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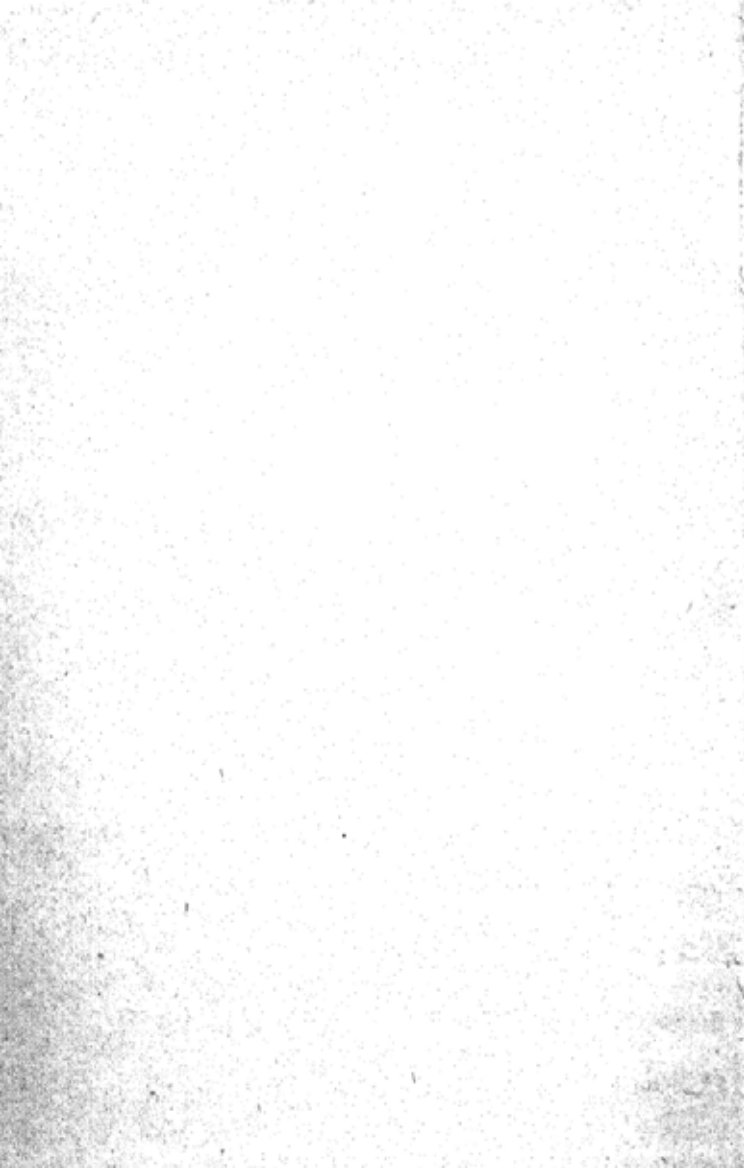
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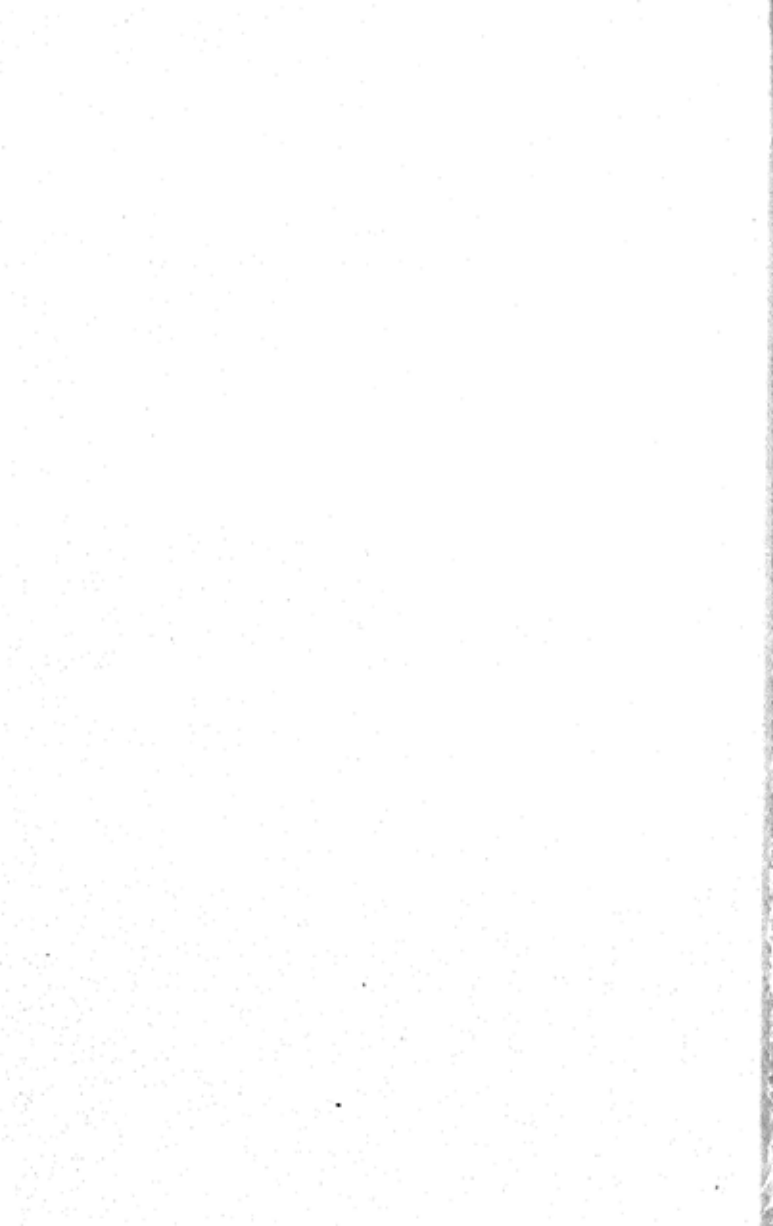
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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

II



DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY, SACKVILLE, N.B., CANADA

IN FIVE VOLUMES

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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

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

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

After his introductory remarks, in which he tells us that he has just returned from the Danube, where the Roman army under Trajan was about to begin the Second Dacian War, he raises the question as to whether he shall tell his hearers about the land of the Dacians and the impending war, or take a subject suggested by the god in whose presence they stood. He chooses the latter and, after explaining that a conception of the nature of the gods, and especially of the highest one, is innate in all mankind, and that this innate conception and belief is strengthened by men's experiences and observations in the world about them, Dio gives a classification of the way in which a conception of and a belief in their existence are implanted in the minds of men. In section 39 he makes a classification into notions innate and notions acquired. Then in section 44 and following he subdivides the acquired notions into (1) the voluntary and hortatory, given by the poets, (2) the compulsory and prescriptive, given by the lawgivers, (3) those given by the painters and sculptors, and (4) the notions and concepts as set forth and expounded by the philosophers. He is careful, however, to point out that the poets, lawgivers, and sculptors and others would have

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

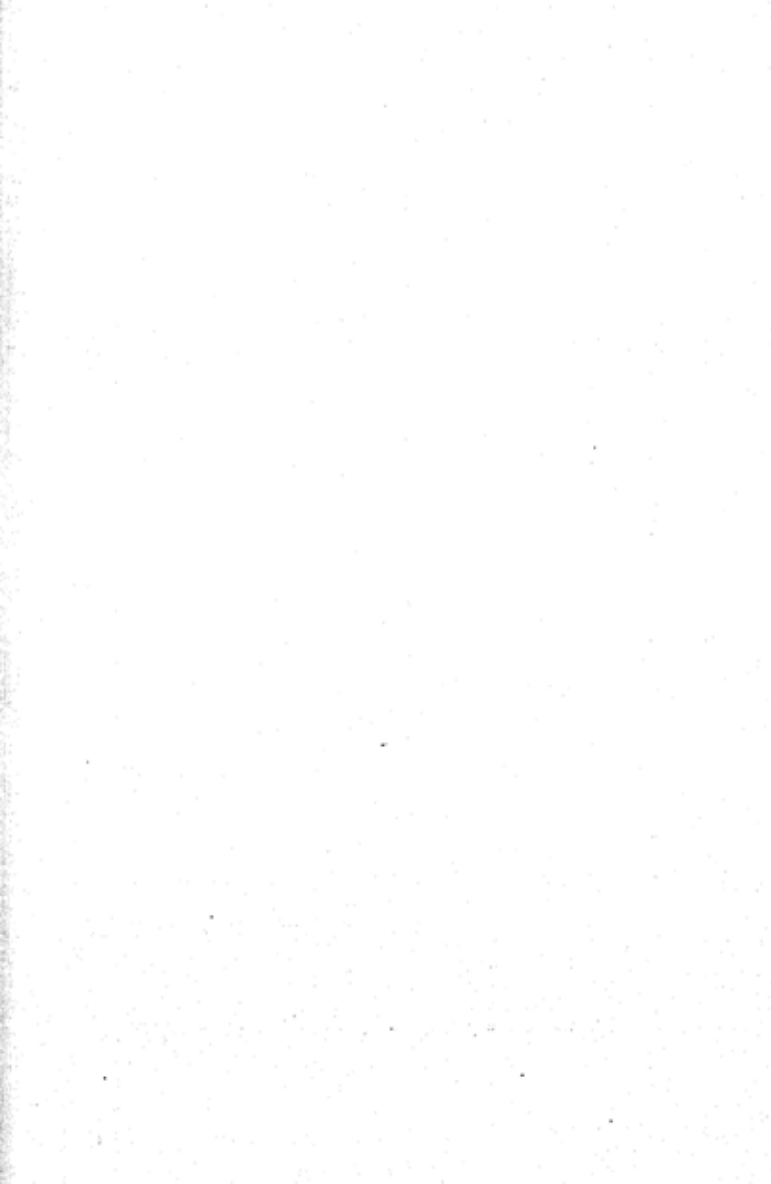
no influence whatever if it were not for that primary and innate notion.

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

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

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

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



ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

12. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ

- 1 Ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις πλείοσι πέπονθα τὸ τῆς γλαυκὸς ἄτοπον καὶ παράδοξον πάθος; ἐκεῖνην γὰρ οὐδὲν σοφωτέραν αὐτῶν οὔσαν οὐδὲ βελτίω τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτην ὅποιαν ἴσμεν, ὅταν δήποτε φθέγγηται λυπηρὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἡδύ, περιέπουσι τὰ ἄλλα ὄρνεα, καὶ ὅταν γε ἰδῇ μόνον, τὰ μὲν καθιζόμενα ἐγγύς, τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ περιπετόμενα, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καταφρονοῦντα τῆς φαυλότητος καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι φασιν ὅτι θαυμάζει τὴν γλαῦκα τὰ ὄρνεα.
- 2 Πῶς δὲ οὐ τὸν ταῷ μᾶλλον ὁρῶντα θαυμάζει, καλὸν οὕτω καὶ ποικίλον, ἔτι δ' αὖ τοι¹ ἐπαι-

¹ δ' αὖ τοι Capps: δὲ αὐτόν.

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

Dio's words are prompted by the sight of the vast throng

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

CAN it be, Sirs, that here before you, just as before many another audience—to use a familiar saying¹—I have met with the strange and inexplicable experience of the owl? For though she is no whit wiser than the other birds nor more beautiful in appearance, but on the contrary only what we know her to be, yet whenever she utters her mournful and far from pleasing note, they all flock to her²—yes, and even when they merely see her, some alighting near and others circling about her, the reason being, as it seems to me, that they look with scorn upon her insignificance and weakness; and yet people in general say that the birds admire the owl.

Surely, however, the birds ought rather to admire the peacock when they see him, beautiful and many-coloured as he is, and then again truly when he lifts

assembled to hear him in the Altis, or sacred grove, at Olympia, before the temple of Zeus with its world-renowned statue of that god, resplendent in ivory and gold. He also refers to the greatness of his audience in § 15.

¹ Plutarch (*Nicias* 1. 9. 4) quotes Timaeus as saying τῷ Γυλίππῳ φανέντι καθάπερ γλαυκῇ πολλοὶ προσέπησαν ἐτοίμως στρατευόμενοι—"When Gylippus showed himself, many flocked to him, as birds to an owl, with offers of military service."

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ρόμενον καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ κάλλος τῶν πτερῶν,
 ὅταν ἀβρύνηται πρὸς τὴν θήλειαν, ἀνακλάσας τὴν
 οὐρὰν καὶ περιστήσας αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ὥσπερ
 εὐεῖδές θέατρον ἢ τινα γραφῇ μιμηθέντα οὐρανὸν
 ποικίλον ἄστροις, σὺν γε τῷ λοιπῷ χρώματι¹
 θαυμαστόν, ἐγγύτατα χρυσοῦ κυάνω κεκραμένου,
 καὶ δὴ ἐν ἄκροις τοῖς πτεροῖς οἷον ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνόν-
 των ἢ τινων δακτυλίων τό τε σχῆμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν
 3 ἄλλην ὁμοιότητα; εἰ δ' αὖ ἐτι τι ἐθέλεις, σκοπεῖ²
 τῆς πτερώσεως τὸ κοῦφον, ὥς μὴ χαλεπὸν εἶναι
 μηδὲ δύσφορον διὰ τὸ μῆκος. ἐν μέσῳ μάλα
 ἥσυχον καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα παρέχει θεάσασθαι ἑαυτόν,
 ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ περιστρεφόμενος· ὅταν δὲ
 βουληθῇ ἐκπλήξαι, σείων τὰ πτερὰ καὶ τινὰ ἤχον
 οὐκ ἀηδῇ ποιῶν, οἷον ἀνέμου κινήσαντος οὐ
 πολλοῦ πυκνὴν τινα ὕλην.

Ἄλλ' οὔτε τὸν ταῷ πάντα ταῦτα καλλωπι-
 ζόμενον τὰ ὄρνεα βούλεται ὁρᾶν οὔτε τῆς ἀηδόνης
 ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἔωθεν ἐπορθρευομένης οὐ-
 4 δὲν πάσχει πρὸς αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν κύκνον
 ἀσπάζεται διὰ τὴν μουσικὴν, οὐδὲ ὅταν ὕμνῃ
 τὴν ὑστάτην ᾠδὴν ἅτε εὐγῆρως, ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς τε
 καὶ λήθης τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χαλεπῶν εὐφημῶν ἅμα
 καὶ προπέμπων ἀλύπως αὐτόν, ὥς ἔοικε, πρὸς
 ἄλυντον τὸν θάνατον—οὐκουν οὐδὲ τότε ἀθροίζεται
 κηλούμενα τοῖς μέλεσι πρὸς ὄχθην ποταμοῦ

¹ χρώματι Arnim: σώματι.

² ἐτι τι ἐθέλεις, σκοπεῖ Capps, cf. Plato, *Alcib. I*, 122c:
 ἐτι τις ἐθέλοι (or θέλοις) σκοπεῖν.

¹ Horace (*Satires* 2. 2. 26) says of the peacock, "spreads
 out a 'spectacle' with its painted tail"—*pecta pandat
 spectacula cauda*. By Achilleus Tatius (p. 22) the peacock

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

himself up in pride and shows the beauty of his plumage, as he struts before his hen with his tail spread out and arched all about him like a fair-shaped theatre¹ or some picture of the heavens studded with stars—a figure well deserving of admiration for the colouring also, which is nearest to gold blended with dark blue; and then too on the tips of his feathers there are eyes, as it were, or markings like rings both in shape and in their general similitude. And, if you want something further, observe the lightness of his plumage, so light indeed that it is not an encumbrance nor hard to carry on account of its length. In the centre of it he offers himself to the spectator's gaze, quite calm and unconcerned, turning himself this way and that as if on parade; and when he wishes really to astound us, he rustles his feathers and makes a sound not unpleasing, as of a light breeze stirring some thick wood.

But it is not the peacock with all this fine display that the birds want to see, nor when they hear the song of the nightingale as she rises at early dawn are they at all affected by her—nay, not even the swan² do they greet on account of its music, not even when in the fullness of years it sings its last song, and through joy, and because it has forgotten the troubles of life, utters its triumphant notes and at the same time without sorrow conducts itself, as it seems, to a sorrowless death—even then, I say, the birds are not so charmed by its strains that they

is said "to display the 'theatre' of its feathers": τὸ θέατρον ἐπιδεικνύναι τῶν πτερῶν—the likeness being in the theatre-shaped expanse of the tail-feathers.

² Just as Dio, the philosopher, is represented by the owl, so is the sophist represented by the peacock, and the poets by the nightingale and the swan.

τινος ἢ λειμῶνα πλατὺν ἢ καθαρὰν ἡόνα λίμνης
ἢ τινα σμικρὰν εὐθαλὴ ποταμίαν νησίδα.

- 5 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοσαῦτα μὲν θεάματα ἔχοντες
τερπνά, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσματα, τοῦτο μὲν ῥήτορας
δεινούς, τοῦτο δὲ ξυγγραφέας ἡδίστους ἐμμέτρων
καὶ ἀμέτρων λόγων, τοῦτο δέ, ὥς¹ ταῶς ποικί-
λους, πολλοὺς² σοφιστάς, δόξῃ καὶ μαθηταῖς
ἐπαιρομένους οἷον πτεροῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ πρόσαιτε
καὶ βούλεσθε ἀκούειν, τοῦ μηδὲν εἰδότος μηδὲ
φάσκοντος εἰδέναι, ἄρ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπεικάζω τὴν
σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τῷ περὶ τὴν γλαῦκα γιγνομένῳ
σχεδὸν οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίας τινὸς βουλήσεως;
6 ὕφ' ἧς καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ λέγεται προσφιλὲς εἶναι τὸ
ὄρνεον, τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν θεῶν καὶ σοφωτάτῃ,
καὶ τῆς γε³ Φειδίου τέχνης παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις
ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος αὐτὴν συγκαθιδρῦσαι
τῇ θεῷ, συνδοκοῦν τῷ δήμῳ. Περικλέα δὲ καὶ

¹ ὥς added by Capps.

² τοῦτο δὲ ὥς before πολλοὺς deleted by Capps.

³ γε Reiske: τε.

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

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

. . . ὥς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά,
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,
Ἀσίῃ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῖστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,
ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι,
κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δὲ τε λειμῶν.

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gather on some river's bank or on a broad mead or the clean strand of a mere, or on some tiny green islet in a river.¹

And since you likewise, though having so many delightful spectacles to behold, and so many things to hear—able orators, most charming writers of both verse and prose, and finally, like gorgeous peacocks, sophists in great numbers, men who are lifted aloft as on wings by their fame and disciples²—since you, I say, despite all these attractions, draw near and wish to listen to me, a man who knows nothing and makes no claim to knowing, am I not right in likening your interest to that which the birds take in the owl, one might almost say not without some divine purpose? This purpose is seen in men's belief that this bird is beloved of Athenê also, the fairest of the gods and the wisest, and indeed at Athens it was honoured by the art of Pheidias, who did not count the owl unworthy to share a dedication with the goddess, the popular assembly approving; but Pericles and his own self

Themistius (336c) censures the sophists for using such language: "And do not think that I idly give myself airs with the swan and the nightingale, just as the elegant sophists, who embellish their speeches, use these birds as a sort of rouge"—καὶ μὴ με ἄλλως νομίσης ὡραϊζεσθαι τῷ κύκνῳ καὶ τῇ ἀηδόνι, καθάπερ οἱ κομφοὶ σοφισταὶ αἱ κοσμοῦντες τοὺς λόγους ὅλον φυκίῳ κέχρηται τοῦτοις τοῖς ὀρνέοις.

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

Σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν ὅσῳ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον
 πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος
 ῥηιδίως.

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αὐτὸν¹ λαθὼν ἐποίησεν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

Οὐ μέντοι ταυτὰ γε εὐτυχήματα νομίζειν ἔπεισέ μοι τῆς γλαυκός, εἰ μὴ τινα φρόνησιν ἄρα
 7 κέκτῃται πλείω. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν μῦθον Αἰσωπος ξυνέστησεν ὅτι σοφὴ οὖσα ξυνεβούλευε τοῖς ὀρνέοις τῆς δρυὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ φυομένης μὴ ἑᾶσαι, ἀλλ' ἀνελεῖν πάντα τρόπον· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ φάρμακον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄφυκτον, ὑφ' οὗ ἀλώσονται, τὸν ἰξόν. πάλιν δὲ τὸ λίνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπειρόντων, ἐκέλευε καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλέγειν τὸ σπέρμα·
 8 μὴ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ φυήσεσθαι. τρίτον δὲ ἰδοῦσα τοξευτὴν τινα ἄνδρα προέλεγεν ὅτι. Οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ φθάσει ὑμᾶς τοῖς ὑμετέροις, πτεροῖς, πεζὸς ὢν αὐτὸς πτηνὰ ἐπιπέμπων βέλη.

Τὰ δὲ ἡπίστει τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἀνόητον αὐτὴν

¹ αὐτὸν Jacobs : αὐτόν.

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

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

² Bird-lime was made from the juice of the mistletoe, which grows on the oak. Athenæus (451 d) says it was also made from oak-gum.

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he depicted covertly, so we are told, on the shield of the goddess.¹

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

But the other birds mistrusted her words of warning.

² Because nets for catching birds would be made from it.

⁴ The same idea is expressed by Aeschylus (frg. 139):

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

ὡδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυσιτικῶν κλέος,
πληγέντ' ἀτράκτερ τοξικῶ τὸν αἰετὸν
εἰπεῖν ἰδόντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος,
τάδ' οὐχ ὑτ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
ὀλισκόμεθα.

For the same idea in English poetry see Waller, *To a Lady singing a Song of his Composing*; Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*; Thomas Moore, *Corruption*.

ἡγοῦντο καὶ μαίνεσθαι ἔφασκον· ὕστερον δὲ πειρώμενα ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τῷ ὄντι σοφωτάτην ἐνόμιζεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἐπὰν φανῇ, πρόσσεισιν ὥς πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐπισταμένην· ἡ δὲ συμβουλευεὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι, ὁδύρεται δὲ μόνον.

- 9 "Ἴσως οὖν παρειλήφατε ὑμεῖς λόγον τινὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ συμβουλὴν συμφέρουσαν, ἥντινα ξυνεβούλευσε Φιλοσοφία τοῖς πρότερον Ἑλλῆσιν, ἣν οἱ τότε μὲν ἡγνόησαν καὶ ἠτίμασαν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκονται καὶ μοι προσίασι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα, Φιλοσοφίαν τιμῶντες ὥσπερ τὴν γλαῦκα ἄφωνον τό γε ἀληθὲς καὶ ἀπαρρησίαστον οὖσαν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ξύνοιδα οὔτε πρότερον εἰπόντι σπουδῆς ἄξιον οὔτε νῦν ἐπισταμένῳ
- 10 πλέον ὑμῶν· ἀλλὰ εἰσὶν ἕτεροι σοφοὶ καὶ μακάριοι παντελῶς ἄνδρες, οὓς ὑμῖν ἐγώ, εἰ βούλεσθε, μηνύσω, ἕκαστον ὀνομαστὶ δεικνύμενος. καὶ γὰρ νῆ Δία τοῦτο μόνον οἶμαι χρήσιμον ἔχειν, τὸ γιγνώσκειν τοὺς σοφοὺς τε καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ πάντα ἐπισταμένους· οἷς ἐὰν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλητε ξυνεῖναι τὰλλα ἑάσαντες, καὶ γονεῖς καὶ πατρίδας καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ προγόνων τάφους, ἐκείνοις ξυνακολουθοῦντες ἔνθα ἂν ἄγωσιν¹ ἢ καὶ μένοντές που καθιδρυθῶσιν, εἴτε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὴν Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος εἴτε ἐν Βάκτροις ἢ Σούσοις

¹ ἄγωσιν Emperius : ἀπώσιν or ἀπώσιν.

¹ His philosopher's garb, long hair and beard, etc.

² A reference to certain sophists.

³ Nineveh, and not Babylon, was founded by Ninus and Semiramis, but perhaps the text is corrupt here.

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

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

⁴ The chief city of Bactria, which corresponds to the modern Turkestan.

⁵ The capital of Ancient Persia; marked now by the so-called tomb of Daniel. See also vol. I, p. 251.

ἡ Παλιβόθροις¹ ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ πόλει τῶν ἐνδόξων
καὶ πλουσίων, χρήματα διδόντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ
11 πείθοντες, εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἔσεσθε² αὐτῆς τῆς
εὐδαιμονίας· εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ μὴ βούλεσθε, καταμεμ-
φόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν ἢ πενίαν ἢ γῆρας ἢ
ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γε νίεσι μὴ φθονοῦντες μηδὲ
ἀφαιρούμενοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν, ἐκούσί τε
ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ ἄκοντας πείθοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι
πάντα τρόπον, ὡς ἂν παιδευθέντες ἱκανῶς καὶ
γενόμενοι σοφοὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρ-
βάροις ὀνομαστοὶ ᾧσι τὸ λοιπόν, διαφέροντες
ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ
σχεδόν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον πλούτῳ, φασίν, ἀρετῇ³
καὶ κύδος ὀπηδεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλοῦτος⁴ ἀρετῇ
συνέπεται ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

12 Ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ἐναντίον τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ προλέγω
καὶ συμβουλεύω δι' εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν προαγόμενος.
οἶμαι δὲ ἑμαυτὸν ἂν εἶναι⁵ πρῶτον πείθειν καὶ παρα-
καλεῖν εἰ μοι τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας
ἐπεδέχετο· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη διὰ τὸ κακοπαθεῖν, εἰ

¹ Παλιβόθροις Geel: παλιμβάθροις or παλιμβάκτροις.

² ἔσεσθε Morel: ἔσεσθαι.

³ ἀρετῇ Sonny: ἀρετὴν.

⁴ πλοῦτος Arnim: λόγος.

⁵ ἂν added by Emperius, εἶναι by Capps.

¹ Palibothra, or Pataliputra, famous city of Ancient India and capital of Magadha; situated at the confluence of the Erannoboas (modern Son) and the Ganges. It was the residence of Megasthenes during his stay in India about 305 B.C. He wrote a work called *Tὰ Ἰνδικα*.

² Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 313) says πλούτῳ δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ κύδος ὀπηδεῖ—"virtue and fame attend wealth." Compare Homer (*Iliad*, 17. 251): ἐκ δὲ Διὸς τιμὰ καὶ κύδος ὀπηδεῖ.—"from Zeus honour and fame attend," and the Gospel according to Matthew (6. 33) ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

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or Palibothra,¹ or in some other famous and wealthy city—giving them money or in some other way winning their favour, you will become happier than happiness itself. But if you are not willing to do this yourselves, mistrusting your own natural ability, or pleading poverty or age or lack of physical strength, you will at least not begrudge your sons this boon nor deprive them of the greatest blessings, but will entrust them to these teachers if they are willing to receive them; and if they are unwilling, you will persuade them or compel them by any and all means, to the end that your sons, having been properly educated and having grown wise, may thenceforth be renowned among all Greeks and barbarians, being pre-eminent in virtue and reputation and wealth and in almost every kind of power. For not only do virtue and renown attend upon wealth, as we are told, but wealth likewise and of necessity accompanies virtue.²

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

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

⁴ A reference to Dio's ill health caused by the hardships of exile. He refers to it also in §§ 15 and 19.

πού τι δυνησόμεθα, εὑρέσθαι παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ὥσπερ ἀπερριμμένον ἤδη καὶ ἔωλον¹ σοφίας λείψανον χήτει² τῶν κρειττόνων τε καὶ ζώντων διδασκάλων.

Ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλο ὃ πέπονθα τῇ γλαυκῇ παραπλήσιον, ἐὰν καὶ βούλησθε καταγελαῖν τῶν λόγων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη αὐτὴ μὲν οὐδὲν 13 χρήται τοῖς προσπετομένοις, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ὀρνιθοθήρᾳ πάντων λυσιτελέστατον κτημάτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ οὔτε τροφήν προβάλλειν³ οὔτε φωνὴν μιμῆσθαι, μόνον δ' ἐπιδεικνύντα τὴν γλαῦκα πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχειν ὀρνέων· οὕτω καμοὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν ὄφελος. οὐ γὰρ λαμβάνω μαθητάς, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν⁴ ἔχοιμι διδάσκειν, ἅτε οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπιστάμενος· ὥς δὲ⁵ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπισχνούμενος, οὐκ ἔχω ταύτην τὴν ἀνδρείαν· σοφιστῇ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ξυνὼν μεγάλα ἂν ὠφέλουν ὄχλον πολὺν ἀθροίζων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρέχων ὅπως βούλεται διαθέσθαι τὴν ἄγραν. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, οὐδεὶς με ἀναλαμβάνει τῶν σοφιστῶν οὐδὲ ἡδονταὶ ὀρώντες.

14 Σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι πιστεύετε μοι λέγοντι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπειρίας τε κἀνεπιστημοσύνης τῆς ἐμαντοῦ, δῆλον ὡς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ

¹ ἔωλον Reiske: βῶλον.

² χήτει Reiske: δῆ τι.

³ προβάλλειν Morel: προσβάλλειν.

⁴ οὐδὲν ἂν Jacobs: οὐδένα.

⁵ ὥς δὲ Pflugk: ὥστε.

¹ See Themistius (20 a): "He does not permit the ancient views to wither"—μαραίνεισθαι οὐκ ἐφ' τὰς ἀρχαίας δόξας, and

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possible, of discovering some bit of wisdom which has already been from the ancients cast aside as it were, and had grown stale¹ for lack of teachers who are both better and still living.

And I shall tell you of another respect too in which I am like the owl, even if you are ready to laugh at my words. For just as that bird makes no use herself of the others that fly to her side, but to the fowler is the most useful of all possessions—since he has no need to throw out feed or mimic a call, but merely to show the owl and then have a great multitude of birds—so I too have nothing to gain by the interest of the many. For I do not take disciples, since I know there is nothing I should be able to teach them, seeing that I know nothing myself;² but to lie and deceive by my promises, I have not the courage³ for that. But if I associated myself with a professional sophist, I should help him greatly by gathering a great crowd to him and then allowing him to dispose of the catch as he wished. However, for some reason or other, not one of the sophists is willing to take me on, nor can they bear the sight of me.

Now I am almost sure that you believe me when I speak of my own inexperience and lack of knowledge—evidently on account of your knowledge and sagacity—and it seems to me that you not only believe me on this point, but would have believed

in the same author (205 b): "For the examples from Homer I pass over as stale and excessively ancient"—*τὰ γὰρ ἐξ Ὁμήρου παραδείγματα ὥς ἔωλα παραιτούμαι καὶ λίαν ἀρχαῖα.*

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

³ In Discourse 11. 23 also Dio speaks of boldness being required for lying.

- καὶ Σωκράτει δοκεῖτέ μοι πιστεύειν ἄν, ταῦτ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προβαλλομένῳ πρὸς ἅπαντας ὡς οὐδὲν ἤδει· τὸν δὲ Ἰππίαν καὶ τὸν Πῶλον καὶ τὸν Γοργίαν, ὧν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν μάλιστα ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἐξεπλήττετο, σοφοὺς ἄν ἡγέσθαι καὶ μακαρίους·
- 15 ὁμῶς δὲ προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐσπουδάκατε ἀνδρὸς ἀκοῦσαι τοσοῦτον πληθὸς ὄντες οὔτε καλοῦ τὸ εἶδος οὔτε ἰσχυροῦ, τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ παρηκμακότος ἤδη, μαθητὴν δὲ οὐδένα ἔχοντος, τέχνην δὲ ἢ ἐπιστήμην οὐδεμίαν ὑπισχνουμένου σχεδὸν οὔτε τῶν σεμνῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττόνων, οὔτε μαντικὴν οὔτε σοφιστικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ῥητορικὴν τινα ἢ κολακευτικὴν δύναμιν, οὐδὲ δεινοῦ ξυγγράφειν, οὐδὲ ἔργον τι ἔχοντος ἄξιον ἐπαίνου καὶ σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον κομῶντος·

Εἰ δ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ τόδε λωίτερον καὶ ἄμεινον,

- 16 δραστέον τοῦτο καὶ πειρατέον ὅπως ἂν ἢ δυνατόν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι λόγων ἀκούσεσθε ὁποίων ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν νῦν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ φαυλοτέρων καὶ ἀκοπωτέρων,¹ ὁποίους δὴ καὶ ὁρᾶτε. χρὴ δὲ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔμβραχυ,² ὅ τι ἂν ἐπὶ μοι, τούτῳ ἔπεσθαι, καὶ

¹ ἀκοπωτέρων Cohoon: ἀτοπωτέρων.

² ἔμβραχυ Geel: ἐν βραχεί.

¹ Sophist contemporary with Socrates. Had a powerful memory, great versatility, and considerable vanity.

² Sophist, pupil of Gorgias.

³ From Leontini in east of Sicily. Born about 480 B.C. and lived more than 100 years. Celebrated rhetorician and sophist.

⁴ Dio divides the arts and professions into two broad divisions, the nobler and the meaner. To the nobler division

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Socrates also, when he continually and to all men advanced on his own behalf the same defence—that he knew nothing; but that Hippias¹ and Polus² and Gorgias,³ each of whom was more struck with admiration of himself than of anyone else, you would have considered wise and blessed. But notwithstanding, I declare to you that, great as is your number, you have been eager to hear a man who is neither handsome in appearance nor strong, and in age is already past his prime, one who has no disciple, who professes, I may almost say, no art or special knowledge either of the nobler or of the meaner sort, no ability either as a prophet or a sophist, nay, not even as an orator or as a flatterer, one who is not even a clever writer, who does not even have a craft deserving of praise or of interest, but who simply—wears his hair long!⁴

But if you think it a better and wiser course,⁵

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

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

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

⁴ Homer, *Odyssey* 1. 376; 2. 141,

μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐὰν φαίνωμαι πλανώμενος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔζηκα¹ ἀλώμενος, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἅτε ἀκούοντας ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ ἀδολέσχου.

- Καὶ γὰρ δὴ τυγχάνω μακράν τινα ὁδὸν τὰ νῦν πεπορευμένος, εὐθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου καὶ τῆς Γετῶν χώρας ἢ Μυσῶν, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος κατὰ τὴν
 17 νῦν ἐπὶ κλησιν τοῦ ἔθνους. ἦλθον δὲ οὐ χρημάτων ἔμπορος οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ στρατοπέδου σκευοφόρων ἢ βοηλατῶν, οὐδὲ πρεσβείαν ἐπρέσβευον συμμαχικὴν ἢ τινα εὐφήμον, τῶν ἀπὸ γλώττης μόνον συνευχομένων,²

γυμνὸς ἄτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδ' ἔχον ἔγχος,

- 18 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλο ὄπλον οὐθέν. ὥστε ἐθαύμαζον ὅπως με ἠνείχοντο ὀρῶντες. οὔτε γὰρ³ ἱππεύειν ἐπιστάμενος οὔτε τοξότης ἱκανὸς ὦν οὔθ' ὀπλίτης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κούφων καὶ ἀνόπλων τὴν βαρεῖαν

¹ ἔζηκα Reiske : ἔζηκα.

² After συνευχομένων the MSS. have the following words, which Valesius bracketed : ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν χρὴ πολυπραγματεῖν οὐδὲ ἀκούειν οὐδενὸς ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον σάλπιγγος ἱερᾶς καὶ τῶν μακαρίων κηρυγμάτων, ὡς ὅδε μὲν νικῆ πάλην παῖδων, ὅδε δὲ ἀνδρῶν, ὅδε δὲ πυγμῆν, ὅδε δὲ παγκράτιον, ὅδε δὲ πένταθλον, ὅδε δὲ στάδιον, ἐνὶ βήματι σχεδὸν εὐδαίμων γενόμενος, αὐτόν * τε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἀποφήνας γένος αἰοῖδιμον—"There is need to be concerned for naught else and to hear naught else except the sacred trumpet alone and the joyous proclamations that this contestant has won the wrestling match for boys, and that other the one for men, that this man has won the pancratium, that man the pentathlon, and that third man the footrace—at one bound, you might almost say, having become happy by making himself, his native city, and his whole race renowned." See § 25.

³ γὰρ added by Wilamowitz. * αὐτόν Capps : αὐτός.

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ing in my remarks exactly as in the past I have lived a life of roving, but you must grant me your indulgence, bearing in mind that you are listening to a man who is a layman and who is fond of talking.¹

For in fact, as it happens, I have just finished a long, long journey, all the way from the Ister² and the land of the Getae, or Mysians³ as Homer, using the modern designation of the race, calls them. And I went there, not as a merchant with his wares, nor yet as one of the supply-train of the army in the capacity of baggage-carrier or cattle-driver, nor was I discharging a mission as ambassador to our allies or on some embassy bearing congratulations, the members of which join in prayers with the lips only. I went

Unarmed, with neither helm nor shield nor lance,⁴

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

¹ See also Discourse 7. 1.

² The Danube.

³ The Getae, a Thracian people, were called Daci by the Romans. The Mysi, to whom Homer refers, were also a Thracian people who crossed over from Europe to Asia at a very early period. Dio identifies the Mysi with the Moesi, who lived south of the Danube, and these Moesi with the Getae, or Dacians, who lived north of the river.

Dio wrote a historical work *τὰ Γερικά*, now lost.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad* 21. 50.

- ὀπλισιν στρατιωτῶν οὐδ' ἀκοντιστῆς ἢ λιθοβόλος, οὐδ' αὖ τεμεῖν ὕλην ἢ τάφρον ὀρύττειν δυνατὸς οὐδὲ ἀμῆσαι χιλὸν ἐκ πολεμίου λειμῶνος πυκνὰ μεταστρεφόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐγείραι σκηνὴν ἢ χάρακα, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ξυνέπονται τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀπόλε-
 19 μοί¹ τινες ὑπηρέται—πρὸς ἅπαντα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμηχάνως ἔχων ἀφικόμην εἰς ἄνδρας οὐ νωθροὺς οὐδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων, ἀλλὰ μετεώρους² καὶ ἀγωνιῶντας καθάπερ ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑσπλήγγων, οὐκ ἀνεχομένους τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δὲ καὶ προθυμίας κόπτοντας τὸ ἔδαφος ταῖς ὀπλαῖς· ἐνθα γε ἦν ὄραν πανταχοῦ μὲν ξίφη, πανταχοῦ δὲ θώρακας, παντα-
 20 χοῦ δὲ δόρατα, πάντα δὲ ἵππων, πάντα δὲ ὄπλων, πάντα δὲ ὀπλισμένων ἀνδρῶν μεστά. μόνος δὴ ἐν τοσούτοις φαινόμενος ῥάθυμος ἀτεχνῶς σφόδρα τε εἰρηνικὸς πολέμου θεατῆς, τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐνδεής, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν προήκων, οὐ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον φέρων οὐδὲ στέμματα ἱερὰ θεοῦ τινος ἐπὶ λύσει θυγατρὸς ἦκων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀναγκαίαν ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμῶν ἰδεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγωνιζομένους ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ πατρίδος· ἔπειτα οὐ τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποκνήσας, μὴ τοῦτο ἡγησάσθω μηδεῖς, ἀλλ' εὐχῆς τινος μνησθεῖς παλαιᾶς δεῦρο ἀπετράπην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, αἰεὶ τὰ θεῖα κρείττω καὶ προυργιαίτερα νομίζων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἡλίκᾳ ἂν ᾗ.

¹ ἀπόλεμοί or οὐ πολεμικοί Rouse: πολεμικοί.

² μετεώρους Jacobs: ὑμετέρους.

¹ This phrase is found in Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6. 1. 8.

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troops who carry no heavy armour, nor, again, was able to cut timber or dig a trench, nor to mow fodder from an enemy's meadow 'with many a glance behind,'¹ nor yet to raise a tent or a rampart, just as certain non-combatants do who follow the legions as helpers,² I, who was useless for all such things, came among men who were not dullards, and yet had no leisure to listen to speeches, but were high-strung and tense like race-horses at the starting barriers, fretting at the delay and in their excitement and eagerness pawing the ground with their hoofs. There one could see everywhere swords, everywhere corselets, everywhere spears, and the whole place was crowded with horses, with arms, and with armed men.³ Quite alone I appeared in the midst of this mighty host, perfectly undisturbed and a most peaceful observer of war, weak in body and advanced in years, not bearing 'a golden sceptre' or the sacred fillets of any god⁴ and arriving at the camp on an enforced journey to gain a daughter's release, but desiring to see strong men contending for empire and power, and their opponents for freedom and native land. Then, not because I shrank from the danger—let no one think this—but because I recalled to mind an old vow, I turned my course hither to you, ever considering that things divine have the greater claim and are more profitable than things human, however important these may be.

¹ *ὑπηρέται* are servants of the hoplites in Thucydides 3. 17.

² A reference to Trajan's army preparing to attack the Getae, or Dacians, in the second Dacian War.

⁴ An allusion to *Iliad* 1. 13-15, whose Chryses came to the Greek camp before Troy to ransom his daughter.

- 21 Πότερον οὖν ἥδιον ὑμῖν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν καιρῷ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ διηγήσασθαι, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν φύσιν ἢ ὥρων ὡς ἔχουσι κράσεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ¹ τοῦ γένους, ἔτι δέ, οἶμαι, τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον ἁψιῖσθαι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας τε καὶ μείζονος ἱστορίας περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ' ᾧ νῦν ἔσμεν; οὗτος γὰρ δὴ κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεὺς τε καὶ ἄρχων καὶ πρύτανις καὶ πατήρ, ἔτι δὲ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου ταμίας, ὡς τοῖς πρότερον ἐμπείροις καὶ σοφοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔδοξεν, εἰάν πως ἱκανοὶ γενώμεθα τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῆσαι λόγῳ βραχεῖ καὶ ἀποδέοντι τῆς ἀξίας, αὐτὰ που ταῦτα λέγοντες.²
- 23 Ἄρ' οὖν κατὰ Ἡσίοδον ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ Μούσαις φίλον ἀρκτέον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μάλα ἐμφρόνως οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐτόλμησεν ἄρξασθαι³ παρ' αὐτοῦ διανοηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ τὰς Μούσας παρακαλεῖ διηγήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ σφετέρου πατρός; τῷ παντὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον πρέπον τόδε τὸ ᾄσμα ταῖς θεαῖς ἢ τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον ἐλθόντας ἀριθμεῖν, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ σέλματα τῶν νεῶν ἐφεξῆς, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνόητοι ᾄσαν· καὶ τίς⁴ ποιητῆς σοφώτερός τε καὶ ἀμείνων ἢ⁴ ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ὧδέ πως;

¹ περὶ added by Reiske.² λέγοντες Reiske: λέγοντας.³ ἄρξασθαι Reiske: εὐξασθαι.⁴ τίς and ἢ added by Capps, found in some MSS.

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Now is it more agreeable and more opportune for you that I should describe what I saw there—the immense size of the river and the character of the country, what climate the inhabitants enjoy and their racial stock, and further, I suppose, the population and their military strength? Or should you prefer that I take up the older and greater tale of this god at whose temple we are now? For he is indeed alike of men and of gods the king and ruler and lord and father, and in addition, the dispenser of peace and of war, as the experienced and wise poets of the past believed¹—to see if perchance we can commemorate both his nature and his power in a brief speech, which will fall short of what it should be even if we confine ourselves to these two themes alone.

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

¹ In the works of Homer Zeus is often spoken of as Father, e.g. in the *Iliad* 1. 544, 4. 225, but the term βασιλεύς is never applied to him or to any other god, but only to men. The term δναξ (lord or master) is applied to both gods and men. In Hesiod (*Theogony* 886) Zeus is called θεῶν βασιλεύς. For Zeus as dispenser of peace and war see, e.g. *Iliad* 22. 210-213. Compare § 78 of this Discourse.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- 24 Μοῦσαι Πιερήθεν ἀοιδῇσι κλείουσαι,
 δεῦτε Δ' ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνεῖουσai,
 ὄντε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοί τε
 φατοί τε
 ῥήτοί τ', ἄρρητοί τε, Διὸς μέγαλοιο ἔκhti·
 ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
 ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
 ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει
 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.

- 25 ὑπολαβόντες οὖν εἶπατε πότερον ἀρμόζων ὁ λόγος
 οὗτος καὶ¹ τὸ ἄσμα τῇ συνόδῳ γένοιτ' ἂν, ὧ
 παῖδες Ἡλείων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγεμόνες
 τῇσδε τῆς πανηγύρεως, ἔφοροί τε καὶ ἐπίσκοποι
 τῶν ἐνθάδε ἔργων καὶ λόγων·² ἢ δεῖ θεατὰς εἶναι
 μόνον τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἦκοντας τῶν τε ἄλλων δῆλον
 ὅτι παγκάλων καὶ σφόδρα ἐνδόξων θεαμάτων
 καὶ δὴ μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας καὶ τῷ
 ὄντι μακαρίας εἰκόνας, ἣν ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι δαπάνης
 τε ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τέχνης ἐπιτυχόντες τῆς ἅκρας
 εἰργάσαντο καὶ ἀνέθεσαν, πάντων ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ

¹ καὶ Wilamowitz : ἦ.

² After λόγων Kayser proposed to insert the words found in the MSS. after *συνευχομένων* in § 17 which are given in a footnote there, Reiske proposed to insert them after *ἦκοντας* in the next line, and Emperius after *Ὀλυμπον* in § 28.

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

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

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

- γῆς ἀγάλματα, κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον,
 πρὸς τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ποιήσιν, ὥς φασι, Φειδίου
 παραβαλλομένου, τοῦ διησαντος ὀλίγῳ νεύματι
 26 τῶν ὀφρύων τὸν ξύμπαντα Ὀλυμπον, ὥς ἐκεῖνος
 μάλιστα ἐναργῶς καὶ πεποιθότως ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν
 εἶρηκεν;

ἥ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων,
 ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνικτος
 κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν
 Ὀλυμπον.

- ἥ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων σκεπτέον ἡμῖν ἐπιμελέ-
 στερον, τῶν τε ποιημάτων καὶ ἀναθημάτων, καὶ
 ἀτεχνῶς, εἴ τι τοιουτότροπὸν ἔστι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
 περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου δόξαν ἀμηγέτη πλάττον καὶ
 ἀνατυποῦν, ἅτε ἐν φιλοσόφου διατριβῇ τὰ νῦν
 οὖσιν;¹
 27 Περὶ δὴ² θεῶν τῆς τε καθόλου φύσεως καὶ

¹ οὖσιν added by Reiske; other editors regard the sentence as incomplete.

² δὴ Reiske: δέ.

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

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

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

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

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

Now concerning the nature of the gods in general,

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

² Homer, *Iliad* 528-530, translated by the Earl of Derby. Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost* 3. 135-137 :

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

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

μάλιστα τοῦ πάντων ἡγεμόνος πρῶτον μὲν καὶ
 ἐν πρώτοις δόξα καὶ ἐπίνοια κοινὴ τοῦ ξύμπαντος
 ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, ὁμοίως μὲν Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως
 δὲ βαρβάρων, ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἔμφυτος ἐν παντὶ τῷ
 λογικῷ, γινομένη κατὰ φύσιν ἄνευ θνητοῦ διδασ-
 κάλου καὶ μυσταγωγοῦ χωρὶς ἀπάτης, κεχώρηκεν,¹
 ἐδήλου² τε τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ
 μαρτύρια τάληθοῦς, οὐκ ἐὼντα κατανυστάξαι καὶ
 ἀμελήσαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ παλαιοτάτους·
 28 ἅτε γὰρ οὐ μακρὰν οὐδ' ἔξω τοῦ θείου διωκισμένοι
 καθ' αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μέσῳ πεφυκότες,
 μᾶλλον δὲ συμπεφυκότες ἐκείνῳ καὶ προσεχό-
 μενοι πάντα τρόπον, οὐκ ἐδύναντο μέχρι πλείονος
 ἀξύνετοι μένειν, ἄλλως τε σύνεσιν καὶ λόγον
 εἰληφότες παρ' ³ αὐτοῦ, ἅτε δὴ περιλαμβόμενοι
 πάντοθεν θείοις καὶ μεγάλοις φάσμασιν οὐρανοῦ τε
 καὶ ἄστρον, ἔτι δὲ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, νυκτός τε
 καὶ ἡμέρας ἐντυγχάνοντες ποικίλοις καὶ ἀνομοίοις
 εἶδεσιν, ὄψεις τε ἀμηχάνους ὁρῶντες καὶ φωνὰς
 ἀκούοντες παντοδαπὰς ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὕλης καὶ
 ποταμῶν καὶ θαλάττης, ἔτι δὲ ζώων ἡμέρων καὶ
 ἀγρίων, αὐτοὶ τε φθόγγον ἡδιστον καὶ σαφέ-
 στατον ἰέντες καὶ ἀγαπῶντες τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης

¹ κεχώρηκεν Sauppe, κατεῖχε Arnim: καὶ χαρὰς διὰ UBM.
 χωρεῖ PΥ. ² ἐδήλου Capps: διὰ.

³ παρ' Reiske: περί.

¹ Here follows an account of the origin of man and of his first conception of God which has stoic and epicurean elements, but some of the ideas find their roots in Plato. See for example, Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 a; *Republic* 2. 376 e.

² This idea of an innate conception of God (see also 39) is also found in Cicero, *Laus* 1. 8. 24. It is believed that both got the idea from Poseidonius, a stoic philosopher born about

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and especially that of the ruler of the universe,¹ first and foremost an idea regarding him and a conception of him common to the whole human race, to the Greeks and to the barbarians alike, a conception that is inevitable and innate in every creature endowed with reason,² arising in the course of nature without the aid of human teacher and free from the deceit of any expounding priest, has made its way, and it rendered manifest God's kinship with man and furnished many evidences of the truth, which did not suffer the earliest and most ancient men to doze and grow indifferent to them; for inasmuch as these earlier men were not living dispersed far away from the divine being or beyond his borders apart by themselves, but had grown up in the very centre of things, or rather had grown up in his company and had remained close to him in every way, they could not for any length of time continue to be unintelligent beings, especially since they had received from him intelligence and the capacity for reason, illumined as they were on every side by the divine and magnificent glories of heaven and the stars of sun and, moon, by night and by day encountering varied and dissimilar experiences, seeing wondrous sights and hearing manifold voices of winds and forest and rivers and sea, of animals tame and wild; while they themselves uttered a most pleasing and clear sound, and taking delight in the proud and intelligent

135 B.C. who gave instruction to Cicero. See Hagen, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and H. Binder, *Dio Chrysostomus und Posidonius. Quellenuntersuchungen zur Theologie des Dio von Prusa*. Tübingen 1905. Compare Xenophon, *Memorabilia Socratis* 4. 419: "Among all men the first custom is to worship the gods"—*παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται θεοὺς σέβειν*.

- φωνῆς τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ἐπιστῆμον, ἐπιθέμενοι
 σύμβολα τοῖς εἰς αἴσθησιν ἀφικνουμένοις, ὥς πᾶν
 τὸ νοηθὲν ὀνομάζειν καὶ δηλοῦν, εὐμαρῶς ἀπείρων
 29 πραγμάτων καὶ ¹ μνήμας καὶ ἐπινοίας παραλαμβάνοντες. πῶς οὖν ἀγνώτες εἶναι ἔμελλον καὶ
 μηδεμίαν ἔξειν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ σπείραντος καὶ
 φυτεύσαντος καὶ σῶζοντος καὶ τρέφοντος, παν-
 ταχόθεν ἐμπιμπλάμενοι τῆς θείας φύσεως διὰ τε
 ὄψεως καὶ ἀκοῆς συμπάσης τε ἀτεχνῶς αἰσθήσεως;
 νεμόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρῶντες δ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φῶς,
 τροφὰς δὲ ἀφθότους ἔχοντες, εὐπορήσαντος καὶ
 30 προπαρασκευάσαντος τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ· πρῶ-
 τὴν μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες ² τὴν γεώδη,
 μαλακῆς ἔτι καὶ πίονος τῆς ἰλῦος τότε οὐσης,
 ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μητρὸς τῆς γῆς λιχμωμένοι, καθάπερ
 τὰ φυτὰ νῦν ἔλκουσι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἱκμάδα, δευτέραν
 δὲ οἱ ἤδη προϊόντες ³ καρπῶν τε αὐτομάτων
 καὶ πόας οὐ σκληρᾶς, ἅμα δρόσῳ γλυκεῖα καὶ

νάμασι νυμφῶν ποτίμοις,

- καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἡρτημένοι καὶ τρεφό-
 μενοι τῇ διηνεκεῖ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιρροῇ, ἀέρα
 ὑγρὸν ἔλκοντες, ὥστε ⁴ νήπιοι παῖδες, οὐποτε
 ἐπιλείποντος γάλακτος ἀεὶ σφισι θηλῆς ⁵ ἐγκειμέ-
 31 νης. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἂν ⁶ ταύτην δικαιοτέρον λέ-

¹ καὶ omitted in M, bracketed by Geel.

² οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες . . . λιχμώμενοι of the MSS. changed to dative by Wilamowitz who inserts καὶ before καθάπερ.

³ οἱ . . . προϊόντες Cohoon: τοῖς . . . προϊούσι.

⁴ ὥσπερ Geel: ὥστε.

⁵ θηλῆς Morel: λήθης.

⁶ ἂν Reiske: οὖν.

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quality of the human voice, attached symbols to the objects that reached their senses, so as to be able to name and designate everything perceived, thus easily acquiring memories and concepts of innumerable things. How, then, could they have remained ignorant and conceived no inkling of him who had sowed and planted and was now preserving and nourishing them, when on every side they were filled with the divine nature through both sight and hearing, and in fact through every sense? They dwelt upon the earth, they beheld the light of heaven, they had nourishment in abundance, for god, their ancestor, had lavishly provided and prepared it to their hand. As a first nourishment the first men, being the very children of the soil, had the earthy food—the moist loam at that time being soft and rich—which they licked up from the earth, their mother as it were, even as plants now draw the moisture therefrom. Then the later generation, who were now advancing, had a second nourishment consisting of wild fruits and tender herbs along with sweet dew and

fresh nymph-haunted rills.¹

Furthermore, being in contact with the circum-ambient air and nourished by the unceasing inflow of their breath, they sucked in moist air² as infants suck in their food, this milk never failing them because the teat was ever at their lips. Indeed, we should almost be justified in calling this the

¹ This phrase, which in Greek falls into the choriambic metre, is apparently quoted from some lyric poet. The phrase *πότιστον ῥῆμα* occurs in Philostratus, *Epistles* 10.

² According to Theophrastus (*De Sensu*) the breathing of moist air led to stupidity.

- γοιμεν¹ πρώτην τροφήν τοῖς τε πρότερον καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἀπλῶς.² ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐκπέση τῆς γαστρὸς νωθρὸν ἔτι καὶ ἀδρανὲς τὸ βρέφος, δέχεται μὲν ἡ γῆ, ἡ τῷ ὄντι μήτηρ, ὁ δὲ ἀὴρ εἰσπνεύσας τε καὶ εἰσφυχάσας³ εὐθὺς ἡγειρεν ὑγροτέρα τροφήν γάλακτος καὶ φθέγγασθαι παρέσχεν. ταύτην εἰκότως πρώτην λέγουσι⁴ ἂν τοῖς γεννωμένοις
- 32 ἡ φύσις ἐπισχεῖν θηλήν. ἃ δὴ πάσχοντες, ἐπινοοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο μὴ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἰσθανόμενοι τῶν ὥρων, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἕνεκα γίνονται σωτηρίας πάννυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ πεφεισμένως ἑκατέρας τῆς ὑπερβολῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, τὸ⁵ λογίζεσθαι τε
- 33 καὶ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. σχεδὸν οὖν ὅμοιον ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἄνδρα, Ἑλληνα ἢ βάρβαρον, μυεῖσθαι παραδοίῃ⁶ εἰς μυστικὸν τινα μυχόν⁷ ὑπερφυῆ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει, πολλὰ μὲν ὁρῶντα μυστικὰ θεάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκούοντα τοιούτων φωνῶν, σκότους τε καὶ φωτὸς ἐναλλάξ αὐτῷ φαινομένων, ἄλλων τε μυρίων γιγνομένων, ἔτι δὲ εἰ καθάπερ

¹ λέγοιμεν Reiske : λέγομεν.

² ἀπλῶς Geel : ἀπλῆν.

³ εἰσφυχάσας Capps : εἰσφύξας.

⁴ τὸ proposed by Arnim.

⁵ παραδοίῃ Casaubon : παραδοῦς.

⁶ μυχόν Selden : μῦθον.

¹ In what follows we have a reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries. On the fifteenth of Boëdromion (nearly our September) those who were to be initiated into the Mysteries assembled to be arranged and instructed under the guidance of experts called *mystagogues* (leaders of the *mystae* or novices).

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first nourishment for both the earlier and the succeeding generations without distinction. For when the babe, still sluggish and feeble, is cast forth from the womb, the earth, its real mother, receives it, and the air, after breathing into it and quickening it, at once awakens it by a nourishment more liquid than milk and enables it to emit a cry. This might reasonably be called the first teat that nature offered to human beings at the moment of birth. So experiencing all these things and afterwards taking note of them, men could not help admiring and loving the divinity, also because they observed the seasons and saw that it is for our preservation that they come with perfect regularity and avoidance of excess in either direction, and yet further, because they enjoyed this god-given superiority over the other animals of being able to reason and reflect about the gods. So it is very much the same as if anyone were to place a man, a Greek or a barbarian, in some mystic shrine ¹ of extraordinary beauty and size to be initiated, where he would see many mystic sights and hear many mystic voices, where light and darkness would appear to him alternately, and a thousand other things would occur; and further, if it should be just as in the rite called enthrone-

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

εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θρονισμῷ καθίσαντες
 τοὺς μουμένους οἱ τελοῦντες κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν.
 ἄρά γε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον μηδὲν παθεῖν εἰκὸς τῇ
 ψυχῇ μηδ' ὑπονοῆσαι τὰ γινόμενα, ὥς μετὰ
 γνώμης καὶ παρασκευῆς πράττεται σοφωτέρας,
 εἰ καὶ πάνυ τις εἴη τῶν μακρόθεν καὶ ἀνωγύμων
 βαρβάρων, μηδενὸς ἐξηγητοῦ μηδὲ ἐρμηνέως
 34 παρόντος, ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν ἔχων; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν
 οὐκ ἀνυστόν, κοινῇ δὲ ξύμπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 γένος τὴν ὁλόκληρον καὶ τῷ ὄντι τελείαν τελετὴν
 μνούμενον, οὐκ ἐν οἰκίῳ μικρῷ παρασκευασ-
 θέντι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ὄχλου βραχέος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων,
 ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ποικίλῳ καὶ σοφῷ
 δημιουργήματι, μυρίων ἐκάστοτε θαυμαστῶν φαινο-
 μένων, ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίων τοῖς τελου-
 μένοις, ἀλλὰ θεῶν ἀθανάτων θιητοὺς τελούντων,
 νυκτὶ τε καὶ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτὶ καὶ ἄστροις, εἰ θέμις
 εἰπεῖν, ἀτεχνῶς περιχορευόντων αἰεὶ, τούτων ξυμ-
 πάντων μηδεμίαν αἰσθῆσιν μηδὲ ὑποψίαν λαβεῖν,
 μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ κορυφαίου προεστῶτος τῶν ὄλων
 καὶ κατευθύνοντος τὸν ἅπαντα οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον,

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

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

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ment,¹ where the inducting priests are wont to seat the novices and then dance round and round them—pray, is it likely that the man in this situation would be no whit moved in his mind and would not suspect that all which was taking place was the result of a more than wise intention and preparation, even if he belonged to the most remote and nameless barbarians and had no guide and interpreter at his side—provided, of course, that he had the mind of a human being? Or rather, is this not impossible? impossible too that the whole human race, which is receiving the complete and truly perfect initiation, not in a little building erected by the Athenians for the reception of a small company, but in this universe, a varied and cunningly wrought creation, in which countless marvels appear at every moment, and where, furthermore, the rites are being performed, not by human beings who are of no higher order than the initiates themselves, but by immortal gods who are initiating mortal men, and night and day both in sunlight and under the stars are—if we may dare to use the term—literally dancing around them forever²—is it possible to suppose, I repeat, that of all these things his senses told him nothing, or that he gained no faintest inkling of them,³ and especially when the leader of the choir was in charge of the whole spectacle and directing the entire heaven and uni-

you after that"—ποιεῖτον δὲ ταῦτόν ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνῳσιν ποιῶσιν περὶ τοῦτον δὲ ἂν μέλλουσιν τελεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἐστὶ καὶ παιδιά, εἰ ὅρα τετέλεσσαι· καὶ νῦν τοῦτω οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χορεύετον περὶ σέ καὶ οἷον ὀρχεῖσθαι παίζοντε, ὥς μετὰ τοῦτο τελούντε.

² With αἰσθησθαι Dio refers to the visible gods such as the sun and with ὑποφάν he refers to the supreme and invisible ruler of the universe, as von Arnim remarks.

οἶον σοφοῦ κυβερνήτου νεὺς ἄρχοντος πάνυ καλῶς
τε καὶ ἀνενδεῶς παρεσκευασμένης;

- 35 Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τοιοῦτον γιγνώ-
μενον θαυμάσαι τις ἂν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅπως καὶ
μέχρι τῶν θηρίων δικνεῖται τῶν ἀφρόνων καὶ
ἀλόγων, ὥς καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκειν καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν
θεὸν καὶ προθυμείσθαι ζῆν κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου
θεσμόν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπεικόνει τὰ φυτὰ, οἷς
μηδεμία μηδενὸς ἔννοια, ἀλλὰ ἄψυχα καὶ ἄφωνα
ἀπλῇ τινι φύσει διοικούμενα, ὥς δὴ καὶ ταῦτα
ἐκουσίως καὶ βουλόμενα καρπὸν ἐκφέρει τὸν
προσήμενον ἐκάστω· οὕτω πάνυ ἐναργῆς καὶ
πρόδηλος ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμη καὶ δύναμις.
36 ἀλλ' ἤπου σφόδρα γελοῖοι καὶ ἀρχαῖοι δόξομεν ἐπὶ
τοιοῦδε¹ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγγυτέρω φάσκοντες εἶναι τὴν
τοιαύτην ξύνεσιν τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ τοῖς δένδροις
ἤπερ ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπειρίαν τε καὶ ἄνοιαν; ὅποτε
ἄνθρωποι τινες σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι τῆς ἀπάσης
σοφίας, οὐ κηρὸν ἐγγέαντες τοῖς ὦσιν, ὥσπερ,
οἶμαι, φασὶ τοὺς Ἰθακησίους ναύτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
κατακοῦσαι τῆς τῶν Σειρήνων ψόδης, ἀλλὰ μολύ-
βδου τινὸς μαλθακὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ
φωνῆς φύσιν, ἔτι δέ, οἶμαι, πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
σκότος πολὺ προβαλόμενοι καὶ ἀχλὺν, ὑφ' ἧς
Ὅμηρός φησι κωλύεσθαι τὸν καταληφθέντα δια-
γινώσκειν θεόν, ὑπερφρονοῦσι τὰ θεῖα, καὶ μίαν
ἰδρυσάμενοι δαίμονα πονηρὰν καὶ ἄτοπον,² τρυ-

¹ τοιοῦδε added by Capps.

² ἄτοπον or ἀλογον Hertlein, ἀλιτήριον Unger : ἄλυπον.

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

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

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

¹ Homer, *Odyssey* 12. 173.

² Zeus with Hera: see Homer, *Iliad* 14. 342 and Discourse 11. 21.

φήν τινα ἢ ῥαθυμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνειμένην ὕβριν,
 Ἑδονὴν ἐπονομάζοντες, γυναικείαν τῷ ὄντι θεόν,
 προτιμῶσι καὶ θεραπεύουσι κυμβάλοις τισὶν ὑπο-
 ψοφούσι¹ καὶ αὐλοῖς ὑπὸ σκότος αὐλουμένοις, ἥς
 37 εὐωχίας οὐδεὶς ἐκείνοις φθόνος, εἰ μέχρι τοῦ
 ᾄδειν αὐτοῖς τὸ σοφὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς θεοὺς
 ἡμῶν ἀφηροῦντο καὶ ἀπώκιζον, ἐξελαύνοντες ἐκ
 τῆς αὐτῶν πόλειός τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ
 κόσμου παντός, εἰς τινὰς χώρας ἀτόπους, καθάπερ
 ἀνθρώπους δυστυχεῖς εἰς τινὰς νήσους ἐρήμιους·
 τάδε δὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα φάσκοντες ἀγνώμονα καὶ
 ἄφρονα καὶ ἀδέσποτα καὶ μηδένα ἔχοντα ἄρχοντα
 μηδὲ ταμίαν μηδὲ ἐπιστάτην πλανᾶσθαι εἰκῆ καὶ
 φέρεσθαι, μηδενὸς μήτε νῦν προνοοῦντος μήτε
 πρότερον ἐργασαμένου τὸ πᾶν, μηδὲ ὥσπερ οἱ
 παῖδες τοὺς τροχοὺς αὐτοὶ κινήσαντες εἰτα
 ἑῶσιν ἀφ' αὐτῶν φέρεσθαι.

38 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπεξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος καθ' αὐτὸν
 ἐκβάς· τυχὸν γὰρ οὐ ῥάδιον τὸν τοῦ φιλοσόφου
 νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἐπισχεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν ὀρμήσῃ, τοῦ
 ξυναντῶντος αἰὲ φαινομένου συμφέροντος καὶ
 ἀναγκαίου τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, οὐ μελετηθέντα πρὸς
 ὕδωρ καὶ δικανικὴν ἀνάγκην, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔφη τις,

¹ ὑποψοφούσι Capra, ἐπιψόφοις Reiske, πολυψόφοις Herwerden : ἢ ψόφοις or ἀψόφοις.

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

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representing a kind of wantonness or self-indulgent ease and unrestrained lewdness, to which they gave the name of Pleasure—an effeminate god in very truth—her they prefer in honour and worship with softly tinkling cymbal-like instruments, or with pipes played under cover of darkness¹—a form of entertainment which nobody would grudge such men if their cleverness went only as far as singing, and they did not attempt to take our gods from us and send them into banishment, driving them out of their own state and kingdom, clean out of this ordered universe to alien regions, even as unfortunate human beings are banished to sundry uninhabited isles; and all this universe above us they assert is without purpose or intelligence or master, has no ruler or even steward or overseer, but wanders at random and is swept aimlessly along,² no master being there to take thought for it now, and no creator having made it in the first place, or even doing as the boys do with their hoops, which they set in motion of their own accord, and then let them roll along of themselves.

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

¹ This was the teaching of Epicurus. Compare Hippocrates 343. 20: "to wander senseless," ἀγνώμονα πλανᾶσθαι.

ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀδείας. οὐκοῦν τό γε ἀναδραμεῖν οὐ χαλεπόν, ὥσπερ ἐν πλῶ τοῖς ἱκανοῖς κυβερνήταις οὐ πολὺ παραλλάξαι.

- 39 Τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξης καὶ ὑπολήψεως πρώτην μὲν ἀτεχνῶς πηγὴν ἐλέγομεν τὴν ἐμφυτον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπίνοιαν, ἐξ αὐτῶν γιγνομένην τῶν ἔργων καὶ τάληθους, οὐ κατὰ πλάνην συστάσαν οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ἰσχυρὰν καὶ ἀέναον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀρξαμένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, σχεδὸν τι κοινὴν καὶ δημοσίαν τοῦ λογικοῦ γένους.

- Δευτέραν δὲ λέγομεν τὴν¹ ἐπίκτητον καὶ δὴ οὐκ ἐτέρως² ἐγγιγνομένην ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ³ λόγοις τε καὶ μύθοις καὶ ἔθεσι, τοῖς μὲν ἀδεσπότοις τε καὶ ἀγράφοις, τοῖς δὲ ἐγγράφοις καὶ σφόδρα
40 γνωρίμους ἔχουσι τοὺς κυρίους. τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης ὑπολήψεως τὴν μὲν τινα ἐκουσίαν καὶ παραμυθη-
τικὴν φῶμεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναγκαίαν καὶ προστακτικὴν.

¹ λέγομεν τὴν Reiske: λεγομένην.

² δὴ οὐκ ἐτέρως Capps, δι' ἐτέρων Reiske: δι' οὐδετέρων.

³ ἢ Capps, with all MSS. except M.

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

² See Cicero, *Laws* 1. 8. 4 for the same thought: "And so, of all the many kinds of living creatures there is none except man that has any concept of a god, while among men themselves there is no race so highly civilized or so savage that, even if it does not know what sort of god it ought to have, yet thinks that it ought to have one. This goes to show that man recognizes God because in a sense he remembers and

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expression,¹ but allows itself a great deal of license. Well, it is not difficult to run back again, just as on a voyage it is not difficult for competent steersmen who have got a little off their course to get back upon it.

To resume, then : Of man's belief in the deity and his assumption that there is a god we were maintaining that the fountain-head, as we may say, or source, was that idea which is innate in all mankind and comes into being as the result of the actual facts and the truth, an idea that was not framed confusedly nor yet at random, but has been exceedingly potent and persistent since the beginning of time, and has arisen among all nations and still remains, being, one may almost say, a common and general endowment of rational beings.²

As the second source we designate the idea which has been acquired and indeed implanted in men's souls through no other means than narrative accounts, myths, and customs, in some cases ascribed to no author and also unwritten, but in others written and having as their authors men of very great fame.³ Of this acquired notion of the divine being let us say that one part is voluntary and due to exhortation, another part compulsory and prescriptive.

recognizes the source from which he sprang"—Itaque ex tot generibus nullum est animal praeter hominem, quod habeat notitiam aliquam dei, ipsisque in hominibus nulla gens est neque tam mansueta neque tam fera, quae non, etiamsi ignoret qualem habere deum deceat, tamen habendum sciat. ex quo officitur illud, ut is agnoscat deum qui unde ortus sit quasi recordetur et agnoscat.

¹ Plato (*Phaedrus* 237 d) speaks of two 'ideas,' the inborn desire (*ἐμφυρὸς ἐπιθυμία*) and the acquired opinion (*ἐπὶ κτήρητος δόξα*). See also his *Republic* 618 d.

- λέγω δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐκουσίου καὶ παραμυθίας ἐχομένην
 τὴν τῶν ποιητῶν, τοῦ δὲ ἀναγκαίου καὶ προστά-
 ξεως τὴν τῶν νομοθετῶν· τούτων γὰρ οὐδετέραν
 ἰσχύσαι δυνατόν μὴ πρώτης ἐκείνης ὑπόουσης, δι'
 ἣν βουλομένοις ἐνεγίνοντο¹ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ
 προειδόσιν αὐτοῖς αἱ τε προστάξεις καὶ παραμυθίαι,
 τῶν μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ συμφώνως ἐξηγουμένων ποιη-
 τῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν, τῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐννοίαις,
 41 τῶν δὲ ἀποπλανωμένων ἔν τισιν. ἀμφοῖν δὲ τοῖν
 λεγομένοις ποτέραν πρεσβυτέραν φῶμεν τῷ χρόνῳ
 παρά γε ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ποίησιν ἢ² νομοθεσίαν,
 οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι διατεινόμενος εἰπεῖν τῷ παρόντι.
 πρέπει δὲ ἴσως τὸ ἀζήμιον καὶ πειστικὸν³ ἀρχαιό-
 τερον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ ζημίας καὶ προστάξεως.
 42 σχεδὸν οὖν μέχρι τοῦδε ὁμοίως πρόεισι τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις τὰ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀθανάτου
 γονέως, ὃν καὶ πατρῶον Δία καλοῦμεν οἱ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος κοινωνοῦντες, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν θνητῶν καὶ
 ἀνθρωπίνων γονέων. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνους
 εὖνοια καὶ θεραπεία τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρώτη μὲν ἀπὸ
 τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀδίδακτος ὑπάρχει,
 τὸ γεννῆσαν καὶ τρέφον καὶ στέργον τοῦ γεννη-
 43 θέντος εὐθύς ἀντιφιλοῦντος καὶ ἀντιθεραπεύοντος

¹ ἐνεγίνοντο Capps : ἐγίνοντο.

² ἢ Dindorf : καί.

³ πειστικὸν Koehler : ποιητικόν.

¹ That is, some of both the lawgivers and the poets.

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By the kind that depends upon voluntary acceptance and exhortation I mean that which is handed down by the poets, and by the kind that depends upon compulsion and prescription I mean that due to the lawgivers. I call these secondary because neither of them could possibly have gained strength unless that primary notion had been present to begin with; and because it was present, there took root in mankind, of their own volition and because they already possessed a sort of foreknowledge, the prescriptions of the lawgivers and the exhortations of the poets, some of them¹ expounding things correctly and in consonance with the truth and their hearers' notions, and others going astray in certain matters. But which of the two influences mentioned should be called the earlier in time, among us Greeks at any rate, namely, poetry or legislation, I am afraid I cannot discuss at length on the present occasion; but perhaps it is fitting that the kind which depended, not upon penalties, but upon persuasion should be more ancient than the kind which employed compulsion and prescription. Now up to this point, we may almost say, the feelings of the human race towards their first and immortal parent, whom we who have a share in the heritage of Hellas call Ancestral Zeus, develop step by step along with those which men have toward their mortal and human parents. For in truth the goodwill and desire to serve which the offspring feel toward their parents is, in the first type, present in them, untaught, as a gift of nature and as a result of acts of kindness received, since that which has been begotten straightway from birth loves and cherishes in return, so far as it may, that which begat and nourishes and loves it, whereas

ὅπως ἂν ᾖ δυνατόν, δευτέρα δὲ καὶ τρίτη, ἢ ἀπὸ ¹ ποιητῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν, τῶν μὲν παραινούντων μὴ ἀποστερεῖν χάριν τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ ξυγγενές, ἔτι δὲ αἴτιον ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἐπαναγκαζόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων κόλασιν τοῖς οὐ πειθόμενοις, ἄνευ τοῦ διασαφεῖν καὶ δηλοῦν ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσιν οἱ γονεῖς καὶ τίνων εὐεργεσιῶν ² χρέος ὀφειλόμενον κελεύουσι μὴ ἀνέκτιστον ³ εἶναι. ἐν δὲ ⁴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγοις καὶ μύθοις μᾶλλον ἔτι ⁵ τοῦτο ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων γιγνόμενον.

Ὅρῶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τοῖς πολλοῖς πανταχοῦ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν κοπῶδες καὶ τὴν ⁶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲν ἥττον οἷς μέλει πλήθους μόνον, οἱ ⁷ οὐδὲν δὴ ⁸ προειπόντες οὐδὲ διαστείλαμενοι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχῆς ἀρχόμενοι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν, ⁹ ὥς φασιν, ἀπλύτοις ποσὶ διεξίασιν τὰ φανερώτατα καὶ γυμνότατα. καὶ ποδῶν μὲν ἀπλύτων οὐ μεγάλη βλάβη διὰ τε πηλοῦ καὶ πολλῶν καθαρμάτων ἰόντων, γλώττης δὲ ἀνεπιστήμονος οὐ μικρὰ ζημία γίνεται τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους, ὧν λόγον τινὰ ¹⁰ ἔχειν ἄξιον, συνεξανύειν καὶ συνεκπονεῖν, μέχρις ἂν ὥς ἐκ καμπῆς τινος καὶ δυσχωρίας καταστήσωμεν εἰς εὐθείαν τοὺς λόγους.

¹ ἢ ἀπὸ added by Capps.

² εὐεργεσιῶν Emperius: εὐεργετῶν.

³ ἀνέκτιστον Morel: ἀνέκτιστον.

⁴ δὲ found in M.

⁵ ἔτι Wilamowitz: δὲ. Geel, followed by most editors, deleted the whole sentence.

⁶ τὴν Capps: τὰ.

⁷ οἱ added by Capps.

⁸ δὴ Emperius: δὲ.

⁹ αὐτόθεν Wilamowitz: αὐτό γε.

¹⁰ Jacobs deleted εἰκότως after τινὰ and ἔχων after ἄξιον.

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the second and third types, which are derived from our poets and lawgivers, the former exhorting us not to withhold our gratitude from that which is older and of the same blood, besides being the author of life and being, the latter using compulsion and the threat of punishment for those who refuse obedience, without, however, making altogether clear and showing plainly just who parents are and what the acts of kindness are for which they enjoin upon us not to leave unpaid a debt which is due. But to an even greater extent do we see this to be true in both particulars in their stories and myths about the gods.

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

¹ For another form of this expression, which means 'unprepared,' see Lucian, *Pseudologista* 4: ἀνέτοις ποσὶ.

- 44 Τριῶν δὴ προεκκειμένων¹ γενέσεων τῆς δαιμονίου
 παρ' ἀνθρώποις ὑπολήψεως, ἐμφύτου, ποιητικῆς,
 νομικῆς, τετάρτην φῶμεν τὴν πλαστικὴν τε καὶ
 δημιουργικὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς
 εἰκόνας, λέγω δὲ γραφέων τε καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν
 καὶ λιθοξόνων καὶ παντὸς ἀπλῶς τοῦ καταξιώ-
 σαντος αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι μιμητὴν διὰ τέχνης τῆς
 δαιμονίας φύσεως, εἴτε σκιαγραφία μάλα ἀσθενεῖ
 καὶ ἀπατηλῇ πρὸς ὄψιν, εἴτε² χρωμάτων μίξει
 καὶ γραμμῆς ὄρω σχεδὸν τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περι-
 λαμβάνουσης, εἴτε λίθων γλυφαῖς εἴτε ξοάνων
 ἐργασίαις, κατ' ὀλίγον τῆς τέχνης ἀφαιρούσης
 τὸ περιττόν, ἕως ἂν καταλίπη αὐτὸ τὸ³ φαινό-
 μενον εἶδος, εἴτε χωνεῖα χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
 ὅσα τίμα διὰ πυρὸς ἐλαθέντων ἢ ῥυέντων ἐπὶ
 τινὰς τύπους, εἴτε κηροῦ πλάσει ῥᾶστα ξυνακολου-
 θούντος τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ πλεῖστον ἐπιδεχομένου τὸ
 45 τῆς μετανοίας· οἷος ἦν Φειδίας τε καὶ Ἀλκαμένης

¹ προεκκειμένων Arnim: προκειμένων.

² εἴτε added by Capps.

³ αὐτὸ τὸ Emporius: τὸ αὐτοῖς.

¹ See Strabo l. 2. 7-9, p. 19-20 for the enumeration of these four.

² Compare Plato, *Critias*, 107 c: "We use a rough sketch very dim and illusive"—σκιαγραφία δὲ ἀσαφεὶ καὶ ἀπατηλῇ χρώμεθα. Such rough sketches were used in scene-painting.

³ Compare Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 2. 21. 48: "but when many things have been removed and the outlines of the features

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Now that we have set before us three sources of man's conception of the divine being, to wit, the innate, that derived from the poets, and that derived from the lawgivers, let us name as the fourth that derived from the plastic art and the work of skilled craftsmen who make statues and likenesses of the gods¹—I mean painters and sculptors and masons who work in stone, in a word, everyone who has held himself worthy to come forward as a portrayer of the divine nature through the use of art, whether (1) by means of a rough sketch, very indistinct and deceptive to the eye,² or (2) by the blending of colours and by line-drawing, which produces a result which we can almost say is the most accurate of all, or (3) by the carving of stone, or (4) by the craft which makes images of wood, in which the artist little by little removes the excess of material until nothing remains but the shape which the observer sees,³ or (5) by the casting of bronze and the like precious metals, which are heated and then either beaten out or poured into moulds, or (6) by the moulding of wax, which most readily answers the artist's touch and affords the greatest opportunity for change of intention.⁴ To this class belong not only Pheidias but also Alcamenes⁵ and Polycleitus⁶ and

have been reached, then one can perceive that what has now been polished had always been inside the block"—sed cum multa sunt detracta et et ad lineamenta oris perventum est, tum intellegas illud quod iam expolitum sit intus fuisse.

¹ For correction of error in original design or for improvement of it.

² Greek artist and pupil of Pheidias.

³ *Fl.* 452-412, sculptor, architect, artist in toreutic. Excelled in making images of men as Pheidias did in making those of gods.

καὶ Πολύκλειτος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγλαοφῶν καὶ Πολύγνωτος καὶ Ζεύξις καὶ πρότερος αὐτῶν ὁ Δαίδαλος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέχρη τούτοις περὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιδεικνυσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν δεινότητα καὶ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν εἰκόνας καὶ διαθέσεις παντοδαπὰς ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἰδία τε καὶ δημοσία χορηγοὺς τὰς πόλεις λαμβάνοντες, πολλῆς ἐνέπλησαν ὑπονοίας καὶ ποικίλης περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου, οὐ παντελῶς διαφερόμενοι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ νομοθέταις, τὸ μὲν ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσι παράνομοι καὶ ταῖς ἐπικειμέναις ἐνέχωνται ζημίαις, τὸ δὲ ὀρώντες προκατειλημμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν οὔσαν τὴν ἐκείνων

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εἰδωλοποιίαν. οὐκ οὖν ἐβούλοντο φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπίθανοι καὶ ἀηδεῖς καινοποιοῦντες. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τοῖς μύθοις ἐπόμενοι καὶ συνηγοροῦντες ἔπλαττον, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσέφερον, ἀντίτεχνοι καὶ ὁμότεχνοι τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμενοι τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι δι' ἀκοῆς ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἀτεχνῶς καὶ αὐτοὶ δι' ὄψεως ἐξηγούμενοι τὰ θεῖα τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ ἀπειροτέροις θεαταῖς. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης, ὥς ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ χάριτι ποιούμενα τοῦ δαιμονίου.

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Καὶ μὴν δίχα γε τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ πρεσβυτάτης

¹ Father and teacher of Polygnotus. Famed as painter in first half of fifth century B.C.

² One of the most celebrated Greek painters. Came to Athens about 463 B.C.

³ Fl. 424-380, celebrated Greek painter.

⁴ Mythical personage, whose name means 'cunning craftsman.' Said to have been very skilled sculptor and mechanic. Made the wooden cow for Pasiphaë and the labyrinth to hold the Minotaur.

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further, Aglaophon¹ and Polygnotus² and Zeuxis³ and, earlier than all these, Daedalus.⁴ For these men were not satisfied to display their cleverness and skill on commonplace subjects, but by exhibiting all sorts of likenesses and representations of gods they secured for their patrons both private persons and the states, whose people they filled with an ample and varied conception of the divine; and here they did not differ altogether from the poets and law-givers, in the one case that they might not be considered violators of the laws and thus make themselves liable to the penalties imposed upon such, and in the other case because they saw that they had been anticipated by the poets and that the poets' image-making was the earlier.⁵ Consequently they preferred not to appear to the many as untrustworthy and to be disliked for making innovations. In most matters, accordingly, they adhered to the myths and maintained agreement with them in their representations, but in some few cases they contributed their own ideas, becoming in a sense the rivals as well as fellow-craftsmen of the poets, since the latter appealed to the ear alone, whereas it was simply through the eye⁶ that they, for their part, interpreted the divine attributes to their more numerous and less cultivated spectators. And all these influences won strength from that primary impulse, as having originated with the honouring of the divine being and winning his favour.

And furthermore, quite apart from that simple

¹ Compare Strabo l. 2. 7-9 and § 57 of this Discourse.

² Compare Herodotus, l. 8: ὅτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἰόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν. See also § 79 of this Discourse.

ἐννοίας περὶ θεῶν καὶ ξυγγενῶς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
 ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ φανομένης, πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις
 ἐρμηνεῦσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ποιητικῆς καὶ νομο-
 θετικῆς καὶ δημιουργικῆς, τέταρτον ἀνάγκη παρα-
 λαβεῖν, οὐδαμῇ ῥάθυμον οὐδὲ ἀπείρως ἡγούμενον
 ἔχειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, λέγω δὴ ¹ τὸν φιλόσοφον
 ἄνδρα, ἢ λόγῳ ² ἐξηγητὴν καὶ προφήτην τῆς ἀθα-
 νάτου φύσεως ἀληθέστατον ἴσως καὶ τελειότατον.

- 48 Τὸν μὲν οὖν νομοθέτην ἐάσωμεν τὰ νῦν εἰς
 εὐθύνας ἄγειν, ἄνδρα αὐστηρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 αὐτὸν εὐθύνοντα· δέοι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ φείδε-
 σθαι καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσχολίας. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν
 λοιπῶν ἐκάστου γένους προχειρισάμενοι τὸν ἄκρον
 σκοπῶμεν, εἴ τινα ὠφέλειαν ἢ ³ καὶ βλάβην φανή-
 σονται πεποιηκότες πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τοῖς αὐτῶν
 ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις, ὅπως τε ἔχουσιν ὁμολογίας ἢ
 τοῦ διαφέρεισθαι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τίς αὐτῶν ξυν-
 ἔπεται τῷ ἀληθεῖ μάλιστα, τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἀδόλῳ
 γνώμῃ σύμφωνος ὢν. πάντες τοιγαροῦν οὗτοι
 ξυνάδουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἵχνους λαβόμενοι, καὶ
 τοῦτο σῶζοντες, οἱ μὲν σαφῶς, οἱ δὲ ἀδηλό-
 τερον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἴσως δέοιτο παραμυθίας ὁ ⁴
 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φιλόσοφος, εἰ πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἄγοιτο
 ποιηταῖς ἀγαλμάτων ἢ μέτρων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν
 ὄχλῳ πανηγύρεως ἐκείνοις φίλων δικαστῶν;

¹ δὴ Capps: δέ.

² λόγῳ Venetian edition: λόγων.

³ ἢ Wilamowitz: τε.

⁴ ὁ added by Reiske.

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and earliest notion of the gods, which develops in the hearts of all men along with their reasoning power,¹ in addition to those three interpreters and teachers, the poets, the lawgivers, and creative artists, we must take on a fourth one, who is by no means indifferent nor believes himself unacquainted with the gods, I mean the philosopher,² the one who by means of reason interprets and proclaims the divine nature, most truly, perhaps, and most perfectly.

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

¹ Cf. § 27.

² See p. 18 f, note 4.

³ The Olympic Games offered many attractions to the people, and Dio feels that he must not hold them too long.

49 Εἰ γάρ τις Φειδίαν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν
 εὐθύνει, τὸν σοφὸν τοῦτον καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐργάτην
 τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ παγκάλου δημιουργήματος, καθίσας
 δικαστὰς τοὺς βραβεύοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα,
 μᾶλλον δὲ κοινὸν δικαστήριον συμπαντῶν Πελο-
 ποννησίων, ἔτι δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην
 καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον ἀπαιτῶν
 οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα δαπάνης, ὅπόσων χρυσὸς
 ὠνήθη ταλάντων καὶ ἐλέφας, ἔτι δὲ κυπάριττος
 καὶ θύον, πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς ἐργασίαν μόνιμος ὕλη καὶ
 ἀδιάφθορος,¹ τροφῆς τε καὶ μισθῶν ἀναλώματος¹
 τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὐδὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον
 ἄλλοις τε οὐ φαύλοις δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῦ πλείστου
 καὶ² τελεωτάτου μισθοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης Φειδία-
 ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ Ἠλείοις προσήκοντα λογίσασθαι
 τοῖς ἀναλώσασιν ἀφθόνως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς,
 50 ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου φήσομεν τῷ Φειδίᾳ
 προκεῖσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα· εἰ οὖν δὴ λέγοι τις πρὸς
 αὐτόν·

ὦ βέλτιστε καὶ ἄριστε τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὡς
 μὲν³ ἡδὺ καὶ προσφιλὲς ὄραμα καὶ τέρψιν
 ἀμήχανον θέας εἰργάσω πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι καὶ
 βαρβάροις, ὅσοι ποτὲ δεῦρο ἀφίκοντο πολλοὶ
 51 πολλάκις, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ τὴν
 ἄλογον ἂν ἐκπλήξῃ⁴ τοῦτό γε τῶν ζώων φύσιν,

¹ ἐντὸς ἐργασίαν μόνιμος ὕλη καὶ ἀδιάφθορος Arnim: ἐν τῇ
 ἐργασίᾳ μόνιμον ὕλην καὶ ἀδιάφθορον.

² Geel restores the genitives for ἀνάλωμα and τὸν πλείστον
 καὶ τελεωτάτον μισθόν of the MSS.

³ ὡς μὲν Venetian edition: ὡς μὲν οὖν.

⁴ ἄλογον ἂν ἐκπλήξῃ Geel: ἂν ἄλογον ἐκπλήξῃ.

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

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

εἰ δύναντο προσιδεῖν μόνον, ταύρων τε τῶν αἰ
 πρὸς τόνδε τὸν βωμὸν ἀγομένων, ὡς ἐκόντας
 ὑπέειπεν¹ τοῖς καταρχομένοις, εἴ τινα παρέξουσιν
 τῷ θεῷ χάριν, ἔτι δὲ αἰετῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ
 λεόντων, ὡς τὸ ἀνήμερον καὶ ἄγριον σβέσαντας τοῦ
 θυμοῦ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τερφθέντας² ὑπὸ
 τῆς θεάς· ἀνθρώπων δέ, ὅς ἂν ἡ παντελῶς ἐπίπονος
 τὴν ψυχὴν, πολλὰς ἀναντλήσεις³ συμφορὰς καὶ
 λύπας ἐν τῷ βίῳ μηδὲ ὕπνῳ ἡδὺν ἐπιβαλλόμενος,⁴
 καὶ ὅς δοκεῖ μοι κατ' ἐναντίον σταῖς τῆσδε τῆς
 εἰκόνης ἐκλαθέσθαι ἂν⁵ πάντων ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ
 52 βίῳ δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ γίγνεται παθεῖν. οὕτως
 σύγε ἀνεῦρες καὶ ἐμηχανήσω θέαμα, ἀτεχνῶς

νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθες ἀπάντων.

τοσοῦτον φῶς καὶ τοσαύτη χάρις ἔπεστιν ἀπὸ τῆς
 τέχνης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν⁶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡφαιστον εἰκὸς
 ἐγκαλέσαι τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ, κρίνοντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν
 καὶ τέρψιν ἀνθρωπίνης ὥψεως.

Εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ πρέπον εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν μορφήν
 τῆς θεοῦ φύσεως ἐδημιούργησας ὕλη τε ἐπιτερπεῖ
 χρησάμενος, ἀνδρὸς τε μορφήν ὑπερφυῖ τὸ κάλλος
 καὶ τὸ μέγεθος δείξας, πλὴν τ'⁷ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τᾶλλα
 ποιήσας ὡς ἐποίησας, σκοπῶμεν τὰ νῦν· ὑπὲρ

¹ ὑπέειπεν Cohoon: ὑπέχειν.

² τερφθέντας Geel: τερφθέντα.

³ ἀναντλήσεις Dindorf: ἀπαντλήσεις.

⁴ Capps conjectures μηδ' ἐν ὕπνῳ ἡδεῖ ἐπιλαθόμενος—"which even in sweet sleep he could never forget." Arnim, condemning ἐπιβαλλόμενος, suggests αἶτε λαμβάνων.

⁵ ἂν added by Geel.

⁶ ἂν PY, omitted by other MSS.

⁷ τ' added by Capps. δὲ τάνδρὸς Schwartz.

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could catch merely a glimpse of yonder statue, not only the bulls¹ which are being continually led to this altar, so that they would willingly submit themselves to the priests who perform the rites of sacrifice, if so they would be giving some pleasure to the god, but eagles too, and horses and lions, so that they would subdue their untamed and savage spirits and preserve perfect quiet, delighted by the vision; and of men, whoever is sore distressed in soul, having in the course of his life drained the cup of many misfortunes and griefs, nor ever winning sweet sleep—even this man, methinks, if he stood before this image, would forget all the terrors and hardships that fall to our human lot. Such a wondrous vision did you devise and fashion, one in very truth a

Charmer of grief and anger, that from men
All the remembrance of their ills could loose!²

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

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

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

² Homer, *Odyssey* 4. 221, translated by Mackail.

- ὧν ἀπολογησάμενος ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ
 πείσας ὅτι τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἐξεῦρες σχή-
 ματός τε καὶ μορφῆς τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ
 θεῷ, μισθὸν ἕτερον τοῦ παρ' Ἡλείων προσλάβοις
 53 ἂν¹ μείζω καὶ τελειότερον. ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅτι οὐ
 μικρὸς ἀγὼν οὐδ' ὁ κίνδυνος ἡμῖν. πρότερον μὲν
 γάρ, ἅτε οὐδέν σαφές εἰδότες, ἄλλην ἄλλος ἀν-
 επλάττομεν ἰδέαν, πᾶν τὸ θεῖον² κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 δύναμιν καὶ φύσιν ἕκαστος ἰνδαλλόμενοι καὶ
 ὀνειρώττοντες· εἴ τέ πού τινα μικρὰ καὶ ἄσημα συλ-
 λέγομεν³ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰκάσματα τεχνιτῶν,
 οὐ πάνυ τούτοις οὔτε πιστεύοντες οὔτε προσ-
 έχοντες τὸν νοῦν. σὺ δέ γε ἰσχυρὴ τέχνης ἐνί-
 κησας καὶ ξυνήλλαξας⁴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτον,
 ἔπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τῷδε τῷ φάσματι, θεσπέσιον
 καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀποδείξας, ὥς μηδὲνα τῶν ἰδόντων
 54 δόξαν ἑτέραν ἔτι λαβεῖν ραδίως. ἂρ' οὖν οἶει
 τὸν Ἰφίτον καὶ τὸν Λυκούργον καὶ τοὺς τότε
 Ἡλείους διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν τὸν μὲν ἀγῶνα
 καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ποιῆσαι τῷ Διὶ πρέπουσαν, ἄγαλμα
 δὲ μηδὲν ἐξευρεῖν ἐπ' ὀνόματι καὶ σχήματι τοῦ
 θεοῦ, σχεδόν τι προέχοντας δυνάμει τῶν ὕστερον,
 ἢ μᾶλλον φοβηθέντας μήποτε οὐ δύναιντο⁵ ἱκανῶς

¹ ἂν added by Geel.

² θεῖον Capps: θνητόν. Arnim deletes πᾶν τὸ θνητόν and is followed by Budé. Wilamowitz would substitute παντόθεν.

³ συλλέγομεν Cohoon, συννοοῦμεν Capps: συλλέγοντες.

⁴ ξυνήλλαξας Emperius: ξυνέλεξας.

⁵ οὐ δύναιντο Schwartz: οὐκ ἐδύναντο UB οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο P.

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to consider now. And if you make a satisfactory defence on these matters before those present and convince them that you have discovered the proper and fitting shape and form for the foremost and greatest god, then you shall receive in addition a second reward, greater and more perfect than the one given by the Eleans. For you see that the issue is no small one, nor the danger, for us. Since in times past, because we had no clear knowledge, we formed each his different idea, and each person, according to his capacity and nature, conceived a likeness for every divine manifestation and fashioned such likenesses in his dreams; and if we do perchance collect any small and insignificant likenesses made by the earlier artists, we do not trust them very much nor pay them very much attention. But *you* by the power of your art first conquered and united Hellas and then all others by means of this wondrous presentment, showing forth so marvellous and dazzling a conception, that none of those who have beheld it could any longer easily form a different one.¹ Pray, do you imagine that it was owing to lack of money that Iphitus² and Lycurgus³ and the Eleans of that period, while instituting the contest and the sacrifice in such wise as to be worthy of Zeus, yet failed to search for and find a statue to bear the name and show the aspect of the god, although they were, one might almost say, superior in power to their descendants? Or was it rather because they feared that they would never be able adequately to portray

¹ The Olympic Games are said to have been renewed by a certain Iphitus after a long interruption. See Pausanias 5. 8. 5; scholia to Pindar *Olymp.* 3. 20.

² Said to have helped Iphitus re-establish the Olympian Games, but according to Xenophon lived 200 years earlier.

ἀπομιμήσασθαι διὰ θνητῆς τέχνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ
τελειοτάτην φύσιν;

- 55 Πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα τυχὸν εἶποι ἂν Φειδίας, ἄτε
ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄγλωττος οὐδὲ ἀγλώττου πόλεως,
ἔτι δὲ συνήθης καὶ ἑταῖρος Περικλέους·

Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν τῶν πώποτε μέ-
γιστος· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ περὶ στρατηγίας
μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ περὶ νεῶν πλήθους ἢ πεζοῦ
στρατοπέδου, πότερον ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ διώκεται,
τὰ νῦν ὑπέχω λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ πάντων
κρατοῦντος θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμοιώσεως,¹
εἴτε εὐσχημόνως καὶ προσεοικύτως γέγονεν, οὐδὲν
ἐλλείπουσα τῆς δυνατῆς πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώ-
ποις ἀπεικασίας, εἴτε ἀναξία καὶ ἀπρεπής.

- 56 Ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῖν
ἐγενόμην ἐξηγητῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἀληθείας.
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔφυν ἔτι² κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος
οὐδέπω σαφῇ καὶ ἀραρότα δόγματα ἐχούσης
περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρας τρόπον τινα καὶ τὰ³
περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἤδη πεπεισμένης καὶ νομιζούσης
ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ ὅσα μὲν λιθοξόων ἔργα ἢ γραφέων
ἀρχαιότερα τῆς ἐμῆς τέχνης σύμφωνα ᾔσαν, πλὴν
ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ποιήσεως, ἐὼ λέγειν·
57 δόξας δὲ ὑμετέρας κατέλαβον παλαιὰς ἀκινήτους,
αἷς οὐκ ἦν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ δημιουργοὺς

¹ ὁμοιώσεως Arnim : ὁμοιότητος.

² ἔφυν ἔτι Apogr. : ἔφην ὅτι.

³ τὰ added by Schwartz.

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by human art the Supreme and most Perfect Being?"

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

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

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

¹ The Athenians in contrast to the taciturn Spartans approved of lengthy discussion and oratory. Pericles' eloquence helped him to maintain his political power in Athens.

- ἄλλους περὶ τὰ θεῖα, πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρους ἀξιούντας εἶναι, τοὺς ποιητάς, ἐκείνων μὲν δυναμένων εἰς πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν ἄγειν διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως, τῶν δὲ ἡμετέρων αὐτουρρημάτων μόνην ταύτην ἱκαίην ἔχόντων εἰκασίαν.
- 58 τὰ γὰρ θεῖα φάσματα, λέγω δὲ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρον, αὐτὰ μὲν καθ' αὐτὰ φαινόμενα θαυμαστὰ πάντως, ἡ δὲ μίμησις αὐτῶν ἀπλῆ καὶ ἄτεχνος, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τὰ σελήνης σχήματα ἀφομοιοῦν ἢ τὸν ἡλίου κύκλον· ἔτι δὲ ἡθους καὶ διανοίας αὐτὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα μεστὰ πάντως,¹ ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰκάσμασι οὐδὲν ἐνδεικνύμενα τοιοῦτον· ὅθεν² ἴσως καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω³ ἐνομήσθη τοῖς
- 60 Ἕλλησι. νοῦν γὰρ καὶ φρόνησιν αὐτὴν μὲν καθ' αὐτὴν οὔτε τις πλάστης οὔτε τις γραφεὺς εἰκάσαι δυνατός ἐσται· ἀθέατοι γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀνιστόρητοι παντελῶς πάντες. τὸ δὲ ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο γιγνόμενόν ἐστιν οὐχ ὑπονοοῦντες, ἀλλ' εἰδότες, ἐπ' αὐτὸ καταφεύγομεν, ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα ὡς⁴ ἀγγεῖον φρονήσεως καὶ λόγου θεῷ προσάπτοντες, ἐνδεία καὶ ἀπορία παραδείγματος τῷ φανερῷ τε καὶ εἰκαστῷ τὸ ἀνείκαστον καὶ ἀφανὲς ἐνδείκνυσθαι ζητοῦντες, συμβόλου δυνάμει χρώμενοι, κρεῖττον ἢ φασὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὰς ζῶις τὸ θεῖον ἀφομοιοῦν κατὰ σμικρὰς καὶ ἀτόπους ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ πλεῖστον ὑπερβαλὼν

¹ πάντως Reiske: πάντων.² ὅθεν Selden: οἶον.³ οὕτω Capps: οὕτως.⁴ ὡς Jacobs: καὶ.¹ He means Homer; cf. next note.² i.e., sculpture could only be compared with sculpture as to truthful portrayal, based on sculptors' conception of the deity. He refers to Homer; cf. section 62 *infra*.

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

κάλλει καὶ σεμνότητι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, σχεδὸν
οὗτος πολὺ κράτιστος δημιουργὸς τῶν περὶ τὰ
60 θεῖα ἀγαλμάτων.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς βέλτιον ὑπῆρχεν ἂν¹ μηδὲν
ἱδρυμα μηδὲ εἰκόνα θεῶν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι παρ'
ἀνθρώποις φαίη τις ἂν, ὡς πρὸς μόνᾳ ὁρᾷ
δέον τὰ οὐράνια. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ξύμπαντα
ὃ γε νοῦν ἔχων σέβει, θεοὺς ἡγούμενος μακαρίους
μακρόθεν ὁρῶν· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον
γνώμην² ἰσχυρὸς ἔρως πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγγύθεν
τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον, προσιώντας καὶ
ἀπτομένους μετὰ πειθοῦς, θύοντας καὶ στεφα-
61 νοῦντας. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ νήπιοι παῖδες
πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀπеспασμένοι δεινὸν ἱμερον
ἔχοντες καὶ πόθον ὀρέγουσι χεῖρας οὐ παροῦσι
πολλάκις ὀνειρώττοντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοῖς³ ἄνθρω-
ποι ἀγαπῶντες δικαίως διὰ τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ
συγγένειαν, προθυμούμενοι πάντα τρόπον συνεῖναι
τε καὶ ὁμιλεῖν· ὥστε καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία τέχνης ὄρη θεοὺς ἐπονομά-
ζουσι καὶ δένδρα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀσήμους λίθους, οὐδαμῇ
οὐδαμῶς⁴ οἰκειότερα τὴν μορφήν.⁵

62 Εἰ δ' ὑμῖν ἐπαίτιός εἰμι τοῦ σχήματος, οὐκ
ἂν φθάνοιτε Ὀμήρῳ πρότερον χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες·
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μόνον μορφήν ἐγγύτατα ταύτης⁶

¹ ὑπῆρχεν ἂν Capps: ὑπῆρχε.

² For γνώμην Wilamowitz conjectured ὁρμήν.

³ θεοῖς Emperius: θεοὺς.

⁴ The doubly emphatic οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς is a familiar Platonic idiom. Cf. *Phaedr.* 78 d, *Theaet.* 176 c, *Phileb.* 29 b. Jacobs, followed by von Arnim, wrongly deletes οὐδαμῶς.

⁵ τὴν μορφήν Cohoon: τῆς μορφῆς.

⁶ ταύτης added by Capps.

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above others in respect of beauty and majesty and splendour,¹ he, we may say, has been by far the greatest creator of the images of the divine beings.²

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

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

¹ *i.e.*, of his conception of God.

² He refers to Homer; cf. § 62 *infra*.

τῆς δημιουργίας ἐμιμήσατο, χαίτας τε ὀνομάζων τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔτι δὲ ἀνθερέωνα εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ποιήσεως, ὅτε φησὶν ἱκετεύειν τὴν Θέτιν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ παιδός· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁμιλίας τε καὶ βουλευσεις¹ καὶ δημηγορίας² ἔνεμεν³ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἰδης ἀφίξεις πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ Ὀλυμπον, ὕπνους τε καὶ συμπόσια καὶ μίξεις, μάλα μὲν ὑψηλῶς σύμπαντα κοσμῶν τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ὅμως δὲ ἐχόμενα θνητῆς ὁμοιότητος· καὶ δὴ γε καὶ ὅποτε ἐτόλμησεν Ἀγαμέμνονι προσεικάσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς κυριωτάτοις μέρεσιν εἰπών,

ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ.

- τὸ δέ γε τῆς ἐμῆς ἐργασίας οὐκ ἂν τις οὐδὲ μαnevίς
 63 τινι ἀφομοιώσειεν οὐδενὶ ζῶτιν⁴ θνητῷ, πρὸς
 κάλλος ἢ μέγεθος θεοῦ συνεξεταζόμενον, ὅπου⁵ γε
 εἰ μὴ Ὀμήρου πολὺ φανῶ κρείττων καὶ σωφρονέ-
 στερος ποιητής, τοῦ δόξαντος ὑμῖν ἰσοθέου τὴν
 σοφίαν, ἣν βούλεσθε ζημίαν ἔτοιμος ὑπέχειν
 ἐγώ. λέγω δὲ πρὸς τὸ δυνατόν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ
 64 τέχνης· δαισιλὲς γὰρ χρῆμα ποίησις καὶ πάντα
 τρόπον εὐπορον καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ χορηγία
 γλώττης καὶ πλήθει ῥημάτων ἱκανὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 πάντα δηλῶσαι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλήματα, κἂν
 ὅποιονοῦν διανοηθῇ σχῆμα ἢ ἔργον ἢ πάθος

¹ βουλευσεις Reiske: βουλήσεις.

² δημηγορίας Reiske: δημιουργίας.

³ ἔνεμεν added by Capps. Geel proposed ἐν before τοῖς.

⁴ ζῶτιν added by Capps, cf. Or. 23. 8: οὐδενὶ PY, οὐδὲ other MSS.

⁵ ὅπου Capps: ἀφ' οὗ.

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

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

His eye and lofty brow the counterpart
Of Zeus, the Lord of thunder.¹

But as to the product of my workmanship nobody, not even an insane person, would liken it to any mortal man soever, if it be carefully examined from the point of view of a god's beauty or stature; since, if I shall not be found to be a better and more temperate ² artificer than Homer, whom you thought godlike in his skill, I am willing to pay any fines you wish! But I am speaking with an eye to what is possible in my art. For an extravagant thing is poetry and in every respect resourceful and a law unto itself, and by the assistance of the tongue and a multitude of words is able all by itself to express all the devisings of the heart, and whatever conception it may arrive at concerning any shape or action or emotion or magnitude, it can never be at a loss,

² i.e., less given to exaggeration than Homer was in his description of Agamemnon; cf. 'extravagant,' § 67.

ἢ μέγεθος, οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειεν, Ἀγγέλου φωνῆς
πάνυ ἐναργῶς σημαινούσης ἕκαστα·

στρεπτή γὰρ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ'
ἐνὶ μῦθοι,

φησὶν Ὀμηρος αὐτός,

παντοῖοι, ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

- 65 κινδυνεύει γὰρ οὖν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος ἀπάντων
ἐνδεές γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ φωνῆς καὶ λέξεως·
τούτου δὲ μόνου κέκτῃται θαυμαστόν τινα πλοῦτον.
οὐδὲν γοῦν παραλέλοιπεν ἄφθεγκτον οὐδὲ ἄσημον
τῶν πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἀφικνουμένων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς
ἐπιβάλλει τῷ νοηθέντι σαφῇ σφραγίδα ὀνόματος,
πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πλείους φωνὰς ἐνὸς πράγματος,
ὧν ὅποταν φθέγξῃται τινα, παρέσχε δόξαν οὐ
πολὺ ἀσθενεστέραν τ᾽ ἀληθοῦς. πλείστη μὲν οὖν
ἐξουσία καὶ δύναμις ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ λόγον ἐνδείξα-
66 σθαι τὸ παραστάν. ἡ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν τέχνη μά-
λα αὐθάδης καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος, ἄλλως τε Ὀμήρου,
τοῦ πλείστην ἄγοντος παρρησίαν, ὃς οὐχ ἓνα
εἵλετο χαρακτῆρα λέξεως, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλη-
νικὴν γλῶτταν διηρημένην τέως ἀνέμιξε, Δωριέων
τε καὶ Ἰώνων, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, εἰς ταῦτὸ
κεράσας πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρώματα οἱ βαφεῖς,

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

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since the voice of a Messenger¹ can disclose with perfect clearness each and all these things. For, as Homer himself says,

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

Indeed, the race of men is more likely to run short of everything else than of voice and speech; of this one thing it possesses a most astounding wealth. At any rate it has left unuttered and undesignated no single thing that reaches our sense perceptions, but straightway puts upon everything the mind perceives the unmistakable seal of a name, and often even several vocal signs for one thing, so that when man gives utterance to any one of them, they convey an impression not much less distinct than does the actual thing itself. Very great indeed is the ability and power of man to express in words any idea that comes into his mind. But the poets' art is exceedingly bold and not to be censured therefor; this was especially true of Homer, who practiced the greatest frankness and freedom of language; and he did not choose just one variety of diction, but mingled together every Hellenic dialect which before his time were separate—that of the Dorians and Ionians, and also that of the Athenians³—mixing them together much more thoroughly than dyers do their colours—and not

¹ Homer, *Iliad* 20. 248-249, translated by the Earl of Derby.

² Compare Discourse 11. 23, where the Aeolic dialect also is mentioned. See also Aristotle's *Poetics* 1461 a.

- οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρότερον, εἴ ποῦ τι ῥῆμα ἐκλελοιπός, καὶ τοῦτο ἀναλαβὼν ὥσπερ νόμισμα ἀρχαῖον ἐκ θησαυροῦ ποθεν
- 67 ἀδεσπότου διὰ φιλορρηματίαν,¹ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ βαρβάρων ὀνόματα, φειδόμενος οὐδενὸς ὃ τι μόνον ἡδοιῆν ἢ σφοδρότητα ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ῥῆμα ἔχειν πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μεταφέρων οὐ τὰ γειννῶντα μόνον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγύθεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλείστον ἀπέχοντα, ὅπως κηλήσῃ τὸν ἀκροατὴν μετ' ἐκπλήξεως καταγοητεύσας, καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα κατὰ χώραν ἑῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μηκύνων, τὰ δὲ συναιρῶν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλως² παρατρέπων.
- 68 Τελευτῶν δὲ αὐτόν ἀπέφαινεν οὐ μόνον μέτρων ποιητὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων, παρ' αὐτοῦ φθεγγόμενος, τὰ μὲν ἀπλῶς τιθέμενος ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασι, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κυρίοις ἐπονομάζων, οἷον σφραγίδα σφραγίδι ἐπιβάλλων ἐναργῆ καὶ μᾶλλον εὐδηλον, οὐδενὸς φθόγγου ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἔμβραχυ³ ποταμῶν τε μιμούμενος φωνὰς καὶ ὕλης καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης, ἔτι δὲ χαλκοῦ καὶ λίθου καὶ ξυμπάντων ἀπλῶς ζώων καὶ ὀργάνων, τοῦτο μὲν θηρίων, τοῦτο δὲ ὀρνίθων, τοῦτο δὲ αὐλῶν τε καὶ συρίγγων· καναχὰς τε καὶ βόμβους καὶ κτύπον καὶ δοῦπον καὶ ἄραβον πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν⁴ καὶ ὀνομάσας ποταμούς τε μορμύροντας καὶ βέλη κλάζοντα καὶ βοῶντα κύματα καὶ χαλεπαίνοντας ἀνέμους καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα δευνὰ καὶ ἄτοπα τῷ ὄντι θαύματα, πολλὴν ἐμβάλλοντα τῇ γνώμῃ ταραχὴν καὶ

¹ φιλορρηματίαν Geel: φιλορρηματίαν.

² Geel conjectures ὅλως for ἄλλως.

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

"And, last of all, he showed himself not only a maker of verses but also of words, giving utterance to those of his own invention, in some cases by simply giving his own names to the things and in others adding his new ones to those current, putting, as it were, a bright and more expressive seal upon a seal. He avoided no sound, but in short imitated the voices of rivers and forests, of winds and fire and sea, and also of bronze and of stone, and, in short, of all animals and instruments without exception, whether of wild beasts or of birds or of pipes and reeds. He invented the terms 'clang' (*kanache*), 'boom' (*bombos*), 'crash' (*ktupos*), 'thud' (*doupos*), 'rattle' (*arabos*), and spoke of 'roaring rivers,' 'whizzing missiles,' 'thundering waves,' 'raging winds,' and other such terrifying and truly astonishing phenomena, thus filling the mind with great confusion and uproar. Consequently

² ἑμβραχυ Geel: ἐν βραχεῖ or ἐν βραχὺ.

⁴ ἐξευρών Venetian edition: ἐξέωρεν.

69 θόρυβον ὥστε οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ἀπορία φοβερῶν¹ ὀνομάτων καὶ ἡδέων, ἔτι δὲ λείων καὶ τραχέων καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐχόντων διαφορὰς ἐν τε τοῖς ἡχοῖς καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασιν. ὑφ' ἧς ἐποποιίας δυνατὸς ἦν ὁποῖον ἐβούλετο ἐμποιῆσαι τῇ ψυχῇ πάθος.

Τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον αὖ γένος, τὸ χειρωνακτικὸν καὶ δημιουργικόν, οὐδαμῇ ἐφικνεῖται τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὕλης προσδεόμεθα, ἀσφαλούς μὲν ὥστε διαμεῖναι, οὐ πολὺν δὲ ἐχούσης κάματον πορισθῆναί τε οὐ ῥαδίας, 70 ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγων συνεργῶν. πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν σχῆμα ἐκάστης εἰκόνης ἀνάγκη εἰργάσθαι,² καὶ τοῦτο ἀκίνητον καὶ μένον, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ξυλλαβεῖν φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν. τοῖς δὲ ποιηταῖς πολλὰς τινὰς μορφὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰ εἶδη³ περιλαβεῖν τῇ ποιήσει ῥαδίον, κινήσεις τε καὶ ἡσυχίας προστιθέντας αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἂν ἐκάστοτε πρέπειν ἡγῶνται καὶ ἔργα καὶ λόγους, καὶ πρόσσεστιν,⁴ οἶμαι, τὸ τῆς χαλεπότητος⁵ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου. μὲν γὰρ ἐπινοία καὶ ὁρμῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεχθεὶς ὁ ποιητὴς πολὺ τι πληθὺς ἐπῶν ἤρυσεν,⁶ ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς

¹ φοβερῶν Reiske : φανερῶν.

² ἐργάσασθαι Wilamowitz.

³ παντοδαπὰ εἶδη Casaubon : παντοδαπὰς ἐπειδὴ οἱ παντοδαπὰς.

⁴ πρόσσεστι' Capps with P : προσέτι.

⁵ χαλεπότητος Capps, cf. Plato *Critias*, 107 c : ἀπάτης.

⁶ ἐπῶν ἤρυσεν Selden : ἐπήρυσεν.

¹ It was easy to find hard marble whose grain was coarse so that it resisted the chisel and was liable to chip, but it was not

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he had no lack of fear-inspiring names for things and of pleasant ones, and also of smooth and rough ones, as well as of those which have countless other differences in both their sounds and their meanings. As a result of this epic art of his he was able to implant in the soul any emotion he wished.

"But our art, on the other hand, that which is dependent on the workman's hand and the artist's creative touch, by no means attains to such freedom; but first we need a material substance, a material so tough that it will last, yet can be worked without much difficulty and consequently not easy to procure;¹ we need, too, no small number of assistants. And then, in addition, the sculptor must have worked out for himself a design that shows each subject in one single posture, and that too a posture that admits of no movement and is unalterable, so perfected that it will comprise within itself the whole of the god's nature and power. But for the poets it is perfectly easy to include very many shapes and all sorts of attitudes in their poetry, adding movements and periods of rest to them according to what they consider fitting at any given time, and actions and spoken words, and they have, I imagine, an additional advantage in the matter of difficulty² and that of time. For the poet when moved by one single conception and one single impulse of his soul draws forth an immense volume of verses, as if from a gushing spring

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

² Cf. Plato *Critias* 107e: "For one must conceive of mortal objects as being difficult, and not easy, to represent satisfactorily"—οὐ γὰρ ὡς ῥαδια τὰ θνητὰ ἀλλ' ὡς χαλεπὰ πρὸς δόξαν ὄντα ἀπεικάζειν δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι.

ὑδατος ὑπερβλύσαντος, πρὶν ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαρρυῆναι τὸ φάντασμα καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἣν ἔλαβε. τὸ δέ γε ἡμέτερον τῆς τέχνης ἐπίπονον καὶ βραδύ, μόλις καὶ κατ' ¹ ὀλίγον προβαῖνον, ἄτε, οἶμαι, πετρώδει καὶ στερεᾷ κάμνον ὕλη.

- 71 Τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ἀνάγκη παραμένειν τῷ δημιουργῷ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰεὶ, μέχρις ἂν ἐκτελέσῃ τὸ ἔργον, πολλάκις καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι. καὶ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὥς ἔστιν ἀκοῆς πιστότερα ὄμματα, ἀληθὲς ἴσως· πολὺ γε μὴν δυσπιστότερα ² καὶ πλείονος δεόμενα ἐναργείας. ³ ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὅψις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀρωμένοις συμβάλλει, τὴν δὲ ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἀναπτερῶσαι καὶ παραλογίσασθαι, μιμήματα ⁴ εἰσπέμποντα γεγοη-
- 72 τευμένα μέτροις καὶ ἤχοις. καὶ μὴν τὰ γε ἡμέτερα τῆς τέχνης ἀναγκαῖα μέτρα πλήθους τε πέρι καὶ μεγέθους· τοῖς δὲ ποιηταῖς ἔξεστι καὶ ταῦτα ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν αὐξῆσαι. τοιγαροῦν Ὀμήρῳ μὲν ῥάδιον ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ἑριδος, ὅτι

οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει·

ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀγαπητὸν δῆπουθεν πληρῶσαι τὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλλείων ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον.

- 73 Σὺ μὲν οὖν φήσεις, ὦ σοφώτατε τῶν ποιητῶν Ὀμῆρε, πολὺ τῇ τε δυνάμει τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ

¹ κατ' added by Reiske.

² δυσπιστότερα Jacobs : δυσπιστότερα.

³ ἐναργείας Reiske : ἐνεργείας.

⁴ μιμήματα Wilamowitz : μὴ ῥήματα.

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

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

"But the most difficult thing of all is that the sculptor must keep the very same image in his mind continuously until he finishes his work, which often takes many years.¹ Indeed, the popular saying that the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears² is perhaps true, yet they are much harder to convince and demand much greater clearness; for while the eye agrees exactly with what it sees, it is not impossible to excite and cheat the ear by filling it with representations under the spell of metre and sound.³ Then again, while the measures of our art are enforced upon us by considerations of numbers and magnitude, the poets have the power to increase even these elements to any extent. For this reason it was easy enough for Homer to give the size of Eris by saying,

With humble crest at first, anon her head,

While yet she treads the earth, affronts the skies.⁴

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

"Thou certainly wilt agree, O Homer, wisest of poets, who both in the power of thy poetry and in beauty, which beholding and keeping his mind fixed on it, he directed his art and hand in harmony with its likeness:"
Ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat.

² Herodotus 1. 8.

³ See p. 51, note 6 and § 79.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad* 4. 443, translated by the Earl of Derby.

- τῷ χρόνῳ προέχων, σχεδὸν πρῶτος ἐπιδείξας¹ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀπάντων θεῶν καὶ δὴ τοῦ μεγίστου θεῶν πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς εἰκόνας, τὰς μὲν τινὰς ἡμέρους, τὰς δὲ φοβεράς καὶ δεινὰς.
- 74 ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος εἰρηνικὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ πρᾶος, οἷος ἀστασιάστου καὶ ὁμοιοσύσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἡλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς βουλευσάμενος ἰδρυσάμην, ἡμερον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐν ἀλύπῳ σχήματι, τὸν² βίου καὶ ζωῆς καὶ ξυμπάντων Δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Σωτῆρα καὶ Φύλακα, ὥς δυνατόν ἦν θνητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θεῖαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν.
- 75 Σκόπει δέ, εἰ μὴ πάσαις ταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ πρέπουσαν εὐρήσεις τὴν εἰκόνα· Ζεὺς γὰρ μόνος θεῶν Πατὴρ καὶ Βασιλεὺς ἐπονομάζεται, Πολιεὺς τε καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἑταιρεῖος, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς³ Ἰκέσιός τε καὶ Ξένιος καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις ἔχων πάσας ἀγαθὰς, Βασιλεὺς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν ὠνομασμένος, Πατὴρ, δέ οἶμαι, διὰ τε τὴν⁴ κηδεμονίαν καὶ τὸ πρᾶον, Πολιεὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ὄφελος, Ὁμόγνιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους
- 76 κοινωνίαν θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἑταιρεῖος, ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώποις ξυνάγει καὶ

¹ ἐπιδείξας Rouse, ἐπιδείξαι Geel : ἐπέδειξα or ἐπέδειξας.

² τὸν Emperius : τοῦ or καί.

³ αὐτοῖς Emperius : αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς.

⁴ τὴν added by Geel.

¹ See for example, *Iliad* 2. 350-354.

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

“And consider whether you will not find that the statue is in keeping with all the titles by which Zeus is known. For he alone of the gods is entitled ‘Father and King,’ ‘Protector of Cities,’ ‘God of Friendship,’ and ‘God of Comradeship,’ and also ‘Protector of Suppliants,’ and ‘God of Hospitality,’ ‘Giver of Increase,’² and has countless other titles, all indicative of goodness: he is addressed as ‘King’ because of his dominion and power; as ‘Father,’ I think, on account of his solicitude for us and his kindness: as ‘Protector of Cities’ in that he upholds the law and the common weal; as ‘Guardian of the Race’ on account of the tie of kinship which unites gods and men; as ‘God of Friendship’ and ‘God of Comradeship’ because he brings all men together

² These titles of Zeus with the reasons for them are found in Aristotle, *de Mundo* 401 b, where we also read *Zeus κεφαλῇ, Zeus μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται*—“Zeus is head, Zeus is middle, by Zeus all things have been made.” Compare Plato, *Laws* 4. 715 e, and Dio, Discourse I. 39–40.

βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἡ πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός, Ἰκέσιος δέ, ὡς ἂν ἐπήκοός τε καὶ Ἰλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφυξιν, Ξένιος δέ, ὅτι δεῖ μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος, ἅτε τῶν καρπῶν αἷτιος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεως.

- 77 Ὅσον δὲ¹ ἦν ἐπιδείξαι ταῦτα μὴ φθεγγόμενον, ἄρα οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἔχει κατὰ τὴν τέχνην; τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα βούλεται δηλοῦν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ εἰδους καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές· τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ τὴν κηδεμονίαν τὸ πρῶον καὶ προσφιλές· τὸν δὲ Πολιέα καὶ Νόμιμον ἢ τε σεμνότης καὶ τὸ αὐστηρόν· τὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν ξυγγένειαν αὐτό που τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὅμοιον ὃν ἤδη σύμβολον² τὸν δὲ Φίλιον καὶ Ἰκέσιον καὶ Ξένιον καὶ Φύξιον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπλῶς ἢ³ φιланθρωπία καὶ τὸ πρῶον καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν ἐμφαινόμενον. προσομοιοῖ δὲ τὸν Κτήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἐπικάρπιον ἢ τε ἀπλότης καὶ ἡ μεγαλοφροσύνη, δηλουμένη διὰ τῆς μορφῆς· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ διδόντι καὶ χαριζομένῳ μάλιστα προσέεικε τὰγαθά.

- 78 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἐμιμησάμην, ἅτε οὐκ ἔχων ὀνομάσαι. συνεχῶς δὲ ἀστράπτοντα ἐπὶ πολέμῳ καὶ φθορᾷ πλήθους ἢ ἔπ'⁴ ὄμβρων

¹ ὅσον Cohoon, ὅτου δὲ Reiske : ὅσου δὲ or ὡς οὐδέν.

² ὃν ἤδη σύμβολον Capps, αἰνίττεται διὰ συμβόλου conjectured by Arnim : ἐν εἶδει συμβόλου.

³ ἢ added by Jacobs.

⁴ ἔπ' added by Capps.

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and wills that they be friends of one another and never enemy or foe; as 'Protector of Suppliants' since he inclines his ear and is gracious to men when they pray; as 'God of Refuge' because he gives refuge from evils; as 'God of Hospitality' because we should not be unmindful even of strangers, nor regard any human being as an alien; as 'Giver of Wealth and Increase' since he is the cause of all crops and is the giver of wealth and power.

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

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

¹ As explained *supra*, § 56.

ὑπερβολῇ¹ ἢ χαλάζης ἢ χιόνος, ἢ ταινύοντα κυαιῆν
 Ἰριν, τοῦ πολέμου ξύμβολον, ἢ ἀστέρα πέμποντα
 ξυνεχεῖς σπινθήρας ἀποβάλλοντα, δεινὸν τέρας
 ναύταις ἢ στρατιώταις² ἢ³ ἐπιπέμποντα ἔριν ἀργα-
 λέαν Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὥστε⁴ ἔρωτα ἐμβάλ-
 λειν⁵ πολέμον καὶ μάχης ἄπανστον κάμνουσιν
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀπειρηκόσιν· οὐδέ γε ἰσάντα
 ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀνθρώπων ἡμιθέων κῆρας ἢ στρατο-
 πέδων ὄλων, αὐτομάτῳ ῥοπῇ κρινομένας· οὐκ
 ἦν διὰ τῆς τέχνης μιμεῖσθαι· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὸν
 70 ἡθέλησά γ' ἂν ποτε. βροντῆς γὰρ εἰδῶλον
 ἄφθογγον ἢ ἀστραπῆς ἢ κεραυνοῦ εἴκασμα
 ἀλαμπὲς ἐκ τῶν τῆδε γ' ὑπογείων⁶ μεταλλευμάτων
 ποῖον ἂν τι καὶ γένοιτο; ἔτι δὲ γῆν σειομένην καὶ
 κινούμενον Ὀλυμπον ὑπὸ νεύματι βραχεῖ τῶν
 ὀφρύων ἢ τινα νέφους περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον

¹ ὑπερβολῇ PY, ὑπερβολὴν other MSS.

² στρατιώταις Gcel: στρατιώτῃ.

³ ἢ added by Gcel.

⁴ ὥστε added by Arnim

⁵ ἐμβάλλειν Arnim: ἐμβάλλει.

⁶ γ' ὑπογείων Capps, cf. Hdt. 4. 200: ἐπιγείων.

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

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀστράπη πόσις Ἰήρης ἡυκόμοιο,
 τεύχων ἢ πολλὸν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἢ χάλαζαν
 ἢ νιφετόν, ὅτε περ τε χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας,
 ἢ ποδὶ πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα πευκεδυνοῖο.

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

ἥντε πορφυρέην Ἰριν θνητοῖσι ταινύσση
 Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πόλεμοιο
 ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαπέος, κ.τ.λ.

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

¹ Compare *Iliad* 4. 75-77: "Just as the son of Cronos of crooked counsel hath sent a star, a bright portent either for sailors or for a broad host of the people; and many sparks stream from it"—

οἷον δ' ἀστέρα ἤκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω,
ἥ ναύτησι τέρας ἢ στρατῷ εὐρέι λαῶν,
λαμπρόν· τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἵενται.

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

Ζεὺς δ' Ἐριδα προΐαλλε θεὸς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
ἀργαλέην, πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσιν.

⁵ See *Iliad* 22. 210-213.

⁶ See *Iliad* 8. 69-71.

⁷ Referring to the silver mines at Laurium.

Ὁμήρῳ μὲν εἰπεῖν εὐμαρὲς καὶ πολλή πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἅπαντα ἐλευθερία, τῇ δέ γε ἡμετέρα τέχνη παντελῶς ἄπορον, ἐγγύθεν παρεχούσῃ¹ καὶ σαφῇ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς ὁψεως.

- 80 Εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ τῆς ὕλης ἀσημότερον ἡγεῖται τις ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθές τε καὶ ὀρθόν· ἀλλ' οὔτε τοὺς δόντας οὔτε² τὸν ἐλόμενον καὶ δοκιμάσαντα ἐν δίκῃ μέμφουτ' ἄν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἑτέρα φύσις ἀμείνων οὐδὲ λαμπρότερα πρὸς ὄψιν, ἣν δυνατόν εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων
- 81 ἀφικέσθαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν δημιουργίας. ἀέρα γε³ καὶ πῦρ ἐργάσασθαι ἢ τὴν ἄφθονον πηγὴν ὕδατος ἔνεστι⁴ τίσι θνητῶν⁵ ὀργάνοις; ὅσον δ' ⁶ ἐν ἅπασιν τούτοις στερεὸν ἔρμα⁷ εἴρκεται.⁸ λέγω δὲ οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ σμικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βαρεῖαν οὐσίαν· ἰδέαν γε ἑκάστην⁹ διακρίνοντα καὶ ἐμπλέκοντα εἰς ταὐτὸ ἑκάστον συστήσαι¹⁰ γένος καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, οὐδὲ θεοῖς πᾶσι δυνατόν ἀλλ' ¹¹ ἢ μόνῳ

¹ παρεχούσῃ Capps: ἐχούσῃ.

² οὔτε Dindorf: οὐδέ.

³ γε Capps: τε καί.

⁵ θνητῶν Capps: θνητοῖς.

⁷ ἔρμα Morel: ἔργμα.

⁹ ἰδέαν γε ἑκάστην Capps: ἰδέα τε ἑκάστον.

¹⁰ ἑκάστον συστήσαι added by Capps as giving the required sense.

¹¹ ἀλλ' added by Capps.

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Homer to describe them, and great was the freedom he enjoyed for all such things; but for our art it is absolutely impossible, for it permits the observer to test it with his eyes from close at hand and in full view.¹

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

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

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

³ Euripides, *Helen*, 854 for the phrase *ἔρμα στερεόν*.

τούτω σχεδὸν ὃν πάνυ καλῶς ποιητῆς προσεῖπεν ἕτερος,

Δωδωναῖε μεγασθενὲς ἀριστοτέχνα πάτερ.

- 82 οὗτος γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος καὶ τελειότατος δημιουργός, χορηγὸν λαβὼν τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης οὐ τὴν Ἥλειων πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ παντὸς ὕλην. Φειδίαν δὲ ἢ Πολύκλειτον οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀπαιτοῖτε πλέον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μείζω καὶ σεμνό-
 83 τερα τῆς ἡμετέρας χειρωναξίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Ἡφαιστον Ὁμηρος ἐν ἄλλοις πεποίηκεν ἐπιδεικ-
 νύμενον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἀλλὰ τεχνίτην μὲν θεὸν εὐπόρησεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἔργον, ὕλην δὲ ἑτέραν οὐκ ἐφίκετο εὐρεῖν. φησὶ γὰρ οὕτω·

χαλκὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν ἀτειρέα κασσίτερόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα καὶ ἄργυρον.

ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ παραχωρήσαιμ' ἂν¹ κρείττονα ἐμοῦ ποτε γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν τέχνην, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Δίῃ, δημιουργοῦντι τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον οὐ χρὴ συμβάλλειν οὐδένα θνητόν.

- 84 Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπόντα καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον τὸν Φειδίαν εἰκότως ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες στεφανῶσαι ἄν.

Ἴσως δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς λέληθεν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ὧν γέγονε, καὶ μάλα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, φιλοσόφοις τε ἀρμόττων καὶ πλήθει ἀκοῦσαι, περὶ τε ἀγαλμάτων ἰδρύσεως, ὅπως δεῖ ἰδρῦσθαι, καὶ περὶ

¹ παραχωρήσαιμ' ἂν Pflugk : παραχωρήσαιμι.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

another poet¹ quite beautifully has addressed as follows:

Lord of Dodona,² father almighty, consummate artist.

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

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

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

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

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

² Dodona, situated in Epirus. Most ancient oracle of Greece and dedicated to Zeus.

³ Homer, *Iliad* 18. 474-475, translated by the Earl of Derby.

ποιητῶν, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον διανοοῦνται
 περὶ τῶν θείων, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῆς¹ πρώτης ἐπινοίας
 θεοῦ, ποία τις καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 ἐγένετο. πολλὰ δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνά-
 μews ἐρρήθη τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς² ἐπωνυμίας. εἰ
 δὲ μετ' εὐφημίας τοῦ τε ἀγάλματος καὶ τῶν
 85 ἰδρυσαμένων, πολὺ ἄμεινον. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοι-
 οῦτος ἡμῖν προσορᾶν ἔοικε, πάννυ εὖνους καὶ
 κηδόμενος, ὥστ' ἔμοιγε μικροῦ φθέγγεσθαι δοκεῖ.
 Τάδε μὲν οὕτως, Ἡλεῖοί τε³ καὶ σύμπασα Ἑλλάς,
 καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἐπιτελεῖς,⁴ θυσίας τε θύουσα
 ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν
 εὐκλέεστατον ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσα ὥς⁵ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
 εὐεξίας καὶ ῥώμης καὶ τάχους, ὅσα τε ἑορτῶν καὶ
 μυστηρίων ἔθη λαβοῦσα διαφυλάττεῖς. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνο
 φροντίζων σκοπῶ, ὅτι

αὐτὴν σ'⁶ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἅμα γῆρας
 λυγρὸν ἔχεις αὐχμείς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα
 ἔσσαι.

¹ τῆς Reiske: τε.

² καὶ τῆς Capps: κατὰ τὰς.

³ τε Capps: δέ. Arnim reads ὡ σύμπασα, deleting Ἡλεῖοί δέ
 καί.

⁴ ἐπιτελεῖς Arnim: ἐπιτελεῖ.

⁵ ὥς added by Wilamowitz.

⁶ σ' MSS. of *Odyssey*: γε.

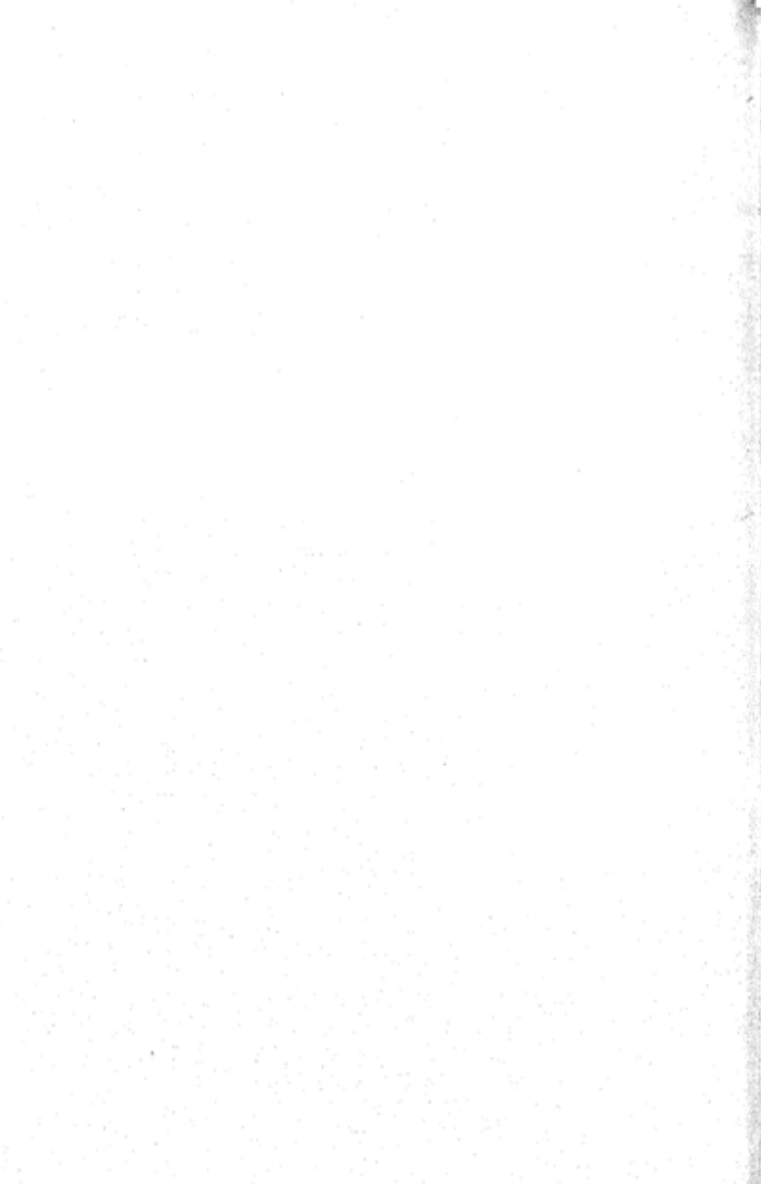
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

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

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

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

¹ Homer, *Odyssey* 24. 249-250, translated by Mackail.



THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BAN- ISHMENT

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

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

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

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

13. EN ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ

- 1 Ὅτε φεύγειν συνέβη με φιλίας ἕνεκεν λεγομένης ἀνδρὸς οὐ ποιηροῦ, τῶν δὲ τότε εὐδαιμόνων τε καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐγγύτατα ὄντος, διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἀποθανόντος, δι' ἃ πολλοῖς καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει μακάριος, διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων οἰκειότητα καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ταύτης ἐνεχθείσης ἐπ' ἐμὲ τῆς αἰτίας, ὥς δὴ τάνδρῃ φίλον ὄντα καὶ σύμβουλον· ἔθος γάρ τι τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν τυράννων, ὥσπερ ἐν Σκύθαις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συνθάπτειν οἰνοχόους καὶ μαγείρους καὶ παλλακάς, οὕτως τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἑτέρους προστιθέναι πλείους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς
- 2 αἰτίας· τότε δ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ με φεύγειν ἔδοξεν, ἐσκόπουν πότερον ὄντως χαλεπὸν τι καὶ δυστυχὲς εἶη τὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὥς ¹ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, ἢ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἕτερόν τι ² πέπονθεν, ὅποιον λεγόμενόν ἐστι περὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ βῶλόν ³ τινα ἢ λίθον αἴρουνται σκοποῦσιν ἐν τούτῳ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὗ πυνθάνονται. καὶ δὴ ταῖς μὲν αὐτῶν φασι

¹ ὥς added by Cohoon.

² τι added by Capps.

³ βῶλόν Valesius: βωμόν.

THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BANISHMENT

WHEN it fell to my lot to be exiled on account of my reputed friendship with a man¹ of good character and very closely connected with those who at that time were Fortune's favourites and indeed high officials, a man who lost his life on account of the very things which made him seem fortunate to many men, and indeed to practically everyone, I mean his connection by marriage and blood with these officials; the charge brought against me being that I was that man's friend and adviser—for just as among the Scythians it is the practice to bury cupbearers and cooks and concubines with their kings, so it is the custom of despots to throw in several others for no reason whatever with those who are being executed by them—so, at the time when my banishment was decreed, I began to consider whether this matter of banishment was really a grievous thing and a misfortune, as it is in the view of the majority, or whether such experiences merely furnish another instance of what we are told happens in connection with the divinations of the women in the sacred places. For they pick up a chance clod of earth or a stone, and try to see in it the answer to their enquiry. And, so the story goes, some find their clod light, while

¹ Probably T. Flavius Sabinus, executed by Domitian. Cf. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian* 10. 22; Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana* 7. 7. But cf. Introduction, vol. I., p. viii.

γίνεσθαι κοῦφον, ταῖς δὲ βαρύν, ὥς μηδὲ κινῆσαι δύνασθαι ῥαδίως.

- 3 Μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ φεύγειν καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι καὶ γῆρας δὴ καὶ νόσος καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μὲν βαρέα φαίνεται καὶ χαλεπά, τοῖς δ' ἐλαφρά τε καὶ εὐκόλα· ἐκεῖ μὲν ἴσως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος διαφορὰν ἐλαφρύνοντος τοῦ δαιμονίου τὸ βάρος, ἐνταῦθα δέ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρωμένου δύναμιν καὶ γνώμην.
- 4 Καὶ δὴ ἀνεμιμνησκόμεν Ὀδυσσεύς τε παρ' Ὀμήρῳ κατοδυρομένου πολλάκις αὐτόν, ἀνδρὸς ἥρωος οὐδαμῶς τε ἀδυνάτου καρτερεῖν, πολλὰ ὁμως ἀνάξια λέγοντος καὶ θρηνουῦντος ἐκάστοτε παρὰ τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ πόθον τῆς πατρίδος· τέλος δέ, ὥς φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ἐπεθύμει καπνὸν ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γῆς ἀνιόντα, εἰ καὶ δέοι παραχρήμα ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὔτε τὰ πρότερον ἔργα παρεμυθεῖτο αὐτόν οὔτε θεὸς μάλα καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένη, ὥστε ὑποσχέσθαι ποιήσῃ αὐτόν ἀθάνατον, ἀλλὰ πάντων τούτων κατίσχυεν
- 5 ὁ τῆς πατρίδος πόθος τε καὶ ἔρως. πάλιν δ' αὖ παρ' ἑτέρῳ ποιητῇ τῶν ὕστερον τὴν Ἥλέκτραν πυνθανομένην ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπηρῶς καὶ ἐλεοῦσαν αὐτόν τῆς φυγῆς, οὕτω πως ἐρωτῶσαν·

ποῦ γῆς ὁ τλήμων τλήμονας φυγὰς ἔχει;

καὶ τὸν οὐχ ἥττον ἐλεεινῶς ἀποκρινόμενον,¹

οὐχ ἓνα νομίζων φθείρεται πόλεως τόπον.²

¹ ἀποκρινόμενον Emperius : ἀποκρινόμενον.

² νόμον in the MSS. of Euripides.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

others find theirs so heavy that they are not able even to move it easily.

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

And then I recalled Homer's Odysseus, who is always bewailing his lot, although he was a hero and quite able to endure. Yet he for all that says many unworthy things, and forever sits lamenting on the shore of the sea because he yearns for his native land; and finally, so the poet says, the longing came upon him to see smoke ascending from his own country, even if he should have to die straightway, and neither his former exploits could solace him nor a goddess very beautiful and good who cherished him, going so far as to promise to make him immortal; but all these things were outweighed by his yearning and love for his native land.¹ And then again I recalled how in one of the later poets² Electra, when enquiring about her brother in mournful fashion and pitying him for his exile, asks in somewhat the following fashion,

Where does the wretched man his wretched exile spend?

And he replies no less piteously,

In no one settled region doth he so waste away.

¹ See Homer, *Odyssey* l. 48-59.

² Euripides, *Electra* 233-236.

τὴν δὲ αὖθις ἐρωτῶσαν,

ἤπου σπανίζει τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου;
κακεῖνον οὕτως λέγοντα·

ἔχει μὲν, ἀσθενῇ δέ, ἅτε φεύγων ἀνὴρ,

- 6 πρὸς δὲ ¹ τούτοις μυρία δὴ τολμηθέντα τολμήματα
καὶ πολέμους πολεμηθέντας ὑπὸ φυγᾶδων, ὅπως
οἵκαδε κατέλθοιεν, πρὸς τε τοὺς δῆμους καὶ τοὺς
τυράννους τοὺς ἐξελάσαντας παρὰ δύναμιν, μέγα
νομίζόντων,² εἰ καὶ δέοι τελευτᾶν μαχομένους ἐν
τῇ αὐτῶν γῇ.

Σύμπαντα ταῦτά με ἐξέπληττε καὶ ἠνάγκαζε
δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ βαρὺ τὸ συμβεβηκός. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἐνεθυμούμην ὅτι Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῶν βασιλεῖ
συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων συμβάντος τινὸς φεύ-
γειν ἐκόντα καταλιπόντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ μηδὲν
αἰσχύνεσθαι τούτου ἕνεκεν, εἰ δόξει κακὸς εἶναι
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὕτω πως θεσπίσας·

- 7 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μῆδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφίδα παρ' Ἑρμον
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι,
δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αἰδῶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὀνο-
μάζων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, καὶ τὸ
κακὸν εἶναι ἀντὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς.
8 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐνεθυμούμην ὅτι οὐ πάντως ἡ φυγὴ
βλαβερὸν οὐδὲ ἀσύμφορον οὐδὲ τὸ μένειν ἀγαθὸν

¹ δὲ Geel: δὴ.

² νομίζόντων Reiske: νομίζοντας.

¹ Herodotus 1. 55, translated by Rawlinson, modified to suit the present context.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

Then she again asks,

Does he perchance live scant of daily bread?

And he replies thus,

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

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

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

Wait till the time shall come when a mule is
monarch of Media:

Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles
of Hermus;

Haste thee and no longer stay, nor have awe of
being a coward.¹

It is evident that the poet uses 'awe' instead of 'shame' as is the custom the poets have, and 'being a coward' in place of 'being thought so by the many.' Then next the thought came to me that exile is not altogether injurious or unprofitable, nor

καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν παρήνει καὶ συνεβούλευεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων, τὸ φεύγειν, τὸ δὲ μένειν, ἄντικρυς ἀπηγόρευε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀνδρὶ θεσπίζων ὃς ἦν ἐπιμελέστατος περὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ θυσίας τε πλείστας ἔθνε καὶ μέγιστα ἀναθήματα πεπόμφει τῶν πάποτε ἀναθέντων εἰς Δελφοῦς.

- 9 Ταῦτα ἐνθυμουμένῳ μοι ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς θεοῦ βαδίσαντα χρήσασθαι συμβούλῳ ἱκανῷ¹ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὐ γὰρ περὶ νόσου μὲν καὶ ἀπαιδίας, εἴ τῳ μὴ γίνονται παῖδες, καὶ περὶ καρπῶν ἱκανῶς συμβουλευεῖν αὐτόν, περὶ δὲ τοιούτου πράγματος ἤττον δυνήσεσθαι. καὶ δὴ χρωμένῳ μοι ἀνεῖλεν ἄτοπόν τινα χρησμὸν καὶ οὐ ῥάδιον συμβαλεῖν. ἐκέλευε γάρ με αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττειν ἐν ᾧ εἰμι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ὥς καλὴν τινα καὶ συμφέρουσαν πρᾶξιν, ἕως ἄν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ ὕστατον ἀπέλθῃς τῆς γῆς. καίτοι χαλεπὸν καὶ οὐδὲ² κατ' ἀνθρώπον³ τὸ⁴ ψεύδεσθαι,
- 10 μὴ ὅτι κατὰ θεόν· ἐλογισάμην οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τοσούτους πλάνους οὐκ ὤκησεν ἀλᾶσθαι πάλιν κώπην φέρων, Τειρεσίῳ συμβουλευσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τεθνηκότος, μέχρι ἂν ἀνθρώποις συμβάλῃ μηδὲ ἀκοῇ γινώσκουσι θάλατταν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ ποιητέον τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντος;

Οὕτω δὴ παρακελευσάμενος ἑμαυτῷ μήτε δεδιέναι μήτε αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, στολὴν τε ταπεινὴν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τᾶλλα κολάσας ἑμαυτὸν

¹ ἱκανῷ Cohoon: ἱκανῶς.

² καὶ οὐδὲ Arnim, καὶ Weil: καί.

³ ἀνθρώπον Emperius: ἀνθρώπου or ἀνθρώπους.

⁴ τὸ added by Capps.

¹ Compare Plato, *Apology of Socrates*, 20.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

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

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

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

² See Homer, *Odyssey*, 11. 119 ff.

- 11 ἡλώμην πανταχοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄνθρωποι ὁρῶντες, οἱ μὲν ἀλήτην, οἱ δὲ πτωχὸν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ φιλόσοφον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοὶ συνέβη κατ' ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐ βουλευσάμενον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μέγα φρονήσαντα τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος τυχεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν καλουμένων φιλοσόφων αὐτοὺς ἀνακηρύττουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Ὀλυμπίασι κήρυκες· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόντων
- 12 οὐκ ἐδυνάμην αἰεὶ καὶ πᾶσι διαμάχεσθαι. τυχὸν δέ τι καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς φήμης συνέβη μοι. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἡρώτων προσιόντες ὅ τι μοι φαίνεται ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν· ὥστε ἡναγκαζόμεν φροντίζειν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἵνα ἔχοιμι ἀποκρίνεσθαι ταῖς ἐρωτῶσιν. πάλιν δὲ ἐκέλευον λέγειν καταστάντα¹ εἰς τὸ κοινόν. οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον ἐγένετο λέγειν περὶ
- 13 τῶν προσηκόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλον ὀνείασθαι τὰ ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα.

Ἐδόκουν δέ μοι πάντες ἄφρονες, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὧν ἔδει πράττειν οὐδὲ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγῇς τῶν παρόντων κακῶν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἐπιεικέστερον καὶ ἁμεινον βιώσεται, κυκώμενοι δὲ καὶ φερόμενοι πάντες ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ σχεδόν, περὶ τε χρήματα καὶ δόξας καὶ σωμάτων τινὰς ἡδονάς, οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι τούτων δυνάμενος οὐδὲ ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν· καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐμπεσόντα εἰς τὰς δίνας εἰλούμενα καὶ περιστρεφόμενα καὶ οὐχ οἶά τε² ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς

¹ καταστάντα Pflugk, με καταστάντα Reinko : μεταστάντα.

² After τε the MSS. have δυνάμενα, which Cobet bracketed.

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

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

- 14 διήσεως. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς τε ἄλλους
 ἅπαντας καὶ μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ἑμαυτὸν κατα-
 μεμφόμενος ἐνίστε¹ ὑπὸ ἀπορίας ἥα ἐπὶ τινα
 λόγον ἀρχαῖον, λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινος Σωκράτους,
 ὃν οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖνος ἐπαύσατο λέγων, πανταχοῦ
 τε καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας βοῶν καὶ διατεινόμενος
 ἐν ταῖς παλαιστραῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν ἐργαστηρίων² καὶ κατ' ἀγοράν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ
 μηχανῆς θεός, ὡς ἔφη τις. οὐ μέντοι προσεποιού-
 15 μην ἐμὸν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' οὐπερ ἦν, καὶ ἡξίου-
 ᾶν ἄρα μὴ δύνωμαι ἀπομιμημονεῦσαι ἀκριβῶς
 ἀπάντων τῶν ῥημάτων μηδὲ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας,
 ἀλλὰ πλεον ἢ ἔλαττον εἶπω τι, συγγνώμην ἔχειν,
 μηδὲ ὅτι ταῦτα λέγω ἃ τυγχάνει πολλοῖς ἔτεσι
 πρότερον εἰρημένα, διὰ τοῦτο ἦττον προσέχειν
 τὸν νοῦν. ἴσως γὰρ ἂν, ἔφην, οὕτως μάλιστα
 ὠφεληθείητε. οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς
 παλαιοὺς λόγους ὥσπερ φάρμακα διαπνεύσαντας
 ἀπολωλεκέναι τὴν δύναμιν.
- 16 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁπότ' ἴδοι πλείονας ἀνθρώπους ἐν
 τῷ αὐτῷ, σχετλιάζων καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν ἐβόα πάνυ
 ἀνδρείως τε καὶ ἀνυποστόλως, Ποῖ φέρεσθε,
- ¹ ἐνίστε Reiske: ἦν· ἐνίστε δὲ (δὲ καὶ by corrector) P, ἐνίστε
 δὲ UBM.
- ² τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ κατ' Cobet: τῶν δικαστηρίων καὶ κατ'
 UB, τῷ δικαστηρίῳ κατ' MP.

¹ At this point begins the passage ending in section 28, which is based on either the pseudoplatonic *Cleitophon* or on a source common to both it and this passage in Dio. See Introduction, p. 89.

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whirling. While I was uttering these and similar upbraidings of all others, but first and foremost of myself, at times, when at a loss, I would have recourse to an ancient appeal made by a certain Socrates,¹ one that he never ceased making, everywhere and to everyone, crying out and declaiming earnestly, in the wrestling schools and in the Lyceum and at the workshops and up and down the market-place,² like a god swung into view by the machine,³ as someone has said.⁴ By no means, however, did I pretend that the appeal was mine, but gave the credit where it was due, and requested them, in case I were unable to recall accurately all the phrases, or even not all the thought, but should add or subtract anything, to grant me their indulgence and not to pay any the less attention to me just because I was repeating what happened to have been said many years before. "For perhaps," said I, "you will in this way derive the greatest benefit. For in truth," I added, "it is not at all probable that the words of old have evaporated like drugs and lost their power."

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

¹ The statement that Socrates never ceased making this appeal was made by Socrates himself according to Plato. See Plato, *Apology of Socrates* 29 d.

² See the Pseudo-platonic *Cleitophon* 407 a for the same phrase. Dio was not thinking of the way the god was brought into view, but of the solemn admonitions which he gave from his elevated position. Plato in the *Cratylus* 425 d says that the writers of tragedy had recourse to a *deus ex machina* whenever they were in difficulties with the plot.

⁴ The "someone" is the man who used the preceding expression in the source which Dio used.

ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀγνοεῖτε μηδὲν¹ τῶν δεόντων πράττοντες, χρημάτων μὲν ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ πορίζοντες πάντα τρόπον, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε ἄφθονα ἔχητε καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἔτι πλείω παραδώσετε; αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παίδων καὶ πρότερον ὑμῶν τῶν πατέρων ἡμελήκατε ὁμοίως ἅπαντες, οὐδεμίαν εὐρόντες οὔτε παιδευσιν οὔτε ἄσκησιν ἱκανὴν οὐδὲ ὠφέλιμον ἀνθρώποις, ἣν παιδευθέντες δυνήσεσθε² τοῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ μὴ βλαβερῶς καὶ ἀδίκως, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀνεπιζημίως,³ ὁ σπουδαιότερον ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν χρημάτων ἐχρῆν, καὶ⁴ υἱοῖς καὶ θυγατράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ φίλοις, κακῆνοι ὑμῖν.

- 17 Ἀλλὰ ἡ⁵ καθαρίζειν καὶ παλαίειν καὶ γράμματα μαθάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς διδάσκοντες οἴεσθε σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἄμεινον οἰκῆσειν τὴν πόλιν; καίτοι εἴ τις συναγαγὼν τοὺς τε κιθαριστὰς καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας καὶ τοὺς γραμματιστὰς τοὺς ἄριστα ἐπισταμένους ἕκαστα τούτων πόλιν κατοικίσειεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡ καὶ ἔθνος, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ποτε τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ποία τις ἂν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ γενέσθαι πόλις καὶ τίνα οἰκεῖσθαι τρόπον; οὐ πολὺ κάκιον καὶ αἰσχιον τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καπῆλων πόλεως, ὅπου πάντες κάπηλοι κατοικοῦσιν, ὁμοίως μὲν ἄνδρες, ὁμοίως δὲ γυναῖκες; οὐ πολὺ γελοιότερον οἰκήσουσιν οὗτοι, οὓς λέγω

¹ οὐδὲν in Plato, *Cleitophon* 407 b.

² δυνήσεσθε Reiske : δυνήσονται.

³ ἀνεπιζημίως Capps : ἐπιζημίως.

⁴ τοῖς after καὶ deleted by Reiske.

⁵ ἡ Jacobs : οἱ.

¹ That is, Naucratis, a Greek city in the Canobic arm of the Nile. See Herodotus 2. 179. Before the founding of Alexan-

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drifting, men? Are you quite unaware that you are doing none of the things that you should do, in concerning yourselves with money and trying to get it in any way and every way, in order that you may not only have it in abundance yourselves, but may bequeath still more of it to your children? Yet the children themselves—aye, and earlier, yourselves, their fathers—you have all alike neglected, since you have found no education and no mode of life that is satisfactory, or even profitable, for man, which, if acquired, will enable you to use your money rightly and justly, instead of harmfully and unjustly, and to treat without hurt, not only yourselves, whom you should have considered of more value than wealth, but also your sons and daughters and wives and brothers and friends, even as they should treat you.

“ But, pray, is it by learning from your parents to play the lyre and to wrestle, to read and write, and by teaching your sons these things that you think that your city will be inhabited by more disciplined and better citizens? And yet if one were to bring together all the cithara players and gymnastic masters and schoolmasters who have the best knowledge of their respective subjects, and, if you should found a city with them or even a nation, just as you at one time colonized Ionia, what sort of a city do you think it would be, and what the character of its citizens? Would not life be much worse and viler than it is in that city of shopkeepers in Egypt, where all shopkeepers settle, both men and women alike? ¹ Will not a much more ridiculous society be made by these

dria it was the chief port for the trade carried on between Greece and Egypt.

τοὺς τῶν ὑμετέρων παίδων διδασκάλους, οἱ παιδοτρίβαι καὶ κιθαρισταὶ καὶ γραμματισταί, προσλαβόντες τοὺς τε ῥαψωδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς;

- 18 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅσα μανθάνουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τούτου ἕνεκα μανθάνουσιν ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν ἡ χρεία ἐνστῇ πρὸς ἣν ἐμάνθανεν ἕκαστος, ποιῇ τὸ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, οἷον ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης ὅταν εἰς τὴν ναὺν ἐμβῇ, τῷ πηδαλίῳ κατευθύνων·¹ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμάνθανε κυβερνᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἰατρός ἐπειδὴν παραλάβῃ τὸν κάμνοντα, τοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἰώμενος, οὗ ἕνεκα ἐκτήσατο τὴν ἐμπειρίαν.
- 19 οὐκοῦν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴν δέῃ τι βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οἱ μὲν ὑμῶν κιθαρίζουσιν ἀναστάντες, οἱ δὲ τινες παλαίετε, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀναγινώσκετε τῶν Ὀμήρου τι λαβόντες ἢ τῶν Ἡσιόδου; ταῦτα γὰρ ἄμεινον ἴστε ἐτέρων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων οἴεσθε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσεσθαι καὶ δυνήσεσθαι τά τε κοινὰ πράττειν² ὀρθῶς καὶ τὰ ἴδια. καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οἰκεῖτε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς υἱέας παρασκευάζετε ὥς δυνατοὺς ἐσομένους χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι, οἱ ἂν ἱκανῶς κιθαρίσωσι³

Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν

¹ κατευθύνων Reiske: κατευθύνῃ.

² πράττειν Dindorf: πράξιν UBP, πράξιν M.

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

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

Pallas, dread destroyer of cities,¹

¹ Lamprocles, fragment 1 in Bergk, *Poetae Lyricae Graecae*. Quoted in Aristophanes, *Clouds* 967, where the poet also is speaking of education.

² καθαρίσσαι Emperius: καθαρίσσων ἤ.

- ἢ ὅλῳ¹ ποδὶ βῶσι πρὸς τὴν λύραν· ὅπως δὲ γνώσεσθε τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως μεθ' ὁμονοίας πολιτεύσεσθε καὶ οἰκήσετε, μὴ ἀδικῶν ἄλλος ἄλλον μηδὲ ἐκβουλεύων, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐμάθετε οὐδὲ ἐμέλη-
 20 σεν ὑμῖν πώποτε οὐδὲ νῦν ἔτι φροντίζετε. καίτοι τραγωδοὺς ἐκάστοτε ὁράτε τοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἐλεεῖτε τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν ἐν ταῖς τραγωδαῖς ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδέποτε ἐνεθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐ περὶ τοὺς ἀγραμμάτους οὐδὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀπ-
 ᾶδοντας οὐδὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας παλαιέων γίνεται τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ ὅτι πένης τίς ἐστιν, οὐδεὶς ἔνεκα τούτου τραγωδίαν ἐδίδαξεν. τὸναντίον γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀτρείας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονας καὶ τοὺς Οἰδίποδας ἴδοι τις ἂν πάσας τὰς τραγωδίας, οἱ πλεῖστα ἐκέκτηντο χρήματα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ γῆς καὶ βοσκημάτων· καὶ δὴ τῷ δυστυχεσ-
 τάτῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι φασὶ χρυσοῦν πρόβατον.
 21 καὶ μὴν ὁ Θάμυρις γε εὖ μάλα ἐπιστάμενος κιθαρίζων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς Μούσας ἐρίζων περὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας, ἐτυφλώθη διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσέτι ἀπέμαθε τὴν κιθαριστικὴν. καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδην οὐδὲν ὤνησεν αὐτὸν εὐρόντα τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τὸ

¹ ὅλῳ Herwerden, cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1165 ἐπέβημεν ὅλῳ ποδί : τῷ.

¹ That is, Atreus the son of Pelops. According to the version of the story which Dio seems to have in mind Atreus vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the most beautiful creature born in his flocks; but when the golden lamb was born, he disregarded his vow and hid the lamb in a chest. Then his brother

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or 'with eager foot' betake themselves to the lyre. But as to how you are to learn what is to your own advantage and that of your native city, and to live lawfully and justly and harmoniously in your social and political relations without wronging or plotting against one another, this you never learned nor has this problem ever yet given you any concern, nor even at this moment does it trouble you at all. But although you every year see the tragic performances at the Dionysia and pity the misfortunes of the characters in the exhibitions of tragedies, yet in spite of this you have never reflected that it is not the illiterate or the singers who sing out of tune or those who do not know how to wrestle to whom these evils happen, nor has anyone ever brought out a tragedy about a man simply because he is poor. Quite the contrary ! It is heroes like Atreus, Agamemnon, and Oedipus who form the subject of all the tragedies, as anyone may see, men who possessed a wealth of gold and silver and land and cattle ; and indeed, for the most unfortunate of them they say a golden sheep was born.¹ And again, even Thamyris,² who was very proficient in playing the cithara and strove with the Muses themselves for the prize in music, was blinded because of this and unlearned the art of playing the cithara in the bargain. And his invention of the letters of the alphabet availed Palamedes naught to save him from

Tyestes seduced his wife Aeropê, stole the lamb, and got Atreus to agree that the one in possession of the lamb should be king.

¹ A Thracian singer. See Euripides, *Rhesus* 915 ff. and Homer, *Iliad* 2. 595, for the same story about him as Dio gives here. A picture of the blinded Thamyris appeared in Polygnotus' painting of the Underworld. See Pausanias 10. 30. 8.

μη ἀδίκως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παιδευθέντων καταλευσθέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ἦσαν ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς τούτου τοῦ μαθήματος, ζῆν αὐτὸν εἶων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐδίδαξε γράμματα καὶ τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδας δῆλον ὅτι πρώτους, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τοὺς φρυκτοὺς ὅπως χρή ἀνέχειν καὶ ἀριθμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ πρότερον οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οὐδὲ καλῶς ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιμένες τὰ πρόβατα, τηλικαῦτα σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι καὶ ἀμείνους ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν.

- 22 Εἰ δέ γε, ἔφη, τοὺς ῥήτορας οἶεσθε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τέχνην ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ποιεῖν, θαυμάζω ὅτι οὐ καὶ δικάζειν ἐκείνοις ἐπετρέφατε ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅπως οὐκ, εἰ δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους ὑπειλήφατε, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκείνοις ἐπετρέφατε διαχειρίζειν. ὅμοιον γὰρ ἂν ποιήσατε ὥσπερ εἰ κυβερνήτας καὶ ναυάρχους τῶν τριήρων ἀποδείξατε¹ τοὺς τριηρίτας² ἢ τοὺς κελευστάς.

- 23 Εἰ δὲ δῆ³ τις λέγοι τῶν πολιτικῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ταύτῃ μέντοι τῇ παιδεύσει χρώμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι Περσῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δις ἐφέξῃς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δύναμιν καὶ

¹ ἀποδείξατε Emperius : ἀποδείξατε UBM, ἀποδείξετε P.

² τριηρίτας Reiske : τριηρήτας UB, τριηλάτας MP.

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suffering injustice at the hands of the very Achaeans who had been instructed by him and from being put to death by stoning. But as long as they were unlettered and unacquainted with this special learning of his, they permitted him to live. When, however, he had taught the others to read and write, and the Atreidae of course first of all, and along with their letters had shown them how to raise bale-fires and how to count the host—for previously they had not known how to count the multitude properly, as shepherds do their sheep¹—as soon as they had become more clever and proficient, then it was that they slew him.

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

Then if one of the public men and orators said to him in reply : " Anyhow it was this education that the Athenians had received and were using at the time when the Persians came with so many myriads against their city twice in succession, and against the rest of Greece : on the first occasion when the Persian king

¹ To Palamedes was ascribed the invention of the letters of the alphabet, of the numerals, of astronomy, of written laws.

στρατηγούς ἀποστείλαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῦ Ξέρξου παραγενομένου μετὰ παντός τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἅπαντας τούτους ἐνίκησαν καὶ πανταχοῦ περιῆσαν αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ βουλευέσθαι καὶ τῷ μάχεσθαι· καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἡδύναντο περιεῖναι τηλικαύτης παρασκευῆς καὶ τοσούτου πλήθους μὴ διαφέροντες κατ' ἀρετὴν; ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀρετῇ διέφερον μὴ τῆς ἀρίστης παιδείας τυγχάνοντες, ἀλλὰ φαύλης καὶ ἀνωφελοῦς;

- 24 Πρὸς τὸν τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἦλθον παιδεῖαν οὐδεμίαν παιδευθέντες οὐδὲ ἐπιστάμενοι βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοξεύειν τε καὶ ἵππεύειν καὶ θηρᾶν μεμελετηκότες, καὶ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι τὸ σῶμα αἰσχιστον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ πτύειν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ὀνήσειν· ὥστε οὐδ' ἦν στρατηγὰς ἐκείνων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ἀμύθητοι πάντων ἀφρόνων καὶ κακοδαιμόνων. εἰς δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχεν ὀρθὴν ἔχων τιάραν καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσοῦ καθίζων, ὑφ' οὗ πάντες ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἠλαύνοντο πρὸς βίαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ὀρώων, καὶ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ δεδιότες καὶ ὠθούμενοι καὶ τρέμοντες ἠναγκάζοντο ἀποθνήσκειν. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ δύο ἀνθρώπων παλαίειν οὐκ εἶδότε παλαίοιεν, ὃ γε ἕτερος καταβάλοι ἂν ἐνίστε τὸν ἕτερον, οὐ δι' ἐμπειρίαν,
- 25

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

ἀλλ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκείνα,
ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχους ἢ μὴ παῖδευσις ἔθρεφεν.

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

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

¹ See Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 1. 2. 16.

ἀλλὰ διὰ τина τύχην, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δις ἐφεξῆς ὁ αὐτός, οὕτως καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Πέρσαι συμβαλόντες, τοτὲ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι περιῆσαν, τοτὲ δὲ Πέρσαι, ὥσπερ ὕστερον, ὅτε καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως
 26 κατέβαλον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμοῦντες. ἐπεὶ ἔχοις ἄν μοι εἰπεῖν εἰ τότε¹ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμουνότεροι καὶ ἀγραμματοῦτεροι γεγόνεσαν; ἔπειτα αὖθις ἐπὶ Κόνωνος, ὅτε ἐνίκησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ Κνίδον, ἄμεινον ἐπάλαιον καὶ ἤδον;

Οὕτως οὖν ἀπέφαινε αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας χρηστῆς τυγχάνοντας. τοῦτο δ', ἔφη,² οὐ μόνον Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν συμβέβηκεν.

27 Καὶ μὴν τό γε ἀπαίδευτον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον³ ὦν χρή, μηδὲ ἱκανῶς παρεσκευασμένον πρὸς τὸν βίον, ζῆν τε καὶ πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν οὕτως μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἀρέσκειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ψέγειν αὐτοὺς ὥς οὐ δυναμένους ζῆν ὀρθῶς· εἶναι δὲ ἀμαθεῖς οὐχὶ τοὺς ὑφαίνειν ἢ σκυτοτομεῖν μὴ ἐπισταμένους οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀρχεῖσθαι οὐκ εἰδότας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας ἃ ἔστιν εἰδότα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι.

¹ τότε Casaubon: ποτε.

² ἔφη added by Capps.

³ ἐπιστάμενον Venetian edition: ἐπισταμένους.

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

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man would even throw his opponent twice in succession; so too, when the Persians clashed with the Athenians, at one time the Athenians prevailed and at another time the Persians, as at a later time, when they were fighting the Athenians with the aid of the Lacedaemonians, they even tore down the walls of their city.¹ Yet would you be able to assert to me that at that time the Athenians had become less cultivated and more illiterate? Afterwards, again, in the time of Conon, when they won the naval engagement off Cnidos,² were they more skilful at wrestling and singing odes?"

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

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

² Since the naval engagement between the Athenians and Spartans off Cnidos was not fought until 394 B.C., and Socrates was put to death in 399 B.C., he could not have spoken this sentence.

28 Καὶ οὕτως δὴ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο ζητοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσουσιν ἢ φιλοσοφήσουσι· τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὅπως τις ἔσται καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν. οὐ μέντοι πολλάκις οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ζητεῖν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται.

29 Πρὸς τε οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους σχεδὸν τι τὰ αὐτὰ διελεγόμην ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἔωλα,¹ καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἶων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἴδιον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτόλμων διαλέγεσθαι λόγον, μὴ καταγελασθῶ τε καὶ ἀνόητος δόξω φοβούμενος, ἅτε συνειδὼς αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ ἀμαθίαν· ἐνεθυμούμην δέ·

Φέρε, ἂν² μιμούμενος τοιούτους τινὰς διαλέγωμαι λόγους περὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἀγαθόν, καὶ περὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας,³ καὶ ὅτι παιδείας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς δέονται, τυχὸν οὐ καταγελάσουσί μου ταῦτα λέγον-
30 τος οὐδὲ φήσουσιν ἀνόητον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔξω λέγειν ὅτι εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀνδρὸς ὃν οἱ τε Ἕλληνες ἐθαύμασαν ἅπαντες ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων σοφώτατον³ αὐτὸν ἡγήσατο· καὶ Ἀρχέλαος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πολλοῖς συγγεγονῶς τῶν σοφῶν, ἐκάλει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δώροις

¹ ἔωλα Capps : φαῦλα.

² φέρε, ἂν Arnim : φέρειν M, φέρε εἰ UBP.

³ σοφώτατον Kaibel. Cf. Plato, *Apology* 21 a : σοφόν.

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

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

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

¹ See Plato, *Apology of Socrates* 23 a and compare Discourse 58. 8.

καὶ μισθοῖς, ὅπως ἀκούοι αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου
τοὺς λόγους τοιοῦτους.¹

- 31 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπειρώμην διαλέγεσθαι
Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδὴ με ἐκάλεσαν καὶ λέγειν ἡξίουں, οὐ
κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνων ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ
περιπάτοις· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατόν οὕτως ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ
πόλει συγγίνεσθαι· πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀθρόοις εἰς ταῦτό
συνιοῦσιν, ὅτι δέονται παιδείας κρείττονος καὶ
ἐπιμελεστέρας, εἰ μέλλουσιν εὐδαίμονες ἔσσεσθαι
τῷ ὄντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόξῃ τῶν πολλῶν
ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ νῦν· εἴ τις αὐτοὺς μεταπείσει
καὶ διδάξει παραλαβὼν ὅτι τούτων μὲν οὐδέν
ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν σπουδάζουσι καὶ πάσῃ
προθυμίᾳ κτῶνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω
κτήσωνται, τοσούτῳ ἄμεινον βιώσεσθαι καὶ μακα-
ριώτερον· σωφροσύνην δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ
32 δικαιοσύνην ἑάνπερ ἐκμελετήσωσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
ἀναλάβωσι, διδασκάλους ποθὲν τούτων εὐρόντες
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ἀμελήσαντες εἴτε
Ἑλληνας εἴτε Ῥωμαίους, εἴτε τις παρὰ Σκύθαις
ἢ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ διδάσκαλος ὧν εἶπον,
οὐχ² ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἵππικῆς, ἀλλὰ³
νὴ Δία ἰατρός τις θεραπεύειν ἐπιστάμενος τὰ
νοσήματα τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως ἱκανὸς ὧν ἰᾶσθαι
τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς νόσους, ὅστις ἀκολασίας καὶ
πλεονεξίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρρωστημάτων
δυνήσεται ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κρατου-
33 μένους, τοῦτον δεῖ⁴ παραλαβόντας καὶ ἀγαγόντας,

¹ τοιοῦτους Capps: τούτους.

² οὐχ added by Capps.

³ ἀλλὰ Capps: ἢ.

⁴ δεῖ added by Cohoon.

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him gifts and fees that he might have the privilege of hearing him say such things."

And thus it came about that I too endeavoured to talk to the Romans when they had summoned me and invited me to speak, but I did not take them by twos and threes in wrestling-schools and cloistered walks; for it was not possible to meet them thus in that city; but when a great number had gathered in one place, I would tell them that they needed a better and more carefully planned education, if they were ever to be happy in truth and reality and not merely in the opinion of the majority, as was now the case; that if anyone should win them to this view and take them in charge and teach them that not a single one of those things is a good to which they devoted themselves and which they strove with all their zeal to acquire, in the belief that, the more they acquired, the better and happier their life would be; but that if they wholeheartedly practised temperance, manliness, and justice, and took them into their souls, securing from somewhere teachers who taught these things and all the other things too, not caring whether the men were Greeks or Romans, or, for that matter, if there is among the Scythians or the Indians a man who teaches the things of which I have spoken—not, as I think, archery and horsemanship, but far better, if there were a physician who, knowing how to treat the infirmities of the body, is in that way competent to heal the maladies of the soul—a teacher, I mean, who would be able to rid of licentiousness and covetousness and all such infirmities those who were dominated by them—of that man, I say, they should take possession and lead him to their

λόγῳ πείσαντας ἢ φιλία· χρήμασι μὲν γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἄνδρα πεισθῆναι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ ἄλλοις δώροις· καταστήσαντας δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν νόμῳ προαγορεύσαι τοὺς νέους ἅπαντας φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ συνεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἥττον τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες σοφοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐρασθέντες, καταφρονήσαντες χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ὄψου δὴ καὶ μύρου καὶ ἀφροδισίων, εὐδαίμονες οἰκῶσι καὶ ἄρχοντες μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα
 34 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Τότε γάρ, ἔφην, ἔσται ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ ἰσχυρά καὶ ἄρχουσα κατ' ἀλήθειαν· ὥς τό γε νῦν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς ὑποπτον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἀσφαλές. ὅσω γὰρ ἂν, ἔφην, πλείων ἢ τε ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη γίγνηται παρ' ὑμῖν, τοσούτῳ ἔλαττον ἔσται τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὰ ἐλεφάντινα σκεύη καὶ τὰ ἡλέκτρινα καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ θύον καὶ ἔβενος καὶ ὁ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμος καὶ τὰ ποικίλματα καὶ αἱ βαφαί, καὶ ξύμπαντα ἀπλῶς τὰ νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει τίμια καὶ περιμ-
 35 άχητα, ἐλαττόνων αὐτῶν δεήσεσθε· ὅταν δὲ ἐληλυθότες ἦτε ἐπ' ἄκρον ἀρετῆς, οὐδενός· καὶ οἰκίας μικροτέρας καὶ ἀμείνους οἰκήσετε, καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον θρέψετε ἀνδραπόδων ἀργῶν καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν χρησίμων· τὸ δὲ πάντων παραδοξότατον· ὅσω γὰρ ἂν εὐσεβέστεροι καὶ ὁσιώτεροι γένησθε, τοσούτῳ ἐλάττων ἔσται παρ' ὑμῖν ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὰ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ στεφανώματα, καὶ θύσετε ἐλάττους θυσίας καὶ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος δαπάνης, καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος τὸ νῦν παρ'

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homes, inducing him to come either by argument or by friendship—for by money such a man cannot be induced nor by any other gifts—and after establishing him on their acropolis they ought to issue an edict bidding all the young men to resort to him regularly and associate with him, and equally the older men too, until all of them, having become enamoured of righteousness, and having learned to despise gold and silver and ivory, yea, and rich food too and perfume and the lust of the flesh, should thereafter live happy lives, and be masters first and foremost of themselves and afterwards of all other men as well.

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

- ὑμῖν τρεφόμενον πολὺ ἔλαττον ἔσται, καὶ ἡ ξύμ-
 πασα πόλις, ὥσπερ ναῦς κουφισθεῖσα, ἀνακίψει
 36 ταῦτά δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Σίβυλλαν εὐρήσετε μαν-
 τευομένην ὑμῖν καὶ Βάκιν, εἴπερ ἀγαθῶ χρησιμο-
 λόγῳ καὶ μάντει ἐγενέσθην. ὥς δὲ νῦν τὰ παρόντα
 διάκειται, χρημάτων ἔνεκα πλήθους, ἃ πάντα
 πανταχόθεν εἰς ἓνα τοῦτον ἡθροισται τὸν τόπον,
 τρυφῆς ἐπικρατούσης καὶ πλεονεξίας, ὅμοιόν ἐστιν
 ὥσπερ ὅτε¹ τὴν τοῦ Πατρόκλου πυρὰν ἐπινήσας²
 ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς πολλῶν μὲν ξύλων, πολλῶν δὲ στρω-
 μάτων³ καὶ ἐσθήτος, ἔτι δὲ πιμελῆς τε καὶ ἐλαίου
 πρὸς τούτοις, παρακαλεῖ τοὺς ἀνέμους σπένδων
 καὶ θυσίας ὑπισχνούμενος ἐλθόντας ἐμπρῆσαι
 37 τε καὶ ἀνάψαι. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἡττόν γε
 πέφυκεν ἐξάπτειν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν καὶ
 ἀκολασίαν.

Οὐ μέντοι ἔλεγον ὡς χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς παιδευθῆναι,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τᾶλλα, ἔφην, οὐδενὸς βελτίους πρότερον
 ὄντες ὅσα ἐβουλήθητε ῥαδίως ἐμάθετε· λέγω δὲ
 ἱππικὴν καὶ τοξικὴν καὶ ὀπλιτικὴν . . .

¹ ὅτε Geel and Jacobs: εἰ or ὅ.

² ἐπινήσας Cohoon, νήσας Arnim: κοσμήσας.

³ στρωμάτων Geel: σιωμάτων.

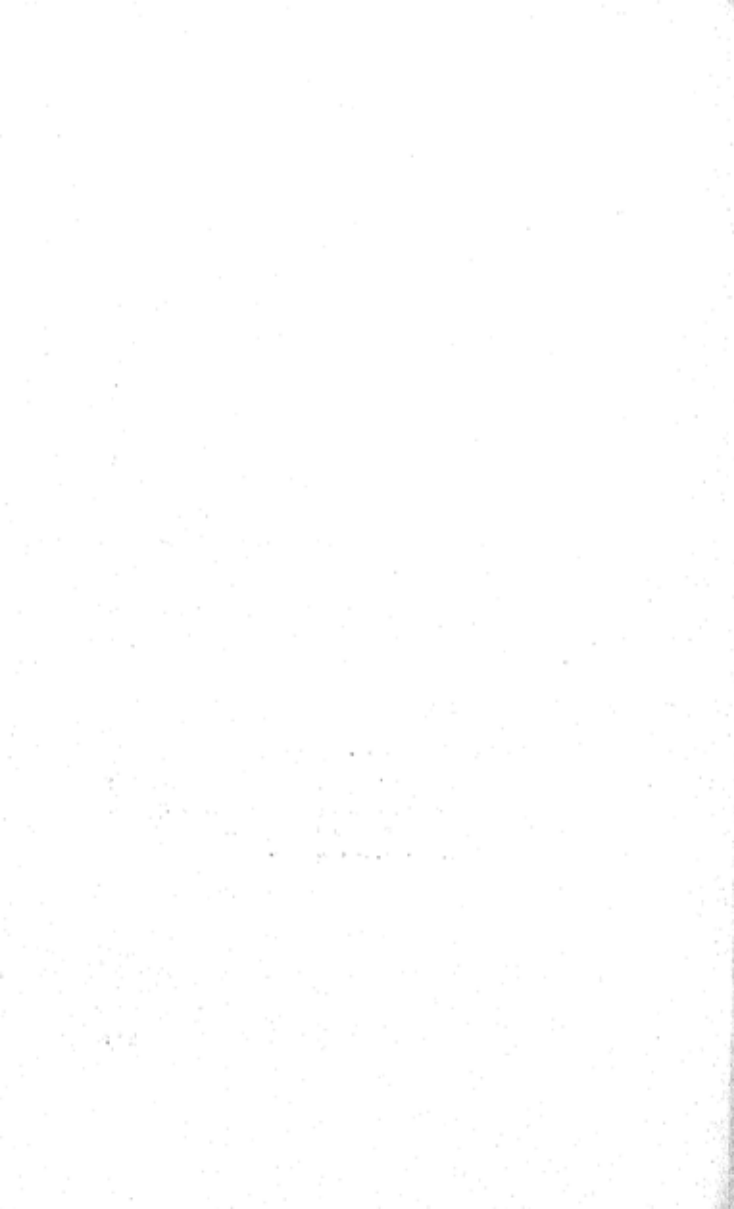
THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

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

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

¹ Neither Scylla nor Charybdis was originally the name of an individual, but the first was the designation of a type of prophetess, and the second of a type of prophet.

² See Homer, *Iliad* 23. 161-177, 192-216.



THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I

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

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

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

¹ See Stobaeus 3. 2. 38.

14. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ Α

- 1 Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ φασὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν αἰσχιστον καὶ δυστυχέστατον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ὃ τι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἢ ὃ τι τὸ δουλεύειν, οὐκ ἴσασιν. καὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ποιοῦσιν οὐδέν, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅπως τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκφεύξονται, τὴν δουλείαν, ὃ δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι, κτήσονται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ταῦτα πράττουσιν ἐξ ᾧ ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας διατελεῖν δουλεύοντας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ
- 2 μηδεπώποτε ἐλευθερίας ἐπιτυγχάνειν. πλὴν τούτους οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως θαυμάσαι ὅτι οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε φυλάξασθαι δύνανται ὃ τυγχάνουσιν ἀγνοοῦντες. εἰ γοῦν ἐτύγχανον ἀγνοοῦντες πρόβατον καὶ λύκον ὃ τι¹ ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον αὐτοῖν, ὅμως δὲ ἡγοῦντο² τὸ μὲν ὠφέλιμον καὶ κτήσασθαι ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ βλαβερὸν καὶ ἀσύμφορον, οὐκ ἂν ἦν³ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ τὸ μὲν πρόβατον ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ ἔφευγον ἐνίοτε ὥς λύκον, τὸν δὲ λύκον προσίεντο καὶ ὑπέμενον, νομίσαντες πρόβατον· ἡ γὰρ ἀγνοια τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας καὶ ἀναγκάζει τάναντία φεύγειν καὶ διώκειν ᾧ βούλονται καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων.

¹ τι added by Morel.

² ἡγοῦντο Reiske : ἡγοῖντο.

³ οὐκ ἂν ἦν Emperius : οὐ καλόν.

THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I

MEN desire above all things to be free and say that freedom is the greatest of blessings, while slavery is the most shameful and wretched of states; and yet they have no knowledge of the essential nature of this freedom and this slavery of which they speak. And, what is more, they do practically nothing whatever to escape the shameful and grievous thing, which is slavery, and to gain what they consider to be so valuable, that is, freedom; but on the contrary, they do the things which result in their continuing in slavery all their lives and never attaining to freedom. However, we should perhaps feel no surprise that these men are unable either to get or to avoid the thing of which they happen to be ignorant. For instance, if they happened to be ignorant as to what a sheep and a wolf are respectively, but nevertheless thought that the one was profitable and good to get while the other was harmful and unprofitable, it would not be at all surprising if they feared the sheep and fled from it at times as though it were a wolf, but let the wolf approach and awaited its coming, thinking it to be a sheep. For ignorance has this effect upon men who lack knowledge, and forces them to flee from and to pursue the opposite of what they desire to flee from and to pursue, and of what would be to their advantage.

3 Φέρε δὴ σκεψώμεθα εἰ ἄρα τι οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπί-
 στανται περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας σαφές.
 ἴσως γάρ τοι μάτην αὐτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα, οἱ δὲ
 παντὸς μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἴσασιν.

Εἰ οὖν ἔροιτό τις αὐτοὺς ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον
 εἶναι, φαῖεν ἂν ἴσως τὸ μηδενὸς ὑπήκοον, ἀλλὰ
 4 πράττειν ἀπλῶς τὰ δοκοῦντα ἑαυτῷ· τὸν δὲ
 τοῦτο ἀποκρινάμενον ἑάν τις ἐπερωτᾷ, εἰ ἐν
 χορῷ χορευτὴν ὄντα μὴ προσέχειν τῷ κορυφαίῳ
 μηδὲ ὑπήκοον εἶναι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄδειν τε καὶ
 ἀπάδειν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ, τοῦτο καλὸν οἶεται
 εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθέριον, τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον τούτου, τὸ
 προσέχειν καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ χοροῦ,
 καὶ τότε ἄρχεσθαι καὶ παύεσθαι ἄδοντα ὅπότεν
 ἐκεῖνος κελεύσῃ, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι καὶ δουλοπρεπές,
 5 οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, ὁμολογοῖ. οὐδὲ εἰ τις ἐρωτήσῃ,
 πλέοντα μὴ φροντίζειν τοῦ κυβερνήτου μηδὲ
 ποιεῖν ἅτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος εἴπῃ, εἰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐλευ-
 θέριον οἶοιτο· οἷον κελεύσαντος καθῆσθαι ἐστάναι
 ἐν τῇ νηί, ἂν αὐτῷ μόνον¹ ἐπὶ, κἂν κελεύσῃ
 ἀντλεῖν ποτε ἢ συνέλκειν τὰ ἱστία, μήτ' ἀντλήσαι
 μήθ' ἄψασθαι τῶν κάλων, οὐδὲ τοῦτον εἰποι
 ἂν ἐλεύθερον οὐδὲ ζηλωτόν, ὅτι πράττει τὰ
 6 δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ.² καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε στρατιώτας
 οὐκ ἂν φαίῃ δούλους εἶναι, διότι ὑπήκοοί εἰσι τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τότε ἀνίστανται ὅπότεν ἐκεῖνος
 προστάξῃ, καὶ σῆτον αἰροῦνται καὶ ὅπλα λαμβάνουσι
 καὶ παρατάττονται καὶ ἐπίασι καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν
 οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος· οὐδέ

¹ μόνον Cohoon : μὴ.

² αὐτῷ Dindorf : αὐτῷ.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

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

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

- γε τοὺς κάμνοντας, ὅτι πείθονται τοῖς ἰατροῖς,
 7 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φήσουσι δούλους εἶναι· καίτοι οὐ
 σμικρά γε οὐδὲ ῥάδια πείθονται αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πεινῇ καὶ διψῇ ἐνίοτε προστάττουσι· κἂν
 δόξῃ ποτὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ τὸν κάμνοντα δῆσαι, παραχρῆμα
 ἐδέθῃ, κἂν τεμεῖν ἢ καῦσαι, καυθήσεται καὶ
 τμηθήσεται ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ· εἰ δὲ
 μὴ πείθεται, πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῷ ἰατρῷ
 συναγωνιοῦνται, οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, ἀλλὰ
 πολλάκις οἱ τοῦ νοσοῦντος οἰκέται αὐτοῖ κατα-
 δοῦσι τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ τὸ πῦρ κομίζουσιν, ὅπως
 8 καυθήσεται, καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπηρετοῦσιν. μὴ οὖν οὐ
 φῆς ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅτι πολλὰ
 καὶ ἀγῆδη ἑτέρου κελεύοντος ὑπομένει; οὐ γὰρ
 δήπου τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα Δαρεῖον οὐκ ἂν ἔφης
 ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ καταπεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἵππου ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ, τοῦ ἀστραγάλου ἐκχωρή-
 σαντος, ὑπήκουε τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἔλκουσι καὶ στρεβ-
 λοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, ὅπως καταστήσεται τὸ
 ἄρθρον, καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνθρώποις· οὐδ'
 αὖ Ξέρξην, ὅπηνίκα ἀναχωρῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 καὶ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ νηὶ πάντα ἐπείθετο τῷ
 κυβερνήτῃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην οὐκ
 ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ νεῦσαι οὐδὲ μεταβῆναι.
 οὐκ οὖν τὸ ¹ μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ
 τὸ πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ ἐλευθερίαν ἔτι φή-
 σουσιν εἶναι.
- 9 Ἄλλ' ἴσως ἐροῦσιν ὅτι οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν
 συμφέροντι ὑπακούουσιν, ὥς οἱ πλείοντες τῷ

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

¹ See Herodotus 2. 84.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY I

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

But perhaps they will counter by saying that these men obey for their own advantage, just as people

κυβερνήτῃ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ στρατηγῷ,
καὶ οἱ κάμνοντες δὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ διὰ τοῦτο πείθονται.
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἅττα προστάττουσιν οὗτοι ἢ τὰ
συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ γε δεσπότες τοῖς δού-
λοις οὐ ταῦτα¹ ἐπιτάττουσιν ἀ ἐκείνοις συνοίσει,
10 ἄλλ' ὅπερ αὐτοῖς οἴονται λυσιτελεῖν. τί δὴ;
ἄρα γε συμφέρει τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸ τεθνάναι τὸν
οἰκέτην ἢ νοσεῖν ἢ πονηρὸν εἶναι; οὐδεὶς ἂν
εἴποι, ἀλλὰ τὸνναντίον, οἶμαι, τό τε ζῆν καὶ
ὑγιαίνειν καὶ χρηστὸν εἶναι. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα
φανεῖται καὶ τῷ οἰκέτῃ συμφέροντα· ὥστε καὶ
τῷ οἰκέτῃ ὁ δεσπότης οὐδὲν ἤττον, ἅνπερ ἔχη
νοῦν, τὰ συμφέροντα ἐκείνῳ προστάξει· ταῦτα
γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ φαίνεται συμφέρειν.

11 Ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ οὗτου ἂν τις ἀργύριον καταβάλῃ,
οὗτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης δοῦλός ἐστιν.

Οὐκ οὖν πολλοὶ περὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐλευθέρων
καταβεβλήκασιν ἀργύριον, οἱ μὲν πολεμίοις, οἱ
δὲ λησταῖς λύτρα διδόντες, οἱ δὲ τινες τὴν αὐτῶν
τιμὴν καταβεβλήκασιν τοῖς δεσπότης; καὶ οὐ
δήπου δοῦλοί εἰσιν οὗτοι αὐτῶν.

12 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὃν ἂν ἐξῇ ἑτέρῳ μαστιγῶσαι καὶ
δῆσαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τι ἂν βούληται
ἐργάσασθαι, οὗτος ἐκείνου δοῦλός ἐστιν.

Τί δέ; οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῖς λησταῖς ταῦτα ποιεῖν
τοὺς ληφθέντας; καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον οὐ δοῦλοί
εἰσιν. τί δέ; τοῖς δικασταῖς οὐκ ἔξεστι τιμᾶν

¹ ταῦτα Reiske : τὰ αὐτά.

¹ For the argument that it is of advantage for the slave to have a master, just as it is for the master to have a slave, cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, cap. 5.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

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

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

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

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

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

¹ At Athens and Rome slaves could buy their freedom.

καὶ δεσμοῦ καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἄλλου ὅτου ἂν βού-
λωνται πολλοῖς τῶν κρινομένων; καὶ οὐ δήπου
δοῦλοὶ εἰσιν οὗτοι. εἰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ κρίνεται
ἕκαστος, οὐδὲν τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ μίαν ἡμέραν ἥδη
τις λέγεται γενέσθαι δοῦλος;

- 13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐνὶ λόγῳ συλλαβόντα χρὴ ἀποφύ-
νασθαι ὥς ὅτω μὲν ἔξεστιν ὁ βούλεται πράττειν,
ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν, ὅτω δὲ μὴ ἔξεστι, δοῦλος.

Οὐ δὴ¹ ἐπὶ τῶν πλεόντων οὐδὲ τῶν καμνόντων
οὐδὲ τῶν στρατευομένων οὐδὲ τῶν μανθανόντων
γράμματα ἢ καθαρίζειν ἢ παλαίειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ
τέχνην ἐρεῖς αὐτό· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι τούτοις πράττειν
ὥς αὐτοὶ ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς ὁ τε κυβερνήτης καὶ
ιατρός καὶ διδάσκαλος προστάττει.² οὐ τοίνυν
οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξεστιν ἃ ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ'
ἐάν τις παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κειμένους πράττη,
ζημιώσεται.

- 14 Οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων
μηδὲ προστέτακται, ὁ περὶ τούτων ἔχων αὐτὸς
τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν ὥς βούλεται ἢ μὴ ἐλεύ-
θερος, ὁ δὲ τοῦναντίον ἀδύνατος δοῦλος.

Τί δέ³; οἷε σοι ἐξεῖναι, ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται μὲν
ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἐγγράφως, αἰσχροὶ δὲ ἄλλως δοκεῖ
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἄτοπα· λέγω δὲ οἷον τελωνεῖν
ἢ πορνοβοσκεῖν ἢ ἄλλα ὅμοια πράττειν;

Οὐ μὰ Δία φαίην ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξεῖναι
τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἐπικεῖται

¹ οὐ δὴ Arnim : οὐδ'. ² προστάττει Valesius : πράττει.

³ δὲ Dindorf : δαί.

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the penalty of imprisonment or death or anything else they wish upon many of those who are before them for trial? And yet surely these men are not slaves. But if they are slaves for the one day during which they each are on trial, this means nothing; for is a man really ever said to have been a slave for one day?

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

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

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

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

—O no, indeed. I should say that it is not permissible for the free to do such things either. And

ζημία τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἢ δυσχεραίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

- 15 Τί δέ; τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἀνθρώποις, ὅσα ποι-
οῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, ὅσα διὰ
τὴν ἀγνοίαν,¹ ἢ οὐσίας ἀμελοῦντες ἢ σώματος ἢ
ἀδίκως καὶ ἀγνωμόνως προσφερόμενοι ἀλλήλοις,
οὐ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιζήμια τοῖς ποιούσιν ἐστίν;
ἢ γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν ἢ τὸ μέγιστον
τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν αὐτῶν βλάπτονται.

Τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθὲς λέγεις.

Οὐκοῦν² οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔξεστι πράττειν;

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

- 16 Ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν φαῦλα καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ
ἀσύμφορα οὐκ ἔξεστι πράττειν, τὰ δὲ δίκαια καὶ
συμφέροντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ χρὴ φάναι ὅτι προσήκει
τε καὶ ἔξεστιν;

Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.

Οὐκοῦν οὐδενὶ τὰ τε φαῦλα καὶ ἀσύμφορα ποιεῖν
ἀζήμιόν ἐστιν οὔτε Ἑλληνι οὔτε βαρβάρῳ . . .³
οὔτε ὑπὲρ ὅτου τις τιμὴν δέδωκεν ἀργύριον;

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

- Τὰ δέ γε ἐναντία πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐφεῖται, καὶ
οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐφειμένα πράττοντες ἀζήμιοι διατελ-
17 οῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ κεκωλυμένα ζημοῦνται. ἄλλοι οὖν
δοκοῦσί σοι πράττειν ἃ ἔξεστιν ἢ οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι
ταῦτα, καὶ ἄλλοι τάναντία ἢ οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες;

Οὐδαμῶς.

¹ ἀγνοίαν Capps: ἀνοίαν.

² οὐκοῦν Dindorf: οὐκοῦν.

³ After βαρβάρῳ Arnim supposes a lacuna in which Dio opposed the buyer to the man who was bought with money.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

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

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

—What you now say is true.

Dio. Therefore it is not permissible to do these things either?

—No, certainly not.

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

—It seems so to me at any rate.

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

—No, indeed.

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

—Oh, no!

Οὐκοῦν οἱ φρόνιμοι ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἄφρονες ἂ βούλονται οὐκ ἔξδν ἐπιχειροῦσι πράττειν· ὥστε ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν φρονίμους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὡς ἐθέλουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοήτους δούλους τε εἶναι καὶ ἂ μὴ ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ποιεῖν;

Ἰσως.

- 18 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χρή λέγειν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐφειμένων¹ καὶ τῶν κεκωλυμένων, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν ἄγνοιαν² ὧν τε ἔξεστι καὶ ὧν μὴ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ λόγου οὐδὲν ἂν κωλύοι τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα πάνυ μεγάλην τιάραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα δούλον εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ πράττειν μηδὲν ὧν ποιεῖ· πάντα γὰρ ἐπιζημίως καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πράξει· ἄλλον δὲ τινα δούλον δοκοῦντα καὶ ὀνομαζόμενον, οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, πεπραμένον, εἰ δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο συμβαίνοι, πέδας πάνυ παχείας ἔχοντα, μᾶλλον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

- 19 Ἐμοὶ μὲν σφόδρα δοκεῖ ἄποπον, εἰ πέδας ἔχων τις ἢ ἐστιγμένος ἢ ἐν μυλῶνι ἀλῶν ἐλεύθερος ἔσται μᾶλλον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

Τί δέ; ἐν Θράκῃ γέγονας;

Ἐγώ γε.

Ἐώρακας οὖν ἐκεῖ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐλευθέρας στιγμάτων μεστάς, καὶ τοσούτῳ πλείονα ἐχούσας στιγματα καὶ ποικιλώτερα ὅσῳ ἂν βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων δοκῶσιν;³

¹ ἐφειμένων Reiske: ἐφειμένων. ² ἄγνοιαν T, ἀνοίαν UBM.

³ δοκῶσιν Emperius: δοκοῦσιν.

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

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

—Perhaps.

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

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

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

—Yes.

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

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

Τί οὖν δὴ τοῦτο;

- 20 "Οτι βασιλίσσαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐστιγμένην εἶναι· βασιλέα δὲ οἶει κωλύειν; σὺ τοίνυν οὐδὲ περὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους ἀκήκοας, παρ' οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν πύργῳ πάνυ ὑψηλῷ φυλάττεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου; εἰ δέ γε ἀκηκόεις, ἡπίστῳ ἂν ὅτι καὶ περιειργμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα.¹ καὶ τυχὸν ἤκουες ἂν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζόντων, εἰ διηγοῦ σὺ περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλείας, καὶ ἀπιστούντων ὅτι ἔστι τις βασιλεὺς περιελάνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ὅποι βούλεται ἀπιῶν.

Ἄλλὰ δεδεμένον οὐκ ἀποδείξεις βασιλέα.

- 21 Οὐ τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων τυχόν· ἐπεὶ ὃ γε τῶν θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτατος δέδεται, ὡς φασιν, εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν Ἡσιόδῳ τε καὶ Ὀμήρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἱ περὶ Κρόνου ταῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ ἀδίκως παθόντα τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου καὶ φιλάτου, δῆλον ὅτι ὡς βασιλικὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ἐκείνῳ δρῶντος. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἂν οἰηθεῖεν πτωχὸν ἢ δεσμώτην ἢ ἄδοξον γενέσθαι βασιλέα, καίτοι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀκούοντες ὅτι πτωχὸς ὢν καὶ τοὺς μνηστήρας αἰτῶν οὐδὲν ἥττον βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ τῆς οἰκίας κύριος· ὁ δὲ

¹ περιειργμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα Reiske: δεδεμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα περιειργμένον.

¹ A reference to the Mossynoecians, i.e. dwellers in mossyns or wooden towers, who lived on the south shore of the Euxine or Black Sea. See Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5. 4 and especially § 26, Diodorus Siculus 14. 30.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

—Now, pray, what does this signify?

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

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

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

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

- Ἀντίονους καὶ ὁ Εὐρύμαχος, οὓς Ὁμηρος ὠνόμαζε βασιλέας, ἄθλιοι καὶ δυστυχεῖς· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὥς ἔφην, ἀγνοοῦσιν σημεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς περιτιθέασι τιάρας καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ διαδήματα, μὴ λάθωσι βασιλεῖς ὄντες· ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοῖς βοσκήμασι χαρακτῆρας ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ δεσπότες, ὅπως
- 23 ἐπίσημα ἔσται. τοιγαροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὅπως μὲν ἔξει μόνος ὀρθὴν τὴν τιάραν ἐφρόντιζεν, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, ὥς οὐ καλὸν¹ οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐν τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων δύο εἶναι φοροῦντας ὀρθὰς² τιάρας· ὅπως δὲ τὴν γνώμην ὀρθὴν
- 24 ἔξει καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος φρονήσει αὐτοῦ³ σοφώτερον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἔμελεν. μὴ οὖν, ὥσπερ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς τότε τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε σημεῖα, καὶ νῦν δέη⁴ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχειν σύμβολα καὶ βαδίζειν πῖλον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ δυνησόμεθα γινῶναι τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἢ τὸν δοῦλον.

¹ οὐ καλὸν Wilamowitz : οὐκ ἐνόν.

² ὀρθὰς added by Casaubon.

³ αὐτοῦ Capps : αὐτοῦ.

⁴ δέη Emperius : δὴ BM, δεῖ U.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

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

¹ The *πίλος*, the forerunner of the modern liberty-cap, was worn by the Roman freedmen as a mark of their newly acquired freedom and by all the people at the Saturnalia. Cf. also Persius 3. 106 *ad pilleos vocare*.



THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

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

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

From an examination of Diogenes Laertius 2. 31, 6. 1, 6. 4, 6. 15 it has been inferred that Dio drew from Antisthenes for this Discourse. See Wegchaupt, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

15. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ Β

1 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἑναγχος παρεγενόμην τισὶ διαμ-
φισβητοῦσι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας, οὐκ
ἐπὶ δικαστῶν οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, οὕτως δὲ κατ'
οἰκίαν, ἐπὶ χρόνον πάμπολυν. καὶ παρήσαν
ἐκατέρω τοῖν ἀνδροῖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι σπουδάζοντες.
ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πρότερον ἀντιλέγοντες,
ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν. ἡττώμενος δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
ἄτερος καὶ διαπορῶν εἰς λαιδορίαν ἐτράπετο,
ὥσπερ εἴωθε τοῦτο συμβαίνειν πολλάκις, καὶ
ὠνεΐδισεν οὐχ ὥς¹ ἐλεύθερον ὄντα τὸν ἕτερον.
καὶ ὅς πάνν πρῶως ἐμειδιάσέ τε καὶ εἶπε.

2 Πόθεν δέ; ἔστιν, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰδέναι ὅστις
δούλος ἢ ὅστις ἐλεύθερος;

Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη. ἐπίσταμαι γοῦν ἐμαυτὸν
μὲν ἐλεύθερον ὄντα καὶ τούτους ἅπαντας, σοὶ δὲ
οὐδὲν προσῆκον ἐλευθερίας.

Καὶ τινες τῶν παρόντων ἐγέλασαν. καὶ ὅς
οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἡσχύνθη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι²
ἀλεκτρυόνες πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν ἐπεγείρονται καὶ
θαρροῦσιν, κακείνος ἐπηγέρθη καὶ ἐθάρρησε πρὸς
τὴν λαιδορίαν, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁπόθεν τοῦτο
ἐπίσταται τὸ περὶ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου.

¹ οὐχ ὥς successfully defended by Wifstrand.

² ἀνδρεῖοι Emperius: ἀνδρες of M, nothing in UB.

THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

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

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

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

At this some of those present laughed, and yet the first man was not one whit more abashed, but just as gallant cocks are aroused at the blow of their masters and take courage, so he too was aroused and took courage at the insult, and asked his opponent where he got his knowledge about the two of them.

- 3 "Οτι, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐπίσταμαι Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, τὸν δὲ σὸν οἰκέτην τοῦ δαῖνος, εἰπὼν τοῦνομα.

Καὶ ὅς, Τί οὖν, εἶπε, κατὰ τοῦτο κωλύει με ἐν Κυνοσάργει ἀλείφεσθαι μετὰ τῶν νόθων, εἴπερ ἐκ μητρὸς ἐλευθέρas, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀστῆς, τυγχάνω γεγονώς καὶ πατρὸς οὗ σὺ φῆς; ἢ οὐ πολλαὶ ἀσται γυναῖκες δι' ἐρημίαν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν αἱ μὲν ἐκ ξένων ἐκύησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐκ δούλων, τινὲς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσαι τοῦτο, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάμεναι; καὶ οὐδεὶς δούλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν οὕτως γεννηθέντων.

- 4 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σου, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐπίσταμαι ὁμόδουλον τοῦ πατρὸς.

Εἶεν, ἔφη· τὴν δὲ σαυτοῦ οἶσθα;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν· ἀστὴν ἐξ ἀστῶν καὶ προῖκα ἱκανὴν ἐπεινηγεμένην.

Ἡ καὶ ἔχοις ἂν ὁμόσας εἰπεῖν ὅτι¹ ἐξ οὗ φησιν ἐκείνη, ἐκ τούτου γέγονας; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τηλέμαχος οὐ πάνυ ἡξίου διατείνεσθαι ὑπὲρ Πηνελόπης τῆς Ἰκαρίου, σφόδρα σώφρονος δοκούσης γυναικός, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ἀποφαίνουσα αὐτοῦ πατέρα· σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον

¹ ὅτι Cobet: εἰ M, nothing in UB.

¹ A gymnasium sacred to Heracles which was outside of Athens and for the use of those who were not of pure Athenian blood. Here Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school taught. Since bastards no longer used this gymnasium in the time of Demosthenes (see Hirzel, *Der Dialog* 2. 103. 2 for references), the assumed time of this dialogue is to be thought of as earlier.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

B. "Because," said he, "I know that my father is an Athenian, if any man is, while yours is the slave of so-and-so," mentioning his name.

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

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

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

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

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

² In 451-0 B.C. the Athenians passed a law that no child should be admitted to citizenship whose father and mother were not Athenian citizens married in accordance with the laws.

³ See Homer, *Odyssey* l. 215 ff.

ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ ἂν¹ καὶ τῆς σῆς μητρός, ἐὰν κελεύσῃ
 σέ τις, ὁμόσαις, ὡς² ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ δούλης
 ἡστινοσοῦν, ἐξ ὅτου ποτὲ ἐκύησεν, ὥσπερ ἦν
 5 λέγεις ἐμὴν εἶναι μητέρα. ἀδύνατον γάρ σοι
 δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐξ ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς κυῆσαι ἐλευθέρου ἢ
 καὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς δεσπότου; οὐ πολλοὶ Ἀθηναίων
 συγγίγγονται θεραπαίαις αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τινες
 κρύφα, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερώς; οὐ γὰρ δήπου βελτίους
 εἰσὶ πάντες τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ὃς οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰαρδάνου
 δούλῃ συγγενέσθαι ἀπηξίωσεν, ἐξ ἧς ἐγένοντο
 6 οἱ Σάρδεων βασιλεῖς. ἔτι δὲ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, ὡς
 ἔοικε, Κλυταιμῆστρα, Τυνδάρεω μὲν θυγάτηρ,
 γυνὴ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονος, μὴ μόνον Ἀγαμέμνονι
 συνεῖναι τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνδρί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδημήσαντος
 ἐκείνου Αἰγίσθῳ συγγενέσθαι, καὶ Ἀερόπῃ ἢ
 Ἀτρέως γυνὴ τὴν Θυέστου προσδέξασθαι ὁμιλίαν,
 καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐνδόξων καὶ
 πλουσίων ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες ἑτέροις συγγίγνεσθαι
 καὶ παῖδας ἐνίοτε ἐξ ἐκείνων ποιεῖσθαι; ἦν δὲ
 σὺ λέγεις θεράπαιναν οὕτως πάνυ ἀκριβῶς φυλάττειν
 τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, ὥστε μὴ ἂν ἑτέρῳ
 7 συγγενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ
 ἐμοῦ διαβεβαιοῖ ὡς ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τῆς
 δοκούσης καὶ λεγομένης μητρός. καίτοι πολλοὺς
 Ἀθηναίων ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν πάνυ γνωρίμων,
 οὗ ἐφάνησαν ὕστερον οὐ μόνον πατρός, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μητρός, οὐχ ἧς ἐλέγοντο, ὑποβολιμαῖοι ποθεν

¹ ἂν Geel: ἀλλὰ UB, nothing in M.

² ὁμόσαις ὡς Geel: ὁμόσαι ἴσως.

¹ See Herodotus 1. 7.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

and of your mother, would take oath apparently, if anyone should bid you, but in regard to any slave woman as to who the man was by whom she was got with child, such a slave woman as you say that my mother was. Pray, does it seem to you impossible that she should have been got with child by some other man, a freeman, or even by her own master? Do not many Athenian men have intercourse with their maidservants, some of them secretly, but others quite openly? For surely it cannot be that every Greek is superior to Heracles, who did not think it beneath him to have intercourse even with the slave woman of Iardanus, who became the mother of the kings of Sardis.¹ And further, you do not believe, as it seems, that Clytemnestra, the daughter of Tyndareus and the wife of Agamemnon, not only lived with Agamemnon, her own husband, but also, when he was away, had relations with Aegisthus, and that Aeropê, the wife of Atreus, accepted the advances of Thyestes, and that many other wives of distinguished and wealthy men in both ancient and modern times have had relations with other men and sometimes have had children by them? But she who you say was a maidservant was so scrupulously faithful to her own husband that she would not have had relations with any other man! And further, in regard to yourself and me as well you asseverate that each of us was born of the woman who is reputed to be and is called his mother. And yet you might name many Athenians, and very prominent ones too, who turned out later not only not to have been the sons of the father but not even those of the mother to whom they were attributed, having been supposititious children of unknown origin who had

τραφέντες. καὶ ταῦτα σὺ ἐκάστοτε ὁρᾷς δεικνύ-
 μενα καὶ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν κωμωδοδιδασκάλων
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδαίαις, καὶ ὅμως οὐδὲν ἡττον
 ἰσχυρίζη καὶ περὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς εὔ-
 8 εἰδὼς ὅπως γεγόναμεν καὶ ἐκ τίνων. οὐκ οἶσθα,
 ἔφη, ὅτι κακηγορίας¹ δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος γράψασθαι
 τοῦτον, ὃς ἂν βλασφημῇ τινα οὐκ ἔχων ἀποδείξαι
 περὶ ὧν λέγει σαφὲς οὐδέν;

Καὶ ὅς, Ἐπίσταμαι γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἐλεύ-
 θεραι γυναῖκες ὑποβάλλονται πολλάκις δι' ἀπαιδίαν,
 ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται αὐταὶ κυῆσαι, βουλομένη κατα-
 σχεῖν ἐκάστη τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐαυτῆς καὶ τὸν
 οἶκον, καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀποροῦσαι ὁπόθεν τοὺς παῖδας
 θρέψουσι.² τὰς δὲ δούλας τοῦναντίον, τὰς μὲν
 πρὸ τοῦ τόκου διαφθειρούσας, τὰς δὲ ὕστερον, ἐὰν
 δύνωνται λαθεῖν, τὸ γενόμενον ἐνίοτε³ καὶ τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν συνειδόντων, ὅπως μὴ πράγματα ἔχωσι
 παιδοτροφεῖν ἀναγκαζόμεναι πρὸς τῇ δουλείᾳ.

9 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη, πλήν γε τῆς Οἰνέως, τοῦ
 Πανδίωνος, εἶπε, νόθου παιδός· ὁ γὰρ ἐκείνου
 νομεὺς ὁ ἐν ταῖς Ἐλευθεραῖς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ τοῦ
 νομέως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐξετίθεσαν αὐτοὶ γεννή-
 σαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια εὐρόντες ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
 παιδία, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου ποτὲ ἦσαν, ἀνελόμενοι
 ἔτρεφον ὡς αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐκόντες
 οὐδέποτε ὠμολόγησαν ὅτι ἀλλότριοι ἦσαν. σὺ

¹ κακηγορίας Reiske : κατηγορίας.

² θρέψουσι Wilamowitz : θρέψωσι.

³ ἐνίοτε Dindorf : ἔτι.

¹ Pandion, son of Cecrops, had a natural son Oeneus. See Apollodorus 3. 15. 1; Pausanias 1. 5. 2; Euripides, *Medea* 660.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

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

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

A. "O yes, certainly," the first man replied, "if you make an exception of the slave girl of Oeneus, the bastard son, as he alleged, of Pandion.¹ For Oeneus' herdsman, who lived at Eleutherae, and that herdsman's wife, so far from exposing their own children, took up other people's children whom they found by the roadside, without having the least notion whose children they were, and reared them as their own, nor at any time afterwards were they willing to admit that they were not their own. But you,

δ' ἴσως καὶ τὸν Ζῆθον καὶ τὸν Ἀμφίονα ἐλοιδο-
ρεις ἄν, πρὶν φανεροὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ διώμνυσο
ὡς περὶ δούλων τῶν τοῦ Διὸς υἱέων.

- 10 Καὶ ὅς γελάσας πάνυ εἰρωνικῶς, Τοὺς τραγωδοὺς,
ἔφη, καλεῖς μάρτυρας;

- Οἷς γε πιστεύουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ Ἕλληνες· οὓς
γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἥρωας, τούτοις φαί-
νονται ἐναγίζοντες ὡς ἥρωσι, καὶ τὰ ἥρῳα ἐκεί-
νοις ὠκοδομημένα ἰδεῖν ἔστιν. ὁμοίως¹ δὲ εἰνόησον,
εἰ βούλει, καὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν τὴν Πριάμου δούλην,
ἢ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ ἐξέθραιβεν ὡς αὐτῆς
υἱέα, λαβοῦσα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βουκόλου ὄντος,
καὶ τὴν παιδοτροφίαν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν. Τή-
λεφον δὲ τὸν Λύγης καὶ Ἡρακλέους οὐχ ὑπὸ
γυναικός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἐλάφου τραφῆναι λέγουσιν.
ἢ δοκεῖ σοι ἔλαφος μᾶλλον ἐλεῆσαι ἢ βρέφος
καὶ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τρέφειν ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τύχη
11 δούλη οὔσα; φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, εἰ δὲ δὴ προσ-
ομολογήσαιμί σοι τούτους εἶναι μου γονέας, οὓς
σύ φῆς, πόθεν οἶσθα περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δουλείας;
ἢ καὶ τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἠπίστω σαφῶς καὶ
ἔτοιμος εἶ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων κατόμνυσθαι ἑκατέ-
ρου ὅτι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δούλοιν γεγόνεσαν ἀμφοτέροι,
καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρότερον καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπαντας;

¹ ὁμοίως Wilamowitz : ὁμως.

¹ Antiopê became with child by Zeus, and while imprisoned at Eleutherae gave birth to twin sons, Amphion and Zethus, who were exposed. They were found by a shepherd and reared by him and his wife. Dio here is apparently our only authority for believing that they were the slaves of Oeneus. According to Hyginus, *Fable* 7, it was not a single shepherd but shepherds who found the children. See also Apollodorus 3. 5. 5.

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

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

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

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

² Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 175 a, where Socrates says that every man has many slaves among his ancestors.

- δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἑάνπερ ἐλεύθερος ἢ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
 γένους, οὐκέτι οἷόν τε τοὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνου δούλους
 ὀρθῶς νομίζεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν,
 ὧ βέλτιστε, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος εἶναι
 τι γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἄπειροι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι
 γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τούτων οἱ δεδουλευ-
 κότες· καὶ νῆ Δία τύραννοι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ
 δεσμῶται καὶ στιγματῖαι καὶ κάπηλοι καὶ σκυτο-
 τόμοι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, ἀπάσας
 μὲν ἐργασίας, ἅπαντας δὲ βίους, ἀπάσας δὲ τύχας
 12 καὶ ξυμφορὰς μετηλλαχότες. ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι
 τούτου ἕνεκεν τὰ τῶν ἡρώων λεγομένων γένη
 εὐθὺς εἰς θεοὺς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἀναφέρουσιν, ὥστε
 μηκέτι ἐξετάζεσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον; καὶ τοὺς γε
 πλείονας αὐτῶν φασιν ἐκ Διὸς γεγονέναι, ἵνα μὴ
 αὐτοῖς οἷ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ οἰκισταὶ τῶν πόλεων
 καὶ ἐπώνυμοι εἰς τοιαῦτα ἐμπίπτωσιν, ἃ δοκεῖ
 παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀνειδῆ εἶναι. ὥστε, εἴπερ
 οὕτως ἔχει τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἡμεῖς τε καὶ
 ἄλλοι σοφώτεροι ἡμῶν φασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν μᾶλλον
 σοὶ¹ προσήκοι ἐλευθερίας κατὰ γένος ἢ ὅτε ποῦν
 τῶν σφόδρα δοκούντων οἰκετῶν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ
 σὺ φθάσεις ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Δία ἢ Ποσειδῶνα ἢ
 Απόλλωνα τοὺς σαντοῦ προγόνους· οὐδέ γε ἐμοὶ
 δουλείας.
- 13 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, τοῦ γένους καὶ τὸ τῶν
 προγόνων ἐῷμεν, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ ἀ-
 στάθμητον εἶναι· ἴσως γάρ τοι ἀναφανήσῃ ὥσ-
 περ Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζῆθος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου

¹ μᾶλλον σοὶ Arnim : μᾶλλον σοι.

¹ See note 1, p. 152, *supra*.

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

B. “Well then,” said the other, “let us drop all this about family and ancestors, since you think it is so difficult to determine; for it is quite possible that you will turn out to be just like Amphion and Zethus,¹ and like Alexander² the offspring of Priam.

¹ Alexander, or Paris, did not find out who his parents were until he reached maturity.

γεγονώς. ἀλλὰ σέ γε αὐτὸν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα δουλεύοντα.

- Τί δέ; εἶπε, δοκοῦσί σοι πάντες οἱ δουλεύοντες δοῦλοι εἶναι,¹ ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες καὶ ἀδίκως δουλεύειν;² ὧν τινες ἤδη καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελθόντες ἀπέδειξαν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἑαυτούς, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ ἀνέχονται μέχρι παντός, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀποδείξαι φανερώς περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ οἷς ἂν μὴ³ χαλεποὶ ὦσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῶν δεσ-
- 14 πόται. ἐπεὶ φέρε, Εὐμαιος, ὁ Κτησίῳ τοῦ Ὀρμένου ἀνδρὸς πάνυ ἐλευθέρου καὶ πλουσίου παῖς, οὐκ ἐδούλευεν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ παρ' Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ Λαέρτῃ; καὶ ἐνὸν αὐτῷ ἀποπλεῦσαι πολλάκις οἴκαδε, εἰ ἐβούλετο, οὐδέποτε ἤξιωσε. τί δέ; Ἀθηναῖοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ληφθέντων οὐκ ἐδούλευον ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες, καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς μάχαις οἱ αἰεὶ αἰχμάλωτοι γιγνόμενοι, οἱ μὲν χρόνον τινὰ ἕως ἂν εὕρωσι
- 15 τοὺς λυσομένους, οἱ δέ μέχρι παντός; ὅποτε καὶ ὁ Καλλίου υἱὸς ἔδοξε δουλεῦσαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Θράκης μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Ἀκανθὸν ἡττήθησαν· ὥστε καὶ ὕστερον διαφυγῶν

¹ εἶναι added by Capps. ² δουλεύειν added by Cohoon.

³ μὴ added by Pflugk.

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

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

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

⁴ This son of Callias is probably referred to in a fragment of Metagenes quoted in a scholium to Aristophanes, *Wasps*

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But as for you, your own self, we all know that you are in a state of servitude."

A. "What," said the first man, "do you think that all those who are in a state of servitude are slaves?¹ But are not many of these, although free men, yet held unjustly in servitude? Some of them have already gone before the court and proved that they are free, while others are enduring to the end, either because they have no clear proof of their freedom, or else because those who are called their masters are not harsh with them. Consider, for instance, the case of Eumacus,² the son of Ctesias, son of Ormenus: he was the son of a man who was altogether free and of great wealth, but did he not serve as a slave in Ithaca in the households of Odysseus and Laertes? And yet, although he could, time and again, have sailed off home if he had so wished, he never thought it worth while. What, did not many Athenians among those made prisoners in Sicily serve as slaves in Sicily and in the Peloponnese³ although they were free men; and of those taken captive from time to time in many other battles, some only for a time until they found men who would ransom them, and others to the very end? In the same period too, even the son of Callias⁴ was thought to have been in servitude a long time in Thrace after the battle in which the Athenians suffered a defeat at Acanthus,⁵ so that

1221 (Frag. 13 Kock): "Who is a citizen now except Sacas the Mysian, or Callias' bastard son?"—*τίς πολίτης δ' ἐστ' ἐνὶ πλὴν ἄρ' ἢ Σάκας ὁ Μυσὸς ἢ τὸ Καλλίου νόθον;*

² No mention is made elsewhere of a defeat of the Athenians at Acanthus. Perhaps Dio is thinking of the year 424 B.C., when Acanthus abandoned the Athenian Confederacy and went over to Brasidas.

- καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἡμφισβήτει τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρείχε τοῖς ξυγγενέσιν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν, οἶμαι, ψευδόμενος—ἦν γὰρ οὐχ υἱός, ἀλλ' ἱπποκόμος Καλλίου, τὴν δὲ ὄψιν ὁμοίως τῷ τοῦ Καλλίου μεираκίῳ, ὃ ἔτυχεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαν· ἔτι δὲ ἡλλήνιζεν¹ ἀκριβῶς καὶ γράμματα ἠπίστατο· ἀλλὰ ἕτεροί γε μυρίοι
- 16 τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ² νῦν τῶν ἐνθάδε δουλεύοντων οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω πολλοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους. οὐ γὰρ εἰάν μὲν Ἀθηναίων τις ἀλούς κατὰ πόλεμον εἰς Πέρσας ἀπαχθῇ ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία εἰάν εἰς Θράκην ἢ Σικελίαν ἀχθεῖς ἀπεμποληθῇ, φήσομεν ἐλεύθερον ὄντα δουλεύειν· εἰάν δὲ Θρακῶν τις ἢ Περσῶν, μὴ μόνον ἐξ ἐλευθέρων γεγονὼς ἐκεῖ, δεῦρο ἀχθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάστου τινὸς ἢ βασιλέως υἱός, οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι.
- 17 οὐκ οἶσθα τὸν Ἀθήνησιν, ἔφη, νόμον, παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις, ὅτι φύσει τὸν³ δούλον γενόμενον οὐκ ἔα μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας; τὸν δὲ Καλλίου υἱόν, εἴπερ ὄντως ἐσώθη τότε⁴ ἀλούς, ἀφικόμενον ἐκ Θράκης, συχνὰ ἔτη γεγονότα ἐκεῖ καὶ πολλάκις μεμαστιγωμένον, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἡξίου τῆς πολιτείας ἀπελαύνειν· ἐνίστε ὥστε⁵ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὐ φησι δούλους γεγονέναι τοὺς ἀδίκως δουλεύσαντας.
- 18 τί δὲ καὶ ποιοῦντά με ἐπίστασαι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ τί πάσχοντα, ὅτι με φῆς ἐπίστασθαι δουλεύοντα; Τρεφόμενον ἔγωγε ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ

¹ ἡλλήμιζεν Morel : ἐλλήμιζεν.

² After καὶ the MSS. have τῶν, which Wifstrand deletes.

³ φύσει τὸν Wifstrand, τὸν φύσει Morel : φησι τὸν.

⁴ τότε Emperius : ποτὲ.

⁵ The MSS. word-order ἐνίστε ὥστε is successfully defended by Wifstrand.

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when he escaped afterwards and reached home he laid claim to the estate left by Callias and caused a great deal of trouble to the next of kin, being, in my opinion, an impostor. For he was not the son of Callias but his groom, in appearance resembling that boy of Callias who did lose his life in the battle; and besides he spoke Greek accurately and could read and write.—But there have been innumerable others who have suffered this fate, since, even of those who are in servitude here at the present time firmly believe that many are free-born men. For we shall not assert that any Athenian who is free-born is a slave if he has been made a prisoner in war and carried off to Persia, or even, if you like, is taken to Thrace or Sicily and sold like a chattel; but if any Thracian or Persian, not only born there of free parents but even the son of some prince or king, is brought here, we shall not admit that he is a free person. Do you not know," he continued, "the law they have at Athens and in many other states as well, which does not allow the man who was born a slave to enjoy the rights of a citizen? But the son of Callias, if he actually did escape from captivity on that occasion, after reaching home from Thrace, even though he had spent many years there and had often been scourged, no one would think it right to exclude from Athenian citizenship; so that there are occasional instances where the law too denies that those who have been unjustly in servitude have thereby become slaves. In heaven's name, I ask you, what is it that I do of which you have knowledge, or what is it that is done to me, which justifies your saying that you know that I am in a state of slavery?"

B. "I know that you are being kept by your

ἀκολουθοῦντα ἐκείνῳ καὶ ποιοῦντα ὅ τι ποτ' ἐκείνος προστάττοι· εἰ δὲ μή, παιόμενον.

- Οὕτως μὲν, ἔφη, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποφαίνεις δούλους τῶν πατέρων· καὶ γὰρ ἀκολουθοῦσι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων καὶ εἰς γυμνάσιον βαδίζουσι καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, καὶ τρέφονται πάντες ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων καὶ παίονται πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πείθονται ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνοι προστάττωσιν αὐτοῖς. καίτοι ἔνεκα τοῦ πείθεσθαι καὶ πληγὰς, λαμβάνειν, καὶ τῶν γραμματιστῶν οἰκέτας φήσεις τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς μαθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας δεσπότας εἶναι τῶν μαθητῶν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλο τι διδάσκοντας· καὶ γὰρ προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τύπτουσι μὴ πειθομένους.

Νῆ Δ', ἔφη· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις διδασκάλοις δῆσαι τοὺς μαθητὰς οὐδὲ ἀποδόσθαι οὐδέ γε εἰς μυλῶνα¹ ἐμβαλεῖν· τοῖς δέ γε δεσπόταις ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐφειμένα ἐστίν.

- 20 Ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι παρὰ πολλοῖς καὶ σφόδρα εὐνομούμενοις ταῦτα ἃ λέγεις ἔξεστι τοῖς πατράσι περὶ τοὺς υἱάς, καὶ δῆσαι² εἰς βούλωνται, καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι, καὶ ὁ ἔτι³ τούτων χαλεπώτερον· ἐφείται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκτείνειν μήτε κρίναντας μήτε ὅλως αἰτιασαμένους· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἦττον οὐ⁴ δούλοι εἰσι τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ υἱεῖς. εἰ δὲ δὴ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐδούλευον καὶ δούλος⁵

¹ μυλῶνα Dindorf: μύλωνα.

² δῆσαι Wifstrand: δῆ καὶ.

³ ὁ ἔτι Pflugk, τὸ ἔτι Wilamowitz: ὁ τι.

⁴ οὐ added by Emperius.

⁵ δούλος Reiske: δοῦλοι.

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master, dance attendance upon him, and do whatever he commands; or else you take a beating."

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

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

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

¹ The early Roman law permitted this.

ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχον δικαίως, τί με, ἔφη, κωλύει νῦν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μηδενὸς ἔλαπτον, σὲ δὲ αὖ τοῦναντίον, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἦσθα, δούλον εἶναι παντὸς μᾶλλον;

- 21 Ἐγὼ μὲν, εἶπεν, οὐχ ὁρῶ ὅπως ἐλεύθερος ὦν δούλος ἔσομαι· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι, ἀφέντος τοῦ δεσπότη.

Τί δέ, ὦ λῶστε, ἔφη, οὐθεὶς ἂν γένοιτο ἐλεύθερος μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη ἀφεθείς;

Πῶς γάρ; εἶπεν.

Ὅπως Ἀθηναίων ψηφισαμένων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην τοὺς συμπολεμήσαντας¹ οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, εἰ προὔβη ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ μὴ διελύσατο θᾶπτον ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς αὐτούς, πολλοὶ ἂν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν οἰκετῶν ἢ μικροῦ πάντες ἐλεύθεροι ἦσαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη ἕκαστος ἀφεθείς.

Ἔστω τοῦτό γε, εἰ δημοσίᾳ σε ἡ πόλις ἐλευθερώσει.

- 22 Τί δέ; ἑμαυτὸν οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκῶ ἐλευθερώσαι;
Εἰ γε ἀργύριόν ποθεν καταβάλῃς τῷ δεσπότη.
Οὐ τοῦτόν φημι τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ ὥνπερ Κῦρος οὐ μόνον ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέρσας ἅπαντας ἠλευθέρωσε, τοσοῦτον ὄχλον, οὔτε ἀργύριον οὐδενὶ καταβαλὼν οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη ἀφεθείς. ἢ

¹ συμπολεμήσαντες Kayser: συμπολεμήσαντας.

¹ i.e., rather than the owner.

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

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

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

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

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

B. "Yes, let that be granted—if the state¹ is going to free you by taking official action."

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

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

A. "That is not the method I mean, but the one by which Cyrus freed not only himself but also all the Persians, great host that they were, without paying down money to anyone or being set free by any master.

οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λυχνοφόρος¹ ἦν Κῦρος Ἀστυάγου, καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἡδυνήθη² καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἐλεύθερος ἄμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης;

Εἶεν· ἐμὲ δὲ πῶς φῆς δοῦλον ἂν γενέσθαι;

- 23 "Οτι μυρίοι δῆπου ἀποδίδονται ἑαυτοὺς ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες, ὥστε δουλεύειν κατὰ συγγραφὴν ἐνίοτε ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις.

- Τέως μὲν οὖν προσεῖχον τοῖς λόγοις οἱ παρόντες, ὥς οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ παιδιᾶς· ὕστερον δὲ ἐφιλονίκουν, καὶ ἔδόκει ἄτοπον εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν ἔσται εἰπεῖν τεκμήριον, ᾧ τις ἀναμφιλόγως διακρινεῖ³ τὸν δοῦλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἀλλ' εὐμαρὲς ἔσονται περὶ παντὸς
- 24 ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν. ἀφέντες οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου σκοπεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δουλείας, ἐσκόπουν ὅστις εἴη δοῦλος. καὶ ἔδόκει αὐτοῖς, ὃν ἂν τις κεκτημένος κυρίως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ἢ βοσκημάτων, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλεται, οὗτος ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι δοῦλος τοῦ κεκτημένου.

Πάλιν οὖν ἡμφεσβήτει ὁ περὶ τῆς δουλείας

¹ λυχνοφόρος Hercher : λυχνοποῖος.

² ὁπότε γ' ἐνεθυμήθη Emperius :

³ διακρινεῖ Arnim : διακρίνει U, διακρίνη BM.

¹ Cyrus the Great, who threw off the yoke of the Medes.

² The MSS. have "lampmaker," for which Hercher proposed "lambearer." We learn nothing of either function in the accounts of Cyrus. Cyrus was the θυγατρίδος "daughter's son" of Astyages, King of the Medes.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

Or do you not know that Cyrus¹ was the vassal² of Astyages and that when he got the power and decided that the time was ripe for action, he became both free and king of all Asia?"

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

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

Now up to this point the audience paid attention to their arguments, under the impression that they were not made so much in earnest as in jest. Yet afterwards they fell to wrangling and were inclined to the opinion that it was a strange thing if it was going to be impossible for a man to cite any evidence by which the slave could be unequivocally distinguished from the free man, but that it would be easy to debate and argue about every individual case. So they dropped their discussion about the particular man in question⁴ and his slavery, and proceeded to consider the general question: Who is a slave. And the consensus of their opinion was that when anyone gets possession of a human being, in the strict meaning of that term, just as he might of any item of his goods or cattle, so as to have the right to use him as he likes, then that man is both correctly called and in fact is the slave of the man into whose possession he has come.

Consequently, the man who had objected to being

³ Educated Greeks would hire themselves out as companions in wealthy houses and often perform very exacting service.

⁴ The first of the two disputants.

ἀντιλέγων ὃ τι ποτὲ εἶη τὸ κύριον τῆς κτή-
 25 σεως. καὶ γὰρ οἰκίαν καὶ χωρίον καὶ ἵππον
 καὶ βοὴν πολλοὺς ἤδη φανῆναι τῶν κεκτημένων
 πολὺν χρόνον οὐ δικαίως ἔχοντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ
 παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρειληφότας· οὕτως δὴ
 καὶ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἀδίκως κεκτησθαι. καὶ γὰρ
 δὴ τῶν κτωμένων αἰεὶ¹ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ
 ἄλλα ξύμπαντα, οἱ μὲν παρ' ἄλλων² λαμβάνουσιν
 ἢ χαρισαμένου τινὸς ἢ κληρονομήσαντες ἢ πριά-
 3 μениοι,³ τινὲς δὲ ἀξ' ἀρχῆς τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι γεννη-
 θέντας, οὓς οἰκογενεῖς καλοῦσιν. τρίτος δὲ κτήσεως
 τρόπος, ὅταν ἐν πολέμῳ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἢ καὶ
 λησάμενος, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔχη κατα-
 δουλωσάμενος, ὅσπερ, οἶμαι, πρεσβύτατος ἀπάντων
 ἐστίν. τοὺς γὰρ πρώτους γενομένους δούλους
 οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐκ δούλων φῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ
 ληστείας ἢ πολέμῳ⁴ κρατηθέντας οὕτως ἀναγκασ-
 26 θῆναι δουλεύειν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν οὗτος
 ὁ παλαιότατος τρόπος, ἐξ οὗ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ
 ἤρτηνται, σφόδρα ἀσθενὴς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχων ἰσχυρόν·
 ὅταν γὰρ ποτε δυνηθῶσιν ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀποφυγεῖν,
 οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐλευθέρους εἶναι αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἀδίκως
 δουλεύοντας· ὥστε οὐδὲ πρότερόν ποτε δούλοι
 ἦσαν. ἐνίστε δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἀπέφυγον τὴν
 δουλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας κατεδουλώ-

¹ δει Cohoon: εἶναι.

² παρ' ἄλλων Reiske: γὰρ ἄλλως.

³ κληρονομήσαντες ἢ πριάμενοι Reiske: κληρονομήσαντος ἢ πριαμένου.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

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

⁴ πολέμῳ Dindorf: πολέμου.

σαντο. κἀνταῦθα ἤδη, φασίν, ὀστράκου μεταπεσόντος ἅπαν γίγνεται τὸναντίον τῶν πρότερον.

Εἶπεν οὖν τις τῶν παρόντων ὅτι ἐκείνοι μὲν αὐτοὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἂν λέγοιντο δοῦλοι, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένοις καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις καὶ τοῖς τρίτοις κυρίως ἂν ἤδη προσήκοι τοῦ ὀνόματος.

- 27 Καὶ πῶς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀλῶναι ποιεῖ δουλεύειν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐαλωκόσι μᾶλλον τούτου προσήκοι ἂν ἢ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐκ δούλων γεγονέναι, δηλὸν ὅτι ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ὄντες τῶν ἐαλωκότων οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν εἴεν οἰκέται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁρῶμεν ἐκείνους Μεσσηνίους, δι' ὧσων ἐτῶν οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκομίσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠττήθησαν ἐν Λεύκτροις ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι, στρατεύσαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἠνάγκασαν τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἀποδοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνων γεγονότες, δουλεύοντας πρότερον παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις,¹ τοὺς Εἰλωτας λεγομένους, κατέφκισαν πάλιν εἰς Μεσσήνην. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδεὶς φησιν ἀδίκως πεποιηκέναι τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ παγκάλως καὶ δικαίως. ὥστε εἴπερ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος οὐ δίκαιός ἐστι τῆς κτήσεως, ἐξ οὗ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, κινδυνεύει μηδὲ ἄλλος μῆθεις εἶναι, μηδὲ τῷ ὄντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν δούλος λέγεσθαι.
- 28

¹ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους Reiske : γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

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

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

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

"But how can that be? For if being captured makes a man a slave, the men who themselves were captured deserve that appellation more than their descendants do; and if it is having been born of slaves that makes men so, it is clear that by virtue of being sprung from those who were taken captive and were consequently free-born, their descendants would not be slaves. For instance, we see that those famous Messenians after the lapse of so many years recovered not only their freedom but their territory as well. For when the Spartans were defeated at Leuctra² by the Thebans, the latter marched into the Peloponnese supported by their allies, and not only compelled the Spartans to give back the Messenian territory, but settled in Messene again all the original Messenians' descendants, the Helots as they were called, who had previously been in servitude to the Spartans. And not a man says that the Thebans therein acted unjustly, but all agree that altogether nobly and justly. Consequently, if this method of gaining possession, from which all the others take their beginning, is not just, it is likely that no other one is either, and that the term 'slave' does not in reality correspond to the truth.

¹ In 371 B.C.

- 29 Ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἢ λεγόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ δούλος, ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἀργυρίον τις τοῦ σώματος κατέβαλεν ἢ ὃς ἂν ἐκ δούλων λεγομένων ἢ γεγονώς, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ¹ νομίζουσι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅσπερ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπής. τῶν μὲν γὰρ λεγομένων δούλων πολλοὺς ὁμολογήσομεν δῆπου εἶναι ἐλευθερίους, τῶν δὲ γε ἐλευθέρων πολλοὺς πάνυ δουλοπρεπεῖς. ἔστι δὲ ὡς περὶ² τοὺς γενναίους καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς. τούτους γὰρ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὠνόμασαν τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας πρὸς ἀρετὴν, οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονοῦντες ἐκ τίνων εἰσὶν· ὕστερον δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι πλουσίων καὶ τῶν
- 30 ἐνδόξων ὑπὸ τινων εὐγενεῖς ἐκλήθησαν. τούτου δὲ σημεῖον σαφέστατον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν κυνῶν διέμευε τὸ ὄνομα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶχε τὸ παλαιόν. ὁ γὰρ ἵππον³ θεασάμενος θυμοειδῆ καὶ γαῦρον καὶ πρὸς δρόμον εὖ ἔχοντα, οὐ πυθόμενος εἴτε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔτυχεν ὦν εἴτε ἐκ Μηδίας εἴτε Θετταλός, φησὶν εὐγενῆ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸν⁴ κρίνων. ὁμοίως δὲ ὃς ἂν ἔμπειρος κυνῶν, εἰς κύναν ἴδῃ ταχεῖαν καὶ πρόθυμον καὶ συνετὴν περὶ τὸ ἵχνος, οὐθὲν ἐπιζητεῖ πότερον ἐκ Καρῶν τὸ γένος ἢ Λάκαινα ἢ ἀλλαχόθεν ποθέν, ἀλλὰ φησι γενναίαν τὴν κύναν· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ
- 31 ἀλεκτρυόνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων. οὐκοῦν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἔχει ἂν. ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καλῶς γεγονώς, τοῦτον προσήκει

¹ οἱ πολλοὶ Reiske : ὁ ἐλεύθερος.² ἔστι δὲ ὡς περὶ Emperius : ἐπὶ δὲ ὥσπερ.³ ἵππον added by Reiske.⁴ αὐτὸν Venetian edition : αὐτοῦ.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

“ But perhaps it was not in this way that the term ‘ slave ’ was originally applied—that is, to a person for whose body someone paid money, or, as the majority think, to one who was sprung from persons who were called slaves, but rather to the man who lacked a free man’s spirit and was of a servile nature. For of those who are called slaves we will, I presume, admit that many have the spirit of free men, and that among free men there are many who are altogether servile.¹ The case is the same with those known as ‘ noble ’ and ‘ well-born. ’ For those who originally applied these names applied them to persons who were well-born in respect to virtue or excellence, not bothering to inquire who their parents were. Then afterwards the descendants of families of ancient wealth and high repute were called ‘ well-born ’ by a certain class. Of this fact there is the clearest indication: for in the case of cocks and horses and dogs the designation was retained, just as it had been applied to men in olden times. For instance, when one sees a spirited and mettlesome horse that is well built for racing, without stopping first to enquire whether its sire by any chance came from Arcadia or from Media or is Thessalian, he judges the horse on its own merits and says that it is ‘ well-bred. ’ And it is the same with any connoisseur of dogs: whenever he sees a dog that is swift and keen and sagacious in following the scent, he does not go on to enquire whether it is of Carian or Spartan or some other breed, but says that it is a ‘ noble ’ dog. And it is exactly the same in regard to the cock and the other animals. Therefore it is clear that it would be the same in the case of man also. And so when a man is well-born in respect

¹ See Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 6.

γενναῖον λέγεσθαι, καὶ μὴ μὴθεις ἐπίσθηται τοὺς
γονέας αὐτοῦ μὴδὲ τοὺς προγόνους.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχ οἷόν τε γενναῖον μὲν εἶναι τινα,
μὴ εὐγενῇ δὲ τοῦτον, οὐδ' εὐγενῇ ὄντα μὴ ἐλευ-
θερον εἶναι· ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀγεννῇ πᾶσα¹ ἀνάγκη
δοῦλον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
καὶ τὸ τῆς δουλείας ἔθος ἦν ἐπὶ τε ἵππων λέγε-
σθαι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ κυνῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλους
μὲν γενναίους εἶναι ἐλέγομεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευ-
θέρους, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν δούλους, ἄλλους δὲ ἀγεννεῖς.

32 Ὅμοίως δὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἄλλους μὲν
εἰκὸς ἐστὶ γενναίους καὶ εὐγενεῖς λέγειν, ἄλλους
δὲ ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν
ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς, ἄλλους δὲ δούλους.

Καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀποφαίνει ὁ λόγος οὐ τοὺς φιλοσό-
φους μεταφέροντας τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς τῶν ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν.

¹ πᾶσα Reiske : πάντα.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

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

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

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

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

¹ Cf. a statement attributed to Socrates in Diogenes Laertius 2. 31 : When a certain man said to him (i.e. Socrates) that Antisthenes was born of a Thracian mother, he replied, "Did you think that he would be so noble, if born of two Athenians?"—Σὺ δ' ἦς οὕτως ἂν γενναῖον ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι;

THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

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

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

16. ΠΕΡΙ ΛΥΠΗΣ

- 1 Τὸ μὲν ὑφ' Ἡδονῆς κρατεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς αἰτίαν ἴσως ἔχει· κηλούμενοι γὰρ καὶ γοητευόμενοι παρὰ ταύτῃ μένουσι· τὸ δὲ Λύπη δεδουλωσθαι παντελῶς ἄλογον καὶ θαυμαστόν. ὀδυνώμενοι γὰρ καὶ βασανιζόμενοι τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ πασῶν βασάνῳ μένομεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν¹ ἐλευθεροῦντα ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντα τῆς ἀλγηδόνης οὐ προσιέμεθα. καίτοι τί μὲν ταπεινότερον ἀνδρὸς λυπουμένου; τί δὲ οὕτως αἰσχρὸν θέαμα; καθικνεῖται καὶ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦτο συστέλλει καὶ
- 2 σκυθρωπὸν καὶ δυσειδὲς ὀφθῆναι παρέχει. τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον εἴκειν τῇ φορᾷ τῆς διανοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσμηχανᾶσθαι τινα ἔξωθεν, οἷον μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ συμπλοκάς χειρῶν καὶ ταπεινὰς καθέδρας, ὥς ὑπὸ τούτων πάντων ἀναγκάζεσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὴν διάνοιαν μηδέποτε ἀφίστασθαι τῆς λύπης, ἀλλ' αἰὲ μνημονεύειν τοῦ² λυπεῖσθαι, διεγνωκότας δὲ³ ἔσεσθαι τινα ἀπαλλαγὴν τούτου καὶ μὴ πάντως αἰὲ φανεῖσθαι⁴ τινα αἰτίαν τοῦ
- 3 πάθους, οὐχὶ σφόδρα εὐηθες; ἢ γὰρ προσήκοντος θάνατος ἢ νόσος ἐκείνων τινὸς ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ· πρὸς δὲ

¹ τὸν added by Dindorf.

² τοῦ Cappps: καί.

³ δὲ Arnim: μὴ.

THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

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

⁴ *φανερόν* Dindorf: *φάλεσθαι*.

- τούτοις ἀδοξία, χρημάτων ἀποβολή, τὸ μὴ περᾶναι¹ τι τῶν προκειμένων ἢ² παρὰ τὸ δέον, ἀσχολία, κίνδυνος, μυρία ἄλλα ὅσα συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸν βίον· καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνάγκη τούτων αἰεὶ τι παρῆναι· τὸ δὲ τε-
 4 λευταῖον, ἂν ἄρα γίγνηται³ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἀπαντᾷ δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ τοι τὸ προσδοκᾶν αὐτά καὶ γινώσκειν ὥς δυνατόν ἐστι συμβῆναι, καθάψεται τῆς γνώμης τῶν οὕτως διακειμένων. οὐκ οὖν καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν δεῖ ποιῆσθαι τὴν παραμυθίαν—ἀνήνυτον γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ λυπηρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ βίος—ἀλλὰ ὅλως ἐξελόντα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦτο κρίναντα βεβαίως, ὅτι μὴ λυπητέον ἐστὶ περὶ μηδενὸς τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐλευθεριάζειν, καὶ πάντων ἄδεια τῶν δυσχερῶν ἔσται. οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν αὐτὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς ἡμετέρας γίγνε-
 5 ται τοιοῦτον. οἱ γοῦν πολλοί, ἐὰν⁴ γένηται τι τῶν νομιζομένων ἀτόπων, αἰεὶ τούτου μνημονεύουσι, δυσχεροῦς οὔσης τῆς μνήμης, ὅμοιον δὴ τι πάσχοντες τοῖς παιδίοις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ πυρὸς αἴσθαι προθυμεῖται, καίτοι σφόδρα ἀλγοῦντα, καὶ ἀφῆς, αἴψεται πάλιν.
 6 Ὡσπερ οὖν τοῖς εἰς πόλεμον ἐξιούσιν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὄφελος, ἂν γυμνοὶ προελθόντες ἔπειτα ἕκαστον τῶν φερομένων βελῶν ἐκκλίνειν ἐθέλωσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔνι φυλάττεσθαι πάντα, δεῖ δὲ θώρακος στερεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πανοπλίας, ὥστε, καὶ

¹ περᾶναι Emperius: παρῆναι.² ἢ Venetian edition: ἢ UB, omitted by M.³ γίγνηται Selden: γινώσκηται.⁴ ἐὰν, Jacobs: καὶ.

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

So, just as when men go forth to war it is no use for them to march out without their armour and then merely hope to dodge each flying missile, for it is impossible to guard against them all; but the soldier needs a stout breastplate and his full panoply too,

ἐμπέσῃ τι, μὴ δικνεῖσθαι· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν βίον προελθοῦσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐκκλίνειν οὐδὲ φυλάττεσθαι ὥστε ὑπὸ μηδενὸς παῖεσθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης, μυρίων ἐφ' ἑκάστον φερομένων, ἀλλὰ διανοίας ἰσχυρᾶς ἔστιν ἡ χρεία, μάλιστα μὲν ἀτρώτου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν εἰκούσης, εἰ δὲ μή, μή γε¹ ῥαδίως μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος τιτρωσκομένης· ἐπεὶ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη κεντεῖσθαι καὶ μυρία τραύ-

7 ματα λαμβάνειν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς πόδας ἔχοντες ἀπαλοὺς καὶ παντελῶς ἀτρίπτους, ἔπειτα γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς βαδίζοντες, οὐδέποτε τοιαύτην εὐρήσουσιν ὁδὸν ὥστε μὴ νύττεσθαι μηδὲ ἀλγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τυχὸν αὐτῶν ἀπτεται· τοῖς δὲ ἡσκηκόσιν οὐδὲ ἡ πᾶν τραχεῖα χαλεπή.

Τοσούτων οὖν δυσκόλων ὄντων ἀπὸ τῶν² τοῦ σώματος ἀρξαμένοις, τί δεῖ προσδοκᾶν, ἢ πῶς ἔνεστιν, ἑκάστου τούτων αἰσθανόμενον καὶ ῥαδίως ἐνδιδόντα μὴ κακοδαιμονέστατον ἀπάντων εἶναι, αἰεὶ³ προσευχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο
8 μηδὲ τοῦτο συμβῇ; καθάπερ εἴ τις ἐν ὄμβρῳ πορευόμενος σκέπασμα μὲν ἔχει μηδέν, εὐχοῖτο δὲ μόνον ἑκάστον τῶν σταλαγμῶν διαφυγεῖν (πολὺ γοῦν τῶν σταλαγμῶν συνεχέστερά ἐστι τὰ δυσχερῆ τὰ⁴ παρὰ τῆς τύχης), ἢ νῆ Δία εἴ τις πλέων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς οἴαξι προσέχειν καὶ τὸ προσπίπτον δέχεσθαι καλῶς εὐχοῖτο μηδὲν τῶν κυμάτων κατὰ τὴν ναῦν γενέσθαι. φέρε γάρ,

¹ μή, μή γε Reiske : μή γε, μή.

² τῶν added by Capps.

³ αἰεὶ added by Jacobs.

⁴ τὰ added by Arnim.

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so that, even if a missile does strike him, it may not penetrate—in the same way those also who have marched out into life cannot possibly dodge or so guard themselves as not to be struck by any of Fortune's shafts, thousands of which are flying against each man; but what they need is a stout heart, preferably invulnerable and yielding before no blow; or if that may not be, at least one that is not easily wounded or by any ordinary blow; for otherwise it must often be stabbed and receive a thousand wounds. Why, those who have feet which are tender and not calloused at all by use, and then attempt to walk with them bare, will never find a road so smooth that their feet will not be gashed or in pain, but any little thing hurts them; whereas for feet hardened by practice not even the roughest road causes trouble.

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

¹ For this figure of Demosthenes 9. 33.

² Cf. Demosthenes 9. 69.

ὦ μάταιε, κἂν πάντα σοι τᾶλλα ἔχῃ κατὰ τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν βιώσεσθαι τίνα ἔχεις πίστιν κἂν μὴ μεταξύ πάντων ἀθρώως ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῶν δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν; οὐκοῦν σε περὶ τούτου πρώτου προσήκει λυπεῖσθαι καὶ
 9 δεδιέναι, τὴν ἀδηλόγητα τοῦ πράγματος. ἂν δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐννοηθῇς ὅτι μηδεὶς ὅλως ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου κύριος,¹ ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ μακάριοι καὶ λίαν εὐδαίμονες δόξαντες εἶναι τεθνήκασιν καὶ σοὶ πάρεστιν ἤδη τοῦτο τὸ πέρας, κἂν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔλθῃς τοῦ βίου, πολὺν λῆρον ἡγήσῃ καὶ μεγάλην εὐήθειαν τὸ νομίζειν ὅλως τι δεινὸν εἶναι τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ μέγα ἢ θαυμαστόν, δίχα γε ἐνὸς τοῦ χωρὶς λύπης καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν μίαν γοῦν ἡμέραν διαγαγεῖν.

- 10 Τὸν Ἰάσονά φασιν χρισάμενον² δυνάμει τινί, λαβόντα παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας, ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, μήτε παρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος μηδὲν παθεῖν μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ταύρων τῶν τὸ πῦρ ἀναπνεόντων. ταύτην οὖν δεῖ κτήσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας, τουτέστι τῆς φρονήσεως, λαβόντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπάντων καταφρονεῖν. εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα πῦρ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα αὖπνοι δράκοντες.

¹ κύριος Wilamowitz : χρόνος.

² χρισάμενον Reiske : χρησάμενον.

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

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

The story goes that the famous Jason anointed himself with a certain potent salve¹ which he got from Medea, and it was after that, I fancy, that no harm came to him from either the dragon or the bulls which belched out fire. This, therefore, is the potent thing of which we should acquire possession, getting it from Medea, that is, from Meditation or Intelligence,² and then with our intelligence look with scorn thenceforth upon all things. Otherwise everything will be fire for us and everything sleepless dragons.

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

² In Stobaeus 3. 29. 92 we read: "Diogenes used to say that Medea was wise, but not a sorceress"—*ὁ Διογένης εἶπε τὴν Μήδειαν σοφὴν ἀλλ' οὐ φαρμακίδα γενέσθαι.*

- 11 Καίτοι τῶν λυπουμενων ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τὸ συμβεβηκός φησιν εἶναι δεινότατον καὶ μάλιστα ἄξιον λύπης· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φερόντων ἕκαστος, ὃ φέρει, τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖ βαρύτατον. ἔστι δὲ ἀσθενοῦς τοῦτο καὶ φαύλου σώματος· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἕτερος λαβὼν ἂν ἰσχυρότερος ῥαδίως οἴσει.¹

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

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

¹ Dio means that the man of strong spirit will endure the troubles of life easily, just as the man of strong body will carry a load easily.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON COVETOUSNESS

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

17. ΠΕΡΙ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΞΙΑΣ

- 1 Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ τούτων οἴονται δεῖν¹ λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν, ὅπως ἀκούσαντες ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγνοοῦσι μάθωσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως φαινομένων περιττὸν εἶναι διδάσκειν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐώρων ἡμᾶς οἷς νομίζομεν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἐμμένοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἔξωθεν πράττοντας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ὦμην ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διατείνασθαι περὶ τῶν
- 2 προδήλων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχὶ τὴν ἀγνοίαν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τοσοῦτον ὀρῶ λυποῦσαν ὅσον τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων διαλογισμοῖς μηδὲ ἀκολουθεῖν αἷς ἔχομεν αὐτοὶ δόξαις, μεγάλην ὠφέλειαν ἡγοῦμαι τὸ συνεχῶς ἀναμιμνήσκειν καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου παρακαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἔργῳ τὸ προσήκον.

Ὡςπερ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς καὶ τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὀρῶμεν πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ προστάττοντας, καίτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἀκηκοότων οἷς ἂν κελεύωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἀμελοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ προσέχοντας βλέπωσιν, οὕτως καὶ κατὰ

¹ δεῖν added by Casaubon.

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

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

¹ For the interpretation here given to the phrase τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 228.

- τὸν βίον χρήσιμόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι πολλάκις περὶ
 τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους, ὅταν εἰδῶσι¹ μὲν οἱ
 πολλοὶ τὸ δέον, μὴ μέντοι πράττωσιν. οὐ γάρ
 3 ἐστὶ τέλος οὔτε τοῖς κάμνουσι τὸ γινῶναι τὸ συμ-
 φέρον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὸ χρήσασθαι· τοῦτο
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρέξει τὴν ὑγίειαν· οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις
 τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ τε² ὠφελούντα καὶ βλάπτοντα πρὸς
 τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν τῇ τούτων
 αἵρεσει. καθάπερ γὰρ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμίων-
 τας ἐπισταμένους μὲν ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸ προσάγειν
 τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰς χεῖρας, ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας
 ἀπέχεσθαι, παραπλησίως καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα πράγ-
 ματα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ λίαν εἰδότες ὥς οὐ λυσιτελεῖ
 4 τι ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς αὐτό. τίς
 γοῦν οὐκ οἶδε τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὥς μέγα ἐστὶ κακὸν
 τοῖς ἔχουσιν; ἀλλ' ὅμως μυρίους ἂν τις ἀκρατεῖς
 εὖροι. καὶ νῆ Δία γε τὴν ἀργίαν ἅπαντες ἴσασιν
 ὥς οὐ μόνον οὐχ οἶα τε πορίζειν τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὸ
 ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἐτι³ καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπόλλυσι· καίτοι
 τῷ ὄντι⁴ πλείους ἔστιν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἀργοὺς τῶν
 5 ἐθελόντων τι πράττειν. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, προσήκει
 τοὺς ἁμεινον φρονοῦντας αἰεὶ συνεχῶς ὑπὲρ τούτων
 λέγειν, ἕαν πως γένηται δυνατόν ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ
 βιάσασθαι πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
 μυστηρίοις ὁ ἱεροφάντης οὐχ ἅπαξ προαγορεύει
 τοῖς μνουμένοις ἕκαστον ὧν χρή, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων λόγους ὥσπερ

¹ εἰδῶσι Venetian edition : ἴδωσι.

² τε Reiske : γε.

³ ἐτι Reiske : ὅτι.

⁴ καίτοι τῷ ὄντι Capps, καίτοι τῷ παντὶ Emperius, καίτοι
 σχεδόν τι Arnim : καὶ τῷ ὄντι.

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useful to speak about the same things repeatedly, when the majority know what is their duty, but nevertheless fail to do it. For it is not the main thing that the sick should know what is beneficial to them, but, I suppose, that they should use the treatment; since it is this that will bring them health; nor that men in general should learn what things are helpful and what are injurious to their lives, but that they should make no mistake by their choice between these. For just as one may see persons who are suffering from ophthalmia and know that it hurts to put their hands to their eyes, but still are unwilling to refrain from so doing, so likewise in regard to matters in general, the majority, even though they know perfectly well that it is not advantageous to do a certain thing, none the less fall to doing it. Who, for instance, does not know that intemperance is a great evil to its victims? But for all that you can find thousands that are intemperate. Yes, and idleness everybody must certainly know is not only unable to provide the necessities of life, but, in addition, is destructive of what one already has; and yet in very truth you can find more idlers than men willing to work. Consequently, in my opinion it devolves upon the more thoughtful on all occasions and continually to speak of these matters, in the hope that it may prove possible to make men change their ways and to force them to the better course. For just as in the Mysteries the initiating priest more than once explains beforehand to those who are being initiated each single thing that they must do, in like manner it is profitable that the words concerning things beneficial be repeated often, or

τινὰ πρόρρησιν ἱερὰν λυσιτελεῖ πολλάκις, μᾶλλον
 6 δὲ αἰεὶ λέγεσθαι. τὰ γοῦν φλεγμαίνοντα τῶν
 σωμάτων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐνέδωκε πρὸς τὴν πρώτην
 καταίονησιν, ἀλλ' ἂν συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποιῇ τις,
 ἐμαλάχθη καὶ ῥᾶον ἔσχεν· οὐκοῦν ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν
 ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν πολλῶν φλεγμονὴν ἀγαπητὸν εἶ
 τις δύναιτο πραιῖναι διηνεκῶς τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενος.

Φημὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας εἰδέναι μὲν
 ἅπαντας ὥς οὔτε συμφέρον οὔτε καλὸν ἔστιν,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἴτιον, μὴ μέντοι
 γε ἀπέχεσθαι μηδὲ ἐθέλειν μηδέναν ἀνθρώπων ἴσον
 7 ἔχειν τῷ πέλας. καίτοι τὴν μὲν ἀργίαν καὶ τὴν
 ἀκρασίαν καὶ καθόλου πάσας ἀπλῶς τὰς ἄλλας
 κακίας εὖροι τις ἂν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔχουσι βλαβεράς,
 καὶ νοθεσίας μὲν, οἶμαι, καὶ καταγνώσεως τοὺς
 ἐν τινι τούτων ὑπάρχοντας δικαίως τυγχάνοντας,
 οὐ μὴν μισουμένους γε οὐδὲ κοινούς ἅπασιν δοκοῦντας
 ἐχθρούς· ἡ πλεονεξία δὲ μέγιστον μὲν ¹ ἔστιν
 αὐτῷ τινι κακόν, λυπεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πέλας. καὶ
 τὸν πλεονέκτην οὐδεὶς ἐλεεῖ δῆπουθεν οὐδὲ ἀξιοῖ
 διδάσκειν, προβάλλονται δὲ ἅπαντες καὶ πολέμιον
 8 αὐτῶν νομίζουσιν. ἕκαστος οὖν τῶν αὐτοῦ ² εἰ
 βούλεται γινῶναι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τοιαύτης πονηρίας,
 ἐννοησάτω πῶς αὐτὸς ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας

¹ μὲν added by Pflugk.

² τῶν αὐτοῦ Capps, αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν or αὐτόν.

¹ Dio here echoes the first line of Menander, Frag. 557 Kock: "In the front ranks of man's woes is grasping greed. For they who are fain to annex their neighbour's holdings frequently are defeated and fail, and to their neighbours'

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rather, all the time, just like some sacred admonition. We know, for instance, that inflamed parts of the body do not yield at once to the first fomentation, but that if the treatment is continued, the swelling is softened and relief is given. So in a like manner we must be well content if we are able to assuage the inflammation in the souls of the many by the unceasing use of the word of reason.

So I maintain in regard to covetousness too, that all men do know it is neither expedient nor honourable, but the cause of the greatest evils; and that in spite of all this, not one man refrains from it or is willing to have equality of possessions with his neighbour. And yet you will find that, although idleness, intemperance and, to express it in general terms, all the other vices without exception are injurious to the very men who practice them; and although those who are addicted to any of them do deservedly, in my opinion, meet with admonishment and condemnation, still you certainly will find that they are not hated or regarded as the common enemies of all mankind. But greed is not only the greatest evil to a man himself, but it injures his neighbours as well.¹ And so no one pities, forsooth, the covetous man or cares to instruct him, but all shun him and regard him as their enemy. If, then, each of those here present wishes to know the enormity of this wickedness, let him consider how he himself feels toward

possessions contribute their own in addition." (Allinson in L.C.L. p. 495) :

πλεονεξία μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις κακόν
οἱ γὰρ θέλοντες προσλαβεῖν τὰ τῶν πέλας
ἀποτυγχάνουσι πολλάκις νικώμενοι,
τὰ δ' ἴδια προστιθέασι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις.

πλεονεκτεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν συμβάλοι πῶς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἐκείνον ἔχειν, εἰ ἢ τοιοῦτος. καὶ μὴν ὃ γε Εὐριπίδης, οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἔνδοξος ὢν τῶν ποιητῶν, τὴν Ἰοκάστην εἰσάγει λέγουσαν πρὸς τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα, παρακαλοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὕτω πως·

- 9 τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι πλεονεξίας,¹ παῖ; μὴ σύ γ'. ἄδικος ἢ θεός. πολλοὺς δ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας εἰσῆλθε κάξῃλθ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων· ἐφ' ἣ σὺ μαίνει. τοῦτο κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,² ἰσότητα τιμῶν καὶ φίλους εἶναι³ φίλοις πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμάχοις συνδεῖν.⁴ τὸ γὰρ ἴσον νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ, τῷ πλέονι δ' αἰεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται τοῦλασσαν, ἐχθρᾶς θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται.
- 10 παρεθέμην δὲ ἐξῆς τὰ ἱαμβεῖα· τὸ γὰρ τοῖς καλῶς εἰρημένοις αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νοῦν ἔχοντός ἐστιν.
- Ἐν δὴ τούτοις ἅπαντα ἔνεστι τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐκ τῆς πλεονεξίας, ὅτι μήτε ἰδίᾳ μήτε κοινῇ συμφέρεи, τούναντίον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν οἴκων εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων ἀνατρέπει καὶ διαφθείρει καὶ πάλιν ὡς νόμος ἀνθρώποις τιμῶν τὸ ἴσον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κοινὴν φιλίαν καὶ πᾶσιν εἰρήνην

¹ Euripides' text has φιλοτιμίας, "ambition."

² Euripides' text has κείνο κάλλιον, τέκνον.

³ Euripides' text has ἢ φίλους αἰεὶ.

⁴ Euripides' text has συνδεῖ.

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those who attempt to overreach him; for in this way he can get an idea as to how other men must feel toward him if he is that sort of man. And further, Euripides too, a poet second to none other in reputation, brings Iocasta on the stage addressing Eteocles and urging him to refrain from trying to overreach his brother, in some such words as these:

At greed, the worst of deities, my son,
Why graspest thou? Do not; she is Queen of
wrong.

Houses many and happy cities enters she,
Nor leaves till ruined are her votaries.
Thou art mad for her!—'tis best to venerate
Equality, which knitteth friends to friends,
Cities to cities, allies to allies.
Nature gave men the law of equal rights,
And the less, ever marshalled against
The greater, ushers in the dawn of hate.¹

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

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

¹ Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 531-540 as modified by and adapted from Way in L.C.L. Cf. Plato, *Republic* 349 b ff.

² And yet Dio alters the poet's text in four places, in order to make the quotation support his argument better. Cf. critical notes on the text.

- πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιεῖ, τὰς δὲ διαφορὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμφύλους ἔριδας καὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους κατ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον συμβαίνοντας ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἀπο-
 11 στερεῖται. καὶ γάρ τοι¹ τί τοῦ ζῆν ἀναγκαιότερόν ἐστιν, ἢ τί τούτου περὶ πλείονος² ποιοῦνται πάντες; ἀλλ' ὁμως καὶ τοῦτο ἀπολλύουσι χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τὰς αὐτῶν³ ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν. μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητῆς οὗ φησιν ἐν τοῖς θείοις εἶναι πλεονεξίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀγήρω μένειν αὐτά, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐν ἕκαστον ἑαυτῷ τάξιν φυλάττοντα, τὴν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὰς ὥρας. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν δύνασθαι διαμένειν. ὅταν οὖν καὶ τοῖς θείοις ἡ πλεονεξία φθορὰν ἐπιφέρει, τί χρὴ νομίζειν τὰνθρώπεια πάσχειν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς νόσου; καλῶς δὲ μέμνηται καὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν, ὡς ὑπὲρ⁴ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν μηδένα μηδενὸς τούτων εὐρημένων.
- 12 Ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος καὶ πλέον εἶναι τοῦ παντός φησι τὸ ἥμισυ, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν βλάβας, οἶμαι, καὶ ζημίας λογιζόμενος. τίς γὰρ πώποτε ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ δυνάστης ἢ δῆμος ἐπιχειρήσας ὑπερβῆναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεχθῆναι οὐχ ἅπασαν μὲν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ-

¹ καὶ γάρ τοι Sonny : καίτοι.² πλείονος Reiske : πλείστου.³ αὐτῶν Dindorf : αὐτῶν.⁴ ὡς ὑπὲρ Casaubon : ὥσπερ.

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

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

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

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

Way in L.O.L.

Works and Days, v. 40.

έβαλε, μεγάλαις δὲ καὶ ἀμηχάνοις ἐχρήσατο συμφοραῖς, ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παραδείγματα ἐμφανῇ τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς ποιηρίας κατέλιπεν; ἢ τίς τῶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι βουλομένων καὶ τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἦτταν ῥαδίως ὑπομένειν οὐ πολλαπλάσια μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐκτήσατο, αὐτομάτως αὐτῷ καὶ δίχα πόνου περιγιγνόμενα, πλείστον δὲ χρόνον τὴν εὐημερίαν κατέσχευ, ἀσφαλέστατα δὲ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς;

- 13 Αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ τῆς Ἰοκάστης υἱεῖς οὐκ, ἐπεὶ διέστησαν τοῦ πλείονος χάριν, ὁ μὲν μόνος ἄρχειν βουλούμενος, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου ζητῶν κομίσασθαι τῆς δυναστείας τὸ μέρος, οὐκ ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν, μεγάλων δὲ κακῶν αἴτιοι κατέστησαν τοῖς συναραμένοις ἀμφότεροι, τῶν μὲν ἐπιστρατευσάντων παραχρῆμα ἀπολομένων, τῶν δὲ ἀμυναμένων¹ μετὰ μικρὸν ἡττηθέντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐκ εἶων ταφῆναι;
- 14 καὶ μὴν δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς πλεονεξίαν, τοῦ τὴν Ἑλένην ἄρπάσαντος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μενελάου κτήματα, οἱ τὴν² μεγίστην τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκοῦντες πόλιν ἀπώλonton μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ χρήματα ὀλίγα τηλικαύτην τιμωρίαν ἔτεισαν. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης, ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας ἡπείρου κύριος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ τοσοῦτον στόλον καὶ τοσαύτας μυριάδας συναγαγὼν ἤνεγκεν, ἅπασαν μὲν αἰσχροῦς ἀπέβαλε τὴν δύναμιν, μόλις δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἴσχυσε διασῶσαι φεύγων αὐτός. πορθοῦμένης δὲ μετὰ

¹ ἀμυναμένων Emperius : αἰτιωμένων.

² τὴν added by Wilamowitz.

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

Illustrations are at hand: Did not the sons of Iocasta,¹ when they became at variance in their desire for more, the one wishing to be sole ruler, and the other seeking by fair means or foul to secure his portion of the kingdom—did they not, though brothers, slay each the other and bring the greatest evils, both of them, upon those who espoused their causes, since the invaders of the land straightway perished, while those who fought to defend it were worsted soon after because they would not allow the corpses to be buried? And again, on account of the greed of one man who carried off Helen and the possessions of Menelaus, the inhabitants of Asia's greatest city perished along with their children and wives, and for harbouring one woman and a little property they paid so huge a penalty. Then take the case of Xerxes, the master of the other continent. When he cast covetous eyes upon Greece too, and collected and brought against her so mighty a fleet and so many myriads, he shamefully lost all his armament and with difficulty saved his own person by taking to flight himself; and after-

¹ Eteocles and Polyneices.

ταῦτα τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ
 15 φέρειν ἡναγκάζετο. καὶ μὴν Πολυκράτην φασίν,
 ἕως μὲν Σάμου μόνῃς ἦρχεν, εὐδαιμονέστατον
 ἀπάντων γενέσθαι· βουλόμενον δέ τι καὶ τῶν
 πέραν πολυπραγμονεῖν, διαπλεύσαντα πρὸς Ὀροί-
 την, ὡς χρήματα λάβοι, μηδὲ ῥαδίου γε θανάτου
 τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου
 διαφθαρῆναι.

Ταῦτα μὲν, ἴν' ἡ παραδείγματα ὑμῖν, ἔκ τε τῶν
 σφόδρα παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐν
 ποιήμασι καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἱστορουμένων παρήνεγκα.
 16 ἄξιον δ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὡς καὶ κείνος
 κολάζειν πέφυκε τοὺς πλεονεκτοῦντας. Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις γὰρ χρωμένοις, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν
 Ἀρκαδίαν, οὐ μόνον ἀπέειπε καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν
 ὠνείδισεν, οὕτως εἰπών·

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς, μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς, οὔτοι
 δώσω·

ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε, προειπὼν
 μὲν τὸ μέλλον, οὕτως δὲ ὥστε ἐκείνους μὴ συνέντας
 ἐπὶ Τεγέαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῖς γινωσκομέναις
 ὑπὸ πάντων συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν. καίτοι
 φανερώς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν αὐτοῖς ἀρνούμενος οὐδὲ
 τὴν Τεγέαν ἐδίδου. τὸ γὰρ ἰσχυρότατον¹ τῆς Ἀρ-
 καδίας καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἦν. ἀλλ' ὅλως² διὰ
 τὴν πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲ ὧτα ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ τῶν λεγομένων αἰσθάνονται.

¹ ἰσχυρότατον Pflugk: ἰσχυρόν.

² ὅλως Sonny: ὅμιως.

¹ See Herodotus 3. 120-125.

² Ibid., 1. 66.

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

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

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

but also imposed a penalty upon them and foretold the future, yet in such a way that they did not understand, but marched against Tegea to meet with disasters known of all men. And yet, while plainly denying Arcadia to them, he would not give them Tegea either. For this was the strongest and most important place in Arcadia.² But, speaking generally, the majority of mankind are so covetous that they have not even ears to hear, nor do they so much as understand words of warning when spoken.

- 17 Πάλιν τοίνυν Ἀθηναίοις ἐρωτῶσι περὶ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας ἔχρησε προσλαβεῖν τῇ πόλει τὴν Σικελίαν, λόφον τινὰ ἐγγὺς ὄντα τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν παρακειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμέλησαν· οὕτως ἔκφρονες ὑπῆρχον διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πλείονος, ὥστε τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον λέγειν ἐν ἐνὶ τείχει περιλαβεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ μυρίων που σταδίων οὖσαν νήσον. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖσε πλεύσαντες οὐ μόνον Σικελίας διήμαρτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστερήθησαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐπεῖδον ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγενημένην.
- 18 Καὶ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰ θέλοι τις ἐπεξιέναι, δῆλον ὡς οὐδ' ἐν ἔτει¹ ἐπιλείψει. σκοπεῖτε² δ' ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τοῖς ἐπ' ἄκρον ἰσχύουσι καὶ λίαν ὑπερβάλλουσι τῇ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα εὐεξία συμφέρει μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἀφελεῖν· τὸ γὰρ πλεόν, οἶμαι, τοῦ συμμέτρου παγχάλεπον. ὁμοίως δὲ πλοῦτος ἔχων τὴν³ χρεῖαν, εἰ μὲν ἢ μέτριος, οὐ λυπεῖ τοὺς ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' εὐχερέστερον καὶ νῆ Δι' ἀνεπιδεῇ παρέχει τὸν βίον· εἰ δὲ ὑπερβάλη, πλείονας παρέχει τὰς φροντίδας καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῆς δοκούσης ἡδονῆς, καὶ πολλοὶ μετενόησαν σφόδρα πλουτήσαντες, οἱ δὲ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄποροι καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων κατέστησαν.
- 19 Εἶεν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν ἕκαστον ἐθέλοι πλεονεκτεῖν, ἔσθ' ὅπως

¹ οὐδ' ἐν ἔτει Emperius: οὐδὲν ἔτι.² σκοπεῖτε Emperius: σκοπεῖ M, σκοπεῖν UB.³ τὴν Emperius: τινὰ.

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

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

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

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

τὸν βραχύτατον καιρὸν διαμεῖναι δυνησόμεθα; λέγω δὲ οἷον εἰ πλέον τινὲ τοῦ συμμέτρου αἷμα γίγνοιτο, ἢ νῆ Δία τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θερμὸν ὃ τι δῆποτ' ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιτείνει παρὰ τὴν σύμμετρον καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν, οὐχὶ μεγάλας ἐπίστασθε καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐκ τούτων ἀπαντᾶν νόσους; ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων, εἰ πλεονεκτῆσειε τῶν χορδῶν¹ τις τῇ τάσει, πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ ἀνάγκη πᾶσαν λελύσθαι τὴν ἀρμονίαν;

- 20 Σφόδρα δ' ἔγωγε θαυμάζω τί ἂν ἐποιήσαμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ἐλάχιστον παρὰ τῶν θεῶν μέτρον εἴχομεν· ἀλλ',² ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα παρασκευαζόμενοι πλέον ἄλλος ἄλλου φιλοτιμούμεθα ἔχειν. ὥσπερ οὖν εἴ τις εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡ δὴ ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, εἰς πλείστους διαγένηται χρόνος, ἔχει πλοῦν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ σῖτα ἐμβάλοιτο, ἀνόητος δόξει· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἴ τις ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι πλείων τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν οὐκ ἂν βιώσειεν, εἰς ἔτη χίλια πορίζοιτο βίον οὐκ ἴσως³ καὶ ὁμοίως ἂν εἴη μαινόμενος; ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ τοσαῦτα παρασκευάζονται, ὥς εἰ γ' ἔπλεον, εὐθὺς ἂν καταδύναι τὴν ναῦν. καὶ νῆ Δία γε συμβαίνει μυρίοις.

- 21 Εἴεν· εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἐφ' ἐστίασιν κεκληκὼς δέκα ἀνθρώπους ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα, τοσοῦτους⁴ αὐτὸν ἐμπλῆσαι δέον, ὃ δὲ πεντακοσίους ἢ χιλίους ἐτοιμάζοι τροφήν, οὐ παντελῶς ἐξεστάναι δόξει;

¹ χορδῶν Cohoon: φθόγγων.

² οἱ γε Capps, οἱ γε καὶ νῦν Emperius, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν Arnim: ἀλλ'.

³ οὐκ ἴσως καὶ ὁμοίως Rouse: ἴσως οὐχ ὁμοίως. Geel and Arnim delete ἴσως.

⁴ τοσοῦτους Capps: τούτους.

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

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

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

¹ Cf. Plato, *Republic* I. 349d ff.

τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰδότες τὰς τοῦ σώματος
 χρείας εὐαριθμήτους τινάς· ἐσθῆτος γάρ, οἶμαι,
 καὶ σκέπης καὶ τροφῆς δεόμεθα· ἔπειτα κατα-
 τεινόμεθα ὥσπερ στρατοπέδῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συν-
 ἄγοντες· καὶ νῆ Δία γε εἰκότως. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ
 βόσκουσι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στρατό-
 πεδον. καὶ ἐσθῆτα μὲν οὐδεὶς βούλεται μείζω
 τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν, ὥς δύσχρηστον ὄν· οὐσίαν δὲ
 τῷ παντὶ μείζω τῆς χρείας ἔχειν ἅπαντες ἐπιθυμοῦ-
 σιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκείνου χαλεπώτερον.

- 22 Δοκεῖ δέ μοι Κροῖσος καλῶς ὁ Λυδός, τὴν
 ἀπληστίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλέγχει βουλόμενος,
 εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς εἰσαγαγὼν τινὰς τοσοῦτο
 χρυσίον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐξενεγκεῖν ὅσον ἕκαστος
 ἂν δύνηται τῷ σώματι. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς οὐ
 μόνον τὸν κόλπον ἐμπλήσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ
 κεφαλῇ τοῦ ψήγματος ἐκφέρειν καὶ τῷ στόματι,
 καὶ μόλις πορεύεσθαι πάνυ γελοίους καὶ διεστραμ-
 μένους. οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι¹ καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον
 πορεύεσθαι τινὰς ἀσχημονοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς πλεονε-
 ξίας καὶ καταγελάστους ὄντας.

¹ ἡγοῦμαι Capps: οὖν. Reiske retains οὖν and adds ἡγοῦμαι
 after βίον.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

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

I think, too, that Croesus the Lydian, when he wanted to expose the insatiable greed of men, did this admirably. He conducted a group of men into his treasure-house and permitted them to take away just as much gold as each man could carry on his person. For we see that most of them not only filled the bosoms of their clothing, but carried away some of the dust upon their heads and in their mouths and that they could scarcely walk, cutting a ridiculous figure, all twisted out of shape as they were.¹ In life also, methinks, certain men walk along in an unseemly posture and cut a ridiculous figure on account of their greed.

¹ See Herodotus, 6. 125 and compare *Discourse* 78. 32.

THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

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

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

In poetry it is the writers of Comedy and Tragedy that are really useful for the purpose he has in view, although the epic poet Homer is, of course, supreme. Other types of poetry his wealthy friend will not have time to read. Among the historians he gives the first place to Thucydides, and among the orators to Demosthenes, although he believes that Hyperides and Aeschines will be of more practical benefit because not so difficult to imitate. It is at first sight strange that he does not

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

mention Isocrates at all, but probably he thought his long involved sentences not a suitable model for his correspondent. Of philosophers Dio names none at all if we except the indirect reference to Socrates, although we know from his writings that he must have been familiar with Plato; and the only reference to philosophy is where he says, apparently with approval, that Euripides had some knowledge of it. Quintilian on the other hand ends his list of Greek writers by naming as philosophers Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Theophrastus.

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

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

Von Arnim, who takes *στρατηγοῖς* in § 16, where Dio is speaking of the advantages to be derived from a study of Xenophon's speeches, to mean 'provincial Governors,' *βασιλικαῖς* to mean 'imperial officials,' and *πληθὸς* 'the commons or citizen body' of a Greek state, notes that *στρωτοῖς* (soldiers) are not expressly mentioned, and infers from this that Dio's correspondent has nothing to do with soldiers, but does have to deal with Roman provincial governors and imperial officials, and therefore is not a Roman himself, but a local Greek official occupying a high position in some large Greek city of Asia Minor. Von Arnim further supports this view by observing that, according to Dio, Xenophon's speeches teach "not to trust too readily those in authority over you"—good advice for a Greek subject to Romans, and how a statesman can encourage the despondent—knowledge not needed by a Roman governor. He concludes his argument

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by saying that a Roman studied rhetoric solely for formal intellectual training. It might be objected, however, that Cicero and Caesar did not study it for this purpose alone.

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

18. ΠΕΡΙ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΑΣΚΗΣΕΩΣ

- 1 Πολλάκις ἐπαινέσας τὸν σὸν τρόπον ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀξίου πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, οὐδέποτε πρότερον ἐθαύμασα ὡς νῦν. τὸ γὰρ ἡλικίας τε ἐν τῷ ἀκμαιοτάτῳ ὄντα καὶ δυνάμει οὐδενὸς λειπόμενον καὶ ἄφθονα κεκτημένον, καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας οὔσης δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τρυφᾶν, ὅμως ἔτι παιδείας ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοκαλεῖν περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν, μηδὲ εἰ πονεῖν δέοι, σφόδρα μοι ἔδοξε γενναίας ψυχῆς καὶ οὐ φιλοτίμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι φιλοσόφου ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ ἄριστοι οὐ μόνον ἀκμάζειν μαθάνοντες, ἀλλὰ
- 2 καὶ γηράσκουσιν ἔφασκον. πάντῃ δὲ σύ μοι δοκεῖς φρονεῖν, ἡγούμενος πολιτικῶ ἀνδρὶ δεῖν λόγων ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχύειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι πλείστη ἀπὸ τούτου ὠφέλεια. τίτι μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι δέισαντες θαρροῦσιν ἢ λόγῳ; τίτι δὲ ἐξυβρίζοντες καὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι καθαιροῦνται καὶ κολάζονται;

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

¹ Solon said: "I keep learning many things as I grow old"—*γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλά διδασκόμενος*. See Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 31b, and compare Cicero, *De Senectute* 8. 26.

τίνι δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπέχονται; τίνα δὲ νουθετοῦντα
πραότερον φέρουσιν ἢ οὐ¹ λόγῳ εὐφραίνονται;²
3 πολλάκις γοῦν³ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνα-
λίσκοντας⁴ μὲν ἑτέρους καὶ χαριζομένους καὶ
ἀναθήμασι κοσμοῦντας, ἐπαινουμένους δὲ τοὺς
λέγοντας, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων αἰτίους. διὸ
καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἀρχαιότατοι καὶ παρὰ
θεῶν τὴν ποίησιν λαβόντες οὔτε τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς
οὔτε τοὺς καλοὺς ὡς θεοὺς ἔφασαν ὁρᾶσθαι,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ
συνεώρακας καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖς πράττειν, ἐπαινῶ σε
καὶ θαυμάζω.

4 Χάριν δὲ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν οἶδα ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ,
ὅτι με πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἐγχείρημα
χρήσιμον σαυτῷ νενόμικας. μέχρι νῦν μὲν γάρ,
ὥσπερ τις ἔφη τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῷ ἱκανὸς⁵ εἶναι
μάντις, καὶ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖν ὥμην ἑμαντῷ περὶ τοὺς
λόγους, μόγις καὶ τοῦτο. σὺ δέ με ἐπαίρεις
καὶ θαρρεῖν ἀναπείθεις, εἰ ἀνδρὶ καὶ παιδείας ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον ἦκοντι καὶ τηλικούτῳ δύνamai χρήσιμος
εἶναι. δυναίμην δ' ἂν τυχόν, ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰόντι
μάλα ἰσχυρῷ καὶ ἀκμάζοντι παῖς ἢ τις πρεσ-

¹ ἢ οὐ Herwerden : οὐ.

² εὐφραίνονται Reiske : εὐφραίνοντα UB, εὐφραίνοντας M.

³ γοῦν Wilamowitz : οὖν.

⁴ ἀναλίσκοντας Casaubon : ἀναδιδάσκοντας.

⁵ ἱκανὸς Goerlitz : κακὸς UB, κακῶς M.

¹ But Homer does apply the term *θεοειδής* (godlike in appearance) to Alexander or Paris (*Iliad* 3. 16), to Telemachus (*Odyssey* 14. 173) and the term *θεοεικέλος* (godlike) to Achilles (*Iliad* 1. 131). Then Sappho (*Supp.* 20 c. 6) applies this latter term to Hector and Andromachē. Plutarch (2. 988 d) says: "The poets call the beautiful 'godlike in form'" — οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς καλοὺς *θεοειδεῖς* ὀνομάζουσιν.

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them? What has greater influence in keeping them from indulging their desires? Whose admonitions do they endure more meekly than the man's whose speech delights them? Time and again, at any rate, there may be seen in our cities one group of men spending, handing out largess, adorning their city with dedications, but the orators who support these measures getting the applause, as though they and not the others had brought these things about. For this same reason the poets of the earliest times, who received their gift of poetry from the gods, never spoke of either the strong or the beautiful as being 'looked upon as gods,'¹ but reserved this praise for the orators. So it is because you not only have observed all this, but are also endeavouring to put it into practice that I commend and admire you.

And I acknowledge on my own behalf a gratitude beyond the ordinary because you have believed that I could be useful to you in carrying out this purpose and this endeavour. For up to the present, as one of the writers of old said that he was 'a good enough prophet for his own self,'² so I too considered that I should do well enough for myself in oratory, though barely even that. But you elate me and persuade me to take courage, in the hope that I can be of use to one who not only has attained so high a degree of culture, but is also as gifted as yourself. And perhaps I could, just as a boy or some aged herdsman might, be useful to a strong and vigorous

² A reference to Plato, *Phaedrus* 242 c: "Now I am in truth a seer, although not a good one, but, just as is the case with those who write a poor hand, merely sufficient for myself alone"—εἰμι δὲ οὖν μάντις μὲν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ σπουδαῖος, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ γράμματα φαῦλοι, ὅσον μὲν ἐμαντῶ μόνον ἱκανός.

βύτης ἐνίοτε νομεὺς ἐπίτομον δείξας ἢ λεωφόρον, ἣν οὐκ ἔτυχεν εἰδῶς.

- 5 Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ¹ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ἥδη οἷς προσέταξας ἐγχειρητέον.

Μειρακίῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ νέῳ ἀνδρὶ τοῦ τε πράττειν ἀποχωρῆσαι βουλομένῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀσκήσει γενέσθαι καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι ἀγωνιστικὴν, ἐτέρων² ἔργων³ τε καὶ πράξεων δεῖ. σὺ δὲ οὔτε ἄπειρος τοῦ ἔργου οὔτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ πράττειν δύνασαι οὔτε χρήξεις δικανικῆς δυνάμεώς τε καὶ δεινότητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολιτικῇ ἀνδρὶ προπούσης
6 τε ἅμα καὶ ἀρκούσης. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σοι πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀσκήσαντι ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλείστον προάγει, τῷ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρησαμένῳ συλλήψει⁴ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὀκνηρὰν ποιεῖ προσφέρεσθαι, καθάπερ τοὺς ἀσυνήθεις περὶ σώματος ἀσκησιν εἴ τις κοπώσκει βαρυτέροις γυμνασίοις, ἀσθενεστέρους ἐποίησεν· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ⁵ τοῖς ἀήθεσι τοῦ⁶ πονεῖν σώμασιν⁷ ἀλείψεως⁸ δεῖ μᾶλλον καὶ κινήσεως συμμέτρου ἢ γυμνασίας, οὕτω σοὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιμελείας⁹ ἐστὶ χρεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ δονῇ¹⁰ μεμιγμένης ἢ ἀσκήσεως καὶ πόνου.

¹ λέγω added by Dindorf after πολλὰ.

² ἀγωνιστικὴν, ἐτέρων Capps: ὁ ἀγωνοτέρων M, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτέρων UB, λόγων ἐτέρων T.

³ λόγων instead of ἔργων conjectured by Capps, cf. § 17 *infra*.

⁴ Instead of συλλήψει Casaubon conjectured συλλυπεῖ, Goerlitz συστέλλει, Emperius συννεφεῖ.

⁵ ὥσπερ Dindorf: ὡς.

⁶ ἀήθεσι τοῦ Pflugk: ἀήθεσι M, ἀηθίοις UB.

⁷ σώμασιν Emperius: σώματος.

⁸ ἀλείψεως anonymous emendator in Reiske: ἀπολείψεως.

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wayfarer in pointing out a shorter road or a beaten track of which he did not happen to know.

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

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

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

⁹ ἐπιμελείας Emperius : ἐπιμέλεια B, ἐπιμελεία UM.

¹⁰ ἡδονῇ Emperius : ἡδονῆς.

- Τῶν μὲν δὴ ποιητῶν συμβουλευσάμην ἄν σοι
 Μενάνδρῳ τε τῶν κωμικῶν μὴ παρέργως ἐντυγ-
 χάνειν καὶ Εὐριπίδῃ τῶν τραγικῶν, καὶ τούτοις
 μὴ οὕτως, αὐτὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα, ἀλλὰ δι' ¹
 ἑτέρων ἐπισταμένων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ἡδέως, εἰ
 δ' οὖν, ἀλύπως ὑποκρίνασθαι· πλείων γὰρ ἢ
 αἰσθησις ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ²
 7 ἀσχολίας. καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν σοφωτέρων αἰτιάσεταιί
 με ὥς προκρίναντα τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας τὴν
 Μενάνδρου ἢ τῶν ἀρχαίων τραγωδῶν Εὐριπίδην·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰς πολυτελεστάτας τροφὰς
 συντάττουσι τοῖς θεραπείας δεομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς
 ὠφελίμους. πολὺ δ' ἂν ἔργον εἶη τὸ λέγειν
 ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτων χρήσιμα· ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ Μενάνδρου
 μίμησις ἅπαντος ἥθους καὶ χάριτος πᾶσαν ὑπερ-
 βέβληκε τὴν δεινότητα τῶν παλαιῶν κωμικῶν,
 ἢ τε Εὐριπίδου προσήνεια καὶ πιθανότης τοῦ μὲν
 τραγικοῦ ἀπαθανατισμοῦ ³ καὶ ἀξιώματος τυχόν
 οὐκ ἂν τελέως ἐφικνοῖτο, πολιτικῶ δὲ ἀνδρὶ πάνν
 ὠφέλιμος, ἔτι δὲ ἦθη καὶ πάθη δεινὸς πληρῶσαι,
 καὶ γνώμας πρὸς ἅπαντα ὠφελίμους καταμίνυσι
 τοῖς ποιήμασιν, ἅτε φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος ὢν.
 8 Ὅμηρος δὲ καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μέσος καὶ ὕστατος,
 παντὶ παιδὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γέροντι τοσοῦτον ἀφ'
 αὐτοῦ διδούς ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται λαβεῖν. μέλη

¹ ἀλλὰ δι' added by Emperius.

² ἀναγιγνώσκειν Valesius: γινώσκειν UM, γινώσκειν B.

³ ἀπαθανατισμοῦ Capps, cf. Longinus 16. 3, ἀπαυθαδήματος Reiske, ἀπαυθαδίσματος Cobet, ἀναστήματος Wilamowitz: ἀπαυθήματος UBM, παθήματος T.

¹ Cf. Longinus, *De Sublim.* 16. 3: "Moreover the poet in his oath does not make divinities of the men—οὐχὶ ἀπαθανατίζει.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

So let us consider the poets: I would counsel you to read Menander of the writers of Comedy quite carefully, and Euripides of the writers of Tragedy, and to do so, not casually by reading them to yourself, but by having them read to you by others, preferably by men who know how to render the lines pleasurable, but at any rate so as not to offend. For the effect is enhanced when one is relieved of the preoccupation of reading. And let no one of the more 'advanced' critics chide me for selecting Menander's plays in preference to the Old Comedy, or Euripides in preference to the early writers of Tragedy. For physicians do not prescribe the most costly diet for their patients, but that which is salutary. Now it would be a long task to enumerate all the advantages to be derived from these writers; indeed, not only has Menander's portrayal of every character and every charming trait surpassed all the skill of the early writers of Comedy, but the suavity and plausibility of Euripides, while perhaps not completely attaining to the grandeur of the tragic poet's¹ way of deifying his characters, or to his high dignity, are very useful for the man in public life; and furthermore, he cleverly fills his plays with an abundance of characters and moving incidents, and strews them with maxims useful on all occasions, since he was not without acquaintance with philosophy.²

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

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

δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεία καὶ ἱamboi καὶ διθύραμβοι τῷ μὲν σχολὴν ἄγοντι πολλοῦ ἄξια· τῷ δὲ πράττειν τε καὶ ἅμα τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὖξιν διανοουμένῳ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πρὸς αὐτὰ σχολή. τοῖς
 9 δ' ἱστορικοῖς διὰ πολλὰ ἀνάγκη τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐντυγχάνειν, ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τῶν λόγων τὸ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πράξεων καὶ εὐτυχιῶν καὶ δυστυχιῶν οὐ κατὰ λόγον μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἐνίοτε καὶ παρὰ λόγον ἀνδράσι τε καὶ πόλεσι συμβαινουσῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον πολιτικῶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν προαιρουμένῳ. ὁ γὰρ πλείστα ἑτέροις συμβάντα ἐπιστάμενος ἄριστα οἷς αὐτὸς ἐγχειρεῖ διαπράσσεται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ οὔτε εὖ πράττων παρὰ μέτρον ἐπαρθήσεται, δυσπραγίαν τε πᾶσαν οἷσει γενναίως διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἐν οἷς εὖ ἔπραττεν ἀνεννόητος εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβολῆς.

- 10 Ἡροδότῳ μὲν οὖν, εἴ ποτε εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ,¹ μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐντεύξῃ· τὸ γὰρ ἀνειμένον καὶ τὸ γλυκύ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέξει μυθῶδες μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορικὸν τὸ σύγγραμμα εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἄκρων Θεοκυδίδης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων Θεόπομπος. καὶ γὰρ ῥητορικὸν τι περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν λόγων ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατος οὐδὲ ὀλίγωρος² περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, καὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον περὶ τὰς λέξεις οὐχ οὕτω φαῦλον

¹ εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ Geel: εὐφροσύνης οἱ M, ἔφορόν σοι U, σύμφορόν σοι B.

² ὀλίγωρος Reiske: ὀλίγος BM, ὁ λόγος U.

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1452 a 21.

² Theopompus of Chios, born about 378 B.C., attended the

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

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

ὥστε σε λυπήσαι. Ἐφορος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ὕπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον.

- 11 Τῶν γε μὴν ῥητόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους τίς οὐκ ἐπίσταται, Δημοσθένην μὲν δυνάμει τε ἀπαγγελίας καὶ δεινότητι διανοίας καὶ πλήθει λόγων πάντα τοὺς ῥήτορας ὑπερβεβληκῶτα, Λυσίαν δὲ βραχύτητι καὶ ἀπλότητι καὶ συνεχείᾳ διανοίας καὶ τῷ λεληθέναι τὴν δεινότητα; πλὴν οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ σοι συμβουλεύσαιμι τὰ πολλὰ τούτοις ἐντυχάνειν, ἀλλ' Ὑπερείδῃ τε μᾶλλον καὶ Λίσχῃ· τούτων γὰρ ἀπλούστεραί τε αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ εὐληπτότεραι αἱ κατασκευαὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἐκείνων λειπόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυκούργῳ συμβουλεύσαιμι ἂν ἐντυχάνειν σοι, ἐλαφροτέρῳ τούτων ὄντι καὶ ἐμφαίνοντί τινα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπλότητα καὶ γενναιότητα τοῦ τρόπου.
- 12 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ φημι δεῖν, κἄν¹ εἴ τις ἐντυχὼν τῇ παραινέσει τῶν πάνυ ἀκριβῶν αἰτιάσεται, μηδὲ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ ὀλίγων πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀπείρως ἔχειν· λέγω δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Πλουτίωνα καὶ Κόνωνα καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην

¹ κἄν Arnim : καί.

¹ Ephorus, born between 408 and 405 B.C. at Cymē in Asia Minor, was also a pupil of Isocrates.

² Not the legendary lawgiver of Sparta, but one of the ten Attic Orators. One of his speeches is extant.

³ Lucian (*Lexiphanes* 23) gives the opposite advice.

⁴ Antipater, a rival of Theodorus of Gadara, was perhaps identical with Antipater of Damascus, the father of the historian Nicolaus, born 64 B.C.

⁵ Theodorus of Gadara, eminent rhetorician in the age of Augustus. Tiberius during his retirement at Rhodes was one of his hearers.

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

When it comes to the orators, however, who does not know which are the best—Demosthenes for the vigour of his style, the impressiveness of his thought, and the copiousness of his vocabulary, qualities in which he surpasses all other orators; and Lysias for his brevity, the simplicity and coherence of his thought, and for his well concealed cleverness. However, I should not advise you to read these two chiefly, but Hypercides rather and Aeschines; for the faculties in which they excel are simpler, their rhetorical embellishments are easier to grasp, and the beauty of their diction is not one whit inferior to that of the two who are ranked first. But I should advise you to read Lycurgus² as well, since he has a lighter touch than those others and reveals a certain simplicity and nobility of character in his speeches.

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

¹ Plution, mentioned also by Seneca and by Eusebius, who calls him a celebrated teacher of rhetoric.

² Conon, perhaps the grammarian of the age of Augustus. He was the author of a work entitled *διηγήσεις* (*Narratives*), addressed to Archelaüs Philopater, king of Cappadocia. An epitome of the work is preserved in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, who praises his Attic style.

- ἔλθῃ. αἱ γὰρ τούτων δυνάμεις καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν εἶεν ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμοι, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἐντυγχάνοιμεν αὐτοῖς δεδουλωμένοι τὴν γνώμην, ὥσπερ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ δύνασθαι τι τῶν εἰρημένων αἰτιάσασθαι μάλιστα θαρροῦμεν πρὸς τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν
- 13 ἡμεῖς,¹ καὶ ἡδιόν τις παραβάλλει αὐτὸν ᾧ πείθεται συγγρινόμενος οὐ καταδεέστερος, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ βελτίων ἂν² φαίνεσθαι.

Τρέφομαι δὲ ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικούς, οὓς δὴ ἀναγκαιοτάτους εἶναί φημι παντὶ ἀνδρὶ λόγων ἐφιειμένῳ. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄψον ἄνευ ἁλῶν γεύσει κεχαρισμένον, οὕτως³ οὐδὲν εἶδος ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀκοῇ προσηγὲς ἂν γενέσθαι χάριτος Σωκρατικῆς ἁμοιβῶν.

- Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους μακρὸν ἂν εἴη ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ τυχόν.
- 14 Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι ἀνδρὶ πολιτικῷ καὶ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξαρκεῖν δύνασθαι· εἴτε ἐν πολέμῳ τις στρατηγῶν εἴτε πόλεως ἀφηγούμενος, εἴτε ἐν δήμῳ λέγων εἴτε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ, εἴτε καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μὴ ὡς ῥήτωρ ἐθέλοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πολιτικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς ἀνὴρ τὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσήκοντα ἐν δίκῃ εἰπεῖν· πάντων ἄριστος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ⁴ καὶ λυσιτελέστατος πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα Ξενοφῶν. τά τε γὰρ διανοήματα

¹ ἡμεῖς Cohoon: ἡ BM, ἡ U.

² ἂν added by Arnim.

³ Arnim would add λόγων after οὕτως, unnecessarily.

⁴ δοκεῖ added by Emperius.

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

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

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

¹ By the Socratics Dio means those writers, such as Plato and Xenophon, who came under the personal influence of Socrates.

- σαφῇ καὶ ἀπλᾷ καὶ παντὶ ῥάδια φαινόμενα, τότε εἶδος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας προσηνὲς καὶ κεχαρισμένον καὶ πειστικόν, πολλὴν μὲν ἔχον πιθανότητα, πολλὴν δὲ χάριν καὶ ἐπιβολήν, ὥστε μὴ λόγων δεινότητι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γοητεία εἰκέναι τὴν
- 15 δύναμιν. εἰ γοῦν ἐθελήσειας αὐτοῦ τῇ περὶ τὴν Ἀνάβασιν πραγματεία σφόδρα ἐπιμελῶς ἐντυχεῖν, οὐδένα λόγον εὐρήσεις τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λεχθῆναι δυνησομένων, ὃν¹ οὐ διείληπται καὶ κανόνος ἂν τρόπον ὑπόσχοι τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπευθῆναι ἢ μιμήσασθαι βουλομένῳ. εἴτε γὰρ θαρρῦναι τοὺς σφόδρα καταπεπτωκότας χρήσιμον πολιτικῷ ἀνδρί, καὶ πολλάκις ὡς χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν δείκνυσιν· εἴτε προτρέψαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι, οὐδεὶς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς ἐπαΐων οὐκ ἂν ἐπαρθεῖν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς Ξενοφῶντος λόγοις·
- 16 ἐμοὶ γοῦν κινεῖται ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐνίστε δακρύω μεταξὺ τοσούτων² τῶν ἔργων τοῖς λόγοις ἐντυγχάνων· εἴτε μέγα φρονοῦσι καὶ ἐπηρμένοις ὁμιλῆσαι φρονίμως καὶ μήτε παθεῖν τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυσχερανάντων μήτε ἀπρεπῶς δουλώσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνοις κεχαρισμένον ἐκ παντὸς ποιῆσαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔνεστιν. καὶ ἀπορρήτοις δὲ λόγοις ὡς προσήκει χρήσασθαι καὶ πρὸς στρατηγούς ἄνευ πλήθους καὶ πρὸς πλῆθος κατὰ³ ταῦτό, καὶ βασιλικοῖς τίνα⁴ τρόπον διαλεχθῆναι, καὶ ἑξαπατῆσαι ὅπως πολεμίους μὲν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ φίλους δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι, καὶ μάτην ταραττο-

¹ ὃν Reiske: ὅς.

² τοσούτων τῶν Cohoon: τοσούτων τῶν M, τοσούτων U.

³ von Arnim inserts οὐ before κατὰ, wrongly.

⁴ τίνα Emperius: τινὰ.

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

¹ i.e. apart from the generals. von Arnim's insertion of the negative shows a misunderstanding of the thought.

- μένοις ἀλύπως τάληθές καὶ πιστῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι, καὶ οἷς ἐξαπατῶσιν οἱ ὑπερέχοντες καὶ οἷς καταστρατη-
 17 γούσι καὶ καταστρατηγοῦνται ἄνθρωποι, πάντα ταῦτα ἱκανῶς τὸ σύνταγμα περιέχει. ἄτε γάρ, οἶμαι, μιννὺς ταῖς πράξεσι τοὺς λόγους, οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς παραλαβὼν οὐδὲ μιμησάμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πράξας ἅμα καὶ εἰπὼν, πιθανωτάτους ἐποίησεν ἐν ἅπασί τε τοῖς συντάγμασι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα, οὐ ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἐτύγχανον. καὶ εὖ ἴσθι, οὐδένα σοι τρόπον μεταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βουλῇ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ ὀρέγοντός σοι χεῖρα αἰσθήσῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἰ αὐτῷ προθύμως καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐντυγχάνοις.
- 18 Γράφειν μὲν οὖν οὐ συμβουλευέω σοι αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἢ σφόδρα ἀραιῶς, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ μᾶλλον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότερος¹ τῷ λέγοντι ὁ ὑπαγορεύων τοῦ γράφοντος, ἔπειτα ἐλάττονι πόνῳ γίνεται· ἔπειτα πρὸς δύναμιν μὲν ἥττον συλλαμβάνει τοῦ γράφειν, πρὸς ἕξιν δὲ πλείον. καὶ γράφειν δὲ οὐ ταῦτά σε ἀξιῶ τὰ σχολικὰ πλάσματα, ἀλλ', εἴπερ ἄρα, τινὰ τῶν λόγων, οἷς ἂν ἡσθῆς ἐντυγχάνων, μάλιστα τῶν Ξενοφωντείων, ἢ ἀντιλέγοντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ ἕτερον τρόπον ὑπο-
 19 βάλλοντα. καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν μέντοι, εἴ σοι ῥάδιον μεμνήσθαι, τὰ ἐκείνων ἄμεινον. τῷ τε γὰρ

¹ ὁμοιότερος Reiske : ἐτοιμότερος.

¹ That is, the *Anabasis* or *Journey Inland*. It is strange that Dio does not also mention Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.

² So Rhys Roberts renders *δύναμις* in his list of rhetorical terms used in literary criticism.

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those who are needlessly disturbed without giving offence, and to make them believe it; how not to trust too readily those in authority over you, and the means by which such persons deceive their inferiors, and the way in which men outwit and are outwitted—on all these points Xenophon's treatise¹ gives adequate information. For I imagine that it is because he combines deeds with words, because he did not learn by hearsay nor by copying, but by doing deeds himself as well as telling of them, that he made his speeches most convincingly true to life in all his works and especially in this one which I chanced to mention. And be well assured that you will have no occasion to repent, but that both in the senate and before the people you will find this great man reaching out a hand to you if you earnestly and diligently read him.

Writing, however, I do not advise you to engage in with your own hand, or only very rarely, but rather to dictate to a secretary. For, in the first place, the one who utters his thoughts aloud is more nearly in the mood of a man addressing an audience than is one who writes, and, in the second place, less labour is involved. Again, while it contributes less to effectiveness² in delivery than writing does, it contributes more to your habit of readiness. But when you do write, I do not think it best for you to write these made-up school exercises; yet if you must write, take one of the speeches that you enjoy reading, preferably one of Xenophon's, and either oppose what he said, or advance the same arguments in a different way. And yet repeating what his speeches contain is better still if you have a good memory for it. For this makes one thoroughly

τρόπῳ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν
 διανοημάτων πάνυ συνήθεις ποιεῖ. λέγω δὲ
 οὐχ ἵνα σύνταγμά τι ὅλον, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες, εἴρων
 συνάπτης, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἴ τί σοι σφόδρα ἀρέσειε,
 τοῦτο κατὰσχῃς. πλείστα περὶ τούτου μειρακίῳ
 ἂν ἔγραψα, σοὶ δὲ ἀρκεῖ τοσαῦτα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ
 ἐλάχιστα ἀναλάβοις, πολὺ ὀνήσει· καὶ εἰ δυσκό-
 λως ἔχοις καὶ μετὰ ὀδύνης πράττοις, οὐκ ἐξ
 ἅπαντος ἀναγκαῖον.

- 20 Ἀλλὰ ἔοικα μὲν πάνυ μηκῦναι τὴν συμβουλίαν·
 σὺ δὲ αἷτιος ἀναπείσας καὶ προκαλεσάμενος·
 ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν πάλῃ ὑπερέχοντες τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις
 ὑπέικοντες ἐνίοτε ἐποίησαν¹ αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι
 ἰσχυροτέρους εἶναι· καὶ σὺ ἔοικας, ἃ κρεῖττον
 τυγχάνεις εἰδώς, ἐμὲ προτρέψαι ὥς ἔλαττον
 ἐπισταμένῳ γράψαι. βουλοίμην δ' ἂν, εἴ σοι
 κεχαρισμένον εἴη, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ποτε ἡμᾶς
 γενέσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐντυγχάνοντες τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ
 διαλεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν χρήσιμοί τι γενοίμεθα.²
- 21 ὥσπερ τοῖς ζωγράφοις καὶ πλάσταις οὐκ ἀπόχρη
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι δεῖ τοιάδε τὰ³ χρώματα εἶναι καὶ
 τοιάσδε τὰς γραμμάς, ἀλλὰ μεγίστη ὠφέλεια,
 εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ἢ γράφοντας ἢ πλάττοντας ἴδοι·
 καὶ ὥς τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις οὐκ ἀρκεῖ εἰπεῖν τὰ
 παλαισματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι ἀνάγκη τῷ μαθη-
 σομένῳ· οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συμβουλίαις

¹ ἐποίησαν Emperius: ἀνέπεισαν UB, ἂν ἔπεισαν M.

² γενοίμεθα Emperius: ἐγενόμεθα.

³ τὰ added by Pflugk.

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

Well, I seem to have extended my advice to great length, but you yourself are to blame for that by persuading and challenging me. Just as expert wrestlers sometimes give way to those who are weaker and make them believe that they are stronger, so you seem to have led me on to write and tell what you, as it happens, know better yourself, just as if you did not know it so well. But I should prefer, if it proved agreeable to you, that we should get together some time and by reading the ancient writers and discussing them render some service to each other. Just as it is not enough to say to painters and to sculptors¹ that their colours should be just so and that their lines should be just so, but they derive the greatest help if the critic can see them at work, painting or modelling; and just as it is not sufficient for the gymnastic masters to name the different holds in wrestling, but they must go on and demonstrate them to the youth who wishes to learn: so too in consultations like this, the help

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

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πλείων ἢ ὠφέλεια γίγνοιτ' ἂν, εἴ τις αὐτὸν πράττοντα ἴδοι τὸν συμβουλευκότα. ὥς ἔγωγε, καὶ εἰ ἀναγιννώσκειν με δέοι σοῦ ἀκροωμένου, τῆς σῆς ἔνεκα ὠφελείας οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι, στέργων τέ σε καὶ τῆς σῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀγάμενος καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ τιμῆς χάριν εἰδώς.

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would be greater if one were to see the man who has given the advice in action himself. I declare for my part that even if I had to read aloud to you while you listened, for the sake of helping you I should not hesitate, since I both love you and admire you for your ambition, and am grateful for the honour you have shown me.



THE NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON THE AUTHOR'S FOND- NESS FOR LISTENING TO MUSIC, THE DRAMA, AND ORATORY

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

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

- Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦκεν ὁ ἄριστος τῶν νῦν κιθαρωδῶν, ὥς δ' ἔνιοί φασιν, οὐδὲ τῶν πρότερον οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἀρίονος τοῦ ἐκ ¹ πελάγους, μαντευόμενοι δῆλον ὅτι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἰδεῖεν τὸ σαφές οὐκ ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνου; ὥς δ' οὖν τάχιστα ἦσθοντο ἐπιδημοῦντα τὸν ἄνδρα, εὐθύς καὶ σπουδῇ ἀμήχανος καὶ πάντες ἐβάδιζον εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον.
- 3 ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ἐξεῖναι νομίζων καὶ ἡμῖν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν οὕτω καλῆς εὐωχίας ἐν ἀνθρώποις τρισχιλίοις καὶ πλείοσιν, ἦκον ἐν πρώτοις πάνυ θαρρῶν. εἰμὶ δὲ φιλήκοος καὶ φιλόμουσος ἀτεχνῶς, οὐ πάνυ ἔμπειρος ὢν μουσικῆς· ὥστε εἴπερ ἔτυχον γεγονὼς κατὰ ταῦτόν Ὀρφεῖ, δοκῶ μοι, πρῶτος ἂν ἐπηκολούθουν, εἰ καὶ ἔδει μετὰ νεβρῶν τινων ἢ μόσχων, οὐδὲν αἰδούμενος· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ταῦτό τοῦτο πάσχω πολλάκις, ἐπειδὰν εἰσαφίκωμαι σοφιστοῦ, διὰ τὴν προσοῦσάν μοι ἀκρασίαν ² περὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ μετὰ τοιούτων συναγελάζομαι θρεμμάτων, ὠραίων καὶ καλῶν, ἄλλως δὲ θορυβούντων καὶ σκιρτᾶν προθυμουμένων.
- 4 Τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθα πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς τε καὶ ῥήτορας ἅπαντας σχεδόν. καθάπερ οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ τοὺς μετρίως εὐπόρους μακαρίζουσι διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀμηγέτη δύνατους λέγειν θαυμάζω καὶ ἀγαπῶ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸς ἀδύνατος

¹ τοῦ ἐκ Reiske : ἐκ τοῦ.

² ἀκρασίαν Casaubon : ἀκρόασιν UB, ἀκροᾶσιν M.

NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON MUSIC

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

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

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἶναι λέγειν. τὸ μέντοι τῶν κιθαρωδῶν τε καὶ
 νῆ Δία τῶν ὑποκριτῶν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον μοι δοκεῖ
 διαφέρειν πρὸς ἡδονήν. ἥ¹ τε γὰρ φωνὴ μεῖζων
 καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἐμμελεστέρα,² ἥ τε λέξις³ οὐκ
 αὐτοσχέδιος, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐξ ὑπογούου
 τὰ πολλὰ πειρωμένων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ποιητῶν ἐπι-
 5 μελῶς καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν πεποιηκότων. καὶ τὰ
 γε⁴ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἀρχαῖά ἐστι καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρων
 ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν νῦν. τὰ μὲν τῆς κωμωδίας ἅπαντα,
 τῆς δὲ τραγωδίας τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρά, ὥς ἔοικε, μένει·
 λέγω δὲ τὰ ἱαμβεῖα, καὶ τούτων μέρη διεξίσσιν
 ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις· τὰ δὲ μαλακώτερα ἐξερρύνηκε,
 τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη· ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 τῶν παλαιῶν ὅσα μὲν ἐστὶ στερεὰ τοῦ σώματος
 ὑπομένει τῷ χρόνῳ, τὰ τε ὁστὰ καὶ οἱ μύες, τᾶλλα

¹ ἥ added by Emperius.

² ἐμμελεστέρα Wilamowitz: ἐπιμελεστέρα.

³ λέξις Reiske, ἔξις BM, ἔξις U.

⁴ γε Reiske: τε.

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

At first the songs of the chorus had been integral parts of the tragedy. The chorus itself played the part of an actor. But after Aeschylus introduced a second actor, the chorus became less important; and still less so when Sophocles introduced a

NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON MUSIC

proficiency. But I must say that the performance of those who sing to the harp, aye, and of the actors too, seems to me in no small degree superior in the pleasure it gives. For their voices are louder and undoubtedly better modulated, while their language is not extempore like that of the orators, who generally try to speak without preparation; but poets have composed painstakingly and at their leisure. And the most of what they give us comes from ancient times, and from much wiser men than those of the present. In the case of comedy everything is kept; in the case of tragedy only the strong parts, it would seem, remain—I mean the iambs, and portions of these they still give in our theatres—but the more delicate parts have fallen away, that is, the lyric parts.¹ I might illustrate by the case of old men: all the firm parts of the body resist the ravages of time, namely, the bones and the

third actor. Then Euripides showed a tendency to write the choral parts as separate songs, but nevertheless they are more or less relevant to the action of the play. It remained for Agathon, born about 446 B.C., to make the chorus sing musical interludes which had no connection with the subject-matter of the tragedy (see Aristotle, *Poetics* 1456a). And later the tragic chorus was often, and then usually, dropped altogether in stage performances. Official records as early as the third and second centuries B.C. attest to this. However, even in Dio's time tragedies sometimes had a chorus.

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

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δὲ ἐλάττω γίγνεται.¹ οὐκοῦν τὰ σώματα ὁράται
τὰ τῶν παντελῶς γερόντων ἐνδεδωκότα καὶ
λαγαρά· ὅσοι δ' αὖ παχεῖς γέροντες ὑπὸ πλούτου
καὶ τρυφῆς, ἰσχυροῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς προσόντος ἔτι,
πιμελῆς δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν σαρκῶν, εὐτραφεῖς δὴ ὁρῶνται
καὶ νεώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς.²

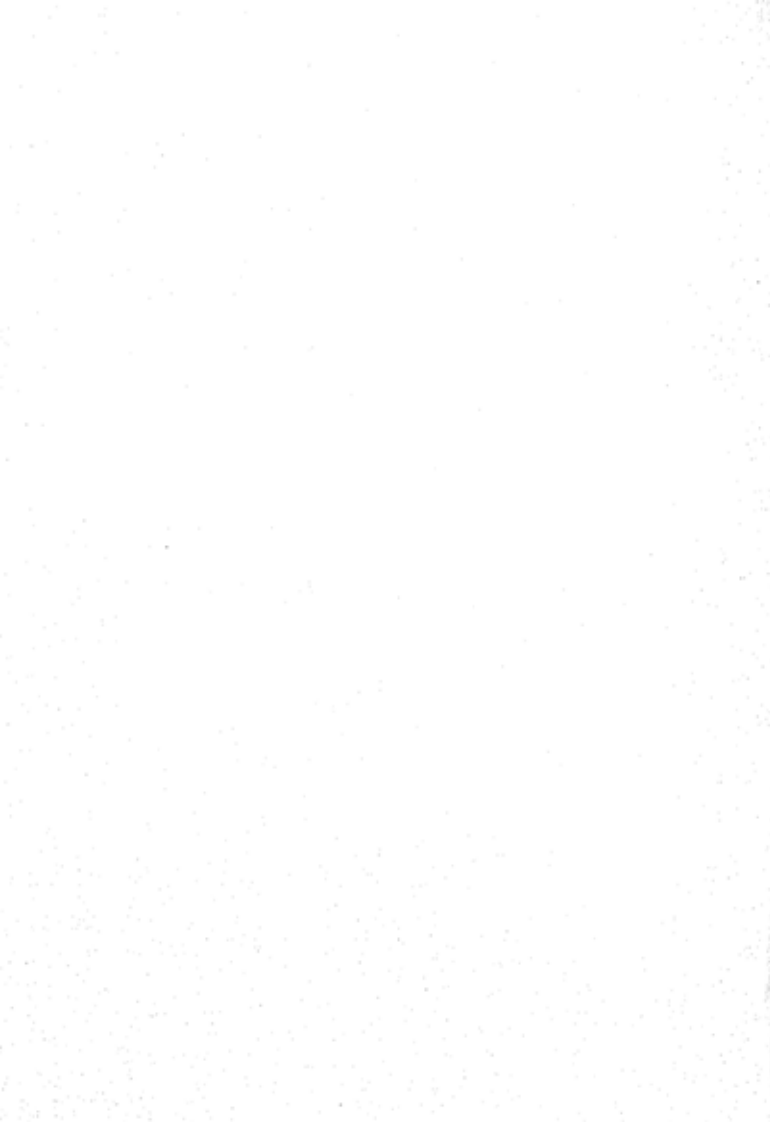
¹ γίγνεται Emperius : τείνεται.

² Selden believed a good deal was lacking at the end.

NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON MUSIC

muscles; but everything else shrivels up. This is the reason that the bodies of extremely old men are seen to be wasted and shrunken, whereas all those old men who are corpulent because of their wealth and luxury, although they have no strength left but only fat instead of flesh, do seem well nourished and younger to the great majority.¹

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



THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON RETIREMENT

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

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

20. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΕΩΣ

Τί γάρ ποτε τὸ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεώς ἐστι καὶ τίνας
 χρή τιθέναι τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας; Ἄρά γε τοὺς
 ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἔργων αὐτοῖς καὶ πράξεων
 ἀφισταμένους, τούτους χρή φάσκειν ἀναχωρεῖν;
 οἷον εἴ τις Ἀθηναῖος ὢν, δέον αὐτὸν στρατεύεσθαι
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσβεβληκότων
 εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἢ Φιλίππου ἐπιόντος ἢ ἄλλων
 πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσειεν¹ εἰς Μέγαρα ἢ
 Αἴγινα ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν,
 οὗτος ἂν² ἀνακεχωρηκέναι λέγοιτο; ἢ εἴ τις
 συχνὴν οὐσίαν κεκτημένος ἔνεκα τοῦ διαφυγεῖν
 2 τὰς λειτουργίας ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως; ἢ εἴ
 τις ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἱκανὸς ὢν, καὶ φίλων
 δὴ καὶ ἐπιτηδείων αὐτῷ καμνόντων, ὅπως μὴ
 κακοπαθῇ καὶ πράγματα ἔχῃ τούτους θεραπεύων,
 ἀπολίποι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποδημήσειεν εἰς ἕτερον
 τόπον; ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλος, ἐν πόλει δέον ἐξετάζεσθαι

¹ ἀναχωρήσειεν Emperius: ἀναχωρήσει.

² ἂν added by Emperius.

¹ Compare Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 21 ff.

² The λειτουργία was a public service which wealthy men of Athens, and of some other Greek states, were required to perform at their own expense in order to lighten the financial burdens of the state as such. At Athens there were both ordinary and extraordinary ones. Of the former kind the most important was the χορηγία, that is, paying the expense

THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON RETIREMENT

JUST what, pray, is the meaning of the word 'retirement,' and whom should we define as men who are 'retiring'? Is it those who are giving up their proper tasks and activities of whom we should say that they are retiring? For example, if some one enjoying Athenian citizenship, when the obligation falls on him to serve in the field in defence of his country because the Spartans have invaded Attica, or Philip is attacking them, or some other enemy, should retire or withdraw to Megara or Aegina in order to avoid serving or risking his life, could this man be described as having retired? ¹ Or if some one who possesses a great fortune should for the sake of avoiding the public services required of the rich ² leave the city? Or if a man who is qualified to heal the sick, and then when the sick are friends and intimates of his, should abandon them and go on a visit to some other place in order to avoid catching the disease and the trouble of treating them? Or if somebody else, on being required to present himself for public

of outfitting and training a chorus for one of the Athenian state festivals, in which were included the tragic contests and later, the presentations of comedies; next in importance was the *τετραπαιχλα*, which imposed the obligation to equip a trireme and to maintain it in service for a year.

καὶ αὐτόν, ἄρχειν καὶ ἀρχαῖς ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ φυλακάς
τινας φυλάττειν, ἀγρυπνῶν μὴ βούλοιοτο, ἀλλ'
ὅπως τούτων ἀπηλλαγμένος ἀπάντων ἔσται καὶ
μηδὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξελέγξει¹ μηδὲ κωλύσει² πίνοντα
καὶ καθεύδοντα καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντα, ἐτέρωσε ἀποχωροῖ
ποι—ἄρα τούτους ἀναχωρεῖν ῥητέον; ἀλλ' οὗτοι
μὲν δῆλον ὅτι φεύγουσί τε καὶ δραπετεύουσι, καὶ
οὐκ ἂν εἴη πρόφασις αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ συγγνώμη τῆς
τοιαύτης σχολῆς τε καὶ ἀποδράσεως.

- 3 Μὴ οὖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν πραγμάτων
καὶ τῶν οὐ προσηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς ἀσχολιῶν ἀπιόντας
καὶ σχολήν τινα πορίζοντας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐνοχλούντων μάτην ῥητέον ὡς ἀναχωροῦντας.
ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν, οὐχ ὁ μεταβὰς ἐκ πόλεως τινος
εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἢ ἐκ τόπου εἰς ἕτερον τόπον
ἀναχωρεῖν λέγοιτ' ἂν· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ἀφίκηται,
πολλὰ ἂν εἴη τὰ ἐμποδῶν αὐτῷ γιγνόμενα καὶ
οὐκ ἐῶντα τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ
ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ ξυνεῖναι καὶ τὸ πίνοντα ἢ κυβεύοντα
ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ ἀσυμφόρων πράττοντα
διατελεῖν, πανταχοῦ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, καὶ τὸ συνδιατρί-
βειν αἰεὶ τῷ ἐντυχόντι ἀδολεσχοῦντα καὶ ἀκούοντα
λόγων οὐδὲν χρησίμων ἢ περὶ τὰ βασιλέως
πράγματα διατρίβειν ἢ τὰ³ τοῦ δεῖνος, ὡς ἔφη
4 τις. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνόητος τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς
κύριος, ἀλλὰ ρεμβόμενός τε καὶ ἀγόμενος ῥαδίως
ὑπὸ τῆς τυχεύσης προφάσεως καὶ ὁμιλίας.

¹ ἐξελέγξει Wilamowitz: ἐξελέγξη.

² κωλύσει Wilamowitz: κωλύση. ³ τὰ Morel: τὸ.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: RETIREMENT

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

It may be, then, that it is those who withdraw from unprofitable enterprises and time-consuming activities which do not properly concern them, and who get themselves some leisure from useless annoyances, that should be defined as 'retiring.' But if that is right, it is not the man who has moved from some city to another one or from one place to another that could be described as 'retiring.' For wherever he goes, there will be many things getting in his way and not allowing him to do the things which properly concern him. For the fact is that spending much time in somebody's company and in continual drinking, or dicing, or in doing some other harmful and unprofitable thing are practices to be met with everywhere¹—and wasting all one's time in palaver-ing with anyone you happen to meet, and in listening to talk that is utterly futile, or spending your time discoursing about the affairs of the Emperor or of what's his name, as some one has said. For the fool is not master of his own soul, but is whirled this way and that and is easily led by any chance pretext or association.

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

- Ὡστε οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι, καθάπερ οἱ ἄσωτοι τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἀποδοῦναι λόγον πρὸς ὃ τι ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, φαίνεται δ' ὅμως ἀνηλωμένα πάνυ συχνὰ χρήματα, οὐδὲ οὗτοι τοῦ χρόνου τε καὶ βίου δύναιτ' ἂν ἀποδοῦναι λόγον, πρὸς ὃ τι ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀνήλωσαν ἢ μῆνα ἢ ἐνιαυτόν· φαίνεται δ' οὖν παριῶν ὁ βίος καὶ δαπανώμενος ὁ χρόνος, οὐκ ὀλίγου ἄξιος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲ ἥττονος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἢ τὸ ἀργύριον.
- 5 ἀλλ' ὅμως μᾶς δραχμῆς ἀπολομένης ἀνάγκη αἰσθῆσθαι καὶ δηχθῆναι ἀμηγένη· εἰ δὲ καὶ πλείους τις ἐκβάλοι,¹ οὐ πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πράως ἔχοντες· λέγω δὲ οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν λυπούμενοι καὶ δακνόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προσέχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἄξιον ἦν δάκνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν δραχμῶν. ἡμέρας δὲ ἐξελεύσεως καὶ ἀπολομένης καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅς ἐφρόν-
- 6 τισεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν δύνανται² λογίζεσθαι τὸ τοσοῦτον,³ ὅτι εἰ μὴ προσέξουσι μηδὲ φροντιοῦσι τῶν τοιούτων, λάθοι ἂν αὐτοὺς ἢ σύμπασα οὐσία διαρρνεῖσα καὶ ἀπολομένη· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐ δύνανται ταῦτ' οὗτο λογίσασθαι, ὥς εἰ μὴ προνοήσουσιν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ φυλάξουσι μὴ εἰκῇ προῖέναι, λάθοι ἂν αὐτοὺς ὁ σύμπας βίος διαρρνεῖς καὶ ἀπολό-
- 7 μένος. Ἄλλ' ὅτι γε οὐ τόπος ἐστὶν ὁ παρέχων, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποδημῆσαι, τὸ μὴ φαῦλ' ἅττα πράττειν, δηλον,⁴ οὐδὲ

¹ ἐκβάλοι Emperius : ἐκβάλλοι Venetian edition, ἐκβάλλη M, ἐκβάλλη UB.

² δύνανται Morel : δύναται.

³ τοσοῦτον Capps : τοιούτον.

⁴ δηλον added by Cohoon.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

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

But clearly it is not the place where you are nor this going abroad that affords an escape from doing sundry trivial things, nor is it even one's having

εἰς Κόρινθον ἢ Θήβας ἀνακεχωρηκέσαι, τὸ δὲ τὸν
 βουλόμενον πρὸς αὐτῷ εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Θήβαις
 καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν οὐ τις ἂν
 ἀπέλθῃ ¹ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔνεστι τό
 τε ἀργεῖν καὶ τὸ ῥαθυμεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσει
 προφάσεως, ὅπου ἂν τύχῃ ὦν, δι' ἣν βλακεύων
 τε καὶ ἀσχολούμενος ἀναλώσει καὶ πάνυ πολὺν
 8 χρόνον, ἂν οὕτως τύχῃ. μὴ οὖν βελτίστη καὶ
 λυσιτελεστάτη πασῶν ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναχώρησις καὶ
 τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν, ἐάν τ' ἐν
 Βαβυλῶνι τύχῃ τις ὦν ἐάν τ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐάν τ' ἐν
 στρατοπέδῳ ἐάν τ' ἐν νήσῳ μικρᾷ καὶ μόνος. αἱ γὰρ
 τοιαῦται ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ ἀποδημίαι μικρὰν τινα
 ἔχουσι ῥοπήν πρὸς τὸ σχολὴν ἄγειν καὶ τὸ πράττειν
 τὰ δέοντα· ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀσθενούσιν ἐφ' ἑτέρας καὶ
 ἑτέρας κλῖνας κατακλίνεσθαι φέρει μὲν τινα ἐνίοτε
 μικρὰν ἀνάπαυσιν, οὐ μὴν ἱκανήν γε οὐδ' ὥστε
 9 ἀπαλλάξαι· ἰδεῖν τε ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ πάνυ πολλῷ
 θορύβῳ τε καὶ πλήθει οὐ κωλυόμενον πράττειν
 ἕκαστον τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ὃ τε αὐλῶν ἢ διδάσκων
 αὐλεῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, πολλάκις ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ
 τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἔχων, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐξίστησι τὸ

¹ ἀπέλθῃ Dindorf: ἀπέλθοι.

¹ Corinth was noted for its elegant and expensive women, Thebes for its dullness. Cf. the proverb: "Not every man can afford the trip to Corinth"—οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθόν ἐστ' ὁ πλοῦς.

² Seneca (*Letters* 56. 5) says: "Of what advantage is silence all around if the feelings are clamouring?"—Quid prodest

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retired to Corinth or to Thebes,¹ but rather the being occupied with one's own self, when one so wishes. For in Thebes and in Megara, yes, anywhere almost that one may go, whether in Greece or in Italy, it is possible for one to live in idleness and to take one's ease; and one will not lack a pretext, wherever he happens to be, for spending quite a good deal of time, if it so happens, in busying one's self with affairs as well as in loafing. I am therefore inclined to think that the best and most profitable kind of retirement is retirement into oneself and giving attention to one's own concerns, whether one happens to be in Babylon, or in Athens, or in a military camp, or alone on a little island.² For retirements and sojournings abroad of the kind we have mentioned conduce very little to one's having leisure and doing only what one ought to do. Sick persons, for instance, by changing from one bed to another do sometimes get a little relief, but certainly not enough nor such as would rid them of their malady. And we often see how even in the midst of a very great turmoil and throng the individual is not hampered in carrying on his own occupation; but, on the contrary, the man who is playing the flute or teaching a pupil to play it devotes himself to that, often holding school in the very street, and the crowd

totius regionis silentium si adfectus fremunt?—Compare also Horace, *Epistles* l. 11. 27-30: "Their sky, not their soul, those change who run across the sea. A strenuous inactivity busies us. We seek the good life in ships and chariots. What you seek is here, is at Ulubrae, if you possess an unruffled soul"—*Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt. Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis hic est, est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.*

- πλήθος οὐδὲ ὁ θόρυβος τῶν παριόντων, ὃ τε ὀρχούμενος ὁμοίως ἢ ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος πρὸς τούτῳ ἐστίν, ἀμελήσας τῶν μαχομένων τε καὶ ἀποδιδομένων καὶ ἄλλα πραττόντων, ὃ τε κιθαριστῆς ὃ τε ζωγράφος· ὁ δὲ πάντων σφοδρότατόν¹ ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκαλοι μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κάθηνται, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐστίν ἐν τοσούτῳ πλήθει
- 10 τοῦ διδάσκειν τε καὶ μαθάνειν. ἤδη δέ ποτε εἶδον ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου βαδίζων πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπους ἄλλο τι πράττοντας, τὸν μὲν αὐλοῦντα, τὸν δὲ ὀρχούμενον, τὸν δὲ θαῦμα ἀποδιδόμενον, τὸν δὲ ποίημα ἀναγινώσκοντα, τὸν δὲ ἄδοντα, τὸν δὲ ἱστορίαν τινὰ ἢ μῦθον διηγούμενον· καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς τούτων οὐδένα ἐκώλυσε προσέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ προκείμενον πράττειν.
- 11 Καίτοι τούτων οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἔργων ὃ συνάγει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ καθίστησι καὶ καταφρονεῖν ποιεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. παιδεία δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φιλοσοφία, αἱ μάλιστα τοῦτο διαπράττονται, πολλῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως τυγχάνουσι δεόμεναι· καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πανταχόθεν ἐστὶ σιωπὴ τε καὶ ἡσυχία, οὐ δυνατόν ὑπνου μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς φιλολόγοις· εἰ μὴ πάντες ὑποσιγήσουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ μήτε ὄραμα μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ μήτε ἀκούσματος ἀκούειν μηδενός, οὐκ ἄρα οἷα τε ἐστὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς αὐτῆς² προσέχειν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.
- 12 Ἄλλ' ἐγωγε ὁρῶ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης

¹ σφοδρότατόν Emperius : φοβερώτατόν.² αὐτῆς Reiske : αὐτῆς BM, αὐτοῖς.

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

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

Yet I for my part notice that people who live

¹ The hippodrome, or track for chariot-racing, was found in many ancient cities. The most famous one was at Olympia. For a description of it see Pausanias 6. 20. 10 ff.

οὐδὲν πάσχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι δυναμένους ἃ βούλονται διανοεῖσθαι καὶ λέγοντας καὶ ἀκούοντας καὶ καθεύδοντας ὁπόταν αὐτοῖς ἡ καιρός, ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶονται προσήκειν αὐτοῖς τοῦ φόβου¹ τούτου οὐδὲ φροντίζουσιν. εἰ δέ γε ἐβούλοντο προσέχειν ὅποτε μείζων ἢ ἐλάττων γίγνοιτο ἡχος ἢ διαριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα τὰ² προσπίπτοντα ἢ τοὺς λάρους τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὄρνεα ὅραν, ὅπως ἐπιπέτονται ἐπὶ τὰ κύματα καὶ νήχονται ῥαδίως ἐπ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν αὐτοῖς σχολὴ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖν.

- 13 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις δυνατὸς ἐννοῆσαι περὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ θορύβου τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ γιγνομένων, οὐκ ἂν ἐνοχλοῖτο ὑπὸ πάντων.³ ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλοῦ ἄξιον τι⁴ μάθημα καὶ δίδαγμα, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζειν ἔπεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἅττα τρέπεσθαι ἢ τὰ τε προκείμενα καὶ
- 14 δοκοῦντα ὀρθῶς ἔχειν· καὶ ἡμῖν⁵ οὕτως ἐθισθεῖσα ἡ ψυχὴ λόγῳ δυνήσεται ἅπαντα διαπράττεσθαι τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτῇ, ἡ δὲ ῥεμβομένη τε καὶ ἀλύουσα καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπ' ἄλλο τρεπομένη, ὅταν τι προφανῇ ποτε ἡδονὴν τινα ἢ ῥαστώνην ἔχον, ὥσπερ ὕδατος ἐν ἑτεροκλινεῖ χωρίῳ ὅποι ἔτυχε τρεπομένου, οὐδὲν ἂν ὠφελῇ⁶ οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς πάσης ἡσυχίας τε καὶ ἐρημίας.

- 15 Οἶδα γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὰς μὲν καλῶς

¹ φόβου Morel : φόβου.

² τὰ added by Reiske.

³ ὑπὸ πάντων : ὑπ' αὐτῶν Geel.

⁴ ἄξιόν τι Capps : ἄξιον τὸ.

⁵ For ἡμῖν Selden proposed ἡ μὲν.

⁶ ὠφελῇ Casaubon : ὠφελῇθῃ.

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by the sea are not affected by its sounds, but are able to put their minds on anything they like, that they speak and listen and sleep when they feel that the time has come for these things, because they think that the sound is no concern of theirs and so do not mind it. But if they did care to take notice when the roar increased or diminished, or to count the waves that break upon the shore, or to watch the gulls and other birds, how they alight on the waves and float easily on them, they would not have time to do anything else.

So, too, the man who can bring himself to reflect in regard to the crowds and the din they cause and their various affairs, that these things differ not one whit from what takes place on the sea, will not be troubled by any of them. Nay, we have in this, it would seem, a very valuable lesson and bit of instruction—that we should accustom the mind to follow reason¹ and not to let it be diverted to any other thing whatsoever than the matters which are before it and thought to be fitting. And when we have thus accustomed the mind by reason will be able to accomplish all its proper work ; but the mind that spins this way and that and fidgets and turns to one thing after another, whenever anything comes in sight at any time which offers some pleasure or relaxation, like water that turns in every way as it chances on a piece of uneven ground, will derive no benefit whatever from even perfect quiet and seclusion.

I myself know that when well trained² and willing

¹ Socrates was ever exhorting his hearers to do this. See, for example, Plato, *Gorgias* 527 e.

² The phrase *καλῶς ἀχθείας* occurs also in Xenophon, *Memorabilia of Socrates* 4. 1. 3.

- ἀχθείσας καὶ φιλοπόνους,¹ ἐπειδὰν ἀφεθῶσιν, εὐθὺς ἀναζητούσας τὸ ἔχνος, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἀποκαλοῖεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τοῦτο ἀπολειπούσας,² οὐδ' εἰ πολλαὶ μὲν φωναὶ πανταχόθεν φέροντο, πολλαὶ δὲ ὄσμαι ἀπὸ τε τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ἀνθῶν ἐμπλέκοντο, πολὺ δὲ³ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἄλλων ζώων φαίνοιτο καὶ ἔχνη τὰ μὲν ἵππων, τὰ δὲ βοῶν, τὰ δὲ προβάτων· οὐδὲν οὔτε ὄρα τούτων οὔτε αἰσθάνεται αὐτῶν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνα παριδοῦσα πανταχόθεν ἐκλέγει τὸ ἔχνος κάκεινῳ ἔπεται μέχρις ἂν εὖρη τε καὶ ἀναστήσῃ τὸν λαγόν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέχει διώκουσα, δι' ὁποίων ἂν ποτε ἦ χωρίων, καὶ οὔτε πεδίον οὔτε ὁδὸς οὔτε τὰ λίαν τραχέα οὔτε χαράδρα ἢ ῥεῦμα ἀποκωλύει αὐτήν, πολλοὺς τινὰς δρόμους τοῦ λαγὼ θέοντος καὶ πειρωμένου
- 16 ἐξαπατᾶν· τὰς δὲ ἀμαθεῖς τε καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους κῖνας βραδέως μὲν αἰσθανομένας, ταχέως δὲ ἀπαγορευούσας, εἰ δὲ ποθεν ἀλλαχόθεν προσπέσοι θρούς, εἴτε ὕλακὴ κυνῶν εἴτε ἀνθρώπων φθειγμένων ὁδοιπόρων ἢ νομέων, εὐθὺς ἀνακυπτούσας ἐκ τοῦ ἔχνου κάκει φερομένας. τούτων δὴ πάντων, ὅπερ ἔφην, τὸ ἔθος αἴτιον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζειν ἂν δέοι μηδέποτε ἀποτρέπεσθαι μηδὲ ἀναχωρεῖν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι προσήκοντος ἔργου. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ ῥάδιον περιγενέσθαι οὐδὲ ἐξεργάσασθαι οὐδὲν ἱκανῶς.
- 17 Ἡ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις καὶ ἡσυχίαις, οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα ἀνευρήκασιν οἱ ἀνόητοι ἄνθρωποι, ὅπως μηδὲν διανοῶνται τῶν δεόντων, ἕτερα

¹ φιλοπόνους Dindorf : φιλοπόνως.² ἀπολειπούσας Wilamowitz : ἀπολειπούσας.

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

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

^a πολὺ δὲ Reiske : πολὺ τε.

- πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διανοήματα, οἷς ἀγαπῶσι
 ξυνόντες, τυρανίδας τε καὶ πλούτους καὶ ἄλλ'
 ἅττα θαυμαστὰ ἀναπλάττοντες αὐτοῖς; οἱ
 μὲν θησαυροὺς τινὰς ἀνασκάπτοντες¹ χρυσοῦ τε
 καὶ ἀργύρου πλῆθος ἐξαίφνης ἀμήχανον ὅσον
 κτώμενοι, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς τε καὶ μονάρχους πόλεόν
 τε καὶ ἐθνῶν ἀποδεικνύντες σφᾶς αὐτοῦς, ἔπειτα
 ἤδη τὰ ἐξῆς περὶ τὴν τυραννίδα πάντα πράττοντες,
 τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἀποκτινύντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐλαύνοντες,
 παρθένοισι δὲ καὶ μεираκίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ πλησιάζοντες αἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐστιάσεων δὲ² καὶ
 εὐωχιῶν τῶν πολυτελεστάτων μεταλαμβάνοντες,
 18 οἱ δὲ τινες ἀργύριον ἐκδανείζοντες ἢ ἄλλας ἐργασίας,
 οἷον ἐργηγορότες τε καὶ ὀρῶντες ὄνειράτα ποικίλα
 καὶ παντοδαπὰ πλάττοντες αὐτοῖς. ἐνιότῃ γε
 μὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄνειράτων τούτων ἀποβαίνει καὶ
 ὕπαρ αὐτοῖς τὰ φαυλότατα καὶ ἀτοπώτατα.
 τυραννίδες μὲν γὰρ οὐ πάνυ τι ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων
 γίνονται· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει ἡ τυραννὶς ὑπὸ ῥαθύμου
 τε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀεὶ κοιμωμένης διανοίας
 θηρεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ὑπὸ δριμείας τε καὶ
 ἀγρύπνου φροντίδος· δαπάναι δὲ καὶ ἔρωτες καὶ
 τοιαῦταί τινες διατριβαὶ πολλοῖς ἤδη πολλάκις
 ἀπήνησαν.
- 19 Οἷον δὴ ἐγὼ οἶμαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἐτύγγανε
 σχολὴν ἄγων ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ περὶ τὰ βουκόλια, τοιαύτης
 ἐννοίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὡς ἄρα
 εὐδαιμόν τε καὶ μακάριον τὸ τὴν πασῶν καλλίστην
 γυναικὰ ἔχειν, καὶ οὔτε βασιλεία τούτου ἄξιον
 τοῦ χρήματος οὔτε πλοῦτος οὔτε κρατεῖν μαχόμενον

¹ ἀνασκάπτοντες Geel: ἀναπλάττοντες.² δὲ added by Emperius.

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

I may cite Alexander¹ as an instance: I fancy that, when he happened to be enjoying a respite from his herdsman's duties on Mount Ida, the thought and with it the desire came to him, what a fortunate and blissful thing it would be to have the most beautiful woman in the whole world to wife, and that neither a throne was as valuable as this prize, nor wealth, nor the conquest of the whole world in war; next he

¹ More commonly known as Paris.

ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη διανοεῖσθαι
 τίς τε¹ δὴ καὶ παρὰ τίσιν ἢ τοιαύτῃ γυνὴ καὶ
 20 πόθεν ἂν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος ὑπάρξαι γάμος· καὶ δὴ
 τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἰλίῳ νύμφας καὶ παρθένους ἅτε τύραν-
 νος ὦν ἠτίμαζε καὶ οὐκ ᾔετο ἀξίας αὐτοῦ² τυχεῖν,
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς Λυδῶν τε καὶ Φρυγῶν, τὰς
 τε ἐν Λέσβῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν Μυσίᾳ γυναῖκας ὑπερεώρα.
 πυνθανόμενος δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τινὰ εἶναι Διὸς
 λεγομένην θυγατέρα, Μενελάῳ συνοικοῦσαν, ἀνδρὶ
 βασιλεῖ καὶ βασιλέως ἀδελφῷ τῆς ξυμπάσης
 Ἑλλάδος, ἣν ἐμνήστευσάν τε καὶ ἔσπευσαν λαβεῖν
 πολλὰ ἔδνα καὶ δῶρα διδόντες οἱ πρῶτοί τε
 καὶ ἄκροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἐλέγετο εἶναι Πολυδεύκους καὶ Κόστωρος,
 Διὸς υἱῶν γενομένων· ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτῷ ταύτην
 21 γενέσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα. ἄλλως μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ
 τι ἠγεῖτο δυνατόν· εἰ δὲ θεός τις ὑπόσχοιτο καὶ
 δοίῃ, τάχ' ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον. καὶ τίνα
 δὴ θεὸν ἄλλην εἰκὸς τὰς τοιαύτας χαρίζεσθαι
 χάριτας ἢ τὴν κρατοῦσάν τε καὶ ἄρχουσαν τῶν
 περὶ τοὺς γάμους τε καὶ ἔρωτας; οὐκ οὐ³
 ἐκείνης διδούσης ἀδύνατον ἠγεῖτο τὸν γάμον.
 πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐκείνην πείσαι χαρίσασθαι ἢ εἰ τρόπον
 τινὰ γίνοιτο αὐτὸς προσφιλεῖς τῇ θεῷ καὶ
 δωρεάν τινα καὶ χάριν δεδωκώς; ἀλλ' οὔτε
 χρημάτων αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν δεομένην, ἅτε χρυσὴν
 οὔσαν καὶ πάντα χρήματα ἀπλῶς κεκτημένην,

¹ τε Emperius: δέ.² αὐτοῦ added by Arnim.³ οὐκ οὐ Arnim: οὐκοῦν.¹ That is, Agamemnon.² Aphrodite is here called 'golden' because of the wealth of her shrines and the golden adornment of her statues. In

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

passages such as Homer, *Iliad* 5. 427 and 19. 282 the term refers primarily to her radiant beauty. See also the footnote on p. 261 of vol. I.

- οὔτε θυσιῶν· πάντας γὰρ αὐτῇ πανταχοῦ θύειν· οὔτε ἄλλη τινὶ ὁμιλία καὶ δεήσει ραδίως ὑπακοῦσαι ἂν· ἀλλ' εἰ οὐ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖ¹ καὶ ὁ πάντων τιμώτατον νενόμικε, τοῦτο προσθήη τις αὐτῇ καὶ μαρτυρήσειεν ὥς ἐστι καλλίστη,
- 22 τάχ' ἂν ἀγαπήσαι αὐτήν. νικᾶν δὲ καὶ προκρίνεσθαι κατὰ τοῦτο τίνος ἂν ποτε ἀξιώσειεν ἢ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων καὶ μεγίστων, Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἥρας; καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, εἰ φαίνονται ἐκεῖναι μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ παρεχόμεναι δῶρα ἔνεκα τῆς νίκης. οὕτω δὲ διελθὼν τε καὶ ἐξεργασάμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν, οἷον ψυχῆς ἐν ὕπνῳ φαντασίαις καὶ δόξαις² ἐπακολουθούσης καὶ μακρόν τι καὶ συντεταγμένον ὑφαινούσης ὄναρ, κριτῆς τε ὑπὸ Διὸς γίγνεται τῶν θεῶν· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας,³ αὐτὰς τε ὑπερεῖδε καὶ τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν, τὴν δὲ προέκρινεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ τε καὶ δώρῳ τῷ λαβεῖν τὸν γάμον ἐκείνης τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐνεθυμήθη τε καὶ εὖξατο.
- 23 Εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο βουκόλος καὶ ιδιώτης ἔτυχεν ὧν, οὐδὲν ἂν πρᾶγμα ἀπήντησεν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου ὀνείρατος. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ τύραννος καὶ δυνάστης ἦν καὶ πλούτῳ τε ἰσχύων καὶ ἀρχῇ⁴ πόλεως τῆς τότε μεγίστης καὶ τῇ τῶν γονέων πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἤδη ἔργῳ ἐξειργάσατο ὥς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀληθῶς γεγονόσι, ναὺς τε ναυπηγησάμενος καὶ ἐταίρους συναγαγών·

¹ ἐπιθυμεῖ Arnim : ἐπεθύμει.

² φαντασίαις καὶ δόξαις Reiske : φαντασίας καὶ δόξης.

³ ἄλλας added by Capps.

⁴ ἀρχῇ Emperius : ἀρχὴν M, ἀρχην UB.

¹ i.e., if unaccompanied by a gift of some sort.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

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

If, then, he had been nothing more than a herdsman and a commoner in rank, no trouble would have come to him from that ambitious dream. But as it was, since he was of kingly blood and a mighty prince, and of great influence owing to his wealth and the dominion over the greatest city of those days, and the affection which his parents bore for him, he forthwith realized the rest of his dream, just as if the first part had actually happened; and after building

καὶ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σπάρτην
καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενος τὴν Μενελάου καὶ
Ἑλένης καὶ ξενίων τυχών, ἀναπείσας καταλιπεῖν
αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤκεν ἄγων εἰς
Τροίαν πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν πραγμάτων καὶ
συμφορῶν ἀρχήν.

- 24 Οὕτως αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀδυνάτου ψυχῆς
ἐννοιαὶ τε¹ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι ὑπηνέμιοι² τε καὶ
ἀδρανεῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται χαλεπόν,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ τῷ ὄντι ὀνείρατα ἀναστάντων
εὐθύς οἴχεται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, ὥς φασι, τὸν
ἥλιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπομένει, παραπλησίως
καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχει³ ἐπιθυμήματά τε καὶ ἐλπίσματα,
τὰ⁴ δὲ τῶν μονάρχων ἢ πλουσίων ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ
ἐχόντων δύναμιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀφικνέεται πολλάκις
25 χαλεπὸν τε καὶ φοβερόν. καὶ ἔστιν ὁμοιον,
ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπηνέμοις γεννή-
μασιν. φασι γὰρ δὴ ὡς γίγνεσθαι οὕτως ἄνευ
συνουσίας τε καὶ μίξεως ἄρρενος, ἃ καλοῦσιν
ὑπηνέμια, ὥς ὑπ' ἀνέμῳ προσπесόντι γιγνόμενα.
ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἀδύνατον
ἡγησάμενος οὐδὲ ἀπίθανον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φανῆναι
ἵππων ὑπηνέμιον γένος, τὸν Βορρᾶν ἔφη ἐρασθέντα
Τρωικῶν τινων ἵππων ἐμπλήσαι τε αὐτὰς γονῆς
καὶ γένος ἵππων ἐξ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. ὁμοίως
φιλεῖ⁵ πολλάκις ἔκ τινος ἐνθυμήματος ψευδοῦς
καὶ ἀδυνάτου ἀποβῆναι πρᾶγμα ἀληθές.⁶

¹ ἐννοιαὶ τε Emperius : ἀνοιαὶ τε UM, ἀναι τε B.

² ὑπηνέμιοι Dindorf : ὑπῆνεμοί.

³ ἔχει Reiske : ἔχειν.

⁴ τὰ Selden : ταῖς.

⁵ ὁμοίως φιλεῖ (or ὥστε) added by Cohoon.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

ships and assembling a retinue, he sailed for Greece and Sparta, entered the home of Menelaus and Helen, where he was hospitably received, induced her to leave her husband and Hellas, and then returned to his home, bringing into Troy the beginning of many grievous troubles and disasters.

Thus, whereas the thoughts and desires of the soul of a man in private station and without influence are wind-begotten and ineffectual, and no difficulty arises from them, but just as real dreams are gone at once when the dreamers rise from their beds, and no part of them can endure the sun or the day, as the saying is, so it is with desires and hopes of this kind; yet those of monarchs, on the other hand, or of men of wealth or of those who possess some other power, quite often reach a fulfilment that is both grievous and terrible. And this sort of thing, in my opinion, is just like wind-begotten products of generation. For they do indeed say that some eggs are produced in this way without the intercourse and impregnation of the male seed, and they are called wind-eggs as if begotten by a gust of wind. And this is the reason, as it seems to me, why even Homer, in the belief that it was not impossible or incredible that a wind-begotten breed of horses should have appeared to men, said that the North Wind, becoming enamoured of some Trojan mares, impregnated them with his seed so that a breed of horses came from them.¹ In like manner, what begins with a mistaken and impossible idea often ends in an accomplished fact.

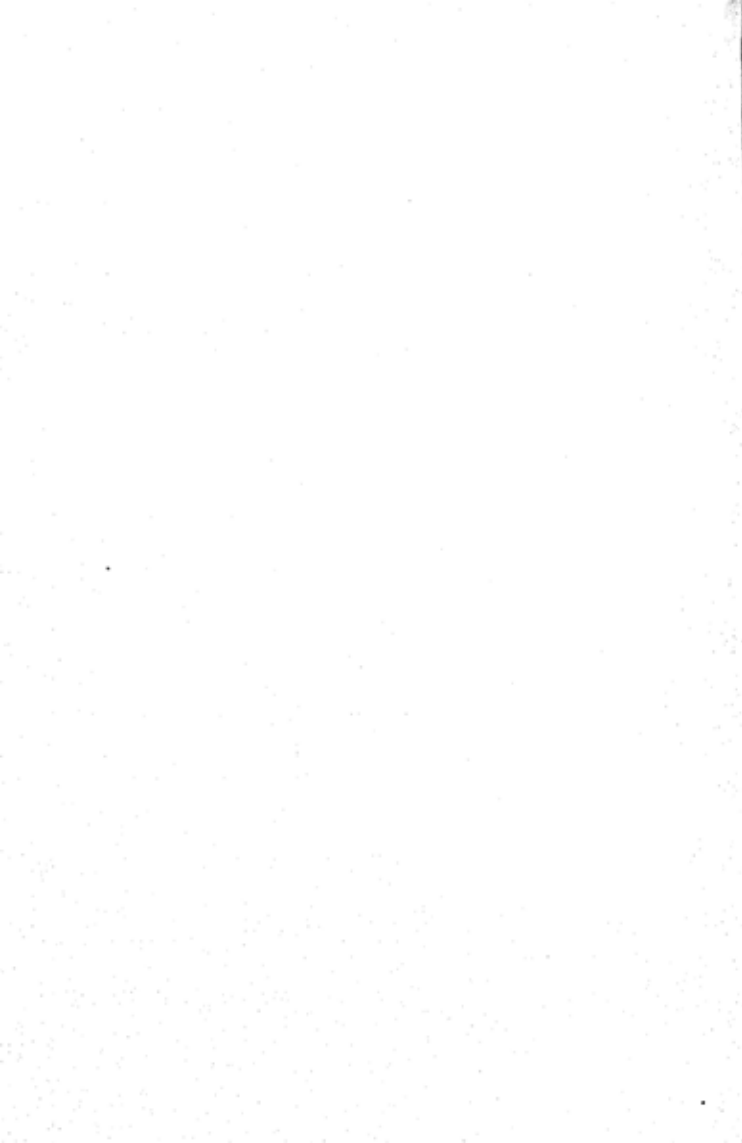
¹ See Homer, *Iliad* 20. 223-229.

* Emperius followed by some editors deleted the words πολλὰκις . . . ἀληθές.

- 26 Εἴρηται δέ μοι πάντα ταῦτα ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκτροπῆς, ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζεσθαι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι πανταχοῦ τε καὶ ἐν ᾧπαντι θορύβῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπάσῃ ἡσυχίᾳ. εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἡσυχίας οὐδὲν μείζον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς ἀνοήτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ μὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διανοεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν.

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All that I have said follows from that initial digressive remark that the mind should accustom itself to do and think what is essential to it everywhere, even in a perfect din as well as in perfect quiet. Otherwise seclusion and quiet offer no advantage and no greater safeguard, for men who are fools, to keep them from conceiving and committing many strange and wicked deeds.



THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

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

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

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

21. ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΛΟΥΣ

Δ. Ὡς ὑψηλὸς ὁ νεανίσκος καὶ ὠραῖος· ἔτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος, οἷον ἐγὼ οὐχ ἐώρακα τῶν νῦν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνακειμένων τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν· αἱ δὲ τῶν ὕστερον εἰκόνες αἰεὶ χεῖρους καὶ ἀγεννεστέρων φαίνονται, τὸ μὲν τι ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεόν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτοί εἰσι.

Ἡ δεινὸν λέγεις, εἰ ὥσπερ φυτόν τι ἢ ζῶον ἐκλελοίπασι τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ καλοί, οἷον δὴ φασὶ τοὺς λέοντας παθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ γένος· πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· εἰ οὕτως οἴχεται δὴ κάλλος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.

- 2 Δ. Τό γε ἀνδρεῖον, ὦ βέλτιστε· τὸ μέντοι γυναικεῖον ἴσως πλεονάζει. ἀνὴρ δὲ καλὸς καὶ σπάνιον μὲν¹ γίγνεται νῦν, καὶ γενόμενος² τοὺς πλείστους λανθάνει, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ καλοὶ ἵπποι τοὺς ὀρεωκόμους. εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ ἄψαιτο³

¹ After μὲν Emperius added εἰ.

² γενόμενος Emperius: γινόμενος B, γιγνόμενος UM.

³ ἄψαιτο Reiske: ἄψαιτο.

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

THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

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

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

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

(Perrin in L.C.L.)—κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νεουργόν.

τῶν τοιούτων, μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν· ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ γενόμενοι ταχὺ λήγειν καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐπαίνῳ αὖξεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὑπὸ τῶν τιμώντων αὐτὸ καὶ σεβομένων· ἀμελούμενον δὲ καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰς αὐτὸ βλέποντος ἡ πονηρῶν βλεπόντων σβέννυται, ὥσπερ τὰ κάτοπτρα.

Ἄρ' οὖν, ὅπερ Ἀθηναῖοι πολλάκις, καὶ ἡμᾶς χρή ἀναρχίαν¹ ἀναγράφειν τὸν παρόντα καιρόν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος καλοῦ;

Δ. Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὡς Πέρσαι γε ἐνόμιζον· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐδεὶς πλὴν ἢ εἰς² τις ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα. ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα Κριτίαν τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα, ὅτι κάλλιστον ἔφη εἶδος ἐν τοῖς ἄρρεσι τὸ θῆλυ, ἐν δ' αὖ ταῖς θηλείαις τὸναντίον; οὐκοῦν δικαίως Ἀθηναῖοι νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἶλοντο ἐπὶ γε τῷ μεταγράψαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους, ὅς οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἔλιπεν.

Εἰεν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πῶς ἐνόμιζον;

Δ. Οὐ γὰρ φανερόν, ὅτε εὐνούχους ἐποίουν τοὺς καλοὺς, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς κάλλιστοι ᾤσιν; τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν ᾤοντο πρὸς κάλλος τὸ θῆλυ. σχεδὸν δὲ

¹ Casaubon added *κάλλους* before *ἀναρχίαν* unnecessarily.

² πλὴν ἢ εἰς Capps (ἢ εἰς Arnim): ἢ εἰ.

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

² Critias, who had followed Socrates, was the most prominent of the Thirty Tyrants who, put in power

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

Int. Should we, then, adopt the frequent practice of the Athenians and in a similar way record the present time as being an interregnum¹ because there is no beautiful man?

Dio. Yes indeed we ought, at least as the Persians regarded beauty; but no one of the Greeks so regarded it, except one of the Thirty. Or do you not know the story about that Critias,² who was a member of the Thirty? He said that the most beautiful figure among males was the effeminate, but among the females, on the other hand, the opposite. Therefore the Athenians were justified in choosing him as lawgiver that he might alter the old laws,³ for in fact he left not one of them unchanged.

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

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

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

² The Thirty were appointed to draw up a new code of laws on the basis of "the constitution of the fathers."

καὶ πάντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἤπερ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, διὰ
 τὸ μόνον τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐννοεῖν. ὥς οὖν λέγεται
 Δαίδαλος ποιῆσαι τὸν ταῦρον ἐξαπατῶν, περιτείνειν
 τῷ ξύλῳ δέρμα βοός, κακεῖνοι γυναικὸς εἶδος
 περιτιθέασιν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστανται
 5 ἐρᾶν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἡ τροφή αἰτία τοῖς Πέρσαις,
 τὸ μέχρι πολλοῦ τρέφεσθαι ὑπὸ τε γυναικῶν καὶ
 εὐνούχων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, παῖδας δὲ μετὰ
 παῖδων καὶ μεираκια μετὰ μεираκίων μὴ πάνυ
 συνεῖναι μηδὲ γυμνοῦσθαι ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ
 γυμνασίοις. ὅθεν ἐγὼ οἶμαι ξυμβῆναι αὐτοῖς ταῖς
 μητράσι μίγνυσθαι ὥσπερ οἱ πῶλοι, ἐπειδὴν
 6 ἐπιβαίνειν ζητοῦσιν. τὸ μέντοι τῆς τροφῆς καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσι τὴν ἰσχύν. κάλλιον μὲν γὰρ
 δὴ πολὺ ἵππος ὄνου, οἱ δὲ γε ὄνοι οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν
 ἵππων διὰ τὴν φύσιν, εἰ μὴ ὅς ἂν ᾗ τεθραμμένος
 ἵππου γάλακτι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἵππος πωλευθεὶς
 ὑπὸ ὄνου τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία¹ παράνομόν
 τί ἐστι. Νέρωνα γοῦν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ἐφ'

¹ van Herwerden suggested that Dio wrote ἡ ἀρρένων
 συνουσία, "intercourse with males," which was toned down
 under Christian influence to ἡ ἐξουσία.

² Daedalus, a mythical personage, whose name means
 'cunning craftsman'—according to one version of the old
 Cretan myth about King Minos and his wife Pasiphaë that can
 be traced back as far as a lost play of Euripides called *The
 Cretan Women*—made a wooden cow to enable her to satisfy
 her passion for the bull sent by Poseidon. By doing this he
 angered Minos, who shut him up in a prison, from which he
 escaped by the use of wings. For a reference to this cow see
 Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 12. 2.

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barbarians treated them in the same way, just as they did the animals—because the only thing they thought of was the lust of the flesh. Then, just as Daedalus is said to have acted when he deceived the bull by stretching a cow's hide over a framework of wood,¹ so they try to put a feminine appearance on the males, being incapable of loving them in any other way. But perhaps in the case of the Persians the way the boys are reared is the cause, I mean that for a long time they are brought up by women and the older eunuchs, and that young boys do not associate much with other young boys, nor the striplings with others of their own age, and that they do not go naked in the wrestling schools and gymnasia.² This is the reason why, in my opinion, cases have occurred where they had intercourse with their mothers; just as colts, when they still follow their dams although fairly well grown, try to cover them. Moreover, the influence of their nurture is shown in the following case also. A horse is certainly far more beautiful than an ass, but yet the asses, because they are of a different breed, feel no passion for mares, except when they have been raised on mare's milk; and similarly, a horse that has been suckled by an ass is affected in the same way.³

In human beings unlimited power also is a lawless sort of thing.⁴ Take Nero for instance: we all

¹ Young boys at Athens did all of these things.

² Cf. Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* p. 577 b, 15: οὐ προσδέχεται δ' οὔτε ἡ ἵππος τὸν ὄνον οὔτε ἡ ὄνος τὸν ἵππον, ἐάν μὴ τύχῃ τεθηλακῶς ὁ ὄνος ἵππον· ὑποβάλλουσι γὰρ ἐπίτηδες οὓς καλοῦσιν ἵππο-θήλας. οὗτοι δ' ὀχεύουσιν ἐν τῇ νομῇ βίᾳ κρατοῦντες, ὥσπερ οἱ ἵπποι.

⁴ See vol. I, p. 40, for about the same thought; and cf. critical note, p. 276.

ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐξέτεμε τὸν ἐρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μετωνόμασε γυναικεῖον, τῆς αὐτοῦ¹ ἐρωμένης καὶ γυναικός, ἧς ἐκεῖνος ἐπιθυμήσας ἔγημεν, ἀναφανδὸν εἶρξας τὴν πρόσθεν, ἐφ' ἣ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰλήφει.

- 7 Καὶ τί ἦν τὸ ὄνομα τῇ γυναικί, ὃ τῷ εὐνούχῳ ἔθετο;

Δ. Τί δέ σοι τοῦτο; πάντως γὰρ οὐ 'Ροδογούνη ἐλέγετο. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός γε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας διεκέκριτο, καὶ παιδίσκαι ἠκολούθουν, ὅποτε βαδίζοι, καὶ ἀμπείχετο ἐσθῆτα γυναικεῖαν, καὶ τά γε ἄλλα οὕτως ἠναγκάζετο ποιεῖν· τέλος δὲ προυτέθησαν μεγάλαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ χρήματα ἅπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, ὅστις αὐτὸν γυναῖκα ποιήσειεν.

¹ Ἡ οὖν καὶ ὑπέσχοντο;

- 8 Δ. Τί δέ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἐκείνῳ ὑποσχέσθαι τοσαῦτα διδόντι; ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ διδόντος ὅση ἐστίν; ὅπου γε καὶ ὅποταν βασιλέα ἀποδείξαι δέῃ, τὸν πλουσιώτατον αἰροῦνται καὶ παρ' οὗ ἂν ἐλπίσωσιν ὥς πλεῖστον ἀργύριον λήψεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν ὅποιος ἂν ᾖ, καὶ μέλλῃ πάντας διατεμεῖν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν,

¹ αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ.

¹ This youth, whose name was Sporus, possessed a striking resemblance to Nero's second wife, Poppaea Sabina. After her death Nero had him mutilated, gave him the name Sabina, and in A.D. 67 publicly went through the ceremony of marriage with him in Greece. This Sporus was present at Nero's suicide. Afterwards he was intimate with Otho, whose wife Poppaea Sabina was before she married Nero. Sporus committed suicide under Vitellius to avoid appearing on the stage under degrading circumstances. See Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 6. 28.

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know how in our own time that he not only castrated the youth whom he loved, but also changed his name for a woman's, that of the girl whom he loved and his subsequent wife,¹ for whom he conceived a passion and wedded after openly incarcerating his former wife,² to whom he was already married when he became Emperor.

Int. And what was the woman's name which he gave to the eunuch?

Dio. What concern of yours is that? At any rate she was not called Rhodogunê.³ But that youth of Nero's actually wore his hair parted, young women attended him whenever he went for a walk, he wore women's clothes, and was forced to do everything else a woman does in the same way. And, to cap the climax, great honours and boundless sums of money were actually offered to anyone who should make him his wife.

Int. Well, then, did they actually promise to do so?

Dio. Why should they not have promised that man who offered so much? Or do you not know how great the might of the giver is? For example, wherever and whenever it is necessary to appoint an Emperor, they choose the wealthiest man, any one from whom they hope to get the most money; but as to the other qualifications, they do not care what sort of man he is, even if he sooner or later is to geld them all after taking over the government—

¹ She was Octavia, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Messalina.

² Rhodogunê was the daughter of Arsaces VI., also called Mithradates I., who greatly extended the Parthian empire. After defeating and capturing Demetrius Nicator in 138 B.C. he gave Demetrius this daughter in marriage.

τούς τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς
 εἰληφότας τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἔτι πάντων αὐτοὺς
 9 καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαιρήσεσθαι. τούτῳ δὴ
 μάλιστα περιῆν ὁ Νέρων, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν
 αὐτῷ περὶ οὐδενὸς ὃ τι εἴποι οὐδ' ἀδύνατον ἔφη
 εἶναι ὃ κελεύσειεν, ὥστε καὶ εἰ πέτεσθαι κελεύοι
 τινά, καὶ τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ, καὶ συχνὸν χρόνον
 ἐτρέφετο ἔνδον παρ' αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις,
 ὡς πτησόμενος. μόνος γὰρ δὴ οὐδένα τρόπον
 ἐφείδετο χρημάτων, οὔτε διδούς οὔτε λαμβάνων.
 διὰ μόνην μέντοι ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν καὶ ἀπέθανε
 τὴν εἰς τὸν εὐνοῦχον. ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ ἐξήνεγκεν
 αὐτοῦ τὰ βουλευμάτα τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως
 ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠνάγκασαν ὅτῳ ποτὲ
 τρόπῳ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτόν· οὐδέπω γὰρ καὶ νῦν
 10 τοῦτό γε δηλόν ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἄλλων ἕνεκεν
 οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν αὐτόν βασιλεύειν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον,
 ὃν ¹ γε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν. οἱ δὲ
 πλείστοι καὶ οἴονται, καίπερ ² τρόπον τινὰ οὐχ
 ἅπαξ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μετὰ
 τῶν σφόδρα οἰηθέντων αὐτόν ζῆν.

Σὺ μὲν αἰεὶ λόγους ἀνευρίσκεις, ὥστε διασύρειν
 τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ νῦν ἐξ οὐδενός, ὡς εἰπεῖν,

¹ ὃν added by Casaubon.

² καίπερ Emperius: καί.

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 12. 2.

² The allusion is to the false Neros. The first of these appeared in A.D. 69. He was a slave from Pontus or else a freedman from Italy. See Tacitus, *Histories* 2. 8 and 9; Cassius Dio 64. 9. Then Zonaras (*Chronicles* 11. 18) mentions a pretender, Terentius Maximus of Asia, who appeared in the reign of Titus (A.D. 79-81) and was supported by the Parthians. Probably there is a reference to the same pretender in Tacitus,

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everybody including the men who have received the money, and, besides, intends to deprive them of every blessed thing they have. This, indeed, was especially true of Nero, and no one contradicted him in anything, whatever he said, or affirmed that anything he commanded was impossible to perform, so that even if he ordered anyone to fly,¹ the man promised that too and for a considerable time he would be maintained in the imperial household in the belief that he would fly. For Nero was the only man who was utterly regardless of money both in giving and in taking. It was solely on account of this wantonness of his, however, that he lost his life—I mean the way he treated the eunuch. For the latter in anger disclosed the Emperor's designs to his retinue; and so they revolted from him and compelled him to make away with himself as best he could. Indeed the truth about this has not come out even yet; for so far as the rest of his subjects were concerned, there was nothing to prevent his continuing to be Emperor for all time, seeing that even now everybody wishes he were still alive. And the great majority do believe that he is, although in a certain sense he has died not once but often along with those who had been firmly convinced that he was still alive.²

Int. You are everlastingly hunting up reasons for ridiculing what your fellow-men do and think, and now with scarcely a shadow of a pretext you

op. cit. 1. 2. Suetonius at the end of his *Life of Nero* speaks of a man who came forth twenty years after Nero's death, that is, in A.D. 88, claiming to be Nero and supported by the Parthians. Whether he is the same man as the preceding is not clear. However, from Tacitus, *op. cit.* 5 we conclude that there were several false Neros.

ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἦλθες. ὁ δὲ ἐβουλόμην ἐρέσθαι, οὐκ εἵασας.

- 11 Δ. Ἰσως γάρ μου καταφρονεῖς καὶ ἡγῇ με ληρεῖν, ὅτι οὐ περὶ Κύρου καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου λέγω, ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοί ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἀλλὰ Νέρωνος καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων, νεωτέρων τε καὶ ἀδόξων ὧν μνημονεύω. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον τὸ μὴ πάνυ φιλεῖν τοὺς τραγωδοὺς μηδὲ ζηλοῦν· ἐπεὶ οἶδα ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀρχαίου τινος ἔδει¹ πράγματος καὶ οὐδὲ πάνυ πιστοῦ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐμπροσθεν οὐκ ἡσχύνοντο τοὺς τότε ὄντας ὀνομάζειν καὶ λέγοντες καὶ γράφοντες· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐκείνους ἐξ
12 ἅπαντος ὀνομάζειν ζητοῦσιν. ἦτινι δὲ τῇ σοφίᾳ πράττουσιν αὐτό, ἐγὼ σοι ἐρῶ—καὶ² μὴ πάντα φλυαρεῖν με φῆς· ἀλλ' ἴσως πολλοῦ³ δέω—⁴ πάντως γάρ τις⁵ τῶν βιβλιοπωλῶν προσέσχηκας;

Διὰ τί δὴ τοῦτό με ἐρωτᾷς;

Δ. Ὅτι εἰδότες τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν βιβλίων σπουδαζόμενα, ὡς ἄμεινον γεγραμμένα καὶ ἐν κρείττοσι βυβλίοις,⁶ οἱ δὲ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν νῦν καταθέντες εἰς σῆτον, ὅπως τό γε⁷ χρῶμα ὅμοια γένηται τοῖς παλαιῷς, καὶ προσδιαφθείραντες⁸ ἀποδίδονται ὡς παλαιά. ἀλλὰ τί ἦν ὁ πάλαι δὴ ἐρέσθαι σπεύδεις;

- 13 Περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ νεανίσκου, ὅστις τέ ἐστι καὶ

¹ For ἔδει Reiske proposed δεῖ.

² For καὶ Jacobs conj. ὡς, Reiske ἵνα.

³ πολλοῦ Arnim : ὁμοῦ M, ὅπου UB.

⁴ δέω Arnim : δέη. ⁵ τις Cohoon : τιν.

⁶ βυβλίους Casaubon : βιβλίους.

⁷ γε Casaubon : τε.

⁸ προσδιαφθείραντες Rouse : προσδιαφθείροντες.

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have got round to this topic. Consequently you have given me no chance to ask a question I wanted to ask.¹

Dio. Oh yes, I suppose you look down on me and think that I am drivelling because I am not talking about Cyrus and Alcibiades, as the wise-acres do, even at this late date, but about Nero and subjects of that kind, more recent and inglorious, which I can remember. The reason for this is that I do not much care for the writers of Tragedy nor try to emulate them; for I know that it is a disgrace to mention people of the present day in a tragedy, but that it is some ancient event which I should have touched upon and one not very credible either. Yet men of former times certainly were not ashamed to name people of their own day whether in speaking or in writing; but those of the present day strive to name the ancients on any pretext. I shall tell you what wisdom they show in doing this—and don't you declare everything I say is nonsense; perhaps, however, it is anything but nonsense—for surely you have noticed what some of our booksellers do?

Int. Just what is your reason for asking me this?

Dio. Because they, knowing that old books are in demand since better written and on better paper, bury the worst specimens of our day in grain in order that they may take on the same colour as the old ones, and after ruining the books into the bargain they sell them as old. But what was it that you have been wanting all this while to ask me?

Int. It is about this young man here. Who is

¹ He asks it in § 13.

οὔτινος.¹ ὡς ἐγὼ οὐδένα πώποτε οὕτως² ἐξεπλά-
γην. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡλικία παῖδα αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυ-
σιν ἐκκαίδεκα ἴσως ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν· τὸ δὲ
μέγεθος οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἡ δὲ αἰδὼς
τοσαύτη ὥστε καὶ τὸν προσιόντα αἰδεῖσθαι
εὐθὺς ποιεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πλεον αὐτοῦ εἰς
τὸ πρόσωπον ὄραν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβλέψειεν
ἀπὸ τύχης. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἀναιδὴς οὐδὲ
λίθινός ἐστιν ὅστις ὑπομενεῖ καὶ ἀντιστήσεται
ὄρων αὐτόν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀνάγκη τραπήναι καὶ
μεταβαλέσθαι τὸν ὀφθαλμῷ. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγὼ τὸ
πάθος πάνυ θαυμάζω, ὅτι τὸ κάλλος, εἰ μὴ μετὰ
αἰδοῦς ἦ, καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδεῖς τρέπει τε καὶ ἀναγκάζει
αἰδεῖσθαι.

- 14 Δ. Ἰσως γὰρ οὐ προσενόησας τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι
γιγνόμενον.

Τί δὴ;

Δ. Ὅτι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπιλάμπαντος εἰς τὸ κατ'
εὐθὺς μάλιστα ἀντιλάμπει. καὶ ἴσως ἐώρακας ἐν
τοῖς τοίχοις τὸ κινούμενον καὶ περιτρέχον φῶς,
οὐκ ὄν ἀληθινόν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι
αὐγῆς τοῦ ἡλίου γεγονὸς πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα κατ'
εὐθὺς. τοιοῦτον οὖν τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς
αἰδοῦς ἀντιλάμπει τε καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αἰδεῖσθαι
τοὺς ὀρώντας.³ ἔπειτ' εὐθὺς ἀπελθόντες ἀναιδεῖς
εἰσιν.

Ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ ὁ παιδοτρίβης ἐδόκει καὶ αὐτὸς
οἷον ἐνθουσιῶν τε καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένος.

¹ After οὔτινος the MSS. have οἷός, which von Arnim
bracketed.

² οὕτως added by Casaubon.

³ ὀρώντας Casaubon: ἐρώντας.

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he and to whom does he belong? I declare that I have never been so struck with admiration for anyone. For while his appearance shows him to be a boy of sixteen perhaps, or seventeen years, he is as tall as any man; and then his modesty is such that he makes anyone approaching feel abashed at once. And it is impossible to gaze longer at his face unless he himself should chance to look away. For no one is so shameless or made of stone as to hold his ground and stand looking at him face to face, but one must at once turn away and drop one's eyes. And this effect surprises me very much—that beauty when combined with modesty makes even brazen-faced men turn away and forces them to feel abashed.

Dio. Yes, for perhaps you have not noticed what occurs in the water.

Int. What is that?

Dio. That when the sun is shining straight down, the reflection is strongest. And perhaps you have seen on walls a moving and dancing light, not a real light, but the reflection of the sun's light in the water—in contrast to the most direct reflection. Now there is a somewhat similar reflection from true modesty, which makes the beholders appear to be abashed. Then as soon as they go away, they are once more unashamed.¹

Int. Just as I thought that even the gymnastic trainer, hardened as he is, seemed in the youth's presence to be, as it were, dumbfounded as well as entranced.

¹ Xenophon (*Symposium* 1. 8-10) also compares beauty to light, praises it when combined with modesty, and speaks of its ennobling effect on the beholder. Cf. also what Dio says in *Discourse* 12. 51.

- 15 Δ. Οὐκοῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσεις, ἐπειδὴν πύθη
ὅτι οὗτος τοιοῦτος ὢν οὐδενός¹ ἐστίν.

Πῶς λέγεις μηδενὸς εἶναι αὐτόν;

Δ. Οὕτως ὅπως σὺ ἐπύθου ὅτου ἐστίν. οἶμαι
γὰρ ἐρωτᾶν σε ὅτου υἱὸς ἐστίν.

Ἄλλ' ἢ τῶν Σπαρτῶν ἐστίν εἰς;

Δ. Πρέποι μὲν ἂν τῷ μεγέθει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ
ἀνδρείᾳ, εἴ γε ἐπικεῖς ἦσαν καὶ φιλόανθρωποι
τὰς φύσεις ὥσπερ ὅδε, ἀλλὰ μὴ παντελῶς σκληροὶ
καὶ ἄγριοι, τῆς γῆς τὰ τέκνα· ἐπεὶ τό γε² σῶμα
οὐ φαύλως εὐκάζεις Βοιωτίῳ μᾶλλον εὐκάζων αὐτὸ
ἢ Λακωνικῷ τε καὶ Ἀττικῷ. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ
Ἑλληνικὸν ἄκρως ἐστίν, οὐ δεῖ δῆπου ἀγνοῆσαι.

- 16 Τί γάρ; εἴη τις ἂν τοῦ γένους διαφορὰ πρὸς γε
τὸ κάλλος; ἢ οὐδένα οἶει γίνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς
βαρβάροις καλόν;³

Δ. Ἄλλ' οὐκ οἶει τὸ μὲν τι βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι,
ὥσπερ εἶδος, καὶ κάλλος, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥσπερ
καὶ φωνὴν καὶ ἐσθῆτα· ἀλλ' ὁμοίως σοι δοκεῖ
γενέσθαι καλὸς Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἑκτωρ;

Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς περὶ ἀνδρείου τοῦ Ἑκτορος ὁ
ποιητὴς διέξεισιν;

Δ. Ὅπου γε τὰς ναῦς ἐμπύμπρησιν· οὐ γάρ,
οἶμαι, περὶ κάλλους ἔπρεπεν αὐτόθι⁴ μεμνησθαι.

¹ After οὐδενός the MSS. have υἱός, which Emperius bracketed.

² τό γε Pflugk: γε τὸ.

³ The words ἢ οὐδένα . . . καλόν moved here by Casaubon from their position after εἶδος καὶ κάλλος (two lines *infra*) in the MSS.

⁴ αὐτόθι Capps: αὐτοῦ ἔτι or αὐτοῦς ἔτι.

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Dio. Therefore you will be all the more surprised to learn that this handsome youth belongs to no one.

Int. What do you mean by his belonging to no one?

Dio. Just what you meant by asking to whom he belongs. For I suppose you were asking whose son he is.

Int. Well, is he one of the Sown Men? ¹

Dio. That would be in keeping with his stature and manliness, if they had been gentle and kindly in disposition, just as this youth is, and not altogether rough and wild, real children of the earth; for as to his physique, you are not far wrong in likening him to a Boeotian rather than to a Spartan or an Athenian. For that he is utterly Greek, I presume is quite patent.

Int. Why, I should like to know? Can there be any racial distinction as regards beauty? Or do you think that no handsome man is to be found among foreigners?

Dio. Well, do you not think that there is a foreign type of beauty, as there is of general appearance, and an Hellenic type, just as their language and dress differ, or do you think that Achilles and Hector were handsome in just the same way?

Int. Why, does not the poet discourse about Hector as a brave man only?

Dio. Yes, where he is setting fire to the ships. For it would not, I think, have been fitting to mention beauty at that point. But after he had

¹ The *Σμαρτοί*, or 'Sown Men,' sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, the builder of the citadel of Thebes. The five who survived became, according to tradition, the ancestors of the Thebans, that is, Boeotians.

τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ γυμνωθέντος ἐκπλαγῆναι
φησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἰδόντας,
οὕτω πως λέγων·

οἱ καὶ θηήσαντο φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτον
Ἐκτορος.

- 17 οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς πρότερον, οἶμαι, σχολὴ θηήσασθαι
αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν σαφέστερον
ἐπέξεισιν καὶ¹ ὥς οὐ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν καλλί-
στων· τὴν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν χαρίεσσιν αὐτοῦ
φησιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν κόμην πάνυ μέλαιναν καὶ τὸ
σῶμα οὐ σκληρόν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως εἶδους
οὐδὲν λέγει καθ' ἑκάστον ἀλλ'² ἢ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι
ξανθὸς ἦν, καὶ περὶ τῆς Εὐφόρβου κόμης καὶ
Πατρόκλου ὥς μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τελευτησάντων,
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σμικρόν τι περὶ ἐκάστου καὶ
ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν καλλίστων· πλὴν ὅτι
γε οὐδεὶς ἂν³ εἴποι τούσδε ὁμοίως ἂν εἶναι καλοὺς,
οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ Εὐφόρβον ἢ Τρωῖλον εἰσκέναι
τι Μενελάῳ καὶ Πατρόκλῳ καὶ Νιρεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς
βαρβάροις Σέσωστριν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἢ Μέμνονα
τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἢ Νινύαν⁴ ἢ Εὐρύπυλον ἢ Πέλοπα.

¹ καὶ added by Cohoon.

² ἀλλ' added by Reiske.

³ οὐδεὶς ἂν Casaubon : οὐδὲ κἂν.

⁴ Νινύαν Reiske : Μινύαν.

¹ Homer, *Iliad* 22. 370 f.

² κύνειαι *Iliad* 22. 402.

³ *Iliad* 22. 373 : μαλακώτερος . . . ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν.

⁴ *Iliad* 17. 51 : "that was like the hair of the Graces."

⁵ Brave Trojan slain by Menelaus, who dedicated his shield in the temple of Hera near Mycenae. Pythagoras said he had been Euphorbus in a previous incarnation and to prove it identified this shield at sight and took it down.

⁶ Troilus, son of Priam, or Apollo, and Hecuba, slain by Achilles.

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been slain and stripped, the Achacans were simply amazed on beholding his beauty, so the poet says in about the following words:

"Then gazed they upon the wonderful form and beauty of Hector."¹

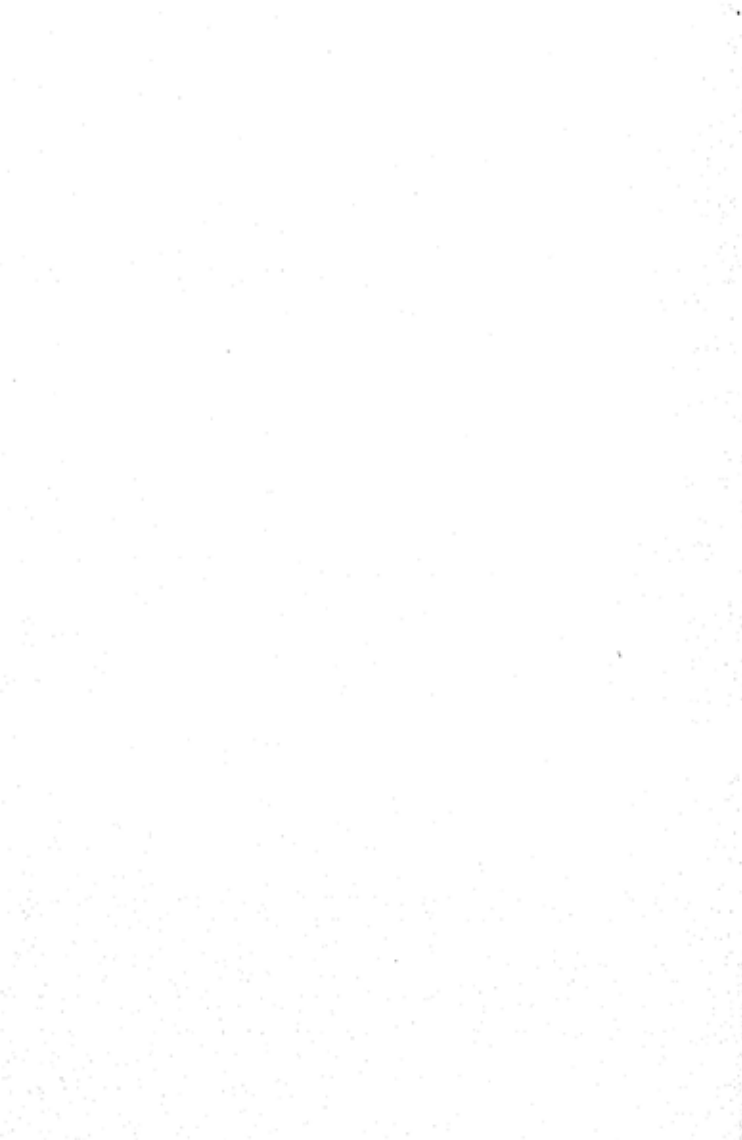
For I imagine that before this they had been too busily occupied to gaze upon him critically. And the poet goes on to describe him more vividly, one may almost say, and in greater detail than he describes any other of the most handsome men. For he says that his head was graceful, his hair quite black,² and his body not hard.³ But about Achilles' appearance he gives no detail except to say that his hair was auburn; and he mentions the hair of Euphorbus and of Patroclus as of men who had died in the very prime of life;⁴ and about each of the other men and most beautiful women he has very little to say; however, nobody would assert that these men could have been handsome in the same way, or that Alexander, or Euphorbus,⁵ or Troilus⁶ bore any resemblance to Menelaus and Patroclus and Nireus,⁷ any more than among the barbarians Sesostri⁸ the Egyptian did or Memnon⁹ the Ethiopian, or Ninyas,¹⁰ Eurypylus, or Pelops.

¹ Handsomest man among the Greeks after Achilles, but unwarlike. Slain by Eurypylus or Aeneas.

² Mythical king of Egypt to whom the Greeks attributed all great Egyptian exploits.

³ Beautiful son of Tithonus and Eos. Was king of the Ethiopians who came to the aid of Priam. Identified with the Egyptian king Amenhotep III., a colossal statue of whom is still standing. Concerning his beauty and that of Eurypylus see Homer, *Odyssey* 11. 520-522.

¹⁰ Son of Ninus and Semiramis, the founders of the Assyrian empire and builders of Nineveh. Semiramis was famed for her beauty, but concerning her son no other ancient author testifies.



THE TWENTY-SECOND DIS- COURSE: CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR

We have here just a fragment of this Discourse. In § 3 Dio does mention his subject, but all that precedes and follows is of an introductory nature. He says that there are many questions which are the common concern of both philosophers and orators. One class of these common questions comprises those which have to do with the state (πολιτικά ζητήματα); and some of these, such as that about peace and war, have to do with what is advisable. Then in questions of advisability the philosophers and orators make a division, the philosophers dealing with those of a general nature and the orators with particular cases.

This was the division made by Posidonius, the distinguished Stoic philosopher, born in 135 B.C. at Apamea, a city not far from Dio's native Prusa. That the followers of Plato and Aristotle made the same division appears from Cicero, *De Oratore* 1. 45 and 46. In this matter, then, Dio is clearly siding with the philosophers against the rhetoricians or teachers of oratory such as Hermagoras, who claimed all political questions for oratory and rhetoric. It is possible that what Dio says here is based upon Posidonius, as von Arnim thinks, and at any rate we may conclude that Dio composed this Discourse after his conversion to philosophy.

22. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ

Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα εὖροι τις ἂν καὶ ξύμπαντα ἀτεχνῶς τὰ ἔργου τινὸς ἐχόμενα καὶ πράξεως κοινὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, καὶ ῥήτορσιν ὅσοι μὴ ἀγοραῖοι μηδὲ μίσθαρνοι, πρὸς χρήματα ὀρῶντες μόνον καὶ τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς ἀμφιλογίας περὶ συμβολαίων ἢ τινων δανείων ἐπὶ τόκῳ ¹ ἀλλὰ ² δημοσίᾳ συμβουλευεῖν καὶ νομοθετεῖν ἀξιούμενοι· καθάπερ, οἶμαι, Περικλῆς καὶ Θουκυδίδης Ἀθήνησι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι πρότερον καὶ Κλεισθένης, καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἕως ἔτι ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγὸς ² ἡνείχετο καλούμενος· Ἀριστείδην μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λυκούργον καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος τοιοῦτος, φιλοσόφους ³ ἐν πολιτείᾳ θετέον ἢ ῥήτορας κατὰ τὴν γενναίαν τε καὶ ἀληθῆ ῥητορικὴν· λέγω δὲ οἷον περὶ τε ἀγωγῆς τῶν νέων συμβουλευοντας καὶ νομοθετοῦντας, ὥσπερ

¹ δανείων ἐπὶ τόκῳ added by Cohoon, τοιούτων by Reiske.

² ἀλλὰ added by Arnim.

³ φιλοσόφους Morel: φιλόσοφος.

¹ Not the historian, but the leader of the aristocratic party in opposition to Pericles. He was ostracized in 444 B.C.

² The term ῥήτωρ means primarily 'public speaker,' no matter what the subject of his address, but it was usually applied to those who addressed the people on political questions. Here Dio distinguishes between the greater and more philosophical statesmen, such as Solon, and the lesser statesmen and

THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR

MANY things in general and absolutely everything involving any work or activity will be found common to philosophers and orators—all those orators, that is, who do not carry on their business in the market-place and work for hire with their eyes fixed on matters of money only and on private disputes regarding contracts or loans out at interest, but aspire to advise and legislate for the state. That is, I think, what Pericles and Thucydides¹ must have done at Athens, and Themistocles still earlier, and Cleisthenes, and Peisistratus, so long as he still let himself be called 'orator' and 'popular leader'²—for Aristeides, Lycurgus, Solon, Epaminondas, and others of the same sort should be regarded as philosophers in politics, or orators in the noble and real sense of the term. And I use the word 'philosopher' of men who, for example, deliberate and legislate about the training of the

politicians, such as Pericles and Themistocles. *ῥήτωρ* could also mean one who pleaded in the courts, i.e. an advocate, and finally, a teacher of rhetoric.

δημαγωγός means literally 'leader of the people' and at times has this meaning, as it has here; but more often it was used in a bad sense to mean a political agitator appealing to the cupidity or prejudice of the masses in order to further his own interests.

ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Λυκοῦργος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ περὶ χρημάτων κτήσεως, ὅσῃν τε καὶ ὅπως δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ γάμου καὶ περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ περὶ νομίματος καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ περὶ οἰκῶν κατασκευῆς, πό-
τερα χρὴ τετειχισμένην οἰκεῖν πόλιν ἢ καθάπερ ὁ θεὸς παρήνεσε Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀτείχιστον, καὶ περὶ ἀσκήσεως τῶν πολεμικῶν¹ καὶ τάξεως, οὐ μόνον ὀπλιτικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷαν Ἑπαμεινώνδας εὐρεῖν λέγεται, τοὺς ἐραστὰς μετὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων τάσας ἵνα σώζονται μᾶλλον καὶ μάρτυρες ᾧσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς κακίας· καὶ τὸν λόχον τοῦτον, ἱερὸν ἐπονομασθέντα,² κρατῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ περὶ³ Λεῦκτρα μάχῃ, ξυμπάντων
3 ἐκείνοις ἐπομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, καὶ πολλάκις πολλοῖς παρέπιπτε, περὶ τε εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου, ὃ νῦν τυγχάνει ζητούμενον.

Πᾶν δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσό-
φοις καλεῖται περὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος, οἷον εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πολιτευτέον, εἰ βασιλεία⁴ χρηστέον ἢ δημοκρατία ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ καταστάσει πολιτείας· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, εἰ πολεμητέον.

Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπλῶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ζητοῦσι περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ πηνίκα καὶ πρὸς τίνας καὶ τίνος συμβάντος ἢ μὴ συμβάντος ἕκαστα τούτων

¹ πολεμικῶν Emperius : πολεμίων.

² ἐπονομασθέντα Reiske : ἐπονομάσαντα.

³ περὶ added by Emperius.

⁴ βασιλεία Reiske : βασιλεῖ.

TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON PEACE

young, just as Lycurgus did at Sparta, and about the association of 'lovers,' about the acquisition of money—how much one should make and in what manner—about marriage, about the duties of citizenship, about coinage, about civic rights and the loss of them, about the setting up of households, and as to whether one should live in a walled city or, as the god advised the Spartans, in an unwalled one; about training for war and the organization of not merely the heavy-armed troops in general, but also of the formation which Epaminondas is said to have invented, in which he put the 'lovers' along with their beloved in order that they might have a better chance of coming through safely and might be witness to one another's courage or cowardice—and history tells us that this Sacred Band, as it was called, conquered the Spartans in the battle of Leuctra ¹ though these were supported by all Greece. But the main question of all, and one with which many have often had to deal, concerns peace and war; and this now, as it so happens, is my theme.

All problems of this sort are called by the philosophers questions of propriety: for example, whether one should marry, whether one should go into public life, whether a monarchy should be adopted, or a democracy, or some other form of government; and in these subjects, in my opinion, is included this one too, whether war should be entered into.

Indeed the philosophers not only considered these questions in their general aspect, but also these: when, with reference to whom, and after what occurrence or non-occurrence each separate action

πρακτέον. διαφέρει δὲ τοσοῦτον, ὅτι οἱ γε
 ῥήτορες ἐπὶ τῶνδε ἢ τῶνδε σκοποῦσιν, ὅλον
 εἰ συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Πελοπον-
 νησίους ἢ βοηθεῖν Κερκυραίοις πρὸς Κορινθίους
 ἢ Φιλίππῳ συμμαχεῖσθαι Θηβαίοις ἐπὶ Φωκέας ἢ
 4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαβῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἐν γὰρ
 ταύταις ἀπάσαις ταῖς βουλαῖς οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐμπίπτει
 καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἰ δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ προαδικήσασι
 πολεμεῖν· εἰ συμβέβηκεν ἀδίκημα παρὰ τούτων
 οἷς διανοοῦνται πολεμεῖν, πηλίκον τι τοῦτο τὸ ¹
 συμβεβηκός.

Οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ πόρρωθεν τὰ πράγματα
 ὁρῶσιν, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξετάζοντες ὅποι' ἄττα
 ἐστίν. πολὺ γὰρ κρεῖττον τὸ βεβουλευσθαι περὶ
 πάντων ἐκ πλείονος καὶ διεγνωκότας, ἐπει-
 δὴν ἦκη τινὸς πράγματος καιρός, αὐτοὺς τε
 εἰδότες ἔχειν χρῆσθαι καὶ ἑτέροις παραινεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ τρόπον τινὰ ἐξαίφνης ληφθέντας ταρατ-
 τεσθαι καὶ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν.
 5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ῥήτορες, ὅταν δέῃ σκοπεῖν περὶ τινος,
 οὐδὲν εἰδότες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον οὐδὲ ἐσκεμμένοι
 πρότερον, ἅμα τε αὐτοὶ βουλεύονται τρόπον τινὰ
 καὶ συμβουλεύουσιν ἑτέροις. οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ
 περὶ τῶν πράξεων προοῖδασι καὶ πάσαι βεβουλευ-

¹ τὸ added by Pflugk.

¹ Coreyra, the modern Corfu, was a colony of Corinth founded about 700 B.C. In 427 B.C. during the Peloponnesian War Corinth released some Coreyrean prisoners on the understanding that they were to win over Coreyra from Athens to the support of Corinth. They did secure the support of the oligarchic party there.

² Philip of Macedon helped the Thebans against the Phocians in the Phocian or Sacred War and conquered them in 346 B.C.

TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON PEACE

should be taken. But there is this important difference—that the orators consider definite cases; for example, whether it is of advantage for the Athenians to make war on the Peloponnesians, for the Coreyraeans to go to the help of the Corinthians,¹ for Philip to support the Thebans in the war against the Phocians,² or for Alexander to cross over into Asia. Then too, in all these deliberations the following sort of question is apt to crop up: Is it right to go to war with those who have not provoked a war by some wrongful act? if a wrong has been done by those against whom you propose to wage war, how serious is this wrong which has been done?

But philosophers look at events from a distance and examine into what their character is in the abstract; for it is much better to have already deliberated about everything a long time in advance and since they have already reached a decision, to be able, when the moment for any action has come, with full knowledge either to handle the situation themselves or to give advice to the others,³ and not to be caught off their guard, as it were, and so be in a state of confusion and obliged to resort to improvising measures concerning situations of which they have no knowledge. For whenever the orator-politicians have to consider any question, since they know nothing more than anybody else and have not considered the matter before, in a sense they both deliberate themselves and give advice to the others at one and the same time. The philosophers, on the other hand, know in advance about the course to be adopted and have deliberated

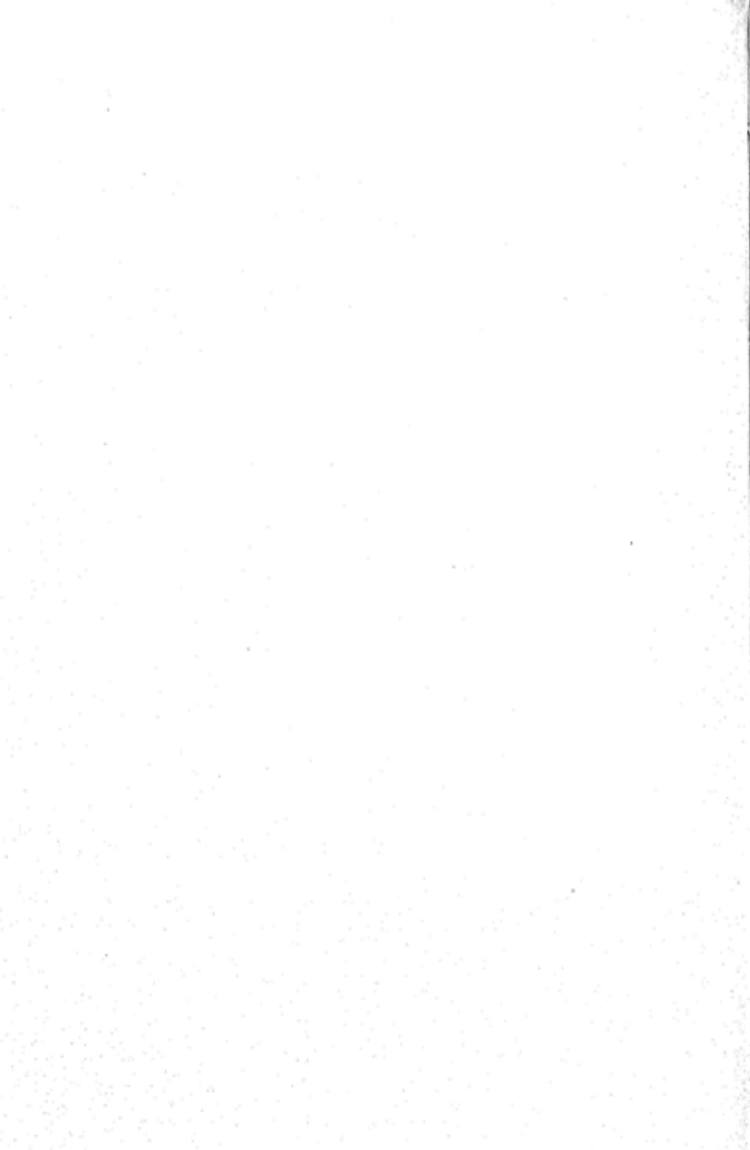
³ That is, to the men of action, the generals, or to the citizens.

μένοι τυγχάνουσιν· ὥστε ἂν τις αὐτοὺς παρακαλῇ συμβούλους τῶν πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ τῶν βασιλέων, κρεῖττον ἔξουσι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὐ τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, πάλιν δὲ τάναντία, δι' ὀργὴν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἢ χρήμασι πληγέντες, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης, ἔφη τις, οἶμαι, τῶν ῥητόρων αὐτῶν, κατὰ τὸ λῆμμα αἰεὶ ῥέποντες. λέγω δὲ οὐ ψέγων ῥητορικὴν οὐδὲ ῥήτορας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς προσποιουμένους τὸ πρᾶγμα.

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upon it long beforehand. Consequently, if they are called in to advise cities, nations, or kings, they are in a better and safer position to set forth, not just what occurs to them, nor one thing at one moment and the opposite at the next, influenced by anger, contentiousness, or bribery, acting just as the tongue of a balance does, as I believe some one of the orator-politicians themselves said, ever tipping according to what is received.¹ And I say this, not to criticize the art of oratory, or the good orators, but the poor ones and those who falsely claim that profession as their own.

¹ Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 298: "tipping toward what is received as the tongue of a balance does"—ὥσπερ ἂν τρύττανη ῥέπων πρὸς τὸ λῆμμα. λῆμμα more than hints at a bribe.



THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: THAT THE WISE MAN IS FORTUNATE AND HAPPY¹

This is one of the twelve discourses that are in the form of a dialogue between Dio, the teacher, and one of his pupils, reported directly. It would appear to reproduce an actual teaching experience of Dio's in which he sets forth the Stoic doctrine that only the wise man is happy.

The line of thought is as follows: Homer and Euripides have said that man is unfortunate and unhappy; but just the opposite is true, or rather, partially true. For each man has a fortune or guiding spirit; and if this fortune or guiding spirit is good, then the man is good-fortuned (i.e., fortunate) and happy. But if the man has a bad fortune or guiding spirit, then the man is bad-fortuned (i.e. unfortunate) and unhappy. But if the guiding spirit is good in the sense that it gives good fortune, it is also good as meaning 'just and useful and sensible'—which is a *non sequitur*—and since it apparently gives its own qualities to the man who has it, this man is at the same time also just and useful and sensible, in other words, wise. The good *δαίμων*, to use the Greek word, being good in both senses, gives both happiness and wisdom. The two are inseparable.

Then the pupil raises the question as to whether any guiding spirit can be bad, since all are divine; and Dio admits that he has merely been accepting the popular belief, not following his own, in assuming that some guiding spirits are good and others bad. He really believes with the philosophers that all guiding spirits are good. If a man listens to his good and wise guiding spirit, he gets at one and the same time both happiness and wisdom; if he does not, he is both unhappy and a fool. Therefore, only the wise man is happy.

¹ The word *δαίμων* means guiding or guardian spirit, genius, or the lot or fortune which that genius was believed to give a man. Therefore, *εὐδαίμων* means primarily 'blessed with a good guiding spirit or genius.' Then, since the good genius was believed to give good fortune, the word came to mean fortunate; and since the fortunate man should be happy, the word came also to mean happy. Often all three meanings are suggested by the word.

23. ΟΤΙ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ Ο ΣΟΦΟΣ

Δ. Πότερον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι ἄνθρωπος εὐδαίμων, εἰ δὲ μή, γεγονέναι ἢ ἔσεσθαι, ἢ ἀδύνατον ἡγῆ τὸ τοιοῦτον περὶ ἀνθρώπου, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἀθάνατον ἄνθρωπον λέγοι εἶναι; ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοις δόξαν Ὅμηρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν.

Καὶ ποῦ ἀποφαίνεται περὶ τούτου Ὅμηρος;

Δ. Ὅπου πεποιήκε τὸν Δία λέγοντα αὐτόν, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς οὐδέν φησιν οἷζυρότερον εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων,

ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τὴν οἷζυν ἄντικρυς κακοδαιμονίαν τινὰ λέγειν;

Ἔμοιγε.

2 Δ. Ἐτερος δὲ ποιητῆς οὐκ ἰδίᾳ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ πρὸς θεάτρον ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰσηγείται

τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὃς ἔρχεται κακά,
τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον

χαίροντας καὶ συνηδομένους οἶεται δεῖν ἐκπέμπειν.

¹ Homer, *Iliad* 17. 477.

² Euripides, *Cresphontes*, fragment 452 (Nauck). Herodotus (5. 4) says that the Trausi, a Thracian tribe, did lament when a child was born and rejoice when a man died.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
THAT THE WISE MAN IS FOR-
TUNATE AND HAPPY

Dio. Do you believe man is happy, and if not, that he has been or will be; or do you hold that such a thing as this is impossible to predicate of man, just as if a person were to say that man is immortal? For it is, perhaps, possible that you hold the same view as Homer and a good many others of our poets.

Interlocutor. And where does Homer express his view on this question?

Dio. Where he has represented Zeus himself, and not some other one of the gods, as saying that none of all living creatures is more miserable than man,

Of all that breathe and move upon the earth.¹

Do you not think that by misery he means expressly some great unhappiness?

Int. I do.

Dio. And another poet, not speaking of any particular man, but expressing a general sentiment to the audience in a contest of tragedies, proposes that we should

That man bewail who's born, and all life's ills
confronts,

But him who's dead and free from all his toils²
he thinks we should "with joy and gladness speed
from out the house."

"Ἔστι ταῦτα.

Δ. Οὐκ οὖν ὀρθῶς παρήνευσεν. εἰ γὰρ ἅπασι
 δεῖ¹ κλαίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν,
 καὶ γενομένους προσήκει θρηνεῖν τῶν ἐσομένων
 αὐτοῖς κακῶν ἕνεκεν, καὶ τελευτήσαντας, ὅτι
 πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, καὶ ζῶντας,² ὅτι
 3 εἰσὶν ἐν κακοῖς. ὥστε ὦρα ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὸν
 ποιητὴν μηδέποτε παύσασθαι ὀδυρομένους πολὺ
 μᾶλλον τῶν ἀηδόνων. ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
 ἦρος λέγονται θρηνεῖν τὸν Ἴτυν· τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους
 εἰκὸς ἦν θρηνεῖν καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος. πόσῳ
 δὲ βέλτιον τοὺς γενομένους εἰάν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι
 ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπαργάνοις ἐνελιπόμενοι
 καὶ λούοντας³ καὶ τιθηνομένους τοσαύτην ἐπι-
 μέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ὅπως ἄθλιοι ἔσονται· ἐχθρῶν
 γάρ, οὐ φίλων οὐδὲ κηδομένων τὸ τοιοῦτο· καὶ
 4 νῆ Δία αὐτοὺς πρῶτους ἀπαλλάττειν τοῦ βίου;
 κινδυνεύουσι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον μόνοι
 φρόνιμοι γενέσθαι οἱ γενόμενοι ἐν Κόλχοις ἐκ
 τῶν τοῦ δράκοντος ὀδόντων, οὓς ἔσπειρεν Ἰάσων.
 οὗτοι γὰρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἦσθοντο γεγονότες, εὐθὺς
 ἀλλήλους ἀνῆρουν, ἕως οὐδένα ἔλιπον, βοηθοῦντες

¹ δεῖ Geel: ἔδει.

² ζῶντας Casaubon: πάντας.

³ λούοντας Selden: λύνοντας.

¹ Itys, son of Tereus and Procnê, was killed by his mother and his flesh served to his father Tereus because the father had been unfaithful and married Procnê's sister Philomela. On learning what flesh he was eating, Tereus pursued the women with an axe. Then Procnê was turned into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow, and Tereus into a hoopoe.

² Jason went to Colchis, a country at the east end of the Euxine or Black Sea, to get the golden fleece. He was promised it if he would plow a field with two fire-breathing,

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

Int. That is so.

Dio. Well, that was not sound advice he gave; for if we ought to weep once for mankind because of their misfortune, then it is fitting that we should both bewail their lot when they are born, because of all the evils that are in store for them, and when they die, because they have had experience of many terrible sufferings, and likewise while they live, because they are in the midst of evils. Consequently there would never be a fitting time, according to the poet, for men to cease lamenting—much more truly than for the nightingales. For while those creatures are said to mourn for Itys¹ in the springtime only—yet in the case of human beings it stands to reason that *they* should mourn both summer and winter. But how much better it would be to let them perish at once of their ills as soon as they are born, instead of wrapping them up in swaddling clothes and bathing them and nursing them and giving them so much care, simply in order that they may be wretched—for such solicitude would befit enemies, not friends or those who care for them—or, better still, to remove their own selves from life in the first place! For it is very likely, according to this line of reasoning, that the only sensible people to be born were those born in Colchis from the dragon's teeth which Jason sowed.² For these people, just as soon as they understood that they were born, forthwith proceeded to make away with one another until they left not one, helping one

brazen-footed oxen and sow in it the dragon teeth that had not been used by Cadmus at Thebes. From these teeth sprang armed men, who, when Jason threw a stone into their midst, fought until they had killed one another.

ἀλλήλοις δῆλον ὅτι καὶ διὰ φιλίαν τοῦτο πράττοντες, οὐ δι' ἔχθραν.

- 5 Ἀλλὰ οὗτός γε ὁ ποιητὴς ληρεῖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεται. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ταραττει με, ὅτι οὕτω σοφὸς ὢν¹ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτην ἀπεφήνατο τὴν γνώμην.

Δ. Καὶ τί ἄτοπον εἶρηκεν; οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄθλιοι εἰσὶ φησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐθέν ἐστι ζῶον ἀνθρώπου ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ γε² ἀθλίου, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν ἄν. ἴσως γάρ τοι καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ὁ ἄνθρωπος κακοδαίμων ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ εὐδαίμων· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ μόνος ἄφρων, ὥσπερ καὶ φρόνιμος. οὔτε γὰρ ἄδικος οὔτε ἀκόλαστος εἴη ἂν ἵππος ἢ σὺς ἢ λέων, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄμουσος οὐδὲ ἀγράμματος.

- 6 Ἀλλὰ καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς διωρθῶσθαι τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, καὶ ἀποκρίνομαι³ ὅτι ἡγοῦμαι ἄνθρωπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι.

Δ. Ἄρ' οὐ ὁ δαίμων⁴ ἀγαθός ἐστι, τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι φῆς, οὐ δὲ μοχθηρός,⁵ κακοδαίμονα;

Ἔγωγε.

Δ. Δαίμονα δὲ ἄλλως ἀγαθὸν λέγεις;

¹ ὢν added by Arnim. ² γε Casaubon: δέ.

³ ἀποκρίνομαι Arnim: ἀποκρίνασθαι.

⁴ ἄρ' οὐ ὁ δαίμων Emperius: ἄρ' ὁ εὐδαίμων M.

⁵ οὐ δὲ Emperius: οὐδὲ M.

¹ Euripides.

² This view that a man's δαίμων may be good or bad is called the popular one in § 9. It is somewhat like the view which Dio takes for granted in *Discourse* 1.42 and makes Diogenes explicitly

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

another, evidently, and doing this through friendship, not through hatred.

Int. Well, for my part, I think that what this poet¹ says is nonsense. But Homer's statement disturbs me because, wise though he was, he expressed that view about mankind.

Dio. And what absurdity is there in it? He does not say that all men without exception are wretched, but that there is no creature more wretched than man when he is wretched, just as we too undoubtedly should say; for, mark you, man is perhaps the only unfortunate creature of them all, just as he is the only fortunate one; for, you see, man alone is said to be 'senseless,' just as man alone is said to be 'sensible.' It is clear that a horse cannot be either unjust or dissolute, nor can a pig or a lion, just as it cannot be uncultured or illiterate.

Int. Well, I think you have made an excellent correction of Homer's statement, and I reply that I believe man is fortunate.

Dio. Then when a man's fortune or guardian spirit is good, you maintain that the man is fortunate, but when it is bad, that he is unfortunate, do you?²

Int. I do.

Dio. And do you speak of a guardian spirit as good in a different sense?

state in *Discourse* iv. 80, that each man's mind (*νοῦς*) is his *δαίμων* and may be good or bad. The philosophical view stated in § 9, which Dio says is his own, is that the *δαίμων* of every man is good. This was the Stoic belief. See Posidonius as quoted by Galen in *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5. 6, page 469 and Zeller 3. 1. 318 ff. In *Discourse* xxi. Dio regards the *δαίμονες*, not as spirits or minds ruling men from within, but as men such as popular leaders, kings, or tyrants, or generals who rule other people and direct their destinies.

*Η¹ πῶς γε;

Δ. Ὡςπερ ἄνθρωπον, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον θεόν· ἢ τοὺς θεούς, εἴπερ νομίζεις ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, οὐ δικαίους νομίζεις καὶ φρονίμους καὶ σώφρονας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνοήτους καὶ ἀκολάστους;

Οὐδαμῶς ἔγωγε.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ δαίμονα, εἴπερ τινὰ ἀγαθὸν ἡγῇ, δηλὸν ὥς δίκαιον ἡγῇ καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ φρόνιμον;

Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

Δ. Ἡ γὰρ ὃν κακόν τινα νομίζεις, πονηρὸν οἶει τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόητον;

Ἀνάγκη πάντως.

7 Δ. Τί δαί; οὐ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα βιοῦν, ὅποιος ἂν ᾖ ποτε, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕτερον;

Οὐδαμῶς καθ' ἕτερον.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν τὸν τυχόντα ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἡγῇ δικαίως ζῆν καὶ φρονίμως καὶ σωφρόνως; τοιοῦτον γὰρ ὁμολογεῖς εἶναι τὸν δαίμονα αὐτοῦ.

Πάνυ γε.

Δ. Τὸν δὲ μοχθηροῦ δαίμονος πονηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως καὶ ἀνοήτως καὶ ἀκολάστως;

Φαίνεται ταῦτα συμβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων νῦν.

Δ. Ἄρα ὅστις ἄνθρωπος νοῦν ἔχων ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων, οὗτος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶ

¹ ἡ added by Reiske.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE : WISE MAN

Int. What do you mean?

Dio. In the sense in which a man is good and, still more, a god; or if you do think that the gods are good, do you think that they are not just and sensible and self-controlled and in possession of all the other virtues, but unjust and senseless and intemperate?

Int. I certainly do not.

Dio. Then in the case of a guardian spirit also, if you really consider any to be good, is it not clear that you consider it just and useful and sensible?

Int. Why, of course.

Dio. Pray, when you think that any person is bad, do you believe that he is at the same time evil and unjust and senseless?

Int. Most assuredly so.

Dio. Well, then, do you not think that each man lives under the direction of his own guiding spirit, of whatever character it may be, and is not directed by a different one?

Int. Certainly not directed by that of a different one.

Dio. Then do you believe that the man to whom Fortune has given a good guardian spirit lives justly and prudently and temperately? For this is the character that you agree his spirit has.

Int. Certainly.

Dio. And that the man to whom Fortune has given the bad guardian spirit lives wickedly and senselessly and foolishly and intemperately?

Int. That appears to follow from what we have just said.

Dio. Then when a man is in possession of intelligence and is just and temperate, is this man fortunate because he is attended by a good spirit;

δαίμονι συνών· ὅστις δὲ ἀσελγῆς καὶ ἄφρων καὶ πανοῦργος, ἀνάγκη κακοδαίμονα φάσκειν ἐκείνον κακῶ δαίμονι συνεζευγμένον καὶ λατρεύοντα;

Ἀληθές.

- 8 Δ. Σοφὸν δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ καλεῖς ἢ τὸν φρόνιμον ἄνθρωπον καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον, φαῦλον δὲ τὸν ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ δειλόν;

Φημί.

Δ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἔτι θαύμαζε τῶν λεγόντων, ὅτι μόνον καὶ πάντα φασὶ τὸν σοφὸν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα ὄντινα οὐ κακοδαίμονα· ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ.

- 9 Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δοκεῖς μοι οὐ παρὰ δόξαν διειλέχθαι· ὅπως δὲ χρὴ δαιμόνιον τι πονηρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόητον, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἄλλως τε οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐστίν, εἴπερ θεῖον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡγεῖσθε, τοιοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνειν.

- Δ. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ δόξαν διείλεγμαί τὰ πολλά, πλήν γε αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πᾶς καὶ μόνος εὐδαίμων ὁ σοφός· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως
10 μὴ δοκῶ βιάζεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ φέρε, εἰ οὖν¹ ἡγεῖσθε τὸ δαιμόνιον θεῖον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μηδενὶ κακοῦ μηδενὸς αἴτιον, πῶς φατε γίνεσθαι κακοδαίμονα ἄνθρωπον; ἢ ὅταν μὴ προσέχωσι μηδὲ πείθωνται τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἀγαθῷ ὄντι; ὥσπερ εἰ νομίζοιμεν² τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἅπαντας ἀγαθοὺς

¹ οὖν Cohoon: οὐχ.

² νομίζοιμεν Reiske: νομίζεις.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

but when a man is dissolute and foolish and wicked, must we maintain that he is unfortunate because he is yoked to a bad spirit and serves it?

Int. True.

Dio. And do you describe as wise anyone except the man who is sensible and just and holy and brave, and as a fool him who is unjust and unholy and cowardly?

Int. I do.

Dio. Then you should no longer be surprised when people say that they hold the wise man alone and without exception to be fortunate or happy, whereas of fools there is none that is not unfortunate or unhappy; you should agree to this inasmuch as you also seem to hold that view.

Int. What you have said so far I think has been quite reasonable; but how are we to consider any spirit to be wicked and unjust and senseless, I am unable to say; and besides, it is not like you philosophers, if you really hold that the guiding spirit is divine, to assume any such thing.

Dio. Well, just now I have not been expressing my own view for the most part except in this one matter—that I believe every wise man is fortunate and happy and he alone; but in everything else I have accepted the views of the majority of men, that I may not seem to be forcing my own views on them. For just consider: If you really believe that the guiding spirit is divine and good and the author of no evil to anyone, how do you explain a man's becoming unfortunate, that is, unhappy? Or does that happen when he does not heed or obey his guiding spirit, this being good? It is just as if we should think that all physicians are good in the matters of

εἶναι τὰ τῆς τέχνης καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν πονηρὸν
 ἱατρὸν μηδὲ βλαβερὸν, τῶν δὲ καμνόντων κακῶς
 τινὰς πράττοντας βλέπομεν¹ καὶ βλαπτομένους
 ἐν ταῖς νόσοις· δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ἂν φαίμεν μὴ
 ἐθέλειν τὰ προσταττόμενα ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πειθο-
 μένους ἀνάγκη καλῶς ἀπαλλάττειν· καὶ ὃ τι ἂν
 γίγνοιτο² οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοι τις.³

Οὕτως⁴ ἔχει.

- 11 Δ. Πότερον οὖν δοκοῦσί σοι οἱ⁵ ἐγκρατεῖς
 ὄντως⁶ καὶ σώφρονες καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες, οὗτοι
 ἀπειθεῖν ἂν τοῖς ἱατροῖς τοῖς ἐμπείροις καὶ
 τὰ συμφέροντα προσταττοῦσιν, ἢ τοῦναντίον οἱ
 ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι;

Δῆλον ὅτι οἱ ἀκόλαστοι.

Δ. Τί δέ; τῷ δαίμονι χρηστῷ ὄντι πείθεσθαι
 καὶ ζῆν, ἐκείνῳ πότερον ἡγῇ τῶν σωφρόνων εἶναι
 καὶ νοῦν ἔχόντων ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων;

Τῶν σωφρόνων.

- 12 Δ. Τὸ δέ γε μὴ πείθεσθαι μηδὲ προσέχειν ἀλλ'
 ἐναντίως τῷ θεῷ τε καὶ δαιμονίῳ πράττειν,
 τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀγνωμόνων;

Πῶς δ' ἂν ἄλλως λέγοιμεν;

Δ. Εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους τῷ δαιμονίῳ
 τοιούτῳ ὄντι εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας
 κακοδαίμονας;

Ἀνάγκη.

¹ βλέπομεν Reiske: βλέπομεν.

² ὃ τι ἂν (Capps) γίγνοιτο Cohoon: τί ἂν γίνεσθαι.

³ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοι τις Capps, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιμεν, Reiske:
 θαυμάζειν.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE : WISE MAN

their profession and that none of them is a bad physician or harmful, but yet should see some of their patients doing poorly and suffering harm in their illnesses; evidently we should say that they refuse to obey orders and that such patients as do obey cannot but come through well; and nothing that should happen to them would surprise anyone.

Int. That is right.

Dio. Do you think, therefore, that the really self-controlled and sober and sensible patients are those who would disobey their physicians when these are skilled and prescribe the treatment that is good for them, or, on the contrary, the senseless and uncontrolled?

Int. Evidently the uncontrolled.

Dio. Then again, do you hold that to obey the guardian spirit when it is good, and to live in conformity with its direction, is a mark of those who are temperate and sensible or of those who are wicked and senseless?

Int. Of those who are temperate.

Dio. And that to refuse to obey and give heed and to act contrary to that which is divine and from the guardian spirit is a mark of the bad and foolish?

Int. How could we say anything else?

Dio. And that those who obey the guiding spirit, since it is of this character, are 'fortunate and happy,' and that those who disobey are 'unfortunate and unhappy?'

Int. Necessarily so.

* οὗτος ἔχει Reiske : οὗτος ἔχειν.

* of added by Geel.

* οὗτος Cohoon : εἶναι, which Geel deletes.

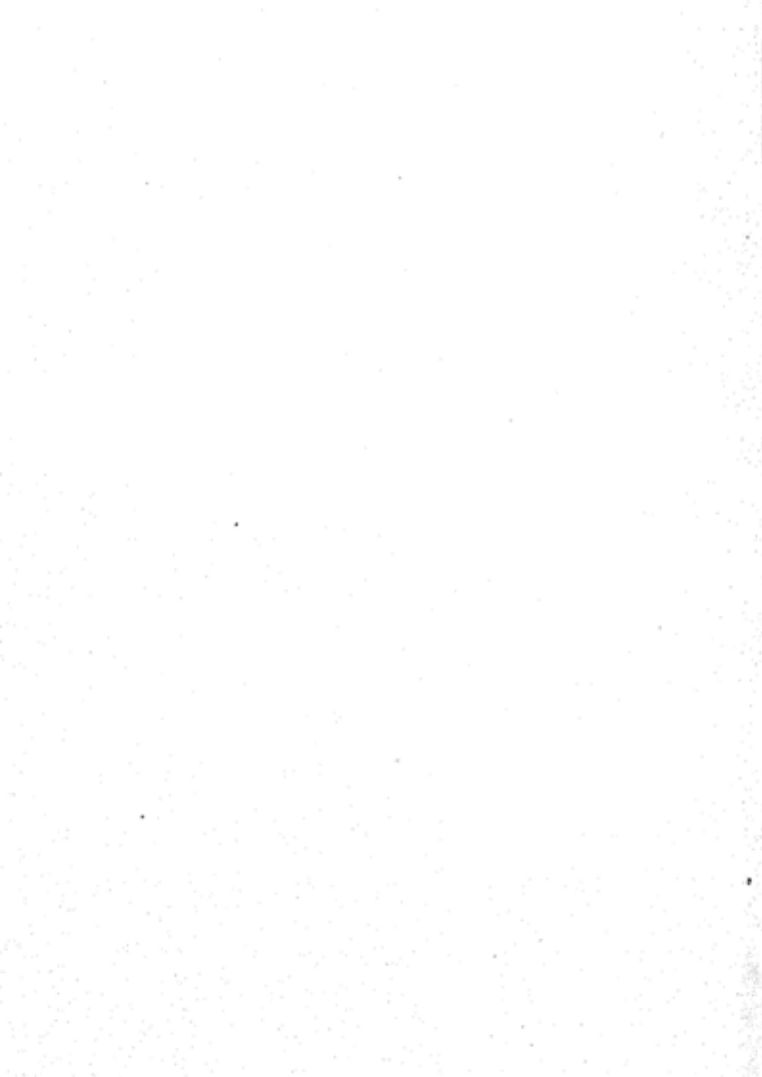
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Δ. Οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα συμβαίνει τὸν μὲν σοφὸν καὶ φρόνιμον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι πάντα, τὸν δὲ φαῦλοι κακοδαίμονα, οὐχ ὥς τοῦ δαιμονίου κακοῦ ὄντος, ἀλλ' ὥς αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχοντα ¹ ἐκείνῳ χρηστῶ ὄντι.

¹ προσέχοντα Reiske : προσχόντα.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

Dio. Therefore, here also it turns out that the wise and sensible man is 'fortunate and happy' in every case, but that the worthless man is 'unfortunate and unhappy,' not because his guardian spirit is bad, but because, although it is good, he does not heed it.



THE TWENTY-FOURTH DIS- COURSE: ON HAPPINESS

This Discourse, like the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, begins by saying that the majority of men act wrongly in respect to something and then proceeds to set them right. This same admonishing attitude is found also in Discourse 13. 16-28, where Dio tells of the beginning of his 'preaching' activity during his exile. For this reason von Arnim believes that all these Discourses, except the last of course, belong to the period of Dio's exile.

The great majority of men, says Dio, select their occupation in life without first considering the important question of what the life of man should be, and what is the highest good for him, the ideal toward which he should strive. Only the man who knows what this highest good is and subordinates everything else to it can gain true success and happiness.

24. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ

Οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν πεφροντί-
 κασιν ὁποίους χρή εἶναι οὐδὲ ὅ τι βέλτιστον
 ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστίν, οὐ ἔνεκα χρή πάντα τᾶλλα πράτ-
 τειν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐσπουδάκασιν οἱ μὲν ἵππεύειν, οἱ δὲ
 στρατηγεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἀγωνίαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ μουσικὴν,
 ἄλλοι περὶ γεωργίαν, ἄλλοι δύνασθαι λέγειν.
 ἦντινα δὲ χρεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τούτων ἕκαστον ἢ
 τί τὸ ὄφελος ἐξ αὐτοῦ γίγνοιτ' ἂν, οὐκ ἴσασιν
 2 οὐδὲ ζητοῦσιν. τοιγαροῦν ἵππεῖς μὲν ἀγαθοὶ
 γίνονται τινες, οἱ ἂν φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτὸ καὶ¹
 ἐκμελετῶσι, καὶ παλαῖσαι ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἱκανώτεροι
 καὶ πυκτεῦσαι καὶ δραμεῖν καὶ τᾶλλα ἀγωνίσασθαι,
 καὶ τοῦ σπόρου μὴ διαμαρτεῖν, καὶ πλείοντες
 μὴ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναῦν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν
 τινες ἐπίστανται βέλτιον ἐτέρων· ἀγαθὸν δὲ
 ἄνδρα καὶ φρόνιμον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰδότα
 ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ χρηστός ἀνὴρ καὶ νοῦν ἔχων, οὐδένα
 τούτων ἔστιν εὐρεῖν.

3 Αὐτίκα περὶ τὸ λέγειν πάντως² ἐσπουδάκασιν

¹ φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτὸ καὶ Emperius: φιλοπονῶσι καὶ UB,
 φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτοὶ M.

² πάντως Geel: πάντες.

¹ See Horace, *Odes* 1. 1. for a similar reference to the different interests and occupations of men.

² The same three types of oratory, the forensic, the deliberative, and the epideictic, are mentioned by Aristotle in his

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON HAPPINESS

THE majority of men have not as a rule concerned themselves at all with the question of what kind of men they ought to be, nor of what is ideally man's best good, to the attainment of which he should direct all his other activities; but, each in accordance with his taste, they have devoted themselves, some to horsemanship, some to military commands, some to athletic competitions, others to music, or farming, or expertness in oratory.¹ But what practical utility each of these pursuits has for themselves, or what possible advantage may accrue from it, they do not know or even try to ascertain. The consequence is that while some become good horsemen—in case they work hard at that and train diligently—and some become more efficient in wrestling than others, or in boxing, or running, or in other contests, or in avoiding crop failures, or in sailing the seas without wrecking their ships, and in knowledge of music some surpass others; yet the good and prudent man, one who can answer the all-important question, 'What man is he who is virtuous and intelligent?' cannot be found among them all.

Take oratory,² for instance. There are many well-

Rhetoric 1. 3. 3. Plato (*Euthydemus* 305 b) used the same expression 'plead in courts of law.'

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πολλοὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καὶ φιλοτίμων εἶναι δοκούντων, οἱ μὲν ὥστε ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς δῆμον λέγοντες, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἰσχύειν πλέον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοὶ θέλωσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἕνεκα τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ὅπως δεινοὶ νομίζονται. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῆς φασὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ συγγράφοντες μόνον, οὓς ἔφη τις τῶν πρότερον μεθόρια εἶναι τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν. ὅτι δὲ συμφέρει πράττουσιν ἢ πρὸς ὅ τι ἢ δόξα αὐτοῖς ὠφέλιμος ἢ τί τῆς ἐμπειρίας ταύτης ὄφελος, οὐ σκοποῦσιν.

- 4 Ἐγὼ δὲ φημι πάντα τὰλλα δίχα τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας καὶ ζητήσεως ὀλίγον ἄξια εἶναι, τῷ δὲ ἐκείνο ἐννοήσαντι καὶ ξυνέντι, τούτῳ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ στρατηγεῖν καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἄλλο ποιῇ, συμφέρον τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γίνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἐπαινέσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀνοήτων, οἰοίπερ εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, ἢ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἢ τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν οὐδὲν ἂν διαφέρει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ ψιέγεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐπιπόνως ζῆν.

¹ Plato (*op. cit.* 305 c) speaks of one such man and credits Prodicus with the statement that these men occupy the border between philosophy and politics. Isocrates would be an example of such a man.

TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE : HAPPINESS

born men and, in public estimation, ambitious, who are whole-heartedly interested in it, some that they may plead in courts of law or address the people in the assembly in order to have greater influence than their rivals and have things their own way in politics, while the aim of others is the glory to be won thereby, that they may enjoy the reputation of eloquence; but there are men who say they desire the mere skill derived from experience, some of these being indeed speakers, but others only writers, of whom a certain man of former times said they occupied the borderland between philosophy and politics.¹ But what their activity profits them, or to what end the glory is of use to them, or in what respect this experience is worth their while, all this they fail to consider.

But as for me, I claim that, without this knowledge of which I speak and the quest for it, all the other things are little worth; but that for the man who has reflected upon that important point and has come to understand it, then practicing eloquence, exercising military command, or any other activity that may occupy him, is to his advantage and is directed toward a good. For the truth is that, for and of itself, receiving the approbation of senseless persons, which is just what the majority are, or having influence with men of that kind, or leading a pleasant life, will not, so far as happiness is concerned, be one whit better than being censured by them, or having no influence, or leading a laborious life.²

² See Plato, *Crito* 47a-c as to the foolishness of being guided by the opinion of the many.



THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

This Discourse, like the twenty-first, twenty-third, and twenty-sixth, is one of the twelve Discourses which are in the form of a dialogue reported directly and are believed to belong to the period of Dio's exile, although in this case after the first few exchanges Dio does all the speaking. He introduces and illustrates the apparently original view, a suggestion for which he may have got from Plato's *Republic* 540 b, that the 'guiding spirit' (*δαίμων*) is not something within the man himself, but is some other man who controls him and determines his destiny. One man may even control a great number of men, such as are found in a city, a race, or an empire, and be the cause of their faring well or ill. In this case he is their *δαίμων*.

Even though Dio does not in this Discourse keep his promise given at the outset, to tell about the view of the philosophers that only the wise man is happy, yet the Discourse appears to be complete in the form in which we have it.

25. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ

Φασὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους λέγειν ὡς ἄρα εὐδαίμων
εἶη μόνος ὁ σοφός.

Δ. Λέγουσι γάρ.

Ἄρ' οὖν ἀληθῆ σοι δοκοῦσι λέγειν;

Δ. Ἔμοιγε.

Τί οὖν οὐχὶ κάμοι ἔφρασας τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν;

Δ. Ἐὰν ἐμοὶ σὺ πρῶτον εἴπῃς ὃ τι νομίζεις τὸν
δαίμονα εἶναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ κρατοῦν ἐκάστου καὶ καθ' ὃν
ζῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστος, ὁμοίως μὲν ἐλεύθερος,
ὁμοίως δὲ δοῦλος, καὶ πλούσιος καὶ πένης καὶ
βασιλεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης, καὶ πράττει ὅσα ἂν πράττῃ.

Δ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ νομίζεις εἶναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,
τὸ κρατοῦν ἐκάστου, ὃ δαίμονα καλεῖς, ἢ ἔξω τι¹
ὄν, ἄρχον τε² καὶ κύριον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;

¹ ἔξω τι Capps: ἔξωθεν.

² ἄρχον τε Reiske: ἄρχοντα.

¹ The Stoic view. The Academy held practically the same view. Cf. Plato, *Alcibiades* 134a: "Then, unless a man is self-controlled and good, it is not possible for him to be wise"—οὐκ ἄρα οἶόν τε, ἐὰν μὴ τις σώφρων καὶ ἀγαθὸς ᾖ, εὐδαίμονα εἶναι, and Xenocrates as reported by Aristotle, *Topica* 2. 6, 112a. 37: "Xenocrates says that it is the man who has a good soul who is happy"—Ξενοκράτης φησὶν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σπουδαίαν; and see Discourse 23. 8, where Dio speaking as a Stoic says that the wise man is sensible, just, holy, and brave.

For the meaning of 'happy' see p. 301, n. 1.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

Interlocutor. People say the philosophers maintain that really only the wise man can be happy.¹

Dio. Yes, that is what they maintain.

Int. Well, do you think they speak the truth?

Dio. I do.

Int. Then why have you never stated their view to me?

Dio. I will, if you tell me first what you think the guiding spirit is.

Int. For my part, I believe that it is that which controls each individual and under whose direction each human being lives, alike whether he be a free man or a slave, whether he be rich or poor, a king or a plain citizen, and no matter what his business in life is.

Dio. And do you think that this principle is within the man himself, this thing which controls the individual, which we call the guiding spirit,² or that, while being a power outside of the man, it yet rules him and is master of him?

² Dio's word is *δαίμων*; other writers identify the inner spirit with *τρόπος* or *ἦθος*. Cf. Epicharmus, frag. 258 Kaibel: "Character is man's good guiding spirit, but in some cases it is bad"—*ὁ τρόπος ἀνθρώποισι δαίμων ἀγαθός, οἷς δὲ καὶ κακός*; Heracleitus, frag. 119: "Character is man's guiding spirit"—*ἦθος ἀνθρώπου δαίμων*; and Menander, *Epitrepontes* 479 ff.

Ἐγωγε.

- 2 Δ. Ἄρά γε ἄνθρωπον ἕτερον; ἔστι γάρ που ἄνθρωπος, ὁ μὲν τινος ἐνὸς κρατῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν, καὶ ἄγων ὅπη τε καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸς βούλεται ἦτοι πειθοῖ ἢ βίᾳ ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις. λέγω δὲ οὐδὲν ἄγνωστον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε δημαγωγούς, οἷς πάντα πείθονται αἱ πόλεις καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι¹ ἐξηγῶνται καὶ συμβουλεύωσιν, οὕτω πράττουσιν, ἐάν τε πολεμεῖν συμβουλεύωσιν ἐάν τε εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐάν τε τείχη οἰκοδομεῖσθαι ἐάν τε τριήρεις κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐάν τε θυσίας θύειν ἐάν τε ἐκβάλλειν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἢ χρήματα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ἀποσφάττειν· καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅσοι ἀργύριον καταβαλόντες ἢ ἄλλῃ τῇ τρόπῃ
- 3 κέκτηνται τινα· ὥς ἂν εἰ Λυκοῦργόν τε Λακεδαιμονίων δαίμονα καλοῖς—ἐκείνου γὰρ κελεύσαντος ἔτι νῦν μαστιγοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ θυραυλοῦσι καὶ γυμνητεύουσι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ δόξαντα ἂν ἐτέροις ἀνέχονται—καὶ Πεισίστρατον Ἀθηναίων τῶν² πρότερον. οἶσθα γὰρ δήπου ὅτι Πεισιστράτου προστατοῦντος³ καὶ ἄρχοντος εἰς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐ κατήεσαν ὁ δῆμος, ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ διατρίβοντες γεωργοὶ ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον ψιλὴν καὶ ἄδενδρον οὔσαν, ἐλαίαις κατεφύτευσαν, Πεισιστράτου προσταύσαντος· καὶ τὰλλα ὅπως ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο, οὕτως ἔπραττον.
- 4 Ὑστερον δὲ ἴσως ἄλλους τε φαίη τις ἂν καὶ

¹ ἐκεῖνοι Morel : ἐκείνοισ.

² τῶν added by Reiske.

³ προστατοῦντος Meineke : προστάττοντος.

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

Int. The latter is my belief.

Dio. Do you mean a different person? For I suppose it is a person who in one case controls one particular man, and in another case many men, one who leads them where and how he himself wishes, by using either persuasion, or force, or both.¹ And I am saying nothing that is unknown, but refer to the popular leaders whom the cities obey in everything and do exactly as those men direct and advise, whether they advise them to go to war, or to remain at peace, or to build fortifications, or to construct triremes, or to offer sacrifices, or to banish some of their number, or to confiscate their property, or even to cut their throats; and I refer also to both kings and tyrants, and likewise to all masters of servants, who whether by paying down money for a person or by some other means have got anybody into their possession. It is just as if you should call *Lycurgus* a guiding spirit of the Spartans—for at his command even now the Spartans are scourged and sleep in the open and go lightly clad and endure many other things that would seem hardships to other peoples—and *Peisistratus* the guiding spirit of the ancient Athenians. For you know, I presume, that when *Peisistratus* was leader and ruler, the people did not come down to the city, but stayed on the land and became farmers, and that Attica, which was formerly bare and treeless, they planted with olive trees by the order of *Peisistratus*,² and in everything else they did exactly as he wished.

And, later on, one might perhaps say that not only

¹ Nearly the same view is expressed in Discourse 3. 6-7.

² Cf. Discourse 7. 107.

Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Περικλέα γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνήκοος δήπου τυγχάνεις περὶ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν, τὸν μὲν, ὅτι ναυμαχεῖν Ἀθηναίους ἠνάγκασε πεζοὺς πρότερον ὄντας καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προεμένους τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους προγόνων ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ ποιήσασθαι πάντα τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα, καὶ ὕστερον τὸν Πειραιᾶ τειχίσαι πλειόνων ἢ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίων καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔπραττον ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος παρῆν, τὰ δὲ καὶ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτήσαντος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλλους τινὰς ἴσως φήσεις δαίμονας γεγονέναι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἷον Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν Κλεινίου καὶ Νικίαν καὶ Κλέωνα καὶ Ὑπέρβολον, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἐπικεῖς τυχόν, τοὺς δὲ πάνυ πονηροὺς τε καὶ χαλεπούς.

- 5 Ἐτι δὲ Κῦρον Περσῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ¹ δαίμονα γενέσθαι, δαίμονα² βασιλικόν τινα καὶ ἐλευθέριον, ὃς δουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς Μήδοις πρότερον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφείλετο καὶ πάντων ἀπέφηνε δεσπότας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἔτι δὲ Καμβύσην

¹ ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ Cohoon : ἀπὸ χρόνου τινός.

² δαίμονα Cohoon : καὶ, which Reiske deleted.

¹ That is, Themistocles when Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 B.C.

² The chief seaport of Athens and about 5 miles away. A thick wall was built all round the Munychian peninsula in which the Peiraeus was. This wall kept close to the sea and was continued along the north side of the harbour of Cantharus. The entrances to the harbour of the Peiraeus and to the two small havens of Munychia and Zea on the east side of the peninsula were fortified with moles. 90 stades are approxi-

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

others but Themistocles and Pericles also became guiding spirits; for I take it that you have heard about these two men, how the one¹ compelled the Athenians, who had been foot soldiers before, to fight on the sea, to give up their country and their city to the barbarians, as well as the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors, and stake all their fortunes on their fleet, and afterwards to fortify the Peiraeus² with walls of more than ninety stades in length and enjoined upon them by his orders other measures of the same kind, some of which they continued to carry out only as long as he was present, and others even when he was in banishment and after his death.³ Yes, and at a still later time certain other men, you may perhaps say, have become guiding spirits of the Athenians, for example, Alcibiades the son of Cleinias, and Nicias,⁴ Cleon,⁵ and Hyperbolus⁶—some few of them honourable men perhaps, but the rest utterly wicked and cruel.

Then again you might say that Cyrus⁷ became for a time a guiding spirit of the Persians, a spirit kingly indeed and liberal in character, who, when the Persians were enslaved to the Medes, gave them liberty and made them masters of all the peoples of Asia; and you

mately 10·34 miles. Thucydides 2. 13. 7 gives the distance as 60 stades.

¹ Nothing is said about the achievements of Pericles.

⁴ Athenian general and leader of the aristocratic party who opposed Alcibiades and thoroughly disapproved of the Sicilian expedition.

⁵ Originally a tanner. Opposed Pericles and for six years of the Peloponnesian war led the party opposed to peace.

⁶ Athenian demagogue of servile origin who came into prominence during the Peloponnesian war.

⁷ Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire.

καὶ Δαρείον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐφεξῆς, τὸν μὲν Καμβύσην τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀναλίσκοντα καὶ αὐτοὺς κατατοξεύοντα καὶ στρατείας προστάσσοντα χαλεπὰς καὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ μηδέποτε ἔωντα οἴκοι μένειν· τὸν δὲ Δαρείον χρήματα μὲν ὡς οἶόν τε πολλὰ συναγαγόντα καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ γενόμενον αἴτιον ὅπως ἐργασθήσεται, πολέμους δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀναγκάζοντα πολεμεῖν χαλεποὺς καὶ ἐπικινδύνους, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὸν πρὸς Σκύθας καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

- 6 Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Νουμᾶν μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τυχὸν ἂν λέγοιεν αὐτῶν ¹ δαίμονα, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Ἀννωνὰ καὶ Ἀννίβαν, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ Φίλιππον, ὃς Μακεδόνας ταπεινοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσαντος Ὀλυνθίου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἰσχυροὺς ἐποίησε καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπάσης Εὐρώπης ἐγκρατεῖς· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὕστερον μετ' ἐκείνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξαγαγὼν ἅμα μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπέδειξεν, ἅμα δὲ πενιχροτάτους, καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἰσχυροὺς, ἅμα δὲ ἀσθενεῖς, φυγάδας τε καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς αὐτοὺς, Αἴγυπτόν τε ² καὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα καὶ Ἐκβάτανα προσθεῖς,

¹ αὐτῶν Emperius : αὐτῶν M, αὐτόν UB.

² τε Cohoon, μὲν Reiske : δέ.

¹ Second of that name and son of Cyrus the Great, reigned 529-522 B.C., conquered Egypt, but was unsuccessful against the Ammonians and the Ethiopians.

² Defeated at Marathon by the Athenians.

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might go on to name Cambyzes and Darius and their successors: Cambyzes,¹ who squandered their money, shot his subjects down, sent them on toilsome campaigns without intermission, and never allowed them to stay at home; and Darius, who amassed as much money as possible, caused the land to be cultivated, and like the other forced them to wage difficult and dangerous wars, for instance, as I recall, the one against the Scythians and the one against the Athenians.²

And thus also by the Romans Numa³ might perhaps be named as their guiding spirit, and Hanno and Hannibal by the Carthaginians, and Alexander, by the Macedonians, or else Philip, who, when the Macedonians were inglorious and weak, and his father had ceded part of his kingdom to the Olynthians, made them strong and warlike and masters of nearly all Europe.⁴ Then afterwards Alexander, succeeding Philip, led them over into Asia and made them at once the wealthiest of all peoples and at the same time the poorest, at once strong and at the same time weak, the same men being both exiles and kings, because while he annexed Egypt, Babylon, Sousa,⁵ and Ecbatana,⁶ he deprived them of Aegae,⁷

¹ Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, revered by the Romans as the author of their whole religious worship.

² A great exaggeration. By defeating the Greeks at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. he did put an end to the independence of Greece. His father was Amyntas II., who reigned 390-369 B.C.

³ Called Shusan in the Old Testament. It was the winter residence of the Persian kings.

⁴ Capital of the Median kingdom and afterwards the summer residence of the Persian and Parthian kings.

⁵ Also called Edessa. It was the ancient capital of Macedonia and the burial-place of the Macedonian kings.

Αἰγὰς δὲ καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον ἀφελόμενος.
 7 Καρχηδονίους δὲ Ἄνων μὲν ἀντὶ Τυρίων ἐποίησε
 Λίβυας, καὶ Λιβύην κατοικεῖν ἀντὶ Φοινίκης, καὶ
 χρήματα πολλὰ κεκτήσθαι καὶ συχνὰ ἐμπόρια
 καὶ λιμένας καὶ τριήρεις, καὶ πολλῆς μὲν γῆς,
 πολλῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἄρχειν. Ἀντίβας δὲ πρὸς
 τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς κρατῆσαι
 παρέσχεν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη· αὐθις δὲ αἷτιος
 ἐγένετο ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν
 μεταβαλεῖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, πολλοὺς πρότερον τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας, καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχὼν αὐτὴν
 εἰλεῖν τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐ βουλευθεὶς δέ, ὥς φασι, διὰ
 τοὺς οἴκοι ἀντιστασιώτας.

Καίτοι ¹ τοῦτον ἴσως οὔτε Καρχηδονίοις οὔτε
 Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσήκει ² αὐτῶν ³
 8 καλέσαι. Νουμᾶς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην παραλαβὼν
 μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον ἔτι, ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ χώρᾳ δὲ
 ὥκισμένην ⁴ καὶ σύγκλυδας καὶ πονηροὺς ἔχουσιν
 τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς προσχώροις πᾶσιν
 ἐχθροὺς καὶ πένητας καὶ ἀγρίους καὶ ἐπικινδύνως
 ζῶντας διὰ ⁵ τὴν Ῥωμύλου χαλεπότητα, τὴν
 τε γῆν ⁶ αὐτοὺς βεβαίως ἔχειν ἐποίησε καὶ

¹ καίτοι Capps : καί.

² προσήκει Reiske : προσήκειν.

³ αὐτῶν Emperius : αὐτῶν.

⁴ δὲ ὥκισμένην Emperius : διωκισμένην.

⁵ διὰ added by Emperius.

⁶ χαλεπότητα, τὴν τε γῆν Emperius : χαλεπωτάτην τε γῆν M, χαλεπωτάτην γῆν UB.

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

Pella,¹ and Dium.² And the Carthagians Hanno³ made Libyans instead of Tyrians, forced them to live in Libya instead of Phoenicia, caused them to possess great wealth, many trading-centres, harbours, and warships, and to rule over a vast land and a vast sea. Then in addition to Libya, Hannibal enabled them to control Italy itself for a period of seventeen years; but after that he was responsible for their being driven from their homes and for their capital itself being moved at the order of the Romans,⁴ after he had previously slain great numbers of these Romans and come within a little of taking Rome itself, although, men say, he had no desire to do this, on account of his political opponents at home.

And yet Hannibal, perhaps, neither the Carthaginians nor the Romans could fittingly claim as their *good* guiding spirit. But Numa took over Rome when it was still small, unknown to fame, and situated in a land owned by others, when it had as its inhabitants an unprincipled rabble, who were, besides, at enmity with all their neighbours, were both poverty-stricken and savage, and lived a precarious existence because of the harshness of Romulus' rule; caused them to hold their land in security and to be

¹ Made capital of the Macedonian kingdom by Philip. There Alexander the Great was born.

² A city in Macedonia at the foot of Mt. Olympus on the north side. About two miles from it was the grave of Orpheus. See also vol. I., p. 50, n. 2.

³ Son of Hamilcar I. and probably identical with the African explorer of that name and with the general surnamed Sabellus. His date is uncertain.

⁴ Not quite accurate. In the year 149 B.C. the Romans bade the Carthaginians dismantle their city and move at least ten miles from the sea. They preferred to fight, and their city was destroyed. Capps suggests *καταβλεῖν* (being destroyed).

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φίλους εἶναι τοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ νόμους καὶ θεοὺς καὶ πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο, καὶ πάσης αἰτίας ὑπῆρξε τῆς λεγομένης ὑστερον εὐδαιμονίας.

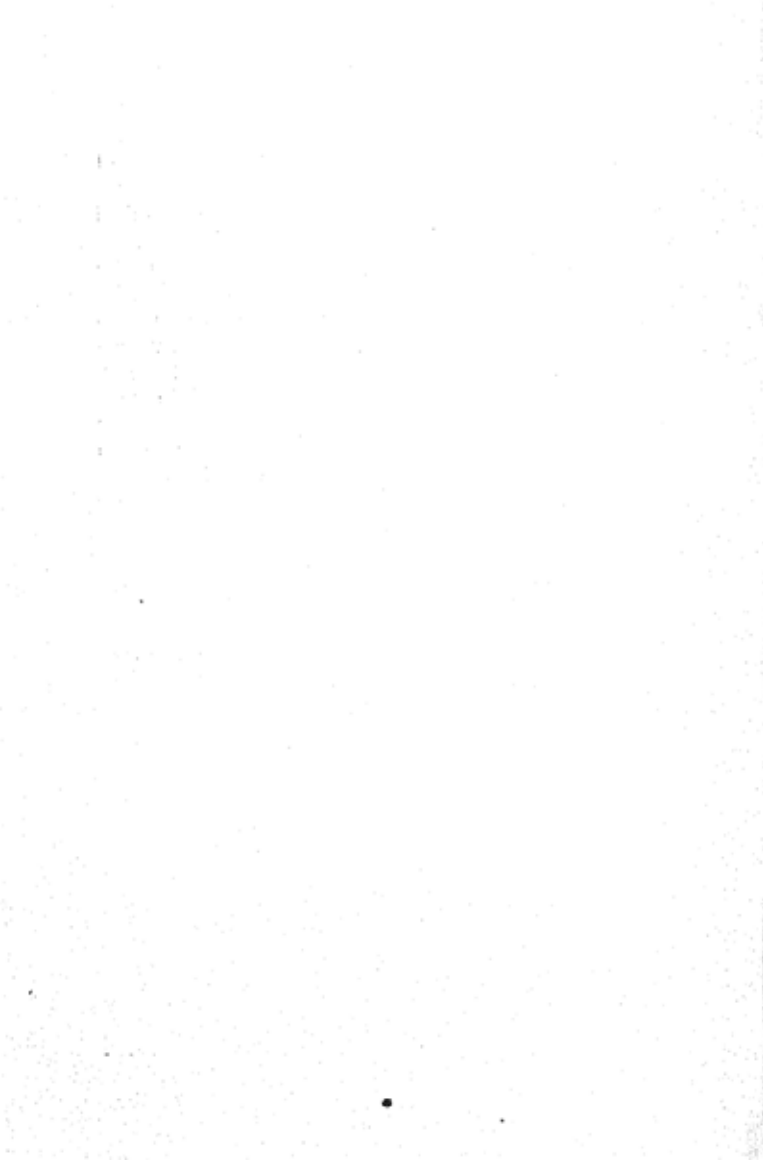
- 9 Ἔχοιμι δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν πόλεων καὶ γενῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς πραξάντων διὰ τινος ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν γενομένους καὶ προστάτας· ἀλλὰ ἱκανῶς οἶμαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι. εἰ δὴ τούτους καλεῖς δαίμονας ὄντως¹ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ δι' οὓς ἕκαστοι βέλτιον ἢ χεῖρον ἔπραξαν, ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούοιμι.

¹ ὄντως Cohoon : ὥς.

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON SPIRIT

on terms of friendship with their neighbours, and gave them a code of laws, and gods to worship, and a political constitution, thus becoming the author of all their subsequent felicity of which all men speak.

I could go on to speak in the same way about the other cities, and races, and populations which have fared well or ill on account of certain men who were their rulers and leaders. However, my own opinion has, I think, been made sufficiently clear. So, if you do call those I have mentioned in very truth guiding spirits of those who were under their sway and who severally fared better or worse on account of them, I should be glad to hear what you have to say.



THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION

This is another of the twelve dialogues reported directly and probably all written by Dio while in exile. In this one Dio considers with his interlocutor the meaning of 'deliberation' (*τὸ βουλευέσθαι*). It does not mean making a blind guess as to the truth of something. There must be some knowledge, however imperfect, upon which to base the conjecture. If, on the other hand, there is complete knowledge of the thing, no room is left for conjecture, that is, deliberation. Then Dio attempts to show that one cannot deliberate about the future because it is non-existent. One must have something real about which to deliberate. This position rather surprises us, because deliberation is most naturally about some course of action in the future. After this Dio, unconsciously perhaps, shifts his position and maintains that to deliberate is to form correct conclusions about a matter from a full knowledge of all the factors involved. However, one must admit that it was Dio's companion, rather than Dio himself, who was so certain that deliberation comes into play only in those cases where there is some knowledge, but not enough to enable one to decide with certainty. Dio concludes by exhorting men earnestly to strive to gain full knowledge about the most important things in life in order that their deliberations in these matters may lead to the right conclusions.

Sonny (*Ad Dionem Chrysostomum Analecta*, p. 196 f.) expresses the view that this Discourse and the pseudo-Platonic *Sisyphus*, which apparently was written about 350 B.C., were drawn from a common source, while Dümmler (*Academica*, p. 194) would go further and name Antisthenes' paradox *ὁ τι οὐκ ἔστι ζητεῖν* (seeking that which is not) as this common source. On the other hand, Hirzel (*Der Dialog*, II., p. 105), von Arnim, as one may infer from his note on §§ 4-5, and Wegehaupt (*De Dione Chrysostomo Xenophontis Sectatore*, p. 65 ff.) maintain that Dio used the *Sisyphus* directly. Wegehaupt points to so many parallels between this Discourse and the *Sisyphus* as to make his theory appear very reasonable. If this theory is not correct, then Dio and the author of the *Sisyphus* followed their common source very closely.

26. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ

Πάλαι, καθήμενος καὶ ὑμῶν ἀκούων, ὅτε πολλὰς ὥρας¹ διετρίβετε παρά τινι τῶν πολιτικῶν βουλευόμενοι περί τινων πραγμάτων, σκοπῶ παρ' ἑμαυτῷ καὶ ἀναζητῷ τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο ὃ φατε βουλεύεσθαι ἢ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι.² Ἄρα γὰρ περὶ τούτου τις βουλεύεται τοῦ πράγματος ὃ οἶδέ τε καὶ ἐπίσταται;

Οὐ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ ὧν τις οἶδε, περὶ τούτων βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἤδη εἰδέναι.

Τί δαί; ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ³ ἐπίσταται, περὶ τούτων ὥσπερ διαμαντευόμενος καὶ ἀναζητῶν γινῶναι ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν;

Οὐ δοκεῖ μοι οὐδὲ οὗτος δύνασθαι βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τούτων περὶ ὧν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστήμην ἔχει.

- 2 Ἄρα οὖν μὴ τοιόνδε τι ἢ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι, ὥστε τινὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τινὰ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἢ περὶ οὗ βουλεύονται ἄνθρωποι; ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ παρακολουθήσωμεν, δι' εἰκόνας τινὸς ἐπιδείξομεν αὐτό. ὑποτιθέμεθα γὰρ εἰδέναι μὲν

¹ πολλὰς ὥρας Cobet: πολλὰς ὥραις.

² The phrase ἢ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι was deleted by Emperius, followed by Arnim and Budé, as being a repetition of the preceding. It may well be, however, Dio's own closer definition of the problem: ἢ ὅ τι U, ἢ omitted by M.

³ ἃ after οὐδὲ deleted by Reiske.

¹ The *Sisyphus* has the same sub-title,

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION¹

Dio. For a long time, as I sat and listened to you men when you spent many hours at the home of one of our public men in deliberating about certain affairs of state, I have been considering by myself and examining the meaning of that which you call deliberation, or what deliberation in the abstract is.² Does a person really deliberate about a matter which he knows and understands?

Interlocutor. I do not think that when a person knows certain things, he deliberates about them, but that he already knows them.

Dio. Well then, when there are things he does not know or understand, is it about these that he deliberates, casting about as it were like a diviner, and thus seeking to find out what he does not know?³

Int. It does not seem to me that this man, either, can deliberate about things when he has no knowledge about them.

Dio. Then can deliberation be something like this—that when men know some things but do not know other things, this is the subject about which they deliberate?⁴ And in order that we may follow the argument better, we shall make it clear by an illustration. For instance, we assume that we know

² Cf. *Sisyphus* 387 c. ³ *Ibid.* 387 d. ⁴ *Ibid.* 388 a.

ἡμᾶς Χαρίκλέα καὶ Χαρίξενον, ὅπου δὲ οἰκοῦσιν, ἀγνοεῖν, στοχάζεσθαι δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῖν·
 3 μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ἢ τὸ βουλευέσθαι,¹ ὥστε ἐξ ὧν οἶδαμεν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδέπω ἴσμεν τεκμαίρεσθαι² ἢ; καθάπερ οἱ ἀρτιάζοντες ἴσασιν μὲν ὅτι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχουσιν οἱ προκαλεσάμενοι αὐτοὺς χρήμα, οὐ μέντοι ὅτι τοσοῦτον,³ ἀλλ' ἐνίστε καὶ ἐπέτυχον εἰπεῖν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ κρατήσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι τοιοῦτον ἢ, ὥστε εἰδέναι μὲν τι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἀγνοοῦμεν,⁴ στοχασάμενοι ἐνίστε αὐτομάτως ἐπετύχομεν καὶ μετ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστήμης;

4 Φέρε γὰρ ἴδωμεν ὅποιόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα. τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ ὑφέστηκε, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὄντα οὔτε ἔστιν⁵ οὔτε ἐγένετο οὔτε ὑφέστηκεν. οὐ δεῖ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἤδη ὄντων· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ οὐδὲν ὄφελος περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ὑφεστηκότων βουλευέσθαι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλευσόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν; ἵνα μὴ γένηται τὰ γεγονότα; οὐ δύναται μὴ γεγονέναι. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἢ τὰ

¹ The phrase μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ἢ τὸ βουλευέσθαι of the MSS. was deleted by Arnim followed by Budé. ἄρα Emperius: ἀρα.

² ἢ added by Wegehaupt.

³ Sonny would add ἢ τοσοῦτον.

⁴ ἀγνοοῦμεν Emperius: ποιοῦμεν.

⁵ ἔστιν Dindorf: ἐστὶ.

¹ Cf. *Sisyphus* 388c.

² In the game ἀρτίαςμός the challenger asked another to guess whether the objects held in his closed hand were odd or even in number. In Aristophanes, *Plutus* 816, where we read στατήροι δ' οἱ θεράποντες ἀρτιάζομεν χρυσοῖς, the game seems to have been to guess the number of coins, for the denomination of the stater was known—two drachmas. *Ibid.* 1057 the

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Charicles and Charixenus, but do not know where they live, and so are making conjectures about their place of residence; is not this deliberation—the drawing of inferences from what we do know about that which we do not yet know?¹ Or, just as people playing at odd and even² know that the challengers have something in their hands but not how much; yet sometimes they do hit upon the right answer and in that way come off victorious.³ May we conclude, then, that deliberation too is like this—that though there is something we do know, yet concerning all the other things which we do not know, we make a guess and sometimes accidentally hit it although without any knowledge?

Now come, let us see what the nature of the thing is:⁴ Things which are in being both are, and have come to be, and exist, while things that are not in being neither are, nor have come into being, nor do they exist. Now we do not need deliberation for things which are already in being; for there is no profit in deliberating about things which have come into being and exist. In fact, what imaginable reason will we have for deliberating about them? In order that things that have come into being may not come into being? It is impossible for them not to have come into being. Well, is it in order that things which are

game proposed was merely guessing the number of teeth the old hag had left.

¹ Cf. *Sisyphus* 387 d.

⁴ von Arnim feels that §§ 4–5 do not fit into the context. In the *Sisyphus* 390 d–391 c this part of the exposition does come in more naturally because Socrates has just expressed the view that one man cannot deliberate better than another because deliberating is like shooting an arrow at random when there is no target to aim at.

ὄντα; πῶς;¹ δυνάμεθα ποιῆσαι μὴ εἶναι οὕτως
 ὡς ἐγένετο; ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ὑφεστήκη; πᾶν τὸ ὄν
 ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ὄντων
 5 τί ἂν τις καὶ βουλευοίτο; περὶ τίνων οὖν βουλευό-
 μεθα; περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ὡς ὁ λόγος ὑποδείκνυσι.
 τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε
 ὑφέστηκεν. περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων οὖν τίς δύναται
 βουλευέσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑφεστώτων; τὸ
 γὰρ οὐκ ὄν οὐδέν ἐστι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος
 οὐδεὶς δύναται βουλευέσθαι. οὐδεὶς ἄρα δύναται
 βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. ἡ γὰρ βουλή
 ἐπὶ ὄντι² τινί ἐστιν. τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκ
 ἄρα οὐδὲ τὸ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων
 δύναται ἂν εἶναι.

6 Τί οὖν; ὁ ἄμουσος καὶ ὁ ἀνεπιστήμων ἁρμονίας
 καὶ μέλους καὶ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτων τάξεως
 καὶ κινήσεως δύναται ἂν καλῶς βουλευσασθαι περὶ
 μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν;

Οὐδαμῶς.

Τί δέ; ὁ γεωμετρίας ἄπειρος περὶ σώματος καὶ
 μήκους καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους βουλευόμενος ἂν
 καλῶς βουλευοίτο;

Οὐδὲ οὗτος.

Τί δέ; ὁ νεὼς ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος περὶ
 νεὼς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔργων κυβερνητικῶν ἱκανῶς ἂν
 βουλευόμενος βουλευοίτο;

Οὐδὲ οὗτος.

¹ πῶς; δυνάμεθα Capps: πῶς δυνάμεθα.

² ὄντι added by Capps.

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in being may not be? Absurd! Can we prevent their being just as they have come to be? Well, is it in order that they may not exist? Everything which is in being has existence. But about things that are in being why should a person deliberate anyway? About what things, then, do we deliberate? About the future, as the argument suggests. But the future neither is, nor has been, nor exists. Hence, about things that are not and do not exist, who is able to deliberate? For the thing not in being is nothing, and about that which is not no one can deliberate. Hence no one can deliberate about things which are yet to be; for deliberation deals with a thing that is, and that which is yet to be does not exist. Therefore deliberation cannot possibly be about the future either.

Take another case: Would the unmusical person and the one who has no knowledge of harmony, melody, rhythm, and their arrangement and movement be able to deliberate successfully about music and the operations involved in music? ¹

Int. Certainly not.

Another point: Would the man who has no knowledge of geometry, in deliberating about a solid body, its length, width, and height, deliberate successfully? ²

Int. No, he also would not.

Dio. Then further: Would the man who does not know how to command a ship, in deliberating about the command of a ship and the duties of the captain, deliberate competently? ³

Int. No, he would not, either.

¹ Cf. *Sisyphus* 389 c-d.

² *Ibid.* 388 a.

³ *Ibid.* 389 c-d.

- 7 "Οστις ἄρα¹ οὐδὲν ἱκανῶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὔτε πεπαιδευταὶ οὔτε² οἶδεν, οὗτος οὐδὲ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τούτου ἱκανός ἐστιν. χρή οὖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μάλιστα φρονήσεως καὶ παιδείας, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἢ ῥάδιον περὶ πάντων πραγμάτων βουλευέσθαι καὶ εἰδέναι τὸ συνοῖσον ἐκάστη βουλή καὶ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ καὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων τεχνικῶς³ σκέπτονται καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ περὶ τι δεινοί, καὶ συνεῖναι περὶ αὐτῶν ἱκανοί⁴ εἰσιν, οὕτω δὴ⁵ καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἱκανοὶ 8 ὦμεν βουλευέσθαι καὶ λέγειν. ἄτοπον γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀρτιάζοντας σύνεσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζοντας καὶ μὴ ὀρῶντας τοῦτο περὶ οὗ ἀποφαίνονται, τοὺς δὲ περὶ πραγμάτων βουλευομένους μήτε ξύνεσιν μήτε ἐπιστήμην μήτε ἐμπειρίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ τούτων ἐνίοτε τῶν μεγίστων ὄντων, περὶ ὁμονοίας καὶ φιλίας οἰκιῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου καὶ περὶ κατοικισμοῦ καὶ περὶ κατοικίσεως, περὶ τε παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν.

¹ ὅστις ἄρα Wilamowitz : ἄρα ὅστις.

² οὔτε . . . οὔτε Emperius : οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ.

³ τεχνικῶς or μετὰ τέχνης Cohoon : ἀτεχνῶς.

⁴ ἱκανοὶ added by Reiske.

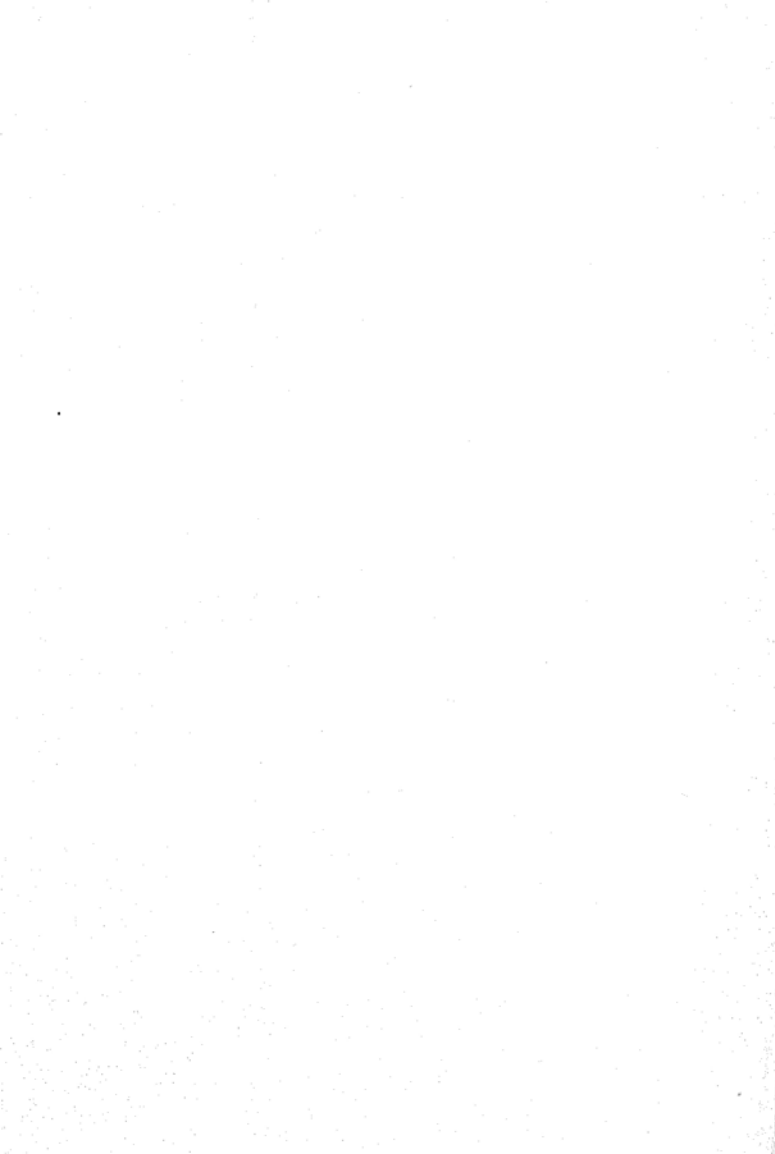
⁵ δὴ Emperius : δεῖ M, δὲ UB.

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Then a person who has had no competent education and no knowledge whatever about a thing is not competent to deliberate about it, either. Therefore it is necessary to give the greatest attention to prudence and education,¹ in order that it may be easy for us to deliberate about all things whatsoever and to know what is going to suit each deliberation and not to make serious mistakes; but just as musicians, geometricians, and ship-captains consider with professional skill their own particular work, and as all persons who possess skill in any matter are also competent to understand their work, in like manner let us also be competent to deliberate and speak about our own business. For it is absurd that while those playing at odd and even show intelligence, and that too when they are guessing and do not see the thing about which they make a guess, yet those who are deliberating about public matters should display neither intelligence, nor knowledge, nor experience, although these matters are sometimes of the greatest importance, such as concord and friendship of families and states, peace and war, colonization and the organization of colonies, the treatment of children and of wives.²

¹ *Sisyphus* 390 b.

² Herwerden in *Mnem.* XXXVII, p. 321, argues plausibly that the conclusion of this Discourse is missing.



THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

Dio begins by saying that it is at symposia and at the great national festivals that the characters of men are shown most clearly. Then, after speaking of the varied effects of wine on men according to their characters, he passes on to a description of the different types of men seen at one of the national festivals such as the Isthmian games. The last type mentioned is the philosopher, who finds it just as difficult to get the attention of men as the physician does. The elaboration of this thought, and the comments on the foolishness of men in giving no heed to either their bodies or their souls, take up the second half of the Discourse.

From this brief outline it will be seen that the title is not very suitable. What Dio says about symposia and national festivals is merely to gain attention for his real theme, which is the folly of men in taking no thought of either body or soul until trouble is actually upon them. It is very natural for Dio here, as in other parts of his writings, to refer to bodily infirmities, because he suffered from ill health himself as a result of the hardships incurred in exile.

The simplicity of the ideas expressed and their similarity to those found in the eighth and ninth Discourses, which belong to the period of Dio's exile, make it seem probable that this Discourse also was written in that period.

27. ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΩΙ

Οἱ ἄνθρωποι γίνονται καταφανεῖς ὅποιαν ἔχουσι διάνοιαν ἕκαστος ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, πλὴν ὅτι ποικιλώτερον τὸ ¹ τῶν πανηγύρεων καὶ χρόνου πλείονος.

Οὐκοῦν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια δήπου οἱ μὲν τινες ἀφικνοῦνται τοῦ πιεῖν ἕνεκεν καὶ οὐθὲν ἄλλο πράττουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ θυσιάζοντες τῶν ὁδοιπόρων, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ κρίνην τινά, πίνουσιν ἐπικύβαντες. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐμπλησθέντες καὶ τὸ δίψος ἀποσβέσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἀπαλλάττονται, οὔτε πράξαντες ² οὔτε εἰπόντες ἄτοπον οὐδέν, ³ οἱ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῇ ἐνίοτε καὶ λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσιν.
² οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑποδέχονται τοὺς δεομένους αὐτῶν αἵ τε Νύμφαι καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος· ἀλλὰ ἅτε διθύραμβος

¹ τὸ Emperius : τὰ. ² πράξαντες Emperius : κράξαντες.

³ οὐδέν added by Arnim.

¹ The *panegyris* was an assembly of the people of a particular district, province, tribe, or nation to worship at a common sanctuary. In addition, there were spectacles, amusements, games, chariot races, political discussions and resolutions, buying and selling, etc. For further details see § 5 of this Discourse, and Discourses eight and nine. In many respects it resembled a modern fair. As illustrations we think first of the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

² The symposium (a drinking together) was the name given the entertainment which followed a *δεῖπνον* or dinner-party. In it the pleasure of drinking wine was heightened by agreeable conversation, music, dancing, games, philosophical discussion, etc.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

THE qualities of mind and character of individual men stand revealed at our national festivals¹ no less than at symposia,² except that at festivals the revelation is more varied and extends over a longer period of time.³

As to symposia, we may assume that some persons attend for the sake of drinking and devote themselves to that, just as thirsty wayfarers when they come to a spring stoop down and drink. Yet travellers, when they have drunk their fill and quenched their thirst, quietly go their way without having done or said anything indecorous, but the others, on the contrary, both say and do many disagreeable things at times. For Dionysus does not welcome his votaries who need him with the same sort of welcome as the Nymphs do theirs;⁴ but since he is of a frenzied nature

¹ For the same thought cf. Discourse 8. 6; 30. 33; 32. 53; 33. 14 f.

² In other words, the effects of wine and of water upon those who partake of them are quite different.

Dionysus, the god of wine, was the son of Zeus, the god of thunder and lightning. When Zeus appeared in that character before Semelê, the mother of Dionysus, she was consumed by the lightning, but her child was saved. The nymphs, goddesses of lesser rank, were attached to various kinds of places. Dio is here thinking of those who haunted springs, who were called specifically *ναϊάδες*. Cf. Discourse 12. 30 *νάμασι νυμφῶν ποτίμοις*, "drinkable rills of nymphs."

- ὦν ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ καὶ βροντῆς
γεγόμενος, ὥς φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, τοὺς ἀμαθέστερον
χρωμένους ἀτεχνῶς πυρὸς πίμπλησι καὶ τῷ ὄντι
πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐμβροντήτους ἐποίησεν. οὗτοι
μὲν οὖν σχεδόν τι μαινόμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ δρῶσιν,
ὥσπερ Ὀμηρὸς φησι τὸν Κένταυρον μεθυσθέντα
ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πειρίθου οἰκίᾳ κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι.
3 καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ φύσει ἀδολέσχει οἷον ἀκρατῶν τινων
λαβόμενοι τῶν συμποτῶν ἀναισθήτους καὶ μακροὺς
διατίθενται λόγους· οἱ δὲ ᾄδουσι καὶ ἀπιδουσι,
σφόδρα ἄμουσοι ὄντες, καὶ σχεδόν τι μᾶλλον
λυποῦσι τῶν μαχομένων καὶ λαιδορουμένων. ἕτεροι
δὲ αὐστηροὶ καὶ σώφρονες εἶναι λέγοντες ἀπο-
κναίουσιν ἀηδία, μήτε ποτοῦ τὸ μέτριον¹ μήτε
4 λαλίας κοινωνεῖν ἀξιοῦντες. ὅς δ' ἂν ἢ πρῶτος
ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἱκανῶς ἡρμουςμένος, τῶν
τε ἄλλων ῥαδίως ὑπομένει τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ
αὐτὸς εὐσχημονεῖ² ὥς οἷόν τε τὸν³ ἀμαθῆ χορὸν
εἰς τὸ δέον καθιστὰς ῥυθμῷ τε καὶ μέλει τῷ προσ-
τήκοντι, τοὺς τε οἰκείους λόγους εἰσφέρειν καὶ
δεξιότητι καὶ πειθοῖ προσαγόμενος τοὺς παρόντας,
ὥστε ἐμμελέστερον καὶ φιλικώτερον ξυνεῖναι
ἀλλήλοις.
5 Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν συμποσίων τοιαῦτα· ἀφικνοῦνται
δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πανηγύρεις, οἱ μὲν ἱστορίας

¹ μέτριον Geel: μέτρον. ² εὐσχημονεῖ added by Reiske.

³ τὸν added by Cohoon.

¹ See Homer, *Odyssey* 21. 295-298 and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12. 219. Peirithoüs, leader of the Lapithae in Thessaly, invited the Centaurs to his wedding feast, when one of them, named Eurytion (Eurytus according to Ovid), became drunk with wine and attacked the bride Hippodameia. Πειρίθοος shortened to Πειρίθους, gen. Πειρίθου.

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and the child of lightning and thunder, as the poets say, he literally fills with fire those who use him in too ignorant a way, and actually makes the majority of them thunderstruck or stupefied. Nay rather, his votaries, being practically crazed, do many evil things, just as Homer says of the Centaur that in a fit of drunkenness he wrought evil in the home of Peirithoüs.¹ And others, too, who are naturally loquacious, feeling that they have got their table-companions for an audience, recite stupid and tedious speeches; while still others sing in tune and out of tune,² although they have no gift whatever for music; and one might almost say that they give more annoyance than those who quarrel and use abusive language. But there is another class of men who claim to be abstemious and temperate, that bore people to death by their disagreeable manner,³ since they will not condescend either to drink moderately or to take part in the general conversation. But the man that is gentle and has a properly ordered character, easily endures the rudeness of the others, and acts like a gentleman himself, trying to the best of his ability to bring the ignorant chorus into a proper demeanour by means of fitting rhythm and melody. And he introduces appropriate topics of conversation and by his tact and persuasiveness attempts to get those present to be more harmonious and friendly in their intercourse with one another.

So much for symposia. But people also attend the national festivals, some just to see the sights

¹ See Discourse 14. 4 for the same expression.

² See Demosthenes 21. 153 for the same expression.

ἐνεκεν τῶν τε ἄλλων θαυμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ τούτων ὅσοι σφόδρα ἐσπουδακότες περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, διατελοῦσιν οὐθὲν ἄλλο πράττοντες ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ· πολλοὶ δὲ ὥνια κομίζοντες παντοδαπά, ἀγοραῖος ὄχλος, οἱ δὲ τινες ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι
 6 τέχνας καὶ δημιουργίας, ἄλλοι δὲ σοφίαν τινὰ αὐτῶν¹ ἐκφαίνοντες, πολλοὶ μὲν ποιήματα ἐπιδεικνύοντες τραγωδίας τε καὶ ἐπῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ καταλογάδην συγγράμματα, τὸν σχολῆς ἕνεκεν ἦκοντα καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν βουλόμενον ἐνοχλοῦντες· οὗτοι δὲ μάλιστα εἰκόασι τοῖς μινυρίζουσι καὶ ἄδουσιν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, ὧν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκούειν ἔστι, καὶ μὴ θέλη τις.

Ἐν τούτοις ὁ δυνάμενος λόγους εἰπεῖν ὠφελίμους καὶ συμφέροντας καὶ τὴν ὅλην σύνοδον εὐσχημονεστέραν καὶ ἀμείνω παρασχεῖν, οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχίαν ἄγει καὶ τρέπεται καθ' αὐτόν.

7 Πεπόνθασι γὰρ δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγους ὅπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν φάρμακα. οὔτε γάρ τις ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς πρόσσεισιν οὐδὲ ὠνεῖται πρὶν ἢ περιπεσεῖν φανερῶ νοσήματι καὶ ἀλγῆσαί τι τοῦ σώματος· οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀκούειν ἐθέλουσιν ὥς τὸ πολὺ, ὅτῳ ἂν μὴ λυπηρόν τι ξυνενεχθῇ καὶ τῶν
 8 δοκούντων χαλεπῶν. αὐτίκα τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα, ὅποιαν τινὰ φασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν, ὅλον χρήματα εἰσδανείζοντα² πολλὰ ἢ χώραν ἰκανὴν κεκτημένον καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ τέκνων σωζομένων καὶ γυναικός, καὶ τινα δύναμιν· καὶ

¹ αὐτῶν Dindorf : αὐτῶν.

² εἰσδανείζοντα Geol : ἐκ δανείων τὰ.

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and the athletic contests in particular; and all those who take a very great interest in these continue doing nothing else from early dawn. Many too bring in merchandise of all sorts, the tradespeople, that is; and some display their own arts and crafts; while others show off their accomplishments, many of them declaiming poems, both tragedies and epics, and many others prose works, so that they annoy the man who has come for a rest and wishes to have a holiday. And these people seem very much like those who hum tunes and sing songs at the symposia, whom you cannot help hearing even if you do not wish it.

But the man who in the midst of these folk has the ability to speak words edifying and profitable and thus make the whole gathering more decorous and better, because of the general disturbance and the great throng of those of the other sort keeps quiet and withdraws into himself.

For really most men feel towards the words of philosophy exactly as they do, I believe, toward the drugs which physicians administer; that is, no one resorts to them at first, nor buys them until he contracts some unmistakable illness and has pain in some part of his body. And in the same way people are, as a general rule, not willing to listen to the words of the philosopher until some affliction visits them, something which men consider grievous. To give an illustration: the prosperous man—I use the term in the sense in which the majority use it—for instance, a man who derives a large income from his loans, or has a good deal of land, and not only enjoys good health, but has children and a wife living, or a man who has some position of

ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα μεγάλην ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ στάσεως
 καὶ τινων φανερῶν κινδύνων, οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τις
 ῥαδίως προσιόντα τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδὲ ἀξιούντα
 9 κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγων. εἰ δέ
 τῷ ξυμβαίῃ τι πταῖσμα κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ ¹
 ἦτοι πένης ἐκ πλουσίου γένοιτο ἢ ἀσθενῆς καὶ
 ἀδύνατος ἐκ δυναμένου ἢ ἄλλην τινα ἔχων λύπην,
 οἱ δὲ οἰκειότερόν πως διατίθενται πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα
 καὶ τρόπον τινα ὑπομένουσι τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων
 λόγους καὶ πῶς φασὶ δέισθαι παραμυθίας. καὶ
 ἀπολέσας τύχην τινα ² τῶν οἰκειῶν, ἢ γυναῖκα
 ἢ παῖδα ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἀξιοῦσιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τὸν
 φιλόσοφον καὶ παρηγορεῖν, ὥς τότε ³ δέον σκοπεῖν
 ὅπως μετρίως φέρῃ τις τὰ γιννόμενα καὶ δυνήσονται
 10 ἀντέχειν τοῖς λοιποῖς, πρότερον δὲ οὐ· ὥσπερ ⁴
 καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσι σχεδὸν οἱ ἀνόητοι·
 τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐθέν αὐτοῖς μέλει ὅπως
 δύνωνται ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ ⁵ σιτίοις τε καὶ οἴνῳ
 καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὥς οἷόν τε
 ἀκολάστως καὶ ἀδεῶς χρῶνται, ἐὰν δ' ⁶ ἄρα
 τις καταλαμβάνῃ κόπος καὶ πυρετὸς ⁷ περὶ τὰς
 τοῦ αἵματος μεταβολάς, καὶ ⁸ θεραπεύειν σφᾶς
 κελεύουσι μεστοὶ ὄντες ἀταξίας πολλῆς καὶ
 νοσημάτων ἰσχυρῶν, οἷον εἰκὸς τοὺς τοιούτους
 καταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἱατροῦ δεήσονται,
 τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ σκοποῦσιν.

¹ καὶ added by Dindorf. ² τινὰ Emperius: τινὰς.

³ ὥς τότε Reiske: ὥς τὸ M, ὥστε τὸ UB.

⁴ ὥσπερ Emperius: ὥς γὰρ.

⁵ The words ἀλλὰ . . . χρῶνται moved here by Casaubon from their position after μεταβολάς (*infra*) in the MSS.

⁶ δ' added by Casaubon.

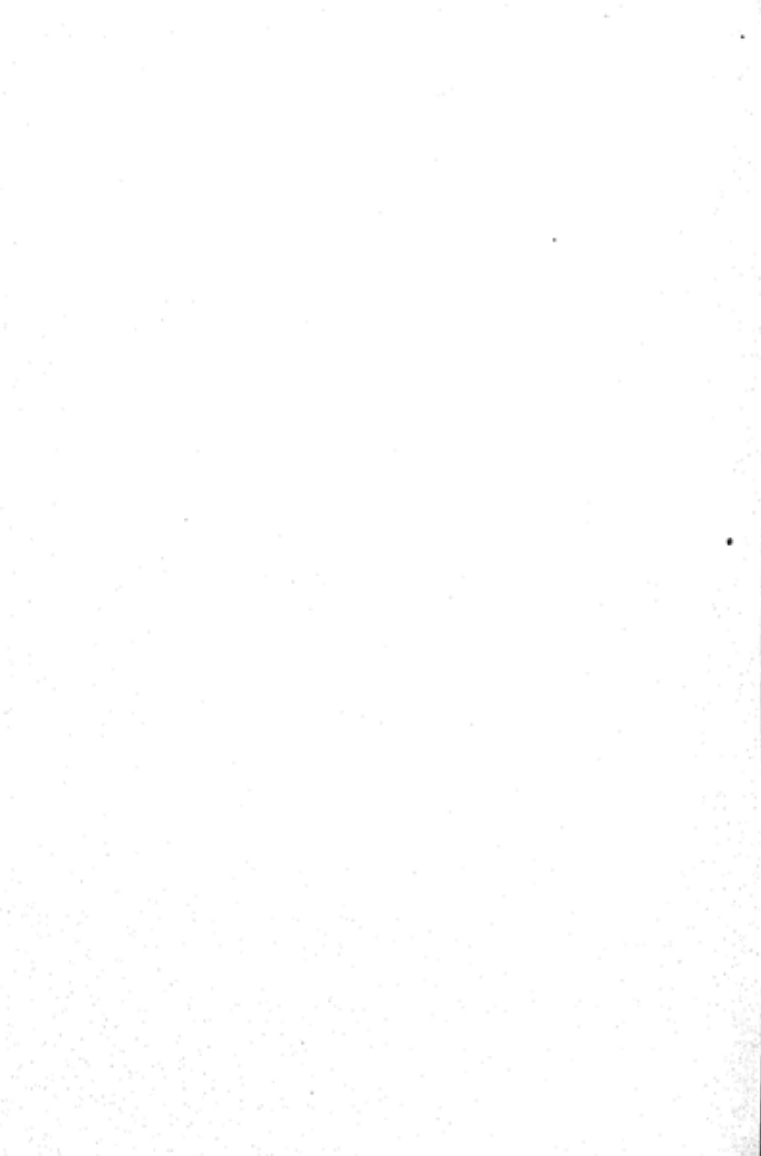
⁷ πυρετὸς added by Reiske.

⁸ Emperius deleted καὶ.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

authority and a high office without war, or rebellion, or any open dangers—such a person you would not easily find approaching these philosophers, or caring to listen to the teachings of philosophy. But if some disaster should overtake any one touching his livelihood, and he should become either poor after having been wealthy, or weak and powerless after having been influential, or should meet with some other misfortune, then he becomes much more friendly disposed toward that craft, somehow manages to endure the words of the philosophers, and practically admits that he needs comfort. And if it is his misfortune to lose any of his relatives, either his wife, or a child, or a brother, he asks the philosopher to come and speak words of comfort, as if he thought it were only then necessary to consider how one may endure with resignation what happens and be able to face the future; before that he does not. It is much the same as the feeling of ignorant persons in regard to their bodies: ordinarily they have no concern whatever about their health, but enjoy foods, wine, and women, and all their other regimen as intemperately and unconcernedly as possible; but if any weariness or fever does unexpectedly seize them owing to the changes in the weather, then they indeed demand to be treated, since their health is greatly disordered and they are suffering from severe illnesses, such as you expect would attack people of this sort. But how to avoid having any need of a physician is a problem which they do not consider at all.¹

¹ In Discourse 8. 6 ff. Diogenes says that physicians have the advantage in being consulted more readily than philosophers are.



THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DIS- COURSE: MELANCOMAS II ¹

Dio, accompanied by at least one friend, comes up from the harbour—of Naples presumably—to witness the athletic contests then being held, and has his attention drawn especially to a tall handsome boxer who is training, surrounded by a great crowd of admirers. On asking one of the bystanders who the man is, he learns that it is the boxer Iatrocles, so often the antagonist of Melancomas, who has recently died. This bystander speaks in the highest terms of Melancomas both as a boxer and as a man, and is evidently greatly distressed by his death. Thereupon Dio offers various reflections to comfort him.

von Arnim, chiefly from a study of this Discourse and the following one, which is the funeral oration for Melancomas,

¹ Some of the codices which contain all of Dio's eighty extant Discourses have these Discourses arranged in the order followed in this edition. This has been the common and accepted order, and the Discourses are always referred to by the numbers of this arrangement. But the other complete codices use a different order, which was followed by Photius. von Arnim in *Hermes*, vol. 26, has shown this to be the earlier and preferable order. He introduced it in his edition of Dio, and was followed by De Budé in his.

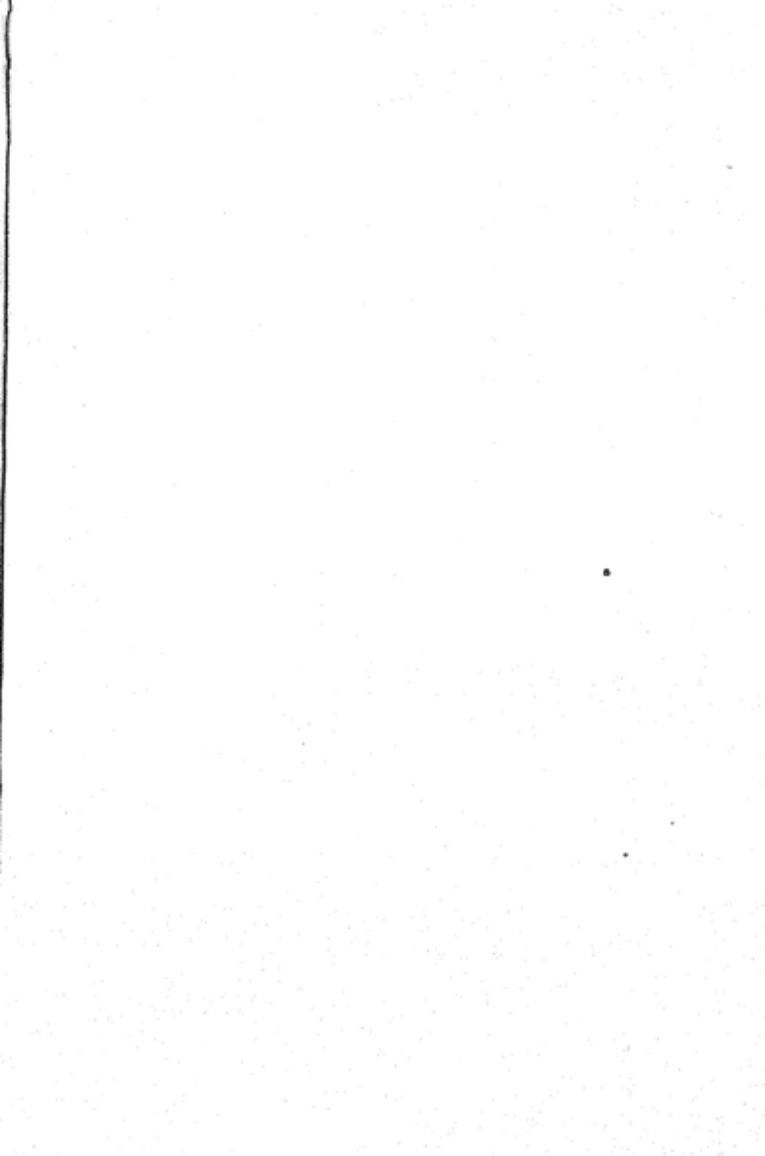
The MSS. U, B, and M, which give the Discourses in the common and accepted order, put Melancomas II, before Melancomas I, so that they appear as Nos. 28 and 29 in the series; but these MSS. show in two ways that this order is not the natural one. The Discourse that would naturally come second is called II; and then the added words, "in its position I," (τῇ τάξει α') indicate once more that this natural order has been reversed.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

comes to the conclusion that the occasion of it was the Games in honour of Augustus (*Ludi Augustales*) as held at Naples in the year A.D. 74, when Titus, soon to be emperor and now thirty-three years old—Dio himself would be of about the same age—was either Director of Games (*γυμνασιάρχος*) there or Exhibitor of Games (*ἀγωνοθέτης*).

On the other hand, Lemarchand (*Dion de Pruse, Les Oeuvres d'avant l'Exile*, p. 30 ff.) gives various reasons for thinking that Melancomas is a purely imaginary character. He considers it rather remarkable that, apart from one passage in Themistius (i.e. Oration 10, p. 139), who got his information from Dio (see Scharold, *Dio Chrysostomus und Themistius*, Burghausen 1912), there is no other reference in ancient literature to this incomparable athlete and boxer, no inscription that has come to light commemorating any victory of his. He also shows in detail that this Melancomas is the embodiment of all the youthful qualities and virtues for which Dio shows admiration in other Discourses, and that Dio at times, as in the *Euboean Discourse*, describes what is ideal rather than actual. And in Dio's time, he adds, the Romans began to take an interest in athletics, so that outstanding athletes came from Greece and Asia Minor to give exhibitions—note that Melancomas' father is represented as coming from Caria in Asia Minor. Their contests served to recall the glorious past of Greece. Therefore, may not Dio, who was an ardent Hellenist and who looked with disapproval on the cruel gladiatorial exhibitions (see Discourse 31. 121), have wished to increase the interest in athletics by creating and describing this ideal athlete, this gentle boxer, who would not think of injuring his opponent by striking him with his fist armed with the terrible *caestus*? But this gentleness would make little appeal to most men of Dio's time.

As a literary effort the twenty-eighth Discourse is superior to the twenty-ninth, and toward the end the hortatory and preaching element, which is regarded as typical of what Dio wrote during his exile, is somewhat in evidence. It is possible, then, that this Discourse was written considerably later than the following one.



28. ΜΕΛΑΓΚΟΜΑΣ Β, ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Α

Ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος εὐθὺς ἐβαδίζομεν, ὁψόμενοι τοὺς ἀθλητάς, ὥς ἂν τὴν ὅλην ἐπιδημίαν πεποιημένοι κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἦμεν, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἐωρῶμεν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ ἔξω τρέχοντας, καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν παρακελευομένων ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως γυμναζομένους. τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐδόκει προσέχειν· ὅπου δὲ ² πλείστον ὄχλον ἴδοιμεν, ἐκεῖ ἐβαδίζομεν. ὁρῶμεν οὖν πάννυ πολλοὺς ἐστηκότας πρὸς τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἐτέρους ἀεὶ προσάγοντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπιόντας διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπειρώμεθα ὁρᾶν ὑπερκύπτοντες, καὶ μόλις ἐωρῶμέν του ¹ γυμναζομένου τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατετακότος. ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐνδοτέρῳ ἐγενόμεθα. ἦν οὖν νεανίσκος πάννυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔτι δέ, ὥς εἰκός, μεῖζον αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλλιον ὑπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας τὸ σῶμα ἐφαίνετο. πάννυ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐγυμνάζετο καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος, ὥστε ἀγωνιζομένῳ μᾶλλον ³ ἐώκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσατο γυμναζόμενος καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἀνεχώρει, κατενοοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελέ-

¹ ἐωρῶμέν του Colophon: ἐωρῶμεν τοῦ.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS II

AFTER coming up from the harbour, we strolled over at once to have a look at the athletes, just as if the sole purpose of our trip had been to view the contests. When we got near the gymnasium we saw a number running on the track outside of it, and there was a roar as the crowd cheered them on; and we also saw the athletes who were exercising in other ways. To those, however, we thought it hardly worth while to pay attention; but wherever we saw the biggest crowd, there we would stroll. So we noticed a great number of people standing near the Arcade of Heracles and a stream of others coming up, and some also going away because they could not see. At first we tried to see by looking over other people's shoulders, and with difficulty managed to catch a glimpse of the head of a man who was exercising with his hands up.¹ Then we gradually got in closer. He was a very tall and beautiful young man; and besides, the exercises he was taking made his body seem, quite naturally, still taller and more beautiful. He was giving a most brilliant performance, and in so spirited a way that he seemed more like a man in an actual contest. Then, when he stopped exercising and the crowd began to draw away, we studied him more

¹ He was shadow-boxing.

στερον. ἦν δὲ ὁμοιος τοῖς ἀνδριᾷσι τοῖς ἀκριβῶς εἰργασμένοις· εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸ χρῶμα ὅμοιον χαλκῷ κεκραμένῳ.

- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπηλλάγη, τῶν παρόντων τινὰ ἠρόμεθα πρεσβύτην ὅστις εἶη. καὶ ὃς σκυθρωπάσας·

Οὗτος μέντοι Ἰατροκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Μελαγκόμα ἀνταγωνιστῆς καὶ μόνος ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἀξιῶν παραχωρεῖν, τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ. οὐδὲν μέντοι πλέον ἐποίει· ἡττᾶτο γὰρ ἀεὶ, ἐνίοτε δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγωνισάμενος· ἤδη μέντοι ἀπειρήκει, ὥστε τὸν τελευταῖον τοῦτον ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νεαπόλει οὐδένα ταχύτερον τούτου ἐνίκησεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁρᾶτε ὅσον φρονεῖ καὶ ἐν ὅσῳ πλήθει γυμνάζεται. οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐπιχαίρειν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ εἰκὸς μέντοι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῦτον τὸν στέφανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐπίσταται αὐτοῦ ὄντας.

- 5 Ἡ γάρ, ἔφην, τέθηκεν ὁ Μελαγκόμας; ἐπεὶ τό γε ὄνομα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἠδευμεν, αὐτὸν οὐδεπώποτε ἰδόντες.

Οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γε, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τρίτῃ που ἡμέρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ταφῆς.

Τίνι δέ, εἶπον, τούτου διέφερε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δέ, πότερον μεγέθει ἢ εὐψυχία;

Ἐκείνος, ἔφη, ὧ βέλτιστε, πάντων ἀνθρώπων, οὐχὶ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν μόνον, εὐψυχότατος καὶ μέγιστος ἔφυ, ἔτι δὲ κάλλιστος. καὶ εἰ γε ἰδιώτης ἔμεινε καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἔπραξε, δι' αὐτό που τὸ κάλλος περιβόητος ἂν ἦν· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν

¹ Cf. Discourse 12. 2. Dio refers to Sicynian blending of copper and tin which produced rich brown.

² The prize for boxing at the games then being held.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

closely. He was just like one of the most carefully wrought statues, and also he had a colour like well blended bronze.¹

After he had gone, we asked one of the bystanders, an old man, who he was; and the man said with a frown:

"Why that is Iatrocles, the opponent of Melancomas, the only man who would not give in to him, at least, that is, if he could help it. Still he could not get the better of him, for he was always defeated, sometimes after competing for a whole day. However, Iatrocles had already given up trying, so that in the last contest here in Naples, Melancomas defeated no opponent more quickly than he did Iatrocles. But you see how confident he is now, and how large a crowd he has about him as he takes his exercise. For my part, I really believe that he feels a malicious joy at the other man's misfortune; and naturally enough, for he knows that not only the next crown² but all others are now his own."

"What!" I exclaimed, "Is Melancomas dead?" —for even we knew his name at least, although we had never seen the man himself.

"Yes," he replied, "he died not long ago. I believe this is the second day since he was buried."

"And in what respect," I asked, "was he superior to this man and to the others also? Was it in size, or in courage?"

"That man, sir," he replied, "was more courageous and bigger than any other man in the world, not merely than any of his opponents; and furthermore, he was the most beautiful. And if he had remained an amateur and had not gone in for boxing at all, I believe that he would have become widely known

ἐπέστρεφεν ἅπαντας, ὁπότε ἀπίοι που, καὶ τοὺς
 6 οὐκ εἰδότες ὅστις ἐστίν. καίτοι οὔτε ἐσθῆτι
 ἐκόσμει ἑαυτὸν οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῷ γιννώσκεισθαι
 μᾶλλον ἐπετήδευεν ἢ λανθάνειν· ἀποδυσασμένου
 δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἄλλον ἐθεᾶτο, πολλῶν μὲν
 παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων. εἰωθό-
 τος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους εἰς τρυφήν ἄγειν καὶ τοὺς
 μετρίως αὐτοῦ μετεληφότας, τοιοῦτος ὢν τὸ
 εἶδος ἔτι σωφρονέστερος ἦν· καὶ καταφρονῶν
 δὲ τοῦ κάλλους οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐφύλαττεν αὐτὸ ἐν
 7 οὕτῳ χαλεπῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι. πυγμὴν γοῦν ἀγωνι-
 ζόμενος οὕτως ὑγιῆς ἦν ὥσπερ τῶν δρομέων
 τις, οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα γεγύμναστο καὶ τοσοῦτο
 περιῆν τοῖς πόνοις, ὥστε δυνατὸς ἦν καὶ δύο
 ἡμέρας ἐξῆς μένειν ἀνατετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ
 οὐκ ἂν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὑφέντα αὐτὸν ἢ ἀναπαυσάμενον,
 ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν. πρότερον δὲ ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς
 ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειπεῖν, οὐ μόνον πρὶν αὐτὸς
 πληγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν πληῆξαι ἐκείνους· οὐ
 γὰρ τὸ παῖειν καὶ τιτρώσκεσθαι ἀνδρείαν ἐνόμιζεν,
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἶναι μὴ δυναμένων πονεῖν καὶ
 8 ἀπηλλάχθαι βουλομένων· τὸ δὲ ἀνέχεσθαι τοῦ
 χρόνου καὶ μήτε τοῦ βάρους τῶν χειρῶν ἡττᾶσθαι
 μήτε τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνδεᾶ γίγνεσθαι μήτε τῷ
 καύματι ἄχθεσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι γενναῖον.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

simply on account of his beauty; for even as it was, he attracted everybody's attention whenever he went anywhere, even that of people who did not know who he was. And yet he did not dress up in fine clothes or in any other way try to attract notice rather than to remain inconspicuous; but when he was stripped, nobody would look at anyone else, although many boys and many men were training.¹ And although beauty is wont to lead to softness, even with those who are only moderately endowed with it, beautiful as he was, he was even more remarkable for his self-control and moderation; and though despising his beauty, he none the less preserved it in spite of his rough profession. At any rate, although boxing was his specialty, he remained as free from marks as any of the runners; and he had trained so rigorously and went so far beyond others in toilsome exercising that he was able to remain for two whole days in succession with his hands up, and nobody could catch him letting them down or taking a rest, as athletes usually do. Then he used to force his opponents to give up, not only before he himself had received a blow but even before he had landed one on them. For he did not consider it courage to strike his opponent or to receive an injury himself, but thought this indicated lack of stamina and a desire to have done with the contest.² But to last out the full time without either being done up by the weight of his arms, or becoming out of breath, or being distressed by the heat—that, he thought, was a splendid achievement."

¹ Cf. Discourse 29. 3 ff.

² For the contents of §§ 5-7 cf. Discourse 29. 4-8 and Themistius 10. 139. Themistius got this information from Dio.

Ὁρθῶς μέντοι, ἔφην ὑπολαμβάνων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οἱ φαυλότατοι τὰ ὄπλα ρίπτουσιν, εὖ¹ εἰδότες ὅτι γυμνοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τιτρώσκονται· οὕτω μᾶλλον ἡττῶνται τοῦ κόπου ἢ τῶν τραυμάτων.

- 9 Τοιγάρτοι, εἶπεν, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἤρξατο ἀγωνίζεσθαι Πυθοῖ, πρῶτος μὲν ὢν ἴσμεν ἄλειπτος² διεγένετο, πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους στεφάνους ἀνελόμενος καὶ ἀνταγωνισταῖς οὔτε φαύλοις οὔτε ὀλίγοις χρησάμενος. καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ἐνδοξότατον³ ὄντα, τὸν Μελαγκόμαν ἐκείνον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Καρίας, ἄλλους τε ἀγῶνας καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι νικήσαντα, οὐδέπω ἀνὴρ ὢν ὑπερεβάλετο· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἄλειπτος. τοιοῦτος μέντοι ὢν ἀθλίως
- 10 ἐτελεύτησε, τῶν μὲν πόνων τῆς ἀθλήσεως ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθὼν, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς πειραθεῖς. οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα φιλότιμος ὑπῆρχεν ὥστε καὶ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ παγκρατιαστοῦ, φίλου ὄντος ἀπὸ παιδός, ἐπυνθάνετο πόσαι τινὲς εἶεν ἡμέραι λοιπαὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος. καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ἐδάκρυεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.

- 11 Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν, ἔφην, συγγνώμη ὑπερλυπούμενῳ διὰ τὸ πάντως προσήκειν τί σοι αὐτοῦ.

Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἔμοιγε· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ γένους μοι ἦν οὔτε ἐγύμναζον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν παίδων τινὰ τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν. ὁ δὲ

¹ εὖ Jacobs: οὐκ.

² ἴσμεν ἄλειπτος Casaubon: ἴσμεν . . . ππος UB (Room for four letters in lacuna), οἷς μελάνιππος M.

³ ἐνδοξότατον Reiske: ἐνδοξότερον.

¹ Cf. Discourse 8. 18 and 19. 13.

² Cf. Discourse 29. 11.

³ That is, in his youth.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

"He had the right idea though," said I, breaking in. "For in war too the worst soldiers throw away their shields though they know well enough that when unprotected they are more apt to be wounded. Thus, we see, they are overcome more by their exhaustion than by their wounds."¹

"That is just the reason," he rejoined, "why, from the time Melancomas began to compete in the Pythian games, he was the first man to our knowledge who remained undefeated, after winning the most and the greatest crowns and facing antagonists who were neither negligible nor few in number.² And his own father—a very famous man, the well-known Melancomas who came from Caria and among his other victories also won at Olympia—he had surpassed before he came to manhood; for his father did not remain undefeated.³ However, splendid as this young athlete was, he came to a wretched end, after enduring the laborious work of athletics to the uttermost without experiencing any of the joys of life. And he was by nature so exceedingly ambitious that even on his deathbed he inquired of Athenodorus, the pancratiast,⁴ who had been his friend from boyhood, just how many days of the athletic meet were left." And as he said this, the old man burst into tears.

"Ah!" said I, "it is pardonable in you to grieve so excessively; he must certainly be related to you in some way."

"In heaven's name no," he answered, "no relation of mine. For he was neither a blood kinsman of mine, nor was he trained by me; no, I trained one of the boys among the pancratiasts. As for him, he was

¹ A youth who competed in both wrestling and boxing.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἄνθρωπος τοιοῦτος ἦν ὥστε πάντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ
λυπεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἐκείνον.

- 12 Οὐκουν, ἔφην, ἄθλιον δεῖ καλεῖν αὐτόν· τοῦναν-
τίον γὰρ εὐδαιμονέστατος ἂν εἴη καὶ μακαριώτατος,
εἴπερ οἷος λέγεται ἦν· ὧ καὶ γένους ὑπῆρξε
λαμπροῦ τυχεῖν καὶ κάλλους, ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρείας καὶ
ἰσχύος καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἐστι· τό γε μὴν θαυμαστότατον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ
ἀήττητον γενέσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πόνου καὶ καύματος καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ
ἀφροδισίων· δεῖ γὰρ πρῶτον τούτοις ἀήττητον
εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν
13 λειφθήσεσθαι.¹ ἡδονὰς δὲ τίς μείζονας ἦσθη, ὅστις²
φιλοτιμώτατος ὢν ἀεὶ ἐνίκα καὶ θαυμαζόμενος
ἡσθάνετο; καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαι
οἱ θεοὶ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ τελευτῇ τιμῆσαι, ὥς ἂν
μηδενὸς πειραθείη τῶν χαλεπῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ
αὐτῷ ἦν προβαίνοντι ἀντὶ μὲν καλλίστου αἰσχρο-
τέρῳ γίνεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀσθενεστέρῳ,
ἴσως δὲ καὶ λειφθῆναί που. ὅστις δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις
ἀγαθοῖς συναπέρχεται τὰ ἄριστα πράξας, οὗτος
εὐδαιμονέστατα τελευτᾷ. εὖροι δ' ἂν τις καὶ
τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ὠκυμόρους.

¹ λειφθήσεσθαι Casaubon: ληφθήσεσθαι.

² ἦσθη ὅστις Emperius: ἦ ἔσθ' ὅστις.

¹ Cf. what Herodotus (l. 31 ff.) says about the two young men, Cleobis and Biton, who in their lives and deaths were much like Melancomas.

² Cf. Xenophon, *Apology of Socrates* 6 and *Memorabilia* 4. 8. 8.

³ Cf. Menander as reported by Plutarch in *Consolation to Apollonius* 119 e, Frag. 125 (Kock): "He whom the gods love

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such a splendid fellow that all who know him felt grief at his death."

"Then," said I, "you have no reason for calling him wretched. On the contrary, he must be most blessed and fortunate if he was the sort of man report makes him. It was his good fortune to come of an illustrious family, to possess beauty, and, in addition, courage, physical strength, and self-control—things that are certainly the greatest blessings. But what was indeed the most surprising thing about a man is, to have remained undefeated not only by his opponents but also by toil and heat and gluttony and sensuality; for the man who is going to prove inferior to none of his opponents must first be undefeated by these things. And as for pleasures, who ever enjoyed greater than he, who, being very ambitious, always won, and being admired, knew that he was admired? And it seems to me that the gods loved him exceedingly and honoured him especially in his death, in order that he might experience none of life's great sorrows.¹ For if his life had been spared, he would inevitably have become more ugly after being most beautiful, weaker after being strongest,² and perhaps have been defeated too. But the man who passes away in the midst of the greatest blessings after the finest achievements, that man has the happiest death; and you will find that in ancient times too, those whom the gods loved had a short span of life."³

dies young"—ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος; Plautus, *Bacchides*, 4. 7. 18 f.: Quem di diligunt adulescens moritur; Lord Byron, *Don Juan* 4. 12; Dio, Discourse 29. 20. Wordsworth in *The Excursion* says, "The good die first." The same idea is found in Homer, *Odyssey* 15. 245-247 and in Plutarch, *op. cit.* 111 b.

Τίνας, ἔφη, τούτους λέγεις;

- 14 Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, εἶπον, καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Ἑκτορα
καὶ Μέμνονα καὶ Σαρπηδόνα. ἔτι δὲ ἄλλους ὀνομά-
ζοντος ἐμοῦ,

Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, καλῶς εἶπας εἰς παραμυθίαν
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔγωγε ἐβουλόμην σου ἔτι ἀκοῦειν·
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὥρα γυμνάζειν τὸν παῖδα, καὶ ἀπέρχομαι.

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"Whom do you mean?" he asked.

"Achilles," I replied, "and Patroclus and Hector and Memnon and Sarpedon,"¹ and as I was going on to name still others, he exclaimed:

"What you have said is well suited to comfort those who are in mourning, and I wish that I could listen to you longer; but really it is high time for me to be at the training of the boy, and I am off."

¹ See Discourse 29. 20 for a somewhat longer list. Sarpedon, a Lycian prince and ally of the Trojans, who was slain by Patroclus. Not to be confused with his grandfather of the same name, who lived for three generations.



THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS I¹

This Discourse is in the form of a funeral oration for a young boxer Melancomas, who had died very suddenly. As to the question whether there ever was such a Melancomas and as to the time and place of this oration the reader is referred to the Introduction to the preceding Discourse.

If we follow von Arnim and others in believing that there really was such a Melancomas and that this funeral oration really was delivered, then arises the question of who delivered it. Apparently it was not Dio himself, because the speaker had been a close friend of the deceased and was deeply moved by his death; while Dio, on the other hand, had known Melancomas only by name, as he says in Discourse 28. 5. Then too, the speaker represents himself as quite youthful and not a fluent speaker. But if Dio merely wrote the oration for some one else to deliver, who was that person? One thinks first of Titus, who according to a Neapolitan inscription was the agonothete at the Games in Naples three times and gymnasiarch once before A.D. 81 and was reputed to have been a lover of Melancomas. (Cf. Themistius, Oration 10, p. 139 Hard.). But it seems unlikely that a man of Titus' disposition, high place, and maturity—he was possibly thirty-three years old at the time when this oration is supposed to have been delivered—and fresh from the capture of Jerusalem, would have represented himself as youthful and immature; or have ranked athletics higher than warfare, as the speaker does in § 15. It is more likely that this oration was delivered by a Greek who was a high official at the Games.

The thought content of this Discourse and the information given about Melancomas are practically the same as in the preceding Discourse; but a good deal more is said in praise of the deceased; and athletics, as already said, are put on a higher plane than warfare.

¹ After the numeral A' the MSS. add $\tau\eta\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\iota\ \beta'$ —"in its position II."

29. ΜΕΛΑΓΚΟΜΑΣ Α, ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Β

Ἄλλ' ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδ' ὅ τι εἶπω ἔπεισιν
 ὑπὸ λύπης ἅμα καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ αἰφνιδίου
 πάθους. οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν ἔχω
 μᾶλλον ἐτέρου μοι τῶν πολιτῶν οἰκεῖον τὸ συμ-
 βεβηκός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ μοι φίλος ἦν Μελαγκόμας
 ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐπίστανται οἱ
 πλείους. καὶ ἔμοιγε ἄτοπον φαίνεται τὸ¹ ἐπὶ
 τοῖς τεθνεώσιν ἔθος, ὅτι τοῖς πλείστα² λυπουμενοῖς
 μάλιστα προσήκειν δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγειν.
 οἱ γὰρ σφοδρότατα ἀνιῶμενοι ἀδύνατοι λέγειν
 2 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου εἰσίν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν
 τούτῳ εἰμί, ἐν ᾧ ἡ μὲν τοῦ λόγου δύναμις ἦττον
 ἅπασιν ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι
 ἰσχυρότατον γίνεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τιμιώτερος
 μὲν στρατηγοῦ ἔπαινος ἐπὶ στρατιώτῃ ἀγαθῷ
 τελευτήσαντι, τιμιώτερος δὲ παντὸς ἄρχοντος
 ἢ ἰδιώτου, καί μοι λεκτέον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκεν ὥς
 ἂν δύνωμαι. πρόποι δ' ἂν τῇ ἐκείνου ἀρετῇ καὶ
 τῇ ἐμῇ νεότητι μηδὲν μακρὸν ἀπαιτεῖν μηδὲ
 ἀκριβῆ μᾶλλον ἢ γενναῖον τὸν ἔπαινον.

¹ φαίνεται τὸ Emperius : φαίνεται Μ, ἐφαίνεται τὸ UB.

² πλείστα Emperius : ἥκιστα.

¹ Cf. note on the title of Melancomas II.

² Cf. Sophocles, *Trachinians* 137: χαίρειν τε καὶ στέρεσθαι.

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ALL sirs ! I cannot think of anything at all to say, so great is my grief alike and my consternation at this sudden bereavement ; for not only on account of the office which I hold does the disaster come home to me more than to any other citizen, but Melancomas was also a personal friend of mine beyond all others, as most of you know. And to me at least it seems an absurd custom, when citizens die, that those most deeply afflicted should be thought the most fitting persons to speak at their obsequies ; since those who are most grief-stricken are for that very reason incapable of speech. Moreover, I am at the time of life when all men find that, while their ability to speak is always less than it was, yet the emotions of both joy and sorrow² are greatest in intensity. Since, however, a eulogy spoken by a general over a good soldier who has passed away does him a greater honour, and one spoken by any ruler a greater honour than one spoken by a private citizen, so it devolves upon me also, in view of the office I hold, to speak to the best of my ability. And it would be in keeping with the merit of the deceased and my own youth to demand of me no lengthy or studied eulogy, but praise that comes from the heart.

Πρώτον μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας ἀληθοῦς ἔτυχεν.
 οὐ γὰρ εἴ τῳ πλουσίων συνέβη τυχεῖν προγόνων,
 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα φαύλων,
 3 ὅδε ἂν εἶη καλῶς γεγονώς, ἀλλ' οἱ φύντες ἐξ
 ἀγαθῶν, ὥσπερ ὅδε. ὁ γὰρ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τῶν
 κατ' αὐτὸν διήνεγκε τοῖς καλλίστοις, εὐψυχία
 καὶ ῥώμῃ. δηλοῦσι δὲ αἱ νῖκαι ἅς ἐνίκησε καὶ
 Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγῶσιν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφυ κάλλιστος ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τῶν νῦν
 μόνον, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔνεστιν εἰκάζειν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς,
 καὶ ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ χρόνου
 ὠνομασμένων ἐπὶ κάλλει, ὅσοι θνητοὶ ἐγένοντο.
 4 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν νενομισμένων καλῶν,
 μέρη τινὰ τοῦ σώματος εὐπρεπῇ ἔχοντες, ἔπειτα δὲ
 ἔδοξαν καλοί, τῆς ὅψεως αἰὲν τὰ ἡδίστα βουλο-
 μένης ὄραν, τῶν δὲ ἡττόνων ἀμελούσης. οἱ
 δὲ τινες φύσει μὲν εὐειδοῦς σώματος οὐκ ἔτυχον,
 ὥρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθεν.¹ ἡττώμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς
 ὥρας οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες κάλλος αὐτὴν ὠνόμασαν,
 ἀνθούσης αἰὲν τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐν ἅπασι καὶ ζώοις
 5 καὶ φυτοῖς. τοιούτους μὲν οὖν μυρίους ἂν εὗροι
 τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὅτε μὲν καλοὺς δοκοῦντας, ὅτε δὲ
 αἰσχροὺς, καὶ τοῖς μὲν σφόδρα ἀρέσκοντας, παρ'
 ἑτέροις δὲ οὐδενὸς λόγου τυγχάνοντας. ὁλό-
 κληρον δὲ καὶ ἀληθινὸν κάλλος θαυμαστὸν εἰ
 τῳ ὑπῆρξεν ὥσπερ τῷδε. ἐν ἅπαντι μὲν γὰρ

¹ For ἐπῆλθεν Reiske proposed ἐπῆνθεν.

¹ Cf. Dio, Discourse 15. 29.

² Cf. Discourse 28. 9 ff.

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In the first place, he had the good fortune to be truly well-born. For it is not because he chanced to have forebears who were rich—nay, not even if they were kings but in other respects were quite without merit—that this man was well-born. That term applies to those who have come from good parents, as this man did.¹ For his father stood out conspicuous among all men of his time for those fairest gifts—nobility of soul and bodily strength. This is proved by the victories that he won, both at Olympia and in the other games.²

Then he was himself by nature's gift the most beautiful of men, not only of those of the present day but, as one may infer from his surpassing beauty, of absolutely all those of all time who have been renowned for beauty, all those, I mean, who were born mortal. For the majority of those who have been regarded as beautiful because they did possess comeliness in certain parts of their body afterwards have got the reputation of being beautiful; since the eye ever wishes to direct itself to the most pleasing things to the neglect of what is inferior. And certain others were not favoured by nature with a beautiful body, but a lovely prime had arrived for them, so that those who met them, succumbing thereto, called it beauty, since the hey-day of life always bourgeons in all animals and plants alike. Thousands of persons of this sort can be found who at one time seem beautiful and at another time ugly; and though they please some exceedingly, with others they get no notice at all. But when it is a question of perfect and true beauty, it would be surprising if anyone ever possessed it as this man did. For he had it in his whole body and always

τῷ σώματι ἐκέκτετο αὐτό, αἰεὶ δὲ ὁμοίως, καὶ πρὸ ἡβῆς καὶ ὕστερον· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου προῆλθεν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ μακροῦ γήρως ἔτυχεν, ὥστε ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸ εἶδος.

- 6 Τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδιώταις ἐξεταζόμενος διέφερεν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ὀλίγων θεωρούμενος ὑπὸ τούτων ἐθαυμάζετο, ἀλλὰ μὴν αἰεὶ δήπου ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων καλλίστοις, ἅμα τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ὦν. οἱ γὰρ μέγιστοι καὶ εὐειδέστατοι καὶ πλείστης ἐπιμελείας τῶν σωματίων τυγχάνοντες οἶδε εἰσὶν. ἑωράθη¹ δὲ μικροῦ δεῖν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὔτε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεμία τῶν ἐνδόξων οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἔνθα μὴ ἀφίκετο· καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε δόξαν, ὥς οὐδένα ἰδοῦσι καλλίονα. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ πλείστων μὲν θαυμασθεὶς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καλλίστοις μόνος ἔχων τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους φήμην δῆλον ὡς θείας τινὸς μορφῆς ἔτυχεν.

- 7 Ἐγὼ οὖν πρῶτον εὐδαιμονίζω τοῦ κάλλους αὐτόν, ὃ δὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἀριδηλότατον, καὶ ἡδιστον μὲν θεοῖς, ἡδιστον δὲ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλυπότατον δὲ τῷ ἔχοντι καὶ ἐπιγνωσθῆναι ῥᾶστον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ κἂν λάθοι τινὲ προσόντα, καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη² καὶ φρόνησις, εἰ μὴ τύχοι ἔργου τινὸς ἀποδεικνύντος· τὸ δὲ κάλλος οὐχ οἷόν τε λανθάνειν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ἔχοντι φαίνεται· εἴποι δ' ἂν τις ὅτι καὶ πρότερον· οὕτως³

¹ ἑωράθη Emperius : ὠράθη UB, ἐπράθη M.

² καὶ σωφροσύνη added by Dindorf.

³ οὕτως Stobaeus : ὁμως.

¹ For the same thought see Xenophon, *Symposium* 4. 17, and for the opposite thought Discourse 28. 13.

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to the same degree, both before he reached years of manhood and afterward; and he would never have lived long enough, even if he had reached an extreme old age, to have dimmed his beauty.¹

And here is an indication of the surpassing quality of his beauty: not that he stood out pre-eminent in any company of professional men, or was admired merely by some few who saw him, no indeed, but that he was always admired when in a company of those who are perhaps the most beautiful men in the world—the athletes among whom he moved. For the tallest and most comely men, whose bodies receive the most perfect care, are these. And he was seen by practically all mankind. For there was no city of repute, and no nation, which he did not visit; and among all alike the same opinion of him prevailed—that they had seen no one more beautiful. And since he was admired by the greatest numbers, and amongst the most beautiful men he alone possessed the fame of sheer beauty, it is evident that he was blest with what we may term a form truly divine.

I therefore in the first place felicitate him for his beauty, a thing which certainly is the most conspicuous of the blessings that can fall to man, which, while being most pleasing to gods and most pleasing to men, is yet fraught with least pain to its possessor and is easiest to recognize. For while the other blessings that a man may have might easily pass unnoticed, such as courage and temperance and wisdom, unless some deed should happen to reveal them, yet beauty cannot remain hidden. For it becomes manifest the moment its possessor appears; nay, one might say that it becomes manifest even

ὀξεῖαν αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ παρέχει. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς οἱ πλεῖστοι φθονοῦσι καὶ δυσμενεῖς γίνονται· τὸ δὲ κάλλος τοὺς αἰσθανομένους αὐτοῦ φίλους ποιεῖται καὶ οὐδένα ἐχθρὸν ἐὰ γίγνεσθαι.

- 8 Εἰ δέ τις φησι κάλλους με ποιεῖσθαι ἐγκώμια, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς αἰτιῶτο. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἔπαινος ἀνδρός ἂν λέγοιτο, ἐπειδὴν τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ ἐπεξίωμεν. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίλογον¹ τὸ εἶναι τινα τοιοῦτον, τότε ἀποδεικνύναι χρή· ὅπου δὲ γινώσκεται,² τὴν φύσιν ἐπαινεῖν τοῦ προσόντος ἀγαθοῦ τι. ὁ γὰρ τοῦδε ἔπαινος ἅμα ἂν εἴη καὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος αὐτό.

- Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις θαυμάσειε Μελαγκόμαν, ὅτι μορφῇ τοιοῦτος ὢν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ διήνεγκεν.
9 δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔμοιγε τῇ ψυχῇ φιλονικῆσαι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ σπουδάσαι ὅπως ἂν διὰ ταύτην ἐνδοξότερος γένηται. γνοὺς οὖν τῶν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἔργων κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ἐπιπονώτατον τὴν ἀθλῆσιν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἦλθεν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμικῶν ὃ τε καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν ἢ τε ἄσκησις ἐλαφροτέρα. φαῖν δ' ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ ταύτῃ³ ἥττονα εἶναι, μόνης γὰρ εὐψυχίας ἐπίδειξις ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἡ δὲ ἀθλῆσις ἅμα μὲν ἀνδρείαν, ἅμα δὲ ἰσχύν,
10 ἅμα δὲ σωφροσύνην ἐμποιεῖ. καὶ τοίνυν τῆς

¹ ἀμφίλογον Reiske : ἀναμφίλογον.

² γινώσκεται Emperius : γίνεταί.

³ ταύτῃ Wifstrand : ταύτης.

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sooner, so penetrating is the impression it makes on the senses. Furthermore, most men envy all other blessings and become hostile to their possessor, but beauty makes friends of those who perceive it and allows no one to become an enemy.¹

But if anyone says that I am uttering an encomium of beauty and not of the man himself, his criticism is unjust. To illustrate: it would be called a eulogy of a man if we should dwell upon his manly courage. Very well, then: when it is a matter of dispute as to whether a person possesses any given quality, then it is necessary to prove he does; but when he is known to possess it, we need only to praise the nature of the good trait which is admittedly his. For the eulogy of this will be at the same time also a eulogy of its possessor.

And what is most admirable in Melancomas is that, with all his beauty of figure, he surpassed in manly courage. Indeed, it seems to me that his soul vied with his body and strove to make herself the means of his winning a greater renown. He therefore, recognizing that, of all the activities conducive to courage, athletics is at once the most honourable and the most laborious, chose that. Indeed, for the soldier's career no opportunity existed, and the training also is less severe. And I for my part would venture to say that it is inferior also in that there is scope for courage alone in warfare, whereas athletics at one and the same time produce manliness, physical strength, and self-control.² Furthermore, he chose,

¹ Cf. Discourse 28. 5 and 6. Perhaps Dio got some of these ideas on beauty from Plato's *Phaedrus*, 250 b-c.

The whole of § 7 is copied out in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 65. 9.

² Cf. §§ 15 and 16.

ἀθλήσεως εἴλετο οὐ τὸ ῥᾶστον, ἀλλὰ τὸ χαλεπώτατον· πυγμὴν γὰρ ἤσκησεν. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἔργου ἐπ' ἄκρον ἔλθειν, μήτι γε ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, ὥσπερ ὅδε.

- Καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐν οἷς ἐνίκησε, πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς περιττόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἑτέρους ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν αὐτῶν τυχόντας. ὁ δὲ μηδενὶ
- 11 ὑπῆρξεν, ἐπίστασθε μὲν ὁμοίως, δι' αὐτὸ μέντοι τοῦτο ῥητέον· τοῖς γὰρ μηδὲ εἰδόσιν οὐδὲ πιστεῦσαι ῥάδιον· ὅτι τοσοῦτοις ἀνταγωνισταῖς χρησάμενος καὶ οὕτως ἀγαθοῖς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἡττήθη, αὐτὸς δὲ αἰεὶ πάντας ἐνίκη. καίτοι οὔτε στρατηγὸν εὖροι τις ἂν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀήττητον οὔτε ἀριστεῖα πολεμικόν,¹ ὃς οὐκ ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐκ μάχης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτι ταχέως ἐτελεύτησε, διὰ τοῦτο φαίη τις ἂν ἀήττητον² διαγενέσθαι· πολὺ γὰρ πλείστους ἄρ'³ ἀγῶνας ἡγωνίσαστο· ἐν δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ τὸ σφάλλυσθαι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἂν τις αὐτοῦ κατεπλάγῃ, τὸ μήτε παιόμενον αὐτὸν μήτε παίοντα νικᾶν· τοσοῦτο τῇ ῥώμῃ περιῆν καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι πονεῖν.
- 12 πολλάκις γὰρ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἡγωνίσαστο ἐν τῇ σφοδροτάτῃ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ δυνάμενος θᾶπτον ἂν περιγενέσθαι παίων οὐκ ἐβούλετο,

¹ πολεμικόν Arnim : πολιτικόν M, πολέμων UB.

² ἀήττητον Casaubon : αὐτόν.

³ ἄρ' Cohoon : ἂν, which Reiske deleted.

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not the easiest branch of athletics, but the most laborious, since he trained for boxing. Now it is difficult to reach the top even in the humblest branch, let alone to surpass all others in the greatest and most difficult one, as this man did.

To give the full record, one after another, of his crowns and the contests in which he won them is superfluous in the presence of you who know of them, and especially since anyone could name others who gained these same victories. But that which has fallen to the lot of no one else, although you are aware of it as well as I, yet for that very reason must be mentioned; for even those who do not know of it also find it difficult to credit—I mean that, although he met so many antagonists and such good ones, he went down before none of them, but was himself always victorious.¹ Yet you could find in all the past no general who was never defeated, no hero in war who did not actually some time or other flee from battle. For one could not say of our friend that he remained undefeated simply because he died early, since, after all, he went through far more contests than anyone else; and the chance of losing depends upon the attempts made and not upon the length of life. Furthermore, a person might have been amazed at this—that he won all his victories without being hit himself or hitting his opponent, so far superior was he in strength and in his power of endurance. For often he would fight throughout the whole day, in the hottest season of the year, and although he could have more quickly won the contest by striking a blow, he refused to do it,

¹ Cf. Discourse 28. 9.

νομίζων τὸ μὲν πληγῇ νικῆσαι καὶ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου¹ ἔσθ' ὅτε εἶναι τὸν βέλτιστον, εἰ τύχοι· τὴν δὲ ἀληθεστάτην νίκην, ὅταν ἄτρωτον ἀναγκάσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀπειπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ ἡττησθαι· καὶ τὸ ὅλῳ τινὰ τῷ σώματι ἀπειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ πληγέντι μέρει, λαμπρόν. τὸν δὲ ἐπειγόμενον ὡς οἷόν τε τάχιστα νικῆσαι καὶ παίοντα καὶ συμπλεκόμενον αὐτὸν ἡττησθαι τοῦ καύματος καὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

- 13 Εἰ δέ τις οὐ ταύτῃ ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐννοεῖτω ὅτι σῦες καὶ ἔλαφοι, μέχρι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἰσχὺς πάρεστιν, οὔτε ἀνθρώποις οὔτε κυσὶν ὁμίσε χωροῦσιν· ὅταν δὲ ἡττηθῇ καὶ κάμῃ, τηνικῶδε συμπλέκεται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθέλει τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ πονεῖν ἔτι διωκόμενα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν πολέμῳ, καίτοι εἰδότες ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν παίοντο φεύγοντες ἢ μένοντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι πλείω χρόνον κάμνειν ἀπίασι παραδόντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὀπισθεν παλεῖν. οὕτω τό γε τραυμάτων καταφρονεῖν οὐκ ἀνδρείας ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον.

- 14 Οἶμαι δὴ ἐν ταύτῳ πάντα εἰρῆσθαι καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ περὶ εὐψυχίας καὶ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης. εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐγκρατὴς τε καὶ σώφρων ἦν, οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, τοσοῦτο τῇ βῶμῃ ὑπερέσχεν οὐδὲ εἰ φύσει ἰσχυρότατος ὑπῆρχεν. καὶ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ τῶν

¹ φαυλοτάτου Reiske: φαυλοτέρου.

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thinking that it was possible at times for the least competent boxer to overcome by a blow the very best man, if the chance for making it were offered; but he held that it was the truest victory when he forced his opponent, although uninjured, to give up; for then the man was overcome, not by his injury, but by himself; and that for an adversary to give up because of the condition of his whole body and not simply of the part of his body that was struck, meant brilliant work on the part of the victor; whereas the man who rushed in to win as quickly as possible by striking and clinching was himself overcome by the heat and by the prolonged effort.¹

But if anyone does not look at the matter in this light, let him reflect that boars and stags, as long as their strength holds out, do not come to close quarters with either men or dogs, and that it is only when they give out from exhaustion that they come in close and prefer wounds and death to enduring the fatigue of pursuit any longer. It is the same with men in war: although they know well that they are more likely to be struck when in flight than when they stand their ground, yet because they are unwilling to suffer distress through weariness any longer, they retire, in this way exposing themselves to the blows of their enemies in their rear. Therefore contempt for wounds is not a mark of courage but of the opposite.

So I think that under one and the same head everything has been said, not only about manliness and courage, but also about self-control and about temperance. For if Melancomas had not been self-controlled and temperate, I imagine that he would not have been so superior in strength, even if nature did make him the strongest man. And I for my part

παλαιῶν ἡρώων, οὓς ἅπαντες ὑμνοῦσιν, οὐδενὸς ἐλάττονα ἀρετὴν εἶχεν, οὔτε τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ πολεμησάντων οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμυναμένων. καὶ εἰ γε τότε ἐγένετο, ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἔπραξεν ἄν.

- 15 Καὶ καθόλου δὲ ἔγωγε τοῦτο τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετῆς προκρίνω, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐνθάδε ἄριστοι κάκεϊ¹ διαφέρουσιν ἄν· ὁ γὰρ ἰσχυρότερος² τῷ σώματι καὶ πλείω χρόνον πονεῖν δυνάμενος, οὗτος, οἶμαι,³ καὶ ἄνευ ὅπλων καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις κρείττων ἐστίν· ἔπειτα οὐχ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ τῷ παντὶ φαυλοτέρους καὶ⁴ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τοὺς κρατίστους ἔχειν ἀντιπάλους. κάκεϊ μὲν ἅπαξ ὁ κρατήσας τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστε μὴ αὖθις ἔχειν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀντίπαλον· ἐνθάδε δὲ ἡ νίκη περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐστίν, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἥττωμένους ὁμοίως ὁ νικῶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἔχει καὶ
- 16 τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον. ἔτι δὲ⁵ ἐνθάδε μὲν ὁ κρείττων τοῦ ἥττονος περίεστιν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἢ τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ δεῖ κρατεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ἢ τοῦ σιδήρου δύναμις, πολὺ κρείττων οὖσα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, οὐκ ἐὰν τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀρετὴν ἐξετάζεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ πρὸς τῶν χειρόνων γίγνεται. ὅσα δὲ αὖ περὶ ἀθλήσεως, καὶ περὶ ἀθλητοῦ εἶρηκα καὶ⁶ ἀποδειχθέντος γε ὅτι ἄριστός ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ.

¹ κάκεϊ Emperius: ἐκεῖ.

² ἰσχυρότερος Emperius: ἰσχυρότατος.

³ οἶμαι Emperius: ἄν μοι.

⁴ καὶ Capps: ἢ.

⁵ δὲ added by Reiske.

⁶ Selden proposed to delete καὶ.

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should not hesitate to say that even of all the ancient heroes whose praises everyone chants, he possessed valour inferior to none, inferior neither to those who warred at Troy nor to those who in later times repulsed the barbarians in Greece. Indeed, if he had lived in their day, his deeds would have matched theirs.

And, speaking generally, I give athletics the preference over distinction in warfare on the following scores: first, that the best men in athletics would distinguish themselves in war also; for the man who is stronger in body and is able to endure hardship the longer time is, in my opinion, he who, whether unarmed or armed, is the better man; second, it is not the same thing to contend against untrained opponents and men who are inferior in every way, as it is to have for one's antagonists the best men drawn from the whole inhabited earth. Besides, in war the man who once conquers slays his antagonist, so as not to have the same opponent the second time; whereas in athletics the victory is just for that one day, and afterwards the victor has for his opponents, not only the men he has beaten, but anyone else who cares to challenge. Further, in athletics the better man proves superior to the inferior man, since he must conquer with nothing else but his courage and physical strength; while in war the might of steel, which is much superior to mere human flesh, does not allow the excellency of men's bodies to be tested and often takes the side of the inferior man.¹ Moreover, everything that I have said about athletics I have also said about one who as an athlete, aye, and one who has been proved to be the best of the men in

¹ Cf. § 9.

ἴσως δὲ καὶ μοὶ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι προσήκων ὁ λόγος, ὥστε τοῦτο ἄριστον ὄν¹ ἀποφαίνειν.

- “Ὅτω γὰρ ὑπῆρξε μὲν κάλλος σώματος, ὑπῆρξε δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ εὐψυχία, ἔτι δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ἀήττητον γενέσθαι,² τίνα ἂν τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 17 εὐδαιμονέστερόν τις φήσειεν; καίτοι³ τοιούτῳ⁴ παραγενέσθαι χαλεπωτάτῳ ἐστὸν ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη· κάλλος γὰρ ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα δὴ χαυνοὶ καὶ ἀναπείθει τρυφᾶν, ὥς ἂν δόξης μὲν ἐτέρας οὐ δεομένους, ὅταν τις περιβόητος ἦ τὸ εἶδος, ἡδίωνος δ’ οὐσης τῆς ῥαθυμίας. εὖροι δ’ ἂν τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλογιζόμενος τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πρότερον τοὺς δὴ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας οὐδὲ ἀρετῆς ἔργον ἀπυδειξαμένους, ἀλλὰ Γανυμήδης μὲν διὰ τὸ παῖς ἀφανισθῆναι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πρᾶξαι λαμπρόν·
 18 περὶ δὲ Ἀδώνιδος ἢ Φάωνος⁵ ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅσοι περιττῆς δόξης ἐπὶ τῷ εἶδει ἔτυχον, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀκούομεν. μόνους δὲ ἂν εἴποι τις ἀνδρείους τῶν ἄγαν καλῶν Θησέα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ τούτοις οὐ πάνυ ἡ σωφροσύνη ὑπῆρξεν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἑλένην πρὸς βίαν ἥρπασεν, ὁ δ’ ἐστασίαζεν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ ὧν

¹ ὄν added by Capps.

² γενέσθαι Emperius: γίνεσθαι.

³ καίτοι Capps: καί.

⁴ καὶ τοιούτῳ Sonny: καίτοι αὐτῷ τούτῳ.

⁵ Φάωνος Wifstrand: Ἰασίωνος Emperius: Ἰάσωνος.

¹ That is, conducive to the development of the virtues; cf. § 21.

² A beautiful youth beloved by Aphrodite.

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that profession; and perhaps both for me and for this audience my speech may appropriately show that this is for the best.¹

Now since his was beauty of body, his was courage and a stout heart and, besides, self-control and the good fortune of never having been defeated, what man could be called happier than he? And yet for a man like him these twin virtues, courage and self-control, are most difficult to achieve; since beauty is stronger than any other influence to make people conceited and to entice them to a life of luxury and ease, as though they had no need of any other glory when they are noted for their comeliness, and as though an idle life were more pleasant. And one might find in reckoning over the most beautiful men of former times from the beginning that the great majority of them did no deed which gave proof of manliness or of virtue in general. Nay, while in the case of Ganymede they thought it was because he disappeared from the sight of man when a boy that he did not perform any brilliant exploit; yet regarding Adonis,² or Phaon,³ or similar men, all of whom gained extraordinary fame for their loveliness, we hear nothing except about their beauty. The only exceedingly beautiful men who were brave that we can mention were Theseus and Achilles, and these men did not have very much self-control; for otherwise the former would not have carried off Helen by force,⁴ and the other would not have quarrelled at

¹ A boatman of Mitylene who was given youth and beauty by Aphroditê. Sappho because slighted by him threw herself from the Leucadian rock, so the story has it. Iasion (see critical note), son of Zeus and Electra, was beloved by Demeter.

⁴ See Herodotus 9. 73 and Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 31-33.

ἔνεκεν ἐστασίαζεν. Ἰππολύτῳ δὲ σωφροσύνη
 μὲν ὑπῆρξεν, ἀνδρεία δὲ ἄδηλον εἰ παρῆν· οὐ
 γὰρ ἀληθὲς τεκμήριον κυνηγεσία.

- 19 Ἀλλ' ὅς δὴ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὰ
 ἐκτῆσατο, ἄξιος ἂν εἴη καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς εὐδαι-
 μονίζεσθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πλείστος ἀνθρώποις
 χρόνος ἄριστος ἦν, ταύτῃ ἂν τις αὐτὸν ὠλοφύρατο·
 νῦν δέ, ὀλίγου τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώποις βίου δεδο-
 μένου, πλείστους ἂν εὖροι τις, οἷς πολὺ ἄμεινον
 εἶχεν, εἰ θάπτον ἐτελεύτησαν· τοσαῦται συμφοραὶ
 20 καταλαμβάνουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς
 ἐξοχωτάτους ἀκούομεν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ
 ἐλθόντα τοῦ βίου, Πάτροκλόν τε καὶ Ἀντίλοχον,
 ἔτι δὲ Σαρπηδόνα καὶ Μέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα
 καὶ Ἰππόλυτον· τοὺς τε Βοιωτοὺς Ὠτὸν καὶ
 Ἐφιάλτην, οὓς μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους γενέ-
 σθαι φησὶν Ὅμηρος μετὰ Ὠρίωνα, αὐτὸν τε
 ἐκείνῳ. ἀλλ' οἷδε¹ μὲν δι' ἀφροσύνην ἀπώλοντο·
 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὓς εἶπον, θεῶν παῖδας καὶ ἀπογόνους
 εἶπον. οὐκ ἂν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν παισὶ καὶ
 οὓς μάλιστα ἐφίλουν ταχέϊαν ἐποίησαν τὴν τελευ-
 τήν, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦτο ἐτίθεντο.
- 21 Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς
 ἐκείνόν τε ὡς μακάριον νομίζειν χρὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς
 μηδὲν ἥττον διὰ τοῦτο ἐφίεσθαι τῶν πόνων καὶ
 τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ὥς, εἴ τιτι συμπέσοι τελευτῆσαι
 ταχύτερον, ἀνόνητος ἐσόμενος τῶν ἀγαθῶν τινος·

¹ οἷδε Arnim : οἷδε M, οἱ UB.

¹ Hippolytus, beloved by Phaedra, wife of his father Theseus; he was devoted to the chase.

² Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* ll. 310.

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Troy for the reasons that he did. Hippolytus¹ did have self-control, but it is not clear whether or not he had manly courage, since hunting is no real proof of it.

But the man who actually gained all the blessings found among mankind must be worthy to be accounted happy in his death also. For if the longest possible time were best for man, we might well have lamented over him in that regard; but as it is, seeing that all the life given to man is but short, you will find that with very many men it would have been much better if they had died sooner, so many are the misfortunes that overtake them. Again, in the case of the most eminent men of ancient times, history tell us that none of them reached a great age, neither Patroclus nor Antilochus, and further, neither Sarpedon, nor Memnon, nor Achilles, nor Hippolytus; nor the Boeotians, Otus and Ephialtes, who, Homer says, were the tallest and handsomest men ever born next to Orion,² nor Orion³ himself. But these men perished owing to their folly, while the others whom I have mentioned were called by men children and offspring of gods. Now the gods would not have given an early death to their own children and those whom they especially loved if they did not consider this a good thing for mankind.

Therefore, sirs, you should take these considerations into account and regard him as blessed, and should yourselves therefore be none the less eager for toil and the distinction it brings, since you may be sure that, if it should be anyone's lot to die too soon, he will be without part in any of these blessings; for the man

¹ Handsome Boeotian giant and hunter. Placed among the stars after his death.

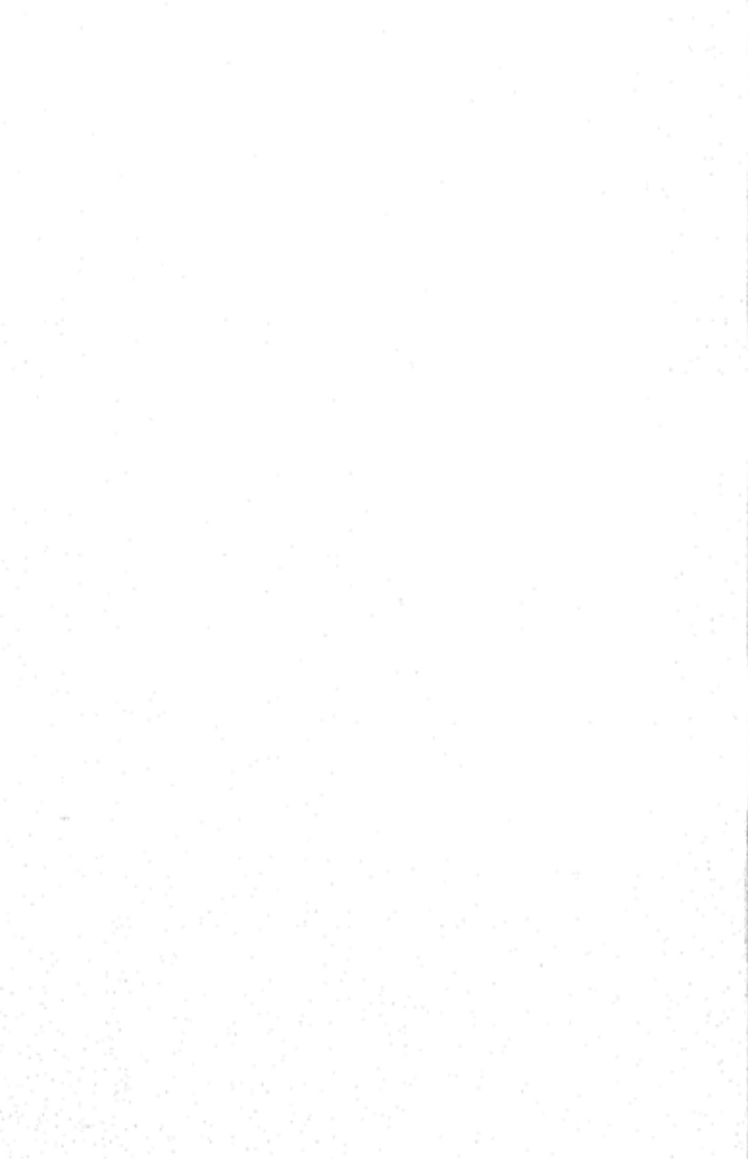
ὁ γὰρ εὐκλεοῦς δόξης τυχὼν μεστὸς ἄπεισι τῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνάζεσθε προθύμως καὶ πονεῖτε, οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι νομίζοντες αὐτοῖς ἀπολελεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ἀξίως. καὶ φρονεῖτε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον χρὴ ἄνδρας¹ πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν βιοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄντας
 22 ἀσκητάς. τὸν δὲ ἀποιχόμενον μνήμη τιμᾶτε, μὴ δάκρυσιν· οὐ γὰρ πρόποι ἂν ἦδε ἡ τιμὴ γενναίοις ὑπὸ γενναίων, οὐδ' ἂν Ὀμηρον ἐπαινέσαιμι, ὅτι φησὶ δεύεσθαι τὰς τε ψαμάθους καὶ τὰ ὕπλα τοῖς δάκρυσιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ποιητικῇ μᾶλλον ἠκολούθησεν ἡδονῇ, θρήνων ὑπερβολὰς ἐπιδειξάμενος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγκρατῶς φέρετε.

¹ ἄνδρας Morel : ἀνδρὸς.

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who gains fair renown departs laden with blessings. Come then, train zealously and toil hard, the younger men in the belief that this man's place has been left to them, the older in a way that befits their own achievements ; yes, and take all the pride in these things that men should who live for praise and glory and are devotees of virtue. And as for the departed, honour him by remembrance, not by tears ; for that tribute would not be a seemly one for noble men to give a noble man, nor should I commend Homer for saying that the sands and their armour were bedewed with the tears of the Achacans.¹ However, he aimed rather to give poetic pleasure when he pictured excessive lamenting, but do you bear your grief with self-control.

¹ See Homer, *Iliad* 23. 15 f.



THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

At the beginning Dio is speaking with a certain Timarchus and the younger of his two sons, also named Timarchus, about the death of the older son, Charidemus, who had had a great love and admiration for Dio. From the father Dio learns that Charidemus shortly before his death had dictated an address for the consolation of his father, brother, and friends. On learning this Dio at once urges the father to read the address to him and the father complies.

In this address three possible explanations of the life of man are offered. According to the first one, §§ 10-24, this world is a prison in which men are punished by the gods, who hate them because they are of the blood of the Titans. When any man's punishment is completed, or he has left a son to suffer punishment in his stead, he is allowed to escape by death. According to the second explanation, §§ 26-27, this world is a colony founded by the gods for men, their descendants, whom at first they kept under their protection, but afterwards allowed to shift for themselves. The third explanation represents this world as a beautiful palace where men are entertained at a banquet from which God summons to himself those who have comforted themselves best.

After hearing this address Dio commends it highly and attempts to console the bereaved father and the younger son.

In form this Discourse is a dialogue, reported directly, which contains a verbatim report of Charidemus' address, which, in its turn, is made up almost entirely of indirect reports of what certain men, not definitely indicated, have said in explanation of man's life in this world. The important part of the Discourse is, of course, Charidemus' address, which gives these three explanations, while the conversation between Dio and the two bereaved ones is merely a framework to hold it. In

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Plato's *Phaedo* also, which according to Philostratus (*Lives of Sophists*, 8. 1 f. K.) was Dio's favourite book on philosophy, the important part consists of the last words of Socrates as reported by Phaedo to his friend Echecrates. Corresponding to these last words of Socrates we have here the deathbed message of Charidemus. And further, Charidemus shows in the face of death the same fortitude and resignation that Socrates did.

But did such a person as Charidemus, Dio's ideal of a young religious philosopher, ever have an existence, as Socrates did; or have we merely a product of the imagination? von Arnim feels sure that he is a real character, while others are not so certain. On this point there is the same difference of opinion as there is regarding the actuality of Melaneomas, Dio's ideal young athlete. All, however, seem agreed that the conversation between Dio and the two bereaved is fictitious. But those who believe that Charidemus is a real character have next to consider whether the address on the life of man is really his work, modified perhaps by Dio, or whether it is altogether Dio's. von Arnim thinks that the address is not at all like any of Dio's work, but Friedrich Wilhelm (*Philologus*, vol. 75, 1918, pp. 364-365) has pointed out enough ideas of Dio's in it that are found in other Discourses of his, and also enough of his familiar words and phrases, to refute this view.

In the next place, can we identify the man who, Charidemus says, offered him the explanation that this world is a prison? Dümmler (*Academica*, p. 90 f.) and Hagen (*Questiones Dioneae*, p. 21) suggest that he is the Cynic philosopher Antisthenes, while Friedrich Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*, p. 367, footnote) maintains that he is a fictitious character. But we note that, although Charidemus begins giving this explanation with § 10, he gives no hint of its source until he reaches the end of § 19, where, as if forgetting himself for the moment, he speaks as if it were his own. Then, at the beginning of § 20, he credits a wandering philosopher with giving him when a child some details about the chain to which all men are bound. After giving these details and therewith finishing the first explanation of man's life, Charidemus says in § 25 that he believes this explanation comes from 'some morose man who had suffered a great deal in his life and only late had gained true education' (just like the two dogs in Discourse 7. 17).—It is this description of the man which makes Dümmler, Hagen, and Sonny

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

think of Antisthenes. Now is Charidemus crediting this 'morose man' with the first explanation as a whole, or only with the part beginning with § 20? If the latter is the case, and the 'wandering philosopher' is identical with the 'morose man,' then Dio himself answers fairly well to this description. For Dio became a wandering philosopher during his exile and only then, as he believed, got true education, when he was 42 years of age or older. This would be 'late in life' for getting an education; or does he mean that this 'morose man' learned later not to regard this world as a prison? And it may well be that he was made 'morose' for the time being from having 'suffered a great deal in his life.' Is Dio thinking of himself when he uses these words, just as he is in Discourse 12. 51, where he speaks of a 'sore distressed soul, having in the course of life drained the cup of many misfortunes and griefs, nor ever winning sweet sleep'? And besides, would not the injustice of his exile and the hardships which he endured tend to make him have a gloomy outlook on life and accept the opinions of those who regarded this world as a prison?

Of course, when we identify the 'morose' man with the 'wandering philosopher' the first part of the explanation, where the world is spoken of as a prison, is not really credited to any one person, but it would seem reasonable to suppose that the man believing the second part of the first explanation would accept the first part also, especially as the idea of men being bound to a chain is common to both. On the other hand, if we think of the 'morose man' as not identical with the 'wandering philosopher,' then in this morose man with his many sufferings in life we still have a fairly good description of the exiled Dio with only the one detail of his wandering life lacking, and the first explanation as a whole is definitely ascribed to him.

Once more, who is the 'peasant,' also mentioned in § 25, 'who spoke with a very rustic drawl and accent,' the one from whom Charidemus says he heard the second and third explanations? Dümmler believes that it was one of the later Cynics, possibly Bion; but Sonny, while agreeing in the main, thinks that this later Cynic was more likely Cleanthes, because the man is described as a peasant. For Diogenes Laertius (7. 2, pp. 168-171) says that Cleanthes made his living by watering a garden and digging earth. And further, the words 'in praise of Zeus and the other gods' may refer to Cleanthes'

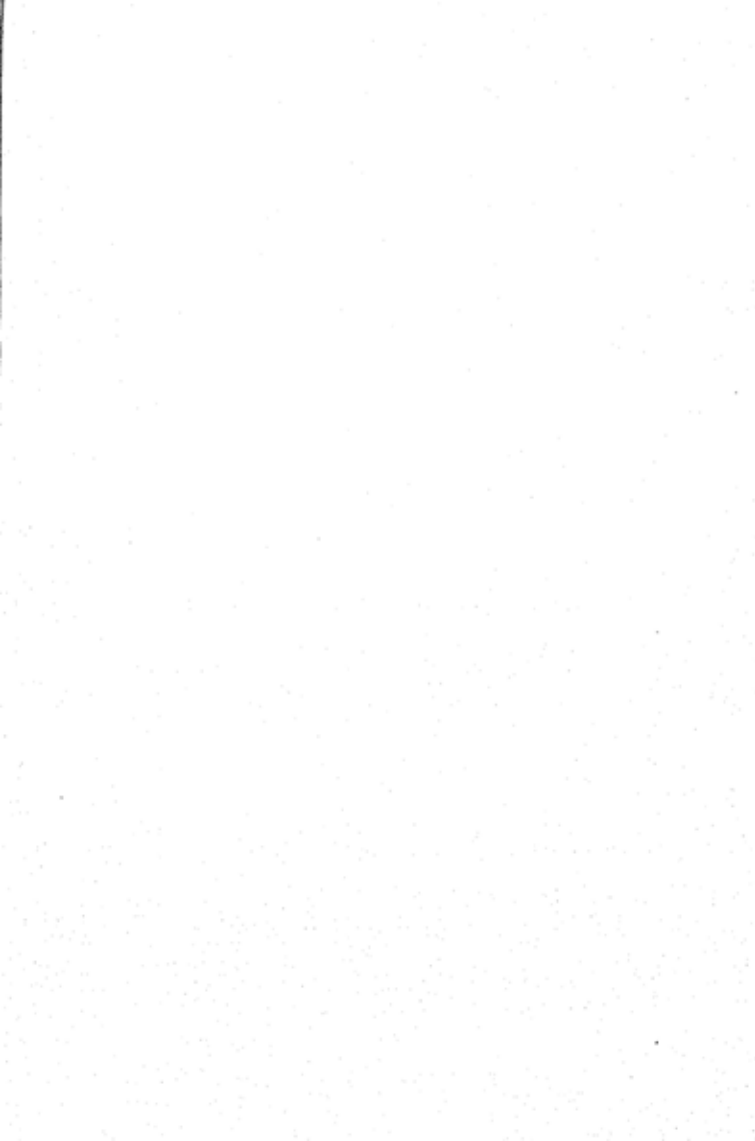
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Hymn to Zeus. Friedrich Wilhelm, on the other hand, thinks that this peasant is a purely imaginary character.

But no matter how we identify the 'morose man' and the 'peasant,' it seems reasonable to suppose that the three explanations of life represent three stages in Dio's own belief. After returning from exile he naturally acquired a more cheerful outlook on life and came to think of the gods as merely having become indifferent to men, and then later the prison has become a beautiful palace in which the king of the gods gives royal entertainment to men and rewards the best. Yet some parts of Dio's belief did not change. He believed throughout that the gods exist, that they have something to do with man, and that man may overcome evil and receive his reward.

And finally, there is the question as to the immediate and the ultimate sources of these three explanations of life and this world. Of course, if we believe that Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic sect, offered the first and Cleanthes the second and third, for us a good deal of the question is settled. If we do not, then there is a great uncertainty. However, it has been shown that the idea of the world as a prison is Pythagorean and Orphic in origin,¹ while Friedrich Wilhelm has offered a good many reasons for believing that Dio drew upon Poseidonius for parts of all three explanations, although he with others thinks that there is a large Cynic element in the third. And since there are some thoughts that can be paralleled in Xenophon and Plato, it is reasonable to suppose that Dio drew to some extent also from these, his favourite authors.

¹ See K. Meiser in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-phil. und hist. Kl., München 1912, 3. Abh.



30. ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

- 1 Δ. Ἀκηκόειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον πρὶν ὑμᾶς
 ἰδεῖν πρὸ ἱκανοῦ περὶ τῆς Χαριδήμου τελευτῆς.
 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπυνθανόμην, ὥς παρέβαλον δευρί,
 περὶ τε ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ μάλιστα δὴ περὶ τούτων
 ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπου τε εἶεν καὶ ὅ τι πράττειεν.
 καὶ μοί τις ἐντυχὼν¹ οὐ πάνυ τι αὐτοὺς ἐπιστά-
 μενος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀκοῦσαι² τὰ ὀνόματα, ἠρώτησεν
 εἰ τοὺς Τιμάρχου υἱεῖς λέγων· κάμοῦ φήσαντος,
 τοῦτον ἐδήλου, τὸν νεώτερον δὴ λέγων, ἐν Μεσσήνῃ
 ἔτι εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸ πένθος τᾶδελφοῦ.
- 2 τελευτῆσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖν τὸν πρεσβύτερον. φανερὸς
 οὖν ἦν Χαριδήμον ἀπαγγέλλων τεθνηκέναι· καὶ
 τότε μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ ἀμφιβολία τις εἶναι, καίτοι
 σαφῶς τὰνθρώπου εἰρηκότος· αὐθις δὲ ἀκριβέ-
 στερον ἔγνωμεν. καὶ οἶμαί γε ἑμαυτὸν οὐ πολὺ
 τι ἔλαττον ὑμῶν δηχθῆναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον
 φάναι οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ ὀσιον ἡμῖν, εἴ τις ἐκεῖνον
 μᾶλλον ἐφίλει ὑμῶν τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ.
- 3 καίτοι οὐ μέγα ἰσχύειν ἔοικεν ἢ φύσις ἐν τοῖς
 φαύλοις· οἷόν τι καὶ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ὀπούντιον

¹ Arnim: ἐνέτυχεν.

² ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀκοῦσαι Dindorf: ἀλλὰ σέ ἀκοῦσαι M, ἀλλ' ὥς ἤκουσε γὰρ B.

¹ He is addressing Timarchus the father.

² A slight exaggeration, as we see from the next words.

THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

Dio. I had heard about the death of Charidemus some time ago, even before I saw you;¹ for when I landed here, I straightway made inquiries about certain other persons and most especially about these two, wishing to learn where they were and how they were getting on. Then I chanced upon a man who did not know them very well, but had merely heard their names,² who asked me if I meant the sons of Timarchus; and when I replied in the affirmative, he told me that this one, meaning the younger, was still in Messenia with you on account of his mourning for his brother; for, he said, the elder of the two had died. So it was clear that he was reporting the death of Charidemus. Yet even then there appeared to be some uncertainty, although the man had spoken clearly enough; but afterwards we came to know with more certainty. Now I believe that I myself was almost as deeply pained as you men were; for to say 'more pained' would not be right nor proper for me, even if it were indeed true that one had loved him more than you, his father and his brother, did. And yet the strength of natural affection does seem to be not very great in persons of the common sort. Something like this happened, I hear, in the case of our Opuntian³

¹ That is, from Opus, a town of Locris.

ἀκούω γεγονέναι χαρίεντα καὶ κομφὸν νεανίσκον ἀποβαλόντα, ἡμέτερον κάκεινον ἐταῖρον· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔλαττον αὐτὸν λυπηθῆναι φασιν ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπολωλέκει. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε πάνυ εἰκότατον ἀχθομένῳ τῇ συμφορᾷ· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ ὠφέλιμος ἦν τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ βίῳ διαγενόμενος οἷος δὴ Χαρίδημος τάχα ἐμελλεν εἶσεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐκείνου μειρακίου ὄντος οὐδένα ἔγνων εὐψυχότερον οὐδὲ ἀμεινον πεφυκότα.

- 4 Τ. Εἴ γε ᾗδεις ὅπως διέκειτο πρὸς σέ, πολὺ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνεκωμίαζες αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει κάμου τοῦ πατρός, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων σὲ προτιμᾶν, ὅς γε καὶ ἐν τῇ νόσῳ κάπειδῇ πρὸς αὐτῷ σχεδόν τι τῷ θανάτῳ ἦν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ ἄλλων συγγενῶν καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ γνωρίμων σὲ ὠνόμαζε, τὸ παράπαν πάνυ μόλις ἤδη φθεγγόμενος, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευε λέγειν, ὅταν σοι ἐντύχωμεν, ὅτι σοῦ μεμνημένος ἐτελεύτα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ συνέιναι αὐτῷ καὶ διαλέγεσθαι ἕως ὑστάτου παρέμεινεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν οὕτω διέκειτο ὥστε καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ τῷ βαδίσματι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσί σε ἐμμεῖτο, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ εἰδότες.

- 5 Δ. Οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐμμεῖτο ἐκείνος οὔτε ἐμὲ οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα, ἀλλ' οὕτως πεφύκει. πρότερον δὲ ἴσως ὑμᾶς ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἐλάνθανεν· ἔπειτα προῖων ἐκδηλότερος ἐγένετο. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον

¹ Dio says at the beginning of Discourse 7 that he is garrulous in his old age after returning from exile; and this

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friend here after he had lost a son, an agreeable and clever young man, who also was our companion; but nevertheless they tell me that he grieved less over his death than if he had lost anything else out of his house. You two, however, seem to be very much distressed by your affliction, and no wonder; for such a man as Charidemus certainly would speedily have turned out to be, would have been useful, not only to your city, but to all Hellas, if he had lived. I, for my part, never knew any young lad of higher spirit than he nor of better natural parts.

Timarchus. Yes, and if you knew how he felt towards you, your praise would be much warmer. It seemed to me that he held you in more honour than he did even me, his father, not to mention other people, since in his illness and even when he was practically at death's door, and we were at his bedside along with other relatives, fellow citizens and acquaintances, he kept mentioning you by name, although by then he could scarcely speak at all, and bade us say when we met you that he was thinking of you when he died. For he retained consciousness and the power to speak up to the very last. Furthermore, even when he was alive and well, he was so attached to you that he imitated you in his taciturnity,¹ his gait, and in all other respects, as people who knew used to say.

Dio. Oh no, he was not imitating in those matters either me or anybody else; but they were natural with him. Perhaps you did not notice it at first when he was still a child; then as he grew older, it became more marked. For a manly and dignified

present Discourse evidently belongs to this same post-exilic period.

ἐκείνῳ ἔπρεπεν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τό τε ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ σχήματος. ἀλλὰ μὴ τι ὑμᾶς ἐλύπει τούτοις ἢ σκυθρωπότερος ὑμῖν ἐφαίνετο;

Τ. Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸνναντίον πολλῶν ἡλαρώτερος καὶ πρὸς τὸ παίζειν ἔτοιμος, ὅσαι ἐλευθέριοι παιδιαί, καὶ αἰὶ πῶς μειδιᾷ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις. γελῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνέδην οὐ πολλάκις εἶδον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐλύπει. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκείνον ἡσχύνοντο οἱ πολῖται δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ὄντα· τοσούτων γὰρ ἐτελεύτησεν· ἢ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐνδόξους.

6 Δ. Ἄλλ' ἢ ¹ τι ἄλλο ὑμῖν ἐπέστειλεν ἢ διελέχθη τελευτῶν;

Τ. Πολλὰ καὶ δαιμόνια, ὥς γε ² ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πατρὶ ὄντι· ³ ὅς γε ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεθιστάμενος οὐχ ὅπως ὠλοφύρατο αὐτὸν ἢ λυπουμένῳ ἐώκει, ἀλλὰ τὸνναντίον ἡμᾶς παρεμυθεῖτο. καὶ τά γε τελευταῖα τὸν παῖδα καλέσας ἐκέλευε γράφειν, ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, παράκλησιν τινα ἡμῖν, ὥστε ὑπενόουν ἐγὼ μὴ ἄρα ἐξεστηκὼς ἤδη διὰ τὸν θάνατον ταῦτα ποιοῖ· πλὴν ὅτι οἱ παρόντες θαυμαστῶς ἐπῆνον.

Δ. Ἐχεις οὖν τὰ γεγραμμένα;

7 Τ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

Δ. Θέλεις οὖν ⁴ εἰπεῖν;

Τ. Ἄλλ' αἰσχύνομαι μὴ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ὥς ὑπὸ νεωτέρου τε καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ εἰρημένα.

¹ ἢ Reiske : εἶ.

² ὥς γε Selden : ὥστε.

³ πατρὶ ὄντι Selden : πάτριόν τι.

⁴ θέλεις οὖν Emperius : κέλευσον.

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bearing came much more naturally to him than to anybody else. But I wonder if he pained you at all by these characteristics or appeared to you to be somewhat gloomy of countenance.

Tim. No, on the contrary, I thought that he was more cheerful than many and ready to play such games as were proper for free-born children, and always somehow ready to give a smile to people whom he knew; but I did not often see him laughing without restraint. So he caused us no worry; and what is more, he won the commendation of many people, and our fellow citizens had more respect for him, although he was only twenty-two years old—for that was his age when he died—than they had for those who were older and in the public eye.

Dio. But did he give you any other commission or say anything else on his death-bed?

Tim. Yes, many remarkable things—at least, so I, his father, think. For, although he was departing from life at such an early age, so far was he from lamenting his fate or showing any grief that on the contrary he tried to comfort us. Then finally, he called the servant and dictated to him, like one inspired, an address for our consolation, so that I began to suspect that perhaps it was because his mind was now wandering on account of the nearness of death that he was doing this. Those who were at his bedside, though, praised it highly.

Dio. Pray, have you what he wrote?

Tim. Yes, indeed.

Dio. Then are you willing to repeat it?

Tim. O yes, only ashamed for fear that it is not in proper shape, because it was spoken by a comparatively young man and at such a time. For I

καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔδοκει μοι μᾶλλον ἑνὸς σοῦ παρόντος ἂν εὐλαβηθῆναι ὃ τι εἶπεν¹ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.

Δ. Οὐ πρὸς ἀλλότριον ἀναγνώσῃ, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ ἅμα οὐ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ποθῶ γινῶναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφ' ἧς ἔλεγεν, εἰ τῷ ὄντι εὐθύμως καὶ θαρρῶν ἀπέβνησκειν.

8 Τ. Ἄλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα·

ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χαριδήμου τελευτῶντος²

Τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω γέγονεν ὡς ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ, χρή δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γιγνομένων χαλεπὸν ἡγεῖσθαι μηδὲ δυσχερῶς φέρειν, ὡς παραινοῦσιν ἄλλοι τε σοφοὶ καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα Ὅμηρος, λέγων μηδαμῇ ἀπόβλητα εἶναι ἀνθρώποις τὰ θεῶν δῶρα, καλῶς ὀνομάζων δῶρα τὰ ἔργα τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἅπαντα ἀγαθὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
9 γιγνόμενα. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτω φρονῶ καὶ δέχομαι πρῶτως τὴν πεπρωμένην, οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ καιρῷ ταῦτα λέγων, ἀλλὰ παρούσης τε αὐτῆς, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁρῶν οὕτως ἐγγύθεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ πιστεύοντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν ἐπεμελή-
θην ἀληθείας, καθ' ὅσον οἰοί τέ ἐστε, μὴ συγ-
χωρεῖτε τῇ ἀλγηδόνι, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ δεινοῦ συμβεβηκότος, μηδὲ εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὸν δυσχερέστατον ἔλθοι τῶν λόγων.

¹ ὃ τι εἶπεν Capps: τι εἰπεῖν.

² The heading is supplied by the translator.

¹ Hagen points out that there are certain places where Dio puts his own ideas into the mouth of someone else. See, e.g. Discourse 1. 56 ff.; 11. 37 ff.; 36. 39 ff.

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really thought that he would have been more careful in what he said, had you been the only one present, than he was with all the rest there.

Dio. It is no outsider that you will be reading to, my good friend; and, at the same time, it is not the style that I am anxious to observe so much as what his state of mind was as revealed by what he said, whether he was really of good cheer and courageous on his deathbed.

Tim. Well, here it is :¹

The Dying Words of Charidemus

"What has happened to me has happened in accordance with God's will; and we should not consider anything that he brings to pass as harsh, nor bear it with repining: so wise men advise us,² and Homer not least when he says that the gifts of the gods to man should not be spurned by man³—rightly calling the acts of the gods 'gifts,' as being all good and done for a good purpose.⁴ As for me, this is my feeling, and I accept the decree of fate calmly, saying this, not at any ordinary time, but when that fate itself is present, and I see my end so near at hand. And do you, I pray, believe me, since I have had even greater concern for the truth than for you, and, so far as in you lies, do not give way to your grief, knowing that nothing terrible has befallen me; no, not even if one offers the explanation of death which is the most difficult to accept.

¹ See Theognis 1001; Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, Frag. 757 Nauck.²

² See *Iliad* 3. 65.

⁴ Cf. Discourse 23. 10; 32. 14; Plato, *Republic* 380 c.

- 10 Λέξω δὲ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν οὕτι που τερπνὸν ὄντα οὐδὲ χαρίεντα· οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς χάριν τὴν ἡμετέραν γέγονεν· ἔχοντα δέ τι θαυμαστὸν ἴσως· ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἵματός ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ὥς οὖν ἐκείνων ἐχθρῶν ὄντων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πολεμησάντων οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς φίλοι ἐσμέν, ἀλλὰ κολαζόμεθά τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ γεγόναμεν, ἐν φρουρᾷ δὴ ὄντες ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἑκαστοὶ ζῶμεν. τοὺς δὲ ἀποθνήσκοντας ἡμῶν κεκαλασμένους ἤδη ἱκανῶς λύεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.
- 11 εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον τοῦτον, ὃν κόσμον ὀνομάζομεν, δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κατεσκευασμένον χαλεπὸν τε καὶ δυσάερον, οὐδέποτε τὴν αὐτὴν κρᾶσιν τε καὶ στάσιν τοῦ ἀέρος φυλάττον, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ψυχρὸν τε καὶ παγερόν, ἀνέμου τε καὶ πηλοῦ καὶ χιόνος καὶ ὕδατος ἐμπεπλησμένον, ποτὲ δὲ αὖ θερμόν τε καὶ πνιγερὸν· μικρὸν δὲ τινα παντελῶς καιρὸν τοῦ ἔτους μετρίως ἔχειν· καταπίπτειν δὲ καὶ πρηστῆρας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τυφῶνας ἐγγίγνεσθαι καὶ πολλάκις σείεσθαι κάτωθεν ὄλον. ταῦτα δὲ
- 12 πάντα εἶναι κολάσεις δεινὰς. ἐκπλήττεσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστοτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅποτε συμβαίνοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

¹ After warring against the gods for ten years they were defeated and hurled into a cavity below Tartarus. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophon* p. 565, where it is said that the bodies of the Titans were burned with fire from heaven and reduced to ashes and "that from these ashes of the Titans ancient readers of Orphic hymns assert that the human race sprang"—"Ex

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This explanation I will now give to you, although it is very likely not at all cheering, nor pleasing—for I imagine it was not devised to please us—and it has something of the marvellous about it perhaps. It is to the effect that all we human beings are of the blood of the Titans.¹ Then, because they were hateful to the gods and had waged war on them, we are not dear to them either, but are punished by them and have been born for chastisement, being, in truth, imprisoned in life for as long a time as we each live. And when any of us die, it means that we, having already been sufficiently chastised,² are released and go our way.

This place which we call the universe, they tell us, is a prison prepared by the gods,³ a grievous and ill-ventilated one, which never keeps the same temperature and condition of its air, but at one time is cold and frosty, and infected with wind, mud, snow, and water, and at another time again is hot and stifling; for just a very little time of the year it is endurable; it is visited by cyclones, typhoons occur, and sometimes the whole of it quakes to the very bottom. Now all these are terrible punishments. For men are invariably dismayed and terrified by them whenever they occur. Then in addition

hoc Titanio cinere genus humanum ortum praedicant Orphicorum carminum lectores antiqui."

² Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 400 c, where Orpheus and his followers are credited with the doctrine that the soul is punished in the body, its tomb.

³ Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 62 b: "The statement found in esoteric doctrines that we human beings are in a sort of prison"—*ὁ . . . ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενος . . . λόγος ὡς ἐν τινι φρουρῇ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι*, and *Gorgias* 493 a, where some Sicilian or Italian (Pythagoras presumably) is referred to in connection with the idea that the body is a tomb.

οὐκ ἀνεχομένους τοῦ αἵρος τὴν φαυλότητα καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς ἕτερα αὖ μηχανᾶσθαι μικρὰ δεσμωτήρια, τὰς τε οἰκίας καὶ πόλεις, ξύλα καὶ λίθους ξυντιθέντας, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐν μεγάλῃ εἵρκτῃ ἐτέρας βραχυτέρας ἐνοικοδομοῖ.

- Καὶ τὰ φύόμενα ταῦτα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐκ γῆς ἔνεκα τοῦ παραμένειν ἡμᾶς γίνεσθαι, καθάπερ δεσμώταις τροφήν διδομένην ἀηδὴ τε καὶ φαύλην· ἡμᾶς δὲ ἄλλως ἀγαπᾶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τε καὶ
 13 ἀπορίαν. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν κολαζομένοις, αὐτ' ἂν παράσχη τις, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ συνηθείας ἡδέα φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σιτία τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πονηρὰ εἶναι καὶ διεφθορότα, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τὴν διαφθορὰν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενείας· ἔτι δὲ μηδὲ ἐξ ἐτοίμου πορίζεσθαι μηδὲ πᾶσιν ἀφθονα ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀμηχάνων πόνων καὶ κακῶν.

- Ἐυγκείσθαι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν βασανι-
 14 ζόντων, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν τε καὶ λύπας καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ φόβους καὶ φροντίδας καὶ μυρία πάθη τοιαῦτα ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, καὶ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τούτων αἰεὶ κατατείνεσθαι καὶ στρεβλοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἐπιεικέστερον διάκειται, καθόλου μὲν ἀπήλλακται τούτων οὐδενός, ὥσπερ δὲ θηρία ἔνδον κατακεκλεισμένα ἔχει, μετὰ βίας ὁμοῦ καὶ πειθοῦς τινος ἡναγκασμένα ἡρεμεῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ σμικρὸν παύσαιτο κατεπάδων καὶ προσέχων, αὐτίκα δὴ
 15 μάλα κινούμενα. τὸ δὲ σῶμα εἰλίγγους τε καὶ σπασμούς καὶ ἐπιληψίας καὶ τᾶλλα νοσήματα,

¹ Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 1. 206-217.

² Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 493-494 about the desires within us.

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to all this, because men cannot endure the bad air and changes of temperature, they devise for themselves other small prisons, namely, their houses and cities, which they construct of timber and stone, just as if a person should build other smaller enclosures inside of a large one.

And the plants which grow all about us and the fruits of the earth are created, they assure us, simply in order that we may serve out our time here. They are just like the unappetizing and wretched food which is given to prisoners, but we nevertheless put up with it on account of the necessity which is upon us and our helplessness. For in the case of men who are being punished by us, whatever is furnished appears appetizing because they are hungry and used to it. These foods are in reality bad and spoiled, and that they are spoiled is shown by the frailty of our bodies. And, further, it is not even furnished us ready at hand, nor yet supplied in abundance to everyone, but must be won with intolerable toil and hardships.¹

"Also, we are composed of the very things which torture us, namely, soul and body. For the one has within it desires, pains, angers, fears, worries, and countless such feelings; and by day and by night it is ever racked and wrenched by them.² Even the man who is of a better bodily condition than most, is free from none whatever of these troubles, but has them shut up within him just like wild animals compelled to keep quiet by force and persuasion alike; but if he stops singing charms to them and watching them, for even a short time, they instantly become very active. Our body too is subject to vertigo, convulsions, epilepsy, and other diseases, so numerous

- ὅσα οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δυνατὸν διελθεῖν, ὥς ἂν αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος μεστόν, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ σαρκῶν τε καὶ νεύρων καὶ ὀστέων συγκείμενον, ἐκ μαλακῶν τε καὶ σκληρῶν καὶ ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν, ὄντων¹ ἐναντιωτάτων. τὰ τε σιτία, ὅπερ εἶπον, μοχθηρὰ ὄντα καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἀνώμαλον προσπίπτοντα τὰς μὲν ἐπιτείνειν τῶν νόσων, τὰς δὲ ἀνακινεῖν, οὐ δοκούσας μὲν εἶναι πρότερον, ἐνούσας δὲ ἐν
- 10 τῇ φύσει τῶν σωμάτων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔνδον ἐγκεῖσθαι τὰ κακὰ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐτέρας δὲ ἔξωθεν κολάσεις, ἐλαφροτέρας,² εἴ τις αὐτὰς παραβάλλοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως. ἡ γὰρ πυρός τε καὶ σιδήρου φύσις καὶ πληγῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀξεῖα καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαλλάττει τῆς αἰσθήσεως, εἴ τις καὶ σμικρὸν ὑπερβάλοι· ἐν δὲ ταῖς νόσοις ἐνίοτε παρατείνουσι καὶ πάνυ πολὺν χρόνον.
- 17 Τοιαῖσδε μὲν δὴ καὶ τοσαῖσδε βασάνοις ξυνεχομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇδε τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ τῷδε τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ μένειν τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστον χρόνον, καὶ μὴ πρὶν ἀπιέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὶν ἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος ἄλλον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλίπη διάδοχον τῆς κολάσεως, οἱ μὲν ἕνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείους. μένειν δὲ οὐχ ἐκόντας, ἀλλὰ μιᾷ πάντας ἀλύσει δεδεσθαι τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς, καθάπερ καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν ἀλύσει μιᾷ δεδεμένους πολλοὺς ἐφεξῆς, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν σμικροὺς, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροὺς, τοὺς δ' εὐπρεπεῖς, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον ἅπαντας ἐπ' ἴσης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἔχεσθαι.

¹ ὄντων Cohoon : ἐκ τῶν.

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that it is not even possible to enumerate them, since it is full of blood and air, and, further, is composed of flesh and sinews and bones, of both soft and hard things, of moist and dry things, complete opposites. Then our foods, as I said, being bad and the weather variable, aggravate some of our diseases and bring on others, which, though they do not seem to be there at first, yet are actually inherent in the nature of our bodies. These are the evils which lie within our own selves. The other chastisements, which come from without, are lighter in comparison with those that come from our own nature. For the effect of fire or steel, of blows, or of other things is sharp and quickly passes from consciousness even if it becomes at any time a little excessive. But in the case of diseases sometimes the effects last for a very long time.¹

"Such, then, are the tortures, and so numerous, by which men are afflicted while they remain in this prison and dungeon, each for his appointed time; and the majority do not get out until they produce another person from their own loins and leave him to succeed to the punishment in their stead, some leaving one and others even more. They do not stay voluntarily, but are all bound fast by one chain, body and soul, just as you may see many persons bound by us by one chain in a row, some of them small, some large, some ugly and some good looking; but none the less all of them are held on equal terms in the same constraint.²

¹ Dio is speaking from personal experience.

² Cf. Discourse 80. 7.

² *ελαφρότερας* added by Cohoon; Arnim wrote *ελαφρότερας* in place of *ετέρας*.

- 18 Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς τύχαις τε καὶ δόξαις καὶ τιμαῖς ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχειν, ὥσπερ τοῖς σώμασιν. εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας, τοὺς δὲ ἰδιώτας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους. καὶ οὐδέν γε παρὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον κακοπαθεῖν καὶ συνέχεσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ δεσμῷ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας καλουμένους τῶν πενήτων τε καὶ ἀδόξων, ἀλλὰ
- 19 μᾶλλον τούτων ἐκείνους. ἰσχυρότεροις γὰρ οὖσιν αὐτοῖς κεχαλάσθαι τὸν δεσμόν καὶ λαγαρώτερον ἐκάστω περικεῖσθαι· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις, οἱ δὲ πεφυσημένοις τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ σφόδρα εὐεκτοῦσι, μᾶλλον ἐγκεῖσθαι καὶ θλίβειν· ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τὰ σώματα δεδεμένοις τοὺς παχεῖς τε καὶ ὀγκώδεις τῶν λεπτῶν τε καὶ ἀτρώφων μᾶλλον ὁ δεσμός πιέζει· τινὰς μέντοι καὶ λίαν ὀλίγους πάρεσιν τινα ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δεδέσθαι μὲν, ἐλαφρῶς δὲ πάνυ δι' ἐπιείκειαν· ὑπὲρ ὧν αὖθις λέξομεν.
- 20 Πρότερον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον, ὥς ἐγὼ ποτε ἤκουσα ἀνδρὸς ἀγύρτου παῖς ὢν, ὁποῖαν τινα ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὴν ἄλυσιν, οὗτι που ταῖσδε ὁμοίαν, ἐκ σιδήρου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην, πολὺ μέντοι κραταιωτέραν, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν πλοκὴν παραπλησίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ αἶδε εἰσὶν ἐκ κρίκων τινῶν κεχαλκευμένοι δι' ἀλλήλων διαβεβλημένων, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους· οὕτω δὲ καὶ κείνην

¹ Cf. Discourse 80. 11 ff. and Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi* 10. 3: "We are all bound to fortune: the chain of some is golden, of others loose, of yet others tight and foul. But what difference does it make? The same custody surrounds all without exception. . . . One man public office binds, another wealth. Some men bear the weight

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“ And, likewise, men are superior one to the other in their fortunes, reputations, and honours, just as they are in their bodies. Some of them are kings, others are in private station, some are wealthy, and others are without means. Yet no whit less on this account do the fortunate, as they are called, suffer and are held fast in the same bondage, than do the poor and unknown, nay, they suffer more than the others.¹ For since the poor are leaner, the bond which lies about each of them is looser and easier. But as for kings and tyrants, just because they are puffed up in soul and are in exceedingly good bodily condition, so the chains lie heavier upon them and gall them the more; exactly as in the case of persons whose bodies are bound, the fetter pinches the stout and bulky more than it does the thin and undernourished. However, a very few enjoy some relief by the kindness of God; and while they are indeed bound, yet the bond is very light on account of their goodness—a class of men concerning whom we shall speak again.²

“ But first it is right to say that once when a child I heard a wandering philosopher explain what the nature of the chain is, that it is not at all like such chains as we have, made of iron or bronze as our chains are, but much stronger, and yet similar in form and construction. For just as our chains are forged out of a number of links that are interlocked with one another, and that from one end to the other;

of high station, others of low”—*cum fortuna copulati sumus: aliorum aurea catena est, aliorum laxa, aliorum arta et sordida, sed quid refert? eadem custodia universos circumdedit . . . alium honores, alium opes vinciunt. quosdam nobilitas, quosdam humilitas premit.*

² He does so in § 24.

- ἔχειν, ἥ δὴ ἔφαμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ τῶν
 21 θεῶν δεδέσθαι. συνηρτησθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ἅπασαν
 ἐξ ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀλλήλων
 πεπλέχθαι, τό τε ἡδὺ καὶ λυπηρόν, καὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ
 τὸ ἕτερον ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰεὶ ἀκολουθεῖν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι,
 τοὺς κρίκους τῆς ἀλύσεως· ἔπεσθαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν
 μεγάλας ἡδοναῖς μεγάλας λύπας, ταῖς δὲ σμικραῖς
 σμικροτέρας, καὶ τὴν γε μεγίστην ἡδονὴν ἐπὶ τέλους
 εἶναι τὸν θάνατον. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ λύπην πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 συμβαίνειν μεγίστην· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν
 ἀνθρώπῳ μείζων ταύτης τῆς λύπης καὶ ὀδύνης
 τῆς ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον.
- 22 "Ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕτερα εἶναι δεσμά,
 τοῖς μὲν ἐλάττω, τοῖς δὲ μείζω περικείμενα
 ὥσπερ πέδας· καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτὰς
 ἐλπίδας. ὥσπερ οὖν τὰς πέδας κατωτάτῳ τοῦ
 σώματος εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσιν,
 οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας κατωτάτῳ εἶναι καὶ περὶ τὸ
 τελευταῖον μέρος τοῦ βίου, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ
 κρατεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀναγκάζειν πάντα
 πάσχοντας ὑπομένειν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνοήτοις
 τε καὶ ἡλιθίοις ὑπερόγκους τε εἶναι τὰς πέδας
 ταύτας καὶ σφόδρα παχείας, τοῖς δὲ κομψοτέροις
 κεχαλάσθαι τε καὶ λεπτὰς περικεῖσθαι.
- 23 Καὶ γὰρ τοι προσείκαζε καὶ ῥίνη τι,¹ πάννυ
 ἀνδρικῶς ἐπόμενος τῇ εἰκόνι· τοῦτο δὲ ἔφη μόνους
 εὐρίσκειν τοὺς κομψοὺς τε καὶ δριμύεις. ἀποκε-
 κλεισθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ πάννυ ἀκριβῶς, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐν
 δεσμωτηρίῳ ῥίνην ἀποκρύψειεν, ὅπως μηδεὶς
 τῶν δεσμωτῶν λάβοι, ἔπειτα λύσειεν ἑαυτόν.

¹ ῥίνη τι Pflugk : ῥίνη τινα UB, ῥίνη τινα M.

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so too is that other one by which we asserted that men are bound by the gods. This chain, he said, is composed entirely of both pleasure and pain, and these things are intertwined, the pleasant and the painful, and the one always of necessity follows the other, just as, I suppose, are the links of a chain.¹ Great pleasures are followed by great pains, the small pleasures by smaller pains, and the very greatest pleasure at the end is death. This is the reason that the pain which comes before death is the greatest; for it is clear that man has no greater pain and suffering than this which ends in death.

"He said, further, that for each man there are other bonds, in some cases lighter, in other cases heavier, which lie upon him just like fetters: they are called hopes by us.² Now just as the fetters are at the lowest part of the body and around our extremities, so the hopes too are at the very bottom and surround the final part of our life. They most of all hold men in their thrall and compel them to endure even though they suffer all tortures. In the case of the senseless and foolish, these fetters are massive and exceedingly thick, but for the more intelligent, the shackles that surround them are loose and light.

"And, mark you, he also compared something to a file, very manfully sticking to his parable. This, he said, is found only by the intelligent and shrewd; for it is locked away very carefully, just as a person might hide a file in a prison in order that none of the prisoners might get hold of it and then free

¹ For this idea of opposites see Plato, *Phaedo* 60 b-c.

² Cf. Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 11. 46 f.: "For his limbs are bound by greedy hopes"—δέδεσται γὰρ ἀναιδέϊ ἐλπίδι γυῖα. Note the paronomasia in *πέδας*, *ἐλπίδας* (hoops, hopes).

- τοὺς οὖν φιλοτίμους καὶ φιλοπόνους μόλις μὲν, ὁμῶς δὲ ἀνευρίσκειν. καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν αὐτὸ λόγον. ἐπειδὴν οὖν τάχιστα εὖρωσι, χρῆσθαι τε καὶ ῥίναν τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ποιεῖν τῆς ἀλύσεως τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς οἶόν τε ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἀσθενέστατον, μέχρις ἂν ἡ¹ δυνατόν κατεργάσωνται
- 24 τὰς τε ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας. βραδὺ δὲ τοῦτο γίγνεται. μόλις γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος, ἅτε στερεῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀδαμαντίνων, καθικνεῖται καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεσθίει, παντελῶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο δαπανῆσαι καὶ διελεῖν. ὅταν δ' ἂν ἐγγένηται τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον καὶ φιλοπόνως αὐτῷ χρήσῃται δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐφ' ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἐστίν, εὐχερῶς ἤδη τὴν φρουρὰν φέρει καὶ περιέρχεται παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὥσπερ λελυμένος, καὶ τοῦ χρεῶν ἐπιστάντος ραδίως ἄπεισιν, ὡς ἂν οὐκέτι βία κρατούμενος οὐδὲ σφιγγόμενος. ἐκ τούτων ἐνίοτε οἱ θεοὶ τινὰς καὶ παρέδρους ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦνται δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν, καθόλου τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπαλλάξαντες.
- 25 Ταῦτα μὲν τις εἶπεν ἀνὴρ δυσάρεστος, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ πολλὰ λελυπημένος κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὁπὲ παιδείας ἀληθοῦς ἡσθημένος, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῆ γε οὐδὲ πρέποντα θεοῖς. ἕτερος δὲ βελτίων ἐστὶ τοῦδε λόγος, ὃν πολὺ ἂν εἴποιμι προθυμότερον. ἤκουσα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου γεωργοῦ ἐν ἀγροίκῳ τινὶ ῥυθμῷ

¹ ὅ Selden : ἡ B, ἡ U, εἰ M.

¹ As contrasted with that part of the chain which holds the other prisoners.

² Cf. Discourse 80. 8.

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himself. Now the ambitious and industrious have trouble in finding it, but still they do find it. And the name they give to it is 'Reason.' Then, as soon as they find it, they use it to file the fetters and make the part of the chain that binds themselves¹ as thin and weak as possible, until they overcome the pleasures and pains so far as one may. But this is slow work. Only with difficulty does their 'reason' affect the chains because they are of adamantine hardness,² and it wears them away only gradually, but is not able to wear them entirely through and tear them asunder. And when a man does get hold of this remedy, and uses it industriously by day and night to the best of his ability, he now endures his confinement cheerfully, walks around past the others as if he were a free man, and when his fated time comes, he goes his way without hindrance, as though no longer restrained by force or clamped to the chain.³ Of such men the gods at times make some their coadjutors on account of their virtue and wisdom, after completely freeing them from their punishment.⁴

"Now this explanation was given, in my opinion, by a certain morose man who had suffered a great deal in his life and only late had gained true education;⁵ but it is not the right explanation, nor one that befits the gods. There is another one better than that, which I am much more eager to give. I heard it from a peasant who spoke with a very rustic drawl

¹ Cf. § 43 of this Discourse and the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* 365 b: "Men should go to meet their fate cheerfully and almost singing in triumph" (just like the swan in Discourse 12. 4)—δεῖ . . . εὐθύμως, μόνον οὐχὶ παλαιλλέοντας, εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἀπέρχαι.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 114 b-c. ⁵ See p. 396 at bottom.

καὶ μέλει· πλὴν τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς δεῖ μιμῆσθαι, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν αὐτὴν ἀπομνησθῆναι πειρασόμεθα.

- 26 "Ἐλεγε δὲ ὑμῶν τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ὡς ἀγαθοὶ τε εἶεν¹ καὶ φιλοῖεν ἡμᾶς, ἅτε δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντας² αὐτῶν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι γένος, οὐκ ἀπὸ Τιτάνων οὐδ' ἀπὸ Γυγάντων. ὅτε γὰρ τὰ σύμπαντα ἔσχον, ὥσπερ ἀποικίαν τινὰ αὐτῶν³ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐρήμῃ οὔσῃ κατοικίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἥττοσι τιμαῖς καὶ ὄλβῳ, δικαίοις δὲ καὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς· ὥσπερ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις καὶ εὐδαιμόνες τὰς μικρὰς κατοικίζουσι· καὶ μοι ἐδόκει λέγειν οὐ προστιθεὶς αὐτὸς τὰ ὀνόματα, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι Κυθνίους ἢ Σεριφίους ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κυθηρίους τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤκισαν· καὶ μιμήματά γε παρ' ἐκάστοις τούτοις ἰδεῖν ἔστι τῶν ἐθῶν⁴ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἣν οἱ κτίσαντες ἔχουσιν, ἀσθενῇ δὲ πάντα καὶ χεῖρονα. τὴν μέντοι δια-
- 27 φορότητα οὐκ ἴσην εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἅτε ἀνθρώπους ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν θεῶν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπειρόν τινα εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἔτυχε νεοκατάστατος ὢν ὁ βίος, τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς

¹ τε εἶεν Arnim: τέ εἰσι.

² ὄντας Reiske: ἐόντας.

³ αὐτῶν Arnim: αὐτῶν.

⁴ ἐθῶν Selden: θεῶν.

¹ Cf. Discourse 36. 39.

² Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 62 b: "that those who care for us are gods"—τὸ θεοὺς εἶναι ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους.

³ Cf. Discourse 12. 32; Aratus, *Phaenomena* 5; Cleanthes *Hymn to Zeus* 5; *Acts of the Apostles* 17. 28: "For we are really his offspring"—τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Critias* 109 b; Maximus Tyrius 1 c-f; Euryphamus in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* 4. 39. 27, p. 915, 9 f.:

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and accent. However, perhaps there is no need for us to imitate this, and we shall attempt merely to record his thought.

"He said, in reciting the praises of Zeus and the other gods,¹ that they are good and love us² as being of kin³ to them. For it is from the gods, he declared, that the race of men is sprung and not from Titans or from Giants. For when they got the universe into their power, they established mankind upon the earth, which was hitherto uninhabited, as a sort of colony made up of their own people, on the basis of inferior honours and felicity, but with the same righteous laws as their own; precisely after the fashion in which great and prosperous cities found the small communities.⁴ And I thought that he meant, without expressly adding the proper names, just as Athens colonized Cythnos and Seriphos, or Sparta founded Cythera in ancient times, giving them the same laws as they themselves had. And in these various colonies you may behold copies of the customs and the form of government which their founders enjoy, but all are weak and inferior. However, the superiority of the colonizers over their colonies is not as great; for in the one case it is the superiority of men over men, whereas the greater excellence of the gods as compared with ourselves is an infinite one. Now, as long as life was but newly established, the gods both visited us in person and

"The divinity settled man, the most thoughtful animal, in the world"—*τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώπον, πολυφρονέστατον ζῶον ἐς τὸν κόσμον κατέκτισεν*; Cicero, *De Legibus* 1. 7. 23: "This whole universe should be considered as one common state of gods and of men"—*Universus hic mundus una civitas . . . communis deorum atque hominum existimanda*; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2. 62.
154.

τε παραγίγνεσθαι καὶ πέμπειν ὥσπερ ἄρμοστὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους, οἷον Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Περσέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς ἀκούομεν θεῶν παῖδας, τοὺς δὲ ἐκγόνους γενέσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν· ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἐᾶσαι δι' αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ὅπως ἂν δυνώμεθα. καὶ τότε δὴ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ξυμβαίνειν.

- 28 Ἴδτε δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν ᾠδὴν, ὡς ὁ μὲν κόσμος οἶκός ἐστι πάνυ καλός τε καὶ θεῖος ὑπὸ θεῶν τε κατεσκευασμένος· ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων τε καὶ πλουσίων καλουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐστinas ὀρώμεν κατεσκευασμένους σταθμοῖς καὶ κίοσι, καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ γραφαῖς τήν τε ὀροφὴν καὶ τοίχους καὶ θύρας εἰργασμένους.¹ ὁμοίως γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τε καὶ εὐφροσύνην ἀνθρώπων, εὐειδῇ καὶ ποικίλῳ ἄστροις τε καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ φυτοῖς, ἃ δὴ τοῦ θεῶν πλούτου καὶ τέχνης τῆς ἐκείνων ἐστίν.

- 29 Παραγίγνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς αὐτὸν ἐορτάζοντας, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν θεῶν κεκλημένους ἐπ' εὐωχίαν τινὰ καὶ θοίνην λαμπράν, ἀπάντων ἀπολαύσοντας τῶν ἀγαθῶν. κατακεῖσθαι δὲ ἄλλους ἀλλαχῇ, καθάπερ ἐν δεῖπνῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἀμείνονος χώρας, τοὺς δὲ φαυλοτέρας τυχόντας. εἶναι δὲ πάντα ὅμοια τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν γιγνομένοις ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς, πλὴν ὡς μικροῖς καὶ ἀγεννέσι

¹ εἰργασμένους Casaubon : εἰργασμένους BM, εἰργασμένας U.

¹ The governors which the Spartans sent out after the Peloponnesian War to keep in order the cities which they had conquered were so called.

² Cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1. 12. 28; Plato, *Laws* 4. 713 d.

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sent harmosts,¹ as it were, from their own number at first to look after us, such as Heracles, for example,² Dionysus, Perseus, and the others, who, we are told, were the children of the gods, and that the descendants of these were born among us.³ Afterwards they permitted us to manage for ourselves as best we could. And then it was that sin and injustice began.

"The peasant also chanted a second monody,⁴ telling how the universe is a house very beautiful and divine, constructed by the gods; that just as we see houses built by men who are called prosperous and wealthy, with portals and columns, and the roof, walls, and doors adorned with gold and with paintings, in the same way the universe has been made to give entertainment and good cheer to mankind, beauteous and bespangled with stars, sun, moon, land, sea, and plants,⁵ all these being, indeed, portions of the wealth of the gods and specimens of their handiwork.⁶

"Into this universe comes mankind to hold high festival, having been invited by the king of the gods to a most splendid feast and banquet that they may enjoy all blessings.⁷ They recline in different places, just as at a dinner, some getting better and others inferior positions, and everything resembles what takes place among us at our entertainments, except that we are comparing the

¹ Cf. Discourse 36. 23; Plato, *Laws* 713 d and *Timaeus* 40 d, and following.

² Cf. 26. The first is in §§ 26, 27.

³ Cf. Discourse 12. 28 f.; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2. 39, 98.

⁴ Cf. pseudo-Aristotle *Περὶ κόσμου* c. 5, p. 396 b, 27 f. and c. 6, p. 400 a, 2 f.

⁷ Cf. Discourse 12, 30 f. and Plato, *Politicus* 272 a.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- θεία καὶ μεγάλα εἰκάσαι. φῶς τε γὰρ¹ ἡμῖν παρέχειν τοὺς θεοὺς διττὸν διὰ λαμπτήρων τυῶν, τοτὲ μὲν πλείον, τοτὲ δὲ ἔλαττον, τὸ μὲν νυκτός, τὸ
- 30 δὲ ἡμέρας· καὶ παρακεῖσθαι δὴ τραπέζας πάντων μεστὰς, σίτου τε καὶ ὀπώρας, τῆς μὲν αὐτομάτου, τῆς δὲ εἰργασμένης, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρεῶν, τῶν μὲν ἡμέρων, τῶν δὲ ἀγρίων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ θαλάττης. εἶναι δὲ τὰς τραπέζας ἔφη, πάνυ ἀγροίκως λέγων, τοὺς τε λειμῶνας καὶ πεδία καὶ νάπας καὶ ἀκτὰς, ἐν οἷς τὰ μὲν φύεσθαι, τὰ δὲ νέμεσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηρᾶσθαι. ἄλλα δὲ ἄλλοις πλείονα παρεῖναι, πρὸς αἷς ἂν ἕκαστοι τραπέζαις κατακλιθῶσιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θαλάττη τυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς πεδίοις, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ὄρεσι.
- 31 διακονεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς Ὠρας, οἷα δὴ νεωτάτας οὔσας τῶν θεῶν, εὖ μὲν ἀμπεχομένης, καλὰς δὲ ἰδεῖν, οὕτι που χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένης, ἀλλὰ παντοίων ἀνθῶν στεφάνοις. διανέμειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἐστιάσεως, τὰ μὲν παρατιθείσας, τὰ δὲ αἰρούσας κατὰ καιρόν. γίνεσθαι δὲ χοροὺς καὶ τὴν
- 32 ἄλλην εὐπάθειαν ἅπασαν. τὸν μέντοι πόνον τοῦτον, ὃν ἔχειν δοκοῦμεν ἐν² γεωργίαις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ φυτεῖαις, εἶναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον τοῖς κατακειμένοις τὸ ἐπορέξασθαι τινος καὶ τῇ χειρὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, ἄλλον ἀλλαχῇ κατακεῖσ-

¹ γὰρ after παρ' deleted by Roiske.

² ἐν added by Arnim.

¹ Cf. Discourse 12. 29; Genesis 1. 16.

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divine and great with the small and mean. For the gods furnish us with light of two kinds by means of lamps as it were, at one time a brighter and at another a dimmer light, the one at night and the other by day;¹ and tables are set beside us, loaded with everything, with bread and fruit, some of it wild and some cultivated, and with meats too, some from domestic animals, some from wild, and fish also from the sea. And these tables, the peasant said, speaking like a true rustic, are the meadows, plains, vales, and coast-land, on which some things grow, others pasture, and yet others are hunted. And different persons have different things in greater abundance according to the tables at which they have severally reclined. For some happen to have settled by the sea, others on the plains, and yet others in the mountains. And the waiters are the Seasons,² as being the youngest of the gods, beautifully dressed and fair to behold, and they are adorned, not, methinks, with gold, but with garlands of all manner of flowers. And some of the flowers themselves they distribute and also attend to the viands of the banquet in general, serving some and removing others at the right time. And there is dancing and every other sort of merrymaking. Furthermore, that labour which we think we undergo in farming and hunting and the care of the vines, is no more than it is for those at a table to reach out for a thing and take it in their hand. To return now to my statement that different persons reclined in different places, the reason for

¹ Daughters of Zeus and Themis. Cf. what is said about them in § 42 and see pseudo-Aristotle, *Περὶ κόσμου* c. 5, 397 a, 12 f.

θαι, τούτου καὶ ἡ κρᾶσις τῶν ἀέρων αἰτία. τοὺς γὰρ πρῶτους καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀλέα, τοὺς μὲν ἐγγὺς τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πόρρω.

- 33 Τῇ οὖν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ εὐωχίᾳ χρῆσθαι οὐχ ἅπαντας ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀσώτους καὶ ἀκρατεῖς οὔτε ὁρᾶν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀκοίειν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἐγκεκυφώτας ἐσθίειν, ὥσπερ ἐν συφεῷ ὕς, ἔπειτα νυστάζειν. τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρωτέρω διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, οἷον μεσυγεῖους ὄντας ἰχθύων ὀρέγεσθαι
- 34 καὶ πράγματα ἔχειν· ἄλλους δὲ ἀπλήστους τε καὶ ἀθλίους ὄντας, φοβουμένους μήποτε αὐτοῖς ἐλλίπη, πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνάγειν καὶ σωρεύειν ὅσ' ἂν δύνωνται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅταν αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι δέῃ, πορεύεσθαι μηδενὸς μετασχόντας, ἀλλὰ πάννυ ἐνδεεῖς, καταλείπειν δὲ ταῦτα ἐτέροις· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φέρεσθαι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. τούτους μὲν οὖν κατα-
- 35 γελασθαί τε καὶ ἀσχημονεῖν. ἐτέρους δὲ πεττεύειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀστραγάλοις παίζειν· εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πεττούς τε καὶ ἀστραγάλους οὐχ οἷους ἡμεῖς ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν χρυσοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροὺς, ὃ δὴ νόμισμα καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, ὑπὲρ οὗ διαφέρεισθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἕκαστον πλεονεκτεῖν. πλεῖστον δὲ θόρυβον τούτους καὶ ἀκοσμίαν παρέχειν, τοὺς δὲ κυβεύοντας, καὶ δοκεῖν τῶν συμποτῶν ἀηδεστάτους. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι καὶ τιτρώσκειν
- 36 ἀλλήλους. μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς μεθυσκομένους ταῦτα

¹ ὅς' Casaubon : ὅς M, οὗς UB.

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that is the differences in the climate. For those at the head of the tables and those at the foot, more than of the others, are either in the cold or in the heat, because they are either near the light or far from it.

" Now all, so the man continued, do not enjoy the merrymaking and banqueting in the same way, but each according to his own nature.¹ The dissolute and intemperate neither see nor hear anything, but bend over and eat, like pigs in a sty, and then nod in sleep. Again, some of them are not satisfied with what is near, but reach out their hands for the things that are farther away, as, for example, people living inland want fish and take trouble to get it; while others, who are insatiable and wretched, fearing that food will fail them, collect and pile up for themselves as much as they can, and after this, when they have to go, they depart without having a share of anything, but utterly destitute, and leave these things to others; for they cannot take them with them. Now these persons are a laughing-stock and disgrace. Others play at draughts and yet others with dice; but the draughts and dice are not like those to which we give these names, but are made some of gold and some of silver—we call them coins—and over them they quarrel and each seeks to get the greater share. It is these last-named men who cause the greatest uproar and disorder—I mean those who play at dice—and they appear to be the most disagreeable of the revellers. Sometimes, too, they fight and come to blows and wound one another. But it is the drunken who are most inclined to act this way.

¹ Cf. Discourse 27. 1; 32. 53; 33. 14 f.

- δρᾶν. μεθύσκεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ οἴνου, καθάπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ ἐστιάσει τὸ πόμα παρέχειν τοὺς θεοὺς, ὥστε ἐξελέγχεσθαι τὸν ἐκάστου τρόπον. δύο δὲ οἰνοχόους ἐφεστάναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν· ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖν τὸν μὲν Νοῦν, τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν φρονίμους τὸν ἄρρενα οἰνοχόον ἔχειν, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου μόνου τούτους δέχεσθαι σπανίως τε καὶ σμικραῖς κύλιξι καὶ πάνυ ἀσφαλῶς
- 37 κεκραμένον· κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἓνα κρατῆρα, τὸν γε τῆς Σωφροσύνης· ἐστάναι γε μὴν¹ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ διαφέροντας τῇ γεύσει ὥσπερ οἶνων πολλῶν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀργυροῦς τε καὶ χρυσοῦς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ζῶα ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ ἔχειν καὶ ἑλικὰς τινὰς καὶ τορείας. τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφροσύνης λείον τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ μέγαν καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκάσαι τις ὀρῶν χαλκοῦν. δεῖν² οὖν ἐκεῖθεν πολλαπλάσιον λαμβάνοντας καὶ ξυγκεραυνύντας σμικρὸν τι τῆς
- 38 ἡδονῆς πίνειν. οἷς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ Νοῦς οἰνοχόος, οὕτως οἰνοχοεῖν, φοβούμενον καὶ προσέχοντα μή πη τῆς κράσεως ἁμαρτῶν σφήλην τὸν δαιτυμόνα καὶ καταβάλῃ. τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν τοῖς μὲν πλείστοις ἄκρατον τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐγχεῖν, μηδὲ μικρὸν σωφροσύνης παραμυγνύουσιν, τοῖς δὲ ὀλίγον τι παντελῶς λόγου ἔνεκεν. τοῦτο δὲ εὐθὺς ἐξίτηλον γίγνεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ φαίνεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ

¹ γε μὴν Cohoon : γὰρ.² δεῖν Emperius : δεῖ.

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However, it is not wine that makes them drunk, as it is with us, but pleasure. For this is the beverage that the gods furnish at this banquet to which all mankind is invited, so that the character of each man may be revealed. And two cup-bearers stand at their elbows, one male, the other female; the one of them is called Intelligence and the other Intemperance. Now those banqueters who are sensible have the male cup-bearer and from him alone they accept the drink sparingly, in small cups, and only when it has been so mixed that it is quite harmless; for there is only one bowl,¹ that of Sobriety, has been placed before them, nevertheless there are many bowls available for all and differing in taste, as though filled with many kinds of wine, and they are of silver and of gold; and besides, they have figures of animals encircling them on the outside and certain scrolls and reliefs. But the bowl of Sobriety is smooth, not large, and of bronze, to judge by its appearance. So from this bowl they must take many times as large a portion and mix with it a little of the pleasure and drink. Now for those whose cup-bearer he is, Intelligence pours out the wine just so, fearing and giving close heed lest in some way he should fail to get the right mixture and cause the banqueter to stumble and fall. But Intemperance pours out a neat draught of pleasure for the great majority without mixing even a little of sobriety with it, though for some she puts in just a very little for the name of it; still this little straight-way disappears and is nowhere to be seen. And

¹ As appears from what follows, this is not the bowl in which the wine of pleasure is mixed with the water of sobriety, but a receptacle for the undiluted wine.

- πίνοντας μὴ διαλείπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισπέρχειν τε
 αὐτὴν καὶ κελεύειν θάπτον ἵνα παρ' αὐτοῦς,
 καὶ προαρπάζειν ἕκαστον. τὴν δὲ ἐπείγεσθαι
 καὶ περιτρέχειν ἀσθμαίνουσαν καὶ ῥεομένην ἰδρῶτι.
- 39 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐκείνης ἐστιάτορας ὀρχεῖσθαι τε
 καὶ κυλίεσθαι προπίπτοντας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ
 μάχεσθαι καὶ βοᾶν, οἷα δὴ ποιοῦσιν οἱ μεθυσθέντες
 ὑπὸ οἴνου· πλὴν οὗτοι μὲν ἐπ' ὀλίγον καὶ μετρίως·
 μικρὸν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ καταδαρθεῖν, ἔπειτα ἄμεινον
 ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἅτε ἐλαφρᾶς¹ οὔσης τῆς μέθης·
 οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καρωθέντες ὥς ἂν ὑπὸ
 ἰσχυροτέρου πόματος κατεχόμενοι δι' ὅλου τοῦ
 βίου ταῦτα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγῆναι
 ζῶσιν· εἰ μὴ γέ· ἀποθανοῦσιν.² οὗτος γὰρ ὕπνος
 ἐστὶ τῶν οὕτως μεθυσκομένων καὶ μόνος αὐτοῦς
- 40 ὠφελεῖ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξεμῶσιν ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς·
 γίνεταί δὲ μετὰ σπαραγμοῦ τε καὶ λύπης τῆς
 ἐσχάτης τὸ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐκβάλλειν. ὅστις δ'
 ἂν ἰσχύσῃ, κουφίζεται καὶ ῥᾶον διάγει τὸ λοιπόν.
 σπανίως δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνει τὸ ἐθέλειν ἐξεμεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον πίνειν ἐθέλουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ
 παύονται τοῦ δΐψους, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σφοδρότερον
 ἔχουσι, καθάπερ οἱ τῷ οἴνῳ ἀκράτῳ χρώμενοι.
- 41 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοί εἰσι καὶ καταισχύνουσι
 καὶ ὑβρίζουσι τὴν χάριν τῶν θεῶν· οἱ δὲ μέτριοί τε
 καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τῇ μὲν ἡδονῇ πράως χρῶνται καὶ
 διὰ χρόνου φοβούμενοι· ὥσπερ δὲ ἄνθρωπος
 ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος³ τῶν κρειττόνων,
 βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου, τοῦ μὲν ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν
 ἀμελεῖ, πλὴν ὅσον ἀναγκαῖον, προσέχει δὲ τοῖς

¹ ἐλαφρᾶς Dindorf : ἐλαφρᾶς U, ἐλαφρῶς BM.

² ἀποθανοῦσιν Emperius : ἀποθάνουσιν M, ἀποθάνωσιν UB.

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the drinkers do not take intervals of rest, but hurry her on and bid her come faster to them, and each one of them grabs first at what she brings. But she hurries and runs about panting and dripping with sweat. Some of her guests dance and lurch, falling prostrate in the sight of all, and fight and shout, just as men do who are drunken with wine. However, these do so only for a little while and moderately; for they are content to sleep a little while, and after that they feel better than ever, since their intoxication was slight. But those who have become stupefied by pleasure, being affected by a stronger potion, act this way all through life; and it is impossible for them to get free while they live but only when dead. For death is the only sleep for people intoxicated in this way and it alone helps them. Many too vomit from surfeit, and it is accompanied by retching and the severest pain—this casting out of the pleasure. But whoever persists is relieved and gets on better for the future. Yet it rarely happens that a person wishes to vomit; much rather do they wish to keep on drinking. For their thirst does not cease, but ever becomes more intense, just as with people who use untempered wine.

“Such, then, is the character of these people, and they disgrace and insult the bounty of the gods; whereas the temperate and reasonable enjoy pleasure in moderation and at intervals, owing to their fear; and just as a gentleman who has been invited by some superior, such as a king or a prince, neglects the food and drink, except in so far as he cannot avoid eating and drinking, and pays attention

- ἔνδον καὶ τούτοις· τέρπεται· κακείνοι μέθης
 μὲν καὶ πεττῶν καὶ ἀστραγάλων ἀμελοῦσιν,
 ὁρῶσι δὲ τάνδον ὅπως ἔχει, καὶ τόν τε ἀνδρῶνα
 ἐν ᾧ κατάκεινται θαυμάζουσιν τε καὶ ζητοῦσιν
 ὅπως γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὥσπερ γραφάς
 τινας εὐειδεῖς καὶ καλὰς κατανοοῦσι, καὶ τὴν
 ἄλλην οἰκονομίαν¹ τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ τὰς Ὁρας,
 ὥς εὖ τε καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἅπαντα πράττουσι,
 καὶ προσέχουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μόνοι δὴ τοῦ κάλλους
 42 αἰσθάνονται. μέλει δ' αὐτοῖς ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσιν
 ὥς τυφλοὶ τε καὶ κωφοὶ μετεληφέναι τούτων,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντες ἔχασί τι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν,
 εἴ τις πυνθάνοιτο, ἃ τε εἶδον ἃ τε ἔγνωσαν.
 καὶ ταῦτα φροντίζοντες καὶ μετὰ νοῦ τῆς ἡδονῆς
 ἐμμελῶς μετέχοντες διάγουσιν, εἰς ἐνὶ διαλεγό-
 μενοι καὶ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὅμοιοι. ἐνίστε δὲ
 μεγάλης κραυγῆς γενομένης καὶ θορύβου παρὰ
 τῶν μεθυόντων κακείσε ἀπέβλεψαν, ἔπειτα εὐθύς
 πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς ἐγένοντο.
 43 Καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀπιέναι δέη, οἱ μὲν ἄσωτοι καὶ
 ἀκρατεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ἔλκονται καὶ
 σύρονται μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ νοσημάτων κεκραγότες
 καὶ οἰμώζοντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες οὔτε ὅποι παρήλθον
 οὔτε ὅπως εἰστιάθησαν, κἂν πάνυ πολὺν τις αὐτῶν
 μείνῃ χρόνον. οἱ δὲ ὀρθοὶ τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς
 ἑαυτῶν ποσὶν ἀπίασι, προσαγορεύσαντες τοὺς
 φίλους, φαιδροὶ τε καὶ γεγηθότες, ὥς οὐδὲν ἀσχη-
 44 μονήσαντες. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ

¹ οἰκονομίαν Reiske : οἰκοδομίαν.

² Cf. § 31.

³ Cf. Discourse 13. 31.

⁴ Cf. § 24.

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to what is in the palace and enjoys this; so the reasonable neglect the drinking and draughts and dice, and look at the state of the things within, admire the banqueting-hall in which they are reclining, try to learn how it was made, and observe everything that is in it, just as they would some fair and beautiful paintings; and they notice the management also and its orderly system, and the Seasons too, observing how well and intelligently they do everything;¹ they observe attentively all these things and alone perceive their beauty. They are anxious also not to appear to take part in all this like persons who are blind and deaf, but they wish to have something to tell about it when they leave, if anyone should ask them about what they saw and observed. And throughout the banquet they continue to take thought for these things and to enjoy the pleasure intelligently and moderately, while they debate man to man, or in congenial groups of two or three.² Sometimes, however, when a great noise and disturbance is caused by those who are drunk, they look in their direction and then straightway again give attention to their own concerns.

"And when they have to depart, the dissolute and intemperate are pulled and dragged away by their slave attendants with discomforts and spells of sickness, shouting and groaning the while, and having no knowledge whatever where they have been or how they have feasted, even if one or another of them remains a very long time. But the others depart erect and standing securely upon their own feet after bidding farewell to their friends, joyous and happy because they have done nothing unseemly.³ God, therefore, looking upon these things

πάντας¹ ὁρῶν, ὡς ἐν ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ, ὅπως ἕκαστος εἰσιῖται, τοὺς βελτίστους αἰὲ παρ' αὐτὸν καλεῖ, καὶ τῷ σφόδρα ἀρεσθεῖς τύχῃ, μένειν αὐτοῦ κελεύει καὶ συμπότην καὶ ἐταῖρον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοῦ νέκταρος ἤδη οὗτος εὐωχεῖται. τοῦτο δὲ ἔοικε μὲν τῷ τῆς σωφροσύνης πώματι, διαυγέστερον δέ ἐστιν ἐκείνου πολὺ καὶ καθαρώτερον, ὡς ἂν, οἶμαι, θείας ὄν καὶ ἀληθοῦς σωφροσύνης."

- 45 Δ. Παπαῖ, ὦ Χαρίδημε. οἶος ὢν ἡμῖν τέθνηκας, ὡς πολὺ τῶν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερέξειν ἔμελλες, οἷαν δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἐπίδειξιν σαυτοῦ παρέσχες, μὰ Δί' οὐ λόγων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλης καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἀνδρείας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ὅπως παραμυθήσωμαι ὑμᾶς τοιούτου στερηθέντας μὴ βαρέως φέρειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν οἷός τέ εἰμι ἱκανῶς παραμυθήσασθαι ἐν τῷ
46 παρόντι. σὺ δέ, ὦ Τίμαρχε, μόνος δύνασαι τὸν πατέρα τοῦτον κουφίζειν καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, εἰ μὲν σοι μὴ πολὺ ἐκείνου καταδεεστέρω φαίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, εἰ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἤδη παρείληφας τοσαύτην οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ αὖθις λήψῃ τοῦδε ἀποθανόντος, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ θάρσος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλλίστων ἐρασθῆναι ἀφήσεις, ὡς κατὰ γε ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐκείνῳ προσήκων.

¹ πάντας Arnim: πάντα.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

and observing all the banqueters, as if he were in his own house, how each person has comported himself at the banquet, ever calls the best to himself; and if he happens to be especially pleased with any one, he bids him remain there and makes him his boon companion;¹ and thenceforth this man regales himself with nectar. This resembles the beverage of Sobriety, but is clearer by far than the other and purer because, as I think, it belongs to divine and true sobriety."

Dio. Alas, Charidemus, what a man has been lost to us in your death! How far you would have surpassed the men of your generation, and what a splendid revelation of your character you have given to your father and your fellow citizens, a display, not of words assuredly, but of great and true manliness. For my part, I know not how to console you of his family, bereft of such a man, by exhorting you not to sorrow too deeply, for I am not able adequately to console even myself for the present. You alone, Timarchus, are able to lighten this father's grief and to bring healing to his misfortune, by making it your concern not to be found much inferior to the departed. For it would be strange indeed if, while you have already received part of his property, great as it was, and will receive the other part in the future when your father here dies, yet you should forsake sobriety, courage, and a love for all that is most beautiful, as if in these matters you were of no kin at all to Charidemus.

¹ Cf. Epictetus, *Enchiridion* c. 15: "Then you will be not only a boon companion of the gods, but will also assist them in governing"—τότε οὐ μόνον συμπότης τῶν θεῶν ἔσῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάρχων.



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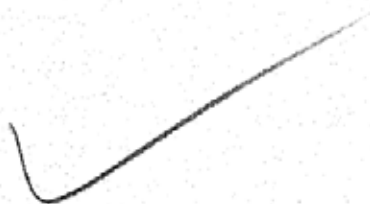
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