more than one hundred and

¹ The depth in summer is said to be no more than six feet. Therefore the pilot had to watch the current carefully in order to keep in the channel.
² For these salt-works, cf. Herodotus 4. 53.
³ The Crimea.
⁴ Unknown.
⁵ The Sauromatians (Sarmatians) were an Iranian people. Cf. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia.
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πλειόνων ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐτῶν. εἰλον
dὲ καὶ ταύτην Γέται καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν τοῖς
ἀριστεροῖς τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις μέχρι Ἀπολλωνίας.
5 οὖν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ταπεινὰ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη
tῶν ταύτη Ἑλλήνων, τῶν μὲν οὐκέτι συνουσι-
θεισῶν πόλεων, τῶν δὲ φαύλως, καὶ τῶν πλείστων
βαρβάρων εἰς αὐτᾶς συρρινέτων.1 πολλαὶ γὰρ
δὴ τινὲς ἀλώσεις κατὰ πολλά μέρη γεγόνασι
τῆς Ἑλλάδος, άτε ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις διεσπαρμένης.
ἀλόντες δὲ τότε οἱ Βορυσθενίται πάλιν συνάγησαν,
ἐθελόντων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν Σκυθῶν διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι
τῆς ἐμπορίας καὶ τοῦ κατάπλου τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
ἐπαύσαντο γὰρ εἰσπλέοντες ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως
γενομένης, ἢτε οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁμοφώνους τοὺς
ὑποδεχομένους οὐδὲ αὐτῶν Σκυθῶν ἄξιοντων
οὐδὲ ἐστισμένων ἐμπόριον αὐτῶν κατασκευά-
σασθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τρόπων.

6 Σημεῖον δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἢ τε φαύλοτης
tῶν οἰκοδομήματων καὶ τὸ συνεστάλθαι τὴν
πόλιν ἐς βραχὺ. μέρει γὰρ τινὶ προσφικοδόμηται
tοῦ παλαιοῦ περιβόλου, καθ' ὁ πύργοι τινὲς οὐ
πολλοὶ διαμένουσιν οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος οὐδὲ
πρὸς τὴν ἴσχυν τῆς πόλεως. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ
συμπέφρακται κατ' ἐκεῖνο ταῖς οἰκίαις οὐκ

1 συρρινέτων Εμπετίους: συρρινέτων UB, συρρινέτων M.

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fifty years ago. And the Getae on that occasion seized not only Borysthenes but also the other cities along the left shore of Pontus as far as Apollonia.\(^1\) For that reason the fortunes of the Greeks in that region reached a very low ebb indeed, some of them being no longer united to form cities, while others enjoyed but a wretched existence as communities, and it was mostly barbarians who flocked to them. Indeed many cities have been captured in many parts of Greece, inasmuch as Greece lies scattered in many regions. But after Borysthenes had been taken on the occasion mentioned, its people once more formed a community, with the consent of the Seythians,\(^2\) I imagine, because of their need for traffic with the Greeks who might use that port. For the Greeks had stopped sailing to Borysthenes when the city was laid waste, inasmuch as they had no people of common speech to receive them, and the Seythians themselves had neither the ambition nor the knowledge to equip a trading-centre of their own after the Greek manner.

Evidence of the destruction of Borysthenes is visible both in the sorry nature of its buildings and in the contraction of the city within narrow bounds. For it has been built adjacent to one section of the ancient circuit-wall where a few towers, but only a few, yet remain, not at all in keeping with the original size or power of the city. The intervening space in that quarter has been blocked off by means

\(^1\) On the Thracian coast of Pontus, about 125 miles north-west of Byzantium.

\(^2\) Coins of that period are said to support Dio’s conjecture (Diehl, in Pauly-Wissowa XVII. 2422).
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ἐχούσας ὅποια· διαλέπει. τειχίον δὲ παραβέβληταί πάνυ ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀσθενείς. τῶν δὲ πύργων εἰότε τινὲς πολὺ ἄφεστῶτες τοῦ νῦν οἴκουμένου, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰκάσαι ὅτι μᾶς ἦσαν πόλεως. ταύτα τε ἐν ὁὖν σημεῖα ἐναργῆ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ τὸ μηδὲν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων διαμένειν ύγιὲς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐξὸνταλάτρησι· μένα εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν μνημάτων.

7 "Ὅπερ οὖν ἐφη, ἐτυχὼν περιπατῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τινὲς ἐξήσον ἐνδοθεν τῶν Ἁρυσθηνών πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὥσπερ εἰςθέραμεν ἐπειτα Καλλιστατον ἐφ᾽ ἰππον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παράππευσον ἡμᾶς ἐξουθον προσέλαυσων, παρελθὼν δὲ ἀλόγον κατέβη, καὶ τὸν ἰππον τῷ ἀκολούθῳ παράδος αὐτὸς πάνυ κοσμίως προσήλθεν ὑπὸ τὸ ἱμάτιον τὴν χειρὰ ὑποστείλας. παρέξωστο δὲ μάχαιραν μεγάλην τῶν ἰππικῶν καὶ ἀναξυρίδας εἰχε καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν στολὴν Σκυθικὴν, ἀνωθὲν δὲ τῶν ὁμοίων ἱμάτιων μικρὸν μέλαν, λεπτὸν, ὥσπερ εἰςθέρας οἱ Ἁρυσθηνῶν. χρώται δὲ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐσβή-τε μελανῇ ἂς τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ γένους τινὸς Σκυθῶν τῶν

1 οὐκ ἐχούσας ὅποια] συνεχούσας ὅποια τι Casaubon.
2 καὶ added by Herwerden.

1 Dio seems to say that in the reconstruction of the city that portion of the old circuit-wall which was best preserved was retained, the ends being joined together by a continuous line of dwellings with party-walls, so as themselves to serve as a defence. The same plan may be observed in many Aegean islands. The result for Borysthenes was a narrowing of its former limits. Cf. Diehl, ibid., 2412 and 2416.
of the houses, built so as to form a continuous whole. However, a bit of wall has been constructed parallel to this line of houses, quite low and weak. As for the towers, there are some which stand quite apart from the portion of the city that is now inhabited, so that you would not surmise that they once belonged to a single city. These, then, are clear tokens of the city's capture, as well as the fact that not a single statue remains undamaged among those that are in the sanctuaries, one and all having suffered mutilation, as is true also of the funeral monuments.

Well, as I was saying, I chanced to be strolling outside the city, and there came to meet me from within the walls some of the people of Borysthenes, as was their custom. Thereupon Callistratus at first came riding by us on horseback on his way from somewhere outside of town, but when he had gone a short distance beyond us, he dismounted, and, entrusting his horse to his attendant, he himself drew near in very proper fashion, having drawn his arm beneath his mantle. Suspended from his girdle he had a great cavalry sabre, and he was wearing trousers and all the rest of the Scythian costume, and from his shoulders there hung a small black cape of thin material, as is usual with the people of Borysthenes. In fact the rest of their apparel in general is regularly black, through the influence of a

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2 In § 1. The length of the digression is surprising in view of the seeming prominence of Borysthenes. Was it merely the enthusiasm of the traveller?

3 It was not good form for a Greek gentleman to appear in public with bare arms. Cf. Aeschines, in Timarchum 52, Plutarch, Phocion 4.

4 To a Greek, trousers appeared especially foreign.
Μελαγχλαίων, ὡς ἔμοι δοκοῦσι, κατὰ τοῦτο ὀνομασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

8 Ἡν δὲ ως ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἑτῶν ὁ Καλλίστρατος, πάνω καλὸς καὶ μέγας, πολὺ ἔχων Ἰωνικὸν τοῦ εἴδους. ἔλεγε τὸ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνδρείας εἶναι, καὶ πολλοὺς Σαυροματῶν τὸν μὲν ἀνηρικεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς εἰληφέναι. ἐσπουδάκει τὸ καὶ περὶ λόγους καὶ φιλοσοφίαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκπλεῦσαι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπεδῆμει. διὰ πάντα δὴ ταῦτα εὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοὺς πολίτας, οὐχ ἣκιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλους, καὶ εἶχε πολλοὺς ἀραστάς. πάνω γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἐμμεμενίζει αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς μιτροπόλεως, τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τοὺς τῶν ἄρρενων· ὡστε κινδυνεύουσιν ἀναπείθειν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔνιοι οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ σχεδὸν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἔκεινοι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀποδεξαίωτο, βαρβαρικῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀνεν ὑβρεώς.

9 Εἰδὼς οὖν αὐτὸν φιλόμηρον δινὰ περὶ τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐπινεκρόμην. σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ Βορυσθενίται περὶ τὸν ποιήθην ἐσπουδάκασαν ἵσως διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸν εἶναι ἄτι νῦν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα εὐνοιαν· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ὑπερφυὼς τιμῶσι, καὶ νεῶν τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως καλομενῆ ἱδρυμαία, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε οὔδε ἀκούειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου θέλουσιν ἡ Ὁμήρου. καὶ τἀλλα οὐκέτι

1 διὰ added by Arnim.

1 Herodotus (4. 20) says that the Blackcloaks were not Scythians. He is less cautious than Dio in explaining the name (4. 107).

2 Miletus.

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certain tribe of Scythians,¹ the Blackcloaks, so named by the Greeks doubtless for that very reason.

Callistratus was about eighteen years of age, very tall and handsome, having much of the Ionian in his appearance. And it was said also that in matters pertaining to warfare he was a man of courage, and that many of the Sauromatians he had either slain or taken captive. He had become interested also in oratory and philosophy, so that he had his heart set on sailing away in my company. For all these reasons, then, he was in high repute with his fellow-townsmen, and not least of all because of his beauty, and he had many lovers. For this practice has continued on among them as a heritage from the city of their origin ²—I refer to the love of man for man—so much so that they are likely to make converts of some of the barbarians, for no good end, I dare say, but rather as those people would adopt such a practice, that is to say, like barbarians and not without licentiousness.

Knowing, then, that Callistratus was fond of Homer, I immediately began to question him about the poet. And practically all the people of Borysthenes also have cultivated an interest in Homer, possibly because of their still being a warlike people, although it may also be due to their regard for Achilles, for they honour him exceedingly, and they have actually established two temples for his worship, one on the island that bears his name ³ and one in their city; and so they do not wish even to hear about any other poet than Homer. And although in

³ Presumably an island at the mouth of the Dnieper, though the evidence is confused. Strabo (7. 3. 16-17) and Maximus Tyrius (9. 7) refer to worship of Achilles on an island at the mouth of the Danube.
σαφώς ἐλληνικὸν τὸν Ἐλείναν διά τὸ ἐν μέσοις οἰκεῖον τοῦ βασιλιά όμως τῆς Ἰλιάδα ὦ λίγου πάντες άσασιν ἀπὸ στόματος.

10 Εἶπον οὖν προσπαλαίων πρὸς αὐτόν, Πότερόν σοι δοκεῖ, ἢ Καλλίστρατε, ἀμείων ποιητής ὡς Ὁμήρος ἢ Φωκυλίδης; καὶ ὁς γελάσας ἔφη, Ἀλλ' οὔδε ἐπίσταμαι ἔγωγε τοῦ ἔτερου ποιητοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, οἷς δὲ υἱὸν ταῦτας μηδένα. οὔδε γὰρ ἡγούμεθα ἡμεῖς ἄλλον τὶν ποιήτην ἢ Ὁμήρον. τοῦτον δὲ σχεδόν τι οὔδε ἄλλος οὔδείς ἁγνοεῖ. μόνου γὰρ Ὁμήρου μεταμορφώνοις οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν εἰώθαις λέγειν, ἀλλ' δὲ ὁπόταν μὲλλωσι μάχεσθαι παρακελεύονται τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀσπερ τὸ Τυρταῖον ἐν Δακεδαίμονε ἐλέγετο. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες οὗτοι τυφλοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἠγούμεθα δυνατον εἶναι ἄλλως τινὰ ποιήτην γενέσθαι.

11 Τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφην, ἀπολελάκκασαν οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ὁμήρου ἀσπερ ἀπὸ δραματίας. τοὺς δὲ Φωκυλίδην ὁμοίως μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, ὡς λέγεις: πάντα δὲ τῶν ἐνδόξων γέγονε ποιητῶν. ἀσπερ οὖν ἐπειδὰν τις τῶν ἐμπόρων καταπλεύσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὖ πρότερον παραγεγονός, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἠτιμάσατε αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸτερον γευσάμενοι τοῦ οἴου, κἂν ἀλλο τὸ φορτίον ἁγγεῖον ἑαυτῶν, ἑώμερον οἰκεῖον.

1 μόνον Casaubon: μόνοι.
2 Παραγεγονός Emporius: γεγονός.

1 A gnomic poet of the sixth century B.C. For the scanty remains of his verse, mostly couplets, see Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, vol. I, pp. 168 ff. (L. Λ.).
2 Unless αὐτῶν should be read αὐτῶν and construed (as also αὐτῶν two lines later) as a pronoun of the first person, Callistratus is guilty of exaggeration, a fault that might be ascribed to provincialism and the enthusiasm of youth.
general they no longer speak Greek distinctly, because they live in the midst of barbarians, still almost all at least know the Iliad by heart.

Accordingly I said to him by way of jest, "Callistratus, which do you think is the better poet, Homer or Phocylides?" ¹ And he laughed and said, "Why, as for myself, I do not even know the other poet's name, and I suppose that none of these men does, either. For we do not believe in any other poet than Homer. But as for Homer, you might say that no man alive is ignorant of him. For Homer is the only one whom their poets recall in their compositions,² and it is their habit to recite his verses on many an occasion, but invariably they employ his poetry to inspire their troops when about to enter battle, just as the songs of Tyrtaeus³ used to be employed in Lacedaemon. Moreover, all these poets are blind, and they do not believe it possible for any one to become a poet otherwise."

"That at any rate," said I, "their poets caught from Homer,⁴ as it were from a case of sore eyes. But as for Phocylides, while you people do not know him, as you state, for all that he is certainly rated among the famous poets. Therefore, just as, when a merchant sails into your port who has never been there before, you do not immediately scorn him but, on the contrary, having first tasted his wine and sampled any other merchandise in his cargo, you

³ Thought to have lived at Sparta about 640 B.C. For the extant fragments of his verse, see Edmonds, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 50 ff.
⁴ The tradition regarding Homer's blindness may be due to the "Homeric" Hymn to Apollo, verse 172; but Homer himself portrays his bard Demodocus as being blind.
ἐὰν μὲν ἄρεσθῃ ὑμᾶς, ὄνεισθε, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐὰντε-οὕτως, ἑφη, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Φωκυλίδου ποιήσεως

12 ἔξεστί σοι λαβεῖν δείγμα ἐν βραχεί. καὶ γάρ ἐστιν οὐ τῶν μακράν τινα καὶ συνεχῆ ποίησιν εἰρόντων, ὥσπερ ὁ ὑμετέρος μίαν ἐξῆς διέξεισι μάχην ἐν πλείσοις ἡ πεντακισχιλίως ἐπεσυγ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρία ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρχεσιν ἡ ποίησις καὶ πέρας λαμβάνει. ὥστε καὶ προστίθησι τὸ δύομα αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν διανόημα, ὡτε οποιο-

13 δαίον καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξον ἡγούμενον, σὺχ ὥσπερ ὁ Ἰμήρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀνόμασεν αὐτὸν.

καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου: πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ κόσμον

οἰκεῖσα σμικρῇ 1 κρέσσων Νάνου ἄφραυνούσης;

ἀλλ’ οὐ πρὸς ὅλην Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ ἐσθλὰ 2 ἐστὶ τοῖς μὴ παρέργας ἀκροωμένοις;

ἡ μάλλον ὑμᾶς ἀκούεις σύνεφερε περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως πολέμους τε καὶ δρούσεως καὶ τῆς φωνῆς, ὅτι μόνον φθεγξάμενος ἔτρεπε τοὺς Τρῶας; ταῦτα μάλλον ὁφελεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐκμανθάνον-

1 οἰκεῖσα σμικρῇ Morel: οἰκεῖσα (or οἰκεῖσαι) μικρῇ.

2 ἐσθλὰ added by Cappe.

1 Dio may have had in mind books 11 to 17 of the Iliad.
THE THIRTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

buy it if it suits your taste, otherwise you pass it by; just so," said I, "with the poetry of Phocylides you may take a sample of small compass. For he is not one of those who string together a long and continuous poem, as your Homer does, who uses more than five thousand verses of continuous narration in describing a single battle; ¹ on the contrary, the poems of Phocylides have both beginning and end in two or three verses. And so he adds his name to each sentiment, in the belief that it is a matter of interest and great importance, in so doing behaving quite differently from Homer, who nowhere in his poetry names himself. Or don't you think Phocylides had good reason for attaching his name to a maxim and declaration such as this?

This too the saying of Phocylides:
The law-abiding town, though small and set
On a lofty rock, outranks mad Nineveh.²

Why, in comparison with the entire Iliad and Odyssey are not these verses noble to those who pay heed as they listen? Or was it more to your advantage to hear of the impetuous leaping and charging of Achilles, and about his voice, how by his shouts alone he routed the Trojans?³ Are those things more useful for you to learn by heart than what you just have heard, that a small city on a rugged headland is better and more fortunate, if orderly, than a great city in a smooth and level plain, that is to say, if that city is conducted in disorderly and lawless fashion by men of folly? "

³ Iliad 18. 228-9.
Καὶ δὲ οὐ μάλα ἢδέως ἀποδεξάμενος, Ὅ ἐγένετο, ἐίπεν ὦτι, ἤμεις σε ἀγαπῶμεν καὶ σφόδρα αἰδούμεθα. ὡς ἀλλὰς 1 γε οὐδεὶς ἂν ἤνεσχετο Βορυσθενιτῶν εἰς Ὄμηρον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα τουαῦτα εἰπόντος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ἦμων ἔστιν, ὡς ὅρας, ὁ δὲ καὶ σχεδόν τι μετὰ τὸν θεοὺς τίμαται. καὶ γὰρ πραῖναι βουλόμενος αὐτὸν, ἁμα δὲ ἐπὶ τι χρήσιμον ἀγαγεῖν, Παραπτοῦμαι σε, εἶπον, καὶ Ὅμηρον συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι, εἴ τι κακὸν νῦν εἴρηται.

αὕτης γὰρ ποτε ἐπαινεσόμεθα Ἀχιλλέα τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ὅσα δοκεῖ ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς λέγειν. τὸ δὲ παρὸν σκεπτέον ἄν εἰη τὸ τοῦ Φοκυλίδου· ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ σφόδρα καλῶς λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. Σκόπει, ἐφη, ἑπεὶ καὶ τούσδε ὅρας πάντας ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀκούσαι σου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνερρυ-κότας δεύρῳ πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν, καίτοι ὁ σφόδρα ἀθορυβώς ἔχοντας. οὐθα γὰρ δήποτε ὅτι χθές οἱ Σκύθαι προσελάσαντες μεσημβρίας τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν τῶν σκοπών οὐ προσέχοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐξωγρήκασιν ἰσως· οὐ γὰρ πω ἐπιστάμεθα διὰ τὸ μακροτέραν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν φυγήν, ἀτε οὐ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν φεύγουσιν.

1 Ἡν δὲ τῷ ὤντι ταῦτα οὕτως, καὶ αὐτὲ πῦλαι συγκέκλειστο καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἢρτο ἐπὶ τοῦ τεῖχους τὸ πολέμικὸν. ἀλλ' ὦμως οὕτως ἦσαν φιλήκοι

1 ἀλλὰς Casaubon: ἀλλος.

1 Iliad 4. 362–3.

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And Callistratus, receiving my remarks with no great pleasure, replied, "My friend, we admire and respect you greatly; for otherwise no man in Borysthenes would have tolerated your saying such things of Homer and Achilles. For Achilles is our god, as you observe, and Homer ranks almost next to the gods in honour." And I in turn, wishing to appease him and at the same time to guide him in the direction of his own advantage, said, "I beg you to forgive me, to use the Homeric phrase,

'if aught of harm hath now been spoken.'

For some other time we shall praise both Achilles and Homer in so far as the poet seems to us to speak correctly. But now we might well consider the case of Phocylides, since in my opinion he speaks very nobly regarding the city." "Pray do so," said he, "since you can see that all these men now present are just as eager as I am to listen to you, and that for that very reason they have streamed together here beside the river, although in no very tranquil state of mind. For of course you know that yesterday the Scythians made a raid at noon and put to death some of the outposts who were not on their guard, and in all likelihood took others captive; for we do not yet know definitely about that, because their rout took them some distance away; for their flight was not toward the city." 

And in truth it was precisely as he had said, and not only were the city gates fast shut but also there had been hoisted on the ramparts the standard that betokens war. Yet they were such ardent listeners,
καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ Ἑλληνες, ὥστε μικρὸν δεῖν ἀπαντεῖς παρήγαγεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, βουλόμενοι ἀκούειν. κἀγὼ ἀγάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν, Βούλεσθε, ἐφην, καθιζόμεθα ὑόντες ποι τῆς πόλεως; τυχῶν γὰρ νῦν οὐ πάντες ὀμοίως ἀκούοντων ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν, ἀλλ’ οἱ ὀπισθεν πράγματα ἤχουσι καὶ παρέχουσι τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, οπεύθυντες ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο εἶπον, εὐθὺς ὁρμήσαν ἀπαντεῖς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν, οὕτε εἰσέβαζο βούλευεσθαί. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβυτατοί καὶ οἱ γνωριμώτατοι καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίς κύκλω καθίζοντο ἐπὶ βάθρων” τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος ἐφεστήκεσαν. ἦν γὰρ εὐρυχωρία πολλῆ πρὸ τοῦ νεόν. πάνω οὖν ἀν τὴς ἡσθη τῇ ὁμα τοις δοκιμοφός ἀνήρ, ὅτι ἀπαντεῖς ἠσθαν τῶν ἀρχαίων τρόπων, ὡς φησιν ὁμπρος τοὺς Ἑλληνας, κομίσωτε καὶ τὰ γένεια ἀφεικότες, εἰς δὲ ἐν αὐτῶς μόνοις ἐξυρημένος, καὶ τοῦτον ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἐμύσουν ἀπαντεῖς. ἐλέγετο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύων, ἀλλὰ κολακεύων Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος· ὥστε εἴδεν ἄν τις ἐπ’ ἐκείνου τὸ αἰσχρόν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ οὐδαμῆ πρέπον ἄνδράσιν.

1 The phrase κάρη κοιμάωτες Ἀχαϊῶ is frequent in Homer. He is silent regarding the beard, though beards may have been usual. Though the Greeks had long known of the razor, Alexander the Great is said to have made shaving
so truly Greek in character, that almost all the inhabitants were present, under arms, eager to hear me. And I, admiring their earnestness, said, "If it please you, shall we go and sit down somewhere in the city? For perchance at present not all can hear equally well what is said as we stroll; on the contrary, those in the rear find it difficult themselves and also make it difficult for those ahead through their eagerness to get closer." And no sooner had I made this suggestion than they all set out together for the temple of Zeus, where they are wont to meet in council. And while the eldest and the most distinguished and the officials sat on benches in a circle, the rest of the company stood close by, for there was a large open space before the temple. A philosopher would have been vastly pleased at the sight, because all were like the ancient Greeks described by Homer, long-haired and with flowing beards,1 and only one among them was shaven, and he was subjected to the ridicule and resentment of them all. And it was said that he practised shaving, not as an idle fancy, but out of flattery of the Romans and to show his friendship toward them. And so one could have seen illustrated in his case how disgraceful the practice is and how unseemly for real men.

But when quiet had been secured, I said that in my opinion they did well, seeing that they dwelt in a city that was ancient and Greek, in wishing to hear about a city. "And," said I, "surely the first essential is that we should know precisely the true nature of the thing about which we are to speak; really popular. Scipio Africanus seems to have been the first Roman to shave regularly. Our passage suggests that even in Dio's day some Greeks wore beards.
ΔΙΟΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

εἴπτε ἀμα ἡσθημένοι καὶ ὀποίον τί ἔστων. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ, ἐφην, ἄνθρωποι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτὸ ἱσασι καὶ φθέγγονται τοῦ πράγματος ἐκάστου,

19 τὸ δὲ πράγμα ἀγνοοῦσαν. οἱ δὲ πεπαιδευμένοι τοῦτο φροντίζουσι, ὅπως καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἴσονται ἐκάστου οὐ λέγουσιν οἶνον τὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον ὄνομα πάντες οὐτῶν λέγουσιν οἱ ἐλληνικότες, εἰς δὲ πῦθη τυχὸς αὐτῶν ὅ τι ἐστὶ τοῦτο, λέγω δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων τι καὶ καθ᾽ ὁ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ταύτων, οὐκ ἂν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ἄλλ’ ἢ δειξει μένον αὐτῶν ἢ ἄλλον, ὡσπερ οἱ βαρβαροὶ. ὁ δὲ ἐμπειρὸς τῶν πυθαγορεύων τί ἔστων ἄνθρωπος ἀποκρίνεται ὦτι ἐξῆς λογικὸν θυγατέρα. τὸ γὰρ τοῦτο εἶναι μόνω ἄνθρωπῳ συμβεβηκε καὶ

20 οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν φασὶν εἶναι πλῆθος ἄνθρωπον ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντων ὑπὸ νόμου διουκούμενον. ἢ δὴ οὖν δῆλον ὅτι τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης οὔθεμι προσήκει τῶν καλουμένων πόλεων τῶν ἄφρονός καὶ ἀνόμων. οὐκ οὖν οὔδ’ ἡ Νίνου εἰη ἄν ὁ ποιητής ὡς οὕτως ἄρ οὐκ Μήτης ἀφροινοῦσις ἀφροικός, ὡσπερ γὰρ οὔδ’ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ἔστων ὃ μή πρόσεστι τὸ λογικόν, οὕτως οὔδ’ πόλις, ἢ μὴ συμβεβηκε νομίμου εἰην. νόμιμος δὲ οὖν ἂν εἰη ποτὲ ἄφρον καὶ ἀκοσμος οὖσα.

21 Ἰσως οὖν ζητήσαι ἂν τοὺς, εἰ ἐπειδὰν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ προεστῶτες ὡςι φρόνιμοι καὶ σοφοὶ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος διουκήται κατὰ τὴν τούτων γνώμην νομίμως καὶ σωφρόνως, τὴν τοιαύτην χρή καλεῖν σώφρονα καὶ νόμιμον καὶ τῷ ὄντι

1 ἀφρονοῦσις Ἐμπερῖος: ἀφροεροῦσις Μ, ἀφρονοῦσις Β.
2 διακήται Reiske: διακείμενο.
for in that way you would at the same time have perceived what its attributes are. For most men," said I, "know and employ merely the names of things, but are ignorant of the things themselves. On the other hand, men who are educated make it their business to know also the meaning of everything of which they speak. For example, *anthropos* is a term used by all who speak Greek, but if you should ask any one of them what *anthropos* really is—I mean what its attributes are and wherein it differs from any other thing—he could not say, but could only point to himself or to someone else in true barbarian fashion. But the man who has expert knowledge, when asked what *anthropos* is, replies that it is a mortal animal endowed with reason. For that happens to be true of *anthropos* alone and of nothing else. Well, in that way also the term 'city' is said to mean a group of *anthropoi* dwelling in the same place and governed by law.\(^1\) It is immediately evident, therefore, that that term belongs to none of those communities which are called cities but are without wisdom and without law. Consequently not even in referring to Nineveh could the poet use the term 'city,' since Nineveh is given over to folly. For just as that person is not even an *anthropos* who does not also possess the attribute of reason, so that community is not even a city which lacks obedience to law. And it could never be obedient to law if it is foolish and disorderly.

Perhaps, then, someone might inquire whether, when the rulers and leaders of a community are men of prudence and wisdom, and it is in accordance with their judgement that the rest are governed, lawfully and sanely, such a community may be called sane and

\(^1\) A Stoic definition, more succinctly stated in § 29.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν διοικοῦντων· ὥστερ χορὸν ἵσως
φαίνειν ἄν μουσικών, τοῦ κορυφαίου μουσικοῦ
ὄντος, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκείνων συνεπομένων καὶ
μηδὲν παρὰ μέλος φθεγγομένων ἢ σμικρὰ καὶ
22 ἀδήλως. ἀγαθὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν
πόλιν ὡστε τις γενομένην πρῶτον οὐδὲ θυνηθὴν
οὔτε ποτὲ ὡς ἐσομένην ὥστε τον ἄξιον διανοη-
θήναι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ θεών μακάρων καὶ οὐρανῶν,
οὐδαμῶς ἀκίνητον οὐδὲ ἀργὴν, ἀλλὰ σφοδρῶν
οὐσιών καὶ πορευομένην, τῶν μὲν ἡγουμένων
τε καὶ πρῶτων θεῶν χωρὶς ἔριδος καὶ ἄρσης
οὔτε γὰρ ἐρίζειν θεοὺς οὔτε ἡττᾶσθαι θέμις
οὔτε ἕναλήθων ὁτα ἕλαθον οὔτε ὑπὸ ἄλλων
κρείττονών, ἀλλὰ πρᾶττειν ἀκωλύτως τὰ σφετέρα
ἔργα μετὰ πάσης φιλίας αἰὲ πάντων κοινῆς.
τῶν μὲν φανερωτῶν πορευομένων ἐκάστου καὶ
ἐαυτῶν, οὐ πλανωμένων ἄλλως ἀνόητον πλάνην,
ἀλλὰ χορείαν εὐδαιμόνα χορευόντων μετά τε
νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως τῆς ἀκρας: τοὺ ἓν λοιποῦ
πλῆθουσ ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φορᾶς ἀγομένου μὲ
γνώμη καὶ ὀρμῆ τοῦ εὐμπάντος οὐρανοῦ.

23 Μίαν γὰρ δὴ ταύτην καθαρῶς εὐδαιμόνα
πολιτείαν ἐπεί καὶ πόλιν χρή καλεῖν, τὴν θεῶν
πρὸς ἄλληλος κοινωνίαν, ἐὰν τε καὶ εὐμπάν
τὸ Ὑσιπίκον περιλάβῃ τις, ἀνθρώπων σὺν θεοῖς
ἀριθμομένων, ὡς πάλιν σὺν ἀνδράσι λέγονται

1 εὐμπαν τὸ Cesaubon: εὐμπαντα.
law-abiding and really a city because of those who govern it; just as a chorus might possibly be termed musical provided its leader were musical and provided further that the other members followed his lead and uttered no sound contrary to the melody that he set—or only slight sounds and indistinctly uttered. For no one knows of a good city made wholly of good elements as having existed in the past, that is, a city of mortal men, nor is it worth while to conceive of such a city as possibly arising in the future, unless it be a city of the blessed gods in heaven, by no means motionless or inactive, but vigorous and progressive, its guides and leaders being gods, exempt from strife and defeat. For it is impious to suppose that gods indulge in strife or are subject to defeat, either by one another, friends as they are, or by more powerful beings; on the contrary, we must think of them as performing their several functions without let or hindrance and with unvarying friendship of all toward all in common, the most conspicuous among them each pursuing an independent course—I don’t mean wandering aimlessly and senselessly, but rather dancing a dance of happiness coupled with wisdom and supreme intelligence—while the rest of the celestial host are swept along by the general movement, the entire heaven having one single purpose and impulse.

For that, indeed, is the only constitution or city that may be called genuinely happy—the partnership of god with god; even if you include with the gods also everything that has the faculty of reason, mankind being thus included as boys are said to share a myth of the Magi, according to which the universe constitutes a four-horse team yoked to the chariot of Zeus.
μετέχειν πόλεως, φύσει πολύτατο ὄντες, οὐ τῷ φρονεῖν τε καὶ πράσσειν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τῷ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ νόμου, ἀξίωντει ὄντες αὐτοῦ. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πασῶν σχεδὸν ἀπλῶς ἡμαρτη-
μένων τε καὶ φαύλων πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν εὐθύτητα τοῦ θείου καὶ μακαρίου νόμου καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς διουκήσεως, ὃμως δὲ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν εὑπορήσομεν¹ παραδευμάτων τῆς ἐπιεικέστερον ἔχουσης πρὸς τὴν παντελῶς διεφθαρμένην, ὡς ἐν πάσι νοσοῦσι τὸν γ'² ἔλαφρότατα διάγοντα τῷ κάκωστα διακεμένων παραβάλλοντες.

24 Ἐνω μὲν οὖν πρὸς τῷ τοιοῦτον ὁρμῶν τῷ λόγῳ. μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν παρόντων εἰς ἐφθέγξατο εἰς τὸ μέσον, ὁσπερ ἦν πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν καὶ μέγιστον ἄξιωμα ἐχων, εἰπε δὲ πάνω εὐλαβοῦμενος, Μηδαμίδης, ὃ ἔπε, ἄγρακον μηδὲ βαρβαρικὸν ἡγήσῃ τῷ τοιούτῳ, ἵνα μεταξὺ λέγοντι σοι ἐμποδῶν ἐγενόμην. παρ' ἦμῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο διὰ τὸ πολλὴν αἰφθονίαν εἰναι τῶν ἐκ³ φιλοσοφίας λόγων καὶ περὶ παντὸς ὅτου ἄν ἐπιθυμῇ τις ἐξεῖναι παρὰ πολλῶν ἀκοῦσαι· παρ' ἦμῶν δὲ ὅσπερ τέρας τῷ τούτῳ πέφηνε τὸ 25 σὲ ἦμῶν ἀφικέσθαι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σχεδὸν τῷ δεύτῳ ἀφικοῦνται ὁνόματε Ἑλλήνες, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ βαρβαρῶτεροι ἦμῶν, ἐμποροὶ καὶ ἀγοραῖοι, μάκη φαύλα καὶ οἶνον πονηρὸν εἰκονίζοντες καὶ τὰ γε παρ' ἦμῶν οὐδὲν βελτίων τούτων ἐξαγόμενοι. σὲ δὲ αὐτῶς ἦμῶν ὁ Ἀχίλλεως ἐσκε δεύτῳ ἀπὸ τῆς νῆσου διαπέμψας, καὶ σε πάνυ μὲν ἢδεως ὀρῶμεν, πάνυ δὲ ἢδεως ἀκούσαμεν

¹ εὑπορήσομεν Reiske: εὑπαρήσομεν.
² τῶν γ' Emperius: τῶν δ'.
³ ἐκ added by Emperius.
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in citizenship with men, being citizens by birth though not by reason of conceiving and performing the tasks of citizens or sharing in the law, of which they have no comprehension. However, if we take communities of a different kind, though everywhere and in every instance, we may almost say, they are absolutely faulty and worthless as compared with the supreme righteousness of the divine and blessed law and its proper administration, still for our present purpose we shall be supplied with examples of the type that is fairly equitable when compared with that which is utterly corrupt, just as among persons who are all ill we compare the man who had the lightest case with the one who is in worst condition."

Well then, I was launching forth upon that general line in my discussion, when one of those who were present, the eldest in the company and held in high esteem, spoke up, interrupting me, and in a very guarded manner said, "Stranger, pray do not think it boorish or barbarous of me to intervene in the midst of your discourse. For while in your country such conduct is not good manners, because of the great abundance of philosophical discussions and because one may listen to many men upon any topic he may desire, in ours this visit of yours to our city seems almost a miraculous event. As a usual thing those who come here are nominally Greeks but actually more barbarous than ourselves, traders and market-men, fellows who import cheap rags and vile wine and export in exchange products of no better quality. But you would appear to have been sent to us by Achilles himself from his holy isle,¹ and we are very glad to see you and very glad also to listen to what-

¹ Cf. § 9.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM 

ο τι αν λέγης. τοι μέντοι πολύν τινα χρόνον ἡγούμεθα ἔσεσθαι τοῦτον οὐδὲ βουλόμεθα, ἀλλὰ σε εὗ πράξαντα οὕκαδε κατελθέων τὴν ταχίστην. 

26 νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ ἦς ὁ λόγος τῆς θείας διουκήσεως, αὐτὸς τε ἀνεπτέρωμα δαιμονίως καὶ τούσδε ὁμοί πάντας ὀργῶντας πρὸς ἐκείνου τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ἦμων ἔδοξας μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκ ἄναξίως ὅσα εἶπες εἰρηκέναι καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα ἴμείσ βουλομέθα ἀκούσαι. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβεστέρας ταύτης φιλοσοφίας ἀπειροῦ ἐσμέν, ὁμήρου δὲ, ὡς οὖσα, ἐρασται καὶ τινὲς οὗ πολλοὶ Πλάτωνος· ἄν δὴ καμὲ ὅρᾶς ὀντα, ἄει ποτε ἐντυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐκείνου ὅπως ἂν διή-

υνωμα· καίτοι ὅσοι άτοπον βαρβαρίζοντα τῶν πολυτῶν μάλιστα τῇ ἐλληνικωτάτῃ καὶ σοφωτάτῳ χαῖρει καὶ ἐνυπείναι, καθάπερ εἰ τις μικροῦ τυφλὸς τὸ μὲν ἀλλὸ φῶς ἀποστρέφουτο, πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἤλιον ἀναβλέποι. 

27 Ἐχει μὲν δὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα οὕτως. οὗ δὲ εἰ τιθελες πάσιν ἴμων χαρίσασθαι, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐντήθς πόλεως ἀναβαλοῦ λόγου, ἐὰν ἄρα σχολήν ἴμων οἱ γείτονες παράσχωσιν εἰς αὐρίων καὶ μὴ δὴ προσγυμνάζοσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔδος ἴμων τὸ πολὺ· περὶ δὲ τῆς θείας εἴτε πόλεως εἴτε δια-

κοπήσεως φίλον σοι καλεῖν, εἰπὲ δὴ τε καὶ ὅπως ἑχει, ὡς δύνασαι ἐγγύτατα τείνον τῆς τοῦ

1 λέγης Emperius: λέγη τις.
ever you have to say. However, we do not believe that this visit of yours is to be of very long duration, nor do we desire it to be, but rather that you may have a prosperous voyage home as speedily as possible.\(^1\) Now therefore, since in your remarks you have touched upon the divine form of government, I myself am tremendously excited, and I see that my friends here also are all worked up in anticipation of that theme. The fact is that in our opinion everything you have said has been magnificently expressed, in a manner not unworthy of your theme, and precisely as we should most desire to hear. For although we are unacquainted with this more refined form of philosophy, yet we are, as you know, lovers of Homer, and some, not many, lovers of Plato too. To this latter group I myself belong, for I always read his writings as best I can; and yet it may perhaps seem odd that one who speaks the poorest Greek of all the people of Borysthenes should delight in the man who is most Greek and most wise and should cultivate that man’s society, quite as if a person almost wholly blind were to shun every other light but turn his gaze upward to the sun itself.

\(^{\text{\textquotedblleft This, then, is our situation; and if you wish to do us all a favour, postpone your discussion of the mortal city—possibly our neighbours may after all grant us leisure tomorrow, and not compel us to exert ourselves against them as is generally our wont—and tell us instead about that divine city or government, whichever you prefer to call it, stating where it is and what it is like, aiming as closely as possible\textquotedblright}}\)

\(^{1}\) The speaker clearly has heard of Dio’s frustrated plans and of his present purpose to sail away (cf. § 8) and is merely being polite.
Πλάτωνος ἐλευθερίας περὶ τὴν φράσιν, οἷον δὴ καὶ ἄρτι ποιεῖν ἦμων ἔδοξας. εἰ γὰρ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, τῆς γε φωνῆς εὐνιέμεν ὑπὸ συνθεῖας δότι οὐ συμκρόν οὐδὲ πόρρω τοῦ Ὄμηρου φθέγγεται.

Καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα γε ἡσθῆν τῇ ἀπλότητι τοῦ πρεσβύτου, καὶ γελάσας εἶπον, Ὡμ ψῆλε Ιεροσόων, εἰ μὲ ἐκείλευες χθές εἰσβεβληκότων ἦμων τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντα ὀπλα ὁσπερ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μάχεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἔτερον ἐπεισθήν ἄν, πειράμενος ἀμώνεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἁνδρῶν φίλων, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον οὐκ ἄν, οἷα αἰ, ἐξυνάμην, καὶ τοιο σφόδρα βουλώμενος, ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀχιλλεί ἀγωνίζεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δὲν κελεύεις ποιήσω τὸ ἔτερον, προβηθμῷσοι εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον, ὅς ἄν εγὼ δύνωμαι κατ᾽ ἐμαυτόν.

ἀνθράσι δὲ προτέρους ἐριζέμεν οὐκ ἐθελησῶ, οὑτε Πλάτωνι οὑτε Ὁμήρῳ. οὐ γὰρ τοι οὐδὲ τῷ Εὐρυτῷ φησὶ συνενεγκεῖν ὁ ποιητὴς, διὶ ἦμιζε πρὸς τοὺς κρέατονας. οὐ μέντοι σπούδησις γε, ἐφην, οὐδὲν ἀπολείψομεν. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν πρὸς ἐκείνων οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑπεκίνουν καὶ ἀνεφερό-μην τρόπον τινὰ ἀναμνησθείς Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Ὁμήρου.

1 Ιεροσόων Boeckh: Ἡρόων UB, Ῥουσων M.
2 εἰ μὲ Salden: εἰ μὲν.
3 ὑπεκίνου Cobet: ὑπὶ ἐκείνων M, ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου UB.

1 Perhaps a reference to § 22, which in a way foreshadows the myth of §§ 39 ff.
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at Plato's nobility of expression, just as but now you seemed to us to do. For if we understand nothing else, we do understand at least his language because of our long familiarity with it, for it has a lofty sound, not far removed from the voice of Homer."

I in turn was exceedingly pleased with the simple frankness of the old gentleman, and with a laugh I said, "My dear Hieroson, if yesterday when the enemy made their attack you had bidden me to take up arms and give battle like Achilles, I should have obeyed one part of your injunction, endeavouring to come to the aid of men who are my friends; but the other part, I fancy, I could not have managed, however much I should have wished to do so, to fight as your Achilles did. Similarly in the present instance also I will do part of what you bid—I will strive to tell my story as best I can in my own way;

Though ancient heroes I'll not try to match, whether it be Plato or Homer. For, you remember, the poet says that in the case of Eurytus himself such rivalry worked not to his advantage, since it was aimed at his superiors. However, I shall not lack for devotion," I added. Yet, despite my brave words to Hieroson, I was moved and heaved a sigh, as it were, when I bethought me of Homer and Plato.

2 Although we know nothing of this Hieroson apart from what Dio tells us, the name, which is quite unusual, is found in an inscription relating to Borysthenes and to its worship of Achilles (C.I.G. 2, 2077).
2 Odyssey 8. 223.
4 Dio is still thinking of the passage just quoted, verses 224–8 of which allude to the slaying of Eurytus by Apollo for having dared to challenge the god to a trial of skill in archery. It was the bow of Eurytus with which Odysseus slew the suitors.
Τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως οὕτως, ἐφη, δεῖ ἀκούειν ὡς ὁ ἄντωρ τῶν ἡμετέρων τὸν κόσμον ἀποφαινομένων πόλιν. ἔναντιον γὰρ ἄν ὑπῆρχε τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ὁ ἄστερ οὐν ἔστεν, σύστημα ἄνθρωπων ὀρίσαντο. ἄμα τε οὕτω ἴσως πρέπον οὐδὲ πιθανὸν ἑκατέρας εἰπόντας εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ἱερὸν ἑπεὶτα φάσκειν ὡς ἐστὶ πόλις: τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πόλιν τε καὶ ἱερὸν οὐκ ἄν, οἷμαι, ῥαδίως ὑπομένοι τις ὑπολαβεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὴνν νῦν διακόσμησιν, ὄτηνικα διηρήτωσι καὶ μεμέρωται τὸ πᾶν εἰς πολλάς τινως μορφάς φυτῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν θυρτῶν καὶ ἄθαντων, ἐτε δὲ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς, ἐν ὑπὸν ἤτον πεθεκὼς ἐν ἀπασὶ τούτως καὶ μᾶλψ ψυχῆ καὶ δυνάμει διεσπόμενον, ἀμμεγέτη πόλει προσευκάζοντο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ γεγομένων τε καὶ ἀπογηγομένων, ἐτε δὲ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν τῆς διοικήσεως.

1 δεῖ Reiske ὅτι M, dein UB.
2 τῶν ἡμετέρων Emperius τῶν ἡμερῶν M, τῶν ἡμερῶν ξών UB.
3 ἄν added by Emperius.
4 τούτῳ Selden: τοῦτῳ.
5 ἴν added by Emperius.
6 ἐν Arnim: ἐν.
7 διεσπόμενον Emperius: διεσπορρέων.
8 ἀμμεγέτη Emperius: ἐ μῆτε τῇ.
9 θείῳ Geel: θείῳ.
10 δικαιοσύνης Reiske: δικαιοσύνην.
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"Well then," said I, "the term 'city' must be taken on the understanding that our sect\(^1\) is not literally defining the universe as a city; for that would be in direct conflict with our doctrine of the city, which, as I have said, the Stoics define as an organization of human beings;\(^2\) and at the same time it would possibly not be suitable or convincing, if, after stating in the strict sense of the term that the universe is a living creature,\(^3\) they should then call it a city, for that the same thing is both a city and a living being is a proposition that, I imagine, no one would readily consent to entertain. Yet the present orderly constitution of the universe ever since the whole has been separated and divided into a considerable number of forms of plants and animals, mortal and immortal, yes, and into air and earth and water and fire,\(^4\) being nevertheless by nature in all these forms one thing and governed by one spirit and force—this orderly constitution, I say, the Stoics do in one way or another liken to a city because of the multitude of the creatures that are constantly either being born or else ending their existence in it, and, furthermore, because of the arrangement and orderliness of its administration.

"This doctrine, in brief, aims to harmonize the human race with the divine, and to embrace in a single term everything endowed with reason, finding in reason the only sure and indissoluble foundation for fellowship and justice. For in keeping with that

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\(^1\) The Stoics.

\(^2\) Cf. § 20.

\(^3\) Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 30 B.

\(^4\) Cf. §§ 43–6, where Dio treats these four as horses.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

tóutò òn eìn legeoménè mà Δ' où faiólnon ouðè mikróvn tuchósa ἥγεμονων ouðè úpò týmánwn te kai dhímwn kai dekaraχíon dh kai olígarχíon kai týnwn állwn toioútwn árrwstítmátwn diaforoù-
mény kai stásiaxoussa tôn anapantà chrónou, álla tì swfrontostáti kai áríosth basileíā
ekokomímény, tì ònti basileuoménè katà nómov

32 metà pásois filías kai ómwnías. òper dh ó
sofóntatos kai 1 prosovbóntatos árχoun kai nómoθétes
ápasì proostátei thnís kai álvanótos, dh tòv
ërmpantos ἥγεμον ὀφρανό kai tìs álías deýspóth
ómnias, autós ouðìs éxergouménos kai páraðeugmá
paréçouv tìn autòv diákti 2 tinédamos kai
makariás katasóstásews. òn òi ûeous poihtai
mabhntes èk Mousoúv Ímhoús ìma kai ónomázoun
patéra ûeous kai anvtróntov.

33 Kivdunewei yàr òn dh tò poihtikón génos ou
pánv òistantòv einai tòn íerówn lógonw ouðè ápò
stáxou fthéγyntai tà toiaúta pollákis, ou
ménvou 3 ouðè meýndhθai kátharòs kàtà thesímov
kai nómov tòn mnwsménwv ouðè eîdımov tòv
ërmpantos perì tìs áltheías safèès ouðèn, òs
eπos eîπeiv. ùteχnìs dh eòikey òmwn évna tòv
ëxìw perì thýras upýrètai tòn teletóv, prósbyr
kospoúi kai bwhous tòvs èn tòv ðaneró kai tà
álλa tà toiaúta paraðekuvántovn, ouðè pòtì
ëvðov paróúv. òðen dh kai ðeráþontas Mousoúv
autòv ðnomáxovn, ou mústas ouðè állo semvñv

1 After kai Wilamowitz deletes ò.
2 tìn autòv diákti Enpeirìs: tìn autòv diákti.
3 múntov Enpeirìs: tòvov.

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concept the term 'city' would be applied, not, of course, to an organization that has chanced to get mean or petty leaders nor to one which through tyranny or democracy or, in fact, through decarchy or oligarchy or any other similar product of imperfection, is being torn to pieces and made the victim of constant party faction. Nay, the term would be applied rather to an organization that is governed by the sanest and noblest form of kingship, to one that is actually under royal governance in accordance with law, in complete friendship and concord. And this, indeed, is precisely what the wisest and eldest ruler and law-giver ordains for all, both mortals and immortals, he who is the leader of all the heaven and lord of all being, himself thus expounding the term and offering his own administration as a pattern of the happy and blessed condition, he whom the divine bards, instructed by the Muses, praise in song and call the 'father of gods and men.'

"For the chances are, indeed, that poets as a class are not utterly bad marksmen when they speak of sacred things and that they are not missing the mark when they use such expressions as that repeatedly; on the other hand, it is not likely that they have received a real initiation according to the rites and regulations of true initiates, or that with reference to the universe they know anything, if I may say so, which is true and clear. But we may think of them as merely like the attendants at the rites, who stand outside at the doors, decked portals and the altars which are in full view and attending to the other preparations of that kind but never passing within. Indeed that is the very reason why the poets call themselves 'attendants of the Muses,' not initiates
 Dio Chrysostom

34 ὁνόμα. οὐκοῦν, ὡς ἐφην, τοὺς τε ἐπισθεῖν ἀναστρεφομένους τελετῆς των πρὸς ταῖς εἰσόδοις εἰκὸς τὸ γε τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐνδοθεν αἰσθάνεσθαι των, ἦτοι ρήματος ἐκβοηθεῖτος ἐνὸς μιστικοῦ ἐπιφανείτως, καὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐνίστε, λέγω δὲ τοῖς πάνω ἄρχαιοις, φωνή τις ἐκ Μουσῶν ἀφίκετο βραχεία καὶ ποῦ τις ἐπίτυπα θείας φύσεως τε καὶ ἀληθείας, καθάπερ αὕτη πυρὸς εἰς ἀφανῶς λάμψαντος; ἀ ἐπαγγέλει ἐκ Μουσῶν καὶ κατεύχων ὁμηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος. οἱ δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνους ὑστερον ἐπὶ σκηνᾶς καὶ θέατρα τὴν αὐτῶν σοφίαν ἀγαγόντες ἀμύητοι ἀμυνότοις πολλάκις ἐξεφερον ἀτελῆ παραδείγματα ὀργίων· βασιλέαν εἰς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπεξείρουν αὐτοῖς τελείων τὸν ὄχλον, τῷ ὄντι βακχεῖων τυνάνα σκηνᾶς ἀκαλύπτων πηξόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τραγικάς τριῶδος.

35 Οὕτω δ’ οὖν πάντες οἱ ποιηταὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον θεόν πατέρα καλοῦσιν συλλήβδην ἀπαντὸς τοῦ λογικοῦ γένους καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα. οὐς πειθόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι Δίος βασιλέως ἴδρυσατε βωμοῦς, καὶ δὴ καὶ πατέρα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι προσαγορευέων τυνάς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ὡς τοιαῦτα τυνάς ἀρχῆς καὶ συστάσεως οὕτως τοῦ παντός. ὡς ταῦτα γε οὐδὲ οἰκον δοκοῦσι μοι ὀκνήσαι ἄν ἀποφήγνασθαι τοῦ Δίος.

1 τοὺς τε Emperius: τοὺς. 2 τῶν added by Emperius. 3 ταῦτα Selden: ταῦτα.

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1 Cf. Hesiod, Theogony 22–34.
2 Dio is contrasting with the privacy and secrecy of the mysteries (§§ 33, 34) the openness and profane character of dramatic productions. Hence ἀκαλύπτως and τριῶδος are
or any other august name. So, as I was saying, it is reasonable to suppose that not only do those who busy themselves near some ritual, hard by the entrance to the sanctuary, gain some inkling of what is going on within, when either a lone mystic phrase rings out loudly, or fire appears above the enclosure, but also that there comes sometimes to the poets—I mean the very ancient poets—some utterance from the Muses, however brief, some inspiration of divine nature and of divine truth, like a flash of fire from the invisible. This is what happened to Homer and Hesiod when they were possessed by the Muses. But the poets who came after them in later days, bringing to stage and theatre naught but their own wisdom, uninitiate addressing uninitiate, have oftentimes disclosed imperfect patterns of holy rites; but, being applauded by the multitude, they tried in their own right to initiate the mob, actually, as we might say, building open booths for Bacchic rites at tragic crossroads.

"Yet all these poets in precisely the same fashion call the first and greatest god Father of the whole rational family collectively, yes, and King besides. And trusting to these poets men erect altars to Zeus the King and, what is more, some do not hesitate even to call him Father in their prayers, believing that there exists some such government and organization of the universe as that. Therefore, from that standpoint at least, it seems to me, they would not hesitate to apply the term 'home of Zeus' to the the significant words. For 'building booths' = presenting plays, see Plato, Laws 817 c.

1 Euripides called the aether the oiktous of Zeus, for which the malicious wit of Aristophanes (Frogs 100) substituted the word δομάτιον.
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tὸν ἄπαντα κόσμον, εἴπερ ἐστὶ πατὴρ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ νὴ Δία πόλιν, ὁσπερ ἤμεισ προσεικά-
37 ἔστησε κατὰ τὴν μείζονα ἀρχήν. βασιλεία γὰρ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ ὁικω πρεπόντως ἂν λέγωσο. ὦν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεία εἰσόντες τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁλῶν οὐκ ἂν βασιλεύσαθαί τοῦ ὁλον ὁμολογοῦν οὐδὲ βασι-
λεύσαθαι φήσαντες οὐκ ἂν πολιτεύεσθαι φαίνει οὐδὲ εἶναι πολιτείαν βασιλικὴν τοῦ παντὸς. πολιτείαν δὲ αὐτὸν συγχωροῦντες πόλιν οὐκ ἂν ἀποτρῆπουν ὁμολογεῖν ἢ τι τούτῳ παραπλῆσιον τὸ πολιτεύο-
μενον.

38 Ὅθερ μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν φιλοσόφων λόγος, ἀγαθὴν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀποδεικνύν κοινώνιαν δαμόνων καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μεταδίδους νόμου καὶ πολιτείας οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας τῶν ἐφόν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοις μέτεστι λόγου καὶ φρουρήσεως, πολὺ κρείττω καὶ δικαιοτέρας τῆς Δακωνικῆς νομοθεσίας εἰσηγούμενος, καὶ ἢν οὐδὲ ὑπάρχει τοῖς Εἰλωσι γενέσθαι Σπαρταῖς, ὑπὲρ δὴ καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἐπιβουλεύοντες τῇ Ἔλβῃ.

39 Ἔστερος δὲ μῦθος ἐν ἀπορρήτως τελεταῖς ὑπὸ μάγων ἄνδρῶν ἔδειται θαυμαζόμενος, οἴ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὑμνοῦσιν ὡς τέλειον τε καὶ πρῶτον ἤνισχου τοῦ τελειοτάτου ἄρματος. τὸ γὰρ Ἰλιόν ἄρμα νεώτερον φασιν ἐναὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο κρυσφόν, φανερὸν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὥστε προδήλου γνωσμένης τῆς φόρας. ὑθεν κοινής φήμης ὑπερχαίνει, ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπὸ 3 πρῶτων χρόνων τι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἐκάστοτε λεγόντων κατὰ

1 τῶν Jacobs: αὐτῶν.
2 κοινῆς φήμης Reiske: κοιναίς φήμαις.
3 ἀπὸ Emporius: ὑπὸ.
entire universe—if indeed he is father of all who live in it—yes, by Zeus, and his 'city' too, our Stoic similitude, to suggest the greater office of the god. For kingship is a word more appropriate to a city than to a home. For surely men would not apply the term King to him who is over all and then refuse to admit that the whole is governed by a king, nor would they admit that they are governed by a king and then deny that they are members of a state or that there is a kingly administration of the universe. And again, conceding 'administration,' they would not balk at accepting 'city,' or something very like it, as descriptive of that which is administered.

"This, then, is the theory of the philosophers, a theory which sets up a noble and benevolent fellowship of gods and men which gives a share in law and citizenship, not to all living beings whatsoever, but only to such as have a share in reason and intellect, introducing a far better and more righteous code than that of Sparta, in accordance with which the Helots have no prospect of ever becoming Spartans, and consequently are constantly plotting against Sparta.

"Moreover, there is besides a myth which arouses admiration as sung in secret rites by the Magi, who extoll this god of ours as being the perfect and original driver of the most perfect chariot. For the chariot of Helius, they claim, is relatively recent when compared with that of Zeus, though visible to the many because its course is run in full view. Therefore, they say, the chariot of Helius has enjoyed a reputation with all mankind, since the poets, beginning practically with the earliest times, so it would seem, are always telling of its rising and
Τάττα 1 πάντων ἑξηγουμένων ξεγνυμένους τε τοὺς Ἱππους καὶ τὸν Ἠλιον αὐτὸν ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῦ δίφρου.

40 Τὸ δὲ ἱγνυρὸν καὶ τέλειον ἁρμα τὸ Δίως οὐδεὶς ἄρα ὑμνησθεὶς ἄξιως τῶν τῆς διὸ ὡστε "Ομηρὸς οὔτε Ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ Ζωροαστρῆς καὶ μάγων παιδεῖς ἰδοὺς παρ’ ἐκείνου 2 μαθῶντες” δι᾽ Ὑπσαίη λέγουσιν ἔρωτι σοφίας καὶ δικαιουσίης ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων καθ’ αὐτὸν ἐν ὅρει των ξῆνι ἑπειτα ἀφθάσιν τοῖς πυρῶν ἔνωθεν πολλοὶ κατασκήνωσαν συνεχώς τε κάσσιθαι, τὸν οὖν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς ἐλλογιμωτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφκυνθηκαί πληραῖον, βουλόμενον εὐξασθαί τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθή, φανέντα δὲ αὐτῶσ ἔλεον θαρρεῖν κελεύσαι καὶ θύσαι θυσίας τινὰς, ὡς ἡκοντος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ. συγγίγνεσθαι τε μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ἀπασω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἁριστα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πεφικόσαι καὶ θεοῦ ἐννείναι ἐνακμένους, οὐς ᾿Πέρσας μάγους ἐκάλεσαν, ἐπισταμένους θεραπεῖν τὸ δαίμονον, οὐχ ὡς ᾿Ελληνες ἁγνοί τοῦ ὄνομας οὕτως ὄνομαζον ἀνθρώπους γόνης. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα δρώσι κατὰ λόγους ἣρωυς καὶ δὴ τῷ Διῷ τρέφουσιν ἁρμα Νισαίων Ἱπποιοι δὲ τὰ

1 κατὰ ταῦτα Reiske: κατὰ ταῦτα M, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα UB.
2 ἐκείνος Morb: ἐκείνων.

1 Hesiod, Theogony 760-1, speaks of the rising and the setting of Helius, though not expressly of his chariot. The earliest reference to his chariot may be Hymn to Hermes 68-9.
2 Dio, like Herodotus (2. 53), regards Homer and Hesiod as creators of the orthodox views about Greek gods.
3 Cf. Or. 49. 7. Greeks did, not infrequently, associate Magi and magic as related terms.
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its setting, all in the same manner describing the yoking of the horses and Helius himself mounting his car.¹

"But the mighty, perfect chariot of Zeus has never been praised as it deserves by any of the poets of our land, either by Homer or by Hesiod;² and yet Zoroaster sings of it, as do the children of the Magi, who learned the song from him. For the Persians say that Zoroaster, because of a passion for wisdom and justice, deserted his fellows and dwelt by himself on a certain mountain; and they say that thereupon the mountain caught fire, a mighty flame descending from the sky above, and that it burned unceasingly. So then the king and the most distinguished of his Persians drew near for the purpose of praying to the god; and Zoroaster came forth from the fire unscathed, and, showing himself gracious toward them, bade them to be of good cheer and to offer certain sacrifices in recognition of the god’s having come to that place. And thereafter, so they say, Zoroaster has associated, not with them all, but only with such as are best endowed with regard to truth, and are best able to understand the god, men whom the Persians have named Magi, that is to say, people who know how to cultivate the divine power, not like the Greeks, who in their ignorance use the term to denote wizards.³ And all else that those Magi do is in accordance with sacred sayings, and in particular they maintain for Zeus a team of Nisaean horses ⁴—

¹ Herodotus (7. 40), describing the march of Xerxes’ army, mentions ‘ten sacred Nisaean horses, most beautifully adorned,’ which went before a chariot drawn by eight white horses, and sacred to Zeus. There is no evidence to substantiate Dio’s claim that the Magi sang of the team of Zeus.
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eis Kai kállíston kai mέgíston tón kató thn 'Aσιαν.
tómo dé ge 'Hlíw éna ipton.

42 Ἐξηγούνται δὲ τῶν μοῦδων ὁ νῦν ᾠστερ οἱ
παρ' Ἰμών προφήται τῶν Μουσῶν ἐκαστα φράζουσι
μετὰ πολλῆς πειθοῦς, ἀλλὰ μάλα αὐθαδῶς.
εἰναι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ξύμπαντος μίαν ἀγωγήν τε
καὶ ἡμιόχησιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκρας ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ
ῥώμης γινομένην ἄει, καὶ ταῦταν ἀπαντοῦν
ἐν ἀπαντοῖς αἰῶνος περίοδοις. τοὺς δὲ Ἰλίου
καὶ Σελήνης ὅρομοις, καθάπερ εἶπον, μερῶν
eiναι κινήσεις, οὔτε ὑπ' αὐθρόπων ὁ ὀράσθαι
σαφέστερον. τῆς δὲ τοῦ ξύμπαντος κινήσεως
καὶ φορᾶς μὴ ξυνέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀλλ' ἀγνοεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγώνος.

43 Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τούτῳ αἰσχύνομαι φράζεων τῶν
ἵππων πέρι καὶ τῆς ἡμιόχησιος, ὅπως εξηγούμενοι
λέγουσιν, οὐ πάνω τι φροντίζοντες ὁμοίων σφυς
γίγνεθαι πανταχῇ τῷ τῆς εἰκόνος. ἦνοις γὰρ
ἀν φαινομένη ἄτοπος παρὰ Ἑλληνικά τε καὶ
χαρίζεται ἄσματα ἑρμοτικῶν ἄσμα ἑπάδωνν ὁμοίως
de τολμητέων.

Φασὶ τῶν ἰππῶν τὸν πρῶτον ἀνωθὲν ἀπείρῳ

1 αὐθρόπων Arnim: αὐτῶν.
2 ξυνέναι Reiske: ξυνέναι.
3 ἐπάδων Emperius: παλίδων.

1 I.e., 'spokesmen.'
2 Figurative usage of the term.
3 The 'barbarian lay' finds no counterpart in Zoroastrian literature; though the Avesta does refer to the team of Mithra, god of light, as crossing the firmament. Gomperz, Griechische Denker, vol. I, p. 65, maintains that the Greeks did not know the Avestan Zoroaster or the teaching of the
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and these horses are the finest and largest to be found in Asia—but for Helius they maintain only a single horse.

"These Magi narrate their myth, not in the manner of our prophets of the Muses, who merely present each detail with much plausibility, but rather with stubborn insistence upon its truthfulness. For they assert that the universe is constantly being propelled and driven along a single path, as by a charioteer endowed with highest skill and power, and that this movement goes on unceasingly in unceasing cycles of time. And the coursing of Helius and Selene, according to their account, is the movement of portions of the whole, and for that reason it is more clearly perceived by mankind. And they add that the movement and revolution of the universe as a whole is not perceptible to the majority of mankind, but that, on the contrary, they are ignorant of the magnitude of this contest."

"What follows regarding the horses and their driving I really am ashamed to tell in the manner in which the Magi set it forth in their narrative, since they are not very much concerned to secure consistency at all points in their presentation of the picture. In fact, quite possibly I may appear absurd when, in contrast with Greek lays of grace and charm, I chant one that is barbarian; but still I must make the venture.

"According to the Magi, that one of the horses

Catha. Dio's myth may be, at least in large measure, his own fanciful treatment of familiar Stoic doctrine, that the universe consisted of four concentric spheres: earth, water, air, and fire (aether). These four can readily be identified with Dio's 'horses.' Cf. Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 172.
diochrysostom
diaférein kálllei te kai megéthei kai tachyínti,
áté 1 eξwthèn periptréxonta to múkistov tou
drómuon, autóu Zηnòs ierón. ptnwn dé eivai:
tin dé xhrónan laμprón, avngis tís katharotátas
ton dé "Hlwov en autò kai tin Selhýn süméia
profani drósai, ásper, oímai, kai tónve tón
íppon éstí syméia, tā mèn mnvoeìdh, tā dé
álloia. távta dé υφ' hémwv drósai sunestram-
ména, katháper en 2 avngi laμtrα flwgoí spíndhoraí
isçyrrous diáthétas, idían dé kínhsan éxewn kath'
autá. kai tállla áspera di' ekeíou fainóména
kai éýmpanta ekeíou pevukótta mére tā mèn
peripféresai svn autòw méan távtn éxouata
kínhsan, tā dé állous theí drómous. tàvghá-
nev em pará tois ánthròpou távta mèn idión
ékastov ónómatos, tā dé álla kathá plēthos
áthra, diánevména eis tina schýmata kai
morfás.

45 'O mèn dé laμprótatos íppos kai poukiliótatos
autò te Düi prosoφiléstatos, òdè pòs oímnouménon
úp' autów, thúsias te kai tímía áte prótous
eikótones prwτas élabhein. déúteros dé met' ékeí-
nov apótemenos autòu kai plhswtatos "Hras
épwnmous, eínhous kai malakós, polú dé nthtwn
kata te práwmh kai táchos. xrhoián 3 dé tī mé
autòu φύsei mélas, faiðdrúnetai dé aeí to kata-
laμprómenon 'Hlwv. to dé skiasóth en tī
perifóra

1 òte Emperius: tā te.
2 en added by Reiske.
3 xrhoián Emperius: xrhoián U, xrhoi U, xrhoi BM.

1 Aether, abode of the fixed stars and the planets.
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which is the highest in the heavens\(^1\) is immeasurably superior in beauty, size, and speed, since it has the outside track and runs the longest course, a horse sacred to Zeus himself. Furthermore, it is a winged creature, brilliant in colour with the brilliance of the purest flame; and in it Helius and Selenē are to be seen as conspicuous signs or marks—like, I fancy, the marks which horses bear here on earth, some crescent-shaped and some of other patterns. And they say that these 'marks' appear to us to be in close array, as it were great sparks of fire darting about in the midst of brilliant light, and yet that each has its own independent motion. Furthermore, the other stars also which are visible through that Horse of Zeus, one and all being natural parts of it, in some instances revolve along with it and have the same motion, and in others follow different tracks. And they add that among men these stars which are associated with the Horse of Zeus have each its own particular name;\(^2\) whereas the rest are treated collectively in groups, distributed so as to form certain figures or patterns.\(^3\)

"Well then, the horse that is most brilliant and most spangled with stars and dearest to Zeus himself, being praised by the Magi in their hymns for some such attributes as these, quite properly stands first in sacrifice and worship as being truly first. Next in order after that, in closest contact with the Horse of Zeus, comes one that bears the name of Hera,\(^4\) a horse obedient to the rein and gentle, but far inferior in strength and speed. In colour this horse is of its own nature black, but that portion which receives the light of Helius is regularly bright, whereas where it is

\(^{2}\) The planets. \(^{3}\) Constellations. \(^{4}\) Air.
46 τὴν αὐτὸν μεταλαμβάνει τῆς χρόας ἰδέαν. τρίτος Ποσειδώνος ἱέρος, τοῦ δευτέρου βραδύτερος. τούτοι δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν εἴδωλον οἱ ποιηταὶ γενέσθαι παρ' ἀνθρώποις, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὡς ἤνικα ὄνομάζουσιν Πήγασον, καὶ φασὶν ἄνεων κρήνην ἐν Κοράθῳ χαράξαντα τῇ ὀπλῇ. οὐ δὴ τέταρτος εἰκάσαι πάντων ἀτοπώτατος, στερεὸς τε καὶ ἀκύνητος, οὐχ ὅπως πτερωτός, ἐπώνυμος Ἑστίας. ὁμως δὲ οὐκ ἀποτρέπονται τῆς εἰκόνος, ἀλλὰ ἐνεζεύχατε φασὶ καὶ τούτον τῶν ἅρματι, μένεν δὲ καὶ χώραν χαλικοῦ ἀδάμαμας ἐνδακόντα. 47 συνερεῖσθαι δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ ¹ τοῖς μέρεσι, καὶ τῷ δύο τῷ πλησίον ὦμοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγκλίνειν, ἀτεχνῶς ἐπιπλήστοντε καὶ ἀθομεῖνων τὸν δὲ ἐξωτάτῳ πρῶτον ἄει περὶ τὸν ἑστῶτα ὡς νύσσαν φέρεσθαι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας διατελοῦσιν ἄβλαβεῖς ὑπ' ἅλληλων. ἦδη δὲ ποτὲ ἐν μήκει χρόνου καὶ πολλῶν περιόδοις ἅγιοιρόν ἀσθμα τοῦ πρῶτον προσπέσουν ἀνωθεν, οἷα δὴ

¹ αὐτῶ] αὐτῷ Arnim.

¹ This notion seems to have been borrowed from the behaviour of the moon.
2 Water.
³ Cf. especially Statius, Thebais 4. 60. The most familiar version of the myth is associated with Hippocrene on Helicon. However, Pegasus is connected also with other fountains, probably because of the meaning attached to his name. According to Pindar and others, Peirene at Corinth is linked with the capture of Pegasus by Bellerophon. It is probably the Peirene on Acrocorinth which Dio has in mind—an excellent spot from which to take off—for in Roman times that spring became more prominent in the Pegasus story than the more sumptuous spring of the lower city. Vid. Broneer, Corinth III, pt. i, pp. 59–60.

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in shadow in its revolution it has its own proper colour.¹ Third comes a horse that is sacred to Poseidon,² still slower than the second. Regarding this steed the poets have a myth to the effect that its counterpart appeared among men—he whom they call Pegasus, methinks—and they claim that he caused a fountain to burst forth at Corinth by pawing with his hoof.³ But the fourth is the strangest conception of them all, a horse both firm and immovable, to say nothing of its having no wings, and it is named after Hestia.⁴ However, the Magi do not shrink from its portrayal; on the contrary, they state that this steed also is harnessed to the chariot, and yet it remains immovable, champing its adamantine curb. And from all sides the other horses press close to him with their bodies and the pair that are his neighbours ⁵ swerve toward him abreast, falling upon him, as it were, and crowding him, yet the horse that is farthest off ⁶ is ever first to round that stationary steed as horses round the turn in the hippodrome.⁷

"Now for the most part the horses continue in peace and friendship, unharmed by one another. But on one occasion in the past, in the course of a long space of time and many revolutions of the universe, a mighty blast from the first horse fell from on high,

¹ Here to be interpreted as the earth. See note to § 43.
² Water and air.
³ In § 43 Dio warns us that the Magi are not much concerned regarding consistency. The translator assumes that all four horses are harnessed to one car—their varying speed would allow of that interpretation, since three of them move about the fourth; but how could the outermost (Aether) obtain a lead? Perhaps the spectator in the hippodrome might receive that impression.
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θυμοειδοὺς, ἡθέρμηνε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὑφοδρότερόν γε μὴν τὸν τελευταῖον τὴν τε ἐὰν χαῖτην περιέφελεν αὐτοῦ, ἢ μάλιστα ἡγάλλετο, καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πάθος ἀπαξ Ἐλλήνας μυθομοειούντας φαινεῖντι προσ- ἀπεπεφευγόσιν τὴν Δίας ἡμιόχησιν, τοὺς τε Ἡλίου δρόμους οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ψέχειν. διὸ φασι νεώτερων ἡμόχοιν, Ἡλίου παιδια θυγτόν, ἐπιθυμήσαντα χαλετῆς καὶ ἀξιμφόρου πᾶσι τοῖς θυρησίως παιδιάς, αἰτησάμενον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιστὴν τῷ δήμῳ, φερόμενον τε ἀτάκτως πάντα καταφλέξαι ξώα καὶ φυτά, καὶ τέλος αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆται πληγέντα ὑπὸ κρεῖττονος πυρός.

49 Πάλιν δὲ ἄταν διὰ πλειόνων ἐτῶν ὁ Νυμφῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνος ἴερος πῶλος ἐπαναστῆ, παρὰ τὸ σώμαθες ἀγωνιάσας καὶ ταραχθεὶς, ὑδρῶτι πολλῷ κατέκλυσε τὸν αὐτῶν τούτου ἀπε ὀμόζυγα: πειράται δὴ τῆς ἐναντίας τῆς πρότερον φθορᾶς, ὡδὶ πολλῷ χειμαζόμενος. καὶ τούτου ἔνα χειμώνα διηγείσας τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὑπὸ νεότητος τε καὶ μνήμης ἀσθενούς, καὶ δευκά- λιώνα βασιλεύοντα τοτε σφίσιν ἀρκέσαι πρὸ τῆς παντελοῦς φθορᾶς.

1 τὴν τε Emporius : τὴν δὲ.
2 After καὶ Reiske deletes λέγουσι.

1 Earth.
2 The Stoics believed in periodic conflagrations by which the universe was consumed, to be made anew.
3 Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses 1. 750 to 2. 400.
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and, as might have been expected from such a fiery-tempered steed, inflamed the others, and more especially the last in order;¹ and the fire encompassed not alone its mane, which formed its special pride, but the whole universe as well.² And the Magi say that the Greeks, recording this experience as an isolated occurrence, connect it with the name of Phaethon, since they are unable to criticize the driving of Zeus and are loath to find fault with the coursings of Helius. And so they relate that a younger driver, a mortal son of Helius, desiring a sport that was to prove grievous and disastrous for all mankind, besought his father to let him mount his car and, plunging along in disorderly fashion, consumed with fire everything, both animals and plants, and finally was himself destroyed, being smitten by too powerful a flame.³

"Again, when at intervals of several years the horse that is sacred to Poseidon and the Nymphs rebels, having become panic-stricken and agitated beyond his wont, he overwhelsms with copious sweat that same steed, since they two are yoke-mates. Accordingly it meets with a fate which is the opposite of the disaster previously mentioned, this time being deluged with a mighty flood. And the Magi state that here again the Greeks, through youthful ignorance and faulty memory, record this flood as a single occurrence and claim that Deucalion, who then was king, saved them from complete destruction.⁴

⁴ According to Ovid, ibid., 1. 318-20, only Pyrrha and Deucalion were saved. Apollodorus I. 7. 2 says a few others escaped by fleeing to the highest mountains. Lucian, De Dea Syria 12, gives a version quite similar to the story of Noah.
Ταύτα δὲ σπανίως ἐμβαίνοντα δοκεῖν ¹ μὲν ἀνθρώπους διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀλέθρου γίγνεσθαι μὴ κατὰ λόγον μηδὲ μετέχειν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς τάξεως, λανθάνει δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀρθῶς γιγνόμενα καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ σφῶντος καὶ κυβερνῶντος τὸ πᾶν. εἶναι γὰρ ὃμοιον ὥσπερ όταν ἄρματος ἡμίοχος τῶν ἱππῶν τινὰ κολάζῃ χαλινῷ σπάσας ἢ κέντρῳ ἀφάμενος· δὲ δὲ ἐσκίρτησε καὶ ἐταράχθη, παρα- χρῆμα εἰς δέον καθιστάμενοι.

Μίαν μὲν οὖν λέγουσι ² ταύτην ἡμιόχησιν ἱσχυράν, οὐχ ὅλου φθειρομένου τοῦ παντός.

πάλιν δὲ ἐτέραν τῆς τῶν τεττάρων κινήσεως καὶ μεταβολῆς, ἐν ἀλλήλοις μεταβαλλομένων καὶ δι- αλλαττόντων τὰ εἴδη, μέχρις ὅταν εἰς μίαν ἀπαντὰ συνέλθῃ φύσιν, ἡττηθέντα τοῦ κρείττονος, ὃμως δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν κίνησιν ἡμιόχησε προσεικάζειν τολμῶσιν ἔλασε τε ἄρματος, ἀτοπωτέρας δεόμενοι τῆς εἰκόνος· οἶον εἰ τις θαυματοποιὸς ἐκ κηροῦ πλάσας ἱπποὺς, ἑπείτα ἀφαιρῶν καὶ περιζώνων ἀφ’ ἐκάστου προς τίποτε ἄλλοτε ἄλλω, τέλος δὲ ἀπαντᾷ εἰς ἔνα τῶν τεττάρων ἀναλώσας μίαν

μορφὴν εἰς ἀπάσης τῆς ὠλίς ἐργάσατο. ³ εἰναί γε μὴ τὸ τοιοῦτο μὴ καθάπερ ἁψύχων πλασμά- των ἔξωθεν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ πραγματευομένου καὶ μεθιστάντος τῆς ὠλίν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι τὸ πάθος, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγώνι μεγάλῳ τε

¹ δοκεῖν Geel: δοκεῖ. ² λέγουσι added by Reiske. ³ ἐργάσατο Emperius: ἐργάσατο.
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"According to the Magi, these rare occurrences are viewed by mankind as taking place for their destruction, and not in accord with reason or as a part of the order of the universe, being unaware that they occur quite properly and in keeping with the plan of the preserver and governor of the world. For in reality it is comparable with what happens when a charioteer punishes one of his horses, pulling hard upon the rein or pricking with the goad; and then the horse prances and is thrown into a panic but straightway settles down to its proper gait.

"Well then, this is one kind of driving of which they tell, attended by violence but not involving the complete destruction of the universe. On the other hand, they tell also of a different kind that involves the movement and change of all four horses, one in which they shift among themselves and interchange their forms until all come together into one being, having been overcome by that one which is superior in power. And yet this movement also the Magi dare to liken to the guidance and driving of a chariot, though to do so they need even stranger imagery. For instance, it is as if some magician were to mould horses out of wax, and then, subtracting and scraping off the wax from each, should add a little now to this one and now to that, until finally, having used up all the horses in constructing one from the four, he should fashion a single horse out of all his material. They state, however, that in reality the process to which they refer is not like that of such inanimate images, in which the craftsman operates and shifts the material from without, but that instead the transformation is the work of these creatures themselves, just as if they were striving for victory in a
καὶ ἄλλων ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐρωτών: γέγνεσθαι δὲ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦ πρῶτου καὶ κρατῆσθαι τάχει τε καὶ ἄλλη καὶ τῇ ἔμπασι ἀρετῇ, διὸ εἶπομεν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ἕξειρετον εἶναι Διός. τούτον γὰρ, ἀντὶ πάντων ἀλκιμώτατον καὶ φύσει διάπυρον, ταχὺ αναλώσαντα τοὺς ἄλλους, καθάπερ, οὕτω, τῷ ὄντι κηρίνους, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ των χρῶν, δοκοῦντι δὲ ἥμιν ἀπείρῳ πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον αὐτῶν λογισμόν, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν πάντων πᾶσαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναλάβοντα, πολὺ κρείττω καὶ λαμπρότερον ὅφθηναι τοῦ πρότερον, ὅπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου θυτῶν οὐδὲ διανάτων, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ὕφ' αὐτοῦ νικηφόρον γενόμενον τοῦ μεγίστου ἁγίων. στάντα δὲ υψηλον καὶ γαίρου, χαρέντα τῇ νίκῃ, τόπον τε ὡς πλεῖστον καταλαβεῖν καὶ μείξονος χώρας δεισθήναι τότε ὑπὸ ρώμης καὶ μένους.

54 Κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου δυσώπωνται τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπονομάζων τοῦ ζῷου φύσιν. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢδη τηνικάδε ἀπλῶς τὴν τοῦ ἡμίοχου καὶ δεσπότου ψυχῆν, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ φρονοῦν καὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς. οὕτως δὴ λέγομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τιμῶντες καὶ σεβόμενοι τῶν μέγιστον θεοῦ ἔργων τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ ῥήματων εὐφήμοις. λειφθεῖσι γὰρ δὴ μόνος ὁ νοῦς καὶ τόπον ἀμηχανοῦ εἰμπλήσας αὐτοῦ, ἀτε γ' ἐπὶ ἰστή .pagata kexuménos, οὐδενὸς εἰς αὐτῷ

1 αὐτῶν Cappe: αὐτῶν οτ αὐτῆν.
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contest that is great and real. And they add that
the victory and its crown belong of necessity to
that horse which is first and best in speed and prowess
and general excellence, I mean to that one which we
named in the beginning of our account as the special
steed of Zeus. For that one, being most valiant of
all and fiery by nature, having speedily used up the
others—as if, methinks, they were truly made of
wax—in no great span of time (though to us it
seems endless according to our reckoning) and
having appropriated to itself all the substance of
them all, appeared much greater and more brilliant
than formerly; not through the aid of any other
creature, either mortal or immortal, but by itself
and its own efforts proving victor in the greatest
contest. And, standing tall and proud, rejoicing in
its victory, it not only seized the largest possible
region but also needed larger space at that time, so
great was its strength and its spirit.

"Having arrived at that stage in their myth, the
Magi are embarrassed in search of a name to describe
the nature of the creature of their own invention. For
they say that now by this time it is simply the soul
of the charioteer and master; or, let us say, merely the
intellect and leadership of that soul. (Those, in
fact, are the terms we ourselves employ when we
honour and reverence the greatest god by noble
deeds and pious words). For indeed, when the mind
alone had been left and had filled with itself im-
measurable space, since it had poured itself evenly
in all directions and nothing in it remained dense but

2 ὁπώς ... ἐσθήμαις suspected by Casaubon.
3 αὐτοῦ ... Ἰορὸν der Muchil: αὐτοῦ χε πίθος M,
advice χ' ἐπειν' ὦς B, αὐτοῦ ἄτε χε πίθος U.
πυκνοῦ λειφθέντος, ἀλλὰ πάσης ἐπικρατούσης μανότητος, ὥστε κάλλιστος γίγνεται, τῇν καθαρω-
τάτην λαβὼν αὐγῆς ἀκηράτου φύσιν, εὑρήσε ἐπόθησε τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βίον. ἔρωτα δὴ λαβὼν
tῆς ἡμοχήσεως ἐκείνης καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὁμονοίας
tῆς τε τῶν τριῶν φύσεων καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης
cαὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, ἀπάντων τε ἅπλῶς
ξών καὶ φυτῶν, ἀρμησέν ἐπὶ τὸ γεννάν καὶ
διανέμειν ἕκαστα καὶ δημιουργεῖν τὸν ὀντα νῦν
κόσμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολὺ κρείττων καὶ λαμπρότερον
56 ὥστε νεώτερον. ἀστράφας δὲ ὅλον οὐκ ἀτακτον
οὐδὲ ῥυταράν ἀστράπην, οἷα ἐν χειμερίως
ἐλαιομένων βιαίστερον πολλάκις τῶν νεφῶν
διῆξεν, ἀλλὰ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμυγῇ παντὸς σκοτεινοῦ,
μετέβαλε βαθως ἀμα τῇ νοῆσε. μνησθεὶς δὲ
Ἀφροδίτης καὶ γενέσεως ἐπράτευ καὶ ἀνήκεν
αὐτόν, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀποσβέσας εἰς ἀέρα
πυρώδη τρέπεται πυρός ἡπίου. μνηθεὶς δὲ τότε
"Ἡρα καὶ μεταλαβὼν τοῦ τελειωτάτου λέχους,
ἀναπαυόμενος ἀφύσι τὴν πᾶσαν αὐ τοῦ παντῶς
γονήν. τοῦτον ὠμοιοὶ παἶδες σοφόν ἐν ἀρρήτοις
teletois "Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς εὐδαιμόνα γάμον.
57 ὑγρὰν δὲ πονούσας τὴν ὀλην οὐσίαν, ἐν σπέρμα τοῦ
παντὸς, αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ διαθέσων, καθάπερ ἐν
γονῇ πνεύμα τὸ πλάττον καὶ δημιουργοῦν, τότε
δὴ μάλιστα προσευκὼς τῆς τῶν ἄλλων συντάσσει
ξῶν, καθ' ὅσον ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συν-
estancia legeoit' αὐτὸν ὀπὸ τρόπου, τὰ λοιπὰ ἤδη

1 αὐγῆς Emperius: αὐτῶς.
2 τῆς Gcol: τὴν.
3 οἰα ἐν χειμερίως Cassubon: οἶαν χειμερίος BM, οἶαν χειμερίος U.
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complete porosity prevailed—at which time it becomes most beautiful—having obtained the purest nature of unadulterated light, it immediately longed for the existence that it had at first. Accordingly, becoming enamoured of that control and governance and concord which it once maintained not only over the three natures of sun and moon and the other stars, but also over absolutely all animals and plants, it became eager to generate and distribute everything and to make the orderly universe then existent once more far better and more resplendent because newer. And emitting a full flash of lightning, not a disorderly or foul one such as in stormy weather often darts forth, when the clouds drive more violently than usual, but rather pure and unmixed with any murk, it worked a transformation easily, with the speed of thought. But recalling Aphrodité and the process of generation, it tamed and relaxed itself and, quenching much of its light, it turned into fiery air of gentle warmth, and uniting with Hera and enjoying the most perfect wedlock, in sweet repose it emitted anew the full supply of seed for the universe. Such is the blessed marriage of Zeus and Hera\(^1\) of which the sons of sages sing in secret rites. And having made fluid all his essence, one seed for the entire world, he himself moving about in it like a spirit that moulds and fashions in generation, then indeed most closely resembling the composition of the other creatures, inasmuch as he might with reason be said to consist of soul and body, he now

\(^1\) An apparent allusion to what was commonly called the Hieros Gamos or Holy Wedding, the earliest reference to which seems to be *Iliad* 14. 294–6. Theocritus 15. 64 asserts that women generally knew all the details. Hera presided over the rites of marriage.
ραδίως πλάττει καὶ τυποὶ, λείαν καὶ μαλακὴν
αὐτῷ περιχέας τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ πᾶσαν εἰκόναν
eὐπετῶς.

58 Ἐργασάμενος δὲ καὶ τελεώσας ἀπέδειξεν εἷς
ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄντα κόσμον εὐειδή καὶ καλὸν ἀμηχάνως,
pολὺ δὴ λαμπρότερον ἢ οἷος ὄραται νῦν. πάντα
γὰρ που καὶ τὰλλα ἔργα τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶνὰ ἱ
ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῶν χειρῶν παραχρήμα τοῦ
πολύζωντος κρείστω καὶ στυλπνότερα, καὶ τῶν
φυτῶν τὰ νεώτερα εὐθαλέστερα τῶν παλαιῶν
ὅλα τε βλαστοῖς ἐσοκότα. καὶ μὴν τὰ γε ζῶα εὐ-
χάριτα καὶ προσηνῇ ἰδεῖν μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν, οὐ
μόνον τὰ κάλλιστα αὐτῶν, πάλιν τε καὶ μόσχοι
καὶ σκύλακες, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων σκύλων τῶν

50 ἀγριωτῶν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπον φύσις νηπίων
te καὶ ὕδαρῆς ὄμοια Δήμητρος ἄτελεῖ χλόη,
προέλθοσα δὲ εἰς τὸ μέτρον ὥρας καὶ νεότητος
παντὸς ἄτεχνῳ φυτοῦ κρείστω καὶ ἐπιφανέσ-
tερον βλάστημα. ὃ δὲ Ἰύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ
κόσμος, ὅτε πρῶτον συνετελέσθη, κοσμηθεῖς
ὑπὸ τῆς σοφωτάτης τε καὶ ἁρίστης τέχνης,
ἀρτι τῶν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ χειρῶν ἀπηλλαγμένος,
λαμπρὸς καὶ διανυγής καὶ πάσιν τοῖς μέρεσι
παμφάινον, νήπιος μὲν οὐδένα χρόνον ἐγένετο
οὐδὲ ἀσθενῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην τε καὶ θυμῆ
tῆς φύσεως ἀσθενείαν, νέος δὲ καὶ ἄκμαξ

60 εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὅτε δὲ καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς
αὐτοῦ καὶ πατὴρ ἴδων ἦσθη μὲν οὐδαμῶς.
with ease moulds and fashions all the rest, pouring about him his essence smooth and soft and easily yielding in every part.

"And having performed his task and brought it to completion, he revealed the existent universe as once more a thing of beauty and inconceivable loveliness, much more resplendent, indeed, than it appears to-day. For not only, I ween, are all other works of craftsmen better and brighter when fresh from the artistic hand of their maker, but also the younger specimens of plants are more vigorous than the old and altogether like young shoots. And indeed animals, too, are charming and attractive to behold right after their birth, not merely the most beautiful among them—colts and calves and puppies—but even the whelps of wild animals of most savage kind. For, on the one hand, the nature of man is helpless and feeble like Demeter’s tender grain, but when it has progressed to the full measure of its prime, it is a stronger and more conspicuous creation than any plant at all. However, the entire heaven and universe when first it was completed, having been put in order by the wisest and noblest craft, just released from the hand of the creator, brilliant and translucent and brightly beaming in all its parts, remained helpless for no time at all, nor weak with the weakness that nature ordains for man and other mortal beings, but, on the contrary, was fresh and vigorous from the very beginning. At that time, therefore, the Creator and Father of the World, beholding the work of his hands, was not by any means merely pleased, for that is a lowly

1 καὶ νὰ Ῥείσκε : καὶ τὰ.
ταπεινών γάρ ἐν ταπεινώις πάθος· ἐχάρη δὲ καὶ ἑτέρφθη διαφερόντως

ἡμενος Οὐλύμπως, ἐγέλασε δὲ οἱ φίλοι ἦτορ γηθοσύνη, ὡθ' ὀρᾶτο θεοὺς

tους ἀπαντας ἣδη γεγονότας καὶ παρόντας.

Τὴν δὲ τότε μορφὴν τοῦ κόσμου, λέγω δὲ τὴν τε ὅραν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀεὶ καλοῦ ὄντος ἀμηχάνως, οὔδεις δύνατ' ἂν ἀνθρώπων διανοηθήναι καὶ εἰπεῖν ἄξιως οὔτε τῶν νῦν οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, εἰ μὴ Μοῦσα τε καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐν θείῳ ῥυθμῷ τῆς εἰλικρινοῦς τε καὶ άικρας ἁρμονίας. θεοὺς δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς εάσωμεν τὰ νῦν, ὅσον ἡμῖν δυνατόν ἐπάραι τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀκνήσαντες. εἰ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ύπηλόν τε καὶ ἐξίτηλον ἀπέβη τὸ τοῦ λόγου σχῆμα, ὡστε οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τοὺς ὀρνιθάς φασὶ τὸν σφόδρα ἄνω χαρῆσαντα καὶ τῶν νέφεων ἐγκρύβαντα αὐτὸν ἀτελῆ τὴν μαντείαν ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἐμὲ ἄξιον αἰτιάσθαι, τὴν δὲ Βαρμοθεντῶν ἄξιωσιν, ὅσ τότε ἐκεῖνοι λέγειν προσέταξαν.

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experience of lowly beings; nay, he rejoiced and was delighted exceedingly,

As on Olympus he sat, and his heart did laugh
For joy, beholding the gods "
who were now all created and present before him."

But the form of the universe at that moment—I mean both the bloom and the beauty of that which is for ever ineffably beauteous—no man could conceive and fitly express, neither among men of our time nor among those of former days, but only the Muses and Apollo with the divine rhythm of their pure and consummate harmony. For that reason let us also refrain for the present, now that we have not shirked exalting the myth to the best of our power. And if the form of that myth has turned out to be utterly lofty and indistinct, just as those who are expert in augury declare that the bird which ascends too high into the heavens and hides itself in the clouds makes divination incomplete, still it is not I whom you should blame, but rather the insistence of those men of Borysthenes, because it was they who bade me speak that day.

1 Iliad 21. 389-90.
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