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DIO CHRYSTOSOM

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: THE CORINTHIAN ORATION

This Discourse is plainly not the work of Dio. It is inferior in style, replete with allusions, and often out of harmony with accepted tradition as to matters of history. Moreover, the speaker calls himself a Roman (§§ 25 and 26). Emperius long ago named Favorinus as the author, and that identification has met with general approval.

The most detailed information regarding Favorinus is provided by Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 1. 8, though Aulus Gellius, who had studied under Favorinus, often praises his learning. Favorinus was a native of Arelate (Arles). He may have obtained his early education at Marseilles, where he could have acquired that facility with the Greek language of which he was so proud (§§ 25, 26, 23). According to Philostratus, he was said to have listened to Dio, but to have been “as far removed from him as those who hadn’t.” He created a great stir in Rome, even among those who knew no Greek but were “charmed by the sound of his voice, the significance of his glance, and the rhythm of his tongue.”

Favorinus at first enjoyed the favour of Hadrian, but he lost it, at least for a time, when accused of adultery with the wife of a consul. In consequence, the Athenians threw down the bronze statue with which they had honoured him. It is perhaps that incident to which he makes veiled allusion in § 35. One infers from §§ 32-36 that Corinth had taken similar
action for the same reason, but the peroration, in which the speaker seems to be apostrophizing the missing statue, is very mystifying. A literal reading of the passage would lead to the supposition that there is some hocus pocus by means of which the statue is suddenly placed on view, a prearranged unveiling, as it were. However, Edmonds may be right (Lyra Graeca, I p. 237, L.C.L.) in identifying the ἄγγλαν εἴδωλου of § 46 with the oration then being delivered rather than with any statue, real or imaginary. In that case Favorinus might be regarded as dedicating his address to posterity. That he had escaped punishment at the hands of Hadrian might be inferred from the confident tone of §§ 34 and 35, even if we lacked the express testimony of Philostratus. That he should have travelled widely was to be expected in the case of a man of his calling and reputation, and he refers to his travels with much pride in §§ 26 and 27. His most famous pupil was doubtless Herodes Atticus, whom he made his heir.

This Discourse may have been included among the works of Dio because of its superficial likeness to Or. 31 in subject matter, since both dealt with the popular custom of erecting statues and with the strange fate that sometimes overtook such marks of esteem.
ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

37. ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ

1 Ὁτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ, ἀφ' οὗ δέκα ἐτη σχεδόν, καὶ τῶν λόγων μετέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις, ἐδοξα ἑπιτήδειος εἶναι ἔτη δ' οἱ κείοις ὑμῖν οὖτω σφόδρα ὡς οὔδε Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος. Ἀρίωνος μὲν γε τύπον οὐκ ἐποιήσασθε. ὅταν δὲ ὑμᾶς λέγω, τοὺς προγόνους λέγω τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ Περιάνδρον τὸν Κυψέλον τὸν σοφόν, ἐφ' οὗ Ἀρίων ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτος ἄνθρωπων ἐποίησε καὶ ὄνομασε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

2 Θεοφύλῆς μὲν γὰρ οὖτως ἦν ὡστε ἀναπλέων ἐνταῦθα μετὰ χρημάτων μεγάλων, διὶ ἔτυχεν εἰργασμένος περὶ Τάραντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Ἑλληνας, μέλλων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πορθμέων ἐκπεσεῖν δι᾽ αὐτὰ ποιεῖ σατρά τὰ χρήματα, παρηγῆσατο αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἄσαι, ὡσπερ φαύλοι.

1 οἰκείος added by Capps; Wilamowitz deletes ὡς ἔτη.
2 ὡς] omitted by Arnim with M m. pr.

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1 On the north coast of Lesbos.
2 Periander was generally included among the Seven
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: THE CORINTHIAN ORATION

When I visited your city the first time, nearly ten years ago, and gave your people and magistrates a sample of my eloquence, I seemed to be on friendly, yes intimate, terms with you to a degree not equalled even by Arion of Methymnê.\textsuperscript{1} At any rate you did not have a statue made of Arion. Of course when I say you, I am speaking of your forebears and of Periander the sage,\textsuperscript{2} son of Cypselus, in whose day Arion flourished, being the first not only to compose a dithyramb\textsuperscript{3} but also to call it by that name and to present a dithyrambic chorus in Corinth.

Now Arion was so dear to the gods that, when on his voyage back to Corinth, bringing great riches which he had had the good fortune to win by his labours in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and among the Greeks of that region, as he was about to be cast into the sea by the sailors—no doubt because of that very wealth of his—he besought them ere they threw him overboard to let him sing, just as men say that

Sages. He was tyrant of Corinth toward the end of the 7th century B.C.

\textsuperscript{1} The dithyramb was a choral song in honour of Dionysus. Aristotle, Poetics 1449 a, finds in it the germ of tragedy.
κύκνους μέλλοντας ἀποθνῄσκειν καὶ προορω-
μένους τὸν θάνατον ἐμβιβάζειν τὴν ψυχήν οὸν εἰς
3 ὄχημα τὸ μέλος. ὃ μὲν δὲ ἦδε· καὶ γὰρ ἦν νηπεῖα
καὶ συγη κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τὸ μέλος ἤθελοντο
δελφινεῖς, αἰώθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὀρμησαν.¹
παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίωνος καὶ τῶν πορθμέων
οὐδέν μαλακὸν² ἐνδιδόντων, ὃ μὲν ἔρρυψεν εἰς τὸν
πόντον, δελφὶς δὲ ὑπελθὼν ἐξεκόμισε τὸν ὕδων ἐπὶ
Ταύναρον ὡς ἐγέρει σὺν τῇ σκευῇ. Ἀρίων μὲν οὖν
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σωθεὶς καὶ φθάσας τοὺς πορθ-
μέας ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα δηγούμενος
4 τῷ Περιάνδρῳ. εὐπαταγομένων δὲ τῶν πορθμέων
καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀχθέντως εἰς ἑλέγχον, οἱ μὲν
ἀπέθνησκον, Ἀρίων δὲ, οὐ γὰρ Περιάνδρος, ἀλλʼ
Ἀρίων, ποιησάμενος μίμημα χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα
ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Ταυάρου,³ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεργείτου
καθήμενον.

¹ Εὐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ
Σόλων μὲν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, φεύγων τὴν Πεισιστράτου
5 τυραννίδα, οὐ φεύγων δὲ τὴν Περιάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ
ἡν ὄμοιον· ὃ μὲν καταλύσας τὴν δημοκρατίαν
ἐπιβάννευ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Περιάνδρος δὲ παρὰ
τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, δὴ οἱ μὲν

² περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὀρμησαν Capps, περὶ τὴν ναῦν ἦσαν Herwerden,
περιέγεναι Ναβερ, περὶ τὴν ναῦν συνῆσαν Arnim; περὶ ναῦν ἦσαν,
³ μαλακὸν] μάλλον UB.
2 καὶ after Ταυάρου deleted by Emperius.
swans about to die and foreseeing their death are wont, as it were, to put their soul on board "the bark of song." ¹ So then he sang—calm and silence brooded on the deep—and dolphins heard his song, and as they heard it they rushed about the ship. And when Arion ceased and the sailors showed no relenting, he leaped into the sea; but a dolphin rose beneath him and carried the singer in safety to Taenarum ² just as he was, gear and all. So then Arion, saved in this manner and having outstripped the sailors, was in Corinth narrating these very happenings to Periander. And when the sailors later entered port and the matter was brought to trial, the sailors were put to death, but Arion—not Periander, mark you, but Arion—ordering a bronze likeness of no great size, set it up at Taenarum, a likeness of himself astride the back of his benefactor.³

And about this same time Solon too came to Corinth, fleeing from the tyranny of Peisistratus,⁴ but not from that of Periander. No, for that was a different matter—while Peisistratus was tyrant of Athens through having destroyed the democracy, Periander was tyrant through having received the royal power by inheritance from his father, whom the

¹ Possibly a reminiscence of Pindar, frag. 89: ὅχημα ἄμαδάν.
² Southernmost cape of Laconia, mod. Cape Matapan.
³ We meet this famous tale first in Herodotus (1. 23-24), who, however, does not tell of the execution of the pirates or who ordered the statue. Pausanias says the quaint monument was still at Taenarum in his day. Aelian, Η. Α. 12. 45, preserves the dedicatory inscription:

ἀθανάτων πομπαίων Ἄριονα Κυκλέος νῦν
ἐκ Σικελίου πελάγους σῶσεν ὅχημα τόδε.

⁴ This visit of Solon is nowhere else recorded.
"Ελλήνες τύραννον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ βασιλέα. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ χρησμὸς ἔχει;

όλβιος οὖτος ἀνήρ ὁ ἐμὸς δόμον εἰσαφικάνει,
Κύψελος Ὁ Ηετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλεετοῦ Κορίνθου,
αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες.

6 ὥστε αὐτὸς ὁ Περίανδρος ὁ τῷ πατρὶ ἐκδεξάμενος. οὖτος δὴ Περίανδρος, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ
βασιλεὺς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀνηγορεύθη σοφός·
oδ μεῖζον ὅνομα ὑπετυπώσατε βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἐκτήσατο· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ θεὸς ἐπικλήθησεν οὐδὲ Ὅμηρος ὁ Διόνυσος. ηὔξατο δ' ὁν καὶ Πιττακὸς Μυτιληναῖος ἄμα ἄμφων κεκλήσαθαι καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφός· νων δὲ περιεχόμενοι τοῦ δευτέρου ὀνόματος ἀπεσκευάσατο τὴν τυραννίδα. καίτοι 2 Περίανδρος σοφὸς μὲν ἦν μετ' ὀλίγων, τύραννος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄμφότερα δὲ 7 καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφὸς μόνοις. παρὰ τούτον ὁ Σόλων ἔθηκεν καὶ τυχῶν τῶν κοινῶν κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ φίλων ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀνδριάντος οὐκ ἕτυχεν, οὐ δὴ ποιήσας ἀνδριάντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔν
Σαλαμίνων χάλκιος ἐστάναι μεγάλαι ποιούμενοι· πόθεν γα δὴ οὐχὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ τῆς 'Ελλάδος; ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιός ὑς ὑμᾶς λόγους φέρων 'Ελληνικοὺς ἄλλους τε καί

1 οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε.
2 καίτοι Crosby: καί, which Arним deletes.
3 καὶ τὸ Reiske: καίτοι.

1 Tyrant at first meant merely absolute ruler. Homer records several instances in which divine names were different from human names, e.g., Iliad 1. 403-404 and 9. 813-814.
2 Cf. Herodotus 5. 92.
3 I.e., Antiochus II (286–246 B.C.).
Greeks were wont to call tyrant, though the gods called him king.¹ For is not this the way the oracle has it?

A happy man is he who to my fane
Doth come, Ètton's Cypselus, the king
Of famous Corinth, he and his children too.²

One of these children was Periander himself, who succeeded his father. So then Periander, called king by the god, was proclaimed a sage by the Greeks. No better title did any king or tyrant ever gain, no, not even Antiochus, surnamed Divine,³ nor Mithridates, surnamed Dionysus.⁴ And even Pittacus of Mitylenê might have been proud to be called at one and the same time both tyrant and sage; but, as a matter of fact, in clinging to the second title he stripped himself of his tyranny.⁵ Yet as for Periander, while he shared the name of sage with a few and that of tyrant with many, as both tyrant and sage he stood alone. Well then, when Solon visited Periander and received a share of their common possessions—for the possessions of friends are held in common ⁶—still he received no statue, though surely he did not disdain a statue, no, he esteemed highly the honour of having had a bronze likeness of himself set up at Salamis ⁷; then why not so at Corinth, the promenade of Hellas? Again, Herodotus the historian also paid you a visit, bringing tales of Greece,

¹ Mithridates Eupator (132–63 B.C.). Appian and Plutarch attest the surname.
² Elected àesymnêtes in 589 B.C.; he resigned ten years later.
³ A familiar proverb; cf. Euripides, Orestes 735.
⁴ Aeschines, in Timarchum 25, says the statue stood in the market-place of Salamis.
Κορυνθίους οὐδέπω ψευδεῖς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἦξιον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως μισθὸν ἀρνηθαί. διαμαρτῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦτον· οὐ γὰρ ἦξιον οἱ υμέτεροι πρόγονοι δόξαν ἀγοράζειν· μετεσκέψατε ἐκεῖνα ἀ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, τὰ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ τὸν 'Αδείμαντον.

8 Ἡμᾶς δὲ δῖς ἐπιδημήσαντας οὕτως ἀσμένως ἐπείδετε ὡστε μάλιστα μὲν ἐπειράσθη κατεχεῖν, ὡρῶντες δὲ ἀδύνατον ὃν, ἀλλὰ γε τὴν εἰκὼ τοῦ σώματος ἐποίησας καὶ ταύτην φέροντες ἀνεθῆκατε εἰς τὰ βιβλία, εἰς προεδρίαν, οὐ μάλιστ' ἂν ὠς τοὺς νέους προκαλέσασθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἦμῖν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐξεσθαί. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐνα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καταμορφώσεις Κεγχρέας ἐμποροῦν ἡ θεωρών ἡ πρεσβευτὴν ἡ διερχόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς μόλις διὰ μακρὸν χρόνων ἀγαπητὸν ἐπιφανόμενον, οὗτος ἐτυμῷσατε.

9 τιμή δ' ἢν' ὅνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.

ὡστε ἐμὲ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθεστάναι καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ νη Δία ἦδη πρὸς ἐτερον, πότερ' ὃς ἀληθὸς οὐκ ἐβλέπων, οὐδὲ ὑπαρ ἀλλὰ ὄναρ ἢν τὰ γεγονόμενα, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἢν ταῦτα ταῖς πάσαις ἀκριβείαις, σπουδῆ τε τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ κρίσεις τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ δ' ἀνδριάς τῶν Δαιδάλου ποιημάτων ἐτυχεὶν ἂν

1 ἐπείδετε Reiske: ἐπείδηγε.
2 ὡστε μάλιστα μὲν Emperius: ὡς ἀν μάλιστα με.
3 γε Selden: καὶ.
4 ἀλλ' ὡς Casaubon: ἀλλος.
5 τοῦ Reiske: τις.

1 Herodotus (8. 94) reports the Athenian claim that at the beginning of the battle Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, fled with his contingent. Meeting with an unknown vessel whose crew taunted the Corinthians with cowardice and announced the victory of the Greek forces, he turned
and in particular tales of Corinth—not yet fallacious tales—in return for which he expected to receive pay from the city. But failing of obtaining even that—for your forebears did not deem it fitting to traffic in renown—he devised those tales we all know so well, the tales about Salamis and Adeimantus.\(^1\)

However, in my own case, upon my second visit to Corinth you were so glad to see me that you did your best to get me to stay with you, but seeing that to be impossible, you did have a likeness made of me, and you took this and set it up in your Library, a front-row seat as it were,\(^2\) where you felt it would most effectively stimulate the youth to persevere in the same pursuits as myself. For you accorded me this honour, not as to one of the many who each year put in at Cenchreae\(^3\) as traders or pilgrims or envoys or passing travellers, but as to a cherished friend, who at last, after a long absence, puts in an appearance.

Yet Honour, dreamlike, takes wing and flies away.\(^4\) Therefore I have come to be perplexed, not only as to my own case, but now, by Heaven, as to that of some one else\(^5\) as well, wondering whether I did not truly see, and what took place was not the happenings of my waking moments but merely a dream, or whether the events were really so in all detail, both the enthusiasm of the populace and the decision of the Council, and yet, as luck would have it, the statue back and reached the scene of battle when the action was already decided. Plutarch, *de Herod. malig.* 39, charges Herodotus with unfairness toward Corinth and Adeimantus, but he does not impute to him a mercenary motive.

\(^2\) The privilege of προεδρία was highly prized at Athens.
\(^3\) Port of Corinth on the eastern side of the Isthmus.
\(^4\) *Odyssey* 11. 222. Favorinus substitutes τμη for φύχη.
\(^5\) I.e., some one else may have had a similar experience.
10 καὶ λαθὼν ἡμᾶς ἀπέδρα. ἀλλ’ ἂφ’ οὖ Δαῦδαλος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὔδεὶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἔξικετο τῆς τέχνης μέχρι τοῦ καὶ δραμοῦν ἐμποιεῖν τῷ χαλκῷ. ἀλλὰ διαβεβηκότας μὲν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔφ’ ἐπὶ ποιῶν ὀχυμένους· μενοῦσα μέντοι οὖντο πάντες κατὰ σχῆμα καὶ χώραν, κἂν μὴ τις αὐτοῦς μετακινήσῃ, τὸ γε ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι χαλκὸς ἀδραστος, ἂν καὶ πτερὰ ἔχῃ, ὅσπερ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου Περσέως.

11 "Ενα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας τέχνης ἢ τῆς Δαῦδαλείου, τί παθῶν ἄν ὕμων ἀπηλλάγῃ τῆς πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἓς τούς δύο θεοὺς φασίν ἔρισαι, Ποσειδώνα καὶ τὸν "Ηλιού, τὸν μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς κύριον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὑδάτος; ἔρισαντε δὲ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτρέφαντε τρίτω θεῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, οὗ πλείστως μὲν κεφαλαί, πλεῖσται δὲ τε χεῖρες, τούτῳ τῆς δίαιταν ἐπιτρέφαντες ἀμφότεροι τῷ δε τῆς πόλιν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔχουσιν· οὕτω ποιοῦν μικρὸν οὖν ἀμυνόν σημείον τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας 12 ύπεροχῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι λίζεις τε καὶ κτήσεις τῶν θεῶν κατὰ μόνας εἰσίν. "Ἀργος μὲν Ἡρας, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ Ἀθηναίς καὶ αὐτῶν γε τούτων τῶν

1 εἶναι Selden: εἶ.

2 καὶ M: τε καὶ UB.

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1 On the miraculous powers of Daedalus, see Plato, Euthyphro 11 c.
2 This sculptor, like his contemporary Myron, was skilled in depicting movement. The close association of Perseus
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

was one of the works of Daedalus and slipped away without our notice. However, not since the death of Daedalus down to the present day has any one made such progress in the art of sculpture as to impart to bronze the power of flight; nay, though they make statues of men with a fine and noble stride, and sometimes even riding on horseback, still these all maintain their pose and station and, unless some one moves them, so far as they are concerned bronze has no power to flee, not even if the statue has wings, like the Perseus of Pythagoras.

But supposing my statue to be actually of the ancient craftsmanship of Daedalus, for what strange reason would it have taken leave of your city, the city for which they say the two gods, Poseidon and Helius, vied with one another, the one being lord of fire, the other lord of water? And after the twain had striven and had entrusted the decision to a third god who was their elder,

Whose heads were many, many too his arms, having, as I say, left to him the decision, they both have held this city and district ever since, surely no slight or obscure sign of its superiority over all other cities. For while the others are the portion and property of the gods individually—Argos of Hera and Athens of Athena—and while, with reference to these very gods of whom I speak, Rhodes belongs to with Corinth suggests that the statue in question may have been set up there.

Author unknown. The allusion is to Briareiēs.

Pausanias (2. 1. 6) reports as a Corinthian tradition that Poseidon and Helius strove with each other for possession of Corinth, and that Briareiēs awarded the Isthmus to Poseidon and to Helius "the height which dominates the city," i.e., Acrocorinth.
DIO CHRYSTOSM

13 To μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου, τῇ δὲ 
η τη συνάδοντα, τρίτην ἐπὶ τρισσαῖς χάρισι τὴ 
θεσπισμὸν Σιβύλλαν παρακάλει: τιμὴν δὲ οἱ 
θεοῦ φωνὴν λαχώσα ἀδεί μάλα μέγα:

—εὐδαίμον τί τοι ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἔλθε 
'Ωκεανὸς κοῦρης Ἑφύρης, γαί' ἑνθα Ποσειδῶν, 
μητρὸς ἔμης Λαμίας γενέτωρ, προούθηκεν ἄγωνα 
πρῶτος ἀμ' Ἡλίων, τιμᾶς δ' ἰνέγκατο μοῦνοι;

14 καὶ γὰρ τοῦ καὶ ἄγωνα πρῶτον ἐνταῦθι τεθήναι 
φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο θεῶν, καὶ νικήσα τό 
Κάστορα μὲν στάδιον, Κάλαϊν δὲ διὰ 
καὶ γὰρ Κάλαϊν ἄνθροποι δραμεῖν, ἀπεκύμων 
τοῦ πέπεσαν. δεὶ δὲ 
καὶ τὸν ἄλλος, ἐπείπερ ἡρξάμεθα, ἄθλοφόρους 
τε λεγοῦναι καὶ νικηφόρους. Ὕρφευς κυθάρα, 
'Ἡρακλῆς παμμάχοιον,' πυγμην Πολυδεύκης, πάλην

1 ἐξαιρέτων Πελοπόνσου Geel.
2 καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνos Bethe deletes.
3 συνάδοντα Geel: συνάδοντα.
4 τρισσαίς χάρισι δισσαίς χάρισι Geel, δισσοῖς μάρτυρισι Arnim.
5 τιμήν δὲ οἱ Crosby, τραγή δὲ ἐκ Arnim: τῆ μῆ δὲ οἱ M, τιμή 
δέου U, τιμῇ δέ οἱ B.
6 εὐδαίμον τί τοι ἀνθρώπος Emperius, εὐδαίμον πηνοῦδεος 
Arnim: δ' δαίμων τί τίκω δῆς M, δ' δαίμων τί τοι δής UB.
7 γάρ added by Post.
8 παμμάχῳ Baguet: πάμμαχον.

1 Onchestus, in Boeotia, though in ruins in the time of 
Pausanias, had been prominent in the worship of Poseidon. 
Cf. ōia 2. 506 and Homeric Hymn to Apollo 229-238.
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

Helius and Onchestus to Poseidon,² Corinth belongs to each of the two. You might imagine, since the myth suggests it, that the strip of land between two seas was an exceptional grant made by Helius because Poseidon wished it so.

Now then, both myth and history, while singing in fair harmony on this theme, invite the Sibyl of prophetic song as a third for their trio of praise; and she, having obtained as her prerogative the voice of a god, sings aloud:

What place to thee so happy as the blest
Isthmus of Ephyrê,² Ocean's child, whereon
Poseidon, sire of Lamia,³ mother mine,
Did first with Helius appoint the games,⁴
Though his alone the honours there received?

For the fact is, you know, men say not only that the contest was first established there by the two gods, but also that Castor won the single course and Calaïs the double—for we are told that Calaïs ran, refraining from flying.⁵ But now that we have broached the subject, the others too who were prize-winners and victors should be named. Orpheus was victorious with the lyre, Heracles in the rough-and-tumble, in boxing Polydeuces, in wrestling Peleus, in the discus

³ Not the vampire with which nurses frightened unruly children. Plutarch (de Pyth. Or. 9) and Pausanias (10. 12. 1) refer to our Lamia, daughter of Poseidon, as mother of the earliest Sibyl, whose rocky seat may still be seen at Delphi.
⁴ Pausanias (2. 1. 6) gives Helius a share in the founding of the Isthmian Games; others ascribe the foundation either to Poseidon alone or to Sisyphus or Glaucus or Theseus.
⁵ Calaïs was a winged son of Oreithyia and Boreas. Like most of the heroes here mentioned, he took part in the Argonautic Expedition.
Πηλεύς, δίσκον Τελαμών, εὐόπλιον Θησεύς. ἐτέθη δὲ καὶ ἵππων ἄγων, καὶ ἐνίκα κέλητι μὲν Φαέθων, 15 τεθρύπτω δὲ Νηλεύς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ νεῶν ἀμιλλα, καὶ Ἀργώ ἐνίκα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπλευσεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ποσειδών, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπέγραψεν, ὁ λέγουσαν Ὁρφέως εἶναι:

'Ἀργῷ τὸ σκάφος εἰμί, θεῶ δ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἰάσων, Ἰοθμα καὶ Νεμέος στειφάμενον πίτυσιν.

"Οπου δὲ θεοὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ἡμῖθεοι δὲ νικῶσι καὶ νικῶνται, ἀναπαυέται δὲ Ἀργῷ, τίνα τούτων τότων καλλίως ἔξευρεν ἐδύνατο αὐτὸς ὁ Δαιδάλος πτεροῖς πετόμενος, οὐχ ὅτι γε ὅτι τὸ Δαιδάλου
16 ποίημα; ἀλλ' οὗτε ἀπέδρα οὗτε ἐπεχείρησεν οὐθ' ἀλλ' ἐμέλλησεν καταλείπεται τοῖν πρὸς τους Κορώνιους ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν μῆτε κρίσεως πρότεθη- σης μήθ' ἀλλ' ἀπίαν ἐχοντας ἐπενεγκείν. καὶ
tou't ἀν' ἐπείσθη τις κατὰ Κορώνιων ὅτι oἱ πρό-
gonoi διὰ πάντων Ἐλλήνων μάλιστα δὴ δικαιού-
nvν ἐπήρισκον; ἡ γὰρ οὗτος οὗτοι εἰσών οἱ τᾶς τυράννας ἐν ταῖς πόλεις καταλύνστες καὶ τὰς δημοκρατικαὶ καθυστάντες καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναὶς ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἐλευθερώσαντες, πρότερον μὲν ἀπὸ
17 Ἰππίου, ὑστερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κλεομένου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς αὐτὸι 'Ἀθηναίοι πράγμα ποιεῖν ἐπ-

1 ἐχοντας Moore: ἐχοντος. 2 τοῦτ' ἄν Crosby: τοῦτο.
3 ἡ Emperius: ἡ M, ἡ UBD.

1 Doubtless composed by our author himself.
2 Cf. § 9, where it is jokingly suggested that Daedalus made the statue which has so mysteriously disappeared.
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

Telamon, in the contest in armour Theseus. And there had been instituted also a contest for horses, and Phaëthon won with a courser, and Neleus with a team of four. And there was also a boatrace, in which Argo was the winner, and after that she sailed no more, but Jason dedicated her there to Poseidon, and he carved on her a couplet, which men say is the work of Orpheus:

I am the good ship Argo, to God by Jason devoted,
Victor in Isthmian Games, crowned with Nemean pine.¹

But a place where gods control the games, and heroes are the victors and the vanquished, and Argo lies at rest—what lovelier place than this could Daedalus himself discover as he flew with wings—to say nothing, of course, of that statue made by Daedalus?² Nay, that statue of mine neither ran away nor tried to do so nor had any such intention at all; therefore we are left to conclude that the Corinthians themselves banished it, not only without holding any trial, but also without having any charge at all to bring against it. And would any one have believed this to the discredit of the Corinthians, whose forefathers were pre-eminent among the Greeks for cultivating justice? For, I ask you, was it not they who put an end to the tyrannies in the cities and established the democracies and freed Athens from her tyrants—first from Hippias and later from Cleomenes³—and who after that, when Athenians themselves undertook to play the rôle of Hippias and

² Herodotus allows Corinth no part in the expulsion of either Hippias or Cleomenes, and Cleomenes was not a tyrant but a Spartan king who seized the Acropolis!
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εχέιρον Ἰππίου καὶ Ἰσαγόρου καὶ τυραννίδα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καθίστασθαι, πρῶτοι μὲν αἰσθόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἀληθεοῦντες, ἣγερμόνει τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς ἐλευθερίας καταστάντες, καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων διαφυλάξαντες; καὶ γὰρ δ' Δακεδαμονίως ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν δικαίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος μετὰ τῆς Θηβαίων καὶ Ἡλείων πόλεως ἀντέβησαν. ὃ καὶ διέδειξαν οὐ φιλοκάλως ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς φιλέλληνες καὶ φιλοδίκαιοι καὶ φιλελεύθεροι καὶ μισοπόνηροι καὶ μισοτύραννοι. μισοβάρβαροι μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἤσαν, ἢστε εἰς Θερμοπύλαις τετράκοσίους σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅτεπερ καὶ Δακεδαμονίως τριακοσίους. ἐν Σαλαμίνι δὲ ήριστευσαν καὶ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν. Ἡροδότῳ γὰρ οὐ προσέκυκαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ, δὲ ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν Κορινθίων τεθαμμένοις ἐν Σαλαμίνι ὁ ξένε, εὐχώδρον ποτὲ ἐναίσθησαν ἄστυ Κορίνθου, νῦν δ' ἀμὴ Ἀιαντος νάσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς, ἐστί δὲ Φοινίκας νήσας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλώτες καὶ Μήδους ἱερὰν, Ἑλλάδα ρυσάμεθα.  

1 γὰρ added by Arnim.
2 φιλοκάλως ἔχοντες] φιλολάκων ἔντε Selden.
3 τριακοσίους Cobet, relying on Herod. 7. 202 : τετρακοσίους.
4 δ' ἀμὴ Αιαντος Vaiukkenaer and Bergk : δὲ μετ' Αιαντος mss., δὲ ἀνάματος Plutarch.
5 Ἑλλάδα ρυσάμεθα Jacoby : 'Ἑλλάδ' ἱερωσάμεθα, Ἑλλάδα ρυσάμεθα Plutarch.

18
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

Isagoras\(^1\) and to set up a tyranny over Hellas, being the first to sense what was going on and being especially pained thereat, led the way to freedom for the others and maintained that purpose, not only in the case of the Athenians, but also in that of the Spartans? For example, in company with the states of Thebes and Elis they opposed the Spartans in defence of the common rights of Hellas\(^2\); and by this act they also showed that they were not mere lovers of honour, but rather lovers of Hellas, of justice, of freedom, and haters of villainy and tyranny. Yes, and they were such haters of barbarians that they dispatched to Thermopylae four hundred of their own troops on the same occasion on which the Spartans sent three hundred.\(^3\) And at Salamis they won the prize for valour and became responsible for the victory. For I pay no heed to Herodotus\(^4\) but rather to the funeral monument and to Simonides, who composed the following epitaph for the Corinthian dead who were buried in Salamis:

O stranger, once we dwelt in Corinth blest
With fountains; now the isle of Ajax holds
Our bones. With ease we took Phoenician ships,
Vanquished alike the Persians and the Medes,
And saved our sacred Hellas from the foe.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Isagoras yielded the Acropolis to Cleomenes. He was the chief opponent of Cleisthenes after the expulsion of Hippias.

\(^2\) Corinth, Thebes, and Elis took common action for a brief moment after the Peace of Nicias, though presumably for selfish reasons.


\(^4\) Cf. § 7.

\(^5\) Plutarch, de Herod. malig. 39 e, gives the epitaph but not the poet’s name.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

19 ἦστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἑπίγραμμα Σιμωνίδη εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρεσθαι.
οὗτος ᾑδεμάντων κείνου τάφος, οὐ διὰ βουλὰς Ἐλλὰς ἑλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.
ἡλευθέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων.
ἡ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Σικελίας ἀλλὰ ὀμοῦς οὐδὲ τούτον οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ὑδίκει ὑπὲρ ἐξέβαλλεν οὐδὲ ἀπήλαυνε1 τῶν ἐκ
Σικελίας.2

20 Τὸ δὲ ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἀνέτρεψεν; εἰ2 μὲν οὖν στροβίλος ἡ προστήρι ἡ σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσόν,3 σείων καὶ κεραυνοῦ ἰθύμων,—εἰ δὲ ἔστι τις κρίσις ἀνδριάντος, οἷον φασίν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενέσθαι
—ὅν δὲ τρόπον οὐκ ὁκνῆσω ἐπεμβαλόμενος διηγήσασθαι. Συρακοσίους τοὺς ἀποίκους τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τοὺς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντας ὁ χαλκὸς ἐπιλειτοῦρι
21 καὶ τὸ νόμισμα: ἐφηφίσαντο οὖν τοὺς τῶν τυράννων ἀνδριάντας—οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἤσαν παρὶ αὐτῶς
χαλκοῦ πεποιημένοι—συγκόψανεν κρίσιν γε ἐν αὐτῶς ποιήσαντες, ὡστὶς ἀξίας αὐτῶν καταχωνευθῆναι

1 ἀπήλαυνε Crosby: ἐξέβαλεν.
2 τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας] Dindorf deletes.
3 εἰ] ὀδ Arnim.
4 Arnim suspects a lacuna after ἐμπεσόν.

1 Cited by Plutarch, op. cit. 39 ν, but without naming the poet.
20
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

And Simonides also has another epitaph referring particularly to the commander himself:

Here lies that Adeimantus by whose designs
Greece bound about her brows fair freedom's
 crown.¹

And what is more, the Corinthians also freed Sicily from the foreigner and Syracuse too from her tyrants.² And Dionysius was then to be seen in Corinth—a most glorious spectacle!—shorn of all his power; and yet no one wronged even him or tried to banish him or to deprive him of the wealth he brought with him from Sicily.³

But who overturned the statue dedicated by the city? Of course, if it was a whirlwind or a hurricane or a thunderbolt that struck it, causing it to totter and darting lightning at it!—But if it is a question of some trial of a statue, such as they say took place in Syracuse—but how it took place I shall not shrink from telling by way of parenthesis. The Syracusans, your colonists, in the course of their many wars against the Carthaginians and the other aliens who dwelt in Sicily and Italy, had run short of bronze and currency; so they voted that the statues of their tyrants—most of the statues in their city were made of bronze—should be broken up, that is, after the people had held a trial to determine which of the statues deserved to be melted down and which did

² Timoleon the Liberator in the years 344–338 B.C. twice defeated the Carthaginians and drove them into western Sicily. He also suppressed most of the Sicilian tyrannies.
³ Plutarch, Timoleon 14, says Dionysius was allowed to take with him a small amount of money, and that he became an object of much interest to both the Corinthians and the Greeks in general.
καὶ ὅστις οὖ· καὶ περιγίγνεται τῇ δίκῃ, ἵνα καὶ
tοῦτο ἀκοῦστε, Γέλων ὁ Δευτομένους. οἶ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες κατεκόπησαν, πλὴν ἀρα Διονυσίου
tοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Διονύσου¹
περικειμένων.

22 Εἰ δὲ γένουτο καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν ψήφισμά τι τοιούτων,
ἀνδράντων ευθύνας εἶναι, μάλλον δ’ εἰ θέλετε καθ-
ἀπερ ἐψηφισμένον γε τούτο καὶ ἁγίων ἐνεστη-
kότος, δότε μοι, δότε τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ²
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὤδι ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ποιήσασθαι.

"Ἀνδρέας δικασταί, ἀπαντά φασὶ δεῖν προσδοκῶν
ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ· οὕτος δ’ ἐν τῷ βραχεὶ κιν-
dυνεύει τεθῆναι μὲν ὡς ἄριστος 'Ἐλλήνων, ἐκ-
23 πεσείν δ’ ὡς πονηρότατος. ὅτι μὲν οὖν καλὸς καὶ
dικαίως καὶ συμφερόντως τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ
καὶ πάσι τοῖς 'Ἑλληνοι ἐστάθην,³ πολλὰ ἔχων
εἰπεῖν ἐν υἱῶν βουλόμαι διηγήσασθαι γενόμενον
ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς Συρακούσαις. καὶ γὰρ οἶκεῖν
τὸ παράδειγμα, καὶ δίκαιον ἑώς ἐστίν—ὡςπερ
ἐκεῖνοι τιμῶσι τὴν μητρόπολιν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμᾶς
tὰ τῆς ἀποικίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔργα καλῶς ἔχει⁴
μιμεῖσθαι.

24 Ἔκεῖνοι τοῖνυν κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους χρό-
nους Λευκανῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπον, ὅτι προσβείσαν τινὰ

¹ Διονύσου Casaubon: Διονύσου.
² αὐτοῦ Crosby: αὐτοῦ.
³ ἐστάθην | ἐστάθη Emperius.
⁴ καλῶς ἔχει | α καλῶς ἔχει Reiske, α ἐν καλῶς ἔχη Wilamow-

witz.

22
not; and—for you must hear this too—Gelon\textsuperscript{1} son of Deinomenes survived the trial. As for the others, they all were broken up, except of course the statue of Dionysius,\textsuperscript{2} the elder of the pair portrayed wearing the attributes of Dionysus.

Then supposing some such decree were to be passed in Corinth too, prescribing that statues should be subjected to an accounting—or rather, if you please, supposing this to have been already decreed and a trial to have been instituted—permit me, pray permit me, to make my plea before you in my own behalf as if in court.

Gentlemen of the jury, it is said that anything may be expected in the course of time; but he who stands before you is in jeopardy of first being set up as the noblest among the Greeks and then being cast out as the worst, all in a brief span of time. Now then, to prove that I was set up fairly and justly and to the good of your city and of all the Greeks, I could speak at length, but there is one thing I do want to tell you which took place in that same Syracuse. For indeed the illustration is germane, and there may be justice in it too—just as the people of Syracuse honour their mother-city, so also it is well that you should follow the example of your colony.

Very well, in those early days, because a certain Lucanian spoke Doric in reporting some mission

\textsuperscript{1} Tyrant of Syracuse 485–478 B.C. His statue's immunity from destruction was doubtless due to his being both the first and the mildest tyrant of that city.

\textsuperscript{2} Dionysius the Elder ruled Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C. Scipio is said to have classed him with Agathocles as typifying daring and sagacity. We are led to infer that both the elder and the younger Dionysius had statues so made as to suggest the god from whom their name was derived.
DIO CHRYSOCHOSTOM

eἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀπέγγειλε δωριστὶ, ἦσθεντες αὐτοῦ τῇ φωνῇ τὰ τε ἅλα ὑπὲρ ὅν ἦκεν οὐκ ἀπρακτὸν ἀπεπέμβαντο καὶ ταλάντῳ ἐδωρήσαντο καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματος ἔστῆσαντο, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ πολὺν ἐπαινὸν ἐκτῆσαντο¹ παρὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτονῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης Δωριέων, τῶν τε ἅλων καὶ τῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦστων, ὡς εἰ τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ φιλοκόλως ἀμειβόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, οὗ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπησκήκει ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ λέγειν δυνάτος εἶναι.

25 Εἰ δὲ τὸς οὗ Λευκανὸς ὄν, ἅλλ᾽ Ὁρμαῖος, οὐδὲ τοῦ πλῆθους, ἅλλ᾽ τῶν ἀποστρέφων, οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν μόνον ἅλλα καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δίανταν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἕλληνων ἐζηλωκός, καὶ ταὐθ᾽ οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ περιφανῶς, ως οὕτε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ὁρμαίων οὕτε τῶν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἕλληνων, εὐρήσεται γάρ, οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔστων ἕδειν ἐκείσε πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ὁρμαίων πράγματα ἀποκλίνοντας, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ πάνθ᾽ ἀπλῶς προϊέμενον, ἵνα αὐτῶν περιῆ ἐν ἀντὶ πάντων Ἕλληνι δοκεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι—ἐίτα τούτου οὐκ ἔχρην παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστάναι χαλκοῦν; καὶ κατὰ πόλιν γε παρ᾽ ὑμῖν μὲν, ὅτι Ὁρμαῖος ὃν ἀφηλησίσθη, ὡσπερ

¹ καὶ ... ἐκτῆσαντο conjectured by Cobet. Casaubon noted the lacuna.
² After τὸν δὲ Arnim deletes προστάτην.
³ ἐν ἀντὶ Valesius: ἐναντίον.
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

before the Assembly, those Syracusans were so pleased by his dialect that they not only sent him home successful in the general purposes of his mission but also presented him with a talent and set up a likeness of him,¹ and on that account the Syracusans won much commendation from the neighbouring cities and from the Dorians of that region, especially from those who dwelt in Italy,² who felt that they had requited the man in fine and elegant fashion in behalf of the Dorian race, whose dialect he had cultivated to the point of being actually eloquent in it.

Well, if some one who is not a Lucanian but a Roman,³ not one of the masses but of the equestrian order, one who has affected, not merely the language, but also the thought and manners and dress of the Greeks, and that too with such mastery and manifest success as no one among either the Romans of earlier days or the Greeks of his own time, I must say, has achieved—for while the best of the Greeks over there ⁴ may be seen inclining toward Roman ways, he inclines toward the Greek and to that end is sacrificing both his property and his political standing and absolutely everything, aiming to achieve one thing at the cost of all else, namely, not only to seem Greek but to be Greek too—taking all this into consideration, ought he not to have a bronze statue here in Corinth? ⁵ Yes, and in every city—in yours because, though Roman, he has become thoroughly

¹ The eastern shore of Lucania faced Doric Tarentum (mod. Taranto), so that the incident is not surprising. Syracuse of course was Doric.
² I.e., the people of Tarentum.
³ I.e., the speaker. See Introduction.
⁴ I.e., in Rome.
 Dio Chrysostom

ἡ πατρὶς ἦ ὑμετέρα, παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις δὲ, ὅτι ἀπεκτείνει τῇ φωνῇ, παρὰ Δακεδαμονίους δὲ, ὅτι φιλογνωστεῖ, παρὰ πάσι δὲ, ὅτι φιλόσοφοι καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἢδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπήρει συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἰδίωτος, οὐκ ὁλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων 27 ἐπεσπάσατο. ἐπ' αὐτῷ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ δοκεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν θεών οἶκον ἐξεπλήθησε κατεσκευάσθαι, Ἐλληνοὶ μὲν, ὡς ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραδευμα ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ παιδευθῆναι τοῦ φύναι πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν διαφέρει: Ὡρμαίοις δὲ, ἢν μηδὲ οἱ τὸ ὅριον ἁξίωμα περιβεβλημένοι τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἁξίωμα παρορῶσι. Κελτοῖς δὲ, ἢν μηδὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μηδὲ εἰς ἀπογεννώση τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας, βλέπων εἰς τοῦτον.

Ἰστάθην μὲν οὖν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς προφάσεις, ἢν μὴ πλείον τέλον δοκῶ προσάγειν ἐμαυτόν εἰς 28 ἐπέκθειαν. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίων ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως εἰκόνος βουλεύεσθαι καὶ καθαρέσεως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἄκαστος τούτων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνακειμένων, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε ἱερών ἐστίν, ἢδη τὰ τῆς ὅσιάς περίκειται, καὶ χρῆ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ προεστάναι ὡς ἀναβήματος. πολλὰ ἢν τὰς ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μῆ δεῖν Γοργίαν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐστάναι, καὶ ταῦτα μετέωρον καὶ χρυσοῦν. Γοργίαν


1. Destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C., Corinth was refounded by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. as a Roman colony. In
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hellenized, even as your own city has; in Athens because he is Athenian in his speech; in Sparta because he is devoted to athletics; in all cities everywhere because he pursues the study of wisdom and already has not only roused many of the Greeks to follow that pursuit with him but also attracted even many of the barbarians. Indeed it seems that he has been equipped by the gods for this express purpose—for the Greeks, so that the natives of that land may have an example before them to show that culture is no whit inferior to birth with respect to renown; for Romans, so that not even those who are wrapped up in their own self-esteem may disregard culture with respect to real esteem; for Celts, so that no one even of the barbarians may despair of attaining the culture of Greece when he looks upon this man.

Well then, it is for some such reasons as these that I have been erected—not to expose myself to opprobrium by naming more. But in truth planning for the erection of a statue is not like planning for its tearing down. Why? Because each one of these statues which have been erected by your city—be its subject better, be it worse—is at once invested with the attributes of sanctity, and the city should defend it as a votive offering. One might urge many reasons in support of the claim that Gorgias the sophist should not have a statue at Delphi, and what is more, a statue on a lofty base and made of gold.

the century and a half that followed it seems to have been hellenized pretty thoroughly. The speaker is evidently playing upon the Greek sentiment of his hearers.

2 By "Celts" the speaker may mean the people of Arethae. See Introduction.

3 This statue of the famous Sicilian orator is noted by many ancient writers, but no one else refers to the pedestal.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τὸ λέγω; ὅπου γε καὶ Φρύνην τὴν Θεσπιακὴν ἔστων ἰδεῖν, ἔπι κλῖνος κάκευτην ὡς Γοργίαν.

29 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐνστήναι νόμμου ἱσως καὶ πολυτικὸν, τὸ δ’ ὑστερον ἐλθόντας τῆς ἀναθέσης ἀναλύων πειράσθαι τὰ δεδομένα, Ἀπολλον, βαρύν καὶ οὔδεις ἄν ἡνέσχετο τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ δέον ἐστάθησαν, τὸ σταθῆναι προλαβόντες δέον ἐστήκασιν, εἷς οὔ προελήφασιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν εἰς ἐναιαντόν αἰρομένων καὶ ἀνάξιος ὁ τίς ἄρχης, τὸν γοῦν ἐναιαντόν ἐκεῖνον εἰς ὄν ἢρέθη ἄρχων διατελεῖ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριάσι κύριον εἶναι δεὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἕφ’ ὄν ἐστάθησαν· ἔστι δὲ

30 οὖτος πᾶς ὁ λοιπὸς χρόνος. ἦ τε διοίσατε τῶν τοῦς πηλίνους πλαττόντων; τί δὲ καλὸν ἔξετε λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας ὑμᾶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ τάς μὲν τιμᾶς εἶναι παρ’ ὑμῖν θυγατέρα, ταῦτα δὲ ἀτιμίας ἄθανάτους; εἰ τοῖς οὕδεις αἰσχρὸν τοῦτό ἐστι, καίστερ ὁν δεινόν, ὡς κομιδὴ τετυφωμένης πολιτείας ἀνδριάντες ἐπέτεευ, ὥσπερ οἱ καρποὶ. οὖς γὰρ οὐχ ὅν’ εὐθὺς ἐκλείπωσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως πλείστον χρόνον παραμείνωσι, χαλκοῦς ἵστατε, τούτους ἀποφαίνετε καὶ τῶν κηρίων μαλακότερους.

31 Ἡ νῦν Δὲ ὅτι ὀφθήναις πονηροὺς ὑστερον συνέβη;

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1 Τοῦς τι with U] γοργίαν τι BM, γοργίαν M m. pr.
2 ἔπι κλῖνος Jacobs: ἐπ’ εἰκάνος BM, ἐπί εἰκάνος U.
3 τίς Reiske: τῆς.
4 δὴ Arnim: δὲ.
5 οὐδέν Emperorius: οὐδέ.
6 ὡς] πῶς od Reiske, od Arnim, ὡς Post.

1 Phryné was a famous hetaera of the 4th century B.C. Pausanias (10. 15. 1) attributes her statue at Delphi to Praxiteles, “one of her lovers.”
2 Amphiictyonies were religious leagues for the protection of some cult centre. The oath by Apollo shows that the
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Why do I name Gorgias, when you may see there even Phrynē of Thespiae, perched on a pillar like Gorgias?¹

However that may be, while it is possibly legitimate and within the right of citizens to object at the outset, later on to go and try to cancel the resolution authorizing the erection of a statue is, by Apollo, a grievous wrong; and none of the Amphictyons would have permitted it.² For indeed if statues were erected wrongfully, once they have gained the advantage of having been erected they hold their position rightfully from the moment they gained that advantage. For just as with the officials who are elected for a year, even if one of them is unworthy of holding office, he continues in office at least for the year for which he was elected, so also with statues that term should be valid for which they were erected; and this term is all time to come. Otherwise how will you differ from the men who fashion their images of clay? And what fine answer will you have to offer those who demand of you the reason why the honours in your city are mortal but the dishonours immortal? If, then, this practice is in no wise disgraceful—as it certainly is shocking—what an absolutely crazy government it is whose statues are annuals, like their crops! For men whom you honour with statues of bronze, not to have them desert you immediately, but to have them remain with you as long as possible, you show to be of softer stuff than even the images of wax.

Or, by Heaven, will the excuse be that men thus honoured were later on, as it happened, seen to be speaker has in mind the Delphic Amphictyony; he is still thinking of Gorgias and Phrynē.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

εἰ μὲν ὑστερον γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἄφησε τὴν πόλιν τῆς αὐτίας· οὐ γὰρ τῶν μελλόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παραχιχτῶν ὑμεῖς δίδοτε τὰς τιμὰς. εἴ δὲ πρότερον ὁς τοιοῦτος ὑστερον κατωπτεύθη, ποτὲρως ἂν οἴσεθε μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν εὐδοκιμήσαι1 καὶ ποτέρως ἂν τοὺς εἰ βουλομένους2 ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν προκαλέσασθαι, τὴν κρίσιν ἄναδαστον3 ποιήσαντες ἢ τοῖς ἀπαξ δεδογμένοις ἐμμεῖναντες· ἐγὼ μὲν οὖτως ἤγομαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡτυχικότων, τὸ δὲ βεβαιῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων.

32 Ὅπως λέγω τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι οὐκ4 ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ καταδίκης, μηδ' ἐκ τῆς τυχοῦσας αὐτίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης δεί τὴν τηλικαύτην, ἂν ἄρα δέη,5 τιμὴν ἀνατραπῆναι. διαβολῆς μὲν γὰρ ἑνεκα καὶ6 Σωκράτης εἰ ἡ τῶν νέων διαφθορεύς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νομιζομένων ἀνατροπεύς, ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχόμενος. τίνας γὰρ οὗτοι οὐ διαβεβλήκασιν οἱ πάντα διαβάλλοντες; οὐ Σωκράτην; οὐ Πυθαγόραν; οὐ Πλάτωνα; οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ποσεидῶ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ33 τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς; ἀποτουντα δὲ καὶ τῶν θη-

1 εὐδοκιμήσαι Emperius: εὐδοκιμήσαω.
2 βουλομένους Selden: βουλομένους.
3 ἄναδαστον] ἄν 8' αὐτὸν M, ἁνάδικον Wilamowitz.
4 οὐκ Wilamowitz: οὐδ'.
5 ἂν ἀρα δέη Emperius: ἂν ἀρα δεὶ M, ἁνάδαστον UB.
6 καὶ Dindorf: καὶ.
rogues? If they have turned rogues subsequently, that does not free the city of its guilt; for it is not because of what is to be but rather because of what has been that you confer your honours. If, on the other hand, a man who previously was a scoundrel was only subsequently discovered to be so, by which course of action do you suppose you would be more likely to win esteem among the Greeks, and by which course would you more effectively appeal to those who wish to do you favours—by undoing your decision, or by abiding by what has been decided once for all? As for myself, I believe it is by the second course of action. For the one course is that of men who have missed their aim, the other that of men of steady purpose.

I have not yet mentioned the most important consideration, which is that so signal an honour should be upset, if at all, not in consequence of slander, but by due process of law; and not for some casual fault, but only for the greatest. For so far as slander is concerned, even Socrates might be a corrupter of youth and a subverter of all the cherished beliefs of men, beginning with the gods. For whom have these men failed to slander who slander any one at all? Have they not slandered Socrates, Pythagoras,\footnote{Pythagoras was ridiculed for certain peculiar beliefs and practices, but apparently not on the score of morals.} Plato?\footnote{Diogenes Laertius, \textit{Vita\phi\lambdaλια.} 3. 26-33, assembles various jokes and gibes at the expense of Plato.} Have they not slandered Zeus himself, Poseidon, Apollo, and all the other gods?\footnote{Greek mythology naturally afforded abundant material for the irreverent treatment of many of the gods. Scandalous tales were most common in connexion with Zeus.} And they lay impious hands even upon the female deities,
λειών θεών, διν εἰκός Ἰη ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν ἄρρη-

νων ἐντρέπεσθαι. νῇ Δ', ἁκούετε γὰρ ἄ λέγουσι
τὴν Δήμητρα καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὴν ἸΕω-

ἀπέχονται δ' οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀρτέ-

μιδος· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀπογυμνοῦσι τῷ Ἀκταίων,
τὴν δὲ καὶ συνάγουσι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ ποιοῦσι
τὴν παρθένου μικροῦ μητέρα. ταύτ' οὖν ἐπιστά-

μενοι θαυμάζετε, εἰ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τις ψόγος
διεδόθη, ὁν ἐκφυγεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων
ὑπήρξε τῶν ἐν δόξῃ βεβιωκότων, τὴν δὲ ἀφορμὴν
ἐλαβεν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἰτ' ἐπαφροδισιάν
ἀυτήν εἰδ' ὅ τι δῆποτε χρή καλεῖν τοῦτο δ καὶ
ἡμεῖς σὺν γυναιξί καὶ τέκνοις ἀπεδέξασθε;

34 Οὐ σκέψεσθε; οὐκ ἀναμνησθήσεσθε πρὸς ἔαν-

τοῦς, εἰ τι τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν πέτρακται;
καίτω πόλω οὐκεῖτε τῶν οὐσῶν τε καὶ γεγενή-

μένων ἐπαφροδισιάτην, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἴκον-

οσατε, θαρρῶν δ' ὅν εἴπομη ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλος τις
Ἐλλήνων. εἰτα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐν πλείον
ἀδελα καὶ συγγνώμη κοσμίως βεβιωκότα, τοῦτον
ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ρώμης παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς

1 νῇ Δία Emperius: τῶν.
2 τὴν δ' added by Selden.
3 τοῦτον Reiske: τοῦτο.

1 With the notable exception of Aphroditē, the Greeks do

seem in general to have dealt more kindly with their goddesses

than with their gods.

2 Save for the obscure amour with Poseidon reported by

Pausanias (8. 25. 4), and that with Iasion (Hom. Od. 125-128),

Demeter's reputation seems to have been spared.

3 Aphroditē was fair sport for the Greeks from Homer on.

4 Presumably a reference to her affair with Tithonus, first

recorded in the Homeric Hymn to Aphroditē 218-238.
for whom they might be expected to feel even more reverence than for the male. Aye, by Heaven, for you hear what they say of Demeter and Aphrodite and Eos; and they do not keep their hands off even Athena or Artemis; on the contrary, they strip Artemis naked for Actaeon, and they unite Athena with Hephaestus and almost make a mother of the Virgin. Therefore, knowing all this as you do, are you surprised if there has been spread abroad against this man too some censure, a thing which absolutely none of those who have lived distinguished lives has had the power to escape, but which in his case is based upon the charm of his eloquence, or whatever one should call that gift to which you yourselves, along with women and children, give approval?

Will you not consider the matter? Will you not test your memory to see whether any such thing has been done by him in Corinth? Although you live in a city favoured by Aphrodite beyond all that are or ever have been, nevertheless you have heard nothing of the sort regarding him, and, I venture to assert, no other Greek has either. Then do you believe that the man who has lived a decent life in Greece, in the midst of greater licence and indulgence, has suffered transformation in Rome, in the

6 Actaeon encountered her at the bath and was torn to pieces by his own hounds. Cf. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 3. 30-31.
6 Cf. Apollodorus, op. cit. 3. 188-190.
7 For the charge of immorality in question, see Introduction.
8 It seems highly probable that the speaker is punning on the word ἐπαφροδιτοτάτη, the cult of Aphrodite at Corinth being notorious. Though possibly in bad taste, the pun would be understandable in connexion with the charge against him.

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νόμους ἴγεισθε μεταβεβληθοῦν; ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε
παραπληθοῦν ἔστιν, ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ τις τὸν ἀθλητὴν
φαίη καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν εὐτακτεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ σταδίῳ
καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνισθην πλημμελεῖν.

35 Παρρησίαι δὲ ἀγω δυσλήν, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ συνει-
δότος, ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ ἀγωνισθέντος. πεπιστευκότος
μὲν πᾶσαν τιμωρίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἡμαρτηκότος
λαβεῖν, άκουσαντος δὲ μηνύσαι. ὅπερ ἕκεινος
ἐποίησεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπακολουθήσατε ἀνθρώποις
—οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτός ἔρω ὡς ἀμυνόμενος: πλὴν ὦ τι
δικαιότερον ἢν ἕκεινος ὑμῖν ἄκολουθεῖν ἢ ἡμᾶς
ἔκεινοι. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἔστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον
πρόφα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς Ἐλλάδος, οἶλοι μὲν καὶ
ἀφενεὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὄνομάτων ἐκ παλαιῶν
χρόνων ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν θεῶν ὄνομα-
ζόμενοι, οτὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τισίν ὑπήρχε καὶ
πλούτεια καὶ δύνασθαι νῦν δὲ ἀφ' οὗ προδέλουπεν
ὁ πλοῦτος Ὀρχομενόν τε καὶ Δελφοὺς ἔλευς μὲν
ὑμῶν δύνανται διαφέρειν, ξῆλω δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς.

37 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἢν οὐ δεῖ παρὰ
τοῖς Ἐλλησίων αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, ὅταν τὸν υφ' ὑμῶν
ἐκπεπτωκότα πάντες ἁμενεὶ καταδέχομαι οὐ
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς καὶ διαπρεπεῖσθαι καὶ
τιμαῖς ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γεραιρώσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ

1 καθ' αὐτὸν Emperius: κατ' αὐτὸν.
2 πᾶσαν] γὰρ ἦν Wilamowitz.
3 μηνύσαι] μηνύσαι Arnim.

1 No doubt a figurative allusion to Hadrian. See Intro-
2 duction.
3 The unknown informer against Favorinus.
4 He seems to say that Corinth is aping Athens in its treat-
5 ment of the statue. See Introduction.
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presence of the Emperor himself and the laws? Why, that is very much as if one were to say of the athlete that, though privately he keeps the rules, in the stadium and in the presence of the Master of the Games he violates the code!

However, I hold freedom of speech to be a two-sided matter—one side is that of the man who has knowledge of some misdeed, the other is that of the Master of the Games.\textsuperscript{1} If the latter has given credence to an accusation he will exact full satisfaction from the wrongdoer, but a man who has heard a report of it will turn informer, which is precisely what the man in question\textsuperscript{2} did. But when you followed the lead of persons who—however, I shall say nothing of them by way of retaliation, save only that it would have been more proper for them to follow your lead than for you to follow theirs. For you are now, as the saying goes, both prow and stern of Hellas, having been called prosperous and wealthy and the like by poets and gods from olden days, days when some of the others too had wealth and might; but now, since wealth has deserted both Orchomenos and Delphi,\textsuperscript{4} though they may surpass you in exciting pity, none can do so in exciting envy.

Now these remarks have been offered in the interest of the city, which must not suffer disgrace in the eyes of the Greeks, seeing that all men not merely welcome with delight him whom you have banished, but even send for him and dispatch him on missions here and there and, among other things,

\textsuperscript{4} Both were synonymous with wealth in the time of Homer (Iliad 9, 379-382 and 404-405). Pausanias says (8. 33. 2) that Orchomenos had become in his day “less opulent than a private man of modest means.” Despite repeated pillaging, Delphi had hardly fallen so low.

35
τῶν εἰκόνων ἀναθέσει. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰκόνος νῦν ἐρώ λόγον, ὃν εἶπεν Ἀναξαγόρας κυίαν ἀποβεβληκός, "Ἡδεῖν θυτῶν γεγενηκός. ἀλλ' ὅνικ ἦδεν ὅτι τοιοῦτοι τῶν γὰρ ἀνδριάντων ἐκαστὸς ἀνατίθεται μὲν ὡς αἰώνιος ἐσόμενος, φθείρεται δὲ ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλην εἰμαρμένην, κοινοτάτην μὲν καὶ δικαιοτάτην καὶ πᾶσι πράγμασι 38 προκειμένην τὴν τοῦ χρόνου. οὖ δὲ ποιήσει ἄλλως εἰκόμπαζεν ὁ τούτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ποιήσας, ὃ φυσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Μίδα σήματι γεγράφθαι·

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί. Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κείμαι. ἔστ' ἂν ὑδρῷ τε ῥέῃ καὶ δένδρα μακρὰ τεθήλη, αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτω ἐπὶ τῷμβῳ ἀγγελεόν παριούσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

39 ἀλλ', ὃ παρθένε αὐτάγγελε, τοῦ μὲν ποιητοῦ ἄκουόμεν, σε δὲ ξητούντες οὐχ εὐρομεν οὐδὲ τὸ σήμα τὸ Μίδου. ὕδατα δὲ ἐκείνα καὶ δένδρα ἔτι μὲν νάει τε καὶ θάλλει, χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔοικεν ἐπιλείψεω, ὡς Μίδας, ὡς παρθένος.

ἀνδρὶ μὲν Ἰππαίμων ὄνομι οὖν, ἔππη δὲ Πόδαργος, καὶ κυνὶ Λήθαργος καὶ θεράποντι Βάβης.

tίς οὖν 1 οἴδεν Ἐλλήνων οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐππον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰππαίμων; δοκῶ μὲν 2 οὔδὲ Μαγινῆτων, οἴδεν ὃν Ἰππαίμων. οὕτος μὲν οὖν φρούδος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ Βάβητι καὶ Ποδάργῳ.

1 ὅκι] ὃν Arnim.
2 οἴδεν Τῷον τῶν γὰρ Jacobs: οἴδεν Τῶν τῶν M, τοῦτον τῶν UB.
3 After οὖν Arnim deletes οἴκ.
4 δοκῶ μὲν Reiske: δοκοῦμεν.
show him honour by actually erecting statues of him. On the other hand, I shall now in my own behalf and in behalf of my statue use a phrase which Anaxagoras used when he had lost a son: "I knew I had begotten a mortal." ¹ However, I did not know that my progeny was as mortal as that; for though each statue is erected as if it were to last for ever, still they perish by this fate or by that, the most common and most fitting fate and the one ordained for all things being the fate of time; and the poet was idly boasting who composed this epitaph, which they say has been inscribed on the funeral mound of Midas:

A maid of bronze am I. I mark the grave
Of Midas. While water flows and trees grow tall,
Here will I hide by the tear-drenched tomb and tell
The passers-by that Midas lieth here.²

Well, my self-announcing maiden, we hear indeed the poet's words, but, though we sought, we found not thee nor yet the tomb of Midas. And though those waters still flow and those trees still thrive, in time even they are likely to vanish with the rest, like Midas, like maiden.

Hippaemon the man was called, Podargus his horse,
Lethargus his hound, and Babès his serving-man.³

Well now, who of the Greek race knows, I won't say the horse, but Hippaemon himself? None, I fancy, even at Magnesia, whence Hippaemon came. He, then, has vanished from the sight of men, Babès, Podargus and all.

¹ Cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 13.
² Quoted also by Plato, Phaedrus 264 d.
DIO CHRYSOCTOM

40 "Ετεροι δὲ ἐστάσι καὶ γιγνώσκονται, τὴν δὲ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσιν ἐτέρων, καὶ τὸ γυνὸμενὸν ἐστιν οἶνον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἀντίσπαστον,¹ καὶ τρόποι τινὰ ἀντιδιάσκονοι οἱ ποιηταὶ τρόποι μὲν Ἕλληνων,² τύχας δὲ Ῥωμαίων. ἑθεασάμην καὶ τὸν Ἁλκιβιάδην τὸν καλὸν τὸν Κλεινίου, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπου, πλὴν ἑθεασάμην ἐν καλῷ τῆς Ἕλλαδος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα Χαλκοπώγωνος, ἔτερον δὲ περικεκομένου τῷ χειρί, ὃς ἔλεγετο τῆς Πολυκλέους τέχνης εἰναι ὀραμα δεινῶν, ὃ Γή καὶ "Ἡλικ, Ἁλκιβιάδης πε- ⁴¹ πηρωμένος. οἶδα δ’ ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογειτονα δουλεύσαντας ἐν Πέρσαις, καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πευκακούνες ἀνδριάντας καὶ χιλίους ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μιὰ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ πάντας καθηρημένους. ἐτόλμησαν δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμίδας κατασκεδάσας. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν οὖν τῆς εἰκόνος οὖρον κατέχον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αἶμα καὶ τέφθαν καὶ κονίαν. καὶ γὰρ

¹ After ἀντίσπαστον Arnim deletes τὸ μὲν ἐπιγραμμα βουματ-ζει (and the following καὶ), Valesius would retain and add ὁ δ’ ἀνδριάς ἐληρίζει.
² After Ἕλληνων Arnim adds ἔχουσα.
³ πλὴν Geel: πλησίον.

¹ This vicious practice of altering labels forms the theme of Or. 31.
² The antispast, as the name implies, is a metrical foot which seems to tend in opposite directions (−−−−).
³ I.e., "authors" respectively of statue and of dedicatory inscription. The word ποιητῆς, though usually applied to "makers" of verse, was applicable also to makers of other things as well.

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However, the statues of other men still stand and are known, though they wear the label of others, and what is going on is like an antispast in poetry, and, as one might say, the authors give counter information—Greek character, but Roman fortune. I have seen even Alcibiades, the handsome son of Cleinias—I know not where, but I saw him in a commanding site in Greece—wearing the label Chalcopygon, and also another likeness of him with both arms lopped off, a likeness said to have been the work of Polyclees—ye gods, a fearsome spectacle, Alcibiades a cripple! And I know that Harmodius and Aristogeiton have served as slaves in Persia, and that fifteen hundred statues of Demetrius of Phalerum have all been pulled down by the Athenians on one and the same day. Aye, they have even dared to empty chamber-pots on King Philip. Yes, the Athenians poured urine on his statue—but he poured on their city blood and ashes and dust. In fact it was enough to arouse

4 Chalcopygon is the Greek translation of Athenobarbus (Bronzebeard), a name used by Nero in his earlier career. Some servile Greek may have rededicated to him the statue in question.

5 Polyclees was a sculptor of the second century B.C. It is noteworthy that Alcibiades should have served as subject for sculpture at that late date.

6 The statues of the famous Tyrannicides were carried to Persia in 480 B.C.

7 Both Diogenes Laertius and Pliny the Elder give 360 as the number erected. Diogenes says they were completed in fewer than 300 days. Only Pliny speaks of their destruction: quasnox laceravere.

8 The incident seems apocryphal.

9 A most surprising statement, for, contrary to the prediction of Demosthenes, Philip proved notably indulgent toward Athens.

39
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

"ν νεμεσητὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνδρὰ νῦν μὲν ἐν θεοῖς λέγειν, νῦν δὲ οὖν ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

42 Ἔτσι ἔγιν ταῦτα ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φείδονται, ἀνδριάντος ύμᾶς φροντίσαι δοκῶ; καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους συγήσεων μοι δοκῶ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰσθμιον, τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον τὸν ὑμετέρον. Μόνομος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασκάσας ἀνέθηκε τῷ Δίῳ, φεῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑς ἀνάθημα, ἀνθρώπους ἀπαίδευτος καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν καλῶν πεπειραμένος. ὦς Φιλιππὸν μὲν τὸν Ἀμβούτον, ὦν ἐκ Θεσπίων ἔλαβεν, ἐπέγραψε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φενεοῦ νεανίσκους τὸν μὲν Νέστορα, τὸν δὲ Πρίαμον. ὦ δὲ δήμος ὡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον, αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὄραν φῶντο, ὀραν Ἰωάννα, Ἀρκάδας ἐκ Φενεοῦ.

43 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔξεστι καὶ γελᾶν. οποῦ δέ μοι ἐπελήλυθεν Ἀγασίλαον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς γνώμης μακαρίσαι, ὥστε οὕτως πρόκειται τὸν νῦν μακρὸν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνεργοῖς, τῷ χωλός ἄντον, ὡς φανερώσατο, τῷ χωλό τούτῳ. τῷ γὰρ ἔκλεισεν, ἑκεῖνος ἐκεῖνος ἐκεῖνος ἐκεῖνος ἑκεῖνος ἑκεῖνος ἑκεῖνος, ἑκεῖνος ἑκεῖνος. ὅτι μὴ δεῖ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας τὰς ἐκείνες μνημείαν.
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righteous indignation that they should class the same man now among the gods and now not even among human beings.

Then, knowing as I do that men spare not even the gods, should I imagine you to have been concerned for the statue of a mere mortal? Furthermore, while I think I shall say nothing of the others, at any rate the Isthmian, your own Master of the Games, Mummius tore from his base and dedicated to Zeus—disgusting ignorance!—illiterate creature that he was, totally unfamiliar with the proprieties, treating the brother as a votive offering! It was he who took the Philip son of Amyntas, which he got from Thespiae, and labelled it Zeus, and also the lads from Pheneüs he labelled Nestor and Priam respectively! But the Roman mob, as might have been expected, imagined they were beholding those very heroes, and not mere Arcadians from Pheneüs.

Indeed you may well laugh at these doings; but in all seriousness, it has occurred to me to congratulate Agesilaüs, king of Sparta, on the stand he took, for he never thought it fitting to have either a statue or a portrait made of himself, not because he was deformed, as people say, and short—for what was to hinder the statue's being tall, or having shapely legs, like Euphranor's Hephaestus?—but rather because he saw clearly that one should not try to prolong the allotted span of human life or expose the

3 Pheneüs was a city in Arcadia. Nothing is known of the statues in question.
4 On his physical appearance, see Plutarch, Agesilaüs 2.
5 Euphranor was a Corinthian sculptor of the fourth century, famous for the grace of his statues. Hephaestus, of course, was lame.
 Dio Chrysostom

κυδωνεύειν περι τῷ σώματι κατὰ λίθον καὶ χαλ-
κόν. εἴθε γὰρ εὖ ἐνε καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλάχθαι.

44 Χαρέτω δ’ ὁ Δαίδαλος καὶ τὰ Δαίδαλον μυμηλὰ
tεχνήματα: ἀδὴν Προμηθέως, άδὴν πηλοῦ. καίτοι
καὶ τὸ σώμα τῶν γενναίων φασίν ἀλλότριοι εἶναι,

剟πεὶ μάλα πολλά μεταξὺ

σώματός τε καὶ ὕψης. ἡ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πάρεστιν
οὐδὲ φροντίζει τοῦ σώματος καμίντος. ἐμαίνετο
Καμβύσης ὃς "Ἀμάσιν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα
τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κεντὼν τε καὶ μαστίγων. Αἰγύ-
πτιοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσιν "Ἀμάσιν ἐκ πλέονος ὑφορώ-
μενον τὴν Καμβύσου χαλεπότητα τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ

νεκρὸν ἀποκρύψαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ ὑποβαλεῖν,

45 καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Καμβυσῆ περιπεσόντα. ἀλλ’,
ὁ Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Καμβύση, εἴτε ἄλλοις τις ἡν ὁ
ταῦτα παθών εἴτε αὐτῶς "Ἀμάσις ἦν, τόπος ἦν ἀν-
αιμος, ἄσαρκος, ἄψυχος. τοῦτον, εἰ σοι φίλον, ἐλκε
καὶ σπάρατε καὶ κέντρου, "Ἄμασιν δε’ οὐ κατεἰ-

λφας. ἐτερος δε τις ζῶν, ἐμπνέων, αἰσθανόμε-

νος, Πτόσε, πτώσο’, ἔφη, τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον:
Ἀναξάρχον γὰρ οὐ πτίσσεις. οὕτος γὰρ ἀνήρ;

1 εὖ Reiske: εἶναι. 2 ή Selden, δὲ Geel: δ. 3 οὐ πάρεστιν Crosby, οὐκ ἦσσετ Selden, οὐκ αἰσθάνεται
Reiske: οὐκ ἦσσετ. 4 καμίντος Crosby: καμίντος. 5 ὃς added by Selden. 6 αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ. 7 ἀνήρ Emperius: ἀνήρ.

1 Prometheus is said to have created the race of men out of clay. Cf. Pausanias 10. 4. 4 and Apollodorus, Bibli-

οθεα 1. 45.

2 Spoken by Achilles of the distance between Troy and his

home (Iliad 1. 156).
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body to the vicissitudes of stone or bronze. Would that it might be possible to take leave even of the body which we have!

But farewell to Daedalus and to the imitative devices of that artist; enough of Prometheus, enough of clay. In fact it is said that even the body of noble souls is foreign substance,

For very many things do lie between

body and soul. For the soul is not present when the body is outworn nor is it concerned for it. Cambyses was mad when, as if it were Amasis, the king of the Egyptians, he stabbed and flogged his dead body. To be sure, the Egyptians say that Amasis, having long viewed with distrust the cruelty of Cambyses, caused his own body to be hid away and another to be substituted for it, and that this was the corpse which fell in the way of Cambyses. However, O ye Egyptians and Cambyses too, no matter whether it was some one else who suffered this treatment or Amasis himself, at all events it was a form sans blood, sans flesh, sans soul. This, so please you, you may drag, you may rend, you may stab, yet the real Amasis you have failed to catch. Again, another man who was endowed with life and breath and feeling exclaimed, "Grind, grind the sack of Anaxarchus; for the real Anaxarchus you do not grind!" You see, this man,

Post compares this utterance with the words of Socrates (Phaedo 115 ε and Xenophon 365 ε).

This incident is recorded by Herodotus (3. 16).

According to Diogenes Laertius (9. 58 ff.), Anaxarchus, a philosopher of Abdera (c. 350 B.C.), had offended Nicocreon the satrap of Cyprus, who had him thrown into the mortar to be ground to death.
ἐμπεσῶν μὲν εἰς ἡλμον, τυπτόμενος δὲ τοῖς ὑπέροις, αὐτὸς οὖν ἔφη πτίσσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὀπερ ἐτυχὲ περικείμενος. ἂσπερ φασὶ Πέρσων τοὺς ὁμοτίμους λαμβάνειν πληγάς, ἀντὶ τοῦ σώματος τὸν κάνδυν.

46 Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσούτω ὁμοφροῦσιν. "Ελλην δ’ ἀνὴρ παρέχει τύπτειν τὸ σῶμα ὡς κάνδυν, ἡμεῖς δ’ οὐ παρέχουμεν τὸν ἀνδρὰντα χωνεύειν, κἂν αἰσθάνεται; νῦν δ’ ο μὲν κρείσσων αἰσθήσεως, ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Εὐριπίδου Λαοδάμειαν οὐκ ἂν προδοτὴν καὶ περ ἄμμυχον φίλον.

βούλομαι οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς αἰσθανόμενον παραμυθήσασθαι. ὃ λόγων ἐμῶν συγκλονεὶ ἔδωκαν, οὐ φαίνη; οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅ πρὸ σοῦ Ἀριστέης. ὅδε γὰρ ἔσχη κακείνω, ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη, ἀναστῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Προκοπησίων, ἀφαιρεθήναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. λόγων δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων διαδοθῆναι, ὡς οὗτε ζῶν οὗτε τεθνεύως φαίνομαι Ἀριστέης. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ πρὸς ἄπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἐξ Ἀριστέης.

47 μνάσεσθαι τινά φαμι καὶ ὅστερον ἄμμενων.

1 τῶν αὐτοῦ with M: τῶν αὐτοῦ B, τῶν αὐτοῦ U, τὸ αὐτοῦ Jacobs, τὸν Ἀθηναίον Ηεμστηρούς, τὸν αὐτοῦ θόλακ Ρείσκε.
2 Αὐτὴ κανδυν Ρείσκε δελετές ὡς ημᾶιν.
3 παρέχομεν Emperius: παρέχομεν.
4 κατὰ τὴν Valesius: καὶ τὴν.
5 ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη with M: ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη UB, ὡς καὶ σοὶ, ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη Reiske.
6 μνάσεσθαι Casaubon: μνάσασθαι.
7 ὅστερον Volger, ὅστερον Edmonds: ἄτερον.

1 Apparently the peers were spared the indignity of being
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

having been thrown into a mortar and being pounded by the pestles, declared that he himself was not being ground, but only that thing of his in which, as it chanced, he had been enclosed—just as we are told that the peers of the realm in Persia are beaten—their cloak instead of their body.¹

Well then, though Persians may resent so slight a chastisement, a Greek allowed his body to be pounded as if it were a cloak; and shall not I allow my statue to go to the melting-pot, even supposing it to have sensation? But as matters stand, while Anaxarchus was superior to sensation, I, in the language of Euripides’ Laothoe,¹

Would not desert a friend, though void of life.²

Accordingly I wish to speak words of comfort to my friend, my statue, as to one possessing sensation: O thou mute semblance of my eloquence, art thou not visible? No more was Aristeas visible, who lived before thee. For he too had this experience, as I conjecture, the experience of being raised up by the men of Proconnesus³ and then being spirited away by his foes, and of having a tale disseminated by these same men to the effect that Aristeas was not to be seen, either living or dead.⁴ However, Aristeas was alive then, lives now, and will live always.

Some one, I ween, will yet remember me,⁵ stripped for flogging. The long-sleeved καφέδες is here viewed as shielding the body from the pain.

² An island in the Propontis, birthplace of Aristeas.
³ For the weird story of the repeated disappearance and reappearance of Aristeas, see Herodotus 4. 13-15.
⁴ Cf. Edmonds, Lyra Graeca, I p. 236, L.C.L.
πάνυ γὰρ καλῶς εἶπεν ἡ Σαπφώ· καὶ πολὺ κάλλιον Ἡσίοδος·

φήμη δ' οὕτως πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἣντινα λαοὶ
πολλοὶ φημίζωσιν· θεός νῦ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.

ἐγὼ σε ἀναστήσω παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, ὅθεν οὐδεὶς σε
μὴ καθέλῃ, οὐ σεισμός, οὐκ ἀνεμός, οὐ νυφετός,
οὐκ ὀμβρός, οὐκ φθόνος, οὐκ ἐχθρός, ἄλλα καὶ νῦν
σε καταλαμβάνω ἐστηκότα. λάθα¹ μὲν γὰρ ἰδη
τινὰς καὶ ἔτερους ἐσφηλε καὶ ἐφεύσατο, γνώμη δ' ἰδὴ
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα, ἂν² κατ' ἄνδρα μοι ὅρθὸς
ἐστηκας.

¹ λάθα with UB: λάθρα M, βάθρα Weil.
² ἂν Casaubon: ἂν IUB.

¹ Works and Days 763-764.
² The goddess Fame?
³ Seemingly an echo of the famous tribute paid by Herodotus (8.98) to the Persian courier service: τοὺς οὕτε νυφετός,
as Sappho very beautifully says; and far more beautifully Hesiod:

But fame is never utterly destroyed
Which many people voice; a goddess she.¹

I myself will raise thee up and place thee in the precinct of the goddess,² whence naught shall tear thee down—not earthquake or wind or snow or rain or jealousy or foe³; but lo! e'en now I find thee in thy station! Aye, ere now forgetfulness hath tripped and cheated sundry others too, but judgement plays no tricks on any man of worth,⁴ and 'tis because of this that thou standest upright for me like a man.

οὐκ δὲμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νῦς ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην.

¹ Edmonds, loc. cit., regards λάθα μὲν . . . οὐδένα as a paraphrase of lines from the same poem of Sappho, a theory to which the form λάθα lends some colour. See Introduction for a possible interpretation of this highly imaginative peroration.
THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: 
TO THE NICOMEDIANS ON 
CONCORD WITH THE NI-
CAEANS

This is the first in a series of speeches by Dio dealing with 
affairs in his native Bithynia, speeches which shed much light 
upon the troubles and problems referred to by Pliny the 
Younger in his correspondence while governor of that pro-
vince. The administration of Bithynia was clearly no easy 
task. Besides the natural resentment of the provincial 
toward his Roman overlord, who in some instances seems to 
have been unworthy of the office, we learn of much social 
and economic distress and unrest, financial mismanagement, 
and civic bickerings. Still another source of trouble was the 
bitter rivalry between cities of the district such as forms the 
subject of the present Discourse.

Nicomedia and Nicaea were near neighbours. While 
Nicomedia profited from its nearness to the sea and was the 
"metropolis" of the district, Nicaea lay on an important 
trade route and seems to have outstripped its neighbour in 
material prosperity. Under the Empire it appears to have 
enjoyed the special favour of Rome. As early as 29 B.C. 
Augustus established there the cults of Roma and of Julius 
Caesar, and at the time of our Discourse Nicaea was honoured 
with the title πρωτη. This title it continued to hold despite 
the counterclaims of Nicomedia, and that it was no empty 
honor seems to be attested both by coins and inscriptions 
and by Dio's own words (§ 26), which seem to negative the 
disparaging reference immediately preceding. His efforts 
to establish concord between these rivals seem not to have 
had lasting success, for as late as the Council of Chalcedon

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the bishops of these two cities presented counterclaims to the right of ordaining bishops in Bithynia.

Dio does not provide a clue as to the precise date of our Discourse, but both his choice of theme and the spirit in which he deals with it indicate with some clearness that it belongs to his philosophic period. With what appears to be false modesty, he professes not to know why he, a native of Prusa, some sixty miles distant, should have been honoured with citizenship in Nicomedia. Possibly it had been the first city of the province so to honour him. However that may be, in his address before the people of Apameia (Or. 41, 2) he states in no uncertain terms that such marks of distinction had become for him a common experience: "wherever I have been, not only cities in general, but even, I may say, most of those which are of standing equal to your own, have presented me with citizenship, with membership in the Council, and with their highest honours without my asking it, believing me to be not unserviceable to themselves or unworthy of being honoured." Although loyal to his birthplace and ambitious for its advancement, Dio's long exile had fostered in him wider sympathies, and he seems to have been sincerely concerned for the welfare of Bithynia at large. It was only to be expected that the cities of the province should welcome the opportunity to enlist in their support a man with such an outlook, to profit by his wisdom, and to shine by his reflected glory.
38. ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΕΙΣ

1 "Όταν ἐκλογίσωμαι τας αἰτίας, ἄνδρες Νικο-
μηδεῖς, δι' ἃς ἐποιήσασθε με πολίτην· οὐ γὰρ
πλούτων ὄντα ὅρω μοι μέγαν, ὡστε νομίζεων ὅτι
dιὰ χρήματα ἑσπευδάσθην ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν· οὔτε πρὸς τὸ
θεραπεύειν τοὺς ὀχλους ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντι ἐμαυτῷ
σύνοια· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τούτῳ μου χρήζεων δο-
κεῖτε, τὸ ταῦτα ὄρμαῖς ὑμῶν ἀπάσαις ὑπηρετεῖν
ἐποίμως ἐμε· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ συμποτικὸς εἰμί τις
οὐδὲ κοινὸς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συνουσίαις, ὡστε
ἀπὸ γε τούτου παρέχειν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡδονήν· εἰ
dὲ μὴ διαμαρτάνω μὴτε τῆς ὑμετέρας περὶ ἐμαυ-
τοῦ προαιρέσεως, ὥσα τε ὑμῶν δύναμαι χρήσιμος
εἶναι, ταῦτα ἐπισταμαι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστων, δι' ὧ
πολίτης ἐγὼ γεγένημαι παρ' ὑμῖν,1 οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἢ
tὸ συμβουλεύειν ἐμὲ τι περὶ τῶν κουῆ συμφερόν-
tων ἵσως μᾶλλον ἐτέρων καὶ βούλεσθαι καὶ δύνα-
2 σθαι. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τοιούτον, ὑμεῖς τε
τῆς περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδῆς διημάρτετε ἐγὼ τε ἐσοικα
μάτην ὑπακούσας ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ γενήσεσθαι

1 After ὑμῖν Selden deletes σπουδῆς.

1 "I am at a loss" has been supplied by the translator in
lieu of what presumably was an eloquent gesture on the part
of the speaker.

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THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: TO THE NICOMEDIANS ON CONCORD WITH THE NICAЕANS

Men of Nicomedia, when I undertake to compute the reasons why you gave me citizenship, I am at a loss; for I do not see that I have great wealth such as to warrant my believing that I have been sought after by you for mercenary reasons, nor am I conscious of having an aptitude for flattering the masses; so you do not seem to want me even for the purpose of readily serving your every whim. No, the fact is that I am not even good company at a banquet or a sociable person at gatherings of that sort, so as to be able at least to afford pleasure for the populace from that quality. However, if I do not wholly mistake your purpose regarding me, and also if I am cognizant of all the matters in which I am capable of serving you, the only thing left to account for my having been made a citizen by you is naught else than that, perhaps to a greater degree than others, I have both the desire and the ability to give advice on the interests of the commonwealth. However, if such is not the case, then not only have you been misguided in your interest in me but I too, it would appear, was rash in heeding your call in the hope of proving useful to your city in the

2 Cf. § 2.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος, οὐ ποιομένων μον χρείαν ὑμῶν εἰς ἕν μόνον ἐπιτιθείσος εἰμι. εἰ δὲ πάσαις μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις, δεὶ μὲν καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἵνα καὶ χορηγώσι καὶ φιλοτιμώνται ταυτί τὰ νεομιμημένα δαπανήματα, δεὶ δὲ καὶ κολάκων ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα δημαγωγούσων αὐτοῖς ἥδωνται. δεὶ δὲ καὶ συμβούλων, ἵνα σύζωνται ταῖς πολιτείαις, κἀγὼ καθ' ὅσον μοι δυνατὸν οὐκ ὁκνήσω περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβουλευόν ὑφελεῖν τῇν πόλιν.

3 Ἠστὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐπανορθώσεως ἄξια καὶ κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν πονήσομαι τὴν θεραπείαν, ἂν τάληθ᾽ λέγων πιστευθῶ περὶ τῶν μειζόνων. τι δὲ παθών ἡ τί βουλόμενος οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν μικροτέρων συμβουλευῶν πρῶτον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀποπειρώμαι τοῦ δῆμου τῆς εὔπειθείας, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἄξιῶ καὶ υπερεύθη γιὰ τοῦ μεγίστου συμβουλευόν υπάρχειν, ὅτι πολλῷ μοι δοκεῖ ῥᾴδιν εὑναι πείσαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἡ τῶν μικροτέρων καὶ φαύλων. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐξεστὶ καὶ καταφρονήσαι τῆς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν γνησιότητα καὶ δῆμον τῆς εὔπειθείας, ὅ δὲ χωρὶς ἄν αἰμήθηκον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ σύζωσθαι, περὶ τούτων οὖκ ἐπελήσας πεισθῆναι δήλος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν μικροτέρων οὐδὲ ἀκουσθομένος.

4 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ἐὰν ὑπομείνητε τῇν συμβουλίαν, πεισθῆσθε μοι περὶ ὧν συμβουλευόν πάρειμι, καὶ δὴ οὐσία θαρρῶ. τι δαί; δύσκολον τοῦτ᾿ ἐστι, 2 ἐξεστὶ] ἐξεστὶν ὑμελεῖν Arnim.

1 Cf. Or. 34. 1.
future, since you are not making that use of me for which alone I am adapted. If, on the other hand, all cities, or rather the great cities, need not only the men of wealth, both to finance the public spectacles and liberally to provide such customary expenses, and flatterers to afford pleasure by their demagogic clap-trap, but also counsellors to provide safety by their policies,¹ I myself shall not shrink from aiding the city to the best of my ability by giving advice on matters of greatest importance.

Well now, there are indeed some other things in your city which deserve correction, and one after the other I shall apply my treatment to them, provided I win your confidence by speaking the truth about the greater matters. But for what strange reason or with what purpose do I not first give advice about the smaller matters and in those matters test the willingness of the people to be persuaded, instead of choosing to jeopardize my reputation at the start by offering advice on the weightiest matter of all? It is because it seems to me far easier to persuade men concerning the weightiest matters than concerning those which are slighter or trivial. For while one may actually scorn the harm resulting from these minor matters, a man who, when it is a question of policies apart from which it is impossible for him to be saved, has refused to be persuaded regarding these things is clearly a man who will not even listen concerning the minor matters.

So then, if you will endure my advice with patience, I am indeed very confident you will be persuaded by me in the matters about which I am here to advise you. What then? It is a hard task to get you to
τὸ μήτε φορτικὴν ὕμας ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ἀκρόασιν τὴν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος μήτε περιττῆν μήτε ἀκαίρου. ἦν οὖν μοι μὴ ταῦτα προσαπαντῆσῃ παρ’ ὑμῶν, Τί δὲ συμβουλεύεις σὺ περὶ ἃν ἡμεῖς τὴν ἄρχην οὐδὲ βουλεύόμεθα; Τί δὲ σεαυτῷ λόγου μεταδίδως, οὐ σοι μὴ μετέδομεν ἡμεῖς; Διὰ τί δὲ τοσοῦτον πεπολεμευμένων παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, εἰσποιητῶν, ῥητόρων, φιλοσόφων, γερόντων, νέων, οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἡμῖν 5 συμβουλεύσαι ταύτῃ τὴν συμβουλίαν; αὐτὴμα θέλω ποιῆσασθαι τούτῳ αὐτῷ παρ’ ὑμῶν, ἄνδρεις Νικομηδεῖς, καὶ χαρίσασθε μοι καὶ ὑπομείνατε, ἀκοῦσαι λόγου περιττοῦ καὶ ἀκαίρου καὶ μὴ πεί- σαντος ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐδὲ μεγάλην εἶναι νομίζω τὴν δωρεὰν· εἴτε γὰρ πεισθῆσεθε, εἴξων ἐστιν ἀκούσαι τούτῳ λυσιτελῆ λέγοντος· εἴτε ἓφ’ ὑμῖν ἀπόκειται τὸ πείσθηναι, τί τούτῳ δύσκολον ἐστιν, ἄνδρι φιλῷ λόγου μεταδοθένται βουλομένως· μάτην εἰπεῖν; 6 Καὶ τί δὴ τούτῳ ἐστιν, υπὲρ οὐ μέλλω μὲν συμ- βουλεύειν, ὁνομάζεις δὲ αὐτὸ ὁκνῶ; τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐκ ἄγαδε, ὡς ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς οἰκίας οὔτε ἐν ταῖς πόλεις οὔτε ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῖσι οὔτε ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἐθνεσιν. υπὲρ γὰρ ὄμονοις ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι, καλοὺς μὲν ὄνο- ματος, καλοὺς δὲ πράγματος· ἀν δ’ εὖθυς προσαρκί 7 τῆς πρὸς τώος ὄμονοις, τούτῳ δέδοικα, μὴ τὴν μὲν ὄμοιοιν αὐτὴν ἀφ’ εἰαυτῆς καλῇν εἶναι

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1 εἰσποιητῶν Gecl: εἰς ποιητῶν M, ποιητῶν UB.
2 After βουλομένω Weil adds καλ.
3 ἀφ’} ἐφ’ Reiske.

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1 Dio makes an even more elaborate appeal for tolerance
view my remarks upon the subject which I have in mind as neither tiresome nor superfluous nor untimely. In order, therefore, that I may not at the outset encounter such objections on your part as:

"But why do you offer advice in matters about which, to begin with, we are not even deliberating?"

"But why do you accord yourself the privilege of the floor, when we have not bestowed it on you?"

"But for what reason, when so many have been active in politics in our city, native-born and adopted, orators and philosophers, old and young, has no one ever presumed to give us this advice?"—to fore-stall all such objections, I wish to make this very special request of you, men of Nicomedia—and do me the favour of being patient—that you listen to a speech which is superfluous and untimely and which may not convince you. Moreover, I do not consider it a great favour I am asking either; for if you are persuaded by my words, it is worth your while to have listened to one who tells you what is to your advantage; while, on the other hand, if you reserve your acquiescence, what is there unpleasant in having allowed a friend to take the floor who is willing to speak to no avail?¹

Very well, what is this subject on which I am about to offer advice, and yet am reluctant to name it? The word, men of Nicomedia, is not distasteful whether in the home or the clan or in friendly circles or cities or nations; for concord is what I am going to talk about, a fine word and a fine thing; but if I proceed to add forthwith concord with whom, I fear lest, while you may be convinced that concord

on the part of his audience in the exordium of Or. 32. Cf. also Or. 34. 1-6.
πιστεύσετε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τούτους ὁμονοεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἷς ὁμονοεῖν φημι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδύνατον εἶναι νομίσμεν. τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστιν, ὁ μέχρι τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐχθραν καθίστησιν ὑμᾶς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὅπως εἰς γενέσθαι τὴν φιλίαν, τὸ πεπείθομαι δίχα λόγον μὴ δυνατὴν εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν ὁμονοιαν. μὴ θορυβήσητε δὲ ἀρχομένῳ πάλιν, ἀλλ' ὑπομείνατε.

7 Φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Νικομήδεως, ὁμονοήσαι πρὸς Νικαίας· ἀκούσατε δὲ καὶ μὴ χαλεπήνητε μηδέποτε, πρὶν ἂν εἴπω τὰς αἰτίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ νοσῶν πρὸς τὸν ἱατρὸν ὑποκείται διατάττοντα τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀλλ' ἀκούει μὲν ἀπὸ τὸν ἑρωτοῦντος, ὅτι αὐτὸν καὶ τριβήναι δεῖ καὶ καυτήναι, πειθεῖσθαι δὲ ὄμως· περὶ γὰρ σωτηρίας ὁ κύδωνος ἐστι. καὶ τοι τὸ τοῦτο εἴπον; τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν φάρμακον, δὲ προσφέρω ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἡ διστῶν ἐστι φάρμακον· καὶ χωρὶς οὖ ζῇν οὐδεὶς ἀν ἐθελήσειν εἴδο φρονῶν.

8 Βούλομαι δὲ διελεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἴπειν τῆς ὁμονοίας τῆς καθολοῦ, ποδάπον τέ ἐστι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐστι δὲ ἐναυτίας τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὴν ἐχθραν διακρίνατε· πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν. ἐστι γὰρ ἀκόλουθον τὸ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἀποδεικθέον ὑφελόμου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπασιν ἀποδείξει ταύτην τὴν ὁμονοίαν τῶν πόλεων τούτων καὶ ἀναγκαιότατην οὕνεια ὑμῶν καὶ λυσσοτελεστάτην. οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ὅπως ἀν μεῖναι γενομένη δύνατος· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ὅρῳ πολλοῖς ἐν-

1. φάρμακον] φαρμάκων Herwerden.
2. Arnim moves ἐστι to the beginning of the next clause.
3. ἀπασιν Crosby: ἀπασίαν.
5. ὅπως Emperius: εἰ ποισ.
THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

of and by itself is fine, you may believe that being concordant with those persons with whom I claim you should be concordant is impossible. For what till now has set you at your present enmity one toward another, and has prevented the establishment of friendship, is the unreasoning conviction that concord is impossible for your cities. Nay, don't raise an outcry when I make a fresh start but bear with me.

What I say, men of Nicomedia, is that you must achieve concord with the Nicaeans; but hear me out and don't get angry yet before I state my reasons. For neither is the sick man angry with his physician when he prescribes his treatment, but, though he dislikes to hear him say he must submit to surgery or cautery, still he obeys; for his life is at stake. And yet why have I said this? For my remedy, the one I offer your cities, is a most pleasant remedy, and one without which no man would wish to live, if he has good sense.

But I want to break up my address, and first of all to speak about concord itself in general, telling both whence it comes and what it achieves, and then over against that to set off strife and hatred in contradistinction to friendship. For when concord has been proved to be beneficial to all mankind, the proof will naturally follow that this particular concord between these particular cities is both quite indispensable for you and quite profitable as well. I shall not, however, refrain from telling also how concord may endure when once achieved; for that problem, indeed, I see is bothering many.¹ But I

¹ This analysis is adhered to faithfully and shows that the speaker has prepared his address with care.
9 οὐχοῦν. εὐχομαι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσι καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων, εἰ ταῦτα εὐνοῖα τῇ πρὸς μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ νῦν λέγω καὶ μηδεμίῳ οἰκείῳ θερώμενος δόξαν ἢ λυσιτελεῖαν ἐκ τῆς καταλλαγῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας, καὶ πρὸ πάντων εἰ μέλλει λυσιτελεῖσθαι ἡ πόλει, δοῦναι μὲν ἐμοὶ τοὺς ἄξιους τοῦ πράγματος ἐπεὶ ὁ λόγος, παρασχεῖν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πειθῆραι τὰ συμφέροντα βουλομένους.

10 Ὅμωνοιν τῶν πάντων μὲν ἐπήμεραν ἀεὶ καὶ λέγοντες καὶ γράφοντες, καὶ μεστά τῶν ἐγκωμίων αὐτῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν συγγράμματα, καὶ ὁσοὶ τὰς ἱστορίας ἐξέδοσαν ἐπὶ παραδείγματι αὐτῶν τῶν ἐργῶν ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον οὕσαν τῶν ἀνθρωπεῖων ἁγαθῶν, καὶ πολλοὶ τολμήσαντες ἢδη τῶν σοφιστῶν παραδόξους εἰπεῖν λόγους μόνον τοῦτον οὕκ ἐπενοήθησαν ἢ ἐξενεγκεῖν, ὅσον οὐ καλὸν ἢ ὁμονοια καὶ σωτήριον ἐστιν· ὡστε τοὺς τε τῶν βουλομένων αὐτῆς ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ τοῖς αἰτίον ποιεῖν ἢ ἄφθονος ἢ τῶν λόγων ὑλή, καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ πλείω καὶ κρείττω περὶ αὐτῆς ἐξέσται λέγειν.

11 Εἴτε γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως αὐτῆς πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐθέλοι τις, ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτῆς ἐπανάγει ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν θείων πραγμάτων. ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ φιλία ἐστὶ καὶ καταλλαγὴ καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα περιείληφεν. καὶ τὰ στοιχεία δὲ τί

1 μέλλει λυσιτελεῖσθαι Emperius: μελλόσει λυσιτελεῖσθαι.
2 ἐπενοήθησαν editio princeps: ἐπενοήθησαν.
3 ὡστε added by Crosby.
4 καὶ τοὺς αἰτίον ποιεῖν] deleted by Wilamowitz; Reiske inserts βουλοησομένους after αἰτίον.
5 αὐτὴν] αὐτῆς Reiske.
pray to all the gods, both yours and theirs,\(^1\) that if what I now say is said because of goodwill to you alone and not in pursuit of any personal glory or advantage to be derived from your reconciliation, and above all if it is destined to be of advantage to the state—if this is true, I pray that the gods may not only grant me such eloquence as is worthy of my cause, but that they may also make you willing to take my advice in the matters which are to your advantage.

Well then, concord has been lauded by all men always in both speech and writing. Not only are the works of poets and philosophers alike full of its praises, but also all who have published their histories to provide a pattern for practical application\(^2\) have shown concord to be the greatest of human blessings, and, furthermore, although many of the sophists have in the past ventured to make paradoxical statements, this is the only one it has not occurred to them to publish—that concord is not a fine and salutary thing. Therefore, not only for those who now desire to sing its praises, but also for those who at any time would do so, the material for their use is abundant, and it will ever be possible to say more and finer things about it.

For example, if a man should wish to delve into its origin, he must trace its very beginning to the greatest of divine things. For the same manifestation is both friendship and reconciliation and kinship, and it embraces all these. Furthermore, what but

\(^1\) Both cities worshipped, in general, the same deities. Cf. § 23.

\(^2\) This practical aim is easily discernible in the work of many of the Greek historians, notably in Herodotus.
ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ὀμόνοια ἐνοί; καὶ δὲ οὐ σώζεται πάντα
tὰ μέγιστα τούτο ἔστι, καὶ δὲ οὐ πάντα ἀπόλ-
λυται τούναντίον. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ θυντὸν ἦμεν οἱ
ἀνθρωποὶ γένος μηδ᾽ ἔδει πολλά εἶναι τὰ φθείρον-
tα ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἡ
στάσις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς θείοις ἐνεστών. ὡς δὲ
μόνῳ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολειπόμεθα τῆς θείας καὶ
τῆς ἀφθάρτου διαμονῆς ἐκείνων, τούτῳ ἔστω, ὅτι
μὴ πάντες ὀμόνοιας αἰσθανόμεθα, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ
τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ φιλοῦντες, τὴν στάσιν, ἦς μέρη
καὶ ὑποργήματα πόλεμοι καὶ μάχαι, καὶ ταύτα ἐν
tοῖς δήμοις ἀναστρέφοντο καὶ τοῖς ἐθνεσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν
12 τοῖς σάμασιν αἱ νόσοι. καὶ γὰρ τὴν ῥήγαιν ἐπιστά-
μενοι μέγιστον οὖσαν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν
ὀμῶς αὐτῇ πολλάκις αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιβου-
λεύομεν, οἱ μὲν ἡδοναῖς πεισθέντες, οἱ δὲ πόνους
φεύγοντες ὑγειωνοὶ καὶ διαίτας σώφρονοι. εἰ δὲ
μὴ τούτῳ τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν κακῶν ὑπήρχε βοή-
θημα, ἡ παραπτικά ἡδονή, δύναμιν ἂν οὐδ᾽ ὅλως
ἐξε βλάπτειν· νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὡστε
ἐξατατάν δύνασθαι καὶ τέρπειν τοὺς ἀδικομένους.
13 Καὶ ἔπι γε ὡς τῷ ἂν καὶ μάλιστα φθονήσεων
αὐτοῖς ἐκείνῳ ἔστων, ὅτι πάντα τὰ κακὰ3 λυπεῖ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους ὁποῖά ἔστων ἐπισταμένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν
τις ἐρωτήσειν ἕνα ἀνδρά ἡ πολλοὶ ὁμοὶ περὶ τῶν
ὄνομάτων αὐτῶν, ἐν πολὺ δὴ μέρει τὰ τοιαῦτα
κατατάθεται, πόλεμοι καὶ στάσεις καὶ νόσοι καὶ

1 ὀμόνοια ἐνοί; καὶ Emperius: ὀμόνοιαν εἶναι καὶ.
2 θείοι Emperius: θεοῖς.
3 πάντα τὰ κακὰ which Arnim deletes.

1 I.e., water, fire, air, earth. Cf. Or. 40. 35-37.
concord unites the elements? 1 Again, that through which all the greatest things are preserved is concord, while that through which everything is destroyed is its opposite. If, then, we human beings were not by nature a race of mortals, and if the forces which destroy us were not bound to be numerous, there would not be strife even in human affairs, just as also there is not in things divine. 2 However, the only respect in which we fall short of the blessedness of the gods and of their indestructible permanence is this—that we are not all sensitive to concord, but, on the contrary, there are those who actually love its opposite, strife, of which wars and battles constitute departments and subsidiary activities, and these things are continually at work in communities and in nations, just like the diseases in our bodies. For in fact, though we know full well that health is the greatest of human blessings, still many times we ourselves plot against it to our own undoing, some yielding to the seduction of pleasures and some shirking labours which are healthful and habits which are prudent. On the other hand, if the greatest of our evils did not have for their support the pleasure of the moment, they would have no power at all to harm us; yet as it is, Nature has given that to them, and so they can deceive and delight their victims.

Moreover, what might actually make one most indignant toward mankind is this—that all the evils afflict them though knowing well their nature. At any rate, if one were to question a single person, or a company of persons, about the terms themselves, asking in what category are to be placed such terms as wars, factions, diseases, and the like, no one would

2 Cf. Or. 40. 38-41.
τὰ τούτων ὁμότροπα, οὐδὲν ἂν μελλήσας ἀποκρίνατο ὀυδεὶς ὅτε ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς τάττεται καὶ ὁὐτῶς ἔχει καὶ νενόμισται καὶ καλεῖται κακά. τὰ δὲ ἐναντία τούτως, εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ ὑγεία, καὶ ταῦτα ὀυδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι μὴ οὐχὶ ἅγαθα καὶ εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι. πανερᾶς δὲ ὁὐτός οὐσὶς τῆς μᾶχης τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἅγαθῶν, ὡμοὶ εἰς τινὲς, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοὶ, οἵτινες τῶν κακῶν τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις χαίρομεν. καὶ περὶ δὲ τῆς νεώς πάντες οἱ πλέοντες ἐπιστάμενοι διότι μία αὐτὴ ἐστὶ σωτηρία, τὸ τούς ναῦτας ὁμονοεῖν καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ πείθεσθαι, γενομένης δὲ στάσεως ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπειθείας διότι καὶ τὰ δεξία πολλάκις τῶν πνευμάτων εἰς ἐναντίον τῆς νηπίας περιστάται καὶ τῶν λιμένων ἀποτυγχάνουσιν ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ὡμοὶ στασιάζοντες ἐστών ὅτε ὅποι ἄφροσύνης οἱ ναῦται, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπόλλυσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπισταμένους τοῦ ὀλέθρου τῆς αἰτίας.

15 Καὶ τῶν οἰκῶν δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας οὐσὶς ἐν τῇ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὁμοφροσύνη καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν πειθαρχία, πολλούς ὡμοίους οἴκους ἀπόλλυσεν ἡ τῇ δεσποτικῇ στάσις καὶ ἡ κακοδομία. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀρματὶ ποία καταλείπεται σωτηρία τῶν ἐπών συνθεῖν μὴ θελόντων; ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἀρξοῦνται διαστάντες ἀφέλκειν ἀλλοὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη κινδυνεύειν τὸν ἦμιχον. ὁ δὲ γάμος ὁ ἅγαθος τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐστὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια ἀνδρὸς πρὸς γυναῖκα; καὶ

1 ἀποκρίνατο Geel: ἀπεκρίνατο.
2 οὐδεὶς] which Geel deletes.
3 After οὐτῶς Reiske adds ὅς.
4 ὅν added by Reiske.
5 αὖή] αὖή Geel.
6 οἱ ναῦται] which Arnim deletes.
hesitate a moment to reply that these are classed among the evils, and that they not only are so but have been so considered and are called evils. And as for their opposites, peace and concord and health, no one would deny that they likewise both are and are called goods. But though the conflict between the evil things and the good is so manifest, yet there are some among us—or rather a good many—who delight in the things which are admittedly evil. And take, for example, a ship—though all on board are well aware that the one hope of reaching port in safety lies in having the sailors on good terms with one another and obedient to the skipper, but that when strife and mutiny arise in it, even the favourable winds often veer round to oppose the ship’s course and they fail to make their harbours, even when close at hand, still the sailors sometimes foolishly quarrel, and this works their ruin, though they know the cause of their destruction.

Again, take our households—although their safety depends not only on the like-mindedness of master and mistress but also on the obedience of the servants, yet both the bickering of master and mistress and the wickedness of the servants have wrecked many households. Why, what safety remains for the chariot, if the horses refuse to run as a team? For when they begin to separate and to pull one this way and one that, the driver is inevitably in danger. And the good marriage, what else is it save concord between man and wife? And the bad marriage, what

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1 Greek literature abounds in nautical allusions and similes, and such references must have been effective with the people of Nicomedia. Off-shore breezes often hinder small sailing ships on entering the harbour. For a similar allusion, cf. Or. 34. 16.
κακός γάμος τι ἄλλο ἔστιν ή ἢ τούτων διχόνοια; καὶ τέκνων δὲ τὸς ὄφελεια γονεῖσιν, ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀφρούνης ἄρξηται στασάζειν πρὸς αὐτούς; ἡ δὲ ἀδελφότης τι ἄλλο ἔστιν ή ἢ ἀδελφῶν ὁμόνοια; ή δὲ φιλία τι ἄλλο ἢ φίλων ὁμόνοια;

16 Καὶ ταύτα πάντα οὐ μόνον ἀγαθά ἔστι καὶ καλά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδίστα: τὰ δὲ ἐναντία τούτων οὐ κακά μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁθοδίκη καὶ ὁμος αὐτὰ πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδίστων ἀγαθῶν προαιρούμεθα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολέμους ἡδή τινες ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπανειλημμένοι το μεγάλων ὄντων τῶν διαφόρων, 1 οὐχ ὡς τὸ μάχεσθαι κρείττον ὡς τὰ ἐνδεικτέτον τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης ἄγεως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, οἱ δὲ γῆν κτῶμενοι μὴ ἔχοντες, 2 οἱ δὲ θάλατταν περιποιοῦμενοι καὶ τηλικοῦτων ὁμος τῶν ἀθλῶν κειμένων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πολλοὶ κατέθεντο τὸν πολέμον ὡς κακόν 3 οὖντα οὐδὲ ἀντὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀἱρεθήναι σφισσιν 4 ἀξίων. τὸ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς ὑποθέσεως πολέμειν καὶ μάχεσθαι τι ἄλλο ἡ μανία παντελῆς ἔστι καὶ διὰ ταύτην κακῶν ἐπιθυμία; τὰ μὲν οὖν θηρία διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἱ ἄλφρωνοι μισοῦμεν, ὅτι πολέμοις ἡμῖν ἀδιάλλακτος πρὸς ταύτα ἔστιν ἄει. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τινες ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλφρώσοις ὡς θηρίοις χρώμενοι χαιροῦσι τῇ πρὸς τὸ ὀμφυλὸν γνωριμενὴ μάχῃ.

17 Καὶ οὖν τῶν σημεῖων ἀδισθανόμεθα τῶν θεῖων, ὡς διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς ὁμονοεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφήμισαν.

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1 διαφόρων: Reiske: διαφορῶν.
2 μὴ ἔχοντες: which Weil deletes.
3 Κακόν with U: οὐ κακόν B, οὐ κακῶντα M, οὐκ εὖ Επερίουs.
4 σφισσιν Emperius: τισιν.
is it save their discord? Moreover, what benefit are children to parents, when through folly they begin to rebel against them? And what is fraternity save concord of brothers? And what is friendship save concord among friends?

Besides, all these things are not only good and noble but also very pleasant, whereas their opposites are not only evil but also unpleasant; and yet we often prefer them instead of the most pleasant goods. For example, there have been times when people have chosen wars instead of peace, despite the great differences between the two, not under the delusion that fighting is better or more pleasant and more righteous than keeping the peace, but because some were striving for kingly power, some for liberty, some for territory they did not have, and some for control of the sea. And yet, though the prizes awaiting the victor are so rich, many have laid war aside as an evil thing and not fit to be chosen by them in preference to the things of highest value. But the waging of war and fighting even without occasion, what is that but utter madness and a craving for evils which is occasioned by madness? Now the chief reason why we human beings hate wild beasts is that remorseless warfare exists between them and us for ever; yet many even of us treat human beings too as wild beasts and take pleasure, in the conflict waged with those of our own kind.

What is more, we take no notice of the signs sent by the gods, all those signs and omens by which they try to teach us to live on good terms with one another.
καὶ γὰρ κήρυκες τωσ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εἶναι λέγονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ’ ἡμᾶς εἰρήνη μὲν ἐπικηρύσσεται, πόλεμοι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀκήρυκτοι γίγνονται. καὶ γυμνοὶ προσβεβουσι εἰς ὀπλισμένους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ ἀδικήσαι οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ὡς τῶν θεῶν ἀπαντάς τοὺς ὑπὲρ φιλίας ἀγγέλους. καὶ ὅταν συνερχομένων εἰς μάχην ορτατῶν ἡ διοσκείχθη φαινὴ αἰφνίδιος ἡ τῆς γῆς γένηται σεισμός, ἀποστρέφονται εὐθὺς οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἀπ’ ἅλληλον, ὡς τῶν

19 θεῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ σημεῖον οὐδὲν θεῶν ἐστιν ὑπειλημμένον. καὶ ὅσα δὲ ὅτι ἦδοσα τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εὐθαυσοκολα σύμβολα, ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῦμεν, ἔσειδάν εἰρήνη γένηται, καὶ στεφανούμεθα καὶ θύομεν καὶ ἐστήμονὲς τα δὲ ἐναντία πάντα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πένθεσι, καὶ συγκλητικῶσθαι ἐσῳ πυλῶν καὶ δεδοικαμεν πάντα καὶ ἀπελπίζομεν εὐαυτοὺς· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τόπτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κλαίουσι καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατέρων ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς.

20 Ἐσείδαν μὲν οὖν λοιμὸς ἡ σεισμὸς γενήσεται, τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγκαλοῦμεν, ὡς κακῶν παρέχουσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰτίας, καὶ οὐ φαμεν αὐτοῖς εἴναι δικαίους οὐδὲ φιλανθρώπους, οὐδὲ ἅν τὰ μάλιστα ἡμῖν ἡμαρτηκόντων ἐπιτιμῶσι, σὺν τῇ δίκῃ τουσοῦτον μύσος ἐστι πρὸς τὰ αὐτῶματα τῶν κακῶν. πόλεμον δὲ, ὅστις οὐχ ἦτον ἀπόλλυσιν ἡ σεισμός, αὐτοῖς προαιρούμεθα καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τούτων ἀνθρώπων οὖχ
Indeed they are said to be, as it were, heralds sent by the gods, and for that reason among ourselves also, while peace is proclaimed by heralds, wars for the most part take place unheralded. Furthermore, men go unarmed into an armed camp as envoys to sue for peace and it is not permitted to wrong any of them, the belief being that all messengers in behalf of friendship are servants of the gods. Again, whenever, as armies come together for battle, there suddenly appears an omen from heaven or there occurs a quaking of the earth, immediately the men wheel about and withdraw from one another, believing the gods do not wish them to fight; but no divine portent is deemed a signal for war. And furthermore, when peace is brought about, we do all those things which are not only most pleasant for mortals but also tokens of happiness—we bedeck ourselves with garlands, offer sacrifice, and hold high festival; but we do quite the opposite in time of war, just as in time of mourning—we shut ourselves within the gates, live in dread of every thing, and abandon ourselves to despair. Moreover, at such times the women wail for their husbands and the children for their fathers, as they would over the greatest calamities.

Again, whenever there comes a pestilence or an earthquake, we blame the gods, in the belief that they cause misery for mankind, and we claim they are not righteous or benevolent, not even if they are punishing us justly for most grievous sins; so great is our hatred of those evils which occur through chance. Yet war, which is no less destructive than an earthquake, we choose of our own volition; and we do not blame at all the human beings who are
ἐγκαλοῦμεν οὐδέν, ὦσπερ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τούτους εἶναι καὶ φιλοδήμους δοκοῦμεν καὶ λεγόντων ἡδιστα ἀκοῦμεν αὐτῶν καὶ συμβουλεύομεν πειθόμεθα, καὶ πάσας αὐτοῖς παρέχομεν ἀντὶ τῶν κακῶν—οὐκ ἀμοιβᾶς, ἀμοιβᾶς γὰρ ἐξ ἰσων ἄν ἐγίνοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς¹ κακῶν—ἀλλὰ χάριτι καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἐπάλλους. ὡστε σφόδρα ἄν εἰλεν ἀνόητοι τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς κακοῖς ἐτὶ χάριν εἰδότων φειδόμενοι.

21 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, τὰς αἰτίας τῆς στάσεως ἱδωμεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τηλικαυτὰ ἐστι, ὡστε ἄξιον εἶναι πολεμεῖν πόλεμον οὐ σύντομον, οἷος ἄν² τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐγίνετο καὶ παρηγορίαν εἶχε τὸ τάχος τῆς διακρίσεως, ἀλλὰ μακρὸν καὶ ἀπαντοῦν, ὡστε αὐτὸν ὑπολείπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς παισι καὶ τοῖς ἐγκόνοις καὶ μηδέποτε σχεῖν ἑλπίδα κατ- ἀλλαγής, ἀγωνιζόμεθα καὶ στασιάζομεν καὶ πράγματα παρέχωμεν ἀλλήλοις ὡσα ἑνεστὶ παρέχειν, ἀχθομενοί διότι μη καὶ³ πλεῖώ δυνάμεθα. εἰ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐστι τὸ ἄθλον τούτον τοῦ κακοῦ, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντα εἰναι καὶ μικρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ φαύλα καὶ οὐδὲ ἱδιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν στασιάζειν ἄξιον ἐστιν, οὐχ ὅπως πόλεις τηλικαυτας, μη πάσχωμεν ὁμοιών τι τοῖς ἀφροι τῶν παιδῶν, οὕτως οἰδούμενοι μή δοκῶσι μάτην ὀργίζεσθαι τοὺς πατράσιν ἢ τοῖς μητράσιν οὐ βουλοῦνται καταλλάττεσθαι ῥαδίως.

22 Ῥπέρ μὲν οὖν γῆς ἡ θαλάττης οὐ δὴ⁴ μαχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ θαλάττης μὲν οὐδὲ ἀντιποιοῦνται πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ Νικαιεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἰδέως, ὡστε μηδεμίαν παρέχειν

¹ After αὐτοὺς Reiske adds κακαὶ.
² καὶ Emperius: ἐν.
³ καὶ καὶ Emperius: καὶ μή.
⁴ ἀντι Emperius: οὐ.
responsible for these evils, as we blame the gods for earthquake or pestilence, but we even think them patriotic and we listen to them with delight when they speak, we follow their advice, and in payment for the evils they occasion we give them every kind of—I won’t say return, for return would mean evil for evil—but rather thanks and honours and words of praise; and so they would be very witless indeed if they spared those who are even grateful for their evils.

First of all, then, men of Nicomedia, let us inspect the reasons for your strife. For if the issues are so great that it is fitting to wage a war that is no short one, such as could be waged by force of arms and have as its consolation the speed of its decision, but instead a long war without cessation, one to be handed on to our children and our children’s children and never achieve the hope of settlement, then let us engage in the struggle, maintain the strife, and make all the trouble we can for one another, being vexed that our powers are not even greater. But if at best the prize for which this evil is endured is a mere nothing and the supposed issues are both small and trifling and it is not fitting even for private persons to squabble over them, much less cities of such importance, then let us not behave at all like foolish children who, ashamed lest they may seem to their fathers or their mothers to be enraged without a cause, do not wish to make it up with one another lightly.

Well now, surely we are not fighting for land or sea; on the contrary, the Nicaeans do not even present counterclaims against you for the sea, but they have gladly withdrawn from competition so as to
μάχην, διακέκρινται. καὶ μὴν ουδὲ ὑπὲρ προσόδων ἀγωνιζόμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἑκάστου ἀπόχρη τὰ οἰκεῖα· καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τυγχάνει διωρισμένα, καὶ μὴν γε καὶ τάλλα πάντα, ὅσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ φιλίᾳ. καὶ καρπῶν εἰσὶν ἀντιδόσεις καὶ γάμων ἐπιμελεία καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ συγγένειαι πολλαὶ τινες ἡδὴ γεγενημέναι καὶ προβενίας δὲ ἐχομεν καὶ φιλίας ἰδιωτικὰς. θεοὺς τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς πλείστας ὁμοίως ἄγετε. καὶ μὴν ουδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑθῶν οὐκ ἐστιν οὐδεμία ύμῶν μάχη. τούτων δὲ ἀπάντων οὐκ ἔχθρας παρεχόντων αἰτιῶν, ἀλλὰ 23 τούπαντιον φιλίας καὶ ὁµονοίας, μαχόμεθα. καὶ τις ύμῶς ἐπιστᾶς ἐρηταί, Τί δὲ ύμῶς οἱ Νικαεῖς ἀδικοῦσιν; οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἐξετε. καὶ ἐκεῖνων πυθηται πάλιν, Τί δὲ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ύμῶς; οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ λέγειν ἔξουσιν οὐδὲ ἐν.

'Αλλὰ ἄθλον ἐστιν ὑ ὑ τῷ µέσῳ κείµενον; ὑπὲρ οὐ διαφέρεσθε. καὶ τὸ τούτῳ ἐστιν; ἀ µὲν γε καὶ ὀνοµάσαν ἄξιον καὶ ὀµολογήσαι καὶ περὶ ὁν ἂν καὶ συγγνοῖν² τις τοῖς ἀγωνιζόμενοις, τούτων οὐδὲν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ὁντα³ οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ὀµολογήσαι⁴ καλῶς ἔχει τοιαύτα ἐστιν, οὕτω σµικρά, οὕτως τὰ τυχόντα, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ µὲν ἀνόητοι φιλοτιμηθείειν ἂν 24 ἴσως, εἰ δὲ φρονῶν ἂν οὐδελεῖ. οἱ γὰρ παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν (δὲ ἂς δὲ αἰτίας οὐκ

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¹ δὲ δῆ Αrnim.
² συγγνοῖς Reiske: συγγνώµη.
³ οὐδὲν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ὁντα Selden: οὐδ' ἐστι, τὰ δέοντα BM, οὐδέστε τὰ δέοντα U.
⁴ After ὀµολογήσαι Emperius deletes ὁς.
THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

afford no cause for conflict. And what is more, we are not contending for revenues either, but each side is content with what is its own; moreover, these matters, as it happens, have been clearly delimited—and so indeed is all else besides—just as if in peace and friendship. Furthermore, there is interchange of produce between the two cities, as well as inter-marriage, and in consequence already there have come to be many family ties between us; yes, and we have proxenies¹ and ties of personal friendship to unite us. Besides, you worship the same gods as they do, and in most cases you conduct your festivals as they do. In fact you have no quarrel as to your customs either. Yet, though all these things afford no occasion for hostility, but rather for friendship and concord, still we fight. And if some one comes up and asks you, “But how are the Nicæans wronging you?” you will have nothing to reply. And if he asks them in turn, “But how are the men of Nicomedia wronging you?” they too will not have a single thing to say.

However, there is a prize at stake between you, one over which you are at odds. And what is this prize? It is none of those things which are fit to name or to acknowledge, and the competitors for which one might even pardon, nay, its constituent elements it is not well even to mention or acknowledge; they are of such a nature, so petty, so commonplace, things upon which fools perhaps might pride themselves, but not any man of good sense. For those who summon you to the contest—but their motives it is perhaps not for me to scrutinize

¹ The Greek proxenos was roughly comparable to the modern consul.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐμὸν ἵσως ἐξελέγχειν) ἀλλ' οἷς γε χαίροντες αὐτῇ
tούτῳ μόνον λαλοῦσιν. 'Ὑπὲρ πρωτείων ἀγωνιζό-
μεθα. τιτούσις οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐρήσομαι πάλιν ἐγώ.
Τῶν πρωτείων; καὶ πότερον ἔργῳ καὶ πράγματι
dοθησόμενον ἢ περὶ ὀνόματος αὐτὸ μόνον ἔστων
υμῶν ἡ μάχη;

Καὶ πρότερον γὰρ δήποτε ἄκοιν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο
gενέσθαι στάσεως Ἐλληνικῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολεμῆ-
σαι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς
25 Δακεδαμονίους. καὶ διότι μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι ἐλυσιτε-
λήσει τῇ στάσις καὶ ὑπὸ πόλεμοι, ἄλλα πρὸς ἄλλη-
λοις ἀγωνιζόμενοι περί τῶν πρωτείων ἀπώλεσαν
αὐτὰ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπαντεῖς ἐκεῖνα ἵνα
καὶ ἵσως κἀγὼ μικρὸν υπερῴαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐρώ.
tί δὲ; τούτῳ ὡς ὤμοιν ἐκεῖνως προβαλλόμενοι
λέγονται; Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τοῦ φόρους λαμβάνειν
παρὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐπολέμουν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικα-
ζειν οἴκοι τὰς ἀπάντων δίκας κατὰ ἄλληλων ἡγομι-
ζοντο, καὶ καθόλου περὶ βασιλείας ὁ πόλεμος ἢ
ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐκεῖναις.

26 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἢν ἀπολάβωμεν τὸ πρωτείον ἀμαχεῖ
παραδόντων αὐτὸ τῶν Νικαέων, πότερα ληψόμεθα
τοὺς φόρους οὓς νῦν ἐκεῖνοι λαμβάνουσιν; ἡ τὰς
πόλεις τὰς συντελούσας εἰς τὸ παρ' ἐκεῖνοι δικα-
οστήριον ἐνταῦθ' ἐκείνοις; ἡ πέμψομεν αὐτοῖς
ἀρμοστάς; ἡ δεκάτης τὰς1 παρὰ τῶν Βιβυγῶν
ἐκεῖνως ἔλαττον παρέξομεν; ἡ τί έσται; καὶ τι

1 τὰς added by Emperius.

1 The rivalry between Athens and Sparta formed an apt
text for Dio on other occasions. Cf. Or. 34. 49-51.
2 Dio makes passing allusion to this struggle in § 38, but
he fails to include reference to their loss of the leadership.
—however that may be, those who delight in it prate of naught but this: "We are contending for primacy." Very well, I will reply to these same persons with the query: "What primacy? And is it a primacy to be actually and in fact conceded to you, or is your battle for a name and nothing more?"

Yes, I hear that this is not the first time this same thing has served as the cause of strife among the Greeks—that the Athenians and the Spartans went to war for the primacy.\(^1\) Moreover, that strife and warfare were not profitable in their case either, but in struggling with one another for the primacy they both lost it, you all know and I myself may possibly mention a bit later.\(^2\) What then? In proposing this struggle of yours do they speak of it as similar to that of the Athenians and the Spartans? The Athenians waged war that they might continue to receive tribute from the islanders,\(^3\) and they and their opponents fought each other over the right of every man to have his lawsuits tried in his own home city, and, broadly speaking, the war between those states was for the prize of empire.

But if we recover the primacy, the Nicaeans relinquishing it without a fight, shall we receive the tribute they get now? Shall we summon for trial here the cities which now are subject to their jurisdiction? Shall we send them military governors?\(^4\) Shall we any the less permit them to have the tithes from Bithynia? Or what will be the

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\(^1\) The Athenian empire did not consist wholly of islanders, but "the islands" was a common phrase to denote the member states.

\(^2\) Seemingly an allusion to the "harmosts" Sparta sent out after the defeat of Athens to insure Spartan control of the Aegean.
DIO CHRYSOVOSTOM

ημῶν γενήσεται πλέον; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων νομίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. τῶν πραττομένων οὐχὶ μάτην οὐδ’ εἰκῆ σπουδαζεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι 27 τὸν ἁγῶνα ἀντὶ τινος. οὐ μὲν γὰρ πολεμῶν ἦν ἡ περὶ ἐλευθερίας ἁγῶνιζεται, καταδουλουμένων αὐτὸν ἄλλων, ἦ περὶ ἀρχής, αὐτὸς ἑτέρους καταδουλουμένως. οὐ δὲ πλέον τὴν θάλασσαν οὐκ ἔλην εἰκῆ διατίθεται. κυνωνεύει γὰρ ἦτοι γιὰ ὁδὸν χάριν ἢ ἐμπορίας. ἢν δὲ μὴ πάντα φέρω τὰ παραδείγματα, ἀπλῶς καὶ πράττομεν ἄσπαντα οἱ ἀνθρώποι τέλους ἔνεκεν ἁγαθοῦ καὶ φεύγομεν τὰς ἐναντίας πράξεις τέλους ἔνεκεν κακοῦ. τὸ δὲ χωρίς αὐτίας 28 σπουδαζεῖν ἢ πονεῖν, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ὁ τοῖς ἀνοητοῖς προσῆκε μόνοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν τις σπουδὴν ἔχοι καλεῖσθαι βασιλεὺς ἰδιώτης ὄν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀριστὰ ἐπιστάμενος αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τοῦτον οὖν ὡς ἢ ἐπικεῖ γέλωτα ὕφλησει, χρώμενος ὑνόματι ψευδεὶ δίχα πράγματος. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως ἁπάντων, κἂν αὐλητῆς τις ἔθελῃ δοκεῖν, αὐλείων οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος, κἂν μοοκός ὀυδὲν ὑπὲρ μοοκῆς εἰδῶς, κἂν κυθαριστῆς οὐδὲ ἄψασθαι τῆς λυρᾶς ἐπιστημόνως δυνάμενος. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους οὐδὲν κωλύσει καὶ μανομένους δοκεῖν, ὡμεῖς δὲ οἴομεθα, ἐὰν ἐπιγραφὰμεν ποι ὅρωτοι, τὸ δρόμω 29 τελον ἐξεῖν; ποῖον, ἄνδρες Νικομῆδεῖς, πρωτεῖον;

1 ἔλην εἰκῆ Gecl: ἄλλη νίκη UM, ἄλλη νίκην B.
2 ἦ ἦ Emperius, ἦ ὡ Sonny: ἦς M, ἦ ἦ UB, ἦ ἦ T.
situation? And what benefit will accrue to us? For I believe that in all their undertakings men do not exert themselves idly or at random, but that their struggle is always for some end. For example, the man who goes to war fights either for liberty—in which case others are trying to enslave him—or for sovereignty—in which case he himself is trying to enslave the others. Similarly the man who goes to sea does not undertake an aimless roving, for surely the risks he takes are either for the purpose of reaching some destination or else for trafficking. But, not to present all the various illustrations, in a word we human beings not only do all we do because of an end that is good, but we also avoid the opposite activities because of an end that is evil. On the other hand, to exert oneself or toil without a reason is appropriate for fools alone. If, for example, a man should entertain a serious purpose to be called King when he is merely a private citizen—and when, moreover, he knows that fact about himself perfectly well—quite contrary to his fond imagining, he would become a laughing-stock, inasmuch as he would be using a false title devoid of reality. And it is much the same in all the other matters too, whether a man wishes to be thought a flautist when he doesn’t know how to blow the pipes, or musical when he knows nothing of the art of music, or a player of the cithara when he cannot even touch the harp intelligently. While, therefore, there will be nothing to prevent men like that from being deemed actually crazy, do we imagine that, provided we are somewhere registered as “first,” we shall actually have the primacy? What kind of primacy, men of Nicomedia? You see, I am going to ask
καὶ γὰρ δεύτερον ὡμᾶς ἔρησομαι καὶ τρίτον· οὖ δὲ τὸ ὄφελός ἐστιν; οὖ δὲ τὸ ἔργον; ἂφ′ οὐ δὲ πότερον πλουσιότερον γενησόμεθα ἢ μείζονες ἢ δυνατώτεροι; τὸ κενοδοξεῖν ἀνόητον μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν νενόμισται, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων καταγελώμεν καὶ διαπτώσεις αὐτοὶ καὶ τελευτώντες ἐλεόωμεν τοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένους τὰς διαφέρει δόξας ἰδεῖν ἀληθεῖς· καὶ τῶν πεποιθεμένων οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς αὐτὴν, ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀνόητον πράγματος.

Ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι φῇ τις κοινῆς προσήκειν ὅσα μηδὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοῖς γενναίοις καὶ πεποιθεμένων; 30 καθόλου δὲ εἰ τις ὡμᾶς ἔροιτο, Ἀνδρεὺς Νικομήδεις, τι βούλεσθε, πότερον εἶναι πρῶτοι ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἢ καλείσθαι μὴ ὄντες; ὁμολόγησαίτε ἢ δῆσην εἰναὶ πρῶτοι μᾶλλον θέλειν ἡ καλείσθαι μάτην. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα δύναμιν ἔχει τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ὅσα δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἱστε τοιαῦτα, οὕτω καὶ εἴς 31 ἀνάγκης ὀνομάζεται. πειρᾶσθε τοῖνυν πρωτεύειν τῶν πόλεων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἢ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς περὶ αὐτός· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, 4 καθὸ μητρόπολες ἐστε, ἐξαιρετὸν ἐστιν ἔργον ὡμέτερον εἶτα τῶν παρέχειν αὐτοὺς δικαίους ἀπασι καὶ μετρίους καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν μηδὲν μηδὲ διάλεξον. ταῦτα γὰρ εἴς ἀνάγκης ἀπεχθείας καὶ διαφοράς, φύσει μὲν τῶν ἐλαττών πρὸς τοὺς μείζονας ὡς ὅπποις διακειμένων, ὡς εἴς ἀπαντὸς πλεονεκτεῖσθαι

1 αὐτοὶ Capp.: αὐτοῖς, which Arnim deletes.
2 ἀνόητοι] ἀνόητον Casaubon.
3 ὡς . . . πράγματος deleted by Arnim.
4 γάρ added by Emperius.
5 ἐστε Reiske: ἐστὶν.
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you a second time,¹ and even a third time. A primacy whose utility is what? Whose function is what? One by reason of which we shall become wealthier or greater or more powerful? Vainglory has come to be regarded as a foolish thing even in private individuals, and we ourselves deride and loathe, and end by pitying, those persons above all who do not know wherein false glory differs from the genuine; besides, no educated man has such a feeling about glory as to desire a foolish thing.

Shall we say, then, that all those things befit our cities as communities which do not befit even persons in private life who are men of breeding and cultivation? But, speaking generally, if some one were to question you and say, "Men of Nicomedia, what do you want? To be first in very truth, or to be called first when you are not?" Surely you would admit that you prefer to be first rather than to be called first to no purpose. For names have not the force of facts; whereas things that are in very truth of a given nature must also of necessity be so named. Try, therefore, to hold first place among our cities primarily on the strength of your solicitude for them—for since you are a metropolis,² such indeed is your special function—and then too by showing yourselves fair and moderate toward all, and by not being grasping in any matter or trying to gain your end by force. For greed and violence necessarily stir up hatreds and disagreements, since it is natural that the weaker party should be disposed to look with suspicion on the stronger, believing they are due to

¹ Cf. § 24.
² To the Greek the word metropolis meant primarily mother-city.

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μελλόντων, ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἔργω τούτῳ γίγνηται, δικαιότερον τῆς ἀπεχθείας παροξυνομένης.

32 "Εξεστὶ δὲ ύμῖν εὐθυγετεῖν τὰς πόλεις καὶ πλέον καὶ μείζων ἡ ἑκέινης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐξ ἦς ἀπάντων μὲν καὶ τῶν νῦν κομίζομένων μετέχουσι τὰ μὲν χάριτι—δειὶ δὲ δημοσίᾳ χαρίζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἰδία τινάς—τὰ δὲ καὶ διακλέπτοντες αὐτὸι, τὰ δὲ αὐτούμενοι παρ’ ἑκαστὰ· καὶ ἀντιλέγετε μὲν οὐδέποτε τοῖς αὐτήσαιν ύμεῖς, αὐτὸ δὲ όμοις φορτικὸν ἔστι τὸ τὴν τῆς αὐτῆσεως ἀνάγκην ἔχειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μεταλαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπετε τοῖς δήμοις τοῖς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτούμενοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐπείγον, πῶς οὐκ εἰκός ἐστι μείζους ύμᾶς ἐσεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, εὐθυγετοῦντας αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἀμα καὶ μεγάλην ποιήσετε τὴν ὁμόνοιαν διὰ πάντων ἐλευσομένην.

33 Πειρᾶσθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αἰδώ παρεχεῖν, ἀεὶ τούτῳ φανερῶν καθιστάντες ὅτι μὴ ἀπόχρη ύμῶν καλῶς διουκεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθε τοῦ τῶν Βυθυνῶν γένους καὶ οὐδὲν ἢττον δυσχεραίνετε τοὺς εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδυκήμασιν ἡ τοῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς· καὶ τινὲς καταφύγων ἐφ’ ύμᾶς δεδεμένου βοηθεῖας, προθυμώς ἐπαρκεῖτε καὶ όμοίως. ταῦτα τὸ πρωτείον ύμῖν παραδώσει τὸ ἀληθινόν, οὐχ ἢ περὶ τῶν ὁνομάτων πρὸς Νικαίας μάχης.

34 Βουλοίμην δ’ ἂν καὶ ἑκέινους τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἓν καταλλαγήτε, καὶ μείζων ἡ δύναμις

1 μὲν added by Emperius.
2 μετέχουσι τὰ μὲν χάριτι added by Pflugk.
3 After τινάς Wilamowitz suspects a lacuna.
4 ἐπιμελεῖσθε Reiske: ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. 5 κάν Arnim: ἂν.
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be overreached in every matter, and when that does actually take place, their hostility is still more justly aroused.

On the other hand, you have it in your power to benefit the cities more fully and more effectively than the Nicaeans, first and foremost because of the sea, all the revenue of which the cities share even now, partly as a favour—though your city should grant favours officially and not to certain persons privately—partly also through their own smuggling operations, and partly on application in each separate case; and while you never refuse such applicants, still the very necessity of making application is irksome. If, however, you will actually allow the communities who day by day petition for what is urgent for their need the privilege of sharing in all these rights, is it not reasonable to suppose that you will stand higher in their estimation when you become their benefactors? And at the same time you will also increase the concord which will spread everywhere.

But you must also strive to give the provincial governors occasion to respect you, by continually making it manifest that you are not content with merely being well governed yourselves, but that you are concerned for the welfare of the whole Bithynian people, and that you are no less displeased over the wrongs inflicted upon the others than you are over those inflicted upon yourselves; moreover, that if any persons flee to you for succour, you aid them promptly and impartially. This line of conduct is what will yield you that primacy which is genuine, and not your squabble with Nicaeans over titles.

And I should like the Nicaeans also to pursue the same course, and they will do so if you come to
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ύμων γενήσεται συντεθείσα. καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ὤμοι γενόμενοι πασῶν ἄρξετε, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι γενήσεται πλείων διατροπὴ πρὸς ὕμας καὶ φόβος, εἰς ἀδικεῖν θέλωσιν. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας στάσεως εἰσὶν ἐπηρμέναι· χρείαν γὰρ αὐτῶν δοκεῖτε ἐχειν καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἔχετε διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀγώνα καὶ πάσχετε οἷον τι πάσχουσιν ἐπειδὰν δύο ἐπιφανεῖς ὄμοιοι ἄνδρες διαπολιτεύωνται πρὸς ἄλληλους· εἰς ἀνάγκης ἀπαντας θεραπεύουσι καὶ τοὺς πλείοντον ὅσον ἀπο- 35 δέοντος αὐτῶν. ἂστε ἐν δὲ περὶ τοῦ πρωτείου μά- χεσθε ὑμεῖς, κινδυνεύει τὸ πρωτείον παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν- εστιν οὐκ ἔχειν τοῦτο δοκεῖν τινας, δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς λαμβάνεν ἀξιότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις οὖν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γενήσεται τὴν τάξιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, ἐκειναὶ ὑμῶν χρήζειν, οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἐκείνων. καὶ οὐχὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἀξιῶς τυραννικῶς ὑμᾶς αὐτῶς προσ- φέρεσθαι, πράσω δὲ καὶ μετρίως, ὥσπερ ὕθησα- μην μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν, ὅταν μὴ φορτικὸν γένηται τὸ πρωτείον ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρωτείον ἦ καὶ φιλήται.

36 Τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων νῦν μὲν ὀπως ἔχει, τί δεῖ πρὸς ἑπισταμένους λέγειν; ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπαισθαν- εσθε τῆς τυραννίδος, ἢν ἦ στάσις ἡ ὑμετέρα δίδωσι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑμῶν; εὐθέως γὰρ ὃ βουλό- μενος ἀδικήσαι τὸ ἔθνος εἰδὼς ἦκει τί δεῖ ποιῆ-

1 ἦ Emperius: ἦ UB, ἦ M.

1 Cf. § 31.
terms with them, and the power of each will become greater through union. For by joining forces you will control all the cities, and, what is more, the provincial governors will feel greater reluctance and fear with regard to you, in case they wish to commit a wrong. But as things are now, the other cities are elated by the quarrel between you; for you seem to have need of their assistance, and in fact you do have need of it because of your struggle with each other, and you are in the predicament of two men, both equally distinguished, when they become rivals over politics—of necessity they court the favour of everybody, even of those who are ever so far beneath them. And so while you are fighting for primacy, the chances are that the primacy really is in the hands of those who are courted by you. For it is impossible that people should not be thought to possess that which you expect to obtain from those same people. And so it is going to be absolutely necessary that the cities should resume their proper status, and, as is reasonable and right, that they should stand in need of you, not you of them. And applying this principle I shall expect you to behave toward them, not like tyrants, but with kindness and moderation, just as I suggested a little while ago,¹ to the end that your position as leaders may not be obnoxious to them, but that it may be not only leadership but a welcome thing as well.

Again, what need is there to discuss the present situation of your governors in the presence of you who are informed? Or is it possible you are not aware of the tyrannical power your own strife offers those who govern you? For at once whoever wishes to mistreat your people comes armed with the know-
σαντα αυτόν μη δοῦναι δίκην. ή γὰρ τῇ Νικαέων ἐταφεία προστίθεται καὶ τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐκείνων ἔχει βοηθοῦν ή τοὺς Νικομηδείς ἐλόμενος ύψι ὑμῶν σώζεται. καὶ φιλεῖ μὲν οὐδετέρους, δοκεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐτέρους φιλεῖν· ἀδικεῖ δὲ πάντας. ἀδικών δὲ σώζεται διὰ τοὺς μόνους οἰομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φιλεῖν· σθαί. κατεγνώκασι δὲ ὑμῶν ἀνοιαν δημοσία, καὶ χρῶνται καθάπερ τοῖς παιδίοις ὑμῖν, οἷς πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν μεγίστων προτείνεται τὰ μικρότατα· κάκεινα διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς μεγάλων καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἐλάχιστα ἡδονὴν χαίρει τῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ὑμῖν οὕτως ἀντὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀντὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ συλάσθαι τὰς πόλεις μηδὲ ἀφαιρεῖθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἄξιων, ἀντὶ τοῦ μην ὑδρίζειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ μη παρουσίαν, προτείνουσιν ὑσύματα καὶ ἦν εἶπον ὑμᾶς πρῶτος ἦ ἐγραμματ. εἰτά εἰσθαν ακώδυνοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῖν ὡς ἐσχάτοις χρώμενοι.

38 Τὰ γὰρ τοιούτα, ἐφ' οἷς μέγα φρονεῖτε, παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς ἐννοούμενοι διαπτύεται, μάλιστα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γέλωτα καίει καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ἐπὶ ὑβριστικώτερον Ἐλληνικὰ ἀμαρτήματα. καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀμαρτήματα, ἀνδρεῖς Νικομηδείς, ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' οὖν Ἐλληνικὰ, εἰ μὴ κατ' αὐτό τοῦτο Ἐλληνικὰ φήσει τις αὐτὰ εἶναι, καὶ ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι δόξης ἀντεποιήσαντό ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων εἶπον ἡδη

1 κατ' αὐτὸ Reiske: καθ' αὐτὸ.
ledge of what he must do to escape the penalty. For either he allies himself with the Nicaean party and has their group for his support, or else by choosing the party of Nicomedia he is protected by you. Moreover, while he has no love for either side, he appears to love one of the two; yet all the while he is wronging them all. Still, despite the wrongs he commits, he is protected by those who believe they alone are loved by him. Yet by their public acts they have branded you as a pack of fools, yes, they treat you just like children, for we often offer children the most trivial things in place of things of greatest worth; moreover, those children, in their ignorance of what is truly valuable and in their pleasure over what is of least account, delight in what is a mere nothing. So also in your case, in place of justice, in place of the freedom of the cities from spoliation or from the seizure of the private possessions of their inhabitants, in place of their refraining from insulting you, in place of their refraining from drunken violence, your governors hand you titles, and call you “first” either by word of mouth or in writing; that done, they may thenceforth with impunity treat you as being the very last!

In truth such marks of distinction, on which you plume yourselves, not only are objects of utter contempt in the eyes of all persons of discernment, but especially in Rome they excite laughter and, what is still more humiliating, are called “Greek failings!” And failings they are indeed, men of Nicomedia, though not Greek, unless some one will claim that in this special particular they are Greek, namely, that those Greeks of old, both Athenians and Spartans, once laid counterclaims to glory. How-
ποι καὶ πρότερον ὅτι μὴ κενόδοξα ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἄρχης ἀληθοῦς ἀγάνει, εἰ μὴ τὰ νῦν δοκεῖτε αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς προπομπείας καλῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καθ' ἀπερ ἐν μυστηρίῳ τῶν παλαίον ὑπὲρ ἄλλοτρον πράγματος.

39 ἂν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως ὅμων ὄνομα ἐξαίρετον ἦ, τὸ δὲ τῶν πρωτείων κοινὸν ἦ, τί κατὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττοῦσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τολμῆσαμι ἂν εἶπεῖν ὅτι καὶ πάντων ἐκοστήτε τῶν ὄνομάτων, οὐδενὸς ἔξιστασθε πράγματος. ἦ τί δοκεῖτε παρὰ τοῦτο; τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναχωρήσειν ὑφ' ὅμων ἦ τὴν γῆν ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι μικροτέραν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἐλάττωνας; ἢ ἐπὶ ποτὲ θέας μετελάβετε; μᾶλλον δὲ μόνον οὐχὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν θεάσθε καὶ τοὺς πράγμαδος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥσιν δοκοῦσι μὲν ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ τέρψεως εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς παριέναι, τοὺς δὲ αἰσθανομένους τῶν γεγονόμενων ὑψελούσων ἢρ’ οὖν ἐκεῖ τις ὑμῖν ἀληθῶς εἶναι δοκεῖ βασιλεὺς

40 ἦ τύραννος ἦ θεὸς; καίτοι ταῦτα πάντα καλοῦνται καὶ Μενέλαιοι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονες, καὶ οὐκ ὄνομα μόνον ἐχοῦσι θεῶν καὶ ἡρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσωπα καὶ στολάς, καὶ κελεύοντι πολλά, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι· τοῦ δὲ ποιήματος συντελεθέντος ἀπίστη τὸ μηδὲν ὄντες. ὄνομαζεσθαι' τις θέλει πρώτος· ἔστω· πρωτεῖτε· τις· καὶ ἄλλος ὄνομαζεται, πρῶτος· ἔστω· οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὄνοματα πίστεις τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσὶ, τὰ δὲ πράγματα καὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων.

41 Ἐντα τούτων κάκεινο λογίσασθε τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁμονοίας

1 ὄνομαζεσθαι Emperius: ὄνομαζεται.

1 Cf. § 25. 2 I.e., the loss of titles.
ever, I may have said already that their doings were not mere vain conceit but a struggle for real empire—though nowadays you may fancy somehow that they were making a valiant struggle for the right to lead the procession, like persons in some mystic celebration putting up a sham battle over something not really theirs.

But if, while the title "metropolis" is your special prerogative, that of leader is shared with others, what do you lose thereby? For I would venture to assert that, even if you lose all your titles, you are losing nothing real. Or what do you expect to be the consequence of that? That the sea will retreat from your shores, or your territory be smaller, or your revenues less? Have you ever yet been present at a play? More properly speaking, almost every day you behold not only tragic actors but the other sort too, the various actors who appear to come upon the scene to give pleasure and enjoyment, but who really benefit those who are sensitive to the action of the play. Well then, does any one in the cast appear to you to be really king or prince or god? And yet they are called by all these titles, as well as by the names Menelaüs and Agamemnon, and they have not only names of gods and heroes, but their features and robes as well, and they issue many orders, just as would the characters they represent; however, when the play is over, they take their departure as mere nonentities. A person wishes to be dubbed "first"; very good. Some one really is first, and no matter if another wears the title, first he is. For titles are not guarantees of facts, but facts of titles.

Well, here is another outcome of concord for you
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γενησόμενον. οὖν μὲν ἐκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἔχετε· ἢ ὅσα καταλαμβάνετε, τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἔξετε· καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας—δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τούτων πόλει—διπλασίας τίθεσθε· καὶ τὰς υπηρεσίας. λέγειν τις δεινός ἐστι παρ' ὑμῖν· κάκεινος ὁφελήσει. πλούσιος τις παρ' ἐκείνος ἐστι· χρησίμησε καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν. καθ' ὅλον δὲ οὔδεις οὔτε ἀνάξιος ὃν τοῦ πρωτείου ἐν πόλει διὰ τοῦτο εὐδοκιμήσει παρ' ὑμῖν τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους λέγειν ἢ παρ' ἐκείνου τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· οὔτε ἄν φαύλος τις ὃν καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι δίκην ἄξιος εὑρεθῇ, διαδράσεται ἡ τιμωρίαν ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἐν· τεῦθεν ἐκεί, κακείθεν ἐνυάδε. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχουν ὁσπερ ύφορμεύεται ἀλλήλας· αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἐστι τοῖς ἀδικήσαι τὴν ἐτέραν πρὸς τὴν ἐτέραν καταφυγῆ. τῆς δὲ ὑμονοίας γενομένης ἀνάγκη καλοὺς εἶναι καὶ δικαίους ἄνδρας ἢ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. μέγα φρονεῖτε τῇ τοῦ πλῆθους ὑπερβολῇ· πλείους ἔσεσθε. γῆν ἢ κακήν ὁμολογεῖτε ἐχεῖς· πλεῖω τῆς ἰκανῆς ἔχετε. καθόλου πάντα μιχθέντα· καὶ καρποί καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρῶν ἄξιαι καὶ δυνάμεις, διεπάστα τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρους γίγνεται.

43. Οὐ δὲ πάντα ἐνεκεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πράττουσιν, ἢ ἡδονῆ, κρείστων λόγου. τὸ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ὅδυνώντα ὑμᾶς ἐξαιρεθήσαι, καὶ φθόνον καὶ φιλονικίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τούτων γεγομένην στάσιν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλευέντων ἀλλήλους ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐφήδεσθαι τοῖς τῶν πλησίον καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀχθεσθαι,
to take into account. At present you two cities have each your own men; but if you come to terms, you will each have the other's too; and as for honours—for a city needs these too—set them down as doubled, and likewise the services. Some one in your city is gifted as a speaker; he will aid the Nicaeans too. There is a rich man in Nicaea; he will defray public expenses in your city too. And in general, neither will any man who is unworthy of first place in a city achieve fame with you by assailing the Nicaeans, or with the Nicaeans by assailing you; nor, in case a man is found to be a low fellow and deserving of punishment, will he escape his just deserts by migrating from Nicomedia to Nicaea or from Nicaea to Nicomedia. Yet as things are now, you two cities, as it were, are lying in wait for each other at your moorings, and men who have wronged the one can find refuge with the other. But once concord is achieved, persons must be men of honour and justice or else get out of Bithynia. You are proud of your superiority in population; you will be still more populous. You think you have sufficient territory; you will have more than sufficient. In fine, when all resources have been united—crops, money, official dignities for men, and military forces—the resources of both cities are doubled.

Furthermore, that which is the aim of all human action, pleasure, becomes greater than tongue can tell. For to achieve, on the one hand, the elimination of the things which cause you pain—envy and rivalry and the strife which is their outcome, your plotting against one another, your gloating over the misfortunes of your neighbours, your vexation at their good fortune—and, on the other hand, the intro-
τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἀντὶ τοῦτων εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς πόλεις, κοινωνίαν ἀγαθῶν, ὀμοφροσύνην, ἔπει τοῖς ἀυτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων χαράν, οὐχὶ τάδε πάντα ἐφορτηθὲε ἐσάκε
44 δημοσία; λογίσασθε δὲ οὕτως. εἰ τις ὦμίν, ἄνδρες Νικομηδείς, θεών αἴρεσιν ἐδωκεν, εἰ βούλεσθε μὴ μόνον τὴν αὐτῶν πόλις ἔχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Νι-
καέων, οὐκ ἄν παράδοξον μὲν ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐφάνη ἀγαθὸν ὦμίν, εὔξασθε δὲ ἄν πᾶσας εὐχὰς ὑστε ἀυτοῦ τυχεῖν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ② παράδοξον δοκοῦν ἔξοστιν ἡδὴ γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν Νίκαιαν ὑμετέραν
45 εἶναι καὶ τὰ παρ᾿ ὦμῖν ἑκεῖνων. ἦ τῶν μὲν ἀδελ-
φῶν θαυμάζομεν τοὺς εἰς ἄπανταθοι οἰκοδυ-
τας οἶκον καὶ μὴ γενεμιμένους τὰ πατριὰ ὑπὸ
μικρολογίας, ὧ τε πλουτὸς αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται, μεῖζον ὦν καὶ κατ᾿ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τῷ μὴ γενεμιμῆθαι μηδὲ ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἡμιον γεγονέναι
tῶν πάντων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὦλον ἀμφοτέρων δοκεῖν, ἔτι
dὲ καὶ ὦς ἀγαθοὺς πάντας ἑκεῖνους ὦρῳκαὶ
ὡς δικαίους καὶ ὡς τῷ ὄντι ἀδελφοὺς· εὐν ὑ
tῶς πόλεις γενομένη αὕτη ἡ ἀδελφότης οὐχὶ καὶ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἔσται καὶ κάλλιον5 καὶ πλουσιότερον;
46 Αὔξων δὲ αὐτὴν γενεόθαι καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους
cοινοὺς ὄντας ἀμφοτέρως ταῖς πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς
θεούς, ὅν καὶ παρ᾿ ἑκεῖνος καὶ παρ᾿ ὦμίν ὦμοιαι
eἰσὶ τιμαί. τούτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐφ᾿ ὦ καὶ μᾶλιστα
dυνατὴν τις ὁν, ὅτι πάντα κοινά ἐχοντες, ταῖς προγόνους καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἔθη καὶ ἐφοίτας, οἱ δὲ πόλλοι καὶ συγγενεῖας ἰδιωτικάς καὶ φιλίας, ὡσπερ
"Ελληνες πρὸς παρβάρος μαχόμεθα, ἦ τὸ ἐτὶ τοῦ-

1 ἐπὶ τοῖς Emperius : ἐπ᾿.
2 τὸ added by Reiske.
3 ἄπαντα Emperius : ἄπαν τὸν UM, ἄπαντας τὸν B.
duction into your cities of their opposites—sharing in things which are good, unity of heart and mind, rejoicing of both peoples in the same things—does not all this resemble a public festival? But figure it this way. If some god, men of Nicomedia, had given you the option of having not merely your own city, but also that of the Nicaeans, would not that have seemed to you a boon of incredible magnitude, and would you not have made all sorts of vows in the hope of obtaining it? Well, this thing which seems incredible can take place at once—Nicaea can be yours and your possessions theirs. Or, since we admire those brothers who share completely a common estate and have not because of stinginess divided their patrimony; whose wealth, moreover, is even more admired, since it is greater for the very reason that it has not been divided and half of everything made the property of each, but instead the whole is thought to belong to both; and whom, furthermore, all men regard as good and just and really brothers—since this is true, if this spirit of brotherhood is achieved in your cities, will it not be an even greater blessing, more beautiful and richer?

Moreover, it deserves to be achieved, not alone because of the ancestors which both cities have in common, but also because of the gods, whose rites are alike both in their city and in yours. For this is a fact which might cause one even greater sorrow, that though we have everything in common—ancestors, gods, customs, festivals, and, in the case of most of us, personal ties of blood and friendship, still we fight like Greeks against barbarians, or, what

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4 μείζων δὲν καὶ Crosby, καὶ μείζων δοκεῖ Reiske: μείζων καὶ.
5 κάλλιου Pflugk: καλὸν.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

του τῷ γεγυμομένῳ ὑφ' ύμῶν ὀμοιότερον, ὡς ἐπερ
ἀνθρώποι πρὸς θηρία. οὐκ ὤφεσθε εἰς ἄλληλους;
οὐκ ἀκούσας βέληλων; οὐκ ἀντιδεξιώσουται, θεῖ
ἀρχῆν ποιησαμένων ύμῶν, ἄλληλας αἰ πόλεις;
οὐχὶ πάντα τὰ παρὰ ἀμφότεροι ἀγαθὰ κτήσασθε
καταλαγέντες; οὐ χρήσασθε αὐτοῖς θέλοντες;
ώφελον ἐξῆνε καὶ τὸν Ἑφεσίων δήμων ποιήσασθαι
ἀδελφῶν ύμῶν. ὄφελον καὶ τὰ Σμυρναίων οἰκο-

dομῆματα κοινὰ ύμῖν ἐγένετο. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τηλι-
καύτα οὖν ἅγαθὰ ἐνὸς ἑνεκα ὀνόματος ἀπόλυτη,
ποιὰν ἄφελεαν, τίνα ἤδονην;

'Αλλ' οὖν μὲν καὶ λυσιτελήσει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ καταλαγὴ γεγυμενή καὶ μέχρι νῦν ύμῶν οὐκ ἐλυσιτελέσει οἱ στάσεις οὕσα καὶ τὰ ἅγαθα τὰ ἐκ τῆς ὄμονοϊας γενησόμενα καὶ τὰ κακὰ τὰ διὰ τῆς

48 ἔξθραν ὑπάρχοντα, προείρηται μοι μετρίως. λοιπὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ μενεὶ ταῦτα διαλαγέντων ύμῶν.

ηδὴ γάρ τινες εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ τοῦτο δεδουκότες, διὸ ἀποδέχομαι τοῦ φόβου τὴν αὐτίαν, εἰ γε λέγουσιν αὐτόν ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς ὄμονοίας καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ λυθῇ καὶ οὐ τούνατόν αὐτοῦ χάριν τού μηδὲ ὅλως αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τοῦτο προβάλλονται.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον ύμῖν καὶ τὸ πιστότατον τοῦ μενεῦν τὴν ὁμονοίαν ἐνέχυρον ἔστω τὸ συμφέρειν αὐτήν. ἣ γάρ καὶ λόγῳ παραδειγμένα διὸτε συνοίσιει μονὸν ἦδη πείθειν ὑμᾶς ἔοικε, πῶς οὐ χρή

1 τὸ έτι τοῦτο τῷ γεγυμομένῳ Pflugk: τί έτι τούτων γεγυμο-

μένων.

2 οἰκοδομῆματα] Emperius deletes.

3 αὐτὸ Emperius: αὐτοῖ.

4 μενεῦν Arnim: μένευν.
THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

is still more like your conduct than that, like human beings against wild beasts! Will you not look each other in the face? Will you not listen to each other? Will your two cities not clasp hands together, you being the first to extend your hand? Will you not by making peace acquire for yourselves all the good things both possess? Will you not enjoy them eagerly? Oh that it were possible for you to make even the Ephesians your brothers! Oh that the edifices of Smyrna too might have been shared by you! But all these things, mighty blessings that they are—are you forfeiting them for lack of one single word, gains so rich, pleasure so great?

However, that the reconciliation will be profitable to you two cities when it is achieved, and that the strife still going on has not been profitable for you down to the present moment, that so many blessings will be yours as a result of concord, and that so many evils now are yours because of enmity—all this has been treated by me at sufficient length. But it remains for me to add that these advantages will be permanent when you have made peace with one another. For already there are some who have fears on this score too, men whose reasons for fear I understand, at least if they give utterance to it from a genuine desire for concord and a fear that concord may be destroyed, and if they are not, instead, putting forth this idea for the very purpose of preventing any reconciliation at all.

Well, let the greatest and most trustworthy guarantee that your concord will be permanent be its expediency. For if the mere recital of the reasons which show that it will be advantageous apparently is already convincing you, why should not
50 τήν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν ἔξειν αὐτὰ πειθῶ βεβαιοτέραν; ἔτι δὲ εὐθυμός εἰμι καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς συνήθειας ὑμᾶς δυσαπαλλάκτως ἔχειν. εἰ γὰρ ἡ στάσις τοσοῦτοι χρόνῳ ἵνα τὴν συνήθειαν μόνον ἐμμεμεμένηκεν ὑμῖν, τηλικοῦτον οὖσα κακῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς εἰκός ἔστων ἡδίους τε οὖσας καὶ δικαιοτέρας πονησεῖ καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν πλείωνα, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δὲ μικρὰ δεῖσαι καὶ πρὸ ἀπάντων τοὺς ἀνδράς τοὺς ἀδόξους, ἀν ποτε διαβάλλωσιν ὑμᾶς ἀλλήλους—μὴ γὰρ ἀκούσθητε αὐτῶν ἢδόν τι θηρωμένων, εἰ Βουλήσονται πάλιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τινὰ χαρὰν—καὶ μικρῶν δὲ ἐνεκεν μὴ παροξύνεσθαι. 51 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ εἰκός ἔστω μᾶλλον πάντων ἐπιμελησθείη τοῦ συμμείναι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν. οἷς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ’ ἐκεῖνων γενέσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἄν ἄλλως ἐπελθέων μοι τολμήσαι περὶ τηλικοῦτον πράγματος ἐν ὑμῖν λέγειν, ὑπὲρ οὗ μηδεὶς πρῶτον ἐπε μήτε νέος μήτε πρεσβύτερος. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εὐξασθαί πάλιν. οὐκοῦν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐξάμην αὐτοῖς, ὥσα μοι πειθομένους παράσχωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἢδὴ εὐλογεῖ ποιεῖν, λοιπὸν ἔστων εὐξασθαί περὶ τοῦ φυλάττεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀεί τὰ καλῶς δόξαντα ὑμῖν.

1 τοσοῦτοι χρόνῳ] τοσοῦτοι χρόνῳ Arnim.  
2 πλείωνα] ἡδίουa Wilamowitz.  
3 γενέσθαι Imperius: γενήσθαι.

1 Cf. § 4.  
2 Cf. § 9.
these reasons when supported by experience have a persuasiveness even more unshakable? But what is more, I am hopeful also because of your being difficult to dislodge from accustomed habit. For instance, if strife, which is so great an evil, has remained among you so long merely through force of habit, why is it not reasonable to expect that your reconciliation, since it is more pleasant and more righteous, will make that habit also more potent? But you will need also to be watchful of little matters, and above all to be watchful of the men of no reputation, in case they ever malign you to each other—for you must not listen to them when they pursue some selfish purpose, in case they wish again to secure for themselves a kind of pleasure—and you will need also to avoid becoming irritated for petty reasons. A further reason for my optimism is that it is likely the gods will make it their prime concern that concord shall endure. In fact, I feel that even this beginning is due to them, and that otherwise it would not have occurred to me to dare to speak in your presence on so great a topic, a topic on which no one previously, whether old or young, has ever spoken. And it is even fitting that I pray to them once more. You remember that in the beginning I prayed them to make you heed my words; but now that you evidently are doing this already, it remains for me to pray that they may preserve for ever your admirable resolutions.
THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON CONCORD IN NICAEA UPON THE CESSATION OF CIVIL STRIFE

As noted in the introduction to the preceding Discourse, Bithynia was a turbulent province. The present Discourse, as its title indicates, was delivered following a period of civil strife in Nicaea. Neither the occasion nor the date is known. Arnim would place the speech in the period following Dio’s return from exile, but Schmid and Lemarchand would assign it to his sophistic period on stylistic grounds. The speaker’s allusion to frail health would lend some support to the later dating.

The opening paragraphs are of special interest as an expression of that pride which the several communities of the province took in their Greek ancestry, but which unfortunately failed to knit them together to form a harmonious entity. Whatever may have been the ancestry of the inhabitants of this region, they were evidently eager to claim Greek blood and the patronage of Greek gods. Their pride of race may have been heightened because of their proximity to the world of the barbarian.

Ancient tradition is not united regarding the founding of Nicaea. On the evidence of its coinage, Dionysus would seem to have been claimed as founder and the name of the city to have been derived from the nymph Nicaea. Strabo (12. 565) mentions Antigonus as the original founder, adding that he called his settlement Antigoneia, but Strabo says that it was founded a second time by Lysimachus, who renamed it Nicaea in honour of his wife, the daughter of Antipater.
THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

Stephanus of Byzantium calls it a colony of Bottiaeae, which may be interpreted as referring its founding to veterans of Alexander's army. Whatever may have been the truth of the matter, at the time of our Discourse Nicaea could boast of a fair degree of antiquity.
ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑΙ
ΠΕΠΑΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ

1 'Εγώ χαίρω τιμώμενος ὧφ' ὑμῶν, ὡσπερ εἰκός ἐστι χαίρειν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πόλεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, ὡσπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, κατὰ τε ἱσχὺν καὶ μέγεθος οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττω-μένη τῶν ὁποῖοτε ἐνδόξων γένους τε γενναίότητι καὶ πλήθους συνοικήσει, τῶν φανερωτάτων γενῶν ὁπκ ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων συνελθόντων φαύλων καὶ ὀλίγων, ἀλλὰ 'Ελλήνων τε τῶν πρῶτων καὶ Μακε-δόνων τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἡρωᾶς τε καὶ θεοῦς οἰκιστὰς λαβοῦσα.

2 Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ θεῶν ψυκισμένοις εἰρήνη καὶ ὀμόνοια καὶ φιλία πρὸς αὐτούς. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα εὐδαιμόνες ἔσονται καὶ θεοφιλεῖς καὶ διοίκουσί τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐτυχία, βουλόμενοι γε ἀληθῶς ἐπιδεικνύειν τὸ τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ ψευδὴ καὶ μάταιων λόγων. θεοὶ γὰρ οἰκισταί καὶ συν-

1 εὐδαιμόνες | αἰδήμονες Reiske.
2 θεοφιλεῖς | θεοθεσεῖς Geel.
3 εὐτυχία | εὐψυχία Geel.

1 The nature of the honour is unknown. Was it citizenship, as in the case of Nicomedia (Or. 38. 1)?
2 Strictly speaking, only one “hero,” Heracles, is named
THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE:
ON CONCORD IN NICAEA UPON
THE CESSATION OF CIVIL STRIFE

I am delighted at being honoured¹ by you, as indeed it is to be expected that a man of sound judgement would be when honoured by a city which is noble and worthy of renown, as is the case with your city in regard to both power and grandeur, for it is inferior to no city of distinction anywhere, whether in nobility of lineage or in composition of population, comprising, as it does, the most illustrious families, not small groups of sorry specimens who came together from this place and from that, but the leaders among both Greeks and Macedonians, and, what is most significant, having had as founders both heroes ² and gods.

But it is fitting that those whose city was founded by gods should maintain peace and concord and friendship toward one another. For it is disgraceful if they do not prove to be extremely lucky and blessed of heaven and to some extent superior to the others in good fortune, desiring, as they must, to show birth to be something real and not merely a sham and empty term. For founders, kinsmen,

in connexion with Nicaea, and that too only by Dio in this speech (§ 8). The plural is used for rhetorical effect.
 Dio Chrysostom

γενεῖς καὶ προπάτορες οὐδὲν οὕτως ἔθελοντι τοὺς ἀυτῶν ἔχειν, οὔτε χώρας κάλλος οὔτε καρπῶν ἀφονίαν οὔτε πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, ὡς σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ πολιτείαν νόμιμον καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν τιμήν, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀτιμίαν. 3 ὥσ ἔγωγε ἢδομαί νῦν ὅρων ὑμᾶς ἐν μὲν σχῆμα ἔχοντας, μίαν δὲ φωνήν ἀφιέντας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους. ποίον μὲν γὰρ θέαμα κάλλιον πόλεως ὀμοφρονούσης; ποῖον δὲ ἄκουσμα σεμνότερον; ποῖα μὲν βουλεύεται πόλεις ἄμεινον τῆς ἄμα βουλευομένης; ποῖα δὲ εὐμαρέστερον πράττει τῆς ἄμα πραττόσθαι; ποία δὲ ἤττον ἀποτυγχάνει τῆς ταῦτα βουλευομένης; τίσι μὲν ἢδιω τάγαθα τῶν ὀμονοούσων; τίσι δὲ κοὐφότερα τὰ λυπηρὰ τῶν κοινῆς φερόντων, ὥσπερ βάρος; τίσι δὲ σπανιώτερον συμβαίνει τὰ χαλεπὰ τῶν ἀλλήλους φιλατ-τότων; ποία μὲν τοῖς πολίταις προσφιλέστερα πόλει; ποία δὲ τιμωτέρα τοῖς ξένοις; ποία δὲ χρησιμωτέρα τοῖς φίλοις; τίσι δὲ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς φοβερωτέρα; ὁ παρὰ τῶν μὲν ἔπαινος δοκεῖ πιστότερος, ὁ παρὰ τῶν δὲ ψόγοις ἀληθέστερος; τίνες μὲν ἴσοτιμότεροι τοῖς κρατοῦσιν; τίνας δὲ μάλλον οἱ κρατοῦντες αἰδοῦται; τίνας μὲν οὕτως ἀγαπῶσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἄρχοντες; τίνων δὲ ἤττον καταφρονοῦσιν οἱ πονηροὶ; οὐ γὰρ δήλω ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὀμονοοῦσιν οὐ μόνον οἱ κρατοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ προσέχουσιν, οἱ δὲ στασιάζοντες οὐδ' αὐτῶν ἀκούουσιν; οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἀσυμφώνων χορῶν

1 μὲν Wilamowitz: δὲ.
2 Βουλευομένης] Βουλομένης Cobet.
3 After this sentence the mss. read τίνες δὲ παρὰ τοῖς κρατοῦσι πλείονος αἰδούσι τυγχάνουσι; which Emperius deletes.
and progenitors who are gods desire their own people to possess nothing—neither beauty of country nor abundance of crops nor multitude of inhabitants—so much as sobriety, virtue, orderly government, honour for the good citizens and dishonour for the base. Even as I myself rejoice at the present moment to find you wearing the same costume, speaking the same language, and desiring the same things. Indeed what spectacle is more enchanting than a city with singleness of purpose, and what sound is more awe-inspiring than its harmonious voice? ¹ What city is wiser in council than that which takes council together? What city acts more smoothly than that which acts together? What city is less liable to failure than that which favours the same policies? To whom are blessings sweeter than to those who are of one heart and mind? To whom are afflictions lighter than to those who bear them together, like a heavy load? To whom do difficulties occur more rarely than to those who defend each other? What city is dearer to its people, more honoured by the stranger, more useful to its friends, more formidable to its foes? Whose praise is held more trustworthy, whose censure more truthful? Who are more nearly equal in honour to their rulers, and whom do the rulers more respect? Whom do good rulers so admire, and bad rulers less despise? Why, is it not manifest that not merely the rulers, but even the gods, pay heed to men who live in concord, while men who are torn by civil strife do not even hear one another? For no one readily hears the words

¹ Dio utters similar sentiments in Or. 32. 29.

as being a manifest variant of τίνας ὅτι . . . αἰδοῦνταί, which follows.
ουδείς ἀκούει ῥαδίως ὧ τι λέγουσιν ὠοτε τῶν δια-
φερομένων πόλεων.

5 Ποία δὲ οἰκοδομήματα, πόση δὲ χώρα, πόσον δὲ
πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἵσχυρότερον δήμου ἀποφαίνει τῆς
πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμονοίας; ὡπόσοι γὰρ ἂν ὁμιλοῦσιν
τῆς ὁμονοούσης πόλεως, τοσοῦτοι μὲν ὀφθαλμοί
ὁρῶσι τὸ ἐκείνης συμφέρον, τοσαῦται δὲ ἄκοι
ἀκούουσι, τοσαῦται δὲ γλύττα τοιαῦτα παραστὰ
ται δὲ διάνοιαι φροντίζουσιν· διαφέροντι γὰρ οὐδὲν
ἡ εἰ τις θεων οὐτῶς μεγάλης καὶ πολυανθρώπων
πόλεως μίαν ψυχήν ἐποίησεν. ὡς οὐτε χρήματων
πλῆθος οὐτε ἀνθρώπων οὐτε ἄλλη δύναμις ἤλθεν
ἡνεγκε τοῖς διαφερομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτων πάντα
ταῦτα πρὸς βλάβης μᾶλλον ἔστι καὶ ὁσὶ ἂν
πλείονα ὑπάρχῃ, τοσοῦτοι μείζονος καὶ χαλεπώ-
tέρας· ὡσπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῷ μὲν
ὑγιαίνοντι συμφέρει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
σαρκῶν, τῷ δὲ νοσοῦντι καὶ φαύλως ἔχοντι σφαλε-
ρωτάτη ἔστιν ἡ τοιαύτη ἔξις καὶ ἐξομίλητον ἐπάγει
ἢ κάλυπτον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ναός ἤτις ἂν μετὰ ὁμο-
νοιας πλήξ τοῦ κυβερνήτου καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν, αὐτῇ
τε σώζεται καὶ σώζει τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας· εἰ δὲ μὴ,
ὅσῳ πλείω τὰ ἔστια, τοσοῦτοι σφοδρότεροι τὸν
χειμώνα καὶ τὴν παραχθήν μείζων συμβαίνειν ἀνάγ-
κη. τὸ οὕτω τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἀρματος· ἂν μὲν ὁ θ' ἡ-
νίοχος ἄρχειν ἐπίστηται κατὰ τρόπον οἷς τε ὑποῖ
ὁμοφρονοῦντες καὶ πειθόμενοι ὑσιν, ἐλπὶς ἔστιν ἐν
μὲν ἀγῶνι νικῶν, ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ σφώζεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦ-

1 There is a strong resemblance between this and Or. 32. 2.
2 For a similar illustration, cf. Or. 34. 22.
THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

either when choruses do not keep together or when cities are at variance.

Again, what sort of edifices, what size of territory what magnitude of population render a community stronger than does its domestic concord? For example, when a city has concord, as many citizens as there are, so many are the eyes with which to see that city's interest, so many the ears with which to hear, so many the tongues to give advice, so many the minds concerned in its behalf; why, it is just as if some god had made a single soul for so great and populous a city. Conversely, neither abundance of riches nor number of men nor any other element of strength is of advantage to those who are divided, but all these things are rather on the side of loss, and the more abundant they are, so much the greater and more grievous the loss. Just so too, methinks, it is with human bodies—that body which is in sound health finds advantage in its height and bulk, while the body which is diseased and in poor condition finds a physical state of that kind to be most perilous and productive of severest risk. Similarly too any ship which sails the sea with concord existing between the skipper and his crew not only is safe itself but also maintains in safety those on board; otherwise the more numerous the sails so much the more violent must be the impact of the storm and so much greater the confusion. This same thing is true in the case of a chariot—if the driver knows how to exercise proper control, and if at the same time the horses are not only in agreement with one another but also obedient to the driver, there is hope that in a race such a chariot will win the prize and

3 This illustration is found also in Or. 34. 16 and 38. 14.

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τον ἄρμαν ὑπάτευσε δὲ καὶ ταραχὴς ἐνούσης, τοσούτως μεῖζων ὁ κύδωνος, ὅσῳ ἂν ἰσχυρότερον ὄσιν ὁ θεὸς ὑποτετράτης καὶ ταχύτεροι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ πόλει ὁμοοούση τἄντα τὰ τοιαῦτα χρήσιμα ἐστὶ, περιουσία χρησμάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ δόξας καὶ δύναμις· εἰ δὲ μή, δύσχρηστα καὶ χαλεπά, οἶν ἐν ταυτῷ πρεσβυμένωι1 θηρίων πολλῶν ἡ μεσημέτων, ἐνὸς εἰργοντος περιβόλου, κυρηντῶν τε ἀλήτηλα καὶ πατοῦντων καὶ ἐπεμβαίνοντων ἀλλήλοις.

Ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὑμαίνον ἑτύγχανον, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέστην τοῦ λόγου, πρὶν ἰκανῶς αὐτῶν διελθεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν: νῦν δὲ ὑμᾶς τε ὑσώς πρὸς ἐσέροις μᾶλλον ἐστε2 καίῳ πολὺ καταδεόστερον ἔχω ἢ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἅγιων. τὸν οὖν βραχύτατον καὶ ἀνυψιμάτατον λόγον καταλέπτεται εἰπεῖν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ τῶν μικρῶν φθεγγομένων ὁ διανοοῦνται ἱσασθ. ὡσις γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ σφόδρα εὐνοοῦντός ἐστιν· ὡσπερ οἱ χρηστοὶ πατέρες τοῖς παισίν ἡ μὲν δύνανται παραμοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἂν μὴ πείθωσιν, εὐχονται τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. εὐχομαι δὴ τῷ τε Διονύσῳ τῷ προπάτῳ τῇ ἡδὸν τῆς πάλεως καὶ Ἦρακλεῖ τῷ κτίσαντι τῆς τήν πόλιν καὶ Διὸ Πολιεῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ Φιλία καὶ Ὀμονοία καὶ Νεμέσει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

1 τρεφομένων Casaubon: ὑπερφομένων.
2 μᾶλλον ἐστε Casaubon: ὑστε μᾶλλον ὡστε UB, μᾶλλον ὡστε M.

1 Cf. Or. 38. 15 for the chariot illustration. The similarity of the illustrations employed in this speech to those just cited as parallel may be ascribed to similarity of subject.

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in a war emerge in safety; but on the other hand, if strife and confusion are present, the danger increases in proportion to the strength and speed of the horses. In much the same way also when a city enjoys concord, all such things are useful—abundance of riches, size of population, honours, fame, and power; but otherwise they are hard to use well and vexatious, just as when, for example, many wild animals or cattle are kept in the same enclosure, penned within a single stockade, they go butting and trampling and leaping upon one another.

Well now, if I were blessed with robust health, I should not have abandoned my theme before discussing it adequately to the best of my ability; but as it is, not only are you perhaps more intent upon other matters, but I myself am far too frail to match the importance of the occasion. Therefore, all that remains for me to do is to make the briefest and most efficacious appeal, I mean the appeal to the gods. For the gods know what men mean to say even when they speak in whispers. After all, possibly this too is typical of one who is especially well-intentioned; for instance, good fathers use admonition with their children where they can, but where persuasion fails they pray the gods on their behalf. Accordingly I pray to Dionysus the progenitor of this city, to Heracles its founder, to Zeus Guardian of Cities, to Athena, to Aphroditē Fosterer of Friendship, to Harmony, and Nemesis, and all

* The list of deities worshipped at Nicaea, as attested by coins and inscriptions, is a long one and, as was natural, includes some of non-Greek provenience. Dio fittingly appeals only to the Greek gods on this occasion and, among them, only to such as might reasonably be expected to heed his prayer.
Θεοίς ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς πόλει πόθον ἑαυτῆς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ μίαν γνώμην καὶ
tαυτὰ βούλεσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν, στάσιν δὲ καὶ ἔριδα
καὶ φιλονικίαν ἐκβαλεῖν, ὡς ἀν ἐν ταῖς εὔδαιμο-
νεστάταις καὶ ἀρίσταις ή πόλει τὸ λοιπὸν.
THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

the other gods, that from this day forth they may implant in this city a yearning for itself, a passionate love, a singleness of purpose, a unity of wish and thought; and, on the other hand, that they may cast out strife and contentiousness and jealousy, so that this city may be numbered among the most prosperous and the noblest for all time to come.
THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE:
DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE
CITY ON CONCORD WITH THE
APAMEIANS

As indicated by the title, the background of this Discourse is a quarrel between Prusa, the home of the speaker, and its near neighbour, Apameia. The precise nature of the quarrel remains in doubt, but it seems to have involved business relations, and possibly also property rights. The relations between the two cities were extremely intimate. Prusa used the port of Apameia, and Apameia looked to Prusa for its timber. There was constant intercourse of many kinds between the two, and citizens of the one not infrequently were citizens also of the other, sometimes even receiving a seat and vote in the Council of the second city. Dio’s own connexion with Apameia was especially close. As we learn from Or. 41, not only had he himself been honoured with citizenship there, but also his father before him; his mother and her father too had been awarded citizenship in Apameia along with the grant of Roman citizenship; and, finally, it would appear that Dio’s household had found a refuge in that city during his exile.

Whatever the nature of the quarrel, it had lasted for some time prior to the date of our Discourse (A.D. 101), and it had been so bitter that Dio had feared to accept the invitation of Apameia to pay a visit there upon his return from exile, lest by doing so he might offend the city of his birth, and for the same reason he had resisted a request to intervene in behalf of Apameia in its quarrel. He had, to be sure, urged upon his fellow citizens, as occasion offered, the desirability of reconciliation with Apameia, and negotiations to that end were
THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE

actually in progress when Dio, responding with some reluctance to the summons of his fellow townsmen, appeared in town-meeting and pleaded afresh the cause of concord. It would appear that his words received a favourable hearing, for in the next Discourse in our collection, delivered at Apameia shortly afterwards, he speaks as a member of an official delegation to arrange terms of agreement.

This Discourse, as well as several to follow, is valuable both as shedding light upon doings in Bithynia, doings about which we get supplementary information from the correspondence of Pliny the Younger written during his term as proconsul of that province, and also as supplying biographical data regarding the speaker.
40. ἘΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ἈΠΑΜΕΙΣ-ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ

1 'Ενόμιζον μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες πολίται, νῦν γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἁδειν τὴν ἄπασαν ἡσυχίαν, δεύο ἀφικόμενος, καὶ μὴ προσάψεσθαι μήτε ἕκοιν μήτε ἄκοιν μηδενὸς κοινοῦ πράγματος, δε' ἐν μὲν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὺς ὅρων σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς αἰεὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους ἐπιτροπεύειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ προϊστασθαι τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅρθως οὔτε τοῦ λέγειν οὔτε τού πράττειν ἐνδεώς ἔχοντας, ἄτι δὲ τῆς παρὰ ὑμῖν πολιτείας ἐμπείρους δοῦνας, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπώπτευον—τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἰρήσεται—βαρύνεσθαι τινας ὡς ἔξον καὶ 2 περιττὸν ἔπευτα, οἷμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος δέον ποιήσασθαι τινα πρόνοιαν, ἐκ πολλῆς καὶ συνεχοῦς ταλαμωρίας ἀπειρικότος, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, κομβὴ φαύλως διακειμένων, ὅ τοιοῦτον ἀπολωλότα χρόνον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπανορθώσεως τετύχηκεν.

1 προσάψεσθαι Emperius: προσάφασθαι.

1 He had recently returned from Rome. Prior to that visit, ever since his return from exile in A.D. 96, he had been occupied with public business, notably the building operations to which he refers in his opening paragraphs, with which cf. Or. 45.
THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE:
DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY ON CONCORD WITH THE APAMEIANS

I used to think, fellow citizens, that now at least, if not before—now that I am home again—I could look forward to enjoying complete leisure, and that I was not going to engage in any public business, either voluntarily or otherwise.¹ One reason was because I see that many older men, by the grace of God, and many younger men as well, are ever ready and able to direct the city and to defend your interests rightly, being deficient in neither speech nor action, and what is more, being thoroughly acquainted with your form of government, while, on the other hand, I suspected—for the truth will out—that some were vexed with me as being an outsider and a nuisance.² A second reason is that, in my opinion, I should take some thought, not only for my body, exhausted as it is from great and unremitting hardship, but also for my domestic affairs, now in thoroughly bad condition, affairs which, though so long in ruinous state, have met with no improve-

² His long exile made him seem to some to be an outsider, and his energetic efforts to improve Prusa were accordingly resented.
οπον γάρ ἀποδημία δεσπότου χρονίσαντος ίκανή διαφθείραι καὶ τὴν μεγίστην οὐσίαν, τῇ χρή προσδοκῶν ἐν τοσοῦτοι ἔτεσι φυγῆς; οἴδειν οὔδεις ἀν προσεδόκησεν ἔμε σωθήναι χωρίς ὅμων, δι᾽ εὐνοίας ὑπερβολῆν. καὶ τούτῳ μέχρι μὲν ὑπήρχε πενίας κίνδυνος ἦμων, οὔδεν ἦν δεινόν. οὐ γάρ εἰμι πρὸς τὸν ἀμέλετητος σχεδόν, τοσοῦτον χρόνον πλαισθεὶς οὐ μόνον ἄικος καὶ ἀνέστιος, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀκόλουθον ἐνα γοῦν ἐπαγόμενος. οὐ τοῖνυν οὔδὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἠλπίζον χαλεπῶς ἂν ὑπομείναι πενίαν, οὐκ ὄντα ἐμοῦ χείρῳ τὴν φύσιν.

8 'Επει δὲ ὁ λόγος ἦμων ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα μηδὲ ἀποστερήσαι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ὅμως ἢ ὑπεσχόμεθα μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, οὔδαμος βαδίαν οὔδὲ ὅλγων χρημάτων, τούτῳ οἶμαι χαλεπὸν καὶ πολλῆς φροντίδος ἥξιον· οὐ γὰρ οὔδεν ἐστὶ βαρύτερον οὔδὲ ὀφειλόμενον ἐπὶ πλείου τόκω χάριτος. καὶ τούτῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀναίσχυντος δάνειον καὶ πικρόν, ὅταν, οἶμαι, τῷ βραδύνει ἡ κάρις εἰς χρέως μεταστή. δὲ τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἀπαίτουσιν οἱ σωπώντες τῶν βωώντων. οὔδὲν γὰρ οὕτω δύναται τοὺς ὀφειλόντας ὅμως τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπομιμησκεν, ὡς τὸ ὅμως ἔκκλησθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον ἐνόμιζον γενέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν κοινῶν προσέναι μηδὲ μέχρι λόγου

1 οὐ γάρ with M] οὐ γε.
2 χάριτος] deleted by Von der Muehll, reading οὐ γε supra.
3 He had subscribed toward the embellishment of Prusa,
ment. For when a proprietor's absence from home, if protracted, suffices to ruin even the greatest estate, what should one expect in the course of so many years of exile? From such an exile no one could have expected me to come home safe except yourselves—because of your extreme partiality for me. And yet as long as poverty was the only risk confronting me, that was nothing to be afraid of. For I am not unprepared, I may say, to cope with that, having wandered so long, not only without hearth and home, but even without a single servant to bear me company. Furthermore, I did not expect my son to find poverty a grievous thing to bear either, since his nature is not inferior to my own.

But since the question before us concerns my not proving false toward my native land and not defrauding you of the promise I made under no compulsion, a promise by no means easy to make good and involving no small outlay of money, this I conceive to be a difficult matter and one calling for much serious cogitation.¹ For there is nothing more weighty, no debt bearing higher interest, than a favour promised. Moreover, this is the shameful and bitter kind of loan, when, as one might say, because of tardy payment the favour turns into an obligation, an obligation the settlement of which those who keep silent demand altogether more sternly than those who cry aloud. For nothing has such power to remind those who owe you such obligations as your having utterly forgotten them. For these reasons, therefore, I felt it had become necessary for me to devote myself to my own affairs and not to any but, like some others of whom we hear, he had not yet redeemed his promise.
Διος Χρυσόστομος

τέως, ἐώς ἂν αἰσθωμαι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρὰ τῷ πουητῇ λεγόμενον:

δ' τι μοι ἐν μεγάρουι κακόν τ' ἄγαθόν τε τέτυκται.

5 Πρότερον γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ὅλον σχολὴν ἦγαγον ἵσως διὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ὁς δὲ δέον ἐντυχεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ φιλοφρονήσασθαι τοσοῦτο μόνον καὶ θύσαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ νὴ Δία ἀναγνώναι τὰ γράμματα τὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἔπειτα εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ τρέπεσθαι καὶ αὐτόν, λόγον τινὰ εἴπον ύπερ ἔργου τινός, οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐσποουδάκωτοι, ἵσως μὲν ὑμῖν, ἵσως δὲ κἀμοι χαρίζομαι βουλομένων καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄμεινον κατασκευάζειν καὶ σεμνοτέραν ποιεῖν ἀπασαν. πρότερον γὰρ ὦστε δὴπουθεν ὅτι τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τῶν ἀστυνευτῶν ἔλειπόμεθα.

6 Τούτον ἐμοὶ τότε εἰπόντος τὸν λόγον, ἔπηρθη τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δήμος· οὐ γὰρ ἔστη ἄγεννείς οὐδὲ ἀναίσθητοι τὰς φύσεις· καὶ πολλοὶ προετράπησαν φιλοτιμηθῆναι τῶν πολιτῶν. πάλιν δὲ ὑστερον ἐμοὶ τὸ πράγμα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιουμένου πολλάκις μὲν

1 αἰσθωμαι Emperius: αἰσθήσωμαι or αἰσθήσομαι.
2 δ' Selden: ός.
3 καὶ added by Reiske.
4 βουλομένων Morel: βουλόμενων.
5 καὶ] deleted by Emperius.

1 Source unknown, evidently some epic poem.
2 The occasion was doubtless his return from exile. The letter from the Emperor is thought by Arnim to have been a
public business, not even to the extent of making a speech, until, as the poet says, I shall perceive What ill or good has happened in my halls.¹

The fact is that hitherto I had not had even a moment's leisure, possibly because of my own officiousness, since, when I ought merely to have met you and given you friendly greetings and sacrificed to the gods, and, of course, read the letter from the Emperor, since that was a matter of necessity, and then to have retired immediately and turned to my own affairs,² instead I made a speech in behalf of a certain undertaking,³ not on my own responsibility alone, but with the backing of the proconsuls as well, who possibly were minded to do you a favour, and perhaps me as well, and also to put the city into better shape and make it more impressive as a whole.⁴ For formerly, as you doubtless are aware, we were behind even our neighbours in such matters.

Well, when I made that speech on the occasion referred to, not only was the Assembly aroused with enthusiasm for it—for you are not illiberal or insensible in your nature—but also many of the citizens were even moved to patriotic fervour in its support. And again, when later on I repeatedly laid the matter before you, now in the council chamber and now letter from Nerva and identical with the letter he is about to read at the close of Or. 44.

¹ Probably the vagueness of Dio's language in referring to his pet project was due to the unpopularity which it had brought him in certain quarters. He seems to have shown more zeal than discretion.

² Cf. Or. 47. 13. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan shows how keen was the interest of both in the financial stability of Bithynia, though both were glad to sponsor physical improvements.
ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, πολλάκις δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἢν, εἰ μὴ δοκιμάζοιτε μηδὲ βουλεύσθε, μηδένα ἐνοχλῶ—τὴν γὰρ ἁσχολίαν τὴν ἐσομένην ὑπόπτευνον μοι περὶ ταύτα—πολλάκις μὲν ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἐκυρώθη, πολλάκις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἤγεμόνων, οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος.

7 Ἑσπε δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν, ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπαθὼν μετρῶν καὶ διαμετρῶν καὶ λογιζόμενος, ὅπως μὴ γένοιτο ἀπρεπὲς μηδὲ ἄχρειον, ὅποιὰ ἔργα πολλὰ γέγονε παρ’ ἐτέρως μάτην ἀπολόμενα, καὶ τελευταίοις εἰς τὰ ὀρη φθειρόμενοι, οὐκ ὃν ἐμπειρὸς τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ ἀπορῶν ἔργου τινὸς, ἀλλ’ ἐτερα μᾶλλον πράττεν δυνάμενος, σπουδαίοτερα ἵσως, ἂφ’ ὃν οὐ παρὰ μόνοις ὑμῖν εὐδοκιμεῖν ἔμελλον, ὡς νῦν ἐπεξεῖναι. οὐδέν γὰρ ἢν ἔμοι βαρύ δι’ ὑμᾶς ὑπομένοντι.

8 Δόγοι δὲ ἐγύνοντο πολλοὶ μὲν, οὐ παρὰ πολλῶν δὲ, καὶ σφό드ρα ἄγδεις, ὡς κατασκάπτω τὴν πόλιν, ὡς αὐνάστατον πεποίηκα σχεδὸν ἐξελαύνων τοὺς πολῖτας, ὡς ἀνήρηται πάντα, συγκέχυται, λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν. καὶ τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ σφόδρα ὃδυρόμενοι τὸ χαλκεῖον τὸ τοῦ δεῖνος, χαλεπῶς ἔγωντες, εἰ μὴ μενεῖ ταῦτα τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας, ὃσπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Προπυλαιῶν κυνουμένων ἡ τοῦ Παρθενῶν ἡ τοῦ Σαμίων Ἡραιὸν ἡμᾶς ἀνατρέποντας ἡ τοῦ Μινησίων Διδύμεων ἡ

1 Διδύμεων Reiske: διδύμων.

1 Popular assemblies often were held in theatres.
2 Probably for the purpose of selecting building material and allotting contracts.
3 On the subject of the smithy in question, cf. also Or. 47. 11.
in the theatre,\(^1\) to make sure that I should not offend anyone in case you did not approve or desire the project—for I had my misgivings as to the hard work which would be connected with the enterprise—the proposal was repeatedly sanctioned by you and by the proconsuls too with not a dissenting voice.

However, when the work was started, all the trouble to which I myself was put in taking measurements and allotting space and making computations, to insure that the project should not be unbecoming or useless—as in other cities many public works have been ruined for lack of planning—and finally in making a cursed excursion to the mountains,\(^2\) though I was not at all experienced in such matters and did not lack for something to do either, but might rather have occupied myself with other activities, possibly more important, from which I was likely to enjoy renown with others besides yourselves—all this I now refrain from narrating in detail; for nothing was too burdensome for me, seeing that I bore it for your sake.

But there was a lot of talk—though not on the part of many persons—and very unpleasant talk too, to the effect that I am dismantling the city; that I have laid it waste, virtually banishing the inhabitants; that everything has been destroyed, obliterated, nothing left. And there were some who were violent in their lamentations over the smithy of So-and-so,\(^3\) feeling bitter that these memorials of the good old days were not to be preserved. One might have supposed that the Propylaeae at Athens were being tampered with, or the Parthenon, or that we were wrecking the Heraeum of the Samians, or the Didymeium of the Milesians, or the temple of
τὸν νεῶν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀϊδρὰ καὶ καταγέλαστα ἐρείπια, πολὺ ταπεινότερα τῶν κλωσίων, οἷς ὑποδύεται τὰ πρόβατα, τῶν πομμένων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο εἰσελθεῖν οὐδὲ τῶν γενναἰοτέρων κυνῶν ἐφ’ οἷς ὑμεῖς μὲν ἠρυθριάτε, νῦν Ἔι  
διετρέπεσθε τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰσιόντων, οἱ δὲ ἀγδώδες ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέχαρον καὶ ἐγέλω—ὅπου μηδὲ τοῖς χαλκεύον ἐξήν διάρασθαι σχεδὸν, ἀλλὰ εἰργάζοντο κεκυφότες· καὶ ταῦτα πέπτοντα καὶ ὑπερρηεισμένα, ἣ πρὸς τὴν πληγήν τοῦ ραιστήρος ἐτρέμε καὶ διόστατο· ἀλλ’ ὁμως ἦσαν οἳ χαλεπῶς ἐώρων ἀφανιζόμενα τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἐμπροσθεν πενίας καὶ ἀδοξίας, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν κιώνων ἐμελεν  
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱσταμένων οὐδὲ τῶν γείσων, οὐ τῶν ὁικοδομουμένων ἐργαστηρίων ἀλλος, ἀλλ’ ἦν μηδέποτε μείζον ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων φρονῆτε.

Εὖ γὰρ ἰστε ὅτι καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τῷ δικάζειν αὐτοῖ καὶ τῷ μὴ παρ’ ἐτέρους ἐξετάξεσθαι μηδὲ συντελεῖν ἀλλος  
καθὰ-περ, οἶμαι, κάμη, πάσι τούτοις συναίρεσθαι πέ

1 νῦν Δια added by Capps, καὶ Emperius.
2 After οὐχ ὁτι Arnim suspects a lacuna.
3 ἐμελεν Reiske: ἐμελεν.
4 ἄλλος Emperius: ἄλλως.
5 ἄλλοις Valcius: ἄλλοις.

The terseness of Dio’s words testifies to the grandeur of these edifices and also suggests that citizens of Prusa were acquainted with them. To-day a single column of the shrine of Hera towers aloft amid blackberry vines and stagnant water, while of the famous temple of Artemis only the stump of one column is visible above the pool that covers the excavated area.

2 Apparently the proconsuls made a thorough inspection of the cities under their jurisdiction.

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Artemis at Ephesus,¹ instead of disgraceful, ridiculous ruins, much more lowly than the sheds under which the flocks take shelter, but which no shepherd could enter nor any of the nobler breeds of dogs, structures that used to make you blush, aye, be utterly confounded when the proconsuls essayed to enter,² while men who bore you malice would gloat over you and laugh at your discomfort—hovels where even the blacksmiths were scarcely able to stand erect but worked with bowed head; shanties, moreover, in tumbledown condition, held up by props, so that at the stroke of the hammer they quivered and threatened to fall apart. And yet there were some who were distressed to see the signs of their former poverty and ill-repute disappearing, who, far from being interested in the columns which were rising, or in the eaves of the roof,³ or in the shops under construction in a different quarter,⁴ were interested only in preventing your ever feeling superior to that crew.

For, let me assure you, buildings and festivals and independence in the administration of justice and exemption from standing trial away from home or from being grouped together with other communities like some village,⁵ if you will pardon the expression—all these things, I say, make it natural for the

¹ On the colonnade, which formed the centre of Dio’s scheme for embellishing Prusa, cf. Or. 47. 17 and 19-20.
² The shops, including the smithy, had made way for the colonnade and were being re-erected where they would not interfere with public buildings.
³ On the synteleia, cf. Or. 38. 26. The right to hold court served not only as evidence of rank and worth but also as an important source of revenue (Or. 35. 15). Dio’s emphasis upon that subject, both here and in § 33, suggests that Prusa had lately gained that right.
φυκε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πόλεων καὶ μεῖζον ἀξίωμα γίγνεσθαι τὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πλέονος τυχάνειν τιμῆς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱγμόνων. ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαπῶν τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας καὶ μὴ φοβομένους μήποτε ἐλάττονς αὐτῶν φανώσι θαυμαστὴν ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν· τοῖς δὲ ἑναντίως ἔχουσι καὶ βουλομένους ἐν ἁσθενεῖσιν ἱσχύει καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως ἀδοξίαν αὐτῶν νομίζουσι δέοντως φέρει λύπην καὶ φθόνον.

11 καὶ τοι τὸ μὲν ὑπόδημα δεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀρμόττειν καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πόδα, καὶ ἂν δοκῇ μεῖζον, περιτεμέναν πόλιν δὲ οὐδέποτε δεὶ κολούσιν οὐδὲ κατάγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ψυχήν μετέχειν, ἐὰν τύχῃ σμικρὰν ἔχον καὶ ἀνελεύθερον, καὶ ταῦτα παραδειγμάτων ὄντων· λέγω δὲ τὸ τῶν Σμυρναίων, τὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, Ταρσεῖ[ς] ἐκείνους, Ἀντιοχέας.

Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τως ἀκούοντες διερρήγνυτο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, εἰ τοιούτων ἐδίκεοσθε ἀκροβατεῖ τὸν Διόνυσι καὶ μετὰ τοιούτων πόλεων τολμᾶ τοῖς ὀνομάζειν τὴν ὑμε- 12 τέραν. ὡς Ῥωμαῖος ἀπὸ τούτους σχετλάξοντες καὶ τοιαύτα λέγοντες καὶ διδόναι μηδένα ἑώντες καὶ τοῖς ἑργοῖς ἐμποδοῦν γιγνόμενοι, οὕτως ἐμὲ διέθη- καν, ὡςτε ὀλίγου φυγήν ἐμαυτοῦ καταλήψασθαι.

1 λύπην Wilamowitz: αὐτῆς.
2 ὡς Ῥωμαῖος Casaubon: ὡς.  

1 Public works seem to have been characteristic of all Asia Minor at this period and to have aroused rivalry between one city and another. The four cities here named were selected for their eminence as well as for their prominence in civic improvements. Cf. Or. 38. 47 and 47. 16. The pronoun applied to the Tarsians suggests some special undertaking in that city. Cf. Or. 33. 23 and 28.
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pride of the cities to be enhanced and the dignity of the community to be increased and for it to receive fuller honour both from the strangers within their gates and from the proconsuls as well. But while these things possess a wondrous degree of pleasure for those who love the city of their birth and are not afraid lest some day they may be found to be not good enough for it, to those who take the opposite stand and wish to wield authority over weak men and who deem the glory of the city to be their own ignominy, these things necessarily bring pain and jealousy. And yet, while it is true that the shoe must fit the wearer and his own special foot, and if the shoe is judged to be too large it must be trimmed down, one must never curtail a city or reduce it to one’s own dimensions or measure it with regard to one’s own spirit, if one happens to have a small and servile spirit, particularly in the light of existing precedents—I mean the activities of the men of Smyrna, of the men of Ephesus, of those men of Tarsus, of the men of Antioch.¹

Again, I know perfectly that on former occasions too certain persons were ready to burst with rage on hearing me talk this way and were incensed that you were growing accustomed to listening to such words, and that any one should presume to name your city in company with such distinguished cities.² But still, because of their angry protests at these proceedings, because of the things they say, because of their attempts to prevent any one’s making a contribution, and because of their efforts to block operations, they have put me into such a frame of mind as almost to condemn myself to voluntary exile. For

¹ The conservatives regarded such comparisons as unfair.
καὶ γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον μετὰ φυγῆς οὕτως μακρὰν καὶ πράγματα τοσάστα καὶ τύραννον ἐχθρὸν δεύτερο ἀφικόμενον, ὁστε ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῶν πρῶτων χαλεπῶν, οἶδον ἐκ δεινοῦ καὶ ἀγρίου πελάγους καὶ χειμῶνος ἀδοκίτως σωθέντα μόλις δι᾽ εὐνοιαν θεοῦ τινος, ἐπείτα ἐνταῦθα ὁσπέρ ἐν λιμένι ναυαγεῖν.

13 Θαυμάζω δὲ μάλιστα ἐνίων ἀνθρώπων τὴν κακο-ήθειαν, μάλλον δὲ τὴν ἁνωμα, ὑπομιμητικόμενον οία ἐλογοποίουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἢν ἐπέμψατε εὐχαριστοῦντες. οὐ γὰρ ἤδεις αὐτὸν ἀποδέξασθαι τοὺς πρέσβεις, ἀλλὰ δυσχεράναι μάλ-λον, ὅσ δέον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἀπηγκείναι καὶ περιβαλέω τοὺς ἥκοντας τοὺς μηδέπω παρόντας ὁνομάζειν ἢ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε,

14 τι πράττοντος ἡ διὰ τι πάντες οὐκ ἥλθον. οὶ δὲ ἐλογοποίουν ὅτι τοῖς Σμύρναιοις παμπόλλας δωρεὰς δοίη καὶ χρήματα ἄμυθητα πέμψει μετὰ τῶν Νεμέσεων, καὶ νὴ Δί ὄς ἄλλου τινὸς διαλεξήθεντος μυρίων μὲν αὐτῶ συνεχόρθησε βούλευτα, χρυσοῦ δὲ ἐκέλευσε ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τραπῆναι καὶ

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1 ἀφικόμενον Reiske: ἀφικομένῳ.
2 ἀδοκίτως σωθέντα Reiske: ἀδοκίτως ὡς θέντα Μ, ἀδοκίτως ὡς θέντα B, ἀδοκίτου ὡς θέντα UT.
3 τοὺς ἥκοντας Emperius: προσήκοντας.

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1 I.c., Domitian.
2 Upon the occasion of Trajan’s becoming Emperor, A.D. 98.
3 I.e., Trajan.
4 Smyrna was noteworthy for worshipping two Nemeceans instead of one. These deities were held to have inspired
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it really was ridiculous if, after having experienced so long an exile, so many tribulations, and so tyrannical a foe,¹ after reaching home at last with the hope of finding respite and of being able to forget past hardships from then on—like a man who had through the kindness of some god unexpectedly and with difficulty been rescued from a dreadful, savage sea and tempest—I should then in port, so to speak, meet shipwreck here.

But I am especially amazed at the malevolence of sundry persons—or rather at their folly—as I call to mind what sort of tales they invented, first of all in connexion with the mission of congratulation which you sent.² For they claimed that he ³ was not glad to receive your envoys, but was vexed, as if it were incumbent upon him to meet at the gate and there embrace all arrivals, or to speak the names of those who had not yet arrived, or to inquire about this one and that one, wanting to know how they were or why they had not all come. And others invented the tale that he gave the delegates from Smyrna very many presents, and that he sent untold riches along with the images of Nemesis,⁴ and, by Heaven, that after some one else had delivered an address he granted him ten thousand councillors and ordered a flood of gold ⁵ to be turned in the direction

Alexander the Great to refound the city, and they were regarded with special reverence. See Pausanias 7. 5. 1-3. We may infer from Dio's report that Trajan sent Smyrna images of these deities, a supposition which would explain the appearance during Trajan's reign of a coin of Smyrna bearing a new type of Nemesis. See Volkmann in P.W. 16, pt. 2, 2353-2354.

¹ In such a context one naturally thinks of the golden Pactolus, which Dio presumably has in mind, but it becomes plain that he refers to imperial largess.
μυριάδες ἀπειροὶ τινες ἐδόθησαν· ὥν οὐδὲν ἦν 15 ἀληθές, ὡς ἐβουλόμην αὖ ἐγώγε. τὸ γὰρ πολλοὺς1 καλῶς πράττει καὶ μεγάλων τυγχάνεις οὐκ ἂν οὐδέποτε λυπήσεις τόν νοῦν ἐχοντα ἄλλως τε καὶ πρῶτον τυχόντα καὶ τήν ἀφορμήν ὦσς παρεσχηκότα. ὅμοιον γὰρ, ὃσπερ εἰ τις αὐτῷ μόνον λάμπειν ἥξιον τὸν ἢλιον ἢ τὸν Δία ὦειν ἢ τους ἀνέμους πνεῖν ἢ μηδένα ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῶν κρηνῶν δύνασθαι πιεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ2 φιλανθρωπότατος ὃν δὲ3 αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ συνετάτατος ἀπάντων ἐμοὶ τε4 παρέσχεν ὃν ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην καὶ ἄλλος ὃν ἐκεῖνοι ἐδέσοντο.

16 Τίνος οὖν ἔνεκεν εἰρήνη πάντα τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ύπὲρ ἄλλων ὠμῶν βουλευμένων; ὅτι καὶ τούτον τοῦ πράγματος ἐγὼ πρότερος ἥψαμην καὶ πολλοὺς εἶπον ἐνυάδε λόγος ύπὲρ ὁμοιας, ἤγονῆμενος συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει τούτῳ καὶ5 κρείττον εἶναι μὴ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς μηδένα ἄνθρωπων, ἢκιστα δὲ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τούς ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ ἀστυγείτονας. οὐ μέντοι πρὸς ἐκεῖνος γε ἢλθον οὐδὲ εἶπον φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲν πρὸ τοῦ καταλλαγήναι δημοσίως τῆν πόλιν καὶ φίλους ὠμᾶς γενέσθαι. καίτοι ψήφισμά γε ἑπεμβάνει ἐνδόθη ἐν ἀρχῇ φιλοφρονούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ πολλὰ δικαιὰ μοι

1 πολλοὺς] ἄλλος Emperius.
2 ὁμοὶ Emperius; ὃ μὲν Μ, ὁμοὶ UB.
3 ὅ added by Emperius.
4 ἐμοὶ τὲ Reiske: ἐμογε. 
5 καὶ added by Casaubon.

1 Dio's earlier successes in Rome, his friendship with Nerva, and his eloquent and tactful address before Trajan on the subject of kingship (Or. 1) seem to warrant this modest boast.

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of his city, and countless thousands of guineas were bestowed—not a word of which was true, though for my part I wish it were. For to see many people meeting with success and gaining great favours would never disturb a man of discernment, especially a man who had been the first to encounter such good fortune, and had possibly furnished the precedent for it. For it is quite as if a man were to demand that for him alone the sun should shine, or Zeus send his rain, or the winds blow, or that no one else should be permitted to drink from the springs. On the contrary, being at once most benevolent and most sagacious of all men, the Emperor not only gave me what I asked, but also gave others what they asked.

Well, why have I made all this harangue, when you were considering other matters? Because previously I not only had touched upon this matter, but had also in this place made many speeches in behalf of concord, believing that this was advantageous for the city, and that it was better not to quarrel with any man at all, but least of all, in my opinion, with those who are so close, yes, real neighbours. However, I did not go to them or speak any word of human kindness in anticipation of the official reconciliation of the city and the establishment of your friendship with them. And yet at the very outset they sent me an official resolution expressing their friendship toward me and inviting me to pay them a visit. Furthermore, I had many obligations

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2 Among other things, Dio obtained for Prusa a Council of 100 members (Or. 45. 3). The right to set up court at Prusa may have been obtained later. Cf. § 33.
3 The real reason may have been to disarm his critics.
4 I.e., the Apameians.
5 Upon his return from exile, five years earlier.
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πρὸς αὐτούς ὑπῆρχεν, ὦσπερ ἄλλω των ἐν-
tεῦθεν· ἄλλ' ὁμώς οὐχ ὑπέμενον φιλανθρωπεύ-
θαι καὶ ἦματον, ἄλλα κοινῆ μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς
ἔβουλόμην γενέσθαι φίλος. ὄθεν ὑφεωρώντο, μὲ
καὶ δυσχερῶς εἶχον.

17 Καὶ νῦν πυθόμενος τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ τὴν
φιλίαν ταῦτην πραττομένην, καὶ ψηφισμαένων ὑμῶν ἐμὲ
καλεῖν, ἵσως καὶ ταύτης ἑνέκα τῆς χρέιας—τυχόν
γὰρ ἤλπίζετε κάμοι μεγασχόντος βόων μᾶλλον καὶ
ἀσφαλέστερον ἔσεσθαι πάντα· καίτοι καὶ νῦν ἵσως
οὐ τοῖς παροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ κάμοι νέμοντες τιμὴν
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, λογιζόμενοι καὶ πολύν ὑμέ-
tερον, τυχόν προθυμότεροι γεγόνασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς—
ὁμώς οὐ δούλα ἡπείρθην εὐλαβούμενος μὴ γένη-
tαι τοῦτο ἐμποδῶν οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν
τισι· σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰώθασι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
οὐ τοῖς πραττομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράττουσι φθονεῖν.

18 ἐπεὶ καὶ πέρυσι τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς ἐμὲ
ἐλεγον οἱ προεστώτες αὐτῶν καὶ τότε ἔζην ὑμῖν
ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων· ἄλλ' ὑφεωρώμην ἐγὼ μὴ
tοις τῶν ἐντεῦθεν πρόσαντες γένηται καὶ δυσκόλως
φέρωσι ἐμοὶ πράττοντος αὐτά. καὶ νῦν τοῖνυν
tρόπον τινὰ ἐκὼν ἐβράδυνα. ὡσα μὲν οὖν καὶ δι'
ἐμοῦ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι τῇ
τολεί,

1 ὦσπερ] ὦσπερ οὐκ Geel, ἥσπερ Emperius.
2 οὐ Reiske: ἰ.
3 τοῖνυν added by Crosby.

1 It is plain that envoys from Prusa were already in
Apameia, and seemingly negotiations were not progressing
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toward them, like any other citizen of Prusa; but still I did not undertake to show my goodwill toward them independently, but preferred rather to make friends with them along with you. So they looked upon me with distrust and were displeased.

Besides, at the present moment, although I had heard of the breaking off of hostilities, and that this compact of friendship was being negotiated, and although you had voted to summon me, possibly even for this very business—for you may have expected that everything would be easier to achieve and surer if I participated in it; and in fact even now perhaps by their honouring, not only those who are already in Apameia, but me too along with the others, taking into account that I too am a citizen of yours, they may conceivably have become better disposed toward you—still, for all that, I was in no great haste to come before you, being wary lest my coming might prove a stumbling-block, not to the Apameians, but to some of the men from here. For, it is safe to say, many persons are wont to look with disfavour, not on the business under consideration, but rather on the negotiators. Why, even a year ago the leaders in Apameia were making these proposals to me, and you might at that time have been freed from trouble; yet I had misgivings lest the proposal might prove repugnant to some from here and they might be irritated if I acted in the matter. And so now too I have, as one might say, delayed intentionally. Accordingly, whatever can be accomplished for the city through others as well as through myself I ask to have entrusted to others to suit the administration. We do not know to what honours Dio refers.

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ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι ἂξιῶ μᾶλλον ἐπιτρέπειν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀντιβαίνῃ μηδὲ λυπῆται βασκαίνων. ὅσα δ' οὖν ῥάδιον ὑπ' ἄλλου τῶν ἐντεῦθεν πραγματεύει, τυχόν δὲ καὶ λιῶν χαλεπῶν, ἠγείρον πρὸς ἐκεῖνοι άει με
19 τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν μέχριν ἄν ἔμπνευ. καὶ μὴν ὅστις ἄν προθυμηθῇ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ δύνη-
ται τι ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς συμφέρον, ἐμὲ πρὸς εἰς ἐξειτὴν πρὸς εἰς ἐξειτήν πρὸς τὸν μαρτυροῦντα καὶ συναγωγοῦμενον, καὶ τὸ
ἄτο πράγμα, ὅ γέγραμεν ὀρθὸν, πολὺ ἄν ἦδιον ἐπισέσασαι καὶ προθυμήσεως ἄλλου πράττοντος ἢ
αὐτοῦ εἰσηγοῦμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐδοκιμεῖν βουλό-
μενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπισωστῆσαι ἀπορὸν οὐδ' ἐπιθυμία
δόξης, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοία βουλομαι γίγνε-
οθαῖ τι τῶν δεόντων, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι
γηρῶν ὡς πλείστους ἐπιδεῖν ἰκανοτέρους ἐμοῦ τὴν
πόλιν ὁμελεῖν.
20 Καὶ νῦν ύπέρ τουτοῦ ἐπαινῶ τὸν τε ἄρχοντα καὶ
τὸν εἰσηγησάμενον. πάσα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐποίειν ἔχθρα καὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς ὄντων γυναικών ἐργῶ-
δες καὶ δυσχερῶς καὶ πόλει καὶ ἱδιώτη, καὶ ὅπω-
σον τύχων διακείμενον. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς ἰκανὸν ἔξελέγξαι καὶ ταπείνωσαι πρὸς τοῖς οὕσι
χαλεποῖς καὶ τοῖς εὖ πράττοντας ἐνοχλήσω καὶ
ταράξαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν. οἴθεν οὖς νοῦν ἔχοντες
ἀφοῦνται φέρειν ἐλαττούμενοι τὰ μέτρα καὶ μὴ

1 καὶ added by Reiske.

1 Sections 1-15 make very evident the bitterness with which some of Dio's fellow citizens looked upon him. He assures us that they formed only a minority, and Dio seems always to have retained popular support. Not only his 126.
preferably, so that no one may make opposition or be offended because of malice toward me. On the other hand, anything which cannot easily be achieved by any one else from here, but which is possibly very difficult to achieve at all, you may be sure always has my lively interest as long as I draw the breath of life. Nay more, whoever is enthusiastic in matters concerning the city and has the ability to accomplish anything to your advantage will find me the first to bear him witness and to lend a hand in his endeavour, and I would much more gladly, yes, more eagerly, praise the same enterprise, provided it be upright, if some one else were active in it than if I myself were its moving spirit. For it is not from a desire to be popular or because I lack men to praise me or because of a craving for notoriety, but rather because of my goodwill toward you, that I wish whatever is needful to come to pass, and I pray to all the gods that, as I grow old, I may behold the greatest possible number of men more competent than myself to benefit the city.

And now in this enterprise I praise both the official in charge and the man who made the motion. For practically every enmity, every disagreement arising in connexion with any person at all, is a vexatious thing and unpleasant for both state and private citizen, no matter how they may be situated. For enmity can not only expose and humiliate the weak, to say nothing of the hardships they have already, but also annoy those who are prosperous and distress their spirits. Therefore sensible persons prefer to submit to defeat in ordinary matters and personal prestige but also his peculiarly close connexion with Apameia made him valuable at the moment.
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

σφόδρα ἂκριβῶς περιέχεσθαι τῶν δικαίων ἡ φιλονικούντες ἐγ' ἐκάστῳ καὶ μηδενι μηδὲν εἰκονεῖ ἀεὶ τινας ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ πολεμοῦντας, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῦς εὐτυχήμασι νεμεσώντας καὶ καθ' ὃς ὅσον ὁιὸ τέ εἰσαι ἐμποδῶν ἰσταμένους, τοῦτο δὲ, ἂν συμβῇ τι πταίσαι—πολλὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐν 21 ἀνθρώποις, τὰ γιγνόμενα—χαιροῦντας καὶ ἐπιτιθεμένους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστων οὐδεὶς ἀσθενὴς οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος τὴν φύσιν, ἀνθρώπος ἢ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ὃς οὐ τυγχάνει καιροῦ τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ τὸ μέσος ἡ καθ' αὐτῶν ἡ σὺν ἔτεροι καὶ λόγον τινὰ εἰπεῖν, ὃ πάντως ἐλύπησε, καὶ πράγμα συνθέωνοι τὸ βλάψον. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόσημα οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀναίσθητον τοὺς ἔχουσιν ὡς μεθὲς πρὸς βλάψι μηδὲ ἐμπόδων γενέσθαι μηδεμᾶς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐγρηγοροῖ καὶ βαδίζοντι μὴ σφόδρα ἐνοχλητή τὴν ἑσχύντων σώματος, εἰς γε τὴν κοίτην ἀπήντησε καὶ διασπά καὶ διαφθείρει τὸν ὑπνόν.

22 Ὡς ἔγωγε φημι μηδέποτε λυσιτελεῖν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ φιλονικεῖν μηδὲ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει πρὸς τὴν βραχυτάτην κόμην· όταν δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἡ πόλιν οἰκοῦντας οὐ σμικραν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόνοι τιμὴν τινα καὶ δύναμιν, ἔιν σωφρονῶσι—δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν τάληθῆ καὶ μὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν ἐὰν τις ἐτέρους ἐπανή βουλόμενος ὑμᾶς ὀφελεῖν—τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ὁμόρους καὶ ἀστυγείτονας καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ

1 ἡ added by Reiske.  
2 τὰ added by Reiske.  
3 οὐ added by Casaubon.
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to be not too precise in defending their rights, rather than, by quarrelling over every matter and never making any concessions to any one, always to have persons plotting against them and making war on them, persons who feel resentment at their good fortune and, so far as they are able, try to stand in the way of it, and who, on the other hand, if any reverse should take place—and many are the reverses which do occur, as is natural among men—rejoice and seize the opportunity to attack. For there is no one so weak or impotent by nature, man for man, who does not chance upon some opportunity to display his malice and hatred, either alone or in conjunction with others, and to make some statement by which he is certain to cause pain, or to contrive some situation sure to cause injury. Similarly there is no disease so imperceptible to those afflicted with it as never to do harm or become a hindrance to some activity, but even if it does not greatly hamper the strength of a man while awake and walking, at least it confronts him when he goes to bed and causes him distraction and destroys his slumber.

So I claim it is never profitable even for the greatest city to indulge in hostility and strife with the humblest village; but of course when the hostility is directed against men who occupy no small city, who have a superior form of government, and who, if they are prudent, enjoy a measure of distinction and influence with the proconsuls 1—for you must hear the truth and not be vexed if a man praises others in his desire to benefit you—men who, above all, share your borders, are neighbours to

1 Apameia occupied a position of distinction in Bithynia, being a Roman colony (Or. 41. 9).
καθ’ ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ὅμων ἐπιμνημένους, τούτῳ μὲν τοῖς πλείστους ἐπιγαμίας ὑπαρχούσης, τούτῳ δὲ πολιτῶν τινῶν, καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν δυνατωτῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν, τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνους τιμῆς τετυχηκότων—πῶς χρή ταύτην ἀλυπον καὶ ἀβλαβῆ τὴν ἔχθραν ὑπολαμβάνειν;

23 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη με λέγειν ὡς ἄρα χρή τελέως ὑποπεσεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνων προαιρομένων δίκαιον μηδὲ ἐπιεικές αὐτοὺς δείσθαι καὶ παρακάλεῖν αἱρομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προθυμομένων ἐκς φιλίας, ἑτοιμότεροι πρὸς τούτῳ φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν φιλονεκίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μετενεγκεῖν πολὺ κάλλιον, ὅπως αὐτοὶ ἐγνωμονεύσετεροι φανησόμεθα καὶ μᾶλλον καταφρονοῦντες χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ πλείονος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχρῶν ἐστὶ λείπεσθαι τοῖς διὰ τὸ μίσος ἔργοις καὶ τῇ Δίᾳ τοῖς πρὸς ἔχθραν ὡς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς μετριότητος καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνως ἡπτώμενος κυνονεύει λαβεῖν δόξαν ἀσθενεῖας, ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτοις σκαῖτητος καὶ φιλονεκίας. ὅσῳ δὴ κρείττον ἀσθενὴ δόξα ἑλλόν ἡ ποιητῶν, τοσοῦτῳ βέλτιον ὑπερεῖρον εἶναι μαχομένους ἡ διαλαττομένους.

24 Εἰκὸτα ἐς αὐτὸν προσέχοντε τὸν νοῦν μᾶλλον ἐτέρων, τυχόν μὲν καὶ ἄλλας, ἔτι δὲ κάκεινο σκοπούντες ὅτι μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ μοι διαφέρει, μηδὲ ὀχλητῶν των ἄκινων ἡ διαιτὴν ἐμαυτοῦ διὰ τούτῳ ἀμελῶ

1 After προθυμομένων Arnim adds τὰ.
2 αὐτοῖς Emperius: αὐτοῖς.

1 This was true of both Dio and his father, though doubtless of others too. However, humility was not a Greek virtue.
2 The quarrel would seem to have involved material interests.
your city, and mingle with you almost every day, most of you being bound to them by ties of marriage, while some citizens, yes, virtually the most influential citizens among us, have obtained the honour of citizenship with them—how in these circumstances should we regard this hostility as causing no pain and doing no harm?

And let no one imagine that I mean we should be wholly submissive, and that when they are not at all just or fair in their policies we should beg and entreat them; nay, but when they choose friendship and display an eagerness for it, to show ourselves more favourable to this policy and to transfer the rivalry growing out of our disagreement to this alternative course is far more creditable, a course whose aim is to make it plain that we ourselves are more reasonable and more scornful of wealth and personal advantage. For it is not so disgraceful to prove inferior in actions prompted by hatred and, by Heaven, in those which provoke enmity as it is in those which are inspired by a spirit of moderation and benevolence. For while he who is overcome in the one is likely to gain a reputation for mere weakness, in the other it will be for boorishness and contentiousness. Indeed, the better it is to be deemed weak rather than base, so much the more preferable is it to be tardy in making war rather than in making peace.

Now there may be other grounds also on which you might with reason pay heed to me rather than to those others, but that is especially true because you observe that I have no private interest and am not disposed through any dread of annoyance or expense on my part to disregard the course which is becoming
τοῦ πρέποντος ὑμῖν. ὅτι γάρ με οὐκ ἐνοχλήσετε μὴ βουλόμενον οὐδὲ κελεύσετε ἀποδημεῖν ὥσπερ ἣδη πολὺν χρόνον ἔχοντα παρ’ ὑμῖν, ἐπίστασαι σαφῶς—ἀλλὰς τε οὐκ ἀσχολούμενος ἐγὼ νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν οὐδὲ τούτον ἀποδημῶν τὸν τρόπον—ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἔφην, βέλτιον ἡγοῦμαι πάσιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν, μήτε ἀναρείσθαι βαδίσω ἐξ- θραν μὴ σφόδρα ἀναγκαίαν, τἀς τε πρότερον οὕσας καταλύσεις πάντα τρόπον, ἢν ἔς δυνατόν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ διαφέρουσα τις βλάβην μείζονα ἡγομένους 26 τῆς παρὰ1 τἀς διαλύσεις ξημίας. πᾶσα γάρ, ὡς φασώ, εἰρήνη κρείττων πολέμου, καὶ πᾶσα φιλία πολὺ ἀμείνων καὶ λυσιτελεστέρα τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἔχθρας, καὶ ἰδία τοῖς οὐκοίς καὶ δημοσίᾳ τάς πόλεις. εἰρήνη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁμονοία τοὺς χρωμένους οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐξελάμψει, ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ φιλο- νικία θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἀνήκεστα καὶ μεγάλα. καὶ τῆς μὲν ὁμονοίας τὸ τε ὅνομα εὐφήμιον ἢ τε πειρὰ ἀρίστη καὶ λυσιτελεστάτη πάσι στάσε- ως δὲ καὶ διαφορᾶς σκυθρωστή μὲν ἡ προσηγορία καὶ δυσχερῆς, πολὺ δὲ χείρω2 τὰ ἔργα καὶ σκυθρω- πότερα. καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐνεσττι3 καὶ ἀκοῦσαί4 πολλὰ τῶν ἄβουλητων καὶ πράξει καὶ παθεῖν. 27 Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐγγυῶς οὕτως καὶ ὁμόροις διαφορὰ καὶ τὸ μίσος οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ5 ἐσκευὴ ἢ στάσει μιᾶς πόλεως,

1 parà Reiske: peri.
2 After χείρω Arnim deletes καί.
3 ἐνεσττι Crosby, posěi Arnim: ἐστι.
4 After ἀκοῦσαι Boissonade deletes καί.
5 οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ Reiske: οὐδὲν ἄλλο. 132
to you. For I know full well you will not trouble me against my wishes, or order me to go abroad as if I had already made too long a stay in Prusa—and besides, I do not believe I can assist you by sacrificing my leisure or by going abroad in this manner—however, as I was saying, I consider it better for men in general, and not merely for you, both to refrain from entering lightly into an enmity which is not extremely necessary and also by every means possible to put an end to enmities already existing, recognizing that the damage resulting from quarrelling with any people is greater than the loss incident to the reconciliation. For any peace, so they say, is better than war, and any friendship is far better and more profitable for men of right judgement than enmity, not only individually for our families, but also collectively for our cities. For peace and concord have never damaged at all those who have employed them, whereas it would be surprising if enmity and contentiousness were not very deadly, very mighty evils. Moreover, while concord is a word of good omen, and to make trial of it is most excellent and profitable for all, strife and discord are forbidding and unpleasant words even to utter, and much worse are their deeds and more forbidding. For the fact is, strife and discord involve saying and hearing said many things one might wish to avoid, and doing and experiencing them too.

But the wrangling and hatred of men who are such near neighbours, yes, who share common borders, is like nothing else than insurrection in a single city,

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1 He had but recently returned from his mission to Rome.  
2 i.e., on a mission.  
3 In §§ 20-22.  
4 He develops this thought at greater length in § 32.
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ὅπως καὶ γάμων κοινωνία πολλοῖς καὶ συμβολαίων καὶ τὸ ἄφικενθάνατο παρ' ἄλληλοις σχεδόν τι καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ συγγενεῖς εἶναι καὶ συνήθεις καὶ ἐνῶν τρόπων τινὰ ἄλληλοις ἁπαντας. παροικούσα δὲ πόλεις ἑχαρά καὶ δυσμενής λυπηρόν πάντα τρόπων καὶ δυσομίλητην, ὥστερ εὖνοις καὶ 28 φίλη συμφέρον καὶ ἀγάπητον. ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ διὸ μὲν ἣδιον ἀποδημεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πέλας οἰκείως ἔχοντας ἀλλὰ μὴ ἑχθρῶς, διὸ γὰρ βέλτιον τοὺς ἐπιεξουμένους ὑποδέχεσθαι χωρίς ὑποψίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεῶν ἐορτάσι καὶ θέασι ὅσως κρείττον καὶ σωφρονέστερον ἀναιμίγνυσθαι συνθύνονται ἄλληλοις καὶ συνενυμομένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ 29 τοῦναντίον καταρωμένου καὶ βλασφημοῦντας. αἰ δὲ ἐπιβοῆσεις ἐκατέρω τοῦ πλήθους ἐν τοῖς σταυρίνοις καὶ τοὺς θεάτρους πόσον διαφέρουσι μετὰ ἐπαίνων γιγανόμενοι καὶ πολλῆς εὐφημίας τῶν μετὰ μίσους καὶ λοιδορίας; οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιευκών οὐδὲ πόλεων σωφρόνων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπαιρῶν ἀσχημόνων ἀπὸ οἰκήματος ἐκατέρας ὑοδέν αἰσχυνομένων ῥήμα ἀκόλαστον εἰπεῖν, ἢ φησιν Ὀμήρος.

αἱ τε χολωμάσσειν ἀγορῆς ἡ μέσσον ἱσότα τεικεύοι ἄλληλησι, χόλος δὲ τε καὶ τα κελεύει.

1 ἐκατέρας ἢ καὶ ἄγορας Jacobs.

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1 The close relationship between city and city is emphasized also in the plea which Dio makes for concord with Nicæa (Or. 38. 22).
2 The ancient traveller was largely dependent on private hospitality.
3 Aristophanes portrays just such a scene in Ecclesiazusæ 877-937.
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since many have ties both of marriage and of business, and there is almost daily visiting back and forth, and the inhabitants are all related and intimate and, as one might say, on terms of hospitality with one another. But a neighbouring city that is at enmity and ill disposed is a grievous thing in every way and hard to get along with, even as a city that is well disposed and friendly is beneficial and much to be desired. Furthermore, consider how much more pleasant it is to visit one’s neighbours when they are on terms of intimacy and not of hostility, and how much better it is for those who are entertained away from home to be received without distrust, and how much better and more sensible it is at the common religious gatherings and festivals and spectacles to mingle together, joining with one another in common sacrifice and prayer, rather than the opposite, cursing and abusing one another. And how different are the shouts of the partisans of each of two cities in the stadium and the theatre, when uttered in praise and generous acclamation, from the cries which are uttered in hatred and abuse! For these outbursts are not for reasonable men or well-behaved cities, but rather for indecent harlots, who are not at all ashamed to utter licentious phrases, each from her respective chamber, as Homer puts it,

Who in a rage to mid-assembly go
And bandy insults, so their choler bids.  

4 The words of Aeneas to Achilles, *Iliad* 20. 252-255, are:

αἰ τε γολισάμεναι ἐριδος πέρι θυμοβόροις

νεικεῦσ' ἀλλήλης μέσην ἐσ ἄγιας λόθαι,

πολλά τ' ἑωτα καὶ οὐκί χόλος δὲ τε καὶ τὰ κελεύει.

Has Dio forgotten the passage, or purposely compressed it, or is he recording a variant version?

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30 πόσου δ' ἡ ταυτά ἐστι τὸ μὴ πάσχειν; πόσω δὲ πλείονος τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν; ποίον δ' ἂν τοσοῦτο γένοιτο χρημάτων πλῆθος ἡ χώρας μέγεθος ἀνθ' ὁ προσήκει τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντικαταλαξάσθαι τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν εὐθύμων, τὸ πρεπόντως μὲν θέασθαι, προθύμως δὲ ἀποδημεῖν; καὶ μὴν τὰ γε τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ τῶν ὅρων ἐξ ἀπαντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνάγει καὶ μὴ βουλημένοις ἀναγκάζει χρῆσασθαι ἀλλήλοις. ἐκεῖνοι τε γὰρ δέονται τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ὕλης καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐσαγαγόμεθα δὲ ἑτέρου λιμένος οὔτε ἐκπέμψαμε τὰ γυγνόμενα παρ' ἡμῖν.

31 Πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἀπαντών δυστυχέστατον ὑμεῖσθαι μὲν ἕκαστους παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ φίλων, ἀποδίδοσθαι δὲ τοὺς μισοῦσι, κατάγεσθαι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς βαρυμομένους, ὑποδέχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς, συνεστιάσθη δὲ ἐνίοτε τοὺς ἀλλοτριώτατος· εὰν δὲ πλοίον τις ἐπιβαίνῃ, σαφῶς εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἀπαντᾶς καταρμένους· τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀγδέστατον ὁράμα ἐχθρῶν, τούτο ἄει ποτὲ ὅραν καὶ πλέοντας καὶ βαδίζοντας, καὶ τούτους ἀεὶ πλείστους κατὰ τὰς ὄδους ἀπαντῶν, πονηρῶν καὶ δυσχερῆ σύμβολον, ὡστε πάντως εἰσόντα

1 πόσου Selden : πόσω.
2 πόσω δ' Emperius : δὴν δή.
3 θέασθαι Reiske : θεάσομαι.
4 After βουλημένοις Emperius adds καί.
5 ἡμῶν Arnim : υμῶν.

1 A glance at the map would clarify this statement. Prusa lay close beneath the northern slopes of Mystian Olympus, 136
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How much, then, is it worth to avoid experiencing these things? How much more to avoid inflicting them on others? What amount of money or extent of territory would be such as to warrant sensible men in bartering therefor the seemingly language of their daily lives, their becoming conduct at spectacles, and their readiness to go abroad? Furthermore, the very land and sea and mountains in every way bring you people together and, even if you did not wish it, compel you to deal with one another.¹ For not only do the Åpaméians need our timber and many other things as well, but we ourselves have no other harbour through which to import foreign goods or to export our own domestic products.

Is it not, then, most unfortunate that each should have to buy from men who are not friends and sell to men who hate them, to enter the port of men who are irked at their presence, to afford hospitality to men who revile them, and at times to recline at a banquet next to men who are most hostile to them; if one takes passage on a ship, to know clearly that both the skipper and all his crew are muttering curses at him; and to have ever before one's eyes, whether sailing or walking, the most distasteful sight of all, that of enemies, and always to encounter such persons in greatest numbers on one's travels—an evil and disagreeable omen ²—as the result of which one is absolutely sure to have said something disagreeable or to have heard it said about himself as while Åpaméia lay a short distance northwest on the shore of the Sinus Gians. Dio's reference to the mountains is most appropriate, since it was the mountains that produced the timber which he mentions as a most important article of export.

¹ Chance meetings and sayings were regarded as omens.

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32 τι παρελθεῖν ἡ ἀκούσαντα δυσχερές; ὥστε ἔγονε ἐνεθυμούμην πολλάκις τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθίαν καὶ διαφθοράν, ὅτι τῶν σφόδρα ἄδεξον καὶ φαυλοτάτων ζῶων χείρους εἰσὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου πολλάκις ἐνυχόντες ἄλληλοις μάχονται καὶ λοιδορηθέντες ἀπίασιν. οἱ δὲ μύρμηκες οὕτω πυκνοὶ βαδίζοντες οὐδέποτε ἡνώχλησαν ἄλληλοις, ἀλλὰ πάνω πράσιν ἐνυγχάνονσι καὶ παρλασι πολλοὶ καὶ βοηθοῦσιν ἄλληλοις.

33 Καὶ μὴ τὸ νῦν συμβεβηκός περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τὸ μὲν ἄληθές ἀπεται πολλῶν καὶ κυκεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας, ὅτι δὴ τὰς θέκες ὑμεῖς ἀπόδεχοντες καὶ παρ ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη κρίνεσθαι. χρὴ δὲ δὴ αὐτὸ μᾶλλον φιλανθρώπως ἔχειν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιφάνειαν. αὐτίκα πρέσβεις οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα πόθεν ἀπίασι; οὐκ ἐκεῖθεν; οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἔχθεστων ἀναχθήσονται πλέοντες καὶ χρῆσονται τῷ λιμένι τῆς ἐχθρᾶς πόλεως; ἡ κύκλω περίασιν, ὥσπερ χάλεπης καὶ ἀβάτου τῆς ἐγγύς ἡμῶν βαλάττης; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον διαφερομένους πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ταῦτα ἧγομισα χαλεπώτερα καὶ βαρύτερα τοῦ λαβόντας ὁπλα βαδίζων εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡ προσβάλλει τοὺς τείχεσιν ἡ τὰ 34 δένδρα κόπτειν ἡ τῶν καρπῶν πῦρ ἐνέναι. τούτων

1 Emperius deleted ὥστε... δυσχερές.
2 παρίασι παρίασι Cobet.
3 After αὐτίκα Arnim adds οἱ.
4 λαβόντας Casaubon: λαβόντος.

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1 The animal kingdom, and especially the ants, provided Dio with his most effective illustrations. Cf., e.g., §§ 40-41.
2 Cf. § 10 and note. It would seem that Prusa’s judicial authority was a recent acquisition.
he passes by? So I have often reflected on the folly and the corruption of mankind, noting that men are spiritually inferior to the most despised and meanest creatures. For human beings often come to blows on meeting one another, and before they part they have exchanged abusive language; yet the ants, although they go about in such swarms, never bother one another, but quite amicably meet and pass and assist each other.\(^1\)

Again, that which has now come to pass regarding our city in truth touches intimately many people and irritates without exception those who are not from Prusa, because it is you who hear their law-suits and it is in your city that they must stand trial\(^2\); but you ought on that account to be the more gracious and not make yourselves obnoxious. For example, from what place will envoys chosen for this function\(^3\) set out? Will it not be from Apameia? Will they not set out on their voyage from the shores of their bitterest foes, and use the harbour of the enemy's city? Or will they make a detour around it, as if the sea at our doors were difficult and inaccessible? As for me, I believe that those also who in days gone by were at variance with their neighbours found such incidents harder to bear and more grievous than that people should take up arms and invade their country or attack their fortifications or cut down their trees or set fire to their crops. For although, in my opinion, such actions are hard

\(^1\) Possibly τούτο τὸ πρᾶγμα may refer to the negotiations over reconciliation with Apameia; but we have no other evidence that those negotiations involved a voyage—presumably to Rome—and it seems more likely that Dio means the "function" of envoy and is thinking, not of the immediate situation, but of a situation regularly present.
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γάρ, ομοιώς, χαλεπών οντων, τῶν παντὶ χαλεπώτερὸν ἐστιν, ἄφι ὡς γίγνεται, τὸ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ μίσους. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ φανταζόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πράγματος ωφελίμων οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρηστόν. ὲ τε γὰρ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς καρπὸς ἀπάντων πικρότατος καὶ δρμύτατος, ὠσπερ, ομοιώς, τοῦντιν ὁ τῆς εὐνοίας ἰδιότατος καὶ λυσιτελέστατος. το γὰρ μῆδε· ποτε οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μηδὲ παραχωρεῖν τῷ πλησίον, λέγω δὲ χωρὶς αἰσχύνης, μηδὲ τῶν μὲν τυγχάνειν αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ παριέναι τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐκ ἀνδρεύον ἐστιν, ὥσπερ οἶονταί γίνεσθαι τινες, οὐδὲ μεγαλόφρον, ἀλλ' ἀνόητον καὶ ἁμαθές.

35 Οὖν ὁρᾶτε τοῦ ἐξήμπαντος οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θείων καὶ μακαρίων αἰώνιων τάξεων καὶ ὁμόνοιας καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἃστε οὕτως καλλιοῦν οὕτε σεμνότερον οὐδὲν οἶόν τ' ἐπινόησαι; πρὸς δὲ αὐτῶν λεγόμενων στοιχείων, ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ θάνατος καὶ πυρὸς, τὴν ἀσφαλίη καὶ δικαιὰν 6 αἰῶνος ἀρμονίαν, μεθ' δόσης εὐγνωμοσύνης καὶ μετριότητος διαμένειν πέφυκεν αὐτά τε σωζόμενα καὶ σώζοντα τὸν 6 ἀπαντα κόσμου; σκοπεῖτε γάρ, εἰ καὶ τοῖς δόξει μετέωρος ὁ λόγος καὶ οὕτω πάνω τι υμῶν συμπαθής, ὅτι ταύτα πεφυκότα ἀφθαρτα καὶ θεία καὶ τοῦ πρῶτου καὶ μεγάλου γνώμη καὶ δυνάμει κυβερνώμενα θεοὺ τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας σύζευσαι φιλεῖ, τὰ τε ἱσχυρότερα καὶ μείζων καὶ τὰ ἐλάστων ὁ δ' δοκοῦντα.

1  οὐδὲν added by Reiske.
2 ἀπάντων Reiske: ἀπὸ πάντων.
3 πικρότατος U: μικρότατος M, σμικρότατος B.
4 After αὐτοῦς Arnim would add ἄξιοιν.
5 After ὁρᾶτε Arnim would add τὴν.
6 καὶ added by Reiske.
7 ὁ δ' Emperius: δὲ.

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to bear, altogether harder to bear are the passions of enmity and hatred which cause them. For from such activity as this nothing beneficial or useful can ever possibly come to pass. For the fruit of enmity is most bitter of all and most stinging, just as, methinks, its opposite, the fruit of goodwill, is most palatable and profitable. For the unwillingness ever to yield or make concessions to our neighbour—that is, without a feeling of humiliation—or while receiving some things ourselves, to concede some to the others, is not manly conduct, as some imagine, but, on the contrary, senseless and stupid.

Do you not see in the heavens as a whole and in the divine and blessed beings that dwell therein an order and concord and self-control which is eternal, than which it is impossible to conceive of anything either more beautiful or more august? Furthermore, do you not see also the stable, righteous, everlasting concord of the elements, as they are called—air and earth and water and fire—with what reasonableness and moderation it is their nature to continue, not only to be preserved themselves, but also to preserve the entire universe? For even if the doctrine will seem to some an airy fancy and one possessing no affinity at all with yourselves, you should observe that these things, being by nature indestructible and divine and regulated by the purpose and power of the first and greatest god, are wont to be preserved as a result of their mutual friendship and concord for ever, not only the more powerful and greater, but also those reputed to be the

1 The planets.
2 The word "affinity" was a technical term of the Stoics, whose philosophy occupies Dio from here to the end.

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ταύτης δὲ τῆς κοινωνίας διαλυθείσης καὶ στάσεως ἐπιγενομένης ὧν οὕτως ἀνώλεθρος οὐδὲ ἀφθαρτὸς οὐτῶν ἡ φύσις ὦστε μὴ ταραχθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀμή-χανόν τε καὶ ἀπιστὸν, ὡς φασίν, ὑπομείναι φθορὰν 37 ἐκ τοῦ οντὸς εἰς τὸ μὴ ὁν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ λεγομένη παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἐπικράτησις αἰθέρος, ἐν ὧν τὸ βασιλείον καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχικῆς δυνά-μεως ὃν ὑπὸ ἀποτρέπονται πῦρ ὑδατοποιεῖ τοὺς πολ-λάκις, ὡς τέ καὶ πράσις γυνομένη ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τεταγμένοις, μετὰ πάσης φιλίας καὶ ὑμνωμέα ἐοικε συμβαίνει. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεξία καὶ δια-φορά παρανόμως γυνομένη τὸν ἐσχατὸν ἔχει κώ-νων ὁλόθρου, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐτοτε ἐσομένῳ διὰ τὸ πάσαν εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα δουλεύει καὶ ἐνα-κολοθεῖν εὕρωμον νόμῳ πειθόμενα καὶ εἴκοντα.

38 Οὐχ ὡστε τούτῳ μὲν ἡλιον νυκτὶ μεθυστάμενον καὶ παρέχοντα ἀνατείλαι τοῖς ἀφανεστέροις ἀσ-τροῖς, τοῦτο δὲ σελήνην ἔσωντα καταλάμβανε τὴν ἀπασχ θέου ἐν ἐρήμῳ τοῦ κρείττονος φωτὸς; τούτο δὲ ἀναμένει ὑποχυρωνύμητα ἡλίων καὶ μηδὲν ἤγονεν πάσχειν μηδὲ ἀπόλλυσθαι διὰ τὴν ἑκεί-νου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑδαμαί; τούτῳ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸν ἡλίον περὶ μέσην εἰνοῦτε ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦμεν σελήνης ἐπιδραμούσῃς, ἢ τὸ φῶς αὐτὸς δίδωσι, πολλάκις γε μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσθενεστῶν νεφῶν ἀποκρυπτώ-μενον ἡ τινος ἀραίας διὰ θαλάς περὶ τε λίμνας καὶ ποταμοὺς ἱσταμένης, ὡς ἐσθ’ ὅτε μὲν εἰργεσθαὶ

1 βασιλείαν] βασιλεῦον Arnim.
2 δὲ] δ Arnim.
4 ἐσομένου] ἑσομένου Arnim.
5 τούτῳ δὲ] καὶ Arnim.
6 ἀπόλλυσθαι] ἀδικεῖσθαι Herwerden.
THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE

weaker. But were this partnership to be dissolved and to be followed by sedition, their nature is not so indestructible or incorruptible as to escape being thrown into confusion and being subjected to what is termed the inconceivable and incredible destruction, from existence to non-existence. For the predominance of the ether of which the wise men speak—the ether wherein the ruling and supreme element of its spiritual power they often do not shrink from calling fire—taking place as it does with limitation and gentleness within certain appointed cycles, occurs no doubt with entire friendship and concord. On the other hand, the greed and strife of all else, manifesting itself in violation of law, contains the utmost risk of ruin, a ruin destined never to engulf the entire universe for the reason that complete peace and righteousness are present in it and all things everywhere serve and attend upon the law of reason, obeying and yielding to it.

For example, do you not observe how the sun gives place to night, permitting the more obscure heavenly bodies to rise and shine, and again how it allows the moon to flood with light the whole earth during the absence of the greater luminary? And again, how the stars make way for the sun and do not feel they are being mistreated or destroyed through that god's power? And again, how the sun sometimes about mid-day is darkened when the moon passes over it—the moon to which he himself gives his light—and furthermore, how the sun often is hidden by the most tenuous clouds or by some thin vapour arising near ponds and rivers, so that at times the sun is completely shut in, while at other times

\[\text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{τοῦ \θεοῦ} \text{deleted by Arnim.}\]
παντελῶς, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀδρανῇ τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ λεπτὴν διαπέμπειν; τούτῳ δὲ τῶν πλανωμένων ἀστρῶν τὴν ἀπαντητὸν χορεῖαν, ἀ μηδέποτε ἄλληλοις ἐμ- ποδῶν ἵσταται; πρὸς δὲ αὕ γῆ μὲν τὴν κατωτάτω χώραν λαχοῦσα ὑπομένει, καθάπερ ἔρμα νεώς, ὢδωρ δὲ περὶ ταύτῃ κεχυμένου, ὑπερθεν δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἀήρ μαλακὸς τε καὶ εὐπνοις, ὃ δὲ ἀνωτάτω καὶ ξύμπαντα ἔχων αἰθήρ πυρὸς θείου κύκλῳ περιδραμόντος αὐτοῖς. καὶ ταύτα μὲν, οὕτως ἰσχυρά καὶ μεγάλα, τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν ἀνέχεται καὶ διατελεῖ χωρίς ἔχθρας. μικρὰ δὲ οὕτω πολίχνια τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔθνη ἀσθενῆ κατοικοῦνται ἐν μέρει τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται τὴν ἰσο- χίαν ἄγεων οὐδὲ ἄθορυβως ἄλληλοις γειτνιαν;

40 Ἀλλ᾽ ὅρισθε μὲν ἐγγὺς ἄλληλῶν ποιησάμενοι νεοττᾶς οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύοντον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ διαφέρον- ται περὶ τροφῆς καὶ φρυγάνων, οὐδὲ μύριμχες πλησίον ὅπας ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄλω πολλάκις εἰσφέρομενοι σῶτον, ἀλλὰ παραχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ὄδων ἐκτρέπονται καὶ συνεργάζονται πολλάκ- κις, οὐδὲ ἐσμοὶ πλείονες μελητῶν, ἐνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νεμόμενοι λειμώνα, τῶν ἔργων ἀμελήσαντες

41 περὶ τῶν ἀνθών τῆς ὁρῶς διαφέρονται. καὶ μὴν ἀγέλαι βοῶν τε καὶ ὄππων ἀναμιχθεῖσαι πολλάκις ἄθορυβως καὶ πράς νέμονται, ὡστε μίαν εἰς ἀμ- φοῖν ἀγέλην ὀρᾶσθαι· ἐτὶ δὲ αὐτόλια καὶ ποῖμα συμμιχθέντα ἐπὶ νομῆς καὶ ἑμερεύοντα ῥαδίως

1 ἀστρῶν Emperius: ἀστέρων.
2 καὶ ἔθνη Reiske: ἔθνη καί.
3 καὶ added by Emperius.
4 αὐτοῖς Emperius: αὐτοῖς.
5 Βοῶν τε Smyth: τε βοῶν.

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it sends its ray through the vapour thin and feeble? And again, the ceaseless circling dance of the planets, which never get in each other’s way? Moreover, the earth is content with having drawn the lowest place, like a ship's prop, and the water with having been poured about it, and, above them both is the atmosphere, soft and fresh, and, highest of all and all-embracing, is the ether, a divine fire encompassing the others.¹ Now if these beings, strong and great as they are, submit to their partnership with one another and continue free from hostility, cannot such puny, petty towns of ordinary mortals, such feeble tribes dwelling in a mere fraction of the earth, maintain peace and quiet and be neighbours to one another without uproar and disturbance?

Why, birds make their nests near each other, yet do not plot against each other or quarrel over food and twigs; and ants do not quarrel either, though they have their burrows close together, often carrying home grain from the same threshing-floor, but instead they make way for each other and turn off the trail and co-operate frequently; no more do several swarms of bees, though they range over the same meadow, neglect their labours and wrangle over the nectar of the flowers. What is more, herds of cattle and droves of horses often mingle in the pasture and graze quietly and tranquilly, insomuch that to the eye the two breeds form but a single group. And again, goats and sheep which have mingled in the pasture and passed the day together

¹ With the Stoic doctrine contained in §§ 35-39 cf. Or. 36. 29-31 and the "myth of the Magi" used to reinforce it in Or. 36. 39-60.

⁶ καὶ ἡμερεύσαντα ἡμερεύσαντα Reiske.
καὶ πρῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νομέων διεκρίθησαν. ἂνθρωποὶ δὲ βοσκημάτων καὶ θηρίων χείρους, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰ πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἄλληλοις. ἀ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐποίησεν εὐνοίας ἑνεκα, ταῦτα ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἐχθραὶ καὶ μίσους αὕτια γεγονόμενα. αὐτίκα ἡ πρῶτη καὶ μεγίστη φιλία γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας.

¹ This sentence may well be an interpolation, for the thought contained in it does not harmonize completely with its context.
are easily and gently separated by their keepers.\footnote{1} However, human beings are worse than cattle and creatures of the wild, it would seem, in regard to friendship and partnership with one another. For what Nature has done in the cause of friendship\footnote{2} turns out, as we can see, to be a source of enmity and hatred. For example, the first and highest friendship is that of parents toward children.\footnote{3} . . .

\footnote{2} I.e., by bringing groups of human beings into close contact with each other.

\footnote{3} Whether or not this sentence is complete in itself, the peroration plainly has been broken off abruptly.
THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE:
TO THE APAMEIANS ON CONCORD

This short address constitutes the sequel to Or. 40, which it must have followed closely in point of time. Dio is speaking before the Council of Apameia as a member of the official delegation from Prusa sent to conclude the reconciliation which forms the theme of both speeches. That the question was of widespread interest is shown by the presence in the audience of others than members of the Council (§ 1).

The first half of the address is aimed at dispelling the distrust and hostility toward Dio occasioned by his seeming indifference to the Apameians in the past. This he attempts to bring about by recalling the ties which bound him and his family to that city and by explaining the delicacy of his situation as a member of both communities. The remainder of the speech is devoted to praising the blessings of concord and stressing the peculiarly intimate nature of the ties existing between the two cities. Here there are many echoes of Or. 40.

The abruptness of the close might suggest that the speech is incomplete. However, such a supposition is not unavoidable. Dio has presumably achieved his immediate purpose—to restore himself to good favour at Apameia and, as a delegate from Prusa, to make his voice heard in support of concord. It is not as if he were the only delegate to be heard.
41. ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ

1 "Οτι μεν ὑμεῖς, ὡς θεωλη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ παρόντες οἱ μετριώτατοι, πράως πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ φιλικῶς ἔχετε, δοκῶ μοι τοῦτο γιγνώσκειν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐμαντών οἶδα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον τὴν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν εὐνοιαν καὶ μηδὲποτε μηδὲν ἐναντίον μήτε εἰπόντα μήτε πράξαντα, καὶ ὑμεῖς εὐθὺς ἐμὲ ἀφικόμενον ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, ψῆφισμά τιε πέμψαντες, συνηδόμενοι τῆς καθόδου καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἑπιδημήσαι πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ ἵσως οὐδὲν ἐποιεῖτε θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἴσοτιμων ὑμῶν αἱ πλείονται σχεδόν, ὅποι γέγονα, καὶ πολιτείας καὶ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πρώτων τιμῶν οὐδὲν δεομένω μετέδωκαν, οὐκ ἀνωφελὴς σφις νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀνάξιον τιμᾶσθαι. τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον οὐκ ἔστων ἀλλότριον ἅλλῳ ως ἄν εὐνοια καὶ χάριτι πατρίδος τιμώσῃς πολίτην αὐτῆς. τὸ δὲ εἰναι τινας, ως ἂν ἐν δήμῳ, τῶν ἐνθάδε ἐμοὶ σχεδὸν μὴ σφόδρα ἑδομένους οὐκ ἂν θαυμά-

1 υμῶν Morel: ὑμῶν.
2 ψῆφισμά τι Capps: ψηφίσματι.
3 ἀνωφελὴς σφις Selden: ἀνωφελῆς φησὶ M, ἀνωφελῆ φησὶ UB.
4 αὐτῆς Emperius: αὐτῆς.

1 Dio means his return from exile. Cf. Or. 40. 16.
THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: TO THE APAMEIANS ON CONCORD

Members of the Council and you other most fair-minded gentlemen here present, I believe I know for a fact that you are kindly and amiably disposed toward me. For I am sure I myself esteem highly your favourable regard and have never said or done anything against you, and besides, immediately on my reaching home ¹ you honoured me officially with a resolution which you sent me, expressing your joy over my return and inviting me to pay you a visit. And perhaps there was nothing remarkable in what you did; for wherever I have been, not only cities in general, but even, I may say, most of those which are of equal rank with yourselves, have presented me with citizenship, with membership in the Council, and with highest honours without my asking it, believing me to be not unserviceable to themselves or unworthy of being honoured. And your action is not that of strangers but rather, as it were, of a fatherland honouring its own son ² in token of goodwill and of gratitude. Yet that there should be some here—as is natural in a democracy—who, if I may say so, are not too pleased with me ³ would not surprise me, because of the rivalry between our two

² Though a native of Prusa, he was an adoptive citizen of Apameia.
³ Cf. Or. 40. 16.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

σαμι διὰ τὴν τῶν πόλεων φιλοτιμίαν. καίτοι ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ουδὲ τούς ἐκεῖ πολίτας ἀπαντάς ἀρέσαι δυνάμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐνίος δι’ αὐτὸ τούτο ἀχθομένος ὅτι λίαν δοκῶ φιλόπολις καὶ πρόθυμος.

3 δεὶ δὲ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον ἄνδρα καὶ ταύτην παρέχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς πολίταις. τὸ γὰρ μηδένα ἐν πόλει μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ἐνὶ μὴ τε μέμφεσθαι κἀν ἀπαντά φαίνεται ποιῶν καλῶς, οὔ δὲ τὸν ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἐπιεικές, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον φιλεῖ τοῦ τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει τοῖς τυράννοις ἢ τοῖς ἐνεργέταις. εἰ οὖν εἰσὶ τίνες πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσκόλως διακείμενοι, τοῦτοι μάλιστα πιστεύω. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς νομίζοντες μὲ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πάντα τρόπον αὐξεῖν οὕτως ἔχουσιν. εὖν οὖν πεισθῶσιν ὅτι καὶ ταύτην ἡγοῦμαι πατρίδα, καὶ πράττειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὁ τι ἂν δύνημαι πρόθυμος εἰμι, ὑδίως μεταβαλοῦνται καὶ ἀγαπήσουσί με τοῖς ἀλλοίς ὅμοιως.

4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλεῖν τὴν πατρίδα μάλιστα πάντων οὐκ ἔξαρνός εἰμι. πυθάνομαι δὲ αὐτῶν εἰ τοῦτο ἀδίκου νομίζουσιν ἄνδρος εἶναι καὶ μοχθηροῦ, καὶ πολίτην τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἔθελοις εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς. οὐκοῦν ἐξετῆν ὑμῶν ἐχεῖν καὶ πολίτην ἀνυπόπτως καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς βελτίστους. καὶ τοῖς δι’ αὐτὸ μοι τοῦτο πιστεύοντες ἂν δικαιότερον ὅστις μὲν γὰρ ἀγνώμων περὶ τοὺς φύσει γονέας οὐκ ἂν ἄν γένοιτο ὅσιος οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεμένους αὐτόν, δ’ δὲ τοὺς γεννήσαντας ἀγαπῶν οὐδέποτ’ ἂν ἀμελήσεις

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1 Cf. Or. 40. 8-9.
2 I.e., those who feel hostile toward him.
THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

cities. Though I am aware that I cannot please even all the citizens of Prusa, but, on the contrary, that some of them are vexed with me for the very reason that I seem to be too patriotic and enthusiastic.\(^1\) However, a man who is reasonable and fair-minded must allow his fellow citizens this licence too. For it is not to be expected of democracies, nor is it reasonable, that they should not allow anyone in a city either to raise his voice against a single person or to find fault with him, even when that person shows himself to be behaving well in all respects, but such immunity from criticism is more likely to be accorded to dictators than to benefactors. Therefore, if there are some who are ill disposed toward me, it is they in whom I have the most confidence: For it is clear that they feel as they do because they believe I love my fatherland and try to foster it in every way. Therefore, if they become convinced that I regard this city too as my fatherland and am eager to do in its behalf all in my power, they will readily change and come to love me as the others do.

Now love of native land is a thing which, above all, I do not disclaim. But I ask them \(^2\) whether they regard this as the mark of an unjust man and one who is base, and whether they would not care to have that kind of citizen in their state. Well then, you have the opportunity to have as a citizen above suspicion not only me but the best of the other Prusans as well. And furthermore, you might more justly feel confidence in me for this very reason; for whoever is inconsiderate toward his natural parents would never be a dutiful son to his parents by adoption; whereas he who cherishes those to whom he owes his being would never neglect those who have

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ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

tὼν ἀριτίο γονέων γενομένων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
φύσεως αὐτόματον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ τῆς χάριτος ἐκου-
σιον. εἰμὶ οὖν οὐν πολιτῆς ἐκατέρων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοις
μὲν οὐ δὲι μὲ περὶ τούτου χάριν εἰδέναι, ύμᾶς δὲ
ὡς εὐεργέτας ἀμείβεσθαι δίκαιον. διὰ γὰρ ¹ τὴν
ὑμετέραν εὐνοιαν καὶ δωρεάν μετέχω τῆς πόλεως.

'Αλλ' οὖν μὲν αὐτῷ πολιτεία γεγόνας, τούτως
μόνον ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπον τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς, τὸ δὲ
τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίον οὐ πρόοστων. ἢμοὶ δὲ
ἀμφότεροι μέτεστιν· ο μὲν γὰρ πάππος ἐμός
μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἔμης παρὰ τοῦ τότε αὐτο-
κράτορος φιλοῦ ὄντος ἀμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας
καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἑτυχεῖ, ο δὲ πατήρ τῆς² παρ'
ὑμῶν· ὡστε καὶ χάριτι καὶ γένει πολιτῆς ὑμετέρος
ἐμι.³ καὶ μὴν τῶν γε ἐμῶν τέκνων ἦδε πατρίς
ἐστὶ μάλλον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαίον συνακολουθεῖν
τὰ τέκνα τῷ πατρί, πολὺ δὲ ἦδιον τοῦτον⁴ τὸν
πατέρα τοὺς παιοὶ συνέστησαι.

7. Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτα εὐνοὺς ὅν ὑμῖν τυχάνω καὶ
πολίτου διάθεσιν ἐχώ· καὶ φανερῶς δὲ ἐδήλωσα.
τῆς γὰρ φιλονικίας ἐνεστώσης ταῖς πόλεις, καὶ
τῆς πατρίδος σφόδρα μὲν αἰδομεμένης ἐμὲ ἄκοντα
ἐνοχλήσαι, σφόδρα δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσάς ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ

¹ γὰρ Reiske: δὲ.
² τῆς added by Wendland.
³ Following this sentence the mss. read: τὸ γὰρ ἀπωτέρω
δυοίν βαθμὸι ζητεῖν τὸ γένος οὐδαμῶς ἐπεικέσ. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὗτο
τὸ γε ἄλλης εἰς οὐδεμᾶς εὐρεθήσεται πόλεως. For it is not at
all suitable to try to trace one's birth farther back than two
degrees, since by so doing no one, in truth, will be found to
come from any city. This Crosby deletes as an interpolation.
⁴ τοῦτον added by Crosby.

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¹ That his maternal grandfather was a man of cultivation
and influence is stressed in Or. 46. 3. Arnim suggests that
THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

become parents as an act of grace. For Nature operates without our choice, whereas grace is an act of freewill. Now then, I am a citizen of each of our two cities; but while I need not feel grateful to the men of Prusa in that connexion, it is only fair that I should requite you as benefactors. For it is through your kindness and generosity that I am a member of your city.

However, for all who have gained citizenship by themselves there is only the benevolence inspired by the grant, and the compulsion which Nature imposes is not attached to it. But as for me, I partake of both; for my grandfather, along with my mother, acquired from the emperor of that day, who was his friend, not only Roman citizenship, but along with it citizenship in Apameia too, while my father got citizenship here from you; consequently I am your fellow townsman by both grace and birth. Again, to my children at least this is fatherland rather than Prusa. While, therefore, necessity dictates that the children follow the father, it is much more pleasant for this father to follow his children.

These, then, are the reasons why I happen to be well disposed toward you and have a citizen's state of mind; and, moreover, I have shown it openly too. For when strife had broken out between our cities and the city of my birth very considerately disliked to trouble me against my wishes, though it was Claudius may have been the emperor whose favour he enjoyed.

2 It has been thought that his family made their home in Apameia during his exile. His children may actually have been born there, for, as we have seen, Dio's connexion with the city was very close.

3 Cf. Or. 40. 25.
πράγμα, πολλάκις τῷ τιμᾶν προκαλουμένης οὐκ ἔπήκουσα1 πρὸς τούτο μόνον—οὐδὲν ἂν ὁκνήσας ἐκείνης ἐνεκεν ποιήσαι, μηδενὸς ἐλάττον τυχῶν πράξαι δυνάμενος, καὶ φίλων μοι οἴνων οὐτε ὀλίγων οὔτε ἀδυνάτων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπίφθονον εἴπω μηδὲν ὁ λυπήσει τινάς, ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ὁκνῶν τῇν ὀδόν, ᾧ ὁπότ' ἔδει2 με καὶ ἀλλως ἀπίέναι. τούτων οὖν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπεσχόμην τοῦ πράγματος, οὐκ ἐκείνους προδίδοομ, ἀλλ' αἰδούμενος ύμᾶς καὶ νομίζων χρησιμώτερος ἔσεθαί κἀκεῖνοι καὶ ύμῖν ἔαν δύναμαι φίλαις ποιήσαι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε πρωτέρων3 ἥτημάτων4 ἀπαλλάξας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς εὐνοιαν καὶ ὄμονοιαν προτρησάμενος. τούτο γὰρ ἀπάντων βελτιστὸν τε καὶ ἄριστον οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἵσοις πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κρείστωσι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποδεσσετέρους.

9 Ἔπισταμαι μὲν οὖν ὡς χαλεπῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ἐξελείν ἔριν, καὶ ταύτα ἐν πλείον χρόνῳ τεθραμμέναι, ὅσπερ νόσημα ἐκ πολλοῦ συμπεριφύκος οὐ ράδιον ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλως τε ἐὰν τις ἠθέλοι ἀνωθύνως ἱάσθαι. ὢμοις δὲ πιστεύω τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἦθελε, νομίζοι σαληρί οὐδὲ ἄμαθες, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὃντι γνῆσιον ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς μακαρίας πόλεως, ύφ' ἢς δεύτερο ἐπέμφθητε

1 ἔπηκουσα] ὑπήκουσα Geel.
2 ὁπότ' ἔδει Crosby: ὁπότε δεῖ.
3 πρωτέρων with UBT: πρῶτον.
4 ἤτημάτων] ἤτηματων Geel, ἕγκληματων Emperius.

1 He probably has Trajan in mind, but he avoids direct reference as being more politic.
2 For his reluctance to answer the call of Prusa, cf. Or. 40. 17-18.
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very eager to take up the problem, often inviting my support by the honours it bestowed upon me, I did not give heed to this inducement alone—not that I should have had any reluctance about acting in behalf of Prusa, since I might possibly have accomplished as much as any one and had not a few friends, and friends, too, not lacking in influence, not to say anything invidious or likely to hurt some persons' feelings; furthermore, it was not because I shrank from the journey, since I had to go abroad in any case. Well then, in spite of these considerations I held off from the affair, not as a traitor to the men of Prusa, but out of consideration for you, and because I believed I should be more serviceable to both sides if I could make the cities friends, not alone by ridding them of their past subjects of dispute, but also by turning them toward friendship and concord for the future. For this is the best course of all and the most expedient, not only in dealings between equals, but also in dealings between superiors and inferiors.

Now I understand how difficult it is to eradicate strife from human beings, especially when it has been nurtured for a fairly long period of time, just as it is not easy to rid the body of a disease that has long since become a part of it, especially in case one should wish to effect a painless cure. But still I have confidence in the character of your city, believing it to be, not rough and boorish, but in very truth the genuine character of those distinguished men and that blessed city by which you were sent...

3 Dio hopes that this explanation will dispel the suspicion and irritation on the part of the Apameians because of his seeming coldness, to which he alludes in Or. 40. 16.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φίλοι δή παρὰ φίλους οἰκήσοντες· ἢ τοσοῦτον εὐτυχία διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δυνάμει πλέον διενήργεσθαι ἐπιεικεῖα καὶ φιλανθρωπία, τούτο μὲν ἄφθονος μεταδιδοῦσα καὶ πολιτείας καὶ νόμων καὶ ἀρχῶν, οὕτε ἀλλότριον ἡγουμενὴ τῶν ἄξιων, τούτο δὲ ὀμοίως ἀπασὶ φυλάττουσα τὸ δίκαιον.

10 Ἡν προσήκει μμονομένους ὑμᾶς πράον καὶ μεγαλόφρονας φαίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εἴγγυς οὕτω, συνοίκους σχεδὸν, μὴ χαλέπους μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνους γείτονας, πρὸς οὗς ὑμῖν καὶ γάμοι κοινοὶ καὶ τέκνα καὶ πολιτείας καὶ θυσίας θεῶν καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεάματα, καὶ συμπαιδεύσοθε αὐτοῖς καθ’ ἑνα καὶ συνεστιάσοθε καὶ ἀλλήλους ὑποδέχεσθε καὶ ἀλλήλους τὸν πλείων χρόνον συνδιατρίβετε καὶ σχεδὸν εἰς ἐστε δήμος καὶ μία πόλις ἐν οὐ πολλῷ διαστήματι. καὶ τοίνυν πλείους τῶν ἐκείθεν καὶ πολίτας πεποίησθε, καὶ βουλής μετεδώκατε, καὶ ἄρχοντας οὐκ ἀπηξίωσατε γενέσθαι παρ’ ὑμῖν, καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων, ἡ τῆς Ρωμαιών ἐστὶν πόλεως,

11 ἐκοινωνήσατε. πῶς οὖν εἰκός καθ’ ἑνα μὲν ἐκαστον ἡγεῖσθαι φίλον καὶ τιμᾶν, κοινῇ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔχον δυνάμεις, ὑμᾶς τε ἐκείνην κάκεινους τὴν ὑμετέραν; οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαπῶντες καὶ

1 After φίλους Casaubon deletes δεῦρο.
2 πρὸς τοὺς with U corr.] τοὺς BTM.
3 After οὕτω Emperius adds καὶ.
4 αὐτοῖς Crosby: τοῖς.
5 ἀλλήλους deleted by Arnim.

1 Apameia, originally Myrlaea, had been refounded as a 158
here as friends indeed to dwell with friends.¹ That
city, while so superior to the rest of mankind in good
fortune and power, has proved to be even more
superior in fairness and benevolence, bestowing un-
grudgingly both citizenship and legal rights and
offices, believing no man of worth to be an alien, and
at the same time safeguarding justice for all alike.

In emulation of that city it is fitting that you
should show yourselves gentle and magnanimous
toward men who are so close to you, virtually house-
mates, and not harsh and arrogant neighbours, since
they are men with whom you have common ties
of wedlock, offspring, civic institutions, sacrifices to
the gods, festive assemblies, and spectacles; moreover,
you are educated together with them individu-
ally, you feast with them, you entertain each other,
you spend the greater portion of your time together,
you are almost one community, one city only
slightly divided.² Besides, several citizens of Prusa
you have even made citizens of Apameia, you
have made them members of the Council, you have
deemed them not unworthy of becoming magis-
trates among you, and you have admitted them to
partnership in these august privileges which pertain
to Roman citizenship.³ How, then, is it reasonable
to regard individuals singly as friends and to show
them honour, and then as a community to view their
city as a foe, as Apameia and Prusa both are doing?
For when men love the inhabitants of a city and

¹ Prusa and Apameia were separated by not more than
twelve miles at most.
² On this summary of the ties that bound the two cities,
cf. Or. 40. 22 and 27-29.
ἐπιμεγγύμενοι τούτοις καὶ προσαγόμενοι πολίτας τί λοιπόν ἢ τὸν ἀέρα ἢ ἐχθαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἢ, οἱ μιθὲς εἰπεῖν οὐσιον, τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεχθάνονται; καὶ τοίνυν ἀπασά μὲν ἐχθρα πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς ἐργῶ- δες καὶ χαλεπῶν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἁσθενής ἐχθρὸς οὕτως ἐλύπησεν ἐπὶ καρφό καὶ τὸν ἄγαν φαινόμενον ἵσχυρὸν καὶ τὸ μίσος ἐνεδείξατο ἢ λόγον τινά εἰπὼν λυπηρὸν ἢ ἐργὸν ἀσύμφορον πράξας.

12 Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οὐδέποτε ἢδυς οὕδε ὀφελίμοις δ τοῦ μίσους καρπός, ἀλλὰ τοιναντίων ἀπάντων ἀπεδήσατο καὶ πικρότατος, οὐδὲ βάρος οὕτω χαλεπῶν οὐδὲ ἑπίπονον ὡς ἐχθρὰ2 φέρειν. ταύς μὲν οὖν εὐτυχίας αἰεὶ παρενοχλεῖ,3 τὰς δὲ συμ- φορὰς αὐξεῖ, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄλλο τι λυπουμένου τὴν λύπην ἀπεργάζεται διπλασίοις, τούς δὲ εὐ πράττοντας οὕκ ἢ χαίρειν κατὰ τὴν αἰξίαν. ἀνάγκη γάρ, οἴματι, τοὺς πολλοὺς4 ὑπὸ μὲν ἀλλήλων βλάπτεσθαι,5 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδόξειν, ὡς τούτο μὲν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐναν- τίων, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄφρονας καὶ φιλονίκους.

13 φιλίας δὲ καὶ ὁμονοίας οὐδὲν κάλλιον οὐδὲ θείο- τερον καὶ ἄνδρι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ πόλει πρὸς πόλιν.6 τίνες μὲν γὰρ εὐπρεπέστερον κτώνται τάγαθα τῶν φίλων συμποριζόντων αὐτοῖς; τίνες δὲ ἀποφεύγον- σι τὰ κακὰ βάον ἢ ὀίς .αν φίλοι συμμαχῶσι; τίνων δὲ ἢττον ἀπεται τὰ λυπηρά ἢ τῶν ἐχόντων τοὺς συναλγοῦντας καὶ συμφέροντας αὐτοῖς; τίσι

1 ἢ τὸν ἀέρα Reiske: ἢ τόνιδε UB, ἢττον δὲ M.
2 ἐχθρα Reiske: ἐχθραν.
3 παρενοχλεί Selden: παρὸν ἐνοχλεί M, παρὸν ἐνοχλεί UB.
4 τοὺς πολλοὺς] τοὺς τοιούτους Geel.
5 βλάπτεσθαι Emperius: ἀνάπτεσθαι.
6 πόλιν Reiske: ἰδιώτην.
mingle with them and welcome them to citizenship, what explanation remains except that they do not like each other’s climate and the position of each other’s city, or else—an unholy thing even to suggest—that they detest each other’s gods? Furthermore, any enmity towards any people is an irksome, grievous thing. For there is no enemy so weak as not on occasion to hurt even the man who appears to be very strong, or to display his hatred by either saying some painful word or doing some injurious act.

For the fruit of hatred is never, so to speak, sweet or beneficial, but of all things most unpleasant and bitter, nor is any burden so hard to bear or so fatiguing as enmity. For example, while it always interferes with strokes of good fortune, it increases disasters, and while for him who suffers from something else it doubles the pain, it does not permit those who are enjoying good fortune to rejoice in fitting measure.\(^1\) For it is inevitable, I suppose, that the masses should be harmed by one another, and, on the other hand, be despised and held in low esteem by the others, not only as having antagonists to begin with, but also as being themselves foolish and contentious. However, there is nothing finer or more godlike than friendship and concord, whether between man and man or between city and city. For who are they who acquire the good things of life more becomingly, when it is their friends who assist in supplying them? Who escape the bad things more easily than those who have friends as allies? Who are less affected by distress than those who have persons to share their suffering and to

\(^1\) In §§ 11-12 there is the closest resemblance to Or. 40. 20-21.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

de ήδιον το ευτυχείν ἡ οὖσι μὴ μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους εὐφραίνουσιν εὖ πράττοντες; ὡς ἔγγει
οὐδ᾿ ἂν εὐτυχεῖν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα φαίνη ὃς οὐδένα 14 ἔχει τὸν συνηδόμενον. tis de συνεργός, tis de
σύμβουλος ἀμείνων τοῖς ἵδοισιν η φίλος εὐτυχῶν; σχεδὸν γὰρ οὔτος καὶ σύμβολος οὐ μόνον εὐφη-
μότατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατος, καὶ ὃτι ἄν ἐντύχῃ ἄνηρ εὐνόου. tā de τοῦ μίσους καὶ tā tēs
ἐχθρας πανταχῇ λυπηρὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ. χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐν ὀπούδη, χαλεπὸν de ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ παρὼν
ἐχθρός, λυπηρὸν μὲν ὀρῶσι, λυπηρὸν de μνημονεύ-
ουσί, πολὺ de πάντων πειρωμένοις βλαβερώτατον.

1 σύμβουλος] σύμβολος Arnim.
2 οὔτος καὶ σύμβολος Emperius: οὔτος σύμβουλος M, οὔτος
ο σύμβουλος UB.
3 καὶ deleted by Emperius.
THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

help them bear it? To whom is good fortune sweeter than to those who gladden by their success not only themselves but others too? For I would not count that man fortunate who has no one to share his pleasure. Again, what helper, what counsellor, is more welcome to behold than a friend met unexpectedly? In fact one might almost say that he is also an augury, not only most auspicious, but even most helpful, and to whomever he may meet a loyal friend. 1 But the works of hatred, indeed, and of enmity are painful and grievous everywhere. The presence of an enemy is a grievous thing, whether in a serious business or in the midst of good cheer, a painful thing to behold and painful to recall, but beyond all things most baneful to experience.

1 Dio seems to be punning on σύμβολος and σύμβουλος. On the chance meeting as of ξύμβολον, cf. Aristophanes, Birds 719-721.
THE FORTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

This delightful little bit, obviously the introduction to a more pretentious performance, served to disarm the audience and make it sympathetic with the speaker. Its note of self-depreciation sounds quite modern. Incidentally, we get valuable information about the fate of literary works even in the lifetime of their authors, as well as about the activity of the booktrade and the low cost of its product.

Arnim asserts that our little "curtain-raiser" is unmistakably from Dio's philosophical period. Actually all that seems unmistakable about the piece is that its author either has achieved fame as a public speaker or thinks he has. The very title is not above suspicion, for the remarks which follow afford no clue to the identity of the speaker or to either place or occasion of delivery.
42. ΔΙΑΛΕΞΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 "Οπως μὲν ὑμεῖς διανοεῖσθε περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτε σοφίας εἴτε ἁμαθίας οὐ δύναμαι ἔμμηθαιν, πότερον οὐτοὶ ἐπιθυμεῖτε τῶν λόγων οὐ δικαίωσόμενοι τιθεμαστόν καὶ τοιοῦτον ὅποιον οὐκ ἂν ἔτερον τῶν νῦν, ἢ τούναντιον, οὐς ἐμε ἐξελέγξοντες καὶ ἀποδείξοντες οὐθὲν μέγα οὔτε ὑποδιάλοις ἐπιστάμενον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὖτος ἔχετε, θαρρῶν ὑμῶν παρέχω ἐμαυτόν, ἵνα ἐμπλήσητε τὴν προθυμίαν εἰ δὲ μὴ, φοβοῦμαι τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν, μὴ ποτὲ ἄκοισαντες ἑπείτα οὐ δικαίως ἐμοῦ καταγινώστε, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἔδοξατε. οὐδέποτε γὰρ οὔδενι ἕγγυε τούτῳ ὑπεσχόμεν, ὅσι ἰκανὸς ὃν λέγειν ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ πλέον τι γιγνώσκειν τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου διαμαχόμενος ἔκαστοι· τε καὶ ἀντιλέγων τοῖς ἄξιοις ἑπείτα εἰς τὸ λέγειν καθίσταμαι· καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπίδειξιν ἦγήσαντο.

3 "Ὅμως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτεραν καὶ ἔτεραν λαμβάνων ὁδόν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐμαυτόν ἄπιθω καὶ τῇ

1 αὐτοὶ οὖκ Emperius: οὖκ αὐτοί.
2 λαμβάνω] ἐμμαίνω Selden.

1 Dio is referring to the opposing opinions of him mentioned in the preceding paragraph. His usage of the word ὁδόν may be compared with that of Herodotus (2. 20).
THE FORTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

What your purpose is about me and my wisdom—or folly, as the case may be—I can't imagine; whether you really want a speech from me with the expectation of hearing something wonderful, something the like of which you could not hear from any other man now living, or, just the reverse, with a view to showing me up and proving that I know nothing important or weighty. For if this is your purpose, I put myself at your disposal with full confidence, to the end that you may satisfy your desire; but if such is not the case, I am apprehensive as to the opposite opinion, lest when you have heard me you may pass unfavourable judgement upon me undeservedly, merely for the reason that you yourselves had formed an incorrect opinion about me. For I have never given any one to understand that I am an able speaker or thinker or that I possess more knowledge than the average; but on that very point I strongly insist, on every occasion, to those who ask me to speak, and I correct that false impression before settling down to my speech; and many consider this very protest of mine to be ostentation.

However that may be, I myself also take now this path and now that.¹ For, on the one hand, whenever I consider myself and my inexperience, my
 Dio Chrysostom

ἀπειρίαν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, περὶ πάντα μὲν ἀπλῶς, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὡς ἱδιώτης ὁνὶν διανοοῦμαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἱδιώτου βλοῦ βιωσόμενος· ὅταν δὲ εἰς τοὺς σπουδάζοντας καὶ παρακαλοῦντας, ὑπονοεῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἀναγκάζομαι, μη ἀρα τι τῶν ἐμῶν λόγου ἄξιον ἢ καὶ λανθάνω πεπονθῶς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνίοις τῶν ἔρων, ἄρησιμα ὡμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ δύναμιν τινα ἐχόντα ἐν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γοημάτων, ἦτοι χολῆς ἡ αἰματος ἡ πυρέτης ἡ τριχών, οὐκ ἱσασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποι εἰδότες διόκουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ πειρώνται πάντα τρόπον συλλαβεῖν, οὐ τῶν κρεών ἐνεκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνης τῆς δυνάμεως.

4 Μη ἀρα καμὲ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐκάστοτε λέγειν, οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ’ έτέρου τινὸς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνο δύναμιν ὑπονοῆσαι, ὅτι ἀγνοοῦντες ἢ καὶ ἀνήκου τὸν ἐσπουδάκασιν, ὡςπερ ἀμέλει πολλοὶ πολλῶν διὰ τὴν ἀγνοιαν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. πάντες γὰρ, ὡς ἐποῖσ εἰπεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ἐμοῖς λόγους ἐπιστανται καὶ διαφέρονται αὐτοῖς ἀλλοι ἀλλαχοῦ, ῥωςπερ τὰ φαύλα ἀγιατα ταῖς πόλεσιν ζῆσον τὸ πρὸς ἐστέραν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους σχέδον πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐφρήσθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι βελτίων ποιήσαντες κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, οἱ μὲν ἐκόντες ἐπανορθοῦμενοι καὶ

5—δῆλον ὅτι αἰσχυνόμενοι τὸ μεμνήσθαι τοιούτων—

αλλάττοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες πολλὰ καὶ κρείττονα,

1 ἢ added by Capps.
2 μη Geel: εἰ.
3 ἀναγκάζουσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν Geel.
4 ἡ Emperius: ἡδη.

1 Pliny devotes books 28-30 and 32 of his Hist. Nat. to a catalogue of the medical uses to which animals
inexperienced in simply everything, but especially in speaking, recognizing that I am only a layman, I am minded for the future to live the life of a layman; on the other hand, when I consider those who take me seriously and invite me to make a speech, I am constrained to feel suspicious of myself, lest some quality of mine may after all be worth while, and without being aware of it, I may be in the same position as certain members of the animal kingdom, which, though they are useful to mankind and have within them some power to cure diseases, whether it be a potency of bile or blood or fat or hair, are unaware of it, while human beings, aware of this power, pursue and try in every way to capture them, not for the sake of their meat, but for that power of theirs.

Perhaps, then, in my case too people are always trying to make me speak, not because they have any need of my speech, but of something else. For I cannot imagine they have shown such interest in me from being ignorant and from never having heard me, as many no doubt desire many things because of ignorance. For almost all men are acquainted with my speeches, and they distribute them broadcast in all directions, just as lads in the cities sing cheap ditties at eventide. Moreover, almost all report my speeches to one another, not as they were delivered, but after having made them still better in accordance with their own ability, some making improvements purposely and—evidently being ashamed to remember such stuff—introducing numerous changes and rearrangements by way of may be put, beginning with the elephant and ending with marine life.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

οἱ δὲ ἔσως καὶ ἄκοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα μεμνημένοι· ὅστε οὐκέτι ἀβολοῦ, καθάπερ εἰπέ τις, εὐποροῦ ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς πρίασθαι τὴν ἐμὴν σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ κύψαντα ἀνελέοθαι χαμάθεν. σχεδὸν οὖν παραπλήσιον πεπόνθασιν οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι τῷ κεράμῳ τῷ Τενεδίω· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν πᾶς μὲν ὁ παραπλέων ἐμβάλλεται κέραμον, οὐδεὶς δὲ ὕγιῇ διακομίζει ῥαδίως, ἀλλὰ1 πολλοὶ σαθροὶ ποιήσαντες ἢ συντρίψαντες ὡστράκα ἔχοντες λανθάνουσιν αὐτούς.

1 After ἀλλὰ Emperius adds οἱ.

1 Possibly a reminiscence of Plato, Apology 26 d, where Socrates, speaking of the writings of Anaxagoras, says: ἡ
betterment, while others possibly do so unconsciously through not remembering very well. And so one no longer buys my wisdom from the market in abundant supply at an obol, as somebody has it,\(^1\) but instead one merely stoops and plucks it from the ground. One might almost say, therefore, that my speeches have had much the same fate as the pottery of Tenedos; for while all who sail that way put on board pottery from there, yet no one finds it easy to get it across in sound condition; but many crack or smash it, and ere they are aware they have naught but sherds.

έξεστιν ένιοτε, εἰ πάντα πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένως Σωκράτους καταγελάν.
THE FORTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:  
A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

This Discourse, like the one preceding, is merely a prelude to a longer speech. As the title indicates, this prelude deals with political problems. In his concluding sentences Dio enumerates the separate counts in what he calls his κρισις γραφή, but various-clues sprinkled here and there prove the scene to have been, not the courtroom, but a town meeting. However, Dio is on the defensive, if not against a formal indictment, still against slanders spread by an anonymous person, who appears to have been the tool and lackey of an official whom Dio labels ἤγεμόνα πονηρόν. This official Arnim identifies with that Julius Bassus whose conduct as proconsul of Bithynia figures largely in the correspondence of Pliny. If we may believe Dio (§ 11), that conduct would seem to deserve the name tyranny which he applies to it, but in the trial itself (A.D. 103 or 104) the only count on which Bassus was condemned was that of accepting bribes. It is assumed that the acts enumerated by Dio were held at Rome to have been in line with his official duty.

However, in the performance of that duty, Bassus seems to have found an all too zealous henchman in the person whom Dio pillories. The turbulence and unrest that characterized Bithynia as a whole at just this period undoubtedly gave an unscrupulous man, such as he appears to have been, ample opportunity both to satisfy personal grudges and to line his pocket. Dio's own reputation and connexions protected him against direct attack, but his foe seems to have tried covertly to undermine his reputation and thus to remove him from the scene as a champion of the common people, who were the man's natural victims. Dio had an unusual
sympathy for the disfranchised and under-privileged (cf. Or. 34. 21-23 and Or. 50. 3-4). It has been suggested that in the present instance he had displayed that sympathy by using his personal influence with Bassus during his proconsulship. If so, the malice of Dio's unnamed foe is understandable.

We have observed already that at the close of his remarks Dio professes to report certain charges on which he is to be tried. It is plain from the final sentence that these charges were to be aired in the argument to which our Discourse forms the prelude. However, Arnim points out that they really apply, not to Dio, but to his antagonist. Therefore, although we do not know clearly the business before the assembly which Dio is addressing, it may have concerned the attitude of Prusa toward the approaching trial of Bassus at Rome (cf. § 11). Possibly the journey which Dio says he must make (§ 8) is a journey to Rome for the purpose of influencing Trajan against Bassus, and Dio may have wished to carry with him some official message from Prusa.
43. ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Λυδῷ, φασὶ, πράγματα οὐκ ἦν, δὲ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἔπριατο. οὐκοῦν δὲ μὲν Λυδὸς δικαίως πράγματα εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμήσας, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶν πράγματα ἔχω δὲ οὔδὲν ἔτερον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀδυνάτων1 καὶ φθονερῶν ἢ δὴ δοκῶ στέργειν ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ μὲν εὐ πεποίηκα τὴν πατρίδα, ταῦτα πρώτας ἵσην αὐτὴν ἀποδείξας τιμῆς ἑνεκα, τὰ2 δὲ ποιήσομεν ἑοῦ δίδοντος. καὶ τούτῳ εἶπον οὐκ ἀλαξονεύομενοι καὶ ἀλλοι—αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐστε οὐδεπώποτε ὑπὲρ τούτων μυηθέντα μὲ ἐν τοσοῦτοι λόγοις οὕς εἰρῆκα ἐν ὑμῖν—ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν βασκαίνοντας, ἢνα, ἡμὲν μὲν δυνατὸν ἢς, διαρραγώς, δ' τῇ πόλει πάσῃ βέλτιστον ἐστὶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' οὖν3 ἀδυνηθώσων. ὅτι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ4 πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀγάδως ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὶ μάρτυ-

1 ἀδυνάτων] ἀξιωτῶν Herwerden.
2 τὰ Morel: τὰ.
3 ἀλλ' οὖν Emperius: μᾶλλον.
4 οἱ αὐτοὶ Casaubon: αὐτοὶ.

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1 Doubtless he refers to his efforts to beautify Prusa, a topic to which he frequently recurs in these Bithynian addresses, and also to the concessions which he had secured regarding Council and judiciary (cf. Or. 40. 15 and 33 and Or. 45. 7).
2 Not strictly true unless the present speech antedates
THE FORTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

According to the fable, a Lydian had no troubles, but he went out and bought some. Very well, the Lydian deserved to have troubles, seeing that he himself desired them; as for myself, on the other hand, although I have no desire for troubles, I have them because of ineffectual, envious fellows for no other reason than that I am thought to be fond of you, and because I have already done some good turns to my native city, having raised it to the level of the leading cities in the matter of distinction, and, God willing, shall do it other good turns in the future. And I have said this, not as a bit of idle boasting—for you know yourselves that I have never referred to these services of mine in all the many speeches I have delivered in your hearing—but rather in self-defence against those who eye with malice you and me, in order that, if such a thing is possible, they may burst with rage—which from the standpoint of the city as a whole is the best thing that could happen—or else that they may at least suffer pain. But that the same persons dislike me as dislike the city you yourselves can testify, if you Or. 40, 45, and 47. It is true, however, that he has not stressed his services unduly.
ρές ἐστε, ἐὰν θέλητε μεμνήσθαι καὶ τῶν φιλούντων ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν μισούντων. καίτοι ἐπιεικέστερον ἐμοὶ χρώνται ἡ ὑμῶν. ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθάδε κατηγοροῦν, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

3 Ἐὰν οὖν Ἐλληνικοῖς, ὠσπερ εἰσῆ, φαίνωμαι παραδείγμασι χρώμενος, μὴ καταγελάσητε. οὐ γὰρ κατακρονῶ τῆς πατρίδος, οὔτε ἀδυνάτους ὑμᾶς νομίζω αὐτούς συνιέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὔτε ἀπαίδευτον νομίζω οὔτε τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τὴν βουλὴν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὑμᾶς βουλομαι τὸ ἱδίος Ἐλληνικὸν ἐχειν καὶ μήτε ἀχαρίστους μήτε ἀξιωτοὺς εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, λόγων γε τουούτων ἀκούειν οὐ χεῖρον ἔστιν, ἐξ ὧν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσιν ἀμείνους ἄν γενέσθαι.

4 Τί δὴ οὖν τὸ παράδειγμα; ἢν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν Θῆβαις Ἐπαμεινώνδας λεγόμενος· οὗτος ἐφίλει τὴν πατρίδα πάντων μάλιστα· καίρων δὲ ἐπιλαβόμενος οἷοι τὸτε ἤσαν, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργέτησεν. ἀντὶ γὰρ δειλῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων καὶ ἄλλως ὑπακούντων πρωτεύων ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς τῆς ἤγερν ἰαλλούς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. τοτε μὲν γὰρ ταύτα ἤν δυνατά, νῦν δὲ ἐτεροι γεγόνασιν οἱ καῖροι· πλὴν τὰ γε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ἄεὶ ποτὲ ὁμοία. οἷς γὰρ προδόται καὶ συνκοφάνται καὶ πάντα

1 εἶναι added by Reiske.
2 ἄεὶ ποτὲ ὁμοία. οἱ Reiske: ἄεὶ ποτὲ ὁμοίως UB, ἄ εἰπεται ὁμοίως M.

1 An indication that he is speaking in Assembly and not in court.
2 Dio not infrequently draws upon Greek tradition to point a moral, as will be seen by referring to the index of this and preceding volumes. That he was conscious that by so
care to recollect both those who love and those who hate you. And yet they treat me more fairly than they treat you; for they accuse me here, whereas they accuse you from the witness-box.¹

Now if I am seen to employ illustrations from Greek history, as is my habit, don’t jeer at me. For I am not showing scorn for my fatherland, nor do I suppose you to be incapable of understanding such matters for yourselves, nor do I regard either Assembly or Council as ignorant. Therefore, I desire most of all that you should have the character which is Greek and be neither ungrateful nor unintelligent; but if that is asking too much, it is at least not a bad plan to listen to words which, in my opinion, might improve your character.²

Very well then, what is my illustration? There was a certain man in Thebes called Epaminondas;² he loved his country above all else; and, seizing such opportunities as existed at that period, he performed for it many great services. For, instead of the craven, helpless, subservient people they had been, he made them foremost among the Greeks and contenders for leadership.⁴ For in those days these things were possible, whereas to-day the times are different—though of course goodwill and devotion are always the same. For the breed of traitors and informers and persons who do anything to harm their doing he might be thought to be making a parade of learning is plain not only from this passage but from others, e.g., Or. 50. 2.

¹ In spite of the rhetorical bouquet thrown to the people of Prusa in § 3, the words with which Epaminondas is here introduced make one wonder how much they really knew about him.

² Thebes was leader in Greece from Leuctra to Mantinea (371–362 B.C.).
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πράττοντες κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τότε ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι· καὶ μὴν οἱ φιλούντες τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς αὐτῶν μηδὲν κακὸν πάσχειν ἐθέλοντες καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὐξεῖν φιλοτιμοῦμενοι τότε μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλα πράττοντες νῦν δὲ ἐλάττουσιν καὶ ἐλάττωσι ποιεῖν ἀγαθὰ δυνάμενοι.

5 'Ὁ δὲ οὖν Ἔπαμεινώνδας ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνομοίων ἐμείωτο καὶ τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ διαβάλλοντες αὐτῶν, ὅ δὲ δήμος, ὡς δήμος, ἦγυνει καὶ ἀνεπέλθησε, καὶ ποτὲ τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων τις καὶ ἀτίμων καὶ ὅτε ἐδούλευεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐτυραννεῖτο πάντα κατ᾿ ἀυτῆς πεποιηκὼς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν Ἔπαμεινώνδαν ἔλοιδόρει, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά ἔλεγεν πᾶσι γὰρ ὁ ψευδόμενος οὐχ ὅ τι ἀληθὲς ἐπήγγετο, μηδὲν γε ἀληθὲς λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ’ εἴ τι χαλεπόν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαναστὰς περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλλων οὐκ εἴπεν οὐδ’ ἀπελογήθη πρὸς οὐδέν, μόνον δέ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, τῇ δὲ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ βουστιάζων, Ἀλλὰ τοῖς Δαμάτηρ, ἑφη, κεχολωμένα γένοιτο. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἦσθησαν καὶ ἐγέλασαν εἰκότως, ἀναμνησάσθεντες, οἴμαι, τῆς ἐκείνων πρὸς τὸν δήμον εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ λοιδοροῦντος τῆς συν- 6 κοφαντίας. ἔγιν γοῦν, εἴ τις λέγοι πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀνάξιον ἐμοῦ εἴτε ἀντικρὺς εἴτε καὶ μετὰ σχήματος ἵνα δοκῇ ῥήτωρ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὁν εὐσχήμων αὐτὸς, ἀποκρινοῦμαι αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀπόκρισιν.
fellow citizens existed in the cities even then; moreover, while patriots and men who do not wish their fellow citizens to suffer any harm and who are ambitious to exalt their country were plentiful then and performed mighty deeds, they are fewer now and not able to perform as many noble deeds.

However that may be, the famous Epaminondas was hated by those who were not like him, and there were some who malignéd him, and the common people—as the common people will—did not understand and were misled. And on one occasion one of the desperate, disfranchised group, a fellow who had done any and every thing to harm the city when it was in slavery and ruled by a dictator, abused Epaminondas in town meeting and said many harsh things—for every man who is a liar seeks to discover, not what he can say that is true, being unable to say anything that is true, but rather something offensive. Now when Epaminondas himself in turn took the floor, he did not speak regarding the other matters, nor did he defend himself against a single charge, but he merely said to his accuser, speaking in his own Boeotian dialect, "May Damater be wroth wi' ye!" But the Thebans on hearing that were delighted and burst into laughter, as well they might, recalling, I suspect, the friendliness of Epaminondas toward the people and the scurvy conduct of the man who was trying to vilify him. Accordingly, if a certain person should say to me something I do not deserve, whether in plain terms or in figurative language to win renown as an orator—though his own figure is far from comely—\(^1\) I shall use toward him the reply of Epaminondas.

\(^1\) Dio is punning on σχῆματος and εὐσχῆμον.
Εὕ δ' ἢστε οτι ταύτα ποιοῦσι καὶ λέγουσι βαρύνομενοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιδημίαν δι' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐνεδρεύω τινὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἄργυρον λαμβάνω παρὰ τινὸς οὔτε δασμολογεῖν έτοιμός εἰμι τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑμετέραν οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ φαῖνομαι τινὶ ὄχληρος· οὐ γὰρ εἰμὶ ρήτωρ· οὐδὲ εἰπον ὑπέρ οὐδενὸς ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου δυστυχῶς, ἐν ἐκώλυσα ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων διασπασθήναι, πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα ὑφηρετήμενω καὶ πολλὰ τῆς οὐσίας διηρπακότων, ύστερον δὲ κατα- 
7 ψευδομαρτυροῦντων· ἄλλον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἰρήκα 
δίκην, ὡστε δι' οὐδὲν οὐδειν βαρύς εἰμι. ἄλλ' ἵνα, 
ἐάν ποτε γένηται καιρός, οἶνον εὐχονταί τινες, ὀμοίοις τῷ πρότερον, οἷος οὐκ ἦσταί πλὴν εἰ γένοιτο, 
ἵνα μὴ παρὼ τῷ δήμῳ μὴ δὲ εξουσίων οἱ συκοφαν-
τούμενοι τὸν παρατούμενον ἤ συναλχοῦντα. καὶ 
διὰ τοῦτο δυσκόλως ἐμὲ φέρει τις ἐπιδημοῦντα.² 
καὶ γὰρ εἰ πλείον ἦσαν, ὥσπερ εἰσὶν, οὐδεὶς 
ἐμοὶ φήσει μᾶλλον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω παρρησίαν πρὸς 
ὑμᾶς ὡσπο οὐδεὶς. τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐτυχίας τῆς 
ἐμαυτοῦ παρεχώρησα ὡμίν, τῆς δὲ δυστυχίας τῆς

¹ ὀμοίοις τῷ Seld. : ὀμοίως τῶν UB, ὀμοὶ τῶν M.
² καί διὰ τοῦτο . . . ἐπιδημοῦντα placed by Arnim after 
μετέλαβον (top of p. 182), as being inappropriate to its 
present setting. Wilamowitz would delete καί.

¹ See Introduction.
² The young man is otherwise unknown.
³ The "crisis" probably occurred in the proconsulship of 
Bassus. At that time Dio seems to have defended certain 
members of the commons in town meeting. His confidence 
as to the future suggests that he has used his influence with 
Trajan, or else is about to do so.
180
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But rest assured that they do and say these things because they are irked at my presence here in Prusa,\(^1\) and for no other reason; for I do not lie in wait for any of the citizens, nor do I take pay from anybody, nor do I stand ready to levy tribute on your country, nor do I make myself a nuisance to anyone in the market-place—for I am no orator—nor have I defended anyone in court, save one luckless fellow alone whom I saved from being torn to pieces by his kinsmen and guardians, after they had first stolen his documents and pillaged much of his estate and afterwards tried by false witness to ruin him\(^2\); but I have spoken in no other case at law, so that I am in no respect offensive to any one. No, it is with the purpose that in case a crisis ever arises such as certain persons pray for, a crisis similar to that earlier one\(^3\)—the kind that is not going to arise—but supposing that it should, the purpose is, I say, to prevent my being present to aid the commons, and to insure that the victims of blackmail shall not even have any one to intercede for them or to express sympathy for them; that, I repeat, is why a certain person is incensed that I am here in Prusa. For if there were several to assume that rôle—as indeed there are—no one would speak more readily than I; and I can speak to you more frankly than any one else. The reason is that I have both sacrificed for you my own good fortune\(^4\) and also shared with you

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\(^1\) On several occasions Dio speaks of sacrificing his own interests to the welfare of the state, meaning his preoccupation with public business to the neglect of his own property, e.g., Or. 47. 20; but here he may well be referring to his recent visit at the court of Trajan, when he neglected to make personal capital out of the Emperor's friendship in order to secure favours for Prusa (Or. 45. 3).
Όμετέρας μετέλαβον. καὶ νῦν δεῖ με ἀποδημεῖν,
οὐχ ὡς πρότερον ἀλύσως, πάντων μὲ ἀγαπώντων
καὶ θαυμαζόντων, ἀλλὰ μετ´ ἐξήρας τινῶν· ἔπει
αὐτὸς γε οὐδὲν ἐπαθὼν κακὸν·
οὐ γὰρ πώποτ´ ἐμᾶς βοῶς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν
ἵπποις.

Οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω τὰ παρόντα πράγματα· ἔπει
καὶ Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος, οὐ μέμνημαι πολλάκις, ἐν
μὲν τῇ τυράννῳ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐπραττε πάντα
ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδενὸς ἐκοινώ-
νησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὑπ´ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Λέοντα
τὸν Σαλαμίνον οὐχ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις
ἀντίκρις ἐλεοδορεῖτο, λέγων δομοὺς εἶναι τοῖς
πονηροῖς βουκόλοις, οἱ παραλαβόντες ἱσχυρὰς τὰς
βοῦς1 καὶ πολλάς, δόλιας καὶ ἀσθενεστέρας ποιού-
σιν· ἀλλ´ ὄμως ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δι´ δὲν ἐκινδύνευς,
ὑστερον εὐ πράττοντος διαβληθεῖσι ὑπὸ συκοφαντῶν
τινῶν ἀπέθανεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ κατήγορος Μέλητος,
βδελυρὸς ἀνθρωπός καὶ συκοφάντης. Ὁ δικαὶ, φη-
σί, Σωκράτης, τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων καὶ σὺς μὲν
ἡ πόλις θεοὺς τιμᾷ μὴ τιμῶν, ἔτερα δὲ εἰςάγων
καὶνα δαιμόνια· σχέδον αὐτὰ τανάντια2 οἷς ἐποίει
10 Σωκράτης. ἐτίμα τε γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς οὐδείς

1 bôς Dindorf: βόας.
2 τάναντια Dindorf: ταθτα ἐναντια.

1 Presumably his journey to Rome to congratulate Trajan, λ.ν. 100.
2 Ἰλ.1. 154, spoken by Achilles to Agamemnon. This quotation is an indication that the coming journey to which he has just referred involved no selfish interest. It seems likely that Dio planned to go to Rome to use his influence against Bassus and his henchman in the trial which was soon
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your ill fortune. And now I must leave my country,
not, as on that other occasion, without repining,
attended as I then was by the affection and admira-
tion of all, but rather attended by the enmity of
some; since I myself have suffered no harm,

For never did they lift my cows or mares.²

However, I am not surprised at my present
troubles; since even the famous Socrates, whom I
have often mentioned, during the tyranny of the
Thirty ³ did everything in behalf of the people and
took no part in the crimes of that régime, but, when
ordered by the Thirty to fetch Leon of Salamis, he
refused to obey, and he openly reviled the tyrants,
saying they were like wicked herdsmen, who, having
received the cows when strong and numerous, make
them few and weaker ⁴; but nevertheless it was by
the government of the people, on whose account he
then risked his life, that later on when that govern-
ment was flourishing, because he had been slandered
by certain informers, he was put to death.⁵ Now
his accuser was Meletus, a loathsome fellow, and a
liar too. Said he, "Socrates is guilty of corrupting
the young men and of not honouring the deities
whom the city honours but of introducing other new
divinities" ⁶—virtually the very opposite to what
Socrates was wont to do. For not only did he
to take place. That would account for the phrase "attended
by the enmity of some."

³ 404 B.C.

⁴ Plato, Apology 32 c–d, records the Leon episode. The
reproof of the Thirty is given by Xenophon, Memorabilia
1. 2. 32.

⁵ 399 B.C.

⁶ Dio's version of the charge is nearly identical with
Apology 24 b.
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αλλος καὶ παιανα ἐπολήσεν εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν, τούτον δὲ ἐγώ ἔτι καὶ ἴνα ἁδῷ, καὶ τοὺς νέους ἑκώλυς διαφθείρεσθαι οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διειδίξαν καὶ προφέρων αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις ἀπληστὸς ἢ ἀκόλαστος ἢ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἠργολάβει, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύνω ἐπὶ ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ συκοφαντῶν, τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας τοὺς τάλαμω- ρους λεηλατῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει φόρων ἡ καταλογή στρατιωτῶν, ὡσπερ ἐνοι ποιοῦσι παρ’ ἦμιν. διὰ ταύτα μισοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐφασαν διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους.

11 Ἡ δ’ ἐμὴ γραφὴ μείζων καὶ γενναιότερα σχεδὸν ἢν, κρυφαία4 τις, ὡς ἔστιν. Ἀδικεῖ Δίων, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς μὴ τιμῶν μὴ' ἐν θυσίαις μὴ' ἐν ὑμνοῖς, καταλύων τὰς πατρίους ἑορτάς, ἀναπείσας δὲ ἡγε- μόνα πονηρῶν ὡστε τῶν μὲν δήμον βασανίσαν καὶ εξελάσαι ὅσους ἄν δύνηται πλείστους, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, παρασχὼν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώσως ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι πρεσβύτας ὄντας φυγεῖν μηδὲ ὑπομένειν καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα. συμπράττων δὲ καὶ νῦν ἁπαντα τῷ τυραννῆσαντι τοῦ ἐθνοῦς, καὶ ὅπως ἐκείνος καλῶς ἀγωνιζεῖται

1 ἔτι καὶ added by Capps.
2 τοῦτον . . ἁδῷ deleted by Emperius.
3 ἐπι Valesius : ὑ.
4 κρυφαία] κρύφα M, κρυφαία Morel.
5 δὲ Reiske : τε.
6 τὸν ἐθνοῦς Arnim : τοὺς θεοὺς.

1 Diogenes Laertius (9. 5. 22) preserves a single line from a hymn in which these deities are named, and says that Dionysodorus denied that Socrates was its author.
honour the gods more than did anybody else, but he had composed a hymn in praise of Apollo and Artemis, this paean which even now I myself am wont to chant,¹ and he tried to prevent, not merely the young men, but their elders too, from being corrupted, rebuking and reproving them, in case any one was greedy or licentious or tried to make money out of politics, some by arranging an acquittal for a bribe, some by blackmailing people, and some by pillaging the wretched islanders on the pretext of tribute ² or in connexion with the drafting of soldiers, just as some men are doing in Prusa. This is why they hated him and claimed he was corrupting the young men.

But my bill of indictment ³ was longer and, one might say, nobler, a sort of occult bill apparently: "Dio is guilty, first, of not honouring the gods either with sacrifices or with hymns, by abolishing the festivals of our fathers; secondly, of so misleading a wicked proconsul ⁴ as to cause him to torture the people and to banish as many as possible, and even to put some to death, making it necessary for them to die a voluntary death because, old as they were, they could not go into exile or endure to abandon their native land; thirdly, of co-operating in everything even now with the man who took the rôle of tyrant over our nation, and of arranging, so far as it is in his power to arrange, that that tyrant shall be suc-

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¹ A scholium on Aristophanes, *Achænians* 6, reports that Cleon was detected at that trick and made to disgorge. Presumably he had taken bribes to lower the assessment of some of the member states. "Islanders" was the usual term applied to the states allied with Athens in the fifth century B.C.

² See Introduction.

³ Presumably Bassus. See Introduction.
καὶ κατὰ κράτος παραλήψεται τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατασκευάζων, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ κατα-12 σκευάζειν· διαφθείρων δὲ καὶ τὸν δήμον αὐτὸν ἐφιστάμενος κατήγορος καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ῥήμασι καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ παρανομῶν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, εἰς τοὺς δημότας, καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα ποιῶν ἄλογον χώνευμαι καθ’ ἕκαστον λέγειν· πονηρὸν δὲ παράδειγμα παρ-έχων ἕαυτόν καὶ νεωτέροις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπονίας2 καὶ τρυφῆς3 καὶ ἀπυστίας· δεκάζων δὲ τὸ πλῆθος, ἢν μηδεὶς αὐτῷ προφέρῃ τὰ τότε πραχθέντα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς λήθην τινὰ ποιήσωμαι.

Φέρε δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογήσομαι, ὡς ἄνδρες Προυσαῖοι, κἂν δοκῇ ἢ μὲν ἀκούσας, κατεφθι-σασθείς μου· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Σωκράτους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες κατεφθισάντο.

1 αὐτῶν Crosby: αὐτῶ· 2 ἀπονίας Geel: ἀπορίας. 3 τρυφῆς Reiske: τροφῆς.

1 Apparently the henchman of Bassus is trying to marshal
cessful in his struggle and shall take by force the cities and their popular governments; fourthly, of spoiling even democracy itself, setting himself up as its accuser, and with his own words and tongue committing crimes against his fellow citizens, yes, the members of his own community, and doing many other things which I am ashamed to specify; fifthly, of making himself a bad example of laziness and high-living and faithlessness for both young and old; and sixthly, of bribing the masses, so that no one may reproach him with what was done in those days, but that people may instead acquire a sort of forgetfulness of his hatred and treachery.

Well then, men of Prusa, I shall defend myself against these charges, and if it seems good to you when you have heard me, condemn me; for the Athenians heard Socrates before they condemned him.

in defence of his master as many Bithynians as possible. The language here used by Dio is manifestly figurative.

2 I.e., in the proconsulship of Bassus.

3 As in the case of the charges which Dio disclaims in § 6, this bill of indictment also may be assumed to apply, not to Dio, but to his arch-enemy.
THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE:
AN ADDRESS OF FRIENDSHIP
FOR HIS NATIVE LAND ON
ITS PROPOSING HONOURS FOR
HIM

Internal evidence makes it fairly certain that this Discourse was delivered in the winter of A.D. 96–97, shortly after Dio’s return from his long exile of fourteen years. The occasion was a town meeting at which it was proposed to accord him certain unnamed honours. These honours he modestly deprecates, pointing out that Prusa has honoured him sufficiently in having honoured various members of his family. Taking advantage of the present temper of his audience, he then urges the advisability of a reform in the conduct of the citizens. Though he is adroit in making his plea, it is abundantly evident from other speeches in this group that such a plea was warranted, for Prusa, in common with other cities of the province, was in a state of social and political upheaval. It is hinted that such reform is a necessary prerequisite to securing the concessions alluded to in § 11.

At the conclusion of his remarks, he announces that he is going to read to his hearers some correspondence between himself and the Emperor. Unfortunately that correspondence has not been preserved, but it becomes reasonably certain from Or. 45. 2-3 that his imperial correspondent was Nerva, with whom he was on very friendly terms, and that their exchange of letters concerned, not only an invitation to visit Rome, but also certain aspirations on the part of Prusa, aspirations thwarted temporarily by Nerva’s untimely death.
1 Ἐμοὶ, οὐ δὲ ἄνδρες πολίται, οὔτε ὅψις ἡδίων ἐστὶν ὑμετέρας οὔτε φωνὴ προσφιλεστέρα οὔτε τιμαλμείζον τῶν ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἐπανος λαμπρότερος ἢ ὁ παρὰ ὑμῶν οὖδ' ἂν ἐξύμπαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ρωμαίων δῆμος, ἐμὲ θαυμάζωσι καὶ ἐπαινῶσιν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως τούτῳ εὑρόσην τὴν ἐμῆν διάνοιαν. τῷ γὰρ ὅτι πολλά σοφά καὶ θεία εἰρηκῶς ὁμορος οὐδὲν σοφώτερον ἔφη τούτῳ τοῦ ἔποις οὐδὲ άληθέστερον,

ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἃς πατρίδος.

2 εἰ μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι τὰς τιμὰς ἔχω πάσας, καὶ ἐόσας νῦν εἰσηγεῖσθε καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοι εἰσίν, ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγὼ δέομαι. τούτῳ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἰκανώτατον ἐπιεικεῖ, τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν, καὶ ὁ τούτῳ ἔχων τι ἂν ἐτί προσδέοιτο εἰκόνων ἢ κηρυγμάτων ἢ προεδρῶν;¹ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος

¹ At this point Arnim suspects a lacuna, which he would supply by some such phrase as οὐδὲ γὰρ πλέον ἂν ἔχοι οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τούτων.

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THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE:
AN ADDRESS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR HIS NATIVE LAND ON ITS PROPOSING HONOURS FOR HIM

Fellow citizens, no sight is more delightful to me than your faces, no voice dearer than yours, no honours greater than those you bestow, no praise more splendid than praise from you. Even if the whole Greek world, and the Roman people too, were to admire and to praise me, that would not so cheer my heart.¹ For though, in truth, Homer has spoken many wise and divine words, he never spoke a wiser or a truer word than this:

For naught is sweeter than one’s native land.²

Indeed, you may rest assured that I find all my honours, both those you now propose and any others there may be, contained in your goodwill and friendship, and I need naught else. For it is quite sufficient for a reasonable human being to be loved by his own fellow citizens, and why should the man who has that love need statues too or proclamations or seats of honour? Nay, not even if it be a portrait statue of beaten gold set up in the most distinguished

¹ He had been honoured at Rome and in many other cities. Cf. Or. 41. 2 and 44. 6.
² Odyssey 9: 34.
Ιστάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἱεροῖς. ἐν γὰρ ρήμα πλείονος ἁξίων ἀπ’ εὐνοῖας ῥηθέν καὶ φιλίας ἦ τὸ ξύμπαν ἐν ἀνθρώπων χρυσίων καὶ στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα δοκεῖ λαμπρά· ὡστε μοι πειθόμενοι οὕτω ποιεῖτε.

3 Εἰ δὲ ἁρα καὶ τουαύτας τυνὰς δεῖ με τιμὰς ἔχειν, πολλαὶ μοι καὶ ἄλλαι εἰσὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν, τούτῳ μὲν αἱ τοῖς πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὡσαίς ἐκεῖνον ἐτιμήσατε ὡς ἀνδρὰ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὅσον ἐξῆς χρόνου δικαίως προεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως, τούτῳ δὲ τῆς μητρός, ὃς ὑμεῖς ἴδρυσασθε καὶ ἀγαλμα καὶ ἱερὸν, τούτῳ δὲ αἱ τῶν πάπτων καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων προγόνων, ἐτὶ 4 δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδράντας πολλοὺς καὶ ταφὰς δημοσίας καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους καὶ ἄλλα πολλά καὶ τίμα ἐκεῖνος παρὰ τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν—ὡς 2 οὐδενὸς ἐγὼ ἐπιλέξασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστάμαι πάντα ὡς οἶδον τε μάλιστα—καὶ οἷμαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων χάριτας αὐτῶς ὑμῖν. ὅφειλεν, καὶ εὐχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἰκανὸς γενέσθαι ἀποτίνεων. πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάμαι κάκεινος γενομένους ἁξίους καὶ δικαιῶς ἀπάντων τυχόντας, διὸς δὲ ἐν ἀπασίν ὑπερέβαλεν

1 After τίμα Arnim adds δ. 2 ὡς deleted by Arnim. 3 πολλοῦ Casaubon: πολλοὺς.
shrines. For one word spoken out of goodwill and friendship is worth all the gold and crowns and everything else deemed splendid that men possess; so take my advice and act accordingly.

But if really I must have some such honours also, I have here at Prusa many other honours already—in the first place, those belonging to my father, all those honours bestowed upon him for being a good citizen and for administering the city with uprightness as long as he lived; then, too, those belonging to my mother, in whose memory you not only set up a statue but also established a shrine; furthermore, the honours bestowed upon my grandsires and my other ancestors; and more than that, the honours possessed by my brothers and other kinsmen. For numerous statues and state funerals and funeral games and many other precious marks of distinction have been accorded them by this city—none of which have I forgotten, nay, I know them all as well as any man could—and I feel that I myself owe you the thanks for these honours, and I pray the gods I may be able to discharge the debt. For though I know they proved themselves very worthy and had a right to all they received, still the city was more than gener-

he made a statue of Zeus and set it up in the temple of Hera. The dedicatory inscription ran as follows:

εἰμὶ ἐγὼ χαρισμένος αφιρήλατος, εἰμὶ κολοσσός, δύσωλης εἰς Κυβελίδων γενέα.

2 A surprising honour of which nothing further is known.
3 Dio seems to include both grandfathers; but we get explicit information about the maternal grandfather alone, of whom he says that he was a man of cultivation, public-spirited, generous, and a friend of an earlier emperor (Or. 41. 6, 44. 5, 46. 3-4, and 50. 7).
4 Nothing further is known of these brothers.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἡ πόλις. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν βουληθέντες διὰ τούχην τινά, καὶ τούτων αὐτούς χάριν ἀπέδιδου ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γοῦν πάππος ὁ ἐμὸς, εἰ ἔπι τελεῖον ἀπώνατο τῆς φιλίας τοῦ τότε αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ μὴ βραχὺς παντελῶς ἐγένετο ὁ χρόνος, διενεῖτο, ὃς φασίν, ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πόλει λαβεῖν καὶ ἢδη περὶ τούτου πεποίητο τὸν λόγον. οὐ δεὶ δὲ ἀπελπίζειν, ἦσος ἂν ἅγαθος καὶ φιλοτίμος ἄνδρας ἡ πόλις φέρῃ ὅποιος καὶ τοὺς νῦν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν πολλαῖς γεγονός πόλεις οὐκ οἶδα βελτίως ἄνδρας τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν.

"Ἐλεγον δι᾽ ἂν ἐπὶ τελεῖον καθ᾽ ἐκαστον, εἰ μὴ σχεδον ἀπαντασ συγγενεῖς ὅτας ὥκυνον ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ ὃσπερ ἐραύνων τινα ἀποδιδοὺς τῶν εἰς ἐμαυτον ἐνεκα τιμῶν. ἦκροσάμην γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων καὶτον σφόδρα αἰδούμενος όμος διὰ τούς λέγοντας αὐτοὺς, ἀγάμενος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τό τε ἀφθονον καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ εἴπειν δύναμιν. οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἐγὼ πατρίδα τουαύτην οὔτω σφόδρα ἡγάπηκα ὡστε. οὔτ᾽ ἂν Ἄθήνας οὔτε Ἀργος οὔτε Λακεδαίμονα, αἰτπερ εἰσὶ πρῶται καὶ ἐνδοξόταται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰλόμεν ἂν εἶναι μοι πατρίδας πρὸ ταύτης καὶ τοῦτο ἔργῳ ἐδήλωσα. πολλῶν γὰρ πολλαχῇ παρακαλούντων κε καὶ μένει καὶ προδύτασθαι τῶν κοινῶν οὐ νῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε ἢμεν φυγάς—καὶ ἰησοῦσίματα

1 ὁ added by Reiske. 2 οὐ δὴ Phlugk:  ou̲δ̲έ̲.

3 After kal' Arnim adds γὰρ.

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1 Cf. § 12.
2 Apparently speakers who have supported the proposal to honour him.
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ous in each instance. For their fatherland thanked them even for all they wished, but through some turn of fortune proved unable, to accomplish. For example, if my grandfather had enjoyed the friendship of the emperor of that day for a longer period and if the time left to him had not been altogether brief, he had in mind, as I am told, to obtain independence for Prusa,¹ and indeed he had already drafted his plea to that end. However, there is no need to abandon hope so long as the city continues to bear noble, patriotic men such as those it bears to-day. For though I have been in many cities, I do not know better men than the men of Prusa.

Now I might go on to speak at some length of individuals, were it not that, since virtually all are my kinsmen, I shrink from the task of praising them, even though I should be making to each and all a contribution, as it were, due in return for the honours paid to me. For, indeed, I have listened to these men too—though greatly awed on account of the speakers themselves, admiring their generosity and their devotion, and, what is more, their gift of eloquence. No wonder, then, if I myself² have loved such a fatherland so greatly that I would not have chosen either Athens or Argos or Sparta, the foremost and most distinguished of the Greek cities, as my native land in preference to Prusa; and I have given practical demonstration of this too. For although many people in many lands have invited me both to make my home with them and to take charge of their public affairs, not merely at the present time, but even earlier, at the time when I was an exile—and some went so far as to send the

¹ I.e., as well as his ancestors and relatives.
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ἐπεμβάν τινες πρός τὸν αὐτοκράτορα χάριν εἰδότες τῆς εἰς ἐμὴ τιμής—οὐδὲ πώποτε ἄχρι λόγου τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπεσχόμην, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰκίαν ἥ χωρίον ἐκτησάμην παρ' ἑτέρους, ὥς μηδὲν ἢ μοι σημείων ἀλλαχού πατρίδος.

7 Καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰκῇ δεινόν, εἰ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀδικώτεροι ἔσονται τῶν μελιττῶν. οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνων μία καταλιποῦσα τὸ αὐτής σμήνος εἰς ἑτέρον μετέστη τὸ μείζον ἢ μάλλον εὐθενοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἵδιον ἐσμὸν πληροῖ τε καὶ αὐξεῖ, κἂν ἴδιος ἓστερον ἢ τὸ χωρίον καὶ αἱ νομαὶ χείροι καὶ ἡ δρόσος ἐλάττων κἂν δυσκολότερον τὸ ἐργὸν τὸ περὶ τὰ κηρία1 κἂν ὁ γεωργὸς ἀμελέστερος. οὕτως δὲ ἄγαν αὐτῶς φασὶ φιλεῖν ἀλλήλας καὶ τὸ ἵδιον σμήνος ἐκάστην, ὡστε ἐπειδὰν ἔξω2 χειμῶνος ἀποληφθῶσι πολλοὺ γενομένου πνεύματος, λίθον εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστη λαβοῦσα ὃσπερ ἐρμα οὕτως πέτονται, ὅπως μὴ παρενεχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τούτο πνεύματος μηδὲ τοῦ σμήνους διαμάρτωσιν.

8 "Ὅταν δὲ δὴ καὶ πρόθυμον οὕτως καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἔχῃ τις πατρίδα, πῶς οὐ χρὴ πάντα τὰλλα περὶ ἐλάττων ποιεῖσθαί ταύτης; οὐκ ἐγὼ λογιζόμενος χαίρω, ὅρων καὶ τὸν υἱόν τὸν ἐμαντοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νεανίσκους—πολλοὺς δὲ ὅρω σὺν θεῷ καὶ ἀπαντᾷ ἀγαθῶν γονέων καὶ τὸ γε εἶδος ἀγαθοῖς ὀμολογοῦς—οὕτως διανοοούμενος ὃς φιλο-

1 κηρία Empierius: χωρία.
2 After ἔξω Reiske adds ὑπὸ. Wendland would cure the trouble by reading σμήνος for χειμῶνος, Sonny by substituting μελιττῶν. Empierius regards πολλοῦ . . . πνεύματος as a gloss.

1 If this Discourse has been dated correctly, the Emperor
THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

Emperor resolutions thanking him for the honour he had done me—yet I never accepted such a proposal even by so much as a single word, but I did not even acquire a house or a plot of ground anywhere else, so that I might have nothing to suggest a home-land anywhere but here.

For indeed it would be shocking if human beings are to prove more unjust than bees. For no bee ever abandons its own hive and shifts to another which is larger or more thriving, but it rounds out and strengthens its own swarm, no matter if the district be colder, the pasturage poorer, the nectar scantier, the work connected with the honeycomb more difficult, and the farmer more neglectful. But, according to report, so great is their love for one another and of each for its own hive, that when they are caught outside the hive in winter and a great wind springs up, they each seize with their feet a pebble as if for ballast before beginning to fly, so that they may not be borne astray by the gale or miss their hive.²

But when a man has a country which is both so devoted and so fine, why should he not regard all else as of minor importance? Taking all this into account, I rejoice to see my own son, my nephew, and the other young men too—and by God’s grace I see many who one and all are both of goodly lineage and, at least in personal appearance, resemble goodly men—I rejoice, I say, to see them aiming would be Nerva. The honour referred to would no doubt be Dio’s recall from exile, although Nerva also asked him to visit him at Rome.

νικήσουσας ἀλλήλοις ἂνευ φθόνου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐ-
δοξίας τῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὅπως
πρωτεύσῃ ἐκαστος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῷ δίκαιος τε
ἐίναι καὶ φιλότοπος καὶ μὴ ἀδύνατος ἀγαθὸν τι
9 ποιεῖν καὶ αὐξεῖν τὴν πατρίδα. εὖ γὰρ ἦστε ὅτι
οὗ μεγίστη τῶν πόλεων οὐδὲν οὐδὲ πλείστον χρόνον
οἰκουμένη πολλῶν γνωριμωτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, καὶ σχεδόν τι πρὸς ἁπαντας
ἀγωνιουμένους τοὺς "Ελλήνας πάλαι παρέχει τοὺς
αὐτής πολίτας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὅστατοις οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς
τρίτοις ἥ δευτέρους ἀριθμουμένους. λέγω δὲ οὐχ
ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τούτου ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον, ἄλλα ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἄλλων, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ πλείσοι
φανεροὶ γενόμενοι φανερὰν τὴν δόξαν ἐκτῆσαντο,
οἱ δὲ ἐνθάδε πολιτευόμενοι καὶ μένοντες οὐδὲν χει-
ρους ἐκεῖνων εἰσὶν οὕτε περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὕτε περὶ
tὰ ἔργα.
10 Ὁρῶ δὲ οὗ μόνον ἀπὸ λόγων, ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ
φιλοσοφίας ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἀξιολόγους γνω-
μένους ἐν τῇ πόλει. ὑπὲρ ὅτι ἔγω καὶ ἤδη τοὺς
νέους καὶ κωμῆς, ὅταν ἡ καιροὺς, οὐκ ὄκνησον παρα-
καλεῖν. καὶ τὸν δήμου ὡμᾶς ἄξιον, ἣ μὲν ἔστι
παρὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων, ταῦτα ἑλπίζειν ὧς ἐσώμενα
καὶ εὑρέσαι συμβαίνει τών τιμήν ἡ δόξαν ἡ
ἐυπορία δημοτῶν, δὲ ἔστι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἕχειν
ἐνταξία τῶν ἄλλων δήμων διαφέροντας, αἴδοι, τῷ

1 avtōn Post: autōn.

1 Pliny, Letters 10. 23, speaks of the dignitas of Prusa.
2 He has paid his respects to the orators in § 6.
3 The imperial government.
4 In § 11 he is more explicit as to Prusan ambitions.
THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

without envy and jealousy to vie with one another, and with all other men as well, concerning character and good repute both their own and that of their country too, and also striving that each may gain first rank in his fatherland for being just and patriotic and not incapable of promoting his country's welfare. For you may rest assured that, although Prusa is not the largest of our cities and has not been settled for the longest time, it is more illustrious than many, even in the estimation of the outside world, and that it has long caused its citizens to rank, not last, or even third or second, in competition with virtually all Greeks everywhere. And I say this, not for my own sake, but rather for the sake of the others, some of whom through foreign travel and through becoming notable men in a number of countries have gained a notable renown, while others through performing their civic duties here and remaining at home are not inferior to those just mentioned in either speech or action.

But I observe that it is not from the pursuit of eloquence alone but also from the pursuit of wisdom that men of character and distinction are being produced here in Prusa; and I shall not hesitate to exhort our young men in behalf of these things both in private and in public whenever there is opportunity. And I ask of you the people that, as to privileges which must come from our rulers, you cherish the hope of their realization and pray that some measure of honour or fame or affluence may accrue; but that, on the other hand, as regards the blessings which must come from yourselves, you possess them by being superior to the other self-governed communities in orderly behaviour, in re-
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πείθεσθαι τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ἀνδράσι, φιλεργία, σωφροσύνη τῇ περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον, τῷ μήτε τῶν σωμάτων ἀμέλειᾳ μήτε τῆς ψυχῆς καθ' ὑπὸν ἐκάστω ἱσχύς δίδωσι τά αὐτοῦ πράγματα, τῷ προθύμῳ ἐκτρέφειν τεκνα καὶ παιδεύειν, τῷ παρέχειν Ἐλληνικὴν τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀδόρυβον καὶ καθεστῶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ δριμῦ καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ καλλίω τρέπειν, διχοφροσύνης δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ὡς οἷον τε ἀπέχεσθαι.

11 Ἐστι γὰρ, ὃς ἄνδρες, καὶ δῆμου παιδεία καὶ πόλεως ἡδος φιλόσοφον καὶ ἑπιεικές. καὶ οὐ μόνον Δακεδαμονίους οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίους τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀλλος τις συνέβη διὰ τὸ κοσμίως πολιτεύεισθαι μεγάλας καὶ ἑπιφανείς καὶ ἐκ πάνω μικρῶν καὶ ἀσθενῶν ἀποδείξαι τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐξεστὶ τὸ τοιούτον τοῖς βουλομένοις. ταῦτα γὰρ ἕμασ ἐπιτηδεύοντας πλέον ὁνήσει καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τοῦ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀγέσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρόσοδον τινα κρημάτων ἐξωθεῖν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῆς, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ τούτου τύχητε ποτε. εὗ γὰρ ἠστε ὅτι τὴν μὲν λεγομένην ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ ὅνομα τοῦτο, οἱ παρὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων καὶ δυναμένων γίγνεται, ἐνίοτε οǔ

1 φιλεργία Reiske : φιλεργίας.
2 καὶ deleted by Arnim.
3 γίγνεται, ἐνίοτε Pflugk : ἐνίοτε γίγνεται.

1 Dio had had experience of the turbulence of the people of Prusa. Note especially Or. 46.
2 Dio did later obtain for Prusa an enlarged Council and
spect for others, in obedience to your men of character, in industry, in temperance in your daily lives, in neglecting neither your bodies nor your souls, insofar as each man's private circumstances grant him leisure, in devotion to the task of rearing and educating your children, in making your city truly Hellenic, free from turmoil, and stable, and in devoting your native shrewdness and courage and intelligence to greater and finer things, while refraining from discord and confusion and conflict with one another so far as possible.¹

For, my friends, education can be predicated of a people also and morality of a state, a morality based upon love of learning and fair-dealing. Moreover, not only did the Spartans and the Athenians in ancient days—and certain other peoples too—through orderly behaviour in civic matters have the good fortune to make their cities great and illustrious even out of very small and weak beginnings, but such an achievement as that is possible also for those of to-day who wish it. For if you follow the practices I have mentioned, they will benefit you more than either the size of your Council, or the right to settle your disputes at home, or the gaining of some revenue from without, or even than independence itself, should you be so fortunate as to obtain that too some day.² For rest assured that what is called independence, that nominal possession which comes into being at the pleasure of those who have control and authority, is sometimes impossible

the right to hold court at home (Or. 45. 7 and 41. 33). Revenue " from without " may refer to that which came from court proceedings (Or. 35. 15). Independence of the kind enjoyed by Apameia, its rival and neighbour, Prusa seems not to have obtained.

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δυνατήν κτήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ἀληθῆ ἔλευθερίαν καὶ ἔργῳ περιγυμνομένην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ πόλις ἐκάστη τοὺς λαμβάνει, μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ μὴ ταπεινῶς μηδὲ παθήμασι διοικοῦσα τὸ καθ᾽ αὐτὴν. ἢνα δὲ καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν εἰδήτε τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀναγνώσομαι ὑμῖν ἐπιστολὴν ἢν τε αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὅτε ἐκλήθην, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ παρεκάλουν ἀφεθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἢν ἐκεῖνος ἀντέγραψεν.

1 ὅτε Reiske: ὅτε.
THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

to acquire, but the true independence, the kind which men actually achieve, both the individual and the state obtain, each from its own self, if they administer their own affairs in a high-minded and not in a servile and easy-going manner. But that you may know my opinion from another source as well, I will read you a letter which I myself sent to the Emperor in answer to his invitation to visit him, because in that letter I begged to be excused in favour of you, and also the letter which he wrote in reply.¹

¹ See Introduction.
THE FORTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE:
IN DEFENCE OF HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS NATIVE CITY

This Discourse seems to have been delivered in A.D. 101 or 102 in a meeting of the popular assembly at Prusa (§§ 1 and 8). We do not know for certain the reason for the meeting, but, since Dio concludes his address with a vigorous defence of his programme to enhance the beauty and dignity of his city, that programme may have been the main item of business on the agenda.

As suggested by its title, the speech covers Dio's relations with the city of Prusa. It is unusually rich in details, but unfortunately the language employed is sometimes so allusive and vague as to leave the modern reader in doubt as to the actual facts involved.

Dio begins by referring briefly to the period of his exile, speaking with bitterness of Domitian, who had sent him into exile, and recalling with pride the courage he had displayed in opposing the Emperor. After a brief reference to the friendship which had existed between the speaker and Nerva and to the loss which he and his city had sustained through Nerva's untimely death, Dio passes to a discussion of a recent visit which he had made at the court of Trajan, from which he had brought back certain concessions which had long been sought after by Prusa. It appears that Dio's enemies had been critical of what he had accomplished, and he takes pains to point out, not only that he had sacrificed his own personal advantage to further the welfare of Prusa, but that the concessions he had won were such as had been granted to only one other city, "the most illustrious city in all Asia."

Although Dio does not specify what those concessions were, we may infer that they included a revision of finances (§§ 6 204
and 10) and either the establishment or the enlargement of the Council at Prusa (§ 7). It would appear that Dio's enemies had accused him of wire-pulling in connexion with the election of the hundred members of this new Council, and he is at some pains to establish his innocence in the matter.

The last topic to be discussed is his programme for municipal improvements. He devotes much space to explaining that, although he was ambitious to make far-reaching improvements and had possibly allowed his enthusiasm to lead him into indiscreet remarks upon that theme, what he was then undertaking was relatively conservative in its scope. His concluding sentences contain a most interesting recital of the manner in which his project had been ratified—the proconsul had called a meeting of the Assembly without the previous knowledge of Dio and had himself read to the members in attendance either a motion to approve the plan or some statement in support of it; Dio had made an extemporary speech advocating its adoption and explaining what it involved; and, if we may believe his words, not only was the vote in favour of the measure unanimous, but all promised to lend it their financial support.
45. ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΠΩΣ ἘΣΧΗΚΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ

1 "Ἀνδρές πολίται, βούλομαι ὑμῖν ἀποδούναι λόγον τῆς ἐπιθημίας ταύτης, ἐπειδή καὶ βραχύν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐσεσθαί μοι χρόνον. τὴν μὲν γὰρ φυγὴν ὅπως διήνεγκα, μὴ φίλων ἐρημίας ἢττηθείς, μὴ χρημάτων ἀπορίας, μὴ σώματος ἀσθενείας, πρὸς δὲ τούτως ἀπασίν ἔχθρον ἀνεχόμενος οὐ τὸν δείνα συδὲ τὸν δείνα τῶν ὦν τινὰ καὶ τῶν ὦν ὀμοίων ἐνίοτε φθεγγομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἱσχυρότατον καὶ βαρύτατον καὶ δεσπότην ὄνομαξόμενον καὶ θεόν παρὰ πάσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὅντα δαίμονα πονηρόν, καὶ ταύτα οὐθεὶς αὐτὸν συδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν παραιτούμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐρεθίζων ἀντικρυσ καὶ τὰ προσόντα κακά, μὰ Δῖ, οὐ μελλὼν νῦν ἐρείν ἡ γράφεω, ἀλλὰ εἰρήκως ἡδὴ καὶ γεγραφώ, καὶ τούτων πανταχὴ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ὦντων, οὐχ ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας ταῦτα πράττειν ἐπαιρόμενος, ἀλλὰ κρείττουν πεποιθῶς δυνάμει καὶ βοηθείᾳ τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν,

1 ὦμοιων] ὦμοιως UBT. After ὦμοιων Emperius adds τῶν δεινῶν.
2 τὰ added by Emperius.
3 γράφεω Cobet: γράφεων.
4 τῇ added by Reiske.

1 Twice in this address Dio refers to the shortness of the time remaining to him at Prusa (§§ 1 and 14). He may be 206
THE FORTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: IN DEFENCE OF HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS NATIVE CITY

Fellow citizens, I want to render you an account of this sojourn of mine, since I believe that the time remaining to me is going to be very brief. Well, how I bore my exile, not succumbing to loss of friends or lack of means or physical infirmity; and, besides all this, bearing up under the hatred, not of this or that one among my equals, or peers as they are sometimes called, but rather of the most powerful, most stern man, who was called by all Greeks and barbarians both master and god, but who was in reality an evil demon; and this too without fawning upon him or trying to avert his hatred by entreaty but challenging him openly, and not putting off until now, God knows, to speak or write about the evils which afflicted us, but having done both already, and that too in speeches and writings broadcast to the world, not being goaded by madness or desperation to do these things, but trusting in a greater power and source of aid, that which about to go to Rome for the approaching trial of Bassus (Or. 44. 8), hoping to use that opportunity to gain further favours for Prusa (infra § 3).

Τὸ δὲ περὶ τούτων καθ' ἐκαστὸν λέγειν ἡγούμαι εἶναι περιττὸν παρ' ἄλλους γὰρ μᾶλλον γυγνώσκεται ταῦτα καὶ τυγχάνει δόξης καὶ τιμῆς τῆς προσηκούσης. παρ' ύμιν δὲ ἂν διεξῖ τὸν τῆς φυγῆς χρόνον, οὐκ ὀδύρεσθαι με φήσει τις, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀλαξονεύσειθαι.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς γενομένης αὐτῆς μὲν πρὸς τὸν βέλτιστον Νέρβαν. ὑπὸ δὲ νόσου χαλεπῆς κατασχεθεὶς ὅλον ἐκείνον ἐξήμωθη τὸν καιρὸν, ἀφαιρεθεὶς αὐτοκράτορος φιλανθρώπου καὶ ἀγαπώντος καὶ τάλαι φίλον, καὶ ὁμιλῶ τοὺς θεοὺς ώμων ἀπαντᾶς, οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς ἂν εἰς ἐμαντὸν ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τῶν ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτως ἀχθομαι διαμιρτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ύμῶν καὶ δημοσίᾳ τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν εὐδυνάμην, ταύτην ἐγὼ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀριθμῷ βλάβην καὶ ζημίαν. ὃν γὰρ νῦν ἐτύχομεν, τότε ἔξην ταῦτα ἔχειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ πρὸς ἐτέρας κεχρησθαί δωρεάς. ἔπει δ' οὖν ὑπῆρξε παρὰ τούτου φιλανθρωπία καὶ σπουδὴ τοσαύτη: περὶ χρὸνος ὅσην ἐπιστανται μὲν 2 οἱ παρατυχόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ ᾧν λέγω νῦν, σφόδρα λυπῆσιν τινάς—Ἰωνὸς δὲ οὐδὲ φανεῖται πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὸν

1 τοσαύτη Emperius: τοιαύτη.
2 μὲν Emperius: μόνοι.

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1 For the principal clause, which is missing in this sufficiently long sentence, Dio doubtless substituted an eloquent gesture.
2 Ι.ε., better known among his friends at Rome and in the places which he had visited in his wanderings.
3 Nerva succeeded Domitian in A.D. 96.
4 Nerva died in January of A.D. 98.
proceeds from the gods, though most men scorn it and deem it useless— but to speak of these things in detail I think is superfluous, for these matters are better known among other men and enjoy a renown and honour which is their due, whereas if I narrate in Prusa the course of my exile, men will say, not that I am lamenting, but far rather that I am boasting.

However that may be, when that man had died and the change of administration had been effected, I was on the point of going to visit the most noble Nerva; but, having been prevented by a serious illness, I lost that opportunity completely, being robbed of an emperor who was humane and fond of me and an old-time friend. And I swear to you by all the gods, it is not because of what I might have obtained for myself or for some member of my family that I am distressed at having missed it, no, because of what I might have achieved for you and for the state at large; for this I count a great injury and loss. For what we have now obtained we might have had then, and we might have employed the present opportunity toward obtaining further grants. However that may be, when I had experienced at the hands of the present Emperor a benevolence and an interest in me whose magnitude those who were there know full well, though if I speak of it now I shall greatly annoy certain persons—and possibly the statement will not even seem credible,

6 I.e., the Council of One Hundred; revision of finances, and the right to hold court at Prusa.

6 I.e., in Rome in connexion with the mission of A.D. 100 (Or. 40. 15).

7 Perhaps those who had expected of him greater accomplishments, though no doubt there were some who envied him his influence at Rome.
τηλικαύτης τιμής τυγχάνοντα καὶ συνηθείας καὶ φιλίας ἀπαντᾷ ταῦτα ἐδάσαι καὶ παριδεῖν, ἐπιθυμη-
σαντα τῆς ἐνταῦθα ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐῖπὼν πλέον—ὅμως δὲ εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν ἴδιων
κατεθέμην τὸν καίρον ἐκείνου οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ κρα-
tοῦντος εὐνοιαν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ μέρους, οἶνον τὰ τῆς
οὐσίας ἐπανορθώσας διεθμαρμένης ἢ προσλαβών
τινα ἄρχην ἢ δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἀπαν ὅσον ποτὲ ἦν εἰς
ὑμᾶς ἐτρεπα καὶ μόνον εἶδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως.

4 Ταῦτα δὲ εἰ δὲ μὲν ἐστὶ χρήσιμα καὶ μεγάλα, ἡ μὴ πολλοῖς υπάρχαντα ἐτέρους ἄλλα μιᾷ πόλει,
καὶ ταὐτὴ σχεδὸν τι τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων κατὰ τὴν
Ἀσίαν καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἔχουση δίκαιον πρὸς τὸν
αὐτοκράτορα, τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' ἐκείνος μαντευσα-
μένου καὶ προειπότος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ καὶ
πρῶτον πάντων ἐκείνου φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἀποδεί-
ξαντος τῶν ὀλων κύριον· οὐ λέγω τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν.
ὅτι δὲ ὑμεῖς μάλιστα τούτων ἐπεθυμεῖτε, καὶ
χρόνος ἤν πολὺς, ὅν ἤλπιζετε, ἐξηπάτησατε, τοὺς
ὑποσχομένους μόνον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν—οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν
ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς οὔτε προσεδόκησε πώποτε οὔτε
ὑπέσχετο—τιμᾶς ὑπερβαλλοῦσας ἐδίδοτε, πρὸ πολ-

1 δὲ εἰ] δὲ ὅτι Arnim. 2 καὶ added by Reiske.
3 ἡ deleted by Arnim. 4 ἄλλα Crosby : ἄλλο ἡ.
5 δ' added by Selden. 6 τούτων Crosby, τούτω Emperius : τοῦτο.
7 ἐπεθυμεῖτε Reiske : ἐπιθυμεῖτε.
8 ἐξηπάτησατε Emperius : ἐξηπατήσατε.
9 ἰδιωτῶν Emperius : ἡγεμόνων.

1 In Or. 40. 15 he complains of lack of leisure.
2 The allusion is obscure. Possibly Dio is referring to

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that one who met with such esteem and intimacy and friendship should have neglected all these things and have given them scant attention, having formed a longing for the confusion and bustle here at home, to put it mildly—for all that, I did not employ that opportunity or the goodwill of the Emperor for any selfish purpose, not even to a limited degree, for example toward restoring my ruined fortunes or securing some office or emolument, but anything that it was possible to obtain I turned in your direction and I had eyes only for the welfare of the city.

But the question whether these concessions are useful and important, or whether they have been granted, not to many other cities, but to one only, and that too, I venture to state, one of the most illustrious in all Asia, a city possessing so great a claim upon the Emperor, inasmuch as the god they worship had prophesied and foretold his leadership to him and had been the first of all openly to proclaim him master of the world—I am not speaking of anything like that. But that you desired these concessions most of all, and that there had been a long period during which you were in a state of expectancy, victims of deception, constantly bestowing extravagant honours upon those private persons who merely gave you promises—for of course none of the proconsuls ever either expected or promised these concessions—inasmuch as you went in a body

Smyrna, for in Or. 40. 14 he speaks of a report that Trajan had been astonishingly generous to Smyrna—though Dio himself refutes the report.

3. I.e., the concessions won by Dio (§ 3).

4. The petty agents referred to seem to have been negotiating with one or more proconsuls instead of directly with Trajan, as Dio had done, cf. § 5.
λοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντώντες ¹ παντικεῖ καὶ ² περιμένοντες ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσι: τοῦτο ἵσως ³ ἐννοεῖν ὁ άξιον. καίτοι σμικρῶν γενομένων καὶ οὐδενὸς άξιόν τοῦ ἀνδρά τοῦ γενναίου καὶ μὴ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας ἠττονα τότε ἔχρην λέγειν ὅτι, Μαίνεσθε καὶ παρασηκτε τοιούτων ἐξεχόμενοι σφόδρα οὕτως καὶ θεραπεύοντες ἀνθρώπους οὕτω ταπεινοὺς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν οὕτε ἀναγκαίοις οὕτε μεγάλους καὶ ταῦτα ἀδήλους, ἐτι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντες βέβαιον. ἀλλ', οὕτως, χαλεπόν μὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπωσοῦν γενόμενον τὶ τούτων. οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως ἐλύπει τὸ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα τῶν ἡγεμόνων ⁴ εἶναι τὸν πονησάντα καὶ παρασχόντα, μὴ τῶν ἡμετέρων τινά πολιτῶν. ἐτι δὲ ἐλπὶς ὑπῆκαι καὶ ἑθελγεν αὐτοὺς οὐδέποτε ⁵ γενομένων.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀκήκοα πολλῶν ἐγὼ λεγόντων, ὡς πρότερον ⁶ ἀντιγράφαντος περὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινός καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποτευχθέντος πολλοῦ κατεγέλων τῆς πόλεως—οὐ τῶν ἀστυγείτόνων, ἠττον γὰρ ἂν ⁷ ἂν τὸ δείνον, ἀλλὰ

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¹ ἀπαντώντες Selden: ἀπαντεῖς.  
² καὶ added by Selden, ἦς Emperius.  
³ τοῦτο ἵσως Emperius: τούτως ὡς.  
⁴ τῶν ἡγεμόνων deleted by Emperius.  
⁵ οὐδέποτε Crosby, ὡς οὐδέποτε ἂν Emperius: ὡς οὐδέποτε.  
⁶ πρότερον Emperius: προάργετον or προάργετον.  
⁷ ἂν added by Pfugk.

¹ The personal pronoun contained in the last three sentences, though plural, seems to refer to the “high-minded” citizen, who had failed to protest against relying upon the worthless agents who for some time had fed Prusa on false
far from Prusa to meet the men of whom I speak, and waited for them in other cities—this perhaps is a matter worth bearing in mind. And yet, seeing that only trifling, yes worthless, concessions were effected by them, the high-minded man, the man who was not the slave of envy and malice, should have said at the time, "You are crazy and deluded in clinging so tenaciously to men like that and in cultivating such low fellows in order to gain favours that are neither essential nor important, to say nothing of their being vague and of your having no assurance." But, I suspect, any of these things, no matter how it was brought to pass, was to them difficult. Yet surely the people were not equally distressed that it was this or that proconsul who had effected the concession and presented it to them instead of one of our own citizens. Besides, they had a lurking hope which cheered them regarding concessions that never came to pass.¹

And yet this too I have heard from many sources, that when one of the proconsuls on a previous occasion had sent a rescript regarding the administration of our finances ² and the project came to naught; many ridiculed the city—I don't mean many of our neighbours, for the outrage would have been less in that hopes, but who was critical of Dio's own achievements. He contrasts ironically favours due to the intervention of a proconsul with those secured by a citizen of Prusa (himself). It is not easy to see why either type of favour should have been "distressing"; but cf. Or. 40. 10, where Dio suggests that his enemies were reluctant to witness the development of their city.

² The word διοδηκτοι recurs frequently in the Bithynian speeches. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan shows how keen an interest Rome felt in the financial well-being of the province.
τῶν πολιτῶν—ός μειζόνων ἢ καθ’ αὐτὴν ἐφιεμένης καὶ διαφεροῦσας οὐδὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην τῶν παιδῶν τῶν βασιλέων. καὶ ταύτα λέγοντες οὐκ ἦσαχυνον διασύνοντες τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ καθαρούντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οὗτως ἁνοίητως. εἴτε γάρ εἰς τῶν πρωτεύοντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ τιμωμένων, αὐτοὺς καθαρούσις ἀσθενοῦσι καὶ ἄδοξοι πόλεως προστηκότες. εἴτε τῶν ἀπερριμένων εἰς καὶ τῶν ὑστάτων, ἔτι μειζὸν καὶ χαλεπωτέραν ποιοῦσι τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τῆς ἔσχάτης πόλεως ἐσχατοὶ τυχάνουσιν ὄντες.

7 Ἰδα δὲ μὴ διὰ τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας λόγους τοῦ πρωτεύοντος ἐκκροσιῶθα, τούτων ὅπως δήποτε λη-θοπότα καὶ κομισθέντων ἐντάξθα, σκοπεῖτε ἐς τῷ βαρὺς γέγονα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ κατ’ ἱδίαν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων ἢ κοινῆ προφέρων καὶ ὀνειδίζων χάριτας ἢ προσαγώγων τινας ἤν ἐβούλωμην ἢ τούνατίον οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκατόν βουλευτῶν κατα- λεγόντων ἐτεροί μὲν εἰσήγαγον φίλους αὐτῶν καὶ παρεσκευάσαν ὅπως ἔξουσί τοὺς συναγωγικομένους καὶ βοηθοῦντας οἷς ἀν ποτε ἐθέλσωσιν, ἔγω δὲ οὔτε ἐποίησα τοιούτων οὐδέν οὔτε διελέχθην τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἐμὸι μᾶλλον ἂν προσθεμένων, εἰ ἐβουλόμην, ἡ 8 ἀλλω τινὶ. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ἦξίουν μηδὲ ἐτερον

1 οὗτως] αὐτοῖς Arnim.
2 εἰς Reiske: ἐπὶ UM, omitted by B.
3 καὶ κομισθέντων ἐνταξθα, σκοπεῖτε Emperius: ἐνταξθα, σκοπεῖτε καὶ κομισθέντων.
4 οὐκ ἐλαττον Reiske: ἐλαττον οὐχ οἰ ἐλαττον οὐχ.
5 μᾶλλον ἂν προσθεμένων Reiske, προσθεμένων ἄν Pflugk: προσθεμένων.

1 A minority of the Prusans seem to have had full citizen-ship.
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case, but many of our own fellow citizens—alleging that the city was aiming at things beyond its reach and in point of folly proving in no wise superior to the sons of kings. And in saying these things they were not ashamed to be disparaging their own country and discrediting it so thoughtlessly by their words. For if they are among the foremost in it or among those held in honour, they are discrediting themselves, having been the outstanding men of a weak and ignoble city; while if they are among the outcast and lowest group, they are making their own disgrace still greater and more grievous, if they happen to occupy the lowest station in a city of the lowest grade.

But, not to be diverted from my theme by these incidental reflections, now that these favours have been obtained in whatever way they were, and brought to Prusa, consider whether I have made myself obnoxious to any of our citizens, either privately by speaking to my own interest, or publicly by parading and casting in your teeth favours conferred, or by having given preferment to certain men of my choice; or whether, on the contrary, though no fewer than a hundred councillors were enrolled, while others had put in friends of their own and had schemed to have in the Council persons to aid them and to give their support to whatever they might wish to accomplish, I neither did anything of the kind nor discussed such a thing, in the belief that they would have sided with me rather than with somebody else had I so desired. No, I held that, if possible, no other man should introduce such a

2 I.e., by Dio. Cf. § 3 and note.
3 I.e., the electors.
μηδένα τοιούτον ἔθος εἰσάγειν μηδε καθ' ἑταρείας πολιτεύεσθαι μηδ' εἰς μέρη διασπασθῇ τὴν πόλιν εἰ δ' οὖν, αὐτὸς ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτη-μάτων, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἠλπιττον ἱσχύειν ἔμελλον καὶ μηδενὸς ἄξιονσαί λόγον.

Τῇ οὖν ἡμαρτόν ἐν τούτοις καὶ τὶ παρελείφθη μοι; δίκαιος εἰμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀμολογεῖν ὅτι μήτε αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἔπραττον ἄδικον καὶ παράνομον μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἔκώλυν,1 ἐξὸν ἐνὶ ῥήματι καλύσαι καὶ καταστάντα2 μηνύσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον, καίπερ3 εἰδό-σιν, ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνις. εἰ δὲ μήτε ὑμεῖς προσείχετε4 μήτε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὸ πράγμα ἢπτητο, 9 οὐχ ἐκεῖ, ὡς ἐπιστεύλαι5 τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. τοῦτο οὖν ἢν τὸ ποιήσαν ἔμε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ὅνα μὴ δοκῶ καθηγορεῖν τινῶν μηδὲ διαβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν μηδ' ὀλος λυπηρότερος ὡς τῶν ἐνθάδε μηδενί. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς οὗτω διωκήθη, τὰ γ'6 ἄλλα ὀρθῶς οὔτε γὰρ φαύλους οὔτε ἀναξίους ἄνδρας ἐχειροτονήσατε: πλὴν ὅτι πάντες τῆς ύσης τυχόντες τιμῆς, καὶ τοι δικαίως τυχχάνοντες καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦς, ὀμισίς καθάπερ οἱ μυσταγγών οὐκ ἔδειδησαν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὠδέ ψήφου ἥξιοσα διενεγκείν ύπερ οὐδένος μόνος, μὴ ῥοπήν τω δοκᾶ τὸ τοιούτον παρέχειν καὶ μαρτυρίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινές ὡς-

1 ἐκώλυν] ἐκέλευν Nabcr. 2 καταστάντα Wytenbach : καταστάντας καὶ. 3 καίπερ Arnim : καὶ παρ'. 4 προσείχετε Morel : προείχετε. 5 ἐπιστεύλαι Reiske : ἐπιστεύλα. 6 γ' Reiske : δ'.
practice or conduct state affairs by means of political clubs \(^1\) or split the city into factions, but if they did, that I at any rate should abstain from such misdeeds, even if it meant that I should have much less influence than any of the others and be considered of no importance at all.

Then what error have I committed in the matters under consideration, or in what have I been found remiss? I have the right to admit to you that I was neither doing anything unjust and illegal myself nor trying to prevent the others from so doing, although by a single word I could have prevented and, by presenting myself, have disclosed to you and the proconsuls what was going on, though you knew it already. And, in case you paid no heed and the matter did not impress the proconsuls either, it would not have been difficult to send word to the Emperor. It was this, therefore, that made me keep quiet, that I might not be suspected of accusing certain persons or of maligning the city and, in general, that I might not be too irritating to anyone at Prusa. Now then, the matter of the Council was managed as follows, correctly for the most part, for you elected men who were neither mediocre nor undeserving; however, since they all received the same rank—even though they obtained it justly and through their own merits—they nevertheless, like those who are being initiated into the mysteries, required mystagogoi.\(^2\) Yet I did not see fit even to vote no on a single candidate, yes, I alone, lest such action on my part might seem to lend some weight and testimony, and lest some of the others candidates for initiation regarding the proper procedure and acted as their sponsors.
νήσωσιν ἔμοι τάναντια γράφειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι. 10 τῇ οὖν; ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἡ τρεῖς γενομένης' τῆς χειροτονίας ἐξῆλθον οὖδ' ἐμελλον' παρατυχών τοῖς γεγονόσις οὐδένα ἔχειν' χρεώστην οὐδὲ συνωμότην οὐδὲ ἔμοι χάριν οὐφείλοντα τοῦ πράγματος. ὑμῖν γὰρ, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ, τοὺς Βουλευτὰς ἥττησάμην.

Καὶ τούτων διοικήσεως νῦν πρῶτον εἰσαχθείσης' πολλὰ υπὸ πολλῶν ἡδικημένοις—ὡσπερ εἰκός ἐστι τὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἐτη φυγής—καὶ πρὸς ἐνίοσ οὐδὲ δικών μοι δέον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰπεὶν καὶ μηνηθήσαις περὶ τῶν κατεχομένων, πρὸς οὐδένα οὔτ' ἐμνήθησθιν οὔτε λόγον ἐποιησάμην οὐδένα, τοσοῦτων μὲν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφεστήκοτων οἰκετῶν, τοσοῦτων δὲ χρήματα ἀπεστηρικότων, τοσοῦτων δὲ χωρία κατεγόρων, ἀπὸ μὴνδεός ὅτος τοῦ καλὸνσοντός. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν Ὁδυσσεῖ πατέρα οἴκοι καταλιπόντε καὶ γυναῖκα ἀγαθὴν καὶ φίλους συνεβη καταφρονηθήσας διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν οὕτως ὡστε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καταλαβόντας εἰνόοι ἐστιασθαι καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν οἶνον ἀντλοῦντας καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀποκτινώντας, καὶ μηδὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπέχεσθαι τελευτῶντας, ἀλλ' ἀκουσαν βιάζεσθαι γήμαι καὶ καταλιπέσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἔμε δὲ οὐκ ἦν εἰκὸς ὑπὸ...

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1 γενομένης] γεγομένης Reiske.
2 οὔτ' ἐμελλον Emperius: οὐδὲ μᾶλλον.
3 ἔχειν Emperius: ἔχων. 4 εἰσαχθείσης Capp: ἄχθείσης.
5 δὲν Emperius: δὲν.
6 μᾶλλον] μόνον Pflugk. 7 ὡστε Reiske: τε.
8 καταλαβόντας Emperius: καταλιπόντας ορ καταλιπόντος.

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2 Candidates for the Council seem to have been subject to a “scrutiny,” in the course of which written testimony might be presented. Dio’s reluctance to take part testifies to his
might be reluctant to write and declare themselves in opposition to me.¹ What then? When the voting had been in progress for two or three days I left Prusa and did not intend by being present at the proceedings to have any one as my debtor or confederate or owing me thanks because of the affair. For it was for you, not for myself, that I had asked for the councillors.

And again, when now for the first time the question of financial administration² had been brought up, though I had been wronged by many men in many matters—as indeed it was to be expected that a man should be who had come home after so many years of exile—and although with regard to some I did not even need to go to law, but rather to speak to them and remind them of what was being held in their possession, nevertheless I did not mention these matters to any one or make any statement, although so many slaves had run away and obtained freedom, so many persons had defrauded me of money, so many were occupying lands of mine, since there was no one to prevent such doings. For if Odysseus, who had left at home a father, a faithful wife, and friends, had the misfortune to be so despised because of his absence from home that some took possession of his house and feasted and drank there every day, draining his wine casks and killing off his cattle; and finally did not even keep their hands off his wife, but tried to make her marry again against her will and to abandon her husband and her home, was it not to be expected that I should have suffered influence at Prusa. He may well have wished to avoid incurring enmity and thus endangering his success in greater matters.

¹ Cf. § 6 and note.

²
πολλῶν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, πάντων ἀπεγνωκότων με καὶ μηδενὸς ἐτὶ σωθῆσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος;

12 Ἀλλὰ περὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσωσ ὦν οὐχ ὄμοιος ἔτέρως γέγονα, λέγω δὲ οὐ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων καλομένων σωφρονέστερος ἐλύπησα δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς τῆς πόλεως. περὶ δὲ τούτων, ὡς ἐγένετο, πολλάκις ἄκηκόατε· δει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἵσως ἀναμνήσαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ, ἄνδρες, τὸ μὲν βουλευθαί τῆς πόλεως κοσμεῖν καὶ κατασκευάζειν μὴ μόνον στοιχὶ καὶ ὕδασιν, ἀλλὰ, εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, καὶ τείχες καὶ λυμέσι καὶ νεωρίους ὀμολογῆ. καὶ τούτον τὸν ἑρωτα, οὕτως εἰτε παιδικὸν φήσει τις εἰτε ἀνόητον, οὐκ ἔξαρνος εἰμι, τὸ καὶ συνοικίζειν ἐθέλειν τῆς πόλεως καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς αὐτὴν ὀσον δύναμαι συναγαγεῖν, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρῶν, ἀλλ’ εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, καὶ ἐτέρας πόλεως συνελθεῖν ἀναγκάσαντα, ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινόνδας ποτὲ τὴν Βουιτίαν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας συνώκησε καὶ Ἐρημεῖς τὴν 'Ἀττικὴν εἰς τὰς 'Αθῆνας, καὶ Μυτιληναίοι" ποτὲ λέγοντα τὴς Αἰολίδος κατασχόντες καὶ τῶν περί τὸν Ἐλλησπόντον καὶ Τρομάδα τόπων τὴν Λέσβον ἄπασαν εἰς μᾶν τὴν αὐτῶν συναγαγεῖν πόλιν.

14 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἑπιστάμενος γε τὰς διανοίας τῶν

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1 aуется] αὖτωs Emperius, δὲιοs Arnim, deleted by Reiske.
2 Μυτιληναῖοι C. Fr. Hermann: μειλήσοι το μιλήσοι.
3 αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν.

1 Cf. Or. 40. 2.
2 Cf. Or. 40. 8-12.
3 These operations form the central theme of Or. 47 and are referred to incidentally in Or. 40 and 48. No doubt he had spoken on the same topic on many occasions.
4 Mytilene controlled much of Aeolis in the time of Pitta-
many such wrongs at the hands of many men, since all had come to despair of me and no one any longer expected me to return in safety?¹

However, though possibly I have not been like others in regard to such matters—I mean that, as compared not only with laymen but even with many who are known as philosophers, I may have acted with more self-restraint—still I have offended the city in the matter of the public improvements.²

Concerning these, how they came about, you have often heard me speak³; yet perhaps I should take this occasion also to refresh your memory. For, gentlemen, that I wished in the first place to beautify the city and equip it with, not merely colonnades and fountains, but also, if that were possible, fortifications and harbours and shipyards, I freely admit. And also that I have had another passionate desire—call it either so childish or so foolish as you will—I do not deny. I mean my desire to make our city the head of a federation of cities and to bring together in it as great a multitude of inhabitants as I can, and not merely dwellers in this district either, but even, if possible, compelling other cities too to join together with us, just as Epaminondas once brought Boeotia into union with Thebes, and as Theseus brought Attica into union with Athens, and as the people of Mytilene once, according to report, having become masters of Aeolis and of the regions about the Hellespont and the Troad, gathered all Lesbos into their own state as a unit.⁴

However, being acquainted with the views of some

cus, whose rule lasted from 589 to 579 B.C., but we have no other record of this undertaking. *Synoecism* did not entail change of residence but merely change of political allegiance.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπων ἐνίων καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὰς ἁσχολίας καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐπιδημίας, ὅτι μοι βραχὺς ἔστι παντέλως, οὔτε ἡπτόμην οὖν-
δενὸς μελίζονος οὔτε ἠπισκοπή, μόνον δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ κατέχειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἐρώτεις αὐτοῦ1 περὶ τῶν τουούτων2 διεξάσκειν οἷς καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσι, καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις ἐμεμνήμην ὅν3 καὶ ἐνόμιζον συμφέρειν γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει κατασκευῆς ἑνεκα καὶ συνοικισμοὶ καὶ προσόδων
15 καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων. ἀ εἰ ποτε γένοιτο καίρος ἐπι-
teleσθηναι καὶ θεῶν τις ποιήσει, τότε ὑφεσθε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τινῶν ἐχθρας καὶ τοῦ4 πρὸς ἐμὲ μίσους, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐκέτι ἀμφιβόλως οὐδὲ πράξεις ἔροπαί καὶ λοιδορήσονται, φανερῶς δὲ καὶ ἀντικρινόμενοι, καὶ μὴ κωλύσαι δυνὴ-
θώσιν, ἀπάγοσαν πρὸτερον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἰδεῖν οἰς
αὐτὴν βουλομένων θεῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι.
tότε δ' οὖν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος δεξαμένου τὸ πράγμα—
tυχών μὲν δ' ὑμᾶς, ἵσως δὲ καὶ δ' ἐμὲ—καὶ συναγαγόντος5 ἐκκλησίαν, οὐ προειδότος ἐμοῦ, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἀναγιγνώσκοντος, οὐκ ἐδυνήθην τὴν ἑσυχαίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἀνέστη καὶ συνεβούλευσα καὶ
16 ἐνεδειξάμην τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ πράγμα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὑμεῖς ἐπεθυμήσατε τῶν ἐργῶν, τῶν δὲ ἐν τελεί τις ἀντεύπε, οὐδὲ ἀντεύπε μὲν οὐδείς, οὐ μὴν προνυμούμενος ἐνεβαίνῃ καὶ

1 αὐτοῖ] ἀ δι Geel, ἀ δι ti Jacobs, ἀ δι ποτε Wilamowitz.
2 After τουούτων Reiske deletes τοιαῦτα.
3 ὅν added by Selden.
4 τοῦ Reiske : τοῦτο.
5 συναγαγότος Pflugk : συνάγοντος.

1 Cf. § 1. 2 Cf. Or. 40. 8-11. 3 Cf. Or. 40. 6.
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of the people here, as well as with my own limitations and responsibilities and the duration of my sojourn in Prusa—for the time at my disposal is altogether brief—I neither undertook anything too ambitious nor entertained any such expectations, only I could not control my own thoughts, but, just as lovers when alone together expatiate on such things as they most desire, so I too would often mention those things which I did believe it would profit the city to have for its equipment and its establishment of a federation and its revenues and countless other things. And if the opportunity should ever arise for the fulfilment of these projects and some god should bring them to pass, then you will see the extravagance of the hostility of certain persons and of their hatred of me—to say nothing of their hatred of you—since they will no longer be ambiguous and mild in their speech and their abuse, but open and outspoken, and if they prove unable to block proceedings, they will hang themselves sooner than see the city become such a city as, God willing, it is not impossible for it to come to be. At that time, at any rate, when the proconsul accepted the proposal—possibly through your efforts, but perhaps through mine as well—and convened an assembly, though I had had no previous warning, and began to read a statement about these matters, I could not keep quiet, but took the floor and gave the measure my support and explained the project for those who lacked information on the subject. And as to what happened after that, it is not that you the Assembly desired the improvements but a certain one of the officials opposed them, nor yet that, while no one opposed them, none was found enthusiastically in favour of
 Dio Chrysostom

συμπράττων, ἄλλα πάντες ὡς ἔπει ἄγαθοῖς οὕσι καὶ συμφέρουσιν οὐ λόγῳ μόνον¹ συμπράττοντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες· καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὡς καλὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὕτως ἐγένετο.²

¹ After μόνον Reiske adds ἄλλα καὶ ἔργῳ εὑρέθησαν.
² Arnim regards the sentence as incomplete.
THE FORTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

them and ready to co-operate; on the contrary, one and all, believing that the undertaking was fine and for the city's good, were ready not only to vote for it but also to contribute to it; and thus the proposal was carried, as being fine and magnificent and beneficial to the city.
THE FORTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY PRIOR TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL CAREER

The title of this Discourse, though doubtless truthful, affords no information as to either the contents or the occasion. Such a title must have been given by a person who was interested in the chronology of the speeches. It is the only title of the sort preserved in our mss., though Synesius found several of that type in his copy of Dio.

Relying on internal evidence, Arnim dates the speech shortly prior to Dio’s exile. Although the clues when taken separately may not be conclusive on that point, their combined witness supports that dating. The speaker is conscious of his powers as an orator (§ 7) and has appeared as an advocate in court (§ 8); he has been in possession of his inheritance for some time, though he has not yet collected all the debts due the estate; he has excited the envy of the masses by his reputed wealth (§§ 5-6); he appears to have only one infant child (§ 13); he has recently built a pretentious villa and some workshops (§ 9). Furthermore, he rests his claim to respect upon the reputation of his forebears rather than upon any merits of his own (§§ 2-4), and his failure to appeal for sympathy on the score of having been an exile is in marked contrast with his behaviour in the speeches which are demonstrably subsequent to that exile.

The occasion for the address is briefly as follows. As a result of the rising price of grain at Prusa a bread riot has taken place. The excited mob rushed to attack the properties of Dio and an unnamed neighbour, either because they were suspected of having manipulated the grain market.
or because it was felt that they should be doing something toward the relief of the masses or because of pure hatred of the poor for the rich. Having reached a narrow lane near Dio's estate, the mob suddenly was seized with panic and withdrew. The following morning the local authorities call a town meeting to discuss ways and means of easing the situation. In this meeting of citizens Dio rises to protest against his maltreatment by the mob. The gathering is hostile, and he appeals for a fair hearing both in the beginning of his remarks and later when he speaks of the price of grain; but he shows himself a man of fearless courage both in defending himself and in upbraiding his fellow townsmen. The address is interesting, not only as presumably the spontaneous eloquence of a distinguished speaker, but also as portraying in vivid colours the social and economic unrest that must have characterized more than one community in Bithynia.
46. ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Ἡγὼ οὖχ οὔτως ἐκπέπληγμαι ἐφ’ οἷς ποιεῖτε, ὡς ἄνδρες, τοιούτοις οὐσιν, ἀλλ’ ἔπει οὐδεμίαν αὐτίαν ὡρῶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀργῆς πρὸς ἐμέ, τούτῳ ἐστι τὸ εἰς ἀπορίαν ἅγων. ὀργήν μὲν γὰρ δικαίαν ἐστι παραντήσασθαι ἀνθρώπων, μῦσος δὲ ἄδικων τὸς ἁν θεραπεύσαι; ἄξιω δὲ οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι μου λέγοντος οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἡ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄδικῶ, οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς βουλέσθε δήποτε ἀναιτίως μισεῖν τινα τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν· εἰ δὲ ἄδικῶ, κατ’ ἐμοῦ ὁ λόγος ἐσται, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· καὶ οὕτως γε μείζων ὑμῶν υφέξω τιμωρίαν ἡ αὐτοὶ ζητεῖτε. τὸ γὰρ ἐξελεγχθήναι πονηρὸν ὅντα τῷ παντὶ δεινότερον τοῦ λευσθήναι ἡ καταφλεγήναι. 2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν μάθετε ὅτι ὁ δοκεῖ ὑμῶν φοβερά, οἱ λίθοι καὶ τὸ πῦρ, οὐδὲν φοβερά ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἐστέ γε τούτους ἰσχυροῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀσθενέστατοι, εκτὸς εἰ μὴ τις ἤρθηκε τῇ τῶν ληστῶν καὶ τῶν μανωμένων δύναμιν. πόλεως δὲ καὶ δήμου ἰσχύς ἐν ἐτέρως ἐστι, καὶ πρῶτον γε ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν· καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν.

1 ἀ added by Casaubon. 2 ἢρίθμης ἀριθμεῖ Emperius. 3 φρονεῖν ἑωφρονεῖ Emperius ex marg. Morel.

1 Cf. § 10. 2 Cf. §§ 4 and 12-13.
THE FORTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY PRIOR TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL CAREER

I am not so astounded at your conduct, gentlemen, shocking as it is, but since I cannot see any justification for your anger against me, I am in a quandary. For while justifiable anger can be assuaged by entreaty, hatred that is unjust who could heal? However, I ask you to give me a hearing, since I speak as much on your account as on my own. For if I am guilty of no wrong, neither do you, I presume, wish to hate without a cause one of your own citizens; while if I am guilty, my words will be harmful instead of helpful to me; and thus I shall undergo at your hands a punishment greater than you yourselves are seeking. For it is in every way more dreadful to be proved a scoundrel than to be stoned to death or consumed by fire. And you must recognize first of all that the things which seem terrible to you—stones and fire—are not terrible to anybody, and that you are not really strong because of these things, but weakest of all—unless one were to take into account the strength of brigands and madmen. But as for a city and a government by the people, strength lies in other things, and first and foremost in wisdom and fair dealing.

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Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐμὲ δεὶ λέγειν εἰ ἀγαθὸς ἦν. δεὶ γὰρ εὑφημεῖτε αὐτὸν καὶ κοινῆ καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν, ὅπου ἂν μνημῆτε, ὡς οὐ φαίλον 3 πολίτην. δεὶ μὲντοι εἰδέναι ύμᾶς ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἑκεῖνῳ ἐστὶ τούτων τῶν ἔπαινων· ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀποδέχησθε, τότε κάκεινον μέμνησθε. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάππου δὲ τοῦ ἁμετέρου οὐκ ἂν εἴποι οὐδές οὔτε ὡς κατῆχουν τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάλωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἔαυτοι. τὴν γὰρ οὐσίαν ἢν εἴχε πατρών καὶ παππών ἀπασάν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν ἀναλώσας, ὥστε μηδέν ἔχειν λοιπὸν, ἑτέραν εἰκτῆσατο ἀπὸ παιδείας καὶ παρὰ τῶν 4 αὐτοκρατόρων. καὶ τοῖνυν εἰς αὐτὸν οὐδεμίαν φαίνεται χάριν αἰτησάμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ φιλίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ, φυλάττων δὲ καὶ ταμευόμενος τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προθυμίαν εἰς ύμᾶς. εἰ δὲ των δοκεῖ φλυαρίᾳ τὸ πολιτῶν ἁμετέρων ἀναμμηνήσκειν ύμᾶς εὐνοιάς καὶ ἀρετῆς, οὕτως οὐκ οἴδ’ ὅτως εὐ παθεῖν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ του βούλεται. ἐκ τοιούτων δὴ ὄντες ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ οὕδαρα πονηροὶ ἦμεν, ἀλλὰ τοι δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐντροπῆς τινος αξίων ἦμεν, οὐχὶ λευσθῆναι υφ’ ύμῶν οὐδὲ καταφλεχθῆναι.

5 Σκοπεῖτε δὲ καὶ τούμον, ὡς ἄνδρες, μὴ ἀγνωμόνως. ἡμῖν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ οὐσίαν κατέλιπε ἀτι μὲν δόξης μεγάλην, δυνάμει δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πολλῷ ἐλάπτῳ ἑτέρῳ· οὐ μεῖον γὰρ ἠ τετταράκοντα μυριάδες ἦςαν χρεών καὶ πράγματα τοιαῦτα ἑξώθεν,

1 κατέλιπε Reiske: ἀπέλιπε.

1 We know next to nothing of Dio’s father; even his name, Pasierocrates, is recorded only by Photius.
2 His maternal grandfather. Cf. Or. 41. 6 and 44. 5.

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Now with reference to my father, there is no need for me to tell whether he was a good citizen, for you are always singing his praises, both collectively and individually, whenever you refer to him, as being no ordinary citizen. You should know, however, that these words of praise of yours are of no use to him; on the other hand, when you give your approval to me, his son, then you have been mindful of him too. Again, no one could say of my grandfather either that he disgraced the city or that he spent nothing on it out of his own means. For he spent on public benefactions all that he had from his father and his grandfather, so that he had nothing left at all, and then he acquired a second fortune by his learning and from imperial favour. Moreover, it is plain that he asked for no favour for himself, though held in such great friendship and esteem, but rather that he guarded and husbanded for you the goodwill of the Emperor. But if anyone thinks it foolishness to remind you of goodwill and nobility on the part of your own citizens, I do not know how such a man can wish to be treated well himself. Being descended, then, from such forebears, even if I were an utter knave myself, yet surely on their account I should merit some consideration instead of being stoned or burned to death by you.

But consider my own claims too, gentlemen, not unsympathetically. For my father left us an estate which, while reputed to be large, was small in value, yes, much less than that of others; for no less than four hundred thousand drachmas were in bills receivable, besides foreign business ventures of such nature

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3 We do not know what branch of learning.
4 Possibly the Emperor Claudius.
.getJSONArray τῶν χρεῶν εἶναι ταῦτα χαλεπώτερα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄσφαλεια, ὡς εἰπτεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἦμῖν τῶν ὄντων ὑπήρχεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτοῦ1 δυνάμει πιστεύων ἐκεῖνος ἀπαντᾶ ἐκείκτητο, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀμφιβολία-6 σοντος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τουούτοις ἀπολειφθείς οὐδέπω μὲν καὶ νῦν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος τῶν χρεῶν διαλέγομαι, λειτυόργηκα δὲ ὑμᾶς τὰς μεγίστας λειτουργίας καὶ οὐδείς ἐμοῦ πλείους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. πλουσιωτέρους δὲ ἐμοὶ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐπιστασθε καὶ αὐτοῖς. τί οὖν ἔστω ἐφ’ ὅτι ἐμοὶ ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ ἀτίμων ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν δεῖνα προβέβληθε καὶ λίθους καὶ πῦρ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς φέρετε; καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνον με φη λέγειν· Ἰσως μὲν γὰρ ἐπ’ οὐδένα οὐδὲ τῶν ἀδικούντων οὕτως ἔδει παροξύνεσθαι: πλὴν ἔμοι γε ἀπόχρη τὰ² καὶ ἐμαυτῶν.

7 Καὶ οκοπέτε καὶ τά ἀλλα ὅποιος εἰμὶ πολίτης ἐγὼ, πρὸς ὅντων βουλεσθε παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων² οὐδὲν καὶ κατακάετε. ἐστι μὲν γὰρ χωρία μοι καὶ πάντα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γῇ τῶν δὲ ἐμοὶ γευτωμένων οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὐτὲ πλούσιος οὔτε πένης—πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τουούτων μοι γευτωμένων—ἡτιώσατο ἐμὲ ὡς ἀφαιρούμενος τῶν ἢ ἐκβαλλόμενος, οὔτε δικαίως οὔτε ἀδίκως. εἰμὶ δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτε¹ ὑπέρδειος εἰπεῖν οὔτε¹ ἰσως ἀπάν-8 τῶν ὑστατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν. ἔστων οὖν ὄντων ἐν τῷ³ λόγῳ ἐλύπησα, πρᾶγμα ἐπαγαγῶν των τῶν

1 αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ.
2 ἀπόχρη τά Caubon: αὐτὸ ἡρὶ M, ἡρὶ UB.
3 Παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων Arnim, παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων Reiske: Παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων M, παραβάλλοις τοσούτων UB.
4 οὔτε Emperius: οὔδε.
5 τῷ] deleted by Arnim.
that they were far more troublesome than the bills. For we had no security, I might say, for any part of our assets, but my father had acquired all his wealth through trusting to his own influence, believing that no one would contest his claims. Yet, left as I was in such a situation, while I have not even now succeeded in securing a settlement of that part of the loans which fell to me, I have performed for you the greatest liturgies, in fact no one in the city has more of them to his credit than I have. Yet you yourselves know that many are wealthier than I am. What is it, then, that makes you angry with me, and why of all the citizens have you singled out for dishonour me and what’s-his-name, and why do you threaten us with stoning and burning? And let no one say that I am speaking in behalf of that man. For though perhaps you should not be so exasperated at any one, even among the wrongdoers, still my own troubles are enough for me. And pray consider what sort of citizen I am in other respects also, comparing me with whom you please—of all whom you do not consign to the flames. For example, though I have real estate, all in your territory too, yet none of my neighbours, whether rich or poor—and many of the latter class are my neighbours too—has ever lodged complaint against me, either justly or unjustly, alleging that he was being deprived of something or being evicted. Nor am I either overclever as a speaker or, if I may say so, poorest of all in that art. Well then, is there any one whom I have injured by my words, by causing trouble for any one

1 Dio had at least two brothers. Cf. Or. 44. 4.
2 One may infer from Dio’s language and from his failure to name his neighbour that they were not on good terms, possibly political rivals.
DIο CHΡYΣΟΣΤΟΜΥ

ἀπαγαμόνας ἡ κατασκευάσας ἐπήρειαν; ἡ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐποίησα κινδυνεύσαι τινα, ὡς Καίσαρι προσηκούσης, ἡ ἐν συνηγορίᾳ προύδωκα;

Καὶ μὴν τῆς γε νῦν ἀπορίας οὐδεὶς μάλλον ἐμοὶ ἀναίτιος. πότερον γὰρ σίτου ἀπάντων πλείστων γεωργῶν κατακέκλεικα τούτον, αὐξῶν τὴν τιμήν; ἀλλ’ ἐπίστασθε αὐτοὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίων, ὅτι σπάνιον εἴ ποτε ἀπεδόμην σίτου καὶ τοῦθεν ὑπερβάλη τῷ πλῆθει, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοσούτοις ἐτεσίν οὐδὲ τὸν ἄρκουντα ἕχω, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ μοι ἡ πᾶσα ἐπικαρπία ἐξ οὗν καὶ βοσκημάτων. ἀλλ’ ἀργύριον δανείζων οὐ βούλομαι παρέχειν εἰς τὴν τοῦ σίτου ὑμᾶς. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦτον οὐδέν με δεῖ λέγειν. οὐδέτερο γὰρ ὑμεῖς καὶ τοὺς δανείζοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς δανειζομένους.

9 Τί οὖν ἔστιν ὃ γε ἐγὼ ποιήσας δυνάμενος, ὡστε ἀπαλλάξαι ὑμᾶς οὔτε ἃπορίας, οὐ βουλομαι, ἢ διότι πρὸς ἐμὲ οὕτως ἔχετε; ἢτι νὴ Δία τὰς στοὰς ἐπὶ τῶν θερμῶν ψυκτικὰ καὶ ἑργαστήρια, τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ φαινόν ἐνοι ἀδικεῖοθαν ὡς ἐμοὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τίνα πώποτε ὑμεῖς ἢ ἄλλος τις ἀνθρώπων ἐμέμβατο ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ οὐκίαν οἰκοδομοῦντα; ἢ παρὰ τούθεν ὁ σῖτος πλεόνας ἐστὶ; καὶ τὸν πέντε μυριάδων ἐώμην καὶ τὸ χωρίον, τῷ παντὶ πλείνον τιμής τῆς ἀξίας. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ αἰσχύνομαι νὴ τὸν Δία

1 τὴν added by Reiske. 2 τοσούτοις τοιούτοις Reiske. 3 οὐκοῦν Emperius: οὐκοῦν. 4 ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ Emperius: ἢ ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ. 5 παρὰ τούθεν ὁ σῖτος πλεόνας ἐστὶ Casaubon: παρὰ τοῦτο σῖτος πλείνος ἐστὶ M, ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο σῖτος πλείνων ἐστὶ UB.
who loves peace and quiet or by contriving some outrage against him? Or have I placed anyone in jeopardy touching his estate, pretending that it belongs to Caesar, or have I as advocate played false to any one?

Again, no man is more blameless than I am in connexion with the present shortage. Have I produced the most grain of all and then put it under lock and key, raising the price? Why, you yourselves know the productive capacity of my farms—that I rarely, if ever, have sold grain, even when the harvest is unusually productive, and that in all these years I have not had even enough for my own needs, but that the income from my land is derived exclusively from wine and cattle. Nay but, some one may claim, though I lend money, I am unwilling to supply it for the purchase of grain. There is no need for me to say anything on that score either, for you know both those who lend money in our city and those who borrow.¹

What is it, then, which I might do to relieve you from your distress but which I refuse to do, or what is it that makes you feel toward me as you do? It is because, by Heaven, I have built the colonnades near the hot springs, and workshops too; for this is the injury some claim the city is suffering at my hands! Yet whom have either you or any other person ever taken to task for building a house on his own farm? Or is it that which makes grain dearer? Why, I bought the land at fifty thousand drachmas, a price altogether higher than its worth!² Nay, I am

¹ Dio seems to disclaim the charge of money-lending. In those times the money-lender was not in good repute.
² He offers this to show that he is not of a grasping disposition.
καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἶ τις τῶν πολιτῶν, οὗ γὰρ δὴ γε ἡ πόλις, οὐτως μοχθηρός, ὥστε λυπεῖσθαι καὶ
θωνεῖν εάν τινα ἱδη στοὰν ἡ ἐργαστήριον ἁκο-
δομηκότα.
10 Καὶ μὴν τὸ γε πράγμα ἐφ' ὧ̣ δὲ παρωξύνθητε
δεῖται μὲν τινος ἐπιμελειας ἀληθῶς, οὗ μέντοι
ἀνήκεστον ἐστιν οὐδὲ ὥστε τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν. ἡ γὰρ
τιμὴ τοῦ σῶτος τῆς μὲν συνθεῖας παρ’ ἧμιν πλεῖοι
γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ἀπειπεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἰς πόλεις
ἐν αἷς ἀεὶ τοσοῦτον ἐστὶν ὅταν ἄριστα ἔχη. πάλιν
αὐθερεῖστε, ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ λέγοντος ὃτι καὶ παρ’
ἡμῖν αὐτὸν τοσοῦτον προσήκει εἶναι καὶ μηδέποτε
ἠττόνοις. ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ δεῖν προσέχειν μὲν ὅπως
ἐλάτονος ἐσται, μὴ μέντοι πικρῶς οὐτως ἔχειν
ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι μηδὲ ἔξεστάναι· ὥς τὰ γε
γενόμενα νῦν οὕτως τοιαῦτα ἐστὶν οἷα ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ
πράγματι, ἀλλ’ εἰ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
ἀνηρήκειμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴητε ποιῆσαι χαλεπώ-
11 τερον. τὸ γὰρ πολίταις ἐαυτῶν ἄργουξομένους—εἰ
μὲν ἀδίκως ἡ δικαίως ἐω, πολίταις δ’ οὖν καὶ
τούτοις ἐπιτίμοις καὶ μηδενὸς χείρος—μὴ δοῦναι
λόγου μηδὲ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς λιθάζειν καὶ κατα-
καλεῖν τὰς οἰκίας, ἵνα, εἰ ἐξόνασθε, μετὰ τῶν
παίδων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν συμπλεξητε,
τίνων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων; ἐμοὶ μὲν, νὴ τῶν Δία καὶ
tοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀκούσεσθε, οὐ δοκεῖ
tὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τῶν ἐνδεικτῶν πραπτῶν οὐδὲ τῶν

1 μοχθηρός Casaubon: μοχθρά.
2 ἂν added by Hertlein.
3 χεῖρος: Morel: χείρον.
4 καὶ added by Reiske.
THE FORTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

ashamed, by all that's holy, if any of the citizens—for of course it is not the city itself—is so depraved as to feel hurt and jealous if he sees that somebody has built a colonnade or a workshop!

Besides, though the matter over which you have become incensed truly does require some attention, still it is not beyond repair or such as to make you act as you are acting. For while the cost of grain has risen higher than what is customary here, it is not so high as to make you desperate. Why, there are cities in which it always is at that price, when conditions are best! There you go, making a tumult once more,¹ as if I were saying it ought to be that price at Prusa too, and never lower. But the point I am making is that, while it is necessary to take steps to make it cheaper, still it is not necessary to feel so bitter over what has happened or to lose your senses; for the way you have acted just now is not the conduct befitting such a matter, nay, if I had murdered your children and your wives you could not have behaved with greater savagery. For to be enraged at one's own fellow citizens—I care not whether justly or unjustly, but at all events at fellow citizens, citizens in good standing, yes, as good as anybody—and not to let them explain or to make an explanation to them, but without more ado to try to stone them and burn their houses, with a view to consuming in one conflagration, if possible, them and their children and their wives—what kind of human beings act that way? In my opinion, I swear by all that's holy, no matter if you will be angry to hear it, such conduct is not that of men in needy circum-

¹ Dio seems to have been greeted with an uproar when he first rose to speak. Cf. § 1.
οὐκ ἔχοντων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. ἡ γὰρ ἐνδεια σωφροσύνην ποιεῖ.

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰ μὴ δοκεῖτε ὑπὲρ ὅμων λέγεσθαι, 12 πλείστον ἀμαρτάνετε. εἰ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ἔσεσθε καὶ ὅργιοθητε τῷ—πολλὰ δὲ εἰκὸς ὡς ἐν πόλει συμβῆναι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἄδικα—τηλικαύτην ἀξιωσετε τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ὡστε εὖθες μετὰ τῶν παίδων κατακάειν καὶ τινὰς τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀνθρώπων ἔλευθερων, ἀναγκάζειν ὑμᾶς ὀσπέρ ἐν πολέμῳ, τίς οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ ἀτυχής ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὅστις ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει ζῆν αἰρήσεται μίαν ἡμέραν; πολὺ γὰρ κρείττον φυγάδα εἶναι καὶ παροικεῖν ἐπὶ ξένης ἡ τοιαύτα πάσχειν. ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἡ πρόφασις ἡ λεγομένη δι’ ἦν ὑμᾶς ἀποτραπῆναι φασὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς, ὑπιδομένοις τοῦ 13 στενωποῦ τὸ βάθος, ὀρᾶτε ὅλων ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ ἐμὲ τούτο ἔσωσε, καὶ ὡς ἦδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τῇ πόλει τὰς δυσχωρίας καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἡ ἀπότομα. καὶ τοῦ μα τοὺς θεοῦς οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ζητοῦσιν ἄλλος ἄλλου ἀσφαλέστερον σκηνοῦν, ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοῖς ἡ φυλακὴ ἐστὶν.

Τῇ μὲν οὖν τῇς ἥρας δι’ ἦν ἀπετράπετε, εἶτε τοῦτο νοῆσαντες εἶτε ἄλλο ὑποίζον, οὐ μέντοι ἄληθῶς ὑπείδεσθε. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε ἡμινάμην ὑμᾶς,
stances or lacking the necessaries of life. For need develops self-control.

And if you do not suppose these remarks of mine are being offered for your good, you are very much mistaken. For if you are going to be like this and, in case you become angry with any one—and many things are likely to happen in a city, both right and wrong—you are going to see fit to exact so extreme a punishment as forthwith to try to consume with fire the victim of your rage along with his children and to force some of the women, free citizens as they are, to appear before you with garments rent, supplicating you as if in time of war, what mortal is so foolish, so unfortunate, that he will choose to live in such a city a single day? The fact is, it is far better to be an exile and a sojourner on foreign soil than to be subjected to such outrage. Why, even now the alleged reason which, they say, made you turn back from my house—having become suspicious, forsooth, at the depth of the lane—see how flimsy it is! For if that is what saved me, it is high time from now on, as if the city were an armed camp, to occupy the difficult terrain and the lofty or precipitous positions! And yet, God knows, not even in armed camps does one soldier seek a safer spot than his neighbour in which to pitch his tent; no, their precautions are aimed at the men with whom they are at war.

So, although my thanks are due to the lucky chance which made you turn back, whether this was your motive or anything else at all; still you had no real reason to be suspicious. For I should not have warded you off, no, so far as that is concerned, you

1 The lane seems to have become so eroded because of traffic and rain that they could not see over its sides.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀλλὰ τούτου γε ἑνεκα πολλὴ ὡμῶν ἀσφαλεία ἐστὶν ὅταν βούλησθε κατακαίειν τὴν οἰκίαν, ἢρκει δὲ μοι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον λαβόντα ἀποχωρεῖν.

14 Καὶ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ ὅσ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀγανακτῶν ταῦτα εἰρήκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ ὡμῶν δεδώσα μῆποτε ἄρα διαβληθῇ ὡς βίαιοι καὶ παράνομοι. οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει τῶν ἑν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδεὶς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας—λέγω δὲ τοὺς μείζους ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἑνθάδε—ἀλλὰ ὡσπερ τῶν παιδίων τῶν ἀτακτοτέρων οὐκ οἱ προσόντων διδασκάλων κατηγοροῦσιν οἱ προσήκοντες, οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῶν δήμων ἀμαρτήματα πρὸς ἐκεῖνους ἀπαγγέλλεται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐτε καλῶς οὔτε συμφερόντως αὐτοῖς πράττοιτε· ἢν, τὸ δὲ ἄξιον ἐπιμελεύσαι τῆς ἄγορᾶς καὶ τοὺς δυναμένους χειροτονεῖν καὶ μὴ λειτουργηκότας, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, οὐς ἂν βούλησθε, σωφρονοῦντων τὲ ἀνθρώπων ἑστὶ καὶ πρὸς γε ταῦτα οὕτως ὡμῶν ἐναντιώσεται.

1 πράττοιτε Emperius: πράττετε.
2 After καὶ Capps deletes τοὺς.
3 τὸ Reiske: δὲ

1 Cf. § 8, where Dio seems to refer to the activity of informers.
2 It is not clear whether this proposal for the election of
are absolutely safe in burning down my house any time you please, and I was content to take my wife and baby and leave.

And let no one imagine that it is in anger over my own position that I have said these things rather than in fear for yours, lest possibly you may some day be accused of being violent and lawless. For nothing which takes place in the cities escapes the attention of the proconsuls—I mean the more important ones in these parts; on the contrary, just as relatives denounce to the teachers the children who are too disorderly at home, so also the misdeeds of the communities are reported to the proconsuls. Now while such conduct as yours would not be honourable or advantageous for yourselves, to demand that there should be supervision of your market and that those men should be elected who are financially able and have not performed liturgies, but if that cannot be, that then the choice of supervisors should rest with you, this, I say, is the course of sensible human beings and in this no one will oppose you. 

supervisors of the market is Dio's own contribution to the discussion or whether he is merely seconding the proposal of another.
THE FORTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AT PRUSA

The theme of this Discourse is Dio's pet project of embellishing his native city. He seems to have conceived the idea soon after his return from exile (A.D. 96). We learn both from the present address and from Or. 40. 11 that the people of Smyrna, Ephesus, Tarsus, and Antioch, not to mention lesser communities in that quarter of the Roman world, were taking energetic measures to beautify their respective cities, and Dio was concerned that Prusa should not lag behind. The full magnitude of his ambitious scheme is suggested by Or. 45. 12-14, where he says he had dreamed of constructing not merely colonnades and fountains but also fortifications, harbours, and shipyards and of increasing the population of Prusa by attracting immigration from all directions and even by incorporating with Prusa whole communities, "as Epaminondas once brought Boeotia into union with Thebes and as Theseus had brought Attica into union with Athens."

The opening paragraphs of Or. 40 form a valuable supplement to our present Discourse, which it seems to have preceded by not more than a few months. By combining both sources of information we gather that thus far Dio's operations have been confined to the construction of one or more colonnades; that the project had been sponsored by one or more proconsuls, as well as by Trajan himself; and that it had been welcomed by the people of Prusa, who on more than one occasion had heard the plan explained and had repeatedly expressed enthusiastic approval and guaranteed financial support by private subscription. However, the work involved the demolition of older structures and the removal of certain landmarks, both sacred and profane, and
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Dio soon found himself the target for hostile criticism. He seems to have been attacked on the charge of impiety and lack of local patriotism and as being chiefly concerned to serve his personal pride and ambition. It was no doubt by means of such charges that the small but energetic group of opponents tried to discourage payment of subscriptions to the building fund and thus to block proceedings. In the concluding paragraphs of the present address Dio deals ironically with the criticisms of one enemy in particular, whose gossipy remarks are treated as if they were intended for Dio's own good but who seems to have likened him to a tyrant.

Dio tells us, no doubt truthfully, that his active opponents are relatively few; yet his long exile had made him seem to be an outsider, his social and financial status undoubtedly raised him above the general level at Prusa, and his intimacy with Trajan and other influential Romans, while on occasion it was capitalized to the advantage of his people, laid him open to popular suspicion and jealousy. Again, it is human nature for men to be carried away by enthusiasm when plans are first proposed but to find their ardour cooling when work is in progress and subscriptions are falling due. Whatever may have been the cause, it is apparent that affairs have reached such a stage that Dio feels he must abandon his earlier intention of making no more public appeals in support of the work. The speech which he proceeds to deliver is notably sarcastic and bitter, but the justice of his case is made so manifest and his threat to wash his hands of Prusa is so disturbing that his hearers seem to have burst forth into shouts calling for the work to be carried forward. That it was carried forward to completion and acclaimed as a success may reasonably be inferred from the close of Or. 45, which Arnim dates in A.D. 101 or 102, at most but a few months later than the present Discourse.

We find welcome testimony regarding conditions in Bithynia in the tenth book of Pliny's Letters. Immediately following Pliny's entry into that province, A.D. 110 or 111, he reports (17 a and b) that finances are in bad shape, that on various pretexts private individuals are in possession of public funds, that public grants have been made for illegal purposes, but that substantial sums may be recoverable from certain contractors at Prusa. Letter 23 and Trajan's reply con-
cern a project to "repair an ancient and ruinous bath" at Prusa. A sequel is found in 70, in which Pliny proposes to abandon the original structure, once a private residence of some pretensions but now "a hideous ruin," and to build afresh in a district now "exceedingly deformed." More interesting still for our present purpose is 81, in which it is reported that Cocceianus Dio had been eager to have the Council of Prusa accept for the city "a public edifice which had been erected under his charge." A certain Flavius Archippus, acting through his attorney Eumolpus, had demanded that Dio first render an account of expenditures, charging that the work had not been carried out according to specifications and adding that Dio had been guilty of a grave offence in setting up a statue of Trajan in the same edifice in which were buried Dio's wife and son. Dio had been prompt in presenting to the proconsul the required statement and was urging a speedy hearing, but his opponents continued to create delays. We do not know the outcome of the squabble, but Trajan's reply (82), while recommending an inspection of Dio's accounts, as a matter of public interest, exhibits slight concern over the charges laid against him.

Thus we are led to infer that the popular support achieved by Or. 47 sustained Dio in the years that followed the completion of the colonnade and encouraged him to undertake with renewed zeal some of the projects associated with the ambitious program spoken of in Or. 45, 12-14. It is equally clear that he still had to contend with the opposition of some of his fellow citizens.
47. ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Πρώτον μὲν, δι’ ἄνδρες, ὅταν ἀναστὼ, μὴ πάντως ἤγειονθε λόγων ἀκούσεσθαι ϑαυμαστῶν μηδὲ ἐπισήμων· λέγω δὲ οὖν πρὸς ἢδονήν τινα ἡ κάλλος ἡ σοφίαν εἰργασμένων. ἦσος μὲν γὰρ οὐδ’ ἣν ἀλλως ἤμεν ἴκανοι πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τίχῃ τινὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς πόλεις πάσας ἐξηπατήσαμεν· εἰ δ’ οὖν, ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ λήθην εἰκὸς ἠμῖν γεγονέναι τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, ὅποια γὰρ ἂν πράττῃ τις καὶ ἐν ὁποῖοις ἢν ἢ πράγμασιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἶναι παραπλησίους· ἠμεῖς δὲ πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον σμικρὰ καὶ ἄδοξα πράττομεν.

2 Καὶ τοῦτο ἦσος ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν· ὡς ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν ἑβαύμαζον τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς καταλυόντας μὲν τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας οὐδενῶς ἀναγκάζοντος, παρ’ ἄλλους δὲ ζῆν ἐλομένους, καὶ ταῦτα ἀποφαινομένους αὐτοὺς ὁτι δεῖ τὴν πατρίδα τιμᾶν καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὁτι πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ

1 οὐδ’ ἂν Crosby : οὐδὲ.
2 τοῦτο ἦσος Emperius : τοῦτοις ὡς.

1 Dio speaks bitterly of the pettiness of the opposition to his favourite project of embellishing Prusa. Cf. § 8.

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THE FORTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE:  
A SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AT PRUSA

In the first place, my friends, do not by any means suppose when I rise to speak that you are about to hear a discourse that is extraordinary or remarkable; I mean, for example, one composed to produce a kind of pleasure or to exhibit beauty or wisdom. For possibly I should not in any event have been equal to that sort of thing, but it may be that by good luck I have deceived the public and all the cities; yet be that as it may, it stands to reason that now at all events I have experienced a great lack, indeed a complete forgetfulness, of that sort of eloquence. For a man’s words must needs be coloured by the nature of what he is doing and in which he is engrossed; and in my case I have long been engaged in petty and inglorious affairs.¹

Now perhaps this experience of mine is a matter of necessity, for previously I used to be surprised at those philosophers who abandoned their own countries under no compulsion and chose to dwell among other peoples, and what is more, despite their own claim that a man should honour his fatherland and regard it as of supreme importance, and that activity in public affairs and playing one’s part as a citizen is
φύσιν ἐστὶν. λέγω δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα, τὸν Χρύσιππον, 
τὸν Κλεάνθην, ὃν οὐδεὶς οἶκοι ἔμεινε ταῦτα λεγόν
tων. οὐκ ἄρα ἐφρόνουν ἡ ἐλεγον; πάντων μά
θι αὖ, ὡς ἔμοι δοκοῦσαν. ἀλλὰ καλὸν μὲν ἠγοῦντο 
καὶ τῷ ὄντι μακάριοι καὶ πρέπον ἀνδρᾶσι σοφοῖς 1 
πράγμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως ἐπιμέλειαν 2. τὰς δὲ 
ἐνοίσας δυσκολίας καὶ τὰς χαλεπότετας ὑψερώντο 
καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄγνοιαν, τῶν δὲ φθόνον, τῶν δὲ ἄγνω
μοσύνην—εἰ μὴ 3 τις σοφὸς ὃν ἀμα δύναιτο τὴν 
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔχειν ισχὺν καὶ δύναμιν· τούτῳ δὲ 
ἀδύνατον ἠγοῦντο.
4 Καίτοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα αὐτὸν ἀκούομεν τῆς μὲν 
Ἀγγύπτου κρατήσαι καὶ τῆς Λιβύης, ἔτι δὲ τῶν 
περὶ τὸν Εὐξείνων Πόντου οἴκοντων, καὶ Ὄρακών 
καὶ Σκυθῶν, καὶ τὸ Ἰλιὸν ἔλειν μικρῷ στόλῳ 
παραβαλόντα καὶ πάντων ἀρχαία τῶν ἐθνῶν τού
tων καὶ 4 καταστήσας βασιλέα αὐτὸν· ὅποτε δὲ εἰς 
"Ἀργος ἀφίκοιτο, τὴν Αὐγέον κόπρον μεταφέρειν 
ή τοὺς οἰκεῖς σημαίνῃ τὰς διαφόρως ὑποκειμένων καὶ 
τοιαύτα ποιεῖν φαύλα καὶ ταπεινὰ προστατό
μενον". τελευταίοι δὲ εἰς "Ἀιδοῦ φασὶ πεμβήσαν 
αὐτὸν· ὥστε σφόδρα ἐπισκόπω 5 αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν 
πολιτήν· τοὺς δὲ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἰησαίους ἐπαι
d 1 After σοφοῖς Arnim deletes τό.
de 2 ἐπιμέλειαν Casaubon : ἐπιμέλεια.
2 μὴ Casaubon : δὲ.
4 καὶ deleted by Reiske.
5 προστατόμενον Casaubon : προστατόμενος.
6 ἐπισκόπω] ἀνεπισκόπω Σοννυ.

1 Dio believed, as a good Stoic, that the philosopher should 
take part in public affairs (cf. Or. 49. 3), but sad experience 
made him begin to distrust the doctrine.
2 Cf. Iliad 5. 638-651. According to tradition he made 
Priam king.
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the natural duty of a human being. I am referring to Zeno, Chrysippus, and Cleanthes, not one of whom stayed at home, despite these brave words. Did they not, then, mean what they said? They above all others did, to my way of thinking. Why, they regarded concern for a man's own city as a noble and truly blessed and appropriate function for men of wisdom; on the other hand, they used to view with distrust the difficulties and vexations it involved—not only ignorance on the part of some, but malice on the part of others, and sheer heedlessness on the part of still others—unless a man of wisdom could at the same time possess the strength and power of a Heracles; however, they considered this impossible.

And yet we hear of Heracles himself that, though he made himself master of Egypt and Libya, and also of the people who dwelt about the Euxine Sea, both Thracians and Scythians, and though he captured Ilium, having crossed over with a small army, and though, after gaining control over all these peoples, he actually set himself up as king; still when he arrived in Argos he busied himself with removing the dung from the stables of Augeas or hunting serpents or chasing birds, to keep them from troubling the farmers in Stymphalus, or with performing other such menial and humble tasks at the bidding of another; and finally, they say, he was sent to Hades, with such exceeding fairness did his fellow townsman treat him! But we hear that, though the

2 Having been maddened by Hera, Heracles slew his own children. By way of expiation he was made subject to his cousin, Eurystheus, king of Argos, who imposed upon him the Twelve Labours, some of which are here referred to.

4 The Lernaean Hydra.

5 To fetch Cerberus.

6 Eurystheus.
νεὶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, περιορᾶν δὲ ύβριζόμενον.
5 Ἄ μοι δοκεῖ διανοηθεῖς Ὀμηρος, οὐ μόνον ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς ὄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ φιλόσοφος, τὸν ἀπαντα ἀποδημεῖν χρόνον, ὡστε μηδένα γνῶναι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ξοικεῖ, αἱρεῖσθαι πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι δραχμὰς προσώτων λαμβάνειν, καὶ ταύτα ὡς μανόμενος, ἡ οἴκοι διάγειν. τοιαύτα ἀπαντεῖ ύστερον ἡμεσβῆτησαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ὄνομα παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἐλληνικαῖ βαρβάροις γυγνώσκεται, τὴν δὲ Ἰον ὀυδὲ ἀκηκόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ σχεδόν, εἰπέρ ἡν Ἰθήτης, καὶ τῆς Χλώς ὁ πολύς ἐστὶ λόγος οὐδὲ Κολοφῶνος· καίτοι ποιητὴν οὐ χείρονα Ὀμηροῦ παρέχεται, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Πυθαγόρας δὲ ἐκ Σάμου μὲν ἔφυγεν ἔκων τυραννομένης, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα ἐπὶ οἱμαὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐτυμάτο ὡς θεός.
6 Τὶ οὖν; πάλαι τις ἡδη κάθηται λέγων, οὐ πρὸς Ὀμηρον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ζήνωνα παραβάλλεις αὐτῶν; Μὰ Δῆ οὐκ ἔγνωγε, πλὴν ὅτι πάσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἔδοξε χαλεπὸς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ὁ βίος. ἐπεὶ τί οἴεσθε; οὐχὶ φιλεῖν ὑπὸ πατρίδας, ἀλλὰ

1 After Χλώ Reiske deletes τῆς πόλεως.
2 οὐχὶ φιλεῖν Empiricus: οὐκ ἐφίλουν.

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1 Heracles was born at Thebes, and many of his earlier exploits are associated with that city.
2 Cf. Or. 11. 15-16.
3 A well-known epigram runs as follows:

'Ἐπτὰ πόλεις διερήσουσιν περὶ ἱλίου Ὀμυρόου, Σμύρνα, Ῥόδος, Κολοφῶν, Σαλαμῖς, Ἰος, Ἀργος, Ἀθῆναι.
Argives and Thebans praised and admired Heracles, still they shut their eyes to his mistreatment.

It was the thought of this, it seems to me, which made Homer, who was not only a fine poet but also in his way a philosopher, spend all his time abroad—so much so that no one could determine his country—and prefer to get twenty-five drachmas by begging, and that too in the rôle of a madman, rather than live at home. And so it was that in later days all men claimed him as their countryman. Again, while Homer's name is well known among all Greeks and barbarians, most men, it is safe to say, have not even heard of Ios—if he really was born there—and there is not much talk of Chios or of Colophon either; and yet Colophon can show a poet not inferior to Homer, namely Apollo. Again, Pythagoras of his own volition fled from Samos when it was under the tyrant, and yet among all other peoples, and especially, I believe, about the shores of Italy, he was honoured as a god.

"What of it," some one in this audience has been saying long since, "are you comparing yourself with Homer and Pythagoras and Zeno?" Nay, by Heaven, not I, except that it was the opinion of all the philosophers that life in their own native land was hard. For what think you? That they did not love

But we hear of many other claimants; Suidas includes in his long list even Rome itself!

Cf. Or. 36. 9-10 and 53. 6-7.

An island north of Thera which played an inconspicuous part in Greek history.

Apollo's oracle at Clarus in Asia Minor was "in the land of Colophon" (Pausanias 7. 5. 4).

Polycrates.

Pythagoras established at Croton a mystic community in which he was revered, if not "honoured as a god."
τῶν Ὡμηροῦ ὑπὲρ μὲν Ὄδυσσεῶς ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ φάσκειν αὐτὸν ἔθελεν τὸν καπνὸν ἱδόντα τὸν ἔκ τῆς Ἰθάκης παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ µὴ στέργειν τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν, ἀλλ’ οὗ τὸν οἴκειον ἔρατα καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁµολογεῖν, ἢν εἰχε τῆς 7 πατρίδος, ἐπ’ ὄνοµατι τοῦ Ὅδυσσεῶς; δ’ δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἔµεινεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, πράττον ὁ τι δοκολή τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς νόµοις, εἰ µέν τι µέγα ἄνησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τὴν δὲ βλάβην ἐπίσταμαι τὴν γενοµένην αὐτοῖς. ἔτι γὰρ νῦν ὡνείδιζονται περὶ Σωκράτους, ὡς οὐτὲ δικαῖως οὔτε ὀσίως τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσενεχθέντες, καὶ πάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ὥστερον γενοµένων κακῶν ταύτην φασὶ συµβῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν.

8 Ταῦτα µὲν ἄκηκοατε ἅλλως παρὰ ἀνθρώπου πλάνητος καὶ ἀδολέχου. δ’ οὖν ἔφην, παραιτοῦµαι ὡµᾶς µηδένα ἀπαίτειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρ’ ἐµοῦ λόγον µεγαλὸφρονα καὶ σοφόν, ἀλλ’ ἱδιωτικὸν καὶ φαύλον, ὅποια καὶ τὰ πράγµατα ἔστων. εὖ δ’ ἱστε, ὥσπερ προελόµην συγάν ἀφ’ οὗ νῦν ἦκον, οὐκ ἄν ἐφθεγξάµην, εἰ µὴ τι ἀναγκαιὸν συµβῆθηκεν. ἔγω γὰρ ἡµᾶµν πράγµατος, ὁ µοι πολλῶν τῶν ὄντων πραγµάτων αὑτοῦ γέγονε καὶ θαυµαστῆς ἁγίας. ἀντε πρότερον µὲν οὐκ ἦδειν τὸ τῶν Θεττάλων·

1 συµβῆθηκε Εµπείρειος: συµβῆθηκεν.
2 Θεττάλων Ηερωδέν: Θεττάλων.

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1 Cf. Odyssey 1, 57-59:

αὐτὰρ Ὅδυσσεῶς
ἀλήθεος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοησά
δὲ γαῖσ, θανεῖν ἰμελρεῖν.

2 Socrates. Cf. Plato, Crito 52 α-ν.
their home-lands, but that Homer, while he lamented over Odysseus and declared that Odysseus was willing to die forthwith if only he could see the smoke rising from Ithaca; did not himself cherish his own city, but, on the contrary, that he was not confessing under the name of Odysseus his own love and longing for his native heath? On the other hand, while I cannot say whether the man who always remained in his fatherland, doing whatever seemed best to his fellow citizens and the laws, benefited the Athenians to any great extent, I do know the loss which they sustained in his death. For even now they still are reproached concerning Socrates for not having behaved toward him either justly or piously, and it is said that this conduct of theirs occasioned all the evils which befell them later.

Now this is merely idle talk which you have heard from a "vagabond" and a "chatterbox." But as I was saying, I beg you not to expect from me at present any high-minded, sage address, but rather one which is amateurish and commonplace, just as are the matters of which it treats. But let me assure you, just as from the moment of my arrival this time I had purposed to maintain a discreet silence, I should not have said a single word had not something urgent taken place. For I have taken in hand a problem which has caused me many real problems and amazing unpleasantness. Consequently, although formerly I did not understand what in the world was meant by the saying that the Thessalian witches

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3 Presumably Dio is quoting epithets that have been applied to him by his critics.  
4 Cf. § 1.  
5 On his return from his mission to Rome, A.D. 100.  
6 Dio here puns on the conventional meanings of πράγμα and πράγματα.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

τὸ ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφ' αὐτὰς τὴν σελήνην κατάγειν, 9 νῦν δὲ ἐπιεικῶς ἡγεῖται. καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἐνιστε ἐμακάριων, ὡστις Σταγειρίτης ἦν—τὰ δὲ Στάγειρα κὼμη τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἤ—ἀλούσης δὲ Ὀλυμποῦ συγγενόμενος Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ διεπράξατο ὁικισθῆναι πάλιν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐφασκόν εὐτυχῆσαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν ταῦτην, ὡστε τῆς πατρίδος ὁικισθῆναι γενέσθαι. μεταξὺ δὲ πρῷσιν ἐνέτυχον ἐπιστολὴ τινὶ ἐν ἧ ἐστὶ μετανοῶν καὶ οἴδυρομενος καὶ λέγων ὅτι τούτων τινές καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀφικουμένους σατράπας διαφθείρουσιν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι μηδὲ ὀλιγὸς κατοικισθῆναι τῇ πόλιν.

10 Ὁποιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔλυπεῖ τινὰς, εἰ φυγάδες ὄντες καὶ ἀπόλιδες πατρίδα ἐξουσι καὶ πολιτεύωνται κατὰ νόμους ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ, μᾶλλον δ' ἠροῦντο διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ κόμας τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοίως ἢ σχῆμα πόλεως καὶ ὄνομα ἔχειν, ἦπον προσήκε ὑπομάζειν καὶ εἰ ἀλλο τι λυπεῖ τινὰς; δ' οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐπιστεύσῃ γέγραφεν ὃς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπειρηκὼς—φθαί γὰρ αὖρειν τοὺς δακτύλους—κἂμε νομίζετε καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους δακτύλους

1 ἐπιεικῶς Capps: ἐπιεικῶς.
2 After δὲ Pflugk deletes τὸ κατοικισθῆναι τοῖς ἐκπαιδευόντωσιν.
3 ἔλυπει Reiske: λυπεῖ.
4 δ' added by Emperius.
5 διοικεῖσθαι] διωκεῖσθαι Reiske.
6 προσήκε] προσήκει Selden.
7 δ Emperius: δ.

1 Thessaly was noted for the practice of magic. Aristophanes, Clouds 749-752, makes comic reference to Thessalian women drawing down the moon. Dio appears to interpret the tradition with reference to attempting the impossible.

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draw down to themselves the moon, now I have come to understand it fairly well. And I used to envy Aristotle at times because, being a native of Stageira—Stageira was a village in the territory of Olynthus—and having become the teacher of Alexander and an acquaintance of Philip's after the capture of Olynthus, he brought it about that Stageira was resettled, and they used to say that he alone had had the good fortune to become founder of his fatherland. But meanwhile, quite recently, I came upon a letter in which he exhibits a change of heart and laments, saying that some of these settlers are trying to corrupt, not only the king, but also the satraps who came there, so as to thwart any good outcome and to prevent entirely the resettlement of the city.

But when some persons, exiles and homeless as they were, were actually annoyed by the prospect of having a fatherland and enjoying constitutional government in independence, but preferred to be scattered in villages like barbarians rather than to have the form and name of a city, would it be proper, I ask you, to feel surprise no matter what else annoys certain persons? Accordingly, just as Aristotle has written in his letter as one who has become sick and tired of his troubles—for he says he is holding up his fingers—you may consider that I too am holding up my own fingers, as well as any other fingers there

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2 Both Stageira and Olynthus were destroyed by Philip in 348 B.C. Though Olynthus was never rebuilt, Aristotle prevailed upon Alexander to restore Stageira. Cf. Plutarch, Alexander 7 and Vita Aristotelis Marc. 276 B.

3 Greek athletes “held up their fingers” to signify acceptance of defeat; cf. Theocritus 22. 128-130. Dio’s extravagant phrasing of the formula as applied to himself betrays his extreme exasperation.
11 αἴρεων καὶ εἰ τινὲς εἰσὶν ἑτεροί. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πλεῖον ἴσχυσεν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκεῖνων κακοδαμονία τῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους σπουδῆς, ὥστε οὐκ εἶσαν προβηθῆναι τὸ κωμίον εἰς ἄξιωμα πόλεως, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀοίκητον ἐστιν. ἀλλ' σπον μὴ καὶ τούτῳ μου διαβάλῃ τις, ὡς ἔγω Στάγειρα καὶ κώμην καλῶ. τὴν πόλιν ταύτην δύναμαι γὰρ ὀμόσας εἰπεῖν μη- δεμίαν ἄλλην πόλιν ἔμοι κρείττων πεφηνέναι, κἂν εἰ μόνον εἶχε τὸ χαλκεῖον τὸ τοῦ δεῖνος, ὃ ἐγὼ κατ- ἐλυσα' ὃ τὰς πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις.

12 "Ἰνα δ' οὖν μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι οὐ διὰ χάριν ἀνέστην, ἀμάρτημα ἰσως ἦμαρτον ἀνθρώπινον. νῦν οὖν τίνα με βούλεσθε ὑποσχεῖν ξημιάν ἀντὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος ἢ τι ποιεῖν; ἀξίω συμβούλους ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι: πότερον καθελεῖν με τὸ ἐργον ταῖς ἐμαυ- τοῦ δαπάναις τὸ γεγονός καὶ ποιῆσαι πάντα ὅποια Ἰτὴν πρότερον; ἀλλὰ ἰσως οὐ δυνήσομαι. ἢ τί πρὸς βεῖν; εἴπατε μοι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡμιν ὅροι τὰ τοιαύτα πόλεις ἄλλας φιλοτιμομένας, οὐ μόνον τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λέγω καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἄλλα ταύτας τὰς ἀστυνείτονας καὶ πλησίον, τὴν τῶν Νικομηδέων, τὴν τῶν Νικαέων, τοὺς Καἰσα- ρείας τούτους, εὐγενεῖς μὲν ἀνθρώπους καὶ σφόδρα "Ελλήνας, πολὺ δὲ μικροτέραν τῆς ἦμετέρας οἰ-
are. For in truth the infatuation of those fellows proved more than a match for the exertions of Aristotle, so that they did not permit the petty village to grow to the rank of a city, and to this day the spot is uninhabited. But let no one charge me with calling this city of ours a Stageira and a village; for I can declare on oath that no other city has appeared to me more excellent, even were it to possess only the smithy of So-and-so, which I, the "sacker of cities and citadels," tore down.

However, that I may not forget the reason why I took the floor, perhaps I have been guilty of a human error. Well then, what penalty do you want me to suffer now in payment for this error, or what do you wish me to do? I ask you to give me your advice. Should I tear down at my own expense the work thus far accomplished and make everything just as it was before? But perhaps I shall not be able to do so. Or what shall I do, in Heaven's name? Do tell me! For I thought as I perceived that other cities were ambitious in such matters—not merely the cities in Asia and Syria and Cilicia, but these neighbouring cities so close at hand, Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Caesarea yonder, well-born folk and very Greek, yet occupying a city much smaller than our own;—and letter that after negotiations had gone far enough to warrant the phrase "founder of his fatherland" the project came to naught.

2 Dio has a good deal to say on the subject of this smithy in Or. 40. 8-9.
3 Quoting his detractors.
4 Presumably the error of not leaving his fatherland as did the philosophers named in §§ 2-3.
5 The Roman province of Asia.
6 Little is known of this Caesarea. Its very location is a matter of dispute.
κοῦντας πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς πολιτευμένους παρ' ἐκά-
στος, ἐὰν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρονται,1 τὰ γε
τοιαύτα ὁμοφρονοῦντας, καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα
tοιαύτα ἐπιστέλλοντα τῷ ὑπὶ τῳ, διὸ βουλεῖται πάντα
τρόπον αὐξεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν—ἐπιτρέψατε δὲ
ἀναγνώριζαι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἐπειδὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀριστο-
14 τέλους μακρὸν ἦν καὶ περίεργον—ἀμὴν καὶ παρ'
ὑμῶν ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μηδένα λυπήσεσθαι τῆς πό-
λεως κατασκευαζομένης. καὶ τούτῳ γε ἀπέβη τοι-
οῦτον καὶ γὰρ ἐδοξεῖν ὑμῖν ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ2 καὶ
πολλάκις συνεισεφέρετε αὐτοῖ καὶ προεθυμεῖσθε.
Τῇ οὖν βουλήσθε; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁμοίως τοὺς θεοὺς
ὑμῶν ἁπαντᾶς, ἢ μὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἢ τινας
ὑμῶν ἢ δοκεῖν βαρὺς οὐκ ἂν ἐλοίην ἤντα μοι
γενέσθαι τὰ Δαρείου βασίλεια3 ἢ τὰ Κροίσου ἢ τῆς
οἰκίας τῆς πατρίδος τῆς ἐμῆς χρυσῆν τῷ ὄντι,
ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄσπερ διόματί μονὸν τῆς τοῦ Νέρωνος
15 καλοῦσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ὁφελός οὐδὲν οἰκίας χρυσῆς,
οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ χάρας χρυσῆς ἢ τῆς πλατάνου τῆς
ἐν Πέρσαις. πόλεως δὲ ὁφελός4 εὐπρεποῦς γιγνο-
μένης, ἀέρα πλείον5 λαμβανοῦσης, εὐρυχωρίαν,6
τοῦ μὲν θέρους σκιάν, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἦλιον ὑπὸ

1 διαφέρονται Emperius: διαφέρονται.
2 καὶ πολλὰ deleted by Arnim.
3 βασίλεια Reiske: βασιλέως.
4 After ὁφελός Emperius deletes οὐδέν.
5 πλείονα] ἡδίνα Naber.
6 εὐρυχωρίαι] δὲ εὐρυχωρίαι Casaubon.

1 The letter here referred to may well be the same as the one mentioned in Or. 40. 5. From that passage we gather that the proconsuls of Bithynia had been corresponding with Trajan with a view to improving conditions in Prusa. The nature of such correspondence may be inferred from Pliny’s interchange of letters with Trajan (see Introduction). In the
that those who enjoyed the rights of citizenship in each of these cities, no matter if they differed concerning other matters, agreed on such matters as these; and that the Emperor, as luck would have it, was sending written instructions to this effect, stating that he wishes your city to be developed in every way—but just let me read you his letter, since it would take too long to read the letter of Aristotle and it would not be worth the trouble—I thought, as I was saying, that it would be this way with you people too, and that no one would be vexed because the city was being embellished. And so far as that is concerned it turned out as I had expected; for you approved these plans, and you yourselves made many and frequent contributions and showed yourselves enthusiastic.

What, then, do you wish? For I swear to you by all the gods, if it meant paining you, or any among you, or being thought a nuisance, I should not choose to have for my very own the palace of Darcius or of Croesus, or to have my own ancestral dwelling golden in very truth instead of in name alone like the house of Nero. For there is no advantage in a golden house any more than there is in a golden pot or in the Persian plane tree. On the other hand, there is advantage when a city becomes good-looking, when it gets more air, open space, shade in summer and in present instance the letter from the Emperor must have been brief or Dio would hardly have resumed his sentence after having read it.

2 Nero's domus aurea was a stupendous complex, which he started to build after the great fire of A.D. 64 but never completed. It did not long survive his death. The Colosseum occupies a portion of the ground which it enclosed.

3 Commonly called golden. Cf. Or. 6. 37, 57. 12 and Herodotus 7. 27.
στέγη, ἀντὶ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἐρειπίων οἰκήματα ὑψηλὰ καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως ἀξία· ἦν ὃσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν πόλων καὶ τῶν σκυλάκων τὸ ἐσόμενον μέγεθος εἰκάζουσιν οἱ ὀρῶντες, εἰπὸν ἥ τὰ κῶλα ὑψηλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἦσαν δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ ἀναυξῆ, φασὶν ἄει ποτε μενεῦν τοιαύτα, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμιτέραν πόλιν.

16 Ἀλλὰ τί μοι περὶ τούτων νῦν λέγειν· καλῶς μὲ τις ἀγαθόνα ἔφη τῶν σοφιστῶν, λοιδορῆσαι βουλόμενος· διὰ τοῦτο, ἔμοι δοκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀγαθόνα γλώσσαργόν φασίν οἱ ποιηταὶ. ἦσως δὲ ἂν ὀμοίως εἴην τοῖς τέττιξι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον διψῶντες ἦδουσιν ὑπὸ ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμενοι. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γε μόνον οὐκ ἂξιον ἔσως παραλιπέων περὶ τῶν μνημάτων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὅτι τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὐδὲν ἀφασθαὶ τοιοῦτοι· πολὺ γὰρ πλεῖστον ἔποιον τοῦ παρ᾽ ἥμιν, ἄν ἡ πόλις ἔσει καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἐστὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ στοὰς ἐκατέρωθεν πεποιήκασιν· οὐδὲ τοὺς Ταρσεῖς οὐδὲ μὴν Νικομηδεῖς, οἱ ἐφηφίσαντο τὰ μνήματα μεταίρεν. ὡς δὲ Μακρῖνος, ἦν εὐεργέτην ἀνεγράφατε τῆς πόλεως, τὸ Προσφορὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μνημείων μετήμενεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα. οὐδεῖς γὰρ ἐστὶ παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνως

2 μνημάτων Selden: ὑπομνημάτων.
3 πλεῖστος Reiske: ἐλάττω.
4 μὴν Sonny: νῦν.

1 Aristotle, Hist. Anim. 500 b—501 a, notes that the young of the lower animals develop in proportion to their legs.

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winter sunshine beneath the shelter of a roof, and when, in place of cheap, squat wrecks of houses, it gains stately edifices that are worthy of a great city, the purpose being that, just as with well-bred colts and puppies, those who see them can forecast their future height if the legs are long and sturdy, whereas if they are short and stunted men say they will always remain so, thus it may be also with our city.

But what use is there in my speaking of these things now? One of the sophists did well to call me a nightingale, though he intended it as an insult; his reason, no doubt, was that the poets call the nightingale a tiresome chatterer. But perhaps I may be like the cicadae; for when parched with thirst from exposure to the sun, they sing out of sheer folly, since they are in no wise benefited thereby. Yet perhaps I should not fail to add this much at least on the subject of the tombs and shrines, namely, that it is not likely that the people of Antioch did not lay hands upon anything of this kind; the reason is that they were providing much more space than we are, for their city is thirty-six stades in length and they have constructed colonnades on both sides; nor is it likely that the people of Tarsus did not either; nor indeed the people of Nicomedia, who passed a resolution to transfer their tombs. And Macrinus, whom you have recorded as a benefactor of the city, removed from the market-place the tomb of King Prusias, and his statue as well. The explanation is that the cities

2 The extensive colonnades of Antioch on the Orontes, third city in the Empire, were doubtless of recent construction (cf. Or. 40. 11) and may well have necessitated the removal of tombs and shrines. Tarsus too had recently been active in building (loc. cit.).

3 Founder of Prusa.
 Dio Chrysostom

philopolis ἀνήρ οὐδὲ ἐπιμελής περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀλλὰ παρὰ γε ἢμῖν ἦσαν πολλοὶ.

Πλὴν ταῦτα μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ δοκεῖ, τί γὰρ ἕμοι τῆς ἐνθάδε στοάς; ἂσπερ οὐκ ἔχειτά με ὅποι βούλομαι περιπατεῖν, τὴν Ποικίλην Ἀθήνην, τὴν Περσικὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τὰς χρυσᾶς, ἐν ταῖσ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων, τῶν Ταρσέων, μετὰ πλείονος τιμῆς, ἡ μόνον ἐξίοντα με καὶ περιπατήσοντα, τῶν δὲ ἅλλων οὐδένα πολιτῶν. ἀλλ' οὕτε γυμνάσιοι ἐν πόλει μόνοις οὐδές ἔχει γυμναζόμενοι οὕτε στοάν οὕτε βαλανεῖον οὕτε ἀλλο τῶν δημοσίων οὐδέν. ἦ ἐγὼ τετύφωμαι καὶ ἀνόητός εἰμι.

18. Πλὴν ο γὲ ἥξισα, συμβουλεύσατέ μοι. ὡς ἐγὼ βουλόμενος ὡμῖν ἀρέσκειν πάντα τρόπον ἀπορῶ, νῦν γάρ εὰν ἄπτωμαι τὸ πράγματος καὶ σπουδάζω γύνεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, τυραννεῖν μὲ φασὶ τινὲς καὶ κατασκάπτειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα. δῆλον γάρ ὅτι ἐνέπρῃσα τὸν νεὼ τοῦ Διὸς. καίτοι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐκ τοῦ μύκωνος ἐρρυσάμην, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ φανερωτάτῳ κεῖται τῆς πόλεως. εὰν δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγω, μὴ βουλόμενος μηδένα στένειν μηδὲ προσκρούειν μηδὲν, ἑαυτὸ ὑμεῖς. Γιγνέσθω

1 ἀνήρ οὐδὲ Emperius: οὐδὲ ἀνήρ.
2 δοκεῖ Emperius: δοκεῖ.
3 After ἐγὼ Arnim adds μόνος οὕτω.
4 ἐνέπρῃσα Reiske: ἐνέπρῃσαν.
5 Διὸς. καίτοι Crosby: Διὸς καί.
6 After ἀνδριάντας Reiske suspected a lacuna.
7 μύκωνος Capps, μύλλονος Casaubon: μύδινον or μύδωνος.
8 στένειν] στένειν Emperius.

1 So named for its murals, the work of most famous artists. It was the meeting-place of the Stoics, who owed their name to that fact.
2 According to Pausanias (3. 11. 3), it was built from the 262
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I have named have no one who is public-spirited or scrupulous in religious matters; but we had many such!

However, just suit yourselves in these matters. For what concern of mine is the colonnade in this city? As if I could not promenade in any place I please—in the Painted Porch at Athens, in the Persian Porch at Sparta, in the golden colonnades in Rome, in those of Antioch and Tarsus—attended by marks of greater respect, or as if I expected that I alone should sally forth and promenade but no other citizen! Why, no one has either a municipal gymnasium all to himself where he exercises or a colonnade or a bath or any other public structure. Or else I have become demented and feeble-minded.

However, as I have requested, give me your advice. For though it is my desire to please you in every way possible, I am at a loss. For as things are now, if I take the business in hand and try to get the work done, some persons say I am acting the tyrant and tearing down the city and all its shrines. For of course it was I who set fire to the temple of Zeus! Yet I saved the statues from the scrap-heap, and now they are placed in the most conspicuous spot in the city. But if, on the contrary, I hold my peace, not wishing to make any one groan or to give offence to any one, you cry out, “Let the work proceed, or else spoils of the Persian War and was the most striking ornament of the market-place.

3 Platner, Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, lists some thirty-three colonnades at Rome.
4 Dio’s enemies may have suggested that his operations were for his own gratification. See Introduction.
5 Cf. § 14.
6 Cf. § 23.
τὸ ἐργὸν ἡ καθαρεύσθω τὸ γεγονός· ὃσπερ ἐμοί
19 τούτο προφέροντες καὶ ὀνειδίζοντες. τί οὖν βού-
λεσθέ με¹ ποιεῖν; δι γὰρ ἂν εἴπητε, τούτο ποιήσω
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄπαντων οὐδὲν ἀντερῶ,² οὐδὲ
ἀν ἢ τις ἐργὸν πεποιηκὼς ύπέρ οὐ λόγον μὴ δέδω-
κεν, οὐδ’ ἂν ἐτι³ ποιῶν καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνων
ἀεὶ παρὰ τῶν κατ’ ἑτος ἀρχόντων, ὃσπερ εἰς τὸν
ἅπληστον πίθον τάδε ληψόμενος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἄλλο τι
γίγνεται· τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων; διὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
στοάς οὐ διελέουσαι,⁴ σαφῶς ἤστε. ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν⁵
καὶ προσιέναι καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν ἁνθύπατον, ὅπως
πράως καὶ πρὸς δύναμιν εἰσπράττῃ τοὺς ὑποσχη-
μένους; καὶ τούτο έτοιμος ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ αὐτὸς συμβάλλεσθαι μέρος τῆς ὑποσχέσεως,
20 ὡστε⁶ κουφίζεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους. μόνον ἐν τι προσ-
τάξατε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν ήσυχίαν ἔξω βοῶντων ὑμῶν,
μᾶλλον δὲ άπειμι. οὐ γὰρ ὃσπερ ἡ ἀλώπης κατα-
φαγοῦσα τὰ κρέα² οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς
δρυὸς διὰ τὸ ἐμπληθήσθην, κἀμοὶ ἐξελθείν διὰ
τούτῳ χαλεπόν· πολὺ γὰρ γέγονα λεπτότερος ἡ ὤτε
εἰσῆλθον.
Καὶ πρὸς θεῶν μὴ μοι νομίζετε χαρίζεσθαι περὶ

1 Dio himself was later to be taken to task for not having rendered an account of expenditures (Pliny, Letters 10. 81). Possibly, however, Dio here is thinking rather of work that has reached completion in contrast with work still in progress.
2 The active interest of the proconsul in the financial
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let what has been accomplished to date be torn down!”—as if by this you were taunting and reproaching me. Well, what do you wish me to do? For I will do whatever you say, and as to everything else I will raise no objection, no matter if some one has done a job for which he has rendered no accounting,\textsuperscript{1} no matter if he is still at work and receiving funds regularly from the annual officials, just as if he were destined to continue receiving these funds for the jar that never fills, no matter what else may take place—for what have I to do with these matters? For I shall not go walking through your colonnade, you may be sure. But do you wish me to go ahead with the work, and to visit the proconsul and beg him to collect the subscriptions,\textsuperscript{2} gently and with regard to ability to pay, from those who have promised them? I am ready to do even this; not only so, but even to contribute a portion of what has been subscribed myself, so as to lighten the burden of the rest. Only do give me some instructions; otherwise I shall hold my peace and let you shout—or rather I shall go away. For unlike the fox who ate the meat and could not get out of the oak because she had stuffed herself,\textsuperscript{3} I shall find no difficulty in getting out on that score, for I have grown much thinner than I was when I came in.\textsuperscript{4}

And in Heaven’s name don’t imagine you are showing me kindness when you shout about the soundness of his province is shown by the letters of Pliny (e.g. 10. 23).

\textsuperscript{2} Aesop 31.

\textsuperscript{4} Dio had not only contributed generously (cf. § 21: καὶ μὴ στοὰν οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ ἀναλίσκειν, κτλ.) but also had neglected his own affairs because of concern for public interests (Or. 40. 2).
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

τῆς στοάς ἐπιβοῶντες. ἐμοὶ γὰρ εἰς ἀνὴρ ἔστων ὁ χαριζόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδόν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἄκοινος, καὶ μάλιστα προνοῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ συμφερόντων· καὶ οὕτε φίλος οὕτε συγγενῆς οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἐμοὶ κή-

detai. οκοπεῖτε δὲ εἰ δόξεi καλῶς ύμῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ

21 λογίζεσθαι καὶ με ἀγαπάν, δη πρῶτον οἴεται με
deĩν πολλὰ κινδυνεύοντα καὶ πονήσαντα τὴν ἴσω-
χίαν ἐνθάδε ἁγείν1 καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ προσέχεις καὶ
mήτε ἤγείμονας θεραπεύεις μήτε ἄλλην ἀσχολίαν

μηδεμείν ἔχεις· ἐπείτα σμικρὸν τι μέρος εὐρηκότα

tῆς οὐσίας, καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πρότερον βλάβαις ἐἐτι
cαὶ τῆς ἄδελφης ἀποθανούσης ὀφεληθέντα μὲν

μηδέν, ἀπολέσαντα δὲ πάντα ὁσα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐξε,
dαιευσάμενον τε ὅπετε τὰ χαρία πρίασθαι, τοῦτο

ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος καὶ τὰ πρότερον ὀφειλόμενα,

καὶ μὴ στοὰν οὐκοδομεῖν μηδὲ ἀναλίσκειν παρὰ

22 δύναμιν· ἐπείτα συνήθειας οὗσης μοι πρὸς τὸν αὐ-
tοκράτορα, ἰσως δὲ καὶ φιλίας, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους

πολλοὺς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους σχεδόν τι Ῥωμαίων,

ἐκεῖνος συνείναι τιμῶμεν καὶ θαυμαζόμενον,

ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ’ ύμῖν πρὸς τὸν δείνα ἢ τὸν δείνα

ἐξεταζόμενον2· εἰ δὲ ἁρα ἀποδημῶν ἠδομαι, τὰς

μεγίστας πόλεις ἐπιέναι μετὰ πολλοῦ ζήλου καὶ

φιλοτιμίας παραπεμπόμενον, χάριν εἰδότων μοι

1 ἁγείν Emperoris: ἁγανείν.

2 ἀλλὰ μὴ ... ἐξεταζόμενον deleted by Emperoris because of resemblance to πρὸς δὲ τὸν δείνα, κτλ. (§ 23).

1 The crowd must have shouted its approval of his project.

2 From this point on Dio ironically presents as friendly advice what must have been hostile criticism on the part of his unnamed “adviser.”

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colonnade, for there is, I may say, only one man in the city, so I hear, who is showing me kindness and taking special thought for my welfare; moreover, no one, whether friend or kinsman, shows concern for me in that way. But consider whether you will think he reasons well in my behalf and is devoted to me, seeing that, in the first place, he believes that after all my perils and hardships I should live here quietly and devote myself to my private affairs and neither cultivate proconsuls nor have any other occupation; also, since I have recovered only a small part of my property, and since, on top of my earlier losses, when my sister died I not only derived no profit from her estate but even lost everything of mine that she controlled and had to make a loan for the purchase of my farm, he argues that I should repay this obligation, as well as the earlier debts, and not be building a colonnade or incurring expenses beyond my ability to carry; furthermore, since I am on terms of acquaintance, perhaps even of intimacy, with the Emperor, as well as with many others who may be called the most influential among the Romans, he suggests that I should associate with them, enjoying their esteem and admiration, instead of being taken to task in your city before this or that individual; again, if I really like foreign travel, I should, he says, visit the greatest cities, escorted with much enthusiasm and éclat, the recipients of my visits be-

3 Dio's unofficial dealings with the proconsul doubtless aroused resentment. There is a sting in θέρατεσίων.
4 She probably had held some of his property for him during his exile.
5 Dio seems to have been indiscreet in referring too frequently to his influential friends at Rome. His provincial neighbours held it against him.

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 Dio Chrysostom

παρ' οὖς ἂν ἀφίκωμαι καὶ δεομένων λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐμὰς θύρας ἱόντων ἢ ἐν ἀείθυμου, μηδὲν ἀναλώσαντα μηδὲ προστιθέντα, ὡστε θαυμάζειν ἀπαντᾶς καὶ τυχόν ἂν εἶπεῖν τίνας,

ὁ πόποι, ὡς οδὴ πάσιν φίλος καὶ τίμως ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, οτεῶν κε τὸν κόσμον καὶ δῆμον ἱκνεῖται.

23 ἀλλὰ μὴ δαπανᾶν μὲν ἢ ἑς ὅλων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀσχολεῖσθαι δὲ ἀσχολίας ἀνωφελίας, τὸ δὲ σῶμα, θεραπεῖας δεομένης καὶ πολλῆς προσοχῆς, καταθείρειν ἀμελοῦτα, τὴν δὲ φυχὴν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐὰν ἄγευστον φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μαθημάτων, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἐξετάζεσθαι ἢ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ κακῶς ἄκοιμον ἐνίοτε καὶ δάκνεσθαι.

Πρὸς θεῶν ὁ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φροντίζων καὶ διαλεγόμενος οὐχ οὔτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων εὐνοῦστατος ἐμοί καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ φιλεῖσθαι δίκαιος; ὅταν δὲ ἄκοιμον λέγειν τινὰ ὡς περὶ τυράννου, παράδοξον ἐμοὶ φαίνεται καὶ γελοῖον.

24 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι τῶν τυράννων ἑργά τοιαῦτα, μοιχεύειν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας καὶ διαφθείρειν παιδιᾶς, ἀνθρώπους ἐλευθέρους τύπτειν καὶ ἀλκίζεσθαι πάντων ὅραντος, τούς δὲ καὶ στρεβλοῦν, οἶον εἰς ἥ ς οῦντα λέβητα καθιέντας, ἀλλος δὲ καταπιπτοῦν· ὅσιν οὐδὲν ἐγὼ ποιῶ· ἐτέραν δὲ γυναῖκα τύραννον ἑκάραμιν, ὁτι πρεσβυτέρα τὴν ἥλικιαν ὁφάμα καὶ μάχλοις ἡμῶν θαυμάζειν συγγίγνεσθαι τινας ἐστιν. τῶν

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1 per|] πρὸς Reiske, ἐπὶ Dindorf.
2 ἱόντων] ἱόντων Empirius.
3 κε Arnim: καὶ.
4 ἄγευστον Reiske: τῶν.
5 καὶ added by Reiske.
6 καταπιπτοῦν] καταπιπτοῦντας Wilamowitz.

1 This sounds like a malicious echo of what Dio may have reported regarding his recent sojourn in Rome.

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ing grateful for my presence and begging me to address them and advise them and flocking about my doors from early dawn, all without my having incurred any expense or having made any contribution, with the result that all would admire me and perhaps some would exclaim,

Ye gods! how dear and honoured is this man
To whatsoever town and folk he comes;
but I should not spend money out of slender resources, be busied with unprofitable ventures, destroy with neglect my body, which calls for treatment and much attention, allow my soul to go so long without a taste of philosophy and kindred subjects, and be called to account before this or that man and be subjected to abuse at times and made to smart.

By Heaven, is not the man who frets and reasons thus in my behalf most well disposed toward me of all and most deserving of my love? However, when I hear that a certain person is talking about me as if I were a tyrant, it seems to me to be amazing, yes, ridiculous. For according to my understanding tyrant’s acts are like the following: seduction of married women and ruining of boys, beating and maltreating free men in the sight of all, sometimes even subjecting men to torture, as, for example, plunging them into a seething cauldron, and at other times administering a coat of tar; but I do naught of this. Furthermore, I know regarding a female tyrant, Semiramis, that, being advanced in years and lustful, she used to force men to lie with

3 Assyrian queen, best known as a builder. The scandalous gossip here reported is found nowhere else.

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DIO CHRYSTOM

δὲ τυράννων τὸν δεῖνα¹ ἀκῆκοα ταῦτα² ποιοῦντα,³ πρεσβύτηρι θρασύν.

25 Ὡν τὸ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔστων; ἡ ὅτι τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκο-
δομὼ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλ' ὁπκ ἔω πίπτειν; ἡ ὅτι
πορφύραν αὐτὸς ἡμφίεςµαι, ἀλλ' οὐ φαύλων τριβώ-
νιον; ἀλλ' ὅτι κομῳ καὶ γένεια ἔχων; τοῦτο δ' ἵσως
οὗ τυραννικὸν ἔστων, ἀλλὰ βασιλικὸν. ἔφη δὲ ὁ βι
τις ὅτι καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἄκουεν καλῶς ποιοῦντα⁴
καὶ τοῦτο βασιλικὸν ἔστων.

¹ τὸν δείνα Emperius, ἐνa Wilamowitz : οὐδένα.
² ταῦτα Crosby : ταῦτα.
³ After ποιοῦντα Reiske adds καὶ μὴ Τιβέριον, retaining
οὐδένα.
⁴ ποιοῦντα Upton : ποιοῦντας.

¹ Wilamowitz conjectures that Tiberius is the anonymous
THE FORTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

her. And of male tyrants I have heard it said that so-and-so did the same thing, outrageous old sinner!¹

But what has all this to do with me? Is it because I build my house in costly style ² instead of letting it tumble down? Or because I myself wear purple instead of a miserable rag of a cloak? Can it be because I wear long hair and have a beard?³ But, possibly this is not the mark of a tyrant but rather of a king. However that may be, some one⁴ has said that being roundly abused, though doing kindly deeds, is also a mark of royalty.

offender. Tacitus and others hint at his indulgence in unnatural vices.

² This suggestion and the one which follows were doubtless made in irony. They do not accord with what is known of Dio in his philosophic period.
³ On his addiction to long hair, cf. Or. 35. 2.
⁴ Alexander the Great, according to Plutarch; Antisthenes, according to Marcus Aurelius.
THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN ASSEMBLY

This address, like the one preceding, is closely related to Dio's project for embellishing Prusa, of which we are to hear no more. The immediate occasion is the presence in Prusa of Varenus Rufus, newly appointed proconsul of Bithynia. He has just arrived in the province and plans on the morrow to leave Prusa on a tour of inspection. The populace of Prusa, exercising its newly regained right of public assembly, has gathered for the purpose of greeting the new governor. Dio pleads with them not to treat the occasion as an opportunity to air their local grievances against certain fellow townsmen, but to present a united front and postpone to a later date such charges as may require attention. These charges appear to involve members of the upper class at Prusa, some of whom have been tardy in paying their pledges to the building project (§ 11), while others are accused of having state money in their possession (§§ 3 and 9), presumably obtained in connexion with that same enterprise. Dio urges patience and a sympathetic treatment of the points at issue, defending the character of the persons involved and extolling the blessings of concord.

If the date of the proconsulship of Varenus were known, the dating of this Discourse would present no problem. By close reasoning from internal evidence Arnim arrives at the summer of A.D. 102 as the date of the address. Of importance for his argument is the turmoil in Bithynia, so prominent in this speech, a turmoil which Arnim connects with the maladministration of the province by Julius Bassus, the
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immediate predecessor of Varenus. Although Dio is at great pains to minimize the manifestations of unrest at Prusa and to attribute them to infection from without, the space devoted to that effort is in itself fair proof that conditions at Prusa must have been bad.
48. ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ

1 Πρώτον μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες, τῷ κρατίστῳ Οδαρηνῷ
dei χάριν ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην προ-
θυμίαν ἢν ἐπιδεδεικται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὁτι
βουλομένους ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιάζαι πάλιν ἐφήκεν σὺ
μόνον ἐτοίμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδέως. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν
πιστεύοντος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰδότος ὅτι πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄτο-
πον χρῆσεθε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ. οὔτε γὰρ ξύλα χλωρά
δήποτεν οὐδεὶς συντίθησιν ὅστε κάεσθαι, προ-
eιδῶς ὅτι ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι καπνὸν πολὺν καὶ
ἄτοπον, οὔτε τεταραγμένον δῆμον εἰς ταύτω συν-
ἀγει νῦν ἔχων ἡγεμόνιν, ἀλλὰ ἂν μὴ τις μεῖζων
2 ἀνάγκη καταλάβῃ. νῦν οὖν ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶ
μὴ ἰσχυσασθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιδείξαι
σωφρόνως καὶ καλῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζοντας, καὶ
πρώτον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καλλωπίσασθαι τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὅμοιον, κἂν δεύο ἀφίκηται
παρακληθείς, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων δὲν ἐβοᾷ ὑπερ-
θέσθαι: ζητήσει γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ δημόσια, κἂν ὑμεῖς
κωλύεις ἡλείῃ. τὸ δὲ νῦν εὐχαριστήσατε καὶ
dεξιώσασθε καὶ μετ’ ἐυφημίας καὶ τιμῆς ὑποδεξα-

1 The right of assembly had been abrogated, probably because of riots.
2 I.e., to visit the Assembly. Cf. § 15.
THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: 
A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN ASSEMBLY

In the first place, my friends, we ought to feel grateful to the most noble Varenus, not only for the general goodwill he has displayed toward our city, but also because, when we wished to hold an assembly once more, he gave his permission, not only readily but even gladly. For this was the act of one who trusts you and knows you will not use the privilege for any disagreeable purpose. For just as no one, I assume, collects green logs to build a fire, knowing in advance that there is bound to be much disagreeable smoke, so no proconsul of good judgement convenes a meeting of a community which is in a state of turmoil, unless some major emergency overtakes him. On the present occasion, therefore, it is your duty not to prove false to his conception of you, but rather to show yourselves temperate and well-behaved in assembly, and first and foremost, I believe, to adorn yourselves with mutual friendship and concord, and if he comes in answer to our invitation, to defer the other matters about which you were so vociferous; for he will inquire into the public problems himself, even if you wish to prevent him. But for the present express your appreciation of his goodness, greet him with applause, and welcome him with auspicious
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

θε, ἐνα μὴ ὡσπερ λατρῶς πρὸς νοσοῦντας ὑπόπτως καὶ ἀγάδως θεραπείας ἔνεκεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πρὸς 3 ὑγιαίνοντας ἥδεως καὶ προβήμως παρῆ. καὶ γὰρ δή νῦν μὲν ἀπεισὶ μετὰ τὴν τίμερον ἔσως ἡμέραν, ἀφικνεῖται δὲ ὅλιον ὕστερον καὶ τότε, ἂν μὴ πρότερον αὐτοὶ πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς,1 εἰ τις ἁρα τῶν δημοσίων ἔχει τι, καὶ δικασταῖς καὶ διανικηταῖς ἀλλήλους χρησάμενοι, τότε ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ καταβοᾶν. τὸ γε μὴ προεξανίστασθαι2 μὴ σφόδρα ἀγνωμον ἢ. ποῦ γὰρ ἀπεπειράθητε ἡ πότε ἥξιον- σατε τι3 παρ’ αὐτῶν; ἢ τις ὑμῖν οὐχ ὑπήκουσε;

Καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ, ἐγὼ δέομαι, τρέφατε εἰς ἀπαντᾶς. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐστιάσει πάνυ ἀλχρὸν ἔστιν ἕνα τῶν κατακεμένων πίνειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μόνον τῷ οἰνοχῶρῳ δυσκολαίνομεν,4 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πίνοντι, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πολιτι- κοῖς ἔπαινοις ἔστιν. καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες αὐτοὺς κοιμήσετε, ὥστιν κόσμος πόλεως μέγιστος ὁ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπαινος. ἐπὶ τὰν γὰρ ἄλλω μέγα φρονεῖτε; οὐ μεγέθει μὲν ἑτερα διαφέρουσι πόλεις καὶ νὴ Δία πλούτῳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς δημο- σίοις οἰκοδομήμασις; ἐν δὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὁ φιλοτι- μούμεθα σχεδὸν πρὸς ἄπαντας ἄνθρωπος, τὸ ἔχειν ἄνδρας ἰκανοὺς καὶ πράξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστὸν, ἀγαπῶντας τὴν πατρίδα. ἐὰν δὲ τις

1 ὑμᾶ] ὑμᾶς Reiske.
2 προεξανίστασθαι] προεσκαστασθαι Wilamowitz.
3 τι added by Emperius, ἄκοινοι Reiske.
4 δυσκολαίνομεν Emperius: δυσκολαίνειν.

1 Dio and his associates. Cf. § 10.
2 Cf. § 9.
3 Dio is referring to those charged with possessing state funds.

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words and honour, to the end that he may visit you, not as a physician visits the sick, with apprehension and worry over their treatment, but rather as one visits the well, with joy and eagerness. For though now, indeed, he will possibly leave here to-morrow, he will return a little later; and then, unless in the meantime we ourselves can win you to our view, in case some one really has something belonging to the commonwealth, by using one another as both judges and arbitrators, then, I say, you will have the opportunity not only to speak but also to shout others down. At all events I suspect it is very senseless to start a riot prematurely. For where have you put the matter to the test, or when have you made any demand upon them, or who has refused to listen to you?

Furthermore, I do entreat you, address to all the praise you are offering me. For just as at a banquet it is very disgraceful for only one of the guests to be drinking, and for this reason we take umbrage, not merely at the cupbearer, but also at the man who is drinking, this same principle obtains in regard to the official resolutions of commendation. Besides, if you do this, you will be bringing honour upon yourselves, since the greatest honour a city has is the praise its citizens receive. On what else do you base your pride? Do not other cities excel you in point of size, and also, God knows, in wealth and plenty and their public edifices? However, this is the one particular in which we rival practically all the world, namely, our having men competent both to act and to speak, and, what is the most important of all, men who love their country. But if any one takes this from you, to

4 Praise for the achievements referred to in § 11.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ

υμῶν τούτο ἀφεληται, πολλαὶ πόλεως καὶ τῆς βραχυ-
τάτης δόξετε ἀμέινους; νῦν γὰρ, ἡν ἰδεῖ οὐκ ἔχει
πρὸς τινὰ πόλιν, διὰ μὴ ληθεύε καὶ θεῶν, ἐπειτα
ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἑκατέρους πόλεις ὁμοιότατοι λέγο-
τες ὅτι εἰσιν ἄρφινες, ἀπιστοὶ, πῶς οἴοσετε; ὑμῖν
ἐξέτε καλεῖτε; ὡκ εὐθὺς βοήσετε, λοιπὸν ἐλεύσεσθε,
eἰς χεῖρας τυχόν ἔλεεσθε, ὅ γέγονε πολλάκις
πρότερον; ἐὰν ἂ λεγόντων ἐτέρων ὑμῖν ἀνέχεσθε
ἀκούνετε, ταῦτα ἔρειτε αὐτοὶ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν; εἰς
ποτὲ γένηται διαφορά, κακεῖνοι πορεύθητε ὑμῖν
τὸ πονηρός ἐχειν πολύτας, τὸ οὐσιώδεσθε, εἰς
ἀσχύνεσθε; ὡς ἔγωγε τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ὁμοίων
πάντας, ἢ μὴ σφόδρα ἡχθέσθην εἰσόντος μοι τινος,
Διάλλαξον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγανάκτησα.
μὴ γὰρ ἰδομί τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην ἐν ἑ ἰδιαλλαγῶν
ὑμεῖς δεήσεσθε, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἐχθρῶν, φασί, κεφαλᾶς τὰ
τουαῦτα τρέποντο, τούτ’ ἔστιν εἰς τοὺς καταράτους
Ῥέτας, εἰς μηδένα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν.

6 Ἐ ζέ μοι τῆς ἑκατέρας ἐπιδημίας ὁφελος,
εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὰ τουαῦτα πειθομένους ὑμᾶς ἄγοιμεν,
λόγων ἤτε συναιχγών ὁμοιοί καὶ φιλίας συναρά-
μενοι, καθ’ ὅσον οὐδὲ τέ ἐσμεν, ἐχθρῶν δὲ καὶ ἔριν
καὶ φιλονεκίαν ἄλογον καὶ ἀνόητον ἐξαιροῦτε
πάντα τρόπεον; καλὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ συμφέρον ὁμοίοις
ἀπασί πόλιν ὁμογνώμονα ὅρασθαι καὶ φίλην αὐτῇ

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1 8’ added by Capps.
2 οὐχ Arnim: πῶς.
3 τὸ πονηρὸς ἐχειν πολύτας deleted by Arnim.
4 λόγων ἤτε συναιχγών Emperius: λόγων ἤτε συναιχγών.
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what city, even the humblest, will you be deemed superior? For now, in case you have a quarrel with any city—which may none of the gods bring to pass!—and the people of that city consequently revile our citizens, saying they are rapacious, untrustworthy, in what temper will you take it? Will you not be angry? Will you not straightway shout, be abusive, possibly come to blows, as has often happened in the past? Then what you do not tolerate from the lips of others will you yourselves say against yourselves? If ever a quarrel arises and your adversaries taunt you with having wicked citizens, with dissension, are you not put to shame? As for myself, I swear to you by all the gods, I was indeed violently angry when a certain person¹ said to me, "Bring reconciliation to the city," and I was vexed with him. For may I never see the day when you need reconciliation, but, as the saying goes, may such things be diverted to the heads of our enemies, that is, to the accursed Getae, but not to any others, members of our own race.

Why, what would be the good of my presence here, if I should fail to lead you to such a policy by persuasion, having constantly engaged with you in discussions conducive to concord and amity, so far as I am able, and trying in every way to eradicate unreasonable and foolish enmity and strife and contention? For truly it is a fine thing and profitable for one and all alike to have a city show itself of one mind, on terms of friendship with itself and one

¹ Does he mean Trajan? If so, we can the better understand the reference to the Getae in the next sentence, for they were at this time making trouble for Trajan, and we know of no reason why Prusa should have been especially hostile toward the Getae. The "reconciliation" presumably concerned Prusa's dealings with her neighbours.

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καὶ συμπαθῆ, ὁψόγον τε καὶ ἑπαίνον ἐπὶ ταῦτα φέροντας, τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς φαύλοις πιστὴν ἑκατέρους μαρτυριῶν. καλὸν γὰρ, ὡσπερ ἐν χορῷ τεταγμένῳ, συνάδειν ἐν καὶ ταῦτα μέλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ πονηροῦ τρόπον ὁργάνου διαφέρεσθαι διπλῶς φθόγγος τε καὶ ἥχους ἀποφαίνοντας ἀπὸ διπλῶν καὶ ποικίλων ἡθῶν, ἐν ὧδε σχεδὸν ἢ τε καταφρόνησις καὶ δυστυχία καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἵσχυεν μήτε παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόνοις. οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἀπαμφότερων χορῶν οὐδέσθι ἀκούει ῥαδίως ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε τῶν διαφημιζόμενων πόλεων. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ νῆθε πλέοντας οὐ δυνατόν, οἷμαι, χωρὶς ἑκαστὸς σωτηρίας τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ’ ἀμαίντως, οὕτως οὐδὲ τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους. πρέπει δὲ ὑμῖν παιδείαν διαφέροντας καὶ φύσει καὶ τῷ ὀντὶ καθαρῶς ὅτας Ἐλληνας ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῆς γενναιότητα ἐπι-

Πολλὰ δ’ ἂν, οἷμαι, περὶ τούτων ἔλεγον καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποθέσεως, εἰ μὴ τὸ τε σῶμα κομμάτης φαύλως εἶχον, ὑμᾶς τε, ὡσπερ ἔφησι, ἐώρων οὐ διαμένοντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ γέγονεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν φύτευτο παρ’ ὑμῖν τούτο τὸ νόσημα, ἀλλὰ ἴσως βραχεία τις ὑποψία, ἃ καθάπερ ὀφθαλμία παρά

1 After συμπαθῆ Emperius deletes κάλλιστον δειματων αὐθαυμάστατον δε ἁπάντων κτημάτων μία γνώμη περὶ πάντων φαινομένη, a manifest gloss. Arnim suspects also πόλων ὁμογενῶν . . . συμπαθῆ.

2 ἀποφαίνοντας Reiske: ἀποφαίνοντος.

3 ἡθῶν Selden: ἥχων. In the ms. there follows: τρόπον αὐλοῦ κατεγόρος διπλῶς φωνῆς, which Reiske deletes.

4 μήτε παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόνοις Emperius: μήτε παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς ἡγεμόνων M, μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόνωι UB.

5 After γὰρ Arnim adds τοὺς.

6 ἐώρων οὗ Capps: οὐχ ἐώρων.
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in feeling, united in conferring both censure and praise, bearing for both classes, the good and the bad, a testimony in which each can have confidence. Yes, it is a fine thing, just as it is with a well-trained chorus, for men to sing together one and the same tune, and not, like a bad musical instrument, to be discordant, emitting two kinds of notes and sounds as a result of twofold and varied natures,\(^1\) for in such discord, I venture to say, there is found not only contempt and misfortune but also utter impotence both among themselves and in their dealings with the proconsuls. For no one can readily hear what is being said either when choruses are discordant or when cities are at variance.\(^2\) Again, just as it is not possible, I fancy, for persons sailing in one ship each to obtain safety separately, but rather all together, so it is also with men who are members of one state. And it becomes you, since you excel in cultivation and in natural gifts and are in fact pure Hellenes, to display your nobility in this very thing.\(^3\)

I might go on to say a great deal on these topics, I believe, and things commensurate with the importance of the subject before us, were it not that I am in quite poor health,\(^4\) and also, as I was saying,\(^5\) if I did not observe that your condition is not permanent. For no incident has yet happened, nor does this malady\(^6\) thrive among you, but it is possibly a slight attack of distrust, which, like sore eyes, we have

\(^1\) Cf. Or. 32. 2.  
\(^2\) Cf. Or. 39. 4.  
\(^3\) I.e., concord.  
\(^4\) Cf. Or. 39. 7 and 40. 2.  
\(^5\) In § 5.  
\(^6\) I.e., discord.

\(^7\) διαμένοντας | διενεχόμενος Arnim.  
\(^8\) οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε.  
\(^9\) ἓς added by Casaubon.
τῶν ἔγγος ἀπελαύσαμεν. εἶσθε δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνει καὶ τῇ ἐνθαλάττῃ πολλάκις τοῦ βυθοῦ κλωσθέντος ἰαγνωρίας καὶ χειμώνος ἐξ ἐνομένου πολλάκις ἀδῆλως ἐπεσῆμην καὶ τοὺς λιμέσιν.

9 Οἴσησθε ἀγορᾶς καὶ θεάτρου καὶ γυμνασίων καὶ στοάων καὶ χρημάτων εἶναι τι ὀφελοῦσ τοῖς στασιάζοντες; οὐ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ ποιοῦντα πόλιν καλὴν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη, φιλία, τὸ πιστεύειν ἄλληλοις. ὅταν δὲ τὴν βουλήν περιήγητε, τοὺς προερχόμενους, τοὺς εξειλεγμένους, οὗτοι αὐτοῦς πέγατε; εἰ γὰρ ἐθνίτιοι ὑμῶν εἰσὶν πονηροί, τὶ δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολαβεῖν; "ἡμεῖς ἁρὰ τά αὐτῶν ἀπολέσωμεν;" οὐδεὶς φησιν· ἄλλο εἶδος ὅτι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐστὶ χρήματα δημόσια, καὶ ταῦτα ἐχοῦσαι ἐνοικιάζοντες, τινὲς μὲν δὲ ἀγνοιαί, τινὲς δὲ ἄλλως· καὶ δεῖ προνοεῖν καὶ σφέξειν, οὐ μέντοι μετὰ ἐχθρῶς οὐδὲ μετὰ διαφορᾶς.

10 Οὕτωι φιλοτιμοῦνται, πολλάκις ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσενηχόμεθα. πείθετε αὐτούς, παρακαλεῖτε· ἀν ἀντιτελνοῦσι, δικαιολογεῖσθε πρὸς μόνους μηθενῶς παρόντος ἐξωθεῖτε. οὗτοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ πολλάκις ἐπαινοῦντες ήμᾶς δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, τοὺς μὲν ἀριστεῖς λέγοντες, τοὺς δὲ Ὀλυμπιούς, τοὺς δὲ σωτῆρας, τοὺς δὲ τροφέας; εἴτε πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ψυχομαρτυρίων ἀλώσεσθε, καὶ

1 κλωσθέντος Relské: πλησθέντος.
2 αὐτῶν Emporius: αὐτῶν.
3 αὐτῶν Emporius: αὐτῶν.
4 After καὶ Arnim adds ἀδῆλον ἦσται.

1 See Introduction.
2 Dio is probably referring to the groups mentioned in the preceding section, wealthier persons likely to be found in office.

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caught from our neighbours. But this is a thing which often befalls the sea too—when the depths have been violently disturbed and there has been a storm at sea, often there are faint signs of the disturbance in the harbours also.¹

Do you imagine there is any advantage in market or theatre or gymnasia or colonnades or wealth for men who are at variance? These are not the things which make a city beautiful, but rather self-control, friendship, mutual trust. But when you find fault with the Council, with the leaders of the government, with the duly elected officials, are you not finding fault with yourselves? For if the better men among you are base, what should one assume regarding the others? "Shall we, then, lose what belongs to us?" some one retorts. No one is suggesting that; on the contrary, you may rest assured that in all our cities there are public funds, and a few persons have these funds in their possession, some through ignorance and some otherwise; and it is necessary to take precautions and try to recover these funds, yet not with hatred or wrangling.

These men are generous; they have often made contributions to you out of their own resources. Use persuasion on them, appeal to them; if they are stubborn, urge the justice of your claims before them privately, with no outsider present.² Is it not you who often praise us all day long, calling some of us nobles, some Olympians, some saviours, some foster-parents? Then, by all that's holy, are you going to be convicted of false witness in your own household,

² Doubtless he has Varenus particularly in mind; it would be unfortunate to lay bare domestic difficulties unnecessarily.
πότερον νῦν ταῦτα ὁργιζόμενοι λέγετε ἢ τότε ἐκεῖνα κολακεύσοντες, καὶ νῦν ἀπατώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τότε ἐξαπατῶντες; οὐ παύσεσθε τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι πάνυ χαριέντας ἔχετε πολίτας καὶ πόλιν δυναμένην εἶναι μακαρίαν; ἔγω ² πολλὰ δύναμαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθὰ ποιῆσαι, τούτους ἔχων συναγωνιζόμενος, λέγω δὲ τῷ τῆς παρομίας, εἰς ἀνήρ οὐδεὶς ἀνήρ.

11 Ἀλλ' ἵσως ἐνυσχεράνατε ὅτι οὐκ ἔγενετο τὸ ἔργον. γίγνεται καὶ σφόδρα ἐσται ταχέως, μάλιστα τούτων προθυμομένων καὶ σπουδαζόντων, εὰν ἐκοντὶ διδῶσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄκοντες ὑμῖν ὑπέσχοντα. διὰ τὰ δὲ παρὰ τούτων μὲν ἀπαιτεῖτε παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖτε; ὅτι δοκῶ παρεσχηκέναι ὑμῖν; ἔπειτα οἷοθ' ἐμὲ ³ τούτο ἐμποιεῖν εἰ τὴν ἔμαιτος πατρίδα τιμωτέραν ἐποίησα, χρημάτων τινὰ ἀφορμὴν παρασχῶν ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτικῶν καὶ ηῷ Δίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων ἡθημένων διὰ τὴν διοίκησιν; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δομοὶ ἐστὶν ἀνθρωποθεῖν ἐν εἰ ἰηθεὶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν.

12 Κἂν πάλιν δυνηθῶ, ποιήσω πάλιν. δυνήσομαι δὲ εὐθυμῶν, ¹ φίλους ἔχων τοὺς ἐνθάδε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμῖν λογισθείμαι τῶν τοιούτων. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ γονεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὰς εὐχὰς λογί-

¹ Before εῦχα Reiske inserts ἰν.
² λέγω δὲ Selden: λέγων.
³ οἷοθ' ἐμὲ Crosby: οἷοθ' μὲ.
⁴ εὐθυμῶν] μεθ' ὑμῶν Reiske.

¹ A familiar proverb.
² The Councillor paid a fee when admitted to office.
³ This was another result of Dio's mission to Rome, A.D. 100. Cf. Or. 45. 10. It would seem that because of the
and is it anger which now prompts your words, or
was it flattery then; and is it that you are the victims
of deception now, or were you guilty of deception
then? Will you not cease your turbulence and
recognize that you have fellow citizens of refinement
and a city that can be prosperous? I can accom-
plish many things, if Heaven wills, with these men as
my helpers; however, I cite the proverb, one man is
no man.¹

But possibly you were displeased that the work
has not been completed. It is going forward, and it
will be completed very speedily, especially with the
enthusiastic and earnest interest of these men, pro-
vided they give willingly; for you know they were
not unwilling when they gave their promise. But
why do you demand payment from these men and not
from me? Because I am supposed to have made
payment to you already? Then do you regard it
as my doing, if I have made my own fatherland more
highly esteemed by providing some working capital,
as it were, from the Council fees,² and, by Zeus, from
increase in income brought about through the revision
of our finances? ³ Why, these matters are as if I
had prayed in your behalf, while the gods did the
work.

Aye, and if I am able to do it again I will do it
again.⁴ And I shall be able to do so with confidence,
provided I have the friendship of the people of Prusa,
and I shall not charge you anything for such efforts.
For neither do parents charge to the account of their
children the prayers offered in their behalf. Do you
success of that mission his fellow citizens were not pressing
him for the payment of his subscription, but were honouring
him with a vote of thanks. Cf. § 3.

¹ I.e., he will "pray" again to the Emperor.
 Dio Chrysostom

ξονται. οἴεσθε ὅτι περὶ στοάς ἦν ἄν ἐμοὶ λόγος ἢ ἀλλο τινός, εἰ εἴωρον ὑμᾶς διαφερομένους; ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε ὁμοιὸν ἦν ὁσπερ ἂν εἰ τις ἄνθρωπον νοσοῦντα καὶ φρενίτιδι ἐχόμενον, δέον, οἶμαι, κατα-
πλάσαςι κατακλίναντα, ὁ δὲ ἀλείφοι μύρῳ καὶ προσφέροι στέφανον ταῦτα ἐκ περιουσίας ἔστι τοῖς ὑμιᾶνοι, τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακῶν. οὐκ οἴεσθε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι ἐστασίαζον καὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἐπηγάγοντο καὶ προεδιδοσαν ἀλλήλους οἱ ταλαιπωροι, καὶ τὰ Προπύλαια ἔχειν καὶ τὸν Παρ-
θενῶνα καὶ τὰς στοάς καὶ τὸν Πειραιά; ἀλλὰ οἰμώξουσιν αὐτοῖς μείζον ἐπήχει τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ ὁ Πειραιεύς αὐτὸς.

13 Καίτοι μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος πόλις στασιά-
ζουσα καὶ κακῶς φρονοῦσα δύναται χρόνον τινὰ ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν δυστυχίαν. ἀλλ' ὁμοὶ καὶ ταῦτα ὁρᾶτε ὑποῖα ἔστιν. οὐ κατηγοροῦσιν ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἐξ-
ελαύνουσιν, οὐ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰςάγουσιν καὶ ἐτέρους ἐξάγουσιν; οὐχ ὁσπερ ἐν σεισμῷ πάντα κινεῖται καὶ πάντα μετέωρά ἐστι καὶ οὐθὲν βέβαιον; εἰς τοῦτο ἢκουσιν ὃστε μὴ ἄρκείσαθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνι, ἀλλ' ὁσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀνικαί νοσήμασι, δέονται ξένων ἰατρῶν. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἵππων γιγνόμενον ἔστιν. ὅταν δὲ 
χαλινὸς μὴ κατισχύῃ, ψάλιον αὐτοῖς ἐξώθεν ἐμβάλλεται.

1 After ταῦτα Emperius adds à.
2 ἐπηγάγοντο] ἐπηγάγοντο Wilamowitz.
3 Before εἰς Casaubon inserts οὐκ.
4 ψάλιον Valesius: ψέλιον.

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imagine I should be speaking of a colonnade or anything else, if I saw you wrangling? Why, that would be just as if, when a man is ill and suffering from brain fever, though the proper treatment, no doubt, would be to put him to bed and apply a poultice, one were to rub him with perfume and administer a garland! These things are a luxury for the well, for those who have no affliction. Do not you suppose that at the time when the Athenians were in the grip of civil war and had brought upon themselves the enemy and were betraying one another—poor devils!—they had both the Propylaea and the Parthenon and the colonnades and Peiraeus? Aye, but the Propylaea and the dockyards and the Peiraeus itself only echoed the more loudly to their cries.

And yet a great and populous city suffering from civil war and folly can for a time endure its misfortune; still you can see how terrible even such things are. Do not the Athenians accuse one another, do they not drive men into exile, do they not put one party into the Council and drive out the other? Is not everything subject to upheaval as in an earthquake, everything unsettled, nothing stable? They have reached the point of not being satisfied with their own leaders, but, just as in the case of incurable diseases, require physicians from abroad. Then comes what happens with intractable horses—when the bit fails to hold them in check, a curb is put upon them from without.\(^1\)

\(^1\) This whole passage relates to the unhappy situation of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War. The "physician from abroad" was the Spartan Lysander and the "curb" was his troops of occupation. Dio's choice of such an illustration and his earnestness in depicting Athenian sufferings suggest that conditions at Prausa were pretty bad.
14 Ἕμωι μέλει μὲν καὶ τοῦ καθ᾽ ύμᾶς, μέλει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτόν. εἰ γὰρ φιλόσοφος πολιτείας ἀφάμενος οὐκ ἔδυνηθη παρέχειν ὁμονοούσαν πόλιν, τούτῳ δειμὸν ἡδὴ καὶ ἄφυκτον, ὅσπερ εἰ ναυτηγὸς ἐν νηπίᾳ πλέουσα μὴ παρέχοι τὴν νὰν πλέουσαν, καὶ εἰ κυβερνήτης φάσκων εἰναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ κῦμα ἀποκλίνω, ἡ λαβὼν οἰκίαν οἰκοδόμος, ὅρων πέπτουσαν, δὲ τούτου μὲν ἀμελῶν, κοινῶν δὲ καὶ χρίνων οὖντο τι ποιεῖν.

Εἰ μοι προκειμένον ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας λέγειν, εἴπον ἂν πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων παθημάτων, διὸ τὰ θεῖα ταῦτα καὶ μεγάλα ὁμονοίας τυγχάνει δεόμενα καὶ φιλίας· εἰ δὲ μή, κάνειν ἀπολέσθαι καὶ φθαρῆναι τῷ καλῷ τοῦτῳ δημουργήματι τῷ κόσμῳ. ἄλλος μεγαλογῶ, δέον βαδίζειν καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν ἡγεμόνα. τοσοῦτον δὴ μόνον ἐρῶ· οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν, εἰ μέλται μὲν ὁμονοοῦσιν, καὶ οὔδεις οὐδέποτε ἐώρακεν ἐσμὼν στασιάζοντα καὶ μαχόμενον αὐτῷ· συνεργάζονται δὲ καὶ ζῶοι ἄμα, καὶ παρέχουσαι τὴν τροφὴν αὐταῖς καὶ χρώμεναι; τὶ οὖν; οὐχὶ κάκει γίγνονται κηφηνίες τινες λεγόμενοι χαλεποὶ καὶ κατεσθλοῦτες τὸ μέλι; νῦ δὲ, γίγνονται μὲν ὁμως δὲ καὶ τούτους πολλάκις ἐδώκαν οἱ γεωργοὶ, μὴ βουλόμενοι ταράττειν τὸν ἐσμὸν, καὶ βέλτιον νομίζουσι παραναλίσκειν τούτῳ μέλιτος ἡ πᾶσας θορυβή-

1 Ἕμωι] καὶ Ἕμωι Emperius, Ἕμωι δὲ Arnim.
2 ναυτηγὸς] ναύχητος Sonny.
3 ἐν νηπίᾳ πλέουσα wrongly suspected by Herwerden.
4 ἀμελῶν] ἀμελοὶ Arnim.
THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

My concern is partly indeed for you, but partly also for myself. For if, when a philosopher has taken a government in hand, he proves unable to produce a united city, this is indeed a shocking state of affairs, one admitting no escape, just as if a shipwright while sailing in a ship should fail to render the ship seaworthy, or as if a man who claimed to be a pilot should swerve toward the wave itself, or as if a builder should obtain a house and, seeing that it was falling to decay, should disregard this fact but, giving it a coat of stucco and a wash of colour, should imagine that he is achieving something.

If my purpose on this occasion were to speak in behalf of concord, I should have had a good deal to say about not only human experiences but celestial also, to the effect that these divine and grand creations, as it happens, require concord and friendship; otherwise there is danger of ruin and destruction for this beautiful work of the creator, the universe. But perhaps I am talking too long, when I should instead go and call the proconsul to our meeting. Accordingly I shall say only this much more—is it not disgraceful that bees are of one mind and no one has ever seen a swarm that is factious and fights against itself, but, on the contrary, they both work and live together, providing food for one another and using it as well? "What!" some one objects, "do we not find there too bees that are called drones, annoying creatures which devour the honey?" Yes, by Heaven, we do indeed; but still the farmers often tolerate even them, not wishing to disturb the hive, and believe it better to waste some of the honey rather than to

1 A favourite theme with Dio. Cf. Or. 36. 22, 30, and the "myth of the Magi" with which he concludes.
16 σαι τὰς μελίττας. οὐ μέντοι παρ’ ἡμῖν τυχόν οὐδεὶς ἐστι κηφήν ἀργός, Βομβών σαθρόν, γενόμενος τοῦ μελίτος. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μύρμηκας πανῦ ἢδέως ἰδεῖν ἑστιν, ὅπως μὲν οἰκοῦσί μετ’ ἀλλήλων εὐκό- λως, ὅπως δὲ ἔξιασιν, ὅπως δὲ τὰ βάρη μεταλαμ- βάνουσιν, ὅπως δὲ παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλους τῶν ὁδῶν. οὐκ οὖν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἀφρονε- στέρους εἶναι θηρίων οὐτοὶ σμικρῶν καὶ ἀφρόνων;

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως ἔρρηθε τρόπον τινά. στάσει δὲ οὐδὲν οἰκομάζειν ἄξιων παρ’ ἡμῖν μήτε 17 λεγέτω μηδείς. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ περικαθήραντας τὴν πόλιν—μὴ σκηλῆχη μηδὲ ὑδατί, πολὺ δὲ καθα- ρωτέρας χρήματι τῶν λόγω—κοινῆ πράττειν τὰ λοιπά, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φροντίζειν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρακαλεῖν πρὸς ταύτα, ἵνα, ὡσπερ εἰσθή, προνοή τῆς πόλεως· ἐσται γὰρ ὑμῖν πάνω ἐμφία. τούτῳ δὲ ἄξιον ἡμῶν σπουδάσαι καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα δν πεποιήκατε, ἵνα μὴ λα- βόντες ἄπειρον ἀνθρώπου ἐπείτα ἐν κλίδων καὶ σάλω ἑάτε.

1 ἀργός Jacobs : ἀφρως. 2 οὐδὲ] οὖτε Emperius. 3 ὑδατί] δαδί Baguet, χρήματι Naber. 4 εἰσθή Emperius : εἰσώθει.

1 Dio often uses bees and ants as illustrations; e.g., Or. 40. 40.
2 Athens employed such officials as early as 425 B.C. Cf. Aristophanes, Acharnians 723-724. Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 51. 1, says there were five for Athens proper and five for the Peiraeus, and that it was their duty to inspect all goods for
throw all the bees into confusion. But at Prusa, it may be, there are no lazy drones, buzzing in impotence, sipping the honey. Again, it is a great delight to observe the ants, how contentedly they dwell together, how they go forth from the nest, how they aid one another with their loads, and how they yield the trails to one another. Is it not disgraceful, then, as I was saying, that human beings should be more unintelligent than wild creatures which are so tiny and unintelligent?  

Now this which I have been saying is in a way just idle talk. And civil strife does not deserve even to be named among us, and let no man mention it. However, I propose that after purifying the city—not with squill nor yet with water, but with what is far more pure, namely, reason—we negotiate in public meeting what yet remains, not only concerning ourselves with our clerks of the market and so forth, but also calling the attention of the Council to these matters, so that it may make provision for the city, as is its practice; for these things will be quite easy for you to do. Besides, this deserves your serious attention also on account of the archon whom you have created, in order that, having taken a man of inexperience, you may not later abandon him in wave and tempest.  

sale in order to insure cleanliness and freedom from adulteration.

\(^a\) Arnim suggests with much plausibility that Dio is here referring to his son, now grown to manhood. That the son followed family tradition by holding public office is apparent from Or. 50. 5-6, 10, and 51. 6.
THE FORTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: A REFUSAL OF THE OFFICE OF ARCHON DELIVERED BEFORE THE COUNCIL

The major portion of this Discourse is devoted to a consideration of the importance of the philosopher in the administration of affairs of state and of his duty to accept office for the good of the state. It appears that Dio, without his previous consent, had been set up as a candidate for election to the archonship, the highest office in the government. That election to this office was a function of the Council is clear, not only from the fact that Dio's excuses are offered to that body, but especially from the natural interpretation of §§ 14-15. Furthermore, we learn from § 15 that the Council had once before elected him to that office by acclamation. Arnim argues with much cleverness that the election just referred to took place the year preceding our Discourse, A.D. 102, that Dio declined to serve on that occasion, and that he used his influence to bring about the substitution of his son to fill his place (cf. Or. 48. 17 and note). On the occasion referred to Dio, in support of his request to be excused, urged the imminence of his departure from Prusa. Not yet having made good that announcement, he now feels called upon to assert his good faith and to declare that this time he is really about to leave (§ 15).

For what reason was he to take his departure? In the initial sentence of Or. 45 (A.D. 101 or 102) he says he believes he has not much longer to stay in Prusa. One infers from his use of the verb οἴομαι that his departure is not wholly a matter of personal choice. In that same speech (§ 3) and in Or. 47 he suggests that he might reasonably look to Trajan
for some preferment. Arnim concludes that some such offer of preferment had been made prior to Or. 45 and that Dio's earlier uncertainty as to the precise moment of his departure was due to the Emperor's absence from Rome in connexion with his campaign in Dacia. That campaign is now over and Dio is due to begin his journey to Rome.
49. ΠΑΡΑΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ

1 Τούς ἐπεικέσων ἄνθρωποις καὶ πεπαθεμένοις οὔτε ἀγιός τῷ ἄρχειν οὔτε χαλεπόν. ἤδονται μὲν γὰρ οὔδεν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ εἶδος τῷ δὲ ἄρχοντι πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους ἢ καὶ πλειόνων ἄνθρωποιν οὐ μόνον ἔξουσία πλείστη τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγικη σχεδόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐκ ἀνέχονται τὸν βλαβερὸν ἄρχοντα οὐχ ὅπως ἄνθρωποι, ὁ δὴ δοκεῖ πάντων δριμύτατον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ οὖν δὲ τῶν θηρίων 2 τὰ ἄφρονέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ βόες ῥαδίως ὑπομένουσι βουκόλων ἀμέλειαν οὔτε αἰτπόλια καὶ ποῦμαι τοὺς φθείροντας νομέας. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀποφεύγει καὶ οὐ πείθεται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀμύνεται τοὺς πονηροὺς προστάτας. οἱ δὲ ἒποιοί τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς ἴσως ἀποβάλλοντες πολὺ κάκιον κολάζουσιν ἡ ἐκείνοις τῇ μάστιγι παῖστεῖς. τούτων δὲ ἀπαντῶν τῶν ἄνθρωποις δεινότατον ἐστι καὶ πλείστην ἔχουσι σύνεσιν· ὡστε κακῷ μὲν ἡγεμόνι πάντων ἐχθρότατον, τῷ δὲ ἀγαθῷ πάντων εὐνοοῦστατον. 4 ἦδον μὲν οὖτως τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τῷ ἄρχειν χαλεπόν δὲ οὐκ ἂν

1 ὁ δὴ ... εἶναι deleted by Emperius.
2 After ἔκεινοι Herwerden adds τούτων.
3 ἔχου Reiske: ἔχων.
4 εὐνοοῦστατον Reiske: εὐνοοῦστερον.
THE FORTY-NINTH DISCOURSE:
A REFUSAL OF THE OFFICE OF
ARCHON DELIVERED BEFORE THE
COUNCIL

To reasonable and cultivated men the holding of office is neither distasteful nor difficult. For they enjoy nothing more than doing good; and the ruler of a city, or of a tribe, or of still larger aggregations of mankind, not only has the fullest opportunity for doing good, but also is practically bound to do so; but if he fails in that respect, the ruler who does harm is not tolerated, I do not say by human beings, reputed to be the most petulant of all creatures, but not even by the stupidest of the beasts. For example, neither do cattle willingly submit to neglect on the part of the herdsmen nor do flocks of goats and sheep submit to keepers who ruin them. For some run away and do not obey, and others even retaliate against their wicked guardians. In fact horses inflict much worse punishment on ignorant drivers by throwing them off than the drivers inflict by striking them with the whip. But of all these creatures man is the most clever and has the most intelligence; accordingly man is most hostile of all toward a bad ruler, though most kindly of all toward one who is good. Thus being a ruler is pleasant for those who know the art—though no pursuit could be difficult
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

εὖς πράγμα οὐδὲν τῷ μελετήσαντι ἡς ἀρχῆς καὶ παρεσκευασμένῳ πρὸς αὐτό.

3 Ὅ δὲ τῷ δντι φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἄλλο τι φανήσεται διαπονούμενος ἡ τὸ πῶς ἀρχεῖν καλῶς διυδόσεται καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης καὶ συλλήβδην ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἃν ἐπιπρέπει, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ προσδείησαι οὐδὲν ἄρχοντος ἀλλ’ ἡ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ἰκανός ἐσται. καὶ τούτῳ οὐδὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αὐτοὺς λέγηθεν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὅσοι μὴ τελέως ἀφρόνεσ. τῶν γὰρ πεπαιδευμένων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δέονται συμβουλοῦσι σφίξι γέγυνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάττοντες αὐτοὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων προστάγματα λαμβάνουσιν ἃ δεῖ πράττειν καὶ τίνων ἀπέχεσθαι.

4 Ὡσπερ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα Ὅμηρος φησιν ἀεὶ προσδείησαι τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Νέστορος καὶ ὅσαίς αὐτῷ συμβουλεύοντι μὴ ἐπείσθη, ὅδυρεσθαι καὶ παράχρημα μετανοεῖν. Φιλιππος δὲ, ὁ δοκεῖ δεινότατος γενέσθαι τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπηγάγετο τῷ νείς Ἀλέξανδρῳ διδάσκαλον καὶ ἄρχοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς οὐχ ἰκανὸς ὃν παρεδεύσαι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Μακεδονῶν καὶ Ὀρκῶν καὶ Ἰλλυρίων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἤξιον ἀρχεῖν, τὸν δὲ νεόν ἐτέρῳ παρεδίδου ἀρχηγοῦς, καὶ τοσαῦταις μυριάσι προστάτων

1 διαπονούμενος Reiske, διανοούμενος Casaubon: διακονοῦμενος.
2 τὰ πῶς’ ὅπως Arnim. 3 del Selden: ἅ δὲ.
4 ἀρχηγοῦς Reiske: ἀχθηγοῦς.
for the man who had practised it from the start and had equipped himself for it.

But he who is really a philosopher will be found to be devoting himself to no other task than that of learning how he will be able to rule well, whether it be ruling himself or a household or the greatest state or, in short, all mankind, provided they permit it, and, while himself needing no ruler other than reason and God, he will be competent to care for and give heed to the rest of mankind. Moreover, this fact has not escaped the notice even of kings themselves, or of any men in power who are not utterly bereft of judgement. For they entreat men of cultivation to become their counsellors in their most important problems, and, while giving orders to everybody else, they themselves accept orders from those counsellors as to what to do and what not to do.

Take Agamemnon for example—Homer says that Agamemnon always sought the opinion of Nestor especially, and that every time he did not follow Nestor’s advice he bewailed the fact and promptly repented.\(^1\) Again, Philip, who is reputed to have been the cleverest of kings, engaged Aristotle as teacher and ruler for his son Alexander, believing that he himself was not competent to give instruction in the science of kingship; nay, while he thought himself fit to rule the other Macedonians and Thracians and Illyrians and all the Greeks, he handed his son over to another to be ruled, and while he gave orders to so many myriads, he did not dare give orders to

\(^1\) Dio refers, not to a statement made by Homer, but to the prominence which he gives Nestor as Agamemnon’s counsellor.
Εν έκείνω προστάτευες οὐχ ὑπέμενεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔσον ἡγεῖτο κίνδυνον εἶναι αὐτῶν έπει τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξαιρετάναι ἐπεὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν οἶον.

5 Καίτοι προτέρου αὐτὸς ἐν Θηβαί ὁ Μηρεύων Πελοπίδης οἱ σωμὴν, ἀνδρὶ πεπαιδευμένωι, ὥστε καὶ ἔραστὴν ἐφάσαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Πελοπίδαν γενέσθαι, καὶ Ἐπαμεινόνδου τὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐφάρμα καὶ τῶν λόγων δὲ ἦκουσα, ὡς αὐτὸ εἰς ταυτομάτων τοσοῦτον Ἰσχύσαν ἐν τοῖς Ἐλληνι καὶ τοσιάτων μεταβολὴν ἐποίησαν, ὥστε καταλύσαρ Λακεδαιμονίων τοσοῦτον χρόνων ἀρχοντας, ἀλλὰ Λύσιδι ὁμολέγας τῷ Πυθαγόρου μαθητῇ. ὃς οὖν πολὺ διήρεγκεν ὁ Φίλιππος τῶν προτέρου ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ μαχητικῶν ἐπέτυχόν ὁμικ δὴ ἐδάφοις τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν άυτός διδάσκειν.

6 Ἔβροι δὲ ἐν τῖς σπανίως μὲν φιλοσόφους ἀρξαντας ἐν τοῖς ἁνθρώποις—λέγω δὲ τὰς ἀνομίας ἀρχας, στρατηγοὺς ἔς συμπάσας ἔς βασιλέας καθισταντο μεθ᾽ ἐπιτυχεῖν δὲ καὶ μέγιστα ἀπολαύσαντας αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοὺς ἀρχομένους. Σόλωνος μὲν Ἀθηναίος καὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ Περικλέους τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητοῦ, Θηβαιος δὲ Ἐπαμεινόνδου, Ρωμαίος δὲ Νόμα, ὃν φασὶ τινω τῆς Πυθαγόρου σοφίας μετασχεῖν Ἰταλιώτας δὲ σύμπαντας τῶν Πυθαγορικών, τοσοῦτον χρόνων εὐδαιμονήσαν—

1 αὐτῶ Εμπεριος: αὐτῶ.
2 ἦκουσα Εμπεριος: ἦκουσεν.
3 αὐτὸς Ῥέισκε: οὗτος οἱ οὗτος.

1 At the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.
2 Lysias, a native of Tarentum, migrated to Thebes when the Pythagorean community was dissolved. For his influence on Epaminondas, see Nepos, Ῥιμ. 2.
that one man. The reason is that he did not feel his own risk to be as great if he should err where it concerned any one else as it would be if he should commit some error in connexion with his son.

And yet previously Philip himself, while a hostage at Thebes, not only was associated with Pelopidas, a man of cultivation—in consequence of which it was even said that Pelopidas had been his lover—but he also witnessed the deeds of Epaminondas and listened to his words; and it was not mere accident that Epaminondas had acquired such power among the Greeks and had wrought so great a change in Greece as to overthrow the Spartans, despite their long-continued rule, but because he had conversed with Lysis, the disciple of Pythagoras. This, I fancy, explains why Philip was far superior to those who previously had become kings in Macedonia. Yet for all that, though he had had the good fortune to obtain so good an education, he did not have the courage to instruct Alexander himself.

However, while one would find that philosophers have rarely become rulers among men—I mean holding positions termed "offices," serving as generals or satraps or kings—on the other hand, those whom they ruled have derived from them most numerous and most important benefits—the Athenians from Solon, from Aristeides, and from Pericles, the disciple of Anaxagoras; the Thebans from Epaminondas; the Romans from Numa, who, as some say, had some acquaintance with the philosophy of Pythagoras; and the Italian Greeks in general from the Pythagoreans, for these Greeks prospered and conducted

3 The traditional date of Numa makes him too early to have known Pythagoreanism.
τας καὶ μετὰ πλειότητας ὁμονοιάς καὶ εἰρήνης πολιτευσαμένους, ὅσον ἔκεινοι χρόνον τὰς πόλεις διεῖπον.

7 Καὶ κοινῇ δὲ τὰ ἵσχυρότατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ δύνανται αἰεὶ βασιλεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπιστάτας τοῖς βασιλεύσαι καὶ ἀρχοντας τούτως ἀπέδειξαν. Πέρσαι μὲν, οἶμαι, τοὺς καλομένους παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μάγους, ὅτι τῆς φύσεως ἴσαν ἐμπειροὶ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἤδεισαν ὡς δεῖ θεραπεύειν. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τοὺς ἰερέας, οἳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξον τοῖς μάγοις, τῶν θεῶν ἐπιμελοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐξωτερικὰ γνωστάκοντας ἄλλη τε καὶ ὅπως ἔχοι. Ἡνδοὶ δὲ Βραχμᾶνες, ἐνκρατεῖς καὶ δικαιοσύνη διαφέροντας καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον φιλία, θεον μᾶλλον ἰσαὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ οἳ ἀλλοι ἄνθρωποι τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς.

8 Κελτοὶ δὲ οὗς ὀνομάζονται Δρυίδαις, καὶ τούτους περὶ μαντικῆς ὄντας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης σοφίας· οὐκ ᾤνευ τοῖς βασιλεύσαις οὐδὲν ἔξην πράττειν οὐδὲ βουλευόμεθα, ἢς τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνος ἀρχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βασιλέας αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διακόνους γίνονται τῆς γνώμης ἐν θρόνον χρυσοῦς καθημένους καὶ οἷς μεγάλας ὁικονόμους καὶ πολυτελῶς ἐνωχουμένους.

Καὶ γὰρ δὴ τούτων εἰκὸς ἐστὶν πᾶσαν ἀρχήν ἰκανώτατα διακηδίζει, ὅτι τὴν χαλεπωτάτην ἀρχήν διηνεκῶς ἀρχῶν δύναται παρέχει ἀναμάρτητον 9 αὐτῶν. ὁ τούτων φιλόσοφος αἰεὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρχεῖν· ὁ τῷ

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1 ὅτι: Reiske.
2 ὅπως: Dindorf: πῇ.
3 πολυτελῶς: Cobet; πολυτίμους or πολυτίμως.
4 διηνεκῶς: Selden: διενεκεῖς.

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1 Cf. Or. 36. 41. 2 Cf. Or. 35. 22. 3 The locus classicus on the Druids is Caesar, Bell. Gall. 6.
their municipal affairs with the greatest concord and peace just so long as those Pythagorcans managed their cities.

Furthermore, since they cannot always be ruled by kings who are philosophers, the most powerful nations have publicly appointed philosophers as superintendents and officers for their kings. Thus the Persians, methinks, appointed those whom they call Magi, because they were acquainted with Nature and understood how the gods should be worshipped; the Egyptians appointed the priests, who had the same knowledge as the Magi, devoting themselves to the service of the gods and knowing the how and the wherefore of everything; the Indians appointed Brachmans, because they excel in self-control and righteousness and in their devotion to the divine, as a result of which they know the future better than all other men know their own immediate present; the Celts appointed those whom they call Druids; these also being devoted to the prophetic art and to wisdom in general. In all these cases the kings were not permitted to do or plan anything without the assistance of these wise men, so that in truth it was they who ruled, while the kings became their servants and the ministers of their will, though they sat on golden thrones, dwelt in great houses, and feasted sumptuously.

And indeed it is reasonable to expect that man to administer any office most capably who, occupying continuously the most difficult office of all, can show himself to be free from error. For example, the philosopher is always master of himself; and this is

13-14. Diodorus (5. 31. 4) and Strabo (4. 198) also refer to them.
παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἢ συμπάντων μὲν Ἔλληνων συμπάντων δὲ βαρβάρων βασιλεύειν. ποιον μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀγριον ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐστὶν ὡς ὁργαί ὑπὸ καὶ φθόνοι καὶ φιλονικίαι, ἄν αὐτὸν ἐγκρατὴ εἶναι δεῖ; ποιον δὲ οὕτω πανούργων καὶ ἐπιβουλών καὶ προδοτικῶν ὃς ἦδοναί τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, ἄν αὐτὸν οὐδέποτε ἢττᾶσθαι δεῖ; ποιον δὲ οὕτω βίαιον καὶ καταπληττόμενον καὶ ταπεινοῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ὃς φόβοι τε καὶ λύπαι, οἶς οὕποτε αὐτὸν 10 πρέπει ὑπείκουτα ὁφθήναι; ποία δὲ ὁπλα, ποία δὲ ἐρύματα πρὸς ταῦτα προσβέβληται, οἷα οἱ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ πόλεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους; ποίος δὲ συμμάχοις ὁ δορυφόρος ἐπὶ ταῦτα χρησθαί δυνατόν, εἰ μὴ γε τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ φρονίμους λόγους; τίσι δὲ ἄλλοις ἐντείλασθαι φυλακὰς ἢ ἐπιτρέψαι φρουρεῖν, ἢ ποίοις χρησασθαι διακόνοις; ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸν δεῖ καὶ νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν φρουτίζοντα καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντα τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην ἔχειν, ὅπως μὴ λάθη αὐτὸν ἢτοι ἀνασεισθεὶς ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν ἢ καταπλαγεῖς ὑπὸ φόβων ἢ παρακρουσθείς ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας ἢ ταπεινωθεὶς ὑπὸ λύπης, ὥστε ἀποστήμαι τῶν βελτίστων καὶ δικαιο- 11 τάτων ἑργῶν προδότης αὐτοῦ γενόμενος; τῷ δὲ τῷ ἄρχῃ ταύτην ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχοντι οὐ χαλεπὸν ἢδη καὶ συμπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττω γίγνεσθαι.

'Ὅπως καὶ δὲ ταῦτα διεξιών περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, μηδεῖς με ἤγεισθο πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα ἀφορώντα λέγει καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὀνόμα. οὕτε γὰρ τὸν οἶνον ἐκ τοῦ

1 οὕτω added by Reiske.
2 καταπληττόμενον] καταπληκτικῶν Selden.
3 φυλακὰς Casaubon : φυλακῆς.
altogether more difficult than to be king over all the Greeks or all the barbarians. For what race of men is as savage as are anger and envy and contentiousness, things over which the philosopher must maintain control? What race is as knavish and intriguing and traitorous as are pleasures and lusts, by which he must never be overcome? What race is as violent and terrifying and debasing to men's souls as are fear and pain, to which he must never be seen to yield? Again, what armour, what defences does he possess for protection against these forces such as both kings and generals have against a foe? What allies or bodyguards can he employ against them, unless it be words of wisdom and prudence? Whom else can he bid do sentry duty or trust to stand guard, or what servants can he employ? Is he not, on the contrary, obliged to hold this watch himself both night and day, with anxious thought and vigilance, lest, ere he is aware of it, he may be excited by pleasures or terrified by fears or tricked by lust or brought low by pain and so be made to abandon those acts which are best and most righteous, turning traitor to himself? However, the man who administers this office with firmness and self-control does not find it difficult from then on to show himself superior even to the whole world.

But when I enter into these details regarding philosophers, let no one think I am speaking with a view to the outward appearance and the label. For as sensible men do not judge wine from the jar in

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1 Cf. Or. 34. 2-3 and 35. 11.

4 δεὶ Reiske: δεῖ.
5 λάθη Wilamowitz: λάθοι.
6 αὐτῶν Reiske: αὐτῶς.
κεράμου κρύνουσιν· οί νοῦν ἔχοντες· πολλάκις γὰρ εὐθῆς ἐν σπουδαίῳ κεράμῳ τὸν ἐκ τῶν καπηλεῶν οἶνον ἐξεστηκότα· οὐτε τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν πεπαί.

12 δευτέρου ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος· τοὺς μέν τους πολλοὺς οὓς θαυμάζω ἐξαπατᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου. τὸν γὰρ Ὄδυσσεα καὶ τὸν Ἰρον οἱ μνηστήρες συνέβαλον διὰ τὸ σχῆμα ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέροντας. ἐφ' ἐκ τῶν ὀλίγων πρότερον φιλοσόφων οὐ φαύλου, τὸν 1 Ἰσμηρίαν 2 τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀγαμικτεῖν, τὸ καλείσθαι αὐλητᾶς τοὺς τυμβαύλας, οὐ παυτελῶς ὁμοίων ὁν, 3 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. οὐ γὰρ βλάπτουσιν οὐδὲν οἱ τυμβαύλαι τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδ' ἑνοχλοῦσιν, τῶν δὲ προσποιομένων φιλοσοφεῖν ἐνοι καὶ πολλά χαλεπά 13 ἐργάζονται. ἀλλὰ τοῦ 4 γε ὅτι οἱ φιλοσόφοι τὸ ἐργὸν οὐχ ἐτερόν ἐστιν ἡ ἄρχη ἀνθρώπων. ὅστις δὲ οἰκεῖ τὴν αὐτοῦ 5 πῶλν ἐκούσαν καὶ ἐπικαλουμένην διοικεῖν, οὐ φάσκων ἰκανὸς 6 εἶναι, ὁμοίως ἐστίν ὥσπερ εἰ τις τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα θεραπεύειν μὴ θέλοι, ἄξιών ἰατρός εἶναι, ἀλλοι δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἰατρεύοι προθύμως ἀργύριον ἡ τιμᾶς λαμβάνων, ὥσπερ ἔλαττῳ μισθὼν ὀντα ἐτέρου μισθοῦ τὴν ὑγίειαν, ἢ εἰ τις ἄξιῶν ἰκανὸς εἶναι παιδοτρίβης ἢ γραμμάτων διδάσκαλος ἀλλοτρίους μὲν παιδας θέλοι διδάσκειν, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ πέμποι πρὸς ἀλλον τινὰ τῶν φαινοτέρων, ἢ εἰ τις ἀμελήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γονέων ἀλλοτρίους ἐθέλει προτιμᾶν, οὔτ' ἂν

1 τοῦ Crosby: τὸ.
2 Ἰσμηρίαν Valesius, Ἰσμηρίου Arnim: Ἰσμηρίον.
3 ὁμοίων ὡς Reiske: ὁν δ' ὁν or ὁν δ' ὁνον.
4 τοῦ Casaubon: τὸτό.
5 αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ.

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which it is stored—for often you will find in an ex-
cellent jar the spoiled wine of the taverns—so also they
do not judge the man of cultivation by his dress. 
Yet I am not surprised that most men are deceived 
by such a thing as that. For example, the suitors 
pitted Odysseus against Irus because of their dress, 
supposing the two to be no different. But one 
of the philosophers who lived a short time ago has 
well said that it made Ismenias especially angry 
that the pipers at funerals should be called flautists, 
though that is not quite the same thing, it seems to 
me. For the pipers at funerals do no harm to the 
dead nor do they annoy them, whereas some of those 
who profess to be philosophers really do many griev-
ounous things. However, the function of the real phi-
losopher is nothing else than to rule over human beings. 
But if a man, alleging that he is not competent, 
is reluctant to administer his own city when it wishes 
him to do so and calls upon him, it is as if some one 
should refuse to treat his own body, though professing 
to be a physician, and yet should readily treat other 
men in return for money or honours, just as if his 
health were a smaller recompense than another kind; 
or again, it is as if some one who claimed to be an able 
trainer of athletes or a teacher of letters should be 
willing to teach the sons of others, but should send his 
own son to some one else of less standing; or as if 
some one who neglected his own parents should be 
ready to prefer the parents of others, provided he

1 I.e., both in rags. Cf. Odyssey 18. 40-41.
2 Cf. Or. 32. 61.
3 Cf. Or. 32. 9.

6 ικανὸς Selden: ἱατρὸς.
7 προτιμάν, ὁς Casaubon: προκειμένους.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

αἰσθηται πλουσιώτερος ἐκείνων ἡ μᾶλλον ἐνδό-14 ξους. οὗτε γὰρ δικαιότερον οὔτε μᾶ Δία2 ήδιον
tῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπεριδόντα τοῖς μηδὲν προσήκου-
υιν ὁφέλιμον γίγνεσθαι.

Οὐκοὖν τὸ γε ἀκόλουθόν ἐστὶ τοῖς λόγοις τούτως
ἀρχεῖν αὐτὸν βουλομένων3 ὑμῶν.4 ἀλλ᾿ εὖ ὅστε ὅτι
eἰ μὴ τί ἢν ἀδύνατον, οὐκ ἂν περιέμενον ὡστε
ὑμᾶς ἀξιόν, ἀλλ᾿ αὐτὸς ἂν ἡξίουν καὶ παρεκάλουν.
ἐν γὰρ τι καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων,
αὐτὸν5 παραγγέλλοντα καὶ χάριν εἰδότα τῆς χειρο-
tονίας ἀρχεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθαροῦντα
15 μηδὲ ἄτιμον τὸ πράγμα ποιήσαντα. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ
ἀδύνατον ἐν τῷ παρόντι; ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ταλλὰ ἀξιῶ
πιστεύεσθαι ἐφ᾿6 ὅτι λέγω—οὐδέποτε γὰρ ὑμᾶς
ἐξηπάτησα, ὅσ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὑπὲρ οὐδένος. οὐδὲ
πρότερον ἄλλως διανοούμενος εἰπον—ἀλλ᾿ ἂεὶ
πλείους ἁσχολία7... καταλιπεῖν μέχρι τούδε οὐχ
ἐκόντα με κατέσχηκεν. τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐκέτι ἐγχωρεῖ
σχεδόν. οὐτε γὰρ ἐμοὶ οὔτε ἵσος ὑμῶν ἀμενὸν
ἐστιν ἐμὲ διατρίβειν ἐνθάδε. ὡστε παραιτοῦμαι
τῇ ψῆφον. ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐδεήθην8
ἐξατάσεως, ἀλλὰ ὡσπερ πρότερον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ

1 ἐκεῖνων Reiske : ἐκείνως.
2 μὰ Δία Emperius : μᾶλλον.
3 βουλομένων Wilamowitz : βουλόμενον.
4 οὐκοὖν... ὑμῶν  deleted by Emperius.
5 αὐτὸν Reiske : τὸν.
6 ἐφ᾿ Casaubon : ύφ᾿.
7 Wilamowitz noted a lacuna at this point. The missing
words need not have been many, but they must have included
a subject for κατέσχηκεν.
8 ἐδεήθην] ἐδεήθη Arnim.

1 Though Dio has been speaking of the philosopher in
found them to be more wealthy or more distinguished than his own. For it is neither more righteous nor, by Heaven, more pleasant to disdain those who are related by ties of blood and then to be of service to those who are not relatives at all.

Very well, the conclusion to be drawn from these remarks is that the philosopher should hold office, since you wish it. However, you may be sure that, if there were not some insuperable obstacle, I should not be waiting to be asked but should myself be asking, yes, entreating you.¹ For this too is a mark of those who are noble and sound-minded, that a man should rule his fellow citizens, himself announcing his candidacy and being grateful for his election instead of depreciating the honour, or even making it a dishonour. What, then, is the insuperable obstacle in the present instance? I think I deserve to be believed in everything else whereof I speak—for in my opinion I have never deceived you in anything, nor have I in the past said one thing and meant another ²—yet I have always had too many engagements,² and against my own inclination I have thus far been prevented from abandoning them. ³ And now it is no longer possible at all, practically speaking. For it is not to my interest, and possibly not to yours either, that I should tarry here. Therefore I beg to decline my election. For I feel sure that I should not have had to submit to investigation, but that, just as previously you elected me unanimously by the abstract, it now becomes plain that he is referring to himself.

¹ He is referring to his announced intention to leave Prusa. See Introduction.
² I.e., too many engagements to permit him to accept office.
³ Somewhat amplified in translation. See critical note.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

πάντες ἐψηφίσασθε, ὅποτε με ὑπενοήσατε βουλεύσαι, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐποίησατε. ἂλλ' οὐκ ἔχω οὕτως, ἂλλ' ἢν μὲν ἄρξω, ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐδει με παρακαλεῖν, ἢν δὲ ἀφεθῶ, ὑπὲρ τούτου παρακαλῶν οὐκ ἀισχύνομαι.

1 παρακαλεῖν Ἐμπερίου: παρακαλεῖσθαι.

1 The phrases ἐδείξας ἐξετάσεως and ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, here somewhat freely translated, are taken to mean that the
THE FORTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

acclamation when you suspected I was willing to take office, you would have done the same now too. However, I am not so minded; but while I know that in order to hold office I should not have been obliged to call upon you, yet in order to be excused from holding office I am not ashamed to be calling upon you.

Council would dispense with both the usual scrutiny of the candidate for election and also the usual secret ballot. On the whole situation hinted at in § 15, see Introduction.
THE FIFTIETH DISCOURSE:
REGARDING HIS PAST RECORD, SPOKEN BEFORE THE COUNCIL

This Discourse is really earlier in date than Or. 49, though the interval between the two is presumably very brief. In the one Dio disclaims the ambition to become archon, announcing his intention to leave Prusa (50. 7), in the other he declines that office in an election already in progress, referring to his departure as to an event of the immediate future (49. 15). The projected journey is referred to briefly also in the opening sentence of Or. 45. A possible explanation of the reason for the journey and for the repeated postponement of it is suggested in the Introduction to Or. 49.

Our Discourse affords no sure clue as to the reason for the meeting of the Council. It may have been a regular session of that body, though we learn (§ 10) that Dio had been charged with having interfered with its convening. At all events the setting for this defence of his past record was highly dramatic. The presiding officer must have been his own son (τὸν μικρότερον, § 5), to whose recent election as archon Dio seems to refer at the close of Or. 48. Dio himself was a member of the Council, for in § 10 he is at some pains to explain why he has not been in attendance upon earlier sessions.

Arnim argues with some plausibility that, when on a previous occasion Dio had declined election as archon, he had engineered the substitution of his son for that position. We do not know the precise age of the son at the time of his election, but the reference to his inexperience (Or. 48. 17) leads us to suppose that he was young for the highest office in the state, and that supposition is confirmed by the conclud-
THE FIFTIETH DISCOURSE

ing sentence of the present Discourse as emended by Capps. What more natural, then, than that Dio’s enemies should have spread the report that the son was merely a cat’s paw for the father, and that, while evading the responsibilities of office, Dio was exercising all its prerogatives—πάντα ἀπλῶς νομίζοντι τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γέγενθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, § 10? Against that rumour Dio offers the favourite Greek argument of probability, pointing to his previous record and claiming that it would be inconsistent, especially for one of his age, to refrain from exercising the prerogatives of a member of the Council, while at the same time trying to usurp the functions of its presiding officer. The fact that shortly thereafter he was put up as a candidate for that office suggests either that his arguments or his flattery or both had silenced the opposition or else that his foes were really a very small minority. There is in these Bithynian addresses abundant testimony to his popularity and influence at Prusa.
50. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ

1 Ἐγώ καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑμᾶς ἡγάπων, ὥς ἀνδρεὶς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἀνδρα τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ οὐκ ἁνόητον τὸ φρονιμώτατον στέργειν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ βεβαιότατον· τὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἄλλους πρωτιμῶν ὥσπερ εἰς τῖς φιλόπολις εἶναι λέγων ταῖς οἰκίαις μὲν ἡδοτο καὶ τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἁγορὰν καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ἀμελέστερον ὅρη, ἦν Δια εἰ τῖς Λακεδαίμονίων τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐφίλει, τοὺς δὲ βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἠτίμαξε τοὺς σωφροσύνη τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας καὶ δὴ οὐδ' ἀπασά ἡ πόλις ἑσοχεῖτο.

2 ὅπως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐθημοκρατοῦντο καὶ πλείστον ἔνεμον τοῖς πολιτείαις καὶ δημοτικοῖς, οὕτως πῶς πόστε οὕτως ἑγένετο θρασύς δημαγωγός, οὐδὲ Ἰσπέρβολος ἐκεῖνος ἢ Κλέων, ὥστε τὸν Ἀρειον πάγον ἢ τὴν θυάλην τοὺς

1 oūk added by Casaubon.

1 That all these places should be called ἱερά should not surprise us. The market-place was dotted with altars and memorials and shrines, and town-hall and council-chamber each had its religious rites and associations.

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My friends, I admired you even ere this, as indeed it was to be expected that a man of fairness and no fool would cherish that element in his native city which is most sensible and trustworthy; on the other hand, to rank others ahead of you is as if a man who professed to be patriotic were to delight in the private houses and workshops in his city, but to regard with more indifference the market-place, the town-hall, the council-chamber, and the other sacrosanct places; or as if, by Heaven, a Spartan were to be fond of the common people, but were to hold in low esteem the kings and ephors and elders, men by far superior to all others in prudence, men by whose efforts the city as a whole was being preserved. Again, take the Athenians, who had the most democratic government in the world and gave the most numerous privileges to the masses and the people's party; they never had any demagogue, not even the notorious Hyperbolus or Cleon, so audacious as to regard the Areopagus or

2 The ephors and elders had even more prestige than the kings.
3 Hyperbolus shared with the more famous Cleon, whom he succeeded as leader of the democratic party, the special ridicule of the comic poets.
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

ἐξακολούθεις ἀτιμότερον τοῦ δήμου νομίζειν. εἰ δὲ συνεχῶς μέμηναι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, συγγνώμην ἐχέτωσαν οἱ πάνω δρομεῖς, ὡς τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἡξίους κρίνω, καὶ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας, ὡς ὁμαί, διαλεγόμενος οὐκ ἄλλων τινῶν μᾶλλον ἴχνουμαι πρέπειν μνημονεύειν ἡ τῶν ἄκρως Ἑλλήνων.

3 Ἡς δ' οὖν εὐνοιας τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἐκείνου ἡμῶν γινόμενον τεκμήριον, ὡς μὴν ἐμπείρεια των πεποίθες μὴν συνήθεις ἐξ ἡμῶν ἔχων τινὰς ἔρρωσεν εἰς ἑρμήμοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ νομίζω μηδενός ἐλάττων ἦν ἐχεῖν, δήλου ὅτι τῇ κοινῇ φιλίᾳ πεπιστευκός καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀπαντας εὐνοίας, μὴδὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἡ φοβερὸς εἶναι δοκῶν ἢ βουλόμενος 2 διὰ τούτο θεραπεύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡλέουν τοὺς δημοτικούς οὗτοι ἔλεοι, καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἶν τῇ ἐπικουφίξεις ἐπείρων, οὐθέν ἐστι τούτο σημεῖον τοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐχεῖν οἰκείοτερον ἐπειδή καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀεὶ τὸ καίριών θεραπευόμεν καὶ πλείονα ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν ποδῶν ἡ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀλγῶσι 4 καὶ πεπονθότες ἔσον, οἱ δὲ ὑγιαίνωσιν. εἰ δὲ ἐπον ἔλεενον τοὺς δημοτικούς, μηδὲς ὑπολαβῇ λέγειν μὲ ὡς ἀδίκα καὶ παράνομα ἐπασχον, ὅποτε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ ἱερῶν τεμνομένους ή κασμενοὺς, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πάσχοντας ταύτα, ἔλεοῦμεν, καὶ δικρύον-

1 μηδὲ Emperius, μη' ye Arnim: μήτε.
2 After βουλόμενος Crosby deletes ὡς.

1 The old Council of Five Hundred was enlarged to six hundred in honour of Demetrius Poliorectes, the tribes having been increased to twelve.
2 Cf. Or. 43. 7.
3 He speaks more sympathetically regarding the commons.
THE FIFTIETH DISCOURSE

the Council of the Six Hundred \(^1\) with less reverence than the common people. But if I am continually referring to the Spartans and Athenians, let the carping critics pardon me, because I am judging you worthy of such comparisons and because in addressing Greeks, as I take to be the case, I deem it appropriate not to refer to any others than Greeks of the first rank.

However that may be, let this be your evidence of my goodwill toward you, as well as of my trust in you, that I come before you with assurance neither because I rely upon some political club nor because I have among you some familiar friends; moreover, I believe I should stand as high with you as any man, obviously because I have based my confidence upon my friendship toward all and my goodwill toward all, and not upon my being held to be an influential or formidable person or seeking to be favoured for such a reason. On the other hand, if I did pity the commons at the time when they were subjects for pity, and if I tried my best to ease their burdens,\(^2\) this is no sign that I am on more friendly terms with them than with you. We know that, in the case of the body, it is always the ailing part which we treat, and that we devote more attention to the feet than to the eyes, if the feet are in pain and have been injured while the eyes are in sound condition. Again, if I have said that the commons were subjects for pity, let no one assume that I mean they have been treated unfairly and illegally,\(^3\) for we also pity persons who are subjected by physicians to surgery or cautery, although such treatment is for their recovery, and

in Or. 43, but it must be remembered that he was on that occasion addressing the popular assembly.
DIO CHRYSOUMON

σω ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ μητέρες καὶ πατέρες, εἰδότες ὑφελομενένους.

"Ὁ δὲ ἔφη, διὰ καὶ πρότερον ὑμᾶς ἡγάπων πρὶν ἢ πείραν ἰκανήν εἰληφέναι τῆς διανοίας, νῦν γε ὅμοιόν τους θεούς ὑμῶν ἀπαντᾷ, ἢ μὴν ἑγὼ τῇν βουλήν οὐ μόνον ἄξιαν τιμῆς κρίνω καὶ φιλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζω τῇν ἴσχυν ὑμῶν καὶ τῇν ἀλή-

5 θειαν καὶ τῇν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τούτων ἔσχηκα τὸν τρόπον, ὡστε τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἐκτετεικέναι δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὡς πολέμης, ὑμῶν δὲ ὀφείλεις καὶ μηδέποτε ἂν δυνηθήναι τῇν ὑμετέραν εὐνοιαν ὑπερβαλέσθαι. καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ῥηθέν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν τινος ῥήτορος, ύπερβολήν τινα ἔχειν δοκοῦν κολακείας, ὅτι τὸν δήμον εἰκότως ἂν ἐν τοῖς ὁμολογίς περιφερομεν, ἢ ἐγὼ δικαίως ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τούτον, εἰ νοῦν ἔχει καὶ σωφρονεῖ, νομίζω πάντα τὸν βίον ὑμῶν ἀναβήσειν καὶ θεραπεύσειν ὑμᾶς υπὸ ἑττον ἔμοι.

6 Τίνος γενομένου, φήσει τις, καὶ τίνα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πείραν εἰληφῶς οὕτως ὑπερδιατείνῃ; ἂνως ἐπί-

πνοιά τίς μοι γέγονεν αὐτόματος καὶ φορὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτη πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐκείνο δ᾽ οὖν ἐπιστασθε σαφῶς ὅτι οὐτε δήμον οὐτε βουλήν οὐτε ἀνδρα,

1 περιφερομεν]; περιφέροις μὴν Μ, περιφέροι, νῦν Hemsterhuis.

2 σωφρονεῖ Reiske: σωφρονεῖν.

§ 1.

1 Like many other passages in this speech, the allusion, though doubtless clear to the audience, is less clear to the reader. Possibly Dio is alluding to the Council’s indulgence.
since their mothers and fathers alike weep over them, although they know that they are being benefited.

However, as I was saying, \(^1\) though I admired you even ere this, before ever I had had sufficient experience of your disposition, now certainly, I swear to you by all the gods, I for my part not only judge the Council worthy of respect and affection, but am even amazed at your power and truthfulness and independence. Moreover, I have conducted myself in such a way that, while I have, as I think, repaid the people in full to the best of my ability, as a citizen, yet to you I am still indebted, and I could never outdo your benevolence toward me.\(^2\) And in fact that expression which was used by one of the orators of old which was considered to contain a certain excess of flattery, namely, "I might with good reason carry the commons around with me in my eyes," I could justly use with reference to you. And what is more, this son of mine, if he is sensible and prudent, I believe will dedicate his whole life to your service and consult your welfare no less than I do.

"What has happened," some one will say, "and what experience of the gentlemen have you had, that you are so extravagant in your language?" \(^3\) Possibly it is an inspiration which has come to me spontaneously, a spiritual impulse of that sort in your direction; but one thing at any rate I would have you know clearly—that I cannot cherish or favour with my elocution either commons or Council or in the matter of his son, to whom he presently refers. See Introduction.

\(^1\) The gentlemen in question were of course the members of the Council, before whom he was then speaking. He is well aware how extravagant is his praise, and he is quick to anticipate likely criticisms and to make capital out of them.
 Dio Chrysostom

σατράπην ἡ δυνάστην ἡ τύραννον, στέργειν ἡ θεραπεύειν τοὺς λόγους ἐγὼ δίναμαι, μὴ παρ’ ἐμαυτῶν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐπανέσας καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἀποδεξάμενος. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὅρω, σχεδὸν ὁμάς ὑμῶν γέγονε πείρα τῆς διανοίας, μηδὲν πώποτε ᾠδικὸν μηδὲ ἄμφιβολον μηδὲ ταπεινὸν μηδὲ εὐμετάβολον μηδὲ ἀναίσθητον μηδὲ ἔτταν ἡ θυρῷβων ἢ πράγματον ἐπιδεδειγμένοις· ὥστε εἴποι· ἢ βαρόν, ἐκεῖ μὲν προστάτας χρηστοὺς, οὐδένα δὲ ἄξιον ἕαυτῶν, ἀλλ’ οὗτο ἐκεῖνο πρότερον τὸν ἔμον πατέρα ἢ πάππον οὗτος τῶν ἄλλων, πάντας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τιμής ἄξιοις.

Καὶ μηδέσις με νομίζῃ λέγειν ἐμαυτὸν εἰσποιοῦντα τῷ προστάτας τῆς βουλῆς· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἀπειμα τι παλλᾶς αὐτίς· καὶ πιστεύσατε ὅσ νῦν γοῦν ἀληθῶς λέγω· καὶ ἵσσος οὗκ ἐμαυτοῦ χάριν ωφελεῖας ἡ τροφῆς τινος· ἢν δὲ εἰχον ἀποκρύψασθαι γνώμης οὐκ ἐδυνάμην. καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ δέος μήποτε ἐγὼ δόξω κολακεύειν ὑμᾶς, οὐ κολακεύως τὸν ἔχον τύραννον οὗτος ῥήμα ἀγεννᾶς οὐδὲ ἀνελεύθερον εἰπῶν, ὅτε πολλοὶς ἀγαπητὸν ἢν ξην οἰτίον πράττοντοι καὶ λέγοντοι· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ μέγα καὶ θεῖον εἶναι τὸ γνωρίμουν παρ’ ὑμῖν. ἵδια μὲν γὰρ ὅποιοι ποτε ἐστε οὐ σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι· νομίζω δὲ βελτίως τῶν πολλῶν· καὶ ἔτι δὲ, δη ταν συνέλθητε

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1 μηδὲ Emperius: μήτε.  
2 μηδὲ Emperius: μήτε.  
3 μηδὲ Emperius: μήτε.  
4 μηδὲ ἔτταν added by Emperius.  
5 After πρότερον Emperius deletes ἢ.  
6 νῦν γοῦν Emperius: γοῦν νῦν or γοῦν.

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*Such fulsome flattery suggests that there had been friction between the Council and its presiding officer, and that Dio is willing to go to any length to heal the trouble.*

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man, be he satrap or prince or tyrant, without first praising them to myself and approving the character of their spirit. But in your case, practically every time there has been a test of your disposition, I see you have never displayed any injustice or double-dealing or baseness or fickleness or insensibility or yielding to clamour or annoyance. And so I might say with assurance, that, while you have had excellent leaders, you have had none as excellent as you deserve, no, not even my father or my grandfather of days gone by, nor the forebears of the rest of you, all good men and deserving of honour as they were.

And let no one imagine that I am trying through oratory to force my way into the presidency of the Council; for I am leaving Prusa for a variety of reasons—and you must believe that this time at least I speak the truth—and perhaps not for the sake of personal profit or any self-indulgence; indeed I have not been able to hide my purpose. Besides, there is no fear that I may ever be thought guilty of flattering you, since I did not flatter the hateful tyrant or utter a single ignoble or servile word, at a time when many were glad to save their lives by any deed or word at all. On the contrary, your way of doing things seems to me to be grand, yes, superhuman. For, while I do not know with absolute precision what you are like in private life—though I believe you to be superior to most people—I do know

2 Dio has not yet taken his departure when he delivers Or. 49. See the Introduction to that Discourse for a possible explanation.

3 Apparently Dio had divulged his purpose to some of his acquaintances privately. He may have hoped to secure further grants for Prusa. See his veiled allusion in Or. 49. 15.

4 Domitian. Cf. Or. 45. 1.
δεῦρο ἡ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐτε ταπεινῷ οὐτε ἀνελεύθερον οἶδα εἰπόντας ἡ φρονήσαντας ὑμᾶς, οὐ παράκλησις ἰσχύσασαν παρ᾿ ὑμῖν, οὐχ ὑπόσχεσιν, οὐκ ἀπειλήσιν, εἰ τις ἄρα τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ὡστ᾿ ἰσχύσει ἀπειλῶν. διὰ τί δὲ μὴ φῶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐμαυτῷ, καθάπερ δέον τὸν φιλόσοφον τὰ πονηρὰ μόνον ἐξελέγχειν, τὰ δὲ βελτίων παρακαλύπτεσθαι, ἡ τὴν ἅλθειαν ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς κακοῖς οὖσαν ὑφέλιμον, ἀλλ᾿ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς οὐδὲν ἦττον, ὅτι εὐφήμον; 9 Σὺ δ᾿ οὖν, φήσεις τις, ἐγκώμιον ἀναστὰς ἡθέλησας εἰπεῖν τῆς βουλῆς; καὶ τί δεινόν, εὰν ἄληθες ἤ; τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον τούτο, εὰν φαίνησθε ἀνόμοιον τοῖς λεγομένοις, οὐχ ὑμέτερός ἐστιν ἐπανος, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος κατηγορία. ὁμως δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐποιησάμην οὐδένα λόγον τοιοῦτον εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἡλγησα, ὡσπερ πρότερον ποτε, ἀκούσας ὅτι καθυφίεμαι τὸ ὑμέτερον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπελογησάμην, οὐχ ὑπερορῶν ἀπολογεῖσθαι· πόθεν; οὐδὲ κρίνων ἐμαυτοῦ ταπεινότερον. νυστάζοντι μὲν γὰρ, ὡς φασί, δικαστῇ, καὶ νὴ Διὰ τυράννῳ κακοθείς καὶ πονηρῷ ταπεινῶν ἀπολογεῖσθαι· πολίταις δὲ καὶ συγγενεῖσι καὶ φίλοις, οὐς τις ἥγεται μετρίους, οὐ ταπεινῶν, ἀλλ᾿ εὐγνωμον καὶ δίκαιον. καὶ τότε οὖν ὄρθως ἐποίησα καὶ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον, ὅτε ὑμᾶς σαφέστερον ἐπίσταμαι. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὡς τίνες ἔδοξαν

1 οὐκ ἀπειλήσιν added by Post, οὐκ ἀπειλήσιν Arnim, οὐτ ἀπειλάς Reiske.
2 After ἅλθειαν Reiske deletes οὐκ.
3 ἀλλ᾿ οὐ Emperius: ἀλλὰ. 4 5 added by Capps.
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that as a corporate body, whenever you gather here, or, it may be, in the Assembly, you have never said or thought anything base or servile, and that entreaty has no weight with you, nor promises, nor threats—supposing of course there is any one so low as to try to prevail by threats. But why should I not speak my mind—as if the philosopher had to confine himself to exposing what is bad and concealing what is better, or as if the truth were beneficial only in connexion with evils, instead of no less so in connexion with good things, because it is laudatory!

"But did you, then," some one will ask, "rise to your feet merely to deliver a eulogy of the Council?" And what is there shocking in that, provided the eulogy be true? However, this eulogy of mine, in case you are clearly unlike what is said of you, is not a eulogy of you, but rather an accusation of the speaker. Still, for all that, I should not have delivered any such speech at all if I had not been very much hurt, as I was once before,¹ on hearing that I am compromising your position. And this explains why I have defended myself, not disdaining to make a defence—why should I?—nor judging it to be beneath me. For while it is humiliating to make a defence before a dozing judge, as the saying goes, and also, by Heaven, before a malicious and rascally tyrant, to do so before fellow citizens and kinsmen and friends whom one regards as fair-minded is not humiliating, but reasonable and just. So not only was my conduct correct on that former occasion,² but it is much more so now that I know you better. For I learn—and

¹ The allusion is perhaps purposely vague. Dio may be alluding to his defence of the commons (cf. §§ 3-4).
² See preceding note.
—καὶ λόγος ἐρρύη τοιοῦτος—ὡς ἐμὴ ἐμποδὸν γενόμενον τῷ συνάγεσθαι βουλήν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸδε ἡκουσα ὡς πάντα ἀπλῶς νομίζουσι τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐκ ἀφαίρομαι τὸν νῦν, τὸ μηδὲν ἀκοντὸς ἂν ἐμοῦ ποιήσαι τῶν ἐφ᾽ έαυτῷ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἂν ἡ στοχαζόμενον καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης ὁμοίων δὲ μὴ προστάξαι μηδὲν, λέγω δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, τὸ δὲ συμβουλεύειν πατέρα ὑπὸ τὰ ἄρτετα κρείττονα δοκοῦντα προστάγματος ἔχει τάξιν. καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν ταύτην ἀπὸ χρόνου τυπὸς οὐδὲ ταῖς βουλαῖς παρετύχχανον. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν ἂν τῶν ἰκανῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς βουλεύεσθαι ὑδη καὶ διωκείν τὰ κοινά, μεταξύ δὲ ἔργω ποιεῖν ἰδιότητι καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀκυρον οὕτε ἄλλους ἐπιεικὲς οὕτε ἰσον. αὕτω δ᾽ ἦτοι τῆλικοῦτος.

1 τὸ δὲ Wilamowitz: μηδὲ.
2 πατέρα Reiske: πάτερα.
3 τὰ added by Wilamowitz.
4 ἔχει Wilamowitz: ἔχειν.
5 ἔχειν] ἔχειν Selden.
6 τῶν added by Capps.
7 ἰσον Capps: ἰσος.
8 αὕτω with UT, τοῖς Pfungk: αὐτῶις BM.
there has been a flood of talk of that kind—that some have believed the charge that I blocked the assembling of the Council; indeed I have heard also that they believe that absolutely every act of the government takes place to suit my wishes. But as for me, while I do not rob my son of one thing, I mean his unwillingness to do anything within his own control against my wishes or in any other way than guessing at my opinion too, nevertheless I swear I never gave him any orders at all—I mean orders on public matters—though for one who is a father to advise what seems to him preferable does have the status of an order. Moreover, because of this suspicion of which I have spoken, for some time past I have not attended the sessions of the Council. For to have deemed him worthy of municipal activities as being competent by now to be a Councillor and to administer the commonwealth, but meanwhile actually to try to make him a private citizen and to rob him of the authority which is legally his—this, I say, is from any point of view neither reasonable nor yet fair for men of my age.\(^1\)

\(^1\) For an interpretation of these concluding sentences, see the Introduction.
THE FIFTY-FIRST DISCOURSE:
IN REPLY TO DIODORUS

Of the Diodorus mentioned in the title of the present Discourse we know absolutely nothing. Dio supplies no clues in the speech itself. In fact, he does not address him directly. Consequently we may infer that the name rests upon reliable tradition. It would appear that the man in question had just made a speech in Assembly lauding some citizen of Prusa. It is plain from § 8 that this citizen had effected certain reforms in connexion with the ephebes. Dio may have moved—or seconded—a resolution to give him wider jurisdiction of similar character (cf. § 6). Dio followed him with this brief speech, whose purpose is both to register his own approval of the proposal and at the same time to cast suspicion upon the sincerity of the previous speaker.

If we are left in the dark as to Diodorus, we are in almost equal darkness as to the unnamed recipient of the city’s favour. Arnim states confidently that he is Dio’s son. This is possible, but the speech provides no proof of the assumption. On the contrary, the speaker exhibits remarkable self-restraint, if we are to think of him as the father of the person who is receiving signal honours. Most of his remarks are devoted to the merits of his city, and when he does refer to the man whom that city is honouring, it is by means of a colourless τούτου or τούτη. In fact, the rather satirical tone of the

1 The term ephebes was used of young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty. Athens seems to have instituted the system of providing systematic training for such young men, and the system assumed ever greater importance from the fourth century B.C. onward, as is witnessed by numerous inscriptions.

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opening sentence in § 2, the grudging acknowledgement at the beginning of § 4, and the possible suggestion of hasty judgement contained in the clause ἔδυμεν ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὄμης ἀμείως δύνασθαι ποιεῖν (§ 8), give the impression that Dio was not enthusiastic over the task before him.
51. ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΝ

1 Σφόδρα θαυμάζειν ἐπεισοῦν, δ' ἄνδρες, εἴ τις οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενος τινα οὐδὲ ἁγαπῶν ἐπειτα ἀναστὰς ἐπαινεῖ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐνίστε διήλθεν ἐγκόμιον μακρὸν καὶ λίαν ἐπιμελῶς συγκεκριμένον. ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἀνθρώπος οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τῷ τῶν αἰσχίστων οὐ σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ, φθόνον,¹ μικροφυχίαν, τὸ πάντων ἔσχατον, δουλείαν. λέγεται γοῦν οὐκ ἀτόπως καὶ παρὰ τοὺς παλαιῶς.

δούλου τόδ' εἴπας.

φέρε δὴ, πῶς οὐκ ὃν εἴη δούλος ὁ πρὸς τοσοῦτος ἀμα ἀνθρώπους ἐτερα ὃν φρονεῖ ποιῶν,² καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἄπλως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φροντίδος καὶ παρασκευής, καὶ κολακεύων πολλάκις ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ θαυμάζων δὴν οὐ φιλεῖ; μέτριον γὰρ οὕτως εἰπεῖν.

2 Καὶ μὴν ὁτι πάντες πάντας ἐγκωμιάζουσιν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπίστασθε δήπου ὡστ' ἐγὼ συνήδομαι καὶ κρίνω μακαρίους ὑμᾶς, εἰ οὕτως φιλοῦμεν πάντας ἀπαντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστίν ἀκόλουθον. ἐβουλομένη δ' ἂν, ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πολλῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀκούσαν ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ


¹ Euripides, Phoenissae 392.
² We infer that Dio is addressing the Assembly.
THE FIFTY-FIRST DISCOURSE:
IN REPLY TO DIODORUS

My friends, it strikes me as exceedingly surprising when a man who does not approve of some one or does not like him nevertheless rises to praise him in a speech, and on occasion enters into a long eulogy, one very carefully composed. For such a person has on his conscience all that is most disgraceful—envy, meanness of spirit, and, worst of all, servility. Not inappropriately, at any rate, is that term used for it by the ancients in the verse

A slave’s word this thou hast spoken.¹

Aye, how could that man be other than a slave, who in the presence of so many people ² acts at variance with his own thoughts—and that too, not with frankness, but with premeditation and cold calculation—and indulges in frequent flattery and admiration of a person whom he does not like? Indeed that is to put it mildly!

As a matter of fact, you know, no doubt, that with us everybody lauds everybody; and so I rejoice with you and count you fortunate if we all are so fond of everybody—for this is the natural inference! However, I wish that, just as it is possible to hear many eulogies in meetings of the Council and of the Assembly, so also it might be in the market-place and

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ἀγορᾶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνλόγοις. νῦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν τόπον τοιαῦτα ἢ τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ ὡσπερ οἱ γυμνάζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς, καὶ ἦμεῖς ἐγχειροῦμεν εἰς ἀμφότερα. οὐκοῦν, ἂν μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τις παραγένηται τῶν ξένων, ἡρῴων τινῶν ἡ σοφῶν ἡγήσεται τὴν πόλιν· ἂν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλῃ, ὁποίων οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν· ἐπὶ-3 σταθεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖ. τί οὖν, φησίς τις, ἀνέστης ἐπιτιμήσων τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν; ὥσπερ, ἂν αὐτὸν, μὴ μόνον ἐνθάδε ὅμεν φιλάνθρωποι καὶ φιλάγαθοι, ἀλλὰ ὅμοιος ἐν παντὶ τῶν καὶ καυροῦ.  
Τὸν μὲν οὖν τούτον ἐπαινοῦν ὅρῳ πεπληρωμένον ὑφ’ ὑμῶν, ὡστε μηδεμίων ὑπερβολήν ἔχειν· ἄξιον δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπανεῖν. δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι πολὺ πάντων τῶν δήμων διαφέρειν. καγώ τούτο οὐκ ἂν εἶπον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφρόνουσιν οὕτως. οἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελές μόνον βλέπουσιν, καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτοῖς ἡ δυναμένους διδόναι, τούτους ἐπαινοῦσιν ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ 4 βούλεσθαι μέγα εἶναι νομίζετε. καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτο φημι, ὅσον οὐχὶ καὶ πεποίηκε πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα· πεποίηκε γάρ· ἀλλὰ ὅτι ὑμῖν γε ἀπέχρη καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν γενομένων ἀποδέχονται· λέγω δὲ ὅσα ἔχει

1 τοιαύτα added by Selden.
2 ἐν added by Reiske.
3 δοκεῖτε Reiske: δοκεῖ.
the other places where men come together. But as it is, the words which are spoken are thus or thus in keeping with the place, and, just like those who are training themselves in the schools, we too try our hands at both sides of the question. Therefore, if a stranger attends a meeting of the Assembly, he will imagine that ours is a city of heroes, as it were, or sages; whereas if he bursts into the market-place—there is no need to tell what kind of people he will think us, for you know that yourselves. "What then," some one will exclaim, "have you taken the floor to censure those who praise?" Not so, by Heaven, but in order that, if possible, we may demonstrate our love of humanity and of nobility, not here alone, but in every place and on every occasion.

Now although I observe that the laudation of the gentleman a has been made complete by you, so that nothing remains to be added, b yet it is fitting that you also should be praised. For you seem to me to be far superior to all other communities. And I should not have said this if I did not think so too. For example, all the others have an eye only for what is profitable, and those who give them something—or might do so—alone receive their praise; whereas you regard as of great importance both the earnest desire and the willingness to give. And I do not mean by this that our friend has not really rendered much important service, for he has, but rather that for you at least his mere willingness was sufficient. And again, the others stamp with approval the least important achievements—I mean such things as

a I.e., the unnamed person who is being honoured by the Assembly.
b It would seem that more than one had sung his praises.
Διος Χρυσόστομος

dαπανήν τινά: ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν μεγίστων αἰσθάνεσθε κατὰ τὴν ἁξίαν. ἐστι δὲ τῷ παντὶ μείζον τοῦ δαπανῆν τὸ κήδεσθαι τινα τῆς πόλεως καὶ φανε-ρῶν εἰναι εὐνοοῦντα ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτως οἱ μὲν πλείστοι τοὺς νουθετοῦντας, καὶ διὰ λόγου tοῦτο ποιώσα, μισοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ μεθ’ ἡδονῆς κολακεύον-τας θαυμαστῶς ἀποδέχονται· παρ’ ὑμῖν δὲ τοῦν-αντίον ὁ πλεῖστος παρρησία χρώμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνοντος ἐπιπλήττων καὶ σωφρονιζόν, οὕτως μάλιστα ἀγαπᾶται.

5 Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσεις τοιαύτην πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐν ᾧ τῶν φιλοτιμίων αἱ τιμαὶ μείζους εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ μετ’ εὐνοίας νουθετῶν τοῦ μετὰ κολα-κείας ὠμολογοῦς μᾶλλον στέργεται, προθυμότεροι δ’ εἰσίν οἱ πολλοί σωφρονίζοντες καὶ ἐπανορθοῦ-σθαι ἡ θεραπεύοντες καὶ τρυφᾶν· ἥ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς μὲν ἐκπλαγείη, τούτοις δ’ εὐδαιμονίσειεν, ὃς ὑμῶν τοιούτων ὄντων κεκριμένον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἀξίων;

6 Καίτοις έγώγη μέγαν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀγώνα ὅρῳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὄντα. ὅτῳ γὰρ πόλις δὴ καὶ δῆμος ἐκών ἐπέτρεψε παραδεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δὲν ἐπιστάτην εἶλετο τῆς κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὅτῳ τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἐδωκε τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ τοῦ καλῶς βιοῦν ἑκαστον, πῶς οὖχι τούτῳ μέγας δὲ ἀγῶν

1 διὰ λόγου] μετὰ λόγου Arnim, δίκα φόγου Gecl.
2 After τῶν Arnim adds μὲν.
3 kaítois Crosby: καί.
4 After μέγας Arnim adds 6.

1 For the Greeks, admonition was not confined to mere words. Cf. Aristophanes, Wasps 254-255:

εἰ νὴ Δί’ αὕτης κοινῆλος νουθησεβ’ ἡμᾶς,
ἀποσβέσαντες τοὺς λύχνους ἀπίμεν οὐκαδ’ αὐτοί—
THE FIFTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

involve some expenditure of money—whereas you appreciate the greatest things as they deserve. And in fact it is an altogether greater achievement for a man to be really concerned for the city and to show himself well-disposed toward you than it is for him to spend money. Furthermore, while those who admonish, even if only verbally, are hated by most men, but those who delight with flattery are approved to a surprising degree, in your case, on the contrary, he who uses the fullest frankness and reproves those who go astray and tries to bring them to their senses is most admired.

Who, then, could fail to admire the kind of city and administration in which the honours conferred outweigh the efforts made to obtain them, in which he who admonishes with kindly intent is more beloved than he who speaks to flatter, in which the masses are more eager to submit to correction and to be set right than to be courted and to live luxuriously? Or who could fail to be amazed at you and, on the other hand, to congratulate this man on having been chosen by men like you as worthy to hold office here?

And yet I myself see that the task that lies before him with regard to you is a great one. For when an entire city and people voluntarily entrusts itself to a man for instruction and chooses him as supervisor of its public morals and gives him the supreme authority over temperance and orderliness and the right conduct of the individual, is that man not confronted by

*By Zeus, if you admonish us again with your knuckles, we’ll douse our lamps and go back home by ourselves.*

* The title of the post to which he is being appointed is not given.
εστιν, ὦστε μηδὲν ἔλαττον φανήναι τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης; σκόπει δὲ, ἵνα εἰδῆς, ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν παλαιῶν μηδὲ τῶν θαυμαζομένων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τηλικάντης τιμῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τετύχηκεν. ὁ γαρ Ἡροδώτης ἐκεῖνος, διὸ ἀκούσαν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκμα-ξούσης γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, στρατηγικάς μὲν ἐτύχανεν· οὐ μὴν ἀξίως ἔδοξε διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν τοῦ χρόνου· καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἄργηριν διωκόν οὐδὲ οὐκοδομήματα ἐπιμελουμένοις, ἀλλὰ ὅπως ἂν ἀγαθοὶ ὤσιν οἱ πολίται, καὶ νουθετεῖν ἡβουλεύοντος ἄμαρτάνοντας καὶ τὸ γοῦν καθ᾽ αὐτόν βελτίωνας ποιεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἴδειχνοτο αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀναγωγὴν οἱ τότε. πόσω δὴ κρείττους ὑμεῖς οἱ παραδίδοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ παιδεύεις κελεύοντες τῶν εἰ καὶ τις παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρόθυμος ἢν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀγαπάτουσιν καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ τιμῶντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων τὸν ἐπιμελοῦμενον ὁσπερ ἐκεῖνοι Σωκράτης.

Ποῦν οὖν ἔτι κάλλιον ἐγκόμιον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ὑμῶν εἴποι τις ἄν; οἶ γε ἐπειδὴ ἠθέσθητο τοὺς ἐφήβους

1 μηδὲν Reiske: μηδενὶ.  2 τῶν added by Pflugk.
3 γοῦν Selden: οὖν or νῦν.
4 Emperius noted the lacuna at this point.
5 αὐτῶν Dindorf: αὐτῶν.
6 πόσῳ δὴ Emperius: δῇ πόσῳ M, πόσῳ δὲ UB.
7 ἐπιμελούμενον Selden, ἐπιβαλλόμενον Emperius: ἐπικαλοῦ-μενον.

1 Pericles must have been strategus most of the time from his rise to power in 462–461 B.C. until his death in 429 B.C. Yet he was often subjected to bitter attack, and in the very year before his death he was deposed from office and tried for embezzlement, though later restored.
a mighty task, the task of not being found in any way inferior to your opinion of him? But, that you may recognize the truth of what I say, observe that not one of the men of old, not even of those who have always been admired, has gained from his fellow citizens such honour as you have now bestowed. For instance the illustrious Pericles—who, we are told, flourished at Athens when the city was in its prime—though he repeatedly obtained the post of general, was not deemed worthy of holding office all the time. [But Socrates . . .] and that too, not as an administrator of funds nor as one concerned with buildings, but rather with the purpose of making his fellow citizens good men—chose both to admonish the erring ones and, at least so far as lay in his power, to make them better. Yet the men of that day did not tolerate him, because of their own lack of discipline. How far superior, then, are you, who submit yourselves to instruction, yes, even demand it, to those who were irritated even if some one of his own accord was eager to do this for them, and who not merely refrained from honouring, but even put to death the man who tried to take them under his care, as the Athenians did in the case of Socrates!

Accordingly, what more beautiful eulogy could any one pronounce, either of this man or of yourselves? For since you have seen that he has improved

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2 By way of filling out the lacuna, Capps suggests some such phrase as ὥ τέ Σωκράτης δόξαν μεγίστην ἐλαβεν.
3 The treasury of the Delian Confederacy was removed to Athens in 454 B.C., and there began for Pericles a period of most active building operations, the most notable buildings to his credit being the Parthenon and the Propylaea.
4 Dio is alluding to the condemnation and execution of Socrates in 399 B.C.
καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους κρείττονας πεποιηκότα, εὐθὺς ἠγείροθε καὶ ὡμᾶς ἀμείνους δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. καὶ νῦν Ἑἱ ἀρετῆς χρεία, τοῖς δὲ προβεβηκόσιν οὐ καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει· ἀριστερὸν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς μὲν παιῶν ᾧ ὁ τοῖς μειρακίους χρείαν εἶναι θεραπείας νομίζει, τοῖς ὁ δὲ τελείοις μὴ· καὶ μήν ἦ γε πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς .μεγαλοψυχία πῶς οὐχὶ θαυμαστῇ τῆς πόλεως; τὶ γὰρ τῶν σεμιὰν οὐχὶ προβήμως παρεσχήκατε; οὐκ εἰκόνας; οὐκ ἀνδριάντας; οὐχὶ πρεσβεύοντας πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα; οὐ κοινῇ τιμῶντες; οὐ κατ’ ἱδίων ἔκαστος δεξιούμενος; τὶ οὐν οὐκ ἄν ἢσθεὶ τούτων τοιούτων ὅντων; ἂ τοῖς οὐκ ἄν προβομοὶ ὁ τῷ δύνατο ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀγάθων; οὐκοῦν ἐγώγει οἷμαι καὶ τὸν τοῦτο ἐπαίνοιν ὡς ἀδυνάμην εἰρηκέναι. τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποδεχομένων τινὰ καὶ τιμῶντων ἐγκώμιον δῆλον ὡς κάλλιστος ἐπαίνος ἐκείνου ἂν εἴη.

1 θαυμαστῇ Pflugk : θαυμαστῇς.
2 τὶ Casaubon : τίν.
3 προβήμως Casaubon : προβήμας.
4 πρεσβεύοντας] πρεσβεύοντες Reiske.
5 τιμῶντες Casaubon : τιμῶντας.
6 Before τὶς Pflugk reads ἃ for μ. ᾧ, which Arnim deletes.
7 οὐν οὐκ ἄν ἢσθεὶ Crosby, ἄν οὐκ ἄνθεθεὶ Pflugk, οὐν οὐκ ἄν ἢσθεὶ Arnim : ὃν ἢσθεὶ UBT, ἢσθεὶ Μ.
the ephebes and the young men, you immediately jump to the conclusion that he can improve you too. And, by Heaven, it is not true that, while the ephebes have need of instruction and virtue, those who are advanced in years, and in fact the entire city, do not. That would be just as if some physician were to think that boys or young men had need of medical attention, but not the adults. Yet must we not concede that in the matter of honours the city's magnanimity is surprising? For what mark of highest esteem have you not eagerly conferred? Have you not voted portraits, statues, embassies to the cities and to the Emperor? Have you not shown honour by public recognition; have you not shown honour by individual greeting? Therefore what man would not be pleased when these rewards are so distinguished? Or what man would not be eager to do you any service in his power? Well then, I at least believe I have spoken in praise of this man too as effectively as I could; for the eulogy directed toward those who approve and honour a man clearly would be that man's highest praise.

1 Dio obviously refers to the honour of serving on such embassies. The ms. reading should be retained.

8 τούτων Capps: τῶν.
9 ὀντων] διδόντων Pflugk.
THE FIFTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES OR THE BOW OF PHILOCTETES

This Discourse is not merely an interesting bit of ancient literary criticism but also our chief source of information as to two of the three plays with which it deals, the *Philoctetes* of Aeschylus and that of Euripides, both known to-day only in scanty fragments. In Or. 59 Dio presents in prose paraphrase the prologue of a *Philoctetes*, which by means of the present Discourse is recognized as that of Euripides, together with a portion of the ensuing dialogue between Odysseus and Philoctetes. The Euripidean play clearly appealed to Dio's rhetorical instincts; yet we are reminded of the situation in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, the god of the drama yielding the palm to Aeschylus, though unmistakably prejudiced in favour of Euripides.

There was little occasion for Homer to refer to Philoctetes, whom he names in only three passages. His most illuminating reference is *Iliad* 2. 716-726, from which we learn that Homer at least knew the story. Fuller details were obtainable from three epics belonging to what is known as the Cycle—the *Cypria*, the *Little Iliad*, and the *Ilipersis*. The high points in the epic version are as follows. Heracles, out of gratitude for services rendered, had given Philoctetes his bow and arrows, once the property of Apollo. When the Greeks sailed for Troy, Philoctetes guided them to the island of Chryse, where they were to offer sacrifice. There a venomous serpent bit Philoctetes on the foot. His cries of anguish and the stench of his wound caused the Greeks to abandon him on the shores of Lemnos. Ten years later, when the
THE FIFTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

Greek fortunes were at a low ebb, upon the advice of the seer Calchas and by the stratagem of Odysseus the Trojan seer Helenus was taken captive. He revealed that Troy could be taken only with the aid of Philoctetes and his bow, and that Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, must come from Scyros. Accordingly Diomedes is sent for Philoctetes and Odysseus for Neoptolemus. Philoctetes is healed of his wound, slays Paris, and in company with Neoptolemus causes the downfall of Troy. For further details the reader is referred to the introduction to Jebb's edition of the Philoctetes of Sophocles.

The occasion on which our Discourse was delivered is unknown. Dio's reference to the chill of morning might suggest his home in Prusa as the setting for his adventure in dramatic criticism. His allusion to ill health and his manifest sympathy for the lonely Philoctetes, victim of misfortune, suggest the period subsequent to Dio's exile as the time of composition.
52. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΞΩΝ

1 Ἀναστὰς σχεδὸν τὸ περὶ πρῶτην ὀραν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀέρα ψυχρότερον δυνα διὰ τὴν ἑω καὶ μάλιστα μετοπώρῳ προσευκότα καίτοι μεσοῦντος θέρους, ἐπεμελήθην ἐμαυτῷ καὶ προσημεύσαμην. ἐπειτὰ ἀνέβην ἐπὶ τὸ ξένος καὶ περύψανον ἐν τῷ ἵππο- δρόμῳ πολλοῦς τινας κύκλους, πρᾶσς τε καὶ ἀλύπως ὡς οἶδο τε ὑπάγοντος τοῦ ξένους. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περιπατήσας ἀνεπανασάμην μικρὸν τινα χρόνον. ἐπειτὰ ἀλευράμενος καὶ λουκάμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἐμφαγὼν ἐνέτυχον τραγῳδίαις τισῶν.

2 Σχεδὸν δὲ ἦσαν ἀκρων ἀνδρῶν, Ἀλχούλου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐρυπίδου, πάντων περὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ὑπόθεσιν. ἦν γὰρ τῶν Φιλοκτῆτου τῶν εἴτε κλοπὴ εἴτε ἄρπαγὴ ἡ δει λέγειν· πλὴν ἀφαιρόμενός γε τῶν ὁπλῶν ἢν Φιλοκτῆτης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Τροίαν ἀναγόμενος, τὸ μὲν πλέον ἔκων, τὸ δὲ τὶ καὶ πειθοῦ ἀναγκαλά, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἑστέρητο, ὁ τούτῳ μὲν βίον αὐτῷ παρεῖχεν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ, τούτῳ δὲ θάρσος ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ νόσῳ, ἀμα δὲ εὔκλειαν.

1 ἄρπαγη] παγή Morel. 2 ἔκων Welcker: ἀκών.
THE FIFTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES OR THE BOW OF PHILOCTETES

Having risen about the first hour of the day, both on account of the feeble state of my health and also on account of the air, which was rather chilly because of the early hour and very much like autumn, though it was mid-summer, I made my toilet and performed my devotions. I next got into my carriage and made the round of the race-course several times, my team moving along as gently and comfortably as possible. After that I took a stroll and then rested a bit. Next, after a rub-down and bath and a light breakfast, I fell to reading certain tragedies.

These tragedies were the work of topmost artists, I may say, Aeschylus and Sophocles and Euripides, all dealing with the same theme, which was the theft—or should I say the seizure?—of the bow of Philoctetes. However that may be, Philoctetes was portrayed as being deprived of his weapons by Odysseus and as being carried off to Troy along with them, for the most part willingly, though in some measure also yielding to the persuasion of necessity, since he had been deprived of the weapons which furnished him with not only a living on his island, but courage in his sore affliction, and at the same time fame.
Ουκοῦν εὐωχούμην τῆς θέας καὶ ἐλογιζόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ὅτι τότε Ἀθήνησιν ἄν ὦν οὐχ οἶδος τ' ἂν ἦν μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔκεινων ἀνταγωνιζομένων, ἀλλὰ Σοφοκλέους μὲν πρὸς Ἀισχύλον νέου πρὸς γέροντα, καὶ πρὸς Ἐυριπίδην πρεσβυτέρου πρὸς νεωτέρουν ἀγωνιζομένου μετέχον τινές. Ἐυριπίδης δ' ἀπελείφθη κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν Ἀισχύλου· καὶ ἀμα ὄν πολλάκις ὡσ ἦν οὐδέποτε τῷ αὐτῷ δράματι ἀντηχωνίαντο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐφανόμην ἐμαυτῷ πάνω τρυφάν καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας παραμυθιάν και ἠνέχειν.

4 οὐκοῦν ἔχορήγουν ἐμαυτῷ πάνω λαμπρῶς καὶ προσέχειν ἐπειρώμην, ὡσπερ δικαστής τῶν πρώτων τραγωδικῶν χορῶν.

Πλὴν ὁμοίως γε οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην ἀποφήμασθαι οὐδέν, οὐ γε ἔνεκεν οὐδεὶς ὁ ἔτης ὑπ᾽ ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔκεινων. η' τ' ὡς τοῦ Ἀισχύλου μεγαλοφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, έτει δὲ τὸ αὐθαίρετο τῆς διανοίας καὶ φράσεως, πρόποντα ἐφαίνετο τραγῳδία καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὄθει παντοῖς ὑπόν, οὐδ' ἐνήν τι βεβουλευ-5 μένον' οὐδὲ σταμαλὸν οὐδὲ ταπεινόν· επεί τοι καὶ τὸν Ὁδυσσέα εἰσῆγε δριμῶν καὶ δόλιον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, πολυ δὲ ἀπέχουσα τῆς νῦν κακοθείας, ὡςτε

1 οὐδ' ἔμοι Arnim. 2 οὐδ' ἐνήν τι Capps, οὐδὲν ἐχοντα Hermann, ὃν οὐδὲν Reiske: οὐδέν. 3 βεβουλευλεφόν Crosby: ἐπεβουλευλεφόν.

1 At Athens plays were regularly produced in competition.
2 Aeschylus was born in 525 B.C. and died soon after 458; Sophocles in 468 at the age of 28 defeated Aeschylus, but lived until 405; Euripides began his career in 455, after Aeschylus had died, and lived until 406.
3 The duty of the choregus was to provide the funds needed by the choruses of the particular poet to whom he had been assigned.

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So I was feasting my eyes on the spectacle portrayed by these dramas and figuring to myself that, even if I had been in Athens in those days, I could not have witnessed such a contest as this of those distinguished poets.¹ On the contrary, while there were some who did witness contests between the youthful Sophocles and the aged Aeschylus and some who saw the older Sophocles compete with Euripides, his junior, yet the career of Euripides fell quite outside the period of Aeschylus²; and besides, probably the tragic poets seldom or never competed against one another with plays on the same theme. And so I was evidently having a rare treat and a novel solace for my illness. Accordingly, I played choregos³ for myself in very brilliant style and tried to pay close attention, as if I were a judge passing judgement on the premier tragic choruses.⁴

Yet I could not on oath have produced a single reason why any one of those great poets could have been defeated. For both the nobility of character and the antique flavour of Aeschylus, as well as the ruggedness of his thought and diction, seemed suited to tragedy and to the old-time manners of the heroes,⁵ nor was there aught of premeditation or prating or humility in their bearing. For example, even his Odysseus he brought upon the scene as a shrewd and crafty person,⁶ as men were in those days, yet far removed from the rascality of to-day, in consequence

¹ Ten citizens were appointed for each festival at which plays were produced to judge the contests and to award the prize.
² I.e., the old Greek demigods, whose fortunes provided the material for the tragedies.
³ Homer constantly calls Odysseus πολύτρωπος.
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τῷ ὄντι ἄρχαιον ἃν δόξαι παρὰ τούς νῦν ἀπλοὺς εἶναι βουλομένους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας, καὶ οὖδέν γε ἀλλαττοῦσις τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς προσεδεήθη πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι ὅστις ἔστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου, καθάπερ ὁ Ὄμηρος κάκεινος δὴ ἐπόμενος Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν1· ὡστε τυχόν ἂν τις ἐγκαλέσαι τῶν οὗ φιλούντων τὸν ἄνδρα, οὕτως οὐκ ἤμέλησεν ὅτι ψευδάτος ἦσται ὁ Ὅμηρος οὐ γυναικοκόθεν μενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου. ἔχοι δὲ ἃν ἀπολογίαν, ὥστε εὐγέμινα, πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἡ μὲν γὰρ χρόνος τυχόν οὐκ ἢν τοσοῦτος, ὡστε μὴ ἀνενεγκεῖν τὸν χαρακτῆρα, δέκα ἐτῶν διαγεγονότων, ἢ δὲ νόσος ἢ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου καὶ κάκωσις καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ βεβιωκέναι τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον οὐκ ἀδύνατον τούτῳ ἐποίει. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦδη, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ἁσθενείας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ δυστυχίας, ἔπαθον αὐτὸ.

Καὶ μὴν ὁ χορὸς αὐτῷ παρατήσεως, ὅσπερ ὁ 7 τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, οὐδὲν ἔδειχθη. ἀμφότερος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Λημυκίων ἐποίησαν τὸν χορὸν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης εὐθὺς ἀπολογουμένους πεποίηκε περὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμελείας, ὅτι δὴ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν οὗτε προσέλθουσα πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην οὗτε βοηθήσειαν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' Ἀριστόκρατος ἀπλῶς εἰσήγαγε τὸν χορὸν, ὁ τῷ παντί3 τραγικῶτερον καὶ ἀπλούστερον· τὸ δ' ἐτερον πολιτικῶτερον καὶ ἀκριβέστερον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐδύνατο πάσας διαφεύγειν τὰς ἀλογίας ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, ἐσώ οὖν ἐλεφαί λόγον μηδὲ τούτο

1 ἐποίησεν deleted by Arnim with UBM.
2 οὐκ deleted by Wyttenbach.
3 χορόν, δ τῷ παντὶ Emperius: χορὸν αὐτῷ πάνι.
of which he might seem truly ancient as compared with those who to-day lay claim to simplicity and nobility of character. And again, Aeschylus had no need to add Athena for the purpose of transforming Odysseus so as not to be recognized by Philoctetes for the man he was, as Homer handled the problem, and also Euripides in imitation of Homer. So possibly one of those who do not like Aeschylus might complain that he was not at all concerned to make his Odysseus convincing in the scene where he is not recognized by Philoctetes. But in my opinion the poet would have a defence against such a criticism; for while the lapse of time was perhaps not sufficient to explain his not recalling the lineaments of Odysseus since only ten years had passed, yet the affliction and distress of Philoctetes and the lonely life he had led in the interval made this lapse of memory not impossible. For many in the past, either from illness or from misfortune, have had that experience.

Furthermore, the chorus of Aeschylus had no need for special pleading, as did that of Euripides. For both poets made their choruses to consist of Lemnians; yet, while Euripides has represented them as immediately apologizing for their former neglect, admitting that during so many years they had neither come near Philoctetes nor rendered him any aid, Aeschylus simply brought his chorus on the scene, a course which is altogether more in keeping with tragedy and more natural, whereas the other course is more courteous and more strictly correct. Of course, if poets were able to avoid all violations of logic in their tragedies, perhaps there might be reason for

1 In the *Odyssey* (18. 429-438) Athena disguises Odysseus as a beggar upon his arrival in Ithaca.
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παραπέμψας· νῦν δὲ πολλάκις ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ παραγγειλοµένους ποιοῦσι τοὺς κήρυκας πλείονων ἡμερῶν
8 ὅδων. ἔπειτα οὐδ' ἀπάντως ἔξην¹ μὴτε² προσελθέων αὐτῷ μηδένα Λησινίων μὴτε³ ἐπιμεληθήναι μηδὲν
dοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὖν ἃν διεγένετο τὰ δέκα ἔτη μηδὲν
μᾶς τυχάνων βοηθείας· άλλ' εἰκός μὲν τυχάνειν αὐτῶν, σπανίως δὲ καὶ οὐδενὸς μεγάλου, καὶ μηδένα
αἰρεῖσθαι οίκια ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ νοσηλεύειν διὰ τὴν
dυσχέρειαν τῆς νόσου. αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Εὐρυπίδης
tὸν Ἀκτορα εἰσάγει, ἔνα Λησινίων, ὡς γνώριμον
τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ προσώντα καὶ πολλάκις συμβεβλη-
κότα.
9 Οὐ τοιών οὖν ἐκείνω δοκεῖ μοι δυκαλώς ἃν τις
αἰτιάσασθαι, τὸ δυναῖον πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ὡς
ἀγνοοῦντα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόλευσιν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
καὶ τὰ καθόλου συμβαίνοντα αὐτῷ. οἱ γὰρ δυστυ-
χοῦντες ἀνθρωποί πολλάκις εἰσώθασι μεμνησθαί τῶν
συμφορῶν καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἀκομφῶς καὶ μηδὲν
dεσμένους ἀκοῦειν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἀεὶ δηγοῦμενοι. καὶ
μὴν ἡ ἀπάτη ἢ τοῦ Ὅδυσσεος πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην
καὶ οἱ λόγοι δὲ ἢν προσηγάγετο αὐτὸν, οὐ μόνον
εὐσχημονέστεροι καὶ ἢρωι πρέποντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ
Εὐρυβάτον ἢ Πασακίωνος, ἀλλ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσι,
10 καὶ πιθανώτεροι. τὰ γὰρ ἐδείκνυσι τέχνης καὶ
ἐπιβουλῆς πρὸς ἀνάγκα νοσοῦντα, καὶ ταύτα τοξο-

1 οὖν ἀπάντως ἔξην Cupps: οὖν ἐξ ἀπαντω ἕν.
2 μὴτε Emperius: μηδέ.
3 μὴτε Emperius: μηδὲ.
4 kal omitted by Arnim with UBM.
5 ἐδε Emperius: ἐδε or ἐδή.

1 In the Agamemnon of Aeschylus not only the herald but even Agamemnon himself and his escort arrive in Argos the day following the fall of Troy.
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refusing to gloss over even this instance; but as the truth is, the poets often cause their heralds to complete in a single day a journey which calls for several days.¹ Again, it was quite impossible to conceive that not a single Lemnian had come near Philoctetes or given him any attention at all, for in my opinion he could not even have survived those ten years without receiving some aid; no, it is reasonable to suppose that he did get some aid, though but rarely and of no great importance, and, furthermore, that no one chose to take him into his house and give him medical attention because of the disgusting nature of his ailment.² At any rate Euripides himself does bring upon the scene one Lemnian, Actor, who approaches Philoctetes as being already-known to him and as having often met him.

Furthermore, I do not feel that one could justly find fault with Aeschylus for this either—that his hero narrates to the chorus, as if they were in ignorance, the details concerning his desertion by the Achacans and his experiences in general. The reason is that the victims of misfortune are wont to recall their trials repeatedly, and by their constant rehearsing of details they bore those who know every detail already and have no need to be told. Then again, the deception which Odysseus practised upon Philoctetes and the arguments by which he won him over are not merely more becoming and suited to a hero—though not the words of a Eurybates or a Pataecion³—but in my opinion they are even more plausible. For what need was there for subtle craft and scheming in dealing with a sick man and, what is more, an

² Cf. Sophocles, Philoctetes' 900.
³ Stock characters typifying rascality.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

τὴν, ὡς ἐὰν τις μόνον ἐγγὺς παρέστη, ἀρχεῖος ἢ ἀλήθεια ἀυτοῦ ἐγεγόνει; καὶ τὸ ἀπαγγέλλων δὲ τὰς τῶν Ἀχαίων συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν 'Οδυσσέα ἐπ' αἰτία ὄντα 1 ὡς οἶνον τε αἰ- σχύνη καὶ καθόλου τὸ στράτευμα διεφθαρμένον οὐ μόνον χρήσιμον, ὡστε εὐθαναί 2 τὸν Φιλοκτήτην καὶ προσδέξατοι μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ 'Οδυσσέως ὁμιλίαν, ἀλλ' οὔτε 3 ἀπίθανον 4 τρόπον τινά διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς στρατείας καὶ διὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα οὐ πάλαι κατὰ τὴν ὄργην τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὅθεν ἕκτωρ παρά σομκρόν ἢθεν ἐμπρήσαι τὸν ναῦσταβιον.

11 Ἡ τε τοῦ Εὐριπίδου σύνεσις καὶ περὶ πάντα ἐπιμέλεια, ὡστε μήτε ἀπίθανον τι καὶ παρημελη- μένον ἔσσαι μήτε ἀπλῶς τοῖς πράγμασι χρήσιμα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πᾶσης ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν δυνάμεως, ὡσπερ ἀντιστροφός ἐστι τῇ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου, 4 πολιτικωτάτη καὶ ῥητορικωτάτη οὕτα καὶ τοῖς ἑντυγχάνονοι πλείστην ὑφέλειαν παρασχεῖν δυναμένη, εὐθὺς γοῦν πεποίηται προλογίζων αὐτῷ ὁ 'Οδυσσέως καὶ ἀλλα τε ἐνυπιμήματα πολιτικά στρέφων ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρῶτόν γε διαπορών ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μή ἄρα δοκή- μεν τοῖς πολλοῖς σοφῶς τις ἐίναι καὶ διαφέρων τὴν 12 σύνεσιν, ἢ δὲ τούναντίον. ᾧ ξόν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλύπως

1 ὅτα added by Capps.
2 εὐθαναί] εὐθαναθήναι Gasda.
3 ἀπίθανον Crosby: ἀπίθανα.
4 After Αἰσχύλου Capps (cf. infra § 15 τὸ αὐθαίδες καὶ ἀπλοῦν) adds αὐθαίδε, Reiske ἀπλότητα.
5 καὶ deleted by Wilamowitz.

1 We do not know what particular charge was trumped 346
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archer, whose means of defence had lost its power the moment you merely got close to him? Besides, the device of having Odysseus report that the Achaeans had met with disaster, that Agamemnon had died, that Odysseus had been charged with an act that was utterly disgraceful,¹ and that in general the expedition had gone to rack and ruin, was not merely serviceable toward cheering Philoctetes and making the discourse of Odysseus more acceptable; no, in a way it was not without plausibility even, because of the length of the campaign and because of what had happened not so long before in consequence of the wrath of Achilles, at the time when Hector barely missed burning the naval station.²

Again, the sagacity of Euripides and his careful attention to every detail, as a result of which not only does he not tolerate anything which lacks plausibility or is marred by carelessness, but also he handles the action, not in artless style, but with entire mastery in the telling—all this forms, as it were, an antithesis to the nature of Aeschylus, being to a high degree characteristic of the citizen and the orator and capable of proving most useful to those who read him. At the very outset of Euripides’ play, for instance, Odysseus is introduced as speaker of the prologue and as not only inwardly debating questions of civic nature in general, but first and foremost expressing embarrassment on his own account, lest, while generally reputed to be wise and distinguished for sagacity, he may really be the opposite. For, though he might live free from care and trouble, he is ever being up; of course the whole tale was a fiction intended to beguile Philoctetes.

¹ Iliad 15. 592-746.
καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς ἰνειπόταν. τούτοις ἰνεῖπον ἰνεῖπον εἰναι τὴν τῶν εὐφυνῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν φιλοτιμήν. δόξης γάρ ἀγαθῆς ἐφιέμενος καὶ τῷ εὐκλεείς παρὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰναι μεγίστον καὶ χαλεπώτατος ἐκόντες πόνους ὑφίστανται. οὐδέν γὰρ οὐτω γαῦρον ὡς ἀνήρ ἔφη.

"Επειτα σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς δηλοὶ τὴν τοῦ δράματος ὑπόθεσιν καὶ οὗ ἐνεκεν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν 13 Δήμουν. φησὶ τε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡλιούσθαι, ὡστε ἐνυχώντα τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ μὴ γνωσθῆναι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, μμησάμενος κατὰ τοῦτο Ομηρὸν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος τοῖς τῷ Ἐλλοις καὶ τῷ Ἐνομαι καὶ τῇ Πηνελόπῃ πεποίηκεν ἐνυγχάνοντα τὸν Οδυσσέα ἡλιοώμενόν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. φησὶ τε προσβελαν μέλλειν παρὰ τῶν Τρώων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, δεσμομένην αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκείνως παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Τροίας βασιλείας, ποικιλώτερον τὸ δράμα κατασκευάζων καὶ ἀνευρίσκων λόγων ἀφορμάς, καθ’ ἀς εἰς τὰ ἐναντία ἐπιχειρῶν ὑπορώτατος καὶ παρ’ ὄντων ἰκανῶν 14 τατος φάνεται. οὐ μόνον δὲ πεποίηκε τὸν ’Οδυσσέα παραγωγόμενον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Διομήδους, ὑμητοῦ καὶ τοῦτο. καὶ τὸ ὄλον, ὡς ἔφην, δι’ ὅλου τοῦ δράματος πλείστην μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι οὖν σωσι καὶ πιθανότητα ἐπιδείκνυται, ἀμήχανον δὲ καὶ θαμμασθην ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δύναμιν, καὶ τά τε

1 βασιλείας ἠλώσει Herwerden.
2 δὲ deleted by Arnim.
3 πράγμασι Valckenaer: δράμασι.

involved in troubles and perils of his own volition. But the cause of this, he claims, is the ambition which actuates gifted men of noble birth. For, in aiming at a fine reputation and general acclaim, they voluntarily undertake very great and difficult labours.

For nothing quite so proud as man exists.¹

Odysseus then reveals clearly and precisely the plot of the drama and why he has come to Lemnos. And he says he has been disguised by Athena, so that when he meets Philoctetes he may not be recognized by him, Euripides having imitated Homer in this detail.² For Homer has represented Odysseus, in his sundry encounters with Eumaeus and Penelope and the others, as having been disguised by Athena. Odysseus goes on to say that an embassy from the Trojans will soon visit Philoctetes for the purpose of entreating him to place at their disposal both himself and his weapons, offering the throne of Troy as his reward; thus he complicates the plot and invents occasions for debate, in the course of which he shows himself most resourceful and most proficient in combating the opposing arguments, no matter with whom he is compared.³ Again, Euripides causes Odysseus to arrive not unattended but in company with Diomedes, another Homeric touch.⁴ Thus all in all, as I was saying, throughout the whole play he displays the greatest dexterity and plausibility in the action; an irresistible, yes, amazing, power of language; a

² Cf. § ⁵.
³ Up to this point there is close agreement between this summary and the synopsis of Or. ⁵⁹. The latter, however, does not cover the entrance of Diomedes.
⁴ Dio must mean Homeric in spirit, for Homer does not treat this episode. Cf. § 18.
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ιαμβεία σαφῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πολιτικῶς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὰ μέλη οὐ μόνον ἡδονήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἀρετὴν παράκλησιν.

16 "Ὁ τε Σοφοκλῆς μέσος έουκεν ἄμφοτε εἶναι, οὐτε τὸ αὐθάδες καὶ ἀπλοῦν τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ἔχων οὐτε τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ δριμό καὶ πολιτικὸν τὸ τοῦ Εὐρυπίδου, σεμνὴν δὲ τινα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ ποίησιν τραγικῶτατα καὶ εὐσεβέστατα ἔχουσιν, ἀστεὶ πλείστην εἶναι ἡδονήν μετὰ ύψους καὶ σεμνότητος. τῇ τε διασκευῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρίστῃ καὶ πιθανωτάτῃ κέχρηται, ποιήσας τὸν 'Οδυσσέα μετὰ Νεοπτολέμου παραγχυμόμενον, ἐπειδὴ εἴμαρτο ἀλώνιν τὴν Τροίαν ύπὸ τε τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου χρωμένον τοὺς Ἡρακλείους τόξοις, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποκρυπτόμενον, τὸν δὲ Νεοπτολέμου σέμποντα πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, ὑποτιθέμενον αὐτῷ οὐ δεὶ φοιεῖν. καὶ τὸν χορὸν οὐχ ὀσπερ ὁ Αἰσχύλος καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ νηλί συμπλεόντων τῷ 'Οδυσσεί καὶ τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ.

16 Τά τε ἦθη θαυμαστῶς σεμνὰ καὶ ἐλευθερία, τό τε τοῦ 'Οδυσσέως πολὺ πραότερον καὶ ἀπλοῦστερον ἢ πεποίηκεν ὁ Εὐριπίδης, τό τε τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου ὑπερβάλλων ἀπλότητι καὶ εὐγενείᾳ, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ βουλοµένου δόλω καὶ ἀπάθῃ περιγενέοθαι τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου, ἀλλὰ ἵσχυι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπειτα πεισθεὶς ύπὸ τοῦ 'Οδυσσέως καὶ ἐξαπατήσας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν τόξων ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος, αἰσθοµένου ἐκείνου καὶ ὡς ἐξηπατηµένου σχετιλάζοντος καὶ

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dialogue that is clear and natural and urbane; and
lyrics that not only are delightful but also contain
a strong incentive toward virtue.

As for Sophocles, he seems to stand midway be-
tween the two others, since he has neither the rugged-
ness and simplicity of Aeschylus nor the precision
and shrewdness and urbanity of Euripides, yet he
produces a poetry that is august and majestic, highly
tragic and euphonious in its phrasing, so that there
is the fullest pleasure coupled with sublimity and
stateliness. In his management of the action he
is most excellent and convincing; for instance, he
causes Odysseus to arrive in company with Neoptole-
mus—since it was ordained that Troy should be taken
by Neoptolemus and Philoctetes together, Philoctetes
wielding the bow of Heracles—and he makes
Odysseus conceal himself but send Neoptolemus to
Philoctetes, suggesting to him what he must do.
Furthermore, he has composed his chorus, not of
the natives of Lemnos, as Aeschylus and Euripides
do, but of those who sailed in the ship along with
Odysseus and Neoptolemus.

Again, as Sophocles portrays them, the characters
in the drama are wonderfully dignified and noble, his
Odysseus being much more gentle and frank than
Euripides has depicted him, and his Neoptolemus
surpassing all in artlessness and good breeding—at
first he aims to get the better of Philoctetes, not by
craft and deception, but by strength and without
disguise; then, after he has been prevailed upon by
Odysseus and has tricked Philoctetes and gained
possession of the bow, when Philoctetes becomes
aware of what has happened, is indignant at the
deception which has been practised upon him, and
Δίο Χρυσοστόμῳ

ἀπαιτοῦντος τὰ ὄπλα, οὐ κατέχει, ἀλλ’ οἶδ’ τέ ἐστιν ἀποδιδόναι αὐτά, καὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐπιφανέντος καὶ διακωλύοντος, καὶ τέλος δίδωσιν αὐτά: δοῦς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ πειράται πείθει, ἐκόντα 17 ἀκολουθήσαι εἰς τὴν Τροίαν. τοῦ δὲ Φιλοκτήτου μηδένα τρόπον εὑρόντος μηδὲ πειθομένου, ἀλλὰ δεομένου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο, ἀπαγαγείν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἔλλαδα, ὑπαγορεύει καὶ ἐστι ποιεῖν τούτο, μέχρι ἐπιφανείς Ἡρακλῆς πείθει τοῦ Φιλοκτήτην ἐκόντα εἰς τὴν Τροίαν πλεῦσαι.

Τὰ τε μέλη οὐκ ἔχει πολὺ τὸ γνωμικὸν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν παράκλησιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Ἐυρυπίδου, ἡδονὴν δὲ θαυμαστὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὥστε μὴ εἰκῇ τοιαύτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἱπποτόμον εἰρηκέναι:

ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ μέλιτι κεχριομένου ὥσπερ καδίσκου περιέλειχε τὸ στόμα.

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1 An instance of the deus ex machina, so familiar in the plays of Euripides but not unknown in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles also. It is to be borne in mind that the dramatic contest was a religious festival. The audience must have enjoyed such theophanies.
THE FIFTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

demands the return of his weapons, Neoptolemus does not try to retain possession of them but is prepared to return them—though Odysseus appears on the scene and tries to prevent this—and he finally does return them; yet after he has handed them over he tries by argument to persuade Philoctetes to accompany him voluntarily to Troy. But when Philoctetes will by no means yield or be persuaded, but entreats Neoptolemus to take him back to Greece, as he had promised to do, Neoptolemus once more gives his promise, and he is prepared to keep his word, until Heracles comes upon the scene and persuades Philoctetes to sail to Troy of his own free will.¹

The lyrics of Sophocles do not contain the didactic element to any great extent, nor any incentive to virtue such as we find in the lyrics of Euripides, but a marvellous sweetness and magnificence, such that Aristophanes could say of him not without reason words like these:

But he in turn the lips of Sophocles,
With honey smeared, did lick as if a jar.²

² Kock, Com. Att. Frag., Aristophanes, frag. 581. The subject of the verb περιέλαψε presumably was Euripides, who is said to have owed to Sophocles his honeyed tongue.
THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: ON HOMER

This Discourse, like the one preceding, lies mainly in the field of literary criticism. However, it contains less suggestion of independent judgement, being in the main a cursory survey of what various philosophers have thought and said about Homer. The fundamental importance of Homer in the scheme of Greek education is too well known to require documentation. If we may trust the words of the Greeks of the classic period, they gave little thought to the beauty of his language, prizing him rather as a teacher par excellence. Dio, on the other hand, shows a consciousness of the beauty of his work. That he should have stressed in his appraisal of the poet the views of the philosophers, and above all Plato, was only to be expected. His familiarity with those views points to a relatively late period in his career as the time of composition of our Discourse.

The occasion to which we owe the speech is unknown. In style and theme it would be appropriate as an introduction to some public recitation from Homer. Though we hardly need additional testimony to the enduring fame of Homer, Dio’s tribute affords striking testimony to the surprising range of the influence exerted by the poet (§§ 6-8). Somewhat similar testimony is afforded by Or. 36. 9-14.
53. ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ

1 'Ο μὲν Δημόκριτος περὶ 'Ομήρου φησὶν οὕτως. Ὁμήρος φύσεως λαχῶν θεαζούσης ἐπέων κόσμων ἑτεκτήματο παντοῖων· ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν ἄνευ θείας καὶ δαμονίας φύσεως οὕτως καλὰ καὶ σοφὰ ἐπὶ ἐργασασθαί. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι γεγράφασιν οἱ μὲν ἀντίκρου ἐγκωμιάζουντες τὸν ποιητὴν ἄμα καὶ δηλοῦντες ἐνια τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξηγούμενοι, οὐ μόνον Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Κράτης καὶ ἐτεραὶ πλείους τῶν ύστερον γραμματικῶν κληθέντων, πρότερον δὲ κριτικῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης, ἄφ' οὗ φασὶ τὴν κριτικὴν τε καὶ γραμματικὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν, ἐν πολλοῖς διαλόγοις περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ διέξεισθαι, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ τιμῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς.

2 Τούτων δὲ πρότερον Πλάτων πανταχοῦ μέμνηται, τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν τὴν τῶν ἑπών ἐκπληκτόμενον, πολλάκις γε μὴν ἐπιμεμφόμενος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις τε καὶ λόγοις, ὡς οὐ συμ-

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3 Distinguished Alexandrine scholar and editor of the works of Homer.
THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
ON HOMER

Democritus\(^1\) expresses his opinion of Homer in these words: "Homer, having been blessed with a divinely inspired genius, fashioned an 'ornament of verses'\(^2\) of every kind," thus indicating his belief that without a divine and superhuman nature it is impossible to produce verses of such beauty and wisdom. Many others too have written on this subject, some expressly lauding the poet and at the same time pointing out some of his wise sayings, while others have busied themselves with interpreting the thought itself, this group including not merely Aristarchus\(^3\) and Crates\(^4\) and several others of those who later were called grammarians but formerly critics. In fact Aristotle himself, with whom they say that literary interpretation and criticism began, treats of the poet in many dialogues, admiring him in general and paying him honour, as does also Heracleides of Pontus.\(^5\)

Prior to these, however, Plato mentions Homer at every opportunity, marvelling at the charm and grace of his poesy,\(^6\) though often censuring him in respect of his myths and tales about the gods, holding that he

\(^1\) Head of the Pergamene school and rival of Aristarchus.
\(^2\) Pupil of both Plato and Aristotle.
\(^3\) Cf. Republic 595 b–c and 607 a.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

φέροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδεμῶς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότα, πλεονεξίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ μουχείας καὶ ἐρίδας καὶ φιλονεικίας1 περὶ θεῶν ἐπεξειτόντα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐ μεταδίδοις αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως τε καὶ πολιτείας σοφῆς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζεν, ἔσομένης, ἢν μὴ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσι περὶ θεῶν νέοι ὄντες οὐδὲ έκεῖνοι ἀποφαίνει φύλακάς τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς πόλεως, μηδ' αἰ περὶ τῶν ἐν "Αἴδου μηδὲν οκυθρωπὸν λεγόμενον μαλακωτέρους αὐτοὺς πρός τε τὸ μάχεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀποδηνήσεις ποιῆ μηδὲ ὦσπερ πάλιν κακῶς πωλευθέντας ἡσὶ ἀρχὴς ὑπόπτους πρὸς τὰ μὴ φοβέρα.2

3 Περὶ μὲν δὲ τούτων ἐτερος λόγος πλείων καὶ μακρότερος καὶ οὐ ῥάδιος, πότερον "Ομήρος ἕμαρτε περὶ ταῦτα ἡ φυσικοῦς τινας ἐνόντας ἐν τοῖς μέθοις λόγους κατὰ τὴν τότε συνθέτειαν παρέδοθεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον διαίτησις3 τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ, όμαι, δύο φίλων ἀνδρῶν, ἀμφιτέρων σεμνῶν, τοῦ ἐτέρου τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἐγκαλούντος, ἐνὸς αὐτῶν καταγνώριαν.

4 Γέγραψε δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ὁ φιλόσοφος εἰς τῇ τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαργητοῦ δὲ δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου

1 φιλονεικίας] φιλονεικίας M.
2 υπόπτους . . . φοβέρα Selden: ύπό τοὺς πρὸς τὰ μὴ φόρα.
3 διαιτῆσις Selden: διαιτῆσις οἱ διαιτηθαί.
THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

has told what was not at all beneficial to mankind when he narrates in detail about the gods instances of greed, of scheming against one another, and of adultery and wrangling and contentiousness. And finally he reaches the point of refusing to admit Homer to partnership in his own state and constitution, which, as he himself believed, was to be founded upon wisdom, his purpose being, not only that those whom he appoints as guardians and leaders of the state should not as boys hear such tales about gods, but also that no melancholy account of conditions in the lower world should cause them to be more fainthearted in the face of battle and death or, like colts which have been badly broken in, suspicious from the start about things which are not really terrifying.

Regarding these matters there is indeed another theory, which is fuller, longer, and not easy to expound, dealing with the question whether Homer erred in these particulars, or whether he was merely transmitting to mankind certain doctrines about natural phenomena embodied in the myths after the fashion then in vogue. Indeed it is not easy to arbitrate a question like that, just as, in my opinion, it is not easy to decide against one of two men who are your friends, both being worthy of respect, when each makes charges against the other.

But to continue, Zeno the philosopher also has written on both the Iliad and the Odyssey, and, in fact, on the Margites too; for he believes that this poem also was composed by Homer at the time when

4 Republic 413 d.
5 Allegorical interpretation of Homer was fairly common.
6 Founder of the Stoic school.
7 A satiric poem no longer extant. Even Aristotle believed it to be the work of Homer (Poetics 4. 10).
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γεγονέναι νεωτέρου καὶ ἀποπειρωμένου τῆς αὐτοῦ
δυσέως πρὸς ποίησιν. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων οὐδὲν τῶν τοῦ
Ὀμήρου ψέψει, ἀμα διηγούμενος καὶ διδάσκων
ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατὰ δόξαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἀληθείαν γέ-
γραφεν, ὅπως μὴ φαίνηται αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαχόμενος
ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐναντίως εἰρήσθαι. ὁ δὲ λόγος
οὗτος Ἀντισθένους ἐστὶ πρότερον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν δόξη,
tὰ δὲ ἀληθεία εἰρήται τῷ ποιητῇ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ
εξειργάσατο αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ καθ' ἐκκοστον τῶν ἐπὶ
μέρους ἐδήλωσεν. ἐτι δὲ καὶ Περσαίως ὁ τοῦ
Ζήνωνος κατὰ τὴν αὐτήν ὑπόθεσιν γέγραψε καὶ
ἐκλείπουσ.

Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἀμα αὐτώμενος αὐτόν, ὡς εἰ-
πον, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ θαυμαστήν των ἀπο-
φαίνει τῇ ποίησις, ὡς ἰκανὸν παντὸς χρήματος
καὶ πάσας ἀτεχνώς ἀφιέντα φωνᾶς, ποταμίων τε
καὶ ἀνεμοί καὶ κυμάτων· καὶ κελεύει μάλα εἰρω-
νικῶς ὁπέθαντας αὐτὸν ἐριφ καὶ μύρων κατα-
χέαντας ἀφιέναι παρ' ἄλλους.

1 ψέψει Emperius: λέγει. 2 ἀμα Jacobs: ἄλλα.
3 κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς Geel: κατ' αὐτῆς οὗ κατὰ τὴν.
4 [ἰκανὸν] ἐκόνα Toup.
5 εἰρωνικῶς Casaubon: εἰρηνικῶς.
6 μύρων Cobet: μύρω.
7 After par' ἄλλους the mss. read τοῦτο δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ
tῶν χελιδόνων ποιοῦσιν, but this the women do in the case of
the swallows, which Crosby deletes as an interpolation.

1 The “inconsistencies” in Homer have figured largely in
Homerian criticism until recent years.
2 Cynic philosopher and founder of that school.
3 In this paragraph Dio has combined two closely con-
nected passages in the Republic: (1) 396 b, ἰπτόμενοι χρημα-
τοτας καὶ ταύρους μυκωμένους καὶ ποταμίους ψαράτους καὶ
θάλατταν κυνηγοῦσιν καὶ βρουσᾶς καὶ πάντα αὐ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἦ
μιμήσονται; “Well, then, neighing horses and lowing bulls,
he was rather young and was testing his poetic genius. However, Zeno finds fault with none of the work of Homer, undertaking to interpret it and at the same time to show that the poet has written some things in accord with fancy and some things in accord with reality, Zeno’s purpose being to save Homer from appearing to be at war with himself in certain matters which are held to be inconsistent with each other as narrated by Homer. But Antisthenes anticipated Zeno in this theory, namely, that some things have been spoken by the poet in accord with fancy and some in accord with reality; however, Antisthenes did not elaborate the theory, whereas Zeno made it plain in each of its details. Moreover, Persaeus, the pupil of Zeno, also has followed the same plan in his writings, as have several others as well.

But to return to Plato, while finding fault with Homer, as I have said, he at the same time declares his poetic power to be something amazing, his idea being that Homer is capable of everything and reproduces literally every voice, even of rivers, winds, and waves; moreover, he very jestingly gives instructions to bind the poet’s brows with a fillet of wool, pour perfume on him, and—send him somewhere else.

and the noise of rivers and the roar of the sea and everything of that kind—will they (the future citizens of the ideal state) imitate these?” (Shorey, L.C.L.); and (2) 398 a, “Ἀνδρα δὴ, ὡς ἐσι, δυνάμενον ὕπο σοφίας παντοδαπόν γίγνεσθαι καὶ μμείσθαι πάντα χρήματα, εἰ ἡμῖν ἀφίκωτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν . . ., προσκυνοῖμεν ἀν αὐτόν ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἱδών, εἰπομεν δ’ ἂν ὅτι οὐκ ἦστι τοιοῦτος ἄνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρ’ ἡμῖν οὐδὲ δέμος ἐγγενεῖας, ἀποσείματοιν τε εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχαίνες καὶ ἱρὸ τεθῆτες . . . ., “If a man, then, it seems, who was capable by his cunning of assuming every kind of shape and imitating all things should arrive in our
"Ετι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴς χάριτος ἐπαινῶν τὴν ποίησιν ὑφὸ τῶν ἄνδρα. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ οὖν ἀνευ θείας τύχης οὐδ' ἀνευ Μονσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιπνοίᾳς ὑψατον οὕτως ὕψηλην καὶ μεγαλοπρεπή καὶ προσέτι ἦδειαν γενέσθαι ποίησιν, ὡστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ὁμογλώττους καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοσοῦτον ὢδ' κατέχειν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν δυγλώττους καὶ μιγάδας σφόδρα ἐμπείρους εἶναι τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοοῦντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν σφόδρα μακρὰν διωκουμένων ὑπότε καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φασιν ἄθεσθαι τὴν Ὄμηρον ποίησιν, μεταβαλόντων αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σφετέραν διάλεκτον καὶ φωνήν. ὡστε καὶ Ἰνδοὶ τῶν μὲν ἄστρων τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν πολλῶν εἰσῳ ἀθέατοι· τάς γὰρ ἄρκτους οὐ φασι φαίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς· τῶν δὲ Πριάμου παθημάτων καὶ τῶν Ἀνδρομάχης καὶ Ἐκάβης θρήνων καὶ ὀδύρμων καὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλεώς τε καὶ Ἑκτορος ἄνδρειας οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυον ἔνος ἄνδρος μουσηκὴ· καὶ δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε τῇ δυνάμει ταύτη τάσ τε Σειρήνας ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα. τὸ γὰρ λίθους τε καὶ

1 ἐπαινῶν Capps: ἐπιών οτ᾽ ἐπιῶν.
2 ἀγατα with BU: ἀγαθαί.
3 μεταβαλόντων with Π: μεταβαλλόντων Η, μεταλαβόντων UBM.

**city, ... we should fall down and worship him as a holy and wondrous and delightful creature, but should say to him that there is no man of that kind among us in our city, nor is it lawful for such a man to arise among us, and we should send him away to another city, after pouring myrrh down over his head and crowning him with fillets of wool ... ,**

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Furthermore, Plato himself in praising Homer's poesy for its charm admires the man exceedingly.\textsuperscript{1} Indeed, without divine favour, without inspiration of the Muses and Apollo, it is simply impossible for poëtry to be created which is so lofty and magnificent, and withal so sweet,\textsuperscript{2} as to enthrall for so many years, not merely men who have the same tongue and language as the poet, but even many of alien race, yes, so that not only men who speak two languages and are of mixed stock, though unacquainted with much else that is Greek, are very familiar with Homer's verses, but even some who live very far away. For example, it is said that Homer's poetry is sung even in India, where they have translated it into their own speech and tongue. The result is that, while the people of India have no chance to behold many of the stars in our part of the world—for example, it is said that the Bears are not visible in their country—still they are not unacquainted with the sufferings of Priam, the laments and wailings of Andromachë and Hecuba, and the valour of both Achilles and Hector: so remarkable has been the spell of one man's poetry! It even seems to me that by this power of his he has surpassed both the Sirens and Orpheus. For in

(Shorey). Though Plato does not name Homer in either passage, Dio is presumably correct in his identification, for Plato (\textit{op. cit.} 607 \(\alpha\)) calls Homer "the first of tragedians."

\textsuperscript{1} Plato's admiration for Homer is attested by many passages, but nowhere more strikingly than in \textit{Republic} 595 \(\nu\), \'\'Ρητέον, ἤν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ τοι φιλία γέ τίς με καὶ αἰθώς ἑκ παιδός ἔχουσα πέρι Ὀμήρου ἀποκολύει λέγειν, "I must speak out," I said, "though a certain love and reverence for Homer that has possessed me from a boy would stay me from speaking" (Shorey).

\textsuperscript{2} Dio here reverts to the doctrine of Democritus (§ 1).
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φυτὰ καὶ θηρία κηλεῖν καὶ ἄγειν τί ἔστων ἑτερον ἢ
to βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους ἀσυνέτος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς
φωνῆς οὕτως ἄγαν χειρόσασθαι, μήτε τῆς γλώτ-
tῆς μήτε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμπερῶς οὔτας ὑπὲρ
ἀν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς
κιθάραν κηλομένους; ἤγομαι δὲ ἐγνοὶς πολλοὺς
καὶ τῶν ἀμαθετέρων ἐτὶ βαρβάρων τὸ γε ὄνομα
ἀκηκοέναι τὸ Ὀμήρου, ὃ τι δὲ δῆλον, τοῦτο μὴ
eἰδέναι σαφῶς, εἴτε ἥδον εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε πράγμα
ἐτερον.1

9 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βίων ἐπαινέσαι τις ἃν2 τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς πολὺ μᾶλλον τῆς ποιήσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐν
πενίᾳ διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἀλώμενον καὶ τοσσοῦτον ἀπὸ
tῶν ποιημάτων πορίζοντα ὡς ἀποξῆνθα χαμαστής
ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. εἴτε δὲ τὸ μηδαμοῦ
γεγραφέναι τὸ αὐτοῦ3 ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ ἐν τῇ
ποιήσει αὐτοῦ4 μισθηθῆναι, καίτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάν-
tων, ὅποιοι τινὰ ἔδοξαν ἔχειν δύναμιν ἢ περὶ
ποίησιν ἢ καταλογάδην συγγραφοτές, καὶ πρῶτον
καὶ τελευταίον τὸ ἐαυτῶν ὄνομα γραφόντων,5 πολ-
λῶν δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸς λόγος τε καὶ ποιήμασιν,
ὡσπερ Ἐκάταιός τε καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Θουκυδί-

10 ὁδης, οὗτος μὲν οὖν6 οὐχ ἀπαξ μόνον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς

1 εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε πράγμα ἑτερον Εμπερίου: εἴτε πράγμα
ἐτερον εἴτε φυτὸν.
2 τις ἃν Εμπερίου: τινας. 3 αὐτοῦ Εμπερίου: αὐτοῦ.
4 ποιήσει αὐτοῦ Εμπερίου: αὐτοῦ (or αὐτοῦ) ποιήσει.
5 γραφόντων Dindorf, ἐγγραφόντων Εμπερίου: συγγραφόντων.
6 οὖν deleted by Arnim.

1 Dio may well have in mind his own experiences as a
wanderer during his long exile. Cf. also Or. 47. 5, where he
says Homer was glad to get twenty-five drachmas by begging.
2 Dio might have pointed to the fact that Ἡσιοδ, who used
what respect is it a greater feat to cast a spell upon stones and trees and wild beasts and to make them follow than to have mastered so completely men of alien race who do not understand the Hellenic speech, men who have acquaintance with neither the poet’s tongue nor the deeds of which his poem tells, but are, as I believe, simply enchanted by a lyre? Moreover, I believe that many barbarians who are still more ignorant than those men of India have heard the name of Homer, if nothing more, though they have no clear notion what it signifies, whether animal or vegetable or something else still.

However that may be, Homer’s life deserves praise much more than his verse. For example, his having lived in poverty, a wanderer, and making from his poems only enough to sustain life is evidence of remarkable fortitude and nobility of soul; and besides, his never having written his name anywhere, yes, never having even referred to himself anywhere in his poetry, though all other writers with any reputation for skill in composing either verse or prose write their names both at the beginning and at the end, and many even in the body of their works, both prose and verse. Take, for example, Hecataeus and Herodotus and Thucydides, Thucydides, in fact, solemnly affirming, not merely once at the beginning

the same metre as Homer and was regarded by some of the ancients as Homer’s contemporary, recorded his own name (Theogony 22) and supplied information as to his home and family. See also p. 381, n. 4.

3 Hecataeus of Miletus, who flourished about the end of the sixth century B.C., was a pioneer in the field of history. Only fragments of his work remain. The truth of Dio’s statement, however, is borne out by frag. 332 (Müller, F.H.G.): “Hecataeus of Miletus thus speaks.”

365
Ιστορίας, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις διαμαρτυρόμενος καθ' ἐκαστὸν χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος ὁτι ταύτα ξυνέγραψε Θουκυδίδης. ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἄρα ἐλευθέροις ἢν καὶ μεγαλόφρων ἄστε οὐδαμοῦ φανήσεται τῆς ποιήσεως αὐτοῦ μεμνημένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὅτι ὅπερ οἱ προφήται τῶν θεῶν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀδύντου ποθὲν φθεγγόμενος.

11 "Ὡτι δὲ καὶ ὠφέλιμα πάντα καὶ χρήσιμα ἐγραψε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἰ διεξόι τις, πολὺ ἄν ἐργον εἰη, ὡς πεποίηκε περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας· περὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν βραχεὶ βητέων οἷον φησι δεῖν ἐλεη. ὅν γὰρ ἢν ἑπανῆ τῶν βασιλέων, Διὶ μὴν ἀταλαντῶν φησιν εἰναι καὶ διστρεφέας ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τῶν Μίνω, μεγίστην ἐπὶ δικαίωσην δόξαν ἔχοντα παρὰ τοὺς "Ελληνας, τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλητήν τε καὶ μαθητὴν εἶναι φησιν, ὡς πρῶτον δὴ καὶ μέγιστων ἀπάντων ἐκεῖνον βασιλέα καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπιστάμενον καὶ παραδίδοντα τὴν βασιλικὴν τέχνην, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βασιλεῖς δέον πρὸς ἐκεῖνον βλέποντας κατευθύνει τὴν ἄρχην, ἀφομοιώτατα, ὡς δυνατον ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, θεῷ

12 τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἡθος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑποία τις ἢν, ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ποιεῖ φανερῶς, ὡς δὲ ἐν βραχεὶ περιλαβόντα εἰπεῖν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν δηλοὶ πολλάκις, ἀεὶ ποτὲ αὐτὸν οὕτως ὀνομάζων, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. ὡς δὲν τὴν τῶν βασιλέων

1 ἐλευθέροις Hertlein: ἐλευθερος.
2 βητέων added by Post, ἐρω by Reiske.
3 ἢν] εἰ Σόννυ, ὡς Τζάσδα.

1 The work of Thucydides was organized by winters
of his history, but many times, in connexion with each winter and summer; "Thucydides composed this." Homer, on the contrary, was so liberal and magnanimous that nowhere in his poetry will he be found to refer to himself, but in fact, like the prophets of the gods, he speaks, as it were, from the invisible, from somewhere in the inmost sanctuary.

Again, since everything Homer wrote is both beneficial and practically serviceable, if one were to review all he has said on the subject of virtue and vice, it would be a vast undertaking; however, on the subject of kings a brief statement must be made as to what he says they should be like. Whenever, for instance, he praises any king, he calls him "the peer of Zeus in wisdom"; and all the good kings are "Zeus-nurtured"; and Minos, who has the highest reputation among the Greeks for justice, he says is both the associate and pupil of Zeus, his idea being that Minos was the first and greatest king of all, and the only one who himself understood and handed down the art of kingship, and also that good kings should shape their course with an eye to Minos, patterning their own conduct after a god, so far as humanly possible. Moreover, the poet makes manifest the character of Zeus and the nature of his kingship in a multitude of ways, but, to put it briefly and succinctly, he frequently indicates his power and disposition by the constant epithet, "father of gods and of men," the notion being that the care exercised and summers, the summer being the season for active warfare.

2 Cf. Or. 36. 34.

ἐπιμέλειαν πατρικῆν καὶ κηδεμονικῆν εἶναι μετ’
εὖνοιας καὶ φιλίας καὶ μηδέποτε ἄλλως προσήκον
ἀνθρώπων προστασθαί τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἢ ἀγαπώντα
καὶ προνοοῦντα, ὅποτε ὁ Ζεύς οὐχ ὑπερορᾶ πατὴρ
ἀνθρώπων καλεῖσθαι.
THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

by kings should be that of a solicitous father, accompanied by kindness and affection, and that he should never lead and govern men in any other way than with love and protective care, since Zeus does not disdain being called men's father.
THE FIFTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE:
ON SOCRATES

This little tribute to Socrates is presumably the prelude to some longer discussion. It affords no clue as to either the occasion or the place where the speech was delivered, but the speaker's rather scornful treatment of the sophists, who occupy fully one-third of the piece, and his affectionate regard for Socrates point clearly to some date subsequent to Dio's exile.

Hippias of Elis; Gorgias of Leontini, Polus, and Prodicus are all familiar figures among the sophists who made such a stir in Greece toward the close of the fifth century B.C. All make their appearance in the pages of Plato, Hippias and Gorgias having provided the titles for three of his dialogues. One might wonder why Dio refrains from naming "the man from Abdera" (§ 2). Abdera's fame may be said to rest upon that of two of her native sons, Democritus, the famous philosopher, and Protagoras, no less famous as a sophist. In spite of the verb φιλοσοφῶν in § 2, we infer that it is the latter whom Dio has in mind, for what he has to say suits Protagoras better than Democritus, and also he would naturally take his place beside the four sophists already named. Like them, he figures prominently in Plato's dialogues, and one of them bears his name.
54. ΠΕΡΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1 Ἰππίας ὁ Ἡλέιος καὶ Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος καὶ Πώλος καὶ Πρόδικος οἱ σοφισταὶ χρόνον τινά ἤρθησαν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἔτυγχανον φήμης, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ καὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συνέλεξαν, δημοσίᾳ τε παρὰ τῶν πόλεων1 καὶ παρὰ δυναστῶν τινῶν καὶ βασιλέων καὶ ὁδιωτῶν, ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἔχοι δυνάμεως. ἐλεγον δὲ πολλοὺς μὲν λόγους, νοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντας οὐδὲ βραχὺν· ἀφ’ ὃν ἔστων, οὐμαί, χρήματα πορίζειν καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἡλιθίους ἀρέσκειν. ἄλλος δὲ τις ἀνὴρ Ἀβδηρίτης οὐχ ὡς ἄργυρον παρ’ ἑτέρων ἐλάμβανεν, ἄλλα καὶ διέφθειρε τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ συχνὴν οὕσαν καὶ ἀπώλεσε φιλοσοφῶν, ἀναισθήτως δῆλον ὅτι, καὶ ξητῶν ὃν2 οὐδὲν ὀφελοῖς αὐτῷ.

1 πόλεων Reiske: πολιτῶν.
2 ὃν added by Reiske.

1 Sparta and Athens are no doubt given special mention because they were the leading cities of that day. It is, however, surprising to hear that Sparta was hospitable toward the sophists, for they were a subversive influence and Sparta was noted for its suspicion of outsiders in general.

2 Tradition has much to say regarding their love of wealth and their success in attaining it.

3 Their ability to "make the worse appear the better
THE FIFTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON SOCRATES

The sophists, Hippias of Elis and Gorgias of Leontini and Polus and Prodicus, flourished in Greece for some time and won marvellous acclaim, not alone in the cities at large, but even in Sparta and Athens,¹ and they amassed much wealth, each according to his ability, both by public grant from the several states and also from certain princes and kings and men in private life.² But though they made many speeches, their speeches were devoid of sense, even the slightest—the kind of speech from which, no doubt, it is possible to make money and to please simpletons!³ But there was another, a native of Abdera, who, far from acquiring money from others, not only was steadily ruining his own estate, which was a large one, but finally lost it by pursuing philosophy, foolishly, it is plain to see, and seeking after what was of no material advantage to him.⁴

cause” was notorious. It was effectively satirized by Aristophanes in the Clouds.

¹ Dio must have had in mind Plato’s Hippias Maior 282 b—
293 a, the theme and spirit of which are strikingly similar. However, his memory of the passage is faulty, for what he records about “a certain man of Abdera” (Protagoras) Plato relates about the philosopher Anaxagoras, and he expressly classes Protagoras with the sophists Gorgias and Prodicus as having made from sophistic more money than any other craftsman whatsoever.
3 Ἡν δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης Ἀθήνης πένης ἀνήρ καὶ δημοτικὸς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἀναγκαζόμενος οὐθέν λαμβάνειν καίτοι γνωάκα εἰχεν οὐ μισοῦσαι ἄργυριον καὶ παῖδας δεομένους διατροφῆς καὶ τῶν νέων λέγεται τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις συνεῖναι, ὅν φασιν ἐνίοις μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς φείδεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ τάλλα τῷ πρόπω κοινός καὶ φιλό-
ἀνθρωπος, καὶ παρεῖχεν αὐτῶν τοῖς βουλομένοις προσεῖναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, περὶ τε τῆν ἁγοράν τά πολλά διατρίβων καὶ εἰς τᾶς παλαιόστρας εἰσών
καὶ πρὸς ταῖς τραπέζαις καθεξόμενος—ὡσπερ οἱ τὰ ὑπαρχα ὑπεκύντες εἰς τῇ ἁγορᾶ καὶ περιφέροντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας—ἐὰν τὰς ἀρα ἑθελήσει
πυθέσθαι τί καὶ ἀκούσαι τῶν νεωτέρων ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ ῥητόρων προσεποιούντο μηδὲ ὅραν αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ προσελθὼν, ὡσπερ οἱ προσπαταίσαντες, ἀληθᾶς 
tαχὺ ἀπηλλάττετο.

4 Ἀλλὰ δὴ τῶν μὲν θαυμαζομένων ἐκείνων σοφι-
stῶν ἐκλελοίπασιν οἱ λόγοι καὶ οὐδὲν ὡς τὰ ὄνο-
ματα μόνον ἔστιν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, διαμεῖνοι καὶ διαμεῖνοι τῦν ἀπαντὰ χρό-
nou, τούτου μὲν αὐτοῦ2 γράψαντος ἢ καταλιπόντος 
obôte σὐγγραμμά σὕτε διαθήκας. ἐτελεύτα γὰρ ὁ

1 προσεῖναι Pfugk: προσέλθειν.
2 τούτου μὲν αὐτοῦ with PHU, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ Geel: τοῦτου δὲ ΒΜ.

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1 Cf. Crito 44 ε—45 β. Critias and Alcibiades also were among the wealthy admirers of Socrates.
2 Athletic schools.
3 There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this state-
THE FIFTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

And there was also Socrates, a poor man at Athens and a man of the people, who also was not driven by his poverty to accept anything; and yet he had a wife who had no hatred for money, and also sons who required support, and, besides, he is said to have associated with the wealthiest among the young men, some of whom are reported to have begrudged him literally nothing. However, he was in general sociable in his nature and a lover of his kind, and in particular he made himself accessible to all who wished to approach and converse with him, not only spending his time for the most part about the marketplace, but visiting the palaestras and sitting down near the tables of the money-changers—quite like the people who display their petty wares in the market or peddle them from door to door—on the chance that some one, whether young or old, might wish to ask some question and hear his answer. Now then, most of the influential persons and professional speakers pretended not even to see him; but whoever of that description did approach him, like those who have struck something with their foot, got hurt and speedily departed.

However, while the words of those sophists, who won such admiration, have perished and nothing remains but their names alone, the words of Socrates, for some strange reason, still endure and will endure for all time, though he himself did not write or leave behind him either a treatise or a will. In fact,
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

ἀνὴρ ἀδιάθετος τὴν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα.

ἀλλὰ οὕσιν μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν, ἡστε δημενήνια—
καθάπερ εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν καταδικασθέν-
tῶν—οἱ λόγοι δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἔδημενθησαν, μᾶ Δλ' οὐχ

ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οὔδὲν μέντοι

ἐπὶ ἦττον καὶ νῦν φανερῶν τε ὄντων καὶ τιμωμένων

ὁλογο ξυνιᾶσι καὶ μετέχουσιν.

1 ἐπὶ added by Reiske.
THE FIFTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

Socrates died intestate as to both his wisdom and his estate. Yet though he had no estate that could be made public property through confiscation—as is commonly done in the case of men who have been condemned as criminals—his words in reality have been made public property, not by foes, God knows, but by his friends; nevertheless, though they are even now not only accessible for all but also held in high esteem, few understand them and partake of their wisdom.
THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE:
ON HOMER AND SOCRATES

In his thirteenth discourse (§ 31) Dio speaks of having given instruction during his exile to groups of two and three. The document before us, if not actually a stenographic report of such a proceeding, at least portrays the method employed by Dio. Similar examples have been met already in Or. 21, 23, 25, and 26. In these, and in others like them to be met later, just as in some dialogues of Plato, there is at first a lively debate between teacher and pupil, after which the teacher takes possession of the field and expounds his doctrine with little or no interruption from the pupil. The text of Dio, however, does not reveal the identity of speakers other than the master himself. This may be regarded as a token that the dialogue is an authentic transcript of an actual experience, the reporter having been concerned to preserve a record of what was said and the pupil involved in the discussion being considered of too little consequence to deserve to have his name recorded. Dio certainly understood the psychological advantage that Plato derived from using real persons as the participants in his dialogues and calling them by name (cf. § 19), and it is hard to believe that if Dio’s dialogues were mere literary fictions he would have failed to avail himself of that advantage.

The theme of the present Discourse is that Socrates acquired his art as a teacher from Homer. The anonymous interlocutor is sceptical on that point, objecting that Socrates never met Homer, and also calling attention to the wide difference between the function of the poet and that of the philosopher. After successfully demolishing these objections, Dio proceeds to note certain points of resemblance between Homer and Socrates—their modesty, their scorn of
wealth, their interest in ethical problems, their use of parables or similes as vehicles of instruction, and their method of employing specific human beings to illustrate virtues and vices. To this last-named point Dio devotes fully a third of his dialogue. His arguments seem to have silenced his pupil, for there is no rejoinder.
55. ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1 Ἐπεὶ φαίνη καὶ τάλλα Σωκράτους ὄν ἐπανείης καὶ τὸν ἄλλην ἐκπληκτόμενος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἔχεις μοι εἰπεῖν ὅτιν παθητὴς γέγονε τῶν σοφῶν. ὥσπερ Φειδίας μὲν ὁ ἀγαλματοποιοῦς Ἥγιος, Πολύγνωτος δὲ ὁ ᾿Ιωβράφος καὶ ὁ ᾿Αδελφός ἀμφῶ τοῦ πατρὸς ᾿Αγλαοφώντος, Πυθαγόρας δὲ Φερεκύδης ἱερείται διδάσκαλος γενέσθαι, Πυθαγόρας ὁ ᾿Εμπεδοκλῆς ὑπεραύλτω καὶ ἑτέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν πλείστων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς διδάσκαλους τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν, ὅτως ἐκαστὸς συγγενόμενος λόγου ἄξιος ἐγένετο, δίκα γε ὁ Ἱππακλείτον τοῦ Ὅφεισίου καὶ Ἡσιόδου τοῦ Ἀσκραίου. ὁ μὲν γάρ φησιν ποιμαίνου ἐν τῷ ᾿Ελικώνι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν λαβέων ἐν δάφνης ὠξὶ τῆς ποίησις, ὅταν μὴ πράγματα ἔχομεν

2 ξητοῦντες αὐτοῦ τῶν διδασκαλῶν ὁ Ἱππακλείτος δὲ ἔτι γενναίότερον αὐτὸς ἔξευρεῖν τὴν τοῦ παντός φύσιν ὑποία τυγχάνει οὕτα, μηδενὸς διδάξαντος,

Ἡγίος Ο. Μüller: ἡποῦ οὐ Ἱσποῦ.

2 λαβέω Arnim: ἐλαβεῖν.

3 ἔξευρεῖν Reiske: ἐξεύρε οὐ ἔξευρεν.

1 Pausanias (8. 42. 10) associates Hegias with Ageladas, the reputed teacher of Pheidias.


3 Only a few words of his are extant. His date is such that he might have influenced Pythagoras. However, the ancients were fond of setting up such relationships.

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THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON HOMER AND SOCRATES

Interlocutor. Since you make it evident that on general grounds you are an admirer of Socrates and also that you are filled with wonder at the man as revealed in his words, you can tell me of which among the sages he was a pupil; just as, for example, Pheidias the sculptor was a pupil of Hegias,¹ and Polygnotus the painter and his brother ² were both pupils of their father Aglaophon, and Pherecydes ³ is said to have been a teacher of Pythagoras, and Pythagoras in turn a teacher of Empedocles and so forth. And indeed we are able to name the teachers of most other famous men—and to tell through association with whom each became noteworthy—with the exception of Heraclitus of Ephesus and Hesiod of Ascra. For, to spare us the trouble of seeking for his teacher, Hesiod says he received his poetic gift from the Muses in a branch of laurel as he was tending his flocks on Helicon,⁴ while Heraclitus with even more graciousness says that he himself discovered what the nature of the universe really is without anybody's

¹ Cf. Theogony 22-23. Hesiod is the first Greek writer to supply autobiographical information. The little mountain hamlet of Ascra, north of Helicon, owes its fame solely to its having been his home and to his uncomplimentary words about it in Works and Days 640: "Ἀσκρη, χείμα κακή, θύρει ἄργαλη, οὐδὲ ποτ' ἐοιλή."
καὶ γενέσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ σοφὸς. Ὅμηρον μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο ἀδηλον τοῦς. Ἐλλησον. ὃ δὲ Σωκράτης ὁτι μὲν παῖς ὁν ἐμάνθανε1 τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνην ἀκηκόαμεν τὸν δὲ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ διδάσκαλον οὕτως ὑψεῖμον καὶ καλῆς γενομένης οὐ ἣμῖν σαφῶς εἰπὲ καὶ μὴ φθονῆσης.

3 δ. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε οἷμαι πολλοῖς εἶναι σοφὲς, ὡστὶς ἐμπειρὸς ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ἀνδρῶι, ὅτι Σωκράτης τὸ γε ἄλλῃς Ὅμηρον μαθητής γέγονεν, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐνοί φασιν Ἀρχελάον.

Καὶ πώς οὖν τε τὸν μῆτε ξυγγενόμενον Ὅμηρω
• μῆτε ἴδοντα πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτοι ἔτεσιν ὑστερον γενόμενον Ὅμηρον φάναι μαθητήν;

др. Τι δὲ; ὡστὶς καθ’ Ὅμηρον ἐγένετο, μηδὲν
dὲ ἦκουσε τῶν Ὅμηρου ἐπῶν ἡ ἄκοιμων μηδὲν προσέσχε τῶν νοῦν, ἐσθ’ ὅπως φήσομεν ἐκεῖνων Ὅμηρου μαθητήν;

Οὐδαμῶς.

4 δ. Οὐκοῦν ἀτοπον τὸν μῆτε ξυγγενόμενον μῆτε ἴδοντα, τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως ἔυνεντα τῆς Ὅμηρου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης διανοίας ἐμπειρὸν γενόμενον μαθητήν Ὅμηρον λέγεσθαι: ἡ οὐδὲ ζηλωτὴν οὐδένα οὐδενὸς φήσεως τῶν μη συγγενομένων;

Οὐκ2 ἐγώγε.

δ. Εἴπερ οὖν ζηλωτής, καὶ μαθητής εἰη ἡν. ὁ

1 After ἐμάνθανε Davis deletes λθοξός.
2 Οὐκ added by Warmington.

1 Fire had figured to some extent in the doctrine of earlier Milesian philosophers, but the importance which Heracleitus attached to it in a way justifies his proud boast.
2 His father Sophroniscus was a carver of statues. Accord-
THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

teaching him, and that he became wise by his own efforts.¹ As for Homer, this point, like everything else connected with him, is obscure to the Greeks. But while we have heard that Socrates as a boy studied the calling of his father,² be so good as to tell us clearly who was his teacher in the wisdom which has proved so helpful and noble.

*Dio.* Why, this is plain, I imagine, to many people, provided they are familiar with both men, namely, that Socrates is in truth a pupil of Homer, and not of Archelaüs, as some say.³

*Int.* And how can it possibly be said that the man who neither met Homer nor ever saw him, but lived so many years later, was a pupil of Homer?

*Dio.* What of it? Supposing a man lived in Homer’s day but had heard none of the poetry of Homer, or, if he had heard, had given none of it his attention, shall we be able to say he was a pupil of Homer?

*Int.* By no means.

*Dio.* Then it is not absurd that the man who neither met nor saw Homer and yet understood his poetry and became familiar with all his thought should be called a pupil of Homer; or will you go so far as to maintain that no one can be a zealous follower of anyone with whom he has never been associated?

*Int.* Not I.

*Dio.* Then, if a follower, he would also be a pupil.

³ Diogenes Laertius (2. 16) reports that Archelaüs was a pupil of Anaxagoras and a teacher of Socrates. His tenet that ethical standards are due, not to Nature, but to convention is certainly diametrically opposed to the philosophy of Socrates.
γὰρ ξηλῶν τινα ὀρθῶς ἔπισταται δῆπον ἐκεῖνον ὅποιος ἦν καὶ μιμούμενος τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὡς οἶνον τε ἐπιχειρεῖ ὦμοιν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν. 

5 ταῦτο δὲ τούτο καὶ ὁ μαθητής ποιεῖν ἐκοίκη· μιμούμενος τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ προσέχων ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν τέχνην. τὸ δὲ ὤραν καὶ ξυνεῖναι οὐδέν ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ μανθάνειν πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὀρῶσι τοὺς αὐλητὰς καὶ ξύνεια καὶ ἀκούοντος ὅσημέραι, καὶ οὐδ' ἀν ἐμφυοῦσαι τοῖς αὐλοῖς δύναμτο, οἷ ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ τέχνη μηδὲ προσέχοντες ξυνώσω. ἀλλ' εἰ γε 

6 δυσωπὴ μαθητὴν 'Ομήρου τὸν Σωκράτην καλεῖν, ξηλωτὴν δὲ μόνον, οὐδὲν μοι διοίκει. 

'Εμοὶ μὲν οὖχ ἤττον παράδοξον τούτο ἐκεῖνον δοκεῖ. 'Ομήρος μὲν γὰρ ποιητὴς γέγονεν οἷος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· Σωκράτης δὲ φιλόσοφος. 

Δ. Εἰπὲν· οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲ 'Αρχίλοχον εἴποις ἂν 'Ομήρου ξηλωτὴν, ὥς μὴ τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ κέχρηται εἰς ὅλην τὴν ποίησιν, ἀλλ' ἑτέροις τῷ πλέον, οὐδὲ Στησίχορον, ὥς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπὶ ἐποίης, Στησίχορος δὲ μελοποιὸς ἦν.

7 Ναὶ· τούτω γε ἀπαντές φασιν οἱ 'Ελληνες, Στησίχορον ὁ Ομήρου ξηλωτὴν γενέσθαι καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐοικέναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν. Σωκράτης δὲ κατὰ τί σοι δοκεῖ 'Ομήρῳ ἐοικέναι; 

Δ. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. οὐδέτεροι γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἀλαζῶν ἦν οὐδὲ ἀναιδῆς,

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1 The anonymous treatise, de Sublimitate (13. 3), calls both Stesichorus and Archilochus “most Homeric,” and Simonides (frag. 61) says that Homer and Stesichorus “sang to the peoples.” Archilochus, the reputed inventor of iambic

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For whoever really follows any one surely knows what that person was like, and by imitating his acts and words he tries as best he can to make himself like him. But that is precisely, it seems, what the pupil does—by imitating his teacher and paying heed to him he tries to acquire his art. On the other hand, seeing people and associating with them has nothing to do with the process of learning. For instance, many persons not only see pipers but associate with and hear them every day, and yet they could not even blow on the pipes unless they associate with the pipers for professional ends and pay strict heed. However, if you shrink from calling Socrates a pupil of Homer, but would prefer to call him just a follower, it will make no difference to me.

Int. Why, to my way of thinking, the one seems no less surprising than the other. For Homer has proved to be a poet without a peer, whereas Socrates is a philosopher.

Dio. Very well; on that principle you would not call even Archilochus a follower of Homer, because he has not used the same metre as Homer’s for all his poetry but has used other metres for the most part; nor would you call Stesichorus his follower either, because, while Homer composed epic poetry, Stesichorus was a melic poet.¹

Int. Yes I would; all the Greeks agree on this, that Stesichorus was a follower of Homer, and indeed is very like him in his poetic art. But wherein does Socrates seem to you to resemble Homer?

Dio. First and foremost, he resembles him in his character; for neither of the two was boastful or verse, used a variety of metres, his nearest approach to the verse of Homer being the elegiac distich.
ἀσπέρ οἱ ἁμαθέστατοι τῶν σοφιστῶν. "Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ὄποθεν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἥξιωσεν οὐδὲ ὄντων γονέων οὐδὲ ὅστις αὐτὸς ἐκάλείτο. ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὸ ὅνομα ἤγιονομεν ἀν τοῦ γράφαντος τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν. Σωκράτης δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οὐχ οἶος τ' ἦν ἀποκρύψασθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ σφόδρα ἐνδόξους εἷναι τὰς Ἀθηνας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχέων κατ' ἐκείνοι τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν δὲ πώποτε εἶπεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μέγα οὐδὲ προσεποιεῖτο σοφίαν οὐδεμίαν, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος ὡς εὖ σοφότατος Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. τελευταίοι δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν1 κατέλυσε γράφας, καὶ ταῦτα γε ὑπερέβαλε τὸν "Ὅμηρον. ἀσπέρ γὰρ τὸ ὅνομα τὸ ἐκείνον παρ' ἐτέρων ἀκούοντες ἦσαν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς Σωκράτους ἄλλων καταλιπόντων. οὕτως ἦσαν κεκολασμένοι ήστην καὶ ἐσωφρονεῖτον ἄμφω τῷ ἀνδρεί.

9 "Επειτα ὑπερείδων κτήσεως χρημάτων ὁμοίως Σωκράτης τε καὶ Ὅμηρος. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδαζότας καὶ ἔλεγέτην, ο μὲν διὰ τῆς ποιῆσεως, δὲ καταλογάδην περὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνθρώπων καὶ κακιᾶς καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ κατορθώματων καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ὁπως δοξάζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅπως ἐπίστανται οἱ φρονίμου.

Καὶ μὴν εἰκάσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν ἠκανώτατοι ἦσαν.

Τούτο μὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ ταῖς Ὅμηρου παραβολαῖς πυρὸς καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀετῶν

1 αὐτὸς Arnim : αὐτοῦ οὐ αὐτοῦ.
2 κακίας καὶ περὶ Arnim : περὶ κακίας καὶ.
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brazen, as the most ignorant of the sophists are. For instance, Homer did not even deign to tell whence he came, or who were his parents, or what he himself was called. On the contrary, so far as he was concerned we should not even know the name of the man who wrote the Iliad and the Odyssey. As for Socrates, while he could not make a secret of his fatherland because of its greatness and because Athens was exceedingly famous and dominated the Greeks at that period, yet he never said anything boastful about himself or laid claim to any wisdom, and yet Apollo had solemnly declared that he was wisest among all Greeks and barbarians.\(^1\) And finally, Socrates did not even put his words into writing and himself bequeath them to posterity, and in this he outdid Homer. For just as we know the name of Homer by hearing it from others, so too we know the words of Socrates because others have left them to us.\(^2\) Thus both were exceedingly self-restrained and modest.

Again, both Socrates and Homer alike scorned the acquisition of wealth. Besides, they both were devoted to the same ends and spoke about the same things, the one through the medium of his verse, the other in prose—human virtue and vice, actions wrong and actions right, truth and deceit, and how the masses have only opinions, while the wise have true knowledge.

Furthermore, they were most effective at making similes and comparisons.  
Int. This is indeed surprising, if with Homer's comparisons of fire and winds and sea and eagles and

\(^1\) Cf. Plato, Apology 21 a ἀνέπελεν οὖν Ἡ Ἡφίη μηθένα σοφώτερον ἐλνει.  
\(^2\) Cf. Or. 54. 4.
καὶ ταύρων καὶ λεόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷς ἐκδόσμησε τὴν ποίησιν ὁ Ὀμήρος, σὺ παραβάλεις ἀξιώσεις τοὺς Σωκράτους κεραμέας καὶ τοὺς ἱκτικτόμους.

10 δὲ Εἰπὲ γε, ὦ μακάριε, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα τοὺς λέοντος καὶ ταῖς παραβάλεσι παραβάλλομεν καὶ οὔδεν ἢ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδεῖν φαίμεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἰσως καὶ τῶν ὁμηρίου τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποδοκιμάζεις, ὅπου μέμνηται ἄρα παρά μὲν ἰοθόνων ἢ ἀκρίδων ἢ δαλοῦ ἢ τέφρας ἢ κυάμων τε καὶ ἐρε-βίνθων ἢ λυκίμωντας ἀνθρώπους πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ ταύτα σοι δοκεῖ τὰ φαιλότατα εἶναι τῶν ὁμηρίου· μόνος δὲ θαυμάζεις τοὺς λέοντας καὶ τοὺς ἄετοὺς καὶ τὰς Σκύλλας καὶ τοὺς Κύκλωπας, οἷς έκεῖνος ἐκτῆλε τοὺς ἁνασθήτους, ὡσπερ αὐτὸ τὰ παιδία διηγοῦμεναι τὴν Λάμαν. καὶ μὴν ὡσπερ ὁ ὁμηρίος διὰ τε μύθων καὶ ἱστορίας ἑπεχήρησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παιδεύειν, σφόδρα ἐργώδεις ὄντας παιδευθῆναι, καὶ Σωκράτης πολλάκις ἐχρήτο τῷ τοιούτῳ, ποτὲ μὲν σπουδάζεις ὠμολόγων, ποτὲ δὲ παίζεις προσποιούμενος, τοῦτον ἔνεκεν ὡς ἀνθρώπους ὅφελος· ἱσως δὲ προσέκρουσε τοῖς μυθολόγοις καὶ τοῖς συγγραφεύσιν.

12 Οὐ τοῖνοι ὃνδε τοὺς περὶ Γοργίαν ἢ Πώλον ἢ Ἡρασίμαχον ἢ Πρόδικον ἢ Μένωνα ἢ Ἐυθύφρονά ἢ Ἀντον ἢ Ἁλκιμαίδην ἢ Λάχητα μάτην ἔποιει λέγοντας, ἔξον ἀφελεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα· ἀλλὰ ἦδει

1 tois deleted by Dindorf.
2 ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὅφελοι Arnim: ἀνθρώπους ὅφελει.

1 Archilochus was famed for his beast fables. Some
bulls and lions and so forth, figures with which he adorned his poetry, you shall see fit to compare the potters and cloggers of Socrates.

Dio. I shall, my dear fellow, since indeed we compare the fox of Archilochus with the lions and leopards of Homer and declare it to be not at all, or not much, inferior. However, perhaps you disapprove also of such Homeric similes as those in which he refers to starlings or daws or locusts or a firebrand or ashes or beans and chickpeas, or the one in which he has depicted men winnowing—perhaps these seem to you to be the most inferior portions of Homer’s work, while you admire only his lions and eagles and Scyllas and Cyclopes, with which he was wont to beguile stupid people, just as nurses beguile children with tales of the Lamia. Indeed, just as Homer through myths and history undertook to instruct human beings, who are very troublesome to instruct, so also Socrates often used this sort of device, sometimes admitting that he was in earnest and sometimes pretending to be joking, with the aim of benefiting mankind—though in so doing he perhaps came into conflict with mythologists and historians.

Again, it was not without conscious purpose that he represented Gorgias or Polus or Thrasymachus or Prodicus or Meno or Euthyphro or Anytus or Alcibiades or Laches as speaking, when he might have omitted their names; on the contrary, he

fragments of his “fox” are found in Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, II. p. 145, L.C.L.

2 Iliad 5. 499-500 and 13. 588-592.

3 Lamia was supposed to be a disappointed mother who went about stealing children.

4 Because he took liberties with their material?

5 Dio, like Lucian, here blends in one Socrates and Plato.
τούτω καὶ μάλιστα ὄνησι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, εἰ πως ἔννειέν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ἔννοραν οὐ βάδιον ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις. οὐ δὲ πολλοὶ μάτην οἴονταὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεσθαι καὶ ὀχλον ἄλλως καὶ φλυαρίαν ἡγοῦνται. Σωκράτης δὲ ἐνόμιζεν, ὅσικς μὲν ἀλαζώνα ἀνθρωπον εἰσαγεῖν, περὶ ἀλαζονείας λέγει· ὅποτε δὲ ἀναίσχυντον καὶ βδελυρόν, περὶ ἀναιδείας καὶ βδελυρίας· ὅποτε δὲ ἀγνώμονα καὶ ὀργίλου, ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἀποτρέπειν. καὶ ἔπε τῶν ἄλλων ὠμοίως τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ νοσήματα ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐχομένων τοῖς πάθεσιν ἢ τοῖς νοσήμασι σαφέστερον ἐδείκνυεν ὁποῖα ἔστιν ἢ εἰ τοὺς λόγους ψιλοὺς ἔλεγε.

14 Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τούτο παρ' Ὀμήρου λαβεῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὅταν μὲν δυνήσεται περὶ Δόλωνος, ὅπως μὲν ἐπεθύμησε τῶν ἐπιπον τῶν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅπως δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποφεύγειν δυνάμενος ἔστη τοῦ δόρατος ἐγγὺς παγέντος καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἄνησε τὸ τάχος, ὅπως δὲ ἐβάμβανεν ὕπο τοῦ δέον καὶ συνεκρότει τοὺς ὀδόντας, ὅπως δὲ ἔλεγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ μόνον εἰ τι ἐρωτῶρεν, ἅλλα καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅν μηδεὶς επυνθάνετο—καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπιποὺς ἐμήνυσε τοὺς Ὀμήρους καὶ τὸν Ῥήσον, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἠφιμένων—ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτω σφόδρα ἐναργῶς οὐ περὶ δειλία ὑμῖν καὶ φιλοδοξίας δοκεῖ διαλέγεσθαι;

1 ὀχλον] οἴθον Meiser.
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knew that by this device most of all he would benefit his hearers, if perchance they grasped the point; for to comprehend human beings from their words, or their words from human beings, is not an easy task for any but philosophers and educated persons. On the other hand, most men suppose that such items are purposeless, and they regard them as mere vexation and nonsense. But Socrates held that, every time he introduces a boastful man, he is speaking of boastfulness; every time he introduces a shameless, loathsome man, he is speaking of shamelessness and loathsomeness; every time he introduces an unreasonable, irascible man, he is turning his hearers against unreason and anger. Moreover, in all other cases similarly he revealed the true nature of the passions and maladies of men in the persons of the very ones who were afflicted by the passions or the maladies more distinctly than if he were using the words by themselves.

But it appears to me that he took this too from Homer. For example, when Homer tells about Dolon, how he conceived a longing for the horses of Achilles, and how, when he might have fled from the enemy, he halted with his lance planted close beside him and obtained no benefit from his fleetness, and how his teeth chattered and struck together from terror, and how he talked to the enemy, not only when they asked him a question, but even on topics about which no one was inquiring—for instance, he gave information about the Thracian horses, and about Rhesus, of whose arrival no one knew—by telling all this so very plainly does Homer not seem to you to be discourseing on cowardice and love of notoriety?
"Όταν δὲ περὶ τοῦ Παινάρου, ὡς συνέχεε τὰς σπονδάς, ἐλπίσας δύρα παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πριάμου, καὶ οὐτε ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μενέλεων βαλῶν, καίτοι τοξότης ἰκανός εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ παραβᾶς τὰ ὄρκια τοὺς Τρώως ἀθυμοτέρους ἐποιήσε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μεμημένους ἀεὶ τῆς ἐπιφορκίας.

νῦν δὲ ὄρκια πιστὰ
ψευσάμενοι μαχόμεθα; τῷ οὖ νῦ τι κάλλιον ἔστιν
καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἀπέθανεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀποτυμηθεῖς, πρὶν ἢ καὶ λόγῳ φήσαι τὸν Ἀλέξαν-
δρον αὐτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι· ταύτα διεξόν οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς ὑπὲρ ἄλλου του δοκεῖ λέγειν ἡ δωροδο-
κίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ τὸ ἔσμπαν ἀφροσύνης; δὲ καὶ τοὺς βέλεσι κατηρατο καὶ ἡπείλει διακλάσεων 
αὐτὰ καὶ κατακαύσειν, ὡς φοβομένων αὐτὸν τῶν 
βελῶν.

"Όταν δὲ περὶ Ἀσιόν τοῦ Ἡρτάκου, ὅτι τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐξω τῆς τάφρου καταλιπέιν 
τοὺς ὑπονόμοις μόνοις οὐχ υπήκουσεν,
ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς πέλασεν νήσσοι βοήσι 
νήπιοι· οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἔμελλε, κακᾶς ὑπὸ κῆρας ἀλύξας,
ὑπονόμων καὶ ὕξεσθιν ἁγιόλομενος παρὰ νηῶν
ἀψ ἀπονοσθῆσειν προτί "Ιλιον ἤμεοσαν
εἰς τοσαύτην δυσχωρίαν τάφρου τε καὶ τεῖχους καὶ
νεῶν εἰσελαύνων, ὅπου γε μὴδε τοῖς πεζοῖς συν-
ὴγεγε καταληψθέεισιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ
ὁλίγης ἐκβοηθείας γενομένης διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλεῖ-

1 Iliad 4. 92-187.
2 Ibid. 7. 351-352.
3 Ibid. 5. 290-296.
4 Ibid. 5. 209-216.
5 Polydamas.
6 Iliad 12. 112-115.

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And again, when he tells about Pandarus, how he violated the truce in the hope of rewards from Alexander son of Priam, and how he not only failed to slay Menelaüs by his shot, although reputed to be an able bowman, but also by violating the truce made the Trojans more discouraged as to the war through their constant recollection of their broken oaths—as witness these lines:

But now we fight as traitors to our oaths;
On that account 'tis not so well for us—
and how not much later his tongue was cut off and he died before ever Alexander could even put into words his gratitude to him—in recounting these things with such scrupulous attention to detail, does Homer appear to you to be talking of anything else than of bribe-taking and impiety and in general of folly? Why, Pandarus even cursed his arrows and threatened to smash and burn them, as if the arrows were in fear of him!

Take another example. When Homer says of Asius son of Hyrtaeus that, after his commander had given orders to leave the horses outside the trench, he alone did not obey,

But with them neared the speedy ships, the fool!
Nor was he fated, dodging the spirits dire,
To come again, exulting in team and car,
Back from the ships to wind-swept Ilium,

driving into such difficult terrain amid trench and wall and ships, where even the men on foot found it not to their advantage when caught by the foe, but most of them were slaughtered when a small rescue party

ους· δὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔπτων ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ διόφρου ὕετο ἡμὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλάσσειν, ἔτοιμος δὲ ἦν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρματος μάχεσθαι· ἥρ' οὖν οὗ περὶ ἀπειθεῖας καὶ ἀλαξονείας τότε λέγειν φαίνεται;

19 Πάλιν δὲ τούτων παρατιθέσι Πολυδάμαντα κελεύοντα εὑλαβηθῆναι καὶ μὴ διαβαινειν τὴν τάφρον, ἀμα μὲν τὸ πράγμα ἐπιδεικνύεται ὡς ἐπικίνδυνον, ἀμα δὲ τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν γενόμενον αὐτοῖς ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα ὕετο ἀνέξεσθαι αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, σὺν δὲ τῷ οἰωνῷ τάχιον πείσα τὸν Ἑκτόρα. ἦ τὸν Νέστορα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λοιδορομένους παύοντα τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ προλέγοντα φανερῶς τὰ συμβησσόμενα αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιπλήττοντα τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ὡς ἀμαρτότητι καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα δεῖσθαι τοῦ Αχιλλέως· ἦ τὸν Ὄδυσσεα ἐπανορθούμενον τὸ ἀμαρτημα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, δι᾽ οὗ πείραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τοῦ στρατοῦ, πῶς φέροιεν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τρίβην, ὅλους φυγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν οὐ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ μαντικῆς, πρὸς δὲ τούτως καιρὸν καὶ ἀκαίρια ἔουσεν ὑποτίθεσθαι;

20 Ἕν δὲ τῇ Ὅδυσσείᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εῦχ, ἐνὸς δὲ μὸνον μητρόθησομαι, τοῦ Ἀντίωνου. τούτων γὰρ ἀλαξονεστατον πεποίηκε τῶν μνηστήρων καὶ ἀκολαστότατον· ὃς πρῶτον μὲν κατεφρόνει τοῦ Ὅδυσσεώς, ὅτι ἐκείνος μὲν ἐν ράκεσιν ἦν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν

1 ὕετο Geel: οἷς τὸ οὐ ὡς τότε.
2 τὴν δαλαταιν] τὸν χάρακα Emperius.
3 σὺν Geel: ἤν.
4 καὶ Geel: ἦν.
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issued from within the gate; yét Asius, elated as he was by his horses and the beauty of his chariot, though thinking to drive past the wall, was prepared to plunge into the sea and to fight from his chariot—think you not that Homer then is speaking of disobedience and boastfulness?

On the other hand, when he contrasts with these Polydamas giving orders to be cautious and not to cross the trench, pointing now to the enterprise as a risky venture\(^1\) and now to the omen they had had\(^2\)—for he felt that, while no one would listen to his words in any other way, perhaps by the omen he might persuade Hector; or, to take another illustration, when, as Agamemnon and Achilles are reviling one another, Homer depicts Nestor as trying to make them cease their rage, and foretelling plainly what will befall them in consequence of their strife;\(^3\) and later upbraiding Agamemnon as being in the wrong and forcing him to entreat Achilles\(^4\); or again, Odysseus setting right the blunder of Agamemnon\(^5\) through which, while wishing to test the army to see how it stood the war’s delay, he almost brought about its flight—is it not likely that by scenes like these Homer is trying to give advice regarding prudence and generalship and prophecy, and, more than this, regarding tact and tactlessness?

As for the Odyssey, while I shall omit all else, I shall recall just one character, Antinoüs. For Homer has portrayed him as the most braggart of the suitors and the most dissolute. For example, in the first place he scorned Odysseus because he was in rags,

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\(^1\) Iliad 12. 60-79.  
\(^2\) Ibid. 12. 210-229.  
\(^3\) Ibid. 1. 247-284.  
\(^4\) Ibid. 9. 96-172.  
\(^5\) Ibid. 2. 182-210 and 243-332.
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πολυτελεῖ ἐσθήτι καὶ ἐπινευ ἐκ χρυσῶν ποτηρίων, καὶ τούτων οὐχ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐδείπνει πολυτελῶς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων, ἀλλὰ παρασυτῶν ἐπ’ οἷκίας ἀδεσπότου· καὶ ἔφη μὲν τῆς Πηνελόπης ἔραν, ἐμίγνυτο δὲ ταῖς δούλαις. ταῖς τοῦ Ὄδυσσεώς καὶ τάλλα ἧν ἀκόλαστος· τελευτῶν δὲ ἐπεχείρει τοξεύειν, ἀπειρο ὡς συμφόρης καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὕτως ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένοις όσ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀπεσθαι τῆς νευρᾶς εἰ μὴ τις ἐπιχρίσει στέαρ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ὅδυσσεώς ὁρῶντος καὶ τῆς ἐρωμένης παροῦσης, ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοσούτοις, μὴ ἐπιπείνα δυνάμενο τὸ τόξον μηδὲ ὅπως στήσει τοὺς πελέκεις ὁ Τηλέμαχος ἔνυελις. ὁμως δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀποθανόντα ἔποιησεν οὐκ εἰκῇ πληγέντα διὰ τῶν λαιμῶν, οὐχ ὅπου ἐγένετο, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει τοῦ Πάνδαρον διὰ τῆς γλώττης. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰς τις συμβαίνει τὰ τοιαύτα, ὁμως ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶν εἰσεῖν ὦτι τοῦτον μὲν τὸν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς δὲ πληγέντα ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰδοίων, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τοῦ στόματος.

22 Μὴ οὖν ἦμιν εἰκῇ ὁδικὶ ᾽Ομήρου ὅτι οὖν λέγειν; οὐ τοινυν οὖδὲ Σωκράτης ἀλλαξ ἐχρήτο τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τοὺς παραδειγμασιν, ἀλλ’ Ὄνυς μὲν δια-

1 οὐχ ὄς ἔναι τῶν νῦν after ἀκόλαστος deleted by Crosby.
Arnim retains, but suspects a lacuna following the phrase.
2 ὁμως] ὁμιᾶς Casaubon, τέλος Arnim.
3 καὶ τοῦτον] τοῦτον καὶ Arnim.

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1 E.g., Odyssey 17. 445-504.
2 Ibid. 21. 175-187.
3 Ibid. 21. 122-123. Dio either misunderstood—or forgot—the passage or else had a different version before him, for 396.
while Antinoüs himself in costly raiment was drinking from golden goblets—and those not his own—and was dining sumptuously, not on his father’s viands, but rather playing the parasite in a house that lacked a master; moreover, while he professed to be enamoured of Penelope, he was seducing the maidservants of Odysseus and behaving licentiously in general; and he ended by attempting to draw the bow, though he was unacquainted with archery and his hands were so spoiled by dainty living as not to be able to grasp the bow-string unless someone smeared it with tallow; and what is more, he did this in the sight of Odysseus and in the presence of the object of his wooing, in the midst of such a crowd of men, not even being able to bend the bow, nor understanding how Telemachus was going to set up the axes. But for all that, Homer caused this man also to meet his death by a telling blow through the throat, instead of in some chance spot, just as, you remember, he caused Pandarus to be smitten through the tongue. For indeed if such things do take place by some chance, still in many instances it is possible to say that this man ought to die from a blow through the belly and that man through the genitals and another man through the mouth.

Well then, Homer does not seem to you to say anything without a purpose, does he? No more, then, did Socrates employ his words or illustrations at random; on the contrary, when conversing with Homer is speaking of the wonder of the suitors at the skill of Telemachus in what was to them a novel use of the axes.

4 Dio is still thinking of the fate of Asius, slain by Idomeneus with a thrust through the throat, as Antinoüs was slain by Odysseus.

5 Ἰλιάδ 5. 290-293.
Λεγόμενος βυρσέων ἐμέμνητο καὶ σκυτοτόμων· εἰ δὲ Λυσικλεί διαλέγοιτο, ἀμνών καὶ κωδίων, Λυκώνι δὲ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων, Μένωνι δὲ τῷ Θετταλῷ περὶ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων.  

1 προβάτων καὶ κατηλών after διαλέγοιτο deleted by Hermann. Geel reads τῷ προβατοκατῆλω.  
2 ἀμνῶν καὶ κωδίων, Λυκώνι δὲ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων Geel: γλύκωνι δὲ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων καὶ ἀμνῶν καὶ κωδίων.  
3 οὐ μέντοι ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλοι εἴσοδο παραδειγμάτων εὑσόρει, φίλους μὲν ὀνομάξων καὶ φιλίαν, ὅπε πρὸς Αἰθῶν διαλέγοιτο, περὶ αὐτοσυνής δὲ Χαρίδη διαλεγόμενος after ἐρωμένων deleted by Wilamowitz: Nay, but he had plenty of other illustrations at times, for he used to name friends and friendship.
THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

Anytus he would refer to tanners and cloggers; but if he conversed with Lysicles, it would be lambs and fleeces; if with Lycon, law-suits and blackmail; if with Meno the Thessalian, lovers and boy friends.¹

¹ Anytus and Lycon were two of the accusers of Socrates. Anytus had a tannery (Xenophon, Apology 29), but Socrates did not talk with him exclusively on tanning (Meno 90 b—95 a). Of Lycon we know chiefly what the comic poets tell us—he was of foreign extraction and mingled with certain aristocrats. Plutarch, Pericles 24, says that Lysicles was a low-born sheep dealer, who attained some prominence through Aspasia. Aristophanes speaks of him slightingly in Knights 132 and 765. We know nothing of his dealings with Socrates. On Meno cf. Plato, Meno 70 a and 76 b.

Whenever he conversed with Lysis, but when he conversed with Charmides, it was about self-control.
THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE:
AGAMEMNON OR ON KINGSHIP

This document, like the one preceding, appears to be a transcript of a conversation between Dio and an unnamed pupil. In his opening sentence Dio proposes Agamemnon as a topic likely to improve the mind. Having secured the pupil's acceptance of that theme, he proceeds, in true Platonic fashion, to elicit a definition of the word king: "he who exercises general supervision of human beings and gives them orders without being accountable to them." That definition having been obtained, he demolishes it by calling attention, first to the restraint imposed upon the kings at Sparta by the ephors, and then to Agamemnon's dependence upon Nestor and his council of elders. Having seemingly induced the pupil to concede the point, Dio suddenly suggests that they drop the question, as having been dealt with adequately the day before, and turn to something else. The pupil protests that he is just beginning to understand what Dio has in mind and is eager for a full discussion, but our document goes no farther. Either the reporter decided for some unknown reason to stop at that point or Dio's literary executor felt that this much was sufficient to illustrate this particular theme. The various aspects of kingship are considered by Dio not only in the first four orations in our collection—assigned by Arnim to the opening years of Trajan's reign—but, at least incidentally, in several others.
56. ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ

1 δ. Πότερα βούλει περὶ 'Αγαμέμνονος ἀκούειν φρονίμους λόγους, ἂφεν ἐτίνι ὀφεληθῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν, ἦ λυπεῖ σε 'Αγαμέμνων ὁ Ἀτρέως ὀνομαζόμενος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις;

Οὐδὲ εἰ περὶ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ταλασί λέγοις ἡ Ταυτάλου ἡ Πέλοπος, ἀχθοίμην ἂν, εἰ μέλλω βελτίων ἔσεσθαι.

δ. Καὶ μὴν ἀνεμνήσθην ἐναγχος λόγων τῶν σφε λέγοιμ' ἂν, εἰ μοι ἐρωτῶντι ἐθέλοις ἀποκρίνασθαι.

Λέγε ὡς ἀποκρινομένου.

2 δ. Εἰσὶν τινες ἀνθρώπων ἀρχοντες; ὄστερον ἐπεροῦς μὲν αἰγών, ἐπεροῦ δὲ ὑδίων ἡ δὲ τινες ἔπων, οἱ δὲ καὶ βοῶν, ἐξήμπαντες οὖτος οἱ καλοῦμενοι κοινῆς ποιμένες; ἡ οὐκ ἀνέγνωκας τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος Κρατίνου:

ποιμήν καθέστηκ', αἰπολὼ¹ καὶ βουκολώ;²

Οὐκ ἂν ἔχομι σοι εἰπεῖν εἰ ποιμένας ἄμευνον ὀνομάζειν σύμπαντας τοὺς τῶν ξύων νομέας.

δ. Ὡς μόνον γε τῶν ἀλόγων, ἢ ἀριστε, ἀλλὰ

¹ αἰπολὼ Arnim: αἰπόλω or αἰπόλω or αἰπόλος.
² βουκολώ Arnim: βουκόλωρ or βουκόλος.

¹ Rightly or wrongly the Interlocutor assumes Dlo to
THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE:
AGAMEMNON OR ON KINGSHIP

Dio. Do you wish to hear words of practical wisdom on the subject of Agamemnon, words by which the mind can be improved, or does it annoy you to have Agamemnon son of Atreus named in my discussions?

Interlocutor. Not even if you should speak of Adrastus son of Talaüs or of Tantalus or of Pelops, should I be annoyed, provided I am likely to be improved.¹

Dio. Very well, I have just called to mind certain words which I might speak, if you would consent to answer when I question you.

Int. Proceed, for I will answer.

Dio. Are there certain persons who are rulers of men, just as there are some who are rulers of goats, others of swine, others of horses, others of cattle, these one and all having in common the title herders; or have you not read this verse of Cratinus?

My post is herder; goats and kine I tend.²

Int. I could not tell you whether it is better to call all who tend animals herders or not.

Dio. Not merely those who tend brute beasts, my mean that Agamemnon might be regarded as too antiquated a theme. He therefore expresses willingness to hear about even more primitive heroes.


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καὶ ἄνθρωπων, εἰ τι χρῆ Ὡμήρῳ πείθεσθαι περὶ
tουτων. ἄλλα τι οὐκ ἀπεκρίνω τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ἐρώτημα;
Τὸ ποιοῦν;
Δ. Εἴπερεν εἰσὶ τινες ἄνθρωπων ἄρχοντες;
Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσί;
3 Δ. Τίνας οὗτοι; τίνας αὐτούς ἐπονομάζεις; λέ-
γω δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντας,
στρατηγοὺς γὰρ ὄνομαζεν εἰώθαμεν τοὺς ἀπάσης
τῆς στρατιάς ἥγεμονας. ἔσπερ γε καὶ κατὰ μέρος
οὶ μὲν λόχου ἄρχων καλεῖται λοχαγός, ὁ δὲ τάξεως
ταξιαρχος, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ναύαρχος, ὁ δὲ μιᾶς
τριήρων τριήραρχος· καὶ ἄλλοι εἰσίν οὕτως καλοῦ-
μενοί πλείους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄρχοντες κατ᾽
ὀλίγους, ὅτι πλείστης προνοίας τότε καὶ ἡγεμονίας
4 οἱ ἄνθρωποι δεόνται. οὐδὲ γε τῶν χρωμῶν τοὺς
ἡγεμόνας τυχχάνω πυθανόμενος, οἰτίνες καλοῦ-
νται, τοὺς σημαίνοντας τοῖς ἀδούσι καὶ μέλος
ἐνδιδόντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν συμποσίων ἡγεμόνας,
οὐδὲ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοι μέρους ἄνθρωπων πρὸς μίαν
πράξιν ἡ χρόνων ῥητῶν ἐπιμελεῖαν τινα ἡ ἄρχην
λαμβάνομεν. ἄλλα τοὺς αἱ ποτὲ τῶν ἄνθρωπων
ἄρχονται πολυτευμένων καὶ γεωργούντων, ἀν οὕ-
τως τύχωσι, καὶ βιοῦντων ἄπλως, ὡς Κύρος τε
Περσῶν ἦρχε καὶ Μῆδων Δημόκης καὶ Ἕλλην τῶν

1 Εἴπερεν Eπέ, Wilamowitz.
2 στρατιάς Reiske: στρατείας.
3 After καλούμενοι Reiske adds καὶ κατὰ.
4 After ἄρχοντες Reiske adds καὶ.
5 ἡγεμόνας Crosby: κορυφαίως.
6 ἄλλοι Arnim: ἄλλου.
7 αἱ ποτὲ with P, αὐτὸ γε Arnim, αὐτὸ τοὐτο Pflugk: αὐ
tότε or αἱ τοτε or αὐτότε or αἱ ποτὲ.
THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

good fellow, but human beings too, if one should put any faith in Homer regarding these matters. But why did you not answer the original question?

Int. What question?

Dio. Whether there are indeed certain rulers of men.

Int. Why, of course there are.

Dio. Who are these? What do you call them? I am not speaking of those who rule soldiers in war, for those who are leaders of the army as a whole we are wont to call generals; just as also, considered unit by unit, the ruler of a company is called captain; of a regiment, colonel; of the fleet, admiral; and of a single triereme, trierarch; moreover, there are several others similarly named who in warfare exercise rule over small units, because at that time men need fullest care and leadership. Nor, as it happens, am I asking what the leaders of the choruses are called, who give orders to the singers and set the tune, nor am I asking about the leaders of symposia, nor about any others who for a single act or for a set time assume a certain oversight and control over a group of men; on the contrary, I mean rather those who at any time rule human beings in their activities as citizens, or in their farming, it may be, or simply in their living, as Cyrus, for example, ruled the Persians, Deioces the Medes, Hellen those named for

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1 Dio is alluding to Homer's frequent use of the phrase πολιτῶν λαῶν in connexion with the heroes of the Iliad.

2 E.g., the ἑυμοστάρχης, commander of a fourth of a company.

3 I.e., κορυφαῖος.

4 I.e., συμποσίαρχος.

5 Deioces was probably an historical character. Herodotus (i. 96-102) regards him as the founder of a united kingdom, ruling Media for more than half a century.
Δι' αυτοῦ ὀνομασθέντων καὶ Αἰώλος Ἀιολέων καὶ Δώρος Δωρίεων καὶ Νόμας Ῥωμαίων καὶ Δάρδανος Φρυγῶν.

5. 'Ἀλλ' οὔδὲν ἦρον χαλεπόν· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι οὐς σὺ νῦν ὄνομάζεις βασιλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ ἤσαν· καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῇ ἦν λέγεις τὸ καθόλου ἀνθρώπων ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἐπιτάττειν ἀνθρώπους ἀναπεύθυνον ὡστα βασιλεία καλεῖται.

6. Σὺ ἀρὰ οὐχ ἡγῇ βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείδῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοσοῦτον βασιλευσάντων χρόνων; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἐπιρράττον ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ περὶ πολλῶν ὑπῆκουν τοῖς ἐφόροις, οὔπερ, ότε κατέστη τοῦτο τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐν Σπάρτῃ Θεσσαλον φυγόντων βασιλεύοντος, πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκράτουν τῶν βασιλεῶν· ὡστε καὶ Παυσανίαν τὸν Κλεομβρότου τὸν νικήσαντα Πλαταιάς ἔβουλοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, καταφυγόντα δὲ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ ἄπεκτειναν, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ὑψησεν οὔτε ὅτι γένος ἢ τῶν Ἡρακλείδων οὔτε ὅτι παῖδα ἐπετρόπευεν οὔτε ὅτι τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπάσης ἤγησατο, οὐ μόνον τῆς Σπάρτης. ὑστερον δὲ Ἀγησίλαον πολεμοῦντα βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ περὶ Ἁρδέεων νευκικήτα μάχη καὶ κρατήσαντα πάσης τῆς κατω Ἀσίας υπηρέτην πέμψαντες ἐκάλουν παρ' αὑτοῦ καὶ δὲ

1 οὔπερ added by Crosby, σε Herwerden. Arnim noted lacuna.
2 γένος] γένους Reiske.
3 After παῖδα Gasda adds τὸν Δεονίδα.
4 παρ' αὑτοὺς Ειμπεριος: παρ' αὑτοῦ σοι πρὸς αὑτοὺς.

1 I.e., the Hellenes.
2 The Spartan kings traced their lineage to Heracles, who
THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

him, 1 Aeolus the Aeolians, Dorus the Dorians, Numa the Romans, and Dardanus the Phrygians.

Int. Why, your question is not a hard one; for all these whom you now name were called kings, and kings they were; and this rule of which you speak, whereby a man exercises general control over human beings and gives them orders without being accountable to them, is called kingship.

Dio. Then you do not regard as kingship the rule of the Heracleidae, who were kings in Lacedaemon for so long a time? 2 For they did not do everything according to their own pleasure, but in many matters they were subject to the ephors, who, once this office had been established in Sparta in the reign of Theopompus, 3 for their year of office had no less authority than the kings, insomuch that they wished to throw into prison even Pausanias son of Cleombrotus, the victor at Plataea, and when he had fled for refuge to the shrine of Athena, they killed him there, 4 and it profited him nothing that he was of the line of the Heracleidae, or that he was guardian of a boy, 5 or that he had been leader of all Hellas and not of Sparta alone. And later on, when Agesilaus was at war with the Great King and had been victorious in battle in the neighbourhood of Sardis and had gained control over all lower Asia, the ephors sent a subordinate to summon him home;

had been given sovereignty over Lacedaemon by Aegimius, 4 king of Thessaly.

1 Five ephors were elected annually. Some ancient authorities ascribed the institution of that office to Theopompus, others to Lycurgus. Their authority and functions are treated by Aristotle, Politics 5. 9. 1.

2 They walled up the shrine, so that he starved to death.

3 He was regent for Pleistarchus son of Leonidas.
οὐδεμίαν ἦμεραν ἀνεβάλετο, τοσούτων μὲν Ἐλλήνων, τοσούτων δὲ βαρβάρων γεγονός κύριος. οὐκ ἀρα ὑπήρχε βασιλεῖς τῆς Σπάρτης Ἀχιλλαος, ὡς ὑπήκοοις ἑτέροις ἄρχοντες;

Καὶ πῶς ἂν εἶν τὸν βασιλεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀκριβῆ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας λόγοι;

8 Ἀρα οὐδὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν ὸλίῳ φήσεις βασιλεύειν Ἀργείων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, ὡς εἰχε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτροπον ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον, Νέστορα τὸν Πύλιον; κάκείνων κελεύοντο τὸ τεῖχος ὕψοις ὑπομείνῃ τὸ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν τάφρον περιεβάλοντο ἐρύμα τοῦ ναυστάθμου, καὶ δείξειν εἰς τάξεις τὸν στρατον ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, πρότερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰκῇ μαχόμενον, πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἰππέας, φύρδην ἀπάντων ἀναμεμγένων, Πυλίων τε καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Βουωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ οὐστερον αὐτῷ προσέταξε κατὰ φύλα διαμείνῃ τὸν στρατὸν,

ὡς φρήτηρ φρήτηρφιν ἀργήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις.

9 οὐτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔφη, γνώσῃ τοὺς τε ἄγαθους καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, δὴλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἦμα διδάσκων τῆς ὧφελείας τὸ μέγεθος.

Καὶ τὸ βουλόμενος οὕτως ἔποιει;

Δ. "Ἰνα. ἐπίστηται καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγικὴν τέχνην ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων. οὕτως δὲ πάνω ἦν κατήκοος τοῦ Νέστορος, ὡστε οὐ μόνον, εἰ τι προσέταττεν αὐτὸς παρὸν, τούτο ἔποιει

1 For the recall of Agesilaüs, see Xenophon, Hellenica 4. 2. 1-3.
2 Iliad 7. 327-344.
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and Agesilaüs did not delay a single day,¹ although he had gained authority over so many Greeks and so many barbarians. Was Agesilaüs, then, not king of Sparta, since he was subject to other rulers?

_Int._ Why, how could these be kings in the strict sense of kingship?

_Dio._ Will you, then, hold that not even Agamemnon was king of both Argives and Achaeans at Ilium, since he had an older man as supervisor of his rule, Nestor of Pylus? Moreover, it was at that man’s bidding that the wall about the ships was built and the trench dug about it as protection for the naval station,² and at his direction too Agamemnon divided the army into detachments, though previously, as it would seem, it had fought without organization, both infantry and cavalry, all being mixed together in confusion, both Pylians and Argives and Arcadians and Bocotians. However, Nestor later bade him divide the army by tribes,

That phratry may aid phratry and tribe aid tribe.³

"Moreover," said he, "in this way wilt thou recognize both the valorous and the cowardly among thy leaders"—but if among the leaders, obviously among the common soldiers too—and at the same time he explained the magnitude of the advantage that would result.

_Int._ And with what purpose did Nestor do this?

_Dio._ In order that even after Nestor’s death Agamemnon might understand the art of generalship. But Agamemnon was so wholly obedient to Nestor that he not only did eagerly anything Nestor com-


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προθύμως, ἀλλ' οὔδε εἰ τι ὤναρ ψήθη Νέστορα λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν οὔδε τοῦτο παρέλειπε. τὸ γοῦν ὄναρ τὸ περὶ τῆς μάχης οὕτως ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτόν, Νέστορι ἀπεικασθέν.

10 Ὡσπερ δὲ τῷ Νέστορι ὑπήκουε δοκοῦντι φρο-νιμωτάτῳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' οὔδε ἄνευ τῶν γερόν-των οὔδὲν ἐπράττεν. ὅποτε γοῦν ἐμελλεν ἐξάγειν τὸν στρατὸν τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ πεισθείς, οὐ πρότερον ἐξήγαγε πρὶν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν γερόντων ἐκάθισε παρὰ τῇ νῆθῃ, τῇ Νέστορος, οὔδὲ τὴν πείραν, ἢν ἐβούλευτο λαβεῖν τοῦ πλῆθους, εἰ ἦτο μένειν ἐβούλευτο καὶ διαπολεμεῖν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως μηρύοντος, οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπειράθη, πρὶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν πρῶτον εἰσήγησεν. οἵ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀπροβούλευτα ψηφίσματα οὐκ ἄκουον εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσφέρειν. ἕκεινος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων βουλευτῶν οὕτως ἐμέμνητο εἰς τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τῆς καταστά-σεως τοῦ πολέμου.

11 Τούτῳ μὲν οὔδὲν ἄτοπον, εἷς βασιλεὺς ὁν μετ-εδίδον λόγου τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ σύμβουλον εἰχε διὰ γῆρας πιστευόμενον, αὐτὸς ὅν κύριος ἀπάντων τῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπει διὰ τὶν τῇ τῷ Ἡρακλείδα οὕτως ἐποίησεν οὐ πεισθείς τῷ Νέστορι τῷ ἑλτίστῳ; 3

δ. Ὡσπερ δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐ πει-θόμενοι τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν οὔδε τοῖς νόμοις πολλὰ πράττουσι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ ὅν καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας

1 διὰ τὶν αὐτίκα Arnim.
2 After οὕτως Reiske adds αἰαχρός.
3 τῷ ἑλτίστῳ] τῷ ἑλτιστῶν Arnim.

1 Iliad 2. 16-47. Homer treats the dream as a person,
manded in person, but even if in a dream he imagined that Nestor was saying something, he would not disregard that either. For instance, the dream about the battle deceived him in this way, because of its resemblance to Nestor.¹

However, he was not only obedient to Nestor, who was deemed the wisest of the Achaeans, but also he would not attempt anything without the elders. For instance, when he was about to lead forth his army in obedience to the dream, he did not do so until the council of the elders had held a session by the ship of Nestor.² Moreover, with regard to the test which he wished to make of the army, to see if it was willing to remain longer and fight it out despite the wrath of Achilles, he did not make the test in any other way before first consulting the council.³ On the other hand, most demagogues do not hesitate to bring before the popular assembly measures which have not been passed upon by the council. Yet Agamemnon conferred with the elders, and only then reported to the soldiery on the state of the war.

Int. This is nothing strange, that, king though he was, he gave the others a chance to be heard and had an advisor who was trusted because of his years, though he himself had full authority in all matters. Else why did he act as he did in the matter of Briseis instead of obeying the most noble Nestor? ⁴

Dio. Why, it is just like the case of many men in private station who, not obeying their rulers or the laws, commit many unlawful acts, acts for which they serving as a messenger of Zeus and taking upon himself the likeness of Nestor.

¹ Ibid. 2. 53-54.
² Ibid. 2. 72-75.
³ Ibid. 1. 275-276.
⁴ Ibid. 1. 275-276.
DIO CHrysostom

ύπέχουσιν οὐκοῦν ἀχθέντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ζημιοῦνταί  ἃς ἂν ἐκαστοὶ δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι ζημίας.
Πάνυ γε,

12 δ. Τί οὖν; Ἄγαμέμνον οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τότε ἀπειθήσασι ὑστερον εὐθύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέστορος, ὃπηνίκα αὐτοῖς κατηγορεῖ τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης ἐν τοῖς φιλομιστάτοις τῶν συμμάχων, τοῖς ἡγεμόνις αὐτοῖς, τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπάγων διὰ τῷ χρῆ παθεῖν ἡ ἀπότισαι, κατηγορίαν χαλασωτάτην, ἀτε δεινὸς ὄν ἁθητῷ, λέγων ὅτι πάλαι βαρέως ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασιν.

13 ἔξετε τοῦ, ὅτε, διογενέσ, Βρυσῆδα κουρην χωμομένον Ἀχιλῆος ἔβης κλισίθεν ἀπούρας οὐτί καθ ήμέτερόν γε νόον, μάλα γὰρ τοι ἔγγυε πόλλα ἀπεμυθεόμην· σὺ δὲ σῷ μεγαλήτορι θυμῶ εἶχας ἀνδρά φέριστον, ὃν ἀθάνατον περ ἐπισαν, ἡτίμησας· ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχεις γέρας· ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν φραζόμεσθα.

14 καὶ νὴ Δία γε οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς εὐθυνε τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζημίαν ἐπήγαγε τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος πασῶν βαρυτάτην. κελεύει γὰρ αὐτοῖς δεισθῆναι τοῦ Ἀχιλλεώς καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ὅπως πείσῃ τὸν ἀνδρα. καὶ δὲ ύποτιμάται χρημάτων τὸ πρῶτον, ὦστε αἱ ἀλόντες τοῖς δικαστήριοις, ὡς φησὶν ἀποτίσαι δύνασθαι ἀντὶ τῆς ὑβρεως· εἶτα τὰ τὲ ἄλλα καὶ ὅρκον ύποδέχεται ὁμόσειν σφαγίων γενομένων περὶ τῆς Βρυσῆδος, ἡ μὴν αὐτῆς μηδὲ 15 ἅφασθαι λαβών· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ μόνου μεταγαγεῖν ἀπὸ

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1 Before ζημιοῦντα Dindorf deletes τὴν ἄρχην.
2 tois ēgemosin autois deleted by Arnim.
3 tois ēgemosin..., ἡ ἀπότισαι deleted by Emperius.
4 eita added by Crosby, καὶ Reiske.

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even have to submit to an accounting; so when they are brought before the court they are subjected to whatever penalty they severally are thought to merit.

Int. Certainly.

Dio. Well then, does it not seem to you that Agamemnon, because he disobeyed on that occasion, was later called to account by Nestor? I refer to the passage in which Nestor accuses him of that act in the presence of the wisest of the allies, the leaders themselves, adding what he was to suffer or to pay by way of penalty, a most grievous arraignment—for he was an able speaker—wherein he says he has long been troubled by Agamemnon's conduct:

E'er since that day, oh son of Zeus, when thou Didst go and snatch Briseis from the tent, Despite Achilles' rage, and not at all As I was minded. Many words I spake Against it; yet to thy proud heart thou didst Submit, dishonouring the bravest man, Whom e'en the gods had honoured; for his prize Thou hast by seizure; still let us plan e'en now. ¹

And, by the gods, he not only called him to account by his words but even laid upon him the heaviest penalty of all for his misconduct. For he bids him entreat Achilles and go to all lengths to persuade him. And Agamemnon, like men convicted in the courts, first makes a counter proposal of a fine, such as he says he is able to pay, as compensation for his insult; then, among other things, he undertakes to offer sacrifice and to swear an oath regarding Briseis, that he has not even touched her since the day he took her from Achilles; and in payment for merely

¹ Iliad 9. 106-112.
 Dio Chrysostom

σκηνής ἐπὶ σκηνήν χρυσίον ἐπαγγέλλεται δώσειν πολὺ καὶ ἵππους καὶ τρίποδας καὶ λέβητας καὶ γυναίκας καὶ πόλεις· τελευταῖον δὲ, ὡς οὖν δῦν ἵκανόν, τῶν θυγατέρων τριῶν οὐσῶν ἢν ἄν βούληται συνοικεῖν. ὅπερ ούδείς πώποτε κατεκρίθη παθεῖν, ἀντὶ θεραπαϊσι, καὶ ταύτης αἰχμαλώτου, μηδὲν παθοῦσι, ἀναγκασθήναι συνοικίσαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπὶ προκεί μεγάλη ἄνευ ἐδυν. καίτοι τῆς δίκης ταύτης οὐδεμίαν ιὸμεν ἰδιωτικὴν δίκην πικρότερον κριθέσαι.

16 Ὁρὰ σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς θεῶν ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχεῖν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ πάνω ἀκριβεῖς ὑπέχειν εὐθύνας ἀπάντων ἢν ἐπραπτεῖν; περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐὰν χων ἰκανῶς εἰρημένων, ἐπὶ ἄλλον δὲ τινὰ ιὸμεν.

Μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πειράθη τίνα εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἔχεις ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος, ὡς ἐγὼ μόλις ἀρτίως συνίημι τοῦ λόγου τῆς ὑπόθεσιν. οὐ μεῖ γάρ σε περὶ ἀρχῆς ἢ βασιλείας ἢ τοιοῦτον τι βουλεύομαι λέγειν.

1 δὲ Emperius: ἤ λ.
2 συνοικείν] συνοικεῖν Geel.
3 ἀναγκασθήναι Crosby, ἀναγκάσαται Geel: ἀναγκάσαι, which Dindorf deletes.
4 καίτοι τῆς δίκης . . . κριθέσαι deleted by Emperius.
5 ἔχεις Geel: λέγεις.

having removed her from one tent to another, he offers to give much gold, horses, tripods, cauldrons, women, and cities; and finally, thinking this not enough, he offers Achilles whichever of his three daughters he may desire to have as wife.\(^1\) Such a penalty no man had ever been condemned to undergo—in payment for a maidservant, and her a captive woman, although she had suffered no harm, to be forced to give his own daughter in marriage, together with a huge dower, and without any presents from the groom!\(^2\) In truth we know of no suit involving a man in private station that has received a more bitter decision than this one.

Does it seem to you, in Heaven's name, that Agamemnon ruled the Greeks without being subject to an accounting, and that he did not give very strict account for all he did? Very well, let us drop our discussion of these matters just here, since they were dealt with adequately yesterday, and let us turn to some other topic.

*Int.* Nay, by Heaven, rather try to say all you can upon the same topic, since I am now at last just beginning to understand the drift of your argument. For I imagine you wish to discuss government or kingship or some such thing.

\(^2\) The bride of epic days brought no dower. The astounding list of items promised by Agamemnon, not all of which are named by Dio, were in satisfaction for wounded pride. Possibly Dio was being facetious.
THE FIFTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: NESTOR

This little Discourse has as its immediate aim a defence of Nestor’s behaviour in the famous passage in the first book of the Iliad, in which he seems to boast of his former prowess and importance. Dio maintains with some skill, not only that Homer intended the old man to speak as he did, but also that he did not mean to depict him as a braggart—the self-praise of Nestor was to serve the useful purpose of checking the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles.

Having made his point, Dio (§ 10) lets his audience into the secret that his sermon on Nestor was really designed to forestall possible criticism of himself when he should presently deliver an address which he had previously delivered before the Emperor. The emperor in question was doubtless Trajan, and the speech to which our Discourse was to serve as prelude may well have been one of Dio’s four discourses On Kingship; see Vol. I of the Loeb Library edition and the Introductions. Such is the view of Arnim, who dates our Discourse in Dio’s latest period and finds in it evidence of what he takes to have been the speaker’s frequent practice, the repetition of speeches previously delivered somewhere else. If one may hazard a guess as to which of the four speeches just mentioned Dio was about to repeat, Or. 2 seems a natural choice, for it is full of Homeric quotations and illustrations selected for their edifying quality, attention is called to Homer’s admiration for oratory, and Nestor himself is twice mentioned in that connexion (§§ 18-24).
57. ΝΕΣΤΩΡ

1 Διὰ τι ποτε δοκεῖ ὑμῖν ὁμηρος Νέστορα ποιήσαι τάδε τὰ ἔπη εἰπεῖν πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, παραμυθούμενοι αὐτοὺς καὶ διδάσκοντα μὴ διαφέρεσθαι ἀλλήλοις:

ηδὴ γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἥπερ ὑμῖν ἀνδράσιν ὁμήλησα, καὶ οὕποτε μ' οἴ γ' ἀθέριζον, οὐ γάρ πω τοῖς ἵδοι ἀνέρας οὔδε ἰδωμαί, οἶον Πειρίθοον τε Δρύαντα τε ποιμένα λαῶν, Καυνέα τ' Ἑξάδιον τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολυφήμον, Θησέα τ' Ἀγείδην εἰπείκελον ἀθανάτουσι.

κάρτιστοι δὴ κείνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἄνδρῶν κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο φηροί ὀρεσκῶσι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλησαν, καὶ μὲν μεν βουλέων εὐνοῖον πείθοντο τε μῦθω, ἀλλὰ πλέον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἀμενον.

2 ἀρα μὴ ἀλαξόνα πεποίηκε τὸν Νέστορα λέγοντα περὶ τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ Δρύαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧτι θαυμαστοὶ τε φύσει ὅντες καὶ πολὺ κρείττους

1 ὁμηρος Νέστορα Crosby: Νέστορος ὁμηρος (περὶ νέστορος U, ὁ ὁμηρος UB).
2 εἰπεῖν added by Crosby.
3 παραμυθούμενοι παραμυθοῦμενα or παραμυθούμενον Reiske.

1 Iliad 1. 260-268 and 273-274. The reference is to the famous fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the marriage of the Lapith Peirithoüs, an adventure familiar in 418
THE FIFTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE:
NESTOR

Why in the world do you suppose Homer caused Nestor to speak the following verses to Agamemnon and Achilles when he was trying to pacify them and teach them not to quarrel with one another?

For once in bygone days I dealt with men
Still braver than ye are, yet they did ne'er
Make light of me. Such men I had not seen,
Nor ever shall, as were Peirithoüs
And Dryas, shepherd of the soldiery,
And Caeneus and Exadius, Polypheme
Divine and Theseus son of Aegeus, like
The deathless gods. Aye, they were reared most strong
Of earthly men; most strong were they and with
The strongest strove, wild creatures of the hills,
And slew them ruthlessly. They understood
My counsels and they hearkened to my word.
And so should ye, since hearkening is best.¹

Can it be that Homer has made a braggart of Nestor
when he says of Peirithoüs and Dryas and the others
that, though they were not only marvellous by nature,
but also far superior to Agamemnon and Achilles, still
Greek art, having been used for the western pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia, on the shield of the Athena Promachus, and in the decoration of the Hephaesteum at Athens.
ἐκείνων¹ προσεδέοντο τῆς αὐτοῦ² διανοίας, καὶ ἦκε μετάπεμπτος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐκ Πῦλου δεομένων ἔσωνταί καὶ διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ; τί³ γὰρ εἴποι ὅτι κράτεστοι ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν, ὡς μέγα τι μαρτυρεῖν ἐσοικεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔσωντα τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις; ἡ τούτῳ μὲν σχεδὸν τὸ ὁδ ἕνεκά φαμεν πάσι τοῖς ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν οὐδὲν ὑποτε οὐδεὶς ἀπειθεῖ⁶ τῶν ἔσωσταιν· ἀλλ' ἐστιν ἡ ἀπειθεία ταύτων ἐξουσία;

3 Φέρε δὴ καὶ ταλλα σκεφώμεθα, πότερον ὀρθῶς εἴρηκεν ἡ δὲ ἀλαζονείαν. οὐκοιν οἱ ἀνόητοι πάντες καταφρονοῦσι τῶν ἀδόξων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐδὲν προσέχουσι τούτους, οὐδ' ἂν τύχοι τὰ ἀρίστα συμβουλεύοντες· οὐς δὲ ἂν ἴδωσι τιμωθένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἡ τῶν μέγιστα δυναμένων, οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦσι πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς. ἐνδὸς μὲν οὖν τούτου χάρων ὁ Νέστωρ συνίστησιν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πολλοὺς καὶ δυνατοὺς πρότερον ἱδυνήθη πείσαι καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν⁶ ἁφροσύνην καὶ ἀνασθησίαν ἀπειθήσουσιν, ἃν ἀπειθῶσι, οὕς ὡς ἄδυνατον ὄντος αὐτοῦ συμβουλεύσεσαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἀσπερ οὖν εἰ λοιποὸν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων ὅτι μηδέποτε μηδεῖς ἢξώσειν αὐτῶ συμβουλεύσεσαι περὶ μηδενὸς ἔμελλε προτρέπειν τὸν 'Αγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλ-

¹ ἐκείνων Gasda: ἐκείνου. ² αὐτοῦ Crosby: αὐτοῦ. ³ τί Crosby: ἦν, which Arnim suspected. ⁴ τὸ added by Capps. ⁵ ἀπειθεῖ Emperius: πειθεῖ or πειθεῖ. ⁶ αὐτῶν Crosby: αὐτῶν.

¹ Dio here gives a rough paraphrase of lines 269-270 of the passage from which he has just quoted. Either he or the copyist omitted lines 271 and 272 because of homosearchon.
they wanted his opinion too, going on to say that he had come from Pylus to Thessaly by invitation, since they wanted to enjoy his company and to converse with him?¹ For why, after having said that they were the strongest of men, does Nestor seem to offer as a weighty testimonial in their favour, that they understood his mind and hearkened to his words? Or do we say his purpose was virtually this—that no man of understanding ever disobeys those whose words are right; nay, disobedience is tantamount to lack of understanding?²

Come then, let us examine also the other aspects of the case, to see if Nestor has spoken rightly or as a braggart. Certainly foolish persons universally scorn men of no reputation and pay no heed to them, even though they may chance to be giving most excellent advice; but, on the other hand, when they see men being honoured by the multitude or by persons of greatest power, they do not disdain to be guided by them. This is one count, therefore, on which Nestor commends himself, namely, that in days gone by he has been able to persuade many men of influence, and that Agamemnon and Achilles will refuse to obey, if they do refuse, because of their own folly and lack of perception, and not because Nestor is incompetent to give advice about things of highest importance. Accordingly, just as Nestor would not have hesitated to disparage himself, if by disparaging and saying that no one ever deigned to consult him about anything he were likely to move Agamemnon

² Familiar Stoic doctrine, that virtue is dependent upon reason. In this the Stoics were anticipated by Socrates, who made of it a fundamental tenet. Cf. Xenophon, Memorabilia 3. 9. 4-5, Plato, Meno 78 a, and Protagoras 358 c.
λέα πείθεσθαι τοὺς λόγοις, οὐκ ἂν ὠκνήσει λοι- 
δορεῖν· οὗτος εἰ τὸν ἔπαινον ἥτετο παρορμτήσειν 
πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο, εἰκότως ἔστην. ἦ οὐκ ἀνοήτου ἀν-
5 θρόπου ἐστὶν αἰσχύνεσθαι αὐτὸν1 ἔπαινειν μέλλοντα 
τὰ2 μέγιστα ὄνησειν· ὁσπερ, οἷμαι, καὶ τοῦναντίον, 
σεμνύσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις, εἰ 
κινδυνῶσος τις ἡ βλάβη προσείη; καθάπερ οὖν ὁταν 
ιατρὸς βουλόμενος τεμεῖν τινα ἡ καθαί παρασχεῖν 
αὐτὸν ἡ πιέων φάρμακον ἀθηδες, δειλόν εἰδὼς τὸν 
ἀνθρωπον καὶ ἀνόητον, ἐτέρων μνημονεύῃ τῶν ὑφ᾽ 
αὐτοῦ σωθέντων διὰ τὸ πειθέντας ὑπομεῖναι τὴν 
θεραπείαν, οὖδεὶς φθονὶν ἀλαζονεύσεθαι τὸν ταύτα 
6 λέγοντα· δοκεῖ μοι δικαίως ἂν μηδὲ ὁ Νέστωρ 
αὐτίαν ἔχειν ἀλαζονείας.

Εν μὲν δὴ τὸ τοῦτο ὑπήρχεν ὀφελος ἐκ τῶν λόγων: 
ἐτερον δὲ· καὶ τὸν Ἁγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα 
ἡπίστατο οὐκ ἄλλως ἀμαρτάνοντας ἢ δι᾽ ὑβριδί 
ὑβρίζειν δὲ ἡγεῖτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τότε μάλιστα 
σχεδὸν, ἔπειδὰν καταφρονώσαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ νομί-
ζων πολὺ χείρος αὐτῶν, ἐπαιρόμενοι διὰ δόξαν 
ἡ δύναμιν, καὶ τὸν3 Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Ἁγαμέμνονα 
ἐγίγνωσκε διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαιρομένους καὶ στασιά-
ζοντας ὑπὸ μεγαλυγίας ἕκατερον. ὃ μὲν γὰρ 
ἀτότοις, Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος τίς ὃν καὶ τῶν τότε 
ἀνθρώπων διαφέρων ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι, προσήκειν 
αὐτῷ4 μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς ὑπακούειν μηδὲ κρείττονα 
7 νομίζειν αὐτοῦ μηδένα· τῷ δὲ Ἁγαμέμνονι τῆς 
ὑβρεως αὐτοῦν ὑπήρχεν ἡ δύναμις ἡ τῆς βασιλείας 
καὶ τὸ μόνον ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντων. ὑπὸ

1 αὐτὸν Emperius: αὐτόν.  
2 τὰ added by Reiske.  
3 καὶ τὸν Arnim: ἡ καὶ τῶν or ἡ καὶ τῶν or ἡ τῶν.  
4 αὐτῷ Arnim: αὐτῷ.
and Achilles to obey his words, so, if he thought his self-praise would move them to this, it was reasonable for him to resort to praise. Or is it not the mark of a foolish person to be ashamed to praise himself when by praise he is likely to confer the greatest benefits; just as it is also, I fancy, to do the opposite—put on airs and talk about oneself a great deal, in case some risk or loss should be involved? Therefore, just as when a physician who wants a patient to submit to surgery or cautery or to the drinking of some unpleasant drug, knowing the patient to be cowardly and foolish, mentions others who have been saved by him because they willingly submitted to his treatment, no one says the man who makes these statements is bragging, so it seems to me that Nestor could not justly be accused of bragging either.

This, then, was one benefit resulting from his words. And here is another—Nestor knew that both Agamemnon and Achilles were misbehaving for no other reason than because of insolence; and he believed that men are insolent most of all, one might say, when they despise the others and deem them far inferior to themselves, being puffed up through reputation or power, and he perceived that this was why Achilles and Agamemnon were puffed up and wrangling, each of them because of arrogance. For the one, as he saw, being a son of Peleus and Thetis and pre-eminent among the men of his day in fighting, believed that it beffitted his dignity not to listen to anyone at all, or to regard anyone as superior to himself; but in Agamemnon’s case the cause of his arrogance was the power attached to his kingship and his being sole ruler of all the Greeks. Seeing, there-
δὴ τούτων δρῶν αυτοὺς διεφθαρμένους καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ὁμονοεῖν ἄλληλοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχὰς οἰδοῦντας, ὡς ὑπερῶν φησιν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀλλὰ μοι οἰδάνεται κραδὴ χόλων.

ἐβούλετο ταπεινώσαι καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ δύνατο, καθελεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ οἰδοῦντα νύξαντες ἢ πιέσαντες. διὰ τούτῳ ἐμέμνητο ἄνδρῶν ἐνδόξων καὶ δυνατῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ, οἶμαι, πρότερον γεγονότων, 8 εἰδὼς ἐκείνους μᾶλλον συνεπομένην τὴν δόξαν. καὶ μέντοι γε οὐκ ἔπει ἀυτοὺς ἐπονήσατο τίνα γνώμην ἔξονοι περὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἀποφαίνεται ἀντικρός ὡς πολὺ κρείττονας ἐκείνους ὁντας, εἰ δύναμις ὁλίγον υφεῖναι τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῆς μανίας.

Ἀρα εἰκῇ δοκεῖ ὡμίς ὁμήρος περιθείναι τοὺς λόγους τούτους Νέστορι, οὐ φησι δεινότατον εἶναι ἄνθρώπων καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων προσευκάζει τῇ φύσει τοῦ μέλιτος, ὁ τοῖς μὲν υγιαίνουσιν ἤδιστον καὶ γλυκύτατον ἀπάντων, τοῖς δὲ νοσοῦσι καὶ πυρέττουσι, ὡς φασιν, ἀγήστατον καὶ τὰ ἥλκωμένα καὶ πεπονθότα καθαίρειν καὶ δάκνειν 9 πέφυκεν; καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Νέστορος λόγος, τοῖς ἄλλοις γλυκύς φαινόμενος, πικρὸς ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι, νοσοῦσι καὶ διεφθαρμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, ὡστε οὖν ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν

1 ἐκείνους Post: ἐκεῖνων.

1 Iliad 9. 646.
2 I.e., the heroes Nestor had named.
3 Although all the mss. read ἐκεῖνων, Post's emendation (see critical note) is justified both by the immediate context and by the passages from the Iliad cited by Dio. The very
fore, that they had been spoiled by these things and could not live at peace with one another, but that they were swollen in spirit—as later Achilles declares,

My heart with wrath doth swell—

Nestor wished to humble them and, if possible, reduce their pride, just as persons reduce swellings by pricking or squeezing. This explains why he mentioned men of fame and power, and besides, I fancy, men of former times, knowing as he did that fame attaches rather to such men. Moreover, he did not leave to his hearers to determine what opinion they should hold about the men, but instead he himself expressly declares that they were far superior to Agamemnon and Achilles, in the hope that they might abate somewhat their folly and madness.

Do you think, I ask you, that Homer put these words into Nestor's mouth at random, the Nestor whom he declares to be most eloquent of men and whose power of eloquence he likens to the sweetness of honey, which is most pleasant and sweetest of all to those who are well, though to those who are ill and suffering from fever, so I hear, it is most unpleasant and has the natural power of cleansing and causing to smart parts which are festered and diseased? For instance, the speech of Nestor, though it appeared sweet to the others, seemed bitter to Achilles and Agamemnon, diseased as they were and corrupted by their rage, and as a result they did not obey him

point of Iliad 1. 260-274 is that, since better men than Agamemnon and Achilles had hearkened to Nestor's words, they should do so too, and the superiority of the earlier heroes is made most explicit by lines 260-263, as well as by 271-272, which Dio failed to cite.

* Iliad 1. 247-249.
díο chrysóstom

ἀνοιαν ὁὐκοῦν ὁὐδὲ τὸῦτο εἰπε μάτην ὁμιρος, ὁὐδὲ, ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, ἀπὸ τύχης.

10 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτων ἐδώμεν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐνθυμηθήναι ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων· εάν τις ἄνθρωποι ὁμιλῶν διηγήται πρὸς αὐτούς ὦτι καὶ πρότερον ἄλλοις ὁμιλήσας πολὺ κρείττοσι, δήμους ἡ βασιλεύσιν ἡ τυράννοις, οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας καὶ πειθομένους, εἴ δικαίος ἐστιν ἀλαξών δοκεῖν, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μεμημένος ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων ἐνα ψαρμάζοτο καὶ δοκεῖ καὶ μακάριος, ἡ μάλλον ἐνα πειθομένους ἔχοι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, μμούμενος τὴν τοῦ Ὅστουρος διδα-

11 σκαλιάν. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, εἴ Σωκράτης μὲν τοὺς ἐν Λυκείῳ ῥηθέντας λόγους ὀλίγους μεταβᾶς ἀπ᾿ ἡγγελλε τοῖς ἐν Ἅκαδημίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἅκαδημίᾳ πάλιν εἰς τὸ Λύκειον ἑλθὼν οὐκ ἠκνεὶ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοσοῦτος ἢ ἡ χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ τὰς αὐτὰς διδάσκοντο τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας. ἥμεις δὲ

1 After τύχης the ms. read: ἡ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν τὰ παιδία, ὃν νέμειται τὸ στόμα καὶ διεθηρμένον ἐστὶν ὑπὸ ἐλκών, οὐκ ἂγανακτεῖ καὶ βοών, μέλιτος γενόμενα; Or do you think that children whose mouths are ravaged and ruined by sores do not exhibit distress and cry out when they taste honey? Empierius suspected the passage and Crosby deletes.

2 ἔχοι Wilamowitz: ἔχω or ἔχει.

3 τὰς αὐτὰς Casaubon: τοσαῦτας.

1 The Academy and the Lyceum, both famous public parks and associated with the schools of Plato and Aristotle respectively, were situated on opposite sides of the city, the distance between them being not less than two miles. Socrates was especially fond of the Lyceum, but the beginning of the Lysis finds him on the way there from the Academy. Plato’s dialogues seem to afford no support for Dio’s state-
THE FIFTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

because of their folly. Therefore Homer did not say this at random either or, as some imagine, by chance.

Well then, let us say no more on these topics. However, there is one matter which calls for consideration in the light of what has been said. Suppose that some one in addressing ordinary men tells them that on a previous occasion, having addressed others who were far superior—popular assemblies or kings or tyrants—he did not fail of his purpose with them but secured their attention and compliance, is it just that such a man should be thought a braggart, on the assumption that he had mentioned those words of his for the purpose of being admired and deemed a genius, or was it rather for the purpose of having the compliance of his hearers, imitating the teaching of Nestor? For indeed it is odd if, while Socrates was accustomed to walk but a short distance and then report to those in the Academy the words he had spoken in the Lyceum and, vice versa, had no reluctance to go to the Lyceum and use the words he had spoken in the Academy,¹ and while it has now been so long a time since they² began to bring out the same tragedies and comedies year after year,

ment that Socrates was used to going from the one place to the other and repeating his remarks, and the intervening distance could hardly be termed "short"—unless compared with that travelled by Dio on his return from Trajan's court. See Introduction.

¹ Dio seems to refer to the Athenians. With the notable exception of Aeschylus, whose plays were permitted to be revived after his death, in the fifth century the great dramatic festivals of Athens regularly provided new plays. However, old tragedies formed a feature of the programme beginning in 386 B.C. and old comedies beginning in 339 B.C. Cf. I.G. II², 2318, lines 202 ff. and 317 ff., and Flickinger, Greek Theater and its Drama, pp. 203-204.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀτοπον δόξομεν ποιεῖν, ἐπειδή βουλεσθε ἀκροάσθαι λόγων τινῶν, τοὺς ῥηθέντας πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα νῦν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ὥς οὐ διαφέρον εἰδέναι πότερον ὁφέλιμοι καὶ χρήσιμοι καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπασίαν ἐκεῖνοι, ἡ φαύλοι καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς. 12 εὖ γὰρ οὖσε ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οἱ λεγόμενοι λόγοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι τείνουσι καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ταῖς δημοσίαις ἐσόκασιν εὐχαίς ἢ κατάρασις. Ὁτεν εἰς τὸν Πέρσην οὖτε τάλλα νομίζω φρόνιμον οὖτε ὅτι τοὺς τυχόντας ἄνθρώπους πανταχῇ διέπεμπεν, ὅταν βασιλέως καλουμένους, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνοι ἄκοιν ἐπέτρεπε, δέον φυλάττεσθαι τὰ βασιλεῖσ τῶν πολύ μᾶλλον τῆς χρυσῆς πλατάνου, μή τι δυσχερὲς ἀκούσθης καὶ βλαβερόν.

1 ἐκεῖνοi Emperius : ηκανοὶ.

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1 See Introduction.
2 The functionary called the King’s Eye is mentioned as early as the Persians of Aeschylus (line 979), with which cf. also Herodotus 1. 114 and Aristophanes, Icarnians 91-97. The King’s Ears are referred to first by Xenophon, Cyropædia 7. 2. 10-12, who says that there were several of them.
3 According to Herodotus (7. 27) the golden plane-tree was
THE FIFTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

we, on the other hand, shall be thought to be acting strangely in case, when you wish to listen to speeches, we now report the words we have spoken in the presence of the Emperor,1 as if it were a matter of no consequence to know whether those words are beneficial and serviceable, both for you and for the rest of mankind as well, or trivial and useless. For rest assured that, while words addressed to private persons pertain to those men themselves and to few others, words addressed to kings are like public prayers or imprecations. For that reason I believe the Persian king was especially unwise in being accustomed to dispatch in all directions ordinary persons, King’s Ears 2 as they were called, and to entrust them with the responsibility of listening to everything, it being necessary to protect the real ears of the king much more carefully than the golden plane-tree,3 to prevent their hearing anything disagreeable and harmful.

presented to Darius the Great by Pythius of Lydia. Xenophon, Hellenica 7. 1. 38, relates that Antiochus of Arcadia scornfully declared that the tree could not afford shade for a grasshopper. However that may be, it was cherished in the royal treasury at Susa and regarded as one of the marvels of the world. It was melted down by Antigonus in 316 B.C.
THE FIFTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: 
ACHILLES

This lively little sketch, whose spirit resembles strongly that of many of the dialogues of Lucian, is regarded by Arnim as a paraphrase of some dramatic composition, either a satyr play or some Cynic tragedy. The space devoted to a discussion of the relative merits of hoplite and archer reminds him of a similar discussion in the *Heracles* of Euripides (157-164 and 188-203), a play supposed to have been composed about the year 420 B.C., and he therefore suspects Dio’s original to have come from about that period, a period when, for some unknown reason, that topic was of live interest at Athens. Sophocles wrote a satyr play called *Achilles’ Lovers*, which might have been the play here used by Dio.

The tradition according to which Cheiron the Centaur was tutor to Achilles is as old as Homer (*Iliad* 11. 830-832). According to Apollodorus, *Bibl. 3. 13. 6-8*, Thetis, detected by Peleus in the act of making Achilles immortal by passing him through the fire, abandoned her baby and her home and rejoined the Nereids. Thereupon Peleus entrusted the babe to Cheiron. But when Achilles was nine years of age, Thetis, having heard of the prophecy of Calchas, that Troy could not be taken without the aid of Achilles, and knowing that if he took part in the expedition he would meet his death, took him and dressed him as a girl and placed him in the care of Lycomedes on the island of Scyros. We must, therefore, suppose the lad to be not older than nine at the time of our Discourse.
58. ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ

1. 'Ο Ἀχιλλεύς τὸν Χείρωνα ἤρετο, Τί μ', ἔφη, τοξεύειν διδάσκεις; "Οτι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔστιν. Δειλῶν, ἔφη, τὸ ἐργὸν ἐπὶ δειλοὺς. Πῶς; ἔφη. "Ο γε οὐκ ἐὰν τὸν πολέμιον ἐγγὺς προσελθεῖν. "Ο γε οὐκ ἐὰν τὸν πολέμιον μακρὰν ἀπελθεῖν. Φευγόντων τὸ ὀπλοῦ. Οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. Αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας αἴρεῖν. Βράδιον ἢ τάχιον; 'Ὡς οἶον τε τάχιστα. Πότερον οὖν τρέχων τις αἴροι· ἄν θάττων ἢ πετόμενος; Μὴ οὖν αὐτός γε αἴρει; Τίς μήν; 2 Τὸ βέλος. 'Εὰν δὲ ἀκοντίσῃς, τίς αἴρει; Οὐκ οἴδα. 'Αλλὰ πότε αὐτὸς αἴρεις καὶ ἀποκτείνεις; ὅταν διασπάσῃς λαβῶν, ὡσπερ τὰ θηρία; ἦποι, ἔφη, ἀνδρειοτέρας ἤγῃ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα μάχονται ἐπιπεσοῦσαι ἄλληλαις; ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς ταῦτα ἀκούων ἀμα βυμοῦ καὶ δακρύων ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ τὸν Χείρωνα ἐλοιδόρει καὶ οὐκ ἔφη
THE FIFTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE:

ACHILLES

Achilles questioned Cheiron and said, "Why are you teaching me to use the bow?" "Because," said he, "this too is one of the warlike accomplishments." "The accomplishment of cowards," retorted Achilles, "directed against cowards!" "How so?" returned Cheiron. "It does not allow the foe to come near," said Achilles. "It does not allow the foe to get far away," replied Cheiron. "The weapon belongs to men who flee." "Nay; instead it is directed at men who flee." "With his own hands a man should overpower those who flee." "More slowly or more quickly?" "As quickly as possible." "Then," said Cheiron, "could a man overpower more quickly by running or by flying?" "You don't mean overpower with his own hands, do you?" "Who does it then?" "The missile." "But if you hurl a javelin," said Cheiron, "who overpowers?" "I don't know." "Well, when do you yourself overpower and slay? When you lay hold of your victim and tear him to pieces, as wild beasts do? Do you perhaps," said Cheiron, "regard the women as more manly, because they fight at very close quarters, hurling themselves at each other?" But Achilles, as he heard these words, was filled at once and the same time with rage and tears, and he abused Cheiron.
par' autw mouvein, all' eis Phlian apienai para tov patera kai par' ekeinw paiideusethai: polu gar kreitpona einai tov Pylea tov Xeirwos kai ouk einai sofisth, wisper o Xeirw. tiv de eti paiis o 'Akhileus oudepon ybaskwn.

3 Pws ou, efh, kreitppon ou ouk autwos paiideuei se; 'Oti, efh, ou schole autw. 'Yp tov; 'Yp tov tis basilias. Diapherei ouj to basileuein h pai-
deyein; Polu ge. su de mou didwos kerass ti kai neurou kai mikra odyria eti leptois donaklous, wisper erndhas theiresein melonti, ouk andrapw
oude thrious makhsethai. gnoi th' an tis thn ath-
othta dothi toun oplwv, e' pote egwys genwto kai
anagkastei aytou eis xeiros makhsethai. alla de
drapetwnta makhsethai, phoibomenon kai phylat-
tomewn ontos mhde ofhtsetai, wisper kakon
andrapodou; os ge oude apokteinas skuleusai an
oude ofhtsetai pote hymagenous ap' andros ex-
thetai. toiauta didaskeis me, toxeuen kai kitha-
rixei; praphon de pote kai rizas dryttew, wisper
ai farmakides.

4 Oud' to ipeuein areiskei se; etpirteto auton o
Xeirw. Oud' su, efh, areiskeis me toioiptos ouw.
dokeis gar mo eptompteros einai feugewn h meinei.
kal' o Xeirw orignheis autw kai upo tis orwug
frizas thn xaith kai upoblefas devon, wisper

1 paiideuousethai Dindorf: paiideusethai.
2 doth Emperius, Arnim: oua.
3 toun oplwv with PH] ta oplla UBM, doth echei ta oplla S.

1 Possibly a reminiscence of Hector's prayer in behalf of his son Astyanax, Iliad 6. 480-481.
2 Thessaly, the home of Achilles, was famed for its witches.
and said he was not going to stay with him any longer, but was going back to his father in Phthia to be educated at his court; for Peleus, he claimed, was much better than Cheiron and not a sophist like Cheiron. Now Achilles was then still a lad, not yet nearing the age of puberty.

"Why then," said Cheiron, "if he is better than I am, does he not educate you himself?" "Because," retorted Achilles, "he has no time for it." "Because of what?" "Because of his kingship." "Is being king, then, in any way more important than being a teacher?" "Much! But you—you offer me a bit of horn, a piece of sinew, and some tiny bits of iron attached to slender little reeds, as if I were going to hunt birds instead of giving battle to heroes or wild beasts. But any one would find out how wretched the weapons are if ever he came to close quarters and had to use them in hand-to-hand conflict. Nay, with them a man must fight as he runs away, in constant terror, guarding against even being seen, like a cowardly slave; indeed, even if one should make a kill, he could not despoil his victim of his armour, nor will he ever be seen bespattered with his foeman's blood.¹ That is the sort of stuff you are trying to teach me—to use the bow and to strum the lyre; yes, and only the other day even to grub roots, as the witches do!"²

"Don't you like riding a horse either?" Cheiron asked him. "No, and I don't like you either," said he, "horseflesh creature that you are! For you seem to me to be better equipped for running away than for standing your ground." And Cheiron, flying into a rage at him, his mane bristling with anger, darting a terrible glance of menace like a flash of lightning,
the unreasoning taunt of an angry man who has just taxed Achilles with being the son of a "briny mother."

Both Patroclus (Iliad 16. 21) and Odysseus (Iliad 19. 216) call him μέγα φέρταρ' Ἀχαιῶν.
but with difficulty refraining from striking him, for he was disposed to be fond of him, cried out, "You bad, bold brat of a briny mother, who has spoiled you vilely, puffing you up with pride of birth! yes, and your father has spoiled you still more than she has, with his tale of how the gods sang at his wedding; but the fact is, you have no connexion with either sea or sky!" But let me tell you, a warrior you will never be, though you will have that reputation with the unthinking, nor ever a leader of men, no matter where you may engage in warfare, for all that you are the son of Peleus and Thetis. Yet because of your audacity and fleetness of foot and physical strength men in flattery will call you most valiant of men. However, they will prefer to be ruled by other princes, while as for you, they will compel you by gifts and empty praises to do battle and risk your life for them until you finally meet your death. But I fancy you will not even keep your hands off the dead; on the contrary, you will even stab the corpses and trail them in the dust, as if, in sooth, you were doing something grand, just as foolish youngsters drag round and round whatever they kill. But for all your arrogance, you will meet your death, not at the hands of some man of nobility, as you imagine; on the contrary, while you will find it easy to slay those who are like you, brave but stupid, you will be slain by a man of sagacity and military science, and, what is more, without ever having seen him."

3 Referring of course to his treatment of the body of Hector (Iliad 22. 395-404 and 24. 14-21).
4 The cyclic epic, Aethiopis, now no longer extant, told of the slaying of Achilles by Paris, who was not "a man of nobility" in the moral sense of the word.
THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: PHILOCTETES

This Discourse, as possibly also the one preceding, paraphrases a drama, the prologue of Euripides' *Philoctetes*. Dio has furnished a synopsis of practically the same material in Or. 52, by comparison with which we are enabled to identify the original drama. The synopsis, however, contains two details not found in the paraphrase, namely, that Diomedes arrived in company with Odysseus (§ 14) and the nature of the chorus and its behaviour toward Philoctetes. Arnim believes that these omissions, and the abortive reference to the Trojan mission, indicate either that Dio failed to complete our Discourse or else that his editor, for some unknown reason, chose to eliminate certain portions of the work.

Such a conclusion seems not inevitable. As Lemarchand observes (*Dion de Prusé*, p. 17), Dio himself, when recommending that the student of oratory should memorize for recitation speeches from Xenophon, prescribes that he should not make a slavish copy of the original but that he should rather select such passages as seemed most pertinent (Or. 18. 19). Whether our Discourse be viewed as a school exercise or as intended for Dio's own delivery, it has undeniable unity as it stands. The role of Diomedes was undoubtedly minor. As handled by Euripides, after his initial entry with Odysseus Diomedes may well have temporarily withdrawn, leaving his companion to deliver the soliloquy with which our paraphrase begins. Furthermore the dialogue between Odysseus and Philoctetes took place prior to the entry of the chorus, as is obviously true of the entry of the Trojan envoys. Indeed, the concluding words of Philoctetes give the impression that at this point in the play both he and Odysseus went indoors, thus paving the way for the entry of the chorus.
Though unpretentious in style and marked by frequent hiatus, our paraphrase is so like Greek tragedy in spirit that more than one have been tempted to try to recover from Dio's version the original lines of Euripides. Nauck, *Trag. Graec.* *Frag.*, p. 616, prints six such lines, which, with very little change, have been recreated with some degree of probability. These six lines are given below, preceded in each instance by the prose wording from which they were evolved:

1. (§ 6):
   \[\text{πολλὴν ἔνικας φράζειν ἀλογίαν τῆς δευτο ὄδου}
   \[\text{πολλὴν γ' ἔνικας ἀλογίαν φράζειν ὄδου.}

2. (§ 7):
   \[\text{πόθεν δή; τούτο γὰρ πρῶτον εἰκός μὲ εἰδέναι.}
   \[\text{πόθεν δὲ; πρῶτον γὰρ τὸν εἰδέναι θέλω.}

3. ibid.:
   \[\text{πόθεν; εἰπὲ πάλιν, ὅσ εἰδὼ σαφέστερον.}
   \[\text{πόθεν; λέγ' αὖθις, ἵνα μάθω σαφέστερον.}

4. ibid.:
   \[\text{οὗ δυνατόν, εἰπὲ Ἑλλῆν ὄν τυχάναις, τὸ μὴ ἀπολλολέναι σε}
   \[\text{ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.}
   \[\text{οὗ δυνατόν, εἰπὲ τυχάναις Ἑλλῆν γεγος,}
   \[\text{τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀνωλέναι σε τῇδε ἐν ἡμέρα.}

5. (§ 8):
   \[\text{πότερον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχη κρατήσας ἥ μετὰ δόλου τινὸς;}
   \[\text{μάχη κρατήσας ἥ δόλου τινὸς μετά.}

By good fortune, four of the seventeen fragments of the play now extant find their parallel in Dio's version and will be reported in the notes, each in its appropriate place.

\[1\text{ Warmington finds additional traces of Euripides in §§ 2, 6, 8, and 11. Indeed, the number of such passages might be considerably enlarged without much trouble.}
59. ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ

1 ΟΔΤΩΣΕΣ. Φοβούμαι μήποτε μάτην κατ’ ἐμοῦ φανόςι ταῦτην οἱ σύμμαχοι τήν δόξαν εἴληφότες ὡς ἀρίστου δή καὶ σοφωτάτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τοῖς ποιὰς της ἡ τοιαύτη σοφία καὶ φρόνησις, δι’ ἣν τις ἀναγκάζεται πλεῖω τῶν ἄλλων 1 ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης, ἐξὸν ἔνα τοῦ πλήθους δοκοῦντα μηδενὸς ἔλαττον ἐν τούτοις ἔχειν τῶν ἀρίστων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἱσώς χαλεπόν εὐρεῖν οὕτω μεγαλόφρον καὶ φιλοτιμόν ὅτιον ὡς ἁνὴρ πέφυκεν. τοὺς γὰρ φανερῶς καὶ πλειώνων ἀπέστησα τολμῶντας σχεδὸν τούτους ἀπαντεῖ 2 θαυμάζομεν καὶ τῷ ὅτι ἄνδρας ἥγοημεθα.

2 Ἄφι ης φιλοτιμίας καγὼ προάγματα πλεῖστα πράγματα ἐὰν καὶ ξήν ἐπισόμως παρ’ ὄντιον, ἀεὶ πιστοὶ προσδεχόμενοι καὶ καίνων κίνδυνον, ὅκινών διαφθείρῃ τὴν ἑπὶ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν γεγονόσιν εὐκλείαν. νῦν οὖν κατὰ πράξεων πάνυ ἐπισφαλή καὶ χαλεπὴν δεύτερο ἐλήλυθα εἰς Δήμουν, ὅπως Φιλοκτή-

1 ἄλλων Valckenaer: Ἑλλήνων.
2 ἀπαντεῖ Dindorf: ἀπαντα (ἀπαντε S).

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Odysseus. I fear 'twill prove that my allies were rash when they conceived of me the thought that I, in sooth, am best and wisest of the Greeks. And yet what kind of wisdom and prudence may this be which makes a man to toil beyond the others to gain the salvation and the victory of the group, seeing that, were he deemed to be but one among the throng, 'twere his to share these blessings with the best?¹ Ah well, no doubt 'tis difficult to find a thing so proud, so jealous of honour, as man is born to be. For 'tis the prominent, those who dare to undertake more labours than the rest, I dare say, whom we all do view with wonder and regard as truly men.²

This thirst for glory is what leads even me to bear unnumbered woes and live a life of toil beyond all other men, accepting ever fresh peril, fearing to mar the glory won by earlier achievements.³ So now a task most hazardous and hard brings me to Lemnos

² Ibid., frag. 788:

οδδέν γὰρ οὕτω γαθρὸν ὡς ἄντρο ἐφι
τοὺς γὰρ περισσούς καὶ τι πρασσοματας πλέον
tιμῶμεν ἄνδρας ἐν πόλει νομίζομεν.

³ Ibid., frag. 789:

ὅκνων δὲ μόχθων τῶν πρὶν ἐκχεῖαι χάρω
cal τοὺς παρόντας οὐκ ἀπωθοῦμαι πόνους.
τὴν καὶ τα Ἡρακλέους τάξα κομίζομι τοὺς συμμάχους. ὁ γὰρ ὁ μαντικότατος Φρυγῶν Ἑλενος ὁ Πριάμου κατεμήνυσεν, ὡς ἔτυχεν αἰχμάλωτος ληφθείς, ἂνευ τοῦτον μὴ ποτὲ ἂν ἀλώναι τὴν πόλιν.
3 Πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλείας οὐχ ὁμολογήσα τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐπιστάμενος τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχθραν, ὡς γε αὐτὸς ἀίτιος ἐγενόμην καταλειψθήναι, ὡς δὴ καθεῖς ἔτυχεν ὅπο ταχέτης καὶ ἀνάτου ἐχθρῆς. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ὃμην οὐδὲ πεθὼ τουμάτιν ἐξευρεῖ, ὡς ἂν ποτὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμοὶ πρᾶξις ἔσχεν. ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὃμην ὡς αὐτοῦ. ὢστερον δὲ, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μοι παρακλησείσας καθ’ ὤνοις, ὦστερ εἰσβεθε, ταὼν τὸν ἀνδρα ἱέναι—αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀλλάξεων μου τὸ ἐδος καὶ τὴν φωνήν, ὦστε λαθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνυπενεμονον—οὕτω δὴ ἀφύγμαι θαρρήσας.
4. Πυθάνομαι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλθαι κρύφα, εἴν πως δύνανται τὸν Φιλοκτήτην πείσαντες δόρους ἀμα καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τόξα. τοιοῦτοι προκειμένου τοῦ ἀθλοῦ πῶς οὐ πάντα κρῆ ἄνδρα γίγνεσθαι πρόθυμον; ὡς διαμαρτάνοντι τῆς πράξεως ταύτης πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἰργασμένα μάτην πεπονήθαι ἐοίκεν.
5. Παπαῖ: πρόσεισιν ὃ ἀνήρ. αὐτὸς δὲ, ὁ Ποιάντος παῖς, οὐκ ἄδηλος τῇ ἐμφορᾷ, μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς προβαίνῃ. ὥς τοὶ χαλεποί καὶ δεινοὶ ὅραματος οὕτως. τὸ τε γὰρ εἴδος ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου φωβηρὸν ἢ τε στολῆ ἁδῆς. δοραί θηρίων καλύπτουσιν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἀμυνόν, ὦ δέσποινα

1 ὃς] ὃς UB, ὦς Casaubon.
2 τοῦ added by Post.
3 ὅραματος οὕτως. τὸ] ὅραματος. οὕτως τὸ Hartung.

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here, that Philoctetes and the bow of Heracles I may bear off for my allies. For the one most gifted in prophecy of all the Phrygians,¹ Helenus Priam’s son, when by good fortune taken captive, disclosed that without these the city never could be seized.

Now to the princes I did not agree to undertake the venture, knowing well the malice of that man,² since ’twas I myself caused him to be marooned, that day when by ill fortune he was stung by a fierce and deadly viper. Thus I could not hope to find persuasion such that he should ever feel a kindly feeling toward me; nay, I thought he’d slay me out of hand. But afterwards, Athena urging me in dreams, as is her wont, boldly to go and fetch the man—for she herself would change my form and voice, that I might meet him safe from detection—so did I pluck up courage, and am here.

But word has come that envoys from the Phrygians too have secretly been sent, if haply they may win Philoctetes by means of bribes, and through his hatred of us Greeks as well, and so take back to Troy him and his bow. With such a prize before him, why should not any man grow keen? For, should one fail in this endeavour, all previous achievements, it seems, have been but labour lost.

(Aside) Hah! the man draws nigh. ’Tis he himself, the son of Poeas, as is plain from his affliction, toiling along with labour and in pain. Oh what a grievous, awful spectacle! Aye, his person is frightful, thanks to his disease, his garb unwonted too—skins of wild beasts cover his nakedness. Come,

¹ I.e., the Trojans. ² I.e., Philoctetes.

4 Hartung moves γὰρ so as to follow δοπαλ.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ μὴ μάτην φανῆς ἡμῶν ὑποσχομένη τὴν σωτηρίαν.

6. φιλοκτήτης. Τί δὴ βουλόμενος, ὅστις εἰ ποτὲ σύ, ἡ τίνα τόλμαν λαβῶν, πότερον ἄρπαγής χάριν ἥκεις ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ τὴν ἀπορον στέγην ἡ κατάσκοπος τῆς ἡμετέρας δυστυχίας;
   ο. Οὐ τοῖς γε ὅρας ἄνδρα ὑβριστὴν.
   φ. Οὐ μὴν εἰσιθῶς γε πρότερον δεύρῳ ἥκεις.
   ο. Οὐ γὰρ εἰσιθῶς· εἰ ἦ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν καιρῷ ἀφίκθαι.
   φ. Πολλὴν ἐσικάς φράζειν ἄλογον τῆς δεύρο ὁδοῦ.
   ο. Εὐ τοῖςν ἵσθι οὐ χωρίς αὕτης με ἥκοντα καὶ σοὶ γε οὐκ ἀλλότριον φανησόμενον.

7. Φ. Πόθεν δή; τούτῳ γὰρ πρῶτον εἰκὸς με εἰδέναι.
   ο. ἈΛΛ' εἰμὶ Ἀργεῖος τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν πλευρῶςάντων.
   φ. Πόθεν; εἰπὲ πάλιν, ως εἰδὼ σαφέστερον.
   ο. Ὅμως ἔτι δεύτερον ἀκούεις· τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰλιον στρατευσάντων Ἀχαίων εἶναι φήμι.
   φ. Καλῶς δὴν ἔφησα ἐμὸς εἶναι φίλος, ὅποτε γε τῶν ἐμοὶ πολεμιστῶν Ἀργείων πέφηνας. τούτων δὴ τῆς ἀδίκιας αὕτης μάλα ὑφότεις δίκην.
   ο. ἈΛΛ' ὁ πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίτχει ἀφεῖναι τὸ βέλος.
   φ. Οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ Ἔλλην ὄν τυγχάνεις, τὸ μὴ ἀπολωλέναι σε ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

1 εἰς Casaubon: εἰ.
2 μάλα Dindorf, μάλα σὺ Wyttenbach: μάλιστα.
THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

Mistress Athena, be thou mine aid, nor show thyself to have promised me safety all in vain!

*Philoctetes*. What is thy purpose, whoe'er thou art, by what audacity inspired hast thou come to this my poor retreat—to pillage, or to spy upon my evil fortune?

*Od*. Believe me, no man of violence dost thou see.

*Phil*. Yet surely not of thy former wout hast thou come here.

*Od*. Aye, not former wout; yet may it prove that coming even now is opportune.

*Phil*. Methinks thou dost betray, much lack of reason in thy coming here.

*Od*. Then rest assured, not lacking reason have I come, and to thee at least no stranger shall I prove.

*Phil*. How so? This first of all 'tis fair that I should know.

*Od*. Well, I'm an Argive, one of those who sailed for Troy.

*Phil*. How can that be? Repeat thy words, that I may more clearly know.

*Od*. Then dost thou hear it yet a second time: of those Achaeans¹ who advanced on Troy I claim to be.

*Phil*. Faith, thou didst well in claiming to be friend of mine, seeing thou art revealed among my bitterest foes, the Argives! So for their injustice shalt thou this very instant pay the penalty.

*Od*. Nay, by the gods, forbear to loose thy shaft!

*Phil*. It cannot be, if haply thou art Greek in truth, that thou shouldst fail to die this very day.

¹ The words Argive and Achaean are used indifferently as in the epic.
8. ὁ. Ἀλλὰ πέπονθά γε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τοιαύτα ἐξ ἀν
dικαίως σοι μὲν ἄν φίλος εἶτην, ἐκείνων δὲ ἔχθρός.
φ. Καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὁ πέπονθας οὔτως
χαλεπῶν;
ο. Φυγάδα με ἡλάσεν Ὀδυσσέας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ.
φ. Τί δὲ ἔδρας, ἐφ’ ὅτω τῆς δίκης ἐτυχεῖ;
ο. Ὁμαί σε γνινούσκει τῶν Ναυπλίου παίδα
Παλαμίδην.
φ. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων οὐδὲ ὅλουν ἄξιος
συνέπλει οὔτε τῷ στρατῷ οὔτε τοῖς ἴγμοσιν.
ο. Τὸν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ὁ κοινὸς τῶν Ἐλ-
λήνων λυμεῖν διεθέεσθε.
φ. Πότερον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχη κρατήσας ἢ
μετὰ δόλου τυρός;
ο. Προδοσίαν ἐπενεγκῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῖς
Πριαμίδαις.
φ. Ἡν δὲ κατ’ ἀλήθειαν οὔτως ἔχον ἡ πέπονθε
κατεφευγόμενος;
ο. Πῶς δ’ ἄν δικαιοὶ γένοιτο τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου
γνινομένων στιοῦ;
9. φ. Ὡς μυθέν ὁ ἀποσχόμενος τῶν χαλεπωτάτων,
λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ πανουργότατε ἀνθρώπων Ὀδυς-
σεῦ, οἶον αὖ τοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀνήργας, ὡς οὐδὲν
ὀφελόμεν ἄν τοὺς ἄμμαχοι ἡπερ—οἶμαι—
σύ, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σοφῶτα ἀνευρίσκων καὶ
συντεθεῖσ’ ὁπερ ἀμέλει κάμελ ἐξέθηκας, ὑπὲρ τῆς
κοινῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης περιπεσόντα τῇ
tῇ ἐμφορῆ, δεικνύστα τὸν Χρύσης βωμὸν, οὐ

1 Odysseus.
2 ἱγμόσιν assigned to Philoctetes by Wilamowitcz.
THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

Od. Nay, I have suffered at their hands such things that I should rightly be a friend to thee, to them a foe.

Phil. And what is this thou hast suffered so terrible?

Od. Odysseus drove me an exile from the camp.

Phil. What hadst thou done to meet with such a doom?

Od. Methinks thou knowest Palamedes son of Nauplius.

Phil. In truth no common man was he who sailed with us, nor little worth to men and generals.

Od. Aye, such the man the common spoiler of the Greeks destroyed.

Phil. O'erecoming him in open fight, or with some guile?

Od. Charging betrayal of the camp to Priam's sons.

Phil. But was it so in fact, or has he met with calumny?

Od. Could aught at all that scoundrel did be just?

Phil. Oh thou who hast refrained from naught most cruel, thou utter villain in both word and deed, Odysseus, once more how fine the man thou hast destroyed, of no less value to the allied host than thou, methinks, inventing and devising the best and sagest plans! Just so in fact didst thou make me a castaway, when for the salvation and the victory of us all I met with this disaster, because I showed them Chrysê's altar,² where they must first make

¹ Chrysê was a tiny islet not far from Troy. There dwelt Apollo's priest, father of Chryseis, who was the cause of the feud between Agamemnon and Achilles. Both Euripides and Sophocles attribute the affliction of Philoctetes to the bite of the serpent which guarded Apollo's altar.
θύσαντες κρατήσειν ἐμέλλον τῶν πολεμίων· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μάτην ἐγίγνετο ἡ στρατεία. ἀλλὰ τί δὴ σοι προσήκον τῆς Παλαμήδους τύχης;

10 ο. Ἐδώ ἦσοι δὴ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκείνους φίλους ἠλθεῖ τὸ κακὸν καὶ πάντες ἀπολάλασιν, ὡστε μὴ φυγεῖν ἥδυνθη. οὔτω δὲ κἀκεῖ τῆς παροικομένης νυκτὸς διαπλέωσας μόνος δεύρῳ ἐσώθην. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἐγὼν ἐν δοσὶ χρεία καθότητι καὶ αὐτός, εἰ δ' οὖν ἔχεις τινὰ μηχανὴν, ἐξυπροθυμηθεῖς ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν οὐκάδε ἀπόλουν ἡμᾶς τε εὖ πεποικὼς ἔση καὶ ἀμα ἀγγελοῦ ἀποστέμφεις πρὸς τοὺς ἕαυτον οὐκάδε τῶν σοι παρόντων κακῶν.

11 Φ. 'Ἄλλ', ὁ δύστηνε· πρὸς τοιούτον ἔτερον ἡκεῖς ἔγιγμαχον, αὐτὸν τε ἀπορον καὶ ἐρήμουν φίλων ἐπὶ τῇδε τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐρρυμμένον, γλάσχρως καὶ μόλις ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν τόξων πορίζοντα καὶ τροφὴν καὶ ἐσθήτα, ὥς ὀρᾶσ. ἦ γὰρ ἦν ἡμῶς ἐσθῆσα πρότερον, ὕπο τοῦ χρόνου ἀνάλωται. εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ἐθελήσεις κοινωνεῖν τοῦ βίου μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε ἔως ἂν ἐτέρα σοι παραπέσῃ σωτηρία ποθέν, οὐκ ἂν φθονοῖμεν. δυσχερῆ γε μὴν τῶν ὀράματα, ὡς ἔγενε, τελαμώνει τε ἐλκοὺς ἁνάπλεοι καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς νόσου· αὐτὸς τε σούς ἡδοὺς εὐγενέσθαι, οὕτων ἄδώνη προσπέσῃ. καίτοι λελώφηκε τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ πολὺ τῆς νόσου, κατ' ἀρχὰς δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἀνεκτὸς ἦν.

1 ἐγων' ἐν δοσὶ ἐν δοσῃ ἐγώνει Emperius.
2 παρόντων των prosoonton Hartung.
3 ἐλκοὺς added by Emperius.
THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

sacrifice if they would overcome the foe; else, I declared, our expedition was being made in vain. Yet what hast thou to do with Palamedes’ lot?

Od. Know well, the cursed feud was visited on all his friends, and all have perished, save such as could take to flight. Thus I too during the night just sped, sailing across alone, found refuge here. So I myself am placed in much the same necessity as thyself. If, then, thou hast some scheme, by adding thy eagerness to mine touching my voyage home, thou wilt have done a kindly deed toward me and wilt besides send home to thy own friends him who will bear the story of thy present ills.

Phil. Nay, wretched creature, thou art come for aid to such another as thou art, helpless himself and lacking friends besides, an outcast on this shore, in niggard fashion and with toil providing with this bow both food and clothing, as thou dost see. For what raiment I had before time hath consumed. But if thou wilt share with me here this life of mine until some second chance of safety falls thy way, I’d grudge it not. Distressing, truly, what thou wilt see indoors, my friend—wrappings polluted with an ulcer’s filth and other tokens of my malady—and I myself am far from being pleasant company when the pain comes on me. And yet the worst of my disease time hath assuaged, though at the start it was in no wise bearable.

THE SIXTIETH DISCOURSE: NESSUS OR DEIANEIRA

Dio’s purpose in this little dialogue is apparently to display his dexterity in reconstructing Greek myth rather than to impart ethical instruction. A somewhat similar tour de force presents itself in the Trojan Discourse (Or. 11). Such exercises constituted a well-known feature of sophistic training and are not to be confused with the effort to rid ancient mythology of its grosser elements, an effort at least as old as Pindar.

In the present instance the myth in question seems not to have been popular. Though it may have figured in the cyclic epic, The Taking of Oechalia, there is no proof that it did. The only ancient Greek writers known to have dealt with the tale of Nessus and Deianira are the two named in the opening paragraph of our dialogue—Archilochus and Sophocles. All that is known of the version of Archilochus is contained in this brief reference and in two meagre scholia on Apollonius Rhodius and the Iliad respectively. The Sophoclean version is contained in his Trachiniae. There the murdered Nessus wrecks a posthumous vengeance upon his murderer in the manner here outlined by Dio. The dramatist puts into the mouth of Deianira herself the account of the attempt upon her honour (Trachiniae 555-577).

The anonymous interlocutor in Dio’s dialogue is a colourless individual, whose function seems to be, first of all, to afford Dio an opportunity to display his dexterity, and finally, to pay “certain philosophers” the doubtful compliment of comparison with coroplasts. The natural inference from that comparison is that Dio himself has attained the standing of a philosopher; but the interlocutor does not say so in plain terms and there is little in the Discourse that smacks of philosophy. In general it seems more suited to Dio’s sophistic period.
60. ΝΕΣΣΟΣ Η ΔΗΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ

1 "Έχεις μοι λύσαι ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν, πότερον δικαίως ἐγκαλούσιον οἱ μὲν τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ Σουφόλκει περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Νέσσον καὶ τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἦς οὖ; φασί γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἀρχιλόχον ληρεῦν, ποιοῦσα τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κενταύρου πρὸς τὸν Ἑρακλέα ῥαμφοδούςαν, ἀναμμηνήσκοισαν τῆς τοῦ Ἀχελώου μισθείας καὶ τῶν τότε γενομένων· ὡστε πολλὴν σχολὴν εἶναι τῷ Νέσσῳ ὦ τι ἐβουλέτο πράξαι· οἱ δὲ τὸν Σουφόλκεια πρὸ τοῦ καροῦ πεποιηκάναι τὴν τοξείαν, διαβαυνόντων αὐτῶν ἐτὰ τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἀπολέσθαι, ἀφεντὸς τοῦ Κενταύρου. ἄλλα μὴ, καθάπερ εἰσώθας, πολὺ παρὰ τῷ δόξῳ λέγε· καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἦ ὦ τις ἂν ὅψεις.

2 Δ. Ἀρ' οὖν κελεύεις με ταύτα σου λέγεν ἃ τις ἂν οἰδήθη ὀρθῶς, οἰόμενος ἦ ᾧ τις ἂν καὶ μή ὀρθῶς;

1 εἰσώθας Arnim: εἰσώθη.
2 λέγε Arnim, λέγε Geel: λέγει M, λέγον UB.

1 Pindar, in a poem no longer extant, told how Heracles, to whom in Hades Meleager had commended his sister Deianeira, finding that she was being wooed by the river-god Acheiōús, fought and overcame him, and received from him the horn of Amalthaea, by means of which he gained his bride.

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THE SIXTIETH DISCOURSE:
NESSUS OR DEIANEIRA

*Interlocutor.* Can you solve me this problem—whether or not people are warranted in finding fault now with Archilochus and now with Sophocles in their treatment of the story of Nessus and Deianira? For some say Archilochus makes nonsense when he represents Deianira as chanting a long story to Heracles while an attack upon her honour is being made by the Centaur, thereby reminding him of the love-making of Acheloüs—and of the events which took place on that occasion—in consequence of which recital Nessus would have ample time to accomplish his purpose; others charge that Sophocles has introduced the shooting of the arrow too soon, while they were still crossing the river, for in those circumstances, they claim, Deianira too would have perished, since the dying Centaur would have dropped her in the river. However, do not, as you usually do, speak quite counter to the general belief and give any version rather than what a man would naturally believe.

*Dio.* Then do you bid me tell you those things which a man would believe who believes correctly, or what a man would believe even though not correctly?

* Nessus was accustomed to ferry passengers across the Euenus for hire. Cf. *Trachiniae* 562-568.
DIO CHRYSTOFORM

'Εγώ μὲν ἂ τις ἂν ὁρθῶς οἰόμενος.

Δ. Τί οὖν ἂν ἰ σι πολλὸι ἀνθρωποὶ δοξάζουσιν; ἢρα γε ἀνάγκη τὸν βουλόμενον ὁρθῶς ἐξηγεῖτο δι' ἐπαρά τὴν δῶξαν τῶν πολλῶν λέγειν;

Ἀνάγκη.

Δ. Μὴ οὖν δυσκόλως ἀκολουθήσῃς, ἐὰν τοιοῦτον ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον σκόπει δὲ, εἴ μὴ δεόντως λέγεται. 

Δέγε τοῖς καὶ ἐξηγήσοι, ὅπως σοι δοκεῖ.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν λέγωσα σοι ὅτι ὁ λόγος τὸ ἀγνόημα ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν μῦθων τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν τὸν Κένταυρον συγγενέσθαι τῇ Δημαϊαρᾷ.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπεχείρησαν;

3 Δ. Οὐ. ἢ σοι δοκεῖ πιθανὸν εἶναι ἐν ὁφείς Ἡρακλέους τὸξα ἔχοντος καὶ πεπειραμένον αὐτόι τῆς ἁρετῆς πρότερον, ἧνικα μόνος τῶν Κένταυρων αὐτός διέφυγε παρὰ τοῦ Φόλου μηδὲν ἐκείνων τοιοῦτον ἀδικησάντων αὐτόν, ἐπιχειρεῖν συγγενεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ;

'Ἐχει μὲν τινα ἀπορίαν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ μὴ τοιτο κυνοῦντες καθόλου τοῦ μῦθου ἀναιρῶμεν.

Δ. Οὐδαμῶς, ἃν προλογιζόμεθα ὡς ἐγένετο καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι τὸ πράγμα.

Οὕτω δὴ λέγοις.

4 Δ. Ὁ Νέσσος τῆς Δημαϊαρᾶς εὐθὺς διακομίζων

1 ἂ τις ἂν Post: ἂ ἂν τις.

2 ἂ added by Arnim.

3 After λέγω Pflugk deletes τὸ νῦν.

4 After ἐστὶ Arnim adds τὸ.

5 ἂν προλογιζόμεθα M, ἀντιπ ολογιζόμεθα Emperius, ἂν καταλογιζόμεθα Sonny: ἂν εἰ λογιζόμεθα BU.

1 I.e., contrary to the belief of the masses.

2 He is referring to the Fourth Labour, the hunting of the

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Int. I prefer what one would believe who believes correctly.

Dio. Then what about beliefs which the masses hold? Must he who desires to interpret correctly speak counter to the belief of the masses?

Int. He must.

Dio. Then do not be irritated as you follow the argument, if what is said is of that nature,¹ but rather consider whether it is not suitably expressed.

Int. Very well, speak and proceed with your exposition as seems good to you.

Dio. Very good; I tell you that the whole misconception connected with the myth is the matter of the Centaur's attempt to violate Deëaneira.

Int. What, did he not attempt it?

Dio. No. Or does it seem to you plausible that in full view of Heracles, who was carrying his bow, and after having previously had experience of Heracles' valour—the time when he alone of the Centaurs escaped from the cave of Pholus, though they had done no such injury as that to Heracles—is Nessus should attempt to violate the hero's wife?

Int. Yes, there is a certain difficulty in a matter of that sort; however, if we raise this question, perhaps we may destroy the myth altogether.

Dio. By no means, provided we consider first how the affair occurred, and how it was likely to have occurred.

Int. Very good; I wish you would tell me.

Dio. Nessus attempted to corrupt Deëaneira the Erymanthian Boar. Heracles was being entertained by the Centaur Pholus when other Centaurs made a raid upon the cavern, only to be routed by Heracles. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 2. 5. 4, informs us that Nessus was not the only Centaur to escape.

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καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπεχείρει διαφθείρειν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὕψος φασὶν βιαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ λόγους ἐπιτηδείους λέγων πρὸς αὐτήν καὶ διδασκὼς ὅπως κρατήσῃ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, λέγων ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀγρίος ἐστι καὶ χαλεπὸς καὶ ὀλίγον τινὰ χρόνον αὐτῇ συνέσται καὶ τοῦτον δυσκόλως διὰ τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τὰς ἀποδημίας καὶ τὸν βίον ὅπως προήρηται, ἐὰν δὲ, ἐφη, σύ πείσῃς αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν θεραπεία, τὰ δὲ λόγους, τῆς μὲν ταλαιπωρίας ταύτης καὶ τῶν πόνων ἐπανεῖναι ἃν δὲ ῥαθύμως καὶ ἡδέως, σοὶ τε πολὺ προάτερος ἔσται καὶ ἀμεινὸν βιώσεται καὶ σοι τὸν οὐκῶν ἡδὴ συνέσται χρόνων οἷκι μένων.

5 Ταῦτα δὲ διηγεῖτο ὁ Κένταυρος ἐπίβουλεύων τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, εἰ πῶς δύνατο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τρυφὴν ἄγαγεὶ καὶ ραθύμιαν ὅδει γὰρ ὅτι ἄμα τῷ μεταβαλέον τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἀσκήσιν εὐχείρωτος ἔσται καὶ ἀσθενής. ἡ δὲ Δημάνειρα ἀκούουσα οὐ παρέργως τοῖς λόγοις προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐνεπικεφαλήθη ώς ὀρθῶς λέγοι ὁ Κένταυρος, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ βουλομένη τὸν ἄνδρα υφ’ ἐαυτῇ ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπονοήσας μοῦ δὲν ὑγίεις τὸν Κένταυρον λέγειν ἐκ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Δημάνειραν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνη ὑποσκόμηκεν αὐτῷ, οὕτως δὴ ἐτόξευσεν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀποθητικῶν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκέλευσε τὴν Δημάνειραν ἀναμνησθῆναι ὅτι ἔπει καὶ ποιεῖν ὅσον αὐτὸς παρῆσεν.

1 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὕψος φασὶ Reiske: αὐτὴν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φασίν M, τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον οὐ φασὶ UB.
2 τὸν added by Emperius.
3 διηγεῖτο διελέγετο Emperius.
4 καὶ βουλομένην βουλομένην Emperius, ἔρωςa καὶ βουλομένη Gasda.

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moment he began to carry her across the stream, as well as in the crossing, as I shall explain—not through violence, as men say, but by speaking to her words suited to his purpose and showing how she might obtain mastery over Heracles, saying: "Now he is fierce and stern and will stay with you only a short while, and that too in fretful temper, because of his labours and his expeditions abroad and the life he has chosen. But if," said he, "you win him over, partly by solicitude for his welfare and partly by argument, urging him to give up this life of hardship and his labours and to live a life of ease and pleasure, he will not only be far kinder toward you, but will also live a better life and remain at home and keep you company from then on."

Now the Centaur went into these details with designs on Heracles, in the hope that he might somehow turn him in the direction of indulgence and indolence, for he knew that as soon as he changed his mode of living and his occupation he would be easy to manage and weak. But Deiameira, as she heard him, paid no casual attention to his words, but rather considered that the Centaur was correct in what he said, as indeed might have been expected, since she wished to have her husband under her control. Heracles, on the other hand, suspecting that the Centaur was saying nothing honourable, judging from the earnestness with which he was talking to Deiameira, and because she gave him her attention, therefore shot him with his bow. But, though dying, nevertheless the Centaur bade Deiameira to remember what he had said and to act as he had advised.¹

¹ Like other details in Dio's exposition, this does not square with Sophocles' account (Trachiniae 568-577).
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

"Τοῦτον δὲ ἡ Δημάνειρα μεμνημένη τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κενταύρου καὶ ἄμα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὐδὲν ἀνέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακροτέραν ἀποδημίαν ἀπόδημημάτων, τὴν τελευταίαν ὅτε ἔξειλε τὴν Οἰχαλλίαν, καὶ λεγομένου δὴ ὡς ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Ἰόλης, ἡγησαμένη βέλτιον εἶναι ἀ παρήμεσεν ἀνύσσθαι, ἐπιτίθεται ἦ αὐτῶ καὶ, οὗτον δὴ πέφυκε τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἰμόλοι καὶ πανούργον, οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκε πρὶν ἡ ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν παραμυθουμένη καὶ φάσκουσα ἐκεῖνου κῆρεσθαι ὅπως μὴ κακοπαθῇ γυμνὸς τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους ὅμοιος ὑπομένων ἐν τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος, τὸ μὲν δέρμα ἀποθέσθαι, στολὴν δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ὅμοιον τοῖς ἄλλοις. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ ἦν ὁ λεγόμενος τῆς Δημανείρας χυτῶν, ὃν ἐνεδυὸ Ἡρακλῆς.

8. "Ἀμα δὲ τῇ στολῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν μεταβαλέν, ἐπὶ τε στρωμάτων καθεύδοντα καὶ μὴ θυραυλοῦντα τὰ πολλά, ὥσπερ εἰώθει πρότερον, μηδὲ αὐτουργοῦντα μηδὲ τροφῆς ὅμοιο ἥρμομενον, ἀλλὰ σιτῶ τε ἐκπεπονημένῳ καὶ ὅψιν καὶ οὕνω ἦδεί καὶ όσα δὴ τούτοις ἐπόμενα ἐστὶν: ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς ταύτης, ὥσπερ ἦν, οἷος, ἀναγκαίον, εἰς ἀσθένειαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἑμπεσον τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡγησάμενος μηκὲν εἶναι βάδιον ἀφάμενον τροφῆς ἀποθέονται αὐτῆν, οὕτως δὴ ἐνέπρησεν αὐτὸν, ἀμα μὲν κρείττων οἴομενος ἀπηλ-

1 After παραμυθουμένη Reiske suspects a lacuna.

2 Daughter of the king of Oechalia.
THE SIXTIETH DISCOURSE

Later on, when Deianira recalled the words of the Centaur, and when also Heracles did not relax at all but made an even lengthier journey away from home—his final journey, during which he captured Oechalia—and when in fact he was reported to have become enamoured of Iole, thinking it better that what the Centaur had advised should be accomplished, she set to work upon Heracles and—such is the nature of female wile and cunning—she did not desist until, partly by coaxing and saying that she was anxious about him, lest he come to grief by persisting winter and summer alike in going unclothed, wearing only his lion's skin, she at last persuaded him to doff the skin and put on dress like that of other men. And this, of course, was what is called the shirt of Deianira, which Heracles put on.

But along with his dress, she made him change his mode of living in general, now sleeping on bedding and not camping in the open for the most part, as was his former custom, nor labouring with his own hands, nor using the same food as formerly, but rather eating grain most carefully prepared and fish and sweet wine and in fact whatever goes with these things. But as an outcome of this change, as was inevitable methinks, falling into weakness and flableness of body, and thinking that, having once adopted self-indulgence, it was no longer easy to lay it aside, he therefore set himself on fire, not only because he believed it better to be freed from such a life as that,

2 Here Dio has allowed himself the utmost licence. In the *Trachiniae*—as doubtless also in the tale of Archilochus—Heracles is not subjected to this long course of moral suasion. The shirt of Deianira also was conveyed to him by messenger while he was still on his way home from his long stay in Euboea.
λάγθαι τοῦ τοιούτου βίου, ἀμα δὲ δυσχεραίνων ὅτι ἦνέσχετο τρυφής ἄψασθαι.

"Εχεις δὴ τὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγου, ὅποιον ἐγὼ ἱδυνάμην, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου εἶπεῖν.

9 Καὶ μὰ τὸν Δία οὐδαμῶς φαίλος οὐδὲ ἀπίθανος δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως δοκεῖ μοι προσευκέαται τὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐνίων περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀμηγγέπῃ τῷ τῶν κοροπλάθων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τύποι τινὰ παρέχοντες, ὅποιον ἂν πηλὸν εἰς τοῦτον ἐμβάλωσιν, ὃμοιον τῷ τύπῳ τὸ εἶδος ἀποτελοῦσιν καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἥδη τινὲς τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν, ὡστε ὅποιον ἂν μύθον ἥ λόγου λάβωσιν ἐλκοντες καὶ πλάττοντες κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν ὑφέλμον καὶ φιλοσοφία πρέποντα ἀπεδείξαν οἶδον ἰδίᾳ μάλιστα ἀκούομεν Σωκράτη γενέσθαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εἰς ἀπαντάς δὴ λόγους καὶ πάσας διατριβὰς κατήκει, καὶ πρὸς ῥήτορας καὶ πρὸς σοφιστὰς καὶ πρὸς γεωμέτρας καὶ μουσικοὺς καὶ παιδοτριβὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δημοσίων, καὶ ἐν παλαιστραῖς καὶ ἐν συμποσίοις καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὐκ ἐκωλύετο εἰς ἀπαντὸς τρόπου φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ προτρέπειν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν τοὺς συνόντας, οὐκ ἢδαι εἰσφέρων ὑπόθεσιν οὐδὲ πρόβλημα ἐσκεμμένον, ἀλλ' ἢ εἰ τῇ παρούσῃ χρώμενος καὶ ταύτῃ προσάγων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν.

1 κατῆκει καθ'εὶ Lobeck.

1 Contrast with this Trachiniae 756-771.
THE SIXTIETH DISCOURSE

but also because he was distressed that he had allowed himself to take up a life of luxury. ¹

So there you have my reasoning, such as I have been able to express it, regarding the myth.

Int. And, by Heaven, it seems to me not at all a bad one or unconvincing either. And somehow or other I have the feeling that the method of some philosophers in dealing with their arguments resembles in a way that of the makers of figurines. For those craftsmen produce a mould, and whatever clay they put into this they render like to the mould in form; and some of the philosophers ere now have proved like that, with the result that, whatever myth or story they take in hand, by tearing it to pieces and moulding it to suit their fancy they render it beneficial and suited to philosophy, the sort of philosopher in fact that Socrates in particular proved to be, as we are told. For Socrates indeed entered the lists in all kinds of arguments and all sorts of lectures—against orators, sophists, geometricians, musicians, athletic trainers, and all the other craftsmen—and, whether in palaestra or symposium or market-place, he was not prevented in any way at all from plying his calling as philosopher or from impelling toward virtue those who were with him, not by introducing any topic of his own or any preconceived problem, but rather by consistently employing the topic at hand and applying it to philosophy.
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