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The Consolations of Death
In Ancient Greek Literature

By

SISTER MARY EVARISTUS, M.A.

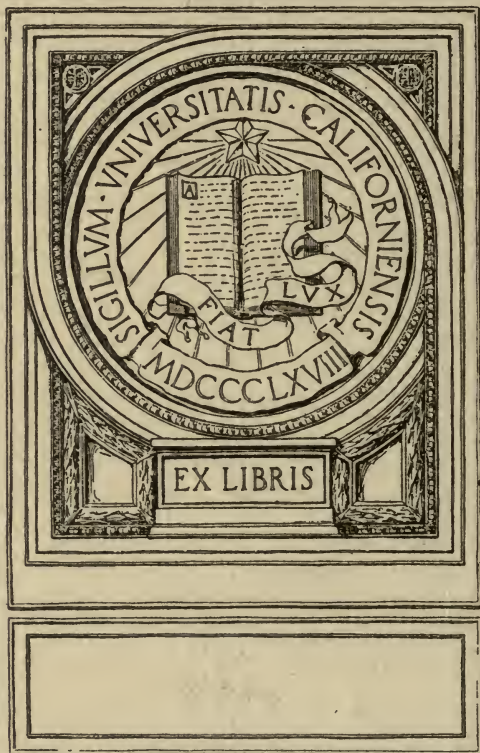
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THE SISTERS OF CHARITY, HALIFAX, N. S.

A DISSERTATION

*Submitted to the Catholic Sisters College of the Catholic
University of America in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy*

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INTRODUCTION

"The whole life of man is full of griefs, nor is there rest from toils,"¹ exclaims Euripides, and again: "There is no nature of man so obdurate which on hearing thy groans and the long complaints of misery would not let fall the tear."² These two sentiments to which Euripides has given expression are the source of a literature of consolation, the beginnings of which are found in the earliest Greek writers, and whose development into a system of topics of consolation adapted to every kind of grief was completed in the classical literature.

Thoughts of consolation are supplied by the poets in words of charming sweetness. Many of them the philosophers have borrowed from the poets and clothed in language of sublime gravity. The rhetoricians in turn have added the magnificent impetus of their rhetorical art and formed for this style of writing certain rules.³ Their development was practically complete by the time of Cicero. Any person, who, in his day, required words of consolation, could have recourse to the charm of the poet, the gravity of the philosopher, and the magnificence of the rhetorician to furnish the material he required. Cicero remarks: "There are particular treatises on banishment, on the ruin of one's country, on slavery, on weakness, on blindness, and on every incident that can come under the name of evil. The Greeks divide these into different treatises and distinct works."⁴

The duties of the consoler were also laid down. Plutarch says, "The discourse that ought to come from friends and people disposed to be helpful should be consolation and not mere assent. For we do not in adverse circumstances need people to weep and wail with us like choruses in a tragedy, but people to speak plainly to us and to instruct us. . . ."⁵

¹ Hipp. 189.

² Hec. 296.

Cf. Androm. 421; Ores. 299; Hipp. 913; Aeschyl., Prom. 240; Ov., El. i, ix.

³ Hieron., Ep. lx, 5, 8.

⁴ Tusc. Disp. iii, xxxiv.

⁵ de Ex. 599B. Cic., T. D. iii, xxxi, thus expresses the same thought—*Haec igitur officia sunt consolantium, tollere aegritudinem funditus, aut sedare, aut detrahere quam plurimum, aut suppressere, nec pati manare longius, aut ad alia mentem traducere.* Cf. Stob., iii, 113; Mein., iv, p. 349, 1.319, 1.326; Ibid., p. 356, 1.577; p. 357, 1.610, p. 359, 1.674.

Death, "the Sleep that is due to all,"⁶ has, from its universality, been the occasion of more consolatory literature than any of the so-called evils of man. The Homeric age was remarkable for its simplicity. The view taken of life was serious but not pessimistic. Little reflection was made on death, which was considered a necessary evil—an evil, however, which should be preferred to a greater evil, an ignoble life. With the development of philosophy the view taken of life assumed a different form. Naturally consequent on this was a change in the view taken of death. The Stoic braved death, even despised it; to him suicide pointed to a means of escape from the miseries of life. To the Epicurean it meant the end of all things. The manner of Socrates' death is explained by his hopes of a future happiness, hopes which contain the germ of the Christian Faith. This changed attitude towards death gave rise to new *τόποι* of consolation.

Unfortunately a large part of the consolatory writings has been lost. Crantor's *Consolatio* is especially to be regretted, for it was highly praised by the ancients; a golden book, Cicero calls it; and Panaetius tells Tubero that this book is worth learning by heart.⁷ This work found many readers, for it treated of sorrow not as a reprehensible emotion as did the Stoics, but rather as a natural impulse requiring only to be kept within bounds. Cicero used it as the basis of his work, and the ps.-Plutarch did the same in his *ad Apolloniam*. A like fate befell Cicero's *Consolatio*,⁸ a work written to assuage his own grief at the death of his beloved daughter Tullia, in which he collected all the various arguments used by consolers on such occasions.⁹

The only critical discussion of this style of literature to which I am indebted has been written by Buresch.¹⁰ This writer has devoted an exhaustive study to the remains of all Consolatory literature down to the Sixth Century A. D.¹¹ He treats of its

⁶ Callimachus, Ep. 17.

⁷ Cic., Acad. Q. II, XLIV.

⁸ The Tusculan Disputations in part supply for the lost *Consolatio*, for Cicero here repeats much said in his earlier work.

⁹ T. D. III, XXXI; IV, XXIX.

¹⁰ Most notable among the other critics is Skutsch, who has given a full analysis of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* with a view to fixing its date. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, Stuttgart, 1901, Vol. IV, p. 394.

¹¹ *Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica*, Lipsiae, 1889.

beginnings, growth and best productions. As above stated, much of the literature of Consolation has been lost. With painstaking fidelity, Buresch has sought out everything in any way suited to restoring the nature and meaning of the lost writings. Many also of the works on this subject remain matter of dispute. He, with the same care, has endeavored to establish the authorship or approximate date of these disputed writings. In sketching the field of his research he suggests a further work—the gathering together and arranging of the individual arguments and topics of Consolation which ancients have used. The scheme of the present thesis has been the following out of this suggestion of Buresch. No attempt has been made in the present writing to view the subject from a philosophical standpoint. Though this at first suggested itself as a possibility, an investigation of the matter disclosed so vast a field for research that it was necessary to limit the subject to one of its various aspects. Nor have the Latin authors been quoted in the text; though they, especially Cicero and Seneca, might perhaps furnish more abundant material. The reason in this instance, as before, is that by their insertion the scope of the thesis would be unduly extended. These authors are, however, freely referred to in the footnotes. Nor has there been any effort to show that in its fullest sense Consolation is found in something far more exalted than philosophy—in Christianity which brings the consciousness of the presence and power of Christ, the dominant feature in religious consolation.

The purpose, therefore, of this treatise is the collection, classification, and arrangement in logical order under the different *τόποι*, of the Consolations of death as expressed in the literature of ancient Greece.

CHAPTER I

THE INEVITABLENESS OF DEATH

The consideration that *death is the common lot of all mankind*, the natural consequence of birth, and that *man*, a creature of a day,¹² as Aeschylus calls him, *must yield to it*, offers a species of consolation to all. This aspect of death, therefore, is distinctly consolatory and will furnish us the first of the τόποι under which the motives affording consolation will be considered.

Examining the passage of Homer in which death is mentioned, we feel constantly that he regarded death as something harsh and evil,¹³ the *deadly doom* which no one who is born escapes.¹⁴ "But swiftly on him came the evil which not one of them could ward off from him although they desired it."¹⁵ "But *harsh fate* devoured me, the fate which was appointed me when I was born."¹⁶ His favorite epithets for death are severe and stern, as "black fate," "evil destiny," "the fates of black death," "of death that lays men low."¹⁷ These allusions to death readily evoke the image of the κῆρ on the Chest of Cypselus described by Pausanias,¹⁸ or of the κῆρες of the Homeric poem, the Shield of Hercules.

With peculiar tenderness and pathos the same poet dwells on the inevitable law of death. This is illustrated in the following passages.

The father of gods and men, deliberating whether he would save his favorite Hector from the avenging hands of Achilles, was chided by Athene: "A man who is mortal, doomed long ago by fate, wouldst thou wish to redeem back from ill-boding death."¹⁹ Hera addressed to him the same reproach when he wished to snatch

¹² Prom. 253, 546, 944. Cf. Eur., Or. 976; Soph., Antig. 790; Pin., Pyth. vii. 95, viii. 135; Bacchy., iii. 76.

¹³ Cf. Odyss. xi. 488; Il. iii. 454.

¹⁴ Odyss. xxiv. 29. μοῖρ' ὀλοή, τὴν οὐ τις ἀλεύεται ὅς κε γένηται. Cf. Hesiod, Theog. 764.

¹⁵ Il. xv. 449. . . . τάχα δ' αὐτῷ

ἦλθε κακόν, τό οἱ οὐ τις ἐρύκακεν ἱεμένων περ.

¹⁶ Il. xxiii. 78. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν κῆρ

ἀμφέχανε στυγερή, ἣ περ λάχε γιγνόμενόν περ.

¹⁷ κῆρ μέλαινα, κακὸς μόρος, κῆρες μέλανος θανάτοιο, et alia.

¹⁸ Paus., v. xix. 6.

¹⁹ Il. xxii. 179. ἀνδρα θνητὸν ἔοντα, πάλαι πεπρωμένον αἴση, ἀψ' ἐθέλεις θανάτοιο δυσσηχέος ἐξαναλῦσαι.

his beloved Sarpedon from the "tearful war."²⁰ And as if to give greater vividness to this impossibility of avoiding Fate we find, "And Eunomus, the augur, yet with all his auguries did not ward off black death; but was vanquished by the hand of the fleet-footed Achilles in the river when he slew the Trojans there and the rest."²¹ Although Axylus had entertained all men, yet there was not one to save him from his doom.²² Nor did the wonderful mace of Ereuthalion²³ or the golden attire of Nastes²⁴ hold back from them in any wise grievous destruction. "Nor yet did it avail aught to the two sons of Merops that their father beyond all men knew soothsaying and would have hindered them from marching to murderous war: for the fates of black death led them on."²⁵ Though Abas and Polyidus were sons of Eurydamus, dreamer of dreams, yet he discerned no dreams for them.²⁶ "Amphiaraus, the rouser of the host, whom Zeus, lord of the aegis, and Apollo loved with all manner of love, yet he reached not the threshold of old age."²⁷ "For, lo you, death, which is the common lot, the gods themselves cannot avert even from the man they love, when the baleful fate of death that lays men at their length, shall bring him low."²⁸ "Thou,

²⁰ Ibid. xvi. 441.

²¹ Il. ii. 858. . . . καὶ Ἑννομὸς οἰωνιστῆς
ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰωνοῖσιν ἐρύσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν,
ἀλλ' ἐδάμῃ ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθι περ Τρῶας κεράϊζε καὶ ἄλλους.

²² Il. vi. 14. . . . φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισι
πάντας γὰρ φιλέεσκεν ὁδῶ ἐπὶ οἰκία ναιῶν.
ἀλλὰ οἱ οὐ τις τῶν γε τότ' ἤρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον
πρόσθεν ὑπαντιάσας.

²³ Il. vii. 143. . . . ὅθ' ἄρ' οὐ κορύνη οἱ ὄλεθρον
χραῖσμε σιδηρεῖη. . . .

²⁴ Il. ii. 872. δ καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόν δ' ἔιν ἦν τε κούρη,
νῆπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
ἀλλ' ἐδάμῃ ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
ἐν ποταμῷ.

²⁵ Il. ii. 833. . . . τῷ δέ οἱ οὐ τι
πεῖθεσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.

²⁶ Il. v. 150. τοῖς οὐκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρον ἐκρίνατ' ὀνείρους,
ἀλλὰ σφέας κρατερὸς Διομήδης ἐξενάριξε.

²⁷ Odyss. xv. 244. . . . λαοσσόν Ἀμφιάραιον
δν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰλίογος καὶ Ἀπόλλων
παντοίην φιλότητ' οὐδ' ἔκετο γήραος οὐδὸν.

²⁸ Ibid. iii. 236. ἀλλ' ἦ τοι θάνατον μὲν ὁμοῖον οὐδὲ θεοὶ περ
καὶ φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ δύνανται ἀλαλκόμεν, ὅπποτε κεν δῇ
μοῖρ' ὅλοῃ καθέλῃσι ταηλεγέος θανάτοιο.

too, Achilles, peer of gods, fate will destroy beneath the wall of the noble Trojans.”²⁹ “Son of Atreus, we said that thou of all heroes wast always dear to Zeus, whose joy is in the thunder, seeing that thou wast lord over many great warriors in the land of the Trojans where we Achaeans suffered afflictions. But deadly doom was to visit thee too, which no one who is born avoids.”³⁰ “I accept death . . . for not the mighty Heracles escaped death, although most dear to Cronian Zeus the king.”³¹

Although in these passages little is said about consolation directly, yet through all there is a note of fatalism which may at any time become a note of comfort. We find this in the words Sarpedon uses for his own encouragement and to urge on his friend Glaucus in the presence of death. “Ah, friend, if having escaped from this war, we were to be ageless and immortal, neither would I myself fight in the foremost ranks, nor would I send thee into war that gives renown; but now ten thousand fates of death beset us, which it is impossible for a mortal to escape or avoid—let us go forward.”³² And again in the words of tenderness with which Thetis endeavors to console Achilles mourning over the body of Patroclus. “My child, the man who lies here we must let be, although we are grieved; for by the will of the god from the beginning was he brought low.”³³

Passages similar to these are found where comfort is derived

²⁹ Il. xxiii. 80. καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ μοῖρα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
τείχει ὑπο Τρώων εὐηγενέων ἀπολέσθαι. Cf. Eur.,
Alc. 987.

³⁰ Odyss. xxiv. 28. ἦ τ' ἄρα καὶ σοὶ πρῶτα παραστήσεσθαι ἐμέλλε
μοῖρ' ὀλοή, τὴν οὐ τις ἀλείεται ὅς κε γένηται.

³¹ Il. xviii. 115. κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι, ὅπποτε κεν δὴ
Ζεὺς ἐθέλῃ τελέσαι ἥδ' ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίῃ Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα,
ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίῳ ἀνακτι.

³² Il. xii. 322. ὦ, πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ', οὔτε κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρῶτοισι μαχοίμην
οὔτε κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν
νῦν δ' ἔμπησ γὰρ κῆρες ἐφρεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαί, ὅς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,
ἴομεν, . . . Cf. Odyss. xvi, 446.

³³ Il. xix. 8. τέκνον ἐμόν, τοῦτον μὲν ἔασομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ
κείσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα θεῶν ἰότητι δαμάσθη.

from the thought that death, though inevitable, cannot come before the time ordained by the gods. "Although we are afflicted we shall not yet go down to the house of Hades before the day of destiny comes."³⁴ It is this the noble Hector uses to comfort his sorrowing wife. "Dear one, do not grieve excessively. For no men will hurl me into Hades against my fate; but I say no man, either coward or valiant, when once he has been born, has fled from destiny."³⁵

But nowhere is the pathos of man's mortality expressed with more wonderful power and strength than in the simple words—"Even as are the generations of leaves, such are those also of men; the wind scatters the leaves on the earth, but the forest budding brings and produces others in the season of spring: thus the generation of men, one produces and another ceases."³⁶ Simonides of Ceos was impressed by the Homeric expression when he wrote, "Nothing among men remains eternally lasting. The man of Chios has well said this one best thing, 'like the generation of leaves, such is the race of men.'"³⁷ Scattered throughout his writings are allusions to this aspect of death. "The strength of man is slight but his troubles are incurable, for a short time labor about labor. Yet unavoidable death threatens him, for an equal share of this is the portion by lot both of the good and the bad."³⁸

³⁴ Odyss. x. 174. ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πω καταδυσόμεθ', ἀχνύμενοί περ, εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους, πρὶν μόρσιμον ἡμάρ ἐπέλθῃ.

³⁵ Il. vi. 486. δαιμονίῃ, μὴ μοί τι λήην ἀκαχίξω θυμῷ.
οὐ γάρ τίς μ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἀνὴρ Ἄϊδι προῖάψει.
μοῖραν δ' οὐ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,
οὐ κακόν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται.

Cf. Il. ix. 320. κάπθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὃ τε πολλὰ ἔοργας.
Aeschyl., Cho. 103; Lysias, Fun. Or. 77; Hor., Od. i. iv. 13; i. xxviii. 19; ii. iii. 21; iii. i. 14; Proper., El. iii. xviii. 21.

³⁶ Il. vi. 146. οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίῃ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη
τηλεθώσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη.
ὥς ἀνδρῶν γενεή ἢ μὲν φύει ἢ δ' ἀπολήγει. Cf. Il. xxi. 463.

³⁷ Bergk, iii. Sim. 85 (60).
(οὐδεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μένει χρῆμ' ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ.)
ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος ξείπεν ἀνὴρ.
οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίῃ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

³⁸ Ibid., 39. (54). ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγον μὲν κάρτος, ἀπρακτοὶ δὲ μελεθδόνες,

"Death comes even to the coward."³⁹ Callinus in his exhortation to battle urges the inevitableness of death as an inspiration to valor. "For in no wise is it fated that a man should escape death, not even if he is of immortal ancestors. Very often escaping the strife of battle and the din of javelins he goes his way, but the fate of death overtakes him in his home."⁴⁰ Demosthenes is imitating Callinus in the striking passage: "For all mankind the end of life is death, even if one shutting himself up in a cage protects himself; but it is necessary for brave men to strive always for all honors, placing good hope before them, and to endure courageously whatever the deity ordains."⁴¹ This strain of pathos at the thought of the mortality of man appears frequently in the Odes of Pindar. "All must die."⁴² "On the rich and the poor alike the end of death falls."⁴³ "For equally comes the wave of death and falls on the fameless and the famed" (or on the unexpected and expectant).⁴⁴ "We all in like manner die, although our lots are different."⁴⁵ Or as Theognis expresses it, "No one by paying a ransom can escape death or heavy disease or severe old age coming

αἰῶνι δὲ παύρῳ πόνος ἀμφὶ πόνῳ.
ὁ δ' ἄφνικτος ὁμῶς ἐπικρέμαται θάνατος.
κείνου γὰρ ἴσον λάχον μέρος οἷ τ' ἀγαθοὶ
ὅστις τε κακός. . . .

³⁹ Ibid., 65. (106). ὁ δ' αὖ θάνατος κίχε καὶ τὸν φυγόμαχον.

⁴⁰ Ibid., ii Cal. 1 (1). 12ff.

οὐ γὰρ πως θανάτον γε φυγεῖν εἰμαρμένον ἐστὶν
ἄνδρ', οὐδ' εἰ προγόνων ἢ γένος ἀθανάτων.
πολλάκι δηϊοτήτα φυγῶν καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων
ἔρχεται, ἐν δ' οἴκῳ μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου.

⁴¹ de Cor. 258. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθεύρας τηρῇ. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως.

⁴² Bergk, i. Ol. i. 82. θανεῖν δ' ἴσιν ἀνάγκη. Cf. Ibid., iii. Diagoras 2; Anth. Lyr., Phanocles 2; Stob., iii. 118; Cons., ad Liv. 357; Sen., ad Marc xvii; Proper., El. ii. xxviii. 58; Ver., Georg. iii. 67; n. 275.

⁴³ Ibid., Nem. vii. 27. ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου πόρον
σάμα νέονται. Cf. Odys. xiii. 59; Pyth.,
Carm. Aur. 15.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Nem. vii. 44. ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται
κῦμ' Ἀΐδα, πέσε δ' ἀδόκητον ἐν καὶ δοκέοντα.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Isth. vii. 59. θνάσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες.
δαίμων δ' αἶσος.

upon him."⁴⁶ In Anacreon also we find mentioned this necessity of death, but, as in many of the odes of Horace, the motive is rather that of the "carpe diem."⁴⁷

There are a number of references in the tragic poets to the inevitableness of death bringing with it the consolatory reflection that the calamity should be borne with calmness. In Euripides (*Hercules Furens* 281), Megara, in spite of her own natural repugnance to death, encourages Amphitryo to meet it nobly. "I think it a dreadful thing to die, yet I consider that mortal foolish who strives against necessity. But since we must die, we ought to die not wasted away by fire furnishing laughter to our enemies."⁴⁸ "Endure with us death, which nevertheless awaits thee. I call upon thy nobleness, old man; for whoever is eager to escape from misfortunes sent by the gods, he is eager but his eagerness is foolish. For what must be no one will make that it must not be."⁴⁹ Under similar circumstances, Euripides (*Orestes* 1022) shows Orestes reproaching Electra for her groans and tears. "Wilt thou not in silence, ceasing from womanish groans, make up thy mind to what is decreed? These things are indeed lamentable, but yet thou must bear thy present fate."⁵⁰ In Euripides' *Alcestis* (614 ff.), Pheres makes use of this

⁴⁶ Max. 727. οὐδ' ἂν ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι οὐδὲ βαρεῖας νούσους οὐδὲ κακὸν γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον. Cf. *Ibid.*, 1010, 1187; Bergk, ii. Solon, 24. (5.) 7; *Ibid.*, ps.-Phoc. 110; Soph., *Antig.* 952; *Proper.*, *El.* iv. xi. 2.

⁴⁷ Bergk, *Anac.* 38. (24); 43. (25.); 34. (23.); 48. (39.); 50. (36); Cf. *Hor.*, *Od.* i. xxviii, xxxv; ii. xiv, xviii; iii. xxiv; iv. vii.

⁴⁸ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν
δεινὸν νομίζω τῷ δ' ἀναγκαίῳ τρόπῳ
ὅς ἀντιτείνει σκαιὸν ἡγοῦμαι βρότον.
ἡμᾶς δ', ἐπειδὴ δεῖ θανεῖν, θνήσκειν χρεῶν
μὴ πυρὶ καταξανθέντας, ἐχθροῖσιν γέλων
διδόντας, . . . Cf. Mull., *Democ.* frg. 44.

⁴⁹ l. 307. τόλμα μεθ' ἡμῶν θάνατον, ὃς μένει σ' ὅμως.
προκαλούμεθ' εὐγένειαν, ὦ γέρον, σέθεν.
τὰς τῶν θεῶν γὰρ ὅστις ἐκμοχθεῖ τύχας,
πρόθυμός ἐστιν, ἢ προθυμία δ' ἄρρων.
ὁ χρὴ γὰρ οὐδεὶς μὴ χρεῶν θῆσει ποτέ. Cf. Jodrell's note on necessity, *Illus. of Eur. Alc.* 259, liii; Campbell, *Soph. frg.* 236.

⁵⁰ οὐ σῖγ' ἀφεῖσα τοὺς γυναικείους γόους
στέρξεις τὰ κραθέντ'; οἰκτρὰ μὲν τὰδ', ἀλλ' ὅμως
(φέρειν σ' ἀνάγκη τὰς παρεστώσας τύχας). Cf. *Mein.*, iv. p. 344. l. 151.

consolation when condoling with Admetus over the loss of his wife. "I come, my son, sympathizing with thee in thy misfortunes, no one will deny that thou hast lost a good and chaste wife. But it is necessary to bear these things although they are hard to bear."⁵¹ And Atossa (Aeschylus, *Persians* 294 ff.) found in it some alleviation for her grief over the misfortunes which had befallen the Persian army. "This calamity is too great for me to speak or enquire about our sufferings. Nevertheless it is necessary for mortals to endure afflictions when the god sends them."⁵² The threat of death did not deter Antigone (Sophocles, *Antigone* 460 ff.) from disobeying the orders of the king and burying her brother. "For I know I must die and why not? Even though you had not proclaimed it; and if I die before my day, I count it gain."⁵³ We have the Chorus, in the same author (*Electra* 860), reminding Electra in her grief that "death is natural to all mankind,"⁵⁴ and again (1171): "thou art begotten of a mortal father, Electra, reflect; and mortal is Orestes; do not lament excessively, for to suffer this is owing to us all."⁵⁵ The ps.-Plato expresses this necessity with even greater emphasis: "Not one of us has been born immortal; nor if this should happen to anyone would he become happy, as it seems to the multitude."⁵⁶ And this fact is

⁵¹ ἦκω κακοῖσι σοῖσι συγκαμνων, τέκνον.
ἐσθλῆς γάρ, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, καὶ σώφρονος
γυναικὸς ἡμάρτηκας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
φέρειν ἀνάγκη καίπερ ὄντα δύσφορα
Cf. *Ibid.*, 1070; *Androm.* 1233; n. 197.

⁵² ὑπερβάλλει γάρ ἡδε συμφορά,
τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη.
ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πημονᾶς βροτοῖς φέρειν
θεῶν διδόντων. Cf. *Campb.*, *Soph.*, *Frag.* 523; *Eur.*, *Hec.*
228.

⁵³ Θανουμένη γὰρ ἐξήδη, τί δ' οὐ;
κεὶ μὴ σὺ κρουκήρυξας. εἰ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου
πρόσθεν θανοῦμαι κέρδος αὐτ' ἐγὼ λέγω.

⁵⁴ πᾶσι θνατοῖς ἔφν μόρος.
Cf. *Sen.*, *Ep.* 99.9. cui nasci contigit, mori restat.

⁵⁵ Θνητοῦ πέφυκας πατρός, Ἥλέκτρα, φρόνει,
Θνητὸς δ' Ὀρέστης.
ὥστε μὴ λιὰν στένε.
(πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν.)

Cf. *Diog. La.*, ii. *Anaxag.* ix; *Xen.* x; *Cons.*, ad *Liv.*, 367.

⁵⁶ *Ep.* vii. 334E. οὔτε γὰρ πέφυκεν ἀθάνατος ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς. οὐτ'
εἴ τῳ ξυμβαίῃ, γένοιτο ἂν εὐδαίμων, ὥς δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς.

borne out by the myth of Tithonus consumed by "cruel immortality" "and longing for the state of happy men who have the power to die."⁵⁷

With effective eloquence Lysias introduces in his *Epitaphios* (77) this motive of consolation. "I do not know why we should grieve over such things. For we are not ignorant that we are all mortal. Why are we afflicted at such events as if one ought not to have expected them? Why support with so much impatience accidents which come from our nature, when we know that death makes no difference between the cowardly and the brave?"⁵⁸

In the passages of Apollonius Rhodius, illustrating this point, a close parallel is seen between his turns of thought and even his expressions and those of Homer. "On the same day a pitiless fate there seized Mopsus, son of Ampycus, and he escaped not a bitter doom by his prophecies, for there is no averting of death."⁵⁹ "And here his destined fate smote Idmon, son of Abas, skilled in soothsaying, but his soothsaying did not save him, since necessity led him on to death."⁶⁰ "They say that Tiphys, son of Hagnias, died; nor was it his destiny to sail any farther. But a short sickness laid him to rest, there on the spot, far from his native land."⁶¹ "I will dare (the contest)," said Aeson, "even if it is my doom to die, for nothing will fall on man more rigorous than dire necessity."⁶²

⁵⁷ Cf. Tennyson's *Tithonus*.

⁵⁸ Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι δεῖ τοιαῦτα ὀλοφύρεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἔλανθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄντες θνητοί. ὥστε τί δεῖ, ἃ πάλαι προσεδοκῶμεν πείσεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων νῦν ἄχθεσθαι, ἢ λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι ὁ θάνατος κοινὸς καὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις; Cf. Cic. ad Fam. iv. 5 where Servius Sulpicius extended this reasoning farther and found consolation from beholding the ruins of former magnificent cities. Polyb., xxxix. 5.

⁵⁹ Argon. iv. 1502. Ἐνθα καὶ Ἀμπυκίδην αὐτῷ ἐνὶ ἡματι Μόψον νηλείης ἔλε πότμος ἄδευκέα δ' οὐ φύγεν αἴσαν μαντοσύναις· οὐ γὰρ τις ἀποτροπή θανάτοιο.

⁶⁰ Ibid. ii. 815. Ἐνθα δ' Ἀβαντιάδην πεπρωμένη ἤλασε μοῖρα Ἰδμονα, μαντοσύνησι κεκασμένον ἀλλὰ μιν οὔτι μαντοσύναι ἐσάωσαν, ἐπεὶ χρεὼ ἦγε δαμῆναι.

⁶¹ Ibid. ii. 854. Ἀγνιάδην Τῖφυν θανέειν φάτις. οὐδὲ οἱ ἦεν μοῖρ' ἔτι ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐκαστέρω. ἀλλὰ νῦ καὶ τὸν αὖθι μινυνθαδὴ πατρὸς ἐκὰς εὐνασε νοῦσος,

⁶² Ibid. iii. 429. τλήσσομαι, εἰ καὶ μοι θανέειν μόρος. οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλο ῥίγιον ἀνθρώποισι κακῆς ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκης,

And when the same hero and his companions killed in mistake the hospitable king of the Doliones, bitter grief seized them. "Yet he filled up the measure of his fate; for it is not lawful for mortals to escape from it."⁶³

The author of the Plutarchian Consolation to Apollonius tells his friend that "each one ought to know that not only he himself is mortal in his nature, but it is the lot for mortal life and things to be quickly changed into the opposite."⁶⁴ "Why is it wonderful . . . if that perishes which by nature is perishable?"⁶⁵ "If therefore anyone is angry when he is dying himself, or resents the death of his children, is it not very plain that he has forgotten that he himself is a man and that he has begotten mortal children? For a man that is sensible cannot be ignorant that man is a mortal creature and born for this, that he must die."⁶⁶ In *de Tranquillitate Animi*, Plutarch dwells on the same thought. "And with regard to things that seem to pain us by their very nature, as sickness and anxieties and the death of friends and children, we should remember that line of Euripides, 'Alas! and why alas? We only suffer what mortals must expect.' For no argument so lays hold of emotion when borne down and dejected as the remembrance of the common and natural necessity to which man is exposed owing to the body, the only part which he gives to fortune; for in his most important and influential part, he is secure."⁶⁷

⁶³ Ibid. i. 1035. μοῖραν ἀνέπλησεν. τὴν γὰρ θέμις οὐποτ' ἀλύξαι θνητοῖσιν.

⁶⁴ 103F. χρή γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν εἶδέναι θνητὸν ὄντα τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι θνητῷ συγκληρός ἐστι βίῳ καὶ πράγμασι ῥαδίως μεθισταμένοις πρὸς τοῦναντίον.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 106D. τί γὰρ θαυμαστόν . . . εἰ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἔφθαρται;

⁶⁶ Ibid. 116B. ὁ οὖν ἢ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ τέκνων ἀποθανόντων ὑπεραγανακτῶν πῶς οὐ καταφανῶς ἐπιλέλησται ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τέκνα θνητὰ ἐγέννησεν; οὐ γάρ ἐστι φρένας ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ὁ ἀνθρωπος ζῶον ἐστὶ θνητόν, οὐδ' ὅτι γέγονεν εἰς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν.

⁶⁷ 475C. πρὸς δὲ τὰ φύσει δοκοῦντα λυπεῖν, οἷα νόσοι καὶ πόνοι καὶ θάνατοι φίλων καὶ τέκνων, ἐκεῖνο τὸ Εὐριπίδειον 'οἴμοι. τί δ' οἴμοι; θνητάτοι πεπόνθαμεν.' οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω τοῦ παθητικοῦ καταφερομένου καὶ ὀλισθάνοντος ἀντιλαμβάνεται λόγος, ὥς ὁ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ φυσικῆς ἀνάμνησιν ποιῶν ἀνάγκης, ἥ διὰ τὸ σῶμα μεμιγμένος ὁ ἀνθρωπος μόνην ταύτην τῇ τύχῃ λαβὴν δίδωσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κυριωτάτοις καὶ μεγίστοις ἀσφαλῆς ἔστηκεν. Cf. n. 99.

CHAPTER II

OTHERS HAVE HAD TO DIE

This fellowship in misfortune is one of the sources of its greatest alleviation. The reflection that *other men have had to die*, that others have had to part with friends, helps to soften grief and moderate tears.⁶⁸ Hence this reflection furnishes a *τόπος* closely connected with the preceding one.

The minstrel, singing the story of the misfortunes of the Danaans who had gone to the Trojan war, recalled even more vividly to the constant Penelope the memories that were wasting her heart with comfortless sorrow; and she begged him to cease such strains and sing other deeds of gods and men. But Telemachus answered that she should allow the minstrel to gladden their hearts as the spirit moved him, for men prize the song which rings newest in their ears—"but let thy heart and mind endure to listen, for not Odysseus only lost in Troy the day of his returning, but other men also perished."⁶⁹

The Chorus, which portrays the pervading sentiment of the action in the dramas, dwells upon this phase of consolation. Repeatedly it reminds Admetus that he is not the only one who has lost a noble wife. "Admetus, thou must bear this calamity; for thou art not the first nor the last of mortals who has lost an excellent wife."⁷⁰ "But puttest thou no bound to thy sorrows? They are heavy to bear but still . . . endure, thou art not the first man that has lost . . . thy wife; but different calamities of mortals strike different men."⁷¹ "Thy wife is dead, she left her love behind: what new thing is this? Death has already destroyed

⁶⁸ Cf. Mullach., Pythag. Frag. 3; Sen., Polyb. i; Cons., ad Liv. 59.

⁶⁹ Odyss. i. 353.

σοὶ δ' ἐπιτολμάτω κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀκούειν
οὐ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς οἷος ἀπώλεσε νόστιμον ἡμαρ
ἐν Τροίῃ, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι φῶτες ὄλοντο.

Cf. Hor., Od. i. xxviii, ii. x, iii. ix.

⁷⁰ Eur., Alc. 416. "Ἀδμητ', ἀνάγκη τάσδε συμφορὰς φέρειν
οὐ γὰρ τι πρῶτος ὃδὲ λίσσῃσι βροτῶν
γυναικὸς ἐσθλῆς ἡμπλακες.

⁷¹ Ibid. 890.—πέρας δὲ γ' οὐδὲν ἀλγέων τίθης . . .
—βαρέα μὲν φέρειν, ὅμως δέ. . . .
—τλᾶθ' οὐ σὺ πρῶτος ὤλεσας. . . .
—γυναῖκα συμφορὰ δ' ἐτέρους ἐτέρα
πιέζει φανεῖσα θνατῶν.

the wives of many.”⁷² This theme is often introduced by the formula *οὐ σοι μόνω*, which at once classifies this *τόπος*. Such is the consolation offered by the Chorus to Theseus in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 834 ff. “Not to thee alone, O king, have these evils happened, but with many others thou hast lost an excellent wife.”⁷³ Lamenting over the sorrows of Hermione, in Euripides, *Andromache* 1041 ff., it enumerates the evils that have fallen on Trojans and Greeks. “Not upon thee alone, not upon thy friends have sad griefs fallen.”⁷⁴ In the same strain it endeavors to comfort Electra, in Sophocles’ play of the same name (153 ff.). “Not on thee alone of mortals, O child, has grief fallen.”⁷⁵ And in passionate language it endeavors to console Antigone in that play of Sophocles (944 ff.) by reminding her of mythological examples of similar suffering. “The form of Danae, too, endured to leave the light of heaven in dungeons secured with brass, and concealed in a sepulchral chamber she was bound. . . . But the power of fate is a marvelous one. Neither happiness, nor war, nor tower, nor black sea-beaten ships, escape it. And the king of the Edonians, the quick-tempered son of Duyas, was imprisoned for his fierce anger, being shut up by Bacchus in a rocky prison; and thus he distills the dreadful fury of his madness, in full force. . . . By the Cyanean deeps of the double sea, the shores of the Bosphorus, and the (inhospitable) Thracian Salmydessus, where Mars dwells near their cities, saw the accursed wound, inflicted with blindness, on the two sons of Phineus by a cruel stepmother, a wound darkening the wretched balls of their eyes which were

⁷² Ibid. 930. *ἔθανε δάμαρ, ἔλιπε φιλίαν*
τί νέον τόδε; πολλοῖς
ἤδη παρέλυσεν
θάνατος δάμαρτας.

⁷³ *οὐ σοὶ τὰδ', ὦναξ, ἦλθε δὴ μόνῳ κακά,*
πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλῳ δ' ὤλεσας κεδνὸν λέχος.

Cf. Sen., Polyb. xxi.

⁷⁴ *οὐχὶ σοὶ μόνῳ*
δύσφρονες ἐπέπεσον, οὐ φίλοισι λῦπαι.

Cf. Helen, 464.

⁷⁵ *οὔτοι σοὶ μούνα, τέκνον,*
ἄχος ἐφάνη βροτῶν,

Cf. Ibid. 289, *ῶ δύσθεον μίσσημα, σοὶ μόνῃ πατήρ*
τέθνηκεν; ἄλλος δ' οὔτις ἐν πένθει βροτῶν;

where Electra complains to the chorus that her heartless mother reproaches her for grieving for her father.

struck with bloody hands, by the points of the shuttle; and pining away in misery, they wept the wretched sufferings of their mother, since they were the children of an ill-fated marriage. But she owned the seed of the sons of Erectheus, of ancient lineage; and in far distant caves was nursed amid the storms of her father, a daughter of Boreas, fleet as the steed over the steep crag, a child of heaven, but even over her, my daughter, the eternal Fates prevailed."⁷⁶

The goddess Thetis, in Euripides (*Andromache* 1231 ff.), makes use of the same consolation, "O Peleus, I, Thetis, on account of

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ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς
 ἀλλάξαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς·
 κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν τυμβήρει θαλάμῳ κατεζεύχθη·
 καίτοι καὶ γενεᾷ τίμιος, ὦ παῖ παῖ,
 καὶ Ζηνὸς ταμιεύσκε γονὰς χρυσορύτους.
 ἀλλ' ἂ μοιριδίᾳ τις δύνασις δεινὰ·
 οὐτ' ἂν νιν ὄλβος οὐτ' Ἄρης, οὐ πύργος, οὐχ ἀλίκτυποι
 κελαιναὶ νᾶες ἐκφύγοιεν.
 ζεύχθη δ' ὀξύχολος παῖς ὁ Δρύαντος,
 Ἡδῶνῶν βασιλεύς, κερτομίῳ ὀργαῖς,
 ἐκ Διονύσου πετρώδει κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῷ.
 οὕτω τᾶς μανίας δεινὸν ἀποστάζει
 ἀνθηρόν τε μένος. κεῖνος ἐπέγνων μανίαις
 ψαύων τὸν θεὸν ἐν κερτομίῳ γλώσσαις.
 παύεσκε μὲν γὰρ ἐνθέους γυναικας εὖδιόν τε πῦρ,
 φιλαύλους τ' ἠρέθιζε Μούσας.
 παρὰ δὲ Κυνεᾶν πελάγῃ διδύμας ἄλως
 ἄκται Βοσπόρῃαι ἥδ' ὁ Ἑρηκῶν (ἄξενος)
 Σαλμυδησσός, ἔν' ἀγχίπολις Ἄρης
 δισσοῖσι Φινεΐδαις
 εἶδεν ἀρατὸν ἕλκος
 τυφλωθέν ἐξ ἀγρίας δάμαρτος,
 ἀλαδὸν ἀλαστόροισιν ὁμμάτων κύκλοις,
 ἀραχθέντων ὑφ' αἱματηραῖς
 χεῖρεσσι καὶ κερκίδων ἀκμαῖσιν.
 κατὰ δὲ τακόμενοι μέλεοι μελέαν πάθαν
 κλαῖον, ματρὸς ἔχοντες ἀνύμφευτον γονάν·
 ἂ δὲ σπέρμα μὲν ἀρχαιογόνων
 ἄντασ' Ἐρεχθεῖδᾶν,
 τηλεπόροις δ' ἐν ἄντροις
 τράφη θυέλλαισιν ἐν πατρῷαις
 Βορεᾶς ἄμιππος ὀρθόποδος ὑπὲρ πάγου,
 θεῶν παῖς. ἀλλὰ κάπ' ἐκείνῃ
 Μοῖραι μακραίωνες ἔσχον, ὦ παῖ.

Cf. Il. v. 382; Callimachus, *Elegy on Bath of Pallas*.

thy former nuptials are come, leaving the dwellings of Nereus. And first indeed, in thy present evils, I advise thee not to bear anything too impatiently; for I also, who should have brought forth children free from grief, have lost the son whom I bore to thee, the swift-footed Achilles, the first man in Greece.”⁷⁷ In like manner does Odysseus, in Euripides, *Hecuba* 322, coming to demand of Hecuba her daughter for sacrifice, remind the grieving mother that she is not the only one laboring under great affliction: “There are with us aged matrons and old men, not less wretched than thou art, and brides bereft of the noblest husbands, whose bodies the ashes of Troy conceal. Endure this.”⁷⁸

It is the opinion of Plutarch that “By this it greatly conduces to contentedness to notice how famous men have borne the same troubles.”⁷⁹ We shall cease to blame and to be discontented

⁷⁷ Πηλεῦ, χάριν σοι τῶν πάρος νυμφευμάτων
ἦκω θέτις λιποῦσα Νηρέως δόμους.
καὶ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παρεστῶσιν κακοῖς
μηδὲν τι λῖαν δυσφορεῖν παρήνεσα·
κ' ἀγὼ γάρ, ἦν ἅκλαυτα χρῆν τίκτειν τέκνα,
ἀπώλεσ' ἐκ σοῦ παῖδα τὸν ταχὺν πόδας
'Αχιλλέα τεκοῦσα πρῶτον Ἑλλάδος.

⁷⁸ εἰσὶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἄθλια
γραῖαι γυναῖκες ἡδὲ πρεσβῦται σέθεν,
νύμφαι τ' ἀρίστων νυμφῶν τητῶμεναι,
ὧν ἡδε κεύθει σώματ' Ἰδαία κόνις.
τόλμα τὰδ.

⁷⁹ de Tranq. An. 467E. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς εὐθυμίαν μέγα, τὸ τοὺς ἐνδόξους ἀποθεωρεῖν, εἰ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πεπόνθασιν. Cf. Apoll. Ty., Ep. xvic. Cic., T. D. iii. xxiv, xxv, xxxiii; iv. xxix. discusses this method of consolation rather fully. He tells us consolers have examples of those who are deprived of their children, for they who are under any great grief are comforted by instances of like affliction; and the endurance of any misfortune is rendered more easy by the fact of others having undergone the same. He makes use of this for his own consolation on the death of Tullia; for, in opposition to Carneades, he thought that one in affliction may be induced to bear calmly what others have borne with tranquillity and moderation. This consolation he admits is not always effective, for some have borne grief worse from hearing of this common condition of man and he concludes—ne illa quidem consolatio firmissima est, quamquam et usitata est, et saepe prodest: *non tibi hoc soli*. Prodest haec quidem, ut dixi, sed nec semper, nec omnibus: sunt enim qui respuant; sed refert quomodo adhibeatur. Ut enim tulerit quisque eorum, qui sapienter tulerunt, non quo quisque incommodo affectus sit.

with the state of affairs if we see others cheerfully and without grief enduring the same things."⁸⁰ The ps.-Plutarch resorts to this method for alleviating sorrow, for he quotes for his friend the passage of Euripides in which Dictys comforts Danae⁸¹ by bidding her consider the condition of those who have suffered equal or greater affliction.⁸² Not content with this passage from the poet, he reminds him of those conspicuous examples who have borne the death of their sons generously and with a great spirit; for instance, Anaxagoras of Claxomenae, Demosthenes of Athens, Dion of Syracuse, King Antigonus.⁸³ Here one may recall that saying of Socrates which remarks that if we gathered into one common heap our misfortunes so that every man might take an equal portion from it, most people would be glad to take their own and depart. Antymachus, the Poet, used such a plan when his wife Lyde died, whom he tenderly loved. He wrote an elegy upon her, which he called by her name. He enumerated all the calamities which had befallen great men; and so by the sorrows of other men he lessened his own. Thus it is evident that he who comforts another who is grieving and shows him, by reckoning up their several misfortunes, that he suffers nothing but what is common to him with the rest of mankind, takes the surest way to

⁸⁰ Ibid. 469A οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πανσόμμεθα μεμφόμενοι καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες, ἂν ἑτέρους ταῦτὰ προσδεχομένους ἀλύπως καὶ ἱλαρῶς ὁρώμεν.

⁸¹ Nauck, 460.

⁸² ad Apoll. 106A. ὁ δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν Δανάην δυσπενθοῦσαν Δίktυς φησί

ἴδοκέῖς σὸν Ἰδίων τῶν τι φροντίζειν γόων
καὶ παῖδ' ἀνήσειν τὸν σόν, εἰ θέλοις στένειν;
παῦσαι. βλέπουσα δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ
ῤαων γένοι ἄν, εἰ λογίζεσθαι θέλοις
ὅσοι τε δεσμοῖς ἐμμερόχλευνται βροτῶν,
ὅσοι τε γηράσκουσιν ὄρφανοὶ τέκνων,
τοὺς τ' ἐκ μέγιστον ὀλβίας τυραννίδος
τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας. ταῦτὰ σε σκοπεῖν χρεῶν.'

κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἴσα καὶ μείζω δνστυχούντων, ὥς ἔσομένην ἐλαφροτέραν.

⁸³ Ibid. 118D. Ἀποβλέπειν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς γενομένους θανάτους καὶ πρᾶως ὑποστάντας. . . . Cf. Eur., Alc. 903; Stob., iii. 108; Cic., T. D. iii. xxiv; Sen., Marc. xii. ff.; Polyb. xxxiii. ff.; Diog. La., loc. cit. n. 55.

lessen the opinion he had of his condition and brings him to believe that it is not altogether so bad as he took it to be.⁸⁴

As if to give greater consolatory power to this manner of viewing death, we have the added thought that, not only have others suffered it, but *even better men have died*. Ares was filled with grief and indignation at the news of his son's death, and was preparing to avenge it immediately, when Athene, fearing the wrath of Zeus, restrained him. "I bid thee now again restrain thy anger for thy son, for already many a man stronger than he and better with his hands, has fallen or yet will fall."⁸⁵

Well did Achilles avenge the death of his friend, for not only the perpetrator of it fell beneath his spear, but he who before had preferred to spare the lives of his captives, now had no mercy on any Trojan who came into his power. Lykaon, the youthful son of Priam, a second time his captive, pleaded earnestly with him, reminding him of his former clemency; for the soul of the youth longed to flee from evil death and dark destruction. In vain was his eloquence—"Yes, friend, thou too must die; why dost thou thus lament? Patroclus, too, is dead, who was better far than thou. Dost thou not see also what kind of a man I am, how noble and great? And my father was a good man, and a goddess mother bore me. Yet over me, too, are death and strong fate."⁸⁶ His

⁸⁴ Ibid. 106B. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλκύσειε καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους φωνήν, τὴν οἰομένην, εἰ συνεισένεγκαιμεν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὰς ἀτυχίας, ὥστε διελέσθαι τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον, ἀσμένως ἂν τοὺς πλείους τὰς αὐτῶν λαβόντας ἀπελθεῖν. ἐχρήσατο δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀγωγῇ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ ποιητής. ἀποθανούσης γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Δύδης, πρὸς ἣν φιλοστόργως εἶχε, παραμύθιον τῆς λύπης αὐτῷ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐλεगीαν τὴν καλουμένην Δύδην, ἐξαριθμησάμενος τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐλάττω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν λύπην. ὥστε καταφανὲς εἶναι ὅτι ὁ παραμυθούμενος τὸν λελυπημένον καὶ δεικνύων κοινὸν καὶ πολλῶν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς καὶ τῶν καὶ ἐτέροις συμβεβηκότων ἔλαττον τὴν δόξαν τοῦ λελυπημένου μεθίστησι καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ ποιεῖ πίστιν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἔλαττον ἢ ἡλίκον ὤετο τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἐστίν.

⁸⁵ Hom., II. xv. 138.

τῷ σ' αὖ νῦν κέλομαι μεθέμεν χόλον νῖος ἔηος·
ἦδη γάρ τις τοῦ γε βίην καὶ χεῖρας ἀμείνων·
ἦ πέφατ', ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα πεφῆσεται.

⁸⁶ II. xxi. 106. ἀλλὰ, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σὺ· τίη ὀλοφύρεται οὕτως;
κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὃ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.
οὐχ ὀράας οἷος καὶ ἐγὼ καλὸς τε μέγας τε;
πατὴρ δ' εἴμ' ἀγαθοῖο, θεὰ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ·
ἀλλ' ἔπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή·
Cf. Lucr., de Rerum Natura, III, 1026.

treatment of the lifeless body of Hector aroused the anger of Apollo, who reproached the gods for their cruelty in allowing it as if the loss of a dear friend were peculiar to him alone. "It may happen that many a man lose even some dearer one, a brother of the same womb born or even a son; yet he brings his wailing and lamentation to an end, for the Fates have given an enduring soul to men."⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Ibid. xxiv. 46.

μέλλει μὲν πού τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι,
ἢ ἐκασίγνητον ὁμογάστριον ἢ καὶ νιόν·
ἀλλ' ἦ τοι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος μεθέηκε·
πλητὸν γὰρ Μοῖραι θυμὸν θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.

CHAPTER III

DEATH THE PAYMENT OF A DEBT TO NATURE

Another view taken of death and one which was used to furnish grounds for consolation was the reflection that *death* is simply the *payment of a debt due to nature*.⁸⁸ One can scarcely lament or complain when obliged to return what has simply been loaned. As Simonides of Ceos puts it, "One bids farewell when I, Theodorus, die; another will bid farewell to him, we all owe a debt to death."⁸⁹ "But cease from your grief for the dead" is Thetis' last injunction to Peleus (Euripides, *Andromache* 1270), "for to all men this vote has been ratified by the gods, to die is a debt."⁹⁰ The same advice is given by Heracles, in Euripides, to the sorrowful servant: "Death is a debt that all mortals owe; and there is not one of them who knows whether he shall live the coming day;"⁹¹ and by the Chorus to Admetus: ". . . but learn that to die is a debt we all owe."⁹²

Plato, moreover, adds that "should a person not pay as a debt his life rather quickly, Nature, as a usurer, stands near and takes as a pledge from one his eye-sight, from another his hearing, and frequently both. . . ."⁹³

⁸⁸ Cf. Hor., *Ars Poet.* 63. Debemur morti nos nostraque.

⁸⁹ Bergk, iii. Sim. 122. (178.)

χαίρει τις, Θεόδωρος ἐπεὶ θάνον · ἄλλος ἐπ' αὖ τῷ
χαιρήσει · θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.

Cf. Anth. Gr. p. 109, 4.

⁹⁰ Eur., *Androm.* 1270.

παῦσαι δὲ λύπης τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπερ-
πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἤδε πρὸς θεῶν
ψῆφος κέκρανται καθθανεῖν τ' ὀφείλεται.

⁹¹ Alc. 782. βροτοῖς ἅπασι καθθανεῖν ὀφείλεται,
κ' οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται

τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσιν εἰ βιώσεται. Cf. Soph., *El.* 1173.

⁹² Ibid. 418. γίγνωσκε δὲ

ὥς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καθθανεῖν ὀφείλεται.

Cf. Anth. Pal. xi. 62; Mein. p. 342, 69.

⁹³ ps.-Plato, *Ax.* 367B. κἂν μὴ τις θᾶττον ὥς χρέος ἀποδιδῶ τὸ
ζῆν, ὥς ὀβολοστάτις ἢ φύσις ἐπιστᾶσα ἐνεχυράζει τοῦ μὲν
ὄψιν. . . .

Life is called by the ps.-Plutarch "a fatal debt which our fathers contracted and we are bound to pay; which is to be done calmly and without complaint, when the creditor demands it."⁹⁴ More than that, "we ought not to take it amiss if they (the gods) demand those things which they lent us only for a short time; for the common brokers, unless they are unjust, will not be displeased if they are called upon to refund their pawns."⁹⁵

⁹⁴ ad Apoll. 106F. διὸ καὶ μοιρίδιον χρέος εἶναι λέγεται τὸ ζῆν, ὡς ἀποδοθησόμενον ὃ ἐδανείσαντο ἡμῶν οἱ προπάτορες. ὃ δὴ καὶ εὐκόλως καταβλητέον καὶ ἀστενέακτως, ὅταν ὁ δανείσας ἀπαιτῇ. Cf. Cic., T. D. i. xxxix; Sen., Marc. x, Polyb. x, xi.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 116A. οὐ δεῖ οὖν δυσφορεῖν, ἐὰν ἃ ἔχρησαν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὀλίγον, ταῦτ' ἀπαιτῶσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τραπεζῖται, καθάπερ εἰώθαμεν λέγειν πολλάκις, ἀπαιτούμενοι τὰ θέματα δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποδόσει, ἐάνπερ εὐγνωμονῶσι.

Cf. Epict., i. i. 32, iv. i. 103, Ench. 11; Cons., ad Liv. 369; Sen., Marc. x, Polyb. xxix.

CHAPTER IV

DEATH NOT TO BE REGARDED AS UNEXPECTED

Closely connected with man's mortality and the necessity he is under of paying the debt he owes to nature, is the reflection that nothing happens to him which he is not formed by nature to bear. Therefore it follows that nothing ought to appear unexpected. And since so large a part of the evil of death lies in its unexpectedness, many consolers think that *meditation on death will rob it of its terrors and fears.* This doctrine, according to Cicero, was taught by the Cyrenaics.⁹⁶ It is the result of philosophic speculation on death and belongs to the theory of attaining to *ἀπάθεια* by the study of the workings of nature, found among the teaching of the Stoics.⁹⁷ We find little trace of it in Homer and but slight reference to it in the tragic poets. The wretched Philoctetes (Sophocles, Philoctetes 504), in concluding his pitiful appeal to Neoptolemus, counsels him to reflect on coming misfortune in order that he may be prepared to meet it. "But it is necessary when one is free from woes, to look to misfortunes; and when one is living prosperously, to watch his life very closely, lest he slip into destruction."⁹⁸ In a fragment of Euripides we find this doctrine mentioned. "I learnt from a wise man to turn my attention to anxieties, and misfortunes, to consider exile, (sudden) untimely death, and all other kinds of evil so that if I should suffer any of these things, they would not fall upon me unprepared."⁹⁹

⁹⁶ T. D. iii. xiii, xxii, xxxi.

⁹⁷ Zeller, x; Marc. Aur., v. 18; viii. 46; Epict., Ench. v, xxi; Sen., Marc. ix, Polyb. xxx, Helv. v, de Tranq. An. xi; Cons., ad Liv. 399.

⁹⁸ *χρή δ' ἐκτὸς ὄντα πημάτων τὰ δεινὰ ὀρᾶν,
χῶταν τις εὖ ζῇ, τηνικαῦτα τὸν βίον
σκοπεῖν μάλιστα, μὴ διαφθαρεῖς λάθῃ.*

Cf. Hom., Odyss. xxiii. 262.

⁹⁹ Nauck, frg. 964.

*ἐγὼ δὲ (ταῦτα) παρὰ σοφοῦ τινος μαθὼν
εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφορὰς τ' ἐβαλλόμεν,
φυγὰς τ' ἐμαντῶ προστιθεῖς πάτρας ἐμῆς
θανάτους τ' ἁώρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς,
ἵν' εἴ τι πάσχοιμ' ὧν ἐδόξαζον φρενί,
μὴ μοι νεῶρες προσπεσὸν μᾶλλον δάκοι.*

Cf. ad Apoll. 112D, 108E; loc. cit., n. 67.

Plato dwells at length on this teaching and formulates his μελέτη θανάτου which is to take such an essential part in the education of his μεγαλοπρεπής ἀνὴρ. "In reality, then, those who pursue philosophy rightly, prepare to die; and to them of all men death is the least formidable. . . . If they altogether hate the body and desire to keep the soul by itself, would it not be great folly if when this happens, they should be afraid and grieve?"¹⁰⁰ He cannot conceive how a man of magnificent intellect capable of contemplating all time and all being can possibly consider human life as a thing of consequence or death as anything terrible.¹⁰¹ In another chapter of the same book he censures the poets who inspire men with fear by the descriptions they give of the world to come. "If men are to be brave, must not these things be told them and such things as may make them least of all afraid of death; or do you think that anyone can ever be brave who has this fear within him?"¹⁰²

This constant reflection on death proved a great source of comfort to Socrates and taught him to meet it calmly, "for to fear death, O Athenians, is nothing else than to appear wise without being so; for it is to appear to know what one does not know. For no one knows but that death is the greatest of all blessings that happen to a man; but men fear it as if they well knew it is the greatest of evils."¹⁰³

"Who would say," asks Plutarch, "that the grief of Plato at the death of Socrates was identical with the grief of Alexander at the death of Clitus? For grief is beyond measure intensified by falling

¹⁰⁰ Phaedo 67E. τῷ ὄντι ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμία, οἱ ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθνήσκειν μελετῶσι, καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι ἥκιστα αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων φοβερὸν. ἐκ τῶνδε δὲ σκόπει. εἰ γὰρ διαβέβληνται μὲν πανταχῇ τῷ σώματι, αὐτὴν δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν, τοῦτου δὲ γιγνομένου φοβοῦντο καὶ ἀγανακτοῦεν, οὐ πολλὴ ἂν ἀλογία εἴη, . . . Cf. Epict., ii. i, xxvi; Cic., T. D. i. xxxi; notes 202, 208.

¹⁰¹ Rep. vi. 486A.

¹⁰² Ibid. iii. 386A. εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι ἀνδρεῖοι, ἄρ' οὐ ταῦτά τε λεκτέον καὶ οἷα αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἥκιστα τὸν θάνατον δεδιέναι; ἢ ἡγεῖ τινὰ ποτ' ἂν γενέσθαι ἀνδρεῖον, ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ δεῖμα;

¹⁰³ Plato, Ap. 29A. τὸ γὰρ τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι, μὴ ὄντα. δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι ἐστὶν ἂ οὐκ οἶδεν. οἶδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θάνατον, οὐδ' εἰ τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων μέγιστον ὂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν · δεδίασι δ' ὥς εὖ εἰδότες, ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐστι.

out against expectation: and the calamity that comes unlooked for is more painful than that we may reasonably fear.”¹⁰⁴ In another work the same author remarks in this connection, “Many are shocked at this saying of Menander—‘No man can say I shall not suffer this’—being ignorant how great a help it is to freedom from pain to be able to look fortune in the face.”¹⁰⁵ “For it is the fear of death and not the desire of life that makes the foolish person adhere to the body. . . . But he who understands the nature of the soul and reflects that the change it will undergo at death will be either to something better, or at least not worse, has in his fearlessness of death no small help to ease of mind in life.”¹⁰⁶ The author of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* blames one who gives as an excuse for his grief that the calamity was sudden and unexpected: “But you should have expected it and considered the vanity and uncertainty of human affairs.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ de Vir. Mor. 449E. *τίς γάρ ἄν φαίη τὸν. . . ἢ τῇ Πλάτωνος ἐπὶ Σωκράτει τελευτήσαντι λύπη τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ Κλειτον, αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὀρμήσαντος; ἐπιτείνονται γὰρ οὐ μετρίως καὶ τῷ παρὰ λόγον αἱ λῦπαι, καὶ τὸ παρ’ ἐλπίδα σύμπτωμα τοῦ κατὰ λόγον ὀδυνηρότερον.*

¹⁰⁵ de Tranq. An. 476D. *καίτοι πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μενάνδρου πεφρίκασιν ‘οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ζῶντα τοῦτ’ οὐ πείσομαι,’ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅσον ἔστι πρὸς ἀλυπίαν ἀγαθὸν τὸ μελετᾶν καὶ δύνασθαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀνεωγόσι τοῖς ὅμμασιν ἀντιβλέπειν, Cf. Kock, iii. 355.*

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 476A. *τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀνόητον ὁ τοῦ θανάτου φόβος οὐχ ὁ τοῦ ζῆν πόθος ἐκκρέμασθαι τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖ, . . . ὁ δὲ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν ἀμωσγέπως ἐπινοῶν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ βέλτιον αὐτῆς ἢ μηδὲν κάκιον ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ μεταβολὴν ἐπιλογιζόμενος, οὐ μικρὸν ἔχει τῆς πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐθυμίας ἐφόδιον τὴν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἀφοβίαν. Cf. Cic., T. D. ii. i, iv; iii. xiv.*

¹⁰⁷ ad Apoll. 112D. *‘ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἡλπιζον φησί ‘ταῦτα πείσεται, οὐδὲ προσεδόκων.’ ἀλλ’ ἐχρῆν σε προσδοκᾶν καὶ προκατακερικένας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων τὴν ἀδηλόγητα καὶ οὐδένειαν, Cf. n. 58.*

CHAPTER V

DEATH A RELEASE FROM SORROWS

A consolation for death is naturally derived from the consideration that life is afflicted by a multitude of sorrows from which *death offers a welcome release*.

The sentiment uttered by Homer—"of all things that breathe and creep upon the earth there is nothing more miserable than man"¹⁰⁸—has been re-echoed by his successors. Sorrow, according to the same poet, is man's natural portion, "this is the lot the gods have spun for miserable men that they should live in pain."¹⁰⁹ Hesiod fancied that all evils were let loose by the opening of Pandora's box—"the woman opening with her hands the large lid of the jar dispersed and brought about mournful evils for men."¹¹⁰ "Full indeed is the earth of woes and full the sea, and in the day as well as in the night diseases unbidden haunt mankind silently bearing ills to men."¹¹¹ Pindar dwells frequently on this thought, "No one is or shall be free from troubles."¹¹² "We each bear different lots by nature, one one, another another, but it is im-

¹⁰⁸ Odyss. xviii. 130. οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο,
πάντων ὅσα τε γαῖαν ἐπὶ πρέει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

Cf. Il. xvii. 446; Mullach., Emped. Carm. 30; Mein., p. 358, l. 640; p. 134 ii.

¹⁰⁹ Il. xxiv. 525. ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
ζῶειν ἀχνυμένοις.

Cf. Soph., O. C. 1230; Bacchy., frg. 9; Apoll. Rh., Argon. i. 82; Eur., Alc. 802; Sen., Marc. xi. n. 1.

¹¹⁰ O. D. 94. ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χεῖρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελούσα
ἔσκέδασ' ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἐμήσατο κῆδεα λυγρά.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 101. πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα·
νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ, αἶ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
σιγῇ,

Cf. Aesch., Per. 703; Eur., I. A. 1330; Stob., iii. 98; Mullach., Democr. frg. 10; Cic., T. D. i. xxxi; et alia.

¹¹² Pyth. v. 54. πόνων δ' οὐ τις ἀπόκλάρός ἐστιν οὐτ' ἔσεται.
Cf. Aesch., Choeph. 1018; Campbell, Frg. 373; Aesch., Supp. 329; Agam. 1327; Eur., Ion. 381; Mein., iv. p. 351, l. 419; p. 357 l. 599; et alia; notes 38, 193.

possible for one to have complete happiness.”¹¹³ “The gods give to mortals two evils for one good.”¹¹⁴ “What part of life,” asks Prodicus of Ceos, “is free from evils?”¹¹⁵ And the ps.-Plutarch reminds the sorrowing Apollonius that “it is no unusual thing for a man to be unfortunate.”¹¹⁶ “The inconstancy of Fortune,” Crantor tells us, “joined us at the beginning of our journey and has accompanied us ever since.”¹¹⁷ This inconstancy of Fortune is an added misery to the lot of man, for “no one knows what will happen in the course of tomorrow or in the course of an hour.”¹¹⁸ Reflecting on this, Polymestor in Euripides (Hecuba 954) offers words of sympathy to the afflicted Hecuba: “I weep seeing thee and thy city and thy daughter who has lately died. Alas! there is nothing secure, neither glory, nor when one is faring well is there a certainty that he will not fare ill.”¹¹⁹

Considering the manifold evils of life, “many have come to the conclusion that life is a punishment; and to be born a human

¹¹³ Nem. vii. 54. *φυᾶ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες, ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι τυχεῖν δ' ἐν' ἀδύνατον εὐδαιμονίαν ἄπασαν ἀνελόμενον.* Cf. Pyth. vii. 20; Bergk, ii. Solon 13. (4.) 63; Ibid., Sim. Amorg. i. (1.) 20; Bacchy., v. 54.

¹¹⁴ Pyth. iii. 81. *ἐν παρ' ἐσλὸν πῆματα σὺνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς ἀθάνατοι.* Cf. Hom., II. xxiv. 527.

¹¹⁵ Mullach., ii. p. 138. *τί μέρος τῆς ἡλικίας ἄμοιρον τῶν ἀνιερῶν.* . . . Ibid., Democr. 41; ps.-Plato, Ax. 366 D; Eur., H. F. 1314; Aeschyl., Agam. 554; Soph., O. T. 1186; Mein., iv. p. 195, x. p. 351, 1.419.

¹¹⁶ 104D. *καινὸν ἀτυχεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀλλὰ πάντες ταῦτό πεπόνθαμεν.* Cf. Dem., de Cor. 328.

¹¹⁷ Mullach., Crantor frg. 9. *ἡ τ' ἄδηλος αὕτη τύχη πόρρωθεν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔτ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἠκολούθηκεν.* . . . Cf. Ibid., Emped. 116, Epicharm. 188; Bacchy., ix. 45; ad Apoll. 104C; Bergk, ii. Archil. 9. (48.); Eur., Alc. 785; Sen., Marc. xxiii.

¹¹⁸ Bergk, ii. ps.-Phocy. 116. *οὐδεὶς γιγνώσκει, τί μετ' αὐριον ἡ τί μεθ' ὦραν.* Cf. Ibid., i. Oly. vii. 44, ii. 61, Ibid., iii. Sim. 32. (46.); Theognis, 159; Eur., Troad. 1203; Or. 340, 976; Dem., de Cor. 311; Stob., iii. 105; Callim., Epigr. xv; Polyb., viii, xxiii, 11; Mein., iv. p. 341' 1.57; p. 353, 1.488, et alia.

¹¹⁹ *δακρύω σ' εἰσορῶν πόλιν τε σὴν
τὴν τ' ἀρτίως θανοῦσαν ἔγκονον σέθεν.
φεῦ.*

*οὐκ ἔστι πιστὸν οὐδὲν, οὐτ' εὐδοξία οὐτ' αὖ καλῶς
πράσσοντα μὴ πράξειν κακῶς.*

Cf. Eur., Or. 1; Bacchy., frgg. 20, 21.

being, the highest pitch of calamity.”¹²⁰ It is related of Silenus that, being importuned by his captor Midas regarding the most desirable thing among men, he answered, “Not to be born is the best for both sexes. This should have the first place in our choice and the next is, when we are born, to die as soon as possible.”¹²¹ This same sentiment has been preserved among the maxims of Theognis.¹²²

From these considerations we have a favorite *τόπος* used by consolers, that *death is not an evil but a blessing, a remedy for evils*.¹²³ “Who but for death,” exclaims Aesopus, “could escape from thee, O life? Thy griefs are a thousandfold and it is not easy to escape them or bear them.”¹²⁴

Prometheus, in Aeschylus’ play of the same name (1.778 ff.), laments his lot that he cannot die: “thou wouldst hardly bear the agonies of me to whom it is not doomed to die, for this would be an escape from suffering.”¹²⁵ “For to die is considered the greatest remedy for evils.”¹²⁶ “Since often length of days has brought us nearer to pain, but there is an ally who brings all alike

¹²⁰ Mullach., Cran. frg. 12. πολλοῖς γὰρ καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐ νῦν ἀλλὰ πάλαι κέκλανσται τ’ ἀνθρώπινα, τιμωρίαν ἡγουμένοις εἶναι τὸν βίον καὶ ἀρχὴν τὸ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον συμφορὰν τὴν μεγίστην. Cf. ad Apoll. 115B; Cic., T. D. i. passim, iii, xxxii.

¹²¹ ad Apoll. 115E. ἀνθρώποις δὲ πάνπαν οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι τὸ πάντων ἄριστον οὐδὲ μετασχεῖν τῆς τοῦ βελτίστου φύσεως (ἄριστον ἄρα πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι) τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνυστῶν, δεύτερον δέ, τὸ γενομένου ἀποθανεῖν ὡς τάχιστα. Cf. Sen., Marc. xxii. For the sentiment closely allied to this, “Mourn for the new born, rejoice for the dead.”

Cf. Ax. 368A; Cic., T. D. i. 48, 115,

¹²² 1.425ff. Cf. Bacchy., v. 160; Soph., O. C. 1225; Nauck, frg. 908; et alia.

¹²³ Cf. Stob., iii. 120; Cic., in Cat. iv. iv; Lucr., de R. N. iii. 915ff.; Sen., Marc., xix, xx, Polyb. xxviii.

¹²⁴ Anth. Lyr. Aesopus, viii (reading θανάτου). πῶς τις ἄνευ θανάτου σε φύγοι, βίε; μυρία γὰρ σε λυγρὰ καὶ οὔτε φυγεῖν εὐμαρές, οὔτε φέρειν. Cf. Bergk, ii. Mimner. 2. (2.) 9; Eur., Troad. 606.

¹²⁵ ἡ δυσπετώς ἂν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους φέροις,

ὅτῳ θανεῖν μὲν ἔστιν οὐ πεπρωμένον·

αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἂν πημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴ·

Cf. Soph., Phil. 797, Trach. 1255; notes 56, 57.

¹²⁶ Eur., Herac. 595. τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν

κακῶν μέγιστον φάρμακον νομίζεται.

Cf. Or. 1522, 187; Soph., Trach. 821.

to an end . . . death appears in the end."¹²⁷ Sophocles regarded death as "the final physician of diseases."¹²⁸ And the daughters of Danaus, in Aeschylus (*Suppliants* 810), preferred it to forced nuptials, "death is free from mournful ills."¹²⁹ Heracles, in the *Trachinae* of Sophocles (l.1169 ff.), interpreted the release from toils foretold by the oracle as a life of prosperity but it meant for him death. "It said to me that at this time now actually present there should be consummated to me a release from the toils laid upon me; and I thought that I should live in prosperity, but this was nothing else except that I should die. For to the dead no toil arises."¹³⁰ Andromache (*Euripides, Troades* 636 ff.) envies the fate of Polyxena, realizing the miseries she has been spared. "To be not born I say is the same as death, but to die is better than to live grievously; for not perceiving his ills he in nothing grieves . . . now she, just as if she had not beheld the light, is dead and knows none of her own troubles."¹³¹

Artabanus finds Xerxes shedding tears at the thought of the briefness of human life, but he shows him we suffer other things more pitiable than this. "In this so brief life there is not one, neither of these men nor of others, born so happy that it will not occur to him, not once but oftentimes, to wish to die rather than to live. For calamities befalling him and diseases distur¹ing

¹²⁷ Soph., *O. C.* 1215. ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακραὶ ἀμέραι κατέθεντο δὴ λύπας ἐγγυτέρω, . . . ὁ δ' ἐπίκουρος ἰσοτέλεστος, . . . ἄλυρος ἄχορος ἀναπέφνηε θάνατος ἐς τελευτάν.

¹²⁸ Campbell, *frg.* 631. ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὁ θάνατος λοῖσθος ἰατρὸς νόσων. Cf. *Eur., Hip.* 1373.

¹²⁹ τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν ἐλευθεροῦται φιλαίακτων κακῶν.
Cf. *Eur., Hec.* 214.

¹³⁰ ἦ μοι χρόνῳ τῷ ζῶντι καὶ παρόντι νῦν ἔφασκε μόχθων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἐμοὶ λύσιν τελεῖσθαι· κἀδόκουν πράξειν καλῶς. τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν ἐμέ. τοῖς γὰρ θανούσι μόχος οὐ προσγίγνεται.
Cf. *Soph., O. C.* 955; *El.* 1170; *Aeschyl., Agam.* 1364; *Sept.* 335; *Eur., Alc.* 937.

¹³¹ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τῷ θανεῖν ἴσον λέγω, τοῦ ζῆν δὲ λυπρῶς κρεῖσσόν ἐστι κατθανεῖν. ἀλγεῖ γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν ἡσθημένος·

.
κείνη δ', ὁμοίως ὥσπερ οὐκ ἰδοῦσα φῶς, τέθνηκε κούδεν οἶδε τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.

him make life, though really short, appear to be long; so that death, life being burdensome, becomes a most desirable refuge for men."¹³²

To Plato death seemed the only thing that was a benefit to all mankind. "Probably, however, it will seem wonderful to you if this alone of all other things is certain and it never happens to man as is the case with all other things, since to them it is better to die than to live."¹³³ Frequent meditation on death convinced Socrates that it was better for him to die and be free from care. "Moreover we may conclude from this that there is a great hope that death is a blessing. . . . What has befallen me appears to be a blessing and it is impossible that we think rightly who suppose death is an evil. . . ." ¹³⁴ "What has happened to me is not the effect of chance, but this is clear to me that now to die and to be freed from cares is better for me."¹³⁵

Speaking of the separation of soul and body Epicharmus says, "The earthly part returns to the earth; the spirit, above. What in all this is grievous? Nothing at all."¹³⁶ And Arcesilaus remarks, "Death, which is called an evil, has this distinct from all other things that are thought evils, that when it is present it never grieves anyone; but when remote and in expectation only"

¹³² Herod., vii. 46. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεῖ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἷ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσιν καὶ αἰ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον· οὕτω δὲ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζῆς καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε.

¹³³ Phaedo, 62A. ἴσως μέντοι θαυμαστόν σοι φανεῖται, εἰ τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπλοῦν ἐστι, καὶ οὐδέποτε τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τ' ἄλλα ἐστὶν, ὅτε καὶ οἷς βέλτιον τεθνάναι ἢ ζῆν.

Cf. Ibid. 84B; Cic., T. D. i. xxxi, xxxiv.

¹³⁴ Plato, Apol. 40C, B. ἐννοήσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῇδε, ὡς πολλῇ ἐλπίς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι. . . . κινδυνεύει γάρ μοι τὸ ξυμβεβηκὸς τοῦτο, ἀγαθὸν γεγόνεναι· καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ὅσοι οἰόμεθα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ τεθνάναι.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 41D. οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμὰ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ μοι δῆλόν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἤδη τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι.

¹³⁶ Mullach., Epicharm. frg. 263.

γα μὲν εἰς γὰν, πνεῦμ' ἄνω.

τί τῶνδε χαλεπὸν; οὐδὲ ἔν.

Cf. ad Apoll. 110A; Verg., Aen. xii. 647.

then it afflicts us.”¹³⁷ According to Hegesias, death withdraws us from evil, not from good.¹³⁸ So fully impressed was Alcidas with this thought that he wrote a book in praise of death endeavoring to establish the advantages of it by an enumeration of the evils of life.¹³⁹ And Prodicus of Ceos, after enumerating the various ills that attend man from childhood to old age, comes to the conclusion, “even the gods, understanding human affairs, release more quickly from life those on whom they set the greatest value.”¹⁴⁰

This aspect of death is used not only to afford a motive for meeting death with resignation and even a feeling of relief, but it is also employed as a source of consolation for the mourners. When Hecuba (Euripides, *Troades* 268) asked Talthybius concerning her daughter, he answered, “Deem your daughter happy for she is well . . . a fate possesses her so that she is released from toils.”¹⁴¹ “Invite all the Persians and allies to my burial,” said Cyrus, “to rejoice with me that henceforth I shall be in security so that I shall no longer suffer any evil, whether I shall be with God or whether I shall no longer have any being.”¹⁴² In the account of Socrates’ condemnation given by Xenophon he tells us that the master made use of this motive to console his weeping disciples: “Do you now weep? Do you not long since know that from the moment I was born death was decreed for me by nature? If, however, I were dying amid blessings, it is clear that I and those who wish me well should grieve, but if I am losing life when troubles are to be expected, I think you all ought to rejoice with

¹³⁷ ad Apoll. 110A. ‘ τοῦτο τὸ λεγόμενον κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μόνον τῶν ἄλλων τῶν νενομισμένων κακῶν παρὸν μὲν οὐδένα πώποτ’ ἐλύπησεν, ἀπὸν δὲ καὶ προσδοκώμενου λυπεῖ.’

¹³⁸ Cic., T. D. i. xxxiv. Cf. Soph., O.C. 1220; n. 297.

¹³⁹ Cic., T. D. i. xlviii.

¹⁴⁰ Mullach., ii. p. 138. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἐπιστήμονες οὓς ἂν περὶ πλείστου ποιῶνται, θάπτουν ἀπαλλάττουσι τοῦ ζῆν. Cf. Ax. 367B; ad Apoll. 108E; notes 167, 171.

¹⁴¹ εὐδαιμόνιζε παῖδα σὴν ἔχει καλῶς.

ἔχει πότμος νιν, ὥστε’ ἀπηλλάχθαι πόνων.

¹⁴² Xen., Cyr. viii.vii. 27. Πέρσας μέντοι πάντας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα τοῦμὸν παρακαλεῖτε συνησθησομένους ἑμοί, διτι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἔσομαι, ὥς μηδὲν ἂν ἔτι κακὸν παθεῖν, μήτε ἦν μετὰ τοῦ θείου γένωμαι μήτε ἦν μηδὲν ἔτι ὦ.

me as being happy.”¹⁴³ “And to me,” Xenophon remarks, “he seems to have met a fate approved of by the gods, for he left the most troublesome part of life and met the easiest of deaths.”¹⁴⁴

We find in Lucian de Luctu: “The mourners take it for granted that a terrible blow has fallen both upon themselves and the object of their lamentation, yet they indeed know not clearly whether the fate of the departed is miserable and worthy of grief or the opposite, pleasant and better: They turn to grief in a formal manner and through habit.”¹⁴⁵

Reminding him of the miseries of life the author of the Consolation to Apollonius consoles his friend for the loss of his son by the reflection, “She (nature) saw the woes of life and with what a torrent of cares it overflowed—which if we wished to number, we would grow very angry with it and confirm the opinion common amongst some, that death is better than life. If then the condition of human life is such as they speak of, why do we not rather applaud their good fortunes who are freed from the drudgery of it, than pity and deplore them as most people do through folly?”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Xen., Apol. 27. ἡ ἄρτι δακρύετε; οὐ γὰρ πάλαι ἴστε ὅτι ἐξ ὅτου περ ἐγενόμην, κατεψήφισμένος ἦν μου ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁ θάνατος; ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἰ μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρεόντων προαπόλλυμαι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὖνοις λυπητέον· εἰ δὲ χαλεπῶν προσδοκωμένων καταλύω τὸν βίον, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ὡς εὐπραγοῦντος ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εὐθυμητέον εἶναι.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 32. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ θεοφιλοῦς μοίρας τετυχηκέναι· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἀπέλιπε, τῶν δὲ θανάτων τοῦ ῥάστου ἔτυχεν.

Cf. Xen. Mem. iv. viii.

¹⁴⁵ de Luctu 1, 15. (922.) καὶ ὡς ἀφόρητα ἡγούνται τὰ συμβαίνοντα σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς οἱ ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ ἐκείνοις οἷς ὀδύρονται, οὐ μὰ τὸν Πλούτωνα καὶ Φερσεφόνην, κατ' οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι σαφῶς οὔτε εἰ πονηρὰ ταῦτα καὶ λύπης ἄξια ἢ τοῦναντίον ἡδέα καὶ βελτίω τοῖς παθοῦσι, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ ξυνηθείᾳ τὴν λύπην ἐπιτρέποντες. Cf. Cic. loc. cit. n. 208.

¹⁴⁶ ad Apoll. 1074A, C. ὅρα δὲ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ τὸ πολλὰς φροντίσιν ἐπηνετλημένον, ὥς εἰ βουλοίμεθα καταριθμῆσθαι, λίαν ἂν αὐτοῦ καταγνοίμεν, ἐπαληθεύσαι μὲν δὲ καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐνίοις κρατοῦσαν δόξαν ὡς ἄρα κρείττον' ἐστὶ τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν. . . . τοιούτου δὴ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντος οἷον οὗτοί φασι, πῶς οὐκ εὐδαιμονίζειν μᾶλλον προσήκει τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ λατρείας ἢ κατοικτεῖρειν τε καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ δρῶσι δι' ἀμαθίαν; Cf. Cic., ad Fam. iv. 5.

In connection with the attitude towards death as offering a release from miseries and pain, the comparison of *death* to a *peaceful sleep*¹⁴⁷ naturally follows. This is a common figure of speech in both ancient and modern literature. Homer calls death and sleep twin brothers,¹⁴⁸ and Pausanias describes them as they are represented on the Chest of Cypselus—a black boy and a white boy in the arms of their nurse Night.¹⁴⁹ Traces of this comparison may be seen in modern grave inscriptions which have their counterpart in many of the ancient epigrams. “Here Saon, son of Dicon of Acanthus, rests in holy sleep: say not that the good die.”¹⁵⁰

Passing from this we have the Socratic argument based on this comparison. “To die is one of two things: either the dead may be annihilated and have no sensation of anything at all or, according to the common saying, there is a certain change and a passage of the soul from one place to another. If there is no sensation at all, as it were a sleep in which the sleeper has no dreams, death would be a wonderful gain.”¹⁵¹ The author of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* comments upon this passage and concludes if death is a sleep, there is no cause to fear it.¹⁵²

Here likewise may be added another familiar comparison, that life is a pilgrimage and *death the end of the journey*.¹⁵³ Some

¹⁴⁷ Aeschyl., Agam. 1540; Soph., Trach. 1005, 1041; Ai. 831; Antig. 810, 832; Phil. 861; Eur., Hipp. 1377, 1386; Mullach., ii. p. 145.13; n. 6.

¹⁴⁸ Il. xvi. 672, 682. Cf. Ibid. xi. 241, xiv. 231, 482, xvi. 456; Odys. xiii. 80; ad Apoll. 107F; Cic., T. D. i.xxviii; Verg., Aen. vi. 522; et alia.

¹⁴⁹ Paus., v. xviii.

¹⁵⁰ Anth. Gr. vii. 451.

Τῇδε Σάων ὁ Δίκωνος Ἀκάνθιος ἱερὸν ὕπνον
κοιμᾶται θνήσκειν μὴ λέγε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς.

Cf. Ibid. 219, 459, et alia.

¹⁵¹ Plato, Apol. 40C. δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστι τὸ τεθνάναι. ἢ γὰρ οἷον μὴδὲν εἶναι, μὴδ' αἰσθῆσιν μὴδεμίαν μὴδεὶνδ' ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἢ, κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα, μεταβολή τις τυγχάνει οὔσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ εἴτε δὴ μὴ-δεμία αἰσθησίς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ὕπνος, ἐπειδὴν τις καθεύδων μὴδ' ὄναρ μὴδὲν ὄρεῖ, θαυμάσιον κέρδος ἂν εἴη ὁ θάνατος. . . .

¹⁵² ad Apoll. 107D. Cf. Cic., T. D. i. xli.

¹⁵³ Eur., H. F. 433; Soph., Trach. 874; Ax. 365B; ad Apoll. 117F, 119F; Bergk, iii. Anac. 38. (24.); Sen., Polyb. xxviii. Nullus portus nisi mortis est.

derive motives of consolation from viewing death in this light, considering it as a port or haven which affords shelter from the vicissitudes of life.¹⁵⁴

Continuing the argument brought forward in the preceding τόπος, Socrates says to his judges, "But if, on the other hand, death is a removal from here to another place, and what is said is true, that all the dead are there, what greater blessing can there be than this?"¹⁵⁵

The author of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, quoting the words of Socrates, adds, "If death be like a journey neither on this account is it an evil."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Cic., T. D. i. xl. xlix.

¹⁵⁵ Plato, *Apol.* 40C. εἰ δ' αὖ οἶον ἀποδημῆσαι ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθὲνδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔστι τὰ λεγόμενα, ὥς ἄρα ἐκεῖ εἰσι πάντες οἱ τεθνεώτες, τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν τούτου εἶη, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί;

¹⁵⁶ 107F. εἰ γε μὴν ἀποδημία προσέοικεν ὁ θάνατος, οὐδ' οὕτως ἔστι κακόν.

CHAPTER VI

DEATH BEFORE SORROW HAS COME CONSIDERED A BOON

The objection was sometimes made that it is not death but an untimely death that is deplorable; for it was considered the greatest misfortune to die unmarried and childless, or for parents to survive their children.¹⁵⁷ The pathos of a young life snatched away without having experienced the joys of motherhood and the happiness of family affection finds expression throughout the tragic poets.¹⁵⁸ It is also emphasized in the epitaphs.¹⁵⁹ And here, too, is found the consolation the remembrance of such blessings has given to the deceased. "O passer by, do not blame my monument, because I have died I have nothing that is deserving of tears. I have left my children's children, I have departed from a wife of my own age. I have given three children in marriage, whose children I have often fondled in my arms, having no cause to weep over the sickness or death of any of them. . . ." ¹⁶⁰
 "Looking intently on my husband at my last hour, I praised both the gods of the lower world and the god of marriage, the one because I have left my husband alive, the other because he was such a man. . . ." ¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Sen., Marc. xvii. Nullum non acerbum funus est, quod parens sequitur.

¹⁵⁸ Eur., H. F. 480ff.; Hec. 402ff.; I. A. 1218ff.; Or. 1029ff.; Alc. 163ff.; Soph., Antig. 813, 876ff.; Luc., de Luctu 13; notes 260, 285, 294; et alia.

¹⁵⁹ Anth. Gr. vii. 182, 186, 361, 487, 498; et alia.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. vii. 260.

Μὴ μέμψῃ παριῶν τὰ μνήματά μου, παροδίτα ·
 οὐδὲν ἔχω θρήνων ἄξιον οὐδὲ θανῶν.
 τέκνων τέκνα λέλοιπα · μιῆς ἀπέλαυσα γυναικὸς
 συγγήρου · τρισσοῖς παισὶν ἔδωκα γάμους,
 ἐξ ὧν πολλάκι παῖδας ἐμοῖς ἐνεκοίμισα κόλποις,
 οὐδενὸς οἰμῶξας οὐ νόσον, οὐ θάνατον ·
 οἷ με κατασπείσαντες ἀπήμονα τον γλυκύν ὕπνον
 κοιμᾶσθαι χώρην πέμψαν ἐπ' εὐσεβέων.

Cf. Plato, Hip. Mai. 291D.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. vii. 555.

Ἔς πόσιν ἀθρήσασα παρ' ἐσχατῆς λίνα μοίρης
 ἦνεσα καὶ χθονίους, ἦνεσα καὶ ζυγίους.
 τοὺς μὲν, ὅτι ζῶν λίπον ἀνέρα, τοὺς δ', ὅτι τοῖον.
 ἀλλὰ πατήρ μίμνοι παισὶν ἐφ' ἡμετέροις.
 Cf. Ibid. 667.

Writing to his wife who was grieving over their little daughter's being deprived of this domestic happiness, Plutarch observes, "if you grieve over her dying unmarried and childless you can comfort yourself with the thought that you have had both these advantages."¹⁶²

As said above, it was considered a great misfortune for parents to survive their children. It was this thought that caused such intense grief to the mother of Jason when he was departing on his perilous journey. "Would that on that day, when, wretched woman that I am, I heard King Peleus give his evil command. I had straightway given up my life and forgotten my cares, so that thou thyself my son with thine own hands mightest have buried me; for that was the only wish left me still to be fulfilled by thee."¹⁶³ Homer brings in this thought, "He repaid not his dear parents for his nurture for his life was short."¹⁶⁴ . . . The author of *Ad Apollonium* replies to the complaint of the sorrowing father that he should have died first that his son might bury him, for that was according to nature, "it is clearly according to human nature but not according to the providence of the gods and their arrangement of the world. For him who is happy, it was not according to nature to stay in this life longer than the time appointed him."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² ad Ux. 611C. εἰ δ' ἐκείνης ἔχεις οἶκτον ἀγάμου καὶ ἄπαιδος οἰχομένης, αὐτῆς ἔχεις ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἡδίῳ σεαυτὴν ποιεῖν, μηδενὸς τούτων ἀτελεῖ μηδ' ἄμοιρον γενομένην.

¹⁶³ *Apoll. Rh., Argon. i. 278.*

Αἴθ' ὄφελον κεῖν' ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἐξειπόντος ἄκουσα
δειλὴ ἐγὼ Πελῖαο κακὴν βασιλῆος ἐρετμήν,
αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ ψυχὴν μεθέμεν, κηδέων τε λαθέσθαι,
ὄφρ' αὐτὸς με τεῇσι φίλαις ταρχύσας χερσίν,
τέκνον ἐμόν· τὸ γὰρ οἶον ἔην ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐέλδωρ
ἐκ σέθεν, ἄλλα δὲ πάντα πάλαι θρεπτῆρια πέσσω.

Cf. Verg., *Aen. xi. 150; viii. 578; Eur. Alc. 290; Troad. 1180; Androm. 1208; Med. 1032; Anth. Gr. p. 594.2; Cons., ad Liv. 157; Quint., Inst. vi. Introd.*

¹⁶⁴ *Il. iv. 477. οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι*

θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, μινυνθάδιος δὲ οἱ αἰών.

Cf. *Ibid. xvii. 301; xxiii. 222.*

¹⁶⁵ 119F. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, τὴν ἡμετέραν δηλονότι καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων πρόνοιαν καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν διάταξιν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ μακαρισθέντι οὐκ ἦν κατὰ φύσιν περαιτέρω τοῦ ἀπονεμηθέντος αὐτῷ χρόνου πρὸς τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον περιμένειν, . . .

The great motive for consolation in such cases is found in the reflection that *those who die early have escaped many misfortunes and that not a few would have been saved from greater calamities if they had met an earlier death.*¹⁶⁶ In this connection a story found in a fragment of Crantor's *Consolatio* is frequently quoted by consolers. Termaeus of Elysia, bitterly bewailing the loss of his son, went to a place of divination to be informed why he was visited with so great an affliction. He was consoled by the answer that it was not well either for the youth or his parents that he should live.¹⁶⁷ Here also may be quoted a passage from the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*. "Troilus in truth wept less than Priam even if he perished in his youth, while his father's kingdom flourished and his riches abounded, which Priam afterwards laments."¹⁶⁸ Therefore death cannot be called untimely if it removes one from future evils. An anonymous comedian well expresses this consolation: "If you knew that this life which is taken from him would be passed in happiness, death would be untimely, but if, on the other hand, this life was to bring him hopeless grief, death perhaps was the more obliging of the two."¹⁶⁹ "You ought not therefore to mourn for those who die young as if they were deprived of the enjoyments of life for it is uncertain, as we have often said, whether they are deprived of good or evil."¹⁷⁰ "Who knows but that the Deity, with a fatherly providence and

¹⁶⁶ Soph., O. T. 1349; Cic., T. D. i. xxxiv, xlv; Sen., Marc. xx; n. 53.

¹⁶⁷ Mullach., Cran. frag. 10. Cf. ad Apoll. 109B; Cic., T. D. i. xlviii; Kock, iii. p. 36. 125 "Ὁν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος..

¹⁶⁸ 113F. μεῖον γὰρ ὄντως ἐδάκρυσε Τρωῖλος ἢ Πρίαμος, κὰν Πρίαμος αὐτός, εἰ προετελεύτησεν ἔτ' ἀκμαζούσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης ἣν ἐβρήκει.

Cf. Apoll. Rh., Argon. i. 253; Cic., T. D. i. xxxv, xxxix; ad Fam. iv. 5.

¹⁶⁹ Mein., iv. p. 669. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ᾗδεῖς ὅτι τοῦτον τὸν βίον, δν οὐκ ἐβίωσε, ζῶν διεντύχησεν ἄν, ὁ θάνατος οὐκ εὐκαιρος· εἰ δ' ἤνεγκεν αὐ οὗτος ὁ βίος τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἴσως ὁ θάνατος αὐτὸς σοῦ γέγονεν εὐνούστερος.

Cf. ad Apoll. 110E; Campbell, Frag. 760.

¹⁷⁰ ad Apoll. 115F. οὐ χρὴ οὖν τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας νέους θρηνεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρηται. τοῦτο ἄδηλον, ὥς πολλάκις εἶπομεν, εἴτ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστερημένοι τυγχάνουσιν εἴτε κακῶν.

tenderness, foreseeing what is to happen the human race, has taken some purposely out of this life by an untimely death."¹⁷¹

A further motive for consolation in the case of an early death is, "*not the longest life but the most virtuous is best.*"¹⁷² For "goodness of life is its measure, not length of time."¹⁷³ This motive is found among the consolations in the Epistle to Sotira. "Happy was Gryllus and whoever else chooses not the longest life but the most virtuous."¹⁷⁴ And moreover *the longest life is relatively short.* "According to Simonides, thousands, even numberless years are but a point compared to eternity; rather, they are but the very smallest part of a point."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 117D. *τίς γὰρ οἶδεν, εἰ ὁ θεὸς πατρικῶς κηδόμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους καὶ προορώμενος τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι προεξάγει τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἁώρους;* Cf. Ibid. 111E; Bergk, i. Isth. frg. 3. (26.) for the story of Trophonius and Agamedes.; Ax. 367B; ad Apoll. 109A; Cic., T. D. xlvii; n. 140.

¹⁷² ad Apoll. 111A. *οὐχ ὁ μακρότατος βίος ἄριστος ἀλλ' ὁ σπουδαιότατος.* Cf. Cic., T. D. i. xxxix, xlv. *Nemo parum diu vixit, qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere.* Sen., Marc. xxiv; Ep. 93.2; Cons., ad Liv. 285, 447.

¹⁷³ Ibid. 111D. *μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ βίου τὸ καλόν, οὐ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου μῆκος.*

¹⁷⁴ Xen., Op. iv. p. 291. *μακάριος οὖν δὴ Γρύλλος καὶ ὅστις οὐ τὸ μήκιστον ἐλόμενος τοῦ βίου, τὸ δὲ μετὰ ἀρετῆς.*

¹⁷⁵ ad Apoll. 111C. *τὰ γὰρ χίλια καὶ τὰ μύρια κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ἔτη στιγμή τίς ἐστίν ἀόριστος, μᾶλλον δὲ μόριόν τι βραχύτατον στιγμής.*

Cf. Plato, Rep. vi. 498D; Cic., n.174; Sen., Marc. xx.

CHAPTER VII

DEAD DO NOT SUFFER FROM THE LOSS OF LIFE'S BLESSINGS

A great source of grief is the opinion that the dead are deprived of the advantages and pleasures of this life and that they are sensible of their loss.

Consolers endeavor to remove this apprehension by representing that the dead are neither in need of the blessings of life nor of life itself; therefore, *they do not suffer from the deprivation of its good things*.¹⁷⁶

On this point Plutarch writes words of comfort to his wife sorrowing at the thought that their little daughter feels the loss of life's joys and blessings; "even the loss of important things does not grieve us when we have no use for them. It was only little things your Timoxena was deprived of . . . how can one be said to be deprived of things of which one had no knowledge or perception?"¹⁷⁷

This fear causes sorrow not only to the mourner but also to the soul anticipating its separation from the body, as was the case of Axiochus, who was pained at the thought of being deprived of the pleasures and enjoyments of this world. But Socrates removes this apprehension of his dying friend, "throw aside then all silliness of this kind knowing this, that after the union of the soul with the body has once been dissolved by the former being settled in its own home place, the body, that is left, is of the earth and devoid of reason, nor is it a man. For we are soul, living immortal, shut up in a mortal prison."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Cicero enlarges on this point, feeling that this apprehension is the origin of lamentation and tears. T. D. i. v-vii, xiii, xxxvi, xxxvii, xliii, xlv, xlv; Lucr., de R. N. iii. 874ff.; Sen., Marc. xix; Polyb. xxvii; chap. v.

¹⁷⁷ ad Ux. 611D. τῶν μεγάλων στερήσεις ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ λυποῦν εἰς τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι περιγενόμεναι. Τιμοξένα δ' ἡ σὴ μικρῶν μὲν ἐστέρηται, μικρὰ γὰρ ἔγνω καὶ μικροῖς ἔχαιρε. ὣν δ' οὐτ' αἴσθησιν ἔσχεν οὐτ' ἔλαβεν ἐπινόειαν, πῶς ἂν στέρεσθαι λέγοιτο;

¹⁷⁸ Ax., 365E. πάντα τοιγαροῦν τὸν τοιόνδε φλύαρον ἀποσκέδασαι, τοῦτο ἐννοήσας, ὅτι τῆς συγκρίσεως ἀπαξ διαλυθείσης, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἰδρυνθείσης τόπον, τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν σῶμα, γεῶδες ὃν καὶ ἄλογον, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐσμὲν ψυχὴ, ζῶον ἀθάνατον, ἐν θνητῷ καθειργμένον φρουρίῳ.

Cf. n. 245.

CHAPTER VIII

COMFORT DERIVED FROM GIVING EXPRESSION TO GRIEF

Amid the considerable varieties found in the motives for consolation mention is sometimes made of the *comfort derived from giving expression to grief*.¹⁷⁹

Crantor's book on consolation found many readers, for he treated of grief, not as a reprehensible emotion, but as a passion to be kept within bounds.

Although we find that during the Trojan war, when truce was declared that each party might bury its dead, the great Priam forbade his people to weep, so "in silence they heaped the corpses on the pyre, stricken at heart,"¹⁸⁰ yet this was not the usual attitude of Homer. For elsewhere he does not censure the shedding of tears but regards them as a source of consolation to the survivors and the due of the departed. "Not indeed do I deem it unbecoming to weep for any mortal who has died and met his fate. This is now the only honor we pay to miserable men to cut the hair and let the tear fall from the cheek."¹⁸¹

The deprivation of the consolation of weeping over the body of Odysseus was a cause of great grief to his family. "His mother wept not over him, nor prepared him for burial, nor his father, we who gave him birth, nor did his bride of rich gifts, the constant Penelope, bewail her lord upon the bier, as was fitting, nor close his eyes, for this is the due of the departed."¹⁸² To be deprived of

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Plut., de C. I. 455C; Odyss. xv. 399; Il. xxiii. 97; Soph., El. 150; Eur., Supp. 79; Troad. 604; Androm. 93; Hel. 950; Alc. 1080 (Jerram's note); Luc., de B. C. ix. 55, 111; Sen., Polyb. xxiii amara quadam libidine dolendi.

¹⁸⁰ Il. vii. 427. οὐδ' εἴα κλαίειν Πρίαμος μέγας· οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ νεκροὺς πυρκαϊῆς ἐπενήνεον ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ,

¹⁸¹ Odyss. iv. 195. νεμεσσῶμαι γε μὲν οὐδὲν κλαίειν ὅς κε θάνῃσι βροτῶν καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπη. τοῦτό νυ καὶ γέρας οἶον οἰζυροῖσι βροτοῖσι, κείρασθαί τε κόμην βαλέειν τ' ἀπὸ δάκρυ παρειῶν. Cf. Ibid. xix. 264.

¹⁸² Ibid. xxiv. 292. οὐδέ ἐ μήτηρ κλαῦσε περιστείλασα πατήρ θ', οἳ μιν τεκόμεσθα· οὐδ' ἄλοχος πολυδωρος, ἐχέφρων Πηνελόπεια, κῶκυσ' ἐν λεχέεσσιν ἐὼν πόσιν, ὡς ἐπέωκει, ὀφθαλμοὺς καθελοῦσα· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων. Cf. Ibid. 190; Il. xi. 452; xxi. 123; xxii. 426.

this sad satisfaction the mother of Hector considered the climax of their woes—"Now sitting in the hall let us weep afar off, even this did powerful fate with its thread spin for him at that time when he was born."¹⁸³ And his father was willing to risk his life for this mournful gratification. "Let Achilles straightway slay me when I have taken my son in my arms and sent forth my desire of lamentation."¹⁸⁴

Yet as the good nurse says in comforting Penelope, "It is an evil to grieve always and never cease."¹⁸⁵ Hence we have the Stoic objection to a display of grief which furnishes a motive frequently employed by consolers: namely, *the uselessness of grief and the impossibility of bringing back the dead by our tears*. And Niobe is often referred to as a sad example of excessive mourning.¹⁸⁶

In the interesting scene between Achilles and Priam, the hero is touched by the grief of the old man and endeavors to stay his tears—"Although greatly afflicted, we shall let our sorrows lie quietly in our hearts for no advantage comes of chill lament."¹⁸⁷ Again he comforts him, "keep courage and lament not unceasingly in thy heart. For thou wilt avail nothing by grieving for thy son, neither wilt thou bring him back to life."¹⁸⁸ Similar advice was given to the Homeric Menelaus—"No more, son of Atreus, weep for a long time thus obstinately; since we shall find no help therein."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ Il. xxiv. 208. νῦν δὲ κλαίωμεν ἄνευθεν
ἡμενοι ἐν μεγάρῳ· τῷ δ' ὥς ποθι Μοῖρα κραταιή
γιγνομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκον αὐτή,

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. xxiv. 226. αὐτίκα γάρ με κατατείνειεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἀγκὰς ἐλόντ' ἐμόν υἱόν, ἐπὴν γόου ἐξ ἔρον
εἴην.

¹⁸⁵ Odyss. xviii. 174. ἐπεὶ κάκιον πενθήμεναι ἄκριτον αἰεὶ.

Cf. Ibid. xix. 120; Soph., Antig. 883; Verg., Aen. ii. 74.

¹⁸⁶ Soph., El. 150ff.; Antig. 823; Stob., iii. 124; ad Apoll. 116C; Cic., T. D. iii. xxvi, xxviii.

¹⁸⁷ Il. xxiv. 522. ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπησ
ἐν θυμῷ κατακείσθαι ἑάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ·
οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο.
Cf. Ibid. ix. 408; Sen., Polyb. xxi; Marc. vi.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. xxiv. 549. ἄνσχεο, μηδ' ἄλιαστον ὁδῦρεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν·
οὐ γάρ τι πρῆξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἱὸς ἑῆος,
οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις,

Cf. Cons., ad Liv. 427.

¹⁸⁹ Odyss. iv. 543. μηκέτι, Ἀτρεὺς υἱέ, πολὺν χρόνον ἀσκελές οὔτω
κλαῖ', ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄνυσίν τινα δῆομεν·

This uselessness of grief is emphasized also in the tragic poets. Thus we have the Chorus employing it to comfort Electra in Sophocles' play of that name, "Yet still thou wilt never raise thy father at least from the lake of Pluto which is common to all, neither by shrieks nor prayers. . . . In matters wherein there is no release from evil, why, I pray thee, dost thou give thyself up to unbearable grief."¹⁹⁰ And calming the grief of Admetus—"thee the goddess has seized in the grasp of her hands, from which there is no escape, but bear it for thou wilt never by weeping bring back on earth the dead from beneath."¹⁹¹ And in answer to his groans they tell him, "thou hast gone through grief I well know. . . . thou nothing aidest her that is below."¹⁹² In like manner, in the Oedipus, Coloneus sympathizing with the daughters of Oedipus—"but since he has happily at least, dear virgins, finished the term of life, cease from this sorrow, for there is no one who will not be seized by misfortune."¹⁹³ Theseus adds his voice to theirs—"cease, virgins, from your weeping; for in those cases where joy is stored up beneath the earth, we ought not to mourn, for there would be just indignation."¹⁹⁴

The Hecuba of Euripides, taught by misfortune the uselessness of striving against her troubles, thus advises Andromache—"But do thou, dear child, dismiss the fortunes of Hector; thy tears cannot restore him."¹⁹⁵ And the same author has Theoclymenus

¹⁹⁰ El. 137. ἀλλ' οὔτοι τόν γ' ἐξ 'Αΐδα
παγχοίνου λίμνας πατέρ' ἄν—
στάσεις οὔτε γόοισιν οὔτ' ἄνταις. . . .
ἐν οἷς ἀνάλυσίς ἐστιν οὐδεμία κακῶν
τί μοι τῶν δυσφόρων ἐφίει; Cf. Eur., Hec. 960.

¹⁹¹ Eur., Alc. 984. καὶ σ' ἐν ἀφύκτοις χερῶν εἶλε θεὰ δεσμοῖς.
τόλμα δ' οὐ γὰρ ἀνάξεις ποτ' ἐνερθεν
κλαίων τοὺς φθιμένους ἄνω.

¹⁹² Ibid. 874. δι' ὀδύνας ἔβας, σάφ' οἶδα. . . .
τὰν νέρθε δ' οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖς.

¹⁹³ Soph., O. C. 1720. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὀλβίως γ' ἔλυσεν
τὸ τέλος, ὦ φίλαι, βίου,
λήγετε τοῦ δ' ἄχους. κακῶν γὰρ δυσάλωτος
οὐδεὶς.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 1751. παύετε θρήνων, παῖδες· ἐν οἷς γὰρ
χάρις ἢ χθονία ξύν' ἀπόκειται,
πενθεῖν οὐ χρή· νέμεσις γάρ.

Theseus here performs his usual office of consoler. Cf. H. F.; Supp.

¹⁹⁵ Troad. 697. ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τύχας
ἔασον· οὐ μὴ δάκρυά νιν σώσῃ τὰ σά·

give similar advice to Helen in her pretended grief for Menelaus, "but do thou, wretched one, not for things that cannot be mended . . . wasting away thyself. But Menelaus has his lot and thy husband being dead cannot live."¹⁹⁶ Also Heracles to Admetus: Her. "Do not I pray thee go beyond all bounds, but bear it in conformity to fate." Ad. "It is easier to exhort than suffering to endure." Her. "But what advantage can you gain if you wish to groan forever?"¹⁹⁷

Neither by bewailing shall I heal anything," says Archilochus, "nor shall I make it worse by attending to pleasure and banquets."¹⁹⁸

In the letter to Xanthippe after the death of Socrates, this thought is dwelt upon: "Pray do not weep any more for it will not help and it may do harm. Remember what Socrates said and try to follow his practice and precepts, since by grieving you will wrong both yourself and your children. . . ."¹⁹⁹

Not only is grief useless but the display of it is *unbecoming the dignity of a noble man*.

Amphitryo, in Euripides (*Hercules, Furens* 1204), appeals to the dignity of Hercules when endeavoring to moderate his grief. "O child, let go thy garment from thine eyes; throw it away; show thy face to the sun. Thy dignity contesting struggles against tears."²⁰⁰ The same author, in *Iphigenia in Aulis* 446,

¹⁹⁶ Hel. 1285. σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ 'πι τοῖς ἀνηνύτοις
τρύχουσα σαυτήν. . . . Μενέλεως δ' ἔχει πότμον,
κοῦκ ἂν δύναιτο ζῆν ὁ καθανὼν πόσις.

¹⁹⁷ Eur., Alc. 1077. μὴ νυν ὑπέρβαλλ', ἀλλ' ἐναισίμῳ φέρε.
ῥᾶον παραινεῖν ἢ παθόντα καρτερεῖν.
τί δ' ἂν προκόπτοις, εἰ θέλοις ἀεὶ στένειν;
Cf. Apoll. Rh., Argon. i. 295, ii. 880.

¹⁹⁸ Bergk, ii. Archil. 13. (53.) οὔτε τι γὰρ κλαίων ἰήσομαι οὔτε
κάκιον θήσω τερπλᾶς καὶ θαλίας ἐφέπων.

¹⁹⁹ Xen., Op. iv. p. 289. Ep. viii τῶν δὲ πολλῶν σοι δακρύων,
ῶγαθῇ, ἄλῃς. ὀνήσει γὰρ οὐδέν, σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ βλάψει. ἀναμι-
μνήσκου γὰρ ὧν ἔλεγε Σωκράτης καὶ τοῖς ἦθεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς
λόγοις περὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἐπεὶ λυπουμένη παρ' ἕκαστα καὶ σεαυτὴν
ἀδικήσεις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας.

²⁰⁰ ὦ τέκον· πάρες ἀπ' ὀμμάτων
πέπλον ἀπόδικε, ῥέθος ἀελίῳ δεῖξον.
βάρος ἀντίπαλον, δακρύοις συναμιλλᾶται.

Cf. Soph., Trach. 1200; Ai. 319; Eur., H. F. 1227, 1248, 1412;
Cic., ad Fam. iv. 5; iv. 6; ad Brut. i. 9; Cons., ad Liv. 345; Sen.,
Polyb. xxiv, xxv; Hier., Ep. lx. 14.

has Agamemnon complain of this dignity which deprives him of the liberty of yielding to his feelings. "But thus lowness of birth has some advantage. For such persons are at liberty to weep and say all kinds of things. But to him who is of noble birth all these miserable things belong. We have our dignity as ruler of our life and are slaves to the multitude. For I am ashamed indeed to let fall the tear; yet again, I, wretched, am ashamed not to weep having come into the greatest calamity."²⁰¹

Plato well elaborates this in his Republic 387D: "We say that the good man will not consider death terrible to any other good man who is his comrade. . . . And therefore he will not sorrow for him as if he had suffered something terrible. . . . And therefore he will lament least and will bear with greatest moderation any misfortune of this sort which may happen. . . . Then rightly shall we remove the lamentations of famous men, and we shall assign them to women—not even excellent women—and to cowardly men."²⁰²

The author of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* uses this as a motive to calm the grief of his friend. "They say that he who instituted laws for the Lycians commanded the citizens, when they mourned to put on women's apparel, wishing to show that

²⁰¹ ἡ δυσγένεια δ' ὥς ἔχει τι χρήσιμον.
καὶ γὰρ δακρῦσαι ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς ἔχει,
ἅπαντά τ' εἰπεῖν. τῷ δὲ γενναίῳ φύσιν
ἄνολβα ταῦτα. προστάτην δὲ τοῦ βίου
τὸν ὄγκον ἔχομεν τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ δουλεύομεν.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν αἰδοῦμαι δάκρυ,
τὸ μὴ δακρῦσαι δ' αὖθις αἰδοῦμαι τάλας,
ἐς τὰς μεγίστας συμφορὰς ἀφιγμένος.

Cf. Soph., Antig. 1246; note 208.

²⁰² φαμέν δὲ δὴ, ὅτι ὁ ἐπικεικὴς ἀνὴρ τῷ ἐπικεικῇ, οὐπὲρ καὶ ἐταῖρός
ἐστίν, τὸ τεθνάναι οὐ δεινὸν ἡγήσεται . . . οὐκ ἄρα ὑπὲρ γ' ἐκείνου
ὥς δεινὸν τι πεπονθότος ὀδύρουτ' ἄν. . . . ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τότε λέγ-
ομεν, ὡς ὁ τοιοῦτος μάλιστα αὐτὸς αὐτῷ αὐτάρκειας πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν καὶ
διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἥκιστα ἐτέρου προσδεῖται. . . . ἥκιστα
ἄρ' αὐτῷ δεινὸν στερηθῆναι υἱέος ἢ ἀδελφοῦ ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλου του
τῶν τοιούτων . . . ἥκιστ' ἄρα καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι. φέρεται δὲ ὡς πραότατα,
ὅταν τις αὐτὸν τοιαύτη ξυμφορὰ καταλάβῃ . . . ὁρθῶς ἄρ' ἂν ἐξαιρ-
οῖμεν τοὺς θρήνους τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀνδρῶν, γυναιξὶ δὲ ἀποδιδοῖμεν,
καὶ οὐδὲ ταύταις σπουδαίαις, καὶ ὅσοι κακοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα ἡμῖν
δυσχεραίνωσιν ὅμοια τοῦτοις ποιεῖν οὐς δὴ φαμεν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς
χώρας τρέφειν. Cf. Cic., T. D. iii. xxi, xxiii; Mein. iv. p. 353 l.480.

sorrow was an effeminate thing, and therefore was not suitable for self-possessed men or men claiming a liberal education."²⁰³

A further reason sometimes urged to repress excessive grief is the *evil effects which result* from it. Plato frequently mentions the evils caused by indulging in sorrow²⁰⁴ and the author of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* makes use of them as a motive for consolation.²⁰⁵ Plutarch also in his letter of consolation to his wife speaks of the danger of allowing grief to take possession of the heart; for when it is fully established, it is hard to dislodge. Wherefore, it should be kept out by avoiding the outward marks of sorrow.²⁰⁶

In connection with the foregoing τόποι, stress is laid on the necessity of applying the great precept, "*Nothing in excess*," to grief as well as to every other circumstance of life.

Plato in his *Republic* censures the poets who introduce their heroes lamenting excessively over their misfortunes. "You know that, somehow, the best of us, hearing Homer or some other of the poets imitating some of the heroes when in grief pouring forth long speeches in their sorrow or bewailing and beating their breasts, are delighted; and yielding ourselves, we follow and sympathise with them, seriously praising him as a good poet who most affects us in this manner. . . . But whenever domestic grief happens to any one of us, you observe on the other hand that we pride ourselves on the opposite behaviour, if we can be quiet and endure; this latter is the part of a man, that which we then praised is the part of a woman."²⁰⁷

²⁰³ 112F. τὸν τῶν Λυκίων νομοθέτην φασὶ προστάξαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, ἐπὰν πενθῶσι, γυναικείαν ἀμφιεσαμένους ἐσθῆτα πενθεῖν, ἐμφαίνειν βουλευθέντα ὅτι γυναικῶδες τὸ πάθος καὶ οὐχ ἀρμόττον ἀνδράσι κωμίους καὶ παιδείας ἐλευθερίου μεταπεποιημένους. Cf. Cic., ad Fam. iv. 5.

²⁰⁴ Laws 727D; Rep. 430A, 606; Menex. 247. Cf. 102C, 112E, 114E, 117F. Cf. Bacchy., xvii. frg. 8; Mein., p.351, l.414, p.349, l.316; Cic., T. D. iv. xvi, xvii.

²⁰⁵ 117F. πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πλέον πενθησάντων μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατοδυρθεῖσιν ἐπηκολούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ πένθους ὄφελος περιποιησάμενοι, μάτην δ' ἑαυτοὺς κατακαιοσάμενοι ταῖς κακονυχίαις.

²⁰⁶ ad Ux. 609F. ff. Cf. Luc., de Luctu 12.

²⁰⁷ Rep. 605C. ἀκούων σκόπει. οἱ γὰρ που βέλτιστοι ἡμῶν ἀκρωμένοι Ὀμήρου ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τραγωδιοποιῶν μιμουμένων τινὰ τῶν ἡρώων ἐν πένθει ὄντα καὶ μακράν ῥῆσιν ἀποτείνοντα ἐν τοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς ἢ καὶ ἄδοντάς τε καὶ κοπτομένους, οἷσθ' ὅτι χαίρομέν

Elsewhere in the same book he remarks, "We said somewhere, said I, that a good man, meeting with such a misfortune as losing his son or anything else which he values highly will bear it more easily than other men. . . . But now we shall consider this whether he will not grieve at all, or that this is impossible but he will moderate his grief. . . . Tell me this now about him, whether do you think he will fight against grief and oppose it more when he is observed by his equals or when he is in solitude alone by himself? It will make much difference when he is seen. When he is alone, I think he will dare and utter many things of which he would be ashamed if any one heard him and he will do many things which he would not wish any one to see him doing. . . . Is it not reason and law commanding him to resist on the one hand, and passion exciting the wound with regard to the grief on the other?"²⁰⁸

And in the Laws he tells us, "It is unseemly to order, or not, persons to weep for the dead. But to forbid them to wail loudly and to send the voice like a messenger out of the house."²⁰⁹

Plutarch writes in the same strain. "Excessive grief, or fear, or joy of the soul, not mere joy, grief or fear, is like to a body

τε καὶ ἐνδόντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπόμεθα ξυμπάσχοντες καὶ σπουδάζοντες ἐπαινούμεν ὡς ἀγαθὸν ποιητήν, ὃς ἂν ἡμᾶς ὃ τι μάλιστα οὕτω διαθῇ . . . ὅταν δὲ οἰκεῖόν τινι ἡμῶν κῆδος γένηται, ἐννοεῖς αὖ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ καλλωπιζόμεθα, ἂν δυνώμεθα ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ καρτερεῖν, ὡς τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρὸς ὄν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ γυναικός, ὃ τότε ἐπηνούμεν.

Cf. Laws 732B; Cic., T. D. ii. xi.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. 603E. ἀνὴρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐπεικῆς τοιαύδε τύχης μετασχών, υἱὸν ἀπολέσας ἤ τι ἄλλο ὧν περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖται, ἐλέγομέν που καὶ τότε ὅτι ῥᾶστα οἶσει τῶν ἄλλων. πάνυ γε. νῦν δέ γε τόδ' ἐπιокεψώμεθα, ὅτερον οὐδὲν ἀχθέσεται, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἀδύνατον, μετριάσει δέ πως πρὸς λύπην. οὕτω . . . τότε νῦν μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπέ: ὅτερον μᾶλλον αὐτὸν οἶει τῇ λύπῃ μαχεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀντιτείνειν, ὅταν ὁρᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἢ ὅταν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ μόνος αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν γίγνηται; πολὺ που . . . μονωθεὶς δέ γε, οἶμαι, πολλὰ μὲν τολμήσει φθέγξασθαι, ἃ εἴ τις αὐτοῦ ἀκούοι αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν, πολλὰ δὲ ποιήσει, ἃ οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτό τινα ἰδεῖν δρῶντα . . . οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ἀντιτείνειν διακελευόμενον λόγος καὶ νόμος ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἔλκον ἐπὶ τὰς λύπας αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος. Cf. Luc., de Luctu i. 15; Epict., Ench. v; Sen., de Tranq. An. xv. Cf. Cic., T. D. III. 26, says men show grief because they think it is the right thing to do.

²⁰⁹ 959E. δακρύειν μὲν τὸν τετελευτηκότα, ἐπιτάττειν ἢ μὴ, ἄμορφον. θρηνεῖν δὲ καὶ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας φωνὴν ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἀπαγορεύειν.

swollen or inflamed.²¹⁰ And the pseudo-Plutarch warns his friend against it. "To mourn excessively and to accumulate grief, I say, is unnatural and results from a foolish opinion we have of it; therefore, we ought to shun it as injurious and worthless and most unbecoming a virtuous man, but to be moderately affected by grief must not be condemned. . . . Therefore the saying is considered a worthy one that in such accidents wise men will neither be without any passion nor grieve excessively. . . . For it is the part of a wise and well educated man to be the same in regard to any prosperous event, and in regard to misfortune to nobly preserve what is fitting."²¹¹

In this point the Stoics are not consistent with their principles; for, notwithstanding their doctrine of *ἀπάθεια*, they admit that a man cannot be wholly free from mental affections, but he can modify them and not let them get the mastery.²¹²

We find Plutarch in his simple and tender letter of condolence to his wife making certain concessions to nature: "I fear if we put aside our grief, we may put aside also the remembrance of her."²¹³ And again, "Only, my dear wife, let us both take care in this present suffering. I myself know and see how great the misfortune is; but if I should find you grieving excessively, this would trouble me more than the event itself."²¹⁴ After praising the fortitude and moderation which he heard she had shown in the trying circumstance, he continues, "for not only ought the chaste woman to remain incorrupt in the Bacchanalian revels; but she ought to

²¹⁰ de Vir. Mor. 452A. οἰδοῦντι γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ φλεγμαίνοντι σώματι τὸ περιαλγοῦν καὶ περιχαρὲς καὶ περίφοβον τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ τὸ χαῖρον οὐδὲ τὸ λυπούμενον οὐδὲ τὸ φοβούμενον.

²¹¹ ad Apoll. 102D, E, 103A. τὸ δὲ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου παρεκφέρεσθαι καὶ συναύξειν τὰ πένθη παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι φημι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν φαύλης γίγνεσθαι δόξης. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐατέον ὡς βλαβερόν καὶ φαῦλον καὶ σπουδαίοις ἀνδράσιν ἥκιστα πρέπον, τὴν δὲ μετριοπάθειαν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμαστέον. . . . οὐτ' οὖν ἀπαθείς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων συμφορῶν ὁ λόγος ἀξιοῖ γίγνεσθαι τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας οὔτε δυσπαθείς. . . . πεπαιδευμένων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τε τὰς δοκούσας εὐτυχίας τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀτυχίας φυλάξαι γενναίως τὸ πρέπον.

²¹² Zeller, c. ix; Sen., Marc. vii; Polyb. xxxvii.

²¹³ ad Ux. 608D. ἀλλὰ καὶ δέδια πάλιν, μὴ συνεκβάλωμεν τῷ λυποῦντι τὴν μνήμην.

²¹⁴ Ibid. 608C. μόνον, ὦ γύναι, τήρει καμὲ τῷ πάθει καὶ σεαυτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καθεστῶτος· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν οἶδα καὶ ὀρίζω τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἡλίκον ἐστίν· ἂν δέ σε τῷ δυσφορεῖν ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὖρω, τοῦτό μοι μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσει τοῦ γεγονότος.

consider her self-control not less necessary in the surges of sorrow and emotion of grief, contending, not against natural affection, as most people think, but against the excesses of the soul."²¹⁵

Nor does the author of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* advise his friend to lay aside all grief, for "to be distressed and grieve for the death of a son is the natural beginning of sorrow and it is not in our power to prevent it. For I do not approve of those who boast of a stern and harsh apathy which is not possible, and is of no use, for it would destroy the benevolence of loving and being loved which is above all necessary to be preserved."²¹⁶

To the necessity of applying the maxim *μηδὲν ἄγαν* to grief, the same author adds the advisability of reflecting on the other sentence inscribed on the Delphic oracle—*γνώθι σαυτόν*—for having the precept of the oracle impressed upon the mind is a great help to easily conform to all the affairs of life and to bear them well.²¹⁷

A further *τόπος* of consolation relating to lamentation and mourning and one which appeals to the natural affections of the mourner is that *the deceased would not wish to see those whom he loves grieve*. "As your son when he was living with you did not wish to see you or his mother sad, so now when he is with the gods and feasting with them he would not be pleased with your manner of acting."²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Ibid. 609A. οὐ γάρ ' ἐν βακχευμασι 'δεῖ μόνον τὴν σῶφρονα μένειν ἀδιάφορον, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν οἶεσθαι ἦττον τὸν ἐν πένθεσι σάλον καὶ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ πάθους ἐγκρατείας δεῖσθαι διαμαχομένης οὐ πρὸς τὸ φιλόστοργον, ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλαστον τῆς ψυχῆς.

²¹⁶ 102C. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀλγεῖν καὶ δάκνεσθαι τελευτήσαντος υἱοῦ φυσικὴν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς λύπης, καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε συμφέρομαι τοῖς ὕμνοῦσι τὴν ἄγριον καὶ σκληρὰν ἀπάθειαν, ἔξω καὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος οὔσαν· ἀφαιρήσεται γὰρ ἡμῶν αὕτη τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν εὐνοίαν, ἣν παντὸς μᾶλλον διασφίξειν ἀναγκαῖον.

Cf. Hor., *Od.* i. xxiv, ii.x.

²¹⁷ ad Apoll. 116D.; Cic., *T. D.* i. xxii; Mein., p. 356 1.584.

²¹⁸ ad Apoll. 121F. ὥς γὰρ οὐδὲ συμβιῶν ἡμῖν ἡδέως ἑώρα κατηφεῖς ὄντας οὔτε σὲ οὔτε τὴν μητέρα, οὕτως οὐδὲ νῦν μετὰ θεῶν ὦν καὶ τούτοις συνεστιώμενος εὐαρεστήσειεν ἂν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὕμῶν διαγωγῇ. Cf. Luc., *de Luctu* 16ff.; Cons., ad Liv. 467; Sen., *Marc.* iii; Polyb. xxiii ff.; Cic., *T. D.* iii.xxix; n. 341.

For the opposite view that mourning gives comfort to the dead see Headlam, p. 233, n. 2; also epitaph of Solon, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* Solon 21. (21.).

CHAPTER IX

CONSOLATION THROUGH RECOLLECTION OF PAST JOYS

For the mourner to turn his attention to the thought of the pleasure which had been experienced in the company of the loved one is considered by some an efficacious means of mitigating sorrow. This gives rise to another *τόπος* of consolation; namely, the *memory of the past pleasures should help dissipate grief*.

Plutarch uses this in his letter of consolation to his wife. Speaking to her of the affectionate and winning ways of their little daughter, he adds, "I see no reason, my dear wife, why these and such things that gave us delight in her life time, should now, when recalled to memory, grieve and trouble us. . . . But as she gave us the greatest pleasure in embracing her and even in seeing and hearing her, so ought her memory living and dwelling with us give us more, many times more joy than grief."²¹⁹ "We ought not to erase from our memory the two years she was with us but consider them a pleasure since they furnished enjoyment and delight; and not deem a blessing of short duration as a great evil, nor be unthankful for what was given us because fortune did not give us it as long a time as we wished."²²⁰

And continuing he adds a further means of consolation—the *recollection of the blessings we still enjoy*. "He who in such cases mostly tries to remember his blessings and turns and diverts his mind from the dark and disturbing things in life to the bright ones, either altogether suppresses his grief or makes it small and dim from a comparison with his comforts."²²¹

²¹⁹ ad Ux. 608D, E. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁρῶ, γύναι, διὰ τί ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζώσης μὲν ἕτερπεν ἡμᾶς νυνὶ δ' ἀνιάσει καὶ συνταράξει, λαμβάνοντας ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν. . . . δεῖ γάρ, ὥσπερ αὐτὴ πάντων ἡδιστον ἡμῖν ἄσπασμα καὶ θέαμα καὶ ἄκουσμα παρέιχεν ἑαυτήν οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῆς ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι καὶ συμβιοῦν ἡμῖν πλέον ἔχουσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλάσιον, τὸ εὐφραῖνον ἢ τὸ λυποῦν. . . . Cf. Apoll. Ty., xciii; Sen., Marc. iii; Polyb. xxix; Hor., Od. i. 24.

²²⁰ Ibid. 610E. τὴν δ' ἐν μέσῳ διετίαν ἐξαίρειν μὲν οὐ δεῖ τῆς μνήμης, ὥς δὲ χάριν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν παρασχούσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τίθεσθαι· καὶ μὴ τὸ μικρὸν ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζειν κακόν· μὴδ' ὅτι τὸ ἐλπίζομενον οὐ προσέθηκεν ἡ τύχη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ δοθέντος ἀχαριστεῖν. Cf. Hier., Ep. lx. 7.

²²¹ Ibid. 610E. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὁ μάλιστα τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπαρτυρόμενος καὶ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ

In his essays Plutarch mentions this motive several times. "It is good when things happen against our wish not to overlook how many pleasant and agreeable things happen to us, but by mingling the evils with the good diminish them."²²² "Why, my dear Sir, do you regard so intently your troubles, keeping them always vivid and fresh while you do not turn your attention to your present good?"²²³ "It is madness to be distressed over what is lost and not to rejoice at what is left."²²⁴ "Men turning from the pleasant and agreeable things occupy themselves with the remembrance of unpleasant things."²²⁵ "For those of us who are sensible make our life pleasanter and more endurable by mitigating our sorrows with the consideration of our blessings, while with many people as with sieves the worse things remain and adhere to them while the best pass through."²²⁶

The effect of time on all things human has suggested to consolers another *τόπος* for calming grief. "All-subduing" time²²⁷ will have its influence on sorrow and *will soften pain and dull the sharp edges of grief*.

The Homeric Menelaus realized its influence on his mourning for his lost companions. "Yet awhile I satisfy my soul with lamentation and then again I cease; for soon there is enough of chill lamentation."²²⁸

μεταστρέφων καὶ μεταφέρων ἐκ τῶν σκοτεινῶν καὶ ταρακτικῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἣ πατάπασιν ἔσβεσε τὸ λυποῦν ἢ τῇ πρὸς τούναντίον μίξει μικρὸν καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἐποίησεν. Cf. Epict., frg. 8, p. 482; Sen., Marc. xii; Polyb. xxx ff.; Helv. xvii; Ep. 99.3; Cons., ad Liv. 377.

²²² de Tranq. An. 469A. ἀγαθὸν τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις συμπτώμασι πρὸς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ παρορᾶν ὅσα προσφιλεῖ καὶ ἀστέια πάρεσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μιγνύντας ἐξαμαυροῦν τὰ χεῖρονα τοῖς βελτίοσι.

²²³ Ibid. 469B. τί τὸ σεαυτοῦ κακόν, ὦ μακάριε, λίαν καταβλέπεις καὶ ποιεῖς ἐναργές ἀεὶ καὶ πρόσφατον ἀγαθοῖς δὲ παροῦσιν οὐ προσάγεις τὴν διάνοιαν, . . . Cf. Cons., ad Liv. 411.

²²⁴ Ibid. 469D. μανικὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἀνιᾶσθαι μὴ χαίρειν δὲ τοῖς σφζομένοις, . . .

²²⁵ Ibid. 473E. ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἱλαρῶν καὶ προσηγῶν ἀπορρέοντες ἐμπλέκωνται ταῖς τῶν ἀηδῶν ἀναμνήσεσι.

²²⁶ de Ex. 600D. ἀλλ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν νοῦν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπαρυτόμενοι τὸν βίον ποιοῦσιν ἡδῶ καὶ ποτιμώτερον, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὥσπερ ἡθμοῖς ἐμμένει καὶ προσίσχεται τὰ φαυλότατα, τῶν βελτιόνων ὑπεκρέοντων.

²²⁷ Bacchy., xii. 205; n. 313; Sen., Marc. viii. Dolorem dies consumit.

²²⁸ Odyss. iv. 102. ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὔτε παύομαι· αἰψήρως δὲ κόρος κρυεροῖο γόοιο.

"Time is a lenient god,"²²⁹ the chorus assures Electra (Sophocles, *Electra* 179). There are similar passages in Euripides' *Alcestis*. "Time will soften thy grief: he that is dead is nothing."²³⁰ "Time will soften the evil but now it is still strong."²³¹

In the Anthology under the name of Plato we have, "Time bears away all things. A long time knows how to change names, and forms, and nature, and even fortune."²³² Philetas says, "but since time comes which is appointed by Jove to soften sorrow, and it alone has a remedy for griefs."²³³ "All things yield to time," says Simonides of Ceos, "with its sharp teeth it grates down everything, even the strongest."²³⁴ The ps.-Plutarch advises his friend to consider the effect that time has had on the grief of others and apply it to his own, for time will assuage it too.²³⁵

²²⁹ χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρὴς θεός.

²³⁰ 381. χρόνος μαλάξει σ'. οὐδέν ἐσθ' ὁ κατθανών.

Cf. Soph., *O. C.* 437.

²³¹ 1085. χρόνος μαλάξει, νῦν δ' ἐσθ' ἡβάσκει κακόν.

Cf. Cic., *ad Fam.* iv.5; *T. D.* iii. xxii.

²³² Bergk, ii. Plato 19.

Αἰὼν πάντα φέρει. δολιχὸς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν

οὐνομα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ φύσιν ἡδὲ τύχην.

Cf. Aesch., *Eum.* 280; *Prom.* 981; Bacchy., xvii. 45; Campbell, *Frag.* 598.

²³³ Anth. Lyr., Phil. i. (1.)

Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ χρόνος ἔλθῃ, ὃς ἐκ Διὸς ἄλγεα πέσσειν

ἔλλαχε, καὶ πενθέων φάρμακα μῶνος ἔχει.

Cf. Verg., *Buc. Ecl.* ix. 50; Hor., *Ep.* ii. ii.

²³⁴ Anth. Lyr. Sim. 176. (66.)

ὃ τοι χρόνος ὀξὺς ὀδόντας

πάντα καταψήχει καὶ τὰ βιαιότατα.

²³⁵ ad Apoll. 115A.

CHAPTER X

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

However far back we go we find that an instinctive belief in a future life runs in an undercurrent through the whole course of Greek literature. But this belief assumes only a vague and shadowy form.²³⁶ Pindar (Olympian II), speaks of the fine rewards in Elysium which await the purified.²³⁷ Sophocles (fragment 753) gives us a glimpse of a similar vision. "Thrice blessed those of mortals who having beheld these mysteries come to Hades; for to them alone it is allowed to live there; but to the others there are all evils."²³⁸ The same reward is held out by Euripides (fragment 852), but it is not limited to the initiated. "Whoever in life honors his parents, he is both when living and dead a friend to the gods."²³⁹ Sophocles represents Antigone (897) as cherishing a hope of meeting her parents and brother, and also Electra (832) anticipating the consolation of the hope of the future life suggested by the Chorus. Euripides has Admetus (Alcestis 363), tell his wife to expect him in the other world and prepare a mansion for him.²⁴⁰ Yet in all this, the doctrine of immortality is not spoken of in a sufficiently definite manner to offer much as a real consolation for death.²⁴¹ It is only in Plato²⁴² and his

²³⁶ Coulanges, "La Cité Antique," i, c. ii; Perrot, "La Religion de la Mort;" Zeller, c. ix; Rhode, "Psyche" passim; Campbell, "Religion in Greek Literature" pp. 176ff.

²³⁷ Olymp. ii. 61; Cf. frgg. 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 137.

²³⁸ Nauck, 753. *ὡς τρις ὀλβιοὶ*

*καίνοι βροτῶν, οἳ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη
μόλωσ' ἐς 'Αἶδον τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ
ζῆν ἔστι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.*

For the "Mysteries" see Campbell, "Religion in Greek Literature."

²³⁹ Nauck, 852.

*ὅστις δὲ τοὺς τεκόντας ἐν βίῳ σέβει,
ὅδ' ἐστὶ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανῶν θεοῖς φίλος.*

Cf. frg. 1018. *ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεός.*

Kock, iii. p. 214; p. 6, 11; Aeschyl., Choe. 323; Bergk, ii; ps.-Phocyl., 115; n. 301.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Fur., Hel. 1678, 1014; Hec. 422; I. A. 1608, 1621; Alc. 744; Troad. 459; Aeschyl., Agam. 1555; Choe. 323; notes 41, 134, 247.

²⁴¹ Resignation, rather than hope, was the characteristic virtue of the Greek. Where hope is used as a means of encouragement it is generally because *τὸ δ' ἀπορεῖν ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ*. Eur., H. F. 105. Cf. Butcher, "Some Aspects of the Greek Genius," chapter on Melancholy of the Greeks, pp. 133ff.

²⁴² Phaedo passim; Apol. passim; Phaedr. 245; Rep. vi. 498,

followers we find it dwelt upon to any extent as a motive for this purpose.

The object of the discussion in the *Phaedo* was, as Socrates observes, to console himself and his friends by showing to them the advantages a philosopher gains by death.²⁴³ And for this purpose he spends the last hours of his life trying to convince his disciples of the immortality of the soul. When the time for his death approached, Crito asked him what wishes he had regarding his children or other matters and how they should bury him. "Just as you please," answered Socrates, "if only you can catch me and I do not escape from you." And at the same time smiling gently and looking round on us, he said, "I cannot persuade Crito, my friends, that I am that Socrates who is now conversing with you and who puts in shape each part of the discourse; but he thinks I am he whom he will shortly behold dead and asks how he ought to bury me. But that long argument which I have just made, that when I have drunk the poison I shall no longer remain with you, but going off I shall depart to some happy state of the blessed, this I seem to have said to him in vain, though I intended at the same time to console both you and myself."²⁴⁴

The happiness reserved for the good in the future life is more particularly dwelt upon in the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* and it is effective in calming and consoling the dying philosopher. "You are not, *Axiochus*," Socrates assures his dying friend, "changing your existence for death but for immortality; nor will you have a deprivation of good things but a still purer enjoyment of them; nor pleasure mixed up with a mortal body, but unmixed

x. 608; *Meno* 81, 86; *Gorg.* 523A; *Laws* xii. 959B, 967E et alia *Cic. T. D.* i. passim; *Somn. Scip.*

²⁴³ Cf. Archer-Hind, *Phaedo*, *Introd.*

²⁴⁴ *Phaedo*, 115C. Ὅπως ἂν, ἔφη, βούλησθε, ἂν περ γε λάβητέ με, καὶ μὴ ἐκφύγω ὑμᾶς. Γελάσας δὲ ἅμα ἡσυχῇ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέψας, εἶπεν, οὐ πείθω, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, Κρίτωνα, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οὗτος ὁ Σωκράτης ὁ νυνὶ διαλεγόμενος, καὶ διατάττων ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων ἄλλ' οἶεταί με ἐκείνον εἶναι δὴ ὅψεται ὀλίγον ὕστερον νεκρὸν, καὶ ἐρωτᾷ δὴ πῶς με θαπτῇ. ὅτι δὲ ἐγὼ πάλαι πολὺν λόγον πεποίημαι, ὡς ἐπειδὴν πῖω τὸ φάρμακον, οὐκέτι ὑμῖν παραμενῶ, ἀλλ' οἰχῆσομαι ἀπὼν εἰς μακάρων δὴ τινὰς εὐδαιμονίας, ταυτὰ μοι δοκῶ αὐτῷ ἄλλως λέγειν, παραμυθούμενος ἅμα μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἅμα δ' ἐμαυτόν.

with every pain. For leaving this prison you will go there where all is without trouble, and moanings, and old age; and life is calm and with no taste of ill.²⁴⁵ . . . Then relating to him the story heard from Gobryas of the joys of the blessed and the punishment of the wicked in the next world he concludes—"These things I heard from Gobryas; and you, Axiochus, can decide upon it. For carried along myself by reason I know firmly this alone, that the soul is wholly immortal and that when it is removed from this spot it is without pain. So above or below you must be happy, Axiochus, if you have lived piously."²⁴⁶

This consolation is made use of in the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, but there is lacking that fullness and that note of certainty which add to the effectiveness of the preceding quotations. "Now if the saying of the ancient poets and philosophers is true, as is likely, that to the righteous there is a certain honor after their departure from this life, as it were the privilege of the first place, and a certain spot appointed in which their souls dwell, you ought to have fair hopes concerning your departed son that it is appointed for him to be numbered among these."²⁴⁷

The hope of glory and happiness in the future life furnishes one of the *τόποι* of consolation treated under the funeral orations in the following chapter.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ 370C. ὥστε οὐκ εἰς θάνατον ἀλλ' εἰς ἀθανασίαν μεταβάλλεις' ὦ Ἀξίοχε' οὐδὲ ἀφαίρεσιν ἔξεις τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' εἰλικρινεστέραν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν· οὐδὲ μεμιγμένas θνητῷ σώματι τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἀλλ' ἀκράτους ἀπασῶν ἀλγηδόνων. κεῖσε γὰρ ἀφίξῃ, μονωθεὶς ἐκ τῆςδε τῆς εἰρητῆς, ἔνθα ἀπονα πάντα καὶ ἀστένακτα καὶ ἀγήρατα, γαληνὸς δὲ τις καὶ κακῶν ἄγονος βίος.

Cf. Cic., *Som. Scip.* 3ff.; Sen., *Marc.* xxiv, xxv; n. 178.

²⁴⁶ 372A. ταῦτα μὲν ἐγὼ ἤκουσα παρὰ Γωβρύου· σὺ δ' ἂν ἐπικρίνεις, Ἀξίοχε. ἐγὼ γὰρ λόγῳ ἀνθελκόμενος, τοῦτο μόνον ἐμπέδως οἶδα, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἀπασα ἀθάνατος· ἡ δὲ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου μετασταθεῖσα, καὶ ἄλυπος. ὥστε ἢ κάτω ἢ ἄνω εὐδαιμονεῖν σε δεῖ, Ἀξίοχε, βεβιωκότα εἰσεβῶς.

²⁴⁷ 120B. εἰ δ' ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγος ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔχειν, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν μεταλλασάντων ἔστι τις τιμὴ καὶ προεδρία καθάπερ λέγεται, καὶ χώρος τις ἀποτεταγμένος ἐν ᾧ διατρίβουσιν αἱ τούτων ψυχαί, καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν σε δεῖ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου νιέος σου, ὅτι τοῦτοις συγκαταριθμηθεὶς συνέσται.

²⁴⁸ Cf. notes 329-333, 338.

CHAPTER XI

GLORY IN DEATH

If the belief in the immortality of the soul was so vague and indefinite among the Greeks that it could furnish little as a means of consolation for death, it was far otherwise in the case of a glorious death. The hope of an immortal renown was a strong incentive for them to meet death calmly and gladly. To die when prosperous or when performing some noble deed was considered a fitting end for a noble life. Aeschylus says, "We should call him happy who has ended his life in beloved prosperity."²⁴⁹ This also was Solon's idea as we learn from his answer to Croesus.²⁵⁰ Diogenes Laertes relates that the same was the opinion of Antisthenes²⁵¹ and we find it verified in the example of Cyrus the Great who found his greatest consolation at the hour of death in the consideration of his own good fortune and the prosperous condition of his family and country.²⁵²

But even happier was he considered who met his death in the performance of some noble action. The story of Cleobus and Biton²⁵³ is used to show that the gods bestow death as a reward for a glorious deed, and the devotion and self-sacrifice of Alcestis has received the highest praise. Cassandra (Aeschylus, Agamemnon 1303) exclaims "there is comfort in a noble death."²⁵⁴ And in Sophocles' Antigone the chorus consoles Antigone with the hope of posthumous fame because her death will be so glorious.²⁵⁵ She

²⁴⁹ Agam. 919. ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ
βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὖεστοι φίλῃ.

Cf. Campbell, frg. 583; Soph., O. T. 1529; Eur., Androm. 100.

²⁵⁰ Herod., i. 30, 32.

²⁵¹ vi. Antisth. 5. Cf. Mullach., ii. p. 292, frg. 117.

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί μακαριώτερον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἔφη, εὐτυχοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν.

²⁵² Xen., Cyrop. viii. vii. 7, 27.

²⁵³ Herod., i. 31 Cf. ps.-Plat., Ax. 367C; Plut., ad. Apoll. 108F; Polyb., xxii. 20; Cic., T. D. i. xlvii.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Hom., Il. xxii. 304; Eur., Hec. 518ff.; Phoen. 991; Troad. 394.

ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶ.

²⁵⁵ Antig. 817, 834ff. Cf. Bacchy., viii. 76-87; Ibid. xii. 63.

had previously expressed her own sentiments when she said (1.97) "I shall not suffer anything so terrible as an ignoble death."²⁵⁶

Of all glorious deaths none could be compared to the death for country, for among the Greeks patriotism occupied a very prominent place as a moral duty of the highest order.²⁵⁷ Its influence was felt through every fibre of the moral and intellectual life. A necessary consequence of this attitude was the willingness with which men sacrificed their lives for their country.²⁵⁸ The hopes of a lasting memorial and a glorious reputation among men compensated for the loss of life. This thought naturally led to the development of topics of consolation which found their most elaborate form in the funeral orations which were used as a means to honor the brave dead and to encourage and console those whom they had left.²⁵⁹ Examples of these are extant from Gorgias, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Hyperides and one each under the names of Lysias, Plato and Demosthenes. The subject of these orations was generally the same—a eulogy on the dead, their country and their ancestors, motives of comfort to their relations from the renown they had acquired, the honor paid them by the state, their reception in the lower world and the care the state would take of their parents and families. This was followed by an exhortation to the living to submit to their destiny as heroically as the fallen warriors had done.

Throughout Greek literature we find many motives given to encourage the patriot in his self-sacrifice and to furnish comfort and consolation for his family and relatives. Among them we may distinguish the following:

The children belong less to their parents than to the city. The power exercised by this motive in inspiring patriotism is exemplified in the case of Iphigenia (Eur., I. A. 1386), offering herself as a victim for her country in spite of the natural repugnance she, like all Greek women, felt at the horror of dying unwed. She consoles her mother by reminding her, "you have brought me forth for the common good of Greece, not for yourself alone . . . (1397).

256

πείσομαι γὰρ οὐ

τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ὥστε μὴ οὐ καλῶς θανεῖν.

257 Coulanges, Bk. iii. Stob., ii. 39.

258 Hor., Od. iii; ii. 13. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori Cic., de Off. I. xvii. 57.

259 Polybius, vi, liii, liv. describes the effect of such panegyrics on the Romans.

I give my body for Greece; sacrifice it and destroy Troy. For this for a long time will be my memorial, and this my children, my wedding and my glory."²⁶⁰ Again she repeats it (l.1502): "You have nurtured me as a safety for Greece, I shall not refuse to die."²⁶¹

This same sentiment sounds the inspiring note of Tyrtaeus' battle song: "Come O youth! of noble Sparta, of warrior fathers! On the left throw forward your shield, and on the right brandish bravely your spear. Do not spare your lives, for it is not the hereditary custom for Sparta."²⁶² The pseudo-Platonic Epistle (ix) furnishes an expression of this ideal. "Each one of us is not born for himself alone, our country claims one part of our birth, our parents another." . . .²⁶³ Demosthenes shows that this was the attitude of the Athenians. "Each of them considered that he was not born for his father and mother only but also for his country.

What is the difference? He that thinks himself born for his parents only, waits for his appointed and natural end; he that thinks himself born for his country also, will sooner perish than behold her in slavery and will regard the insults and indignities which must be borne in an enslaved state as more terrible than death."²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ πᾶσι γάρ μ' Ἑλλησι κοινὸν ἔτεκες, οὐχὶ σοὶ μόνῃ.

δίδωμι σῶμα τοῦμον Ἑλλάδι.

θύετ', ἐκπορθεῖτε Τροίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ μνημεῖά μου
διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ παῖδες οὗτοι καὶ γάμοι καὶ δόξ' ἐμή.

²⁶¹ ἐθρέψαθ' Ἑλλάδι με φάος

θανοῦσα δ' οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.

²⁶² Bergk, ii. Tyrtaeus, 15. (11.)

"Ἄγετ' ὦ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου

κοῦροι πατέρων πολιτῶν, λαιῶ μὲν ἵπυν προβάλεσθε,

δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως (βάλλετε) μὴ φειδόμενοι τᾶς ζωᾶς

οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τᾷ Σπάρτα.

²⁶³ Ep. ix. 358A. ἕκαστος ἡμῶν οὐχ αὐτῷ μόνον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἢ πατρὶς μερίζεται, τὸ δέ τι, οἱ γεννήσαντες τὸ δέ, οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι.

Cf. Plato, Crito 50E, 51A; Bergk, iii, Sim. 92 (151); Mein., iv. p. 346 l.216; Cic., T. D. i. xlviii, iii, xxiv; ad Catil. i. vii; de Off. i. vii. 22.

²⁶⁴ de Cor. 205. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δέ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρ-

Naturally consequent on this thought is the motive, that the *sacrifice of life is the payment of the debt due to one's country*. Speaking of the brave dead Lysias brings out this—"they have died as heroes ought to die paying the country the price of their education."²⁶⁵

For the Greeks the consolation that they derived from the accomplishment of their duty was greatly heightened by the hope that *their death would increase the glory of the state*. This is expressed in simple but lofty and inspiring words in the Epitaph on the Lacedaemonian dead. "These men having set a crown of imperishable glory on their beloved land are folded in the dark cloud of death."²⁶⁶ No less noble is the one on the Athenian dead—" . . . for hastening to set a crown of freedom on Greece. . . ."²⁶⁷

Further consolation was derived from the thought that *death for country was the most glorious and noble of deaths*. Hector (Iliad, xv. 494), uses it to urge on his followers: "But assembled together, fight by the ships and whoever of you is smitten by dart and meets his fate and death, let him die. For we do not die dishonorably fighting for our country."²⁶⁸ The epitaph on the Athenian dead quoted above breathes the same sentiment: "If

μένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσας, ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ θοφερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἅς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη.

²⁶⁵ Epitaph. (2.) 70. ἐτελεύτησαν δὲ τὸν βίον, ὥσπερ χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν, τῇ μὲν γὰρ πατρίδι τὰ τροφεῖα ἀποδόντες, τοῖς δὲ θρέψασι λύπας καταλιπόντες.

Cf. Soph. O. T. 323; Polyb. iii.cix. 12.

²⁶⁶ Bergk iii. Sim. 99. (154.)

Ἄσβεστον κλέος οἶδε φίλῃ περὶ πατρίδι θέντες
κῆραν θανάτου ἀμφεβαλόντο νέφος
οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετὴ καθύπερθεν
κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἀἴδεω.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. 100. (153.)

Εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,
ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη
Ἑλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίην περιθεῖναι
κείμεθ' ἀγῆραντῳ χρώμενοι εὐλογίῃ.

²⁶⁸ ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἀολλέες· ὅς δὲ κεν ὑμέων
βλήμενος ἢ τυπείς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπῃ,
τεθνάτω· οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης
τεθνάμεν·

to die nobly is the chief part of excellence to us of all men fortune gave this lot. . . ."²⁶⁹ Alcaeus expresses it in few words—"It is noble for a warrior to die."²⁷⁰

After having experienced all the horrors of war, Cassandra (Euripides, Troades 400), advises one to avoid it if possible, but she adds, "if it come to this, it is no base crown to die nobly for the city."²⁷¹ The same author (Hecuba 346) shows Polyxena freely offering to meet her doom—"I will follow thee both on account of the decree of fate and even desiring to die; but if I were not willing I should appear base and too fond of life. . . . Lead on, Odysseus."²⁷² And again he has the chorus (Heraclidae 618) using the glory resulting from the self-sacrifice of Macaria as a source of consolation: "Do not, falling down, bear thus the things sent by the gods and do not grieve excessively; for she, wretched one, has a noble share of death in behalf of her brother and her country. Nor will an inglorious reputation among men await her; virtue ascends through toils."²⁷³

This τόπος is employed in the funeral orations of Thucydides and Lysias; and, as was the case in the example last quoted, it is used as a means of comforting the mourners. Pericles (Thucydides ii. 44) thus addresses them: "As many of their parents are as present I address with words of encouragement rather than of condolence. . . . For they know that the life of man is troubled by the various changes of fortune; but fortunate are they who draw for their lot a death as glorious as that which these now

²⁶⁹ Cf. note 267.

²⁷⁰ Bergk, iii. Alcaeus 30. Ἄρευϊ καθθάνην κάλον. Cf. Hor., Od. iii. ii.

²⁷¹ εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἔλθοι, στέφανος οὐκ αἰσχρὸς πόλει
καλῶς ὀλέσθαι,

²⁷² ὥς ἔψομαι γε τοῦ τ' ἀναγκαίου χάριν
θανεῖν τε χρήζουσ'· εἰ δὲ μὴ βουλήσομαι,
κακὴ φανοῦμαι καὶ φιλόψυχος γυνή.

· · ·
²⁷³ ἄγρου μ',
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ προπίτνων τὰ θεῶν φέρε, μηδ' ὑπεράλγει
φροντίδα λύπα·
εὐδόκιμον γὰρ ἔχει θανάτου μέρος ἃ μελέα πρό τ' ἀδελφῶν
καὶ γὰρ
οὐδ' ἀκλεῆς νιν δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται·
ἃ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων.

have . . . to whom life has been so measured out as to be happy in it and to terminate it in like manner."²⁷⁴ And in the same strain Lysias (Oration 2, 78), offers words of consolation: "Now old age and sickness overcome nature; and fate, the arbiter of our destinies, is inexorable, so we ought to consider those most happy who end their days by risking their lives in the greatest and most noble deeds, not turning away from their own fortune, nor awaiting an ordinary death but choosing the most noble."²⁷⁵ Plutarch quotes Epaminondas as having said, "He who dies in war is the most honorable."²⁷⁶

The nobility of the warrior's death is enhanced by the fact that *his fate is deserving of admiration, even of envy.*

Euripides, in whose writings the sentiment of patriotism is strongly marked, gives us several examples of heroic devoion to country, among them the splendid one of Menoeceus. The courage to meet death, which his example imparts, is shown in the glowing words of the Chorus: "We admire, yes, we admire him who has gone to death for the sake of his land, to Creon indeed having left lamentation, but about to make the seven-towered gates of the land greatly victorious. Thus may we be mothers, thus may we be blessed in our children."²⁷⁷ Lysias dwells on this τόπος in his funeral oration. "These men both when they were living and also after their death are worthy of envy"²⁷⁸ . . . the

²⁷⁴ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθίσσομαι· ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται τραφέντες τόδ' εὐτυχές, οἳ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν, τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη.

²⁷⁵ νῦν δὲ ἡ τε φύσις καὶ νόσων ἥττων καὶ γήρως, ὃ τε δαίμων ὁ τὴν ἡμετέραν μοῖραν εἰληχῶς ἀπαραίτητος. ὥστε προσήκει τούτους εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἡγεῖσθαι, οἷτινες ὑπὲρ μεγίστων καὶ καλλίστων κινδυνεύσαντες οὕτω τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ τύχῃ, οὐδ' ἀναμείναντες τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκλεξάμενοι τὸν κάλλιστον.

²⁷⁶ 192C. "Ἐλεγε δὲ τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον εἶναι κάλλιστον.

²⁷⁷ Phoen. 1054. ἀγάμεθ' ἀγάμεθ',

ὃς ἐπὶ θάνατον οἴχεται γᾶς ὑπὲρ πατρῶας

Κρέοντι μὲν λιπῶν γόους, τὰ δ' ἐπάπυργα κληῖθρα γᾶς

καλλίνικα θήσων. γενοίμεθ' ὧδε ματέρες,

γενοίμεθ' εὐτεκνοι,

²⁷⁸ Or. 2.69. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες ζηλωτοί

honors which they received are envied by everybody .²⁷⁹ . . . I consider them happy and their death seems to me worthy of envy.²⁸⁰

A further source of consolation is contained in the thought that *death for country* is a blessing and a *mark of favor of the gods* since Ares spares the coward not the brave.²⁸¹

Even in Hades we find the shade of Agamemnon congratulating Achilles on his good fortune in being cut off in battle. "Happy art thou, son of Peleus, godlike Achilles, who didst die in the land of Troy, far from Argos; and about thee fell others, the best sons of the Trojans and the Achaeans, fighting for thy body."²⁸² That the gods had not so favored his master was a subject of regret to Eumaeus. "I myself well know, concerning my lord's return, that he was exceedingly hated by all the gods that they did not not slay him among the Trojans nor in the arms of his friends when he had terminated the war."²⁸³ The same sentiment animated Odysseus himself when he felt he had survived the war only to fall a prey to Poseidon: "Thrice blessed those Danaans, yea four times blessed, who perished at that time in wide Troy for the sake of the sons of Atreus."²⁸⁴

Hecuba (Euripides, Troades 1167), weeping over the son of her beloved Hector regrets that the gods had not granted him the glorious destiny of dying for his country: "O dearest one, how unfortunate a death has come to thee! For if thou hadst died in

²⁷⁹ Ibid. 79. ζηλωται δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. 81. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζω τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ζηλῶ,

²⁸¹ Bergk, iii. Anac. 101. (Ep. 14.)

Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἀγαθῶν φεΐδεται, ἀλλὰ κακῶν.

²⁸² Odys. xxiv. 36. Ὀλβιε Πηλέος υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, ὃς θάνες ἐν Τροίῃ ἐκὰς Ἄργεος ἄμφι δέ σ' ἄλλοι κτείνοντο Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νῆες ἄριστοι, μαρνάμενοι περὶ σείο.

²⁸³ Ibid. xiv. 365. ἐγὼ δ' εὖ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς νόστον ἑμοῖο ἄνακτος, ὃ τ' ἤχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι πάγχυ μάλ', ὅττι μιν οὐ τι μετὰ Τρώεσσι δάμασσαν ἤε φίλων ἐν χερσὶν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσε.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. v. 306.

τρισμακάρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκισ, οἳ τότε ὄλοντο Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες.

Cf. Verg., Aen. i. 94.

behalf of the city having attained to youth and met with marriage and godlike power, thou wouldst have been blessed."²⁸⁵

One of the motives which had special power of inspiration and which consoled the patriot for the sacrifice of his life, was the certainty that he would be *honored with the due rites of burial*. No stronger motive could be adduced than this,²⁸⁶ because among the ancient Greeks there was a deep-seated conviction that, without proper sepulture for the body, the soul wandered about homeless and in misery.²⁸⁷ The pomp and glory attending a public burial appealed to them in a particular manner.

The anguish and horror caused by the thought of being deprived of sepulture is seen in the case of Odysseus threatened by death at sea, when on his homeward journey. "Would that I too had died and met my fate on that day when the crowd of Trojans cast their brass-tipped spears upon me dying for the son of Peleus. So should I have received my dues of burial and the Achaeans would have spread my fame, but now it is fated for me to be seized by a pitiful death."²⁸⁸ In the meeting of Achilles and Agamemnon in Hades the former sympathizes with his friend because he had been spared in war only to suffer a most ignoble death on his home-coming, and had been deprived of the glorious burial which would have been some compensation for his death. "Would that, having enjoyed the honor of which thou wast lord, thou hadst met death and fate among the Trojans. The Achaeans

²⁸⁵ ὦ φίλταθ', ὥς σοι θάνατος ἦλθε δυστυχῆς.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔθανες πρὸ πόλεως, ἥβης τυχῶν
γάμων τε καὶ τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος,
μακάριος ἦσθ' ἂν, εἴ τι τῶνδε μακάριον. Cf. Eur., *Androm.*
1182.

²⁸⁶ Euripides' plays *Antigone* and *Suppliants* show the importance attached to proper burial. Cf. *Troades* 735, where *Talthybius* warns *Andromache* that the Greeks will punish her resistance by not allowing burial for her child. *Soph.*, *Ai.* 1129; *Eur.*, *Hec.* 50.

²⁸⁷ Cf. *Coulanges*, loc. cit., n. 236 and *Tarbell*: "Greek Ideas as to the Effect of Burial on the Soul," *Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.*, 1884, vol. xv, pp. 36 ff.

²⁸⁸ *Odyss.* v. 308.

ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ γ' ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν
ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλεῖστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα
Τρῶες ἐπέρ' ῥίψαν περὶ Πηλείωνι θανάοντι.
τῷ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων, καὶ μὲν κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί.
νῦν δέ με λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι.

would have made for thee a tomb and for thy son there would be great renown.”²⁸⁹ Homer again brings out the same point in the case of Telemachus, who feels his grief for his father would be lessened if he knew he had fallen in battle and had received the rites of burial from his friends. “Really I would not have thus grieved for his death if he had fallen among his fellows in the land of Troy or in the arms of his friends when he had finished the war. The Achaeans would have built him a tomb and for his son there would be a great renown.”²⁹⁰ Like Telemachus, Orestes (Aeschylus, Choephoroi 345) laments that he had not the consolation of having his father die in battle and receive suitable sepulture. “For if, my father, thou hadst been slain beneath Ilion by the spear of some Lycian, thou wouldst have left fair renown in the house and in the path of thy children; thou wouldst have founded for them a crowned life and thou wouldst have had a high-mounded barrow on a land beyond the sea, a thing easy to bear for the house.”²⁹¹

The consolation offered by this *τόπος* is seen in the pathetic epitaph for the young lives so freely sacrificed at Chalcis: “We fell under the clefts of Dirphys and a memorial is raised over us by our country near the Euripus, not unjustly, for we lost lovely youth facing the rough cloud of war.”²⁹² And Euripides also employs it, in Troades 386, where Cassandra, speaking of the

²⁸⁹ Ibid. xxiv. 30. ὡς ὄφελος τιμῆς ἀπονήμενος, ἧς περ ἄνασσεσ,
δῆμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν·
τῷ κέν τοι τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν Παναχαιοὶ,
ἡδὲ κε καὶ σῶ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἤρατ' ὀπίσσω.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. i. 236. ἐπεὶ οὐ κε θανόντι περ ὧδ' ἀκαχοίμην,
εἰ μετὰ οἷς ἐτάροισι δάμην Τρώων ἐνὶ δῆμῳ,
ἡδὲ φίλων ἐν χερσὶν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον πολύπενυσε.
τῷ κέν οἱ τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν Παναχαιοὶ
ἡδὲ κε καὶ σῶ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἤρατ' ὀπίσσω.

²⁹¹ εἰ γὰρ ὑπ' Ἰλῖω
πρὸς τινος Λυκίου, πάτερ, δορίμητος κατηναρίσθης,
λιπὼν ἂν εὐκλειαν ἐν δόμοισιν τέκνων τ' ἐν κελεύθοις
ἐπιστρεπτόν αἰῶ κτίσσας πολύχωστον ἂν εἶχες
τάφον διαποντίου γᾶς δώμασιν ἐφόρητον.

²⁹² Bergk, Anth. Lyr. Sim. 89. (148.)

Δίρφυος ἐδμήθημεν ὑπὸ πτυχί, σῆμα δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν
ἐγγύθην Εὐρίπου δημοσίᾳ κέχυται,
οὐκ ἀδίκως· ἐρατὴν γὰρ ἀπωλέσαμεν νεότητα
τρηχεῖαν πολέμου δεξάμενοι νεφέλην.

Trojan heroes, thus addresses her mother: "But the Trojans in the first place died in defence of their country, which is the highest renown, and the corpses of those whom the spear destroyed, carried to their homes by their friends, have received an enclosure of earth in their fatherland, decked by the hands of those whom it was meet."²⁹³ The same author (Heraclidae 586) represents this as the only favor which Macaria desired as a return for the sacrifice of her life. "If a release from troubles and a return should ever be found for you through the gods, remember to bury her who saves you as is fitting; most nobly would be just, for I was not wanting to you but died for my race. This is my heirloom, instead of children and virginity."²⁹⁴

In his Republic, Plato, out of conservatism in matters of religion, prescribes that the will of Apollo should be followed in honoring the brave dead. "Must we learn of the god how heroic and divine men are to be buried and with what distinction and we shall do as he bids . . . and in ages to come shall we reverence their tombs and kneel before them as at the graves of heroes?"²⁹⁵

In several of the funeral orations this reward of a public burial is offered as a consolation to the mourners.

"It is a grievous thing," Demosthenes admits, "for a father and mother to be bereaved of their children, and to be deprived of the dearest supports of their old age; but it is a splendid thing to see them possessing eternal honors and a public memorial of

²⁹³ Τρῶες δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, τὸ κάλλιστον κλέος,
ὑπὲρ πάτρας ἔθνησκον· οὓς δ' ἔλοι δόρυ,
νεκροὶ γ' ἐς οἴκους φερόμενοι φίλων ὕπο
ἐν γῇ πατρῷα περιβολὰς εἶχον χθονός,
χερσὶν περισταλέντες ὧν ἐχρῆν ὕπο·

²⁹⁴ καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων
καὶ νόστος ὑμῖν εὐρεθῇ ποτ' ἐκ θεῶν,
μέμνησθε τὴν σώτειραν ὡς θάψαι χρεῶν.
κάλλιστά τοι δίκαιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδεὴς
ὑμῖν παρέστην, ἀλλὰ προύθανον γένους.
τάδ' ἀντὶ παίδων ἐστί μοι κειμήλια
καὶ παρθεναίας.

²⁹⁵ v. 469A. Διαπυθόμενοι ἄρα τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς χρὴ τοὺς δαιμονίους τε καὶ θείους τιθέναι καὶ τίνι διαφόρῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταύτῃ θήσομεν ἢ ἂν ἐξηγῇται; . . . καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν δὴ χρόνον ὡς δαιμόνων, οὕτω θεραπεύσομέν τε καὶ προσκυνήσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας; Cf. Ibid. 465E; Cic., Phil. ix. i.

their valor and considered worthy of sacrifice and perpetual games²⁹⁶ . . . since in their bodies they will not suffer diseases, and in their souls they will be free from those troubles which the living experience in times of misfortune; and their last obsequies are now paid to them with all due honor and solemnity. How can we fail to regard them as happy, to whom the whole country gives a public burial . . . ?²⁹⁷

Commemorating the fallen heroes, Lysias says, "They are buried at the expense of the State; there are celebrated at their tombs games in which strength, wisdom and wealth shine since they are worthy; for those who die in war are honored with the same honors as the gods."²⁹⁸ Special mention of the games is also made in the Menexenus: "(The State) never fails to honor these dead every year. It performs what has been appointed for all in common; and what has been appointed for the individual for each, and in addition to this it appoints games both gymnastic and equestrian and all kinds of poetry . . ."²⁹⁹

A stimulus that was scarcely less effective for the patriot than the preceding motive was the hope of an *imperishable glory and an immortal renown*.³⁰⁰ A number of illustrations of this may be

²⁹⁶ Fun. Or. 1400. χαλεπὸν πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ παίδων στερηθῆναι καὶ ἐρήμοις εἶναι τῶν οἰκειοτάτων γηροτρόφων· σεμνὸν δὲ γ' ἀγήρως τιμὰς καὶ μνήμην ἀρετῆς δημοσίᾳ κτησαμένους ἰδεῖν, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἀχώνων ἥξιωμένους ἀθνάτων.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. 1399. ἔπειτα νόσων ἀπαθεῖς τὰ σώματα καὶ λυπῶν ἄπειροι τὰς ψυχάς, ὥς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν οἱ ζῶντες ἔχουσιν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ καὶ καὶ πολλῷ ζήλῳ τῶν νομιζομένων τυγχάνουσιν. οὓς γὰρ ἅπασα μὲν ἡ πατρίς θάπτει δημοσίᾳ, κοινῶν δ' ἐπαίνων μόνοι τυγχάνουσι, ποθοῦσι δ' οὐ μόνον συγγενεῖς καὶ πολῖται, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὅσπην Ἑλλάδα χρὴ προσειπεῖν, συμπεπένθηκε δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος, πῶς οὐ χρὴ τούτους εὐδαίμονας νομίζεσθαι; Cf. Cons., ad Liv. 460.

²⁹⁸ Or. 2.80. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ θάπτονται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλούτου, ὥς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους τιμᾶσθαι.

²⁹⁹ ps-Plat., Menex. 249B. αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν, αὕτη τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιούσα κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἅπερ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ ἰδίᾳ γίγνεται. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἀγωνᾶς γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἵππικοὺς τιθεῖσα, καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης. . . . Cf. Ibid. 234C.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Hom., Il. vi. 449; Bacchy., viii. 76, 87; xii. 63; Cic., Phil. ix. ii. ff.

taken from the lyric poets especially from the epigrams—expressions of unequalled pathos with a depth of consolation which is implied rather than expressed. Tyrtaeus expresses it in forcible language, “Him they bemoan both young and old and the whole city is distressed with dreadful grief. . . . Never will his good name or his renown perish, but going under the earth he becomes immortal.”³⁰¹ In Pindar we have: “Let him know this well, who bearing ruin to the enemy, wards off slaughter from his dear country, that living, and, even after death, he will be honored with the greatest renown by the citizens.”³⁰² Callinus: “Little and great mourn for him if he die.”³⁰³ Anacreon: “Around his funeral pyre the whole city weeps for Agathon, who died for the people of Aldera.”³⁰⁴ Mnasalcas: “These men defending their native land, that lay with tearful fetters on her neck, clad themselves in the dark dust; but they have gained a great reputation of valour; looking at them let a citizen dare to die for his country.”³⁰⁵ Aeschylus: “These men also steadfast in fighting, dark Fate destroyed when defending their native land rich in flocks; but al-

³⁰¹ Bergk, ii. Tyrtaeus 12. (8.) 27.

τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἢ δὲ γέροντες,
ἀργαλέῳ τε πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις·
καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσθημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω.
οὐδὲ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,
Cf. Cons., ad Liv. 265.

³⁰² Bergk, iii. Pin. Isth. vii. 27.

ἴστω γὰρ σαφές, ὅστις ἐν ταῦτα νεφέλα χάλασαν αἵματος
πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται,
λοιγὸν ἀντιφέρων ἐνατίῳ στρατῷ,
ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων.
ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανῶν.

³⁰³ Bergk, ii. Callinus 1. (1.) 17.

τὸν δ' ὀλίγος στενάχει καὶ μέγας, ἣ τι πάθῃ·

³⁰⁴ Ibid. iii. Anacreon 100. (Ep. 15.)

Ἀβδῆρων προθανόντα τὸν αἰνοβίην Ἀγάθωνα
πᾶσ' ἐπὶ πυρκαϊῆς ἥδ' ἐβόησε πόλις·
οὐτίνα γὰρ τοιόνδε νέων ὁ φιλαίματος Ἀρης
ἡνάρισεν στυγερῆς ἐν στροφάλιγγι μάχης.

³⁰⁵ Anth. Pal. vii. 242. Mnasalcas.

οἷδε πάτραν, πολὺδακρυν ἐπ' αἰχένι δεσμὸν ἔχουσιν,
ῥυόμενοι δνοφερὰν ἀμφεβάλοντο κόνιν,
Ἄρρυνται δ' ἀρετᾶς αἶνον μέγαν. ἀλλὰ τις ἀστῶν
τούσδ' ἐσιδὼν θνάσκειν τλάτω ὑπὲρ πατρίδος.

though they are dead, their glory is alive."³⁰⁶ Simonides of Ceos: " . . . we lie possessing praise which grows not old."³⁰⁷ "Although they are dead they have not died, since their excellence praising them from above leads them from the house of Hades."³⁰⁸

This motive for consolation with many of the foregoing ones is expressed in language that can scarcely be surpassed in the noble and lofty lines of Simonides on the heroes of Thermopylae. Such was the inborn patriotism of the Greek that his highest aspiration was filled, the loss of his life was compensated for, his descendants were consoled by the fact that his *burial place* was regarded as *sacred as a shrine*³⁰⁹ and his *winding sheet* was the *deep grief* and *continual remembrance* of his fellow citizens. "The fate of those who died at Thermopylae is renowned, their destiny beautiful, their burial mound is an altar, instead of lamentation there is remembrance and grief is their praise. Neither decay nor all-subduing time shall ruin such a winding sheet. This shrine of brave men has received the glory of Greece to dwell there. And Leonidas, the Spartan king, bears witness having left great adornment of valour and eternal glory."³¹⁰

Euripides has Iphigenia use this hope of future glory to strengthen her own resolution and to give consolation to her mother. "My renown that I have freed Greece will be blessed."³¹¹

³⁰⁶ Ibid. vii. 255; Aeschyl. vii. 255.

κυανή καὶ τοῦσδε μενέγχεας ὤλεσεν ἄνδρας.
μοῖρα πολύρρητον πατρίδα ῥυομένους
ζῶν δὲ φθιμένων πέλεται κλέος, οἳ ποτε γυίοις
τλήμονες Ὀσσαίαν ἀμφίεσαντο κόνιν.

³⁰⁷ Loc. cit., n. 267.

³⁰⁸ Loc. cit., n. 266.

³⁰⁹ Cf. Aeschyl., Cho. 106. αἰδουμένη σοι βωμόν ὡς τύμβον πατρός.
Eur., Alc. 995, Troad. 96; Plato, Rep. xii. 959C.

³¹⁰ Bergk, iii. Sim. 4. (9.)

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,
βωμός δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ' οἴκτος ἔπαινος.
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρώς
οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
'Ελλάδος εἵλετο' μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας
ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς
κόσμον ἀέναον κλέος τε.

³¹¹ I. A. 1383.

ταῦτα πάντα καθθανοῦσα ῥύσομαι, καὶ μου κλέος
'Ελλάδ' ὡς ἡλευθέρωσα, μακάριον γενήσεται.

Cf. Eur., Phoen. 1313.

Similarly he represents the Chorus offering words of comfort to the sorrowing Iolaus: "Nor will an inglorious reputation among men await her."³¹²

Plato discusses the effect of this love of fame on the actions of ambitious men. "If you consider the love of glory which is in man, you would wonder at the absurdity of those things which I have said, unless you bear in mind and reflect how strongly they are affected with the desire to become renowned and to lay up forever undying fame. And for this they are all willing to incur all kinds of dangers, even more than they would for their children, and to expend their money, and to undergo all labors, and even to seek death. For do you think, said she, that Alcestis would have died in behalf of Admetus, or Achilles to avenge Patroclus, or your own Codrus to preserve the kingdom of his sons unless they thought they would obtain an immortal renown for valor, which actually does still exist among us?"³¹³ In the Republic, speaking of the patriot's death, he says, "And of those who die in battle whoever meets his end gloriously shall we not in the first place say he is of the golden race?"³¹⁴

In the funeral orations the ideas furnished by this *τόπος* are treated by the orators in their usual language of panegyric. It appears in Isocrates as: "For we find that great souls and souls who love honor, not only prefer praise to such things; but would choose to die nobly rather than to live being anxious about honor rather than life; and they do all in their power that they may leave an immortal remembrance of themselves."³¹⁵

³¹² Loc. cit. n. 273. Cf. n. 288.

³¹³ Symp. 208C. ἐπεὶ γε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰ ἐθέλεις εἰς τὴν φιλοτιμίαν βλέψαι, θαυμάζεις ἂν τῆς ἀλογίας περὶ ἧ ἐγὼ εἶρηκα, εἰ μὴ ἐννοεῖς ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὥς δεινῶς διάκεινται ἔρωτι τοῦ ὀνομαστοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ "κλέος ἐς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον ἀθάνατον καταθέσθαι," καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου κινδύνους τε κινδυνεύειν ἔτοιμοι εἰσι πάντας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων, καὶ χρήματα ἀναλίσκειν καὶ πόρους πονεῖν οὐσινασθῶν καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν· ἐπεὶ οἶε σὺ, ἔφη, "Ἀλκιστίν ὑπὲρ Ἀδμήτου ἀπόθανεῖν ἂν, ἢ Ἀχιλλεῖα Πατρόκλῳ ἐπαποθανεῖν, ἢ προαποθανεῖν τὸν ὑμέτερον Κόδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παίδων, μὴ οἰομένους ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἔσεσθαι, ἣν νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν;

³¹⁴ Rep. 468E. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀποθανόντων ἐπὶ στρατείας ὃς ἂν εὐδοκιμήσας τελευτήσῃ ἄρ' οὐ πρῶτον μὲν φήσομεν τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους εἶναι;

³¹⁵ Evag. 189B. εὐρήσομεν γὰρ τοὺς φιλοτίμους καὶ μεγαλοψύχους

In Hyperides the expression of the topic is, "Nevertheless we must take courage and lighten our grief as we may, and remember not only the death of the departed but also the noble reputation that they have left behind. For they have not suffered things worthy of tears, but they have done deeds deserving of great praise. If they came not to old age among men, they have the glory that never grows old and have been made blessed perfectly."³¹⁶ Demosthenes has it, "Their renown will be a consolation to the mourners. How can we fail to regard them as happy who alone receive the general praise, who are regretted not only by their kindred and fellow-citizens, but by all the people bearing the name of Greeks and whose loss afflicts the greatest part of the habitable world?"³¹⁷

Lysias phrases it: "Their memory does not grow old and their honors are envied by all men."³¹⁸ "Wept as mortal on account of their nature, they are sung as immortal on account of their bravery. . . ."³¹⁹ "I regard as the only mortals for whom it was a good to be born, men of mortal bodies who leave after them an immortal memory on account of their bravery."³²⁰

And in the funeral oration found in Thucydides: ". . . those of you who have passed your prime must congratulate yourselves on the thought that the best part of your life was fortunate and that

τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ μόνον ἀντὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαινείσθαι βουλομένους ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀποθνήσκειν εὐκλεῶς αἰρουμένους, καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς δόξης ἢ τοῦ βίου σπουδάζοντας, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας, ὅπως ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην καταλείψουσιν.

³¹⁶ Or. vi. 41. ὅμως δὲ χρὴ θαρρεῖν καὶ τῆς λύπης παραιρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ μεμνησθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλελοίπασιν. οὐ γὰρ θρήνων ἄξια πεπόνθασιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων πεποιήκασιν. εἰ δὲ γήρως θνητοῦ μὴ μετέσχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον εἰλήφασιν εὐδαίμονες τε γεγόνασιν κατὰ πάντα.

³¹⁷ Fun. Or. 1399. Loc. cit. n. 297.

³¹⁸ Fun. Or. 79.

καὶ γὰρ ἀγήρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν αἱ μνῆμαι, ζηλωταὶ δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί.

³¹⁹ Ibid. 80. οἱ πενθοῦνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὥς θνητοί, ὑμνοῦνται δὲ ὥς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν.

³²⁰ Ibid. 81.

καὶ μόνοις τοῖτοις ἀνθρώπων οἶμαι κρεῖττον εἶναι γενέσθαι, οἷτινες, ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωματῶν ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον.

the brief span that remains will be cheered by the fame of the departed. It is only the love of honor that never grows old; and honor, not gain, rejoices the heart of age. . . .³²¹ For offering their lives in common they received individually that renown which never grows old and a most honorable sepulchre, not that in which their bodies lie but rather that in which their glory remains, to be commemorated on every occasion in deed and story. For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; not only in their own country, where the column with its epitaph declares it, but in distant lands there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it except that of the heart."³²²

The treatment of Gorgias is: "These men then are dead, but the feeling of their loss is not dead with them; but immortal in mortal bodies it lives although they are not living."³²³

The honor bestowed upon the patriot naturally redounds to his family and this thought leads to another consolatory τόπος: the patriot wins a *glorious heritage* for his descendants, "for hereditary honor is to descendants a treasure honorable and magnificent."³²⁴ The regret caused by the deprivation of this honor is shown in several of the preceding quotations³²⁵ and the charioteer of the Euripidean Rhesus, complaining bitterly of the ignoble death of his master, furnishes another example. "For to die with glory, if one must die, I think is painful to the dying. Why

³²¹ Hist. ii. 44. ὅσοι δ' αὖ παραβήκατε, τὸν τε πλέονα κέρδος δὴν ἡυτυχεῖτε βίον ἡγείσθε καὶ τὸνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ κομφίζεσθε. τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγῆρων μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ τινὲς φασί, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι.

³²² Ibid. 43. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κείνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ ἀείμνηστος κατλείπεται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνῆμα παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδαιτᾶται.

³²³ Ἐπιταφιος. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συν-ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ἐν ἀσωμάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων.

³²⁴ ps.-Plat., Menex. 247B. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ τιμὰς γονέων ἐκγόν-οις, καλὸς θησαυρὸς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής. Cf. Cic., Offic. i. 23.

³²⁵ Cf. notes 289, 290, 291.

not?—But for the living it is the pride and the fair renown of their house.”³²⁶

Tyrtaeus in stirring words gives expression to this consolation: “his tomb and children will be remarkable among men and the children of his children and his race henceforth.”³²⁷ Demosthenes also employs it in the words of sympathy addressed to the mourners: “It is an afflicting thing for children to be left fatherless orphans but it is a glorious thing to be the inheritor of a father’s renown; and while we shall find the deity, to whom all mortals must yield, the cause of this grief, the honor and the glory are due to their resolution, who chose bravely to die.”³²⁸

Yet another motive of consolation, and one used especially by the orators, was that the advantages accruing from a noble death were not limited to this world but followed the patriot to the next. He will be *received as a friend by his brave ancestors* and will be *honored in a special manner by the gods*.

In the Menexenus Socrates gives us the message the noble heroes sent to their descendants, “On this account then first and last, through all time and by all means, endeavor to have the desire to surpass to the utmost ourselves and ancestors in glory. If you pursue these objects you will come to us as friends to friends. . . .”³²⁹ Xenophon in this connection says, “Justly would he be blessed. . . .”³³⁰ And Isocrates uses it to console the son of Evagoras: “So that if some mortals have become immortal through virtue I think he is worthy of this destiny, if we take it as a sign that while he was living here he was more

³²⁶ Eur., Rhesus 758. θανεῖν γὰρ εὐκλεῶς μέν, εἰ θανεῖν χρεῶν, λυπρὸν μὲν οἶμαι τῷ θανόντι—πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—τοῖς ζῶσι δ’ ὄγκος καὶ δόμων εὐδοξία.

³²⁷ Loc. cit., n. 301.

³²⁸ Fun. Or. 1400. λυπηρὸν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖς γεγενῆσθαι πατρός· καλὸν δέ γε κληρονομεῖν πατρώας εὐδοξίας. καὶ τοῦ μὲν λυπηροῦ τούτου τὸν δαίμον’ αἴτιον εὐρήσομεν ὄντα, ὃ φύντας ἀνθρώπους εἵκειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ δὲ τιμίου καὶ καλοῦ τὴν τῶν ἐβελησάντων καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν αἵρεσιν.

³²⁹ Menex. 247A. ὦν ἔνεκα καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ὕστατον καὶ διαπαντός πᾶσαν πάντως προθυμίαν πειρᾶσθε ἔχειν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πρόσθεν εὐκλεία. . . . καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύσητε, φίλοι παρὰ φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀφίξεσθε, ὅταν δὴ ὑμᾶς ἡ προσήκουσα μοῖρα κομίσῃ.

Cf. Cons., ad Liv. 329; Senec., Polyb. ix, Marc. xxv.

³³⁰ Ages., x. 4.

δικαίως δ’ ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε μακαρίζοιτο, . . .

avored and honored than they.”³³¹ In Hyperides, we have: “If there is feeling in the underworld, and if, as we conjecture, the care of the Divine Power is over it, then it is likely that they who have rendered aid to the worship of the gods in the hour of its desolation will meet with greatest favor from the deity.”³³² Demosthenes uses it even more effectively: “One might well say that they are with the gods below, holding the same rank with brave men of a former age in the islands of the blest.”³³³

Another motive which naturally furnishes consolation to the heroes is: *The State will take charge of the parents and children* of those who die in battle. Thucydides: “Their children will be brought up to manhood at public expense.”³³⁴ Menexenus: “You yourselves surely know the carefulness of the State, that laying down laws concerning the children and parents of those who have died in war, it takes care of them.”³³⁵ Hyperides: “As many as have left children, the State will become guardian for the children of these.”³³⁶ Lysias: “This is indeed the only favor we have to give to those who lie there, if we become as interested in their parents as they would be themselves, if we cherish their children as if we were their fathers, if we protect their wives as they would if they were living.”³³⁷ Demosthenes: “They them-

³³¹ Evag., 203A. ὥστ' εἰ τινες τῶν προγεγεννηένων δι' ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατοι γεγόνασιν, οἶμαι κάκεῖνον ἡξιῶσθαι ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς, σημείοις χρώμενος, ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἐνθάδε χρόνον εὐτυχέστερον καὶ θεοφιλέστερον ἐκείνων διαβεβίωκεν.

³³² Or., vi. 43. εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις ἐν Ἀΐδου καὶ ἐπιμέλεια παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου, ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἰκὸς τοὺς ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυομέναις βοηθήσαντας πλείστης κηδεμονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τυγχάνειν.

³³³ Fun. Or., 1399. οὓς παρέδρους εἰκότως ἂν τις φῆσαι τοῖς κάτω θεοῖς εἶναι, τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. . . . Cf. Cic., Somn. Scip. III. 5.

³³⁴ Hist., ii. 46. αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρις ἡβης θρέψει, Cf. Theoc., Epig. xiv.

³³⁵ Menex., 248E. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἵστε πού καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὅτι νόμους θεμένη περὶ τοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖδας τε καὶ γεννήτορας, ἐπιμελεῖται,

³³⁶ Ἐπιταφιος vi. 43. ὅσοι δὲ παῖδας καταλελοίπασιν ἢ τῆς πατρίδος εὐνοία ἐπίτροφος αὐτοῖς τῶν παίδων καταστήσεται.

³³⁷ Ἐπιταφιος 75. μόνην δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν ταύτην τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὕτως ἀσπαζόμεθα ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ πατέρες ὄντες, ταῖς δὲ γυναῖξιν εἰ τοιούτους βοηθοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοιμεν, οἰοίμην ἐκείνοι ζῶντες ἦσαν.

selves (the dead heroes), if we judge rightly, are happy: for, in the first place, they have exchanged a short space of time for immortal glory; their children will be brought up with honor in the state, and their parents will be maintained in their old age and be regarded with reverence, having their renown as a consolation in their grief."³³⁸

Finally the *deceased* are imagined as *addressing words of consolation* for the survivors.³³⁹ This artifice as already seen is employed in the Menexenus: "But our fathers and mothers who are surviving must be comforted that they should bear as easily as possible their misfortune if any should happen, and not lament with them . . . but heal and mitigate their sorrow by reminding them the gods have heard what they have especially prayed for. For they did not pray that their children would be immortal but that they would be brave and renowned . . . by bearing, too, their misfortunes like men they will be thought to be in reality the parents of manly children and to be such themselves.³⁴⁰ . . . We entreat then both our fathers and mothers to spend the rest of their lives in adopting this very same sentiment, and to know well that they will please us most by not lamenting and bewailing us; and if the dead have any feeling for the living they will be the least agreeable to us by disfiguring themselves and bearing ill their misfortunes."³⁴¹

³³⁸ Ἐπιταφίος 1399. οἱ δ' εὐδαιμονες τῷ δικαίῳ λογισμῷ. πρῶτον μὲν ἀντὶ μικροῦ χρόνου πολὺν καὶ τὸν ἅπαντ' εὐκλειαν ἀγήρῳ καταλείπουσιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ παῖδες οἱ τούτων ὀνομαστοὶ τραφήσονται, καὶ γονεῖς (οἱ τούτων) περίβλεπτοι γηροτροφήσονται, παραψυχὴν τῷ πένθει τὴν τούτων εὐκλειαν ἔχοντες. Cf. n. 300.

³³⁹ Loc. cit. n. 329. Cf. Lucian, de Luctu; Cic., ad Fam. iv. 5; ps.-Plut., ad Apoll. 121E.; Cons., ad Liv. 445; Sen., Marc. xxvi.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Dem. Ἐπιτάφιος 1400.

³⁴¹ Menex. 247C. πατέρας δὲ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσι, καὶ μητέρας εἰ χρὴ παραμυθεῖσθαι, ὡς χρὴ ῥᾶστα φέρειν τὴν συμφορὰν, ἐὰν ἄρα ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ ξυνοδύρεσθαι. . . . ἄλλ' ἰωμένους καὶ πραῦνοντας, ἀναμιμνήσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὦν εὐχονται, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι γεγόνασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὐχοντο γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεεῖς ὦν ἔτυχον, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὄντων. . . . καὶ φέροντες μὲν ἀνδρείως τὰς συμφορὰς, δόξουσι τῷ ὄντι ἀνδρείων παίδων πατέρες εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτοι. . . . 248B. δεόμεθα δὴ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ χρωμένους τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον διαγεῖν· καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ θρηγνύντες οὐδὲ ὀλοφυρόμενοι ἡμᾶς, ἡμῖν μάλιστα χαριούνται· ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ τοῖς τελευτηκόσιν αἰσθησις τῶν ζώντων, οὕτως ἀχάριστοι εἶεν ἂν μάλιστα, ἑαυτοὺς τε καχοῦντες, καὶ βαρέως φέροντες τὰς ξυμφορὰς.

CHAPTER XII

CONSOLATION APPROPRIATE TO PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES

Some motives for consolation have been met which do not readily come under the preceding *τόποι*.³⁴² These will be briefly touched on here.

Diogenes Laertes relates that Epicurus, although dying in the greatest suffering, found consolation from the recollection of his philosophical contemplations.³⁴³

Plutarch tells us that the conviction that he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning was a source of comfort to Pericles at his last hour.³⁴⁴

To the dying Cyrus the thought of his own happy life and the prosperous condition in which he was leaving his family and country was a motive for meeting death with joy.³⁴⁵

It will not be inappropriate to add to the *τόποι* of consolation the touch of songs, "wise daughter of the Muses" with its power of comforting.

Pindar beautifully expresses the calming influence of music. "Less does warm water avail to bathe the limbs for soothing, than words of praise wedded to the music of the lyre."³⁴⁶ Hesiod similarly describes its effect in relieving sorrow, "For if anyone having grief in his fresh sorrowing spirit pines away grieving in heart, presently the minstrel, servant of the Muses, chants the renowned deeds of the men of yore and the gods who hold Olympus, and straightway he who is sorrowing forgets. . . ."³⁴⁷ And

³⁴² Cf. Jerram's Eur. Alc. n. 1. 348, on *δέμας τό σου*.

³⁴³ Diog., La. x., Epic. x. Cf. Cic., de Fin. ii. xxx. 96; T. D. i. xlv. Sed profecto mors tum aequissimo animo appetitur, quum suis se laudibus vita occidens consolari potest.

³⁴⁴ Ap. Gr. Com. Perikles.

³⁴⁵ Cf. n. 252.

³⁴⁶ Bergk, i. Nem. iv. 4.

οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
γυῖα, τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος.

³⁴⁷ Theog., 98. εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέϊ θυμῷ
ᾄζεται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ αἰοιδὸς
Μουσάων θεράπων κλέα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
ὑμνήσῃ μάκαράς τε θεοὺς, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
αἰψ' ὃ γε δυσφοροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων
ἁμέμνηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπεδῶρα θεάων.

Cf. Eur., Med. 190. where the nurse

Socrates, comforting the dying Axiochus, places the hearing of music among the pleasures to be enjoyed in the after life by the good.³⁴⁸ In his treatise *de Virtute Morali*, Plutarch mentions the zeal of Pythagoras for music which he introduced to calm and soothe the soul.³⁴⁹ Later in the same work he speaks of the musical instruments which, although inanimate, yet speak to man's passions, rejoicing with him and mourning with him.³⁵⁰ Although Plato would banish from his Republic all music suggestive of lamentation and sorrow, yet he wished to preserve such harmonies as would help men to meet death or any other blow of fortune with courage and firmness.³⁵¹

laments the use of music at festivals where there is enough to supply pleasure but

στιγίους δὲ βροτῶν οὐδεὶς λύπας ἤυρετο μούσῃ καὶ πολυχόρδοις ὠδαῖς παύειν, ἐξ ὧν θάνατοι δειναὶ τε τύχαι σφάλλουσι δόμους.

³⁴⁸ ps.-Plato, Ax. 371D. καὶ μουσικὰ ἀκούσματα. . . . Cf. n. 245.

³⁴⁹ 441E. εἰκὸς μὲν ἐστὶ μὴδὲ Πυθαγόραν ἀγνοῆσαι, τεκμαιρομένοις τῇ περὶ μουσικὴν σπουδῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν ἐπηγάγετο τῇ ψυχῇ κηλήσεως ἕνεκα καὶ παραμυθίας,

³⁵⁰ 443A. καὶ ὅσα μουσικῆς προσφδὰ καὶ προσήγορα μηχανησάμενης ἀνθρωπίνους πάθουσιν ἄψυχα συνήδεται καὶ συνεπιθρηνεῖ καὶ συνᾶδει καὶ συνακολασταίνει. . . .

³⁵¹ Rep. iii. 398E. ff.

CONCLUSION

From the quotations collected in the foregoing pages we see that little of a consolatory nature appealing to man's nature or reason has been left unsaid by the Greeks.

Consolation was derived from the reflection that death is a debt due to our common nature and all must pay it; that others, even better men, have submitted to it patiently and nobly helps to make it bearable and gives a touch of human sympathy and fellow-feeling in misfortune.

Since whatever comes suddenly appears more formidable, grief is heightened by unexpected and unforeseen evils. A right mental attitude, then, is a great means of alleviating it. Therefore reason should provide for this, and meditation on death should teach one how to bear it.

The consideration of the miseries of life and of the inconstancy of fortune, presents death as a happy release and men have seen in it a special mark of preference of the gods. Some have found solace in viewing death as a peaceful sleep or a safe haven after the troubled journey of life.

An early death cannot be considered lamentable, for those who die early have escaped many misfortunes; and many, like Priam, would have been saved from great calamities if they had met an earlier death. Moreover, the dead do not suffer from the loss of life's blessings; for we suffer only from the want or need of things; and the dead have no need of the pleasure of this life.

Tears and mourning are not condemned, but excessive grief is censured on account of its uselessness and ill effects, and because it is unbecoming the dignity of a noble man; likewise, because such conduct cannot be pleasing to the departed. The two great precepts of the Delphic oracle are applied to grief.

The memory of the past pleasure afforded by the enjoyment of the company of the beloved one and the recollection of the many blessings fortune has still left, help to assuage and soften sorrow. Moreover, time, the great healer, will cure the wound.

Many and varied were the consolations offered for a noble death, and especially for a death met in the interests of the country. The State was intimately connected with religion, was indeed

based on it, and derived its strongest bonds therefrom.³⁵² All that the Greek could hold dearest was closely bound up with the city. In it he found his good, his security, his right, his faith, his god. To what Socrates had said of his country³⁵³ Sophocles adds, "it is our country which has preserved us."³⁵⁴ The Greek felt he owed all to his city, and to him death in its interests was a fitting end to a good life. The funeral speeches dwell with all the magnificence of rhetoric on the glory of such a death.

The fate of the fallen heroes was considered admirable and enviable and a singular mark of the favor of the gods. The fact that they were assured of an honorable interment by the State had great influence, for the Greek regarded death with less fear and horror than the deprivation of sepulture.

The knowledge that they were leaving, by their noble example, a glorious heritage to their descendants and that their families would be well cared for by the State consoled them.

They obtained for themselves an imperishable glory and an immortal renown enshrined, not only on the column with its written epitaph, but also on the unwritten tablets of the heart. Continual remembrance was their winding sheet; and their sepulchre the human heart, the noblest of shrines, wherein their glory was laid up to be eternally remembered and celebrated by song and story. Their tomb was not confined to one single spot but comprised the whole world.

Further, they were assured of a reception by the gods in the lower world, and of special marks of distinction and favor.

To crown all, their death was a kind of general absolution for all the imperfections of their lives; since the good action blotted out the bad, and their merits as citizens more than outweighed their demerits as individuals.³⁵⁵

It is only in Plato and his school that the immortality of the soul, the hope of the rewards and enjoyments of a future life are dwelt upon to any extent as a motive of consolation for death.

The preceding *τόποι* contain all that human philosophy, all that human eloquence has of power to calm a soul laboring under

³⁵² Coulanges, *op. cit.*, Bk. iii.

³⁵³ Plato, *Crito* 50 E., 51 A. Cf. Bergk, *Simon. of Ceos* 92 (151); *Cic.*, *Tusc. Disp.* i. xlviii, iii, xxiv; *ad Catil.* i, vii; *Mein.* iv., pp. 346, 216.

³⁵⁴ ἡδ' ἐστὶν ἡ σωζουσα, *Antig.*, 189. Cf. *Eur.*, *Herac.* 826.

³⁵⁵ *Thucy.*, *Hist.* ii., 42.

great grief; yet it is evident that the arguments here produced tend rather to bring resignation to what is inevitable than a real comfort in sorrow. To the Greek, with his natural love of life and activity, death still remained a calamity to be feared and avoided.

It remained for Christianity to raise Consolation to a higher level, to introduce into it a new feature—a personal presence and influence, the indwelling *ὁ*f the *παράκλητος*—won for us by the death of Christ on Calvary, which inspired the magnificent apostrophe of the great Apostle, “O Death, where is thy victory? O Death, where is thy sting?”³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ I. Corinthians xv, 55.

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