DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

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DIO
CHRYSOOSTOM

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

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LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMLI
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DIO CHRYSTOS TOM

THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: CHRYSEÏS

In this little dialogue it would seem that Dio had chosen for discussion the most unpromising of topics. Little as is known about Briseïs, Homer at least tells us that when Agamemnon's messengers came to fetch her she followed them unwillingly, but Chryseïs, the involuntary cause of the quarrel out of which grew the Iliad, is restored to the arms of her father without giving the slightest clue to her emotions or desires. Apart from the epithet "fair-cheeked" which she shares with Briseïs, our only testimony regarding her personality is the tribute paid her by Agamemnon when he compares her with Clytemnestra to the disadvantage of the latter, a tribute, it may be, inspired as much by arrogant pride as by passion.

So far as is known, none of the Greek playwrights found in her story material suitable for dramatic treatment; yet Dio here undertakes the task of endowing this lay figure with life. His partner in the discussion is not a colourless individual, as is often the case, merely providing the cues for further argumentation and meekly assenting to the conclusions reached, but a woman with a mind of her own, repeatedly raising logical objections and asking pertinent questions. Her final utterance shows that, despite the dexterity of Dio, she has some lingering doubts about the true character of Chryseïs. It is of course peculiarly fitting that in treating such a topic as Chryseïs the interlocutor should be a woman, but that Dio should have cast a woman for such a rôle is of itself noteworthy, and there is such an atmosphere of verisimilitude surrounding the dialogue as to suggest that it may actually have taken place.
ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

61. ΧΡΥΣΗΣ

1 Δ. Ἐπεὶ τυγχάνεις οὐ φαύλως ἐπαινοῦσα ὁμηροῦν οὐδὲ, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, πιστεύουσα τῇ δόξῃ προσποιήθηκεν, ὦ δὲ δεινότατός ἐστιν ἡσθῆσαι τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμπειρίαν, τἀλλα μὲν ἐάσωμεν, εἰ ἐθέλεις, τὰ νῦν, τὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν, περὶ δὲ μιᾶς γυναικὸς σκεπασμέθα τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν, ὅποιαν τυλὰ πεποίηκε τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ιερέως, ἣς εὐθὺς ἐμνήσθη κατ' ἄρχας τῆς ποιήσεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνονοι οὐ μόνον τὸ εἶδος, ἄλλα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπαινεῖν έσοχε τῆς παιδίκης, λέγει γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν είη τὰς φρένας χείρων τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς· δῆλον δὲ ὃς ἐκείνης οἴομενος τοῦν ἐχεῖν.

2 Τί δὲ; οὐκ ἄλλως τοῦτο εἴρηκε διὰ τῶν ἐρωτα ἀπατώμενοι;

Δ. Ἰδεῖν αἴξουν· καίτοι χαλεπώτατον πείθειν τοὺς ἐρωτας· καὶ γὰρ ὑπονοοῦσαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὀργίζονται ῥαδίως, καὶ οὐδέποτε φασιν ἀγαπάσθαι κατ' 

1 Τί δὲ; Wilamowitz: εἰ δὲ.

1 Cf. Iliad 1. 113-115, spoken in praise of Chryseis.
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THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: CHRYSEÍS

Dio. Since, as it happens, you praise Homer in no ordinary manner and you do not, like most persons, merely pretend to admire him, trusting to his reputation, but instead have discerned that quality in the poet in which he is most effective, his acquaintance with the passions of mankind, let us, if you please, pass by all else for the moment, the fortunes of kings and generals, and turn our attention to just one woman among the captives, aiming to discover how the poet has depicted the daughter of the priest whom he has mentioned at the very beginning of his poem. For Agamemnon seems to praise not only the beauty but also the character of the young woman, for he says that she is in no wise inferior in mind to his own wife 1—clearly believing that Clytemnestra has intelligence.

Interlocutor. What of it? Has he not said this thoughtlessly, beguiled by his infatuation?

Dio. That is worth looking into; and yet it is very difficult to convince men who are in love, for most of them are suspicious and easily angered, and they never admit that they are loved as they deserve by
 Dio Chrysostom

ἀξίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρωμένων, ἄλλως τε ὅταν ὁσι κρεῖτ-
tους τοσοῦτον καὶ συνάψτες μετ’ ἔξοισῆς.

Ταύτα δὲ φημι συμβαίνειν τοῖς φαύλοις ἔρασταίς.

Δ. Εἴτε οὖν σπουδαίος ἢν ο Ἀγαμέμνων, ὦρθῶς
ἔγινον γινώσκε τερι αὐτῆς, εἴτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὦμοιοι,
οὐ βάδιον φαύλην οὕσαν ἀρέσαι τὸν τοιοῦτον, ὥστε
ἀγαθὴν ὑπολαβεῖν. φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰλα ὑδωμεν.

3 Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἐχεῖς παρὰ γε Ὤμήρῳ
τοῦ ἑυποτοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς; οὐδὲν γοῦν πεποίηκεν
αὐτὴν πράττοντας ἣ λέγουσαν, ἀλλὰ σιγή τῷ
πατρὶ διδομένην.

Δ. Τί γὰρ; ἐκ τῶν γενομένων περὶ αὐτῆς οὐκ
ἀν τοὺς συμβαίλοι τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ πάνυ ἀπλῶς μηδὲ
εὐθῆς σκοπῶν;

"Ἰσως.

Δ. Πότερον οὖν ὁϊῶμεθα τοῦ Ἐρύσην ἀκούσῃς
τῆς θυγατρὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθεῖν μετὰ
λύτρων ἀμα τὰ στέμματα κομίζοντα τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἱκετεύει καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας ἀφείναι
αὐτῆς, ἡ τοιούτιον ἐκείνης δεομένης τοῦ πατρός,

4 εἰ τί δύνατο, βοηθεῖν; εἰ γὰρ ἐστιν τοῖς παρου-
σιν ἡ Ἐρύσης καὶ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνων συνείχαι ἠβου-
λετο, οὐδέποτε ἂν εἴλεσθε Ἐρύσης ἀμα τῆς
θυγατέρας λυπῶν τῷ βασιλεί ἀπεχθάνεσθα, οὐκ
ἀγνοῶν ὅπως εἰχὲ πρὸς αὐτῆς. τὸ γὰρ συνείχαι τῷ
βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἐρύσης στεργομένην οὐχ ἤττον τῷ
Ἐρύσῃ συν-

εφερεν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χώρα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτὸς

1 Πότερον οὖν Selden: ποτε.
2 οἴωμεθα Reiske: οἴομεθα.

1 Cf. iaid 1. 12-16.
their beloved, especially when they are so superior in station to the objects of their passion and associate with them by virtue of authority.

Int. That kind of thing, in my opinion, happens with lovers of the low sort.

Dio. Well then, if Agamemnon was of the superior kind, he was right in his appraisal of the girl; but if he was no better than most men, it is not easy for a woman of low degree to please a man like him to the point of taking her to be noble. Well now, let us examine also the other points.

Int. Why, what additional proof have you in Homer of the character of the woman? At any rate he has not depicted her as doing or saying anything, but rather as being silently handed over to her father.

Dio. What! Could one not deduce her faculties of mind from what took place in connexion with her, provided one were to consider the matter in a manner not wholly superficial and foolish?

Int. Perhaps.

Dio. Are we, then, to suppose that against the wishes of his daughter Chryses came into the camp, bearing the fillets of the god along with the ransom, and besought the assembly and the kings to release her, or, on the contrary, was it because she kept begging her father to aid her if he could? For if Chryseïs was content with her situation and wished to live with Agamemnon, Chryses would never have chosen at one and the same time to grieve his daughter and to inure the malice of the king, not being unaware of the king's feelings toward her. For it was no less to the interest of Chryses that Chryseïs should live with the king, so long as he was fond of her, since the priest's country, his sanctuary, and he himself had
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

υπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαϊῶν ἐγεγόνει, κάκεινος ἦν αὐτῶν κύριος. ἔτι δὲ πῶς παραχρήμα μὲν ἀλούσης οὐτε ἦλθεν οὕτε ἐμέμητο περὶ λύτρων, ὥστε εἰκὸς ἦν χαλεπώτερον φέρειν, χρόνω δὲ ύστερον τῆς μὲν Λύπης ἐλάττωσον γεγενημένης, συνήθειας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα πλείονος; δεκάτῳ γὰρ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας ταῦτα συμβῆναι φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς, τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀφίξειν τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν λύτρων. τὰς δὲ περιοίκους πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἐλάττωσε εἰκὸς ἦν εὔθυς ἄλωναι καὶ ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὃν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Χρύσα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν.

Οὐκοῦν δ' λόγος οὗτος πολλὴν ἀποτίαν ἐπιδείκνυσι τῆς Χρυσήδος, τὸ πρότερον μὲν αἰχμάλωτον οὗσαν ἀνέχεσθαί, προσφάτως στερομένην τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, διελθόντων δὲ δέκα1 ετῶν χαλέπως φέρειν.

6. Δ. Εἰ γε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀκούσειας οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν τυχόντα ἐραστὴν ἀπαξ γενόμενον ἥδυ ἀπολυπεῖν ταῖς ἐλευθέραις, μή τί γε τὸν ἐνδοξότατον καὶ πλουσιώτατον, βασιλέα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐμπάντων, μεγάτην δὲ ἑχοντα δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώπων, κύριον δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐκείνης, ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἐπιζητούσα δὲ κρατήσεως ὀλίγου χρόνου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ γὰρ Ἱλων φαύλως εἰχεν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ κόλις διεφύλαττον αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεξεξήγη δὲ οὐδεὶς εἰς μάχην καὶ ταῦτα οὐ παρέργως ἑχοντος πρὸς2 αὐτὴν τοῦ βασι-
come under the sway of the Achaeans, and Agamemnon was their sovereign. And, besides, how is it that immediately after her capture, at a time when she might be expected to be in greater distress, Chryses neither came nor made any mention of ransom, but rather some time later, at a time when her grief had diminished and her intimacy with Agamemnon had increased? For the poet says these things took place in the tenth year of the siege—1 mean the coming of the priest and the bringing of the ransom—while it is reasonable to suppose that the cities in the neighbourhood of Troy, and especially the smaller ones, would have been taken in the very beginning of the war, and it is to this group that Chrysa and its sanctuary belonged.\(^1\)

Int. Then this reasoning of yours attributes to Chryseis very singular conduct, in that formerly she endured her lot as a captive, though newly robbed of her father and her country, but after ten years had passed she took it hard.

Dio. Yes, at least if you listen to what else I have to say\(^2\): for it is not pleasant for free women to abandon even an ordinary man, once he has become their lover, to say nothing of the most illustrious and wealthy man, king of all the Greeks, a man who held the greatest power of all among the men of that day, who had authority over not merely Chryseis but her father and her country too, and who expected in a short time to become lord of Asia as well—for Ilium had long been in a bad way and its people were having difficulty in defending the city itself and no one went out for battle. And observe also that the Chryseis, but the interlocutor does not catch his meaning at once.
Λέως, ἄλλα καὶ φανερῶς ὁμολογοῦντος προτιμάν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς. τοσαῦτα ἀποπτώσαν καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἀγαθά, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐραστὴν οὐ μόνον βασιλέα μέγαν καὶ ἁίδρειον ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἄλλα καὶ νέον καὶ καλόν, ὡς φησίν ὁμηρος τῷ Δίῳ προσεικάζων αὐτόν, ἔπειτα εἰς ἐαλωκυίαν ἀφικέ- σθαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ συνουκεῖν εἰς τῶν δούλων τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονοι, εἰ γε ἐμελλε γαμείσθαι τῶν ἧ ἐγνωρίων τινὶ, πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον; τὸ γὰρ αἰχμαλώ- 

τον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ στέργειν τὸν λαβόντα οὐχ ἰκανόν. ἦ γοῦν Βρυσῆς ἀγαπῶν ἑοίκε τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ ταῦτα ὡν φησιν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἅδελφους. τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἑπέπρακτο περὶ τῆς Χρυσῆδα.

Καλῶς. οὐκοῦν ἐκ τῶν λόγων τούτων οὐκ ἐβου- λήθη Χρυσῆς ἀποπεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμ- 

νονοσ, ἄλλα Χρύσης ταῦτα ἑπράττε καθ' αὐτόν. ἦ 

εἶπερ ἐβοῦλετο, ἀφρονεστέρα ἄν εἰ, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐναντίον εἶπας ἡ ὕπερσχοι.

8 Δ. Ἀλλ' οὕν μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης, φασί, πρὶν ἀμφοτέρων ἄκοισαι. λέγεις δὴ σοφὸν ὄντα τὸν ὁμηρον;

Ἰσως.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν οἴου, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καταλιπεῖν αἰσθάνεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ τῶν πάνω ἄδηλων ἐστίν. ἦ γὰρ Χρυσῆς κατ' 

1 τῶν Πλύγκ: λόγων.

1 Iliad 1, 113-115.
2 Ibid. 2, 477-478.
3 Iliad. 19, 282-300.
4 He only promised to deduce her character from Homer's words. The speaker may be thinking of the appraisal of Chryseis in § 1.
THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

king had no casual regard for her, but even openly admitted that he preferred her to his own wife. That she should spurn such numerous and exceptional advantages, and in particular a lover who was not only a great king and had few who vied with him in valour, but was also young and handsome, as Homer says in comparing him to Zeus, and that she should then go to her native land, now a prize of war, and live as the wife of one of Agamemnon's slaves—that is, assuming that she would wed one of the men of the district—is not that singular? For that she was a prisoner of war and for that reason did not care for the man who got her is not enough to explain her conduct. At any rate Briseis apparently loved Achilles, and that although, as she declares, it was he who slew her husband and her brothers. But as for Agamemnon, nothing like that had been done regarding Chryseis.

Int. Very good. Then from this line of reasoning it follows that Chryseis did not wish to be parted from Agamemnon, but that Chryses was conducting these negotiations independently; or else, if indeed she did wish it, she would be rather foolish and the case you have made out is contrary to what you promised.

Dio. Well now, as the saying goes, do not judge a case before you hear both sides. Of course you speak of Homer as being a man of wisdom?

Int. Possibly.

Dio. Then you should assume that he tells some things but leaves others to the perception of his readers. But this is not one of the very obscure instances. For Chryseis at the outset apparently

5 A familiar maxim supposed to obtain in Athenian law-courts.
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ἀρχᾶς μὲν, ὡς ἐοικεῖν, ἡγώνα μένειν παρὰ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι δὲ ἂς εἶπον αὐτῶς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἤδει χάριν ὅτι μηδεὶς δοθεῖ τῶν ἀδοξοτέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν πάντων βασιλεῖ, κακέινος οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἔχοι πρὸς αὐτὴν. ὡστε οὐκ ἔπραττε περὶ λύτρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουε τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀποῖα ἦν, ὡς χαλεπά, καὶ τὴν ἀμόρτητα τῆς Κλυταμνήστρας καὶ τὸ θράσος, ἐνταῦθα ἐφοβεῖτο τὴν εἰς τὸ Ἀργος ἄφιξιν. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον παρέμενε στέργουσα ὅσως τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα· ὅτε δὲ ἦν πρὸς τέλει ὁ πόλεμος καὶ διέρρευ λόγος ὡς οὐκέτι δυνήσονται πλείω χρόνων ἀντέχειν οἱ Τρῶες, οὐ περιέμενε τὸν Ἰλίου τὴν ἀλωσιν. ἤδει γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολύ τοὺς νικῶντας ὑπερηφάνους γιγνομένους καὶ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν τότε μᾶλλον ἵσχύουσαν τὴν περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὅταν πολεμῶσοι οἱ ἀνθρωποί.

10 Διὰ ταύτα ἐκάλει τότε τὸν πατέρα καὶ δείσθαι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκέλευεν· ἐπινυθάνετο γάρ, ὡς ἐοικεῖν, ὅτι ἐγνωσικρατοῦντο οἱ Ἀτρείδαι καὶ μείζον ἐφρόνουν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων αἱ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἐπὶ κάλλει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄρχην αὐταῖς νομίζουσι προσήκειν μᾶλλον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Πελοπίδας τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτήλυδας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, αὐταῖ δε Ἀχαιίδες, Τυνδάρεως θυγατέρες καὶ Λήδας. οὐ δε Τυνδάρεως ἐνδοξοῖς ἦν καὶ βασιλεύς τῆς Σπάρτης, ὡστε καὶ τὴν Ἐλένην διὰ τοῦτο ἐμφύτευσαν

1 γιγνομένους Dindorf: γειγνομένους.
THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

was content to remain with Agamemnon for the reasons I have named, and she was grateful to the gods that she had not been given to any of the less illustrious persons, but rather to the king of all, and also that he was not indifferent toward her; and so she made no move regarding ransom. But when she heard what conditions were like in the house of Agamemnon, how disagreeable they were, and when she heard also about the cruelty of Clytemnestra and about her boldness, then she looked with dread to her arrival in Argos. Moreover, although she had hitherto remained with Agamemnon, possibly for love of him, still when the war was near its close and a report was current that the Trojans no longer would be able to hold out, she did not wait for the capture of Ilium. For she knew that in general men who are victorious grow arrogant, and that the time when religious scruples are more potent is when men are at war.

For these reasons at that juncture she summoned her father and bade him entreat the Achaeans; for she learned, it would appear, that the Atreidae were dominated by their wives and that the wives felt themselves superior to these men, not alone because of their beauty, but also because they believed that the right to rule belonged rather to themselves. For the Atreidae were descendants of Pelops and newcomers in Greece,\(^1\) whereas they themselves were women of Achaia, daughters of Tyndareüs and Leda. Now Tyndareüs had been illustrious and king of Sparta, and so not only had Helen on this account been courted by the noblest among the Greeks, but

\(^1\) Tradition made Pelops a native of Phrygia in Asia Minor.

\(^2\) \(\tau\omega\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega\nu\ \text{Pflugk: } \tau\omicron\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\nu.\)
 Dio Chrysostom

οί ἀριστοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βοηθήσειν ὁμοσαν. 11 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδελφαὶ Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύ-κους ἦσαν, οἱ Διὸς παίδες ἐνομίσθησαν καὶ θεοὶ μέχρι νῦν πᾶσι δοκοῦσι διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἢν τότε ἔσχον. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ προεῖχον: τῶν δὲ ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μεγίστη δύναμις ἢν ἡ περί τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ταύτην καθεῖλον ἐπιστρα-τεύσαντες Θησέως βασιλεύσωτος. ἐτὶ δὲ ἀνεψιός ἐγεγόνει αυτοῖς Μελέαγρος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁριστος.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἢπίστατο ἢ Χρυσῆς, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα ἤκουε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπεγιγνωσκεν ὅσον υπερείχε1 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς. ὡστε ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας μεγάλα ἦκουε διὰ τὰ χώρας ἀρετὴν καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρημά- των, κατεφρονήσεν οὐ τοῦ Μενελάου μόνου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τε Ἀγαμήμονος καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος, 12 καὶ ταῦτα εἶλετο ἄντ' ἐκείνων. ο μὲν οὖν Μενελαος καὶ πρότερον υπείκε περὶ πάντων τῇ Ἑλένῃ καὶ ὑστερον εὐληφότις αἰχμάλωτον ὁμίως ἑθεράπευεν ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμήμων διὰ τὴν ἄρχην ἐπαιρόμενος τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν ἡτίμασεν,2 ὡστε ὅθλον ἢν ὡτι οὐκ ἀνέξοντο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐσούτο τοιαῦτα σχεδὸν

1 υπερείχε| υπερείδε Arnim.
2 ἡτίμασεν| ἡτίμαζεν Arnim.

1 Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 3. 10. 8-9, lists thirty-two suitors, adding that, on the advice of Odysseus, Tyndareus exacted an oath that they stand by whoever might be chosen to wed Helen, in case any one should wrong him in his marriage rights.
2 According to tradition Leda bore Castor and Clytemnestra to Tyndareus, Polydeuces and Helen to Zeus.
3 Helen had been carried off by Theseus and Peirithoüs.
they had sworn to render aid in case of need. Besides, these women were sisters of Castor and Polydeuces, who had come to be regarded as sons of Zeus, and who to this day are deemed gods by all men because of the power they acquired at that time. For not only were they pre-eminent among the dwellers in the Peloponnese, but among those outside the Peloponnese the greatest power was that of Athens, and Castor and Polydeuces had overwhelmed that city in a campaign which they made in the reign of Theseus. Furthermore, Melcager, the noblest among the Greeks, had been a cousin of theirs.

Now though Chryseis did not know these things, she did hear of the proud spirit of the women, and she learned how far above her husband Helen stood—so far that, when Helen heard of the great advantages of Asia, due alike to excellence of soil and size of population and abundance of riches, she came to scorn not only Menelaüs, but Agamemnon too and Greece as a whole and she chose the one in preference to the other. Now Menelaüs had been accustomed to yield to Helen in everything before her elopement, and also, when later on he took her captive, he was kind to her in spite of all; but Agamemnon, puffed up because of his position as commander, had disparaged Clytemnestra, and so it was clear that they were not going to get along well together, but that instead there would be just about such actions as.

4 Melcager's mother was Ieda's sister. The Calydonian boarhunt, of which he was the hero, was popular with both poet and artist.

5 Aristophanes, Lysistrata 155-156, says that when Troy was taken Menelaüs was so moved by Helen's beauty that he let fall the sword with which he meant to slay her. He treats her with marked courtesy in the Odyssey.
DIO CHRYSTOS

όποια συνέπεσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ὤδετο λέγοντος τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἡ Χρυσῆς, καὶ ταῦτα φανέρως ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι προτιμᾶ τῆς γυναι-κός αὐτῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἤγοιτο χεῖρονα· φθόνον γὰρ 13 καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν ἤδει φέροντα. καὶ ἴνα Δία τῶν τρόπων ἔσχισα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅτι οὐ βέβαιος ἄλλα ὑπερήφανος εἴη καὶ υβριστής, καὶ τί ποιήσει πρὸς αὐτὴν αἰχμάλωτον οὐδαν ἔλογιζετο παυσάμευ-νος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὅπου γε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γυναικός, βασιλίδος τε οὐσίς καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς πεποιη-μένος, οὔτως ὠλυγάρχος ἐμνημόνευεν. αὐ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόητοι χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔρασταις, ὅταν φαίνον-ται τὰς ἄλλας ἀτυμάζοντες: αἰ δὲ νοῦν ἔχουσαι τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶσι 1 τοῦ ταῦτα ποιοῦντος ἡ λέγοντος.

14 Ἄμα δὲ καὶ πρῶς αὐτήν 2 ἦσθάνετο αὐτὸν υβρι-στικῶς ἔχειν, 3 καὶ ταῦτα ὅτε μάλιστα ἦρα. τὸ γὰρ οὔτως ἀπελάσαι τὸν 4 πατέρα τῆς ἐρωμένης καὶ μὴ φείσασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ οὗ ὅπως παραμυθῆσοσθαι τὸν πρεσβύτην εἰπόντα ός οὔδεν αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρὶ δεινὸν εἴη, τουναντίον δὲ μὴ μοῦνον ἐκείνῳ ἀπειλεῖν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν Χρυσῆδα ἀτυμάζειν λέγοντα,

τὴν δὲ ἐγὼ ὃς λύσω πρῶς μν καὶ γῆρας ἐπεισιν ἡμετέρω ἐν οὐκ ἐν "Ἀργεί, τηλόθι πάτρης, ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος αντίωσων, πόσης τινός υπερηφανίας; τὶ γὰρ ὃν ὑστερον ἐποίησεν, ὅτε ἑρῶν οὔτως ὑπέρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεται;

1 ὁρῶσι| ὁφορῶσι Geel. 2 αὐτὴν Emperius: αὐτήν. 3 ἔχειν| ἔχοντα Arnim. 4 After τῶν Arnim deletes Χρύσην.

1 A reference to Clytemnestra’s slaughter of Agamemnon and Cassandra; cf. § 13 and Aeschylus’ Agamemnon.

14
THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

came to pass.¹ Nor was Chryseïs pleased when Agamemnon said what he did, moreover publicly in the assembly of the Achaeans, namely, that he prized her more than his own wife and thought her not inferior to her, for Chryseïs knew that such talk breeds envy and jealousy. Then too, she observed Agamemnon's character and saw that he was not stable but arrogant and overbearing, and she calculated what he would do to her, a captive, when he ceased to desire her, seeing that he referred to his wife, queen though she was and the mother of his children, in such disparaging terms. For though foolish women delight in their lovers when they are seen to disparage all other women, those who are sensible discern the true nature of the man who acts or talks that way.

And at the same time Chryseïs was aware that he was insolent too in his treatment of herself, and that too at a time when he was most in love with her. For example, that he should so roughly have driven off the father of his beloved, instead of sparing him on her account, to say nothing of his not having soothed the old man by saying that his daughter had nothing to fear from him, but, on the contrary, not only threatening him but also speaking slightingly of Chryseïs by saying.

But I'll not free her ere old age o'ertakes
Her far from home, at Argos, in our house.
Plying the loom and visiting my couch.²

What overweening insolence! Why, what would he have done later on, seeing that while still in love he talks of her in such a fashion? Therefore, to

² Ἰλιάς 1, 29-31.
15 γυναικός. ἐδήλωσε δὲ, οἴμαι, τὰ περὶ τὴν Κασ-
σάνδραν γενόμενα ἐν τῷ Ἀργεί καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέ-
μονα αὐτὸν, ὅτι νοῦν εἶχεν ἡ Χρυσηῆς ῥυσαμένη τῶν
κακῶν τοῦτων ἕαυτήν. οὐκοῦν τὸ μῆτε ἔρωτι μῆτε
βασιλεία μῆτε τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐνδόξοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
νέαι οὖσαν ἐπαίρεσθαι, μηδ' εἰς πράγματα σφαλερὰ
καὶ τεταραγμένην οἰκίαν καὶ εἰς φθόνον καὶ ξηλο-
τυπίαν αὐτὴν προέσθαι γυναικὸς σώφρονος καὶ τῷ
ὄντι ἄξιάς ιερέως εἶναι θυγατρός, παρὰ θεῷ τεθραμ-
μένης.
Τί οὖν; ἐκ τοῦτων σὺ φής νοῦν ἔχειν αὐτήν
ἡγήσασθαι τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα;
16 Ὅ. Ὅδαμώς γάρ εἰκὸς ἢ μὲν λέγειν αὐτὴν
τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
συνεῖναι.
Πῶς οὖν οὐ φησὶ χαίρουσαν αὐτὴν ὁ ποιητής
ἀπιέναι, καθάπερ τῇ ἤρισηδα λυπουμένην;
游戏技巧 τοῦτο σωφρονοῦσα ἑπραττεν, ὅπως
μὴ παροξύναι τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα μηδὲ εἰς φιλονικίαν
ἀγάνοι. δὴ λοί ὅμως, ὅτου φησὶν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ
τοῦ Ὅδυσσέως τῶν πατρί δοθήναι παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν

οὔς εἰπὼν εἰν χερσὶ τίθει, ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο χαῖρων
παίδα φίλην.

οὐ γὰρ ἃν, ὃίμαι, λυπουμένην αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ ἐδέ-

1 ἐπαίρεσθαι added by Reiske.
2 ἃν added by Jacobs.

1 Cf. § 12 and note. 2 Ἡιαδ 1. 348.
guard against these things and to forecast them is the mark of a woman by no means ordinary. However, to my way of thinking, what happened in Argos both to Cassandra and to Agamemnon himself ¹ revealed that Chryseis was a sensible woman to have saved herself from these disasters. Accordingly, that neither passion nor kingly station nor those things which are deemed glorious and good turned her head, young though she was, and that she did not plunge into perilous ventures and a disordered house and envy and jealousy—these are the marks of a prudent woman, one truly worthy of being daughter of a priest, nurtured in the house of a god.

_Int._ How so? Do you mean that these are the reasons why Agamemnon thought her wise?

_Dio._ By no means, for it is not likely that she said any such thing to him: rather that he formed his judgement on the basis of her conduct in general.

_Int._ Why, then, does not the poet say that she departed in gladness, just as he says that Briseis departed in sorrow? ²

_Dio._ Because in this too she was showing her prudence, her aim being not to exasperate Agamemnon or drive him to contentiousness. However, the poet makes the situation plain in the passage in which he says she was restored by Odysseus to her father beside the altar:

Thus having said, he placed her in his arms. And he rejoicing took his darling child. ³

For, methinks, if she were sorrowing, her father would not be receiving her "rejoicing"; nor, per-

³ _Ibid._ 1. 446-447.
χετο χαίρων· ούδ' ἂν φίλην εἰπε τυχόν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἡγάπα τοῖς γεγονόσι τῶν πατέρα.  

17 Εἰς τα γάλλων ἡ Χρυσῆς ταῦτα ἐλογίζετο ὁ σὺ λέγεις ἡ Χρύσης καθ' αὐτὸν;

Δ. Ὡτι πάρε τὴν Κλωταμνήστραν εἰκὼς ἠμαλλον ἐκείνην πολυπραγμονεῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ λοιμομένου τοῦ πατρὸς ταῦτα συνεχόρευε καὶ ἐπείθετο, οὐδὲ τούτο φαύλου. αἱ γοῦν πολλαὶ καὶ ἀνόητοι τοὺς ἐραστὰς μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν ἡ τοὺς γονέας.

Διὰ τὸ οὖν, εἴπερ ἢν φρόνιμος, οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν Χρύσην ἐν τῷ φανερῷ δεισθαί τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅπως ἰττον ἐχιλίπαινεν;

18 Δ. Ὡτι ἢδε τοὺς ἑρωτας ἢδα μὲν πάντα βουλομένους χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἑρωτί, τὸν δὲ ὀχλον αἰδομένους ἐνίστε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα ἔχειν τινὰ ἦγείτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος δύναμιν, ὥσπερ ἐγένετο.

Ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμοῦμαι· πῶς συνέτυχε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τότε τῆς τοῦ ἱερέως θυγατρὸς καὶ ὑστερον ἐρασθήμας τῆς Κασσάνδρας, θεοφορίτου καὶ ἱερᾶς κόρης;

Δ. Ὡτι καὶ τούτο σημεῖον ὑπερηφανίας καὶ τρυφῆς, τὸ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν παρανόμων καὶ σπανίων ἡ τῶν ἑτούμων.

1 τῶν πατέρα deleted by Wendland.
2 ἀλλὰ τί Emperor, ἀλλ' οἱ Pflugk: ἀλλ' εἰ UBM (ei in ras. M).
3 After ἡ Wilamowitz adds ὡ.
4 ὡ Pflugk: εἶναι.
5 εἰ δὲ added by Wilamowitz.
chance, would the poet have called her "darling" unless she loved her father dearly for what had taken place.

Int. Very well: yet why did Chryseis reason thus rather than Chryses on his own account?

Dio. Because it was to be expected that what concerned Clytemnestra would hold greater interest for Chryseis; but even if it was her father who reasoned thus and she agreed with him and followed his advice, that was no trifling feat either. At any rate most women in their folly are more devoted to their lovers than to their parents.

Int. Why, then, if she really was sensible, did she not try to prevent Chryses from appealing to Agamemnon publicly, in order that he might be less angry?

Dio. Because she knew that, though in private lovers desire in every matter to gratify their passion, they are sometimes embarrassed in the presence of the crowd, and she believed that the fillets of the god had a certain power with the people, as proved to be the case.¹

Int. Still here is something that troubles me. How did it happen that Agamemnon not only fell in love with the priest’s daughter at the time in question, but afterwards with Cassandra too, a divinely inspired and holy maid?²

Dio. Because this too is a sign of pride and wantonness—to desire the forbidden and rare rather than the easily obtainable.

¹ Cf. Iliad 1, 22-23.
² Loved by Apollo, Cassandra received from him the gift of prophecy.

6 εχεν] εξεν Ainnm. ⁷ After ὀπερ Emperius adds καί.
Οὐκ ἀντιλέγω τὸ μὴ οὐ φρόνημον εἶναι τὴν Χρυσηῖδα, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω γέγονεν.

Δ. Σὺ δὲ πότερον ἀκούειν θέλους ἃν ὡς γέγονεν πάντως1 ἢ ὡς καλῶς εἶχε γενέσθαι;

1 γέγονεν πάντως | γέγονεν οὕτως Εμπερίουs.
THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

Int. I do not gainsay that Chryseïs was prudent, if these things took place as you claim.

Dio. Would you rather hear how they assuredly did take place, or how it would be well for them to have taken place?
THE SIXTY-SECOND DISCOURSE:
ON KINGSHIP AND TYRANNY

The complimentary address contained in §§ 1 and 3 of our Discourse could hardly have been intended for any one but Trajan. Yet the document is so abrupt in both beginning and ending and so brief when compared with the four treatises on kingship supposed to have been addressed to Trajan (Or. 1-4) that it is difficult to imagine that it ever was delivered as a distinct entity in the form in which we have it. It is of course conceivable that we are dealing with a fragment of a fifth speech on kingship addressed to the much-enduring Trajan, but it is more likely that we have before us a variant version of a portion of one of the addresses just mentioned. Dio himself makes it plain (Or. 57. 10-12) that on occasion he took the liberty of repeating to other hearers speeches previously delivered before "the Emperor." On such an occasion he doubtless felt free to modify the original wording, and such a procedure would explain the existence of certain doublets in his text. We may conjecture that his editor, finding the substance of Or. 62 "imbedded in such a variant version of one of the four speeches to which we have referred and not wishing to discard it, gave it independent existence here. Finally, it may be noted that, though the second element in the title, tyranny, is not specifically mentioned in our document, it is dealt with in Or. 3, and also that there is a notable similarity between Or. 3. 10 and Or. 62. 3.
62. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΟΣ

1 Καὶ μήν εἶ τις ἐνὸς ἄνδρὸς ὦν οἶός τε ἄρχειν ἐστι, καὶ τούτου σφόδρα ἐγγύς ὄντος, ὥ δὴ ἡ ξύνεστιν, οὕτε αὐτὶ μίαν ψυχὴν κατευθύνειν τὴν αὐτοῦ, πῶς ἂν δύνατο βασιλεύειν μυριάδων ἀναριθμητῶν πανταχοῦ διεσπαρμένων, ὥσπερ σὺ, ἔστω καὶ πολλῶν γε οἰκούντων ἐπὶ πέρασι γῆς, ὥν οὕτε ἐξώρακε τοὺς πλείστους οὐδὲ ἂν ἴδοι ποτὲ οὐδὲ τῆς φωνῆς ξυνήσει; ὅμοιον γὰρ ὥσπερ εἰ τις λέγοι τὸν οὕτως ἄδυνατον τὴν ὄψιν ὡς μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὀράν, ἀλλὰ προσδεόμενον χειραγωγοῦ, τούτον ἐφικνεύσθαι βλέποντα μέχρι τῶν πλείστων ἀπεχούσων, ὥσπερ οἱ πόρρωθεν ὀρῶντες ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους τά τε ὄρη καὶ τὰς νῆσους, ἢ τὸν οὐ δυνάμενον φθέγγεσθαι τοῖς παρεστῶσιν ἰκανοὶ ὀλοις δήμοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐις ἐπήκοον φθέγγεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἔχει τι παραπλήγησαν ὁ νοῦς τῆς ὀψεῖ. ὡς ἐκείνη διεφθαρμένη μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν πλησιάσατα ὢρα, ὡνὴς δὲ οὕτως μέχρις ὀρανοῦ τε καὶ ἀστέρων ἐξικνεύαται ταύτῳ δὴ τοῦτο ἢ μὲν τοῦ φρονίμου διάνοια καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἰκανὴ γίγνεται διοικεῖν, ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἄφρονος οὐδὲ ἐν σῶμα τὸ ἐκείνου δύναται φυλάττειν οὐδὲ ἑνα οἰκον.

1 After ὡ δὴ Arnim adds δὲ.
2 After σὺ Emperius deletes λέγεις.

1 i.e., the man himself.
THE SIXTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON KINGSHIP AND TYRANNY

And indeed, if a person is not competent to govern a single man, and that too a man who is very close to him, in fact his constant companion, and if, again, he cannot guide a single soul, and that his own, how could he be king, as you are. over unnumbered thousands scattered everywhere. many even dwelling at the ends of the earth, most of whom he has not even seen and never could see, and whose speech he will not understand? Why, it is as if one were to say of the man with vision so impaired that he cannot see even what lies at his feet but needs some one to lead him by the hand, that he can reach with his eyes the most distant objects, like those who at sea behold from afar both the mountains and the islands; or as if one were to say of the man who cannot make himself heard even by those who stand beside him, that he is able to speak so as to be heard by whole communities and armies. In fact, the intellect has something comparable to vision—as vision, when it is ruined, can see nothing even of what is very near. although when in health it can reach sky and stars. just so the mind of the prudent man shows itself competent to direct all men whatsoever, whereas the mind of the fool cannot protect a single body, his own, or a single household.

2 Presumably Trajan: cf. § 3 and Introduction.
Όλοι μεν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις, ὧτι μεν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς πάντα λαμβάνειν, πάντων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ὃτι δὲ ἔπ' αὐτοῖς ἔστι τὸ δίκαιον, διὰ τοῦτο εἰσιν ἄδικοι· ὃτι δὲ οὐ φοβοῦται τοὺς νόμους, οὐδὲ εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ὃτι δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκάζονται ποιεῖν, οὐδέποτε παύονται τρυφώντες· ὃτι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται κακῶς πάσχων, οὐδέποτε παύονται ποιεῖται· ὃτι δὲ οὐδεμᾶς σπανίζουσιν ἡδονής, οὐδέποτε ἐμπίμπλανται ἡδόμενου· ὃτι δὲ οὐδεὶς ψέτει ἐκ τοῦ φαινοῦν, οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντα τῶν οὐ δικαιῶς1 λεγομένων· ὃτι δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦς βούλεται λυπεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσι χαλεπαίνουσιν· ὃτι δὲ ὀργισθεῖσιν ἐξεστὶ πάντα ποιεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο συνεχῶς ὃ ὀργίζονται. ὃ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἀρχων, ὥσπερ σύ, τάναντι ἐπιτηδεύει· οὐδενὸς μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖ διὰ τὰ πάντα οἰσθαί ἔχειν, φείδεται δὲ τῶν ἡδονῶν διὰ τὸ μηδεμᾶς ἄν ἀπορησαι ὀρεχθεῖς, δικαιότερος δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν, ἀτε πᾶσι παρέχων τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἠδεται δὲ τοῖς πόνωσι, ὃτι ἐκών πονεῖ, ἀγαπᾶ δὲ τοὺς νόμους, ὃτι οὐ δέδοικε.

Καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνει. τῶν μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πλείονος ἢ τῷ περὶ τοσοῦτον βουλευμένῳ; τῶν δὲ ἀκριβεστέρας δικαιοσύνης ἢ τῷ μείζον τῶν νόμων; τῶν δὲ σωφροσύνης ἐγκρατεστέρας ἢ ἤ πάντα ἐξεστί; τῶν δὲ ἀνδρείας μείζονος ἢ τῷ πάντα σώζοντι; καὶ τούτων τῷ μὲν ἄλλων ἀρέσται πολλῶν τοῦτο μὲν διαπάνης δεὶ παμπόλλης, τοῦτο δὲ στρατοπέδων καὶ πεζικῶν

1 οὐ δικαίως] οὐδὲ καλὸς Emperius.
THE SIXTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

Take, for example, most men who hold unbridled power—because they have the power to obtain everything, they crave everything; because justice is lodged in their hands, for this reason they are unjust; because they do not fear the laws, they do not even believe in their existence; because they are not compelled to labour, they never cease their luxurious living; because no one defends himself when maltreated, they never cease maltreating; because they lack no pleasure, they never get their fill of it; because no one censures them openly, they miss no occasion for unjust criticism; because no one wishes to hurt their feelings, for this reason they display ill-temper toward everyone; because they have it in their power to do anything when enraged, for this reason they are continually in a rage. On the other hand, the good ruler, such as you are, practises the opposite conduct—he covets nothing for the reason that he feels he has everything; he is sparing in his pleasures for the reason that he would lack for no pleasure he might crave; he is more just than any other man inasmuch as he provides justice for all; he delights in labour because he labours of his own accord; he cherishes the laws because he does not fear them.

Moreover, he is right in reasoning so. For who needs ampler wisdom than he who deliberates on so many matters? Who needs stricter justice than he who is superior to the laws? Who needs more steadfast self-control than he to whom anything is permissible? Who needs greater courage than he who is the preserver of all? Furthermore, he who is to govern many others needs, not only very great outlay of wealth, but also armies, both infantry and cavalry.
καὶ ἑπτικῶν, ἔτι δὲ τεῖχῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων, εἰ μέλλει καθέξειν μὲν τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀφιστήται τῆς ἀρχῆς, καταστρέφεσθαι. ¹ τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν πάντων ἀδαπανώτατον καὶ ἀπραγμονέστατον ἔστι καὶ ἀκινδυνώτατον· οὔτε γὰρ πολυδάπανος οὔτε ἑργῶδης οὔτε ἐπισφαλὴς ὁ τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦς ἀνθρώπον βίος· ἀλλ' ὁμοὶ τοιοῦτον ὁ πάντων χαλεπῶτατον πέφυκεν.

5 Ἐπεὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ θρυλούμενος εἶχε μὲν Νίνων, εἶχε δὲ Βαβυλώνα, τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων πόλεων, ὑπήκουν δὲ αυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἐνθητὰ τὰ νερόμενα τὴν ἑτέραν ἑπειρον μέχρι τῶν ἀοικήτων τῆς γῆς λεγομένων· βασιλείας δὲ οὐδὲν ἢ αὐτῷ προσήκον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν σηπομένων τυί νεκρῶν. Βουλεύεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἢ δικάζειν ἢ στρατηγεῖν οὔτε ἐβούλετο οὔτε ἐδύνατο.

6 ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποδιδράσκων εἰς τὴν γυναικωμίτων καθήκον ἐπὶ χρυσηλάτου κλάνης ἀναβάδην ὑπὸ ἀλουργέσι ταστοίς, ἄσπερ ὁ θρηνούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν "Λδων, ὕστερον φθεγγόμενος εὐνούχων, τοὺς μὲν τράχηλον ἀποκλίνων, ὑπὸ δὲ ἁργίας καὶ σκίας λευκός καὶ τρέμων, τὸ σῶμα πελείνος," τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀναστρέφων, ἄσπερ ἐξ ἁγχόνης· ὃν οὐκ ἢν διαγνώναι τῶν παλλακῶν. καίτοι χρόνον τινὰ κατέσχεν, ὡς ἔδοκεν, τὴν ἀρχὴν

¹ καταστρέφεσθαι Emperius: καταστρέφεσθαι.
² λευκὸς...πελείνος|λευκὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τρέμων, τὸ χρῶμα πελείνος Emperius.

¹ Assurbanipal, last of the great Assyrian rulers, 668–625 B.C. Herodotus (2. 150) speaks only of his wealth. Dio's account of his effeminacy and indolence may have been drawn from Ctesias. See Diodorus Siculus 2. 23–28.
THE SIXTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

and in addition fortifications, ships, and engines of war, if he is to control his subjects, defend himself against the foe, and, should some one try to revolt from his authority, reduce him to subjection. However, to control one's self is of all things least costly, least difficult, least dangerous; for neither costly nor laborious nor precarious is the life of the man of self-control: yet for all that, though so desirable, it is naturally the most difficult thing of all.

For instance, the famous Sardanapallus,¹ whose name is a by-word, held Nineveh and Babylon as well, the greatest cities that had yet existed, and all the nations which occupy the second continent,² as far as what are called the uninhabited parts of the earth, were subject to him; but to kingship he could lay no claim, no more than could some rotting corpse. For the fact is, he neither would nor could take counsel or give judgement or lead troops. On the contrary, it was his custom to slip away into the women's quarters in his palace and there sit with legs drawn up on a golden couch, sheltered by purple bed-hangings, just like the Adonis who is lamented by the women;³ his voice shriller than that of eunuchs, his neck lolling to one side, his face pale and twitching from indolence and living in the shade. His body livid, his eyes upturned as if he were being throttled—in short, one whom it would be impossible to distinguish from his concubines. And yet for a time, as it seemed,

² Asia.

³ As early as the fifth century Athenian women honoured him with a two-day festival in which the lament was prominent; cf. Aristophanes, Lysistrata 389. A celebration in Alexandria forms the background of Theocritus' fifteenth idyl; cf. also Bion's Lament in Edmonds, Greek Bucolic Poets (L.C.L.), pp. 386-395.
 Dio Chrysostom

εἰκῆ φερομένη, ὁπερ γαϊν δῖχα κυβερνήτου πολ-
λάκις ἀλομένην μηδενὸς κατέχοντος ἐν τῷ πελάγει
κατὰ τύχην, εὐδίας ἐπεχούσης· ἐπειτὰ ολίγος κλυ-
δών ἐπαρθεῖς καὶ βαδίσως ἐν κύμα ἐπέκλυσεν. καὶ
δὴ καὶ ἄρμα ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς ἄμοιχοῦτος ἐν
ἀγων ρεμβόμενον, ὁ νῦνς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ τύχοι,
ταράττει δὲ καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸν ἐγγὺς οἴχλον τῶν
θεῶν.

Οὔτε γὰρ ἄφρων βασιλεὺς ἔστι τοτε, οὐ μᾶλλον
ἡ τυφλὸς ἰγμενῶν ὦδοὶ γένοιτ' αὐτ', οὔτε ἄδικος, οὐ
μᾶλλον ἡ κακών σκολιὸς καὶ ἄισος ἄλλου προσ-
δεόμενος κανόνοις, οὔτε δειλὸς, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ λέων
ἐλάφου λαβὼν ψυχήν ἡ σίδηρος κηροῦ καὶ μολίβδου
μαλακώτερος. τινὶ δ' ἰσχυρωτέρας ἐγκρατεῖας
προσήκοιν ἦ τῷ πλείστων μὲν ἢδονῶν ἐν μέσῳ
ζώντι, πλείστα δὲ πράγματα διοικοῦντι, ἐλαχίστην
δὲ σχολὴν ἄγοιτι, ὑπὲρ μεγίστων δὲ καὶ πλείστων
φροιτίζοντι;

1 προσήκοιν Εμπερίας : προσήκειν.

1 Nineveh fell in 612 B.C., some years after the death of
Assurbanipal. The story of Sardanapallus, as told by Ctesias,
however, is not that of the historical ruler. In the Greek
account Sardanapallus was the last king of the Assyrians,
THE SIXTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

he maintained his empire, though it was drifting aimlessly, just as, for instance, a ship without a helmsman, roving on the sea, with no one in control, as fate directs, so long as fair weather holds; then, should a little sea arise, even a single wave easily swamps it. Yes, and one may also see a chariot, with no one holding the reins, wobbling crazily in a race, a chariot which, while it could never win a victory, nevertheless throws into confusion and even works destruction in the mob of spectators near the course.

Nay, there will never be a foolish king any more than there could be a blind guide for a traveller; nor an unjust king any more than a crooked, uneven measuring-rod needing a second rod to set it straight; nor a timid king any more than a lion with the spirit of a deer, or than iron softer than wax or lead. On the contrary, to whom appropriately belongs a stern self-control than to him who lives surrounded by the greatest number of pleasures, who administers the greatest number of affairs, who has the least leisure, and who is concerned over the greatest and most numerous problems?

who burned himself together with his treasures and concubines when he foresaw the capture of Nineveh.
THE SIXTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
ON FORTUNE (I)

The authenticity of this encomium on Fortune was denied
long ago by Emperius, and his judgement has been re-
affirmed by Arnim. The criteria are stylistic: there is a
notable disregard of hiatus, a phenomenon not to be expected
of an able sophist in a composition such as this—Arnim cites
the particularly objectionable passage in § 5: πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὴ
ἐχοῦσα χρώματα ἑοικότα ἄφρω ἡμαγμένω ἐφήμοσε τῇ γραφῇ—
and the subject matter is treated in a dull and uninspired
fashion. The one redeeming feature of the document is the
anecdote, elsewhere recorded only by Sextus Empiricus, of
Apelles and his sponge.

Although Tyché appears in Hesiod’s Theogony among the
progeny of Tethys and Oceanus and is occasionally named
by poets of later date, notably Pindar, the personification
seems not to have taken firm hold upon Greek imagination.
With the Romans, however, the case was different, and
Tyché in her Latinized form, Fortuna, received ample
honours as a deity in many parts of the Empire, being in-
timately associated with the ruling house.
63. ΗΕΡΙ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ

1 Οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἐόικασι πρὸς τὴν τύχην διακείσθαι ὅν τρόπον οἱ πλεοῦτες πρὸς τούς ἀνέμους τοὺς φοροὺς. Ἀσμενοι γὰρ προσκαρτεροῦσι τῷ δρόμῳ, καὶ οἷς ἂν ὁ ἀνέμος παρῇ, ἐκεῖνοι ἤθελον ὅπου ἤθελον, οἱ δὲ ἀπολείψαντες εἰς πελάγει μέσῳ μάτην ὁδύρονται. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τῆς τύχης παροῦσι μὲν χαιρεῖν καὶ ἴδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ παροῦσι δὲ λύπην ἐχείν καὶ ἀπορμᾶν. πάντα γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δαιμονίας ταύτης καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀπορον εὐπορον φαίνεται καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἱσχυρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀἰσχρὸν καλὸν καὶ ἡ πενία γίγνεται πλοῦτος.

2 Τύχης γοῦν ἐν θαλάττῃ γενομένης εὐπλοεῖ ναις καὶ ἐν ἀείρι φανείσῃς εὐτυχεῖ γεωργός. καὶ ἵστη γέγασθεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀλφρομένης. εἰ δὲ ἀπολίποι τύχη, περίεισί, ὡς εἰ τάφῳ τῷ σῶματι. οὔτε γὰρ εἰ λέγου τις, εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὔτε εἰ πρόττοι τις, ἐπι- τυχεῖαι, οὐδὲ ὁφελός τι εὐφυὴ γενέσθαι ἀπολιποῦ- σης τύχης. ταύτης γὰρ μὴ παροῦσῃς οὐκ ἤθελε παιδεία οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀρετὴ τότε ἔργον ἐνεκεῖ θαυμάζεται, ἐὰν παρῇ τύχη. εἰ

1 φοροὺς Reiske: φοράους.
2 καὶ deleted by Armim.
3 ἐκεῖνοι ἐκεί τε Armim.
4 φαίνεται deleted by Armim.
5 ἀλφρομένη Emperorius: γεωργομένη.
6 perieisis with UBM: perieis PH, perieis Emperorius.
THE SIXTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
ON FORTUNE (I)

Mankind seems to feel toward Fortune as sailors do toward the winds that waft them on their way; for sailors gladly and with vigour apply themselves to their course, and those who have the breeze reach the port for which they aimed, while those who are abandoned by it in the midst of the open sea lament to no avail; so too when men have Fortune with them they rejoice and are glad, but when she is absent they are grieved and distressed. Yes, everything is the work of this goddess, for indeed when she is present the difficult appears easy, the weak strong, the ugly beautiful, and poverty turns to wealth.

For instance, when Fortune comes at sea a ship has fair sailing, and when she shows herself in the atmosphere a farmer prospers. Moreover, a man’s spirit rejoices when uplifted by Fortune, yet should Fortune fail, it goes about in its body as in a tomb. For neither does a man win approval if he speaks, nor does he succeed if he acts, nor is it any advantage to have been born a man of genius when Fortune fails. For when she is not present learning is not forthcoming, nor any other good thing. Why, even valour gains recognition for its achievements only when Fortune

7 εὐδοκομεῖ ΡΗ; ἑπαυνεὶν δοκεῖ UΒΜ, εὐπορεῖ Sonny.
8 οὐκ ἀλώει] οὐ προῆλθε Gasda.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

de ἀφεθείη μόνη, λόγος ἔστι καλοῦ πράγματος ἀπρακτος. αὕτη πολεμοῦντων μὲν ἐστὶ νίκη καὶ εἰρήμην ἀγόντων ὀμόνοια καὶ γαμοῦντων εὐνοια καὶ ἐρώτων ὑδογη καὶ ὅλως ἡ ἐπὶ ποιτί τωγ1 γεγο-μένω εὐπραγία.

3 Ἡν ὅταν καταλήπτη τύχη, τότε καὶ σείεται καὶ τρέμει καὶ τά ἐπ' αὐτής καλά διαρριπτεῖ· καὶ2 τοῦτο γῆς νόσημα, μὴ παρούσης τύχης.3 ὡς γὰρ4 ναῦς εἰκῆ φέρεται καὶ ταχὺ βυθίζεται, κυβερνήτου στερο-μένη, καὶ ὡς τείχη κατέπεσε θεμελίων πονησάντων, οὗτω πόλις εἰς φθορὰν ὅλῃ χωρεῖ σπάνει τύχης. Ἀθηναί ποτε τοῖς ῥήτοροις ἡδικήθησαν5 καὶ ἴγνετο Δημοσθένης, οὐκέτι τῆς τύχης ἐπισκοπούσης τὰς Ἀθηνα. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐρανὸς τύχην ἔχειν, ὅποταν6 αἰθριάν ἔχη, μὴ σκότος.

4 Ὁρᾶν δὲ χρῆ καὶ τὸ εὐμήχανον αὐτής. ἥδη γοῦν τις ἐκπέσων νεῶς ἐν πελάγει εὐπόρησε τοῦ ζῆν, ἐλθούσης τύχης. ἄξιον δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸ συμβαίν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης Ὁπελλῆ τῷ ζωγράφῳ. ὡς γὰρ λόγος, ἐπονοµὸν οὐχὶ ἡς ἐργασίας ἀλλὰ ἐκ πολέμου ἔποιεῖ· ψυχῆς ἤν τῷ αὐχείν καὶ ἐπανεστῶς καὶ τὰ ὀντα ὀρθοὶ καὶ δριμὺς τὰς ὦψεις, ὡς ἐκ πολέμου παρὼν, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὅρμου θυμὸν ἐν ταῖς ἦσεις ἔχων, οἱ δὲ πόδες ὑπεφέροντο7 ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, μικρά

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1 τω Bally : τῶ. 2 διαρριπτεῖ· καὶ διαρριπτεῖταν Reiske.
3 τοῦτο γῆς . . . τύχης deleted by van Herwerden.
4 ὡς γὰρ Budé, ὡς de Wilamowitz : ὀσπερ.
5 τοῖς ῥήτοροις ἡδικήθησαν Capps, eis ῥήτορας ἡδίκησαν Emperoris : eis ῥήτορας ἡδικήθησαν.
6 ὅποταν Dindorf : ὅποτε αὐ.
7 ὑπεφέροντο Arnim : ἐπεφέροντο or ἀνεφέροντο.

1 Though the text is corrupt, the allusion seems to refer to the Harpalus affair. Several Athenian politicians were
THE SIXTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

is present; on the other hand, if valour should be left to itself it is just a word, productive of no noble action. In time of war Fortune means victory; in time of peace, concord; at a marriage, goodwill; with lovers, enjoyment—in short, success in each and every undertaking.

When Fortune deserts a land, then that land is shaken and trembles and tosses the lovely things upon it in all directions—this too a disease of the earth, Fortune not being present. Again, as a ship moves aimlessly and founders quickly when deprived of a pilot, or as fortifications crumble when foundations are damaged, so a city goes to utter ruin for lack of Fortune. Athens was once wronged by its orators and Demosthenes was haled to prison,\(^1\) all because Fortune no longer was watching over Athens. But, methinks, even the sky has Fortune, when it has clear weather instead of darkness.

But one should consider also the resourcefulness of the goddess. For example, there have been times when a man who had fallen overboard from a ship at sea was able to save his life because Fortune came to his aid. Moreover, what happened to Apelles the painter because of Fortune deserves recounting.\(^2\) For, as the story goes, he was painting a horse—not a work-horse but a war-horse. Its neck was high and arched, its ears erect, its eyes fierce, like one come not from work but from war, with the spirit of the charge in their glance, and its feet were rising in the suspected of embezzlement and Demosthenes was even lodged in prison.

\(^{2}\) Apelles flourished in the time of Philip and Alexander. His fame as a painter was such that many stories gathered about his name; this particular story is recorded also by Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 1. 28.
ψαύνοντες ἀνὰ μέρος τῆς γῆς. καὶ ὁ ἡμίοχος ἐκράτει τοῦ χαλινοῦ, τὸ πολεμικὸν σάλευμα τοῦ ἦπτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥυτῆρος ἅγχου. ἀπανταὶ δὲ ἐχοῦσις τῆς εἰκόνος έοικότα ἔλειπεν ἀφρῶδ χρώμα, οἴον ἂν γένοιτο 

μιγάτως αἵματος καὶ ὑγροῦ κατὰ συνεχὴ μίξιν, διώκοντος μὲν τοῦ ἄσθματος τὸ ὑγρὸν τῶν στο-

μάτων, ἀφρόζωντος δὲ τῇ κοπῇ τοῦ πνεύματος, αἵμα 

dε ἐπιρραυνοῦσις τοῦ ἀφρῶ τῆς ἕκ τοῦ χαλινοῦ ὑβρεως. οὐ δὴ εὐπόρει γράφειν ἦπτον ἀφρῶν 

κεκιμικότος ἐν ἅγκων. ἀπορῶν δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον, τέλος ἀπαλγήσας ἐνέσεισε περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς τῆ γραφῆ 

tῆς σπογγιᾶν. πολλὰ δὲ αὕτη ἐχοῦσα χρώματα 

εἰοικότα ἀφρῶ ἡμαιγμένων ἐφήμῳσε τῇ γραφῆ τῆς 

χρώμα. Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ἦδων ἑχάρῃ τῷ ἐν ἀπογνώσει 

τύχης ἔργῳ καὶ ἐτέλεσεν οὐ διὰ τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλὰ 

diὰ τῆς τύχης τῆς γραφῆν.

6 Τὶ δὲ ἄλλο Ἡρακλέα μέγιστον ἐποίησεν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ λέοντα ἄγχας ἔπυξε καὶ πτημὰ ξώα ἐδώξε 

tοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ τοῦ ἠλοῦς τῆ νῦδραι ἀφείλετο, 

συντρίψας αὐτὴς τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ οὐκ ἐφόβησεν 

αὐτὸν ὁ περὶ τῶν Ἑρύμανθον κάπρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ 

tῆν ἐσπέραν ἥλθε καὶ τοῦ ἐκεῖ φυτοῦ τὸν καρπὸν ἐκόμισε. Γηρύνον τὸν ἐς βόσκα ἀφείλετο καλά 

οὐσας, καὶ Διομήδη τῶν Θράκων ἐυνυθησεν ἦπτοι 

σῖτον διδόναι, μὴ ἀνθρώποις, ἐσθίειν, τὰς τῆ Ἀμα-

ζώνας, ὅτι εἶν γυναῖκες, ἡλέγξεν, ἀπαντα ἐς 

tῶτα ἐπραττέν ἐπομενής αὐτῷ τύχης.

1 τῆ γραφῆς Reiske: τῆς γραφῆς.
THE SIXTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

air, touching the ground lightly one after the other. Moreover, the driver had a firm grip on the reins, throttling the martial gallop of the horse in mid-career. But though the picture had everything true to life, there was lacking a colour wherewith to depict froth such as there would be when blood and saliva have mixed in constant intermingling, the panting breath driving before it the moisture of the lips and forming froth because of laboured breathing, while the cruel bit spattered blood upon the froth. So, then, Apelles knew not how to represent froth of a horse wearied in action. But as he was more and more perplexed, finally in a fit of desperation he hurled his sponge at the painting, striking it near the bit. But the sponge, containing as it did many colours, which when taken together resembled bloody froth, fitted its colour to the painting. And at the sight Apelles was delighted by what Fortune had accomplished in his moment of despair and finished his painting, not through his art, but through the aid of Fortune.

Again, what else was it that made Heracles most mighty? Why, he not only throttled and choked to death a lion, pursued winged creatures of the air, ejected the Hydra from the swamp, crushing its heads, and refused to be frightened by the boar which haunted Erymanthus; he even journeyed to the West and bore away the fruit of the tree which grew there. Moreover, he carried off the cattle of Geryones, fine animals that they were, admonished Diomedes the Thracian to give his horses grain, not men, to eat, and proved the Amazons to be mere women. But all these exploits he was able to accomplish because Fortune attended him.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

7 Ἐχει δ' οὖ κακῶς οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν αὐνίγματα περὶ αὐτῆς. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἔφη Ξυροῦ ἐστησαν αὐτὴν, οἷς δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας, οἷς δὲ πηδαλιον ἐδωκαν κρατεῖν, οἷς δὲ τὰ κρεῖττω γράφοντες τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας ἔδοσαν κέρας πληρες καὶ βρύον ταῖς ὑραις, ὃ ἐν μάχῃ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀχέλων ἀπέρρηξεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔφη τὸ ἀπότομον τῆς εὐτυχίας μηνύει; ἤ δὲ σφαῖρα ὃτι εὔκολος ἡ μεταβολή αὐτῆς ἐστιν; ἐν κινήσει γὰρ τυχάναι πάντοτε ὃν τὸ θεῖον. τὸ δὲ πηδαλιον δηλοὶ ὃτι κυβερνᾶ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἡ τύχη. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας μηνύει τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσιν τε καὶ ευδαιμονίαν. μὴ ὄνομα-ξωμεν οὖν κακὴν τινα τύχην, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἄρετην λέγει τις εἶναι κακὴν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κακῶν.

1 The Greeks used the word *aenigmata* to denote that which was not plainly stated but rather hinted.

2 The "razor’s edge" to denote fine balance is a figure as old as Homer; cf. *Iliad* 10, 173.

3 According to Apollodorus, *Biblootheca* 2, 7, 5. Heracles fought with the river-god Achełóös for the hand of Deianaira. Having broken off one of the horns of Achełóös, who took
THE SIXTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

Moreover, the riddles \textsuperscript{1} of the ancients in their representations of Fortune are not without merit. For instance, some have placed her on a razor's edge,\textsuperscript{2} others on a sphere, others have given her a rudder to wield, while those who depict her most effectively have given her the horn of Amaltheia, full to overflowing with the fruits of the seasons, the horn which Heracles in battle broke off from Acheloïs.\textsuperscript{3} Now the razor's edge betokens the abruptness with which good fortune changes; the sphere, that change of fortune is easy, for the divine power is, in fact, ever in motion; the rudder indicates that Fortune directs the life of men; and the horn of Amaltheia calls attention to the giving of good things and prosperity. Let us not, then, call any fortune evil; for one does not say that virtue is evil, or that goodness is evil.

the form of a bull, Heracles restored it to him in exchange for the horn of Amaltheia, daughter of Haemonius, which had the power of bestowing abundant food and drink in answer to the prayer of him who possessed it. Sophocles describes briefly but vividly the encounter with Acheloïs in his \textit{Trachiniae} (504-530).
THE SIXTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: 
ON FORTUNE (II)

Thus laudation of the goddess Fortune, though longer than the foregoing, is hardly on a higher level. Arnim was doubtless correct in denying it a place among the genuine works of Dio. There is a monotony in its phrasing which one would be reluctant to associate with him, and also a certain indifference toward hiatus. But more objectionable still is a tedious parade of erudition, ranging all the way from the common-places of myth and history to points so obscure that one is tempted to ascribe them to the fertile imagination of the author. Was it his purpose to overawe with his learning a less erudite company?

Where was his address delivered? In §§ 12-17 he traces the ancestry of his hearers to Athens via Euboea. His account sounds a bit fanciful and the twofold migration from Athens is not found elsewhere in Greek tradition, so that it is impossible to identify with certainty the people to whom he is speaking. However, Strabo (5. 246) reports that, after the original settlement of Naples by citizens of Cumae, additional settlers later came from Athens. Furthermore, a Neapolitan coin of about the middle of the fifth century B.C. depicts Pallas wearing an olive crown, and at some time or other the name Phaleron came to be associated with Naples. Finally, the complimentary remarks regarding the city in which the address was being delivered seem to fit Naples better than any other likely possibility. It might seem surprising, however, that the Naples of the first century of our era should still cherish the memory of Athenian contributions to its parent stock. Possibly our Discourse was addressed to a select group of Neapolitans, who, however unintelligently, strove to keep alive traditions of ancient days.
64. ΠΕΡΙ ΤῌΧΗΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 Τὰ γιγνόμενα παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν τύχην ἐγκλήματα μέγιστα ἄν ἔγωγε θείην ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγκόμια. τὰς γονῶν ἄδηλους τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὰς εἰς ταύτην ἀναφέρουσι, καὶ οἰς ἀπὸ γνώμης ἐπιχειρήσαντες διήμαρτον, τούτων ἠφηρήθαι νομίζομεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ὡς πάντα περιποιεῖν, εἰ θελήσαι, δυναμεῖν. ἀκούσας δὲ ἂν αἰτιωμένων αὐτῆς καὶ γεωργῶν καὶ ἐμπόρων καὶ πλουσίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ καλῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ Πανθείως ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ Κροίσου ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί καὶ Ἀστυάγους ἡττηθέντος καὶ Πολυκράτους ἐκλωκότος. καὶ Πέρσαι δὲ ἐμέμφωντο τὴν τύχην μετὰ τὴν Κῦρου σφαγῆν καὶ Μακεδόνες μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆν.

2 "Ἡδη δὲ των καὶ τῶν ὁδίων παθῶν τῇ τύχῃ προφέρουσιν, ἡ Μηδεία τὸν ἔρωτα, ὁ Μίδας τὴν

1 ὑπὸ Reiske: ἀπὸ.

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1 Pantheia, wife of Abradatas, king of Susa, was taken captive by Cyrus. Through her efforts Abradatas accepted service with Cyrus and was slain fighting for him. Pantheia committed suicide at his grave. Xenophon devotes much space to the tale in his Cyropædeia but he fails to note anywhere that Pantheia blamed Fortune.

2 Warned in a dream, Croesus vainly tries to save his son Atys; cf. Herodotus 1. 34-35,
THE SIXTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE:
ON FORTUNE (II)

The charges which men lay to the account of Fortune I would consider to be highest encomia in her favour. For example, the inscrutable vicissitudes in their affairs they ascribe to her, and whenever they unwisely set their hands to certain projects and meet with failure they imagine they have been robbed of their purposes by her, since, in their opinion, she could do any and every thing if she only would. Again, you may hear farmers, shippers, and men of wealth blaming her for their loss of money, dandies for their persons, Pantheia for her husband, Croesus for his son, Astyages for his defeat, and Polycrates for his capture. Moreover, the Persians blamed Fortune after the slaying of Cyrus, as did the Macedonians after Alexander's death.

Furthermore, men even reproach Fortune for some of their own emotional weaknesses—Medea for her

3 Learning that his daughter is fated to bear a son who will bring ruin on her father, Astyages tries to thwart fate, but to no avail, and he is dethroned by that son (Cyrus); cf. Herodotus 1, 107-130.

4 Though warned by soothsayers, Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, is taken captive and crucified by the Persian Oroetes; cf. Herodotus 3, 120-125.

5 Though warned in a dream, Cyrus is slain by Tomyris, the nomad queen; cf. Herodotus 1, 205-213.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

εὖχήν, ἡ Φαῖδρα τὸν διαβολήν, ὁ Ἀλκμαῖος ὅτι ἐπλανάτο, ὁ Ὀρέστης ὅτι ἐμαίνετο. ἔρω ἔδε ύμῖν τινα καὶ Κύπροι οἶγον, εἴ βούλεσθε. ἢνεγκεν ὁ παλαιὸς βίος καὶ ἐνδόξους γυναῖκας, Ὀρδογούνην πολεμικὴν, Σεμίραμιν βασιλικὴν, Σαπφῶ μουσικὴν, Τημάνδραν καλήν οὕτω καὶ εἰ Κύπροι Δημόνασσα ἐγένετο, πολιτικὴ τε ὄμοι γυνὴ καὶ νομοθετικὴ.

3 τρεῖς ἔθηκεν αὐτή τοῖς Κυπρίωις νόμοις: τὴν μοι-χευθείσαν κειμαμένην πορνευεσθαι, θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἐμοιχεύθη καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀπεκείρατο κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἐπορνεύετο. τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἀταφον ἑπτασθαι: δεύτερος οὖτος Δημωνάσσης νόμος: τρίτος ὧστε μή ἀποκτείναν χοῦν ἀρότριον. δυοὶ δὲ αὐτῇ παιδῶν ἀρρένων οὖτων, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ βοῦν ἀποκτείναν αἴπθανε τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπο-

κτείναντα οὐκ ἔθαφεν. ἥ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἀπαίς οὐδα καὶ νομοθετοῦσα, ἰδοὺσα δὲ βοῦν ἐπὶ χόσχω ἀπολυμένου μυκωμένην καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐν ἀλλῳ συμφορᾶν γνωρίσασα, τῆς ἐπὶ παλαιὸν ἐλάτο. καὶ ἦν ἐκεὶ πάρος ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρω-

ποτα χάλκεον ἕχων, χαλκῆ ἐντετηκότα καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ ἱδρύματος καὶ πρὸς μίμημα τοῦ

1 Medea, in his tragedy of that name, is depicted by Euripides as resentful for the evil results of her passion for Jason but without remorse for her own misdeeds.
2 Midas owed his ruin to his prayer that all that he might touch should turn to gold.
3 Instead of feeling shame because of her passion for her stepson Hippolytus, Phaedra at her death leaves a false accusation that causes his death too; cf. Euripides’ Hippolytus.
4 Both Alcmene and Orestes were pursued by the Furies for matricide. In Euripides’ Iphigenia among the Taurians Orestes blames Apollo as the author of his crime.
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passion,¹ Midas for his prayer,² Phaedra for her false accusation,³ Alemenon for his wandering,⁴ Orestes for his madness. But I will tell you also a certain Cyprian tale if you wish. The days of old produced women of distinction as well as men—Rhodogune the warrior,⁵ Semiramis the queen,⁶ Sappho the poetess. Timandra the beauty⁷: just so Cyprus too had its Demonassa,⁸ a woman gifted in both statesmanship and law-giving. She gave the people of Cyprus the following three laws: a woman guilty of adultery shall have her hair cut off and be a harlot—her daughter became an adulteress, had her hair cut off according to the law, and practised harlotry; whoever commits suicide shall be cast out without burial—this was the second law of Demonassa: third, a law forbidding the slaughter of a plough-ox. Of the two sons which she had, the one met his death for having slain an ox, while the other, who slew himself, she refrained from burying. Now for a time she not only bore with fortitude the loss of her children but also persevered in her regulations: but having observed a cow lowing in sorrow over a calf which was dying, and having recognized her own misfortune in the case of another, Demonassa melted bronze and leaped into the molten mass. And there used to be at that place an ancient tower holding a bronze image, an image embedded in bronze, both in order to insure the stability of the statue and also as a

⁵ Daughter of Mithradates I and wife of Demetrius Nicator; cf. Or. 21. 7.
⁶ Semi-mythical queen of Assyria, frequently named as builder of the walls of Nineveh or Babylon.
⁷ Probably the mistress of Alcibiades; cf. Plutarch, Alcibiades 39.
⁸ Nothing is known of Demonassa of Cyprus.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

διηγήματος· ἐπιγραφῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τινος στῆλης πλησίων, σοφῆ μὲν ἦμην, ἀλλὰ πάντ' οὐκ εὐτυχῆς.

5 Φέρε ὁδὸν μὴ ἐρήμην ἢ τύχη ἀλισκέσθω μηδὲ φοβοῦμεθα τὸν τῶν κατηγοροῦντων θόρυβον. ἵσωσ γάρ αὖ τι ἦμην πρὸς τὸ εἰπεῖν εὗ καὶ αὐτῆς συλλάβοι. ἐδοκοῦσιν οἱ τεχνίται πρώτον τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς τῆς δύναμιν αὐτῆς δεδηλωκέναι. πρώτον μὲν γὰρ ἐστηκεν ἐτοιμὴ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, εἰτα τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ πηδάλιον κατέχει, καὶ, ὡς ἀνθεὶ εἴποι τις, ναυτίλλεται. τῇ δὲ ἀρα τούτῳ ἦν; πότερον ὡς μάλιστα τῶν πλεοίτων τῆς τύχης δεομένων, ἡ διότι τῶν βίων ἦμῶν ὡς τινα μεγάλην ναοῦ κυβερνᾶ καὶ πάντας σόζει τοὺς ἐμπλέοιτος; Ἄσσυρίους μέχρι τῆς Σαρδαναπάλου τρυφῆς, Μύθους μέχρι τῆς Κύρου τρυφῆς, Ἡρώσας μέχρι τῆς διαβάσεως, Ἀθηναίους μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως, Κροίσον μέχρι Σόλωνος;

6 ἢν Οἰδίπος τὸ πρῶτον εὐτυχῆς ἀνήρ.

ἡ τύχη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν περιποιομένη τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ἐδωκεν, ὅπερ ὀμοιον ἦν τῷ μὴ παθεῖν. εἶτα ἄμα τῆς εὐτυχίας ἑπαύσατο καὶ τοῦ γεγονόςκειν ἡρξατο. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πήρωσιν εὐτυχίαν καλῶ. Τέλλος μὲν γὰρ βλεπέτω τοὺς

1 After su lláboi Arnim suspects a lacuna.
2 πρῶτον deleted by Emperius.
3 ἀν added by Emperius.
4 τρυφῆς] ἀρχῆς Dindorf.
5 περιποιομένῃ PH: περιποιησμένῃ UBM.
6 δὲ added by Arnim.
7 Tέλλος Casaubon: τέλος or πέλλος.

1 Nauck, T.G.F., adesp. 124.
2 Cf. Or. 63. 7.
3 Cf. Or. 62. 5-6.

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representation of the story: and near-by on a tablet there was an inscription:

Wise was I, yet in everything ill-starred.¹

Well then, let not Fortune be condemned unheard, and let us not fear the elamour of those who accuse her. For perhaps even she herself might aid us somewhat in speaking well of her. In the first place, the artists are believed to have revealed her power by the way they have equipped her. For, to begin with, she stands ready for her tasks; secondly, in her right hand she holds a rudder and, as one might say, she is sailing a ship. But why, then, was this? Was it in the belief that sailors more than others need Fortune, or was it because she steers our lives like some great ship² and preserves all on board—the Assyrians until the wanton luxury of Sardanapalus³; the Medes until the rearing of Cyrus; the Persians until they crossed the sea⁴; the Athenians until their capture⁵; Croesus until the visit of Solon⁶.

At first a fortunate man was Oedipus.⁷

Yes, for Fortune, trying to provide freedom from suffering, granted him ignorance, which was tantamount to freedom from suffering. Then at one and the same time he reached the end of his good fortune and began to understand. For my part I call even his blindness good fortune.⁸ For let Tellus behold

⁴ To invade Greece.
⁵ At the close of the Peloponnesian War.
⁶ One of the most famous tales in Herodotus (1. 29-33).
⁸ In the Oedipus Rex of Sophocles, at first self-confident and happy, on learning that he has slain his father and married his mother. Oedipus puts out his eyes; cf. especially verses 1369-1383.
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παιδας καὶ Κυδίππη καὶ Αἰώλος καὶ εἶ τις ἄλλος ἢν πατὴρ εὐτυχής. Οἴδιπους δὲ ἔκ τῆς πηρώσεως αἴσχρα κερδανεὶ θεάματα.

7 Τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ἡ θεὸς καρποὺς ἐτοιμοὺς κατέχει συνειδηγμένους, μηνύουσα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπερ αὐτῇ δίδωσιν. τούτῳ ἢν ἄρα καὶ χρυσοῦν γένος καὶ νῆσοι μακάρων τινές, αὐτομάτας ἔχουσαι τροφάς, καὶ Ηρακλέους κέρας καὶ Κυκλώπων βίος, ὅτι τοῖς πονηρασὶ τῶν βίων αὐτομάτη λοιπὸν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονία παραγίγνεται. 
Τάνταλος δὲ ἄρα ἐπὶ γῆρως ἄργος ἢν²: διὰ τούτο ἄρα μέχρι τῶν χειλῶν δυναμόον καὶ τοῖς όφθαλμοῖς μόνον ἡπτύχει: τὰ πάντα δὲ ἔκεινα ἀρπασθέντα οὐχεταὶ καὶ λίμνη καὶ καρποὶ καὶ τροφὴ καὶ ποτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, οὔτω γ' ὡς ὑπὸ πνεύματος.

8 Ωνόμασται δὲ ἡ τύχη καὶ πολλοὶς τισιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὀνόμασι, τὸ μὲν ἵσον αὐτῆς νέμεσις, τὸ δὲ ἄδηλον ἐλπίς, τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον μοῖρα, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον θέμας, πολυνυμοῖς τις ὡς ἀληθῶς θεὸς καὶ πολυτροπος. ταύτη δὲ ἐπέθεσαν καὶ γεωργὸι Δήμητρος ὄνομα καὶ ποιμένες Παιός καὶ ναῦται Δελφοὺς καὶ κυβερνηταὶ Διοσκόρωι.

1 After βίων Arnim deletes ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς δεδήλωκεν, ὡς.
2 Τάνταλος . . . ἢν suspected by Arnim.

1 See Herodotus 1. 30.
2 Argive priestess whose sons, Cleobis and Biton, were rewarded for their piety by the gift of painless death; cf. Herodotus 1. 31. Their archaic statues may be seen at Delphi.
3 Aeolus had six sons and six daughters, each of whom enjoyed a happy wedded life; cf. Odyssey 10, 2-12.

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his children,¹ and Cydippé,² and Aeolus,³ and whoever else may have been fortunate as a parent; yet by his blindness Oedipus

Will gain escape from shameful sights.⁴

And, to resume, in her other hand the goddess holds fruits plucked and ready for use, indicating the multitude of good things she herself provides—this, you see, would be both Golden Age and Isles of the Blest, as it were, with foods for the taking, and Horn of Heracles,⁵ and life of the Cyclopes ⁶ all in one, since to those who have toiled for their living an abundance of good things comes thereafter spontaneously. But Tantalus, you know, was idle in old age; on that account, therefore, he was prosperous only as far as his lips, fortunate only with his eyes, while all those things he longed for—lake, fruits, food, and drink—vanished, snatched away by Fortune as by a blast of wind.⁷

Again, Fortune has been given many names among men. Her impartiality has been named Nemesis or Retributive Justice; her obscurity, Elpis or Hope; her inevitability, Moira or Fate; her righteousness, Themis or Law—truly a deity of many names and many ways. Farmers have given her the name Demeter; shepherds Pan; sailors Leucothea; pilots Dioscuri.⁸

¹ Nauck, T.G.F., adesp. 125.
² Called the Horn of Amaltheia in Or. 63. 7.
³ For the carefree life of the Cyclopes see Odyssey 9, 106-111.
⁴ According to Apollodorus (epitome 2. 1), Tantalus, mythical king of Phrygia, was punished for presumption, not for idleness.
⁵ Tutelary deities of these respective callings.
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ρεία δ’ ἀρέχηλον μινύθει καὶ ἀδήλον ἀέξει, τοῦτο δὲ τ’ ἱθύνει σκολιών καὶ ἀγνόροπα κάρφει.

9 ὁ Ζεύς, κατέχον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς τὸ ὀπλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς τὸ σκῆπτρον, ὅτι τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ βασιλείαν διδόσων.

Εἶτα Ἐυριπίδης τὸν ναύτην μέμφεται ἀωρί ποντού κύματ’ εὐρέως περῴσαντα· καὶ διὰ τῶν ξέξης ἐπιτυμίᾳ λέγων ὅτι σμικραίς ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐλπίσαιν.

10 ὁ παῖ Μνησαρχίδου, ποιητής μὲν ἃθα, σοφὸς δὲ ὀυδαμῶς. οὔτε γὰρ πίττῃ τὴν ψυχὴν οὔτε σχονίοις ἐπιτρέπουσιν οὔδε τριδάκτυλον αὐτοὺς σφίξει ξύλον πεῦκινον, ἀλλ’ ἐπέτρεψαν βεβαιῶ καὶ μεγάλω πράγματι, τῇ τύχῃ. ἄσθενες μὲν πλοῦτος, ἢν τύχη μὴ παρῇ, ἀβέβαιον δὲ φιλία μὴ συλλαμβανόσθη τύχης. αὐτὴ σφίξει καὶ τὸν νοσοῦντα ἐν τῷ τέλει καὶ τὸν νηχόμενον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ τῶν χιλίων νεών καὶ τὸν Ἁδυσσέα ἐπὶ τῆς σχεδίας φερόμενον. τί δέδοικας, ὁ δειλή; τὸ μήκος τῆς θαλάσσης φοβῆ; ὁφειται μὲν σε ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ παρακαλέσει τοὺς ἀνέμους καὶ τὴν τρίωναν λήψεται καὶ πάσας ὀρθωνεῖ τὰς ἀέλλαις, οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖ δὲ σε’ ἡ τύχη γὰρ οὐ βούλεται.

1 After Zeús Armimi deletes ἡ τύχη.
2 μὲν Valckenenaer: μὲν μόνον οὐκ μόνον.
3 οὔτε γὰρ πίττῃ Emperor: οὐδ’ γὰρ πίττῃ UB, οὐδ’ ἐπίστη PH, οὐδ’ ἐπιστήμων Μ.

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With ease the eminent he curbs, the meek
Exalts, makes straight the crooked, blasts the
prond. 1

This refers, of course, to Zeus, holding in his right
hand his weapon 2 and in his left his sceptre, for the
reason that to martial men he gives kingship too.

Furthermore, Euripides censures the sailor

Untimely seeking to cross the broad sea's waves 3 ;
he also utters reproof in the following, when he says

To slender hopes do they entrust themselves.

O son of Mnesarchides, 4 you were a poet, to be sure,
yet not at all wise! For they entrust their lives
to neither pitch nor ropes, nor is it a two-inch plank
of pine that keeps them safe; nay, they entrust
them to a sure and mighty thing, Fortune. A weak
thing is wealth unless accompanied by Fortune; an
uncertain thing is friendship unless Fortune bears a
hand. She preserves alike the sick man in his ex-
tremity, the swimmer amidst the waves, Agamemnon
sailing with his thousand ships, and Odysseus drifting
on his raft. What dost thou fear, thou craven? Dost
fear the vastness of the sea? Poseidon, indeed, will spy thee, summon his winds, seize his trident,
and stir up all the blasts; yet he will not slay thee,
for Fortune wills it not.

1 Hesiod, Works and Days 6-7.
2 The thunderbolt. Zeus is here viewed as a form of
Fortune.
3 For this and the following verse see Nauck, T.G.F.,
Euripides, frag. 921.
4 The reference is to Euripides.

4 oôđē Crosby: oûτε.
5 τέλει] λέχει Casaubon.
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οὕτως τῶν κακὰ πολλὰ παθῶν ἀλῶν κατὰ πόντον, εἰσόκεν ἀνθρώπους διοτρεφέσσοι μυγείς.

θεοῦ λόγος ὑπὸ τήχης νεικημένου.

12 Αὕτη καὶ τὸ τῶν ύμετέρων προγόνων ἀρχαῖον γένος, τῶν αὐτοχθόνων καὶ πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, μητέρα μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐχοῦντας, τροφὸν δὲ τὴν Δήμητραν, ἐπώνυμοι δὲ καὶ σύμμαχοι τὴν Ἀθηναίων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Εὐβοιαν ἐξῆγαγεν· ὅσ δὲ ἐκεῖ μένοντας αὐτοὺς οὐτε ἡ πάλαισα τέρπεσθε οὐτε ἡ γῆ τρέφειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἔφερον τοῦ πράγματος, ἀντὶ ἱππευρωτῶν νησιώτων γενόμενοι, δεύτερον ἡ τύχη κρείσι-

13 σον ἐβουλεύσατο. σεμνὴ μὲν γὰρ Εὐβοια ὡς ἀληθῶς· ἀλλὰ τίς υἱῶν ἐφέρειν ἤδυνατο γῆν τραχείαν κατοικοῦν ἡ παλάσα στενὴ παροικῶν καὶ πολλὰς ἀνεχόμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολάς, τῶν ἐν τῷ ῥέματι γιγνομένων πλείονας; τὸν Βοιωτοὺς ἐδεί φέρειν καὶ τὴν Θηβαίαν ἀναισθησίαν, εἰτά Ἀθηναίους, οὐκέτι ὡς παιῶν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς δούλους χρωμένους. διὰ τοῦτο ἀγαγοῦσα ἐνθάδε ἱδρυσε, τῇ ἔτέρᾳ μὲν τῶν χειρῶν μηχανομένη τε τῶν πλούν καὶ κατιθύνουσα, τῇ δὲ τούς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως διδοῦσά τε καὶ δωρουμένη.

1 Ἀὕτη καὶ τὸ Ἐμπερίου: αὕτη τούτων καὶ ΩΒ, αὕτη τούτων καὶ ΜΡ, αὕτη τούτων καὶ Η.
2 After προγόνων Εμπερίου deletes ἑν.
3 αὐχοῦντας] αὐχοῦν or αὐχοῦντων Reiske.
4 After μὲν Εμπερίου deletes γὰρ.
5 ὡς δ’ Selden: ὡστε.
6 υἱῶν Εμπερίου: υἱῶν.
7 γῆν Reiske: τῆν.
8 ἱδρυσε, τῇ ἔτερᾳ μὲν Jacobs: ἱδρυσε τεταμένων.
9 τῇ Valesius: τῆς.

1 Odyssey 5. 377-378: spoken by Poseidron to Odysseus after the loss of his raft.

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Thus do thou wander now upon the deep,
With many an evil mishance, till the day
When thou dost meet with men beloved of Zeus. ¹
An utterance of a god vanquished by Fortune!

What is more, the ancient stock of your ancestors,
those autochthonous and earliest Athenians who
boasted the soil as mother, Demeter as nurse, and
Athena as namesake and ally, Fortune first led forth
from Athens to Euboea; but since if they remained
there the sea could not please them nor the land
support, and since also they could not endure the
disgrace of what had happened, their having turned
islanders instead of occupants of the mainland,
Fortune made a second and a better plan. For
though Euboea is truly a venerable island, still who
among you ever was able to endure dwelling in a
rugged land,² or being neighbour to narrow waters
and subjected to many shifts of condition, more
numerous than the shifts of current in the strait?³
At one moment you must needs endure the Boeotians
and the stupidity of the Thebans,⁴ and the next it
was the Athenians, who treated you no longer as sons,
but rather as slaves. So it came to pass that the
goddess took and established you here,⁵ with one
of her hands contriving and directing the voyage,
and with the other abundantly providing and bestow-
ing her fruits.

¹ Euboea is conspicuous for its lofty mountains, yet it
afforded good pasturage for Athenian cattle.
² The Æropus, which separates Euboea from the mainland,
is so narrow that it was bridged even in antiquity. Its current
is very swift and changes direction frequently.
³ Theban stupidity was a byword with Attic writers.
Chalcis, which led in the founding of Cumae, the forerunner
of Naples, faced Boeotia across the Æropus.
⁴ Presumably Naples; cf. Introduction.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

Τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμην εἰκάσας χαλεπῶν 14 ἔστιν. ἔγω δὲ, ὦ τύχη: πρὸς σὲ γὰρ δικαιώς ἂν ἵσως ῥηθείη δό λόγος· εἰ μὲ τις υψηλὸν ἀρας ἂγοι· μετέωρον ἐπὶ τινών ἡ Πηγάδου νῶτων ἡ Πέλοπος πτηνῶν· ἄρματων ύποτείνων· τὴν γῆν ἀπασαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις, οὐκ ἄν τὴν Λυδῶν ἐλοίμην τρυφήν οὐτ' εὐτέλειαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὔτε πενίαι τὴν· 4 Λακωνικὴν οὔτε Κρότωνα· οὔτε Σύβαριν, ὅτι οὐ πονοῦσιν, οὔτε Σκύθας, ὅτι οὐ γεωργοῦσιν, οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους, ὅτι ἄλλους γεωργοῦσιν·

καὶ Λιβύην, ὃθι τ' ἄρνες ἁφάρ κεραὶ τελέθουσι· εὐτυχία πομένων. οὐ Θῆβας Αἰγυπτίας,

αὐθ' ἐκατόμπυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἂν ἐκάστην ἀνέρες ἐξοιχεύσαν σὺν ἵππουσι καὶ ὀχεσφων· ἵπποκόμων βίος καὶ πυλωρῶν.

Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῶν· οὐκ ἄρκει μοι βωμὸς θύειν οὐκ ἔχοντι, οὐκ ἄρκει μοι φυτὰ τρέφειν με μὴ δυνάμενα.

τρηχεί', ἀλλ' ἀγαθή κοινοτρόφος· οὔτε τραχεία αὕτη καὶ κοινοτρόφος·

1 ἂγοι Arnim: ἂνω.
2 πτηνῶν deleted by Jacobs.
3 ύποτείνων Empericus, ύποκλύσων Jacobs: ύποκλών.
4 τὴν added by Dindorf.
5 After Κρότωνα Dindorf deletes πένονται γάρ.

1 The horses were winged. Pelops' horses were so depicted on the Chest of Cypsélus: cf. Pausanias 5. 17. 7.
2 Pericles boasted φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γάρ μετ' εὐτελείας (Thucydides 2. 40).
3 Croton and Sybaris typify ancient wealth. Croton decayed after the Second Punic War and Sybaris was wiped out in 510 B.C.
4 They were nomads.

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Now the idea in what yet remains to say it is difficult to portray. But as for me, O Mistress Fortune—for to thee, no doubt, my words would justly be addressed—if some one should raise me aloft and transport me through the sky, either, as it were, on the back of some Pegasus or in some winged car of Pelops, offering me the whole earth and its cities, neither would I choose the luxury of Lydia or the thrift of Attica or the meagre living of Laconia, nor would I choose Croton or Sybaris, because they do not toil, or the Scythians, because they do not farm, or the Egyptians, because they farm for others,

And Libya, where the lambs have horns at birth—a shepherd’s heaven! No, I would not choose Egyptian Thebes,

Which hath a hundred gates, and at each one Two hundred men go forth with chariots and steeds—a life for grooms and gate-keepers!

In Delos such a tree I once did see Beside Apollo’s altar—an altar does not satisfy my wants, since I have naught to sacrifice thereon; no more do trees, if they afford no food.

’Tis rugged, yet a goodly nurse of youth—this land not only is not rugged but a nurse of youth besides.

5 Egypt was the granary of the Mediterranean world.
6 Odyssey 4. 85. 7 Iliad 9. 383-384.
8 Odyssey 6. 162. Odysseus is about to speak of the palm tree sacred to Apollo. Dates do not ripen so far north.
9 Ibid. 9. 27: Odysseus’ tribute to his native Ithaca.
10 Naples; see Introduction.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

16 δέσπου' ἀπασῶν1 πότιν' Ἀθηναίων πόλι·
μὴ λέγε, ἀνθρωπε. οὐκέτ' εἰσών ἐκεῖνοι δεσπόται.
ὡς καὶ καλὸν σου φαίνεται τὸ νεώριον.
ἀλλὰ μεθ' Ἐλλησποντοι καὶ Τύσανδρον αἰσχρόν.
—καλὸς δ' ὁ Πειραιεὺς·
ἐτὶ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῶν βλέπεις.
ἀλση δὲ τὸς ποιοῦν ἐσχ' ἀλλὰ πόλις ;
εἰχε μὲν, δημοθείσα4 δὲ ὡς ἔπι συμφοραὶς γυνῆ5
ἀπεκείρατο.
καὶ τούρανον γ', ὡς6 φασι, ἐστὶν ἐν καλῷ.
καὶ πῶς, οὐ γε λοιμώττουσι καὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ8 πλέον
αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυται μέρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀέρων ἦ τῶν
πολεμῶν;
17 Καὶ μὴ τις ἀχθέσθω διότι οὔτως τῶν πατέρων
ἐμμημόνευσα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρωτείων οὐκ ἂν7
ἀλλὼς τύχομεν μὴ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀμιλλόμενοι.
ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιὸς τις στρατιώτης ὡς γεγονὼς τοῦ
πατρὸς κρείσσων ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίως
αἰσχρὸν πατράσιν οὐσιν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἠττω-
μένοις. τῆς γὰρ ἕμετέρας μεθεξοῦσιν ἀρετῆς κατὰ
τὴν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰδεῖτε

1 δέσποιν' ἀπασῶν Meineke: δέσποινα δ' ἀπασῶν or δέσποινα
d' ἀπασῶν ποι or δέσποινα δ' ἀπασῶν πόλεων.
2 δ' Valekenaer: δέ.
3 πόλις Porson: γυνή.
4 δημοθείσα Valekenaer: δὴ σωθείσα.
5 γυνή added by Dindorf.
6 γ', ὡς Reiske: πῶς or πῶς.
7 λοιμώττουσι Dindorf: λοιμώττουσι.
8 After καὶ Armim deletes τὸ.9 ἂν added by Emperius.

1 Kock, C. I. F., adesp. 340. It has been suggested that
this and the next four verses are from the Demes of Eupolis,
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O Athens, august mistress of them all! ¹
Say not so, fellow: those Athenians no more are masters.

How beauteous too thy shipyard is to view.
Nay, rather say ugly, after the Hellespont and Lysander.²

Peiraeus is a lovely sight.³
Yes, for your mind's eye still sees it with its walls.¹

What other city yet obtained such groves!⁵
It did have, yes, but it was ravaged and, like a woman
in her mourning, it had its tresses shorn.

For climate, so they say, 'tis nobly set.
Indeed! how so, since they are subject to plague and
sickness, and more of them are slain by their climate
than by the foe?⁶

Now let no one be vexed that I speak thus of his forebears. For we could not attain first rank in any
other way than by competing with those who are first. Why, not only did a certain warrior of old take
pride in having proved superior to his sire,⁷ but even for the Athenians it is no disgrace, ancestors of ours
though they be, to be outstript by their sons. For they will share your merit while being surpassed in
their own. How, then, could you help being grate-

² Spartan Lysander destroyed the Athenian navy at Aegospotami.
³ The first part of the verse read ὂς καλὸς ὁ Παρθενών, How beautiful the Parthenon.
⁴ The walls were torn down after the Peloponnesian War.
⁵ Kock, ad loc. cit., refers this specially to the Academy.
⁶ Possibly an allusion to the plague of 430 B.C.; cf. Thucydides 2. 47-52.
τούτων ἀπάντων τῇ τύχῃ τῆς χάριν καὶ τοῦ γένους, ὅτι "Ἑλληνες, 1 καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς, ὅτι ἐκ πενήντων εὐδαιμονες; 2 Σωκράτης γοῦν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς αὐτῶν ἐμακάριζε, καὶ ὅτι ζῶον λογικὸν καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναῖος. 3 Διογένης δὲ ὁ κύων ἀγροῖκος καὶ τέλεους ὑπὸ πολιτικὸς ηὔχει κατὰ 4 τῆς τύχης, ὡς 5 πολλὰ μὲν βέλη ἐφεισίς αὐτῷ ὡς σκοπῷ, τυχεῖν δὲ μὴ δυναμένης. οὐ φέρω θρασυμομενον οὖτω φιλόσοφον. μὴ καταβεύοντο τῆς τύχης. οὐ τοξεῦει γάρ σε, ὅτι οὐ βουλεταί. θελόυσθε δὲ τῇ τύχῃ πανταχοῦ ράδιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντομα ἐκεῖνα οὐ λέγω τὰ Λακωνικά, τοὺς δουλεύοντας Πέρσας καὶ τὸν ἔν Κορίνθων Διονύσιον καὶ τὴν Σωκράτους κατάδικην καὶ τὴν Ξενοφῶντος φυγήν καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδους θάνατον καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν 6 τὴν Ἀναξάρχου 7 ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ χαλεποῦ σκοτοῦ πόσιος ἐτυχε τοξεύμασιν; φυγάδα σε ἐποίησεν, εἰς Ἀθηναῖας ἦγαγεν, Ἀντισθένει προεξέσθησεν, εἰς Κρήτην ἐποίησεν. εἰ δέ σοι τὸν τύφον 8 βακτηρία καὶ πῆρα περιτίθησαι καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ ἀφελής βίος, ἢσθι

1 τοῦ γένους, ὅτι "Ἑλληνες Κασαυθον: τοῦ γένους ὁ πελληνεύς (οἱ πελληνεύς).
2 εὐδαιμονες Emperius: εὐδαιμόνησε.
3 After Ἀθηναῖος Arimn suspets a lacuna.
4 ηὔχει κατὰ Dindorf, εὐχέτο κατὰ Emperius: εὐτύχει καίτοι.
5 ὡς added by Emperius.
6 εὐδαιμονίαν] δυσδαιμονίαν Reiske.
7 'Ἀναξάρχου Reiske: 'Ἀναξάρχον.
8 εἰ δέ σοι τὸν τύφον Emperius: εἰ δὲ οἶνον τυφλὸν UBP, εἰ δέ οἶνο τῶν τυφλῶν Π, εἰ δὲ οἶνο τῶν τυφλῶν Π.

1 These phrases were doubtless hackneyed illustrations of Fortune’s unfairness. On “Dionysius at Corinth” cf. 60
ful to Fortune for all this—both for parentage, in that you are Greek, and for your changed condition, in that, though once poor, you now are prosperous? Socrates, at any rate, counted himself fortunate for many reasons—not only because he was a rational being, but also because he was an Athenian. Diogenes the Cynic, on the other hand, with boorishness and downright discourtesy was wont to rail at Fortune, claiming that, though she shot many shafts with him as her target, she could not hit him. I cannot endure a philosopher’s behaving so brazenly. Do not lie about Fortune. Diogenes, for the reason why she does not shoot you is that she has no wish to do so: on the contrary, if Fortune did wish it, she could easily hit you wherever you might be. While I do not use those “pithy laconic expressions”—slaves to the Persians, Dionysius at Corinth, Socrates’ condemnation, Xenophon’s exile, Pherecydes’ death, luck of Anaxarchus 1—still, let me ask you, with how many shafts has she hit this difficult mark itself? 2 She made you an exile: she brought you to Athens: she introduced you to Antisthenes 3; she sold you into Crete. But if staff and wallet and a meagre, simple mode of living serve you as a cloak of affectation, you have Fortune

Or. 37. 19. Xenophon was exiled for his association with Cyrus, who had favoured Sparta in the Peloponnesian War; cf. Anabasis 3. 1. 5. Plutarch (Pelopidas 21) says of this Pherecydes that he was slain by the Spartans in accordance with an oracle and thereafter his skin was carefully guarded by the Spartan kings. Anaxarchus of Abdera, a Democritean philosopher, favoured by Alexander the great, won the sobriquet ἐφδαμονικὸς, but later he suffered the tragic end referred to in Or. 37. 45.

2 Diogenes.

3 Pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic School.
καὶ τούτων τῇ τύχῃ τῆς χάρας κατὰ τύχην γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖς.

19 Ἡν δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεος Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ὁς πάντα εὐτύχει καὶ σκοπτόμενος οὐκ ἦν εἰκόνι τούτης τῆς κατὰ τύχην ἑθράσυντο καὶ πάλιν δυστυχεῖν ήρξατο. τὸς ἂν ποτὲ ἠλπίσεν Ἰνδὸν ἀρξεῖν κουρέα, ἠυδῶν βασιλεύσειν πομένα, τῆς Ἀσίας ἤγερονεύσειν γυναῖκα; ὅτι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀποκτεῖν ξυτῶν καὶ γυνῆς, ὅτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δοῦλος καὶ κύλιν, ἔχει γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ τοῦ βασιλικῶν, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ φύσιν δὲ ἑπαιρωμένους καθαρεῖ. πολλὰ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος τολμηρὰ ἐπρασ-πευ—οὐκ ἐφερεν νῦσι Φιλίππου λεγόμενος, τοῦ Διὸς κατεβεύδετο, τῶν Διοσκόρων κατεφρόνει, τῶν Διόνυσον ἐλοεδόρει, καίτοι γε ἀφθόνως οὕτως αὐ-τοῦ τοῖς διώροις χρώμενος. ἀπέκτειν δὲ καὶ Κλεῖτον τοῦ σωτηρία καὶ Φιλόταν τοῦ καλὸν καὶ τοῦ γέροντα Παρμενίων καὶ τῶν διδάσκαλον Καλλισθένη καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη ἐμελλήσαι καὶ Ἀρι-τίπατρον ἐβουλεύσατο. τοιγαροῦν ζωντα αὐτῶν

1 κουρέα Valesius: οὐρέα or ὅρέα.
2 δοῦλος] Ἰόλας Casaubon.
3 πλεῖστον αἰει τοῦ βασιλικῶν] πλεῖον κύρος αἰει τοῦ βασιλικῶν Arnim.
4 σωτηρία Capps: σοφὸν.
5 γέροντα Valesius: γείτονα.

1 Famous Athenian of the fourth century b.c. Maligned by a colleague, he fled to Enboca, where he died shortly after.
2 Angrammes. Quintus Curtius (9. 2. 6-7) calls him son of a barber.
3 Gyges; cf. Plato, Republic 359 c—360 ν.
4 Semiramis.
5 The story is told by Sophocles in his Trachiniae: cf. Or. 60.
to thank even for these things, for it is by grace of
Fortune that you practise philosophy.

Again, there was once an Athenian general,
Timotheüs,¹ who was fortunate in everything and
could not stand being made the butt of jokes; and
one day he committed some act of effrontery against
Fortune, and in turn he began to be unfortunate. Who
would ever have expected that a barber would be-
come ruler of the Indians ²; that a shepherd would
become king of the Lydians ³; that a woman would
become leader of Asia ⁴; that a tunic and a woman
would cause the death of Heracles ⁵; that a slave
and a goblet would cause the death of Alexander? ⁶
The explanation is that Fortune has within herself
the essence of royalty ever in fullest measure, and
she destroys those who exalt themselves unduly.
For instance, Alexander did many daring things—
he could not stand being called the son of Philip;
he lied about Zeus ⁷; he scorned the Dioscuri; he
abused Dionysus, though indulging so lavishly in
that god’s gifts. Moreover, he slew his saviour
Cleitus, the handsome Philotas, the aged Parmenion,
his teacher Callisthenes; he aimed to slay Aristotle
and had planned the death of Antipater.⁸ Therefore

⁶ Plutarch (Alexander 76-77) says he died of a fever, not
of poison.

⁷ Olympias is said to have told him that Zeus was his
father, and the priest of Ammon hailed him as paidios,
either “son of Zeus,” παῖ Διός, or an Egyptian blunder for
paidion, “son.” On at least one occasion he is said to have
resented doubts as to Philip’s fatherhood.

⁸ Cleitus, Philotas, and Parmenion were his generals.
Plutarch reports their murder and that of Callisthenes, but
he is less clear as to Alexander’s plans concerning Aristotle
and Antipater, the aged Macedonian whom he had left in
charge of European affairs.
21 ὁμολογεῖν ἡμᾶς καθιστάν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους ἵνα τρωθείς γοῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὐκ ἰχώρ ἑστίν, ἀφη, τὸ ἰέων, ἀλλὰ αἴμα ἄληθιον. ἀποθήσκων δὲ καὶ πάνυ ὡμολόγησε μεγάλην τινὰ οὕσαν καὶ ἀνίκητον ὡς ἄληθῶς τήν τύχην. ἐκείνος γοῦν ἐκφυγὼν καὶ τὸ Θηβαίων ὀπλιτικὸν καὶ τὸ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππικὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μαχαιροφόρους Θράκης καὶ τοὺς μαχίμους Πέρσας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀμάχων Μῆδων γένος καὶ ὁρι μεγάλα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀδιαβάτους καὶ κρημνοὺς ἀνυπερβάτους καὶ Δαρείον καὶ Πῶρον καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλείων ἀνόματα, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄνευ μάχης καὶ τραυμάτων ὁ στρατιωτῆς ἔθνησκε.

22 Τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν τοὺς διαδεξαμένους τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους γενομένους καὶ τὰ ἀλαζονικὰ αὐτῶν ἀνόματα, κεραυνοὺς καὶ πολιορκητὰς καὶ ἀετοὺς καὶ θεοὺς; ὃν τὸν μὲν ὁ θάνατος ἰλέγεσθαι, οὗ δὲ ψυχοτέραν εὑρε τὴν τύχην, καίτοι θείην δοκῶν, οὗ δὲ πολιορκητὴς Δημήτριος αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος ἐξ οὗν καὶ μέθης ἀτίμως ἀπέθανεν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πολιορκοῦμενος. τί οὖν οἱ τύραννοι μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς τεῖχους; τί δὲ Ἀμφίων ἀδεί; τί δὲ Δημόκης πονεῖ; τί δὲ Σμήραμος οἴκοδομεῖ; τί δὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλων μισθαρ- νεῖ; τί δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λέοντος Μῆλης τὸ τεῖχος

1 After γοῦν Arnim adds ὅ.
2 ἀδιαβάτους deleted by Arnim.
3 θείην Emperius: παῖζειν.

2 An Indian prince subdued by Alexander.
3 The first of these "braggart titles" would refer to either the elder son of Ptolemy Soter or Seleucus III; the remaining three refer respectively to Demetrians, Pyrrhus, and

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Fortune made him while yet alive admit that he was a human being. At any rate when he had been wounded he said to his friends, "Why, this fluid which I behold is not ichor but real blood!" But by his dying he admitted fully that Fortune is a mighty being and truly invincible. At any rate after escaping from the Theban hoplites, the Thessalian cavalry, the Aetolian javelin-throwers, the Thracians with their daggers, the martial Persians, the tribe of irresistible Medes, from lofty mountains, impassable rivers, unscalable cliffs, from Darius, Porus, and many other tribes and kings I might name, yet in Babylon, remote from battle and from wounds, our warrior died!

But what should one say of those who took over his empire, or of those who followed after them, with their braggart titles—Thunderbolts, Takers-of-cities, Eagles, Gods? One of the lot death proved mistaken: another found Fortune to be a loftier being than himself, though he had considered her pedestrian; our Taker-of-cities, Demetrius, was taken captive and died a shameful death from wine and drunkenness, beleaguered as he was by Fortune! Why, then, are tyrants proud of their ramparts? Why does Amphion sing, Deioces toil, Semiramis build, Apollo work for hire. Meles encompass the Antiochus II. Their fortunes are sketched, in reverse order, in the following sentence.

4 At his music the stones for the walls of Thebes moved into place.
5 Founder of the Median empire: cf. Herodotus 1. 96-100.
6 Cf. § 2 and note.
7 Apollo served more than one mortal, but the reference to Troy points to his serving Laomedon in building the walls of that city.

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περιέρχεται; κρατήσει γὰρ Μῆδων Κόρος καὶ Βαβυλωνίων Ζώπυρος καὶ Σάρδεων Μάρδος¹ καὶ Τροίας ο ἵππος.

23 Μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μάλλον δὲ τὸ² ὄλον, εἰτε τις, ἢ τύχη. αὐτὴ καὶ Πίνδαρον εἴρεν ἐκκείμενον ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Τήλεφον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ρωμαίων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπεμψε μελίττας, τοῖς δὲ ποιμένας, Τήλεφω δὲ ἔλαφον, Κύρω δὲ ἡ κύνα ἡ γυναίκα. Εὐμένης ἦν ἀμαξέως νιὸς, ἀλλ’ ὅμως βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο, Ἡρακλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐβασιλεύσεν ἀτάφος γοῦν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐκομίσθη, καὶ πενθήσασα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐτελεύτησεν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ. Δαρείον δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου προσεκύνησε καὶ, τὸ ἀτμότερον, Ἡφαιστίωνα. τί δὲ οἱ Λιβύων βασιλεύς; οὐ πεντακοσίας μὲν πόλεις Ἀρωμάϊων ἐπόρθησεν; ἐπάρας δὲ τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν³ αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἐδείξε Ἀρωμαϊκῶν σφραγίδων ἀνάπλεων, ὅτι ἐκάστην εἰχέν ἀπὸ πολεμίων σκύλων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένων; ταύτα δὲ πάντα δράσας ἀτίμως

¹ Μάρδος Valesius: μαρδόνιος or μαρδώνιος.
² τὸ added by Emperius.
³ τὸν added by Dindorf.

¹ Meles, king of Sardis, had a concubine who bore him a lion. An oracle said that Sardis would be safe if he carried the lion around the citadel, but he neglected a spot where the rock was sheer, and so the Mardian Hyroeades took the city: cf. Herodotus 1. 84.
² Zopyrus took Babylon for Darius; cf. Herodotus 3. 151-158.
³ A quotation from Demosthenes, Olynthiacæ 2. 22.
⁴ Photius says a bee dropped honey on Pindar’s lips as
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wall with his lion? ¹ For Cyrus will master the Medes, Zopyrus the Babylonians,² a Mardian Sardis, and the horse Troy!

Yes, as some one has put it. Fortune is a great weight in the scales, or rather the whole thing.³ She found the infant Pindar lying exposed in Boeotia. Telephus in Arcadia, the kings of Rome in Italy; and to Pindar she sent honey-bees,⁴ to the kings of Rome shepherds,⁵ to Telephus a deer,⁶ and to Cyrus either a dog or a woman.⁷ Eumenes was a wagoner’s son, but for all that he became king⁸: Heracles was Alexander’s son, yet he did not become king ⁹: in fact, his body, denied the rites of burial, was brought to Olympias, and after mourning for him she too died, a god’s mother, forsooth! Moreover, the mother of Darius made obeisance, not merely to Alexander, but, what is more disgraceful, to Hephaestion.¹⁰ What about the king of the Libyans? Did he not sack five hundred cities of the Romans? Did he not lift up his tunic and display it to his fellow townsmen filled with Roman finger rings, each of which he had as loot from foes he had slaughtered? Yet after he had done all this he met an ignominious

he lay asleep on Helicon. Similar tales were told of other Greeks. ⁵ The familiar tale of Romulus and Remus.

⁶ Telephus, son of Heracles, was exposed on Mt. Parthenium.

⁷ Herodotus (1. 110-113) says the wife of his rescuer was named Spako, which meant Dog.

⁸ He became governor, not king, of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia after Alexander’s death: cf. Plutarch, Eumenes I.

⁹ Son of Alexander by Barsine, he was murdered by Polyperchon: cf. Diodorus 20. 28.

¹⁰ One of Alexander’s generals. Mistaken for Alexander according to Curtius, Hist. Alex. iii. 12. 16 f.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

ἀπέθανε, μάτην πολλὰ φιλονεικήσας πρὸς τὴν τύχην.

25 Διόπερ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὰ μεγάλα1 πάντα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιτρέπειν τῇ τύχῃ, κληρωτὰς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ στρατηγίας ποιούμενοι καὶ ἀδελφοὶ κτήσιν αὐτῶν οὕτως διανέμονται. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸν Πολυνείκην, εἴπερ καλὸς ἐβουλεύετο, κλήρῳ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας λαχεῖν· νυνὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσ- απώλεσεν, ἡλικία τὸ πράγμα ἐπιτρέψας, οὐ τύχῃ.

26 κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλαξθε διαμπερές, ὦς κε λάχησιν. οὕτως γὰρ δὴ οὐνήσει εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς· καὶ ἄνησε λαχῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἔκτωρ ἡττήθη γνώμῃ πιστεύσας, οὐ3 τύχῃ.

δοιοὶ γὰρ τε πίθοι κατακείσται ἐν Διὸς οὐδεί. θησαυροὶ μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους οὕτως παρὰ θεοῖς· ταμιεύει δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιβάλλων ἡ τύχη καὶ ρήτορα καὶ στρατηγῶς καὶ πένητα καὶ πλουσίων καὶ 27 πρεσβύτητα καὶ νέως. Κροῖσω διδώσι χρυσὸν, Καν-

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1 Our author must have Hannibal in mind. However, his data do not square completely with common tradition. Appian says Hannibal sacked 400 cities; and it was his brother Mago, according to Livy (23. 12), who after the battle of Cannae dumped the signet rings at the entrance to the senate house in Carthage. Hannibal committed suicide when Prusias, king of Bithynia, was about to surrender him to the Romans.

68
THE SIXTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

dearth, having contended much with Fortune all in vain.¹

This, it seems to me, is why men entrust all their important matters to Fortune, making their public offices and generalships subject to allotment²: brothers also divide their patrimony in that way. And so Polyneices too, if indeed he had been well advised, ought to have drawn lots with his brother for the throne; but as it was, not only was he himself slain, he destroyed his brother as well, all because he referred the matter to priority of birth and not to Fortune.³

Now shake the lot in turn and see who draws;
For the well-greaved Achaeans he will aid ⁴—and, having drawn, aid he did; however, HECTOR was defeated because he trusted to judgement and not to Fortune.

For on his threshold Zeus has set two jars.⁵
These are storage jars for mankind in the keeping of the gods: however, it is Fortune who administers them with regard to what is allotted—to orator or to general, to rich or poor, to old or young. To Croesus she gives gold, to Candaules a wife.⁶

² Most Athenian offices were filled by lot, but not that of general.
³ Polyneices and Eteocles were sons of Oedipus, king of Thebes. AESCHYLUS tells the tale in his Seven against Thebes.
⁴ Iliad 7. 171-172; spoken by Nestor as the Greeks were choosing a champion to oppose Hector. The lot fell to Ajax.
⁵ Ibid. 24. 527.
⁶ Herodotus (1. 7-12) tells of the infatuation of Candaules for his wife that caused his death and the transfer of the throne to Gyges.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM


dαύλη γυναίκα, Ἡπείρου ἔφος, Νέστορι ἀσπίδα, Πτερέλα ¹ κόμην χρυσήν, Νίσῳ πλόκαμον πορφυροῦν, Ἀλκιβιάδη κάλλος, Ξωκράτει ² φρόνησιν, Ἄριστείδη δικαιοσύνην, Λακεδαίμονίους γῆν, Ἀθηναίοις ³ θάλατταν. εἶτα ἐν μέρει τούτων μὲν ἀφελελετο, ἄλλως δὲ ἔδωκεν. καὶ οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ δ ἔβιος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πομπῆς διαφέρειν ἐν ταῖς ἡμερήσιαις ⁴ μεταβολαῖς.

¹ Πτερέλα Valesius: πτερίδα or πτερίδα.
² After Ξωκράτε Emperius deletes δὲ.
³ γῆν, Ἀθηναίοις Dindorf: τὴν Ἀθηναίων.
⁴ ἡμερήσιαι Emperius: ἡμετέραις.

¹ When Peleus was a fugitive on Pelium, Hephaestus brought him a sword with which to ward off wild beasts.
² Nestor’s shield is shrouded in mystery. It is referred to only once in classical literature (Iliad 8. 192-193).
THE SIXTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

Peleus a sword,¹ to Nestor a shield,² to Pterelas golden locks,³ to Nisus a purple tress,⁴ to Alcibiades beauty, to Soocrates wisdom, to Aristeides uprightness, to Spartans land, to Athenians a sea. Then in turn she takes from these and gives to others. And it seems to me that the life of man in its daily vicissitudes is in no wise different from a procession.⁵

³ According to Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 2. 4. 5, a grandson of Poseidon named Pterelaiûs (sic) was made immortal by the gift of a strand of golden hair.

⁴ Nisus, king of Megara, had a purple hair on which his life depended. His daughter Scylla plucked it out for love of his enemy, Minos of Crete; cf. Apollodorus, op. cit. 3. 15. 8.

⁵ The simile of the procession perhaps has reference to the temporary dignity with which some of the participants were clothed. That the speech ends thus abruptly, without elaboration of the simile, suggests that we have it in an unfinished state.
THE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE:
ON FORTUNE (III)

This essay deals with the injustice of human behaviour with respect to Fortune. Unlike the two essays on Fortune which precede it, there seems to be no good reason to doubt its authenticity; yet there are signs which suggest that its present form is not that in which it was composed. The author seems to repeat himself to an extent not to be expected in so brief a composition. Besides, one misses from time to time those particles and formulas commonly employed by Dio and other Greek writers to indicate transition and to knit together the argument, e.g., at the beginning of the new paragraph in §7 and at the beginning of §§8, 10, and 13. On the other hand, the γὰρ which is found in the beginning of the new paragraph in §4 seems so unwarranted in that setting that Wilamowitz proposed to strike it out. In view of these phenomena it is not unlikely that we have before us, not one unified composition, but rather a collection of passages drawn from various contexts and here put together because of their common theme. It is possible that Dio's editor desired thus to preserve passages in writings now lost to us which he deemed noteworthy; though Dio himself may for his own convenience have grouped together paragraphs on related topics. It is worth noting that the passages that have been cited as marked by asyndeton have the earmarks of prooemia. For a fuller discussion of the general problem see von Arnim, Dio von Prosa 268-271.
63. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ

1 Οἱ σφόδρα τῇ τύχῃ πεπιστευκότες καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ταύτης ἐπαιρόμενοι δοκοῦσι μοι κάλλιστα σωηγορεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ παρασκευάζειν ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν μεταπέσῃ, μηδεῖς αὐτῇ μέμφηται. τοῦναντίον γὰρ ἀπαντεὶ τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ τὴν ὑβρίν αὐτῶν μεμυσηκότες, όταν καταλίπῃ τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ φασὶ δικαίως αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι τὴν μεταβολὴν. δὲ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ὦτως χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτομάτοις ἁγαθοῖς ὑστε ὑπαρχόντων μὲν αὐτῶν μηδένα ἐγκαλεῖν,

2 ἐὰν δὲ παύσηται ποτε, μηδένα ἐφήδεσθαι. τῷ παντὶ γὰρ κρείττον ἐστὶν ἐνδεῶς πράττοντα ἁγαπᾶσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν πᾶσι παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀπαλλάττειν ἢ τοῦναντίον εὐτυχοῦντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῇ τύχῃ γίγνεσθαι βλασφημίας αὕτιον ὡς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν χρηστῶν εὐεργετεῖν προαιρομένην. οὐ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς βαρέως χρωμένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τύχης ὑποάρχουσι πονηροὺς μὲν εἰναί φασὶ καὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀναξίως, οὐ μὴν ἀτυχεῖς γε εἰωθαί λέγειν· ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦναντίον οὕτω δοκοῦσι πάντων ἁτυχόστατοι

3 καθεσθηκέναι. τῷ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νομιζομένων
THE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE:
ON FORTUNE (III)

Those who have relied greatly on Fortune and are
clated by her presence are, it seems to me, her most
effective advocates and insure that, whenever she
does shift, no one shall blame her for it. For, on the
contrary, all men, being disgusted at the offensiveness
of those who enjoy good fortune and having come
to hate their insolence, as soon as Fortune abandons
any of these, applaud and declare that the change
of fortune they have experienced is deserved. Nay,
men of intelligence should so employ the blessings
which come to them unearned that, while they last,
no one may censure them and, if some day they come
to an end, no one may rejoice thereat. For it is
altogether better that one should be in straitened
circumstances but well liked, and that he should be
thought by all to be getting less than his deserts,
than, on the contrary, that he should be prosperous
but hated, and, besides, become the occasion for blas-
phemous railing at Fortune as preferring to benefit
the wicked rather than the good. Now though most
men say that those who are obnoxious in their use
of the gifts of Fortune are wicked and unworthy of
their blessings, they assuredly do not as a rule call
them unfortunate; yet to me, on the contrary, such
persons seem to have become the most unfortunate
of all. For when from what commonly are deemed
ἀγαθῶν μηδενὸς χρηστοῦ, βλασφημίας δὲ καὶ 
μίσους ἀπολαύειν πρὸς τῷ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακίαν 
γνωριμωτέραιν πάσι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐχὶ μεγάλη καὶ 
φανερὰ δυστυχία; διόπερ, οἱ μαί, τοῖς ἀνοητοῖς 
λυσιτελεῖ τῷ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἐνδεῶς πράττειν καὶ 
μήτε ἐξουσίας μήτε πλοῦτου μήτε τῶν τοιούτων 
μηδενὸς τυχανεί. ταπεινοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὄντες 
λαθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐμελλόν ὀποῖοι κατὰ 
τρόπον ὑπάρχουσιν, ἀρθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης 
ἐπισήμων τὴν ποιημάτων ἔσχοι. ὥσπερ οὖν 
τὸ σῶμα φαύλως διακεκαίμονες βέλτιον καθ’ 
αὐτοὺς ἀποδύσθαι καὶ μηδέποτε εἰς τὸ κοινὸν, ὅπως 
μηδένα ἔχωσιν τῆς περὶ τοῦτο αἰσχύνης μάρτυραν 
τὸν αὐτόν, οἱ μᾶλλον, τρόπου, οἱ συμβεβηκε 
τὴν ἑυφήν ἀγένη καὶ μοχθηρὰν ὑπάρχειν λυσιτελεῖ 
ἂν ἐνὶ δήπον ἐν ἁγνοῖα τοῦ βίου καὶ σκότει 
τῆς τύχης διαστελέιν.

᾿Αδίκως γὰρ μιᾷ δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν 
τῆς τύχης κατηγορεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐχούσης 
βέβαιον οὐδὲ πιστῶν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ δὴ μάλα, οἷς 
ἀν παρῆ, τούτων καταλεποῦσης καὶ 
μεθυσμαόνης πρὸς ἔτερους. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 
καλῶς ἢν ἰδεῖν χρωμένους ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοῖς 
παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς τοὺς 
λαμβάνοντας καὶ 
μὴ τοῦναν τὸν 
θαρσῆς ἑβρέως καὶ 
μυσανθρωπίας καὶ 
θρασύτητος ἑκπλαμένους, 
οὐκ ἢν ὀρθῶς ἐποίησε 
μὴ τοῖς 
παραμένοις; πῶς 
δὲ, οἱ 
προσερχόμεθα 
καὶ 
τῷ παρ᾿ 
αὐτῆς 
δουρέων 
ἀξίων, 
ἐπειδὴ 
δὲ 
φαύλου 
ἀισθηταὶ καὶ 
tapeiνον,
blessings one reaps nothing that is good, but rather vilification and hatred, besides making his own wickedness more notorious for all the world, how can that be anything but a great and conspicuous misfortune? And so, in my opinion, for those who lack intelligence it is in every way more profitable to be in needy circumstances and to acquire neither power nor riches nor any such thing at all. For as long as they were in lowly station most persons would fail to perceive their true character, whereas if they are exalted by Fortune their villainy is made conspicuous. Accordingly, just as with those whose bodies are in bad condition it is better that they undress in private and never in public, in order that they may have no witness of their shame in that respect, in the same way, I fancy, those whose misfortune it has been to possess a soul which is ignoble and corrupt would surely find it to their interest to remain inconspicuous as to their lives and obscure as to their fortunes.

It seems to me unfair that most men arraign Fortune on the ground that she has no stability or trustworthiness but all too speedily deserts those whom she visits and shifts to others. For if we could observe that the recipients of her blessings were for the most part making an honourable use of them and not, on the contrary, becoming filled immediately with arrogance and malevolence and effrontery. Fortune would not be acting right if she did not remain with the same people; but as it is, I imagine, she chooses in each instance to benefit a person because she supposes him to be a good man and worthy of her gifts, but when she finds him to be

\[^3\] \(\gamma\alpha\rho\) deleted by Wilamowitz. \[^4\] \(\kappa\alpha\iota\ v\) Geel : \(\eta\).
κατασχύνοντα τὴν εἴνοιαν τὴν παρ’ αὐτῆς, εἰκότως ἀφίσταται καὶ ζητεὶ πάλιν ἄλλον, ἐὰν ἁρα ἐπιει-κέστερον εὑρεῖν δύνηται. πονηρῶν δὲ τῶν πλεί-στων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως σπαίως τινὰ φερούσης ἐπιτήδειον εὐ πράττειν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεχεῖς ποιεῖται τὰς μεταβολῶς, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν ἢμετέραν ἡ τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἀτοπον εἰ τις αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ δύναται φέρειν ἐνίοις τῶν εὑρυχόντων, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν χρόνον ὀμηλήσας ἀφίσταται, καὶ μᾶλλον αἱρεῖται τὴν αὐτοῦ πενίαν ὅπως ἄν ἐνδέχηται φέρειν ἡ φορτικῶν καὶ ἄνωθέων ἀνέχεσθαι τρόπων· τὴν δὲ τύχην, θεὸν οὐσιν, ἄξιοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις συζήν ἄχρι παντὸς καὶ πολλάκις ύβριζομένην υβρέας δεινὰς ἑ παραμένειν ἀνθραπόδω τυδενός ἄξιως. παρὰ γὰρ τῶν πλούσιων εἰς μὲν τοὺς συμβιοῦντας ἀνθρώπους ἡ ύβρις ἐστὶ λοιδορία, προπηλακισμός, κατάγελως, τὸ πληγῆναι πολλάκις, εἰς δὲ τὴν τύχην αὐτὴν ὑπερηφανία, βαρύτης, μικρολογία.

Ἀδικώτατα μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐγκαλεῖν οἱ πολλοὶ τῇ τύχῃ. νῦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν αἰτιώνται, φάσκοντες ἀπιστον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν βέβαιον. εἰ δ’ ἄει τοῖς αὐτοῖς παρέμενεν, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως οὐχὶ τῶν παντὶ μείζονος καὶ δικαιότερας ἐτύγχανεν ἀν ἐκατηγορίας. ὁποῖο γὰρ νῦν δράτε τοὺς εὐ πρά-τοντας οὕτως οὑτας πονηροὺς καὶ βαρεῖς, καί ταῦτα τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑπάρχοντος ἀδήλου, πόσης ἄν οἴεσθε αὐτοὺς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ σκαίτητοι εἶναι μεστοὺς, εἰ καθόλου μὴ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς ύφεσμόντο;

1 After μὲν Arnim deletes ἐκαστος. Cobet reads εἰς μὲν ἐκαστος.
HE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

mean and base, bringing shame upon her benevolence, with good reason she leaves him and seeks somebody else in turn, hoping to find some one who is more honourable. But since most men are evil and human nature rarely produces anybody fitted to enjoy prosperity, Fortune must needs shift continually, and much rather because of our nature than because of her own. Yet it is strange that one who cannot himself endure some who enjoy the favours of Fortune, but who after a brief association leaves them and prefers to bear his own poverty as best he can rather than put up with cheap and senseless manners, nevertheless expects Fortune, goddess though she be, to live with these same persons for ever and, though frequently subjected to outrageous insults, to remain with an utterly worthless slave! For the fact is that the insolence shown by the rich toward the human beings with whom they live consists of abusive language, contumely, ridicule, and often a blow, but toward Fortune herself it is arrogance, harshness, captiousness.

Most unfair, it seems to me, are the charges most men bring against Fortune. For as it is they find fault with her as being untrustworthy and having no constancy at all. Yet if she always stayed with the same persons she would inevitably incur an altogether more serious and justifiable accusation. For when you now see that the prosperous are so base and disagreeable, even though what is in store for them is uncertain, with what arrogance and boorishness do you suppose they would be filled if they were not at all apprehensive of a change?

2 ἐτύγχανεν ἄν Capps: ἐτύγχανε.
8 Φασί πολλοί τήν τύχην ἀκριτον εἶναι καὶ πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις προσμένειν τῶν χρηστῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖν, ὅταν ὅρισι τοὺς ἡξιωμένους τῶν παρ᾽ ἑκείνης ἀγαθῶν βαρεῖς οὔτας καὶ δυσχρήστους καὶ ἀγεννεῖς. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἡ τύχη πρὸς αὐτοὺς δίκαια ἢ ἐπεὶ τὴν φύσιν φιλανθρώπος οὖσα ἀεὶ τις πάρεστιν ἡμῶν οὐχ αἱρομενή τοὺς ἀξίους οὐδὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς, ἀεὶ δὲ οἴοις ἃν αὐτοῖς παραγένηται, τοιούτους αὐτοὺς οὔτας ἑξελέγχεσθαι· δεῖν οὖν τὴν αὐτῶν αἰτιάσθαι φύσιν, μὴ τῆν ἑκείνης, ὅτι τοιούτοι καθεστήκασιν· ὅστε δὲ μὲν ἐνδεώς τι πράττων εὐθὺς ἄξιος εἶναι δοκεῖ βέλτιον ἀπαλλάττειν, ὅτι δὲ ἂν ὑπάρχῃ τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθά, μοχθηρὸς πέφημεν. ἔστι γὰρ ὅμοιον ὡσπερ εἰ τις, ἀγγείων πολλῶν οὖντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ὑγιός, τὸν εἰς αὐτὰ ἐγχέειτα πήγειον βλέπων ρέον τὸ ἂεὶ πληρούμενον. εἰποὶ γὰρ ἂν, 'Ἀλλ' ἐστι πάντα τοιαῦτα· ἔως δ' ἂν ἦ κεῖτα, λανθάνει.

9 Ὁσιμάξω πῶς ποτε οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τύχην φασίν ἐπικύδυνον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν βέβαιον. ἑκείνη γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τινὶ δorca τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθά—ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ χρήματα, ἱσχύς, δόξα, τιμαί—τοιούτων οὐδένα κωλύει χρῆσθαι κατὰ τρόπον καὶ νῆ Δία γε εἰς τᾶςφαλὲς αὐτοῖς κατατίθεσθαι, λέγω δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐνδοῦ εἰς τὸ ταμείων οὐδὲ κλεῖσ ἐφιστάντας καὶ μοχλοῦς· οὐ φιλαττεται γὰρ υπὸ τούτων οὐδέν τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' εἰς εὖνοιαν ἀνθρώπων, πατρίδος εὐφρενίαν, φίλων βοηθειαν. οὐκόν

1 δίκαια] δίκαιος Pltugk. 2 τε] ἔτε Reiske.
3 εὐθὺς transferred by Emperius to second line below, to follow ἀγαθά. 4 καὶ μηδενὸς] μηδενὸς δὲ Emperius,
THE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

Many charge that Fortune lacks discrimination and stays with bad persons but neglects the good, when they observe that those who have been deemed worthy of her favours are disagreeable and hard to deal with and ignoble. But it seems to me that Fortune might justly say to them that, being naturally benevolent, she is always helping some among us, without selecting the deserving or the base either, but that invariably the character they have when she comes to them is that which they show when the moral test is applied: and that therefore they should blame their own nature, not hers, as being so constituted that he who is faring somewhat badly immediately seems worthy of better fortune, while he who receives her favours turns out to be a knave. Aye, it is very much as if, given a number of vessels and not one of them sound, one were to find fault with the person pouring liquid into them, on seeing that whatever vessel was being filled leaked. For the man might say, "Why, they all are like that; however, so long as they are empty it is unnoticed."

I wonder why in the world most persons say that Fortune is precarious and that none of her gifts is to be relied upon. For whenever she gives any one her good things—wealth, power, fame, honours—she never prevents him from using these in a proper way or, by Heaven, from storing them away in safety for himself; and I do not mean indoors in the house, or in the storehouse, or putting them under lock and key—for none of her gifts is protected by these things—but rather storing them away in goodwill toward mankind, in service to one's country, in aid to friends.

5 ψέγιοι added by Pflugk, ἔλεγχοι by Drexenler.
6 τὸ ἄεῖ Crosby, ἄεῖ τὸ Reiske: ἄεῖ.
διο χρυσοστόμ

ουδέποτε ὁ ὁδύγοι τὰς ἀπαξ κτησμένους τῶν οὕτως ἀποκειμένων. οὕτως γὰρ εἰσὶ θησαυροὶ βέβαιοι καὶ πᾶσι φανεροὶ τῶν αὐτομάτως περιγυμνομένων. ἐάν δὲ τὸς λαβὼν ῥήμη ἢ καὶ ἡ Δία κακῶς θη, θύρας καὶ σφραγίσει καὶ κλειστῷ πιστεύων, οὐκέτ', οἴμαι, δι' ἐκείνην ἀπόλλυνται.

12 Σφόδρα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἄτοπον; ὥστε γὰρ τῷ πολλὰ βλασφημεῖν διὰ λόγων κατὰ τῆς τύχης ἐτι καὶ πλάσται καὶ γραφεῖς αὕτην λοιδοροῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ὃς μανομεῖν καὶ διαρρήπτουσιν γράφοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας βεβηκών, ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλῶς ουδὲ ἀκυδώνως ἐρημευμένην, δεὸν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοιούτους πλάττειν καὶ γράφειν τοὺς ἐμπλήκτως καὶ κακῶς πᾶσι χρωμένους καὶ μὰ Δία γε οὐκ ἐπὶ σφαίρας, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀνοίας ἐστηκότας, καὶ μὴ μάτην τῇ τύχῃ μέμφεσθαι.

13 Περὶ πάντων μὲν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τύχης δόξαν ὕπνου καὶ πεπληγμένην ἔχουσιν. φασὶ γὰρ αὕτην διδόναι μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τἀγαθά, 3 ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀφαίρεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὃς ἀπετέλετο βλασφημοῦσι καὶ φθονεράν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ διδόναι φημί τὴν τύχην τούτων οὐδέν, ὥστε οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν. ὃς γὰρ κύριος ἐκαστὸς γίγνεται τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ δι' ὃς μόνιμον κεκτήσθαι τἀγαθά ἀσφαλῶς ἔστων, οὐ διδωσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνά-

1 After οὐδέποτε Arnim deletes αὐτούς. Geel conjectures αὐτῆς.

2 θύρας καὶ σφραγίσει καὶ κλεισι Post with B, θύρας καὶ κλεισι Arnim: θύρας σφραγίσει καὶ κλεισὶ U, θύρας καὶ σφόδρα κλείσει Μ, ἢ θύρας καὶ κλεισι σφόδρα κλείσῃ ΡΗ.
THE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

Assuredly, Fortune never takes away from those who have once acquired them any of the things thus stored away. For these are dependable repositories and visible to all wherein to store the windfalls of Fortune. However, if after having got them a man squanders them or even, by Heaven, puts them in the wrong place, trusting to doors and seals and locks, no longer, I fancy, is their loss ascribable to her.

And here is something else which is very strange: besides the many verbal blasphemies against Fortune, sculptors and painters alike also traduce her, some representing her as mad and tossing her gifts recklessly about, some as standing on a sphere, as if to say that she has no safe or secure support, whereas it is ourselves that we ought to mould or paint like that, since we treat everything in a mad and evil fashion—and not, by Heaven, standing on a sphere but rather on folly—in place of idly finding fault with Fortune.

While on virtually every topic most men make incorrect assumptions, the opinion they hold regarding Fortune is particularly false and erroneous. For they say that, though she gives mankind their good things, she lightly takes them away again; and for that reason they malign her as being untrustworthy and jealous. But I claim that Fortune does not really give any of those things, as most men think she does. For that which gives each man control over his possessions and through which alone it is possible to have secure possession of one's goods she does not bestow upon them along with their wealth and fame.

\(^{3}\) ταγαθά Dindorf: ἀγαθά.
\(^{4}\) ὁς | ὅς Arnim.
μεως. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστιν οὐ χωρὶς οὐκ ἐστιν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχειν οὐδέν, οἰεσθαί μέντοι καὶ ἀπα- τάσθαι. καθάπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς, ὅταν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τινὰ εἰσαγάγωμεν ἢ τὸ χωρίον ἢ σκεύη τινὰ παράσχωμεν, εὐθὺς κύριον ἐκείνων τούτων ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἐὰν μὴ προσῆ τὸ μετὰ ἁσφαλείας τινὸς καὶ γράμματος, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τύχη κύριον οὐδένα ποιεῖ τῶν υἱοῦ αὐτῆς διδομένων, ἐὰν μὴ προσῆ τὸ μετὰ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως τινὰ λαμβάνειν.

15 Οἱ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰώθασιν εὐδαιμονίζειν εὐθὺς οἴς ἢν ὀρῶσι τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὑπάρχοντα, ἀσπερ τοῖς πλέουσι συνήδονται πινεῦμα ὁρῶσει ἐπέχουν, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐτ' εἰ φορὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐστιν οὕτ' εἰ κυβερνήτην ἔχουσιν ἐμπειρον. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τότε δεῖν μακαρίους κρίνειν τοὺς ἐν ἀφθόνοις ὄντας τοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ὅταν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν παρῆ. καθ' αὐτὰ γὰρ ταύτα δηλονότι, εἰ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γένοιτο, καὶ δυστυχίας αὕτα.

1 δηλονότι Wilamowitz: δήλον.
and power. No, that thing it is without which it is not possible to possess any of the other things but only to imagine that one does and to be the victim of delusion. For example, just as when we bring some one into our house or our farm or when we provide certain equipment, we ourselves do not forthwith appoint him master over those things, unless there is included in the transaction some written guarantee, so also Fortune does not make any one master of the things offered by her, unless there is attached to the grant the stipulation that they are accepted with intelligence and good judgement.

Most men, of course, are wont immediately to congratulate those whom they see supplied with the gifts of Fortune, just as people rejoice with men at sea when they observe that they have a breeze, although they know neither whether this breeze is favourable to them nor whether they have a helmsman with experience. But as for myself, I believe the time to judge fortunate those who are surrounded in abundance with the gifts of Fortune is when they have prudence too. For manifestly these gifts of themselves, should they become the property of fools, might be a source of danger and disaster.
THE SIXTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON REPUTATION

The theme of this Discourse is the fickleness of the crowd and the folly of those who seek to win and hold its favour. Dio regards those who yield to that ambition as victims of delusion. The public honours for which they strive have no real utility and are purchased at too high a price, sometimes reducing to beggary those who aim to reach them. What is more, the aspirant for popular acclaim sacrifices his independence. He is forced to order his life to suit the whims of those whose favour he is courting—in itself an impossible task—and he cringes before the hostile criticism of citizen and alien alike. No matter what scheme of life a man adopts, he is sure to be misjudged. The sane policy is, therefore, to steel oneself against criticism, in other words, to adopt the attitude of the philosopher.

Arnim argues that the Discourse originally ended in the midst of § 26, and that what follows has been appended by Dio’s editor, who, coming upon three passages of similar purport, chose to preserve them through inclusion in our Discourse. He is led to this belief by the presence in the section referred to of the sentence beginning τί δεὶ δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν, which is thought to form a logical close. He might have found additional support for his belief in the fact that the beginning of each of the succeeding passages is marked by asyndeton. All three resemble introductory paragraphs of exordia. The extant work of Dio reveals other instances of the existence of variant versions of a common theme, apparently testifying to his practice of delivering a given speech on more than one occasion.

Peculiar interest attaches to the present Discourse because of an allusion in § 6: ἐτι δὲ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οἰκίαν αὐτριβείσαν πλούσιωτέραν ἐκεῖνης διὰ γλώτταν καὶ νη Δία ἐτέραν κινδυ-
THE SIXTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

τεύχονσαι. The two "houses" there referred to are thought by Arnim to have been respectively that of Nero, whose pretensions as a singer (διὰ γλῶτταν) are being credited with his downfall, and that of Domitian, whose assassination is here predicted. Arnim observes that toward the close of Domitian’s career such predictions were current, even being known by the emperor himself, and he points out that Apollonius of Tyana was able to announce in Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very moment when it was taking place in Rome! If Arnim’s reasoning is correct, our Discourse can with confidence be dated shortly before Domitian’s death, while Dio was still in exile.
66. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

1 Εἰς τινες, οἳ τοὺς μὲν φιλαργύρους ἡ φιλόφιοι ἢ οὐρὸφυγας ἢ περὶ γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας ἐπτομένους ἀσώτους ἀποκαλοῦσι καὶ δυστυχεῖς, καὶ τούτων ἐκαστὸν ἤγονται τὸ μέγιστον ἀνειδος, τοὺς δὲ φιλοτίμους καὶ φιλοδόξους τουναιτίων ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὃς λαμπροῦσι ὡστε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ὡφυγαγῶν μὲν ἡ πάνω ἡ ἔρων τινὸς αἰσχύνεται καὶ περιστέλλει τὴν ἀκρασίαν, δοξοκοπῶν δὲ καὶ φιλοτιμοῦμενος οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων βουλεῖται λανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ταύτα ποιεῖ.

2 Τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν ἐκαστὸς εὑφημεῖ τήν τοιούτην νόσουν, λυσιτελεῖν ἤγονεμοίς αὐτῷ. καὶ δημοσίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πόλεις ἀπάσαι δελέατα ἐξευρήκασι παντοῖα τοῖς ἀνοίγοις, στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας καὶ κηρύγματα. τογαροῦν ἤδη τινὰς τούτων ἐπιθυμοῦσαν ἀθλίους καὶ πένητας ἀπέδειξαν, οὐδέν ὀρέγοντες μέγα οὐδὲ θαυμαστόν, ἀλλὰ ἐνίους ἀπὸ θάλλου περιάγοντες, ὡσπερ τὰ πρόβατα, ἤ στεφανόν τινα ἡ ταινίαιν ἐπιβάλλοντες. οὐκοῦν

1 Cf. Plato, Phaedrus 230 d.
2 On the subject of crowns cf. Athenaeus 15, 669 c–686 c. Crowns were favourite prizes in the athletic games. Best known is the crown of wild olive, awarded at Olympia. The Diadumenos of Polykleitos portrays an athlete binding his brow with a ribbon. Crowns were awarded also for public service, as in the famous case of Demosthenes. In either sports or politics the crown might prove costly.
THE SIXTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE:
ON REPUTATION

There are some who brand as dissolute and ill-starred such men as have a craving for money or for dainties or for wine or who are inflamed with lust for women or boys, and they regard each of these vices as the greatest disgrace; yet those who crave distinction and reputation, on the contrary, they applaud, thinking them illustrious; and therefore, while each one of his own accord, if a gourmet or a tippler or a lover of somebody, feels ashamed and tries to cloak his incontinence, yet when seeking reputation and distinction he does not want to escape the eye of any man on earth, but rather he carries on his quest in the open.

And no wonder, for among men in general each speaks well of this type of malady, deeming it advantageous for himself. Furthermore, by official act virtually all the states have devised lures of every kind for the simpletons—crowns and front seats and public proclamations. Accordingly, in some instances men who craved these things have actually been made wretched and reduced to beggary, although the states held before them nothing great or wonderful at all, but in some cases led their victims about with a sprig of green, as men lead cattle, or clapped upon their heads a crown or a ribbon. Therefore, while
Dio Chrysostom

ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἔξον αὐτῷ μυρίους, εἰ ἐθέλοι, στεφάνους προῖκα ἔχειν οὐ μόνον ἐλαίας ἡ δρυός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κιττοῦ καὶ μυρρίνης, πολλάκις τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέδοτο καὶ τὰ χωρία, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περιέρχεται πεινῶν καὶ φαύλου τριβῶν, ἔχων. ἀλλὰ κηρύττεται, φησιν, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὦσπερ ἀπολωλὸς 3 ἀνδράποδον. οὐκοῦν εἰκότως χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς χειροτονίας τῷ τῆς ἐλαίας θαλλῷ διὰ τὸ φύσει πικρὸν ὑπάρχειν. τοὺς γὰρ ἰδοκόπους ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων οἱ δῆμοι κραυγὴ καὶ ψόφω, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τοὺς ψάρας οἱ γεωργοί. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν μεθίστανται πρὸς ὁλίγον· τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐτί τῶν ὅδιων ἑπάνω, ἀλλὰ περίασι μικρὸν ὑστερον πτωχοί, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἃν προσαγορεύσειν ἴδων ἐτί τῶν πρότερον διαρρηγγυμένων. 4

4 Τοσαῦτη δ’ ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ τύφου δύναμις ὡστε παρὰ μὲν τῶν βαφέων ἀγοράσεις δυὸν μνιῶν ἡ τριῶν καλῆς πορφύραν· δημοσία δ’ εἰ ἐθέλοις πολλῶν πάνω ταλάντων ύμιος. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ταινίας ὀλίγων δραχμῶν, ταῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολλάκις ἀπάσης τῆς οὐσίας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγορᾶς κηρυττομένους ἀθλίους

1 τοὺς γὰρ U: τοὺς BM.
2 ἀγρῶν] ἀγρῶν H, marginal correction adopted by Arnim and Budé.
3 καθάπερ Pflugk: καθώσπερ.
4 τοὺς γὰρ δοξοκόπους . . . διαρρηγγυμένων deleted by Emperor.
5 βαφέων Emperor: βαρβάρων.

1 Crowns of ivy or myrtle were sometimes worn to ward off drunkenness; cf. Athenaeus 15. 675 d–e.

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a fool like that, if he so desired, might have for the asking any number of crowns, not merely of olive or of oak, but even of ivy or of myrtle,¹ often he sells his house and his lands and thereafter goes about hungry and clad in a shabby little cloak. Ah but, says he, his name is publicly proclaimed by his fellow citizens—just as is that of a runaway slave! With good reason, therefore, men use in connexion with the votes passed in Assembly the branch of the olive,² because of its native bitterness! For the notoriety-seekers are driven out of their fields by the democracies with shouting and elamour,³ just as, methinks, the starlings are driven out by the farmers. Moreover, though the starlings withdraw for a little while, the notoriety-seekers can never again return to anything that once was theirs, nay, a short while later they go about as beggars and no longer would any one of all who formerly were fain to burst their lungs with shouting greet them if he saw them.

However, such is the spell of this infatuation that, though you will buy from the dyers for two or three minas a handsome purple mantle, should you wish one by public award it would cost you very many talents.⁴ Again, though you will buy the ribbons of the market-place for a few drachmas, those of the Assembly will often cost you all your fortune. Furthermore, while persons who are cried for sale in the market-place⁵ all deem wretched, those cried

¹ Perhaps an allusion to the wreaths carved on certain stones containing official records.
² To gain the shouts of the mob they are driven to sacrifice their property.
³ The intrinsic value of the mina was one sixtieth part of the talent, but one hundred times that of the drachma.
⁴ The slaves: cf. § 2.
⁵ The slaves: cf. § 2.
πάντες¹ νομίζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μακαρίους· καὶ τούτους μὲν κηρύττεσθαι φασιν, ἐκεῖνους δὲ ἀποκηρύττεσθαι, δῆλον ὅτι παρὰ μίαν συλλαβήν γνωριμενῆς τῆς διαφορᾶς.

5 Ὑπώ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεφρόνησαν οἱ πρώτεοι καὶ τήν εὐθέσειαν αὐτῶν συνείδον ὡστε ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων πόνων καὶ πληγῶν² φύλλα προὔθεσαν. ἀλλ' ὁμοι εἰσὶν οἱ χάριν τούτων ἀποθηήσκειν αἱροῦμενοι. τῶν δὲ αἱγών οὐκ ἂν οὐδεμία κατακρημύσεις αὐτήν κοτίνου χάριν, καὶ ταῦτα παρούσης ἐτέρας νομής. καὶ τοὺς ταῖς μὲν αἰξὶν οὐκ ἀγδῆς ὁ κότινος, ἀνθρωπος δὲ οὐκ ἂν φάγοι. καὶ τήν μὲν ἔξ Ἰσθμοῦ πίτυν, οὐδέν οὖσαν τῶν ἄλλων χλωροτέραν, μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου καὶ κακῶν ἀναιροῦνται, πολλάκις ἄργυριον πολὺ διδόντες· καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ φυτοῦ μηδεμίαν ὥφελειαν ἔχοντος· οὔτε γὰρ σκλῖν ποιεῖν οὔτε καρπον φέρειν· δύναται τὸ τε φύλλον δρμοῦ καὶ καπνῶδες· τῆς δ' ἐκ Μεγάρων πίτυν οὐδεὶς ἐπιστρέφεται. καὶ μὲν ἑτέρος τὸς μὴ καταεγγίτο τὴν κεφαλὴν δόσῃ,³ καταγελᾶται· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεύσι πρέπειν δοκεῖ καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες τεθηκασιν ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ ράκους.

6 Ὁτι μὲν γὰρ διὰ χρυσοῦν πρόβατον ἀνάστατον συνέβη γενέσθαι τηλικαύτὴν οἰκίαν τῆν Πέλοπος

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¹ πάντες Ρ: πάντας UBH, ἀπάντας M.
² πληγῶν] δαπανῶν Amphim.
³ δόσῃ] διαδόσῃ Cobet.
THE SIXTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

in the theatre ¹ they deem fortunate; besides, they claim that the latter are cried, the former decried, a single syllable evidently constituting the sole difference!

Yes, so completely did the men of old despise mankind, and so clearly did they see their fatuity, that as a reward for the greatest hardships and buffetings they offered leaves! ² Yet there are some who to gain those leaves elect to die. But no nanny-goat would hurl herself over a cliff for the sake of a sprig of wild olive, especially when other pasturage is handy. And yet, though goats do not find the wild olive distasteful, a human being could not eat it. Again, take the Isthmian pine ³; while it is no greener than the other varieties, with much toil and hardship men strive to gain it, often paying much money for it—and that too, although the tree has no utility at all, for it can neither provide shade nor bear fruit, and, besides, the leaf is acrid and smoky: on the other hand, no one turns his head to look at the pine from Megara. ⁴ Moreover, if any one else has his head bound—unless he has suffered a fracture—he is the object of ridicule; yet for kings the headband is thought becoming and untold thousands have given their lives for the sake of this scrap of cloth.

Why, because of a golden lamb it came to pass that a mighty house like that of Pelops was over-

¹ Honours voted in Assembly often were conferred in the theatre.
² An allusion to the wreaths awarded the athletic victor.
³ The "Isthmian pine" was awarded the victor in the Isthmian Games held at the Isthmus of Corinth in honour of Poseidon.
⁴ There seems to have been no great botanical difference, but Megara had no national games of its own.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οἱ τραγῳδοὶ φασιν. καὶ κατεκόπτη μὲν τὰ τοῦ Ὄνεστον τέκνα, τῇ Πελοπίᾳ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἐμίχθη καὶ τὸν Άγιον έσπειρεν. οὖτος δ' ἀπέκτεινε μὲν μετὰ τῆς Κλυταμνήστρας τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν ποιμένα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κἀκεῖνην Ὄρέστης ὁ ὦς, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας εὐθὺς ἐμαίνετο. τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπιστεῖν, ὃ γέγραπται μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνδρῶν, Ἑυριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους, λέγεται δὲ ἐν μέσους τοὺς θεάτρους: ἐτὶ δὲ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐτέραν οἰκίαν συντριβεῖσαν πλουσιώτεραν ἐκείνης διὰ γλώτταν1 καὶ νῇ Δία ἐτέραν κιν- 

dυναύσαν.

7 Τοιοῦτων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν δόξαν οντῶν καὶ 

μυρίων ἀλλων ἀτοπωτέρων, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ παντὶ 

δυσχερέστερος ὁ πρὸς ταύτην κεχρυσὸς τοῦ πρὸς 

ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἔπτωχον; τὸν φιλομον εἰς ἱχθὺς 

ἀποπίμπληκτα καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄν αὐτὸν κωλύσειν 

ηδεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ὅμως ὁ πρὸς παιδας 

ἀθλίως ἔχων, ἐὰν εἰς ὥραιον4 ἐμπέσῃ, τούτον ἐνα 

ἳνα θεραπεύει, καὶ πολλάκις μικρὸν κατειργάσατο. 

τῶν οἰνόφλυγα ἐν Ὀάσιον κατέπλησε,5 καὶ πιῶν 

'Ενυμέων ἱδιὸν καθεύδει: τῷ δοξοκόπῳ δὲ 

1 ἀποστάτην] δόξαν Herwerden. 

2 δυσχερέστερος] δυστυχέστερος U.11. 

3 ἄν added by Emperius. 

4 εἰς ὥραιον Casaubon: εἰς ρωμαίον B11, εἰς ρωμαίον 

M, εἰς ρωμαίοι U. 

5 κατέπλησε] κατέπιε M, ὅ κατέπιεν UB.

1 The fortunes of the house of Pelops were a favourite theme with the tragic poets. One of Sophocles’ extant dramas (Electra) and at least three now lost testify to his interest in the story. Four of the extant plays of Euripides (Electra, Iphigeneia at Aulis, Iphigeneia among the Taurians, 94
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turned, as we learn from the tragic poets. 1 And not only were the children of Thyestes cut in pieces, but Pelopia’s father 2 lay with her and begot Aegisthus; and Aegisthus with Clytemnestra’s aid slew Agamemnon, “the shepherd of the Achaeans” 3; and then Clytemnestra’s son Orestes slew her, and, having done so, he straightway went mad. One should not disbelieve these things, for they have been recorded by no ordinary men—Euripides and Sophocles—and also are recited in the midst of the theatres. Furthermore, one may behold another house, more affluent than that of Pelops, which has been ruined because of a tongue, and, in sooth, another house which is now in jeopardy. 4

But such being the accompaniments of notoriety, yes, and countless others even more absurd, why is not he who gapes hungrily in that direction altogether more disgusting than the person who is distraught with passion for anything else at all? The gourmet is satisfied with a single fish and none of his enemies would interfere with his enjoyment of it; similarly he who is a pitiable victim of lust for boys, if he comes upon a handsome lad, devotes himself to this one only and often prevails upon him at a small cost. A single jar of Thasian wine is all the drunkard can hold, and when he has swallowed it he sleeps more sweetly than Endymion; yet your notoriety-seeker would not

and Orestes) deal with the same theme. Dio should have known the famous trilogy of Aeschylus, the Oresteia, but for some reason he overlooks it.

2 Thystes was father of Pelopia; cf. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, epitome 2. 14.

3 A familiar Homeric tag.

4 The houses of Nero and Domitian respectively; cf. Introduction.
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οὐκ ἂν εἴς ἐπαινῶν ἐξαιρέσειν, ἀλλ' οὐδέ χίλιοι πολλάκις.

8 "Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ρᾴδων ἐστὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸ χαλεπώτατον μειράκιον τοῦ μετρωτάτου δῆμου τίς οὐκ ἂν φήσειν; ὅσῳ μέντοι προχωρεῖ τὸ τῆς δόξης ἐπὶ πλέον, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπνοι λαχεῖν· ἀλλ' ὀσπερ οἱ φρενιτίζοντες, ἀεὶ μετέώρος οὕτως καὶ νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἕμεραν. ἥ Δι', ἀλλ' ἐκείνους ἱδεῖν ἔστιν περὶ τῶν οἴνων καὶ τάς ἑταίρας καὶ τά ὀπτανεία. τῷ τοιοῦτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀνάγκη πολὺ μὲν ὀφοι ἀγοράζειν, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον; αὐλητάς δὲ καὶ μύους καὶ κιθαριστᾶς καὶ θαυματοποιοὺς συνακτέον, ἔτι δὲ πῦκτας καὶ παγκρατιστὰς καὶ παλαιστᾶς καὶ δρομεῖς καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἑθνος, εἰ γε μὴ μέλλει φαύλως μηδὲ ἀγεινὼς ἐστιάσει τὸ πλῆθος.

9 Τοιοῦτος μὲν γὰρ οὔδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ὀψοφάγων γέγονεν ὥστις ἐπεθύμησε λέοντος ἄγριον ἢ ταύρων ἐκατόν· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν ἑθέλοντες οὐ μόνων τούτων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσων οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγους λίνους, φασίν, ἢ δυσίν ἢ τρισίν ἑταίρας οὐδὲ δέκα Λεσβίας ἢ θηρεύεται δόξα καὶ δῆμος ὀλος εἰς πεθώ καὶ φιλίαν ἀγεται, μυρίων ἀντιπραττόντων· ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πόλεωσ ἀκολουθίαν ἔχειν καὶ φιλωδῶν καὶ φιλοχορεύτην καὶ φιλοπότην καὶ ὀψοφάγων εἶναι καὶ πάντα ἡ τὰ τοιαῦτα μή ὅς ἐνα ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ μυρίους ἢ δις

1 eis Reiske: οὔδεὶς.
2 Λεσβίας UB: λεσβίοις ΜΡΗ.

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1 The term mime, frequently used to designate a low form of comedy popular in Sicily and southern Italy, is here used of the performers in such productions.

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be satisfied with the praise of just one person, nay, not even with that of a thousand in many instances.

Who would not agree that it is easier to handle the most difficult youth than the most moderate community? And yet the farther the craze for notoriety progresses, so much the more impossible it is to get any sleep; instead, like the victims of delirium, your seeker after fame is always up in the air both night and day. "Right, by Heaven," somebody may say, "but you can see those other chaps busy with their wine and their mistresses and their kitchens." Yes, but does not the seeker after fame find it necessary to buy a lot of food and wine? And he must collect flute-players and mimes 1 and harpists and jugglers and, more than that, pugilists and pancratiaists 2 and wrestlers and runners and all that tribe—at least unless he intends to entertain the mob in a cheap and beggarly manner.

For though there has never been a gourmet so voracious as to crave a savage lion or a hundred bulls, those who wish to please the masses crave not merely the things just listed but things too numerous to mention. For "not with a few nets," as the saying goes, or with two or three harlots, or even with ten Lesbian girls, is popularity hunted and a whole community rendered obedient and friendly, since thousands are competing for it; nay, he who courts popular favour must have a whole city's licentiousness and be a devotee of singing, of dancing, of drinking, of eating, and, indeed, of all such things, not as one single individual, but rather as ten thousand or twenty thousand or a hundred thousand, in keeping

2 The pancratiaist used a combination of wrestling and boxing.

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μυρίους ἡ δεκάκις, ἡλίκης ἂν1 ποτε ἐραστής ἦ2 πόλεως. αἱ δ’ ἂν παρὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ καταλάβοις αὐλῶν συρίγγων τῷ ἐνοτήρῳ ὀμαδόν τ’ ἀνθρώπων. παρὰ δὲ πλήθουσι τράπεζα σῖτον καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ’ ἐκ κρητῆρων οὐνοχοῦ φορέοντι.

κινήσεις δὲ τε δώμα περιστεραίαται αὐλῇ ἡματα, νύκτας δ’ αὐτῆς παρ’ αἰσθήσις ἀλόχοισιν οὐδέποθ’ εὐδοκίαι, οὐδ’ ἂν πάνω πολλοὺς ὑποστορέσωμαι τάπητας.

11 "Ὡστε τοὺς γε φιλόσωφας καὶ σφόδρα, οἶμαι, μακαρίζειν αὐτούς τοῖς φιλοσόφοις παραβάλλοντας, ὅταν αὐτοὶ μὲν ὀρτυγας ζητῶσιν ἡ ἀλεκτρονά ἡ ἀμφόμον, τοῖς δὲ ὀρῶσι3 ἀνάγκῃς ἐνδοῦ 'Ἀμοιβέα ἡ Πώλου' ζητεῖν ἡ τῶν 'Ὀλυμπίαις νευκηκότων τινὰ πέστε μισθοῦσθαι ταλάντων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἧ5 τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἡ τὸν ἀκόλουθον ἐγάστρισαν: οἱ δὲ ἂν μὴ τουλάχιστον ἑκατὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πολυτελῶς ἐστιάσωσιν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὧφελος.

Τοῖς μὲν ὅσιν κάμηλουσιν ἰσυχίας προνοοῦσιν οἱ θεραπεύοντες ὅπως καθεύδωσιν τοῖς δὲ δοξολόγοις, ὅταν ἰσυχίας τυγχάνωσιν, τότε μάλιστα ὑπεκόν ὃνμεν 12 ἐπεισιν. οἱ μὲν ὅσιν χρημάτων ἡ γένους ἐπιτυ-
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with the size of the city whose favour he is courting.
At such a person's house you will always find

The shrill of flutes and pipes, the din of men.¹
And at his house tables are laden with bread and
meat, and from mixing-bowls cupbearers bear drink.²

By day the hall with fatty savour reeks
And makes the court to echo with its din,
While in the night, beside their wives revered³—
they never sleep, not though they spread beneath
them very many rugs.

Thus the boy-lovers, I fancy, count themselves
extremely fortunate as they compare themselves
with the popularity-seekers, seeing that they them-
selves seek only quails or a cock or a tiny nightingale,⁴
while those others, they observe, must needs seek
some Amoebus⁵ or Polus⁶ or hire some Olympic
victor for a fee of five talents. Moreover, while they
themselves have filled the belly of one man, the tutor
or the attendant of the lad, the others, unless they
provide a sumptuous banquet for at least a hundred
daily, derive no advantage at all.

Again, when men are ill, their attendants provide
quiet for them so that they may sleep; but with the
popularity-seekers, whenever they do obtain a bit
of quiet, that is the time above all when sleep will
not come. Now those who have been blessed with

³ Odyssey 10. 10-11, spoken by Odysseus about the
palace of Aeolus.
⁴ As gifts for their beloved.
⁵ Famous singer of the third century: cf. Athenaeus
14. 623 d.
⁶ Famous tragic actor; cf. Lucian, Neiyomanteia 16, and
J. B. O'Connor, Chapters in History of Actors and Acting in
Ancient Greece, pp. 128 ff.
χόντες ἢ τινος τῶν τοιούτων ἢ σώματος ἢ διανοίας
ἡ λαλιάν γούν περιποιησάμενοι, καθάπερ ἐπτερω-
μένοι μόνον οὐ κατ᾽ ἄστρων φέρονται, δημαγωγοῖ
tε καὶ ἕξαναγοί καὶ σοφισταὶ λεγόμενοι, δήμους
καὶ σατράπας καὶ μαθητὰς θηρεύοντες· τῶν δὲ
ἄλλων ἐκαστος τῶν μηδεμίαν χορηγίαν ἐχόντων
ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου κρατουμένων, περιέρχεται
πρὸς ἐτερον ζωήν καὶ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει τις
φροντίζων, καὶ μὲν εὐφημήσῃ τις, ώς οἷται,
μακάριος καὶ φαινός, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ταπεινός τε καὶ
κατηφής καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζων ὀποῖον
ἂν εἰπῇ τις. καὶ δίαιταν μὲν ἡ δίκην ἃν ἐχῇ πρὸς
τινα, οὐκ ἄξιοι τὸν διαμητῆν ἢ τὸν δικαστὴν τοῖς
τυχοῦσι προσέχειν μάρτυριν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ
πάντας ἄξιόχρεως ἤγείται.

13 Τί δὴ κακοδαιμονέστερον ἀνθρώπων ἐπ᾽ ἄλλως
κειμένων καὶ τὸν ἀπαντῶντα κύριον ἐχόντων, πρὸς
ὅν ἠεὶ βλέπειν ἀνάγκη καὶ σκοπεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον
ἐκάστου, καθάπερ τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῦ τῶν δεσποτῶν;
πᾶσα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ δουλεία χαλεπῆς τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ
tύχης ἐν οἰκία τοιαῦτης δουλεύοντας ἐν ἂ δύο ἡ
τρεῖς δεσπόται, καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς τε ἡλικίαις καὶ
tαις φύσει διάφοροι—λέγω δὲ πρεσβύτης ἀνελεύ-
θερος καὶ τοῦτον παῖδες νεανίσκους πίνειν καὶ
οπαθῶν θελοντες—τίς οὖν ἂν τῶν ἄλλων οἰκετῶν
ὁμολογήσεις ἀθλιωτέρους, ὅταν τοσοῦτος δέ ή
θεραπεύειν καὶ τούτων ἐκαστον ἄλλο τι βουλο-
μένον καὶ προστάττοντα;

1 ἡ διανοίας Morel: ἡ ἀποψία, εὐπορία Αρνίμ.
2 ζωήν ζητῶν Η.
3 τοιαυτή Εμπερίου: τῇ αὐτῇ.
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riches or ancestry or the like or with physical or mental excellence or who, at any rate, have acquired a glib tongue, these, as if endowed with wings, are all but carried to the stars, being called leaders of the people and condottieri and sophists, courting communities and satraps and pupils; but of the others, who have no adventitious backing but are victims of the same malady, each goes about living his life with his eye on somebody else and concerned about what people are saying of him, and if people speak well of him, as he imagines, he is a happy man, cheerful of countenance, but otherwise he is depressed and downcast and considers himself to be the sort of man they say he is. Again, if he is involved in litigation with any one before an arbitrator or a judge, he does not expect the arbitrator or the judge to heed chance witnesses, and yet he himself in matters which concern himself regards all and sundry as worthy of credence.

What, then, is more ill-starred than human beings who are at the mercy of others and in the power of any one who meets them, always compelled to keep their eye on him and to watch his countenance, just as slaves must watch the countenance of their masters? Now any servitude is hard, but those whom fate has doomed to servitude in a house in which there are two or three masters, and masters, too, who differ in both age and disposition—for example, a niggardly old man and that man’s youthful sons, bent on drinking and extravagance—who would not agree that slaves so placed are more wretched than the others, seeing that they must serve so many masters, each of whom desires and orders something different?
14 Εἰ δὲ τις δημόσιος οὐκέτις εὖ πρεσβυτῶν, νεανίσκων, πενήτων, πλουσίων, ἀσώτων, φιλαργυρῶν, ποιός τις ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος εὖ; οἶμαι δὲ, εἰ τις ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει χρήματα ἔχων ἡναγκάζετο βιοῦν ἐν ἡ πάσιν εἶχεν ἄρπαξεν τὰ τοῦ πέλας καὶ μηδεὶς νόμος ἐκώλυς, παραχρῆμα ἄν ἀπέστη τῶν χρημάτων, εἰ καὶ φιλαργυρία τοὺς πώποτε ὑπερβεβλήκει. τοῦτο δὴ τὸν ἔπι τῆς δόξης ἐστίν. ἐφείτα γὰρ εἰς ταύτην τῷ βουλομένῳ τινὰ βλάπτειν καὶ πολύτη καὶ ξένω καὶ μετοίκῳ.

15 Τοῖς ἁτίμωσις ἀβέστος εὐλόγως ὁ βίος φαίνεται, καὶ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται βάνατον ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀποβαλλόντες, ὅτι τῷ ἐθελήσαυτι τύπτειν ἐφέστι καὶ κόλασις οὐκ ἔστων ἴδια τοῦ προπηλακίζοντος. οὐκοῦν τὸν δοξοκόπον ἀπαίσιν ἐφέστι τύπτειν τῷ παντὶ χαλεπωστέρας πληγᾶς τῶν εἰς τὸ σώμα· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἁτίμως οὐκ ἂν εὑροὶ τις ῥάδιῶς ὑπὸ τινὸς τοῦτο πάσχοντας· τὸ γὰρ νεμεσητὸν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὸν φθόνον εὐλαβοῦνται καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ κάνινος. τοῦ δὲ βλασφημεῖν μάλιστα τῶς δοκοῦτας ἐνδόξους οὐδεὶς φείδεται οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος οὐδεὶς οὕτως, οὕτως οὐκ ἂν ἴσχύσαι

16 θῆμα εἰπεῖν. τοιγαροῦν μέτριὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων συνεχῶς ταῖς αὐτῷ προσφέροντος τοιοῦτος λόγους, Εἰ μὴ παύσῃ κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπὲρ ἔμοι,
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But suppose a person were to be slave of a community consisting of old and young, of poor and rich, of wastrels and misers, what would the condition of such a person be? Again, methinks, if a man of wealth were forced to live in the kind of city in which all were free to plunder the possessions of their neighbours and there were no law to prevent it, he would renounce his wealth forthwith, no matter if he had surpassed all the world in avarice. This, in fact, is the case with popularity to-day. For in that respect licence has been granted to any one who so desires, whether citizen or alien or foreign resident, to injure any one.

To the disfranchised life seems with good reason not worth living, and many choose death rather than life after losing their citizenship, for whoever so desires is free to strike them and there exists no private means of punishing him who treats them with contumely. Well then, all are free to give the popularity-seeker blows altogether more grievous than those which are dealt the body. Yet the disfranchised, one would find, are not lightly subjected to this treatment by any one; for most men are on their guard against righteous indignation and ill will, and, finally, the disfranchised have naught to fear from any who are weaker than they. When it comes to vituperation, however, especially vituperation of those who are thought to enjoy esteem, no one forbears, and no one is so powerless as not to be able to utter some telling phrase. For that very reason a certain mild-tempered man of olden days, when somebody kept attacking him with that kind of language, was moved to say, "If you do not stop listening to bad words about me, I too shall listen to
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καγώ, φησιν, ὑπὲρ σοῦ κακῶς ἀκουόσομαι. βέλτιον δὲ ἵσως ἦν, μηδὲ εἰ λέγει τὴν ἀρχὴν προσποιεῖσθαι.

Τὸν οἴκετην πολλάκις ἀνεμένον καὶ παίζοντα ὁ δεσπότης περιπεσὼν κλαίειν ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ τῆς δόξης ἦττονα ὁ βουλόμενος ἐνὶ ρήματι συνέστειλεν. εἰ τις ἐπώδας ἐπίστατο τοιαύτας παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας μαθὼν ἡ παρὰ τῶν Θεταλῶν, ὃς θεογόνεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἦθελεν ποιεῖν κλαίειν καὶ ὁδυνάσθαι μηδενὸς κακοῦ παρόντος, οὐκ ἃν ἐδόκει τυραννᾶς εἶναι ἡ τούτων δύναμις; πρὸς οὖν τὸν ἐπὶ δόξης κεχανιωμένον οὐκ ἔστων 17 οὐδὲς ὃς οὐκ ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἰσχύν. δύο γὰρ ἡ τρία ρήματα εἶπον εἰς συμφορὰν καὶ λύπην ἐνέβαλεν. καὶ μὴν εἰ γε τις οὕτως ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἔχοι τὸ σῶμα, ἃστε ἃν τις αὐτῶ καταράσσηται, παραχρῆμα πυρέττειν ἡ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλγεῖν, οὐτος ἃν ἄθλιωτερος ὑπήρχε τῶν τρισαμβίων· εἰ δὲ τις οὕτως ἀσθενῶς ἔχοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ἃστε εἰ τις λοιδορήσειν αὐτὸν ἔξιστασθαι παραχρῆμα τῇ ψυχῇ, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ φευκτὸς ὁ βίος;

Εἰ δὲ τις κρύνοιτο καθ' ἐκάστην ἰμερὰν περὶ ὠτοῦ ὅποτε, ἡ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἡ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃρ' οὐχὶ τῷ παντὶ βέλτιον ἐάσαι τούτο καὶ μηκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν καυδυνεύειν, εἰ μὲν περὶ χρημάτων, 18 τὰ χρήματα, εἰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν, τὸν βίον; τί οὖν; ὁ περὶ τῆς δόξης ἄγων οὐκ ἂεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 1

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1 Θεταλῶν] Θεταλῶν Cobet.
2 ἃν added by Pflugk.
3 After καυδυνεύειν Arnim deletes καθ.
4 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις] deleted by Wilamowitz.
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bad words about you.” But perhaps it would be better, in case some one starts using abusive language, not even to notice it in the first place.

The slave who is often unrestrained and given to jesting, if his master catches him at it, is made to smart for it; but the person who is subservient to public opinion is humbled by any one at all with a single word. If one were acquainted with spells learned from Medea or the Thessalians 1 which were so potent that by uttering them he could make any one he pleased weep and suffer pain though confronted by no misfortune, would not his power be regarded as tyranny? Well, in dealing with one who has become puffed up by reputation there is none who does not have this power; for by speaking two or three words you have plunged him into misery and anguish. Again, if because of some supernatural influence one’s body were to be so constituted that, if any one should curse him, he would immediately have a fever or a headache, that man would be more wretched than the thrice wretched; and if one were to be so feeble-minded that, in case some one should revile him, he would immediately become deranged, why would not life for such a man be a thing to shun?

Or let us put it this way. Suppose one were to be put on trial every day concerning anything whatever, whether his life or his property, would it not be altogether preferable to renounce that thing and to cease being in jeopardy for the future—if it be property, then the property; if it be life, then his life? How then? Is not the trial concerning reputation always in progress wherever there are

1 The Thessalians were famed for their occult powers.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

toús ἀνοήτως ἐνέστηκεν, οὐ μόνον' ἀπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, οὐδὲ ἐφ' ὁρισμένους δικασταίς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς, καὶ τούτους ἀνωμότους καὶ μήτε μαρτύρων ἐπιστρεφομένους μήτε τεκμηρίων; μήτε γάρ εἰδότες μήτε ἀκούοντες μήτε λαχάντες δικάζουσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς διαφέρει πάνωσιν ἡ λουομένως τὴν ψήφον φέρειν· καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον· ὅν γὰρ ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τήμερον,

19 αὐριον καταδικάζει. οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἐχόμενον ὑπεύθυνον περιέρχεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν ἐκάστῳ καὶ δεδοικέναι μή τινα ἐκών ἡ ἄκων λυπήσης, μάλιστα τῶν ἐτοίμων τινα καὶ τῶν εὐτραπέλων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ σμικρόν, οὐά πολλὰ συμβαίνει, προσκρούσας τινὶ τύχοι, εὐθὺς ἐπαφῆκε ῥήμα χαλεπῶν· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν, εἰνε μὲν ἀποτύχῃ πως, οὐδὲν ἤτταν ἑτάραξεν· εἰνε ἐπιτύχῃ τοῦ καιροῦ παραχρῆμα ἀνήρηκεν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐτὸς ἔχουσιν ὀστε ὑπὸ παντὸς διατρέπεσθαι καὶ διαρρεῖν.

20 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνίστε ἀλλὰ ἐπ' ἀλλοις μᾶλλον ἰσχύει· καθάπερ, οἰμαί, τῶν παιδαρίων ἐκαστον ἰδιότροπον τινα μορμοῦ δέδοικα καὶ ταύτην συνείδησεν φοβεῖσθαι—τὰ μὲν γὰρ φύσει δειλὰ πάν ὁ τι ἂν δείξῃ τις ὡς φοβερὸν βοᾷ—πλὴν ἐπὶ γε τούτων τῶν μειζόνων ὀνειδῆ τινὰ ἐστὶ πρὸς τινας.

1 οὐ μόνον: οἱ οὐ μόνον PH, μόνον οὐχ BM, οὐ μόνον οὐχ U.
2 ἐτοίμων] ἰταμόν Emperius. 3 οἱα Emperius: ὅσα.
3 ἐπαφῆκε ῥῆμα ΤΥ marg.: ἐσπάθησε ῥῆμα UBMP, εὐπάθεις ἔρημα H. 4 οὐδέν added by Wilamowitz.
5 καιροῦ Casaubon: κυρίου. 6 καιροῦ Sonny: ἡδη.

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men—that is, foolish men—not merely once a day but many times, and not before a definite panel of judges but before all men without distinction, and, moreover, men not bound by oath, men without regard for either witnesses or evidence? For they sit in judgement without either having knowledge of the case or listening to testimony or having been chosen by lot, and it makes no difference to them if they cast their vote at a drinking bout or at the bath and, most outrageous of all, he who to-day is acquitted to-morrow is condemned. Accordingly, whoever is the victim of this malady of courting popularity is bound to be subject to criticism as he walks about, to pay heed to everyone, and to fear lest wittingly or unwittingly he give offence to somebody, but particularly to one of those who are bold and of ready wit. For if he should have the misfortune to have offended somebody never so little, as often happens, straightway the offended person lets fly a harsh word; and if with that word he perhaps misses his mark, nevertheless he causes dismay, while if he should hit the vital spot he has destroyed his victim forthwith. For the fact is, many are so constituted that they are overwhelmed and made to waste away by anything.

Not only so, but also sometimes one set of things is more potent with one kind of person and another with another; just as, I believe, each youngster fears some bogey peculiar to himself and is wont to be terrified by this—of course lads who are naturally timid cry out no matter what you produce to scare them—however, at least with these more important fellows, certain things are a source of shame with reference to certain persons. The beggar who is a
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τὸν πτωχὸν τοῦ ἀλαζόνα καὶ θέλοντα φαίνεσθαι Κροίσον εξίστησιν ὁ 'Ἰρος. καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν Ὄδυσσειαν ἀναγιγνώσκει διὰ τὸ

ὁλθε δ’ ἐπὶ πτωχὸς παινόμενος, ὡς κατὰ ἄστυ πτωχεύεσθαι Ὄδηγης.

21 τὸν ἐκ δούλων ὁ Κέκροψ, τὸν εὐτελῆ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι βουλόμενον ὁ Θερσίτης. ἡν μὲν γὰρ ὡς 3 λίχνον ἡ φιλάργυρον σκόψης ἡ κάναν ἡ καθόλου πονηρὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σωφροσύνη κομῶντα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένον, ὄλον ἀπολόωλεκας. ὁ Περσεὺς τὴν κεφάλὴν τῆς Γοργόνος περιφέρων καὶ ταῦτην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δεικνὺς ἐποίει λίθους· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ύφ’ ἐνὸς ρήματος, ἐὰν ἀκούσωσι, λίθοι γεγόνασι καὶ τούτο οὐ δεί περιφέρειν, ἐν πήρα φυλάττοντα αὐτῷ. 4

22 Καίτοι φέρε, εἰ καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων τὰς φωνὰς συνίερε, τῶν κοράκων ἡ κολοιῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, ὁιὸν βατράχων ἡ τεττίγων ὁ δήλων ὁτι καὶ ταῖς τούτων φωναῖς ἀν προσεῖκομεν, τί λέγει περὶ ἦμῶν ὁ κολοιῶς ὁ πετόμενος ἡ τὶ φησιν ἡ κέττα καὶ τίνα ἔχει δόξαν. οὐκοῦν εὐτύχημα τὸ μὴ ἐξουνεῖαι. τόσοι δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν βατραχῶν εἰσὶν ἀφροτέστεροι καὶ τῶν κολοιῶν; ἀλλ’ ὁμοιοὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτων ἡμᾶς καὶ πάνυ κακῶς διατίθησιν.

1 tòv Emperius: ἰδέ.
2 Κέκροψ] Κέρκοψ Geel.
3 ὡς Crosby: εἰς.
1 φυλάττοντα αὐτῷ] φυλάττοντα αὐτὴν H, φυλάττοντα Emperius, φυλαστόμενον Philagk.

1 Odyssey 18. 1-2. Irus’ humiliation at the hands of Odysseus is a warning to braggarts.

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braggart and seeks to appear a Croesus is confounded
by Iris; and he does not even read the Odyssey
because of the lines which say

In came a public beggar, who through the town
Of Ithaca was wont to beg his way.¹

Just so Cecrops confounds the man of servile paren-
tage, and likewise Thersites confounds the man of
shabby appearance but with ambition to be a beauty.²
The fact is, if by calling him a glutton or a miser or
a catamite or a general blackguard you jeer at the
man who plumes himself on his temperance and who
has enrolled under the banner of virtue, you have
ruined him completely. By carrying around the
Gorgon's head and displaying it to his foes Perseus
turned them to stone: but most men have been
turned to stone by just one word, if it is applied to
them; besides, there is no need to carry this around,
guarding it in a wallet.

And yet let me add this: if we understood also
the cries of birds—for example, of the ravens or the
jackdaws—and of the other creatures such as frogs
or cicadæ, of course we should pay heed to the cries
of these as well, eager to learn what the jackdaw
flying by is saying about us, or what the jay is saying
and what he thinks about us. It is a lucky thing,
then, that we do not understand. But how many
human beings are more empty-headed than the frogs
and the jackdaws! Yet for all that, the words they
speak excite us and make us utterly wretched.

² Cecrops and Thersites create confusion in different ways,
the one because, as founder of Athens, his social position
was secure, the other as a notorious example of an ill-
favoured upstart humbled by his betters.
23 Οὐ μὴν ὁ γ' ἀφεῖς ἐλεύθερον ἐαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφεται τῆς τῶν πολλῶν φλυαρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἐκείνων ἀδολεσχίας καταγελά, πάλαι δὴ πρὸς ἀπαντας εἰρηκώς,

οὔκ ἄλεγω, ὡσεὶ με γυνὴ βάλοι ἡ παῖς άφρων·
κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλκιδος οὐτιδανοῖο.

tὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦ τοῦ Διὸς πόσους οἶει βλασφημεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ὡς κλώπα, τοὺς δὲ ὡς βίαιον, τοὺς
de καὶ μοιχὸν λέγειν ἡ τεκνοκτόνος; ἀλλ' ὀμισὶν
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τούτων ἐμελεν οὐδὲ ἦν ἔσως τις ὁ
tαύτα φανερῶς λέγων, ἐπεὶ παραχρῆμα ἄν ὑπέσχε
τὴν δίκην.

24 Εἰ μή τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσαι1 πείσεις σαυτόν,
οὐδέποτε παύσῃ κακοδαμομονῶν, ἀλλ' ἄει βίον
ἄθλιον ζήσεις καὶ χαλεπῶν, πᾶσιν ὑποκείμενοι
τοῖς βουλομένοις λυπεῖν, καὶ τούτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ
λόγου, λαγὼ βίον ζῶν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοὺς
κύνας καὶ τὰ δίκτυα καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς δεδοίκασιν
dὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐπτήχως καὶ τρέμων περιελύῃσιν
μηδεμίαν φιλακὴν φιλάξασθαι δυνάμενοι, μηδ'
ἀν ὅπως πράττῃς, μηδ' ἂν ὅπως βούλῃς διάγγεις.

25 ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἐμβάλλῃς συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν,
ἀγοραῖος ἀκούσῃ καὶ συκοφάντης. ἐὰν δὲ τούναντίων
φυλάττῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ μάλλον ἢς κατ' οἰκίαιν
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, δειλὸς καὶ ἰδιωτῆς καὶ
tὸ μηδὲν. ἐὰν2 παιδείας προνοῆ, εὐήθης καὶ μαλα-

1 καταφρονήσαι Casaubon: καταφρονήσας.
2 After ἐὰν Arnim deletes δὲ, with some mss.

1 Iliad 11. 389-390, spoken by Diomedes in scorn of the wound just received from the arrow shot at him by Paris.
2 Heracles might have been called ruffian on many an occasion: "thief" may allude to his theft of the dog

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However, he who has asserted his independence pays no heed to the foolish talk of the crowd; rather he mocks at their loquacity, having indeed long since said in answer to them all.

I care not: 'tis as if a woman threw
At me, or else some witless lad: for blunt
The missile of a feeble good-for-naught.¹

Take Heracles, son of Zeus: how many, think you, were wont to disparage him, some dubbing him thief, some ruffian, some even adulterer or slayer of children?² Yet he was not at all disturbed by these taunts, though perhaps there was none who spoke them openly, since he would promptly have suffered for it.

Unless you bring yourself to look with scorn upon all others, you will never end your state of wretchedness; instead, you will always lead a pitiable, yes, a painful existence, being at the mercy of all who wish to hurt you and, as the saying goes, living a hare's life. Nay, hares fear the dogs and the nets and the eagles, but you will go about cowering and quaking before what people say, being utterly unable to provide yourself with any defence, no matter what you may be doing or if you spend your time in any way you please. If you are always rushing into the market-place you will hear yourself called a market idler and a shyster, whereas if, on the contrary, you are wary of that sort of thing and keep more at home and attend to your own affairs you will be called timid and an ignoramus and a nonentity; if you give thought to learning you will be called simple-minded Cerberus; as for "slayer of children," in a fit of madness caused by Hera, his inveterate enemy, Heracles slew his own children, as we read in Euripides' *Heracles*.  

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κός· ἐάν ἐπ’ ἐργασίας ἂς τινος, βάναυσος· ἐάν σχολάζων περιπατήσεις; ἀργὸς· ἐάν ἐσθῆτα μαλακωτέραν ἀναλάβητα, ἀλαξίων καὶ τρυφερός· ἐάν ἀνυπόδητος ἐν τριβωνίω, μαίνεσθαι σε φήσουσιν. 26 Σωκράτην διαφθέρειν τοὺς νέους ἐφασαν, εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖν· καὶ οὐκ εἰπὼν ταῦτα μόνον· ἥττον γὰρ ἂν ἢν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν, ἀνυποδησίας δικὴν λαμβάνοντες. Ἀριστείδην ἐξωστράκισαν Ἀθηναίοι, καίτοι πεπεισμένοι σαφῶς ὅτι δίκαιος ἦν· τί δὲι δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἢς καὶ ἐάν τύχῃ, πολλάκις οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθὸν ἀπώνατο; 6 Τῷ Βίωνι δοκεῖ μὴ δυνατὸν εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν εἰ μὴ πλακοῦτα γενόμενον ἦ Θάσιον· εὐήθως, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. πολλάκις γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν δείπνῳ δέκα ἀνθρώπων ὁ πλακοῦς ἥρεσε πᾶσιν, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἔωλον εἶναι φησιν, ὁ δὲ θερμόν, ὁ δὲ λιᾶν γλυκὸν· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία Βίων φησίν ὅτι καὶ θερμὸν πλακοῦτα καὶ ἐωλὸν δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ ψυχρόν. 8 καθόλου δὲ οὐ τοιούτον ἐστι τὸ πράγμα· 27 πόθεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ μῦρὸν δεῖ καὶ αὐλητρίδα γενέσθαι καὶ μειράκιον ἀραίων καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν γελωτοποιοῦν. λείπεται δὲ ἐν ἦσως, ὁ δείξεις γενέσθαι τὸν θέλοντα ἀρέσαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀργύριον. οὐκὸν, κἂν ἀργύριον γένηται τις, εὐθὺς ἥρεσεν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ πάστεσθαι καὶ δάκνεσθαι. τί οὖν ἐτι

1 After ἐάν Arnim deletes δὲ, with some mss.
2 περιπατήσεις Jacobs: προπετής or προπετῆς.
3 δεινόν added by Arnim.
4 After τί Arnim adds ὅδε, Emperius ὅδη.
5 After ἀγαθὸν Arnim deletes πολλάκις.
6 After ἀπώνατο the mss. read: δέον πολλάκις εὐλαβεῖσθαι, κἂν ἁρα συμβαίνῃ ταῖ, which Emperius deleted. Arnim suspects a lacuna.
7 After εὐήθως Casaubon deletes ὅς.
and effeminate; if you are in some business, vulgar; if you stroll about at your leisure, lazy; if you don rather soft apparel, ostentatious and dandified; if you go barefoot and wear a ragged little coat they will say you are crazy. Socrates, they said, corrupted the young men, was irreverent toward religion; moreover, they did not merely say these things—for that would have been less shocking—no, they even killed him, exaeting a penalty for his lack of shoes! Aristeides was ostracized by the Athenians, although they were clearly persuaded that he was just. Why should one crave popularity, a thing from which, even if attained, one often derives no profit?

Bion  believes it impossible for one to please the crowd except by turning into a cake or a jar of Thasian wine—foolishly so believing, in my opinion. For often even at a dinner of only ten guests the cake does not please everybody, but, on the contrary, one calls it stale, another hot, and another too sweet—unless, by Heaven, Bion means that one must turn into a cake which is both hot and stale and cold! Nay, on the whole the ease is not so simple as that; of course not. On the contrary, one must also turn into perfume and a flute-girl and a lovely lad and a Philip the jester. However, one thing possibly still remains which he who wants to please the mob will have to turn into—silver. Nay, even if one turns into silver one does not immediately satisfy; instead, one must also be struck and bitten. Why then, you

1 Aristeides’ sobriquet was “the Just.”
2 Cynic philosopher of the third century B.C.
3 For Philip see Xenophon, Symposium 1. 1. 11-16.
4 As a test of genuineness.

8 καὶ ἐφυρόν deleted by Arnimi, καὶ στρυφόν Emperius.
διώκεις, ὡς κακόδαμον, πράγμα ἀκίχητον; οὔτε γὰρ μῦρον οὔτε στέφανος οὔτε οἶνος σὺ γένοιο
28 ποτ' ἂν οὔτ' ἀργύριον. κἂν ἀργύριον γένηται τις, χρυσίον ἐντιμότερον, κἂν χρυσίον, ἐβηθῆναι δεήσει. τὸ γὰρ ὥς διαφέρει τῶν πλούσιων ἐκαστὸς ἐσωκὲ τῷ νομίσματι. καὶ γὰρ τούτο ἔπαινεί μὲν οὐδεὶς, χρῆται δὲ ἐκαστὸς τῶν λαβόντων ἐπείτα ὑπὸ τῶν χρωμένων ἑκτρίβεται καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τοῖς ἀδοκίμοις ἐγένετο. κακεῖνος εἰς τοὺς πένητας παρηγγυθή̄ 2 καὶ τοὺς ἀδοκίμους, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον προσίται τῶν πρότερον τεθαυμάκο-

29 Ταῖς τῶν τραγωδῶν Ἑρωύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ δόξα·
tὸ μὲν γὰρ φανόμενον αὐτῆς λαμπρὸν ὀμοίον τῇ λαμπάδι, τῇ δὲ μάστιγα τοῖς κρότοις τις ἀν, οἶμαι, καὶ τῇ βοᾷ τῶν πολλῶν προσεικάσει, τοῖς δὲ ὁφεσι τοὺς ἑνίστε συρίττοντας. πολλάκις οὖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τινὰ ὑπάτα καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα κακὸν ἀρπάσασα καὶ τῇ μάστιγι ψοφήσασα ἐξέβαλεν εἰς πανήγυρίν τινα ἡ θέατρον. 4

1 κἂν ἀργύριον . . . διαφέρει deleted by Arnim as being a revised version of οὐκον, κἂν ἀργύριον κ.τ.λ. preceding.
2 παρηγγυθή̄ Pthuk: παρεγγυθεῖ̄ς.
3 κἂν ἀργύριον . . . ἀπορρίπτει deleted by Budé.
4 κἂν ἀργύριον . . . θέατρον deleted by Emperius.
luckless creature, do you persist in pursuing a thing unattainable? 1 For you could never become either perfume or a crown or wine or yet silver. Besides, even if one should become silver, gold is more precious; and if gold, it will have to be refined. Indeed, each rich man resembles money, as far as any excellence is concerned. For while no one praises money, each one who gets it uses it; then it is worn out by those who use it and at last is found among the coins which do not pass current. So the rich man too comes to be reckoned among the poor and those who do not pass current and no one any longer receives a man like that of all who once were filled with admiration for him; instead, they do not even turn him over before casting him aside.

Again, reputation is like the Furies of the tragic poets—its seeming splendour is like their torch, while one might, I fancy, liken their whip to the clapping and the shouting of the crowd, and those who sometimes hiss might be likened to the Furies’ snakes. Therefore, often when one is enjoying peace and quiet and is confronted by no evil, reputation lays violent hands on him, and, cracking her whip, drives him forth to some festal gathering or to the theatre.

1 Possibly a reminiscence of *Iliad* 17. 75: "Εκτόρ, νῦν οὐ μὲν ὅδε θέεις ἀκάχητα διόκον.
THE SIXTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE:
ON POPULAR OPINION

Although its Greek title is the same as that of the preceding Discourse, Or. 67 gives to the word a different meaning, that of opinion. It is argued that opinion is a poor guide and that, in order to discover the truth about external things, one must first obey the famous motto inscribed on Apollo’s temple at Delphi—Know Thyself—the motto which formed the basic principle of the philosophy of Socrates. Proceeding from this fundamental concept, the author demonstrates the futility of being swayed by the opinions of others.

Here again we have what professes to be the report of a conversation between Dio and one of his followers. The abruptness with which it begins and ends has led Arnim to conclude that Dio did not intend it to be published, at least not in its present form. He regards it as what might be termed a stenographic record, which in some way or other found its way into the hands of Dio’s editor.
67. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 Τίνι γὰρ δοκεῖ σοι διαφέρειν μάλιστα οἱ σῶφροι ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόσοφος ἢμῶν τῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ εἰκῆς φερομένων;

Δ. Ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἰ δεῖ σοῦ νομοθείναι φαύλως τε καὶ ἀκόμψως, ἀληθεία δοκεῖ διαφέρειν καὶ τῷ ἐπίστασθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πάντων ὀλίγων τε καὶ μακαρίων νεομιμημένων, τῶν φιλόσοφον.

Τῷ ὄντι μέντοι φαύλοι καὶ ἀκόμψοι τὸ βῆμα.

Δ. Καὶ μοι τὸδε εἰπέ, πρὸς θεῶν· ἄλλῳ τι ἡ ἀληθεία φής διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἀληθείαν ἐκαστον ἄλλα μὴ κατὰ δόξαν σκοπεῖν;

2 Φαύλω γὰρ ᾗν, ὁ ἀριστε, κανών καὶ παντάπασι σκολιῶ μὰ Δὶ οὐ μίαν τινὰ καρπὴν ἔχοντι, μυρίας δὲ καὶ πάσας ὑπεναντίας, τὰ πράγματα σταθμῷ τῇ δόξῃ πειρώμενος ἀπευθύνειν αὐτά.

Δ. Πότερον οὖν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα πρὸς ἀληθεῖαν σκοπεῖ, τὴν δόξαν οὔδαμι προσφέρων ὡς

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1 εἰκῆς added by Casaubon.
2 Arnim distributes the parts differently in this first section, assigning to Δ the opening question.
3 τῶν deleted by Arnim, who begins the following sentence with Φιλόσοφον.
4 After ὄντι Arnim adds οὐ.
5 ὑπεναντίας Emperius: ἀπεναντίας or ἐπεναντίας.
THE SIXTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE:
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Interlocutor. Well, in what particular does it seem to you that the man of self-control, the philosopher, most especially is superior to us who constitute the majority of mankind and are moved by random impulse?

Dio. It seems to me, if one should express an opinion in such plain and unadorned terms, that he is superior in respect to truth and knowledge, not merely to the majority of mankind, but also to the very few, those who are regarded as favoured by fortune—the philosopher is, I mean.

Int. Indeed your statement is truly plain and unadorned.

Dio. Well, by Heaven, tell me this. You mean, do you not, that the philosopher is superior to all others in truth and in his examining each thing in the light of truth and not in accordance with opinion?

Int. Why, my good sir, he would be using a poor straight-edge with which to gauge his problems, one altogether crooked, a straight-edge, by Zeus, with not just one bend but thousands, and all running counter to one another, if he tried to set things straight by means of opinion.

Dio. Well then, suppose that he views all else in the light of truth, never applying opinion as a gauge,
DIO CHRYSTOS

ψευδή τινα τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀστάθμητον στάθμην καὶ κανόνα τοιοῦτον, ὅποιον ἄρτι εἰρηκας. αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτω τῷ κανόνι καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στάθμῃ σταθμώμενος ἄξιος ἂν εἴη;

Οὐ μᾶ Δῷ οὐδαμῶς.

Δ. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲποτε γνοίη ἂν ἐαυτοῦν οὔτω σκοπῶν.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν γνοίη.

3 Δ. ᾩστε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείθοιτο τῷ Δελφικῷ προσήματι κελεύσαντι παντὸς μᾶλλον γιγνώσκειν αὐτοῦν;

Πῶς γὰρ ἂν πείθοιτο;

Δ. Οὐκοῦν1 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἴσεται πραγμάτων αὐτοῦν ἄγνωσῶν οὐδὲ δυνήσεται πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔξετάζειν αὐτοῦν πρῶτον2 ἐσφαλμένος;

Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

Δ. Χαίρειν οὖν ἐάσει τιμᾶς καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ ψόγον τε καὶ ἔπαινον τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἥλιθιων ἀνθρώπων, εάν τε πολλοὶ τύχωσιν οὖντες εάν τε ὀλίγοι μὲν ἰσχυροὶ δὲ καὶ πλούσιοι. τὴν δὲ γε καλουμένην δόξαν ἡγήσεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν σκιάς, ὅρων ὅτι γίγνεται τῶν μεγάλων μικρὰ καὶ τῶν μικρῶν μεγάλη: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὅτε μὲν πλείων, ὅτε δὲ ἐλάττων.

Εὖ πάνυ δοκεῖς3 μοι προσεικάσαι.

4 Δ. Εἰ οὖν τις εἴῃ τοιοῦτος ἀνθρωπός οἶος ζῆν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ σκιάν, ὡστε αὐξομένης μὲν αὐτῆς

1 Οὐκοῦν Dindorf: οὐκοῦν.
2 αὐτοῦ πρῶτον Emperorius: αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρῶτον.
THE SIXTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

because he believes this to be, in fact, a false and untrustworthy measuring-line, a straight-edge such as you have just described it, yet if he should measure himself with that kind of straight-edge and that kind of measuring-line, would he be acclaimed as worthy?

Int. No, by Heaven, not by any means.

Dio. Yes, it is plain that he could never come to know himself if he examined himself in that fashion.

Int. Why, of course he could not.

Dio. Consequently he would no longer be obeying the Delphic injunction, which has prescribed that, above all, a man must know himself.

Int. Why, of course he would not be obeying it.

Dio. Then he will not know any of the other things either, since he does not know himself, nor will he be able to examine things in the light of truth, since he has failed with himself to begin with?

Int. Why, certainly.

Dio. Then he will bid farewell to honours and dishonours and to words of censure and of praise uttered by foolish persons, whether they chance to be many or whether they be few but powerful and wealthy. Instead, what is called popular opinion he will regard as no better than a shadow, seeing that sometimes concerning great matters popular opinion is small and concerning small matters great, and often concerning the same matters it is at one time greater and at another smaller.

Int. You seem to me to have made a very excellent comparison.

Dio. Suppose, then, there should be a person so constituted as to live with an eye to his own shadow, with the result that as it grew he would become

3 Ἐν πάνυ δοκεῖς Selden: οὐ (or ὅ) πάνυ δοκεῖ.
Διος Χρυσόστωμος

ἐπαιρέσθαι καὶ μεγαλαυχεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν αὐτὸς τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους κελεύειν, βραχυτέρας δὲ γιγνομενής λυπεῖσθαι τε καὶ ὄρασθαι ταπεινότερος, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μάλλον ὀσωπερ ἂν ἐλάττων γίγνηται, καθάπερ αὐτὸς φθίνων, θαυμαστὴν ἂν, οἰμαί, παρέχω διατριβὴν.

Πολὺ γε ἂν εἶη τοῦ Μαργίτου κωφότερος, ἀγνοοῦντος ὁ τε ἡρὴ γῆμαντα χρήσθαι τῇ γυναικί.

5 Δ. Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε μὲν λυποῖτ' ἂν, ὅτε δὲ χαίρων. πρωὶ μὲν ἐπειδὰν ἵδη τήν σκεῖαν ἑωθυνήν πάντα μακράν, τῶν τε κυπριαῖττων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι πύργων σχεδὸν μείζων, δῆλον ὅτι χαίρον ἂν ὣς αὐτὸς ἐξαπίνης γεγονὼς τοῖς Ἀλωάδαις ἵς καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδίζοι ἂν καὶ εἰς τὰ θέατρα καὶ πανταχώσε τῆς πόλεως ὅπως ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων βλέπητοι. περὶ δὲ πλῆθουςαν ἀγορὰν ἄρχοιτ' ἂν σκυθρωπότερος αὐτὸς γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωροῖ. τῆς δὲ μεσημβρίας αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν ὀφθηναι ἀνθρώπων τινὶ καὶ ἐνδὸν μείον ἂν ἐγκλεισάμενος, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ βλέπῃ τὴν σκιὰν πάλιν δὲ περὶ δείλην ἀναλαμβάνοι ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ γαυρότερος φαίνοιτ' ἂν ἂεὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν.

6 Πάνω μοι δοκεῖς ἄτοπον διάθεσιν καὶ ἄνδρα διαπλάττεται ἡλίθιον.

1 κωφότερος Valesins, μωρότερος Wilamowitz, ἀσοφότερος Meiser: σοφότερος.
2 ὁ τι Valesins: ὅτι.
3 ἵδη Wilamowitz: ἵδοι.
4 τῆς Reiske: τὰς.
5 ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων Wilamowitz.
6 βλέπῃ τὴν σκιὰν πάλιν Emperins: βλέπῃ τ. σ. πρὶν ἢ MPH, βλέπειν τ. σ. παρῇ UB.

1 Hero of a satiric poem of the same name sometimes
elated and boastful and not only offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods himself but also bid his friends to do so, while as his shadow diminished he would be grieved and show himself more humble, and the more so the smaller his shadow became, just as if he himself were wasting away, methinks he would afford wondrous amusement.

Int. Yes, he would be a much bigger booby than Margites, who did not know how to treat his wife once he had married her.

Dio. Yes, for on the same day sometimes he would be sad and sometimes happy. For instance, early in the day, when he saw his shadow at dawn very long, almost larger than the cypresses or the towers on the city walls, manifestly he would be happy, supposing himself to have suddenly grown to the size of the sons of Aloeus, and he would go striding into the market-place and the theatres and everywhere in the city to be observed by one and all. However, about the middle of the morning he would begin to grow more sad of countenance than he had been and would go back home. Then at noon he would be ashamed to be seen by anybody and would stay indoors, locking himself up, when he saw his shadow at his feet; yet again, toward afternoon, he would begin to recover and would show himself ever more and more exultant toward evening.

Int. You certainly seem to me to be fashioning a strange disposition and a foolish kind of man.

Ascribed to Homer by the ancients. Among the few lines now extant we get the following description of him: πόλλα ἡπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἡπίστατο πάντα.

2 They were said to have grown three cubits each year and, at the tender age of nine years, to have tried to scale the heavens by piling Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa.
Δ. Οὐκοῦν ὁ τῆς δοξῆς προσέχων οὐδὲν τι βελτίων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἀθλιώτερος. πολλάκις γὰρ ἂν πλείους μεταβολὰς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾶ μεταβάλλοντο, καίτοι οὐχ, ὡσπερ ἐκείνος, ἐν τεταγμέναις ὠραίς τισίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖλης καὶ ἐωθην οὐδὲν αὐτὸν κωλύσει μὴ δυστυχέστατον ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, νῦν μὲν φερόμενον καὶ πετὸμενον ψηλότερον τῶν νεφών, ἂν τύχωσι μετεωρίσαντες αὐτὸν τινὲς καὶ ἐπανέσάντες, νῦν δὲ συστελλόμενον καὶ ταπεινοῦμενον, πολὺ πλείους αὐξήσεις τε καὶ φθίσεις τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ λαμβανούσης, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῶν τῆς σελήνης. 7 ἂρ' οὖν οὐκ ἀθλιώτερον πότιμον καὶ μοίραν εἰλήθη πολὺ δυστυχεστέραν ἡ φασὶ Μελέαγρον τὸν Ἀλθαίας τε καὶ Οἰνέως τυχεῖν, ὃ δαλόν τινα λέγουσι ταμιεύειν τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον· καὶ δὴ λάμποντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πυρός ἐν αὐτῷ διαμένοντος ζῇν τε καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἐκείνον, μαρανομένου δὲ τοῦ δαλοῦ καὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον φθίνειν υπὸ λύπης τε καὶ δυσθυμίας· σβεσθέντος δὲ οὐχεσθαι ἀποθανόντα.

1 μὴ omitted by MPH, bracketed by Arnim, Budé.
2 μετεωρίσαντες Meiser, μακαρίσαντες Selden: μαρτυρίσαντες.
3 δοκεῖ] δοκεῖν Dindorf.
4 τυχεῖν deleted by Wilamowitz, λαχεῖν Pflugk.
THE SIXTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

Dio. Well then, he who pays heed to popular opinion is not a bit better, but rather far more pathetic. For often he would undergo several changes on one and the same day; yet not, like the man I have imagined, at certain definite times, but, alike in the afternoon or in the early morning, nothing will keep him from being the most unfortunate of mortals, now being swept along and flying higher than the clouds, if it so happen that any have sent him forth under full sail and have praised him, now taking in his sails and abasing himself, his spirit experiencing, methinks, far more waxings and wanings than the moon. Has he not, then, drawn a more wretched fate and a far more luckless lot than they say fell to Meleager, son of Althaea and Oenaeus, whose span of life, men say, was in the keeping of a mere firebrand? So long as the brand blazed and the fire remained in it, just so long Meleager lived and thrrove, but as the brand lost its strength, he too wasted from grief and despondency, and when the fire went out he died and was gone.¹

¹ During the famous boar-hunt associated with his name, by way of avenging a slight cast upon Atalanta by the brothers of his mother Althaea, he slew them out of hand. His mother, hearing of the deed, snatched the fatal brand from its place in the ashes, hurled it into the flames, and thus ended the life of her son.
THE SIXTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE:
ON OPINION

In this Discourse Dio once more approaches the subject of opinion as contrasted with knowledge. Here, however, he is stressing the practical utility of knowledge in one's daily life and business pursuits, in other words, the impossibility of achieving success in any walk of life when led by mere opinion rather than by a clear understanding of the things to be avoided or attempted and of the reasons on which one's choice should be based. Although some attention is paid to the unwisdom of following the opinion of one's neighbours, the principal emphasis is laid upon the necessity in each instance of substituting knowledge for one's own untutored opinions.
68. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ

1 Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρωποὶ ὑπόσα ἐπιτηδεύοντο ἡ ἦμηλοῦσιν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν εἰδότες ὑπόσον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἦντινα ἔχει ωφέλειαν ἐπιτηδεύοντο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δόξης ἡ ἠδονής ἡ συνηθείας ἀγόμενοι προς αὐτὰ· οὐδ' αὐτὶ ὡς ἂν ἀπέχονται καὶ εὐλαβοῦνται μὴ πράττειν, εἰδότες αἱ βλάπτει ἀπέχονται οὐδὲ ὑπόσοι τινὰ φέρει τὴν βλάβην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ὡς ὁρᾶσι τοὺς ἀλλούς εὐλαβούμενους ἡ περὶ ὁν ἂν εἰς ἐθος καταστώσιν ὡςτε εὐλαβεῖσθαι, ἡ ἀ νομίζουσιν ἀγήν ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ πόνον τινὰ δοκεῖ ἔχεις, ὡς τὸ πολὺ ταῦτα ὑποπτεύονσιν.

2 Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἠδονῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ πόνου πᾶσι κοινὸν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔττον, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν δουλοῦνται· τὸ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἀνόμου καὶ οὐ ταῦτο πάσιν. οἰθὲν οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ψέψουσι, πολλής τάναντι. οἶον ἀλγεῖ μὲν ὁ τε Ἰνδὸς καὶ ὁ Λάκων τυτρωσκόμενος ἡ καόμενος καὶ ὁ τε Φρυξ καὶ ὁ Λυδὸς· ἀλλ' ἔκεινοι μὲν οὐχ ὑπείκουσί διὰ τὸ Ἧσκηκέναι, οὕτοι δὲ,

1 οἱ δὲ Emperius: ἡ.
2 καὶ added by Emperius.
THE SIXTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE:
ON OPINION

Most men in all their pursuits and interests follow
them in utter ignorance of what the nature of each is
or even what practical value each has; instead, they
are drawn to them by opinion or pleasure or habit.
Nor, on the other hand, in the case of those pursuits
and interests from which they abstain and which they
avoid engaging in, do they abstain because they know
which are harmful or what is the nature of the harm
which they entail; instead, in these matters too,
whatever they observe that their neighbours avoid
or things which it has become their custom to avoid
or which they suppose will be unpleasant for them-
selves and are reputed to be accompanied by some
pain, these things they generally view with misgiving.

Moreover, while the sensations of pleasure and of
pain are common to all men—though some are en-
slaved by them to a smaller and some to a greater
degree—the matter of opinion varies and is not the
same for all. Thus it happens that some praise or
blame this and some that, frequently acting at vari-
ance in this regard. For example, pain is experi-
enced by both the Indian and the Spartan when they
are wounded or burnt, as well as by the Phrygian
and the Lydian; yet while the Indian and the Spartan
refuse to flinch because they have been hardened
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

diā τὸ ἀσθενείς καὶ ἀνάσκητοι εἶναι. πάλιν ἠδεσθαί μὲν ἀφροδισιόις καὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἠδέσιν ἀνάγκη τὸν τε Ἰωνα καὶ τὸν Θεσσαλὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰταλιώτην καὶ τὸν Γέτην καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ τὸν Σπαρτιάτην: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οὐ πάντα τι φροντίζουσι τῶν ἠδέων, ἀρχὴ δὲ οὐδὲ πειρώνται ἀπάντων· οἱ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἔλουν' ἣν ὅλιγον πλέον ἤσθεντες.

3 Τὸ οὖν τῆς δόξης ἐοικεν εἶναι παντοδαπώτατον καὶ πλείστη καὶ μεγίστη τούτοις διαφορά. διὰ δὲ τούτο ἐν οὐδεὶς γένει τῶν ξύλων εὐροὶ τις ἂν τοσαύτην στάσιν οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐναντίον αὐτῷ τις γένος, οἷον ἵππων ἢ κυνῶν ἢ λεόντων ἢ βοῶν ἢ ἐλάφων, ἀλλ' τρέφοντα τε ὁμοίως καὶ γεννώσαι καὶ τρέφουσι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέχονται τα ὁμοία. μόνῳ γὰρ ἔξωπονται ὡς 4 τὸ πολὺ τῷ ἱδεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀλγεινὸν φεύγουσιν. ἀνθρωπὸς δὲ φύσει φρονήσεως μετέχων, ἀπολειπόμενος δὲ αὐτῆς διὰ φαυλότητα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, δόξης καὶ ἀπάτης ἐνδόθην μεστός ἐστι· καὶ πάντα ἀλλήλως διαφέρονται, καὶ περὶ ἐσθήτος καὶ στολῆς καὶ περὶ τροφῆς καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀτμίας, κατὰ ἐθνη καὶ πόλεις· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκκατοστὸς ἐσπούδακεν ὁ μὲν γῆν ὡς πλείστην κτήσασθαι, ὁ δὲ ἀργύριον, ὁ δὲ ἀνδράποδα, ὁ δὲ ξύμπαντα ταῦτα, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ λέγειν θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτο τῶν ἄλλων

1 διὰ δὲ Crosby: διὰ τε.
2 αὐτῷ τι Reiske: αὐτῷ τι or αὑτῶν τι (or τὸ).
3 καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀτμίας, κατὰ ἐθνη Pfuggk: καὶ περὶ ἀτμίας τὰ ἐθνη UBM, καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἐθνη ΡΗ.
THE SIXTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

to it, the Phrygian and the Lydian do flinch, because they are weak and not hardened. Again, while pleasure inevitably is experienced in sexual relations and in food and drink which are pleasurable, not only by the Ionian but also by the Thessalian, the Italian Greek, the Getan, the Indian, and the Spartan, yet some are not particularly interested in the pleasures, but they do not even try them all to begin with, while the others would accept death as the price of obtaining a little more pleasure.

Now apparently the matter of opinion is of every conceivable kind and the differences to be found in this matter are very numerous and very great. And it is because of this fact that in no breed of animals would one find so great dissension, nor would one find any breed so at variance with itself—take, for example, horses or dogs or lions or cattle or deer; on the contrary, animals that are alike behave alike in feeding, in begetting, and in rearing their young, and they have the same appetites and the same aversions. The reason is that in general they follow only what is pleasant and shun what is painful. But the human race, which by nature partakes of wisdom, though it falls short of it through bad judgement and indifference, is inwardly full of opinion and self-deception. Moreover, men differ with one another in everything—in dress and apparel, in food and sexual pleasures, in honour and dishonour—according to nations and cities. And similarly also within the city, each one has his own individual ambition—one to obtain as much land as possible, another silver, another slaves, another all these things together, another to be admired for his eloquence and by this

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4 After ṭη Arnim adds αὐτην.
πλέον δύνασθαι, ὃ δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον δεινὸς εἶναι καὶ
tὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐξήλωκεν,
ὁ δὲ ἀπ’ ἄλλου τυχὸς ἱσχύειν, ὃ δὲ τρυφὴν ὡς
πλείστην ἐπιτηδεύειν.  

5 Τούτων μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφη, οὐδὲν ἂν, ὡς εἰκὸς,
ὀρθῶς πράττομεν οὖδὲ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα δοκοῦντες
ἐπιτηδεύειν. οὐ γὰρ εἰδότες τὸ βέλτιον ἢ τὸ
χείρον ἢ τὸ συμφέρον αἱροῦνται οὐδέν. ὡς τῷ
ἐπεθύμησε φρονήσεως καὶ διενοθήθη πῶς ἡ
ἐπιμεληθέντα αὐτοῦ καὶ παίδευσι τῦν παιδευ-
θέντα γενέσθαι ἀνδρὰ ἁγαθὸν καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν
πολλῶν, τούτων ἐγώ φημι φύσεως τε χρηστῆς
τυχεῖν καὶ τύχης ὁμοίας. ἐλπὶς γὰρ ἤτοιντα
καὶ παιδεύμονον ἐξευρεῖν τὸ δεόν καὶ πρὸς τι
ὁρῶντα καὶ τῷ βουλόμενον πάντα τὰ ἄλλα χρή
πράττειν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν.

6 Ὅ δὲ τούτο συνεις ἁπαντά ἂν ἣδη καλῶς δια-
πράττοιτο καὶ τὰ μείζω δοκοῦντα καὶ τὰ συμκρό-
τερα καὶ εἴτε ἱππικής ἐπιτηδεύοι αγωνίαν εἴτε
μονσικῆς εἴτε γεωργίας ἐπιμελοῦτο εἴτε στρατηγεῖν
ἔθελοι ἢ ἀρχεῖν τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἢ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ
κοινὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράττειν, εἴ πάντα ποιήσει
καὶ περὶ οὐδέν ἂν σφάλλοιτο. ἄνευ δὲ τούτου
καθ’ έκαστον μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἐνίοτε αὐτῶ τε καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις φανεῖτο ἂν κατορθῶν. οἴον εἰ γεωργῶν
ἐπιτυγχάνοι περὶ τῶν καρποὺς ἢ ἱππεύειν εἴμηπε-

1 τὰ πράγματα Pflugk: τὸ πράγμα.
2 ἐπιτηδεύειν H: ἐπιτηδεύειν.
3 πῶς Emperius: ὡς.
4 τῦν Emperius: τὸν ὡς καὶ.
5 εἴ πάντα ποιήσει τὰν ορὰ τὶν καὶ.
6 κατορθῶν] κατορθῶν Emperius.
7 ἱππεύειν Reiske: ἱππεύειν.

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means to have greater power than his fellows, another strives merely to be clever and to achieve experience in politics, another to have influence for some other reason, another to indulge in luxury to the fullest extent.

Now, as I was saying, in no one of these pursuits, in all likelihood, would even those who are reputed to be best in their line carry it on successfully. For, not knowing what is better or what is worse or what is advantageous, they exercise no choice at all. But he who has desired wisdom and has given thought to how he should look after himself and what education he should receive in order to become a good man and superior to the masses, he, I say, has been blest with a good character and with a corresponding fortune besides. For there is hope that, if he investigates and receives instruction, he will discover what is required and with what aim and purpose he should carry on and regulate all else.

But he who understands this would from that moment be successful in all things, both those which are thought to be more important and those which are thought to be less; and whether he were to follow horse-racing or to devote himself to music or to agriculture, or if he should wish to be a general or to hold the other offices or to conduct the other public business in his city, he will do everything well and would make no mistakes in anything. However, without this understanding, while in each of his labours he might sometimes seem both to himself and to his neighbours to be successful—for instance, if as a farmer he were to be fortunate with his crops, or if he were to have more than ordinary acquaintance with the handling of horses, or if he were to have
ρότερος εἰη ἡ τὰ ¹ κατὰ μουσικὴν ἰκανῶς γιγνώσκοι ² ἡ ἀγωνιζόμενος δύνατο τῶν ἀντιπάλων κρατεῖν, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἀμαρτάναι ἂν πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ ὠστε ὠφελεῖσθαι ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενοι.

7 Οὐκοιν δυνατός ³ ἔστιν εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὠσπερ οὐδ’ εὐπλοήσαι δύναται τις οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐνθα πλεῖ, μάτην ⁴ ἐν τῷ πελάγει φερόμενος, νῦν μὲν ὅρθῃς πλεοῦσης τῆς νεώς, ἂν οὐτω τύχῃ, νῦν δὲ ἀποκλινοῦσης, καὶ νῦν μὲν οὐρίον φερομένου τοῦ πνεύματος, πάλιν δὲ ἐναντίου. χρη δὲ ὠσπερ ἐν λύρᾳ τὸν μέσον φθόγγον καταστήσαντες ἐπείτα πρὸς τοῦτον ἀρμόζονται τοὺς ἄλλους. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδεμίαν οὐ δέσποτε ἀρμονίαν ἀποδείξουσιν. οὐτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ ξυνέντας τὸ βελτιστον καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδείξαντας πέρας πρὸς τοῦτο τάλλα ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνάρμο- στον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκμελῆ τὸν βίον εἰκὸς ἐστι γίγνεσθαι.

1 ἡ τὰ Reiske : εἶπε or ἦτε.
2 γιγνώσκοι Wilamowitz : γιγνώσκων or γιγνώσκων.
³ δυνατος Arnim : δυνατῶν.
⁴ After μάτην Emperius deletes δὲ ἀρτι with PH.
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fairly good knowledge of music, or if in athletic contests he could overcome his competitors—still on the whole he would fail, since he would be working at these things to no good end nor in such a way as to derive benefit.

Therefore he is incapable of being prosperous, just as one cannot make a successful voyage if one does not know whither he is sailing, being carried along aimlessly on the sea, his ship at one moment sailing a straight course, should fortune so decree, but the next moment yawing, at one moment with the wind astern, the next with it dead ahead. Nay, just as with the lyre musicians first set the middle string and then tune the others to harmonize with that—otherwise they will never achieve any harmony at all—so with life, men should first come to understand what is best and then, having made this their goal, they should do everything else with reference to this; otherwise their life will be out of harmony and out of tune in all likelihood.
THE SIXTY-NINTH DISCOURSE:
ON VIRTUE

The theme of this Discourse is the doctrine that the virtuous life is the happy life. Dio bemoans the fact that most men give their whole attention to so-called practical pursuits to the neglect of their spiritual well-being and development. Striving to attain success in any number of material enterprises, they miss true happiness through their failure to see that character is its sure foundation. Without good character laws are of little avail, and happiness is the gift of the gods, who are not inclined to favour ignorance and inattention to the needs of the soul. It is interesting to find Dio here expressing the belief that those who would commit a crime but are prevented from so doing through fear are as guilty as those who actually yield to the temptation.
69. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ

1 "Απορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄλλα μὲν ἑπανοῦσι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, ἄλλων δὲ ἐφίστηται καὶ περὶ ἄλλα ἐσπονδάκασιν. ἑπανοῦσι μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πάντες καὶ θεία καὶ σεμνά φασιν ἄνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ συλ-λήβδην ἁρετὴν πάσαν. καὶ οὖς ἂν ἡγώνται τοιοῦ-τοὺς εἶναι ἡ γεγονέναι ἡ ἐγγύς, θαυμάζουσι καὶ ὑμνοῦσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυπας θεοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἢρως ἀποφαίνονσιν, οἶν Ἦρακλέα καὶ Διοσκούρους καὶ Θησεά καὶ Ἀχιλλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἡμιθέους λεγομένους. οἰς ὁν1 ἂν ὡμοιον ὑπολαμβάνωσιν, ἕτοιμοι εἰσὶν ἄπαντες ἐκεῖς πείθεσθαι καὶ ὑπη-ρετεῖν, ὦ τι ἂν προστάτη, καὶ βασιλεά καὶ ἄρχοντα ἀποδεικνύναι ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιτρέπειν ὅν ἂν σώφρονα καὶ δίκαιον καὶ φρόνημον ὀντως ὑπολαμβάνωσι καὶ ἀπλῶς ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν.

2 Ὡστε ταύτη μὲν οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτοῖς μέμψαιτο ὡς οὐκ αἰσθανομένους ὅτι σεμνὸν τι καὶ τίμων καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον χρῆμα ἁρετή· ἐπιθυμοῦσιν γε μὴν πάντων μᾶλλον ἡ ἀγαθοί γενέσθαι καὶ πράττοντο πάντα πρότερον ἡ ὀποῖς σωφρονήσουσι καὶ φρόνημοι ἔσονται καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἄνδρες σπουδαίοι, καλῶς μὲν αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι προστασθαι,

1 ois ὁν Jacobs, ὁν ὁν Selden, καὶ ὁν Pflugk : ὁν or ὁν.
THE SIXTY-NINTH DISCOURSE:
ON VIRTUE

It seems to me a fact hard to explain, that people praise and admire one set of things yet aim at and have seriously pursued a different set. For instance, virtually all praise and refer to as "divine" and "august" such things as valour and righteousness and wisdom and, in short, every virtue. Moreover, whomever they believe to be, or to have been, characterized by such virtues, or nearly so, him they admire and celebrate in song; and certain ones they represent as gods and others as heroes—for example, Heracles, the Dioscuri, Theseus, Achilles, and all the demigods, as they are called. And whomever they suppose to be like those beings they one and all are ready to obey and to serve, no matter what orders he may give, and they are ready to appoint as their king and ruler and to make the guardian of their possessions any man whom they suppose to be really prudent and righteous and wise and, in a word, a good man.

Therefore in this respect no one could censure them as not perceiving that virtue is something august and precious and all-important; yet they really desire any and every thing in preference to becoming good, and they busy themselves with everything in preference to the problem of becoming self-controlled and wise and righteous and men of merit, competent
καλῶς δὲ οἰκὸν οἰκῆσαι, καλῶς δὲ ἀρξαί πόλεως, εὗ δὲ πλοῦτον ἐνεγκεῖν, εὗ δὲ πενίαν, εὗ δὲ προσ- ἐνεχθῆναι φίλους, εὗ δὲ συγγενέσι, δικαίως δ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι γονέων, ὅσιως δὲ ὑπερεύθεσι θεοὺς.

3 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τινες περὶ γεωργίαν πραγματεύονται, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἐμπορίαν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ στρατεύαν ὀρμῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ἰατρικὴν, οἱ δὲ οἰκοδομικὴν ἡ ναυπηγικὴν ἐκμαυθάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ κυνάριζουν ἡ αὐλεῖν ἡ σκυτο- τομεῖν ἡ παλαιεῖν, οἱ δὲ ὅπως δεινοὶ δόξουσι περ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν δῆμῳ ἡ δικαστηρίῳ τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅπως ἱσχυροὶ ἔσονται τὰ σῶματα.

καίτοι2 τοὺς ἐμπόρους μὲν καὶ γεωργοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ οἰκοδόμους καὶ κυνα- ριστὰς καὶ αὐλητὰς καὶ παιδοτρίβας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς λεγομένους ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς πάνω ἴσχυοντας τοὺς σώμασιν, ἄθλιους καὶ δυστυχεῖς3 πολλοὺς ἄν εὑροι τις ἡ μικρὸν δεῖν ἄπαντας.

4 "Ἀν δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐμφρον γεννηται καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἰκανοί ὅσι τὰ τε αὐτῶν πράγματα ὀρθῶς πράττειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τούτους ἀνάγκη καὶ εὐδαιμόνως ζῆν, νομίμους ἁγίασι γενομένους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς δαιμόνως τυχόντας καὶ φίλους ἄντας τοὺς θεοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλους μὲν φρονίμους εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐμπείρους τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν τὰνθρώπεα ἐπιστασθαι, ἄλλους δὲ τὰ θεία, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν εἶναι τῶν θείων ἐπι- στήμονας, ἄλλους δὲ ὅσιας,4 οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν·

1 ὅσιας δὲ Emperius, ὅσιας τε Wytenbach: ὅπως δὲ (τε).
2 καίτοι Emperius: καὶ.

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to govern themselves well, to manage a household well, to rule a city well, to endure well either wealth or poverty, to behave well toward friends and kinsmen, to care for parents with equity, and to serve gods with piety. But some busy themselves with farming, some with trading, some are devoted to military affairs, some to the medical profession, some acquire a thorough knowledge of carpentry or of ship-building, some of playing the lyre or the flute or of shoemaking or wrestling, some devote their whole attention to gaining a reputation as clever speakers in Assembly or in law-court, some to becoming strong in body. And yet the traders, farmers, soldiers, physicians, builders, lyre-players, flautists, athletic trainers, yes, and the orators, as they are called, and those who have great strength of body—all these one would find to be pitiable and unfortunate in many, or indeed in almost all, instances.

On the other hand, if their soul becomes rational and their mind really good, and if they are able to manage successfully their own affairs and those of their neighbours too, these men will necessarily also lead happy lives, having shown themselves to be law-abiding, having obtained a good genius to guard them, and being dear to the gods. For it does not stand to reason that one set of men are wise and another set versed in human affairs, nor yet that some are conversant with human affairs and some with affairs divine, nor that some men have knowledge of divine things and others are pious, nor that some

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3 After δυνατέσσεσ Pflugk adds τούς.
4 After ὁσίους UB add οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν δικαίους ἄλλους δὲ ὁσίους. Μ οὐδὲ ἄλλους δικαίους καὶ ἄλλους ὁσίους.
5 After μὲν PH add καὶ δικαίους.
οσίους, ἄλλους δὲ θεοφιλεῖς· οὐδὲ ἐτεροί μὲν ἔσονται θεοφιλεῖς, ἐτεροί δὲ εὐδαίμονες. οὐδὲ ἐτεροί μὲν εἰσιν ἀνθρώποι ἄφρονες, ἐτεροὶ δὲ ἄγνοοοῦσι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς πράγματα· οὐδὲ οἱ τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα ἄγνοοοῦσι, τὰ θεία ἰσαίν· οὐδὲ οἱ φαύλως περὶ τῶν θείων ὑπεληφότες οὐκ ἄνοσοί εἰσιν. οὐδὲ γε τοὺς ἀνοσίους οἶνον τε φίλους εἶναι θεοῖς, οὐδὲ τοὺς μὴ φίλους θεοῖς μὴ δυστυχεῖς εἶναι.

5 Διὰ τί ποτ' οὖν οἱ ὁρεγόμενοι ὅπως εὐδαιμονήσουσιν οὐ προδυνοῦνται ποιοῦτος παρέχειν σφάς αὐτοὺς, ἀ δὲ πράττοντας οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς κωλύει κακῶς καὶ ἀθλίως ζῆν, πᾶσαν τοῦτον ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται; κατοὶ ἀνεῖ μὲν αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρίστων καὶ σκυτοτόμων καὶ παιδοτριβῶν καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ ἱατρῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώποις βιοῦν πάνω καλῶς καὶ νομίμως, οἴμαι δ' ἐγώ καὶ

6 δίχα γεωργῶν καὶ οἰκοδόμων. Σκύθαι γοῦν οὐδὲν κωλύονται οἰ νομάδες μήτε οἰκίας ἐχοντες μήτε γῆν σπείροντες η φυτεύοντες δικαίως καὶ κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεσθαι· ἂνει δὲ νόμοι καὶ δικαίων μη κακῶς ζῆν ἀνθρώπους καὶ πολὺ τῶν θηρίων ὦμότεροι 3 οὐ δυνατόν. έτι δ' ὁποῖο μὲν φαύλοι σκυτοτόμοι εἰσὶ καὶ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἰκοδόμοι, οὐδὲν ἐκεί διὰ τοῦτο συμβαίνει χαλεπῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑποδήματα χείρων καὶ πυρῶν ἐλάττους καὶ κριθαί· ὅπου δὲ ἄρχοντες χείρους καὶ δικασταὶ καὶ νόμοι,
are pious and others dear to the gods; nor will a separate group be dear to the gods and another group be favoured by fortune. Nor is there one class of men who are fools but another class ignorant of their own affairs; nor are those who are ignorant of their own affairs informed about things divine; nor are those who have formed mistaken opinions about things divine free from impiety. And surely those who are impious cannot be dear to the gods nor those who are not dear to the gods be other than unfortunate.

Why in the world, then, do not those who aim to attain a happy life do their best to make themselves happy instead of devoting their entire attention to things which do not at all prevent their leading a bad, yes wretched, existence? Yet without flute-players and lyre-players and shoemakers and athletic trainers and orators and physicians it is not impossible for men to live very good and ordered lives, and, I fancy, even without farmers and builders. At any rate the Scythians who are nomads, though they neither have houses nor sow seed nor plant trees and vines, are by no means prevented from playing their part as citizens with justice and in accordance with law; yet without law and justice men cannot avoid living badly and in much more savage fashion than the wild beasts. Moreover, where shoemakers and farmers and builders are of inferior quality, no serious harm results on that account; it is merely that the shoes are inferior and the wheat and barley scarcer. On the other hand, where rulers and judges and laws are inferior, the

4 χείρω added by Reiske, χείρω καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα Wenkebach.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τὰ πράγματα κάκιον ἔχει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων καὶ ὁ βίος δυστυχέστερος καὶ στάσεις καὶ ἄδικαι καὶ ύβρεις καὶ ἀσέβεια πολλή φύεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς.

7 "Ετι δὲ σκυτοτόμου μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ὃντα λυσιτελεῖ παρ’ ἄλλον πρίσμαθα ὑποδήματα, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον ἄλλον ἐπὶ τούτω μισθώσασθαι, καὶ γεωργὸν μὴ ὃντα σῖτον πρίσμαθα καὶ ὀσπρία· ἄδικον δὲ αὐτὸν ὃντα οὐ λυσιτελεῖ τῶν δικαίων παρ’ ἄλλον τυχάνειν οὐδὲ ἄφρονα καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὃν ἀπέχεσθαι, μετανοοῦντα ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ πρὸς ἔτερον ἴεναι. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν ἀργυρίου δεόμενος ἡ ἱματίων ἡ οὐκίας ἡ ἄλλον του ἐπίσταται τε καὶ ζητεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων λαβεῖν· ὁ δὲ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τούτο ἐπίσταται ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν· ἂλλ’ αὐτὸς φησιν ἵκανὸς εἶναι καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται τῇ ἀφροσύνη, πάντα πράττων καὶ λέγων ἀφρόνως, καὶ οὐ φησίν ἄδικος εἶναι οὐδὲ ἀνόητος οὐδὲ ἀκόλαστος, ἂλλ’ ὡς οἶδαν τε ἵκανὸς περὶ ταῦτα ἔχειν, ὅν οὐδεμίαν πῶς ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο οὐδὲ ἐμαθεὶ οὐδὲν τούτων ἔνεκεν.

8 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπιστήμην εἶναι νομίζουσι, καθ’ ἢν εἶσονται τί πρακτέον αὐτοῖς ἡ τί μὴ πρακτέον καὶ πῶς βιώσονται ὅρθως· ἂλλα τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πρὸς τούτο τοὺς γεγραμμένους· ὅπως δὲ πείσονται τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἐκόντες ποιή-

1 μετανοοῦντα] μετὰ νοῦν Arnim.
2 τῇ added by Emperius.
THE SIXTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

affairs of those people are in worse condition and their life is more unfortunate, and factions, injustices, deeds of arrogance, and impiety flourish in abundance with them.

Furthermore, though when one is not himself a shoemaker it is profitable to purchase shoes from another person, and when one does not understand building, to hire another person for that work, and when one is not a farmer, to purchase grain and pulse; on the other hand, when one is himself unjust, it is not profitable to get his justice from another, nor, when one lacks wisdom and does not know what he ought to do and what he ought to refrain from doing, to be constantly regretting every single act and resorting for knowledge to another person. For, in addition to all the other considerations, he who needs money or clothing or house or anything else not only knows that fact but also seeks to get these things from those who have them; whereas he who has no sense does not even know just this very fact, that he has no sense; instead, he himself claims to be competent and obstinately persists in his folly, everything he does or says being witless, and he denies that he is unjust or foolish or lawless but insists that he is ever so competent in these matters, though he has never paid any attention to them or learned anything as far as those things are concerned.

In fact, these men do not even believe in the existence of a knowledge in accordance with which they will know what they ought to do or what they ought not to do and how they will live correctly; nay, they believe that the laws are sufficient for them for that purpose, the laws on the statute books; but how they are to obey the laws and voluntarily do
σουσι τὰ ἐκεῖνοις δοκοῦντα οὐδὲν φροντίζοντων. καίτοι τέ ἦττον ὁ φόβῳ τοῦ κλέπτεν ἀπεχόμενος, εὐδοκών ἀλλὰ μὴ μισῶν τὸ πράγμα καὶ καταγγειλόμενον, κλέπτης τῶν ψαρίουμένων ἐστὶν· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἡμέρας οὐ κλέπτοντα, ἀλλὰ νυκτὸς γενομένης, κλέπτης ὦν φόσομεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ δίκαιον εἶναι; ἔπειτα δέονται πολλῶν τῶν ἀπειλούντων καὶ κολαξόντων, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι αὐτοῖ οἱ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκοτοιοί ὑποτείμενα τοὺς νομοθέτας καὶ κολάξουσι τοὺς ἀνόμους, ὡσπερ εἰ ἁμονός ὑποτείμενος τοὺς μονοκικοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπαίνετες περὶ γεωμετρίας τοὺς γεωμετρίας.

9 Σημείων δὲ τῆς ποιημίας τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ γὰρ ἀνέλαμβαν τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἀδεια γένοτο μοὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποκτείνει καὶ ἀρπάζει τὰ τῶν πέλας καὶ μοιχέων καὶ λωποδυτεῖν, τίνας ἔσεσθαι οὐχείδει τοὺς ἀφεξομένους τοῦτων καὶ μὴ πάνω ραδίως τε καὶ ἑστίμως ἀπαίνεται ἐξαρατέως βουλομένους; ὡς τὸ νῦν γε οὐδέν ἦττον λανθάνουμεν μετὰ κλέπτῶν καὶ ἀνδραπόδιστῶν καὶ μοιχῶν ἔωτες καὶ συμπολυτευόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὸν οὐδέν βελτίως τῶν θηρίων ἐσμέν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἂν φοβηθῇ ἀνθρώπων φυλάττονται, ὡς κύνας, ἀπέχεσται τοῦ ἀρπάζειν.

1 ἀπεχομένος, εὐδοκῶν Capp.: ἀπεχομένος δοκῶν UBM, ἀπέχεσθαι δοκῶν PH, δοκῶν deleted by Armin.
2 καὶ οἰκοτοιοί ὑποτείμενα PH: καὶ οἰκοι UBM, κακοὶ Selden.
3 ἀνόμους Post: νόμους.
4 τούτων καὶ μὴ τοῦ μὴ Armin.
5 ὡς] καὶ Armin.

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what those laws prescribe is a matter to which they
give no serious thought. And yet how is he any less
a thief who refrains from thieving out of fear, if he
approves but does not loath and condemn the busi-
ness, than those who actually commit theft—unless
also he who does not do his thieving by day, but
only after nightfall, is to be called no thief in day-
time, but rather a man of probity? Besides, such
persons require the presence of many to threaten
and restrain them, since they are not able of them-
selves to refrain from their misdeeds, but even when
at home are men of thievish disposition. However,
though they are of such character, they choose the
law-givers and punish the lawless, just as if persons
who are unmusical were to choose the musicians, or
as if those who know nothing of surveying were to
choose the surveyors!

And here is an indication of the depravity of man-
kind. If men were to do away with the laws and
licence were to be granted to strike one another, to
commit murder, to steal the property of one’s neigh-
bours, to commit adultery, to be a footpad, then
who must we suppose would be the persons who
will refrain from these deeds and not, without the
slightest scruple or hesitation, be willing to commit
all manner of crimes? For even under present con-
ditions we none the less are living unwittingly with
thieves and kidnappers and adulterers and joining
with them in the activities of citizenship, and in this
respect we are no better than the wild beasts; for
they too, if they take fright at men or dogs set to
guard against them, refrain from thieving.
THE SEVENTIETH DISCOURSE:
ON PHILOSOPHY

This brief dialogue, like others in our collection, both begins and ends abruptly. It has the appearance of being an excerpt from a lengthier discussion, probably selected for publication because it contained a noteworthy tribute to the essential nature of philosophy. The rôle of the student in this document—if it was a student—is decidedly minor, consisting chiefly in assenting to the statements made by the principal speaker. Dio is emphasizing the crucial difference between pseudo-philosophers and those who are philosophers in deed as well as in word. In truly Socratic fashion he leads up to his main thesis by citing examples of pretence in fields such as farming, trading, hunting, and the like, showing in each instance that no one is misled by profession of interest unaccompanied by fitting conduct.
70. ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ

1 Δ. Φέρε, εἰ τίνος ἀκούοις λέγοντος ὅτι βούλεται γεωργεῖν, μηδὲν δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο πράττοντα ὑπὸς αὐτοῦ, μήτε βοῦς ὑνοῦμενον ἢ τρέφοντα μήτε ἀροτρα κατασκευαζόμενον μήτε τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν σκεῦη, μηδὲ ἐνοικοῦντα ἐν ἄγρῳ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ἱ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ

2 Δ. Εἶεν· εἰ δὲ κυνηγέτης εἶναι λέγοι τις καὶ τὸν Ἰππόλυτον αὐτοῦ ἡ Μελέαγρον ὑπερβάλλειν τῇ τῇ ἄνδρεια καὶ τῇ ἕντι μισοπονία, μηδὲν δὲ φαινοτο πράττων ὀμοιον, μήτε κύνος κεκτημένος μήτε λίνα μήτε ὀποιον μήτε ὅλως ἐπὶ θήραν εξιῶν, ἀλλὰ μήτε ὑπὸ ἡ λίου τὸ σῶμα ἐπικεκαυμένος μὴτε ψῦχους ἀνέχεσθαι δυνάμενος, ἐσκιατραφημένος δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὸς καὶ μάλιστα ἑοικῶς ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἔσθρο 

1 After ἡ Crosby deletes αὐτοῦ μή. Wilamowitz also ἡ. 
2 ἡ added by Arnim.
THE SEVENTIETH DISCOURSE:
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Dio. Come now, suppose you should hear some one say that he wants to be a farmer, but should observe that he is doing nothing toward that end, neither buying or raising cattle nor preparing ploughs or the other equipment needed in farming, nor even living on a farm himself, either as owner or as tenant of another, but rather in town, spending his time principally about the market-place and the gymnasium and occupied with drinking parties and courtesans and that sort of frivolity—in such a case will you treat seriously what he says rather than what he does? And will you say the fellow is a farmer and a producer, or one of the lazy and frivolous set?

Interlocutor. One of the lazy set, of course.

Dio. Very good. But suppose a man were to say that he is a huntsman, and that he surpasses Hippolytus himself or Meleager in both his valour and his diligence, but it should be obvious that he is engaged in no activity of that nature, since he has acquired neither dogs nor hunting-nets nor a horse and never goes out after game at all but, on the contrary, neither has been tamed by the sun nor is able to endure cold, but has been reared in the shade and is soft and very like the women, could you pos-

3 μήτε Emperius: μηδέ.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὅπως ὑπολάβοις ἂν τάληθη λέγειν τούτον καὶ προσήκει τι αὐτῷ κυνηγεσίων;

Οὐκ ἔγγορε.

3 Δ. Ἀντοπόν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων μᾶλλον οὐς λέγει τις ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰδέναι καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸν ἐκάστου βίον. εἰ δέ τις ἐπαγγέλλωντο μὲν ὡς μουσικὴν ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διατρίβων, μήτε δὲ αὐτοῦ κιθαρίζοντος μηδεῖς πώποτε ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κιθάραν ἢ λύραν ἔχοντα ὄρων τις, μήτε ἤ οὐκ οὐ περὶ τοῦτο κατὰ μουσικὴν δίκαια γε τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τοῦ ἐπισταθαι φάσκειν τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἁμεινον καὶ τοῦ Θαμύρα, βλέποι δ' αὐτὸν ἀλεκτρυώνας ἡ ὀρτυγας θεραπεύοντα καὶ τρέφοντα καὶ μετὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ὡς τὸ πολὺ διατρίβουντα, πότερον τῶν μουσικῶν τούτον διῆς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἡ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεθ' ὅν ἔστι καὶ οἶς ταῦτα ἑπιτηδεύει;

 autofocus "Δήλον ὅτι τούτων.

4 Δ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀστρονόμος εἶναι τις υπισχνήται καὶ σαφέστατα ἐπιστηθαί τὰς περιόδους καὶ πορείας καὶ τὰ ἀποστήματα πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλα ήλίον τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστρων καὶ τὰ οὐράνια πάθη, μηδὲν δὲ τοιούτον ἢ προγρημένος μηδὲ περὶ ταύτα φροντίζων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συνὼν τοῖς κυβεύουσι καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐκάστοτε ξών καὶ βλεπόμενος, ἀστρονόμον τοῦτον φήσεις ἡ κυβεστήν;

1 μὲν Emperius: τι or τις.
2 μήτε Emperius: μηδὲ.
3 συνὼν Reiske: σὺν.

1 Like the more famous Orpheus, Thamyras— or Thamyris, as the name is sometimes given— was reputed to have been a

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sibly believe that this man is telling the truth and that he has anything to do with hunting?

Int. Not I.

Dio. Correct; for it is absurd that we should know and pass upon every man’s life on the strength of what he says rather than of what he does. Again, if some one should offer his services as an expert in music and as one who devotes his time to this, and yet no one should ever hear him either playing the cithara, nay, even see him holding a cithara or a lyre, or discanting on any subject related to music—that is, apart from his offering his services and saying that he has a better knowledge of music than Orpheus and Thamyris¹—but if one should see him training and rearing game-cocks or quails and spending his time for the most part in company with those of like interests, ought one to conclude that he is a musician, or, on the contrary, one of the set with which he associates and whose pursuits are the same as his?

Int. Evidently one of that set.

Dio. Again, if one were to profess that he is an astronomer and that he knows most accurately how the orbits and courses and the intervening distances stand with relation to one another in the case of sun and moon and similar heavenly bodies, and also celestial phenomena, and yet the man has shown no predilection of this sort and has no serious interest in these matters, but rather prefers to associate with gamblers, lives his life in their company, and is seen with them day after day, will you call this man an astronomer or a gambler?

¹ Thracian bard of extraordinary skill. He is said to have challenged the Muses to a competition and, when defeated, to have been deprived of his sight.
 Dio Chrysostom

Οὖ μὰ τὸν Δ’ ἀστρονομίας ἡγησαίμην ἂν ἔγωγε προσήκειν αὐτῷ τι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον κυβείας.

5 Δ. Δύο δὲ τινῶν τοῦ μὲν λέγοντος οτί πλευσεῖται τὴν ταχίστην καὶ πολλὰ κερδανεὶ χρήματα ἀπὸ ἐμπορίας, μήτε δὲ ναῦς μήτε ναῦτας παρεσκευασμένου μήτε φόρτον ἐχοντος μηδένα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ προσώπον ὅλως τῷ λιμένι μηδὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ, τοῦ δὲ πραγματευομένου περὶ ταύτα καὶ πλοίον περισκοποῦντος καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ χρήματα ἐμβαλλομένου· πότερον αὐτῶν φήσεις ἐμπορία προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν; τὸν λέγοντα ἡ τὸν πράττοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον τὰ τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας;

Ἐγὼ μὲν τούτων.

6 Δ. Ἐπὶ παντὶ ἀρα τὸν μὲν λόγον, εἰ καθ’ αὐτὸν λέγοντος, μηδενός ἐργον προσόντως, ἀκυρον ἡγήσῃ καὶ οὐ πιστόν· τὸ δ’ ἐργον αὐτὸ πιστὸν τε καὶ ἀληθές, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ προάγῃ λόγος; Οὕτως.

Δ. Πότερον οὖν γεωργίας ἐστὶ τινὰ ἔργα καὶ σκεῦη· η ναυτιλίας καὶ ἄλλα τῶ κυνηγήτη προσήκοντα καὶ τῶ ἀστρονόμῳ καὶ ἔτι τῶς ἄλλως ἀπασι, φιλοσοφίας δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν οἷκεῖον ἔργον οὐδὲ πράγμα οὐδὲ παρασκευή;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

7 Δ. Ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἄδηλα τὰ προσήκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων

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1 μηδένα Reiske: μηδὲν.
2 μηδενὸς ἐργον προσόντως Jacobs: μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ προσόντος

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Int. Nay, by heaven, I would not consider that he had anything at all to do with astronomy, but much rather with gambling.

Dio. Again, given two persons, one of whom says he intends to sail immediately and will gain much profit from trading, although he has not provided himself with either ship or sailors, has no cargo whatever, but, in fact, never goes near the harbour at all, or even the sea; whereas the other occupies himself constantly with these matters, examining thoroughly a boat and putting on board a pilot and a cargo— which of the two will you say is seriously interested in trading? The one who says he is, or the one who works at it and provides himself with all that the voyage and the business of trading demand?

Int. I should say the latter.

Dio. In every matter, then, will you consider that the word alone, unaccompanied by any act, is invalid and untrustworthy, but that the act alone is both trustworthy and true, even if no word precedes it?

Int. Just so.

Dio. Well then, if there are certain functions and articles of equipment peculiar to farming or to seafaring and different ones appropriate to the hunter, the astronomer, and all other professions as well, then has philosophy no function peculiar to itself, no activity, no equipment?

Int. Most assuredly it has.

Dio. Well, are those things obscure which belong to the philosopher and to philosophy, while those

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1. 
M, μηδέν ἔχων περὶ τοῦ προσόντος UB, περὶ τοῦ προσόντος μηδέν PH.
2. ἐστὶ Reiske: εἶναι.
4. ἐστὶ PH: ἐπὶ UBM, which Wilamowitz deletes.
καὶ γεωργῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ ἀστρονόμων καὶ ὁν νῦν ὅτι εἴποι ἑκδῆλα καὶ φανερά; 
Οὐ μοι δοκεῖ.

Δ. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ λόγοι τινες εἰσιν ὅν δεὶ τὸν 
φιλοσοφοῦντα ἀκούειν, καὶ μαθήματα ἃ δεὶ μανθά-
νειν, καὶ διάτα ἡν δεὶ διαμισθαί, καὶ καθόλου 
βίος ἄλλος μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος, ἄλλος δὲ τῶν 
pολλῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁ μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ φρό-
νησιν τεῖνων ἔνθε θεῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν 
καὶ τῆς ἀυτοῦ ἁγιᾶς—μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλαζονείας 
καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ τρυφῆς—εὐτέλειαν τε καὶ σωφρο-
σύνην.

8 Καὶ γὰρ στολὴ ἐτέρα μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος, 
ἐτέρα δὲ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν καὶ κατάκλισις καὶ γυμνᾶσια 
καὶ λουτρά καὶ ἡ ἀλλη διάτα, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀκο-
λουθοῦντα καὶ ἄρχομενοι τοῦτοις δεὶ νομίζειν ὡς 
φιλοσοφία προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν τὸν δὲ ἐν μηδεί 
tούτων διαφέροντα μηδὲ ὅλως ἔστερον ὕπα τῶν 
pολλῶν οὐχ ἕνα ἐκείνων θετέον, κἂν μυριάκις 
εἰπῇ καὶ ἐπαγγείληται φιλοσοφεῖν ἐναντίον 
tοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἡ Μεγαρέων ἡ παρὰ 
tοῖς Ἀκαδημονίων βασιλεύσι άλλα ὁστέον 
tούτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τοὺς ἀλαζόνας καὶ ἀνοή-
tους καὶ τρυφεροὺς.

9 Καίτοι μουσικῶν μὲν οὐκ ἄδυνατον εἶναι μὴ 
πράττοντα τὰ τοῦ μουσικοῦ· ἡ γὰρ μουσικὴ οὐκ 
ἀναγκάζει προσέχει 1 ἃτῆς τῶν νοῶν καὶ μηδὲν 
ἄλλο πονεῖσθαι περὶ πλείονος· καὶ ἀστρονόμοι

1 teĭnōn Selden: τιμῶν. 2 καὶ omitted by MPH. 
3 ἀυτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν. 
4 ἀπ' added by Capps. 
5 After καὶ Emperius deletes τὸν. 
6 οὐχ added by Arnim.
THE SEVENTIETH DISCOURSE

which belong to the traders and farmers and musicians and astronomers and those whom I have just named are conspicuous and manifest?

Int. No, I think not obscure.

Dio. But surely there are certain words which one who goes in for philosophy must hear, and studies which he must pursue, and a regimen to which he must adhere, and, in a word, one kind of life belongs to the philosopher and another to the majority of mankind: the one tends toward truth and wisdom and toward care and cultivation of the gods, and, as regards one's own soul, far from false pretense and deceit and luxury, toward frugality and sobriety.

And, in fact, there is one kind of dress for the philosopher and another for the layman, and the same holds good as to table manners and gymnasia and baths and the mode of living generally, and he who is guided by and employs these distinctions must be thought to be devoted to philosophy; whereas he who does not differ in any of these matters and is not at all unlike the world in general must not be classified as a philosopher, not even if he says he is a thousand times and makes public profession of philosophy before the popular assembly of Athens or of Megara or in the presence of the kings of Sparta; instead, we must banish this man to the company of impostors and fools and voluptuaries.

And yet it is not impossible to be musical without engaging in musical activities; for the art of music does not compel one to devote his attention to it and to regard nothing else of greater moment. Again,

7 ἀναγκάζει Reiske: ἀνάγκη B, ἀναγκάσει UMPH.
8 After προσέχειν Jacobs adds ἄει.
9 αὐτῇ Emperius: αὐτῇ or αὐτῇ.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οντα ουδεν ίσως κωλύει τρέφειν ἀλεκτρύννας ἡ κυβερνήτην. ουδέν γαρ ἡ ἀστρονομία ἐμποδῶν ἐστιν τῷ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν: καὶ νὴ Δία ἐπιπον γενόμενον ἡ κυβερνήτητιν ἀγαθὸν ἡ γεωμέτρητιν ἡ γράμματα εἰδότα οὐδέν θαυμαστὸν ἡ παρὰ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἡ ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν ὀρᾶσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι οὐδὲν ποιεῖ βελτίων τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν οὐδὲ ἀποτρέπει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων: φιλοσοφία δὲ προσέχων τις καὶ μετασχῶν τούτου τῶν μαθημάτων οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀποσταίη τῶν βελτίωτων, οὐδὲ τούτων ἀμελήσας αἰσχρὸν τι καὶ φαύλων προέλοιτ' ἂν πράττειν οὐδὲ ἄργεϊν καὶ ὀψοφαγεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξαιρεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦν ἀνθρώπου εἰς μίσος αὐτῶν καὶ κατάγνωσιν προάγειν φιλοσοφία ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ γε φήσαι φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ἀλαξονεύσεθαι καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξαπατήσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν ἰσως κωλύει.

1 ἡ omitted by M.
2 μὴ deleted by Wilamowitz with M.
3 ἐξαιρεῖν] ἐξαιρεῖ Wilamowitz, ἐξαιρεῖ BM.
4 προάγειν] προάγει Wilamowitz with M.
5 φιλοσοφία ἐστίν deleted by Wilamowitz with M.
THE SEVENTIETH DISCOURSE

if one is an astronomer, possibly nothing prevents his keeping game-cocks or throwing dice; for in no wise does astronomy prevent his doing what is necessary! Furthermore, by Heaven, if one has become an expert horseman, or a good pilot, or a surveyor, or a literary critic, it is nothing surprising that he should be seen in the apartments of either the courtesans or the flute-girls. For the knowledge of those skills does not make the human soul one whit better or turn it aside from its errors; but if one is devoted to philosophy and partakes of this study, one could never desert the highest things, nor, neglecting these things, could he prefer to engage in anything which is shameful and low, or to be lazy and gluttonous and drunken. For to refuse to admire these things and to banish the desire for them from the soul and on the other hand, to lead the soul to hate and condemn them, is the essence of philosophy. However, possibly there is nothing to prevent one's claiming to be a philosopher and at the same time playing the impostor and deceiving himself and everybody else.
THE SEVENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE:
ON THE PHILOSOPHER

In this Discourse Dio examines the statement that "the philosopher should be remarkable in everything." As examples of versatility he considers Hippias of Elis, the well-known sophist, and Odysseus, each of whom exhibited a high degree of skill in both intellectual and manual pursuits. While admitting their claim to excellence, Dio maintains that the philosopher should be able to excel all men above all in "acting, or not acting, advantageously, and in knowing when to act and where and the right moment better than the craftsman, and also in knowing what is possible of achievement." This dictum (§ 6) is illustrated by reference to Daedalus and other skilled artificers, who failed of real excellence because they were ignorant in just those respects. The Discourse concludes with a sarcastic allusion to Nero's varied ambitions.
71. ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ

1 Εἰςιν οἳ φασὶ δεῖν πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι περιττοῦ τῶν φιλόσοφων· καὶ ὁμιλήσαι ἀνθρώπους φασὶ δεῖν εἶναι δεινότατον καὶ μηδέποτε συγάν μηδὲ ἀπορεῖν λόγων τουοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας οἳ δυνήσονται τέρπειν αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μῆ, φασίν ἰδιῶτην εἶναι τὸν μῆ παρεσκευασμένον οὕτως καὶ ὄλιγον ἂξιον. ἔγὼ δὲ φημὶ τὰ μὲν δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγειν
2 αὐτοὺς, τὰ δὲ οὕ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διαφέρειν πανταχοῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον τῶν ἄλλων δοκοῦσί μοι ὀρθῶς ἂξιοῦν· πλὴν εἰ μῆ γε1 καὶ τὰς τέχνας φασὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπάσας εἰδέναι καὶ βέλτιον κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἀπαντά ποιεῖν τῶν δημιουργῶν, οἰκίας τε οἰκοδομομούμενον καὶ πλοῦτα ναυπηγούμενον καὶ χαλκεύοντα καὶ υφαίνοντα καὶ γεωργοῦντα· ὥσπερ ο Ὡλείος Ἰππίας ἦξιον σοφότατος εἶναι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οὐ μόνον ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καὶ λόγους αὐτοῦ ποικίλους προφέρων ὁ Ολυμπίασι τε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πανηγύρεσι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιδεικνύσει2 ἔργα, τὸν τε δακτυλίου καὶ τὴν λήκυθον καὶ στλεγγίδα καὶ τὸ Ἰμάτιον3 καὶ τὴν

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1 μῆ γε Emperius: μήτε, μῆ τι, or μή.
2 ἐπιδεικνύσ deleted by Arnim.
THE SEVENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE:
ON THE PHILOSOPHER

There are those who say that the philosopher should be remarkable in everything in any surroundings; moreover, they say that he should be very able in conversation with men and never keep silent or be at a loss before those in his company for lack of such language as will be capable of pleasing them; otherwise, they say, he who is not thus equipped is an ignoramus and worth but little. But I say that, though some of their statements are just and truthful, some are not. For that the philosopher should in every situation be superior to all others, it seems to me they are right in demanding—unless they mean that he must not only know all the crafts but also, in accordance with the rules of the craft, produce everything better than the craftsmen, both building houses and making boats and working as a smith and weaving and farming. For example, Hippias of Elis claimed to be the wisest of the Greeks, for both at the Olympic Games and at the other national gatherings of the Greeks he produced poems of every style and speeches which he had composed of divers kinds, but he also displayed other products of his—his ring, his oil-flask and strigil, his mantle, and

3 τὸ ἴματον Wilamowitz: ἴματα or ἴμα.
The versatility of Hippias, well-known sophist of the fifth century, was a familiar topic; cf. Plato, Hippias Minor 368 b–d.
THE SEVENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

his girdle—boasting that he had made them all himself, displaying them to the Greeks as a kind of firstfruits of his wisdom. ¹

And Homer too, I venture to remark, has represented Odysseus, not merely as pre-eminent in judgement and in his ability to plan concerning practical matters, not merely as a most able speaker,² whether in a crowd or before a few or before only one person—yes, by Heaven, both in assembly and over the wine-cups and on occasions when walking with somebody on a journey—whether in the presence of king or of commoner, freeman or slave, no matter whether he was himself held in honour and recognized as king or, on the other hand, unknown and a beggar, and, moreover, alike when addressing either man or woman or maiden; but he also makes him pre-eminent for his knowledge of the art of combat, and he has even represented him as skilled in all such crafts as those of the joiner, the carpenter, and the shipwright. For instance, how could Odysseus have constructed his bed by cutting off the trunk of an olive tree if he were not acquainted with the joiner's art?³ How could he have enclosed his bed-chamber if he had not been acquainted with the builder's art? How could he have built his raft if he had not understood ship-building?⁴ As for the operations connected with planting and husbandry, he obviously had shown a serious interest in all that from his very boyhood, since he begged his father for trees and vines⁵: and especially, since his father was a very careful and experienced farmer, it was to be

² See especially Homer's tribute to his oratory in Iliad 3. 216-224.
³ Odyssey 23. 184-204.
⁴ Ibid. 5. 234-261.
⁵ Ibid. 24. 336-344.
Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἵσως Ἰππίας καὶ Ὄδυσσευς δεινὸ ἣστην· ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ τοῖς φιλόσοφον τὰς μὲν τέχνας οὐχ οἶον τε εἶναι πάσας εἰδέναι—χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ μίαν ἀκριβῶς ἑργάσασθαι—ποιῆσαι δ᾿ ἂν ἀπαντὰ βέλτιον ὃ τι ἂν τύχῃ ποιῶν τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, ἂν ἄρα ἄναγκασθῇ ποτε ἄφασθαι τοιοῦτον τινός, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην διαφέροντα· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐχ οἶον τε, τοῦ τέκτονος τὸν ἰδιότητα ἀμείνον ποιῆσαι τι κατὰ τὴν τεκτονικὴν ἡ τοῦ γεωργοῦ τὸν οὐκ ὑπνα γεωργίας ἔμπειρον ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν τι τῶν γεωργικῶν ἐμπειρότερον φανήναι.

Ποῦ δ᾿ ἂν διαφέροι; τῷ συμφερόντως ποιεῖν ἡ μὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ὅτε δεῖ καὶ ὅποι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν γνῶναι τοῦ δημουργοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν. αὐτίκα οὐ δοκεῖ μοι Δαίδαλος καλῶς εἰργάσθαι ἐν Κρήτῃ τὸν Δαβύρυνθον, οὐ εἰσερχόμενοι ἀπόλυλυντο οἱ πολίται αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πολίτιδες· οὐ γὰρ δικαῖως εἰργάσατο. συμπράττων δ᾿ αὖ 2 τῇ νόσῳ τῆς Πασιφάς οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰργάσατο· οὐ γὰρ

1 Odyssey 18. 366-375.
2 Ibid. 15. 319-324.
THE SEVENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

expected that Odysseus would not be ignorant of these matters, yes, he even challenges Eurymachus to a contest in both reaping and ploughing. Why, Odysseus claims to be acquainted also with such matters as cookery and wine-serving and all other departments of domestic service, matters wherein he says that those of lower rank serve the nobles.2

Very well, in these respects no doubt Hippias and Odysseus were a clever pair; but I say that the philosopher, while unable to know every one of the crafts—for it is difficult to be thoroughly proficient in the practice of even one—nevertheless could do everything, no matter what he might be doing, better than anybody else, even though from the point of view of the crafts, if he really is ever compelled to tackle anything of that nature, he is not superior when measured by the standard of craftsmanship. For this is an impossibility, that the layman should produce anything better than the joiner by the standard of the joiner's craft, or that one who lacks experience in farming should be found more expert than the farmer in performing any of the tasks of the farmer.

Wherein, then, would the philosopher be superior? It would be in his acting, or not acting, advantageously, and in his knowing when to act and where and the right moment better than the craftsman, and also in his knowing what is possible of achievement. For instance, I believe that Daedalus did not build his Labyrinth in Crete well—entering which his fellow citizens, both male and female, met their death3—for he did not build it justly. And besides, in abetting the malady of Pasiphaë he wrought not

3 The Athenian youths and maidens sent every ninth year to King Minos.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

συνέφερεν οὐδὲ ἂν δίκαιον οὐδὲ καλὸν τοιαύτα συμπράττειν οὐδὲ μηχανᾶς εὑρίσκειν ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀνόσια. οὐδὲ ὁς τὸν Ἰκαρον ἐπτέρωσεν, εἰ χρη πιστεύειν τῷ μύθῳ, καλῶς ἐξευρέων φημι τήνδε τὴν μηχανήν: οὐ γὰρ δυνατὰ ἐμηχανάτο πτέρυγας ἀνθρώπῳ προστεθεῖσ. οὐκοῦν διέφθειρε τὸν νιόν.

7 Ἔσοικε δὲ καὶ Ὄμηρος λοιδορεῖν τινα τέκτονα τῶν Τρώων, ὡς 1 οὐ καλῶς ἐργασάμενον τὰς ναῦς τῷ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ αἷς ἔπλευσεν 2 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὐδὲν ἐχὼν αὐτισμαθαὶ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην. φησὶ γάρ,

ὁς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο νῆας ἔσασ, ἀρχεκάκους,

οὐκ ἐγκωμιάζων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ 3 τῇ ποιήσει τῶν νεών, ἀλλὰ ψέγων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ λέγων αὐτὸν ποιήσαι τὰς ναῦς ἢ βραδείας ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀμάρτημα ἐχούσας ἕτιατο περὶ τὴν ναυτηγίαν. ἴσχει δὲ ὁμοῖος καὶ κυνηγετὴν τινὰ καὶ καταγελᾷ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ὅτι εἰς οὐδὲν δεόν ἐκέκτητο αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θηρία ἰπίστατο βάλλειν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἀχρείος ἢν διὰ τὴν δειλίαν,
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rightly; for it was not advantageous nor was it just or honourable to lend such aid or to invent devices for ends which were shameful and impious. And even when he equipped Icarus with wings—if we are to believe the tale—I say he did not do well to invent this device; for he was attempting the impossible when he attached wings to a human being. Accordingly he wrought the death of his son.

But apparently Homer too says harsh things of a certain builder among the Trojans, as not having done well when he built for Alexander the ships with which he sailed to Hellas—though he has no fault to find with him on the score of craftsmanship. For this is what he says:

Who built for Paris well-proportioned ships.

Sources of ill,\(^2\)

not lauding him for his construction of the ships, but rather censuring him much more severely than if, by saying that he had made the ships either slow or with some other defect, he had censured him for his ship-building. And Homer in similar fashion censures also a certain huntsman\(^3\) and ridicules his skill, because he had acquired it to no good purpose. but, on the contrary, while the man knew how to shoot wild beasts, in warfare he could not hit any one but was useless because of his cowardice, and

\(^2\) Iliad 5. 62-63, speaking of Phereclus. The context (59-64) does testify to his skill, for the poet troubles to give his lineage—“son of Carpenter, son of Joiner,” and it is said that “Athena loved him exceedingly”; he is excused on the ground that he did not know the will of the gods.

\(^3\) Scamandrius; cf. Iliad 5. 49-58. Artemis had taught him the art of hunting. As to his cowardice, Homer only says that he fled before Menelaüs, as did many another.

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καὶ οὐ φησιν αὐτῷ τότε βοηθήσαι τῇν Ἀρτεμῖν.

8 Ὅψκοιν ἐκ τοῦτων δῆλον ὅτι δεὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς ἐπίστανται οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὸς ὅ οὐκ ἐπίστανται καὶ οὕτως ἄν ἀπαντά διαφέροι πάντων ὁ σώφρων, οἷον χρῆ εἶναι τὸν φιλόσοφον, καὶ ποιῶν τι τοῦτων καὶ μὴ ποιῶν, κἂν ὅπωσον ποιῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην. ὡς δὲ τῶν ζωγράφων γράφει κρείττου ὁ οὐκ ἄν ζωγράφος, ἡ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἄμεινον θεραπεύει κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικήν οὐκ ὃν ἰατρός, ἡ τῶν μουσικῶν μουσικῶτερον ἀσεται ὁ οὐκ ἄν ἐμπειρός μουσικῆς ἡ μετρίως ἐμπειρός γεγονός, ἡ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἡ τῶν γεωμετρῶν ἐμπειρότερος φανεῖται περὶ γεωμετρίας ἡ περὶ φυτείαν τῶν γεωργῶν ἡ περὶ κυβερνητικήν τῶν κυβερνητῶν, ἡ σφάξει 2 θάττον τῶν μαγείρων ἡ διελεύ τῶν αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἔργον πεποιημένων, οὐ χρῆ διανοεῖσθαι.

9 Καίτοι τῶν νῦν βασιλέων τις ἐπεθύμει σοφὸς εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην σοφίαν, ὃς πλεῖστα ἐπιστάμενος οὐ μέντοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁ μὴ θαυμάζεται παρὰ τοῖς ἄνθρωποις, ἀλλὰ ἐφ' οἷς στεφανωθῆναι ἐστὶ, κηρύττειν καὶ ἄδειν πρὸς κυθάραν καὶ τραγῳδεῖν καὶ παλαιεῖν καὶ παγκρατιάζειν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ

1 κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν deleted by Arnim.
2 σφάξει Dindorf: σφάξειν or σφάξειν or σφάξειν．
3 διελεύ Dindorf: διελεύ．

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he adds that on the occasion in question Artemis did not aid him.

From these illustrations, therefore, it is evident that there is need of wisdom and virtue as applied both to what men know and also to what they do not know; and thus it is that the prudent man, such as the philosopher should be, would in everything be superior to all the world, whether in doing any of these things or in not doing, no matter how he performs according to the standards of the craft. But that he will paint better than the painter when not himself a painter; or that he will tend the sick better than the physician, as measured by the standards of the art, when not himself a physician; or that he will sing more musically than the musicians when unacquainted with the art of music or only slightly acquainted; or that he will show himself better versed than the arithmeticians in the theory of numbers, or than the surveyors in surveying, or than the farmers in planting, or than the pilots in piloting; or that he will slaughter an animal more expeditiously than the butchers, or, should it be necessary to cut it up, do so more expeditiously than those who have made this very thing their profession—such things are not to be expected.

And yet a certain king of our times had the ambition to be wise in this sort of wisdom, believing that he had knowledge of very many things—not, however, of such things as do not receive applause among men, but rather those for which it is possible to win a crown—I mean acting as a herald, singing to the cithara, reciting tragedies, wrestling, and taking part in the paneration. Besides, they say that he could

1 Nero.
DIO CHRYSOASTOM

γράφειν καὶ πλάττειν ἱκανόν αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ αὐ-
λέιν τῷ τε στόματι καὶ ταῖς μασχάλαις ἀσκόν
ὕποβάλλοντα, ὁπωσ διαπεφευγὼς ἢ τὸ αἰσχρὸν
τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. οὐκοῦν ὑπῆρχε σοφὸς;

1 Evidently a sort of bagpipe; cf. Guhl and Koner, Life
of the Greeks and Romans, fig. 242.
2 Aphrodite joked Athena because her piping made her
THE SEVENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE

paint and fashion statues and play the pipe, both by means of his lips and by tucking a skin beneath his armpits\(^1\) with a view to avoiding the reproach of Athena\(^2\) Was he not, then, a wise man?\(^7\)

puff out her cheeks and thus spoiled her beauty, whereupon Athena in disgust cast the pipes on the ground. The bagpipe enabled Nero to avoid such facial distortion.
THE SEVENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON PERSONAL APPEARANCE

In this Discourse Dio is defending what he considers to be the typical appearance of philosophers—the himation, or cloak, unaccompanied by the tunic generally worn next to the body, and long hair and beard. We learn that those who presented such an appearance were commonly subjected to insult and mockery and even to physical violence. And yet, as he tells us, philosophers—or pseudo-philosophers—were a more familiar spectacle with his hearers than shoemakers or fullers or jesters or the followers of any other calling. It is argued that the philosopher can find a precedent for his appearance in the statues of both gods and generals and kings, none of which excites amusement or resentment on the part of the beholder. Furthermore, the city in which he is speaking tolerates the sight of many outlandish costumes. This leads to the conjecture that the reason why the philosopher is singled out for insult is that men are inclined to view him with distrust, feeling that he is critical of them, and being actuated, as one might say, by an inferiority complex. Sometimes also the philosopher is subjected to annoyance by those who expect to hear from him words of wisdom. Reference to this type of annoyance leads naturally to the telling of the fable of the owl and the birds, a fable more briefly sketched in Or. 12. 7 but preserved nowhere else. The moral of the fable is that it is risky to trust to appearances, for, though the owl of the fable was truly wise, the owl of Dio’s day resembled her only in “feathers, eyes, and beak,” and actually served as decoy for other fowl.

In what city was this Discourse delivered? Arnim argues
THE SEVENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

with much plausibility that it must have been Rome; for in §§ 3-4 we are told that foreigners in most outlandish dress, who came from remote parts of the empire, were a common spectacle about the streets; furthermore, we are told in § 5 that the local type of cult statue differed from that found in Egypt and Phoenicia but was identical with the Greek type; and, lastly, § 6 shows clearly that the city in question was not Greek. No other city seems to suit these clues so well as Rome. It is suggested that Dio is speaking there on his first visit following his return from exile.
72. ΗΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΟΣ

1 Διὰ τί ποτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μὲν τινα ἰδοὺς
αὐτὸ μόνον χιτῶνα ἔχοντα, οὕτε προσέχουσιν οὕτε
διαγελώσι; λογιζόμενοι τυχὼν ὅτι1 ναύτης ἐστὶν
ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ καταγελᾶν τούτου ἐνεκα.
ὁμοίως οὖν ἐὰν τινὰ ἰδοὺς γεωργὸν στολήν
ἔχοντα ἢ ποιμένος, ἐξωμίδα ἔχοντα ἢ διφθέραν
ἐνημέρων ἢ κοσύμβην ὑποδεδυκότα2 οὐ χαλεπαίνουσιν,
ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ προσποιοῦνται τὴν ἄρχην,
ηγούμενοι προσήκειν τὴν στολήν τῷ τοιοῦτον τι
2 πράττοντι. τοὺς γε μὴν κατήλουσ ἐκάστοτε
ὁρῶτες πρὸ τῶν κατηλειών ἀνεξωσμένους οὐ-
δέποτε τωθάξουσι, καταγελῶσιν δ’ ἂν τοιναντίον
ἐὰν μὴ οὖτως ἐνεσκευασμένοι εἶνεν, ὡς οἰκείοι τοῦ
σχήματος υπάρχοντος τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἢν μεταχειρί-
ζονται. ἐπειδὴ δέ τινα ἰδοὺς ἀχίτωνα ἐν ἰματίῳ
κομώντα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ γένεια, οὐχ οἶοι τέ
εἰσιν πρὸς τούτους τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγέων οὐδὲ σιγῇ
παρέρχεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐφίσταται καὶ ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ
ητοῖ κατεγέλασαν ἡ ἐλοιδορήσαν η3 ἐνίστε ἐλκουσιν

1 ὅτι added by Arnim.
2 ὑποδεδυκότα] ἀποδεδυκότα Μ, ἐπενδεδυκότα Naber.
3 η] καὶ Arnim.

1 A variety of tunic which left the right shoulder bare and therefore was appropriate for most labourers.
2 This word occurs nowhere else except in the lexica. The
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Why on earth is it that, whenever men see somebody wearing a tunic and nothing more, they neither notice him nor make sport of him? Possibly because they reason that the fellow is a sailor and that there is no occasion to mock him on this account. Similarly, if they should spy some one wearing the garb of a farmer or of a shepherd—that is, wearing an exomis or wrapped in a hide or muffled in a kosymba—they are not irritated, nay, they do not even notice it to begin with, feeling that the garb is appropriate to the man who follows such a calling. Take our tavern-keepers too; though people day after day see them in front of their taverns with their tunies belted high, they never jeer at them but, on the contrary, they would make fun of them if they were not so attired, considering that their appearance is peculiarly suited to their occupation. But when they see some one in a cloak but no tunic, with flowing hair and beard, they find it impossible to keep quiet in his presence or to pass by in silence; instead, they step up to him and try to irritate him and either mock at him or speak insultingly, or sometimes they catch hold

context and the meaning attached to a few related words suggest a sort of poncho with a tasselled border.

3 Socrates is reported to have followed this custom.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ὅταν τινα ὀρῶς μὴ πάνυ ἔρρωμενον αὐτὸν μηδὲ ἄλλον μηδένα παρόντα τὸν ἐπιβοηθήσοντα, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι τοὺς καλομεῖνους φιλοσόφους ἐυνήθης ἐστίν ἡ στολὴ αὐτή καὶ τρόπον τινά ἀποδεδειγμένην.

3 Ὁ δὲ ἐτὶ τούτων παραδοξότερος ἔνθα γὰρ ἐνίοτε βλέπουσιν ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν τινας πῖλους ἐπὶ 

ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντας, ὡς νῦν τῶν Θρακῶν τινές 

τῶν Γετῶν λεγομένων, πρότερον δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 

καὶ Μακεδόνες, ἄλλους δὲ τιάραν καὶ ἀναξυρίδας, 

καθάπερ, οἰμαί, Πέρσαι τε καὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ 

Παρθενοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· οὶ 

dε ἐτὶ τούτων ἀτοπώτεροι εἰώθασιν ἐπιδημεῖν 

πτερὰ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὀρθά, ὡσπερ 

Νασάμωνες: οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τούτοις πάνυ τι τολμῶσι 

πράγματα παρέχειν οὐδὲ ἔνοχλεῖν προσιόντες. 

καίτοι Γέτας μὲν ἡ Πέρσας ἡ Νασάμωνας, τοὺς 

μὲν οὐ πολλοὺς βλέπουσι, τοὺς δὲ σπανίως ἐπι-

4 δημοῦντας, τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ὀλγοῦ 

νῦν μεστὰ πάντα, καὶ σχέδον πλείους γεγόνασι 

tῶν σκυτοτόμων καὶ κναφέων καὶ τῶν γελωτο-

ποιῶν ἡ ἄλλη ὁποῖαν βούλει τέχνην ἐργαζομένων· 

ώστε καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἅ-pane ρηθηναι εἰκότως ὅτι πλεί 

πάντα ὁμοίως ἀκάτια καὶ πάσα βούς ἀροτρίᾳ.

1 γελωτοποιῶν] γελυγωπολῶν Naber.

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1 Presumably Rome; cf. Introduction.

2 A tribe in southern Russia which seems to have piqued the curiosity of Dio. He wrote a special treatise on them, but it is no longer extant.

3 A people occupying part of the Libyan coast between the modern towns of Tripoli and Bengazi. Herodotus speaks of them in his account of Egypt (2. 32).

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of him and try to drag him off, provided they see one who is not himself very strong and note that no one else is at hand to help him; and they do this although they know that the garb he wears is customary with the philosophers, as they are called, yes, as one might say, has been prescribed for them.

But what is even more astounding still is this. Here in your city from time to time are to be seen persons, some of whom are wearing felt caps on their heads—as to-day certain of the Thracians who are called Getae do, and as Spartans and Macedonians used to do in days gone by—and others wearing a turban and trousers, as I understand Persians and Bactrians and Parthians and many other barbarians do; and some, still more outlandish than these, are accustomed to visit your city wearing feathers erect on their heads, just as do the Nasamonians; yet the citizens do not have the effrontery to make any trouble at all even for these, or to approach and annoy them. And yet as for Getae or Persians or Nasamonians, while some of them are seen here in no great numbers and others rarely visit here, the whole world to-day is virtually crowded with persons such as I have described, yes, I might almost say that they have grown more numerous than the shoemakers and fullers and jesters or the workers at any other occupation whatever. Therefore in our day too possibly it could be said with good reason that every catboat is under sail and every cow is dragging a plow.

4 The philosophers with their long hair and beard and no tunic.
5 A manifest proverb whose present aim is to ridicule the prevalence of the so-called philosophers of § 2.
5 Οὐ τοῖνυν κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἔυνθήθης αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑπ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἁγάλματα ὅρθων ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς, οἴον Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδώνος καὶ ἅλλων πολλῶν θεῶν ἁγάλματα, ἐν τοιαύτῃ διαθέσει τοῦ σχήματος. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγνυττίοις καὶ Φώνιξι καὶ ἑτέροις τοῖς βαρβάρων ὑπὸ ὁ ἄνωτος τύπως τῶν ἁγαλμάτων, ὡσπερ, οἶμαι, παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ διαφέρουν, ἐνθάδε δὲ ὁ ἄνωτος ἐστιν. καὶ ἄνδρῶν εἰκόνιας ὅροσι πολιτῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων, οὗτως ἀνακείμενα, γένεια καθεικότων. ἀλλὰ 6 τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ τι καὶ τῶν ἖λληνων ὁι πλείους ὁμοίως πρὸς τοῦτο ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐυνηθεὶς ἀποκωλύει τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἔρεσχηλεῖν μηδὲ υβρίζειν ἐπειδὰν τινὰ ἰδωσιν τοιούτων λέγω δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀδόξων, οὕς μὴ δεδοίκασιν ὡς ἰκανοὺς ἀμυνέσθαι ἐπεὶ τούς γε τοιούτους σχεδὸν δυσωποῦνται καὶ θαυμάζονται.

Τυχὸν οὖν τοιούτων ἐστὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον. τοὺς μὲν ναύτας καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ ποιμένας, ἐτὶ δὲ Πέρσας καὶ Νασάμωνας, οὐκ οἴονται καταφρονεῖν αὐτῶν οὖδὲ εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδένα ἐκείνοις 7 λόγον, οἶδεν οὖν οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν. τοὺς μὲντοι φιλοσόφους ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὡς καταφρονοῦντας αὐτῶν καὶ καταγγελώσκοντας πολλὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ δυστυχίαν καὶ ὅτι φανερῶς μὲν οὐ καταγελᾶσιν, ἱδία δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ὡς πάντας

1 ἀνακείμενα Reiske: ἀνακείμενα.
2 αὐτῶν Crosby: αὐτῶν.

1 Greek statues of male deities, when clad at all, wore only a cloak (himation), usually loosely draped; female deities were rarely represented in the nude, their statues

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Moreover, it is not for the above reason alone that this spectacle is familiar to them, nay, they also have before their eyes the statues in the temples—as, for example, statues of Zeus and Poseidon and many other gods—arrayed in this type of costume. For while among Egyptians and Phoenicians and certain other barbarians you do not find the same type of statues as you do, I believe, among the Greeks, but far different, here you find the same. Likenesses of men too, citizens of your city, they have before their eyes both in the market-place and in the temples, likenesses of generals and kings set up in this guise with flowing beards. But why need I tell all this? For I might almost say that most of the Greeks also feel as you do about this matter, and their familiarity with the sight does not keep them from teasing or even insulting whenever they spy a man of that appearance—I mean, whenever they see one of the common sort of no repute, whom they do not fear as being able to retaliate; for of course those who have that ability they virtually look upon with veneration and awe!

Well, possibly what goes on is like this: the sailors and the farmers and shepherds, yes, and the Persians and Nasamonians too, the people believe do not look down on them or have any concern with them, and so they do not give them a thought. The philosophers, however, they view with misgivings, suspecting that they scorn them and attribute to them vast ignorance and misfortune; and they suspect that, though the philosophers do not laugh at them in public, privately among themselves they view them in that light, commonly wearing the tunic, over which in many instances was draped the himation.
Διός χρυσόστομος

άθλιοις οντας τοις ἀπαιδευτοις, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῶν πλουσίων δὴ και μακαρίων δοκούντων, οὐς αὐτοὶ ζηλοῦσι καὶ σμικρὸν διαφέρειν οἴονται τῶν θεῶν ευδαιμονίας ἐνεκεν· καὶ ὅτι ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ διαγελώσων ὃς πολυτελῶς ἐσθίοντάς τε καὶ πίοντας καὶ καθεύδειν μαλακῶς βουλομένους καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἐκάστοτε ἀραίων καὶ παῖδων ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχειν καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ όχλου καὶ περιβλέπεσθαι· ὅν οὐδὲν ἥγουνται μεῖζον οὐδὲ κάλλων.

8 Διὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν υποψίαν δυσχεραίνουσι τοὺς μὴ ταύτα σφίξι θαυμάζοντας μηδὲ τιμῶντας μηδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔχοντας διάνοιαν. οὐκοῦν προκαταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ τωθάξοντες ὡς ἀθλίους καὶ ἀνοήτους, εἰδότες ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τούτους ἀποφανοῦσιν ἄφρονας καὶ μαινομένους, ἀμα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξουσι σωφρονοῦντας καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντας· εἰ δὲ παραχωρήσουσιν, ὡς τούτων ἢ χρὴ γιγαντοκόντων καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιων, ἀμα καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀμολογήσουσι δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ οὐδὲν εἰδότας ἀπλῶς ὃν προσήκει ἀνθρώπους ἔλευθέρους εἰδέναι.

9 Ἐπὶ δὲ ἔαιν μὲν τινα ἰδώσων ὡς ναύτην ἐσταλμένον, ἵσασι τοῦτον πλευσούμενον, κἂν ὡς γεωργὸν ἔτερον, γεωργήσοντα· τὸν γε μὴν ποιμένος ἔχοντα στολήν ἵσασι καὶ τοῦτον ὅτι ἀπεισω ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸ-

1 ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ διαγελώσων Reiske: ἀτιμάζοιεν καὶ διαγελῶν.  
2 ὅς] τοὺς Arnim, ὅρωντες Reiske.

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holding that the unenlightened are all pitiable creatures, beginning, in fact, with those who are reputed to be rich and prosperous, persons whom these mockers themselves envy and believe to be little different from the gods in felicity; furthermore, they suspect that these philosophers disparage and ridicule them as being extravagant in eating and drinking, as wanting a soft bed to sleep on and the company of young women and boys whenever they repose, and plenty of money, and to be admired and looked up to by the mob, things which they believe to be more important and better than anything else.

Because of this suspicion they of course dislike those who do not admire or prize the same things as they do and do not hold the same opinion about the things of chief importance. Therefore they seize for themselves the initiative in reviling and jeering at the philosophers as being luckless and foolish, knowing that if they succeed in showing that the philosophers are senseless and daft they will at the same time also prove themselves to be prudent and sensible; whereas if they give way to them, recognizing that the philosophers know what they should and are highly estimable, at the same time they will be admitting that they themselves are luckless and thick-witted and know absolutely none of the things free men should.

Again, if they see a man rigged out as a sailor, they know that he is about to put to sea, and if they see some one else rigged out as a farmer, they know that he is about to engage in farming, and of course they know also that he who is clad in shepherd's garb is on his way to his sheep and will spend his
βατα καὶ περὶ ἐκείνα διατράβει, ὡστε ὅπ' οὐδενὸς λυπουμένου τούτων ἡσών αὐτοῦς· ὅταν δὲ τινὰ ὄνωσι τὸ σχῆμα ἔχοντα τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, λογίζονται ὅτι οὕτως οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλεῖν οὔτε πρὸς γεωργίαιν οὔτε προβάτων ἐνεκεν οὕτως ἐσταλται, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους παρεσκευάσται, ὡς νουθετήσων τε καὶ ἐξελέγξων καὶ οὐδὲν τι θαυμπεύσων οὐδένα αὐτῶν οὐδὲ φεισόμενος οὐδενός, τοῦνατιόν δὲ κολάσων ὡς ἂν δύνηται αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπιδείξων οἰοὶ εἰςιν. οὐκον δύνανται ἢδεως ὅραν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' προσκρούοι καὶ διαμάχονται, ὡστερ οὐδ' οἱ παιδες ἢδεως ὅραν δύνανται οὐς ἂν ὄνωσι παιδαγωγῶν σχῆμα ἔχοντας καὶ παρεσκευασμένους οὕτως ὡς ἐπιπλήξοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντας ἀμαρτάνειν οὐδέ ῥαθυμεῖν. εἰ γάρ τοι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐξήν τῶν τοιούτων καταγελαν καὶ ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲν ἂν πρότερον τούτου ἐποίουν.

Οὐ μέντοι ἄπαντες ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς διανοίας προσέρχονται καὶ ἐνοχλοῦσι, ἀλλ' ἐστι γένος ἀνθρώπων πολυπραγμονοῦν τοιαύτην πολυπραγμ- σύνην καὶ τρόπον τινὰ οὐ πονηρόν· οὕτωι προσίασιν οὕς ἂν ἠγώνται φιλοσόφους ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς, ὡς ἀκουσμόμενοι τι παρ' αὐτῶν σοφὸν ὁ οὐκ ἂν παρ' ἐτέρου ἀκουσμείν, πυνθανόμενοι καὶ περὶ Σωκράτους ὅτι σοφὸς τε ἦν καὶ διελέγετο τοῖς προσιόσι λόγους φρονίμους, καὶ περὶ Διο- γένους, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς ἄπαντα εὐπόρει λόγου καὶ ἀποκρίσεως. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτου καὶ διαμη-

1 διατράβει Reiske: διατρήσθω.
2 After πλεῖν Armim deletes ἐστὶ.
3 After προσίασιν Herwerden adds πρὸς.
time attending to them, and so, since they are not irritated by any of these, they let them alone; but when they see a man in the garb of the philosopher, they reason in his case that it is not for sailing or for farming or for tending sheep that he is thus arrayed, but rather that he has got himself ready to deal with human beings, aiming to admonish them and put them to the test and not to flatter or to spare any one of them, but, on the contrary, aiming to reprove them to the best of his ability by his words and to show what sort of persons they are. They cannot, therefore, look upon the philosophers with any pleasure, but instead they clash with them and fight with them, just as boys too cannot look with pleasure upon any whom they see in the guise of tutors and prepared as if they meant to rebuke them and not to allow them to go astray or be careless. In truth, if the boys were at liberty to mock at and insult such persons, there is nothing they would rather do than that.

However, not all have this motive in coming up and making themselves a nuisance: on the contrary, there are persons who indulge in this kind of curiosity and, in a way, are not bad persons either. These approach any whom, because of their dress, they take to be philosophers, expecting to hear from them some bit of wisdom which they could not hear from any one else, because they have heard regarding Socrates that he was not only wise but also accustomed to speak words of wisdom to those who approached him, and also regarding Diogenes, that he too was well provided with statement and answer on each and every topic. And the masses still

4 διελέγετο Αρνίμ: διαλέγοιτο.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μονεύουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, τὰ μὲν τινὰ ὦσις εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων συνθέντων.

12 Τών γε μὴν ἔπτα σοφῶν τὰς γνώμας ἀκούουσι καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνατεθήναι πρότερον, οἶδον ἀπαρχάς τινας τῆς σοφίας τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ ἀμα τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνεκεν ὕφελείας, ὡς τῷ ἄντι δὴ θεία ταῦτα καὶ σχεδὸν τι τῶν χρησμῶν θείότερα οὖσ᾽ η Πυθία ἔχρα καθίζουσα ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, ἐμπυπλαμένη τοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησθὲν ἐκαστὸς ἀκούσας ἀπεισὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνατίθεται ταῦτα, ὡστε δὴ καὶ πᾶσιν ἄνθρωποις εἰναι γνώριμα. τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων δόγματα κοινὰ ἀπεδείχθη τοῖς ἀφικνομένοις παρὰ τὸν θεὸν, ὡς ὁμοίως ἐξουμφέρον πᾶσιν εἰδέναι καὶ πείθεσθαι.

13 Εἰςὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον οἴονται τοιοῦτον τινα γενέσθαι, σοφὸν μὲν καὶ φρόνιμον, αἰμίλον δὲ ἄλλως καὶ εὐνθεῖναι λόγους ἱκανὸν οἰων αὐτοὶ ἥδιστ᾽ ἄν ἀκούοιεν. καὶ τυχὸν οὐ 1 παντάπασι ψευδὴ οἴονται καὶ 2 τῷ ὄντι Αἴσωπος τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπειράτο νοεθετεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐπιδεικνύα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄττα ἀμαρτάνουσι, ὡς ἄν μάλιστα ἥνειχοντο αὐτοῦ, ἰδόμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ τοῖς μῦθοις: ὥσπερ τὰ παιδία ταῖς τίτθαις μυθολογομέναις προσέχοσι τε καὶ ἴδονται. ἀπὸ δὴ τῆς τοιαύτης δόξης, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκουσό-

1 οὐ added by Selden.  2 καὶ Armin: ei ὠ ἢ or ή.
THE SEVENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

remember the sayings of Diogenes, some of which he may have spoken himself, though some too were composed by others.

Indeed, as for the maxims of the Seven Sages, they hear that these were even inscribed as dedications at Delphi in days gone by, firstfruits, as it were, of the wisdom of those men and at the same time intended for the edification of mankind, the idea being that these maxims were truly divine, and if I may say so, even more divine than the responses which the Pythian priestess was wont to give as she sat upon her tripod and filled herself with the breath of the god. For the response which is made to each for himself he listens to and then goes his way, and such responses are not dedicated and thereby made known to all mankind too; but the maxims of the Seven Sages have been appointed for the common use of all who visit the god, as being profitable for all alike to know and to obey.¹

And there are those who think that Aesop too was somewhat like the Seven Sages, that while he was wise and sensible, yet he was crafty too and clever at composing tales such as they themselves would most enjoy to hear.² And possibly they are not wholly mistaken in their suppositions and in reality Aesop did in this way try to admonish mankind and show them wherein they were in error, believing that they would be most tolerant toward him if they were amused by his humour and his tales—just as children, when their nurses tell them stories, not only pay attention to them but are amused as well. As the result, then, of this belief,

time. The earliest known example of this type of fable is Hesiod's Hawk and Nightingale, Works and Days 202-212.
DIO CHRYSO STOM

μενοί τι τουοτον οίον Λίσωπος ἔλεγεν ἡ ὀπόιον Σωκράτης ἡ ὀποία Διογένης, προσίασε καὶ ἐν-
οχλοῦσι καὶ οὐ δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι ὃν ἂν ὅδωσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι, οὐ μάλλον ἡ τὰ ὅρνεα ἐπειδὰν ὅδωσι γλαύκα.

14 Ἐφ' ὃ καὶ ἐννετίθει λόγον Λίσωπος τουοτον, ὡς τὰ ὅρνεα ἐννηλθεῖ πρὸς τὴν γλαύκα καὶ ἐδείτο τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων σκέτης ᾧ ἀπαν-
ίστασθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δείδρα τὴν καλιάν, ὠσπέρ καὶ αὐτά, καὶ τοὺς τούτων μεταπήγνυσθαι κλώνας, ἄφ' ὃν καὶ ἦδειν ἔστιν εὐσμητορον καὶ ὅθ' καὶ πρὸς ὅρεν ἄρτι τὸτ' ἦδη φυμοένη, ἐπειδὰν πρὸς ὅρεν ἀφίκηται, ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ζάνειν. καὶ τῆς χλοερᾶς κόμης ἀπόνασθαι. ἀλλ' οὖν τὴν γε γλαύκα μὴ τούτο τοῖς ὅρνεοις ποιεῖν παρανεῖν μηδὲ φυτοῦ βλάστη ἐφήδεσθαι ἠξὸν πεφυκότος

15 φέρειν, πτηνοῖς ὀλέθρον. τὰ δὲ μήτε τῆς ἐμ-
βουλῆς ἀπεδέχετο τῆς γλαύκα, τούναντιον δὲ ἐχαίρῃ τῇ ὅρεν φυμοένη, ἐπειδή δὲ ἴκανή ἦν, καθ' ἱσταντα ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ἦδεν. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἠξον ῥαδίως ἦδη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλοκόμενα μετενόον καὶ τὴν γλαύκα ἐθαμμαζοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμμβουλῇ. καὶ νῦν ἔτι οὖτος ἔχουσιν, ὡς δεινῆς καὶ σοφῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔθελουσι πλησίασει, ἡγούμενα ἁγαθῶν τι ἀπολαύειν τῆς ἐννοούσας· ἐπεῖτα, οἴμαι, προσίασμα μάτην ἔπι κακῷ. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαία γλαύξ τῷ ὅντι φρονίμη

1 σκέτης Reiske : ὀπῆς.
2 ἄρτι τὸτ' ἦδη Post, ταυτηνὶ ἄρτη Reiske : ἄρτε ταυτηνὶ.

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that they are going to hear from us too some such saying as Aesop used to utter, or Socrates, or Diogenes, they draw near and annoy and cannot leave in peace whomever they may see in this costume, any more than the birds can when they see an owl.

Indeed, this is why Aesop composed a fable which I will relate. The birds came together to call upon the owl, and they begged her to withdraw from the shelter afforded by the human habitations and to transfer her nest to the trees, just like themselves, and to their branches, "whence," they declared, "it is actually possible to sing a clearer note." And in fact, as the fable has it, they stood ready to settle upon an oak, which was then just starting to grow, as soon as it should reach its prime, and to enjoy its green foliage. However, the story continues, the owl advised the birds not to do this and not to exult in the shoot of a plant whose nature it is to bear mistletoe, a bane to feathered folk. But the birds not only did not applaud the owl for her advice, but, quite the reverse, they took delight in the oak as it grew, and when it was of proper size they alighted on it and sang. But because the mistletoe had grown on it, they now were easily captured by the men and repented of their conduct and admired the owl for her advice. And even to this day they feel this way about her, believing her to be shrewd and wise, and on this account they wish to get near her, believing that they are deriving some benefit from association with her; but if they do, they will approach her. I fancy, all in vain and to their cost. For though that

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DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

τε ἡν καὶ ξυμβουλεῦειν ἐδύνατο, αἱ δὲ νῦν μόνον τὰ πτερὰ ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνης καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς καὶ τὸ ράμφος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀφρονεστεραι εἰσὶν τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνέων. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐαυτὰς δύνανται οὐδὲν ὧφελεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ τοῖς ὀρνιθοθήραις ἐτρέφοντο δεδεμέναι καὶ δουλεύονται.¹

Καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκαστος τὴν μὲν στολήν ἔχει τὴν Σωκράτους καὶ Διογένους, τὸ δὲ φρονεῖν πολλοῦ δέομεν ὁμοιοὶ εἰναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκεῖνοι ἡ τῆν ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἡ λόγους τοιοῦτος διαλέγεσθαι. τοιγάρτοι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ βλεπόμενοι ὦσπερ αἱ γλαύκες ὀχλοῦν πολὺν ἐννάγομεν τῷ ὁπτὶ ὀρνέων, αὐτοὶ τε ὄντες ἡλίθιοι καὶ ὃ ἐτέρων τοιούτων ἐνοχλοῦμενοι.

¹ δουλεύονται] παλεύουσαι Herwerden.
THE SEVENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE

owl of olden days was really wise and able to give advice, those of to-day merely have her feathers, eyes, and beak, but in all else they are more foolish than the other birds. Therefore they cannot benefit even themselves; for otherwise they would not be kept at the bird-catcher’s, caged and in servitude.¹

Just so, though each of us has the garb of Socrates and Diogenes, in intellect we are far from being like those famous men, or from living as they did, or from uttering such noble thoughts. Therefore, for no other reason than because of our personal appearance, we, like the owls, collect a great company of those who in truth are birds, being fools ourselves besides being annoyed by others of like folly.

¹ Dio employs this fable of Aesop’s also in Or. 12. 6-8.
THE SEVENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
ON TRUST

Although this Discourse begins with no formal address, it presents the appearance of a letter, for in the final paragraph the author applies his remarks to some one individual, whose name, unfortunately, is not given. Certainly, if we were to assume that we had before us an oral communication, we should expect to find now and then some appeal to the listener and an occasional response, however brief and perfunctory.

Dio appears to be writing to some acquaintance, possibly a former pupil, who seems to be considering acceptance of some responsibility, the nature of which it is idle to conjecture. All but the final paragraph is devoted to an exposition of the discomforts and even dangers attendant upon such a decision. As horrible examples of the ingratitude of both state and private citizen Dio passes in review some of the most notable personages of myth and history, besides calling attention to the many nameless persons who were repaid for their services as guardians or trustees by reproach or even by prosecution in the courts. We infer that he would have his anonymous acquaintance remain true to philosophy.
73. ΠΕΡΙ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ

1 Ἄρα γε τὸ πιστεύεσθαι τοῖς πιστευομένοις ἀγαθόν ἐστι καὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον τὸ πλούτειν καὶ τὸ ύψιν καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τοῖς τιμωμένοις καὶ ύψινουσί καὶ πλουτοῦσιν, αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τινὰ φέρον ωφέλειαν; λέγω δὲ οἶον εἰ τις δημοσίᾳ τύχοι πιστευόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἢ ἔτέρας στρατιὰν ἢ χρήματα ἢ τείχη, καθάπερ ἢδη πολλοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπετράπησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν εἰρήνης τε ὑστη καὶ πολέμου καταλαβόντος ἐνίοτε· καὶ νὴ Δία εἰ τις ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως ἢ τυράννου πιστεύοντο χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ νάος ἢ ὄπλα ἢ ἀκρόπολιν ἢ ξύμπασαν τὴν ἄρχην, ὦσπερ Λεπτίνης μὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πολλάκις Συρακοῦσας παρέλαβε, Φιλίστου δὲ παρὰ τοῦ νεωτέρου Διονυσίου, μάγοι δὲ παρὰ Καμβύσου τὰ Περσῶν βασίλεια, οὗτε εἰς Λιγυπτίου ἐστρατεύετο, παρὰ δὲ

1 αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ.
2 στρατιὰν Emperius: στρατεύαν.
3 ὑπ’ Emperius: ἀν’.

1 Dionysius the Elder, who banished Leptines for marrying without his consent, but later recalled him.
2 Philistus was both soldier-politician and historian.
THE SEVENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE:
ON TRUST

Do you really mean to say that being trusted is a good thing for those who are trusted and comparable to being wealthy or healthy or honoured for those who are honoured or healthy or wealthy, because it brings to those persons themselves some benefit? I mean, for instance, if a person should chance to be trusted in an official capacity, by his own state or by another, with an army or money or fortifications, just as in the past many have had such things entrusted to them, and in some instances even the cities themselves, women and children and all, not only in times of peace, but also sometimes when in the grip of war. And, by Heaven, if a person were to be trusted by a king or a tyrant with gold or silver or ships or arms or a citadel or the supreme command—for example, Leptines often received command of Syracuse from his brother,¹ and Philistus received it from the younger Dionysius,² and the Magi received from Cambyses charge of his palace in Persia at the time when he was campaigning against Egypt.³

Exiled by Dionysius the Elder along with Leptines, he was recalled sixteen years later on the accession of Dionysius II, but finally fell by his own hand when defeated in the attempt to save his master's power.

¹ One of the most famous tales in Herodotus (3. 61-80). The Magi paid with their lives for their conspiracy.
Δαρείου Μιθράνης τὴν Σάρδεων ἀκρόπολιν, Περσαίος δὲ παρὰ 'Ἀντιγόνου τὸν 'Ἀκροκόρινθον, πολὺ δὲ τούτων πρότερον 'Ἀτρεὺς παρ' Εὐρυσθέως τὸ Ἀργος ὅτε Εὐρυσθέως ἐπὶ 'Ἀθῆνας ἐστρατεύετο οὐκ ἐκδιδόντων 'Ἀθηναίων τοὺς 'Ἡρακλέους παῖδας· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, ἧμικα ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἔπλει, μοῦσικῷ ἄνδρι ἐπίστευσε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν—τούτους ἀπαντας φῶμεν τοὺς πιστευομένους ἀγαθὸν τι ἀπολαύειν καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς πίστεως;

Καὶ αὖ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πιστευομένους ἡ γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν, καθάπερ, οἴμαι, πολλοὶ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ κηδεμόνας καταλείπουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδημοῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἀποθήκηκοντες, οἱ δὲ παρακαταθήκας διδόσιν ἀνευ μαρτύρων, οὐ δειδότες μὴ ἀφαίρεθώσιν, ἐνιοῦ δὲ τῶν νόμων ἀπαγορεύοντος μὴ καταλειπέιν κληρονόμους οὐσ αὐτοῦ βουλοῦνταν, ἐτέρους καταλείπουσιν, ἐντειλάμενοι τὰ ἀρχήματα ἀποδοῦναί τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπι-

4 τηθεῖοι—τούτοις δὴ πᾶσι λυσιτελεῖν φῶμεν τὸ πράγμα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἦν ἑχοντες περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιτρέποντες,

1 αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν.

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1 Satrap under Darius III, Mithranes surrendered Sardis to Alexander the Great, who later put him in charge of Armenia; cf. Diodorus 17. 21. 7 and 17. 64. 6.
2 A distinguished pupil of Zeno, the Stoic philosopher. Antigonus Gonatas put him in charge of Acrocorinth. 196
and Mithrænes received from Darius the citadel of Sardis, and Persæus received Acrocorinth from Antigonus, and, much earlier than these, Atreus received Argos from Eurystheus, when Eurystheus was campaigning against Athens for refusing to surrender the children of Heracles, and, furthermore, the son of Atreus, Agamemnon, when setting sail for Troy, entrusted to a musician his wife and his house—shall we say that all those who were trusted themselves derived some good from the trust?

Again, how about those who are entrusted by men in private station with either wives or children or estate? For instance, many, I fancy, leave behind them guardians and protectors, some when going on a journey and others when dying; and some place deposits in trust without the presence of witnesses, having no fear of being defrauded; and some, because the laws forbid their naming as heirs those whom they themselves prefer, name others, instructing them to turn over the property to the friends of the deceased—are we to say that all such derive an advantage from the transaction and from the high opinion about them which leads those who do so to entrust them with their possessions, but

When Aratus snatched it from him he managed to escape with his life.

3 When Heracles died, his children, fearing Eurystheus, fled to Athens.

4 Homer relates (Odyssey 3, 267-272) that, in order to effect his seduction of Clytaemnestra, Aegisthus removed the nameless bard to a desert island and left him there to become a prey to the birds.

5 According to Attic law, if a man had sons born in lawful wedlock, he must leave his estate to them; if he had a daughter but no sons, her husband, preferably a relative, was given charge of the inheritance.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τελευταίοις τοῖς παρανόμως πιστεύεσθαι δοκοῦσιν. ἡ τοιούτων χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ πολλῆς ἁσχολίας καὶ φροντίδων αὕτων, ἐνώτε γε μὴν καὶ κινδύνων τῶν μεγίστων;

"Εξεστὶ δὲ σκοπεῖν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν δοκοῦντων εἶναι μεγίστων; οὕτω γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἱδίων ἢ ἀνάγκης ἀμελεῖν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τέκνων, προσέχουσι δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων εἰσὶ· καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ταῖς πόλεωι ἢ πολεμίων ἢ πολιτῶν τινῶν ἀπολλυται, πολλάκις δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀδίκως διαβληθέντες. οἶ μὲν γὰρ οὐσίας ἀφηρέθησαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὅνειδη συνεβη κτήσασθαι καταδικασθέντας κλοπῆς· οὶ δὲ ἐξεπεσον ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον.

5 "Ωσπερ οὖν λέγουσι Περικλέα μὲν ἀλώνια κλοπῆς παρὰ Ἀθηναίους τὸν κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα προστάντα τῆς πόλεως, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἐκπεσεῖν ὡς προδιόντα, ὅς παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς οὐ δυναμένους τὸ ἐδαφος τῆς πατρίδος οἶκεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραχωροῦντας τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, οὐ μόνον ταῦτα πάντα ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἥγεμονας ἐποίησεν,

1 δὲ Pflugk: δη.
2 γε added by Reiske.

1 In reporting what presumably was the gossip of the comic poets, Plutarch, Pericles 32. 2-3, relates that, wishing to discredit Pericles with the people, Dracontides sponsored a bill providing that Pericles should deposit his accounts of public moneys with the prytanes and defend them in court, and that, because he had previously come into collision with
THE SEVENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

particularly in the ease of those last mentioned, who seem to be trusted in violation of the laws? Or, on the contrary, shall we say that such a responsibility is vexatious and the source of much trouble and many worries, sometimes indeed even of the greatest perils?

But we may examine the question by beginning immediately with those who are thought to be of highest rank; for these of necessity neglect their private interests, both property and children, and devote their attention to the public interests and are absorbed in them; and often at the hands of those who plot against their cities, whether foreign foes or some of their fellow citizens, they meet with disaster, and often, too, at the hands of the cities themselves, because of unjust accusation. For some have been deprived of property, and some even have suffered disgrace of various kinds, having been convicted on a charge of embezzlement, others have been banished from their native land, and others have even been put to death.

For example, they say that Pericles was convicted of embezzlement in an Athenian court,¹ the noblest and best champion the city ever had; and that Themistocles was banished on a charge of treason, the one who, after having taken charge of the Athenians at a time when they were no longer able to occupy the soil of their native land but were yielding to the foe their city itself and their shrines, not only restored all these things, but even made the Athenians leaders of the Greeks, wrestling the leader-

the people in the case of Pheidias, Pericles feared to appear before a jury and avoided trial by hastening the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

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ἀφελόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξ ἀρχής ἔχοντας τὴν 
τιμὴν ταύτην.

6 Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ πρῶτος νικήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους 
μετὰ μόνων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὸ Περσῶν φρόνημα 
καθελών, ὁ πρῶτος εἶχον ὡς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων 
kρείττους ὄντες, οὕτως μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εἰς 
τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ προσέτι 
ὁ νῦσ αὐτοῦ Κύμων ἄτιμος ἦν ἃν τὸν ἀπαντα 
χρόνον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀδελφὴν 'Ελπινίκην ἐξεδωκεν 
ἀνδρὶ ταπεινῷ1 χρήματα δ᾽ ἔχοντι, δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ 
τὴν ξημίαν κατέβαλε τὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα. 
καίτοι Κύμων ὑπερον 'Αθηναίοις Κύπρον ἑκτήσατο 
καὶ πεξῆ ἀμα καὶ ναυσὶν ἐνίκησε τοὺς βαρβάρους 
περὶ Παμφυλίαν ἀλλ᾽ ὀμοὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ 
ὀντα καὶ τοιούτου πατρός, εἰ μὴ χρημάτων εὐ-
πόρησεν, ἄτιμον ἃν3 εἴων ἐν τῇ πόλει.

7 Φωκίων δὲ ὑπερον τοῦν ὑπὲρ ὄγδοκοντα ἔτη 
βιώσαντα, τούτων δὲ τὰ πλεῖον στρατηγήσαντα 
καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάξαντα ἐν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις 
καιροῖς καὶ χρηστὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων ὁνομα-
σθέντα, τούτων οὐκ ἠρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ἀποκτείνα 
μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ νεκρὸν εἶσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ,

1 καὶ after ταπεινῷ deleted by Emperius.
2 δ᾽ added by Capps.
3 ἃν added by Dindorf.

1 Aristophanes (Knights 813-819) pays high tribute to 
Themistocles.
2 At Marathon. One thousand Plataeans are said to 
have aided Athens.
3 He incurred the displeasure of Athens for his failure to 
take Paros. Herodotus (6. 136) speaks only of his being 
fined, but Diodorus and others add that he was imprisoned.
4 Callias, a familiar figure in Greek literature, famed alike 
for his great wealth and for his profligacy.

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ship from the Spartans, who had held this honour from the beginning.¹

Again, Miltiades, who had been the first to vanquish the barbarians, with only his fellow citizens to aid him, and to humble the pride of the Persians,² a pride which they formerly held, believing themselves to be superior to all other men—this man, I say, not much later was cast into prison by the Athenians³; and, besides, his son Cimon would have been deprived of civic rights for the rest of his life if he had not given his sister Elpinicè in marriage to a man of humble origin but great wealth, who in his behalf paid the fine of fifty talents.⁴ And yet later on Cimon gained Cyprus for the Athenians, and in a joint attack by land and sea vanquished the barbarians in the neighbourhood of Pamphylia. Still, though so remarkable himself and the son of so remarkable a father, if he had not secured considerable money the Athenians would have suffered him to be without civic rights in his city.⁵

And take the case of Phocion of a later period, who lived to be more than eighty years of age, and who for most of those years had served as general, had preserved the state in its moments of direst need, and had been dubbed excellent ⁶ by those very Athenians—this man they were not content merely to put to death, nay, they would not even permit his corpse to rest in Attic soil, but cast it forth beyond

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¹ Since Miltiades had died a debtor to the state, the son was deprived of civic rights until his father’s debt was paid.

² The word ἀφέντος is frequent in honorific inscriptions. In the case of Phocion it would seem to have been his sobriquet; cf. Plutarch, Phocion 10. 2. Phocion was born c. 402 B.C. and was executed in 318 on a charge of treason. He had been made general forty-five times.
ἀλλ' ύπερ τοὺς ὄρους ἐξέβαλον. Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικηφάτος διὰ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπιστάμενος τὴν ἐν Σικελία στρατεύαν οἶα ἔσοιτο καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῷ λογίζεσθαι, ὡς ἡγακάσθη στρατεύσασθαι νοσῶν διὰ τὴν πίστιν ταύτην. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀποβαλὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἡ μέρος αὐτῆς αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐσώθη, δῆλον ὅτι οἶκοι ἀφικόμενοι ἀπολώλει ἅν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτῳ εἰδὼς προσελπάρει πάντα τρόπον, ληφθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο ἔπαθεν.

8 Καὶ ταύτα ἔμοι περὶ μαῖς πόλεως εὑρηταί καὶ τῶν ἐν μαῖ πόλει πολιτευομένων, οὐδὲ τούτων ἀπάντων. τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τoῖς τυράννοις δοκοῦντας πιστοὺς εἰ ἐπεξεύμοι ὅων δὴ τετυχῆκασι, πολλῶν ἃν ἵσως μοι δεήσαι πάνυ ἢμερῶν. σχεδὸν γὰρ τὸ γεγηθέναι ἐκεῖνοι ἀδύνατον ἐστίν. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἂν παράσχωσι καθ' αὐτῶν αἰτίαν, ὡς ἀδικησάντες, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπόλλυται καὶ οὐκ ἐστίν οὐδεμᾶς συγγνώμης τυχεῖν' οὐ δ' ἂν ἄνδρες ἄγαθοι φανὼσι καὶ διαφυλάττειν δυνάμενοι τὰ πιστευθέντα, παραχρῆμα μὲν τιμῆς τινος ἑτυχον, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀπόλλυται φθονούμενοι καὶ ὑποπτευόμενοι.

9 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ λυσιτελεῖν τoῖς μονάρχοις οὐδέν' ἄνδρα ἄγαθον εἴναι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδ' εὐδοκιμοῦντα φαίνεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει. αἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πίστεις κυνόνους μὲν ἢπτοὺς ἵσως ἔχουσιν,

1 διὰ τὸ . . . πολιτῶν deleted by Emperius.
2 γεγηθέναι] γε σωθήναι Wilamowitz.

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1 The tragic story is vividly told by Thucydides. The whole of book VII is a tribute to the loyalty and dogged determination of Nicias in the face of disease and crushing misfortune.

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their borders. Or take Nicias son of Nieeratus—because he was trusted by his fellow citizens, though he knew full well what the campaign in Sicily would be like, both from the warnings of the god and from his own reasoning, still he was compelled to make the expedition, ill as he was, because of this trust of theirs. Moreover, if after losing his army or a portion of it he himself had come back in safety, clearly on reaching home he would have been put to death. But since, knowing this, he persevered in every way, he was taken captive and suffered that fate at the hands of the enemy.¹

Now these observations of mine have been made about a single city and about the statesmen in a single city, nor have all of these been named. But as to those who at the courts of the tyrants enjoyed a reputation for trustworthiness, were I to recount fully what sort of fate has been theirs I should perhaps need very many days. For one might almost say that it is impossible for such men to go scot free. For any who lay themselves open to a charge of misconduct are put to death on that account, and there is no chance of obtaining any pardon; while those who show themselves to be good men and competent to safeguard what has been entrusted to them, though at the moment they obtain a certain honour, not much later they meet with disaster, being victims of envy and suspicion. It does not, you see, seem to be advantageous to absolute monarchs that any man in their service should be good, or that any man should patently stand high in the esteem of the masses. On the other hand, trusts bestowed by men in private life, though possibly they involve less risk, because the business
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ὅτι καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐλάττω ἐστίν, ἄσχολιαν δὲ μυρίαν καὶ πόνους, καὶ πολλάκις οὐδὲ χάρις οὐδ' ἥτισον συνέπεται. πολλάκις δὲ συμβαίνει παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν εὖ παθόντων αἰτίαιν ἔχειν, ώς οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ καθαρῶς ἀπαντα ἀποδόντας.¹

10 Τὶ δὴ βουλόμενος ταῦτα ἐγὼ διήλθον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ νοοῦσθων σε τοιαύτην νουθεσίαν οὐδὲ ἀποτρέπων τοῦ πιστοῦ εἶναι. πολὺ γὰρ ἂν εἰρη τοῦ Ζῆθου φαυλότερος τοιαύτα ἐπιτιμῶν, ὥς ἐκεῖνος ἐννοοθέτει τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἀξιῶν φιλοσοφεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ περὶ μουσικῆν διατρίβειν, ἕσσαντα τὴν τῶν ἱδίων ἐπιμελείαν· ἐφη δὲ αὐτὸν ἀτοπὸν τινα καὶ ἀσύμφορον μοῦσαν εἰςάγειν. ὡσπερ ἂν τυχὸν εἴποι τις καὶ σὲ τοιαύτην προηγῆσθαι πρᾶξιν, οὐκ ἄργον οὐδὲ φίλουν οὐδαμῶς, χρημάτων μέντοι τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀτημελῆ ἱσως· καὶ νη Δία λέγοι ἂν καὶ τόδε τὸ ἔπος·

ἐξ ὄν κενοῖσιν ἐγκατοικηθεὶς δόμοις.

¹ ἀποδόντας Εμπερίος: ἀποδόντων.

1 Zethus and Amphion, sons of Antiopē and Zeus, were exposed in infancy and reared by shepherds. Zethus busied himself with hunting and sheep-tending, while Amphion became a very famous musician, by the magic of whose strains the very stones which were to form the walls of Thebes moved into place. The controversy between the two brothers occupies several fragments of the Antiopē of
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in hand is less important, still entail untold trouble and labours, and often not even gratitude, however slight, is their reward. On the contrary, it often happens that the very men who have received benefits at their hands charge them with not having paid all that is due with justice and clean hands.

Now with what purpose have I rehearsed these matters? Surely not because I was making you the object of such admonition, or because I aimed to dissuade you from being true to a trust. For I should be far worse than Zethus was if I subjected you to such criticism, for he admonished his brother because he did not deem it fitting for him to devote himself to the pursuit of wisdom or to waste time on music to the neglect of his own affairs; and he said that his brother was introducing an absurd and unprofitable Muse. Just as if perchance some one were to say that you too had chosen that sort of occupation, not one of idleness or of drunkenness by any means, and yet one involving neglect of your own estate quite possibly; and, by Zeus, he might even recite this line:

Wherefore an empty house shall be thy home.¹

THE SEVENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON DISTRUST

This Discourse, as its title suggests, approaches the question of human relationships from a different angle from that observed in Or. 73. There the speaker was stressing the annoyances and misfortunes resulting from being trusted; here he produces a wealth of examples to show that it is dangerous to trust any one. That note of cynicism is maintained with remarkable consistency to the very end, and there is a ring of conviction about it all which suggests strongly that Dio is speaking out of the bitterness of his own heart. Arnim places the Discourse among those delivered during the period of Dio’s exile. Because the element of dialogue is found only at the very opening of the document, he infers that Dio was addressing a group of listeners, one of whom bore to the speaker a closer relationship and therefore was helpful in launching the discussion. The abruptness with which the Discourse opens and closes is held to indicate, as in some other instances, that our text has been separated from its original setting, or possibly that the reporter chose only this much for preservation.
74. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ

1 Δ. Ἐπιστασαί τινας ἢδη βλαβέντας ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν; 
Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;
Δ. Τί δὲ; ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων φίλων καὶ 
συνήθων ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ συγγενῶν τινών, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ 
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγίστα, ἀδελφῶν ἢ νἱῶν ἢ πατέρων;
"Εγγυε πολλοὺς.
Δ. Τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι’ ἢν οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐχθροὶ 
τῶν ἐχθροῦς ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι 
φίλοι ἀλλήλους καὶ η Ἔδαι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν οὗτως 
ἀναγκαίων;
Δήλον ὡς ἡ κακία τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὧφ’ ἢς 
ἐκαστὸς, οἴμαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ βλαβερός.
Δ. Πάντας ἁρα δεὶ ἕπ’ ἵσης φυλάττεσθαι καὶ 
μὴ πιστεύειν μηδὲν μᾶλλον, κἂν φίλος ἢ συνήθης 
ἡ πρὸς αἴματος εἶναι δοκῇ;
Πάντας, ὡς ὁ λόγος οὗτος φησιν.
Δ. Οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς ἔγραψεν ὁ τούτο γράφας τὸ 
ἐπός:

νὰφε καὶ μέμνασ’ ἀπιστεῦν· ἀρθρα ταῦτα τὰν 
φρένων;

2 Ἡσος ὀρθῶς.

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1 After δεὶ Pflugk deletes τοὺς φίλους.
2 κἂν Casaubon: ἦ ἄρν. 3 μέμνασ’ Emperius: μέμνησο.

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1 Kaibel, C.G.F., Epicharmus, frag. 250.
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_Dio._ Are you aware that in the past there have been persons who have been harmed by enemies?

_Interlocutor._ Why, of course.

_Dio._ Well then, have they been harmed by so-called friends and close acquaintances, or even by certain kinsmen, some even by the very closest, brothers or sons or fathers?

_Int._ Yes indeed, many have been.

_Dio._ What is the reason, then, that not only do enemies injure their enemies but also the so-called friends injure one another, and, by Heaven, that many even of those who are so closely related act so?

_Int._ Clearly the reason is found in the depravity of mankind, because of which each, I imagine, is also himself harmful to himself.

_Dio._ Toward all men, then, one should be equally on his guard, and not be one whit more trustful even if a person is held to be a friend or a close acquaintance or a blood-relative?

_Int._ Toward all, as this statement of yours declares.

_Dio._ Then was the author of this verse right when he wrote,

Keep sober and remember to distrust;
These are the joints essential to the mind. ¹

_Int._ Probably he was.
Δ. Καὶ μὴν δῆλος ὁ ποιητὴς οὔ πρὸς τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ταῦτα ὑποτιθέμενος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς νομίζομενους φίλους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὡς ἂν τὸς μισοῦμενος ἐπίσταται, τούτοις ἂν ἐξουσίαν δοῦῃ καθ’ αὐτοῦ. πῶς ἂν ὦν διακελεύοντο ἀπιστεῖν, ὦς μὴν πιστεύει;

Φέρε τοίνυν κάκεινο ὕδωμεν. ὑπὸ τῶν πλείους ἀπολύμασι, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμολογομένων ἔχθρῶν ἡ τούνακτίων ὑπὸ τῶν προσποιομένων εἶναι φίλων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὀρῶ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἀλουσών πλείονας ὑπὸ τῶν προδοτῶν ἀπολομένας ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων εἰλημένας κατὰ κράτος, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλείους τῷ παντὶ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐγκαλοῦντας τῶν αἰτίων μένων τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς. ἐτι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπασι τείχη καὶ φρούρια κατεσκευασμένα, καὶ τούτων ἐνίοτε πολλῶν ἔτων μηδεμίαν χρείαν γενομένην πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συμπολιτευμένους καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας ἱερῶν καὶ θυσίων καὶ γάμων καὶ φυλάττας ὄντας ἄλληλον καὶ δημότας καὶ συγγενεῖς τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδέποτε ἢρεμεῖ. μεσταὶ γοῦν αἱ πόλεις αἰεὶ κατηγοροῦντων, ἀπολογομένων, δικαζόντων, δικαζομένων, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἡ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἄλληλον ἀπέχεσθαι δύναιται. τίθενται γοῦν ἔτεροι νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ τούτως ἱερούς καλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ ὄνομα ὥφελον.

1 δήλος Pflugk: οὕτος.
2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ Wilamowitz, οὖδὲ γὰρ Emperius, οὐ γὰρ Reiske: οὐ δὴ or οὐδὲ.
3 μὴν] μηδεῖς Arnim.
4 οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε.
5 γοῦν Arnim: οὖν.
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Dio. Furthermore, manifestly the poet is giving this advice, not to his enemies, but rather to those whom he considers friends. For surely those by whom one knows himself to be hated one would not entrust with power against himself. How, then, could the poet be urging those to be distrustful whom he does not himself trust?

Well then, let us consider the following question also. By whom have more persons been ruined—by those who are admittedly enemies, or, on the contrary, by those who profess to be friends? As for myself, I observe that of the cities which have been captured those which have been destroyed by traitors are more numerous than those which have been forcibly seized by the foe, and also that with human beings those who lodge complaints against their friends and close acquaintances are altogether more numerous than those who blame their enemies for their misfortunes; and, furthermore, that whereas against the foe walls and fortresses have been provided for all—though sometimes no use has been made of these for many years—yet against their fellow citizens, against men who have a common share in the same sanctuaries and sacrifices and marriage rites, men who are fellow tribesmen with one another, fellow demesmen and kinsmen, the courts, the laws, and the magistracies have been provided. Furthermore, these institutions are never idle. At any rate the cities are always crowded with plaintiffs and defendants, with juries and litigants, and not even during their solemn festivals or in times of truce can men keep their hands off one another. At least they pass special laws regarding crimes committed during festivals, and they call these “holy laws,” as if the
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ο γαρ τῆς κακίας πόλεμος ἀπαντασ, ἄσπονδος ὁν καὶ ἀκήρυκτος· μάλιστα δὲ οὕτος συνέστηκε τοις ἐγγὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ βουλόμενου βιοῦν καὶ μετ’ ἀσφαλείας τινὸς εὐλαβεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κοινωνίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔπιστασθαι τῶν πολλῶν ἐτοιμὴν οὕτων πρὸς τὸ μεταδοῦναι κακίας τινὸς, καὶ μηδὲ ἂν μυριάκις λέγῃ φίλος εἶναι πιστεύειν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι παρ’ αὐτοῖς βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀληθὲς· ἀλλ’ ὅν ἂν ἀπάντων προτιμῶσιν ἠδη καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, μετὰ μικρὸν ἔχθιστον νομίζουσι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπέχουται 5 πολλάκις. ὁ γοῦν ἔραστης τὸν ἔρωμενον ἀποσφάττει διὰ τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν, ὡς ὁίεται, παροξυνθεῖς ἐκ τῆς τυχοῦσης αὐτίας. ἔτεροι δ’ ἔαυτοις ἀποκτινώσαι, οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες δι’ ἀκρασίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐκόντες, μηδενὸς οὖντος αὐτοῖς ἀτοπωτέρου· κατὰ τὸν βίον ἡ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς μοχθηρίας. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλας βλάβας τὰς εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἐκάστου δήλον ὡς οὐκ ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐστιν.

Ποία δὴ πίστει πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ τῆς ἀσφαλείας; ἡ πῶς ἂν ἐμὲ ἀγαπήσειν ὁ μηδ’ αὐτοῦ ἀγαπῶν; τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τούς Ἀθηναίους ῥηθέν, ὅτε ἐν ἐσχάτοις οὖντες ἥξιον τι περὶ Σάμου, καλῶς ἂν, οἰμαί, λεχθεῖῃ πρὸς τοὺς φιλίαν ὑπερχομένους

1 πόλεμος Reiske: ἐπαυνος. 2 οὐδὲ Emperius: οὐτε.
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name did any good! Yes, the war against depravity is unremitting for all against all, a war without truce and without herald; but above all this war is joined between those who are close to one another.

Accordingly those who wish to live at peace and with some degree of security must beware of fellowship with human beings, must recognize that the average man is by nature prone to let others have a share in any evil, and that, no matter if one claims a thousand times to be a friend, he is not to be trusted. For with human beings there is no constancy or truthfulness at all; on the contrary, any man whom at the moment they prize above everything, even, it may be, above life itself, after a brief interval they deem their bitterest foe, and often they cannot refrain even from attacking his body. For example, the lover slays his beloved because he loves him too much, as he imagines, but really because he has become enraged over some trivial matter. Others slay themselves, some involuntarily because of incontinence, and some voluntarily, since there is nothing in their life more extraordinary than their innate depravity. But enough of this, for the other injuries which each inflicts upon himself it obviously is impossible to examine in detail.

Then what kind of trust can one have in dealing with men like these, or what assurance? Or how could a person love me who does not love even himself? For the reply which was made to the Athenians on the occasion when, being in dire straits, they made some request concerning Samos, might well, I think, be made to those low persons who try to worm their way into one’s friendship: “If one

3 ἄτοπωτέρου Crosby: ἄτόπου.
τῶν φαύλων: ὃς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν οὐ φιλεῖ, πῶς ἄλλον φιλεῖ, ἣ ξένοι ἡ τέκνον ἡ ἄδελφον;

6 Τί οὖν, ὅταν τις φιλοφρονήται καὶ καθ’ ἑρῶν ὄμνυή καὶ μόνον οὐ κατατέμνειν αὐτὸν ἢ πρόθυμος; ἀκούειν μὲν ἢδη τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ νὴ Δία ἵσως κατανεύειν: εἰδέναι μὲντοι σαφῶς ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὸν. Ἡλέκτρα τὸν Ὄρεστην δακρύνοντα ὀρώσα καὶ προσάγομενον αὐτήν, τότε1 μὲν ἃτε ἀνεσίν τινα αὐτῷ γεγονέναι, τοῦ μὲντοι παντάπασι πιστεύειν πολὺ ἀπείχεν. ὀρώσα γοῦν μετ’ ὀλίγον παρακινοῦντά φησιν, ὁμοι, κασίγνητ’, ὅμη σὸν ταράσσεται, ταχὺς δὲ μετέθου.

7 Τὴν θάλασσαν οὔτως ἑρεμοῦσαν πολλάκις ἴδειν ἔστω, ὅστ’ ὁμαι, καὶ τὸν δειλότατον καταφρονήσαι. τί οὖν; διὰ τούτο πιστεύειν δεῖ καὶ μήτε ἁγκύρας ἐχοντα μήτε πηδάλιον μήτε ταλά τὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀνάγεισθαι ποτὲ; ὅψει γάρ, ἃν οὕτω τύχῃ, μετ’ ὀλίγον κατερείσαντος ἀνέμου κλύδωνα ἰσχυρὸν καὶ

κύματα τε2 τροφόεντα, πελώρια ἵσα ὀρέσσι, κυρτὰ φαληρίοντα:

καὶ τὸν νῦν σοι φαινόμενον πράον καὶ πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενον εὕνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν τῆς τυχοῦσης αἰτίας καταλαβοῦσης ἁγροῦ εὐρήσεις καὶ χαλεπῶν καὶ πάν ὀπίον κακοῦ ἐτοιμὸν ἐργάσασθαι.

8 Πόσα δοκεῖς τῇν Μήδειαν εὐξασθαί τοῖς θεοῖς

1 τότε Reiske: ποτὲ.
2 τὲ with P.

1 Euripides, Orestes 253-254.
2 This is a cento, consisting of Odyssey 3. 290 and Iliad 13. 799. Though familiar with the sea and largely dependent 214
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does not love himself, how can he love another, whether stranger or son or brother?"

What, then, must one do when some one makes a show of friendship, takes a solemn oath at the altar, and is almost eager to butcher himself there? He must listen, of course, immediately, and, by Zeus, possibly nod assent; yet at the same time be quite certain that not one of his protestations is valid. For example, when Electra beheld Orestes weeping and striving to draw her to him, at the moment she supposed that he had experienced some abatement of his madness, and yet she was far from trusting him entirely. At any rate shortly afterward, seeing him sore distraught, she exclaimed,

Ah me, dear brother, how confused thy glance,
How swiftly thou hast changed! ¹

Again, one may often behold the sea so calm that, methinks, even the most timid would scorn it. What then? On that account should one have faith in it, and with neither anchors nor rudder nor all the other aids to safety ever put to sea? Nay, if Fortune so decrees, presently a gale will swoop down upon you and you will behold a mighty surge and

Enormous billows, huge as mountains are,
Curling and topped with foam ²;
and the man who but now seems to you gentle and who makes much display of kindliness and zeal, when some chance occasion overtakes him you will find is savage and harsh and ready to work any and every mischief.

How many prayers do you suppose Medeia offered on it for a living, the Greeks felt toward it a wholesome respect, and their writings show little, if any, trace of joy in sailing or in the sea.

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ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἡ ποσάκις ἀγωνίασαι νοςοῦτων ἡ ποσάκις ἀντ᾽ ἐκεῖνων αὐτὴν ἂν ἐλέσθαι τελευτάν; ἀλλ᾽ ὀμws αὐτόχειρ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. νὴ Δία, ἔρεῖ τισ, ὀργιζομένη καὶ ξηλοτυποῦσα. τοὺς πολλοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἱ ὦ νοὶ καὶ Ἀ ξηλοτυπῆσαι; τί δὲ; φθο-νῆσαι; τί δὲ; ἐλπίσαι; σχεδὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν τούτοις εἰσίν. μὴ τούν πίστευε τοῖς εὐνοεῖν φάσκουσι καὶ μηδέποτε ἂν ἐγκαταλείπεῖν τὴν πρὸς σὲ φιλίαν. ᾠσπερ γὰρ αἳ τὸν ἄνεμον σημαίνουσαι ταύτης κατὰ τὴν στάσιν αἰεὶ τοῦ πνεύματος αἰωροῦνται, νυνὶ μὲν οὕτως, πάλιν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα, τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἡ τῶν φαύλων διάνοια πρὸς πάσαν φορὰν οὕτως ἔχει.

9 Τοῖς δούλοις οὐδεὶς πιστεύει συντιθεμένοις διὰ τὸ μὴ κυρίους ἐαυτῶν εἶναι: πολὺ μᾶλλον οὐ χρή προσέχειν ταῖς τῶν τοιοῦτων ὁμολογίαις. τῷ παντὶ γὰρ πλεῖον ἀπέχουσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας διὰ τὴν κακίαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. τοῖς νεωτέροις τοσοῦτων ἑτῶν νόμως οὐκ ἂν συμβάλλειν ὡς ἀπίστοις οὖν, οὐδὲ γυναικὶ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις συναλλάσσειν πλὴν ἄχρι μεδίμνου κριθῶν, διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀσθενές. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πάνυ νέων οὐθὲν διαφέρουσιν οἱ φαύλοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτως τῶν παιδαρίων, πλὴν τῶν

1 καὶ deleted by Dindorf, Emperius reads ὀργίσασθαι καὶ.
2 ἂν added by Madvig.
3 After οὕτως Sonny adds ἡ οὕτως.
4 νέων Arnim: νεωτέρων οὐ μετεώρων.

1 In Euripides’ Medea the heroine has two children, sons of Jason, whom she had helped to gain the Golden Fleece. 216
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to the gods in behalf of her children, or how many times did she suffer agony when they were ill, or how often would she have chosen to give her own life in their stead? Yet she became their murderer.1 "Aye, by Zeus," some one will say, "in a fit of anger and jealousy." But do you not suppose that most of mankind could also become jealous, envious, apprehensive? Why, one might almost say that they are always and unceasingly in the grip of these emotions. Do not, therefore, trust those who say that they feel kindly toward you and that they never would abandon their affection for you. For just as the streamers which mark the breeze always flutter according to the quarter from which it blows, now in this direction and now in the opposite direction, in the same way the mood of the common herd shifts in response to each and every emotion.

Nobody trusts slaves when they make an agreement, for the reason that they are not their own masters; far more should one pay no heed to the agreements of such persons as I am describing. For in every respect human beings, because of their depravity, are farther removed from a state of freedom. The law does not permit one to make a contract with persons younger than a specified age on the ground that they are untrustworthy, nor, at Athens, may one have business dealings with a woman except to the extent of a measure of barley because of the weakness of female judgement. In fact, ordinary persons are no better than the very young, or rather than even the little boys, except in their bodily

For reasons of state he abandoned Medea and married a Corinthian princess, whereupon Medea slew her children and the princess, and sought refuge in Athens.
Δύνασθαι καὶ τῇ πανοργίᾳ διὸ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνων προσήκει.

10 Μακάριον γὰρ ἂν ἦν, εἴ καθάπερ παῖδα καὶ μειράκιον καὶ νεανίσκον καὶ πρεσβύτην χρόνος ποιεῖ, καὶ φρόνιμον οὐτως καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πιστόν, καὶ μὴν τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν φαύλων οὐδέν εἰσι βελτίως οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μοχθηροί. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα διαφέρουσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν. καθάπερ οὖν πρὸς οὐδέν ἐκείνας ἐξὶ προσέσθαι τῶν πλείωνος ἀξίων ὁ νόμος, ἀλλὰ ὥρισται μέχρι τίνος προσήκει τὸν αὐτῶν, οἴμαι, τρόπον καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς μέχρι τῶν ἐλαχίστων κοινωνητέων πράξεων δὲ μειζόνων ἢ λόγων ἄναγκαιων ἢ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς περὶ τῶν βίων οὐδέποτε. καὶ γὰρ εἴ ποτε ἀπέχονται τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν δι’ ἦν δήποτ’ αιτίαν, όσπερ τὰ θηρία πολλάκις ἠρεμεῖ κοιμώμενα ἢ ἐμπεπλησμένα, τὴν μέντοι φύσιν οὐκ ἀποβέβληκε τὴν αὐτῶν, παραπλησίως δὴ κακεῖνοι χρόνον τινὰ οὐκ ἐβλασφήν, ἐπείτα συμβάσεις προφάσεως καὶ τὸν τόκον, φασὶ, καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς πονηρίας ἐκτίνωσιν.

Ὁ Λάκων, ἐν ὁμιλίαις τινῶν συντιθέμενων αὐτῷ καὶ ἀξιοῦντων παρ’ αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν ἢν ἄν προαιρήται πίστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλίας, μίαν ἔφη πίστιν εἶναι τὸ εἶναι θέλωσιν ἀδικήσαι μὴ δύνασθαι, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς πάσας εὐθέως καὶ τελέως ἀσθενεῖς. 12 ταῦτα μόνην παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν πίστιν δεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἐτέραν δὲ οὕδεμιαν. ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν

1 τῶν added by Reiske.
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strength and their rascality; consequently they deserve to be distrusted more than those others.

It would indeed be a blessing if, just as one becomes successively a lad, a stripling, a youth, and an old man by the passing of time, one might also in the same way become wise and just and trustworthy. Yet it must be said that not one whit better than women of the meaner sort are the men who are depraved. They differ in body, not in mind. Accordingly, just as the women are not allowed by law to accept agreements involving too large a sum, but a limit has been set defining the amount to which they may do so, in the same way, I believe, we should also have dealings with the ordinary run of men so far as the things of least importance, but in actions of greater importance or in discussions about urgent matters or in the safeguarding of one's existence, never! For the fact is, if they ever refrain from doing mischief for whatever reason, just as the wild beasts often are quiet when asleep or sated with food, though they have not discarded their own peculiar nature, similarly the masses too for a time do no harm, yet later when some pretext is presented they pay in full, as the saying goes, both the interest and the principal of their villainy.

The Spartan, when in social gatherings certain persons offered to make a compact with him and invited him to take as a guarantee of their friendship whatever he might choose, replied that there was only one guarantee, namely, their inability to do harm even if they wished, but that all other guarantees were foolish and absolutely good for nothing. That guarantee alone should one accept from the masses, no other. For the guarantee which consists in
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λόγων καὶ τῆς συνθείας καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τοῦ γένους καταγέλαστος. ὁ Ἀτρεὺς ἀδελφὸς ἦν τοῦ Θυέστου καὶ τῶν παιδαρίων, ἀ κατέκοψεν, θείος· ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Πολυνείκης οὐ μόνον ἀδελφοί κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ νίου καὶ μητρὸς γεγονότες τῶν ἐγγενεστάτων· ὡστ', ἐπερ ὁφέλει τι τὸ γένος, οὗτοι μάλιστα ἀπάντων ἀλλήλους\(^1\) ὠφειλον ἀγαπάν· ἀλλ' ὁ πιστευθεὶς πρῶτον τὸν 13 πιστεύσαντα ἔξεβαλε καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπεστέρει καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. ὁ Θησεύς τὸν Ἰππόλυτον, πατήρ ὤν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος νίος, διαβολαίς πεισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινε καταρασάμενος. ὁ Πρίαμος πρότερον εὐδαιμονίας διαφέρων καὶ τοσοῦτων ἑθνῶν καὶ τηλικοῦτον τόποι βασιλεὺων,

όσσον Λέσβοι ἀνω Μάκαρος ἔδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἐλλήσποντος ἀπειρων διά τὸν νίον καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν τὴν ἐκείνου πάντων ἀθλιωτάτους ἐγένετο, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐπίσημοι. πόσον δὲ, οἷε, πλῆθος ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τῶν ἀφανών καὶ δημοτικῶν Ἀτρέων καὶ Θυεστῶν, τῶν μὲν καὶ ἀποκτινώντων κρύφα, τῶν δὲ εἰς ἀλλὰ ἐπιβου-

1 After ἀλλήλους Pfleugk deletes μᾶλλον.

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1 This is but one chapter in the scandalous tale of the dealings of these two brothers, a tale that forms the background of many a Greek tragedy; cf. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, epitome 2: 10-14. In revenge for the seduction of his wife Atreus slew the children of Thyestes and served their flesh as food for their father to eat.

2 Oedipus unwittingly married his mother Jocasta, and by her he became the father of Eteocles and Polynices. When Oedipus discovered his sin and gave up his throne in Thebes, Eteocles expelled his brother, but Polynices led an army against Thebes, and in the ensuing battle each slew the other.

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phrases, in acquaintanceship, in oaths, in kinship is laughable. Atreus was the brother of Thyestes and the uncle of the little boys whom he slaughtered; Eteocles and Polyneices were not only brothers according to the law, but also children of a son and his mother, the closest relationship possible; wherefore, if there were any utility in birth, these most of all should have loved each other; whereas, in the first place, he who had been trusted expelled the brother who had trusted him and robbed him of his country, and after that they slew each other. Although Theseus was the father of Hippolytus and the son of Poseidon, persuaded by slanders he cursed his son and brought about his death. Priam, who previously had been notable for good fortune and who was king over so many tribes and so wide a domain—

Seaward as far as Lesbos, the abode
Of Macar, landward to Phrygia and the stream
Of boundless Hellespont—

all because of his son and that son's incontinence became the most wretched man of all. Now these were men of mark, but how great a multitude do you suppose can be found in every city of the obscure and plebeian Atreuses and Thyesteses, some actually committing murder undetected, and some making

3 Phaedra, the step-mother of Hippolytus, thwarted in her passion for the youth, committed suicide, and Theseus, betrayed by the false charges she left behind, cursed his son and caused his death. The tale is told by Euripides in his Hippolytus.

4 Iliad 24. 544-545, quoted with some variation in Or. 33. 19.

5 Paris.

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14 ἥλυόντων; Ἀερόπας μὲν γε καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας καὶ Σθενεβοίας οὕδε εἰπεῖν ἐστιν.¹

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοὺ γένους καὶ τῆς οἰκειότητος τοιαῦτα, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀρκῶν ποία;² ο Πάνδαρος ἀμοσε τῷ Μενελάῳ, ὡςπερ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τρῶες, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν. Τισσαφέρνης οὐκ ἀμοσε τοῖς περὶ Κλέαρχον; τί δέ; ο βασιλεὺς οὐχὶ καὶ τοὺς βασιλείους θεώς καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀπέστειλε; Φίλιππος δὲ ο Μακεδών οὐ διετέλει καθάπερ ἄλλο τί τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐχρήστων καὶ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν παρασκευασμένος καὶ δυσὶ τούτοις τὰς πόλεις αἵρων, τῷ τε παρασπονδεῖν καὶ τῷ τοὺς προδόσοντας παρασκευάζειν; τῷ παντὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν τρόπον οἰκείτερον εἰχε3. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ προδόταις ἄργυριον ἣν ἀνάγκη διδόναι, τοῖς θεοῖς δὲ περὶ ὀρκῶν⁴ οὐθέν ἐτέλει.

15 τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις καὶ σφαῖραις ἐξαπατάν δεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ὀρκοὺς καὶ ρήμασιν.⁵ η κερδαλῆ ἐδ ἀλώπηξ ἐτέρα τίς ἐστὶ παρὰ Ἀρχιλόχῳ; τὸν δὲ τοῦ Γλαύκου

¹ οὗδε εἰπεῖν ἐστιν] οὐδα εἰπεῖν Hertlein, οὗδε εἰπεῖν ἐστιν ὅσι Arnim.
² ποιὰ added by Arnim.
³ εἰχε Capps, ἐχει Casaubon : ἐχειν.
⁴ περὶ ὀρκῶν] ἐπιορκῶν Gasda.
⁵ ρήμασιν Emperius : χρήμασιν.

¹ Notorious examples of marital infidelity. Αἰερόπε, wife of Ατρες, had an affair with his brother; Κλυταιμνήστρα, wife of Αγαμέμνων, lived in adultery with his kinsman Αγισθῆνος, with whose aid she slew her husband on his 222
plots of other kinds? As for the Aëropês and Clytaemnestras and Stheneboeas, they are too numerous to mention.¹

Well, such are the facts about family and domestic ties, but how about oaths? Pandarus gave an oath to Menelaüs, as did the other Trojans too, but none the less he wounded him.² Did not Tissaphernes give an oath to Clearchus and his men? What! did not the Great King send them the royal gods and his plighted word?³ Again, take Philip of Macedon; just as any other weapon which was serviceable for his warfare, was he not always equipped with perjury too; and was he not always seizing the cities by means of these two devices, either violation of treaties or suborning of traitors?⁴ He found the former altogether more congenial; for while he had to give money to the traitors, to the gods he paid nothing in connexion with oaths. As for Lysander the Spartan, they say that he gave as his opinion that boys should be deceived with knucklebones and balls, but men with oaths and phrases.⁵ But is the crafty fox at all different, as portrayed by Archilochus?⁶ And as for the oracle received return from Troy; Stheneboea, having failed to seduce her husband's guest, Bellerophon, falsely accused him and plotted his death.

² Pandarus shared in the oath given in behalf of all the Trojans (Iliad 3. 298-301) and was led by Athena to violate it (ibid. 4. 86-140).
³ Cf. Xenophon, Anabasis 2. 3. 26-28; 2. 4. 1; 2. 5. 27 ff.
⁵ Cf. Plutarch, Lysander 8.
⁶ The fragments of his poem are in Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus II, p. 145 (L.C.L.); cf. Aesop 44 for a prose version. The fox tricked the ape by playing upon his cupidity and pride.

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16 'Αλλ' ἡ συνήθεια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μέγα δίκαιον τοῖς μηθέν ἀδικεῖν καὶ σπονδαί καὶ τράπεζαι. τὸν Εὐρυτον ἀπέκτεινεν οὐ παρ' αὐτῷ ἕξεις,

σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν ἠδέσατ' οὐδὲ τράπεζαν,

τὴν ἴπει παρέθηκεν· ἐπειτα δὲ πέφυε καὶ αὐτόν.

καίτοι θεῶς ἐδοξεν οὗτος τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀδεσάμενος οὐδὲ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ

tέρπεται ἐν θαλη, κατέχων καλλίσφυρον Ἡβην.

tὸν Ἀρχίλοχον οὐδὲν ἤνησαν οἱ ἄλες καὶ ἡ τράπεξα πρός τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῶν γάμων, ὡς φησίν

1 πρότερον δεδωκέναι] πρότερον δεδακτέκαι Eusebius, Ἡρόδοτος διαδεδωκέας τοῖς πλείστοις οὐ Πρόδοτον δεδιδαχέας τοὺς πλείστους Arnim.

2 αὐτῷ ἕξιςς Arnim: αὐτῷ ἕξεις, Arnim: ἕξεις.

3 After οὗτος Reiske adds δ.  4 ὡς Dindorf: ὡν.

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1 For the complete response of the Pythia, see Herodotus 6. 86.

2 Aratus, Phaenomena 2-3.

3 Since Pandaruns and Glaucus did not gain by consulting Athena and Apollo, later perjurers avoided these gods.

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by Glaucus, do you not imagine that most men had given that advice ere then, namely, to swear,

Since death awaits as well the man who keeps
His oath? ¹

Furthermore, while it has so happened that the persons just named and others like them achieved notoriety because of the great events in which they took part, with the less illustrious Glaucuses or Pandaruses "the marts are thronged and thronged the ways." ² This explains why they take neither Apollo nor Athena as counsellor in their perjury.³

But, you say, familiar acquaintance constitutes for mankind a great moral bar against any injury, as also do treaties and hospitality. Eurytus was slain by the man who had entertained him in his house,

The daring one, who feared not Heaven's wrath,
Nor reverenced the table he had spread,
But later even slew his guest.⁴

And yet he came to be thought a god, though he had shown no reverence for the anger of the gods or for the table of hospitality, and he

Delighteth in the feast and hath for wife
Fair-ankled Hebe.⁵

As for Archilochus, his salt and table availed him naught for the fulfilment of his marriage contract,

⁴ Odyssey 21. 28-29. Dio seems to be quoting from memory, for he has confused Eurytus with his son Iphitus, who went to the house of Heracles in quest of his stolen mares and there met death. Dio's error may be due to the fact that Homer is speaking of the bow used by Odysseus, commonly called "the bow of Eurytus."

⁵ Ibid. 11. 603. Upon his death Heracles was raised to godhead.
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17 αὐτός. ὁ Λυκάων ἀνόητος εἰς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα δεύτερον ἐμπεσὼν, δέον αὐτὸν ἡ μάχεσθαι προθύμως ἡ φεύγειν τάχιον,

πάρ γάρ σοι πρῶτω, φησί, πασάμην Δημήτρεος ἀκτῆν.

τουγαρῶν πρότερον, ὅποτε οὐδέπω μετελήφει τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ προφῆς, εἰς Λήμνον ἀπεμπολήθεις ἐσώθη· τότε δὲ ληφθεὶς ἀπεσφάγη· τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ὄνησεν ἡ Δημήτρη· τάς νήττας καὶ τὰς πέρδικας οὐ πρότερον θηρεύομεν, πρὶν ἂν φάγωσι
18 παρ' ἦμων. ὁ δὲ Λύγισθος τὸν Ὀγαμέμνονα
deipnόσσας ὦς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.

καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Τρώων οὐδέν ἐπαθεν ἐν δέκα ἐτε-σιν οἷς ἐπολέμει καὶ οὐδεπώποτε αὐτοῖς συνέστιος ἠγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν διὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνου, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπε-ζαν παραθέμενος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς οὔτως ὄμως ἀνηρέθη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κάτω περιτυχῶν
19 τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ μέμφεται Κλυταμνήστραν· μηδὲ γάρ τοὺς ὄφθαλμον αὐτοῦ τελευτῶντος συγκλείσαι· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις παρακελεύεται μηδέποτε πιστεύ-ειν γυναικὶ,

1 After Λυκάω Emperius deletes ὄν.
2 ἀνόητος] ἀνόητος Arnim.

1 Cf. Edmonds, op. cit. II. pp. 146-153, especially fragg. 96 and 97α. According to tradition, when Lycammbes gave to another the daughter he had promised to Archilochus, the poet attacked him and his family with such savage verses that they committed suicide.

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as he says himself.\textsuperscript{1} Lycaon, fool that he was, having encountered Achilles a second time, though he should either fight with vigour or else flee with all speed, urges the plea,

For with thee first I ate Demeter’s grain.\textsuperscript{2}

Well then, previously, when he had not yet partaken of Achilles’ food, he was sold into Lemnos and thus saved; but this time when taken captive he was slaughtered. That was all the good Demeter did him. As for the ducks and partridges, we do not hunt them until they have eaten of our food. Take Aegisthus; he slew Agamemnon,

First feeding him, as he who slays an ox
Hard by the crib.\textsuperscript{3}

And although Agamemnon had suffered no harm at the hands of the Trojans during the ten years in which he had been at war with them and had never sat at meat with them; on the other hand, when he had come home after so long an absence, had sacrificed to the gods, and had caused his own table to be spread before him, his own wife slew him so cruelly. Yes, afterwards, when at the gates of Hades he encountered Odysseus, he denounces Clytemnestra, for he says she did not even close his eyes when he was dead\textsuperscript{4}; and, furthermore, he urges Odysseus never to trust a woman,

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Iliad} 21. 76. Though a prisoner of war and destined for the slave market of Lemnos, \textit{loc. cit.} 17-79, Lycaon was a son of Priam and for that reason, no doubt, ate at the table of Achilles after his capture. He seems to make a point of the fact that Achilles was the first Greek with whom he ate.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Odyssey} 4. 535 and 11. 411.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid.} 11. 423-426.
μηδὲ οἱ ἐκφάσθαι πυκνῶν ἐπος.

Καὶ τοῖς Ἡ Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ οὐχ ὅτι γυνὴ ἢν ταῦτα διεθηκεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ποιηρά· καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
20 οὐ χρὴ γυναικὶ ἡπιον εἰναι ἢ ἀνδρὶ. ἀλλ’, οἴμαι,
tῶν περιπεσόντων ἔκαστος, υφ’ οὐ πέπουθε κακῶς,
ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα ύφορᾶται καὶ προλέγει φυλάττεσθαι
tοῖς ἄλλοις, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ ἔχεως πληγεῖς ὀφιν; ἠ δὲ
ὑπὸ σκορπίων σκορπίων· ὃν δὲ ἄν κύων δάκη, ὀψει
βακτηρίαν ἀεὶ περιφέροντα· τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ
πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πεπόνθασιν οἱ πολλοί. τῷ μὲν
ἐκ γυναικὸς τι συνέβη δεινὸν· οὗτος δὴ κέκραγεν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ κύβδηλον ἄνθρωποι κακῶν
γυναικας εἰς φῶς ἡλίου κατάκκισσας;

ἔλλον ὑποδεχθεῖς ἔξον ἐλύπησεν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος
tὰ τοῦ Μενελάου κτήματα καὶ τὴν γυναίκα ύφελο-
μενός. ὁ τοιοῦτος πρὸς τοὺς ἔξονους διαβέβληται,
πρὸς ἄδελφον ἔτερος, ἄλλος πρὸς νῦν.

21 Τὸ δὲ πράγμα οὐ τοιοῦτον ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ
ἄδελφος οὐδὲ ὁ συγγενῆς οὐδὲ ὁ ἔξον πέφυκεν
ἀδικείν, ἀλλ’ ὁ μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπος· τοῦτο δὲ
μικροῦ δεῖν ἐν πάσῳ ἐστιν· ἀλλ’ εἰ νοῦν ἔχεις,
πάντας εὐλαβοῦ. ἔξονος· εὐλαβοῦ. μέτριος εἰναι
φησι· μᾶλλον εὐλαβοῦ. τοῦτο ἀκίνητον ὑπαρχέτω.
νὴ Δί’, ἀλλ’ ἐπιδείκνυται δεξίῳ τινος εὖνοιν.
οὐκοῦν ἀποδέχον τοῦτον, τοῖς θεοῖς εἰδὼς χάριν,

1 ὁφιν] ἔχων Emperius.

1 Dio must have in mind Odyssey 11. 441-443, as indicated by the similarity of sentiment and by the word ἡπιον in the next sentence, yet the wording is quite different from our text of the Odyssey passage.

2 Euripides, Hippolytus 616-617. Hippolytus cries out against the wickedness of his step-mother Phaedra.

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Or ever tell to her a crafty plan.¹

Yet Clytaemnestra treated him as she did, not because she was a woman, but because she was a wicked woman; and there is no more reason for not being kind to a woman than to a man. However, I fancy, each one who has encountered misfortune distrusts particularly that because of which he has suffered and warns all others to beware of it. For instance, he who has been bitten by a viper warns against snakes, another who has been bitten by a scorpion warns against scorpions, and if a man has been bitten by a dog, you will see him always carrying a cane; in just that way most men behave toward human beings. One man has met with some dreadful misfortune because of a woman; so he cries to Heaven,

O Zeus, why hast thou brought to light of day
The breed of women, snare and curse to men? ²

Another, a stranger who has been received as a guest, brings grief to his host, as Alexander did by stealing from Menelaüs his wealth and his wife. The man so treated has been made distrustful toward strangers, another toward a brother, another toward a son.

But the case is not so simple; for it is not the brother as such or the kinsman or the stranger who is by nature prone to do wrong, but rather the wicked man; but wickedness is found in almost all; aye, if you have good judgement, beware of all. A stranger? Beware. A fair and moderate man, he says? Beware still more. Let this principle be inviolate. "Yes," you counter, "but he shows the kindly disposition of a man of courtesy." Very well, accept him, with gratitude to the gods—or, so please

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εἰ βούλει δὲ, κἀκείνῳ πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον φυλάττεσθαι χρή αὐτόν. ο ἡγαρ τις ἐπὶ τῆς τύχης εἴπε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων τούτῳ ῥηθείη, τό μηδένα εἰδέναι περὶ μηδενὸς, εἰ μέχρι τῆς αὐρίου διαμενεὶ τοιούτος. τὰς γοῦν πρὸς αὐτοὺς¹ παραβιάσουσι συνθήκας καὶ συμβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς² ἔτερα, καὶ ἄλλα συμφέρειν νομίζοντες ἄλλα πράττοντιν. οὔθεν ὅταν τις ἐκ τοῦ πιστεύειν περιπέσῃ τινὶ τῶν δυσκόλων, γελοῖος ἐστὶν αὐτιώμενος ἐκεῖνον ἐαυτὸν δέον, καὶ θέους ἐνίοτε ἐπιβοῶμενος, ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς ἀπατηθεῖς φίλου καὶ συνήθους. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ καταγελῶσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐαυτὸν ἐξηπατήσειν ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ ποιησάμενοι. οἱ προσπαίοντες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἢ νῇ Δίᾳ ἐμπεσόντες εἰς πηλὸν ἢ βόθρον οὐκ ὀργίζονται τοῖς λίθοις ἢ τῷ πηλῷ· τελέως γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν ἀπόπληκτοι, δέον αὐτοὺς αὐτιάσθαι καὶ τὸ μῆ προσέχειν.

22 Ὁ, ὅν; φήσει τις, δεῖ θηρίον βίον προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ζῆν ἔρημον; οὐ θηρίον, ἄλλ’ ἀνδρὸς φρονίμου καὶ ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἐπισταμένον. πολὺ γὰρ ἀσφαλεστέρα καὶ κρείττων ἡ ἐρημία τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κοινωνίας, ἕαν ἄδεως γίγνηται καὶ χωρίς κοινῶν προσοχῆς. ὥσπερ, οἷμαι, τοῖς πλέοντι τὸ πέλαγος συμφέρει μᾶλλον τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις ἐν εὐδίᾳ πλέοι καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς τοὺς τόπους· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ πελάγει σπάνιον εἰ ποιν διεφθάρῃ³ ναῦς, πρὸς δὲ

¹ αὐτοῖς Εμπερίου: αὐτοῖς. ² αὐτοῖς Εμπερίου: αὐτοῖς. ³ διεφθάρῃ Εμπερίου: διαφθάρῃ.
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you, to him as well—yet for the future you must watch him. For what some one has said about Fortune might much rather be said about human beings, namely, that no one knows about any one whether he will remain as he is until the morrow. At any rate, men do violate the compacts made with each other and give each other different advice and, believing one course to be expedient, actually pursue another. Thus it comes to pass that when a man, through trusting another, gets involved with one of those troublesome fellows, he makes himself ridiculous if he lays the blame on him when he should blame himself, and if he now and then cries out against the gods, when it is a man by whom he has been duped, a friend and close acquaintance. But the gods laugh at him, knowing as they do that he had duped himself by putting himself in another’s power. Those who stumble on the street or, by Zeus, fall into a mud-puddle or a pit are not angry at the stones or at the mud; for they would be absolutely crazy if they did, seeing that they ought to blame themselves and their heedlessness.

"What!" some one will say, "must we choose the existence of a wild beast and live a solitary life?" No, not that of a wild beast, but rather that of a prudent man and of one who knows how to live in safety. For far safer and better is solitude than association with mankind, if only solitude be found apart from fear and devoid of solicitude for things of common interest. Just as, in my opinion, for persons making a voyage the open sea is more to their advantage than the coast, unless one be sailing in fair weather and be well acquainted with the region; for in the open sea rarely, if ever, is a ship wrecked,
ταῖς ἀκταῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς ἁκραὶς ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ τὰ
24 ναῦαγια. τουγαροῦν, ὅταν χειμῶν καταλάβῃ, τῶν
μὲν ἀπείρων ἐκαστὸς ἐπιθυμεὶ τῆς γῆς, ὦ δὲ κυ-
βερνήτης ὡς πορρωτάτω φεύγει. καίτοι λιμένας
μὲν εὗροι τις ἀν ἀκλύσωτους, οἷς ἔνεστι πιστεύσαντας
ἀσφαλῶς ὀρμεῖν, ἥλικον ἄν ποτὲ ἄρρη τὸ πνεῦμα-
τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μετρώτατοι τοῖς θερινοῖς
ὀρμοίς ἐοίκασιν, οἴτινες πρὸς τὸ παρόν σκέπουσιν
κακεύων γὰρ ἐκαστὸς πρὸς ἐν τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν
βιῶν ἔπεικῆς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα ὑπάρχει.
χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκεκ ὤυδέν σε ἀδικήσειν ἂν
ἔστω γὰρ εἰναί τῶν τοιούτων ἄλλα τὰχ᾿ ἂν ὅργης
ἡ φιλοτυμία καταλαβούσης οὐκ ἂν ἐπιγνώση
ἀυτὸν ἀσάλευτον καὶ πιστόν.

25 Ὁ υκοῦν τοὺς γε τοιούτους ὅσον ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης καὶ
tελεῶς ὀλίγον δεῖ χρήσθαι, τὸ πλέον αὐτὸν ἐγρη-
γορότα καὶ φυλάττοντα, ὡς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὸν
"Εκτορά φησιν ὁ ποιητής".

ὁ δὲ ἱδρεύῃ πολέμου
ἀσπίδα ταυρείῃ κεκαλυμμένος εὐρέας ὅμισον
σκέπτετ' ὀδυσσόν τε ῥοῖζον καὶ δοῦσον ἀκόντων.

ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ βίῳ δεῖ τὴν φρονήσει καὶ τὴν ἐπι-
στήμην προβεβλημένους καὶ καλυφθέντας αὐτὴ
φεύγειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
κακίαν καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αῖς
eιώθαις χρήσθαι.

26 Καθόλου δὲ θαυμαστών, εἰ τὸ μὲν φαγεῖν ἀπὸ
tῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἐμποδων ἐσται τῆς ποιηρίας

1 ἂν added by Emperius.
2 After πιστῶν the mss. read ἄλλως (or ἄλλ' ὡς) ὑπὸ μηδενὸς
πάθους κινούμενον, ἐφ' ὃ τις ἄν πιστεύσαι βεβαιῶς δύνατο: 232
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but it is close to the shores and near the capes that the wreckage may be seen. Therefore, when storm overtakes a ship, though every landlubber longs for the land, the skipper flees from it as far as possible. Yet havens free from billows can be found, trusting which men may safely ride at anchor, however high the gale may rise. But with human beings, the most temperate are like our summer anchorages, which afford shelter for the moment only; for with men of that type also the individual is a reasonable person with regard to some one of life's problems, but with regard to the rest he is not. In money matters, for instance, he might never wrong you—granted, of course, that a man of that sort exists—but let a fit of rage or jealous rivalry seize him and you would perhaps not find him unshaken and trustworthy.

Accordingly, one should have dealings with such persons only in so far as one is compelled to do so and extremely little at that, what is more, keeping wide awake one's self and on guard, as the poet says of the Achaean and Hector.

But he, experienced in war, with shield
Of ox-hide covered his shoulders broad and watched
The whir of arrows and the thud of darts.¹

Similarly in our life we must employ prudence and understanding as a shield and, covered by it, flee and guard against men's villainy and the tricks and plots which they are wont to use.

But, speaking generally, it would be surprising if eating from the same table were to prove a bar to

¹ Iliad 16. 359-361.
καὶ νὴ Δία τὸ πιεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατήρος καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λύχνον ὄραν· τὸ δὲ τὸν ἦλιον βλέπειν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τρέφεσθαι γῆς οὖν δεῖς ὑπολογίζεται τῶν πονηρῶν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πανδοκείον ἢ νὴ Δία οἶκος ἐτερος ἐκ λύθων καὶ ξύλων ὕκοδομημένος συγκίνησιν ἀνθρώπους καὶ δύναται συνάγειν εἰς φιλίαν, ὥσπερ Ὁδυσσεύς ἀξιοῦ:

αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ μέλαθρον ὑπωρόφιοι δὲ τοῖ εἴμεν.

οὕτως ἤγείται τὴν σκηνὴν ἀξιωτέραν¹ αἴδους, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ ξύλων τῶν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γεγονόταν, ἕπερ αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ σύμπασας οὕρανός, ὥφ' ὦ πάντες ἐσμέν ἄρχηθεν, οὐδὲν ὥφελεί πρὸς ὦμόνοιαν οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν ὀλων κοινωνία θείων οὕσα καὶ μεγάλων, ἀλλὰ τούνατίον ἡ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων.

27 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδιὸς ἐκάστῳ πατήρ, πολλάκις οὐδενὸς ἀξίων πρεσβύτης, μέγα δίκαιον ὦστε μὴ ἐπιβου- λεύειν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους· ὁ δὲ κοινὸς ἀπάντων "ἀνδρῶν τε θεών τε," εἰς οὖ πάντες γεγόναμεν, οὐ κατὰ Λάχητα ὃν οὐδὲ κατὰ Σίμωνα, οὐ δύναται κατασχεῖν οὐδὲ κωλύσαι τὴν ἀδικίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ μὴ ὅτι γε τοῖς λόγοις οὐκ ἄν πιστεύοι τις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλίας, τοῦτο γὰρ

28 λοιπὸν ἐστι, φανερὸν δήπου. γελοῖον γὰρ ἀργυρίον μὲν δανείζοντα τοῖς πέλας² μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἀν τινα πιστεύσαι λόγῳ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων δείσθαι

¹ ἀξιωτέραν GceL: ἀξίαν.
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villainy, and, forsooth, drinking from the same mixing-bowl and seeing the same lamp, when, on the other hand, seeing the same sun and being nourished by the same earth does not enter into the reckoning of any rogue; why, the tavern or, by Zeus, any other house made of stones and timbers mixes human beings together and can bring them together in friendship, just as Odysseus thinks is proper:

Respect the house: we're underneath thy roof.¹

Thus he thinks that the hut—a hut, too, built of wood grown on hostile soil—is worthier of respect than the men themselves. Yet the whole sky, beneath which we all have been from the beginning, is of no avail toward producing concord, neither is our partnership in the universe, a partnership in things divine and majestic, but only, on the contrary, our partnership in things which are petty and worthless.

Again, every man's own father—often an ineffectual old man—is a great force for righteousness to prevent those of the same family from plotting against each other; while the common father of all, of "both men and gods," he from whom we all have our being, not a creature such as Laches or Simon,² cannot check or prevent the unrighteousness of men! Indeed, that one could not trust mere words about friendship—for this is the only point remaining—is no doubt clear. For it is absurd that, when lending money to one's neighbours, no one would lightly put faith in word alone, but instead requires witnesses

¹ Ἡμιαδ. 9. 640. But it is Ajax, not Odysseus, who is complaining of Achilles' lack of hospitality.

² Seemingly equivalent to our "Smith or Jones."

² πέλας Εμπερίος: πολλοίς.
καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ταῦτα παραβαίνειν.\(^1\)

Τί οὖν; φησί τις,\(^2\) οὐκ ἦδη τινὲς ἐγένοντο φίλοι τῶν πρότερον; οἶνον πῶς\(^3\) ἂν λέγοις\(^4\) τοὺς ἡμιθέους\(^5\) θρυλομελέους τούτους, Ὄρεστην καὶ Πυλάδην καὶ Θησέα καὶ Πειρίθουν καὶ Ἀχιλλεά καὶ Πάτροκλον; εἰ δ' οὖν τις συγχωρήσειν ἀληθὴ τὴν δόξαν εἶναι ταύτην, δῆλον ὡς τρεῖς ἂν εἴεν φιλίαι γεγονοῦσαι ἐν τοσοῦτοι χρόνως, ἐν ὄσῳ πλεονάκις ἂν εἴποι τὸν Ἥλιον ἐκλελοιπέναι.

\(^1\) After παραβαίνειν Reiske noted a lacuna.  
\(^2\) φησί τις Capps: φησίν.  
\(^3\) πῶς] πᾶς Arnim.  
\(^4\) λέγοις Crosby: λέγοι.  
\(^5\) ἡμιθέους deleted by Arnim.
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and writings—and many do violence to even these—[and, on the other hand, that the mere profession of friendship should suffice 1].

"What!" somebody objects, "did not the men of former times have any friends? For instance, what would you say of these demigods that are on the lips of all: Orestes and Pylades, Theseus and Peirithoüs, Achilles and Patroclus?" 2 Well, if one were to admit that the popular belief about these is true, there would be three friendships that had occurred in a period of time so extensive that in it one could say that the sun had gone into an eclipse quite a number of times.

1 The words "and, on the other hand, . . . should suffice" have been supplied from the context to fill out a lacuna.

2 Typical pairs of devoted friends, each pair as famous as the biblical David and Jonathan.
THE SEVENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE:
ON LAW

On stylistic grounds this Discourse has been assigned to
the sophistic period of Dio's career. It is an encomium such
as is familiar in sophistic literature, and it exhibits both the
merits and the defects of that form of composition. Careful
attention is paid to matters of detail connected with rhetorical
effect, but one misses the note of sincere conviction to be
found in many other writings of our author.

The topic chosen for eulogy is νόμος. As is well known,
that word covers a wide range, meaning at one time usage
sanctified by long tradition, at another divine ordinance, and
at another statutory law. Dio treats all three varieties im-
partially, passing lightly from one to another and back
again. The opening phrase, ἐστι δὲ, suggests that our
Discourse was preceded by an introductory composition no
longer extant.
75. ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΟΥ

1 "Εστι δὲ ὁ νόμος τοῦ βίου μὲν ἡγεμών, τῶν πόλεων δὲ ἑπιστάτης κοινός, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων κανὼν δίκαιος, πρὸς ὄν ἐκαστὸν ἀπευθύνειν δεὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σκολιὸς ἔστω καὶ πονηρός. οἱ μὲν οὖν τούτων φυλάττοντες ἔχονται τῆς σωτηρίας· οἱ δὲ παραβαίνοντες πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπολλύουσιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, παράδειγμα καὶ ζήλον αὐτοῖς ἀνομίας καὶ βίας παρέχοντες. ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν πλεόντων οἱ τοῦ πυρσοῦ μὴ διαμαρτάνοντες, οὕτως μάλιστα σώζονται καὶ τοὺς λιμένας εὐρίσκουσι, οὕτως οἱ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἔχοντες ἁσφαλέστατα πορεύονται διὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς τῆς δεούσης ἡμῶν. 2 τυχαίνουσιν. ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὖν ἂνδη τις συμβούλως χρησάμενος μετενόησεν, οὐ μέντοι νόμῳ. τοσοῦτοι δὲ τῶν τειχῶν ταῖς πόλεσι χρησιμώτερός ἐστιν, ὥστε ἀτείχιστοι μὲν πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων διαμένουσι, νόμου δὲ χωρίς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμίαν οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ συμφέρει τοῖς θυνητοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. ὁ γὰρ κόσμος ἂεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ἀκύνητον φυλάττει καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων οὐδὲν ἂν παραβαίνῃ τούτων. ὅθεν, οἴμαι, καὶ βασιλεὺς εἰ-
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ON LAW

The law is for life a guide, for cities an impartial overseer, and for the conduct of affairs a true and just straight-edge by which each must keep straight his own conduct; otherwise he will be crooked and corrupt. Accordingly, those who strictly observe the law have firm hold on safety; while those who transgress it destroy first of all themselves and then their fellows too, providing them with an example and pattern of lawlessness and violence. Yes, just as at sea those who do not miss the beacon are most likely to come through with their lives and to find their havens, so those who live according to the law journey through life with maximum security and reach the right destination. There have been, it is true, instances in which one who has used a human being as counsellor has done so to his sorrow, but not so with the law. So much more serviceable is it for our cities than their walls that many of them still remain unwalled, but without law no city can be administered.

But the law is of advantage not only to mortals, but to the gods as well. At any rate the universe always preserves the same law inviolate, and nothing which is eternal may transgress it. It is for that reason, methinks, that the law has appropriately
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

κότως ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν κέκληται, τὴν μὲν βίαν καταλύων, τὴν δὲ ὑβρίν καθαιρῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀνοιαν σωφρονίζων, τὴν δὲ κακίαν κολάζων, ἰδία δὲ καὶ κοινὴ πάντας τοὺς δεομένους ὦφελῶν, τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις βοηθῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπορουμένοις περὶ τινός μηνύων τὸ δέον. ὅταν γὰρ τις συμβαίντος τινὸς αὐτῷ δυσκόλου πράγματος ζητῇ τὸ συμφέρον, οὔδεν, οἶμαι, δεὶ φίλους παρακαλεῖν οὐδὲ συγγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἑλθόντα παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πυνθάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ u' οὐκ ἀν τὸ οἰκεῖον σκοπῶν χείρον ἐκεῖνῳ περιανέσειν οὐδὲ γ' ἀγνοήσας τὸ βέλτιον, οὐδὲ δὲ ἀσχολίαν τινὰ ἢ τὸ μὴ φροντίζειν τοὺς σκεπτομένους παρατίθεσατ' ἀν. τοῦναντίον γὰρ ἀπάντων ὁμοίως κήδεται καὶ σχολὴν ἀνει πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πράγματα καὶ οὐδὲν ἰδιον οὐδὲ ἔξαιρετον ἐστίν αὐτῷ.

4 Καὶ μὴν τοσοῦτον γε τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν μαντείας ὦφελημότερός ἐστι νόμοις, ὅσω τοὺς μὲν χρησμοὺς ἦδη τινὲς ἤγνοισαν καὶ δοκοῦντες πράττειν κατ' αὐτοὺς τάναντια ἐποίησαν, οἴθεν, οἶμαι, συμφοραῖς ἐχρήσαντο. παρὰ τοῦ νόμου δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ σκολιὸν οὐδὲ ἀμφίβολον, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἀπαντᾷ ἀ προσήκει τοῖς δεομένοις φράζει. ἄρχων δὲ ἀπάντων καὶ κύριος ὁν χωρίς ὀπλών καὶ βίας κρατεῖ· τοῦναντίον γὰρ αὐτὸς καταλύει τὴν βίαν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ

1 γὰρ added by Crosby.
2 οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε.
3 οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε.
4 σκεπτομένουs Morel: κλεπτομένους.

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been called "king of men and gods"; for law does away with violence, puts down insolence, reproves folly, chastises wickedness, and in private and public relations helps all who are in need, succouring the victims of injustice, and to those who are perplexed about a course of action making known what is their duty. Whenever, for instance, a man is confronted by a perplexing situation and is seeking to discover what is expedient for him, he need not, I believe, call in friends or kinsmen, but rather go to the laws and pose his question. For the law would not, having an eye to its own advantage, give him inferior advice, nor yet through ignorance of the better course, nor would it because of some engagement or lack of interest beg its consultants to let it be excused. For, on the contrary, it has regard for all alike, and it has leisure for the problems of all others, and for it there is no private or special interest.

Again, law is more serviceable than the oracular responses of the gods in that, while there have been some who did not understand the oracles, and, supposing that they were acting in harmony with them, have done the very opposite—which accounts, I imagine, for their having met with disaster—from the law there proceeds nothing which is tortuous or ambiguous, but, instead, it puts in simple phrases everything which is appropriate for those who are in need. Besides, though ruler and master of all things, it exercises its authority without the use of arms and force—on the contrary, law itself does away with force; nay, it rules by persuasion and governs

1 Cf. Pindar, frag. 169. Dio here puts into prose the most significant part of the passage: Plato quotes several lines from it in Gorgias 484 b.
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πείθως καὶ βουλομένων προέστηκεν. πείσας γὰρ πρότερον καὶ δοκιμασθεὶς οὕτως γίγνεται καὶ τὴν ἴσχυν τὴν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει.

5 Τηλικαύτην δὲ ἔχει δύναμιν ὡστε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς οὕτως ἔστιν ὁ βοηθῶν. τοὺς γὰρ ἱεροσύλους καὶ τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐσέβειαν κολάξει. καὶ μὴν αὐτὸν γε οὐδὲ εἰς οἷς τέ ἐστιν ἀδικήσαι. τῶν γὰρ παραβαίνοντων τὸν νόμον ἑκαστὸς οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ ἐαυτὸν βλάπτει. τοσαύτης δὲ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μεστὸς ἐστιν, ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσι χρησιμότερος καθέστηκε τῶν γένει προσηκόντων καὶ τοῖς ἄδικοι-μένοις ἰσχυρότερος τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ῥώμης, καὶ πατράσων υἱῶν εὐνοοῦστερος καὶ παισὶ γονέων καὶ ἄδελφοῖς ἄδελφῶν. πολλοὶ γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἄδικομένων πρὸς τούτον καταφεύγουσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενός εὖ πεπονθῶς ὁ νόμος πᾶσιν ὄν ἀν ἐνεργετῆσωσιν ἑτέρους ἐκτύει τὰς χάριτας, καὶ γονέως παρὰ παῖδων τὰς ὀμοίας κομιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ τινῶν ἐνεργείας παρὰ τῶν εὖ παθόντων καὶ τοῖς κοινῇ φιλοτιμομένοις παρὰ τῆς πόλεως.

7 Καλλιστα δὲ τὰ ἅθλα τῶν ἐνεργεσιῶν πεποίηκε, στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ προεδρίας ἔξευρόν· ὁ τοῖς μὲν παρέχουσιν οὐδεμίαν φέρει δαπάνην, τοῖς δὲ τυγχάνουσι τοῦ παντὸς ἄξια καθέστηκεν. ὁ τι δέ ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων, εὐθὺς τοῦτο μέγα καὶ τίμιον ἐποίησεν. οὕτως ἐστιν ὁ τῶν

1 ἔτι Arnim: εἰ. 2 τὰ ἅθλα Casaubon: τὰς ἄλλας.
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willing subjects. For it is because it first persuades men and secures their approval that law comes into being and acquires its own power.

But so great is the power it possesses, that it is the law which assists even the gods. For example, the sacrilegious and those who violate the reverence due to the gods it punishes. Moreover, the law itself no one has the power to injure. For every one who transgresses the law harms, not the law, but himself. But such is the righteousness and benevolence which pervades the law, that for the unfortunate it has proved even more helpful than their blood relatives; and for the victims of injustice it has proved more potent than their own might: and for fathers, more kindly than their sons; for sons, more kindly than parents; for brothers, than brothers. At any rate many, when wronged by their closest kin, seek refuge with the law. Then too, though it has experienced no kindness at the hands of any one, the law renders thanks in full to all for the kindnesses which they show to others, exacting thanks alike for fathers from their sons, for those who have in private done some deed of kindness from those whom they have benefited, and for those who display public spirit in municipal affairs from their city.

Furthermore, most beautiful are the rewards which it has established for their benefactions, having devised crowns and public proclamations and seats of honour, things which for those who supply them entail no expense, but which for those who win them have come to be worth everything. Indeed, whatever it so desires, however inexpensive it may be, the law immediately renders important and precious. It is the law which has made the wild olive so im-
κότων οὕτως μέγα καὶ τηλικάυτης ἀξίων σπουδής
8 ἀποδεῖξα καὶ τὰ σέληνα καὶ τὴν πίτυν καὶ τὸν
tοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανον. οὕτως ὦ ταῖς τριὰ ῥήματα,
ioς ἐκαστὸς κηρύττεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, πολλοὶς
ἀποφήναις τοῦ ἐν τιμωτερα. οὕτως ἔστην ὦ 
ταῖς πανηγύρεις συνάγων, ὦ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν, ὦ τὴν
ἀρετὴν αὐξῶν. οὕτως ὦ τὴν θάλατταν καθαίρων,
ὡ τὴν γῆν ἡμερον ποιῶν, ὦ τοῦ Διὸς οὗτως1 νιός,
ὡ τὴν ἀρέτην καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον ἵσχυν ἔχων
τοσοῦτον ἀπάντων σωφροσύνη καὶ πίστει δια-
φέρων ὡστε καὶ γυναικῶν κοινωνίαν καὶ παρθένων
ὡραν καὶ παίδων ἀκμὴν τοῦτω πάντες πεπιστεύ-
καμεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ παρθένου τῆς Δίκης οὐσίς
μόνος αὐτῇ διὰ σωφροσύνην σύνεστιν.

9 οὕτως ἐπίκουρος γῆρως, διδάσκαλος νεότητος,
πεινάς συνεργός, φύλαξ πλούτου, τῇ μὲν εἰρήνη
σύμμαχος, τῷ δὲ πολέμῳ ἐναντίος. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ πλέον2 ἱσχύει. τὸν γοῦν παρὰ
τῶν ἐχθρίστων κήρυκα πεμπόμενον οὕτως ἔστιν ὦ
σῶζων καὶ διαφυλάττων, παντὸς θώρακος καὶ
πάσης ἁσπίδος ἵσχυρότερον αὐτῷ δοῦς ὀπλον τὸ
κηρύκειον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ νόμου σύμβολον.3 διὰ τοὐ-
τον τοὺς ἀποδιανότας οὐδὲις ἔτι κρίνει πολεμίους
οὔτε τὴν ἐχθραν καὶ τὴν ὑβριν εἰς τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν
ἐπιδείκνυται.

10 Τοσοῦτω δὲ ταῖς4 πόλεσι χρησιμώτερός ἐστιν

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1 οὕτως Sonny: ἔστως BPH, ἔτεις U.
2 πλέον[πλέοστον] Emperius.
3 ἔστι δὲ . . . σύμβολον suspected by Geel.
4 ταῖς Morel: τῷ M, omitted by UBPH.

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1 The crown of wild olive was awarded at the Olympic Games, the parsley at Nemea, and the pine at the Isthmus.
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important, worth so much devoted effort, just as also
with the parsley, the pine, and the olive crown ¹; it is the law which has made the three words with
which each good man is publicly acclaimed ² more
precious to many than life itself. It is the law which
convenes the national festive gatherings, which
honours the gods, which exalts virtue; it is the law
which purges the sea, ³ makes civilized the land, is
the veritable son of Zeus, the possessor of invincible,
insuperable might ⁴; for it is so far superior to all
else in temperance and trustworthiness that not
only partnership with women but also the bloom of
maidens and the prime of lads we all have entrusted
to the law. Besides, though Justice is a virgin, such
is his continence that Law dwells with her without
a chaperon.

Law is a protector of old age, a schoolmaster of
youth, of poverty a fellow labourer, a guard of wealth,
to peace an ally, to war a foe. Nay, even in war
itself law has the greater might. For instance, the
herald who is dispatched from one’s bitterest foes
the law protects and guards, giving him as a weapon
more mighty than any corselet or any shield the
herald’s staff—in fact, this is a symbol of the law.
Because of the law the slain are deemed no longer
to be foes, nor are hatred and insult wreaked upon
their bodies.

Again, so much more useful is the law to our cities

Distinguished public service at Athens was also rewarded
by “the olive crown”: cf. Aeschines 3, 187.

¹ The words in question may be ἀνήρ ἄγαθὸς εἶση, a phrase
which occurs with great regularity in honorific decrees.

² That is, rids it of pirates.

³ The law is here being compared to Heracles, whose
labours consisted largely in ridding civilization of its foes.

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ὅπερ τὰ πηδάλια ταῖς ναυσίν, ὡστε ἡ μὲν ἀποβαλοῦσα¹ τοῦς οἶκους ναῦς οὐκ ἂν ἀπόλοιπο μὴ χειμῶνος καταλαβόντος, πόλιν δ’ οὐκ ἐνι σωθῆναι τοῦ νόμου λυθέντος, οὐδ’ ἂν μηδὲν ἔξωθεν συμβαίνῃ δεινόν. ὡσπερ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῶ διανοίας διοικεῖται καὶ σφίζεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστος, ἡ δὲ ταύτης διαφθορὰ μανίαν καὶ παρακοπὴν φέρει, παραπλησίως, ἂν τις ἀνέλῃ τὸν νόμον ἐκ τοῦ βίου, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὸν νοῦν ἀπολωλεκὼς εἰς παντελῆ μανίαν καὶ παραχὴν περιστήσεται.

¹ ἀποβαλοῦσα Pflugk: ἀποβάλλουσα.
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than rudders are to our ships that, whereas a ship which has lost its rudders ¹ would not perish unless a storm should overtake it, a city cannot be saved if the law has been destroyed, not even when no dire disaster befalls it from without. But just as each of us is governed and safeguarded by the intelligence which is in him, while its destruction entails madness and insanity, similarly, if one expels the law from his life, just as if he had lost his mind, I believe he will be brought into a state of utter madness and confusion.

¹ Greek ships commonly had two rudders, one on each side.
THE SEVENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON CUSTOM

This is another sophistic exercise. Comparison with the preceding Discourse will show with what ease the sophist could shift his ground. In Or. 75 law is eulogized as a beneficent influence in human affairs; here custom has taken its place. Contradictions between the two documents abound, but perhaps none more striking than the two statements that follow: "from the law there proceeds nothing which is tortuous or ambiguous, but, instead, it puts in simple phrases everything which is appropriate for those who are in need" (Or. 75. 4) and "some laws have not been clearly written, and they are often warped and twisted by the eloquence of the orators: but our customs are never ambiguous or crooked, and oratory could not get the upper hand with them" (Or. 76. 4).
76. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΘΟΥΣ

1 Καὶ τὰ τά φοινίκια τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πάσιν ἔδωκεν, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, ἔλεησεν, ἐφησεν καὶ ἐκοίμησεν, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, πάσιν ἔδωκεν, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων.

2 διὸ ὁ ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, πάσιν ἔδωκεν, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, πάσιν ἔδωκεν, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, πάσιν ἔδωκεν, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, πάσιν ἔδωκεν, καὶ τὰ τάφα τῶν ἁγίων, πάσιν ἔδωκεν.
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Custom is a judgement common to those who use it, an unwritten law of tribe or city, a voluntary principle of justice, acceptable to all alike with reference to the same matters, an invention made, not by any human being, but rather by life and time. Therefore, while of the laws in general each obtains its power through having been approved once and for all, custom is constantly being subjected to scrutiny. Moreover, while no law will readily be chosen by everybody—for it is by the opinions of the majority that it is ratified—yet a custom could not come into being if not accepted by all. Again, while law by threats and violence maintains its mastery, it is only when we are persuaded by our customs that we deem them excellent and advantageous.

Therefore it seems to me that we might liken the written law to the power of tyranny, for it is by means of fear and through injunction that each measure is made effective; but custom might rather be likened to the benevolence of kingship, for of their own volition all men follow custom, and without constraint. Again, we know of many laws which have been repealed by those who made them, because they judged them to be bad; but no one could
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ἐθος δὲ οὐκ ἂν οὐδεὶς ράδιως δείξεις λελυμένον. καὶ μὴν τῷ πάντι ράδιον ἔστιν ἀνελεῖν ὃ τι βούλει 3 τῶν ἐγγράφων ᾗ τῶν ἐθῶν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀπαλείφῃς ἄπαξ, ἡμέρα μιᾶ λένται· συνήθειεν δὲ πόλεως οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πάνι πολλῷ καταλῦσαι χρόνῳ. κάκεινοι μὲν ἐν σανίσιν ἡ στήλαις φυλάττονται· τῶν δὲ ἐκαστὸν ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς. ἀσφαλεστέρα δὲ καὶ κρείττων ἡ τουαύτη φυλακή. καὶ μὴν ὁ μὲν ἐγγραφὸς νόμος ἀυστηρός ἐστι καὶ ἀπηνής, ἔθους δὲ οὐδὲν ἦδον. ἔπειτα τοὺς νόμους παρ’ ἅλλων πυνθανόμεθα, τὰ δὲ ἐθη πάντες ἑπιστάμεθα.

4 Κάκεινων μὲν εἰσὶν οὐ σαφῶς ἐννοις γεγραμμένοι καὶ διαστρέφονται πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ρήτωροι δυνάμεως· τῶν δὲ ἐθῶν οὐδὲν ἄμφιβολον οὐδὲ σκολιόν, οὐδὲ ἐν περιγένοιτ αὐτῶν λόγος. κακείνων μὲν ἂει δεῖ μημονεῦειν, εἰ μέλλομεν αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν· τοῦ δὲ ἔθους οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ βουλομένους ἐπιλαθέσθαι· τουαύτην γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν ὡστε ἂεὶ ὑπομιμήσκειν αὐτοῦσ. τὸ ἄλλον δὲ τοὺς μὲν νόμους φαίη τις ἂν ποιεῖν δούλων πολιτείαν, τὰ δὲ ἐθη τοιναντίον ἑλευθέρων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ποιοῦσιν εἰς τὰ σώματα κολάσεις· παραβαινομένου δὲ ἔθους τὴν ζητικὴν εἶναι συμβεβηκέναι αἰσχύνῃ. ὡστε ἐκείνοις μὲν φαῦλων, οὐ- τος δὲ ἄγαθῶν ἐστὶ νόμος· εἰ γὰρ ἄπαντες ἢσαν ἄγαθοι, δὴλον ὅτι τῶν ἐγγράφων ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἐν ἐδει νόμων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν νόμων εἰσὶν οἱ βασιλεῖς

1 ράδιον Morel: ράδιων. 2 γὰρ ἔχει Emperius: παρέχει. 3 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῦ Emperius.

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readily point to a custom which had been dissolved. Nay, it is altogether easier to do away with any written ordinance you please than to do away with any custom. For written ordinances, once the writing is erased, are done for in a single day; but a city’s usage it is impossible to destroy in a very long period of time. Besides, while laws are preserved on tablets of wood or of stone, each custom is preserved within our own hearts. And this sort of preservation is surer and better. Furthermore, the written law is harsh and stern, whereas nothing is more pleasant than custom. Then too, our laws we learn from others, but our customs we all know perfectly.

Again, some laws have not been clearly written, and they are often warped and twisted by the eloquence of the orators; but our customs are never ambiguous or crooked, and oratory could not get the upper hand with them. Also the laws must be kept constantly in mind if we are to abide by them; whereas a custom men cannot forget, even if they would; for such is its nature that it is constantly reminding them.

And, speaking generally, while one might say that the laws create a polity of slaves, our customs, on the contrary, create a polity of free men. For the laws inflict punishment upon men’s bodies; but when a custom is violated, the consequent penalty has always been disgrace. Therefore the one is a law for bad persons, the other for good persons. Indeed, if all men were good, evidently we should have no need of the written laws. Furthermore, although our

4 ποιοδόν] ἀπειλοδόν Arnim. 5 δὲ added by Emperius.
επάνω καὶ πολλὰ πράττοντι παρ’ αυτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἔθεσι κάκεινοι κατακολούθοσιν.

5 Καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐγγράφων οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀσχύει, τὰ δὲ ἔθη φιλάττεται παρὰ πᾶσιν, κἂν εἰς ἐσχάτην ἔχθραν προέλθωσιν. τὸ γοῦν μὴ κωλύειν τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν οὐδαμῇ γέγραπται. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὑπῆκοιν οἱ κρατοῦντες τοῖς τῶν ἑπτωμένων ἐπιτάγμασιν; ἀλλ’ ἔθος ἔστὶ τὸ ποιοῦν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ταῦτης τοὺς κατοικομένους τυγχάνειν. ὅμως τὸ τῶν κηρύκων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μόνους τούτους πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι βαδίζοσιν. τῶν μὲν οὖν νόμων παραβαινόντων οὐδεὶς ἄν ἐπιδείξειν οὐδένα, οὗμαι, φανερῶς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κεκολασμένον. Λακεδαίμονοι δ’ ἔπει παρέβησαν τὸ κηρύκων ἔθος, τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐλθόντας ἀνελόντες, ἐκολάσθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαιμονίου.

1 Herodotus tells the tale (7. 133-137). When the heralds came demanding earth and water as tokens of submission to Persia, the Spartans cast them into a well, telling them to get their earth and water there. For a long time afterwards Sparta could not obtain favourable omens, until finally two
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kings are above the laws and do many things in violation of them, even they follow the customs.

Again, of the written laws, not one is in force in time of war, but the customs are observed by all, even if men proceed to the extremity of hatred. For example, the provision that no one shall prevent the burial of the dead has nowhere been put in writing, for how could the victors obey the injunctions of the vanquished? Nay, it is custom which brings it to pass that the departed are granted that act of humanity. It is the same with the provision that no one shall lay hands on heralds, and that they alone enjoy complete security on their missions. Finally, from among those who transgress law, I believe that not one could be shown to have been punished openly by the gods; yet the Spartans, when they had transgressed the custom regarding heralds, having slain the heralds who came from the Great King, were punished by the divine power itself.¹

nobles volunteered to offer themselves to the Great King in expiation of the crime against the sanctity of heralds. The king magnanimously spared their lives.
THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH/EIGHTH DISCOURSE: ON ENVY

In enumerating the eighty items which he found in his copy of Dio, Photius lists next in order after Or. 76 two speeches entitled περὶ φθόνου. Some support is given Photius in that connexion by our manuscripts, for UB place at the beginning of the document before us the heading περὶ φθόνου α, and, to introduce § 15, a second heading, περὶ φθόνου β, while PH have preserved for us only §§ 1-14. These facts account for the double number attached to the present Discourse in editions of our author. How it came to be viewed as two separate documents is difficult to understand, for both parts deal with the same theme, the second part follows naturally upon the first, and there is no perceptible break between them. To be sure, dialogue predominates in the first part, while in the second there is almost unbroken exposition, but that is a phenomenon noticed in other specimens of Dio’s teaching.

Arnim assigns this Discourse to the period of Dio’s exile and regards it as a trustworthy and significant illustration of the way in which at that period he sometimes imparted instruction. The dialogue begins abruptly, the opening words revealing that the discussion is already under way. Almost immediately Dio’s partner calls attention to the presence of a large company of listeners, who might find a detailed discussion irksome. Dio counters by asking if they have not assembled for the express purpose of listening to “wise words and about wise words,” and he proceeds to test the sincerity of their interest by continuing the argument. But by the time we reach § 9 we find that—possibly because he has taken to heart the warning about his audience—he begins to abandon dialectic and to launch forth into rather continuous exposition. One is reminded of the Borysthenitic
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Discourse (Or. 36), in which we are told that a large crowd has assembled to hear their visitor, and Dio, after a preliminary skirmish with the young Callistratus, directs his further remarks to his audience at large. The setting of our present Discourse cannot be determined with precision, but that it was delivered in some large city may be inferred from § 8. Furthermore, the size of the audience and the reference (§ 15) to a discussion which had taken place the day preceding suggest that Dio had been in residence long enough to have attracted some attention.
77. 78. ΠΕΡΙ ΦΘΟΝΟΥ

1 Δ. Ἀρα διὰ ταύτα καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ἐνομίσθη σοφὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἡσίοδος καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνάξιος ἐκεῖνης τῆς δόξης, ως οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη τέχνη τὰ ποιήματα ποιῶν τε καὶ ἤδουν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς Μούσαις ἐντυχὼν καὶ μαθητής αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων γενόμενος; οἴθεν2 εξ ἀνάγκης ο θεός ἐπήμη αὐτῷ πάντα μουσικά τε καὶ σοφὰ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οὐδὲν μάταιον, ὅν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τούτο τὸ ἔπος ἐστὶν.
Τὸ ποιῶν;
Δ. Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτων τέκτων.

2 Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀλλὰ φανήσεται τῶν Ἡσιόδου πεποιημένα καλῶς περί τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν σχεδόν τι καὶ περί μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἡ ὅποια τὰ λεχθέντα νῦν· ἀτὰρ οὕν καὶ ταύτα ἀπεφήματο μᾶλθ ἀληθῶς τε καὶ ἐμπείρως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.
Δ. Βούλει οὖν ἐπιμελέστερον σκοπῶμεν αὐτά; 
Καὶ πῶς ἡμᾶς ἀνέξονται τοσοῦτος ὁχλὸς περὶ τοιούτων διαλεγομένους;

1 περὶ φθόνου ΜΗ, περὶ φθόνον a UB; see Introduction.
2 οἴθεν Casaubon: δ Ἐν (Ἐν).
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Dio. Is it really for these and similar reasons that Hesiod came to be regarded as a wise man among the Greeks and by no means unworthy of that reputation, as being one who composed and chanted his poems, not by human art, but because he had held converse with the Muses and had become a pupil of those very beings?¹ Whence it inevitably follows that whatever entered his mind he always expressed with both music and wisdom and in no instance without a purpose, as is clearly illustrated by the verse I have in mind.

Interlocutor. What verse?

Dio. Both potter at potter doth rage and joiner at joiner.²

Int. Many other verses of Hesiod’s will be seen to have been well expressed about both men and gods, and, I may almost add, about more important matters than the sort just mentioned; yet here too, no doubt, he has expressed himself very truthfully as well as with experience of human nature.

Dio. Shall we, then, consider them more carefully?

Int. Why, how will so large a gathering bear with us if we discuss such matters?

¹ Hesiod tells of his encounter with the Muses in Theogony 22-34.
² Hesiod, Works and Days 25.
Δ. Τί δέ; οὐ σοφὰ καὶ περὶ σοφῶν ἔκουσιν ἀκουσόμενοι;
Φαίειν ἂν, ὡς μοι δοκοῦσιν.
Δ. Ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν Ἡσίοδον φαύλον ἔγονται καὶ ὀλίγον ἄξιον;
Οὐδαμῶς.
Δ. Ἀλλὰ περὶ φυόνου καὶ ξηλωτυπίας καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ πρὸς ἄλληλους οὕτως ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τίς εἰς οὐ χρήσιμον αὐτοῖς ἀκροάσθαι;
Πάντων μὲν οὖν χρησιμῶτατον.

3 Δ. Ὁνκοῦν χρήσιμον¹ ἡδὴ καὶ ἀποπειράθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. φέρε δή, δι' ἄλλο τί φησι τούτους Ἡσίοδος εἶναι φθονεροὺς καὶ δυσκόλως ἄλληλους ἔχειν ἡ διότι ἤττον  ἄν² ἐργάζοιτο³ ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκαστος, ὅτου ἂν τύχῃ πράττων, πολλῶν ὀντων ὀμοίων;
Διὰ τί γὰρ ἄλλο;
Δ. Πότερον οὖν κεραμεὶ μὲν λυσιτελεῖ μηδένα ἄλλον εἶναι κεραμέα ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τε καὶ κώμῃ, μαγείρῳ δὲ τούτῳ οὐ λυσιτελές, ὅπως ἐξῆ αὐτῷ ἀποδίδοσθαι ὅποι ἂν ἔχῃ τὰ κρέα τοῖς δεομένοις, ἂν καὶ πάνυ λεπτὸν ἑρεῖον ἢ πρεσβύτερον τύχῃ προάμενοι;
Δῆλον ὅτι καὶ μαγείρῳ.

4 Δ. Τί δέ; βαφεὶ τὴν βαφικὴν ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνην οὐ μόνῳ αὐτῶ ἁμεινὸν ἡ μεθ᾽ ἐτέρων ἀντὶ-
τέχνων, ὥσα ὁποιοὶ ἀποδιδῶταί τὰ βάμματα ταῖς γυναιξίν; ἀγαπήσουσι γάρ ὁμούμεναι καὶ ὀλίγῳ
βελτίω ἡ ὀποία εἰσόδασιν αὐταί βάπτειν ἐν τοῖς

¹ χρήσιμον] χρή Αἰσχ. 
² ἄν Geel: ἓν Μ, omitted by UBPH.
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Dio. Why not; have they not come to hear wise
words and about wise words?

Int. They would say so, it seems to me.

Dio. But they do not regard Hesiod as common-
place and of small account, do they?

Int. By no means.

Dio. Well, is it not useful for them to hear about
envy and jealousy, and who those are who are envious
and jealous of one another, and for what reasons?

Int. Of course, most useful of all.

Dio. Then it is useful also to test the patience
of the gentlemen without delay. Well now, does
Hesiod have any other reason for saying that these
men of his are envious and ill-disposed toward one
another than because each would make less profit
from his occupation, whatever that occupation may
be, if there were many of a similar occupation?

Int. Why, what other reason could it be?

Dio. Then, if it is profitable for a potter that there
should be no other potter in the same city or village,
is this not profitable for a butcher, to the end that
he may have the opportunity to sell whatever kind
of meat he has to those who need it, even if by chance
he has bought a very lean or oldish carcass?

Int. Evidently it is profitable for a butcher too.

Dio. Well then, is it not preferable for a dyer to
ply his trade as dyer all by himself rather than in
competition with other craftsmen, so that he may
be able to sell his dyes, of whatever quality they may
be, to the women? For they will then be satisfied
to buy dyes even slightly better than the kind they
are themselves accustomed to use for dyeing on their

3 After ἐργάζομαι Geel deletes τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης (τὸ τῆς
αὐτοῦ τέχνης UB, τὴν αὐτοῦ τέχνην PH).
Διόνυσος ους ἔτυχε, καὶ οὐ ζητήσουσι δευσοποιά καὶ ἀλουργή.

Πως γὰρ ζητήσουσι; ¹

Δ. Φέρε, πορνοβοσκῷ δὲ οὐ κερδαλεωτέρον τε καὶ ἀμείνων πρὸς τὴν ἐμπολὴν μόνον ἔχειν τούτο τὸ ὅνειδος καὶ μόνον αὐτῶν ἄκοινων κακῶς ἡ σὺν ἐτέρωσ, ὁμοίως μὲν ἐν πόλει τρέφοντα καὶ ἀσκοῦντα τοιούτον θρέμμα, ὁμοίως δὲ εἰς Πυλαίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πανηγύρεις πορευόμενον καὶ περιάγοντα;

Καὶ πάνω μοι δοκεῖ πορνοβοσκὸς εὐξασθαι ἂν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοτέχων πολλήν ἐρημίαν.

5  Δ. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ περὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς οὕτως ὑπελάμβανε τῶν τὰς αὐτὰς ἐργασίας ἐργαζόμενων, ὡς βλαβεροῦς οὖντας ἄλληλοις καὶ ἐμποδὸν πρὸς τὸν βίον;

Περὶ πάντων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός.

Δ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπρεπεν, οὕμα, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξείναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος φράζειν ἔφ' ἐνος ἡ δυοὶ νόονν ὅταν φῇ μηδ' ἂν βοῦν ἀπολέσθαι τινὶ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ γείτωνος πονηρίας, οὐ δήπον φησιν ὅτι βοῦν μὲν ἀπολέασιν ἀν γείτων πονηρὸς ἡ ἄλλοις ³ συγγνοίη, πρόβατον δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑφέλοιτο, ⁴ εὰν δύνηται λαθεῖν, οὐδὲ ἀγα τῶν καλῶν τῶν πολὺ ἀμεληγομένων καὶ διδυμοτοκούσων ἄλλα δήλον ὅτι ὡς πρὸς συνιέντας λέγει τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς

¹ ζητήσουσι Reiske: ζητοῦσι.
² τὸ added by editio princeps.
³ ἄλλοις Selden: ἄλλοις.
⁴ ὑφέλοιτο Reiske: ἀπόλοιτο.

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farms, dyes picked up at random, and they will not demand fast colours and royal purples.

Int. Of course they will not.

Dio. Well, how about a brothel-keeper? Is it not more profitable and better with a view to his earnings that he alone should have this reproach and alone be called vile names rather than in company with others, alike whether supporting and training that kind of cattle in the city or taking to the road and dragging his stock about to the congress at Thermopylae ¹ and to the other great festive gatherings as well?

Int. Indeed I am quite sure that the brothel-keeper would pray that fellow artists might be very scarce.

Dio. Then, was it about all, that is, all who are engaged in the same line of business, that he was making an assumption in terms so sweeping, believing that all are detrimental to one another and a hindrance in the gaining of their living?

Int. Yes, he meant all, most likely.

Dio. Aye, it was not like him, I suppose, to take them up one by one. For certainly in other matters it is his custom to treat of the whole topic by means of one or two examples. For instance, when he says that a man would not even lose an ox except for the depravity of his neighbour,² he surely does not mean that, while a bad neighbour would destroy an ox or condone the crime in others, he would not steal a sheep, provided he could escape detection, or one of the fine goats which yield abundant milk and bear twins; nay, manifestly he speaks to those who read

¹ Thermopylae was the meeting place of the Delphic Amphictyony. ² Works and Days 348.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

6 ποιήμασιν. οὐκόν ἐπὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἐνὶ λόγῳ
φῶμεν ἐν βραχεὶ λέγειν οὕτως τῶν ὁμοτέχνων,
ὡς οὔτε φιλούντων αὐτοὺς οὔτε λυσιτελοῦντων
ἀλλήλοις;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Δ. Φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ἡ ναυτικὴ τέχνη ἐστὶν,
ἡ ἡττον1 τι τῆς κεραμευτικῆς ἡ τῆς μαγειρικῆς
τυγχάνοι ἂν τοῦτο τοῦ ὀνόματος;
Οὕχ ἡττον ὑσως.

Δ. Ἀρ2 οὖν ἐν νηὶ μεγάλῃ πολλὰ ἵστια ἔχουσιν
καὶ φόρτον πολὺν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβατῶν ὦμιλον
εἰς ναύτης καλῶς πράττοι ἂν, καὶ συμφέροι αὐτῶ
μηδένα ἄλλον ἐν τῇ νηὶ πλεῖν μήτε μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ
μήτε ἔλαττον ἐπιστάμενον τὰ ναυτικὰ, ἀν δὲ πολ-
λοὶ ὄσων, ἀσύμφοροι ἀλλήλοις ἔσονται καὶ πρὸς
βλάβης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν νηὶ μισοῦσιν ἀλλή-
λοις οἱ πλείονες ναύται;

7 Τοῦτο μὲν ἐτερον τὸ τῶν ναυτῶν. ἀλλὰ κυβερ-
νήτης γε, οἵμαι, κυβερνήτην οὐκ ἃν ἡδοιτο3 ὀρῶν
συμπλεόντα αὐτῷ.

Δ. Πότερον ὅταν χειμῶν ὅσχυρος ἡ καὶ μὴ
katásχῃ τοῖς πηδαλίοις ἐκατέρου διὰ γῆρας ἡ
diὰ βιὰν τῆς θαλάττης, οὐδὲ τὸτε φιλεῖ κυβερνή-
tην ἄλλον οὗτο εὔχεται φανεῖσθαι τὸν διαδεξόμενον,
οὐδ' ὅταν κατακοιμηθήναι δέχεται, πολλὰς ἐφεξῆς
ἀγρυπνῶν νύκτας καὶ ἣμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸτε
ὄμως μισεῖ καὶ ἐκεῖνον αὐτοῦ νενόμικεν εἰ
cυβερνήτης ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐτερός ἐστιν;

1 ἡ ἡττον ΑThem : ἀλλ' ἡττον UBM, ἡττον PHI.

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his poems as to intelligent persons. Are we, then, putting it concisely, to say that the poet, speaking thus briefly, refers to all who belong to the same craft as not loving one another and not benefiting one another?

Int. Most assuredly.

Dio. Well now, in Heaven's name, is seafaring a craft, or would it receive that label in any degree less than the craft of the potter or of the butcher?

Int. Not less, I suppose.

Dio. Then in a large ship with many sails and a large cargo and a crowd of passengers would a single sailor be successful, and would it be to his advantage to have no other sailor on board, be his knowledge of nautical affairs either greater or less than his own; and, on the other hand, if there are many of them, will they be detrimental to one another and harmful, and on that account on a ship do the majority of the sailors hate each other?

Int. This matter of the sailors is a different story. Yet at any rate a pilot, I fancy, would not enjoy seeing another pilot sailing with him.

Dio. When there is a violent storm and the pilot cannot control each of his two rudders because of old age or the violence of the sea, even at such a time does he not like another pilot or pray that the one to relieve him may make his appearance; or, again, when he needs to sleep, having been without sleep for many nights and days together, even in such circumstances too does he feel the same hatred, and does he consider it his loss if a second pilot is on board?

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2 ἱῶς. Δ. Αρ' Pflugk: ἱῶς γὰρ.
3 ηδοῖτο Selden: ἡγοῖτο.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Οὖκ ἂν ἵσως τότε μισοῖ· πῶς γὰρ; ἀλλ’ ἢμεῖς οὔ περὶ ναυτιλίας οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ λέγομεν.

8 Δ. Ἐξειν’ οὐκοῦν ὁ γε ἰατρὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἱάται καὶ τέχνην οὐδὲν ἐλάττων ἔχει τῶν τεκτόνων.
Τί οὖν δὴ τούτο;

Δ. Ἀρά γε δοκεῖ σοι βούλεσθαι μόνος ἂν εἶναι τὴν τέχνην ἐπιστάμενος ἐν πόλει τηλικαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶν νοσούντων;
Τί δὲ κωλύει βούλεσθαι μόνον εἶναι; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἵσως χεῖρον οὐ δυναμένοις ὡς ἐνὸς ἰατρεύεσθαι, τὸ δὲ γε ἐκεῖνον τιμώτερον οὖτως.
οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶπεῖν ἐστιν ἡλίκων ἂν καὶ ὄσων μισθῶν συγχάνοι μόνος ἐν τοσούτοις νοσοῦσιν ἰκανὸς ὃν ἰάσθαι.

Δ. Ἀλλ’ οὖ μαινόμενον ἰατρὸν λέγω σοι.

9 Τί δὲ; μαινομένοι σοι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν σφόδρα τιμᾶσθαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα λαμβάνειν?

Δ. Ὅταν γε αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ληθάργυν ἐχόμενος ἢ φρειτίδι περιπεσὼν χαίρῃ, ὅτι οὐδένα ἔχει τὸν ἰασόμενον οὐδὲ τὸν δώσοντα μανδραγόραν πιεῖν ἢ ἄλλο φάρμακον ὑγιεινὸν, ἦν δὴ μόνος ἔχῃ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει μισθούς τε καὶ τιμᾶς. εἰ δὲ δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδία νοσοῖ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ οἱ φίλοι πάντες ἐπισφαλῶς, ἀρὰ καὶ τότε εὐχοιτ’ ἂν μηθένα ἄλλον ἰατρὸν εὑρεθήμαι τὸν βοηθήσοντα.

1 ἔχει Reiske: ἔχοι.
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Int. Perhaps he would not hate him then; how could he? Still, we are not speaking of a sailor's craft or of nautical affairs either.

Dio. Very well. The physician, at any rate, practises his healing art on land and has a profession not inferior to that of the joiners.

Int. Well, what of that?

Dio. Do you really suppose he would like to be the only one acquainted with his art in a city as large as this, particularly if many are ill?

Int. What is to prevent his wishing to be the only one? For though for everybody else the situation may be worse, since they cannot all be treated by a single physician, still his work is prized more highly under these conditions. Nor can one tell the amount and the number of the fees he might take in if he, single-handed in the midst of so many sick, were able to provide treatment.

Dio. But I am not speaking to you of a physician who is crazy.

Int. What! Do you consider it the mark of insanity in a man to wish to be very highly prized and to amass great wealth?

Dio. Yes, if when he himself is a victim of lethargic fever or has an attack of inflammation of the brain he is delighted that he has no one to cure him and give him a potion of mandragora¹ to drink or some other healthful drug, his purpose being, forsooth, to be the only one to get the fees and honours in the city. But if, then, besides himself, his children also and his wife and his friends should be ill, all dangerously ill, would he even then pray that no other physician be found to come to his rescue; and if

¹ Mandragora was a recognized sedative.
DIΟ CHΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἐὰν δὲ φανή τις, κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον κοτέειν μέλλει καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἱγγείσθαι τῶν αὐτοῦ σωτηρα καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων;

10 Φέρε, ἐὰν δὲ συμβῆ πρᾶγμα τουρτὸν ὅποιόν ποτε συνέτυχε περί τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ἵατρούς· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἰώμενοι Δαρείον τὸν Πέρσην—ὡς ἔτυχεν αὐτῷ πεσόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μεταχωρήσας ὁ ἀστράγαλος—οὔχ οὐκ ἦν ἵσθαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τέχνην, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἀγρυπνίας τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνας δεινῶς ἐνέβαλον αὐτὸν, ἐλκοπτε καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὸ ἄρθρον. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευσε φυλάττειν, ὅπως ἀποθάνωσιν στρεβλωθέντες. πυθόμενος δ’ ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις εἰναι τινα Ἑλληνα ἐπίχειροντα ἴασθαι, καλέσας αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ τι ἰχοῖ, βοηθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἄρα Δημοκτήδης ὁ Κροτωνιάτης, ὅσπερ ἀριστός ἔδοκε τῶν τότε ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἵατρῶν· ὅς καὶ παραχρήμα μὲν καθυπνῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, εἶτα καταπλάττων καὶ καταιονών καὶ τάλλα ἐπιμεληθείσα ὄλγων ἡμερῶν ὑγίῃ ἀπέδειξεν. κελεύσαντος δὲ Δαρείου λαβεῖν ὁ τι βούλεται, τοὺς ἵατρους παρηγήσατο ἀφείναι αὐτὸν. καὶ μέντοι ἀφείεθησαν, ἐκείνου δεηθέντος. πότερον οὖν τότε ἐφθάνοντο τῷ Δημοκτήδει2 καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦντο, ὃ φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐπὶ τῶν κεραμέων ἡ τεκτόνων, λυπητελεῖν νομίζοντες αὐτοῖς εἰ μηδείς ἄλλος ἴατρός ἐφάνη.

1 Δημοκτήδης Dindorf: δημοδόκης ο υ δημόδοκος.
SEVENTY-SEVENTH/EIGHTH DISCOURSE

one does make his appearance, is the physician likely, as Hesiod puts it, to rage and to regard as an enemy his own saviour and the saviour of those dearest to him?

Again, suppose there should occur some such thing as once befell the Egyptian physicians. You see, they tried to cure Darius the Persian—for in falling from his horse his ankle bone happened to slip out of place—and they were unable by means of their own art to correct the injury, but, instead, they brought upon him insomnia and awful pains by pulling the joint and trying to force it into place. So Darius gave orders to keep these men in prison, intending that they should be tortured to death. But learning that among his captives there was a certain Greek who endeavoured to heal people, summoning him in desperation he ordered him to help him if he could. Now the man was Democedes of Croton, who was considered the ablest of the Greek physicians of that day. And he did immediately cause him to fall asleep, and then by means of poultices and fomentations and so forth within a few days he made him sound and well. But when Darius bade him take as reward anything he pleased, he besought him to release the physicians. And, indeed, they were released, because Democedes had requested it.¹ Now I ask you whether in such circumstances they were jealous of Democedes and regarded him as an enemy, as Hesiod says is true with the potters or the joiners, because they believed it to be to their advantage if no other physician turned up and cured

¹ For a fuller narrative of this episode, see Herodotus 3. 125 and 129-132.

² Δημοκήδει Dindorf: Δημοδόκω.
Δ. Καὶ μὴν θωρακοποιοί εἶσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ κρανοποιοί καὶ τειχοποιοί καὶ δορυφόροι καὶ ἔτεροι πλείους· εἰ οὖν τούτοις λυσιτελεῖ ἕνα ἐκαστὸν ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων εἶναι τῆς τέχνης δημιουργὸν μᾶλλον η τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἥδεως ἐγώγ' ἀν πυθοῖμην. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, καὶ μήτε τῶν τειχῶν ἐστηκότων μήτε ὁπλισμένων ἀπάντων, ἀναγκάζομαι ἄν ἀνοπλοῖ καὶ ἀτείχιστοι διακανισθεῖν. οὐσί τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἂν ἔσωσ οὖτοί γε ἀποθάνοιεν, ληφθέντες δὲ καὶ δεθέντες πρὸ καὶ ἐργάζομαι τοῖς πολεμίωις πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἀνθ' ὑπὲρτορον θρυπτόμενοι πολλῆς τιμῆς ἀπεδίδοντο τοὺς τῷ θώρακάς καὶ τὰ κράνη καὶ τὰ δόρατα, καὶ γνοίην ἂν ότι οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ ἐφθόνει καὶ ἐμίνε διὰ τὴν τέχνην οὔτε χαλκείς χαλκεί οὔτε τέκτον τέκτων, οὔτε λοῦν τε καὶ ἄμειον ἂν αὐτῷ μόνον ἡ σὺν ὅλιγοι εἶναι τῆς τέχνης ἐργάτην. 

Ἀλλὰ δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλους σχεδόν οὖκ ἂεὶ βελτιὼν ο φήσι τοῖς κεραμέωι καὶ μαγεύοις τε καὶ βασίζου καὶ πορνοβοσκοῖς. οὔκοιν ἡ ἐξεισποτή καὶ ὁ θόνος καὶ τὸ μηδένι ἄλλον ἐθέλεν πράττειν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐργον μαγειρικὸν τε καὶ βασικὸν καὶ κεραμευτικὸν καὶ ἐτ' μᾶλλον πορνοβοσκοῖς προσήκον ἦπερ

1 μόνον] μόνω Pflugk.
2 ἐργάτην Eusebius: ἐργάταις.
3 βελτιὼν, ὁ φήσι Aristarchus, βελτιὼν ὡς φήσι Selden: βελτίως φήσι (φήσει).
4 ἐτ' deleted by Arntim.
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the king, or whether they felt a strong affection for Demoedides and were grateful to him.

Int. It would be reasonable to suppose they were grateful.

Dio. Again, there are corselet-makers in the cities and helmet-makers and wall-builders and spear-polishers and many others: whether, therefore, it is to their advantage that only one in each city should be a worker at each craft rather than a considerable number is a matter I would gladly learn. For it is clear that, if enemies attack at a time when the walls have not been completed and not all the citizens have been equipped with arms, then they would be forced to hazard all without arms and walls. Therefore, if the city were taken, though possibly these craftsmen might escape with their lives, still, taken captive and in chains, they would work for the foe without pay and at forced labour, all because previously they had lived pampered lives and sold their corselets and helmets and spears at an excessive price, and they would recognize that it was not right nor for their own good for a craftsman to be jealous or angry because of his craft, whether it was blacksmith against blacksmith or joiner against joiner, and that it was not more profitable or better for him to be the only worker at his craft than to have a few fellow workers.

Well then, for the others, I dare say, what Hesiod says they desire is not always preferable, but only for the potters and butchers and dyers and brothel-keepers. Then jealousy and envy and the desire that no one else shall ply the same trade, whether it be that of the butcher or the dyer or the potter, are even still more suitable for the brothel-keepers
Ιατροίς τε καὶ κυβερνήταις ἦ ἄλλο τι σπουδαίότερον πράττουσιν.

Εἰςεν, ἀλλ' εἰ κυβερνήταις τε καὶ ιατροίς καὶ οἷς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν οὖ βέλτιον ἐν οπάνει τῶν ὀμοτέχνων ζήν, ἦπον τοῖς γε φρονίμωις καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι λῶν τε καὶ ἁμείνῳ ὀράσθαι μόνοις;

Οὐδαμῶς. 1

15 Δ. Ὅτε πρὸς τῷ μεγαλόφρων τε εἶναι καὶ ἄλυπος ὁ νοῦν ἔχων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπίστασθαι συμφέρουσαν αὐτῷ, τὴν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν πέλας, καὶ μηδέποτε ἂν ύπὲρ τούτων μηδένα μηδὲ τῶν φαυλοτέρων ἄλλων ἄλλων φθονεῖν, 2 ἀ κοὐνα ὑπάρχει πᾶσιν ἀγαθά· πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσιν οὔδε τῶν ἄλλων ἐφ' ὦς ὁ τε φθόνος γίγνεται καὶ τὸ βασκαίνειν ἀλλήλους τοὺς πολλοὺς, οὔτε θαυμάζει τὸ παράπαν οὔδεν οὔτε ἄξιον σπουδῆς νεώμικεν, οἷον δὴ χθὲς περὶ πλοῦτον ελέγομεν.

16 Ὅστε οὖν· ἂν φθονήσειν οὔδενι χρυσῷ ἢ ἁργύρῳ ἢ βοσκημάτων ἢ οἰκίας ἢ ἄλλου τῶν τοιούτων, ύπὲρ ὧν εἰλεγόμεν· ὡς φησίν ἔτερος ποιητής, οὐχ αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφαίνειν· ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εξηγούμενος δόξαν·

οἰςιν τ' εἴδον ζῶνουσι καὶ ἄφνεοι καλέονται· ὡς μόνον καλομείνων αὐτῶν ἄφνεοι, ἄλλ' οὐκ ὀντων κατ' ἀλήθειαν.

17 Εἰςεν· οὕκοιν χρημάτων μὲν κρείττων ὁ γενναῖος καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπός ἦμῖν δοκεῖ· περὶ δὲ δόξης τυχόν

1 What follows is found only in UBM and is preceded by the heading περὶ φθόνον β or περὶ φθόνου. See Introduction.

2 φθονεῖν Wytenbach: φρονεῖν.

1 Odyssey 17. 423.
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than for physicians and pilots or for those who are engaged in any other more serious pursuit.

Very good. But if for pilots and physicians and those just mentioned it is not better to live where there is a shortage of their fellow craftsmen, can it be that for men of prudence and wisdom it is better and more profitable to find themselves without associates?

Int. By no means.

Dio. Yes, because with the man of intelligence and benevolence, in addition to his being magnanimous and inoffensive, in addition to his knowing that virtue is beneficial to him, both his own virtue and that of his neighbours, and in addition to the unlikelihood that any one, even of the commoner sort, would ever be jealous one toward another regarding these things which are the common blessings of all mankind—in addition, I say, to all this, of the other things which are the occasion of envy and reciprocal ill-will among the masses, not only does he not admire a single one, but he does not consider any to deserve serious regard, just as yesterday we were saying with reference to wealth. Consequently, neither would he envy any one gold or silver or cattle or house or any other thing such as we were speaking of—as another poet says, not expressing his own private sentiment but expounding the opinion of mankind,

The things whereby men live at ease and gain

The epithet of affluent,¹

his idea being that they merely are called affluent, but are not truly so.

Very well; then, we are agreed, the high-minded, perfect man is above material wealth; but in the
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ἐρίζοι ἂν καὶ φθονοὶ οὗς ἂν τιμωμένους μᾶλλον παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει βλέπῃ καὶ μειούνων ἐπαινῶν τυγχάνοντας; ἡ όμως ἄγνοεῖν φήσομεν ὡς ἐστιν ἡ δοξά ὁ παρὰ τῶν τολμῶν ἐπαινός. εἰ δὲ τῶν τολμῶν, δήλον ὅτι τῶν όμως εἰδότων;

Οὐδαμῶς τούτο γε εἰκὸς αὐτῶν ἄγνοεῖν.

18 Δ. Φέρε οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι ἀγαθὸς αὐλητής ἡδεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ὑπὸ ἁμοῦσαι καὶ ἀτέχνῳ ἐπαινούμενος, κἂν εἰ περιστάντες αὐτὸν παίδες συφορβοῖ καὶ ποιμένες θαυμάζοιες καὶ κροτοίες, ἐπαίρεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς άξιον ἥγεσθαι τὸν παρ’ ἐκείνων ἐπαινοῦν; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Θηβαῖος αὐλητής οὔτε τῷ θεάτρῳ παίντρο προσέχον τὸν νοῦν οὔτε τοῖς κριταῖς ἀπεφροῖς οὐσίν αὐλήσεως, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ ἄθλου καὶ νίκης ἁγιωτάτου ἀλλ’ ὁμοίους οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐκβήναι τοῦ μυθοῦ τοῦ πρέποντος ἐτόλμησεν, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τῶς Μούσας αὐλείων ἔφη.

19 τὸ οὖν; οἶει τὸν Ὀρφέα, τὸν τῆς Μούσης νόσον, εἰ ἀληθῆς ὁ κατ’ αὐτοῦ μύθος, μᾶλλον ἂν χαρίσεις τῶν ὀρνῖθων καταπετομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀδόντα καὶ τῶν θηρίων κηλουμένων ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ παρεστηκότων πράσω καὶ ἀθρούβους ὡς τῷ ἀρξαίτω μελωθεῖν, ἐτὶ δὲ τῶν δείδρων προσομόντων ἄμα τῷ καρπῷ τε καὶ ἄνθει, καὶ τῶν λίθων κινούμενων καὶ ξυνιότων, ὡς τῇ μεγάλᾳ ἔρματα ἀθροίζομεθα λίθων πλησιόν αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτους γγνωμένους ὀρῶντα τέρπεσθαι καὶ μεγαλαυχεῖσθαι,

1 ἐρίζοι αὐτοῦ Emperius: ἐρίζοιαν M, ἐρίζοι UB.
2 οὐκοῦν] οὖν Arnim.
3 τοῦ Reiske: τοῦτο M, τοῦτῳ UB.
4 οὔτε Crosby: οὔδε.
5 οὔτε Crosby: οὔδε.

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matter of reputation would he perhaps quarrel with and envy those whom he sees more highly honoured by the crowd and winning greater plaudits? Or shall we say that he is not unaware that fame is the praise bestowed by the masses; but if the masses, evidently the unintelligent?

_Int._ By no means is it likely that he is ignorant of that.

_Dio._ Well then, do you believe that a good flautist takes pleasure in his skill and is proud when praised by unmusical and unskilled persons, and that, if youthful swineherds and shepherds crowding around him express their admiration and applaud him, he is elated over this thing itself and feels that praise from those persons is worth everything? Why, the Theban flautist made it plain that he did not pay very much attention either to the audience in the theatre or to the judges, inexperienced in flute-playing as they were—and that, too, although he was contending for a prize and victory—but for all that, he did not venture to depart even slightly from the proper rhythm, but he said that he was piping for himself and the Muses. What then! Do you suppose that Orpheus, the son of the Muse—if the tale about him is true—would rejoice more when the birds flew down to him as he sang and the wild beasts were entranced by his voice and stood by tamely and quietly every time he began to make melody, and when, moreover, the trees came toward him with their fruit and flowers, and when the stones moved and came together, so that great cairns of stones were collected near him—do you suppose, I say, that at the sight of these doings he was delighted and proud, believing that he had reached
νομίζοντα τῆς μουσικῆς ήκειν ἐπ’ ἄκρον, ἡ εἴπερ ἢ μήτηρ αὐτὸν ἡ Καλλιόπη κιθαρίζοντα ἐπήνεσε τε καὶ εἶπε καταψήφασα ἀμα τὴν κεφαλῆν, ὡς ἰκανῶς ἔχοι μουσικῆς καὶ σοφώτατος εἵς τα τῆς τέχνης; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Φιλάμ-μωνος αὐτὸν ἐθέλειν ἐπαινεθήναι περὶ μουσικῆς ἢ εἰ τις ἢν τῶν τότε ἐμπειρος κιθαρῳδίας ἢ ἐμπ-πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν θηρίων τε καὶ ὀρνέων ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τῶν κύκνων ἐπιβοῶντων καὶ συμφθειγομένων φροντίσαι ἂν οὐδέν, ὑπ’ οὐκ εἰχον τέχνην οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμην περὶ τὸ μελῳδεῖν.

Εἴεν: τί δε; ὑγιείας μάρτυρα καὶ ἐπαινέτην βούλοιτ’ ἂν ὁ νοῦν ἔχων ἀνήρ ἕνα λαβεῖν, ὡστὶς ἰατρικός καὶ περὶ σώματος θεραπείας ἐμπειρός, ἡ πολλὰς μυρίαδας ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἐπαιῶντων, οὐ, ἄν ὅτι τύχη, πεπρημένου ὀρῶντες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ οἰδοῦντα καὶ ὑποῦλον, μακαρίζοιει ὡς Πουλυδάμαντα τὸν Θεττάλον καὶ Γλαύκον τὸν 21 Καρύστιον ὅγούμενον διαφέρειν εὐεξία; ἀλλὰ εἰς μὲν αὐλησιν καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν καὶ τὸ3 περεῖνα παλαι-ούντα ἢ πυκτεύοντα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων4 ὁ τῶν ἐπισταμένων ἐπαινός ἢδικος τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ πλείστης ἀποδήθς αξίων: εἰς δὲ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαίοπροφητὴν καὶ ἐξυμπαζαν ἁρτῆν ἰκανοὺ εὐφράναι τὸν νοῦν

1 συμφθειγομένων Selden: συμφθειγομένων.
2 οὗ, ἄν Casaubon: οὗ ἂν M, ὁ ἂν U, ὁ ἂν B.
3 τὸ added by Reiske.
4 After ἀπάντων Morel deletes οὐδαμῶς.

1 Father of Thamyris and contemporary with Orpheus,
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the pinnacle of musical success, more than if his mother Calliopé had praised his playing the cithara and had stroked his head and said that he was fairly competent in music and very skilful in the fine points of his art? I fancy he would rather be praised by Philammon for musical skill or by any one then living who was acquainted with the art of singing to the cithara, than by absolutely all the beasts and birds together; nay, even if the swans had uttered cries of praise and had accompanied him with their notes, he would not have given them a moment's notice, because they did not possess skill, or even knowledge, about the art of making melody.

Very good; what then? In the matter of health would the man of sound judgement desire to win the testimony and commendation of a single individual who is a skilled physician and conversant with care of the body, or, instead, that of countless thousands who have no understanding, who, as likely as not, on seeing him bloated with disease and swollen and ulcerous, would congratulate him as they would Pulydamas the Thessalian and Glauceus the Carystian, supposing him to be in prime condition? Well, if as regards flute-playing and singing to the cithara and pre-eminence as a wrestler or a boxer the praise of experts above all others is sweetest to the ears of connoisseurs and worth the most serious attention, as regards wisdom and justice and virtue as a whole said to have won a prize for singing at the Pythian Games: cf. Pausanias 10. 7. 2.

2 Both were unusually tall and strong and both had statues at Olympia, Pulydamas having won in wrestling in 408 B.C. and Glauceus in boxing in 480 B.C.; cf. Pausanias 6. 5 and 6. 10. 1. Greek athletes were commonly of heavy build.

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Δ. Καὶ πότερον οἱ τῶν ἐμπειρῶν τῆς τεκτονικῆς τέχνης, εὐθὺ τι ἐργάσασθαί βουλόμενον, ἐνὶ προσαρμόσαντα καὶ μὴ στάθμη στάθμησάμενον ἠδοιον ἔχειν καὶ πεποιθέναι περὶ τῆς ὀρθότητος μᾶλλον ἢ πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀνωμάλοις ξύλοις ἀπευθύνοντα καὶ καταμετροῦντα;

Φέρε πρὸς Διός, ἂρα ἀκήκοας ζωγράφου χαρίεντος ἔργον γραφῆν τινα προθέντος εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἣππον, θαυμαστήν τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἔχουσαν; φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν κελεύσαι παραφυλάττειν τὸν παῖδα τοῦς ὀρὼντας, εἰ ψέγοιεν ἢ ἐπαινοείεν, καὶ μνημονεύσαντα ἀπαγγέλημι πρὸς αὐτόν. τῶν δὲ ἔκαστον ἄλλον ἄλλο τι λέγειν περὶ τῆς γραφῆς καὶ αὐτικάσθαι, τὸν μὲν τινα, οὕμνοι, τὴν κεφαλήν, τὸν δὲ τὰ ἱσχία, τὸν δὲ περὶ τῶν σκελῶν, ὡς, εἰ τοιαύτα ἐγεγόει, πολὺ κάλλιον ἢν εἰχεν. ἀκούσαντα δὲ τῶν γραφέα τοῦ παιδός, ἐργασάμενον ἀλλην γραφὴν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν, κελεύσαι θεῖναι παρὰ τῇ πρότερον. εἴναι οὖν πολὺ τοῦ διαφέρον τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβεστάτα ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ αὐσχύστα καὶ γελοιότατα καὶ πάσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἢππῳ ἐσκέναι.

24 Δῆλον οὖν ὡς εἰ σφόδρα προσδεήσεται τοῦ παρὰ

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1 ο added by Reiske.
2 Οὐδαμῶς added by Reiske.
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is the praise of fools and nobodies sufficient to cheer the heart of the man of sense and to satisfy his intelligence?

Int. By no means.

Dio. Again, do you think that he who is acquainted with the joiner's art, when he wants a piece of furniture to be made true and straight, after he has fitted his work together by applying one straight-edge and one gauge is happier and more confident of the accuracy of his work than if he had done the adjusting and the measuring with several different and uneven strips of wood?

By Heaven, have you heard about the doings of an accomplished painter who had exhibited in public a painting of a horse, a wonderful work of art and true to life? They say, you remember, that he ordered his servant to observe those who looked at it, to see if they found fault with it or praised it, and to remember what they said and report back to him. The story goes on to relate that every man of them had something different to say about the painting and criticized it, one, I imagine, finding fault with the head, another with the haunches, another with the legs, to the effect that, if these parts had been done so and so, the work would be much better. And when the painter heard what his servant had to report, he made another painting, which conformed with the judgement and conception of the crowd, and he gave orders to place it beside the earlier one. Now the difference between the two was great; for the one was quite true to life, while the other was extremely ugly and ludicrous and resembled anything at all rather than a horse.

Clearly, therefore, if a person is going to be ex-
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tῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνου, τῆς αὐτοῦ¹ γνώμης ἡγούμενος κυριώτερον τῶν ἐκείνων ψόγον τε καὶ ἐπαίνου, οὕτως ἐκαστά πράξει καὶ προθυμήσεται τοιούτῳ παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν ὅποιον ἄξιούσιν οἱ πολλοὶ. καὶ δὴ λοι ὅτι ἐσται ταχὺ μάλα ἐοικῶς ἀντε ἐκείνου τοῦ πρότερον ἑστιν, τοῦ φαινόμεν ὧν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς εἰργασμένον τέχνην, τῷ θαυμαστῷ καὶ πολυτέχνῳ δημιουργήματι, μηδὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους ἀρέσκοντι τούς δημιουργούς, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐπινοιας καὶ δημιουργίας συγκεκριμένως.

25 Καθάπερ ὁ μῦθος φησι τὴν Παιδώραν οὔχ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς τῶν θεῶν πεπλασμένην, ἄλλα κοινὴ ὑπὸ πάντων, ἄλλο ἄλλου δωρουμένου καὶ προστιθέντος, οὐδαμῶς σοφὸν οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τὸ πλάσμα γενόμενον, παντοδαπὸν δὲ καὶ ποικίλον τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἀποβήματι κακοὺ. οὕτω δὲ θεῶν ὀχλος καὶ δῆμος κοινὴ δημιουργῶν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος οὔχ οἶός τε ἐγένετο καλῶς τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως ἐργάσασθαι, τι ἄν φαίη τις τὸν ὑπὸ γε ἀνθρωπίνης δόξης πλαττόμενον καὶ δημιουργούμενον βίον τε καὶ ἄνδρα; δὴ λοι οἴν ὡς εἰ τις ἐφ’ ἕναντι φρόνιμου, οὐδὲν ἃν προσέχοι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲ θεραπευοί τὸν παρ’ ἐκείνων ἐπαίνου εὖ ἀπαντος, ὡστε² οὐδὲ² μέγα οὐδὲ τίμιον οὐδὲ ἀγαθῶν, ὡς ἐποθείπειν,

¹ αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ. ² ὡστε] ὡς γε Emperius.
ceedingly anxious to win the praise of the crowd as well, believing that its praise or censure has more weight than his own judgement, his every act and wish will be aimed to show himself the sort of person that the crowd expects. And manifestly he will presently be very like, not that first horse, which was executed with sincerity and in harmony with one man’s conception of his art, but like that amazing product of multiple workmanship, not pleasing even to those men themselves, its creators, having been put together by the conception and workmanship of all the world!

Just so the myth says of Pandora, that she was fashioned, not by a single one among the gods, but jointly by them all, one contributing one gift and adding it to the whole, another another, the form thus fashioned proving to be by no means wise or destined for a good end either, but, as it turned out, a heterogeneous and complicated plague to those who got her.¹ But when a multitude of gods, yes, a democratic rabble, jointly creating and labouring at their task, proved unable by all their labour to turn out an excellent and faultless work, what would one say of that which is fashioned and created by human opinion, be it a way of life or a man? Evidently, then, if one is by nature really prudent, he would pay no heed at all to the talk of the masses, nor would he court their praise by any and every means, and consequently he will never regard this praise as

¹ The famous story of Pandora occurs first in Hesiod, *Theogony* 570-602 and *Works and Days* 54-89. She proved a plague first of all to Epimetheus and then, through him, to mankind in general.

³ οὐδὲ] οὐδὲν Gasda.
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τοῦτον ποτε ἡγήσεται. μὴ νομίζων δὲ ἀγαθὸν βασικαίνειν ἓπταν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀδύνατος. 

26 Οὐκον τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν ὁ γενναῖος καὶ σώφρων καὶ κεκολασμένος ἀνήρ, πλούτους τε καὶ ἑπαίνους καὶ στεφάνους Ὀλυμπικούς τε καὶ Πυθικοὺς καὶ γράμματα ἐν στῆλαις καὶ μαρτυρίας ἐγγράφους δήμων καὶ βασιλέων διώκων, ὅπως ἄν ἦ περίβλεπτος καὶ φανερός, ἀλλ' ἐνσταλής τε καὶ ἅτυφος ὡς οἶνον τέ χωρῶν διὰ τοῦ βίου, ταπεινός καὶ κεκολασμένος αὐτὸς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας, οὕθενός ἐξώθην κόσμου προσδεόμενος οὐδὲ ἐπιθέτου τιμῆς οὐδὲ φαλάρων καὶ πτερῶν, ὡσπερ οἱ κακοὶ μισθοφόροι πτερὰ καὶ λόφους ἀναλαβόντες καὶ Γοργόνας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ τοῖς δορατίωσ ψυφοῦντες ἐπείτα φεύγουσιν, εἰ μικρὸς καταλάβοι κίνδυνος.

27 Οἶον πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ τῶν οἰομένων εἶναι μακριάν, ξεναγοὺς τινας καὶ δημαγωγούς καὶ σοφίστας, ἐν θεάτροις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ κατὰ σκηνὰς ἐντὸς στρατοπέδου μεγαλαυχουμένους, ὡσπερ τύχωσιν ὑποπίοντες τῆς μεσημβρίας,

Τρώων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἑκατόν τε διηκοσίων τε ἑκαστός στήσεσθαι:

τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ένός ἀνθρώπου κατατρέποντοι

1 τοῦτον τοῦτον Emperius.  
2 ἀδύνατος Emperius : ἀδύνατον.  
3 υφ' αὐτοῦ Dindorf : υπ' αὐτοῦ.  
4 αὐτοῦ Dindorf : αὐτοῦ.  
5 ὑποπίοντες Emperius : ὑποπίοντες.
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important or valuable or, if I may say so, good. But not regarding it as a good, he will be incapable of viewing with malice on that account those who have it.

Accordingly, so high-minded, sane, and chastened a man as the one we have in mind is not the sort that chases after riches and praise and Olympic or Pythian crowns, nor after letters carved on tablets of stone and written testimonials of communities and kings, with a view to being universally admired and conspicuous; instead, he journeys through life without ostentation and free from arrogance, so far as possible, humble and chastened by himself and by his own conscience, having no need of any extraneous adornment or adventitious honour, nor of trappings and plumes, like your cowardly hireling soldiers, who affect plumes and crests and Gorgons on their shields, who rattle their little lances and then take to their heels if some trifling danger overtakes them.

Persons of this description are to be seen in large numbers among the would-be great—condottieri of a sort, popular leaders, and sophists, in theatres or before their pupils or among the tents inside a camp, uttering loud boasts on occasions when they chance to be tipsy at mid-day,¹

That each will be a match for one, yes, two
Full companies of Trojan men²;

yet these same persons, if a single human being runs

¹ It was not thought respectable to begin drinking so early in the day.
² *Iliad* 8. 233-234. Agamemnon upbraids his forces for cowardice in the face of Hector. More of the passage might well have been quoted, for it deals with boasting after immoderate eating and drinking.
λοντος καὶ διώκοντος προτροπάδην φεύγοντας, ἐξίμπαντας οὔ φαινομένους ἐκεῖνον γ' ἀξίους.

28 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔδ' ἀνυ ὡδοίας τινας, σίτων ἡ πυτῶν ἡ ἀφροδισίων, ἡ γυναικὸς κάλλος ἡ παιδὸς ὄραν τεθαυμακῶς καὶ τούτων ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ μεγάλα ἡγούμενοι, εὐδαιμονίζοι τοὺς τυχάνοντας αὐτῶν, σατράπας καὶ δυνάστας καὶ νή Δία βαναύσους τινὰς καὶ οἰκότριβας πεπλουτηκότας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὑφανρομένους: αὐτὸν δὲ ὀικτείρο τῆς ἀπορίας τε καὶ ἐρημίας τούτων τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ ἡγούτο οὐ τῶν εὔτυχῶν: διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ἡθονί καὶ ἐπιβολεύοι πάντα τρόπων καὶ εὐχοτ' ἀν ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς.

29 Ἡ καὶ συγχωρήσωμεν τὸν γενναίον ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλόφρονα τὸ τῶν κυνῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων πεποιθέναι πάθος, ὥσ' οὐ δύναται κατέχειν ἐτέρων ἐμπυμπλαμένων τε καὶ ὁχεύοντων, ἀλλὰ χαλεπαίνει καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ ὀργίζεται τοῖς ἀπολαύσει καὶ ἔτοιμα ἐπιπηδάν καὶ δάκνει καὶ κυρίττει καὶ πάντα τρόπων ἄλληλοις πολεμεῖν ἐστι ν' περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν κάκεινον' οὕτως ἐχεῖν φῶμεν, ὡς ἰμολογοῦντα τούτων εἶναι τι σπουδαῖον καὶ τὸν Σαρδανάπαλον ἡγούμενον ἥγιοτόν, ὅσ ἐφ' διατελέσαι τὸν βίον εὐχούμενος τε καὶ ὑβρίζων μετὰ εὐνοῦχων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἥγιο-

1 ἐκεῖνος γ' Post, ἐκεῖνον Casaubon: ἐκεῖνος.

2 ἀν added by Post.

3 ἁγαθῶν Geel: ἀθρόποιν.

4 ἐκεῖνος Casaubon: ἐκεῖνο.

5 ἐστι Reiske: ἐτί.

6 κάκεινον Casaubon: κάκεινο.

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at them and offers to give chase, will be seen to flee in utter rout, the pack of them not showing themselves a match for that lone man.

Nay more; as for certain pleasures of food or drink or fornication, or as for a woman's beauty or the bloom of a boy, he would not, through having become infatuated with these things and lusting after them and counting them important, deem fortunate those who get them—satraps and princes and, forsooth, vulgarians and flunkies who have become wealthy, the former by the practice of their craft, the latter by filching their masters' property—nor would he pity himself for his poverty and for his lack of these good things and look upon himself as not one of the fortunate class; nor would he on this account envy the persons whom I have named, plot against them in every way, and pray for their ruin.

Or shall we go so far as to acknowledge that our noble, our magnanimous man is in no better case than dogs and horses and the other beasts, which cannot contain themselves when the other beasts are stuffing their bellies or copulating, but are resentful and indignant and enraged against those which are enjoying themselves, and are ready to pounce upon and bite and butt and to wage all manner of warfare against each other for the enjoyment of these pleasures; shall we say that he too is in that condition, as though admitting that any of these pleasures is of real importance, and that he regards Sardanapalus as one to be envied, who declared that he spent his life in feasting and in playing the wanton with emnuchs and women.¹ and shall we say that on

¹ Strabo (14. 5. 9) reports that such a statement was inscribed on a funeral monument of Sardanapalus.
τυπεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν τράγων τε καὶ ὄνων εὐδαίμονίαν;

30 Μὴ γὰρ οὐδὲ εὑσεβὲς τὰ τοιαύτα περὶ τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πεπαιδευμένου διανοηθημαί ποτε ἀνδρός.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μήτε διὰ δόξαν μήτε διὰ χρήματα μήτε δι’ ἡδονᾶς βρώσεων ἢ πόσεων ἢ μίξεων αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον οἴεται μακάριον μηδὲ ὥλως εἶναι τι τῶν τοιούτων περιμάχητον ἢ τίμιον, οὐκ ἂν διαφέροιτο περὶ αὐτῶν οὖδ’ ἂν φθονήσεις οὐδεὶ ἐκεῖνων, οὐ μᾶλλον 1 ἢ τῆς φάμμου τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἢ τῶν κυμάτων τοῦ ψόφου τε καὶ ἤχου

31 τοῖς πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ οὐκοῦν οὐδ’ εἰ τῷ χρυσίῳ αὐτόματον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν κόλπων ἐμπλήσεις, ὥσπερ τῇ Δανάη δὴ ποτε λέγουσι ἐν οἰκήματι χαλκῷ φυλαττομένῃ χρυσίῳ ἐξαίφνης ἄνωθεν εἰσρυθήσατε διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ εἰ χειμάρρους αὐτῷ ποθεὶ ἑπέλθου χρυσὸν πολὺν καὶ ἄθροιν καταφέρων, ὥσπερ ὕλῃ καθάπερ, οἴμαι, φασὶ Κροίσῳ πρότερον τὸν Πακτωλόν διὰ μέσων ἀφικνούμενον Σάρδεων ἔτοιμα χρήματα κομιζεῖν, πλεῖον φόρον τε καὶ δασμὸν ἢ ξύμπασα Φρυγία καὶ Λυδία καὶ 2 Μαίονες τε καὶ Μυσοί καὶ ξύμπαντες οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν ἐντὸς "Ἀλνος.

32 Οὖν δὲ γε τὸν λαβόντα παρὰ Κροίσου τὴν δωρεὰν ἐκείνην 3 Ἀλκμέωνα ἐξῆλθοσιν οὕτε Σόλων οὕτε ἄλλος οὕδεις τῶν τότε σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὃς φασὶ τὸν Λυδὸν ἐπιτρέψαι τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀνοίξαντα φέρειν

1 οὐ μᾶλλον added by Reiske.
2 καὶ added by Emperius.
3 ἐκείνην Crosby: ἐκείνον.

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this account he envies the happiness of goats and asses?

Int. Why, it would perhaps be even impious ever to entertain such thoughts concerning the temperate man of cultivation.

Dio. Well then, if neither fame nor wealth nor pleasures of eating or drinking or copulation lead him to regard himself or any one else as fortunate or to suppose that any such thing at all is worth fighting over or valuable, he would not wrangle over them or begrudge any one those things any more than he would begrudge those who dwell near the sea either the sand upon the beaches or the roar and reverberation of the waves; nay, not even if gold of its own accord were to fall from the sky and fill the fold of his garment, just as they say that once upon a time, when Danaë was being closely guarded in a bronze chamber, gold suddenly rained down upon her from above, drawn by her beauty; nay, not even if a torrent were to come from somewhere, sweeping down to him a flood of gold in a mass like mud, as, I believe, it is said that to Croesus in days of old the Pactolus, making its way through the midst of Sardis, brought ready wealth, a larger revenue and tribute than all Phrygia and Lydia, yes, and the Maeonians and Mysians and all who occupy the land this side the Halys River, brought him.¹

Nay, not even the man who received from Croesus that famous gift did either Solon or any other of the wise men of that day envy, Alemaeon, whom they say the Lydian allowed to open his treasuries and

¹ Zeus visited Danaë as a shower of gold and begot Perseus.
² Cf. Or. 33. 23 and Herodotus 5. 101.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

αυτὸν ὀπόσον βούλεται τοῦ χρυσοῦ. καὶ τοῦτον ἐσελθόντα πάνω ἀνδρείως ἐμφορήσασθαί τῆς βασιλικῆς δωρεᾶς, χυτῶνα τε ποδήρη καταξωσάμενον καὶ τὸν κόλπον ἐμπλήσαντα γυναικεῖον καὶ βαθὺν καὶ τὰ υποδήματα ἕξεπιτήδες μεγάλα καὶ κοίλα υποδησάμενον, τέλος δὲ τὴν κόμην διατάσαντα καὶ τὰ γένεια τῷ ψήγματι καὶ τὸ στόμα ἐμπλήσαντα καὶ τὰς γυνάθους ἐκατέρας μόλις ἐξω βαδίζειν, ὃσπερ αὐλοῦντα τὴν τῆς Σεμέλης ὠδίνα, γέλωτα καὶ θέαν Κροίσῳ παρέχοντα καὶ Λυδοῖς. 33 καὶ ἣν τὸτε Ἀλκμέων οὐδεμιᾶς ἄξιος δραχμῆς, ὅσ εἶχεν ἰστάμενος.

Οὕτε οὖν ἔπι τοῦτοι, ὡς ἐφη, ξηλοτυπῆσειεν ἄν, οὕτε εἰ τινα βλέποις θαυμαζόμενον τε καὶ ὑμνούμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μυρίων ἡ δισμυρίων, εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀν τοιούμενοι, κορωνωώντα καὶ γαυρώντα, καθάπερ ἦππον ἐπὶ νίκη, παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ πλευρῶν ἡ ὅποσο προπέμπουσι τοὺς νυμφίους· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀδοξότερος μὲν εὑρ ὑὼν πτωχῶν, ἐρήμοτερος δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐρρυμένων, μηδενὸς δὲ ἄξιούμενος παρὰ μηδενὶ λόγων, καθάπερ Μεγαρέας ποτέ φασι, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι θεραπεύειν μηδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλεῖν, ἀτε αὐστηρὸς ὅπων τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος, οὐδὲν

1 τοῦτον Crosby : τόν.  2 βούλει Pflugk : βούλεται.

1 Alcmaeon gave his name to the aristocratic house to which Pericles belonged. This humorous tale of the origin of his great wealth is told with evident relish by Herodotus (6. 125), whom Dio follows closely. Croesus was repaying Alcmaeon for his kindness to Lydian envoys who consulted the oracle at Delphi.
carry off on his own person as much of the gold as he wished. And yet, so the story runs, he entered in and set to work right manfully to load himself with the king's bounty, girding about him a long, trailing tunic and filling its womanish, deep fold and the huge, capacious boots which he had put on for that express purpose and finally, after sprinkling the gold dust in his hair and beard and stuffing with it his cheeks and mouth, with difficulty he came walking out, the very image of a piper piping the birth-pangs of Semelê, thereby presenting a ludicrous spectacle for Croesus and his Lydians. Moreover, at that moment Alemaeon was not worth a single drachma, standing there in that condition.

So, as I was saying, our man of prudence would not be moved to envy, either by these things or if he were to see a man admired and extolled by ten or twenty thousand human beings, or, if you please, applauded and bedecked with ribbons, arching his neck and prancing like a horse exulting in a victory, escorted by more people than the crowds which escort a bride and groom; on the contrary, he might himself be more inglorious than the beggars, more destitute than the wretches who lie prostrate in the streets, held worthy of no consideration at all by anybody—just as they say was true of the Megarians once on a time—because of his inability to court favour or to be agreeable in converse, being austere by nature and a friend of truth, making no secret

2 The story of Semelê, the Theban princess who died in giving birth to the god Dionysus, occurred often in Greek tragedy, but Dio's piper may well have performed in a Semelê pantomime.

3 Athenians spoke of the boorishness of Megarians, just as they did of Boeotians.
DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

ἀποκρυπτόμενος: οὐδὲ οὕτως πείσεται τὸ τῶν κεραμέων τε καὶ τεκτόνων καὶ ἀοιδῶν οὐδὲ καμφθῆσεται ποτε δι’ ἐνδειαν ἢ δι’ ἀτιμίαν οὐδὲ μεταβαλεῖ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον, κόλαξ καὶ γόης ἀντὶ γενναίου καὶ ἀληθοὺς φανεῖς.

34 Καίτοι τί ποτε βούλονται τῶν μακαρίων τινές θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς ἄνθρώπων ἔλευθέρων εἶναι φασκόντων καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους φιλοσόφους ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῶν οἵ δρᾶσθαι ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀτίμους, καὶ νὴ Δίας καθάπερ ἡ Κύρκη ἔβούλετο τὴν οἰκησίαν αὐτῆς φυλάττεσθαι ὑπὸ λεόντων δειλῶν καὶ κατεπτηχότων; οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι λέοντες ὀντες ἐφύλαττον αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ δύστηνοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀνόητοι, διεφθαρμένοι διὰ τρυφῆν καὶ ἀργίαν.

35 οὐκοῦν ὅταν ὑδη τις τῶν φιλοσόφων τινά καλουμένων περὶ τὰς αὐλὰς καὶ πρόθυρα σαίνοντα καὶ ταπεινόν ἐκείνων, ἄξιον ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν λεόντων, κυσὺν ὀμοιῶν πεινώσι καὶ δειλοῖς, ὀρνουμένων ὑξύτατον, ἀτε ὑπὸ φαρμάκων διεφθαρμένων.

Ἄλλα δὴ ἐστὶν οὐκ οἰδ’ ὅποιον τι ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπιθυμία. μνημόν μὲν γὰρ ἐσιν οὐκ ἐκόντες καὶ πάνω προθύμωσι θεραπεύσουσι τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ δυνατοὺς καὶ μεστὰ πάντα κολάκων ἐστὶ καὶ μετ’ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνης αὐτὸ πραττόντων. ὥστε οὐκ ἀπορία τοῦ ὑπὸ χρήματος ἔκτος παρὰ τῶν εἵ4 πεφυκότων, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶν ὀμοιον τοῦτο ἐτέρω ἐπι-

1 οὐδὲ Arnim: οὐ.  
2 αὐτῶν Dindorf: αὐτῶν.  
3 καὶ νὴ Δία Emperius, καὶ Reiske: καὶ μὴ.  
4 εἴ] οὐ Emperius.

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of his thoughts; still, not even so will he behave like
the potters and joiners and bards.¹ nor will he ever
be warped through want or dishonour or change his
own character, becoming a toady and cheat instead
of noble and truthful.

And yet why on earth do some of the prosperous
wish to be courted by persons who claim to be free
men, and why do they wish the so-called philosophers
to be seen at their doors, humble and unhonoured,
just as, so help me. Circe wished her dwelling to be
guarded by lions that were timid and cringing?²
Nay, it was not even real lions that guarded her,
but wretched, foolish human beings, who had been
corrupted by luxury and idleness.³ Therefore,
whenever any one beholds one of the so-called philos-
ophers fawning about the courtyards and vestibules
and grovelling, it is fitting to recall those lions of
Circe’s, which resembled hungry, cowardly curs,
howling most shrilly, since they had been perverted
by sorcery.⁴

Nay, to such a desire as I have mentioned I know
not what name to give. For there are thousands
who willingly, yes, very eagerly, cultivate the rich
and influential, and all the world is full of flatterers,
who ply that calling with both experience and skill.
Therefore it is not for lack of this line of goods that
men seek to obtain it from persons of good breeding:
rather this is like another enterprise of the very

¹ Here for the first time Dio includes the bards, who are
coupled by Hesiod with the potters, joiners, and beggars,
³ An instance of the allegorical interpretation of Homer
that was growing in popularity.
⁴ Odyssey 10. 212-219. Homer mentions also wolves, and
he says nothing of the howling.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

χειρήματι τῶν σφόδρα ἀκολάστων, οἱ γυναικῶν ἀφθόνων οὐσῶν δι’ ὑβρίν καὶ παρανομίαις ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκας σφίσι γενέσθαι καὶ λαβόντες παιδας ἔξετεμον. οθεν πολὺ κάκιον καὶ δυστυχέστερον γένος1 ἐγένετο, ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ γυναικείου καὶ θηλύτερον.

37 Ἀλλ’ ὦ γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνδρεῖος καὶ μεγαλόφρων οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ πάθοι τοιούτων οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἂν πρόοιτο τὴν ἐλευθερία τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τιμῆς τυνος ἀτίμου χάριν ἡ δυνάμεως ἡ χρημάτων, οὐδ’ ἂν φθονοὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις τε καὶ μεταμφιεσμένοις ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ὀφεισὶ, ἀλλ’ ἢγοιτ’ ἂν ὀμοίους2 τοῖς μεταβάλλονσιν ἐκ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὀφεις ἡ3 ἀλλα θηρία· ἐκείνους μὲν οὐ ξηλῶν οὐδὲ βασκαῖνοι αὐτοῖς τῆς τρυφῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦνατίον ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ ἔλεων, ὅταν ἐπὶ δύσοις, ὅσπερ οἱ παῖδες, ἀποκείρωσαι, καὶ

38 ταύτα ταῖς πολιάς· αὐτός δὲ τὸ καθ’ αὐτοῦ πειράμασται διαφυλάττειν εὐσχημόνως καὶ βεβαιῶς, μηδὲποτε λείπων τὴν αὐτοῦ4 τάξιν, ἀρετὴν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην τιμῶν αἰ καὶ αὐξῶν καὶ πάντας5 ἐπὶ ταύτα6 ἄγων, τὰ μὲν πεῖθων καὶ παρακαλῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπούμενος καὶ ονειδίζων, εἰ τινὰ δύνατο ἐξελέσθαι ἀφροσύνης καὶ φαύλων ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ τρυφῆς, ἡδία ἐκαστὸν ἀπολαμβάνων καὶ ἀθρόους νοὐθετῶν, ὅσκις ἂν καρυοῦ τύχη πτωσ,

1 After γένος Arnim deletes εὐνούχων.
2 ὀμοίοις Casaubon: ὀμοίοις.
3 εἰς ὀφεις Ῥ Εμπερίου: ἐπὶ ὀφεις ἡ UB, ἐποφθεισης Μ.
4 αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ.
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dissolute, who, although there are women in abundance, through wantonness and lawlessness wish to have females produced for them from males, and so they take boys and emasculate them. And thus a far worse and more unfortunate breed is created, weaker than the female and more effeminate.

But he who in very truth is manly and high-minded would never submit to any such things, nor would he sacrifice his own liberty and his freedom of speech for the sake of any dishonourable payment of either power or riches, nor would he envy those who change their form and apparel for such rewards; on the contrary, he would think such persons to be comparable to those who change from human beings into snakes or other animals, not envying them, nor yet carping at them because of their wantonness, but rather bewailing and pitying them when they, like the boys, with an eye to gifts have their hair cut off, and grey hair at that! But as for himself, the man of whom I speak will strive to preserve his individuality in seemly fashion and with steadfastness, never deserting his post of duty, but always honouring and promoting virtue and sobriety and trying to lead all men thereto, partly by persuading and exhorting, partly by abusing and reproaching, in the hope that he may thereby rescue somebody from folly and from low desires and intemperance and soft living, taking them aside privately one by one and also admonishing them in groups every time he finds the opportunity.

1 Long hair was the outward and visible sign of the philosopher.

5 πάντας Arnim: πάντα.
6 ταῦτα] ταύτην Reiske.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

ἀλλον μειλιχίως, ἀλλον στερεώς ἐπέεσσεν,

39 μέχρι ἄν, οἴμαι, διέλθη τὸν βίον κηδόμενος ἀνθρώ-
πων, οὐ βοῶν οὐδὲ ἱππῶν οὐδὲ καμήλων τε καὶ
οἰκημάτων, ὑγῆς μὲν ἐν λόγοις ὑγῆς δὲ ἐν ἔργοις,
ἀβλαβῆς μὲν συνοδοιπόρος ὁ τῶν γένουτο ἡ σύμ-
πλοις, ἄγαθος δὲ σύμβολος ἡθοποιοὶ φανεῖς, οὐ
στάσιν ἐγείρων οὐδὲ πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲ ἔριδας καὶ
φθόνους καὶ αἰχμαλόβλητος, σωφροσύνης δὲ ὑπο-
μιμητικάς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὁμονοιαν ἄνευ,
ἀπληστίαν δὲ καὶ ἀναίδειαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἐξε-
λαύνων ὅσον δυνατόν, πολὺ τῶν σπουδοφόρων καὶ
tῶν κηρύκων τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκεχειρίας
κομιζόντων ἱερώτερος.

40 Βουλεύοντα μὲν οὖν καὶ προθυμεῖται καὶ ὅσον
οἶσιν τέ ἐστι βοηθεῖν ἄπασιν· ἦπταται δ' ἐτέρων
ἐνιοτε ἄνθρώπων καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ οὐδὲν ἡ
μικρὸν ἱσχύει παντελώς. λουτοῦ δὲ τὴν αὐτὸν
διάφορον καθαρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πειράται παρέχειν
ἀδούλευτον, πολὺ μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
μαχόμενος ἡδοναῖς τε καὶ δόξαις καὶ ἄνθρωποις
ἄπασι μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν βουλομένων ἡ Λακεδαιμό-
νιοὶ ποτὲ τὰ στενὰ καταλαβόντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς
ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἄσιας, ὄλγου τὸν ἄρμον
ἀντε, τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, μέχρι
κυκλωθέντες δὲ ἐνὸς ἀνδρῶς προδοσίαν ἐν ταύτῳ
41 μένοντες κατεκόπτησαν. τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀσκῶν καὶ

1 κηδόμενος Casaubon: ἡδόμενος.
2 ἄγαθος δὲ σύμβολος Ermerius: ἀβλαβῆς δὲ σύμβουλος,
ἀγαθὸς δὲ.
3 ἡδοναῖς Geel: ἡ ἡδοναῖς.
4 After κατεκόπτησαν Hertlein deletes ὁ τῷ Σπάρτῃν ἐνώμικον
ἐλευθέραν διαφοράτων ἀτείχοστον οὖσαν: who believed that they
were preserving Sparta in its freedom, unravled as it was.
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With gentle words at times, at others harsh, until, methinks, he shall have spent his life in caring for human beings, not cattle or horses or camels and houses, sound in words and sound in deeds, a safe travelling companion for any one to have on land or sea and a good omen for men to behold when offering sacrifice, not arousing strife or greed or contentions and jealousies and base desires for gain, but reminding men of sobriety and righteousness and promoting concord, but as for insatiate greed and shamelessness and moral weakness, expelling them as best he can—in short, a person far more sacred than the bearers of a truce or the heralds who in times of war come bringing an armistice.

Therefore he wishes, yes, is eager, in so far as he can, to aid all men: though sometimes he is defeated by other men and other practices and has little or no power at all. Finally, he purges his own mind by the aid of reason and tries to render it exempt from slavery, fighting in defence of freedom a much more stubborn battle against lusts and opinions and all mankind, aided by the few who wish to help him, than once the Spartans fought when, having seized the pass, they gave battle to all the hordes from Asia, few though those Spartans were, for three nights and days in succession until, having been enveloped through one man’s treachery, they stood their ground and were hacked to pieces. More-

1 Iliad 12. 267, spoken of the chiding administered by the two Ajaxes to their laggard fellow soldiers.

2 At Thermopylae the traitor Ephialtes led the Persians over a mountain trail to the rear of the Spartans. However, Leonidas and his little band refused to flee, but fought to the last.
συνεθήκαν κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν πονεῖν, οὐκ ἔδων θρύπτεσθαι λουτροῖς τε καὶ ἀλείμματι καὶ μύροις, μέχρι ὅτε γένηται μαλακῶτερον καὶ σαθρότερον, ἄσπερ κακῶν σκεύος. Ταῦτα δὲ ὄρθωτες ἔνιοι δι' εὐήθειαν αὐτὸν ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ ἀφρούσῃν φασί, τὸ πλούτειν ἔσαντα καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἦδεσθαι, καὶ καταφρονοῦσι καὶ μαίνεσθαι νομίζοντο καὶ ἀτιμάζοντον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὄργιζεται πρὸς αὐτοῦς οὐδ' ἔχει χαλεπῶς, ἄλλα ἑπτάν, οἶμαι, καὶ πατρὸς εὐνοοῦστερος ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἄδελφῳ καὶ φίλων καὶ δή καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενείς αἰδούμενος μέν, οὐκ ἀποκρυπτόμενος δὲ, τοσότωσι μᾶλλον ὅσον τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειότερος τε καὶ ἀναγκαστέρους νενόμικον, ὡς οἶδο τε ἐπιτείνας τοὺς λόγους καὶ σφοδροτέραν τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ παρακέλευσιν ποιούμενος αὐτῷ τε κακεῖνοις.

42 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἱατρὸς, ὅτως ἀνάγκη πατέρα ἡ μητέρα ἡ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἱάθαις νοσοῦντας ἡ καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ σπάνιον τε καὶ ἔρημαν ἄλλων ἱατρῶν, εἰ δέοι τέμνειν ἡ καὶ κείων, ὅτι φιλεῖ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐχύνεται καὶ τὴν μητέρα, διὰ τοῦτο ἀμβλυτέρω τῷ σιδήρῳ τέμοι ἄν καὶ χιλιαρωτέρῳ τῷ πυρὶ καίοι, τούναστιον δὲ ὃς οἶδον τε ἱσχύνοιτι καὶ ἀκραίως. τὸν γοῦν Ἡρακλέα φασίν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἱάσασθαι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ νόσου δεινῆς κατεχόμενον, τοὺς υἱὸς καλέσαι πρῶτοι κε-

1 καὶ added by Jacobs.
2 αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ.
3 After δὲ Geel adds νουθετεῖ.
over, he trains his body, inuring it to labour with all his might, not allowing it to become enervated by baths and ointments and perfumes until it becomes too soft and as unsound as a bad vessel. But some who see him say that he follows these practices out of foolishness and stupidity, having neglected the opportunity to be rich, to be honoured, and to live a life of continual pleasure, and they scorn him, think him insane, and esteem him lightly. Yet he is not enraged at them or vexed; on the contrary, I believe he is kinder to each one than even a father or brothers or friends. And in fact, though he shows respect for his own fellow citizens and friends and kinsmen, still he does not hide his thoughts from them—all the more so because he believes them to be closer to him than all others through home ties and relationship—stressing his words as much as possible and increasing the vehemence of his admonition and exhortation for himself and them alike.

Take, for example, the physician; if he should find it necessary to treat father or mother or his children when they are ill, or even himself through scarcity or lack of other physicians, in case he should need to employ surgery or cautery, he would not, because he loves his children and respects his father and his mother, for that reason cut with a duller knife or cauterize with milder fire, but, on the contrary, he would use the most potent and vigorous treatment possible. For example, they say of Heraclitus, that when he was unable to heal his body, which had become the victim of a dread malady, he called his sons first of all and ordered them to set of recovering his love and loyalty; cf. Or. 60 and Sophocles, Trachiniae 1046-1057.
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

λέοντα ὑποπρῆσαι λαμπροτάτω πυρί τών δὲ ὁκνούντων καὶ ἀποστρεφομένων, λοιδορέων αὐτούς ὡς μαλακούς τε καὶ ἀναξίους αὐτοῦ· καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μᾶλλον ἐοικότας, λέγοντα, ὡς ὁ ποιητής φησι,

ποὶ μεταστρέφεσθ', ὥς κακοὶ καὶ ἀνάξιοι τῆς ἐμῆς σπορᾶς; Αἰτωλίδος ἀγάλματα μητρός;

45 Οὐκοῦν αὐτῷ πρῶτω χρή καὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις καὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ μετὰ πλείστης παρρησίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας προσφέρεσθαι, μηδὲν ἀποκοινόντα μηδὲν υφιέμενον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. πολὺ γὰρ χειρὸν διεθθαρμένου σῶματος καὶ νοσοῦντος ψυχῆς διεθθαρμένη, μᾶ Δία, οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων χριστῶν ἡ ποτῶν ὑπὲ ὑπὸ ἱοῦ τινος διεσθίοντος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε ἀγνοίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ ὑβρεως καὶ φθόνου δὴ καὶ λύπης καὶ μυρίων ἐπιθυμιῶν. τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα καὶ τὸ πάθος χαλεπώτερον ἔκεινον καὶ πολὺ μείζονος καὶ λαμπροτέρου δεόμενον ἐμπρησμοῦ. ἐφ' ἣν ἵαιν καὶ ἀπόλυσων χρή παρακαλεὶν ἀπροφασιστῶς καὶ πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ξυγγενῆ καὶ ἀλλότριον καὶ πολίτην καὶ ξένον.

1 αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ. 2 αὐτῷ Emperius: αὐτῷ.
3 After χεῖρον Reiske deletes καὶ.
4 χριστῶν Casaubon: χρειστῶν οὐ χρηστῶν.
SEVENTY-SEVENTH EIGHTH DISCOURSE

fire to him with most brilliant flame; but when they were reluctant and shrank from the ordeal, he abused them as weaklings and unworthy of him and more like their mother, saying, in the words of the poet,

Whither away, ye cravens and disgrace
To my engendering, ye likenesses
Of her, your mother, whom Aetolia bore? ¹

Therefore toward oneself first of all, and also toward one’s nearest and dearest, one must behave with fullest frankness and independence, showing no reluctance or yielding in one’s words. For far worse than a corrupt and diseased body is a soul which is corrupt, not, I swear, because of salves or potions or some consuming poison, but rather because of ignorance and depravity and insolence, yes, and jealousy and grief and unnumbered desires. This disease and ailment is more grievous than that of Heracles and requires a far greater and more flaming cautery; and to this healing and release one must summon without demur father or son, kinsman or outsider, citizen or alien.

¹ Nauck, T.G.F., adespota 99. The mother of Heracles’ sons was Deianeira, daughter of Oeneus, king in Calydon, and sister of the famous Meleager.
THE SEVENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: 
ON WEALTH

The title of this Discourse as preserved in Parisinus 2985 is περὶ πλοῦτον τῶν ἐν Κυλλία, but the other manuscripts give merely περὶ πλοῦτον. What is the explanation of the additional phrase contained in the Paris manuscript? Cilicia is not named in the document before us, and a careful scrutiny of the speech fails to reveal any clear clue to the place of its delivery. One may reasonably infer from the choice of subject that Dio was addressing an audience in some wealthy city. His opening sentence might suggest Rome as the setting, but, were that the case, one may question whether he would have identified himself with his hearers as he does in § 5. The logical conclusion would seem to be that the scribe of the Paris manuscript has preserved for us a genuine tradition, based upon some memorandum left by the author, or else, possibly, upon the circumstances attending the discovery of the speech by his editor.

Assuming the accuracy of the title referred to, one would naturally think of Tarsus as the city in which Dio was speaking, for two of the speeches in our collection were certainly delivered in that city (33 and 34), and Dio calls Tarsus "the greatest of all the cities of Cilicia and a metropolis from the outset" (Or. 34. 7).

The argument of our Discourse is, in brief, that wealth confers upon its owners no desirable distinction, possesses no real utility, is transitory in its nature, and leads to vulgar extravagance, in the course of which Celts, Indians, Iberians, Arabs, and Babylonians "take tribute" from the stupid and self-indulgent persons who covet their exotic products. That for which a city really merits commendation and congratulation is the excellence of its laws, the probity of its citizens, and the moderation of its rulers.

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79. ΗΕΡΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΥ

1 Φέρε πρὸς θεῶν, ἐπὶ τῖνι μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μακαρίζειν ἄξιον πόλιν ἀπασών μεγίστην καὶ δυνατωτάτην; πότερον ἐπὶ νόμων ἀρετῆ καὶ πολιτῶν ἐπιεικεία καὶ σωφροσύνη τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια καὶ ράδια τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀφθονία καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων δεῖ μακαρίζειν αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς Σύρων καὶ Βαβυλώνιοις ύψάσμασι, καὶ ὃτι χρυσῷ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρέπτουσι, καὶ μεστὰ πάντα ἀργύρου καὶ ἱλέκτρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὅποια Ὀμήρος εἴρηκε τὰ Ἀλκινόου καὶ τὰ Μενελάου βασίλεια ὑπερβάλλων τὸ τε ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν σχεδόν, οὕτως ἀπασαν ἡ σκηματικὴ τὴν πόλιν καὶ νὴ Δία ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, δὲν οὐ- δέν ἄνησε τούς πρότερον ἑχοτας, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἄν ἐκεῖνα ἐκομίσθη, τούτους ὕδαι τις ἄν δουλους καὶ ταπεινοὺς καὶ πένητας;

2 Εἰ γὰρ ὦν ὃφελός τι χαλκοῦ καλῶς κεκραμένον

1 Σύρων] Σύρων Reiske.
2 After ἀπασαν Casaubon adds πλάσας.
3 ἐκομίσθη Emperius: ἐκοσμήθη.

1 For his description, see Odyssey 7. 84-97 and 4. 71-75 respectively. In Odyssey 4. 73 ἱλέκτρου may mean a natural 304
THE SEVENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE:  
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Come now, in Heaven's name do tell me: on what account above all is it fitting to admire, yes, to feel proud of and to congratulate, a city which is the greatest and the most powerful of all? Is it for excellence of laws, for probity of citizens, and for moderation of its rulers; or are these things trifles and worthless and easy to come by for ordinary people, and is it rather for multitude of inhabitants, lavishness of market-place, and sumptuousness of its edifices that one should congratulate it, for its Syrian and Babylonian fabrics, and because its citizens roof their houses with gold and the whole place teems with silver and amber and ivory, like the palaces of Alcinoüs and Menelaüs which Homer has described —overstepping the reality and the possibility too, one may venture to suggest—the city, I mean, having been equipped throughout in that fashion? Would it be, in Heaven's name, for its paintings and its statues, none of which had been of any service to their former owners; on the contrary, those from whom these things were obtained would be found to be slaves, of low estate, and poor?

For example, if there were any utility in bronze alloy of gold and silver rather than amber, which is its usual meaning and the one required in § 4.
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ κρατήρων καὶ βωμῶν καὶ θυματηρίων περιττῶς εἰργασμένων, ἡ Κορυνθίων πόλις ἂν ευδαίμων ἦν καὶ πολὺν ὄγκον ἄν χρόνον, σώζουσα τοὺς εαυτῆς οἰκήτορας καὶ πολίτας· εἰ δ' αὖ λίθων εὐχρόων καὶ ποικίλων, ἡ Τηέων ἡ Καρυστίων καὶ τινῶν Ἀιγυπτίων καὶ Φρυγῶν παρ' οἷς ἔστι τὰ ὅρη ποικίλα· ἀκοῦώ δὲ ἔγωγε τὰν σοφῶν τὰς πάνυ παλαιὰς τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι πέτρας· ἀλλ' ὁμοιος ὤδενος εἰσὶ βελτίων οὐδ' εὐνυχέστεροι τῶν πάνυ ταπεινῶν τε καὶ ἀθλίων.

3 Εἰ δὲ γε ὠφελεί τὸ κεκτῆσθαι χρυσὶν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυνεν Ἀιθιόπας τοὺς ἄνω μακαριωτάτους εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὅπου τὸ χρυσὶν ἀτιμότερον ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ μόλιβδος, καὶ φασιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς κακοῦργους ἐν παχείας χρυσαίσ4 δεδέσθαι πέδαις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἤττον εἰσι δεσμωταί καὶ πονηροί καὶ ἄδικοι. τὸ δὲ μακαρίζειν τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μηδὲν διαφέροντας τῶν πάνω φαύλων, ὁμοιον οἶον5 εἰ τις τοὺς ἐκεῖ δεσμώτας ἰδὼν προϊόντας ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἐξῆλθοι, καὶ πάντων εὐδαμονέστατον ἐκρινε τὸν ἐχοντα τὰς μείζους πέδας.

4 Εἰ δὲ ἐλέφας θαυμαστῶν κτήμα καὶ περιμάχητον,

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1 Corinth for centuries led in art and commerce, but it was destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C. Julius Caesar revived it.

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1 η Casaubon : ἡ.  
2 σοφῶν Post : ὀρῶν.  
3 ταπεινῶν Pflugk, ταλαιπώρων Emperius, φαύλων Selden : παλαιών.  
4 χρυσαίσ added by Casaubon.  
5 οἶον added by Emperius, ὡς Casaubon.
THE SEVENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

well blended and in mixing-bowls and altars and censers of cunning workmanship, the Corinthians' city would have been prosperous and have long maintained its existence as a state, safeguarding its own settlers and citizens. And again, if there were utility in beautifully coloured and variegated marbles, the same statement could be made about the cities of Teos and Carystus, as well as about certain Egyptian and Phrygian cities in whose vicinity the mountains are of variegated stone—in fact, I hear that among their sarcophagi the very ancient ones are of this same rock—yet, for all that, they are no better or more fortunate than any of the very lowly and pitiful cities.

Furthermore, if it were advantageous to possess gold, there was nothing to prevent the Ethiopians of the interior from being deemed most fortunate, for in their land gold is less highly prized than lead is with us, and it is said that in that region the criminals have been bound with heavy fetters of gold, yet they are none the less prisoners and depraved and evildoers. But to congratulate the wealthy and men of great riches, when in all other respects they are no better than very ordinary folk, is as if, on seeing the prisoners of Ethiopia emerge from their prison, one were to envy them and judge the most fortunate of all to be the one with the heaviest fetters.

Again, if ivory is a marvellous possession and worth as a Roman colony more than a century prior to our Discourse and it was again rich and populous.

2 Teos was midway between Smyrna and Ephesus, Carystus was in Euboea. We hear little of Tean marble, but Roman writers often speak of the green marble of Carystus, which was very popular.

3 Cf. Herodotus 3. 23.
ἀντὶ πάντων ὀλβιώτατοι καὶ ἀριστοὶ, παρ᾽ οἷς ἐρρίπταται τὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὡστὰ καὶ οὔδείς πρόσεισιν, ὦσπερ ἐνθάδε τὰ τῶν βοῶν τε καὶ ὑμῶν· καὶ πολλαχοῦ φασιν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ἐνοικοδομεῖσθαι τὰ κρανία τῶν ἐλεφάντων αὐτοῖς ὀδούσιν. τί δὲ χρῆ περὶ Κελτῶν λέγειν, ὅποιοι φασὶ ποταμὸν τινα καταφέρειν τὸ ἠλεκτρον καὶ πολὺ πανταχοῦ κείσθαι παρὰ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς ἐκβεβρασμένον, ὦσπερ αἱ ψῆφοι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν; καὶ πρότερον μὲν οἱ παίδες παίζοντες διερρίπτουν1. νῦν δὲ κάκευοι συλλέγουσι καὶ φυλάττουσιν αὐτό, παρ᾽ ἡμῶν μεμαθηκότες ὅτι εἰσίν εὐδαίμονες.

5 Ἀρα ἐνθυμεῖσθε ὅτι πάντες οὗτοι, λέγω δὲ τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Ἰβηραῖς καὶ Ἀραβὰς καὶ Βαβυλωνίους, φόροις παρ᾽ ἡμῶν λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲ τῶν βοσκημάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἄνοιας τῆς ἡμετέρας; οὐ γάρ, ἀν μὲν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς κρατήσαντες τινας ἀναγκάσωσιν αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον ὑποτελεῖν τοὺς ἡττημένους, τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται φόρος, καὶ ἔστω ἄνθρωποι οὐ σφόδρα εὐτυχῶν οὐδὲ ἀνδρείων δασμῶν ἐτέρων παρέχειν· ἐὰν δὲ τινες, μήτε ἐπιστρατευσαμένου μηδὲνος μήτε ἀναγκάσαντος, δι᾽ εὐθείαν δὲ καὶ τρυφὴν, δὲ περὶ πλείστου πουοῦνται ἀπάντων, ἀργύριον πέμπουσιν ἑκόντες, διὰ μακρὰς μὲν ὀδοὺ πολλῆς δὲ θαλάττης,

1 παίζοντες διερρίπτουν Emperius: ἐπαιζον τά δὲ ἐρρίπτουν.
2 Ἰβηραῖς] Σήρας Emperius.

1 Amber was found at Olbia, near the mouth of the Dnieper, and also at Marseilles, at the mouth of the Rhône.
THE SEVENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

fighting for, the Indians are of all men most blest and pre-eminent by far, for in their land the bones of the elephants are tossed aside and no one troubles to go near them, just as in our land the bones of cattle and of asses are treated; they even say that in many places the skulls of the elephants, tusks and all, are built into their house walls. But what should we say of the Celts, in whose country, according to report, a certain river carries the amber down with its waters and the amber is found in abundance everywhere by the river banks, cast ashore like the pebbles on the beaches in our country?¹ Indeed, in days gone by their children at play used to toss it about, though now they too collect and treasure it, having learned from us how fortunate they are.

Are you aware that all these peoples—the Celts, Indians, Iberians, Arabs,² and Babylonians—exact tribute from us, not from our land or from our flocks and herds, but from our own folly? For if, when by force of arms any people get the upper hand and compel the vanquished to pay them silver, this is called tribute, and it is a sign that people are not very fortunate or brave if they pay tribute to others, then is it not true that if, though no one has attacked or compelled them, but because of stupidity and self-indulgence, a certain people take that which they prize most highly, silver, and of their own volition send it over a long road and across a vast expanse

Dio may have the latter in mind, for his "Celts" may refer to the Celtiberians of that general region, both Celts and Iberians being listed in the next section.

² The Iberians and Arabs have not been mentioned previously in this speech. Their inclusion here may betoken ex-tempore delivery.
τοῖς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι ῥάδιως δυναμένοις τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς, οὔ τώ παντὶ κάκιον τε καὶ αἰσχρὸν τὸ γιγνόμενον; πλὴν ὦτοι λίθους μικροὺς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ, νὴ Δία, θηρίων ὅστα διδόντες λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἀντὶ χρηστῶν ἄχρηστα ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι. μάλιστα δὲ θαυμάζω πολλάκις ἐννοῶν ὦτι Μήδοι μὲν τὰ Σύρων λαβόντες ἄγαπῶν καὶ ἔχαιρον, Πέρσαι δὲ τὰ Μήδων, Μακεδόνες δὲ τὰ Περσῶν, καὶ τότε φῶντο εὐτυχεῖς γεγονέναι καὶ πράττειν ἄμεινον, ὦτε εἶχον τὰ τῶν ἀθλίων καὶ δυστυχόντων κτῆματα.

Ταῦτα δὲ ὦκ ἀλλως ἐγνωγε ληρῶν εἶπον, ἀλλ’ ὦτι τῶν τουιότων, ὑπὲρ ὁν ἐξουσί τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν καὶ ἐφ’ ὦτε θαυμάζουσι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν κεκτημένωσι, οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὦφελος, ἀλλ’ οὐδεμιᾶς ἄξια δραχμῆς τὰ σύμπαντα: ὦν’ ἂν γένοιτο ἀνθρωποί ποτὲ εὐδαιμονεῖς ἄνοιγτοι καὶ ἀφρονεῖς, ὦν’ ἂν τῶν ἐν Σοῦσις παράδεισου οἰκήσωσιν, ὥς ἦν, ὡς φασί, μετέωρος ἀπασ.

1 οὔ τῶ Casaubon: οὖτω or οὖτωσ.
2 ἐννοῶν Reiske: ἐννοῶ.
3 οἰκήσωσιν Dindorf, ἐννοήσωσιν Reiske, ἀνοικοδομήσωσιν Post: οἰκοδομησόντωσιν or οἰκοδομήσωσιν.

1 Bits of amber. Theophrastus, De Lapidibus 29, classifies amber as a λίθος.
2 By “Syrian” Dio is thought to have meant Assyrian: Herodotus (7. 63) says Syrian was the Greek term, Assyrian the barbarian. Cyaxares the Mede at the close of the seventh century took part in the sack of Nineveh.
of sea to those who cannot easily even set foot upon our soil, such conduct is altogether more cowardly and disgraceful? Except for one thing, that they do offer tiny, fragile pebbles¹ and, forsooth, bones of wild beasts when they take our silver and gold, exchanging useless things for useful! But I am often most astonished when I reflect that the Medes were well content, yes, delighted at having got the Syrian² riches, and the Persians in turn at having got that of the Medes, and the Macedonians that of the Persians, and that they thought they had at last become Fortune’s darlings and were more prosperous at the moment when they had in their possession what once had belonged to those wretched and unfortunate peoples.

But these words I have spoken, not in a spirit of idle folly, but because such goods, on the possession of which they have set their hearts and for which most men admire those who have acquired them, are good for nothing, nay, are not worth a single drachma when lumped together; nor can human beings ever become fortunate if ignorant and empty-headed, not even if they make the park at Susa their dwelling-place, a park which was, we are told, wholly up in the air.³

³ At Susa the Persian monarch had his chief palace, which, like the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis, was built on lofty artificial terraces, in imitation of Babylon. In speaking of “the park at Susa” Dio may have had in mind the “hanging gardens” of Babylon, which Diodorus himself calls a παράδεισος.
THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE:
ON FREEDOM

Conditions surrounding the Greek title of this Discourse are the opposite of those noted in connexion with that of the one preceding, for in the present instance all manuscripts except Parisinus 2985 add the phrase τῶν ἐν Κολυκίᾳ. What was said in the Introduction to Or. 79 regarding the problem presented by that phrase is equally appropriate here, for once more we get no clue to the place of delivery.

The freedom which the speaker has chosen as his theme is the freedom which characterizes himself, the philosopher—freedom to come and go as suits his fancy, freedom from the anxieties and inconveniences that harass mankind at large, freedom from the temptations which assail seekers after riches or fame or self-indulgence. Such freedom belongs to him who leads the simple life, obedient to the ordinances of Zeus rather than to those of some imperfect, earthly law-giver. This creed is abundantly fortified with illustrations drawn from Greek myth and history.
80. ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ

1 Ἄμεις μὲν ἵσως θαυμάζετε καὶ παράδοξον ἔγειοθε καὶ ουδαμῶς σωφρονούντος ἀνδρὸς, ὡστὶς ἀπάντων ἀποστὰς περί ἄ τοι πολλοὶ σπουδάζουσι, καὶ τρόπον τυπά ἔσασα κατὰ ῥόυν φέρεσθαι χρήματα τε καὶ δοξα καὶ ἱδονάς, οὔτε γεωργός οὔτε ναύκληρος οὔτε στρατιώτης οὔτε στρατηγὸς περίειας, οὐ σκυτοτόμος, οὐ τέκτων, οὐκ ἰατρὸς, οὐ ρήτωρ, οὐκ ἄλλο τι σύνηθες πράγμα ποιῶν, οὔτωσι δὲ ἀτόπως ἰῶν τε καὶ ἀπιῶν καὶ παριστάμενος ἐνθα μηδὲν αὐτῷ πράγμα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἂς ἂν τύχῃ τε καὶ ὀρμήσῃ βουλευτήρια μὲν καὶ θέατρα καὶ συλλόγους ἀτιμάσας, ἐκκλησιάζων δὲ μόνος αὐτὸς καὶ θεωρῶν οὐκ ὀρχουμένους οὐδὲ ἀδοντας οὐδὲ πυκτεύοντας οὐδὲ παλαιόντας, ἀλλ' ὀνυμένους καὶ βαδίζοντας καὶ λαλοῦντας καὶ μαχομένους, ποτὲ μὲν τούτους ἀπασὶ προσέχων εὐ μάλα καὶ τερπόμενος πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ παῖδες ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ θεάτροις, οὐ προκαταλαμβάνων οὐδὲ ἀγρυπνῶν οὐδὲ θλιβόμενος, ποτὲ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀκούων μηδενὸς μὴ ὀρῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐίναι νομίζων αὐτοῖς, ἐννοῶν ὁ βούλεται καὶ πράττων ἀδεώς.

1 ποιῶν Eμπερίος: κοινών. 2 αὖ Cασαμβών: ἂν. 3 ἀλλὰ μηδ' εἶναι Eμπερίος: ἀλλὰ μηδ' εἶδεναι UB, μὴ δ' εἰδέναι M.
THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE:
ON FREEDOM

You perhaps are surprised and consider it past all belief and a mark of one who is by no means of sound judgement if a person abandons all that most men view with serious regard and, as one might say, permits riches and fame and pleasures to drift downstream but goes about as neither farmer nor trader nor soldier nor general, nor as shoemaker or builder or physician or orator, nor as one engaged in any other customary occupation, but, on the other hand, comes and goes in this strange fashion and puts in an appearance in places where he has no business at all but rather where chance and impulse may lead him. Council chambers and theatres and assemblies he has held in light esteem, and yet he conducts a popular assembly all by himself; the spectacles which attract his gaze are not dancers or singers or boxers or wrestlers, but buyers and strollers and talkers and fighters; sometimes all these receive his very strict attention, and he derives from them much more enjoyment than do boys at athletic contests and theatrical performances, although he does not come ahead of time or keep awake all night to get a seat or get crushed by the crowd; at other times, on the contrary, he neither hears nor sees any single one of them, but ignores their existence, thinking of anything that suits his fancy and acting without fear.
3 'Εγώ δὲ τούτο μὲν λαμπρὸν ήγούμαι καὶ μακάριον, εἰ τις ἐν οἰκέταις ἐλευθερός εἶναι δύναται καὶ ἐν υπηκόοις αὐτόνομος· ὑπὲρ οὗ πολλὰ μὲν Λυδοὶ Φροζί, πολλὰ δὲ Φρύγες Λυδοῖς ἐπολέμησαν, πολλὰ δὲ Ἰωνές τε καὶ Δωριεῖς καὶ ξύμπαντα γένη, ἀνόητοι εἰδοὺς αὐτονομίας ἔρωντες. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐγκεχείρηκεν τοῖς αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι νόμοις, οἱ δὲ ξύμπαντες περὶ τῶν Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος καὶ Νόμια καὶ Ζαλεύκου νόμων ἑρίζοντο, ὅπως τούτως ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτως ἐπιτυγχάνει, μηδενὸς αὖ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνων οία ἔχρην θέντος.  

4 Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι πονηροὶς ἐγραφὲ νόμους, εἶπερ τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας πονηροὶς ἐγραφὲν ἀλλὰ ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτοι ἐχρῆτο πονηροῖς τε οὕσι καὶ οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτῷ. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τούτων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀρέσκον ἀυτοὶ, οὐδὲ ἐπούδαζον οὐδὲ

1 oikeitas Casaubon: oikias or oikeias.
2 After οὗ Emperius adds δὲ.
3 ἀνόητοι εἰδοὺς] ἀνόητῳ δὲ πειθοῦς Gasda, ἀνόητον εἰδὸς Sonny, ἀλλὰ ποτεοτοῦ Post.
4 ἔρωντες. οὐδεὶς δὲ Crosby, οὗ ἔρωτι Sonny: ἔρωτι οὐδεὶς.
5 ἥρησθαι Morel: χρᾶσθαι.
6 ἥντος Emperius: θέντων.
7 εἰρηκέναι Jacobs: εἰδέναι.
8 After ὦς Jacobs deletes ὦτι.

1 How much did Dio know of this warfare? Herodotus begins his account of Lydia at the point where all the country west of the Halys River was subject to the Lydians.
2 The casual reference to Numa, legendary king and lawgiver of Rome, suggests that the audience either was well
THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE

As for myself, however, I regard it as a splendid and blessed state of being, if in the midst of slaves one can be a free man and in the midst of subjects be independent. To attain this state many wars were waged by the Lydians against the Phrygians and by the Phrygians against the Lydians,1 and many, too, by both Ionians and Dorians and, in fact, by all peoples, fools that they were to be enamoured of a counterfeit of freedom! Yet none of them has undertaken to use his own personal laws; instead they all wrangle over the laws of Solon and Draco and Numa and Zaleucus,2 bent on following the one code but not the other, though, on the other hand, not even one of these law-givers had framed the sort of laws he should. Why, Solon himself, according to report, declared that he was proposing for the Athenians, not what satisfied himself, but rather what he assumed they would accept.3

Evidently, therefore, he composed bad laws, if indeed he composed the laws which would satisfy bad men; but, for all that, even Solon himself used these laws, bad as they were and not satisfactory to himself. Clearly, then, not one of these law-givers had any claim to independence, nor did they exert themselves or wage war for the purpose of educated or else contained persons with a Roman background. To be sure, at about this time Plutarch was composing his life of Numa, but the name appears rarely in Greek writings. Zaleucus, early law-giver of Locri in Italy, had been discussed by Ephorus (4th century B.C.) in his Universal History.

3 The fragments of Solon’s poems bearing upon his legislation testify to his pride in the achievement; however, Plutarch reports (Solon 13. 2) that, in defence of his laws, Solon once said that they were “the best laws the Athenians would have accepted.”

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DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

ἐπολέμουν ὃπως ὃσιν ἐλεύθεροι: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀφθονὸν
tε καὶ πολλὴν δουλεῖαν ἐντὸς τῶν τείχων ἐγκαθεύρ-
ξαντες ἐπειτα ἐπάλξει καὶ πύργοις καὶ βέλεσιν
ἡμύνοντο, ὅπως μὴ εἰσίοι ἐξωθεν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦς,
ὡσπερ εἰ τις νεὼς διερρημένης κλύδων ἐνδον
ὀντος φυλάττοιτο καὶ πράγματα ἔχοι, μὴποτε
ἀνωθεν ὑπερβάλη. καθάπερ οὖν φασι τοὺς Τρώας
ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλένης πολιορκείσθαι καὶ ἀποβυθήσκεσιν
οὐκ ἐνδον οὐσίας ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ταυτὸ πάθος
οὗτοι πεπόνθασιν. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο
καὶ ἡγωνίων, οὖν οὐσίας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς.

5 Ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἐκεῖνοι τε ἔλεγον πάντα πάσχειν
ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, καὶ νῦν φασιν ἐν τούτοις εἶναι
τὴν δίκην, ὅποις ἕναντοι ἰσοτυχεῖσι ὁντες συγ-
γράφωσιν ἡ παρ᾽ ἀλλων ὁμοίων3 παραλάβωσιν.
νόμον δὲ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ κύριον καὶ φανερὸν οὔτε
ὄρωσιν οὔτε ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου.
τουγαροῦν ὡσπερ ἐν μεσθεριά λάμποντος ἡλίου
dὰδας ἱασι καὶ δαλοὺς ἄραμενοι, τὸ μὲν θεῖον φῶς
έρασαντες,4 καπνῷ δὲ ἐπομενοι καὶ μικρὸν αἴθυμα
dεικνύντι πυρός. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως νόμος
ἀφεῖται καὶ ἐκλέλοιπε5 παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, ὅ κακοδαίμονες.
ἀξίωσι δὲ καὶ γραμματεῖα καὶ στῆλας φυλάττετε
καὶ ἀνωφελῆ στίγματα.

6 Καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ Διὸς θεσμὸν πάλαι παρέβητε,

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1 Stesichorus is said to have invented this version of the Helen story, incorporating it in his famous palinode, four 318

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1 πεπόνθασιν] πεπόνθεσιν Arnim.
2 ὅποι] ἐν Pflugk: ὅποτ] ἐν or ὅποταν.
3 ὁμοίων Morel: ὁμοίως.
4 έρασαντες Morel: ἐλάσαντες.
5 ἐκλέλοιπε Emperius: λέλοιπε.
being free; on the contrary, after they had gathered within the compass of their city walls slavery without bound or limit, thereupon with ramparts and towers and missiles they tried to protect themselves against the chance that freedom might make its entry among them from without, just as if, when a ship’s seams have opened up and the hold is already taking water, one were to take measures of prevention and be concerned lest perchance the sea might sweep over from above. Accordingly, just as it is said that the Trojans for Helen’s sake endured siege and death, although she was not at Troy but in Egypt,¹ just so has it been with these men—in behalf of their freedom they fought and struggled, when all the while they had no freedom.

Yet not only did these men of old profess to be enduring all things in defence of the laws, but even now men say that justice resides in whatever laws they themselves, luckless creatures that they are, may frame or else inherit from others like themselves. But the law which is true and binding and plain to behold they neither see nor make a guide for their life. So at noon, as it were, beneath the blazing sun, they go about with torches and flambeaux in their hands, ignoring the light of heaven but following smoke if it shows even a slight glint of fire. Thus, while the law of nature is abandoned and eclipsed with you, poor unfortunates that you are, tablets and statute books and slabs of stone with their fruitless symbols are treasured by you.

Again, while the ordinance of Zeus you transgressed lines of which have been preserved by Plato (Phaedrus 243 A). Herodotus tells the story in great detail (2. 112-119), and Euripides used that version for the framework of his Helen.
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

tον δὲ τοῦ δεινος ἢ τὸν τοῦ δεινος ὅπως μηδεις παραβῆσεται σκοπείσθη. καὶ τὴν ἀράν ἢν Ἀθηναίοι περὶ τῶν Ὁλονοσ ἔθεντο νόμων τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι καταλύειν ἀγνοεῖτε κυριωτέραν οὕσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις. πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν συγχέοντα1 τοῦ2 θεσμὸν ἀτιμὸν ὑπάρχειν3. πλὴν παιδας καὶ γένος οὐκ ἐπέξειην, ὡς ἐκεῖ, τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶ4 γίγνεται τῆς ἀτυχίας αὐτίων. τὸν οὖν ἐπιχειροῦτα τοῦτον ἀνασώζειν5 ὥς ἂν οἶδο τε ᾧ καὶ τὸ γε καθ' αὐτῶν φυλάττειν οὐδέποτε ἢν μὴ φρονεῖν φαίην ἐγώγη.

7 Πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς θαυμάζω καὶ ἔλεω τῆς χαλεπῆς καὶ παρανόμου δουλείας ἐν ἤξεναντες αὐτῶν ἔχετε, οὐχ ἐνι δεσμῷ μόνον περιβαλόντες6 οὐδὲ δυσών, ἀλλὰ μυρίως, ὡς ἄγγισεν καὶ πιέζεσθε πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν ἀλύσει τε καὶ κλοοὶ καὶ πέδαις ἐλκομένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀφεθήναι καὶ διακόψᾳ φυγεῖν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἂεi μᾶλλον κρατῶνεσθε τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ πλεῖον καὶ ἰσχυρότερα ἀπεργάζεσθε. καὶ μή, ὅτι οὐχ ὅρατε αὐτά, ψυδὴ καὶ ἀπιστον ἤγεισθε τούδε τὸν λόγον· σκοπείτε δὲ 'Ομήρου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς7 σοφωτάτου ποτ' ἀττα δεσμὰ τὸν "Ἀρη φησὶ8 κατασχεῖν,

1 συγχέοντα Casaubon: συνεχοντα.
2 τὸν with UB, τόνδε τὸν Emperius, τὸ πάν Arnim; τὸν δὲ M.
3 ἀτιμὸν ὑπάρχειν Emperius, ἀραῖον ὑπάρχειν Arnim: ἀθηναίον ἐπάρχειν. 4 αὐτῶν Reiske: αὐτῶν.
5 ἀνασώζειν Casaubon: ἂν οἰκήειν.
6 περιβαλόντες Pflugk: περιβαλλόντες.

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THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE

long ago, the ordinance of this man or of that you make it your aim that no man shall transgress. Moreover, the curse which the Athenians established in connexion with Solon’s laws against all who should attempt to destroy them 1 you fail to see is more valid touching the laws of Zeus, for it is wholly inevitable that he who attempts to nullify the ordinance of Zeus shall be an outlaw—except that in this instance children and kinsmen of the guilty are not included in the punishment, as they were at Athens: instead, each is held accountable for his own misfortune. Whoever, therefore, tries to rescue this ordinance as best he can and to guard his own conduct I for my part would never say is lacking in judgement.

But much more do I marvel at and pity you 2 for the grievous and unlawful slavery under whose yoke you have placed your necks, for you have thrown about you not merely one set of fetters or two but thousands, fetters by which you are throttled and oppressed much more than are those who drag themselves along in chains and halters and shackles. For they have the chance of release or of breaking their bonds and fleeing, but you are always strengthening your bonds and making them more numerous and stronger. Moreover, merely because you do not see your bonds, do not think that these words of mine are false and untrustworthy; nay, consider Homer—who in your estimation is wisest of all—and what kind of bonds he says made Ares captive,

1 Cf. Aristotle, Athen. Pol. 16. 10.
2 Dio here recalls his opening statement, that his hearers may be surprised at his conduct.

7 ῥμᾶς Emperius: ῥμᾶς. 8 ὧηαὶ Morel: φαοὶ.
διον ωκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν, οἷ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,

ἡύτ' ἀράχνια λεπτά, τά γ' οὐ κέ τις οὐδέ ἴδοιτο.

8 Μὴ οὖν οἴεσθε τὸν μὲν Ἀρη, θεὸν ὄντα καὶ

ισχυρόν, οὕτως ὑπὸ λεπτῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων

πεδηθῆναι δεσμῶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ, πάντων θηρίων

ἀσθενεστάτους ὄντας, μὴ ἂν ποτὲ ἀλώναι δεσμοῖς

ἀφανέσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ σιδήρου τε καὶ ὀρειχάλκου

eῦ πεποιημένα εὑρ. τὰ μὲν οὖν σώματα ὑμῶν,

οία δὴ στερεὰ καὶ τὸ πλέον γῆς γέμοντα, ² τοιούτων ³

deitai τῶν κρατησοντων ψυχή δὲ ἀοράτος ποὺ

καὶ λεπτή φύσει πῶς οὐκ ἂν δεσμῶν τοιούτων

tυχάνοι; ⁶ υμεῖς δὲ στερροὺς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνους

πεποίησθε πάση μηχανῇ πλεξάμενοι, καὶ τὸν

Δαίδαλον ⁷ αὐτῶν ὑπερβεβλημένοι τῇ τέχνῃ τε καὶ

σπούδῃ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὑμῶν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς κατα-

dedéσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μηδὲ αὐτόνομον.

9 τί γὰρ ἢν ἡ Κνωσίων εἰρκτῇ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δαβυρίνθου

σκολιῶν πρὸς τῆς σκολιώτητα καὶ τὸ δυσεύρετον

τῆς ἀφροσύνης; τί δ' ἡ Σικελικὴ φρουρὰ τῶν

Ἀττικῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὐς εἰς πέτραν τινὰ ἐν-

ἐβαλον; τί δ' ὁ Λακώνων Κεάδας καὶ τὸ παρὰ

1 εὐ deleted by Reiske.

2 γῆς γέμοντα with M, ἐκ γῆς γεγονότα Arnim: ὄργης

γέμοντα UB.

3 τοιούτων Emperius: τοσοῦτων.

4 deitai Geel; deit.

5 οὐκ added by Geel.

6 After τυχάνοι Geel deletes κατὰ τὸν Ἡφαίστου αὐτῶν.

7 Δαίδαλον] Ὁ Ἡφαίστου Emperius.

¹ A fusion of Odyssey 8. 331 and 8. 280.

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THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE

Although the fleetest of the gods who hold
Olympus, bonds like filmy spider-webs,
Which no man e'en could see.\(^1\)

Then, think not that Ares, god that he was and
mighty, was made captive by bonds so delicate and
invisible withal, and yet that you yourselves, of all
creatures the weakest, could never be made captive
by means of bonds that are invisible but only by such
as have been well made of steel and brass.\(^2\) Your
bodies, to be sure, being solid and for the most part
composed of earth.\(^3\) require bonds of that kind to
master them; but since soul is invisible and delicate
by nature, why might it not get bonds of like de-
scription? But you have made for yourselves stub-
born, adamantine bonds, contriving them by any and
every means, surpassing even Daedalus himself in
your craft and in your eagerness to insure that every
particle of your soul shall have been fettered and
none of it be free or independent. For what were
the dungeon of the Cnossians and the crooked wind-
ings of the Labyrinth compared to the crookedness
and the intricacy of folly? What was the Sicilian
prison of the Athenian captives, who were cast into
a sort of rocky pit?\(^4\) What was the Ceadas of the
Spartans,\(^5\) or the ash-filled room that the Persians

\(^2\) Literally, mountain-copper, mentioned as early as the
Hesiodic \textit{Shield of Heracles} (122), the greaves of the hero
being of that material.

\(^3\) Possibly an allusion to the tradition that Prometheus
formed the human race of clay; cf. Pausanias 10. 4. 4.

\(^4\) After the collapse of the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C.,
the Athenian captives were thrown into the quarries of
Syracuse; cf. Thucydides 7. 86-87.

\(^5\) A chasm or ravine into which great criminals were
hurled; cf. Thucydides 1. 134 and Pausanias 4. 18. 4.
DIO CHRYSOUSTOM

Πέρσας οίκημα μεστὸν τεφρας, ἡν Δία εἰ τινας1 κόρας χαλεποὶ πατέρες, ὡς ο τῶν ποιητῶν λόγος, χαλκέων περιβόλων ἐφροῦρησαν εἰρκταῖς.

Οὐδ’ ἐγὼ2 νήφειν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔτι μοι δοκῶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων συμφορῶν μνησθείς ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ3 τῆς αἰσχρᾶς καὶ δυσχεροῦς δουλείας ἵνα δεδοῦλωσθε πάντες· ὅθεν οὐ νημάτων ἔστι λεπτῶν4 εὐπορήσαντας ἐξελθεῖν βοηθεία κόρης ἁφρονος, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνον Θησεά φασίν ἐκ Κρήτης σωθήναι, εἰ μὴ τι αὐτῆς,5 οἴμαι, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς παρισταμένης 10 καὶ σωζούσης ἁμα. εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλουμι πᾶσας εἰπείν τὰς εἰρκτάς καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ τῶν ἁνοίγτων6 τε καὶ ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων οίς ἐγκλείσαντες αὐτοὺς ἔχετε,7 μὴ σφόδρα ὅμων ἀπηνής τε καὶ φαῦλος δόξω ποιητῆς, ἐν οἰκείους τραγῳδόν πάθεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς οἱ δόξαντες ύμῖν κακοῦργοι πιεζόνται,8 τραχύλου τε καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν, ἀλλὰ γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν μερῶν ἐκάστου9 ἑἰδὼς δεσμῶ τε καὶ ἀνάγκη κατειλημμένοι εἰσὶ10 ποικίλη τε καὶ

1 εἰ τινας Morel: οἱ τινας M, εἰ τινες UB.
2 οὐδ’ ἐγὼ Geel: οὐδε τω.
3 ἡ Capps: καὶ.
4 οὐ νημάτων ἔστι λεπτῶν Casaubon: νημάτων ἔστιν οὐ λεπτῶν.
5 εἰ μὴ τι αὐτῆς Dindorf, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ αὐτῆς Arnim: εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῆς.
6 ἁνοίγτων Emperius: θυγτῶν.
7 ἔχετε] ἔχουσι Reiske.
8 πιεζόνται] πιεζοῦνται Morel.
9 ἐκάστου Casaubon: ἐκαστον.
10 324.
THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE

had,³ or, by Zeus, what were the cruel fathers of certain maidens, who, as the poets tell us,

Immured them in prison cells of encircling bronze?²

But, methinks, I too am no longer acting sensibly in giving more space in my remarks to the misfortunes of mankind than to the disgraceful, odious slavery in which you all have been enslaved, a slavery from which men cannot escape by providing themselves with fine threads by the aid of a foolish maiden, as the famous Theseus is said to have escaped in safety from Crete³—at least, I fancy, not unless Athena herself were to lend her aid and join in the rescue. For if I should wish to name all the prisons and the bonds of witless, wretched human beings by means of which you have made yourselves prisoners, possibly you would think me an exceedingly disagreeable and sorry poet for composing tragedies on your own misfortunes.⁴ For it is not merely with bonds such as confine those whom you consider criminals—bonds about neck and arms and legs—but with a special bond for the belly and for each of the other parts that they have been made captive, and with a constraint which is both varied and complex:

¹ Referred to by Ctesias (48, 51, 52).
² Attributed by Wilamowitz to Euripides’ Danaë; but Sophocles also dealt with the same theme.
³ Ariadne, daughter of Minos, gave Theseus the thread by which he made his escape after slaying the Minotaur.
⁴ Possibly a reminiscence of the affair of the tragic poet Phrynichus, whom the Athenians fined one thousand drachmas because by his Capture of Miletus he had revived their sorrow over the fate of their Ionian kinsmen: cf. Herodotus 6. 21.

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¹⁰ κατειλημμένον εἴσι Αμινι: κατειλημμένον. οἱ δ’ εἴσι.
Πρώτη μὲν γὰρ, οἵματι, πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐστὶν τούτων καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄλλως καὶ δυσμενὴς καὶ ἐπίβουλος, ἰδεῖν δὲ ὅλαρά καὶ μειδιῶσα πρὸς ἀπαντάς

σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον

καὶ θέρει δὲς δεσμὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν εὐανθή καὶ μαλακὰ τὴν πρώτην, οἷς ἐκόσι ἐστὶ κατα-δείσθαι βασιλείς ἡ τυράννους καὶ πάντας ὁσοὶ μακαρίων παίδες κέκλημαι τούτων δὲ χαλεπώ-
τερον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μάλλον ἐμφύτευσαι καὶ πιέζει.

μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἠλθεὶν ἑτέρα, κλοιόν τινα φέρουσα χρυσοῦν ἡ ἄργυρον. τούτων δὲ περιθεῖσα ἐλκεὶ 
μὲν ἱδιώτας περὶ πάσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἐλκεὶ 
δὲ βασιλείς καὶ ὁ Ἑσίοδος, σὺρεὶ δὲ πόλεων στρα-
τηγοὺς ἐπὶ πύλας, ὡστε ἀνοίγει καὶ προδιδόναι. 
phiai δὲ κηδεσθαι τούτων οὐς ἂν ἀπολύῃ, καὶ 
ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονιαν: ὥσπερ ὕσταν ἡ ἁστυάγην ποτὲ Κύρος 
ἐν χρυσαίς ἐδήσε πέδαις, ὡς ἂν δήλον ὅτι πάππου 
κηδομενος.

Πολὺ δὲ ἂν ἔργον εἰς διεξεῖναι πάσας τὰς ἴδεας

1 ποικίλη τε καὶ πολυτρόπω Arnim: ποικίλοι τε καὶ πολυ-

τροποι.
2 τῇ added by Emperius.
3 ἕκαστον ἐστὶ Reiske: ἑκαστὸν ἐστί.
4 ἰδεῖν δὲ ὅλαρα Wilamowitz: ἰδεῖν εἰ δ᾿ ἁρα.
5 Before καὶ Emperius deletes χαλεπὴ ἡ ἡδονή.
6 φέρει Geel: φέρειν.
7 οἰς] οῖοι Arnim.
8 πάντας Morel: πάντες.
9 φησί δὲ κηδεσθαι Casaubon: φασι δὲ καὶ κηδεσθαι.
THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE

moreover, I believe that any one who had seen the spectacle would have been delighted by it and would exceedingly admire the conceit.

For first, I fancy, there comes to each a mistress who is in other respects harsh and ill-disposed and treacherous, but in appearance cheerful and with a smile for all,

A smile of portent grim,¹

and in her hands she bears fetters to match her nature, flowery and soft at first glance, such as those with which one might expect that kings or tyrants and all who have been called "sons of the Blest" have been bound; yet nothing is more grievous than these bonds, nothing clings more closely and exerts more pressure. After her there comes a second, bearing a sort of collar of gold or silver. Having put this about their necks, she drags men in private station around every land and sea, yes, and kings as well, according to Hesiod,² and she drags generals of cities to the gates, so as to open them and act the traitor. And yet she professes to be solicitous for these whom she destroys, and to be making them happy—just as once upon a time Cyrus bound Astyages with golden fetters, as being, evidently, solicitous for his grandfather! ³

But it would be a huge undertaking to enumerate

¹ *Odyssey* 20. 302, spoken of Odysseus when he had dodged the ox-hoof hurled at him by Řesippos.

² In his *Works and Days* (38-39 and 263-264) he calls them δωροφάγοι.

³ Herodotus devotes much space (1. 107-129) to the tale of Cyrus and Astyages, but he says nothing of golden fetters. Dio may be hinting that gold was used by Harpagus and Cyrus to corrupt the soldiers of Astyages, who in the final battle were strangely ready to desert.
τῶν δεσμῶν. ἔνα 
οὖν ἄξιον μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν
παραδοξότατον αὐτῶν καὶ ποικιλώτατον, ὅν ἡ
χαλεπωτάτη φέρει δέσποινα, χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ
καὶ παντοῖοι λίθοις τε καὶ ψήφοις καὶ ἕως
κέρασι καὶ ὀδοὺς καὶ ὀστάκοις, ἐτὶ δὲ ἀλουργεῖσι
βαφαίς καὶ ἑτέροις μυρίοις τοῖν ὀσπερ ὅρμον
πολυτελῆ καὶ θαυμαστόν ἀσκήσασα καὶ πολλά
tινα ἐν αὐτῷ σχήματα τε καὶ μορφὰς μυρισμένη,
stεφάνως τε καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ τιάρως καὶ θρόνους
ὑψηλούς. καθάπερ οἱ περιττοὶ τεχνίται κλίνας
tινὰς ἢ θύρας ἢ ὀροφὰς οἰκιῶν κατασκευάζοντες
ἐτερ’ ἀττα μηχανῶνται φαινεσθαι, λέγω δὲ οἶνον
θυρῶν ἐξόχας θηρίων κεφαλαῖς3 ἀπεικάσαντες
καὶ κιόνων ὄμοίως. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἤχος ἐν τούτῳ καὶ
φωνῇ παντοῖα κρότων τε καὶ ποππυσμῶν.4 πάλιν
οὖν τούτου περιβάλλει δημαγωγοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεύ-
σιν. ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ πόρρω ποὺ αὐτοὶ φερόμεθα
ὑπὸ τῆς εἰκόνος, ὦσπερ ὄντως εἰδώλω μιὰ λόγον
ἐπακολουθοῦντες, ὡς “Ομηρος Ἀχιλλέα ἐποίησε
τῷ τοῦ Ἀγήνορο5 ἐπόμενον μακρὰν ἀπελθεῖν. ἰκανὸς ἐχεῖ.

1 ἔνα Morel: ένθα.
2 σχήματα τε Wytenbach: σχήματα τε Ub, σχῆμα τε M.
3 κεφαλαῖς Reiske: κεφαλάς.
4 After ποππυσμῶν Emperius deletes καὶ ἦχεῖ ταῦτα τὰ
desmai.
5 Ἀγήνορος Morel: ἀντήνορος.
THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE

all the varieties of the fetters. Still, one variety deserves not to be overlooked, the most amazing of them all and the most complicated, one carried by the harshest mistress, a combination of gold and silver and all sorts of stones and pebbles and horns and tusks and shells of animals and, furthermore, purple dyes and countless other things, a sort of costly, marvellous necklace which she had contrived, imitating in it many patterns and forms—crowns and sceptres and diadems and lofty thrones—just as the over-subtle craftsmen in fashioning certain couches or doors or ceilings of houses contrive to make them appear something different from what they are; I mean, for example, making bosses on doors resemble heads of animals, and likewise with bosses on columns. And, furthermore, in this collar are found noise and sound of every kind, both of clapping hands and of clucking tongues.¹ So this collar, in turn, is placed about the necks of both demagogues and kings. But let us not ourselves be carried along too far by our simile, as if actually following a word-phantom, as Homer caused Achilles to go a long way off in following the phantom of Agenor.² This will suffice.

¹ The word ποππυμός signified the noise Greeks made with their lips to express surprise and admiration.
² Ἰλιάς 21. 595-605.
ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

This short composition—preserved embedded in Synesius' Encomium on Baldness—like Dio's Praise of the Gnat and Praise of the Parrot, whose titles alone have come down to us, is clearly a sophistic exercise. Its opening sentence bears some resemblance to the preem of Or. 52 and might suggest as the time of its composition the same general period in Dio's career. The abruptness with which the composition closes is indeed striking, and that, together with what has been regarded as rather inadequate handling of an attractive theme, has led to the supposition that we have but a fragment of the original work. However, Synesius seems to view it as complete and himself remarks that "it does not contain many lines."

Synesius was born at Cyrenë about A.D. 370 and cannot be traced beyond the year 413. He was a pupil of the learned Hypatia at Alexandria, and we are told that he inherited a library from his father. His interest in Dio Chrysostom is attested, not only by his Encomium on Baldness, but also by reminiscences of Dio in a speech delivered at Constantinople about the year 400 and by his Dio, composed about five years later, a considerable portion of which will be found on pages 365-387.
ΔΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΟΜΗΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Ex Synesii Encomio Calvitii pp. 63 sqq. Petav.

Δίωνι τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν γλώτταν ἐποιήθη βιβλίον, Κόμης Ἐγκώμιον, οὕτω δὴ τι λαμπρὸν ὡς ἀνάγκην εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ λόγου φαλακρὸν ἀνδρὰ αἰσχύνεσθαι. συνεπιτίθεται γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῆ φύσει φύσει δὲ ἀπαντεῖ ἐθέλομεν εἶναι καλοί, πρὸς δὲ μέγα μέρος αἱ τρίχες συμβάλλονται, αἰσ ἡμᾶς ἕκ παίδων ἢ φύσις φιλείωσιν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅτινικα τὸ δεινὸν ἦρχετο καὶ θρίξ ἀπερρύμι μέσην αὐτὴν δέδηγμαι τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ προσέκειτο μᾶλλον, ἄλλης ἐπ᾽ ἄλλη πιπτούσης, ἦδη δὲ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ κατὰ πλείους καὶ ὁ πόλεμος λαμπρὸς ἢ, ἀγομένης καὶ φερομένης τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸτε δὴ τότε χαλεπῶτερα πάσχειν ὑμὴν ἢ ὅπ' Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ 'Αθηναίου ἐπὶ τῇ δευτερομία τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν, ταχὺ τε ἀπεδεῖξθην ἀνεπιτήδευτος Εὐβοῦς, οὖς ὁπίθεν κομόωντας ἐστράτευεσεν ἐπὶ Τροίαιν ἢ ποίησις.

1 Acharnæ, largest of the Attic demes, situated about seven miles north of Athens, suffered severely in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.). Thucydides (2. 19-22) records that the Spartan king Archidamus camped there for some time and laid waste the countryside. Aristophanes in his Acharnians mentions especially the destruction of the vineyards.
ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

Synesius' Encomium on Baldness: Dio of the golden tongue has composed a discourse entitled An Encomium on Hair, which is a work of such brilliance that the inevitable result of the speech is to make a bald man feel ashamed. For the speech joins forces with nature: and by nature we all desire to be beautiful, an ambition whose realization is greatly assisted by the hair to which from boyhood nature has accustomed us. In my own case, for example, even when the dreadful plague was just beginning and a hair fell off, I was smitten to my inmost heart, and when the attack was pressed with greater vigour, hair after hair dropping out, and ultimately even two or three together, and the war was being waged with fury, my head becoming utterly ravaged, then indeed I thought myself to be the victim of more grievous injury than the Athenians suffered at the hands of Archidamus when he cut down the trees of the Acharnians,1 and presently, without my so intending, I was turned into a Euboean, one of the tribe which the poet marshalled against Troy "with flowing locks behind." 2

1 Iliad 2, 542: τῷ ὅτε ἄμη Αἰαντες ἐποντο θεοί, ὀπίδεν κμόωντες. The peculiarity here referred to consisted not in wearing long hair—the Achaeans frequently are termed καρη κμόωντες—but in shaving all but the back hair. This, of course, is the point in Synesius’ allusion.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

Ἐν ὅ τίνα μὲν θεῶν, τίνα δὲ δαμόνων παρῆλθον ἀκατηγόρητον; ἐπεθέμην δὲ καὶ Ἐπικούρου τι γράφειν ἐγκώμιον, οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα περὶ θεῶν διακείμενος, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὁ τι κἀγὼ δυναίμην ἀντιδή-ξόμενος. ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι πού τὰ τῆς προνοίας ἐν τῷ παρ’ ἄξιαν ἐκάστῳ; καὶ τι γὰρ ἄδικῶν ἐγὼ φανοῦμαι ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀειδέστερος; οὐ δεινὸν εἰ ταῖς ἐκ γειτόνων τὰ γὰρ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἐγὼ δικαίωτατος κἂν τῷ Βελλεροφόντῃ σωφροσύνης ἀμφισβητήσαιμι. ἀλλὰ καὶ μήτηρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδελφαί, φασί, τῶ κάλλει τι νέμουσι τῶν ἄρρενων. ἐδήλωσε δὲ Ἡ Παρύσατις, Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν βασιλέα διὰ Κῦρον τὸν καλὸν ἀποστέρξασα.

Ταῦτ’ ἀρὰ ἐποτινώμην, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπε-νόουν περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε χρόνος αὐτὴν συνηθεστέραν ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀντεισιῶν κατεξανέστη τοῦ πάθους, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπεξίστατο, ἦδη διὰ ταῦτα βάρων ἢ καὶ ἀνέφερον· νυνὶ δὲ ἀνθυπήνεγκεν αὐτὸ ῥεῦμα ἔτερον οὕτως αὐτὸς ὁ Δίων, καὶ ἔπαινηκε μοι μετὰ συνηγόρου. πρὸς δύο δὲ, φησὶν ὁ λόγος, οὐδ’ Ἡρακλῆς, εἰ τοὺς Μολιονίδας ἐκ λόχου προσπεσόντας οὐκ

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1 While not denying the existence of gods, Epicurus held that they dwelt far off and had no concern for mortals.
2 The Bellerophon story appears for the first time in Iliad 6, 156-195. It is the Greek counterpart of the story of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife.
3 Parysatis, wife of Darius II, was the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus. Xenophon states (Anabasis 1, 1, 4) that she loved Cyrus more than Artaxerxes, but he does not tell why. One might conclude from his obituary of Cyrus (op. cit. 1, 9) that character rather than physical beauty determined her preference.

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ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

At this stage what god, what spirit, did I pass by without arraignment? I even set myself to composing a eulogy of Epicurus, not that I held the same views about the gods as he, but rather because I aimed to make them smart for it to the best of my poor powers. For I said, "Where are the tokens of their providence in their treating the individual contrary to his deserts? For what crime of mine dooms me to appear less comely in women’s eyes? It is nothing terrible if I am to appear so to the women of the neighbourhood—for so far as love is concerned I might with fullest justice lay claim to the prize for continence, even against Bellerophon—but even a mother, yes, even sisters, I am told, attach some importance to the beauty of their men. And Parysatis made this plain by growing cold toward Artaxerxes who was king because of Cyrus who was beautiful."  

Thus, then, I cried aloud in indignation, and I made no light matter of my misfortune. But when time had made it more familiar and reason, too, entering as contender, rose up to give battle against my suffering, and when little by little that suffering was yielding ground, then at last for these reasons I was more at ease and beginning to recover; but now this very Dio has caused the flood of my distress to flow afresh, and it has returned to attack me in company with an advocate. But against two adversaries, as the saying is, not even Heracles could contend, since when the Molionidae fell upon him from

4 Eurytus and Cteatus, sons of Molionē and Poseidon and nephews of Augeas, who was responsible for their conflict with Heracles. According to Pindar, *Olym*. 10. 29-38, Heracles attacked from ambush and slew them both.
DIO CHRYSOOSTOM

"Διώκει." ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὁδραν ἀγωνιζόμενος, τέως μὲν εἰς ἐνί συνειστήκεσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καρκίνος αὐτῆς παρεγένετο, κἀν ἀπείπεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν Ἰόλεως συμμαχίαν ἀντεπηγάγετο. καγὼ μοι δοκῶ παραπλήσιον τι παθεῖν ὑπὸ Δίωνος, οὐκ ἥχων ἀδελφιδοῦν τὸν Ἰόλεων. πάλιν οὖν ἐκλαθόμενος ἐμαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐλεγεία ποιῶ, θρηνῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κόμῃ.

Σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὴ φαλαιρῶν μὲν ὁ κράτιστος εἰ, δοκεῖς δὲ τις εἶναι γεννάδας, ὃς οὔδε ἐμπάξει τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἄλλα καὶ όταν ἐτινος προκειμένου μετώπων ἐξῆταις γίνηται, σαυτὸν ἐπιλέγεις, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ δὴ τίνι φιλοτιμοῦμενος, οὐκοῦν ἀνάσχον τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τήρησον ἐν πείσῃ, φασί, τὴν καρδίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ὅδυσσεύς πρὸς τὴν ἀναγωγία τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνέκπληκτος ἐμεινε· καὶ σὺ πειρῶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τούτου παθεῖν. ἅλλ' οὐκ ἂν δύναιο. τῇ φής; καὶ μὴν δυνήσει; τοιγαρούν ἄκουε. δεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐξελίσσει τὸ βιβλίον, ἅλλ' αὐτὸς ἔρω. καὶ γὰρ οὔδε πολύστιχον ἔστι. γλαφυρὸν μέντοι, καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ προσεζάει τῇ μνήμῃ, ὡστε οὔδε θολόμενον ἐπιλαθέσθαι με οἶον τε.

"Ἀναστὰς ἐωθὲν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσεπων ὅπερ εἰὼθα, ἐτεμελούμην τῆς κόμης· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύχανοι μαλακῶτερον τὸ σῶμα ἔχων· ἢ δὲ ἤμελητο ἐκ πλείονος. πάνω γοῦν συνεστραττο καὶ συνεπέπλεκτο τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς, οἴον τῶν οἰῶν

1 Apparently for the purpose of deciding, on the basis of age, who should help himself first.

2 A reminiscence of Odyssey 20, 23, τῷ δὲ μάλ' ἐν πείσῃ κραδῆ μένε τετληκυία, referring to the behaviour of Odysseus as he noted with irritation that his maidservants were on their way to meet their lovers among the suitors.
ambush he did not endure the attack. Nay, even in his struggle with the Hydra, though for a time they were locked in single combat, yet when the crab came to her aid Heracles might even have cried quits, had he not enlisted Iolaüs against them as ally. I too, methinks, have had much the same experience at the hands of Dio, though I have no nephew Iolaüs. Once more, therefore, quite forgetful of myself and my reasonings, I am composing laments, mourning my lost head of hair.

But since you are the most excellent of bald-heads and are apparently a man of mettle, seeing that you do not even give a thought to your misfortune but, when pease porridge has been served and an inspection of foreheads is in progress, even call attention to yourself, as if priding yourself, forsooth, upon some blessing, therefore endure with patience Dio's discourse and, as the saying goes, keep your heart in obedience, just as Odysseus when confronted with the misconduct of the women remained undaunted; so do you too endeavour to be undismayed by Dio. Ah, but you couldn't. What's that you say? You will indeed be able? Well then, listen. But there is no need to unroll the parchment; instead I will recite the speech myself. For in fact it does not contain many lines; yet it is a polished composition, and its beauty lingers in my memory, so that not even if I wished to do so could I forget.

Dio's Encomium on Hair: "Having arisen at dawn and having addressed the gods, as is my wont, I proceeded to attend to my hair; for in truth my health, as it happened, was rather feeble and my hair had been too long neglected. At any rate, most of it had become quite matted and tangled, as happens
τὰ περὶ τοὺς σκέλεσιν αἰωροῦμενα. πολὺ δὲ ταῦτα σκληρότερα ὡς ἄν ἐκ λεπτοτέρων συμπεπλεγμένα τῶν τριχῶν.

"Ἡν οὖν οὕθηναι τε ἀγρία ἡ κόμη καὶ βαρεία, μόλις δὲ διελύετο καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς ἀπεσπάτο καὶ διετείνετο. οὐκοῦν ἐπήει μοι τοὺς φιλόκομους ἐπανεῖν, οἱ φιλόκαλοι ὄντες καὶ τὰς κόμας περὶ πλείστον ποιοῦμεν εἴπιμελοῦνται οὐ βαθύμως, ἀλλὰ κάλαμον τινα ἔχουσιν ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κόμῃ, ὃς ἐξεισεὶν αὐτήν, ὅταν σχολήν ἔγγοςι καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ χαλεπώτατον, χαμαί κομιῶμενοι φυλάττουσιν ὅπως μηδέποτε ἁψωνται τῆς γῆς, ὑπερείδοντες ύπο τὴν κεφαλὴν μικρὸν ἐγῦσιν, ὅτις ἀπέχῃ τῆς γῆς ὡς πλείστον, καὶ μᾶλλον φροντίζουσι τοῦ καθαρὰν φέρειν τὴν κόμην ἡ τοῦ ἡδέως καθεύδειν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ καλοὺς τε καὶ φοβεροὺς ἑοίκε ποιεῖν, ὁ δὲ ὑπνὸς, κἂν πάνω ἤδιος ἢ, βραδεῖς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτους.

"Δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὴ ἀμέλειν τοῦ τοιοῦτον πράγματος, οἱ τότε ἕκοντες πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς μεγάλης τε καὶ δεινῆς, ὅτε μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμελλόν δέχεσθαι βασιλέα, τριακόσιοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὄντες, ἐκάθηντι ἁσκοῦντες τὰς κόμας. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ Ὁμήρος πλείστης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀπὸ γε μὲν ὄφθαλμὼν όὐ πολλάκις ἐπανεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῖτον μάλιστα ἤγειται τὸ κάλλος ἐπιδείξειν. οὐδὲνὸς οὖν τῶν ἡμῶν ὄφθαλμων ἐγκωμιάζει ἡ Ἀγα-

1 Herodotus (7. 208) relates that a Persian scout, sent to spy out the Greek camp before the battle of Thermopylae, was amazed to find some of the Spartans combing their hair.
ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

with the knots of wool that dangle about the legs of sheep—though these, of course, are far more stubborn, having been twisted together out of strands that are finer.

"Well, my hair was a wild and grievous sight to behold, and it was proving difficult to get it loosened up, and most of it threatened to tear out and resisted my efforts. Accordingly it occurred to me to praise the hair-lovers, who, being beauty-lovers and prizing their locks most of all, attend to them in no casual manner, but keep a sort of reed always in the hair itself, wherewith they comb it whenever they are at leisure; moreover—the most unpleasant thing of all—while sleeping on the ground they are careful never to let their hair touch the earth, placing a small prop of wood beneath their head so as to keep it as far as possible from the earth, and they are more concerned to keep their hair clean than they are to enjoy sweet sleep. The reason, it would seem, is that hair makes them both beautiful and at the same time terrifying, while sleep, however sweet it be, makes them both sluggish and devoid of caution.

"And it seems to me that the Spartans, too, do not disregard a matter of such importance, for on that memorable occasion, on their arrival before the great and terrible battle, at a time when they alone among the Greeks were to withstand the attack of the Great King, three hundred in number as they were, they sat down and dressed their locks.¹ And Homer, too, methinks, believed that sort of thing deserved fullest attention. At least he does not often praise his beauties for their eyes, nor does he think that by so doing he will best set forth their beauty. Accordingly, he praises the eyes of none of his heroes
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

μέμνωνος, ὦσπερ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα ἐπαινεῖ αὐτοῦ·
καὶ οὐ μόνον τοὺς Ἔλληνας ἐλίκωπας καλεῖ· ἀλλ' ὀυδὲν ἢπτον καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ
toῖς Ἔλληνων: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κόμης πάντας· πρῶτον
μὲν Ἀχιλλέα,

ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα·
ἐπειτὰ Μενέλαου ξανθον ἐπονομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς
κόμης· τῆς δὲ Ἐκτορος χαίτης μέμνηται,
ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίται

κυάνει πεφόρητο.

Εὐφόρμου γε μὴν τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν Τρώων
ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀδύρετο λέγων,
αιματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσοι ὡμοίαι,
πλοχμοί θ' οἱ χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἄργυρῳ ἐσφήκωντο·
καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ὅταν ἐθέλη καλὸν γεγονότα ὑπὸ
tῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιδείξας· φησὶ γοῦν,

κυάνει δ' ἐγένοντο ἔθειραι.

πάλιν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ,

καὶ δὲ κάρητος

οὐλας ἦκε κόμας, ἦκακιθίνω ἀνθεὶ ὡμοίας.

"Καὶ πρέπειν γε μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀνδράσι φαίνεται

καθ' Ὁμήρον οὐ κόσμος δ' τῶν τριχῶν ἦ ταῖς

1 Iliad 2. 478-479; ὡματα καὶ κεφαλὴ ἱκελος Δῖ τερπι-

κεραυνῳ Ἄρει δὲ ζωὴν, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι. "in eyes and head

like unto Zeus who delights in the thunder, in waist to Ares,

in chest to Poseidon."

2 Iliad 1. 197. Athena checks Achilles' rage.

3 One of the commonest epithets applied to Menelaüs.

4 Iliad 22. 401-402.

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ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

except Agamemnon, just as he praises the rest of his body also; moreover, he applies the term ‘flashing-eyed,’ not to the Greeks alone, but just as much to Agamemnon himself, using the epithet common to the Greeks in general; on the other hand, he praises everybody for his hair. First of all take Achilles, of whom he says,

She seized Peleides by his flaxen hair, then Menelaüs, whom he calls ‘blonde’ for his hair. And Hector’s hair he mentions in these words,

And all about his blue-black tresses swept.

Indeed, on the death of Enphorbus, the most beautiful of the Trojans, Homer mourned nothing else of his, for he said,

His locks, so like the Graces’, were wet with blood, His braids with gold and silver tightly claspt.

The same is true of Odysseus, when the poet wishes to exhibit him rendered beautiful by Athena; at any rate he says,

Blue-black his locks had grown.

And again of the same person,

Down from his head she caused the curly locks To fall, like bloom of hyacinth.

Moreover, the adornment afforded by the hair, to judge by Homer, seems to be more suited to the men

5 Ibid. 17. 51-52.
6 Dio must have Odyssey 16. 176 in mind, but he has substituted ἔθερπα for γενειάδες (beard). Odysseus’ hair was blonde; cf. Odyssey 13. 399.
7 Odyssey 6. 230-231.
 Dionysius:

γυναιξί. γυναικῶν γοῦν περὶ κάλλους διεξιῶν οὐ τοσσαυτάκις φαίνεται κόμης μεμνημένος· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰς μὲν θηλείας ἄλλως ἔπαινει—χρυσὴν γὰρ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ βοῶπιν Ἔραν καὶ Θέτων ἄργυρόπεζαν—τοῦ Διὸς δὲ μάλιστα ἔπαινεῖ τὰς χαῖτας·

ἀμβρόσιαι δ᾽ ἀρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἀνακτος." 

Ταυτὶ μὲν σοι τὰ Δίωνος.
ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

than to the women. At any rate, when descanting on feminine beauty, he is not found to mention hair so often; for even with the gods he praises the female deities in different fashion—for it is ‘golden Aphroditê’ and ‘great-eyed Hera’ and ‘Thetis of the silver feet’—but with Zeus he praises most of all his hair:

And toward her streamed the god’s ambrosial locks.” 1

There you have the words of Dio.

1 Iliad 1. 529.
FRAGMENTS

We are indebted for the following brief fragments to the anthologies of Stobaeus (c. A.D. 450) and Maximus the Confessor (A.D. 580–662). Stobaeus names as his sources two works nowhere else listed under the name of Dio, namely, Sayings and Domestic Affairs; Maximus does not tell us the titles of the works from which he drew his quotations. It is manifest that our manuscripts of Dio have preserved for us only a portion of Dio’s writings, and the Sayings was probably a compilation made by an admirer of Dio, who drew upon works now lost. At all events, both Stobaeus and Maximus bear witness to the enduring fame and influence of our author.
DIONIS FRAGMENTA


'Εκ τῶν Δίωνος Χρειών.
Λάκανα γυνή τοῦ νίοῦ αὐτῆς ἐν παρατάξει χωλωθέντος καὶ δυσφοροῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Μὴ λυποῦ, τέκνον, εἶπεν· καθ' ἐκαστὸν γὰρ βῆμα τῆς ἴδιας ἄρετῆς ὑπομνησθήσῃ.

II. Stob. Flor. 3, XIII 42 p. 462 Hense (XIII 24 Mein.).

'Εκ τῶν Δίωνος Χρειών.
Τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν ὁ Διογένης ἄλλοτρον ἀγαθὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι.

III. Stob. Flor. 3, XXXIV 16 p. 686 Hense (XXXIV 16 Mein.).

'Εκ τῶν Δίωνος Χρειών.
Τῶν συνόντων τις μειρακίων Διογένης ἐρωτώ-μενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσωπα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Ὁυκ οἰεὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι εἰδέναι ἂ τε λεκτέον καὶ πότε καὶ τίνα σιωπητέον καὶ πρὸς τίνα; 346
FRAGMENTS

SAYINGS

1. A Spartan woman, when her son had been lamed on the field of battle and was chafing on that account, remarked, "Grieve not, my child, for at every step you will be reminded of your own valour."

2. "Reproof," Diogenes was wont to say, "is another's blessing."

3. One of the youths who were disciples of Diogenes, when questioned by him, remained silent. But Diogenes remarked, "Do you not believe that it is to be expected of the same man that he should know, not only what he should say and when, but also what he should refrain from saying and before whom?"
Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομοκοῦ.

Ἀρξόμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μάλιστα ὤφελοῦντος οἰκίαν· εἰ δ’ ἂν τόοτο ἐπιτύμησις διαβολῆς· διαβολὴ γὰρ κακῶν τὸ οξύτατον καὶ ἐπιβουλότατον.

V. Stob. Flor. 4, XIX 46 p. 430 Hense
(LXII 46 Mein.).

Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομοκοῦ.

Χρῆ ὁ ὅν δεσπόζειν ἑπιεικῶς καὶ ἀνεθῆναι ποτε βουλομένως ἐπιτρέπειν. αἱ γὰρ ἀνέσεις παρα- σκευαστικαὶ πόνων εἰσί, καὶ τόξον καὶ λύρα καὶ ἀνθρωπος ἀκμάζει δὲ ἀναπαῦσεως.

VI. Stob. Flor. 4, XXIII 59 p. 588 Hense
(LXXIV 59 Mein.).

Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομοκοῦ.

Εὐσέβεια δὲ γυναικεία ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἔρως.

VII. Stob. Flor. 4, XXIII 60 p. 588 Hense
(LXXIV 60 Mein.).

Ἐν ταῦτῃ.

Γέλως δὲ συνεχῆς καὶ μέγας θυμοῦ κακῶν· διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐταίρας ἀκμάζων καὶ παιδών τοῖς ἀφρονεστέρως. ἐγὼ δὲ κοσμεῖσθαι πρόσωπον ὑπὸ δακρύων ἰγνώμιαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ γέλωτος. δάκρυσι μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον σύνεστι καὶ μάθημα ποὺ χρηστόν, γέλωτι δὲ ἀκολογία. καὶ κλάων μὲν οὐδές προμετέχατο ὑβριστήν, γελῶν δὲ ἡμέρησεν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας.
FRAGMENTS

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. We shall begin with that which especially benefits a household; and that would be reproof of slander, for slander is the most painful of all evils and the most insidious.

2. Therefore one ought to act the master with moderation and permit any who so desire to relax at times. For intervals of relaxation are preparatory for labours—both bow and lyre and men as well are at their best through relaxation.

3. But wifely piety is love of husband.

4. But laughter which is continuous and boisterous is worse than anger; therefore it abounds especially among courtesans and the more foolish of children. As for myself, I hold that a face is adorned by tears more than by laughter. For with tears as a rule there is associated some profitable lesson, but with laughter licence. Moreover, by tears no one gives encouragement to a licentious person, whereas by laughter one fosters his expectations.
DIO CHRYSTOSOM

VIII. Stob. Flor. 4, XXVIII 12 p. 679 Hense
(LXXXXV 12 Mein.).

Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Ὀἰκονομικοῦ:
Μέγα γὰρ δυσώπημα σωφροσύνης τέκνωσις.

IX. Stob. Flor. 4, XXVIII 13 p. 679 Hense
(LXXXXV 13 Mein.).

Ἐν ταύτῳ.
Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τίκτειν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἔργον, τὸ δὲ ἐκτρέφειν φιλοσοφίας.

X. Maxim. Flor. (Vatic. gr. 397 f. 81b).

Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστομοῦ:
Πῶς οὖν δεινὸν τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἐνοχλεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ βουλεύσαι πράττειν ἢ γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς.

XI. Maxim. Flor. (Vatic. gr. 397 f. 159b).

Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστομοῦ:
Κυνδύνων ἐλπὶς ἀνευ κυνδύνων τίθησι τὸν ἐλπίδοντα τῷ προσφαλίσθαι τῶν δυσχερῶν τῇ δοκήσει τὰ πράγματα.

XII. Maxim. Flor. (Vatic. gr. 739 f. 217a).

Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστομοῦ:
Πονηρίαν γὰρ ἀρχομένην μὲν κωλύσαι τάχα τις κολάζων ἄν' δυνηθεῖη: ἐγκαταγεγρακαίναι δὲ καὶ γεγενημένην τῶν εἰθισμένων διὰ τιμωριῶν ἀδύνατον εἶναι λέγουσιν.

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5. For great humiliation is the engendering of self-control.

6. For while the begetting of offspring is an act of necessity, their rearing is an act of love.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Surely it is shocking to importune the gods and yet to be unwilling ourselves to do the things which by the gods’ decree are in our power.

2. Expectation of dangers exempts from dangers him who expects them, since his affairs are made secure beforehand by reason of his anticipation of the difficulties.

3. For though wickedness, when incipient, might possibly be checked by repression, when chronic and established as a thing to which we have grown accustomed, it cannot, they say, be checked through penalties.

1 ἄν added by Arnim.
2 διὰ added by Crosby, κρατῆσαι διά τινων ἐπικειμένων Arnim.
LETTERS

Five letters included by Hercher in his Epistolograph Gracci, page 259, have been associated with the name of Dio. Their contents afford no sure clue as to authorship, but there seems to be no good reason for refusing to attribute them to Dio. The Rufus to whom the first two are addressed may have been the Musonius Rufus who was the only philosopher at Rome to escape the wrath of Vespasian in the expulsions of A.D. 71. In a writing no longer extant, πρὸς Μουσώνον, Dio seems to have made him the recipient of a violent attack upon the philosophers of that day, but if the unstinted commendation of an unnamed philosopher bestowed by Dio in his Rhodian Discourse (§ 122) refers to Musonius, as is generally believed, Dio clearly either had never borne him any malice or else had repented of it. It may very well be that friendship for Musonius was at least partially responsible for Dio’s conversion to philosophy. As for the identity of the persons to whom the other letters are addressed, it seems idle to speculate, since neither the letters themselves nor any external evidence affords a clue.
ΔΙΟΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

α'. Ἄρουφω

Συνιστημένι σοι τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἄνδρα πράγματα μὲν ἔχοντα δι' ἀντιδίκου φιλονεικίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς φίλους παρέχειν οὐ βουλόμενον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰλλα οἷον ἂν σὺ ἐπαινέσεις, μέτριος καὶ ἐπιεικής· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ γένους καὶ πολιτικοῦ αξιῶματος οὐδ’ οἴμαι1 σε δείσθαι πυνθάνεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει.

β'. Ἄρουφω

Ἐρένινος2 τὸν ἐμὸν ἑταῖρον φθάνεις μὲν ἐπιστάμενος, οὐπω δὲ ἰκανῶς, ὡςον ἐγὼ βουλομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἂν δυναίμην ἵσως εἰπεῖν ἀπαντά τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ· τοσαῦτα μέντοι ἄξιον αὐτὸν μαρτυρῆσαι, ὡς καὶ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἐκ πλείωνος φίλος καὶ3 πείραν ἡδή τῷ χρόνῳ δέδωκε, καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους πρότερον μὲν ἐξήλωσε, νῦν δὲ καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο. ἔστι γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἀγαθός, ἔτι δ’ ἂν γένοιτο βελτίων σοι συνῶν καὶ ὑπὸ σοῦ προσαγόμενος. οὐ δὲ μοι4 πολλὰ περὶ πολλῶν χαριζόμενος

1 οὖδ’ οἴμαι Εμπεριος: οὐ δέομαι.
2 Ἐρένινον Hercher, Τερέντιον Εμπεριος: Τερένιον.
3 καὶ Crosby, ὡστε Εμπεριος: καὶ οὐσα.
4 After μοι Crosby deletes τὰ.
LETTERS

1. To Rufus

The bearer of the letter I introduce to you as a man who, though in trouble because of an adversary's contentiousness, does not himself wish to make trouble for his friends. Moreover, in all other respects as well he is the kind of man you would approve—moderate and reasonable; as for his birth and social standing, I think you need not even inquire, for he has those requisites to commend him also.

2. To Rufus

You already are acquainted with my good friend Herennius, though not yet sufficiently, not to the extent that I desire. In fact, I could not even now, perhaps, tell all his attributes. This much, however, it is fitting that I myself should testify: not only has he been a friend of mine for some time, but also he has stood the test of time. Besides, though he had been a devoted student of the art of public speaking previously, now he has actually surpassed himself. For in truth he is an excellent orator, but he might become still better through association with you and through your guidance. But though you do me many favours in many matters, you
DIO CHRY SOS T O M

ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀν χαρίζων καὶ Ἐρέννιον1 σαυτοῦ νομίζων.

γ’. Ἐυσεβίῳ

Παρόντα σε βλέπειν οἶομαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐντυγχάνων αἰς ἐπιστελλείς, ὥστε εἰ γράφοις μοι συνεχέστερον ἥκιστ’ ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποσυῖᾳ δυσχεραίνομαι.

δ’. τῶν αὐτῶν

Ἀνιαρὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ συμβάντα Δρακοντίῳ2 καὶ κακῶν ἔσχατα3 τίς οὐκ ἂν ὀμολογήσειεν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ καὶ πολλοῖς ἦδη γεγενημένα. διὸ καρτερεῖν μὲν ἐπ’ ἑκείνως ἀνάγκη καὶ χεῖρει εἴκόντα4. δεὶ γάρ, κεῖ ἅλλως ἔχοι,5 κεῖ σφόδρα τοῦ πάθους ἡττῶτο,6 ὑπέρ τῶν ὀντων ὀράν ὀρθῶς, ινα μὴ τὰς μὲν συμφορὰς ἁριστὰ διηνυκέναι δοκή,7 περὶ δὲ τοῦ ζῶντος οὐκ9 ἁριστὰ φρονεῖν.

ε’. Σαβινανῳ10

Οὐκ ὅκυρο τοῦ γράφειν οὖν ὑπεροφία τοῖς σε- σιώπηταί μοι τὰ πρότερον. καὶ σοι ἂν ὀμολόγουν11

1 Ἐρέννιον Hercher, Τερέντιον Emperius : Τερένιον.
2 Δρακοντίῳ Hercher, Δράκοντι Emperius : δράκοντα.
3 ἔσχατα Emperius : ἔσχωντα.
4 εἴκόνα Emperius : εἴκόνας.
5 κεῖ . . . ἔχοι Emperius, καὶ . . . ἔχης Hercher : καὶ . . . ἔχου.
6 κεῖ . . . ἡττῶτο Emperius, καὶ . . . ἡττᾶ Hercher : καὶ . . . ἡττῶτο.
7 μὴ added by Hercher.
8 δοκῆ] δοκῆς Hercher.

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would favour me especially if you would consider Herennius, too, a friend of yours.

3. To Eusebius

I fancy that I am beholding your very presence when I read the letters you send me, and so if you were to write me more often, I should be least vexed at your absence.

4. To the same

The misfortunes which have befallen Dracontius are, to be sure, painful and evil in the extreme, as every one would admit. And yet they are such as mankind is subject to and as have ere now befallen many. Wherefore he must be steadfast in those tribulations and endure them with set purpose. For even if conditions should be otherwise, even if he should be exceedingly overcome by his experience, he must maintain a correct view regarding the facts, lest he be thought to have come through his misfortunes most nobly and yet not be most nobly minded regarding the living.

5. To Sabinianus

Not because of reluctance to write or because of any disdain have I hitherto kept silence. And I

9 οὐκ omitted by Emperius.
10 Σαβινιανὼ Boissonadiana: Σασιανὼ, Σαβιανὼ, or Σταβιανὼ.
11 ὀμολόγου Hercher: ὀμολογούμην or ὀμολογούμενον.
DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

eἶναι σχετικῶτατος ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τέχνη μὲν τὸ λέγειν ἁσκήσας ἐπιστέλλειν οὐκ ἐβουλόμην, ἦμελλον δὲ φίλου ὁ καὶ συνεχόρευσα τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνετελέσθην ὃσα δὴ πάντων ἐν Ἑλλησσιν ἀγιώτατα.
LETTERS

would agree with you that I am the wickedest of mortals if, after having cultivated eloquence as an art, I refused to write a letter and, instead, neglected a friend with whom I had joined in song and dance in honour of the Muses and with whom I had been initiated into all the religious rites of greatest sanctity among the Greeks.
TESTIMONY REGARDING DIO'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

Although Dio's claim to a place in the history of Greek literature has long been based upon the eighty Discourses that bear his name, the testimony of certain scholars, critics, and book-lovers of later ages reveals the high esteem which his work in general continued to enjoy and enables us to piece out the story of his life, supplying also at least the titles of certain works now lost. The more significant portions of this testimony are recorded on the following pages.
DE VITA ET SCRIPTIS DIONIS
TESTIMONIA ET IVDICIA

1. Philostratus

Philostratus, one of the most distinguished sophists of the third century of our era, is perhaps our most important witness. In his Lives of the Sophists he testifies to Dio’s effectiveness as a public speaker, his intimacy with Trajan, and his sincerity of purpose, explaining that the Praise of the Parrot, now lost, was a typically sophistic exercise, belonging to Dio’s earlier career. He also adds some interesting details.

2. Lucianus Peregrin. c. 18

Lucian, whose literary career followed that of Dio after an interval of only a few years, has left us one brief reference to our author, but that he regarded Dio as a philosopher worthy

Πλὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτο κλεινὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ στόματος ἤν ἀπασιν, ὁ φιλόσοφος διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἅγιαν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελαθείς καὶ προσήλυτες κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ Μονσωνίῳ καὶ Δίωνι καὶ Ἑπικτῆτῳ καὶ εἰ τὸς ἄλλος ἐν περιστάσει τοιαύτη ἐγένετο.

3. Themistius Orat. V, p. 63 d

Themistius, whose career covered most of the fourth century, is perhaps best known for his Paraphrases of Aristotle, but he achieved eminence as a public speaker at Constantinople,

Ὅτι καὶ οἱ πατέρες τῆς σῆς βασιλείας τούς

1 For Philostratus’ testimony regarding Dio the reader
TESTIMONY REGARDING DIO'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

1. Philostratus

concerning Dio's exile, for example, that he carried with him Plato's Phaedo and Demosthenes' On the False Embassy, information presumably gleaned from writings since lost. Scattered allusions to Dio in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius, though in themselves less significant and possibly somewhat fanciful, reinforce what is told in the Lives of the Sophists.¹

2. Lucian

of respect may be inferred from his having coupled him with Musonius and Epictetus.

Peregrinus: However, this too brought him (Peregrinus) renown, and he was on everybody's tongue, "the philosopher who was exiled for his frankness and extreme independence"; and in this particular he came close to Musonius and Dio and Epictetus and any one else who found himself in like situation.

3. Themistius

and the following testimony to Trajan's fondness for Dio comes from one of his addresses. It is noteworthy chiefly as an early allusion to Dio's title, Chrysostomos.


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DIO CHRYSSOSTOM

προγόνους ταύτης τῆς τέχνης προήγον, τὸν Ἀρειον ἐκεῖνον οὗ Σεβαστός, οὗ Τιβέριος τῶν Ὁρασύλων, Ῥαιανὸς οὗ μέγας Δίωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν τὴν γλῶτταν, κτλ.


The Menander to whom we are indebted for the following brief references, whose significance consists in the linking of Dio with Plato, Xenophon, Nicostratus, and Philostratus as

"Ὅταν μὴ τραχεία χρώμεθα τῇ ἀπαγγελίᾳ μηδὲ περιόδους ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἐνθυμήματα, ἀλλ' ὁταν ἀπλουστέρα τυγχάνῃ καὶ ἀφελεστέρα, οίᾳ ἡ Ξενοφώντος καὶ Νικοστράτου καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τοῦ τῶν Ἡρωκῶν τῆν ἔξηγησιν καὶ τὰς Εἰκόνας γράφαντος, εἰρομένη καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος.

Ibid. p. 411, 29. Γένοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ λέξεως ἐπιτετηδευμένης καὶ κεκαλλωπυσμένης χάρις ἐν λόγῳ, οίᾳ ἐστὶν ἡ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ξενοφώντος καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, Δίωνος καὶ Φιλοστράτου καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ὅσοι καὶ συντιθέναι τὸ συγγραφικὸν εἴδος ἐδοξα χαριέντως.


The literary activity of Synesius falls in the opening years of the fifth century. From his father he inherited a library, and also, it would seem, the lore of books. He exhibits familiarity of a non-professional nature with many of the great Greek writers of the classic period, Plato being apparently his favourite. But Dio seems to have held for him a special attraction, for he incorporated Dio’s Encomium on Hair in 364.
TESTIMONY

showed preference for the founders of this art—Augustus for the famous Areius, Tiberius for Thrasyllus, the mighty Trajan for Dio of the golden tongue . . .

4. Menander

exponents of simple, graceful prose, is probably the rhetorician who lived in the third century.

On Declamation: Whenever the recital we employ is not harsh or teeming with periods or enthymemes but, as it happens, is more simple and artless, like that of Xenophon and Nicostratus ¹ and Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus, who wrote the Heroica and the Imagines,² it is a running and natural style.

(The same): Even from a style involving conscious art and embellishment there might arise grace of expression, like the style of Plato and Xenophon and the later writers, Dio and Philostratus and all the sophists who have gained a reputation for composing graceful prose.

5. Synesius

his own Encomium on Baldness,³ and he even composed a treatise entitled Dio, which he professes to have intended for the edification of his son-to-be.

In his Dio he discriminates between Dio the sophist and Dio the philosopher, and he reproves Philostratus for a certain confusion or inconsistency in that regard. Synesius makes the practical suggestion that it would be helpful to label each of Dio's writings either "pre-exile" or "post-exile" as the case might be, Dio's exile marking his transformation from

¹ A rhetorician contemporary with Marcus Aurelius.
² Nephew of the author of the Lives of the Sophists.
³ See pages 332-343.
Φιλόστρατος μὲν ὁ Λήμνιος ἀναγράφων τοὺς βίους τῶν μέχρις αὐτοῦ σοφιστῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δύο μερίδας ποιεῖ, τῶν τε αὐτὸ τοῦτο σοφιστῶν καὶ τῶν ὅσιοι φιλοσοφήσαντες διὰ τὴν εὐστομίαν ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἀπηνέχθησαν· καὶ τάττει τὸν Δίωνα μετὰ τούτων, ἐν οἷς Καρνεάδην τε καταλέγει τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Λέοντα τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ συχνοὺς ἄλλους, κατα-βιώσαντας μὲν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφου προαιρέσεως, λόγου δὲ ἰδέαν σοφιστικήν ήρμοσμένους, ἐν οἷς ἀριθμεῖ καὶ τὸν Κνίδιον Εὐδοξόν, ἀνδρὰ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ὁμιλητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄστρονομίας εὐ ἦκοντα, ὀπόσην ὁ τότε χρόνος ἐπρέσβευεν.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ Δίων τῇ μὲν περιβολῇ τῆς γλώττης, ἦν χρυσῆν εἶχεν, ὡσπερ καὶ λέγεται, σοφιστής ἐστω διὰ πάντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ τις ἅξιοὶ τῆν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς φωνῆς σοφιστικὸν ἀγώνισμα οἴε-σθαι· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ μικρὸν ὅποιον ἐστιν ἐξετάσωμεν· τῇ δὲ προαιρέσειν οὐχ εἰς ὁ Δίων, οὐδὲ μετὰ τούτων τακτέος, ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ Ἀριστο-κλέους, ἀπ’ ἐναντίας μέντοι κακείνῳ· ἀμφοὶ μὲν γε μεταπεπτώκασιν· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐκ φιλοσόφου καὶ μάλα ἐμβριθοῦς καὶ πρόσω καθεκότος τὸ ἐπι-σκύνιον ἐτέλεσεν εἰς σοφιστάς, καὶ τρυφής ἀπάσης οὐχ ὑματο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακεν· ἐνεάσας δὲ τῇ προστασίᾳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου

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certain of Dio's writings no longer extant, whence we learn that the corpus of Dio's writings had not yet been reduced to its present compass.

Dio: Philostratus of Lemnos, when recording the lives of the sophists down to his own time, in the beginning of his account establishes two categories, namely, the genuine sophists and those who, though they had devoted themselves to philosophy, yet because of the beauty of their language were by common report classed among the sophists. And he puts Dio among the latter, among whom he lists not only Carneades the Athenian and Leon the Byzantine but many others as well, men who had lived their lives as professing philosophers and yet had adopted a style characteristic of the sophists. Among these he numbers also Eudoxus of Cnidus, a man who holds first place among the disciples of Aristotle but also was well versed in astronomy, to the extent to which it was then cultivated.

As for myself, though in the dress affected by his tongue—and he had a tongue of gold, as is actually said—it may be conceded that Dio was a sophist in all his writings, provided one sees fit to suppose that attention to the sound is a sophistie aim, though the nature of this, too, I shall shortly examine, still in his purpose Dio is not one kind of person, nor should he be classed with these men, but rather with Aristocles, although he presents a striking contrast even with him. To be sure, they both underwent a change; but Aristocles, after having been a philosopher, both very grave and deeply frowning, took his place among the sophists, and he not only tasted every form of luxury but even went to the extreme. And after spending his youth in defence of the
ΔΟΓΜΑΤΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ἘΞΕΝΗΝΟΧΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ἘΛΛΗΝΑΣ ἈΞΙΑ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ, ΟΥΤΩ ΤΙ ΗΤΤΩΝ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΙΚΗΣ, ὩΣ ΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΕΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤῷ ΓΗΡΩΝΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ἩΛΙΚΙΑ ΣΕΜΝΟΤΗΤΟΣ, ΚΟΨΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΑ ἸΤΑΛΙΩΤΙΚΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ἈΣΙΑΝΑ ΘΕΑΤΡΑ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ ΕΝΑΓΩΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ· ἈΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΤΤΑΒΟΙΣ ἘΔΕΔΩΚΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΥΛΗΤΡΙΔΑΣ ΕΝΩΜΙΣΕ, ΚΑΙ ἘΠΗΓΓΕΛΛΕΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΟΣΙΑ· Ὁ ΔΕ ΔΗΝΩΝ ΕΞ ΑΓΝΩΜΟΝΟΥ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ἈΠΕΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ· ΤΥΧΗ ΔΕ ΜΑΛΛΩΝ Ἡ ΓΝΩΜΗ ΧΡΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΥΧΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΥΝΗΣΑΤΟ. ἩΝ ΔΕ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΙΟΝ ΔΥΝΗΣΑΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΔΙΠΛΗΝ, ἈΛΛΑ ΜΗ ἈΠΛΩΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΣΥΝΓΚΑΤΑΡΑΘΜΗΣΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΜΦΗ ΚΑΡΝΕΑΘΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΔΟΞΟΝ· ὩΝ ἩΝΤΙΝΑ ΑΝ ΛΑΒΗΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΩΝ, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ, ΜΕΤΑΚΕΧΕΙΡΙΣΜΕΝΗ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΙΚΗΣ, ΤΟΤΕ ΕΣΤΙ ΛΑΜΠΡΩΣ ἈΠΗΓΓΕΛΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΞΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ ἘΠΑΓΟΜΕΝΗ. ΤΑΝΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ΟΥΣ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΚΗΛΟΥΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΛΛΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ, ἩΞΙΟΥΝΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΘΕΡΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΟΥ· ΑΥΤΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΝ ἈΠΑΞΙΩΣΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΔΕΞΙΑΘΑΙ, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ ἙΝ ΟΝΕΙΔΕΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ΤΙΘΕΙΣΗ ΆΡΤΙ, ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ἘΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ὈΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ. Ὁ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΫΣΤΗ ΤΕ ΛΑΜΠΡΩΣ ΤΟΙΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΥ χωρίς, καὶ ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι μάχεται ταῖς αὐτός ἑαυτοῦ, λόγους ἐξενεγκών ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνστάσεων.

ΧΡΗ ΔΗΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΥΧ ἩΚΙΣΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΤΟῖς

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1 The school of Aristotle.
2 A game of chance popular at drinking parties.
doctrines of the Peripatos¹ and after publishing among the Greeks treatises worthy of a philosopher's serious attention, he became so enslaved to the reputation of a sophist as to repent, as he grew older, of the solemnity that marked his prime and to knock for admission to the theatres of Magna Graecia and Asia, entering into competitions in declamation. Why, he even indulged in the cottabus,² and he employed flute-girls, and he issued invitations to dinner parties with these attractions. Dio, on the contrary, after having been a headstrong sophist, ended by becoming a philosopher; yet this was the result of chance rather than of set purpose, as he himself has narrated. But it was to be expected also of the biographer that he should describe the twofold nature of Dio, instead of merely cataloguing him along with Carneades and Eudoxus and their following. For no matter what treatise of theirs you may take, it is philosophic in nature, though handled in sophistic fashion, that is, phrased brilliantly and cleverly and provided with charm in abundance. In this way, too, they were deemed worthy of the title sophist by the persons whom they beguiled in their speeches by the beauty of their language. And yet they themselves would have rejected that title, methinks, and would not have accepted it when offered, philosophy having lately made it a term of reproach, since Plato had rebelled against the name. Dio, on the contrary, not only championed in brilliant fashion each of the two types of career separately, but he also is at variance with his own principles, having published treatises based upon the opposite foundations.

Surely, not least of all by reason of the very
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λόγους διαφοράν μὴ σεσυγήσθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα. ὦπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταύτα φήσων, ἀπολύων αὐτὸν αἰτίας συνθέντα ἔπαινον ἐπὶ ψυττακῷ τῷ ὀριθῆ: σοφιστοῦ γὰρ εἶναι μηδὲ τούτων ὑπεριδεῖν· αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀν ἐλεγχὸς εἶναι δόξειε, προειπόντος ὅτι τῶν συκοφαντουμένων ἔστιν ὁ ἀνήρ, ὡστε φιλόσοφος ὁι εἰς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐλκεται. λέγει γὰρ οὖτω· Σοφιστᾶς δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐπωνόμαζον οὐ μόνον τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς ὑπερφαυνοῦντάς τε καὶ λαμπροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς σὺν εὐροῖα ἔρμηνεύοντας, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀνάγκη πρότερον εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ὦκ ὄντες σοφισταί, δόξαντες δέ, παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην· εἶτα σαφῶς φιλοσόφους ἄνδρας ἔξαρθμεῖται· μεθ' δὲν δὴ καὶ τὸν Δίωνα, καὶ μετὰ Δίωνα ἄλλους, ὄν περὶ τοῦ τελευταίου πανόμενος, Τοσαῦτα, φησὶ, περὶ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεύσαι· ταὐτῶν ἐτέρως εἰπὼν, ὅτι μὴ ὄντες σοφισταὶ τοῦ ὁνόματος ἐπεβάτευσαν. καίτοι μεταξὺ ποὺ φησιν ἀπορεῖν οἱ χρονὶ τάξει τοῦ ἄνδρα, περιδέξιον δὴ τινα ὅντα. τί οὖν προεῖπας, τί δὲ ἐπείπας, ὧτι τούτῳ μὲν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ φαίνεται;

' Ἀλλ' ἔγνυτο οὐ μικρολογοῦμαι πρὸς τὰς ἐναντιολογίας· συγχωρῶ δὲ τὸν Δίωνα φιλόσοφον ὄντα παἶξαι τὰ σοφιστῶν, εἰ μόνον πρᾶος ἔστι καὶ ἰλεως φιλοσοφία, καὶ μηδαμοῦ μηδὲν ἐπηρέακεν

1 No longer extant.
difference found among Dio's discourses, the facts about him ought not to have been kept silent. For what Philostratus says later on, when he tries to excuse Dio for having composed a eulogy on the parrot,¹ namely, that it is to be expected of a sophist that he should not disdain even these topics, might seem to be a refutation of himself, since previously he had said that Dio is one of those who are the victims of false charges, since, though a philosopher, he is forced into the category of the sophist. These are his words: "Sophist is the name the men of old applied, not only to those orators who excelled in delivery and in brilliance, but also to those philosophers who expressed themselves fluently; and I must treat them first, since, though they were not sophists, but only so regarded, they have come to receive that title." Then he enumerates men who were clearly philosophers—among whom, of course, he places Dio, and after Dio others—and in concluding his remarks about the last in his list he says: "So much for those who practised philosophy but were thought to have been sophists," which was another way of saying that, though not sophists, they usurped the title. Yet somewhere between he says that he is at a loss to decide in what class to place Dio, since, forsooth, Dio is exceedingly clever. Why then did you say at the beginning and at the end that he really is the one, but seems to be the other?

However that may be, I for my part do not split hairs regarding the contradictions; on the contrary, I am willing to admit that Dio, though a philosopher, indulged in the tricks of the sophists, provided only that he is kindly and gracious toward philosophy and

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αὐτῆ, μηδ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν συντέθεικε λόγους ἵταμοις τε καὶ κακοθέσεις. ἂλλ’ οὐτὸς γε πλείστα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα σοφιστῶν εἰς φιλοσόφους τε καὶ φιλο-
σοφίαν ἀπηνασχόντηκεν. ἀτε γὰρ, οἴμαι, φύσεως
λαχων ἔχουσης ἴσχυν, καὶ τὸ ῥητορεύειν αὐτὸ
ήλίθενεν, ἀμεινὸν ἀναπεπεισμένος εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν
κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν τὸ ζῆν κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ὑπο-
λίμνεις· ο̊θεν ο̊ τε καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτῶν λόγος
ἐσπουδάσθη, σφόδρα ἀπηγκωνισμένος καὶ οὐδὲν
σχήμα ὀκνήσας, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Μουσώνιον ἔτερος
τοιοῦτος, οὐ προσγυμναζομένου τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ
Δίωνος, ἂλλ’ ἐκ διαθέσεως γράφοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ
σφόδρα διυσχυρίζομαι· πείσαμι δ’ ἀν καὶ ἄλλον,
ὀστὲς εὐστοχος ἤθους εἰρωνειαν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν
ἐκ παντοδαποῦ λόγου φωράσαι.

’Επειδὴ τε ἐφιλοσοφήσειν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ
μάλιστα ἡ ῥώμη τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διεδείχθη.
アウτερ γὰρ ἐπιγνούσης ὄψι τῆς φύσεως τὸ οἴκειον
ἔργον, οὐ κατὰ μικρόν, ἂλλ’ ὅλοις τοῖς ἐστίοις
ἀπηνέχθη τῆς σοφιστικῆς προαιρέσεως· ὡς γε καὶ
τὰς ῥητορικὰς τῶν ὑποθέσεων οὐκέτι ῥητορικῶς,
ἄλλα πολιτικῶς μετεχερίσατο. εἰ τις ἀγνοεῖ τὴν
ἐν ταύτῳ προβλήματι διαφορὰν τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ
τοῦ ῥητοροῦ, ἐπελθέτω μετὰ νοῦ τῶν Ἀσπασίας
τε καὶ Περικλέους ἐπιτάφιον Θουκυδίδου καὶ
Πλάτωνος, ὥστε ἐκάτερος θατέρου παρὰ πολὺ
καλλίων ἐστί, τοῖς οἰκείοις κανόνι κρινόμενος.

’Ο δ’ οὖν Δίων ἐσκέθης θεωρήμασι μὲν τεχνικοῖς

1 The two compositions here mentioned are not extant.
2 Pericles’ famous oration (Thuc. 2. 35-46) is statesman-
like, while Aspasia’s (Plato, Menexenus 236 d—249 c) is a
model of rhetorical composition.

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nowhere has dealt despitefully with it or has composed against it speeches which are both reckless and malicious. Yet the fact is that Dio has behaved with more copious and vehement effrontery toward both philosophers and philosophy than any of the sophists. The reason, I fancy, is that, being endowed with a forceful disposition, he was frank also in his behaviour as a public speaker, having been convinced that it is better to live in accord with common notions than in accord with philosophy. Therefore not only was his diatribe *Against the Philosophers* a serious composition on his part, utterly unabashed and shrinking from no rhetorical device, but also his *Reply to Musonius*¹ was another of the same character, for Dio was not employing the occasion to exercise his talents, but rather writing from conviction, as I emphatically maintain, and I could convince any one else who is skilful at detecting both irony and sincerity of character in every sort of composition.

Furthermore, when Dio took up philosophy, then indeed most of all the vigour of his nature was displayed. For as if his nature had been late in recognizing its proper function, not little by little but under full sail he was swept away from the calling of a sophist. At any rate, those subjects which were rhetorical he no longer handled like a rhetorician but rather like a statesman. If a person is ignorant of the difference between the statesman and the rhetorician in dealing with the same problem, let him review the funeral orations of Aspasia and Pericles as recorded by Thucydides and by Plato, each of which is far more beautiful than the other when judged by its own special standards.²

Well then, in philosophy Dio apparently did not
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ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μὴ προσταλαπωρήσαι μηδὲ προσ-
ανασχεῖν φυσικοῖς δόγμασιν, ἀλε ὦθε τοῦ καιροῦ
μετατεθειμένος· ὀνάσθαι δὲ τῆς στοάς ὅσα εἰς
ήθος τείνει καὶ ἢρρενώθαι παρ᾽ ὄντινοι τῶν ἐφ
ἐαυτοῦ, ἐπιθέσθαι δὲ τῷ νουθετεῖν ἀνθρώπους
καὶ μονάρχους καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα καὶ
ἀθρόους, εἰς ὃ χρῆσασθαι προαποκειμένη τῇ
παρασκευῇ τῆς γλώττης. διὸ μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς
ἔχειν ἐπιγράφειν ἅπασι τοῖς Δίωνος λόγοις, ὅτι
πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἢ μετὰ τὴν φυγήν, οὐχ οἰς ἐμφαί-
νεται μόνοις ἡ φυγή, καθάπερ ἐπέγραφαι ἡδὴ
tinės, ἀλλ' ἀπαξάπασιν, οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εἴημεν
toulos τε φιλοσόφους καὶ τοὺς αυτὸ τοῦτο σοφι-
στικοὺς λόγους διειληφότες ἐκατέρους χωρίς, ἀλλ'
οὐχ ὀσπερ ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ περιτευξόμεθα αὐτῷ
νῦν μὲν βάλλοντι Σωκράτην καὶ Ζήνωνα τοῖς ἐκ
Διονυσίων σκώμμασι καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦντι
πάσης ἑλαύνεσθαι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ὡς ὅντας
Κήρας πόλεων τε καὶ πολιτείας, νῦν δὲ στεφα-
νοῦντι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ παράδειγμα τιθεμένως γενναίου
βίου καὶ σώφρονος.

Φιλόσοφοτας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀπεριμερίμνως τὸν
ἐπαίνον τοῦ ψυττακοῦ καὶ τὸν Εὐβοέα τῆς αὐτῆς
προαιρέσεως οἴεται, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφότεροί ὁμοίως εἰς
ἀπολογίαν καθίσταται τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δίωνος, ὡς
μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχόντων ἐσπουδακέναι δοκεῖν. τοῦτο
d' ἡδὴ πλέον ἔστι ποιήσασθαι θάτερον. ὃ γὰρ
ἀναγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δ' ὀλοκλήρου τοῦ

1 The Stoic school.
2 Synesius refers to the licence of comedy.
3 No longer extant.
4 Or. 7.
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persevere in technical speculations, nor did he devote himself to physical dogmas, because he had shifted his position late in his career; on the contrary, he seems to have profited from the Porch in all that pertains to character, and to have become more manly than any person of his own day; furthermore, he applied himself to the task of admonishing mankind, whether monarchs or men in private station, whether singly or in groups, to which end he utilized the training in oral expression which he had acquired previously. For this reason I think it well to make the notation "before his exile" or "subsequent to his exile" on all Dio's speeches, not alone on those in which his exile is reflected, as some have done in the past, but on one and all. For by so doing we should have separated the philosophic speeches and the truly sophistic, each variety by itself, and we shall not, as in a nocturnal engagement, find him at one moment hurling at Socrates and Zeno the coarse jests of the Dionysiac festival and demanding that their disciples be expelled from every land and sea in the belief that they are Messengers of Death to states and civic organization alike, and at another moment find him crowning them with garlands and making them his pattern of a life of nobility and sobriety.

Philostratus, however, and without due consideration, imagines the Encomium on the Parrot and the Euboean Discourse to belong to the same school, and regarding both alike he enters the lists in the defence of Dio, to save him from the imputation of having paid serious attention to ordinary matters. But this actually is rather to achieve for himself the other alternative. For he who had publicly proclaimed
βίου φιλοσοφήσασι προίων οὐ μόνον ἐνδέδωκε πρὸς τὸ καὶ σοφιστικόν τι ἐργον εἰργάσθαι τὸν Δίωνα, ἀλλὰ προσαποστερεῖ τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐκ τῆς φιλοσοφοῦ μερίδος, προσνέμων αὐτὰ τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς. εἰ γὰρ τὸν Εὐβοέα τις ἀφαιρήσεται τοῦ σπουδαίου εἶναι καὶ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων συγκείσθαι, οὔ μοι δοκεῖ βάστι ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐγκρίναι τινα λόγων τῶν Δίωνος άστε καὶ φιλόσοφον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ προσερήσθαι. ὡς οὗτος γε ὁ λόγος ὑποτύπωσις ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονος βίου, πένητι καὶ πλουσίων τοῦ παντὸς ἀνάγγειμα ἀξιότατον. ὦδηκός τε γὰρ ἦθος ὑπὸ πλούτου καταστέλλει, τὸ εὐδαιμον ἔτερωθι δείξας, καὶ τὸ καταπεπτωκὸς ὑπὸ πενίας ἑγείρει καὶ ἀσταείωτον εἶναι παρασκευάζει, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ καταμελιτοῦντι τὰς ἀπάντων ἀκοὰς διηγήματι, ὡφ’ οὗ κἂν Ξέρξης ἀνεπείσθη, Ξέρξης ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὴν μεγάλην στρατιὰν ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, μακαριώτερον ἐκαύτοις γεγονέναι κυνηγέτην ἀνδρά ἐν τῇ ὁρεωθῇ τῆς Εὐβοίας κέγχρους ἐσθίοντα, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ἀρίσταις ὑποθήκαις, αἰς χρώμενοι οὐδεὶς αἰσχυνεῖται πενίαν, εἰ μή γε καὶ φευξεται.

Διὸ βελτίως οἱ τάσποντες αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν ἔσχατον περὶ βασιλείας, ἐν ὃ τέτταρας ὑποθέμενος βίους καὶ δαίμονας, τὸν φιλοχρήματον τε καὶ τὸν ἀπολαυστικὸν καὶ τρίτον τὸν φιλότημον, τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσι τὸν εὐφρον καὶ σπουδαίον,

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1 Or. 4.
2 This is not strictly true, for the fourth life and spirit is merely promised (Or. 4. 139), as Synesius himself proceeds to point out.
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Dio to be among those who had practised philosophy all their lives has not only later on yielded to the idea that Dio had also done work of a sophistic nature, but he goes so far as to defraud him also of the possessions which come from the philosophic category, since he assigns them to those that are sophistic. For if a person is going to rob the Euboean Discourse of its claim to be a serious work and to have been composed on serious topics, in my opinion such a person would not very easily accept any of Dio’s speeches to the extent of having it labelled by him actually philosophic. For certainly this discourse constitutes a pattern of a happy life, a work of literature of the very highest value for rich or poor alike. For not only does it deflate a character that has become puffed up by riches, pointing out that happiness is to be found elsewhere, but it also arouses a character that has been cast down by poverty and restores its self-respect, partly by means of his tale that fills the ears of all with sweetness, a tale by which even Xerxes, the famous Xerxes who marched his mighty host against the Greeks, might have been persuaded that a huntsman who fed on millet amid the mountains of Euboea had been more blessed than himself, and partly by his most excellent precepts, which will not allow any one who follows them to be ashamed of poverty, unless of course he is also to be an exile.

Therefore those are better critics who place the Euboean after the last discourse On Kingship, in which, after having set forth lives and spirits of four kinds—the avaricious, the pleasure-loving, thirdly the ambitious, and finally, to cap them all, the gracious and serious—he describes and sketches the
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ἐκείνους μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀλογίαν ἀπαντασ γράφει τε καὶ σχηματίζει, παντεία δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου, τὸν λοιπὸν ἐπαγγελάμενοι αὐτίκα ἀποδώσειν, ὅτω ποτὲ πεπρωμένος ἐκ θεῶν ἐγένετο. χωρὶς οὖν τιθέντι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς συχνοῖς λόγοις Διογένας τε καὶ Σωκράτας, οὐ καὶ περιπτοῖ τὴν φύσιν ἐδοξαῖ, καὶ οὐχ ἀπαντῶ ἐστιν ὁ τοῖν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ξῆλος, ἀλλʼ ὅστις εὐθὺς αἵρεσιν τυχὼν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ὑπέσχετο· τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ξητοῦντι καὶ τὸν ἀπασιν ἐγχωροῦντα, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, αὐτουργὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων φιλάνθρωπον, οὐκ ἂν ἔτερος ἀντὶ τοῦ Εὐβοέως ἀποδοθεμένοι εἴη βίος εὐδαιμονικός.

"Εστὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἐσσηνοὺς ἐπανεὶ ποι, πόλων ὀλην εὐδαίμονα τὴν παρὰ τὸ νεκρὸν ὑδρὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης κειμένην παρ' αὐτά που τὰ Σώματα. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὅλως, ἔπειδὴ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀπῆρξατο καὶ εἰς τὸ νουθετεῖν ἀνθρώπους ἀπέκλεινεν, οὐδένα λόγον ἀκαρπὸν ἐξενήνοχε.

Τῷ δὲ μὴ παρέργῳς ἐνυγχάνοντι δήλη καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἰδέα διαλλάσσουσα καὶ οὐκ οὐσα μία τῶν Δίων κατὰ τὰς σοφιστικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς. ἐν ἐκείνως μὲν γὰρ ὑπτιάζει καὶ ὁραίζεται, καθὰ περὶ τῶν περιαθρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ οἷον γανύμενος ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγλαίας τοῦ λόγου, ἀτε πρὸς ἐν τοῦτο ὅρων καὶ τέλος τῆς εὐφωνίας τιθέμενος. ἐστὶν παράδειγμα ἢ τῶν Τεμπὼν φράσις καὶ ὁ Μέμνων. ἐν τούτῳ μὲν γε

1 The Essenes were a Jewish sect. Synesius is our only witness to the existence of this writing.
2 Neither work now extant. The former presumably
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first three, which are all marked by lack of reason, but concludes his treatise with the announcement that the one yet remaining he will presently display for him, whoever it may be, for whom it has been destined by the gods. Accordingly, if one sets aside the Diogeneses and Soocrateses that are found in many of his discourses, who actually have been thought unusual in their nature—and it is not every one who can imitate those two men, but only he who from the outset has professed some one of the philosophic creeds—and if he seeks after the life which accords with our common nature and which is possible for us all—righteous, pious, industrious, generous with its possessions—no other life would be displayed instead of the Euboean as a life of happiness.

Furthermore, Dio somewhere praises the Essenes, a community of complete happiness, situated beside the Dead Sea in the interior of Palestine somewhere near Sodom itself. For when once he had started on his career as a philosopher and had turned to admonishing mankind, Dio never produced any discourse at all which was unprofitable.

But to one who is not a superficial reader it is plain that Dio's form of expression varies and is not uniform, according as his themes are sophistic or political. For in the sophistic he struts and plumes himself, looking himself over like the peacock and, as it were, exulting in the splendours of his eloquence, since he has eyes for that alone and makes euphony his goal. Take, for example, his Tempé and his Memnon. In the latter, certainly, his style is actually dealt with the famous Vale of Tempé in northern Greece; the latter has been associated with the Memnon statues at Egyptian Thebes.

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καὶ ὑπότυφος ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρμηνεία: τὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου χρόνου βιβλία, ἥκιστ' ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰδίας χαίρον
tι καὶ διαπερατημένουν. ἐξελαύνει γάρ τοι φιλο-
σοφία καὶ ἀπὸ γλώττης τρυφήν, τὸ ἐμβρυθές τε
cαὶ κόσμιον κάλλος ἀγαπῶσα, ὀποῖον ἐστὶ τὸ
ἀρχαῖον, κατὰ φύσιν ἤχου καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις
οἴκειον, οὐ μετὰ τοὺς λίιν ἀρχαῖους καὶ Δίων
ἐπιτυγχάνει, διὰ τῶν πραττομένων ἱών, κἂν λέγῃ
cαὶ διαλέγηται.

"Εστώ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀφελοῦς καὶ κυρίως
ἐχούσης ἐρμηνείας ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικός τε καὶ ὁ
βουλευτικός· εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ὀντιοῦν τῶν πρὸς
tὰς πόλεις εἰρημένων τε καὶ ἀνεγνωσμένων προ-
κεχειρισμένοις, ἵθεος ἂν ἐκατέραν ἰδέαν ἀρχαῖκήν,
ἀλλ' οὖ τῆς νεωτέρας ἡχοὺς τῆς ἐπιποιούσης τῷ
cάλλει τῆς φύσεως, ὅποια ἄι διαλέξεις, ὅν πρόσθεν
ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, ὁ Μέρινων τε καὶ τὰς Τέμπη,
λόγος τε οὕτος ὁ κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων. κἂν γὰρ
ἀποπροσποιῆται, πάνυ τοῦ θεάτρου γίνεται καὶ
tῆς χάριτος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν εὐροῖς ρητορείαν ἐπαφρο-
διτοτέραν παρὰ τῷ Δίων, ὁ καὶ θαυμάσας ἐχὼ
tὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, εἰ μὴ καμῳδία τῶν
Νεφελῶν μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμεῖ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἤντινα
μετὰ τῆς ἱστης δυνάμεως Ἀριστοφάνης ἀπήγγελκε·
tεκμήριον ποιοῦ τοῦ στρογγυλῶς καὶ σὺν εὐροία
προειπηνέχθαι,

κηρὸν διατήξας, εἴτε τὴν ψύλλων λαβὼν
ἐνέβαψεν εἰς τὸν κηρὸν αὐτῆς τῶν πόδεν·

1 We do not know to what speeches Synesius refers.
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bombastic. But in the works of his second period by no means would you find anything conceited and diffuse. For, you see, philosophy banishes luxuriousness even in the field of eloquence, being fond of a beauty which is grave and orderly, the ancient form, natural and germane to the subject, a form which Dio, too, achieves, second only to the very ancient writers, proceeding as he does through the matters in hand, whether he is delivering a speech or conducting a discussion.

Take as samples of his unaffected and literal style his Ecclesiasticus and his Bouleuticus. Or, if you wish, take any one at all of his addresses to the cities, whether orally delivered or read, and you would find in each an old-fashioned style rather than that of the more modern note which makes additions to the beauty of nature, as in the case of the discourses already mentioned, the Mennon and the Tempê, and in this one, too. Against the Philosophers. For even if he disclaims it, this speech belongs wholly to the theatre and the desire to please; furthermore, you could not find a more charming display of rhetoric in Dio. In this connexion I have marvelled at the good fortune of philosophy if, in the first place, no comedy is more in favour than the Clouds, for there is none which Aristophanes has composed with equal power. As witness to his compact and flowing style, take these lines:

He melted wax, and then he took the flea
And dipt its two feet in the wax; and then.

Or. 47 and Or. 48 were delivered before the Ecclesia, and the next two before the Boule.

The popularity of the Clouds is attested by the number of the manuscripts in which it is found.
κατά ψυγείση περιέφυσαν Περσικαί. 
ταύτας ὑπολύσας ἀνεμέτρει τὸ χωρίον.

'Αριστείδην τε ὁ πρὸς Πλάτωνα λόγος ὑπὲρ 
tῶν τεσσάρων πολύν ἐκήρυξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησπόντος 
μὲν καὶ τέχνης ἀπάσης ἀμοιρῶν ὅν γε οὐδὲ 
ἀλλὰ ἐπαγάγως εἰδεὶ διηθορικής, οὐκοῦν ἐκ τοῦ δι-
καίου γε καὶ τῶν νόμων τῆς τέχνης, συγκείμενος 
ὁν ἀπορρήτων κάλλες καὶ θαυμαστὴ τινὶ χάριτι,
εἰκῇ πως ἐπιτερποῦσθα τοῖς ὀνόμαστι καὶ τοῖς 
ῥήμασιν: οὗτος τε ὁ Δίων ἥκισε μάλιστα ἐν τῷ 
κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἡμῖν καὶ καλοῦσιν ἀκμήν 
ὅν νεώτερον: τοῦτ' ἔστω ἡμιόσατο πανηγυρικῶ-
τερον ἀνδρὸς ἄφελος, καὶ μέντοι γε εἰς τὴν 
τουαύτην ἰδέαν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κράτιστος 
ἐδοξεῖν.

Οὖ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ὁ Δίων ἐξωρχήσατο τὴν 
ἀρχαίαν ῥητορικήν ἐν οἷς καὶ δοκεῖ σαφῶς ἀνα-
χωρείν τῶν οἰκείων ἴθι bacterial ὅπι ἀν καὶ λαθεῖν ὅτι 
Δίων ἔστιν, παρακινήσας εἰς τὸ νεώτερον: ἀλλ' 
eπλασίως ἄππεται τῆς παρανομίας, καὶ αἰσχυνομένῳ 
γε ἔσχεν, ὅταν τι παρακκειοῦνευμένον καὶ 
νεινικὸν προενέγχηταν: ὡστε καὶ αἰτίαν φύγοι 
δειλίαν, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ὄστερον ἐπιπολάσασαν τῶν 
ῥητόρων τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἔξετάζομεν, τοὺς πλείστους 
δὲ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ παρὰ βραχὺ τοῖς ἀπασὶ μετ' 
ἐκείνων ταπείσθω τῶν ἀρχαίων τε καὶ στασίμων 
ῥητόρων, παρ' ὄντων καὶ δῆμοι διαλεχθήναι

1 Clouds 149-152.
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When cooled, about it Persian shoes had formed.
Removing these, he fell to measuring the space.¹

Again, the address To Plato in Defence of the Four heralded the fame of Aristeides far and wide among the Greeks.² This work, while actually devoid of all artifice, one which surely you could not even assign to the category of rhetoric, at least justly and on the basis of the laws of the art, is composed with an ineffable beauty and wondrous charm, one that seemingly without premeditation delights by means of its nouns and verbs. And lastly, our Dio was at his prime in his Against the Philosophers, to use the term prime as the moderns do; that is, he composed in a more showy manner than a plain man would, and yet for such a style Dio was thought to be at his best in this.

However, in the works in which he seems clearly to depart from his own special habits Dio did not display such scorn for the old-fashioned rhetoric as to disguise the fact that it is Dio, though he did move in the direction of the more modern; on the contrary, he is discreet when he violates his standards, and he actually seems to be ashamed whenever he has used any daring or audacious expression. Therefore he might even be taken to task for cowardice, if we were to scrutinize him in the light of the audacity which later became the vogue among the orators. But in most of his own work, yes, in very nearly all, let him be ranked with those old-fashioned and steady orators, since, compared with any one at all, he is wholly fit to address either a community or a person

² Aelius Aristeides (A.D. 129–189) in the work in question praises Themistocles, Miltiades, Pericles, and Cimon.
καὶ ἰδιώτῃ τοῦ παντὸς άξιος. οὐ τε γὰρ ρυθμοὶ τοῦ λόγου κεκολασμένοι καὶ τὸ βάθος τοῦ ἡθους οίνον σωφρονιστὴ τυν καὶ παναγωγῷ πρέπον πόλεως ὀλης ἄνοιγτως διακεμένης. ὦσπερ δὲ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν οὔτε μίαν ἔφαμεν πάντως οὔτε ἀνεπίγνωστον ὄτι Δίωνος ἐστὶν ἐκατέρα, νῦν μὲν ῥήτορος ἀνδρός, νῦν ὑπὸ πολιτικοῦ, οὔτω καὶ τὰς διανοίας, ὅστις οὐκ αὐτὸς δίχα διανοίας ἐπιβάλλει τὰς ὀψεις ὄτι δὴ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ, ἐπιγνώσηται Δίωνος οὕτως ἐν ταῖν δυοῖν ἱδεαίν τῶν ὑποθέσεων· κἂν τὸ φαυλότατον προχειρίσῃ, τὸν Δίωνα ὀψει τὸν ποριμώτατον τῇ ῥήτορειά παντὸς ἔξευρειν λόγους· μακρὰ γὰρ δὴ σοφιστῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐπι- χειρήσας διήνεγκεν. εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἔτερος σοφιστὴς ἢν ἐύπορος, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦτο μυκώτητα· ἀμα δὲ καὶ θαυμαστὴ τὶς ἱδιότης χαρακτηρίζει τὰς Δίωνος ἐπινοιας. δηλοῦτω σοι τὸν ἄνδρα ο Ἰούδιοκος τε καὶ ὁ Τρωικός· εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ὁ τὸν κόσμοπος ἐπαινοι. ἐσπουδάσθη γὰρ τῷ Δίωνι καὶ τὰ παίγνια, πανταχοῦ τῇ φύσει χρωμένω· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπιστή- σαις αὐτὰ τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι παρασκευὴς τε καὶ δυνάμεως.

Ταῦτά μοι περὶ Δίωνος εἴπειν ἐπηλθε πρὸς τὸν ὑστερόν ποτὲ παίδα ἐσόμενον, ἐπεί μοι καὶ διεξ- ιόντι τοὺς παντοδαποὺς αὐτοῦ λόγους μεταξὺ τὸ μάντευμα γέγονε. πατρικὸν δὴ πέπονθα, καὶ ἡδη συνείναι τῷ παιδὶ βοῦλομαι καὶ διδάσκειν ἄττα μοι φρονεῖν ἐπεισι περὶ ἐκάστου συγγραφέως τε καὶ συγγράμματος, συνιστάς αὐτῶ φίλους ἄνδρας
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in private station. For the rhythms of his speech are restrained and the gravity of his style is such as would befit any supervisor and guardian of a state wholly inclined to folly. But just as I have said of his style, that it is not by any means uniform, and yet that unmistakably each style is Dio's, now as orator and now as statesman, so also regarding his thoughts—whoever not without thought himself casts his eyes on any of Dio's writings will see that the thoughts are Dio's in both varieties of his speeches; and even if you select the most trivial of them, you will find Dio to be the most resourceful in his oratory at finding words for everything, for he is far superior to the sophists in dialectic argument. Nay, if any other sophist was resourceful, still he is far from deserving comparison with Dio in regard to the latter's sagacity; and at the same time a wondrous individuality marks his thoughts. Let both his Rhodian and his Trojan ¹ discourses reveal him to you; or, if you wish, include his Eulogy of the Gnat.² For even his sportive compositions were treated seriously by Dio, who indulged his natural propensities in every field; moreover, you would not doubt that they were the product of the same training and faculty.

This is what it has occurred to me to say about Dio to him who some day in the future is to be my son, for even as I was going through Dio's speeches of every kind I received the prophecy. Already I feel like a father, and I want to be with my son at once and to teach him whatever occurs to me to think about each writer and each work of literature, introducing to him men who are my friends, along with

¹ Or. 11 and Or. 31 respectively.
² No longer extant.
6. Photius Bibl. cod. 209

Photius, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople of the ninth century, was an omnivorous reader, and his observations on what he read are embodied in a digest entitled Bibliotheca. His discussion of Dio's writings, which is confined to the eighty discourses that make up our own collection, opens with a few details regarding the life and personal characteristics of Dio, followed by general remarks concerning his literary qualities. Photius then proceeds to list, title by title, all

'Ανεγνώσθη Δίωνος βιβλίον ἐν λόγοις π' ὁ τῶν πατρίδα Προσαεύς, φυγας δ' ἐγεγόνει παύτης, τυραννιδὸς ἐκκλίνων δουλείαν, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπῆλθε πλανώμενος γῆν. δεξιὸς δὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐδοξεῖ εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς όσοι ρυθμίζειν συμβουλεύουσι τὰ ἡθη. ἦκμασε δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ βασιλέως Τριανοῦ, καὶ πλείστην διέτριψε χρόνον παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ὅτι μάλιστα τιμής καὶ δεξιώσεως ἐτυχεν, ὡς καὶ συγκαθέξεσθαι αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλείῳ σχήματι. παῖς μὲν ἦν ὁ ὁμος Πασικράτους, σοφιστῆς δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφος τὸ επιτήδευμα. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα φασι σεμνότητος ἀντιποιεῖσθαι ὡς καὶ λεοντῆν πολλάκις ἐνημέμονος ποιεῖσθαι τὴν 386
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the critical appraisal befitting each. And among these let Dio of Prusa, too, have his place, a man remarkable in both speech and discernment. And so, having praised Dio, I entrust him to my son, that having cultivated the champions of genuine philosophy, he may some day, I trust, pay tribute also to the political writings of Dio, believing them to be a border-land between the preparatory subjects of instruction and the most genuine education.

6. Photius

eighty discourses that had come to his attention, usually adding a few words to indicate the contents and occasionally including remarks by way of critical appraisal. His literary judgement does him credit. It should be noted that the order in which Photius presents the discourses differs markedly from that followed in the present edition, the same difference being observable to-day between the two main families of Dio manuscripts.

Bibliotheca: We have read a work of Dio's consisting of eighty speeches. Dio is by birth a citizen of Prusa, but he was banished from there because he shunned being in slavery to a tyrant, and he covered much territory in his wanderings. He gained a reputation for being clever in his speeches, and especially in those which advise men to amend their ways. He flourished in the time of the emperor Trajan, and he spent a great deal of time in his society and gained from him the very highest honour and hospitality, even to the extent of sitting beside Trajan in his imperial carriage. Dio was the son of Pasierates, and a sophist and philosopher by profession. It is said that he made such pretensions to dignity of appearance as even to appear frequently

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πρόοδον. φωνήν δ’ ἦρεμαιαν ἡφίει καὶ σταθερᾶν·
καὶ σχολαίον μὲν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀναβεβλημένον βάδισμα,
καὶ τάλα τῶν κινημάτων οὐκ ἀσύμφωνα· ἵσχυος
δ’ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲ μέγας τὸ σῶμα.
Τούτων πολλοὺς φασὶ καὶ ποικίλους γράφαι
λόγους· οἱ δ’ εἰς ἡμετέραι φθάσαντες γνώσιν τὸν
π’ ἐπλήρουν ἀριθμόν. Χρυσόστομον δ’ αὐτὸν οἱ
λόγοι τῇ κατ’ αὐτὸν γενεὰ δεδώκασιν ἐπονομάζειν.
ἐστι μὲν ὅν, ὅπερ ἐφῆν, τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν τῶν
λόγων, οὐς ἡμεῖς ἵσμεν, συμβουλευτικῶν οἷα δ’
eἰκός, καὶ τῷ συμβουλευτικῷ παραπλεκόμενον τὸ
οἶον δικαιικὸν παραπλήσιον τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῷ
μέρει τῶδε τοῦ λόγου δεικνύει, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν
ἄλλων ὁ Ῥοδιακὸς. δρμύς τε γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς
ἐνθυμήσαι καὶ τὸ συνεστραμμένον πρὸς γε τὸν
αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρα τῶν λόγων ἔχων καὶ τὸ ἐντονον
μετὰ τοῦ γονίμου πλουτῶν ἀριστος δὲ τοῖς παρα-
δείγμασι καὶ πολὺς ἐστὶ πανταχοῦ, καὶ ποικίλης
ὑλὴς λαμβάνουν αὐτὰ καὶ προσφυγὸς ἀρμοζόμενος.
χαίρει δὲ μάλιστα καὶ μυθολογήμασι τὰς παρα-
νέσεις συνιστακλέκειν· διὸ καὶ τὸ ἀφελὲς διώκειν
δοκεῖ. σπάσων γὰρ εἰ τις εὐροί κατὰ τὸν Πλατω-
νικὸν ξῆλον τοῖς δίαμμα καὶ ὄγκον ἑνεργαζομένου
τῷ λόγῳ, ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ Βορυσθεντικῷ, μῦθοις
αὐτὸν ἀποχρώμενον. ἀφελῆς μὲν οὖν ἔστι τὰ
πολλὰ, ὡς ἐφθην εἰπών, ταῖς ἐννοιαῖς, καὶ τῶν τε
καθωμιλημένων αὐτῶ καὶ ἐπιτολαζοὺσών αἱ λέξεις,
καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἡ σύνταξις οὔτ’, ἐπὶ τὸ βαθὺτερον
οὔτ’, ἐπὶ τὸ καθηδυνόμενον ἐκνευτερίζει. καὶ
tὸ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τῇ συμπλοκῇ τῶν

1 Or. 31.
2 Or. 36.

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in public clad in a lion's skin. His manner of speaking was quiet and deliberate; his gait was leisurely, though not slow, and his other movements were not out of harmony with his gait; he was spare of frame and not tall of stature.

It is said that Dio composed many speeches and of many kinds; but those that have come to my attention amounted to an even eighty. Chrysostom is the sobriquet which his speeches have caused his generation to apply to him. Now, as I was saying, most of Dio's speeches with which I am familiar are deliberative; but, as was to be expected, intertwined with the deliberative, his quasi-forensic product too shows his excellence in this branch of oratory as well to be nearly as great, and most of all the Rhodian Discourse.¹ For he is sagacious in his reasoning, and he possesses the quality of pithiness, at least with regard to his own style of oratory, and he has a wealth of intensity combined with originality. Again, he is excellent in his illustrations from history and abounds in them everywhere, not only culling his illustrations from various sources but also fitting them in appropriately. But especially he delights to interweave his exhortations with mythological narratives: and this seems to be his reason for aiming also at simplicity. For example, one would rarely find him following the pattern of Plato and using myths which impart elevation and dignity to his eloquence, as is the case in his Borysthenitic Discourse.² So, as I have just said, for the most part he is simple in his conceptions and his phrases are such as were current and popular in his day: nor does his syntax attempt any innovation in the direction of either profundity or ornamentation. Furthermore, in the matter of his

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ὁνομάτων τοῦ σαφοῦς ἀν τις ἐλπίσειε τῶν συγγραφεῶν κατεστοχάσθαι· ἀλλὰ τὸ γε διὰ μακρόν τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀπόδοσιν προϊέναι, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸν λόγον διαπεπλέχθαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικρῷ τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτῶν ἐκκλείει ἴδεας· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν παραλλαγὴ ἴδεας καὶ χαρακτήρος ἴδιωμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰτίας ἴσως ἐνδείξει ἢχει· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀποτείνειν τὰ προοίμια ἢ τὰ οἷον προοίμια οὐκέτι ἀφῄσιν αὐτὸν τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ ἀντὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ συγγραφικοῦ τύπου τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς συνοισίαις ἀλλάξασθαι παραδεδυκότα καὶ μείζω τὴν κεφαλήν τὴν ὡς ἐν λόγῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος διαπλάττειν.

Τῶν τούτων λόγων αὐτοῦ δ' περὶ βασιλείας μὲν εἰσιν εἰρημένοι. καὶ ὁ ε' δέ, Λυβικὸς ἐπιγραφόμενος, μύθον μὲν Λίβων ἀπαγγέλλει, ἐκείνων δ' ἐστὶν ἐξημένος. ὁ δ' ἐκτὸς περὶ τυραννίδος δίεισι, καὶ περὶ ἀρετῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἡ Διογένης μὲν ἢ Ἰσθμικός ἐπιγραφὴν ἢχει, πράξειν δὲ τινὰ καὶ λόγους Διογένους κατὰ τὰ Ἰσθμία διαγγέλλει. καὶ ὁ θ', Διογένης ἢ περὶ οἰκετῶν, παρανεῖ μὲν ἀπανταὶ δι' ἐνοῦ προσώπον αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκαστῶν πολλὴν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ ἐπιμελείαι ποιεῖσθαι, ὁληγήν δὲ τῶν ἐξωθεὶν συμπιπτόντων· καὶ μὴ χρὴναὶ φεύγονται διῶκειν οἰκέτην· άτοπον γὰρ ἐκείνως μὲν κακοὺς ὄντας ἑλπίζειν ἄνευ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἄμεινον βιώσεσθαι, τοὺς δεσπότας δὲ μὴ ἀξιούντας φαύλους εἰναι μὴ νομίζειν ἄμεινον διάξειν, εἰ μὴ παραπολαύοιν τῆς τῶν δραπετῶν

1 In our collection the Euboean Discourse, which Photius makes number thirteen, precedes On Virtue; consequently 390
verbs and the intertwining of his nouns one might expect the prose writer to have aimed at clarity: yet Dio's long postponement of the conclusion of his thought and his extreme use of repetition in weaving the pattern of the discourse in no small measure exclude it from such a category. But while these matters constitute a difference of literary form and a peculiarity of style, they possibly do not afford occasion for censure; yet his prolonging his proems, or his quasi-proems, to great length does not any longer permit him to escape the charge of having substituted for a political and literary type the conversational, into which he has slipped, and of making the head, as one might say, larger than the rest of the body.

Now then, among his speeches four are entitled *On Kingship*. The fifth, entitled *Libyan*, recounts a Libyan myth, but it is a pendant of those four. The sixth is *On Tyranny*, and the one following is *On Virtue*. The eighth has the title *Diogenes or Isthmian*, and it reports an experience which Diogenes had and things which he said at the Isthmian Games. The ninth, *Diogenes or On Servants*, exhorts all mankind, through a single illustration, to give much heed and care to themselves individually, but little to what befalls them from without; also it states that one ought not to pursue a runaway servant, because it is absurd that, while servants, who are base, hope to live a better life apart from their masters, the masters, who do not think poorly of themselves, should fail to hold that they will live a better life if they do not share the fruits of the fugitives' stupidity.

Photius' numbering of the next few discourses does not correspond to ours.
σκαιότητος. ὁ δὲ ἦ τρωικὸς μὲν ἐλκεὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀλώναι δὲ τὸ Ἰλιον διε-στούδασται, Ὁμήρῳ τε κατὰ τὸ πραγμάτιον προσφέρεται, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν Ἰλιάδα αὐτῷ πεποίηται, τὰναντία τοῦτοι πραγματεύεται. ὁ δὲ Ὀλυμπικὸς ἦ περὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐννοιας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο πειράμενος ἐπιδεικνύειν, ἐνδε-κατός ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ ἦβ', ἐν Ἀθηναις περὶ φυγῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἔχων, ἔρισται μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς, δίεις δὲ ὡς οὐδέν ἢ φυγὴ χαλεπόν, καὶ ὡς πλοῦτος μὲν καὶ δόξα καὶ δυναστεία θάττον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς μηδ' ἐλπίσαντας μεταρρέει, τὸ δὲ φιλο-σοφεῖν καὶ τὴν ἡρετὴν ἀσκεῖν διὰ βίου τε κτήμα διαμένειν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀποιχομένους συνέπεται. ὁ δὲ ἤγ' Ἕβοικὸς ἦ κυνηγητικὸς ἔλαχεν ἐπιγραφήν, εἰσάγει δὲ τινας ἐν Ἕβοια τοιοῦτον βίου βιοῦντας· δι' ὅν κατασκευάζει ὡς δ' ἀπράγμων βίος, εἰ καὶ πενόμενος εἰη, πολλῷ τῶν ἐν ἀστείον θορυβουμένων τε καὶ τρυφώντων ἡδίων τε καὶ λυστελέστερος. Ὅρδιακὸς δὲ ὁ ἦβ' ἐπιγράφεται ἐν τούτῳ ἔθος ἄλογον παρὰ Ὅρδιοις ἐπιτημᾶ ἐπιπολάσαν. τὸ δ' ἦν, οὕς ἐβούλοντο τιμᾶν ἀνδρᾶς, τούτοις μὲν ἀνδριάντα αὐστασαν οὐδένα· τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πάλαι ἀνεστηκότας, τούτων ἄρα ἦ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς μετα-ξέοντες εἰς τὰ τῶν μελλόντων τιμηθῆναι ὁνόματα, ἡ τῷ χρόνῳ μηδὲ φαινομένων ἐπιγράφοντες, τῶν τε ὀἰχομένων τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν τιμήν ἐλυμαί-

1 In our collection the Rhodian Discourse is number thirty-one; Photius places Orr. 14-30 at the end of his enumeration.
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The tenth bears the title Trojan, and the author has taken great pains to prove that Ilium was not captured. Not only does he handle Homer rather roughly, but everything else that Homer has put into his Iliad is treated contrary to the poet's version. The Olympic or On the First Conception of God, whose aim is to point out precisely that, is number eleven. The twelfth, whose title is In Athens, On Banishment, was delivered in Athens, and it argues that banishment is no hardship, also that wealth and fame and power rather speedily desert those who possess them and change over to those who never even expected to have them, whereas the pursuit of wisdom and the cultivation of virtue not only through life remain a noble possession, but also accompany men when they die. The thirteenth has drawn the title Euboean or On the Hunter, and it introduces certain persons who follow that sort of career in Euboea. By means of these persons the discourse seeks to prove that the care-free life, even though it be a life of poverty, is far more pleasant and also more profitable than the life of those who in a city are surrounded by confusion and luxury. Rhodian is the title of the fourteenth.1 In this the author reproves an absurd practice prevalent among the Rhodians. That is to say, when they wanted to honour persons with statues, their practice was, not to erect any statue for them, but to take the statues which had been erected for men of former days and either erase what had been inscribed upon them and substitute the names of the persons now to be honoured, or else, if through lapse of time the original inscription was not even legible, inscribing a new one. Thus, at least in so far as they were able, they would outrage the honour belonging to

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νοντο, καὶ οὐς τιμᾶν ὑπεπλάττοντο, ἀλλοτρίας καὶ
cat' ουδὲν ἐοικυνίαις εἰκόσων ἐνύβριζον. ἐν τῷ
tῷ λόγῳ μεγάλῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός τῆς ἀνασκευαστικῆς
ἰσχύος ἡ ἀρετὴ διαφαίνεται. ὃ δὲ οὐ πρὸς Ἀλε-
ξανδρεῖς μεν ἐπιγέγραπται, δῆμου δὲ φύσιν
ἀναπτύσσων ταύτης κατατρέχει· καὶ ὅτι μὴ χρὴ
tὸν Ἀλεξανδρέων δῆμου, ἰδία πολλὰ τὰ πρὸς
ἀρετὴν παρακαλοῦντα ἔχοντα, τῆς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ
ἐπιπολαζούσης παραχῆς καὶ ἀταξίας καὶ αὐτοῦ
eἶναι ἀνδράποδον, μάλιστα δὲ παραφυλάττεσθαι
tὸ ἀμάρτημα κατὰ τὰς δημοτελεῖς πανηγύρεις
cαὶ τὰ θέατρα. Ταρσικοὶ δὲ δύο ἐφεξῆς ἐπιγραφῆς
ἐτυχον, ὅπερ οὲν α' ἐπαινόντων τινα τῆς πόλεως
ἐπιτρέχων οὐκ εὐδαίμονας ἐκείνας ἀποφαίνει τῶν
πόλεως, ὅσαι κρήνας καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ κάλλη
στοῖον καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ κάρπων ἀφθονίαν
cαὶ τὰ παραπλῆσια προβάλλονται, ἀλλ' ἐν ὅσαις
τάξις καὶ ἀρετὴ τῶν πολιτεομένων διαδείκνυταν.
οὕτως ὁ λόγος καὶ παράλογον τι καὶ ἐφύβριστον
ἐθος κατὰ φωνῆς ἀπήχησιν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεύσι
πραττόμενον εὐθύναις ὑπάγει, παραίνων ἀποσχέσθαι
tοὺς χρωμένους ή μᾶλλον αὐτῶν πληκτικάτερον
καθαπτόμενον. ὃ δὲ δεύτερος παραίνει μὴ συκο-
φαντικῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας διακείσθαι, μηδὲ
ἐπὶ τοῖς βραχέσι τῶν παραλυπούντων εὐθύς ἀνερ-
θίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπαιτιάσθαι τούτους. ὃ δὲ η', ὅσ

1 For the sound in question, see Or. 33. 31-56 and Campbell Bonner's valuable article (Harv. Theol. Rev. xxxv, pp. 394)
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called the departed and at the same time they would insult those whom they were pretending to honour by means of statues to which they had no claim and which in no wise resembled the recipient. In this discourse the excellence of Dio's destructive power is conspicuously great. The fifteenth discourse is entitled To the Alexandrians, and it lays bare the nature of the populace and inveighs against it. Furthermore, it states that the populace of Alexandria, since it has many special incentives to virtue, should not itself be a slave to the confusion and disorder prevalent in the community, but should most of all guard against the misconduct encountered in the popular gatherings and in the theatres. Two discourses that follow have been labelled Tarsic, the first of which, while dealing lightly with a sort of laudation of Tarsus, seeks to prove that the fortunate cities are not those which offer in evidence fountains and rivers, beautiful colonnades and edifices, and abundance of crops and the like, but rather those in which orderliness and virtue are conspicuous on the part of those who administer the government. This oration also subjects to scrutiny a certain surprising and wanton habit of the Alexandrians in connexion with a resonant vocal sound, advising those who indulge in it to refrain, or, more properly speaking, attacking them quite vehemently.¹ The second Tarsic advises against being disposed to employ captious charges with reference to their magistrates and against a readiness to grow excited over trifling annoyances and to find fault with these magistrates. The eighteenth discourse, which bears no title, was

¹-11). Alexandrians has carelessly displaced Tarsians, as is clear from both the content and the context of this sentence.
οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται, ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἔρρήθη τῆς Φρυγίας. διαλαμβάνει δὲ ὡς οὖν ἀρετῆς εἰς σημείον τὸ κομᾶν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἀλλο τῶν σχημάτων τῶν περὶ τὸ σώμα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τούτων τὰ ἑναντία· διαπλέκεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπαινού. τὸν δὲ θ' μηνύει ἡ ἑπιγραφή ῥηθήναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Βορυσθένει, ἀναγνωριζόταν δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐν δὲ ἀλλὰ τε δίεισιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πλατωνικοῦ συνομολογεῖ ξῆλον περὶ τε τοῦ δημοσφημοῦ τῶν ολίγων τοῖς Βορυσθενίταις διειλέχθαι τῆς τε τοῦ παντοῦ διακοσμήσεως καὶ κινήσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ στοιχείων. ἐξεταί δὲ τινος λαμπρότητος καὶ σεμνότητος οὐτος ὑπέρ τους ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. καὶ ὁ Κορινθιακὸς δὲ, κ' ὧν, ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν ἔρρηθη, ἑπιτύμησεν δ' αὐτῶν διαπεραίνει ἄνθ' ὃν εἰκόνι τὰ πρῶτα τιμήσαντες αὐτὸν ὑστερον ἀποδημήσαντος ἐκ διαβολῆς οὐ δικαίως περείλοντο τὸ γέρας. ἐγγὺς δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ 'Ροδιακοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἐν λόγοις ρώμην καὶ ἀρετῆν οὕτως· ἢ δὲ τοῦ οἰον προοιμίου παράτασις κανταῦθα, ὡς καὶ παρὰ μικρόν πανταχόω, τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μετέχει. τὸν δὲ κα' ἡ ἑπιγραφὴ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Νικαιᾶς ὁμοιοίας τῶν Νικομηδεῶν ἔστι· καὶ τούτων ὑπέρχεται τὸν ἅγωνα ὁ λόγος εὐκαίρως διὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς προεννεγμένος· μᾶλλον γὰρ οὕτω ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ πιθανὸν ἔθελε διαδύειν. τὸν δὲ β' καὶ κ' ἐν Νικαιᾷ εἰρήσθων ἡ ἑπιγραφὴ δῆλοι περὶ ὁμοιοίας, πεπαιμένης τῆς στάσεως· αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ διατίθησον ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐπαινοῦ τοῦ γεγονότος. ὁ δὲ κυ' περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἀπαμείς ὁμοιοίας εἰρήται

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delivered in Celaenae in Phrygia. It maintains that it is no sign of virtue to wear long hair, any more than any other bodily characteristics, or their opposites. Interwoven with it also is a laudation of the city. The title of the nineteenth reveals that it had been delivered in Borysthenes, but that it was given as a public reading in Dio's native city. In this speech the author, in addition to other matters, admits that he had in emulation of Plato discoursed to the citizens of Borysthenes regarding the creator of the universe and also regarding the orderly arrangement and movement of the universe and the elements of which it is composed. A certain brilliance and solemnity mark this discourse above all others. The Corinthian discourse, which is the twentieth, was delivered in Corinth and is a thorough-going reproval of the people for having at first honoured the speaker with a statue and then, after he had left the city, having removed the mark of distinction because of a malicious rumour without any justification. This speech is close to the Rhodian in the vigour and the high quality of its eloquence; however, the prolongation of what may be termed its proem, here as practically everywhere, does not partake of that high quality. The title of number twenty-one is On Concord between Nicaea and Nicomedia; and the speech approaches this theme propitiously, having been delivered in an indulgent spirit, for in this way persuasion is more likely to penetrate men's souls. The title of number twenty-two reveals that it was delivered in Nicaea upon the subject of concord after the cessation of civil strife: and this is precisely what the author makes his theme, a laudation of what has taken place. Number twenty-three, On Concord
ἐν τῇ πατρίδι· αὐτὸ δὲ διαπράττεται τούτο. καὶ
ὁ ἐφεξῆς δὲ περὶ ὀμονοίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Πρου-
σαις παρακαλεῖ τοὺς Ἀπαμέας. ὁ δὲ κε’ διάλεξις
ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ἀγνοοῦν δὲ ὑποπλάττεται
τῆς αὐτίας ὁ διαλεγόμενος, δι’ ἣν μὴ δὲν κρήσιμον
αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων προβεβλημένων ἤδεως καὶ
ποθοῦντες ἄκοουσι. πολιτικὸς δὲ ἐστὶ τῷ κς’
ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ, καὶ εἰρηται ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, ὡσπερ
καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς, φιλοφρονητικὸς ὑπάρχων αὐτῆ ἀνθ’
ὡν τιμαῖς τὸν φιλοφρονούμενον ἐδεξιοῦτο. ἀπο-
λογισμὸς δὲ ἐστιν ὁ μετ’ αὐτοῦς, ὅπως διέκειτο
πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα. ὁ δὲ θ’ καὶ κ’ πρὸ τοῦ φιλο-
σοφεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐπιγράφεται, τοὺς δ’
ἐπιχειρήσαντας καταλεύειν αὐτῶν τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῶ
ἐτερον, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πυρὶ τῆς οἰκίαν δοῦναι, τού-
τους ἥρεμα πως ἐπιτιμῶν, τὸ πλανᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς
ξένης τῆς οἰκίας διὰ τὰς ἐν πόλει ἀταξίας
ἀμείων κατασκευάζει. ἡ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅργῃ
κατ’ αὐτοῦ, διότι, φησὶ, καταρρέουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ
βέλτιον ἀνέλαβε τὴν οἰκίαν. καὶ ὁ λ’ δὲ, δημη-
γορία ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῆν ἐπιγραφὴν φέρων, εἰς τὴν
αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀποβλέπει. καὶ ὁ α’ καὶ λ’ ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι μὲν ἐλέχθη, πολιτικὸς δ’ ἐπιγέγραπται
ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ συμβουλεύει τῶν εἰς ἄλληλους
ὑβρεῖς ἀποσχομένους καὶ προπηλακισμοῦ τὴν
στάσιν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν διαλύειν. ὡσαύτως ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι μὲν ἐλέχθη καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐπιγράφεται,
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with Apameia, was delivered in his native city, and this is precisely what the speaker seeks to achieve. The following discourse also is an appeal to the Apameians for concord with the people of Prusa. Number twenty-five is An Address in his Native City. The speaker professes ignorance of the reason why, although his speeches have contributed nothing useful, his audience is glad, yes, longs to hear him. The title of twenty-six is A Political Address, and it was delivered in his native city, as was also the one that follows, which is an address of friendship toward Prusa for receiving with honours the man who is making the address of friendship. The speech that follows these is a defence of his attitude toward his native city in the past. Number twenty-nine has the title, Prior to his Philosophical Career, in his Native City. Those who had tried to stone Dio to death, and with him also a second person, and then also to give his house to the flames, the speech reproves rather mildly and it maintains that the life of a wanderer in foreign lands is preferable to living at home because of the disorder prevalent in the city. The speaker says that the anger directed against him by his fellow-citizens was occasioned by his repairing his house, which had been falling in ruins. The thirtieth speech, which bears the title, A Speech in the Public Assembly in his Native City, is also directed toward the same theme. Number thirty-one, delivered in his native city, is entitled A Political Address in Assembly, and it advises his hearers to desist from their deeds of reciprocal violence and their insults and to turn their party strife into concord. Similarly the next also was delivered in his native city, and its title, A Refusal of Office,
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παραίτησις ἁρχῆς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, τοῦτο καὶ ἐνδείκνυ-
tαι· ἐκ ψηφίσματος γὰρ ἁρχεῖν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἡρμήνευος παραίτεται. ὁ δὲ λέγεται· περὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν βουλῇ τὴν ἐπιγραφήν παρέχων, ἔπαινον μὲν τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέχει, ἀπολογεῖται δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅν ὁ Δίων ὑπενοεῖτο, ὡς μὴ τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔργα καὶ αἱ πράξεις αἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῆς πατρικῆς εἰσὶ βουλῆς ἐξημμέναι. ὁ ἐφεξῆς δὲ πρὸς Διό-
δωρον ἐπιγραφόμενος, προτροπῆτον μὲν τινὰ ἐπ᾽ ἀρετὴν εἰσάγει, ἔπαινεν δὲ τὴν πόλιν φησὶ δι᾽ ὅν τὸν ἐγκωμίασαντα Διόδωρον ἐπαίνοις περιβάλλει. ὁ δὲ λέγεται· περὶ Αἰσχύλου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Ἐὐριπίδου ἢ περὶ τῶν Φιλοκτῆτος τόξων ἐπιγραφόμενος, τὴν τοῦ Φιλοκτῆτος πλάττει ἐξαπάτην, ἦν προβεβλημένος Ὄδυσσευς λαβὼν ὥχετο τὰ τόξα. τῷ δὲ ἢ καὶ λ᾽ λόγῳ ἢ μὲν ἐπιγραφῇ περὶ Ὅμηρου λέγει, ἔπαινος δὲ τῆς τοῦ ποιητοῦ δυναῖνται, ὦσπερ καὶ τῷ περὶ Σωκράτους ἐπιγραφό-
μένῳ τοῦ φιλόσοφου. ὁ δὲ περὶ Ὅμηρου καὶ Σωκράτους, λη λόγος ὅν, ξηλωτὴν Ὅμηρου Σωκράτην καὶ μαθὴτὴν ἐπιδείκνυσι, καὶ τὸ τε οἶκείον τῆς τῶν παραδεχόμενων μεταχειρίσεως ἐκεῖθεν ἀναμαθεῖν τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπιδεικνύει, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ λόγου χάριν καὶ δύναμιν ἐναπο-
μάξασθαι. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἢ περὶ βασιλέως ἐπιγραφόμενος, διέξειν ὡς δεῖ συμβοῦλων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τὸν βασιλέα κεχρημένου ἐκείνους τε πεί-
θεσθαι καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀπαυθαδιάζειν. καὶ ὃ δὲ Νέστωρ ἢ ἐπιγραφή, ὅπως κεχρήσθαι προσήκε τῇ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς παραίνεσε περι-

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before the Council, is self-explanatory, for the author had by official ballot been elected archon but begs to be excused. Number thirty-three, which provides the title, Concerning his Past Record, before the Council, deals lightly with a laudation of the Council, but it also contains a defence regarding matters about which Dio was the subject of suspicion. setting forth, as it does, that his son’s actions and the administration of the city’s affairs did not depend upon the advice of the father. The one following, entitled In Reply to Diodorus, introduces what may be termed an exhortation to virtue, but Dio says that he is praising the city by covering with praises Diodorus, who had eulogized it. Number thirty-five, entitled On Aeschylus and Sophocles and Euripides or On the Bow of Philoctetes, depicts the deception of Philoctetes, under cover of which Odysseus seized and carried off the bow. The title of number thirty-six reads: On Homer, and it is interwoven with a laudation of the poet, just as there is laudation of the philosopher in the discourse labelled On Socrates. The discourse On Homer and Socrates, which is number thirty-eight, depicts Socrates as an imitator and disciple of Homer and seeks to show both that the philosopher’s own peculiar manner of handling his illustrations had been learned from Homer and also that the rest of the charm and force to be found in his language had received the imprint of Homer. Number thirty-nine, labelled Agamemnon or On the King, argues that the king must employ the best of counsellors and must not only follow their advice but also not act arbitrarily to suit his own opinion. Again, the discourse entitled Nestor contains the doctrine that it was proper to employ Nestor’s advice to the kings. In
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λαμβάνεται. ὃ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, Ἀχιλλεὺς οὖ πειθό-
μενος τῷ Χείρων, προνοία καὶ τέχνη, ἀλλὰ μὴ
θράσει καὶ χειρῶν ἵσχυι συμβουλεύοντι μετα-
χειρίζεσθαι πόλεμον, ύστερον οὐκ ἀπώνατο τῆς
ἀπειθείας. καὶ ὁ Φιλοκτήτης δὲ παράφρασις ἐστὶ
τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀτυχήματος. ἐφ' οίς ὁ Νέσσος ἦ
Δημάνερα τῶν ἀπιθάνως περὶ αὑτῶν πεπλασμένων
dιὰ τυνος θεραπείας εἰς εἴρμον τυνα καὶ τάξεν δοκεῖ
tὸ ἀπίθανον μεταρρυθμίζειν. καὶ ὁ Χρυσῆς
ἐπαινός ἐστι Χρυσήδος. ὃ δὲ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ
tυραννίδος περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων διαλαμβάνει. καὶ
οἱ ἐφεξῆς δὲ γ' περὶ τύχης λόγου χαρέντα τυνα
καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀμα ἑχόμενα θεωρήματα διατυ-
πούσων. ὠσαυτός καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτους περὶ δόξης
γ' λόγου συμβουλεύσαντι καὶ παραινέουσι μηδένα
λόγου τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης ποιεῖσθαι. καλὰ δὲ
καὶ ὁμέλια τῇ παραινέσει συνιστάληκαί θεωρῆ-
ματα. ὃ δὲ ν' περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐπιγράφεται καὶ
dίεισι. περὶ φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ γ' καὶ ν'. ὃ
δὲ ν' περὶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ὃ δὲ ε' καὶ ν' περὶ τοῦ
σχήματος ἐπιγεγραμμένος δεικνύων ὡς οὐ χιτῶν
καὶ ὑποδήματι φιλοσόφων ὁ κατεσχηματισμένος
ηδὴ καὶ τὸν βίον φιλόσοφός ἐστιν. ὃ δὲ ε' καὶ
ν' περὶ πίστεως ἐπιγράφης τυχῶν, καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς
περὶ ἀπιστίας, προτρέπονται φυλάσσεσθαι τὸ
θαρρεῖν καὶ καταπιστεῦεν καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα φιλεῖν
dοκοῦσι. πολλοὶς γὰρ πιστεύσαντι μὲν μεγάλη ἀπ-
ήντησε συμφορά, ἀπιστία δὲ φραξαμένους λαμπρὰ
περιγέγονε σωτηρία. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὃ περὶ

1 The centaur to whom the youthful Achilles had been entrusted.
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the next we find Achilles refusing to obey Cheiron, who was advising him to practise warfare with prudence and craft, instead of with daring and strength of arm, a refusal which subsequently he had occasion to repent. The Philoctetes is a paraphrase of that hero’s misfortune. Next comes the Nessus or Deianira, which seems to transform the improbability of the unconvincing fictions regarding those two characters into a sort of orderly sequence through the operation of a kind of healing process. Again, the Chryseis is a laudation of Chryseis. The discourse On Kingship and Tyranny deals with these very topics. The three speeches On Fortune that follow give expression to certain clever and at the same time rather philosophic observations. Likewise also the next three On Opinion counsel and exhort the listener not to pay any heed to the opinion of the masses; noble and useful observations also are interwoven with the exhortation. Number fifty-two, both in title and in content, is On Virtue. Fifty-three is On Philosophy; fifty-four is On the Philosopher; and fifty-five, which is entitled On Personal Appearance, points out that it is not the person who has dressed himself up with tunic and sandal of the philosophers who is by virtue of that fact a philosopher in his life as well. Number fifty-six, which is called On Trust, and the one following, On Distrust, urge mankind to guard against having confidence and trusting even those who most of all are thought to be friends; for while many who have bestowed their trust have encountered great misfortune, those who have hedged themselves about with distrust have found notable safety to be the outcome. However, these things constitute the
ΔΙΟΙΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

ἀπιστίας λόγος· ὦ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ διέξεισιν ὡς καὶ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπίπταν μεγάλα τοὺς πιστευο-
μένους ἐξημώσεν. ἦ δὲ ύπόθεσις τοῦ νη' λόγου,
ὡσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, περὶ νόμου ἐστὶν· ὡς καὶ
ἡ τοῦ νη' περὶ ἑθος, ὃ πράττειν μὲν ὡς ὁ νόμος
ἀποδείκνυσι, μεθ' ἱδονῆς δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς μᾶλλον
ἡ βίας, καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον. δύο δὲ οἱ ἐφεξῆς περὶ
φθόνου διαλαμβάνουσι. καὶ ὁ β' καὶ ξ' περὶ
πλούτου, τὸ ὀχληρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπίβουλον στηλι-
τεύων, καὶ πολλὴ λυσιτελεστέραν αὐτοῦ παριστῶν
τὴν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πενίαν. ὦ δὲ γ' καὶ ξ' ἐπιγράφεται τῶν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ περὶ ἐλευθερίας,
ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐλεύθερον παριστά, ὃς τῶν ἐν αὐτῶ
κύριος εἶ ἡ παθὼν, κἂν μυριῶν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ
σώματος ὡσι δεσπότα, καὶ δοῦλον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς
ἀνδράποδόν ἔστι παθῶν, εἰ καὶ συμπάθης ἄρχειν
τῆς οἰκουμένης δοκεῖ. εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δ' ἀναφέρεται
dιάνοιαν καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς, περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευ-
θερίας ἐπιγραφῆς ἔχων, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς
dεύτερος, περὶ δούλων ὅν. καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ δέ,
περὶ λύπης, ὡς οὐ χρῆ παρεγγυᾶται τὸν γενναίον
καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντα ἀνδρὰ ὑποκατακλίνεσθαι τῷ πάθει,
περισσῶν δὲ καὶ ἀποτρίβεσθαι. καὶ ὁ περὶ
πλεονεξίας, ξ' καὶ ξ' ὃν, ἀποτρέπεσθαι ταύτῃ
παρεγγυᾷ. καὶ ὁ ξ', ὡσπερ ἐπιγέγραται περὶ
λόγου ἀσκήσεως, τοιαύτην καὶ τὴν ύπόθεσιν ύπο-
βάλλει. περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ φιληκοῖας ὁ ξ' καὶ
ἐπιγράφεται καὶ διαλαμβάνει. ὦ δὲ ὁ ἐπιγραφῆς
μὲν περὶ ἀναχωρήσεως τυγχάνει, κατασκεύαζε
δὲ ὡς οὐμέν τὸ τὰς ἐρήμους διώκειν ἀναχωρήσεις
ἐστὶ παθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν βίω θορύβων, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἰς

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speech *On Distrust*; the speech which precedes it describes in detail how even being trusted as a rule has brought great losses on those trusted. The theme of fifty-eight, as also its title, is *On Law*; so, too, number fifty-nine is *On Custom*. The latter proves that custom accomplishes as much as law, but that it operates by means of pleasure and persuasion rather than by means of force, and with greater certainty. The two speeches following are treatises *On Envy*. Number sixty-two is *On Wealth*, a discourse which holds up to public ridicule the vexatiousness and fickleness of wealth and shows that much more profitable is poverty joined to righteousness. Number sixty-three is labelled *One of the Addresses in Cilicia, On Freedom*, and it seeks to show that that person is free who is master of the emotions within him, even though ten thousand persons outside him may be masters of his body; and, on the other hand, that he is a slave who is slave to his emotions, even if he is thought to be lord of all the world. The next discourse also, with the title *On Slavery and Freedom*, refers to the same notion, just as does also the next in order, which is *On Slaves*. The one after that, *On Pain*, exhorts the high-born man who has intelligence not to give way to suffering, but rather to disregard and abolish it. *On Covetousness*, number sixty-seven, also is an exhortation to avoid this fault. The theme of number sixty-eight is, like its title, *On Training for Public Speaking*. *On Dio’s Love of Listening* is both the title and the theme of number sixty-nine. Number seventy has the title *On Retirement*, and it seeks to prove that hunting for places of seclusion is not retirement from sufferings and from the turmoils
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ἐαυτὸν ἐπεστράφθαι καὶ σπεύδειν γνῶναι ἐαυτὸν, τῆς ἄπο τῶν ἄλλων κακίας συμφορῶν ὄλγον ἔχοντα λόγον. περὶ κάλλους δὲ ὁ μετὰ τούτων λόγος, ὅν ἐπιγέγραπται τρόπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ νεανίσκου διεξεισω ἐν ὃ ὡς οὐ παρά πᾶσιν ἐθνείς καὶ βαρβάροις τὸ αὐτὸ νομίζεται κάλλος, ἄλλο δὲ παρ᾽ ἄλλους νικᾶ. ὁ δὲ οὔ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου τῆς τε ἐπιγραφῆς προβάλλεται καὶ διαλαμβάνει. ὁ δὲ γῦ καὶ οὐ, ὅτι εὐδαιμών ὁ σοφός, καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος. δαίμονας δὲ καλεῖ τοὺς ὅσοι λαχόντες ἀρχεῖν ἐτέρων ἀμείνων πράττειν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ καὶ χείρον συμμετεσκεύασαν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ὁ γύ καὶ ὁ διαλαμβάνει. ὁ δὲ ἄμ καὶ οὔ διατριβὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν συμποσίῳ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς πεποιημένος τινὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διεξεῖσι συμπιπτόντων, καὶ ὅσον πολὺς ἄνθρωπος τῆν καῦτα πρὸς φιλοσοφίᾳ ὅραν ἐξωθεῖ, ἦνίκα αὐτοῦ ὁ βίος ἀνίαις περιρρεῖται. ὁ δὲ ηὔ καὶ οὔ καὶ οὔ μετ᾿ αὐτὸν Μελαγκόμας α΄ καὶ β΄ ἐπιγεγραμένοι ἔπαινον τε διαγράφουσι τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ μνήμην ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς τελευτήσαντος καὶ λύπην. ὁ δὲ π’, Χαρίδημος μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπιγραφῆς, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ πένθος ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντι συνδιαπλέκει τῷ νέῳ.

7. Arethae Archiepiscopi Dio

Arethas, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was a pupil of Photius and shared his enthusiasm for Greek literature. He was exceedingly active in collecting manuscripts, and we possess some that were copied at his expense, notably the 406
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of life, but rather retirement is turning one's mind inward upon oneself and seeking to know oneself, paying little heed to misfortunes which result from the wickedness of others. *On Beauty*, which comes next, in keeping with its title discusses the beauty of a youth. In this discourse it is pointed out that not among all nations alike, including barbarians, is the same thing held to be beauty, but that one thing is preferred here and another there. *On Peace and War* is both the title and the subject matter of seventy-two. Seventy-three has the title, *That the Wise is Fortunate and Happy*; next comes *On Happiness*; and the next is *On the Guardian Spirit*. The author applies the term guardian spirit to all who, having been chosen to govern others, help to cause those whom they govern to fare better or worse. *On Deliberation* is the theme of seventy-six. Seventy-seven, *A Short Talk on What Takes Place at a Symposium*, discusses some of the things that occur at a symposium and maintains that the time when most men are wont to turn their attention to philosophy is when their lives are engulfed in troubles. Number seventy-eight and the one which follows, which are entitled *Melanomas I* and *II* respectively, contain a laudation of the youth, a reminder of the noble career that preceded his death, and an expression of the grief which his death occasioned. Number eighty has the title *Charidemus*, and it combines praise and sorrow over the death of the young man.

7. Arethas

*Bodleian Plato* known as Clarkianus. Some of his annotations on Greek authors have been preserved, Dio being included in that number.
DIO CHRYSTOSOTON

The rather lengthy note on Dio that we present first is a scholium on the discourses On Kingship. Arethas seeks to defend Dio against the imputation of arrogance in those four compositions by citing the conduct of Nestor in the famous scene in Iliad I in which Nestor recounts glorious exploits of his younger days for the purpose of securing the obedience of Agamemnon and Achilles. The appeal to the authority of Homer is quite in the spirit of Dio himself.

It will be observed that Arethas has the false impression

Σοφός ούτοσι τῷ ὄντι Δίων ὁ Προνασαύς καὶ τάλλα μὲν τὰ περὶ λόγων ἀσκήσεως, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς προκειμένους περὶ βασιλείας φρονήσει διαρκεστάτη ἐξυφαινόμενος. Οὐκεπασιανὸς οὐ αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς βιωφελὸς τοὺτων γνώμης ἐπηβολος. οἷς γὰρ ἦπορει τῇ ἐπικρατοῦσῃ ταῖς τῶν συμβουλῶν εἰς ὑπαίθρων χρήσθαι μεθοδοις περιαυτολογία, φησὶ τὸν εἰσηγεῖσθαι τεταγμένοι σεμνολογήσασθαι, ὥς ἂν ἦ ταύτῃ τὸ εὐπαράδεκτον αὐτῶν τῶν ὑποτθέμενων καταλογόμενον, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ λόγος δραστικώτερος ὁ τοῦ κρείττονος. ἂφ' οὖ δοκεῖ μοι καὶ Ὄμηρος ὁ ἐποποιός, ἐνυδοκιμὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς καρινόν τι τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίως παραδεικτοῖς μάθημα, τῶν Πήλιον παρεισήγαγε Νέστορα ὑπὸ Δρύαντος Κανέως τε μετακαλούμενον καὶ Ἐξάδου τῆς τ' ἀλλῆς κατ' ἐκείνους φρατρίας ἀρχήν μὲν ἐκβοθεῖν, εἶτα τοῦτο λαβόμενον Νέστορα τῇ ἐξαγγελίᾳ, ἄτε δὴ τῇ κατὰ χείρα βοηθεία τοσοῦτος τὸ ἐννάλιον ἀνδράσι χρειωδέστατον δόξαντα, προσθείπαι τὸ ἀπὸ τούτο ὠνὶ ὁκυκνηκότα τι; τὸ τοῦτο καριώτατον λέγω τῆς συμβουλῆς. τί γὰρ φησι; καὶ μέν μεν βουλέων ἔννοιον πείθοντο τε μύθω.

1 Iliad 1. 273.
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that the discourses On Kingship were composed for Vespasian. Probably that error, as also the error of making Nero the author of Dio's exile, was due to a misunderstanding of his teacher Photius, whom he echoes in a passage we have omitted. Arethas also gives to the epithet Chrysostomos a novel meaning, which he supports by citing some amusing verses of an unknown versifier, whose gossip resembles Lucian's anecdote (Hermotimus 34) about the Sicilian tyrant Gelon.

This Dio of Prusa was truly wise in general in his practice of oratory, but particularly when, with consummate wisdom, he wove the present speeches On Kingship. The emperor Vespasian had grasped the practical wisdom which characterizes them; for when he was at a loss how to deal with the undisguised egotism dominant in the methods of his counsellors, he says that the counsellor who had been appointed to make a proposal resorted to grandiloquence, in order that in this way he might insure that the acceptability of his proposals might be achieved, for of course an utterance is more cogent when it is that of a superior person. This, in my opinion, is the reason why Homer the epic poet, who enjoys a high reputation in such matters not matched by most men, when handing down to his successors a timely lesson to serve them in like circumstances, introduced into his narrative the statement that Pylian Nestor, when summoned by Dryas and Caeneus and Exadius and the rest of their clan, first of all came to their aid, and then, after Nestor had dealt with that exploit, since of course by his active assistance to so many men in war he had gained a reputation for being most indispensable, that he added to his declaration without any hesitation—what? This I claim is the most vital point in his counsel. For what does he say?

They heard my counsels and obeyed my word.¹

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καὶ ἐπειδῆπερ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπές ὑπεστήσατο, ὡς ἂν ἦδη μετεωρίσασ τὸ ἔργον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπερψεύσων ἀξίοχρεως νομισθῆναι, οὐς καὶ πειθήνους τῶν ἐαυτοῦ βούλευμάτων ἐξέφηνε, πεποιθότως εἰπεῖθεν ἐπήνεγκεν.

ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἁμεῖνον,

μόνον οὐχὶ λέγων ὅρατε οὕς ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος ἔσχηκα κατηκόους; οὐκον ἁκλεῖς οὐδὲ ἀσύμφορον καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμοι πείθεσθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτω σαφῶς τὴν περίνοιαν δηλοῖ, τῇ πράξει τῆς μέθοδος ἐμπεδώσας, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ Προουσαεὶς οὕτως τοιοῦτος, διότερο οὐκ ἔχων τοιοῦτος καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι ἐτέρως μέτεισι τὴν χρείαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦδε τὴν ὁμογνωμοσύνην ταυτότητι τρόπων τοὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦντας συνδέουσαν, ὁ γε λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἴσονομίαν βραβεύει ἐπίσταται, ἐκεῖνοις ἀθροίσας ὅσοι τὰς βασιλείους οὕμους κατειλήφοτες γνωρίζει τοῖς ἔρχεσθαι ταύτας ἀσφαλέστατα βουλομένους θεσπίζουσι, τὸν Μελητιάδην ὁμηρὸν λέγων, Σωκράτη τε τὸν Σωφρονίσκου καὶ Φαιναρέτης, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Διογένη τὸν Σινωπέα, καὶ μέντοι πλασάμενος τι μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὐτῶς, ἐκ Πελοπονησίας γραῦς, Ἀρκαδικῆς μὲν τὴν οὐκησίν, νομαδικῆς δὲ τὸν βίον, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἐνθουσιαν προσευκαὶροῦσας, ταύτης ἀκηκοέναι περὶ τοῦ ἐκ Σεμέλης Ἡρακλέους τὸς τε οὕτως εἴη ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ οἶος τὸν βίον,

1 Ἱηδ. 1. 274.  2 Cf. Or. 1. 49 ff. Arethas is in error.

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And when Nestor had established his own importance to that extent, as if he had already exalted his achievement through having been deemed trustworthy by such extraordinary beings, whom he declared also to have been obedient to his desires, he thereupon added with confidence,

But ye too harken. for 'tis better so,¹ all but saying, "Do you see how wonderful these men were whose obedience I have had? Then it is not ignominious or disadvantageous for you also to obey me."

Well then, this is the way in which Nestor clearly reveals his intellectual superiority, having established doctrine by achievement; but this man from Prusa was not another Nestor, wherefore, not being able to boast of exploits such as his, he pursues his purpose differently. For since he knew that like-mindedness by identity of manners binds together the like-minded, he therefore knows how to judge equality as well, and he assembles all those famous men who, having comprehended how to recognize the paths of kingship, lay down the law for those who wish to tread them most securely—I refer to Homer son of Meles, Socrates son of Sophroniscus and Phaenaretê, and also Diogenes of Sinopê. Moreover, he too resorted to a bit of invention in the midst of his speeches, namely, the fiction that from an old woman of the Peloponnese—who was an Arcadian by domestic ties but lived a roving life and also found leisure for ecstatic experience—that from her, I say, he had heard about Heracles son of Semelê, not only who this son of Semelê was but also what kind of life he lived.² Nay more, he claimed

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αλλά γε καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀπαγγέλλειν ταῦτα προστέτακται ὁτῶν ἐστὶν ὅτε συγκυρήσου ἀξίω τοῦ βασιλείου ἐπιτηδεύματος, καὶ τοῦτοι οὐ μόνον ἐπιρρώσας τὸ ἕαυτῷ σπουδαζόμενον, εἰ μὴ ποι καὶ ὡς ὁμόγλωσσον ἕαυτὸν τούτοις ἐν ταῖς προ-
κεμέναις ὑποθέσεσιν ἀποφήγνας ἀνεπαχθέστατα τὸ ἔργον συνεπεράνατο. ἃ γὰρ οὕτως τὰ νῦν συμβου-
λεύειν προεῖλητο, ἐκείνους προδυναμειμένα ὑπέφη-
νεν, λεληθότως ἐκ τούτων φιλοτιμούμενος ἕαυτὸν παρισώσαι τοὺς προεφωδευκόσι τὰ νῦν αὐτῷ πρεσβευόμενα. τοιγάρ τῇ πρὸς τούτους κοινο-
λογίᾳ, ἐν οἷς τῆς βασιλείου βιοτῆς τε καὶ τάξεως 
tὰ παράσημα διεξῆσαν, οὐχ ἢττον καὶ οὕτος τὸ μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐπεσπάσατο, πεφυκότος εἰς ἀπαν τοῦ 
κατ' οὐδὲν ὑπαλλάσσει τὴν εἰσήγησιν τῶν ἐν 
tῶν ἥξην προτερημάτων ἐνάμιλλον παριστάνει καὶ 
tοῦτον ἑκείνων τῶν προκαταρξάντων βιωφελῶν 
οὕτω ῥημάτων. τί γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Ἀσκραῖος ποιμὴν; 
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος, οὐς ἄλλου εὖ εἰπότο 
pεῖθεται.

Συντόμως τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ ἑυπαρακολουθήτου 
ἔνεκα οὕτω προσακτέων. Δίων οὕτος ὁ Προυσαῖος 
ois οὐκ εἶχεν ἑγκαλλωπίσασθαι περαιντολογία, 
φημὶ ὀσπερ ὁ Πύλιος Νέστωρ, ἔπει καὶ τοῦτο 
eis ἀναντίρρητον τοῖς συμβουλεύουσιν ἑπακολουθεῖ 
ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐπαράδεκτον εἶναι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειτ-
τῶν παράκλησιν. οἷς οὖν οὕτω προάγειν οὐκ 
eῖχε, τέχνη τοῦτο κατήμυσεν, σύμφωνον ἕαυτὸν 
ἀποφαίνων τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας εἰρηκόσι σοφοῖς 
καὶ ὅπως χρῆ βασιλείας μετέναι. τὸ γὰρ ὀμό-

1 Hesiod, Works and Days 295.
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that he had been appointed by this old woman to report these things to any one whom he might encounter from time to time who was worthy of the kingly office, and in such cases not merely lending strength to his own special interest, unless perchance by proving that he spoke the same language as they did on the subjects under discussion, he accomplished his task with the least offence. For the advice which he chose to give on such an occasion he revealed as having been previously delivered by those men of old, secretly aspiring in this way to place himself on the same level with those who had led the way in the matters then advocated by him. Therefore in his discussions with these men, while they were going through the spurious elements in the kingly life and order, nevertheless he too induced boasting, since it was wholly natural that his failure to alter in any wise his recommendation of the advantages in his mode of life should result in his presenting himself too as a rival of those men of old who had first uttered sayings of such practical utility. For what says the shepherd of Asera? "He too is noble who heeds another who has spoken wisely." ¹

In short, the subject under discussion must, for the sake of clearness, be presented as follows. This Dio of Prusa, in matters wherein he was unable to boast of personal exploits—I mean as Pylian Nestor did, since this too results in making unanswerable the words of the counsellor regarding the acceptability of the exhortation offered by those who are superior—in matters, then, wherein he could not persuade in this way, he achieved his aim by artifice, representing himself as in agreement with the sages who have told about kingship and how it should be
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γνωμον καὶ ἵσοτιμον τοῖς προαπηγγελκόσι τὰ κεδνὰ ταῦτα βουλεύματα, εἰ τι τῶ Ἀσκραίων πιστεύειν δεῖ ποιμένι... . . .

Περὶ Δίωνος καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἰδέας. Ὁ Δίων οὗτος ἦν μὲν Προυσαέους, Προύσης τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μυσῆ Ὀλύμπης, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ τὰ περὶ λόγους ἐπήκουτο καὶ λέγειν σχεδίως εἰς ἄκρον τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν παρεκκενεσμένον ζηλωτὸς ἄπασι καὶ ἀπόβλεπτος ἦν. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου χρησάμενος ρύμη, καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παρρησιασάμενος φίλων, ἀειφυγία κατεδικάσθη καὶ ἢν τῷ ζημιώματι ἐπίτιμοι τοῦτο εἰς ὁτε Οὐδεπασινοῦ ἦ Ὁρμαιῶν εὐτυχεὶ πολιτεία, οὐ συγγενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Νελώαν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν βασιλεῖ ὑποθέμενοι ἀνηκότων τέλος καὶ τοὺς παρόντας βασιλικοῦς λόγους αὐτῶ ἐξεπόνησε.

Χρυσόστομος δὲ κατὰ τὸν λόγον οὐχ οὕτως οὐκον διὰ τὸ σύμπτωμα ἐπὶ τὸ εὔσχημον ἑστερον μεταποιούμενον ἐκλήθη. τῇ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἀποφορὰ ὦ πάνω εὐτυχεῖ ἐχρῆτο, ὡς δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, καὶ ὁ τοὺς λόγους θείους ἀπαγγέλλει ἄνηρ. φησὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ιαμβείοις αὐτῶ οὕτω.

Δίων ἀνέπνει, φασίν, οὐ μάλ’ ἢδυ τι τοῦτον λέγω Δίωνα, οὐ πολὺς λόγος.
καὶ τοῦτο ἐκερτόμησε τῶν τις ἀστικῶν.
τὸν δ’ ὡς ἵδειν γυναῖκα τῆς αὐτοῦ, φράσας:

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1 Arethas is at fault in this account of Dio’s exile and return to imperial favour. Dio is critical of Nero, but it was Domitian who caused his exile and whose death made possible his return. Furthermore, the discourses On Kingship are believed to have been addressed to Trajan.

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practised. For like-mindedness is also equality in honour with those who previously have announced these sage counsels, if we should give any credence to the shepherd of Asera. . . .

Concerning Dio, the facts about him, and the style of his eloquence: This Dio was a native of Prusa, the Prusa near Mysian Olympus. In addition to his wisdom in general, he had cultivated also the art of public speaking and, having prepared himself for extempore speaking to a point surpassing those of his own day, he was envied and admired by all. In this way, you see, having indulged in the vehemence of his language and having expressed himself freely in the presence of Nero in behalf of his own friends, he was sentenced to lifelong banishment, and he remained under this sentence until the Roman state secured Vespasian as emperor. Having met Vespasian in Alexandria on the Nile and having instructed him in many of the matters pertaining to a king, he finally worked out for him the present discourses On Kingship.¹

He was called Golden-mouthed, not so much to accord with his eloquence, as on account of a certain physical peculiarity the name of which was altered in the direction of greater respectability. For he was not at all fortunate in the effluvia that issued from his mouth, as indeed many others report and in particular the man of divine utterance. For he speaks of Dio in his iambics as follows.

"Tis said that Dio's breath was nothing sweet—
I mean that Dio of whom there's so much talk.
A city fellow told this mocking tale.
He said when Dio saw his wife he cried,
ΔΙΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

Τί τούτο; ου γὰρ ἐφρασάς μοι τὴν νόσον. καὶ τὴν σὺν ὅρκῳ, Τοῦτο πάντων ἀρρένων, εἰπὲν, τὸ σύμπτωμ’ φόμην, οὐ σοῦ μόνου τοσοῦτον ἀιδρῶν καὶ φίλων ἀπεστάτει. οὐ γὰρ λόγος δίδαγμα τοῦ σεμνοῦ τρόπου.

ἀντὶ τούν τοῦ Ὀζόστομος ἑλέχθη εὐφήμως Χρυσόστομος.

Ἰδέα δὲ κέχρηται συγκράτω τοῦ λόγου Πλατωνικῆ καὶ Λυσιακῆ, οὔτε τὸ διηρμένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος τῆς Λυσιακῆς ἀπολύων ἀπλότητος, οὔτε τὸ Λυσιακὸν εἰς ἀπλότητα ἐπιτετηδευμένον τῆς Πλατωνικῆς σεμνότητος ἀποστερῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνολογῶν μετὰ ἀφελείας καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν ἔξαιρων διὰ σεμνότητος.

8. Suidas Lexie. s.v.

Suidas is the author of a famous lexicon, probably composed in the third quarter of the tenth century, which is especially valuable for its information on literary matters. In the following entry regarding Dio it will be noted that the bio-

Δίων ὁ Πασικράτους, Προυσαεύς, σοφιστής καὶ φιλόσοφος, ὁν Χρυσόστομον ἐκάλεσαν. ἀντεποιεῖτο δὲ σεμνότητος, ὡς καὶ λεοντὴν φορῶν προϊέναι. ἦν δὲ λεπτὸς τὸ σώμα, καὶ διέτριψε τὸ πλείστον παρὰ Τραϊανῷ τῷ Καίσαρι, ὡς καὶ συγκαθέσθαι εν τῷ βασιλικῷ ὁχήματι. ἐγγράφευ, Εἴ χθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, 'Εγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πλάτωνος, Ὕπερ Ὀμήρου πρὸς Πλάτωνα δ', Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἁρετῶν ἦ'.

9. C. Plini et Traiani Epistulae LXXXI—LXXXII

Pliny, Letters x. 81 and 82, a communication from Pliny
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"How's this? You never mentioned my disease."
And she with solemn oath replied, "I thought
That symptom was the nature of all males,
And not of you alone." So far removed
Was she from men and friends. The story serves
To indicate the man's majestic ways.

So it is that, instead of Foul-mouthed, through
euphemism he was termed Golden-mouthed.
Dio uses a literary style that is a blend of the
styles of Plato and of Lysias, for he neither frees
the sublimity of Plato from the simplicity of Lysias
nor deprives of Plato's solemnity that trait of Lysias
which cultivated simplicity; on the contrary, he not
only talks solemnly with simplicity but also elevates
his simplicity by means of solemnity.

8. Suidas

Graphical details are those earlier recorded by Photius. In
view of that, it is noteworthy that the only works listed for
Dio by Suidas are four that are mentioned nowhere else.

Lexicon: Dio son of Pasicrates, citizen of Prusa,
sophist and philosopher, whom men called Chrysostom.
He affected solemnity to the extent of actually ap-
ppearing in public wearing a lion's skin. He had a
lean body. He spent his time for the most part in
the society of the emperor Trajan, so that he even
sat beside him in the imperial carriage. Writings: Is the Universe Perishable?; In Praise of Heracles and Plato; Against Plato in Defence of Homer, four books; On the Virtues of Alexander, eight books.

9. Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan

The Younger to the emperor Trajan and the emperor's reply,
DIO CHRYSOSTOM

are of interest for several reasons. Both documents belong to the year 112, when Pliny was proconsul of Bithynia, and they supply for Dio's career the latest date for which we have sure evidence. They also confirm Dio's words as to the political tension prevalent in Prusa and the petty jealousies and bickering which he encountered upon his return from exile. They are of special interest in connexion with Or. 45 and Or. 47, which deal with the building project to which Pliny

LXXXI [LXXXV]

C. Plinius Traiano Imperatori

Cum Prusae ad Olympum, domine, publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacarem, Asclepiades magistratus indicavit appellantum me a Claudio Eumolpo. Cum Cocceianus Dion in bule adsignari civitati opus cuius curam egerat vellet, tum Eumolpus adsistente Flavio Archippo dixit exigen-
dam esse a Dione rationem operis, ante quam rei
publicae traderetur, quod aliter fecisset ac debuisset.
Adiecit etiam esse in eodem opere positam tuam
statuam et corpora sepulorum, uxoris Dionis et filii,
postulavitque, ut cognoscerem pro tribunali. Quod
cum ego me protinus facturum dilaturumque pro-
fectionem dixissem, ut longiorem diem ad instruendam
causam darem, utque in alia civitate cognoscerem,
petiit. Ego me auditurum Nicaeae respondi. Ubi
cum consedissem cogniturus, idem Eumolpus tam-
quam adhuc parum instructus dilationem petere
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refers and give a vivid picture of the hostile opposition against which Dio had to struggle, one specimen of which is contained in the Pliny-Trajan correspondence. Trajan’s rather brusque reply may indicate impatience over the attempt to harass his old friend Dio, an impatience in no wise diminished, no doubt, because the Archippus who instigated the present trouble had previously been the occasion of annoyance to the emperor, as we learn from Pliny, Letters x. 58-60.

LXXXI [LXXXV]

Gaius Pliny to the Emperor Trajan

While at Prusa near Olympus, sire, I was in my quarters attending to public business, planning that same day to take my departure, Asclepiades the magistrate made known that an appeal had been made to me by Claudius Eumolpus. When Cocceianus Dio in the Council desired to have turned over to the municipality a work which he had had in charge, Eumolpus, acting in the interest of Flavius Archippus, said that an accounting for the work should be demanded of Dio before it was turned over to the commonwealth, alleging that Dio had acted otherwise than he should have done. He added that the same structure contained a statue of you and also corpses which had been interred there, to wit, those of Dio’s wife and son, and he demanded that I conduct a judicial investigation. When I said I would do so forthwith and would postpone my departure, he begged that I allow him more time to prepare his case and that I hold the hearing in a different city. I replied that I would hear the case at Nicaea. When I took my seat there to hold the hearing, the aforesaid Eumolpus, as if still insufficiently prepared, began to ask for postponement;
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coepit, contra Dion, ut audiretur, exigere. Dicta sunt utrimque multa etiam de causa. Ego cum dandam dilationem ad te consulendum existimarem in re ad exemplum pertinenti, dixi utrique parti, ut postulationum suarum libellos darent. Volebam enim te ipsorum potissimum verbis ea quae erant proposita cognoscere. Et Dion quidem se daturum dixit, at Eumolpus respondit complexurum se libello quae rei publicae peteret, ecterum quod ad sepultos pertineret non accusatorem se sed advocatum Flavi Archipippi, cuius mandata pertulisset. Archippus, qui Eumolpo sicut Prusiade adsistebat, dixit se libellum daturum. At

1 nee Eumolpus nec Archippus quamquam plurimis diebus expectatis adhuc mihi libellos dederunt; Dion dedit, quem huic epistulae iunxi. Ipse in re prae senti fui et vidi tuam quoque statuam in bibliotheca positam, id autem, in quo dicuntur sepulti filius et uxor Dionis, in area collocatum, quae Porticibus includitur. Te, domine, rogo, ut me in hoc prae cipue genere cognitionis regere digneris, cum aliqui magna sit expectatio, ut necesse est in ea re, quae et in confessum venit et exemplis defenditur.

LXXXII [LXXXVI]

Traianus Plinio S.

Potuisti non haerere, mi Secunde carissime, circa id de quo me consulendum existimasti, cum pro-

1 At Schaefer: Ita.
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Dio, on the contrary, demanded that the hearing proceed. Many statements were made by both parties, even about the case. Since I believed that a postponement should be granted in order to consult you in a matter bearing on precedent, I told both parties to present their demands in writing. You see, I wanted you to learn from their own words preferably the claims which had been put forward. And Dio, indeed, said that he would do as requested, but Eumolpus answered that he would put in writing what he was asking in behalf of the commonwealth, but that with regard to the buried bodies he was not the accuser but rather the attorney of Flavius Archippus, whose orders he had executed. Archippus, who was assisting Eumolpus as he had at Prusa, said that he would present the memorial. However, neither Eumolpus nor Archippus, despite very many days of waiting, has up to the present handed me the memorials; Dio has presented his, and I append it to this letter. I myself visited the spot, and I saw your statue also in position in the library; however, the place where the bodies of Dio's son and wife are said to have been buried is located in a vacant space surrounded by colonnades. I ask you, sire, to see fit to direct me in this kind of inquiry especially, since of itself the case has aroused great public interest, as is inevitable in a matter which is both well known and supported by precedents.

LXXXII [LXXXVI]

Trajan to Pliny, greetings

You might have suffered no perplexity, my very dear Secundus, regarding the matter about which
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positum meum optime nosses non ex metu nee terrore hominum aut erimribus maiestatis reverentiam nominis meo adquirendi. Omissa ergo ea quaestione, quam non admitterem, etiam si exemplis adiuvaretur, ratio potius operis effecti sub cura Coceiani Dionis exuetatur, cum et utilitas civitatis exigat, nee aut recuset Dion aut debeat recusare.
you thought I should be consulted, since you knew very well my purpose not to secure respect for my name through men's fear or dread or by means of charges of high treason. Putting aside, therefore, that point at issue, which I would not entertain even if it were sustained by precedents, rather let the accounting for the work executed under the supervision of Coceeanus Dio be thoroughly investigated, since the advantage of the municipality demands it and Dio neither refuses nor should refuse.
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