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DIO CHRYSOSTOM
DISCOURSES 37–60



Translated by
H. LAMAR CROSBY

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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THE THIRTY - SEVENTH DIS- COURSE : THE CORINTHIAN ORATION

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

The most detailed information regarding Favorinus is provided by Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 1. 8, though Aulus Gellius, who had studied under Favorinus, often praises his learning. Favorinus was a native of Arelatè (Arles). He may have obtained his early education at Marseilles, where he could have acquired that facility with the Greek language of which he was so proud (§§ 25, 26, 33). According to Philostratus, he was said to have listened to Dio, but to have been "as far removed from him as those who hadn't." He created a great stir in Rome, even among those who knew no Greek but were "charmed by the sound of his voice, the significance of his glance, and the rhythm of his tongue."

Favorinus at first enjoyed the favour of Hadrian, but he lost it, at least for a time, when accused of adultery with the wife of a consul. In consequence, the Athenians threw down the bronze statue with which they had honoured him. It is perhaps that incident to which he makes veiled allusion in § 35. One infers from §§ 32-36 that Corinth had taken similar

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action for the same reason, but the peroration, in which the speaker seems to be apostrophizing the missing statue, is very mystifying. A literal reading of the passage would lead to the supposition that there is some hocus pocus by means of which the statue is suddenly placed on view, a prearranged unveiling, as it were. However, Edmonds may be right (*Lyra Graeca*, I p. 237, L.C.L.) in identifying the σιγηλὸν εἶδωλόν of § 46 with the oration then being delivered rather than with any statue, real or imaginary. In that case Favorinus might be regarded as dedicating his address to posterity. That he had escaped punishment at the hands of Hadrian might be inferred from the confident tone of §§ 34 and 35, even if we lacked the express testimony of Philostratus. That he should have travelled widely was to be expected in the case of a man of his calling and reputation, and he refers to his travels with much pride in §§ 26 and 27. His most famous pupil was doubtless Herodes Atticus, whom he made his heir.

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

ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

87. ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ

- 1 Ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρα, ἀφ' οὗ δέκα ἔτη σχεδόν, καὶ τῶν λόγων μετέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις, ἔδοξα ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι ἔτι δ' οἰκεῖος¹ ὑμῖν οὕτω σφόδρα ὥς οὐδὲ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος. Ἀρίονος μὲν γε τύπον οὐκ ἐποιήσασθε. ὅταν δὲ ὑμᾶς λέγω, τοὺς προγόνους λέγω τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου τὸν σοφόν, ἐφ' οὗ Ἀρίων ἐγένετο, ὃς² καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε καὶ ὠνόμασε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ.
- 2 Θεοφιλὴς μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἦν ὥστε ἀναπλέων ἐνταῦθα μετὰ χρημάτων μεγάλων, ὧν ἔτυχεν εἰργασμένος περὶ Τάραντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείσε Ἑλληνας, μέλλων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὸ τῶν πορθμέων ἐκπεσεῖν δι' αὐτά που ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα, παρητήσατο αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἄσαι, ὥσπερ φασὶ

¹ οἰκεῖος added by Capps; Wilamowitz deletes ἔτι δέ.

² ὃς] omitted by Arnim with M m. pr.

¹ On the north coast of Lesbos.

² Periander was generally included among the Seven

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WHEN I visited your city the first time, nearly ten years ago, and gave your people and magistrates a sample of my eloquence, I seemed to be on friendly, yes intimate, terms with you to a degree not equalled even by Arion of Methymnê.¹ At any rate you did not have a statue made of Arion. Of course when I say you, I am speaking of your forebears and of Periander the sage,² son of Cypselus, in whose day Arion flourished, being the first not only to compose a dithyramb³ but also to call it by that name and to present a dithyrambic chorus in Corinth.

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

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

¹ The dithyramb was a choral song in honour of Dionysus. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449 a, finds in it the germ of tragedy.

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τοὺς κύκνους μέλλοντας ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ προορω
μένους τὸν θάνατον ἐμβιβάζειν τὴν ψυχὴν οἶον εἰς
3 ὄχημα τὸ μέλος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦδε· καὶ γὰρ ἦν νηνεμία
καὶ σιγὴ κατὰ θάλατταν· καὶ τὸ μέλος ἦσθοντο¹
δελφῖνες, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὤρμησαν.¹
παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίονος καὶ τῶν πορθμέων
οὐδὲν μαλακὸν² ἐνδιδόντων, ὁ μὲν ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν
πόντον, δελφὶς δ' ὑπελθὼν ἐξεκόμισε τὸν ὥδον ἐπὶ
Ταίναρον ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ. Ἀρίων μὲν οὖν
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σωθεὶς καὶ φθάσας τοὺς πορθ-
μέας ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα διηγούμενος
4 τῷ Περιάνδρῳ. ἐπικαταγομένων δὲ τῶν πορθμέων
καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀχθέντος εἰς ἔλεγχον, οἱ μὲν
ἀπέθνησκον, Ἀρίων δέ, οὐ γὰρ Περιάνδρος, ἀλλ'
Ἀρίων, ποιησάμενος μίμημα χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα
ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Ταινάρου,³ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐεργέτου
καθήμενον.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ
Σόλων μὲν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, φεύγων τὴν Πεισιστράτου
5 τυραννίδα, οὐ φεύγων δὲ τὴν Περιάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ
ἦν ὁμοιον· ὁ μὲν καταλύσας τὴν δημοκρατίαν
ἐτυράννευε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Περιάνδρος δὲ παρὰ
τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, ὃν οἱ μὲν

¹ περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὤρμησαν Capps, περὶ τὴν ναῦν ἦσαν Herwerden,
περιένευσαν Naber, περὶ τὴν ναῦν συνῆσαν Arnim: περὶ ναῦν ἦσαν,

² μαλακὸν] μᾶλλον UB.

³ καὶ after Ταινάρου deleted by Emperius.

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swans about to die and foreseeing their death are wont, as it were, to put their soul on board "the bark of song."¹ So then he sang—calm and silence brooded on the deep—and dolphins heard his song, and as they heard it they rushed about the ship. And when Arion ceased and the sailors showed no relenting, he leaped into the sea; but a dolphin rose beneath him and carried the singer in safety to Taenarum² just as he was, gear and all. So then Arion, saved in this manner and having outstripped the sailors, was in Corinth narrating these very happenings to Periander. And when the sailors later entered port and the matter was brought to trial, the sailors were put to death, but Arion—not Periander, mark you, but Arion—ordering a bronze likeness of no great size, set it up at Taenarum, a likeness of himself astride the back of his benefactor.³

And about this same time Solon too came to Corinth, fleeing from the tyranny of Peisistratus,⁴ but not from that of Periander. No, for that was a different matter—while Peisistratus¹ was tyrant of Athens through having destroyed the democracy, Periander was tyrant through having received the royal power by inheritance from his father, whom the

¹ Possibly a reminiscence of Pindar, frag. 89: ὄχημα ἀοιδᾶν.

² Southernmost cape of Laconia, mod. Cape Matapan.

³ We meet this famous tale first in Herodotus (1. 23-24), who, however, does not tell of the execution of the pirates or who ordered the statue. Pausanias says the quaint monument was still at Taenarum in his day. Aelian, *H.A.* 12. 45, preserves the dedicatory inscription:

ἀθανάτων πομπαῖσιν Ἀρίονα Κυκλέος υἱὸν
ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.

⁴ This visit of Solon is nowhere else recorded.

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Ἕλληνες τύραννον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ βασιλέα. ἥ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ χρησμὸς ἔχει;

ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον εἰσαφικάνει,
Κύψελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου,
αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες.

6 ὧν εἰς αὐτὸς ὁ Περίανδρος ὁ τῷ πατρὶ ἐκδεξά-
μενος. οὕτω δὴ Περίανδρος, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ
βασιλεὺς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνηγορεύθη σοφός·
οὐ μείζον ὄνομα οὐδεὶς πώποτε βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραν-
νος ἐκτήσατο· ἀλλ' οὐδ' Ἀντίοχος ὁ θεὸς ἐπι-
κληθεὶς οὐδὲ¹ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Διόνυσος. ἤϋξατο δ'
ἂν καὶ Πιπτακὸς Μυτιληναῖος ἅμα ἅμφω κεκλη-
σθαι καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφός· νυνὶ δὲ περιεχόμενος
τοῦ δευτέρου ὀνόματος ἀπεσκευάσατο τὴν τυραν-
νίδα. καίτοι² Περίανδρος σοφὸς μὲν ἦν μετ'
ὀλίγων, τύραννος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν· ἀμφοτέρω δὲ
7 καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφὸς μόνος. παρὰ τοῦτον ὁ
Σόλων ἐλθὼν καὶ τυχῶν τῶν κοινῶν· κοινὰ γὰρ
τὰ φίλων· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀνδριάντος οὐκ ἔτυχεν, οὐ
δήπου καταφρονῶν ἀνδριάντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ³ ἐν
Σαλαμῖνι χαλκοῦς ἐστάναι μέγα ποιούμενος· πό-
θεν γε δὴ οὐχὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος; ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς ὡς
ὑμᾶς λόγους φέρων Ἑλληνικοὺς ἄλλους τε καὶ

¹ οὐδὲ Emperius : οὔτε.

² καίτοι Crosby : καί, which Arnim deletes.

³ καὶ τὸ Reiske : καίτοι.

¹ *Tyrant* at first meant merely absolute ruler. Homer records several instances in which divine names were different from human names, e.g., *Iliad* 1. 403-404 and 2. 813-814.

² Cf. Herodotus 5. 92.

³ I.e., Antiochus II (286-246 B.C.).

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Greeks were wont to call tyrant, though the gods called him king.¹ For is not this the way the oracle has it ?

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

One of these children was Periander himself, who succeeded his father. So then Periander, called king by the god, was proclaimed a sage by the Greeks. No better title did any king or tyrant ever gain, no, not even Antiochus, surnamed Divine,³ nor Mithridates, surnamed Dionysus.⁴ And even Pittacus of Mitylenê might have been proud to be called at one and the same time both tyrant and sage ; but, as a matter of fact, in clinging to the second title he stripped himself of his tyranny.⁵ Yet as for Periander, while he shared the name of sage with a few and that of tyrant with many, as both tyrant and sage he stood alone. Well then, when Solon visited Periander and received a share of their common possessions—for the possessions of friends are held in common⁶—still he received no statue, though surely he did not disdain a statue, no, he esteemed highly the honour of having had a bronze likeness of himself set up at Salamis⁷ ; then why not so at Corinth, the promenade of Hellas ? Again, Herodotus the historian also paid you a visit, bringing tales of Greece,

¹ Mithridates Eupator (132–63 B.C.). Appian and Plutarch attest the surname.

² Elected *aezymnetes* in 589 B.C., he resigned ten years later.

³ A familiar proverb ; cf. Euripides, *Orestes* 735.

⁷ Aeschines, in *Timarchum* 25, says the statue stood in the market-place of Salamis.

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Κορινθίους οὐδέπω ψευδεῖς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἡξίου παρὰ τῆς πόλεως μισθὸν ἄρнуσθαι. διαμαρτῶν δὲ καὶ τούτου· οὐ γὰρ ἡξίουں οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι δόξαν ἀγοράζειν· μετεσκεύασεν ἐκεῖνα ἃ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, τὰ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον.

8 Ἡμᾶς δὲ δις ἐπιδημήσαντας οὕτως ἀσμένως ἐπείδετε¹ ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν² ἐπειρᾶσθε κατέχειν, ὀρώντες δὲ ἀδύνατον ὄν, ἀλλὰ γε³ τὴν εἰκὼ τοῦ σώματος ἐποιήσασθε καὶ ταύτην φέροντες ἀνεθήκατε εἰς τὰ βιβλία, εἰς προεδρίαν, οὐ μάλιστ' ἂν ᾤεσθε τοὺς νέους προκαλέσασθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔχεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καταιρόντων εἰς Κεγχρεᾶς ἔμπορον ἢ θεωρὸν ἢ πρεσβευτὴν ἢ διερχόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς⁴ μόλις διὰ μακρῶν χρόνων ἀγαπητὸν ἐπιφαινόμενον, οὕτως ἐτιμήσατε.

9 τιμὴ δ' ἡὔτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.

ὥστε ἐμὲ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθεστάναι καὶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ νῆ Δία ἤδη πρὸς ἕτερον, πότερ' ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἔβλεπον, οὐδὲ ὕπαρ ἀλλὰ ὄναρ ἦν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἦν ταῦτα ταῖς πάσαις ἀκριβεΐαις, σπουδὴ τε τοῦ⁵ πλήθους καὶ κρίσις τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ δ' ἀνδριᾶς τῶν Δαιδάλου ποιημάτων ἔτυχεν ὧν

¹ ἐπείδετε Reiske : ἐπειδήγε.

² ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν Emperius : ὡς ἂν μάλιστά με.

³ γε Selden : καὶ.

⁴ ἀλλ' ὡς Casaubon : ἄλλως.

⁵ τοῦ Reiske : τις.

¹ Herodotus (8. 94) reports the Athenian claim that at the beginning of the battle Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, fled with his contingent. Meeting with an unknown vessel whose crew taunted the Corinthians with cowardice and announced the victory of the Greek forces, he turned

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and in particular tales of Corinth—not yet fallacious tales—in return for which he expected to receive pay from the city. But failing of obtaining even that—for your forebears did not deem it fitting to traffic in renown—he devised those tales we all know so well, the tales about Salamis and Adeimantus.¹

However, in my own case, upon my second visit to Corinth you were so glad to see me that you did your best to get me to stay with you, but seeing that to be impossible, you did have a likeness made of me, and you took this and set it up in your Library, a front-row seat as it were,² where you felt it would most effectively stimulate the youth to persevere in the same pursuits as myself. For you accorded me this honour, not as to one of the many who each year put in at Cenchreae³ as traders or pilgrims or envoys or passing travellers, but as to a cherished friend, who at last, after a long absence, puts in an appearance.

Yet Honour, dreamlike, takes wing and flies away.⁴ Therefore I have come to be perplexed, not only as to my own case, but now, by Heaven, as to that of some one else⁵ as well, wondering whether I did not truly see, and what took place was not the happenings of my waking moments but merely a dream, or whether the events were really so in all detail, both the enthusiasm of the populace and the decision of the Council, and yet, as luck would have it, the statue

back and reached the scene of battle when the action was already decided. Plutarch, *de Herod. malig.* 39, charges Herodotus with unfairness toward Corinth and Adeimantus, but he does not impute to him a mercenary motive.

¹ The privilege of *προεδρία* was highly prized at Athens.

² Port of Corinth on the eastern side of the Isthmus.

³ *Odyssey* 11. 222 Favorinus substitutes *τιμὴ* for *ψυχὴ*.

⁴ I.e., some one else may have had a similar experience.

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10 καὶ λαθὼν ἡμᾶς ἀπέδρα. ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ Δαίδαλος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδεὶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξίκετο τῆς τέχνης μέχρι τοῦ καὶ δρασμὸν ἐμποιεῖν τῷ χαλκῷ· ἀλλὰ διαβεβηκότας μὲν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ὀχουμένους· μένουσι μέντοι οὗτοι πάντες κατὰ σχῆμα καὶ χώραν, καὶ μή τις αὐτοὺς μετακινήσῃ, τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι¹ χαλκὸς ἄδραστος, ἂν καὶ πτερὰ ἔχῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου Περσεύς.

11 Ἵνα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας τέχνης ἢ τῆς Δαιδαλείου, τί παθὼν ἂν ὑμῶν ἀπηλλάγη τῆς πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοὺς δύο θεοὺς φασιν ἐρίσαι, Ποσειδῶνα καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον, τὸν μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς κύριον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος; ἐρίσαντε δὲ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαντε τρίτῳ θεῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, οὗ

πλεῖσται μὲν κεφαλαί, πλεῖσται δέ τε χεῖρες,

τούτῳ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἀμφοτέροι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ² τὴν χώραν ἔχουσιν· οὔτι που μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀμυδρὸν σημεῖον τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας

12 ὑπεροχῆς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι λήξεις τε καὶ κτήσεις τῶν θεῶν κατὰ μόνας εἰσὶν· Ἄργος μὲν Ἥρας, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ Ἀθῆναι· καὶ αὐτῶν γε τούτων τῶν

¹ εἶναι Selden : εἶη.

² καὶ M: τε καὶ UB.

¹ On the miraculous powers of Daedalus, see Plato, *Euthyphro* 11 c.

² This sculptor, like his contemporary Myron, was skilled in depicting movement. The close association of Perseus