The Consolations of Death
In Ancient Greek Literature

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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 plaints 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

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1 Hipp. 189.
2 Hec. 296.
Cf. Androm. 421; Ores. 299; Hipp. 913; Aeschy., 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 supprimere, 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 \(\tau\varepsilon\pi\nu\varepsilon\) 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...
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, 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, the deadly doom which no one who is born escapes. "But swiftly on him came the evil which not one of them could ward off from him although they desired it." "But harsh fate devoured me, the fate which was appointed me when I was born." 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." These allusions to death readily evoke the image of the κήρ on the Chest of Cypselus described by Pausanius, or of the κηρεσ 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." Hera addressed to him the same reproach when he wished to snatch...
his beloved Sarpedon from the “tearful war.”

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.”

Although Axylus had entertained all men, yet there was not one to save him from his doom. Nor did the wonderful mace of Ereuthalion or the golden attire of Nastes hold back from them in any wise grievous destruction. “Nor yet did it avail 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.”

Though Abas and Polyidus were sons of Eurydamus, dreamer of dreams, yet he discerned no dreams for them. “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.”

“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.”

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20 Ibid. xvi. 441.
21 Ι. ii. 858. . . . καὶ Ἐννομος οἰωνιστής . . .
22 Ι. vi. 14. . . . φίλος δὴν ἀνθρώποις
23 II. vi. 14. . . . δὴν άνθρώποις
24 II. ii. 872. καί χρυσόν πόδιμιον δ’ έτον ἥπε κομίνη, νήπιος, οὐδὲ τί οί τό γ’ ἐπίρκεςε λυγρόν διθέρον, ἀλλ’ ἐδάμη υπὸ χερὶ ποδόκεος 'Αιακίδαο ἐν ποταμῷ.
25 II. ii. 833. . . . τῶ δὲ οἴ oυ τί
26 II. v. 150. τοῖς οὐκ ἔχομενοις ο γέρων ἔκρηνατ’ ονείρους, ἀλλά σφέας κρατερὸς Διομήδης ἐξενάριζε.
27 Odysse. xv. 244. . . . λασσόσον 'Αμφιάραον δν περί κήρι φιλεῖ Ζεύς ταίλλογος καί 'Απόλλων παντοτινὴ γιλότητ’ οὐδ’ ἵκετο γῆρας οὐδόν.
28 Ibid. iii. 236. ἀλλ’ ἤ τοι θάνατον μὲν ὤμωνιν οὐδὲ θείο περ καὶ φιλω ἀνδρὶ δύνανται ἀλλακέμεν, ὀπότε κεν ἢ ἐπὶ μοῖρ’ ὁλοθ καθέλησι ταννλεγέος θανάτοιο.
too, Achilles, peer of gods, fate will destroy beneath the wall of the noble Trojans.”

“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.”

“I accept death . . . for not the mighty Heracles escaped death, although most dear to Cronian Zeus the king.”

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.”

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.”

Passages similar to these are found where comfort is derived

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30 Odyss. xxiv. 28. ἡ τ' ἄρα καὶ σοι πρῶτα παραστήσεσθαι ἐμελλε μοιρὰ', ὀλοή, τὴν οὗ τις ἀλευτεῖ ὁς κε γένηται.

31 II. xviii. 115. κήρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι, ὅποτε κεν δὴ Ζεῦς θέλη τελέσαι ἢδ ἀδάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, οὔδὲ γὰρ οὔδὲ βίη Ὡρακλῆσ φύγε κήρα, ὃς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διῖ Κρονίων ἄνακτι.

32 II. xii. 322. ὡ, πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε aiei δὴ μέλλομεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀδανάτῳ τε ἔσσεσθ', οὔτε κεν αὐτός εἰν πρώτοις μαχοίμην οὔτε κε σε στέκλουμ μάχην ἐς κυδάνειραν' νῦν δ' ἐμπις γὰρ κηρὲς ἐφεστάσαι δανάτου μυρία, ὃς οὐκ ἐστι φυγείν βροτόν οὖν' ὑπαλύξαι, ἢμεν, . . . . . Cf. Odyss. xvi, 446.

33 II. xix. 8. τέκνον ἐμὸν, τοῦτον μὲν ἐάσομεν ἀχνίμενοι περ κείσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα θεῶν ἱστη 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.”

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.”

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.”

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.’” 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.”

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34 Odyss. x. 174. Ὅ̄ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πω καταδυσόμεθ', ἀχνύμενοι περ, εἰς Ἀίδαο δόμους, πρὶν μόρσιμον ἣμαρ ἐπέλθη.
35 II. vi. 486. δαιμονίη, μη μοι τι λήν ἀκαχίζεω θυμώ. οὐ γάρ τίς μυ ὑπέρ αἰσαν ἀνήρ Ἀίδι προϊάψει. μοίραν δ'ου τινά φημι περγυμένον ἐμεμαι ἀνδρών, οὐ ναχόν, οὐδε μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἐπην τα πρώτα γένηται.
Cf. II. ix. 320. κάτθαν’ ὄμως δ’ ἀεργοδο άνήρ δε πολλα ἐφοργώς. Aeschy., 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 II. vi. 146. οἶη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιη δε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. φύλλα τα μεν τ’ ἀνεμοσ χαμάδις χεει, ἄλλα δε τ’ ἥλη τηπθώσα φεει, ἐαροσ δ’ἐπιγιγνεται ὑρη. δε ἀνδρῶν γενεή ἡ μεν φεει ἢ δ’ἀπολήγει. Cf. II. xxi. 463.
37 Bergk, iii. Sim. 85 (60).
(οἴδεν ἐν ἀνθρόποις μὲνει χρήμα ἐμπεδον αἰει.) ἐν δε τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος ἐειπεν ἀνήρ.
οἶη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιη δε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
38 Ibid., 39. (54). ἄνθρωπων ὄλιγον μὲν κάρτος, ἀπρακτο δε μεληδόνες,
“Death comes even to the coward.” 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.” 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.” This strain of pathos at the thought of the mortality of man appears frequently in the Odes of Pindar. “All must die.” “On the rich and the poor alike the end of death falls.” “For equally comes the wave of death and falls on the fameless and the famed (or on the unexpected and expectant).” “We all in like manner die, although our lots are different.” Or as Theognis expresses it, “No one by paying a ransom can escape death or heavy disease or severe old age coming...
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upon him." 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." 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 Amphitryon 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." "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." 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." In Euripides' Alcestis (614 ff.), Pheres makes use of this

46 Max. 727. oúd' án ἀποινα διδοΐς θάνατον φύγοι οὐδὲ βαρείας νοῦσους 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 καθανεῖν δεινὸν νομίζω τῷ δ' ἀναγκαῖῳ τρόπῳ ὃς ἀντιτείνει σκαλὸν ἡγοῦμαι βρότον. ἡμᾶς δ', ἐπειδὴ δεῖ θανεῖν, θηρεύεται χρεῶν μὴ πυρὸς καταξανθβντας, ἐχθροίσιν γέλων διδόντας, . . . Cf. Mull., Democ, frg. 44.


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.”

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.”

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.”

We have the Chorus, in the same author (Electra 860), reminding Electra in her grief that “death is natural to all mankind,” 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.”

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.”

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51 ἡκὼ κακοίσι σοίσι ανγκάμνων, τέκνων. ἔσθλης γάρ, οὐδείς ἀντερεί, καὶ σῶφρονος γυναικὸς ἡμάρτηκας. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν φέρειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τοπόν ὑπερβάλλεται συμφορά.

52 ὑπερβάλλει γάρ ἡδὲ συμφορά, τὸ μὴ τέλεσαι μὴτ' ἐρωτήσαι πάθη. ομοὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη πημονᾶς βροτοῖς φέρειν θεῶν διδόντων.

53 θανουμένη γὰρ ἐξῆδη, τι δ' οὖ; κεῖ μὴ σὺ κρουκῆρυξας. εἶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πρόσθεν θαυμίμα ξέροις αὖτ' ἐγὼ λέγω. τᾶσι θνατοῖς ἔρων μόροι.

54 Θυνητοῦ πέρυκας πατρός, Ἡλέκτρα, φρόνει, θυνητὸς δ' Ὀρέστης. ὡστε μὴ λιὰν στένε. (πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν.)

55 Ὁμοιομμένη γὰρ ἐξῆδη, τί δ' οὖ; κεῖ μὴ σὺ κρουκῆρυξας. εἶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πρόσθεν θαυμίμα ξέροις αὖτ' ἐγὼ λέγω. τᾶσι θνατοῖς ἔρων μόροι.

56 Ὁμοιομμένη γὰρ ἐξῆδη, τί δ' οὖ; κεῖ μὴ σὺ κρουκῆρυξας. εἶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πρόσθεν θαυμίμα ξέροις αὖτ' ἐγὼ λέγω. τᾶσι θνατοῖς ἔρων μόροι.

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51 Cf. Ibid., 1070; Androm. 1233; n. 197.


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

55 Ep. vii. 394Ε. οὔτε γὰρ πέρυκεν ἀθάνατος ἡμῶν οὐδείς. οὔτ' εἶ τῷ ψυμβάσει, γένοιτο ἰν εὐδαιμών, ὡς δοκεί 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.”

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?”

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.” “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.” “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.” “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.”

57 Cf. Tennyson’s Tithonus.

58 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὃ τι δεὶ τοιαῦτα ὀλοφύρεσθαι. οὐ γελά ἐκλαυθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ὅτες θυτοῖ. ὡσε τι δεί, ἡ πᾶλαι προσε- δοκώμεν πείσεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων νῦν ἄχθεσθαι, ἢ Λιαν οὐτω βαρέως φέρειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ἐπισταμένους δι' ὅ θάνατος κοινὸς καὶ τοῖς χειριστοῖς καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις; Cf. Cic. ad Fam. iv. 5

59 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 ἐν ἡμαί Μώφον νηλείης ἔλε στόμος ἀδεικά δ’ οὐ φύγειν αἰσιαν μαντοσύναις’ οὐ γάρ τις ἀποτροπὴν βανάτοιο.

60 Ibid. ii. 815. "Ἐνθα δ’ Ἀβαντίαδὴν πεπρωμένη ἠλασε μοῦρα Ἰόμοια, μαντοσύνησι κεκασμένον ἀλλὰ μὴν οὕτι μαντοσύναι ἔσάνωμεν, ἐπεὶ χρεὼ ἣν δαμημαν.

61 Ibid. ii. 854. 'Ἀγνιάδὴν Τιφρν βανέιν φάτις. οὐδὲ οἱ ἰὲν μοιρ’ ἐναυτίλλεσθαι ἐκαστέρω. ἀλλὰ νυ καὶ τὸν αὖδι μυννθαδίη πάτης ἐκάς εὐσκε νοῦνοι,

62 Ibid. iii. 429. τλήσομαι, εἶ καὶ μοι βανέιν μόρος. οὐ γάρ ἐτ’ ἀλλο ῥίγιον ἀνθρώποις κακῆς ἐπικεῖστ’. 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." 

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." “Why is it wonderful . . . if that perishes which by nature is perishable?” “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.” In de Tranquilitate 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.”

63 Ibid. i. 1035. μοίραν ἀνέπλησθεν, τὴν γὰρ θέμις οὕτων ἀλύξαι θνητοῖσιν.
64 103F. χρὴ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐαυτῶν εἰδέναι θνητὸν ὡς τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι θυσίω συγκληρὸς ἐστὶ βίω καὶ πράγμασι, ἕρειδιοι μεθυσταμένοι πρὸς τοῦναυτένυ.
65 Ibid. 106D. τί γὰρ θαυμαστὸν . . . εἰ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἐσθαρτά; 
66 Ibid. 116B. ο ὁν ἦ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἀποθνῄσκειν ἢ τέκνων ἀποθανόντων ὑπεραγανακτῶν πῶς οὐ καταφανώς ἐπιλέησαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστί καὶ τὰ τέκνα θυτά ἐγέννησεν; οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ φρένας ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου ἂν γονεῖν ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῶν ἔστι θυτῶν, οὐδὲ ὅτι γέγονεν εἰς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. 
67 475C. πρὸς δὲ τὰ φύει δοκοῦντα λυπεῖν, οἷα νῦσι καὶ πόνου καὶ θάνατος φίλων καὶ τέκνων, ἐκεῖνο τὸ Εὐριπίδειον 'ομοιο. τί δ’ ομοίο; θυσίατοι πεπόνθαμεν;' οὖδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω τοῦ παθητικοῦ καταφερμένου καὶ διοίκαντος ἀντιλαμβάνεται λόγος, ὥσ τὸς κοινῆς καὶ φυσικῆς ἀνάμμησιν ποιῶν ἀνάγκης, ὃ δὲ τὸ σῶμα μεμιγμένον ὁ ἄνθρωπος μόνην ταύτην τῇ τύχῃ λαβὴν διδόσων, εὖ δὲ τοῖς νυρωτάτοις 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.
\(^69\) Odys. i. 353.
\(^70\) Eur., Alc. 416. "Αδμητ', ἀνάγκη τάσδε συμφορᾶς φέρειν
οὐ γάρ τι πρώτος ὀυδὲ λοίσθιος βροτῶν
γυναικὸς ἑσθλής ἡμπλακες.

\(^71\) Ibid. 890.—πέρας δὲ γ' οὐδὲν ἀλγέων τίθης . . .
—βαρέα μὲν φέρειν, δύσοι δὲ . . .
—τλάθ' ὀυ σὺ πρώτος ὀλευάσας . . .
—γυναῖκα συμφορά δ' ἐτέρους ἑτέρα
πιέζει φανεῖσα θνατῶν.
the wives of many.”72 This theme is often introduced by the formula ὦ σοὶ μόνῳ, 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, ἐλπίει φιλίαν
tί νέον τόδε; πολλοίς
ἡ δὴ παρέλυσεν
θάνατος δάμαρτας.

73 οὐ σοὶ τάδ’, ὄναξ, ήλθε δὴ ἡ μόνῳ κακά,
πολλῶν μετ’ ἄλλων δ’ ἠλέσας κεδνὸν λέχος.


74 οὐχὶ σοὶ μόνα
δίσφονες ἐπέπεσον, οὐ φίλοισι λύπαι?

Cf. Helen, 464.

75 οὔτοι σοὶ μοῖνα, τέκνον,
ἄχος ἡγάνῃ βροτῶν,

Cf. Ibid. 289, ὃ δύσθεον μίσημα, σοὶ μοῖνη πατήρ
tένυκεν; ἄλλος δ’ οὕτως ἐν πέθει 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."

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

Cf. II. ν. 382; Callimachus, Elegy on Bath of Pallas.
thy former nuptials am 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.”

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.”

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

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77 Πηλεία, χάριν σοι τῶν πάροις νυμφευμάτων ἤκω Θέτις λιποῦσα Νηρέως δόμου. καὶ πρῶτα μέν ὅ τοις παρεστῶσιν κακοῖς μηδὲν τι λιῶν δυσφορεῖν παρηνεσα· κὰ' ἀγώ γάρ, ἢν ἄκλαντα χρῆν τικτείν τέκνα, ἀπώλεσ' έκ σοῦ παιδά τὸν ταχύν πόδας 'Αχιλλέα τεκοῦσα πρῶτον Ἐλλάδος.

78 εἰσίν παρ'. ἡμῖν οὐδέν ἰσοσον ἰδίαια γναίκες ήδε προβούται σέθεν, υψωτι τ' ἀρίστων νυμφιῶν τητώμεναι, ὡν ἦδε κείθει σώματ' Ίδαία κόνις. τόμμα τάδ.

79 de Tranq. An. 467E. διὸ καὶ τούτο πρὸς εὑρίσκαι μέγα, τὸ τούς ἐνδύζουσα ἀποθεωρεῖ, εἰ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πεπόθθαιν. Cf. Apoll. Ty., Ep. xvic. Cic., T. D. iii. xxiv, xxv, xxxii; 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 tranquility 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 consolation firmissima est, quamquam et usitata est, et saepe protest: 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 Danaë\(^ {81}\) 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 οὔτω καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πανσῆμεθα μεμφόμενοι καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες, ἀν ἐτέρους ταύτα προσδέχομένους ἀλύπως καὶ ἰλαρός ὅρωμεν.

\(^{81}\) Nauck, 460.

\(^{82}\) ad Apoll. 106A. ὁ δὲ παραμυθόμενος τὴν Δανάην ἰυσπερνθοῦσαν Δίκτυς φησί

'δοκεῖς σὸν Ἀιδὴν τῶν τι φροντίζειν γνῶν καὶ παῖδι ἀνήσειν τὸν σὸν, εἰ θέλωσι στένειν;

παύσαι. βλέπουσα δεῖς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά ραι 

γένοις ἀν, εἰ λογίζεσθαι θέλοις

δοκεῖ τοις δεσμοῖς ἵμμεμάχλευναι βροτῶν,

δοσι τῇ γράσκουσιν ὄρφανοι τέκνων,

τοῦ τ' ἐκ μέγιστον ὀλβίας τυραννίδος

τὸ μηδὲν δυντα. ταύτα σε σοκοπείν χρεων.'

κελθεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἱσα καὶ μεῖζω δυστυχοῦστων, ὡς ἐκομένην ἐλαφροτέραν.

\(^{83}\) Ibid. 118D. Ἀποβάλετεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλο

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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.\footnote{84 Ibid. 106B.} 

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 \textit{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.”\footnote{85 Horn., II. χν. 138.} 

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.”\footnote{86 Hom., II. xv. 138.} 

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{τῷ οὗν κέλευθεν μεθέμεν χόλον νίος ἐγός}, \textit{ἡ δὲ γὰρ του ἴβηρ καὶ χείρας ἁμέλων} \textit{ἡ πέρατ’,} \textit{ἢ καὶ ἐπείτα περήσεται.}
  \item \textit{Ἀλλὰ, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σὺ τὴν ὀλοφύρωσαν οὕτως; κάθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὦ πέρε σεο πολλῶν ἁμέλων. οὐχ ὀρᾶς οίος καὶ ἐγώ καλὸς τε μέγας τε; πατρὸς δ’ εἶμ’ ἀγαθοῖς, θεὰ δὲ με γείνατο μήτηρ’ ἄλλ’ ἐπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ βλάτατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταίη.” Cf. Lucr., de Rerum Natura, III, 1026.}
\end{itemize}
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 Ibid. xxiv. 46.

μέλλει μὲν ποῦ τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι,
ἡ κασίγνητον ὀμογάστριον ἡ καὶ νῖόν’
ἀλλ’ ἡ τοι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμζνος μεθέηκε’
πλητὸν γὰρ Μοίραι 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 Chrous 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 τίς, Θεόδωρος ἐπει θάνων ἄλλος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ 
χαιρείς, θανάτῳ πάντες ὑπειλόμεθα.
90 Eur., Androm. 1270.
παῦσαι δὲ λύπης τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ
πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἦδε πρὸς θεῶν
ψῆφος κέκρανται καθανεῖν τ’ ὀφειλεταὶ.
91 Alc. 782. βροτοῖς ἀπασὶ καθανεῖν ὀφειλεταί,
κ’ οὐκ ἔστι θυγτῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αἰτίαν μέλλουσαν εἰ διώσεται.
Cf. Soph., El. 1173.
92 Ibid. 418. γίγνεσθαι δὲ
ὡς πᾶσιν ήμίν καθανεῖν ὀφειλεταί.
93 ps.-Plato, Ax. 367B. κἀν μὴ τις βάττον ὡς χρήσι ἀποδίδῃ τῷ
ζην, ὡς ἀθλοστάταις ἡ φύσις ἐπιστάσα ἐνεχυράζει τοῦ μὲν
όψιν. ...
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.”

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.”

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94 ad Apoll. 106F. διό καὶ μοιρίδιον χρέος εἶναι λέγεται τὸ ζήν, ὡς ἀποδοθησόμενον δ' ἐδανείσαντο ἡμῶν οἱ προπάτορες. ὦ δὴ καὶ εὐκόλως καταβλητέον καὶ ἀστενάκτως, ὅταν δ' ἐδανεῖσας ἀπαιτῆ. Cf. Cic., T. D. i. xxxix; Sen., Marc. x, Polyb. x, xi.

95 Ibid. 116A. οὐ δεὶ οὖν δυσφορεῖν, ἐὰν ἀ ἔχρησαν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὀλίγον, ταῦτ' ἀπαιτῶσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τραπεζίται, ναθάπερ εἰσ-θαμεν λέγειν πολλάκις, ἀπαιτοῦμεν τὰ θέματα δυσχεραῖνσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποδόσῃ, ἐὰνπερ εὐγνωμονώσι.

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.\(^{\text{94}}\) This doctrine, according to Cicero, was taught by the Cyrenaics.\(^{\text{96}}\) 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.\(^{\text{97}}\)

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.”\(^{\text{98}}\)

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.”\(^{\text{99}}\)

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\(^{\text{94}}\) T. D. iii. xiii, xxii, xxxi.

\(^{\text{96}}\) 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.

\(^{\text{98}}\) ἔρχετος ἄντα πημάτων τὰ δείν ὀρᾶν, χόταν τις εὖ ἦ, τηνικαύτα τὸν βίον σκοπεῖν μάλιστα, μὴ διαφθαρεῖς λάθη.

Cf. Hom., Odys. xxiii. 262.

\(^{\text{99}}\) Nauck, frg. 964.

ἐγὼ δὲ (ταύτα) παρὰ σοφοῦ τινος μαθὼν εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφορᾶς τῇ ἐβαλλόμεν, φυγάς τ᾿ ἑμαυτῷ προστίθεις πάτρας ἐμῆς θανάτους τ᾿ ἀόρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας δόδων, ἐν εἰ τι πάσχουμ᾽ ὃν ἐδόξαξον φρενί, μὴ μοι νεώρες προσπεσών μάλλον 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 μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἄνηρ. "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? ¹⁰⁰ For grief is beyond measure intensified by falling

¹⁰⁰ Phaedo 67E. τώ δυντι ἁρα, ἔφη ὁ Σιμία, οἱ ὅρθως φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθνῄσκειν μελετῶσι, καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι ἁκοστα αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων φοβερὸν. ἐκ τῶν δέ σκότων. εἰ γάρ διαβεβληνται μὲν πανταχῆ τῷ σώματι, αὐτὴν δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν, τούτου δὲ γιγαντομένου φοβοίντο καὶ ἁγανακτοίεν, οὐ πολλὴ ἀν ἀλογία εἰ, .... Cf. Epict., ii. i, xxvi; Cic., T. D. i. xxxi; notes 202, 208.
¹⁰¹ Rep. vi. 486A.
¹⁰² Ibid. iii. 386A. εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι ἀνδρείοι, ἃρο ταῦτα τε λεκτέων καὶ οἰα αὐτοῦ ποιήσαι ἡκιστα τον τάνατον δεδείναι; ἡ ἥγει τινά ποτ' ἀν γενέσθαι ἄνδρείον, ἔχοντα εν αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ δείμα.
¹⁰³ Plato, Αρ. 29Α. τὸ γάρ τοι θάνατον δεδείναι, ὧ ἀνδρε, οἱδὲν ἀλλο ἐστιν, ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι, μὴ δυνα. δοκεῖν γάρ εἰδέναι ἐρτιν ἀ οἰκίς οἴδεν. οἰδὲ μὲν γάρ ὁδεῖς τῶν τάνατον, οὔδ' εἰ τυχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τάνων μέγιστον ὑν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεῖδαι δ' ὃς ε 输出错误。
out against expectation: and the calamity that comes unlooked for is more painful than that we may reasonably fear."

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."

"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."

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."

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104 de Vir. Mor. 449E. τίς γὰρ ἀν φαίη τὸν . . . ἢ τὴν Πλάτωνος ἐπὶ Σωκράτει τελευτήσαντι λύπη τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δία Κλέιτον, αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὁμᾶς αὐτῷ; ἐπιτείνονται γὰρ οὐ μετρίως καὶ τῷ παρὰ λόγῳ αἱ λύπαι, καὶ τὸ παρ’ ἐλπίδα σύμπτωμα τοῦ κατὰ λόγον ὀδυνηρότερον .


107 ad Apoll. 112D. 'Αλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστους φησὶ 'ταῦτα πείσεθαι, οὐδὲ προσεδοκών. 'Αλλ' ἔχρην σε προσδοκάν καὶ προκατεκρικήναι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων τῆς ἀδηλότητα 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"—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." 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." "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." Pindar dwells frequently on this thought, "No one is or shall be free from troubles." "We each bear different lots by nature, one one, another another, but it is im-

108 Odyss. xviii. 130. οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαία τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο, πάντων ὅσα τε γαίαν ἐπι πνεει τε καὶ ἐρπε. Cf. II. xvi. 446; Mullach., Emped. Carm. 30; Mein., p. 358, l. 640; p. 134 ii.

109 Il. xxiv. 525. ὃς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖς βροτοῖς, ξώειν ἄχρυμνοις. Cf. Soph., O. C. 1230; Bacchy., frg. 9; Apoll. Rh., Argon. i. 82; Eur., Alc. 802; Sen., Marc. x. n. 1.

110 O. D. 94. ἄλλα γυνὴ χείρεσσι πῦθον μέγα πῶμ’ ἁφελοῦσα ἐσκέδασ’ ἀνθρώποις δ’ ἐμὴσατο κηδέα λυγρά. Cf. Aeschy., Per. 703; Eur., I. A. 1330; Stob., iii. 98; Mullach., Democr. frg. 10; Cic., T. D. i. xxxi; et alia.

111 Ibid. 101. πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαία κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα’ νοῦσοι δ’ ἀνθρώποιον ἔρ’ ἡμέρη, αἱ δ’ ἐπι νυκτὶ αὐτόματοι φοιτώσι κακά δυντοίς φέροναι στιγμ. Cf. Aeschy., Choeph. 1018; Campbell, Frg. 373; Aeschy., 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.”

“...The gods give to mortals two evils for one good.”

“What part of life,” asks Prodicus of Ceos, “is free from evils?” And the ps.-Plutarch reminds the sorrowing Apollonius that “it is no unusual thing for a man to be unfortunate.” “The inconstancy of Fortune,” Crantor tells us, “joined us at the beginning of our journey and has accompanied us ever since.” 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.” 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.”

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. φυα δ' ἐκαστος διαφρομεν βιοταν λαχωνε, ὁ μεν τά, τα δ' ἄλλου τυχειν δ' έν αδύνατον εὐδαιμονιαν ἀπασαν ἀνέλομεν. Cf. Pyth. vii. 20; Bergk, ii. Solon 13. (4.) 63; Ibid., Sim. Amorg. i. (1.) 20; Bacch., v. 54.

114 Pyth. iii. 81. ἐν παρ' ἐσόν πήματα σύνδον δαίονται βροτοίς ἀθάνατοι'. Cf. Hom., II. xxiv. 527.


116 104D. καυνόν ἀνυχεῖν οὖδὲν ἀνηρώπω ἀλλά πάντες ταυτὸ πετόνθαμεν. Cf. Dem., de Cor. 328.

117 Mullach., Crantor frg. 9. ἢ τ' αδήλος αὐτὴ τίγη πόρρωθεν ἢμιν καὶ ετ' ἀπ' ἁρχης ἤκολούθησεν. . . . Cf. Ibid., Emped. 116, Epicharm. 188; Bacch., ix. 45; ad Apoll. 104C; Bergk, ii. Archil. 9. (48.); Eur., Alc. 785; Sen., Marc. xxiii.

118 Bergk, ii. ps.-Phocy. 116. οὐδεὶς γιγνώσκει, τι μετ' αὐριον ἡ τι μεθ' ἄραν. 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, l.488, et alia.

119 δαχρῶν ς' εἰσοφόν πόλιν τε σήν τήν τ' ἄρτις θαυμοῦσαν ἐγκυνον σέθεν. φεῦ. οὖκ ἐστι πιστῶν οὖδὲν, οὔτ' εὐδοξία οὔτ' αὖ καλῶς πράσσωντα μή πράξειν κακῶς. Cf. Eur., Or. 1; Bacch., frgg. 20, 21.
being, the highest pitch of calamity.”

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.”

This same sentiment has been preserved among the maxims of Theognis.

From these considerations we have a favorite τόπος used by consolers, that death is not an evil but a blessing, a remedy for evils.

“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.”

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.”

“For to die is considered the greatest remedy for evils.”

“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. 
121 ad Apoll. 115E. 
122 Aeschylus' play of the same name (1.778 ff.). 
123 Anth. Lyr. Aesopus, viii (reading θανάτου). 
124 Eur., Herac. 595. 
125 Or. 1522, 187; Soph., Trach. 821.

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Cf. Ad Apoll. 115B; Cic., T. D. i. passim, iii, xxxii. 
Cf. ad Apoll. 115E. 
Cf. Sen., Marc. xxi. 
Cf. Or. 1522, 187; Soph., Trach. 821.
to an end . . . death appears in the end.”

Sophocles regarded death as “the final physician of diseases.”

And the daughters of Danaus, in Aeschylus (Suppliants 810), preferred it to forced nuptials, “death is free from mournful ills.”

Heracles, in the Trachinae of Sophocles (1.1169 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.”

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.”

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 disturbing

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127 Soph., O. C. 1215. ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακραί ἀμέραι κατέθεντο δὴ λύπας ἐγγυτέρω, . . . ὁ δ’ ἐπίκουρος ἰσοτέλεστος, . . . ἀνυρὸς ἄχορος ἀνατίθησθεν θάνατος ἐς τελεύταιν.

128 Campbell, frg. 631. αλλ’ ἔσοθ’ ὁ θάνατος λοίθσως ἰατρὸς νόσων.


130 η μοι χρόνω τῷ ζῶντι καὶ παρόντι νῦν ἔρασκε μόχθων τῶν ἑρεστῶν ἐμοὶ λύσιν τελείσθαι: κάδοκου πράξειν καλῶς. τὸ δ’ ἦν ὅρ’ οὐδέν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν ἔμε. τοῖς γάρ θανοῦσι μόχος οὐ προσγίγνεται.

Cf. Soph., O. C. 955; El. 1170; Aeschyl., Agam. 1364; Sept. 335; Eur., Alc. 937.

131 τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τῷ θανεῖν ἵσον λέγω, τοῦ ζῆν δὲ λυπρὸς κρείσσον ἔστι καθθανεῖν. ἀλγεῖ γάρ οὖδέν τῶν κακῶν ἀμφημένοις· κεῖνη δ’, ομοίως ὡσπερ οὐκ ἱδούοντα φῶς, τεθνηκε νοθέδεν 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.”  

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.”  

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. . . .”  

“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.”

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.” 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”

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132 Herod., vii. 46. έν γάρ οὔτω βραχεὶ βία, οὔδείς οὔτω άνι-θρωπός έώς ευδαιμών πέρευκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῶ οὖν παραστήσεται πολλάκις καί οὔλι άπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μάλλον ἡ ἤδειν. αι τε γάρ συμφορᾶι προσπίπτουσαι καί αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσ-πουσαι καὶ βραχύν εύτηρα μαχρόν δοκεῖν εἶναι παυεῖσι τοῦ βλον' οὔτω ὁ μιν άνάματο μοχθηρῆς ἐνόησε τῆς ἤδεις καταφυγῆ αἱρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε.  
133 Phaedo, 62A. ἵσως μέντοι θαυμαστόν σοι φανεῖται, εἰ τούτο μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπλούν ἔστι, καὶ ούδεποτε τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὄσπερ καὶ τ' ἄλλα ἐστίν, ὅτε καί οἶς βέλτιον τεθνάναι ἢ ζην.  
134 Plato, Apol. 40C, B. έννοήσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς, ὡς πολλῇ ἐπις ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ εἶναι. . . . κινδυνεύει γάρ μοι τὸ ξυμβεβηκός τούτο, ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι καὶ οὐκ ἐσθ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς ὅρθως ὑπολα-μβάνομεν, ὅσοι οἴδημα κακών εἶναι τὸ τεθνάναι.  
135 Ibid., 41D. οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμά νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ μοι δῆλον εστὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἤδη τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἢν μοι.  
136 Mullach., Epicharm. frg. 263.  
137 Cf. ad Apoll. 110A; Verg., Aen. xii. 647.
then it afflicts us.”

According to Hegesias, death withdraws us from evil, not from good. So fully impressed was Alcidamas 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. 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.”

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 288) 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.”

“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.” 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...”
me as being happy.”\

“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.”\

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.”\

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?”
The Consolations of Death

In connection with the attitude towards death as offering a release from miseries and pain, the comparison of death to a *peaceful sleep* naturally follows. This is a common figure of speech in both ancient and modern literature. Homer calls death and sleep twin brothers, 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. 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.”

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.”

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.

Here likewise may be added another familiar comparison, that life is a pilgrimage and death the end of the journey. Some
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.\textsuperscript{154}

Continuing the argument brought forward in the preceding $\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma\sigma$, 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?”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{154} Cic., T. D. i. xl. xlix.
\textsuperscript{155} Plato, Apol. 40C. \textit{ei δ' αὖ οἷον ἀποδημήσαι ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθενδὲ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶ τὰ λεγόμενα, ὡς ἂρα ἐκεῖ εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ τεθνεώτες, τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτον εἶη, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί;}
\textsuperscript{156} 107F. \textit{ei γε μὴν ἀποδημία προσέοικην ὁ θάνατος, οὔθ' οὕτως ἐστὶ κακὸν}
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. 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. It is also emphasized in the epitaphs. 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. . . . "

"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. . . . "

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157 Sen., Marc. xvii. Nullum non acerbum funus est, quod parens sequitur.
159 Anth. Gr. vii. 182, 186, 361, 487, 498; et alia.
160 Ibid. vii. 260.
161 Cf. Plato, Hip. Mai. 291D.
162 Ibid. vii. 555.
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.”

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.”

Homer brings in this thought, “He repaid not his dear parents for his nurture for his life was short.” 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.”

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162 ad Ux. 611C. *εἶ δ' ἔκεινης ἔχεις οἶκτον ἀγάμου καὶ ἀπαιδος οἰχομένης, αὕτης ἔχεις ἐπ' ἅλλοις ἥδιο σεαυτήν ποιεῖν, μηδενός τούτων ἀτελῆ μηδ' ἄμοιρον γενομένην*.

163 Apoll. Rh., Argon. i. 278. Λήφθ' δὲ τοῖς θείοις, άμαρ, δτ' ἔξειπόντος ἄκουσα δειλή ἔγω Πελιαο κακὴν βασιλῆσις ἐφετην, αὐτικ' ἀπό ψυχὴν μεθέμεν, κηδέων τε λαθέθαι, δορ' αὐτὸς με τεχνι φωλαις ταρχύσαι χερσίν, τέκνων ἐμόν, τὸ γὰρ ὄνομ ἐν τούτων ἐξέλωρ ἐκ σέ'θεν, ἀλα δὲ πάντα πάλαι θερητήρια πέσω.

164 Π. ιv. 477. οἴδε ὁ ἄγαμον πάλαι λαβεῖν, μνευθάδεος δὲ οἱ αἰών.

165 119F. τούτω γὰρ ἐναι κατὰ φύσιν, τὴν ἡμετέραν δηλοντι καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπινήν, ἀλλ' οὗ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων πρόων καὶ τὴν χορμικήν διάστασιν. ἔκεινω δὲ τῇ μακαριστήτε, οὐκ ἦν κατὰ φύσιν περατέρω τοῦ ἀπονεκηθέντος αὐτῷ χρόνον 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. 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. 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." 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." "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." "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. frg. 10. Cf. ad Apoll. 109B; Cic., T. D. i. xlviii; Kock, iii. p. 36. 125 "Ον οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνῄσκει νέος.."
168 113F. μεῖον γάρ δυτῶς ἔδαχρυσε Τρώιδος ἢ Πρίαμος, κἀν Πρίαμος αὐτὸς, εἶ προσελεύθησεν ἐτ' ἀκμαξοῦσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης ἡν θαρῆνει.
Cf. Apoll. Rh., Argon. i. 253; Cic., T. D. i. xxxv, xxxix; ad Fam. iv. 5.
169 Mein., iv. p. 669. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἢδεις ὅτι τοῦτον τὸν βίον, ὅν οἴκ ἐβίωσε, ζῶν διευθυγγυνέν ἄν, οὗ θάνατος οὐκ εὐχαιροῦσθαι εἶ δ' ἤνευκεν αὐτὸς δ' βιός τι τῶν ἀνηκόητων, ἵσως δ' θάνατος αὐτὸς σοὶ γέγονεν εὐνοοῦστερος.
Cf. ad Apoll. 110Ε; Campbell, Frag. 760.
170 ad Apoll. 115F. οὗ χρή οὖν τοὺς ἀποθνῄσκοντας νέους θρηνεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ νομίζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστήρηται. τούτῳ ἄδηλον, ὡς πολλάκις ἐτίμωσον, εἴτ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστηρημένοι τυγχάνουσιν εἴτε κακῶν.
tenderness, foreseeing what is to happen the human race, has taken some purposely out of this life by an untimely death."  

A further motive for consolation in the case of an early death is, "not the longest life but the most virtuous is best." For "goodness of life is its measure, not length of time." 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." 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." 

171 Ibid. 117D. τίς γὰρ οἶδεν, εἰ δὲ θεὸς πατρικῶς κηδόμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους καὶ προορώμενος τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσεθαι προεξάγει τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αώρους; 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.  


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


175 ad Apoll. 111C. τὰ γὰρ χίλια καὶ τὰ μὐρία κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ἔτη στιγμὴ τίς ἐστιν ἄριστος, μᾶλλον δὲ μόριον τι βραχύτατον στιγμῆς.  

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, xliv, xlv; Lucr., de R. N. iii. 874ff.; Sen., Marc. xix; Polyb. xxvii; chap. v.

177 ad Ux. 611D. τῶν μεγάλων στερήσεως ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ λυπῶν εἰς τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι περιγεγόμεναι. Τιμοξένα δ’ ή ἡ μικρῶν μὲν ἐστιν ἐγγεζω καὶ μικροῖς ἐχαιρε. ὡς δ’ οὕτω ἄλθησιν ἕσχεν οὕτω ἔλαβεν ἐπιτύχων, πῶς ἂν στέρεσθαι λέγοιτο;

178 Αχ., 365Ε. πάντα τοιγαροῦν τὸν τοιόνδε φλώραν ἀποσκέδασαι, τούτο ἐννοοῦσαι, δότι τῆς συγκρίσεως ἀπαξ διαλυθεῖσας, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἱδρυθεῖσης τόπον, τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν σῶμα, γεώδες δὲ καὶ ἄλογον, ὡς ἐκτὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐσμὲν ψυχῆς, ᾧν ἄθλατον, ἐν δυνητῷ καθειργεμένῳ φρουρῶς. 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.\textsuperscript{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,"\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{179} Cf. Plut., de C. I. 455C; Odyss. xv. 399; II. 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.

\textsuperscript{180} Od. vii. 427. οὐδὲ εἷς κλαίειν Πρίαμος μέγας οἷς δὲ σιωπὴ νεκροῦς πυρκαίης ἐπενήμεων ἀχνύμενοι κήρ,

\textsuperscript{181} Od. iv. 195. νεμεσσώμαι γε μὲν οὐδὲν κλαίειν ὃς κε σάμησι βροτῶν καὶ πότιον ἐπίστη.

\textsuperscript{182} Ibid. xxiv. 292. οὐδὲ εἶ μήτηρ κλαίσει περιστείλασα πατήρ θ', οἷς μὴν τεκόμεσθα—οὐδὲ ἀλοχος πολύδωρος, ἐξέγρην Πηνελόπεια, κόμυσεν ἐν λεχέσειν ἐὸν πόσιν, ὡς ἐπεόκει, ὅρθαλμος καθελοῦσα—τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.

Cf. Ibid. 190; II. 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." 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." Yet as the good nurse says in comforting Penelope, "It is an evil to grieve always and never cease." 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.

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." 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." 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."
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

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190 El. 137. ἀλλ’ οὕτω τὸν γ’ ἐξ ’Αίδα παγκοίνου λίμνας πατέρ’ ἄν— στάσεις οὕτε γόοσιν ὄντ’ ἀνταῖς. . . . ἐν οἷς ἀνάλυσίς ἐκτιν οὐδεμία κακῶν τί μοι τῶν δυσφόρον ἔρει; Cf. Eur., Hec. 960.
191 Eur., Alc. 984. καὶ σ’ ἐν ἀφικτοσι χερῶν εἶλε θεὰ δεσμοῖς. τόλμα δ’ οὗ γὰρ ἀνάξεις ποτ’ ἐνερθέν κλαίων τοῦς χθόνιν ἄνω.
192 Ibid. 874. δι’ ὀδύνας ἔβας, σάφ’ οἶδα. . . . τὰν νέρθε δ’ οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖς.
193 Soph., O. C. 1720. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ὁδίως γ’ ἔλυσεν τὸ τέλος, ὁ φιλαί, βίον, λήγετε τοῦ δ’ ἁχουσ. κακῶν γὰρ δυσάλωτος οὐδείς.
194 Ibid. 1751. πάντες θρήνων, παῖδες: ἐν οἷς γὰρ χάρις ἡ χθονία ἔτι οὐκόνεται, πενθεῖν οὐ χρή: νέμεσις γάρ.

195 Troad. 697. ἀλλ’, ὁ φίλης παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἓν 'Εκτορος τῶν εἰκασὶν οὐ μὴ δάκρυνα μιν σώσῃ τὰ σά.”
The Consolations of Death

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.”

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?”

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

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 . . . .”

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. The same author, in Iphigenia in Aulis 446,
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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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

sorrow was an effeminate thing, and therefore was not suitable for self-possessed men or men claiming a liberal education.\textsuperscript{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 sorrow\textsuperscript{204} and the author of the Consolatio ad Apollonium makes use of them as a motive for consolation.\textsuperscript{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. Therefore, it should be kept out by avoiding the outward marks of sorrow.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{207}

\textsuperscript{203} 112F. τὸν τῶν Δυκίων νομοθέτην φασὶ προστάξαι τοῖς αὐτῶι πολίταις, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶι πενθοποιοί, γυναικείαν ἁμφισσαμένος ἐκθέτα πενθεῖν, ἐμφαίνειν βουληθέντα ὅτι γυναικῶδες τὸ πάθος καὶ οὐχ ἁμφότερον ἀνδρᾶσι κωμίως καὶ παιδείας ἔλευθερον μεταπεποιημένοις. Cf. Cic., ad Fam. iv. 5.

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

\textsuperscript{205} 117F. πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πλέον πενθησάντων μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶι καταδεικτοίς ἑπεκαλοῦθησαν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ πένθους ὅρελος περιποιησάμενοι, μάτην δ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς κατακειμένους ταῖς κακοχιαις.

\textsuperscript{206} ad Ux. 609F. ff. Cf. Luc., de Luctu 12.

\textsuperscript{207} Rep. 605C. ἀκοῦον σχότει. οἱ γὰρ τοῦ βελτίστου ἡμῶν ἁροομένου ὄμηρου ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τραγῳδιστῶν μιμουμένου τινά τῶν ἡρώων ἐν πένθει ὁπτὰ καὶ μακρὰν ῥήσει ἀποτιθέντα ἐν τοῖς ὀδύρμοις ἢ καὶ ἄδοντὰς τε καὶ κοπτομένους, οἷοθ᾽ 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?”

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.”

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

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

Ibid. 603E. ανήρ, ή η δ ’ έγώ, έπεικής τοιάδοε τύχης μετα-σχών, υίου ἀπολέσας ή τι άλλο άν περί πλείστου ποιεῖται, ἐλέγομέν ποιείται τότε έλεος έλέει τών ἄλλων. πάνω γε, νῦν δὲ γε τόδ’ ἐποιεψόμεθα, πότερον οὐδὲν ἁχθέσατο, ή τούτο μεν ἄλλων, μετρι-άσει δὲ πως πρὸς λύπην. ούτω . . . τόδε νῦν μοι περὶ αυτοῦ εἰπέ-πότερον μάλλον αὐτὸν οἶει τῇ λύπῃ μαχείσαται τε καὶ ἀντιτείνειν, οὗτον θραύσαι εἶρι τῶν ὄρμιών, ή οὕτω ἐν ἐρημίᾳ μόνων αὐτὸς καθ’ αὐτὸν γίνεται; τολύ ποιοῦ . . . μονωθείς δὲ γε, οἶμαι, πολλὰ μεν τομήσει φθέγγασθαι, α εἴ τις αὐτοῦ άκούοι αἰσχύνοιτ’ αν, πολλὰ δὲ ποιῆσει, α οὐκ αν δέξατο τινα ίδειν δρῶντα . . . οὐκοῦν τὸ μεν ἀντιτείνειν διακελευμένον λόγος καὶ νόμος ἑστι, το δέ ἐλκυρ ἐπὶ τὰς λύπας αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος. Cf. Luc., de Luctu i. 15; Epict., Ench. ν; Sen., de Tranq. An. xv. Cic., T. D. III. 26, says men show grief because they think it is the right thing to do.

309 939Ε. διακρίνει μὲν τὸν τετελευτηκότα, ἐπιτάττειν ή μη, ἀμορφον. θηρείν δὲ καὶ έξω τῆς οίκιας φωνήν ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἀπαγορεύειν.
swollen or inflamed. 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.”

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.

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.” 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.” 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

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210 de Vir. Mor. 452A. οίδοντι γάρ ἑκεί καὶ φλεγμαίνοντι σώματι τὸ περιαλγοῦν καὶ περιχαρές καὶ περιφόβον τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ τὸ χαίρον οὐδὲ τὸ λυπούμενον οὐδὲ τὸ φοβούμενον.

211 ad Apoll. 102D, E, 103A. τὸ δὲ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου παρεκφέρεσθαι καὶ ανυάξειν τὰ πένθη παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι φημι καὶ ύπὸ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν φαύλης γίγνεσθαι δόξης. διὸ καὶ τούτῳ μὲν κατόν ως βλαβερὸν καὶ φαύλον καὶ σπουδαίοις ἀνδράσιν ἡκιστα πρέπον, τὴν δὲ μετριοπάθειαν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμαστέον. . . . οὔτ’ οὖν ἀπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων συμφορῶν ὁ λόγος ἀξίοι γίγνεσθαι τοὺς εὐς φρονοῦντας οὕτε δυσπαθεῖς. . . . πεπαθημενῶν δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τὰς δοκοῦσας εὐνυχιας τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀτυχίας φυλάξει γενναίος τὸ πρέπον.

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

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

214 Ibid. 608C. μόνον, ὡ γάρ, τῆρει κάμὲ τῷ πάθει καὶ σεαυτῆν ἐκτο τοῦ καθεστώτος ἐκ τοῖς γάρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲ καὶ δρίκο τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἥλιον ἐκτὸς ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ δυσφορεῖν ὑπερβάλλουσαι εὑρώ, τούτῳ μοι μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσει τῷ 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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{216}

To the necessity of applying the maxim \textit{μηδέν ἀγαν} to grief, the same author adds the advisibility of reflecting on the other sentence inscribed on the Delphic oracle—\textit{γνῶθι 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.\textsuperscript{217}

A further \textit{τὸσος} 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.”\textsuperscript{218}

\textsuperscript{215} Ibid. 609A. \textit{οὐ γάρ ἐν βασιλευμασί ̱δεὶ μόνον τὴν σώφρονα μένειν ἀδίστορον, ἀλλὰ μηδέν οἴεσθαι ἤτον τὸν ἐν πένθει σάλον καὶ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ πάθους ἐγκρατείας δείσαι διαμαχομένης οὐ πρὸς τὸ φιλόστοργον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλαστον τῆς ψυχῆς.}

\textsuperscript{216} 102C. \textit{τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλγειν καὶ δάκνεσθαι τελευτάσθαι υἱῶν φυσικὴν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς λύπης, καὶ οὐκ ήρ ἡμῖν. οὖ γὰρ ἐγώ ζωγε συμφέρομαι τοῖς ὑμοῦσι τῆν ἄγριον καὶ σκληρών ἀπάθειαν, ἐξω καὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τοῦ συγκρότος οὐδειν ἀφαιρέσθαι γάρ ἡμῶν αὕτη τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν εὐνοῶν, ἢν παντὸς μᾶλλον διαφόρειν ἀναγκαῖον. Cf. Hor., Od. i. xxiv, ii.x.}

\textsuperscript{217} ad Apoll. 116D.; Cic., T. D. i. xxii; Mein., p. 356 1.584.

\textsuperscript{218} ad Apoll. 121F. ὥσ γάρ οὐδὲ συμβίων ἡμῖν ἢδὲς ἑώρα κατηρεῖς ὄντας οὔτε σε οὔτε τὴν μητέρα, οὕτωσ ενδε λινα μετὰ θεῶν ὦν καὶ τότες συνεστιώμενος εὐαρεστηθειν ἀν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἠμῶν 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 τέτοιος 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]

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[219] ad Ux. 608D, E. ἄλλ’ ὁχ όρω, γῦναι, διὰ τί ταῦτα και τὰ τοιαύτα ζώσης μὲν ἐπέτετεν ἡμᾶς νυνὶ δ’ ἀνίσαι καὶ συνταράξει, λαμβάνοντας ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν. . . . δεῖ γὰρ, ὥσπερ αὕτη πάντων ἡδίστον ἡμῖν ἀπασμα καὶ θέμα καὶ ἄκουσμα παρείχεν ἑαυτῇ οὖτω καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὕτης ἐνδιαιτάσθαι καὶ συμβιούν ἡμῖν πλέον ἔχουσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλάσιον, τὸ εἰφραίνων ἢ τὸ λυποῦν. . . . Cf. Apoll. Ty., xciii; Sen., Marc. iii; Polyb. xxix; Hor., Od. i. 24.


[221] Ibid. 610E. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὁ μάλιστα τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀπαρτύμενοι καὶ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ λαμπρά
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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.”

“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?”

“It is madness to be distressed over what is lost and not to rejoice at what is left.”

“Men turning from the pleasant and agreeable things occupy themselves with the remembrance of unpleasant things.”

The effect of time on all things human has suggested to consolers another τόπος for calming grief. “All-subduing” time 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.”

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μεταστρέφων καὶ μεταφέρων ἐκ τῶν σκοτεινῶν καὶ ταραπτικῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἢ πατάτασιν ἔσβεσε τὸ λυποῦν ἢ τῇ πρὸς τούναντιν μίξει μικρὸν καὶ ἅμαυρὸν ἐπίσησεν. Cf. Epict., frg. 8, p. 482; Sen., Marc. xii; Polyb. xxx ff.; Helv. xvii; Ep. 99.3; Cons., ad Liv. 377.


224 Ibid. 469D. μακάρων γάρ ἐστι τοῖς ἀπολυμένοις ἀνιάσθαι μὴ χαίρειν δὲ τοῖς σφυγμένοις, . . .

225 Ibid. 473E. ἀνθρωποί τῶν ἱλαρῶν καὶ προσηνῶν ἀπορρέουτες ἐμπλέκονται ταῖς τῶν ἀπόδω καὶ μονὴσσοι. Cf. Epict., frg. 8, p. 482; Sen., Marc. xii; Polyb. xxx ff.; Helv. xvii; Ep. 99.3; Cons., ad Liv. 377.

226 de Ex. 600D. ἀλλ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν νοῦν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπαρτόμενοι τὸν βίον ποιοῦσιν ἡδία καὶ πολυμέτρον, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὠσπερ ἡμῶν ἐμμένει καὶ προσίσχεται τὰ φαινότατα, τῶν βελτιωτῶν ὑπεκρεφτόνων.

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

228 Odyss. iv. 102. ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γῶρ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ’ αὐτε πάσχω μ’ αἰψτορός δέ κόρος κρυφερότερο γόοι.
"Time is a lenient god," 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." "Time will soften the evil but now it is still strong.

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." Philetas says, "but since time comes which is appointed by Jove to soften sorrow, and it alone has a remedy for griefs. " "All things yield to time," says Simonides of Ceos, "with its sharp teeth it grates down everything, even the strongest." 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.

229 Χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρής θεός.
230 381. Χρόνος μαλάξει σ'. οὐδὲν ἐσθ' ὁ καθανῶν.
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.
Αἰών πάντα έπει. δολιχὸς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν
οὖνομα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ φύσιν ἡδὲ τίχην.
Cf. Aeschy., Eum. 280; Prom. 981; Bacchy., xvii. 45; Campbell, Frag. 598.
233 Anth. Lyr., Phil. i. (1.)
'Άλλ' δ' ἐπι χρόνος ἔλθη, δι' έκ Διός ἀλγεα πέσοιν
ἐκλαχε, καὶ πενθέων φάρμακα μοῦνον ἔχει.
234 Anth. Lyr. Sim. 176. (66.)
ο τοι χρόνος οὗτ οὖντας
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. Pindar (Olympian II), speaks of the fine rewards in Elysium which await the purified. 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." 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." Sophocles represents Antigone (897) as cherishing a hope of meeting her parents and brother, and also Electra (832) anticipating the consolations 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. 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. It is only in Plato and his

237 Olymp. ii. 61; Cf. frggs. 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 137.
238 Nauck, 753. ως τρις διαβοι κείνων βροτῶν, οι ταύται δερθέντες τέλη μόλωσ’ ες "Αιδον’ τοιοδέ γάρ μονοι έκει ζην έστι, τοις δ’ άλλοις πάντες γίνεται κακά.
For the "Mysteries" see Campbell, “Religion in Greek Literature.”
239 Nauck, 852.
240 Cf. Fur., Hel. 1678, 1014; Hec. 422; I. A. 1608, 1621; Alc. 744; Troad. 459; Aeschy., Agam. 1555; Choe. 323; notes 41, 134, 247.
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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{243} Cf. Archer-Hind, Phaedo, Introd.

\textsuperscript{244} Phaedo, 115C. “Ο\piο\ ως δν, ἕρη, βούλησθε, ἕανπερ γε λάβητε με, καὶ μὴ ἐκφύγων ὑμᾶς. Γελάσας δὲ ἀμα ἡσυχῇ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέψας, εἶπεν, οὐ πείθω, ἕρη, ὡ ἀνδρεῖς, Κρίτωνα, ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οὖτος ὁ Σωκράτης ὁ νμι διαλεγόμενος, καὶ διατάττων ἐκαστον τῶν λεγομένων ἀλλ' οὐεταὶ με εἰκεῖνον εἰναι ὃν ὑπεται ὦλιγον ὑστερον νεκρόν, καὶ ἐρωτά δὴ τῶς με θαπτῇ. ὅτι δὲ ἐγὼ πάλαι πολὺν λόγον πεποίημαι, ὡς ἐπειδὰν πιὸ τὸ φάρμακον, οὐκέτι ὑμῖν παραμένω, ἀλλ' οἰχήσομαι ἀπίων εἰς μακάρων δὴ τινας εὐδαιμονιας, ταῦτα μοι δοκῶ ἀυτῷ ἄλλως λέγειν, παραμυθοῦμενος ἀμα μεν ὑμᾶς, ἀμα 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. 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."

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."

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.

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245 370C. ὡστὲ οὐχ εἰς θάνατον ἀλλ’ εἰς ἀθανασίαν μεταβάλλεις’ ἢ Ἀξίοχε* οὐδὲ ἄφαίρεσιν ἔξεις τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἀλλ’ εἰλικρινεστέραν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν’ οὐδὲ μεμιγμένας θυντὶ σώματι τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἀλλ’ ἀκράτους ἄπασῶν ἀλγηδῶνων. κείσε γὰρ ἄφιξέ, μοινεῖς ἐκ τῆς εἰρτῆς, ἐνθα ἄπονα πάντα καὶ ἀστένακτα καὶ ἀγήρατα, γαληνὸς δὲ τις καὶ κακῶν ἄγονος βίος.


246 372Α. τάυτα μὲν ἐγὼ ήκονσα παρά Γωβρίνου’ συ δ’ ἂν ἐπικρίνειος, Ἀξίοχε. ἐγὼ γὰρ λόγω ἀνθελκόμενος, τούτο μόνον ἐμπέδως οἶδα, ὅτι ψυχῆ ἀπασα ἀθάνατος’ ἢ δὲ ἐκ τούτο τοῦ χωρίου μετασταθέσα, καὶ ἄλυπος. ὡστε ἕ κατω ἡ ἄνω εὐδαιμονεὶν σε δεί, Ἀξίοχε, βεβιωκότα εὐσεβῶς.

247 120Β. εἰ δ’ ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγος ἐστὶν ἀληθῆς ἄφιξεν εἰκός ἔχειν, οὔτω καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβεῖ τῶν μεταλλαξάντων ἐστὶ τις τιμή καὶ προεδρία καθάπερ λέγεται, καὶ χώρας τις ἀποτελαμένοις εν δ’ διατριβοῦσιν αἰ τοῦτων ψυχαί, καλάς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν σε δεί περὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου νόεσ σοι, ὅτι τούτοις συγκαταρθημεῖσις συνέσται.

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." This also was Solon’s idea as we learn from his answer to Croesus. Diogenes Laertes relates that the same was the opinion of Antisthenes 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.

But even happier was he considered who met his death in the performance of some noble action. The story of Cleobus and Biton 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." And in Sophocles’ Antigone the chorus consoles Antigone with the hope of posthumous fame because her death will be so glorious. She

249 Agam. 919. ἄλβησαι δὲ χρή
                    βιον τελευτήσαντ' εν εὔεστοι φιλη.
Cf. Campbell, frg. 583; Soph., O. T. 1529; Eur., Androm. 100.
                    ἐρωτηθεῖς τι μακαριώτερον εν ἀνθρώποις, ἐφη, εὔνοιοντα
                    ἀποθανεῖν.
251 Xen., Cyrop. viii. vii. 7, 27.
252 Herod., i. 31. Cf. ps.-Plat., Ax. 367C; Plut., ad. Apoll. 108f; Polyb., xxii. 20; Cic., T. D. i. xlvii.
had previously expressed her own sentiments when she said (1.97) "I shall not suffer anything so terrible as an ignoble death."\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{256}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{256} \textit{πείσομαι γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ὡστε μὴ οὐ καλῶς θανεῖν.}
\item \textsuperscript{257} Coulanges, Bk. iii. Stob., ii. 39.
\item \textsuperscript{258} Hor., Od. iii; ii. 13. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori Cic., de Off. I. xvii. 57.
\item \textsuperscript{259} Polybius, vi, liii, liv. describes the effect of such panegyrics on the Romans.
\end{itemize}
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.”

Again she repeats it (1.1502): “You have nurtured me as a safety for Greece, I shall not refuse to die.”

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.”

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.”

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.”

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260 πάσι γάρ μ”Έλλησι κοινὸν ἔτεκες, οὐχὶ σοι μόνη.

261 ἐθρεφάθ Ἑλλάδι μ* φάος’

262 Bergk, ii. Tyrtaeus, 15. (11.)

263 Ep. ix. 358A. ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν οὐχ αὐτῶν μόνον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἡ πατρίς μερίζεται, τὸ δὲ τι, οἱ γεννήσαντες τὸ δὲ, οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι.

264 de Cor. 205. ἡγεῖτο γάρ αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸς, οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενησθαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τι; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεύσι μόνον γεγενησθάι νομίζων τῶν 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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{266} No less noble is the one on the Athenian dead—"... for hastening to set a crown of freedom on Greece. ...

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."\textsuperscript{268} The epitaph on the Athenian dead quoted above breathes the same sentiment: "If μένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὃ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύονσας, ἀποθνῄσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ θοφερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὑβρεῖς καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ὡς ἐν δουλευόσφη τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἄνάγχη.

\textsuperscript{265} Epitaph. (£.) 70. έτελευτησαν δε τὸν βίον, ὄσσερ χρή τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποθνῄσκειν, τῇ μὲν γὰρ πατρίδι τὰ τροφεία ἀποδόντες, τοῖς δὲ θρέψασι λύπας καταλιπόντες.

\textsuperscript{266} Cf. Soph. Ο. Τ. 323; Polyb. iii.cix. 12.

\textsuperscript{267} Bergk iii. Sim. 99. (154.) "Ασβεστον κλέος οἴδε φίλη περὶ πατρίδι θέντες κυάνεον θανάτου ἁμαρθυνόμενο νέφος' ὃδε τεθνάσαι θανότες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετή καθυπερθῆνυ κυδαίνου' ἀνάγει δόματος ἓξ Ἀδειω.

\textsuperscript{268} Ibid. 100. (153.) Εἴ τὸ καλῶς θυνήσειν ἄρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον, ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη' Ἐλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίην περιθείναι κείμεθ' ἀγγράντω χρώμενοι εὐλογίῃ.

\textsuperscript{268} ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νησίων ἀδολλέες' δι' δὲ κεν ὑμέων ψήμενοι ἥ τυπεῖς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἑπίσπυρ, τεθνάτω' οὔ ὁι ἀείκες ἀμυνομένω περὶ πάτης τεθνάμεν'
to die nobly is the chief part of excellence to us of all men fortune gave this lot. . . .”

Alcaeus expresses it in few words—“It is noble for a warrior to die.”

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.”

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.”

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.”

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...”

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269 Cf. note 267.
271 ei δ' εσ' τόδ' ἔλθοι, στέφανοι οὐκ αἰσχρὸς πόλει καλῶς ἀλέσθαι,
272 ὅσ' ἔφοιμαι γε τοῦ τ' ἀναγκαίοιν χάριν θανείν τε χρησκονται' ει δὲ μὴ βουλήσομαι, 
 κακὴ φανοῦμαι καὶ φιλόψυχος γυνή.
...
273 ἄγον μ',
274 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ προπίτηνων τὰ θεῶν φέρε, μηδ' ὑπεράλγει 
φορντίδα λύπα' 
eιδόκιμον γάρ ἔχει θανάτου μέρος ἄ μελέα πρὸ τ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ γάς' 
οὐδ' ἀκληχής νυν δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ύποδέξεται· 
ἀ 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 devotion 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 topic in his funeral oration. "These men both when they were living and also after their death are worthy of envy278 . . . the

274 τούς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὁλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἡ παραμυθήσομαι· ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραί ἐπισταται τραφέντες τόδε εὔνυχες, οἱ ἀν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὦσπερ οἴδε μὲν νῦν, τελευτησ, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἰς ένευδαιμόνησαι τε ὁ βίος ομοίως καί ἐντελευτήσασι εὐμετρήθη.

275 νῦν δὲ ἡ τε φύσις καί νόσων ἠττών καί γήρως, δ' τε δαίμων ὅ την ἠμέτέραν μοίραν εἴληχως ἀπαραίτητος. ὥστε προσῆκε τούτους εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἥγεισθαι, οὕτως ὑπέρ μεγίστων καί καλλίστων νικώνεται οὕτω τῶν βίων εὐελπύσαι, οὕτως επιτρέψαις περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ τύχῃ, οὕδ' ἀναμείνατε τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκλέξαμεν τοῦν κάλλιστον.

276 192C. "Ἐλεγε δέ τοῦν ἐν τολέμῳ θάνατον εἶναι κάλλιστον."

277 Phoen. 1054. ἀγάμεθ' ἀγάμεθ', δ' ἐπὶ βάνατον νέχεται γάς ὑπὲρ πατρίδας
Κρέοστι μὲν λιπὼν γόους, τὰ δ' ἐπτάπυργα κλήθρα γᾶς καλλίνικα θάνουν. γενομεθ' ὠδε ματέρες, γενομέθ' εὔτεκνοι.

278 Οφ. 2.69. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ζῴωτες καὶ ἀποθανόντες ζηλωτοί
honors which they received are envied by everybody. I consider them happy and their death seems to me worthy of envy.

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.

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." 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." 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."

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

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279 Ibid. 79. ξηκωται δὲ υπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί:
280 Ibid. 81. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ μακριὰς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
ζηλῶ,
281 Bergk, iii. Anacr. 101. (Ep. 14.)
282 Odyss. xxiv. 36. ἀλβίε Πηλέος νιε, θεοῖς ἐπιείκει' 'Αχιλλευ, ὃς θάνες ἐν Ῥόδει ἔκας Ἀργείως' ἀμφι δὲ σ' ἄλλοις πεταίνοντο Ῥώων καὶ 'Αχαιών νῖες άριστοι, μαρνάμενοι περὶ σείο:
283 Ibid. xiv. 365. ἐγὼ δὲ εὖ ἀλά καὶ αὐτὸς νόστοιν ἐμοὶ ἀνακτος, ὃ τ' ἡχθοντο πάσι θεοίσι πάγχυ μάλ', ὅτι μιν οὖ τι μετὰ Ῥόδασσι δάμαςσαν ἥτι πάλιν ἐν χερσίν, ἐπει πόλεμον τοὔπεσε.
284 Ibid. v. 306. τρισμάκαρες Δαναιοὶ καὶ τετράκας, οἱ τὸ τοῦ ὕλου Ῥώη ἐν εὐρείᾳ χάριν Ἀτρείδησι φέροντες. 
Cf. Verg., Aen. i. 94.
behalf of the city having attained to youth and met with marriage and godlike power, thou wou'dst have been blessed."

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, 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. 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." 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 hast met death and fate among the Trojans. The Achaeans

\[285\] \(\text{Cf. Eur., Androm. 1182.}\)

\[286\] 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.


\[288\] Odyssey. v. 308.

\[\text{ώ} \, \text{φιλταθ', \ώς \, \sigmaυ \, \θάνατος \, \ηθὲ \, \δυστυχῆς.}
\text{ελ \, \μὲν \, \γάρ \, \θάνες \, \πρὸ \, \πόλεως, \, \ηθῆς \, \τυχῶν}
\text{γάμων \, \τε \, \καὶ \, \τῆς \, \ισοθέου \, \τυραννίδος,}
\text{μακάριος \, \ησθ' \, \άν, \εἰ \, \τὶ \, \τῶν \, \δέ \, \μακάριον' \, \Cf. \text{Eur., Androm.}}
\text{1182.}\]

\[\text{ώς \, \δῆ \, \ἐγώ \, \γ' \, \δρελον \, \θανέειν \, \καὶ \, \πότμον \, \επιστεῖν}
\text{\, \ηματι \, \τῷ \, \οτε \, \μοι \, \πλείστοι \, \χαλκῆρα \, \δούρα}
\text{\, \Τρώες \, \επέρ' \, \ψιν \, \περί \, \Πηλείων \, \θανύτην,}
\text{\, \τῷ \, \ξ' \, \έλαχοι \, \κτερέων, \, \καὶ \, \μεν \, \χλέος \, \ήγον \, \'\, \Αχαιοί,}
\text{\, \νῦν \, \δὲ \, \μὲ \, \λευγαλέω \, \θανάτω \, \εἰμαρτο \, \άλωναι.}\]
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 re-
nown 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 crevices 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. ὃς ὀφελεῖς τιμήσῃ ἀπονήμισος, ἥς περ ἄνασσες,
δήμῳ ἐν Τρώων θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπισεῖν—
tῷ κέν τοι τūμβων μὲν ἐποίησαν Παρακαιοι,
ηδὲ κε και ὧ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἤρατ' ὁπίσω.
290 Ibid. i. 236. ἐπεὶ οὐ κε θανόντι περ ὡδ' ἀκαχόμην,
eὶ μετὰ οἷς ἑτάρουσι δάμη Τρώων ἐνι δήμῳ,
ἡ φίλων ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύτευε.
tῷ κέν οἱ τūμβων μὲν ἐποίησαν Παρακαιοι,
ηδὲ κε και ὧ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἤρατ' ὁπίσω.
291 ἐν γάρ ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ
πρὸς τινος Δυκίον, πάτερ, δορίμητος κατηναρίσθης,
λιπῶν ἁν εὑχελιαν ἐν δύμοιον τέκνων τ' ἐν κελεύθοις
ἐπιστρεπτὸν αἰών κτίσσας πολύχωστον ἃν εἴχες
τάφον διαποτινὶ γὰς δώμασιν εὐφρήτου.
292 Bergk, Anth. Lyr. Sim. 89. (148.)
Δύρφινος ἐπιστρεψάμεν ὑπὸ πτυχὶ, σῆμα δ' ἔφ' ἡμῖν
ἐγγέθεν Εὐρίποι δημοσίᾳ κέχυται,
οὐχ ἄδικως ἔρατ' γὰρ ἀπωλέσαμεν νεότητα
τρητεῖαν πολέμοι 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.”

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.”

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?”

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...”
their valor and considered worthy of sacrifice and perpetual games 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. χαλεπόν πατρί και μητρί παιδών στερήθαι και έρήμοι είναι τών οικειοτάτων γηροτρόφων σεμνόν δὲ γ’ άγήρως τιμάς και μνήμην άρετής δημοσία κτησαμένους ιδείν, και θυσίων καὶ άχώνων ήξιωμένους άθνάτων.

297 Ibid. 1399. έπειτα νόσων αναθείς τα σώματα καὶ λυτῶν ἀπετρού τάς ψυχάς, δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι οἱ ἥων ἔχουσιν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ καὶ καὶ πολλῷ ζήλῳ τῶν νομισμένων τυχάνουσιν. οὐς γάρ ἀπάσα μὲν ἡ πατρίς θάπτει δημοσία, κοινῶν δὲ ἐπαίνων μόνος τυχάνουσι, ποθοῦσι δ’ οὐ μόνον συγγενεῖς καὶ πολίται, ἀλλὰ πάσαν ἄθναν Ἑλλάδα χρή προσειπεῖν, συμπεπενθηκε δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμενῆς τό πλείστον μέρος, πῶς οὐ χρή τούτους εὐδαιμόνας νομίζεσθαι; Cf. Cons., ad Liv. 460.

298 Or. 2.80. καὶ γάρ τοι θάπτονται δημοσία, καὶ άγώνες τίθενται ἐπ’ αὐτῶς ρώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλούτου, ὡς δέ τούτος διτυπάς τούς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τούς άθανάτους τιμάθαι.

299 ps-Plat., Menex. 249B. αὐτῶς δὲ τούς τετελευτηκότας τιμώσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπεται καὶ ἐκατόν ἐνιαυτόν, αὐτὴ τὰ νομισμένα ποιούσα κοινή πάσιν ἀπερ ἴδια ἐκάστῳ ἴδια γίγνεται. πρὸς δὲ τούτους άγώνας γυμνικοῖς καὶ ιππικοῖς τίθεισα, καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης. . . Cf. Ibid. 234C.

300 Cf. Hom., Il. vi. 449; Bacchyl., 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.”

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.”

Callinus: “Little and great mourn for him if he die.”

Anacreon: “Around his funeral pyre the whole city weeps for Agathon, who died for the people of Aldera.”

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.”

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.
302 Bergk, iii. Pin. Isth. vii. 27.
303 Bergk, ii. Callinus 1. (1.) 17.
304 Ibid. iii. Anacreon 100. (Ep. 15.)
though they are dead, their glory is alive.” Simonides of Ceos: “... we lie possessing praise which grows not old.”

“Although they are dead they have not died, since their excellence praising them from above leads them from the house of Hades.”

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 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.”

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.”

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306 Ibid. vii. 255; Aeschy. vii. 255. 
κυανή και τούθε δε μερέγχεας ὄλεσεν ἄνδρας. 
μοῖρα πολλήρην πατρίδα 'ρυομένους' 
ζ'ών δὲ φθιμένων πέλεται κλέος, οἳ πατε γνύοις 
τλήμονες 'Οσσαίαν ἄμφιεσαν κόνιν.

308 Loc. cit., n. 266. 
Eur., Alc. 995. Troad. 96; Plato, Rep. xii. 959C. 
310 Bergk, iii. Sim. 4. (9.) 
Τών ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων 
εὐκλεής μὲν ἄ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος, 
βομός δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἴκτος ἐπαινοῖς' 
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιούτον οὐτ' εὐρός 
οὐθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαιρώσει χρόνος. 
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁδὲ σηκός ὁικεῖαν εὐδοξίαν 
'Ελλάδος εἰλείτο' μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Δεωνίδας 
ὁ Σάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λεοντιός 
κόσμον ἄέναιον κλέος τε. 
311 I. A. 1383. 
ταύτα πάντα κατθανοῦσα ρώσομαι, καὶ μου κλέος 
'Ελλάδ' ὃς ἡλευθέρωσα, μαχαίριον γενήσεται. 
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

313 Symp. 208C. ἐπεὶ γε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰ ἔθελες εἰς τὴν φιλοτιμίαν βλέψαι, θαυμάξως ἂν τῆς ἄλογες περι ἃ ἐγὼ εἰρήνη, εἰ μὴ ἐνοεῖς ἐνθυμηθεῖν ὡς δεινῶς διάκεινται ἔρωτι τοῦ όνομαστοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ "κλέος ἔσ τὸν ἄει χρόνον ἀθάνατον καταθέσθαι," καὶ ὕπερ τούτου κυνδύνους τε κυνδυνεύουν ἄτομοι εἰσὶ πάντας ἐτι μάλλον ἢ ὕπερ τῶν παίδων, καὶ χρῆματα ἀναλίσκονται καὶ πόνους πονεῖν ὁστιναούν καὶ ὑπεραποθήσκειν'. ἐπεὶ οἴει σύ, ἔρη, "Ἀλκηστίν ὕπερ Ἀδμήτου ἀποθανεῖν ἅν, ἢ Ἄχιλλέα Πατρόκλῳ ἐπαμφαινεῖν, ἢ προσανθανεῖν τὸν ὑπέτερον Κόδρον ὕπερ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παίδων, μὴ οἴομένους ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς πέρι ἑαυτῶν ἐσεθαί, ἢν νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν; "314 Rep. 468Ε. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄποθανόντων ἐπὶ στρατείας δι᾽ αὐτ ἐνδοκιμήσας τεκνευτήσῃ ἄρ' οὐ πρῶτον μὲν φήσομεν τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους εἶναι;
315 Evag. 189Β. εὐρήσομεν γάρ τοὺς φιλότιμον 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.”

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?"

Lysias phrases it: "Their memory does not grow old and their honors are envied by all men.”

"Wept as mortal on account of their nature, they are sung as immortal on account of their bravery..."

"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."

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..."
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. . . .

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."

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.”

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.” The regret caused by the deprivation of this honor is shown in several of the preceding quotations 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. οὐσι δ’ αὖ παραβήκατε, τὸν τε πλέονα κέρδος δὲν ἡμιτυχείτε βίον ἥγεισθε καὶ τὸν δὲ βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶν δε εὐκλείᾳ κουνείσθε. τὸ γὰρ ψιλότιμον ἀγήρων μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀρχειῷ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὃς περ τινὲς φασί, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμάσθαι.

322 Ibid. 43. κοινὴ γὰρ τὰ σώματα δίδοντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημάτατον, οὐκ ἐν ὦ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὦ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγον καὶ ἔργον καιρῷ ἀείμνηστοι κατελείπεται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μῇ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμα παρ’ ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ ἔργον ἐνδιαιτᾶται.


324 Cf. notes 289, 290, 291.
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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 afflictive 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 Evagaras: “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 μὲν, εἰ θανεῖν χρέων, λυπρόν μὲν οἶμαι τῷ θανόντι-πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—
tois ζ违纪 de' δ' δυσκοι καὶ δόμων εὐδοξία.

327 Loc. cit., n. 301.
328 Fun. Or. 1400. λυπηρόν παισίν ὄρφανοίς γεγενήθαι πατρός·

καλὸν δὲ γε κληρονομεῖν πατρόφας εὐδοξίας. καὶ τοῦ μὲν λυπηροῦ

τοῦτων τὸν δαίμον' αἴτιον εὐθύσομεν δόντα, ὃ φίλτας ἀνθρώπους

ἐλείναι ἀνάγκη, τοῦ δὲ τιμίου καὶ καλοῦ τὴν τῶν ἔθελσαντων καλῶς

ἀποθνῄσκειν αἴρεσιν.

329 Menex. 247A. ὅν ἔνεκα καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ὑστατον καὶ διαπαντός

πάσαν πάντως προθυμίαν πειράσθε ἐξειν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ὑπερ-

βαλείσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ πρόσθεν εὐκλεία. . . . καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ταύτα

ἐπιτηδεύσητε, φιλοὶ παρὰ φιλοὺς ἡμᾶς ἅφεξεθε, ὅταν δὴ ὑμᾶς ἡ

προσθήκουσα μοιρὰ κομίσῃ’

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

330 Ages., x. 4.

δικαίως δὲ ἢν ἐκεῖνος γε μακαρίζοιτο, . . .
favored and honored than they.”

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.” 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.”

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.” 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.” Hyperides: “As many as have left children, the State will become guardian for the children of these.” 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.”

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331 Evag., 203A. ὅτι' εἰ τινες τῶν προγεγενημένων δὲ ἁρετὴν ἀδάματος γεγένασιν, οἷοι κάκεινον ἠξιωθαι ταῦτας τὴς δωρεᾶς, σημείοις χρώμενοι, ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἐνθάδε χρόνον εὐτυχιστέρον καὶ θεοφιλέστερον ἐκείνων διαθέμισκεν.

332 Or., vi. 43. εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν αἰσθήσις ἐν "Αἰδῶν καὶ ἐπιμέλεια παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἰκὸς τοὺς ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυομένας βοηθῆσαντας πλείοντας κηδεμοίας ύπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τυχχάνειν.


334 Hist., ii. 46. αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἄπο τοῦτο δῆμοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρις ἡβῆς ἄρσενε, Cf. Theoc., Epig. xiv.

335 Menex., 248E. τὸς δὲ πόλεως ἱστε που καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐπι- μέλειαν, ὅτι νόμως θεμέλει περὶ τοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖδας τε καὶ γεννήτροις, ἐπιμελεῖται.

336 'Επιτάφιος vi. 43. δόσει δὲ παῖδας καταλελοίπασιν ἡ τῆς πατρίδος εὕνοια ἐπίτροφος αὐτοῖς τῶν παῖδων καταστήσεται.

337 'Επιτάφιος 75. μόνην δ' ἄν μοι δοκοῦμεν ταύτην τοῖς ἐνθάδε κεκλίνους ἀποδούμαι χάριν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τοιάς αὐτῶν ὑμίως ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις περὶ πολλοῦ ποιμήθη, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὕτως ἀσταξίωσε νασητέρος αὐτοῖς πατέρες οὕτε, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξίν εἰ τούτοις βοηθοῖς ἡμᾶς αὐτῶς παρέχομεν, οὐξέπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζώντες 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.”

Finally the deceased are imagined as addressing words of consolation for the survivors. 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. . . . 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.”

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338 Επιτάφιος 1399. οἱ δὲ εὐδαιμονες τῷ δικαίῳ λογίσμῳ. πρῶτον μὲν ἀντὶ μικροῦ χρόνου πολὺν καὶ τὸν ἀπαντὶ εὔκλειαν ἀγίρω καταλείπουσιν, ἐν γὰρ καὶ παίδες οἱ τούτων ὄνομαστοι τραφήσονται, καὶ γονεῖς (οἱ τούτων) περίβλεπτοι γρηγοροφήσονται, παραψυχή τῷ πένθει τῶν τούτων εὔκλειαν ἔχουσας. 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. Επιτάφιος 1400.

341 Menex. 247C. πατέρας δὲ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ μητέρας εἰ χρη παραμυθεῖσα, ὃς χρή μόστα φέρειν τὴν συμφοράν, ἐὰν ἰαρὰ ξυμβῇ γενέσαι, καὶ μὴ ξυνοδύρεσθαι . . . 'αλλ' ἰωμένους καὶ πράννοντας, ἀναμιμνήσκειν αὐτοὺς ότι ἃν εἴχονται, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι γεγόνασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀδαπάτως σφος παῖδας εὐχοστό γενέσαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεῖς ἃν ἐνυχυρώσωμεν, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν δύνων . . . καὶ φέροντες μὲν ἀνδρείως τὰς συμφορὰς, δόξους τῷ ὀντὶ ἀνδρείων παῖδων πατέρες εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιούτοι . . . 248Β. δεῖκε δὴ καὶ πατέρως καὶ μητέρως, τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ χρωμένους τὸν ἐκλογοτὸν βιὸν διάγειν καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οἱ θρηνοῦσαι οὐδὲ ὄλοφυρόμενοι ἡμᾶς, ἦμῖν μάλιστα χαριούνται. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἐκ τοῖς τελευτηθέντων ἀσθεσἰς τῶν ᾠντῶν, οὕτως ἀχάριστον εἶναι ἄν μάλιστα, ἐαυτοὺς τὰς κακούντες, καὶ βαρέως φέροντες τὰς συμφορὰς.
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

³⁴⁵ Cf. n. 252.
³⁴⁶ Bergk, i. Nem. iv. 4.
³⁴⁷ Theog., 98. έι γάρ τις καί πένθος ἕχων νεοκηδέων θυμών ἀζητᾷ κραδίναν ἀπαχῆμενος, αὐτăr ἀοιδός Μουσάων θεράπων κλέεα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων ὑμνήσῃ μάκαρας τε θεούς, οἱ 'Ολυμπὸν ἔχουσιν, αἰλῇ δὲ γε δυσφροσυνών ἐπιλήθεται οὐδὲ τι κηδέων ἠμέμνηται: ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπεδώρα 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. In his treatise de Virtute Morali, Plutarch mentions the zeal of Pythagoras for music which he introduced to calm and soothe the soul. 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. 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.

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

\[ \text{στυγίος δὲ βροτῶν οὐδέσις κυπριακὸς καὶ πολυχόρδος \ οὐδαίς παιδείς, \ εἴ \ δὲν \ θάνατοι \ δειναὶ \ τε \ τήχαι \ σφάλλουσι \ δόμου.} \]

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

\[ \text{εἰκός \ μὲν \ ἐστὶ \ μηδὲ \ Πυθαγόρα\ς \ ἀγαυὴσαι, \ τεκμαίρομαι \ μὲν \ \ ηθικὴ \ σπουδὴ \ τοῦ \ ἀνδρός, \ ἴν \ ἐπηγάγετο \ τῷ \ \ ψυκῇ \ κηλῆσεως \ ένεκα \ καὶ \ παραμυθίας,} \]

\[ \text{καὶ \ οἷα \ μουσικὴς \ προσοφά \ καὶ \ προσήγορα \ μηχανησα-μένης \ ἀνθρωπίνος \ πάθεσιν \ ἡψυχα \ συνηδεῖται \ καὶ \ συνεπιθρηνεῖ \ καὶ \ συνάθεται \ καὶ \ συναισταῖνει. . .} \]

\[ \text{Rep. iii. 398E. ff.} \]
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.\footnote{Coulanges, op. cit., Bk. iii.} 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 country\footnote{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.} Sophocles adds, "it is our country which has preserved us."\footnote{\textit{ἡ δ᾿ ἐκτιν ὡς σφικόσα}, Antig., 189. Cf. Eur., Herac, 826.} 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.\footnote{Thucy., Hist. ii., 42.}

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
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 of 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?"  

355 I. Corinthians xv, 55.
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C—LATIN AUTHORS


VITA

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