THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE:
ON THE GUIDING (OR
GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

This Discourse, like the twenty-first, twenty-third, and twenty-sixth, is one of the twelve Discourses which are in the form of a dialogue reported directly and are believed to belong to the period of Diö's exile, although in this case after the first few exchanges Diö does all the speaking. He introduces and illustrates the apparently original view, a suggestion for which he may have got from Plato's Republic 540 b, that the 'guiding spirit' (καλουσ) is not something within the man himself, but is some other man who controls him and determines his destiny. One man may even control a great number of men, such as are found in a city, a race, or an empire, and be the cause of their faring well or ill. In this case he is their καλουσ. Even though Diö does not in this Discourse keep his promise given at the outset, to tell about the view of the philosophers that only the wise man is happy, yet the Discourse appears to be complete in the form in which we have it.
25. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ

Φαίνεται γόης φιλοσόφους λέγειν ὡς ἄρα εἰδαίμον
εἰς μόνος ὁ οἰοφός.

Δ. Λέγουσι γὰρ.

'Αρ' οὖν ἀληθῆ σοι δοκοῦσα λέγειν;

Δ. Ἐξαιτε.

Τί οὖν οὐχὶ καμίοι ἔφρασες τὴν διάκοναν αὐτῶν;

Δ. 'Εὰν ἔμοι ὁποῖον ἐπῆς 5 τι νομίζεις τοῦ
dai'monai eìnai.

Ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ κρατῆν ἐκάστου καὶ καθ' ὅν
ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκαστὸς, ὅμοιος μὲν ἕλεκτερος,
ὅμοιος δὲ δοῦλος, καὶ πλαύσιος καὶ πένθις καὶ
βασιλεύς καὶ ἱδρυτής, καὶ πράττει ὅσα ἄν πράττῃ.

Δ. Τότε δὲ ἐν αὐτῶ καλεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
τὸ κρατῆν ἐκάστου, ὦ δαίμονα καλεῖς, ἢ ἐξω τι 1
ἐν, ἄρχον τε καὶ κύριον τοῦ ἀνθρώποι;

1 εἰς τι Capps: ἔσθεν. 2 ἄρχον τε Reiske: ἄρχοντα.

1 The Stoic view. The Academy held practically the same
view. Cf. Plato, Alcibiades 134a: “Then, unless a man is
self-controlled and good, it is not possible for him to be wise”—
οὐ δὲ ἄρα ὁ τε, ἐν ὑπὲρ τῇ ἀφῆς καὶ ἀκάθαρτῃ, ἀδαίμονα εἶναι,
and Xenocrates as reported by Aristotle, Tērēs 2. 6, 112 a,
and 571: “Xenocrates says that it is the man who has a good soul
who is happy”—ἐκαταράκτης φεύριν εἰδαίμονα ἐνα τῶν τῶν
who is happy”—ἐκαταράκτης φεύριν εἰδαίμονα ἐνα τῶν τῶν
who is happy”—ἐκαταράκτης φεύριν εἰδαίμονα ἐνα τῶν τῶν

For the meaning of ‘happy’ see p. 301, n. 1.

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Interlocutor. People say the philosophers maintain
that really only the wise man can be happy.1

Dio. Yes, that is what they maintain.

Int. Well, do you think they speak the truth?

Dio. I do.

Int. Then why have you never stated their view
to me?

Dio. I will, if you tell me first what you think the
guiding spirit is.

Int. For my part, I believe that it is that which
controls each individual and under whose direction
each human being lives, alike whether he be a free
man or a slave, whether he be rich or poor, a king
or a plain citizen, and no matter what his business in
life is.

Dio. And do you think that this principle is within
the man himself, this thing which controls the
individual, which we call the guiding spirit,2 or that,
while being a power outside of the man, it yet rules
him and is master of him?

1 Dio’s word is διάμορφος; other writers identify the inner spirit
with τρυφεῖος or ψύφος. Cf. Epicharmus, frag. 268 Kassel:
“Character is man’s good guiding spirit, but in some cases it
is bad”—ἀναληθόμενον δαίμων ἀγάλλης, οἷς δὲ καὶ κακᾶς:
Heraclitus, frag. 119: “Character is man’s guiding spirit”—
τρυφεῖον δαίμων ἀγάλλης; and Menander, Epitrepontes 479 ff.

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"Τετερον δὲ ἵνα ἄλλως τε φαίνῃ τις ἣν καὶ ἐκεὶνος Μορίλ: ἐκεῖνος. 2 τῶν added by Reiske.

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Inst. The latter is my belief.

Dio. Do you mean a different person? For I suppose it is a person who in one case controls one particular man, and in another case many men, one who leads them where and how he himself wishes, by using either persuasion, or force, or both. And I am saying nothing that is unknown, but refer to the popular leaders whom the cities obey in everything and do exactly as those men direct and advise, whether they advise them to go to war, or to remain at peace, or to build fortifications, or to construct triremes, or to offer sacrifices, or to banish some of their number, or to confiscate their property, or even to cut their throats; and I refer also to both kings and tyrants, and likewise to all masters of servants, who whether by paying down money for a person or by some other means have got anybody into their possession. It is just as if you should call Lycurgus a guiding spirit of the Spartans—for at his command even now the Spartans are scourged and sleep in the open and go lightly clad and endure many other things that would seem hardships to other peoples—and Peisistratus the guiding spirit of the ancient Athenians. For you know, I presume, that when Peisistratus was leader and ruler, the people did not come down to the city, but stayed on the land and became farmers, and that Attica, which was formerly bare and treeless, they planted with olive trees by the order of Peisistratus, and in everything else they did exactly as he wished.

And, later on, one might perhaps say that not only

1 Nearly the same view is expressed in Discourse 3. 6-7.
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others butThemistocles and Pericles also became
guiding spirits; for I take it that you have heard about
these two men, how the one\(^1\) compelled the Athenians,
who had been foot soldiers before, to fight on the sea,
to give up their country and their city to the barbarians,
as well as the temples of their gods and the
tombs of their ancestors, and stake all their fortunes
on their fleet, and afterwards to fortify the Peiraecus\(^2\)
with walls of more than ninety stades in length and
enjoined upon them by his orders other measures of
the same kind, some of which they continued to
carry out only as long as he was present, and others
even when he was in banishment and after his death.\(^3\)
Yes, and at a still later time certain other men, you
may perhaps say, have become guiding spirits of the
Athenians, for example, Alcibiades the son of Cleinias,
and Nicias,\(^4\) Cleon,\(^5\) and Hyperbolus\(^6\)—some few
of them honourable men perhaps, but the rest utterly
wicked and cruel.

Then again you might say that Cyrus\(^7\) became for
a time a guiding spirit of the Persians, a spirit kingly
indeed and liberal in character, who, when the Persians
were enslaved to the Medes, gave them liberty and
made them masters of all the peoples of Asia; and you

\(^{1}\) That is, Themistocles when Xerxes invaded Greece in
480 B.C.
\(^{2}\) The chief seaport of Athens and about 5 miles away.
\(^{3}\) A thick wall was built all round the Munychian peninsula in
which the Peiraecus was. This wall kept close to the sea and
was continued along the north side of the harbour of Cantharus.
The entrances to the harbour of the Peiraecus and to the two
small havens of Munychia and Zea on the east side of
the peninsula were fortified with mole. 90 stades are approxi-
mately 10.34 miles. Thucydides 2. 13. 7 gives the distance as
60 stades.
\(^{4}\) Nothing is said about the achievements of Pericles.
\(^{5}\) Athenian general and leader of the aristocratic party who
opposed Alcibiades and thoroughly disapproved of the Sicilian
expedition.
\(^{6}\) Originally a tanner. Opposed Pericles and for six years
of the Peloponnesian war led the party opposed to peace.
\(^{7}\) Athenian demagogue of servile origin who came into
prominence during the Peloponnesian war.

\(^{7}\) Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire.
DIO CHRYSO STEM

καὶ Δαρείον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ἑφέξεις, τῶν μὲν Καμβίσου, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀναλάκοντα καὶ αὐτοὺς καταπολεμῶντα καὶ στρατεύοντα, συνεχεὶς καὶ μιχέστε ποινίς, οὖν καὶ τὸν ἐλατοὺς τὰ πολλὰ συναγαγόντα καὶ τῆς χώρας γενόμενον αὐτῶν ὅπως ἐργασθήσεται, πολέμους δὲ καὶ τοσοῦτο ἀνακάζοντα πολεμεῖν χαλεποῖς καὶ ἐπικυριόντος, καθάπερ, ὁμα, τὸν πρὸς Σκύθας καὶ τὸν πρὸς 'Αθηναίοις.

6 Ὁσπὸς δὲ καὶ Νομαίδιν μὲν 'Ρωμαίοι τυχῶν ἡ λέγουσιν αὐτῶν 1 διάμακα, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀράβων, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ἀλεξανδροῦ ἡ Φίλαππον, ὁ δὲ Μακεδόνας ταπεινοῖς ὀταῖς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παραχωρητάντων Ἐλλήνως τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵκοι τοὺς ἐποίησε καὶ πολέμικος καὶ μικρὸν δεῖν ὁπᾶσς Ἐλλήνως ἔγκρατεις, Ἀλεξανδροῦ δὲ ὄστερον μετ' ἐκείνων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξαγαγόν ἀμα, μὲν πλουσιότατοι ἀπόλιτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπεδείχθης, ἀμα δὲ πολυποτάτος, καὶ ἀμα μὲν ἱγκροὶ, ἀμα δὲ ἀσθενεῖς, ἴχναδις τε καὶ βασιλείας τὸς αὐτοῦ, Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Βαβυλώνια καὶ Σούσα καὶ Ἑβδομάδα προσεδέποντας,

1 αὐτῶν Μεσπέρινι: αὐτῶν ὡς Μ. αὐτῶν UB.  
2 τοῦ Κοινοῦ, μὲν Ρείκε: δὲ.

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might go on to name Cambyses and Darius and their successors: Cambyses, 1 who squandered their money, shot his subjects down, sent them to toilsome campaigns without intermission, and never allowed them to stay at home; and Darius, who amassed as much money as possible, caused the land to be cultivated, and like the other forced them to wage difficult and dangerous wars, for instance, as I recall, the one against the Scythians and the one against the Athenians. 2

And thus also by the Romans Numa 3 might perhaps be named as their guiding spirit, and Hanno and Hannibal by the Carthaginians, and Alexander, by the Macedonians, or else Philip, who, when the Macedonians were ignobles and weak, and his father had ceded part of his kingdom to the Olym-thians, made them strong and warlike and masters of nearly all Europe. 4 Then afterwards Alexander, succeeding Philip, led them over into Asia and made them at once the wealthiest of all peoples and at the same time the poorest, at once strong and at the same time weak, the same men being both exiles and kings, because while he annexed Egypt, Babylon, Sousa, 5 and Ebatana, 6 he deprived them of Aegea, 7

1 Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, revered by the Romans as the author of their whole religious worship.
2 A great exaggeration. By defeating the Greeks at Chaerones in 338 B.C. he did put an end to the independence of Greece. His father was Amyntas II, who reigned 390-369 B.C.
3 Called Shmaa in the Old Testament. It was the winter residence of the Persian kings.
4 Capital of the Median kingdom and afterwards the summer residence of the Persian and Parthian kings.
5 Also called Edessa. It was the ancient capital of Macedonia and the burial-place of the Macedonian kings.

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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Αλής δὲ καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δίων ἀφελόμενος. 7 Καρχηδώνιοι δὲ ἢ Ἀννων μὲν ἄντι Τυρίων ἐποίεας Λέβανας, καὶ Διδύμην κατοικεῖν ἄντι Φοινίκης, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκτήθατε καὶ σιγιὰ ἄμπορα καὶ λομένος καὶ τρείρεις, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν γῆς, πολλὰς δὲ θαλάσσης ἄρχετε. Αὕτως δὲ πρὸς τῇ Λιβύη καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς κρατῆσαι παρέσχεν ἐπτακαθέκαι ἐτῆς ἀδικίς δὲ αὐτῶς ἐγένετο ἀναστάτως γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν μεταβαλεῖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίου, πολλοῖς προτεροῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας, καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχίζων αὐτὴν ὕλην τῶν Ῥώμην, οὐ βουλθεῖς δὲ, ὁ δεικτός, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ άντιστασκοῦσι.

Καὶ τὰ ὄντων ὅσως οὕτως ἃ ἄνευ τοῦ Καρχηδώνιος οὕτω Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχαῖοι δαίμονα προσήκει 2 αὐτῶν 3 καλέσαν. Νομίμας δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην παραλαβῶν μικρὰ καὶ ἀδεόν ἐτής, ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ χώρᾳ δὲ ἱκομισάμεν 4 καὶ συγκλίδας καὶ πονοῦσας ἐξοσαμὴν τοὺς ἐνυκοῦντας, ἐξ ἔτους προσχώρος πᾶσιν ἐξήρωσαν καὶ πένητας καὶ ἀγρίους καὶ ἐπικινδύνους ζῶντας διὰ 5 τὴν Ῥώμην χαλεπόττατον, τὴν τε γῆν ἀυτῶς βεβαιῶς ἔχειν ἐποίησαν καὶ

1 καὶ γάρ Καρπάς τε καὶ.
2 προσήκει Ρείας· προσήκει.
3 αὐτῶν Ἐμμετίους· αὐτῶν.
4 δὲ ἱκομισάμεν Ἐμμετίους· ἱκομισάμεν.
5 ἐξ ἔτους αὐτῶν.
6 χαλεπόττατον· τὴν γῆν Ἐμπάριος· χαλεπόττατον τῇ γῇ Ἐμ, χαλεπόττατον γῆν UB.

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Pella, and Dioum. And the Carthagians Hanno made Libyans instead of Tyrians, forced them to live in Libya instead of Phoenicia, caused them to possess great wealth, many trading-centres, harbours, and warships, and to rule over a vast land and a vast sea. Then in addition to Libya, Hannibal enabled them to control Italy itself for a period of seventeen years; but after that he was responsible for their being driven from their homes and for their capital itself being moved at the order of the Romans, after he had previously slain great numbers of these Romans and come within a little of taking Rome itself, although, men say, he had no desire to do this, on account of his political opponents at home.

And yet Hannibal, perhaps, neither the Carthaginians nor the Romans could fittingly claim as their good guiding spirit. But Numa took over Rome when it was still small, unknown to fame, and situated in a land owned by others, when it had as its inhabitants an unprincipled rabble, who were, besides, at enmity with all their neighbours, were both poverty-stricken and savage, and lived a precarious existence because of the harshness of Romulus' rule; caused them to hold their land in security and to be

1 Made capital of the Macedonian kingdom by Philip.
2 There Alexander the Great was born.
3 A city in Macedonia at the foot of Mt. Olympus on the north side. About two miles from it was the grave of Orpheus. See also vol. I. p. 50, n. 2.
4 Son of Hamilcar I. and probably identical with the African explorer of that name and with the general surnamed Sabelus. His date is uncertain.
5 Not quite accurate. In the year 149 B.C. the Romans made the Carthaginians dismantle their city and move at least ten miles from the sea. They preferred to fight, and their city was destroyed. Capps suggests καραβάλειν (being destroyed).
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on terms of friendship with their neighbours, and gave them a code of laws, and gods to worship, and a political constitution, thus becoming the author of all their subsequent felicity of which all men speak.

I could go on to speak in the same way about the other cities, and races, and populations which have fared well or ill on account of certain men who were their rulers and leaders. However, my own opinion has, I think, been made sufficiently clear. So, if you do call those I have mentioned in very truth guiding spirits of those who were under their sway and who severally fared better or worse on account of them, I should be glad to hear what you have to say.