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DIO CHRYSOSTOM
DISCOURSES 31–36



Translated by
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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

DISCOURSES 34-36
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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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PREFACE

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

THE EDITORS.

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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE THIRTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: THE RHODIAN ORATION

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

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

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

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

After the founding of this city the prosperity and political importance of the island steadily increased. It threw off the yoke of Athens in the Social War, 357-354, and although it submitted first to Mausolus of Caria and then later to Alexander the Great, it reasserted its independence after the latter's death, greatly expanded its trade, and became

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more powerful than before, so that its standard of coinage and its code of maritime law became widely accepted in the Mediterranean. In 305-4 the city successfully withstood a siege by the redoubtable Demetrius Poliorcetes, who by means of his formidable fleet and artillery attempted to force the city into an active alliance with King Antigonos. On raising the siege Demetrius presented the Rhodians with his mighty siege-engines, from the sale of which they realized enough to pay for the Colossus, the celebrated statue of the Sun-god, one hundred and five feet high, which was executed by Chares of Lindus and stood at the entrance of the harbour.

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

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

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life there; and in this city both Cicero and Caesar in their youth studied rhetoric under Apollonius Molo.

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

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

Von Arnim thinks that this address was not actually delivered, that it was merely written. The Rhodians, he says, met in Assembly to deal with matters of state, would not have been willing to listen to such a "long-winded exhortation" on a subject not on the order of the day. He points also to the unusually careful avoidance of hiatus. Lemarchand, on the other hand, who believes that we have here at least two addresses by Dio on the same subject, which were later made into one by some editor (perhaps by Dio himself, who then carefully removed cases of hiatus), thinks that at least the first address was actually delivered. He feels that the speech is not a unit on account of the numerous repetitions and contradictions in it which he lists, and on account of two different styles and tones, the one dry and dull, the other vigorous and at times impassioned.

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Von Arnim, in attempting to date this Discourse, takes into account three factors: Rhodes is a free city (see for example §§ 111-113), Nero is dead (as may be inferred from §§ 148-150), and the Discourse shows Dio as a sophist, yet not hostile to philosophy, as he was in early life according to Synesius. To be sure Rhodes was free until 70 or 71 of our era, but he feels that even then Dio, who would have been about twenty-four years old, he says (about thirty would be nearer the truth if Dio was born about A.D. 40), would still have been too immature to compose such a speech as this. Therefore he would put this speech in the reign of Titus, when, as he attempts to show, Rhodes regained its freedom for a time.

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

ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

31. ΡΟΔΙΑΚΟΣ

- 1 Εἰκὸς μὲν ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥόδιοι, τοὺς πολλοὺς
ὕμῶν ἐμὲ νομίζειν ὑπὲρ ἰδίου τινὸς πράγματος
ἐντευζόμενον ὑμῖν ἀφίχθαι· ὥστε ἐπειδὰν αἰσθηθε
τῶν ὑμετέρων τι κοινῶν ἐγχειροῦντα ἐπανορθοῦν,
δυσχερανεῖτε ἴσως, εἰ μήτε πολίτης ὢν μήτε
κληθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἔπειτα ἀξιῶ συμβουλεύειν,
καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ὢν σκεψόμενοι συνελη-
2 λύθατε. ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν μὲν ὑμῖν ἀκούσασιν ἢ μηδὲν
τῶν δεόντων ἢ περὶ τινος τῶν μὴ πάνυ ἀναγκαίων
φανῶ λέγων, δικαίως ἂν ἀμφοτέρᾳ φημι δόξειν,
ἅμα εὐήθης καὶ περίεργος· ἐὰν δ' ὥς οἶόν τε
καὶ περὶ μεγίστου πράγματος, καὶ τούτου σφόδρα
φαύλως ἔχοντος, ὥστε δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ διαβεβλήσθαι καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντας καθ' ἐν τούτῳ δόξης οὐ
προσηκούσης τυγχάνειν, εἰκότως ἂν μοι χάριν
ἔχοιτε καὶ νομίζοιτε εὖνουν ἑαυτοῖς. δῆλον
γὰρ ὥς εἰ καὶ ¹ μὴ πάνυ τις ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾷ, τοῖς

¹ καὶ added by Cohoon.

¹ The application is obviously to Dio himself.

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It is reasonable to suppose, men of Rhodes, that the majority of you are thinking that I have come to talk to you about some private matter ; consequently, when you perceive that I am attempting to set right a matter which concerns your own general interests, you will perhaps be vexed that I, who am neither a citizen nor have been invited to come here, yet venture to offer advice, and that too concerning no one of the subjects for the consideration of which you have assembled. But for my part, if after hearing me you find that the topic on which I am speaking is either inappropriate or not altogether urgent, I say that I shall be rightly regarded as both foolish and officious. But if you find that my topic is really of the greatest possible importance, and, furthermore, that the situation of which I speak is very bad indeed, so that the state as such is in evil repute on that account, and that you yourselves, one and all, though you bear a good reputation in everything else, in this one matter do not enjoy the general esteem to which you are entitled, you would have good reason to be grateful to me and to regard me as a true friend of yours. For it is evident that even if any person¹ is not altogether content with you, the

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γε ἄλλοις οὐθὲν μέλει δήπου τῶν ὑμῖν τινα φερόν-
 3 τῶν αἰσχύνῃ ἢ βλάβῃ. οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον, εἰ
 μὲν ἀργυρίον τις ὑμῖν ἐχαρίζετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ,
 ξένος ἢ μέτοικος, τοῦτον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἡγείσθε
 περίεργον, ὅτι, μηδὲν προσήκειν δοκῶν, ἐφιλοτι-
 μέιτο μηδ' ὑμῶν ἀπαιτούντων, συμβουλευόντος
 δέ τι τῶν χρησίμων δυσχερέστερον ἀκούσεσθε,
 ὅς ἂν μὴ τύχῃ κληθεὶς ἢ μὴ πολίτης ὑπάρχῃ;
 καίτοι χρημάτων μὲν οὐθ' ὑμεῖς σφόδρα ἴσως ἐν
 τῷ παρόντι δείσθε, καὶ μυρίους ἔστιν εὐρεῖν,
 οἷς μᾶλλον ἂν¹ ἀφελέσθαι² τῶν ὄντων συνέφερε·
 γνώμης δὲ ἀγαθῆς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὁ μὴ δεόμενος
 ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον, οὐδ'
 ὁ κάλλιστα πράττειν δοκῶν.

4 Εἰ μὲν οὖν περί τινος τῶν προκειμένων ἔλεγον,
 οὐθὲν ἂν³ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τηλικούτον ὠφελεῖσθε· εἰκὸς
 γὰρ ἦν καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τὸ δέον εὐρεῖν σκο-
 ποῦντάς γε ἅπαξ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ οὗ μηδὲ ζη-
 τεῖτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅπως ποτὲ ἔχει,⁴ τοῦτό φημι
 δείξειν αἰσχιστα γιγνόμενον, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶην
 παντελῶς ὑμῖν χρήσιμον πρᾶγμα πεποιηκώς,
 εἰ ἂν ἄρα μὴ φανῶ ψευδόμενος; νομίζω δ'
 ἔγωγε πάντα μὲν προσήκειν ἀποδέχεσθαι τῶν δι'
 εὐνοϊαν ὁτιοῦν λεγόντων καὶ μηδένα ὀχληρὸν

¹ ἂν added by Emperius, Geel.

² ἀφελέσθαι Cohoon, ἀφειδοῦσι Weil, Naber, Schwartz, ἀποβαλοῦσι Geel: ἀφελουσι.

³ ἂν added by Reiske.

⁴ ἔχει Reiske: ἔξει BM, ἔξει U.

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

Now if I were speaking about one of the questions which are before you, you would not be so greatly benefited by me, for you would be reasonably sure to arrive at the proper conclusion by yourselves if you were once to consider the problem. But since, in discussing a matter concerning which you are not even making any attempt at all to ascertain what the situation is, I assert that I shall prove that it is being most disgracefully managed, shall I not have done you an altogether useful service—that is, if I shall, indeed, prove not to be misrepresenting the facts? And what I think myself is, that it is right to welcome any man who, moved by a spirit of friendliness, has anything whatever to say, and to regard no such one

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ποιεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, μάλιστα δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ῥόδιοι. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τούτου χάριν σύνιτε βουλευόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐ καθάπερ ἄλλοι δυσκόλως καὶ διὰ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων τινὲς εἶναι δοκούντων, ὅπως ὑμῖν ἢ σχολὴ περὶ πάντων ἀκούειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀνεξέταστον παραλίπητε.

- 5 Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον προειπεῖν, ὥστε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸ βαδιούμαι, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν, ὅτι μοι προσήκειν δοκεῖ πάντα μὲν πράττειν δικαίως καὶ καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον, ἄλλως τε τοὺς δημοσίᾳ ποιούντας ὅτιοῦν, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοινὰ ὑπάρχει φανερώτερα, ὧν ἂν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ πράττη μὴ δέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκείνο ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμαρτήματα οὐκ εὐθύς ἀποφαίνει τὴν πόλιν φαύλην, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοσίᾳ γιγνομένων οὐχ ὅν προσήκει τρόπον ἀνάγκη δοκεῖν καὶ τοὺς
- 6 καθ' ἓνα μοχθηρούς. ὅποιοι γὰρ ἂν ᾧσιν οἱ πλείους ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, τοιοῦτο φαίνεται καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἦθος· τὰ γὰρ τούτοις ἀρέσκοντα ἰσχύει δήπουθεν, οὐχ ἕτερα. μάλιστα δ' ἂν φαίην ἔγωγε τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ σεμνοτάτοις οἰκείον εἶναι χρῆσθαι προσέχοντας· παρ' οἷς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμελεῖται, καὶ κακίαν τινὰ ἐμφαίνει τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε ἄλλων οὐδὲν οἷόν τε ἐπιτηδείως
- 7 πράττεσθαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξηρημένων, ἃ δεῖ μέγιστα ἡγεῖσθαι, τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κάλλιον οὐδὲ δικαιότερον ἢ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τῶν εὖ ποιησάντων

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as a nuisance, and especially, that you, men of Rhodes, should do so. For evidently the reason that you come together to deliberate every day and not, as other people do, reluctantly and at intervals and with only a few of you who are regarded as free-born being present, is that you may have leisure to hear about all matters and may leave nothing unexamined.

So much it was necessary to say by way of preface in order that you might understand the situation at the very beginning; and now I shall proceed to the subject itself, after simply adding that I think it is our duty to conduct all the affairs of life justly and honourably, and especially is it the duty of those who do anything in the name of the people; not only because official acts are more readily observed than private misdeeds, but also because, while the mistakes of persons in private station do not at once put the city in a bad light, improper action in public affairs inevitably causes every individual citizen to be looked upon as a knave. For in a democracy the character of the majority is obviously the character of the state, since it is their will, surely, and no one's else, that prevails. And I myself would venture to say that it is especially fitting that the majority should scrupulously observe the noblest and most sacred obligations; for in the state where such considerations are neglected, such neglect even reveals a sort of vicious defect in the body politic and no other matter can be properly administered. Furthermore, if we except the honours which we owe the gods, which we must regard as first in importance, of all other actions there is nothing nobler or more just than to show honour to our good men and to keep in remembrance those who have served us well—

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μεμνησθαι νομίζω μηδὲ λόγου δεῖσθαι· καίτοι καὶ τὸ συμφέρον οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τούτῳ τις ἂν ἴδοι. τοὺς γὰρ σπουδαίους ὄντας περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ τοῖς ἡγαπηκόσι δικαίως χρωμένους πάντες ἡγοῦνται χάριτος ἀξίους καὶ βούλοιτ' ἂν ἕκαστος ὠφελεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ¹ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς εὐνοοῦντας καὶ συμπράττοντας, ὅταν ἢ καιρός, καὶ πόλις πᾶσα καὶ ἰδιώτης ἀσφαλέστερον διάγει.

- 8 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἡγεῖσθε, ἄνδρες Ῥόδιοι, πάνυ φαύλως παρ' ὑμῖν ἔχοντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀξίως, τὰ περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας λέγω καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἀρχῆθεν ὑμῶν οὕτω τῷ πράγματι χρωμένων—πόθεν; τοῦναντίον γάρ, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑμετέρων διαφερόντως ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο καὶ θαυμάσειεν, οὕτω μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ τιμῆς μάλιστα προνοῆσαι· γνοίη δ' ἂν τις εἰς τὸ τῶν εἰκόνων πλήθος ἀπιδῶν—μοχθηροῦ δὲ ἄλλως κατεσχηκότος ἔθους ἔκ τινος χρόνου, καὶ μήτε τιμωμένου λοιπὸν παρ' ὑμῖν μηδενός, εἰ βούλεσθε τᾶληθές εἶδέναι, τῶν τε πρότερον γεναίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν προθύμων, οὐκ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέων καὶ τινων δήμων ὑβριζομένων καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἀποστερουμένων. 9 ὅταν γὰρ ψηφίσησθε ἀνδριάντα τινί· ῥαδίως δὲ ὑμῖν ἔπεισι τοῦτο νῦν ὥς ἂν ἄφθονον ὑπάρχον·

¹ ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Emperius : ἐκάστου M, ἐκάστους καὶ UB.

¹ For this practice elsewhere cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 6. 1. 26, *Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. volo esse aliquod monumentum. odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum.* See also Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 60; Favorinus in Dio 37. 40; Pausanias 2. 17. 3; Dio Cassius 59. 28; 63. 11; Philo, *Legatio in Gaium* 20; Pliny the Elder *H.N.* 35. 2. 4.