

Paul's "Dying Formula": Prolegomena to an Understanding of its Import and Significance

As is well known, the particular Pauline topos which M. Hengel has labeled Paul's "dying formula" -- namely, a confession or declaration which involves the use of a form or a variant of the stereotyped expression "X died/gave himself for Y" and which conveys the idea that the death of X is salvific for Y -- appears frequently within Paul's writings.¹ We find it at 1 Cor 8:11

And so by your knowledge this weak man is destroyed, the brother for whom Christ died.

ἀπόλλυται γὰρ ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἐν τῇ σῆ γνώσει, ὁ ἀδελφὸς δι' ὃν Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν.

at 1 Cor 15:3

For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, (RSV)

παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,

Rom 5:6

While we were still weak, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly.

ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν.

Rom 5:8

But God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.

συνίστησιν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν.

Rom 14:9;

For to this end Christ died and lived again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living.

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ.

2 Cor 5:15 [twice]

And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised.

καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

¹ M. Hengel, *The Atonement: The Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1981) 36.

ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι.

Gal. 2:21

I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification were through the law, then Christ died to no purpose.

οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

and in 1 Thess 5:9-10

For God has not destined us for wrath, but to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, [10] who died for us so that whether we wake or sleep we might live with him.

ὅτι οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, [10] τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορώμεν εἴτε καθεύδωμεν ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν.

Indeed, given this frequency, there is good reason to say that the “dying formula”, applied to Jesus, is the most important of all the confessional formulae in the Pauline Epistles, if not within Paul's theology itself.²

But it should be noted that the formula was *not* one that was especially peculiar to Paul, let alone something that originated with him. Nor, even more significantly, was it something with which the audiences of his epistles in which it appears would have been unfamiliar until Paul addressed them with it. Instances of the use of the expression “X died/gave himself for Y” -- and/or the propounding and explication of the theme embodied within it -- appear not only within certain non-Pauline/Paulinist NT writings,³ but also numerous times in secular works written long before Paul -- works, such as the *Iliad* of Homer, the elegies of Callinus and Tyrtaeus, the speeches of Isocrates, and the tragedies of Euripides, and then again with some frequency up through Paul's time in a variety of compositions that stem from a

² So Hengel: “... with the best will in the world one cannot claim that statements about the vicarious death of Jesus ‘for us’ play only a minor role in the letters of Paul ... Along with the resurrection formula θεὸς ἤγειρεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν, the [“dying formula”] is ... the most important confessional statement in the Pauline Epistles ...” (*Atonement*, 34, 37)

³ Cf. Jn 11:50-51, οὐδὲ λογίζεσθε ὅτι συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται. τοῦτο δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπροφήτευσεν ὅτι ἔμελλεν Ἰησοῦς ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους, and 1 Peter 3:18, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι.

gamut of writers which includes statesmen and orators, moralists and biographers, historians, mythographers, rhetoricians, playwrights, satirists, and ethnographers.⁴ Indeed, in the Pauline era alone secular examples of the use of, or the appeal to, versions of the "dying formula" are to be found over twenty times within the works of such writers as Philo, Plutarch, Josephus, Epictetus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cassius Dio, Polyaeus, and Pseudo-Apollodorus, not to mention that of the Scholiasts and the anonymous commentators on (especially Aristotelian) philosophical works, let alone of Roman writers like Horace, Seneca, Caesar, Tacitus, and especially Cicero for whom the question "Homestum sit propatria mori?" was a rhetorical exercise.⁵

In the light of these facts—i.e., the facts that the "dying formula" (a) had been used in the Greco-Roman world (albeit applied to figures other than Jesus) long before Paul's time, and (b) had been taken up sufficiently widely and often enough *by* and through Paul's time so as to be something already quite well known to those to whom Paul wrote--the question then arises: *what is Paul up to when he uses it?*

A Way In

To determine this, it will first be necessary to establish what, if any, purpose the formula had in its extra-pauline, non-NT instances. And the best way of doing this is --after noting all the secular instances in which the formula or its explication occur--to lay out answers to a series of questions, to wit: In the various (non-NT) extra-Pauline instances of the use of the formula and/or the propounding of the idea embodied within it: (1) Who is the subject of the "dying formula" -- that is to say, who is it who is noted when the formula is used as having died?; (2) Who is the object of the formula -- that is, *for whom* do those who die undergo death?; (3) Toward what end do those who die do so? (4) With what result?; (5) What activity were those whose death is commemorated in the "dying formula" engaged in when they died? (6) When or in what context was the expression "X died/gave him(her)self for Y" typically employed?; and (7) With what intended purpose or effect?

⁴ See below for a listing of these instances as well as the methodology I employed in finding them.

⁵ On this, see Hengel, *The Atonement*, 12 who cites Cicero, *Topica* 22.84.

Extra-Pauline secular Greek instances of the "Dying Formula"

To find examples of the "dying formula" which parallel as closely as possible that which we find in Paul's writings, I searched the TLG D disk using forms both of (a) the phrases (ἀπο)θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ/περί/πρό/ἀντί and (ἐπι)δίδωναι (ἐαυτον) ὑπὲρ/περί/πρό/ἀντί and of (b) the verb ὑπεραποθνήσκειν as my search terms.⁶ I also limited my search only to literary works. No attempt was made to search the epigraphical and papyrological data outside of that which appears in the TLG D Disk, let alone the corpus of Latin literary works or the Latin inscriptional evidence.

Accordingly, leaving out (as possibly chronologically vastly post Pauline) the instances in the Scholia in which examples of, or appeals to, the "dying formula" appear (i.e., Scholia in Aeschinem 2.8.2;⁷ Scholia in Aeschylum *Th.17*,⁸ *Th.17b*,⁹ *Th.17.5*,¹⁰ *Th.477-479*¹¹; Scholia in Euripidem sch *Alc. 648*,¹² *Alc. 717*,¹³ *Alc.724*,¹⁴ *Ph. 902*,¹⁵ *Ph. 940.2*;¹⁶ Scholia in

⁶ I set my word limits in my search, i.e., the number of words between the basic elements of the phrases searched for, to five. So, for instance, in searching for occurrences of the expression ἀπεθανεν ὑπερ, I set my search engine to find not only all instances of the exact phrase, but also for examples of ἀπεθανεν ὑπερ in which ὑπερ and ἀπεθενεν were separated by up to five Greek words.

⁷ ἄλλ' ἢ θανῶν τροφεία· ἄλλ' ἢ θανῶν πληρώσει καὶ ἀποφ δώσει τὰ τροφεία τῇ χθονί, ἧγουν ἀποδώσει τὰς τῆς ἀνατροφῆς χάριτας τῇ πατρίδι ἀποθανῶν ὑπὲρ, ανείν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίφδος ἢ ὁ MTA σιαγόνοσῃ ὁ MgAg ἐκπέφυκε παῖσῃ λέγεται δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοῦ Κάδμου πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτοὺς περιλειφθῆναι πέντε.

⁸ τὴν νηπιῶδη ἡλικίαν ἀναμιμνήσκει αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἐπὶ γῆς ἐσύροντο, καὶ παραθαφρύνει αὐτοὺς ὑπεραποθνήσκειν τῆς πατρίδος. P.

⁹ τὴν νηπιῶδη ἡλικίαν ἀναμιμνήσκει αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἐπὶ γῆς ἐσύροντο, καὶ παραθαφρύνει αὐτοὺς ὑπεραποθνήσκειν τῆς πατρίδος. DP1PdSjW XcYaYb

¹⁰ ἢ γὰρ] αὕτη γὰρ ἢ γῆ ἐθρέψατο ὑμᾶς κατοίκους πολεμικοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν εὐμενεὶ καὶ εὐτραφεὶ πέδῳ ἔρποντας νέους ὄντας· κυρίως δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων λέγεται. Καὶ ἄλλως. τὴν νηπιῶδη ἡλικίαν ἀναμιμνήσκει αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἐπὶ γῆς ἐσύροντο, καὶ παραθαφρύνει αὐτοὺς ὑπεραποθνήσκειν τῆς πατρίδος. P

¹¹ ἄλλ' ἢ θανῶν τροφεία· ἄλλ' ἢ θανῶν πληρώσει καὶ ἀποφδώσει τὰ τροφεία τῇ χθονί, ἧγουν ἀποδώσει τὰς τῆς ἀνατροφῆς χάριτας τῇ πατρίδι ἀποθανῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἢ καὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας, τὸ Ἐτέοκλον δηλονότι καὶ τὸν ἐζωγραφημένον τῇ ἀσπίδι αὐτοῦ, ἐλὼν καὶ τὸ πόλισμα, τουτέστι τὸν πύργον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι εἰς ὃν ὁ ὀπλίτης ἀνήρχετο, κοσμήσει τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δῶμα ἐν τοῖς λαφύροις· κωμῶδει τοῦτον ὁ ποιητῆς ἐμπαΐφζων. ABCDHNdP& dSjVWxaXcYYaYb

¹² τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ. B

¹³ δι' ὧν ἕτερος ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, σοῦ μὴ θελήσαντος ἢ A.

Homerum, Scholia in *Iliadem* 22.71-3.7;¹⁷ Scholia in Platonem *Lg.* 865b.6) and the two instances in the *Anonymi in Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam Commentarium* (18.12,¹⁸ 45.34¹⁹),

I found that equivalents to Paul's "dying formula" occur at least once in Homer (*Iliad* 15.495-

498²⁰ τεθνάτω· οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένω περὶ πάτρης τεθνάμεν· [cf.12.242-245²¹ οὐ γάρ τοι κραδίη

μενεδήϊος οὐδὲ μαχήμων.], twice in Tyrtaeus (fr. 10.1-2²² ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧῖ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον· , fr

12.22-34²³ γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θούρος Ἔρης ὀλέση.), once in Callinus (*Fr.* 1.5-20²⁴ Μοῖραι

¹⁴ οὐκ ἀποθανοῦμαι ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἵνα σύ με νεκρὸν κομίζων γελάφσης. A B

¹⁵ ὀητέον δὲ ὅτι τῷ ἄπαξ ἀναγκαφσθέντι ἀποθανεῖν νέω τοῦτο ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐκ προπετείας ὑφίστατο θάνατον· διὸ σαφηνίζει τὸν νοῦν διὰ τῶν πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ ὅτι φανῆη, ὡς ἄρα καλὸν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ οἰκείων ἐπὶ λυσιτελείᾳ τῶν προσηκόντων, ἴν' ἢ "πάντα δὲ τὰ τῆς αἰκίας καλὰ εἰσι τῷ θανόντι, ἐὰν ἐκ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καλόν τι φανῆ καὶ λυσιτελέσ". σὺ δέ, φησί, ψοκινδύνως ταῦτα βούλει παθεῖν, οὐκ ὠφελῶν τοὺς οἰκείους.

¹⁶ ἐκ γένους δὲ δεῖ θανεῖν ἢ ἀνάγκη δέ ἐστιν ἓνα τῶν ἐκ γένους τῶν Σπαρτῶν, ὃ ἐστι τοῦ δράκοντος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ. ΜΤΑ

¹⁷ νέω δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν ὡς ὃ ἐ κείσθαι ὧ ἡ δοκεῖ τοῦτο προτρεπτικὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ θάνατον ἢ ἀποτρεπτικόν· καίτοι φαίνεται βουλόμενος πείθειν τὸν Ἔκτορα εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ μὴ ὑπομένειν τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα. ὀητέον δὲ ὅτι τῷ ἄπαξ ἀναγκαφσθέντι ἀποθανεῖν νέω τοῦτο ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐκ προπετείας ὑφίστατο θάνατον·

¹⁸ πολφλοὶ γὰρ διὰ μικρὰ τιμῆς ἄξιοι, διὰ τὸν τόπον μὴ ἔχοντα ἀφθονίαν τοῦ πράγματος ἢ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν ἔνδειαν ἢ καὶ διὰ τὸν τρόπον, οἷον εἰ μὴ πονήσαντά μέ τις μὴδὲ ὑπηρετήσαντα αὐτῷ μὴδὲ ὑπεραποθανόντα αὐτοῦ εὐηργέτησε.

¹⁹ ἀποδεικτικῶς κατασκευάζειν τὸ λεγόμενον. λυσιτελεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιδὸν ἑαυφ τὸν ἀποδεικνύειν· εἰ γὰρ βασιλεία ἐστὶν ἢ πολιτεία, ἐπαινέτην τῆς μοναρχίας ἑαυτὸν φαίνει καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκοντα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐχθρὸν τῷ ἠθικόντι δεῖ εἰδέναι.

²⁰ ὃς δέ κεν ὑμεῶν βλήμενος ἢ τυπεῖς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπη

²¹ ἡμεῖς δὲ μέγαλοιο Διὸς πειθώμεθα βουλῇ,
ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει.
εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.
τίπτε σὺ δεῖδοικας πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτήτα;
εἶ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε περὶ κτεινόμεθα πάντες
νηυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀργείων, σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος ἔστ' ἀπολέσθαι·

²² τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα

²³ σπουδῆ δ' ἔσχεθε κύμα μάχης,
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν,
ἄστου τε καὶ λαοῦ καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας,
πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσεως
καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλάμενος.
τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἢ δὲ γέροντες,

ἐπικλώσω' .), eight times in Isocrates (*To Philip* 135,²⁵ [cf. 55,²⁶] *Against Lochites* 20,²⁷ *Against Archidamus* 93-94,²⁸ 107²⁹; *Panegyrics* 75,³⁰ 77³¹, 83,³² 94-95,³³ cf. 62,³⁴ *Panathenicus* 185-186³⁵), at

ἀργαλέωι δὲ πόθωι πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις,
καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος,
ὄντιν' ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε

²⁴ αἶ τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ' ἀκοντισάτω.
τιμῆν τε γὰρ ἐστί καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου
δυσμενέσιν· θάνατος δὲ τότε ἔσσειται, ὅπποτε κεν δῆ

²⁵ Ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν τὸ ζῆν
ἀντικαταλλαξαμένους, **ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τυχεῖν καλῆς δόξης ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις** ἐθέλοντας, ὅλως
δὲ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντας αἰεὶ μείζονος ἢς ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινουμένους, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς
ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ἀπλήστως διακειμένους ἀκρατεστέρους καὶ φαυλοτέρους εἶναι δοκοῦντας.

²⁶ ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ Φωκίδι τῶν μισθοφόρων τινὰς ἀποκτείνουσιν οἷς λυσιτελεῖ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ
ζῆν, ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα τολμώντας ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
ἀποθνήσκουσι ἀπολλύουσιν. Εἰς τοῦτο δ' αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα περιέστηκεν, ὥστ' ἐλπίσαντες
ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι νῦν ἐν σοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι τῆς αὐτῶν
σωτηρίας. Ὡστ' οἶμαι καὶ τούτους ταχέως ποιήσιν ὅ τι ἂν σὺ κελεύης καὶ συμβουλεύης.

²⁷ ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀρχῶν μετέχειν ἀξιοῖμεν, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δικαίων ἀποστεροῖμεν ἡμᾶς
αὐτοὺς, καὶ μαχόμενοι μὲν ἐθέλομεν **ἀποθνήσκουσι ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας**, ἐν δὲ τῇ ψήφῳ πλέον
νέμοιμεν τοῖς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχουσιν.

²⁸ Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἰδίας δόξης ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐθελόντων, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κοινῆς
μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἐχόντων· ὑπὲρ ἧς ὅτιοῦν πάσχειν ἀξίον ὥστε μὴ καταίφσιν τὴν πόλιν, μηδὲ
περιδεῖν τὴν τάξιν λιποῦσαν εἰς ἣν οἱ πατέρες κατέστησαν αὐτήν. Πολλῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ἡμῖν καὶ
δεινῶν ἐφεστώτων ἂν δεῖ διαφυγεῖν, [94] ἐκείνο μάλιστα φυλακτέον, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνάδρωσ
φανησόμεθα διαπραττόμενοι μηδὲ συγχωροῦντες τοῖς πολέμοις παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τοὺς
ἄρξαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοθέντας ὀφθῆναι τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας, καὶ τοσοῦτον
ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν προγόνων ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτάττειν ἐθέλειν
ἀποθνήσκουσι, ἡμᾶς δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ κελεύομενον μὴ τολμᾶν διακινδυνεύειν.

²⁹ Ἔστιν δ' ἀπλοῦν τὸ καλῶς βουλευσασθαι περὶ τούτων. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐθέλωμεν
ἀποθνήσκουσι ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οὐ μόνον εὐδοκίμησομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς
ἡμῖν ἐξέσται ζῆν· εἰ δὲ φοβησόμεθα τοὺς κινδύφους, εἰς πολλὰς ταραχὰς καταστήσομεν ἡμᾶς
αὐτούς.

³⁰ Πλείστων μὲν οὖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους καὶ μεγίστων ἐπαίνων ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τοῖς
σώμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προκινδυνεύσαντας· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου γενομένων
καὶ δυναστευσάντων ἐν ἑκατέρῃ τοῖν πόλεσιν δίκαιον ἀμνημονεῖν· ἐκείνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ
προασκήσαντες τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους καὶ τὰ πλήθη προτρέψαντες ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ χαλεποὺς
ἀνταγωνιστὰς τοῖς βαρβάροις ποιήσαντες.

³¹ Οὐδὲ τὰς θραφὸς σύτητας τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐζήλουν, οὐδὲ τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὐτῶν ἤσκουν, ἀλλὰ
δεινότερον μὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν ἢ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως

least twenty seven times in Euripides (*Alcestis* 18.³⁶ 175,³⁷ σώφρων μὲν οὐκ ἂν μάλλον, εὐτυχῆς δ' ἴσως.

280-300,³⁸ εἶεν· σὺ νῦν μοι τῶνδ' ἀπόμνησαι χάριν· 434,³⁹ τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ τέθνηκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ μόνη. cf.

ἀποθνήσκειν, μάλλον δ' ἠσχύνοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίους τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν.

³² Πῶς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο σύμμετροι τοιοῦτοις ἀνδράσιν, οἱ τοσοῦτον μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένων διήνεγκαν ὅσον οἱ μὲν περὶ μίαν πόλιν [στρατεύσαντες] ἔτη δέκα διέτριψαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεπόλεμησαν, οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διέσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν Ἑλλάδα ἠλευφ θέρωσαν; Ποίω δ' ἂν ἔργων ἢ πόνων ἢ κινδύνων ἀπέστησαν ὥστε ζῶντες εὐδοκιμεῖν, οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης ἢς ἤμελλον τελευτήσαντες ἔξιν οὕτως ἐτοίμως ἠθέλον ἀποφθνήσκειν;

³³ ἔξιν αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον τοὺς παρόντας κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὰς ἐξαιρέτους λαφβεῖν ἅς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου βασιλεὺς ἠγούμενος, εἰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προσλάβοι ναυτικόν, παραχρήμα καὶ Πελοποννήσου κρατήσῃ, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεὰς οὐδ', ὀργισθέντες τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὅτι προυδόθησαν, ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὤρμησαν, [95] ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμῖν παρεσφ κευάζοντο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τὴν δουλείαν αἰρουμένοις συγγνώμην εἶχον. Ἐγούντο γὰρ ταῖς μὲν ταπειναῖς τῶν πόλεων προσήκειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν, ταῖς δὲ προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀξιούσας οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶναι διαφεύγειν τοὺς κινδύνους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς αἰρετώτερόν ἐστιν καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων ταῖς ὑπερεχούσας λυσιτελεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι μάλλον ἢ δούλαις ὀφθῆναι γενομέναις.

³⁴ Ὡς ἐχρῆν ἐκείνους μεμνημένους μηδέποτε εἰς τὴν χώραν ταύτην εἰσβαλεῖν, ἐξ ἧς ὀρμηθέντες τοσαύτην εὐδαιμονίαν κατεκτήσαντο, μηδ' εἰς κινδύνους καθιστάναι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους προκινδύευσαν, μηδὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονόσιν διδόναι τὴν βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῷ γένει τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν οὐσαν δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς ἀξιούν.

³⁵ Θαυμάζω δ' εἴ τινες τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς νίκας τὰς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον γιγνομένας μὴ νομίζουσι αἰσχίους εἶναι καὶ πλειόνων ὀνειδῶν μεστὰς ἢ τὰς ἡττάς τὰς ἀνευ κακίας συμβαινούσας, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες ὅτι μεγάλαι δυνάμεις, πονηραὶ δὲ, πολλακίς γίνονται κρείττους ἀνδρῶν σπουδαίων καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰρουμένων. [186] Οὐς πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐπαινοῖμεν ἢ τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐτοίμως ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐθέλοντας καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὁμοίους ὄντας· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἔργα πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ δὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἐνίστε χεῖρον ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν ἀδικεῖν βουλομένων θεῶν ἂν τις ἀμέλειαν εἶναι φήσειεν.

³⁶ πάντας δ' ἐλέγξας καὶ διεξεληθὼν φίλους, πατέρα γεραιάν θ' ἢ σφ' ἔτικτε μητέρα, οὐχ ἠῦρε πλὴν γυναικὸς ὅστις ἠθέλε θανῶν πρὸ κείνου μηκέτ' εἰσορᾶν φάος· ἢ νῦν κατ' οἴκους ἐν χεροῖν βαστάζεται ψυχορραγούσα·

³⁷ Ὡς λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένοι' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ κορεύματ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, οὐ θνήσκω πέρι, χαῖρ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐχθαίρω σ'· ἀπώλεσας δ' ἐμὲ μόνην· προδοῦναι γάρ σ' ὀκνοῦσα καὶ πόσιν θνήσκω. σὲ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνὴ κεκτήσεται,

³⁸ . {Αλ.} Ἄδμηθ', ὁρᾶς γὰρ τὰ μὰ πράγμαθ' ὥς ἔχει, λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν ἃ βούλομαι. ἐγὼ σε πρεσβεύουσα κἀντὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καταστήσασα φῶς τόδ' εἰσορᾶν, θνήσκω, παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν,

472,⁴⁰ δι' αἰώνος ἂν ξυνεΐη. 524,⁴¹ {Ηρ.} οἶδ', ἀντὶ σοῦ γε κατθανεῖν ὑφειμένην. 620,⁴² στερέντα γήρα

645-652,⁴³ κούκ ἂν μονωθεὶς ἔστενον κακοῖς ἐμοῖς.] 682,⁴⁴ ἔφυς· ἃ δ' ἡμῶν χρῆν σε τυγχάνειν, ἔχεις.

ἀλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχεῖν Θεσσαλῶν ὃν ἤθελον,
καὶ δῶμα ναίειν ὄλβιον τυραννίδι.
οὐκ ἠθέλησα ζῆν ἀποσπασθεῖσά σου
σὺν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖσιν, οὐδ' ἐφεισάμην
ἡβης, ἔχουσ' ἐν οἷς ἐτερπόμην ἐγώ.
καίτοι σ' ὁ φύσας χῆ τεκοῦσα προὔδοσαν,
καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς κατθανεῖν ἦκον βίου,
καλῶς δὲ σῶσαι παῖδα κεύκλεως θανεῖν.
μόνος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσθα, κοῦτις ἐλπὶς ἦν
σοῦ κατθανόντος ἄλλα φητύσειν τέκνα.
κάγώ τ' ἂν ἔζων καὶ σὺ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον,
κούκ ἂν μονωθεὶς σῆς δάμαρτος ἔστενες
καὶ παιδάς ὠρφάνευες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
θεῶν τις ἐξέπραξεν ὥσθ' οὕτως ἔχειν.

³⁹ αὐλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄστου, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
ἔστω σελήνας δῶδεκ' ἐκπληρουμένας·
οὐ γάρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον θάψω νεκρὸν
τοῦδ' οὐδ' ἀμείνον' εἰς ἔμ'· ἄξια δέ μοι

⁴⁰ ὃν ἔτεκον δ', οὐκ ἔτλαν ρύεσθαι,
σχετλίω, πολιὰν ἔχοντε χαίταν.
σὺ δ' ἐν ἡβᾷ
νέα προθανούσα φωτὸς οἴχη.
τοιαύτας εἶη μοι κύρσαι
συνδυάδος φιλίας [ἄλόχου]· τοῦτο γὰρ
ἐν βιότῳ σπάνιον μέρος· ἦ γὰρ ἂν ἔμοιγ' ἄλυπος

⁴¹ {Αδ.} οὐκ οἶσθα μοίρας ἧς τυχεῖν αὐτὴν χρεῶν;

⁴² τὸ ταύτης σῶμα τιμᾶσθαι χρεῶν,
ἦτις γε τῆς σῆς προὔθανε ψυχῆς, τέκνον,
καὶ μ' οὐκ ἄπαιδ' ἔθηκεν οὐδ' εἶασε σοῦ

⁴³ ἔδειξας εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐξελθῶν ὃς εἶ,
καὶ μ' οὐ νομίζω παῖδα σὸν πεφυκέναι.
ἦ τᾶρα πάντων διαπρέπεις ἀψυχία,
ὃς τηλικόσδ' ὦν κάπῃ τέρμ' ἦκων βίου
οὐκ ἠθέλησας οὐδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν
τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδός, ἀλλὰ τήνδ' εἰάσατε
γυναῖκ' ὀθνεῖαν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρα
πατέρα τέ γ' ἐνδίκως ἂν ἠγοίμην μόνην.
καίτοι καλόν γ' ἂν τόνδ' ἀγῶν' ἠγωνίσω,
τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδός κατθανῶν, βραχὺς δέ σοι
πάντως ὁ λοιπὸς ἦν βιώσιμος χρόνος.
[κάγώ τ' ἂν ἔζων χῆδε τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον,

⁴⁴ ἐγὼ δέ σ' οἴκων δεσπότην ἐγεινάμην
κάθρεψ', ἀφείλω δ' οὐχ ὑπερθηήσκειν σέθεν·

690,⁴⁵ 698-705,⁴⁶ ἔρεις, ἀκούση πολλὰ κού ψευδῆ κακά. 710,⁴⁷ 1002,⁴⁸ φῆμαι. Helen 750,⁴⁹ οὐδ’

Ἐλενος, ἀλλὰ πόλις ἀνηπάσθη μάτην. *Heraclidae* 500-510,⁵⁰ κακοὺς ὀράσθαι. 532,⁵¹ 545,⁵²

550,⁵³ δίδωμ’ ἐκοῦσα τοῖσδ’, ἀναγκασθεῖσα δ’ οὔ. *Hercules* 578-582,⁵⁴ ὁ καλλίνικος ὡς πάροιθε

οὐ γὰρ πατρῶν τόνδ’ ἐδεξάμην νόμον,
 παίδων προθνήσκειν πατέρας, οὐδ’ Ἑλληνικόν.
 σαυτῷ γὰρ εἴτε δυστυχῆς εἴτ’ εὐτυχῆς

⁴⁵ μὴ θνήσχ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦδ’ ἀνδρός, οὐδ’ ἐγὼ πρὸ σοῦ.

⁴⁶ εἴτ’ ἐμὴν ἀψυχίαν
 λέγεις, γυναικός, ὦ κάκισθ’, ἤσσημένος,
 ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ σοῦ προὔθανεν νεανίου;
 σοφῶς δ’ ἐφηύρες ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν ποτε,
 εἰ τὴν παρούσαν κατθανεῖν πείσεις ἀεὶ
 γυναίχ’ ὑπὲρ σοῦ· κἄτ’ ὄνειδίζεις φίλοις
 τοῖς μὴ θέλουσι δρᾶν τὰδ’, αὐτὸς ὦν κακός;
 σίγα· νόμιζε δ’, εἰ σὺ τὴν σαυτοῦ φιλεῖς
 ψυχῆν, φιλεῖν ἅπαντας· εἰ δ’ ἡμᾶς κακῶς

⁴⁷ {Φε.} σοῦ δ’ ἂν προθνήσκων μάλλον ἐξημάρτανον.

⁴⁸ μηδὲ νεκρῶν ὡς φθιμένων χῶμα νομιζέσθω
 {[άντ.}
 τύμβος σᾶς ἀλόχου, θεοῖσι δ’ ὁμοίως
 τιμάσθω, σέβας ἐμπόρων.
 καὶ τις δοχμίαν κέλευθον
 ἐκβαίνων τὸδ’ ἐρεῖ.
 Αὐτὰ ποτὲ προὔθαν’ ἀνδρός,
 νῦν δ’ ἐστὶ μάκαιρα δαίμων·
 χαῖρ’, ὦ πότνι’, εὐδὲ δοίης. τοιαῖ νιν προσερούσι

⁴⁹ Κάλχας γὰρ οὐκ εἶπ’ οὐδ’ ἐσήμηνε στρατῷ
 νεφέλης ὑπερθνήσκοντας εἰσορῶν φίλους

⁵⁰ {Μα.} μὴ νυν τρέσης ἔτ’ ἐχθρὸν Ἀργεῖον δόρου·
 ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτῇ πρὶν κελευσθῆναι, γέρον,
 θνήσκειν ἐτοίμη καὶ παρίστασθαι σφαγῆ.
 τί φήσομεν γάρ, εἰ πόλις μὲν ἀξιοῖ
 κίνδυνον ἡμῶν οὐνεκ’ αἴρεσθαι μέγαν,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ προστιθέντες ἄλλοισιν πόνους,
 παρόν σφε σῶσαι, φευξόμεσθα μὴ θανεῖν;
 οὐ δῆτ’, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ γέλωτος ἄξια,
 στένειν μὲν ἰκέτας δαιμόνων καθημένους,
 πατρὸς δ’ ἐκείνου φύντας οὐ πεφύκαμεν

⁵¹ ἐκοῦσα κούκ ἄκουσα· κάξαγγέλλομαι θνήσκειν ἀδελφῶν τῶνδε κάμαυτῆς ὑπερ.

⁵² πᾶσας ἀδελφὰς τῆσδε δεῦρο χρῆ καλεῖν, κἄθ’ ἢ λαχοῦσα θνησκέτω γένους ὑπερ· σὲ δ’ οὐ
 δίκαιον κατθανεῖν ἄνευ πάλου.

λέξομαι. *The Phoenician Women* 914⁵⁵ σὸν παῖδ', ἐπειδὴ τὴν τύχην αὐτὸς καλεῖς. , 969,⁵⁶ θνήσκειν

ἔτοιμος πατρίδος ἐκλυτήριον. 997-1018,⁵⁷ πειρώμεναι τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖεν ἄν. 1054-1055,⁵⁸ ἄρπαγαῖσι

⁵³ {Μα.} οὐκ ἂν θάνοιμι τῇ τύχῃ λαχοῦσ' ἐγὼ·
χάρις γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι· μὴ λέξης, γέρον.
ἀλλ', εἰ μὲν ἐνδέχεσθε καὶ βούλεσθέ μοι
χρησθαι προθύμως, τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγὼ

⁵⁴ καὶ δεῖ μ' ὑπὲρ τῶνδ', εἶπερ οἶδ' ὑπὲρ πατρός,
θνήσκειν ἀμύνοντ'· ἢ τί φήσομεν καλὸν
ὑδρα μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην λέοντί τε
Εὐρυσθέως πομπαῖσι, τῶν δ' ἐμῶν τέκνων
οὐκ ἐκπονήσω θάνατον; οὐκ ἄρ' Ἑρακλῆς

⁵⁵ ἄκουε δὴ νυν θεσφάτων ἐμῶν ὁδόν·
[ἂ δρώντες ἂν σώσαιτε Καδμείων πόλιν]
σφάζαι Μενικέα τόνδε δεῖ σ' ὑπὲρ πάτρας,

⁵⁶ {Κρ.} τί δ' ἂν τις εἴποι; δῆλον οἷ γ' ἐμοὶ λόγοι.
ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐποτ' ἐς τόδ' εἶμι συμφορᾶς,
ὥστε σφαγέντα παῖδα προσθεῖναι πόλει.
πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι φιλότεκνος βίος,
οὐδ' ἂν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδά τις δοίη κτανεῖν.
μὴ μ' εὐλογεῖτω τὰ μὰ τις κτείνων τέκνα.
αὐτὸς δ' ὄεν ὠραίῳ γὰρ ἔσταμεν βίουῃ

⁵⁷ γυναῖκες, ὡς εὖ πατρός ἐξεῖλον φόβον,
κλέψας λόγοισιν, ὥσθ' ἂ βούλομαι τυχεῖν·
ὅς μ' ἐκκομίζει, πόλιν ἀποστερῶν τύχης,
καὶ δειλίᾳ δίδωσι. καὶ συγγνωστὰ μὲν
γέροντι, τοῦ μὲν δ' οὐχὶ συγγνώμην ἔχει,
προδοτὴν γενέσθαι πατρίδος ἢ μ' ἐγείνατο.
ὡς οὖν ἂν εἰδῆτ', εἶμι καὶ σῶσω πόλιν
ψυχὴν τε δώσω τῆσδ' ὑπερθανεῖν χθονός.
αἰσχροὺς γάρ· οἱ μὲν θεσφάτων ἐλεύθεροι
κούκ εἰς ἀνάγκην δαιμόνων ἀφιγμένοι
στάντες παρ' ἀσπίδ' οὐκ ὀκνήσουσιν θανεῖν,
πύργων πάροιθε μαχόμενοι πάτρας ὑπερ·
ἐγὼ δέ, πατέρα καὶ κασίγνητον προδοὺς
πόλιν τ' ἐμαυτοῦ, δειλὸς ὡς ἔξω χθονός
ἄπειμ'· ὅπου δ' ἂν ζῶ, κακὸς φανήσομαι.
μὰ τὸν μετ' ἄστρον Ζῆν' Ἄρη τε φοῖνιον,
ὅς τοὺς ὑπερτεΐλαντας ἐκ γαίης ποτὲ
Σπαρτοὺς ἀνακτας τῆσδε γῆς ἰδρύσατο.
ἀλλ' εἶμι καὶ στὰς ἐξ ἐπάλλεων ἄκρων
σφάξας ἐμαυτὸν σηκὸν ἐς μελαμβραθὴ
δράκοντος, ἐνθ' ὁ μάντις ἐξηγήσατο,
ἐλευθερώσω γαίαν· εἴρηται λόγος.
στεῖχω δέ, θανάτου δῶρον οὐκ αἰσχροὺς πόλει
δώσω, νόσου δὲ τῆνδ' ἀπαλλάξω χθόνα.
εἰ γὰρ λαβῶν ἕκαστος ὅ τι δύναιτό τις
χρηστὸν διέλθοι τοῦτο κάς κοινὸν φέροι

δαιμόνων τις ἄτα. 1090⁵⁹ ἔταξ' *The Trojan Women*,⁶⁰ ὄκουν, *Erectheus Fr.* 79,38f (360.32-

42),⁶¹ ἄρξουσιν ἄλλοι, τήνδ' ἐγὼ σώσω πόλιν. *Phrizei Fr.* 1-2+4.18,⁶² *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1543-1560⁶³ σιγῆ

πατρίδι, κακῶν ἄν αἰ πόλεις ἐλασσόνων

⁵⁸ χρόνῳ δ' ἔβα {ἀντ.}
 Πυθίαις ἀποστολαῖσιν
 Οἰδίπους ὁ τλάμων
 Θηβαίαν τάνδε γὰν
 τότ' ἀσμένους, πάλιν δ' ἄχη·
 ματρὶ γὰρ γάμους
 δυσγάμους τάλας
 καλλίνικος ὦν
 αἰνιγμάτων συνάπτει,
 μιαίνει δὲ πτόλιν·
 δι' αἱμάτων δ' ἀμείβει
 μυσαρὸν εἰς ἀγῶνα
 καταβαλὼν ἀραῖσι
 τέκεα μέλεος. ἀγάμεθ' ἀγάμεθ',
 ὃς ἐπὶ θάνατον οἴχεται
 γὰς ὑπὲρ πατρῶας,
 Κρέοντι μὲν λιπῶν γόους,
 τὰ δ' ἐπτάπυργα κλήθρα γὰς
 καλλίνικα θήσων.
 γενοίμεθ' ὠδε ματέρες
 γενοίμεθ' εὐτεκνοί, φίλα
 Παλλάς, ἃ δράκοντος αἶμα
 λιθόβολον κατειργάσω,
 Καδμείαν μέριμναν
 ὀρμήσασ' ἐπ' ἔργον,
 ὅθεν ἐπέσυτο τάνδε γαῖαν

⁵⁹ {Αγ.} ἐπεὶ Κρέοντος παῖς ὁ γῆς ὑπερθανῶν
 πύργων ἐπ' ἄκρων στὰς μελάνδετον ξίφος
 λαιμῶν διήκε τῆδε γῆ σωτήριον,
 λόχους ἔνειμεν ἐπτά καὶ λοχαγέτας
 πύλας ἐφ' ἐπτά, φύλακας Ἴαργεῖου δορός,
 σὸς παῖς, ἐφέδρους ὡδ' ὦ ἰππότας μὲν ἰππόταις

⁶⁰ Τρῶες δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, τὸ κάλλιστον κλέος,
 ὑπὲρ πάτρας ἔθνησκον· οὓς δ' ἔλοι δόρυ,
 νεκροὶ γ' ἐς οἴκους φερόμενοι φίλων ὑπο
 ἐν γῆ πατρῶα περιβολὰς εἶχον χθονός,
 χερσὶν περισταλέντες ὦν ἐχρῆν ὑπο
 ὅσοι δὲ μὴ θάνοιεν ἐν μάχῃ Φρυγῶν,
 αἰεὶ κατ' ἡμαρ σὺν δάμαρτι καὶ τέκνοις

⁶¹ καὶ μὴν θανόντες γ' ἐν μάχῃ πολλῶν μέτα
 τύμβον τε κοινὸν ἔλαχον εὐκλειάν τ' ἴσην·
 τῆμῃ δὲ παιδὶ στέφανος εἰς μιᾷ μόνῃ
 πόλεως θανούσῃ τῆσδ' ὑπερδοθήσεται.
 καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν καὶ σὲ δύο θ' ὀμοσπόρω

σώσει· τί τούτων οὐχὶ δέξασθαι καλόν;
 τὴν οὐκ ἐμὴν .. πλὴν φύσει δώσω κόρην
 θῦσαι πρὸ γαίης. εἰ γὰρ αἰρεθήσεται
 πόλις, τί παίδων τῶν ἐμῶν μέτεστί μοι;
 οὐκ οὖν ἄπαντα τοῦπ' ἐμοὶ σωθήσεται;

⁶² ὦ πρόσπολο[ι
 στυγνα[
 μελεα[
 δότε δ' εἰς θαλάμ[ου]ς
 οἰώκῳτροτατα[
 ἐπὶ γὰρ ἄχεσιν ἄχεα ταδε[
 κύματι δ' ὡς ἐπι κύμα κυλ[ίνδεται
 εἰς ἐμὰ δώματα καὶ κ[
 θεῶν τις οἰκ[.].·
 καὶ μηδ[
 τοδορ[
 δμῶε?ς [
 βασιλεια δεσ...ηδ[
 ἄλοχος
 τί δὲ σημαίνει κα[
 Ἄθάμας, ὄρα τάδε [
 φέρουσιν αἶδε πρόσπολοι δ[
 λιπούσαν οἴκους τᾶμ' ἐμε.[
 τάδ' οὖν πατήρ μοι Κάδμο[ς
 φερνάς δέδωκεν νῦν τε[
 2+4 ψυχὴν [...].·[
 γύναι, τ[.]πεισδ[
 φεύγειν π[ρ]οδοῦσαἔνοτ.[
 γυνὴ γὰρ ἐ[ν] κακ[οἰ]ἔσι καὶ νό[σοις] πόσει
 ἦδι[σ]τόν ἐ[σ]τι δώματ' ἦ[ν] οἰκῆ καλῶς
 ὀργὴν τε πραῦνου[σα] ἔ καὶ [δυσθυμίας
 ψυχὴν μεθιστᾶ[σ' ἠδὲ κάπᾶται φίλων·
 τὸ κτήμα· καὶ γὰρ α[
 ἔτέρψιν παρασχο!ἔ
 ἐγὼ δ' ὁμοίως ὡσα [
 ὅταν μεν...[

⁶³ ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἰκόμεσθα τῆς Διὸς κόρης
 Ἄρτεμιδος ἄλλος λείμακάς τ' ἀνθροφόρους,
 ἴν' ἦν Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος στρατεύματος,
 σὴν παῖδ' ἄγοντες, εὐθὺς Ἀργείων ὄχλος
 ἠθροίζεθ'. ὡς δ' ἐσείδεν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ
 ἐπὶ σφαγᾶς στείχουσιν εἰς ἄλλος κόρην,
 ἀνεστέναζε, κάμπαλιν στρέψας κᾶρα
 δάκρυε, πρόσθεν ὀμμάτων πέπλον προθεῖς.
 ἦ δὲ σταθείσα τῷ τεκόντι πλησίον
 ἔλεξε τοιάδ'· ὦ πάτερ, πάρειμί σοι·
 τοῦμὸν δὲ σῶμα τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπὲρ πάτρας
 καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδος γαίης ὑπερ
 θῦσαι δίδωμ' ἐκούσα πρὸς βωμὸν θεᾶς
 ἄγοντας, εἶπερ ἐστὶ θέσφατον τόδε.
 καὶ τοῦπ' ἐμ' εὐτυχεῖτε· καὶ νικηφόρου

παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως.); at least once in the various epitaphs written by Simonides (*Lyrica Graeca* 14. 129⁶⁴ κυδαινουσι ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἴαίδω , cf. 14.127,⁶⁵ κείμεθ ἀγηράτω χρώμενοι εὐλογίη 129,⁶⁶ παισὶ λιπεῖν αὐτοὶ δ ἐν προμάχοισι θανεῖν. 130⁶⁷ Ἐλλὰς ἀποφθιμένου κρατὸς ἐλευθερίαν.); once in Pindar (*Fragment Dith.* 78⁶⁸ ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ πόλιος τὸν ἰρόθυτον θάνατον) once in Xenophon (*On Hunting* 1.14⁶⁹), at least three times in Plato (*The Symposium* 179.b⁷⁰ [cf. 207.b⁷¹], 208.d,⁷²

δώρου τύχοιτε πατρίδα τ' ἐξίκοισθε γῆν.
πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ ψαύση τις Ἄργείων ἐμοῦ·

⁶⁴ Ἄσβεστον κλέος οἶδε φίλῃ περὶ πατρίδι θέντες
κυάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλλοντο νέφος
οὐδὲ τεθνήασι θανόντες ἐπεὶ σφ ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε

⁶⁵ Εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον
ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ ἀπένειμε τύχη
Ἐλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίην περιθειναι

⁶⁶ Τῶνδε δι ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὰν οὐχ ἵκετο καπνὸς
αἰθέρα δαιομένας εὐρυχώρου Τεγέας
οἱ βούλοντο πόλιν μὲν ἐλευθερίᾳ τεθαλυῖαν

⁶⁷ Εὐθυμάχων ἀνδρῶν μνησώμεθα τῶν ὄδε τύμβος
οἱ θάνον εὐμηλον ρύομενοι Τεγέαν
αἰχμηταὶ πρὸ πόλλης ἵνα σφίσι μὴ καθέλῃται

⁶⁸ Κλυθ' Ἄλαλά, Πολέμου θύγατερ,
ἐγγέων προοίμιον, ἧ θύεται

⁶⁹ Μαχάων δὲ καὶ Ποδαλείριος παιδευθέντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἐγένοντο καὶ τέχνας καὶ λόγους καὶ πολέμους ἀγαθοί. Ἀντίλοχος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανῶν τσοαύτης ἔτυχεν εὐκλείας, ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀναγορευθῆναι.

⁷⁰ Καὶ μὴν ὑπεραποθνήσκειν γε μόνον εθέλουσιν οἱ ἐρῶντες, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες.

⁷¹ αἷτιον εἶναι τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; ἢ οὐκ αἰσθάνη ὡς δεινῶς διατίθεται πάντα τὰ θηρία ἐπειδὴν γενεφ νᾶν ἐπιθυμῆση, καὶ τὰ πεζὰ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ, νοσοῦντά τε πάντα καὶ ἐρωτικῶς διατιθέμενα, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τὸ συμφ μιγῆναι ἀλλήλοις, ἔπειτα περὶ τὴν τροφήν τοῦ γενομένου, καὶ ἔτοιμά ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ διαμάχεσθαι τὰ ἀσθενέφ στατα τοῖς ἰσχυροτάτοις καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν, καὶ αὐτὰ τῷ λιμῷ παρατεινόμενα ὥστ' ἐκεῖνα ἐκτρέφειν, καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν ποιούντα. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους, ἔφη, οἷοιτ' ἂν τις ἐκ λογισμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν· τὰ δὲ θηρία τίς αἰτία οὕτως ἐρωφ τικῶς διατίθεσθαι; ἔχεις λέγειν; Καὶ ἐγὼ αὖ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ εἰδείην·

⁷² φιλοτιμίαν βλέψαι, θαυμάζεις ἂν τῆς ἀλογίας περὶ ἧ ἐγὼ εἶρηκα εἰ μὴ ἐννοεῖς, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὡς δεινῶς διάκεινται ἔρωτι τοῦ ὀνομαστοῖ γενέσθαι καὶ κλέος ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἀθάνατον καταθέσθαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου κινδύνους τε κινδυνεύειν ἔτοιμοὶ εἰσι τῷ φίλῳ ταῦτα προήσεται· καφ λὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπαινετόν. εἰκότως δὴ δοκεῖ σπουφδαῖος εἶναι, ἀντὶ πάντων αἰρούμενος τὸ καλόν.

Menexenus 237a⁷³ [cf. 243a⁷⁴, 246b⁷⁵]; twice in *Lysias* (*Funeral Oration* 68,⁷⁶ *On the Confiscation of the Property of the Brother of Nicias* 68-69⁷⁷), twice in *Isaeus* (*On the Estate of Dicaeogenes* 42,⁷⁸ 46⁷⁹), four times in *Demosthenes* (*Against Leptinius* 82,⁸⁰ *Funeral Speech* 29⁸¹, *On the Crown* 289⁸² ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν

⁷³ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν ζώντων σωτηρίας ἠλλάξαντο; δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι κατὰ φύσιν,

⁷⁴ τρίτος δὲ πόλεμος μετὰ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνέλπιστός τε καὶ δεινὸς ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τελευτήσαντες ἐνθάδε κεῖνται, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σιφ κελίαν πλείστα τρόπαια στήσαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς Λεοντίνων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς βοηθοῦντες διὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἔπλευσαν εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους, διὰ δὲ μῆκος τοῦ πλοῦ εἰς ἀπορίαν τῆς πόλεως καταστάσης καὶ οὐ δυναμένης αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τούτῳ ἀπειπόντες ἐδυστύχησαν· ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ προσπολεφῆσαντες πλείω ἔπαινον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ φίλοι· πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς καθ' Ἑλλησποντον, μιᾷ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες ναῦς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες·

⁷⁵75 πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες οὐχ ἱκαναὶ γένοιτο τῷ τὰ πάντα μέλλοντι περαίνειν. τούτων οὖν χρῆ μνησθέντες τοῖς τούτων ἐκγόνοις πάντ' ἄνδρα παρακεφλεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν τὴν τῶν προγόνων μηδ' εἰς τοῦπίσω ἀναχωρεῖν εἰκοντάς κάκῃ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ὧν παῖδες ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, νῦν τε παραφκελεύομαι καὶ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπου ἂν τῷ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναμνήσω καὶ διακελεύσομαι προθυμῆσθαι εἶναι ὡς ἀρίστους·

⁷⁶ ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ μεφγάλην ποιοῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκουσιν· τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχικοῖς περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο. νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ὧν ἐκείνους τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίουσαν, δυστύχησαντες δὲ βέβαιον τὴν δουλείαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ κατέλιπον.

⁷⁷ Ἀξίω δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τοὺς συνδίκους εὖνους ἡμῖν εἶναι, ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μνησθέντας, ὅτ' ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεπτωκότες καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολωλεκότες ἄνδρας ἀρίστους ἐνομίζετε· εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθνήσκοντας, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἡύχεσθε δυνατῶ [27] θῆναι χάριν τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀποδοῦναι. ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν, ὑεῖς ὄντες καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας προκεκινδυνεύουσαν, ἀπαιτοῦμεν ὑμᾶς νυνὶ ταύτην τὴν χάριν, καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν μὴ ἀδίκως ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον βοηθεῖν τοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχούσι συμφορῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ δέομαι καὶ ἀντιβολῶ καὶ ἱκετεύω, καὶ τούτων παρ' ὑμῶν τυγχάνειν ἀξίω· οὐ γὰρ περὶ μικρῶν κινδυνεύομεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων.

⁷⁸ ἔτι δ' ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ὄντων ἀναθέντες πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ ἰδίας κτήσεως, ἀγάλμασι χαλκοῖς καὶ λιθίνοις κεκοσμημένασι τὸ ἱερόν. Αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολεμοῦντες ἀπέθανον, Δικαιογένης μὲν ὁ Μενεξένου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πάππου πατὴρ στρατηγῶν ὅτε ἦ ἐν Ἑλευσίनि μάχῃ ἐγένετο, Μενεξένος δ' ὁ ἐκείνου υἱὸς φυλαρχῶν τῆς Ὀλυνθίας ἐν Σπαρτῶλῳ, Δικαιογένης δὲ ὁ Μενεξένου τριηραρχῶν τῆς Παράλου ἐν Κνίδῳ.

⁷⁹ Ἄλλ' ὡς στρατιώτης ἀγαθός; Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐστράτευσαι τοσούτου καὶ τοιοῦτου γενομένου πολέμου, εἰς ὃν Ὀλύνθιοι μὲν καὶ νησιῶται ὑπὲρ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἀποθνήσκουσι μαχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, σὺ δὲ, ὧν Δικαιοφγενες, πολίτης ὧν οὐδ' ἐστράτευσαι. Ἄλλ' ἴσως διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ἀξιώσεις μου πλέον ἔχειν, ὅτι τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπαινώ, σοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς μετεῖναι.

⁸⁰ οὕτω γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται βεβαίως πως ἐκείνος φιλόπολις, ὥστε δοκῶν καὶ ὧν ἀσφαλέστατος στρατηγός ἀπάντων, ὑπὲρ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὀπόθ' ἡγοῖτο, ἐχρήτο τούτῳ, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐτάχθη κινδυνεύειν, παρείδε, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλετο μὴ ζῆν ἢ καταισχύναι τὰς

δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ. [cf. 204-205⁸³], *contra Aristogetion II 23*⁸⁴), six times in Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates* 47-50,⁸⁵ 82,⁸⁶ 86,⁸⁷ 88⁸⁸, 103-104⁸⁹, 107⁹⁰); three times in Hyperides (*Demosthenes* frg.

παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ τιμάς.

⁸¹ Ἐλλάδ' ἑώρων ὑβριζομένην. ἠκηκόεσαν Λεωντίδαι μυθθολογουμένας τὰς Λεῶ κόρας, ὡς ἑαυτὰς ἔδοσαν σφάγιον τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.

⁸² Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προεῖλεθ' ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἔν' εἰδήσ, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τουτῷ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιάρων. Λέγε.

Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρως εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
 ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὑβριν ἀπεσκεδάσαν·
 ἄμαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δειμάτος ἄ οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' Ἄϊδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν ἀχένη θέντες
 δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὑβριν.
 γαῖα δὲ πατρίς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν

⁸³ κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινέετε. εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελεύομενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμφ βουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ [205] ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἄθηφ ναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορ' οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίου, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγείτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τίς; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιθεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἠγῆφσεται τὰς ὑβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

⁸⁴ Ὦν, ἐὰν ἔχητε νοῦν, ἐνθυμούμενοι τοὺς μὲν φάσκοντας τούτους τῷ λόγῳ φιλεῖν ὑμᾶς χαίρειν ἑάσετε, αὐτοὶ δὲ τουτ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου παραφυλάξετε, ὅπως μηδενὶ δῶτ' ἐξουσίαν ἀκύρους τοὺς νόμους ποιεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν [πολλῶν] ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν δύνασθαι προσφποιουμένων. ὡς πάνδεινόν ἐστιν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταλυθῆναι τοὺς νόμους ἀποθνήσκειν τολμᾶν, ὑμᾶς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας εἰς αὐτοὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν γράψαντα τοὺς νόμους Σόλωνα [ἐψηφίσθαι] χαλκοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ στήσαι, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν νόμων ὀλιγοροῦντας φαίνεσθαι,

⁸⁵ ἐκείνοι γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπήντησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς Βοιωτίας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας μαχοῦμενοι, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν προέμενοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνδρείαν ἀσφαλεστέραν φυλακὴν εἶναι νομίζοντες τῶν λιθίνων περιβόλων, τὴν δὲ θρέψασαν αὐτοὺς αἰσχυρόμενοι περιορᾶν πορθομένην, εἰκότως [48] ὡσπερ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς φύσει γεννήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ποιητοὺς τῶν πατέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔχουσιν ἅπαντες ταῖς εὐνοίαις, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὰς χώρας τὰς μὴ φύσει προσηκούσας, ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἐπικτήτους γενομένας καταδεέστερον διάφκεινται. τοιαύταις δὲ γνώμαις χρησάμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ἀρίφστοις ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἴσου τῶν κινδύνων μετασχόντες, οὐχ ὁμοίως τῆς τύχης ἐκοινώνησαν· τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐ ζῶντες ἀπολαύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντες τὴν δόξαν καταλελοίφασιν, οὐχ ἠττηθέντες,

7.30,⁹¹ τοῦ δήμου] *Funeral Oration* 6.24-25,⁹² 35⁹³), twice in Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics*)

ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες ἔνθαπερ ἐτάχθη[49]σαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμύνοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραφδοξότατον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δέ, ἐκ εἰνοι νικῶντες ἀπέθαφνον. ἃ γὰρ ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐστίν, ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀρετή, ταῦτ' {γὰρ} ἀμφοτέρω τοῖς τελευτήφασιν ὑπάρχει. ἔπειτα δ' οὐδ' οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ἡττήφ σθαι τοὺς ταῖς διανο

⁸⁶ Οὕτω τοίνυν ὧ ἄνδρες σφόδρα ἐνέμειναν ἐν τούτῳ πάνφτες, ὥστε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔσχον βοηθόν, καὶ πάντων ὠτῶν Ἕλλήνων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαφθῶν γενομένων πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, μάλιστα ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν εὐδοκίμησεν. ὃ καὶ πάντων ἂν εἴη δεινότερον, τοὺς μὲν προφγόνους ὑμῶν ἀποθνήσκειν τολμᾶν ὥστε μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀδοφξείν, ὑμᾶς δὲ μὴ κολάζειν τοὺς καταισχύναντας αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ περιορᾶν τὴν κοινήν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων συνειφλεγμένην εὐκλείαν ταύτην διὰ τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν πονηρίαν καταλυομένην.

⁸⁷ καὶ οὕτως ἦσαν {ὧ} ἄνδρες γενναῖοι οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες, ὥστε προηροῦντο **ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίας μᾶλλον** ἢ ζῶντες ἐτέραν μεταλλάξαι τινὰ χώραν.

⁸⁸ , οἳ γε προηροῦντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξαπατῶντες **ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς** καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι; τοιγαροῦν μονώτατοι ἐπφώνυμοι τῆς χώρας εἰσίν, ἰσοθέων τιμῶν τετυχηκότες, εἰκότως·

⁸⁹ Ἐκτωρ γὰρ τοῖς Τρωσὶ παρακελεύόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τάδ' εἶρηκεν·

ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ διαμπερές. ὃς δὲ κεν ὑμεῶν βλήμενος ἢ τυπεὶς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπη, τεθνάτω. οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεθνάμεν· ἀλλ' ἄλοχός τε σόη καὶ νήπια τέκνα, καὶ κληρὸς καὶ οἶκος ἀκήρατος, εἴ κεν Ἀχαιοὶ οἴχωνται σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

[104] Τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν ἀκούοντες ὧ ἄνδρες οἱ πρόγονοι ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ζηλοῦντες, οὕτως ἔσχον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ὠτῆς Ἑλλάδος ὡς κοινῆς ὠπατρίδος ἠθέλον ἀποθνήσκειν. οἱ γοῦν ἐν Μαραθῶνι παραταξάμενοι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας στόλον ἐκράτησαν, τοῖς ἰδίῳις κινδύνοις κοινήν ἄδειαν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κτώ μενοι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ μέγα φρονοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ταύφ τῆς ἀξία πράττειν, τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων προστάτας, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων δεσπότας ἑαυτοὺς καθιστάντες· οὐ γὰρ λόγῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπετήδευον, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πᾶσιν ἐνεδείκνυντο.

⁹⁰ ποιήσας, ὧν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν· καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες, περὶ τούφτου οὕτω σφόδρα ἐσπουδάκασιν, ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐξεστρατευμένοι ὧσι, καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν ἀκουσομένους τῶν Τυρταίου ποιημάτων ἅπαντας, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν. χρῆσιμον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐλεγείων, ἵν' ἐπίστησθε οἷα ποιοῦντες εὐδοκίμου παρ' ἐκείνοις.

⁹¹ μος ἐποίησεν, ὥστ'
αὐτ[ὸ]ς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης
ἀφαιρεθεὶς τὸν στέφ
φανον, ἡμῶν ὄν ἔφ
ἠδῶκεν οὐκ ἀφείλετο.
οὕτως οὖν ἡμῖν τοῦ
δήμου προσενηνεφ
γμένου, οὐ πάντα ὠτᾶ ἰδίφ

1169a[line1]9⁹⁴; 1169a[line 25]9⁹⁵); once in an epitaph written by Mnasaclas of Sicyon (*Greek Anthology*

7.242⁹⁶ τουσδ' ἐσιδὼν **θνήσκειν τλάτω ὑπὲρ πατρίδος**), twice in Polybius (*Histories* 6.24.9⁹⁷; 15.10⁹⁸);

[κ?α]ι? ἄ?ν? αὐτῶ ἡμεῖς
 ὑπ?η?]ρετοῖμεν καὶ
 εἰ δ[έοι ἀ]π?οθνήσκοιφ
 μεν [ὑπὲρ] α?ύτου; ἐγὼ
 μὲν οἶμαι· ἀλλὰ σ]ὺ κατὰ

⁹² ὥστ]ε ὅταν ἐπαιν[ῶ τὴν γ]εγονυῖαν νίκη, ἅμα τ[ῆ]ι Λε]ωσθένους ἡγεμονίφ
 αι καὶ [τὴν τ]ῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν ἠ[έγκω]μ[ι]άσω. τίς γὰρ οὐφ κ ἂν δικα[ίως] ἐπαινοῖη τῶν πολιτῶ[ν
 το]ῦς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμω?[ι τε]λευτήσαντας, οἱ τὰς ἐα[υτῶ]ν ψυχὰς ἔδωκαν ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς τῶ]ν
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευφ θερίας, [φ]α]νερωτάτην ἀπόφ δειξιν τ[αὐτ]ῆν γούμενοι εἶφ ναι τοῦ [βούλ]εσθαι τῆ
 Ἑλλάδι τὴν] ἐλε[υθερ]ίαν

⁹³ αι καὶ [τὴν τ]ῶν ἄ ος αὐτὸς τάδε λφῶ θανάτου γενόμενος, ὅτι μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τοὺς
 υἱοὺς **ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ**, συναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῆ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος, εἰπὼν ὅτι
 ταῦτα καὶ ἐνέδραν καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχει· ὅμως αἰρετώτερον εἶναι πέμψαι τὰ χρήματ' αὐτῶ καὶ τοὺς
 υἱοὺς ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος προβαλλομένοις μὴ ὑπακούσαντα λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 σῶσαι μὴ θελήσας.

⁹⁴ ἀληθὲς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ τὸ τῶν φίλων ἔνεκα πολλὰ πράττειν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος,
 κἂν δέη ὑπεραποθνήσκειν·

⁹⁵ προήσεται γὰρ καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ὅλως τὰ περιμάχητα ἀγαθὰ, περιποιούμενος
 ἑαυτῶ τὸ καλόν· ὀλίγον γὰρ χρόνον ἤσθῆναι σφόδρα μᾶλλον ἔλοιτ' ἂν ἢ πολὺν ἡρέμα, καὶ βιώσαι
 καλῶς ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ πόλλ' ἔτη τυχόντως, καὶ μίαν πράξιν καλὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἢ πολλὰς καὶ μικρὰς.
 τοῖς δ' **ὑπεραποθνήσκουσι** τοῦτ' ἴσως συμβαίνει·

⁹⁶ Οἶδε πάτραν πολὺδακρυν ἐπ' αὐχένι δεσμὸν ἔχουσαν
 ῥύομενοι δνοφερὰν ἀμφεβάλλοντο κόνιν·
 ἄρρυνται δ' ἀρετὰς αἶνον μέγαν. ἀλλὰ τις ἀστῶν

⁹⁷ βούλονται δ' εἶναι τοὺς ταξιάρχους οὐχ οὕτως θρασεῖς καὶ φιλοκινδύνους ὡς
 ἡγεμονιφκοὺς καὶ στασίμους καὶ βαθεῖς μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐδ' ἐξ ἀκεραίου προσπίπτειν ἢ
 κατάρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης, ἐπικρατούμενους δὲ καὶ πιεζομένους ὑπομέφνειν καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ
 τῆς χώρας.

⁹⁸ Ταῦτα δ' ἐτοιμασάμενος Τέπτεπορεύετο παρακαφ λῶν τὰς δυνάμεις βραχέως μὲν, οἰκείως δὲ
 τῆς ὑποφ κειμένης περιστάσεως. ἡξίου γὰρ μνημονεύοντας τῶν προγεγονότων ἀγῶνων ἄνδρας
 ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι, σφῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀξίους, καὶ λαμβάνειν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὅτι κρατήσαντες μὲν
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν Διβύη πραγμάτων ἔσονται κύριοι βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 οἰκουμένης τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ δυναστείαν ἀδήριτον αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῆ πατρίδι περιποιήσουσιν· ἐὰν δ'
 ὡς ἄλλως ἐκβῆ τὰ κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, οἱ μὲν ἀποθανόντες εὐγενῶς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον
 ἔξουσι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος θάνατον, οἱ δὲ διαφυγόντες αἰσχιστον καὶ ἐλεεινότατον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον
 βίον. ἀσφάλειαν γὰρ τοῖς φυγοῦσιν οὐδεὶς ἰκανὸς περιποιῆσαι τόπος τῶν ἐν τῇ Διβύη· πεσοῦσι δ'
 ὑπὸ τὰς τῶν Καρχηφ δονίων χεῖρας οὐκ ἄδηλα [εἶναι] τὰ συμβησόμενα τοῖς ὀρθῶς λογιζομένοις· ΡῶνΡ
 ἔφη Ρμηδενὶ γέφνοιτο πείραν ὑμῶν λαβεῖν. τῆς δ' οὖν τύχης ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἄθλων εἰς ἑκάτερον
 τὸ μέρος ἐκφ τεθεικυίας, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶημεν ἀγεννέστατοι καὶ συλλήβδην ἀφρονέστατοι πάντων,
 εἰ παρέντες τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλοίμεθα τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν διὰ φιλοζωίαν;Ρ
 διόπερ ἡξίου δύο προθεμέφνους, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἢ νικᾶν ἢ θνήσ,

twice in Dionysius Harlicanansus (*Antiquities of Rome* 11.57.2,⁹⁹ *Rh.* 6:4¹⁰⁰); twice in Diodorus of Sicily (8.12.8;¹⁰¹ 21.6.2¹⁰² ἑκατὸν χιλιάδες ἀύθημερόν. [cf. 15.52.4]¹⁰³); three times in Philo (*On Husbandry* 156.3;¹⁰⁴ *Abraham* 179¹⁰⁵, *The Special Laws* 4.15¹⁰⁶ [cf. *On the Change of Names* 40¹⁰⁷]); at least eleven

⁹⁹ Θαυμάζειν δ' ἔφη τῶν ὑπάτων, ὅτι βεβουφλευμένοι τε καὶ κεκριότες ἤδη κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἂ δεῖ πράττειν, ὡσπερ ἀδοκίμαστον πρᾶγμα καὶ βουλῆς δεόμενον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπεχείρησαν εἰσφέρειν, καὶ λόγον **ἀπέδωκαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ** τοῖς προαιρουμένοις, εἰρωνεῖαν εἰσάγοντες οὔτε ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἡλικίαις ἀρμότφτουσαν, οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς προσήκουσαν.

¹⁰⁰ ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἔπαινον ἔξει ὁ λόγος, εἰ λέγοιμεν, ὅτι οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ῥᾶον φέρειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντες ὅμοιοι ταῖς ἡλικίαις, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τούτων ἔξομεν εἰς παραμυθίαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι ἐνδόξως **ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ τῆς** πατρίδος καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ ὅτι ταχὺς καὶ ἀναίσθητος ὁ τοιοῦτος θάνατος, καὶ ἐκτὸς βασάνων καὶ τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νόσου· ὅτι δημοσίας ταφῆς ἔλαχον Τζηλωτὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀθάνατος αὐτῶν ἡ δόξα.

¹⁰¹ πρόδηλος γὰρ ὁ ὑπομείνας τοσαύτας διαιφρέσεις τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἀφειδῶς ἑαυτὸν **ἐπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος**·

¹⁰² Γράφει τοιοῦτόν τι Δοῦρις, Διόδωρος καὶ Δίων, ὅτι Σαμνητῶν, Τυρρηνῶν καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν ποφλεμούτων Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Δέκιος ὑπάτος Ῥώμης συστρατηγὸς ὢν Τουρκουάτου οὕτως ἀπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς σφαγὴν καὶ ἀνηρέθησαν τῶν ἐναντίων

¹⁰³ ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας πανδημῆι τοὺς Θηβαίους τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατιᾶς ὄντας καταλέξας εἰς τὴν μάχην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἔχων τοὺς σύμπαντας οὐ [15.52.3] πλείους τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἔξοδον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλοῖς ἔδοξε δυσχερῆ σημεῖα φανῆναι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. περὶ γὰρ τὰς πύλας ἀπήντησε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν κήρυξ τυφλός, Σ' ὅσ' ἀνδράποδ' ἀποδεδρακότα, καθάπερ ἦν εἰθισμένον, ἀνηγόρευε κηρύττων μῆτ' ἐξάγειν Θῆφ βηθεν μῆτ' ἀφανίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπάγοντα πάλιν ἀναφ [15.52.4] σώζειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀκουόντων τοῦ κήρυκος οἰωνὸν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ μέλλοντος, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, ἵνα μὴ δόξωσι διὰ δειφλίαν ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τῆς στρατείας. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας προσέχειν δεῖν τοῖς οἰωνοῖς εἶπεν εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

¹⁰⁴ καὶ μὴν εὐλογον μὴ μόνον ὅσα τοῖς ἀστραφ τεύτοις πρόσσεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐχθρῶν κεκρατηκότων γενέσθαι κτήματα· τοῖς δὲ γε **ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας**, καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἀπώναντο πρότερον τῶν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἡδίστη τελευτὴ γίνεται λογιζομένοις ὅτι πρὸς οὐς ἠϋζαντο διαδόχους τὴν οὐσίαν.

¹⁰⁵ πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους φασὶ τῶν πάνυ φιλοικείων καὶ φιλοτέκνων ἐπιδοῦναι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδων σφαιγιασθησομένους, λυτήρια ἢ πολέμων ἢ ἀυχμῶν ἢ ἐπομβρίας ἢ νοσημάτων λοιμικῶν γενησομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ νενομισμένης εὐσεβείας, [180] εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐσης·

¹⁰⁶ πόσης ἄξιοι κατηγορίας τυγχάνειν εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ πάντων ἄριστον κτήμα, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀφαιρούμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, **ὑπὲρ ἧς ἀποθνήσκειν καλὸν** τοῖς γεννηθείσιν εὐ καὶ τραφεῖσιν; ἤδη τινὲς τὴν σύμφυτον μοχθηρίαν

¹⁰⁷ τιμῶν γὰρ γονεῖς ἢ πένητας ἐλεῶν ἢ φίλους εὐεργετῶν ἢ πατρίδος ὑπερφ' ασπίζων ἢ τῶν κοινῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους δικαίων ἐπιμελούμενος εὐαρεστήσεις μὲν πάντως τοῖς χρωμένοις, θεοῦ δ' ἐνώπιον εὐαρεστήσεις·

times in Plutarch (*Coriolanus* 6:1-2,¹⁰⁸ *Aristedes* 21.4,¹⁰⁹ *Cato Minor* 5.2,¹¹⁰ *Otho* 15.4.¹¹¹ *Brutus* 40.8-9,¹¹² βραβεύσαντος, οὐ δέομαι πάλιν ἄλλας ἐλπίδας ἐξελέγγχειν καὶ παρασκευάς, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάξομαι, τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι Μαρτίαις εἰδοῖς δοὺς τῇ πατρίδι τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ βίον, ἄλλον ἔζησα δι' ἐκείνην ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἔνδοξον. *Phocion* 17.3,¹¹³ *Pericles*, 8.6,¹¹⁴ *Sayings of the Spartans* 219.B,¹¹⁵ 222.A,¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ τόπον ἐνταφῆσαι πανταχοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν, ὧν πλεον οὐδὲν οἰκοῦσι τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἢ τιτρώσκεισθαι καὶ **ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλουσίων [6.2] στρατευομένοις.**

¹⁰⁹ κρωσσοὺς νεανίσκοι κομίζοντες ἐλεύθεροι· δούλω γὰρ οὐδενὸς θέμις ἐστὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἐκείνην προσφάψασθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἄνδρας **ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας·**

¹¹⁰ σκηπτῶ, πάντα πράγματα ταράττων; οὐκ οὐκ σχολῆς οὐδ' ἀποδημίας καιρός, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κρατῆσαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ καλῶς **ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς [20.6] ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενον.**

¹¹¹ ἀξιούμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ μείζονος ἀποστερεῖτε, τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν. εἰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἄξιος γέγονα, δεῖ με τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς **ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀφειδεῖν.**

¹¹² νυνὶ δ' ἄλλοῖος ἐν ταῖς τύχαις γίνομαι, καὶ θεοῦ καλῶς τὰ παρόντα μὴ

¹¹³ Δημοσθένους δὲ λοιδοροῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη προσάγοντα ταῖς Θήβαις, ἔφη (*Od.* 9, 494)·

σχέτλιε, τίπτ' ἐθέλεις ἐρεθιζέμεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα

καὶ δόξης μεγάλης ὀρεγόμενον; ἢ βούλει πυρκαϊᾶς τηλικαύτης οὔσης ἐγγυὺς ριπίσαι τὴν πόλιν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἀπολέσθαι τούτοις ἐπιτρέψομεν, οἱ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγεῖν ὑπομένοντες. ὡς δ' ἀπωλώλεισαν αἱ Θῆβαι, καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξητεῖτο τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυφκοῦργον καὶ ὑπερείδην καὶ Χαρίδημον, ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπέβλεπεν, ὄνομαστὶ πολλὰκις καλούμενος ἀνέστη καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕνα παρασησάμενος, ᾧ μάλιστα χρώμενος διετέλει καὶ πιστεύων καὶ ἀγαφῶν· εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἔφη τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι παραγηγόχασιν, ὥστ' ἔγωγε κἂν Νικοκλέα τις τοῦτον ἐξαιτῆ, διδόναι κελεύσω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀπάντων ἀποθανεῖν εὐτυχίαν ὠάνῳ ἑμαυτοῦ θείμην. ἐλέω δ' εἶπεν Π1ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Θηβῶν δεῦρο πεφευγότας, ἀρκεῖ δὲ τὰς Θήβας κλαίειν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι.

¹¹⁴ ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτος [FGrH 107 F 9] φησιν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεοὺς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὀρώμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα· ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανούσιν.

¹¹⁵ Ἀστυκρατίδας, εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἡττηθῆναι Ἄγιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐ Ἰππόδαμος, ὅτε Ἄγις Ἀρχιδάμῳ παρετάσσετο, [συμ]πεμφθῆεις τῷ Ἄγιδι εἰς Σπάρτην ἐκεῖ τὰς χρεῖας παρέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὗτος ἔφη οὗτοι κάλλιον [θάνατον] **ἀποθανοῦμαι ὑπὲρ Σπάρτας ἀνδραγαθῶν;** ἦν δὲ βεβιωκῶς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ στὰς ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως, μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει.

¹¹⁶ Ἰππόδαμος, ὅτε Ἄγις Ἀρχιδάμῳ παρετάσσετο, [συμ]πεμφθῆεις τῷ Ἄγιδι εἰς Σπάρτην ἐκεῖ τὰς χρεῖας παρέχεσθαι, "ἀλλ' οὗτος" ἔφη "οὗτοι κάλλιον [θάνατον] **ἀποθανοῦμαι ὑπὲρ Σπάρτας ἀνδραγαθῶν;**" ἦν δὲ βεβιωκῶς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ στὰς

225.A¹¹⁷, 238A,¹¹⁸ *On the Fame of the Athenians* 349.7¹¹⁹·ἐαυτοὺς τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ λαμπροτάτοις ἀγῶσιν); twice in 1 Macc. (1.50¹²⁰; 6:44,¹²¹) twice in 2 Macc. (7:37¹²²; 8:21¹²³ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθνήσκειν τετραμερές τι τὸ στράτευμα ἐποίησεν.); five times in Josephus (*AJ* 12.281,¹²⁴ *AJ* 13.1,¹²⁵ 13.6,¹²⁶ 13:198-
 ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως, μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει.

¹¹⁷ Λεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων ὀλίγους ἄγειν αὐτὸν εἰς Θερμοπύλας, ἃ οὐκ ἄλλας ἔφη πρὸς ἡν βαδίζομεν πρᾶξιν. Πάλιν δ' αὐτῶν εἰπόντων μὴ τι ἕτερον διέγνωκας ποιεῖν ἢ τὰς παρόδους τῶν βαρβάρων κωλύειν; τῷ λόγῳ ἔφη τῷ δ' ἔργῳ **ἀποθανούμενος ὑπὲρ** τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

¹¹⁸ οὐδενὸς ἦττον· ἔκέντρον δ' εἶχε ταῦτα ἐγερτικὸν θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος καὶ παραστατικὸν ὁρμῆς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πρακτικῆς. καὶ ἡ λέξις ἦν ἀφελῆς καὶ ἄθρυπτος· οὐδὲν δ' ἕτερον εἶχεν ἢ ἐπαίνους τῶν γεννικῶς ζησάντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθανόντων καὶ εὐδαιμονιζομένων καὶ ψόγους τῶν τρεσάντων ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βιούντων βίον· ἐπαγγελία τε καὶ μεγαλαυχία πρὸς ἀρετὴν πρέπουσα ταῖς ἡλικίαις. Τριῶν οὖν χορῶν ὄντων κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας καὶ συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ἦδεν ἀμέσως ποτ' ἡμεῖς ἄλκιμοι νεανῖαι·

¹¹⁹ Τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐνθένδε παριόντας σκοπῶμεν, ὧν παρερχομένων ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐφημεῖν χρῆ ἀξίστασθαι τοὺς ἀπράκτους καὶ ἀπολιτεύτους καὶ ἀστρατεύτους, στίς ἄτολμος πρὸς ἔργα τοιαῦτα καὶ γνώμη μὴ καθαρεύει, μηδὲ Μιλτιάδου τοῦ μηδοφόνου μηδὲ τοῦ περσοκτόνου Θεμιστοκλέους χειρὸς βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη. Ἀρήιος ὁ κῶμος οὗτος ἐκ γῆς ἅμα φάλαγγι καὶ στόλοις ἐκ θαλάττης καὶ μεμιγμένοις σκύλοις καὶ τροπαίοις βεβριθῶς.

κλυθ' Ἄλαλά, Πολέμου θυγάτερ,
 ἐγγέων προοίμιον, ἃ θύεται
 ἄνδρες τὸν ἱρόθυτον θάνατον,

ὡς ὁ Θηβαῖος Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ τάφων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπιδιδόντες

¹²⁰ νῦν, τέκνα, ζηλώσατε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ δότε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ διαθήκης πατέρων ἡμῶν [51] καὶ μνήσθητε τὰ ἔργα τῶν πατέρων, ἃ ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς αὐφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ δέξασθε δόξαν μεγάλην καὶ ὄνομα αἰώνιον.

¹²¹ καὶ **ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ σώσαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ** καὶ περιποιῆσαι ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα αἰώνιον·

¹²² ἐγὼ δέ, καθάπερ οἱ ἀδελφοί, καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν προδίδωμι περὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων ἐπικαλούμενος τὸν θεὸν ἵλεως ταχὺ τῷ ἔθνει γενέσθαι καὶ σὲ μετὰ ἑτασμών καὶ μαστίγων ἐξομολογήσασθαι διότι μόνος αὐτὸς θεὸς ἐστίν, [38] ἐν ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου στήσαι τὴν τοῦ παντοφ' κράτορος ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἡμῶν γένος δικαίως ἐπηγμένην.

¹²³ ἐφ' οἷς εὐφ' ἠαρσεῖς αὐτοὺς παραστήσας καὶ ἐτοίμους ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ

¹²⁴ ἀνάγκην προδιδούσιν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀξιῶ παῖδας ὄντας ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι καὶ βίας ἀπάσης καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐπάνω γενέσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω παρασκευασαμένους, ὥστ' **ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων**, ἂν δέη, λογιζομένους τοῦθ', ὅτι τὸ θεῖον τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὄρων οὐχ ὑπερόψεται, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἀγασάμενον ἀποδώσει πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἐν ἣ ἤ ζήσεσθε μετ' ἀδείας τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντες ἐθῶν,

¹²⁵ Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καταδουφλωσαμένων αὐτῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δι' ὧν καὶ πηλίκων ἀγῶνων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθὼν Ἰούδας

199¹²⁷; *Ap* 2.218-219¹²⁸), twice in Epictetus (*Dis.* 2.7.3,¹²⁹ 4.1.154¹³⁰), three times in Cassius Dio (14.57.4,¹³¹ 53.8.3,¹³² 53.9.4¹³³), once in Polyaeus (*Excerpta* 14.8¹³⁴), once in Pseud Apollodorus (*Library* 1.106¹³⁵), once in Lucian (*Cont.* 10.17¹³⁶ **ὕπερ τῆς πατρίδος.** [cf. *My Native Land* 12¹³⁷ παραταττομένοις, ὡς

ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμενος, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηφ [13.2] λώκαμεν.

¹²⁶ ὁ δ' Ἰωνάθης φήσας ἐτοίφμως ἔχειν **ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ νομισθεῖς** κατὰ μηδὲν εἶναι χείρων τάδε λφου στρατηγὸς ἀποδείκνυται τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

¹²⁷ τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας, ὁμόφυλοι, μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως ἀποθανεῖν οὐκέτ' ἀγνοεῖτε. παραδειγμάτων δὲ τοιφουτῶν εὐποροῦντός μου κάκ τοῦ **θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων** καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας γενομένους ἡγησαμένου φόβος οὐδὲ εἷς ἔσται τηλικούτος, ὃς ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκφβαλεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀντεισάξει δ' εἰς αὐτὴν φιλοζῶϊαν καὶ δόξης [13.199] καταφρόνησιν.

¹²⁸ καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀνακήρυξις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τὸ συνειφδὸς ἔχων μαρτυροῦν πεπίστευκεν, τοῦ μὲν νομοθέτου προφητεῦσανφτος, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν παρεσχηκότος, ὅτι τοῖς τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάξασι κὰν εἰ δέοι **θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ** αὐτῶν προθύμως ἀποθανεῖν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω [2.219] λαβεῖν ἐκ περιτροπῆς.

¹²⁹ νάτου ἢ κινδύνου ἢ νόσου ἢ ὄλωσ τῶν τοιούτων; ἂν οὖν δέη κινδυνεῦσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φίλου, ἂν δὲ καὶ **ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ** καθήκη, ποῦ μοι καιρὸς ἔτι μαντεύεσθαι;

¹³⁰ τοὺς μὲν γ' ἀληθ[ε]ϊνοὺς προγόνους, τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ τὴν τῷ ὄντι πατρίδα οὐδεπώποτ' ἂν ἐγκατέλ[ε]ϊπεν οὐδὲ παρεχώρησεν ἄλλῳ μάλλον πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπακοῦειν οὐδ' ὑπεραπέθανεν ἂν εὐκολώτερον τῆς παφ[4.1.155]τρίδος ἄλλος.

¹³¹ ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦθ' εἴλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ μαχεσαφμένων σφῶν εἶπεν Ρεῖτ' οὐκ αἰσχροῦν, ὡ^ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τοῦφ τους μὲν τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐαλωκότας οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔχειν ὡστε καὶ **ἀποθανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι ἐπιθυμήσαι**, ἡμᾶς δ' ὀκνήσαι πόνον τινὰ καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν ἐτέρων καίπροσέτι καὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλων ὑποστήναι; [P M. 147 ὑρ. 192β].

¹³² ὡστ' εἶπερ ὁ Ὁράτιος ὁ Μούκιος ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ Ρήγουλος οἱ Δέκιοι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι **καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηφ κέναι δόξαι ἠθέλησαν**, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μάλλον ἐπιθυμήσαιμι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι ἐξ οὗ κάκεινους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅμα πάντα ἀνθρώπους [53.8.4] εὐκλεία ζῶν ὑπερβαλῶ;

¹³³ καὶ ἀθάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι, αἰροῦμαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐφκλειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶσει ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόννευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ **προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχήσαι**.

¹³⁴ τούτῳ τῷ παραδείγματι προθύμους ἀπεργασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας συμβαλὼν κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκησεν. Ὅτι χρῆ τοὺς φιλοῦντας καὶ φιλουμένους καὶ συγγεφ νεῖς συντάσσειν ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξιν, **ὅπως ὑπεραποθνήσκοιεν ἀλλήλων.**

¹³⁵ Ἀπόλλων δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεόν, ἠτήσατο παρὰ μοιρῶν ἴνα, ὅταν Ἄδμητος μέλλη τελευτᾶν, ἀπολυθῆ τοῦ θανάτου, ἂν ἐκουσίως τις **ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν** ἔληται.

¹³⁶ {ΚΡΟΙΣΟΣ}

1. Who is the subject of the "dying formula"

The list is extensive. It includes the common but valiant citizens of the polis,¹⁴² citizens of Athens¹⁴³, their forefathers,¹⁴⁴ the friend,¹⁴⁵ the lover,¹⁴⁶ and even the plebians of Rome during the time of Caius Marcius Coriolanus.¹⁴⁷ But more often than not it is either (a) a legendary warrior or stalwart campaigner such as Achilles,¹⁴⁸ Horatius, Mucius, Curtius, Regulus, the Decii,¹⁴⁹ the German war leader Vercingetorix, Otho,¹⁵⁰ Judas Maccabeus,¹⁵¹ his brother Jonathan,¹⁵² and the Spartans Hippodamus,¹⁵³ Leonidas,¹⁵⁴ and Astycradus,¹⁵⁵ (b) the Greek heroes of Platea¹⁵⁶ or other soldiers who fought in desperate campaigns against the enemies of Hellas,¹⁵⁷ or their nation;¹⁵⁸ (c) the heroic kings and nobles of old, such as

ἄγγελος ἡμετέρων πᾶσι γενοῦ παθέων·
ὡς ἱερὰν σῶζειν πειρώμενοι Ἑλλάδα χῶραν

- ¹⁴² Isocrates, *Philip* 135; *Against Leocrates*
- ¹⁴³ Isocrates, *Arch* 107; Pindar *Fragment* 78;
- ¹⁴⁴ Isocrates, *Arch* 94.
- ¹⁴⁵ Cf. Aristotle, *EN* 1169a; Epictetus, *Dis.* 2.7.3.
- ¹⁴⁶ I.e., Alcestes. Cf. also, Plato, *Symposium* 179.b.
- ¹⁴⁷ Cf. Plutarch, *Coriolanus* 6:1-2.
- ¹⁴⁸ Xenophon *On Hunting* 1.14
- ¹⁴⁹ Dio Cassius, *History* 53.3; Diodorus of Sicily 21.6.2
- ¹⁵⁰ Plutarch *Otho* 15.4.
- ¹⁵¹ Josephus, *AJ* 13.5-6
- ¹⁵² Josephus, *AJ* 13.6
- ¹⁵³ Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 222.
- ¹⁵⁴ Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 225.4
- ¹⁵⁵ Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 219b.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Greek Anthology* 7.242
- ¹⁵⁷ Pindar, *Fragment* 78

Cordrus¹⁵⁹ Creon,¹⁶⁰ and Tellus¹⁶¹ of whom Herodotus notes

His life was prosperous by our standards, and his death was most glorious: [1.30.5] when the Athenians were fighting their neighbors in Eleusis, he came to help, routed the enemy, and died very finely. The Athenians buried him at public expense on the spot where he fell and gave him much honor."¹⁶²

and (d) the members of these worthies' or other nobles' households, e.g. Creon's son Menoecus,¹⁶³ Nestor's son Antilochus,¹⁶⁴ Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia,¹⁶⁵ the Leokorai,¹⁶⁶ the daughters of Antipoenus, ruler of Thebes,¹⁶⁷ and the daughter of Erectheus of Athens¹⁶⁸.

2. the object of the formula

Those for whom these people die include such expected objects of affection as the lover,¹⁶⁹ the friend,¹⁷⁰

¹⁵⁸ 1 Macc. 6:44

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Lycurgus, *Leocrates* 86, 88.

¹⁶⁰ Euripides, *Phoenician Women*

¹⁶¹ Lucian, *Cont.* 10.17.

¹⁶² *Histories* 1.30-31, Τέλλω τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἠκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα, τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἄστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ [1.31] ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως

¹⁶³ Euripides

¹⁶⁴ Xenophon, *On Hunting* 1.14

¹⁶⁵ Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 100; Euripides, *Iphigineia at Aulis*. 1543-1560.

¹⁶⁶ Demosthenes, *Funeral Speech* 29. Cf. also Diodorus 17.15. 2; Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic Oration*, 191D, 87.

¹⁶⁷ Pausanias 9.7.1.

¹⁶⁸ Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic Oration*, 191D, 87; Euripides, *The Erectheoi*; as quoted in Lycurgus, *Against Lochites* 88 . See also Demosthenes, *Funeral Oration* 28.

¹⁶⁹ Plato, *Symposium* 179.

one's spouse¹⁷¹ and ones heirs¹⁷² as well as certain higher principles such as piety¹⁷³ and "the laws" of one's ancestors.¹⁷⁴ But in the overwhelming number of non Pauline instances of the use of the "dying formula", that for which those who are there noted as giving up their lives is their *polis*,¹⁷⁵ along with its holy shrines¹⁷⁶ and the graves of their fathers,¹⁷⁷ or their nation¹⁷⁸ -- an aim which is viewed consistently as "the noblest and most resplendent of struggles"¹⁷⁹ as well as a "holy sacrifice".¹⁸⁰

3. Toward what end do those who die do so?

While in some instances those who die do so solely with the thought of what such a death might do for their reputation as defenders of the city or πατριδι,¹⁸¹ most of those described as dying for others are concerned with protecting and saving from danger *that which has fostered them*. And so we find that one *never* dies for or on behalf of the adversary or the enemy¹⁸², but always *only for or on behalf of one's own*

¹⁷⁰ Aristotle *EN* 1169a[*line*1]9; *EN* 1169a[*line* 25]; Epictetus *Dis.* 2.7.3; 4.1.154

¹⁷¹ Euripides, *Alcestis*; Cf. Also Ps. Apollodorus .

¹⁷² Philo, *On Husbandry* 156.

¹⁷³ Philo, *Abraham* 179.

¹⁷⁴ Josephus, *AJ* 15.288.

¹⁷⁵ Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 222; 219b.

¹⁷⁶ Plutarch, *On the Fame of the Athenians* 349.7 (C).

¹⁷⁷ Plutarch, *On the Fame of the Athenians*, 349.7 (C).

¹⁷⁸ Philo, *Abraham* 179; *Greek Anthology* 7.2.42; Plutarch, *Otho* 15.4; *Sayings of the Spartans* 225.4; *On the Fame of the Athenians*, 349.7 (C).

¹⁷⁹ Homer, *Iliad* ; Callinus 1.5-7 Tyrtaeus 10, 12, Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 49; Plutarch Indeed, the measure of how resplendent "dying for one's polis or patria" was thought to be is indicated in its being categorized as εὐκλεᾶ/καλον θάνατον, "the noble death". Cf., e.g., Alcaeus, Fr. 23 (400), ... τὸ γὰρ ἄρει κατθάνην κάλον....

¹⁸⁰ Pindar, *Fragment* 78.

¹⁸¹ Philo, *On the Change of Names*; Dio Cassios, *History* 50.3;

¹⁸² There is at first glance one exception to this, found in Lysias' declaration that in the Corinthian War (395-387 BCE), Athenians " had the courage, not merely to imperil themselves for their own preservation, but also to die for their enemies' freedom" (ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ μεφ γάλην ποιούντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ μόνον

-- for instance, to save one's father from death at the hands of his military enemies¹⁸³, to preserve one's polis' safety or its liberty, to save one's πατριδῆ or (if Greek) all of Hellas from a military threat.¹⁸⁴

4. With what result?

In virtually all instances of the theme the result is not only the σωτηρία of the person or thing for which the deceased has died but, notably, *the eventual, if not the immediate, defeat or destruction of the persons or the powers that have caused the deceased's demise*. For example, according to Mnascales, the deaths of those Greeks who died for their πατριδῆ at Thermopolae was what delivered Hellas from "the tearful yoke" that the Persians had "rested on her neck" as well as that which paved the way for the victory of Greece over Xerxes and his forces.¹⁸⁵ Diodorus of Sicily, following Durus, Diodore, and Cassius Dio, notes that the Roman consul Decius' devoting himself to death for the sake of his fellow Romans brought about the slaughter of one hundred thousand of Rome's enemies.¹⁸⁶ And the author of 2 Maccabees records that the deaths of the seven brothers who, during the persecutions of Antiochus, gave up "body and life for the laws of [their] fathers", brought about not only "an end the wrath of the Almighty which has justly fallen on our whole nation" but accelerated the Jewish victory over Antiochus and his armies (2 Macc 7:1-45).

ὕπερ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν (*Funeral Oration* 68). But here the "enemies" spoken of, i.e., Corinth, Argos, and Thebes, were actually allies in their cause against Sparta. The designation πολέμιος is used here because of the identity of these city states as *former* enemies of Athens

¹⁸³ Xenophon, *On Hunting* 1.14.

¹⁸⁴ Lycurgus. *Against Leocrates* 49-50, 82; Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 5.2; Otho 15 ;Josephus *Ant.* 12.281-282; *Greek Anthology* 7.242; Plutarch, ; Pindar, *Fragment* 78.

¹⁸⁵ *Greek Anthology* 7.242.

¹⁸⁶ Diodorus, 21.6.2. Cf. Cassius Dio *Roman History* 53.3. Cf. Philo, *Abraham* 179: They say that many other persons, [like Abraham] full of love for their kinsfolk and offspring, have given their children, some to be sacrificed for their country to serve as a price to redeem it from wars Indeed they say that among the Greeks men of the highest reputation, not only private individuals but kings, have with little thought of their offspring put them to death, and thereby saved armed forces of great strength and magnitude when enlisted as their allies.

5. What activity were those whose death is commemorated in the "dying formula" engaged in when they died?

In several instances of the use of the formula, those who die for others do so specifically to stir up the warrior valour of the men of their city, shaming them into becoming ready and willing to die for their polis or homeland.¹⁸⁷ As Lycurgus notes, it was with the thought of bestirring the men of Athens from cowardice that the daughters of Leo offered themselves to their fellow citizens as a sacrifice for their country's sake, since they knew that if they, being women, displayed such courage, the men of their city would, in times of war, look upon it as a heinous thing if they, being men should have proved to possess less of manhood.¹⁸⁸

In another instance from Lycurgus, in it is an attempt on the part of the one who gives his life to outwit his city's foes' reluctance to kill him and thus set in motion a god's destructive curse against them for doing so.¹⁸⁹ But in the majority of cases the one who dies has been plunging himself headlong and voluntarily into deadly and death-dealing combat, waging war against the enemy on the ramparts or in the seige or on the open battlefield. Space prevents a full listing of such cases. Let one example, concerning Leosthenses and his men, who as Hyperides proclaims, "gave their lives for the freedom of the Greeks, convinced that the surest proof of their desire to guarantee the liberty of Greece was to die in battle for her", suffice:

[10] For Leosthenes perceived that the whole of Greece was humiliated and . . . cowed, corrupted by men who were accepting bribes from Philip and Alexander against their native countries. He realized that our city stood in need of a commander, and Greece herself of a city, able to assume the leadership, and he gave himself to his country and the city to the Greeks, in the cause of freedom. [11] After raising a mercenary force he took command of the citizen army and defeated the first opponents of Greek freedom, the Boeotians, Macedonians and Euboeans, together with their other allies, in battle in Boeotia. [12] Thence he advanced to Pylae¹ and occupied the pass through which, in bygone days aswell, barbarians marched against the Greeks. He thus prevented the inroad of Antipater into Greece, and overtaking him in that vicinity, defeated him in battle and shut him into Lamia, which he then besieged. [13] The Thessalians, Phocians,

¹⁸⁷ Demosthenes, *Funeral Speech* 29, Diodorus 17.15. 2, and Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic Oration*, 191D, 87 of the Leokorai; Pausanius 9.7.1 of Abdrocleia and Aleis, the daughters of Antipoenus of Thebes; Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic Oration* 191D, 87 of the daughters of Erectheus.

¹⁸⁸ Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 88.

¹⁸⁹ Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 85-87, of Cordrus.

Aetolians, and all the other peoples of the region, he made his allies, bringing under his control, by their own consent, the men whom Philip and Alexander gloried in controlling against their wish. The circumstances subject to his will he mastered, but fate he could not overpower.

6. When or in what context was the expression X died for Y employed?

One finds that the "dying formula" is occasionally employed when philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle and, later, Epictetus turn their attention to the topics of the nature of love or true friendship.¹⁹⁰ It is also used when Hellenistic historians are intent to give descriptions of such things as the orders of command of the Roman army and the qualities sought in candidates for certain military offices¹⁹¹ or the complaints that the plebeians of Rome in the time of Coriolanus were wont to utter against their treatment by the rich.¹⁹² But in the overwhelming majority of cases, the formula is found employed either

- a. within, and as an integral part of, the celebration of the civic cult;
- b. as a topos in the speeches given in the assembly of the polis, particularly that of Athens
- c. in testamentary and funeral speeches
- d. in the military commander's address to his troops who either are about to go into battle or, already there, are on the brink of suffering a catastrophic defeat;
- e. in the battlefield declarations of intent made by individual soldiers to their superiors or their comrades in arms.
- f. in inscriptions on public monuments and war memorials erected to commemorate and honour those "fallen" in battle.

The formula within the context of the civic cult

The most prominent of the extant examples of the use of the dying formula within the context, and as an integral part in the celebration, of the civic cult is found in Plutarch *Aristeides* 21.1-4

[21.1] After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated--the Eleutheria; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war

¹⁹⁰ For Plato, see *Symposium* 179b. For Aristotle, see *EN* 1169a.. For Epictetus, *Discourses* 4.

¹⁹¹ Polybius, *Histories* 6.24.9

¹⁹² Plutarch, *Coriolanus* 6:1-2.

against the Barbarian; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.

[21.2] These propositions were ratified, and the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. And this they do yet unto this day, after the following manner. On the sixteenth of the month Maimacterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle; [21.3] wagons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars, and pitchers of oil and myrrh (no slave may put hand to any part of that ministrations, because the men thus honored died for freedom); [21.4] and following all, the chief magistrate of Plataea, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is robed in a purple tunic, carries on high a water-jar from the city's archive chamber, and proceeds, sword in hand, through the midst of the city to the graves; [21.5] there he takes water from the sacred spring, washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh; then he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes Terrestrial, summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood; next he mixes a mixer of wine, drinks, and then pours a libation from it, saying these words: "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes." These rites, I say, are observed by the Plataeans down to this very day.

Another is the instance in Pindar, Fragment 78,
 Hearken, Spirit of the War Shout, Alala, daughter
 of War,
 Thou prelude of the clashing spears,
 Whose beasts of sacrifice are men who die the hallowed
 death for their fatherland.

since this hymn and was most likely composed for recitation at the Panathenaic Festival

So too to be placed among the cultic context are the instances of the "dying formula" found in Euripides. For those to whom Euripides first placarded for admiration and imitation the willingness of the likes of his Creon and Menoeceus, or of his Erectheoi or his Iphigenia, to "die for the city", to give up their lives for Hellas - indeed, those to whom this willingness by these figures continued to be placarded long after Euripides died -- were the attendees and celebrants of the Great Dionysia, a cult festival where, at some point before the tragedies performed there began, the sons of those who had fallen in battle for Athens and Hellas were paraded in front of the audience in full battle array.¹⁹³

The formula in the assembly

Besides the civic cult as its "home", the "dying formula" also figures prominently in speeches given in the

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On this, see OCD

assemblies of Classical and Hellenistic *πολις*, especially when what is being decided there is the wisdom of committing the *polis* to war. For instance, in his address entitled *To Philip*, an open letter written in the

service of gaining support for a war of revenge against the Persians, Isocrates declares:

[5.134] No, it is not with a view to the acquisition of wealth and power that I urge this course, but in the belief that by means of these you will win a name of surpassing greatness and glory. Bear in mind that while we all possess bodies that are mortal, yet by virtue of good will and praise and good report and memory which keeps pace with the passage of time we partake of immortality-- a boon for which we may well strive with all our might and suffer any hardship whatsoever. [5.135] You may observe that even common citizens of the best sort, who would exchange their lives for nothing else, are willing for the sake of winning glory to lay them down in battle; and, in general, that those who crave always an honor greater than they already possess are praised by all men, while those who are insatiable with regard to any other thing under the sun are looked upon as intemperate and mean. [5.136] But more important than all that I have said is the truth that wealth and positions of power often fall into the hands of our foes, whereas the good will of our fellow countrymen and the other rewards which I have mentioned are possessions to which none can fall heir but our own children, and they alone. I could not, therefore, respect myself if I failed to advance these motives in urging you to make this expedition and wage war and brave its perils.

Josephus reports that when, after the death of Judas Maccabeus and the devastating anti-Jewish campaign of Bacchides that resulted in a national calamity not seen by Jews since their return from exile in Babylon, "those that remained of the companions of Judas",

seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed ignominiously, assembled with Judas's brother

Jonathan and urged him

to imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, ... and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was.

urged him to take up the task at hand by reminding him that Judas had died for the nation's liberty (Ant 13:5).

The formula in testamentary and funeral speeches.

Under this heading can be placed not only the instances of the formula that appear in the various *Epitaphioi* of Demosthenes, Hyperides, Pericles (on those who had fallen in the Samian War)¹⁹⁴ and Lysias, but also the ones (a) in the deathbed address of Mattathias to his sons as reported in 1 Macc

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See Plutarch, *Pericles* 9.6.

[49] Now the days drew near for Mattathias to die, and he said to his sons: "Arrogance and reproach have now become strong; it is a time of ruin and furious anger. [50] Now, my children, show zeal for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of our fathers. [51] "Remember the deeds of the fathers, which they did in their generations; and receive great honor and an everlasting name. [52] Was not Abraham found faithful when tested, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness? [53] Joseph in the time of his distress kept the commandment, and became lord of Egypt.

and by Josephus in Ant 12.279-283

But when he [Mattathias] had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth; and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws; as sensible of this, by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree one with another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

and (b) of the youngest of the seven Jewish brothers martyred by Antiochus for the Law (2 Macc 7:1-45),

and (c) in Augustus' farewell address as reported by Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 53.9.1-6) in which

Augustus declares that his last act of renouncing power and turning over the administration of the Roman

state to the Senate is not only a course from which having to die a thousand deaths could not have

dissuaded him, so great was his concern for the welfare of his, but that his choice to become a private

citizen under the circumstances in which he has arranged it will bring him renown since he will then be

one who

not only did not deprive another of his life in order to win that office, but went so far as to even give up my life to avoid being king.

The formula in the military commander's address to his beleaguered troops;

Among the instances of the use of the “dying formula” which fit this category are four of note: First, that of Aelian 2.28 which speaks of Themistocles giving courage to the men he was leading to fight the Persians at Salamis by ordering them to note that cocks they saw fighting to the death along the way were, unlike his men

... not fighting for their country or their father’s gods; they are not enduring pain to defend the tombs of their ancestors, their reputation, freedom, and children; [and yet] each of them [still] aims to avoid defeat and not yield to another.

Second, that in Plutarch, *Otho* 15.4 which records how Otho, seeing his men remain steadfastly loyal to him even as his cause crumbled around them, exhorted himself to courage in the face of defeat by proclaiming

This day, my fellow citizens, I deem more blessed than that on which you first made me emperor, since I see you so devoted to me and am judged worthy of so high an honour at your hands. But do not rob me of a greater blessedness – that of dying nobly in behalf of fellow citizens so many and so good. If I was worthy to be Roman emperor, I ought to give my life freely for my country.

Third, that in Polybius 15.10, Polybius’ report of Scipio’s address to troops on the eve of their battle with Hannibal in which Scipio declares that

those of you who fall will meet a death that is made for ever glorious by this sacrifice for your country And so now that Fortune has given us the choice of the glorious of prizes according to which way the battle is decided, we should be the most mean-spirited’ and in a word the most witless of all mankind if we were to reject the most splendid rewards and choose the worst of misfortunes merely in order to cling to life. So when you go to meet the enemy, there are two objects only to keep before you, to conquer or to die

And fourth, that of Dionysius of Halicarnasus 6.9.2 which records that “the Roman Dictator”, A.

Postumus Albius Regellensus, on the eve of the battle of Lake Regillus, exhorted the younger members of his vastly outnumbered troops to valour first by pointing out that the principal members of the Senate, who were exempt from military service by virtue of their age, had nevertheless come out to the battlefield to share the fortunes of war with them and that therefore it would be shameful not only

... if you who are in the vigour of life should flee from what is formidable, while these who are past the military age pursue it

but, more importantly,

... if the zeal of the old men, since it lacks the strength to slay any of the enemy, should at least be willing to die for the fatherland, while the vigour of you young men, who have it in your power, if successful, to save both yourselves and them to be victorious, or in case of failure, to suffer

nobly while acting nobly, should neither make trial of fortune nor leave behind you the renown that valor wins.¹⁹⁵

And if this is not enough to show that “the eve of the battle” was a primary context for the use of the “dying formula”, consider the testimony of Lycurgus that the Spartans were so taken with the ability of the

elegies of Trytaeus to inspire courage in their young men -- elegies which proclaim that he who so falls among the champions and loses his sweet life, so blessing with honor his city, his father, and all his people, with wounds in his chest, where the spear that he was facing has transfixed that massive guard of his shield, and gone through his breastplate as well, why, such a man is lamented alike by the young and the elders, and all his city goes into mourning and grieves for his loss. His tomb is pointed to with pride, and so are his children, and his children's children, and afterward all the race that is his.

and that

It is beautiful when a brave man of the front ranks,
falls and dies, battling for his homeland,
and ghastly when a man flees planted fields and city
and wanders begging with his dear mother,
aging father, little children and true wife.
He will be scorned in every new village,
reduced to want and loathsome poverty; and shame
will brand his family line, his noble
figure. Derision and disaster will hound him.
A turncoat gets no respect or pity;
so let us battle for our country and freely give
our lives to save our darling children ---

that they passed a law

which provides that their men, after taking the field, shall be summoned to the king's tent to hear the verses of Tyrtæus all together, holding that this of all things would make them most ready to die for their country (*Against Leocrates* 107)

the formula in battlefield declarations of intent made by individual soldiers to their superiors or their comrades in arms

According to Plutarch, Use of the formula in this context is made by Astycratidas, a soldier in the army of Agis, King of Sparta. When asked what he and others like him would do after Agis' army suffered defeat at the hands of Antpater in the vicinity of Megalopolis and thus seemingly were about to find themselves

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See also Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 14.4.

subject to the Macedonians, Astrcradidas replied, "What? Is there any way in which Antipater can forbid us to die fighting for Sparta?" (Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 219B)

It is also made by the aged Hippodamas as he takes up arms on the field of battle beside King Agis. In the instant before he falls he proclaims that "I shall meet no more honourable death than in playing the part of a brave man for Sparta's sake" (Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 222).

One might also note the response, recorded by Plutarch, of Leonidas to the Ephors of Sparta who, as the King was leading his men out to the plain of Thermopylae to confront the Persians, asked him if he had decided to do anything other than keep the barbarians from getting by the pass there. Leonidas' answer was that he was actually "expecting to die for the Greeks" (*Sayings of the Spartans* 225.4).

the formula in inscriptions on public monuments and war memorials erected to commemorate and honour those "fallen" in battle

One fine example of the use of the formula in this context is the Epitaph written by Mnasalces of Sicyon for the Greeks who took up arms against the Persian invasion, found now at *Greek Anthology* 7.242 These men delivering their country from the tearful yoke that rested on her neck, clothed themselves in the dark dust. High praise win they by their valour, and let each citizen looking on them dare to die for his country.

Similarly, on monuments to the Spartan and Athenian heroes of Platea we find the following from the hand of the poet Simonides:

These crowned their dear country with fame indistinguishable by wrapping round them the mist and gloom of death; though they died they are not dead, for their valour brings them back in glory from the world below (*Lyra Graeca* 14.126).

If the greatest part of virtue is to die well, that hath Fortune given, of all men, unto us; we lie here in glory unaging because we strove to crown Greece with freedom (*Lyra Graeca* 14.127).

Because of these men's manly virtue the smoke of the the burning of spacious Tegea has not gone to the sky; for they chose to leave their children a country green and gay with freedom, and themselves to die in the forefront of the battle (*Lyra Graeca* 14. 129).

Let us remember the fair fighting men whose tomb this is, who died to save the pastures of Tegea, wielding the spear for the country that their dear Greece might not doff freedom from her renowned head (*Lyra Graeca* 14. 130 (*Lyra Graeca* 14.130).

g. The intended purpose or effect of using the "dying formula"

We come finally to the question of the function or functions that the “dying formula” has within the extra (non NT) Pauline instances of its use. What we are asking is simply what it was, given the evidence at our disposal, that cult leaders, politicians, testamentarians, war memorial eulogists, hard pressed battlefield commanders, beleaguered soldiers, and epitaphographers were “up to” when they employed the formula?

In the light of the evidence above, the answer is: To inculcate, confirm, or reinforce the values that stood at the very heart of Greco Roman imperial ideology -- values that were subscribed to by Jews and Greeks and by those whom Paul called "the rulers of this age" as essential for maintaining "peace and security", namely, that the warrior is the ideal citizen, that war is "glorious", that violence is a constructive force in the building of civilization, and that "salvation" from that which threatens to harm or destroy a valued way of life is ultimately achieved only through the use of brute force. What, for instance, does the chief magistrate of Plataea do in the annual gathering of Hellenes there founded by Aristides when, after marching with sword in hand through the city to the graves of those who "fell" at Plataea, he washes off with his own hands the their gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh, and summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet he prepares there, and then consecrates a libation he prepares and pours out there with the institutional words "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes", *but pay homage and dedicate his community to imperial values* and confirm their ultimate worth? What else does Isocrates do when, in his goad to a pan-Hellenic war against the Persians, he calls to mind the fact that "even common citizens of the best sort, who would exchange their lives for nothing else, are willing for the sake of winning glory to lay them down in battle" except to underscore the warrior ideal. What does Lysias or Demosthenes or Hyperides or Pericles do in their eulogizing those who went off to battle to save their *polis* or *patridia*, and in "giving their lives" brought "glory on themselves and their city" and became the "authors of many benefits conferred upon their country and the rest of Greece"¹ or saved all that makes for liberty --- what are they doing except to hold up as that which all should emulate the idea that honour and peace and security ultimately comes through readiness for war and the willingness to kill?. What else was Mnascales up to when he penned his Epitaph to the fallen who, for Greece's sake, fought against the Persian hordes and in "clothing themselves in the dark dust" win the prize of memorials and high praise except to shame others into being willing to do likewise when their country's liberty was threatened by the enemy?

¹ Hyperides, *Funeral Oration* 9.

What, then, was Paul “up to”.

We return now to the question of what Paul was “up to” when he proclaims that “Christ died for us/our sins”. In the light both of who it was whom Paul designates as “the Christ”, i.e., Jesus of Nazareth, and of what Paul understood to have been the nature and character of the historical figure whom God designated “Lord” and “Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead”, namely, one who

though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, [7] but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. [8] And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross (Phil. 1:6-8),

I would suggest that the answer is that Paul was engaged in a profound polemic against the prevailing values of his day with respect to what was ordinarily thought to create personal and public *swthria*. For the one whose death he proclaims as salvific is the very antithesis of those who in the secular instances of the “dying formula” are known and proclaimed and honoured as having brought about peace and security through their deaths. Instead of seeking or grasping *doxh*, he shuns it (Philip. 2:6-8). Instead of engaging in or advocating war when he dies, he embraces defenselessness (Rom. 15:2). Instead of dying for his own, he dies for his enemies (Rom 5:10).

It would take me far more space than I have available to demonstrate that mounting an counter argument about what kind of death is salvific is indeed what Paul was “up to” when he proclaims that Christ Jesus and not the warriors of Hellas or those who imitated them “died for us”. But that my contention has merit seems clear from three facts. First, as demonstrated by N.T. Wright and N. Elliot among others, the center of Paul’s Gospel involved a major challenge to the validity of the ideology of the imperial cult and the values of the Pax Romana which were part of the air Paul and his converts breathed. Second, Paul’s missionary work, which called for the acceptance of Jesus’ death as a “death for others”, was not so much that of “a traveling evangelist offering people a new religious experience”, as it was that of

an ambassador for a king-in waiting [whose goal was] establishing cells of people loyal to this new king, and ordering their lives according to his story, his symbols, and his praxis, and their

minds according to his truth.²

Third, Paul himself notes that to the wider Greco Roman world (whom Paul identifies as “those who perish”) -- those who, certain in their “worldly wisdom” that strength (taV ijscurav) rules the world, despise weakness -- his “word of the cross”, his proclamation about Jesus’ death being a (if not “the”) death that brings swthria, is both the height of “foolishness” (mwriwa), 1Cor 1:18” and a skavndalon (1 Cor 1.23).³ Finally, there is the evidence of Celsus who in his xxxxx his took pains to deny that the Christian claim that Jesus’ death could have the salvific significance of a “death for others”. As Origin notes (*Against Celsus* 1.30.31), Celsus denies this not because he does not believe that a life laid down for others could and did “remove those evils which have fallen upon cities and countries”. This is something he affirms. *Rather it is because the one whose death was claimed by Christians as achieving this end was one who, in the manner of his dying, was of no account in word or deed when compared to the Greco Roman heroes of old.* But why would Celsus deny this unless he recognized that behind the declaration that Jesus’ death was a death for others stood a critique of the claim, pervasive in Greco-Roman thought and self evident to those who were wise according to “worldly wisdom”, that the death dealing death for others that is a constant theme in “the many accounts current both among Greeks and Barbarian, of persons who have laid down their lives for the public advantage” was really what brought swthria and peace and security to the world?

² N.T. Wright, “Paul’s Gospel and Caesar’s Empire” in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation. Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl*, R. Horsey, ed. (Harrisburg, PA.: Trinity Press International, 2000).

³ According to contemporary philosophy, the *only* causes for which the giving up or making exit of one’s life were “reasonable”, and therefore in conformity with “wisdom”, were the good of one’s country or one’s friends or to escape intolerable pain, mutilation, or incurable disease. Dying for one’s enemies was the height of irrationality. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, 7.130 (Zeno)